WARRIOR WOMEN:

THE CHANGING APPEAL OF THE AMAZON IN THE ART OF GREECE AND THE WIDER MEDITERRANEAN c. 600-300 B.C.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the mythological figure of the Amazons in the literary and material culture of the ancient Mediterranean. Beginning with the earliest references to the Amazons, this thesis examines the wide variety of media featuring the myth with a particular focus on material culture of sixth to fourth centuries B.C. The thesis is organised both chronologically and geographically, beginning with material from Archaic and Classical Greece before exploring the material culture of Italy and Western Anatolia. The thesis thus tracks the development of this single myth through a variety of media, geographical contexts, and chronological periods. This is a novel approach, as these aspects of the Amazon mythos are usually considered in isolation. These approaches are supplemented throughout by an analysis of what the myth potentially represented to the societies who interacted with the story through imported and local material culture. The thesis concludes that the inherent adaptability and enigmatic nature of the Amazon story was a key factor behind its popularity, and that mythological art from antiquity can be as significant for its ambiguities and complexities as in its more straightforward codifications of meaning.

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates how to draw upon mythic art as a social and historical resource. It considers what can be learnt from mythic art regarding the identities of ancient cultures, variations in how local identity was artistically expressed, and what can be learnt in drawing comparisons between different cultures' depiction of the same mythic source. Stories pertaining to Amazons, the mythical warrior women of ancient Greek myth, offer a case study to consider these questions. In examining this topic, the thesis has three main goals: synthesis, recontextualisation, and cross-cultural analysis. Through these goals this thesis aims to bring further perspective on the broader concept of myths and intercultural exchange.

Amazons and the Amazonomachy are identifiable in the period c. 600-300 B.C. in material culture from three regions of the Mediterranean: Greece, Italy, and Anatolia. This geographical variety facilitates an interrogation of the extent of intercultural exchange and local expression in the use of myth in the art of these three different cultures and cultural contexts. The Amazon myth provides a unique insight into how these distinct regions approach and depict one particular story. This investigation presents a number of complex questions and challenges for any archaeologist interested in the expression of cultural identity in art. Where the imagery is the same between cultures, it is questionable whether this negates the possibility for local expression or customisation; where the depiction is different, it is similarly difficult to identify whether this is to be understood as an expression of identity, a requirement of context, or of the interest of artist and/or patron. It is similarly questionable how valid it is to assume that images of fighting women in non-Hellenic cultures fit into the context of an Amazonomachy in the Hellenic sense, and if there is a link back to the Greek myth whether the local population have known the myth or valued its Hellenic origin. The visibility of the imagery may also add further complexities to this

debate, as there is a nuance of meaning between an interred sarcophagus in Etruria and large, permanent, above-ground monuments in Anatolia.

This thesis first examines the role the Amazon myth performed within Greece. The Amazon myth first appeared in the art of mainland Greece in the seventh century, approximately contemporary with the earliest preserved literary references in the *Iliad*, although these would have had roots in a long-standing oral tradition. These artefacts originate from a variety of locations across Greece, though myths pertaining to Amazons will have had different emphases in different poleis. The extent to which we should frame a myth as "pan-Hellenic", whether to anticipate and emphasise local variation within Hellenic culture, and what contribution the commonality of one can myth bring to discussions of Panhellenism forms parts of the discussion of material from mainland Greece. This internal variety is also especially of interest when considering the myth's use by non-Greek cultures.

Alongside investigation of the myth within Greece, the thesis then examines why non-Greek cultures would decide to utilise Amazon iconography. There is one clear identifiable departure from the original use of Amazons in Greece; while Hellenic depictions of Amazons are found on material from religious, domestic, and civic contexts, the examples from Italy and Türkiye formed part of tomb decoration. This is a significant deviation, as the use of mythic subjects is almost entirely unknown on Hellenic funerary monuments, and many of the few examples which do exist appear subsequently to these non-Greek monuments. This dispersal of the Amazonomachy myth is particularly of interest as it plays a role within multiple non-Hellenic societies prior to the more widespread dissemination of Greek culture in the Hellenistic period.

Regardless of the particular pattern of exchange, there is evidence of a specific relationship developing between these two regions (North Italy and South Türkiye) and the use of the Amazon

myth in funerary art. It seems likely that the interest in the myth, while perhaps influenced by inter-'nation' observation and political competition in the medium of architecture, also held considerable local appeal. In this, it is almost unique; only the myth of Herakles is otherwise found so broadly within the Mediterranean. Even widespread cults of Dionysos are not commonly represented until the Hellenistic period.

As the myth concerns women, and in an unusual, combative role, the Amazons also provide a point of investigation as to the rights and roles of women within these particular societies. This thesis therefore also considers both the intended and unintended audience for this material; whether women would have had access to these depictions, whether it would have had relevance to their lives, and whether or not this formed part of the artist's intention. This invites considerations of the societal roles of women more local to the area.

A final point of consideration is how a story can be seen to evolve or not evolve through time, accruing different meaning and emphasis when presented within its direct historical and social context. It seems especially important to trace and consider the relationship between two pieces of art which feature the same myth but are separated by hundreds of years of societal change, whether or not there is some particular appeal of the Amazon myth which allows interest in it to persist throughout the centuries, and how such considerations can inform our understanding of the nature of myth and its role within society – or indeed multiple societies – by considering its longevity.

This thesis aims to investigate these societal, ethnical, and archaeological questions through a careful consideration of all possible source material. The synthesis of material across media is a key goal of the thesis, as prior treatment of this subject has frequently involved compartmentalisation to one period, medium, or place. This approach also requires examination

of data from both a qualitative and a quantitative standpoint. The thesis therefore serves principally as a cross-cultural analysis of one story, tracing its development through time and place in the period before widespread transmission of myth in the Hellenistic period. In doing so this thesis aims to examine how the Amazon myth can be codified and its meaning to ancient audiences understood. This consideration is constantly supplemented by an attempt to root the material in the context of the culture which produced it. These different contextualisations also facilitate consideration of how the meaning of the mythos may have been altered by variety in cultural understanding. Approaching the material at such a broad scope allows for a holistic understanding of the transmission of one myth in the pre-Hellenistic era, and thus provides a vehicle for understanding the role of mythology in intercultural exchange in the ancient Mediterranean.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Amazons have been hugely compelling to modern scholars. The desire to explore the purpose and function of the Amazon myth has persisted from the earliest era of anthropological research. Many initial approaches accepted the historicity of the Amazons as real figures, including the nineteenth-century philologists Georg Friedrich Creuzer and Karl Ottfried Müller.[1] Creuzer and Müller's discussion, though one of many about the Amazons the modern era, exemplifies the motivating impetus behind many scholarly explorations of the subject from the outset; both attempted to define the Amazons as part of wider contemporary debates about the role and function of ancient mythology.

[1] Blok 1994: 63.

Whilst Creuzer largely saw myth as evolving from a 'prehistoric' universal religious state which was then inherited and developed by each society,[2] Müller asserted that it came from the particular interaction between that society and its immediate geographic and historical setting.[3] These two approaches presented two distinct interpretations of the Amazons.[4] Creuzer saw them as an expression of wider nature-driven rituals expressed through their cult at Ephesos, whereas Müller attempted to trace back the origin of the cult, eventually locating them in the East.[5] Both of these interpretations focus on the cultic aspect of the Amazon and both develop a sexualised role, where for Creuzer the Amazons are abstinent servants of Artemis and for Müller they serve as sexual companions as part of Artemis' worship.[6] This element especially should be understood in their context of the Romantic Enlightenment and contemporary debates about the role of formalised marriage as opposed to the 'liberty' of unbound affection and sexual desire.[7]

Contemporary to the work of Creuzer and Müller is the writing of Johann Jakob Bachofen, the Swiss anthropologist whose seminal work *Das Mutterrecht: eine Untersuchung über die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*, published in 1861, had a profound impact on the study and understanding of the Amazon myth. Bachofen theorised that all societies existed in a state of *Mutterrecht* before evolving to the more civilised state of patriarchy seen in society today. Although a fundamentally misogynistic concept, Bachofen's writing is frequently imbued with admiration for this state of *Mutterrecht*: "The relationship which stands at the origin of all culture, of every virtue, of every nobler aspect of existence, is

[2] Creuzer 1819-1823: 1.94-96.
[3] Müller 1825: 78.
[4] Blok 1994: 37.
[5] This in itself is actually a break from his original assertion of myth evolving from local environments (see Blok 1994: 61).
[6] Creuzer 1819-1823 2.174-175 (n. 225); Müller 1830: 404-406.
[7] Blok 1994: 71.

that between mother and child... women at this stage is the repository of all culture, of all benevolence, of all devotion, of all concern for the living and grief for the dead."[8]

Bachofen drew upon antiquity to prove this claim, including the myth of the Amazons, whom he saw as exemplifying this ancient matriarchy in a phenomenon he called "Amazonism".[9] His work was part of a contemporary debate between 'matriarchists' and 'patriarchists', two camps of early anthropology attempting to define the state of primitive societies.[10] It was not uncommon for nineteenth-century thinkers to use antiquity as a resource for understanding and theorising wider anthropological concepts.[11] Bachofen is however most significant for how his work created a permanent and explicit link between the Amazons and the concept of historic matriarchy.

Attempts to find the historical 'source' of the Amazons continued in the twentieth century, with a notable attempt in 1911 by Walther Leonhard to equate the Amazons with the newly-discovered Hittite culture; "all the ingredients were at hand for another attempt to solve one enigma (the Amazons) by another (the Hittites)".[12] Leonhard explains the Amazon myth as originating from a historical source which was viewed and misinterpreted by ancient Greeks, with confusion arising over Hittite social customs such as their worship of a mother goddess and their castrated priests.[13]

The emergence of concepts in the twentieth century such as psychoanalytic theory and structuralism allowed for a whole new methodological approach. Myth could now be linked to

[8] Bachofen 1992: 79.
[9] Bachofen 1992: 105.
[10] Bamberger 1974: 264.
[11] DuBois 1988: 12-22.
[12] Blok 1994: 100.
[13] Leonhard 1911: 136-140. The concept of the Amazons being based on a chance encounter with another culture persisted. It was later suggested by the bacteriologist K. A. Bisset, who proposed they emerged from the Greeks' "first encounter of Europeans with a beardless small statured race of bow-toting mongoloids" (Bisset 1971: 150).

and explained by broader aspects of Greek society and culture; "there was no longer any need to search for a temporal or spatial origin, since myth was a product of the psyche. All that was necessary was to situate its position in the psyche more precisely."[14] This framework has been a fundamental underpinning of almost all scholarship of the Amazons since. The attempt to associate the use of the myth with wider sociological trends has not always been met with praise; Frank Bigelow Tarbell, writing in 1920 on the emerging interpretation of the Amazons as a representation of Athenian patriotic sentiment, exclaimed "I do not believe in any one of these symbolic interpretations. It is, of course, impossible to prove that no such ideas were entertained by any Greek. But I think it can be made probable that neither the artists who designed the works in question nor the general public understood them in that way".[15] He considered such theories "far-fetched explanations" and emphasised instead the way the Amazons "afforded an inexhaustible variety of artistic themes".[16] This variety of theme is set out admirably in the seminal work by Dietrich von Bothmer, which collated and organised all of the Archaic and Early Classical material culture related to the Amazons.[17] This is an unparalleled resource for understanding the manifold uses of the Amazon in ancient Greek iconography, but it has been criticised more recently for assuming connections between literary and visual media.[18]

The majority of twentieth-century scholars, however, adopted this development in approach and reframed the Amazon myth as an expression of social anxieties and desires. The link between the Amazons and the Persian invasion was most explicitly stated by Roger Hinks in 1939, and fears about *gynaikokrateia* and the inversion of the Greek polis were a staple of scholarship of the sixties and seventies.[19] This concept is also prominent in the work of Paige DuBois, who used Athenian concepts of superiority and inferiority as found in Plato and Aristotle to discuss

[14] Blok 1994: 110.
[15] Tarbell 1920: 227.
[16] Tarbell 1920: 230.
[17] von Bothmer: 1957.
[18] Blok 1994: 354.
[19] As discussed by Stewart 1995: 573.

Amazons as a theoretical framework for expressing these concepts through art and culture.[20] William Blake Tyrrell's 1984 study of the Amazons also draws upon this concept of the Amazons as the Greek society overthrown and argues the myth represented the desire of the Athenian patriarchy to reassert masculine dominance. The purpose of the Amazons as justifying contemporary Athenian patriarchal dominance is also argued by Mandy Merck.[21]



Figure 1: Women dressed in Amazon costumes to celebrate the first Bavarian Women's Day in Munich in October 1899

Josine Blok's 1994 work has two primary concerns: that of documenting early scholarly approaches and recontextualising the use and function of the Amazon in the Archaic material, returning to the Amazons' "narrative character" rather than psychological or historical explanations.[22] This seems in part to be a reaction to the interpretations mentioned above, where chronology is often not a factor and there is an assumed universality of the myth's Classical (Athenian) use. The concept of geographical links in the eastern edges of the Mediterranean is also at the heart of two recent compilation works which return to the angle of historic origins, discussing the possible connection between the Amazon myth and Scythian culture and the role of Scythians as an 'origin story' for the Amazons.[23]

Some of the scholarship from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, however, was framed by a desire to reclaim the concept of Bachofen's matriarchy by recent feminist scholars,

[20] DuBois 1982: vii & 13.
[21] Merck 1978: 108.
[22] Blok 1994: 5.
[23] Koch: 2010 and Schubert and Weiß: 2013.

who thought the martial qualities and independence of the ancient Amazons were laudable. The concept of Amazons as a feminist icon is visible from as early as a photograph from October 1899 (Figure 1); these recently-emancipated women saw themselves as natural successors to the Amazons.[24] This reclamation was driven in part by an attempt to find "models or blueprints of female power which shall be neither replications of male power nor carbon-copies of the male stereotype of the powerful, controlling destructive woman".[25]

Fundamental to the feminist interest in the Amazons is the concept of matriarchy and the rejection of male authority and power. This use, whilst not directly related to the use of the myth in antiquity, originated in part from a need by twentieth-century feminists to find validation from fiction, to propose and explore the idea that male dominance and patriarchy are not inevitable.[26] The concept of divorcing classical motifs from classical themes is not unique to this particular phenomenon and has a long history in, for example, Mediaeval adoption of ancient 'pagan' themes into Christian iconography.[27] The Amazons also took on a similar role within the lesbian community in the 1970s, and are one of the sources behind the use of the labrys on current lesbian iconography, admired for their example as "strong, brave, women-identified women".[28] This era birthed the most publicly prominent discussion of the myth, that of Wonder Woman, created by Professor William Marston in the 1940s. Marston's vision of Wonder Woman was profoundly influenced by his interest in the suffrage movement and his general desire for female equality. Of Diana herself Marston wrote "Wonder Woman is psychological propaganda for the new type of woman who should, I believe, rule the world".[29]

[24] Preußer 2010: 269.
[25] Merck 1978: 95.
[26] Kirk 1987: 27.
[27] Panofsky 1955: 68.
[28] Poulsen 2000: 44.
[29] Finn 2014: 7.

More recent studies have focused on this appeal of the Amazon as a 'warrior woman', doubtless motivated by the particular fascination with that facet of their appeal in contemporary society. Amongst these works is that of Adrienne Mayor, who sought to collate the information on the Amazon myth from multiple societies, considering geographic, rather than cultural lines; she looks to the cultures of China and the Caucasus for links rather than the more usual Mediterranean-focused approach.[30] The result is a useful and comprehensive consideration of a variety of material from different cultures, and the incorporation of this unusual geography creates an interesting point of comparison between cultures which are usually studied in isolation. The author focuses on the possibility of the reality of Amazon warrior women, and thus is primarily interested in the evidence of their existence, rather than the meaning of the myth to the population who utilised it.

This thesis therefore is written within the context of centuries of discussion on the meaning of the Amazon myth. Its approach is differentiated by the broad scope of material under consideration, with a large variety in media, chronology, and geography. Whilst many other works have focused on one medium or era, the thesis follows the myth across literature, sculpture, ceramics, toreutics, and other forms of material culture, from its first emergence in the seventh century B.C. through to the fourth century B.C. and the dawn of the Hellenistic era. This approach facilitates a holistic contextualisation of the variations of narrative employed in the use of the myth. The thesis also emphasises the significance of the story to the population local to its use, both within mainland Greece and also in Italy and Anatolia; in doing so, it facilitates greater comparisons between different cultural contexts and the different understandings of the story those contexts may have elicited.

[30] Mayor 2014.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The broad scope of the thesis outlined above necessitated as a first step the collation of materials pertaining to the Amazonomachy across the various media. The process for this collation differed based on the type of material, as each aspect has been preserved and published in different ways across the disciplines. The collation was developed through consulting a variety of publications and databases. The first of these compilations consists of the literary sources which mentioned the Amazons (Catalogue A). Unlike the chronological restriction imposed on the other materials considered in the thesis, this catalogue considers written texts from the seventh century B.C. through to the seventh century A.D. This is necessitated by the nature of preservation of earlier written accounts in later texts, as well as other issues with chronology fully explored in Chapter 3.

The material culture under consideration broadly spans three different types: vases; sculptures in stone and terracotta; and small items made of bronze and other precious metals. These three formats were the basis through which to compile Catalogues B-D, and these catalogues in turn form the basis of the discussion in Chapters 4-7. Items from Catalogue B (vases) are referenced throughout as V####; C (items made of metal and other precious materials) are referred to as M##; and D (sculpture and other monuments) are referred to as S##. The quantity of material under consideration differs considerably between the different media, with vases the most common (2,435 examples), followed by sculptural monuments (76 examples) and then metal objects (55 examples). The variety in scope and scale of each of these media requires a combined iconographical and statistical analysis which forms the basis of the investigation of the thesis. Success in recontextualising these objects varies due to the nature of provenance information preserved; for the large monuments their point of origin is almost certain, while for the small portable goods this information is often absent. Effort is therefore made to consider the contextual significance of the objects wherever possible. This contextualisation considers the impact of the physical space in which these objects were situated (such as internment in a tomb

versus display within a sanctuary space), as well as reflection on the political and social culture contemporary to the objects.

This second form of contextualisation requires consideration of aspects which have been directly preserved in the archaeological record. Investigating the meaning of myth beyond the textual is informed by surviving materials, but is still fundamentally hypothetical. This investigation is similarly complicated by the chronological and societal gap between modern preconceptions and the ancient world, and it is vital at all points to interrogate the applicability of modern ideas when interpreting ancient material culture. This thesis attempts to eliminate as much modern interference as possible by first presenting the material within its ancient context before applying modern frameworks of interpretation in the conclusion.

The conclusion therefore considers the applicability of concepts such as structuralism, psychoanalytic theory, and Jungian psychology. This discussion considers whether the modern understanding and use of the Amazon myth presents a viable framework within which to consider ancient circulation and reception. This is particularly significant when considering how the myth was used and adopted by societies adjacent to, but not part of, ancient Greece in antiquity, such as Caria and Etruria. It is possible that our relationship, though subject to much greater boundaries of time and space, might help to throw light on the complexities of this dynamic where we regrettably are lacking in ancient narrative sources.

2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMAZON MYTHOS

The majority of the thesis considers material featuring Amazons or the Amazonomachy in a chronological framework. This chapter instead presents some initial observations on the distribution of material culture featuring the mythos across the catalogues more broadly.

DISTRIBUTION OF VASES

Catalogue B comprises of 2,435 vessels. The catalogue was initially created to document the common scene types upon which Amazons were found, building on the data found in Dietrich von Bothmer's 1957 publication *Amazons in Greek Art* by incorporating the vessels recorded in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD) via the *CVA*. For each vessel I therefore captured the available data for date, shape, provenance, and artist, and also created a system through which to broadly classify the iconographical scene type on the vessel. These classifications established (1) if the scene was of combat or not (including noting the 'head-type' discussed in Chapter 5); (2) whether any hero was present in the scene; (3) how many Amazons were in the scene; and (4) whether horses or griffins were present in the scene. Overall, this method of investigation aimed to utilise vases as a source for socio-cultural history rather than analysing the images on the vases themselves. This method was principally adopted as a response to the Covid-19 pandemic, when other research methodologies were no longer possible.

The vase catalogue is an amalgamation of four principal sources with supplementary material, as set out in Table 1. I began with the vessels outlined in Bothmer's catalogue. I was able to match many of these pieces with the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, though 315 vessels did not clearly match with any of those listed in the BAPD. I subsequently added into the corpus a further 904 vessels listed in the BAPD, identified through the subject indexing for related terms such as 'Amazon', 'Amazonomachy', and 'Penthesilea'. This information was downloaded from the BAPD

on 20 April 2020. The primary source for the Attic corpus is therefore a synthesis of Bothmer's publication and BAPD, followed by the incorporation of vases published in other works, including editions of the *CVA* not yet integrated into BAPD. These sources are set out in their entirety in Table 1.

For vessels from South Italy and Sicily, I turned to Arthur D. Trendall's publications. For both *CVA* and Trendall's publications I relied upon identifications of Amazons present in the indices, using the same terms I applied to the BAPD index. Finally, I incorporated any examples listed under 'Amazones' and 'Amazones Etruscae' in *LIMC* not already included. I also added in a few examples which were kindly brought to my attention by correspondence with individual museums.

Catalogue Number	**Initial Source**
0001-1232	Dietrich von Bothmer (1957): *Amazons in Greek Art*
1233-2135	Beazley Archive Pottery Database (where not in Bothmer)
2136-2149	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (where not on BAPD)
2150-2387	Arthur D. Trendall's publications on red-figure vases from Apulia, Lucania, Campania, Paestum, and Sicily
2388-2422	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicum Classicae* (where not in Bothmer, BAPD, *CVA*, or Trendall)
2423-2435	Correspondence with museums and/or their websites

Table 1: Sources for the catalogue of Amazon vases

Where scenes are fragmentary or the identification of Amazons is uncertain, I chose to include these vessels out of concern that their exclusion may risk overlooking an aspect of how the myth was represented. Similarly, the analysis assumes that fragments represent a distinct lost vessel and do not join with any existing vessels. Although most recovered vessels are naturally damaged to some extent, wholly fragmentary pieces account for around 20% of the assemblage.

It is important to acknowledge that quantitative and statistical analysis of vases always requires care and consideration of the factors affecting survival of the vessels to the modern day. Methods of excavation have created specific patterns of recovery which cannot be assumed to reflect the distribution of vessels within antiquity. As long as the biases of recovery are considered within the analysis, this method can however still provide an opportunity to observe patterns of use and interest within the medium of pottery. Quantitative analysis also weights vessels equally regardless of the quality or quantity of the decoration, which in turn reduces the biases produced by only considering the most elaborate, expensive, or intact vessels, which can themselves prove exceptional to wider trends within the medium.

Quantitative analysis requires a certain amount of categorisation in order to observe wider trends within the dataset. The catalogue of vases is categorised in four main ways: the broad iconographical scene; the technical specifications of the vase (its fabric, shape, and technique); its provenance, where known; and its date of production as equated to a rough stylistic period. The vases both therefore have individual dating windows as well as relative dating to fit within the categories of early Archaic (prior to 550 B.C.), Archaic and Late Archaic (550-480 B.C.), Classical (480-400 B.C.), and Late Classical (400-300 B.C.). These classifications were inherited from the groupings set out by Bothmer. Dates were attributed as found in Bothmer or on BAPD, with incorporation of information from *CVA* where appropriate. Classification of shape was approached in a similar way, with an assumption that every extant fragment represented a different vessel.

I was keen to incorporate any available information about where the vessels were initially excavated. This information has been lost in many cases due to circulation on the art market, and BAPD is most commonly an excellent source for any findspot information which is known; but through contacting the institutions in which the vessels are held, I was able to incorporate extra

findspot information for around two hundred vases. For the purposes of abbreviating the more complex geographical patterning present in this varied provenance data, I have created certain categorisations reflecting geographical regions, including differentiating the regions of Italy within which vessels were excavated. I have also distinguished between vessels recovered directly from Athens and those recovered more widely from sites in Attica including Eleusis and Marathon, but these sites should also be understood as an extension of the Athenian polity; they are therefore grouped separately from other Greek contexts such as Delphi, Corinth, and Olympia.

The data captured in the vase catalogue is set out in its broadest forms in Tables 2-6 and in Charts 1-7. Some broad trends are visible in the overall catalogue. Although a number of fabrics are represented, Athenian vases are by far the most common (Table 3). The greatest period of production of vases is the mid- to late-Archaic (Table 4), representing 58% of the whole assemblage. The two most common shapes, the amphora and the cup (Table 2), represent the consistent use of the Amazon as decoration on large container vessels and smaller drinking vessels.

Findspot information is available for 49.8% of the assemblage, but this figure shifts somewhat depending on the era of the vessel (Chart 3), including a 22% difference in findspot information between Early Archaic and Archaic vessels. This allows for varying levels of investigation into the pottery trade depending on the era under discussion. A similar fluctuation extends to the distribution of vessel types by findspot (Chart 4), where the proportion of unknown findspots varies from 58% of lekythoi to 20% of squat lekythoi.

Shape	#
Amphora	461
Cup	449
Lekythos	422
Krater	304
Pelike	217
Oinochoe	177
Hydria	90
Olpe	63
Frags	39
Alabastron	28
Squat lekythos	24
Stamnos	19
Kyathos	16
Pyxis	14
Plate	14
Rhyton	12
Phiale	12
Lekanis	11
Figure vase	9
Loutrophoros	9
Askos	6
Epinetron	5
Lid	4
Dinos	4
Nestoris	4
Stamnoid	3
Vase	3
Lebes	3
Guttus	2
Situla	2
Chous	1
Pyxis lid	1
Podanipter	1
Pagenstecher lekythos	1
Aryballos	1
Kalathos	1
Onos	1
Psykter	1
Mug	1
Grand Total	**2435**

Table 2: Shapes of vessels

Fabric	#
Athenian	2119
Apulian	195
Campanian	45
Lucanian	22
Etruscan	10
Chalcidian	7
Unclear	6
Sicilian	5
Pseudo-Chalcidian	3
Paestan	3
Corinthian	3
Boeotian	3
Bosphorian	3
Clazomenian	2
Unspecified South Italian	2
Faliscan	2
Calenian	2
Pontic	1
Laconian	1
Protocorinthian	1
Grand Total	**2435**

Table 3: Fabric of vessels

Era	#
Archaic (550-480)	1412
Late Classical (400-300)	551
Classical (480-400)	371
Early Archaic (pre 550)	101
Grand Total	**2435**

Table 4: Era of vessels

Technique	#
Black Figure	1408
Red Figure	1009
Relief	12
Added Colour	3
Polychrome	3
Grand Total	**2435**

Table 5: Technique of vessels

Provenance	#
Albania	2
Bulgaria	3
Cyprus	5
Egypt	15
France	8
Georgia	2
Germany	1
Greece | Asia Minor	9
Greece | Athens	144
Greece | Attica	34
Greece | other	177
Iran	4
Italy | Etruria	391
Italy | other	34
Italy | Sicily	76
Italy | South Italy	177
Libya	19
Malta	1
North Macedonia	3
Romania	6
Russia	55
Spain	19
Sudan	1
Syria	3
Turkey	18
Ukraine	7
Unknown	1221
Grand Total	**2435**

Table 6: Findspot of vessels

All tables on this page refer to the entire corpus of vases featuring Amazons or the Amazonomachy dated c. 600-300 B.C. (Catalogue B)

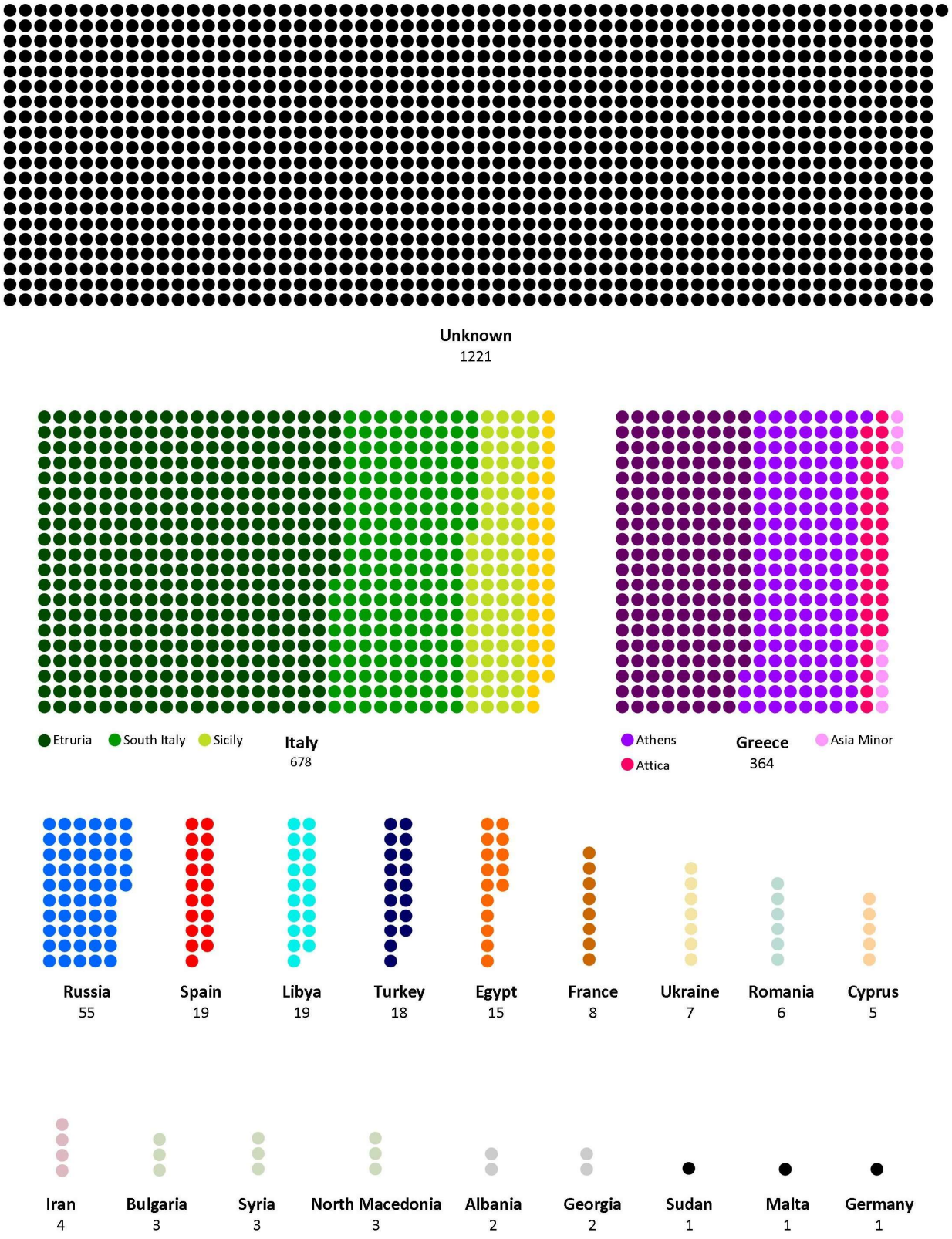


Chart 1: Visualisation of provenance data for the body of vases showing Amazons (600-300 B.C.) where one • represents 1 vase



Chart 2: Visualisation of provenance data for the body of vases showing Amazons (600-300 B.C.) with indication of era of vases

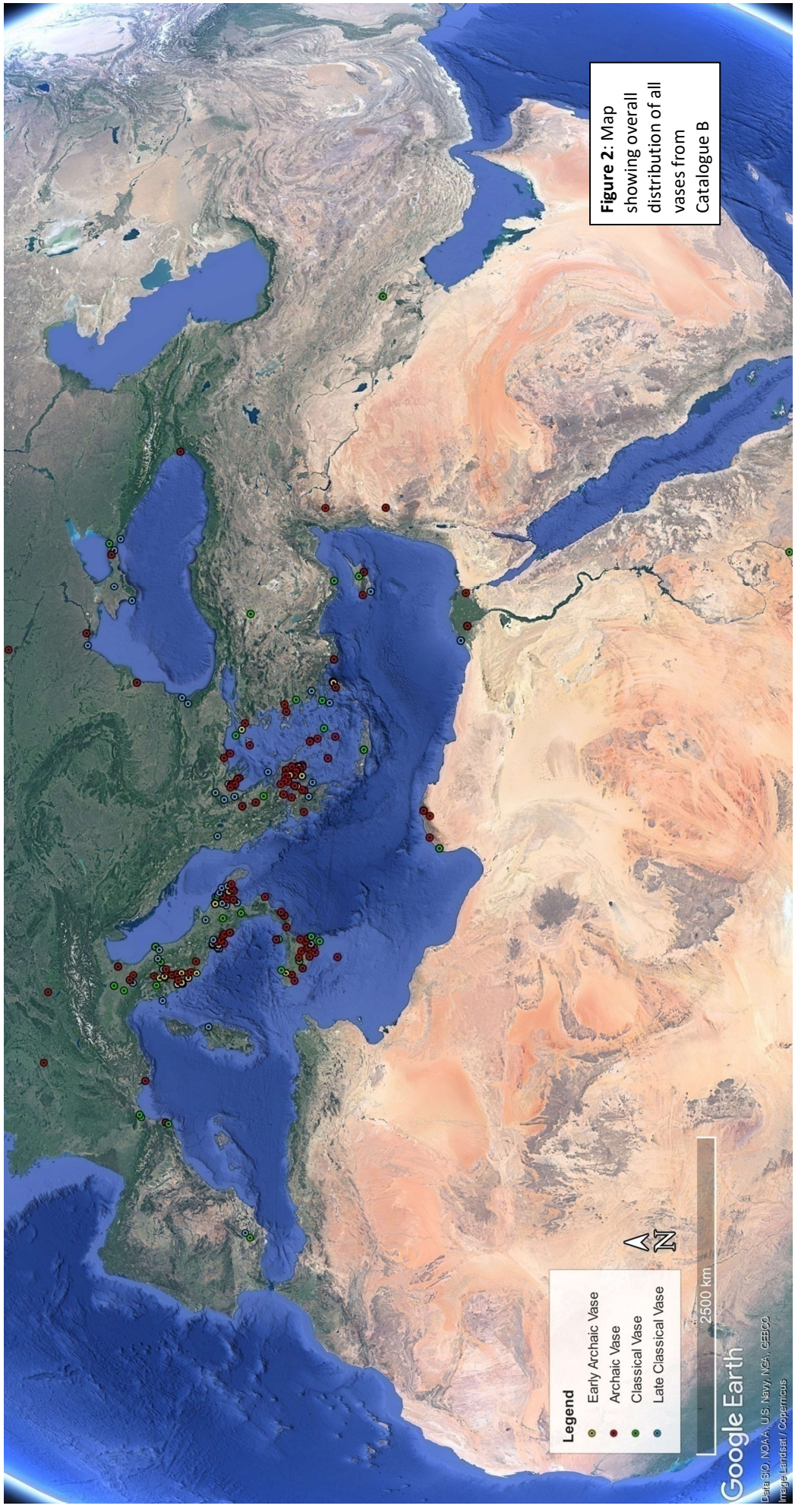


Figure 2: Map showing overall distribution of all vases from Catalogue B

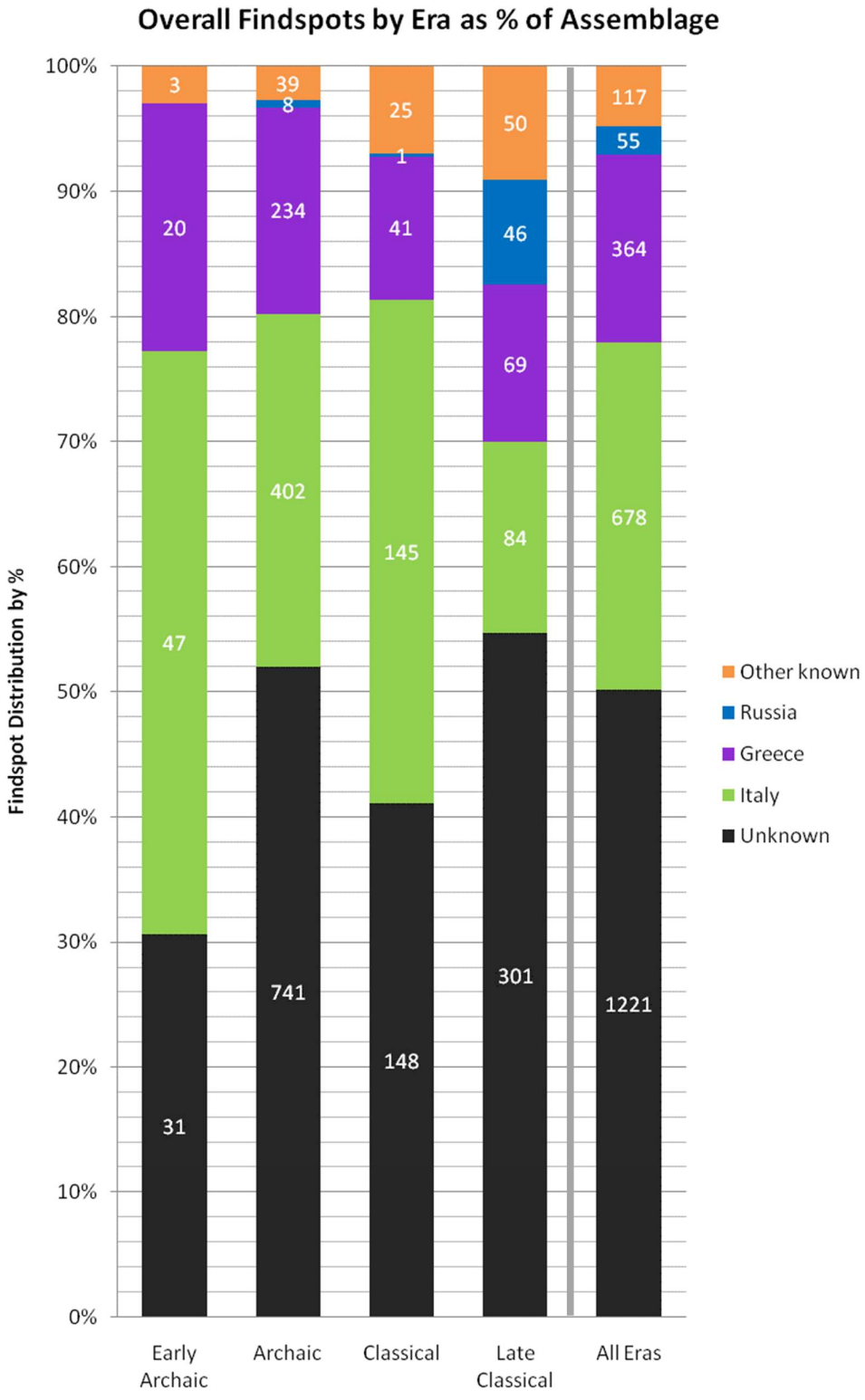
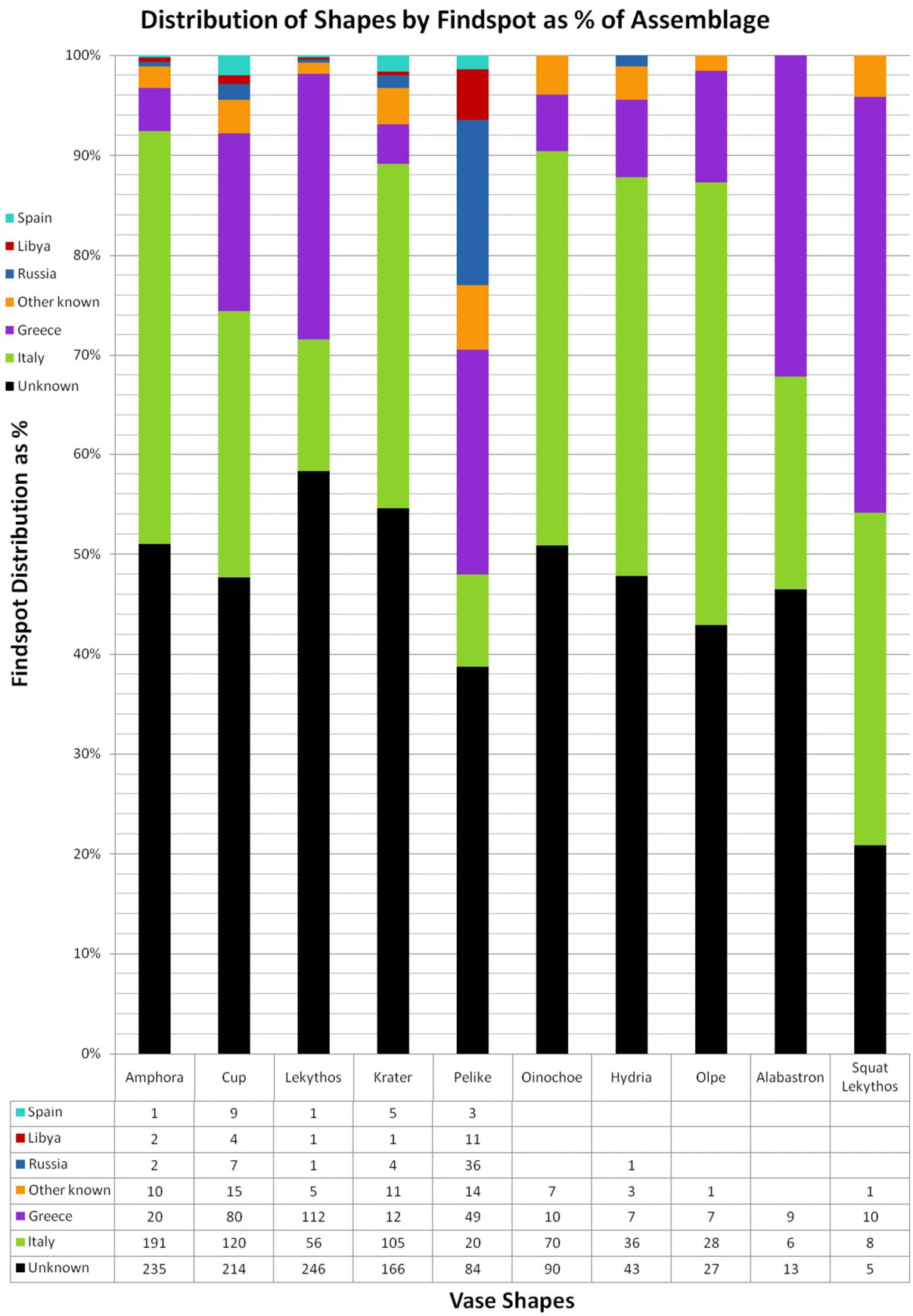


Chart 3: Percentage bar chart showing different rates of findspot information by era of vase



	Amphora	Cup	Lekythos	Krater	Pelike	Oinochoe	Hydria	Olpe	Alabastron	Squat Lekythos
Spain	1	9	1	5	3					
Libya	2	4	1	1	11					
Russia	2	7	1	4	36		1			
Other known	10	15	5	11	14	7	3	1		1
Greece	20	80	112	12	49	10	7	7	9	10
Italy	191	120	56	105	20	70	36	28	6	8
Unknown	235	214	246	166	84	90	43	27	13	5

Chart 4: Percentage bar chart showing distribution of 10 most common shapes by findspot

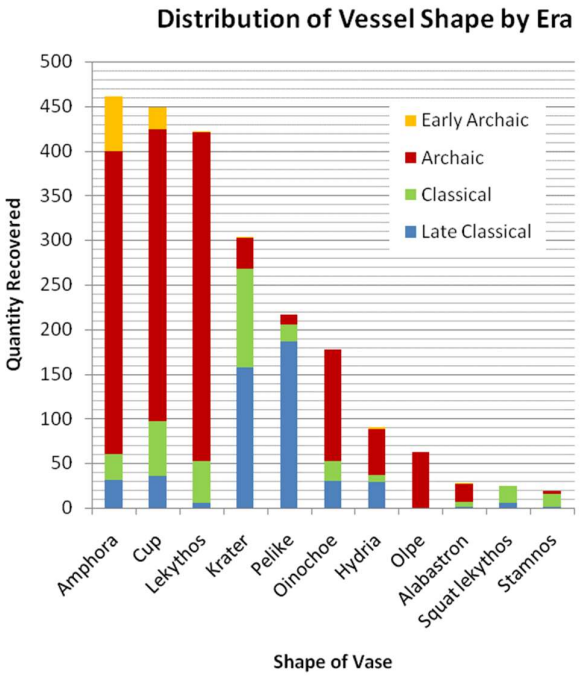


Chart 5: Bar chart showing distribution of 10 most common shapes by era

With caveats about the proportion of the assemblage where findspot data is not known, it is possible to make some observations about the known data. The distance of the distribution of material is enormous, ranging from northern France, eastern Iran, and central Sudan. Vessels recovered from Greek findspots consistently remain at 10-20% of the assemblage, while Italian contexts fluctuate from 47% in the Early Archaic to 15% in the Late Classical periods. Other regions (including Russia) account for between 3% and 17% of the assemblage, and comprise 7% of the total. Although other regions are visible from the outset, the widest variety of distribution occurs in the Late Classical period. Interestingly, the prominence of particular export regions also fluctuates between eras, with certain areas more prominent in the Archaic assemblage (Türkiye, Egypt), and others in the Classical and Late Classical (Russia, Spain).

Chart 4 also illustrates the variation in the types of vessel according to findspot information. Here it is possible to observe how distinctly prominent Italy is in the distribution of amphorae, which were almost always Archaic in date (Chart 5). This is particularly in contrast to the prominence of Greece in the distribution of lekythoi, which again were largely of the same era (Chart 5). This distribution is likely related to the function of the vessels, as amphorae were large, multi-purpose storage vessels, while lekythoi held particular significance in the performance of Greek burial rites. Interesting here also is the variety of contexts in which pelikai are found. The pelikai were almost exclusively produced in the Classical and Late Classical periods (Chart 5), where findspot

information is by no means especially well-preserved (Chart 3), so their commonality cannot be explained by a better rate of preservation of the data. The shape may have either held a wider appeal or been more distributable by merchants.

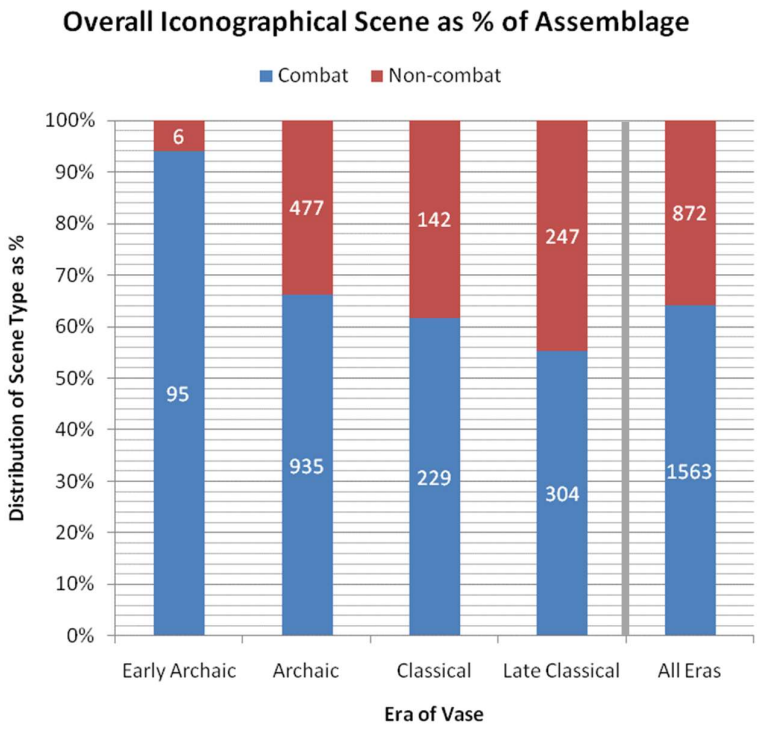
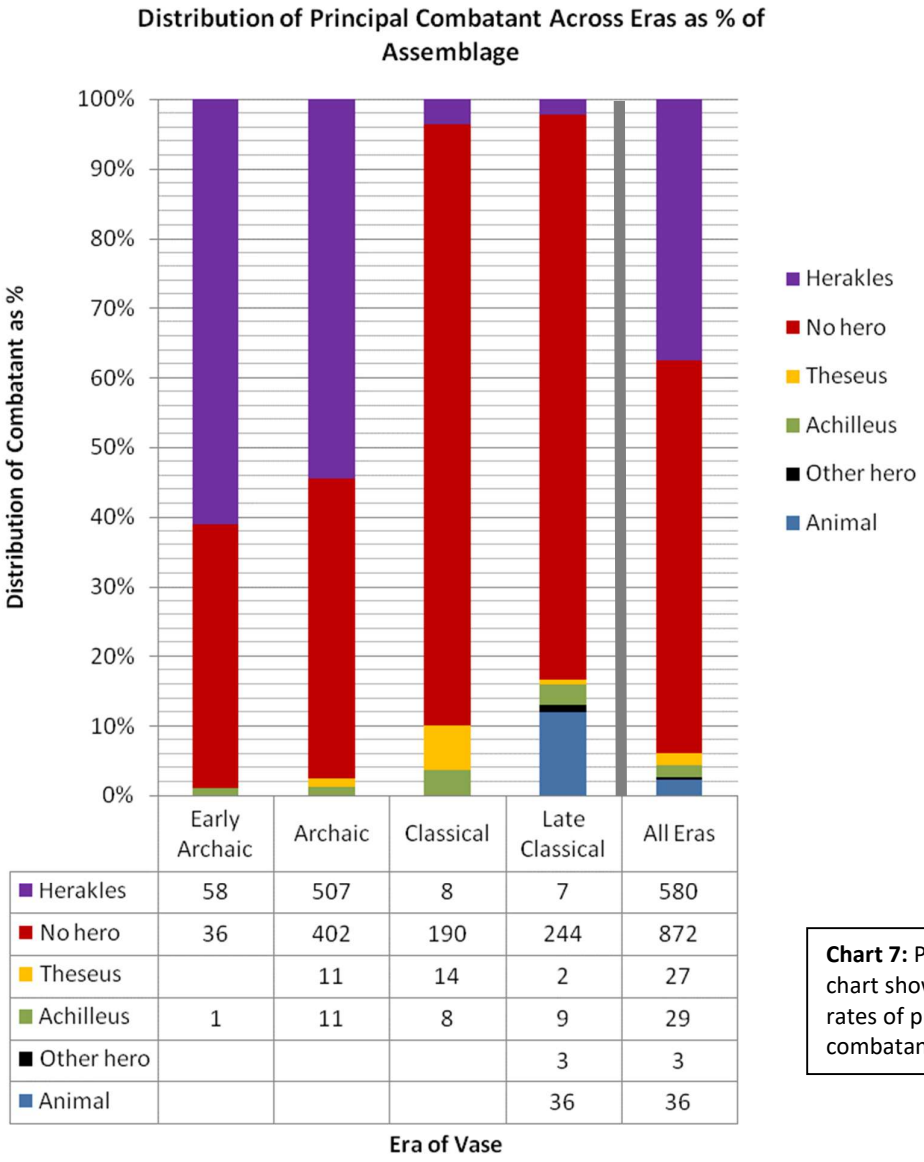


Chart 6: Percentage bar chart showing different rates of overall iconographic type by era

Finally, it is possible to recognise some broad trends in the nature of depictions across the four periods. Although the overall assemblage is roughly evenly distributed between scenes of combat and non-combat, there is a clear trend through time towards a greater number of non-combat scenes (Chart 6). Chart 7 also illustrates how distinctly the principal combatant of the Amazon changes within the body of combat scenes.[31] While Herakles is the combatant in the majority of vases produced in both the Early Archaic and Archaic periods, he has almost wholly disappeared from the assemblages by the beginning of the fifth century, overtaken by a more generic scene in which no hero is obviously identifiable. The Amazonomachy in question may refer directly or indirectly to the myths involving Theseus, Achilleus, or the invasion of Athens, but it is not possible to identify them definitely with no clear consistent features. This flexibility of interpretation may have been an inherent feature of the decoration in question, rather than a failure to identify the scene in question in the modern era.

[31] Images of Herakles are extremely identifiable because of his attributes, but the other heroes vary in depiction. Where vessels were explicitly inscribed with the name of Achilleus or Theseus, these have been noted in the catalogue as certain identifications; other vessels commonly identified as these heroes which lack inscriptions have been described as possible depictions of this scene. In data analysis carried out in the thesis, however, these possible scenes have been interpreted as certain ones. 'No hero' therefore describes Amazonomachies where Herakles is not identifiable, where there are no inscriptions naming other figures, and where the scene is not usually designated as showing either Achilleus or Theseus.



	Early Archaic	Archaic	Classical	Late Classical	All Eras
Herakles	58	507	8	7	580
No hero	36	402	190	244	872
Theseus		11	14	2	27
Achilleus	1	11	8	9	29
Other hero				3	3
Animal				36	36

Chart 7: Percentage bar chart showing different rates of principal combatant by era

DISTRIBUTION OF METALWARE AND OTHER PRECIOUS MATERIALS

Documenting the distribution of Amazons on metal objects presents a significant difficulty because of the profound absence of provenanced material; similarly, unlike vases and sculptural monuments, the understanding of their place of manufacture is far more limited. It is therefore less straightforward to document distribution in the same manner. Figure 3 illustrates the known places of discovery for items where this has been preserved. It also shows the place of creation of the two known coin types featuring Amazons, Mytilene and Soli.

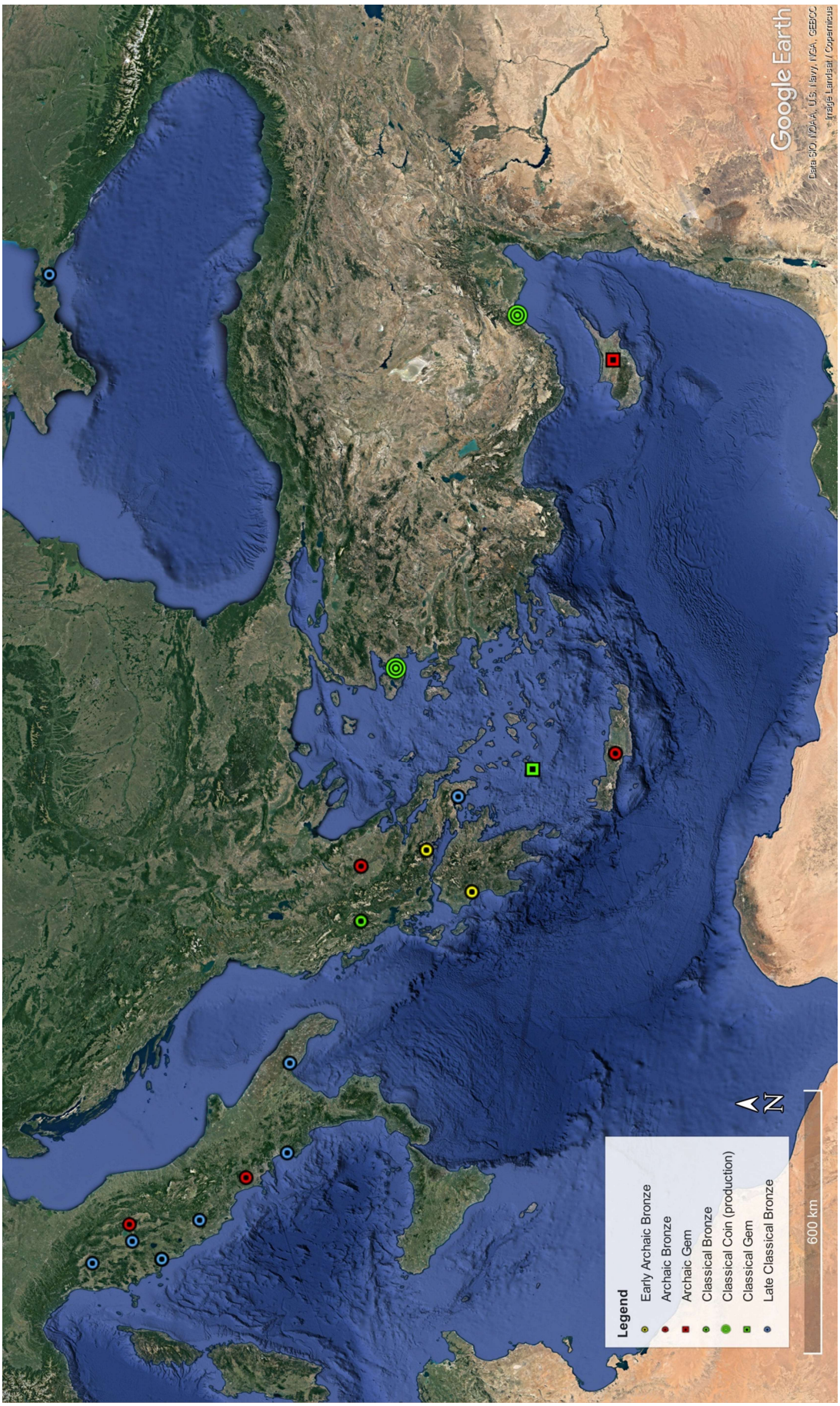


Figure 3: Distribution of findspots or place of production of metalware and gems featuring Amazons 600-300 B.C.

Perhaps as a consequence of this poorer preservation of provenance data, the geographical spread of the metalware is the most limited of the three corpora, but there are still a variety of findspots in evidence. The items range in date from the Early Archaic to the Late Classical period, with the most preserved objects created in the fourth century B.C.; this may demonstrate a shift in the popularity of metalware through the period, but equally it is possible that older items are less likely to be recovered due to disturbed contexts and the practice of melting down and reusing metals such as bronze. The majority of items are made from bronze, with two silver objects (M14 and M55) and one gold (M22). There are two coin types, one in silver (M23) and one in electrum (M53). As well as one ivory relief (M06) there are four gems, including two made of carnelian (M13, M21), one of agate (M15), and one of rock crystal (M54).

The largest group of bronzes are mirrors or mirror-covers, with 14 examples present. Many of these mirrors were made in Etruria, but others were possibly manufactured in Corinth and Taranto. There are also six cistae, one urn (M11), and eleven pieces of armour, including five shield bands (M01-M05), a helmet cheekpiece (M31), a backplate (M19), two cuirasses (M20, M32), and three phalerae (M34-M36). The remaining appliqués could have been originally located on similar items, but only survive detached of immediate context. They may also have been used as decorative features for metal drinking vessels, as is observable on the silver kantharos discovered in Paestum (M55).

The majority of the scenes show Amazons in combat, but there are exceptions; the gold ring shows a hunting scene (M22), and the gem in rock crystal shows two Amazons at rest (M54). As on vases, the Heraklean Amazonomachy is the easiest to identify and persists on bronze mirror covers well into the Late Classical period, but other general scenes of combat are also found. One bronze cuirass (M32) demonstrates both scene types simultaneously, featuring both Herakles and another, unidentifiable hero in combat with an Amazon.

DISTRIBUTION OF MONUMENTS

Images of the Amazon are also found on a broad spectrum of large monuments across the Mediterranean, as illustrated in Figure 4. The monuments vary in function (religious, sepulchral, civic, and domestic) and also in scale, ranging from one monument at one particular site (such as the single mosaic in Pella) to a large cluster at another (such as the body of Tarentine sarcophagi). The geographical spread is unsurprisingly less broad than the vase corpus, but there is still a considerable distribution throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

The use of Amazons in temple architecture is a consistent feature throughout the period, with examples present from the late sixth to the early fourth centuries. Such architectural compositions have been preserved in both terracotta and stone; sculptural bronzes are recorded in the literature but have not survived. Temple decorations and other sculptural groups erected in sanctuaries form the largest group of monumental Amazonomachies, comprising of 30 distinct examples. There are 17 certain sepulchral monuments, with an additional 20 fragmentary groups which may represent other monuments in part or in whole, mostly recovered from Taranto. These sepulchral monuments are almost entirely limited to the Late Classical period, with the exception of two Archaic cippi from Chiusi. Amazons were also used as decorative elements in wall-painting and mosaics.

In contrast to the iconography on vases, Amazons on sculptural monuments are always shown in combat. The only exception, the Wounded Amazons from Ephesus (S22), represents the immediate consequence of such battle scenes. Combatants are often not identifiable in large sculptural groups, but a few examples have heroic figures preserved. Herakles is the most common hero depicted, particularly on temple metopes; he is however more easily identifiable than either Achilleus or Theseus. Heraklean Amazonomachies feature on both temples (e.g. S26, S27) and tombs (e.g. S37, S69) and range in date from the Archaic to the Late Classical periods.

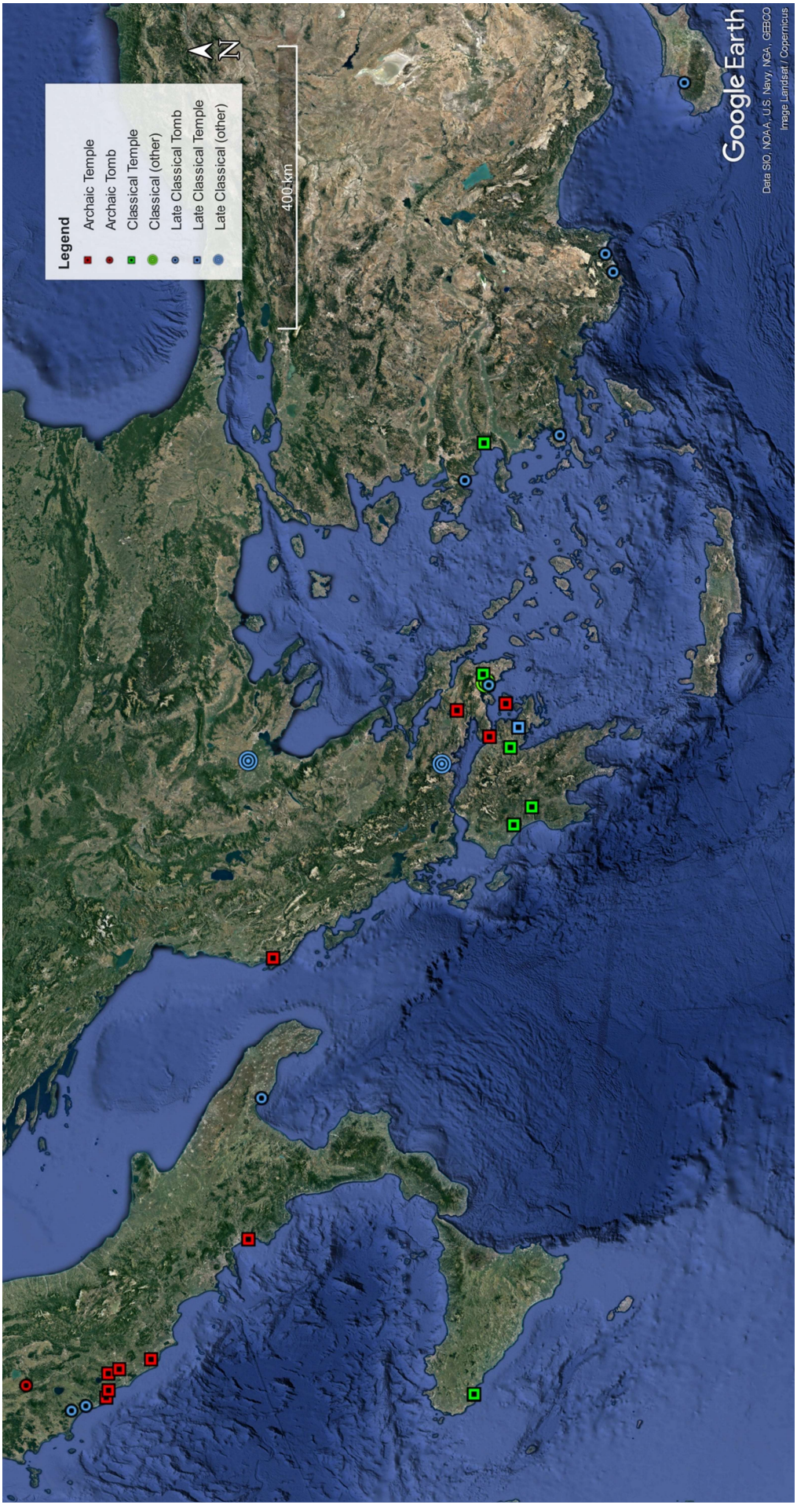


Figure 4: Distribution of monuments featuring Amazons 600-300 B.C.

