

## 2.—THE FINDS.

*Sculpture.*

The outstanding feature of the excavations of 1925 was the discovery, in the circumstances above described, of substantial portions of a marble statue, of more than life size, representing a helmeted warrior.<sup>1</sup> These comprise (1) the head and armless torso down to the waist; (2) two portions of the marble crest, which join each other, and fit on to the helmet; (3) the left leg, from knee to ankle; (4) part of the right foot, lacking heel and toes (material, scale, and style as far as can be seen in its damaged condition, make the attribution practically certain); (5) a small piece from the rim of the marble shield, which we must restore the figure as holding.

1. *Dimensions :*

Height to top of helmet without crest . . . . .	.76 m.
Circumference of neck, below hair . . . . .	.50 „
Height from top of helmet to point of beard . . . . .	.27 „
„ „ tip of nose to point of beard . . . . .	.096 „
„ „ „ „ „ to point of nasal . . . . .	.06 „
Length of eye-sockets . . . . .	.041 „
Max. height of eye-sockets . . . . .	.02 „
Length of mouth . . . . .	.06 „
Height of upper lip . . . . .	ca. .018 „

There are two cuttings for the crest on the top of the helmet, of which that nearer the front is .085 m. long, the other .10 m.; a plain surface lies between them, .026 m. long; the cuttings are nearly straight-sided, but vary in width between .028 and .035 m. A part of the tenon of the crest was found broken off short in the rearward cutting, and has since been rejoined to the fragment to which it belongs.

*Damage :* both arms are missing, being broken away at the shoulders, and in addition the surface has been flaked off from the back of the right shoulder and the chest close to the arm-pit. The tip of the nose is chipped away, giving us an erroneous impression of a pronouncedly

<sup>1</sup> On publishing this important find I wish to record my indebtedness for many helpful suggestions received from friends and colleagues in Athens and elsewhere. It has been impossible to analyse and acknowledge this help in detail, and I fear that in spite of it the task has been inadequately performed. For any errors in reasoning or conclusions the responsibility is mine alone.

aquiline nose. Both upper and lower right eyelid are chipped, and the lower left eyelid is also slightly damaged; the filling from the sockets is lost. There are other but quite trifling surface-injuries; luckily the pick only struck the point of fracture of the left shoulder.

As the photographs shew (Pls. XVIII–XX), the subject is a bearded man, of middle age, with a short beard and shaven upper lip. He wears a close-fitting helmet of the Attic type, with a short nasal, large cheek-pieces in the form of rams' heads,<sup>1</sup> and a slightly turned-up rim to protect the back of the neck, beneath which projects a row of small spiral, stylised curls, twenty-three in number. Two sharply-incised lines are cut in the brow-piece, following roughly the line of the eyebrows, and nearly meeting in the middle, where there is a slight raised vertical ridge. Remains of painted palmette-ornaments are visible on the sides of the crown of the helmet, just above the position of the ears, but the full design is not clear.<sup>2</sup>

The eyes have prominent lids, and the background of the sockets is slightly convex (Pls. XIX, XX). Traces remain of the method employed in cutting them, as there are nine tiny drill-holes along the upper edge of the left socket, and three rather shallower, along the lower edge. The absence from the right socket of similar holes would suggest that it was cut after the other, the sculptor having by then ascertained that he had drilled needlessly deep for the left eye. Another peculiarity of the eyes, emphasised by the slight damage to the lids, is the way in which the line of the lower lids is drawn downwards appreciably deeper close to the outer angles, and that of the upper lids rises as it approaches the inner angles. The stylistic importance of this feature is referred to below (p. 262).

<sup>1</sup> The cheek-pieces are shewn as rigid, not hinged. This type of ornamented *παρυρθίς* with rams' heads is not rare. Among early works of art, cf. a figure (with spear held horizontally) on the N. frieze of the Knidian Treasury (*Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. Pl. XIV); the helmet of Achilles on the vase by Amasis (Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, iii. Fig. 218); that on the kylix by Pamphaios (*ibid.*, Fig. 345). For a later example, with the cheek-pieces folded back on to the frontal, cf. the Athena Giustiniani, dating from the late fifth century, and known in many replicas (Rome, Terme, 112 = Helbig<sup>2</sup>, 1362; Vatican, Br. Nuovo, Amelung, 114; Cassel, No. 12 in Fräulein M. Bieber's Catalogue, and full bibliography, *ad loc.*, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> The remains visible have been outlined on the cast, and shew well in Pl. XX. Parallels for such decoration on helmets can be found in plenty on vases, both Orientalising and Attic; e.g. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, Figs. 267, 292, 314, 315, 345; and cf. the Klazomenai sarco-phagus, *ibid.*, Fig. 140.

