

"THE SPHINX IN EARLY ARCHAIC GREEK ART"

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

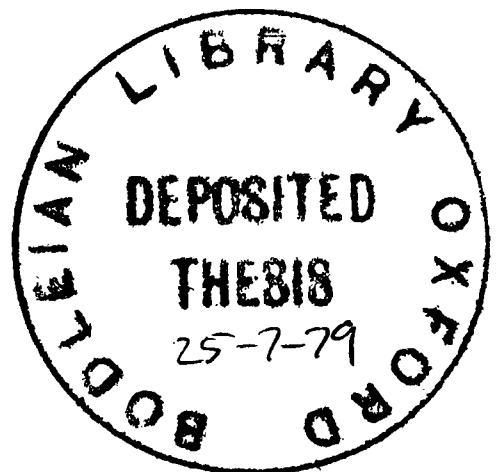
in the University of Oxford

by

Panayota BOSANA - KOUROU

Somerville College

Hilary term 1979^{TT}



A B S T R A C T

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The aim of this thesis is to study the iconography of the sphinx in Early Archaic Greek art and plot its origin and evolution. Therefore the Dark Age material is dealt with in some detail. Two types of sphinxes are attested, both radically different from the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx. The wingless sphinx is a typically Dark Age creation attested throughout the period but without an obvious further influence in Archaic Greek art. The winged sphinx is introduced to Cretan Art in the Dark Ages from the Orient and the type preserves its vitality through successive waves of Oriental influence.

The sphinx in the Geometric and Orientalizing period is more clearly traced to the Orient. In drawing up a typology I have taken as my starting point the hybrid winged feline and human character of the monster. Thus the following types emerge: a) winged female, b) winged male, c) wingless, d) with equine elements, e) with human arms, f) double-bodied, g) gorgon-sphinx, and i) sphinx protome.

The iconography of each type is discussed in depth and a detailed pattern established of the interrelationship of workshops. In dealing with the imported sphinxes emphasis has been placed on discussing some classes of objects of a possibly Greek origin.

Finally the evidence for the nature and the character of the motif in the Early Archaic period is discussed and the conclusion reached is that the sphinx does not enter the Boeotian myth earlier than the end of the seventh century.

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LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

- Akurgal, *SB* : E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst* (1949)
- Albizzati : C. Albizzati, *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano* (1925-29)
- Alexiou : ΣΤ. Ἀλεξίου, "Ἡ Μινωικὴ θεὰ μεθ' ὑψωμένων τῶν χειρῶν", *Cret. Chron.* 12 (1958), 179-299.
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- Barnett, *NI* : R.D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud ivories in the British Museum* (1957)
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- Boardman, *IGems* : J. Boardman, *Island gems - a study of Greek seals in the geometric and early archaic periods.* (1963).
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- Borda, *Arte Cretese Micenea* : M. Borda, *Arte Cretese Micenea nel Museo Pigorini di Roma* (1946)
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- Buschor, *GV* : E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (1913)
- Canciani, *Bronzi* : F. Canciani, *Bronzi orientali e orientalizzanti a Creta nell' VIII e VII sec. A.C.* (1970)
- Coldstream, *GGP* : J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968)
- Coldstream, *GG* : J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (1977)
- Courbin, *CGA* : P. Courbin, *La Céramique Géométrique de l'Argolide* (1966)
- Däd. K. : *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert* (1970)

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- Desborough, PGP : V.R.d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, (1952).
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Goldreliefs : W. Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief* (1942)
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- Schiffler, *Kentauren* : B. Schiffler, *Die Typologie der Kentauren in der antiken Kunst vom 10. bis zum Ende des 4 Jhs v. Chr.* (1976)
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- Snodgrass, *DAG* : A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, (1971)

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INTRODUCTION

The sphinx is an extremely interesting and important motif in Early Archaic Greek art, but its origin, evolution and nature in this formative period art is still little known. The history of the motif in Early Archaic Greek art was sketched by N.M. Verdelis¹ in 1951 in a short article which is now largely outdated. The Cretan sphinx was favoured with a more detailed study by F. Matz² in 1951 — a study also now outdated, with the new evidence from recent discoveries in Crete. The recent study by Demisch dealing with the sphinx from its inception to the twentieth century does not do justice to the subject, and the few pages devoted to the Greek sphinx offer nothing new, while being full of inaccuracies. The best survey of the motif therefore still remains the brief one given by Desenne³ in his detailed study of the sphinx in the Bronze Age, and the problems concerning the appearance and evolution of the sphinx in Early Archaic Greek art still remain open to discussion.

One of the main problems concerning the sphinx in Early Archaic Greek art is connected with the motif's origin and relation to the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx. A clue with which to tackle this problem afresh was recently given by the discovery of a LG krater in Tekke with sphinx representations (cf. pls. 3-4). The sphinxes on this krater were not only of stylistic and iconographic interest in themselves, they also appeared to be the earliest sphinx representations in Early Archaic Greek art known so far. By that time the title of the earliest sphinx in Greek art belonged to some representations of the Geometric period and the current view was that a gap existed between the latest Minoan-Mycenaean and the earliest Greek representations of sphinxes in Geometric times.⁴ Some terracotta and bronze sphinx figurines from Crete of Late Bronze and Dark Age date were already known,⁵ but they were generally considered as isolated and

retarded pieces of a Bronze Age tradition, not really providing the link between the latest Minoan-Mycenaean and the earliest Greek sphinx representations. On the other hand, the sphinx representations on the newly-discovered krater from Tekke presented, for the first time, undeniable evidence for the existence of the sphinx motif in the Late Dark Ages, in the Protogeometric art of Crete; the possibility of straightforward continuity for the sphinx motif in Crete throughout the Dark Ages was therefore assumed, while the situation for the contemporary art of mainland Greece remained as before. On these grounds the inclusion of Dark Age material in a study of the sphinx motif in Archaic Greek art seemed inevitable.

Another problem concerning the sphinx in Early Archaic Greek art is that related to the specific Oriental origin of the motif's iconographic details. Greek artists in the eighth and seventh century were ceaselessly copying Oriental models easily accessible to them in the form of imported objects. Therefore I considered that a survey of these objects was immediately related to the iconographic problems concerning sphinxes in Early Archaic Greek art and ought to be included in this study. The main core of this thesis however deals with the iconography of the motif in the eighth and seventh centuries. A new detailed typology is included with the intention to define the origin of each type as far as possible. Finally there is an attempt — necessarily small and limited by its very nature — to define the nature and character of the motif during the period under discussion.

The term sphinx has been connected in ancient Greek literature with a fabulous monster consisting of a lion's body and wings and female human head. The term is applied today in a more generic sense for all versions of the same lion-bodied monster: wingless, male or with odd elements like human arms or bovine legs, provided they do not alter radically the monster's character; this use of the term has been kept here. In the description of the poses adopted for the monster terms have been borrowed

from heraldry, without implying that the monster had a heraldic character in Greek art — which it certainly had not.

At the end of this study a detailed catalogue of Early Archaic Greek as well as contemporary Oriental sphinxes found in Greece is appended. The catalogue consists of two sections: I) Greek sphinxes, II) Imported sphinxes. The presentation of the material of the first section is chronological and inside each chronological framework is classed according to the material of the object. An attempt has been made wherever possible for vases to be presented according to painter. Workshop is indicated only when known. In the catalogue sphinxes are meant as winged unless otherwise indicated. All dates are BC.

CHAPTER I

THE SPHINX IN THE DARK AGES

The sphinx is attested throughout the Dark Ages by two distinct types: 1) winged, 2) wingless. Though evidence for both comes predominantly from Crete, a few isolated examples of the wingless type of a LH IIIc date confirm the existence of this type on the Mainland in the Early Dark Ages.

The term Dark Ages is used here generically to define the period between the end of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization and the rise of the Hellenic world.¹ A terminal date for this period in the eighth century is an obvious one. As for the chronological starting point, it has proved impossible to opt for a well-defined date, since many scholars place the end of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization at a time when the first positive signs of destruction appear, others at a less definite point, when the Minoan-Mycenaean cultural traits cease to exist.² Assigning precise chronological limits to the Dark Ages, however, is completely beyond the scope of this study. Moreover, the Dark Ages in Crete, which mainly concern us here, are characterized by a continuity in religious beliefs, which is reflected in cult and art objects and makes every attempt to establish a dividing line in the artistic and cultural evolution of the island both unnecessary and impossible.³ For this reason all sphinx representations of a late Late Bronze Age date that deviate completely from the standard Minoan-Mycenaean type have been considered here, together with the sphinxes of a purely Dark Age date. Although the evidence for this period comes predominantly from Crete, the LH IIIc sphinxes have not been ignored. They have been excluded from the catalogue, as being still in the Mycenaean tradition, but have been treated in the discussion and for reasons of completeness have been briefly listed in n. 61.

THE WINGED TYPE OF SPHINX

The winged type of sphinx is attested in Crete during the Dark Ages by three examples: 1) on a clay relief plaque from Kannia (no. 2, pl. 2.a), 2) on a PG krater from Tekke (no. 1, pls. 3-4), and 3) in a bronze figurine from Agia Triada (no. 17, pl. 5). Of these only the Tekke Krater comes from a closed LPG context; for the other two style remains the only evidence for a more precise dating and therefore it will be discussed in more detail.

Clay relief plaque from Kannia

The plaque (no. 2, pl. 2.a) was found in a shrine excavated in 1958 within a Minoan villa in the area of Mitropolis, at a place called Kannia, near Gortyna.⁴ The style of the plaque suggests a very advanced date, but the pottery from the villa is dated to LM Ia and D. Levi,⁵ the main excavator of the site, considers the shrine as contemporary with the villa. Alexiou,⁶ on the other hand, dates the wheel-made terracotta idols found in the shrine to the LM IIIb period; he maintains that the shrine had stayed in use long after the villa was destroyed, because among the objects found in the shrine was a stirrup jar of a LM IIIb date.⁷ A recent study of the snake tubes found in the shrine has proved them to be of a LM IIIb date⁸ and the treatment of the eye of a terracotta bull rhyton from the same shrine is characteristic of the late LM IIIc and early SM period.⁹ It seems therefore that the sphinx plaque is not an isolated example of a late date among the objects found in the shrine.¹⁰

The style of the sphinxes, which are represented rampant on either side of a palm-tree standing on an altar-shaped object, is characterized by a combination of angular and rounded forms, with strong stylization on the one hand and an obvious devotion to naturalistic forms on the other. The head, with its well-defined chin, the conical headdress and the shape

as well as the modelling of the ear, with a small hole deeply pierced in its centre, bring to mind the wheel-made terracotta Goddesses from Gazi,¹¹ which are dated to the early LM IIIc period.¹² However, the bodies of the sphinxes find close parallels in those of the bull figurines of a late LM IIIc and early SM date.¹³ On the other hand, the strongly emphasized neck brings them closer to the SM Karphi Goddesses.¹⁴ An equally late date is also implied by the stylized palm-tree,¹⁵ which in comparison with the palm-tree represented on an ivory plaque of LH IIIB date from Argos¹⁶ looks almost geometric in style. It can be assumed therefore that the date of the Kannia plaque must be placed somewhere round the end of LM IIIc and the beginning of the SM period.

The bodies of the sphinxes on the Kannia plaque are very stylized, but the tail, which is shown curling upwards, suggests a feline character. Therefore, the legs are summarily rendered on stylistic, not iconographic grounds. The positioning of the wing high up on the back, at the base of the neck, is also a stylistic convention common in sphinxes of the LH IIIB period.¹⁷ The modelling of the wing in three parallel bands, however, is closely following an Oriental iconographic tradition.¹⁸

The small, conical headdress has been explained as a helmet.¹⁹ Conical helmets are not favoured in Minoan art,²⁰ but they are popular in contemporary Oriental art.²¹ On the other hand, a similar conical headdress shown on female terracotta idols of LM IIIB or c and SM date has been explained as an Orientalizing "tiara".²² The same type of headdress provided with a long volute hanging from its top, is met with on the sphinx represented on a gold ring of a LM IIIB date from Zapher Papoura²³ which closely follows North Syrian models.²⁴ The wheel-made terracotta Goddesses from the shrine at Kannia²⁵ are also represented with a similar "tiara". Therefore, it can be assumed that the sphinxes on the Kannia plaque are shown with a "tiara" rather than a helmet.

The rampant attitude in which the sphinxes are represented is very rare in Minoan-Mycenaean art, found mainly on sphinx representations from Eastern Mediterranean areas, such as Rhodos²⁶ or Cyprus,²⁷ but it is a typical pose for sphinxes in the Orient.²⁸ Moreover, the composition of two rampant sphinxes on either side of a tree is a purely Oriental schema,²⁹ otherwise totally unknown in Minoan-Mycenaean art. The orientalizing character of the plaque is so strong that the plaque can easily be mistaken for an Oriental import; however, the style of the sphinxes and especially the modelling of the head with the characteristic treatment of the ear, indicates beyond doubt that the plaque was modelled in Crete under the influence of Oriental models.

The Tekke krater

The krater (no. 1, pls. 3-4) was found in a chamber tomb excavated in 1975 at Tekke, near Knossos. There were two contemporary burials in the tomb and both contained vases of a LPG date. The krater, which was found at the back of the tomb, "cannot reasonably be dissociated from these".³⁰ The shape of the krater is paralleled by several examples of LPG kraters;³¹ thus, the date of the vase, as suggested by the closed context in which it was found, is confirmed. In terms of absolute dating the krater belongs to the middle of the ninth century,³² which is a very early date for the figured scenes depicted on both sides of the vase: a man savaged by two lions on one side (pl. 4.b), two antithetical sphinxes and a water bird on the other (pls. 3 and 4.a).

Figure-drawing is not unknown in Cretan PG vase painting³³ and the latest finds enlarge the repertoire of Cretan PG figure scenes.³⁴ But the style and technique of the PG figure drawing are quite different from that used on the Tekke krater. The PG drawing is mainly in silhouette and the PG style is always austere and geometric in spirit. On the Tekke krater,

however, only the man devoured by the lions follows these geometric conventions. The lions are drawn mainly in outline and, though the front part of their body is triangular, the style of the drawing is less geometric than that of the man. This impression is emphasized by the cross-hatching that decorates their rounded hindquarters.³⁵ On the other hand, cross-hatching is used almost entirely for the sphinxes which thus appear to be nearly free from any geometric convention in the technique of drawing.

Even more alien to the Geometric tradition is the style in which they are pictured with fleshy rounded forms and plump, unrestrained design. The style of the sphinxes represented on the Tekke krater is unique in PG Cretan art. Nor does it seem to have antecedents in the Late Bronze Age. It is actually a style that completely lacks any sense of geometric spirit and design; its presence in the PG art of Crete can only be explained in terms of a strong foreign, most probably Oriental, influence. In fact the closest parallels to this style are found in contemporary North Syrian art.³⁶

However, there is a basic element in the style of the sphinxes represented on the Tekke krater that links them with contemporary PG terracotta and bronze figurines: this is the rendering of the neck which is shown large and long turning into the head at the end in the manner of the Cretan PG human figurines in terracotta and bronze.³⁷ Several other similarities can also be drawn between the sphinxes of the Tekke krater and the PG human figurines, like the eye, which is shown circular with a dot at the centre and can be paralleled to the pellet eyes of the terracotta figurines pierced at the centre.³⁸ The mouth of the sphinxes on the Tekke krater, unlike the chin, is depicted with some emphasis, and creates the impression of a bird-like profile, so it has been suggested that the monsters might be griffins.³⁹ However, the profile is completely human and can be paralleled

by the profile of the contemporary terracotta figurines.⁴⁰

The human character is emphasized even more by the headdress. It is a strange, conical headdress with a horizontal "tail" extending behind. At first sight, its form brings to mind the conical headdresses worn by the Karphi and Gazi Goddesses as well as the headdress of the sphinxes on the Kannia plaque. Its horizontal "tail", however, brings it closer to the Egyptian "*Double Crown*"⁴¹ found on Egyptian and Egyptianizing sphinxes, which were easily accessible in Crete in the ninth century on imported objects like ivories or bronze bowls (cf. below, chapter on imported sphinxes). Since the style of the sphinxes on the Tekke krater strongly suggests North Syrian models, it is very possible that their headdress is in fact an *interpretatio graeca* of the Double Crown shown on the Egyptianizing sphinxes on North Syrian objects.

North Syrian models are also suggested by the leonine bodies of the sphinxes, with the characteristic narrow loins, fleshy thighs and upward-pointing tail. An obvious attempt to differentiate the thighs, manifested by painting a slightly different motif on each one, can be closely paralleled on North Syrian sphinxes of a ninth century date (cf. pl. 171). The cross-hatching, which as an isolated motif decorates the thigh of the left-hand side sphinx on the Tekke krater, can be explained as the artist's attempt to imitate stylizations found on North Syrian sphinxes such as for instance the famous flame-pattern.

The dependence of the sphinxes of the Tekke krater on such North Syrian models is further emphasized by the small triangular projection hanging from the elbow; while this stylization is unparalleled on sphinxes in Minoan-Mycenaean art,⁴² it is a common iconographic convention on sphinxes in North Syrian art of the ninth century⁴³ (cf. pl. 171).

Bronze figurine from Agia Triada

The bronze figurine from Agia Triada (no. 17, pl. 5) is an unusual and controversial piece. Dunbabin,⁴⁴ who mistook it for a winged horse, suggested a Syrian origin for it. Hermann,⁴⁵ following Dunbabin, explained it also as a horse and grouped it with the imported Oriental attachments that flooded the Greek world during the eighth and seventh centuries. Recently, Heilmeyer⁴⁶ suggested that it was of a late Bronze Age date, but since it actually remains unpublished its style must be considered in some detail.

At first sight the figurine resembles Syrian work, and the general impression of the face in particular brings to mind Syrian figurines. A closer inspection of the Agia Triada figurine, however, reveals that it has nothing which is genuinely Syrian. Firstly, the neck is large and long, turning into the head at its end in the characteristic manner of SM and PG Cretan figurines.⁴⁷ Strictly speaking there is no head at all, just the face formed at the end of the neck, while all Syrian figurines, in contrast to those in the SM and PG styles of Crete, are distinguished by a well-defined head with a global crown.⁴⁸ Besides, the Agia Triada figurine lacks the typically wide and deep-set eyes, which are another characteristic of the Syrian figurines. Instead, the eyes of the Agia Triade sphinx figurine are formed as small protruding bulbs in the SM and PG tradition of Cretan bronze figurines.⁴⁹ The almost triangular shape of the chin distinguishes the Agia Triada figurine from those in the Syrian style, in which the chin is large and rounded. In general, the face of the Agia Triada figurine with its short forehead, triangular chin and prominent ears can easily be paralleled among SM and PG bronze figurines of Crete. The lack of any indication of hair or mouth is quite common among Cretan bronze figurines of the Dark Ages,⁵⁰ while the elongated body with short legs and tail is also in the same tradition. Therefore, it can be assumed that the

Agia Triada bronze figurine was made in Crete in the late Dark Ages under strong North Syrian influence.

The iconography of this figurine, mainly the headdress, strongly underlines its North Syrian connections. This is a tall, almost fan-shaped headdress with an upward projection on the top. It is closely paralleled by the fan-shaped headdresses of the Syrian figurines of the "Plumed Helmet" group.⁵¹ The headdress of these figurines has been explained⁵² as an abbreviated form of the more elaborate fan-like plumed headdress of some Syrian figurines of an earlier date.⁵³ There seems to be an undoubted iconographic relation between the headdress of the Syrian figurines of the "Plumed Helmet" group and that of the Agia Triada figurine. However, the iconographic relation is not enough evidence to explain the headdress of the Agia Triada figurine as a helmet. On the contrary, the rather free rendering of the Syrian prototype suggests that the motif was rather mechanically copied without any particular attention as to the prototype's original meaning.

Turning to the body of the Agia Triada sphinx figurine we find little evidence as to the kind of animal represented. In the Dark Ages it is usually the tail which gives to the body of the animal figurine its specific identity. For instance, on bull or horse figurines it is usually represented long and hanging downwards.⁵⁴ But quite often the emphasis is put on the head and the tail is carelessly modelled small⁵⁵ as on the Agia Triada sphinx figurine. Therefore, it can be assumed that in the Agia Triada sphinx figurine the artist was not particularly concerned in representing a specific kind of animal, since he had placed his emphasis on representing the human head after some North Syrian model.

According to the evidence presented above, therefore, the iconography of the winged type of sphinx attested in Crete by a few examples throughout the Dark Ages is radically different from that of the so-called *Minoan-Mycenaean* type of sphinx.⁵⁶ The latter is usually represented with a pair of displayed wings and its leonine body is often decorated with one or two spiral ornaments on the breast or shoulders (pl. 2.b). The hall-mark of the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx, however, is a kind of plumed diadem that crowns its head. Since this type of sphinx is never represented with a beard, but is often shown with a necklace, which is a female characteristic in Minoan-Mycenaean art, the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx has been explained as female.⁵⁷

The sphinx, in contrast to the griffin, has never been a popular motif in Minoan art⁵⁸ and there had not been an influential type of sphinx in Crete before the LM IIIa period, when the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx was adopted.⁵⁹ Henceforth the motif has been consistently used down to the end of the Bronze Age. The sphinxes on the Kannia plaque are the first to deviate from the established Minoan-Mycenaean type. They lack all the characteristics of the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx, mainly the plumed crown and the shoulder spirals, and inaugurate a new type of *Orientalizing sphinx*, which is attested by isolated examples throughout the Dark Ages in Crete only.

The situation is different for contemporary art from the Mainland. There appears to be a gap between the latest Mycenaean and the earliest Greek representations of sphinxes in the Geometric period.⁶⁰ *The sphinx representations of the LH IIIc period*, on the other hand, though they are not of the typical Minoan-Mycenaean type, are undoubtedly in the same tradition.⁶¹ For instance, the plumed crown, slightly stylized, still survives on the sphinx of a sarcophagus from Tanagra (pl. 22.b), while the shoulder spirals occur more often, though now adapted in new forms: once they are represented as a horizontal double volute on the chest and create

an impression of human breasts;⁶² elsewhere they are transformed into an S-like ornament placed either on the rump or the flanks of the sphinx (cf. pl. 22.a).

In spite of the durability of the Mycenaean tradition, however, the LH IIIc representations of sphinxes present elements indicative of a foreign influence: in one case the sphinx is shown with a bovine tail (pl. 22.b), elsewhere it is provided with bull's legs, though the upward direction of the tail still implies the feline character of the body (pl. 22.a; 23). Bull-bodied monsters with a human head are completely unknown in Mycenaean art and the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx is always represented with a leonine body. The earliest representation of a sphinx with a hybrid body, partly bovine, partly leonine, occurs on a Mycenaean krater from Enkomi ⁶³ (pl. 23.a), which is dated to the LC IIc, the equivalent of LH IIIb. The krater is decorated in the local "Rude Style", which suggests a Cypriot manufacture of the vase and therefore explains why these sphinxes had been so strongly influenced by Oriental models. Bull-bodied monsters with a human head were extremely common in the Orient during the second millennium⁶⁴ and according to the evidence of the Enkomi krater they must have been accessible in Cyprus during the LC IIc period. At that time Cyprus' relations with the Mainland were close and artistic interactions strong.⁶⁵ It was easy for the type of Orientalizing bull-legged sphinx therefore to find its way towards the Mainland, after it had been assimilated by Mycenaeans in Cyprus. The earliest evidence for the type on the Mainland is given by the bull-legged sphinx on a pyxis from Mycenae (pl. 23.b) dated to the end of the LH IIIb and the beginning of the LH IIIc period. The LH IIIc representations of sphinxes therefore present a mixture of Oriental and Mycenaean elements and give evidence of the gradual *disintegration* of the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx on the Mainland. In spite of the new, Orientalizing elements, the sphinxes of the LH IIIc period belong to

the end of a development and can be explained only in terms of the Minoan-Mycenaean type of sphinx.

On the contrary, the more or less contemporary sphinxes depicted on the Kannia plaque present a completely new type, which seems to have been *introduced* to Crete directly from the Orient. There is nothing in the type betraying a Minoan-Mycenaean source, apart from style, which thus confirms that the plaque was locally made.

Equally Orientalizing are the other two examples of winged sphinxes attested in Crete in the late Dark Ages. In these both style and iconography are strongly dependent upon North Syrian models, which implies that North Syrian art played in fact an increasingly important role in Crete during the Dark Ages. The occurrence of the winged type of sphinx in Crete in the Dark Ages, therefore, can be explained, in terms of direct North Syrian influence, which resulted in the type's complete break with the Minoan-Mycenaean iconographic tradition.

THE WINGLESS TYPE OF SPHINX

The wingless type of sphinx is attested throughout the Dark Ages by a large group of terracotta and bronze figurines from Crete (nos. 3-16). No figurines of this type are known from the Mainland, but the type is attested there in vase-painting on a LH IIIc krater from Lefkandi (pl. 22.a) and, in a variation with human arms, on a sarcophagus from Tanagra (pl. 22.b). A different variety of the type, with two human heads, has been found ⁱⁿ at Cyprus.⁶⁶

Owing to their context and style the Cypriot examples are dated to the eleventh century, but the date of the Cretan figurines is much more difficult to assess because they come mostly from unstratified and mixed contexts; thus in almost complete absence of any external evidence, the only criteria for a more precise dating of the figurines remains their style. This seems to present a progressive stylization, which we consider as implying a chronological sequence.⁶⁷

The Dark Age figurines of wingless sphinxes can be classified into three different groups according to their material and the technique in which they were made: 1) Terracotta, wheel-made figurines, 2) Terracotta, hand-made figurines, 3) Bronze figurines.

The earliest and most elaborate are the figurines of the first group, while both the hand-made and bronze figurines seem rather crude versions of the wheel-made ones

Wheel-made terracotta figurines

The wheel-made figurines form a small, but interesting group, which includes the largest and finest of the wingless sphinx figurines. The group consists of three, mostly fragmentary, figurines (nos. 3-5). They are moderately large, measuring an average of about 20 cm in length and

25 cm in height.⁶⁸ No. 3 (pl. 6) is the best preserved lacking only the legs and a small part of the tail. From no. 4 (pl. 7) and no. 5 (pl. 8) only the head and part of the back have survived. Since this small part of the back, however, is horizontal in relation to the neck, there is no doubt that they had an animal body.

All the figurines of this group come from an open-air sanctuary, the "Piazzale dei Sacelli", at Agia Triada, which contained votive objects and pottery ranging in date from LM IIIb to Geometric.⁶⁹ Several other human heads from wheel-made terracotta figurines of exactly the same style can be seen in the Herakleion Museum; they come mostly from the same deposit at Agia Triada⁷⁰ (cf. pls. 9-10.a), but there are others from Patso,⁷¹ Knossos⁷² (pl. 10.b) and elsewhere. None of these, however, is from a stratified deposit and, therefore, sound external criteria for the dating of the group are still lacking.

Typical characteristics of all these heads are: elongated face slightly turned to one side and tilted a little upwards; a huge, dominant nose with pierced nostrils; a large, oval chin covered with painted decoration, while additional painted motifs decorate the cheeks; protruding circular eyes, plastically modelled and fringed by a painted line on which small vertical strokes of paint indicate the eyelashes, while the centre of the bulb is painted black to indicate the pupil of the eye; ears, hair and crown (which sits very low on the forehead) are usually modelled separately, and decorated in paint.

Exact parallels for this group of terracotta figurines are lacking. The closest ones are the Goddesses from Gazi,⁷³ which, however, have a much softer modelling than that of the heads of the wheel-made sphinx figurines. The eyes of the Gazi Goddesses are still almond-shaped in the Minoan tradition, while those of the sphinx figurines are circular with the indication of eyelashes, characteristic of the end of the LM IIIc and the beginning of

the SM period.⁷⁴ A similar date is also suggested by the style of the body as evidenced by that of no. 3, which is stylized in an almost geometric manner; its simple, cylindrical form is closely matched by the bodies of the wheel-made terracotta animal figurines of the LM IIIc and the SM period,⁷⁵ as well as by those of the sphinxes on the Kannia plaque (cf. pl. 2.a). The painted motifs that decorate both body⁷⁶ and face⁷⁷ of the sphinx figurines are all typical of the late LM IIIc or early SM period, thus confirming the dating of the group suggested by the plastic forms.

The only evidence for the kind of animal represented by the body of these figurines comes from no. 3, which is stylized in an almost geometric manner, but possesses a long bovine tail; this is shown clinging to the buttocks and coiling upwards over the rump in a rendering characteristic of the tail of bull figurines throughout the Minoan period.⁷⁸ Evidence for a purely bovine body is provided by the two bicephalic monsters from Cyprus.⁷⁹ On the other hand, the LH IIIc representations of wingless sphinxes have a hybrid body, partly bovine, partly leonine, thus making ambiguous the incomplete evidence for a purely bovine body in the wingless sphinx figurines.

However, the bovine body of a headless, wheel-made terracotta figurine from Agia Triada,⁸⁰ which lacks the dewlap and has the breast modelled vertically in a manner similar to that of no. 3, has been explained as belonging to a sphinx. In this case this must have been one of the earliest sphinx figurines, since its painted decoration and naturalistically rendered hooves suggest a date early in the LM IIIc period.

The characteristic vertical rendering of the neck and the lack of dewlap attested on the sphinx figurines does not appear on the bull figurines in Crete earlier than the SM period.⁸¹ Therefore, the models for the LM IIIc sphinx figurines must be sought on the Mainland, where

the wheel-made terracotta bull figurines are similarly modelled already from the LH IIIc period.⁸²

The painted decoration on the body of no. 3, which consists of a group of short, slanting parallel lines meeting the vertical lines on the shoulders at an acute angle, has been explained as indicating the wings. But similar linear motifs occur on all the terracotta animal figurines of the LM IIIc and SM periods. On the other hand plastically modelled wings on terracotta figurines are not unknown in contemporary Cretan art.⁸³ It seems therefore that the painted decoration on the body of no. 3 was not "functional" but simply decorative.

The wheel-made sphinx figurines, as well as the remaining heads of the same group, are usually shown wearing a crown, which is plastically modelled and decorated by various painted motifs. The crown in a more elaborate, plumed form is a characteristic of the Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx and it also occurs, combined with various attributes, on the female terracotta idols from Crete. Its presence on the Cretan figurines, therefore, seems to imply both a sphinxian and a female character for the monster.

However, the definition of the sex of these figurines is a much more complicated problem,⁸⁴ because at least some of them are definitely shown as bearded (cf. no. 3 pl. 6), while others have the chin decorated with a painted motif.

A chin solidly painted like that of the figurine no. 3 (pl. 6) or the fragmentary terracotta head from Agia Triada in Herakleion (pl. 9.b), can easily be explained as bearded, but it is not easy to regard every single pattern on the chin as indicating a beard, especially when similar motifs occur on the cheeks of the same figurines. Face decoration consisting of a motif painted on the chin and another on each cheek of the same figurine is unusual in Crete outside the group of wheel-made, terracotta sphinx figurines.⁸⁵ On the Mainland it occurs on the stucco human head from

Mycenae⁸⁶ and on some large wheel-made human idols from Mycenae⁸⁷ and Melos.⁸⁸ Its occurrence on the Cretan figurines, therefore, further emphasizes the group's connections with the Mycenaean Mainland. But the sex of these large and elaborately decorated Mycenaean idols, as well as the Mycenaean figurines in general, is very problematic,⁸⁹ because they often combine female breasts with a solidly painted chin. Some of these Mycenaean figurines, for instance the so-called "bearded Aphrodite"⁹⁰ or the recently discovered "Lady from Phylakopi" have been claimed as hermaphrodite.⁹¹ However, the occurrence of face decoration on figurines both with and without human breasts seems to imply that it was after all a kind of ritual tattooing, regardless of the idols' sex. Accordingly, only those Cretan figurines which are shown with a clearly indicated beard can be explained as definitely male. The masculinity of the figurine in this case is not contradicted by the long hair, since many SM figurines of men are shown with long hair.⁹²

Hand-made terracotta figurines

The hand-made terracotta figurines of sphinxes form a relatively large and interesting group; it consists of nine pieces (nos. 6-14) none of which has been preserved intact. They are solidly modelled and much smaller than their hollow, wheel-made counterparts; the hand-made sphinx figurines, when complete, measure on average about half the size of the wheel-made figurines, that is about 8-12 cm high and 10-13 cm long.

The majority of the hand-made sphinx figurines were found together with the wheel-made figurines in the mixed context of the "Piazzale dei Sacelli" at Agia Triada.⁹³ There is also one from Phaistos⁹⁴ (no. 7) and one from the Spring Chamber at Knossos (no. 14). The latter is the only one that comes from a closed, dated context, but even that context spans a period from SM down to PG times.⁹⁵ Therefore, the best evidence for the dating of

the wingless figurines of the hand-made group still remains their style.

The style of these hand-made terracotta figurines is of two kinds: one in the Minoan tradition, which we shall name *Minoan*, the other in the Mycenaean tradition, which we shall call *Mycenaean* style. The distinction of the styles is made on the basis of the figurines' plastic forms, because the figurines of both styles present a similar surface decoration in a variety of techniques.

Painted decoration occurs on all of them, but it is now greatly worn and only on nos. 11 (pl. 14.a) and 14 (pl. 16) is still clearly visible; it consists of panels with hatching or cross-hatching, which is a kind of decoration popular in Crete during both the SM and PG periods.⁹⁶

Punched decoration occurs on nos. 6 (pl. 11), 9 (pl. 13.b), 11 (pl. 14.a) and 13 (pl. 15). On no. 9 it is combined with incision and on the rest simply with painting. This type of decoration seems to have been familiar in Crete throughout the Dark Ages.⁹⁷ The punched holes are usually small and sometimes still contain inserted knobs of clay (cf. pl. 12.a);⁹⁸ larger holes also occur, implying that they were deliberately made to retain some other material such as bone, stone or shells.⁹⁹ A good example of this is displayed by no. 6; here the whole surface of the figurine is punched with small holes roughly of the same size; however three of them, one marking the lobe of each ear and one on the base of the neck are deeper and wider, thus giving the impression that they were deliberately made and intended to hold some foreign material indicating earrings and perhaps a kind of necklace. Generally, however, the holes seem to have been left unfilled and were simply decorative by themselves.

Stamped decoration occurs on no. 12 (pl. 14.b). It consists of rosettes carefully executed in rows all over the surface. This is a very rare and elaborate kind of surface decoration attested only in Crete in

the Dark Ages.¹⁰¹ A similar, but much inferior technique occurs on some hand-made ware of the PG period on the Mainland.¹⁰²

A much more common kind of decoration in the contemporary art of the Mainland is the *incision*,¹⁰³ which is also found on sphinx figurines no. 9 (pl. 13.b) and 10 (pl. 13.c).

All the above techniques of surface decoration of hand-made terracotta figurines seem to have been current in Crete throughout the Dark Ages. Therefore, they offer no evidence for a closer dating and we have to turn to style to obtain a chronological sequence for the hand-made terracotta figurines.

In the figurines of the *Minoan style* (nos. 6-12) emphasis has been placed on rendering the human face as naturalistically as progressive stylization allows, while the body is always modelled in a geometric manner. According to this principle the earliest of the hand-made figurines in the Minoan style seems to be no. 6 (pl. 11). The modelling of the face, with the well-defined chin, prominent nose, rounded protuberant eyes and plastically modelled crown rising immediately above the eyes, all closely recall the heads of the wheel-made sphinx figurines. On the other hand, the head is here hollowed at the top and lacks the plastic modelling of the hair, ears and mouth that characterizes the wheel-made figurines. Nevertheless, all these features seem to be due to technical factors and the style of no. 6 is closely related to that of the wheel-made figurines. Therefore, the handmade terracotta figurine no. 6 must be dated to somewhere around the end of the LH IIIc and the beginning of the SM period. No. 7 from Phaistos seems roughly contemporary, while no. 8 (pl. 13.a) is slightly more stylized and therefore possibly later in date. No. 9 (pl. 13.b) has the flat face typical of the SM terracotta¹⁰⁴ and bronze figurines¹⁰⁵ on which only the plastically modelled nose stands out.

The progressive stylization seems to have reached its peak on nos. 10

(pl. 13.c), 11 (pl. 14.a) and 12 (pl. 14.b). These three figurines are rendered in a true PG style.¹⁰⁶ Their basic characteristic is the long, imposing neck turning into the head at the end¹⁰⁷ by the addition of plastically modelled human features emphasized in paint or by incision and punching. They are all shown with a crown and no. 10 (pl. 13.c) presents also a moustache and two plaits hanging on the neck.

The sphinx figurines in the *Mycenaean style* (nos. 13-14) are characterized by a bird-like face like that of the Mycenaean hand-made terracotta figurines.¹⁰⁸ Mycenaean figurines were very rarely imported to Crete,¹⁰⁹ but their style was imitated by Cretan artists on hand-made terracotta figurines throughout the Dark Ages.¹¹⁰ From the two preserved specimens of sphinx figurines in this style, no. 13 (pl. 15) seems to be the earliest since it is the plumpest. No. 14 (pl. 16) is more slender and geometric in spirit. It was found in the Spring Chamber, which contained both SM and PG vases, but the style of the figurine seems to be clearly Protogeometric since the neck is long, turning into the head at the end.¹¹¹

Turning to the iconography of the hand-made sphinx figurines we find little conclusive evidence. Their bodies are very stylized and their legs and tail are usually missing so that no definite conclusions can be drawn about the kind of animal meant for the body. Nor does the surface decoration help towards an iconographic conclusion. Only one thing is certain: that they were meant to be wingless because in none of them is there a deliberate attempt to define a wing.

The head is always shown with a crown and the hair, when indicated, is long, rendered in isolated locks hanging on the shoulders. There is a case (no. 10, pl. 13.c) where a moustache is clearly indicated, but in all the other cases there seems to be no evidence for defining the figurine's sex.

Bronze figurines

Only two bronze figurines of wingless sphinxes have been preserved: no. 16 in the British Museum recorded "from Crete" and no. 15 from Patso. The cave with the Shrine of Hermes Kraniaios at Patso, in which the figurine was found, has never been excavated, but chance finds show that it was used as a cult place from the LM I down to the Roman period.¹¹² Both figurines are very small, averaging about 4-5 cm in height and 5-6 cm in length. Therefore, they are the smallest of the sphinx figurines.

Number 15 (pl. 17) has a very stylized body, modelled summarily, especially on the hind quarters. By contrast, the head and forepart of the body are rendered in more detail and with some emphasis. The forelegs are extended slightly forward and together with the very short hind legs create the impression that the figurine was shown in a *demi-couchant* attitude, which contrasts with the *statant* pose of all the other sphinx figurines. Another marked difference from these is that the neck of no. 15, following the iconography of Minoan bull figurines, is shown projecting forward instead of being vertical. A similar devotion to the Minoan tradition is implied by the modelling of the hair in isolated locks coiled up at the end. Two of these, which fall on the breast, are coiled up with such emphasis that they create the impression of human breasts and they have been misinterpreted as such by Halbherr.¹¹³

The figurine's obvious dependance upon Minoan models seems to suggest a date early in the SM period. Its face with the short, well-defined chin, small protruding circular eyes and low forehead is closely paralleled by SM bronze figurines.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the disproportioning of its body is typical of the SM style of both human and animal bronze figurines.¹¹⁵

On the contrary, the style of the bronze figurine no. 16 (pls. 18-19) is characterized by better balanced, though still unequal proportions. The emphasis is also put here on the modelling of the head and forepart of the

body, but the downward direction of the tail together with the elongated body create a kind of balance. The whole style of the figurine, especially the large imposing neck emphatically decorated by a necklace in relief and the formation of the head strongly suggest a date in the PG period.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the triangular face with the pointed chin and small protruding, circular eyes finds exact parallels in the PG bronze figurines from Kalamafka¹¹⁷ and Patso.¹¹⁸ Still, a kind of devotion in the Minoan tradition can be seen in the rendering of the hair in isolated locks hanging on the neck by the necklace and on the double volute in relief that decorates each shoulder.

The iconography of these bronze sphinx figurines is interesting, but not very informative. On both, the body is of an unspecified kind of quadruped and the short tail, otherwise characteristic of deer, seems to have been imposed here by the material and its technique.

The only possible evidence for the sex of these figurines is provided by the necklace on no. 16; this is known from female figurines,¹¹⁹ but it is also characteristic of the Minoan-Mycenaean type of sphinx. Its presence on no. 16 therefore seems to imply both a sphinxian and a female character for it.

The double volute on the shoulders of no. 16 has been explained as a stylized version of the wing.¹²⁰ However, its occurrence on both the winged and the wingless sphinx on the Lefkandi krater (pl. 22.a) suggests that it is simply an element reminiscent of the Minoan-Mycenaean type of sphinx.¹²¹ Its presence only on no. 16 among all the Cretan sphinx figurines strongly emphasizes the very traditional character of the metal-work in Crete in the Dark Ages.¹²²

According to the evidence presented above *the wingless type* of sphinx seems to have been the sphinx type *par excellence* in the Dark Ages. It is attested in Crete throughout the period, while on the Mainland it is evidenced only in LH IIIc by a single example in vase painting (pl. 22.a) and, in a variation with human arms, on a sarcophagus from Tanagra (pl. 22.b).

In spite of the type's existence in painting, however, there is, so far, no extant example of a wingless sphinx figurine from the Mainland. Dessenne, following Milchhoefer, records such a figurine from "Spata or Menidi",¹²³ but I have not been able to trace it among the objects from Spata and Menidi now in the National Museum at Athens. The stucco human head from Mycenae,¹²⁴ as well as some large human heads of wheel-made terracotta figurines from the Mainland of a LH IIIc date, have been considered as belonging to sphinxes;¹²⁵ after the recent discovery of the large wheel-made terracotta human idols from Tiryns, Mycenae¹²⁶ and recently Melos,¹²⁷ however, it seems more possible that these large terracotta heads attributed to sphinxes belonged in fact to human idols.¹²⁸ A "human" head of a hand-made terracotta figurine from Tell Abu Hawam is considered by E. French¹²⁹ to belong to a Mycenaean sphinx figurine of local manufacture. The head, which has large animal ears, finds its closest parallel in a hand-made terracotta figurine from Delos of a Dark Age date, which has also been claimed as a sphinx (pl. 21.b).¹³⁰ Both the Tell Abu Hawam and the Delos figurines are now in a very bad state of preservation, but their facial characteristics together with the animal ears strongly suggest that they are animal rather than sphinx figurines. Therefore, the Cretan figurines still remain the only definite evidence for this type of figurine in the Dark Ages.

The iconography of the wingless type of sphinx, as attested both by sphinx figurines and sphinx representations in the Dark Ages, betrays

several elements of the Minoan-Mycenaean tradition. However, the sphinx type itself, being wingless and often male, strongly contrasts with that of the winged, female Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx. On the other hand, the lack of wings frequently combined with the presence of a beard suggests Egyptian¹³¹ or Egyptianizing models for the type.

Wingless, Egyptianizing sphinxes are completely unknown in Mycenaean art, but they do occur in Crete throughout the Minoan period. In fact, this is the earliest type of sphinx attested in Minoan art¹³² (pl. 20.a); it enters the Minoan repertoire in MM II, i.e. much earlier than the winged type of sphinx, which appears in the MM III period.¹³³ A small, steatite figurine of a wingless, reclining sphinx from Agia Triada¹³⁴ gives evidence for the type in LM I, while a recently discovered terracotta relief plaque cut out in the form of a wingless, reclining sphinx with a long beard (pl. 20.b) shows that the type was still current in LM IIIa. The style of these objects suggests that their immediate models had been Oriental rather than Egyptian.

Egyptianizing, wingless sphinxes are known from the Orient, though they had never been popular there before the thirteenth century, when the type suddenly became current in North Syrian art.¹³⁵ Such an Oriental example of the Egyptianizing, wingless sphinx, is attested on a gold relief plaque of a late thirteenth century date found at Delos (pl. 21.a);¹³⁶ the sphinx on this plaque, which is in North Syrian style, is shown with frontal head and beardless, but the wingless, leonine body leaves no doubt that this is the North Syrian version of the Egyptian type of sphinx.

The wingless sphinxes attested in Crete and on the Mainland in the Dark Ages, however, often present some bovine features on their body, which raise the question of the monster's identification as sphinx. Therefore, with regard to the Cretan figurines, several other explanations have been offered: there have been speculations that they might be minotaurs;¹³⁷

others have seen them as centaurs.¹³⁸ Banti,¹³⁹ who published two of the best preserved examples (nos. 3 and 11), identified them as sphinxes, but she did that rather reluctantly because they lack wings. Dessenne,¹⁴⁰ sharing Banti's scepticism, concluded that they were closer to sphinxes than any other monster but preferred to classify them as an aberrant type of sphinx, while Platon¹⁴¹ and Laviosa¹⁴² accepted them definitely as sphinxes. Recently, the discussion was taken up again by Nicholls who concluded that it was preferable to identify them as sphinxes "for various reasons, including the strong resemblances existing between them and unmistakable representations of sphinxes, e.g. on a relief plaque from Kannia".¹⁴³

The monster known as the "minotaur" in later Greek art¹⁴⁴ is also known in Minoan art¹⁴⁵ and it consists of a human body with a bull's head. The centaur, as known in later Greek art, first appears in the PG period in the terracotta wheel-made figurine from Lefkandi¹⁴⁶ and combines a horse's body with a human bust and arms. The occurrence of human arms on the wingless monster of the Tanagra sarcophagus (pl. 22.b) can be taken as implying a derivation of the Lefkandi centaur from these characteristic wingless monsters of the Dark Ages. Iconographically, however, the two types as such are quite distinct.

On the other hand, there seems to be no definite evidence, so far, for a purely bovine body for the wingless figurines from Crete and the type is shown with a hybrid body on the LH IIIc representations from the Mainland. The evidence of the Cypriot bicephalic monsters cannot be taken into consideration because, though they are derivative of the Cretan figurines, they belong to a completely different sphere of influence. In spite of the few bovine elements, however, the iconography of both the Cretan figurines and the LH IIIc representations of the type implies a purely *sphinxian* character for them (cf. crown, volutes, necklace, hybrid body

with feline elements etc.). Finally, the presence of a winged sphinx of the disintegrating Minoan-Mycenaean type together with a wingless, but otherwise similar monster on the same vase (pl. 22.a) seems to disperse every doubt as to the monster's identification as sphinx.

This is a new type of wingless, often male sphinx, which appears in Greece in the opening years of the Dark Ages. It deviates from the orthodox type of Egyptianizing sphinx because its body often presents bovine features. The latter are Oriental elements which seem to have been assimilated earlier on the disintegrating type of Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx (cf. Supra p. 13). Therefore, it can be assumed that the creation of the wingless type of sphinx has been the result of a *fusion* of two different iconographic traditions: that of the Egyptianizing wingless sphinx, known from Minoan and Oriental art, and that of the disintegrating Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx as attested in the LH IIIb/c periods.

Whether the type was originally created in Crete or on the Mainland is difficult to say according to the present evidence. It is true that the Cretan figurines have many elements which suggest close links with the Mainland like the vertical modelling of the breast, the face decoration and the bovine features of the body. But the evidence from the Mainland is incomplete, since the LH IIIc representations of the type are roughly contemporary with the Cretan figurines and no sphinx figurine is known from the Mainland, so far. Therefore, any definite conclusion as to the type's priority over Crete or the Mainland will have to wait for future discoveries.

CHAPTER II

THE SPHINX IN THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

The sphinx is attested in Greek art throughout the Geometric period by several distinct forms. In the first half of the eighth century a *male, helmeted sphinx* of North Syrian origin is manifested in two different types: *winged* and *wingless*. The latter is a rather isolated type found only on a group of Attic gold bands with impressed decoration. By contrast, the winged type, which first appears in Crete on the products of a metalwork school of immigrant craftsmen, is more widespread. In Crete it creates an iconographic tradition reflected also in Cretan Late Geometric vase painting. Outside Crete the type is met with on a clay relief stand from Miletos and at the end of the century a similar type is found on a group of Late Geometric East Greek ivory seals. In the second half of the century a similar type of male sphinx, often bearded and helmeted, appears in Crete in another school of immigrant craftsmen also coming from North Syria.

Another type of *sphinx with equine body*, most probably deriving from Cypriot models appears in Crete in the second half of the eighth century in vase painting and bronzework.

Finally the winged *female sphinx* makes its appearance in Crete on the products of metalwork in the second half of the eighth century; at the same time the type is evidenced on the Mainland in Late Geometric vase painting.

THE WINGED MALE SPHINX

The winged male sphinx is the earliest type of sphinx in the Geometric period, occurring mainly on objects of Cretan metalwork. Outside Crete, it is found in isolated examples in East Greece on a clay stand from Miletos and on a group of Late Geometric ivory seals in the form of a recumbent lion.

Cretan metalwork

Metalwork was a flourishing industry in Crete in the eighth century and the corpus of Cretan objects in bronze, gold etc., is continually being increased. All types of objects are represented (belts, quivers, jewellery, bowls etc., the majority being shields). They are all decorated in a rich strongly Orientalizing style, which has given rise to a long dispute over the origin of these objects.

The first comprehensive study of the material was made by E. Kunze, who in 1931 published the bulk of the eighth century Cretan bronzes, that is the bronze shields from the Idaean Cave. In conjunction with this he examined all the extant bronze reliefs of the eighth century and made an exhaustive stylistic and iconographic study which drew comparanda from contemporary Greek and Oriental art. He was thus able to distinguish three different stylistic groups, concluding that they were all of Cretan manufacture under strong Oriental influence. Kunze dated the Cretan bronzes to the period from the end of the ninth to the end of the eighth century. The context of the bronzes was wholly unknown at the time of his study and he therefore based his chronology on a comparison with the Attic gold bands and on the evidence of the tomb groups from Arkades, Crete.

Kunze's theory of the date and origin of the Cretan bronzes found many followers¹ and an equal number of dissidents, fierce controversy raging

mainly over questions of chronology. The main supporter of a much later dating was Miss Benton,² who found similarities between the style and iconography of the Cretan bronze shields and those of Protocorinthian vase painting. She accordingly suggested that the Cretan bronzes be given a dating parallel to that of the Protocorinthian vases, that is from the end of the eighth century down to the middle of the seventh.

Benton's theory concerning the relationship between Cretan bronzes and Protocorinthian vases was not generally accepted and the discussion continued. Meanwhile, new bronzes were discovered, some in closely datable contexts and the evidence from these pointed rather towards Kunze's early dating.

In 1969 F. Canciani³ attempted a fresh, "radical" approach to the bronzes. Since Kunze's publication not only had the number of Cretan bronzes increased, but our knowledge of Oriental art had developed greatly. Canciani was therefore able to draw further stylistic and iconographic comparanda from Oriental art. After reclassifying the material into nine stylistic groups or "workshops", he attributed a Cypriot origin to the earliest group, which he believed was subsequently imitated in a Cretan workshop. Since his "Cypriot" comparanda were of a late eighth century date, Canciani naturally assigned a late date to the Cretan bronzes, stating them to be from the late eighth century down to the middle of the seventh.

Canciani's study not only failed to solve the problem of date and workshop of the Cretan bronzes, it merely complicated it further. In fact his basic arguments concerned with the date and workshop of the Cretan bronzes were based on incomplete evidence: his attribution of his first group to Cyprus is mainly derived from a fragmentary bowl (the "Procession bowl")⁴ which he considered closely paralleled in style and theme by a bowl in the Louvre classed by Gjerstad in 1946 as "Cypriot".⁵ But the Louvre bowl is greatly damaged, making its style difficult to classify, and there is even

doubt as to the Cypriot origin of the group to which it belongs.⁶ However, a bowl of this group from Nimrud in the British Museum has revealed after recent cleaning the Phoenician name *Abibat* and is now with good reason assigned by R.D. Barnett⁷ to a school in operation at Hama.

As for Canciani's late dating, this also was based on erroneous assumptions. He mistook the Middle Geometric⁸ pottery found with the Delphi shield for Late Geometric, and also failed to take into account the context of the Fortetsa belt which is datable to the mid eighth century.⁹ A further argument against Canciani's late dating is furnished by clay imitations of the bronze protome shields found in Crete and, recently, in Cyprus,¹⁰ which date well into the eighth century. Canciani thought that these clay shields were imitating lost bronze shields of the eighth century and that the extant examples were of a later date — which is of course far from proveable. Accordingly all the evidence seems to be against Canciani's arguments for the dating and origin of the Cretan shields and bronzes, and the publication of his book failed to conclude the discussion.

The problem was, however, more radically handled by J. Boardman.¹¹ He was the first to consider Cretan metalwork as a whole, discussing not only the bronzes, but the gold pieces as well. He divided them on stylistic grounds into two groups belonging to two different workshops which he called a) the Knossian workshop b) the Idaean Workshop. He further developed Dunbabin's¹² theory by considering them as products of immigrant Oriental craftsmen coming from North Syria who had set up workshops in Crete.

The Knossian Workshop

Under this heading J. Boardman classified fifteen gold and bronze pieces in relief of the same style. The early date of this workshop is fixed by two pieces which were accompanied by firm dating evidence: the gold diadem from Tekke found inside a Protogeometric B vase and the bronze belt from Fortetsa found in a pithos together with two small vases classed

by Brock as Protogeometric B or Early Geometric. The date of the bronze and gold pieces of the Knossian workshop is therefore shown to range from the late ninth to the middle eighth century. Their style was originally under strong North Syrian influence, but it was gradually hellenized and ultimately imitated even on stone sculpture.

To the late phase of this workshop seems also to belong the group of omphalos shields (Canciani's "Grazing Deer" group)¹³ with central omphalos and concentric friezes showing animals or hybrids of the Knossian repertoire rendered in a more hellenized form.

Sphinxes occur on five objects from the Knossian workshop (nos. 23, 24, 34, 36, 38). They all belong to the same distinct helmeted type with a rather short leonine body and a straight-edged pointed wing, and often have a second small pointed wing shown hanging below the elbow (cf. pls. 24-26). Knossian sphinxes are represented passant in files and it is only on the protome shield no. 34 from Palaikastro, which belongs to the last products of the workshop, that a sphinx is shown sejant in a frieze among other animals. The chronological sequence of the Knossian sphinxes is defined by their style, since the type remains unaltered throughout its career. Thus from the heavy rounded figures on the quiver from Fortetsa no. 23 (pl. 24) and the slightly later Kavousi sheet no. 24 (pl. 25), through the Praesos trinket no. 38 (pl. 26a), we come down to the more geometric sphinxes on the Delphi and Palaikastro shields (nos. 36 pl. 26b and 34)

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The style and iconography of these sphinxes are closely paralleled in North Syrian art of the Early Iron Age. A comparison of the Knossian sphinxes with their Oriental models is interesting for the light it throws on the way these models were interpreted in Crete. The plump heavy body of the Oriental sphinx (cf. e.g. pl. 171) is translated into a short body with narrow loins, but high raised rump and massive accentuated haunches. The

breast is shown rounded, exactly like the Oriental models, and the tasseled tail is portrayed waving behind the body.

North Syrian sphinxes of an Early Iron Age date have a characteristic type of wing with straight upper edge (cf. pl. 171) and consisting of two distinct parts: a) wing base covering the forepart of the body and decorated with various patterns b) main wing divided into two or more sections each with a row of feathers indicated horizontally. Quite often the wing hangs below the body in a point (cf. pl. 171), and this is interpreted on the Knossian sphinx as a second small wing hanging below the elbow (cf. pl. 25). On the Knossian type the straight upper wing-edge of the Oriental sphinxes is always preserved, but the lower edge is adjusted to a more geometric form and gradually both sides of the wings become straight (cf. pl. 26b). The horizontal bars dividing rows of feathers are now turned into simple horizontal hatching. The decoration of the wing base is omitted but a trace of it remains as a small band at the junction of the foreleg and body (i.e. at the cubitus joint area), giving the impression that the wing of the Knossian sphinx is tied to the foreleg (pl. 24).

A great emphasis is put on the rendering of the head, which is shown unbearded but always helmeted. North Syrian sphinxes are usually shown with various religious, usually horned, headdresses, and often with small summarily rendered conical headdresses which could be interpreted either as helmet or tiara. The Knossian sphinx by contrast is always shown with an Oriental helmet, known from representations of warriors in the Orient. Sometimes several different kinds of helmet appear on the same monument. Thus on the Fortetsa quiver (no. 23 pl. 24) the sphinxes in the lower frieze are shown with a conical helmet with a toothed crest on the crown, the so-called "Kammhelm". Those in the middle frieze have a simple conical helmet without crest and exactly the same type of helmet occurs on the sphinxes of the Delphi shield no. 36 pl. 26b. The sphinxes in the upper

frieze of the Fortetsa quiver are shown with a conical helmet crowned by a palmette. Brock¹⁴ thought the palmette derived from similar palmettes decorating horses' trappings on Assyrian reliefs, but in fact exactly the same kind of headdress combined with horns is attested on the bearded sphinxes represented on the stone reliefs at Sakcagözü.¹⁵ Finally, the sphinxes on the Kavousi sheet (no. 24 pl. 25) are shown with the so-called "Raupenhelm", that is a conical helmet with a high forward-curving crest.

The origin of the motif of the helmeted sphinx has been much discussed.¹⁶ The problem arises from the fact that Oriental sphinxes usually appear in various royal or religious headdresses that could also serve as helmets. The question is therefore whether the Greek helmeted sphinx is a direct Oriental loan or an *interpretatio graeca* of Oriental headdresses.

Herrmann,^{16a} assuming that there are no helmeted sphinxes in the Orient, explained the Greek helmeted sphinx as a greek interpretation of the religious horned hat, the "Hörnermütze", worn by some Oriental sphinxes. His main argument was based on a helmet combined with horns found on some Oriental bronze siren attachments and the North Syrian sphinx protome attachment no. 550a-bis (pl. 163). Herrmann explained the existence of horns on these helmets as owing to a misunderstanding originating in the Orient in which the *horned hat* worn by sphinxes was taken as a *helmet*, thus giving rise to the helmeted sphinx. However, the helmets of these attachments are not a mixture of elements from helmets and horned hats, as Herrmann argues, but a typical horned helmet of the "Raupenhelm" type, well attested in the Orient.¹⁸

On the other hand, there are undeniably Oriental sphinxes shown with a straightforward type of helmet. They usually occur on small objects like the North Syrian bronze bowl from Delphi no. 562 (pl. 166b), in fact, most of the sphinxes on Oriental bronzes are shown helmeted (cf. below: chapter on imported sphinxes). The helmeted sphinx was originally an Egyptian conception and we find sphinxes with a fitted headdress, which has been explained

as a helmet, appearing on Egyptian scarabs of the Hyksos period.¹⁹ In the art of New Kingdom bearded sphinxes are often shown with a Blue Crown, which is considered to be a helmet.²⁰ This is taken over by North Syrian art and interpreted as a conical headdress,²¹ which can be explained either as a helmet or a tiara. On an ivory from Megiddo dated to the thirteenth century²² the sphinx's conical headdress is provided with a crest, leaving no doubt that it is meant as a helmet. In the Early Iron Age sphinxes on small objects are, as already stated, often shown with a conical helmet, while in monumental art they usually wear a horned headdress, known both from warriors and deities. They are usually represented bearded,²³ underlining their Egyptian connections, but also occur quite often without a beard.²⁴ It is exclusively the latter type which is carried into Greek art, for here the helmeted sphinx is always shown unbearded.

The Knossian type of sphinx therefore seems to derive directly from North Syrian art of the ninth century, as do the sphinxes on the PG krater from Tekke no. 1 (pls. 3-4). There are in fact several similarities between the Tekke sphinxes and the Knossian type, basically the narrow loins and heavily emphasised haunches and thighs, as well as the small pointed additional wing hanging below the elbow, the "ritual" headdress and straight edged wing. The Tekke sphinxes confirm that North Syrian influence started in Crete late in the ninth century; in fact they also provide evidence of the adjustment of this type of sphinx to the more conservative medium of vase painting.

The Idaean workshop

To this are assigned mainly the bronze protome shields. The date and activity of this workshop falls within the period from the second half of the eighth to the middle of the seventh century. The bronzes of this group again display a strongly Orientalizing style which becomes in time hellenized.

There is no external evidence for the dating of this group apart from clay imitations of the same type of protome shield mentioned above, which belong to the eighth century and give evidence for the existence of the type at this date. Sphinxes appearing on the Idaean shields can be classified into three groups presenting a steady stylistic and iconographic evolution to a more hellenized form.

The first group (nos. 25, 29, 37) includes definitely male sphinxes shown bearded or helmeted. The second group (nos. 26-28, 30) comprises female sphinxes with Orientalizing ritual headdresses, and the third group (which probably falls wholly inside the seventh century) is made up of fully hellenized sphinxes following contemporary Cretan models.

The sphinx on no. 25 (pl. 27) is shown as a large motif spread over the lower surface of the shield. It is passant with a large curved wing covering the shoulders and hanging below the body; the wing base is decorated with a large scale pattern exactly paralleled on North Syrian sphinxes.²⁵ The feathers are indicated in two horizontal bars and the breast is also covered with feathering. This type of wing and feathering is very similar to that on North Syrian sphinxes of ninth century date. The body of the sphinx (now largely missing) presents several stylizations which confirm its direct derivation from North Syrian models. The flame pattern on the haunches, for instance, or the small band with zig-zag pattern underlining the abdominal area, are also the features of North Syrian sphinxes²⁶ (cf. pl. 171). Furthermore, the formation of the paw with the band of parallel lines dividing it from the leg is a typical North Syrian sphinx stylization. The head of the sphinx no. 25 is crowned by a conical knob-helmet also known from North Syrian art (cf. pl. 129.b). There is little doubt therefore as to this sphinx's direct derivation from North Syrian models.

A similar type of male sphinx with a pointed helmet occurs on no. 37 (pl. 28). The rendering of the sphinxes is here more awkward and there is

an obvious tendency towards geometric forms. Canciani²⁷ has classed this shield as Iranian, but the shield type with its central lion protome and rim with guilloche pattern demands a classification with the Cretan shields.²⁸ The shield is however by a different hand from no. 25 and the artist seems influenced by the Knossian workshop as well as keeping close to his Oriental models. A pair of antithetical passant sphinxes are here shown spread on the lower surface of the shield, their bodies covered by a large curved but pointed wing, decorated in the Knossian manner with horizontal bars. The legs are divided from the large paws by a band in the North Syrian fashion and the head is covered by the pointed helmet characteristic of the male sphinx.

A pair of male, bearded sphinxes are shown on no. 29 (pl. 29a). This piece, which is among the earliest of the Idaean shields, displays such close North Syrian affinities that we are left in no doubt about the Cypriot origin of the shields. The style is strongly Orientalizing and the iconography displays many Assyrianizing elements, known from a group of North Syrian sphinxes displaying Assyrian influence.²⁹ The stylization of the beard and moustache are executed in Assyrian fashion,³⁰ but the hathoric lock and high hairstyle (decorated with a band on the right hand sphinx) are typically North Syrian.³¹

Clay relief stand from Miletos

A sphinx closely related to the Knossian type appears on a clay relief stand from Miletos (no. 22 pl. 34). Only a small fragment of the vase has been preserved with decoration in a frieze impressed with a flat seal and ornamented by additional engraving; it consists of masks, geese, floral ornaments and a winged helmeted sphinx. The width of the frieze is 9 cm., but this was not large enough for the impression of the sphinx and parts of its lower legs are therefore missing.

The date of this clay stand is determined by its context. It comes from a stratified deposit and in no case could it be later than 700 B.C. According to the excavators, its date must be late ninth or early eighth century because it was found underneath a geometric house on a destroyed Mycenaean wall together with late Mycenaean and Geometric sherds.³²

The use of flat seals for impression is an Oriental technique which appears during the eighth century in Crete³³ and Attica. The clay Miletos stand shows close technical affinities not only with clay Cretan equivalents,⁶ but also with the metal products of the Knossian workshop. For instance the engraved groove outlining the body of the Miletos sphinx can be paralleled by the granulation emphasizing the contour of the gold trinket sphinx from Praesos (pl. 26) and by the similar grooves of sphinxes on the Fortetsa quiver (pl. 24) and the Kavousi sheet (pl. 25).

The style of the figures on the Miletos stand is also closely related to the style of the products of the Knossian workshop and the Attic gold bands. However, the clay of the stand is local and points to a local manufacture; indeed the whole spirit of the decoration is East Greek rather than Cretan or Attic and the geese especially bring immediately to mind similar representation on Rhodian LG vases.³⁴

The sphinx on the Miletos stand is represented with an elongated body, massive accentuated haunches and a long tail swinging behind. The exceptionally long wing covers the shoulders and is raised high above the body ending in a pointed tip. Its upper edge is straight but the lower edge is slightly curved and the outline emphasized by a groove. The neck is long and the human head, dominated by a prominent nose, is tilted slightly upwards; the ear is placed low on the head but is fairly naturalistically rendered with helix and antihelix. Small grooves scattered on the head seem to suggest an attempt to indicate hair, but the small volute springing from the top of the head suggests a helmet.

The helmet is of the same conical type as that of the sphinxes on the Delphi shield no. 36 (pl. 26b) dated to around the middle of the eighth century. The indication of the ear found on both is probably a kind of helmet decoration like that of the conical helmet of the sphinx on the North Syrian bronze bowl from Delphi no. 562 (pl. 166b). On the Miletos stand, however; the helmet is provided with a crest curling ^hbeind, a feature closely matched by the helmet of the sphinx on the Hubbard amphora (pl. 37c) or those on the Cretan LG sherds nos. 20-21 (pl. 37a-b).

The wing with its straight upper edge is of the same type as that of the Knossian sphinx, and the modelling of the body with massive accentuated haunches and narrow loins is very like the sphinxes of the same workshop. However, the Knossian sphinx is always shown passant unlike the Miletos sphinx whose sejant position is closer to Oriental models³⁵ (cf. pl.164b).

The close technical affinities and stylistic and iconographic similarities between the Miletos sphinx and its Cretan counterparts from the Knossian workshop can be explained either by a Cretan derivation for the stand's stamped decoration or by common Oriental models. The latter seems more plausible both because the Miletos stand is more or less contemporary with the Knossian workshop and because Cretan influence is not otherwise attested in East Greece at this period.

Ivory seals

A sphinx passant with straight-edged wing and possibly a helmet, i.e. of a type very similar to the Knossian sphinx, appears in a group of LG ivory seals (nos. 46-48a). These are all rectangular plaques with their backs carved as recumbent lions, pierced for suspension between the hind and front legs (cf. pl. 35a). The device on the plaque is cut out in a border and the composition is more or less the same for all the seals: a sphinx alone or beside a tree or with a human figure (cf. pl. 35b).

The seals come from Ithaca, Paros, Delos, Chios, Samos and Rhodos. J. Boardman,³⁶ who isolated the group from the large class of Peloponnesian seals, attributed them to an East Greek workshop operating in Rhodos, both because the majority of the seals of this group were found there and because they present stylistic affinities to LG Rhodian vase painting. B. Freyer-Schauenburg,³⁷ on the other hand, believes that this group of "East Greek" ivory seals in fact represent an early phase of the Peloponnesian ivory seals made in the form of a recumbent lion. However, the LG Peloponnesian³⁸ ivory seals in this form are executed in a totally different style from those of East Greece. The latter have undoubted stylistic affinities with Rhodian LG vase painting³⁹ and relief metalwork in gold, and Boardman's attribution of East Greek origin remains convincing.⁴⁰

The seals are homogeneous in style and depict the same type of passant sphinx with elongated, completely stylized animal body and long straight upturned tail. No paws or hooves are indicated, as the legs are also very stylized and represented as straight lines; the upward direction of the tail, however, suggests that the body was almost certainly meant to be feline. Some small vertical grooves on the hind legs of the sphinx on the Kato Phana seal (no. 48 pl. 35) seem to be an indication of hair, and can be taken as further evidence for the artist's intention of rendering a feline body. The large, triangular wing is placed vertically on the shoulders and on nos. 46 and 48 (pl. 35a) is hatched by horizontal grooves; the more summarily treated sphinx on no. 47 from Emporio has a triangular wing in simple outline. The heads of all these sphinxes are relatively small, conical in shape, and summarily treated, with only the nose shown in the profile. The conical head of no. 48 has a short volute waving behind, like the sphinx of the clay relief Miletos stand. No. 47 from Emporio is engraved with less refinement and the sphinx device is much more summarily rendered; even so, we can discern a kind of headdress shown as a horizontal

line spreading behind the head as a helmet crest. It can be assumed, therefore, that these LG ivory seals show a type of passant, helmeted sphinx with a straight-edged, hatched wing — i.e. a type similar to the Knossian sphinx and its Oriental models.