3: AMAZONS IN THE LITERARY SOURCES

Amazons and the Amazonomachy are attested in ancient literature from its very earliest works; they are first mentioned in Homer's *Iliad*. These ever-present but changing written traditions around the Amazons can be used to understand how the myth was viewed by the society contemporary to the ancient writer. In this way literature can present useful context for ancient art in its more explicit recording of themes and interpretations of stories such as the Amazonomachy, especially in periods where archaeological examples are lacking or confusing to interpret.

Utilising literary sources as a method of interpreting archaeological material does however also present issues. Particularly important to the case of the Amazons is the risk of projecting aspects from Roman antiquity or later back onto material of the Classical period. Although it is true that many aspects of mythic stories can be seen to persist through time and culture,[32] it is equally important to consider that such stories develop and change; there must be an element of caution in assuming an aspect of an account in late antiquity dates back to the Classical period. The concept of citing the origin of evidence is a comparatively recent phenomenon and was not a priority of ancient historians,[33] and it can therefore be difficult (or even presumptuous) to convincingly trace the origin of a particular account back through the ancient narrative. In some cases, we are lucky enough to know the resources at a later writer's disposal; Arrian, for example, writes about his sources when presenting the Amazons' fabled meeting with Alexander.

> "Yet neither Aristoboulos nor Ptolemy nor any other reliable witness has recorded this incident. Nor do I think the race of Amazons was still in existence at that time, or even in the period before Alexander; otherwise Xenophon would have mentioned them [...] Yet I find it hard to believe that this race of women never existed, seeing that it has been celebrated by many distinguished writers."[34]

[32] Brillante 1990: 114-120.
[33] Veyne 1988: 10.
[34] Arr. Anab. 7.13.3-6

With the benefit of Arrian's remarks here, it is possible to glean an understanding of when and how this particular story was circulated, but also when it was not. For other works, a more direct consideration of the chronology is required when considering if the same versions of a story were in circulation prior to their recording in that work. This chapter examines what aspects of the Amazon mythos are found in written texts and when, with a view to better understanding and contextualising its archaeological forms.[35] It will show that while certain elements of the mythos are in evidence from the outset, many aspects of the Amazon are late-emerging in the literary sources, and thus cannot necessarily be assumed as context for earlier archaeological material.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE AMAZONS

In 1927 the grave of a woman was found at Semo-Awtschala in Georgia. Only 1.47 metres tall, she was buried with a sword and with the jaw of a horse; the excavator concluded the cause of death was a blow to the head.[36] This was followed by a number of others around the Black Sea, with the area between the Danube and the Don providing over 100 similar burials of women interred with arms or armour.[37] These finds are fascinating in how they correlate with information about the Amazons' location in some ancient written sources.

The earliest tradition for the Amazon homeland, as found in the *Aithiopis*, says the Amazons came from Thrace.[38] Scythia may have featured in association with the Amazons in the work of the eighth-century writer Mimnermus, but the text as preserved is dubious and fragmentary.[39] Writing in the sixth century B.C. some two hundred years later, Hekataios gives the name

[35] A list of the literature discussed in this chapter is included as Catalogue A.
[36] Rolle 2010: 154.
[37] Mayor 2014: 64.
[38] Proclus Chrestomathia II.
[39] Mimnermus Frag. 21a. The fragment, preserved via scholiast, records the proverb "a lame man makes the best lover" being recalled by Mimnermus and contextualizes the comment as a remark by "Ἀντιάνειρα ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων" during a negotiation between the Amazons and the Scythians. It is unclear therefore what element of this should be attributed to Mimnermus. The Loeb edition also notes that the parable is in evidence elsewhere without the connection to Mimnermus. The credibility of this fragmentary text is exacerbated by the absence of Scythia in any other text before the early fifth century.

Amazoneion as a synonym for Kyme, a city in Aeolis, thus implying a connection to Asia Minor;[40] but he also notes that Sinope, a town on the southern coast of the Black Sea, gets its name from a Thracian word meaning "drunk" after the bad behaviour of an Amazon.[41]

The first text to explicitly locate 'Themiskyra on the Thermodon' is Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, whereupon it is situated on the east coast of the Black Sea in Colchis, near Phasis (Figure 5);[42] however, the very same text goes on to state that the Amazons reside on the west coast of the Black Sea near Salmydessus in Thrace, just to the north-west of Byzantion.[43] The clearest and most extensive account of the geography of the Amazons is found in Herodotus, where it forms part of a digression during the Persian invasion of Scythia.[44] Herodotus details some of the more



Figure 5: Map showing geographical distance from Scythia (north) to Thrace (west); also Phasis and Byzantion

[40] FGrHist 1 F 226. Ephoros, who was from this Kyme, thought there was a founding link with the Amazons: see FGrHist 70 F 114a.

[41] FGrHist 1 F 34. A later tradition names Sinope as a daughter of Asopus (Dionys. Per. 770-780).

[42] *PV*. 415-419.

[43] *PV*. 723-725. The tense in the narrative is unclear; it is possible that the Amazons will live in the east In the future, but currently reside in the west.

[44] Hdt. 4.110-4.117.

unusual habits of the people now called Sauromatai, whose ancestors were Scythian locals who took in the Amazons. A similar discussion of the Sauromatai occurs in *De aeribus, aquis et locis*,[45] to the point where the author seems be working from a similar source to Herodotus,[46] if not Herodotus directly, but here the word 'Amazon' is totally omitted. Ephoros too gives Sauromatai as the contemporary name for the Amazons.[47] In these texts, aspects of the Amazon are clearly conflated with Scythian culture, and there is also distinct departure from the Thracian tradition.

While it is true that Thrace and Scythia were geographically proximate regions which both lay to the north of the Black Sea (Figure 5), they were also still culturally distinct areas spanning several hundred miles, physically separated by the Danube river. This conflation between Thrace and Scythia as the area of origin of the Amazon therefore does not align with the geographical reality of the region. This may not be that surprising; it is of course possible that such realities may not have been reflected in accounts written by Greek authors, to whom these lands will likely have been very distant and unfamiliar, but it is noteworthy in this context that Herodotus' account states that they were fleeing from the Thermodon following a defeat by Greek forces.[48] This may suggest that the Thermodon was not conceptualised as lying in Scythia itself, but that Scythia was close enough to be a source of refuge, a narrative which would fit with the proximity of Scythia and Thrace.

The Thracian tradition also endures into later written traditions, and other sources seem to locate the Thermodon in Thrace. In the *Punica*, the Thermodon is the river of the Amazons and they

[45] Hip. *Aer*. 17.

[46] Schubert proposes they are both derived from the lost work of Aristeas of Prokonessos (2013: 99); Mayor sees further evidence for this in his use of the Archaic verb "ἐκτιλώσαντο" (Hdt. 4.113.3; Mayor 2014: 56). See also Dowden 1997: 108.

[47] FGrHist 70 F 60b.

[48] Huld suggests Herodotus may be using Homeric tradition in having them defeated at the Thermodon (2002: 95).

themselves are described as Thermodontiaca, and they roam around Thrace;[49] similarly, in the *Aeneid* the "Amazons of Thrace […] tramp over Thermodon's streams".[50]

A curious diversion from both the proposed homelands of Thrace and Scythia emerges in the Hellenistic era, when Dionysios Skytobrachion describes a group of Amazons living in Libya.[51] Particularly interesting is Diodorus' contextual explanation; this Libyan contingent, to whom he has found reference in the works of "many early poets and historians", is a separate, earlier form of Amazon than those from the Thermodon, who were still "in their full vigour" at the time of the Trojan War. The Libyan Amazons, according to his account, were wiped out by Herakles when he established his Pillars. The explanation for this tradition may be found in Dio Chrysostom,[52] who mentions the myth of the Libyan snake-women tangentially to the Amazons; similarly Martial tells of how Herakles "tamed Libya, carried off the golden apples, ungirt the target-bearing Amazon of her Scythian belt".[53]

The majority of sources, however, continually reiterate the Scythian tradition. Through the Hellenistic period and into the Roman, the homeland of the Amazons becomes fairly well-cemented as around the Caucasus, generally on the south coast of the Black Sea. The area over which they ruled fluctuates, with Jordanes claiming they subjugated "Armenia, Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, Pisidia and all the places of Asia", as well as Ionia and Aeolia.[54] As part of this conquest a razing and/or foundation of the Temple at Ephesus emerges. Although referenced in Callimachus'

[49] *Punica* 2.73-80, 4.430.
[50] Verg. *Aen*. 11.659-60.
[51] Diod. 3.52-54.
[52] D. Chr. 4.73.
[53] Mart. 9.101.4-5. These wild Libyan women actually emerge in one of our earliest sources, fleetingly referenced in Aesch. *Supp*. 277-289. Other geographical oddities include Cassandra bewailing the sacking of the Amazons' territory in the "Tylesian hills", thought to be in Italy, in Lycophr. 992-1011; SHA Aurel. 26.34 describes ten women captured among the Goths who carry placards saying they are Amazons. The latter is self-evidently dubious, but also seems to conflate with stories around Pompey (see below p. 49).
[54] *Getica* 7.51-7.52.

Hymn to Artemis,[55] the first mention of a temple is in Hyginus' list of the Seven Wonders in the late first century B.C.;[56] Pompeius Trogus also writes they founded the city at around this time.[57] By the fourth century A.D., in the chronici of both Eusebius and Jerome, the Amazons had reputedly burnt down the temple.[58] This may also be the period in which their attacks on Thebes and Phrygia were first included.[59]

The murkiness which surrounds these written accounts does not suggest any writer to be thoroughly informed of the practical geography of these regions. Thrace, Lake Maiotis, Tanais, Sarmatia, the Caucasus, Colchis, Sinope, and the Thermodon (as roughly equated with the Halys river) all lie on wholly separate parts of the coast, some six hundred miles apart. This may explain why later writers thought the Amazons ruled over such a vast expanse of land. The shifting in tradition demonstrates the inherent flexibility of the story; the Amazons existed 'out east' in a nebulous, non-specific way that could have in itself been more disturbing to a settled society used to the structure of polis identity.

THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE AMAZONS

The Amazons as daughters of Ares reportedly appear as early as the *Aithiopis*, but this is only preserved by epitome.[60] The next certain connection is in Aeschylus, who states that the naming of the Areopagus as the "Hill of Ares" is from the Amazon invasion, when they performed sacrifices to him;[61] Pherekydes also describes the "Arean Amazons" at around the same time.[62] Following Ares' appearance in a speech by Lysias in the fourth century,[63] an association with Ares

[55] Callim. *Hymn* 3.236.
[56] Hyg. *Fab*. 223.
[57] Justin 2.4. Plutarch also mentions an Amazon expedition to Ephesus at Quaes. *Graeca* 56.
[58] Euseb. *Chron*. 66.33, Jer. *Chron*. B1146.
[59] Jer. *Chron*. B1208, *Suda* s.v. Ὀρφεύς.
[60] Proclus *Chrestomathia* II.
[61] Aesch. *Eum*. 685-90, first performed c. 458 B.C. Interestingly Pausanias states the name comes from Ares having been the first person tried in the court there (1.28.5).
[62] FGrHist 3 F 15c ("῎Αρεως ἀμαζόνας").
[63] Lys. 2.4.

becomes a fairly commonplace attribute of the Amazons.[64] The most notable exception is a later tradition in which the Amazons were not true daughters of Ares, but ordinary women who gave themselves that name out of pride.[65] The Amazons in the Classical period do not seem to have had connections to other deities, although they were later claimed to have both been allies of Dionysos (when helping him travel in Bactria)[66] and also to have fought against him.[67]

The other attributes of the Amazon largely relate to their martial equipment. The poem by the fatally handsome Magnes of Smyrna emphasises their fight with the Lydians took place on horseback;[68] in Euripides they are "the mounted host of the Amazons",[69] and Diodorus notes they favour cavalry warfare to an "unusual degree".[70] Lysias even states they were "the first of all people to mount horses",[71] and according to Philostratus they lived their whole lives on horseback.[72] Similarly frequent are their shields. First described by Hellanikos as made of gold, the crescent shape emerges explicitly in Virgil,[73] and is subsequently used by Pliny to describe the shape of Italy.[74]

Their weapons of choice are initially the javelin or the bow. The latter is found as early as the odes of Pindar;[75] Diodorus also mentions them executing the so-called 'Parthian Shot', firing backwards

[64] Whom Ares paired with is less clear, though Harmonia (A.R. 2.990) and Otrere (Hyg. *Fab*. 223) are named.

[65] So Justin 2.4, Diod. 2.45.2 (though Diod. 2.46.3).

[66] Polyaenus Strat. 1.1.3 (possibly the tradition behind Paus. 7.2.7);

[67] The derivation of the name for Panaema on Samos is given by Plutarch as the soil being drenched red with Amazon blood from fighting Dionysos (Plut. *Quaes*. *Graeca* 56).

[68] Suda s.v. *Μάγνης*.

[69] Eur. *Her*. 408-417 ("τὸν ἱππευτάν τ᾽ Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν").

[70] Diod. 3.54.2.

[71] Lys. 2.4 ("πρῶται δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ᾽ ἵππους ἀναβᾶσαι").

[72] Philostr. *Her*. 57.3.

[73] Aen. 1.490-493, 11.649-664.

[74] FGrHist 323a F17 167c; HN. 3.43. Pliny uses the Amazon shield to describe the shape of the Indian fig leaf, leading to Milton referring to the "Amazonian targe" when Adam and Eve flee the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost*.

[75] Pind. O. 13.89, N. 3.35.

while in retreat.[76] In the *Aeneid*, an Amazonian quiver was given as a gift at Anchises' funerary games.[77] An alternate tradition in which they are armed with axes is first evidenced by Hellanikos, where they are made of silver;[78] Pliny goes as far as to claim Penthesilea invented the battle-axe.[79] By the time of Quintus Smyrnaeus, the axe is Penthesilea's weapon of choice.[80] Notable also is a comment by Pausanias claiming the Sauromatidae do not use iron, but their weapons are made of bone;[81] alone this peculiarity is not striking, but as early as Lysias the Amazons were credited specifically for being the first among the local tribes to use iron.[82]

Perhaps the most controversial attribute of the Amazon is not a piece of their equipment but a part of their body. A scholiast on the *Iliad* in late antiquity explains the Amazons "were so called because they lacked one breast [i.e. ἀ-μαστός] – for they cauterized it to prevent it from getting in the way when they used their bows".[83] The historicity of this concept, however, is deeply questionable. The earliest evidence for it is reportedly in Hellanikos, thought to have been writing towards the end of the fifth century BC. His remark is preserved via a scholiast on Tzetzes' *Antehomerica*, who writes:

> "Why are they called Amazons? Because they cut off their right breast, so that it might not be an impediment to archery. But this is false, for they would die. But Hellanikos and Diodorus of Sicily [say that before the breast develops, they burn the site (i.e., of the breast) with iron, in order to prevent it from developing.]"[84]

The initial complication with this statement is, of course, the nature of Hellanikos' writing only being preserved in an offhand manner by a scholiast. Similarly, it is unclear where the latter part

[76] Diod. 3.54.3 (also Verg. *Aen*. 11.649-664).
[77] Hyg. *Fab*. 273 (also Verg. *Aen*. 5.310-315).
[78] Only preserved via scholiast on Tzetzes' *Antehomerica* (FGrHist 323a F17 167c).
[79] Plin. HN. 7.201.
[80] Quint. Smyrn. *Posthom*. 1 (also Xen. *An*. 4.4.16, Hor. Od. 4.4; Philostr. *Her*.57.14).
[81] Paus. 1.21.5.
[82] Lys. 2.4.
[83] Translation Blok 1994: 175. Also Taube 2013: 42. Interestingly, Apoll. 2.5.9 and Strab. 11.5.1 both state the practice is related to javelin-throwing.
[84] FGrHist 4 F107.

of this scholiast's comment (indicated here in brackets) even originates from, as it is absent in remaining manuscripts.[85]

The only other source from this period which includes the concept of breast mutilation is the Hippocratic corpus, where the Sauromatidae cauterize breast growth during infancy.[86] The Amazons are not explicitly named in the Hippocratic work, but the text seems to be recording the same tradition as in Herodotus, where the Sauromatidae are explicitly referred to as the descendants of the Amazons;[87] it is then strange such a shocking and significant element would then not be included in Herodotus, whose very purpose was to take note of such abnormalities. The concept of breast mutilation then wholly disappears from the written corpus until the third-century B.C. writing of Dionysios Skytobrachion, or at least as preserved via Diodorus,[88] from which point on it is a relatively common feature. This absence is significant in how it demonstrates the extent to which supposedly key aspects of the Amazon's mythos are only visible in accounts which were written far later than the archaeological material discussed in this thesis.

Even as an attempt to understand the Amazons by etymological scholars of Late Antiquity, ἀ-μαστός is not unique. The aforementioned scholiast on the Iliad continues to say "or because they did not eat bread but tortoises, lizards, and snakes," i.e. ἀ-μάζα.[89] The reptiles are a curious addition but easily understood when explained by Stephen of Byzantium, who writes "they were called Sauropatides because they trod (πατεῖν) on lizards (σαύρας) and ate them"; Sauropatides is therefore a synonym for the Amazons derived from Sauromatidae. Stephen also suggests ἀμάω

[85] See for example the relevant section in Schirach 1770's edition of Tzetzes on page 8 (MSS Bodleian 8° Y 96 BS. (1)).

[86] Hippoc. *Aer*. 17, part of the 'Coan' texts which are thought to belong to Hippocrates' lifetime.

[87] See discussion p. 41.

[88] Diod. 2.45.3.

[89] Translation as in Blok 1994: 175. Eating meat over bread was a barbarous act (see Taube 2013: 42).

(to reap) with ζώναις (belt), whilst Maurus Servius Honoratus offers ἅμα with ζῶσαι to make 'living without men'.[90] These writings may preserve or echo earlier scholarly debate about the Amazons, but it is significant that our first explicit description of the self-mutilation of the Amazon is not until the mid-third century, and that is only if we can trust Diodorus' summation a century later than that.

This concept of self-mutilation should perhaps be contextualised with the Amazons' fluctuating aggression towards men. This aspect of the Amazon also changes significantly between sources and periods. They are not characterised as especially vindictive in the Archaic period; in the *Iliad*, where they are granted the epithet ἀντιάνειραι, it is to signify 'apart from but equal to', rather than any strict idea of misandry. The epithet's purpose, as argued by Blok, was to explicitly emphasise to listeners the fighting force consisted of women rather than men.[91]

A hatred of men seems to develop in written sources from the Classical era. In the plays of Aeschylus, they escalate from "the man-shunning, meat-eating Amazons" in *Suppliants* to the "the man-hating host of the Amazons" in *Prometheus Bound*.[92] In Hellanikos, the Amazons are "man-like women, slayers of male babies", whilst the Hippocratic corpus mentions the Scythians' habit of dislocating male infants' legs in order to prevent them from overthrowing the women.[93] That said, their viciousness is still by no means universal. The most extreme element of Herodotus' account is that the women of the Sauromatai are not permitted to marry until they have killed a male enemy, a requirement many fail to fulfil.[94] Herodotus' account also stresses

[90] s. v. *Ἀμαζόνες* (FGrHist 70 F 60b); translation after Dowden 1997: 112. Ad. *Aen*. 1.490.

[91] Blok 1995: 167. The exception again is the aforementioned fragment of Mimnermus (see discussion p. 39 n. 39).

[92] Aesch. *Supp*. 277-289 ("τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβότους τ᾽ Ἀμαζόνας"), *PV* 723-735 ("Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν στυγάνορ"). The dating of both is uncertain. *Supp.* was likely first performed in the late 460s, whilst *PV*'s t.a.q. is 430 B.C. (Stamatopoulou 2017: 123).

[93] FGrHist 323a F 17c ("θῆλυς φίλανδρος ἀρσενοβρεφοκτονος"); Art. 53. Mayor's suggestion this is a misunderstanding based on the Scythians' horseback-riding is very plausible (2014: 157).

[94] Hdt. 4.110-114.

that there was peaceful coexistence between the Scythians and Amazons, who united from mutual agreement and interest. It is also noteworthy that the breaking of babies' legs reported in the Hippocratic corpus is totally absent from previous written sources, particularly *De aeribus*, which talks at length about the physiology of the Sauromatian tribes and specifically their joints.

It therefore plausible the more misandrist narrative was actively developing across the course of the fifth century, which would explain the varying traditions in what would otherwise be roughly contemporary accounts. Herodotus' contemporary Xanthos of Lydia, for example, grotesquely claims that "when the Amazons give birth to a male, they gouge out his eyes with their own hands".[95] Ephoros may provide an insight into how this narrative was developing in the Classical period; his Amazons were forced to turn against their violent husbands, and only then did they close ranks against male outsiders.[96]

In the Hellenistic and Roman eras, the Amazons develop a strange dichotomy of being simultaneously terrifying and desirable, often explored in their attitudes towards men. This dual nature emerges in, for instance, Apollodorus, who mentions their disfiguring of the body to allow for greater martial prowess; but in his account only one breast is damaged in order that the other might still be used for suckling. His Amazons are a hybrid being, both mothers and warriors.[97] This mixed mentality is also evident in the work of Pompeius Trogus, where the Amazon women were forced into hostilities by the actions of their neighbours, but then began killing male children and self-mutilating.[98] Though Strabo's distaste at their more carnal methods of procreation is clear, in his account the violence has de-escalated considerably to simply giving male children to their fathers;[99] this is a far cry from gouging their eyes out. Much like in Herodotus, in Strabo the

[95] FGrHist 765 F 22.
[96] FGrHist 70 F 42 & F 60; cf. a similar story in Apoll. 1.9.17, though with Thrace and Lemnos.
[97] Apoll. 2.5.9.
[98] Just. *Epit*. 2.4.
[99] Strab. 11.5.1-3.

Amazons and their neighbours live alongside one another peacefully and only come into contact for begetting children. Striking in Diodorus' account is the 'self-declaration' of the Amazons; rather than having genuine divine heritage, the Amazon women broke away from an egalitarian society to impose a misandrist hierarchy where men are forced to do women's work and male children are mutilated.[100]

In the Roman period, the image of the Amazons becomes increasingly romantic and erotic, from them bathing "bare-breasted in the Thermodon's stream"[101] to Penthesilea riding out with one breast exposed in the *Aeneid*.[102] In *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid even equates his female readers to Penthesilea.[103] This may be why we subsequently see the emergence of the Amazons as examples of moral impropriety. Tatian uses them as an example of pagan indecency versus Christian purity;[104] Julian states Homer ignored the story of Penthesilea for Penelope because of the latter's "ἀρετὴ and σωφροσύνη",[105] thus obviously implying an absence of both for Penthesilea. Eusebius compares them to "brute creatures" and detests their exposing of male infants,[106] a habit which Jordanes claims is "destroying the life of the ill-fated child with a hate like that of a stepmother".[107]

Attributes are the identifying factors of many individuals in ancient myth, and this discussion has illustrated again just how flexible the Amazons are. They fight with bows, except when they fight with axes; they carve off their breasts, except when they keep them for suckling; they attack men on sight, except for when they live peaceably beside them; they gouge out their babies' eyes,

[100] Diod. 2.45.1-3.
[101] Prop. 3.11.
[102] Ver. *Aen*. 1.490-493.
[103] Ov. *Ars*. *am*. 3.1-2;
[104] Tatianus *Ad*. *Gr*. 32
[105] Julian *Or*. 3.127
[106] Euseb. *Praep*. *evang*. 6.10.2.
[107] Jordanes 8.56. Although compare Lib. 11.162, where the Amazons are evidence of female valour.

except when they simply give them to their fathers; the Amazons are the daughters of Ares, but only by their own self-declaration. Some of these flexibilities are accounted for by development through time, but others demonstrably coexisted during the same era. The flexibility in some minor factors, such as their weapon of choice, is noticeably replicated in more significant, defining aspects of the Amazon. This multiplicity of stories coexisted with, and informed, the material culture discussed subsequently.

THE ENEMIES OF THE AMAZONS

The primary antagonists of the Amazons are also a fluctuating factor in the literature. The duel between Achilleus and Penthesilea is the earliest known element of the Amazon mythos archaeologically, but its literary manner of telling has been lost. Where the Amazons are mentioned in the *Iliad*, it is clear that there are other stories belonging to a different and presumably much older tradition.[108] Their confrontations with Priam and Bellerophon are mentioned, which are not incompatible with the famous duel between Achilleus and Penthesilea, but it is interesting no mention of it enters into the *Iliad*.[109] From Proclus we know the duel was a major element of the *Aithiopis*, but neither it nor any other contemporary version survives.[110]

In the remaining texts of Pindar, Bellerophon's battle with the Amazons is still mentioned. Whilst Bellerophon's conflict does emerge in some subsequent accounts, it never has this level of prominence again. Peleus accompanies Herakles on his quest for the girdle in one ode of Pindar, and Telamon and Iolaus accompany him in another.[111] There is no mention of Theseus in Pindar's existing material, but a reference by Pausanias to Pindar's narrative of the abduction of Antiope

[108] Il. 3.185-190, 6.185-186.

[109] This is presumably why later author Philostratus denied it had ever happened (Philostr. *Her*. 56.11), although in the same work Achilleus does then subdue the Amazons by the Thermodon (Philostr. *Her*. 57.13-17).

[110] Proclus Chrestomathia II.

[111] Pind. O. 8.46, 13.87-90, N. 3.38, Frag. 172.

suggests a piece may have been lost;[112] he here seems to have been another of Herakles' companions, rather than carrying out an expedition in his own right. Most of the major heroes are thus established at the end of the Archaic period, but the emphasis on the key figures is different than in later literature.

The invasion of Athens evolves into one of the most substantial narratives in the fifth century. It is first perceptibly mentioned in *Eumenides* circa 458 BC, where the Amazons invade out of "jealousy of Theseus";[113] Antiope is not referenced. Its first use as a moment of patriotic pride is in Herodotus, whereby the Athenians cite their victory during the debate at the Battle of Plataea.[114] Herodotus' work often includes mythic stories as well as factual ones, but the invasion of Athens also emerges in the writings of other contemporary historians such as Kleidemos,[115] suggesting it had evolved to at least the point of pseudo-history by the end of the fifth century.

Thus the Athenians' brave repelling of the Amazon forces became cemented as a point of polis pride in the late fifth century; "Athens had come to the aid of the order of Nature".[116] The context of these great orations in the era of Athens' dwindling importance on the political stage is striking. The dissonance between this great, mythologized past and the less spectacular present is most obvious in its use in Demosthenes' Funerary Oration, given in the aftermath of the crippling defeat at Chaeronea;[117] in this speech, Demosthenes is preaching the past glorious victories of the Athenians in the context of the polis having suffered a great martial setback. Similarly, Lysias' account is a vicious diatribe against the Amazons, given as part of a funerary oration to comfort

[112] Paus. 1.2.1.

[113] Aesch. *Eum*. 685-690

[114] Hdt. 9.27. Whether the concept of the Amazon invasion of Athens did form part of the speeches at Plataea, demonstrating its presence in the early fifth century rather than the end of the century, see p. 113 n. 303.

[115] FGrHist 323a F 17a, 323 F 18 (Plut. *Thes*. 27.2-7).

[116] Ael. *Ar. Orat*. 13

[117] Dem. 60.8.

the grieving city. It demonstrates how severely unnatural the concept of 'women warriors' was perceived to be:

> "They were accounted as men for their high courage, rather than as women for their sex; so much more did they seem to excel men in their spirit than to be at a disadvantage in their form. [...] They were moved by increase of glory and high ambition to muster the most warlike of the nations and march with them against this city. But having met with valiant men they found their spirit now was like to their sex; the repute that they got was the reverse of the former, and by their perils rather than by their bodies they were deemed to be women. [...] They would not return home and report their own misfortune and our ancestors' valour: for they perished on the spot, and were punished for their folly, thus making our city's memory imperishable for its valour; while owing to their disaster in this region they rendered their own country nameless. And so those women, by their unjust greed for others' land, justly lost their own."[118]

Thus the Amazons came in a rage to Athens, jealous of its success, and were defeated because of their inherent womanly weakness, recklessness, and pride. This reasoning for the invasion is significant because of the shift in conceptualising the honour, or lack thereof, of the Amazons. In other works by Pherekydes, Isocrates, and Hellanikos, the Amazons attacked Athens in order to rescue one of their own, Antiope (whose name is interchangeable with Hippolyte), who has been abducted by Theseus.[119] Even the motivation behind their invasion of Athens therefore carries different connotations in contemporary sources: in some cases they are perceived as being jealous of the incredible success of the Athenians, and in others they are rescuing an abducted comrade.

Isocrates' oration also contains the interesting additional note that she broke Amazon law by falling in love with Theseus.[120] This is the first textual evidence of an emerging narrative around Theseus' exploits, whereby he did not commit a violent rape of Antiope but rather that she chose to follow him. This glamorises Theseus and civilises Antiope more than it provides her with any actual agency.

[118] Lysias 2.4-6; stark contrast to "ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς".
[119] FGrHist 3 F 151; FGrHist 323a 17a.
[120] Isoc. 12.193.

Whether or not Theseus and Herakles went as a pair to fetch the girdle differs, with Plutarch stating the stories in which Theseus went alone to be the "true" ones.[121] A number of the accounts of their journey begin to strip it of much of its violence, with Herakles even gaining it by winning a game of seduction in one narrative[122] and "more by guile than by valour"[123] in another, but in others he still acts with unwarranted aggression towards the Amazons.[124] Typically, in Diodorus there is some attempt to wrestle the diverging narratives together; the Amazons are furious with Theseus for having made a slave of Antiope, but she fights and dies valiantly at Theseus' side.[125] This dichotomy emerges too in Plutarch, in which the Amazons welcome Theseus openly, he abducts her without her consent, but her loyalty to him drives her to spurn the affections of Theseus' crewmate. To contradict this growing narrative of loyalty and romance, Antiope is, however, still included in Hyginus' list of men who killed their wives, despite the well-established tradition of her being murdered by a fellow Amazon.[126]

The great epics in which a tragic romance blooms between Achilleus and Penthesilea are almost wholly limited to late antiquity, and even then it is not universal; in one account after being mortally wounded by Achilleus, Penthesilea is dragged by her hair and then thrown into the river by her feet.[127] That Achilleus was affected somehow by her death dates back to the Archaic period if Proclus' epitome can be trusted. These stories relate how Achilleus murders Thersites for mocking him over his distress and regret at Penthesilea's death, but it is possible that

[121] Plut. *Thes*. 26.1-3.

[122] Dio Chrys. 8.32: "[the Amazon] tried to unman [θρυπτομένης] him and thought to win by means of her beauty. For he both consorted with her and made her understand that he could never be overcome by beauty and would never tarry far away from his own possessions for a woman's sake."

[123] Jordanes 8.57

[124] Just. *Epit*. 2.4.

[125] Diod. 4.28.

[126] Hyg. *Fab*. 241.

[127] BNJ 49 F 7b.

Thersites, in drawing attention to her womanliness, risked besmirching Achilleus' honour.[128] A scholiast on Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, first performed in 409 B.C., implies that the issue was related to Thersites having somehow befouled Penthesilea's body.[129] Their epic romance seems to be an invention of later authors. The earliest reference to their romance is accredited to Apollodorus in the second century B.C.,[130] although this is only preserved via epitome. It is fully evident in Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica*, where Achilleus feels her death as sharply as Patroklos'.[131] This romance may be why in some later traditions Penthesilea was instead killed by Neoptolemus;[132] but equally in one striking and horrific account, Achilleus maddens the Amazons' horses so that they trample their owners and devour their bodies raw before hurling themselves off a cliff.[133]

There is thus no easy through narrative for whom the Amazons fight. Bellerophon is present in the *Iliad*, but afterwards is almost completely absent from the written corpus. Similarly, the first remaining source we have for the great romance between Achilleus and Penthesilea dates to the third century A.D. Whilst it is tempting to conclude the prominence of certain heroes was ubiquitous, this suggests the opposite. It is a reminder of how much the inclusion of a particular hero was a conscious and deliberate choice on the part of artist or patron. These stories are also significant for how the Amazons are presented, particularly in whether there is any indication of sympathy towards them or any agency given to them within the narrative, and how this stance may have developed through time in the newer perspectives which arises when a different culture encounters elements of the mythos.

[128] Blok 1995: 197-210.
[129] Schol. ad Soph. *Philoct*. 445.
[130] Apoll. Epit. 5.1-2.
[131] Quint. Smyrn. *Posthom*. 1.715-720.
[132] Dio Chrys.11.117, Dares Phrygius 36.
[133] Philostr. *Her*. 57.15.

THE AMAZONS AS HISTORICAL FIGURES

The mystery behind the existence of the Amazons, whilst in many ways a modern one, was not absent from the minds of ancient writers. Their comments present a more complex relationship between ancient authors and their mythic subjects than a strict dichotomy between true and false, myth and history, credulous and incredulous. This is reflected also in the broader nature of historical accounts in the ancient world, which were not as necessarily preoccupied with recording accurate, factual reports as modern history. The purpose of ancient accounts is occasionally expressed by the authors themselves; Herodotus wrote "to believe [these stories] is none at all of my business".[134] Pausanias, particularly important to our understanding of myth, frequently distances himself from a story's veracity through phrases such as "legend says" or "it is believed";[135] but he also says he went from thinking of legends as "foolishness" to "one sort of Greek wisdom".[136]

The cited quote from Arrian at the beginning of this chapter outlines how ancient writers often did not know what to make of the Amazon mythos.[137] The Amazons existing as a historical reality did clearly hold weight in some contexts; the invasion is stated as a historical fact on the Parian Chronicle,[138] but its rough contemporary Palaiphatos also poured scorn on the idea of the existence of the Amazon.[139] To him, it was clearly a matter of conflating the clean-shaven, dress-wearing Thracians for women.

Arrian's particular need to explore the topic is driven by an emerging tradition in which Alexander the Great met the Amazons, supposedly first evidenced in Kleitarchos. Arrian was not alone in

[134] Hdt. 7.152.3.
[135] Discussed by Veyne 1988: 101 (Paus. 9.1.1-2).
[136] Paus. 8.8.3.
[137] Arr. *Anab*. 7.13.3-6.
[138] IG XII.5.444; it is also included in several chronici from late antiquity (e.g. Suda s.v. *Ὅμηρος*; Euseb. *Chron*. 66.33; Jer. *Chron*. B1146).
[139] Peri Apiston 32.

antiquity in questioning its accuracy; Strabo is extremely dismissive, citing it as part of the general flattery surrounding Alexander.[140] The story of the encounter should probably be best understood as part of Alexander's broader aim of moulding his image to that of Herakles. Whether or not there was an encounter in antiquity between Alexander and the closest historical truth to the Amazons (nearby Scythian female leaders), and whether or not the story was contemporary to Alexander himself, we can be certain the concept would have delighted him.

It is also noteworthy that the framing here is one of the Amazons as a potential romantic conquest, and not an enemy to be overcome. This may be part of the aforementioned tradition of introducing a romantic element to the Amazons through the Roman period, but Curtius' narrative is also in a way a remarkable reverse of Herodotus. Before, it was the men seeking to make the Amazons mothers of their children; now it is Thalestris' quest to unite their two great bloodlines. Although the aim is egalitarian, the agency is now with the Amazon.[141]

The Alexander story is contrasted by the nature of the Amazons' encounter with another other major historical figure, Pompey, who supposedly fought them when subduing barbarians in Albania. His forces apparently came across Amazon shields after the battle, and among the hostages he brought back to Rome were women who "called themselves Amazons".[142] This reported success of Pompey's provoked deep scepticism in Strabo, who voices his frustration at the conflation of "the mythical and the historical", for the Amazons are clearly the former:

> "Who could believe that an army of women, or a city, or a tribe, could ever be organized without men, and not only be organized, but even make inroads upon the territory of other people, and not only overpower the peoples near them to the extent of advancing as far as what is now Ionia, but even send an expedition across

[140] Strab. 11.5.4-5.

[141] Curtius 6.5.27-30. Although N.B. a distinctly less romantic tone at Arr. *Anab*. 7.13.3, where Alexander fears his army might rape the Amazons.

[142] Plut. *Pomp*. 35.3-4 ("ἐδόκουν Ἀμαζόνες εἶναι"); App. *Mith*. 15.103.

> the sea as far as Attica? For this is the same as saying that the men of those times were women and that the women were men."[143]

Strabo here is the first written source to explicitly register a discomfort with the conflation of myth and history, and the nature of his objection is interesting. The Amazons must be mythological not because they link into wider mythological narratives, or that these narratives are located in the distant past and therefore their accuracy may be suspect, but because the very concept of them existing as a historical reality is laughable. The point of scepticism here is inherently rooted in misogyny. However, where the Amazons emerge elsewhere in Strabo's account their existence is not questioned; they are considered viable allies of the Trojans, and their expeditions are attested by the naming of ancient cities in the region. Even within one single account there is a multiplicity of attitudes.[144]

Another prominent pseudo-historical phenomenon is the manner of citing the Amazons as the origin for place-names, often in relation to their expeditions. Many of these are found in Diodorus, but they are there included poker-faced alongside stories of the Amazons making friends with Horus.[145] Strabo comments on the number of places accredited with Amazon founders, but this does not waver his inherent scepticism.[146] Both Pausanias and Plutarch seem credulous of their historical existence when discussing their graves throughout Greece.[147] Even in their direct contextualisation with visible landmarks, there is clear confusion within antiquity as to whether they actually existed.

[143] Strab. 11.5.3.
[144] Strab. 12.3.24, 12.8.6, 12.3.21, 13.3.6.
[145] Diod. 3.55.4
[146] Strab. 11.5.4
[147] Paus. 3.25.3; Plut. *Thes*. 27.5-6.

CONCLUSIONS

This overview of the literary sources on the Amazons demonstrates how obviously and constantly flexible the mythos was. No one source contains all the elements which might be associated with the Amazon; other sources, such as Strabo, are also internally inconsistent. It is understandable and necessary to look for the consistencies across these narratives, but it is also of note where and how these accounts are lacking in consistency. When regarding the artistic and archaeological depictions of the myth, it is important to view the material with the understanding that there was no such thing as a 'textbook Amazon'; what connotations the story had changed hugely in time and place, from gouging babies' eyes out to dying out of loyalty. The fluctuation explored here in the literary accounts also demonstrates how significant the particular choices made to use certain paraphernalia or associate with certain heroes were. It is crucial therefore to consider what aspects of the Amazon were used, when, by whom, in what contexts, in order to consider why that might be.

4: ARCHAIC ICONOGRAPHY

This chapter considers the iconography of the Amazons from its first appearance to the end of the Archaic period in the early fifth century B.C. The previous chapter outlined the considerable variation in the Amazon mythos in the literary sources; this chapter demonstrates how the same flexibility was at work in the Amazons' Archaic iconography, broadening out from the more specific scope of the Heraklean Amazonomachy at the beginning of the period until the Amazons were featured as a subject in their own right at the dawn of the Classical age. The chapter concludes that the intrinsic flexibility of the Amazon myth allowed it to expand to a range of contexts and media through the sixth century and into the early fifth.

IDENTIFYING THE EARLIEST AMAZON

From literary evidence it is possible to conclude that the Amazons were a known entity in Greek culture from at least the eighth century B.C., as they are present in Homer's *Iliad*. Only one potential example of the myth is known from material culture of this era; some small Argive terracotta sherds (Figure 6) from Tiryns, excavated from a bothros east of the Mycenaean



Image © Ephorate of Antiquities in Argolid / Nafplion Archaeological Museum

Figure 6: Terracotta sherds from Tiryns with added details from reconstruction (S01; c. 710-690 B.C.)



Figure 7: Black-figure plate with iconographic parallels to S01 (V0068; c. 575-550 B.C.)

megaron.[148] Although probably still votive in nature, the findspot has subsequently been reidentified from a Heraion to part of the palace complex.[149] These sherds were subsequently identified as the earliest example of the Amazons in Greek archaeology. They are thought to belong to a shield, reconstructed at around fifteen inches in diameter.

The shield demonstrates many of the difficulties of identifying the Amazon in Archaic Greek iconography. At its simplest, the scene shows a duel between two central figures, each with a companion, with a fifth figure lying dead beneath. The larger figure in the duel seems to be the victor, grasping at the helmet of his opponent as they attempt to free themselves and raising his sword for the final blow.[150] The two figures on the left are distinguished by their tunic-like dress, which hangs down to their knees and resembles the dress of the Amazons on later black-figure vases. Both groups variously carry shields, swords, or spears, though on the left the shield has a striped effect which Lorimer suggests may be an attempt to render wicker rather than leather.[151]

Ultimately the identification is derived from the physiology of the central opponent, which Bothmer sees as having "the crude indications of feminine breasts".[152] These are not clear from published images, with the figure on the original shield badly damaged and the most commonly circulated image a reconstruction. It has also been argued that the two left-hand figures are beardless whilst the others have beards, but this does not seem to match with the pointy chin of the far left figure.[153]

[148] Langdon 2001.
[149] Langdon 2001.
[150] The stance is an Archaic stylistic shorthand denoting victory over one's opponent.
[151] Lorimer 1947: 135.
[152] Bothmer 1957: 1.
[153] A similar style of 'beard' is given to warriors on a later black-figure neck amphora (V1900); the figures are otherwise dressed and armed as Amazons. The identification of this vase as an Amazonomachy is uncertain. White paint is present on the female onlookers and absent on the 'Amazons', but this is also the case on V0050.

Other iconographical features are similarly unhelpful in resolving the identification of the scene. The centaur on the inverse of the shield is little help, though Bothmer does suggest it may portray Chiron, Achilleus' foster-father,[154] which might then suggest the figures in combat to be Achilleus and Penthesilea. The bird hovering above the right-hand warrior is thought by Lorimer to derive from an Assyrian convention of placing a vulture above the dead or soon-to-be killed, although Bothmer sees it as merely the geometric motif of a bird with a fish in its mouth.[155] The shield does mirror a black-figure plate from the sixth century (Figure 7), which features a similar bird as a space-filling motif. The resemblance here is visible both in this specific feature and in its general composition.[156] An Amazonomachy featuring two figures duelling in the centre of a plate is reasonably frequent in this period, but the fallen comrade below their feet and the presence of the floating bird above her head are unique to this piece. This space-filling technique is not common in early Attic black-figure Amazonomachies.[157]

If the identification of the scene as a fight between Greeks and Amazons is correct, the shield serves as an interesting framework for the earliest depictions of the Amazon myth. Contemporary literature emphasised their role as considerable foes, the ἀντιάνειραι of the *Iliad* who are perceived as the equals of their male opponents. Although the 'Amazon' figure shown here is smaller and therefore less prominent than her Greek counterpart, the Amazons' strength in battle is testified by the body of a dead Greek at the bottom of the image. Aside from the deviations in dress used to distinguish between one force and the other, the figures of both the Greeks and the Amazons are otherwise similar.

[154] Bothmer 1957: 1.
[155] Lorimer 1947: 137; Bothmer 1957: 2.
[156] V0068.
[157] The only other example is V0076, dated to the second half of the century, where a bird flies near Andromache's feet.

The next question is what form of Amazonomachy the shield shows. It is often said to be the duel between Achilleus and Penthesilea, though Lorimer and others do note the possibility that it is Herakles acquiring the girdle from Hippolyte.[158] The helmet-grasping stance and the discrepancy between the male warrior's sword and the female warrior's spear are both more prominent in Heraklean Amazonomachies than non-Heraklean.[159] Herakles was later said to perform his Labours in the region of Tiryns, and in combination with the stronger resemblance to Heraklean Amazonomachies in early black-figure vases it seems more likely that he is the intended subject. This would demonstrate an early desire to celebrate the importance and the relevance of the hero within Tiryns and the use of material culture with mythic iconography to relate to this subject. It would also give the Heraklean Amazonomachy a similar longevity as the conflict with Achilleus, even though there is no literary source for the Heraklean iteration prior to Pindar.

It is of course possible that a generic scene of combat and victory are intended, and that the modern interpretation of an Amazonomachy is incorrect. Langdon proposes that the shield played a role in a coming-of-age rite, with a symbolic slaying of the female figure by the stronger male mirroring the transition from childhood to adulthood. The ambiguous gender and asexual imagery of the Amazons thus in her mind plays further into this theme of puberty and emerging sexuality.[160]

This mystery of the Tiryns shield highlights many of the issues inherent with discussing the iconography of this myth, principally because the fundamental process of identification is so complex and the later attributes not present. Given the prominence of Amazons in the literary tradition from this period, it does seem strange to have no obvious rendering of the myth remaining in the archaeological record except the Tiryns shield.

[158] Lorimer 1947: 135; Bothmer 1957: 1.
[159] See e.g. V0003, V0020.
[160] Langdon 2001.

Two further examples date to the end of the seventh century and are more certainly identifiable as Amazonomachies. A single Protocorinthian sherd (Figure 8) shows a female figure wearing a helmet and holding a bow, reaching for supplication from a warrior.[161] The composition and iconography are different from the Tiryns shield, and thus do not help in its identification. The scene is otherwise in line with other scenes of supplication in later Amazonomachies.[162]



Image © The Archaeological Museum of Aegina

Figure 8: Protocorinthian sherd featuring scene of supplication (V2388; c. 650-630 B.C.)

The second example is a now-lost Corinthian alabastron (Figure 9).[163] Originally excavated in Samothrace and one of only two Corinthian vessels featuring Amazons, the vase is now preserved only via a sketch by de Ridder from 1896.[164] The figures on the left have similar split, long-legged tunics as those on the Tiryns shield, but unlike on the shield, their identification on this occasion is certain thanks to the accompanying inscriptions. Their opponents are similarly identified as Herakles and his companions. If the dating of the alabastron is correct, this is a certain and much earlier example of the Herakles myth than in any of the literary sources. The alabastron is also notable for the presence of the archer on the far left, labelled as Areximacha; this is interesting because the Amazons' prowess in archery is not mentioned in any literary source prior to Pindar and is a rare occurrence on early Archaic black-figure vases.



Figure 9: Sketch by de Ridder of lost Corinthian alabastron (V0001; c. 610-600 B.C.)

[161] V2388.
[162] See discussion p. 79.
[163] V0001.
[164] Ridder 1896: 385.

These two examples likely prove that representations of the Amazon myth had begun to emerge in material culture of the seventh century, which makes it more intriguing that so few examples have survived. Either the Amazons were not a commonly desirable artistic subject for this era, or more work is needed to identify Amazons in iconography prior to 600 B.C.

SIXTH-CENTURY ORIGINS

In spite of a long literary tradition, Amazons therefore held very little identifiable presence in Greek material culture before the late seventh century. Though imagery began to emerge towards the end of the seventh century, some of the examples are only identifiable as Amazonomachies due to accompanying inscriptions. A terracotta plaque now in New York (Figure 10)[165] has figures labelled as Achilleus and "AINIA". The provenance of the plaque is uncertain; it "is said to have been found near the Athenian Kerameikos".[166] The use of terracotta plaques to decorate tombs is well-known, but this would be a very rare instance of a mythological scene being used as a decorative element instead of the more usual scene of *prothesis*.



Figure 10: Terracotta plaque featuring combat with inscription "AINIA" (S02; c. 610-590 B.C.)

The Amazonomachy fully emerged on decorated vases in the first half of the sixth century. There are 98 identified examples of Amazons on Attic black-figure vases made prior to 550 BC. Most of them are described in von Bothmer's second chapter,[167] but it is possible to integrate 25 more

[165] S02.
[166] Richter 1942: 85.
[167] Bothmer 1957: 6-29.

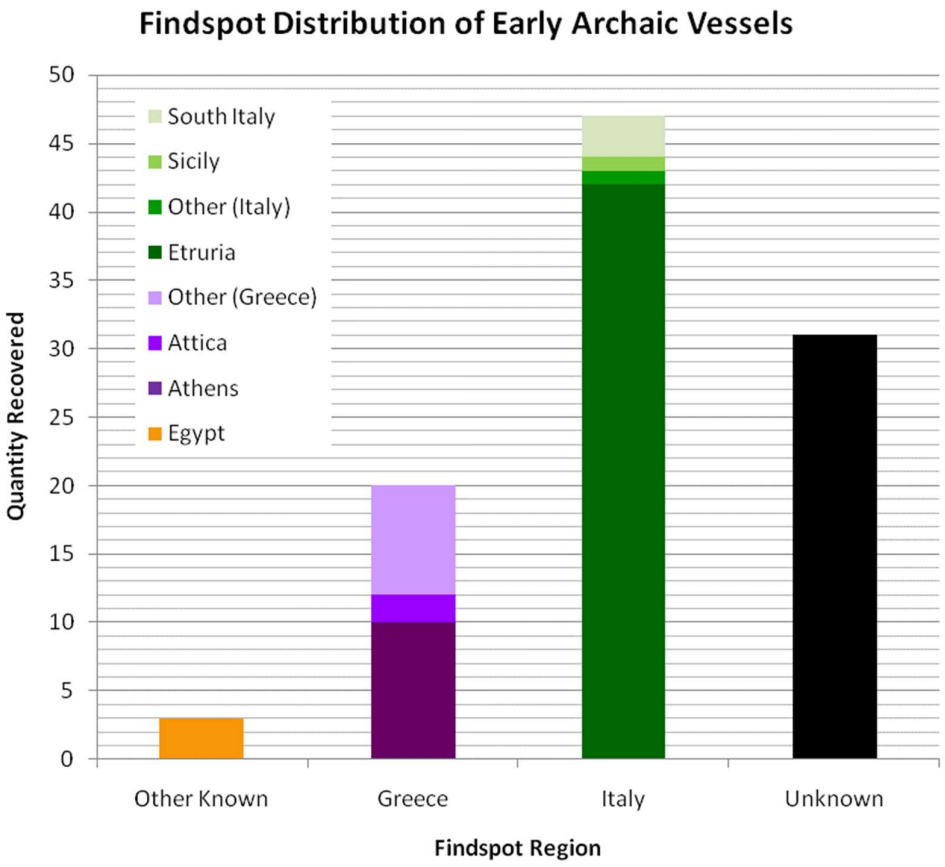


Chart 8: Bar chart showing distribution of Early Archaic vessels by country and region

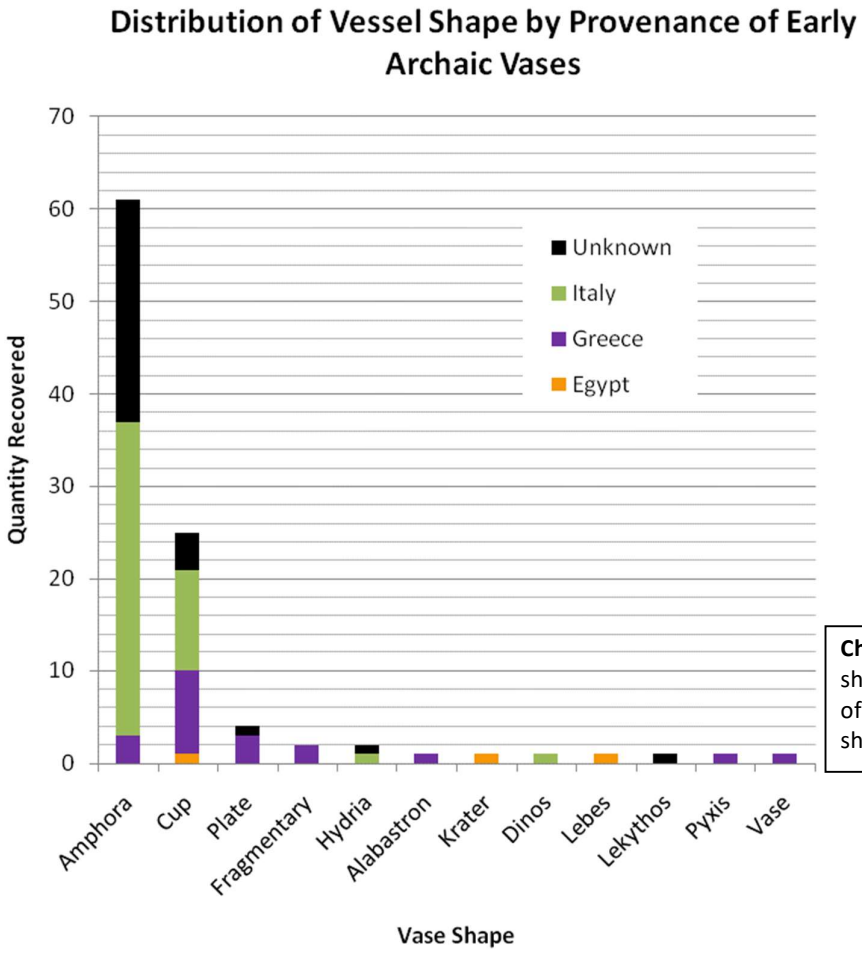


Chart 9: Bar chart showing distribution of Early Archaic shapes by region

from BAPD and the other sources as described previously.[168] They are mostly Athenian in origin, with the exception of the aforementioned Protocorinthian sherd (Figure 8) and two Corinthian vessels.[169]

The vessels fall mostly into two categories: large neck amphorae and smaller drinking vessels such as cups. Provenance information is especially well-preserved for this period, at just under two-thirds of the vessels (Chart 3). The overwhelming majority of the vessels were recovered from Etruria (Chart 8). There is also a clear trend towards the recovery of larger storage vessels in Italy versus the smaller drinking vessels in Greece (Chart 9) The principal exception is the two neck amphorae from Ialysos, which were perhaps exported in a similar manner to the Italian examples. The other two larger-sized vessels (the krater and the lebes) were also found some distance from Athens in Naukratis. A variety of Greek findspots are preserved, although the largest number was recovered from the Athenian Acropolis.

The makeup of material without a known findspot is similar to the vessels with known findspots; the majority are neck amphorae. The only vessel types preserved uniquely in the 'Unknown' corpus are a hydria and a lekythos.[170] There seems therefore to be a fairly pronounced trend in the recovery of larger storage vessels in export contexts, although the possible interpretations of this are manifold. It is possible that the large decorated storage amphorae were destined chiefly for the export market and drinking vessels were used mostly by locals, but it equally may be due to difficulties in recovering intact older vessels from often-disturbed Athenian contexts.[171]

[168] See discussion p. 22.

[169] V2388; V0001; V2424.

[170] V2030 (lost); V0182 (this has also been identified as Herakles and Kyknos).

[171] The presence of drinking vessels in Italian contexts more generally (such as the prominence of Siana cups in Taranto) demonstrates that the shape was included in the export trade; it is possible that there were geographical differences within Italy itself in which vessels were preferred in which region, but equally possible is a failure to recover the more fragile drinking vessels from other contexts.

The iconography of the Amazons in these vessels is uniform. They are almost always shown wearing thigh- or knee-length tunics, with the small exception of early examples of a spotted panther skin and the extremely unusual depiction of a nude Amazon on the Corinthian lekythos (Figure 11).[172] The level of detailed decoration on some of the Amazons' tunics is striking (Figure 12). They are almost always equipped with shields, but though their opponents frequently wield the Boeotian type, there are very few examples of Amazons themselves carrying this variant.[173] They most commonly use spears, although swords are present and there are two vessels in which Amazons fight with bows.[174] White is often added to the skin of the Amazons to help distinguish them from their opponents, but it is not visible in around a third of the examples, although it is possible it has since flaked off. It is notable that there are no extant examples of Amazons in combat on horseback, despite the frequent presence of male warriors riding within the same scene; the only example of Amazons with horses is the reverse scene to a non-Heraklean Amazonomachy on a merrythought cup.[175] The Tyrrhenian Group is the best represented school of artists,[176] with a number

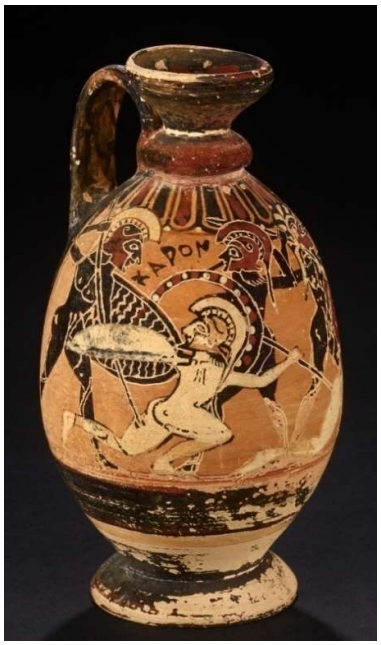


Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 11: Corinthian lekythos featuring a nude Amazon in combat (V2424; c. 575-550 B.C.).



Image © National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Figure 12: Detail of black-figure fragment from Athens' Acropolis (V0040; c. 575-550 B.C.)

[172] V2424; V0028; V0039.

[173] Two are from the tondos of Little Master Band Cups recovered in Etruria (V0066; V0067); also V0027 and possibly V0042.

[174] V0022 and V0027. Their choice of weapon is not mentioned in the remaining contemporary literature. Given the prominence of Penthesilea's duel with Achilleus and his preference for the spear in the *Iliad* (e.g. Hom. *Il*. 16.140-145) it seems likely the bow became more prominent in later periods.

[175] For male horseback riders see V0053; for Amazons on a merrythought cup see V0036.

[176] The Tyrrhenian Group may have specifically targeted the Etruscan market; of their 23 Amazonomachies, 15 were found in Etruria, 2 in Greece, 1 in Lavinium, and 5 are unknown.

of pieces by the Castellani Painter also present.



Image © Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze

Figure 13: Detail from black-figure amphora showing Amazons hiding behind city walls (V0021; c. 575-550 B.C.)

Almost all of the examples feature the Amazons in combat. The overwhelming majority of these are in large group fights with Herakles and his companions, but there is some variety in who is present and what form the combat takes. One particularly intricate example may show the expedition to Themiskyra itself (Figure 13), with Amazons hiding behind city walls. Herakles is almost always identifiable by the lion-skin, and on a handful of examples the figures are named. The most common male names are Herakles himself and Telamon, although all of the figures are named on a dinos now in the Louvre.[177] Andromache is named most commonly as the Amazon being overpowered by Herakles.[178] Other Amazon names include Antimache, Glauke, Aukaia, Ainippe, and Pantariste.[179] Telamon is named in Pindar as accompanying Herakles on his expedition,[180] but these other names are not mentioned in any of the surviving contemporary texts. Inscribed vases are known from both Italian and Greek contexts; there are a similar number of examples with nonsense inscriptions, almost all of which (where known) were recovered from Italian contexts.[181]

On the amphorae the Amazons are usually in the main figurative band of decoration. They are equally well-represented on the exterior of cups (as part of larger group fights) and on the tondos in a duel, both with and without Herakles. There is no discernible preference or link in the reverse

[177] V0027.
[178] V1590; V0002; V0003; V0012; V0009; V0027.
[179] V0009; V0004; V0038.
[180] N. 3.38.
[181] The only exception was found on Rhodes (V0036).

scenes used, with subjects varying from Dionysiac revelries, warriors departing, and other mythic stories (including Theseus and the Minotaur).

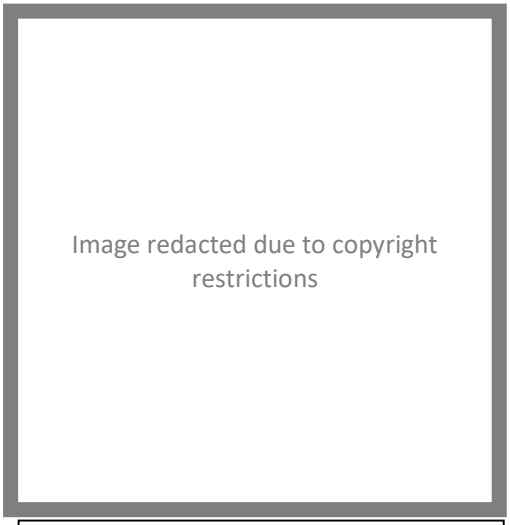


Figure 14: Reconstructive drawing of shield band from Olympia (M05; c. 610-590 B.C.)

It is possible that the non-Heraklean duels represent the fight between Achilleus and Penthesilea, but there are no known examples on vases with inscribed names. While we have no clearly identifiable representations of the duel between Achilleus and Penthesilea on vases, three contemporary shield-bands name Penthesilea explicitly (Figure 14).[182] The iconography is similar to the Tiryns shield (S01), and is often used as a parallel to retroactively identify the fight on the Tiryns shield as also between Achilleus and Penthesilea. There is certainly some visual similarity between the two, but the iconographical scene employed on both is so general as to be unidentifiable without the aid of accompanying inscriptions. It is relatively unusual to recover shield-bands with inscriptions,[183] which may suggest that this particular scene was not obvious to ancient audiences, just as it is otherwise unclear to modern ones. Blok argues that the introduction of these inscriptions may have been necessary in order to distinguish the older duel scene from the rising popularity of Heraklean Amazonomachies,[184] but this would suggest that the figure of Herakles would otherwise be indistinguishable from that of Achilleus when his attributes are already well-established in contemporary vase painting.