The nose is broad and fleshy, with strongly-marked lines running from the top of the nostrils towards the outer corners of the mouth. The mouth is closed, and the lips, which are thick and full, run upwards towards their extremities. The short beard is represented by close-set striations, which are mostly very straight and parallel; but where it appears below the edges of the cheek-pieces, the striations are oblique and wider spaced.

The neck is very massive for the size of the head, and remarkably short.

The sinews of the throat are carefully rendered, with shallow-cut modelling which shews much skill in giving the effect of light and shade. The head is turned considerably to the left, and thrust forward, following with restraint the forward movement of the body.

The collar-bone is shewn prominently, the massive chest is inflated, and the abdominal muscles emphasised (Pl. XVIII). The ribs, on the other hand, are treated superficially, where they appear at the sides, by a series of shallow parallel grooves, which lack conviction when contrasted with the vigorous treatment of the chest-muscles.

The powerful back, with a pronounced spinal groove, is rendered with as much care, and at least as much skill, as the chest, the left shoulder-blade in particular conveying most vividly the muscular development beneath the skin. A strongly-marked, and indeed exaggerated, line marks the edge of the *latissimus dorsi* muscle running downwards and backwards from the left arm-pit. This emphasis, coupled with the scanty remains visible of the upper muscles of the shoulders in front, leaves no doubt that both arms were extended, and to some extent raised. The pose would have suggested that the warrior held a shield on his left arm, even if we had not found a piece (No. 5) of the shield itself; and the ridge of muscle on the right shoulder indicates that the arm was raised to strike, presumably with a spear held at the level of the head. The closest resemblance in pose is that afforded by the beardless warrior from the west pediment at Aegina.<sup>1</sup>

2. *The crest.* Fig. 3*b* shews the two portions, found prior to the discovery of the torso, joined together. Its height is .43 m.; its thickness varies between .028 and .031 m.; the maximum projection from the helmet was *ca.* .12 m. A small piece is lost from the tail, and the cast

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, *Aegina*, ii. Pl. 96, No. 22 (= Glypt. 76).

is completed conjecturally with a flat end below, instead of an elongated, and gradually rounded, finish as on the Aeginetan crests where preserved.<sup>1</sup> At the lower point of the crest, as restored, a mark on the back, visible on Pl. XVIII, may possibly be due to, or at least accentuated by, dripping

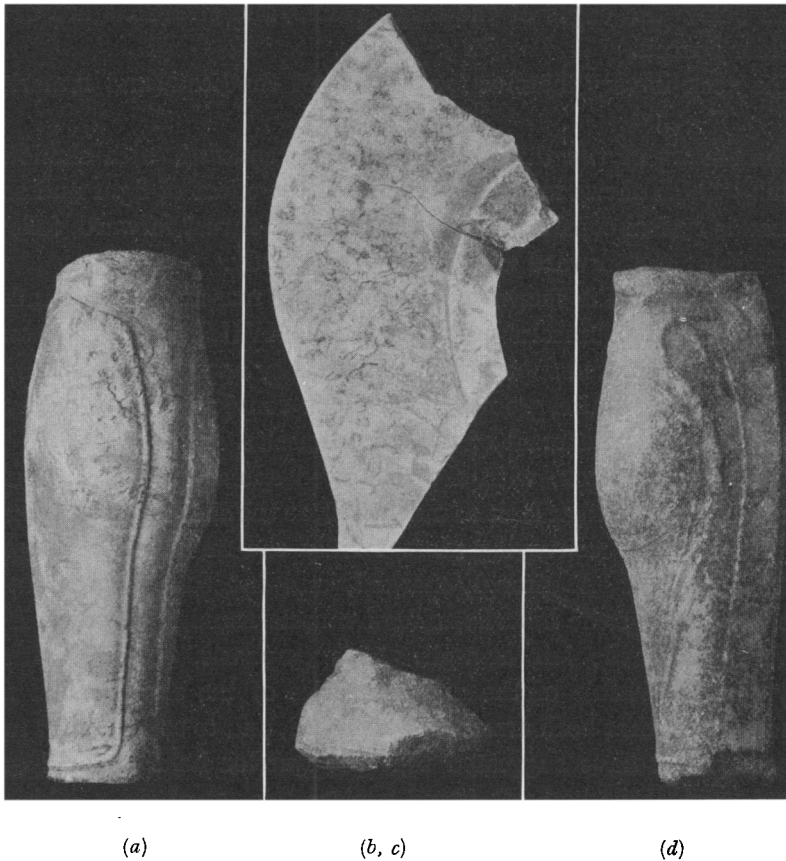


FIG. 3.—*a, d*, LEFT LEG; *b, c*, CREST; *c*, FRAGMENT OF RIGHT FOOT. (Scale 1:6.)