The origin of these models can easily be traced back to North Syria. Furthermore, the lion type of the seals is exactly paralleled on North Syrian ivory lions from Samos⁴¹ and therefore a direct derivation of the sphinx from North Syrian models seem very possible. However, in contrast to the Orientalizing style of the Cretan bronzes and the Miletos stand, the style of the sphinxes on these ivory seals is purely Geometric. Most of the seals have been found in LG contexts⁴³ and the group is broadly dated to the last quarter of the eighth century. It can be assumed therefore that the type of North Syrian male helmeted sphinx remained influential in Greek art down to the end of the Geometric period.

THE WINGLESS MALE SPHINX

The wingless type of sphinx appears in the Geometric period on a group of gold bands and sheets from Attica with impressed decoration⁴³ (nos. 39-45). The group consists of more than thirty pieces and with the recent finds in Athens the number of bands is continually being increased.⁴⁴ These bands are decorated with linear ornaments and small figure scenes repeated in a frieze; the repetition of the same scene suggests that they were impressed on matrices of small size, a technique which closely relates them to the engraved gems.⁴⁵ The purely geometric style of the early Greek gems, however, contrasts noticeably with the strongly Orientalizing style of the bands and has given rise to great controversy as to the origin of the latter.

Originally, Poulsen,⁴⁶ Reichel⁴⁷ and Matz⁴⁸ considered them to be Oriental imports that reached Attica in the eighth century. Kunze⁴⁹ on the other hand recognized them as Greek work created under strong Oriental influence; he dated them on grounds of context and style to the early eighth century and related them to the Cretan bronze work of the eighth century.

Kunze's theory was further developed by Ohly in his systematic study of the bands published in 1953. Ohly gave the minimum of credit to oriental inspiration and argued an Attic origin for the bands. On grounds of style and technique he distinguished four successive groups showing a steady stylistic development.

Ohly made an attempt to date the bands not simply on style, but also according to the context in which they were found. However, at the time he was writing the context of the bands was known only vaguely, and for very few of them — mainly for the first and fourth group, with indications towards the second and last quarter of the eighth century respectively. On

the available evidence, Ohly dated the bands from the second quarter down to the end of the eighth century.

Ohly's stylistic analysis of the bands established their Greek origin but failed to stop the controversy over dating and the specific Greek workshop in which they were made. Kübler⁵⁰ found ^{that} the representational motifs of the bands had stylistic and iconographic similarities to those on the Cycladic geometric vases, and therefore suggested a Cycladic origin for them. Kübler's theory was accepted by several scholars, among them Herrmann⁵¹ and Berard.⁵² Schweitzer⁵³ and Fittschen⁵⁴ on the other hand found stronger iconographic similarities between the linear ornaments of the bands and those of the Rhodian Late Geometric vases, and naturally suggested a Rhodian origin for them.

However, recent finds in the ancient cemeteries of Athens seem to lead to a definite solution to problems of origin and dating for the geometric gold bands. The number of bands discovered recently in eighth century Attic graves makes it difficult to believe that they were imported into Attica.⁵⁵ Furthermore the orientalizing style of the gold bands' representational motifs can now be abundantly paralleled in branches (other than vase painting) of Attic art of the geometric period.⁵⁶

The dating of the bands seems now finally settled. A band from Ohly's group I has been discovered in a grave at Kynosarges together with Attic Middle Geometric pottery,⁵⁷ confirming his early dating of the first group of gold bands to the second quarter of the eighth century. As further evidence, an electrum band of Ohly's group II (here no. 44) has been discovered in a grave in Odos Kriezis in Athens⁵⁸ together with Attic Late Geometric Ia pottery, so we may conclude that it cannot be later than 760-750. Thus the dating of the bands of group II to before the middle of the eighth century is now a matter of certainty. For the dating of the bands of group III there is so far no evidence of context; they are however not much more

advanced stylistically than the bands of group II, and therefore an approximate dating to the middle of the eighth century or soon after seems plausible.

Sphinxes appear on several gold bands of Ohly's groups II and III. They have been impressed from two slightly different matrices but show exactly the same type of wingless helmeted sphinx.

The first matrix is evidenced by the sphinxes represented on the Berlin band no. 45 (pl. 36a). This belongs to Ohly's group III and is therefore dated to approximately the middle of the eighth century. The band is decorated with a frieze of grazing animals interrupted by two metopes, each bearing a wingless sphinx. These sphinxes are almost identical; they are depicted in profile, one sejant to the left, the other to the right, and accordingly the final impression is that of an heraldic schema. The body of the sphinxes, in contrast to the other animals depicted on the band, is very summarily rendered with each pair of front and hind legs represented as one. No tail or wing is shown and the legs are short; the paws by contrast are carefully executed so that the monster's feline character is undoubted. The breast is rounded and drawn with some emphasis, but the hind part of the body is very summarily treated and the sphinx seems to be seated on her hind legs. The human head is more detailed, but remains summary. The eye of the sphinx on the left metope is indicated by a small groove, but on the right metope no eye is shown at all. The nose is prominent, the chin pointed, but no other facial characteristics are indicated. The head is crowned by a headdress in the form of a long crest that follows the contour of the head and curls behind it.

Ohly⁵⁹ thought that the monster on the left metope had a beak and therefore wondered whether it was a griffin, as Furtwängler⁶⁰ had argued originally. If Furtwängler was correct, this would be the first case in Geometric Greek art of a *wingless griffin* with an *open-beak*; but wingless griffins are totally absent from Geometric Greek art,⁶¹ and the *winged*

griffin known from Early Cretan metalwork is of the North Syrian *closed-beak* type.⁶² The open-beaked griffin does not appear in Greek art earlier than the second quarter of the seventh century,⁶³ though the type must in fact have been known from the end of the eighth century from imported bronze *griffin protomes*.⁶⁴ The monster on the left metope of the Berlin band, therefore, can hardly be classified as a griffin; besides, the head of these monsters is in fact exactly the same as that of the helmeted warriors on the Eleusis sheet (pl. 36b) who possess an accentuated chin and nose, making them look like a bird.⁶⁵ There is no doubt therefore that the monsters on the Berlin gold band are wingless male sphinxes wearing a helmet. The latter has frequently been explained as a volute,⁶⁶ but its presence on the warriors of the same band makes it clear that a helmet was meant.⁶⁸ Schweitzer⁶⁹ believes that it is the same type of helmet as that found on the stone reliefs at Karatepe, but all we have here is in fact a very common and simple rendering of the helmet in Late Geometric art.

The same type of monster, with a slightly more summarily rendered body, is represented on the gold sheet no. 39 from Eleusis (pl. 36b) and its replicas (nos. 40-44). They belong to Ohly's group II and are therefore dated before the middle of the eighth century. The monster on these bands is represented in a frieze squashed between two scenes of lion-fighters. Marshall,⁷⁰ Furtwängler,⁷¹ Kunze⁷² and Reichel⁷³ have considered it as a helmeted warrior. Ohly⁷⁴ and recently H. Cahn⁷⁵ interpreted it as the unconsumed remnants of a "victim of lions", while Cook has recognized it as a wingless helmeted sphinx "slightly tilted and compressed".⁷⁶ The better state of preservation of the recent finds (nos. 43-44) confirms that this monster is exactly the same as that on the Berlin gold band. The style of the gold bands of Ohly's groups II and III is very similar and most probably the bands of these groups are the work of the same craftsmen; the squashed, wingless sphinx on the Eleusis sheet no. 39 can be ex-

plained as his first attempt at representing this monster, which appears in its more developed form on the Berlin band no. 45.

This type of *wingless helmeted* sphinx appearing on the gold bands is not exactly paralleled in Oriental or contemporary Geometric Greek art, but it presents elements attested in both. As we have seen, helmeted sphinxes are common in the Near East and more specifically North Syria; from here the type was transplanted to Crete early in the eighth century.

Wingless sphinxes are also known from the Orient, but the type has been current in Crete throughout the Dark Ages. Reichel⁷⁷ compares the sphinxes on the gold bands to the Dark Age bronze figurine no. 16 (pls. 18-19). They share several stylistic and iconographic elements, in particular the same emphasis in the rendering of the head and the front part of the body. This emphasis is reflected mainly in the size of the head, which is disproportionately large on both. Despite these apparent connections, the Dark Age wingless sphinx figurines are at least a century earlier than the Attic gold bands and there seems to be no link between them.

The style of the gold bands clearly suggests that they were created under immediate Oriental influence. Coldstream⁷⁸ has argued recently that a metal workshop was set up in the eighth century in Attica "under the instruction of immigrant Oriental craftsmen". This provides a better explanation not only for the Orientalizing style of the bands, but also for their equally Orientalizing iconography. The similarities between sphinxes on Cretan metalwork and those on the Attic gold bands can thus be interpreted as being due to common Oriental models. In the case of the Cretan metalwork, the detailed execution of the figures makes the identification with North Syrian models comparatively easy. Unfortunately, the summary rendering of the sphinxes on the gold bands provides little evidence as to the specific Oriental origin of the craftsmen. Undoubtedly their models are male helmeted sphinxes of some type current in North Syria, but the helmet itself is of

a type common in eighth century Greek art. To further confuse the issue, the sejant pose of the sphinxes is clearly Oriental, since animals and monsters in Geometric Greek art are always represented passant. It is only the rounded breast of the monsters that brings to mind more specifically Oriental models, such as the male, bearded and helmeted sphinxes of the stone reliefs at Sakçagözü.⁷⁹ This corresponds with the style of the bands, suggesting North Syrian models. It can therefore be assumed that these gold bands are the products of immigrant craftsmen coming from North Syria, who set up workshops in Attica early in the eighth century. The stylistic evolution of the bands and the helmet type found even on those of earliest date, suggest that, in contrast to the "closed shop" run by the Cretan immigrants, the workshop making the gold bands soon became hellenized.

THE WINGED FEMALE SPHINX

After the Minoan-Mycenaean period and the few isolated examples of the Dark Ages, the female sphinx reappears in Greek art at the end of the eighth century. The type occurs at the same time in Crete (on bronze shields of the Idaean workshop) and on the Mainland (in Attic and Argive LG vase painting), though there seems to be no connection between the areas and the appearance of the motif in two places contemporaneously is rather to be ascribed to the strong Oriental influence throughout Greece at the time.

Cretan metalwork

As we have seen, sphinxes appearing on the bronze shields of the Idaean workshop can be classified in three groups: the first including male sphinxes, the other two most probably female versions of the type.

Nos. 26-30 (pls. 30-31) form a group of sphinxes which closely follow their Oriental models in style and iconography. They display the same body stylizations as their male counterparts on the Idaean shields, but always occur in antithetical pairs of two in a characteristic "lying-walking" pose with forelegs stretched forward and hindlegs shown in a walking movement. This pose, which is otherwise unknown in Greek or Oriental art, has been explained by Kunze⁸⁰ as imposed by the exigencies of the shield surface. On no. 28 (pl. 30a) however, the sphinxes are shown sejant on either side of a nude goddess represented frontally. The sphinxes on this shield wear their hair in a typically North Syrian hathoric lock⁸¹ and have a kind of high, flat headdress, found in a more elaborate form on no. 30 (pl. 30b). This strange headdress, which is in fact a North Syrian version of the Egyptian tarbush,⁸² provides vital clues as to the sphinxes' sex and the alleged Cypriot origin of the shields.⁸³ The tarbush is worn in Egypt by Nefertiti and outside Egypt is attested on an Early Iron Age Syrian type of

sphinx.⁸⁴ The sphinxes on the Idaean shields can therefore be identified with reasonable certainty as females.

The almost completely hellenized sphinxes on the later examples of the Idaean shields, nos. 31 (pl. 32), 32 (pl. 29b), 33 (pl. 33), are also undoubtedly female. The majority of these shields belong to the early seventh century; the sphinxes have bodies elongated in an almost subgeometric manner and the high, pompous headdress of the sphinxes of the previous group is now turned into a low, stylized polos. On no. 33 (pl. 33) in particular it has taken the typical form of the Cretan low, flat polos used for female figures.⁸⁵ The shield no. 33 from Palaikastro is among the latest of the group and is an interesting example of the ultimate fate of all these Oriental stylizations. The wing is straight-edged and crossed horizontally, its base outlined by a band; the band which originally distinguished the paw from the leg is now placed further up the forearm and together with the contour of the wing base creates the impression of a sleeve. The impression of human arms is further emphasized by the raised forepaws of the antithetical sphinxes, which are shown clasped together. This is fully in accordance with the early seventh century tendency to give the monster a more human character, most commonly attested in the form of additional human arms.

Attic Late Geometric vase painting

The identification of the two winged monsters depicted on the interior of the Attic LG cup no. 18 (pl. 39a) has long been disputed. They have been claimed both as sphinxes⁸⁵ and centaurs⁸⁶ and in fact include elements of both, but iconographic analysis shows that they are closer to sphinxes than any other established type of monster known in Early Greek art. They present therefore considerable iconographic interest since the sphinx is otherwise wholly unknown in Attic LG vase painting, in contrast to the

centaur, which is frequent in Attic vase painting by LG IIb.⁸⁷ Centaurs occur almost exclusively on vases of the Athens 894 Workshop,⁸⁸ to which the cup no. 18 is attributed. It is here also that all the types of hybrids known so far in Attic LG vase painting appear for the first time.⁸⁹ The problem is therefore related to the priority of the centaur over the sphinx in Attic LG vase painting, because if the monsters on the Attic LG cup are not sphinxes, we must conclude that the sphinx is a late motif in Attic vase painting, appearing for the first time on EPA vases. If we assume that they are indeed sphinxes or related monsters, we are faced with the problem of their origin and relation to the male helmeted sphinx known in the early eighth century from Cretan metalwork and (in its wingless form) on the Attic gold bands.

Before entering into a discussion of these problems, it seems worthwhile attempting to date the cup more precisely, starting from the fact that it is attributed to the Athens 894 Workshop. The activity of this workshop falls mainly inside the LG IIb period, and the style of the cup suggests that it is one of the workshop's earliest products. The outside bears simple linear decoration and the drawing of the human figures on the interior is rather clumsy in comparison with the figure drawing on other works by the same painter, e.g. the krater and mug in the Louvre (pl. 40). The iconography of the figures is also much more conservative and old-fashioned. For example, the warriors of the cup seem to be without hair and their heads are shown as blobs, an iconographic convention almost wholly abandoned in LG IIb.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the context of the cup suggests an equally early date:⁹¹ it was found in Kerameikos grave VII, together with a pitcher (Athens NM 782) of LG II a date and a high-rimmed bowl of the orthodox LG I type, which does not survive beyond LG IIa. The date of the grave seems to belong either to LG IIa or, at the latest, to the transition period LG IIa/IIb, that is, according to Coldstream's absolute dating,

around 720. The date of the cup is thus pushed to LG IIA and its monsters appear to be the earliest from the Athens 894 Workshop known so far and indeed among the earliest in the whole of Attic LG vase painting.

However, there seems to be one case of a centaur dated earlier than LG IIB: it is the centaur represented in a metope on the neck of an unpublished tankard in Florence (pl. 39b). Carter,⁹² proposes an LG IIB date for it, but the shape of the tankard, with rounded body is of the LG Ib type, which does not survive beyond LG IIA.⁹³ The decorative pattern on this vase, particularly the dot rosettes and the running dog, indeed the style of the drawing and the whole syntaxis of the decoration, suggest that the tankard is most probably a late work by the Hirschfeld Painter,⁹⁴ whose career coincides with LG Ib (750-735). In this case, and assuming that the attempted dating of the tankard and its attribution to the Hirschfeld painter is correct, the priority of the centaur over the sphinx in Attic vase painting seems for the moment established, since the centaur was already in use in Attic LG Ib vase painting, i.e. well before the activity of the Athens 894 Workshop.

The monsters on the cup no. 18 are represented with an animal body with legs ending in what seems to be hoofs rather than paws, but the tail is curled upwards as on felines. Given the fact that Attic LG vase painters are very familiar with drawing horses, while lions are introduced to their repertoire late in the LG II period and look only remotely feline, it is reasonable to assume that the intention of the painter was to represent these monsters with a feline body. On the other hand, the presence of wings brings them closer to sphinxes, in spite of their human arms. The latter are rather clumsily drawn and added on either side of the neck of the monster on the left, but on the right-hand monster they are more carefully drawn and combined with a human torso, giving it close associations with the centaur. It deviates however, from the established type of centaur known in LG and Early Archaic art because instead of the usual *full-*

bodied human figure to the waist of which are added *equine hindquarters*, it has a winged leonine body to which a human torso is added. Nor can it be taken as a winged centaur,⁹⁵ because they are also represented as full-bodied human figures, holding *branches*, the hallmark of the centaurs in Early Greek art.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the almost rampant pose in which the monsters are represented is wholly foreign to centaurs, while being very common for felines in Early Greek art. It seems therefore that the monsters on the cup no. 18 were most probably meant as sphinxes, or at least the models were sphinxes and the human arms and torso were added by analogy to the centaur.

There have been many suggestions⁹⁷ for specific Oriental models for the monsters on the cup no. 18, for the painter's inspiration is undoubtedly from the Orient. The heraldic schema and rampant pose of the monsters are wholly Oriental; furthermore, the scene of which the monsters are part derives from a famous oriental model with a procession scene including sphinxes.⁹⁸ However, it seems improbable that the painter had Oriental models for the monsters as such. There are isolated examples in Oriental art of *wingless* hybrids consisting of a leonine body and a human torso, but they are extremely rare, mainly occurring on cylinders of a second millennium date.⁹⁹ On the other hand, sphinxes with human arms are unknown in the Orient. They occur in Egyptian art from the period of the New Kingdom onwards, but there they are of a different character (pl. 143b), since the arms replace forelegs (cf. below on human arms).

It seems therefore that the only Oriental models that can be postulated for the winged sphinx-like monsters on the cup no. 18 must be sought in the female North Syrian sphinx,¹⁰⁰ known to the painter mainly from metal bowls bearing the ritual scene he adapted for his own vase. In fact, though at first sight the sex of the monsters on the cup seems undefined, they appear on closer inspection to be female. They are shown with two

strands of hair waving behind the head in the manner of the female dancers on the cup, while all the male figures are shown without hair. Furthermore, the small floral ornament shown on the brow of the monster on the left can be paralleled to the rosettes decorating the chaplet worn by some female ivory heads from Nimrud¹⁰¹ dated to the ninth century. We can conclude therefore that according to the evidence of the cup no. 18, the sphinx enters the repertoire of Attic vase painters in the LG IIa period. It is a type of sphinx that has nothing in common with the earlier type of male helmeted sphinx known from Attic gold bands and Cretan metalwork. Once again we see a sphinx deriving from North Syrian models but here it is of a definitely *female* type.

Argive Late Geometric vase painting

The earliest representation from the Mainland of a definitely female sphinx with curved wing occurs on an unpublished LG Argive krater with bridge handles from Tiryns (no. 19) of which only two small sherds survive (pl. 41). The krater is decorated in the rich LG Argive style with riders in the shoulder frieze, kneeling deer on the handle and a file of passant sphinxes on the lip.

These sphinxes are painted in silhouette with an outlined cross-hatched wing. They are shown with an elongated body and each pair of fore and hind legs is depicted as one. The legs are hooved, but the spiral tail is vertical suggesting a feline character for the monster. Courbin¹⁰² reasonably observes that the painter's model must have been a horse rather than a lion, but on the other hand the direction of the tail suggests that whatever the painter's immediate models, he certainly aimed to represent a lion.¹⁰³ As to the highly individual rendering of the tail, this seems to derive from Attic models.¹⁰⁴

The curved shape of the wing remains isolated in Argive LG vase

painting, where birds the other winged creatures, commonly represented are shown with a straight-edged wing raised or folded.¹⁰⁵ The closest parallel for this type of curved, cross-hatched wing is found on the sphinxes of the Attic LG cup no. 18 (pl. 39a).

The high rectangular headdress of the sphinxes on the Argive krater has been explained as a helmet.¹⁰⁶ However, it is exactly paralleled by the headdress of the dancing women on an Argive LG sherd from the Argive Heraion¹⁰⁷ (pl. 42). Female dancers in Argive LG vase painting are often shown wearing this kind of ritual polos with two ribbons hanging behind.¹⁰⁸ This headdress appears to be a ritual accessory for female figures and confirms the assumption that the sphinxes are definitely female, in spite of their pointed-chin, which might be taken as suggesting a beard. But the female dancers on the sherd from the Argive Heraion are shown with a similar chin, pointing to the conclusion that this element is stylistic rather than iconographic.

Courbin's¹⁰⁹ dating of the krater no. 19 to the Argive LG IIc period (that is about 710-700), seems very late for the style of the vase.¹¹⁰ The drawing of the figures is stiff and austere in spirit and cannot be compared with the almost Orientalizing relaxed style of Argive LG IIc.¹¹¹ Moreover, the technique of drawing human heads in compact silhouette, as appears on the sphinxes, was current by LG IIb;¹¹² from that time onwards human heads are shown either wholly or mostly reserved.¹¹³ According to Courbin the sherd with the dancing women from the Argive Heraion (pl. 42) is dated to LG IIb, but the two pieces are so similar in style that they must surely be by the same painter. The drawing of the sphinxes, however, is much more stiff than that of the dancing women. A date in LG IIa/b is more plausible for the krater, which thus seems to be almost contemporary with the Attic LG cup no. 18. The sphinxes on the Argive krater therefore are among the earliest sphinxes in the art of mainland Greece; they are

moreover the earliest definitely female sphinxes in Greek art, seeming to inaugurate a new type of sphinx which comes in complete contrast to the male, helmeted sphinx of Cretan metalwork. The origin of the Argive sphinxes is therefore of primary importance and immediately related to the origin of the female sphinx in Greek art.

Several iconographic elements of the Argive sphinxes, like the hybrid body, the tail resembling a cork-screw, and the curved cross-hatched wing, suggest that the painter's models must be sought in Attic LG vase painting.¹¹⁴ However, the Attic sphinxes on the cup no. 18, in spite of the painter's individuality and experimentation, clearly suggest North Syrian models. It can be assumed therefore that the origin of the sphinx motif in LG vase painting of Mainland Greece can be traced back to North Syrian art via Attic LG vase painting.

THE EQUINE SPHINX

A distinct type of sphinx with equine legs and tail appears in Crete in the second half of the eighth century. The type is first attested in vase painting, but at the end of the century is also found on a bronze stand from the Idaean Cave.

Cretan Late Geometric vase painting

In vase painting the type appears on two LG sherds belonging to two different vases by the same painter¹¹⁵ (nos. 20-21, pl. 37a). The first piece was found in a rubbish deposit of the third quarter of the eighth century, so the sphinxes on the sherds are undoubtedly the earliest representations in vase painting; the fact that figure drawing is rare in Cretan LG vase painting makes them extremely interesting. The painter seems to have copied the Knossian type of sphinx, as they are shown with narrow loins and raised rump, hatched straight-edged wing and conical crested helmet. They find their closest parallels on the sphinxes of the Delphi shield no. 36 (pl. 26b). A reserved line on the shoulder is perhaps the painter's interpretation of the stylization used on the Knossian bronzes for the junction of wing and body (cf. pl. 24). The painter is therefore closely copying the Knossian type but making a great innovation in the introduction of equine legs and tail. Coldstream¹¹⁶ has explained them as of Attic derivation, since Attic influence is attested in Cretan vase painting already in Cretan MG and the sphinx sherds display Attic influence in their triglyph-and-metope composition. However, Attic sphinxes with hooved legs but feline tail are obviously later than those on the Cretan sherds. Of course in Attica in the third quarter of the eighth century the newly introduced sphinx motif is often confused with the centaur, but by the third quarter of the century the sphinx in Crete was a long tradition.

Sphinxes with bovine elements were certainly current during the Dark Ages, but on the extant evidence no continuity can be claimed.

On the other hand, sphinxes with bovine bodies deriving from Assyrian models¹¹⁷ were extremely common ⁱⁿ Cyprus¹¹⁸ during the eighth century. Cyprus's relations with Crete were close at that time and Cypriot objects have been found in eighth century Crete;¹¹⁹ most probably our painter got his inspiration from such a model.

Cretan Late Geometric Bronze Stand

Towards the end of the century a sphinx with equine body is attested on a bronze openwork stand of a LG date from the Idaean Cave (no. 35, pl. 38). It belongs to the type of four-sided stand ornamented with elaborate openwork relief decoration, which continues in Crete during the Geometric period the Late Bronze Age Cypriot tradition of four-sided openwork bronze stands.¹²⁰ A clay imitation model from Karphi¹²¹ of eleventh century date suggests that the type was known in Crete from that time and continued to exist till the end of the Geometric period. The bronze stand from the Idaean Cave is among the latest pieces of the group. Their style indicates that they are all of Cretan manufacture, though Cypriot inspiration or at least the Cypriot iconographic tradition is present till the end of the series.

The Idaean stand has been preserved in a very fragmentary condition; however, one side of it, after careful restoration in Herakleion Museum, is now almost completely recovered (pl. 38b). It presents a rich figure decoration with a maritime scene on the upper part and a pair of antithetical passant sphinxes as the main theme on the lower part. Archers, bulls and other animals fill in the spaces between the two large scenes and the bars.

Only one of the sphinxes and part of the lower leg of the other survive today. This sphinx has a narrow, elongated body with accentuated rump and long equine legs represented in an absolutely characteristic LG

style. The lower part of the tail is missing, but its downward direction suggests that it was probably also equine. The wing is slightly curved, ending in a pointed tip; it is relatively small and placed on the shoulders almost vertically. The neck is also very long, the human head rendered rather summarily with short hair falling on the shoulders in isolated locks.

In style the sphinx is typically Cretan Late Geometric. The head and face can be paralleled to that of the Cretan LG bronze figurine of a musician in the Herakleion Museum,¹²² as well as on several other human heads of Cretan LG bronze figurines.¹²³ The volutes formed at the junction of the rods below the ship however suggest a later date and bring the stand down to the verge of the Orientalizing period. Therefore, a date of around 700 seems suitable. The type of this sphinx with equine body and slightly curved, pointed wing placed almost vertically on the shoulders is closely paralleled by the sphinx of the Hubbard amphora (pl. 37b) thus underlining the type's Cypriot connections.

CHAPTER III

THE SPHINX IN THE ORIENTALIZING PERIOD

SECTION I : TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The sphinx in the Orientalizing period is basically attested by two distinct types: winged and wingless. The latter is an isolated type mainly evidenced by figurines, while the winged sphinx is an extremely popular seventh century motif; it is usually represented as female, but in some workshops male sphinxes occur in large numbers. Because of the popularity of the sphinx in the seventh century, artists are often tempted to experiment and create new types. Thus sphinxes often grow human arms by analogy to centaurs: equine or bovine legs replace feline and from the second half of the seventh century gorgon - sphinxes and double-bodied sphinxes appear. Therefore seventh century sphinxes have been classed in the following types: winged female; winged male; wingless; hybrid sphinx (i.e. with human arms or equine legs or double-bodied or gorgon-sphinx), and finally sphinx protomes.

THE WINGED FEMALE SPHINX

The winged female sphinx's iconography varies from one workshop to another, making it possible to distinguish the characteristic versions of each workshop. In the following pages we shall try to define the evolution of the winged, female sphinx within each workshop and at the same time examine the influence exercised among workshops. An attempt will also be made to examine the motif in vase painting according to painter so as to avoid an abstract typology and explain the various iconographic differences of sphinxes with reference to the painter's background.

Protoattic vase painting

The evolution of the winged female sphinx in PA vase painting presents three distinct stages. In the first stage, which coincides with the EPA period the sphinx has a characteristic type betraying strong Cretan and Oriental influence. In the second stage, that of the MPA period, Corinthian and Cycladic influence is felt, but the motif is still firmly rooted in the local EPA tradition. In the last stage, that of the LPA period, Corinthian influence becomes increasingly strong and by the end of the period the Corinthian type of sphinx is wholly adopted.

The Analatos painter (cf. nos. 49-55a)

The sphinx is a motif favoured by the Analatos painter¹ and his workshop. Being a traditional painter, though one who incorporates new elements to create a modern synthesis, he remains faithful to standard forms and iconographic types and clings obstinately to the same sphinx-type throughout his career. He uses certain stylizations that make his sphinxes easily recognisable and indeed the passant sphinxes on vases from various stages of his

career are practically identical.

The type is best manifested on the well preserved sphinxes on the most spectacular of his vases: his amphora in the Louvre (no. 53, pl. 45). There the passant sphinxes are represented with an elongated leonine body with extremely narrow loins and high-raised rump. The tail is shown hanging between the hind legs and ending in a spiral curl. The pointed wing with its straight upper edge covers breast and shoulders and is decorated with a pattern of dotted scales that sets the tone of the sphinx and creates a balance between the outlined face and silhouetted body. The human head is beardless with long hair falling on its shoulders, closely resembling the head of the female dancers on the same vase. It can, therefore, be assumed as female, though the distinction between a male and a female head in EPA vase painting is not always clear, since both are usually shown with long hair and male figures are often depicted beardless. On the works of the Analatos painter, however, even when the male figures are beardless they are shown with a characteristically emphasized chin contour that clearly distinguishes them from the female figures on the same vase. It can, thus, be deduced that the sphinxes on no. 53 were meant as female.

This type of passant, female, leonine sphinx with a pointed scaly wing is an original creation of the Analatos painter. A prototype for this sphinx can be seen in an earlier work by the same painter, a standed bowl from Kerameikos (no. 49, pl. 43), which in fact displays the earliest PA sphinxes known so far. The date of this vase is firmly fixed by its context: it was found in Kerameikos grave 98 together with a LG standed bowl (pl. 44b) and a PC kotyle that dates the grave with certainty to the last quarter of the eighth century.² Technique and iconography of the sphinxes on no. 49 are still in the geometric spirit and it is mainly their style that takes them into the Orientalizing period. They are painted in silhouette and in one only the eye is reserved (pl. 43b), in the other, the whole face (pl. 43a)

they are depicted each in a metope and shown in a geometric schema, passant with uplifted foreleg.³ The pointed wing, however, is outlined and filled with dots in a completely Orientalizing fashion. The painter has not yet invented the scaly wing which later becomes the hallmark of his sphinxes, and here he decorates the wing with dots, one of his favourite stylizations used for palmettes, muzzles of lions etc.⁴ The heads of the sphinxes on no. 49, depicted as they are without a distinct hairstyle, look male; this, and their close resemblance to the heads of the male dancers on the Analatos hydria,⁵ again poses the question of the sex of EPA sphinxes. We are confronted with the conflicting fact that the helmeted marines on the same painter's Sumium plaque⁶ are "almost replicas of the faces of women on the Analatos hydria".⁷ It can therefore be deduced that no particular attempt was made by the Analatos painter to represent the sphinxes on no. 49 as being of a definite sex. Since, however, his later stereotype sphinx is female, it can be assumed that his prototype was female also.

The Analatos painter was a pupil of the Stathatou painter,⁸ who belongs to the Athens 894 Workshop, in which the earliest Attic sphinxes appear (cf. no. 18, pl. 39a). However, a comparison of the sphinxes on the Attic LG cup no. 18 and those by the Analatos painter shows that there is no immediate connection between them. The tail on the LG sphinxes is shown pointing upwards, while on the Analatos sphinxes it hangs between the hind legs; the hatched, curved wing on the LG sphinxes springs straight from the shoulders, but the Analatos sphinxes have a straight-edged wing covering breast and shoulders. The problem is therefore whether the Analatos sphinxes are a natural development of LG types or created under a strong foreign influence. The Analatos painter is a pioneer painter but his work betrays strong Oriental influence; he may therefore have obtained his sphinx models from the Orient rather than Greece, especially as Oriental sphinxes with straight-edged wing and downward-hanging tail were widely available in Attica at the

time. His marked preference for dotted ornamentation, however, strongly suggests the influence of metalwork, and the straight-edged wing points towards Cretan models.

At the end of his career the Analatos painter adopts the black and white style, and three pieces with sphinx representations have been preserved from this stage. On no. 54 (pl. 46b), a small sherd from the Agora, we find his standard type of female, passant sphinx with pointed wing. The old schema of dotted wing (no. 49) is now practised in a new technique; thus the wing is covered with white colour and speckled with dots. He still keeps the scaly wing for the sphinxes on no. 55 (pl. 46a), though now adopting the sejant pose for them.⁹ Another important innovation is that these sphinxes are no longer bareheaded in the usual Analatos style, but wear a kind of "floral" headdress consisting of four small vertical hooks — a kind of headdress met with on Cycladic sphinxes of the early seventh century¹⁰ (cf. pl. 145).

The Mesogeia painter and his workshop (cf. nos. 56-64)

The sphinx is a motif also favoured by the Mesogeia painter¹¹ and his workshop. The Mesogeia painter is a close companion of the Analatos painter and both are pupils of the Athens 894 Workshop, so it is not surprising that their works show close stylistic affinities, though the Mesogeia painter is an inferior,¹² rather imitative¹³ painter whose work lacks the originality of his fellow-pupil. He is obviously much more open to foreign influence than the Analatos painter, but at the same time also under the Analatos painter's influence.

The Mesogeia painter's sphinxes can be classed in three different groups, representing three chronological stages. Nos. 56 and 57 belong to his first stage, when he is under strong Cretan influence and drawing mainly

male sphinxes. Nos. 58-61 belong to the second stage, when he is still under foreign influence but developing a characteristic type of sphinx; finally, no. 60 belongs to his last period when he conforms with the sphinx types of his contemporary PA painters. The earliest sphinxes by the Mesogeia painter (no. 56, pl. 47a) are undoubtedly male and under strong Cretan influence. From the same stage of his work survives a small sherd from the Agora, with body and wing of a passant sphinx (no. 57, pl. 47b). The straight-edged wing with alternating hatching once again leaves no doubt as to the Cretan derivation of the motif.

In his second stage the Mesogeia Painter has assimilated Cretan influence, and though under the influence of the Analatos painter, manages to create a sphinx type of his own. The basic characteristic of the sphinxes of this stage is a double S-shaped wing covering the shoulders and spreading out above and below the body. This type of wing presents a development, indicating a chronological sequence. On no. 58 (pl. 48a) the parts above and below the body are of equal size, the whole wing is decorated with small outlined circles. On no. 59 (pl. 48b) the section of the wing hanging below the body is smaller and the central part (that corresponding to the wing base) is decorated with a dotted scale pattern, while the outer sides of both wings are hatched. On no. 61 (pl. 49a) the part of the wing hanging below the body is now turned into a small protrusion decorated with the same scale pattern as the base of the wing; the pinion however has two registers of an outlined tongue-like pattern. Sphinxes of this phase are almost subgeometric in style, painted in silhouette with only wing and face reserved; sometimes even the face is in silhouette and only the eye is reserved (cf. pl. 48b). Because of this the definition of the sex of these sphinxes is full of problems: on no. 58 (pl. 48a) the chin is very pointed, as if a beard might have been meant, and only on no. 61 (pl. 49a) the sphinx is definitely female.

Sphinxes of the last stage (nos. 61-64) are less elaborate and much more under the influence of the Analatos painter. They have a simpler straight-edged wing decorated with a double scale pattern, the shape being that followed by the Analatos painter, though frequently the Mesogeia painter's characteristic division into wing base with double scale pattern and tongue-patterned pinion is present (cf. pl. 49b). The Mesogeia painter maintained his liking for male sphinxes throughout his career (cf. no. 63, pl. 133), but also experiments with sphinxes with hooved feet — a good example in the black and white style being no. 64 (pl. 148a), which brings the painter down to the second quarter of the seventh century.

The dating of the early work of the Mesogeia painter and the possible priority of his work over Analatos presents many difficulties. The vase no. 58 is considered by Cook¹⁴ on grounds of shape to be earlier than the Analatos hydria and therefore more or less contemporary with no. 49; no. 59 was found with a PC kotyle, which Cook¹⁵ dates to the turn of the century¹⁶ and no. 61 with an Attic kotyle, whose straight sides suggest a date in the early seventh century. Therefore, nos. 56 and 58 can be dated to the last quarter of the eighth century, no. 59 to the turn of the century and 60-62 to the first quarter of the seventh century.

The Vulture painter (cf. nos. 65-67)

The Vulture painter¹⁷ belongs to the first generation of EPA painters. He is an interesting personality, Cook¹⁸ at least considering him to be almost as good a craftsman as the Analatos painter. A pupil of the Benaki painter,¹⁹ he preserves a tradition that goes back to the Dipylon Master.²⁰ At the same time he seems to have been under strong influence from the Cycladic Linear group.²¹ He shows deliberate archaism²² in using LG formulas such as silhouette technique, but at the same time experiments with new motifs such as sphinxes and winged horses (pls. 50-51).²³ He has a

preference for bowls with tall stand and two rows of windows, which appear in the opening years of EPA and are also favoured by the Analatos painter.²⁴

The sphinxes of the Vulture painter are extremely archaic in that they are painted in silhouette with only the eye reserved and outline used for the wing. They are shown on one panel as an isolated motif, couchant with paw uplifted; only on no. 64 does he use a heraldic schema with two sphinxes confronting each other across a floral ornament. They are rendered with a characteristically attenuated leonine body with narrow loins, accentuated rump and tail hanging below the body and ending in a spiral curve. Each pair of hind and front legs are depicted as one and only on no. 67 are both front legs shown. Paws are usually carefully drawn with two or three distinct claws, which give the monster a voracious appearance. The hallmark of the Vulture painter's sphinxes is, however, the long s-shaped and striated wing, which echo details of his earlier drawings of vultures,²⁵ and betrays strong Oriental influence (cf. pl. 16). Another typical characteristic of the Vulture painter's sphinxes is their very long neck, together with his preference for the uplifted front leg and paw used as a hand. His sphinxes wear their hair rather short and have a pointed chin, which makes them look male.²⁶

The vases of the Vulture painter are dated on stylistic grounds very early in the EPA period. Brokaw²⁷ considers no. 65 (pl. 52a) contemporary to the high-standed bowl Kerameikos Inv. 301 (pl. 44b), while A. Kaufmann-Samaras²⁸ considers the sphinx on no. 66 to be more primitive in style than those on no. 49. A comparison of the sphinxes on nos. 49, 65 and 66 confirms that the Vulture painter's sphinxes are more "archaic" than those by the Analatos painter on no. 49, who uses outline for his sphinxes' faces. However, the shape of the vases suggests that they are most probably contemporary.

The N-painter (cf. nos. 68-69)

The N-painter²⁹ is a pupil of the Vulture painter and strongly archaizing in technique and style. He paints mainly small-scale work in a delicate style with three stroked N's in the field as filling ornament, which was the reason for his being so named by Hampe.

Only two sherds with sphinx representations by the N-painter have been preserved, nos. 68 (pl. 54a) and 69 (pl. 54b). On both the sphinxes are of the same winged female type. They are shown passant in a frieze with slightly curved wing with two rows of feathers. The hair falls on the shoulders in isolated strands and the head is crowned most probably by a double volute, though on no. 68 only the base has been preserved. As they are painted in silhouette with outlined face and dotted circular eye they appear very archaic, but their open-mouthed faces and the curved form of their wings betray that they belong to a rather advanced date in the first quarter of the seventh century.

The Passas painter (cf. nos. 70-71)

The Passas painter³⁰ is a close companion of the N-painter and also the Vulture painter's pupil. Only two fragmentary vases with sphinx representations by the Passas painter have been preserved, and they each show a different type of sphinx.

On no. 71 (pl. 56a) appear sejant sphinxes with a double volute shown in a frieze. They are extremely archaizing in technique and style, being painted in silhouette with reserved eye and wing, which is shown striated in the manner of the Vulture painter. The same influence is betrayed by the elongated breast of the sphinxes, the positioning on the wing on the shoulders and the rendering of the hind legs as one. On the other hand, the double volute with central stalk brings them closer to the sphinxes by the N-painter (cf. pl. 54a). Another element they share with the latter is the

elongated chin, which can easily be mistaken as indicating a beard. A comparison of the sphinxes on no. 71 with the charioteer and warriors depicted on the same vase however suggests that most probably the sphinxes were not meant to be bearded and the elongated chin is a stylistic rather than iconographic element.

By contrast, the sphinx by the Passas painter on the oenochoe from Agora no. 70 (pl. 142b) is shown bearded and helmeted, with two wings and a pair of human arms.

The Palmette-tail painter (cf. nos. 72-73)

Another noteworthy personality among the EPA painters is the Palmette-tail painter, so named by us after the palmette he draws at the end of the tail of his sphinxes (cf. pl. 55a). Three vases with sphinx representations by this painter have been preserved; the Lekane no. 72 (pl. 55a), the kotyle no. 73 (pl. 55b) and a sherd from Brauvrona (no. 72a). The sphinxes by this artist have a small stylized body painted in silhouette and a huge outlined female head. The small, slightly curved wing is also outlined and placed almost vertically on the shoulders. The tail of the sphinxes on no. 73 points upwards, ending in a spiral curl, while on the other two (nos. 72, 72a) it hangs between the hind legs and ends in a palmette. Another interesting element of these sphinxes is that they use their foreleg as a human arm: thus on no. 73 they reach out a leg towards a central palmette, but on no. 72 are shown placing the foreleg on the root of the tail of the sphinx in front. In general this painter breaks away from the old patterns of stiff, purely decorative motifs and shows an inclination for narrative scenes; on no. 72 (pl. 55a) the frieze of passant sphinxes is interrupted by a warrior with shield and spears.

Phaleron oenochoai (cf. nos. 76-77)

The painters of the Phaleron oenochoai are characterized by the considerable audacity of their sphinx representations; the sphinx on no. 76 (pl. 142a) is shown with an additional human arm and a volute on the head. The shape of the wing is in the tradition of the Analatos painter, but the outlined tongue-pattern is closer to that of the contemporary N-painter. The sphinxes on no. 77 (pl. 60) are shown rampant on either side of a stylized tree ornament. They have an extremely long neck decorated with a spiral ornament, and a similar pattern decorates the thighs, while the head is covered by a double volute. The spiral ornament on the neck is a stylization otherwise unparalleled on sphinxes, and can only be explained by analogy to the griffin protomes — an explanation also suggested by the height of the neck.

The Ram Jug painter (cf. nos. 80-83)

With the Ram Jug painter³¹ we come into the MPA period, in which he is one of the leading painters, along with the Polyphemos painter.³² The Ram Jug painter is the Analatos painter's immediate successor,³³ and his sphinxes are completely in the Analatan tradition.

The personality of this painter is not yet fully understood and his early phase remains obscure. E. Brann³⁴ argues that the Kerameikos Mug group is really Early Ram Jug painter, while Cook³⁵ has attributed to him some late works of the Mesogeia and Polyphemos painters. The sphinxes appearing on four of the works attributed to him (nos. 80-83) in fact suggest that he was active throughout the MPA period. Originally under the influence of the Analatos painter, he then develops his own style and finally falls under Corinthian influence. The sphinx on the krater in Athens no. 80 (pl. 57) could easily be taken for a late work of the Analatos painter, for we have here the same type of female passant sphinx

with scaly wing with straight upper edge. The sphinx's body possesses the same distinctive narrow loins, but the legs have become shorter, the thighs more rounded, and the short metatarsus emphasizes the body's feline character. The paws are now outlined instead of being indicated as a group of distinct claws (cf. pl. 45), and a reserved V-shaped stylization appears on the ankles. The hair is rendered in layers in the Daedalic fashion, leaving no doubt as to the female character of the sphinxes. The sherd no. 81 (pl. 58c) belongs to an earlier date and the sphinx (shown with straight-edged dotted wing) is here also under the influence of the Analatos painter.

By contrast the sphinxes on the Agora oenochoe no. 82 (pl. 56b) have a character all their own. They are represented passant in a heraldic schema and their fine drawing immediately places them among the work of the painter's maturity. These sphinxes are undoubtedly female, and their extremely long neck is decorated with a pair of necklaces, an element first attested in PA vase painting. In North Syrian art of the Early Iron Age sphinxes are often shown with a necklace (cf. pl. 171), but its existence on the sphinxes of the Agora oenochoe no. 82 may also have been due to the painter's attempt to give his sphinxes a more human character, in accordance with the general tendency of Orientalizing art from the second quarter of the seventh century ("Vermenschlichung").³⁶

On the other hand the wing of the sphinxes on no. 82 clearly suggests a strong Cycladic influence.³⁷ On the right-hand sphinx the wing is outlined, cross-hatched, slightly curved and placed vertically on the shoulders, while on the left-hand sphinx it covers breast and shoulders; here it is painted in silhouette and the cross-hatching is engraved, but the general shape and decoration of both wings are closely paralleled on sphinxes' wings on Cycladic vases of the early seventh century (cf. e.g. no. 254 pl. 145).

In his final stage, the Ram Jug painter falls under Corinthian influ-

ence. There is only one sphinx from this stage, on the fragmentary krater from Aegina no. 83 (pl. 82a), painted in the black and white style. The attribution of this piece to the Ram Jug painter has been doubted,³⁸ but the drawing of the face and hairstyle is closely matched by those on the Athens krater no. 80 (pl. 57). The elaborate double-volute with palmette finials which crowns the head is obviously under strong Corinthian influence (cf. pl. 82b) and the same can also be said for the sickle-shaped wing. The piece dates to around the middle of the century when Corinthian influence starts to dominate PA art, and the sphinx on no. 83 in fact gives some of the best evidence for it.

The Polyphemos painter (cf. nos. 84-85)

The Polyphemos painter³⁹ is a close companion of the Ram Jug painter, and generally considered to have been pupil of the Mesogeia painter.⁴⁰ The dipinto MENELAS on the stand 84 (pl. 149) is in Aeginetan alphabet⁴¹ and suggests that he was an Aeginetan or at least that ^{he} worked in Aegina; he paints in black and white style and can ^{use} both outline and incision techniques. Sphinxes survive on two vases attributed to him (nos. 84 and 85), and on both they are hooved. No. 84, the so-called Menelas stand, is one of his best known works.

It was once attributed to the Ram Jug Painter,⁴² but the sphinxes on this stand are totally idiosyncratic, and betray the influence of the N-painter in the formation of the wing.

MPA sphinxes (cf. nos. 86-94)

Apart from a few exceptions by certain individuals like the Ram Jug or Polyphemos painters, sphinxes of the MPA period wholly adopt PC iconography: the wing becomes sickle-shaped with a festooned contour and the

tail is shown pointing upwards (cf. pls. 62-63). The Corinthian influence is first shown on the wing, but as the black figured style is also adopted, MPA sphinxes gradually become fully Corinthianizing.

One of the earliest attempts at a Corinthianizing sphinx is found on the Kerameikos kotyle no. 86 (pl. 61). On each side of this vase there is a pair of antithetical sphinxes in black-figured technique, richly engraved. The iconography of these sphinxes gives evidence of various influences, the sickle-shaped wing suggesting Corinthian influence joining the earlier orientalizing tradition of the Mesogeia painter, as it forms a small, pointed projection on the shoulder (cf. pl. 49a); from the same painter derives the decoration of the wing by small engraved circles. On the other hand the stylization of the thighs suggests North Syrian models (cf. e.g. pl. 171) and the engraved zig-zag band round the body points to Assyrian⁴³ influence.

LPA sphinxes (cf. nos. 95-107)

The LPA period is little-known, but basically dominated by the early phase of such black-figured painters as the Nessos painter. Among the earliest painters of this phase is the *Berlin A34 painter*⁴⁴ from which the fine Kerameikos krater no. 95 (pl. 64) with a large Corinthianizing sphinx, one of a pair, survives. This sphinx is shown couchant with a rounded breast and a Corinthian wing with two rows of feathers in alternating black and white. White is also used for the female head of the sphinx, which is decorated by a ribbon — a Corinthian element also adopted by the Nessos painter.

The Nessos painter

The Nessos painter, who is the earliest Attic painter to use a fully

assimilated black-figured technique, is now fused with the Chimaera painter.⁴⁵ Sphinxes are a favourite motif of this artist (cf. nos. 96-107), who is generally explained as a Corinthian painter in Athens. His sphinxes are fully Corinthianizing, though he paints on a large scale; according to LPC fashion he renders them sejant, usually in antithetical pairs, and adopts the winged female Corinthian sphinx with a ribbon (cf. pl. 65-66) or polos (no. 96) on the head. This preference for a large scale expands the possibilities of the Corinthian sphinx — thus he is able to elaborate the details on legs, body and wing. He is among the first painters to adopt the use of covert feathers across the alar tracks. At the same time he keeps up with Corinthian fashion, as shown in his later stage which coincides with the Early Corinthian style, where he uses the curved, folded wing familiar in EC sphinxes (pl. 66).

Through the Nessos painter the Corinthian type of sphinx is finally established in Athens, and it is this type of sphinx adopted by the sculptors for their sphinx statues.

PC vase painting

The sphinx is an extremely popular motif in PC vase painting, appearing in the EPC period and keeping the same type throughout, a type of great influence which wholly dominates Greek art by the end of the seventh century. Its iconography is stereotyped with only minor differentiations due either to foreign influence or the painter's idiosyncrasies.

EPC

The earliest PC sphinx is found on a large globular aryballos from Aetos, Ithaca no. 108 (pl. 67). This aryballos is classed by Dunbabin and Robertson⁴⁶ earlier than the oenochoe of the Cumae group and its date

therefore falls well into the last quarter of the eighth century. It has been preserved in a very fragmentary state and most of the outline-painted sphinx is missing. Only the forepaws, wing tip and the head and part of the shoulders survive today. It is clear however that the wing had a fully curved shape ending in a pointed tip; the curved wing of earlier sphinxes in Attic and Argive LG vase painting (nos. 18 and 19) is explained as deriving from North Syrian models, and here, too, the pointed wing-tip suggests a direct derivation from North Syrian models rather than through Attic (cf. e.g. pl. 164a). Most of the hair is now missing but it must have fallen on the shoulder since the head is bound with a fillet like the man with shoulder-length hair on the same vase. The man has a beard painted in silhouette on an otherwise outlined face, suggesting that the sphinx in comparison is female. Undoubtedly the most interesting element on this sphinx is the double volute crowning her head. The volute, which falls in front and behind the head, springs from a central stalk stylized in a lozenge and placed just above the brow. The origin of this headdress remains unclear, but seems most probably a Corinthian development of a stylized floral pattern found on North Syrian sphinxes (cf. below on volutes).

MPC sphinxes

The earliest PC sphinxes executed in black-figured style with abundant use of incision are found on the MPC kotyle no. 111 (pl. 69a) from Perachora. The iconography betrays strong Cretan and North Syrian influence; the sphinxes as a whole represent pioneer work with many stylizations, which become regular aspects of later PC sphinxes.

They are composed in an antithetical pair flanking a floral ornament — a composition known in Crete from the end of the eighth century on the Idean shields. The sphinxes on the kotyle no. iii are shown passant with an elongated leonine body, massive accentuated haunches, short metatarsus and large

paws all reminiscent of North Syrian sphinxes (cf. e.g. pl. 164a); the horizontal lines which distinguish the paw from the leg is also a common North Syrian convention for lions and sphinxes (e.g. pl. 171). On the other hand the two parallel lines on the knees are a stylization for knee-joints invented by Corinthian painters.

Cretan influence may be detected yet again in the shape and decoration of the wing (cf. pl. 37a-b) which is slightly curved and hatched, but the origin of the small scale pattern on the chest is rather obscure. It can be explained either as a stylization deriving from the Oriental convention of a wing part hanging below the body known in Greece from eighth century Cretan and contemporary PA models or as an attempt at breast feathering. The interest of the sphinxes on the kotyle no. 111 lies in their idiosyncratic character and even more in the evidence they give of various currents of influence affecting PC sphinxes early in the seventh century.

The earliest evidence for the fully developed Corinthian type of sphinx is found on the MPC ovoid aryballos no. 121 (pl. 69c-d) in Boston. In a frieze on the body of this vase a pair of antithetical passant sphinxes are shown flanking a stylized ornament. The sphinxes, which are painted in the first black-figured style, have the typical PC stylizations for the knee-joints and ankles, an upward-pointing tail and a sickle-shaped wing consisting of wing base and feathers. An attempt at variation is achieved by giving two rows of feathers and dotted decoration on the wing base to the sphinx on the left, while the right hand sphinx has a single row of feathers and no wing base decoration.

The sphinx on the slightly later PC oenochoe sherd no. 112 (pl. 70) from Perachora also deserves some attention. The wing is slightly curved with a single row of feathers, anticipating what will become the typical Corinthian sickle-shaped wing. The hairstyle however, with its isolated lock hanging in front of the ear, clearly suggests North Syrian models,

where the hathoric lock is often used for sphinxes (e.g. pl. 169a); a similar hairstyle is attested on the pouncing sphinxes of the roughly contemporary ovoid aryballos from Syracuse no. 124 (pl. 73). The wing of the sphinxes reinforces the impression of foreign influence — the latter is only slightly curved, cross-hatched and placed almost vertically on the shoulders betraying Cycladic models (cf. no. 254 pl. 145).

The Aetos painter (cf. nos. 126-132)

The Aetos painter is an MPC painter with a preference for male bearded sphinxes wearing a double volute and shown in a demi-couchant pose. His favourite composition is in antithetical pairs flanking an ornament or bird; the sphinxes are very much his own despite a glancing at PC conventions. From his early phase survive the two ovoid aryballoi (nos. 126 and 127) each with a male and female sphinx confronted.

In his later stage the Aetos painter draws female sphinxes with a sickle-shaped wing in his familiar demi-couchant pose. His hallmark is now the hair tied on the nape and falling on the shoulders (cf. pl. 76a). He is also recognisable by a steady tendency to depict scenes of narrative character — the favourite being a man with spear following sphinxes (cf. pl. 136).

The Boston painter (cf. nos. 113-120)

The Boston painter, one of the finest of MPC painters, is the Aetos painter's pupil, and his sphinxes present a steady evolution towards the typical Corinthian sphinx with a sickle-shaped wing. The earliest, found on the pyxis no. 116 (pl. 72b) from Perachora, presents a slightly curved striated wing, paralleled by the wing of the more or less contemporary PA sphinxes by the Passas painter (cf. pl. 56a).

In his mature year, however, the painter gets rid of any foreign influence and develops his own Corinthian type of sphinx. The best example of this phase is found on the fragmentary ovoid aryballos no. 113 (pl. 71) from the Argive Heraion. The finely drawn passant sphinxes are composed in a heraldic schema on either side of a floral ornament. They have a finely balanced leonine body with a tail pointing upwards and ending in a spiked tassel. The root of the tail is emphasized by two engraved lines, and the typical PC stylizations for knee-joints and ankles are also engraved (cf. pl. 69). The sickle-shaped wing is in the fully developed Corinthian form, consisting of wing base and feathers, the latter being painted alternating plain black, and white with black dots; the lower festooned body contour is indicated by an engraved line. More engraved lines indicate the division of the wing into feathered area and base, while the lower contour of the base just above the elbow is also indicated by a band of parallel, engraved lines (cubitus band). The sphinx's head is female with a layered hairstyle and some small spiral locks on the brow.

More or less contemporary with the ovoid aryballos no. 113 is the fragmentary kotyle no. 114 (pl. 83a) from Perachora. On a fragment of this kotyle survives the upper part of a female sphinx with a scale pattern on the breast and a double volute on the head.

Finally in his last stage, which falls wholly in the LPC period, the painter draws less elaborate sphinxes, best represented by the bareheaded sphinxes with stylized sickle-shaped wing on the LPC olpe no. 118 from Crete.

The Sacrifice painter (cf. nos. 139-143)

The activity of the Sacrifice painter falls inside MPC II and LPC; he uses the sphinx motif quite frequently (nos. 139-143) and has a fine elaborate style although the influence of the Aetos painter is obvious here

and there in his iconography. On the fragmentary conical oenochoe no. 139 (pl. 79) from Perachora the Aetos painter's influence is attested in the wing formation and on the conical oenochoe no. 143 (pl. 78a), in the composition of an antithetical bearded male and a female sphinx. The sphinxes of his later stage on the other hand lack any originality and instead dully reproduce the typical Corinthian female sphinx with layered hair and sickle-shaped wing with a single row of feathers (cf. pl. 77).

The Mac millan painter (cf. nos. 144-152)

The Mac millan painter, a close companion of the Sacrifice painter, is an artist whose work varies in quality, capable of extremely fine pieces like no. 144 (pl. 151a) — the so called Chigi vase — and others of poor drawing and workmanship like no. 148. Sphinxes of his early stage have slim slightly curved pointed wing (cf. no. 146 pl. 81), easily traceable back to the tradition of the Aetos painter (cf. no. 126 pl. 135); later they conform with the general Corinthian fashion for a sickle-shaped wing.

The fine double-bodied sphinx on the Chigi vase no. 144 (pl. 151a) is one of the best examples of LPC drawing and presents all the typical LPC sphinx stylizations double volute on the head, sickle-shaped wing with two rows of feathers, cubitus band, carpus stylizations deriving from MPC I knee-joint stylizations (cf. pl. 69a). An inferior version of the same sphinx is found on the conical oenochoe from Perachora no. 150 (pl. 74a).

The Telestrophos painter (cf. no. 133)

In him we have a vigorous personality in MPC vase painting to whom our scanty knowledge does not do justice. The sphinx represented on the kotyle no. 133 (pl. 80) from Perachora is highly individual: it is shown sejant with uplifted forepaw and a pair of sickle-shaped wings, one

projecting behind the other. The inner decoration of the wing with scaly base and alternating black and white feathers is typically Corinthian but the positioning and number of wings strongly suggests foreign influence, as two wings on the shoulders, one slightly projecting behind the other, is a convention used for Oriental sphinxes of the Syro-Phoenician area,⁴⁸ but also used in Cretan vase painting of the second quarter of the seventh century (cf. pl. 90). On the other hand the Telestrophos painter presents several similarities to the Boston painter, namely the black and white feathers and dotted tail.

The Round Dance painter (cf. nos. 134-135)

An MPC painter known only from a few vases. Sphinxes appear on two works attributed to him, but they are too fragmentary to form an idea of the sphinx types used. The kotyle no. 134 (pl. 84a) however shows the head and breast of a sphinx caressed by a woman. The sphinx is shown with a fillet round the head and hair in isolated locks on the shoulders.

The Displayed Siren painter (cf. no. 136)

One of the best MPC painters is the Displayed Siren painter but unfortunately only one sphinx is known by him, on the fragmentary conical oenochoe no. 136 with the displayed siren. The latter is painted in silhouette and bearded, but the face of the sphinx (only the upper part survives) is painted in outline and therefore meant as female.

The Aegina Bellerophon painter (cf. nos. 137-138)

The Aegina Bellerophon painter is an MPC II painter who tends to draw on a large scale. Only two of his vases with sphinxes survive today but that on the large Bellerophon and Chimaera kotyle no. 137 (pl. 82b) gives

a good example of the PC sphinx round the middle of the seventh century: rounded breast, sickle-shaped wing with alternately black and red feathers, double-volute with palmettes and layered hairstyle with an isolated lock in front of the ear.

The Leiden painter (no. 156 pl. 76b)

Pupil of the Bellerophon painter, little known today. Only one sphinx by him survives on the conical oenochoe no. 156 (pl. 76b) from Perachora — a typical PC sphinx with sickle-shaped wing and layered hair.

The Snake painter (cf. nos. 168-176)

The Snake painter is a good Corinthian painter of the Transitional period with a firm preference for sphinxes, which he usually represents sejant on either side of a snake. He is very much a traditional painter who remains faithful to established patterns, and his sphinxes are remarkably alike: female sejant sphinxes with hair falling on the shoulders and often a high polos, sickle-shaped wing with tripartite division, and cubitus band.

The Painter of the Sphinxes with tightly bound hair (cf. nos. 177-180)

One of the best Corinthian painters of the Transitional period. He decorates small vases with pairs of antithetical sejant or demi-couchant sphinxes, placing his emphasis on the rendering of the head and the hair in particular. His sphinxes' long hair falls in a mass on the shoulders and a few spiral locks decorate the brow. His most characteristic stylization, however, is the tight binding of the hair round the crown by a fillet.

The Sphinx painter (cf. nos. 181-206)

The Sphinx painter is one of the most influential and prolific painters of the Transitional period, a controversial personality often fused⁴⁹ with the painter of Vatican 73. He has a very limited iconographic language — his most favoured subject being pairs of antithetical sejant or demi-couchant sphinxes flanking a swan. He works chiefly on large vases (olpai and oenochoai), which he decorates with many animal friezes, producing sphinxes monotonous in their similarity: they are female with long hair falling on the shoulders in a mass, and often a fillet is bound round the crown or across the back between the ears. The leonine body is rather slim and short with rounded thighs and there is an obvious emphasis in the rendering of the forepart of the body, with rounded breast and several stylizations on the legs, particularly the cubitus band. Their main interest however lies not in their iconography, but in the fact that they represent the final stage of development of the Corinthian type of sphinx and the type adopted in sixth century Greek art.

Thapsos class workshop (cf. no. 109)

Three sphinxes each in a metope appear on the only Orientalizing vase of the Thapsos class (no. 109 pl. 68). The origin of this class of vases has been a disputed subject so far, but style, iconography and recently clay analysis strongly suggest Corinthian origin.^{49a}

The sphinxes on the krater no. 109 (pl. 68) are executed in the technique of the first black-figured PC style, and follow the PC type of sphinx with slightly curved feathered wing and double volute. At the same time they present several elements suggesting foreign — most probably Cretan — influence. In keeping with geometric conventions they are shown passant, sometimes regardant (pl. 68b). The passant regardant pose is known from earlier Cretan examples (cf. pl. 25), and the straight upper edge of the

wing points to the same source. However, the wing is here divided into wing base and feathers indicated by horizontal engraved lines. The wing base covers the shoulders but not the reserved breast, which is rounded and suggests Orientalizing Cretan or North Syrian models (e.g. pl. 164a).

One of the sphinxes of this krater possesses an unexplained horizontal line in the middle of her reserved breast (cf. pl. 68a), which can be paralleled to such stylizations as the reserved line on the shoulders of the sphinx on the Cretan LG sherd no. 20 (pl. 37a). The tail of the sphinxes of the Thapsos class krater no. 109 hangs between the hind legs and ends in a curl — a stylization known from PA sphinxes, but completely foreign to PC sphinxes. In general the sphinxes on no. 109 present a mixture of foreign influences, which can only be explained in terms of the idiosyncratic character of Thapsos class vases.

The Ithacan sphinx (cf. no. 241)

This sphinx is attested on a strange type of local Ithacan Orientalizing vase,⁵⁰ the candlestick no. 241 by the potter Kallikleas, who was probably also its painter.⁵¹

Local Ithacan Orientalizing vases are under strong PC influence in technique, style and iconography, and the sphinxes on the Kallikleas vase are wholly dependent on PC models. The drawing of these sphinxes is very poor, betraying an inexperienced provincial painter; they are painted in silhouette with outlined neck and face and abundant use of incision for the inner details of body, legs, wing and hair — a technique that suggests a date for the vase early in the second quarter of the seventh century.⁵² The extremely long forelegs however betray Corinthian models of a much earlier date, and the button-hook stylization on the knees is the Ithacan version of the knee joints of PC sphinxes of the first quarter of the seventh century (cf. pl. 69a). The long tail, following the PC fashion for

sphinxes and lions, is turned upwards and ends in an arrow-shaped tassel; this stylization for the tassel was most probably a spontaneous invention of the painter, who, judging from his signature and the ape represented on the other side of the vase, was rather ambitious despite his total dependence on PC models.

Proto-argive vase-painting (cf. no. 242)

An equally Corinthianizing type of sphinx appears on the Proto-argive sherd no. 242 (pl. 88a). The surviving vases of the Proto-argive style are few, but quite distinctive. Shapes and general decoration are still in the Argive Late Geometric tradition, but the isolated motifs are under strong PC influence.⁵³

On no. 242 the sphinx is painted in outline without any use of incision; the hind part of the body and lower part of the forelegs are missing but the horizontal position of the preserved part of the body together with the vertical direction of the neck suggest that the sphinx was most probably passant. The curved, hatched wing that covers breast and shoulders seems to be a Proto-argive version of the sickle-shaped PC wings such as those on no. 123 (pl. 75a) dated to the first quarter of the seventh century; similarly early date is also suggested by the positioning of the knee-joint stylizations high up on the forelegs (cf. pl. 69a). The upper part of the sphinx's head is missing but the lower part of a volute hanging behind the head suggests either an Argive polos with ribbon such as that on the Argive LG sphinxes no. 19 (pl. 41) or, most probably, a simple volute after a PC model.

Fusco kraters (no. 243, pl. 88b)

A strongly Corinthianizing sphinx appears on the krater no. 243

(pl. 88b) from Fusco, one of the well-known group whose origin has been much disputed. Arias⁵⁴ followed by Dunbabin⁵⁵ has argued an Argive origin for these craters; Cook⁵⁶ considered them as "provincial versions of large Corinthian pots of around 700 and later", and recently Courbin⁵⁷ suggested that they are local Sicilian products under strong Argive influence.

The shapes of the Fusco kraters as well as several decorative motifs are certainly under Argive influence. The sphinx on no. 243, however, obviously derives from PC models such as the sphinx on the EPC globular aryballos from Ithaca no. 108 (pl. 67), with fillet and volute, though the sickle-shaped wing suggests a later date, in the first quarter of the seventh century. Its inner decoration, simply a reserved line running its length, brings to mind the similar wing of the sphinx on the Ithacan Kallikleas vase no. 241, with which the Fusco krater must be contemporary. The sphinx on the Fusco krater is extremely interesting in presenting a fine example of a PC sphinx on a vase otherwise appearing to be under Argive influence, and also because imitations of Greek sphinxes on local products of the Greek colonies in Italy are usually remote versions of the model, like the male sphinx on a sherd from Gela.⁵⁸

Laconian vase painting (cf. nos. 243a-245)

The sphinx is a very rare motif in Laconian vase painting⁵⁹ of the seventh century though it has been very common on contemporary Laconian ivories. Laconian figure-style appears in the middle of the seventh century and Laconian I is a second-rate, unpretentious style not much interested in figurative decoration. There is only one case of a sherd with a possible sphinx representation (no. 243a): here a human helmeted head is represented in a panel and behind it there is part of a vertical leaf-shaped pattern, which has variously been interpreted as a wing or a decorative motif flanking the handle of the vase.⁶⁰ If the leaf-shaped pattern

was not a wing, but just bordering the junction of the handle, then the human helmeted head must be a protome or belong to a dwarfish body, for which there are no other Laconian parallels. On the other hand, there are no parallels in Laconian I for a leaf-shaped pattern flanking the junction of a handle, and it seems more likely that the pattern represents the wing of a sphinx or a sphinx protome. It is placed almost vertically on the shoulders, like the wings of the horses on another Laconian I sherd.⁶¹ If this is the case this is the earliest sphinx in Laconian vase painting. Being helmeted, it seems to derive from Cretan models.

In Laconian II, which starts around 630 with the introduction of black-figured style, there is a striking advance in figurative decoration, but only two sherds with sphinx representations. On one (no. 245) there survives the forepart of a wingless, passant sphinx painted in silhouette which is a survival from the Geometric period. The drawing on this sherd is very bad and has no interest for us apart from the fact that the sphinx is shown wingless in the old Laconian tradition.