Shield-bands featuring Amazons have been recovered from both Greek (Delphi, Olympia) and Italian contexts (Bari), and were possibly originally manufactured in Argos.[185] As relatively small but expensive objects given as votive offerings, they arguably represent a strong parallel to the

[182] M04 (ΠΕΝΘΕ); M03 (ΠΕ]ΝΦΕΜΙΗΑ, Doric script); M05 (ΠΕΝ[…).
[183] Kunze 1950: 212.
[184] Blok 1994: 236.
[185] Blok 1994: 225.

usage and deposition of the black-figure vases. They were also worn on the interior of the shield and visible only to the bearer, which demonstrates a similar transition from a relatively private, personal form of use to a more public one upon deposition. The sanctuary contexts, however, suggest a dedication with a religious rather than sepulchral intent.

Other scenes on the shield-bands are not obviously related to the duel, with other decorative motifs demonstrating a variety of heroic pursuits including Theseus and the Minotaur, the Birth of Athena, and Perseus and Medusa. Herakles is present on these examples and on other shield bands, but is never shown fighting an Amazon.[186] According to Kunze, the direction of fight implies that Penthesilea is the *Hauptfigur* of the scene.[187] The implication of agency which comes with such an interpretation would potentially match the manner in which the duel is framed in Archaic literature, where Penthesilea is presented as Achilleus' equal. That would make the scene in question 'the death of Penthesilea' rather than the 'victory of Achilleus', implying a sense of pathos and compassion not shown in other battles between heroes and monsters.

It is clear therefore that the chief role of the Amazons in material culture prior to 550 B.C., particularly on black-figure vases, is as Herakles' opponent. Unlike in later vases, they are rarely even shown outside of combat. They are in many ways a different entity from the Amazons of later periods. Their manner of dress and martial equipment are distinct, and some of their most crucial aspects (the horse, the bow) are almost entirely absent. Even the name Andromache does not carry the same association into later periods. This inherent flexibility in the mythos serves the Amazon story extremely well in its longevity, but it poses questions about how best to

[186] Herakles is featured on all three of the shield bands mentioned above (M04 with Geryon; M03 with Kerkopes; M05 with the lion); see also Blok 1994: 354 n 14.

[187] Kunze 1950: 149. Blok (1994: 228-229) agrees that the order of figures would have reinforced a difference between the surrounding monsters fought by other heroes and Penthesilea in combat with Achilleus.

understand the meaning of the myth moving forward and how much earlier pieces should be directly associated with later ones.

THE MID-CENTURY BOOM

In the period c. 550 to 475 B.C. the presence of Amazons on material culture increased enormously. This corpus of 1,412 vases represents almost sixty percent of all those produced c. 600 to 300 B.C. featuring Amazons. The vast majority are black-figure vases, with a small body of 124 Archaic red-figure vases also evident. The majority of the assemblage is Athenian in origin, with a small number of other fabrics also represented (Table 7). The vases span a wide variety of shapes (Table 8); both drinking and storage vessels are preserved. There is also a range in the size of vessels, which vary from the larger kraters and amphorae to smaller shapes such as alabastra and pyxides.

Fabric	Total
Athenian	1395
Chalcidian	7
Ps-Chalcidian	3
Boeotian	3
Clazomenian	2
Laconian	1
Pontic	1

Table 7: Distribution of fabrics of Archaic vessels

These vases have a poorer provenance record than those dating to the first half of the sixth century. This information is only reliably preserved for around 48% of the group, with the record slightly better for the black-figure vases than red-figure (Chart 10). The proportional distribution across the two different techniques shown in Chart 10 is surprisingly consistent, with a slight preference for red-figure vessels in Italy versus Greece.

Shape	Black Figure	Red Figure	Total
Lekythos	368		368
Amphora	328	12	340
Cup	264	63	327
Oinochoe	122	2	124
Olpe	63		63
Hydria	44	7	51
Krater	18	17	35
Alabastron	8	12	20
Kyathos	16		16
Fragmentary	10	5	15
Pelike	11	1	12
Pyxis	12		12
Plate	8	1	9
Epinetron	5		5
Lekanis	4		4
Stamnos	1	2	3
Lid	3		3
Kalathos fragment	1		1
Aryballos		1	1
Psykter		1	1
Onos fragment	1		1
Chous	1		1
Total	**1288**	**124**	**1412**

Table 8: Distribution of Archaic vessels by shape and technique

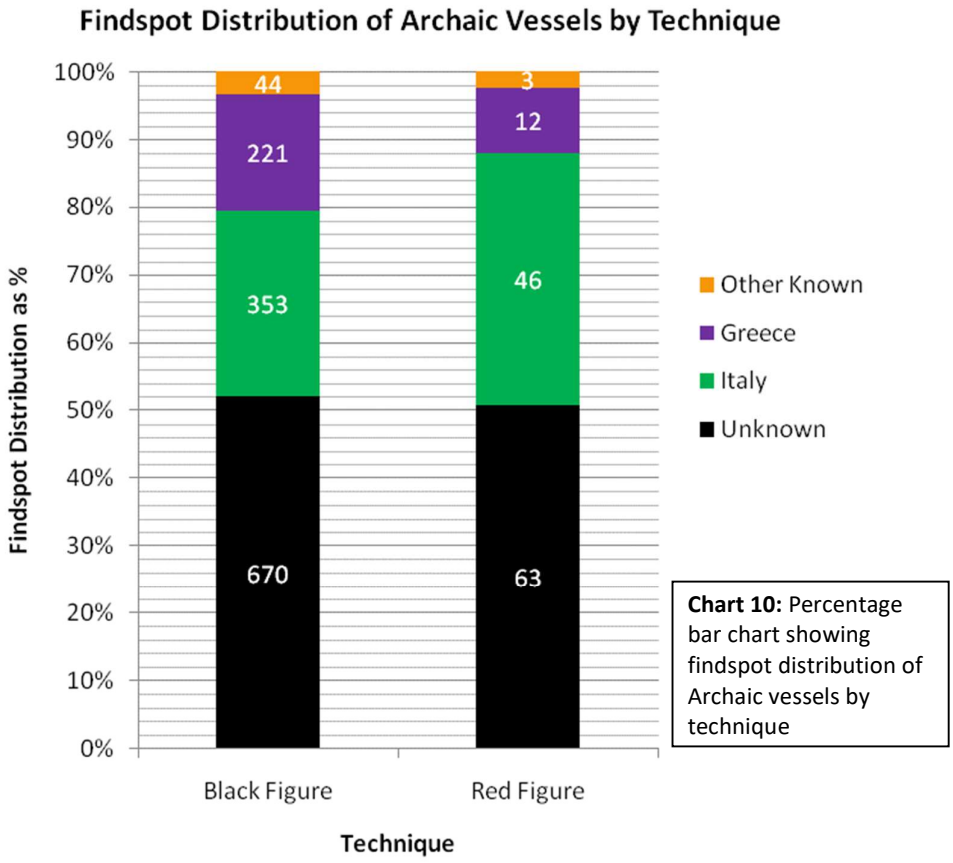


Chart 10: Percentage bar chart showing findspot distribution of Archaic vessels by technique

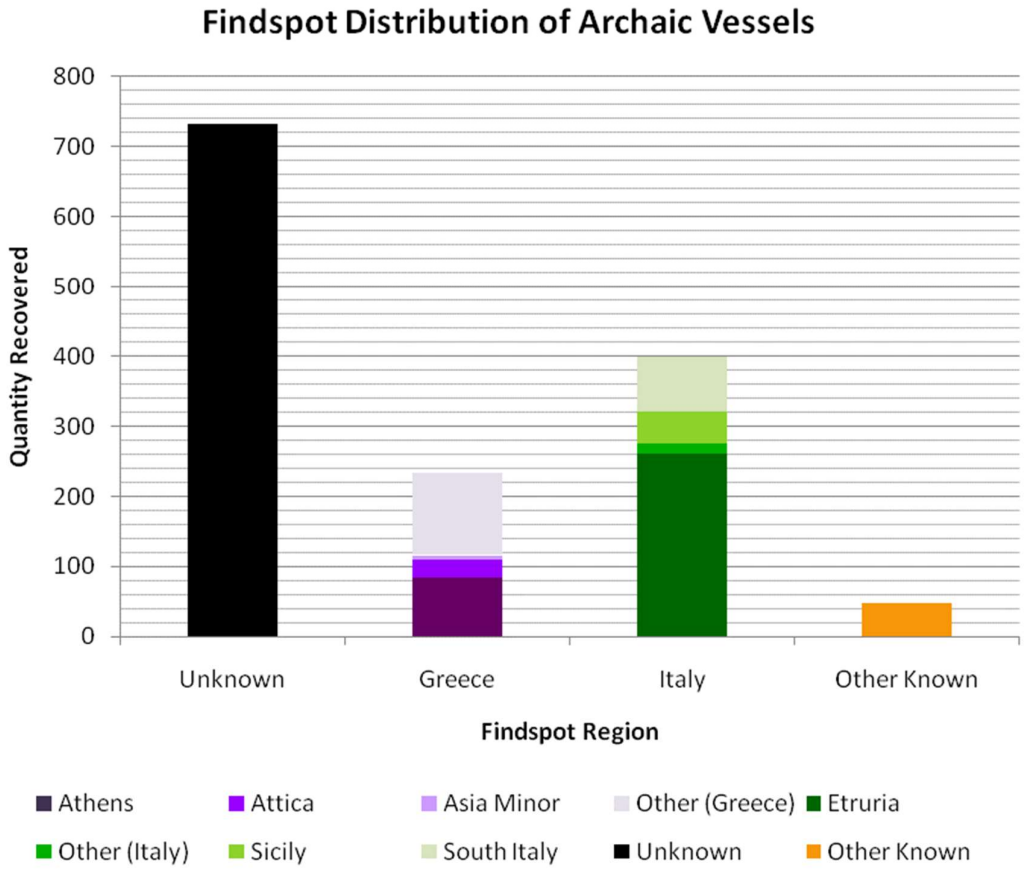


Chart 11: Bar chart showing findspot distribution of Archaic vessels by country and region

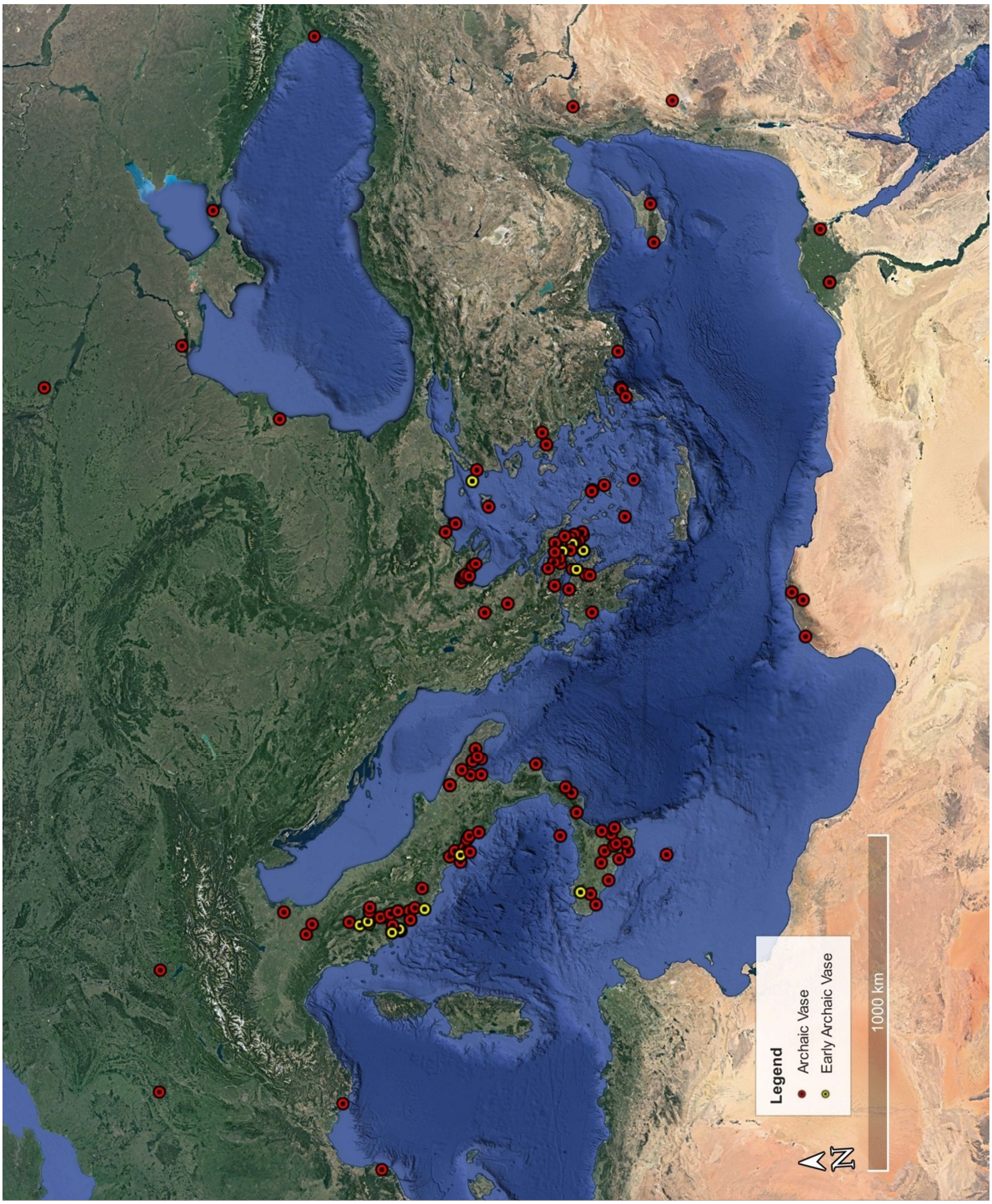


Figure 15: Map showing the findspots of Archaic vessels (where one • is at least one vessel)

Provenance	Shape										
	Amphora	Cup	Fragment	Krater	Hydria	Kalathos	Lekythos	Oinochoe	Olpe	Pelike	Total
Turkey	4	2	1				1	2			10
Egypt	4	1	1	1				1			8
Russia		6					1				7
Libya	2	4					1				7
Cyprus		2						1			3
France	1	1			1						3
Romania									1	1	2
Syria		1					1				2
Malta		1									1
Georgia								1			1
Germany						1					1
Ukraine		1									1
Spain							1				1
Total	**11**	**19**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**47**

Table 9: Distribution of Archaic vases by shape provenance (excluding Greece and Italy)

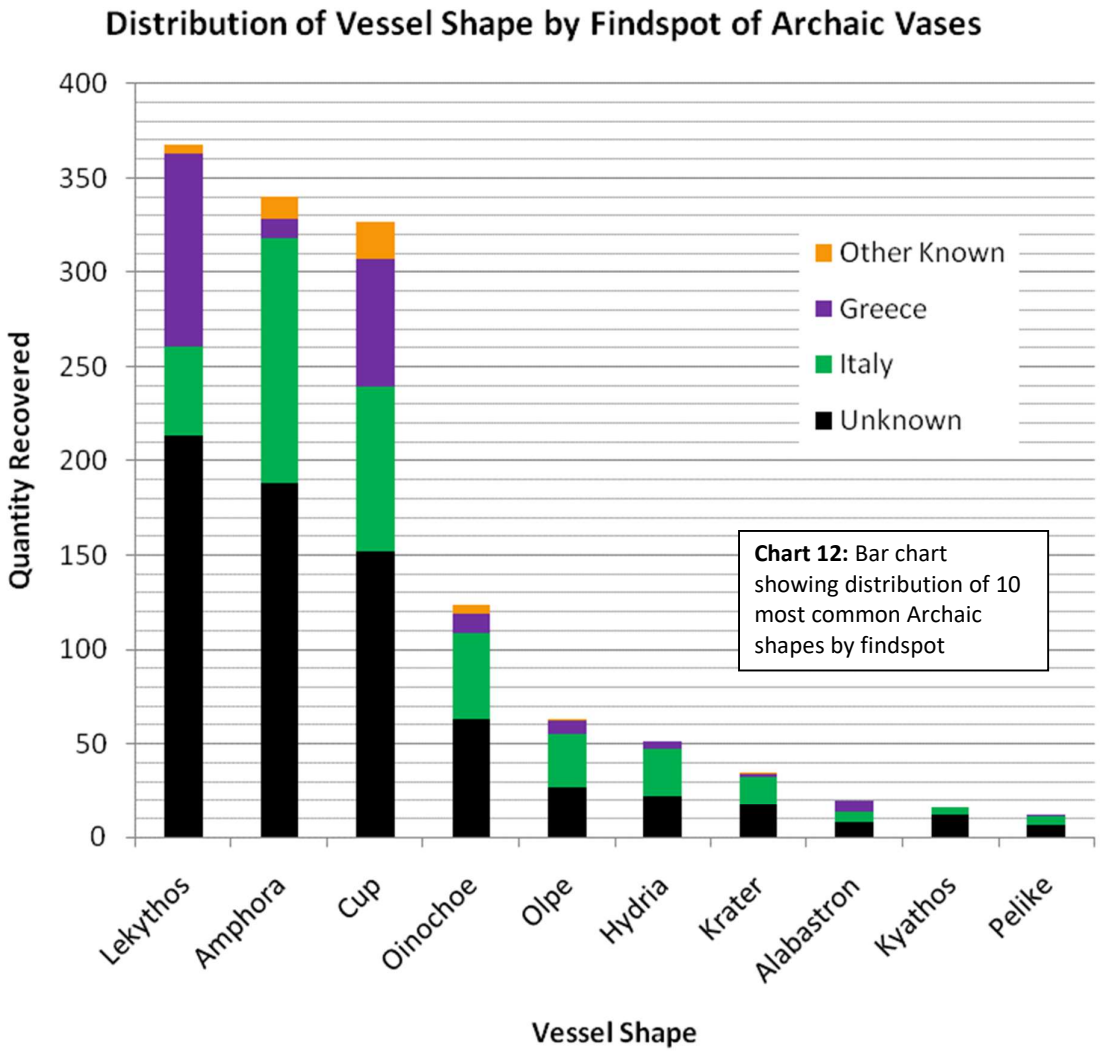


Chart 12: Bar chart showing distribution of 10 most common Archaic shapes by findspot

Where findspot information is known, the majority of vessels were recovered from Greek and Italian contexts (Chart 11), particularly Etruria. Around half of the material recovered from Greek contexts originates from Athens and Attica. Within Athens the majority were excavated in the Agora and on the Acropolis, with a handful originating from the Kerameikos. As in the earlier Archaic period, a reasonably significant number of vessels have also been recovered from Rhodes (around five percent of the material with provenance), and there are also examples from Boeotia, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Delphi. The most popular Italian contexts are Vulci and Cerveteri, which cumulatively represent almost a quarter of the material with provenance.

Outside of Etruria, Taranto and Sicily (especially Gela) are also well-represented in the Archaic assemblage. Pieces also emerge to the north in France, Germany, and Russia, as well as and to the south in Egypt and Syria (Table 9; Figure 15). The corpus is distributed along coastal routes in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, with the few examples further inland deposited near rivers with direct routes down to one of these bodies of water.[188] The distribution of both technique (Chart 10) and shapes (Chart 12) in the unprovenanced material is roughly analogous to those with known findspots, which would suggest that the distribution of vessel shapes in the provenanced material represents a fairly accurate picture.

There continues to be a strong prominence of lekythoi recovered in Greek contexts over Italian (Chart 12). Almost all of the amphorae were recovered in Italy; storage vessels undoubtedly have flexible potential in their use both as decorative pieces and as functional items. Sympotic ware such as kraters and drinking-cups have been recovered from both Greece and Italy, but there is only one example of a psykter (an exclusively sympotic vessel) featuring an Amazon and its

[188] The most extraordinary example is V1549, discovered in southern Germany; this would either have travelled along the Danube for two thousand miles, or been carried up on land from the Mediterranean via Italy or France, a distance of two hundred miles.

findspot is frustratingly unknown.[189] The prominence of lekythoi in Greek contexts likely derives from their known use in funerary rites, which may have been less relevant in Italy; similarly, where provenance is known, epinetra and pyxides were recovered only from Greek contexts, likely because their specialised functions were not as desirable on the export market.

Outside of Italy and Greece the cup is the most widely-recovered shape (Chart 12). The majority of pottery featuring nonsense inscriptions was recovered from non-Greek contexts. They primarily have been found in Italy, with one example from Egypt and another from France, but this is likely a pattern caused by the trends in the recovery of pottery more broadly. Interestingly, however, there is also a small subset of this material that was recovered from Greece, including Athens.[190]

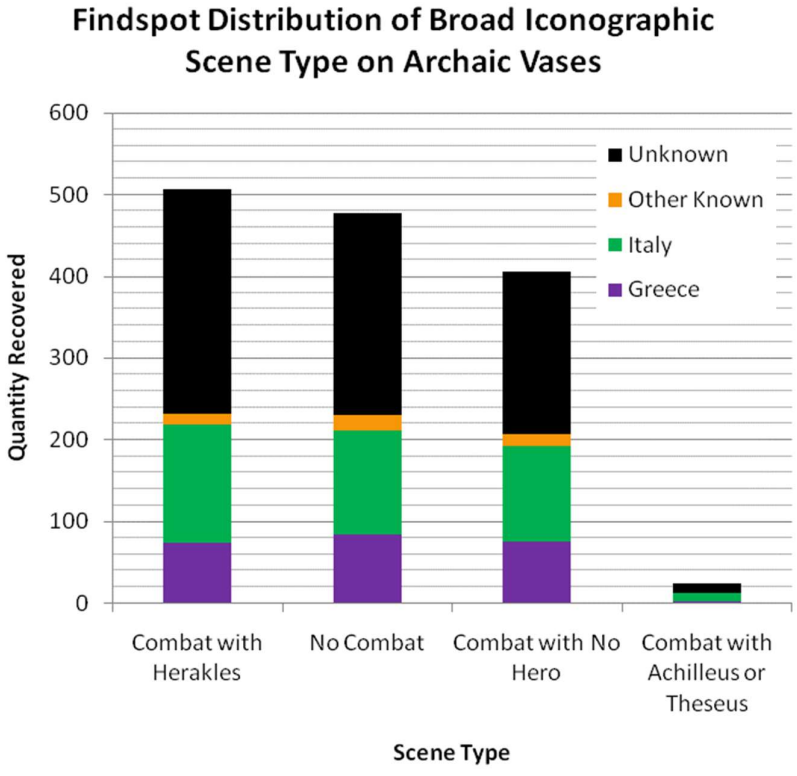


Chart 13: Bar chart showing distribution of broad scene type of Archaic vases

[189] V0936.

[190] V1606; V0088. The latter is clearly a Heraklean Amazonomachy; the former may also have been, but the recovered pieces do not feature Herakles.

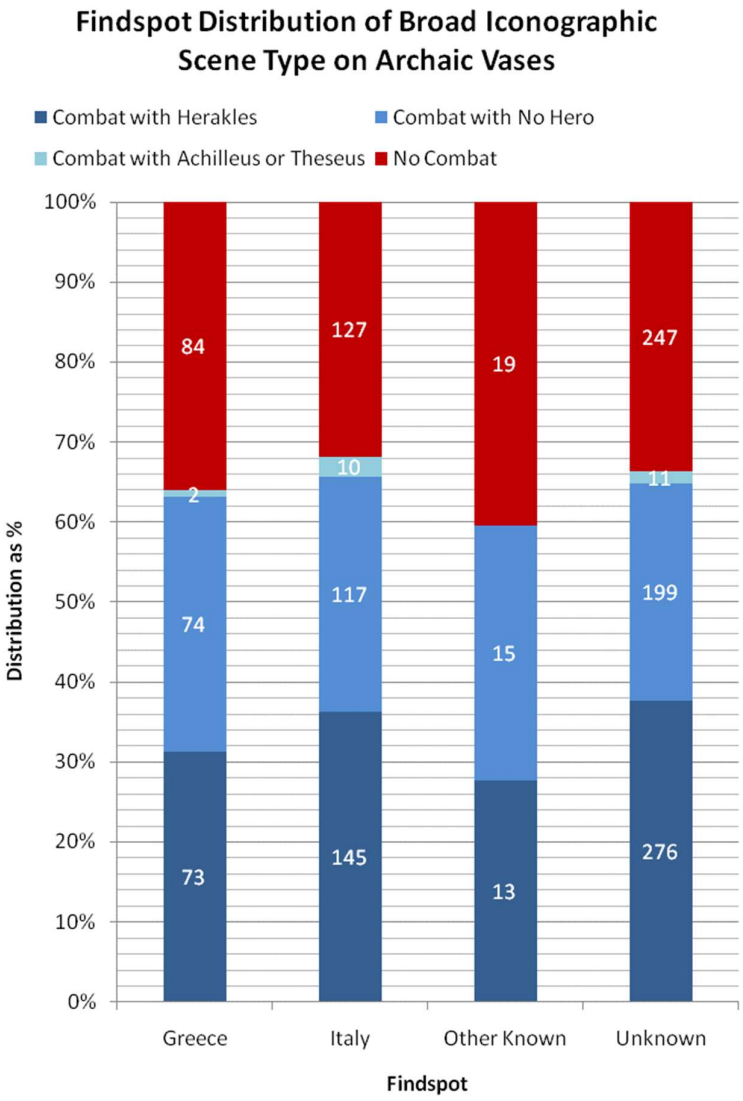


Chart 14: Percentage bar chart showing distribution of broad scene type of Archaic vases

Overall, the evidence suggests that vases featuring Amazons were not a niche product. There is no distinct pattern of the types of vessels they are found on, and their appeal as an iconographical feature was broad (or at the least inoffensive) enough to be desirable to individuals living across the Mediterranean. The most popular iconographical theme remains a large-scale group Amazonomachy featuring Herakles (Chart 13), but almost equally popular is the non-Heraklean Amazonomachy. Interestingly the ratio of each category does not change significantly across all broad contextual groups in Greece, Italy, and beyond (Chart 14), suggesting that there was not a particular preference for a certain version of the story in a certain region and that Amazons held wider appeal to non-Greeks than only as an opponent of Herakles.

From the iconography on Archaic vases we learn that Herakles frequently undertook the expedition with companions, and that the battle was large-scale and fought between multiple opponents. His companions are not named in black figure, but there are several examples of naming inscriptions in red figure; interestingly, in these examples Herakles himself is also often named, which may suggest an uncertainty on the painter's part that attributes alone would be enough to identify him. On these vessels his companion is named as Telamon,[191] corresponding with the written accounts discussed earlier. The Amazons are also given names, including Andromache, Xanthippe,[192] Hippolyte,[193] and Toxsaris.[194] These vessels were recovered from Italy, but inscribed examples are also found in Greek contexts.[195] The names also corroborate the attributes of the Amazons found in contemporary literature concerning their prowess on horseback and their use of the bow.[196] Andromache thus persists as the name given to Herakles' principal opponent, and the features of the Amazons are reflected in the names used for them.



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 16: Photograph of black-figure lekythos with Heraklean Amazonomachy (V0185; c. 510-490 B.C.)

As well as these large group scenes, there are also a number of vessels featuring duels between Herakles and a single Amazon. In some cases this composition is likely dictated by the size of the vessel, particularly for olpai or lekythoi (Figure 16), but the scene type is also found on much larger vessels such as amphorae and hydriae. These scenes are interesting in how they parallel the iconography in the duels between Achilleus and Penthesilea, but they also exemplify the difficulty in identifying the Achilleus and Penthesilea scene type in the absence of inscriptions; we

[191] V0942.
[192] V0946.
[193] V0945.
[194] V0944.
[195] V0390; V0900.
[196] FGrHist 90 F 62 (Magnes of Smyrna); Pind. O. 13.89, N. 3.35.

Images © Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 17: Detail of a black-figure amphora by Exekias (V0430; c. 550-530 B.C.)



Figure 18: Detail of a black-figure amphora by Exekias (V0431; c. 550-530 B.C.)

cannot assume that any duel scene featuring a Greek warrior and an Amazon in combat is necessarily Achilleus and Penthesilea, as the Heraklean example demonstrates a wider interest in the representation of Greeks duelling Amazons.

The two extraordinary vases by Exekias in the British Museum demonstrate this phenomenon well; on one example (Figure 17) we have inscriptions naming the figures, but on the other (Figure 18) we do not. The second vessel is often assumed to also be the combat between Achilleus and Penthesilea, but there is no indication of this on the vessel itself; indeed the iconography of the second vessel has much more in common with duels from the Heraklean Amazonomachies (e.g. Figure 16), with the Amazon skipping out from under the Greek's weapon rather than falling beneath it. The maintenance of eye contact or a gesture of pleading is also often used to identify a scene as the duel with Penthesilea, but similar iconographical conventions are found in the Heraklean Amazonomachy (Figure 19).



Image © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig

Figure 19: Detail from red-figure neck amphora showing Heraklean Amazonomachy (V1789; c. 500-480 B.C.)

This eye contact is also absent in some examples traditionally identified as Achilleus and Penthesilea, such as on a Carnelian gem now in Boston (Figure 20).[197] Indeed, on the name cup of the Penthesilea painter, there is no direct evidence that the duel involved is between Achilleus and Penthesilea.[198]



Figure 20: Scaraboid gem with duel between Greek and Amazon (M13; c. 510-490 B.C.)

Questioning the identity of the combatant in these scenes is not only an exercise in categorisation. This, in combination with the presence of inscriptions naming Herakles mentioned previously, invites an interesting question about how ancient audiences (both Greek and non-Greek) would have interacted with the mythic subjects portrayed on these vases. The iconography is given added complexity through the understanding of the wider story, but the iconography on the vessels themselves is frequently broad and the figures unspecified, meaning that the vessels are not tied exclusively to that story. This inherent flexibility allows for the same single vessel to represent a multitude of possibilities, from those intimate with the narrative behind the scene to those completely ignorant of it. This is further corroborated by the distribution of scene types noted previously (Chart 14); although there is a slight preference shown for the Heraklean Amazonomachy, otherwise it seems that the imagery of the Amazonomachy itself was the compelling factor behind the acquisition of these vessels.

When examining Amazonomachies without Herakles, the immediate issue is one of identification. The absence of Herakles leaves three possibilities. Firstly, Herakles may have been part of the original composition but his figure has since been lost; around a quarter of the material classified as non-Heraklean versions of the myth on vases could be described as fragmentary, leaving open

[197] M12.
[198] V0967.

the possibility that they too originally featured Herakles. Secondly, the scene depicted could be a fight between other mythic heroes and Amazons. Most often this is thought to be Achilleus, with Theseus a possibility, although no vases are known where he is named outside of the abduction of Antiope discussed below. Priam and Bellerophon are both also mentioned as having participated in excursions against the Amazons which are not directly identifiable in surviving material culture;[199] perhaps the concept of a "fight against the Amazons" had thus evolved past the confines of any particular hero and into a scheme in and of itself.

This is reflected further in the third category of material, where the Amazons are depicted independently of their male adversaries and meant to be understood as such. The miniscule group of non-fighting Amazons from the early Archaic period has expanded to around a third of the assemblage dated c. 550-475 B.C. Many of these still imply a larger martial context, with the figures arming or setting out with weapons. In contrast to the almost total dearth of equestrian scenes prior to 550 B.C., many of these scenes now feature Amazons with horses. They are depicted riding chariots, mounted on horseback, and also leading horses in non-battle scenes. The 'Parthian shot' is also shown for the first time, as exemplified in the decorative features of a bronze funerary urn from Capua,[200] and also a Chalcidian amphora from Etruria (Figure 21).[201]

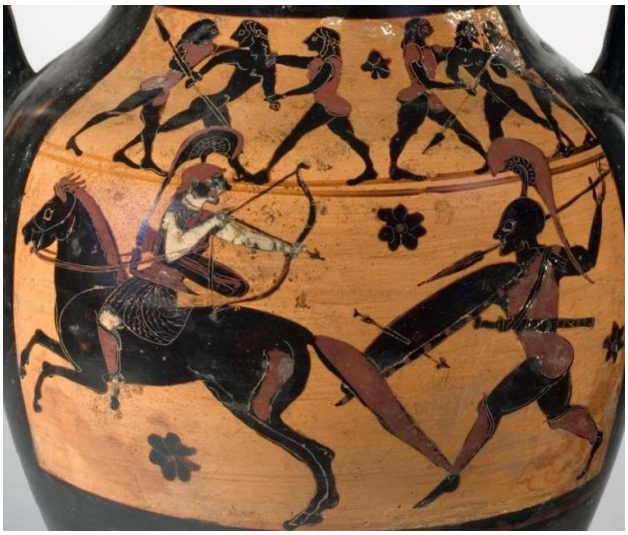


Figure 21: Chalcidian amphora featuring Amazon performing the 'Parthian Shot' (V0917; c. 550-540 B.C.)

[199] *Il.* 2.810-815, 3.185-190, 6.185-186.
[200] M11.
[201] V0917.

The final development in the iconography of the Amazons on vases in the Archaic period is the introduction of 'eastern' dress. The early Archaic period demonstrates a small variety in their armour and weapons on black-figure vases (with Athenian and Corinthian helmets, bows, spears, swords, and shields all evident), perhaps suggesting the liberal interpretation of the painter as sole motivation.[202] Though animal skins are not unknown,[203] they are definitely not ubiquitous. The introduction towards the end of the period of 'Scythian' dress styles is the first attempt to physically denote difference between the Amazons and their opponents.

The presence of unusual clothing varies between vessels, and the older form of tunic dress or suits of armour persists to the end of the Archaic period. On some examples individuals are differentiated through the use of pointed hats (Figure 22);[204] on others some are dressed in the full spotted trousers often used to depict Persians (Figure 23).[205] This method of depiction is often explicitly called "Scythian" or "Thracian" in reference to the Amazons' point of origin in literature, but as discussed previously the precise geography of this is questionable at best.[206] The literary sources at this time most consistently give Thrace as the Amazons' point of origin, but the Amazons are never shown wearing the alopekis, the most characteristically 'Thracian' form of dress;[207] similarly, they do not universally adopt the pelta, another item associated with Thrace. Instead the unusual hat and trousers shown on vases more closely resembles the description of the kybaris given by Herodotus when describing the Sacae, a tribe of Scythians.[208] As is visible even within the corpus of vessels featuring Amazons, trade links with the Black Sea region were well-established by the point of these vessels' production in the sixth century, so it is not difficult to believe that Athenian painters were familiar with Scythian clothing customs.

[202] Hardwick 1990: 28.
[203] V0028, V0426.
[204] V1839.
[205] V1789.
[206] See discussion p. 40-41.
[207] Shapiro 1983: 107.
[208] Hdt. 7.64.2.



Figure 22: Black-figure neck amphora showing Amazon in patterned tunic and hat (V1839; c. 530-510 B.C.)



Image © Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig

Figure 23: Red-figure neck amphora showing Amazons in a variety of dress; the reverse of fig. 19 (V1789; c. 500-480 B.C.)

The reason for this shift is more difficult to parse, especially given the fact it is by no means a universal one as even within a single vessel Amazons are still shown in the more traditional form (Figure 23). An association between Scythia and the Amazons is not attested in the literature prior to Herodotus.[209] It is possible that these images are inspired by the introduction of Scythian troops as a police service in Athens in the Peisistratan era, which is known to have been in force later in the Classical period.[210]

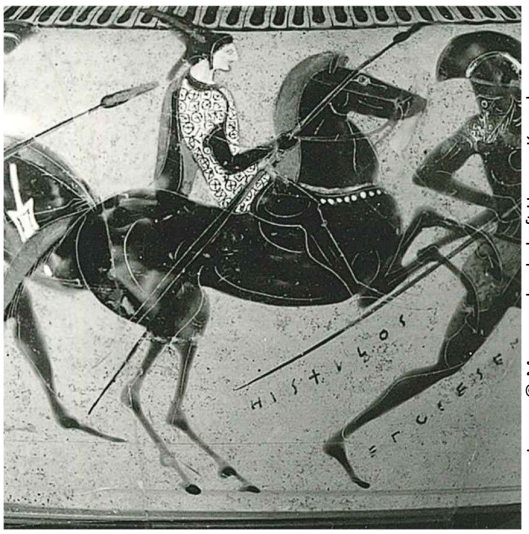


Image © Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel

Figure 24: Black-figure column krater showing a mounted Amazon in pointed hat and patterned dress with lance (V1835; c. 550-500 B.C.)

Even if this association provides an easy understanding as to why Amazons are shown in Scythian dress, it does not explain why only *some* Amazons are shown in Scythian dress. It is also not true that Amazons in Scythian dress are universally shown as archers (e.g. Figure 24), though many are. With the increasing demonstrable interest in featuring the Amazons as characters in their own right, perhaps the introduction of a recognisable form of dress was part of an overall attempt to 'flesh out' their role in the narrative; it would thus have the paradoxical role of both simultaneously making the Amazons more human and more other.

AMAZONS IN ARCHAIC SCULPTURE

The myth of Herakles' expedition to Themiskyra featured heavily on Archaic vases, and was overall the most popular version of the myth in that medium. It also emerged in the larger

[209] Hdt. 4.110-4.117.
[210] Shapiro 1983: 111.

medium of sculpture through the course of the century, notably as large-scale monuments in sanctuary contexts.



Figure 25: Black-figure lekythos possibly emulating the lost statue group by Aristokles of Cydonia (V0408; c. 550-500 B.C.)

Only one freestanding sculpture group is known from the sixth century, once erected in the sanctuary at Olympia. The original is lost and the monument is only preserved via description; Pausanias informs us that there was "a Herakles fighting with the Amazon, a woman on horseback, for her girdle" dedicated by Evagoras of Zancle and made by Aristokles of Cydonia.[211] The sculptor Aristokles is otherwise unknown. There are no examples of Amazons on vases from this period recovered directly from Zancle, but the Heraklean Amazonomachy was the most popular version of the myth found in the wider region. It is possible that Herakles also had particular significance in Zancle,[212] but his importance as a son of Zeus at Olympia is obvious. Pausanias explicitly identifies the scene in question as Herakles' quest for the girdle, but it is possible this is his much later interpretation of a story that was well-established by his time but is not present in any surviving contemporary literature.[213]

Bothmer imagines that the statue group may have resembled a black-figure lekythos (Figure 25) where a duel is shown between a standing Herakles and a mounted Amazon.[214] If this is a true reconstruction, the statue group would have been a bold and dynamic piece of late Archaic art; only bronze would allow for this greater plasticity of form, but it is unknown what material the

[211] S03.

[212] The tyrant Scythes, later ruler of Zancle, shares his name with a son of Herakles.

[213] Paus 5.25.11. The Heraklean quest to fight the Amazons is mentioned in Pindar (e.g. N. 3.38), but no justification is given beyond general heroic exploits and the word 'girdle' is not used.

[214] Bothmer 1956: 122; V0408. This seems to be an unusual composition, as other vases featuring Amazons on horseback fighting Herakles have the mounted figures flanking the central duel rather than involved with it directly (e.g. V0409; V0418).

original piece was made from as Pausanias does not specify. The figure of Herakles was presumably identifiable by his accoutrements, perhaps similarly depicted to those on the eastern pediment at Aegina. Whether rendered in bronze or marble, the choice to depict the Amazon on horseback would undoubtedly have been an expensive one, especially given that the Amazons were by no means depicted this way ubiquitously in other media.

Several pediments are known to have featured Amazons in the Archaic period, but they are now fragmentary in nature. A marble pediment from Thebes and a terracotta pediment from Corinth both date to around 500 B.C.[215] An Amazonomachy is now also thought to have formed part of the decorative sculpture of the Temple of Apollo at Kolona, Aegina.[216] It is unclear what particular myth is being represented save for the fact it is a battle scene.

The abduction of Antiope may have first appeared in monumental sculpture in a temple at Larisa dating to c. 530 B.C.,[217] but it is more certainly identifiable on the west pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria.[218] The site has evidence of worship dating back to the eighth century, but the sixth-century temple was destroyed by the Persian invasion in 490 B.C. This gives a probable terminus ante quem for the sculptural decoration that also broadly matches the stylistic analysis.[219] The marble sculpture is exquisitely carved with intricate detail (Figure 26), the

[215] S06, S13.

[216] S07; Touloupa 2002: 48. An Amazonomachy may also have featured on one of the earlier pediments of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, as a pair of sleeved arms and a number of warriors' heads were recovered from the area thought to display the previous pediments, but the group is so fragmentary that identification on this basis alone is difficult. The sleeved arms strongly resemble the kneeling archer from the later Aphaia pediment, which may suggest it originally showed a scene from the Trojan Wars rather than an Amazonomachy, but this would require the commission of an entire replacement pediment of the same scene type as the earlier one, which seems unlikely. That said, much of the decision to replace the pediments at Aphaia remains mysterious, and that an entire Amazonomachy would exist only as a pair of sleeved arms is also unlikely. Usually the fragmentary presence of an Amazonomachy takes the form of headless torsos with busts, female heads, or horses' hooves.

[217] Schefold 1978: 559.

[218] S08.

[219] Hdt 6.101 explicitly references the destruction of the temple at the hands of the invading Persians. Francis and Vickers argued that the sculptural group postdates the Persian Wars and remained in situ until its removal in the Roman era (1983: 54). Assumptions made by the authors were subsequently

figures showing simultaneously many of the stiffer hallmarks of the Archaic period but with a freedom of movement that demonstrates the development of form occurring in sculpture towards the end of the sixth century. The composition is not clear, with the numerous figures only preserved in fragments, but it is likely that a central figure of Athena separated the abduction scene on the right from a fight to the left. A variety in the size of horse hooves suggests that two chariots featured in the composition, and at least four separate Amazon figures have been found, one of which wears an animal skin.[220] Other fragmentary sculptures which may be evidence of Amazons were once thought to belong to the akroteria but have since been incorporated into the pedimental sculpture.[221]

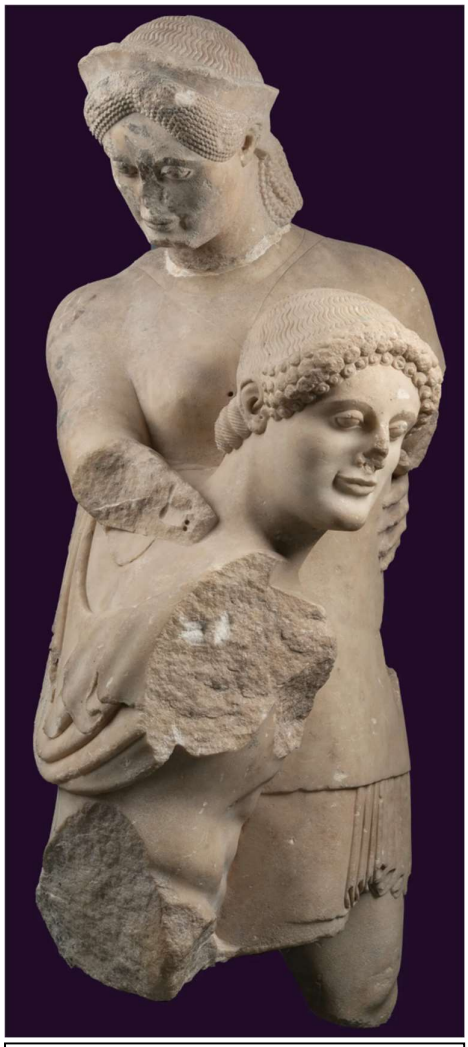


Image © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea/H.O.C.RE.D. Photographer: Irini Miari

Figure 26: Theseus and Antiope from the west pediment of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros, Eretria (S08; c. 510-490 B.C.)

The relevance of the abduction of Antiope to a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo in Eretria is unclear.[222] In combination with the Temple of Apollo at Kolona, a fragmentary frieze from a Temple in Apollonia may suggest a broader connection between Apollo and the Amazon mythos,[223] but the myth is also found on temples to Hera and Athena; it is possible the story is more connected to the deity via Theseus or Herakles. A similar abduction scene has also been

challenged by Boardman, who argued for the maintenance of the original chronology (1984: 161-162). The shift in chronology proposed does not hugely affect the understanding of the use of the Amazonomachy here. The myth shown in the Eretria pediment is an abduction scene, situating the Amazonomachy in the Thermodon, and thus does not reference the possible later allegory of the Persian invasion.

[220] Touloupa 2002: 59-60.

[221] Bothmer 1957: 126; Goldberg 1982: 200-201; Touloupa 2002: 45. This has also removed the possibility that the myth shown is the abduction of Thetis.

[222] There could be a tenuous connection demonstrated in Paus 9.10.4, which notes a tripod at Thebes that was dedicated to Herakles for being 'δαφνηφόρος'; one of the metopes from Temple E at Selinus also features Apollo with Daphne. Touloupa proposes a connection with offerings given to Herakles recovered in Eretria, or perhaps with the reference in Plutarch (*Thes*. 27.5) that Amazons were buried in nearby Chalkis (2002: 64).

[223] S10; the frieze is not certainly an Amazonomachy.

reconstructed on the pediment of a contemporary temple of Athena in Kea,[224] but there is no clear iconographic parallel for the overall scene from Eretria in either contemporary sculpture or vases.[225] There are a handful of Archaic vases where the abduction of Antiope by Theseus is clearly identifiable by inscription,[226] but Theseus is not labelled in the context of Heraklean Amazonomachies in Archaic vases, nor indeed in Amazonomachies more broadly. The presence of an abduction scene does not necessarily exclude the presence of Herakles, as early versions of the myth described Theseus and Herakles fighting at Themiskyra together.[227]

The introduction of Theseus to the iconographic depiction of the Amazonomachy most notably solidifies in the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi.[228] The dating of the monument is controversial, with the statement by Pausanias that it was built using the spoils from the Battle of Marathon supposedly in contrast to the Archaic style of the sculpture.[229] Its aesthetics and theme are both evident in Athenian material culture prior to the Persian invasion, but they will have held a different significance to the Athens of the 490s versus the Athens of the 480s. Even the choice of Parian marble for its construction held different political and social meaning in the aftermath of Marathon.[230] The likely placement of Theseus (Figure 28) on the more visible southern side of the Treasury seems to look forward to the prominence the hero took on in Athenian life in the following era,[231] solidified most famously by the trip to Skyros to exhume his bones, while Herakles (and his potential Peisistratid connections) is relegated to the

[224] S09; Touloupa 1998: 611.

[225] Touloupa 2002: 53. The reverse of the Kroisos vase (V0935) was once thought to be emulating this scene (e.g. Tyrrell 1984: 8), but the excavators' newer reconstruction contradicts this.

[226] V0929, V0933.

[227] Plut. *Thes*. 26.1-3. There is no mention of Theseus in Pindar's existing material, but a reference by Pausanias to Pindar's narrative of the abduction of Antiope suggests a piece may have been lost (Paus. 1.2.1).

[228] S04.

[229] Paus. 10.11.5. The efforts undertaken by Cooper (1990: 317-318) seem to conclusively demonstrate that the building foundations date to c. 490 B.C. It does not seem that strange that a building erected on behalf of a polis in such a sacred context would prefer an older style of sculpture over the newer, still-developing one.

[230] Neer 2004: 73; Paros 'medized' during the invasion.

[231] Hoff 2009: 98.

rear. Although overwhelmingly stylistically Archaic (Figure 27), the Treasury demonstrates the turning point towards the Classical-era use and function of the Amazon myth in its emphasis on Theseus and its adoption and politicisation by the Athenian state.

The emergence of Amazons on large-scale public monuments in these examples demonstrates transference of interest in the myth from the private to the public arena. In some cases there is a deliberate choice to represent the myth in Panhellenic contexts. For some of these monuments the Amazons are a central mythological theme; for others they are more akin to set-dressing. Common to all of these monuments, however, is a central heroic figure for the Amazons to fight. Unlike in the medium of vases, where they begin to see some independence from their male counterparts as figurative decoration in their own right, the framing in larger monuments is one of combat and opposition against heroic male adversaries. Which precise adversary is sometimes harder to ascertain in the more monumental pieces, but Herakles is the demonstrable subject in Aristokles' statue group and at least some of the Treasury metopes. The choice to explicitly



Figure 27: Metope from Treasury of Athenians at Delphi (S04; c. 490-480 B.C.)

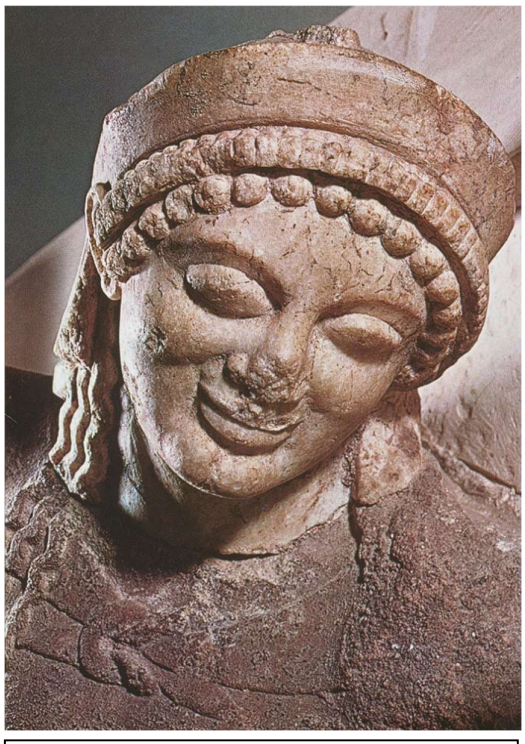


Figure 28: Detail of male warrior on metope from Treasury of Athenians at Delphi (S04)

synthesise Theseus and Herakles on the Athenian treasury is the most explicable and overtly political of these monuments, mixing the mythology of both the Panhellenic hero and the icon of the new democratic Athens.[232]

Monumental sculpture therefore broadly reflected the pattern seen in the physically smaller but numerically larger corpus of vases, with an overall emphasis on the Heraklean Amazonomachy but with an emerging role for Theseus and the particular story of the abduction of Antiope. Examples span a variety of architectural features and are known from pediments, metopes, and continuous friezes. The expense created by these larger monuments presumably engendered some caution towards experimentation, perhaps solidified further by the solemnity of the sanctuary setting where the cheaper, more ubiquitous medium of vases allowed for a greater variety of scene.

CONCLUSIONS

At the outset, the Archaic Amazon resembles the male hoplite in every way except one: she is female. In the *Iliad* she is ἀντιάνειραι, the equal of her male opponent, but it is questionable how much this holds true in the Heraklean Amazonomachy more present on Archaic material culture; here the context of this story (and thus its meaning) is more elusive. Homeric passages hint at the concept of Herakles performing particular tasks on Eurystheus' request,[233] but the Amazons are not explicitly linked to these works and the concept of a quest for a 'girdle' specifically is first testified in the title of a lost fifth-century play by Epicharmos.[234] Almost certainly later is the narrative found in Apollodorus of Herakles needing to undertake the Labours as penance for

[232] Hoff 2009: 101.

[233] *Il*. 8.360-365.

[234] Blok 1994: 350. As the play is lost, it is therefore also not possible to determine whether even by this time the story formed part of a wider narrative or still existed as a single heroic feat.

wiping out his family in a murderous rage.[235] It is now an often-held suggestion that it was the metopes of the fifth-century Temple of Zeus at Olympia which solidified the concept of 'Twelve Labours',[236] but this makes it unclear how much they were perceived as a canonical whole prior to this monument; it is therefore also unclear whether it is appropriate to draw connections between his battle with the Amazons and other monster-slaying quests such as the Nemean Lion or the Geryonomachy. That these Labours are often found together on material as early as the shield-bands would suggest that the exploits should be framed in this way, but it is uncertain whether different iconographic scenes on the same item should be connected in this manner.

The impetus behind the Heraklean Amazonomachy is crucial for understanding how the Amazons were perceived in the Archaic period, partly because it demonstrates a departure from the concept of ἀντιάνειραι but also because of contemporary efforts to evoke a greater sense of humanity in the Amazons depicted. A small but significant body of vases shows Amazon warriors carrying away their dead (Figure 29).[237] This relationship with death is arguably more complex than merely portraying the Amazons as the losers, an identity which the viewer may dread.[238] Death in battle was associated with true honour and glory, and represents an opportunity not afforded to most women in ancient Greece. It is portrayed with pathos in Archaic Greek art in the images of Ajax carrying off the body of Achilleus,[239] to which there must have been a recognisable parallel.



Figure 29: Amazon carrying the body of a dead companion (V0751; c. 520-500 B.C.)

[235] Proclus *Chrestomathia* II.
[236] Gantz 1993: 381.
[237] V0751.
[238] As argued Henderson 1994: 128.
[239] BAPD 310388 (Munich Antikensammlungen 1470).

It also reflects the humanising detail in (admittedly late) literary sources that Penthesilea's body was given to the Trojans for burial.[240] It demonstrates a fundamentally human desire to mourn and bury one's dead, showing greater moral complexity than in, for instance, Herakles' slaying of the Nemean Lion. It is particularly poignant when the vessels are recontextualised in their use as grave goods.

Blok suggests that "anchoring the image of the Amazons in the ethnographical concept of the Other [meant] it was now possible to explore the more hidden aspect of the Amazons, their femininity, in more detail".[241] This however implies that femininity and otherness were discrete aspects of the Amazons' identity, rather than intrinsically connected; to be female in ancient Greece was fundamentally to be 'other'. Among the cited evidence that the Amazon at this point became a figure of male erotic desire is a red-figure amphora attributed to the Andokides Painter with Amazons on horseback which features a scene of bathing on the reverse (Figure 30).[242] If we are to imagine a connection between two sides of the vase, an idea reinforced by the hat hanging in the background of the second scene, these are naked Amazons preparing for battle.[243] This would be almost entirely unique, and strange given that there is a conscious effort to depict them elsewhere as fully-dressed even when fighting nude male opponents.

Images © 2005 RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) Photographer: Hervé Lewandowski

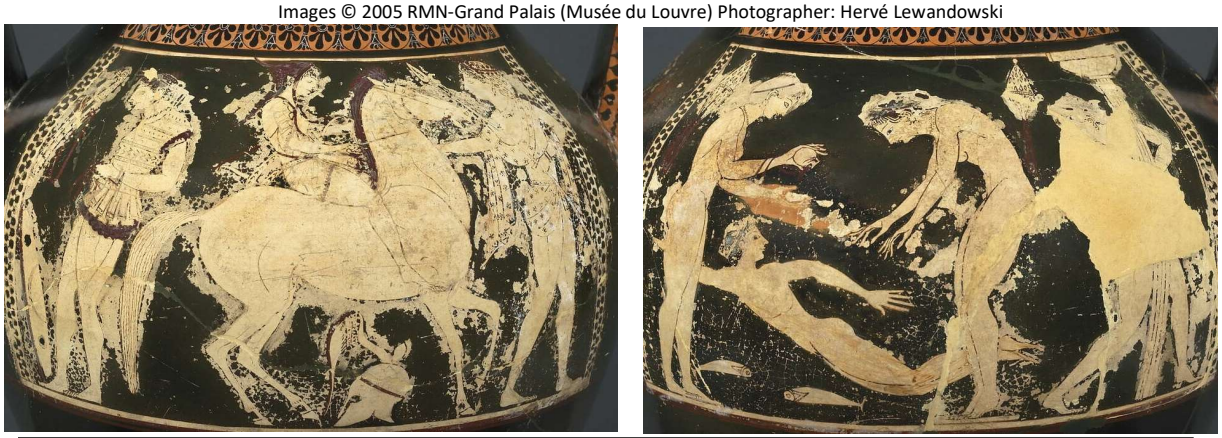


Figure 30: Red-figure amphora showing Amazons readying for battle (l) and bathing (r) (V0971; c. 550-500 B.C.)

[240] Apoll. 5.1.
[241] Blok 1994: 418.
[242] V0971.
[243] Mayor 2014: 118.



Figure 31: Drawing of abduction scene on red-figure amphora by Myson (V0935; c. 500-490 B.C.)

The idea of increased eroticism links into one possible explanation for the growing prominence of the abduction of Antiope; that the Amazon is being seen as an ideal subject for romantic conquest. That this implies a growing romantic or erotic interest in the Amazons seems a misunderstanding of the motive behind such scenes. Rape is an expression of power in which the victim is fundamentally unable to be complicit. Antiope is not wooed or persuaded by Theseus; she is carried off by him as a confirmatory trophy of his achievement.[244] That she waits for him in the chariot in some versions on vases can hardly be taken as enthusiastic consent, and she certainly seems to be trying to break free in other examples (Figure 31).[245]

Blok argues that the depictions of Antiope's abduction follow the code outlined in ancient epics,[246] and similar abduction scenes are certainly visible on other contemporary 'erotic' vases.[247] Although this abduction iconography is in line with the aggressive expression of desire seen elsewhere in contemporary Greek culture, to view the story in this way ignores the reality of the Amazon existing in such a scene as an object. It does not demonstrate a desire to love the Amazon, but to possess her; at best, it shows an attempt to tame her. This deprivation of agency arguably more resembles the pattern of othering found in the prominence of Scythian dress.

[244] The concept of Antiope falling in love with Theseus and choosing to leave with him is not textually evident until a much-later speech by Isocrates (12.193).

[245] V0935, V0933; although this has been interpreted by some as her urging Theseus' Greek allies to flee (Touloupa 2002: 52).

[246] Blok 1994: 234.

[247] BAPD 204198 (St. Petersburg State Hermitage Museum: B1876)

This 'double-standard' is important because it demonstrates the difference between the perception of Penthesilea and Antiope, both of whom were understood as Amazon opponents of Greek heroes. It is necessary for Achilleus' duel with Penthesilea that she not be perceived as female and therefore lesser, as this diminishes the honour of the victory; but Antiope cannot be Theseus' equal, or the act of abduction would be an awful act of transgression. In short, if Penthesilea is human foe worthy of compassion, Antiope cannot be. Andromache, the character foil to Herakles who serves only as a monster to be defeated, certainly cannot be: and yet they are all Amazons, shown largely in the same way, in the same dress, in the same iconographical scenes. Vases such as the unlabelled amphora by Exekias discussed previously (Figure 18) allow for five simultaneous interpretations of the scene, depending on the audience's pre-acquired knowledge: it can be Achilleus duelling Penthesilea; it can be Theseus in the act of abducting Antiope; it can be a companion of Herakles duelling an Amazon; it can be any Greek hero in combat with an Amazon; or even any male figure in combat with any female figure. The vase seamlessly facilitates all of these readings at once. Listing these basic interpretations does not even begin to engage with the multifaceted approaches one could imagine as to the story's meaning in each of these examples. This is arguably why the myth is able to spread so widely.

This is also why the ambiguity of the non-Heraklean Amazonomachy is puzzling. That there are no discernible differences between Heraklean and non-Heraklean Amazonomachies suggests either that it did not matter, or that the audience could intuit the other information from context. Both of these options seem peculiar, especially as both attributes and inscriptions are present elsewhere in the material and that the two versions of the Amazon in the two different myths are by no means easy bedfellows. The Heraklean Amazonomachy portrays the Amazons as monstrous beings to be tricked and overcome, one more 'labour' to check off a list in Herakles' quest for godhood. This is a profoundly different role to the Amazons fought by Achilleus who are considered to be the equals of their Greek opponents, and also those shown carrying their dead

on later black-figure vases, where they are warriors worthy of their opponent's respect and capable of achieving glory in battle.

This, then, is the paradox of the Archaic Amazon. She is both a monstrous being to be slain for glory, a trophy to be defeated and seized, but also a being who mourns the death of her comrades. It is arguable that this very flexibility is what allowed the myth to become so prominent and so favoured by audiences throughout the Mediterranean. The conflict was an opportunity to sing the praises of the great heroes; it makes a great epic. But it also invited inherent moral speculation about the ethics of slaying one's opponent in battle, or comparisons with the other exploits of monster-slaying and what it meant to be civilised or human. Even if the viewer was entirely ignorant of the surrounding mythos the Amazon existed as a blank slate, ripe for the viewer's projection; perhaps even admiration, given the voices of the women of ancient Greece in this era go entirely unheard. If the complexity of it intrigues us now, it seems plausible that it also featured as part of the popularity of the myth in antiquity.

5: THE CLASSICAL ERA: MAINLAND GREECE AND IONIA

Representation of the Amazons was widespread and well-established in format in the Archaic period. This chapter considers the manner in which the myth changed in both scope and content in the Classical age in mainland Greece. Material created in Italy and Anatolia, including South Italian vases, will be discussed in the following chapters.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

Amazons on Athenian vases

The production of Athenian ceramics featuring Amazons decreased greatly with the move into the Classical period. Only 626 examples remain of Athenian pottery featuring Amazons dating between c. 475-300 B.C. The majority are in red-figure, with a few examples of black-figure (mostly lekythoi) persisting until the middle of the century. The most popular shapes in this period are set out in Table 10; a variety is still in evidence, ranging again in function from larger open vessels to smaller closed ones. The huge number of pelikai is due to the proportion recovered of a 'mass-produced' fourth-century type featuring an Amazon head, often accompanied by a horse or a griffin (Figure 32).[248] These are usually fairly low-quality in their execution, and the

Shape	Classical	Late Classical	Total
Pelike	19	177	196
Krater	110	32	142
Cup	61	7	68
Lekythos	47	4	51
Amphora	27	6	33
Oinochoe	23	3	26
Frags	12	10	22
Squat lekythos	18	3	21
Hydria	8	9	17
Stamnos	15		15
Figure vase	7	1	8
Alabastron	6		6
Lekanis	1	4	5
Askos		4	4
Loutrophoros	4		4
Dinos	2		2
Pyxis	1		1
Mug	1		1
Rhyton	1		1
Lid	1		1
Phiale	1		1
Lebes	1		1
Grand Total	**366**	**260**	**626**

Table 10: distribution of shapes of Athenian vases in the fifth and fourth century B.C.

[248] 177 of the pelikai date from c. 400-300 B.C., and a further 114 of these fall into this type.

Image © BnF, MMA

female figures are sometimes identified as Arimasps rather than Amazons. The most popular krater shape is the bell krater, with over twice as many examples preserved as the next most prevalent variety, the column krater.



Figure 32: Red-figure pelike from Cyrenaica featuring 'head-type' (V1737; c. 400-300 B.C.)