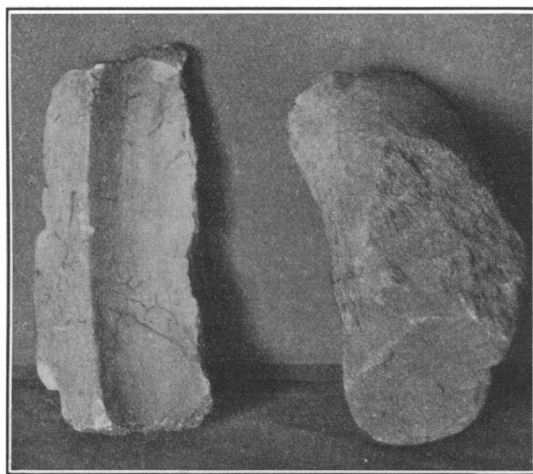
of rain-water from the crest at this point.<sup>2</sup> The front profile of the crest is, of course, also conjectural, but is in close agreement with many more or less contemporary examples on vases and bronze statuettes. At the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, Pl. 101, No. 148 (= Glypt. 152).

<sup>2</sup> It does not look as if this mark was originally due to rain-drops alone; it resembles a deep irregular scratch.

same time symmetry of curve to harmonise with the curves both of the rearward portion and of the top of the helmet itself had to be considered.

3. *The left leg* (Fig. 3*a, d*). Ht.  $\cdot 42$ ; max. circumference  $\cdot 505$  m. This is broken off squarely below the knee-cap, and above the ankle. The greave is preserved complete. The chief features are well seen in the illustration, namely, the pronounced curve of the shin-bone, the large spiral ornament in relief, running up on to the calf, and the fine bearded snake's head ornamenting it near the top.<sup>1</sup> The calf-muscle



(a)

(b)

FIG. 4.—*a*, SHIELD-FRAGMENT; *b*, RIGHT FOOT. (Scale 1 : 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

is well-developed, but not emphasised in the rendering, where it is visible at the back of the greave. As far as it is shown, it exhibits no tension inconsistent with the foot being planted firmly on the ground to take the weight of an advancing figure.

4. *Right foot* (Figs. 3*c, 4b*). L.  $\cdot 165$ ; br.  $\cdot 08$ ; ht.  $\cdot 096$  m. The toes are missing, the back of the heel also is broken away, and the fracture above runs across the top of the instep, just above the outer ankle-joint. The under surface is also damaged, leaving it doubtful whether the foot rested flat on the ground or not.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the bearded snakes on the bronze greaves, *Olympia, Bronzen*, Nos. 990, 991 and Pl. LXI.

5. *Fragment* from rim of *shield* (Fig. 4a). L. .17; br. .07; do. of rim .053 m.; the thickness varies between .016 and .005 m.

The marble is white, and coarse-grained, and we need not hesitate to accept it as Parian. The head and torso are stained to a mellow red tint by the clay beneath which they have lain so long, and are somewhat disfigured by incrustation. There is very little trace of surface-corrosion due to weathering. The left leg is of a much purer white colour, but also slightly incrustated, although not so far as to conceal the modelling.

Owing to the discoloration of the former, illustrations from the cast, by affording uniformity of tone, shew far more clearly the details of the muscular treatment.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Style, Date and Subject.*

The circumstances of the discovery, as described above, are of paramount importance in any attempt to identify our warrior. The figure was found, as we have seen, lying face upwards amid a stratum of cobbles on the debris-strewn slope a few metres in front of the S.-W. angle of the precinct of Athena Chalkioikos; the crest-fragments close at hand, the shield-piece rather to the east, and the left leg some three metres further down the slope. There was no trace of any base from which it could have fallen, nor of any building (other than the Chalkioikos-Sanctuary) to which it could have belonged. At the same time, the presence of several fragments of the same statue within a small area strongly suggests that its original home was not far away from the finding-place of the main portion. Failing the subsequent discovery—which seems unlikely—of evidence in any form to the contrary, we must assume that our statue stood in, or close to, the Chalkioikos-precinct.

We have also seen that the statue was found below the layer of clay filling thrown in at the time that the *cavea* of the theatre was built, in its final form, at a date which can scarcely be later than the first quarter of the first century of our era. It is thus out of the question that it could have been seen by Pausanias in the Antonine period, and consequently we gain no direct help from this author for the purposes of its identification.

<sup>1</sup> These five pieces are now in the National Museum at Athens. Pending the possible discovery of further fragments it has not seemed advisable to set up the torso on a permanent base.

Without anticipating here the conclusions to be drawn on stylistic grounds, for subject and date, we may proceed somewhat further towards an identification by observing that there is no sign that the figure was less carefully worked on one side than the other, or that the back is inferior in finish to the front.<sup>1</sup> It must, one feels, have been made to be seen close at hand, and from all sides. Moreover, there is nothing at all suggesting that it was intended to be seen from below only. These considerations would, in any case, suffice to convince us that it was not a pedimental sculpture; and they receive additional weight when we realise that there was no temple on the Spartan Acropolis large enough to have contained pedimental figures of the scale of our Warrior.<sup>2</sup> The question whether it stood by itself or formed one of a group is not easy to decide. Certainly up to the present no fragments have been found, which by their scale could indicate a companion-figure, but this negative evidence must not be unduly stressed, especially as the excavation of the area in which other fragments may be found is not yet complete. We must not in fact assume that the warrior had no antagonist; but, on the other hand, we must not be driven to adopt the opposite conclusion.