On the other vase (no. 244) from which only three fragments survive, there is a sphinx passant in black-figured style. This sphinx wears a typically Laconian leaf-polos and the style of the head suggests a date around 615 (Laconian II). In the sixth century sphinxes become a very common motif in Laconian vase-painting, where they are usually shown sejant with a double volute on the head.⁶²

The sphinx in Cretan vase painting (cf. nos. 246-252)

The sphinx remains a familiar motif in Cretan art in the seventh century, attested on vases, clay reliefs, bronzes etc. There are very few surviving vases with sphinx representations, but the sphinxes that do survive are quite characteristic and give an idea of the wide range of types current in Crete at the time. The motif remains under strong Oriental

influence till about the middle of the seventh century, when the Corinthian type of sphinx is wholly adopted.

Corinthian influence, beginning to be felt by the second quarter of the seventh century, was manifested in such details as the volute on the head or the shape of the wing, but sphinxes of this period in Crete are under many different influences and at the same time firmly rooted in the local Geometric tradition. However, the male helmeted sphinx that dominated Cretan art in the Geometric period is now evidenced by only one isolated example (no. 251) and sphinxes with equine legs remain an oddity (no. 246). It is basically the winged female sphinx that dominates Cretan art in the seventh century.

In vase painting winged female sphinxes appear in both polychrome and black-figured styles.⁶³ The earliest evidence for this type of sphinx is given by the cinerary urn no. 248 (pl. 90), which is decorated in the polychrome style and dated to the early second quarter of the seventh century. The sphinxes are represented in a large panel covering one side of the vase and are shown antithetically in a demi-couchant pose, raising their forepaw towards a winged, nude male figure in a knielauf pose. The drawing of the sphinxes is awkward, but their bodies with narrow loins and massive accentuated haunches, are reminiscent of Cretan sphinxes of the Geometric period, their posture in particular bringing to mind sphinxes on the Idaean shields. There sphinxes are shown in a characteristic pose with forelegs stretched forward and often raised, and hind legs in a walking movement (cf. pl. 30a). The forelegs of the sphinxes on the urn no. 248 are more or less in the same pose, but the hind legs are shown bent in a sitting position; they are however drawn in such an awkward way as to betray an inexperienced painter making an inaccurate copy of models in a completely different posture. The very composition of sphinxes flanking a nude man is otherwise unparalleled in seventh century Greece and can only be explained in Crete as the influence of Oriental or Orientalizing models

such as the Idaean shield no. 28, where sphinxes flank a nude female figure.

The sphinxes on the urn have two curved wings placed almost vertically on the shoulders and shown with one wing projecting slightly behind the other. Sphinxes with two wings in a similar position are known from the Idaean shields (cf. pl. 30a), but the convention is mainly known from Phoenician ivories, which are attested in Crete in the eighth century (cf. no. 565 pl. 170a). However, the wings of the sphinxes on the urn no. 248 are decorated with a row of tongue-shaped feathers which betrays Corinthian influence. The double volute on the head points to the same source, but the hairstyle and flat top of the head are typically Cretan.

Another interesting sphinx which displays a conjoining of local tradition and Corinthian influence is found on the griffin bowl no. 249 (pl. 91). This sphinx is shown sejant erect in a panel, with an elongated body and extremely long forelegs reminiscent of the Geometric tradition. The sickle-shaped wing suggests Corinthian influence, but its cross-hatched decoration is purely Cretan, most probably deriving from Cypriot models (cf. pl. 37b). The most interesting element on this sphinx however is the spiky crown, usually explained as a Minoan revival,⁶⁴ but most probably of Oriental derivation. The sphinx on the griffin bowl no. 249 is in general highly individual and provides a fascinating example of the fusing of various currents in seventh century Cretan art.

Another noteworthy illustration of this is given by the sphinxes on the Corinthianizing black-figured alabastron by the Fortetsa painter no. 251. This vase is decorated with three sphinxes in a frieze, each completely different: one is helmeted (pl. 140b), the others female, with volute (pl. 92a-b). Two of these sphinxes are shown in a demi-couchant pose, but the third (pl. 92b) is shown in the typical "lying-walking" pose of the sphinxes on the Idaean shields (cf. pl. 33). The same sphinx is also shown

regardant — a convention known in Crete from early eighth century bronzes (cf. pl. 25). The helmeted sphinx of this vase is shown with a traditionally Cretan straight-edged wing, but the other two have a slightly curved wing with many Cretan Geometric conventions adapted in a seventh century form. Thus the hatching of the wing is kept for the pinion, and the breast feathering known from sphinxes of the Idaean shields reappears as a stylization consisting of parallel bands on the breast. In general the sphinxes on the alabastron no. 251, in spite of the painter's individuality and Corinthianizing tendencies, remain wholly rooted in the Cretan Geometric tradition.

In the same tradition is the regardant sphinx with Corinthianizing wing on the fragmentary large open vase in polychrome style no. 250 (pl. 92b). Corinthian influence does however become increasingly strong, and with the introduction of the black-figure style the Corinthian type of sphinx is finally firmly established (cf. no. 252).

Cycladic vase painting (cf. nos. 253-270)

The winged female sphinx is a rather common motif on seventh century Cycladic vases (cf. nos. 253-270). They can be classed in three distinct groups corresponding to three different workshops and also implying a chronological sequence. The earliest are found on Naxian vases dated to the first quarter of the seventh century, and represent a characteristic type created under strong Oriental and Cretan influence. In the second quarter of the seventh century, however, Cretan is superseded by Corinthian influence, and by the middle of the seventh century a Corinthianizing type of Cycladic sphinx appears on vases of the group Bc. Finally, the sphinxes on the Melian vases are originally under the influence of Naxian types, but they soon fall completely under Corinthian influence.

The attributing of Cycladic vases to particular workshops is a very

controversial subject. The most stable attribution so far has been that of the Naxian workshop,⁶⁵ thanks to finds from this group and its Geometric predecessor on Naxos. Nevertheless, the majority of the vases of this group comes not from Naxos but from Delos-Rheneia (groups Ba, Bb, Bc),⁶⁶ while there are scattered finds from other places like Thera, Siphnos, Cumae and perhaps Selinus.⁶⁷ The group consists mostly of belly-handled amphorae of two main types: a) those of slender appearance with slim neck and a low foot b) wide, broad-necked amphorae set on a high conical foot. Sphinxes appear on the amphorae of the first group, which is the earliest. Figurative decoration on these vases appears on the front side only, while the back side is covered with rudimentary motifs. The decoration is shown in panels on the neck and shoulders, while the lower part of the vase is covered with parallel lines. The decorative style and slender forms of these vases are of a sub-geometric character, and suggest a date for the group to the first quarter of the seventh century. The only external evidence for the dating of this group comes from a PC skyphos which was found inside the amphora from Thera no. 253. The PC skyphos is dated to around 700 and therefore the Thera amphora (pl. 93) can be dated slightly later, ca 690; nos. 254 and 255 seem judging by style to be slightly later, thus ascribed to ca 690-680, while no. 256 is certainly the latest and therefore dated to around 680.

Sphinxes on the Naxian amphorae appear either rampant or passant in a panel on the neck or shoulder and their iconography is a conjoining of Cretan and Oriental influences. The rampant pose of the sphinxes on the Naxian amphora no. 253 (pl. 93) is a typically Oriental sphinx pose, but one also known from lions in Cretan Geometric art (cf. pl. 24). The passant pose is the characteristic posture for sphinxes in the Geometric period, but it survives well into the seventh century. Cretan influence can also be attested on the equine legs of the sphinx on no. 254 (pl. 145), and the

hallmark of the Naxian sphinxes — their wing type — quite obviously looks towards Crete with its pointed shape and hatchings or cross-hatchings. In its first stage it possesses a slight curve (cf. pl. 93), which becomes more and more exaggerated with time (cf. pls. 145 and 94) till it finally acquires the fully Corinthian sickle-shape with a single row of feathers (pl. 95). The female human head of the Naxian sphinxes is preserved on only two examples (nos. 253-254 in both cases decorated with volutes. The long volute on no. 253 (pl. 93) has been explained as a Greek version of the hathoric lock, but in fact it is the single volute also known from PA and PC sphinxes (cf. pls. 81 and 142a). By contrast the small curly volutes crowning the head of the sphinx on no. 254 (pl. 145) are an isolated type of headdress first attested on this sphinx, though a similar example is found on the sphinx on a Cypriot gold sheet of late Late Bronze Age date.⁶⁸ Versions of the same headdress are known from North Syrian sphinxes of the Early Iron Age,⁶⁹ and therefore it is highly probable that the curly volutes on the head of the Naxian sphinx no. 254 (pl. 145) were created under the influence of similar North Syrian models. Another Oriental element on the Naxian sphinxes pointing to the same area of influence is the apron in the form of a three-leaved palmette (cf. pls. 94 and 145), which hangs from the chest and covers the forelegs. The apron is not attested on Greek sphinxes outside the Naxian workshop and the obvious conclusion is that the characteristic Naxian sphinx was created in the seventh century under the influence of foreign models.

A similar type of sphinx is also attested on a recently discovered amphora of the Linear Island style from Thera (no. 257). Head and forepart of this sphinx are now missing, but the preserved slightly curved hatched wing and hindquarters give evidence of a sphinx type closely related to Naxian models. The date of this vase (no. 257) is fixed on stylistic grounds early in the first quarter of the seventh century. The vases of

the Linear Island Style come principally from graves at Thera and their dating is fixed to the first quarter of the seventh century according to evidence from PC vases found in the same tombs. The origin of these vases is still debated though Boeotia, Euboea, Paros and other Cycladic islands have been put forward as places of origin.⁷⁰ Their decoration consists of basically linear ornaments and a few figurative motifs, mostly birds; lions and a siren are also attested but the sphinx is now evidenced for the first time on no. 257.

Equally problematic is the origin of the Bc group of vases from Rheneia.⁷¹ Sphinxes attested on vases of this group however are of a completely different type from those met with on Naxian vases. The influence is here wholly Corinthian, with no trace of Cretan or Oriental elements. The antithetical sphinxes on the amphora 258 (pl. 96) from Rheneia are shown sejant on either side of a floral element — a composition familiar in PC art of the first half of the seventh century (cf. pl. 79) — Corinthian influence can also be recognized in the double volute crowning the head, while the wing is traceable to such PC models, as that of the sphinx on the MPC kotyle no. 133 (pl. 80) by the Telestrophos painter.

Finally we come to the sphinxes of the last group of Cycladic vases, the so-called Melian.⁷² These can be classed in three groups showing both stylistic and chronological sequence.

Sphinxes of the first group are undoubtedly under Cretan and Naxian influence. Thus the sphinx on the neck of the amphora no. 259 (pl. 140a) is helmeted in accordance with Cretan Geometric tradition, while those on no. 260 (pl. 97a-right and b) have the striated wing of Naxian sphinxes.

Soon afterwards, however, sphinxes on the Melian vases are completely taken over by Corinthian influence: sickle-shaped wing, fillet, volute. The most common pose is the sejant, but passant (pl. 98b) or demi-couchant (pl. 99) sphinxes also occur. The Corinthian type of sphinx is also kept

on Melian vases after the introduction of the black-figured style (cf. pls. 100b and 101).

Boeotian vases (cf. no. 271)

Figurative decoration except for birds is extremely rare in Boeotian Orientalizing vase painting⁷³ and sphinxes are attested only on the amphora no. 271 (pl. 102) now in Tübingen. On each shoulder of this vase, which is otherwise decorated with friezes of linear ornaments, there is a sphinx passant. Only one of the sphinxes survives today in its entirety; the other is represented only by a bearded head.

The sphinxes on this vase are a Boeotian version of the EPA passant sphinxes by the Mesogeia painter and his workshop — the same type of bearded male or female sphinx with very long tail hanging between the hind legs and large triangular wing covering most of the body and decorated with two kinds of scale pattern: simple scale pattern on the base, double scale pattern for the pinion (cf. pl. 49).

The sphinx on the Boeotian vase no. 271 is bareheaded like EPA sphinxes, but here the Boeotian painter, obviously influenced by the local Boeotian fashion for female heads has added an earring to the ear of his female. Another interesting element in the iconography of this sphinx is the depicting of the carpus as a bulge, something with no parallel in Orientalizing Boeotian or other contemporary vase painting. The best explanation is that it is either a spontaneous invention of the painter's or that this is the Boeotian version of "knees" on forelegs of the PC sphinxes of the first black-figured style, which are usually indicated by two engraved parallel lines (cf. pl. 69a).

Euboean vase painting (cf. nos. 272-273)

Euboean Orientalizing pottery is known from a series of high-necked

amphorae set on a high conical foot from Eretria (J. Boardman's group C).⁷⁴ Among these vases there is only one completely preserved sphinx representation (no. 279, pl. 103) and another partially preserved (no. 272).

The vases of group C are dated to the end of the seventh century and are under a strong Attic and East Greek influence that probably reached Euboea via the Cyclades.⁷⁵ No. 272 is totally a creature from the painter's imagination and necessarily highly individual: the huge hind part of the sphinx's body is completely out of proportion, as is the small sickle-shaped wing rising vertically from the back. Cycladic influence can however be discerned in the decoration of the wing with a single row of alternate black and white tongue-shaped feathers (cf. pl. 96). Of the same origin must also be the polos with the palmette in front,⁷⁶ while the necklace is a frequent element on Greek sphinxes after the middle of the seventh century.

Wild Goat Style (cf. nos. 275-297)

The principal form taken by the Orientalizing style of East Greek vase painting is still called by various names. The oldest term is "Rhodian"⁷⁷ since the first and best known examples were found in Rhodos. Several other names have been used usually connected with the assumed origin of the group, the most recent being Samian.⁷⁸ Since the problem of place of origin of East Greek vases still remains open here the term Wild Goat Style is used to cover all East Greek vases in that style.

The Wild Goat style has three basic stages — Early, Middle and Late,⁷⁹ the dating of which presents some difficulties because there are only a few groups to supply useful contexts and stylistic comparison with other schools is rather hazardous. Fortunately recent finds from the Palestinian fort of Mesad Hashavyanu have alleviated the problem; the best dating seems to be 660-630 for Early Wild Goat style, 630-600 for Middle Wild Goat style and 600 onwards for Late Wild Coat style. Sphinxes in the Wild Goat style also

present three phases corresponding to the above stylistic and chronological sequence. Sphinxes in Early Wild Goat style betray Attic influence, but in Middle Wild Goat they are standardized in a type of their own. In the last stage there is an archaizing tendency and forms from the Early Wild Goat style reappear.

Sphinxes in the Early Wild Goat style are represented by only one example, on the broad oenochoe no. 275 (pl. 104a) from Rhodes. On the shoulder of this vase a pair of antithetical demi-couchant sphinxes are shown flanking a floral ornament — a composition known by the middle of the seventh century (the date of the vase) both from Attic and PC models. The style of the sphinxes suggests Attic derivation, but at first sight the sphinx type with volute and sickle-shaped wing has a Corinthianizing aspect. Closer iconographic analysis however shows that they derive from MPA Corinthianizing models: the necklace on the long reserved neck is closely paralleled by MPA sphinxes by the Ram Jug painter (cf. pl. 56b). The division of the wing into base and pinion with alternating black and white feathers indicates such PA models as the sphinxes on the Vlastos sherd no. 64 (pl. 148a), but the idiom here undergoes a very personal transformation, with a dotted wing base drawn as a continuation of the dotted foreleg. Dots appear also on the feathers, and this type of sphinx with dotted wing survives into Late Wild Goat style (cf. pl. 106).

This iconographic detail of a wing base drawn as one piece with the foreleg remains the hallmark of sphinxes throughout the Wild Goat style. In the Middle Wild Goat style sphinxes appear in two basic poses: passant (cf. pl. 105a) and pouncing (cf. pls. 105b and 143a). The latter, with forelegs on the ground and hind legs shown in a walking movement, can be paralleled to a similar pose sphinxes on the Idaean shields. There it has been explained as owing to exigencies of the shield surface and the same explanation holds good for sphinxes on the shoulder of East Greek oenochoi.

Faience vases (cf. nos. 535-537)

A group of faience vases with relief decoration have been found in Mainland Greece (Sparta and Perachora) and Rhodos.⁸¹ These vases, mainly pyxides and alabastra, have been variously classified as Egyptian,⁸² Phoenician⁸³ and Rhodian.⁸⁴ The composition of the faience is different from the Egyptian, ruling out an Egyptian origin; the style and iconography of these vases is a mixture of Egyptianizing Phoenician and Greek elements, which makes it difficult to pronounce in favour of either. V. Webb⁸⁵ in her recent study on East Greek faience seems to consider them as being definitely Rhodian. The vase shapes are undoubtedly influenced by Protocorinthian and East Greek shapes,⁸⁶ but the decoration of the vases is a mixture of Greek and Oriental elements.

The iconography of the sphinxes appearing on the faience vases is again a strange mixture of Greek and Oriental elements. Wing and body of the passant sphinx on no. 535 for instance closely follow MPC models such as no. 113 (pl. 71), but the hair is worn in an Egyptianizing wig. The male wingless sphinxes on nos. 536-537 have a more Oriental appearance, but the wing clearly derives from vases in the Middle Wild Goat style.

All these sphinxes display idiosyncrasies and though their iconography betrays the influence of sphinxes of PC and Wild Goat style vases, they cannot be considered as purely East Greek. They seem to be rather the product of a faience workshop on Rhodos run by Orientals, most probably Phoenicians,⁸⁷ who were open to contemporary East Greek influence. The vases of this workshop are plausibly dated to the seventh century (670-650), but the sphinx on no. 535 could in no way be later than 650, since her PC prototypes belong all to the end of the first quarter of the century. Nos. 536 and 537, on the other hand, must be much later, perhaps towards the end of the seventh century, as their wing type follows the wing type of sphinxes of the Middle Wild Goat style.

Cretan clay reliefs (cf. nos. 298-338a, 340-411)

The winged female sphinx has been an extremely popular motif on Cretan clay relief plaques and pithoi,⁸⁸ the surviving pieces presenting a clear iconographic evolution from more Orientalizing to purely Corinthian types. The earliest examples belong to the last years of the second quarter of the seventh century and show passant sphinxes, often with strange Oriental headdresses and wing with straight upper edge (cf. nos. 340, 341, 323, pl. 107a). Corinthian influence already felt in Cretan vase painting is now manifested in the formation of the wing and often in the volute on the head. However, the local Geometric tradition is strongly reinforced by new waves of Oriental influence. A good example of the iconographic tradition of this period is given by the plaques nos. 323-324 from Gortyna. The passant sphinx on no. 323 (pl. 107a) closely follows Oriental models in the crescent shaped headdress and the formation of the wing. On the other hand the volute on the head is of Corinthian inspiration, while the tail waving behind the body, extremely long legs and characteristic dip in the lower contour of the wing base quite clearly come from the local Cretan Geometric tradition (cf. pl. 24). By contrast the passant gardant sphinx on the plaque 324 from Gortyna (pl. 107b) shows no traces of the Geometric tradition but combines Oriental and Corinthian elements. There is no doubt as to the Oriental derivation of the crescent-shaped headdress and the sickle-shaped wing is of the fully developed Corinthian type with a row of feathers (cf. pl. 69 b-d).

Corinthian influence becomes increasingly strong and by the middle of the seventh century sphinxes on clay reliefs are fully Corinthianizing, having the characteristic sickle-shaped wing with one or two rows of feathers (cf. pls. 108-109, 113). Sometimes their iconography is purely Corinthian, like that of the passant sphinx with fillet and double volute on the Gortyna plaque no. 325 (pl. 109b); more often, however, sphinxes

on the clay reliefs of this period betray their Cretan identity not only in style, but also in major iconographic details such as the headdress: characteristically a polos (low, high etc.) or crown combined with a volute (cf. pls. 108-110), quite often the volutes are treated as an elaborate headdress in their own right appearing in various combinations (cf. pl. 113). Another characteristically Cretan element is a horse-shoe shaped dip in the lower contour of the wing base (cf. pl. 109b). Very often sphinxes are shown with two wings (cf. pl. 110b) — an element also attested in Cretan vase painting (cf. pl. 90).

After the middle of the seventh century, however, the iconographic evolution of Cretan sphinxes is frozen and they become archaizing in character: wings are pointed with a single row of feathers and a dip in the lower contour (cf. pls. 111-112). Breast feathering is often indicated in various stylizations (cf. pl. 112a) and sphinxes are usually shown gar-dant with a layered hairstyle; the volute is a necessary element very rarely absent. It can be said that in general Cretan sphinxes of this period present a character of their own and do not conform to Corinthian models.

Clay reliefs other than Cretan (cf. nos. 339-339a and 411a-417).

Sphinxes are not popular on clay reliefs other than Cretan and when they occur their iconography is derivative of Cretan or Corinthian models.

A Corinthianizing passant sphinx with sickle-shaped wing appears on a clay relief pithos from Attica (no. 441a), while another type of bearded, male Corinthianizing sphinx with volute appears on two Boeotian larnakes with impressed decoration (nos. 415-416).

On Cycladic clay reliefs only a few sphinxes are attested, showing Corinthianizing types often with strong Cretan influence. Thus the sphinxes on a clay relief pithos from Phylakopi (no. 441, pl. 91b) have a sickle-

shaped wing and spiky crown exactly paralleled on the sphinx of the Cretan griffin bowl no. 249 (pl. 91a).

Sphinxes appear rather late on Rhodian clay reliefs, but they reflect types known from Rhodian vase painting of the first quarter of the seventh century. Thus the sphinxes on the clay relief pithos no. 413 (pl. 144b) are shown hooved with a straight-edged wing (cf. pl. 147).

The sphinx is popular on Laconian clay reliefs. Sphinxes on Laconian pithoi of the middle of the seventh century are under strong Cretan influence, manifested in the straight-edged wing and the polos with volute (cf. no. 412). Later, in the third quarter of the seventh century, they completely adopt Corinthianizing types (cf. no. 412a).

Bronze relief and engravings (cf. nos. 418-425)

Sphinxes engraved or in relief on bronzes make a fascinating subject. They belong to easily identifiable types and can therefore provide clues as to the often problematic identification of the bronzes' workshop. The surviving sphinxes on bronzes (both in relief and engraved) can be classed in two distinct groups: Cretan and Corinthian.

Cretan sphinxes

The earliest are attested on the bronze sheet from Olympia no. 418 (pl. 115a). The sphinxes are here represented as an antithetical regardant pair with forepaw raised towards a central stylized palm-tree. Both regardant pose and antithetical composition are traditional patterns in Crete by the early seventh century — a date suggested for the sheet by the sphinxes' style. The iconography of these sphinxes is closely dependent on Oriental models: the hair for instance is rendered in a hathoric lock, an originally North Syrian convention for hair known already in Crete from the

sphinxes on the Idaean shields (cf. pl. 27). Dependence on Cretan models is also reflected in the rounded cap stylized in a manner different from the rest of the hair (cf. pl. 29b), and the formation of the upraised paw with claws indicated as a cluster of curved lines, a convention closely paralleled on the sphinxes of the bronze shield from Palaikastro no. 33 (pl. 33). Shape and inner decoration of the wings are of Oriental derivation, but already at home in Crete by the early seventh century. The positioning of the wings to cover the back and ribs before being uplifted almost vertically is known from Cretan vase painting (cf. pl. 91a). Sphinxes with two wings are also known from early seventh century Cretan vase painting (cf. pl. 90) and the Oriental pectoral of the sphinxes on the sheet no. 418 can easily be explained by reference to Cretan art. Pectorals of this sort are chiefly known from Phoenician ivories and it is an interesting coincidence that the pectoral of the sphinx on the Phoenician ivory plaque from the Idaean Cave (pl. 170a) has exactly the same zig-zag stylization as the sphinx on the bronze sheet no. 418. Another characteristically Oriental element on the sphinxes of the sheet no. 418 is the necklace high on the neck — a typically Oriental detail known largely from North Syrian sphinxes (cf. pl. 171).

The sphinxes on the two bronze corselets from Olympia nos. 421-422 (pl. 118-120) are closely paralleled in Cycladic vase painting, but their style suggests a Cretan workshop of the early second quarter of the seventh century. On both corselets the sphinxes are represented rampant, a familiar pose for lions in Cretan art of the Geometric period (cf. pl. 24), but popular for sphinxes in the Naxian workshop of the early seventh century (cf. pl. 93). The slightly curved striated wing of the sphinxes on nos. 421-422 is also matched by similar wings of sphinxes in Naxian vase painting (cf. pls. 93, 94, 145), though there the wing type is of Cretan derivation. A Cretan origin for the sphinxes on the corselets is also

obvious from their hairstyle (cf. pls. 119 and 92c) — a conclusion reinforced by the whole style of the decoration. It can be assumed therefore that the rampant sphinxes on the bronze corselets nos. 421-422 from Olympia give evidence of a Cretan type of rampant sphinx also known from Naxian vase painting.

A similar Cretan type of passant sphinx is found on the bronze sheet from Olympia no. 419 (pl. 115). This sphinx has the same type of striated wing as the sphinxes on the corselets nos. 421-422, but being of a more advanced date it is now sickle-shaped. The Cretan origin of this sphinx is underlined by the stylizations on the haunches and the abdominal area — an Oriental convention introduced to Crete by the sphinxes on the Idaean shields (cf. pls. 27 and 30a).

Finally, the sphinxes on the bronze mitra in New York no. 420 (pl. 117a) give evidence of a fully Corinthianizing Cretan type of sphinx already known from clay reliefs. The sejant gardant sphinxes on the mitra combine a Corinthian sickle-shaped wing with a single row of feathers and a Cretan high polos with volute.

Corinthian sphinxes

Evidence for a PC type of sphinx used on bronzes is given by the engraved sphinx decorating the cheek-piece of the Corinthian helmet no. 424 (pl. 116a) from Olympia in the Louvre. The finely drawn sphinx on this helmet is closely dependent on MPC sphinxes by the Boston Painter (cf. pl. 71a), which show the same finely balanced proportions of the feline body, upward-pointing tail, stylized pointed tassel, layered hairstyle and sickle-shaped wing with a single row of feathers. The pointillé decoration used by the Boston Painter for feathers or tail (cf. pl. 71a) is here used for contours. The double volute on the head is also an element

common on the Boston painter's sphinxes; similarly the cubitus band of the sphinx on the helmet is anticipated on vase painting by the Boston painter (cf. pl. 71a).

Gold reliefs (cf. nos. 426-442)

Sphinxes on gold reliefs give evidence of three different types and three different workshops: Cretan, Rhodian and Corinthian.

The Cretan type is attested on a gold sheet no. 427 (pl. 89b), showing a sphinx passant with a straight-edged wing and flat polos; the style of the extremely long legs suggests a date early in the seventh century.

The Rhodian type is evidenced by the sphinxes on the gold bands and plaques from Rhodes (nos. 428-437), presenting two phases of a chronological sequence. The sphinxes on the bands nos. 428-429 (pl. 121b), which date from the early seventh century, are shown passant with a slightly curved pointed wing closely matched by similar representation on vases (cf. pl. 147).

The passant gardant sphinxes on the plaques nos. 430-437 (pl. 121a) present the same type of female sphinx, having a large wing with straight upper edge. The style of these sphinxes suggests a date in the second quarter of the seventh century.

Finally the Corinthian type of sphinx is evidenced on a gold diadem from Corinth (no. 426), a gold earring from the Argolid (no. 442) and some gold plaques from Ephesos (nos. 438-441, pl. 117b). The diadem from Corinth no. 426 dates from the second quarter of the seventh century, but all the others are of a middle seventh century date and present the same unvaried Corinthian sphinx.

Laconian lead figurines (cf. nos. 443-476)

Laconian lead figurines present a large variety of sphinxes. They date from the second half of the seventh century but basically reflect PC sphinxes of the middle of the seventh century adapted to Laconian forms. Male, bearded sphinxes are extremely popular and are usually shown wearing the typically Laconian leaf-crown. The same type of headdress is also used for female sphinxes, though the latter are more often shown bare-headed or with a short crown. The most familiar pose is passant, but sejant sphinxes are also popular. There are moreover a few rampant sphinxes — a pose unfamiliar in Corinthian art and probably here deriving from Cretan or Cycladic models. In general, lead figurines follow the established Corinthianizing vocabulary of Laconian art of the seventh century, and show a strong preference for bearded, male sphinxes.

Laconian ivories (cf. nos. 477-486)

Laconian ivories⁸⁹ include plaques, seals and figurines (cf. nos. 477-486, 488, 543-545) and the sphinxes on them can be classed in three groups with a stylistic and chronological sequence. Sphinxes of the first group are completely under Cretan influence. The regardant sphinx on the fibula plaque no. 478 (pl. 123a) is shown in an odd pose sitting on her hind legs, while resting her forelegs high on the border of the plaque. Sphinxes standing erect on their hind legs like human beings are known from Oriental art, but the pose of the sphinx on no. 478 is in fact closer to the rampant pose or rather a combination of sitting and rampant pose. The forelegs are treated here as human arms and the cubitus band placed low on the foreleg clearly suggests such Cretan models as that on the Idaean shield no. 33 (pl. 33). Also undoubtedly of Cretan derivation is the straight-edged wing of the sphinx on no. 478 which is shown folded — a convention known from Crete as well (cf. pl. 110a).

Cretan influence is again present in the second stage of Laconian ivory sphinxes, but Cretan elements are here combined with Corinthian. Thus the sejant regardant sphinx on the ivory plaque no. 477 (pl. 123b) is hooved in the Cretan tradition but the wing, following Corinthian, is curved. The inner decoration of the wing is matched by the similar wing on the Corinthianizing sphinxes of the Cretan alabastron no. 251 (pl. 92 a-b). During this phase of Laconian ivories, which coincides with the middle of the seventh century, Laconian sphinxes get a character of their own. Thus the sejant gardant sphinx on no. 479 (pl. 123c) presents Cretan and Corinthian elements combined in a characteristically Laconian idiom. The sejant erect pose is a Laconian version of the rampant posture and the Laconian leaf-polos, following Cretan models, is combined with a volute.

Soon after the middle of the seventh century, however, sphinxes on the Laconian ivories are completely aligned with Corinthian models (cf. pls. 124a and 125).

Corinthian ivories

Corinthian ivories⁹⁰ include plaques, seals and figurines (cf. nos. 487-487 bis, 489-513, 546), giving a wide range of sphinxes both male and female, winged and wingless. Male sphinxes form a good proportion among these ivories, but the dominant type remains the winged female sphinx. There is no doubt as to the Corinthian origin of these ivories, because both style and iconography of the sphinxes are closely matched on contemporary PC vases. Sphinxes on the plaques nos. 487-487a are represented passant, those on the seals are shown sejant with raised forepaw (cf. pl. 122 a-b), and there are also regardant (cf. no. 505, pl. 122) and gardant sphinxes. They all follow a stereotyped iconography, with volute and sickle-shaped wing with a single row of feathers.

The ivory figurine no. 546 (pl. 129a) from Perachora shows an

extremely interesting sphinx couchant on a rectangular base and wearing a low, flat polos. The figurine is attributed to a Corinthian workshop on stylistic grounds and dated early in the second quarter of the seventh century. The couchant pose is otherwise unparalleled in Greece at this period and can only be explained by the influence of foreign models. The tail ends in a stylized animal head — of an undefined kind, which seems to indicate the influence of North Syrian sphinxes with a tail ending in a bird's head (cf. pl. 129b).

Sphinxes on stone seals (cf. nos. 516-522)

The seventh century stone seals include a wide range of sphinxes: hooved, wingless, winged female etc., (cf. nos. 516-522). Their iconography is extremely interesting, presenting Oriental elements otherwise rarely attested in Greek art; unfortunately the classification of these seals is extremely difficult and their exact place of origin usually problematic. Winged sphinxes on stone seals are usually shown sejant with a sickle-shaped wing and a volute (cf. pl. 141a and c) and therefore connected with the Corinthian type of sphinx. The most interesting element of the sphinxes on these seals, however, is the tail ending in a bird's head attested on no. 520, and most probably on no. 518 (pl. 141c). This type of tail is extremely common on North Syrian sphinxes of the Early Iron Age (cf. pl. 129b) but extremely rare on seventh century sphinxes, being found chiefly on the stone seals and in a more elaborate form on the ivory sphinx from Perachora no. 546 (cf. pl. 129a).

Island gems (cf. nos. 523-533)

The most important series of stone seals belonging to the seventh century and continuing well into the sixth, is that of the Island Gems,

from a workshop placed with good reasons on Melos.⁹¹ According to the technique in which they were carved the island gems are divided into four groups in chronological sequence. Sphinxes become a common motif on the last two groups, spanning the second half of the seventh and the first quarter of the sixth century. Their iconography is closely paralleled on sphinxes of the Melian vases and as with the sphinxes there, they can be classed into three groups, again implying a chronological sequence. Sphinxes of the first group betray Cretan influence, evidenced in such details as the regardant pose on no. 524 (pl. 122d) or the helmet on no. 528 (pl. 139d). Corinthian influence however is already present in the formation of the wing and becomes increasingly strong as time goes by.

Sphinxes of the group C of the island gems (nos. 523-524, 528-530) are extremely Corinthianizing, with sickle-shaped wing and often a volute on the head. They are closely paralleled by sphinxes from the second group of the Melian vases (cf. pls. 98-99), while the sphinxes on the island gems of group D (nos. 525-527, 531-533) dated to the early sixth century, are matched by the similar sphinxes on the black-figured Melian vases (cf. pl. 101).

Sphinx figurines (cf. nos. 538-547)

In spite of the fact that the sphinx was an extremely popular motif in the seventh century, the surviving sphinx figurines are few: three in terracotta (nos. 538-540), two in bronze (nos. 541-542) and five in ivory (nos. 543-547). They represent mostly Corinthianizing types usually with a polos; the ivory figurine no. 546 (pl. 129a) from Perachora has a tail ending in an animal's head. From an iconographic point of view, the most interesting are the large terracotta figurine no. 535 from Ithaca and the small bronze figurine no. 541 from Crete.

The fragmentary handmade terracotta figurine no. 538 (pls. 126-127) from Ithaca is of great interest both for its type and size. It is very large, measuring 29.5 cm. in height (preserved) and 14.5 cm. in width at shoulder level — an extraordinary size even though large terracotta figurines are attested in all periods after LH III A. More intriguing are the problems posed by the figurine with regard to date and type. It was found in a seaside cave at Polis in Ithaca in a mixed context between Geometric and Mycenaean levels,⁹³ so the context gives a terminus ante quem around 690, and the style of the figurine, with its sharply defined areas, confirms such an early date. The type of the figurine remains problematic since only the forepart of the body has been preserved. The vertical grooves on the shoulders however can be taken as defining the wing contour (cf. pl. 129a and 131a) and the figurine is therefore assumed to be winged, while the flat surface of the head suggests a low flat polos like that on the Corinthian ivory figurine no. 546 (pl. 129a). The function of the figurine remains enigmatic, but if a date in the early seventh century is accepted, Miss Benton's suggestion that it was one of a pair standing on a column⁹⁴ must be incorrect.

The small bronze figurine no. 541 (pl. 128) from Crete has been a very controversial piece so far. E. Langlotz⁹⁵ dates it to the eighth century and explains it as an Eteocretan piece almost wholly dependent on Minoan models; J. Boardman⁹⁶ on the other hand lowers the date to the late seventh century.

The figurine is in fact a mixture of inconsistent elements. The sejant gardant pose definitely suggests a date in the seventh century but the S-shaped wings decorated with an engraved scale pattern are unparalleled in seventh century art. Both wings emerge from the shoulders, but one is raised diagonally above the body and the other brought forward and turned flat. The shape and engraved decoration of the wing suggests such

Oriental models as the North Syrian figurine no. 550a (pl. 162) from Samos. Sphinxes with two wings are attested early in the seventh century in Cretan (pl. 90) and EPA vase painting (cf. pl. 47a, 50-51, and 142b); the wings of the bronze figurine no. 541 can therefore be paralleled with the odd apositioning of wings on the PA examples. Similar Oriental models can be postulated for the bronze figurine no. 541 and a date in the first quarter of the seventh century assumed. In fact the hairstyle of the figurine, with isolated locks hanging to the shoulders, occurs widely in contemporary Cretan art (cf. pl. 108a and 110a). We can therefore conclude that the bronze figurine no. 541 is a strongly Orientalizing, very individual Cretan work of the first quarter of the seventh century.

THE WINGED MALE SPHINX

Male sphinxes in Early Archaic Greek art are distinguished from female sphinxes by a beard or helmet; in contrast to Oriental sphinxes (cf. pl. 169a),⁹⁷ genitals are never indicated.

In the first half of the eighth century male helmeted sphinxes appear in Crete on the bronzes of the Knossian workshop (nos. 23-24, 36-38, pls. 24-26) and in Attica on the gold bands (nos. 39-45, pl. 36). The helmets of the sphinxes of the Knossian workshop are pure imitations of North Syrian types and leave no doubt as to the Oriental origin of the motif (cf. above on Geometric sphinxes). The helmets of the sphinxes on the gold bands are however, more hellenized and aligned with helmet representation in contemporary Attic vase painting. The Knossian type of helmeted sphinx is found in the second half of the eighth century in Cretan LG vase painting (nos. 20-21, pl. 37a-b) while helmeted sphinxes with distinctly Oriental helmets appear on the bronzes of the Idaean Workshop (cf. no. 25, pl. 27). In time the male helmeted sphinx takes firm root in Cretan art, the motif develops its own iconographic tradition and helmets become fully hellenized.

In the Geometric period the helmeted sphinx is the sphinx type par excellence, known chiefly from isolated examples from East Greece (cf. nos. 22, pl. 34 and 46-48a pl. 35). The helmets on the East Greek pieces are also versions of Oriental helmet types, once again confirming the Oriental derivation of the motif. Helmeted sphinxes are extremely common in Oriental (namely North Syrian) art of the Early Iron Age, and North Syrian objects with helmeted sphinxes are imported into Greece in great numbers in the eighth and seventh centuries (cf. nos. 555, pl. 164a and 562, pl. 166b). The influence of imported North Syrian objects on Greek art is very extensive (cf. below: imported sphinxes) and there exist numbers of bronze

helmeted sphinx figurines that are very probably late eighth century imitations of Oriental models (nos. 548-549, pl. 160).

Nevertheless the helmeted sphinx remains a basically Cretan motif in Early Archaic Greek art, surviving through the medium of vase painting down to the middle of the seventh century. The last Cretan example of a male, helmeted sphinx is found on a Corinthianizing black-figured alabasteron from Fortetsa (no. 251, pl. 140b).

Towards the middle of the seventh century the motif passes from Crete to the Cyclades, and a sphinx with a Cretan helmet is found on a Melian amphora and gem (nos. 528, pl. 139d and 529 pl. 140a). The helmeted human head on the Laconian sherd no. 243a most probably belongs to a sphinx or sphinx protome deriving from a Cretan model.

An isolated example of a bearded, helmeted sphinx is found in EPA vase painting on the amphora no. 70 (pl. 142b) by the Passas painter. The iconography of this sphinx is extremely interesting, suggesting close Cretan connections, side by side with a keen interest in contemporary Attic fashion: the two wings one above the other below the body are of Cretan derivation, but completely adapted to contemporary PA idiom (cf. pls. 50-51); the two human arms are undoubtedly an Attic element, the helmet is of Cretan inspiration and the masculinity of the sphinx suggested by the helmet is reinforced in the Attic manner by the addition of a long beard — an odd element, since helmeted sphinxes in Greek art closely following North Syrian models are usually beardless.

Bearded sphinxes appear for the first time in Greek art on the bronze shield from the Idaean Cave no. 29 (pl. 29a). The stylization of the beard closely follows an Assyrian convention,⁹⁸ but the style of the sphinx as a whole rather suggests North Syrian models. North Syrian sphinxes often present Assyrianizing elements, usually manifested in the stylization of the beard (cf. no. 555 pl. 164a), and therefore a North Syrian derivation for the iconography of the sphinxes on the shield no. 29 is hardly surpris-

ing.

The bearded sphinxes on the Idaean shield no. 29 remain isolated in Cretan art, but the bearded sphinx is far from uncommon in EPA vase painting. Here however we face the difficulty of sphinxes painted in silhouette so that the beard is undifferentiated and can only be detected by its shape; since the pointed chin is an extremely common element in LG and EPA vase painting, it is often impossible to tell whether we are dealing with a beard or merely an exaggerated chin.

The sphinxes on the EPA sherd no. 56 (pl. 47a) by the Mesogeia painter are however definitely bearded; the beard is here extremely long and pointed and Kübler⁹⁹ explains it as a further development of the pointed chin of the Geometric period. The iconography of these sphinxes presents many Cretan elements, like the second wing hanging below the body, the straight upper edge of the wing and its cross-hatched decoration, and the small stylized double volute on the top of the head, which can be paralleled to a similar stylization of the sphinxes on the Fortetsa quiver (no. 23, pl. 24). It seems most probable therefore that the Mesogeia painter derives his idea of a male, bearded sphinx from Cretan models of the Geometric period.

Whether the sphinxes on the EPA hydria no. 58 (pl. 48a) by the same painter are bearded is difficult to say, since both male and female figures on the vase have accentuated chins. The problem reoccurs on all EPA sphinxes where the head is fully in silhouette, particularly those of the Vulture painter (cf. nos. 65-66, pls. 52a and 53).

The first definitely bearded sphinx in PA vase painting is the helmeted sphinx on the amphora no. 70 (pl. 142b) by the Passas painter. The beard is here shown in isolated strands hanging from the chin — a stylization which suggests such Assyrianizing models as those on the bronze stand no. 555 (pl. 164a) from Olympia.

Another good example of a male bearded sphinx in PA vase painting is found on the stand no. 63 (pl. 133) by an artist of the Mesogeia painter's workshop. The style of this sphinx, with small contracted body, short legs and clumsy proportions, strongly suggests Assyrianizing models such as those on the bronze stand no. 555 (pl. 164a) from Olympia. However, the beard here follows EPA tradition and is shown as a compact mass painted in silhouette. A similar stylization for the beard is found on the partially preserved sphinx on the Boeotian amphora no. 271, by a painter strongly influenced by the Mesogeia painter (cf. the wing of the sphinx on the other side of the amphora pl. 102).

Bearded sphinxes of an early seventh century date are also known from Rhodian vase painting (no. 274, pls. 146-147). Rhodian Orientalizing vase painting is little known today, but there is a small group of Orientalizing vases with figurative decoration assigned with certainty to a local Rhodian Orientalizing Workshop.¹⁰⁰ Bearded monsters are extremely common on vases of the Rhodian workshop¹⁰¹ — the sphinx with equine legs obviously conforms to this fashion, which probably derives from neighbouring Oriental models. Oriental models were certainly accessible on Rhodes and the bearded sphinxes on late seventh century faience vases (nos. 536-537 obviously owe much to this influence.

Bearded sphinxes appear in PC vase painting in the second quarter of the seventh century, mainly in the work of the Aetos painter, who maintains a steady preference for male bearded sphinxes (cf. nos. 126-127, 130, pls. 134-136) which he likes to depict facing female sphinxes (cf. pls. 134-135). The bearded sphinxes by the Aetos painter are usually shown with a double volute — an element he also uses for his female sphinxes. The subject of a confronted male and female sphinx, introduced to PC art by the Aetos painter, is carried over to LPC vase painting by the Sacrifice painter. On an LPC oenochoe by him in Ithaca (no. 143, pl. 78a), the subject is made

more emphatic by outlining the face of the male sphinx with only the beard painted in silhouette, while the face of the female sphinx is completely in silhouette. Male bearded sphinxes are also painted in the LPC period by the Confronted Griffins painter, a pupil of the Aetos painter. His bearded sphinxes (nos. 154-155, pl. 137) are always shown with a low, flat polos, an element becoming regular on Corinthian bearded sphinxes in the sixth century (cf. pl. 138).¹⁰²

Bearded sphinxes are extremely common in the second half of the seventh century on the ivory seals from Perachora and Argive Heraion of Corinthian workmanship (cf. nos. 489-492, 509, 512 pl. 139a-c). Bearded sphinxes on these seals are usually shown with a long volute terminating in a palmette — an element found also in the early sixth century on the bearded sphinxes on the gold bands from Eleutherae (cf. pl. 116b).¹⁰³ Another large group of Corinthianizing bearded sphinxes occurs on the Laconian lead figurines (nos. 444-448, 455-458, 476), the hallmark of these sphinxes being the Laconian leaf-crown they wear almost exclusively. As with the volute or the polos, the leaf-polos is also used for beardless sphinxes, and our only firm evidence for distinguishing the male sphinx in Greece remains the beard or helmet.

THE EQUINE SPHINX

The sphinx has by its very nature a leonine body. Often, however, sphinxes in Greek art adopt equine or bovine elements either by analogy to foreign models or, in vase painting, because the painter is naturally much better acquainted with the anatomy of the horse than the lion. Sphinxes with bovine body are popular in Early Iron Age Assyrian art, mainly large-scale sculpture.¹⁰⁴ The gates of Assyrian palaces are often shown guarded by a pair of sphinxes — one with leonine, the other with bovine body.¹⁰⁵ From Assyrian art the subject passes to Cyprus and sphinxes with bovine bodies are extremely popular in Early Iron Age Cypriot vase painting¹⁰⁶ (cf. pl. 37c).

In the second half of the eighth century sphinxes with equine elements appear in Crete in vase painting (cf. nos. 20-21, pl. 37a-b) and bronze reliefs (no. 35, pl. 38). The equine elements on the sphinxes of the Cretan LG sherds nos. 20-21 have been explained as the result of Attic influence. Attic influence is already attested in Cretan vase painting in the MG period and it is not impossible that the painter was accustomed to draw horses and thus painted a horse-bodied sphinx. On the other hand Cypriot influence is widely attested in late eighth and early seventh century Cretan art and it is equally possible that the painter had in mind Cypriot models like the bull-bodied sphinx on the Hubbard amphora (cf. pl. 37c). Bovine elements can easily be interpreted as equine, and therefore a Cypriot derivation of the motif remains highly probable, this theory of origin being reinforced by the fact that the type occurs on a Cretan LG bronze stand (no. 35, pl. 38) of a type closely connected with the Cypriot tradition. Sphinxes in LG vase painting from the Mainland (nos. 18, pl. 39a and 19, pl. 41) are usually hooved; here the tail is always shown directed upwards as on felines, while on the Cretan examples the whole body

(i.e. both legs and tail) is equine. It seems therefore that the Cretan artists are in fact copying a foreign model of a sphinx with bovine or equine body, while Attic and Argive LG vase painters copy lion-bodied sphinxes but their experience in drawing horses induces them to add hooves. It is however interesting that this type of equine sphinx disappears in the EPA period and reappears later in MPA under Cycladic influence. By contrast the motif of the equine sphinx survives in Crete in the first quarter of the century, attested on a polychromos pithos from Zapher Papoura (no. 246, pl. 89a).

In the first quarter of the seventh century the motif is familiar in Rhodian and Cycladic vase painting. On the Rhodian example (no. 274, pl. 147) the bearded, hooved sphinx with straight edged wing is very close to Cypriot and Oriental models, indicating the path taken by Oriental influences to reach Greece.

The hooved sphinx on the Naxian amphora no. 254 (pl. 145) presents a mixture of Oriental and Cretan elements: curly volutes on the head, and apron covering the forelegs, are traceable to the Orient, while shape and decoration of the wing suggest strong Cretan and Cypriot influence. The hooved monster on this vase is quite clearly an original creation of the Naxian painter, abetted by Oriental and Cretan models. It seems that hooved sphinxes were fashionable in the Cyclades in the first quarter of the seventh century, for the motif also occurs on a tridacna seal from Melos, now in Oxford (no. 516, pl. 144).

In the second half of the seventh century hooved sphinxes are widely used in PA vase painting, under the influence of Cycladic models. One of the most impressive examples is found on a krater sherd in the Collection Vlastos in Athens (no. 64, pl. 148a), decorated in black and white style. The short massive legs and large hooves of this sphinx suggest a bovine rather than equine character and the sphinx has therefore been explained

as deriving directly from Oriental models. However, this is an isolated example by the hand of a very individual painter, and though in his work direct Oriental derivation is highly probable, all the other evidence of PA vases suggests Cycladic models. In general, hooved sphinxes appear on MPA vases, also presenting elements of Cycladic influence — thus there is a miniature hooved sphinx in silhouette on the skirt of a female figure on an oenochoe by the painter of the Kerameikos Mug group¹⁰⁷ (no. 79, pl. 148b). This sphinx is extremely interesting, not merely because it is hooved but because it appears as a garment pattern¹⁰⁸ and indicates another possible medium for Oriental influences reaching Greece in the seventh century.

Hooved also are the sphinxes on the two MPA stands by the Polyphemos painter (nos. 84-85, pls. 149-50) — most probably the Mesogeia painter's pupil. After the MPA period hooved sphinxes do not reappear in PA vase painting, and it seems that their fashionableness in Attica is confined to MPA.

In PC vase painting hooved sphinxes are exceptionally rare — there is in fact only one attested, on an ovoid aryballos from Thebes, in Oxford (no. 110). The figurines on this vase are painted in silhouette without use of incision in the old geometric tradition, and we presume the hooved sphinx derives from the same source.

Another possible example of a PC hooved sphinx occurs on a small sherd from the Argive Heraion.¹⁰⁹ The reserved, rounded breast of the headless animal on this sherd suggests a sphinx rather than a bull, since the latter is never represented rounded or reserved in PC vase painting. The slim, long legs of this sphinx (?) on the Argive Heraion sherd suggest a date in the first quarter of the seventh century, and it seems therefore that the hooved sphinx makes an isolated appearance in PC vase painting in this period.

From the evidence suggested above it can be assumed that the equine

sphinx is a popular motif in late eighth and early seventh century Greek art but loses its popularity after the middle of the seventh century. There is only one isolated example of a late seventh century date, on a clay relief pithos from Rhodos (no. 413, pl. 144b). The straight-edged wing of these sphinxes gives them an extremely archaizing appearance, confirming that they are a survival from the familiar hooved sphinx of early seventh century Rhodian vases.

SPHINXES WITH HUMAN ARMS

Sphinxes with human arms are a rarity in Greek art, appearing almost exclusively in Attic LG and PA vase painting (nos. 18, 70, 76, 90) and outside ^{the} art in one isolated example¹¹⁰ of late seventh century date on an East Greek oenochoe in the Middle Wild Goat style (no. 276). A sphinx with human arms appears on a LH IIIc Tanagra sarcophagus (pl. 22b), but is otherwise unknown in Minoan-Mycenaean or Dark Age art, and there is therefore no convincing evidence to support the idea that the human arms on LG sphinxes are a Mycenaean survival.

Sphinxes with human arms are unknown in Oriental art,¹¹¹ but do occur in Egyptian art from the period of the New Kingdom onwards.¹¹² Human arms are here substituted for forelegs, an iconographic conventional of purely functional origin, as the sphinx in Egypt is usually bringing offerings to the King and therefore hands are preferable to paws (cf. pl. 143b). Human arms on Egyptian sphinxes are thus completely different in nature to those of the Attic LG sphinxes, where they are a positive addition to an already complete leonine body; accordingly it is difficult to claim Egyptian origin for the human arms on the Attic LG sphinx.

Kübler¹¹³ finds parallels for the Greek sphinxes with human arms in some Urartian bronze figurines from Toprakkale¹¹⁴ dating from the seventh century. These figurines, however, apart from being later than the earliest Greek sphinxes with human arms, have a winged, animal body, usually bovine, sometimes leonine, and a human *torso* with arms. Therefore the nature of their iconography is fundamentally different from that of the typical Greek sphinx with a winged, leonine body and a human *head* not torso, and in no case can an Urartian borrowing be claimed. Kübler¹¹⁵ moreover compares Greek sphinxes with human arms to similar Egyptian sphinxes, but since the Egyptian tradition of sphinxes with human arms had been confined entirely to

Egypt and had never even passed to Oriental art, the only possible way of reaching Greece was through direct Greco-Egyptian contacts. The earliest sphinx with human arms in Greek Art is that on the Tanagra sarcophagus, which, however, dated to the end of LH IIIc, when Egypt's relations with Greece had come almost to a halt.¹¹⁶ The case for a survival of an older Mycenaean tradition must be entirely excluded, since the monster on the Tanagra sarcophagus is an isolated and unique example inside the Mycenaean world. The strikingly idiosyncratic character of this monster, taken with the fact that the human arms are here a distinct addition to the animal body rather than being the front legs converted into arms, as on Egyptian sphinxes, tends to suggest that here the human arms were a spontaneous invention of the painter, in this way trying to make his monster more human. In fact, the human arms are comparatively short and clumsily drawn and are shown growing directly from the shoulders of the animal body; the painter's intention to emphasize the more human aspects of the monster is thus fairly obvious, though a proper human torso is lacking.

Since a Mycenaean survival is not possible and there are no Oriental prototypes, the origin of the human arms on the Attic LG and PA sphinxes remains problematic. The possibility of Egyptian influence is also not very likely, because, as we have seen, of the different nature of human arms on Attic and Egyptian sphinxes. On the former the human arms are decorative rather than functional, and as on the earliest examples they are shown raised upwards (cf. pl. 39a), they can readily be compared to human arms on contemporary centaurs, which also appear uplifted, holding branches (cf. pl. 39b). The monsters depicted on the Attic LG cup no. 18 (pl. 39a) are in fact a mixture of iconographic elements of sphinxes and centaurs, implying that the painter's idea of a sphinx was rather confused, and suggesting that sphinxes in Attic LG vase painting originally grew human arms by analogy with the centaurs. Be this as it may, an iconographic tradition

is established and sphinxes with upraised human arms make an isolated and sporadic appearance in PA vase painting by the middle of the seventh century. Thus the sphinx on the Phaleron oenochoe no. 76 (pl. 142a) is shown with an upraised human arm, while the sphinx on the GPA amphora by the Passas painter (no. 70, pl. 142b) is shown with two human arms. The positioning of the latter is rather odd in that the arms are shown growing directly from the breast and stretched forward in front of the body. Still, the drawing of this sphinx is rather clumsy and, in spite of its ambitious presentation, the positioning of the wings on the shoulders across the back of the body gives no alternative placing for the human arms.

The nature of the human arms on Attic sphinxes changes by the middle of the seventh century. They still remain a distinct addition to a fully drawn lion's body, but they now become functional. Thus on the MPA oenochoe no. 90 (pl. 63) the sphinxes use their additional human arm to grasp a human figure, in fact using the human arm as lions use their forepaw — an iconographic convention also copied for sphinxes in the first half of the seventh century (cf. pl. 55a). Thus the "static" and simply decorative nature the sphinx acquired when first introduced into Greek art changes to an increasingly active character, in accordance with the general archaic tendency to stress the more human aspects of monsters ("Vermenschlichung").¹¹⁷

The same spirit is present on the sphinx of the much later East Greek oenochoe no. 276 (pl. 143a). The human arm, which is here a substitute foreleg, is shown outstretched, grasping a goose by the throat as if to strangle it. From an iconographic point of view there is an obvious parallel between the sphinx on the East Greek oenochoe and Egyptian sphinxes with human arms (cf. pl. 143b), since in both cases the human arms replace forelegs. The date of the Rhodian oenochoe falls exactly into the period of Egypt's close contacts with East Greece¹¹⁸ and therefore it is highly

probable that the painter may have picked up the motif from an Egyptian artefact.

The possibility of an Attic influence, however, cannot easily be dismissed. Attic influence is widely attested on East Greek vases, and sphinxes using their forelegs in a similar manner are very common in PA vase painting. For instance, the sphinx on the EPA oenochoe no. 75 (pl. 59), has one foreleg not only used as a human arm, but also drawn in a way so distinct from the other foreleg that it is not easy to decide whether it is a human arm or in fact a foreleg. The general tendency for the "Vermenschlichung" of monsters reaches its climax after the middle of the seventh century; thus we find sirens also growing human arms (cf. pl. 97a). In conclusion it can be said that the origin of the human arm on the East Greek oenochoe remains an undecided question, and both Egyptian or Attic influence are equally possible.

THE GORGON-SPHINX

The gorgon-sphinx, which combines the body of a winged lion and a gorgon's head, is a version of the gardant sphinx attested only in Laconia by two isolated examples (no. 480, 339), the best and most representative of which remains that on the ivory plaque no. 480 (pl. 153a).

The plaque is badly preserved and most of the monster's legs, which are shown sejant to the right, are missing. The engraved scale pattern which decorated the breast is now hardly visible, but the other details remain clear. Marangou¹¹⁹ classes the plaque as Laconian and on grounds of style and the type of the gorgon head, dates it to the end of the third quarter of the seventh century; Boardman¹²⁰ on the other hand offers a date around the middle of this century. The body of the sphinx, however, with its extremely rounded breast, could hardly be dated earlier than ca. 625. The same date is also suggested by the shape and inner decoration of the wing, which find their closest parallels in sphinx representations on Corinthian vases of the Transitional period (cf. nos. 184, 185, 199, pl. 85). Among Laconian ivories, the best parallel for the gorgon-sphinx's body is found in the sphinxes on the ivory plaque no. 481 (pl. 125a) of the last quarter of the seventh century. At this period Laconian sphinxes are under strong Corinthian influence, a fact reflected in the gorgon-sphinx itself. Earlier Laconian sphinxes are influenced by Cretan models, basically evidenced in the straight-edged wing and regardant pose (cf. no. 478, pl. 123a). However, in the last quarter of the seventh century Laconian sphinxes follow the Corinthian type in all respects, and can be identified as Laconian only on grounds of style.

The head of the gorgon-sphinx is classed as Laconian on both stylistic and iconographic grounds. There is a distinct Laconian type of gorgoneion¹²¹ appearing in the third quarter of the seventh century, characterized by two

horns over the eyebrows and a plastically rendered swelling at the roof of the nose. In the next stage of development of the type, however, which occurs in the last quarter of the century, Laconian gorgoneia fall completely under Corinthian influence.¹²² The head of the gorgon-sphinx no. 480 is usually classed with the second, Corinthianizing group and is compared with the gorgoneion on the tondo of a Laconian cup of the same date.¹²³ The two pieces present several similarities, notably the spiral locks over the brow, distorted mouth with tusks and lolling tongue, and, above all, the same expression. However, the gorgoⁿ-sphinx's head has two important characteristics which dissociate it from the orthodox Laconian type: the layered hairstyle and the long pointed beard.

The rendering of the hair in layers on either side of the gorgo-sphinx's face is unparalleled on Laconian gorgoneia, where the hair, if indicated, is shown in isolated locks.¹²⁴ On the orthodox Corinthian type the hair is generally confined to the small spiral locks on the brow;¹²⁵ however, on the very early Corinthian MPC kotyle no. 114 (pl. 83a) by the Boston painter, the gorgoneion has small spiral locks on the brow and layered hair flanking the face, exactly like the gorgon-sphinx. There is no doubt therefore as to the Corinthian origin of the gorgon-sphinx's hairstyle.

As to the long pointed beard of the gorgon-sphinx, this highly individual characteristic has no antecedents on earlier Laconian or Corinthian gorgoneia. It is first attested on the gorgon-sphinx, but is much more common on later gorgoneia¹²⁶ (e.g. pl. 153b). Its origin remains obscure, since the beard of Corinthian gorgoneia is usually indicated as a small fringe outlining the lower part of the rounded face,¹²⁷ while on Laconian gorgoneia the beard, when indicated, is stylized as a rectangular brush hanging from the chin.¹²⁸ The very idea of a gorgoneion with a long beard remains a Laconian element, otherwise attested in an emphatic rendering of

the elongated chin,¹²⁹ which is in striking contrast to the Corinthian rounded examples. We must therefore look to local Laconian traditions for the origin of this long pointed beard. In fact the shape and stylization of this beard, with its vertically engraved parallel lines, is matched exactly by a Laconian ivory head of the third quarter of the seventh century from Artemis Orthia.¹³⁰ It can be assumed therefore that in spite of the strong Corinthian influence attested in the hairstyle and wing type of the gorgo-sphinx, it remains a Laconian creation. It seems indeed to be a Laconian version of the sejant, gardant sphinx, which was very common on Laconian ivories in the third quarter of the seventh century (cf. nos. 477-479, pl. 123).

A similar gorgon-sphinx is attested on another Laconian piece, a terracotta plaque from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (no. 339). This monster is shown passant to the left with two curved, displayed wings and an upward-pointing tail. The preservation of the plaque is not good, but the monster's gorgon-face is undoubted:¹³¹ it is shown frontally and disproportionately large for the body, with huge rounded eyes and a distorted, tusked mouth. The plaque was found with geometric pottery¹³² and this together with the style of the piece seems to suggest a date around the middle of the seventh century. This gorgon-sphinx is therefore earlier than that on the ivory plaque no. 480 and suggests that the type was most probably created in Laconia in the middle of the seventh century.

Karagiorga¹³³ explains the double-bodied sphinx on the ivory seal no. 511 (pl. 151b) as a Laconian gorgon-sphinx also. The Laconian origin of the piece is undoubted: style, wing type, facial characteristics are all easily traceable in Laconian art of the middle of the seventh century. There is no evidence, however, for the sphinx's face being gorgoneion-type. It lacks all the typical characteristics of a gorgoneion, namely spiral locks on the brow, tusks and lolling tongue. The face does however present

a strange distortion, with huge almond-shaped eyes under a pair of angular eyebrows shown as a continuous zig-zag line on the upper part of the face; the mouth is emphatically carved, disproportionately large, and the whole face given an awesome expression. These however seem stylistic rather than iconographic elements. The emphasis in the rendering of the mouth is common on Laconian ivory heads¹³⁴ and we quite often find eyebrows depicted as a continuous line on ivory heads from Orthia.¹³⁵ Probably, therefore, the distortion of the face of the double-bodied sphinx no. 517 is due to its frontal rendering at such an early date, and the gorgon-sphinx remains attested by two examples only. This monster seems to be a purely Laconian invention of the middle of the seventh century, combining sphinx and gorgon elements popular in Laconia at the time. As with the Corinthian gorgon-monsters,¹³⁶ the Laconian gorgon-sphinx remains an isolated provincial creation without any impact on archaic Greek art.

THE DOUBLE-BODIED SPHINX

The double-bodied sphinx, which combines two antithetical bodies joined in a frontal head, is attested in the seventh century by only a few isolated examples (nos. 144, 207, 487¹³⁵, 511). It is not a sphinx type proper, but rather a type of heraldic decorative pattern; since, however, the origin of the motif is disputed and moreover presents an independent evolution, we shall discuss it as an independent type of sphinx. Through Corinthian influence double-bodied animals and monsters become a common decorative pattern from the end of the seventh century,¹³⁷ but during this century the examples are few and isolated, confined mainly to sphinxes and panthers and dating from the second half of the century.

The earliest double-bodied sphinx known so far is that on the ivory seal from the Argive Heraion no. 511 (pl. 151b). The seal had been claimed as Ionian by Payne¹³⁸ but Karagiorga¹³⁹ has convincingly shown on stylistic grounds that it is Laconian dated to the second quarter of the seventh century. Decisive for the seal's origin remain, besides style, the sphinx's iconography and in particular the pose and wing type.

The sphinx is depicted with a pair of antithetical bodies, each shown sitting on its hindlegs and resting its forelegs on a stylized horizontal volute, the pose par excellence for sphinxes of Laconian and Cretan workshops. This is normally used for pairs of antithetical sphinxes, with the central object usually a stylized floral ornament (cf. no. 336 pl. 111a and no. 479 pl. 125c) or a pair of stylized double volutes forming an altar-shape (cf. no. 374, pl. 115a). Marangou¹⁴⁰ explains this pose in Laconia as due to Cretan influence, and in fact the Laconian examples are of a later date than the Cretan ones. More characteristically Laconian is the type of the wing, which is sickle-shaped, and consists of two distinct parts (wing base and pinion) separated by a broad band of parallel lines.

The wing base is decorated by a scale pattern, the pinion with parallel lines. Exactly the same type of wing is found on the sphinx of the ivory plaque from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia no. 477 (pl. 125b). Laconian sphinxes of the second quarter of the seventh century are under strong Cretan influence; they usually possess a folded straight-edged wing (cf. no. 478, pl. 125), but around the middle of the century Corinthian influence causes the wing to acquire a curved shape with characteristic division between pinion and base (cf. no. 477, pl. 125). The double-bodied sphinx no. 511 seems to belong to this second stage in the Laconian sphinx's development. The face of this sphinx is closely paralleled on Laconian ivory heads of the second quarter of the seventh century,¹⁴¹ and the attenuated body and rounded hindquarters of the sphinx bodies is closely matched by the sphinx of the ivory plaque no. 477. The ivory seal no. 511 therefore can reasonably be dated late in the second quarter of the seventh century.

The sphinx's frontal head has been explained¹⁴² as a gorgoneion because of the exaggeration of facial characteristics, but this very exaggeration of the face is a constant feature of all double-bodied monsters. It cannot be explained simply in terms of the problems of frontal rendering, since frontal heads on profile bodies lack this distortion. It seems therefore that it derives from a tendency to emphasize the 'heraldic' character of the motif. The latter is further emphasized on the sphinx no. 511 by the position of the wings on the breast, which they cover completely. Thus here the breast of the double-bodied sphinx also gives an impression of frontality, and only the hind parts of the bodies are shown from the side.

A more highly developed form of this type of sphinx is found on the LPC Chigi vase by the Mackmillan painter no. 144 (pl. 153c), where the two antithetical bodies of the sphinx are sharply distinguished. The rounded breasts of the monsters touch each other, but do not join to form

one common breast, as on the Laconian ivory seal; it is only the common neck and head that fuses the bodies into one creature. The triangular face is extremely elongated and presents an exaggeration of the features reminiscent of no. 511. The almond-shaped eyes are extremely large and the curved eyebrows are drawn in a continuous line, serving to increase the impression of distortion. The sphinx is typically Corinthian in its sickle-shaped wing with two rows of feathers, double volute on the head and hair in isolated locks falling on the shoulders; throughout the drawing is meticulous, with the various stylizations on the forelegs and abdominal area, and the obvious attempt at perspective in the rendering of the two bodies.

In the transitional period the notion of two bodies joined is further developed. Thus the sphinx on the Tr. alabastron in London no. 207 (pl. 153c) is shown not only with two bodies, but also with two necks joined to a single head crowned by a high polos. The polos has a dip in the centre, further emphasizing the heraldic nature of the motif.

Contemporary with the double-bodied sphinx no. 207 must also be the unpublished ivory sphinx from Delphi no. 487, bis (pl. 154). Unfortunately the piece is now very damaged and the head, most of the wings and legs are now missing; we are left in no doubt however that it is indeed a double-bodied sphinx. The sickle-shaped wing and isolated shoulder-length locks suggest a Corinthian type of sphinx. The rendering of the bodies in a sejant pose (with both forelegs indicated), bring the sphinx close to that on the Chigi vase no. 144, but the cubitus band is now placed lower on the elbow and the type of wing is closer to that on no. 207. The Delphi sphinx must therefore be dated in between the two, that is at the end of the third quarter of the century. In the Delphi sphinx we have the third Corinthian example of a double-bodied sphinx, and a resultant confirmation that the type was familiar in Corinth in the second half of the seventh century.

However, no Corinthian origin can be claimed for the motif. The earliest extant double-bodied sphinx is Laconian, but the origin of the motif is an extremely complicated problem.¹⁴³ Some double-bodied monsters were known in Mycenaean art and therefore Johansen¹⁴⁴ has claimed a Mycenaean revival. However, Payne¹⁴⁵ has recently emphasized that "the history of the motif between the Mycenaean period and the latter part of the seventh century is obscure". Double-bodied monsters were also known in Oriental art¹⁴⁶ and Barnett,¹⁴⁷ comparing the double-bodied panther on a Cretan vase to a similar monster on a gold vase from Ziwiyeh,¹⁴⁸ suggests an Assyrian origin for the motif. Scheibler¹⁴⁹ in contrast claims that the double-bodied monsters were a Greek creation of the late seventh century, originating in a combination of two tendencies — one for heraldic animals and another for frontal heads. However, the Laconian ivory seal no. 511 belongs before the middle of the seventh century and double-bodied panthers are known from Crete on bronze mitrai of the second quarter of the century. Therefore Lembesi¹⁵⁰ rightly claims for the double-bodied sphinx a Cretan origin created under strong Oriental influence. Karagiorga¹⁵¹ counters with a theory of Peloponnesian origin, considering the Laconian ivory seal no. 511 as the earliest example of a double-bodied monster; but the double-bodied sphinx on the Laconian seal is more or less contemporary with Cretan examples. On the other hand, Laconian ivories of the second quarter of the seventh century are under strong Cretan influence, and the sphinx on no. 511 betrays close Cretan connections. The evidence therefore seems to point towards a Cretan derivation for the motif, though double-bodied sphinxes outside the Peloponese are so far unknown in the seventh century.