The findspot information for these vessels is much stronger than in previous periods, with provenance information available for 42% of Classical and 34% of Late Classical Athenian vases (Chart 15). As before, the majority of pieces were found in Greek or Italian contexts, although 23 examples were recovered from a rubbish pit in the Demos Kerameis and may have been otherwise destined for

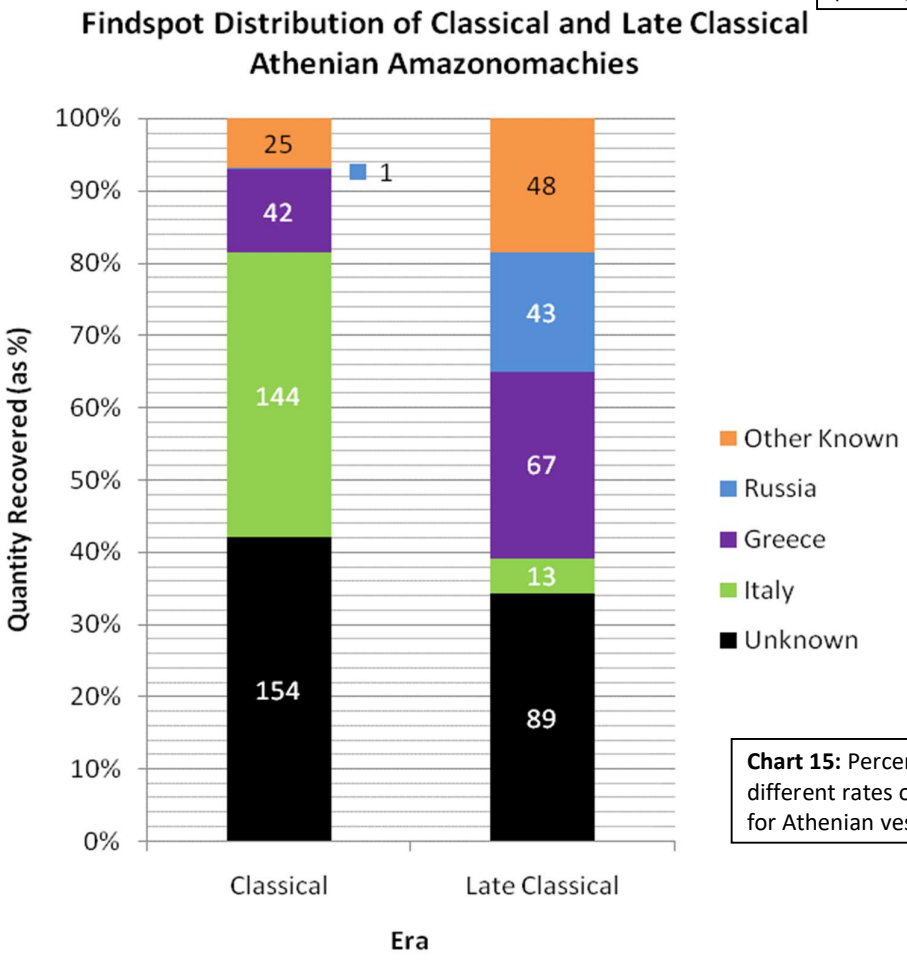


Chart 15: Percentage bar chart showing different rates of findspot information for Athenian vessels by era of vase

the export market. There is also a profound difference in the number of vessels found in Italian contexts between the Classical and Late Classical periods, alongside the noticeable emergence of Russia as a key export market. A wide variety of vessels have also been discovered further afield, with examples ranging from Susa in the east and Galera in the west, a distance of 2,800 miles. One extraordinary, beautifully-preserved figure vase was found in Sudan (Figure 33); likely transported down the Nile, the only vase with an Amazon ever recovered from this area; indeed it is the only Greek vase ever known to have travelled this far south. Most of the locations lie around the coast of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea (Figure 34), though an example from Gordion demonstrates that the traded vessels could be carried further inland.



Figure 33: Figure vase from Sudan in the form of an Amazon on horseback, with rhyton decorated with Amazonomachy (V1683; c. 475-450 B.C.)

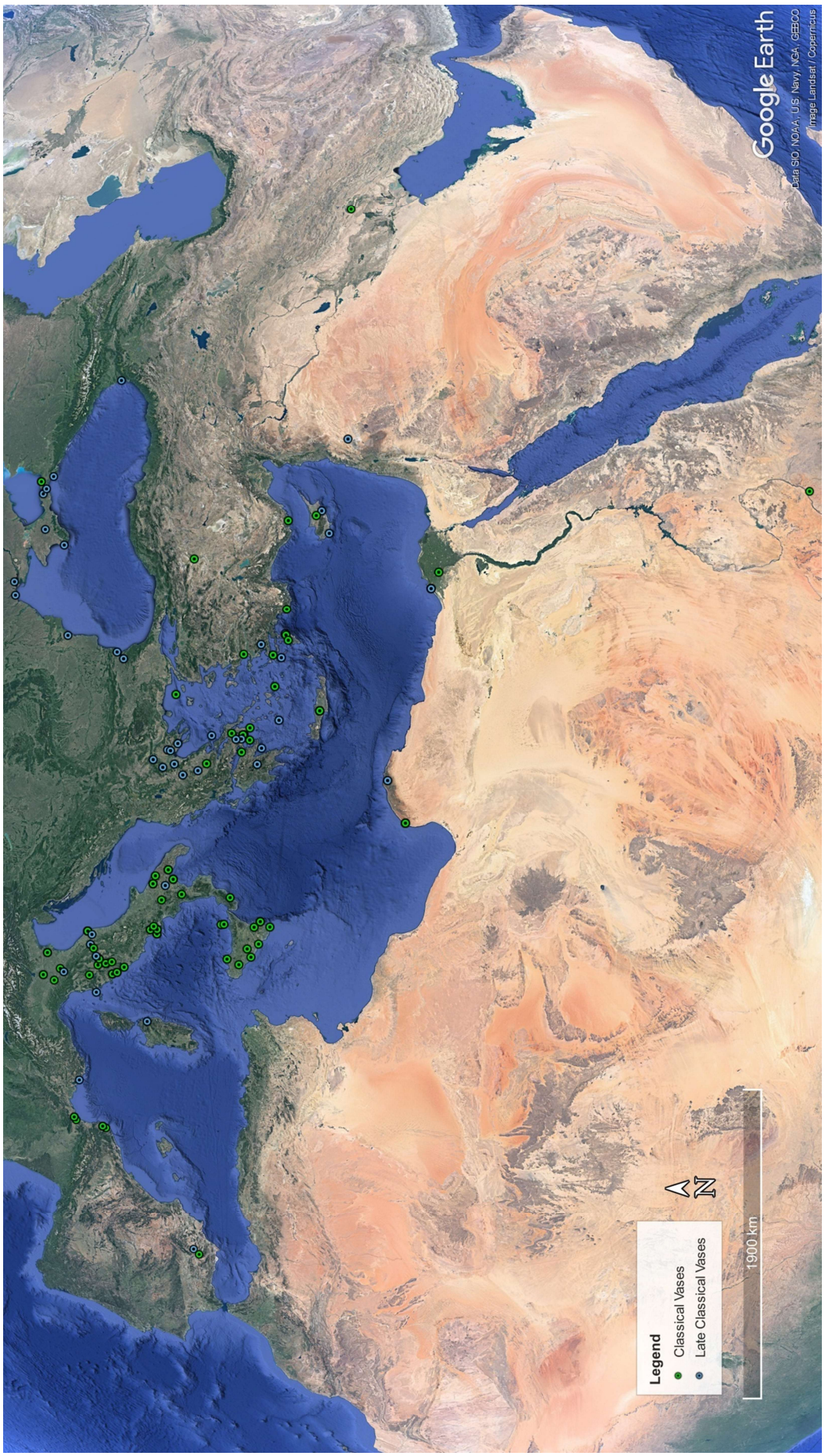


Figure 34: Map showing distribution of Classical and Late Classical Athenian pottery featuring Amazons

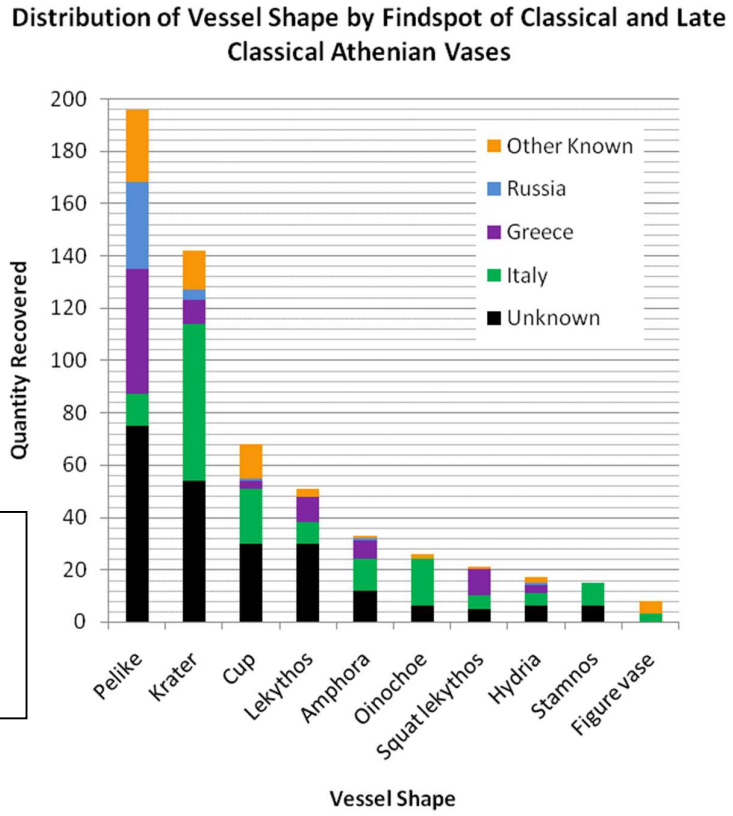


Chart 16: Bar chart showing distribution of 10 most common Classical and Late Classical shapes by findspot

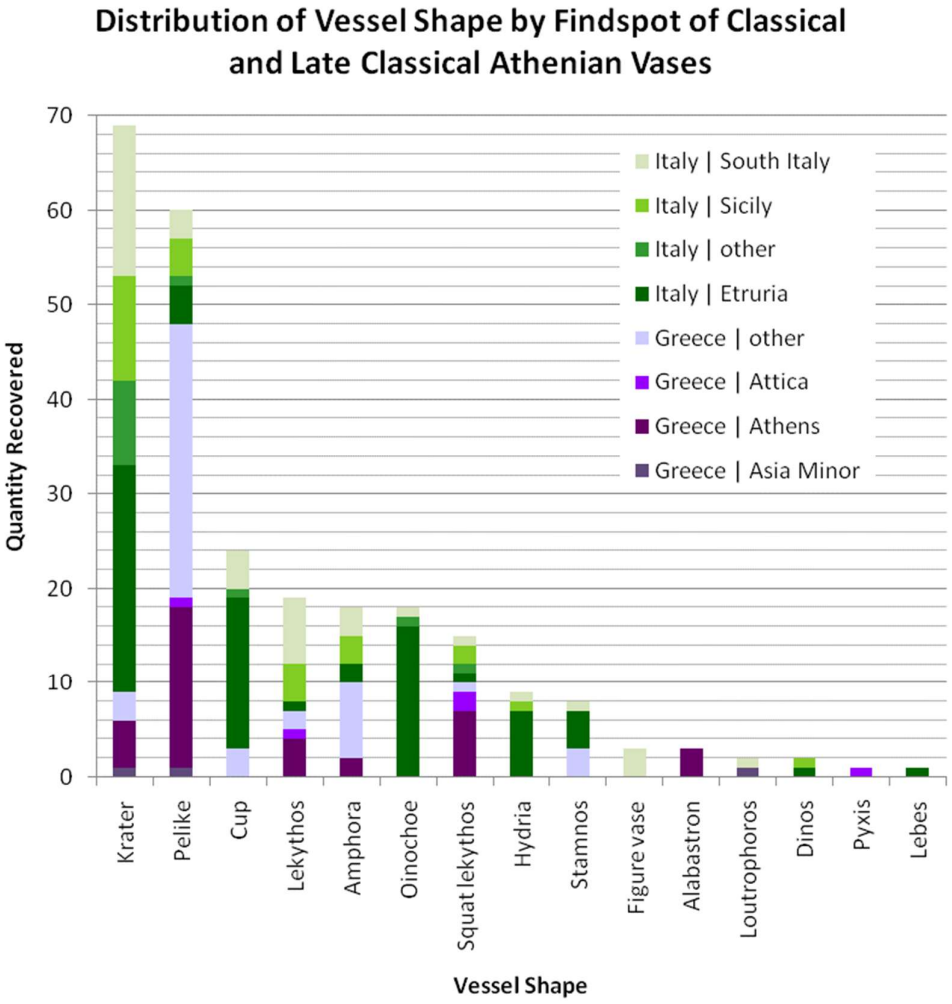


Chart 17: Bar chart showing distribution of Classical and Late Classical shapes from Greek and Italian findspots

The most popular shape, the pelike, is relatively uncommon in Italian contexts (Chart 16, Chart 17). Far more pelikai have been recovered from Russian sites, but not uniquely from Russia; Table 11 demonstrates the way in which the pelike dominates vessels recovered from across the Mediterranean. The most popular Italian import is now the krater, far outstripping the favourite of the Archaic period, the amphora. The krater is also now a more popular shape wider afield, though still not as widespread as the pelike. The majority of these are bell kraters, with a number of column kraters also in evidence. The high preservation rate of pelikai may be influenced by their use as funerary urns, particularly in northern Greece and Thrace;[249] this function may have also influenced the choice of mythological subject on the pelikai and kraters used as vessels for the internment of remains, although a group of such urns from Apollonia Pontike display a variety of scenes with both mythological and non-mythological subjects.[250]

Findspot	Pelike	Krater	Cup	Lekythos	Amphora	Oinochoe	Fragments	Squat lekythos	Hydria	Figure vase	Lekanis	Askos	Rhyton	Total
Russia	33	4	1		1				1		2	2		44
Spain	3	5	9		1									18
Libya	11	1												12
Turkey	5		1	1						1				8
France	1	2	2						1					6
Romania	4	1												5
Ukraine	1	3												4
Iran										3			1	4
North Macedonia	1					2								3
Egypt		1					1		1					3
Cyprus			1	1								1		3
Bulgaria	2	1												3
Syria		1												1
Sudan										1				1
Georgia								1						1
Albania				1										1
Total	**61**	**19**	**14**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**117**

Table 11: Distribution of Classical and Late Classical vases by shape and provenance (excluding Greece and Italy)

[249] Avramidou and Tsiafaki 2022:63.

[250] Panayotova, Damyanov, and Reho 2021: 43-44, who also note that only 3.6% of graves in the necropolis featured cremations (41).

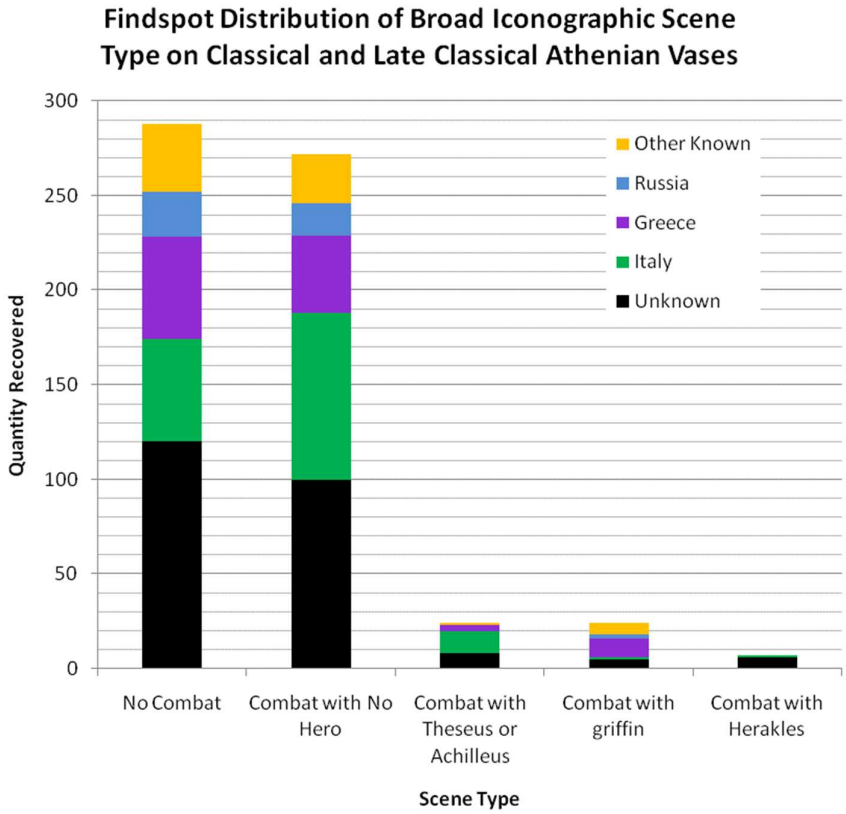


Chart 18: Bar chart showing distribution of broad scene type of Classical and Late Classical Athenian vases

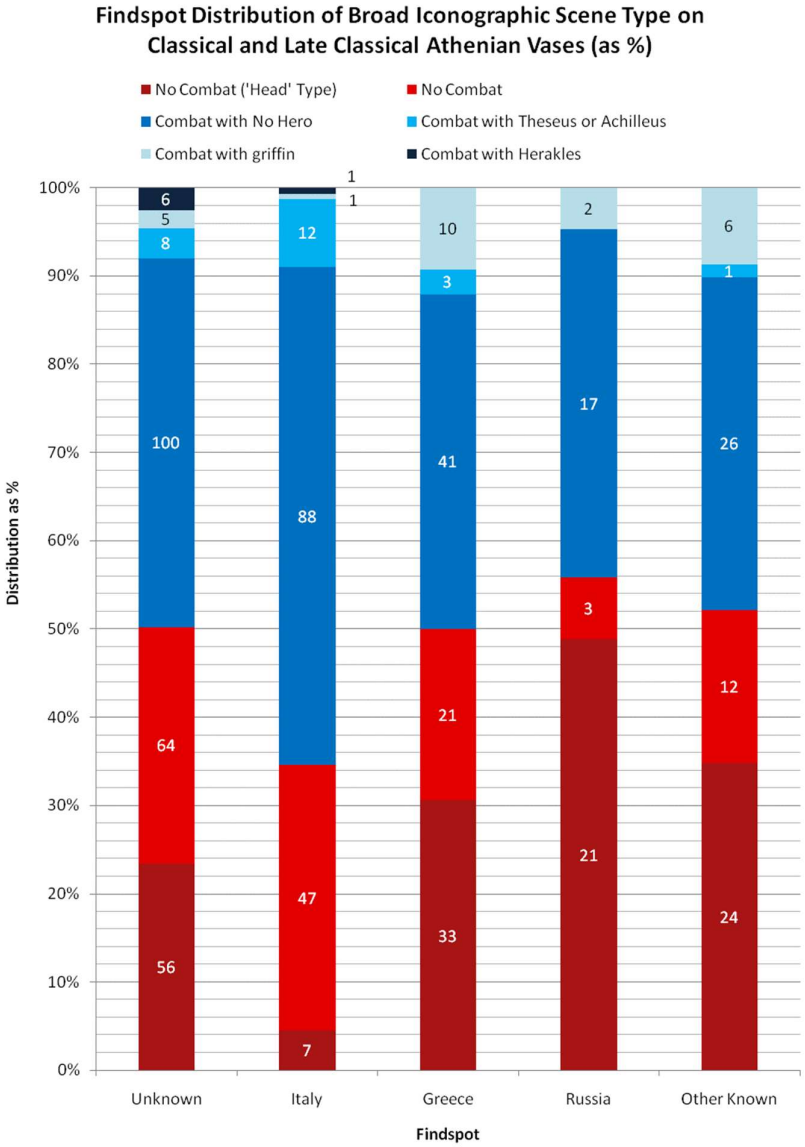


Chart 19: Percentage bar chart showing distribution of broad scene type of Classical and Late Classical Athenian vases

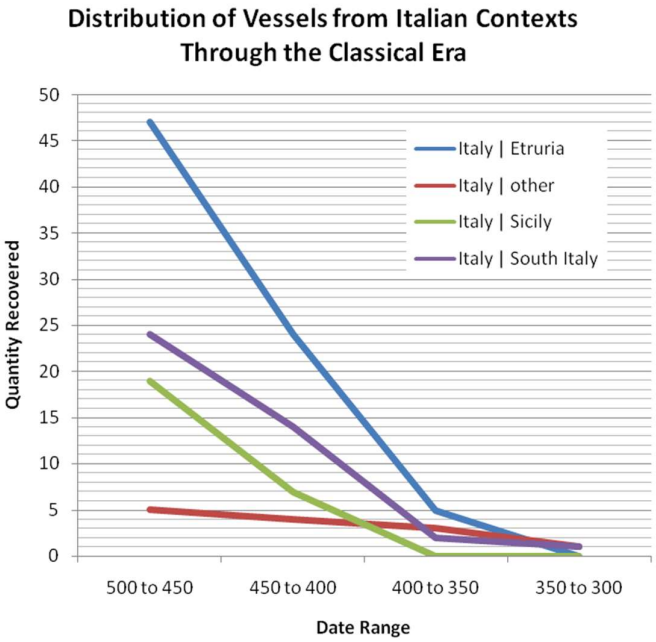


Chart 20: Line chart showing trajectory of quantity of Classical and Late Classical vessels from Italian contexts

While the distribution of cups was fairly even between Italy and Greece in the Archaic period (Chart 12), now almost all of the cups have been recovered from export contexts (Chart 16). The majority of these were recovered from Etruria (Chart 17), as were the majority of oinochoai. It is interesting to note the fairly ubiquitous presence of kraters across Italian contexts. An overall decline in the importing of Athenian vessels is also uniform across Italian contexts, and does not just represent the reduction of the Etruscan market (Chart 20). This decline was likely influenced by the increasing prominence of Italian fabrics in the fourth century,[251] a shift which had ramifications for the production of Athenian pottery more generally. This change in general distribution (illustrated in Chart 15) may also explain the reduced numbers of Athenian Amazonomachies produced in the Late Classical period rather than any loss of interest in the subject.

There are far fewer cups recovered from Greek contexts, where the pelike and the squat lekythos are the most common (Chart 17). Within Greece most examples were recovered from Athens and Attica; while other regions are also represented, the majority of sites only have one or two vessels evident. Although a great deal of scholarship has been devoted to the unusual and

[251] Although it is difficult to decipher to what extent, the Amazonomachy continued to be popular in Italy following the shift from predominantly-Athenian to predominantly-local manufacture. All of the Italian examples of Amazonomachies with provenance information were found in Italy, with the exception of 1 vessel from Albania, suggesting that the majority of the 208 unprovenanced vessels likely also came from Italian contexts. This corpus of 274 vessels in Italian fabrics demonstrates a continued and deliberate interest in the story by Italian artists.

intriguing alabastra featuring Amazons from this period,[252] they are unrepresentative of the common types within the wider corpus, with only seven examples in evidence. This makes any wider conclusions drawn about the significance of this small iconographical group difficult.

By far the most popular type now is a group fight between multiple Amazons and/or multiple Greeks, with at least one figure shown on horseback. There is a slight overall preference for scenes featuring fighting versus scenes without obvious signs of conflict, although this varies by region (Chart 19); horses are now a feature of both combat and non-combat scenes, though not featured in the majority of either. Remarkable in the geographic distribution of basic iconographic type is the vanishingly few examples of the 'Head' type recovered from Italian contexts despite their popularity in other key export markets. This may suggest a greater interest in or understanding of the Amazon mythos in the Italian market than further afield; though a preponderance of the 'Head' type recovered from Greek contexts could contradict this, a third of these were recovered from the Demos Kerameis rubbish pit.

There is a preference for the larger-scale group Amazonomachies over smaller duels; while this can in part be explained by the prevalence of the large krater, it should be noted that a similar iconographical scheme is carried across to smaller vessels like the pelike. Amazons continue to be shown in mixed outfits, with the preservation of the original armour style (sometimes with an unusual piece of headgear) alongside the Scythian style introduced towards the end of the Archaic period, as demonstrated on the dinos pictured in Figure 35. Interestingly, if the Scythian dress featured as a method for othering the Amazons, it is curious that Theseus' romantic interest Hippolyte/Antiope is shown wearing it here while the fallen Andromache is not. Theseus is named on several other examples.[253] He is accompanied by Peirithoos,[254] Phorbas,[255] and on one

[252] e.g. V1005.
[253] V1031.
[254] V1031.

occasion Teithras;[256] Andromache persists as the name of a main Amazon in combat,[257] alongside Antiope,[258] Hippolyte,[259] and Melanippe.[260]

A very small number of pieces still feature Herakles, but only one example has a preserved findspot. Many of the scenes identified as the duel of Achilleus and Penthesilea are reliant only on the scene type with no further identifying information. As discussed previously, the compositional type of a wounded or falling Amazon looking up pleadingly at her opponent is also demonstrably utilised with Herakles,[261] meaning the identification of Achilleus based on this composition alone is dubious. Where Theseus is named, it is often unclear in the wider scenes which iteration of the Amazonomachy is meant to be understood as taking place. The presence of a sapling in Figure 35 might be perceived as a reference to the sacred olive of Athena on the Acropolis; the impetus for the invasion as revenge for the abduction of Hippolyte/Antiope does not emerge in the literary sources until the late fifth century,[262] which may explain why here Hippolyte rides in with her companions. That said, the wider iconographical scheme still entirely facilitates an expedition to Themiskyra, and this particular vessel was recovered from Agrigento, where the invasion of Athens likely held less appeal.

[255] V1059
[256] V1044; Teithras is the eponymous hero of an Attic deme, but this example was excavated from Cumae.
[257] V1138.
[258] V1031.
[259] V1040.
[260] V1163.
[261] e.g. V1789.
[262] See discussion p. 79.



Images © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 35: Red-figure dinos showing a number of named figures in a large-scale Amazonomachy (V1040; c. 440-430 B.C.)

This corpus demonstrates a shift in the function of Amazons as portrayed on Athenian vases between the Archaic and Classical periods. As well as the shift towards large battle-scenes with no identifiable hero as the principal combatant, the proportion of the assemblage dedicated to non-combat scenes has increased considerably. Herakles has gone from being the most common (and easily identifiable) hero on vases to almost wholly absent from the Classical assemblage, but this has not rendered the subject of the Heraklean Amazonomachy uninteresting to most of its previous audiences. These gentle progressions are the remnants of a wider change in how the Amazon was perceived by the society contemporary to these objects. The most straightforward interpretation is to situate these vases in the immediate context of the large-scale wall paintings of Theseus discussed subsequently,[263] but this is only one context through which to understand these vessels, particularly those exported far away from Athens into wholly different cultural contexts.

Toreutics and other Metalworking

A small but significant group of metal finds featuring Amazons is extant from this period. Although their place of manufacture is less certain than with ceramics, most of these items are attributed to Athenian workshops. Many of the examples feature scenes of conflict, and some of the objects also had a clear military function. The largest example of these is the 'Thetis-fragment' backplate originally dedicated to Athena and now held at the Mougins Museum of Classical Art,[264] with a pair of helmeted female heads decorating the shoulder blades of the bronze armour. The identification of these is hypothetical, but the Phrygian helmets could plausibly suggest them to be Amazons. A similar head adorns the shoulder strap of a cuirass now in Boston.[265] Also still extant is a bronze cheek-piece from a fourth-century helmet.[266] The piece shows two Amazons locked in battle with a single male, the identification of whom is uncertain

[263] See discussion p. 110.
[264] M19.
[265] M20.
[266] M31.



Figure 36: Phalera from Bolshaya Bliznitsa showing a battle between two Amazons and two Greeks (M34; c. 350-325 B.C.)

aside from an absence of Heraklean attributes. Three phalerae have been excavated from a barrow in Bliznitza featuring Amazons; one of these is particularly striking (Figure 36), showing a Greek warrior tearing an Amazon from her horse by the hair, trampling a second Amazon's body underfoot in the process.[267] Also numerous are the examples of Amazons from mirror-covers and other similar metal appliqués. Mostly the bronze reliefs feature a dynamic duelling pair of figures, as seen in the examples in the Louvre,[268] the British Museum,[269] Nauplia,[270] and St Petersburg.[271] A bronze mirror-case from Athens unequivocally demonstrates a continued role for the Heraklean Amazonomachy on smaller-scale media well into the fourth century.[272]

Alongside these scenes of conflict, there are also examples of Amazons in non-combat situations. A mirror-cover shows a single Amazon striding forth;[273] a ring shows a mounted Amazon hunting a deer (Figure 37).[274] Amazons at rest or in non-combat situations also seems to be a common theme in non-metal jewellery. A scaraboid gem from Melos shows two Amazons resting together, one on horseback; [275] a Carnelian



Figure 37: Gold ring showing Amazon on horseback hunting deer (M22; c. 425-400 B.C.)

[267] M34; Bilimovich 1973: 30.
[268] M28.
[269] M30.
[270] M38.
[271] M29.
[272] M25.
[273] M37.
[274] M22.
[275] M54.

scarab now in Bonn shows an Amazon leaning casually on her battle axe.[276] The best-preserved example is a striking silver kantharos from the Tomba de Principesca di Roscigno, Salerno featuring an Amazon running in the centre tondo.[277] Delicately impressed beneath the figure is the name of the Amazon, Andromache, in Doric.[278]

Our understanding of where these items were made is considerably less robust than in other media. For the very few of these we have findspot information for, it is still unclear whether they travelled substantially before reaching their final owner. Schwarzmaier has made an admirable attempt to investigate and locate different workshops in the bronze mirror cases.[279] The concept of workshops in and of itself is certainly attractive, especially given the pre-existing evidence for a similar practice in ceramics. The locations of these workshops can only ever be hypothetical and based on stylistic grounds; Schwarzmaier believes that the major production site may have been located in Corinth, which was known in antiquity for its metalworking, with smaller workshops based in Euboea, Athens, and Taranto.

It is also extremely likely that many of these pieces lived varied lives before ending up in their final configuration. The aforementioned example featuring Herakles is accompanied by a lid which does not fit;[280] the positioning of the example in London is aesthetically bizarre, featuring a small pair of figures dwarfed by the wide circular backing of the mirror.[281] That small pieces of highly-decorated metal may have been reused and relocated is perhaps unsurprising from a pragmatic point of view, but it does complicate our ability to understand how the objects were perceived and understood within their lifetimes. This pattern of reuse may be further

[276] M21; Boardman 2001: 456 (p. 287).
[277] M55. I am grateful to Dr Michael Padgett for bringing this item to my attention and for corresponding with me about similar kantharoi.
[278] Pacifico and Luciano 2019: 122-123.
[279] Schwarzmaier 1997: 173, 188, 198, 200.
[280] M25.
[281] M30.

demonstrated by the large variation in the function of metal objects which feature Amazonomachies; few other subjects would serve equally well on military equipment and mirror cases. The overall pattern in the metal objects appears to parallel the examples seen in vases, with a small number of gentler non-combat scenes beginning to accompany the more brutal martial ones. The distribution of these two broad scene types is frequently dictated by the object in question, such as the use of combat scenes on martial dress, but combat also appears on more civilian items such as mirrors and jewellery.

Wall Paintings

The large-scale battle scenes on vases are often assumed to have derived from wall paintings known to have been displayed in public edifices around this era. The first of these buildings, the Theseion,[282] has never been found, but is known to have been situated in the area of the old agora, probably to the north-east of the Acropolis.[283] It must have existed in some form by 476/5 B.C., as Kimon installed the 'bones of Theseus' captured from Skyros in a building made specifically for this purpose, described later by Pausanias as the ἱερόν and σηκὸς for Theseus.[284] It must also have been a relatively substantial building, as later in the century Athenian troops spent the night "in armour in the Theseion within the walls".[285] As Boardman points out, substantial construction at this time would have contravened the Oath of Plataea, which perhaps suggests the structure already existed prior to Kimon and his role was in its modernisation and adornment.[286]

Pausanias' description of the painting is brief, noting only that it is Athenians fighting Amazons and that the same story is told on the shield of Athena Parthenos and the throne of Olympian

[282] S24.

[283] Dickenson 2015: 733-734.

[284] Paus. 1.17.2-6; Plut. *Thes*. 36.1-4; Plut. *Cim*. 8.3-6.

[285] Thuc. 6.61.2 ("ἐν Θησείῳ τῷ ἐν πόλει ἐν ὅπλοις"). It has also been suggested that the later Heroon of Trysa may have taken architectural inspiration from the Theseion; c.f. Barron 1972: 22.

[286] Boardman 1982: 17.

Zeus; the subsequent discussion of the other paintings suggests the Amazonomachy was also a work of Mikon. His briefness in description would suggest the composition was similar to those described elsewhere, including the Painted Stoa. The other wall paintings in the Theseion represent stories central to Theseus, including a Centauromachy and the retrieval of Minos' ring, the latter of which is in his words "not intelligible to those unfamiliar with the traditions".[287] A possible fourth panel may have represented Theseus' resurrection, which would fit thematically with the purpose of the building.[288]

The second of these buildings, the Painted Stoa,[289] is at least attested archaeologically. Also located in the Athenian agora, the building foreshadows the later architectural complexity of the Parthenon by featuring columns from both Doric and Ionic orders.[290] That the building was originally known as the Peisianakteion, "after Peisianaktos who built it", is attested in antiquity;[291] the Amazon unusually named "Πεσιανασ[σ]α" on a red-figure bell krater attributed to Polygnotus, likely a reference to this edifice, would thus further attest to its original nomenclature.[292] The name Peisianax has been connected by Davies to Kimon; this would be chronologically compatible with pottery finds from the Agora excavation which suggest the construction dates to the second quarter of the fifth century.[293] This theorised connection to Kimon, who was subsequently exiled in 461 B.C., may explain why its name had changed to the Painted Stoa by at least as early as the fourth century B.C., even in official documents.[294] A more plausible explanation may be the introduction of Ephialtes' reforms, which probably forbade the

[287] Paus. 1.17.3.

[288] As argued by Barron 1972: 44.

[289] S23.

[290] Camp 1986: 66.

[291] Scholiast on Demosthenes XX 112 (Agora III p. 23; "ἀπό Πεισιάνακτος τοῦ κτίσαντος"); cf. also Plut. *Cim*. 4.5: "ἐν τῇ Πεισιανακτείῳ τότε καλουμένῃ, Ποικίλῃ δὲ νῦν στοᾷ".

[292] V1173.

[293] Davies 1971: 376-377. The connection is via Alcibiades' cousin "Euptolemos, son of Peisianax" who greeted him on his return to Athens in 407 B.C. (Xen. *Hell*. 1.4.19); this Euptolemos is suggested to be the grandson of the Euptolemos known to have been the father of Kimon's wife, Isodice (Plut. *Cim*. 4.9). The younger Euptolemos' father Peisianax would therefore plausibly be active in the first half of the fifth century.

[294] For use of the name in public documents see I.G. II^2 1641 25-30.

use of private names on public monuments at around the same time.[295] Kimonian patronage of the stoa would also obviously be in keeping with their known development of the contemporary Theseion discussed above. The building began life as a court of justice, but later became a place for philosophers to congregate and exchange "trifling arguments".[296] Pausanias equips us with a slightly more fulsome description of the Amazonomachy in this monument:

> "On the middle wall are the Athenians and Theseus fighting with the Amazons. So, it seems, only the women did not lose through their defeats their reckless courage in the face of danger; Themiscyra was taken by Herakles, and afterwards the army which they dispatched to Athens was destroyed, but nevertheless they came to Troy to fight all the Greeks as well as the Athenians themselves."[297]

The painting was known in antiquity to have been done by Mikon; one source even notes that he was paid for the piece, as opposed to the charitable work of Polygnotus.[298] The other stories known to have been represented in the stoa are the Battle of Marathon (featuring Kimon's father Miltiades as well as Theseus, Herakles, and Athena), an Iliupersis featuring Ajax and Cassandra, and an unknown battle between Athenians, Argives, and Lacedaemonians at Oinoe.[299] These stories refer to the great feats of Athenians and their heroes, blurring the line between historical and pseudo-historical. Thematic connections between some of the pieces are obvious, especially

[295] Jeffery 1965: 41; also Meiggs 1963: 44. Meiggs notes a later interaction between Perikles and the demos where they specify the funds for the Parthenon should come from tribute, not private funds (IG I³ 49 lines 12-16); there does not appear to be any direct evidence of aristocratic patronage of public buildings being expressly forbidden, but there is little direct evidence of Ephialtes' reforms in general.

[296] Dem. 45.17; Ath. III 104b.

[297] Paus 1.15.2.

[298] Arr. Anab. 7.3.5; Plin. NH. 35.59 ("[Polygnotus] Athenis porticum, quae Poecile vocatur, gratuito, cum partem eius Micon mercede pingeret").

[299] Paus. 1.15.1-3. None of the explanations for identifying this battle are satisfactory; it seems unlikely that Thucydides would neglect to mention a battle important enough to be celebrated with a painting that was still present in the agora centuries later, even if it was only a minor skirmish (as argued by e.g. Luginbill 2014: 289). The most innovative explanation, proposed by D.C. Yates (2014), is that the painting originally showed the battle of Tanagra but was later mischaracterised or attached to a different conflict. This resolves some aspects of the debate but does provoke further questions, especially in how or why such a reattribution would happen. The most intriguing requirement of Yates' resolution is to accept that the Athenians initially thought of Tanagra as their victory and propagandized it as such in the Theseion; a line in Plato's Menexenus does suggest that initially both sides claimed the day (Plat. Menex. 242a-b).

that of the Iliupersis and the Amazons' pseudo-historical Sack of Athens.[300] The prominence of conflict, particularly historical conflicts, has led the monument to be characterised by some as a victory monument or "war memorial" for Marathon.[301] Certainly central is the character of Theseus, who is explicitly present in at least two of the four paintings.

Pausanias is also explicit in his identification of the type of Amazonomachy represented in both the Theseion and the Painted Stoa. If, as is widely assumed, the Sack by the Amazons is intended to reference the historical sacking by the Persians of the Acropolis in 480/479 B.C., the chronology of this ideological development becomes of moderate complexity. As discussed above, the Theseion must have existed in some form by a few years later than this date in order for Kimon to deposit the bones from Skyros there. The production of a wall painting by a single artist would be logistically more expedient than, for instance, the commissioning of a large-scale sculptural monument, leaving its creation practically possible in a reasonably short time-frame; but the timeline necessitated by assuming Mikon painted and installed an illustration of the Sack of Athens in the Theseion at the time of the bones' deposition would require an incredibly swift mythologizing around an event which would have been in almost everyone's living memory. The Sack of Athens by the Amazons is not certainly attested until 458 B.C., when it is mentioned in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*,[302] and three decades would be a much more plausible window for such an event to be gently blended with the pseudo-historical. There is of course no certain date

[300] The lack of other specific thematic coherence has led to a theory that a conceptual unity connected to the Eleusinian mysteries may underpin the monument as a whole (Cruciani and Fiorini 1998: 75).

[301] Shear Jr. 2016: 15.

[302] Aesch. Eum. 684-685. Evidence for the abduction of Hippolyte/Antiope as a story element is known from the early fifth century at least, but the Amazons' retaliation and subsequent sack is not a demonstrable part of the narrative until the *Eumenides* (see Chapter 3). The very fragmentary Amazonomachy from the Acropolis dating to circa 480 (S09bis) is also not conclusive evidence of its existence before the late 460s, as it could have represented the expedition to Themiskyra. The sack is mentioned in Herodotus' account of Plataea (9.27.4), but this would require an uncritical acceptance of the content of the speeches as reported in Herodotus, rather than perceiving them as pseudo-historical reflections giving a flavour of the event. By the time Herodotus was writing, overthrowing the Amazon invasion had become well-established as a point of Athenian pride, and it is easy to see how such an achievement might have been retrospectively added to the speeches at Plataea.

associated with the paintings of Mikon; perhaps the Theseion existed in a fairly rudimental form in 476 B.C., and the beautification scheme attributed to Kimon took place more gradually across the subsequent decade.

The alternative is that Pausanias is wrong. Although he is adamant that both of these depictions were 'Theseus and the Athenians against the Amazons', it is plausible that the assault on Themiscyra was shown, but the intervening centuries invited a shift in understanding that led him to believe, or be told, that the setting was Athens. The accuracy of Pausanias' reporting has already been questioned for another painting in the Stoa Poikile. Finding evidence of the otherwise-unknown battle at "Οἰνόη τῆς Ἀργεία" has proven impossible, leading to speculation that Pausanias' broader identification of the battle shown may be incorrect.[303] We also have reasonably contemporary evidence to suggest that the paintings were not labelled; Aeschines writes that although everyone knows he is present in the painting of the battle of Marathon, Miltiades' name is "not written there".[304] This definitely adds weight to the possibility that the Theseion Amazonomachy was also misidentified by Pausanias as taking place in Athens, and in fact showed the expedition to Themiscyra.

It is a clear feature of all extant Classical Amazonomachies that the setting is entirely ambiguous. An uneven or rocky terrain is sometimes taken to indicate the Acropolis slopes,[305] as exemplified in the volute krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs now in New York, or the volute krater by the Niobid Painter now in Malibu,[306] but this is the closest the figures get to being placed in a firm setting. Even the presence of Theseus does not entirely help, as by this time he has a long-established role in the outing to Themiscyra. This expedition also potentially continued to be shown on vases well into the fifth century, as demonstrated by both the dinos mentioned

[303] See discussion p. 112 n. 300.

[304] Aeschin. 3.186 ("ἐκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται").

[305] e.g. Boardman 1982: 19, though he also urges caution in assuming the Sack of Athens is represented.

[306] V1034; V1032.

previously (Figure 35) and a calyx krater fragment where Theseus is named in combat with Antiope (Figure 38).[307] Barron believed that specifically depicting Antiope's abduction played a part in defining which Amazonomachy is shown,[308] suggesting that Antiope's absence may imply the Sack of Athens is represented, but even on Archaic vases (where the expedition to Themiscyra is the presumed canon) Antiope is rarely named, and only a tiny number of vases actually depict the abduction itself.[309] Similarly, as Antiope's abduction was not universally stated as the Amazons' motivation for the Sack of Athens even by in the fourth century B.C.;[310] these duels between her and Theseus could equally be taking place in Athens.



Image © BnF, MMA

Figure 38: Fragment of red-figure calyx krater showing Theseus and Antiope in combat, both named (V1091; c. 475-425 B.C.)

[307] V1296. The first attested example of a conflation between Hippolyte and Antiope as the names of Theseus' victim is in Isocrates' Panathenaicus, a speech delivered at least a century after these paintings were made (Isoc. 10.193; the Loeb edition dates it to 339 B.C.). This makes it possible that vases with Amazons named 'Hippolyte' could also be referencing Theseus' abductee, and further demonstrate the longevity of the expedition to Themiscyra (e.g. V1040, the dinos discussed previously, showing combat between Hippolyte and Theseus, both of which are named).

[308] Barron 1972: 33.

[309] There are ten known examples of this scene type; six of them have the characters named (V0931, V0929, V0933, V0935, V0936, V1671).

[310] See discussion p. 52.

There are essentially two plausible scenarios for the Amazonomachy in the Theseion: that the assault on Athens was not initially intended as a reference, or that it was. The underlying meaning of these two conflicts, the sack of the Acropolis and the invasion of Themiscyra, could not be more different; in one, the Amazons defend their homeland, and in the other they brutally sack the most sacred part of the city in which the painting stood. Similarly transformative is the role of Antiope in the story; were the Amazons invading Athens out of jealousy, or were they attempting to rescue their doomed companion? It is noteworthy, therefore, that the iconography we have preserved from this monument seems to accommodate all interpretations simultaneously. The assumption that the Theseion Amazonomachy is the Sack of Athens is an understandable but retrospective one, applied in the context of later monuments where the identification is more certain. Rather than definitively deciding one story was intended over another, it is this exact ambiguity which is interesting. As observed before in the strange dualities around the rape of Antiope, either there is some key clue which we as a modern audience are ignorant of, or this uncertainty is a fundamental feature of depicting the Amazon.

A similar duality is observable in the costumes of the Amazons shown on these large battle-scene vases, thought to stand as a helpful preservation of the original iconography of the contemporary wall paintings;[311] an example has already been given in Figure 35. In these depictions the Amazons are thus familiarised and othered simultaneously, both like and not-like the Greek warriors they are fighting. This raises the question of what form of clothing they wore in the wall paintings, given that all of these forms of dress persist at least into the third quarter of the fifth

[311] Argued persuasively by Barron 1972: 20-39. Certainly the introduction of overlapping figures and multiple registers are likely to derive from wall painting, but it is questionable how much other 'stock phrases' of duelling figures should be assumed to derive from this source; they were a clear staple of Archaic vases, and it seems unwise to assume that creativity and invention in representing battle scenes was the reserve of wall-painters.

century,[312] but it also contradicts a simpler interpretation of the Amazons as purely analogous to the Persian invaders.

Fifth-Century Monumental Architecture

Noteworthy in the Marathon painting is Pausanias' explicit reference to the presence of Herakles with Athena, two figures which we can hardly imagine he misidentified. Herakles' presence on Athenian public monuments persists well into the fifth century, contradicting the characterisation by some of Herakles as an aristocratic, Archaic hero and Theseus as a democratic, Classical one.[313] The Heraklean Amazonomachy also makes an appearance in the nearby Hephaisteion,[314] whose sculptural decoration is thought to date at the earliest to the middle of the century.[315] The metopes feature the exploits of Herakles, including the quest for the girdle, though this particular metope is extremely poorly preserved (Figure 39).



Figure 39: Drawing of Hephaisteion metope (S28; c. 450-440 B.C.)

The Hephaisteion is something of a successor to the Treasury at Delphi, featuring as it does the exploits of both Theseus and Herakles, but here the Amazons are deliberately shown as an opponent of Herakles, not Theseus. The persistence of the Heraklean Amazonomachy on the Hephaisteion also undermines the attempt to interpret all ambiguous Amazonomachies in this period as being either Theseus' expedition or the Sack of Athens.

[312] e.g. V1063.
[313] e.g. Dubois 1982: 66.
[314] S28.
[315] Hurwit 1999: 158.

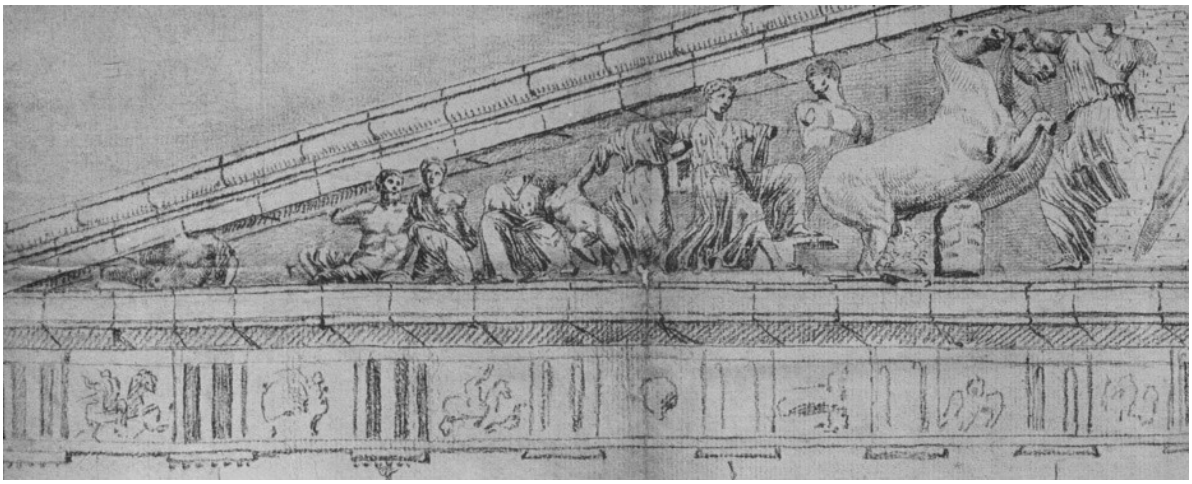


Figure 40: Detail from Carrey's sketch of the western front of the Parthenon drawn in 1674 (S32; c. 440-430 B.C.)

The Hephaisteion is a contemporary of the Parthenon, which also prominently featured an Amazonomachy as part of its decorative scheme. Situated on the west façade, the Amazon metopes were installed around 442 B.C. and have sadly been profoundly damaged in the intervening centuries by both nature and human hand.[316] In his crucial sketch of the west pediment, Carrey unfortunately neglected to detail the metopes beneath beyond the vaguest of shapes (Figure 40); our earliest preserved image of them therefore dates until well after the 1687 explosion (Figure 41), and it is likely they had already suffered damage during the Early Christian



Image © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 41: Detail from H.W. Inwood's 1818 watercolour of the Parthenon (S32; c. 440-430 B.C.)

[316] Cook 1984: 18; the roof was in place by 442 B.C.

period.[317] Some of the material is still in situ, though Brommer's 1967 publication supplies comprehensive photographs;[318] the best-preserved examples were removed in 2012 and now reside in the Acropolis Museum.

Image © Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 42: Sketch by William Pars c. 1765 of West Metope 1 (S32; c. 440-430 B.C.)

© The Acropolis Museum (Photo: Adam Robson)

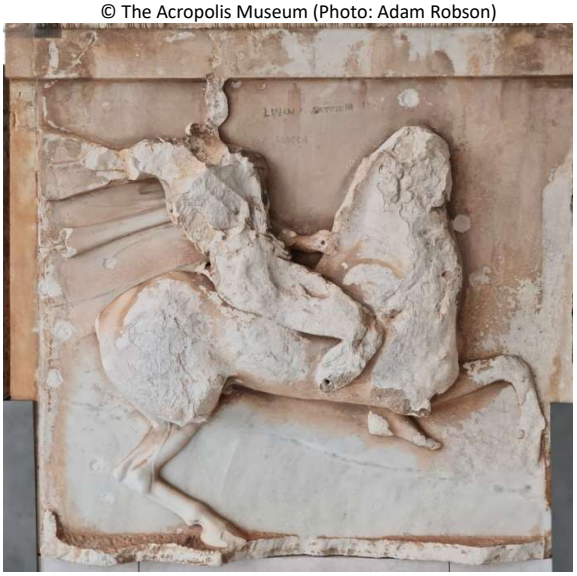


Figure 43: Modern photograph of West Metope 1 (S32; c. 440-430 B.C.)

Of the fourteen metopes which originally existed, only a few are still complete enough to allow for some analysis. The best-preserved example is the first metope (Figure 42-Figure 43), situated on the north corner of the west side. A mounted figure is clearly identifiable, moving towards the right; such is the state of preservation, though, that even in this metope we cannot be sure of the gender of the figure.[319] Indeed, the lack of any certainly identifiable female figures across the metopes remains a problematic obstacle in understanding this decorative feature as an

[317] Ellinghaus 2011: 11.

[318] Ebersole's description of his work to capture the metopes is delightful: "I was able also to project the ladder far enough from the architrave to make photographs, some of which, to be sure, are not satisfactory, but the difficulties of taking them at all were great and these difficulties were often much increased by high wind. I succeeded, however, in examining the end of the building twice, while Mrs. Ebersole remained within easy hearing to make note of all observations and measurements." (1899: 409-410)

[319] Brommer 1967: 3-4. This is otherwise a characteristic image of the Amazon, riding with a cloak billowing behind and the weapon raised above the head; and there are a few examples of Amazons facing mounted Greek opponents (e.g. V1147).

Amazonomachy, though the majority of scholars have concluded that it must be.[320] The figures on the metopes have been chiefly reduced to a series of amorphous bodies, difficult to pick out against the scarred backdrop of the building. They are not unique in being so poorly preserved; the well-preserved examples of Parthenon metopes are the exception, rather than the rule. It is merely an unfortunate fact of identifying Amazonomachies that the gender of the participants is a decisive factor.

© The Acropolis Museum (Photo: Adam Robson)

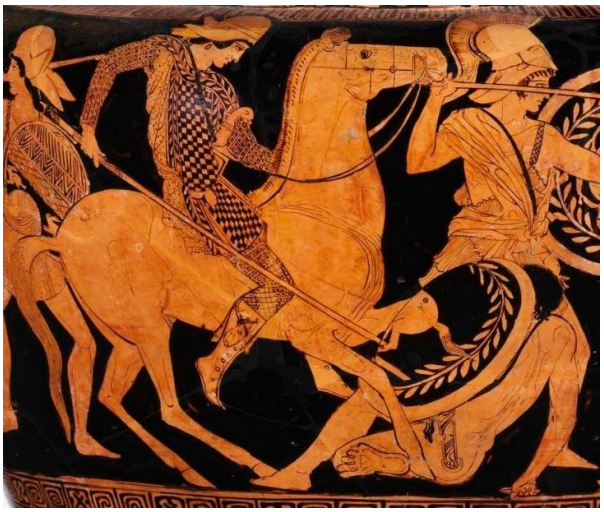


Figure 44: Detail of Amazonomachy on red-figure volute krater showing similar scene to Metope 3 (V1034; c. 475-425 B.C.)

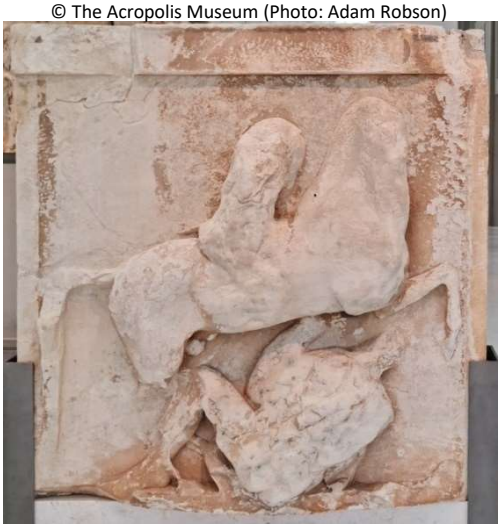


Figure 45: Modern photograph of West Metope 3 (S32; c. 440-430 B.C.)

Brommer asserts that, upon weighing the sum total of the evidence, there is no definitive reason to favour identifying these figures as Amazons or Persians.[321] So poor is the preservation of the monument in its current state, it is not possible to discern their identity from the extant material. Inferences can only be made based on the thematic relevance of the myth in context. We know for certain that an Amazonomachy played a major part in the decorative scheme inside the building, featuring on Athena Parthenos' shield. The inclusion of an Amazonomachy on the Treasury at Delphi demonstrates that such an iconographical scheme has precedence in architectural sculpture, both recently and in Athenian monuments; the counter-example presented by Brommer of the metopes from the Hellenistic temple of Athena at Ilion is now

[320] See Brommer 1967: 190-195 for discussion.
[321] Brommer 1967: 195.

identified as an Amazonomachy.[322] Similarly, badly damaged as they are, the metopes demonstrate numerous resemblances and parallels to Amazonomachies preserved on vases of this era (Figure 44-Figure 45). It still remains most likely, therefore, that an Amazonomachy was shown on the west façade.

As Bothmer has observed, a rider was present in all of the odd-numbered metopes.[323] For the most part the metopes seem to have represented a series of duels; the first metope is the only example where no opponent is visible. The central metopes are weathered beyond any credible reconstruction, likely because of the missing geison block, which seems to have been lost in the explosion.[324] Even allowing for this gap in understanding, the iconography appears to alternate between duels on foot and duels between one mounted figure, probably an Amazon, and a figure on foot. It is usually reasonably clear from the iconography who the victor of each scene will be; while Greeks are victorious in four examples, an Amazon strikes down a Greek in seven. Coupled with the repetitive compositions of duelling figures, this leaves an overall impression of the Amazons' prowess, especially on horseback.[325]

There can be little doubt that by this period the represented Amazonomachy is the sack of Athens, especially as it looked out over the 'historical' battle lines.[326] It is not possible to identify either Herakles or Theseus among the surviving figures, but it also seems plausible that they were represented; Bothmer tentatively suggests that Theseus may be visible in the final metope, though Brommer has questioned the likelihood of the main hero being situated at the edge of the fray.[327] Several metopes still have remnants of blue and red pigment, and there are also clear

[322] Rose 2013: 186-188.
[323] Bothmer 1957: 208-209.
[324] Brommer 1967: 12. It is missing in Dalton's illustrations of 1749 but present in Carrey.
[325] Ellinghaus 2011: 26.
[326] Shear Jr 2016: 108.
[327] Bothmer 1957: 209; Brommer 1967: 21.

boreholes for metal attachments, alongside holes caused by gunfire.[328] Each duel makes reasonably good use of an awkward space, filling the frame with a series of dynamic poses helped by the inclusion of figures on horseback. The only metope with enough surface preserved to comment on is the first; the flesh of the horse and the delicate drapery are executed with clear precision on the high-quality Pentelic marble.

The Amazonomachy also features on the outside of the shield of the so-called Athena Parthenos,[329] the monumental chryselephantine statue by Pheidias which stood inside the Parthenon. The statue was completed by 438 B.C., when Pheidias moved to work in Olympia. It is likely that the external decoration on the shield was constructed in silver gilt appliqués.[330] Pausanias only discusses the statue's shield briefly in reference to the Theseion; it is better preserved to us in copies, the earliest of which dates to the first century B.C. Our best contemporary material is the complex battle scenes on vases discussed previously, and it is obviously difficult to be certain which of these numerous large-scale combats the vases have been inspired by. An excellent example of a potential source of inspiration is a red-figure squat lekythos by Aison (Figure 46).[331]



Figure 46: Drawing of red-figure squat lekythos attributed to Aison featuring Amazonomachy (V1044; c. 425-415 B.C.)

[328] Brommer 1967: 3-21; Ebersole 899: 427-432.
[329] S30.
[330] Harrison 1966: 112.
[331] V1044.

The overall conceptual composition of the fight is preserved in copies like the example in Patras, where the nature of the battle as a series of around thirty figures upon a scattered background is visible.[332] For individual detailed figures, the best source is a series of reliefs now in the Piraeus; it is possible they were made utilising casts from the shield itself.[333] The iconographical composition of the fighting is very similar to the Parthenon metopes, though the Amazons here are shown on foot.[334] Aside from a notorious story about a portrait of Perikles himself hidden among the Greeks, there is no clearly identifiable figure; Harrison proposes that the male figures may have been representations of the autochthonous Attic kings, rising from the ground to protect their homeland.[335] The Piraeus reconstructions feature architectural elements such as city walls, suggesting the Acropolis as a setting,[336] and it indeed seems likely that the Sack of Athens should again be understood as the subject here.

It is obviously difficult to overstate the significance of the Parthenon, an unparalleled object of discussion nearly two and a half millennia after its construction. Its uniqueness derives in large part from its role as a visibly prominent, extravagantly expensive, and polis-commissioned monument in the heart of Athens' most sacred space. These qualities would have been as important in antiquity as they are today, and thus the choices made in the Parthenon's creation necessitate serious consideration. There is some clear thematic cohesiveness between the four stories on the metopes; each side shows a conflict, and each opponent in the conflict can be characterised ideologically by their otherness. The Centauromachy is the purest expression of this idea, with its tortured, animalistic beings running rampant at an event of both social and sacred significance.

[332] Bothmer 1957: 213.
[333] Palagia 2019: 336.
[334] Stewart 1995: 587 suggests this may be due to the new citizenship law; it seems more plausible that a mounted figure would be more logistically difficult to incorporate.
[335] Harrison 1966: 130-131.
[336] Hurwit 1999: 187.

Regardless of any broader ideological theme, the most immediate and obvious connection between the different stories is their status as epic battles of the nebulous past. The Amazons have evolved from merely one of Herakles' conquests into truly formidable foes. This is poignantly reflected in their clear prowess within the metopes; they are the victor more often than they are not. To an Athenian viewer, the Amazons were unique among the iconography of the metopes in representing what they understood to be their own city's past elevated to this high mythic level, their sack of Athens equated to the destruction of Troy, the Athenian victory over the Amazons directly equated to the triumph of the gods over the giants both in the metopes and the shield of Athena Parthenos.

The lack of a clear cultic function for the Parthenon is a long-established problem, principally because of a dearth of evidence for the cult to Athena Parthenos in this era and the absence of an altar.[337] A recent article by van Rookhuijzen even proposes detaching the word 'Parthenon' from the building altogether, arguing instead that the treasury to Athena Parthenos known as the Parthenon in ancient documents was situated in the building now known as the Erechtheion, with the room containing Pheidias' colossal statue instead known in antiquity, at least to begin with, as the Hekatompedon treasury.[338] This does not chiefly require much of a re-interpretation of the building except in how it removes the last vestiges of its potential role as a cult monument to Athena, transforming it into something more like the polis treasuries at Delphi and Olympia, a victory monument to Athens' greatness. All edifices within a shrine should be partly understood as defined by their relationship to the god; but conceptualising the Parthenon as a monumental treasury built to house the wealth amassed in the name of the Delian League adds a pronounced framework to the belligerent content of the metopes.

[337] Hurwit 1999: 164. That said, no evidence of an altar has been found at Bassai either, and Keyser proposes that the proximate Temple of Zeus on Mount Lykaion may have served that function there (2017: 57).

[338] van Rookhuijzen 2020.

The ideological shift is subtle, but the emphasis of the message of the sculptural programme is transformed from a thank-offering to a threat. While still giving honour to Athena through its mere existence, the Parthenon and its contents also served as a warning to the rest of the Greek world, demonstrating the vast resources the Athenians had at their disposal. It also broadcast their historical success, elevating their victory over the Amazons to the equivalent of epic. This is further reinforced through the presence of pseudo-historical figures in the pediment above, watching over the great contest between Athena and Poseidon; even in the long-forgotten mists of time Athens was so spectacular a city that the deities themselves brawled for its patronage. Dressed by the monumental steps leading up to the west façade, this side was the most visibly prominent to those entering the sanctuary through the Propylaia. This riot of Athenian exceptionalism, executed in high-quality Pentelic marble, was the first striking culmination of the so-called Periklean building programme.

The Amazonomachy in Athens thus reaches its most extensive positioning the decorative elements of the Parthenon. It may have been re-deployed in a smaller scale for the pediment of the Temple of Athena Nike around 420 B.C.,[339] but this is an entirely hypothetical suggestion based on its thematic relevance to the setting; no evidence of it remains. A bronze statue by Strongylion is known only from a brief reference in Pliny,[340] but is likely preserved via a small bronze copy from Herculaneum (Figure 47). This could be a facsimile based on the statues of Antiope or Molpadia mentioned in Pausanias at the entrance to Athens.[341]



Figure 47: Engraving of bronze statuette from Herculaneum which may depict the lost group by Strongylion (S21; statuette c.1st B.C., original statue c. 510-500 B.C.)