Here then we have a marble statue of a warrior, rather more than life-sized, of fine style and in vigorous movement, erected on the Acropolis of Sparta in circumstances to which we have no clue from external evidence. On the internal evidence of style, we may suggest an approximate date, for, subject to the warning that comparisons with pedimental sculptures must not be pressed too closely for works which do not belong to that class, our statue seems definitely to mark an advance on any of the warrior-figures from the Aegina pediments. Not only is there more skill in the portrayal of individuality, in giving animation to the features, but the rendering of the bodily forms is incomparably finer. The dry, hard and to some extent formal and lifeless handling of the muscles—indeed of the anatomy in general—of even the best of the Aeginetan figures contrasts strongly with the fuller treatment of our statue, which succeeds in giving life and suppleness to the play of muscles and sinews beneath the skin. This difference is not merely that of one School from another, it is a sure sign of greater skill in the handling of

<sup>1</sup> Certain small differences are to be seen in the treatment of the two cheek-pieces.

<sup>2</sup> On the analogy of Aegina, and allowing for the fact that our statue is larger than the Aeginetan pediment-sculptures, we should require a temple measuring *ca.* 34 × 17 metres. No such temple ever stood on the Spartan Acropolis.

the material. In considering a '*terminus ante quem*,' we must admit that the Olympia Pediments mark a stage which our Warrior has not reached. In the absence of the lower part of the body, and the legs above the knee, we cannot feel full confidence as to the exact position and balance of the figure, but it seems that the artist was still under the influence of the traditional pose for a fighting-man, exemplified by the beardless Aegina warrior already mentioned. He must be earlier than, or at least he cannot have been influenced by, the School that produced the Diskobolos of Myron, which opens up a new vista in the rendering of the body in action. The sculptor to whom we owe the Spartan figure has brought a familiar type to a higher degree of perfection than hitherto known, by his skill in the rendering of bodily forms, coupled with his realisation of individual character in the rendering of the features; but he is not a great innovator.

We find in fact traces, not to say proofs, of conservatism which forbid us to date the work long after the Aeginetan groups. The little row of curls projecting from below the helmet at the back reminds us most of the head of Harmodios at Naples,<sup>1</sup> though such curls are far from rare on the foreheads of figures, both in marble and bronze, which cannot be far distant in date from ours.<sup>2</sup> The wide mouth, with its broad lips and upward inclination towards the corners, is another link with the earlier traditions which we cannot afford to overlook. To date our statue within these limits, *i.e.*, soon after the Aegina Pediments, and definitely earlier than the Olympia Temple-Sculptures, brings it to the period 480-460, during which it is scarcely open to doubt that it must have been made. We need not even raise the question as to its being a later copy of a work of that date; the most cursory glance at a photograph, for those unable to examine the original, suffices to remove all doubt on this point.

If we seek for closer affinities, within the narrow limits suggested, we should perhaps limit our choice of comparative material too closely. The resemblance to the curls on the head of Harmodios is about the only feature in common with this group. The bearded head of his companion, as restored on the Dresden cast,<sup>3</sup> has nothing at all suggestive of our

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Collignon, *S.G.* i. Fig. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the heads mentioned below, p. 261 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Joubin, *Sculpture Grecque entre les Guerres Médiques et l'Époque de Périclès*, Figs. 1 and 22. For a more recent alternative suggestion by Br. Schröder, who would place



head; and, making allowance for the Naples group being a late copy, the treatment of the bodily forms is in marked contrast. Nor again can we find any analogy with the Delphi charioteer. This is hardly surprising, seeing the difference in subject and its presentation. It is with less clearly dated figures that our comparisons must be sought, and as we shall see, not sought in vain.

It is hard to resist the conviction that our statue has a great deal about it to suggest that its artist was by training familiar with sculpture in bronze. The hollow eye-sockets by themselves are not a proof, but coupled with the striated treatment of the beard, and to a less extent with the full lips, the curls on the nape, and the care devoted to the treatment of the helmet, and of the ornament of the greave, all seem to have a cumulative effect in forcing us towards this conclusion.