THE WINGLESS SPHINX

The wingless sphinx is evidenced in the seventh century by a few examples only, mostly dating from early in the century (cf. 543, 517, 515, 509, 523, 246). Some isolated examples of a late seventh century date found on second rate pieces (nos. 245 and 536), serve to confirm that the type remained an oddity in Archaic Greek art. Wingless sphinxes are attested in the seventh century in two poses: 1) reclining, 2) passant. The latter is a common attitude for animals and monsters in Early Greek art, but the reclining pose seems to have been immediately related with the wingless sphinx itself, since it is the typical pose for the monster in Egypt and the main attitude adopted for Egyptianizing wingless sphinxes in the Orient.

The Reclining Wingless Sphinx

The type is attested on an ivory figurine from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (no. 543, pl. 156). This figurine shows a wingless, reclining sphinx on a rectangular base perforated lengthwise. It was found with "geometric" pottery, which thus sets a *terminus ante quem* for the figurine at 650.¹⁵² The style of this reclining monster, with its rounded forms and heavy modelling, finds no close parallel in contemporary Greek art and at first sight seems characteristically Oriental. The reclining pose itself is very uncommon in Greek art, especially at such an early date. Furthermore, the body of the figurine, with its narrow loins and accentuated rump, brings to mind North Syrian models (cf. pl. 171). The loose modelling of the face, with its deep, wide-set eyes and plastic-ally modelled, projecting eyebrows; the low forehead and modelling of the hair — all are closely reminiscent of Oriental models, and the figurine could easily be mistaken for an Oriental import. However, exact parallels

for the figurine cannot be found among Oriental objects and a careful analysis of the style proves it to be a Greek free rendering of an Oriental model.

Marangou compares the body of the sphinx figurine to that of the imported North Syrian ivory lion figurine from Samos.¹⁵³ In fact the similarity of the two pieces is close, but the sphinx figurine possesses narrow loins and heavily accentuated, swelling rump not found in the Samos lion. In the lion the forelegs are fully modelled, with metacarpus and forepaws jutting out from the body, whereas in the sphinx only the forepaws themselves are given detailed treatment, with clearly distinguished claws. These forepaws are elongated and serve to support the head. It is obvious that the artist was in fact copying an Oriental model of a reclining sphinx or lion, and having no knowledge of a lion's anatomy, translated the lower foreleg (i.e. metacarpus and paw) into a simple elongated paw.

The face of the sphinx figurine has been compared to those of Oriental bronze attachments found in Greece.¹⁵⁴ In spite of a similar rendering of the hair on the brow and some general resemblance, the face of the sphinx figurine is less rounded and presents a more austere expression than its imported bronze counterparts. Marangou has related the Artemis Orthia sphinx to the North Syrian basalt sphinx figurine from Tell Tayinaat.¹⁵⁵ The latter, which is considered to be "not later than about 700", represents a reclining gardant sphinx with inlaid eyes. There is a general resemblance between the ivory sphinx figurine no. 543 and this basalt sphinx, but the latter, especially in the rendering of the face, displays more rounded forms.

A more convincing parallel to the ivory figurine no. 543 is found in a bronze sphinx figurine in Harvard's Fogg Art Museum ¹⁵⁶ (pl. 157a); the latter presents exactly the same type of front-facing wingless reclining sphinx, but lacks the rectangular base of no. 543. The Harvard figurine was first

shown at the great exhibition of Greek art at Burlington House in London in 1946, then being described as a Greek Laconian work of about 700. The Laconian origin of the figurine was first doubted by G.M.A. Haufmann,¹⁵⁷ who attributed it to a North Syrian workshop on grounds of style and because its tawny surface "recalls the colour of bronzes found in Syria and Phoenicia". He furthermore associated it with the basalt figurine from Tell Tayinaat.¹⁵⁸ Marangou reassessed this question of Laconian origin and concluded that the sphinx was in fact North Syrian; a comparison of the Harvard bronze figurines with local Laconian work of around 700 confirms this. In fact the rounded face of the figurine, with its plump cheeks, loosely modelled features, large ears and emphatically modelled eyebrows is closely reminiscent of such Oriental products as the ivory head from Nimrud in North Syrian style, known as the Nimrud Mona Liza".¹⁵⁹ Moreover, every doubt as to the figurine's Oriental origin must be discounted if we consider the style of the wingless, reclining sphinx with its erect head, and indeed the whole modelling of the figure.

The ivory figurine no. 543 is related to the Harvard bronze sphinx not only typologically but also stylistically. In relation to the latter, however, no. 543 displays a strong disproportioning in the rendering of the body, and an emphasis on detail to the exclusion of overall harmony. This no. 543 seems to suggest that the ivory figurine is derived from Oriental models similar to the Harvard figurine.

In fact the ivory figurine no. 543 finds its closest parallels among Laconian ivory figurines of lions devouring an animal.¹⁶⁰ The characteristic rendering of the hind quarters and head are very close to the sphinx figurine. The Laconian lion figurines are dated around 670 and therefore the sphinx figurine, which is less advanced in style, can be placed earlier in the seventh century. A more precise dating around 700 can be fixed for the ivory figurine no. 543 in relation to the eighth century

Oriental models.¹⁶¹

The type of wingless reclining sphinx survives in Laconian art in the sixth century, since it is found in a lead figurine¹⁶² of early sixth century date from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The type is by this time completely hellenized, and the figurine shown gardant and with a polos.

Early in the sixth century the type was taken over for Corinthian plastic vases¹⁶³ (pl. 158). Some of these vases have a curved wing with a single row of feathers painted on the side (pl. 158b), further emphasizing the Corinthian artist's characteristic dislike of wingless sphinxes. Here they adopt the type of wingless, reclining sphinx readily adaptable to plastic vases and then paint in the wing to stress the monster's sphinxian character.

The type of wingless reclining sphinx introduced into Greece early in the seventh century with such works as no. 543, is attested in sixth century East Greece by bronze figurines such as that from Samos¹⁶⁴ shown on pl. 157b. In contrast to the opinion generally held, therefore, the motif of a wingless reclining sphinx seems to have roots in Greek art, though it remains isolated. Verdelis¹⁶⁵ has suggested an Egyptian origin for the motif; Hus¹⁶⁶ and Marangou¹⁶⁷ consider that it derives from North Syrian art. The wingless, reclining sphinx is the typical Egyptian type of sphinx, which reaches a climax in the art of the New Kingdom.¹⁶⁸ From Egypt, however, the type passes to the Orient and an Egyptianizing type of wingless reclining sphinx is attested both in Phoenician and North Syrian art in the early Iron Age. Objects from both areas reached Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries (see chapter on imported objects); both are potential sources of inspiration for the Greek type. The style of the Laconian figurines, however, strongly suggests a debt to North Syrian models. It can be concluded therefore that the origin of the wingless reclining

sphinx in Greece is found in North Syrian art of the Early Iron Age.

The Passant Wingless Sphinx

The motif of a passant wingless sphinx is much more common in the art of the seventh century than that of the wingless reclining sphinx, which is attested only on the Laconian ivory figurine no. 543.

The earliest example of a wingless passant sphinx is found on a scarab seal in Gottingen with a human head carved at the back (no. 517, pl. 141b)¹⁶⁹ The style of the head suggests a date around 700 and the wingless passant monster roughly cut on the reverse is subgeometric in style. It consists of an animal body with tail flowing behind, a long neck and a human head with long curved crest. The type of animal body is clearly defined by the sharply distinguished claws, and some additional cuttings on the hind legs can be explained as indicating hairs. Gercke¹⁷⁰ misinterprets the long neck as a human bust and therefore explains the monster as a centaur brandishing a branch. After taking into consideration the monster's feline character, Ohly considers it to be a lion-centaur similar to the centaur with forelegs ending in paws, shown on the contemporary gold band in Amsterdam.¹⁷¹ J. Boardman¹⁷² on the other hand underlines the feline character of the monster's hind quarters and Fittschen considers it to be a wingless sphinx.¹⁷³

A close inspection of the monster's iconography definitely confirms Fittschen's view. The body is undoubtedly leonine and there is no trace of human arms. The supposed branch held by the "centaur" is in fact a filling ornament in front of the sphinx's breast; a similar filling ornament is shown above the monster's back. The human head is crowned by a long crest which can be explained either as a helmet or a volute. Wingless sphinxes with exactly the same type of crest, indicating a helmet, are known from the gold bands of the Geometric period (nos. 39-45). However, volutes

appear on sphinxes as early as the end of the eighth century, and are quite common on sphinxes represented on gems (cf. no. 518, pl. 141c). The emphasis in the rendering of the crest surmounting the head suggests that it was most probably meant as a helmet rather than a volute, but the case for the latter cannot be absolutely excluded.

A similar wingless passant sphinx with a volute is found on an ivory seal on the base of a couchant lion from Ithaca (no. 515). Ivory couchant lion seals are generally considered to be Peloponnesian,¹⁷⁴ and Marangou¹⁷⁵ has made a case that the Ithaca examples in particular are either Laconian or made under Laconian influence. However, neither the style nor the type of wingless passant sphinx found on the Ithaca seal can be closely paralleled among sphinxes represented on Laconian ivories. The hind legs of the sphinx, shown short and wide apart, present a rectangular formation of the ankle and short metatarsus characteristic of a ram's legs rather than a lion's. Such a formation of the hind legs is unparalleled on Laconian sphinxes but is attested in PA and PC vase painting of the second quarter of the seventh century (cf. nos. 80, pl. 57 and 113 pl. 71). However, the modelling of the sphinx's face is closer to PC sphinxes. Therefore it can be assumed that the Ithaca seal is a Peloponnesian work, perhaps under Laconian influence. The style of the sphinx and in particular the formation of the hind legs suggest a date for the piece of 680.

Another interesting wingless sphinx is attested on a Cretan vase of the same date (no. 246, pl. 89a). This sphinx is represented with extremely long, hooved legs and shown wearing a low, flat polos. The style of the sphinx is strongly representative of the Cretan subgeometric tradition and the wingless bull-legged type is paralleled by the similarly represented wingless sphinx figurines of the Dark Ages. The most recent evidence for the latter, however, comes from the ninth century and therefore no clear continuity can be claimed. Therefore the sphinx on this seventh

century sherd (no. 246) can be explained either as a survival of the Dark Age type, or as created under a new wave of Oriental influence.

Isolated examples of wingless passant sphinxes are found again at the end of the seventh century on a Laconian sherd (no. 245) and on a Rhodian faience vase (no. 536). The sphinx on the Laconian sherd is obviously an archaizing work reflecting earlier models and techniques of painting. The silhouette technique without any use of incision springs from the Geometric tradition and the lack of wings goes back to such early models as the ivory figurine no. 543.

The wingless passant sphinx on the Rhodian faience vase no. 536, on the other hand, displays careless drawing. The body is elongated and the tail, flowing behind, makes the creature look like a cat rather than a lion. In fact it is a caricature for which no parallel or prototype can be found, and is seemingly drawn from the artist's imagination.

Verdelis¹⁷⁶ has explained two seventh century bronze figurines of wingless statant sphinxes in the Louvre as Greek, but they are undoubtedly Etruscan imitations of Oriental models (see chapter on imported objects, pl. 161 below).

At the end of the seventh century the type of wingless sphinx is adopted by Boeotian potters for plastic vases¹⁷⁷ (cf. pl. 159). The body of the "sphinx" is now rendered as a large cylinder and the legs and tail are crudely modelled. There is a technical resemblance to the Rhodian ram vases,¹⁷⁸ but the Boeotian examples definitely reflect the wingless sphinx; this is confirmed by the emphasis put on the rendering of the female human head. The body is decorated with dots, as on the Corinthian sphinx vases, but the head is here elaborately adorned with circular earrings, a necklace with pomegranate ornaments and a polos with a dish in front. Some linear ornaments on the breast have been explained by Higgins¹⁷⁹ as a peplos, but they were most probably simply decorative and

arise from a tendency to emphasize and differentiate the forepart of the "sphinx's" body. .In the sixth century the wingless sphinx remains an oddity attested mainly in small figurines, and in the fifth century the type almost disappears.¹⁸⁰

SPHINX PROTOMES

The sphinx protome is a common type of bronze handle attachment in the sixth century (cf. pl. 155),¹⁸¹ but the motif is hardly traced in the seventh, only one example being attested of a seventh century sphinx protome, on the bronze corselet from Olympia no. 423 (pl. 154). The engraved decoration of this corselet consists of figured scenes and decorative motifs as filling ornaments. Among the latter are two sphinx protomes shown against a floral pattern on the shoulders of the corselet. The protome consists of the forepart of a winged sphinx with a low polos and volute; the latter is an element known only from Cretan (cf. pl. 108b) and Laconian sphinxes (cf. pl. 123c), and the style of the figures suggests a definitely Cretan workmanship of the second quarter of the seventh century. The sickle-shaped wing, on the other hand, betrays a Corinthianizing type of sphinx.

The origin of the sphinx protome remains obscure, but most probably derives from Oriental models, since the protome in general is very much an Oriental motif¹⁸² and sphinx protomes certainly occur there.¹⁸³ An Oriental bronze sphinx protome-handle attachment, found in Olympia (cf. no. 550a-bis: pl. 163), is wingless and helmeted, in striking contrast to the winged protome of the Olympia corselet. Oriental protomes appear in a variety of forms, the most common being griffin and siren protomes, and are closely imitated in orientalizing Greek art.

On the Branteghem globular aryballos in Brussels,¹⁸⁴ a PC vase of around 700, two types of winged protomes occur: one consisting of a winged human bust, the other of a human head with volute and wings. They have been explained as sphinx protomes,¹⁸⁵ but there is no definite evidence for this. Bronze versions of the winged human bust with arms are known from the seventh century;¹⁸⁶ they are combined with a bird's tail and therefore

classed — in spite of the human arms — among the various orientalizing siren protomes, which the Branteghem winged bust probably also represents. The nature and origin of the other type of "sphinx" protome on the same vase remains obscure, but may also reflect a bronze siren of the above type. Accordingly a similar Oriental derivation can also be assumed for the sphinx protome on the Cretan corselet from Olympia.

SECTION II : ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

BODY

The body of sphinxes in the Orientalizing period is generally treated summarily, emphasis being placed only in the rendering of the paws and tail which give the monster its leonine character. In time, however, particularly in PC workshops, several stylizations are adopted to indicate other anatomical details. The Greek artist, being unfamiliar with the anatomy of the lion, at first treats it in the same way as a horse — thus sphinxes in early seventh century Orientalizing art are represented with extremely long legs. In EPA workshops they are painted in silhouette, with emphasis on the huge paws complete with distinctly outlined claws (cf. pl. 45). In contemporary Corinthian workshops several stylizations emphasize the feline character of the sphinx's body. Thus the large paws are painted in silhouette, claws indicated by engraving; the paw is distinguished from the leg by two engraved lines (cf. no. 111, pl. 69a) — a stylization deriving from North Syrian models, where paws are often decorated with a band of parallel lines (cf. pl. 171). Also serving to emphasize the sphinx's leonine body is the short metatarsus and the prominent ankle with a <-shaped engraved stylization, which appears early in the seventh century and becomes a regular feature on PC sphinxes down to the end of the MPC period (cf. no. 153, pl. 75b). However, even PC sphinxes are unconsciously treated as equine, and appear with extremely long forelegs (cf. pl. 69a), while two engraved parallel lines are adopted to indicate the knee-joints, a stylization also surviving to the end of the MPC period (cf. no. 153, pl. 75b).

In the LPC period knowledge of the lion's anatomy is greater, and forelegs become short with a curved line on the forearm (cf. no. 141, pl. 77b), a stylization probably deriving from a North Syrian convention indicating the

muscle (cf. pl. 171). The foreleg muscle stylization becomes regular on Corinthian vases of the Transitional period (cf. pls. 85-87) and is introduced to PA art late in the seventh century by the Nessos painter (cf. no. 97, pl. 65 and no. 99, pl. 66). A fondness for similar leg stylizations characterizes sphinxes represented on vases of the Middle and Late Wild Goat style (cf. pls. 105-106).

Isolated examples of Oriental sphinx stylizations are attested on MPA vases. Thus the engraved zig-zag band round the body of the MPA sphinx no. 86 (pl. 61a) is probably inspired by the band round the body of Neoassyrian sphinxes.¹⁸⁷ The sphinxes on no. 86 also have a dotted thigh, which is very likely the Attic version of such Oriental stylizations as the zig-zagged haunches of sphinxes or a North Syrian ivory from Nimrud (pl. 171). Similar stylizations are known in Greece from the sphinxes of the Idaean shields. The figure-of-eight shaped engraved stylization of the sphinxes on the PA Phaleron oenochoe no. 77 (pl. 60) can be understood with reference to similar stylizations in Cycladic art, while the spiral ornaments on the exceptionally long neck of the same monsters may be inspired by griffins heads with volutes hanging down the neck.

One of the most characteristically feline elements of Orientalizing sphinxes is their long curly tail. PC sphinxes, closely following their North Syrian models,¹⁸⁸ have an upward-pointing tail often terminating in a tassel (cf. no. 113, pl. 71) — a type attested on Corinthianizing sphinxes of all workshops.

By contrast the tails of EPA sphinxes hang between the hind legs and end in a spiral curl in the manner of a North Syrian lion convention adopted in Attic LG for lions¹⁸⁹ and transferred to sphinxes. The tasseled tail is extremely rare on PA sphinxes of the early seventh century, attested only on two examples by the Mesogeia painter (no. 59, pl. 48b and 64, pl. 148a), who we know was open to Oriental influence.

In the second quarter of the seventh century, Attic vase painters however, adopt the Corinthian type of tail for sphinxes (cf. no. 91, pl. 62)

An interesting variant of the PA type of tail ending in a palmette is found on nos. 72 and 72a (pl. 55a). Kübler¹⁹⁰ claims Oriental models for this, because a similar tail is found on some Assyrian seals of a late second millenium date,¹⁹¹ but the type is isolated in Oriental art without antecedents or followers. It seems more probable therefore that the palmette tail of the PA sphinxes nos. 72 and 72a are in fact a spontaneous invention of the painter.

A tail hanging between the hind legs is attested outside PA art by isolated examples like the sphinxes on the Boeotian amphora no. 275 (pl. 102) — which closely follows PA models — the Thapsos class vase no. 109 (pl. 68), and some Cretan clay reliefs (cf. no. 302, pl. 108b).

The most interesting tail in Early Archaic Greek art is however found on the ivory figurine no. 546 (pl. 129a) from Perachora, a sphinx rendered in Corinthian style, following the Corinthian iconographic tradition with sickle-shaped wing and polos. The tail is pointing upwards and closely follows Oriental models by ending in a strange animal head. The ears and muzzle of this head suggest a lion, but Stubbing¹⁹² argues that it was intended as a snake. In North Syrian art sphinx tails usually end in a bird's head (cf. pl. 129b),¹⁹³ more rarely in a snake's head (cf. no. 558, pl. 168b); both types find isolated imitations in Early Archaic Greek art (cf. nos. 518 and 520, pl. 141c) and both survive into sixth century art (cf. pl. 130).¹⁹⁴ The animal head attached to the tail of no. 546 however cannot really be seen as that of a bird or snake, though it was undoubtedly inspired by similar Oriental models. (For a good Greek version of the Oriental snake-headed tail, cf. the winged lion on the Naxian amphora no. 253, pl. 93).

Another clearly Oriental element found on Greek sphinxes is the apron —

attested by a mere two isolated examples on Naxian vases of an early seventh century date (nos. 254-255, cf. pls. 94 and 145). The apron is originally an Egyptian element,¹⁹⁵ first appearing on passant sphinxes of the New Kingdom, where it has the form of an isosceles triangle hanging between the forelegs. It is not clear whether it originates in a royal dress or a stylization of a lion's name.¹⁹⁶ From Egypt the apron passed with the Egyptianizing type of sphinx to Phoenicia and Syria, and from thence to Greece.¹⁹⁷ The apron of the Naxian sphinxes is however completely hellenized in the form of a three-leaved palmette, hanging from the chest over the forelegs.

WINGS

The most important element of the Greek sphinx — in fact what sets the entire tone of the monster — is the wing. Sphinxes in Early Archaic Greek are usually represented with one wing and only in few isolated cases are they shown with two.

Sphinxes with two wings are however extremely common in the Orient, the wings always being shown above the body either displayed (cf. pls. 166, 177, 172) or one projecting behind the other (cf. pl. 170). Sphinxes with two wings in Early Archaic Greek art can be classed in two distinct groups: one closely following Oriental models, having wings one projecting behind the other; the second group with one wing above and the other below the body. The latter, with the second wing hanging below the body, is an EPA stylization deriving only indirectly from Oriental models. In fact it seems instead a PA development of the small triangular projection behind the elbow attested on the eighth century bronze sheet from Kavousi no. 24 (pl. 25), which derives from a Cretan misinterpretation of the North Syrian wing hanging below the body (cf. pl. 171). The Mesogeia painter adopts the stylization of the wing hanging below the body in a triangular projection (cf. pl. 49a) and further develops it into an S-shaped wing hanging above and below the body (cf. pl. 48), which he most probably means as two wings. In a further variation he used two different wings (cf. no. 56, pl. 47a); the same rendering for two wings is furthermore adopted by the Vulture painter (cf. his winged horses on the amphora in Würzburg pls. 50-51). This rendering of the two wings remains isolated in Attic without any other followers.

The Oriental convention of two wings shown above the sphinx's back, one projecting behind the other, is first attested in Greece in the Geometric period on the bronze shields from the Idaean cave (cf. pl. 30a).

The type takes root in Cretan art, being attested early in the seventh century in Cretan vase painting (cf. pl. 90); it also becomes extremely common on sphinxes shown on clay relief pithoi (cf. pl. 110b), and is borrowed in PC vase painting, attested on vases by the Telestrophos painter (cf. pl. 80).

Later, on Corinthian vases of the Transitional period, sphinxes are represented with a pair of displayed wings (cf. pl. 87b) — a convention which most probably derives from the tendency for "heraldic" and symmetrical compositions.

Sphinxes' wings in the Early Archaic Greek period belong to three basic types: straight-edged, sickle-shaped and S-shaped. The latter is an isolated EPA type (cf. pls. 52a and 53) without any further influence in Early Archaic Greek art. The straight-edged wing is a typically Cretan wing appearing there in the Late Dark Ages on the sphinxes of the LPG Tekke krater (no. 1 pls. 3-4). The straight-edged wing is however firmly established in Cretan art through the products of the Knossian workshop (cf. pls. 24-25) and remains popular throughout the Early Archaic period (cf. no. 427, pl. 89b and no. 251 pl. 140b).

In the first half of the seventh century the straight-edged wing is favoured in PA vase painting, especially by the Analatos painter and his workshop (cf. pls. 43-46, 57-59). It is also used by the Mesogeia painter in his early years (cf. pl. 47) but he soon abandons it for the idiomatic curved wing. In the early seventh century owing to Cretan influence curved wings are often shown with a straight upper edge (cf. no. 109, pl. 68 and no. 431, pl. 121a); another typically Cretan stylization is the folded wing (cf. no. 334, pl. 110a) imitated on Laconian ivories (cf. no. 478, pl. 123a).

A distinct variant of the Cretan wing strongly influenced by Cypriot models is found in Cycladic vase painting of the first quarter of the

seventh century (cf. nos. 253-255 pls. 93-94 and 145): this is the elongated, slightly curved wing covering the shoulders and ending in a pointed tip, and decorated with broad cross-hatching. A similar type of wing is attested in eighth century Cypriot vase painting (cf. pl. 37b); the type is also evidenced in Cretan seventh century vase painting (cf. no. 249, pl. 91a) and on an early seventh century bronze sheet of most probably Cretan manufacture (no. 418, pl. 115) from Olympia.

The curved wing was originally introduced into Greek art in the second half of the eighth century, and first attested on the bronze shields from the Idaean Cave and in Attic and Argive LG vase painting. The earliest PC sphinx — that on the EPC aryballos no. 108, pl. 67 — is shown with a curved wing. Before the end of the first quarter of the seventh century, the typically Corinthian sickle-shaped wing with one or two rows of feathers has been formed (cf. pl. 69b-d). The intermediate stages before this type of wing is reached can be seen on examples such as no. 111 (pl. 69a) and no. 125 (pl. 72a). After the middle of the seventh century, however, the Corinthian wing penetrates everywhere in Greek art.

The sickle-shaped wing consists of base and feathers; the base, usually covering breast and shoulders, is often decorated with a scale pattern (cf. pl. 80) and its lower edge above the foreleg is generally underlined by an engraved band covering the cubitus joint area and therefore called the cubitus band. Feathers originally occur in a single row, but from the third quarter of the seventh century quite often appear in two rows (primary and secondary feathers). Sometimes secondary feathers are omitted but their place marked by a distinct band often differentiated by additional colour (cf. pl. 77a). Towards the end of the seventh century covert feathers appear and alar tracts are emphasized by dots and other patterns (cf. pl. 65).

The Cretan straight-edged wing is never shown feathered but instead

usually decorated with hatching or cross-hatching. In its PA version it often appears dotted (pl. 43) or with a scale pattern, though hatching or cross-hatching are also attested (cf. pl. 47). An interesting stylization occurring on vases by the Mesogeia painter is the division of the wing in two distinct parts, each decorated with a different pattern. The upper part (the pinion) is usually shown feathered, while the lower is decorated by a scale pattern (cf. pl. 49).

HUMAN HEAD

The sphinx's human head is treated as a common human head usually female, sometimes male and bearded. Hairstyles follow the current fashion in each workshop and the most important element of the head remains the headdress. There are four different types of headdresses attested on sphinxes a) Volute b) Helmet c) Polos and d) Crown.

VOLUTES

The sphinxian headdress par excellence in Orientalizing Greek art is the volute which can be classified in four basic types: 1) single (type A), 2) double (type B), 3) composite (type C), and 4) multiple short curls (type D).

Single volute (type A) (Cf. pls. 174-175)

The single volute appears in three variations with a clear chronological sequence: 1) ending in a spiral curl (cf. pl. 174 a-b) 2) ending in a palmette (cf. pl. 174 c-d) 3) combined with a polos or crown (cf. pl. 175).

The earliest version of the single volute is type A-1 first attested on a Naxian amphora of an early seventh century date from Thera (no. 253, pl. 93); a similar volute is also found on the wingless sphinx of the more or less contemporary scarab seal no. 517 (pl. 141b) in Göttingen. The type appears in PA vase painting relatively early, first attested on the sphinx of a Phaleron oenochoe in Munich (no. 76, pl. 142a), also dated early in the first quarter of the seventh century. In the second quarter of the seventh century the type becomes familiar in Corinthian workshops (cf. nos. 146, pl. 81 and 120, pl. 83b) and it is there that the second variation of the single volute develops type A-2, with a palmette (cf. pl. 174 c-d). This type is basically evidenced on the ivory seals from Perachora (cf. nos. 493-494 pl. 122 a-b and no. 512 pl. 139) and also on a scarab seal from Crete (in Munich no. 518 pl. 141).

After the middle of the seventh century both A-1 and A-2 are widely adopted; type A-1 becomes familiar in the Early Wild Goat style (cf. no. 275 pl. 104a), disappears during Middle Wild Goat and revives in the archaizing style of Late Wild Goat (cf. pl. 106). In the second half of

the seventh century type A-1 becomes extremely popular on Melian vases, where the final curl is often treated as a palmette (cf. nos. 263 and 265 pls. 98 and 174b).

The third variation of the single volute, that combined with a polos or crown (type A-3 pl. 175) is a typically Cretan invention basically attested on clay reliefs and bronzes. Towards the end of the second quarter of the seventh century that A-1 is first combined with a crown (cf. no. 298, pl. 108a) — a more Orientalizing version being that on no. 323 (pl. 107a and 175c). Around the middle of the century A-2 is adopted for the Cretan high polos (cf. no. 302, pls. 108b and 175d), the type remaining current to the end of the century (cf. no. 420 pls. 117a and 175f).

Double volute (type B) (cf. pls. 176, 177)

The double volute is the earliest type of volute attested in Orientalizing Greek art; like the single it is attested in three corresponding variations in clear chronological sequence: 1) ending in a spiral curl 2) ending in a palmette 3) combined with crown.

Type B-1 (cf. pl. 176 a-f) is attested almost simultaneously in EPA and EPC vase painting. In EPA it is first attested in a very stylized form on vases by the Mesogeia painter of a late eighth century date (cf. no. 56 pls. 47a and 176a). At the same time, or perhaps slightly earlier, the type appears in EPC vase painting in a fully developed form, that is with two long volutes springing from a central stalk and falling in front and behind the head (no. 108, pls. 67 and 176c). The type becomes extremely familiar in PA and PC vase painting of the first quarter of the seventh century (cf. pl. 176 b and d) and in the second quarter of the seventh century the central stalk is transformed into a palmette (cf. pl. 176e (no. 139) and f (no. 424)).

Type B-2 (cf. pl. 177 a-d) is a Corinthian development of the double volute achieved towards the end of the second quarter of the seventh century — a type rare outside Corinth, and basically reflected only in PA art of the middle of the seventh century (cf. no. 83, pls. 82a and 177a).

Type B-3 (cf. pl. 177 e-f) that is the double volute combined with crown is the Cretan version of the type chiefly attested on clay reliefs of the middle of the seventh century (cf. pl. 177e (no. 327) and f (no. 334)).

Type C (cf. pl. 178 a-c). The composite volute, consisting of a double stylized volute on the head and a single volute waving behind, is a Cretan invention of the middle of the seventh century used for sphinxes on Cretan clay reliefs (cf. pl. 178a (no. 403), b (no. 356) and c (no. 374)).

Type D (cf. pl. 178 d-e). This is an isolated type consisting of small spiral curls on the head, basically attested in early seventh century Cycladic vase painting (cf. no. 254 pls. 145 and 178 e). Early in the second quarter of the seventh century it occurs in PA vase painting (no. 55 pls. 46a and 178 d).

Origin

The volute, a headdress of problematic origin is a sphinxian headdress par excellence in Greek art. Volute combined with a crown are the typical Minoan-Mycenaean sphinx headdress (cf. pl. 2b) with an origin in an Egyptian floral headdress¹⁹⁸ also adopted in Oriental art,¹⁹⁹ where it survives in a more simplified form (as a single volute springing from the head) on North Syrian sphinxes of the Early Iron Age (cf. pl. 169a). It was therefore easy for the type to pass from North Syria to Greece in the late eighth and early seventh centuries. Yet the earliest type of volute attested in Greece is the double volute — a headdress completely unknown to Oriental art, but typically Greek headdress for sphinxes. It is in fact a development of the single volute, the two types being interchangeable; as the

origin of the single volute is clearly Oriental, the double volute can be explained as a Greek development of the North Syrian single version. Palmettes and volutes were introduced into Greece from the Orient and there is plenty of opportunity for artists to mix up types. Thus on the EPA sherd no. 56 (pl. 47a) the sphinx's stylized double volute can be closely paralleled to the palmette crowning the strongly Orientalizing sphinxes on the quiver from Fortetsa (no. 23, pl. 24). On the other hand, the curly volutes on no. 254 (pls. 145 and 178e) are clearly traceable to Cypriot art of the Late Bronze Age,²⁰⁰ and to Early Iron Age North Syrian art.²⁰¹

It seems therefore that the volutes treated and understood (as floral headdresses) consequently by the Greeks were in fact introduced into Greece from the Orient. In Greece they took firm root, developing their own iconographic tradition and especially maintaining an inseparable connection with sphinxes throughout Archaic Greek art.

HELMET

The helmet is an extremely common sphinxian headdress in the eighth century (cf. nos. 20, 22, 23-25, 36, 37, 39-45, 48), but makes only an isolated appearance on seventh century sphinxes (cf. nos. 70, 251, 259, 528). Helmets worn by sphinxes belong to two distinct groups: a) Oriental types attested on eighth century sphinxes b) Greek types found both on eighth and seventh century sphinxes.

The Oriental types attested are: the "Kammhelm", the conical helmet, the pointed helmet, the knob-helmet, the Raupenhelm.

The Greek types occurring are the Cretan, the Corinthian and the fore-and-aft crest.

"Kammhelm" (cf. pl. 179 a 1-2)

This type of helmet, named after its crest,²⁰² occurs on the sphinxes represented in the lowest frieze of the quiver from Fortetsa (no. 23, pl. 24). It is a conical helmet perched high on the crown, leaving the ears uncovered; its hallmark is the hatched crest which runs across its top as a serrated ridge, and continues at the back in a ribbon hanging from the lower edge.

This helmet is an Oriental type known only from representations of warriors on Early Iron Age stone reliefs at Carchemish²⁰³ and Zinzirli.²⁰⁴ In eighth century Cretan art it is found on sphinxes and warriors on the products of the Knossian workshop. The Cretan version of the Oriental "Kammhelm" is in fact very close to the prototype (cf. pl. 179a 1-2), differing only in minor details: in the Oriental model the crest is smaller and shown in a double row on the top of the head, continued at the back in three or four plumes instead of one; it is also provided with a small,

pointed "Buckel" on its front just above the forehead. In spite of these minor differences the similarity between the Oriental, North Syrian model and the Cretan version is astonishing, leaving no doubt as to the origin of the Kammhelm of the Knossian workshop. Whether, as Kunze²⁰⁵ wondered, this sort of helmet existed as a piece of real armour in Crete, or is a mere artistic convention, remains obscure, not only because the type is not known from actual helmets, but also because it has no successors in Greek art.

Conical helmet (cf. pl. 179 c 1-2)

The conical helmet with or without a plume is the commonest type of helmet for sphinxes in the eighth century (cf. nos. 20-23, 36, 48). It is a well known Oriental type, in fact the Early Iron Age North Syrian helmet ^oper excellence, but also known from representations in Geometric Greek art, making its origin on the sphinxes very difficult to decide. There are however several elements on the conical helmets worn by sphinxes suggesting a direct Oriental derivation. Firstly, such helmets are usually shown with a plume represented as a ribbon hanging behind — a typically North Syrian stylization for conical helmets found also on eighth century Cypriot sphinxes (cf. pl. 37c). Also characteristically North Syrian (cf. no. 562, pl. 166b) is the practice of showing the ear on these helmets (cf. no. 22, pl. 34) — one later adopted for Greek helmets²⁰⁶ as well. On the Fortetsa quiver no. 23 the conical helmet has ear-guards, another element connected with the conical helmet in Oriental art.²⁰⁷

The argument for an Oriental derivation for the sphinxian conical helmet of eighth century Greek art is strengthened by the fact that the conical helmet of sphinxes on the first row of the Fortetsa quiver (no. 23, pl. 24) is crowned by a small stylized palmette, otherwise unparalleled in Greek art, but with clear Oriental forerunners. Brock²⁰⁸ traces this

palmette to the trappings of horses on Assyrian reliefs, but in fact there is a very similar headdress in Neoassyrian art, attested on ivories, stone reliefs etc., — the so-called "Hörnermütze",²⁰⁹ a domed-cap headdress combined with horns and crowned by a palmette, exactly like the palmette of the Fortetsa quiver sphinxes. In the Orient the "Hörnermütze" is a ritual headdress worn by gods, demons and sphinxes. Its shape is the same as that of the conical helmet; only the horns and palmette are lacking, so it is hardly surprising that the artist of the Fortetsa quiver no. 23 has mixed them up. There is little doubt that the headdress of the sphinxes on the upper frieze of the quiver from Fortetsa no. 23 was meant as a helmet, since it is provided with ear-guards, and only the palmette differentiates it from the conical helmet worn by the other sphinxes on the same monument.

The pointed helmet (cf. pl. 179d 1-2)

The pointed helmet is attested on eighth century sphinxes by one isolated example — that on the bronze protome shield from Delphi (no. 37, pl. 28). It is shown perched high up on the crown and decorated with a herring-bone pattern; the ears are left bare and there is no suggestion of cheek-pieces or other accoutrements.

The pointed helmet is a type known in Greece in the Geometric period from bronze figurines of warriors,²¹⁰ but is also extremely common in Assyrian²¹¹ and Urartian art.

In Oriental art sphinxes are often found with a pointed headdress, but as the same shape is used for the tiara, the problem remains whether on the sphinxes a helmet or tiara was intended.²¹² However, the conical tiara is usually combined with one or two pairs of horns, and the simple conical headdress of the sphinxes, exactly paralleled by headdresses shown on warriors, can be assumed as a helmet.

The knob-helmet (cf. pl. 179e 1-2)

The knob-helmet is attested on the bronze protome shield from the Idaean Cave no. 25 (pl. 27) — a conical headdress with a plume and a distinct knob on the top. It is a type of headdress otherwise unparalleled in Geometric Greek art, and moreover no helmet in this form is known from the Orient, so the origin and nature of this headdress pose great problems.

Kunze²¹³ has argued that it derives from the Egyptian White Crown, but Dessenne²¹⁴ denies any such connection, since no Egyptian sphinx appears in a White Crown, and instead relates it to the headdress worn by the Hittite sphinxes at Bogazköy of a second millenium date. The shape of this headdress is in fact exactly paralleled in North Syrian art of the Early Iron Age by the so-called "Troddelmütze"²¹⁵ (cf. pl. 179e 2) — a headdress without plume but combined with horns, occurring on the stone reliefs at Carchemish and worn by sphinxes, chimaeras (cf. pl. 129b),²¹⁶ gods or demons. There is little doubt therefore as to the derivation of the knob-helmet on no. 25 from the North Syrian "Troddelmütze". The latter is usually a ritual headdress,²¹⁷ but also frequently shown on warrior gods or demons holding spears;²¹⁸ there is therefore little doubt that in the Orient the "Troddelmütze" was also meant as a helmet. The knob-helmet in eighth-century Greek art is basically confined to the sphinx no. 25, but in the seventh century it makes an isolated appearance on a rock engraving from Thera.²¹⁹

The "Raupenhelm" (cf. pl. 179 b1-2)

The "Raupenhelm" is attested on the sphinxes represented on the bronze sheet from Kavousi (no. 24, pl. 25), and consists of a conical helmet with a high forward-curving crest continuing at the back in three or four ribbons hanging from its lower edge. It is placed high on the head so as to expose the ears, and was thus called the "open-faced" helmet by Snodgrass;²²⁰

Borchhardt²²¹ named it "Raupenhelm" after the form of the crest.

The "Raupenhelm" is known in eighth century Cretan art only from representations on products of the Knossian Workshop. In the Orient a similar type of helmet, but with cheek-pieces and a double crest (cf. pl. 179 b2) is attested in Neoassyrian and North Syrian art. Despite this, we cannot automatically pronounce an Oriental origin, because the Oriental examples are of eighth century date and therefore roughly contemporary with their Greek counterparts. Kunze²²² has explained the "Raupenhelm" of the sphinxes on the Kavousi sheet no. 24 as a purely Mycenaean type. Verdelis²²³ tried to connect this type of helmet with the eleventh century bronze helmet found at Tiryns, but the lack of evidence, either in the form of representations or in actual helmets, makes the debt to the Greek Bronze Age difficult to assess. Besides, the Tiryns helmet has no crest, which is the basic characteristic of the "Raupenhelm". Borchhardt,²²⁴ in his comparative study of Aegean and Oriental helmets, however, concluded that the "Raupenhelm" dominated the Aegean area at that time in Greece and the Orient. Whatever the origin of the "Raupenhelm" in Cretan art, it took root there and became the antecedent of the *Cretan type* of helmet.

The Cretan helmet

The Cretan helmet, closely connected in the seventh century with sphinx representations (cf. nos. 251, 259, 243a) is mainly characterized by a tall crest, which rises straight from the crown and curves forward (cf. pl. 140). Until a few years ago this type of helmet was chiefly known from representations and votive miniatures from Crete.²²⁵ There were a few actual examples from Crete and Delphi, but of a late seventh century date, so the type had been considered as a provincial modification of the Corinthian helmet.²²⁶ The recent finding of a full-size early seventh century example (now in Hamburg),²²⁷ however confirms that the votive miniatures and representations

of the Cretan helmet reflect an actual helmet type, completely independent from the Corinthian type. It is in fact a helmet type directly connected with the "Raupenhalm", which is first manifested in Cretan art on the sphinxes of the Kavousi sheet no. 24 (pl. 25), and it therefore seems that the "Raupenhelm" gradually evolved into the Orientalizing Cretan helmet.

The Corinthian helmet

The sphinx on the island gem no. 528 (pl. 139d) is shown wearing a helmet which most probably represents the Corinthian type of helmet with cheek-pieces and nose-guard.

The "fore-and-aft" crest (cf. pl. 179 f1-2)

The sphinxes on the Attic gold bands (nos. 39-45, pl. 36) bear a headdress which is considered to be a helmet because it is found on the warriors on the same bands, as well as on the warriors on the gold reliefs from Skyros (Athens, Collection D. Goulandris).²²⁸

This headdress is shaped as a long line which outlines the head and curves beyond it. Schweitzer²²⁹ compared it to the helmet worn by the warriors represented on the Karatepe reliefs — the so-called "Raupenhelm", but the helmet (or rather crest) appearing on the gold bands, is well-known from Late Geometric vase painting under the name "fore-and-aft" crest.²³⁰ It is one of the three basic types of crests known in Geometric Greek art, the other two being the "*ridge-crest*" represented *on the cap* and the *high, forward-curving crest* which *rises above the cap* and is considered to reflect the "Raupenhelm". The "*fore-and-aft*" crest which *outlines the head* is considered to reflect the crest. On a LG amphora from the Acropolis the stilt itself is shown (cf. pl. 179 f1);²³¹ the sphinxes on the gold bands are summarily rendered and therefore no stilt is expected, but the fact

that the crest *outlines* the head and does not *spring out* of it classifies it as the "fore-and-aft" type, which characterizes the so-called "Bügelhelm" or "Kegelhelm".²³² This is a type of helmet known in Greece not only from representations, but also from actual examples, the earliest of which comes from a LG grave at Argos.²³³ The type is also known from the Orient²³⁴ (cf. pl. 179 f2), so the "Kegelhelm's" origin poses problems. Kunze²³⁵ and Courbin²³⁶ consider it to be originally Peloponnesian, while Snodgrass²³⁷ places its origin in Assyria. But the earliest representations of a "Kegelhelm" in Assyria are found in the Central Palace at Nimrud which belongs to the period of Tiglatpilesar III (745-727);²³⁸ if the "fore-and-aft" crest reflects this type of helmet, it is a type known in Greece as early as the ninth century Skyros gold reliefs. Therefore, by the time of the Attic gold diadems it must have been a fully assimilated Greek type of helmet — the helmeted sphinxes on the Attic gold bands are thus probably the earliest examples of a sphinx shown in a Greek helmet.

In the seventh century distinct types of helmet, like the Cretan or the Corinthian, are adopted for sphinxes, but on some sub-geometric stone seals of an early seventh century date (nos. 517 and 519, pl. 141a-b) the sphinx have a headdress consisting of a simple line outlining the head and waving behind it. This can be explained equally well as a "fore-and-aft" crest or a volute.

POLOS

Sphinxes with polos are in existence by the Geometric period, as attested on the LG Argive sherd no. 19 (pl. 41). The polos is here represented as a rather high cylindrical headdress with two ribbons hanging from the top, a typically Argive version of the polos, which is generally considered to be of Oriental origin.²³⁹ Sphinxes with polos are extremely common in the Orient (cf. pl. 172),²⁴⁰ where the polos takes various forms. Sphinxes on the bronze shields from the Idaean Cave nos. 28 and 30 (pl. 30) are represented with an Egyptianizing version of the Oriental polos — a high headdress much closer to the Egyptian tarbush worn by Nefertiti.²⁴¹ Whether the high headdress of the bearded sphinxes on no. 29 (pl. 29a) was meant as a polos is not easy to say, owing to the fragmentary state of the shield. Sphinxes on later Idaean shields are however shown with a type of low cylindrical polos (cf. pl. 29b), an extremely common headdress in eighth century Cretan art. Polos both low and high is in fact very common at this time, and certainly inseparable from sphinxes in Orientalizing Cretan art. In the early seventh century Cretan sphinxes usually have a low flat polos (cf. nos. 246 and 427, pl. 89); from the second quarter of the seventh century they acquire a high polos combined with volute (cf. no. 302, pl. 108b). In the course of the seventh century the polos gets taller, sometimes disproportionately so, as on the sphinx of the late seventh century bronze mitra no. 420 (pl. 117a). The Cretan high polos with volute passes to Laconia, and from the middle of the seventh century Laconian sphinxes frequently have this attribute (cf. no. 479, pl. 123c). In Laconia there is also a local version of the polos, the so-called leaf-polos attested on lead sphinxes (cf. nos. 444-448), though these lead figurines are often shown with the straightforward polos (cf. nos. 461 and 466) loaned from neighbouring PC art.

The high polos occurs on PC sphinxes before the first quarter of the seventh century (cf. no. 145), but since the favourite sphinx headdress of PC art is the volute, the polos is not widespread on PC sphinxes earlier than LPC. It is popularized largely through the work of the Confronted Griffins painter, who shows a distinct preference for male sphinxes with a low flat polos in the Cretan tradition (cf. no. 155, pl. 137). It is not until the Transitional period that the polos on sphinxes becomes regular (cf. nos. 166 and 208, pl. 87); in the sixth century it is the Corinthian sphinx headdress par excellence (cf. pl. 138). Payne²⁴² explains the polos of Corinthian sphinxes as of Cretan origin — with good reason, as the polos (low or high and combined with a volute) was the sphinxian headdress par excellence for Cretan Orientalizing sphinxes.

Finally, the polos passes into Attic art late in LPA, through the work of the Nessos painter (cf. no. 96).

CROWN

The crown²⁴³ is attested as a sphinxian headdress only in Cretan Orientalizing art, where three different types can be distinguished:

a) simple crown combined with volute b) spiky crown c) crescent-shaped crown.

Simple crown with volute

The simple crown with volute occurs in two variations on sphinxes on clay reliefs. In the first version it generally occurs on sphinxes represented in profile and is combined with a single volute waving behind the head (cf. no. 298, pl. 108a and 175a); in the second version it is combined with a double volute emerging directly from the hair (cf. no. 334, pl. 110a and 177f). The same headdress in a more stylized form, on a sphinx represented with a frontal head, shows the stylized double volute attached directly to the crown (cf. nos. 350, pl. 110b; 327, pl. 109 and 177e).

Spiky crown

The spiky crown is attested in Crete by only a single isolated example on the sphinx on the griffin bowl no. 249 (pl. 91a), despite its being extremely common in Orientalizing Cretan art.²⁴⁴ Its origin is controversial, many scholars explaining it as a Minoan-Mycenaean survival, others tracing it to Oriental art.²⁴⁵ The type is indeed common in Minoan-Mycenaean art, and similar crowns occur in the Orient. In North Syria it is used for Astarte,²⁴⁶ and the nude goddess on one of the bronze shields from the Idaean Cave no. 26 (pl. 31) is shown wearing a similar type of headdress. Exactly the same headdress is found in Neoassyrian art;²⁴⁷ it seems highly probable therefore that the spiky crown in Orientalizing Cretan art is of Oriental derivation.

The spiky crown displaying Cretan influence appears on the sphinx of a Cycladic clay relief pithos from the middle of the seventh century (no. 414, pl. 91b). There is no doubt as to the Cretan derivation of the crown on the Cycladic sphinx here, because it is combined with a volute waving behind the head in seventh century Cretan tradition.

Crescent-shaped crown

The striking crescent-shaped crown is attested in Orientalizing Cretan art by two isolated examples on clay relief pinakes from Gortyna (nos. 323-324, pl. 107). The type is otherwise unparalleled in Greek art, and is beyond doubt of Oriental derivation.²⁴⁸ A crescent-shaped headdress with a stiff knob springing from its centre is worn by a soldier of Rameses II on a stone relief at Thebes,²⁴⁹ while an Oriental version of the Egyptian prototype is found on a relief at Ras Shamra.²⁵⁰ The Cretan version has two varieties — one very close to the Egyptian model, with a knob at the centre, though brought in line with Cretan fashion by the addition of a volute waving behind (cf. pl. 107a); the other much closer to the Oriental model, with a conical object on the crescent-shaped base (pl. 107b). Both types however remain isolated in Cretan art and do not seem to have any antecedents or followers in Greek art.

POSES

The pose in which an animal or monster is represented is generally considered indicative of its date.²⁵¹ Undoubtedly in different periods there are preferences for certain poses but most poses are used in every period and the important thing is when a pose is introduced to specific workshops.

The passant pose

The passant pose is a typically Oriental pose for sphinxes (cf. e.g. no. 155 pl. 164a and nos. 562-563 pl. 166) introduced to Greek art early in the eighth century with objects of the Knossian workshop (cf. nos. 23-24, pls. 24-25). It remains an extremely popular sphinx pose till about the second quarter of the seventh century, when it is superseded by the sejant pose with the exception of Cretan clay reliefs (cf. pls. 111-112) and the vases of the Wild Goat style (cf. pl. 105) the passant pose is extremely rare for sphinxes in the second half of the seventh century, though its popularity revives in the sixth (cf. pl. 116b).

The sejant pose

The sejant pose is attested in the Geometric period by a few isolated examples of a middle eighth century date: there is one example from the Knossian workshop (no. 34), another from the Idaean workshop (no. 28, pl. 30a), others on the clay relief from Miletos (no. 22, pl. 34) and the Attic gold bands (nos. 39-45, pl. 36). There is no doubt as to the Oriental origin of this pose, since it occurs on strongly Orientalizing objects. Mycenaean sphinxes are usually represented couchant (cf. pl. 2b) and very rarely passant. By contrast the passant pose is extremely common in

Syrian sphinxes of the second millenium BC, surviving there into the Early Iron Age, from whence it is most probably introduced into Greece in the eighth century. The pose however does not become popular in Greek art earlier than the second quarter of the seventh century.

The rampant pose

The rampant pose is an extremely rare pose for sphinxes in Early Archaic Greek art before the end of the second quarter of the seventh century, when it becomes regular on Cretan clay reliefs (cf. no. 374, pl. 113a). The earliest rampant sphinx is attested on a Naxian amphora of an early seventh century date (no. 253, pl. 93); here the sphinx is shown standing erect on her hind legs, her forelegs pawing the air — a well-known sphinxian pose in the Orient, already known in Geometric Greece from similar representations of lions (cf. pl. 24). It is difficult therefore to pronounce on the origin of the pose of the sphinx on the Naxian amphora. Exactly the same pose however is attested on two slightly later bronze corselets from Olympia of a Cretan manufacture (nos. 421-422, pls. 118-120). The rampant pose of the sphinxes of the much later Cretan relief pithoi is slightly modified, the sphinx being shown on her hind legs but with her body inclined upwards at about 45 degrees. A similar rampant pose is also attested on a PA Phaleron oenochoe (no. 77, pl. 60), and the pose of the sphinxes on the cup no. 18 (pl. 39) may have been intended as such. In general, however, the rampant pose remains extremely rare for sphinxes in Early Archaic Greek art, and is basically confined to Cretan and Cycladic examples.

The couchant pose

The couchant pose is the sphinxian pose par excellence in the Minoan-

Mycenaean period (cf. pl. 2b) but is not attested in Greek art before the beginning of the seventh century, when it probably owes its introduction to the inspiration of similar Oriental models (cf. pl. 171). The couchant pose is first attested in Greek art on the EPA oenochoe no. 75 (pl. 59) and is particularly favoured in the MPA period by the Polyphemos painter (cf. pls. 149-150). At the same time it is attested in Corinthian art (cf. no. 546, pl. 129) and towards the middle of the seventh century adopted for sphinxes on Cretan clay relief pithoi.

A typically LPC variation of the couchant pose is the demi-couchant pose, in which the sphinx is shown extending her forelegs in front while her chest remains high above the ground (cf. pl. 85a). The demi-couchant pose is adopted for Attic sphinxes towards the end of the seventh century (cf. pl. 66), but remains isolated outside Attic and Corinthian workshops.

The pouncing pose

The pouncing pose is an extremely rare pose for sphinxes, basically attested on some MPC vases (cf. nos. 124, pl. 73 and no. 129, pl. 76a). Pouncing sphinxes are also attested on the Corinthianizing Cretan alabaster from Fortetsa no. 251 (pl. 92 a-b), and familiar from East Greek vases of the Middle Wild Goat style (cf. pl. 105b). Whether the pouncing pose of sphinxes derives from the lying-walking pose of sphinxes of the Idean shields (cf. pl. 30a) or from similar representations of lions, is not easy to decide, though.

The reclining pose

In the reclining pose the body of the sphinx is shown lying on the ground — while in the couchant pose the body remains above the ground and only the legs are shown in a lying position — is an extremely rare pose for

sphinxes in Early Archaic Greek art, attested only on the Laconian ivory figurine no. 543 (pl. 156). The reclining pose is an Egyptian pose for sphinxes attested also from Egyptianizing examples from the Orient. The type however enjoys no popularity in Greek art before the sixth century, when it is basically used for figurines (cf. pl. 157b).

The regardant pose

The regardant pose for sphinxes is introduced to Greek art on the bronzes of the Knossian workshop (cf. no. 24 pl. 25), and takes root in Cretan art where it remains popular throughout the seventh century (cf. no. 251, pl. 92b and no. 250 pl. 92c; also no. 418 pl. 115a). In fact the regardant pose becomes a typically Cretan sphinx pose, reflected on some Laconian ivories (cf. nos. 477-478, pl. 123 a-b) and on the Thapsos class krater no. 109 (pl. 68b).

The gardant pose

With expansion of the daedalic style in the second quarter of the seventh century, the gardant pose passes to sphinxes and is basically attested in figurines (cf. no. 539, pl. 131a) and representations in relief. Among the earliest are the gold plaques from Rhodes (cf. no. 431, pl. 121a) and the Cretan clay reliefs (cf. no. 302 pl. 108). In vase painting the type is first attested on the double-bodied sphinx of the Chigi vase (no. 144, pl. 151a), emphasizing the strong dependence of the double bodied sphinx on the gardant sphinx.

Raised forepaw

A popular stylization for sphinxes is the uplifted forepaw, used for sphinxes in all poses. The convention is of Syrian origin, already attested

in the Late Dark Ages on the krater no. 1 (pls. 3-4); the motif is reintroduced in Attic LG vase painting (cf. no. 18 pl. 39a) and becomes extremely popular in EPA vase painting on both passant (cf. no. 49, pl. 43) and sejant sphinxes (cf. no. 65, pl. 52a).

In the second quarter of the seventh century the raised forepaw becomes popular in PC vase painting (cf. no. 133, pl. 80 and no. 152, pl. 84b) and is widely attested on the ivories from Perachora (cf. pl. 139). At the same time it is extremely familiar in Cretan art in vase painting (cf. no. 248, pl. 90) and relief (cf. no. 334 pl. 110a); also under Cretan influence the motif appears on Laconian ivories (cf. no. 478, pl. 123a).

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION

..... αἰνίγματα ἔρραφῶδαι
πτερωτῇ, παρθένου πρόσωπον ἔχουσα
λέοντος δέ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα,
μιξοφυῆς οὔσα

Soph. Oed. Tyr., 168-171.

Having surveyed the various forms in which the sphinx is attested in Early Archaic Greek art, we shall attempt a discussion of the nature and character of the monster in this period. This is undoubtedly a very difficult task, since both the archaeological and literary evidence for this subject are very poor. In the Early Archaic period there are no sphinx monuments of the type later attested in cemeteries and shrines, and the surviving sphinx figurines are few and isolated, so no conclusion can be drawn as to a possible connection of the sphinx with any kind of cult. The sphinx in this period is largely known from representational art, in which it usually appears in a purely decorative context: the motif is most commonly shown isolated in a metope, in heraldic pairs or in a frieze among other animals and hybrids. There are only a few representations showing sphinxes in action, suggesting that the scene has a narrative character; we shall therefore have to rely on these to draw our conclusions about the nature and meaning of the motif in Early Archaic art.

The sphinx in ancient Greece is inextricably bound up with the Boeotian myth and Oedipus;¹ the other rôle usually applied to her is that of a death daemon.² The latter is a modern interpretation deriving from an identification of the sphinx with the Homeric death daemons Keres, combined with the similar rôle of the sphinx in the Boeotian myth and its use in the

sixth century as a grave monument. The sphinx as grave monument is outside our scope, so we shall confine ourselves to discussing the evidence for its identification as Ker.

As to the Boeotian sphinx, it becomes a popular subject in Greek art only towards the end of the sixth century.³ Earlier representations explained as scenes from the Boeotian myth are usually of a very doubtful character, and the main problem is to define when the winged lion-bodied female monster later known as the sphinx is first identified with the Boeotian sphinx.

Identification

The Boeotian sphinx is often described by ancient authors from the fifth century onwards and the descriptions are almost unanimous:⁴ the sphinx is defined as having the head of a young woman, the body of a lion and a bird's wings. As Apollodoros epitomizes it (3, 5, 8): ἔῖχε δὲ πρόσωπον μὲν γυναικὸς, στῆθος δὲ καὶ βάσιν καὶ οὐρὰν λέοντος καὶ πτέρυγας ὄρνιθος.

Only Palaifatos (4, 7) describes the sphinx as θηρίον, σῶμα μὲν κυνός ἔχον τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον κόρης, πτέρυγας δὲ ὄρνιθος. The canine body attributed here to the sphinx has been explained⁵ as due to Orthros's paternity recorded by Hesiod. The word κύων however is often used for the sphinx by the tragics in a free metaphorical sense. Thus Sophokles calls her ῥαψῶδος κύων (*Oed. Tyr.*, 391) and Aeschylus names her σφίγγα δυσαμεριᾶν πρύτανιν κύνα (fr. 236 N). On a fifth century epigram from Thessaly⁶ the sphinx crowning the monument on which the epigram is found is called Αἶδαο κύων. Therefore it can easily be deduced that Palaifatos's description of the sphinx with a canine body derives most probably from such a free metaphorical use of the word, rather than her relation to Orthros.

According to Sch. Eur., *Phoen.*, 1760 the sphinx was provided with a snake's tail: ἦν δὲ ἡ Σφίγξ, ὥσπερ γράφεται, τὴν οὐρὰν ἔχουσα δρακαίνης. This ὥσπερ γράφεται is considered as implying Peisandros and the cyclic epic Oedipodia.⁷ Peisandros is a disputed personality and according to Jacoby⁸ most probably belongs to the Hellenistic period and not to the sixth century as originally thought. Nevertheless, sphinxes with a snake-headed tail are attested in the sixth century (cf. pl. 132b).

The monster's winged and female character is usually strongly emphasized by ancient authors. For instance, Sophokles calls her περόεσσα κόρα (*Oed. Tyr.*, 508) or γαμφώνυχα παρθένον (*Oed. Tyr.*, 1199) and Euripides names her παρθένιον πτερόν (*Phoen.*, 806) or πτεροῦσσα παρθένος (*Phoen.*, 1042).

There is only one case in ancient Greek literature where the sphinx is

defined as male: Herodotus (II, 175,5) in referring to the sphinx *statues* he saw in Egypt names them ἀνδρόσφιγγες. The composite form ἀνδρόσφιγγες seems to imply a strong distinction in Herodotus's eyes between the established type of female sphinx known in connection with the Boeotian myth in Greece and the similar, male monster of Egyptian art. Even the word sphinx in Greek is of female gender and does not possess a male form, which confirms once more that the monster identified with the Boeotian Sphinx was female.

When this identification took place is not easy to decide. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by an attic black-figured band-cup by the potters Archikles and Glaukytes dated to the middle of the sixth century. The cup⁹ (pl. 1) is decorated with two richly inscribed scenes: Theseus slaying the minotaur on one side, the hunting of the Kalydonian boar on the other. The handles are flanked by sphinxes with the inscription ζϕ|+ζ next to each monster. ζϕ|+ζ stands here instead of the Attic ζϕ|Λ+ζ implying that the painter was not a native Athenian.¹⁰ However, this seems to be the original form of the word attested by Sophronius, *Gramm. Gr.* IV (2) 400 (σφίξ-σφινός). Later, the word was connected by popular etymology with σφίγγω, cf. Steph., *Thes.*, ν. σφίγξ: ἐκ τοῦ σφίγγειν διὰ τὸ ἐσφιγμένα καὶ δυσνόητα λέγειν τὰ ῥήματα.

The etymology of the word sphinx is obscure. It is not an Indo-European word and some Egyptologists¹¹ have tried to connect it with the Egyptian word ṣṣp'nh (seshep anch), which in the New Kingdom means living image and is used for the sphinx of Gizah. Such a derivation of the word sphinx, however, is not provable and the origin of the word remains obscure.

The earliest citation of the name attested in Hesiod, *Theog.*, 326 in the form Φίνα is generally considered as the Boeotian version of the name sphinx.¹² If a dialect variation existed in Hesiod's time, the name must have been familiar a good deal earlier. But there is no evidence that it corresponded to the winged, leonine monster with a woman's head with which

it is identified later. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 326 refers to the Sphinx, presents her genealogy in detail but does not describe her : ἥ δ' ἄρα Φεικ' ὀλοήν τέκε, Καδμείοισιν ὄλεθρον, "Ορθῶ ὑποδμηθεῖσα Νεμειαῖον τε λέοντα. It has been suggested¹³ that since the sphinx is here described as the Nemean lion's sister, she can be assumed to have a leonine body as well. However interesting this assumption, it is far from provable and the earliest evidence for the monster's identification as a sphinx still remains the mid-sixth century attic band-cup by Archikles and Glaukytes (pl. 1).

On the other hand, Hesiod by Καδμείοισιν ὄλεθρον definitely refers to the sphinx in relation to the Boeotian myth. The myth is generally considered of Mycenaean origin,¹⁴ but it is known only in its later form given by the tragedians. In this familiar form, however, it consists of numerous elements suggesting a conjoining of many different myths. Therefore, the problem is to discover the original one.

In the fifth century version the myth consists of three basic elements: a) *Patricide* (Young Oedipus meets his father, Laios, and kills him without knowing who he is) b) *Sphinx's riddle* (After the patricide, Oedipus comes across the Sphinx, who has been devastating Thebes. He solves the riddle and kills the Sphinx — or, in another version, the Sphinx kills herself) c) *Incest* (By solving the riddle and killing the Sphinx Oedipus becomes the liberator of Thebes and is consequently married to the Queen of Thebes, Iokasta, ignorant that she is his mother).

The second element in the myth, that related to the Sphinx and her riddle, is actually the central part of the story. Without this the myth splits automatically into two different sections, and it is the Sphinx element that enables the story to reach its climax. The question is now how old is this part and this form of the story? Homer seems to ignore the Sphinx though he refers to two of the basic elements of the Boeotian myth: patricide and incest with mother Epicasta (*Od.*, λ 271-280). In Iliad there

is also some mention of the War of the Seven (Δ 374-410 and K 284-294) and an allusion to a sort of Games held in honour of Oedipus over his tomb in Thebes (Ψ 676). That is all. Nothing of the Sphinx and her riddle.

The Sphinx is first mentioned by Hesiod (*Theog*, 326), but in a vague way and without a hint of the riddle. On the other hand Corinna (Sch. Eur., *Phoen.*, 26) mentions Oedipus as killing not only the Sphinx, but also another beast, the Teumesian fox. This seems a key point and combined with Hesiod's $\text{Καδμείοισιν ὄλεθρον}$ seems to imply that originally there were two different myths: in one the hero Oedipus gained the kingship of Thebes after committing patricide and later incest. According to the second version of the myth, the hero carried out several wars and deeds of gallantry before he was able to take over the rule of the town. A war carried out by Oedipus against the Minyans of Orchomenos is recorded by Pherekydes (*FHG*, 3 F95) and Corinna's information adds the conquering of the Teumesian Fox and the Sphinx. These are in fact deeds of gallantry attributed to a local hero:¹⁵ Oedipus defeats the Sphinx and the Teumesian Fox as Herakles defeats the Nemean Lion. Therefore, Hesiod's mention of the Sphinx as the devastator of Thebes does not necessarily refer to the later version of the Sphinx, described by the tragedians as a female, winged, lion-bodied monster posing a riddle. Hesiod's $\Phi\acute{\iota}\xi$ may be any beast or monster personifying the sinister power causing the troubles of Thebes; a sinister monster that had to be defeated by physical strength.

The riddle by its very nature must have been a later element in the story.¹⁶ On the other hand, since it is undoubtedly connected with the established form of the sphinx as a female, winged, lion-bodied monster, the inevitable inference is that this monster was identified with the Boeotian Sphinx who sets the riddle rather late in the process of the myth's development. The earliest mention of the riddle is found on a red-figured cup in the Vatican dated to around 470-460.¹⁷ This is in an ^hexametric form which suggests an epic tradition.¹⁸ It is known that the fifth

century tragic poets from whom the earliest descriptions of the Sphinx and her riddle survive, derive elements from the cyclic epics. Following this line two conclusions can be drawn: a) that the Sphinx who sets the riddle is a late element in the Boeotian myth. b) The sphinx motif which enters Greek art in the Geometric period is finally identified with the Boeotian Sphinx when she is connected with the riddle — a development most probably achieved in the cyclic epics. These are usually dated to around 600, at the latest 590.¹⁹ This date coincides with the obtaining of iconographic stability by the sphinx motif, which after fluctuating among various forms (male, wingless etc) finally adopts the winged, female type — which remains the established type of Greek sphinx throughout antiquity. It seems therefore, that it is the impact of the Boeotian myth which helps the motif to obtain an iconographic stability from the end of the seventh century onwards.

However, the evidence presented above for the monster's identification with the Boeotian sphinx late in the seventh century is undoubtedly very frail. On the other hand, there is no evidence to the contrary, and since important mythological scenes are often depicted on the seventh century vases,²¹ the absence of representations involving the Boeotian Sphinx remains suspicious.²²

Sphinxes in action

The argument so far is intended to demonstrate that the identification of the winged, lion-bodied female monster with the Boeotian sphinx took place late in the seventh century. It remains therefore to examine the evidence for the nature and character of the motif by that time. Since the sphinx was introduced into Greek art from the Orient, there is the inevitable inference that the introduction took place in a purely decorative context. On the other hand, the same conclusion can be drawn by viewing the composition schemes in which the motif is attested. There are only a few representations showing sphinxes in scenes involving human beings. At first sight these scenes can easily be taken as mythological, but closer analysis proves them to be of a purely decorative character and usually an unconventional imitation of some oriental model, without any awareness of the model's original meaning.

These "narrative" scenes can be classed in the following groups:

- a) sphinxes with Potnia or Potnios
- b) sphinxes with human figure in a scene most probably mechanically copying an oriental model
- c) sphinx hunt
- d) sphinx-ker scenes.