[339] Despinis 1974: 22.
[340] Plin. *NH*. 34.82.
[341] Paus. 1.2.1.

An Amazonomachy was also present on The Temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora, but both its current name and location are deceptive. This edifice was originally the Temple of Athena Pallenis in Pallene, a deme of Athens on the road to Marathon;[342] the temple seems to have been relocated to Athens in the Augustan period.[343] The sculpture has been dated stylistically to c. 430-420 B.C. but is fairly fragmentary, leaving only broad identification possible, with scenes including the epiphany of Apollo to Pallene and a sacrifice involving Athena.[344] The dating of the decoration along with the presence of Apollo invites the contextualisation of the plague, a known influence of (among others) the Temple of Apollo at Bassai.[345] The original temple base in Pallene is also aligned with Delos, Apollo's birthplace.[346]

The sculpture of a riding Amazon now in Boston has been historically associated with this structure, but this attribution seems unlikely given the difference in both materials and scale.[347] Of the extant fragments only a few can be certainly associated with the metopes; mostly they are the disembodied heads of Amazons. It is tempting to define this use of the Amazonomachy as a natural descendent of the Parthenon, but the overall sculptural programme was obviously executed with considerable reference to the function of the building in its immediate context. This invites the possibility of the metopes referring to a local legend; perhaps there was an Amazoneum in the vicinity, similar to those described by Plutarch in nearby Megara and Euboea.[348] The manner in which the Amazons were said to have run rampant en route to Athens has obvious parallels to the trail of destruction wreaked by Xerxes during his invasion, and the conceptualisation of Amazons as foreign invaders would have been relevant outside of the specific context of the Athenian Acropolis. The remnants of this temple from Pallene also likely

[342] Hdt. 1.62.3.
[343] Harrison 2005: 119.
[344] Stewart 2019: 625.
[345] Paus. 8.41.8.
[346] Stewart 2019: 697.
[347] Boston MFA 03.751; it is still listed as a related entry on Digital LIMC (ID 44114).
[348] Plut. Thes. 27.5-6.

demonstrate the extension of decorative elements and themes from the Athenian Acropolis into the wider asty of Attica, a practice which was likely also a feature of the iconographical choices of other temples at Eleusis, Rhamnous, and Sounion.

The Fourth Century: The Kallithea Monument

This striking monument, still sadly unpublished,[349] was discovered during the remodelling of the Athenian Piraeus in the mid-twentieth century and is now housed in the Piraeus Museum.[350] It lay on the road between Athens and the Piraeus in the ancient demos of Xypete,[351] and was probably surrounded by a number of other funerary monuments; other graves and burial enclosures have been found nearby.[352]

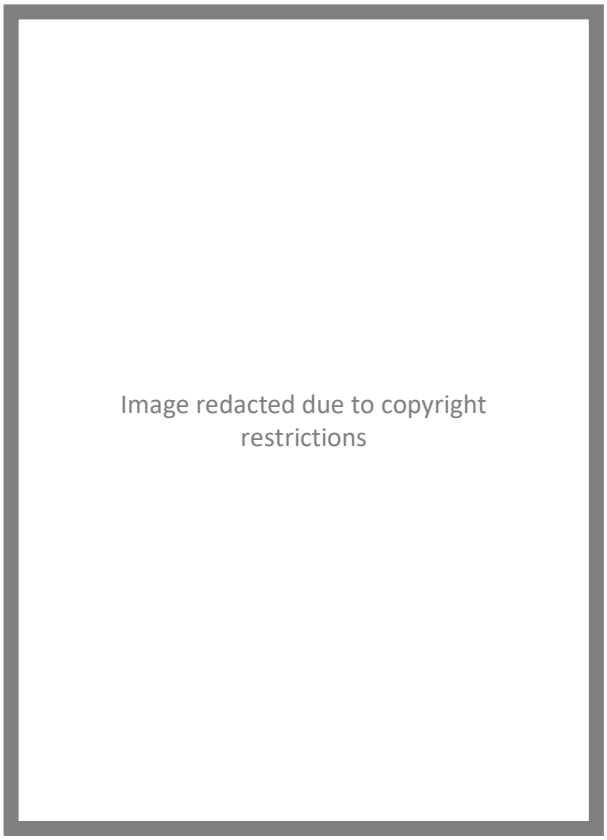


Figure 48: The Kallithea Monument (S48; c. 360-340 B.C.)

Standing at 8.3 metres high,[353] the monument is formed of a limestone podium decorated by an Amazonomachy frieze in Pentelic marble surmounted by a naiskos sitting upon two steps (Figure 48). The lower step contained the dedicatory inscription, and the higher step was decorated by an animal frieze featuring lions, panthers, dogs, and bulls.[354] Inside the naiskos were three freestanding statues rendered from Pentelic marble,

[349] Israel 2016: 110.
[350] Leriou and Mourouglou 2006: 30-31.
[351] Garland 1982: 158.
[352] Leriou and Mourouglou 2006: 33. This reflects an unsurprising and wide trend of situating grave monuments on the roads into Greek cities (Closterman 1999: 139).
[353] Tsirivakos 1971: 109.
[354] Israel 2016: 145.

standing in stark contrast to the darker Hymettian marble behind.[355] These most likely represent the two named tomb owners, Nikeratos and his son Polyxenos, with an accompanying servant.[356] The choice for all three figures to face out towards the viewer reflects the increased frontality typical of late fourth-century Attic grave sculpture,[357] deliberately emphasised by the contrasted background. It can be stylistically dated to the end of the fourth century, before the introduction of Demetrios of Phaleron's luxury law in 317.

The status of the tomb owners as metics is recorded in the inscription, which records that Nikeratos is *Πολυίδο ̓Ιστριανός*. Istria was a colony of Miletos on the coast of the Black Sea established in the seventh century,[358] and was likely subject to a number of cultural influences,[359] which may explain the ease with which the Kallithea Monument incorporates several cultural styles. The Black Sea region was a major source of grain for Athens in this period,[360] and it seems likely that both Nikeratos' role in Athens and his considerable wealth derived from his involvement in this industry. Given that one of the primary grain routes in this period would have run alongside Halikarnassos, it is possible that Nikeratos saw the Mausoleum himself.[361]

The monument's similarity to the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (discussed subsequently)[362] is striking; the large podium, the temple-like naiskos, and the decorative Amazonomachy frieze at the top of the podium all have strong parallels to the Mausoleum, as well as the particular composition of the Amazonomachy frieze itself.[363] Other aspects of the monument (such as the

[355] Squire 2018: 540.
[356] Ridgway 1990: 31.
[357] Ridgway 1997: 177.
[358] Avram, Hind, and Tsetskhladze 2004: 993.
[359] Milesian colonists almost certainly continued to make local-style artefacts (Tsetskhladze 2002: 84-85), but there is also evidence of Greek-style monuments being produced locally (Alexandrescu Vianu 2000: 114).
[360] Oliver 2007: 252.
[361] Israel 2013: 63.
[362] See discussion p. 211.
[363] Israel 2016: 127-128.

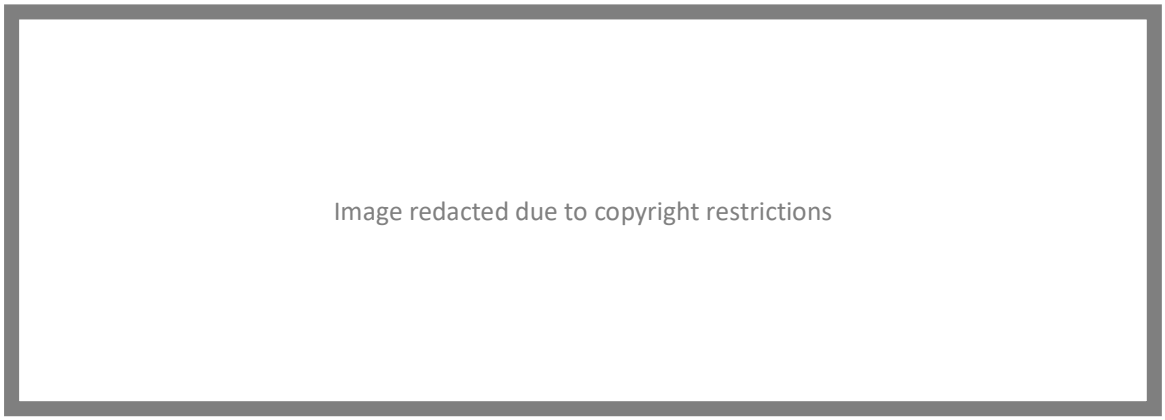


Figure 49: Detail of Amazonomachy frieze from the Kallithea Monument (S48; c. 360-340 B.C.)

deep naiskos and idealised figures of Nikeratos and Polyxenos) demonstrate continuity with other local Athenian grave monuments, but the overall impression would have been of something profoundly unusual.

The iconography of the figures (Figure 49) is similar to those from the Mausoleum,[364] with Amazons shown in girt chitons with swords and spears; but their clothing, although free-moving and naturally rendered, does not feature the exposed breasts found on the Mausoleum, nor of the Etruscan or Tarentine funerary monuments discussed subsequently. It is possible that this is influenced by a discomfort in featuring female nudity on a sepulchral monument in fourth-century Athens, where women were frequently depicted in heavy, matronly drapery. It is also noteworthy that one male figure is depicted wearing similar clothing to warriors on Lycian tomb monuments and the sarcophagus from Soloi discussed subsequently.[365]

The choice of an Amazonomachy on the Kallithea Monument was, therefore, iconographically distinct from other tomb monuments in Athens and almost certainly a consequence of its presence on the Mausoleum. Typologically the Kallithea Monument is distinct because of its role as a funerary monument, but it is also chronologically distinct from almost all of the other sculptural Amazonomachies erected in Athens, which would have been over a century old by the time of its construction. Only one other piece of fourth-century sculpture found in Athens

[364] Ridgway calls them "competent but uninspired" (1990: 32).
[365] Israel 2016: 116. For Soloi discussion p. 217.

featured an Amazonomachy,[366] and all that remains is a single block carved in Pentelic marble found in the vicinity of the Kallithea monument.[367] If this belonged to another funerary monument erected along the road to Athens it seems likely that the two edifices were influenced by or in dialogue with one another,[368] but the sequence is uncertain and no other part of the second building remains.

Funerary naiskoi grew in both scope and scale across the second half of the fourth century, with many individuals newly able to build monumental forms, particularly metics.[369] The unusual choice of including the Amazonomachy cannot be wholly explained by Nikeratos' status as a metic, however, as the vast majority of metic monuments in Athens were identical to the citizens' counterparts and only identifiable by their accompanying inscriptions. Whether the Amazons had any particular relevance to Nikeratos himself is difficult to establish, although it is notable that there was a clear Scythian presence in Istria and that nomadic Scythian women had many of the traits identifiable to Amazonian women.[370]

It seems most likely that Nikeratos had heard or seen of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos and wished, if on a small scale, to replicate something of the grandeur and spectacle of the monument, which notably held a dynastic role in commemorating both Nikeratos and his son, as is the case in the Mausoleum. The Mausoleum almost certainly featured a Heraklean Amazonomachy,[371] but it is possible the Amazonomachy on the Kallithea Monument instead referenced the Sack of Athens or Theseus' expedition to Themiskyra.[372] Knowledge of the

[366] S48bis.
[367] Kaltsas 2002: 254.
[368] Israel 2016: 135.
[369] Israel 2016: 166.
[370] Tsetskhladze 2002: 84 on Scythians in Istria; Mayor 2014: 34ff on Scythian women as "real-life" Amazons.
[371] See discussion p. 216.
[372] Israel 2016: 132, 171, suggesting the figure wearing pteryges could be Phorbas, the associate of Theseus.

significance of the Amazons in Athens would also have formed part of the motivation for its inclusion; if the Amazonomachy was intended to reference the Sack of Athens, Nikeratos was demonstrating appreciation for and awareness of one of the greatest feats in Athenian history. There is however some irony in the fact that a foreigner does not seem to have noticed the unusual nature of including this mythical scene on a sepulchral monument.[373]

The Amazonomachy therefore played an extraordinary prominent role in the sculptural monuments of Athens and Attica in the fifth and fourth centuries. This role was likely codified with additional layers of meaning, incorporating extra poignancy as the codification of the Sack of Athens was gradually associated with the Persian invasion of the early fifth century. It is however less clear whether this elaborated understanding should be applied to material and monuments from other areas of Greece.

THE PELOPONNESE

Alongside the material from Athens and Attica discussed previously, the Amazonomachy also has a strong presence within the material culture of Peloponnesian poleis. Much of the metalware discussed previously likely originated from the Peloponnese; there is also a single Corinthian relief vessel from this era.[374] The majority of the material takes the form of elaborate sculptural groups, although the rate of preservation varies between poleis.

Olympia

In the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, a Panhellenic sanctuary with political, social, and religious roles for the whole of the Greek diaspora, the Amazonomachy was codified into one

[373] Demetrius of Phaleron's luxury law may have been a direct consequence of elaborate and inappropriate tomb monuments erected by metics towards the end of the fourth century (Stears 2000: 219).

[374] V2401.



Figure 50: Composite cast of Olympia metope featuring Herakles' combat with an Amazon (S27; c. 470-450 B.C.)

of Herakles' labours in perpetuity. The metope itself is fragmentary (Figure 50), the worst-preserved of all the examples in Olympia,[375] but it is both specifically identified ("retrieving the girdle from the Amazons") and situated ("above the doors of the rear chamber") by Pausanias.[376] This identification has been challenged by Boardman,[377] and it certainly does not seem to fit with our preserved composition. This would also corroborate the discussion above concerning Pausanias' potential misidentification of the Amazonomachy type in the Athenian Theseion.

Amazonomachies were also present on the throne of the colossal statue of Zeus,[378] executed by Pheidias and later one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. According to Pausanias, Amazons were depicted on the god's throne, on a screen beneath the throne, and again on his footstool:

> [1] The god sits on a throne, and he is made of gold and ivory. […] [3] Between the feet of the throne are four rods, each one stretching from foot to foot. The rod straight opposite the entrance has on it seven images; how the eighth of them disappeared nobody knows. […] [4] On the other rods is the band that with Herakles fights against the Amazons. The number of figures in the two parties is twenty-nine, and Theseus too is ranged among the allies of Herakles. […] [6] Last in the picture [on the screen] come Penthesileia giving up the ghost and Achilleus supporting her […] [7] The footstool of Zeus, called by the Athenians thranion, has golden lions and, in relief, the fight of Theseus against the Amazons, the first brave deed of the Athenians against foreigners.[379]

[375] Bothmer 1957: 120-121.

[376] Paus. 5.10.9 ("ὁ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἐστὶν ἀφαιρούμενος"; ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν).

[377] Boardman 1982: 8.

[378] S25.

[379] Paus. 5.11.1-7.

The rods and footstool were done in relief, while the screen was painted by Panainos,[380] a relative of Pheidias who also painted the Battle of Marathon in the Painted Stoa.[381] The presence of Herakles is wholly unsurprising given his relevance to the sanctuary at Olympia and his appearance on the exterior metopes. The identification of Achilleus and Penthesileia is more curious given the relative dearth of this composition on contemporary vases; where the scene is identifiable by inscription, the more common scene is the moment of Achilleus striking her down, rather than him cradling her at the moment of her death.[382] Again, it is plausible that Pausanias is mistaken, but it is also plausible that labels were present and that this composition has not survived in other media.

Perhaps most intriguing is the seeming inclusion of an Athenian Amazonomachy on the footstool, if Pausanias' identification of Theseus is reliable. Theseus was present elsewhere on the monument, including the screens beneath the throne,[383] and he and his close friend Peirithoos were part of the Centauromachy on the western pediment.[384] Palagia speculates that there may have been some Athenian involvement in the monument's construction due to the presence of Athenian stone,[385] which may explain the inclusion of the 'Athenian' hero, but Pausanias himself offers an explanation for their representation: "Alcamenes, I think, carved this scene, because he had learned from Homer's poem that Peirithoos was a son of Zeus, and because he knew that Theseus was a great grandson of Pelops."[386] This again demonstrates that local interests can

[380] Paus. 5.11.2 distinguishes between "γραφῇ μεμιμημένα" and "ἀγάλματά εἰργασμένα"; the rods are described as "ἐπτά ἐστιν ἀγάλματα ἐπ᾽αὐτῷ" (5.11.3), the footstool image as "ἐπειργασμένην" (5.11.7), and the screen is "τῇ γραφῇ" (5.11.6).

[381] Plin. *NH*. 35.34.

[382] The scene is rare, but definitely identifiable on V1669 and V1143 as the inscription names Achilleus.

[383] Paus. 5.11.5.

[384] Paus. 5.10.8, though he is almost certainly wrong about Peirithoos being the central figure.

[385] Palagia 2019: 357.

[386] Paus. 5.10.8. It is obviously interesting that Pausanias felt an explanation was necessary; the use of "ἐμοὶ" might suggest that this was the subject of debate even then.

frequently be read into the deployment of Amazon iconography alongside the potential relevance of the Sack of Athens.

Bassai

Athenian influence is perhaps more identifiable in the construction of the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai, given that its supposed architect Iktinos is also known for his work on the Parthenon, although the legitimacy of this claim is questionable at best.[387] The site was an active place of worship from the late geometric period through to the second century BC, with several deities known to have received cult in the area alongside Apollo.[388] A bronze tablet from the sanctuary is dedicated to "Apollo Bassitas, Pan Sinoeis, Artemis Kotilon, and Orthasia";[389] Bassitas may derive from βάσσα, the Doric variant of 'βῆσσα'.[390] The surviving edifice dates to the late fifth century; at this time the territory was likely under Spartan control.[391]

Although thus frequently translated as a Temple to Apollo the 'Healer', the epithet 'ἐπίκουρος' is used frequently in Thucydides to refer to mercenaries, and he even writes specifically of "ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδων".[392] It is therefore possible that the injection of wealth necessary to create the extant fifth-century edifice may have come from nearby Arkadians acting as mercenaries in the Peloponnesian War.[393] Iktinos himself is an elusive figure, his origins unknown but celebrated in antiquity for his skill as an architect; Cooper proposes he may have been a slave.[394] Architecturally the temple is significant for its use of the Corinthian column type and the focus on broad internal space, plus its unusual north-south orientation and eastern lateral entrance. The

[387] Paus. 8.41.9.
[388] Keyser 2017: 21; Cooper 1996: 62, 79.
[389] Tzortzi 2000: 49.
[390] Cooper 1996: 61.
[391] Cooper 1996: 53.
[392] Keyser 2017: 32-33. Thuc. 3.34.2.. Keyser also points out that the contemporary plague famously never reached the Peloponnese (cf. Thuc. 2.54.5), but it is also plausible that the temple was intended to give thanks to Apollo precisely because the region was protected from it.
[393] Keyser 2017: 35.
[394] Cooper 1996: 377.

function of this side entrance has been long-debated, but it possibly involved a cultic function for Apollo, the sun god,[395] or created a link to the nearby sacred Mount Lykaion, the "religious heart of Arkadia".[396] The extant temple represents the fourth phase of construction at the site, and its attributed date varies across the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.[397]

The temple is also significant for its unusual internal frieze, featuring both an Amazonomachy and a Centauromachy.[398] The frieze is extraordinarily well-preserved, though its original arrangement within the building is the subject of some debate.[399] It ran along the top of the main Π-shaped colonnade, with a secondary adyton housing the eastern entrance tucked behind the Corinthian column; Keyser proposes the adyton may have been inherited from the Archaic-era structure and then accommodated into the Classical temple for the practice of the cult.[400] It was not the only sculptural decoration on the building; though the exterior metopes were plain, the metopes of the pronaos and opisthodomos were carved. The subjects are less clear on these metopes than the interior frieze but likely related to Apollo. Madigan proposes that the abduction scene on the south end should be interpreted as the rape of the Leukippids, whilst the north represented the return of Apollo from the Hyperboreans.[401]

This leaves the Amazonomachy an interesting choice for the interior, as it is the only story from the temple's iconography without an obvious link to the deity. Apollo was almost certainly the central figure shown intervening in the Centauromachy on the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus, so there is precedence for his involvement in the Centauromachy myth, but he is by no

[395] Egea 2013: 479.
[396] Keyser 2017: 59.
[397] Keyser 2017: 16; Madigan 1992: 35.
[398] S29.
[399] "It is hardly an exaggeration to claim that every scholar who has dealt with the problem has arrived at a different arrangement of the twenty-three slabs." (Tzortzi 2000: 33)
[400] Keyser 2017: 62. Tzortzi also argues that Iktinos inherited a pre-existing structure around which he had to modify his designs (2000: 31).
[401] Madigan 1992: 13-27.



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 51: Section of Bassai frieze (S29; c. 420-400 B.C.) showing Herakles dueling with an Amazon

means a common figure in a conflict which is usually the reserve of heroes. Apollo is shown again riding in his chariot with Artemis as part of Bassai's interior frieze,[402] though the odd placement in the corner of the cella makes it unclear which of the two conflicts the pair are involved in.[403] The placement of subjects on the frieze as a whole is unusual, with the two stories appearing to meet in the north-west corner; this may be a deliberate echoing of the emphasis placed on the corners of the Parthenon frieze,[404] but there is also evidence that the slabs were cut down to fit, suggesting that even their arrangement in antiquity may not have been the intended one.[405]

Although the original order and orientation of the slabs is thus disputed, making the central figure of the northern side the slab with Herakles duelling an Amazon (Figure 51) is both thematically and iconographically credible.[406] Situating this slab as the northern focal point is compelling, especially if it were twinned with the architectural feature of the Corinthian capital below it. The presence of Herakles strongly suggests that the expedition to Themiskyra is shown, as does the

[402] BM 1815,1020.11.

[403] Madigan believes it to be the Centauromachy (1992: 78); Casanova and Egea suggest the north-west placement may be referencing Apollo's return from the Hyperboreans (2012:67).

[404] Madigan 1992: 84.

[405] Felten 1993: 47.

[406] BM 1815,1020.18.



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 52: Detail from Bassai frieze (S29; c. 420-400 B.C.) showing an Amazon ripped away from an altar

presence of an altar at which an Amazon seeks refuge (Figure 52).[407] That Herakles is present on the frieze may also explain why an Amazonomachy is represented in the temple; rather than a connection to Apollo, the allusion is instead to the role of Herakles as a prominent and significant receiver of cult within Arcadia;[408] Plutarch even credits Herakles with the foundation of the cult to Apollo Pythios at Pheneos.[409] Regardless of the particular motivation, the frieze at Bassai demonstrates a continued and deliberate interest in the Heraklean Amazonomachy in the Peloponnese, in contrast to the increasing importance of Theseus in Athenian Amazonomachies.

Centring Herakles as the hero here may suggest that the frieze drew upon its predecessor from Olympia,[410] though as noted the Heraklean Amazonomachy did persist in Attic art through this period.[411] A handful of slabs on the eastern side have been interpreted as separate to the Heraklean conflict, instead showing the duel of Achilleus and Penthesilea at Troy.[412] The arrangement of the slabs is, as mentioned, contentious, and there is no obvious reason why the eastern slabs should be understood as being distinct from the rest of the frieze excepting the peculiarity of breaking the story over the corner, which may not even have been the arrangement

[407] BM 1815,1020.22.

[408] Baleriaux 2015: 180-181.

[409] Plut. De sera 12.

[410] Bothmer 1957: 215-216.

[411] Felten also argues in favour of an external influence, stating the complex iconographical scheme to have been beyond local artists, but believes that the Athenian Amazonomachies were the source (1997: 54).

[412] Casanova and Egea 2012: 58; also Madigan 1992: 70-72.

as originally conceptualised. The style of the carving may be "shocking" in its "ugly naturalism" to viewers more accustomed to Attic sculpture,[413] but it may represent a rare example of sculpture from the Peloponnesian school of relief decoration,[414] and the otherwise-ornate composition and skill of the carving would suggest its form to be a deliberate stylistic choice rather than deriving from a lack of skill.[415]

The composition of the duelling figures is largely the same as contemporary vases, with a sometimes shocking level of violence shown towards the Amazons. On one slab an Amazon is yanked from her horse by the hair;[416] on another a fallen Amazon is dragged along by her opponent as she struggles to break free.[417] Perhaps most shocking is the aforementioned figure of an Amazon being wrenched from an altar (Figure 52), again by the hair, her body contorted in an exaggerated curve as she pushes her opponent away.[418] This extreme violence towards the female form sits incongruously with the frieze's companion subject of the Centauromachy, where the central thematic iconography exists to condemn such violence towards the Lapith women. Indeed, many of the centaurs are gentler in their abductions than the vicious figures of Herakles' companions striking down the Amazons.

Argos

An Amazonomachy also played a principal role in the Temple of Hera at Argos,[419] although sadly what remains today is both badly damaged and badly published. The Heraion is known to have played a key cultic role in Argos from at least the seventh century, but the extant metopes form

[413] Osborne 1998: 208.
[414] Felten 1993: 52.
[415] Casanova and Egea 2012: 80.
[416] BM 1815,1020.17.
[417] BM 1815,1020.12.
[418] BM 1815,1020.22.
[419] S34.

part of the later temple built after a disastrous fire in 423 BC.[420] Pausanias' description of the monument records the birth of Zeus, a gigantomachy, and an Iliupersis as the sculptural decoration, but this has been difficult to identify in the extant archaeological material; Eichler even hypothesised that Pausanias may have misidentified the Amazons as Trojans, especially as the west pedimental sculpture above these metopes appears to have represented an Iliupersis.[421] The Amazonomachy is thought to have originally decorated the west façade of the temple, as many of the sculptural fragments were originally excavated from due west of the building.[422]

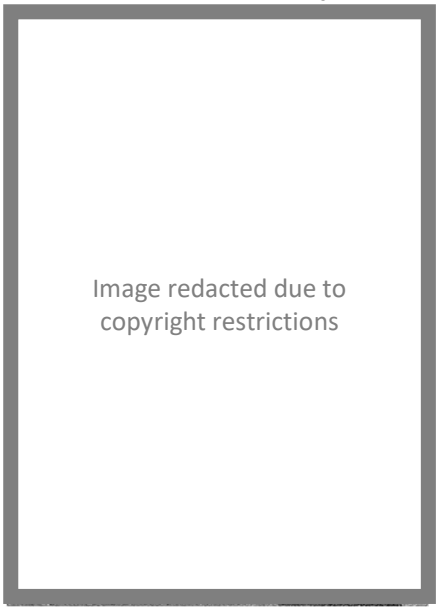


Figure 53: Fragment of Amazon from metopes of Temple of Hera at Argos (S34; c. 420-410 B.C.)

It is not certain how many metopes have survived, though Eichler identified base plate fragments for approximately 12; there are also remnants of at least six Amazons and around the same number of opponents.[423] Paint residues have been noted on at least one fragment.[424] Stylistically the reliefs are high to late classical, with flowing drapery and a synthesis between softness and idealism visible in the faces and torsos of the figures (Figure 53), but it is difficult to date them more precisely when unable to account for the skill and preferences of the sculptor. It is difficult to meaningfully discuss the execution of the iconography here given the poor state of preservation. Fragments of horses' legs led Eichler to propose that the motif of a Greek tearing an Amazon from her horse may have been represented on one of the metopes.[425] It is not possible to identify any particular figures in the remaining fragments, making the identification of the type

[420] Matuszewski 2006: 269-270; Thuc. 4.183.

[421] Paus. 2.17.3; Eichler 1919: 104-105. This article remains the only comprehensive publication of the material to date.

[422] Eichler 1919: 108-111.

[423] Eichler 1919: 46, 81-82.

[424] Eichler 1919: 85.

[425] Eichler 1919: 74. The quadriga base-plate was in his opinion more likely to derive from a gigantomachy (ibid. 93).

of Amazonomachy shown also difficult. There is also no clear link between the deity and the depicted subject, despite there being a clear and coherent ideological framework in the other dedications to Hera made at the sanctuary.[426]

The decorative sculpture has conventionally been dated to the decades immediately following the fire, but recent examination of treasury inscriptions suggest that construction work may have continued into the early fourth century.[427] This approach is most notable for how it would facilitate the theory that the Amazonomachy from the Temple of Asclepius at Epidauros was in fact a direct contemporary of the example at Bassai, rather than its successor.[428] It is difficult to divine a clear advantage to this, excepting perhaps the ability to further theorise that Eichler's proposed Peloponnesian master was involved in both constructions.[429]

Epidauros

The Amazonomachy on the Temple at Epidauros is substantially different in both scope and context. It consists of a series of around seventeen figures carved in the round for the building's western pediment.[430] Unusually in comparison with the other sanctuaries discussed, the establishment of the cult of Asclepius is almost contemporary to the era of the temple's construction. Cult at Mount Kynortion dates back to the Mycenaean period, established first as a sanctuary to 'Apollo Maleatas',[431] before the lower part of the sanctuary was gradually devoted to the worship of Asclepius. The early history of the cult of Asclepius remains contentious, but the

[426] Sauzeau 2005: 95.

[427] Prignitz 2014: 207; Kritzas 2006: 404-408. The dating controversy mainly circulates around whether or not it is possible for Polykleitos to have been responsible for the cult statue, as is claimed by Paus. 2.17.1. It has long been observed (e.g. Picard 1939: 822) that the metopes do not fit with the known style of Polykleitos.

[428] Prignitz 2014: 208.

[429] Eichler 1919: 136.

[430] Yalouris 1992: 64.

[431] Burford 1969: 41.

foundation of his worship in Athens dates to around 420 B.C.;[432] the cult at Epidauros could therefore have been well-established by the time of the temple's construction in the early fourth century.

The building programme at Epidauros dates mostly to the fourth and third centuries, with epigraphic documentation suggesting a date of the 370s for the new temple and altar to Asclepius.[433] The major monuments perhaps even sprang up over a tight five-year period.[434] Evidence of a workshop has been discovered at the site, built specifically for the purpose of creating the temple's decoration.[435] Although the limestone building itself is mostly modest, it was richly decorated with Pentelic marble for its pediments and akroteria,[436] and it housed a chryselephantine statue attributed by Pausanias to Thrasymedes.[437] The subject of the eastern pediment was an Iliupersis, perhaps centring on the murder of Priam.[438] The identification of the akroteria is less certain, but they may have featured Apollo and Koronis, Nikai, and Aurai.[439] The sculpture was first excavated in the 1880s and transported to Athens, with subsequent finds housed at Epidauros.

The pedimental Amazonomachy is among the finest examples of freestanding fourth-century sculpture.[440] Despite comparatively robust epigraphic evidence describing the temple's construction, the name of the artist responsible for the western pediment has not survived. An independence of style and execution in the west pediment's sculpture indicates a single artist may have been behind its creation.[441] Wider homogeneity across the monument may also suggest

[432] IG II^3 4 665.
[433] Burford 1969: 50-54.
[434] IG IV^2 1 102.
[435] Yalouris 1992: 13.
[436] Burford 1969: 57.
[437] Paus. 2.27.2.
[438] Prignitz 2014: 190-191.
[439] Prignitz 2014: 212.
[440] S40.
[441] Crome 1951: 38.

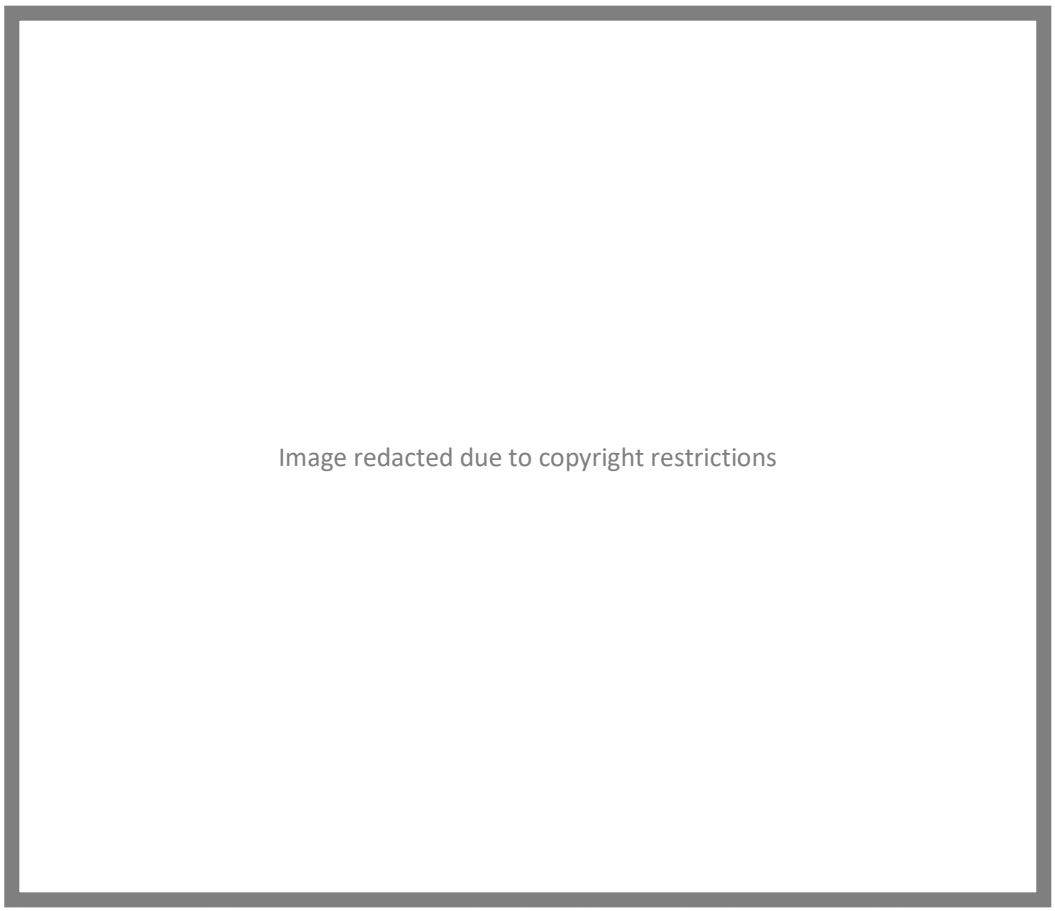


Figure 54: Central trio of figures from the pedimental sculpture of the Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus (S40; c. 375-350 B.C.)

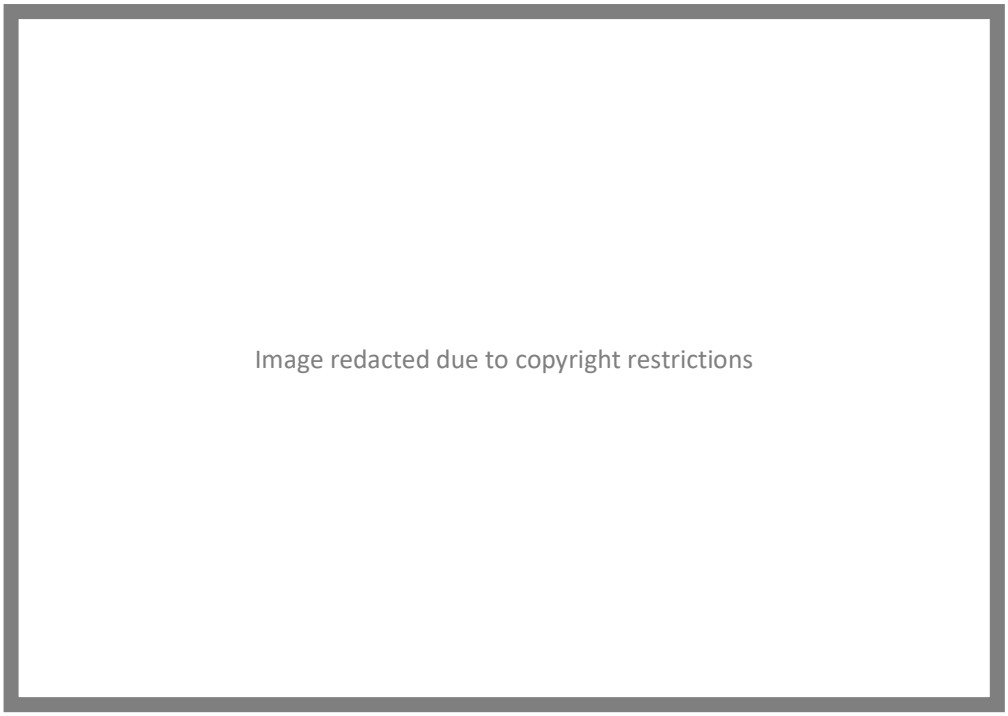


Figure 55: Duelling figures from the pedimental sculpture of the Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus (S40; c. 375-350 B.C.)

that the building's overall scheme was delegated among teams by a master artist, perhaps Timotheos.[442] Even without identifying specific artists responsible for the decorative projects the overall team was most likely Attic,[443] as opposed to the Corinthian stonemasons who appear to have been behind the construction of the edifice itself.[444]

Some of the larger groups may have been hewn from a single block of stone;[445] many of the figures are slightly warped to ensure clear visibility from below.[446] Reconstruction of the precise composition is uncertain, but certain elements can be located roughly within the pedimental space, including the presence of four mounted Amazons.[447] Particularly striking is the sculptor's admirable adaptation to the sloping triangular area, utilising the wider shape with a series of twisted figures full of violent movement. The trio of figures from the apex of the pediment demonstrate this dynamism of expression (Figure 54),[448] as does a pair of figures (Figure 55) from the right side of Yalouris' reconstruction.[449]

The compositions of both these groups hark back to the relief examples from the metopes discussed previously. Overall the Amazons seem to be worse off in the fight, though the fallen figure framing the scene in either corner is Greek. It is not possible to discern which Amazonomachy is being depicted. The central placement of the riding Amazon has naturally led to a belief that she must be an Amazon queen, alongside the suggestion of drill holes to display a diadem on her forehead.[450] She could therefore be Penthesilea, depicted in combat with Achilleus

[442] Yalouris 1992: 74.
[443] Prignitz 2014: 213.
[444] Burford 1969: 143.
[445] Yalouris 1992: 41.
[446] Crome 1951: 32.
[447] Yalouris 1992: 64.
[448] Athens NM 151, 136, 4757 (Yalouris 1992 nos 33-35).
[449] Athens NM 4752 (Yalouris 1992 no. 39).
[450] Crome 1951: 33.

and two of Asclepius' sons who are known to have fought at Troy, Machaon and Podaleirios.[451] This would also help to explain the seeming absence of any deity from the iconographical scheme if Asclepius was referenced indirectly through his progeny, though it is unclear how known or recognisable these figures would have been to those visiting the sanctuary.

DELPHI

The Amazonomachy had one final outing in fourth-century architectural decoration in mainland Greece. Although extremely fragmentary, the iconographical scheme is visible on a series of small metopes on the tholos in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi.[452] The tholos was constructed in the small sanctuary in the first part of the fourth century, possibly displaying damage from the earthquake in 373 B.C.[453] As with many fourth-century tholoi the function of the building is unclear. The tholos appears to have been oriented specifically around the cardinal points, which has led Laroche to suggest it might be the sanctuary to the winds mentioned in Herodotus.[454] It is also unclear who is responsible for the building's construction. Vitruvius names its architect as 'Theodorus of Phocea',[455] though it is possible this is a misspelling of the Theodotus known from epigraphy to have been the architect of the Temple of Asclepius at Epidauros.[456] If the identification of the monument as a sanctuary to the winds is correct, the tholos may be the thank-offering given by the Thurians for the winds' aid in their conflict with the tyrant Denys of Syracuse.[457] Stylistic analysis of the manner of carving has led Partida to conclude that the carvers were Parian,[458] though by this period the use of 'foreign' (i.e. not from the polis dedicating the monument) sculptors appears to have been widespread.

[451] Yalouris 1992: 64; Prignitz 2014: 213.
[452] S36.
[453] Bommelaer 1997: 29.
[454] Laroche 1992: 216-218 (Hdt. 7.178).
[455] "Theodorus Phocaeus de tholo, qui est Delphis" (Vitr. 7. *praef*. 12.).
[456] Bommelaer 1997: 89; Burford 1969: 141.
[457] Laroche 1992: 218.
[458] Partida 2013: 487.

The tholos featured two Doric friezes with carved metopes, one above the colonnade and another on the exterior cella wall; the Amazonomachy was one of the narratives displayed on the larger, colonnade metopes, while the smaller cella metopes likely consisted of scenes from the labours of Herakles and Theseus.[459] The pieces of the metopes are fragmentary, mostly consisting of intricately-carved limbs and torsos long since detached from their medium; the best-preserved of these is a pair of duelling figures, both headless (fig. 19). Another example shows an Amazon, her body curved in violent movement, her opponent's hand clamped cruelly around her neck (fig. 20).

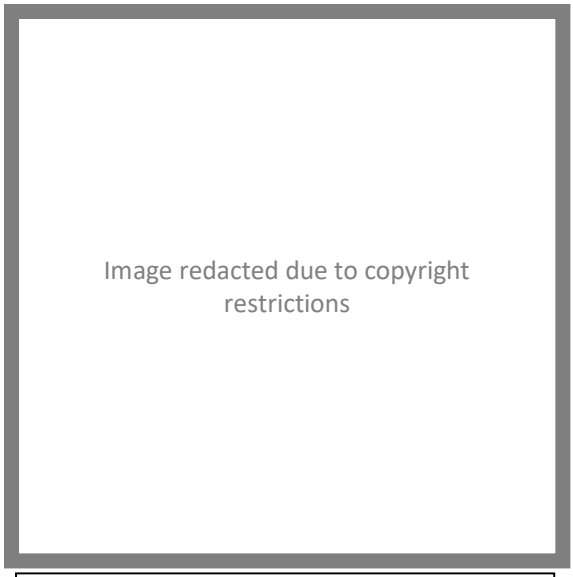


Figure 56: Duelling figures from frieze of Tholos at Delphi (S36; c. 400-350 B.C.)

The use of the myth on the Delphi tholos demonstrates the multiplicity of influences and references in place for the Amazonomachy by the time of its construction. From a mythological standpoint there were connections to both Theseus and Herakles; from a political standpoint the tholos was situated in a Panhellenic sanctuary but directly evoked the iconographical scheme of the Treasury of the Athenians. Similarly, although the site at Delphi had obvious connections to the worship of Apollo, this building lay within a sanctuary to Athena. All of these elements would have incorporated different layers and structures of meaning to ancient viewers interacting with the monument regardless of the building's purpose.



Figure 57: Amazon figure from frieze of Tholos at Delphi (S36; c. 400-350 B.C.)

[459] Themelis 1981: 81-82.

IONIA

The region of Ionia has a more intimate link to the Amazons; the sources tell us of multiple foundation myths in which they are credited as founding poleis in Ionia. Several poleis are even supposedly named after Amazons, including Priene, Mytilene, and Ephesus.[460] One of these poleis, Mytilene, minted an electrum hekte around the turn of the fourth century featuring the head of an Amazon (Figure 58), shown in profile on the reverse.[461] She is paired on the obverse with a helmeted head of Ares, the long-established 'father' of the Amazons; this is the only time that Ares emerges alongside the Amazons on material culture despite their frequent description in the literary evidence as his daughters.[462] It is obviously not possible to vouch for the historicity of these foundation myths; we cannot know how and when these stories emerged, and whether or not they existed at the time of the extant archaeological material. Diodorus and Strabo are writing centuries later, but there are citations of earlier works referencing Amazon foundations such as Hekataios and Ephoros.[463]



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 58: Obverse and reverse of Mytilene coin type showing Ares and an Amazon (M53; c. 412-378 B.C.)

[460] Diod. Sic. 3.55.6-7; Strabo 11.5.4.

[461] Bodenstedt 1981 no. 65.

[462] Interestingly, another iteration of this coin type features Apollo on the reverse (e.g. BM RPK,p117C.4.Claz; Bodenstedt 1981 no. 64.1.

[463] FGrHist 1 F 34, 70 F 114a. Strabo 12.573.6 also discusses the 'Barrow of Myrine' said to have been the tomb of an Amazon which is mentioned as far back as the Iliad (Il. 2.813).

Ephesos

The Amazons' relationship with Ephesus specifically is the subject of much discussion. As well as these city-foundations, the Hellenistic poet Callimachus credits the Amazons with having founded some form of worship to Artemis at the site, and the first century A.D. Roman writer Hyginus provides the earliest record of the Amazons supposedly having constructed the temple there.[464] A series of wounded Amazon statues were created as part of a contest in the sanctuary in the fifth century B.C.,[465] preserved now only via Roman copies and the story given in Pliny, who writes:

> "The most celebrated [sculptors] have also come into competition with each other, although born at different periods, because they had made statues of Amazons; when these were dedicated in the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus, it was agreed that the best one should be selected by the vote of the artists themselves who were present; and it then became evident that the best was the one which all the artists judged to be the next best after their own: this is the Amazon by Polycleitus, while next to it came that of Pheidias, third Cresilas', fourth Cydon's and fifth Phradmon's."[466]

The text is anthropologically fascinating in how it illuminates the process by which sculpture may have been commissioned and executed within antiquity, but unfortunately it is not a very useful resource for understanding the surviving statue types. Polykleitos, Pheidias, and Kresilas are known from other sources; Phradmon is less well-attested but is mentioned elsewhere. 'Cydon' is likely a corruption of Kresilas' ethnic 'Κυδωνιάτης'.[467] Any identification of the existing types as belonging to these master sculptors is wholly reliant on a subjective assessment of their 'hallmarks' in the surviving copies of the statues. The fragility of stylistic analysis of the types is perhaps best demonstrated in Ridgway's assertion that the story was a complete invention and that only two of the surviving statue types actually date to the fifth century BC.[468]

The possible physical monuments which link to this narrative are preserved to us through Roman copies grouped around particular 'types', known after their current collections; they are the 'Sciarra', the 'Mattei', and the 'Capitoline' (Figure 59, Figure 60, and Figure 61). All three are very

[464] Callim. *Hymn* 3.236; Hyg. *Fab*. 223.
[465] S22.
[466] Pliny NH 34.53-54.
[467] Bothmer 1957: 216; Davison 2013: 1.
[468] Ridgway 1974: 16-17.

similar in style and pose, with some variation. Iconographically they are almost identical; all three hold their right arms above their heads, their chiton hanging loosely down across their torsos and girt at the waist, their weight shifted unevenly from one leg to another and supported by another object. The styling of their hair and facial expression is also extremely similar, though the degree to which their heads are tilted shifts somewhat. In comparing the three directly it is possible to highlight distinct features with each statue, a process which is often relied upon by scholars to attribute them to the master sculptor of choice.



Figure 59: 'Sciarra' type (New York example) (S22; Roman copy of a Greek original c. 450-440 B.C.)



Figure 60: 'Mattei' type (Vatican example) (S22; Roman copy of a Greek original c. 450-440 B.C.)



Figure 61: 'Capitoline' type (Rome example) (S22; S22; Roman copy of a Greek original c. 450-440 B.C.)

Some distinction is visible in the extent to which their breasts are exposed, but this can also vary between the Roman copies of the same type. The positioning of the figures' weight is a more visible distinction; the Sciarra leans on her right leg and sharply bends her left; the Mattei leans on her right leg and gently bends her left; and the Capitoline leans on her left leg and gently bends her right. The final distinguishing feature is the gesture performed by the left hand. This firstly relies upon having a copy with the left hand preserved; the otherwise-excellently preserved Sciarra type now in New York has lost everything below the wrist.[469] Other copies, such as the example in Berlin, show the hand hanging loosely at her side as she leans for support on a pillar, though the pillar is absent from the example in the Vatican. While the Mattei type also has her left hand hanging by her side, the Capitoline type's arm crosses her torso to point at her midriff, presumably indicating her wound.

The rest of the distinctions drawn rely heavily upon subjective or stylistic analysis. Some of the reconstructions are more plausible than others; it seems likely that the Mattei type leaned heavily on her spear, as is reconstructed in the example (confusingly) in the Capitoline museum.[470] This might result in an identification of the Mattei type with a passage of Lucian who, writing some five hundred years after the fact, reports that Pheidias' Amazon leant on a spear;[471] but some reconstructions of the Capitoline type also incorporate a spear.[472] Many other attributes also appear and disappear between reconstructions, including the gruesomeness of the wounds and the weapons the figure carries.[473] The Sciarra type is the most frequently preserved among the remaining examples,[474] but it is difficult to conclude much about its popularity in antiquity without firstly acknowledging the principal issue of survival rates between the Roman era and now, and secondly acknowledging the stark role of Roman curation as a force in this preservation.

[469] Met 32.11.4.
[470] Bol 1990: 219-220.
[471] Luc. Im. 4.
[472] Bol 1990: 217.
[473] Davison 2013: 7-8.
[474] Davison 2013: 3.

Its frequency does not necessarily mean that it matches with the 'winner' from Pliny's story, nor does it necessarily mean that it belonged to one of the more 'renowned' sculptors. Bol's attempt to identify the sculptors focused on the use of contrapposto, a stylistic element particularly known to have been important in Polykleitos' work, led her to attribute the Sciarra type to him, before drawing on the Parthenon pediments as a resource for attributing the Mattei to Pheidias and the Capitoline to Kresilas.[475] Her approach is the most systematic and clinical and yet is still dogged with the need to identify the supposed stylistic features of each artist in the different monuments.

Most striking here is the choice to have the Amazons shown wounded, especially within the wider context of a sanctuary. All three statue types appear exhausted; some have greater detailing of their injuries. The choice to show exposed breasts may be related to this desire to show them suffering. Rather than the fearsome and dangerous figures rendered elsewhere in Amazonomachies they are wounded, vulnerable, and disarmed. It is difficult to know how much an empathetic view towards them because of this is driven by a modern understanding. There is no suggestion of compassion towards them in the discussion around the frieze of Apollo at Bassai in which, as discussed earlier, the Amazon women are subjected to all kinds of violence. This leads back to a sort of baffling double-think which frequently emerges when attempting to place consistent logic onto the images of Amazons: were they considered pathetic subjects (in the classical sense) in antiquity or not? Perhaps it is wrong to think of those seeking sanctuary as inherently worthy of compassion from the viewer; perhaps that even the monstrous Amazons were able to shelter within the sanctuary spoke to a greater truth about the availability of that space to all.[476] We know this was definitively not the case in Athens, as a decree from the 440s specifically outlawed fugitives, "δραπέτες", from entering the Acropolis.[477] Given the role that the

[475] Bol 1998: 73-93.
[476] As concluded by Hölscher 2000: 206.
[477] IG I^3 45.

Amazons had in Ionia as city-founders, perhaps their use in the sanctuary at Ephesus was deliberately intended to provide a statement to the contrary. In Athens the Amazon is any other barbaric fugitive, meant to be held off by loyal Athenians; but in Ephesus they are as worthy of sanctuary and protection as any other. This mixed array of interpretations may reflect the similarly conflicted representations of Amazons in the literary sources of this period, where the Amazons are both peaceful cohabitants of Scythia and cruel monsters who gouge their babies' eyes out.[478]

Perhaps most telling of all is the ripe opportunity which the Amazon provided for this kind of competition to begin with. The Amazon as an image was so versatile and unspecific that it could be used as a measure for judging the talents of sculptors, a blank canvas for each to bring their own unique approach; and yet they were also so versatile and unspecific that the end product is almost entirely uniform in composition and style. The image of the Amazon is so generic, so adaptable, that the greatest sculptors of the Greek age could labour to individualise them and still fail to do so. This speaks to the continuing truth of the Amazons as the perfect empty space onto which the artist, and audience, could project their own understanding.

NORTHERN GREECE

At some point towards the end of the fifth century B.C., the rapidly expanding kingdom of Macedon relocated its capital from Aigai to Pella;[479] by the mid-fourth century it was considered to be the largest city in Macedonia.[480] The city contains some of the most magnificent and enormous private residential dwellings of the early Hellenistic period, and one house, that of the

[478] See discussion p. 48-49.
[479] Lilibaki-Akamati, Akamatis, and Chrysostomou 2011: 17.
[480] Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.13.

House of the Abduction of Helen, contains the largest known mosaic "on Hellenic land".[481] A smaller pebble mosaic in the men's quarters of the same building featured an Amazonomachy.

The mosaic is of lower quality than those situated elsewhere in the building,[482] but the composition is clearly legible and the figures are imbued with easy movement, particularly successfully rendered in the Amazons' drapery (Figure 62). The mosaic also makes excellent use of subtle tones of grey to create depth and shading. The iconographical scheme shows an Amazon and a Greek exchange blows over the fallen figure of a second Amazon, who raises her shield to defend herself. Particularly striking here is the use of colour, with bright yellow for the fallen



Image © Ministry of Culture and Sports / Organization of Cultural Resources Development of Pella

Figure 62: Pebble mosaic from Pella (S35; c. 325-300 B.C.)

[481] Lilibaki-Akamati, Akamatis, and Chrysostomou 2011: 117.
[482] Petsas 1978: 103.

Amazon's clothing and shades of red for their shields and headgear; this is even more remarkable for the mosaic's use of completely natural tesserae.[483] It is possible that a similar colour scheme was used to execute the wall paintings discussed previously; many of the mosaics from the House of Helen seem to be drawing upon painted sources.[484] It is noteworthy here that both Amazons remain fully-dressed despite the well-established iconography of exposing a single breast, which may suggest the piece was drawing upon imagery from vases (where this did not feature) or older wall paintings. Similarly, although the male figures are nude on the mosaic of the stag hunt in the same house, here the Greek warrior is clothed in armour. The overlapping figures fighting in close quarters are reminiscent of the large-scale busy Amazonomachy found on the Temple at Bassai. There are also parallels to the composition of the nearby stag hunt, as well as similarities in the techniques used,[485] perhaps suggesting they were created by the same artist. These enormously expensive mosaics were likely funded by money recovered during Alexander's campaigns, a source of revenue which financed the expansion of Pella in the late fourth century and the construction of monumental houses such as the House of the Abduction of Helen.[486]

This single example of a mosaic in Macedonia is both surprising and unsurprising. As was discussed previously, imagery of the Amazonomachy had been introduced to the region via the medium of Athenian pottery since the Archaic period. That said, this is the only monumental image of the Amazon in the whole of northern Greece during this period, and to some extent it resembles an afterthought, being smaller and less detailed than the other massive mosaics within the same household. While the mosaic floors of *androne*s provoked the opportunity for philosophical thought and a certain amount of showboating of the guests' cultural knowledge, this particular chamber was only an anteroom which then led to a plainer *andron*.[487] There is an

[483] Lilibaki-Akamati, Akamatis, and Chrysostomou 2011: 141.
[484] Makaronas and Giouri 1989: 181.
[485] Makaronas and Giouri 1989: 130-131.
[486] Lilibaki-Akamati, Akamatis, and Chrysostomou 2011: 19.
[487] Westgate 2002: 223.

element of sumptuousness in employing a talented mosaicist to create a complex iconographical scheme in a room chiefly intended only to be walked through, but this does not explain why the Amazonomachy was a subject preferred for an antechamber rather than the *andron* itself. The question therefore is both why an Amazonomachy was used in this setting, but also why it was not used within the grand dining rooms.

Cohen believes that the Amazonomachy fits in to a wider pattern of emphasising masculine domination alongside the Abduction and Hunting scenes,[488] although the fight in the Pella mosaic is not certainly going the Greek's way; the absence of exposed breasts is also interesting here, as the exposed breast of Deianeria on the Abduction mosaic clearly played into the pathos of the scene.[489] If the Amazonomachy mosaic is intended to reiterate the importance of male dominance over women, it seems strange that the womanliness of the Amazons is not featured in the composition. Perhaps the scene is more intended to provoke a sense of the violent, agonistic competitions which characterised the political disputes of the late fourth century, as is argued by Franks.[490] While both of these interpretations are plausible and facilitated by the mosaic, neither necessarily reflects the transitory nature of the room within which it was placed. Perhaps the use of an Amazonomachy here is not dissimilar to the use at Ephesos; imbued with elements of social and cultural meaning, but ultimately an excellent way to demonstrate the artist's prowess and create a lively, interesting decorative scheme.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the Amazons and the Amazonomachy held a clear importance within the material culture of Classical Athens, this chapter has endeavoured to demonstrate quite how widespread the interest in this story was across mainland Greece and Ionia. It has outlined how the different

[488] Cohen 2010: 57.
[489] Cohen 2010: 44.
[490] Franks 2018: 45.

contexts of each region are found within their use of the myth, and demonstrated a continuing complexity in trying to fix the appeal of an Amazon to one perspective. It has shown that the Heraklean Amazonomachy, though increasingly absent on Athenian vases, maintained a prominent role on sculptural monuments, particularly in the Peloponnese. Similarly, while the introduction of unusual forms of dress is visible in vase painting, Amazons on sculptural monuments were almost always clad in Greek chitoniskoi. Similarly, several monuments (including the Parthenon) prominently show the Amazons victorious over the Greeks, a concept which does not extend to other battles with mythological foes.

The Classical era also witnessed the introduction of the single exposed breast in sculptural contexts. This may be an oblique reference to the emerging trend in the later literature discussing the removal of breasts by Scythian warriors, but it is unclear if this had even emerged as a coherent concept as early as some of the monuments discussed in this chapter. The state of the evidence facilitates an understanding of retrospective literary explanations of the reason why Amazons were sometimes shown with one breast exposed; they are not shown in this fashion on fifth-century vases, although there are some other, slightly jarring attempts to emphasise their femininity in that medium (Figure 63, Figure 64). Although vase painters were less accustomed

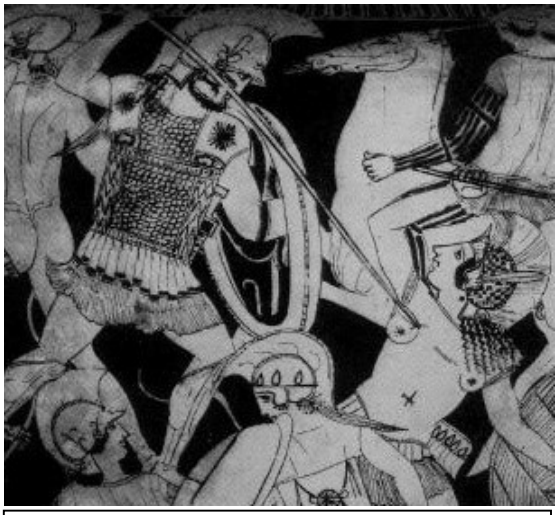


Figure 63: Detail from red-figure volute krater showing Amazon in breast-accentuating armour (V1678; c. 460-440 B.C.)



Figure 64: Detail from red-figure section of lekythos showing form-fitting Amazon dress (V1043; c. 450-400 B.C.)

with rendering the female form on vases, there are plenty of sympotic scenes where an attempt to do so is made, however unsuccessfully. Given the extremely fragmentary state of the Olympia metope, the only monument which may have featured an exposed breast prior to the Ephesian examples,[491] it is possible that it was the Wounded Amazons at Ephesos who introduced the motif of the exposed breast altogether. This relatively late-stage introduction of a fundamental aspect of the Amazons' iconography moving forward demonstrates yet again how flexible their image was, and how an absence of codified iconographical aspects allowed for such new introductions and adaptations well into the Classical era.

The introduction of this scene type is also of interest for the contemporary understanding of how the Amazons were understood in antiquity. To modern audiences the exposure of the single breast reads as erotic, and it is certainly possible that this sentiment was also manifest in the minds of ancient viewers. This period of sculpture saw an increased interest in rendering the female form, particularly in increasingly-erotic depictions of Aphrodite, where a sexual element is inherent; perhaps the wounded Amazons were an extension of this wider phenomenon, and also intended to be titillating to ancient audiences. It is also noteworthy that the abducted women from the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia also feature an exposed breast, suggesting that this form of dishevelment may be associated with vulnerability, violence, and therefore the disorder of social norms. It is also possible that the exposure of the breast is intended to emphasise the womanliness of the Amazon in a repulsive manner. This reading would draw emphasis to the social transgression performed by the Amazons inherent to being female warriors, reminding viewers of the 'proper' use of breasts, i.e. to perform the duties of a wife and mother; in this context their wounds would serve as a warning to wayward viewers.

[491] Praschniker's 1954 reconstructions of the Parthenon metopes frequently demonstrate exposed breasts, but the preserved surface of the Amazon figures on the metopes themselves is far too damaged to evidence this detail.

Most notable for the Ephesian Amazons, however, is that they stand as a monument in their own right, devoid of context, devoid of the hero who has brought them to the edge of death. The trend which began in the mid-sixth century of showing the Amazons in isolation of combat has culminated in this statue group where, as with Exekias' amphora, a multitude of different readings are facilitated in one statue group. This aptitude for flexibility increases yet further when it emerges in material from Magna Graecia and Anatolia.

6: ITALY AND SICILY

This chapter examines the considerable quantity of material which originates from Italy and Sicily featuring Amazons or an Amazonomachy in two sections; the material originating from Etruria and Northern Italy, and material South Italy and Sicily, the region often referred to as "Magna Graecia". Although there are clear connections between north and south Italy, their historical and cultural backgrounds differ substantially. The Etruscans were most likely an indigenous culture of north Italy and are attested archaeologically from the tenth century BC;[492] the colonisation of South Italy and Sicily by various Greek poleis took place gradually through the eighth and seventh centuries, and they were never able to gain a foothold above the Bay of Naples.[493] Although therefore there is an element of cultural exchange involved when properly contextualising Hellenic-influenced material from South Italy, the separation is much more pronounced for Etruria and other areas of North Italy. This necessitates their discussion as separate regions when attempting to consider the reasons behind the popularity of the Amazon mythos within the material culture of pre-Roman Italy.

NORTHERN ITALY

This section does not consider the large quantity of imported Attic vases found in Northern Italy, but material created within northern Italy. Material featuring the Amazons was produced or found across a broad spectrum of the north Italian landscape (Figure 65), but it is noticeable that the geographical concentration does not stretch as far north as the Etruscan region itself, and continues south into Campania, an area of fluctuating Etruscan influence. This demonstrates that there were intra-regional differences in the adoption of myth and culture as well as inter-regional factors in its transmission and distribution. The map also illustrates that the interest in the

[492] Haynes 2000: 4. Although their origins have been the subject of debate, recent genetic analysis has shown that Etruscans had very strong similarities with their Latin neighbours (Posth et. al. 2021).

[493] Haynes 2000: 51.