Let us compare the beard and lips, for instance, with those of the bronze Poseidon from the Gulf of Corinth (Athens, Nat. Mus., 11761),<sup>1</sup> or with the somewhat earlier bronze head from the Athenian Acropolis (*ibid.*, 6446 = Collignon, *S.G.* i., Fig. 151), or with the still earlier Zeus head from Olympia (*ibid.*, 6440)<sup>2</sup> ascribed to Peloponnesian origin; and in each case a certain degree of resemblance can be felt. The Acropolis head, which has the beard treated as a solid mass on which are engraved a number of fine lines to indicate the separate hairs, must belong to a school definitely distinct from those represented by either of the others, where the striations are more clearly emphasised, and where the beard, though more massive, does not conceal the shape of the jaw beneath. None of these examples, and indeed no other contemporary work known to me, can give quite the same impression as the Sparta figure conveys, as it alone has the upper lip shaven. This at once gives more character to the face, by giving the upper lip equal prominence with the lower, and by giving full effect to the strongly marked lines from the nostrils towards the ends of the mouth.

Nevertheless, it is to a marble head that we must turn to find a

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on the Naples body of Aristogeiton the bearded head of a Herm from the Townley collection (*B.M. Sculpture*, iii. 1609), cf. *Jahrb.* xxviii. (1913), pp. 26-34, and esp. Figs. 7, 8 (cf. also Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i. p. 345 f. and Fig. 99). This is no nearer to the Spartan head in style.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Joubin, *op. cit.*, Figs. 23, 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia, Bronzen*, No. 1, and Pl. I. 1; Perrot-Chipiez, viii. p. 463 f., and Figs. 235, 236.

closer similarity of treatment than any of these bronzes afford. It is a work which seems also to come from the chisel of a sculptor no less familiar with work in bronze than in marble, as it shews some of the same characteristics which we have observed in our Warrior. I mean the marble head from Olympia (Vol. iii. Pl. VI.; cf. *Aegina*, i. pp. 347 ff., and Figs. 278A, 279A), claimed by Furtwängler as belonging to the dedication by Phormis, though Hyde returns to Treu's view that it represents an Hoplitodromos.<sup>1</sup>

It seems quite incredible that it can date as early as Hyde would place it,<sup>2</sup> whether or no we follow him in giving it to the 'Attic School,' and Furtwängler's conclusion as to its date carries much more conviction 'that it can very well belong to the second decade of the fifth century . . . and be perhaps from the hand of an Attic master.' That it is in marked contrast to the Aeginetan works, in the fleshy treatment of the face and the full lips, as many writers have pointed out, is obvious. In spite of its having a moustache, and wearing a helmet which exposes much more of the face, in spite, moreover, of the different treatment of the beard, this head affords us striking points of similarity with our Spartan head.

The fleshy modelling of the cheeks, emphasised by the downward lines from the nostrils, the broad nose, the full lips, are common to the two heads. The curls on the neck of the Spartan head, though not present on that from Olympia, appear there on the forehead, in very similar treatment, but the greatest resemblance seems to lie in the handling of the eyes.

Here alone, among more or less contemporary sculptures, have we something closely akin to the feature pointed out above, namely, the quick upward curve of the upper eyelid as it leaves the inner angle, and the drop in the line of the lower lid near its outer angle. This feature, which gives added alertness to the expression, does not nevertheless result in the two heads having an identical expression about the eyes, for those of the Olympia head are in any case shorter, and higher in proportion than on that from Sparta; it is not, perhaps, prejudice only which leads me to claim that the latter displays greater strength of character, and this not merely as a result of greater technical skill. Comparing the two

<sup>1</sup> *Olympic Victor Monuments*, p. 162 f.

<sup>2</sup> He regards it as portraying Phrikias of Pelinra, victor as 'Ὀπλιτοδρόμος in 508 and 504 B.C.

heads one is tempted to attribute them with some confidence to the same School, and not improbably to the same sculptor, and to postulate that the 'Phormis' head is a somewhat earlier work, and represents a less interesting subject. It is of no small importance that both are of Parian marble.

There is good ground then, both in style and material, for grouping these two heads closely together, and the new example need not induce us to withdraw the provisional attribution of the other to an Attic master. If the Olympia head shews an advance on the Herakles-heads from the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi,<sup>1</sup> the bodily forms of the Spartan torso seem to mark a still greater advance, along the same lines, on the bodies on the same metopes. That the unknown Attic sculptor, who produced these two heads, was influenced by the traditions of other Schools is not unlikely, but material proof is lacking.<sup>2</sup> Our conclusion for the present must be that the Sparta figure is the work of probably an Attic sculptor, whose School certainly produced also the 'Phormis' head from Olympia, and that its date is not before 480, and perhaps before rather than after 470 B.C.

In the absence of any direct help from literary sources, one can but offer suggestions for the identification of the subject on internal evidence. The work does not, and could not possibly, represent a deity. We may go further, and claim with confidence that the shaven upper lip, in the first place, points strongly to a Spartan as the subject. I know of no bearded figure in sculpture of this period with the upper lip clean-shaven, and the Spartan injunction *μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα* must have been here in the sculptor's mind.<sup>3</sup> But what Spartan would have been likely to be portrayed in fighting attitude, on the Acropolis, between *ca.* 480 and 470 B.C.? Our choice seems limited to Leonidas and Pausanias, and between them it is not easy to come to a decision. We know from Pausanias the Traveller that beside the altar of Athena Chalkioikos stood two bronze statues to his namesake, the Victor of Plataea (iii. 17, 7 and 9), erected by the Spartans *ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν*; we know, moreover, from Thucydides (i. 134) that by order of the Oracle (on the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* on those of Herakles and Kyknos, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. Pl. 42; and H. and the stag, *ibid.*, Pl. 41.