The subject of the Mistress of Animals or *Potnia Theron* appears in Crete in the second half of the eighth century, on the bronze shields from the Idaean Cave.²³ On these shields a nude goddess represented frontally is flanked by animals (pl. 31) or sphinxes (no. 28, pl. 30a). There is no doubt as to the oriental derivation of the motif. The subject of the Mistress of Animals is familiar in Minoan art,²⁴ but Potnia is there always shown draped; the nude Potnia on the other hand, is a typically oriental motif. The subject of a nude Potnia is particularly abundant in Early Iron Age in North Syria, where Potnia is related to the goddess Ishtar.²⁵ When the motif becomes fully assimilated into Greek art, however, Potnia is once again draped and accompanied by various animals or monsters.²⁶

A typically Cretan version of the nude Potnia is the *nude Potnios with sphinxes*, which appears on a Cretan cinerary urn dated to the second quarter of the seventh century (no. 248, pl. 91). On this vase, a pair of antithetical demi-couchant sphinxes are shown raising their forepaw towards a central figure of a winged, nude male in a "knielauf" position. Winged, usually bearded figures in a knielauf pose are chiefly known from later Corinthian art, where they are conventionally called Boreads.²⁷ The sphinxes on the Cretan urn, however, bring the figure closer to the figure of Potnios. Potnia and Potnios are interchangeable in Minoan art of the late Bronze Age.²⁸ Both reappear in the late eighth century in Crete, but without an iconographic connection to Minoan art, since the Minoan Potnios is never winged or in a knielauf schema.²⁹ The winged Potnios on the other hand is certainly of oriental derivation;³⁰ in the Orient Potnios is related to Gilgamesh, who is usually shown in a knielauf position.³¹ It seems therefore that the motif of a winged nude male in a knielauf pose flanked by sphinxes on the Cretan urn, clearly derives from oriental models, which were easily accessible in Crete by the end of the eighth century. On the bronze tympanon from the Idaean Cave³² a bearded figure dressed in a short chiton is shown in knielauf, standing on a lion and holding another lion in his upraised arms. By the second quarter of the seventh century the motif is fully absorbed into Cretan art: thus on a clay relief plaque from Gortyna, a winged youth dressed in a short chiton is shown standing between a pair of antithetical griffins.³³ The nude figure on the Cretan urn is however closer to oriental models — it is in fact another version of the nude Potnia of the Idaean shields. The motif remains isolated outside Cretan art. Nilsson interprets as Potnios a youth in "knielauf" position shown between a griffin and a winged lion on an ivory plaque from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.³⁴ The iconographic tradition of the subject survives in the sixth century in such representations as that on a gem in

Paris, Bibl. Nat., where a nude kneeling youth is shown holding by the raised foreleg two sejant sphinxes flanking him.³⁵ Whether the subject had a religious significance, it is not easy to say. But if it did, this is then in its Cretan context, where obviously the surviving tradition of Potnios was iconographically reinforced by oriental models at the end of the eighth century..

Potnia with sphinxes is an extremely rare motif confined basically to Crete. On a clay relief plaque from Anavlochos (no. 322), dated to a little before the middle of the seventh century, two draped female figures are shown standing on a base decorated with a pair of antithetical passant sphinxes. Demargue³⁶ convincingly explains them as iconographically related to the Oriental motif of a goddess standing on an animal or hybrid. It seems, however, that this free rendering of the Oriental Potnia is in a purely decorative context, and devoid of special meaning. Potnia is usually combined in Early Archaic Greek art with birds, usually geese which she holds by the throat.³⁷ The motif of a sphinx with a human arm, grasping a goose by the throat, found on an oenochoe in the Middle Wild Goat style dated to the end of the seventh century (no. 276 pl. 145a), can therefore be explained as created under the influence of such pictures of Potnia. In Oriental art sphinxes are frequently identified with Potnia and thus shown standing on their hind legs and holding reversed animals, usually lions,³⁸ but there is no evidence in Greek art that sphinxes are so identified. Therefore the isolated example of a sphinx holding a goose by the throat on no. 276 can only be explained as inspired by the Potnia motif, but executed in a purely decorative spirit without any particular meaning.

On a small PC krater from Samos of the second quarter of the seventh century (no. 152, pl. 84b), a sphinx is shown raising her forepaw towards an armed female figure. The motif is shown in a frieze with grazing animals and other obviously purely decorative subjects: a lion fighter, and a

centaur approaching a griffin bowl. The question is therefore whether the sphinx/armed figure motif is purely decorative or has a particular meaning; also, what is the iconographic derivation of the subject? The armed female figure is shown wearing a long dress decorated with a chequer-pattern and a high polos; she is holding a shield in her left hand and a spear in her right. The blazon on the shield shows a headless owl, and therefore the figure can be identified with reasonable certainty as Athena. A similar representation of the goddess is found on the well-known ovoid aryballos from Thebes (no. 110; now in Oxford), where Athena wears the same long chequered dress, but is helmeted. On a LPC aryballos³⁹ a helmeted Athena with shield and spear is flanked by two panthers, one of them shown very close to the goddess and raising its forepaw towards her; this pattern is exactly the same as that on the Samos krater. Moreover, the motif of a female figure towards which one or more animals are raising a forepaw is the typical iconographic schema for the Mistress of Animals in Early Archaic Greek art. On the other hand, Athena in her Hippias form is interchangeable with Potnia⁴⁰ and therefore the subject on the Samos krater can readily be assumed as *Athena Hippias/Potnia with sphinx*.

On a small PC kotyle from Perachora by the Round Dance Painter (no. 134, pl. 84a), a standing female figure is shown touching the chin of a sphinx. The motif is part of a frieze, the surviving fragments of which show the forelegs of another sphinx approaching a human figure and the lower part of dresses of similar female figures. This motif has been explained as a woman supplicating a sphinx in view of her funerary significance.⁴¹ The funerary significance of the sphinx, however, is far from provable; moreover PC art of the early seventh century is under strong Syrian influence, and we find Syrian motifs copied without reference to their original meaning. In Oriental art the subject of a sphinx tamed by a god or daemon is an old motif, closely related to that of Potnia or Potnios.

The god or daemon is usually holding the tamed animals reversed, but there are variations: the stone relief orthostat from Zincirli,⁴² for instance, shows a man leading a griffin by a chain round its neck, a subject deriving from Mycenaean models, and on a Mycenaean ivory pyxis from Enkomi⁴³ we have a man leading a sphinx by a chain. It seems probable therefore that the motif on the PC kotyle of a female figure touching a sphinx by the chin, is in fact a copy of a similar oriental model rather than a deliberate representation of Potnia or any kind of funerary scene.

On another PC kotyle by the Telestrophos painter dated to the second quarter of the seventh century, a sphinx is shown sejant and raising her forepaw towards a woman sitting on a chair (no. 133 pl. 80). The sphinx has been explained as supplicating the seated woman.⁴⁴ The subject is otherwise unparalleled in Greek art and cannot be adequately explained in iconographic terms. In the Orient the subject is known in a slightly different variation: a rampant sphinx approaches a seated figure.⁴⁵ The subject is of Babylonian origin, but is widely attested in Syrian glyptics of the Late Bronze Age; there, it is usually explained as a sphinx and goddess identified with Potnia.⁴⁶ Iconographically the motif of sphinx and seated woman on the PC kotyle may derive from such Syrian models, but the seated pose of the goddess makes it difficult to recognize her as Potnia, since the latter is always shown standing in Greek art. If we accept the seated figure as a goddess it might in that case be identified with Hera in view of the latter's connection with the sphinx,⁴⁷ but this seems a far-fetched interpretation for seventh century art.

However, all these explanations concentrate on an isolated motif in a frieze where the scene suggests a narrative character and demands that we view it as a whole. The vase is fragmentary, but the preserved pieces give a clear idea of the representation in the frieze. This seems to include three different iconographic elements: a) the sphinx and the seated figure

- b) a dance of male and female figures holding wreaths. (Only two female figures have been preserved, shown with reserved faces and arms in the PC fashion for women; in between them there was a figure of which only one human arm survives, painted in silhouette and therefore assumed as male).
- c) two small fragments, one with the hind leg of a sphinx sejant and another with the upper part of a winged female figure. The winged, female figure and the sphinx seem to belong to the frieze's supplementary decoration in accordance with the usual PC fashion, in which the empty space in a frieze with a representational scene is covered by various figures of beasts or monsters. Therefore, the basic elements on the scene of the PC kotyle remain the dance and the seated figure with the sphinx. We obviously have here the well-known oriental subject of the *procession towards a seated female figure*.⁴⁸

The connection of sphinxes with this type of scene is a continuous and subtle one; originally, in the Orient, mourners or victors approach a deity or ruler seated on a sphinx-throne. In the Early Iron Age the subject is taken over by Phoenician artists, who convert the procession towards a seated figure into a *musical* or *sacrificial* procession.⁴⁹ The motif becomes popular in Syrian and Phoenician art and is largely used on ivory objects⁵⁰ and bronze bowls;⁵¹ through them it becomes familiar in the West. In the eighth century the motif is widely attested on Cypriot vases, and at the end of this century on the Attic LG skyphos no. 18 (pl. 39a). In all these scenes the sphinx remains an important element, rendered each time according to the caprice of the artist. In its original oriental form it is, as we have seen already, connected with the sphinx-throne. On the sarcophagus of Ahiram,⁵² for instance, the dead king, holding a lotus flower, sits on a sphinx throne; a strange deformation of the same scene is found on the Hubbard amphora,⁵³ where the scene covers both sides of the vase.

On one side is shown a dance of female figures and a male musician;

on the other, a seated figure with an attendant and a sphinx holding a lotus flower in its raised forepaw (pl. 37b). On a Cypro-Geometric III jug from Marion⁵⁴ there is a more eclectic rendering of the same scene, consisting of a figure with an attendant bringing offerings, while a lion attacking a bull and a pair of antithetical sphinxes with raised forepaws are included in the frieze. A similar pair of antithetical sphinxes occurs on the Attic LG cup no. 18 (pl. 39a) where the procession scene is most probably adapted to local tradition and the musician flanked by two warriors. This cup provides evidence that the procession scene enters the repertoire of Greek vase painters in the Late Geometric period. As for the PC kotyle no. 133, since it presents all the necessary elements of a procession scene, we may conclude that the eclectic rendering of such a scene betrays a painter who is copying oriental models at second or third hand in a purely decorative context.

The subject of a man following sphinxes occurs on a group of PA and PC vases. The earliest example is found on a PA hydria by the Mesogeia Painter dated to around 700 (no. 58, pl. 48a). In a small frieze between the handles on the shoulder of this vase, there are two sphinxes passant to left followed by a nude, male figure. In a slightly later PC version by the Aetos Painter, the same subject is included in an animal frieze, though here the man following the sphinx is provided with a spear (no. 130, pl. 138). Dunbabin⁵⁵ has convincingly explained the subject as a "fantastification of the lion hunt, which after being a popular subject for the first century or so of orientalizing art begins to drop out of favour after the middle of the seventh century." An earlier version of the theme, where two winged goats are followed by a man, occurs on an Attic LG IIb mug by the Stathaton Painter, from the Athens 894 Workshop (pl. 40b). The subject of sphinxes or other hybrids, followed by a man, usually a warrior, is extremely common in ninth century North Syrian art;⁵⁶ this, coupled with the fact that

earlier in Greek art, that is in PA and PC vase painting, the motif appears stereotyped with two monsters followed by a human figure, suggests that the subject probably derives from oriental models. However, after its introduction into Greek art, the motif follows an independent iconographic development. On a PC vase by the Mackmillan painter (no. 148), the man with the spear is not following the sphinxes, but is represented between them, walking in the same direction; on another PC vase by a pupil of the Aetos painter (no. 132), the subject takes on an heraldic character and the man with the spear is now flanked by two sphinxes. In a further variation of the motif on a PC ovoid aryballos from Syracuse (no. 124, pl. 73), the man between the 'heraldic' sphinxes is shown as a fully armed warrior, while in a contemporary PA version (no. 72, pl. 55a), the warrior is placed in a frieze of sphinxes passant in the same direction. All these scenes are obviously purely decorative in character, and although they may derive iconographically from representations of hunting, it is quite clear that their original significance has been lost.

More truly representational is the scene on a PA oenochoe of the middle of the seventh century (no. 90, pl. 63), with a pair of antithetical sphinxes flanking a nude half-collapsing human figure. The preservation of this vase is unfortunately very bad, with most of the white slip chipped off, but the scene is still clearly visible: a pair of antithetical sejant sphinxes flank a nude male figure, which is shown squeezed in between them and almost collapsing. The sphinxes extend their additional human arm towards the head of the human figure as if trying to grasp it by the neck. The scene has been explained as showing *Keres* carrying a dead man,⁵⁷ and certainly the sphinxes have a sinister air; whether they are *Keres*, however, is a different matter.

The word *Kḗrō* has several meanings in ancient Greek literature; in its abstract meaning it is used to characterize the sinister quality of death.⁵⁸

In a more specific context Keres takes on the functions ascribed to Erinyes,⁵⁹ and they are identified with Erinyes by Aeschylos.⁶⁰ The same author however (*Seven*, 775) uses the phrase ἄρπαξάνδρα Κήρα to characterize the sphinx carrying off a youth emblazoned on Parthenopaios's shield. Basing his argument on this phrase and the sinister character of such sphinx representations as those on the PA oenochoe, Hampe⁶¹ tried to identify Keres with sphinxes. However, the disputed phrase ἄρπαξάνδρα Κήρα is used by Aeschylos in an abstract and metaphorical sense, since we find the same author identifying Keres with Erinyes. In fact ancient authors generally use the words Ker and Keres with an abstract meaning.⁶² As to the specific form which the ancient Greeks may have given Keres, here the evidence is very frail indeed. In Eur., *Hel.*, 1252 they are called κυνώπιδες θεαί, but since the tragedians usually use the word Ker with a metaphorical meaning for everything evil, ἄρπαξάνδρα Κήρα seems not descriptive but figurative. A more specific characteristic is given for Keres in the description of Achilles's shield Il. Σ, 535 ff: ὅλοή κήρ, εἶμα δ' ἔχ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι δαφ οἰνεόν αίματι φωτῶν. Ker is described here as wearing on her shoulders a stole (εἶμα) dripping with the blood of the dead man. If this is not a poetic description, then Ker was imagined as having a human form, hence the εἶμα on the shoulders. The same human character for Ker is implied by the picture of her given by Pausanias — (5, 19, 6) in talking about Kypselos's chest, Pausanias describes her as having teeth sharper than a beast's and human hands with long claw-like nails. There is no more evidence as to the form Keres took, and the only identification we can make is the abstract one of Keres as spirits or daemons of death.

To return to the PA oenochoe no. 90, since we cannot accept the sphinxes as Keres, the scene remains unexplained. However, in seventh century art sphinxes are interchangeable with griffins, lions, and other beasts and hybrids; we have seen how the "sphinx hunt" is a version of the familiar

lion hunt. Another popular subject is that of lions savaging a human figure.⁶³ The human is usually shown armed with a sword or spear but can be unarmed. The subject on the PA oenochoe therefore can be quite easily explained as sphinxes savaging a human figure, by analogy with lions.

The same explanation can be applied to the similar subject on the ivory comb from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (no. 483 pl. 124a). On this comb, a pair of antithetical sphinxes with uplifted forepaw flank a draped human figure shown upside down in a knielauf pose. Barnett⁶⁴ has explained the scene as "Oedipus upside down between two sphinxes". However, even if we assume that the identification of the monster with the Boeotian sphinx has taken place at such an early date, Oedipus has never been a victim of the sphinx. We do find Haemon and Boeotian youths falling foul of the monster, and the subject of *a sphinx carrying off a youth* (Haemon), is very familiar from the end of the sixth century.⁶⁵ But on the Sparta comb there are two sphinxes, not one. Moreover, the scene is almost identical with that on the PA oenochoe no. 90. There the sphinxes reach out a human arm to grasp the collapsing human figure; here they extend a foreleg towards a figure that has collapsed completely and is therefore shown upside-down. In the scenes of lions devouring a human figure the victim occurs in various non-vertical postures, frequently upside-down; the knielauf pose can be paralleled to the position of Potnios with sphinxes on the Cretan urn no. 248. All this seems to suggest that the artist derives his inspiration from several sphinx scenes (sphinx-victim, sphinx-Potnios etc.), but these underlying sources contribute elements to a scene purely decorative in character.

Another scene, which has been interpreted as "Keres carrying off a dead man", is found on a relief stone metope from Mycenae (no. 534a, pl. 124b). Only a small part from the lower centre of the metope survives, showing the lower part of the body of a nude man (the upper part is missing)

in a horizontal pose, grasped by the emphatically rendered claws of a pair of antithetical monsters, which are usually reconstructed in drawings as sphinxes. In content the subject is closely related to the similar scenes on the PA oenochoe and the Sparta comb, but its iconographic derivation is completely different. The motif on the PA oenochoe and the ivory comb derives iconographically from "lion-victim" scenes in contemporary Greek art; the subject on the Mycenae plaque by contrast seems to derive from oriental models. The motif of a sphinx carrying off a man shown in a *horizontal* pose is extremely familiar in Syrian, Phoenician and Cypriot⁶⁶ art of the eighth and seventh centuries, and is found mainly on objects like bronze bowls,⁶⁷ which were imported into Greece in great quantities. The iconographic tradition of the subject goes back to Egyptian New Kingdom art,⁶⁸ where the sphinx, personifying the Pharaoh, is shown treading on the bodies of dead enemies. In the Early Iron Age the subject was taken over by Oriental art and stylized as a man carried off by a sphinx or griffin.⁶⁹ It seems that the motif penetrated into Greek art by the end of the seventh century, at a time when the sphinx's meaning and iconography were still in a state of flux. The Mycenae plaque suggests that by the end of the seventh century the 'sphinx carrying off a youth motif' had entered Greek art, where in accordance with the usual treatment of subjects of oriental derivation, the single sphinx was turned into a 'heraldic' (or antithetical) pair. Ultimately the subject became firmly established in Greek art, and was familiar late in the sixth century in the form of the Haemon motif.

In conclusion it can be said that the representational sphinx scenes in Early Archaic Greek art are not capable of being interpreted as illustrations of Greek legends; they are better understood as decorative patterns created under the stimulus of oriental images, which arrived devoid of meaning and demanded explanation. They were therefore often adapted to local legends but still used in a purely decorative pattern. Thus the

oriental Potnia is turned into Athena Hippia, but the "scene" on the PC vase is in fact simply decorative and does not imply a particular mythological scene. Similarly the "Ker scene" may represent a sinister aspect of the monster, but cannot be identified with the Boeotian sphinx and Haemon.

CHAPTER V

IMPORTED SPHINXES

As we have seen so far, the sphinx owes its existence in Early Greek art to Oriental influence. Though the motif has been popular in Minoan-Mycenaean art, no continuity can be claimed on iconographic grounds. Oriental influence appears in Greece in successive waves and elements of this influence are evidenced on sphinxes down to the end of the seventh century, when a standard type of Greek female sphinx is finally fixed.

Oriental influence was exercised in Early Greek art either by the products of workshops set up by *immigrant craftsmen* or by *commercial contacts* of the Greeks, which became particularly close with the Orient in the eighth century. Greek geometric pottery has been found at Al Mina and elsewhere and imported Oriental objects have been discovered in numbers in Greece. One of the most common motifs represented on these objects is the sphinx and therefore a discussion of imported sphinxes in a study of the sphinx in Early Archaic art, seems vital. After all, these Oriental sphinxes were readily available to Greek craftsmen for close inspection. The iconography and the origin of these sphinxes is, therefore, of primary importance because they give evidence of the specific oriental cultures that could potentially influence Early Greek art.

Unfortunately, the definition of the specific origin of small articles is a very complicated problem. In antiquity small objects travelled widely through trade or conquest and therefore their discovery in a certain place in the Orient does not necessarily mean that they were manufactured there. On the other hand, many classes of these objects have been found only in the West and consequently have been quite often claimed as Greek or Etruscan imitations of Oriental models. The latter is another reason for discussing

the objects in this chapter. The existence of schools of immigrant craftsmen in Greece at the time, together with some "suspect" elements often occurring on some classes of these objects, make it very likely that they are Greek Orientalizing rather than Oriental. However, a full study of these objects is completely beyond our scope. Our main aim in the following pages is a full survey of the types of Oriental sphinxes, current in Greece at the time. Some emphasis will be placed on discussing the evidence for a possibly Greek manufacture for some of them. When problems of dating arise, then style is also taken into consideration.

The imported or "imported" objects with sphinx representations found in Greece fall into five groups according to the material in which they were made: a) Bronzes b) Ivories c) Tridacna shells d) Faience scarabs e) Stone seals. The largest and the most influential groups are the bronzes, consisting of figurines (usually cauldron attachments), stands, bowls and plaques or blinkers decorated in repoussé technique.

In the discussion that follows the term "North Syrian" has been substituted for "Late Hittite" to cover the art of all the small nations that existed in the area of North Syria during the Early Iron Age.¹

Bronze figurines

The surviving bronze sphinx figurines belong to two different groups of objects: a) no. 552 which is an isolated ex-voto and since it is not fully published will not concern us here b) nos. 548-51 which were cauldron attachments, as indicated by the plinth preserved in some of them (cf. nos. 548, 550a). Bronze cauldron attachments are an important category of Oriental and Orientalizing objects in the eighth and seventh centuries. They appear in various forms, usually protomes (griffin, siren, bull protomes etc.), but there are some animal figurines as well. The surviving sphinx figurines are usually classified with the latter, but the group cannot be

considered homogeneous either stylistically or iconographically. The surviving sphinx figurines are very few and therefore no definite conclusion can be drawn as to the sphinx attachments. However, they seem to belong to three different groups: a) the Ithaca-Delphi group (nos. 548-549) b) the Olympia group (no. 550) c) the Samos group (nos. 550a-551).

Ithaca-Delphi

The figurines of this group (nos. 548-549 pl. 160) belong undoubtedly to the same workshop and represent the same type of statant helmeted sphinx with an elongated body but short legs and tail, which is shown pointing upwards and ending in a stylized bird's head.

In both examples the human head is badly worn, but there seems to have been no beard. On the Ithaca figurine (pl. 160b) no hair is indicated and the domed crown of the head is underlined by a deep groove above the forehead, which suggests a kind of fitted helmet. The same kind of helmet can be assumed for the Delphi figurine (pl. 160a) which again presents a deep groove above the forehead and a similar domed rendering of the head, though here the hair hangs down below the nape-line of the supposed helmet and falls in waves on the shoulders. The fitted helmet is of Urartian origin,² but the type is familiar in oriental art in general.

The characteristic tail with a bird's head at its end is more indicative of a specific iconographic tradition: Sphinxes and chimaeras with such a tail occur in the stone reliefs from Carchemisch³ (pl. 129b). The wings, which stand out vertically from the shoulders and spread on either side of the breast, have a straight upper edge and a curved lower edge and they are closely paralleled in North Syrian art.⁴ It can be assumed, therefore, that the type of the sphinx represented by the Ithaca and Delphi figurines is of North Syrian origin.

The Ithaca figurine has been preserved intact with its foot-plinths

cast in one piece and pierced for attachment. There is little doubt, therefore, as to the function of these figurines as cauldron attachments. The surface of these figurines is now badly worn, but there is no sign of the normal incision met with on the imported oriental attachments.⁵

Both figurines were found in a late eighth century context and therefore must be dated to the eighth century. Their style, however, with the fleshy face, heavy domed crown and fully rounded body forms, is alien to contemporary Greek Geometric art. Kunze⁶ and Herrmann⁷ have claimed the figurines as Oriental imports. Robertson⁸ on the other hand classes the Ithaca figurine as Greek and Kranz⁹ considers that the Delphi figurine is a Greek version of an Oriental model.

In spite of the strongly Oriental character of their style and iconography, these figurines present elements which point towards a Greek manufacture: firstly the lack of incision is an important factor suggesting a non-Oriental character, as all certainly imported bronze attachments are characterized by incision. There is no evidence for a definite origin for the very few pieces without incision taken as Oriental by Herrmann¹⁰ and they might equally well have been Orientalizing. Herrmann takes as an indication of their oriental origin the fact that they present the same modelling as the incised Oriental figurines; this can in fact be taken as an argument for precisely the contrary.

Several other elements on the Ithaca and Delphi figurines suggest that they are Orientalizing rather than Oriental: the elongated body gives them a more austere and geometric appearance than the truly Oriental models. The bird head at the end of the tail is very stylized, pointing to the summariness of a copy. On the other hand, the face, in spite of its being rounded and "fleshy", finds no close parallel among Oriental models and it is only the general expression that betrays an Oriental character. Amandry¹¹ maintains that the Greeks imitated type not style, but works such as the ivory figurines from the geometric Dipylon graves or the Idaean shields seem to

confirm exactly the contrary. Therefore we are inclined to believe that the Delphi and Ithaca figurines are in fact Greek Orientalizing versions of imported Oriental objects.

Olympia group

The "group" offers only a fragmentary bronze figurine of a wingless sphinx from Olympia (no. 550 pl. 161). The hind part of the figurine and most of one foreleg are now missing, but there is no doubt that the figurine was wingless.

Both legs and body are extremely stylized, modelled as elongated cylinders, and therefore the human head remains the best indication of style. The prominent features, domed crown and short hair forming a wave at the end, look extremely Oriental at first sight and bring to mind several Oriental siren attachments;¹² the face however is here almost triangular and in spite of the prominent features it finds no close parallel among imported Oriental siren attachments. The lack of incision emphasizes the figurine's strange Oriental character and the elongated breast gives it an almost geometric appearance. The short hairstyle with its characteristic wave brings the figurine close to a group of siren attachments considered to be of East Greek origin.¹³ It is not impossible, therefore, that the Olympic figurine is an East Greek interpretation of an Oriental model.

Such Oriental models were easily accessible in East Greece as the bronze group from Miletos (no. 552) with a male and female wingless sphinx suggests. The wingless sphinx was never very popular in the Orient, except, it seems, for small bronze figurines (cf. pl. 157a). Furtwängler¹⁴ associates with the Olympia figurine two bronze figurines of wingless sphinxes in the Louvre, which Verdelis¹⁵ considers as Greek. The Louvre figurines are shown standing on a rectangular plinth and therefore they certainly served as cauldron attachments. However, their fleshy, rounded

forms are completely alien to Greek taste. In particular, the way of rendering the hair hanging down the shoulders and the modelling of the face strongly suggest that the figurines are Etruscan imitations of Oriental models.

It can be assumed therefore that there was a type of Oriental bronze attachment in the form of a wingless sphinx, which was imitated both in Greece and Etruria. The exact origin of these models is difficult to define, but the style of the Olympia figurine seems to point towards North Syria.

Samos group

This consists of a bronze figurine from Samos (no. 550a, pl. 162) and a similar figurine in Florence (no. 551). The latter is only known to us from Jantzen's description, therefore we shall confine ourselves in discussing the Samos figurine.

This has an elongated animal body with short legs and a tail pointing upwards and ending in a snake's head. Two S-shaped wings stand out vertically from the shoulders and the head is covered with a "headdress", which is in fact the ears and horns of a ram. The whole surface of the figurine is decorated with engraved patterns: a flame-like motif on the thighs, bands with parallel chevrons on the wings, parallel lines on the ribs, neck and horns, and a horseshoe pattern on the shoulders.

Both style and incision of this figurine closely connect it to a group of Oriental bronze animal figurines found in various places in Greece and considered by Kunze¹⁶ and Herrmann¹⁷ to be North Syrian. The same place of origin has been suggested for the Samos figurine by Jantzen¹⁸ ("Späthettitisch") who explains its body as that of a ram and calls the figurine a ram daemon ("Bockdämon").

However, there is no exact parallel in North Syrian, and Oriental art

in general, for this hybrid. There are bearded, male sphinxes with various headdresses¹⁹ and "ram-sphinxes"²⁰ consisting of a lion's body and a ram's head. The Samos figurine seems to be a composite of both. Its body appears at first sight to be that of an undefined animal, since the legs have no feet but grow straight out from the plinth. The tail, however, is curved upwards, suggesting that it is meant as one of the feline species. Exactly the same type of short tail, curving upwards, is found on a bronze figurine of a lion²¹ of the same group from Olympia. The goat²² and deer²³ figurines of this group also have a short tail but theirs is stretched out backwards. On the other hand the tail of the Samos figurine ends in a snake's head, which is known from sphinxes represented on bronze objects of Oriental manufacture found in the West (cf. below on no. 563). It can be assumed therefore that the body of the figurine no. 550a was also meant to be feline. Nevertheless, the long, curved neck undoubtedly suggests a ram, and the ram-like character is further emphasized by the ears and horns; only the face is human. It seems therefore that this is a kind of "ram-sphinx", an individual piece of work, which cannot be ascribed to any particular Oriental iconographic tradition, nor does it seem to have exercised any influence in Greek art.

To the same stylistic group as the Samos ram-sphinx belongs a bronze handle attachment from Olympia (no. 550a-bis, pl. 163). It consists of an animal's forepart with two forelegs spread out on the plinth and a human bearded head wearing a "Raupenhelm". An engraved scale-pattern on the breast can be explained as breast-feathering and together with the clearly indicated paws suggests that the figurine was most probably meant as a sphinx protome. Sphinx protomes are known from Early Iron Age art of North Syria.²⁴ The style of the Olympia protome, which is similar to that of the Samos ram-sphinx, confirms its North Syrian origin. Furthermore the two pieces are associated by the horns,²⁵ replacing the helmet's cheek-

pieces on the Olympia protome.

Male bearded and helmeted sphinxes, as well as unbearded male sphinxes wearing various horned headdresses, belong to the repertoire of Early Iron Age North Syrian art.²⁶ Their impact on Geometric Greek art has been explained above and the tradition of the male bearded sphinx deriving from such models continues down to the end of the seventh century.

Bronze stands

Bronze conical stands which were intended to carry large cauldrons have been found both in Greece and Etruria. They are of considerable size, crowned by a floral capital, and decorated with ornamental and figurative reliefs in repoussé technique; their style and iconography is wholly dependent on Oriental models. Similar stands in a variety of forms are evidenced in Assyrian reliefs,²⁷ where they are represented as loot brought from neighbouring regions. In Greece they make their appearance in shrines in the eighth century and the type is reflected in vase painting from the end of the eighth century.²⁸

The earliest of those discovered in the West were found in graves of a late eighth century date and have frequently been claimed to be Etruscan imitations of Oriental models.²⁹ Recent finds, however, emphasize their similarity to those found in Greece and the objects cannot be reasonably dissociated. Most scholars agree that they are of Oriental origin but a debate continues as to the particular workshops and specific region of manufacture. Most scholars suggest an Urartian³⁰ or North Syrian³¹ origin. On the other hand, V. Karageorghis³² and P. Amandry³³ argue that Near Eastern styles intermingle for a kind of κοινή. The style of the stands, however, suggests that there was more than one centre of manufacture, but a more specific attribution seems for the moment impossible.

Turning to the stands found in Greece, Herrmann³⁴ distinguishes three

workshops: a) the "Bernardini" workshop consisting of stands related in style to those found in the Bernardini tomb in Etruria b) the "Barberini" workshop consisting of stands related to those found in the Barberini tomb in Etruria a) the "Olympia" workshop to which he attributes several bronze stands and bowls found in Olympia. Sphinxes appear on three stands from Olympia (nos. 553-555) belonging to the second group, that of the "Barberini" workshop. The "Barberini" workshop also includes objects such as the bronze bowl from Capua³⁵ with winged lions and the tympanon from the Idaean Cave. Because of the latter, hints have been made about a possibly Cretan manufacture of the group,³⁶ but a definite solution will have to await future discoveries. The style of these objects, however, is clearly dependent on Oriental models and sphinxes appear in a variety of forms all strongly suggesting a North Syrian origin.

The sphinxes on no. 553 (pls. 164b-165) and the similar fragmentary stand no. 554 are shown in a frieze sejant with raised forepaw. The style of the head, with the pronounced features and the rendering of the hair in isolated locks in particular, are closely paralleled by bronze siren attachments of Herrmann's group B.³⁷ The stylization of the muscles on the forelegs and the flame pattern on the haunches are clearly paralleled on sphinxes represented on the Loftus group of North Syrian ivories from Nimrud (cf. pl. 171) and stone reliefs³⁸ from Tell Halaf. The pronounced breast of the sphinxes on no. 553, found also on the sphinxes on the Barberini stand,³⁹ is typical of the sphinxes on the stone reliefs at Sakcagözü.⁴⁰ It seems therefore that the sphinxes of the Barberini workshop, whether Oriental or Orientalizing, clearly derive from North Syrian iconographic tradition.

North Syrian culture of the Early Iron Age is a hybrid culture in which many Assyrian elements have been assimilated. Sphinxes represented on the stone reliefs from Tell Halaf, Sakcagözü and Zincirli present many

Assyrianizing elements,⁴¹ and similar elements are also attested on the bearded sphinxes shown on the stand no. 555 (pl. 164a). These, which are shown passant in antithetical pairs, have a sickle-shaped wing exactly paralleled on the winged lions of the Capena bowl.⁴² The head is covered by a fitted headdress, obviously a helmet, and the hair falls in isolated locks. A similar rendering of the beard gives the figure its Assyrianizing character, but there is no accompanying moustache familiar in the North Syrian fashion.⁴³ The whole style of the stand, with the lotus buds above, closely associates it with the Tympanon from the Idaean Cave. The sphinxes, however, are so close in style and iconography to those represented on the stone reliefs at Sakcagozu that it suggests that the stands of the Barberini workshop are either of North Syrian origin or the products of immigrant craftsmen coming from that area.

Bronze bowls

Several Oriental bronze bowls with relief decoration have been found in Greece, counterparts of similar bowls discovered in many places in Mesopotamia, the Near East and Etruria.⁴⁴ They form a large group broadly dated from the ninth to the seventh centuries, a group not as yet properly studied in its entirety.⁴⁵ Originally Poulsen classified these bowls in three groups: a) Egyptian b) Assyrian, and c) "Sonderstil". In 1946 Gjerstad isolated a group among them, for which he suggested a Cypriot origin. Recently, after the discovery of an Aramaic inscription on a bronze bowl from Nimrud, Barnett made a reclassification and suggested a Hamathite origin for the group to which the bowl with the Aramaic inscription belonged. There is no doubt that the bowls belong to more than one workshop. Those found in Greece and including sphinxes in their iconographic repertoire fall into three different groups: a) Delphi-Ashmolean b) Idaean-Acropolis c) Olympia

group.

In the bowls of the *Delphi-Ashmolean group* (nos. 562-563) a narrative scene is represented in relief in a frieze on the interior of the bowl — lion hunting on the Ashmolean bowl (pl. 166a), the siege of a town on the Delphi bowl (pl. 166b). On both is shown a sphinx passant with apron and outstretched wings, drawing a chariot. The wings have a straight upper and curved lower edge, and both primary and secondary feathers are indicated in two parallel rows lengthwise. The sphinx on the Delphi bowl is depicted wearing a conical helmet, while that on the Olympia bowl is crowned by a uraeus.

The style of these bowls is very close to that of the North Syrian ivories of the Loftus group from Nimrud⁴⁶ dated to the ninth century. There is little doubt therefore as to the North Syrian origin of the bowls. The sphinx on the Delphi bowl is helmeted, which is a North Syrian element, while the sphinx on the Olympia bowl wears a uraeus, originally an Egyptian element. Both sphinxes are shown with an apron which is likewise an Egyptian or Egyptianizing characteristic. By the Early Iron Age, however, North Syrian art has assimilated many Egyptian elements, such as the use of apron and uraeus on sphinxes. Therefore, it is only the style that remains decisive for the origin of the bowls and this in the case of the Delphi-Ashmolean group clearly points towards North Syria.

By contrast the bowls of the *Idaeon-Acropolis group* (nos. 559-561) are purely Phoenician in style and iconography. They are decorated with sphinxes alternating in a frieze with hawks, papyrus plants, bulls etc. The sphinxes are shown passant with apron and Double Crown or disc with uraeus. They are represented with two wings, shown either outstretched or one projecting behind the other, both typically Phoenician stylizations.⁴⁷

The *Olympia group* offers only one bowl with sphinxes, which are shown reclining and gardant in antithetical pairs flanking a panther protome

(no. 564 pl. 167a). Only the head and the wings of the sphinxes survive today. The pointed wings are carved in a very low relief, while the frontal heads are rendered in very high relief. The hair is worn short with a central parting in a style closely paralleled on some bronze siren attachments from the Bernardini tomb in Etruria.⁴⁸ The style of the Olympia bowl, however, is softer and this, together with the high relief used for the frontal heads, is taken by Herrmann⁴⁹ as an indication of a more advanced date. Thus the bowl is dated to the early seventh century and a similar bowl from Kerameikos (pl. 167b), found in a seventh century context,⁵⁰ is explained as a Greek adaptation of such North Syrian models as the Olympia bowl. On the Kerameikos bowl frontal human heads are flanked by wings suggesting a winged protome, but there is no evidence for claiming it as a sphinx protome. The style is definitely Greek, perhaps East Greek as suggested by Kübler,⁵¹ and human protomes are a common schema in Greek art of the early seventh century.

Bronze blinkers

Two bronze blinkers with representations of sphinxes have been preserved: one from Samos depicting two antithetical passant sphinxes with raised forepaw (no. 557, pl. 168a) and another from Miletos with a sphinx passant gardant (no. 558 pl. 168b).

Once again, a stylistic classification of these pieces is very difficult. Kunze⁵² considered them as Greek; Jantzen⁵³ prefers a North Syrian origin. The blinkers belong undoubtedly to different workshops, and a vital clue as to the ultimate origin of the Miletos piece is supplied by a bronze blinker found at Zinzirli⁵⁴ which is a duplicate of the Miletos blinker. The piece is therefore an import from North Syria and the sphinx with its short apron and tail ending in a snake's head is typically North Syrian.

It is much more difficult to pronounce judgement on the Samos blinker

sphinxes. Their wing type and hair style bring to mind similar sphinx representations on the ivories of the Loftus group from Nimrud,⁵⁵ and hair style and body stylization point to the same North Syrian origin. Nevertheless the general impression of the piece is Greek and it might well have been a Greek Orientalizing blinker keeping very close to its North Syrian models.

Bronze plaque

An equally intriguing piece is the bronze plaque showing a sphinx sejant found at Samos (no. 556, pl. 169b). The plaque has been explained by Jantzen⁵⁶ as an Assyrian work after North Syrian ivory models. At first sight the style of the sphinx gives the impression of Assyrianizing work; but the hairstyle with the isolated "hathoric" lock in front of the ear, the volute and the breast feathering are elements foreign to Assyrian art. The volute in particular is characteristic of a group of North Syrian sphinxes of a ninth century date (cf. pl. 169a) deriving from Mycenaean models.⁵⁷

The curved wing with three rows of feathers indicated horizontally is a typically North Syrian type, but there is something in the rendering of this wing which is closely reminiscent of Greek models. It is not unlikely that the plaque is a Greek adaptation of an Oriental model, but there is no conclusive evidence either way.

Ivories

After the bronzes, one of the greatest potential sources of inspiration for the iconography of the sphinx in Early Greek art must have been the Oriental ivories. Small objects in ivory were an important Greek import in the eighth and seventh centuries and such objects carved in Phoenician and Syrian style have been found in various places in Greece.⁵⁸

The sphinx, however, is evidenced by only one piece no. 565 (pl. 170a), a fragmentary openwork plaque in Phoenician style found in Crete, in the Idaean Cave. The sphinx on this plaque is shown passant with apron, Egyptian wig and solar disc. A pectoral with "adder mark" decorates the breast and the wing has a straight upper edge and an S-like lower edge; the wing base is decorated with a scale pattern and both primary and secondary feathers are horizontally indicated.

This is a typically Phoenician sphinx familiar on ivories, (cf. also pl. 170b) bronze bowls etc; its iconography is a combination of Egyptian and Mycenaean elements. Solar disc, wig and pectoral (the "ousekh" of the Egyptian sphinxes⁵⁹) go back to the art of the New Kingdom, but the "adder mark" on the pectoral and the scale pattern on the wing base are clearly traceable to Mycenaean sphinxes.⁶⁰

Akurgal⁶¹ believes that the Phoenician type of sphinx enters the repertoire of Greek art at the end of the eighth century. In fact this type of sphinx does not seem to have exercised any kind of influence on Greek art. Isolated elements, like the apron and the scale pattern on the wing base, occur on seventh century sphinxes; but these are elements known in Greece from Syrian objects also and therefore no definitely Phoenician origin can be claimed for them. On the contrary, the Phoenician type of sphinx does not seem to have affected the development of the sphinx motif in Early Greek Art at all, possibly because Egyptian elements are foreign to Greek taste. Another reason may be that the objects on which the type is attested are of a relatively late date and they appear in Greece when the sphinx motif had already been adopted from North Syrian sources and its local Greek development was already in the way.

The date of the Phoenician ivories is an unsettled issue so far, but they are generally dated to the late eighth and the seventh centuries.⁶²

The plaque no. 565 from the Idaean Cave comes from a context of a late

eighth century date.

More influential for the development of the Greek sphinx have been the more clearly dated North Syrian ivories. A terminus post quem is provided for them by the ivories found at Hasanlu in North-west Iran.⁶³ The citadel of Hasanlu level IV B, in which the ivories were found, was destroyed by fire by the Urartians towards the end of the ninth century. The date of the ivories must accordingly precede this destruction and belong to the end of the ninth century. On the other hand, no North Syrian ivories have been found in the late eighth century Palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad, or in any context clearly dateable to the seventh century. Thus the North Syrian ivories must be dated to the ninth and eighth centuries. No sphinx on a North Syrian ivory relief from Greece has been preserved, but this is most probably coincidental since ivories of this style abound in Greece.

The sphinx on the North Syrian ivories⁶⁴ usually appears passant, sometimes reclining (pls. 169a and 171). Quite often she is shown gardant. She wears her hair in a hathoric lock and frequently has a headdress, usually a kind of conical cap or a volute. She can have one or two outstretched wings, of which the upper edge is straight and the lower curved; the base of the wing is usually decorated with a quadrilinear pattern and both primary and secondary feathers are indicated by broad parallel lines. Frequently the wing hangs down below the body and the vertical tail ends in a leaf-shaped tassel. Several stylizations mark the anatomical details of the body: zig-zag pattern in the abdominal area and along the haunches; parallel lines for the ribs, the root of the tail, the cubitus, the knees and the paws; a flame-like pattern generally decorates the thigh, while various other stylizations appear now and again to depict the muscles. The majority of the North Syrian ivories belong to a group found at Nimrud, the Loftus group, which has recently been attributed to a workshop at Hama.⁶⁵

North Syrian sphinxes in contrast to their Phoenician counterparts

have been extremely influential for the introduction and the development of the sphinx motif in Greek art. In fact the sphinxes on the late ninth century krater from Tekke (no. 1) are directly traceable to North Syrian models; North Syrian sphinxes, slightly adapted for Greek taste, were produced in the eighth century schools of immigrant craftsmen in Crete and Attica. These early Greek sphinxes remain so close to their foreign models that they ultimately remain rather isolated and form only a weak tradition in Early Greek Art. It is only when the motif is taken over by the influential medium of vase painting in the end of the eighth century that an iconographic tradition is established in Greek art. The models of these early vase paintings can be traced to female North Syrian sphinxes with volutes or other headdresses.

ENGRAVED TRIDACNA SHELLS

Sphinxes are one of the commonest motifs on the engraved tridacna shells⁶⁶ forming one of the most important groups of Greek imports in the seventh century.

The shells belong to the type of *Tridacna Squamosa* molluscs found in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Rough, unworked shells are found in Palestine, Nimrud, Naukratis, Lindos, Chios and Samos, while polished shells appear at Lindos and engraved shells have been discovered in various places in Mesopotamia,⁶⁷ Syria-Phoenicia,⁶⁸ Africa,⁶⁹ and Greece.⁷⁰ It seems, therefore, that the shells were a popular object of trade; this can be explained by the fact that they were most probably containers for eye make-up, since traces of green colour have often been found in the engraved lines of many of them.⁷¹

The shells are frequently of a considerable size reaching a maximum diameter of up to 30 cm. The joint of the shell, i.e. the umbo, is modelled into a sculptured human head. Stucky divides the shells into three groups: in the shells of group I the central motif of the outer side is a winged, human figure, the head of which is the umbo; floral motifs and sphinxes are engraved between its wings. In the shells of group II wings flank the umbo, the centre of the outer side is entirely covered by a medallion from which a human protome emerges, and the gap between this and the wings of the umbo is filled by sphinxes and floral motifs. In group III, there are no wings flanking the umbo, while the centre of the outer side is covered by a palmette usually flanked by two archers or horses; in this group sphinxes are rare.

The style of the Engraved Tridacna Shells is homogeneous, and their origin has so far been a subject of controversy. Originally von Bissing suggested an Egyptian origin for them mainly on the basis of a shell from

Delphi which he erroneously considered to be an alabaster imitation. He was followed by Thiersch, while Blinkenberg considered them to be products of Cypriots established at Naukratis, because of the rough shells found there. Pédrizet suggested an Assyrian origin, but the most favoured suggestion has been that they were engraved in Phoenicia. Stucky introduces yet another view by talking of "Syro-Phoenician" origin.

That their manufacture was carried out by Cypriots at Naukratis can no longer be considered, since their dating has been pushed up into the first half of the seventh century by the evidence of the recently published shells from Samos and Delphi.⁷² On the other hand, style, iconography and distribution of the shells strongly support the suggestions of Phoenician origin.

Sphinxes represented on the tridacna shells are always winged and appear in two different poses, reclining and passant. Both wings are depicted either splayed out on each side of the face in a typically Phoenician schema, or raised above the back, one slightly projecting behind the other, which is an equally familiar rendering of the wings in Phoenician art. The sphinxes on the tridacna shells are usually shown with an apron and a Double Crown, while often they are further decorated with a pectoral. The best parallels of them among imported objects are found on the bowls of the Idaean-Acropolis group, which seems to confirm the Phoenician character of the shells.

Faience scarabs

Scarabs made of a blue or green glazed composition generally known as faience have been found in various places throughout Greece, the majority of them (over 800) at Perachora.⁷³ They bear hieroglyphic inscriptions and Egyptian motifs, but the quality of the faience is different from that found in Egypt, suggesting that the scarabs found in Greece were made

outside Egypt from a different process. Faience scarabs of a similar composition have been found at Naukratis;⁷⁴ the Egyptianizing scarabs found at Perachora, however, range in date between 750 and 650 and therefore cannot be considered Naukratite since Naukratis was only founded in about 610.

Von Bissing⁷⁵ has suggested that they were made in Rhodes in a factory staffed by Egyptian workmen. Dunbabin⁷⁶ considered them the products of a Phoenician workshop and recently Brown⁷⁷ is inclined to support a Phoenician origin for these seals, a conclusion which seems well-founded on technical as well as iconographic and stylistic grounds.

Surprisingly enough, sphinxes do not seem to have been very common in the repertoire of these scarabs. They appear only on a few pieces (cf. nos. 577-608) and are extremely Egyptianizing in style and iconography. Both winged and wingless sphinxes occur usually crowned by various Egyptian headdresses (Double-crown, Atef-crown etc.). The wingless type is more common and always appears in a reclining pose, which emphasizes its Egyptianizing character. Winged sphinxes also appear in a reclining pose; more rarely they are shown passant. The size of the object does not allow indication of many details and therefore pose and headdress remain the decisive factors for the recognition of the type. Style offers much in this direction by pointing towards Phoenician art, where both winged and wingless reclining sphinxes with Egyptian headdresses were current during the Early Iron Age.

There is nothing about the sphinxes of these scarabs suggesting Greek inspiration. Their distinct non-Greek character becomes apparent in comparison with the sphinxes on the faience vases from Rhodes (nos. 535-537). The iconography of the latter is a concoction of several Oriental traditions with a strong "Syro-Phoenician" element, but at the same time Protocorinthian and Rhodian influence can easily be discerned on the best pieces (cf. no. 535). The sphinxes on the faience scarabs, on the other hand,

belong to purely Phoenician Egyptianizing types already known in Greece by better representatives such as bronze bowls, ivories, tridacna shells etc.

STONE SEALS OF THE LYRE-PLAYER GROUP

Another group of imported sphinxes for which a Rhodian origin has been claimed are those represented on the stone seals of the Lyre-player group.⁷⁸ Seals of this group have been found both in Near-Eastern and Mediterranean contexts, but the majority of them come from Greece (where they are widely distributed⁷⁹) and the Greek colonies in the West.E. Porada,⁸⁰ who first studied the group in detail, suggested a floruit in the eighth century and a Rhodian manufacture because a large number of the seals of the Lyre-player group have been discovered in Rhodes.

The date is now confirmed by the recent find at Pithekoussai,⁸¹ where thirty-four seals of the group were found in graves of a late eighth century date. The style of the seals, however, is unparalleled in contemporary Greek art and the devices betray a purely Oriental character. Animals and monsters are often represented, but the most common subjects are typically Oriental: a goddess standing on a lion, a ritual banquet with musicians, lyre-players standing beside a bird or a sphinx etc. Furthermore, the shapes of the seals belong to the "Syro-phoenician" area and the red serpentine in which they were made, was not used in Greece at the time. The style of these seals can be closely paralleled on North Syrian stone reliefs of the Early Iron Age, and on these grounds J. Boardman has concluded a North Syrian origin for them; he more specifically points out Cilicia as their place of manufacture since a number of the seals have been found at Tarsus.

The sphinx is rather a rare motif on the seals of this group, since it occurs in only five out of the one hundred and sixty pieces known so far. It appears alone on two⁸² (pl. 173c-d) listening to a Lyre-player on two⁸³ (pl. 173a) and as an accessory motif on one⁸⁴ (pl. 173b). In all these cases the sphinx is shown passant and often with an apron. Its body is very

stylized, but the upward pointing tail betrays a feline character. Paws and human head are indicated as smaller and larger blobs and a variation of the type is only achieved by the treatment of the wing, which appears in three different forms: a) Pointed and hatched rising almost vertically from the shoulders (pl. 173d), b) S-shaped covering the forepart of the body and then raised almost vertically above it (pl. 173a), c) D-shaped with a straight upper edge and a curved lower edge (pl. 173c). Parallels of all these wings are found in North Syrian art and the sphinx with apron is a common type in "Syro-phoenician" art in the early first millenium. From here it was handed over to the Greeks in the seventh century.

The sphinxes of the Lyre-player group can in no way be claimed as influential for Early Archaic Greek art; they simply give evidence of some current sphinx types at the period.

One of the most interesting elements on these sphinxes is the hatched, pointed wing which had already entered the Greek repertoire early in the eighth century by means of the immigrant craftsmen obviously coming from the same area.

N O T E S

INTRODUCTION

1. *BCH* 75 (1951), 1 ff.
2. *JdI* 65-66 (1950-51), 91 ff.
3. 199 ff.
4. Cf. Verdelis, *ibid.*, Dessenne, 191 speaks of "rupture brutale", while H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, 76 writes, "Zwischen den letzten mykenischen Sphingen und den ersten griechischen Sphingen klafft-nach dem heutigen Wissensstande - eine Lücke".
5. Cf. Banti, *Culti* 54 ff; Dessenne, 150; Cl. Laviosa, 1^o Congr. Mic 89; V. Karageorghis, *Cret. Chron.* 19 (1965), 50; *idem*, *Cretologikon* 180; Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.* 11; *idem* *BSA* 65 (1970), 28.

CHAPTER I

THE SPHINX IN THE DARK AGES

1. For the use of the term Dark Ages cf. Snodgrass, *DAG*, 1 ff., Desborough, *DA*, 29.
2. For the end of Minoan-Mycenaean civilization cf. M. Popham, "The destruction of the Palace at Knossos and its pottery", *Antiquity*, 40 (1966), 24-28; Snodgrass, *DAG*, 1 ff., 298; P.P. Betancourt, "The end of the Greek Bronze Age", *Antiquity*, 50 (1976), 40-47; J.T. Hooker, *Mycenaean Greece* (1975), 5 and 70-79; P. Ålin, "Mycenaean Decline — some problems and thoughts", *Greece and the eastern Mediterranean in ancient history and prehistory: Studies presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the occasion of his eightieth birthday*, (1977), 32 ff.; E. Hallager, *The Mycenaean Palace at Knossos: evidence for final destruction in the IIIb period*, (Medelhavsmuseet, Memoir 1, 1977), 91; N.K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples* (1978), *passim*.
3. Cf. Snodgrass, *DAG*, 440; Desborough, *DA*, 112; Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.*, 46.
4. Cf. D. Levi, "La villa rurale minoica di Gortina", *Boll. d'Arte* 44 (1959), 237-265.
5. *Ibid.*, 246 ff.
6. *Cret. Chron.*, 12 (1958), 198; *idem*, *B' Cretologikon*, 108-109 pl.b'.
7. Cf. Alexiou, 198.
8. For the snake tubes cf. G.C. Gesell, *AJA* 80 (1976), 251.
9. *PAE*, 1957, 148 pl. 75, γ. Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.*, 10-11 n. 105.
10. Cf. also Desborough, *LMS*, 168.
11. For the Gazi Goddesses cf. S. Marinatos, *AE* 1937, B, 278 ff; Alexiou, 191 pl. E; P. Demargne, *Aegean Art, the origins of Greek Art*, (1964), fig. 317, 321-322; Zervos, *Crète* fig.772-775; D. Levi, *1^o Congr. di Mic.*, 1 pl. 22.; Platon, *Crète*, fig. 108-109.
12. They were found together with a shallow cup with a tall stem of a type which appears in the LM IIIb and continues into the LM IIIc period (cf. Furumark, *MF*, fig. 17, IIIc 1 early).
13. Cf. e.g. Zervos, *Crète*, fig. 795; Platon, *Crète*, fig. 120, 123.
14. For the Karphi Goddesses cf. Zervos, *Crète*, fig. 803-806; M. Seiradaki, *BSA* 55 (1960), pl. 14; Desborough, *DA*, 125 pl. 21.
15. For the motif of the palm-tree in vase-painting cf. Furumark, *MP*, 281, fig. 40, motive 15 No. 21, left (IIIc 1).

16. From Deiras, grave VI, now in Athens, NM 5575. Cf. Dessenne no. 309 pl. 26 ; J.Cl. Poursat, *CIM*, 113 no. 350 pl. 38
The grave in which the ivory plaque was found is dated by Deshayes, *BCH*, 77 (1953), 67-75 to the LH IIIa2-b.
17. Cf. e.g. *Ergon* 1974, 16 fig. 11.
18. Cf. D. Levi, *Boll. d'Arte* 44 (1959), 264 n. 116.
19. Ibid.
20. Cf. P. Cassola-Guida, *Le Armi difensive dei Micenei nelle figurazioni*, (*Incunabula Graeca* 56, 1973), 80 no. 2 pl. 1, 1.
21. Cf. Borchhardt, *Hom. Helme*, 97.
22. Cf. Alexiou, 201 n. 61 pl. E, 2-3; Στ, 1; 2, 1-2; H.1-3.
23. Cf. A. Evans, *The Prehistoric tombs of Knossos*, (1906), 26 fig. 21; Dessenne, fig. 298.
24. Cf. Dessenne, 71, 77, 85, 87, 94, 167, 182.
25. Alexiou, pl. Z, 1-2; H, 1 centre.
26. Cf. Dessenne, pl. 27 fig. 322.
27. Ibid., pl. 16 , figs. 196, 198, 199.
28. Ibid., 123-127 figs. 210-211; cf. also D. Levi, *Boll. d'Arte*, 44, (1959), 247.
29. Cf. Dessenne, 62.
30. H. Sackett, *BSA* 71 (1976), 121.
31. Ibid., 123. Cf. also J. Boardman, *BSA* 55 (1960), 130, no. 8 pl. 34; Brock, *Fortetsa*, 160-161.
32. Cf. Brock, *Fortetsa*, 214 who dates the SM period 1020-970 and the PG 970-820. Slightly different dates have been proposed by Desborough, *PGP*, 237 (1075 - 950 for SM and 950 - for PG) and Snodgrass, *DAG*, 128 (1110 - 925 for SM in Central Crete and 1100-800 for SM in Eastern Crete. 925-825 for PG) cf. also J.N. Coldstream, *JHS*₉₅ (1975), 261.
33. Cf. Brock, *Fortetsa*, 125 pl. 77, 1440 and 36 pl. 24, 339; pl. 135; Desborough, *PGP*, 270 pl. 33, vi, 8; *BSA* 55 (1960), 141 fig. 9, pl. 31.
34. Cf. *Arch. Rep.* 1976-77, 16 fig. 34-35.
35. For the cross-hatching in PG cf. J.N. Coldstream, *GGP*, 237; Brock, *Fortetsa*, 143 pl. 163, 1440. Cf. also the hatching on the chest of the PG terracotta centaur from Lefkandi (*BSA* 65 (1970), pl. 8-10). For the cross-hatching in LH IIIc Cf. H. Sackett, *o c* , 124; also Buchholz, *AA* 1974, 383 fig. 44 and 402 fig. 57a-b; *Ugaritica*, V, pl. 7.

36. Cf. e.g. Barnett, *NI*, pl. 21 .
37. For the characteristic rendering of the neck and head of PG figurines. Cf. Naumann, 77-78, pl. 26, 2.
38. Cf. *Gortina*, 208; 211, fig. 267.
39. Sackett, o c , 123.
40. Cf. e.g. Naumann, pl. 26, 2.
41. For the Egyptian "Double Crown" cf. Abdel M. Abubakr, *Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen* (1937), 60 ff. For Egyptian sphinxes wearing the Double Crown of Dessenne, 99. For Oriental, Egyptianizing sphinxes with a Double Crown cf. *ibid.*, 194-195 and below our chapter on the imported sphinxes.
42. Cf., however, the small, second wing of the griffins on the Agia Triada sarcophagus: Ch. R. Long, *SIMA*, 41 pl. 11.
43. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 63.
44. T.J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern neighbours*, (1957), 36, pl. 8 , 3.
45. Hermann, *Kessel*, 155 no. 33; 157.
46. Information given by Schiffler, *Kentauren*, 204 n. 245.
47. Cf. e.g. Naumann, pl. 30, 1-2.
48. E.g. *AA*, 1935, 54 fig. 2 and 56 fig. 4. For the Syrian style cf. V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland u Vorderasien* (1929), 107.
49. For the SM style cf. Naumann, 38 ff. For the PG style *ibid.*, 75 ff.
50. Cf. e.g. Naumann, pl. 13, 2.
51. Cf. J. Bouzek, *PPS*, N.S. 38 (1972), 156 ff. pl. 13 , upper row; also H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, (1899), 60, no. 440; cf. also Müller, o c , 109 no. 17, pl. 39 fig. 387; R.D. Barnett, *BMQ*, 9 (1934-35), 47 ff.
52. E. Porada, *Berytus*, 7 (1942), 59, pl. 8 , 7-8.
53. A. Parrot, *Syria* 35 (1958), 163 ff. pl. 9 .
54. Cf. e.g. Zervos, *Crète*, fig. 473.
55. Cf. e.g. deer with short, downward tail: Zervos, *Crète*, fig. 474, but also: bull with a short downward tail: Platon, *Crète*, fig. 121.
56. For the Minoan-Mycenaean type of sphinx cf. H. Kantor, *AJA* 51 (1947), 91-92; Dessenne, 142 ff; J.-Cl. Poursat, *IM*, 56-64.
57. H. Kantor, o c , 91-92. For a detailed discussion of the problems

concerning the sex of the Minoan-Mycenaean type of sphinx cf. Dessenne, 149.

58. Cf. Dessenne, 127; idem, *BCH* 81 (1957), 208-209; A. Tamvaki, *BSA* 69 (1974), 290.
59. Cf. Dessenne, 122.
60. Cf. Verdelis, *BCH* 75 (1951), 1; Dessenne, 197 ff., 199; Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, 76.
61. The following sphinx representations have been preserved from the LH IIIc period: 1) On a pyxis from Mycenae, *Ergon* 1975, 94 fig. 89 (here on pl. 23, b) 2) On a pyxis from Lefkandi, M. Popham - L.H. Sackett, *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea 1964-66*. A preliminary report, British School of Archaeology at Athens, (1968), fig. 35. 3) Krater sherd from Lefkandi, *ibid.*, fig. 37 (here on pl. 22,a). 4) On a sarcophagus from Tanagra, *Ergon* 1974, 16 fig. 11. 5) On a sarcophagus from Tanagra, *Ergon* 1971, 15 fig. 12 (here on pl. 22,b). 6) On a sarcophagus from Tanagra, *PAE* 1974, 151.
62. *PAE* 1974, pl. 10,b. Sphinxes with human breasts are known from Egyptian art cf. Dessenne, 103 ff. For Oriental sphinxes with human breasts cf. idem, 164 no. 335.
63. British Museum C417. Cf. F. Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant* (1951), 37 pl. 9, 6; V. Karageorghis, *Nouveaux Documents pour l'étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre* (1965) 240 No. 3 pl. 25.
64. Cf. Dessenne, 17, 34, 77, 92, 120. Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, 43 ff.
65. Cf. Desborough, *LMS* 196 ff., J-Cl. Poursat, *Et. Del.*, 425.
66. Cf. V. Karageorghis, *Charisterion*, 161-163 pl. 21,a; idem, *B' Cretologikon*, 182 pl. 34; Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.*, 12; idem *BSA* 65 (1970), 29 n. 39; J.-Cl. Courtois, *Alasia* 1 (ed. by Cl.F.-A. Schaeffer, 1971) 280 ff.
67. As a basis for our stylistic analysis have served Naumann's criteria as exposed in her book on the style of the SM and PG figurines in Crete (cf. abbreviation: Naumann) and Nicholl's comprehensive survey of the period (*Vot. Stat.*)
68. The measurements correspond to the figurine no. 3, but the dimensions of the other two heads (nos. 4-5) suggest that they were more or less of the same size.
69. For the open-air sanctuary of the "Piazzale dei Sacelli" at Agia Triada cf. Banti, *Culti*, 52 ff., Desborough, *LMS*, 168; 190.
70. They are numerous, but a complete catalogue of them is almost impossible for the moment, because they remain in the store rooms of the Herakleion Museum mostly unpublished. As examples, we have chosen three of them shown on pls. 9-10 for their striking resemblance with the sphinx figurines: a) pl. 9,a: Herakleion Museum 1812. Unpublished. G. Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.*, 11, no. 114 and Addenda n. 37. b) Pl. 9,b: Herakleion Museum, 3099. Unpublished. Seventeen heads

of small terracotta figurines, all unpublished, are registered under the same no. (i.e. 3099). c) *Pl. 10.a*: Herakleion Museum 3084. Cf. Banti, *Culti* fig. 54.a; Cb. Laviosa, *1^o Congr. Mic.* 1, 88 fig. 4. For other human heads of terracotta figurines from the same deposit in the same style cf. Zervos, *Crète* fig. 747; Banti, *Culti*, 62 fig. 55.b; Laviosa, *1^o Congr. Mic.* 1, 88 fig. 6.

71. Cf. e.g. S. Marinatos — M. Hirmer, *Kreta, Thera and das Mykenische Hellas*, (1973), fig. 139.
72. Herakleion Museum 15.305. Cf. V. Karageorghis, *The Goddess with uplifted arms in Cyprus* (Scripta Minora, 1977-78), 10 fig. 2.
73. Cf. above n. 11
74. Cf. above n. 9.
75. Cf. above n. 13.
76. The decoration, now in very bad repair, is absolutely linear. On the breast: vertical parallel lines topped by concentric semi-circles. Cf. Furumark, *MP*, 287, fig. 42, 29. On the shoulders: vertical parallel lines met by a group of slanting parallel lines. Cf. Desborough, "Bird Vases", *Cret. Chron.* 24 (1972) 254 no. 39, pl. 34,2. The rest of the body was left undecorated except for a wide band underlining the abdomen and the buttocks. For similar decoration on a SM bull figurine cf. Platon, *Crète* fig. 123. Cf. also Müller, *PZ*, 19 (1928), 320.
77. For the degenerate *reed pattern* on the chin of the sphinx figurine no. 2 cf. Furumark, *MP*, 383 fig. 67 motive 58 no. 29 (IIIc 1-2). For the *starfish* on the chin of the sphinx figurine no. 3 cf. Furumark, *MP*, 315 fig. 53 motive 26 no. 3. For the *zig-zag* pattern on the forehead of the terracotta head in Herakleion 1812 (pl. 9.a) cf. Furumark, *MP*, 383 fig. 67 motive 61 no. 2 (IIIc 1). Only the *foliate band* that decorates the neck of the sphinx figurine no. 5 (pl. 8) brings to mind similar decoration on the breast of the wheel-made idol from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, which is dated in the LM IIIb period. Platon, *Crete* fig. 117; Demargne, o.c., fig. 315-316. This idol is generally dated to the LM III period both because of its resemblance to the well dated figure from Mavro Spelio (Platon, *Crete* fig. 116) and because it was found with a stirrup vase of LM IIIb date cf. Alexiou, 202 ff., M. Popham, *SIMA* 5, 7; Hallager, o.c., 93. For the foliate band in vase painting cf. Furumark, *MP*, 397 fig. 69, motive 64 no. 21 (IIIa 2). Apart from the painted decoration, however, the idol from the Shrine of the Double Axes has nothing in common with the style of the sphinx figurines. It has a small spherical head on which only the nose is rendered plastically; all the other facial characteristics are indicated in paint; the eyes are still painted in an almond shape and the mouth is small. It seems, therefore, much earlier than the Agia Triada sphinx figurines with the elongated face and the plastically rendered facial characteristics. Thus the foliate band common to both the idol from the Shrine of the Double Axes and the sphinx figurine no. 5 can only be explained in terms of a retarded painted motif.
78. Cf. e.g. Zervos, *Crète* fig. 282 (bull figurine of MMI date), fig. 286

(bull figurine of MM II date), fig. 476 (bull figurine of LM I date), fig. 795 (LM IIIc date).

79. Cf. above n. 66.
80. V. Karageorghis, *Cret. Chron.* 19 (1965), pl. fig. 2, right.
81. For the evolution of the dewlap and the hanging abdominal fold of the bull figurines cf. the wheel-made bull figurine from Phaistos (Platon, *Crete* fig. 70) dated to the early LM IIIc period with the bull figurine from A. Triada (Platon, *Crete* fig. 120), dated to the late LM IIIc period and the bull figurine from A. Triada (Platon, *Crete* fig. 123), dated to the SM period. Both dewlap and abdominal fold are very stylized, but prominent on the first figurine; they are less obvious on the second and they have completely disappeared on the third figurine that is dated to the SM period.
82. Cf. e.g. Hafner, *JdI* 58 (1943), 189 fig. 4; 195 fig. 14, 196 fig. 15-16; V. Müller, *PZ* 19 (1928), pl. 35; also, *Antiquity* 52 (1978), pl. 3. .
83. Cf. a duck- askos with plastic wings from Melambes, Crete, Desborough, *Cret. Chron.* 24 (1972) 246 and esp. 254 no. 39.
84. Cf. Karageorghis, *Cret. Chron.* 19 (1965), 52.
85. But cf. a terracotta head and a terracotta figurine of a woman from Tyliossos with a similar face decoration *Ann. N.S.* 25-26 (1963-64) 16 figs 13-14.
86. Marinatos — Hirmer, *oc* , pl. 57 ..
87. Cf. W. Taylour, *Antiquity* 43 (1969), pl. 13c; idem, *AAA* 1970, 76 fig. 2.
88. C. Renfrew, *Antiquity* 52 (1978), pl. 2 and frontispiece.
89. For the problem of the sex of Mycenaean figurines cf. G. Mylonas, *AJA* 41 (1937), 239-240; E. French's Dissertation on Mycenaean figurines, 154; K. Demakopoulou, *Arch. Delt.* 25 (1970), A', 177; W. Taylour, *Antiquity* 44 (1970), 278.
90. Cf. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus* (1968) pl. 25 , 2. Some of the large, wheel-made Mycenaean idols, however, have been claimed hermaphrodite on other grounds cf. W. Taylour, *Antiquity* 44 (1970), 278.
91. C. Renfrew, *Antiquity* 52 (1978), 13.
92. Cf. Naumann pl. 1, 1-2.
93. Cf. above n. 69.
94. For Phaistos cf. Desborough, *LMS*, 168 and 182.
95. For the Spring Chamber at Knossos cf. A. Evans, *P. of M.* 2 , 128; Desborough, *PGP*, 236; idem, *LMS*, 180 and 193; idem, *D.A.*, 285; Alexiou, 236.