Amazon myth was not restricted to the coastal ports which had the highest concentration of interaction with Greek traders, nor indeed is it ubiquitous in areas with strong trading links to Greece. Spina was an important trade centre for the exchange of goods,[494] but there are no known examples of the Amazonomachy outside of the vases imported from Greece, including among the rich bronze finds from the site. This suggests that the residents of Spina either felt sufficiently catered for by the material imported from mainland Greece and were not compelled to acquire more localised examples, or that the particular fascination with the figure of the Amazons passed them by. Either scenario demonstrates flexibility within northern Italy in the adoption and adaptation of myth from Greek culture. Both scenarios also demonstrate the deliberate and active choices made elsewhere in northern Italy to embrace and adapt the story into wider local culture.



Figure 65: Map showing the findspots or places of production of locally-made Amazon-related items c. 600-300 B.C.

The Archaic Period

Amazons and the Amazonomachy first appear in Etruscan material culture in the sixth century B.C., not long after the myth's emergence on Athenian pottery. Aside from one Pontic amphora which may depict Amazons on horseback,[495] the Amazons principally emerge on reliefs in various media. They are shown in combat with Herakles on a bronze relief found at San Mariano Corciano (Figure 66), Perugia. The relief depicts him fighting alongside Tinia, the Etruscan parallel to Zeus, while the Amazons have joined forces with Uni, the Etruscan parallel to Hera.[496] Herakles is thus established as a combatant of the Amazons in Etruscan art from the outset, sometimes explicitly alongside other known exploits later codified into labours.[497]

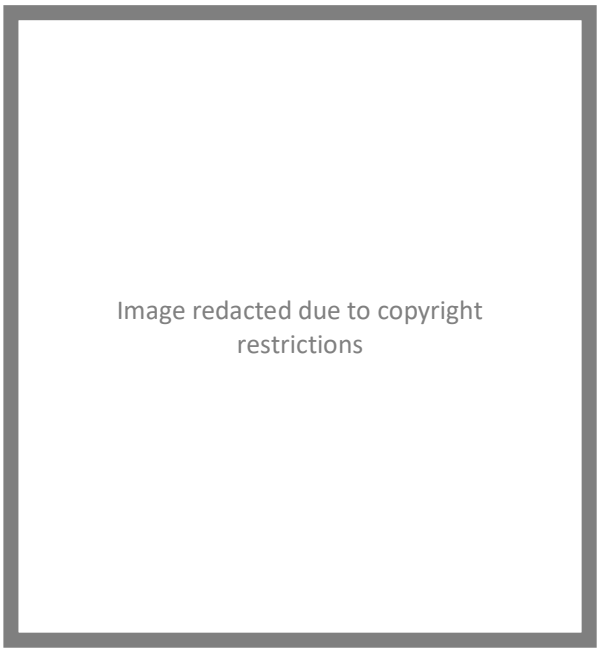


Figure 66: Bronze relief showing Herakles in combat with Amazons (M10; c. 510-490 B.C.)

The presence of Herakles, Etruscan Hercle, on these items necessitates brief reflection upon the Etruscan 'equivalents' of Greek mythological figures. The presence of Tinia and Uni on the bronze relief is wholly different from how the myth is rendered in Archaic Greece. In material from mainland Greece, if a god is present at all during the Archaic Heraklean Amazonomachy, Herakles is shown being aided by Athena. Zeus and Hera may have been understood to form part of the wider narrative, but they are not depicted as involved with the conflict. It seems likely that this relief fits within a wider pattern within Etruscan material culture, where ideas and figures are paralleled to Greek counterparts but form fundamentally different purposes. In Etruria Hercle

[495] V2420.

[496] Simon 2006: 51 (M10).

[497] e.g. Herakles facing off with an Amazon and the Erymanthian boar on a jug handle (M16); also Herakles herding cattle on a cinerary urn (M11).

was worshipped directly as a deity, and had his own temples;[498] he is also frequently depicted iconographically in stories which do not match the inherited Greek literature, [499] "endowed with a significance subtly different from their original meaning",[500] which this relief may exemplify. The Etruscans therefore likely had their own versions of the Amazonomachy narratives with their own purposes at heart; the concept of taking the bare structure of a story from the Greeks and filling it with a more local relevance arguably underpins every image of the Amazon generated in Etruria.



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 67: Banded scarab featuring a dying Amazon supported by a Greek warrior (M15; c. 550-500 B.C.)

Penthesilea may also feature in the earliest Etruscan iconography, although there are no inscriptions to certify her identification. An Amazon is shown being supported by a Greek warrior on a banded sardonyx scarab (Figure 67); the clearest narrative interpretation of this scene is Achilleus supporting the dying Penthesilea, but as is discussed later there are more unusual renderings of this composition on Etruscan mirrors where different heroes are named.[501] As with Herakles, therefore, varying local narratives may have emerged on Etruscan Amazonomachies from the outset.

Amazons also appear in their own right in Etruscan material from this period. A silver panel relief also recovered from San Mariano Corciano shows Amazons on horseback (Figure 68), establishing this attribute in the earliest iconography of Amazons in Etruria.[502] This relief, as with the bronze

[498] Haynes 2000: 213-214.
[499] Krauskopf 2016: 395.
[500] Haynes 2000: 99.
[501] M15; discussion p. 171-172. Similar to this piece is a small bronze decoration for a jug (M12).
[502] M14.

Image © Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 68: Silver-electrum relief showing Amazons on horseback (M14; c. 540-520 B.C.)

example featuring Tinia and Uni, may have originally decorated a chariot; war chariots persisted as status symbols in the depictions of leaders in Etruscan art well into the Archaic period.[503] Many if not all of these items were probably produced in Vulci and Tarquinia, which is known to have been a consistent source of gems and bronzes in the late sixth century.[504]

Amazons are depicted on two alabaster cippi from Chiusi which also date to the late sixth century.[505] The area around Chiusi has produced 270 stone reliefs in various forms including cippi,[506] the majority of which were used for individual aristocratic burials in the sixth and early fifth centuries.[507] These cippi with figured sculptural decoration usually display scenes of funerary games or the *prothesis*,[508] though the setting of female assemblies is less certainly funerary and may reference marriage or other domestic subjects.[509] Very few show scenes of combat,[510] and of those only two examples of Amazonomachies have been identified. Jannot has therefore questioned whether the less well-preserved of the two examples (S12) is an Amazonomachy;[511] but on the other (S11) a double-headed axe is clearly visible as being wielded by multiple female figures (Figure 69). The Amazons were certainly a known entity in Etruria by this point, as is demonstrated both by the importing of Greek vases discussed previously and also the presence of objects which were manufactured

[503] Haynes 2000: 137.
[504] Haynes 2000: 158-160.
[505] S11 and S12.
[506] Jannot 1984: 420.
[507] Amman 2017: 986.
[508] Haynes 2000: 246-247.
[509] Meyers 2022: 300.
[510] Jannot 1984: 382.
[511] Jannot 1984: 385.

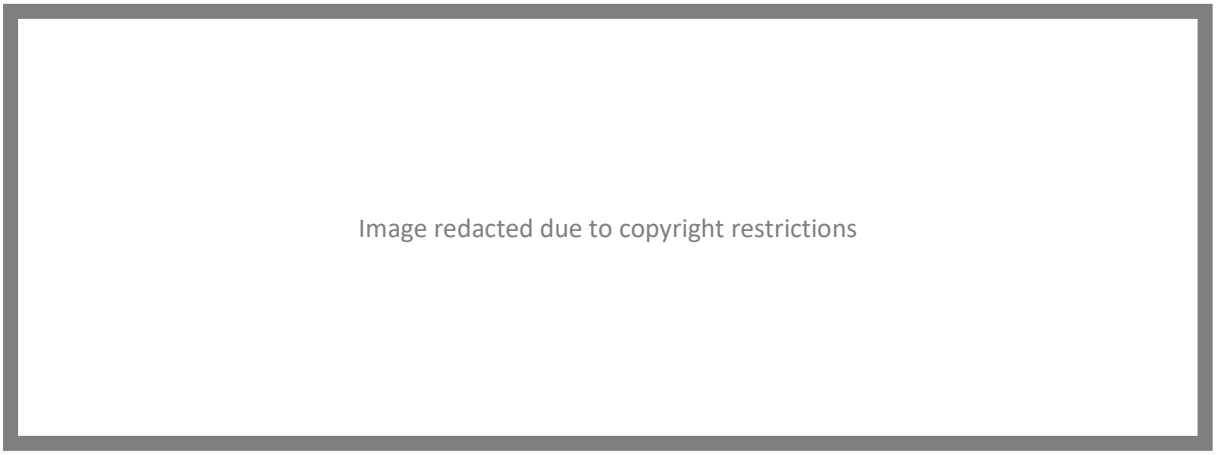


Figure 69: Alabaster cippus showing Amazons with double-headed axes (S11; c. 500-490 B.C.)

locally. These cippi are the northernmost example of locally-produced material concerning the Amazons, despite the later flourishing of Chiusine grave monuments in the fifth and fourth centuries;[512] they also demonstrate an interest in using the Amazonomachy in sepulchral contexts before any other example in the Mediterranean, almost two centuries before the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos.

There is a small but interesting group of architectural terracottas from Etruscan temples, dating to the late sixth to early fifth century. Examples have been recovered[513] from Cerveteri,[514] Pyrgi,[515] Ardea,[516] Satricum,[517] Veii,[518] Falerii, Albano, Segni, and the Esquiline,[519] and further south in Capua.[520] Many of these are fragmentary and thus only possibly Amazons, but other examples are well-preserved and demonstrate a clear interest in the theme as temple decoration. The Cerveteri akroteria are the earliest; the Amazons are shown unarmed and on horseback.[521] Although they are not shown directly in conflict with Herakles, other aspects of the temple's architectural decoration featured Herakles in combat with warriors, possibly Trojans.[522]

[512] Haynes 2000: 298.
[513] Willemsen 2009: 46.
[514] S15.
[515] S16.
[516] S20.
[517] S17.
[518] S18.
[519] S19.
[520] S14; Koch 1912: 50-51. At least three of these are known; another is in Frankfurt and a third in London (BM 1877,0802.16).
[521] Lulof 2009: 204. As Lulof discusses, the architectural terracottas from this site have been widely distributed across a number of collections, but one example is visible as S15.
[522] Willemsen 2009: 46; Lulof 2009: 200-203.

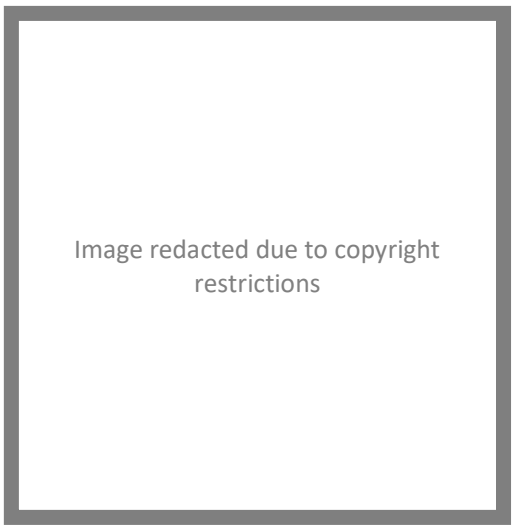


Figure 70: Section of terracotta decoration from Ardea (S20; c. 510-490 B.C.)

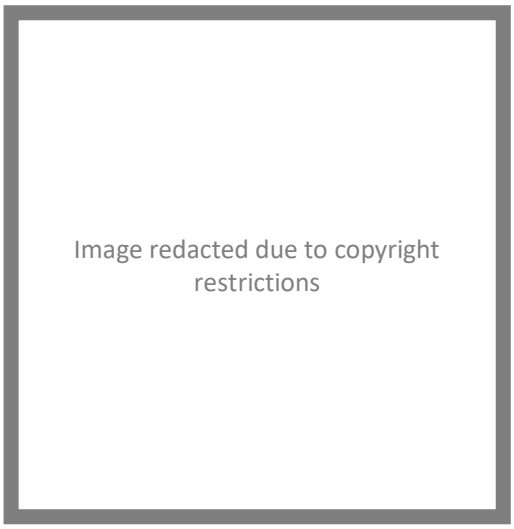


Figure 71: Section of terracotta decoration from Ardea (S20; c. 510-490 B.C.)

Striking across several of the extant pieces is an extraordinary use of colour, especially on the clothes of the Amazons. The figures from Ardea are particularly notable because they demonstrate two types of dress simultaneously in use for depicting the Amazons (Figure 70, Figure 71). The figures originally bedecked the columen and mutuli of the late Archaic temple, and evidence of the vivid red and black paint used for the decoration is still clearly visible. As well as the usual scenes of conflict, one Amazon kneels to recover the body of a fallen friend (Figure 71).[523]

Amazons also formed a relatively small part of the wider decorative programme of the Temple of Mater Matua at Satricum, displayed on the mutuli and columen of the late Archaic roof.[524] Although the scene was originally interpreted as representing the conflict between Achilleus and Penthesilea, it is possible that one of the figures should instead be interpreted as Herakles.[525] Petrographic analysis has shown that the clay used for these examples was sourced from

[523] Ceccarelli 2011: 196-197.
[524] S17.
[525] Luigi 1999: 222.

nearby,[526] and although many aspects of the iconography compare directly to Greek examples, several peculiar details (such as the winged helmet on one of the female figures) seem to have been locally influenced.[527] The terracottas from Satricum therefore present us with a relatively straightforward example of a Greek mythological subject being adopted and adapted to meet local interest, produced by local artists and incorporating elements of local design.

Satricum's Amazons also demonstrate how the story could take on an added local meaning due to broader political context. The city was fiercely contested by the Volscians and the Romans around the period of the temple's construction, which has led to speculation that the sculptural decoration on the temple may have been commissioned or paid for by one group or the other as part of their ongoing claim to the region.[528] The much-later text of Vergil's *Aeneid* uses the Amazons as a comparison point for the Volscian princess Camilla,[529] which has led some to argue that the Amazons on the temple at Satricum were also equated with the Volscians.[530] It is however uncertain whether we should take a literary reference from Imperial Rome and look for its origins in Archaic Etruria. This debate is of particular note in how it demonstrates yet another tangle of potential meaning around the use of the Amazon mythos. Several readings are simultaneously possible: that the Amazons represented a cultural knowledge and appreciation of Greek mythology; a reference to the Romans defeating the barbarous Volscians; a reference to the Volscians defeating the barbarous Romans. A particularly intriguing fourth option would be the potential that the Volscians were flattered by the comparison to the Amazons and chose to align themselves with this iconography as a demonstration of their prowess in battle. Although this concept would be highly unlikely in a Greek context, there is possible precedence for it in Etruria in the early role of architectural terracottas on Etruscan domestic buildings, where figures

[526] Knoop and Lulof 2007: 41.
[527] Lulof 1997: 100.
[528] Luigi 1999: 228.
[529] Verg. Aen. XI.648.
[530] Luigi 1999: 233.

decorating the roofs may have represented heroized ancestors of the local rulers.[531] This facilitates the possibility that the Volscians embraced the idea of the Amazons as their ancestors and celebrated their ferociousness in their patronage of the temple. Regardless of their exact meaning, this range of possibilities returns us to an example of the Amazon iconography being so inherently adaptable that one monument could be interpreted in such wholly opposing ways, even when locally contextualised. This multiplicity of meaning could have played a part in how the monument was perceived and understood within antiquity, even as the various facets of interpretation are still considered today.

The finest example of a terracotta Amazon in Etruria was recovered from the vicinity of the Esquiline Hill, possibly deposited there during the construction of Maecenus' Horti in the first century BC (Figure 72).[532] Although fragmentary, the remaining pieces allow for a reconstruction of the overall pose, including the presence of her opponent standing on her right leg. The Amazon was depicted lying on the ground, blood flowing from a wound at her breast. The painted decoration is delicately executed, with deliberate and precise use of a select range of pigments. The dimensions of the figure suggest that it originally functioned as a temple akroterion.[533]

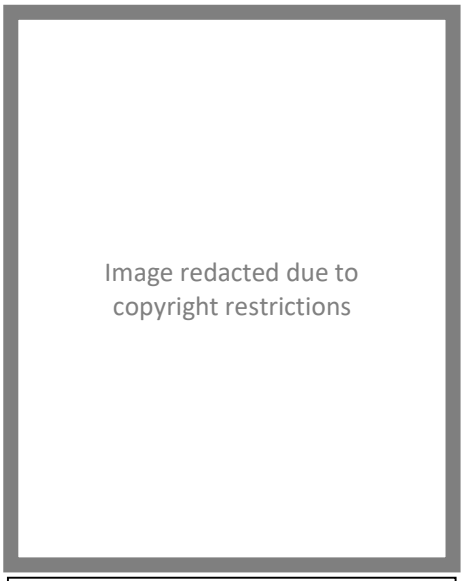


Figure 72: Section of the terracotta Amazon from the Esquiline (S19; c. 510-490 B.C.)

As well as serving as an excellent example of the broader architectural type discussed above, the Esquiline Amazon is interesting because of its method of manufacture. The technique of

[531] Haynes 2000: 120.
[532] Lulof 2007: 9.
[533] Lulof 2018: 187.

modelling employed matches Greek coroplastic styles, not local,[534] which would again imply the presence of Greek artists producing materials for a local context. The Esquiline Amazon is however more intriguing because the fabric of the terracotta is also not local; petrographic analysis indicates that the clay originally came from southeastern Sicily.[535] This would imply that the statue group was commissioned by or perhaps gifted to nobles local to the Esquiline from a workshop in Sicily, perhaps even the noted craftsmen Damophilos and Gorgasos who worked on the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.[536] This demonstrates the presence of cultural exchange in north Italy with regions of south Italy and Sicily, but most notably it shows that they were influenced by broader sources in their selection of iconography and mythology. The Esquiline Amazon is not derived from models inherited from Athenian vases but from the production of a Sicilian workshop, which was likely in turn influenced by architectural terracottas from Corinth.[537]

The Archaic material from Etruria demonstrates a marked interest in Amazon iconography, introduced to the region from contemporary Athenian vases but then expanded upon and personalised into a variety of local media. Amazons are shown in combat with famed heroes, but they also are depicted in their own right. Most significantly, unlike any of the Greek examples the Amazonomachy has already been adapted to suit both religious and sepulchral architecture. This interest and adaptation continues further in the Classical and Late Classical periods.

The Fifth and Fourth Centuries

The political geography of Northern Italy was profoundly impacted by the Battle of Cumae in 474 BC, in which the Etruscans were "made humble" by an alliance of Syracuse and the Greek settlers

[534] Lulof 2007: 21.

[535] Lulof 2018: 182.

[536] Pliny NH 35.45; Lulof 2018: 187 proposes that this figure may have come from that workshop. It may be significant in this context that Sicily was considered to be the original home of Ceres (c.f. Cic. *Ver*. 2.4.108, where the Roman sacerdotes go to Enna to find "ipsam Cererem").

[537] Lulof 2007: 25.

at Cumae.[538] The fifth century was largely a period of contraction of Etruscan territory, supplemented by attacks from the north by Gaul invaders and the south from the increasing expansion of Rome, culminating in the destruction of Veii in 396 BC.[539]

However, while the importance of coastal cities decreased, the inland settlements continued to thrive.[540] These sites include the town of Falerii, which produced pottery in the fourth century. The production of Faliscan red-figure in this region likely began with the immigration of Athenian artists, perhaps struggling in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War.[541] There is a small body of Faliscan or otherwise Etruscan pottery which features Amazons or the Amazonomachy, consisting of nine vessels. Most of the examples are kraters, but there is a mixture of scene types between fighting and Amazons at rest. The majority of the scenes do not feature named heroes, although Herakles is present on one red-figure calyx krater.[542] The most bizarre example, a calyx krater by the Turmucas Group (Figure 73), features a named Pentasila and another Amazon in idle conversation with Charun, the Etruscan psychopomp.[543]



Image © BnF, MMA

Figure 73: Detail from red-figure calyx krater showing Pentasila in conversation with Charun (V2416; c. 350-300 B.C.)

[538] Diod. Sic. 11.51: "τοὺς μὲν Τυρρηνοὺς ἐταπείνωσαν, τοὺς δὲ Κυμαίους ἠλευθέρωσαν τῶν φόβων".
[539] Bruni 2017: 1152.
[540] Haynes 2000: 263.
[541] Ambrosini 2013: 957.
[542] V2422.
[543] V2416.

It is also perhaps worth considering here a small, unusual group of plates produced by the Genucilia Group, first at Falerii and then at Caere,[544] many of which feature female heads in profile to the left. These female heads, while not definitely Amazons, are strongly reminiscent of the pelike head-type from Attica discussed in the previous chapter,[545] of which only 7 examples were excavated from Italian contexts; perhaps these dishes were inspired by them, or were a local expression of a wider Attic phenomenon.



Figure 74: Bronze cista from Palestrina featuring Heraklean Amazonomachy (M49; c. 325-275 B.C.)

The fourth century in Etruria also saw the peak of the creation of elaborate engraved metalworks,[546] principally produced in the forms of cistae and mirrors. Orvieto took over from Vulci as the centre for the manufacture of mirrors,[547] while Praeneste produced an extraordinary number of cistae, predominantly decorated with scenes of Greek myth.[548] Like mirrors, cistae were used for cosmetic or toilet purposes,[549] thus providing a far more intimate and domestic context for the iconography than, for example, large architectural statuary. Both mirrors and cistae are almost exclusively recovered from funerary contexts,[550] but as with all metal objects, a sepulchral context is the easiest path to their preservation. They were probably used in life prior to their internment;

[544] Chiaro 1957: 328.
[545] See discussion p. 97.
[546] Brendel 1995: 353.
[547] Meer 1995: 11.
[548] Brendel 1995: 353.
[549] Goring 2004: 181.
[550] Carpino 2016: 416 (on mirrors).

many of these mirrors have had their reflective surfaces deliberately defaced with the Etruscan inscription "śuthina", meaning "of the tomb".[551]

The production of Praenestine cistae dates back to the mid-fifth century, but the majority were manufactured in the fourth and third centuries. Almost all of the cistae have been recovered from Palestrina, with a few examples discovered wider afield, but all in Etruria.[552] A corpus of over 100 examples features a number of mythological scenes alongside more generic imagery, although it has been questioned whether these scenes allude in part to Etruscan mythology.[553] There are six known cistae featuring Amazons, of which two comprise of combats with Herakles.[554] The battles take place both on foot and on horseback, winding round the body of the cistae in a busy but readable iconographical scheme. On one unusual example a trio of Amazons acts as a focal point or handle on the top of the cista, carrying away a fallen companion.[555]

Mirrors were produced in Etruria from the mid-sixth century,[556] but the format of a mirror and an accompanying decorative cover was imported from fourth-century Greece.[557] Most of the decorative themes derived from Greek mythology,[558] with local mythic scenes representing only around one in ten of the nearly three thousand known examples.[559] Although more numerous than the extant cistae, the quality of the decorated mirrors is more variable.[560] There are nine mirrors featuring Amazons; all of them also feature major male heroes, with four examples of Herakles, three of Achilleus, and two depicting a dying Penthesilea supported by Diomedes. Of

[551] Haynes 2000: 243; Meer 1995: 11.
[552] Lesky 2006.
[553] Meer 2017: 211 for generic scenes on cistae. Catalogues by Bordenache Battalgia list 24 Praenestine cistae made of bronze sheets layered on wood and leather, plus 119 bronze cistae with lids. There are also around 80 detached handles and 45 detached feet likely originally from cistae.
[554] M48 andM49.
[555] M39; the group may be a later addition (Helbig 1969: 824).
[556] Meer 1995: 5.
[557] Haynes 2000: 243.
[558] Brendel 1995: 365.
[559] Meer 1995: 5.
[560] Brendel 1995: 365.



Figure 75: Drawing of mirror showing Herakles in conversation with Hippolyte and Helen (M42; c. 400-300 B.C.)



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 76: Photograph of mirror showing warrior in combat with bare-breasted Amazon (M46; c. 400-300 B.C.)

the examples with known findspots, they range from Chiusi in the north to Viterbo in the south. The majority show scenes of combat, though one of the examples featuring Herakles appears to be peaceable, perhaps showing a moment of conversation prior to the fight erupting or another encounter entirely (Figure 75).[561] The Amazons are shown in a variety of types of dress, ranging from full hoplite-like armour (Figure 75) to unusually bare-chested (Figure 76).[562] The male heroes are almost universally shown clothed.[563] One example clearly has its origins in vase iconography, particularly the decoration of the cuirass and the rendering of the pair's expressions.[564]

Of note here is the presence of Diomedes, who is shown alongside Odysseus on a mirror now in Florence supporting the body of Penthesilea, all of whom are named (Figure 77).[565] Without the presence of these inscriptions, it would be impossible to identify the figures and thus consider the meaning of the scene; there are some comparisons to the earlier images of Penthesilea collapsing

[561] M42.
[562] M46.
[563] The exception is the figure of Herakles on M40.
[564] M44.
[565] M45.



Figure 77: Drawing of mirror showing Diomedes and Odysseus supporting the body of Penthesilea (M45; c. 400-350 B.C.)

mentioned above, but the only indication of her gender is a string of pearls or beads around her neck.[566] One example of this scene could be explained by a confusion of iconography, but Diomedes re-occurs in this role on another, earlier mirror now in Madrid.[567] Similarly unusual is the mirror discussed above which shows Herakles, Hippolyte, and Helen together in conversation (Figure 75).[568] These examples therefore demonstrate a deliberate and established precedent for interactions known only from Etruscan mirrors. They likely show a tangible example of a phenomenon more widely known in Etruscan culture, namely the adoption and then adaptation of Greek myths to serve a local purpose,[569] a desire which the Amazons served well.

Another aspect of both the cistae and the mirrors is their almost universal use by women. Although the assignation of any gender identity to grave goods is inherently problematic, we are aided in this endeavour by a number of inscriptions on Etruscan mirrors which confirm women to have been their owners.[570] It has also been noticed that women on Etruscan mirrors are "conspicuously frequent, and often the centre of a story".[571] It is noteworthy in this context that the depiction of the Amazons on these bronzes is overwhelmingly violent. Especially by this

[566] Klügmann and Körte 1974: 151, who note the pearls also appear in British Museum 1824,0489.82.+.
[567] M18.
[568] M42.
[569] Krauskopf 2016: 395.
[570] Meer 1995: 16.
[571] Brendel 1995: 365.

period, in other media there is a well-established corpus of Amazon iconography showing them at rest, arming, and otherwise not in combat to which the mirrors and cistae could easily refer. This fits to some extent within the wider depiction of Greek mythology on Etruscan mirrors, although the interest in violent scenes had mostly diminished by the end of the fifth century and they had moved towards predominantly romantic, erotic, and mantic scenes.[572] Within the wider corpus of Etruscan mirrors scenes frequently focus on the decidedly non-violent daily lives of women, including images of courtship, marriage, childcare, and erotic romance.[573]

Amazons depicted in the company of male heroes and almost universally in scenes of violence must therefore be understood as a choice, especially in the context of their presence as peaceful figures on Etruscan pottery. The most straightforward interpretation is that violent scenes on mirrors were intended to provide 'lessons' to their (female) owners of their "duties and expectations".[574] The Amazons in this context would be the feral barbarian with whom any misbehaving woman would risk inviting comparison. She fits within the traditional domestic context because she has been domesticated, either through being tamed or by being overcome. This perspective assumes that a patriarchal ideology underpinned the iconographical choices which drove the creation and purchase of these items.

Another interpretation might imagine a more involved relationship between the female user of the items and their iconography. Brendel refers to women as being the "customers" for mirrors;[575] some examples feature inscriptions which demonstrate them being given to men by women.[576] The almost total lack of male nudity in the Amazon mirrors is perhaps problematic in this context if the male warriors were intended to be seen as desirable figures on inherently

[572] Meer 1995: 238; though Carpino 2016: 417 argues for the continuation of violence into the fourth century.

[573] Thomson de Grummond 1985: 31.

[574] Carpino 2016: 416.

[575] Brendel 1995: 365.

[576] Meer 1995: 26.

intimate objects, but it is also possible that Etruscan audiences varied in how and when they wanted nudity in their art.[577] From this perspective there are a further two possible approaches to these scenes. The first would emphasise the tragedy and the romance of these encounters, the intense emotional catharsis of a scene in which the young woman is struck down. In the cases where Achilleus and Penthesilea are involved, it is possible the scene alludes to the "tragically brief "romance""[578] well-established in later Roman traditions. This framing, while compelling as a way of understanding scenes featuring Achilleus and Penthesilea, would not however be relevant to scenes of Amazons fighting Herakles, where there is no known romantic subtext.

A further approach might require greater recontextualisation of the objects within Etruscan culture. Etruscan women are known to have lived quite different lives from Greek women. It is difficult to take seriously Theopompus' caustic comments about the orgiastic and allegedly incestuous habits of Etruscan women, but it is clear from his horror that they exercised a greater degree of freedom and independence than their Athenian counterparts.[579] This context adds weight to the idea of the Amazon being viewed as an admirable or inspirational figure by the Etruscan women who owned these objects. The death of such a figure would then be particularly significant in a sepulchral context if the mirrors were used or perhaps re-used as funeral gifts, where the slain Amazon would perhaps create a point of comparison with a young woman who died in her prime. This may also explain why Amazons appear on funerary monuments in Etruria long before anywhere else in the Mediterranean.

The demonstrable presence of women in the Etruscan market and their known broader independence allows more directly this positive interpretation of the Amazon, but this specific view risks overlooking the wider trend within the distribution of the iconography. In each of these

[577] Angelis 2016: 382.
[578] Carpino 2016: 420.
[579] FGrHist 115 F204 (Ath. 12.517d-518c); Shapiro 2000: 317; Haynes 2000: 284.

mirrors, one single object facilitates a multitude of different experiences: a father who buys the image for his wayward daughter as a warning or a wedding gift; a mother who buys the image for her female friend as an idea worthy of admiration. We are presented yet again with totally opposing interpretations of the same sets of mythic iconography. No other subject accommodates this interpretative ambiguity as strongly and consistently as images of the Amazon.

Late Classical Etruscan Sarcophagi

There are a total of eleven sarcophagi from Etruria featuring Amazons, out of a corpus of around 148 sarcophagi produced in Etruria between 350-280 B.C., mostly in Tarquinia and Tuscania.[580] This spate of funeral building was likely motivated by local aristocrats taking advantage of an ongoing peace with Rome formulated in around 351 B.C.[581] Dating to the mid to late fourth century, half of the examples were recovered from Tarquinia,[582] while four further originate from Tuscania[583] and two originate from Vulci.[584] Around 148 sarcophagi were produced with local aristocrats likely These monuments form part of a concentrated corpus from a wider context of at least six thousand Tarquinian tombs,[585] but the practice of interring individuals in sarcophagi in Tarquinia was a relatively new introduction of the later Classical period, possibly related to a shift towards the use of family chamber tombs.[586]

The earliest example from Tarquinia featuring Amazons is the painted sarcophagus of Laris Partunus.[587] The Amazonomachy spanned one of the long sides and both short sides of the

[580] Meer 2004: 4.
[581] Haynes 2000: 306.
[582] S57, S58, S59, S61, S62.
[583] S63, S64.
[584] S56, S60.
[585] Boitani, Cataldi, and Pasquinnuci 1975: 181.
[586] Weir 2012: 15, 117.
[587] S59.

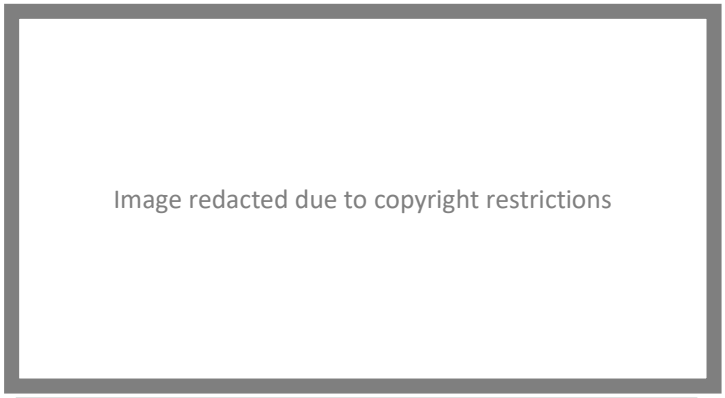


Figure 78: Detail from sarcophagus of Laris Partunus showing Charun and Vanth in the Amazonomachy (S59; c. 350-340 B.C.)

marble sarcophagus, with the final long side featuring scenes from the Iliad.[588] The layering of its figures is complex and well-executed. The quality of the stone is impressive; the Parian marble may have been imported to the region from Carthage.[589] This sarcophagus is the only example from its tomb to be made of such high-quality material.[590] Although the marble itself is imported, the use of local typology for the sculptural lid of the sarcophagus denotes the work (or at least the understanding) of a local.[591] The painting itself is not perfectly preserved, but enough remains of the figures for them to be clearly identifiable.[592] Aside from the battling Amazons and Greeks, most notable here is the presence of two blue winged figures in the centre of the fray (Figure 78), their arms enclosing the body of a Greek. These are Charun, Etruscan spirit of death, and Vanth, an Etruscan demon who often accompanies him.[593] Their presence instantly identifies the piece as for a local Etruscan audience, and if not by an Etruscan artist, then certainly by an artist well-versed in Etruscan iconography.

Laris' sarcophagus was recovered from the Tomb of the Partunus family, an expansive tomb featuring sarcophagi across five or six generations.[594] Partunus is a name local to Tarquinia.[595] The same tomb also contained a later, carved limestone Amazonomachy on the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus (Figure 79).[596] The inscription gives Velthur's occupation as *zilχ ceχaneri*, a high-

[588] Weir 2012: 139.
[589] Meer 2004: 32.
[590] Weir 2012: 139.
[591] Meer 2004: 32.
[592] This is in contrast to the fourth Tarquinian sarcophagus, S58, the painting of which so badly eroded as to be almost impossible to identify.
[593] Meer 2004: 33.
[594] Nielsen 2002: 96.
[595] Meer 2004: 15.
[596] S62. The Etruscan sarcophagi often use limestone in a manner which imitated marble or alabaster (Brendel 1995: 390); this may be why this example is described as alabaster in earlier discussions.

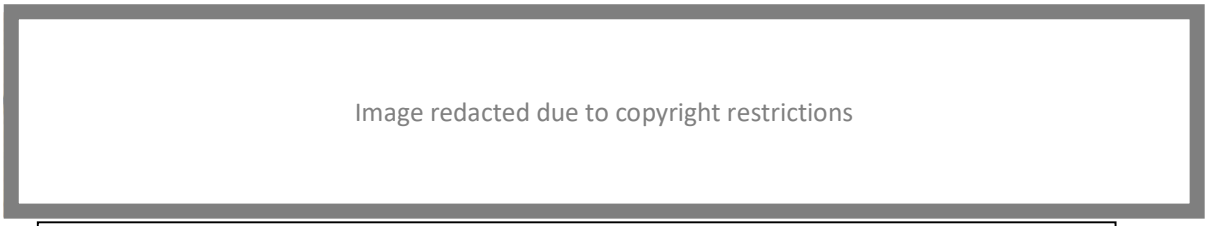


Figure 79: Detail from sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus showing Amazonomachy (S62; c. 330-300 B.C.)

ranking magistrate.[597] The Amazonomachy takes the form of a series of shallow Kistenreliefs, along one long and two short sides of the sarcophagus. Although rudimentary in execution, the figures are much more dynamic and less stilted than another carved example from Tarquinia rendered in nenfro.[598] Many of the continuous Amazonomachies on these sarcophagi suffer from restrictive compositions, transforming into a series of individual scenes or duels with little to no connection, as would be typical of a metope. As well as the iconography transmitted through vases, the Etruscans may have seen the metopes featuring Amazons on the Greek mainland. Both Cerveteri and Spina had treasuries at Delphi,[599] presumably not too distant from the Athenian Treasury and its Amazonomachy metopes.

The final Tarquinian example is the most spectacular: the aptly-named Sarcophagus of the Amazons.[600] The immediate context of the tomb was not recorded upon its excavation in 1862, but it originated from the Monterozzi necropolis.[601] The sarcophagus is constructed of a single block of white calcareous alabaster, again likely imported from Carthage.[602] The painting was applied directly to the stone without an intermediate layer.[603] The gable lid features dogs tearing apart a nude man on both pediments, as well as a series of "typically Etruscan" female heads at each corner.[604] The male figure is usually identified as Actaeon,[605] although the assumption of this Greek mythical figure in an Etruscan context has been challenged.[606] It is easy to imagine how the

[597] Meer 2004: 23; Carpino 2016: 424.
[598] S61.
[599] Haynes 2000: 195, 212.
[600] S57.
[601] Weir 2012: 138.
[602] Cianferoni 2007: 26.
[603] Bocci 1960: 109.
[604] Cianferoni 2007: 29.
[605] Bocci 1960: 122.
[606] Weir 2012: 147 proposes that the figure may actually be part of a "master of the beasts" scene known from Etruscan art. There is precedent for Actaeon appearing in Etruscan art; he is also known from



Figure 80: Side of Sarcophagus of the Amazons featuring quadrigae (S57; c. 370-360 B.C.)



Figure 81: Side of the Sarcophagus of the Amazons showing secondary inscription (S57)

Etruscan mirrors, where he also lacks his antlers (Bocci 1960: 122; see Digital LIMC 45268 (Aktaion 22, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Bruxelles R1278), where they look even less savage than on this sarcophagus). Here, the beasts strongly resemble dogs and appear to have their mouths clamped around the figure's legs. Although an effort to recontextualise Etruscan works within their immediate culture is a considerable part of this thesis, it does not seem necessary here to look for an alternative identification.



Figure 82: Detail from Sarcophagus of the Amazons showing intricate details of warrior's outfits and nudity of dying Amazon (S57; c. 370-360 B.C.)

story of Actaeon could hold an appeal to the Etruscans, with its messages of respect for the gods and hubristic transgression, an interest already observed elsewhere in Etruscan art.[607] It is possible that the myth also resonates well with the Amazonomachy on the casket because of the invisible figure of the female goddess Artemis, responsible for setting the dogs on Actaeon; from this perspective, both stories feature acts of violence carried out by women against men.[608] Although the execution of the relief is clumsy in places, the sculptor does well to fully utilise the space of the awkward shallow pediment. Architectural features are also evident on the casket, but they are added in paint; it is one of only two sarcophagi in Etruscan art which feature only painted decoration on the casket.[609]

The surface of the stone was first rendered an even colour with the application of a thin lead carbonate, with a diluted grey used to sketch over the preparatory engravings.[610] Egyptian blue and black were also used, plus the earliest-known use of minium (red lead) in Greek or pre-Roman Italian painting;[611] this limited palette provides a rich impression when paired with the use of dark and light backgrounds to amplify the figures.[612] Where before the Amazonomachy has featured alongside other mythical scenes, here it stretches along all four sides of the casket (Figure 80, Figure 81, Figure 82). One long end features two duels between two quadrigae; the other long end features a more complex battle between eleven figures. Both sides are filled with consistently intricate (and sometimes gory) detailing (Figure 83). The short ends mimic each other in their



Figure 83: Detail from Sarcophagus of the Amazons showing lance puncturing warrior's thigh and a spurt of blood (S57; c. 370-360 B.C.)

[607] Carpino 2016: 416.
[608] Meer 2004: 36; Weir 2012: 145.
[609] Weir 2012: 141.
[610] Brecoulaki 2003: 21.
[611] Brecoulaki 2003: 22.
[612] Brecoulaki 2003: 24.

overall composition but are not direct copies of one another. Both feature two standing figures either side of a single, fallen fighter. Unlike the other examples, these scenes do not give the impression of being a series of unrelated duels strung together in one unrelated composition. It is likely that more than one artist was involved in the creation of the paintings, which may explain discrepancies in quality or detail across the group;[613] but for the most part, the figures are rendered dynamically and the overall composition flows energetically between the individual conflicts.

The general absence of male nudity is noticeable. Indeed, across all of the five sarcophagi from Tarquinia, only one example features male nudity.[614] The extraordinary detail and variety in the rendering of the armour (Figure 82) has led to suggestions that the types featured may have been referencing specific ethnic groups.[615] While the Amazons on foot wear chitons, those on horseback wear anaxyrides. Most of the Amazons also wear "the soft, laced shoes of Etruscan women",[616] but the Greek warriors do not wear shoes; this small detail exemplifies the tension between realism and fantasy observable in this piece. While much time and attention to detail has been applied to the execution of the men's armour, no warrior would go into battle barefoot.

This detailed attention to clothing renders the nude figures even more obtrusive. Nudity here has a direct correlation with Amazons who have been defeated. The fallen Amazon on the short end (Figure 84) is depicted completely naked, her breasts even emphasised by the application of a delicate layer of pink. Two further fallen Amazons on the long end (Figure 82) are also depicted nude and semi-nude, though both of these figures are more poorly-preserved. This pattern suggests that nudity is used here as a sign of vulnerability, perhaps in tandem with the nude figure of Actaeon.

[613] Setari 2007b: 70.
[614] S62.
[615] Bottini 2007a: 74.
[616] Brendel 1995: 342.



Figure 84: One of the short ends from the Sarcophagus of the Amazons showing nude dying Amazon (S57; c. 370-360 B.C.)

The presence of the quadrigae is not in itself unusual. Amazons have been depicted on chariots as early as the mid-sixth century,[617] and examples continue into near-contemporary vase painting.[618] The use of four white horses is visually striking, but does not convey any clear meaning. Noteworthy are the unusual eight-spoke wheels, which may directly evoke Faliscan chariots;[619] a peculiarity of the rendering of the reins also evokes an Etruscan practice whereby phalerae are used on the connecting straps of the horses' harnesses rather than just at their mouthpieces.[620] This peculiar detail, along with the very fine execution of the armour on the 'Greek' warriors,

[617] e.g. V0663.

[618] e.g. V1971.

[619] The convention in Athenian vases is to draw wheels with four spokes, as in a red-figure cup by Epiktetos (BAPD 200471; Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16575), a convention which persists into the fourth century (e.g. BAPD 218285; Munich Antikensammlungen 2401). Although Etruscan paintings do not always depict chariot wheels with more than four spokes, on a large number of examples they do; wall paintings from both the Tomba del Colle Casuccini and the Tomba del Poggio al Moro show chariots with six-spoked wheels (Banducci 2014: 16), and a near-intact Etruscan chariot recovered from Colle del Capitano has nine spokes (New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 03.23.1).

[620] Bocci 1960: 117.

strongly suggests that the creator of this piece was Etruscan, or at the very least steeped in the necessary cultural understanding.[621] In spite of the clear presence of these local themes, the complexity of the design has led some scholars to suggest that the artist must have been working from an eastern Greek model.[622] The only evidence for this notion would be a perceived inability on the part of local artists, and Tarquinia has served as the centre for tomb painting in Etruria since the Archaic period.[623]

It is finally worth reflecting on the rich information presented by the inscription on this sarcophagus. Although several of the Tarquinian sarcophagi featured inscriptions as well as Amazonomachies, this example is unusual because the inscription occurs twice, once on the lid and again on the casket. The second inscription, executed across the painted decoration of the casket (Figure 81), is rendered much more clumsily than the first, and slightly different in grammatical construction to the first. The most plausible explanation is that the first inscription was not visible upon reopening of the tomb for a subsequent burial, perhaps due to a ceiling collapse.[624] The inscription names the occupant as Ramtha Huzcnai, *ati nacnva* of Larth Apaiatrus, *zil eteraias*.[625] As with Partunus, the *gens* Huzcnai appears to be local.[626] The specificity of the translation is uncertain, but Ramtha was likely the grandmother of someone with a local civic position,[627] perhaps equivalent to a Roman *praetor*.[628]

The Sarcophagus of the Amazons therefore demonstrates that its eponymous subject was considered appropriate for both male and female burials. The choice to memorialise a female ancestor in this manner, also visible elsewhere in the common use of matronyms in Etruscan

[621] Herbig 1952: 27; Bocci 1960: 113; Haynes 2000: 293; Brecoulaki 2003: 24.
[622] Bottini 2007a: 76.
[623] Haynes 2000: 221.
[624] Agostiniani 2007: 96.
[625] Meer 2004: 129.
[626] Meer 2004: 17; an older form of the name existed at Caere.
[627] Maggiani 1998: 119; Haynes 2000: 294; Weir 2012: 139.
[628] Meer 2004: 24.

burials,[629] does suggest some social significance being apportioned to Etruscan women; but this is far from universal. At the Partunus tomb, for example, the inscriptions naming male burials far outnumbered those for women,[630] and still other tombs are wholly agnatic and do not contain female burials at all.[631] Ramtha is therefore an interesting exception in some respects, but it is obviously noteworthy that she is only identified in association with a (presumably) living, male relative. It is also questionable how much she would have been responsible for the choice of decoration for her monument, although her involvement is not impossible.

As well as these five examples from Tarquinia, Amazons also appear on four sarcophagi in Tuscania and two in Vulci.[632] After Tarquinia, Tuscania is the second area of greatest concentration of large sarcophagi, with around 40 examples extant.[633] Tuscania has had its place in the political landscape of Etruria since the Archaic period, lying at the centre of several arterial routes within the region,[634] but it particularly rose to prominence in the fourth century.[635] This key element of its topography appears to have positively affected its ability to thrive during ongoing Roman expansion in the fourth century, which accounts for the ability of locals to afford these expensive grave monuments.[636] All four sarcophagi featuring Amazons originate from the necropolis of Madonna dell'Olivo. Two were recovered from the same tomb, the 'Tomb of the Amazons', while the other two came from tombs of the Curunas family.[637] This latter tomb was in use for at least seven generations, across roughly two centuries.[638] Both of the examples from the Curunas tombs are interesting; the first presents a more conventional Amazonomachy scene with sets of duelling fighters, but the end of the sarcophagus is decorated with Bellerophon fighting

[629] Haynes 2000: 258.
[630] Nielsen 2002: 96.
[631] Haynes 2000: 259.
[632] A fragmentary Amazon from Vulci (S56) may represent a third example.
[633] Meer 2004: 17.
[634] Sgubini Moretti 1991: 9.
[635] Boitani, Cataldi, and Pasquinnuci 1975: 257.
[636] Sgubini Moretti 1991: 12.
[637] Meer 2004: 18.
[638] Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983: 161.

the chimera.[639] The second sarcophagus appears to show an Amazon and a Greek warrior observing a bout between their companions (Figure 85).[640] Although the sarcophagi are not themselves directly attributable to specific individuals, the *gens* Curunas is known to have belonged to an aristocratic family in the region, including the magistrate Śethre Curunas.[641]



Figure 85: Detail from a Tuscanian sarcophagus possibly showing a wrestling match with Amazons (S66; c. 310-300 B.C.)

Etruscan funerary monuments are often notable for the tender affection shown between spouses,[642] and this is exemplified beautifully by one of the sarcophagi featuring Amazonomachies from Vulci. Recovered from the Ponte Rotto necropolis around 1845, the lid shows a couple embracing, gazing deeply into each other's eyes.[643] The inscription on the sarcophagus identifies the pair as Larth Tetnies and his wife Thanchvil Tarnai, and also gives the names of both of Larth's parents. It is one of a pair of sarcophagi belonging to the family, with a second smaller example dedicated to Larth's parents Arth Tetnies and Ramtha Viśnai.[644] The Amazonomachy only appears on one of the long sides of the sarcophagus, and is reminiscent of the nenfro example from Tarquinia in its composition.[645] The decoration takes the form of a series

[639] S65.
[640] S66; Meer 2004: 37.
[641] Moretti and Sgubini Moretti 1983: 171.
[642] Haynes 2000: 217.
[643] S60.
[644] Digital LIMC 2904 (Boston MFA 1975.799).
[645] S61.



Figure 86: Amazonomachy frieze from the sarcophagus of Larth Tetnies and Thanchvil Tarnai (S60; c. 330-300 B.C.)

of isolated duels (Figure 86), often ill-fitting in the space, though the figures themselves are rendered with some competence and fluidity.

The greater competence of the stonemason might suggest the sarcophagus was produced in Vulci itself, which had been a centre for sculptural production in Etruria since the Archaic period.[646] Vulci suffered from a period of artistic stagnation in the fifth century, but was producing excellent works again by the mid-fourth.[647] The sarcophagus in nenfro from Vulci also displays a greater competence in rendering the human form, though the positions of the figures are oddly rigid in comparison.[648] This nenfro sarcophagus was recovered from the Tomba delle Iscrizioni, later identified (at least partly) as the tomb of the *gens* Pruślnas.[649] Here the Amazonomachy stretches around all four sides of the sarcophagus, and is accompanied by winged Etruscan death-demons at each corner. While both of the Vulci sarcophagi feature nudity, in this example the nudity is explicit and full-frontal for both the male and female warriors, including one completely naked Amazon being dragged off her horse by the hair (Figure 87). This sarcophagus is not inscribed, but the tomb is otherwise notable for containing a series of female burials related not through family

Image redacted due to copyright restrictions

Figure 87: Detail from Vulci sarcophagus showing a naked Amazon being pulled from her mount by the hair (S63; c. 330-300 B.C.)

[646] Haynes 2000: 152.
[647] Boitani, Cataldi, and Pasquinnuci 1975: 219.
[648] S63.
[649] Meer 2004: 21.

but their titled, *hatrencu*, which may have been a religious office.[650]

Of all the material from Etruria, these ten sarcophagi are the most definitively limited in audience. It is likely that these images were only visible to the immediate family of the deceased, most notably on the occasion of a new internment or the performance of funerary cult.[651] Some features in the iconographical choices of these sarcophagi are more obviously Etruscan than others; the most obvious is the presence of Etruscan death-demons found on two of the sarcophagi. Amazons are however essentially absent on grave monuments from mainland Greece.[652] The relative absence of male nudity is also an incongruous feature in comparison to Amazonomachies from mainland Greece, where the heroic nude male is ubiquitous. Etruscan art in general had a complex and often highly specific relationship with nudity, particularly female nudity;[653] but it is noteworthy that the preference for nudity within these sarcophagi also appears to differ between cities, as Vulci has more sarcophagi with nude figures even though it has fewer Amazonomachy sarcophagi overall. This suggests the presence or absence of nudity on these sarcophagi could be due to local or individual taste rather than a characteristic of Etruscan Amazonomachies. It is also worth noting in this context that other Etruscan cities expressed different preferences for the types of myth shown; Eteocles and Polyneikes, for example, were the favoured subject in Chiusi.[654] The particular choice of myths used was therefore clearly deliberate, and not just a general interest in portraying elements of Greek mythology. Only two Etruscan sarcophagi feature Centauromachies.[655]

Other elements of the iconography may appear close to the Greek rendering of the story, but may take on a different significance in a local context. Amazons are more commonly depicted

[650] Haynes 2000: 286.
[651] Steingräber 2002: 148.
[652] The exception, the Kallithea monument, is a definite peculiarity.
[653] Carpino 2016: 423.
[654] Weir 2012: 142.
[655] Meer 2004: 136 no. H80; the other is the reverse scene on S59.

with axes or lances than bows in Etruscan art,[656] and the particular type of axe wielded by Amazons on (for example) the sarcophagus of Velthur Partunus (Figure 79).[657] Here, the narrow-bladed, double-headed axe is strongly reminiscent of the fasces, a symbol originating in Vetulonia later widely adopted by the Romans.[658] This is not to say that the Amazons were perceived in any way as holding political office; rather, it highlights the manner in which symbols can take on different layers of meaning when recontextualised within Etruscan culture.

SOUTHERN ITALY AND SICILY

Around 275 South Italian vases featuring Amazons or Amazonomachies have been identified, out of a broader corpus of around 20,000 vessels.[659] The introduction of large-scale pottery production to south Italy was probably introduced via migration from the Greek mainland into South Italy, and was established at Metapontum by the 440s at the latest.[660] South Italian pottery is therefore rooted in the Greek tradition, but across its lifespan it developed its own conventions and traditions.[661] Around seventy percent of the vessels featuring Amazons are Apulian, followed in frequency by Campanian and Lucanian, with only eight examples from Paestum and Sicily combined (Table 12). This pattern fits the wider distribution of South Italian fabrics.[662] The most common shape by a considerable margin is the krater (Chart 21), with 120 examples; the majority were volute kraters, followed by bell kraters and calyx kraters. Kraters were produced in all five fabrics to roughly the same overall ratio, but all of the volute kraters featuring Amazons are Apulian, even though the volute krater is otherwise attested in other South Italian fabrics. Other

Fabric	Total
Apulian	195
Campanian	45
Lucanian	22
Sicilian	5
Paestan	3
South Italian (Unspecified)	2
Calenian	2
Total	274

Table 12: distribution of South Italian fabrics featuring Amazons

[656] Mavleev 1981: 662.
[657] S61.
[658] Haynes 2000: 84.
[659] Boardman 2001b: 110.
[660] Herring 2021: 8.
[661] Carpenter 1991: 11.
[662] Hurschmann 2006.

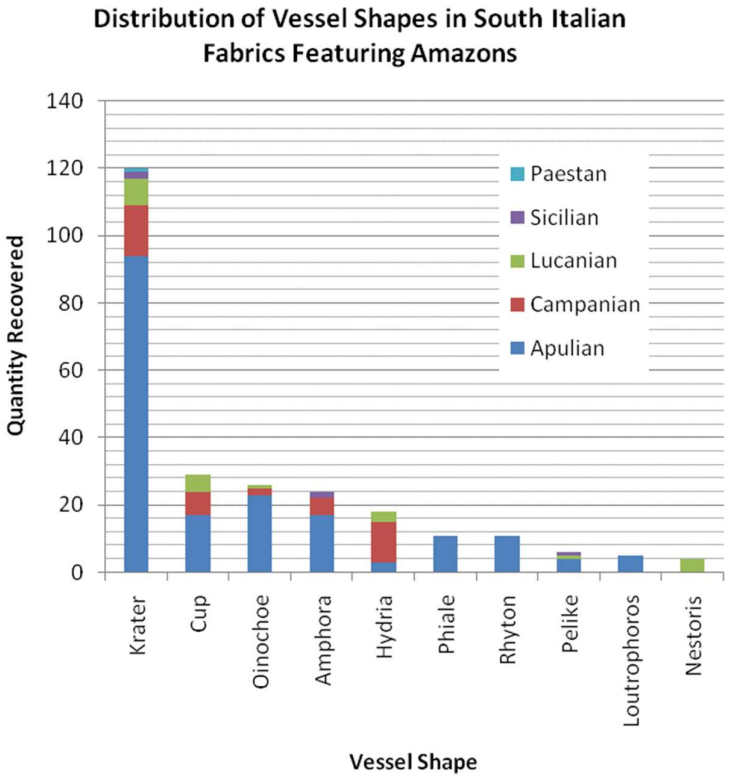


Chart 21: Bar chart showing distribution of top 10 most common shapes by South Italian fabric

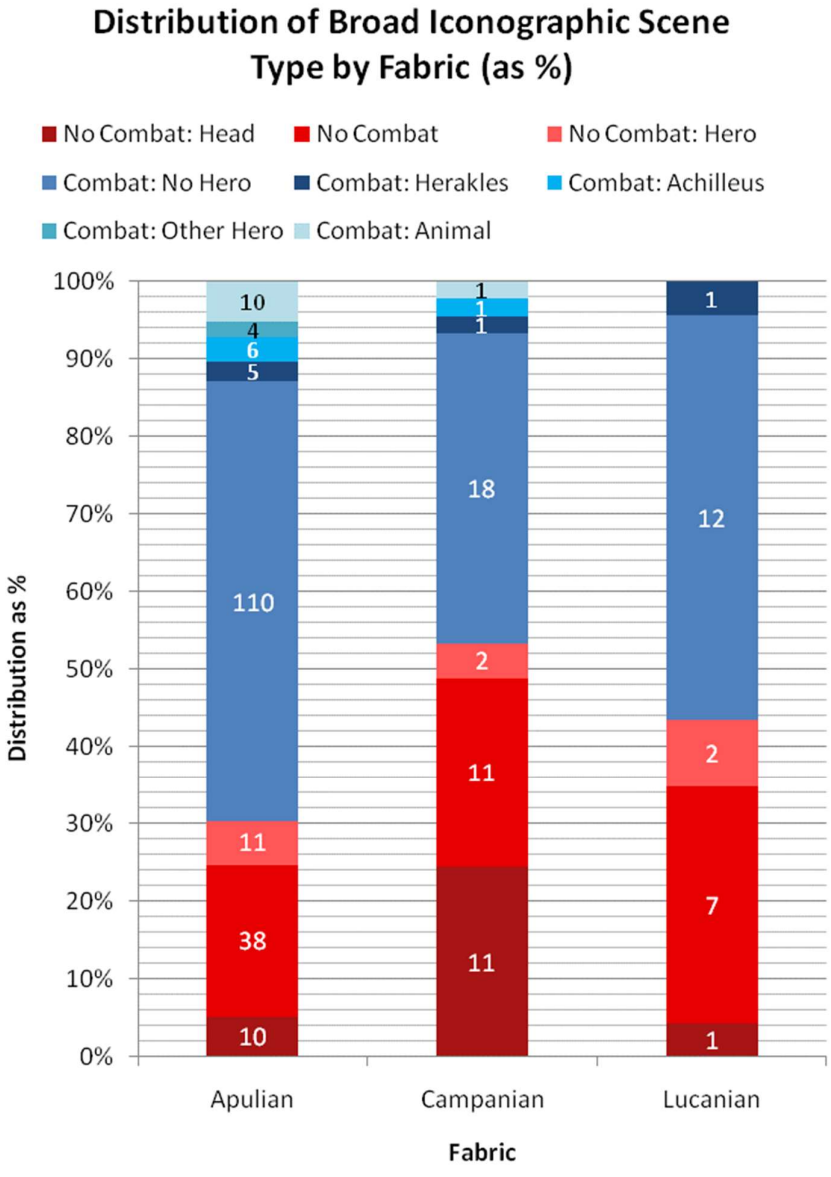


Chart 22: Percentage bar chart showing distribution of scene type in South Italian fabrics

common shapes include the oinochoe, the amphora, and the hydria. Rhyta, phialae, and loutrophoroi were only produced in Apulia, while nestorides were exclusive to Lucania and askoi to Campania.

Scenes featuring conflict are the most popular iconographical scheme, representing about two thirds of the overall corpus. This scene type is particularly prominent among Apulian vases. A small body of vessels featuring Herakles or Achilleus persists, and one example even features Bellerophon,[663] but the majority of fight scenes do not feature a heroic combatant. All of the scenes in Sicilian and Paestan fabric are Amazonomachies featuring no identifiable hero. Some of the examples with heroes are also peaceful, including 14 examples of Herakles. These are less common overall, but for Herakles it is far more likely for him to be shown in a peaceful exchange



Image © Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel

Figure 88: Detail from Apulian red-figure calyx krater showing Herakles with other named figures (V2216; c. 340-330 B.C.)

[663] V2246.

with Hippolyte and other Amazons than in combat with them; in one example he is shown with Skythes, Rhodope, Hippolyte, and Antiope in a composition very reminiscent of a theatrical performance (Figure 88).[664] It is possible that the scene here preserves one of the lost plays featuring Herakles, perhaps the work by Epicharmos on the quest for the girdle.[665] Rhodope appears to be handing something to Herakles at Skythes' behest. These names may also be alluding to the Amazons' geographical links; Skythes, the third son of Herakles, was the namesake of the Scythae,[666] and Rhodope is the name of a mountain range in Thrace.[667]

Around forty percent of the combative scenes include horses or chariots; the majority are on foot. Of the non-combative scenes, the most popular type shows a solitary Amazon, often with a horse or chariot. The 'head-type' of the previous chapter also appears here, representing about a quarter of the non-combative types, and was particularly prominent in Campanian ware (Chart 22), but in South Italian types this consists of a single Amazon head on the neck of a krater; pelikai featuring Amazons were rarely recovered in Italian contexts and not commonly produced in South Italian workshops either.[668] The overall preference for combative scenes in South Italian fabrics is higher than in Athenian examples. There is some pattern between fabric and scene type, with Apulian examples far more likely to feature combative scenes and Campanian examples split roughly equally between the two types (Chart 22). Almost all of the examples featuring Achilleus were manufactured in Apulia, with examples featuring Herakles originating from Apulia, Campania, and Lucania. Scenes with heroic figures are almost always found on kraters, with a few examples on amphorae. These large vessels were probably used in funerary practices, and these regional variations in scene type may also reflect wider variations in burial customs or local

[664] V2216.
[665] Austin 1973: 53.
[666] Hdt. 4.10.
[667] Hdt. 4.49.
[668] Provenance data on BAPD suggests that red-figure pelikai appear to have been recovered in large quantities from Nola and Cerveteri, but are comparatively less common in Italy than other export contexts.

familiarity with particular narratives concerning the Amazons. The re-emergence of Bellerophon in the context of an Amazonomachy for the first time since the Archaic period is particularly interesting;[669] it invites the possibility that some of the other vases with no identifiable hero could also feature Bellerophon, although the example on this krater specifically sees them together in combat with the chimaera.