<sup>2</sup> It is easier to suggest than to define, or prove, some 'Peloponnesian' influence.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. ii. 550 D; cf. Müller, *Dorians* (E. T.), iii. 7, § 7; Dawkins, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 325 (where the Greek is quoted as *κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα*, etc.).

same occasion?) the body of Pausanias was transferred from the vicinity of the Kaiadas, where it was first interred, and buried on the spot where he died. Thus it seems that at the time of the Traveller's visit to Sparta these two bronze statues were still standing. It is on this account difficult to interpret our marble statue as representing Pausanias. Even if the Traveller is wrong in describing the two statues as of bronze, our Warrior was not standing for him to see, having been buried not less than 150 years before. If a marble statue of Pausanias originally accompanied the two bronze ones, why should it have been overthrown while they survived? This is not impossible, but surely far from likely, and to such an hypothesis we need only turn if the alternative prove even more improbable. Can it then more plausibly be connected with Leonidas? I hope to show that it can.

Leonidas fell and was buried at Thermopylae, and his bones were brought to Sparta forty years afterwards, if Pausanias' version (iii. 14, 1) is correct. But as he adds that they were brought by Pausanias, who was, of course, no longer alive, it was proposed by K. O. Müller to read *τέσσαρσι* for *τεσσαράκοντα*.<sup>1</sup> The passage is a still unsolved *cruce*, but that the bones were, in fact, brought seems clear, for the Traveller speaks of the *μνήμα* of Leonidas as beside that of Pausanias. (Contrast the *τάφος κενός* of Brasidas, *ibid.*) We must note that he describes them as *τοῦ θεάτρου ἀπαντικρῦ*, which is often interpreted as meaning 'facing,' *i.e.*, south of, 'the theatre.'<sup>2</sup> But it is justly pointed out by Hitzig-Bluemner (i. p. 783) that, since the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias are grouped together, and since (as we have seen) Thucydides is our authority for the tomb of Pausanias being on the Acropolis, where he fell, Pausanias the Traveller must have seen their tombs there, and not behind the stage. *Ἀπαντικρῦ* must, therefore, mean behind the *cavea*, facing the stage, which is a fairly exact description of the position of the Chalkioikos-precinct. It is certainly curious that he only alludes to the two statues of the victor of Plataea in ch. xvii. among the objects on the Acropolis, without connecting them with the tomb mentioned in ch. xiv., but the facts seem stronger than any argument to be drawn from his lack of a cross-reference.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the other attempts at solving the difficulty, summarised by Hitzig-Bluemner, *Pausanias*, i. p. 784.

<sup>2</sup> So Dickins, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 405.

We can scarcely doubt, accordingly, that Leonidas was finally buried near Pausanias, on the Acropolis. If his bones were not brought to Sparta for forty years, this statue cannot have been made at that date (440) for his grave, for, as we have seen, its style forbids us to date it later than *ca.* 470. If the figure forty is correct, the statue must have been erected at first as a memorial, and presumably re-erected over the grave when the bones were placed in it. If, on the other hand, the bones were brought four, and not forty, years later, we may readily accept the statue as erected on that occasion, or within a very short interval. There seems no serious ground for hesitating to believe that Sparta could have erected a statue of Leonidas on one of her most hallowed spots, when we remember that she did the same for Pausanias a few years later.<sup>1</sup>

If we accept this identification, how far may we accept the work as a portrait? We are nowhere told explicitly the age of Leonidas at his death or at any other date, but indications shew that he can scarcely have been less than fifty-five when he fell. We may recall how his elder brother Dorieus, in mortification at the accession of his half-brother Kleomenes, emigrated to Libya, and a few years later to Sicily, where he ultimately met his death.<sup>2</sup> Whatever was the exact date of Kleomenes's accession,<sup>3</sup> we cannot bring down the date of his birth later than 540, and it may have been a few years earlier. But according to Herodotus, the birth of Dorieus to the first wife of Anaxandridas followed immediately on that of Kleomenes to his second wife; and there was no long interval between the births of Dorieus and Leonidas.<sup>4</sup> We can only assume that Leonidas cannot in any event have been born later than 535, and that 540 would not be impossibly early for this event. He must, in fact, have been little, if at all, under sixty years of age when he died. Our statue certainly does not convey the idea of a man of that age, though we might take it for a man of fifty; in any case we should expect it to be idealised. The Warrior-King who met a hero's death with his face to the enemy would be represented with idealised traits, and we should be wrong in looking for signs of old age in his face or pose. Idealised

<sup>1</sup> For the permission granted by Lycurgus to bury the dead near Sanctuaries, cf. Plut., *Lyc.* c. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, v. 41-46.