96. For the SM linear style in vase painting cf. Furumark, *MP*, 179; idem, *Chronology*, 106; idem, *Op. Arch.* 3 ..., 229; Desborough, *PGP*, 236 ff., idem, *D.A.*, 57 ff., Snodgrass, *DAG*, 40 ff.
97. The examples have been conveniently assembled by J. Boardman, *BSA* 55 (1960), 146 n. 25, and to them may now be added the sphinx figurines nos. 6, 9, 11, 13 the fragmentary body of a bull or perhaps another sphinx figurine from Knossos depicted here on pl. 12.b (cf. R.A. Higgins, *BSA* (1971) 280 pl. 45 no. 34) and a human head of a purely PG style from the "Piazzale dei Sacelli" at Agia Triade depicted here on pl. 12,a (cf. Milani, *Studi e materiali* 3 (1905), 110 fig. 496.a).
98. Cf. J. Boardman, *BSA* 55 (1960), 140 no.8 fig. 9 pl. 33.
99. Cf. J. Boardman, o c , R.V. Nicholls, *BSA*⁶⁵ (1970), 25.
100. The punched eyes of the PG centaur from Lefkandi (*BSA* 65 (1970) pls. 8-10) have also been explained as containing another material.
101. Cf. Human head of a handmade terracotta figurine with impressed decoration from Agia Triada, Milani, o.c., 110 fig. 496.
102. Cf. Jan Bouzek, "The Attic Dark Age incised ware", *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae*, 28 (1974), 6 ff.
103. Ibid., 4 ff., also Furumark, *MP*, 428-9.
104. Cf. e.g. *Gortina*, 210 fig. 264.
105. Cf. e.g. Naumann pl. 6, 4.
106. Ibid., pl. 26, 2.
107. Cf. ibid., pl. 25, 1.
108. Cf. E. French, *BSA* 66 (1971) 101 ff.
109. Cf. Desborough, *LMS*, 166; R.V. Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.* 3 n. 12.
110. Cf. Naumann, 63 n. 90.
111. Cf. ibid., pl. 26, 2.
112. Cf. E. Tyree, *Cretan Sacred Caves: Archaeological Evidence*, Diss., University of Missouri (1974), 46-47.
113. *Mus. It.* 2 (1888), 913.
114. Cf. Naumann, pl. 15, 1-2.
115. Ibid., 38 ff.
116. Cf. ibid., 75 ff.
117. Ibid., pl. 26, 1.

118. Ibid., pl. 19, 1.
119. Cf. e.g. SM lead figurine of a Goddess with uplifted arms, Naumann pl. 16.
120. Nicholls, *BSA* 65 (1970), 28.
121. The double volute, however, becomes very common later, in the Archaic period, on representations of animals cf. E. Akurgal, *Ant. K.* 10 (1967), 33 ff.
122. Cf. Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.*, 18.
123. Cf. Dessenne, 150 n. 3, *JdI* I (1886), 116 n. 68.
124. Cf. above n. 86.
125. Cf. Laviosa, *10 Congr. Mic.* I, 88 ff., Demakopoulou, *Arch. Delt.* 25 (1970) A', 179; Nicholls, *BSA* 65 (1970), 29 n. 41.
126. W. Taylour, *Antiquity* 43 (1969), 91 ff. pl. 9 ; idem, *Antiquity* 44 (1970), 270 ff. pls. 38-40; idem, *AAA* 3 (1970), 74 ff.; J.P. Michaud, *BCH* 94 (1970) 962 figs. 155-160.
127. C. Renfrew, *Antiquity*, 52 (1978), 7, ff. pl. 2.
128. Cf. also Nicholls, *BSA* 65 (1970), 29.
129. *BSA* 66 (1971), 163; R.W. Hamilton, *DAP*, 5 (1934), 54 no. 319.
130. *BCH* 48 (1924), 259, *Délos*, 23 pl. 1, 9.
131. Cf. Dessenne, 176 ff. and passim.
132. Ibid., 44 ff.
133. Ibid., 122 ff.
134. Ibid., 134 no. 300 pl. 35 .
135. Ibid., 165 ff.
136. Ibid., 163 no. 334 pl. 29 ..
137. Laviosa, o.c. 88 n. 6; cf. also Banti, *Culti*, 54 and Karageorghis, *Cret. Chron.* 19 (1965), 50.
138. Karageorghis, *Charisterion*, 160, idem, *B'Cretologikon*, 182; idem, *Cret. Chron.* 19 (1965), 50; J.-Cl. Courtois, *Alasia* 1, 280.
139. *Culti*, 54.
140. 135 nos. 301-302.
141. *A guide to the Herakleion Museum* (2nd ed. 1957), 108.
142. O c , 87.

143. BSA, 65 (1970), 28.
144. Cf. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 166-168. For some Geometric bronze figurines of "minotaurs" cf. B. Schweitzer, *GGA*, (1971), 139 ff., figs. 152-154; also H.-V. Herrmann, *JdI* 79 (1964), 61 fig. 57; 64-65 n. 180.
145. Cf. A. Xenáki-Sakellariou, "Les cachets minoens de la Collection Giamalakis", *Ét. Crét.* 10 (1958), 63 ff. no. 379 pl. 9, 379; also Laviosa, *oc.*, 88 n. 6.
146. Cf. above n. 100 For centaurs in Greek Art cf: B. Schiffler, *Kentauren* and Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 88 ff. Also Karageorghis, *Charisterion*, 160-161. For some allegedly Mycenaean representations of centaurs cf. V.E.G. Kenna, *ibid.*, 170 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE SPHINX IN THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD

1. For a good survey of the discussions with a full bibliography cf. Canciani, *Bronzi*, 13 ff.
2. S. Benton "The Date of the Cretan Shields", *BSA* 39 (1938-39), 52 ff; idem, "Bronzes from Palaikastro and Praisos", *BSA* 40 (1939-40), 51 ff.
3. oc
4. Ibid., 27 no. 70 pls. 8-9.
5. E. Gjerstad, "Decorated metal bowls from Cyprus", *Op. Arch.* 4 (1946), 18 ff.
6. Cf. H. Kyrieleis, *Gnomon* 44 (1972), 707.
7. *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967), 3 ff.
8. Cf. J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 94 (1974), 244.
9. Brock, *Fortetsa*, 135 no. 1569; J. Boardman, *BSA* 62 (1967), 59.
10. Canciani, *Bronzi*, 46.
11. *BSA* 62 (1967), 66; idem, *Däd. K.*, 14 ff.
12. T.J. Dunbabin, *AE* 1953-54, B, 257.
13. *Bronzi*, 176.
14. *Fortetsa*, 199
15. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 49c.
16. Cf. Kunze, *KB*, 179 ; Dessenne, 200; J. Boardman, *BSA* 56 (1961), 80 n. 26; Herrmann, *Kessel*, 37 n. 12; 152.
- 16a. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Cf. also H. Kyrieleis, *M.w.Pr* , 1966, 4.
19. Dessenne, 40.
20. Ibid, 101 no. 258.
21. Cf. J. Boardman, oc.
22. Dessenne, 168 no. 337, pl. 29.

23. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, 342 pl. 49c.
24. Ibid, 343.
25. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 64b.
26. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, pl. 19.
27. *Bronzi*, 48 n. 88.
28. Cf. also H. Kyrieleis, *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 705.
29. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, 346.
30. Barnett, *NI*, pl. 16, 53; Orthmann, *SB*, 344.
31. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 84.
32. Cf. P. Hommel, *Ist Mitt.* 9-10 (1959-60), 56.
33. Cf. J. Boardmann, *BSA* 62 (1967), 60 n. 7; idem, *IGems*, 110 ff; Coldstream, *GG*, 276; Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 222.
34. Cf. Coldstream, *GG*, 248 fig. 78, b-d.
35. Cf. e.g. Barnett, *NI*, pl. 19.
36. *IGems*, 154-55; idem, *JHS* 88 (1968), 9 ff.
37. *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion*, 48.
38. Cf. Coldstream, *GG*, 151, 177.
39. Cf. Boardman, *IGems*, 118; F. Johansen, *Exochi*, 84 ff.
40. Cf. also Coldstream, *GG*, 151; 177.
41. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, fig. 91a-b.
42. Cf. W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934-35), 153; S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953), 346; J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, 237.
43. For the bands cf. Reichel, *Goldreliefs* reviewed by Kunze, *Gnomon* 21 (1949), 1 ff; Ohly, *Goldbleche*, reviewed by J.M. Cook, *Gnomon* 26 (1954), 109 and D. Sargnon, *Rev. Arch.* 1954, 251; B. Schweitzer, *GGA*, 186; Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 222 ff.
44. For additions to Ohly's original catalogue cf. J. Carter, *BSA* 67 (1972), 41 n. 90; since, however, several more gold bands have been discovered cf. *Arch. Delt.* 28 (1972) B2, 93 pl. 63; *BCH* 97 (1973), 265 fig. 23-30; Coldstream. *GG*, 79-80; 122 n. 39.
45. Cf. Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 121; Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 222 ff; Herrmann, *Kessel*, 103.
46. *Der Orient*, 110.
47. *Goldreliefs*, 15 ff.

48. GGK, I, 92.
49. KB, 265 ff.
50. Ker, 5, 187; Ker, 6, 2, 50 n. 92; 54 ff. n. 131, 133; 73; cf. also H. Walter-Karydi, *Gnomon* 46 (1974), 205.
51. Kessel, 103 n. 34.
52. Eretria, 3, 44.
53. GGA, 186.
54. Untersuchungen, 215.
55. Cf. also, Carter, BSA 67 (1972), 42; H. Walter-Karydi, *Gnomon* 46 (1974), 205; Coldstream, GG, 124.
56. E.g. the ivory figurines from Kerameikos, Coldstream, GG, 130 ff. fig. 42, b-d; cf. also Herrmann, Kessel, 103 n. 34.
57. Kynosarges grave 19; Arch. Delt. 28 (1972) B2, 93 pl. 63; BCH 97 (1973), 265 figs. 23-30 cf. Coldstream, GG, 123 n. 39.
58. Odos Kriezi, grave 26; Arch. Delt. 22 (1967) B, 95 pl. 86,b; AAA I (1968) 23 fig. 5 cf. Coldstream, GG, 123 n. 39.
59. Goldbleche, 34.
60. AZ, 42 (1884), 104.
61. For early griffins cf. Kunze, KB, 166; 168 ff; 265 n. 10; Akurgal, *Späthetitische Kunst*, 84; Barnett, JHS 86 (1948), 9 ff; Dunbabin, Per, 2, 22 no. 84; A.-M. Bisi, *Il grifone*, (1968), 198 ff; N. Reed-Eals, *Griffins in Post-Minoan Cretan Art*, (Diss. thesis, Un. of Missouri, Columbia, 1976); idem, Hesp 45 (1976), 365 ff.
62. Kunze, KB, 168 ff. pl. 43, 56.
63. Cf. Dunbabin, Per, 2, 22 no. 82.
64. Cf. U. Jantzen, GGK, passim. For the related griffin-bird cf. R. Tölle, Ant. Welt 5 (1974), 3, 26, with the previous bibliography and a full catalogue of the preserved representations of griffin birds.
65. Cf. R. Tölle, ibid, 25.
66. Cf. Poulsen, Orient, 110; Furtwängler, oc, 104; Greifenhagen, Schmuckarbeiten, 20 no. 5.
68. Similar representations of helmets are also met with on the warriors depicted on some recently published ninth century gold bands from Skyros cf. E.L. Marangou, BCH 99 (1975), 369 figs. 10-11. The naked figures of warriors on the gold bands from Attica either have no headdress at all or they are shown with this type of headdress. A further evidence that it was meant to be a helmet is found. On a gold band (Ohly's 18) on which several human figures are represented, but

only the archer is shown with this headdress. A short version of this type of helmet is also found on a geometric bronze figurine of a warrior from Olympia in Athens, NM Br. 2914, cf *JdI* 79 (1964), 41 figs. 22-24. For representations of helmets in Attic LG vase painting cf. R. Tölle, *Ant. Welt.* 5 (1974), 3, 25, fig. 9.

69. *GGA*, 199.
70. *Cat*, no. 1219, fig. 22.
71. *AZ*, 42 (1884), 104.
72. *KB*, 265.
73. *oc.*
74. *Goldbleche*, 26 n. 25.
75. H. Cahn, *Mü. n. Med.*, Auktion 22, 13.5.1961 no. 204.
76. *Gnomon* 26 (1954), 108.
77. *Goldreliefs*, 17.
78. *GG*, 358.
79. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 51b.
80. *KB*, 179; cf. H. Kyrieleis, *Gnomon* 44 (1972), 705.
81. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 84.
82. *Ibid.*
83. Cf. Canciani, *Bronzi*, 197.
84. Barnett, *NI*, 84.
85. Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, 29; F. Audiat, *Mon. Piot*, 36 (1938), 47; Verdelis, *BCH* 75 (1951), 18; Lullies, *CVA*, München 2 (1952), under inv. 1352 pl. 134; Dessenne 201 pl. 37,2; Coldstream, *GGP*, 61; Schiffler, *Kentauren*, 16; B. Borell, *Attisch geometrische Schalen*, 104 no.150.
86. P. Baur, *Centaur in Ancient Greek Art*, (1912), 4 no. 4; Buschor, *AJA* 38 (1934), 129; Müller, *RM* 38-39 (1923-24) 63; Kübler, *Ker*, 6, 2, no. 93.
87. Cf. Schiffler, *Kentauren*, 15.
88. Representations of centaurs by the Athens 894 Workshop. Krater in Paris CA 3256 (here pl. 40a) cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 60 no. 41. Amphora in Copenhagen, NM 7029 cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 59 no. 17; *CVA*, Copenhagen 2 pl. 73,3. Amphora in Karlsruhe 60/12 cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 58 no. 3; J. Thimme, *AA* 75 (1960), 57 ff. fig. 12. Oenochoe in Athens, Passas Collection cf. Tölle, *Reigentänze*, pl. 10. Hydria in Baghdad IM 52041 cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 59 no. 33; Davison, 79 fig. 116.

89. Cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 63.
90. Cf. Tölle, *Reigentänze*, 37.
91. Cf. Carter, *BSA* 67 (1972), 49.
92. Ibid, 49 n. 144; the tankard is also mentioned by Tölle, *Reigentänze*, no. 303.
93. Cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 86 pl. 10.j.
94. For the Hirschfeld Painter cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 41 ff. idem, *GG*, 114.
95. There is only one case of a winged centaur in Greek Art on a PA hydria in Athens Vlastos Collection cf. R. Tölle, *Reigentänze*, 22 no. 57; 39 n. 48 pl. 19 Cf. also Schiffler, *Kentauren*, 16 no. A 11 and Carter, oc, 49 n. 145.
96. Cf. Schiffler, *Kentauren*, 15.
97. Cf. Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 8 n. 51.
98. Cf. Carter, oc, 47; Dessenne, 201; V. Karageorghis - Des Gagniers, *La Céramique Chypriote de style figuré*, 11.
99. Cf. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, pl. 69, 581. For Oriental "centaurs" and "centaur-like" monsters cf Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 89 n. 458b.
100. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 83 ff; B. Borell, *Attisch Geometrische Schalen*, 17 n. 152.
101. Barnett, *NI*, 205 pl. 70 (S.172).
102. *CGA*, 415-416.
103. For some allegedly lion representations in Argive LG vase painting cf. *BCH* 77 (1953), 98 fig. 4; *AH*, 2, pl. 57,13 and Courbin, *CGA*, 415.
104. Cf. similar rendering of the tail of a bull on an Attic LG IIA skyphos from Thera in Athens, NM 13038 by the Birdseed Workshop (Schweitzer, *GGA*, 49 fig. 16; Davison, fig. 80; Brann, *Hesp* 30 (1961) 126-7 and Coldstream, *GGP*, 67 no. 7, 69 n. 1).
105. Cf. Courbin, *CGA*, pl. 78, 126.
106. Coldstream, *GGP*, 143. Courbin, *CGA*, 428 distinguishes four types of helmets in Argive LG vase painting: a) "*à plumet haut*" cf. *CGA*, pl. 143 C.240, 501 b) "*à cimier*" cf. *BSA* 35, pl. 52 c) "*à flammes*" cf. *BCH*, 79 (1953), 24 fig. 14 d) "*carré*" cf. *AM* 69-70 (1954-57), suppl. pl. 18.
107. *AH*, 2 pl. 57, 17; Courbin, *CGA*, pl. 147.
108. Cf. R. Tölle, *Reigentänze*, 23, e; Courbin, *CGA*, 437 pl. 142.
109. *CGA*, 155, 416, 484. For the absolute dating of Argive LG vase painting cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 145 and J. Boardman, *Gnomon* 42 (1970), 497.

- 110. For the shape of the krater cf. Courbin, *CGA*, 206-8 and 259-260; Coldstream, *GGP*, 146-7; Bommelaer, *BCH* 96 (1972), 230 ff.
- 111. Cf. Courbin, *CGA*, pl. 150, top right.
- 112. Cf. e.g. Courbin, *CGA*, pl. 141, C1263 and C1020; pl. 147, C4168.
- 113. Cf. e.g. Courbin, *CGA*, pl. 147, upper row.
- 114. Cf. also Courbin, *CGA*, 484 n. 6.
- 115. For this workshop cf. Coldstream, *GGP*, 245 ff. idem, *GG*, 271 ff.
- 116. oc.
- 117. Cf. e.g. the stone relief sphinxes from the Palace of the Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud now in the British Museum (H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, 53 fig. 128, 13).
- 118. Cf. Karageorghis - Des Gagniers, oc, 8 and 225.
- 119. Cf. Brock, *Fortetsa*, 190; 215; 218; Canciani, *Bronzi*, 191 ff.
- 120. Cf. H. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework*, 203 ff; Demargne, *CD*, 242; J. Boardman, *CCO*, 132; Coldstream, *GG*, 283.
- 121. Cf. Cl. Rolley, *Rev. Arch.* 1975, 155.
- 122. Cf. Schweitzer, *GGA*, fig. 203.
- 123. Cf. U. Naumann, *Opus nobile Festschrift Jantzen*, pls. 31-32.

CHAPTER III

THE SPHINX IN THE ORIENTALIZING PERIOD

1. For the Analatos Painter cf. Cook *BSA* 35, 172-76; idem, *BSA* 42, 142-3; Matz, *GGK* I, 291; Brann, *AJA* 60 (1956), 74; Hampe, *Grabfund* 30 ff; Cook, *JHS* 81 (1961) 220; Brann, *Hesp* 30 (1961), 307; Davison, 51; *Agora* 8, 19; Cook, *Gnomon* 34 (1962) 821; Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963) 71; Coldstream, *GGP* 53-54, 63-64, 86, 109, 111; Cook, *Mélanges Varagnac*, 169 ff; C. King, *AJA* 78 (1974), 170.
2. Cf. *Ker* 6, 2, 271 pl. 132; Brokaw, *oc*, 71; Coldstream, *GGP* 111.
3. Cf. *Agora* 8, 18.
4. Cf. Hampe, *Grabfund* 33-34.
5. Cf. Cook, *BSA* 35, pl. 39, 1.
6. *Ibid.*, pl. 40b.
7. *Ibid.*, pl. 38b.
8. Cf. Davison, 119 and 132.
9. For the dating of the late works by the Analatos painter cf. Cook, *JHS* 81 (1961), 221.
10. For Cycladic influence on PA cf. Cook, *BSA* 35, 180; Kübler, *Alt. Mal* 8; Amyx, *AJA* 58 (1953), 295; E. Brann, *Hesp* 30 (1961), 311.
11. Cook, *BSA* 35, 176-178; Cook, *BSA* 42, 141-143; Davison, 52-53; *Agora* 8, 10, 20, 24; Cook, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 821-22; Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963), 71; J.N. Goldstream, *GGP* 54, 64 n. 6, 109, 210; C. King, *AJA* 78 (1974), 170.
12. Cf. Brann, *Agora* 8, 10.
13. Cook, *BSA* 35, 176 ff.
14. *BSA* 35, 176.
15. *Oc*, 203.
16. Cf. Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963), 71 n. 36.
17. For the Vulture Painter cf. Cook, *BSA* 42 (1947), 139-141; T.B.L. Webster, *BSA* 50 (1955), 49; E. Brann, *AJA* 63 (1959), 178-9 pl. 45; Davison, 53 figs. 65-68; *Agora* 8, 10, 16, 21, 74; Cook, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 823; Cl. Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963), 69-70; Coldstream, *GGP* 60, 86; A. Kaufmann-Samaras, *CVA Louvre* 16, 29.
18. *BSA* 42 (1947), 139-141.

19. Cf. Davison, oc.
20. Cl. Brokaw, oc, 73.
21. Cf. *Agora* 8, 21.
22. Cf. Brokaw, oc, 70: "a conscious mixture of progressive and old-fashioned qualities".
23. Amphora in Würzburg, University Museum cf. E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (1932), pl. 7, 79.
24. For high-standed bowls cf. Coldstream, *GGP* 86; A. Kaufmann-Samaras, *CVA Louvre* 16, 29.
25. Cf. *BSA* 42 (1947), 140 fig. 1-2.
26. Cf. Cook, *BSA* 42 (1947), 141.
27. Cf. Brokaw, oc, 69.
28. *CVA Louvre* 16, 29.
29. For the N-painter cf. Hampe, *Grabfund* 36-40, 79; Cook, *JHS* 81 (1961), 221, *Agora* 8, 10, 21, pl. 26; Coldstream *GGP* 286.
30. Hampe, *Grabfund* 21, 41, 80; Cook *BSA* 81 (1961), 221; Davison, 53; *Agora* 8, 10, 21, R. Tölle, *Ant. Welt* 5 (1974), 3, 21 ff. Coldstream *GGP* 207.
31. J. Cook *BSA* 35 (1934-35), 189-190; R. Eilmann, *CVA Berlin I* (1939), 1, 7; J. Cook, *JHS* 59 (1939), 151-2; Kraiker, *Aigina* 89-90; S. Karouzou, *AE* 1952, 158-166; Beazley, *Development* 8; *Agora* 8, 5, 6, 11, 23-24; J. Cook, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 822.
32. Cf. *Agora* 8, 23.
33. Cf. *Gnomon* 34, 822.
34. *Agora* 8, 6.
35. *BSA* 35, 189-190.
36. Cf. Kübler, *Ker* 6, 2, 88 n. 305, 239 n. 289.
37. Cf. *Agora* 8, 11.
38. Karouzou, *Anagyrounta* 165, n. 3.
39. Cf. Mylonas, *Prot. Amph. El* 102 ff.; Brann, *Hesp* 30 (1961), 308; idem, *Agora* 8, 23-24; Cook, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 822.
40. *Agora* 8, 24.
41. Cf. A. Jeffery, *JHS* 69 (1949), 26 n. 3, fig. 3; E. Brann, *Agora* 8, 24 n. 109.

42. Cook, *BSA* 35 (1934-35), 189 n. 7; Gebauer, *CVA* Berlin 1, 24; Karouzou, *AE* 1952, 160 n. 1.
43. Cf. Madhloom *The Chronology of Neo-assyrian art*, pl. 70,1
44. Cf. *CVA* Berlin I, 7; *ABV* 1.
45. Cf. D. Ohly, *AM* 76 (1961), 5
46. *BSA* 48 (1953), 174.
47. *BSA* 43 (1948), 50 fig. 35.
48. Cf. Barnett, *NI* pl. 1.
49. Cf. *AJA* 68 (1964), 387 ff.
- 49a. Cf. Coldstream, *GGP* 102; J. Boardman, *Gnomon* 42 (1970), 496; N. Μποζάνα-Κούρου, ΣΤΗΛΗ τ. εἰς μνήμην Κοντολέοντος, 303 ff.
50. For the local Ithacan Orientalizing style cf. M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 103 ff.
51. Cf. *ibid.*, 89 and L.H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts* 231 n. 2.
52. Cf. M. Robertson, *ibid.*, 57.
53. For the Protoargive style cf: P. Courbin, *BCH* 79 (1955), 1-49 pl. 1; J.F. Bommelaer, *BCH* 96 (1972), 229-251.
54. *BCH* 60 (1936), 144.
55. *The Western Greeks* 263.
56. *GGP* 147.
57. *CGA* 34-38 followed by Bommelaer, *BCH* 96 (1972), 239 ff.
58. *Not. Sc.* 10 (1956), 278 fig. 2.
59. Cf. J.P. Droop, *AO* 66-109; E.A. Lane, *BSA* 34 (1933-34), 121 ff; J. Boardman, *BSA* 58 (1963) 1 ff.
60. Lane, *ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*, pl. 25g.
62. For Laconian sphinxes in the sixth century cf. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1972)
63. For Cretan Orientalizing vase painting cf. Payne, *BSA* 29 (1927-28) 277 ff; Brock, *Fortetsa* 150 ff.
64. V. Müller, *AM* 50 (1925), 5 ff.
65. For the Naxian vases cf. Chr. Karusos, *JdI* (1937), 166 ff; Brock, *BSA* (1949), 76-79; I. Strøm, *Acta Arch* 32 (1962), 247 ff; P. Bocci, *St. Misc* 2 (1962), 10 ff.

66. Cf. Dugas - Rhomaïos, *Delos* 17.
67. For the Selinunt sherds and their possible Naxian origin cf. Strøm, *ibid*, 262 ff. For a Siciliar origin of these sherds cf. Vallet and Villard, *BCH* (1958), 21.
68. Cf. Dessenne, pl. 28, 327.
69. *Ibid*, pl. 36, 340.
70. Cf. Strøm, *ibid*, 222 ff.; Bocci, *ibid*, 5 ff.
71. Cf. Salviat-Weill, *BCH* 84 (1960), 359 ff.
72. Strøm, *ibid.*, 275 ff.
73. For Boeotian Orientalizing vase painting cf. F. Canciani, *JdI* 80 (1965), 23 ff.; Anne Ruckert, *Frühe Keramik Böotiens* (1976).
74. *BSA* 47 (1952), 27 ff.
75. *Ibid*, 22.
76. *Ibid*.
77. Cf. Schiering, *Werkstätten*, 57.
78. H. Walter, *Samos* 5, 60.
79. Cf. R.M. Cook, *Enc. World Art* 7, 61.
80. Cf. J. Naveth, *Isr. Expl. J.* 1962, 89; J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 91, 204.
81. Cf. V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience* (1978).
82. Cf. *Per* 2, 476.
83. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern neighbours*, 49.
84. Von Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft der in Cerveteri gefundenem Gefesse aus agyptischer Fayence und glasiertens Ton*; Webb, *ibid.*, 5 and 9.
85. *Ibid.*, 5.
86. Cf. *Per* 2, 477.
87. For a Phoenician "colony" on Rhodes cf. J.N. Coldstream, *BICS* 16 (1969), 4.
88. Cf. Schafer, *Reliefpithoi* 31 ff.
89. Cf. Marangou, *Lak. Elf*.
90. Cf. J.M. Stubbings, *Per* 2, 403 ff.
91. J. Boardman, *IGems* (1963); *idem*, *JHS* 88 (1968), 1 ff.

92. Cf. H.V. Herrmann in *Wandlungen, Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst, E. Homann-Wedeking gewidmet* (1975), 44 n. 43.
93. Cf. S. Benton, *BSA* 39 (1938-39), 38.
94. Ibid.
95. *Corolla Curtius* 60 ff.
96. J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture* 44
97. Cf. Barnett, *NI* pl. 34
98. Cf. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neoassyrian art*, pl. 70, 1
99. *Ker* 6, 2, 92.
100. Cf. H. Walter, *Samos* 5 (1968), passim; Kardara, 31 ff.
101. Kardara, *ibid.*
102. Cf. Payne, *NC* 90, 282. The Bearded Sphinx painter, however, classed by Benson, *GKV* 30 as Corinthian, is in fact an Etruscan painter closely following earlier Corinthian models cf. Brown, *The Etruscan lion*, 53.
103. Cf. Payne, *NC* 229 fig. 104b.
104. H. Schäfer - W. Andrae, *Kunst des alten Orients*
105. Cf. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neoassyrian art*, pl. 70, 1
106. Cf. V. Karageorghis - Des Gagniers, *La Céramique Chypriote de style figuré* 8, 137, 225.
107. For the painter of the Kerameikos Mug group cf. J. Cook, *BSA* 35, 189, 191, 201; *Agora* 8, 6, 11, 21, 23; E. Brann, *Hesp* (1961), 308 n. 9; J. Cook, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 822.
108. For sphinxes on garments cf. H. Frankfort, *BSA* 36 (1936-37), 116; Dessenne, 199 n. 2; Kübler, *Ker* 6, 2, 244 n. 314; Barnett, *Studies presented to Hetty Goldmann*, 212 ff.; N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten*, 273 n. 1. For dress-patterns in Greek vase painting cf. A. Kloss, *AM* 5 (1952), 80 ff. The sphinx appears as a dress pattern once more in Early Archaic Greek art on the skirt of the limestone seated goddess from the temple at Prinias (no. 534).
109. *AH* 2 pl. 59, 24b.
110. The sphinxes on a clay relief pithos of sixth century date from Megara Hyblaea (*Mon. Ant.* I, 761-2) mentioned by Dessenne, 201 n. 3 and Kübler, *Ker* 6, 2, 246 n. 324 as having a human arm are in fact lifting up their front leg towards the central palmette. An additional fifth leg is erroneously shown in the reproduction.
111. Cf. Kübler, *Ker* 6, 2, 88 n. 305.

112. Cf. Dessenne, 100, 101, 107; Demisch, *Die Sphinx* 26 Fig. 45-46; 27 fig. 48.
113. *Ker* 6, 2, 88 n. 305.
114. Cf. H. Schäfer - W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, pl. 546; E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 32 fig. 8; R.D. Barnett, *Iraq* 12 (1950), 1-43 pl. 6, 7a; idem, *Iraq* 16 (1954), 3-22.
115. Ibid.
116. Cf. M.M. Austin, "Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age", *Pr. CPhS* Suppl. 2 (1970), 11; A. Snodgrass, *D.A.G.*, 365; Desborough, *LMS*, 52 Brown, *Eg. artifacts*, 105 and 109.
117. Cf. Kübler, *Ker* 6, 2, 88 n. 305, and 239 n. 289.
118. Cf. R. Brown, *Eg. artefacts*, 111
119. *Lak. Elf.*, 44 n. 236.
120. *BSA* 58 (1963), 5 n. 15.
121. Cf. Th. Karagiorga, *Arch. Delt.* 19 (1964), 116 ff; idem, *Gorgie kephale*, (1970), 65; Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 43 n. 241. For gorgoneia in Archaic Greek art in general cf. H. Besig, *Gorgo und Gorgonion in der archaischen griechischen Kunst* (1937).
122. Cf. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 44 n. 245.
123. Lane, *BSA* 33 (1933-34), pl. 31b.
124. Cf. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, figs. 59 and 61.
125. Cf. Payne, *NC* 80 fig. 23.
126. Ibid., 52 fig. 12; *AO* pl. 56,2.
127. Cf. Payne, *NC* 80 fig. 23 a-c.
128. Cf. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, fig. 59.
129. Ibid., fig. 60.
130. Ibid., fig. 30.
131. Dawkins, *AO*, 154 no. 4 explains it as a "griffin-headed sphinx" and Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 262 n. 753 as a sphinx "mykenisierend".
132. Cf. Dawkins, *AO* 154.
133. *Gorgie kephale*, 65 ff.
134. Cf. for instance, Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, figs. 122-124.
135. e.g. *ibid.*, fig. 113.

136. For the animal-bodied gorgo-monsters cf. Payne, *NC*, 80 ff.; Karagiorga, *oc*, 65 ff.
137. For double-bodied monsters cf. Payne, *NC*, 51 n. 8; J. Boardman, *Ant. J.* 39 (1959), 213 n. 3; idem, *Archaic Greek gems*, no. 123 pl. 9; V. Slomann, *Bicorporates* (1967), 23 ff; K. Schauenburg, *CVA* Heidelberg 1 pl. 10; Karagiorga, *ibid*, 55 ff.
138. *Oc*.
139. *Oc*.
140. *Lak. Elf*, 91.
141. Cf. Karagiorga, *ibid.*, 37 n. 1; Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, fig. 30.
142. Karagiorga, *ibid.*, 55.
143. Cf. J. Boardman, *Ant. J.* 39 (1959), 213 n. 3.
144. *VS*, 131.
145. *NC*, 51 n. 8.
146. Cf. Frankfort, *CS*, 312.
147. *The Aegean and the Near East*, 232
148. *Ibid.*, pl. 21,2.
149. *Sym. Bildform*, 27
150. *Kret. Chron.* 21 (1969), 105-106.
151. *Oc*,
152. Cf. J. Boardman, *BSA* 58 (1963), 4.
153. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 126, fig. 91a-b.
154. *Ibid.*, 127.
155. Cf. *Archaeology* 6 (1953), 230-231.
156. Cf. G.M.A. Hanfmann, *ibid.*, 229-230.
157. *Ibid.*, 229.
158. *Lak. Elf.*, 126-127.
159. Cf. M. Mallowan, *The Nimrud Ivories*, (1978), 52 fig. 61.
160. Cf. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, figs. 85-87.
161. *Ibid.*, 126.
162. Dawkins, *AO*, pl. 193,8.

163. For Corinthian plastic vases cf. Payne, *NC*, 176-180 and J. Ducat, *BCH* 87 (1963), 431-458. Here the plastic vase on pl. 157a is from Nola in British Museum B.397 (Higgins, *CBM* 2, no. 1669 pl. 27) and that on pl. 157b is from Siama, Rhodos in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1919.30 (*CVA Oxford* 2 pl. 390, 1
164. Cf. E. Rhode, *Gr. u. Röm. Kunst in St. M. zu Berlin*, fig. 105.
165. *BCH* 75 (1951), 31 n. 5.
166. *Statuaire Etrusque*, 210 n. 1.
167. *Lak. Elf.*, 261 n. 743.
168. Cf. Dessene, 98 ff.
169. For this type of seal and its Oriental models cf. J. Boardman, *IGems*, 134 n. 1, cf. Ohly, *Goldbleche* 80 n. 51.
170. *AGDS* 3, 71 no. 1
171. Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 80 n. 51.
172. *IGems*, 135.
173. *Untersuchungen*, 103 n. 510, 1.
174. Cf. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion*, 46-50; J. Boardman *JHS* 88 (1968), 9 ff.
175. *Lak. Elf.*, 192.
176. *Ibid.*
177. Cf. Higgins, *CBM*, 2, no. 1678 pl. 31.
178. *Ibid.*, 45.
179. *Ibid.*
180. Cf. H. Goldman, *AJA* 15 (1911), 379 fig. 1
181. Cf. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, fig. 32; Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten*, pl. 6, 1.
182. Cf. Coldstream, *GG*, 362 ff.
183. Cf. Ortmann, *SB*, 342.
184. Cf. Johansen, *VS*, 61 fig. 42.
185. Froehner, *Coll. Branteghem*, no. 214.
186. De Ridder, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre* 2, pl. 94, 2605.
187. Cf. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neoassyrian art*, pl. 70
188. Cf. Ortmann, *SB*, 342.

189. Cf. Gabelmann, *Löwenbild*, 10; *Ker*, 6, 2, 91.
190. *Ker*, 6, 2, 358.
191. Cf. Moortgat, *ZfA N.F.* 14 (1944), 41 ff. fig. 44a-b.
192. *Per* 2, 404.
193. Cf. Ortmann, *SB*, 342.
194. Pl. 130a shows a bronze figurine from Kos in the British Museum (Walters, *Cat*, 22 no. 227) and pl. 130b a bronze figurine in Berlin (Neugebauer, *Bronzen* no. 183 pl. 29).
195. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 141.
196. Cf. Dessenne, 108.
197. Cf. Kunze, *KB*, 250 n. 7.
198. Cf. H.W. Helck, *MOF* 3 (1955), 1 ff; Holland, *AJA* 33 (1929) 179 ff.
199. Cf. Dessenne, pl. 22, 284.
200. *Ibid*, pl. 28, 327.
201. *Ibid*, pl. 36, 340a.
202. Cf. Borchhardt, *Hom. Helme*, 67-68; 144.
203. Cf. Hogarth, *Carchemish* pl. B, 2; also Akurgal, *SB* pls. 15a-b; 17a; 18a; Borchhardt, *Hom. Helme* pl. 26.
204. Cf. Sendschirli 3, pl. 39.
205. *KB*, 218.
206. Cf. Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armorers* 5, H4 pl. 12; also *Däd. Kunst*, A4 pl. 7a-b.
207. Cf. Borchhard, *Hom. Helme*, pl. 24.
208. *Fortetsa*, 199 n. 1.
209. Cf. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neoassyrian art*, 77 pl. 70, 1.2; 75, 2; Barnett, *NI*, pl. 113.
210. Snodgrass, *EGAW*, pl. 2, 1.
211. Layard, *Monuments I*, pl. 44, 5.
212. Cf. Dessenne, 94, 167, 182.
213. *KB*, 179.
214. *Ibid*, 200.
215. Akurgal, *SB*, 2.

- 216. Cf. Hogarth, *Carchemish* pl. B. 14.
- 217. Akurgal, *ibid.*
- 218. H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (1926), 81 fig. 29.
- 219. *Thera* 3, 79 fig. 63.
- 220. *EGAW*, 13.
- 221. *Hom. Helme*, 68.
- 222. *KB*, 179.
- 223. *AM* 78 (1963), 21
- 224. *Ibid.*
- 225. Cf. H. Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armorers*, 1 n. 10-11.
- 226. Snodgrass, *EGAW*, 6.
- 227. Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armorers*, 5 pl. 13.
- 228. Cf. L. Marangou, *BCH* 99 (1975), 368 ff. figs. 10-14.
- 229. *GGA*, 198.
- 230. Snodgrass, *EGAW*, 8.
- 231. Cf. *BCH* 82 (1958), 662 fig. 8.
- 232. Cf. Snodgrass, *EGAW*, 13 "Kegelhelm" and Borchhardt, *Hom. Helme*, 145 "Bugelhelm". For this type of helmet cf. also *Ol. Bericht* I, 25-97.
- 233. Cf. P. Courbin, *BCH* 81 (1957), 356-7 fig. 39.
- 234. Cf. Borchhard, *Hom. Helme*, 65, 145.
- 235. *Ol. Bericht*, 8, 112.
- 236. *Ibid.*
- 237. *EGAW*, 14 ff.
- 238. Cf. Borchhard, *Hom. Helme*, 65, 145.
- 239. For the polos cf. Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 112; V. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Gotterkrone* (1915), 112.
- 240. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 104-105.
- 241. *Ibid*, 84.
- 242. *NC*, 89.
- 243. For the crown, cf. M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Diss., Tübingen, 1970).

- 244. Cf. V. Müller, *AM* 50 (1925), 52.
- 245. Cf. *ibid.*
- 246. Cf. Chr. Kardara, *AJA* 64 (1960), 343 ff.
- 247. *Ibid.*, pl. 99 fig. 12 .
- 248. Cf. Rizza-Scrinari, *Gortina*, 261.
- 249. *Ibid.* fig. 369.
- 250. *Ibid.* fig. 368.
- 251. Cf. P. Amandry, *FdD*, 2, 19.

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION

1. Cf. U. Hausmann, *Oidipus und die Sphinx*, *Jahrbuch der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, 9 (1972), 3 ff., with a good discussion and full bibliography.
2. Cf. Malten, *JdI* 29 (1914), 244 ff; Haspels, *ABL*, 130 ff; Walter, *Ant. u. Ab.* 9 (1960) 63 ff; Hampe, *Grabfund*, 62, 84; Schweitzer, *GGA*, 55; *Ker* 6, 2, 154 n. 160; Hausmann, *oc*, 12 n. 46.
3. Cf. Hausmann, *oc*.
4. Cf. berg, in *Roscher's Lexicon*, 4, 1363 ff; Herbig, in *RE*, Suppl. III A, 1708 ff.
5. Cf. West in Hesiod's, *Theogony*, 257.
6. Cf. W. Peek, *Gnomon* 14 (1938), 476; idem, *Griech Versinschriften* (1955) no. 1831; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 97 pl. 11,8
7. Cf. L. Deubner, *Oedipusprobleme*, (1942), 27; also, Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder*, 1 ff.
8. *FHG*, I, 494, 1 ff.
9. Cf. *ABV*, 163, 2; Buschor, *Griech. Vasen*, fig. 143; Beazley, *Development*, 55-56; J. Boardman, *Attic black-figured vase painting*, 60 fig. 116. On a Tyrhennian hydria from Caere (*Annali*, 1886 pl. R) a sphinx is accompanied by the inscription $\Theta \epsilon \iota + \zeta$; we would agree with West, *oc*, 256 that this is an illiterate painter's copy of $\phi \zeta \iota + \zeta$ rather than mere nonsense as Robert thinks (*Oidipus*, II 17).
10. Cf. A. Schneider, *Röm. Mit.* 4 (1889), 157; Arndt, *Studien zur Vasenkunde*, 123.
11. Cf. MacCreedy, *Glotta* 46 (1968), 250.
12. Cf. West, *oc*, 88. Also, Plato, *Krat.* 414d ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν σφίγγα ἀντί φιγγός σφίγγα καλοῦσι.
13. West, *oc*
14. Cf. Dirlmeier, *Der Mythos von König Ödipus* (1948); Hausmann, *oc*, 9 n. 20.
15. Cf. J. Boardman, *JHS* 90 (1970), 194-5, Hausmann, *oc*, 7.
16. Cf. Robert, *oc*, 51, 56; Schefold, *JdI* 52 (1937), 71 n. 4.
17. *ARV*², 451, 1; Hausmann, *oc*, 20 fig. 17.

18. Cf. Robert, *oc*, 56. The earliest record of the riddle is found in Sch. Eur., *Phoen.*, 50 attributed to Asklepiades from Tragilos. Two fragments of Euripides', *Oedipus* recently recovered from the Oxyrinchi papyroi refer also to the Sphinx and the riddle is given in the same hexametric form. Cf. J. Vaio, "The New fragments of Euripides Oedipus", *GRBS*, 5 (1964), 43-55; Dingel, *Mus. Helv.* 27 (1970), 90; Hausmann, *oc*, 12 n. 42.
19. For the Cyclic Epics cf. Th. W. Allan, *Homeri Opera* v. 113 ff. For their dating cf. K. Schefold, *Mus. Helv.* 12 (1955), 135; idem, *Acc. Naz. dei Liniei*, Quoderno 139 (1970), 91 ff; F. Wehrli, *Mus. Helv.* 14 (1957), 108 ff; U. Hausmann, *oc.*, 10 n. 37.
20. An identification of the monster with the Boeotian sphinx late in the seventh century is also assumed by R. Lullies, *Festschrift Schweitzer* (1954), 140-6.
21. For mythological representation in the seventh century cf. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, 77 ff; Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (1936); Schefold, *Myth and legend in Early Greek Art*, Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*.
22. Cf. also Herrmann, *JdI* 79 (1964), 65 who considers the seventh century sphinx as "vormythologisch".
23. Cf. Kunze, *KB*, 193; Canciani, *Bronzi*, 156; Chr. Christou, *Potnia Theron*, (1968), 102; Rizza-Scrinari, *Gortina*, 255.
24. Cf. Rizza-Scrinari, *Gortina*, 255-257 figs. 357-359.
25. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 84 n. 1.
26. Cf. Christou, *oc.*, 102.
27. Cf. M. von Heland, *7th Suppl. to Ant. K.* (1970), 25.
28. Cf. Rizza-Scrinari, *Gortina*, 255 ff.
29. Cf. M. von Heland, *oc.*
30. Cf. Rizza-Scrinari, *Gortina*, 256 fig. 356.
31. Cf. Demargne, *CD*, 294 ff.
32. Cf. Dunbabin, *oc*, pl. 10, 1.
33. Rizza-Scrinari, *Gortina*, pl. 21, 127.
34. Cf. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, fig. 62.
35. J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek gems*, pl. 11, 162.
36. *CD*, 291.

37. Cf. e.g. Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, fig. 18.
38. Cf. Dessenne, pl. 15, 186.
39. Cf. N. Yalouris, *Mus. Helv.*, 7 (1950), 100 fig. 16.
40. Ibid., 100-101.
41. Dunbabin, *Per*, 2, 58.
42. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 59d.
43. Dessenne, 157 no. 330 pl. 28.
44. Cf. Dunbabin, *Per*, 2, 58 no. 397.
45. Dessenne, no. 124 pl. 11.
46. Ibid., 62.
47. Cf. Apoll., 3, 5.8 and Dio Chrysost. orat. 11,8.
48. For the procession scene cf. Barnett, *NI*, 78; T.B.L. Webster, *BSA* 50 (1955), 48; K. Lehnstädt, *Prozessiondarstellungen auf attischen vasen* (Diss. Munich, 1970), 18-21; J. Carter, *BSA* 67 (1972), 46.
49. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 78.
50. Ibid., pl. 16.
51. H. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, fig. 309; *Op. Arch* 4 (1946) pl. 1.
52. P. Montet, *Byblos et L'Egypte* (1929) pls. 133-138.
53. Cf. V. Karageorghis - De Gagniers, *La Céramique Chypriote de style figuré*, 8.
54. Cf. *AJA* 79 (1975), 126 fig. 14, pl. 29.
55. *Per*, 2, 77.
56. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 59d.
57. Cf. *Ker*, 6, 2, 140; Hampe, *Grabfund*, 62, Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 76.
58. Cf. Malten, *RE*, Supl. IV (1924), 883 ff.
59. Cf. Rhode, *Psyche*, 72.
60. *Seven* (1054).
61. *Grabfund*, 62.
62. Cf. Malten, oc.
63. Cf. Attic LG kantharos in Copenhagen; Schweitzer, *GGA*, 54-55 figs. 69-70.

- 64. *JHS* 68 (1948), 14.
- 65. Cf. D.C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1977), 150;
J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek gems*, 68.
- 66. Cf. e.g. V. Karageorghis, *Salamis*, 88 fig. 26.
- 67. e.g. *Op. Arch.*, 4 (1946), pl. 10.
- 68. Dessenne, 101 ff.
- 69. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, pl. 56; M. Mallowan, *The Nimrud Ivories*, 28 fig. 25.

CHAPTER V

IMPORTED SPHINXES

1. Cf. O.W. Muscarella, *Hesp* 31 (1962), 326
2. Cf. H. Kyrieleis, *Marb. W. Pr.* 1966, 3 ff.
3. Cf. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern neighbours*, pl. 15,2
4. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 1b
5. Cf. E. Kunze, *Festschrift Reinecke*, 99.
6. *Ibid*, 99 n. 1
7. *Kessel*, 155.
8. *oc*, 118
9. *Gnomon*, 45 (1973), 481
10. *Kessel*, 156
11. *Gnomon*, 41 (1969), 800
12. e.g. *Kessel*, pl. 20, A15
13. *Ibid*, 82 ff. pl. 27
14. *Ol*, 4, no. 949; De Ridder, *Cat*, 2, nos. 2625 and 2626 pl. 94
15. *BCH*, 75 (1951), 31 n. 5
16. *oc*, 96 ff.
17. *Kessel*, 153 ff.
18. *Samos*, 8, 63
19. Cf. Orthmann, *SB*, 339 ff.
20. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 75
21. *Ol*, 4, pl. 56, 947
22. Cf. Herrmann, *Kessel*, pl. 62,2 and 63,3-4
23. *Ibid*, pl. 56, 946
24. M. von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*, 3, pl. 156
25. Horns occur also on another bronze bearded protome from Delos wearing a "Hörnermütze" (cf. Cl. Rolley, *Etudes Deliennes*, 512 figs. 17-19)

26. Cf. Orthmann, oc
27. Cf. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Iraq*, 18 (1956), 152-153 figs. 1-5
28. Hermann, *Kessel*, 1 ff. figs. 1-3
29. Cf. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, oc, passim
30. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, oc; H. Kyrieleis, *Marb. W. Pr.* 1966, 1 ff; Akurgal, *Urartaische und altiranische Kunstzentren*, (1968)
31. Herrmann, *Kessel*, 180
32. *Salamis*, 3, 95
33. *Gnomon*, 41 (1969), 796 ff.
34. *Kessel*, 180 ff.
35. W.L. Brown, *The Etruscan lion*, pl. 5a
36. Cf. J. Boardman in *Däd.K*, 19 ff.
37. Cf. *Kessel*, pls. 24-25
38. e.g. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 11, f.
39. K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, oc, pl. 29
40. e.g. Orthmann, *SB*, pl. 49c
41. *Ibid*, 342 (group A)
42. Cf. above n. 35
43. Cf. O.W. Muscarella, *Hesp*, 31 (1962), 326
44. Cf. Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 6 ff. and Stucky, "The Engraved Tridacna Shells", *Dedalo*, 19 (1974), 82 n. 49 and 87 n. 11 for a catalogue of the bowls. In Greece, bronze bowls have been found in Crete (Fortetsa, Idaean Cave), Athens (Akropolis, Kerameikos), Delphi, Dodona and Olympia.
45. For the bronze bowls cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, 2, 733-752; Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 6 ff; von Bissing, *JdI*, 38-39 (1923-24), 180-241; Gjerstad, *Op. Arch* 4 (1946), 4 ff; K. Kübler, *Ker*, 6, 2, 201 ff; T.J. Dunbabin, oc, 37-38; Herrmann, *Kessel*, 174 n. 1; Barnett, *Eretz-Israel*, 8 (1967), 1 ff; Stucky, oc, 82 n. 49 and 87 n. 11 -
46. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 63 ff.
47. For Phoenician style and iconography in the Early Iron Age cf. I.J. Winter, *Iraq*, 38 (1976), 1 ff; Barnett, *NI*, 111 ff; M. Mallowan, *The Nimrud Ivories*, (1978), 26 ff.
48. Cf. Herrmann, *Kessel*, pl. 25,5

49. Ibid, 178-9
50. *Ker*, 6, 2, 396 ff. pl. 123
51. Ibid, 398
52. *KB*, 182
53. *Samos*, 8, 63-64
54. V. Luschan-Andrae, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, 5, Kleinfunde, 110 fig. 152
55. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, pl. 1
56. *Samos*, 8, 71
57. Barnett, *NI*, pl. 34b
58. Cf. I. Winter, oc, 13, (Syrian: Athens, Delphi, Perachora, Sparta, Crete, Samos, Ephesos, Kameiros, Lindos. *Phoenician*: Crete, Samos, Lindos).
59. Cf. Dessenne, 103 no. 272
60. Ibid, 127
61. *1^o Congr. Mic.*, I, 214
62. Cf. I. Winter, oc, 4 ff, 15
63. Ibid
64. Cf. Barnett, *NI*, 84; M. Mallowan, oc, 44
65. Cf. I. Winter, oc, 81
66. For the Engraved Tridacna Shells cf. F. Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 65 ff; H. Thiersch, *Aigina I*, 429; Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos I*, 175; idem, *Lindiaka I* (1926); S. Smith, *JHS* 46 (1926), 179 ff; P. Amandry, *Syria* 35 (1958), 96 ff; T.J. Dunbabin, *Per*, 2, 527; J.M. Aymard, "Coquillages mesopotamiens", *Syria* 43 (1966), 21-37; P. Amiet, "Tridacnes trouves a Suse", *Rev. d'Ass.* 70 (1976) 185-186; R.A. Stucky, oc, reviewed by R.D. Biggs, *JNES* 37 (1978), 350.
67. Assur, Babylon, Nimrud, Nineveh, Sippar, Ur, Uruk, Susa.
68. Alalakh, Tell Arad, Bethlehem
69. Daphne, Naukratis, Cyrene
70. Olympia, Delphi, Aegina, Perachora, Samos, Rhodes, Bayrakli, Miletos
71. Cf. Stucky, oc, 97 n. 11
72. Ibid, 98. The shell from Delphi is dated by context to the second quarter of the seventh century, while the Samos examples were found

outside the sanctuary of Hera, having been washed on to the beach by the flood of 670/60.

73. Cf. James in *Per*, 2, 500; Pendelebury, *Aegyptiaca*, passim; R. Brown, *Eg. artifacts*, passim
74. Cf. *Naukratis* I, 37
75. F.W. von Bissing, "Zeit und Herkunft der Cervetri gefundenem Gefässe an ägyptischer Faience und glasiertem Ton", *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu München*, 2 (1941).
76. oc, 59
77. *Eg. artifacts*, 131
78. Cf. Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I, 161 ff. pl. 18, 521-535; E. Porada, *Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman* (1956), 185 ff. Cf. J. Boardman - G. Buchner, "Seals from Ischia and the Lyre-Player Group", *JdI*, 81 (1966), 1-62
79. They have been found in: Ithaca, Delphi, Thebes, Sunium, Aegina, Corinth, Sparta, Euboea, Delos, Paros, Crete, Chios, Samos, Rhodes.
80. Ibid
81. Cf. J. Boardman - G. Buchner, oc
82. Oc, 36 nos. 131-132 fig. 48-49
83. Oc, nos. 88 and 126 fig. 45
84. Here no. 609

C A T A L O G U E

SECTION I

EARLY ARCHAIC GREEK SPHINXES

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

- No. 3 Wheel-made figurine, fr. (pl. 6)
From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"
Herakleion Museum 3145 (Head found separately - Inv. 1811)
Description : *Bearded, crowned, wingless sphinx with bovine tail. Legs missing.*
Date : Late LM IIIc/early SM
Bibliography: L. Banti, *Culti*, 55 ff. fig. 43-46
 Dessenne, 135 no. 302 pl. 25
 V. Karageorghis, *Cret. Chron.* 19 (1965), 50 ff. fig. 1.
 H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx*, 66 fig. 176.
- No. 4 Wheel-made figurine, fr. (pl. 7)
From Crete, Agia Triade "Piazzale dei Sacelli"
Herakleion Museum 3087
Description : Head and upper shoulders of a *wingless* crowned sphinx.
Date : Late LM IIIc/early SM.
Bibliography: Chr. Zervos, *La civilization hellenique* 1 (1969), fig. 127.
 Cl. Laviosa, *Ann. N.S.* 41-42 (1963-64), 12.
- No. 5 Wheel-made figurine, fr. (pl. 8)
From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"
Herakleion Museum 3101
Description : Chin, neck and upper shoulders of a *wingless* sphinx.
Date : Late LM IIIc/early SM
Bibliography: Unpublished
- No. 6 Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 11)
From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"
Herakleion Museum 3689
Description : Forepart of *wingless* crowned sphinx. Punched

decoration all over.

Date : Late LM IIIc/early SM

Bibliography: Unpublished Cf. Rizza-Scrinari, *Gortina*, 209
R.A. Higgins, *BSA* 66 (1971), 280.

No. 7

Hand-made figurine, fr.

From Crete, Phaistos

Phaistos, Stratigraphic Museum F. 6021.

Description : Forepart of a *wingless* sphinx

Date : Early SM

Bibliography: CI. Laviosa, *I Congr. Mic.* 1 (1967), 89 fig. 5.

No. 8

Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 13.a)

From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"

Herakleion Museum 3092.

Description : Forepart of a *wingless* sphinx.

Date : SM

Bibliography: Unpublished.

No. 9

Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 13.b)

From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"

Herakleion Museum 3099.

Description : Head and upper shoulders of *wingless* sphinx.

Date : SM

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 10

Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 13.c)

From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"

Herakleion Museum 3093.

Description : Crowned *wingless* sphinx with long hair and
moustache. Legs and tail missing.

Date : PG

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 11

Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 14.a)

From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"

Herakleion Museum 3088.

Description : Crowned, *wingless* sphinx. Legs and tail missing.

Date : PG

Bibliography: Banti, *Culti*, 56 fig. 46.

Dessenne, no. 301.

Borda, *Arte Cretese Micenea*, 55.

No. 12

Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 14.b)

From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli"

Herakleion Museum 3090.

Description : Head and upper shoulders of a *wingless* crowned sphinx.

Date : PG

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 13

Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 15).

From Crete, Agia Triada "Piazzale dei Sacelli".

Rome, Pigorini Museum 75. 167.

Description : *Wingless* sphinx. Nose, legs and tail missing.

Date : SM

Bibliography: Borda, *Arte Cretese Micenea*, 55 pl. 43, 2.

No. 14

Hand-made figurine, fr. (pl. 16)

From Crete, Knossos, Spring Chamber

Herakleion Museum 9537.

Description : Crowned, *wingless* sphinx. Hind part of body missing.

Date : PG

Bibliography: Evans, *P. of M.* 2, 1, 136 fig. 69, k;

Pendelbury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, 312.

R.A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 17.

Dessenne, 206 n. 6.

R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 65 (1970), 29 n. 31.

idem, *Vot. Stat.*, 11 n. 118.

BRONZE FIGURINES

- No. 15 Bronze figurine, (pl. 17).
From Crete, Patso, Cave of Hermes Kraniaios
Herakleion Museum.
- Description : *Wingless* sphinx
- Date : SM
- Bibliography: F. Halbherr-Orsi, *Mus. It.* 2 (1880), 913
 pl. 14.8.
 Nicholls, *Vot. Stat.*, n. 221.
 E. Tyree, *Cretan Sacred Caves: Archaeological
Evidence*, (Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of Missouri,
1974), 46 pl. 58.
- No. 16 Bronze figurine (pls. 18-19)
From Crete
London, British Museum 1930. 6-17.2
- Description : *Wingless* sphinx with necklace, and a double
 volute in relief on each shoulder.
- Date : PG
- Bibliography: *Br. Mus. Q* 5 (1930-31), 51-52 pl. 23, 3.
 Dessenne, 202.
 R.V. Nicholls, *BSA* 65 (1970), 29 n. 34.
 idem, *Vot. Stat.*, 18 pl. 4.b.
- No. 17 Bronze figurine (pl. 5).
From Crete, Agia Triada
Herakleion Museum
- Description : Sphinx with headdress.
- Date : SM/PG
- Bibliography: T.J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern
neighbours*, 36 pl. 8, 3.
 J. Boardman, *CCO*, 119 n. 2.
 Hermann, *Kessel*, 155 no. 33.
 B. Schiffler, *Kentauren*, 1204 n. 245.

GEOMETRIC

VASE-PAINTING

No. 18

Cup (pl. 39a)

From Athens, Kerameikos (grave vii)

Athens, NM A.784

Description : In a frieze on the interior of the cup, four dancing women, a musician, two warriors, a seated goddess (?) and a pair of antithetical sphinxes with human arms.

Date : LG Ia

Workshop : Attic, by the Athens 894 Workshop

Bibliography: A. Brueckner - E. Pernice, *AM.* 18 (1893), III
F. Poulsen, *Dipylogräber*, 22
P. Baur, *Centaur in ancient Greek Art*, (1912),
4 no. 4
Dessenne, 201 pl. 37, 2
Ker, 6, 2, no. 93
Agora, 8, 19
Coldstream, *GGP*, 60 no. 48
Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 90 ff
J. Carter, *BSA* 67 (1972), 46 ff pl. 11, b-c
A. Kaufmann-Samaras, *Rev. Arch* N.S. (1972),
29 fig. 7
Schweitzer, *GGA*, 54 fig. 65
B. Borell, *Attisch geometrische Schalen*, (1978),
16 no. 24, 104 pl. 20

No. 19

Krater, frs. (pl. 41)

From Tiryns

Nauplion Museum 4268/4269

Description : Two fragments, one with part of the bridge-handle. Kneeling deer on the handle, riders in the shoulder frieze, *passant* sphinxes with polos on the lip.

Date : LG IIa

Workshop : Argive
Bibliography: Unpublished
Cf. J. Carter, *oc*, 49 n. 145
Courbin, *CGA*, 155, 416, 426 n. 6, 484
Coldstream, *GGP*, 143

No. 20

Pithos, fr. (pl. 37a)
From Crete, Knossos (Royal Road)
Knossos, Stratigraphical Museum 1205

Description : Small fragment from the shoulder of the vase.
Helmeted sphinx with *equine* legs and tail
passant to right. Face, tip of the wing, fore-
legs and lower hind legs missing.

Date : LG
Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: Coldstream, *GG*, 285 fig. 92b
idem, *BSA* 67 (1972), 88 no. 14 pl. 24, 14

No. 21

Pithos, fr. (pl. 37b)
From Crete, Knossos (Royal Road)
Knossos, Stratigraphical Museum 1199

Description : Small sherd with hind part of a sphinx of the
same type as the last.

Date : LG
Workshop : Cretan. By the same hand as the last.
Bibliography: Coldstream, *oc*, 88 no. 15 pl. 24, 15

CLAY RELIEFS

No. 22

Stand, fr. (pl. 34)

From Miletos (Geometric oval shrine underneath the temple
of Athena)

Izmir, Archaeological Museum

Description : Fragment from the foot of a conical stand.
Stamped decoration consisting of a mask, a
goose and a helmeted sphinx *couchant*, repeated
in a frieze.

Date : Middle eighth century

Workshop : East Greek

Bibliography: P. Hommel, *Ist Mitt* 9-10 (1959-60), 56 pl. 56
Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 222
J. Boardman, *BSA* 62 (1967), 60 n. 7

BRONZE RELIEFS

- No. 23 Quiver (pl. 24)
From Crete, Fortetsa
Herakleion Museum 2314
- Description : Decoration in friezes alternating with large
 panels. Lion fighter in the panels, helmeted
 passant sphinxes in the friezes.
- Date : Early eighth century
- Workshop : Cretan. By the Knossian Workshop
- Bibliography: Brock, *Fortetsa*, 135 no. 1569, 198-9 pl. 169
 Canciani, *Bronzi*, 187 no. 98 (with the previous
 bibliography)
 J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 94 (1974), 244
 idem, *GG*, 100
- No. 24 Sheet, frs. (pl. 25)
From Crete, Kavousi
Lost — Formerly Herakleion Museum 1570
- Description : Decoration in friezes flanked by panels with
 figured scenes. In one of the panels, pair of
 antithetical helmeted sphinxes *passant regardant*.
 A file of helmeted *passant* sphinxes in a frieze,
 and similar sphinxes *passant regardant* in
 another frieze.
- Date : Middle eighth century
- Workshop : Cretan. By the Knossian Workshop
- Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 180, n. 11, 218 fig. 31 pl. 56e
 J. Boardman, *Cret. Chron* 23 (1971), 5ff.
 Dessenne, 199 pl. 30, 6a
 Canciani, *Bronzi*, 174-175 no. 92 with the
 previous bibliography
 N.B. Reed, *Hesp* 45 (1976) 375 no. 1
 Coldstream, *GG*, 285 fig. 92a
- No. 25 Protome shield (pl. 27)
From Crete, Idaean Cave

Herakleion Museum 8

Description : An eagle protome at the centre of the shield.
Two confronted snakes spread on the shield.
A large helmeted sphinx *passant* at the lower part of the shield.

Date : Middle eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 179 fig. 28 no. 1 pl. 1, 2 and 27
Canciani, *Bronzi*, 20 no. 1, with the previous bibliography
Kyrieleis, *Gnomon* 44 (1972), 705

No. 26 Protome shield (pl. 31)

From Crete, Idaean Cave

Herakleion Museum 4

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes on the lower part, two lions on either side of a nude goddess on the upper part of the shield.

Date : Middle eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, no. 2 pl. 3 and 5
Canciani, *Bronzi*, 20 no. 2
Kyrieleis, *oc*, 707 n. 1

No. 27 Protome shield

From Crete, Idaean Cave

Herakleion Museum 3

Description : Lion protome on the centre, pair of antithetical sphinxes on the lower part, two confronted lions on the upper part of the shield.

Date : Middle eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 7 no. 4 pl. 6
Canciani, *Bronzi*, 21 no. 4, with the previous bibliography
Kyrieleis, *oc*, 705

No. 28

Protome shield (pl. 30a)

From Crete, Idaean Cave

Herakleion Museum 6

Description : The central animal protome missing. Pair of antithetical sphinxes on the lower part of the shield, two sphinxes *sejant* on either side of a nude goddess on the upper part of the shield.

Date : Second half of the eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 7 no. 5 pls 7, 8, 9
Canciani, *Bronzi*, 21 no. 5 (with the previous bibliography)

No. 29

Protome shield, fr. (pl. 29a)

From Crete, Idaean Cave

Athens, NM 11763

Description : Fragment from the lower part of the shield with part of the leg of the central protome and the forepart of two *bearded* helmeted sphinxes on either side of a scorpion.

Date : Second half of the eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, no. 18 pl. 30
Canziani, *Bronzi*, 23 no. 18 (with the previous bibliography)
Kyrieleis, *oc*, 706.

No. 30

Protome shield, fr. (pl. 30b)

From Crete, Idaean Cave

Kerakleion Museum

Description : Small fragment with the foreparts of a *reclining* (?) sphinx

Date : Second half of the eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 17 no. 19 pl. 31
Canciani, *Bronzi*, 23 no. 19 (with the previous bibliography)

- No. 31 Protome shield, fr. (pl. 32)
From Crete, Idaean Cave
Herakleion Museum 1146
- Description : Fragment from the lower part of the shield
 with pair of antithetical sphinxes.
- Date : Late eighth century
- Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop
- Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 17 no. 20 pl. 30
 Canciani, *Bronzi*, 23 no. 20 (with previous
 bibliography)
- No. 32 Protome shield, fr. (pl.29 b)
From Crete, Idaean Cave
Athens, NM 11762/11
- Description : Small fragment with the foreparts of a
 pair of antithetical sphinxes.
- Date : Late eighth century
- Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop
- Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 17 no. 21 pl. 31
 Canciani, *Bronzi*, 23 no. 21 (with previous
 bibliography)
- No. 33 Protome shield, fr. (pl. 33)
From Crete, Palaikastro
Herakleion Museum 1304
- Description : Two confronted lions on the upper part, pair
 of antithetical sphinxes on the lower part of
 the shield.
- Date : Early seventh century
- Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop
- Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, no. 8 pl. 23
 Canciani, *Bronzi*, 22 no. 8 (with previous
 bibliography)
- No. 34 Omphalos shield
From Crete, Palaikastro
Herakleion Museum 1306

Description : Two friezes around the central omphalos.
Grazing deer and a female protome in the
outer frieze. A small sphinx *sejant* among
various seated animals in the inner frieze.

Date : Second half of the eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Knossian Workshop

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, no. 40
S. Benton, *BSA* 40 (1939-40), 53 no. 13 pl. 24
Canciani, *Bronzi*, 25 no. 40 (with previous
bibliography).

No. 35

Four-sided stand, fr. (pl. 38)
From Crete, Idaean Cave
Herakleion Museum

Description : Fragments from one side of the stand showing a
ship in the upper register and a pair of anti-
thetical *passant* sphinxes with equine body in
the lower register. One of the sphinxes missing.
The scene is supplemented by archers and various
animals.

Date : Last quarter of the eighth century

Workshop : Cretan

Bibliography: G. Karo, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8
(1905), 62 ff fig. 1-9
P. Amandry, *BCH* 68-69 (1944-45), 58-59 n. 1
Boardman, *CCO*, 132-133 fig. 49,A
Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework*, 222 ff
Cl. Rolley, *Rev. Arch.* (1975), 155

No. 36

Omphalos shield, frs. (pl. 26b)
From Delphi, Geometric deposit at Sacred Road
Delphi Museum 6948

Description : Fragment with a frieze, in which there are
four helmeted sphinxes *passant* to left.

Date : Second half of the eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. The Knossian Workshop

Bibliography: P. Amandry, *BCH* 68-69 (1944-45), 45 ff.
figs. 8-9, pl. 3, 1

Canciani, *Bronzi*, 176, 187 no. 96 (with the previous bibliography)

J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 94 (1974), 244

Ker, 6, 2, 242

No. 37 Protome shield (pl. 28)

From Delphi

Délphi Museum 7177

Description : Head of the feline protome missing. Grazing animals in the upper half of the shield, pair of antithetical sphinxes in the lower half of the shield.

Date : Second half of the eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Idaean Workshop

Bibliography: *BCH* 74 (1950), 328 pl. 38, 2

BCH 75 (1951), 140 fig. 37

Kunze, *Ol. Bericht* 5, 40 no. 12

Boardman, *CCO*, 156

Canciani, *Bronzi*, 48 n. 88

Kyrieleis, *oc*, 705

GOLD RELIEFS

- No. 38 Ornament (pl. 26a)
From Crete, Praisos (grave 28)
Herakleion Museum 76

Description : Small sheet cut out in the form of a sphinx
passant. Head missing.