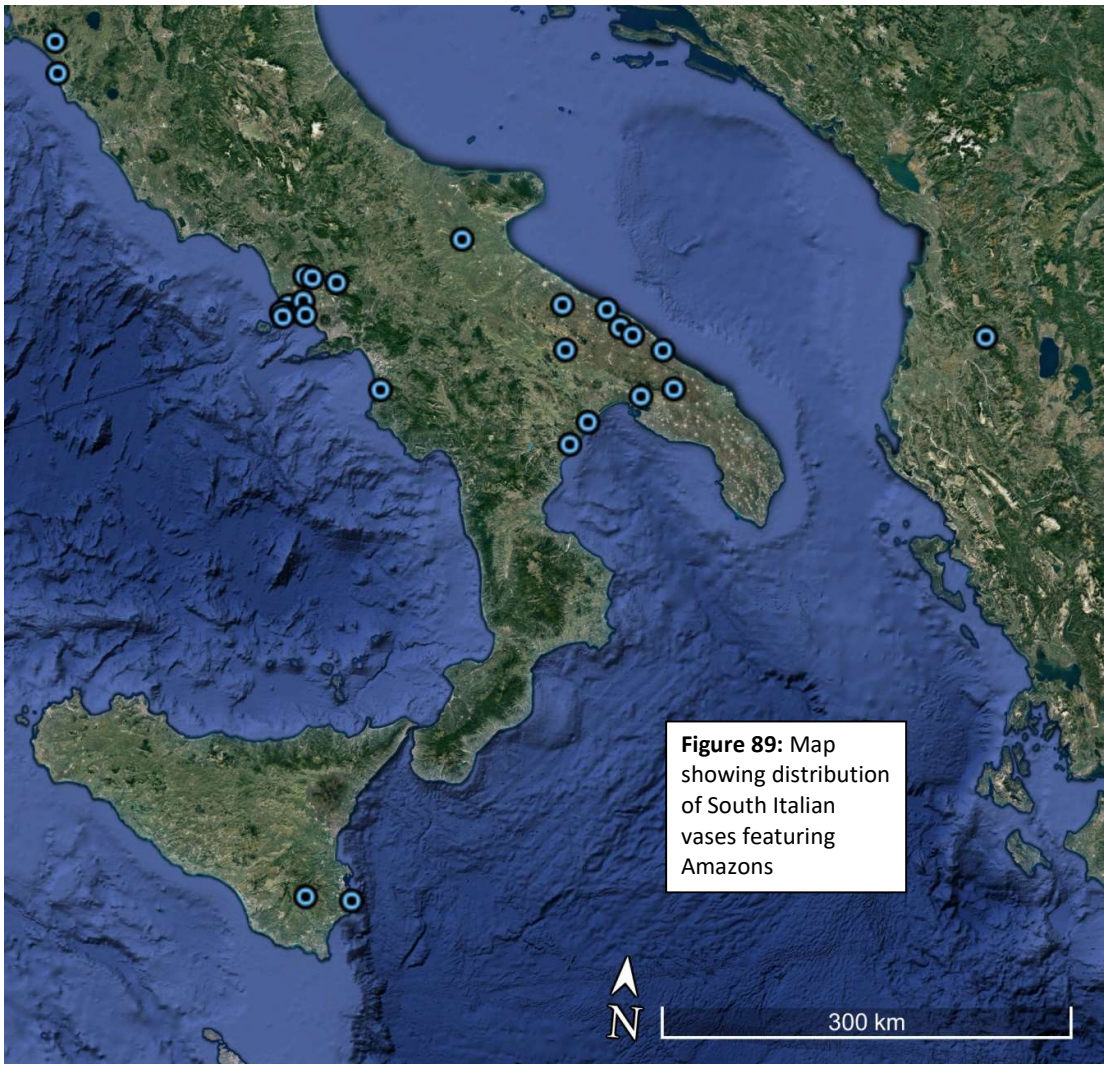


Figure 89: Map showing distribution of South Italian vases featuring Amazons

[669] V2246.

Unsurprisingly, almost all of the examples with known provenance originate from Italy (Figure 89), but very few publications supply this information for South Italian vases. Three-quarters of the South Italian corpus featuring Amazons therefore have no reported findspot. Most of the vases are Apulian, reflecting the makeup of the wider South Italian corpus, and there is a concentration of Campanian vases around Capua, but there is also some evidence of migration; one Campanian vase was found in Syracuse,[670] and one Sicilian example was recovered in Albania.[671] This could suggest that there may have been some foreign trade occurring, but it is also possible that the vessels were the property of a lone individual who migrated to the region from South Italy.



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 90: Bronze cuirass decoration showing (l) Herakles fighting an Amazon (M32; c. 350-340 B.C.)

This small corpus of South Italian vases is supplemented by a similarly small group of decorative metal objects. These often resemble the examples produced in Attica in subject and form, but studies into the technical specifications of manufacture and differences in iconography have led

[670] V2340.
[671] V2383.

them to be attributed to South Italian workshops,[672] although the precise location of these workshops is less clear. The five bronze reliefs are extraordinarily similar in composition, though vary in the competency of their execution. All feature a duel between an Amazon and a Greek in a roughly cross-shaped composition (see example in Figure 90).

Usually the Amazon is in the process of falling or defends herself with an up-flung arm against the weapon of her attacker, though on two examples the fight is less certainly going the Greek's way.[673] Three of the examples include Herakles as the combatant,[674] and while one example has been seen to feature Penthesilea,[675] there is no compelling evidence behind this identification. Deciphering the function of these bronze appliqués is often impossible, and some are likely to have been reused even within antiquity.[676] One of the examples held a similarly military function to the pieces discussed in the previous chapter; they were likely shoulder decorations from a cuirass.[677] Another appliqué remains attached to the jug handle it was used to decorate.[678]

Interestingly, while it is possible that the terracotta moulds used for constructing pots were passed between metalworkers and potters, the only surviving mould features a very different composition; here, an Amazon on horseback strikes down at her fallen opponent.[679] This mould was likely used to create the decorative element of a Calenian guttus.[680] The striking cohesion between all of the other metal examples might suggest that different compositions were favoured in different media. If the metal items held an original possible military function, it seems likely that appliqués with this function would not show the Amazon victorious.

[672] Treister 2004: 199.
[673] M28.
[674] M26; M24; M32.
[675] M32.
[676] Treister 2004: 198.
[677] M32.
[678] M26.
[679] S75.
[680] Richter 1959b: 242.

Temples and Tombs in South Italy



Figure 91: Metope from Selinus showing Herakles in combat with an Amazon (S26; c. 480-470 B.C.)

The Amazons have a presence in South Italian temple decoration dating back to the Archaic period, evidenced by a fragmentary metope from the sixth-century Heraion at Paestum.[681] The best-preserved example comes from an early fifth century temple at Selinus, a colony of Megara.[682] It shows Herakles in a typical hair-grabbing pose with a collapsing Amazon (Figure 91).[683] The metope is attributed to Temple E, which may have been a Temple of Hera,[684] and is situated on the monument as part of a wider series of metopes with no clear narrative link. The metopes are roughly contemporary to the examples from Olympia and demonstrate a continued interest in the Heraklean Amazonomachy outside of Athens, paralleling his continued role on South Italian pottery and bronzes.



Figure 92: Section of frieze from Selinus showing combat between a warrior and an Amazon (S31; c. 480-450 B.C.)

Two very poorly-preserved blocks from Selinus are thought to belong to one continuous frieze.[685] The frieze blocks depict two pairs of duelling figures (Figure 92) with strong iconographical comparisons to other Amazonomachy compositions from the era, but unfortunately all of the figures are too badly eroded to preserve any identifying features. As a continuous Ionic frieze, this example is unusual (if not unique) for the region, but as the excavator

[681] S05.
[682] Thuc. 6.4.2.
[683] S26.
[684] Bothmer 1957: 119.
[685] S31.

notes, there are other elements of Ionicising influence in local architecture.[686] The relief fragments were found some distance away from the main archaeological complex at Selinus (which includes Temple E), across the river and half a kilometre from the Temple of Demeter Malophoros; it is not possible to identify to which modest-sized building it originally belonged.[687]

Aside from the one fragmentary relief from Paestum, Selinus is the only religious site in the entirety of Magna Graecia which has produced any form of decorative sculpture featuring an Amazonomachy, despite the region playing host to a number of excellently-preserved temples. In a similar manner, all of the sepulchral examples featuring Amazons in South Italy come from a single site. Taras was the only Spartan colony in Magna Graecia,[688] founded at the end of the eighth century to deal with some troublesome helots.[689] Constant hostility with the local population limited Taras' growth until the fifth century, followed by a period of expansion and prosperity in the fourth.[690] The city was noted within antiquity for having its tombs within its city walls, a peculiarity apparently excused by the warnings of an oracle.[691] The tomb monuments mostly originate from the north and east of the city, arranged to be visible from the main routes on the orthogonal city plan.[692] As well as a number of surviving sculptural fragments, Tarentine naiskoi are portrayed on around 600 contemporary vases; these images are helpful for reconstructing the overall impression of the naiskoi, but they are often inaccurate in their depiction of detailed architectural features.[693]

[686] Marconi 1958: 58.
[687] Marconi 1958: 55.
[688] Langlotz 1963: 15.
[689] Strab. 6.3.3.
[690] Carter 1975: 8.
[691] Polyb. 8.28.6.
[692] Carter 1975: 14.
[693] Riedemann 2018: 163.

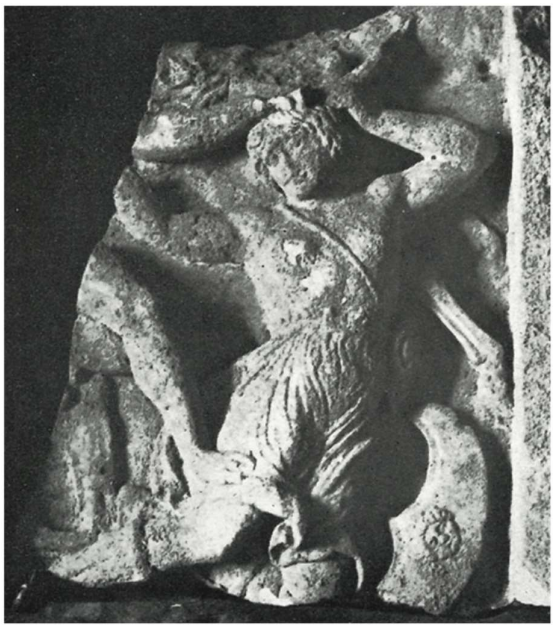


Figure 93: Detail from Tarentine naiskos (S42; c. 400-390 B.C.)



Figure 94: Detail from frieze at Bassai (S29; 420-400 B.C.)

The subjects portrayed on the naiskoi vary across scenes of daily life, heroic combat, and Dionysian processions.[694] They are almost exclusively carved in soft white local limestone.[695] Scenes of combat are common, including both Amazonomachies and Centauromachies, but are exclusively mythological in nature.[696] Carter has identified 54 extant pieces of Tarentine sculpture with depictions of Amazons, though many of these are extremely fragmentary;[697] in contrast, he identified only three instances of the Centauromachy.[698] The reliefs vary somewhat in the quality of the execution, and in general the sculptural style evidenced by the figures is heavier and less refined than many of the examples discussed from mainland Greece. The figures are reminiscent at times of the frieze at the Temple of Apollo at Bassai (compare Figure 93 and Figure 94), which is thought to be heavily influenced by the largely unknown Laconian school of sculpture; it might be noteworthy in this context that Taras was a colony of Sparta. Alternatively, it is possible that the manner of execution of the figures is influenced by the schools of sculpture more proximate

[694] Carter 1975: 17.
[695] Riedemann 2018: 158.
[696] Klumbach 1937: 56.
[697] Carter 1975; S38, S42-S52, S68-S74.
[698] Carter 1975 nos. 58, 97, 266.



Figure 95: Detail from an Apulian loutrophoros featuring Amazons on the metopes of the naiskos (V2208; c. 350-325 B.C.)

to Taras, i.e. the Etruscan styles discussed above. It is also possible that Tarentine sculptors were heavily influenced by local productions in metalwork and terracotta.[699]

The sculptural examples featuring Amazons originate from all decorative areas of the naiskoi. These decorative elements parallel temple architecture and include continuous friezes, metopes, and relief pediments. Contextualisation of these sculptural fragments is preserved through the aforementioned depictions on vases, including one which shows Amazon metopes on the naiskos base (Figure 95). An excellently-preserved example of such a metope shows a Greek striking down at a fallen Amazon (Figure 96); the proportions are odd, but the sculptor has made good use of the awkward space.[700] Other metopes effectively utilise an X-shaped composition of duelling figures, such as the duel on a small carved metope in which the Amazon



Figure 96: Relief metope from Tarentine naiskos (S43; c. 375-350 B.C.)

[699] Carter 1975: 27-28.
[700] S43.

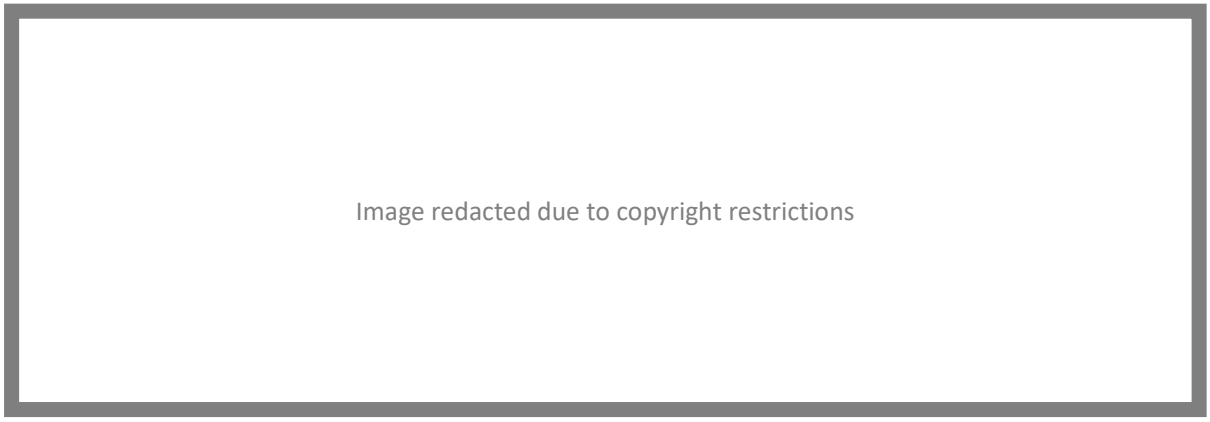


Figure 97: Relief slab from a Tarentine naiskos featuring Herakles (S69; c. 325-300 B.C.)

yet again falls defeated,[701] or another example where the two figures are still fixed in the heat of battle.[702]

Two examples remain of carved pediments from Tarentine naiskoi featuring Amazonomachies. The first example, still in Taranto, is distinctly less well-executed, which may reflect its less-visible position high up on the monument; it also introduces some decorative background shrubbery which contributes to the increased sense of a continuous fight between a large group of individuals.[703] The second example, now in Baltimore, is more successful in the execution of details, particularly on the extant male figure.[704]

The most unusual and complex extant example comes from a continuous frieze slab still in Taranto (Figure 97).[705] Here the execution of the figures is still a little rough, and does not show the delicate working of features on the more fragmentary reliefs.[706] The continuous relief suffers from the same compositional issue described in some of the Etruscan reliefs, where the scene is rendered as a series of static figures which do not directly interact with their neighbours. Of principal interest on this frieze, however, is the identifiable figure of Herakles, who towers over his opponent (Figure 99). At first the combatant appears to have three heads; however, it rather

[701] S49.
[702] S51
[703] S70.
[704] S46.
[705] S69.
[706] Such as S68.

depicts the fallen figure of an Amazon reaching up towards him for mercy, either next to or trapped beneath the fallen bodies of two comrades. Behind the trio of Amazons, a striding bearded male carries a pouch of stones in his himation and throws them in Herakles' direction (Figure 98). It is possible that this figure is Iolaos, and the thrown stones are intended to aid his friend rather than directed towards him.[707] If so, this is an unusual depiction with no direct parallels; Iolaos is sometimes shown aiding Herakles in his combat with the hydra and other quests on Athenian vases, although most predominantly in Archaic black-figure,[708] and usually he wields the torches used to seal the hydra's stumps. Despite the peculiarity of identifying the figure as Iolaos, any other identification would also be highly unusual, particularly if the scene is read as the bearded figure aiding the Amazons rather than Herakles. The presence of Herakles and the peculiar possible addition of Iolaos further demonstrates the extent to which the Amazonomachy was adapted for local interests.



Figure 98: Detail from Tarentine naiskos (S69; c. 325-300 B.C.)

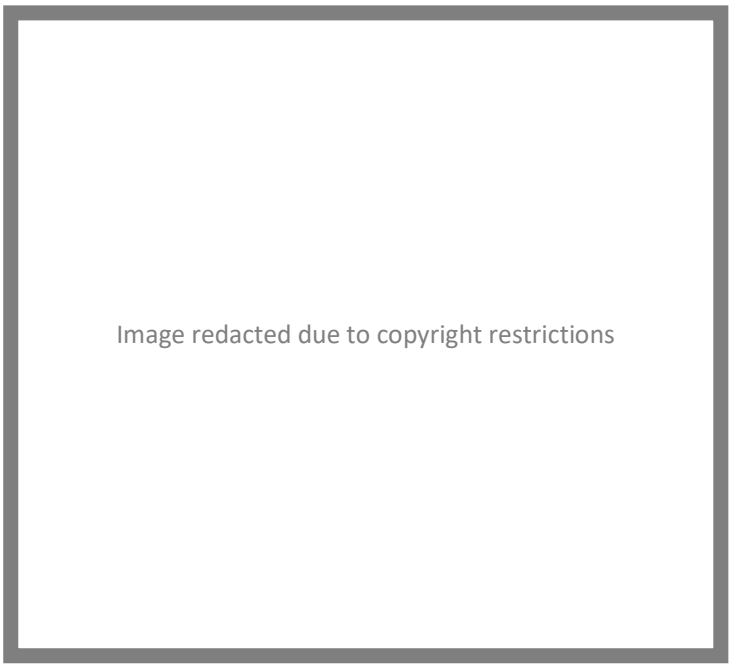


Figure 99: Detail from Tarentine naiskos showing Herakles (S69)

[707] Langlotz 1963: 91.
[708] There are exceptions, such as BAPD 16424 (State Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg б 4257).

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has demonstrated how the popularity of the Amazon spanned a number of cities in Italy and manifested in a variety of different media, from small-scale personal items to decorative features on large monuments. As in mainland Greece, the inhabitants of both northern Italy and Magna Graecia therefore demonstrated a persistent interest in this myth, but the method of representation is often tailored and adapted to meet local interests. It seems likely that this adaptation in image came with an adaptation in purpose and meaning. The transferral of the story from a religious to a sepulchral context, a phenomenon which originated in Etruria, already demonstrates a different relationship between the inhabitants of cities such as Tarquinia and Taras and those of contemporary Athens. Indeed, the marked interest in using the Amazonomachy on grave monuments creates closer links between the cities in north and south Italy than its contemporary use in mainland Greece.

These examples are also noteworthy for their continued interest in Herakles and the introduction, or at least codification, of other heroic figures such as Diomedes and Bellerophon into the narrative. Bellerophon, who has disappeared entirely from the material culture and literary evidence from mainland Greece, features beside the Amazonomachy on a Tuscanian sarcophagus and on one South Italian vase.[709] This phenomenon fits more broadly with a secondary aspect of the Amazon in Italian contexts; she is almost always shown through the lens of her relationship with a major male hero. Even the non-combative scenes on South Italian vases feature heroes where their Attic parallels do not. This may imply that the Amazon had a lesser status, that she was only of interest because of her association with more famous male heroes, but equally it would be possible to contextualise these images as the Amazon standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the greatest heroes of Greek mythology. Rather than being an abstract, notional conquest,

[709] Bellerophon also emerges in the reliefs of the Heroon at Trysa, although not in conjunction with the Amazonomachy.

perhaps she is their equal in a different right, a figure to be negotiated with and stood beside rather than thoughtlessly slaughtered. This is the key element of the Amazon: it is always possible to present an alternative interpretation.

These images frequently render the Amazon both familiar and also not; it shows her again to be continually flexible but still recognisably herself. The malleable image of the Amazon has left these depictions as often idiosyncratic but always identifiable. This malleability, even when extracted to a new cultural context, has yet again presented a huge advantage to the perpetuity of the story. The ambiguity of the imagery means that is always possible to interpret the Amazon as friend or foe, barbarous foreigner or exotic conquest. It persists here yet again as one of the most adaptable and conspicuous aspects of ancient mythology.

7: SOUTHERN TÜRKIYE AND CYPRUS

Three locations in the eastern Mediterranean produced tomb monuments in the fourth century featuring Amazons: Caria and Lycia in Türkiye, and Soloi on Cyprus. The proximity of these areas to both the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern regions resulted in a markedly hybrid material culture which is particularly well-expressed in their tomb monuments. This chapter presents the adoption of the Amazonomachy in south-western Türkiye, and what this can inform us as to the social, ethnic, and cultural context of the tomb monuments featuring the Amazons in fourth-century B.C. southern Türkiye and Cyprus.

Tomb forms in Caria and Lycia are distinct in form from those of the nearby Ionian poleis, and both Lycia and Caria also had their own precedents in monumental sepulchral architecture. The vast majority of tombs in Caria were rock-cut, tumuli, or sarcophagi. These monuments frequently drew on Persian models; the monumental rock-cut tomb at Berber İni, for instance, emulated Persian examples like Darius' tomb at Naqš-i Rustam.[710] Pillar tombs were a common feature of the Lycian landscape,[711] and were formed of a tomb chamber mounted on top of a single column, usually but not always monolithic. They were prominent in Lycia for a period of around two hundred years, between the invasion of Persia and the conquest of Alexander,[712] with the latest examples dating towards the end of the fourth century.[713] There was little variety in their form throughout this period, although they became more highly decorative and grew in size.

[710] Henry 2010: 115. This tomb was previously believed to belong to Mausolus' father Hekatomnos, prior to the discovery of the tomb at Mylasa.

[711] This is shown in the decorative relief of the fourth-century Landscape Tomb from Pinara, where they feature prominently amongst the sculptured buildings (Bean 1989: 76).

[712] Özhanlı 2002 believes the lack of Persian features in the decoration of Pillar Tomb 1 at Isinda indicates it was built c. 550; all other monuments are dated no earlier than 540 BC. It is possible this lack of evidence comes from an issue in preservation, as earlier monuments may have been erected in wood and since perished.

[713] The monuments were reused, as evidenced by the discovery of a faience oinochoe with a portrait of Queen Berenice (wife of Ptolemy II) in the base of a fourth-century monument from Xanthos (Demargne 1958: 54).

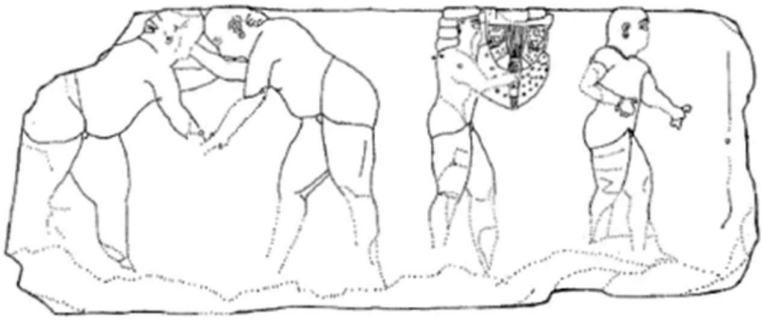


Figure 100: Drawing of Wrestlers' Relief from Xanthos (c. 530-525 B.C.)

The reason behind this tomb style is unclear, and difficult to find precedent for, but may have derived from Zoroastrian principles in the desire to elevate the body above the ground.[714]

The decorative programs of pillar tombs primarily emphasised the interests of local aristocrats, with scenes of hunting, feasting, receiving of offering, and funerary games, a celebration of both public and private excellence and wealth. The employment of animals such as lions, a common feature on pillar tombs, likely performed an apotropaic function.[715] The execution of the decoration on pillar tombs is sometimes rendered with distinctively local iconographic features. The Wrestlers' Relief from Xanthos (Figure 100) and a parallel example from Isinda both show the wrestlers with large, hanging bellies and fat thighs, in contrast to the highly-toned bodies on material from both mainland Greece and Ionia.[716] This deliberate expression of iconographical conventions to suit local purposes has interesting implications for the adoption and adaptation of mythic subjects such as the Amazonomachy in later monuments.

Lycian architectural types developed in the mid-fifth century to utilise a raised podium. Building G, situated on the western spur of the acropolis of Xanthos,[717] was erected on a large podium-like

[714] The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae was elevated on a series of steps; here the ideological purpose was likely Zoroastrian in nature (Stronach 1978: 43 n. 75), but the Persian conquest causing such a pronounced religious adoption in Lycian culture is uncertain, and it is possible pillar tombs predated the conquest anyway (Özhanlı 2002). Practical concerns (such as keeping burials out of reach of predators and tomb robbers) should also be considered.

[715] Akurgal 1941: 43.

[716] Draycott 2007: 110.

[717] Metzger 1963: 50.



Figure 101: Reconstruction of Building G at Xanthos (c. 460-450 B.C.)

terrace (Figure 101). The podium was probably decorated with a frieze of animals carved in limestone.[718] If this reconstruction is correct, this is the first instance of a monumental podium decorated by a frieze in either Lycia or Caria. A series of three freestanding marble statues of women have been reconstructed as standing around the terrace of Building G's podium thanks to a cavity in a remaining terrace block.[719] The monument included two other friezes: around the inside of the cella was possibly a fragmentary frieze probably relating a sepulchral theme,[720] and a third frieze featuring a procession of horsemen and charioteers is reconstructed as running along the side of Building G itself.[721] Its interior does not seem to have been accessible, which may suggest it was used as a tomb,[722] but the building may still have had religious connotations, perhaps facilitating worship of local heroes or founders; the large external terrace may have provided space for the performance of cult.[723]

The pillar tomb type was monumentalised in the fourth century in the Nereid Monument (Figure 102). It was erected in around 390-380 B.C., likely to serve as the tomb of the dynast Erbinna, and has stronger stylistic similarities to the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos than any other monument. Its impressive tomb with a temple-like façade stood on a large podium base, decorated with two distinct reliefs,[724] and its peripteral colonnade was interspersed with large free-standing

[718] Recovered originally by Fellows, this is the reconstruction proposed by the French excavators; Jenkins 2006: 171; Metzger 1963: 52. The frieze slabs are now in the British Museum (BM 1848,1020.2 – 1848,1020.8).

[719] BM 1848,1020.28 – 1848,1020.30; fragments previously assigned to the Nereid Monument also likely belong to otherwise lost statues from this group (Metzger 1963: 51, Robertson 1939: 41; cf. BM 1956.0924.1).

[720] Metzger 1963 57; BM 1848,1020.259, BM 1848,1020.21. This interior frieze was possibly unfinished (Pryce 1928: 143).

[721] Metzger 1963: 52; BM 1848,1020.17 – 1848,1020.20.

[722] Israel 2016: 186; Draycott 2015: 118.

[723] Draycott 2015: 116.

[724] BM 1848,1020.33 – 1848,1020.68.

statues.[725] It also featured a frieze around the outside of the cella of the tomb.[726] The city-siege frieze may refer to a mythical event, but is more likely to relate to historical battles fought by Erbinna in recent years, if the attribution of the tomb is correct.[727] The other principal scene, one of banquet and sacrifice, most likely served a sepulchral function related to the tomb cult and has precedent in Lycian tomb iconography dating back to the Archaic period.[728]

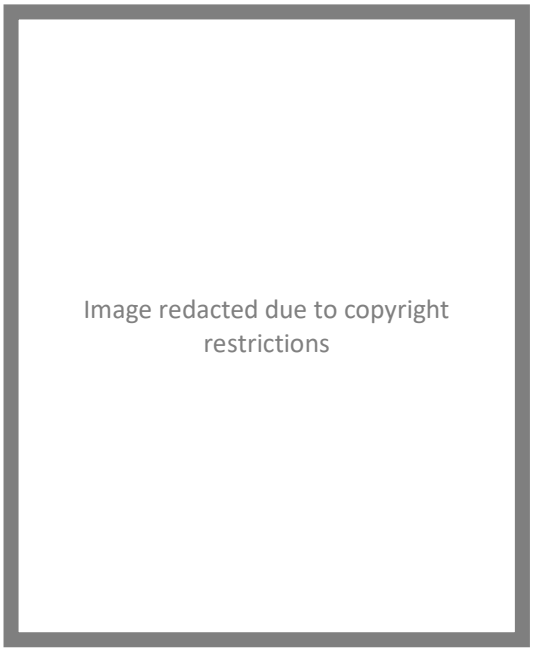


Figure 102: Reconstruction of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (c. 390-380 B.C.)

These pillar monuments therefore demonstrate the established precedents for local tomb monuments in Lycia and Caria. It is an unusual form unknown elsewhere in the Mediterranean in this period, and it is a form which both the Heroon at Trysa and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos draw upon, but with notable deviations. The continual promotion of localised iconography and themes in these earlier monuments also emphasises the distinct decisions of these two later monuments to consciously adopt iconographical motifs and practices outside of their immediate cultural contexts.

THE HEROON AT GÖLBAŞI-TRYSA

This remarkable monument is located at the ancient city of Trysa, around a kilometre inland from Lycia's southern coast. The Heroon consists of a central structure in a similar architectural design as the Lycian monuments exemplified in Building G, enclosed by an extremely unusual temenos

[725] These figures (BM 1848,1020.75 – 1848,1020.84), called Nereids by the initial excavators, give the monument its name; they are however more likely to represent local water nymphs known as Eliyãna (Robinson 1995: 357).

[726] BM 1848,1020.95 – 1848,1020.105.

[727] This is heavily supported by a nearby inscription celebrating Erbinna's military victory against local cities. Erbinna was widely celebrated for his victories in siege warfare in the region (Jenkins 2006: 191-192). As a city siege also featured part of the decorative scheme in the Heroon at Gölbaşı-Trysa (Childs 1978: 14) it is possible this also had a particular regional significance.

[728] Cf. pillar tombs discussed in Draycott 2007: 115.

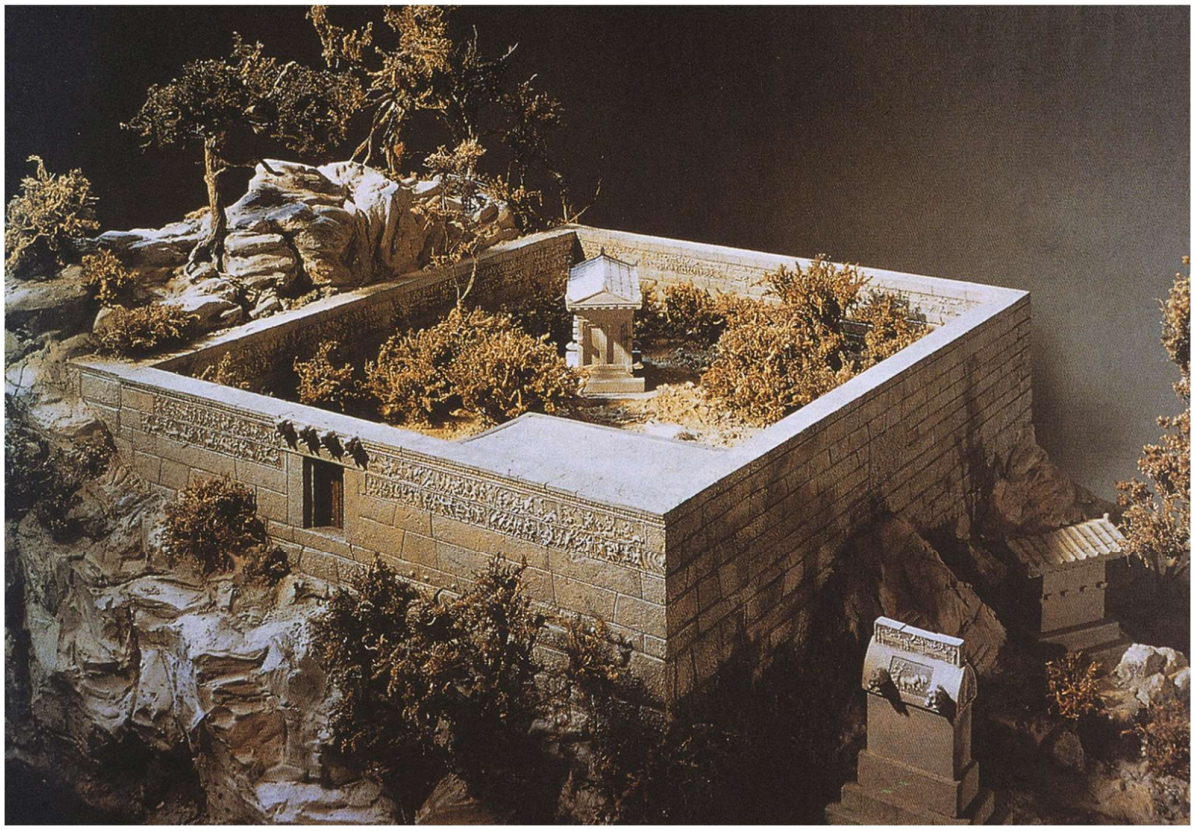


Figure 103: Model reconstruction of the Trysa Heroon showing the frieze placement on the temenos wall and the central cult building (S39; c. 410-390 B.C.)

wall decorated with a series of mythological scenes on both the exterior and interior façades (Figure 103). The friezes are stacked across two levels in the same manner as the Nereid Monument.

The Heroon, as the name suggests, was most likely the focus of a tomb cult to an unknown ancient Lycian dynast. The date of early fourth century is made on stylistic grounds; it was probably a rough contemporary to the Nereid Monument,[729] and may have belonged to one of the competing dynasts Erbinna (or his predecessor and the erector of the Inscribed Pillar) found himself in dispute with. It is uncertain whether this sculptural decoration was the hand of a local or imported artist. The large interior space held a large, two-tier central sarcophagus likely for the dynast and his spouse, as well as other smaller sarcophagi and an altar.[730] Other temporary

[729] Barringer 2008: 173.
[730] Barringer 2008: 173-174.

structures found within the temenos wall were likely used for the maintenance of the tomb cult.[731]

Both the inclusion of such a distinct temenos wall and the choice to add sculptural decoration around it is unprecedented, though could be a natural continuation of the decorated podium tomb, where here the tomb is enclosed in a monumental structure rather than elevated on one. As the temenos wall reliefs are made in limestone, they are heavily weathered. A great deal of the detail has therefore been lost, but enough remains to identify a truly astonishing range of scenes. The reliefs were also found in situ and thus their arrangement on the monument is certain.[732] The Amazonomachy was only one of a number of mythic scenes featured here; there is also evidence of a Centauromachy, a city siege scene, and Bellerophon slaying the Chimera, amongst many others. Other decorative elements of the building speak however to a multiplicity of cultural influences, including winged-bull protomai, the Egyptian deity Bes,[733] and a series of grotesque dancing figures around the door lintel.[734] The theme of banquet, attested on other Lycian pillar tombs, is also demonstrated here,[735] although the focus of the banqueting scene is unusual in comparison with other similar scenes on Lycian tombs in its focus on male figures and the absence of children.[736]

There were two Amazonomachies on the Heroon, the first coupled with a Centauromachy beside the entrance doorway on the southern wall (Figure 104), facing out at approaching visitors; the second was located on the western interior wall (Figure 105), at the opposite end to the entrance, behind the tomb structure. It was flanked by the town siege scene and the rape of the Leukippids. There is no distinction in the figures to suggest which Amazonomachy is presented in either case,

[731] Ridgway 1997: 89.
[732] Barringer 2008: 175.
[733] Barringer 2002: 193.
[734] Ridgway 1997: 90.
[735] Childs 1978: 14.
[736] Lockwood 2016:312-313.



Figure 104: Section of Amazonomachy frieze from the southern wall of the Trysa Heroon (S39; c. 410-390 B.C.)

and the iconography is reminiscent of other contemporary Amazonomachies, showing the figures fighting both on horseback and on foot. They are usually shown fighting one-on-one with (mostly nude) Greek warriors, armed with spears, peltast shields, axes, and swords. This series of individual battles is a mainstay of continuous Ionian-style friezes, as it allows for a variety of attractive, eye-catching compositions which also fill the rectangular space.

Although the figures are now badly weathered, the figures strike vivid, well-executed poses, competently rendered both individually and in how they interact with one another. The drapery is similarly well-carved, flowing naturally behind and around the figures; there is some success in the naturalistic rendering of the figures' twisted torsos, and the natural physicality of the Amazons' breasts. Both Amazons and Greeks are shown triumphantly striking down their enemies. Notable, however, is the slight local aspect in the clothing and armour of the Greek warriors;[737] similarly, although the majority of the figures are shown in a manner paralleling Amazons found on mainland vases, there is some inventiveness in the depiction here, such as the Amazon shown with her horse buckling forwards to the ground (Figure 105).



Figure 105: Section of Amazonomachy frieze from the western wall of the Trysa Heroon (S39; c. 410-390 B.C.)

[737] Landskron 2015: 71.

The Heroon therefore possibly first demonstrates an interest among eastern dynasts to use their tomb spaces as places to demonstrate an awareness of and appreciation for Greek myth. Lycia was not particularly subject to mainland Greek expansion during this period. The monumental heroa in Lycia appear to be concentrated to the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.;[738] it is possible that they emerged out of a need to display power and authority during the contemporary stasis in Lycia known from a handful of inscriptions. The Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos attests to the presence of Greek forces in Lycia at the end of the fifth century (or shortly before),[739] but there is no mention in the historical sources of heavy Greek intervention in Lycia, and these were most likely mercenaries. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the choice to include the myths here was with regard to any particular rise in Greek prominence in Lycia.[740]

Given the unique features of the Heroon in the context of other Lycian grave monuments, it may represent the interests of a single Lycian dynast with a specific desire to incorporate elements of Greek mythology in his tomb monument, and the Amazonomachy is only one of many in evidence. There is no clear thematic link between the myths chosen here, aside from the general tension between civil and barbarous acts. It seems however odd to both include this Greek dichotomy of thought on one wall whilst still incorporating unusual local customs, which would look, to such Greek eyes, distinctly "barbarous".

It is possible that the desire was to demonstrate the dynast's familiarity of Greek mythology as a mark of his good education; it is also possible that these myths had strong local importance and should not really be understood as "Greek" at all, especially as many had roots in Near Eastern

[738] Keen 1998: 37.

[739] The tombowner is praised for having killed seven Arcadian hoplites in one day (Bryce 1986: 97).

[740] Childs 1978: 103 concludes that the Heroon is exceptional and down to "closer international ties", of which the Heroon only stands as evidence.

mythology.[741] One of our oldest sources discussing the Amazons, the *Iliad*, mentions the conflict between the Amazons and Bellerophon which took place either in or near Lycia.[742] While this narrative is not visible in material culture from mainland Greece, it is entirely possible that it continued to be prominent in Lycia itself, and that it featured as a significant contextual understanding for the Trysa Heroon. The Heroon is thus a monument characterised by extraordinary cultural hybridities, interweaving elements of both local design and Greek culture, upon which an Amazonomachy may have held nuanced layers of meaning.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF HALIKARNASSOS

Lycia thus had a long-standing precedent for pillar tombs, but Mausolus' choice to evoke the type in his own monument was a departure from local Carian practice and a deliberate adoption of forms from neighbouring Lycia.[743] Later labelled as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World and the origin of the modern word "Mausoleum", Mausolus' tomb was not only monumental in size (reaching, according to Pliny, a probable height of 140 feet)[744] but also the quantity and quality of its sculptural decoration. Amongst these was a frieze featuring an Amazonomachy, carved in marble and mounted along the top of the colossal podium.[745] This frieze is now the best-preserved element of its decorative programme.

The Mausoleum is most remarkable in its true synthesis of three different cultural styles into one unique monument (Figure 106). Persia, Lycia, and Athens all represented areas with profound

[741] Barringer 2008: 196-198.

[742] Hom. Il. 6.170-186.

[743] The form of the tomb chamber itself matched closely with some other local monuments (such as the tumulus tomb at Yokuşbaşi (Carstens 2009: 383) and the tomb at Mylasa which probably belonged to Hekatomnos; it is possible that Mausolus therefore continued some elements of local design, but these would have invisible in the final monument. Interestingly, the tomb at Mylasa also featured a podium enclosed by a colonnade, further suggesting the genealogical continuation of a particular tomb type.

[744] Probably not including the quadriga group (Jeppesen et al 2002: 42).

[745] The marble is unidentified but probably from Prokonessos (Cook 2005: 29, Walker and Matthews 1997: 53.). Pliny *NH* 36.6 reveals that the exterior cladding of the Mausoleum was in Prokonnesian marble, so it is possible the frieze was sourced at the same point from Prokonessos.

political significance to Mausolus' rule, and his Mausoleum ensured there was some acknowledgement to each of these regions. The choice to erect a monumental stepped pyramid at the apex of the Mausoleum, for instance, is difficult to find precedent for, but perhaps could be contextualised in historical Carian interaction with Egypt;[746] Halikarnassos' position on the coast likely placed it on one of the major north-south grain trading routes from Egypt along the Turkish coast.[747]

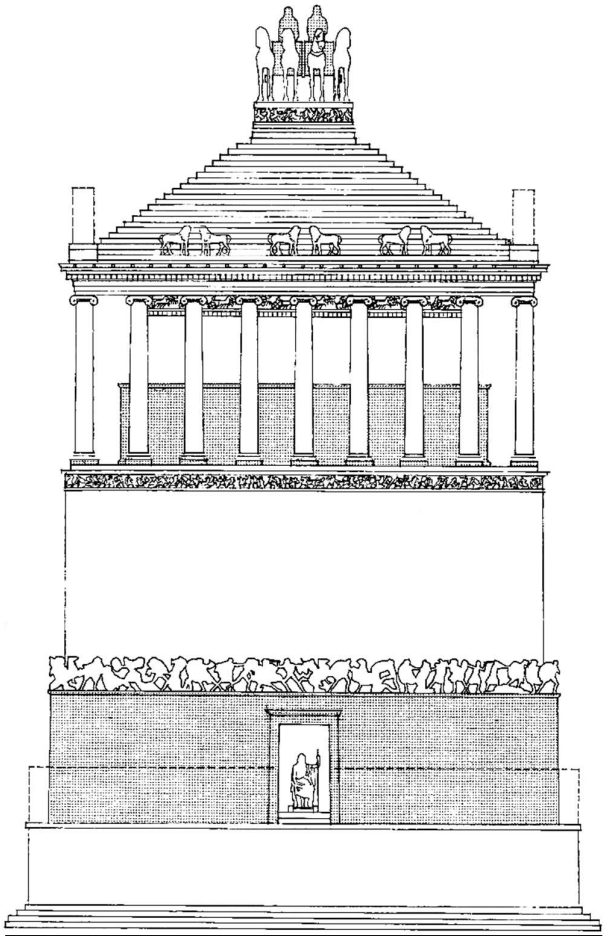


Figure 106: The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus as reconstructed by Jeppesen (S37; c. 380-350 B.C.)

However, Egypt was by this time under the control of the Persian Empire, and there are Persian precedents for stepped pyramid monuments alongside Egyptian ones, such as Cyrus' tomb at Pasargadae and the Pyramid Tomb at the satrapal capital of Sardis. The importance of the political link to Persia is demonstrated further by one of the rare surviving parts of the funerary deposit. An alabastron recovered from the sacrificial deposit[748] features both cuneiform and Egyptian inscriptions naming "Xerxes, Great King",[749] dating the piece to c. 486-465 BC.[750] It was likely therefore a Hekatomnid family heirloom. Other alabastra fragments feature Greek lettering and therefore attest to a wide trade network in Caria also known from ceramic evidence.[751]

[746] Hornblower 1982: 245. Waywell (1980: 5), Panofsky (1992: 23), and Ruzicka (1992: 52) all call the pyramid "Egyptian".

[747] This and the rising political importance of Rhodes may have been behind Mausolus' choice to synoecise the region and move the capital of Caria to Halikarnassos (Ruzicka 1992: 38).

[748] Jeppesen 2004: 225.

[749] BM 1857.12-20.1.

[750] Jenkins 2006: 203.

[751] BM 1857,1220.3, 1857,1220.4

It is also clear that the Mausoleum was influenced by the monumental pillar and podium tombs of Lycia discussed above. There were longstanding political links between the two regions; under Mausolus' brother Pixodarus they would later be merged into a single satrapy,[752] and Mausolus himself was rewarded for aiding in the suppression of the Satraps' Revolt with considerable control over Lycia.[753] The choice to incorporate this "uniquely Lycian method of burial"[754] in combination with a stepped pyramid was therefore likely motivated by political factors.

As well as references to both Persian and Lycian architecture, the Mausoleum features a large quantity of decorative sculpture carved in a Greek style. The Nereid Monument and the Heroon at Trysa demonstrate that looking westward for decorative inspiration was by no means a novelty by the time of Mausolus,[755] but the Mausoleum is unique in scale, and also imported expensive Pentelic marble for the freestanding sculpture.[756] That there is some degree of weathering on all elements of the sculptural programme also attests to it all being for the building's exterior;[757] all of the sculptural decoration of the Mausoleum was thus intended for public consumption.[758] This quantity of decorative sculpture would have taken at least forty men eighteen years to carve.[759] Mausolus is also famed for having specifically brought over famous Greek sculptors for the construction of his monument.[760]

[752] Ruzicka 1992: 41.

[753] Jenkins 2006: 206. Mausolus himself originally joined in on the Satraps' Revolt before changing his mind and returning to the Persian side.

[754] Keen 1998: 77.

[755] Some "hellenisation" of earlier rock-cut tombs had also occurred in the region, such as the façade of the Landscape Tomb from Pinara, which featured a western-style pediment (Childs 1978: 11).

[756] Higgs 2006: 179; Walker and Matthews 1997: 56. It is, of course, questionable whether Mausolus himself specified the use of such marble or whether it was the choice of his (likely Greek) sculptor; either way, it shows a considerable intent to create an "authentically Greek" decorative programme, at what must have been considerable cost.

[757] Jeppesen 1997: 42.

[758] There is a possible exception in the chariot frieze, which (due to its excellent state of preservation) may have originally been situated in the building's tomb chamber.

[759] As estimated by Waywell 1978: 57, 81; this also does not take into consideration the huge workforce that would also have been required to erect the architectural elements of the building.

[760] Vitruvius lists them as Skopas, Bryaxis, Praxiteles, and Leochares, noting that Timotheus replaces Praxiteles in some accounts. Satyros and Pytheos are named as overseers of the monument (Vitr. 7. *Pref*. 12-13). It would be impossible for such a small number of men to produce such a high quantity of

The Mausoleum represents a huge commitment by a Carian dynast to court a very specific style of decorative sculpture on his monument. This is demonstrated further in the use of Greek-style sculpture to represent his physiognomy, as most notable in the decoration of the "Mausolus" figure, the best-preserved freestanding figure from the Mausoleum.[761] The long, shaggy hair paralleled in Hekatomnid coinage[762] is accompanied by thick-set lips and a heavy, distinctive brow, features of portraiture which had no contemporaries in mainland Greek material.

The Amazonomachy and Centauromachy were not completely new to the region, but both Trysa and the Mausoleum demonstrate the deliberate transfer of motifs from the religious to the sepulchral realm.[763] The design of the Heroon at Trysa suggests that it may have been more cultic than sepulchral, but whether or not Mausolus' tomb was the centre of a hero-cult is not possible to determine. The large votive deposit of animal skeletons and the funerary games held on his death are likely indicative of an ostentatious funeral,[764] but as there are no further deposits evident archaeologically, they do not attest to a continued cult. Similarly, its location in the centre of Halikarnassos is inconclusive, given that tombs at both Xanthos and Telmessos were intramural. No literary evidence, contemporary or subsequent, mentions a hero-cult to Mausolus. It is possible that the Mausoleum represents the tension between the intended and actual function of a monument; perhaps Mausolus commissioned it with the intention of creating or facilitating a cult to him as city-founder, but following his early demise and the conquest of

sculptural decoration, and it would perhaps be more apt to imagine a number of workshops under these sculptors' supervision; Jeppesen's identification of an epigraphic fragment of the chariot frieze would support this (Jeppesen 2002: 148), with certain key elements produced by the master himself. This would also explain the long-standing difficulty of assigning particular slabs to particular artists based on style.

[761] This likely formed part of a large-sized series of statues of Hekatomnid family members which interspersed the columns of the Mausoleum's façade. Although the figure was identified as Mausolus by Newton on its discovery in 1857 (Newton 1858: 22), and although it bears a striking resemblance to contemporary coinage, Mausolus probably occupied a much more prominent position at the centre of the eastern façade, as proposed by Jeppesen, who identifies a much larger extant seated figure as Mausolus (BM 1857,1220.235; Jeppesen 2002: 194). This figure is therefore likely the representation of another figure within the family, or perhaps evocative of the concept of dynasty itself.

[762] Waywell 1978: 41.

[763] Rodenwalt 1943: 8. Picard 1954: 60.

[764] Jeppesen 1981: 58.



Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Figure 107: Section of Amazonomachy frieze from the Mausoleum (S37; c. 380-350 B.C.)

Alexander this function never came to fruition. The Mausoleum should therefore be understood as a possible cult monument and a definite tomb monument.

The Amazonomachy frieze of the Mausoleum represents one of the most substantial and high-quality examples of its kind from this period. Some slabs are badly weathered by their reuse in the Castle of St Peter by the Hospitallers,[765] but the delicate and dynamic representation of the figures is striking throughout the work. The composition is of a series of duelling figures (Figure 107), with the Amazons and the Greeks usually fairly evenly matched. Greeks are usually shown naked and often sporting helmets; they are usually armed with swords, spears, and shields. The Amazons are both found on horseback and on foot, and usually wear girt chitons.[766] They are armed with swords, bows, spears, and axes.[767] There may have been some distinction in paint used to contrast the skin of the Greek and Amazon warriors.[768]

The Amazonomachy frieze was both the most extensive frieze on the Mausoleum and the most visible, probably running around the top of the main podium, just below the columned façade. Here the subject choice was unlikely to be one of the artist, rather than the patron, given the

[765] One slab was even cut in two for its repurposing (Cook 2005: 42).
[766] BM 1847,0424.9-10.
[767] Mayor 2014: 210ff.
[768] Ashmole 1972: 165.

monument also involved the incorporation of Lycian features. As at Trysa, demonstrating knowledge of Greek myth would reveal a level of political astuteness and good education that Mausolus would have wished to advertise, but there is still the question of why this particular myth has been chosen. The Amazonomachy was present with the Centauromachy on the metopes of the Parthenon, and both feature again on the Mausoleum; but the Amazonomachy is given greater significance here, and the other two themes of the Parthenon metopes (the Gigantomachy and the Iliupersis) are totally absent.

Image © Trustees of the British Museum

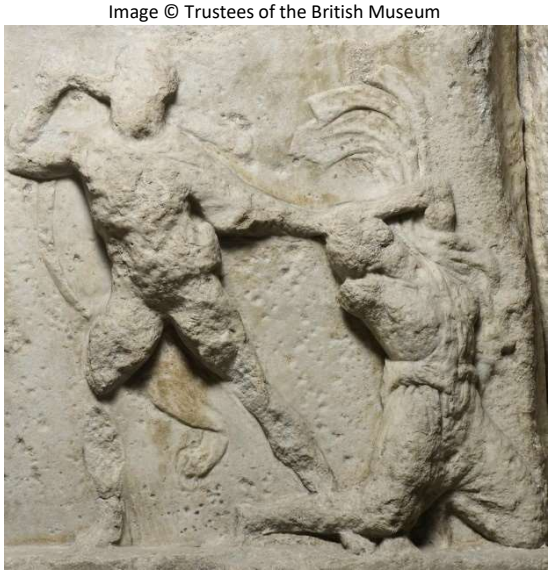


Figure 108: Detail from section of the Amazonomachy frieze from the Mausoleum (S37; c. 380-350 B.C.)

It has been proposed that one figure from the Mausoleum frieze might be identifiable as Herakles (Figure 108). Though this slab is badly weathered,[769] a central male figure is shown with a club raised above his head and what appear to be the remains of a lion skin dangling between his legs, about to deal the final blow to an Amazon kneeling to his left, his hand brutally pulling back her head. The patronage of the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundeus by Mausolus and later his brother Idrieus was engineered towards a particular version of Zeus specific to the region of Mylasa,[770] who gained his epithet from the *labrys* earned by Herakles during his expedition to Themiskyra.[771] The specific reference to this myth, therefore, both appealed to Mausolus in demonstrating a cultural interest in (and political understanding of) mainland Greece, but also had a fundamentally local purpose in which he had already demonstrated a specific interest.

[769] BM 1847,0424.13; Cook 2005: 34.

[770] Hellström 2009: 270. Mylasa was the capital of Caria before Mausolus transferred it to Halikarnassos, and was the location of his father Hekatomnos' tomb, which had many stylistic features in common with the Mausoleum.

[771] Ruzicka 1992: 49.

It is possible that the monument also featured Theseus. An association with Theseus would be particularly apt for Mausolus, as he himself synoecised Caria in making Halikarnassos his new capital.[772] It is also possible that Theseus' birthplace, Troezen, was the mother colony of Halikarnassos,[773] which would give the Thesean Amazonomachy further local significance. Any identification of a figure as Theseus is however speculative, as it is not possible to identify him in any of the remaining decorative elements.[774]

The Mausoleum thus integrated features from all of the political regions in which Mausolus operated. The monument demonstrates an interest in Greek art, utilised to a specific, local purpose, synthesised with local tomb types and referencing local interests as well as Greek ones. The Mausoleum yet again demonstrates how the Amazonomachy could function on a multiplicity of levels, both local and 'international'.

SOLOI

Tomb monuments featuring Amazons have also been discovered in the city of Soloi on the northern coast of Cyprus. Soloi occupied a transitional position in the eastern Mediterranean, with connections to both the Greek poleis on the Ionian coast and the Persian Empire to the south. Soloi took part in the Ionian Revolt at the beginning of the fifth century, but was eventually brought under the control of the Persian Empire after a gruelling five-month siege.[775] The city remained part of the Persian Empire until the island fell under the control of Alexander the Great and subsequently Ptolemy I, becoming part of the Ptolemaic Kingdom until the Roman era. This political history imbues Soloi with a vein of cultural complexity not dissimilar to the example of Halikarnassos, and this arguably manifested in its sepulchral monuments with Amazonomachies.

[772] Cook 2005: 35.

[773] Flensted-Jensen 2004: 1115.

[774] A fragmentary coffer may show the encounter between Theseus and Sciron, but the reconstruction is tenuous.

[775] Hdt. 5.115

Image © Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 109: Coin from Cilicia featuring an Amazon stringing her bow (M23; c. 480-386 B.C.)

As well as the monumental mausolea from Lycia and Caria, the region was likely familiar with the iconography of the Amazon from imported Athenian pottery and other portable goods. A coin minted in nearby Cilician Soli was in circulation from the mid-fifth century (Figure 109); it is possible that this coin alludes to the story in Diodorus that the residents of Cilicia pledged their loyalty to a rampaging Amazon,[776] but Cilician Soloi is not mentioned specifically, and this would require accepting Diodorus' later text as applicable to this period. Early examples of the issue feature drapery around the Amazon's waist, while later issues show her mostly naked.[777] It is possible that the foundation myths of Ionia stretched as far south as Cilicia, though no further record of this remains.

The first of the two monuments from Cypriote Soloi featuring Amazons consists only of a single slab of a continuous frieze, and both its date and its attribution are uncertain.[778] The second, far grander example is an almost-intact sarcophagus with an Amazonomachy stretching across all four sides of the casket (Figure 110, Figure 111).[779] First discovered in 1557,[780] the sarcophagus is



Image © KHM-Museumsverband

Figure 110: One of two long sides of the Amazon Sarcophagus from Soloi (S54; c. 320-300 B.C.)

[776] Herring 2022: 372 (Diod. 3.55).

[777] Brindley 1994: 264.

[778] S53; Fleischer 1998: 48. It has been re-dated by some to the second century B.C. (e.g. Michaelides and Papantoniou 2018: 278).

[779] S54; (e.g. Fleischer 1998: 7).

[780] Fleischer 1998: 7.



Figure 111: Second of two long sides of the Amazon Sarcophagus from Soloi (S54; c. 320-300 B.C.)

carved in high-quality Pentelic marble,[781] but the stone block suffers from a number of defects which have led to some degradation of the figures.[782] The composition takes the familiar form of a number of duelling figures, but a versatility of overlap is executed here which is absent from the more widely-spaced figures on the Mausoleum reliefs. The clothing of the Amazons is a hybrid form, as they wear anaxyrides beneath loose-flowing chitons and a particular form of shoe commonly worn by Persians;[783] the horses however do not show the braiding styles and rectangular blankets used by Persians.[784] The Amazons are shown both on horseback and on foot; they wield swords and double-headed axes.

The Greek warriors are mostly shown in the usual fashion of heroic nudity, but one figure is clad in the linothorax armour type; this has been compared to the Macedonian figures on the Alexander Sarcophagus,[785] but it is worth noting that a similar form of dress was used in nearby Limyran tombs (Figure 112) and also on the Sarcophagus of the Amazons from Tarquinia discussed previously. The distinction in dress may be used to denote the owner of the sarcophagus; who they were is difficult



Figure 112: Rock-cut tomb from Limyra once identified as an Amazonomachy showing figures in linothorax armour (S41; c. 400-350 B.C.)

[781] Plattner 2021: 212.
[782] Fleischer 1998: 9.
[783] Fleischer 1998: 24.
[784] Fleischer 1998: 25.
[785] Fleischer 1998: 48; Plattner 2021:210.

to establish, although a local ruler of Soloi is likely. The King of Soloi under Alexander, Stasicrates, is a possibility, as are his sons Eunostos and Stasias,[786] although the dates of their deaths are thought to be later than the stylistic date given to the sarcophagus itself.

Which version of the Amazonomachy is shown is uncertain, save for the absence of an identifiable figure of Herakles. As well as the numerous Amazonomachies where no hero is obviously visible, other possibilities could include Theseus' expedition to Themiscyra or the Amazons' attack on Athens. Theseus' sons were attributed with the first foundation of Soloi, but the city was subsequently refounded by the Athenian lawmaker Solon;[787] both of these possibilities therefore seem plausible as a gesture towards the city's origins.

Although not wholly without precedent, the choice of an Amazonomachy for the sarcophagus' decoration is an unusual one. The sarcophagi from Sidon, proximate in both geography and date to the Soloi sarcophagus, typically show "traditional themes glorifying the tomb owner" such as hunting and banqueting.[788] This lends the Soloi sarcophagus the same unusual hybrid status as the Mausoleum; it is the execution of "purely Greek"[789] sculptural styles in a monument type which would be largely unfamiliar to a Greek audience. It seems likely that the choice of subject was influenced by the nearby Mausoleum, but there were other decorative motifs on the Mausoleum besides the Amazonomachy, including the hunting scene found on Sidon's sarcophagi. The Soloi sarcophagus therefore demonstrates again the deliberate choice of an Amazonomachy on a funerary monument when other subjects would have been readily available to both artist and patron.

[786] Fleischer 1998: 49; Plattner 2021: 210.
[787] Plut. Sol. 26
[788] Fleischer 1998: 47.
[789] Fleischer 1998: 39.

CONCLUSIONS

There was therefore a trend in the eastern Mediterranean during the fourth century to construct tomb monuments featuring the Amazonomachy. The connection between all three monuments discussed in this chapter is an inherent hybridity; all of the monuments originated in an environment of cultural exchange, and it is perhaps this desire to synthesise local interests with Greek sculptural styles that led to the transfer of the Amazonomachy from temple buildings and into tombs. The extent to which any individual tomb-owner had particular connections with the Amazonomachy will then vary from the more general adoption of the iconography at Trysa to the more tailored Heraklean Amazonomachy which featured on the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos. The Amazonomachy likely had distinct personal relevance to the Hekatomnids through the patronage of the sanctuary at Labraunda, which may explain why it was the myth with the greatest attraction to him, but there is no equivalent easy codification for the Trysa Heroon or the Soloi sarcophagus. Here again the fundamental flexibility of the narrative allowed for its adoption and location on a multiplicity of monuments, attractive to locations at the centre of cultural exchange, where both a familiar and an unfamiliar audience could derive meaning from its message.

8: CONCLUSION

Over the past five chapters, this thesis has explored the vast body of material which features Amazons and the Amazonomachy from the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean. The three main goals throughout the thesis were the synthesis, recontextualisation, and cross-cultural analysis of this material with an aim to investigate the relationship between local cultural expression and the concept of 'Panhellenic' mythologies. The thesis has documented the tension between broader applications of meaning and the importance of localised contextualisation when understanding the functionality of myth. The material spans a wide variety of media from large-scale monuments to portable metalwares which may have held multiple functions across their lifespan.

The thesis began in Chapter 1 with the establishing of these goals, considering past scholarship and documenting the way in which material was compiled and organised before analysis in the body of the thesis. Chapter 2 presented the broad distribution of the myth across various types of material culture in order to demonstrate the overall trends of its use across the Mediterranean. Chapter 3 considered the textual evidence of the Amazon myth from its earliest records in the 8th century B.C. to the writers of Late Antiquity, categorising wider themes to provide contextual information for material culture and to question the validity of looking for concepts in later periods in the material culture of earlier antiquity.

Chapters 4 and 5 considered material culture from mainland Greece and Ionia, presenting the material chronologically, geographically, and by type. Chapter 4, an analysis of Amazonomachies of the Archaic period, demonstrated how the formulation of the Amazons' imagery was complex from its very beginning, and how the material demonstrates a continuous tension between the Amazons' humanity and their monstrousness. Chapter 5 expands the discussion into material from the fifth and fourth century, demonstrating the particular functionality of the myth within

Classical Athens but subsequently noting the continuous variety of meanings found within other Greek poleis.

Chapter 6 considered material from Italy, grouped according to the broad cultural frameworks of north Italy and southern Italy with Sicily. The chapter introduced an exploration of the Amazon mythos from the perspective of one culture adopting and adapting myth from another, showing further how the Amazon is a figure particularly well-suited to ideas of local expression. This same theme was a core element of discussion in Chapter 7, which explored material from south-west Türkiye and nearby Cyprus. Here the myth is represented on large-scale monuments with extraordinary elements of cultural synthesis, each of which is layered with complex stratifications of meaning.

Overall, it is clear that not only does the myth appear on an extraordinary variety of media, there is also an extraordinary variety within each form of media. On vases, Amazons appear on vessels of all shapes, sizes, and purposes, from large kraters to small epinetra. In sculpture Amazons are found on temples, treasuries, and tombs, and feature in metopes, continuous reliefs, akroteria, and pedimental assemblages. The nature of metal objects featuring Amazons ranges from military armour to toiletry holders.

Similarly broad are their attributes. They are shown wearing hoplite armour and eastern-style patterned dress; helmets, Phrygian caps, and Scythian hats; they fight with bows, axes, swords, and lances; they ride horses and fight on foot. The Amazons are ἀντιάνειραι, the equivalent of heroes like Achilleus, but they are also a nebulous race of monstrous beings to be checked off on a list for Herakles to slaughter. They besieged the city of Athens from sheer jealousy and they destroyed the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, but they also founded a number of Ionian cities and, bizarrely, that very same Temple of Artemis. This chapter will therefore consider some of the

wider frameworks of meaning through which this inherent ambiguity can be explored. It will examine the potential functions of myth and interrogate how the Amazon mythos may have interacted with these frameworks, imbuing meaning on both a broad and a local level.

FLUIDITY OF CONTENT AND MEANING

The use of mythic narrative comes equipped with inherent tension between a fixed meaning and a fluid one. A story must in some ways remain unchanging and permanent in order to continue to be recognisable, but the shifting society which surrounds the story necessitates invention and adaptation. This tension is particularly applicable to the Amazon mythos, which remained consistently recognisable but also constantly fluid. In facilitating both these factors, the myth manifested in this extraordinary variety of contexts. This development should not be understood as an evolution of the story in the sense of gaining superior nuance and meaning, but rather an ever-shifting network of meaning encompassing the central tenet of the Amazon. This fundamental flexibility is in some ways inherent to the nature of mythmaking, not least in a world without globalisation and simultaneous social and narrative development. As has been consistently explored through this thesis, however, what is particularly significant for the Amazon is just how many different textual and metatextual interpretations this one story facilitates.