<sup>3</sup> Poralla, *Prosop. d. Lakéd.*, s.v. Kleomenes, suggests 'Kurz vor 516': 520 seems the earliest possible date.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, v. 41.

though the figure be, may we not claim to recognise in his features both the courage and the grim shrewdness which his conduct and sayings at Thermopylae lead us to attribute to him? The strong jaw, the unswerving glance from the eye-sockets, empty though they be, forbid us to seek here the portrait of the unstable and vain Pausanias. We named the statue 'Leonidas' almost as soon as it was discovered, and no reasons have come to light to make us change this attribution, which seems to rest on a solid basis, and indeed to be the only one possible.

### *The Bronzes.*

1. Numerous fragments of *repoussé* plate, representing a Gorgoneion, of archaic style (Pl. XXI).<sup>1</sup> Ht. .37 (as restored); br. .33 m. The metal varies in thickness between *ca.* .001 and .002 m. and is much bent, and blackened by fire. As the illustration shews how much is preserved, no detailed description is required, and none but a few tiny fragments remain unplaced. The restoration of the curls on the forehead is conjectural, though the position of the larger of the two pieces with a curl is settled by the fact that it has an almost horizontal upper edge, and is folded over, deliberately, at the back, to form a border of greater solidity than if the plate were single at this point. The border elsewhere is thickened to provide rigidity, and finished with a beading. That the row of curls on the forehead can scarcely have extended further than is indicated, is proved by the identification of the fragment from the left temple, with the two wrinkles running across the forehead. It is, however, possible that the number of curling locks was less than four on each side. On the other hand, the position of the curl preserved on the smaller piece, which made a practically certain join with the larger piece, rules out the possibility of there having been only two curls in all, as, for instance, on one of the unpublished Gorgon-masks in clay from the Orthia-Sanctuary. Another detail, not absolutely free from doubt, is the restoration of three, as opposed to two, straight locks beneath the ears on each side. Certainly the fragment terminating the middle lock on the right seems to have a broken edge on the side where the presumed

<sup>1</sup> Found inside the portico, in the black deposit, close against the north wall. The drawing by Miss Tankard, published in the preliminary report for 1924 (Fig. 5), was made at Sparta, before all possible location of the fragments had been completed. They were brought to Athens later, and cleaned by M. E. Gilliéron, who set them in plaster, and made the drawing here published, in collaboration with the Director.

third lock—*i.e.* that nearer the chin—would have been attached, and the projecting portion at the base of the second lock cannot be reconciled with a direct continuation of the rib of beading along the jaw, which would be required if there had been only two locks on each side. The restoration of three on each side is thus probably correct.<sup>1</sup> The oblique incisions marking these locks are a particularly interesting feature, with which we may compare those on the hair of the limestone relief from Opuntian Lokroi, *Mon. Piot.*, xx. (1912-13), Pl. III., and pp. 28 ff.

The rendering of eyes and mouth is in no way exceptional, either as regards the size of the former (they are .061 m. long within the lids) in proportion to the width of the face, or as regards the tusks projecting from both gums at each side of the latter. The careful rendering of the teeth, and the tongue thrust out to hide the lower front teeth, are conspicuous. Unluckily most of the tongue is lost, but enough is preserved to shew its probable length. The beard is only indicated in outline. The ears are placed very high up, but are distinctly human, and quite faithfully rendered.

As no similar Gorgon in bronze of archaic date appears to exist, comparison must be made with those in other material. Furtwängler pointed out many years ago (Roscher, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* 'Gorgonen') that archaic art only knew one general type of Gorgoneion, with, admittedly, countless varieties in the treatment of details. Our example is in almost every way typical, the outline being roughly circular, with large wide eyes, vast mouth with teeth and tusks shewn in detail, the hair lying flat on the forehead, and the bulbous nose. There are no snakes, and the beard, represented merely in outline, comes to a blunted point.<sup>2</sup> The prominent, rounded chin, another characteristic feature, is emphasised to contrast with the beard. The wrinkled forehead, sometimes shewn with vertical furrows above the junction of the brows, is here treated with nearly horizontal lines.<sup>3</sup>

There seems to have been no very definite type of Gorgoneion used by Spartan artists in the archaic period. On Laconian pottery we get

<sup>1</sup> A parallel on a Laconian vase is quoted below.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps due merely to accident that this point turns up at right angles.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the wrinkled brow of the terracotta antefix from the Athenian Acropolis, Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* 1, 5 (reproduced in Roscher, *l.c.*). For other antefixes, which offer more or less close parallels to our Gorgoneion, cf. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien*, Pls. V. 5-7; VI. 3; XXIV. 3 *b* (a sima); XXVIII. 5 (a frieze-fragment). All these are snakeless and, on the whole, the closest analogy is Pl. V. 7.