Date : Middle eighth century

Workshop : Cretan. By the Knossian Workshop

Bibliography: F.H. Marshall, *BSA* 12 (1905-6), 64 fig. 1
Rosenberg, *Granulation*, 31 figs. 47, 48
Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, 46 no. 48
Boardman, *CCO*, 137, n. 4
idem, *BSA* 62 (1967), 61
Coldstream, *GG*, 281 n. 36

No. 39 Sheet (pl. 36b)
From Eleusis
Athens, NM 3637

Description : Decoration in friezes with grazing animals,
lion fighters and linear motifs. In one of
these friezes, a *wingless* helmeted sphinx
sejant to right squeezed between two groups
of lion fighters.

Date : LG Ia (760-750)

Workshop : Attic (Ohly's group II)

Bibliography: Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 22 ff. A7 fig. 7 pls. 3,
15.2, 16
Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, no. 4
Schweitzer, *GGA*, pl. 229

No. 40 Band
From Athens
Athens, NM 2601

Description : From the same matrix as the frieze with the
sphinx on no. 39

Date : LG Ia (760-750)

Workshop : Attic (Ohly's group II)
Bibliography: Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 29ff A9 fig. 9, pl. 5,1
Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, no. 7

No. 41

Band
From Athens
London, British Museum 1219
Description : As the last
Date : LGIa (760-750)
Workshop : Attic (Ohly's group II)
Bibliography: Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 30 A10 fig. 10 pl. 5,2
Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, no. 8

No. 42

Band
From Athens
Copenhagen, NM 720
Description : As the last
Date : LGIa (760-750)
Workshop : Attic (Ohly's group II)
Bibliography: Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 30ff A11 fig. 11 pls, 4.
2, 8.1
Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, no. 6
J. Carter, *BSA* 67 (1972), pl. 7,8.

No. 43

Band
Unknown provenance
Basel, market/N. York, André Emmerich Gallery
Description : Electrum band from the same matrix as the
last.
Date : LGIa (760-750)
Workshop : Attic (Ohly's group II)
Bibliography: *Mün. Med.*, Kunstwerke der Antike, Auktion 22,
13.5. 1961 no. 204
Early Art in Greece, Catalogue of the Exhibition
held at the André Emmerich Gallery, New York,
May-June 1965, 37 no. 107

No. 44

Band

From Athens, Kriezi Street (grave 26)

Athens, 'Eforia

Description : Electrum band from the same matrix as the last

Date : LGIa (760-750)

Workshop : Attic (Ohly's group II)

Bibliography: *Arch. Delt* 22 (1967) B1, 95 pl. 87b
Coldstream, *GG*, 123 n. 39

No. 45

Band (pl. 36a)

From Athens

Berlin, Charlottenburg G1 308

Description : Frieze of grazing animals interrupted at some point by two metopes, each with a *wingless* helmeted sphinx of the same type as the last

Date : LGIb (750-740)

Workshop : Attic (Ohly's group III)

Bibliography: Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, no. 10 pls. 2-3
Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 34 A17 fig. 18, pls. 9, 4 and 11, 1
Greifenhagen, *Schmucharbeiten*, 20 no. 5, pl. 3, 5
Ker, 6, 2, 89
J. Carter, *oc*, 41
Coldstream, *GG*, 124 n. 45

IVORY SEALS

No. 46

Lion seal

From Ithaca, Aetos

Ithaca, Vathy Museum

Description : On the rectangular base of a recumbent lion,
sphinx *passant*

Date : Late eighth century

Workshop : East Greek

Bibliography: S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 346, C57 pl. 68
J. Boardman, *IGems*, 154 no. 2
B. Freyer- Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus den
samischen Heraion*, (1966), 47

No. 47

Lion seal

From Chios, Emporio

Chios Museum

Description : On the rectangular base of a recumbent lion, sphinx *passant* and a tree.

Date : Late eighth century

Workshop : East Greek

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 154 no. 5 pl. 20e
idem, *Greek Emporio*, (1967), 237 no. 534, fig.
160, pl. 95
B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *oc*, 47

No. 48

Lion seal (pl. 35)

From Chios, Kato Phana

Chios Museum

Description : On the rectangular base of a recumbent lion,
sphinx *passant* besides a human figure

Date : Late eighth century

Workshop : East Greek

Bibliography: W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934-35), 153 pl. 33,3
Stubbings, *Per*, 2, 55
J. Boardman, *IGems*, 154 no. 4
idem, *Greek Gems*, 118 fig. 173
B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *oc*, 47

No. 48a

Lion seal

From Paros, Delion

Paros Museum

Description : On the rectangular base of a recumbent lion,
sphinx *passant* between two trees

Date : Late eighth century

Workshop : East Greek

Bibliography: O. Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros* (1962),
75 no. 24

J. Boardman, *IGems*, 154

ORIENTALIZING

VASE-PAINTING

PROTOATTIC

- No. 49 High-standed bowl (pl. 43)
From Athens, Kerameikos (grave 98)
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 302.
- Description : Sphinx *passant* with raised forepaw, repeated
 in two panels on the rim of the bowl.
- Date : EPA
- Workshop : By the Early Analatos Painter (Brann)
- Bibliography: Ker., 5, I, 177 n. 171, 271 pl. 126
 Brann, *AJA* 60 (1956), 74
 Hampe, *Grabfund*, 77
 Davison, 149 no. 5 fig. 63
 Coldstream, *GGP*, 111
 Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963), 68
 Ker., 6, 2, 588 no. 123
- No. 50 High-standed bowl, fr. (pl. 44a)
From Eleusis
Eleusis Museum 1089
- Description : Fragment from the rim and shoulder of the
 bowl. Headless sphinx *passant* to left in a
 panel on the rim. Grazing deer on the
 shoulder.
- Date : EPA
- Workshop : By the Analatos Painter (Cook)
- Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 172, 178, 205 pl. 40a.
 Matz, *GCK*, I, 291 pl. 192a.
 Hampe, *Grabfund*, 30, 78.
 Ker., 6, 2, 615 no. 269
 Cook , *Mélanges Varagnac*, 170 fig. 4.
- *No. 51 High-standed bowl
Unknown provenance

Athens, Vlastos Collection

Description : As the last (cf. Hampe, *Grabfund*, 30)

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Analatos Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: Unpublished

cf. Cook, *BSA* 42, 142 n. 3.

Hampe, *Grabfund*, 30.

No. 52

Krater, fr.

From Athens, Themistocleian wall

Athens, NM

Description : Fragment from the shoulder of the vase. In a panel, sphinx *passant* to right. Head and hind legs missing.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Analatos Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: F. Noak, *AM* 32 (1907), 561 pl. 35.2

Ker., 6, 2, 628 no. 327

No. 53

Neck-amphora (pl. 45)

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre CA 2985

Description : Decoration in friezes. In the upper frieze on the neck, two sphinxes *passant* to left.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Analatos Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: Audiat, *Mon. Piot* 36 (1938), 27 ff pl. II

Matz, *GGK*, I, 292 pl. 193

Cook, *BSA* 35, 173, n. 3, 205

Hampe, *Grabfund*, 31, 78

Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963), 72 suppl. pl. 35.3

Ker., 6, 2, 611 no. 244

Cook, *Mélanges Varagnac*, 168 fig. 1.

No. 54

Amphora, fr. (pl. 46b)

From Athens, Agora

Athens, Agora Museum P. 13269

Description : Small fragment from neck with a sphinx
passant to left. Hind part of the sphinx's
body missing.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Analatos Painter (Brann)

Bibliography: *Agora*, 8, 92 no. 535 pl. 33

Ker, 6, 2, 636 no. 374

No. 55

Stand (pl. 46a)

Unknown provenance

Mainz, University Museum

Description : Four panels in the lower register of the
stand, each with a sphinx *sejant erect* to
right.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Analatos Painter (Hampe)

Bibliography: *CVA*, Mainz I, 21 pls. 14-20, 22, 23

Hampe, *Grabfund*, pls. 2, 4, 6, 8-13, 26

Ker, 6, 2, 619 no. 286

Cook, *Mélanges Varagnac*, 173 fig. 6.

No. 55a

Stand, frs.

From Aegina

Mainz, University Museum 156

Description : Four small sherds. On one of them, hind
legs of a sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Analatos Painter (Hampe)

Bibliography: Hampe, *Grabfund*, 31 pl. 21; 24, 9

No. 56

Krater, fr. (pl. 47a)

From Athens

Lost, formerly in Athens

Description : Small sherd from the shoulder of the vase
with sphinxes *passant* to right.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Mesogeia Painter (Cook)
Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 176 n. 3 fig. 2
Verdelis, *BCH* 75 (1951), 20 fig. 13
Ker, 6, 2, 603, no. 206

No. 57

Krater, fr. (pl. 47b)

From Athens, Agora

Athens, Agora Museum P. 36,831

Description : Shoulder fragment with wing and hindquarters
of a sphinx *passant* to left.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Mesogeia Painter (Brann)

Bibliography: *Agora*, 8, 78 no. 420 pl. 26

Ker, 6, 2, 604 no. 212

No. 58

Hyrdria (pl. 48a)

From Athens

Berlin, Pergamon Museum 31312

Description : In the frieze between the handles on the body
of the vase, two *passant* sphinxes followed by
a male human figure.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Mesogeia Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 176 pl. 43

CVA, Berlin I, pl. 40, 42, 1.2

Davison, 52 fig. 64

Ker, 6, 2, 599 no. 186

No. 59

Hydria (pl. 48b)

From Kalyvia Kouvara

Athens, Vlastos Collection

Description : In a frieze on the neck, four sphinxes *passant*
to right.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Mesogeia Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 177 pl. 44

Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963), 71 suppl. pl. 34, 1.4

Ker, 6, 2, 598 no. 185

fenestrated foot, a *bearded* sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : EPA

Workshop : Near the Mesogeia Painter

Bibliography: *Ker*, 5, 1, 35

Ker, 6, 2, 482 no. 76 pls. 72, 73 fig. 55a

No. 64

Krater, fr. (pl. 148a)

Anavyssos

Athens, Vlastos Collection

Description : Sphinx with *bovine* legs *passant* to right.

Date : MPA

Workshop : Cook, *BSA* 35, 188, 190 pl. 51.c

Ker, 6, 2, 648

Brann, *Agora*, 8, 79 under no. 422

I.M. Cook, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 822

No. 65

High-standed bowl (pl. 52a)

Unknown provenance

London, British Museum 1910. 6-16.2

Description : In a panel on the rim, a pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* with forepaw raised towards a central floral ornament.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Vulture Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 42, 139-140 fig. 1.

Davison, 53, 150 fig. 67.

Ker, 6, 2, 616 no. 272

No. 66

High-standed bowl (pl. 53)

From Attica

Paris, Louvre CA 1838

Description : In a panel on the lower register of the fenestrated foot, sphinx *sejant* with raised forepaw.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Vulture Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 42, 140 fig. 2b
Davison, 53
Brokaw, *AM* 78 (1963), 69 pl. 32,4
Ker, 6, 2, 617 no. 275
CVA, Louvre 16, 29 pl. 44

No. 67 Amphora (pl. 52b)
From Athens, Trachones
Athens, Geroulanos Collection

Description : In a panel on the neck, a sphinx *sejant* with
raised forepaw.

Date : EPA
Workshop : By the Vulture Painter (Geroulanos)
Bibliography: J.M. Geroulanos, *AM* 88 (1973), 30 pl. 19,2,
52,2

No. 68 Sherd (pl. 54a)
Unknown provenance
England, Private Collection

Description : Fragment from the shoulder of an amphora or
hydria with two sphinxes *passant* to right.
Forepart of one of the sphinxes missing.

Date : EPA
Workshop : By the N-Painter (Hampe)
Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 185 pl. 49.c
Hampe, *Grabfund*, 38 fig. 23
Ker., 6, 2, 623 no. 301

No. 69 Sherd (pl. 54b)
Unknown provenance
Mainz, University Museum 159

Description : Small fragment with a sphinx *passant* to right.
Face, wing-tip and legs missing.

Date : EPA
Workshop : By the N-Painter (Hampe)
Bibliography: Hampe, *Grabfund*, 29, 90 fig. 15.a
CVA, Mainz I, pl. 26, 13
Ker, 6,2, 623 no. 304

- No. 70 Trefoil oenochoe, fr. (pl. 142b)
From Athens, Agora
Athens, Agora Museum P. 16993
- Description : Neck fragment with a panel, in which there is
 a *bearded* and helmeted sphinx with two human
 arms *passant* to right.
- Date : EPA
- Workshop : By the Passas Painter (Brann)
- Bibliography: R. Young, *Hesp* 20 (1951), pl. 37
 Agora, 8, 80 no. 432 pl. 26
 Ker, 6, 2, 614 no. 263
- No. 71 Stand (pl. 56a)
Unknown provenance
Mainz, University Museum (Stand of lebes B)
- Description : In the upper frieze, sphinxes with volute
 sejant to right.
- Date : EPA
- Workshop : By the Passas Painter (Hampe)
- Bibliography: Hampe, *Grabfund*, 21 pl. 3, 5, 7, 14-20, 27
 CVA, Mainz, I, 18 pl. 8-13
 Ker, 6,2, 619 no. 287
- No. 72 Lekane lid (pl. 55a)
From Athens, Kerameikos
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1151
- Description : In a frieze, a warrior with spears and a file
 of *passant* sphinxes with tail hanging between
 hind legs and ending in a palmette. Each sphinx
 is shown placing a forepaw on the root of the
 tail of the sphinx in front. Tail hanging
 between hind legs and terminating in a palmette.
- Date : EPA
- Workshop : By the Palmette-tail Painter
- Bibliography: *Ker*, 6, 2, 426 no. 2 pl. 5

No. 72a.

Sherd

From Brauvrona

Brauvrona Museum

Description : Hind part of sphinx (?) of the same type as the last.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Palmette-tail Painter

Bibliography: L. Kahil, *Ant. K.*, Suppl. 1 (1963), pl. 1,1

No. 73

Kotyle (pl. 55b)

From Athens, Kerameikos

Description : Decoration in friezes. In the larger frieze on the body of the vase, a pair of antithetical *passant* sphinxes each raising a forepaw towards a central palmette.

Date : EPA

Workshop : By the Palmette-tail Painter

Bibliography: *Ker*, 6, 2, 419 no. 5, fig. 47 pl. 6

No. 74

Hydria, fr.

From Aegina

Berlin, Pergamon Museum, A3

Description : In a panel in the zone between the handles,
a sphinx *passant* with raised forepaw.

Date : EPA

Bibliography: CVA, Berlin 1, 11, no. 3 pls. 2, 3, 4

Ker, 6, 2, 625 no. 311

No. 75

Oenochoe (pl. 59)

From Athens, Kerameikos

Athens, Kerameikos Museum 81

Description : In a large frieze on the body of the vase, a sphinx and a panther confronted on either side of a floral ornament. The sphinx is shown *couchant* raising one foreleg (which is treated as a human arm) towards the central floral ornament.

Date : EPA
Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 191 n. 2
Matz, *GGK*, I, 296 pl. 198-199
Ker, 6, 2, 509 no. 122 pl. 1-2

No. 76 Oenochoe (pl. 142a)

From Phaleron

Munich, Antiquarium, 1352 (J.321)

Description : In a panel on the neck, a sphinx *passant* with
a raised human arm.

Date : EPA

Workshop : "Phaleron workshop"

Bibliography: *JdI*, 22 (1907), 100 fig. 24
Cook, *BSA* 35, 181, 182, 185
CVA, München 3, pl. 134, 1-3
Hampe, *Grabfund*, 66 ff, 85 figs. 44-45
Ker, 5, 1, 155, 156
Ker, 6, 2, 626 no. 319

No. 77 Oenochoe (pl. 60)

Unknown provenance

Basel, market

Description : In a panel on the neck, a pair of antithetical
sphinxes with volute *rampant* on either side of
a floral ornament.

Date : EPA

Workshop : "Phaleron workshop"

Bibliography: H. Cahn, *Mü. u. Med.*, Kunstwerke der Antike,
Auktion 51, 1975 pl. 14 no. 9

No. 78 Lid handle of a large amphora or krater (pl. 58a)

From Athens, Agora

Athens, Agora Museum P. 1423

Description : Decoration in zones with alternating pairs of
antithetical horses and *passant* sphinxes with
raised forepaw.

Date : EPA/MPA

Workshop : Tradition of the Mesogeia Painter (Brann)
Bibliography: D. Burr, *Hesp* 2 (1933), 263 fig. 89
Cook, *BSA* 35, 193, 217
Agora, 8, 80 no. 439 pl. 26
Ker, 6, 2, 628 no. 331

No. 79

Mug (pl. 148b)

From Athens, Kerameikos

Athens, Kerameikos Museum 80

Description : The mug is decorated with a procession of women dressed in elaborate garments. On the skirt of one of these women is a miniature *hooved* sphinx painted in silhouette and shown *sejant erect* to left.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Painter of the Kerameikos Mug Group (Brann)

Bibliography: *Ker*, 6, 2, 430 no. 21 pls. 14-15
Cook, *BSA* 35, 189, 191, 201
E. Brann, *Hesp* 30 (1961), 308 n. 9

No. 80

Krater (Pl. 57)

From Athens, Piraeus Street

Athens, NM A.801

Description : Decoration in three large friezes. In the upper frieze, on the rim of the krater, sphinxes *passant* to right.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Ram Jug Painter (Eilmann)

Bibliography: Eilmann, *CVA*, Berlin I, 7 no. 1
Cook, *BSA* 35, 193 n. 8; 194 fig. 9
S. Karouzou, *AE*, 1952, 149 ff pl.5, 7
Ker, 6, 2, 242; 645

No. 81

Sherd (pl. 58c)

From Athens, Agora

Athens, Agora Museum P.20233

Description : Small sherd with part of a sphinx *sejant erect* to left. Legs and face missing.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Ram Jug Painter (Brann)

Bibliography: *Agora*, 8, 92 no. 539 pl. 33

No. 82 Oenochoe, fr. (pl. 56b)
From Athens, Agora
Athens, Agora Museum P.4611

Description : Fragment from the body of the oenochoe with the foreparts of a pair of antithetical sphinxes.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Ram Jug Painter (Brann)

Bibliography: *Agora*, 8, 93 no. 543 pl. 33
Ker, 6, 2, 640

No. 83 Krater, fr. (pl. 82a)
From Aegina
Aegina Museum

Description : Head and wing of a sphinx with volute

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Ram Jug Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 189 n. 6
Gebaner, *CVA*, Berlin I, 7 no. 13
Kraiker, *Aigina*, 89 no. 582 pl. 43
Ker, 6, 2, 250 n. 345
Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 165 n. 3

No. 84 Stand (pl. 149)
From Aegina
Berlin, Pergamon Museum A.42 (Menelas vase)

Description : Decoration in friezes. In the frieze on the torus of the vase, *hooved* sphinxes *couchant* to right.

Date : MPA

Workshop : By the Polyphemos Painter (Mylonas)

Bibliography: Cook, *BSA* 35, 189 n. 7

Date : MPA
Bibliography: AA 48 (1933), 269 fig. 9
Ker, 6, 2, 462 fig. 53 no. 52 pl. 43

No. 89 Bowl
From Athens, Kerameikos
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 56
Description : In the upper frieze on each side of the bowl,
pair of antithetical *passant* sphinxes.
Date : MPA
Bibliography: Ker, 6, 2, 479 no. 71 pl. 65

No. 90 Oenochoe, fr. (pl. 63)
From Athens, Kerameikos
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 140
Description : Lower part of the body of an oenochoe, with
pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes with a
human arm raised towards a central human
figure.
Date : MPA
Bibliography: Hampe, *Grabfund*, 64, 84
Ker, 6, 2, 459 no. 50, 460 fig. 51 and colour
plate (frontispiece)

No. 91 Kotyle (pl. 62)
From Athens, Kerameikos
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 139
Description : Decoration in friezes. In the upper frieze
on both sides of the vase pairs of antithetical
passant sphinxes.
Date : MPA
Bibliography: Ker, 6, 2, 466 no. 56 pl. 58

No. 92 Amphora, fr.
From Athens, Agora
Athens, Agora Museum P6481

Description : In a panel on the neck, sphinx *sejant erect*
to right. Head missing.

Date : MPA

Bibliography: *Agora*, 8, 94 no. 557
Ker, 6, 2, 250 3, 344, 640

No. 93 Hydria, fr
From Athens, Piraeus Street
Athens, Γ'Eforia

Description : Neck of the vase missing. In the central
body frieze three *couchant* sphinxes to right.

Date : MPA

Bibliography: *Arch. Delt* 17 (1961-62) pl. 25

No. 94 Hydria - loutroforos
From Vari
Athens, Γ'Eforia

Description: "Sphinx" (Kallipolitis)

Date : MPA

Bibliography: G. Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963), 715
Kallipolitis, *Arch. Delt* 18 (1963), 122

No. 95 Skyphos - Krater (pl. 64)
From Athens, Kerameikos
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 801

Description : In the upper frieze on the front side of the
krater, one of a pair of antithetical *couchant*
sphinxes.

Date : LPA (Earliest bf)

Workshop : By the Painter of Berlin A.34 (Gebauer)

Bibliography: *ABV*, 1, 2
AA. 1936, 194 fig. 9. 10
Cook, *BSA* 35, 199
Ker, 6, 2, 505 no. 115 pls. 87-88

No. 96 Amphora, frs.
From Aegina

Aegina Museum 565

Description : Fragment from the shoulder of the vase, with
pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes with polos.

Date : LPA (Earliest bf)

Workshop : By the Chimaera Painter (Beazley)

Bibliography: *ABV*, 3, 1
Kraiker, *Aegina*, 87 no. 565 pl. 45

No. 97 Stand (pl. 65)

From Vari

Athens, NM 16382

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes

Date : LPA (Earliest bf)

Workshop : By the Chimaera Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: *ABV*, 3,4
Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 5 ff pls. 1-11

No. 98 Stand

From Vari

Athens, NM 16383

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes

Date : LPA (Earliest bf)

Workshop : By the Chimaera Painter (Cook)

Bibliography: *Par*, 3, 12
Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 9 ff pls. 12-20

No. 99 Amphora (pl. 66)

From Athens, Agora

Athens, Agora Museum 1247

Description : On the front side of the vase, sphinx *demi-*
couchant to right.

Date : LPA (Earliest bf)

Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Beazley)

Bibliography: *ABV*, 5, 2
Par, 2, 4

- No. 100 Skyphos-krater, fr.
From Athens, Kerameikos
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1365
Description : Part of head and wing of a sphinx facing left.
Date : LPA (Earliest bf)
Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Beazley)
Bibliography: *ABV*, 7, b
 Par, 6, 2
- No. 101 Amphora
From Eleusis
Eleusis Museum Z.21
Description : On the body of the vase, sphinx *demi-couchant*
 to right.
Date : LPA (Earliest bf)
Workshop : By the Chimaera Painter (Mylonas)
Bibliography: *Par*, 2, 3
 ILN, 13 Nov. 1954, 843
 G. Mylonas, *Hommages à W. Deonna*, (1957), 357
 pl. 47
- No. 102 Stand, frs
From Athens, Olympieion
Athens, Γ'Εforia
Description : Several small fragments from the stand. On one
 of them, head and wing of sphinx.
Date : LPA (Earliest bf)
Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Brann)
Bibliography: *Par*, 3, 14
 E. Brann, *Hesp* 28 (1959), 252 pl. 44, 2
- No. 103 Lekanis, fr.
From Vari
Athens, NM 16.363
Description : Pair of antithetical *couchant* sphinxes
Date : LPA (Earliest bf)

Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Karouzou)
Bibliography: *Par*, 4, 22
Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 22 pl. 50

No. 104 Lekanis, fr.
From Vari
Athens, NM 16416e
Description : Small fragment with hind part of a sphinx
sejant.
Date : LPA
Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Karouzou)
Bibliography: *Par*, 4, 24
Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 35 fig. 30

No. 105 Fragment
Unknown provenance
Paris, Louvre
Description : "Sphinx" (Beazley)
Date : LPA
Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Beazley)
Bibliography: *Par*, 4, 25

No. 106 Fragment
From Athens, the Acropolis
Athens, Acropolis Museum
Description : Head and wing of sphinx
Date : LPA
Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Beazley)
Bibliography: *Par*, 4, 26

No. 107 Louterion
From Aegina
Berlin, Pergamon Museum 16.82
Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
pair of antithetical *demi-couchant* sphinxes
Date : LPA
Workshop : By the Nessos Painter (Rumpf)
Bibliography: *ABV*, 5, 4

PROTOCOLCORINTHIAN

- No. 108 Globular aryballos, fr. (pl. 67)
From Ithaca, Aetos
Ithaca, Vathy Museum
- Description : In an animal frieze on the body of the vase,
 a sphinx with fillet and volute *sejant* to right.
 Most of the wing and the body missing.
- Date : EPC
- Workshop : "Between the outline aryballoi and the Cumae
 group" (Dunbabin - Robertson)
- Bibliography: M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 50 fig 35 pl. 13
 S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953), 263
 T.J. Dunbabin-M. Robertson, *BSA* 48 (1953), 174.
 Ker. 6, 2, 244 n. 313.
- No. 109 Krater (pl. 68)
From Aigion
Patras Museum
- Description : On each side, on the shoulder of the vase, two
 metopes flanking a meander panel. Side A:
 Sphinx *passant* with volute in each metope.
 Side B: sphinx *passant regardant* in one metope,
 a bird with displayed wings in the other.
- Date : MPC (1st bf style)
- Workshop : Thapsos Class Workshop
- Bibliography: Coldstream, *GGP*, 102
 N. Μηροζάνα-Κούρου, *ΣΤΗΛΗ*, τ. εἰς μνήμην
 Κοντολέοντος (1979), 303 ff. pls. 141-3
- No. 110 Ovoid aryballos
From Thebes
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G.146 (504)
- Description : In a frieze on the body of the vase Dioskouroi
 abducting Helen and a *hooved* sphinx passant to
 right.
- Date : MPC (1st bf style)
- Bibliography: *CVA*, Oxford 1 pl. 1,24
 Johansen, *VS*, pl. 20, 1

Per, 2, 55 n. 4

Payne, *NC*, 8 n. 1

No. 111 Kotyle, fr. (pl.69a)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *passant* to right, floral ornament and
foreleg of another antithetical sphinx.

Date : MPC (1st bf style)

Workshop : By the Painter of Perachora 391 (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 54 no. 391 pl. 20

No. 112 Conical oenochoe, fr. (pl. 70)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Two sherds. On one head, shoulders and wing
of a sphinx to left; on the other part of a
floral ornament and forepaw of a sphinx.

Date : MPC (1st bf style)

Workshop : By the Painter of Perachora 255 (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 57

Per, 2, 43 no. 255 pl. 15

No. 113 Ovoid aryballos, frs. (pl. 71)

From the Argive Heraion

Athens, NM

Description : Two sherds. On one sphinx *passant* to right
and part of a floral ornament. On the other
bull and hind part of a sphinx *passant* to left.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Boston Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: Waldstein, *AH* 2, pl. 65,3

Payne, *NC*, 10-11 fig. 5 pl. 4,6

Dunbabin - Robertson, *oc*, 178 no. 4

No. 114 Kotyle, fr. (pl.83a)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Several sherds. On one of them upper shoulders and head of a sphinx with volute.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Boston Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 57 no. 395 pl. 20

Dunbabin - Robertson, oc, 178 no. 1

No. 115 Conical oenochoe, fr.

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Small sherd with hind part of a sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Boston Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 44 no. 259 pl. 16

Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 178 no. 6

No. 116 Pyxis fr. (pl. 72b)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : In an animal frieze, pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes

Date : MPC (1st bf style)

Workshop : By the Boston Painter (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 107 no. 980 pl. 47

No. 117 Skyphos, fr.

From Ithaca, Aetos

Ithaca, Vathy Museum

Description : In an animal frieze, sphinx *sejant* with raised forepaw.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Boston Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 17 fig. 8, pl. 14, 32

Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 178 no. 3

- No. 118 Olpe
From Crete, Zapher Papoura
Herakleion Museum
- Description : In an animal frieze, pair of antithetical
 demi-couchant sphinxes
- Date : LPC
- Workshop : By the Boston Painter (Dunbabin)
- Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 42 pl. 8, 1-6
 JHS 47 (1927), 245
 Benson, *GKV*, 23 (23) no. 4
- No. 119 Kotype, fr. (pl. 74b)
From Perachora
Athens, NM
- Description : Forepart of a sphinx with raised forepaw.
- Date : MPC (2nd bf style)
- Workshop : Near the Boston Painter (Dunbabin)
- Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 57 no. 394 pl. 21
- No. 120 Broad oenochoe, fr. (pl. 83b)
From Samos
Samos Museum
- Description : On the body of the vase, a battle scene and
 head of a sphinx with volute.
- Date : MPC (2nd bf style)
- Workshop : Near the Boston Painter (Walter)
- Bibliography: H. Walter, *AM* 74 (1959), 60 ff. suppl. pl. 102
- No. 121 Ovoid aryballos (pl. 69 b-d)
From Corinth
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 95.13
- Description : In the animal frieze on the body of the vase,
 a pair of antithetical sphinxes *passant* on
 either side of a stylized ornament.
- Date : MPC (1st bf style)
- Workshop : By the Painter of Boston Centauromachy
 aryballos (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: Fairbanks, *Cat*, no. 396
Payne, *PV*, pl. 9,5
Buschor, *GV*, fig. 31
Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 96
Per, 2, 56 under no. 393

No. 122 Kotyle, fr.
 From Perachora
 Athens, NM

Description : Small sherd with head and wing tip of a sphinx
to right.

Date : MPC (1st bf style)

Workshop : By the Painter of the Boston Centauromachy
aryballos (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 56 no. 393 p1. 21

No. 123 Ovoid aryballos (pl. 75a)
From Syracuse
Syracuse Museum 54.656-B

Description : In an animal frieze on the body of the vase,
a sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : MPC (1st bf style)

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, p1. 21,3

No. 124 Ovoid aryballos (pl .73)
From Syracuse, Fusco grave 85
Syracuse Museum 54.659-B

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
a pair of antithetical *pouncing* sphinxes on
either side of a warrior.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Bibliography: Johnsen, *VS*, 96 no. 35 pl. 26
Payne, *NC*, 94 pl. 1

No. 125 Pyxis lid (pl.72a)
From Ephesos, Artemision
London, British Museum 1907, 12-1.790

Description : The lid is decorated with an animal frieze, showing a pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on either side of a cuirass.

Date : MPC (1st bf style)

Bibliography: Hogath, *The Archaic Artemisia of Ephesus*, (1908), 230 no. 30, fig. 5
M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 57

No. 126

Ovoid aryballos (pl .135)

From Cervetri

New York, Metropolitan Museum 18.91

Description : In the animal frieze on the body of the vase, a pair of antithetical *passant* sphinxes. The one on the right is shown bearded and wearing a double volute. The other on the left is bareheaded.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Aetos Painter (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: *BMMA* 14 (1919), 10 fig. 3
Per, 2, 77

No. 127

Ovoid aryballos (pl.134)

From Brindisi

Brindisi Museum 1609

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase, pair of antithetical sphinxes with volute *demi-couchant* on either side of a bird. The sphinx on the right is shown bearded.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Aetos Painter (Lo Porto)

Bibliography: Lo Porto, *Soc. M. Gr* (NS) 5 (1964) 121, fig. 3, pl. 27d
Ker, 6, 2, 250 n. 346; 248 n. 377

No. 128

Ovoid aryballos

From Taras

Taras Museum 4758

Description : Three animal friezes on the body of the vase.
A sphinx *passant* to right in the upper frieze,
a pair of antithetical *demi-couchant* sphinxes
in the lower frieze.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Aetos Painter (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, 97 n. 44

CVA, Taranto, 2, pl. 1, 4-6

Benson, *GKV*, 117 n. 359

Per, 2, 17 under no. 33

No. 129 Pyxis, fr. (pl. 76a)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
pair of antithetical *demi-couchant* sphinxes.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Aetos Painter (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2; 105 no. 943 pl. 41

Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 176 no. 11

No. 130 Cup, fr. (pl. 136)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
two *bearded demi-couchant* sphinxes followed
by a man with spear.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Aetos Painter (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 77 no. 673 pl. 30

No. 131 Pyxis lid, fr.

From Corinth

Corinth Museum CP 2295

Description : Small sherd with hind part of a sphinx *sejant*
to right.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : Near the Aetos Painter (Dunbabin)
Bibliography: T.J. Dunbabin, *JHS* 71 (1951), 65 pl. 28 g
Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 176 no. 3

No. 132

Sherd

From Syracuse, Athenaion

Syracuse Museum

Description : Forepart of a *demi-couchant* sphinx and hand of
a man with spear directed (?) towards the sphinx

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : Near the Aetos Painter (Dunbabin)

Bibliography: *Mon. Ant* 25 (1918), 550 fig. 137
Per, 2, 77 under no. 673

No. 133

Kotyle, fr. (pl. 80)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : In the main frieze round the body of the vase,
a dance of female figures and a sphinx *sejant*
raising one forepaw towards a seated female
figure.

Date : (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Telestrophos Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 58 no. 397 pl. 21
Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 176

No. 134

Kotyle, fr. (pl. 84a)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase, a
female human figure extending her arm towards
the chin of a sphinx *sejant*.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Round Dance Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 58 no. 398 pl. 21
Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 176 no. 3

No. 135 Oenochoe, fr.
From Aegina
Aegina Museum

Description : Small sherd with wing and tail of a sphinx
sejant to right.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Round Dance Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 176, no. 2

No. 136 Conical oenochoe, fr.
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Small sherd with head, wing and tail of a sphinx *sejant* to right.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Displayed Siren Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 39 no. 228 pl. 11
Dunbabin-Robertson, oc. 177 no. 3

No. 137 Kotyle (pl. 82b)
 From Aegina
 Aegina Museum 1376

Description : Chimaera and Bellerophon on one side, sphinx
sejant with volute on the other side of the
vase.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Aegina Bellerophon Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography:

- Johansen, *VS*, pl. 35,3
- Payne, *PV*, pl. 17
- Payne, *NC*, pl. 4, 1.2
- Matz, *GCK*, 1, 230 pl. 150b
- Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 253 pl. 18
- Benson, *GKV*, 18 no. 13, 1
- Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 177 no. 2

Workshop : By the Sacrifice Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 60 no. 408 pl. 21
Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 179 no. 21

No. 142

Ovoid aryballos

From Eretria

London, British Museum 94.7 - 18.2

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Sacrifice Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, pl. 27,2

Payne, *PV*, pl. 19,2

Payne, *NC*, 10, pl. 3

Benson, *GKV*, 17 no. 1

Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 179 no. 17

No. 143

Conical oenochoe, fr. (pl. 78a)

From Aetos, Ithaca

Ithaca Museum

Description : In the lower frieze on the body of the vase,
pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on either
side of a flying eagle.

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Sacrifice Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953), 323 no. 1023 pl. 21

Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 179 no. 5

No. 144

Oenochoe (pl.153a)

From Veii

Rome, Villa Guiglia (Chigi Vase)

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase, a
bottle and a double-bodied sphinx with volute.

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Mackmillan Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, 104 pl. 39

Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 179 no. 12

No. 145

Ovoid aryballos

From Thebes

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.10

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
Bellerophon attacking Chimaera and a pair of
antithetical *passant* sphinxes with polos.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Mackmillan Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: Johansen, VS, p1. 30, 2b

Matz, *GGK*, I, pl. 149, 6

Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 179 no. 2

No. 146

Ovoid aryballos (pl. 81)

From Taras

Taras Museum 4757

Description : In an animal frieze on the body of the vase,
sphinx *passant* with volute

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Mackmillan Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, 99 n. 56 pl. 35, 2

CVA, Taranto, 2, pl. 1, 1-3

Benson, *GKV*, 19 n. 15, 3a

Per. 2, 58 n. 7; 21 under no. 80

Lo Porto, *Ann* 21-22 (1959-60) 21 fig. 9a

Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 179 no. 8

No. 147

Ovoid aryballos

From Gela

Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1669

Description : In the lower frieze on the body of the vase,
a pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Mackmillan Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: A. Greifenhagen, AA 51 (1936), 345-346 no. 3
fig. 4

Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 179 no. 9

No. 148

Olpe, fr.

From Aegina

Aegina Museum 2062

Description : Small sherd with a man with spear between two
passant sphinxes

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : By the Mackmillan Painter

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 348 pl. 28

Payne, *NC*, Cat. 40

Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 179 no. 13

No. 149

Kotyle, fr.

From Aegina

Aegina Museum 1379

Description : Sphinx *passant* to right. Head, upper half of
the wing and hind part of the body missing.

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Mackmillan Painter (Kraiker)

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 295 pl. 19

Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 180

No. 150

Conical oenochoe, fr. (pl. 74a)

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Small sherd with a sphinx *passant*.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)

Workshop : Near the Mackmillan Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 38 no. 227 pl. 15

Payne, *PV*, pl. 24, 2

Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 180

No. 151

Ovoid aryballos

From Rhodes

Berlin, Pergamon Museum 3773

Description : The neck of the vase is elaborately decorated
with a lion's head and two female protomes
modelled plastically. A lion on the handle.
Painted decoration in friezes. A battle in

the upper frieze, chariot courses in the second, animals and four *pouncing* sphinxes in the third, running dogs in the lower frieze.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)
Workshop : Near the Mackmillan Painter
Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, 98 no. 52 pl. 32

No. 152

Krateriskos
From Samos, Heraion
Samos Museum

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase, centaur, animals, lion devouring a man and a sphinx *sejant* raising one forepaw towards a standing armed female figure with polos.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)
Bibliography: H. Walter, *AM* 74 (1952), 57 suppl. pls. 99,2 and 114,1
idem, *AuA* 9 (1960), 65, pl. 9,15
Herrmann, *Kessel*, 150 fig. 25

No. 153

Amphoriskos, fr. (pl. 75b)
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *passant* to right. Upper part of the head and one hind leg missing.

Date : MPC (2nd bf style)
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 127, no. 1301, pl. 38

No. 154

Conical oenochoe, fr.
From Ithaca, Aetos
Ithaca, Vathy Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical *bearded pouncing* sphinxes. Head of the sphinx on the right missing.

Date : LPC
Workshop : By the Confronted Griffins Painter (Anderson)
Bibliography: J. Anderson, *BSA* 48 (1953) 360 fig. 38

- No. 155 Conical oenochoe, fr. (pl. 137)
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : In the main scene on the body of the vase,
 pair of *bearded sejant* sphinxes with a low,
 flat polos.
Date : LPC
Workshop : By the Confronted Griffins Painter (Dunbabin-
 Robertson)
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 42 no. 240 pl. 14
 Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 181 no. 2
- No. 156 Pyxis lid, fr. (pl. 76b)
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : In an animal frieze a sphinx *sejant* to left.
 Forepart of the body missing.
Date : LPC
Workshop : By the Leiden Painter (Dunbabin)
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 116 no. 1125 pl. 48
- No. 157 Pointed aryballos, fr.
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : Small sherd with a sphinx *passant*
Date : LPC
Workshop : By the Torr Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 23 pl. 1, 92
 Dunbabin-Robertson, oc, 181 no. 2
- No. 158 Pointed aryballos
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
 pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.
Date : LPC
Workshop : By the Torr Painter (Dunbabin-Robertson)

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 24 pl. 1, 101
Dunbabin-Robertson, *oc*, 181 no.

No. 159

Olpe

From Syracuse (grave 184)

Syracuse Museum

Description : In one of the animal friezes on the body of the vase, a sphinx *sejant* to right.

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Painter of the Group of Vatican 69 (Benson)

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, pl. 45, 1
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 47, pl. 10,4
Benson, *GKV*, 22 (20) no. 4

No. 160

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Munich, Antiquarium

Description : In an animal frieze on the body of the vase, pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Painter of the Group of Vatican 69 (Benson)

Bibliography: Sieveking-Hackl, no. 246 fig. 24
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 157
Benson, *oc*, 22 (20) no. 6

No. 161

Aryballos

From Ithaca, Aetos

Ithaca, Vathy Museum

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase, pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Ithaca group (Benson)

Bibliography: M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 51 no. 255
fig. 36 pl. 14
Benson, *GKV*, 23 (24) no. 8

- No. 162 Ovoid aryballos
From Eleusis
Eleusis Museum
- Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes
- Date : LPC
- Workshop : By the Ithaca group (Benson)
- Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, no. 59 fig. 54
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 7
Benson, *GKV*, 23 (24) no. 1
- No. 163 Pointed aryballos
Unknown provenance
Brussels, Musees Royaux R207
- Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes
- Date : LPC
- Workshop : By the Ithaca group (Benson)
- Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, pl. 36, 3
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 4
Benson, *GKV*, 23 (24) no. 2
- No. 164 Pointed aryballos
From Thebes
Copenhagen, NM 4713
- Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes on
either side of a swan.
- Date : TR
- Workshop : By the Painter of the Theban Pointed
aryballos (Benson)
- Bibliography: *CVA*, Copenhagen 2, pl. 86, 1
Johansen, *VS*, pl. 43, 1
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 62
Benson, *GKV*, 24 (26) no. 1
- No. 165 Pointed aryballos
From Thebes
Berlin, Pergamon 3269

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on
either side of a snake.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Painter of the Theban pointed aryballos
(Benson)

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, pl. 43, 2
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 63
Benson, *GKV*, 24 (26) no. 2

No. 166 Alabastrum
From Kameiros
Copenhagen, NM 5185

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with polos
sejant on either side of a snake.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the painter of the Theban pointed
aryballos (Benson)

Bibliography: *CVA*, Copenhagen 2, pl. 86, 2
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 90, pl. 15, 1
Benson, *GKV*, 24 (26) no. 1a

No. 167 Olpe
From Kameiros
Berlin Charlottenburg, F1136

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on
either side of a swan

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Painter of Berlin 1136 (Benson)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 158 pl. 11, 2
idem, *PV*, pl. 31, 2
Benson, *GKV*, 25 (27) no. 1

No. 168 Aryballos
From Vulci
Berlin, Charlottenburg, F340

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes, *sejant* on
either side of a snake.

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Benson)
Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, pl. 43,3
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 58pl. 15, 2-3
Benson, *GKV*, 23 (25) no. 1

No. 169 Pointed aryballos
From Delphi
Delphi Museum

Description : In an animal frieze, sphinx *sejant* to left.
Date : TR
Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Benson)
Bibliography: *FdD*, 5, 152 no. 183 fig. 630, 630a
Johansen, *VS*, pl. 37, 2
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 57 pl. 12,2
Benson, *GKV*, 23 (25) no. 2

No. 170 Alabastron
Unknown provenance
Sydney, Nicholson Museum of Antiquities 51,05

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with polos
sejant on either side of an eagle
Date : TR
Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Benson)
Bibliography: J.L. Benson, *AJA* 60 (1956), 223 pl. 70, 14

No. 171 Alabastron
From Viterbo
Berlin 1019

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with polos
sejant on either side of a snake.
Date : TR
Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Benson)
Bibliography: Johnsen, *VS*, pl. 45, 5
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 88, pl. 12,6
Benson, *GKV*, 24 (25) no. 6

- No. 172 Alabastron
Unknown provenance
Basel, Private Collection

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with polos
 sejant on either side of an eagle.

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Benson)
Bibliography: J.L. Benson, *AJA* 60 (1956), 222 pl. 70, 15
- No. 173 Alabastron
From Thasos, Artemision
Thasos Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with polos
 sejant on either side of a snake.

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Daux)
Bibliography: G. Daux, *BCH* 84 (1960) 857 fig. 2
- No. 174 Alabastron
Unknown provenance
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.910

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with polos
 sejant on either side of a snake.

Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Benson)
Bibliography: Fairbanks, no. 449, pl. 44
 Payne, *NC*, Cat. 89, pl. 12,5
 Benson, *GKV*, 24 (25) no. 7
- No. 175 Alabastron, fr.
From Corinth
Corinth Museum CP-2319

Description : Small sherd with a sphinx *passant* wearing
 a polos.

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Snake Painter
Bibliography: *Corinth*, 7, 2 no. 13 pl. 3

No. 176

Oenochoe

From Syracuse, Achradina tomb 57

Syracuse Museum

Description : In an animal frieze, sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Snake Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 140, pl. 13,3
Benson, *GKV*, 24 (25) no. 9

No. 177

Alabastron

From Rhodes

Paris, Louvre A439

Description : In the upper frieze pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Painter of the Group of Sphinxes with tightly bound hair.

Bibliography: Johansen, *VS*, 102 no. 77, pl. 38,4
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 23
Benson, *GKV*, 22 (23) no. 1
CVA, Louvre 8, pl. 15,6

No. 178

Alabastron

From Bassae

Olympia Museum

Description : Sphinx *sejant* to right

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Painter of the Group of Sphinxes with tightly bound hair

Bibliography: K. Kourouniotis, *AE* 1910, 288 fig. 8
Johansen, *VS*, no. 74
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 19
Benson, *GKV*, 22 (23), no. 2

No. 179

Kotyle, fr.

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : A sphinx *demi-couchant* to left on the rim:
head and wing of a sphinx in a larger scale on
the lower frieze.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Painter of the Group of Sphinxes with
tightly bound hair.

Bibliography: Payne, *NC* , Cat, 188
Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 420 pl. 32
Benson, *GKV*, 23 (23) no. 3

No. 180

Kotyle

From Etruria

Turin, Archaeological Museum 3964

Description : In the upper animal frieze, pair of antithetical
sejant sphinxes.

Date : LPC

Workshop : By the Painter of the Group of Sphinxes with
tightly bound hair

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 145
Benson, *GKV*, 23 (23) no. 5
CVA, Torino 2, pl. 2

No. 181

Olpe

From Etruria

Rome, Vatican 73

Description : In one of the animal friezes on the body of
the vase, pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant*
on either side of a bird.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Albizzati, pl. 5, 73
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 146 pls. 11, 5 and 16, 3-5
Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 6.

No. 182

Olpe

From Etruria

Rome, Vatican 74

Description : In two of the animal friezes pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Albizzati, pl. 6, 74

Payne, *NC*, Cat, 147

Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 7

No. 183

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Frankfurt

Description : In the upper frieze, pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 144

Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 4

CVA, Frankfurt am Main 1, pl. 12

No. 184

Olpe (pl. 85c)

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre Camp. 10528

Description : In one of the animal friezes on the body of the vase, pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on either side of a bird.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter

Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 13, pl. 53, 3-4

No. 185

Olpe (pl. 85b)

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre Camp. 10529

Description : As the last.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter
Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 13, pl. 52,2

No. 186

Olpe (pl. 86c)

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre, Camp. 10531

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter

Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 13, pl. 57,2

No. 187

Olpe (pl. 86a)

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre, Camp. 11.317

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter

Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 13, pl. 55,2

No. 188

Oenochoe

From Italy

Paris, Louvre E.419

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 119 pl. 16,4

Benson, *GKV*, 26 (28) no. 23

CVA, Louvre 13, pl. 54

No. 189

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre E.427

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 152

Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 12
CVA, Louvre 13, pl. 61, 3-4

No. 190

Dinos, fr.
From Megara Hyblaea
Syracuse Museum

Description : Small sherd with a sphinx *sejant* to right.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter

Bibliography: *Megara Hyblaea*, 2, 51 pl. 33,4

No. 191

Oenochoe
From Etruria
Rome, Vatican 68

Description : In the upper animal frieze on the body of the vase, pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes on either side of a bird.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Albizzati, pl. 5
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 118
Benson, *GKV*, 26 (28) no. 24

No. 192

Olpe
From Etruria
Rome, Vatican 76

Description : Decoration in friezes. In one of them a sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : TR

Workshop : Near the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Albizzati, pl. 6
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 162
Benson, *GKV*, 26 (28) no. 1a

No. 193

Olpe
From Caere
Rome, Villa Giulia

Description : In the upper animal frieze pair of antithetical
sejant sphinxes

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 150

Mengarelli, *Studi Etruschi*, I (1927), pl. 28,1

Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 10

No. 194

Olpe

From Caere

Rome, Villa Giulia

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 151

Mengarelli, *oc*, pl. 28,2

Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 11

No. 195

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre Camp. 10475

Description : Decoration in friezes. In one of them pair of
antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on either side
of a swan.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 2

CVA, Louvre 13, pl. 58,3

No. 196

Olpe

Unknown, provenance

Paris, Louvre Camp. 10476

Description : In the upper animal frieze pair of antithetical
sphinxes *sejant* on either side of a goose.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 3
CVA, Louvre 13, pl. 60

No. 197

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre Camp. 10477

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 13, pl. 68, 3
Benson, *GKV*, 26 (28) no. 22

No. 198

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre E422

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 13
CVA, Louvre 13, pl. 64

No. 199

Olpe

From Caere

Paris, Louvre E 423

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Payne)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 166 pl. 12,1
Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 15

No. 200

Olpe

From Caere

Paris, Louvre E 424

Description : Decoration in friezes. In the lower frieze,
pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Payne)
Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat 167
Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 16

No. 201

Olpe

From Italy

Paris, Louvre E436

Description : As the last

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Pottier, pl. 41

Payne, *NC*, Cat. 763 pl. 25,6

Benson, *GKV*, 26 (28) no. 17

No. 202

Olpe

From Caere

Paris, Bibl. Nationale 4758

Description : In two of the animal friezes of the vase,
pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes flanking
a bird.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Payne)

Bibliography: *CVA*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1, pl. 8, 11-13

Payne, *NC*, Cat. 163

No. 203

Olpe

From Caere

Paris, Bibl. Nationale 4759

Description : In two of the animal friezes of the vase pair
of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes flanking a bird.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx painter (Payne)

Bibliography: *CVA*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1, pl. 9, 2-3

Payne, *NC*, Cat. 164

No. 204

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Leningrad, Ermitage 1395

Description : Decoration in friezes. In two of them pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on either side of a swan.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 149 pl. 11, 1
Benson, *GKV*, 25(28) 9

No. 205

Olpe

From Caere

Gotha

Description : Decoration in friezes. In two of them pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on either side of a swan.

Date : TR

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Benson)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 148 pl. 11, 4
Payne, *PV*, pl. 31, 5
Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 8

No. 206

Olpe, fr.

From Caere

Leipzig Museum T.308

Description : Two sherds. In one of them headless sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : EC

Workshop : By the Sphinx Painter (Payne)

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 165 pl. 12, 8-9
Benson, *GKV*, 25 (28) no. 14

No. 207

Alabastron (pl. 151 c)

Unknown provenance

London, British Museum 99.2.18.66

Description : *Double-bodied* sphinx with polos

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Painter of the Double-bodied Sphinx
(Benson)
Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 94, pl. 16, 14
Benson, *GKV*, 29 (32) no. 1

No. 208

Alabastron
From Italy
Paris, Louvre, E492

Description : Sphinx with displayed wings and polos *sejant*
to right.

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Painter of the Double-bodied Sphinx
(Benson)
Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 9, pls. 29, 11-13; 34,1
Payne, *NC*, Cat. 95, pls. 16, 13
Benson, *GKV*, 29 (32) no. 2

No. 209

Alabastron
Unknown provenance
Brussels, Musées Royaux R184

Description : As the last

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Painter of the Double-bodied sphinx
(Benson)
Bibliography: *CVA*, Brussels 1, pl. 2,9
Benson, *GKV*, 29 (32) no. 1a

No. 210

Olpe
Unknown provenance
Paris, Louvre E.418

Description : Decoration in friezes. In one of them pair
of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on either side
of a bull.

Date : TR
Workshop : By the Achradina Painter (Villard)

Bibliography: Benson, *GKV*, 44 no. 10a
CVA, Louvre 13, pls. 65, 2 and 67, 1-2

- No. 211 Sherd
 From Aegina
 Aegina Museum
- Description : Body and wing of a sphinx *passant* to right
 Date : LPC
 Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, 12 n. 4
 Kraiker, *Aigina*, 275 pl. 23
- No. 212 Sherd
 From Aegina
 Aegina Museum
- Description : Body and wing of a sphinx *sejant* to left.
 Date : LPC
 Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, 12 n. 4
 Kraiker, *Aigina*, 287 pl. 23
- No. 213 Sherd
 From Aegina
 Aegina Museum
- Description : Hind part of a sphinx *sejant* to left
 Date : LPC
 Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 330 pl. 25
- No. 214 Sherd
 From Aegina
 Aegina Museum
- Description : Hair, shoulders and wing of a sphinx
 Date : LPC
 Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 331, pl. 25
- No. 215 Sherd
 From Aegina
 Aegina Museum

Description : Wing and hindquarters of a sphinx *sejant*
followed by a centaur.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 343 pl. 28

No. 216

Sherd

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Head and wing of a sphinx to right

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 344 pl. 28

No. 217

Sherd (pl. 78b)

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Hair and wing of a sphinx to right.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 345 pl. 28

No. 218

Sherd

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Wing of a sphinx to left.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 352 pl. 28.

No. 219

Sherd

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Body and wing of a sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 353 pl. 28

No. 220

Sherd

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Front part of the body of a sphinx *passant*
to right.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 357 pl. 29

No. 221

Sherd

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Wing of a sphinx to right.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 368 pl. 29

No. 222

Sherd

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Front part of the body and wing of a sphinx
with polos *passant* to the right

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 369 pl. 29

No. 223

Oenochoe, fr.

From Aegina

Aegina Museum

Description : Hind part of a sphinx *sejant* to right.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Kraiker, *Aigina*, no. 477 pl. 36

No. 224

Alabastron

From Aegina

Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 25a

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes on either side
of a swan.

Date : TR

Bibliography: A. Greifenhagen, *AA* 51 (1936), 348 no. 4,
fig. 2

- No. 225 Conical oenochoe, fr.
From the Argive Heraion
Athens, NM

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
 pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : LPC/TR
Bibliography: Waldstein, *AH*, 2, pl. 59, 23
 Payne, *NC*, Cat. 142
- No. 226 Sherd
From the Argive Heraion
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *demi-couchant* to left.

Date : TR
Bibliography: Waldstein, *AH*, 2, pl. 59, 30a
 Payne, *NC*, Cat. 189
- No. 227 Conical oenochoe, fr.
From the Argive Heraion
Athens, NM

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
 pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : LPC
Bibliography: Waldstein, *AH*, 2, pl. 59, 22
 Payne, *NC*, Cat, 141
- No. 228 Aryballos
From Rhodos
Rhodes Museum 14.100

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : LPC
Bibliography: *Cl. Rh.* 6-7, 116 fig. 130
- No. 229 Aryballos
From Delos
Mykonos Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with polos
sejant on either side of an owl.

Date : TR

Bibliography: *Delos*, 10, pl. 28, 373

No. 230 Conical oenochoe, fr.
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Small sherd with a headless sphinx *passant*
to left.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: *Per*, 2 45 no. 266 pl. 57

No. 231 Oenochoe, fr.
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 47 no. 289 pl. 57

No. 232 Amphoriskos (pl. 76c)
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Hind part of a sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : LPC

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, no. 1300 pl. 38

No. 233 Alabastron
From Megara Hyblaea
Syracuse Museum

Description : Sphinx *demi-couchant*

Date : LPC

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 30a pl. 10, 2

- No. 234 Dinos, fr.
From Megara Hyblaea
Syracuse Museum

Description : Hind part of a sphinx *sejant* to right
Date : TR
Bibliography: *Megara Hyblaea*, 2, 52 pl. 33, 13
- No. 235 Alabastron, fr.
From Megara Hyblaea
Syracuse Museum

Description : Sphinx *sejant* to left.
Date : TR
Bibliography: *Megara Hyblaea*, 2, 56 pl. 39, 8
- No. 236 Painted aryballos
From Cuma
Cuma Museum

Description : In an animal frieze on the body of the vase,
 a *pouncing* sphinx.
Date : LPC
Bibliography: *Mon. Ant.* 22 (1913) 291 pl. 48
- No. 237 Conical oenochoe, fr.
From Tocra
Tocra Museum

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
 pair of antithetical sphinxes *couchant* on
 either side of a duck.
Date : TR
Bibliography: *Tocra*, 2, pl. 3
- No. 238 Standed dinos
Unknown provenance
Aachen, Private Collection

Description : In the shoulder frieze of the dinos, among
 other animals and sphinx *demi-couchant* to
 right. A similar sphinx in one of the friezes
 on the stand.

Date : LPC
Workshop : Near the Sacrifice Painter (Boardman)
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *Ant. K*, 13 (1970), 92 ff.
pls. 42-44

No. 239

Olpe

Unknown provenance

Paris, Louvre E.425

Description : In one of the animal friezes on the body of
the vase, pair of antithetical sphinxes
sejant on either side of a swan.

Date : TR

Bibliography: Payne, *NC*, Cat. 160
CVA, Louvre 13, pls. 66, 3-4 and 69, 3

No. 240

Conical oenochoe, fr.

From Delphi

Delphi Museum

Description : Sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : TR

Bibliography: *FdD*, 5, 151 no. 174 fig. 622

ITHACAN

- No. 241 Candlestick
From Ithaca, Aetos
Ithaca, Vathy Museum
- Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with volute
 sejant on either side of a floral ornament. An
 inscription in local ithacan dialect on the neck
 gives the name of the painter: KALLIKLEAS.
- Date : 680-670
- Workshop : Ithacan, by the Kalikleas Painter.
- Bibliography: M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 88, 110 pl. 38-39
 no. 534.
 L.H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 231 n. 2 pl. 45.
 Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*, 276.

ARGIVE

- No. 242 Sherd (pl. 88a)
From Argos
Argos Museum
- Description : Small sherd from the shoulder of a closed vase
 (krater?). Forepart of a sphinx with volute.
 Upper part of the head and forelegs missing.
- Date : 690-680.
- Workshop : Proto-argive
- Bibliography: J.-F. Bommelaer, *BCH* 96 (1972), 249 fig. 13.

SICILIAN

- No. 243 Krater (pl. 88b)
From Syracuse
Syracuse Museum
- Description : Side A: Horse. Side B: Sphinx with volute
 sejant to right. Body and forelegs missing.
- Date : ca 690.
- Workshop : Fusco workshop.
- Bibliography: P.E. Arias, *BCH* 60 (1936), 144 pl. 10.

Matz, *JdI* 65-66 (1950-51) 98 n. 6.

Matz, *GGK*, I, 253 fig. II, b.

Verdelis, *BCH* (1951), 13 fig. 8.

Ker., 6, 2, 244 n. 312.

Courbin, *CGA*, 34-38.

Bormelauer, *BCH* 96 (1972), 239 no. 17, 243;
249-250.

LACONIAN

No. 243a.

Sherd

From Sparta, Acropolis

Sparta Museum

Description : In a panel human helmeted head and behind it
part of a wing (?)

Date : ca 670

Workshop : Laconian I.

Bibliography: *BSA* 28 (1926-27), 57 fig. 4.
BSA 34 (1933-34), 121 pl. 23j.
Kukahn, *Der Griech. Helm*, 52.
Kunze, *KB*, 180 n. II.
Snodgrass, *EGAW*, 8 and 18.
Matz, *GGK*, I, pl. 284a.
Marangou, *Lak. Elf*, 12 n. 31; 32
Borchhardt, *Hom. Helme*, 68.

No. 244

Oenochoe, frs.

From Sparta, Acropolis.

Sparta Museum

Description : Three fragments. On one, foreleg with engraved
paws; on the other, a human head with polos,
and part of the breast and shoulders of a sphinx
to right.

Date : ca 615

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: E.A. Lane, *BSA* 34 (1933-34), 127 pl. 28d.

No. 245

Aryballos, fr.

From Sparta, Acropolis

Sparta Museum

Description : Forepart of a *wingless* sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : ca 620

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: *BSA* 28 (1926-27), 60 fig. 5j.

CRETAN

No. 246

Pithos, fr. (pl. 89a)

From Zapher Papoura

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE 1182

Description : Fragment from the shoulder of the vase. In a metope, *wingless*, *hooved* sphinx with a flat polos, *passant* to right. Forepaw of another sphinx (?) in the adjacent metope.

Date : ca 680

Bibliography: H.G. Payne, *BSA* 29 (1927-28), 286 n. 2.

M. Hartley, *BSA* 31 (1930-31), 99 fig. 28.

Payne, *CVA* Oxford 2, 53 no. 9 pl. 1.

F. Matz, *JdI* 65-66 (1950-51), 92 no. 20.

J. Boardman, *CCO*, 96, 98 no. 441.

No. 247

Pithos, fr.

From Zapher Papoura

Herakleion Museum

Description : Small sherd with the head and sickle-shaped wing of a sphinx to left.

Date : ca 670

Bibliography: M. Hartley, *BSA* 31 (1930-31), 100-101 fig. 28, I.

J. Boardman, *CCO*, 96.

No. 248

Cinerary urn (pl. 90)

From Arkades, Pithos 20

Herakleion Museum 8121

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with volute, *demi-couchant* with forepaw raised towards a winged human figure.

Date : ca 670

Bibliography: D. Levi, *Ann* 10-12 (1927-29), 101 ff. fig. 76
a - c.

D. Levi, *Hesp.* 14 (1945), 22 pl. 10, 1.

N.M. Verdelis, *BCH* 75 (1951), 5.

F. Matz, *JdI* 65-66 (1950-51), 92 no. 21 fig. 6.

No. 249 Griffin bowl (pl. 91a)
From Arkades, grave L
Herakleion Museum 7944

Description : In a panel on the shoulder, a sphinx with spiky
crown *sejant erect* to left.

Date : ca 660

Bibliography: J. Droop, *Liverpool Annals*, 12 (1925), pl. 5, b.
V. Müller, *AM* 50 (1925), 51 ff. fig. 1.
D. Levi, *Ann* 10-12, (1927-29), 323 fig. 420
a - d.
F. Matz, *GGK*, I, pl. 165 b.
F. Matz, *JdI* 65-66 (1950-51), 92 no. 22.
Ch. Kardara, *AJA* 64 (1960), 347 n. 30 pl. 100
fig. 15.
Ker., 6, 2, 163 n. 69; 242.

No. 250 Sherd (pl. 92c)
From "East Crete"
Herakleion Museum

Description : From the shoulder of a large open vase. Head
and tip of the sickle-shaped wing of a sphinx
regardant.

Date : ca 660

Bibliography: unpublished

No. 251 Alabastron (pls. 92 a-b, 140b)
From Fortetsa, grave P
Herakleion Museum

Description : Three *pouncing* sphinxes in a large frieze on the
body of the vase. One is shown helmeted, the
other two with layered hair and volute. One of
them is shown *regardant*.

Date : ca 660

Workshop : By the Fortetsa Painter (Boardman)

Bibliography: D. Levi, *Hesp.* 14 (1945), 26 pl. 20, 3-4.
F. Matz, *JdI* 65-66 (1950-51), 101 fig. 7.
Brock, *Fortetsa*, III, no. 1229 pl. 101.

H. Walter, *AuA* 9 (1960), fig. 8.

J. Boardman, *BSA* 56 (1961), 78-80.

Idem, *CCO*, 144.

Hermann, *Kessel*, 37 no. 12.

Snodgrass, *EGAW*, 16.

No. 252

Pyxis

From Taras

Taras Museum 52.913

Description : In a frieze, round the body of the vase, a sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : ca. 650

Bibliography: *Ann* 37-38 (1959-60), 32 no. 15 figs. 23-24.

CYCLADIC

- No. 253 Amphora (pl. 93)
From Thera, Sellada, grave 7
Athens, NM 11.708

Description : In each of the side panels on the shoulder,
 rampant sphinx with volute.

Date : ca. 690
Workshop : Naxian
Bibliography: *Thera*, 2, 213 fig. 420 a - b.
 I. Strøm, *Acta Arch* 32 (1962), 250-251,
 fig. 11.
- No. 254 Amphora (pl. 145)
From Rheneia
Mykonos Museum

Description : In a panel on the shoulder, *hooved* sphinx with
 volute and apron *passant* to right.

Date : ca. 690-680
Workshop : Naxian (Ba group)
Bibliography: *Delos*, 17, 12 no. Ba 7 pl. 5.
 I. Strøm, *o c* , 250 n. 99, 100, 252 fig. 12.
 P. Bocci, *St. Misc.* 2 (1962), 13.
- No. 255 Amphora (pl. 94)
From Rheneia
Mykonos Museum

Description : In a panel on the neck, a sphinx with apron
 passant to right. Head, shoulders and one
 foreleg missing.

Date : ca. 690-680
Workshop : Naxian (Ba group)
Bibliography: *Delos*, 17, 13 no. Ba 8 pl. 5, 8a.
 Strøm, *o c* , 250.
 Bocci, *o c* , 10 no. 1.
- No. 256 Amphora (pl. 95)
From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum

Description : In a panel on the neck, sphinx *passant* to right. Head, breast, shoulders and most of the wing missing.

Date : ca. 680

Workshop : Naxian (Ba group)

Bibliography: *Delos*, 17, 12 pl. 3, 6a.

No. 257

Amphora, fr.

From Thera, Sellada

Thera Museum

Description : In a panel on the shoulder, sphinx *passant* to right. Head missing.

Date : ca. 700

Workshop : Island Linear Style

Bibliography: N. Zafeiropoulos, *Ergon* 1973, 100.

No. 258

Amphora (pl. 96)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum 666

Description : On the shoulder, pair of autithetical *sejant* sphinxes with volute.

Date : ca. 650

Workshop : Bc group

Bibliography: *Delos*, 17, pl. 12.

F. Salviat - N. Weill, *BCH* 84 (1960), 359 ff.
fig. 5.

No. 259

Hydria, fr. (pl. 140a)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum IA 433

Description : In a panel on the neck, helmeted sphinx *sejant* to right.

Date : 660

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Kunze, *KB*, 141, 180 n. 11; 249-50 n. 6, pl. 55a.
Kukahn, *Der. Griech. Helm*, 52.

Snodgrass, *EGAW*, 16.

Ker, 6, 2, 245 n. 319.

Papastamos, *Melische Amphoren*, 116 n. 236.

No. 260 Amphora (pl. 97, a(right)-b)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum 7342

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase, sphinx *sejant* with raised forepaw. A similar sphinx, now mostly missing, in a panel on the neck.

Date : ca. 660

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 261 Krater

From Rheneia

Athens, NM 354

Description : In a small panel on the neck, sphinx with volute *sejant* to right.

Date : ca. 650

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: *AE* 1894, pl. 13.

Matz, *GGK*, 1, pl. 173a.

No. 262 Amphora

From Paros, Delion

Athens, NM 914

Description : A large sphinx with volute, *passant* to right on the body of the vase.

Date : ca. 650

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Papastamos, *oc*, 59 pls. 12-13.

Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros*, 107.

J. Boardman, *BSA* 47 (1952), 24.

No. 263 Amphora (pl. 98a)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum 3795

Description : In a panel on the neck, sphinx with volute
sejant to right.

Date : ca 640

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 264 Amphora (pl. 100a)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum 7324

Description : In the main frieze on the body of the vase,
demi-conchant sphinxes with volute.

Date : ca 640

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 265 Hydria (pl.98b)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum 7390

Description : In a panel on the neck, sphinx with volute
passant to right.

Date : ca 640

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 266 Hydria (pl. 99)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum 7435

Description : In the shoulder frieze, *couchant* sphinxes with
volute and raised forepaw.

Date : ca 640

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 267 Hydria (pl. 100b)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum

Description : In the shoulder frieze, pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes with volute.

Date : ca 640

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 268

Hydria (pl. 101b)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum

Description : In a panel on the body of the vase, a large *pouncing* sphinx with volute.

Date : ca 630

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 269

Amphora (pl. 101a)

From Rheneia

Mykonos Museum

Description : In the lower frieze on the body of the vase *sejant* sphinxes in bf. technique.

Date : ca 600

Workshop : "Melian"

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 270

Kotyle, fr.

From Ithaca, Aetos

Ithaca, Vathy Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes with layered hair and fillet. Legs and most of the sphinxes' body missing.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: M. Robertson, *BSA* 43 (1948), 98 fig. 53
Ker, 6, 2 106, 184 n. 188.