Throughout an exploration of meaning, it is also crucial to consider the possible discrepancy between authorial intent and audience interpretation. This is perhaps most notable when considering monumental structures deliberately placed within the public sphere, where the purpose and function of the myth represented could be substantially different for creator and receiver. We might imagine that the creator of a public building might intend for its mythic images to contain an important secondary meaning that was wholly lost on the common viewer, who understood it merely as a representation of familiar stories. This might be most notable in the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, which may have been conceptualised as a Heroon but was

never meaningfully used as such; this fluidity of use imbues its sculptural programme with a similar fluidity of meaning, transforming from the intention of the patron to its quotidian use by the city's citizens.

Inherent to this discussion is how to imagine the ways in which myths and their meaning were transmitted in antiquity. We have some understanding of these contexts from the symposium and the theatre, but the extent to which these were exclusive environments is unclear. A vast amount of cultural expectation and behaviour is never taught formally but internalized through family dynamics and unconscious socialisation;[790] it is possible we should therefore understand that not only the basic content of a myth but also its additional meanings and subtexts would be conveyed within these individual family units. This creates the potential for additional nuance of understanding grouped around socioeconomic class as well as gender and era.

It is possible in the development of myth that there were moments of tension between folkloric superstition and 'formal' mythology expressed in 'high' forms such as poetry or in large artistic monuments;[791] perhaps this polarity of socioeconomic class fits into the framework of this scale. This concept demonstrates the extent to which the transmission of mythic narratives can form a crucial part in its audience's understanding of its message and motive, and how such meanings can be lost or gained through individual circumstance. Thus, there may have been a vast disparity between the Trysa dynast's erudite knowledge of the myths shown at the Heroon and the experience of those who travelled there. The fundamental point is not to disregard the latter experience in favour of the former.

It is possible that large-scale monuments functioned in a similar manner to stained-glass windows in Mediaeval churches, used as a teaching method to communicate biblical and religious concepts

[790] Chodorow 1974: 54.
[791] Veyne 1988: 42.

to an illiterate audience; perhaps ancient Lycians used the reliefs of the Trysa Heroon in a similar manner, either to absorb stories unfamiliar to them or to explore themes and ideas with which they were already well-acquainted from a local perspective. Audience understanding upon viewing visual media is fundamentally informed by their level of awareness of the stories, allegories, and motifs displayed in a work.[792] We do gain some understanding of this transmission of myth via monuments through Pausanias, who was either familiar himself with the narratives on show or was at least able to find a local source to explain them to him. Public monuments especially allow for ambiguity and multiplicity of meaning, whereupon decorative elements could be seen and interpreted at a number of different levels.

This is perhaps a consequence of inheriting media from an oral tradition. An obvious element of oral tradition is a number of conflicting versions of a myth, inherited from different backgrounds or expressed in different contexts, with different priorities placed upon stories by different authors or audiences.[793] These variations are often reduced to marginalia in the modern context but are likely crucial for understanding the inherent flexibility of myth.[794] These multiple versions allow for greater authorial expressiveness and for greater relevance to the audience, and in a pragmatic sense increase the lifespan of any given story. It also goes some way to explaining how ancient myth can be riddled with contradiction. We should perhaps understand discrepancies in visual media as relating to these variations in the 'written' sources, but equally visual arts may have their own, separate, differing framework of expression. Again, we are reminded of the differing experiences of a Lycian dynast, an Etruscan magistrate, and an Athenian metic, all of whom united around this one single story in their tomb monuments, all codified to some extent in reference to their immediate surroundings.

[792] Panofsky 1955: 61.

[793] Edmunds 1990: 6. Edmunds (ibid. 14) is also right to highlight that much of the context for the expression of ancient myths (in for example the forms of rhapsodes) was competitive, which would create a greater precedent for warping or shifting the emphasis on certain elements of the story.

[794] Mondi 1990: 157.

Chronology often plays a part in this gentle transformation of stories. Myth is sometimes a static and unmoving force, a set story inherited by subsequent generations, but often the fundamental meaning and value of a story is wholly defined by its era rather than the use of those who came before. This is truest in the Amazon mythos when considering the invention of the invasion of Athens. That said, the legacy of a story and its past uses will also frame its contemporary use, and often the contemporary meaning of a story is in deliberate direct reaction to how it has been used or contextualised before. This may be why one hero is promoted in the Amazonomachy above another, as is the case with Theseus in many Athenian examples, but the persistence of the Heraklean Amazonomachy demonstrates a more complex situation than this simple linear progression.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND THE COLLECTIVE UNCONSCIOUS

With this fluidity of meaning in mind, the Amazon myth could plausibly be analysed through a range of conceptual approaches. One of these would be to imagine the role of the collective unconscious, which is one of the primary frameworks used to consider and understand the appeal of mythic narratives in antiquity. This approach understands myth as performing "the same function for a society that dreams fulfil for the individual";[795] that of expressing repressed, often unconscious ideas, desires, or fears in a context which is both socially visible and acceptable. Myths create a separate, 'neutral' territory in which societies can conceptualise their greatest fears or greatest desires and explore them in a contained, safe environment, often with the aid or understanding of their peers. This framework is often particularly applicable at moments of great cultural change. Myths are always organised and expressed on a societal level; this understanding sees these unconscious drives as inherent to this expression.

[795] Caldwell 1990: 349.

One obvious function of myth in this context of collective unconsciousness would be not just the airing of these unconscious tensions but the reassurance provided by challenging and overcoming them. Not only does myth provide a space to voice and visualise these anxieties, it also allows for the creation of a 'silver bullet', the unique formula by which this challenge to societal order can be overcome. The function of the story is both the creation and the defeat of the monster; tension lies in the exploitation of fear but then in it being vanquished, in the natural catharsis of facing the nightmare and then seeing it defeated and the resumption of the natural social order. Monsters, by their nature, are written to be defeatable. In ancient myth and in modern horror, the monsters of fiction all have their one weakness, which the hero discovers and exploits; thus the heads of the hydra are cauterised, and Medusa, upon seeing the reflective shield of Theseus, is herself turned to stone.

Psychoanalytic theory is one branch of the concept of collective unconsciousness, primarily concerned with the irrational. In Freud's mapping of the conscious as id, ego, and superego, psychoanalytic interpretations of myth see these stories as expressions of the id, representations not of the face value of mythic narratives but of underlying tensions and anxieties.[796] This includes but is not necessarily limited to concepts such as the Oedipus complex and penis envy, both of which have now largely been dismissed by the psychotherapeutic community, not least because of their expression of Freud's misogyny.[797] Unconscious anxieties and desires need not necessarily be sexual, nor related specifically to parental conflicts.[798]

[796] Segal 1978: 130.

[797] Part of Freud's use of antiquity in developing concepts such as the Oedipus complex was born from the misunderstanding of ancient culture as a 'proto'-civilisation in which the truth of human nature was more visibly expressed; this is why he drew heavily upon it as a resource for framing the modern consciousness. It was not unusual in this period to use antiquity as a method of understanding the fundamentals of anthropology (DuBois 1988: 12-22).

[798] This has not prevented some modern psychoanalytic readings focusing on potential sexual interpretations of the ancient material; Engle, for example, proposes that horses for the Amazons were both a substitute for phallic power and a source for possible masturbatory satisfaction (1942: 545-546). Although there was possibly an element of sexual fantasy for the Greeks in the Amazons, this specific interpretation seems a little far-fetched, and demonstrates a need to apply these frameworks with an element of scepticism.

The role of exploration and purging of unconscious anxieties and desires is in many ways an obvious interpretation of the Amazon, particularly in the context of post-invasion Athens. Here the codification of the Amazon invasion is obviously connected to the recent, polis-wide trauma of having their city and its most sacred areas ransacked by an invader whom (in their eyes) they then subsequently overcame. This approach is particularly insightful in the seeming absence of Antiope as their motivating factor, but rather that their invasion was inspired by jealousy; here, this deeply traumatic event was instigated by a force which wanted to teach the noble Athenians a lesson, and who learnt their own lesson in return. Understanding the subliminal meaning in the Amazons' invasion of Athens is in this way incredibly straightforward, particularly when coupled with the figure of Theseus. This symbolic meaning was codified in some of the most important and sacred buildings in ancient Athens, beginning with those along the Panathenaic way and ending in the Parthenon, a building which the people of Athens would have seen, if not interacted with, on a daily basis.

What is less clear, however, is how the rest of the Amazon mythos should be interpreted, and there is an awful lot of mythology around the Amazon which is totally divorced from the invasion of Athens.[799] Both Herakles and Theseus are connected to expeditions to Themiskyra, and even older traditions speak of the duel between Achilleus and Penthesilea at Troy, or Bellerophon's battles with the Amazons in Lycia, which re-emerges in the material culture of Late Classical Italy. These stories are fundamentally disconnected from Athenian triumphalism, and yet they both exist and persist in the material culture of the Mediterranean long after the Persian invasion. They may have played a similar role in expressing or defeating an unconscious anxiety in these

[799] An interest in the wider Amazonomachy persisted in Athens after the codification of the Amazon invasion, but this would have had the effect of making the Amazon invasion that much more impressive.

localised contexts, but such a meaning is certainly less explicit than the connections drawn between history and pseudo-history by Athenians in the fourth century.

It also seems highly likely that any conceptualised purpose of, for instance, the Heraklean Amazonomachy would not be equally applicable to every individual who interacted with the myth through its lifetime or even within a single day. Herakles may appear on a Tarentine naiskos, the metopes of the Argive Heraion, and the Mausoleum frieze, but the cultural contexts and functions of each of these monuments are remarkably different. Each of these monuments is also tied up in a different network of social and cultural power, from the expression of the wealth of an individual on the scale of a naiskos to the scale of one of the Seven Wonders. The decision to use the Amazonomachy in the temple sculpture at Epidauros, Argos, and Olympia is representative of an entire polis, but every individual citizen of that polis may have an entirely different experience when interacting with that monument. In the absence of an obvious equivalence as is found in the case of Athens, it seems an impossibility to define the use of this myth as the expression of one particular anxiety or desire, even if it did serve that function to some individuals.

This Freudian method of psychoanalysis stands separate to Jungian psychology. The theory of Jungian archetypes proposes that underlying all human culture is a series of archetypal events, figures, and motifs, such as the cycle of birth and death, the mother, and the creation of life. This is one of the truest forms of the expression of the collective unconscious, where such concepts are formed on instinct and thus expressed in the art and culture of society involuntarily. This framework can be one method of understanding the universality of particular motifs within mythic narratives. It is this concept of an archetype which seems to match most appropriately with the body of evidence which features the Amazon. Underpinning all of this material is one

single idea: that of the warrior woman. Every other detail, from their clothing to their context, is subject to change. Only two concepts are fixed; that they are warriors, and that they are women.

GENDER AND THE 'OTHER'

Arriving at this fundamental concept of the 'warrior woman', both fixed in meaning and incredibly broad in scope, invites consideration of what it could symbolise in the societies in which this material was produced and used. Gender was a fundamental backdrop for many elements of ancient society as it is in modern, even if the framework and the expression differs. Gender identity is often considered a matter of dichotomy, of a polar framework; male as distinct to female by expressing the direct opposite. The Amazons are examples of female figures in myth which create a discussion around this polarity, taking traditional concepts of masculinity and use or distort them. The concept of nature versus culture equating to female versus male has formed part of scholarly thinking since at least the eighteenth century, but was prominently discussed by Lévi-Strauss and then Ortner.[800] This approach theorises a societal understanding of women as closer to nature and men to culture whilst also considering culture as superior to nature; thus women are by extension inferior to men. Men have transcended the primordial elements of nature, whereas women are not only defined by it but also defiled by it.[801]

Concepts of the female gender are also often clustered around "biological characteristics: fertility, maternity, sex, and menstrual blood", which are in turn linked to dichotomies of purity and pollution.[802] This equates well with the ancient Greek concept of miasma, where women were obliged to perform certain contaminating roles because their inherent nature as a woman meant they were themselves already polluted. This closeness with nature might also link into the role of woman as the creator of life or as the mother. The production of children is often seen as an

[800] Blok 1994: 12.
[801] Ortner 1974: 69-75.
[802] Rosaldo 1974: 31.

inherent part of the female role, as is the nurturing and early socialisation of young children.[803] This in turn creates the cultural transgression of women taking life, especially of children, as murderer or warrior.

It is easy to imagine this anxiety around transgression manifest in the figure of the Amazon, but certain examples facilitate this reading more than others. There is no sense, for example, that the Amazons in the *Iliad* have committed a transgressive act by appearing to fight alongside the Trojans, but rather an honourable and noble one, inviting its members to obtain true *kleos* through a warrior's death, a feat otherwise unachievable by women in antiquity. This idea is reiterated in material culture in the imagery of Amazons recovering their dead or dying companions, a schema which persists up until the end of the Classical era.

It is unclear what transgressive act the Themiskyrean expedition is intended to subdue, excepting perhaps the idea that even the existence of such a race is inherently transgressive. This could be contextualised through the horror expressed in many ancient accounts in the method of procreation used by Amazon tribes, demonstrating the attitude towards the expression of female sexuality and the attempts to limit or control it. As an extension of the dichotomy mentioned previously of purity and pollution there is also often a fascination with virginity, which can often be associated with the former. Female sexuality is particularly relevant for patriarchal societies which rely on the family unit and the order within it to maintain greater societal control.[804] In these contexts female sexuality is often interpreted as an inherent threat to society in its ability to create tension and disruption within the family unit and in undermining the potential legitimacy of the father's offspring. This is of particular relevance when the society under discussion is one of female power, female control, or even the complete absence of men. It is interesting therefore that although some sources contain horror stories about Amazon women mutilating their babies,

[803] Ortner 1974: 75-80.
[804] Denich 1974: 259.

others describe a more peaceful coexistence where at the most male infants are given to their fathers to raise. These two concepts are only equitable if we interpret the simple existence of the Amazon to be as horrifying as gouging their babies' eyes out, which seems remarkably distinct.

This differing perspective is evidence yet again of how much the cultural contexts of the individuals interacting with this concept varied. It is most straightforwardly demonstrable in the developments in material later than is discussed in this thesis, but it is not unthinkable that such nuances would coexist in the societies which were contemporaneous to this material. One constantly unheard voice, for instance, is that of the ancient Greek woman. It is important to consider the alternative perspectives which a female audience might represent when looking at the Amazon, an idea already touched upon in the previous discussion of Etruscan material. Unfortunately, and especially for antiquity, both our direct and contextual evidence is shaped, framed, and dominated by men; "the culture located women in a position of silence and maintained them in a place of illiteracy and wardship without access to public forms of speech or writing".[805] This is an understandable but regrettable phenomenon, especially for any academic interest in the female experience and the female perspective alongside the male. That we have no direct documentation for this perspective does not mean it did not exist, but obviously this relegates any consideration of these discussions to the purely theoretical. We do however have evidence of a variety of approaches to the Amazon both within the Hellenistic era and the modern; it is therefore plausible that these beliefs were expressed within the Archaic and Classical eras also, even if direct record has not been preserved of it.

This multiplicity of perspectives also carries forward into the problematic codification of the Amazon as a barbarian 'other' to be overcome, particularly when this material originates from

[805] DuBois 1988: 36. Our understanding of the lives of women in antiquity is fundamentally shaped by this male evidence, and that if women were indeed working to subvert or break free of these frameworks we are unlikely to have those stories preserved.

areas which the Greeks would have likely also considered to be barbarous. This codification is certainly applicable to the Amazons in their role as foreign beings which exist on the edges of the Greek known world, whose societal behaviours are often distinct to that of the Greeks. That the Amazons are almost universally located in the east (and always from a separate, foreign place) also reinforces geographically this sense of cultural difference. The Amazons are often discussed in the context of a '*gegenwelt*', a contrasting other to Greek society where their very being is created as a direct dichotomy to that of the Greeks.[806] Such creations cannot ever be thoroughly distinct from the societies which they are meant to contrast; as a product of that society it is inevitable they will carry some of that framework with them.[807] The codification of otherness always carried a Greek perspective and Greek priorities.

It does not seem unreasonable to interpret certain examples of the Amazon mythos as informed by this concept. The invasion of Athens is again the most obvious example of this, given the equation of the Amazon to the 'barbarian' Persian. This dichotomy also fits with the conceptualisation of the Amazon as a monster for Herakles to slay, where Herakles stands as an embodiment of law and order and restores balance through his conquest of monstrous beings. It is in synchrony with this idea of the 'barbarous' Amazon that the Centauromachy is often framed, and emphasis is given to the frequency with which these two stories appear together. It is arguable, however, that this is an emphasis created by focusing on a selective few excellent cases and not the broader whole. The Amazonomachy is far more commonly shown alone, and it is also far more common than the Centauromachy in sepulchral monuments. The contextual discussion of centaurs and Amazons is also different; it is not, after all, a tribe of centaurs who ride in to aid the Trojans, nor do the centaurs carry away the bodies of their fallen comrades.

[806] Börner 2010: 20-21.
[807] Henderson 1994: 85.

The concept of Amazons as 'other' also has dubious value when discussing monuments created by non-Greeks for non-Greek audiences, particularly in the case of Etruscan tomb monuments. It is possible that these monuments codified some sense of the 'other' in the way discussed above in relation to the Volscians,[808] but then this very codification would be overwhelmingly different from any understanding of otherness presented in the Greek mainland. That the Amazons existed as a nebulous stand-in for "those not like us" is an overarching possibility, but any shift in the definition of "us" would necessitate a shift in the definition of "them". Similarly, in societies beyond the Greek mainland, it is possible that the sense of otherness would not necessarily be laced with an inherently pejorative tone; while we know that at least some Athenians were disgusted by the Amazons, it is nothing more than speculation to say that the Etruscans, the Lycians, the Carians, and any other non-Greek society which interacted with the story found them as inherently repulsive.

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These discussions around the meaning of the Amazon myth repeat the very same pattern as all of the material presented in this thesis. The impetus behind this entire investigation was to find a codification of meaning in the Amazon, and the Amazon has defied codification at each turn. Perhaps this is born from an understandable desire to categorise the stories and objects of a society of the distant past in the hopes of further understanding it, but in doing so it is possible that we further alienate ourselves from it instead. The use of the Amazon mythos may represent a more complex story, a messier story, but one that is more human. The Amazon demonstrates the idiosyncratic ancient mindset that is required to hold many different contradictory interpretations to be simultaneously true.

If all of these concepts of the Amazon were held to be true by some people of any race or gender or culture in Archaic and Classical antiquity, this raises the question of what it means to identify

[808] See discussion p. 165.

something as an Amazon at all. If the Amazon stood for both a deeply specific expression of cultural trauma in the eyes of the Athenians and a generic scene of fighting for others, to what extent should these separate objects, defined in so many ways by the specific uses to which they were put, even be associated with one another? What does it truly mean to identify the figures on Etruscan sarcophagi as the same figures as those on the metopes of the Parthenon?

The Amazon demonstrates a delicate thread of interconnections through the Archaic and Classical Mediterranean that encapsulates a wonderful era of cultural exchange. It is natural to follow these connections as differing expressions of the same idea, but perhaps it is the error of a modern viewer to believe that meaning was also necessarily conveyed through that thread. The uniqueness of the Amazon story is in its particular tenacity, its adaptability, its longevity, and its simplicity. That the Amazon may have served as the archetypal 'warrior woman' is just the beginning of a much more complex and layered interaction between ancient societies and ancient myth, an interaction that we should imagine happened with all kinds of stories. She is the easiest vehicle through which to glimpse a wider story of intercultural exchange and meaning that is otherwise lost to time.

[brackets] indicate a source only preserved via epitome

CATALOGUES

CATALOGUE A: LITERARY SOURCES[809]

Listed alphabetically:

Author	Dates	Reference
Aelian	c. 165-235 A.D.	Ar. Orat. 13
Aeschylus	525/4-456/5 B.C.	PV. 415-419, 723-735 (c. 470 B.C.) Eum.625-630, 685-690 (458 B.C.) Supp.277-289 (c. 465-460 B.C.)
[Aithiopis]	C8th B.C.	Proclus Chrestomathia II
Ammianus Marcellinus	c. 330-400 A.D.	22.8.17-27
Apollodorus of Athens	C2nd A.D.	Epit. 5.1-2, Bib. 1.9.17, 2.3.2, 2.5.9
Apollonius of Rhodes	C3rd-C4th A.D.	A.R. 2.370-390, 2.965-1000
Appian	c. 100-160 A.D.	Mith. 10.69, 11.78
Aristophanes	c. 450-388 B.C.	Lys. 676-679 (411 B.C.)
Arrian	c. 85-146 A.D.	Anab. 7.13.3-6
Aurelius Augustinus	354-430 A.D.	26.34
Caius Iulius Hyginus	C1st A.D.[810]	Hyg. Fab. 14.5, 30, 163, 223, 225, 241, 273
Callimachus	c. 320-245 B.C.	Hymn 3.236
Curtius	C1st A.D.	6.5.27-32
Dares Phrygius	C5th A.D.	36
Demosthenes	384/3-322 B.C.	60.4-8
Dictys Cretensis	C3rd-C4th A.D.	DL 4.2-4.3
Dio Chrysostom	c. 344-407 A.D.	4.73, 8.32, 11.48, 11.117
Diodorus	C1st A.D.	2.45.3-46, 3.52-56, 3.71.3-6, 4.16, 4.28
[Dionysius Skytobrachion][811]	C3rd B.C.	via Diodorus 3.52-53.4
Dionysius Periegetes	c. 100-150 A.D.	650-658, 772-776, 825-830
[Ephoros]	c. 405-330 B.C.	FGrHist 70 F 42, F 60
Euripides	c. 485-406 B.C.	Her. 408-417, Ion. 1135-60
Eusebius	c. 260-340 A.D.	Praep. evang. 6.10.2 Chron. 66.13
Valerius Harpocration[812]	C2nd A.D.	a87
[Hegias of Troezen][813]	C3rd-C2nd B.C.	via Paus 1.2.1
[Hekataios of Miletos]	c. 560-480 B.C.	FGrHist 1 F 34 , 1 F 226

[809] Unless stated otherwise, dates are given as found in BNP. All sources referenced for dates here were accessed online 09/01/2023.

[810] Date from OCD.

[811] Date from BNJ.

[812] Date from OCD.

[813] Date from BNJ.

[brackets] indicate a source only preserved via epitome

Author	Dates	Reference
[Hellanikos of Mytilene][814]	Late C5th-C4th B.C.	FGrHist 4 F 149, 323a F 16-17
Herodorus[815]	C4th B.C.	FGrHist 31 F 25b
Herodotus	c. 485-424 B.C.	4.110-7, 9.27
Hippokrates of Kos	c. 460-370 B.C.	Aer. 17, Art. 53
Homer	C8th B.C.	Il. 2.810-815, 3.185-190, 6.185-186
Horace	c. 65-8 B.C.	Carm. 4.4
Isocrates	c. 436-338 B.C.	4.68-70, 6.42, 7.74-75, 10.24-26, 12.193-194.
Jerome	c. 347-419 A.D.	Chron. B1208, B1185, B1146, B1077
Jordanes	c. 6th A.D.	Getica 5.44, 7.51-52, 8.56-58
Julian	c. 331/2-363 A.D.	Or. 3.127.D
Lactantius	c. 250-325 A.D.	Div. inst. 1.9
Libanius	c. 314-393 A.D.	Oration 11
Lycophron[816]	C3rd B.C.	992
Lysias	c. 459/8-380 B.C.	2.4-6
[Magnes of Smyrna][817]	C7th B.C.	FGrHist 90 F 62, Suda s.v. Μάγνης
Marmor Parium[818]	c. 264/3 B.C.	IG XII.5.444
Martial	c. 40-104 A.D.	9.101.4-5
[Mimnermus]	C7th B.C.	Frag 21a
Ovid	c. 43 B.C. - 17 A.D.	Ars am. 3.1-2
Palaiphatos	c. 350-300 B.C.	Peri Apiston 32
Pausanias	C2nd A.D.	1.2.1, 1.15.2, 1,41.7, 2.32.9, 3.25.3 7.2.7-8, 10.31.8
Pherecrates	Late C5th-C4th B.C.	Frag. 165
[Pherekydes of Athens]	C5th B.C.	FGrHist 3 F 15
Philostratus	C4th B.C.	On Heroes 56.11, 57.4-57.17
Pindar	Late C6th-C5th B.C.	O. 8.46, 13.87-90, N. 3.38, Frag. 172
Plato	428/7-348/7 B.C.	Leg. 7.806a-b
Pliny	c. 23/4-79 A.D.	HN. 3.43, 5.110, 5.118, 6.19, 6.35, 7.201, 12.23, 34.53-54, 34.76

[814] Date from BNJ.
[815] Date from BNJ.
[816] Date from OCD
[817] Date from Hunter and Rutherford 2009: 2-3.
[818] Date from OCD.

[brackets] indicate a source only preserved via epitome

Author	Dates	Reference
Plutarch	c. 45-125 A.D.	Pomp. 35.3-4 Thes. 26-27 Alex. 46.1-2 Mulier. 9 Quaes. Gr. 56 Ps. Plut. Fluv. 14
Polyaenus	C2nd-C3rdA.D.	Strat. 1.1.3
[Pompeius Trogus]	C1st B.C.	via Just. Epit. 2.4
Procopius	C6th A.D.	Goth. 8.3.5-11
Quintus Smyrnaeus	C3rd A.D.	Posthomerica Book 1
Sextus Propertius	C1st B.C.	Prop. 3.11, 14
Silius Italicus	c. 25/6-101/2 A.D.	Punica 2.56-88, 8.426-430
Statius	c. 45-96 A.D.	Theb. 4.393-396
Strabo	C1st B.C. - C1st A.D.	11.5.1-5, 12.3.21-24, 12.8.6, 13.3.6
Suda	C10th A.D.	Ὅμηρος, Ὀρφεύς
Suetonius	C1st-C2nd A.D.	Jul. 22
Tatianus	C2nd A.D.	Ad Gr. 32
Vergil	c. 70-19 B.C.	Aen. 1.490-493, 5.310-313, 11.649-664
[Xanthos 'the Lydian']	C5th B.C.	FGrHist 765 F 22
Xenophon	c. 430-354 B.C.	An. 4.4.14

Listed chronologically:

Author	Dates	Reference
Homer	C8th B.C.	Il. 2.810-815, 3.185-190, 6.185-186
[Aithiopis]	C8th B.C.	Proclus Chrestomathia II
[Mimnermus]	C7th B.C.	Frag 21a
[Magnes of Smyrna][819]	C7th B.C.	FGrHist 90 F 62, Suda s.v. Μάγνης
Pindar	Late C6th-C5th B.C.	O. 8.46, 13.87-90, N. 3.38, Frag. 172
[Hekataios of Miletos]	c. 560-480 B.C.	FGrHist 1 F 34 , 1 F 226
Aeschylus	525/4-456/5 B.C.	PV. 415-419, 723-735 (c. 470 B.C.) Eum.625-630, 685-690 (458 B.C.) Supp.277-289 (c. 465-460 B.C.)
[Pherekydes of Athens]	C5th B.C.	FGrHist 3 F 15
[Xanthos 'the Lydian']	C5th B.C.	FGrHist 765 F 22
Herodotus	c. 485-424 B.C.	4.110-7, 9.27
Euripides	485-406 B.C.	Her. 408-417, Ion. 1135-60

[819] Hunter and Rutherford 2009: 2-3.

[brackets] indicate a source only preserved via epitome

Author	Dates	Reference
Hippokrates of Kos	c. 460-370 B.C.	Aer. 17, Art. 53
Lysias	c. 459/8-380 B.C.	2.4-6
Aristophanes	c. 450-388 B.C.	Lys. 676-679 (411 B.C.)
Isocrates	c. 436-338 B.C.	4.68-70, 6.42, 7.74-75, 10.24-26, 12.193-194.
Xenophon	c. 430-354 B.C.	An. 4.4.14
Plato	c. 428/7-348/7 B.C.	Leg. 7.806a-b
[Ephoros]	c. 405-330 B.C.	FGrHist 70 F 42, F 60
Herodorus[820]	C4th B.C.	FGrHist 31 F 25b
Philostratus	C4th B.C.	On Heroes 56.11, 57.4-57.17
[Hellanikos of Mytilene][821]	Late C5th-C4th B.C.	FGrHist 4 F 149, 323a F 16-17
Pherecrates	Late C5th-C4th B.C.	Frag. 165
Demosthenes	384/3-322 B.C.	60.4-8
Palaiphatos	c. 350-300 B.C.	Peri Apiston 32
Callimachus	c. 320-245 B.C.	Hymn 3.236
Marmor Parium[822]	c. 264/3 B.C.	IG XII.5.444
[Dionysius Skytobrachion][823]	C3rd B.C.	via Diodorus 3.52-53.4
Lycophron[824]	C3rd B.C.	992
[Hegias of Troezen][825]	C3rd-C2nd B.C.	via Paus 1.2.1
[Pompeius Trogus]	C1st B.C.	via Just. Epit. 2.4
Sextus Propertius	C1st B.C.	Prop. 3.11, 14
Vergil	c. 70-19 B.C.	Aen. 1.490-493, 5.310-313, 11.649-664
Horace	c. 65-8 B.C.	Carm. 4.4
Ovid	c. 43 B.C. - 17 A.D.	Ars am. 3.1-2
Strabo	C1st B.C. - C1st A.D.	11.5.1-5, 12.3.21-24, 12.8.6, 13.3.6
Suetonius	C1st-C2nd A.D.	Jul. 22
Pliny	c. 23/4-79 A.D.	HN. 3.43, 5.110, 5.118, 6.19, 6.35, 7.201, 12.23, 34.53-54, 34.76
Silius Italicus	c. 25/6-101/2 A.D.	Punica 2.56-88, 8.426-430
Martial	c. 40-104 A.D.	9.101.4-5
Statius	c. 45-96 A.D.	Theb. 4.393-396

[820] Date from BNJ.
[821] Date from BNJ.
[822] Date from OCD.
[823] Date from BNJ.
[824] Date from OCD.
[825] Date from BNJ.

[brackets] indicate a source only preserved via epitome

Author	Dates	Reference
Plutarch	c. 45-125 A.D.	Pomp. 35.3-4 Thes. 26-27 Alex. 46.1-2 Mulier. 9 Quaes. Gr. 56 Ps. Plut. Fluv. 14
Arrian	c. 85-146 A.D.	Anab. 7.13.3-6
Curtius	C1st A.D.	6.5.27-32
Diodorus	C1st A.D.	2.45.3-46, 3.52-56, 3.71.3-6, 4.16, 4.28
Caius Iulius Hyginus	C1st A.D.[826]	Hyg. Fab. 14.5, 30, 163, 223, 225, 241, 273
Aelian	c. 165-235 A.D.	Ar. Orat. 13
Apollodorus of Athens	C2nd A.D.	Epit. 5.1-2, Bib. 1.9.17, 2.3.2, 2.5.9
Valerius Harpocration[827]	C2nd A.D.	a87
Pausanias	C2nd A.D.	1.2.1, 1.15.2, 1,41.7, 2.32.9, 3.25.3 7.2.7-8, 10.31.8
Tatianus	C2nd A.D.	Ad Gr. 32
Polyaenus	C2nd-C3rdA.D.	Strat. 1.1.3
Quintus Smyrnaeus	C3rd A.D.	Posthomerica Book 1
Apollonius of Rhodes	C3rd-C4th A.D.	A.R. 2.370-390, 2.965-1000
Dictys Cretensis	C3rd-C4th A.D.	DL 4.2-4.3
Julian	c. 331/2-363 A.D.	Or. 3.127.D
Dio Chrysostom	c. 344-407 A.D.	4.73, 8.32, 11.48, 11.117
Jerome	c. 347-419 A.D.	Chron. B1208, B1185, B1146, B1077
Aurelius Augustinus	c. 354-430 A.D.	26.34
Dares Phrygius	C5th A.D.	36
Procopius	C6th A.D.	Goth. 8.3.5-11
Jordanes	C6th A.D.	Getica 5.44, 7.51-52, 8.56-58
Suda	C10th A.D.	Ὅμηρος, Ὀρφεύς

[826] Date from OCD.
[827] Date from OCD.

For ease of reference, all of the vases directly referred to in the thesis are listed here. The full catalogue of vases is included as an Appendix.

CATALOGUE B: VASE CATALOGUE (ABRIDGED)

No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
0001	Bothmer 1.04		[lost]	1	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Corinthian	Greece | Imbros	Alabastron	Early Archaic	610 to 590	N/A
0002	Bothmer 2.01	300779	Tarquinia Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese RC 5564	5	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Camtar
0003	Bothmer 2.02	300784	Paris Louvre E 863	6	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Camtar
0004	Bothmer 2.03	300780	Cambridge Fitzwilliam GR 24.1864	7	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	560 to 550	Camtar
0009	Bothmer 2.08	310045	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 98.916	9	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Castellani P
0012	Bothmer 2.11	310050	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.156.7	14	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Castellani P
0021	Bothmer 2.19	310008	Florence Museo Nazionale 3773	12	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Castellani P
0022	Bothmer 2.20	310025	[lost]		Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Castellani P
0027	Bothmer 2.25	310122	Paris Louvre E 875	16	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria	Dinos	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Tyrrhenian G
0028	Bothmer 2.26	310148	Athens Kerameikos	15	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens | Kerameikos	Frags	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Lydos
0036	Bothmer 2.34	302566	Rhodes Archaeological Museum 15430	18 / 709	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Rhodes | Ialysos	Cup	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Marmaro P
0038	Bothmer 2.36	302567	Athens Acropolis Collection 1.1781	19	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens | Acropolis	Cup frag	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Marmaro P

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No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
0039	Bothmer 2.37	310197	Bonn Akademisches Kunstmuseum 339	265	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Plate	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Lydos
0040	Bothmer 2.38	300772	Athens Acropolis Collection 1.614		Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens | Acropolis	Kantharos (cup) frag	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Nearchos
0042	Bothmer 2.40	300751	London British Museum 1888,0601.441	21	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Egypt | Naukratis	Lebes frag	Early Archaic	575 to 560	P of Acropolis 601
0050	Bothmer 2.48	310058	Marseilles Musée Borely 1588		Fight | no hero | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Kyllenios P
0053	Bothmer 2.51	310041	Rome Villa Giulia M454		Fight | no hero | duel	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Cerveteri	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Castellani P
0066	Bothmer 2.63	2468	Munich Antikensammlungen 2238	258 (?)	Fight | no hero | duel	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Little Master Band Cup	Early Archaic	575 to 550	N/A
0067	Bothmer 2.63 bis	320002	Princeton University Art Museum 2018.23		Fight | no hero | duel	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Bettolle	Band cup	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Near Lysippides P
0068	Bothmer 2.64	1156	Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden ROII88		Fight | no hero | duel	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece	Plate	Early Archaic	575 to 550	N/A
0076	Bothmer 3.001	320386	Bologna Museo Civico Archeologico PU192	23	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Amphora B	Archaic	550 to 500	Berlin 1686
0088	Bothmer 3.012	8877	Amsterdam Allard Pierson 8192		Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens	Little Master Band Cup	Archaic	575 to 525	N/A
0182	Bothmer 3.092	44092	Athens National Museum 941 / 9693		Fight | Herakles | duel	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Lekythos	Archaic	540 to 530	N/A
0185	Bothmer 3.095	303532	London British Museum 1847,0806.31	70	Fight | Herakles | duel	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Lekythos	Archaic	510 to 490	C of Athens 581

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No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
0390	Bothmer 3.275	8168	Athens Agora Museum P13125		Fight | Herakles	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens | Agora	Siana Cup frag	Archaic	575 to 525	Near C P
0408	Bothmer 3.295	330987	Amsterdam Allard Pierson 1332		Fight | Herakles | mounted	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece	Lekythos	Archaic	550 to 500	Near Dot-Ivy G
0409	Bothmer 3.296	331361	London British Museum 1864,1007.219		Fight | Herakles | mounted	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Rhodes | Kamiros	Lekythos	Archaic	480 to 460	M of Haimon P
0418	Bothmer 3.304	331365	Barcelona Museo Arqueologico		Fight | Herakles | mounted	Black Figure	Athenian	Spain | Ampurias	Lekythos	Archaic	525 to 475	M of Haimon P
0426	Bothmer 3.312	330202	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.43	50	Fight | Herakles | chariot	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Attica	Lekythos	Archaic	525 to 500	P of New York 07
0430	Bothmer 4.002	310389	London British Museum 1836,0224.127	175	Fight | Achilleus and Penthesilea	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Neck amphora	Archaic	550 to 530	Exekias
0431	Bothmer 4.003	310390	London British Museum 1849,0518.10	260	Fight | Possible Achilleus and Penthesilea	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora	Archaic	550 to 530	Exekias
0663	Bothmer 4.201	303098	Franfurt Städel Institute STV1	273	Fight | no hero | chariot	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Hydria	Archaic	575 to 525	N/A
0751	Bothmer 5.060	306481	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 1971.258.2	730	No Fight | bringing in dead	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Attica	Plate	Archaic	520 to 500	N/A
0900	Bothmer 5.184	9017121	Athens National Museum AP1855		No Fight | chariot	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens | Acropolis	Neck amphora frag	Archaic	525 to 475	M of Edinburgh P
0917	Bothmer 6.01		St Petersburg State Hermitage 54 / ГР-4406	288	Fight | Possible Achilleus and Penthesilea	Black Figure	Chalcidian	Italy | Etruria	Amphora	Archaic	550 to 540	G of the Panel Amphorae
0929	Bothmer 8.03	302082	Munich Antikensammlungen 1414		Fight | Theseus | abduction	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Amphora A	Archaic	550 to 500	Leagros G

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No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
0931	Bothmer 8.05	7024	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.198.3		Fight | Theseus | abduction	Black Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Hydria	Archaic	550 to 500	N/A
0933	Bothmer 8.07	200441	London British Museum 1837.6-9.58		Fight | Theseus | abduction	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Cup	Archaic	520 to 500	Euphronios
0935	Bothmer 8.09	202176	Paris Louvre G 197		Fight | Theseus | abduction	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Amphora A	Archaic	500 to 490	Myson
0936	Bothmer 8.10	202178	Vatican Museo Gregoriano Etrusco AST517		Fight | Theseus | abduction	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Psykter	Archaic	500 to 475	Myson
0942	Bothmer 9.05	200068	Arezzo Museo Nazionale Archeologico 1465	64	Fight | Herakles | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Arezzo	Volute Krater	Archaic	550 to 500	Euphronios
0944	Bothmer 9.07	200082	Tarquinia Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese RC2978	66	Fight | Herakles | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Tarquinia	Cup frag	Archaic	550 to 500	Euphronios
0945	Bothmer 9.08	203248	London British Museum 1836,0224.101	67	Fight | Herakles | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Cup	Archaic	510 to 500	Proto Panaetian G
0946	Bothmer 9.09	201751	Paris Cabinet des Médailles 699	84	Fight | Herakles | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Tarquinia	Cup frag	Archaic	510 to 490	Kleophrades P
0967	Bothmer 9.30	211565	Munich Antikensammlungen 2688 / J370	178	Fight | Possible Achilleus and Penthesilea	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Cup B	Classical	470 to 450	Penthesilea P
0971	Bothmer 9.34	200013	Paris Louvre F 203	710	No Fight | mounted	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy	Amphora A	Archaic	550 to 500	Andokides P
1005	Bothmer 9.68	202811	London British Museum 1864,1007.253	650a	No Fight | single A | in motion	Red Figure	Athenian	Greece | Rhodes | Kamiros	Alabastron	Archaic	490 to 470	G of Negro Alabaster
1031	Bothmer 10.004	213874	Ferrara Museo Nazionale di Spina 2890 / T1052	232	Fight | Theseus	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Spina	Calyx krater	Classical	475 to 425	Achilles P

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No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
1032	Bothmer 10.005	206930	On loan to Getty Museum, Malibu (CA)	297	Fight | no hero | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Sicily | Gela	Volute krater	Classical	475 to 425	Niobid P
1034	Bothmer 10.007	207099	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.84	295	Fight | no hero | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Numana	Volute krater	Classical	475 to 425	P of the Woolly Satyrs
1040	Bothmer 10.012	213658	London British Museum 1899,0721.5	233	Fight | Theseus	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Sicily | Agrigento	Dinos	Classical	440 to 430	Polygnotos G
1043	Bothmer 10.015	216945	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.13	242	Fight | Theseus	Red Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens	Squat lekythos	Classical	450 to 400	Eretria P
1044	Bothmer 10.016	215562	Naples Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC239	243	Fight | no hero | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | South Italy | Cumae	Squat lekythos	Classical	450 to 400	Aison
1059	Bothmer 10.03	216938	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 95.48	240	Fight | no hero | group | mounted	Red Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens	Squat lekythos	Classical	450 to 400	Eretria P
1063	Bothmer 10.034	213604	London British Museum 1898.7-15.1		Fight | no hero | group | mounted	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Stamnos	Classical	440 to 430	Christie P
1091	Bothmer 10.057	213413	Paris Cabinet des Médailles 421	236	Fight | Theseus	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | South Italy | Taranto	Calyx krater frag	Classical	475 to 425	Polygnotos
1138	Bothmer 10.100	216556	London British Museum 1864,1007.78	239	Fight | Theseus	Red Figure	Athenian	Greece | Rhodes | Kamiros	Kantharos (cup)	Classical	430 to 420	Alexandre Group
1143	Bothmer 10.103	213418	London British Museum 1873,0820.368	179	Fight | Achilleus and Penthesilea	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | South Italy | Capua	Neck amphora	Classical	450 to 430	Polygnotos
1147	Bothmer 10.107	9027973	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 01.8147		Fight | no hero | duel | mounted	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Lekythos	Classical	450 to 430	N/A
1163	Bothmer 10.120	16807	New York Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art 23.160.64	241	Fight | no hero | group | mounted	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | South Italy | Ruvo	Volute krater frag	Classical	450 to 400	N/A

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No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
1173	Bothmer 10.132	213403	Ferrara Museo Nazionale di Spina T411A	724	No Fight | group | mounted	Red Figure	Athenian	Italy | Etruria | Spina	Bell krater	Classical	475 to 425	Polygnotos
1296	BAPD	4854	Jerusalem Israel Museum 73.15.18	234	Fight | Theseus	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora with lid	Classical	450 to 440	Polygnotos
1549	BAPD	24278	Hundersingen Heuneburgmuseum		No Fight | unclear	Black Figure	Athenian	Germany	Kalathos frag	Archaic	525 to 475	N/A
1590	BAPD	29047	Athens National Museum 27524		Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Prometheus P
1606	BAPD	30907	Athens Agora Museum P13813		Fight | no hero	Black Figure	Athenian	Greece | Athens | Agora	Cup frag	Archaic	550 to 500	N/A
1669	BAPD	202488	[private, Switzerland]	177	Fight | Achilleus and Penthesilea	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Stamnos	Classical	480 to 470	Syleus P
1671	BAPD	203257	Oxford Ashmolean 1966.471		Fight | Theseus | abduction	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Cup frag	Archaic	500 to 475	Onesimos
1678	BAPD	207096	Basel Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS486	302	Fight | no hero | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Volute krater	Classical	460 to 440	P of Bologna 279
1683	BAPD	209548	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 21.2286	589	No Fight | single A | mounted	Red Figure	Athenian	Sudan | Meroe	Figure vase	Classical	475 to 450	Sig | Sotades
1737	BAPD	230335	Paris Cabinet des Médailles 410		No Fight | head	Red Figure	Athenian	Libya | Cyrenaica	Pelike	Late Classical	400 to 300	Group G
1789	BAPD	275091	Basel Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS453	86	Fight | Herakles | group	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora	Archaic	500 to 480	Berlin P
1835	BAPD	350491	Kassel Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung T698		No Fight | mounted	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Column krater	Archaic	550 to 500	Hischylos Potter

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No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
1839	BAPD	351044	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 61.11.16	51	Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora	Archaic	530 to 510	Medea G
1900	BAPD	1010242	Tokyo Matsuoka Museum of Art 172		Fight | no hero | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Neck amphora	Early Archaic	550 to 540	Compare Castellani P
1971	BAPD	9022226	Princeton University Art Museum 2007.98		No Fight | group | chariot	Red Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Column krater	Classical	420 to 400	Suessula P
2030	BAPD	9029906	[private, Tynemouth]		Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Athenian	Unknown	Hydria	Early Archaic	575 to 550	Near Tyrrhenian Group
2208	Trendall As1 18/16e		New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 1995.45.1		Fight | no hero | group	Red Figure	Apulian	Unknown	Loutrophoros	Late Classical	350 to 325	Metope P
2216	Trendall A 18/64		Basel Antikenmuseum S 34	782	Fight | Herakles and Hippolyte	Red Figure	Apulian	Unknown	Calyx krater	Late Classical	340 to 330	Darius P
2246	Trendall A 27/22		Bari Macinagrossa Coll.		Fight | Bellerophon	Red Figure	Apulian	Unknown	Volute krater	Late Classical	400 to 300	Baltimore P
2340	Trendall Camp 1 3/102		Syracuse 55484	401	Fight | no hero | group | mounted	Red Figure	Campanian	Italy | Sicily | Syracuse	Calyx krater	Late Classical	400 to 300	Near Scoglitti G
2383	Trendall Paest 1 1/34		Tirana National Archaeological Museum 68		Fight | no hero | group | mounted	Red Figure	Sicilian	Albania	Neck amphora	Late Classical	400 to 300	P of Naples 2074
2388	LIMC Amazones		Aegina 2061	254	Fight | Possible Achilleus and Penthesilea	Black Figure	Proto-corinthian	Greece | Attica | Aegina	Vase	Early Archaic	650 to 630	N/A
2401	LIMC Amazones		Munich Staatliche Antikensammlungen 6676	454	Fight | no hero | single A	Relief	Corinthian	Unknown	Vase	Late Classical	375 to 350	N/A

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No.	Publication Reference	Beazley No.	Museum No.	LIMC No.	Iconography category	Tech.	Fabric	Provenance	Shape	Period	Date Range	Painter
2416	LIMC Amazones Etruscae		Paris Cabinet des Médailles 920	E12	No Fight | group | Pentasila	Red Figure	Etruscan	Italy | Etruria | Vulci	Calyx krater	Late Classical	350 to 300	N/A
2420	LIMC Amazones Etruscae		Rome Albizzati 231	E48	Fight | no hero | group | mounted	Black Figure	Pontic	Unknown	Amphora	Archaic	550 to 500	N/A
2424			London British Museum 1884,0804.8		Fight | Herakles | group	Black Figure	Corinthian	Unknown	Lekythos	Early Archaic	575 to 550	N/A

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

CATALOGUE C: GEMS AND METALWARE

No	LIMC No	Item Type	Museum No	Place of Discovery	Material	Date (B.C.)	Note
01	170	Shield Band	Olympia Museum B 1910	Olympia	Bronze	c. 610-590	
02	171	Shield Band	Olympia Museum B 112	Olympia	Bronze	c. 610-590	
03	172	Shield Band	Olympia Museum B 975	Olympia	Bronze	c. 610-590	
04	173	Shield Band	Delphi Museum 4479	Delphi	Bronze	c. 610-590	
05	174	Shield Band	Olympia Museum B 1555	Olympia	Bronze	c. 610-590	
06	411	Relief	Delphi Museum	Delphi	Ivory	c. 550	Bothmer 1957: 123
07	675	Tripod Support	Athens National Archaeological Museum 13230	Thessaly	Bronze	c. 525-500	
08	676	Tripod Support	Athens National Archaeological Museum 6589/6622/6624	Unknown	Bronze	c. 550-525	
09	679	Statuette	Baltimore Walters Art Gallery 54.972	Crete	Bronze	c. 520	
10	E51	Relief	Perugia Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria 1449	Perugia	Bronze	c. 510-490	
11	E9	Urn	London British Museum 1855,0816.1	Capua	Bronze	c. 510-490	
12		Relief	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 43.11.5	Unknown	Bronze	c. 500-450	
13	444	Scaraboid Gem	Boston Museum of Fine Art 27.682	Cyprus (?)	Carnelian	c. 510-490	

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Item Type	Museum No	Place of Discovery	Material	Date (B.C.)	Note
14	E7	Relief	London British Museum 1824,0420+.1	Perugia	Silver	c. 540-520	
15	E18	Scarab Gem	London British Museum 1868,0520.20	Unknown	Agate	c. 550-500	
16	108	Appliqué	Paris Louvre Br 2788	Vulci	Bronze	c. 500-475	
17	591	Statuette	Collections privées de Suisse romande 231	Dodona	Bronze	c. 400-300	
18	E19	Mirror or cover	Madrid Museo Arqueológico Nacional 9823	Madrid (?)	Bronze	c. 410-400	
19		Armour	Mougins Museum of Classical Art A187	Unknown	Bronze	c. 400-300	'Thetis' backplate
20		Armour	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1986.242a-b	Unknown	Bronze	c. 400-300	Cuirass
21	673	Gem	Bonn Müller collection	Unknown	Carnelian	c. 460-440	
22	585	Ring	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 21.1204	Unknown	Gold	c. 425-400	
23	680a	Amazon Coin	Example: London British Museum 1893,1004.31	Cilicia	Silver	c. 480-386	
24	105	Relief	London British Museum 1877,0715.1	Unknown	Bronze	c. 350-300	Made in Taranto
25	106	Mirror or cover	Berlin Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung 6370	Athens	Bronze	c. 350-325	
26	107	Appliqué	Paris Louvre Br 2798	Unknown	Bronze	c. 400-300	

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Item Type	Museum No	Place of Discovery	Material	Date (B.C.)	Note
27	472	Relief	Athens Kanellopoulos Museum 60	Athens	Bronze	c. 410-390	
28	473	Appliqué	Paris Louvre Br 3475 / LP 1850	Unknown	Bronze	c. 400-300	
29	474	Mirror or cover	St Petersburg State Hermitage ш 956	Ionia	Bronze	c. 360-340	
30	476	Mirror or cover	London British Museum 1873,0820.116	Ionia	Bronze	c. 360-340	
31	477	Helmet	Basel Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig	Asia Minor	Bronze	c. 360-340	
32	478	Cuirass	London British Museum 1833,0422.1	Taranto	Bronze	c. 350-340	
33	479	Relief	Rome Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 13220	Palestrina	Bronze	c. 400-300	
34	480	Phalera	St Petersburg State Hermitage бб 80	Ukraine	Bronze	c. 350-325	Date after Bilimovich 1973
35		Phalera	St Petersburg State Hermitage бб 79	Ukraine	Bronze	c. 350-325	Date after Bilimovich 1973
36		Phalera	St Petersburg State Hermitage бб 78	Ukraine	Bronze	c. 350-325	Date after Bilimovich 1973
37	475 / 674	Mirror or cover	Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier 80	Ionia	Bronze	c. 360-340	
38	N/A	Mirror or cover	Nauplia	Unknown	Bronze	c. 300	Schwarzmaier 1997 no. 177
39	E11	Cista	Rome Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 13199	Palestrina	Bronze	c. 340-320	

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Item Type	Museum No	Place of Discovery	Material	Date (B.C.)	Note
40	E13	Mirror or cover	Rome Collezione Castellani	Unknown	Bronze	c. 310-300	Gerhard Etruskischer Spiegel V 70 Taf. 57
41	E14	Mirror or cover	Toronto Royal Ontario Museum 919.26.31	Unknown	Bronze	c. 400-300	
42	E15	Mirror or cover	Perugia Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria	Chiusi	Bronze	c. 400-300	
43	E16	Mirror or cover	Rome Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 24872	Vulci	Bronze	c. 400-300	
44	E17	Mirror or cover	Berlin Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung Fr 30	Unknown	Bronze	c. 400-300	
45	E20	Mirror or cover	Florence Museo Archeologico	Castiglione	Bronze	c. 400-350	Gerhard Etruskischer Spiegel V 151 Taf. 113
46	E23	Mirror or cover	London British Museum 1824,0489.82.+	Unknown	Bronze	c. 500-300	
47	E24	Mirror or cover	Lost	Unknown	Bronze	c. 400-300	Gerhard Etruskischer Spiegel IV 2, 45 Taf. 397,2
48	E28	Cista	Rome Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 24788	Palestrina	Bronze	c. 350-300	Bordenache Battaglia No. 78
49	E28a	Cista	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.84.2	Palestrina	Bronze	c. 325-275	Bordenache Battaglia No. 43
50	E32	Cista	Rome Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 13142	Palestrina	Bronze	c. 300-250	Bordenache Battaglia No. 79

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Item Type	Museum No	Place of Discovery	Material	Date (B.C.)	Note
51	E32a	Cista	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 96.18.1a+b	Palestrina	Bronze	c. 325-300	Bordenache Battaglia No. 44
52	E46	Cista	Edinburgh National Museums of Scotland 74 + 74a	Unknown	Bronze	c. 350-300	Bordenache Battaglia No. 19
53	620-621	Amazon and Ares coin type	Example: BM RPK,p116A.1.Cib	Mytilene	Electrum	c. 412-378	Bodensteddt 1981 no. 65
54	726	Scaraboid Gem	Boston Museum of Fine Arts 27.697	Melos	Rock crystal	c. 450-425	
55		Kantharos	Paestum Museum inv. 45068	Paestum	Silver	c. 410-390	

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

CATALOGUE D: SCULPTURE AND OTHER MONUMENTS

No	LIMC No	Description	Place of Origin	Museum No or Publication Reference	Material	Date (B.C.)
01	168	Shield from Tiryns	Tiryns	Nauplia 4509	Terracotta	c. 710-690
02	169	Fragment of bas-relief	Unknown	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 42.11.33	Terracotta	c. 610-590
03	94	Statue group by Aristokles of Kydonia	Olympia	Paus. 5.25.11	Bronze	c. 510-490
04	95	Metopes from Athenian Treasury	Delphi		Stone	c. 490-480
05	412	Metope fragments	Silaris (Foce del Sele)	Paestum Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Stone	c. 510-500
06	414	Marble pediment	Thebes (Kopai-Topolia)	Archaeological Museum of Thebes 10	Stone	c. 510-490
07		Marble pediment	Kolona, Aegina	Touloupa 2002	Stone	c. 510-490
08		Marble pediment	Eretria		Stone	c. 510-490
09		Pediment	Kea	Touloupa 1998	Stone	
09bis		Fragmentary metopes	Athens (Acropolis)	Hurwit 1999: 169	Stone	c. 500-480
10	416	Frieze	Albania (Apollonia)	Archaeological Museum of Apollonia	Stone	c. 510-490
11	E33	Cippus	Chiusi	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Antikensammlung Sk 1221	Stone	c. 500-490
12	E34	Cippus	Chiusi	Museo Archeologico Nazionale Chiusi 2601	Stone	c. 500-490
13	413	Terracotta pediment	Corinth	Archaeological Museum of Corinth 1944-1948a	Terracotta	c. 525-500

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Description	Place of Origin	Museum No or Publication Reference	Material	Date (B.C.)
14	E5	Antefix	Campania	Museo Provinciale Campano Capua P278	Terracotta	c. 600-500
15	E6	Architectural relief	Cerveteri	Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia Roma 16388	Terracotta	c. 510-500
16	E8	Akroterion	Pyrgi	Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia Roma	Terracotta	c. 510-500
17	E40	Architectural relief	Satricum	Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia Roma	Terracotta	c. 500-490
18		Portonaccio Temple	Veii	Willemsen 2009	Terracotta	c. 510-490
19		Architectural temple sculpture	Esquiline Hill	Musei Capitolini 3663; Lulof 2007 & 2018	Terracotta	c. 510-490
20		Architectural temple sculpture	Ardea	Ceccarelli 2011	Terracotta	c. 510-490
21	590	Bronze statue by Strongylion	Athens	Plin. NH. 34.82	Bronze	c. 510-500
22	602-605a	Statue group	Ephesos	Plin. NH 34.53-54	Bronze	c. 450-440
23	230	Painting by Mikon at the Painted Stoa	Athens	Paus 1.15.2	Painting	c. 460-450
24	231	Painting by Mikon at the Theseion	Athens	Paus. 1.17.2-6	Painting	c. 470-460
25	98 and 181	Throne of statue of Zeus	Olympia	Paus. 5.11.1-7.	Painting	c. 440-420
26	96	Metope from Temple of Hera	Selinus	Museo Archeologico Regionale "A. Salinas" Palermo 3921A	Stone	c. 480-470
27	97	Metope from Temple of Zeus	Olympia	Archaeological Museum of Olympia (Metope 6)	Stone	c. 470-450
28	99	Metope from Hephaisteion	Athens		Stone	c. 450-440

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Description	Place of Origin	Museum No or Publication Reference	Material	Date (B.C.)
29	101	Frieze from Temple of Apollo	Bassai	London British Museum	Stone	c. 420-400
30	246	Shield of Athena Parthenos	Athens		Stone	c. 440-420
31	415	Frieze from temple (?)	Selinus	Museo Archeologico Regionale "A. Salinas" Palermo 3910 + 3911	Stone	c. 480-450
32	417	Metope from the Parthenon	Athens	Athens Acropolis Museum Ακρ. 20708	Stone	c. 440-430
33	418	Pediment from Athenian Agora	Athens (originally Pallene)	Athens Agora Museum S11 + S1574	Stone	
34	419	Metopes from Temple of Hera	Argos	National Archaeological Museum Athens 3500	Stone	c. 420-410
35	360	Mosaic	Pella		Mosaic	c. 325-300
36	100	Metopes from tholos	Delphi	Delphi Archaeological Museum	Stone	c. 400-350
37	102	Frieze from Tomb of Mausolus	Halikarnassos	London British Museum	Stone	c. 380-350
38	103	Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico Nazionale 35	Stone	c. 400-300
39	420	Frieze from Heroon	Gjolbaschi-Trysa	Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien	Stone	c. 410-390
40	421	Pediment from Temple of Asclepius	Epidauros		Stone	c. 375-370
41	422	Naiskos relief	Limyra		Stone	c. 400-350
42	423	Naiskos relief	Taranto	Budapest Musée des Beaux-Arts 88	Stone	c. 400-390
43	424	Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Stone	c. 375-350
44	425	Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico Nazionale 167	Stone	c. 350-300
45	426	Naiskos pediment fragments	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico Nazionale 170	Stone	c. 350-300

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Description	Place of Origin	Museum No or Publication Reference	Material	Date (B.C.)
46	427	Naiskos pediment fragments	Taranto	Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore 1801, 1802, 1806	Stone	c. 350-300
47	428	Naiskos relief fragments	Taranto	Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore	Stone	c. 350-300
48	429a	The Kallithea Monument	Athens (Piraeus)		Stone	c. 360-340
48bis	429b	Relief frieze	Athens (Theseion)	Athens National Museum 3614	Stone	c. 360-340
49	430	Relief fragments	Taranto	Heidelberg Archaeology Institute 26/54	Stone	c. 350-300
50	431	Relief	Taranto	Berlin Staatliche Museen 885	Stone	c. 350-300
51	432	Frieze fragments	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico 316/1334	Stone	c. 350-300
52	433	Limestone relief	Taranto	Copenhagen National Museum 206	Stone	c. 350-300
53	434	Frieze from tomb or temple	Soloi	Cyprus Museum E548	Stone	$4^{th}/2^{nd}$ century
54	435	Sarcophagus	Soloi	Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museen 169	Stone	c. 320-300
55	436	Bas-relief in Tean marble	Teos	İzmir Archaeological Museum 3719	Stone	c. 310-300
56	E26	Miniature sculpture	Vulci	Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia Roma	Stone	c. 310-300
57	E29	Amazon Sarcophagus	Tarquinia	Museo Archeologico Firenze 5811	Stone	c. 370-360
58	E30	Sarcophagus	Tarquinia	Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia 1898	Stone	c. 330-300
59	E31	Priest Sarcophagus	Tarquinia	Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia 9871	Stone	c. 350-340
60	E35	Sarcophagus of Larth Tetnies	Vulci	Boston 86.145a-b	Stone	c. 330-300
61	E36	Sarcophagus	Tarquinia	Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia 9872	Stone	c. 330-300

'E' LIMC numbers refer to Amazones Etruscae

No	LIMC No	Description	Place of Origin	Museum No or Publication Reference	Material	Date (B.C.)
62	E37	'Magnate' Sarcophagus	Tarquinia	Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia 9873	Stone	c. 330-300
63	E38	Sarcophagus	Vulci	Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 64174	Stone	c. 330-300
64		Sarcophagus	Tuscania	Meer 1995 G76	Stone	c. 330-320
65		Sarcophagus from Curunas I	Tuscania	Moretti & Sgubini Moretti 1983 p. 20-22 (no. 2)	Stone	c. 310-300
66		Sarcophagus from Curunas II	Tuscania	Tuscania Museo Nazionale Archeologico 86902	Stone	c. 310-300
67		Sarcophagus fragment	Tuscania	Meer 1995 O8	Stone	c. 300
68		Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico 117914	Stone	c. 325-280
69		Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico 35	Stone	c. 325-300
70		Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico 110072	Stone	c. 325-300
71		Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico 140-142	Stone	c. 300-280
72		Naiskos relief	Taranto	Basel art market (Carter 1975: 95 no. 399)	Stone	c. 310-300
73		Naiskos relief	Taranto	Taranto Museo Archeologico 106249	Stone	c. 300-280
74		Miscellaneous Tarentine fragments	Taranto	Carter 1975 nos. 10, 12, 36, 39, 44, 45, 47, 52, 57, 70, 91, 95, 170, 175, 197, 216, 235, 309, 321, 353, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 378, 398, 403, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 432, 436, 437	Stone	c. 400-300
75	453	Relief terracotta mould	Paestum (?)	Paestum Museo Nazionale 3087	Terracotta	c. 400-375
76	455	Terracotta plaque	Olynthos	Salonica Museum 38.157	Terracotta	c. 400-300

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology = Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJHIST	Athens Journal of History
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AnatSt	Anatolian Studies
AntP	Antike Plastik
ArchCl	Archeologia classica
ArchDelt	Archaiologikon Deltion
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
BNJ	Brill's New Jacoby
BNP	Brill's New Pauly
BSA	British School at Athens Annual
BullCom	Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma
CA	Classical Antiquity
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions
CVA	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
G&R	Greece & Rome
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
Meded	Mededeelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome
NCirc	Numismatic Circular
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
ÖJh	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
RM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
StEtr	Studi etruschi

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