BOEOTIAN

No. 271 Amphora (pl. 102)
From Boeotia
Tübingen Museum 61.5792

Description : Figure decoration in the shoulder frieze.
Side A: Sphinx *passant* to right. Side B:
Bearded chin of a sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : ca 690

Bibliography: Canciani, *JdI* 80 (1965), 23 no. 22.
Ker, 6, 2, 59 n. 166.
K. Wallenstein, *CVA*, Tübingen 1, pl. 6.

EUBOEAN

No. 272 Amphora (pl. 103)
From Eretria
Athens, NM 12129

Description : Sphinx with polos *sejant* to right.

Date : ca 630-620

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *BSA* 47 (1952), 27 C6 pl. 6.

No. 273 Amphora, frs.
From Eretria
Athens, NM

Description : Three fragments of an amphora almost identical
with no. 272. a) From the shoulder: forepart
of the sphinx's headdress. b) From the body:
part of the sphinx's tail and wing. c) From
the body: forepart of the body and part of the
legs of the sphinx.

Date : ca 630-620

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *oc*, 27 C8 fig. 21.d pl. 6.

RHODIAN

No. 274

Vase, fr. (pl. 146)

From Rhodes, Kameiros

London, British Museum 64.10-7.1237.

Description : In a large frieze, a centaur followed by a
bearded hooved sphinx passant to left. Tail,
tip of the wing and most of the face missing.

Date : ca 690

Workshop : Rhodian, Early Orientalizing

Bibliography: Salzmann, *Kameiros*, pl. 39.

W. Schiering, *Werkstätten*, pl. I, I.

Acta Arch., 28 (1957), 98 fig. 201.

Samos, 5, 88 no. 495.

Kardara, 32 no. 3 fig. 3.

Exochi, 98 fig. 201.

WILD GOAT STYLE

- No. 275 Broad oenochoe (pl. 104a)
From Rhodes, Ialyssos
Rhodos Museum
- Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with volute *demi-couchant* on either side of a floral ornament.
- Date : 660
- Workshop : Early Wild Goat Style
- Bibliography: Schiering, *Werkstätten*, 57, pl. 16, I.
 Samos, 5, 60; 119 no. 492 pl. 87-88.
 Kardara, 35 fig. 6.
 Cl.Rh., 10, 187 ff. fig. 1-4.
 R.M. Cook, *Enc. World Art*, 7, 61.
- No. 275a. Broad oenochoe, fr.
From Samos, Heraeum
Samos Museum
- Description : Fragment from the shoulder of the vase, with
 a sphinx (?) *passant*.
- Date : ca 650
- Workshop : Early Wild Goat Style
- Bibliography: *Samos*, 5, 64-65; 120 pl. 91, 502.
- No. 275a-a. Broad oenochoe, fr. (pl. 104b)
From Gela
Gela Museum
- Description : Hind part of a sphinx (?) *sejant* to left of the
 same type as the last.
- Date : ca 650
- Workshop : Early Wild Goat Style
- Bibliography: *Samos*, 5, 52 pl. 59, 351.
- No. 276 Broad oenochoe (pl. 143a)
From Rhodes, Kameiros
Rhodos Museum
- Description : On the shoulder, a *pouncing* sphinx with a human
 arm grasping a goose by the throat.

Date : ca 650
Workshop : Middle Wild Goat Style
Bibliography: *Cl. Rh.*, 4, 336 fig. 372.
CVA, Rodi 1 pl. 4, 2-3 and 5.
Verdelis, *BCH* 75 (1951), 12 fig. 6.

No. 277

Oenochoe

From Rome

Paris, Louvre 658

Description : Decoration in friezes. In one of them a
passant sphinx.

Date : ca 650
Workshop : By the Arkades School (Kardara)
Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 1 pl. 6, 1-4; 7.
Pottier, 523 no. 658.
JdI 44 (1929) 209 fig. 10-13.
Kardara, 93 no. 10.

No. 278

Oenochoe (pl. 105a)

From Rhodes, Kameiros

Paris, Louvre A312

Description : In the shoulder frieze, a sphinx *passant* to
left.

Date : ca 640
Workshop : By the Painter of the bird of prey (Kardara)
Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 1, pl. 5, 2.
Salzmann, *Kameiros*, pl. 32.
Kardara, 95 no. 6, fig. 59.

No. 279

Oenochoe

From Rhodes, Kameiros

London, British Museum 60.2-1.2

Description : In the shoulder frieze a sphinx *passant*.

Date : ca 640
Workshop : By the Deer Workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: Kardara, 100 no. 3.

- 100

No. 284

Oenochoe

From Rhodes, Kameiros

Rhodes Museum 12067

Description : In the shoulder frieze bird followed by a sphinx.

Date : ca 640

Workshop : Near the Goat Workshop (Kardara)

Bibliography: *Cl. Ph.*, 4, 44 fig. 15.
Kardara, 105 no. 5.

No. 285

Oenochoe

From Naukratis

Heidelberg, University Collections 1-1906

Description : In the shoulder frieze, sphinx, griffin and deer.

Date : ca 630

Workshop : By the Goose Workshop (Kardara)

Bibliography: *CVA*, Heidelberg 1, pl. 1-3.
Kardara, 107 no. 8.

No. 286

Oenochoe

From Rhodes, Kameiros

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 67

Description : In the shoulder frieze, sphinx flanked by two goats.

Date : ca 630

Workshop : By the Goose workshop (Kardara)

Bibliography: *CVA*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. pl. 4,2 and 6.
De Ridder, *Cat.*, no. 67.
Kardara, 107 no. 9.

No. 287

Oenochoe (pl. 105b)

From Rhodes

Paris, Louvre A.316

Description : In the shoulder frieze *pouncing* sphinx flanked by deer.

Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Goose Workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: *CVA*, Louvre 1 pl. 5,5.
Pottier, A 316.
Kardara, 107 no. 10.

No. 288

Oenochoe
From Rhodes
Copenhagen

Description : In the shoulder frieze, bird, sphinx and deer.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Goose Workshop (Kardara).
Bibliography: *CVA*, Copenhagen 2, pl. 76, 8.
Kardara, 107 no. 11.

No. 289

Oenochoe
From Rhodes
Copenhagen

Description : In the shoulder frieze sphinx, goat and bird.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Goose Workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: *CVA*, Copenhagen 2, pl. 77, 1.
Kardara, 107 no. 12.

No. 290

Oenochoe
From Rhodes
Birmingham University

Description : In the shoulder frieze deer and sphinx
confronted.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Goose Workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: Kardara, 108 no. 18.

No. 291

Oenochoe
From Rhodes
London, British Museum 1901, 6-9, 26.

Description : In the shoulder frieze deer and sphinx
confronted.

Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Goose workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: Kardara, 108 no. 19.

No. 292

Oenochoe
From Rhodes, Kameiros
Colmar
Description : In the shoulder frieze two sphinxes flanking
a bird.

Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Goose Workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: Kardara, 108 no. 24.

No. 293

Oenochoe
From Rhodes, Kameiros
Rhodos Museum 13.835.

Description : In the shoulder frieze sphinx *passant*.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Goose Workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: *Cl. Rh.*, 6-7, 99 fig. 108.
Kardara, 109, no. 28.

No. 294

Oenochoe
From Naukratis
Oxford Ashmolean Museum G.119.36
Description : Small sherd with a bird and sphinx *passant* to
right.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : By the Squatted oenochoai Workshop (Kardara)
Bibliography: *CVA*, Oxford 2 pl. 4, 13.
JHS, 44 (1924) pl. 8, 9.
Kardara, III no. I.

No. 295

Oenochoe
Unknown provenance
Paris, Louvre CA 3035
Description : In the shoulder frieze deer and sphinx to left.
Date : ca 630

Bibliography: Kardara, 113 no. 1.

No. 296

Oenochoe

From Rhodes

Paris, Louvre A320

Description : In the shoulder frieze griffin and sphinx on
either side of a lotus flower.

Date : ca 630

Bibliography: CVA, Louvre 1, pl. 5, 8.

Pottier, 164.

Kardara, 113 no. 3.

No. 297

Dinos

From Rhodes

Berlin 3772

Description : In a panel on the shoulder, a sphinx *passant*.

Date : ca 630

Bibliography: Kinch, *Vroulia*, 215 fig. 103, 9-13.

Kardara, 113 no. 1, fig. 73.

CLAY RELIEF PLAQUES FROM CRETE

- No. 298 Plaque (pl. 108a)
From Praisos
Paris, Louvre A.M. 839
- Description : Sphinx wearing a crown with volute *passant* to left. Forelegs and lower hind legs missing.
- Date : 640-630.
- Bibliography: E.H. Dohan, *Metr. Mus. Stud* 3 (1931), 224 fig. 37.
P. Demargne, *BCH* 26 (1902), 577 no. 7.
Mollard - Besques I, 31 B.179 pl. 22.
- No. 299 Plaque, fr.
From Praisos
Philadelphia, Private Collection
- Description : Forepart and wing of a sphinx of the same type as the last.
- Date : 640-630
- Bibliography: E.H. Dohan, o c , 244 fig. 36.
- No. 300 Plaque
From Praisos
Herakleion Museum 1326
- Description : As the last.
- Date : 640-630
- Bibliography: E.S. Forster, *BSA* II (1904-5), 256 fig. 18.
- No. 300a. Plaque, fr.
From Praisos
Herakleion Museum
- Description : Hind part of a *pouncing* sphinx (?)
- Date : 640-630
- Bibliography: F. Halbherr, *AJA* 5 (1901), 391 fig. 23
- No. 301 Plaque
From Seteia, near the village of Sklavi
Agios Nikolas Museum 1668

Description : *Passant* sphinx and griffin confronted. The
sphinx of the same type as no. 300.

Date : ca 640

Bibliography: N.B. Reed, *Hesp.* 45 (1976), 377 no. 7 pl. 82, 7.

No. 302

Plaque (pl. 108b)

From Lato

Oxford Ashmolean Museum G 488

Description : Sphinx with polos and volute *passant gardant*.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: B. Fehr in *Däd. Kunst*, 100 pl. 46a.
J. Boardman, *CCO*, pl. 39, 500.

Nos.
303-313

Eleven plaques

From Lato

Herakleion Museum 1509-1516

Description : From the same mould as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: Matz, *GGK*, I, 490 pl. 287.b.
P. Demargne, *BCH* 53 (1927), 420 fig. 34.

No. 314

Plaque

From Lato

Paris, Louvre AM 1696

Description : *Passant gardant* sphinx with polos.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: B. Fehr, *oc*, 101 D 31 pl. 47 d.
Mollard - Besques, I, 31 B.177 pl. 22.

Nos.
315-319

Five plaques

From Lato

Basel, Private Collection

Description : Of the same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: B. Fehr, *oc*, 100 D 26-30.

- No. 320 Plaque
From Phaneromeni cave
Herakleion Museum
- Description : Forepart of a *reclining gardant* sphinx.
- Date : ca 650
- Bibliography: S. Marinatos, *AA* 52 (1937), 225-226 fig. 2.
- No. 321 Plaque
From "Crete"
Basel, Private Collection
- Description : *Passant gardant* sphinx with polos
- Date : ca 660
- Bibliography: B. Fehr, *oc*, 101, D 32.
- No. 322 Plaque
From Anavlochos
Herakleion Museum
- Description : Two female figures standing on a rectangular
base decorated with a pair of antithetical
passant sphinxes.
- Date : ca 660
- Bibliography: P. Demargne, *CD*, 300 n. 1
idem, *BCH* 54 (1930), 196 pl. 10, left.
idem, *BCH* 55 (1931), 398 no. 49 fig. 31.
- No. 323 Plaque (pl. 107a)
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11440/Go.79
- Description : Sphinx wearing a crescent-shaped headdress
with volute, *passant* to right.
- Date : ca 660
- Bibliography: *Gortina*, 177; 260; 237 fig. 319 pl. 27, 172.
- No. 324 Plaque (pl. 107b)
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11.431.

Description : *Passant gardant* sphinx with a headdress similar to that on no. 323.

Date : ca 660

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 25, 162a.

No. 325 Plaque (pl. 109a)
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11419.

Description : Sphinx with volute *passant* to right.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 26, 169a.

No. 326 Plaque
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11420

Description : Forepart of a sphinx of the same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, 176 pl. 26, 169b.

No. 327 Cut-out plaque (pl. 109b)
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11336, Go 93a.

Description : *Passant gardant* sphinx with crown and volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, 164 pl. 14, 79a.

No. 328 Plaque
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum Go 59.93b.

Description : As the last, but head and legs of the sphinx missing.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 14, 79b.

No. 329 Plaque
From Gortyna

Herakleion Museum 11337/Go 93c.

Description : Head and tip of the wing of a sphinx of the same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 14, 79c.

No. 330

Plaque

From Gortyna

Herakleion Museum 11430

Description : *Passant gardant* sphinx with polos. Lower part of the legs missing.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 19, 108

No. 331

Plaque

From Gortyna

Herakleion Museum 11412

Description : *Passant gardant* sphinx with polos.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 20, 122.

No. 332

Plaque

From Gortyna

Herakleion Museum 11905

Description : Sphinx *sejant gardant*.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 30, 207.

No. 333

Plaque

From Gortyna

Herakleion Museum 11423

Description : Sphinx *sejant gardant*.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 19, 107.

- No. 334 Plaque (pl. 110a)
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11416

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with volute,
rampant on either side of a floral ornament.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, 177 pl. 27, 171.

No. 335 Plaque
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11545

Description : Sickle-shaped wing and part of the head of a
sphinx *gardant*.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 34, 229.

No. 336 Plaque
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11546

Description : Hind part of a sphinx *sejant* to right.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 34, 230.

No. 337 Plaque
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum 11432

Description : Sphinx *passant* to left. Forepart of body
and lower hind legs missing.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 25, 162b.

No. 338 Plaque
From Gortyna
Herakleion Museum

Description : Sickle-shaped wing, body and part of head of
sphinx *passant* (?)

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 25 no. 162.a.

No. 338a. Plaque

From Gortyna

Herakleion Museum Go 510

Description : Tail and lower hind legs of a sphinx *passant*
to right.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Gortina*, pl. 25, 162.c.

CLAY RELIEF PLAQUES FROM LACONIA

No. 339

Plaque

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

Sparta Museum

Description : Gorgon-sphinx *passant* to left.

Date : ca 640

Workshop : Laconian

Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 154-55 pl. 39, 5.

J. Boardman, *BSA* 58 (1963), 6.

Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 262 n. 753.

No. 339a.

Plaque, fr.

Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Urthia

Sparta Museum

Description : Sickle-shaped wing and hindquarters of a
reclining sphinx (?)

Date : ca 650

Workshop : Laconian

Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 154 no. 5, pl. 39, 5.

Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 262 n. 753.

Description : Two sherds from the neck of the same vase,
each with a *passant gardant* sphinx with volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: D. Levi, *oc*, 64 fig. 46.
Schäfer, *Reliefpithoi*, 16 no. 21-22 pl. 5.2.

No. 346 Fragment (pl. 111b)
From Crete
Basel, Antiken Museum BS 614

Description : Two *passant gardant* sphinxes with polos and
volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel in *Däd Kunst*, 73 C9 pl. 26.f.

No. 347 Fragment (pl. 111a)
From Crete
Basel, Antiken Museum BS 613

Description : *Passant gardant* sphinx with polos (?) and
volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, *oc*, 87 C31 pl. 26.c.

No. 348 Fragment
From Lythos
Herakleion Museum

Description : Sphinx *passant gardant* in a metope.

Date : ca 640

Bibliography: *Arch. Rep.* 1970-71, 31 fig. 58.
Ergon 1968, 142 pl. 159.

No. 349 Fragment
From Lyttos
Hamburg, University Museum

Description : As the last

Date : ca 640

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, *oc*, 81 C22.

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|---------|---|
| No. 350 | Fragment (pl. 110b)
From Crete
Herakleion Museum

Description : <i>Passant gardant</i> sphinx with crown and volute.
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: Unpublished |
| No. 351 | Fragment
From Crete
Hamburg, Marshall Collection

Description : <i>Passant gardant</i> sphinx with polos and volute.
Date : ca 640
Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, 72 CT pl. 26.e. |
| No. 352 | Fragment
From Crete
Athens, market

Description : As the last.
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: Schäffer, AA 74 (1959), 6 fig. 1-2. |
| No. 353 | Fragment
From Crete
Jerusalem, Israel Museum

Description : <i>Passant gardant</i> sphinx with polos.
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, C30 pls. 32-33. |
| No. 354 | Pithos
From Crete
Herakleion Museum

Description : On the neck, four <i>passant gardant</i> sphinxes with polos.
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: D. Levi, oc, 73 fig. 50.
Schafer, <i>Relief pithoi</i> , 18 no. 44 pl. 6.1. |

Mainz, Private Collection

Description : Three *passant gardant* sphinxes with volute.

Date : ca 640

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, 73, C8 pl. 28a and 23.

No. 360

Fragment (pl. 112a)

From Crete

Houston, Private Collection

Description : Neck-fragment with a pair of antithetical
passant gardant sphinxes.

Date : ca 630

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, 80 C21 pl. 31.

No. 361

Fragment (pl. 112b)

From Crete

Paris, market

Description : Neck-fragment with two *passant gardant* sphinxes.

Date : ca 630

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, 78 C19 pl. 37.b.

No. 362

Pithos

From Kato Vathia

Herakleion Museum

Description : On the neck, three sphinxes *passant gardant*.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: Unpublished

No. 363

Pithos

From Crete

Thessalonika Museum B.E. 10545.

Description : On the neck, three sphinxes *passant gardant*.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *Arch. Rep.* 1970-71, 18 fig. 35.

Arch. Delt. 24 (1969) B2, 293 no. 9 pl. 301a-b.

No. 364

Fragment

From Crete

Bern, Hist. Museum 45129

Description : Sphinx passant gardant.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: Hornbostel, oc, 81 C24 pl. 35a.

No. 365

Fragment

From Arkades

Herakleion Museum

Description : Forepart of a *passant gardant* sphinx.

Date : ca 640

Bibliography: D. Levi, oc, 67 fig. 44.44.

No. 366

Fragment

From Crete

Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection 1135

Description : Neck-fragment with a *passant gardant* sphinx
with volute.

Date : ca 620

Bibliography: M. Brouskari, oc, 396 no. 9 fig. 9.

No. 367

Fragment

From Crete

Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection

Description : Neck-fragment with a *passant gardant* sphinx
with volute.

Date : ca 600

Bibliography: M. Bronskari, oc, 395 no. 8 fig. 8.

No. 368

Fragment

From Arkades

Herakleion Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical *rampant gardant* sphinxes
with volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: D. Levi, *oc*, 68 fig. 47a.
Kunze, *KB*, 199 pl. 55.b.
Schäfer, *Relief piithoi*, 16 no. 23 pl. 4.1.

Nos.
369-370

Two fragments of the same vase
From Arkades
Herakleion Museum

Description : On each fragment, a pair of antithetical sphinxes
of the same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: D. Levi, *oc*, 67 fig. 44, 42-43.

No. 371

Fragment
From Arkades
Herakleion Museum

Description : Rampant sphinx of the same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: D. Levi, *oc*, 67 fig. 44.39.

No. 372

Fragment
From Arkades
Herakleion, Metaxas Collection

Description : As the last

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: Alexiou, *Arch. Delt.* 20 (1965) B2 pl. 694.γ
BCH 92 (1968), 996 fig. 7.

No. 373

Fragment
From Crete
Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection 1205

Description : Neck-fragment with pair of *rampant* sphinxes of
the same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: M. Brouskari, *oc*, 397 no. 10 fig. 10.

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes of the same
type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: N. Reed Eals, oc, 31 fig. 9.

No. 379

Fragment

From Crete

Jerusalem, Israel Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes of the same
type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: N. Reed Eals, oc, 31 fig. 8.

No. 380

Fragment

From Crete

Missouri, Marks Collection

Description : Two pairs of antithetical sphinxes of the
same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: N. Reed Eals, oc, 32 fig. 10.

No. 381

Pithos

From Crete

Genf, market

Description : On the neck, three metopes each with a pair of
antithetical sphinxes of the same type as the
last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, 83 C28 pl. 25.

No. 382

Fragment

From Crete

Tokio, Private Collection

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes of the same
type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, 85 C29.

- No. 383 Fragment
From Crete
New York, Private Collection

Description : Two pairs of antithetical sphinxes of the
 same type as the last.

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, *oc*, 82, C26.
- No. 384 Pithos, fr.
From Crete
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek

Description : On the neck two metopes each with a pair of
 antithetical rampant sphinxes of the same
 type as the last.

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: *Art and Technology*, 146 fig. 1.
- No. 385 Fragment
From Crete
Basel, Antiken Museum BS 607

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes of the same
 type as the last.

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: E. Berger, *Ant. K.*, 10 (1967), 68 no. 16.
- No. 386 Fragment
From Crete
Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection 1108

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes of the same
 type as the last.

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: M. Brouskari, *oc*, 398-399 no. 11 fig. 11.
- No. 387 Fragment
From Crete
Herakleion, Giamalakis Collection 472

Description : Heads and shoulders of two antithetical
rampant sphinxes with volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: T.J. Dunabin, *BSA* 47 (1952), 152 pl. 28.4.
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 18 no. 43.

No. 388

Fragment

From Prinias

Herakleion Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes with volute,
sejant on either side of a palmette.

Date : ca 660

Bibliography: L. Pernier, *AJA* 38 (1934), 177 pl. 18.b.
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 16 no. 16.

Nos.
389-390

Two fragments

From Prinias

Herakleion Museum

Description : From the same mould as the last.

Date : ca 660

Bibliography: L. Savignoni, *AJA* 5 (1901), 410 pl. 13, 10-11.

Nos.
391-392

Two fragments

From Prinias

Rome, Pigorini Museum

Description : From the same mould as the last.

Date : ca 660

Bibliography: M. Borda, *Arte Cretese-Micenea*, pl. 41, 1 and 3.

No. 393

Fragment

From Knossos

Herakleion Museum 5919

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes with
volute.

Date : ca 660

Bibliography: D. Levi, *oc*, 68 fig. 47.c.
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*.

No. 394

Fragment

From Lyttos

Herakleion, Giamalakis Collection 68

Description : Sphinx *sejant gardant*. Hind part of the body missing.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: T.J. Dunabin, *BSA* 47 (1952), pl. 28, 1.
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 17 no. 35.

No. 395

Fragment

From Crete

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G.489.

Description : *Sejant gardant* sphinx with volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *CCO*, 116 no. 502 pl. 40.

No. 396

Fragment

From Crete

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1965, 81.

Description : Head and breast of a sphinx *gardant*

Date : ca 630

Bibliography: *Arch. Rep.* 1967-68, 52 no. 14 fig. 5.

No. 397

Fragment

From Crete

Basel, Prof. Schefold's Collection

Description : Sphinx *sejant*

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, *oc*, 93, C44.

No. 398

Fragment

From Eleftherna

Herakleion Museum 6335.

Description : Sphinx *couchant gardant*.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: Jenkins, *Daedalika*, pl. 5.1.

Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 15 no. 14 pl. 5.1

No. 399

Fragment

From Knossos

Herakleion Museum

Description : *Couchant gardant* sphinx with volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *BSA* 57 (1962), 33 pl. 5.a.

No. 400

Fragment

From Crete

Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection

Description : *Couchant gardant* sphinx with volute

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: M. Brouskari, *oc*, 389 no. 3 fig. 3.

No. 401

Fragment

From Crete

Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection

Description : As the last

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: M. Brouskari, *oc*, 391 no. 4 fig. 4.

No. 402

Fragment

From Crete

Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection

Description : Two metopes, each with a sphinx of the same type as the last.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: M. Brouskari, *oc*, 392 no. 5 fig. 5.

No. 403

Fragment (pl. 113b)

From Crete

Tokio, Private Collection

Description : Fragment with sphinxes in two friezes. In the upper frieze a sphinx *couchant gardant* of the same type as the last. In the lower frieze two *passant gardant* sphinxes with volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: W. Hornbostel, oc, 74 Cl1 pl. 27.b.

No. 404

Fragment

From Crete

Missouri, University Museum 67.49.

Description : Fragment with two friezes. Passant griffins in the lower frieze, *couchant* sphinxes of the same type as the last in the upper frieze.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: N. Reed Eals, oc, 28 fig. 2.

No. 405

Fragment

From Zapher Papoura

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE 196

Description : *Couchant gardant* sphinx with volute.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *CCO*, 116 pl. 40, 501
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 17 no. 36.

No. 406

Fragment

From Crete

Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection

Description : *Couchant gardant* sphinx with volute

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: M. Brouskari, oc, 392 no. 6 fig. 6.

No. 407

Fragment

From Dreros

Herakleion Museum

Description : Volute and wing of sphinx

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: P. Demargne - H.V. Effenterre, *BCH* 61 (1937),
19 fig. 12.2.
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 17 no. 37.

No. 408 Fragment
From Dreros
Herakleion Museum

Description : Forepart of sphinx *sejant*.

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: P. Demargne - H.V. Effenterre, *oc*, 19 fig. 12.3
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 17 no. 38.

No. 409 Fragment
From Dreros
Herakleion Museum

Description : Forepart of *rampant* sphinx

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: P. Demargne - H.V. Effenterre, *oc*, 19 fig. 12.4.

No. 410 Fragment
From Arkades
Herakleion Museum

Description : *Couchant gardant* sphinx with volute

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: D. Levi, *oc*, fig. 44.38.

No. 411 Fragment
From Arkades
Herakleion Museum

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant gardant* sphinxes
with volute.

Date : ca 650
Bibliography: D. Levi, *oc* fig. 44.37.

CLAY RELIEF PITHOI FROM ATTICA

No. 411.a Fragment

From the Acropolis

Athens, National Museum

Description : Hind part of body and wing of a sphinx (?)
 passant to right.

Date : ca 670

Bibliography: *BCH* 64 (1940), 232

 Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 98 figs. 74-75.

Ker. 6, 2, 151 n. 13, 243.

CLAY RELIEF PITHOI FROM LACONIA

No. 412

Fragment

From Laconia, Eurotas - Heroon

Sparta Museum 1759

Description : Sphinx with polos and volute, *passant* to left. Lower part of legs missing.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: Chr. Christou, *Arch. Delt.* 19 (1964) A, 172 pl. 82, a.

No. 412.a.

Fragment

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

Description : Hind part of two sphinxes (?) *couchant* in different directions.

Date : ca 630

Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 92 pl. 11.b.

CLAY RELIEF PITHOI FROM RHODES

No. 413

Fragment (pl. 144b)

From Rhodes, Ialyssos

Rhodos Museum B.E. 402

Description : Impressed decoration in friezes. In one of
them pairs of *passant*, *hooved* sphinxes.

Date : ca 600

Bibliography: D. Feytmans, *BCH* 74 (1950), 168 fig. 19, 169
No. 4, pl. 28.2.
Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 51 no. 2, 53.

CLAY RELIEF PITHOI FROM THE CYCLADES

No. 414

Fragment (pl. 91b)

From Melos, Phylakopi

Athens, British School Collection

Description : Impressed decoration consisting of dogs and
sphinxes in a frieze. Sphinxes with spiky
crown and volute *passant* to left.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: W. Lamb, *BSA* 26 (1923-25), 76 no. 10 pl. 11.c.

No. 414a.

Fragment

From Tenos, Xomburgo

Tenos Museum

Description : Part of the hair and sickle-shaped wing of a
sphinx (?) to left.

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: *RA*, (4e Sér.) 6 (1905), 288 fig. 2.
J. Schäfer, *Relief pithoi*, 72 T.16

CLAY RELIEFS FROM BOEOTIA

Nos.
415-416

Two larnakes

From Tanagra

Athens, NM 10733/10734

Description : On the rim, impressed decoration consisting
of a centaur, a rider and a sphinx repeated.
Sphinx with volute and raised forepaw, *sejant*
to left.

Date : ca 680

Bibliography: E. Buschor, *AJA* 38 (1934), 129 n. 8.
Baur, *Centaur*s, pl. 13, 2.
Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 96 R. 23.

CLAY TRIPODS FROM THASOS

No. 417 Engraved tripod

From Thasos

Thasos Museum

Description : On one of the tripod's legs, sphinx with
 volute *sejant* to right.

Date : ca 600

Bibliography: E. Haspels, *BCH* 70 (1946), 233 pls. 10-12.

BRONZE RELIEFS

- No. 418 Sheet (pl.115a)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum 5487.
- Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes *passant regardant*
with forepaw raised towards a central palm-tree.
- Date : ca 690
Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: Ol , 4 pl. 37, 692.
Kunze, KB, 167, 252.
- No. 419 Sheet (pl. 115b)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum B.4348
- Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes *passant* on either
side of a stylized floral ornament.
- Date : ca 650
Workshop : Cretan (?)
Bibliography: E. Kunze, *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961-62), B2, 116
pl. 128b.
- No. 420 Mitra (pl. 117a)
From Crete
New York, Schimmel Collection
- Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant gardant* sphinxes
wearing a high polos with volute.
- Date : 620
Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: Hoffmann in *Däd. Kunst*, pl. 10, All.
- No. 421 Cuirass (pl. 118)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum.
- Description : On the breast, two rampant sphinxes facing each
other.
- Date : ca 670

Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: Matz, *GGK*, 1, 461.
Ol, 4, pl. 58.

No. 422 Cuirass (pls. 119-120)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum
Description : On the breast, a pair of antithetical *rampant*
sphinxes of the same type as the last.
Date : ca 670
Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: *Ol*, 4, pl. 59
Matz, *GGK*, 1, 461, fig. 34.
Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armorers*, 28 and 50
pl. 25a-c.
K. Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek*
(1966), 30 fig. 5.

No. 423 Cuirass (pl. 154)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum M.397.
Description : On each shoulder, a sphinx *protome* with polos
and volute.
Date : ca 670
Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: K. Schefold, *oc*, pl. 26.

No. 424 Helmet (pl. 116a)
From Olympia
Paris, Louvre Br. 1101
Description : Corinthian helmet. On each cheek-piece, a
sphinx with double volute *passant* to left.
Date : 650
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: P. Amandry, *BCH* (1949), 438 pl. 33.1.
Payne, *NC*, 284 fig. 122.
D. Ridder, *Bronzes Antique du Louvre*, no. 3,
pl. 65.

Jacobstahl, *Greek pins*, 78.

Ker., 6, 2, 250 n. 346.

Ol. Ber., 6 (1958), 138 n. 33.

No. 425

Engraved phiale

From Savana

Lost — formerly, Boston Museum of Fine Arts

Description : Two *passant* sphinxes in an animal frieze.

Date : ca 630-20.

Bibliography: Matz, *GGK*, I, 424 pl. 29 fig. 30.

Payne, *NC*, 271, I.

Kunze, *KB*, 282.

Fröhner, *Coll. Tyskiewiez*, pl. 15.

Karydi, *Aeolische Kunst*, 16 fig. 7.

GOLD RELIEFS

- No. 426 Diadem
From Corinth
Berlin, G.I. 342 (Misc. 7751, 4)

Description : Badly damaged gold sheet. Decoration in
 metopes. In one of these a sphinx *passant*
 to left.

Date : ca 670
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, pl. 5, 3.
 Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, 40, 43 no. 40.f.
- No. 427 Sheet cut-out in the form of a sphinx
From Corinth
Berlin, Antikenabteilung 61350

Description : Sphinx with a low flat polos *passant* to right.
 Tail missing.

Date : ca 675-660
Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, 40, 43 no. 40.c pl. 12
 Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, pl. 6, 8.
- No. 428 Diadem, fr.
From Rhodes, Kameiros
London, British Museum 1163

Description : In a metope, sphinx *passant* to left.

Date : ca 680
Workshop : Rhodian
Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat.*, 1163 pl. 12.
 Reichel, *Goldreliefs*, no. 55c pl. 16, 55c.
 Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 71 fig. 38.
- No. 429 Diadem (pl. 121b)
From Rhodes, Ialyssos
London, British Museum 1164

Description : Decoration in metopes. In each of the two

central ones a sphinx *passant* towards the centre.

Date : ca 680

Bibliography: Poulsen, *Der Orient*, fig. 167.
Verdelis, *BCH* 75 (1951), 9 fig. 5.
Marshall, *Cat*, 1164 fig. 20.
Cl. Rh., 6-7 199 fig. 239, 1.
Dessenne, 202 pl. 37, 1.

No. 430

Diadem, fr.

From Kos

Athens, Benaki Museum

Description : *Passant gardant* sphinxes between rosettes.

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian

Bibliography: *BCH* 71 (1947), 426 fig. 3.
Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, (1961),
105 n. 4.

No. 431

Plaque (pl. 121a)

From Rhodes

London, British Museum 1108

Description : Sphinx *gardant passant* to left.

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian

Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 1108 pl. 11.

No. 432

Plaque

From Rhodes

London, British Museum, 1109

Description : As the last

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian

Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 1109.

No. 433

Plaque

From Rhodes

London, British Museum 1110

Description : Sphinx *gardant passant* to left.

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian

Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 1110

No. 434

Plaque

From Rhodes

London, British Museum 1111

Description : As the last

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian

Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 1111

No. 435

Plaque

From Rhodes

London, British Museum 1112

Description : As the last

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian

Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 1112

No. 436

Plaque

From Rhodes

London, British Museum 1113

Description : As the last

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian

Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 1113

No. 437

Plaque

From Rhodes

London, British Museum 1114

Description : As the last

Date : ca 660

Workshop : Rhodian
Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 1114

No. 438 Plaque (pl. 117b)
From Ephesos, Artemision
London, British Museum 905
Description : Sphinx with volute *sejant* to right.
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 905 fig.11.
Hogarth, o c, 109 pl. 8, 2.

No. 439 Plaque
From Ephesos
London, British Museum 906
Description : As the last.
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 906.
Hogarth, o c, 109.

No. 440 Plaque
From Ephesos
London, British Museum 907
Description : As the last
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: Marshall, *Cat*, 907
Hogarth, o c, 110 pl. 3, 6 and 8,9.

No. 441 Plaque
From Ephesos
Istanbul
Description : As the last
Date : ca 650
Bibliography: Hogarth, o c, 109.
Akurgal, *Kunst Anatoliens*, 191 fig. 148.

No. 442 Ornament (earring?)
From the Argolid

Athens, Stathatou Collection 42

Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes *sejant* on a
pomegranate.

Date : ca 640

Bibliography: P. Amandry, *Coll. Stathatos*, 29 no. 42 pl. 10.

LEAD FIGURINES

- No. 443 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
- Description : Sphinx *passant* to left
- Date : ca 650
- Workshop : Laconian I
- Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 179, 2.
- No. 444 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
- Description : *Bearded* crowned sphinx *passant* to left. Hind
part of the body missing.
- Date : ca 650
- Workshop : Laconian I
- Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 184, 12.
- No. 445 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
- Description : *Bearded* crowned sphinx *passant* to right.
Tail and paws missing.
- Date : ca 650
- Workshop : Laconian I
- Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 187, 18.
- No. 446 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
- Description : *Bearded* crowned sphinx *passant* to left.
Tail, tip of the wing and legs missing.
- Date : ca 650
- Workshop : Laconian I
- Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 187, 29.

- No. 447 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : Forepart of a *bearded* crowned sphinx.

Date : ca 650
Workshop : Laconian I
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 187, 26.
- No. 448 Lead figurine
From Sparta, Menelaion
Sparta Museum

Description : *Bearded* crowned sphinx *passant* to left.
Forelegs missing.

Date : ca 650
Workshop : Laconian I
Bibliography: Wace, *BSA* 15 (1908-9), 131 fig. 7.3.
- No. 449 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *passant* to right.

Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 184, 16.
- No. 450 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *passant* to right
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 187, 23.
- No. 451 Lead figurine
From Sparta, Menelaion
Sparta Museum

Description : *Passant* sphinx
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace, *BSA* 15 (1908-1909), 131 fig. 7.2.

No. 452 Lead figurine
From Sparta, Menelaion
Sparta Museum
Description : *Passant* sphinx
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace, *BSA* 15 (1908-1909), 131 pl. 7.29.

No. 453 Lead figurine
From Sparta, Menelaion
Sparta Museum
Description : Crowned *passant* sphinx
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace, *BSA* 15 (1908-9) pl. 7.31.

No. 454 Lead figurine
From Sparta, Menelaion
Sparta Museum
Description : Headless *passant* sphinx. Head missing
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace, *BSA* 15 (1908-9) pl. 7.31.

No. 455 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
Description : *Bearded* crowned sphinx *rampant* to right.
Date : ca 650
Workshop : Laconian I
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 184, 11.

No. 456

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : *Bearded, rampant* sphinx

Date : ca 650

Workshop : Laconian I

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 184, 13.

No. 457

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : *Bearded* sphinx with polos *rampant* to right.

Date : ca 630

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 25.

No. 458

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : *Bearded* crowned sphinx *sejant* to right. Hind legs and raised forepaw missing.

Date : ca 630

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 27.

No. 459

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : *Sejant* sphinx with raised forepaw.

Date : ca 630

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 184, 15.

No. 460

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens. NM

Description : Crowned sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 24.

No. 461 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens NM
Description : Sphinx with polos *sejant* to right.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 14.

No. 462 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
Description : Sphinx *sejant* to right.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 15.

No. 463 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
Description : Sphinx *sejant* to left.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 16.

No. 464 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
Description : Sphinx with polos *sejant* to right.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 19.

No. 465

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx with polos *sejant* to left. Forelegs
and most of the polos missing.

Date : ca 630

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 20.

No. 466

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx with polos *sejant* to left

Date : ca 630

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 21.

No. 467

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

Athens, NM

Description : Forepart of a sphinx *sejant* to right

Date : ca 630

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 22.

No. 468

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *sejant* to right

Date : ca 630

Workshop : Laconian II

Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 28.

No. 469

Lead figurine

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia

Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *sejant* to left.

Date : ca 650
Workshop : Laconian I
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 184, 14.

No. 470 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : *Sejant* sphinx with raised forepaw.

Date : ca 650
Workshop : Laconian I
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 184, 15.

No. 471 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : Crowned sphinx *demi-couchant* to left.

Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian I
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 262 pl. 187, 17.

No. 472 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : *Sejant* sphinx with polos
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Laconian I
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 179, 1.

No. 473 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *sejant erect* to right.

Date : ca 600
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 196, 17.

- No. 474 Lead figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
Description : Sphinx *sejant erect* to left
Date : ca 600
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace in *AO*, 254 pl. 196, 18.
- No. 475 Lead figurine
From Menelaion
Sparta Museum
Description : Sphinx with polos *sejant erect* to right
Date : ca 600
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace, *BSA* 15 (1908-9), 127 pl. 7, 30.
- No. 476 Lead figurine
From Menelaion
Sparta Museum
Description : *Bearded*, crowned sphinx *sejant* to right.
Date : ca 600
Workshop : Laconian II
Bibliography: Wace, *BSA* 15 (1908-9), 127 pl. 7, 32.

IVORY RELIEFS

- No. 477 Couchant ram (pl. 123b)
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15.612.
- Description : On the rectangular base of the ram a hooved
 sphinx *sejant regardant*.
- Date : ca 670
- Workshop : Laconian
- Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 230 pl. 153, 2.
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 129 n. 755 fig. 66.
- No. 478 Fibula plaque (pl. 123a)
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15508
- Description : Sphinx *sejant regardant* with uplifted forelegs,
 which are shown resting against the right edge
 of the plaque. On the forearm a maeander
 pattern.
- Date : 660-650
- Workshop : Laconian
- Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, pl. 93, 3.
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 35 no. 15 fig. 29.
 Matz, *JdI* 65-66 (1950-51), 100, n.4.
 J. Boardman, *BSA* 58 (1963), 4.
- No. 479 Fibula plaque (pl. 123c)
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15. 519.
- Description : Sphinx with crown and volute, *sejant gardant*.
- Date : 650
- Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 208 pl. 97, 1.
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 90 no. 39 fig. 65.
- No. 480 Plaque (pl. 153a)
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15.506.

Description : *Bearded, Gorgon-headed sphinx sejant gardant.*
Date : ca 625
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 210 pl. 102, 1.
Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 39, 41 fig. 33, 37.

No. 481

Plaque (pl. 125a)

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15520

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes.
Date : ca 620
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 213 pl. 106, 2.
Boardman, *BSA* 58 (1963), 5.
Herrmann, *Germania* 44 (1966), 87 n. 38.
Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 46 no. 20 fig. 36.

No. 482

Plaque, fr. (pl. 125b)

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15520a.

Description : Head and wing of a sphinx to right of the
same type as the last.
Date : ca 620
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, pl. 178, 2.
Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 47, no. 21, fig. 35.

No. 483

Comb (pl. 124a)

From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15.368

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes raising
their forepaw towards a male figure depicted
upside down between them.
Date : ca 650
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 223 pl. 127.
Barnett, *JHS* 68 (1948), 14.

Ker., 6, 2, 245.

Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 97 no. 47 fig. 78a.

- No. 484 Comb
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15.526

Description : Pair of antithetical *sejant* sphinxes with
 raised forepaw. Hind part of the body of the
 sphinx on the left missing.

Date : ca 620
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, pl. 182, 2.
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 96 no. 44 fig. 72.
- No. 485 Comb (pl. 125c)
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Gr. 136.1923

Description : Pair of antithetical *demi-couchant* sphinxes.
 Hind part of the sphinx on the left missing.

Date : ca 600
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 222 pl. 126, 2.
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, no. 48, fig. 74.
- No. 486 Comb
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15522

Description : Sphinx passant to right and animal.

Date : ca 600
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 222 pl. 130, 1.
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 94. no. 40. fig. 69.
- No. 487 Plaque
From Perachora
Athens, NM 16.531

Description : Forepart of a sphinx with volute *passant* to
 left.

Date : 650
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 406, A8 pl. 172.
Marangou, Lak. Elf., 190 n. 1058
Wallenstein, Kor. Plastik, 103 no. 11/B8

No. 487a Plaque
 From Perachora
 Athens, NM

Description : Wing and hind part of the body of a sphinx (?)
passant to right.

Date : ca 650
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, pl. 172, A7
Marangou, Lak. Elf., 190 n. 1058
Wallenstein, Kor. Plastik, 103 no. 8

No. 487 bis Cut-out plaque (pl. 152)
 From Delphi
 Delphi Museum

Description : *Double-bodied* sphinx. Head, upper part of
the wing and legs missing.

Date : ca 630
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: Unpublished

IVORY SEALS

- No. 488 Seal
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM
Description : *Sphinx sejant erect* to right
Date : ca 650
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 229 pl 142, 5.
- No. 489 Seal (pl. 139a)
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : *Bearded sphinx, sejant* to right.
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A65 pl. 180
- No. 490 Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : *Bearded sphinx sejant* with raised forepaw.
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 415 A30 pl. 176.
- No. 491 Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : As the last
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 429 A93 pl. 182.
- No. 492 Seal (pl. 139c)
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : *Bearded sphinx sejant erect* with raised forepaw.
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A58 pl. 179.

No. 493

Seal

From Per^achora
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx with volute *sejant* with raised forepaw.
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 417, A36 pl. 177.

No. 494

Seal (pl. 122b)

From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : As the last
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A37 pl. 177

No. 495

Seal

From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : As the last
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A46 pl. 178.

No. 496

Seal

From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : As the last
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A57, pl. 179

No. 497

Seal

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : As the last

Date : ca 680

Workshop : Corinthian

Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 429 A94, pl. 182

No. 498

Seal

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : As the last

Date : ca 680

Workshop : Corinthian

Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A61, pl. 179.

No. 499

Seal

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : As the last

Date : ca 680

Workshop : Corinthian

Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A50, pl. 179.

No. 500

Seal, fr.

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Half of the seal missing. In the preserved part, wing and head with volute.

Date : ca 680

Workshop : Corinthian

Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A42, pl. 177

No. 501

Seal, fr.

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Head with volute and wing of a sphinx to left.

Date : ca 680

Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A51, pl. 179

No. 502

Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx with volute, *demi-couchant* with raised forepaw.

Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A52, pl. 179.

No. 503

Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *sejant erect* with raised forepaw

Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 429, A88, pl. 182.

No. 504

Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx with volute *sejant* with raised forepaw.

Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A71, pl. 180.

No. 505

Seal (pl. 122c)
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *sejant regardant* with raised forepaw.

Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A43, pl. 177.

- No. 506 Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : *Sphinx sejant gardant*
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A56, pl. 179
- No. 507 Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : *Sphinx sejant gardant* with raised forepaw.
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 428, A82, pl. 181
- No. 508 Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : Pair of antithetical sphinxes, *sejant* with
 raised forepaw
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 420 A47 pl. 178
- No. 509 Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : Bearded, wingless sphinx with volute, *sejant*
 with raised forepaw.
Date : ca 680
Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 432, A122
- No. 510 Seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *sejant*
Date : ca 680
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, A39 pl. 177.

No. 511 Seal (pl. 151b)
From the Argive Heraion
Athens, NM
Description : *Double-bodied, sejant gardant* sphinx
Date : ca 670
Workshop : Lanconian (Karagiorga)
Bibliography: Wadlstein, *AH*, 2 351 pl. 139-140
Karagiorga, *Gorgie Kephale*, 37 fig. IIb.
Boardman, *IGems*, pl. 18a.

No. 512 Seal (pl. 139b)
From the Argive Heraion
Athens, NM
Description : *Bearded* sphinx with volute *sejant* with raised
forepaw.
Date : 660-650
Bibliography: Waldstein, *AH*, 2, 351 pl. 139.
Boardman, *IGems*, 145 pl. 18c.

No. 513 Seal
From Eleusis
Eleusis Museum
Description : "Sphinx"
Date : ca 680
Bibliography: Unpublished, cf. *Per.*, 2, 420 under A46

No. 514 Seal
From Samos
Samos Museum E60
Description : Sphinx *passant* to left.
Date : ca 680
Bibliography: Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem
samischen Heraion*, 46 pl. 11a.

No. 514a. Seal, fr.

Kameiros

London, British Museum

Description : Wing and hind part of the body of a *passant*
sphinx (?)

Date : ca 650

Bibliography: Hogarth, *The Archaic Artemisia*, pl. 31, 17.

No. 515 Couchant lion

From Ithaca, Aetos

Ithaca, Vathy Museum

Description : On the rectangular base of the lion a *wingless*
sphinx with volute *passant* to right.

Date : ca 680

Bibliography: S. Benton, *BSA* 48 (1953) 346, C55 pl. 68

STONE SEALS

- No. 516 Ogival seal (pl. 144a)
From Melos
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1894.5A
- Description : Tridacua shell. Side A: pair of antithetical centaurs. Side B: pair of antithetical *hooved* sphinxes *passant* on either side of a stylized tree. Side C: kneeling deer.
- Date : ca 700
- Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 136 pl. 17.1
G. Richter, *Engraved gems*, (1968), 30.
Coldstream, *GG*, 211 fig. 68, b-d.
J. Boardman, *Greek gems and finger rings*, 112 fig. 212.
- No. 517 Scarab seal (pl. 141b)
Unknown provenance
Göttingen, Arch. Institute G.12
- Description : Red stone. The back modelled as a human head. On the reverse a *wingless* sphinx *passant* to left.
- Date : ca 700
- Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 134, H2.
Crome, *Göttingen Gemmen*, (1931), 122 no. 1 pl. 1.
Fittschen, *Untersuchungen*, 103 n. 510, 1
Ohly, *Goldbleche*, 80 n. 51
P. Gercke, *AGDS*, 3 (1970), 71 no. 1.
- No. 518 Scarab seal (pl. 141c)
From Crete
Munich, Staatliche Münzesammlung A.1260 (ex-Coll. Roussopoulos)
- Description : Steatite, *bearded* sphinx with volute *sejant* to left.
- Date : ca 680
- Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 133, H1 (126)

Ohly, *Mü Jb*, 3.F.2 (1951), 14.21 fig. 22 pl. 2.8
AGDS, München I, pl. 13 no. 106.

- No. 519 Pyramidal seal (pl. 141a)
 "From Athens"
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1892, 318.

Description : Incised, brown steatite sphinx with volute
 sejant gardant.

Date : ca 680
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 122 E1 pl. 14.
- No. 520 Disc seal
 From Perachora
 Athens, NM

Description : Rock crystal set in a bronze swivel ring.
 Demi-conchant regardant sphinx with tail
 ending in a bird's (?) head.

Date : 640
Workshop : Near the Sunium group
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 126 F22; *Per.*, 2, pl. 191,
 B.9
- No. 521 Cube seal
 From Sunium
 Athens, NM

Description : Dark blue stone. Sphinx *sejant* to left

Date : ca 620
Workshop : Near the Sunium group
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 127 F28 pl. 15.
- No. 522 Lentoid seal
 From Crete
 New York, Private Collection (once Evans coll.)

Description : Sphinx *sejant* to left.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Cretan
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 129 G9 pl. 15.

ISLAND GEMS

- No. 523 Amygdaloid seal
From "Melos"
Breslau, Arch. Museum
Description : Steatite *wingless sphinx passant regardant*
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Island gems — class C
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 60 no. 225; *AZ*, 41 (1883),
 pl. 16, 11
- No. 524 Lentoid seal (pl. 122d)
From Melos
New York, Metr. Museum 42.11.7
Description : Grey micaceous stone. *Sphinx sejant regarent.*
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Island gems — class C
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 60 no. 226
 G. Richter, *Engraved Greek Gems*, (1970)
 no. 63
- No. 525 Lentoid seal
From Melos
Leningrad, Ermitage 516
Description : Steatite. *Sphinx passant to right*
Date : ca 600
Workshop : Island gems — class D
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 60 no. 227 pl. 8
- No. 526 Lentoid seal
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : Yellow jasper. *Sphinx passant to left*
Date : ca 600
Workshop : Island gems — Class D. early
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 60 no. 228
 Per., 2, pl. 191, B.21

- No. 527 Amygdaloid seal
Unknown provenance
Once Dawkins Collection
- Description : Dull, green steatite. Sphinx *passant* to left.
Date : ca 600
Workshop : Island gems — Class D — early
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 61 no. 229 pl. 8
- No. 528 Lentoid seal (pl. 139d)
"Greek Archipelago"
Manchester Museum 22913
- Description : Pale green steatite. Helmeted sphinx, *sejant*
with raised forepaw.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Island gems — Class C
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 61 no. 230 A pl. 8
- No. 529 Disc seal
Unknown provenance
London, British Museum 1934 1-19.4
- Description : Pale green steatite. Sphinx *sejant* to right
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Island gems — Class C
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 77 no. 331 pl. 11
- No. 530 Scarab seal
From Euboea, Dystos
Once Dawkins Collection
- Description : Translucent green steatite. Sphinx with volute
sejant erect to left.
Date : ca 630
Workshop : Island gems — Class C
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 79 no. 336 pl. 11
- No. 531 Scarab seal
Unknown provenance
Paris, Cab. Medd. (de Luynes 224)

Description : Pale green steatite. "Sphinx".

Date : ca 600

Workshop : Island gems — Class D.

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 80 no. 344

*No. 532

Oval seal

Unknown provenance

London, British Museum

Description : Pale green-grey steatite. Sphinx *passant*
to left.

Date : ca 600

Workshop : Island gems — Class D

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *IGems*, 83 no. 355

No. 533

Lentoid seal

Unknown provenance

Paris, Bibl. Nat. N. 4861

Description : Green serpentine. Bird and sphinx.

Date : ca 600

Workshop : Island gems

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *JHS* 88 (1968), 4 Add. 112, bis

STONE RELIEF

- No. 534 Statue of a seated goddess
From Prinias
Herakleion Museum
- Description : Among the motifs decorating the Goddess's
 dress, a sphinx *sejant erect* to left.
- Date : 650
- Workshop : Cretan
- Bibliography: L. Pernier, *AJA* 38 (1934), 175 pl. 18a.
 idem, *Ann.* 1 (1914), 57 fig. 21
 Ker., 6, 2 244 n. 314
- No. 534a Metope (pl. 124 b)
From Mycenae
Athens, NM 2870
- Description : Forepaws of two antithetical sphinxes (?)
 grasping the body of a fallen warrior.
- Date : ca 630
- Bibliography: F. Harl-Schäfler, *ÖJh* 50 (1972-75), 98
 figs. 2-3.

FAIENCE VASES

- No. 535 Globular pyxis, fr.
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : In the upper frieze a sphinx *passant* to right.
Date : "670-570" (Webb)
Workshop : Rhodian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 515 D 900 pl. 193
 V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 42 no. 165
 pl. 8
- No. 536 Globular pyxis
From Rhodes, Kameiros (Acropolis, 1864)
London, British Museum 64.10.7 808
Description : Decoration in friezes. In the first frieze,
 animals. In the second frieze, *wingless* sphinx
 passant to right, lion and *bearded* sphinx with
 polos *passant* to right.
Date : "670-570" (Webb)
Workshop : Rhodian
Bibliography: V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 41 no. 158
 fig. 18 pl. 7
- No. 537 Globular pyxis
From Rhodes, Kameiros (Acropolis 1864)
London, British Museum 64.10.7. 807
Description : Decoration in friezes. In the first frieze,
 three pairs of antithetical animals and
 hybrids: a) *Bearded passant* sphinx and lion,
 b) lion and *bearded passant* sphinx wearing a
 low crown, c) gazell and winged lion.
Date : "670-570" (Webb)
Workshop : Rhodian
Bibliography: V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, 41 no. 159
 fig. 18 pl. 7

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

- No. 538 Terracotta figurine, fr. (pls. 126 -7)
From Ithaca, Polis cave
Ithaca, Stavros Museum

Description : Forepart of a sphinx with low polos.

Date : ca 700
Workshop : Ithacan
Bibliography: S. Benton, *BSA* 35 (1934-35), 53
 idem, *BSA* 39 (1938-39), 38 no. 1 pl. 18.
 Dessenne, 206 n. 6
- No. 539 Terracotta figurine, fr. (pl. 131a)
From the Argive Heraeum
Athens, NM 14217

Description : Forepart of a sphinx *statant gardant*

Date : ca 660
Workshop : Argive
Bibliography: Karouzou, *Anagyrounta*, 97 fig. 73
 Waldstein, *AH*, pl. 48, 16
- No. 540 Terracotta figurine — incensory (pl. 131b)
From Kerameikos
Athens, Kerameikos Museum 144

Description : Sphinx *sejant* on a rectangular base.
 Incensory on the head

Date : ca 650
Workshop : Attic
Bibliography: Matz, *GGK*, I 164 pl. 67.
 Ker., 6, 2, 453 no. 45

BRONZE FIGURINES

No. 541

Bronze figurine (pl. 128)

From Crete

Berlin, Antikenabteilung 31342

Description : Sphinx *sejant gardant* on a small rectangular base.

Date : ca 690

Workshop : Cretan

Bibliography: E. Langlotz, *Corolla L. Curtius* (1937),
60-62 pl. 5.

Neugebaur, 183

Master Bronzes, no. 41 (with previous bibliography)

No. 542

Bronze figurine

From Delphi

Delphi Museum 3071

Description : Sphinx *sejant*. Forelegs missing

Date : ca 640

Workshop : East Greek (?)

Bibliography: Pedrizet, *FdD* 5, 136 no. 189 pl. 36
Rolley, *FdD* 5, 136 no. 189 pl. 39.

IVORY FIGURINES

- No. 543 Ivory figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15.543

Description : On a rectangular base, *wingless reclining*
 sphinx

Date : ca 700
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, pl. 149, 3 and 154, 2
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 125-128 no. 72 fig. 92
- No. 544 Ivory figurine (pl. 132a)
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15496

Description : Sphinx *sejant* with polos

Date : 625
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 240 pl. 169, 4
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 58 n. 535 fig. 42
- No. 545 Ivory figurine
From Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Athens, NM 15513

Description : Forepart of a *reclining* sphinx with polos

Date : 600
Workshop : Laconian
Bibliography: Dawkins, *AO*, 244 pl. 176, 5
 Herrmann, *Germania* , 44 (1966), 87 n. 38
 Marangou, *Lak. Elf.*, 58 n. 336
- No. 546 Ivory figurine (pl. 129a)
From Perachora
Athens, NM 16519

Description : *Couchant* sphinx on a rectangular base. Low
 flat polos and tail ending in an animal head.

Date : 670

Workshop : Corinthian
Bibliography: *Per.*, 2, 403 no. A1 pl. 171
Matz, *GGK* I, 163 pl. 65a
Wallenstein, *Kor. Plastik*, 17-18
(with previous bibliography)

No. 547 Ivory figurine (pl. 132b)
From Ephesos, Artemision
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum
Description : Sphinx *sejant* on a rectangular base
Date : ca 620
Workshop : East Greek
Bibliography: Hogarth, *The Archaic Artemisia*, 163 pl. 21, 4
Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens*, 194 n. 47-49 ,
figs. 153-154

C A T A L O G U E

SECTION II

IMPORTED SPHINXES

No. 550a Bronze figurine (pl. 162)
From Samos, Heraion
Samos Museum

Description : Ram-sphinx preserved with one foot-plinth.
Date : Second half of the eighth century
Bibliography: Herrmann, *Kessel*, 151 - 2 no. 37 pl. 61, 4-5
 Jantzen, *Samos*, 8, 63 B. 150 pl. 60
 J. Börker-Klähn, *OLZ*, 70 (1975), 539

No. 550a-bis Bronze figurine (pl. 163)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum B.4774

Description : Handle-attachment in the form of a sphinx
 protome. The protome consists of the fore
 part of a lion's body and a human bearded and
 helmeted head.
Date : Second half of the eighth century
Bibliography: Herrmann, *Kessel*, 151-153 pl. 61, 1-3

No. 551 Bronze figurine
From "Greece"
Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 82506

Description : "Kesselgriff bestehend aus geflügeltem Tier
 mit Menschenkopf" (Jantzen)
Date : Eighth century
Bibliography: Jantzen, *Samos*, 8, 64 n. 181

No. 552 Bronze group
From Miletos
Berlin, Pergamon Museum

Description : Human figure with a long dress on a base, which
 consists of a lion, a male and a female sphinx.
Date : Eighth century
Bibliography: Barnett, *NI*, 142 fig. 50

- No. 553 Bronze stand, fr. (pls. 164b and 165)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum B. 4000
Description : *Sejant* sphinxes with raised forepaw.
Date : Late eighth century
Workshop : North Syrian
Bibliography: Herrmann, *Kessel*, 163 U3, 169 ff. pls. 68-69,1
- No. 554 Bronze stand, fr.
From Olympia
Olympia Museum B. 4359
Description : Heads and part of the wings of two antithetical
 sphinxes, as well as the raised forepaw of a
 third.
Date : Late eighth century
Workshop : North Syrian
Bibliography: Herrmann, *Kessel*, 163 U4 pl. 69, 2-3
- No. 555 Bronze stand, fr. (pl. 164a)
From Olympia
Olympia Museum
Description : .Decoration in three friezes: Lotus palmettes
 in the upper frieze, *passant* lions in the
 second, pairs of *bearded* and helmeted *passant*
 sphinxes flanking a palmette in the lower frieze.
Date : Late eighth century
Workshop : North Syrian
Bibliography: N. Yalouris, *Arch. Delt* 19 (1964)B, 177 pl.
 181, 2-3
- No. 556 Bronze plaque (pl. 169b)
From Samos, Heraion
Samos Museum
Description : Sphinx with volute *sejant* to left
Date : Late eighth/Early seventh century
Bibliography: Jantzen, *Samos*, 8, 71 and 74. BB 778 pl. 73

Date : Late eighth century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Mus. It.*, 2, pl. 6, 2
Milani, *oc*, fig. 29
Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 22 no. 8

No. 561 Bronze bowl, fr.
From Athens, the Acropolis
Athens, NM
Description : Pairs of antithetical sphinxes with disk and uraeus repeated in a frieze.
Date : Late eighth century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: A. Bather, *JHS* 13 (1892-3), 248 fig. 19

No. 562 Bronze bowl (pl. 166b)
From Delphi
Delphi Museum
Description : In a scene depicting the siege of a fortress, chariot driven by a helmeted sphinx with outstretched wings and apron.
Date : Ninth century
Workshop : North Syrian
Bibliography: Pedrizet, *FdD*, 5, 23 pls. 18-20

No. 563 Bronze bowl (pl. 166a)
From Olympia
Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum G. 401
Description : In a scene depicting a lion hunt, chariot driven by a sphinx with outstretched wings, uraeus and apron.
Date : Ninth century
Workshop : North Syrian
Bibliography: Poulsen, *Der Orient*, 23 fig. 12-13

No. 564 Bronze bowl, fr. (pl. 167a)
From Olympia

Olympia Museum B. 1145

Description : Panther protomes and *reclining gardant* sphinxes.

Date : Late eighth century

Workshop : North Syrian

Bibliography: Herrmann, *Kessel*, 178 pl. 76

IVORIES

No. 565 Ivory Plaque, fr. (pl. 170a)

From Crete, Idaean Cave

Athens, NM

Description : Forepart of a sphinx with solar disk *passant*
to left. Forelegs and most of the face missing.

Date : Eighth century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: E. Kunze, *AM* 60-61 (1935-36) 219 pl. 84
Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern*
neighbours, 38

TRIDACNA SHELLS

- No. 566 Tridacna shell, fr.
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : In the interior, above a band of triangles,
 flank, body and both wings of a *reclining*
 sphinx.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 527, K.1 pl. 194
 Stucky, *Tridacna*, 50 no. 76 pl. 50
- No. 567 Tridacna shell, fr.
From Rhodes, Kameiros
London, British Museum 64. 10-7, 1976

Description : In the interior, above a band of triangles,
 flank, body and wing of a *reclining* sphinx,
 surrounded by lotus palmettes.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: Stucky, *Tridacna*, 37 no. 39 pl. 25 with previous
 bibliography.
- No. 568 Tridacna shell, fr.
From Rhodes, Lindos
Copenhagen, NM 10327

Description : In the interior, above a band of triangles, two
 pairs of *reclining* sphinxes with displayed
 wings.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: *Lindos*, 1, 179 no. 553, B pl. 19
 Stucchi, *Boll. d'Arte* 44 (1959), 162 ff. fig.
 9-10
 Stucky, *Tridacna*, 38 no. 41 pl. 26-27

- No. 569 Tridacna shell fr.
From Rhodes, Lindos
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum
- Description : On the exterior, wing and tail of a *reclining* sphinx, surrounded by lotus palmettes. In the interior above a guilloche and a frieze of lotus buds, the flank, body and wing of a *reclining* sphinx.
- Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: *Lindos*, I, 181 no. 561, pl. 21
 Stucky, *Tridacna*, 38-39 no. 43, pl. 28
- No. 570 Tridacna shell, fr.
From Rhodes, Lindos
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 3337
- Description : In the interior, body and flank of a *reclining* sphinx
- Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: *Lindos*, I, 181 no. 558
 Stucky, *Tridacna*, 40 no. 47, pl. 31
- No. 571 Tridacna shell, fr.
From Rhodes
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landes Meusum, 68/38a
- Description : In the interior, pair of antithetical, *reclining* sphinxes with outstretched wings, surrounded by lotus palmettes and birds.
- Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: Stucky, *Tridacna*, 47 no. 68 pl. 43-46
- No. 572 Tridacna shell, fr.
From Samos
Berlin, Pergamon Museum V.16
- Description : In the interior, flank, body and wings of a

reclining sphinx

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: Stucky, *Tridacna*, 42 no. 52 pl. 33

No. 573

Tridacna shell, fr.

From Samos

Berlin, Pergamon Museum 483x, 3.12.10

Description : In the interior flank, body and wing of a
reclining sphinx surrounded by plants.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: Stucky, *Tridacna*, 42 no. 53 pl. 34

No. 574

Tridacna shell, fr.

From Samos

Samos Museum V. 175

Description : On the exterior, beneath the left wing, the
head of a *reclining sphinx* and a lotus bud. In
the interior head of a *reclining sphinx*.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: Stucky, *Tridacna*, 44 no. 59 pl. 37

No. 575

Tridacna shell, fr.

From Samos

Samos Museum V. 176

Description : In the interior flank of *reclining sphinx* with
lotus palmette below.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)
Bibliography: Stucky, *Tridacna*, 45 no. 60 pl. 37

No. 576

Tridacna shell, fr.

From "Coast of Asia Minor"

Berme, Archaeological Institute of the University

Description : On the exterior beneath the wing, head of a *reclining* sphinx. In the interior *reclining* sphinx with outstretched wings, surrounded by blossoms and buds.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician (Group II)

Bibliography: Stucky, *Tridacna*, 47 no. 67 pls. 41-42

FAIENCE SCARABS

No. 577

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Above, *reclining* sphinx. Below, cartouche of Menkare, worshipped by a kneeling falcon-headed god.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 481 D 60 fig. 30

No. 578

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : At top, two confronted falcons; below, winged disc and a sphinx with the name of Menkare inscribed sideways over its back.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 481 D 63 pl. 192

*No. 579

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : , Lion, winged disc and sphinx

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 502 D. 513

No. 580

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : At top, papyrus clump and falcon; below winged disc and sphinx *passant*.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 573 pl. 192

No. 581

Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Wingless, *reclining* sphinx with winged uraeus
in front, uraeus over back.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 574 fig. 37

No. 582

Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : Wingless, *reclining* sphinx wearing a Royal
Crown.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 575 fig. 37

No. 583

Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : *Wingless, reclining* sphinx wearing Double
Crown with uraeus in front and falcon and
disc behind.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 576 pl. 192

No. 584

Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM

Description : *Wingless, reclining* sphinx wearing the atef-
crown with disc and winged uraeus over back
and unidentified sign in front.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 577 fig. 37

No. 585 Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : At top, *wingless, reclining* sphinx; below,
winged disc and again wingless reclining sphinx

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 578 pl. 192

No. 586 Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : *Wingless, reclining* sphinx wearing atef-crown
and disk with uraeus over back.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 579 fig. 37

No. 587 Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : As the last

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 580

No. 588 Scarab
From Perachora
Athens, NM
Description : *Wingless, reclining* sphinx

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 581 fig. 37

No. 589

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx wearing atef-crown

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 582

No. 590

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : Sphinx *passant*

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 583

No. 591

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : *Passant* sphinx

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 584 p1. 192

No. 592

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : *Reclining* sphinx with uraeus on brow, disk on head.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 585 fig. 37

No. 593

Scarab

From Perachora

Athens, NM

Description : *Reclining* sphinx with crown of Lower Egypt
Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Per*, 2, 505 D. 586 pl. 192

No. 594

Scarab

From Corinth, grave 109

Corinth Museum

Description : Bearded, *passant* sphinx with atef-crown.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: Corinth 13, 61

Brown, *Eg. artifacts*, 33 no. 1

No. 595

Scarab

From Delos, Artemision

Delos Museum B.7160

Description : "Sphinx" (Brown)

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: Brown, *Eg. artifacts*, 19 no. 1

No. 596

Scaraboid

From Chios, Kato Phana

Chios Museum

Description : Sphinx with solar-disc.

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934-35), 164 pl. 32, 68

Brown, *Eg. artefacts*, 14 n. 19

J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 20 no. 5

No. 597

Scaraboid

From Tanagra

Once Schaubert Collection

Description : *Reclining* sphinx and uraeus. Below, a winged disc and a cartouche flanked by uraei.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *Ann. d'Ist* 1885, pl. 11
J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 21 no. 10

No. 598

Scaraboid

From Sparta, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia
Sparta Museum

Description : Crowned sphinx and uraeus. Below two figures
support a cartouche.

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: *AO*, pl. 206, 16
J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 21 no. 11

No. 599

Scaraboid

From Rhodes, Kameiros
London, British Museum

Description : Crowned sphinx

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 20 no. 7

No. 600

Scaraboid

From Rhodes, Kameiros
London, British Museum

Description : As the last

Date : Early seventh century
Workshop : Phoenician
Bibliography: J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 20 no. 2

No. 601-
607

Seven scaraboids

From Rhodes Kameiros
London, British Museum

Description : As the last

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems*, 20 no. 3
and 4

No. 608

Scarab

From Crete, Fortetsa, tomb II

Herakleion Museum

Description : *Bearded, wingless, reclining sphinx*

Date : Early seventh century

Workshop : Phoenician

Bibliography: Brock, *Fortetsa*, 208 no. 1076 pl. 173