both the variants with and without snakes, and the latter seems much more frequent on the interior of the kylikes.<sup>1</sup> A quite exceptional type is the marble akroterion in the Sparta Museum (*S.M.C.*, 654, and cf. p. 121), with its flame-like treatment of the hair, and thin fleshless face. We may also find a parallel for the three locks of hair falling on each side below the ears on the Gorgoneion with the snakes (Pfuhl, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 198), but there they are placed clear of the cheeks, and serve also to fill the space below the projecting snakes on either side.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this great Gorgoneion was originally a shield-device. As such, they were in common use, on the evidence of vase-painting,<sup>2</sup> and the size is no objection in this case. It does not, however, seem that this example was sufficiently curved to fit the convex surface of a shield, and its weight seems excessive for the purpose. Certainly no shield-fragments came to light along with it, and its finding-place indicates that it was hung, by itself, on the north wall of the portico. As to its date; it must suffice to suggest that it cannot be later than the sixth century, and that the careful modelling of the ears forbids us to put it much before the middle of that period; it might even be as late as *ca.* 530–520 B.C.

2. Relief representing *protome* of a lion, of archaic style (Pl. XXII). Ht. .256; br. .13 m. The metal is slightly thicker than in the previous item. The upper jaw and muzzle, and a few pieces from the back of the neck are missing, likewise the ear, and a small piece from under the throat. The jaws were represented as wide open, with the tongue attached to the lower one. A clearly-marked 'ruff' runs round the throat. The mane is rendered in a close-set series of rounded locks, varying in size, and set in oblique rows, whereas the ruff is treated more naturalistically, in shallower relief, with more wavy locks. The lower edge of the *protome* is all preserved but for a minute fragment at the rearward corner, and enough survives from the back of the neck to give us its original outline. The eye was inset, in a deep socket, with a thin strip at the back to hold the inserted substance in place. The exact shape of the ear remains uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> With snakes, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 134, Fig. 10 c; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, iii. Fig. 198; both on the outside of vases. Without snakes, Pfuhl, *loc. cit.* Fig. 197 (a shield-device), and on the bases of many types of vase. Note, however, the noble snake in the hair of the Gorgoneion on the base of the fragmentary plate, *B.S.A.* xv. p. 156, Fig. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Lead figurines confirm the popularity of this type of device at Sparta, *e.g.* *B.S.A.* xv. p. 138, Fig. 10, Nos. 22, 23.



We have no similar *protome* preserved elsewhere, in the same material, and comparisons for purpose of dating would have to be sought over a wide range, and due allowance made for differences of material and technique. The lion-*protomai* from Olympia are not close to ours in style, and rather nearer analogies for the treatment of the mane are exhibited by the lions on the shoulder-pieces of the great bronze corselet, and those on the lower frieze of the tripod-relief from the same site.<sup>1</sup> In neither instance, owing to the shallower relief, is there the same opportunity for modelling in depth. We should rather look for analogies in sculpture in the round, and comparing the mane of our *protome* with those of some of the lions in *poros*, from the pre-Persian buildings on the Acropolis, we find something of the same effort to shew the individual locks, the sculptor in stone having, however, a more responsive material, apart from the added asset of applied colour.<sup>2</sup> Compared to these lions ours appears, as regards the mane, more conventionally treated, though the feeling after the effect of separate locks handled in deep relief seems to justify us in dating it not far from them. We may at any rate assign it to the sixth century, and regard it as at latest roughly contemporary with the Gorgoneion.

The purpose of this *protome* is obscure. In its present form it has curled into a slightly concave shape, owing to burning, and it is hard to tell whether its original plane was flat. I am disposed to think that it was; and consequently that it was not meant for a shield-device, for which its weight would in any event have made it unsuitable. We should feel safer in regarding it as complete in itself, and perhaps apotropaic in purpose.

3. Statuette of Nike, standing on a plain square base, with wings spread and hands extended at the level of her waist (Fig. 5, 4).<sup>3</sup> Ht. .083 m.; poor work, and surface corroded. The right hand seems to be damaged, and there is no attribute held in the left. Her drapery, apparently a Doric chiton, which is girt at the waist with an overfall, falls stiffly, in three straight folds in front, nearly to her feet. These are close together, and very superficially rendered. Her hair is dressed with a fringe across the forehead and lies in a coil on the top of the head

<sup>1</sup> For the corselet, found in the Alpheios before the German excavations, *Olympia, Bronzen*, Pl. LIX.; for the tripod, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXVII. No. 696.

<sup>2</sup> Especially the fragment, Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur*, p. 218, Fig. 232; cf. Dickins, *Acrop. Mus. Cat.* i. pp. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Found in the burnt deposit in the E. half of the portico.

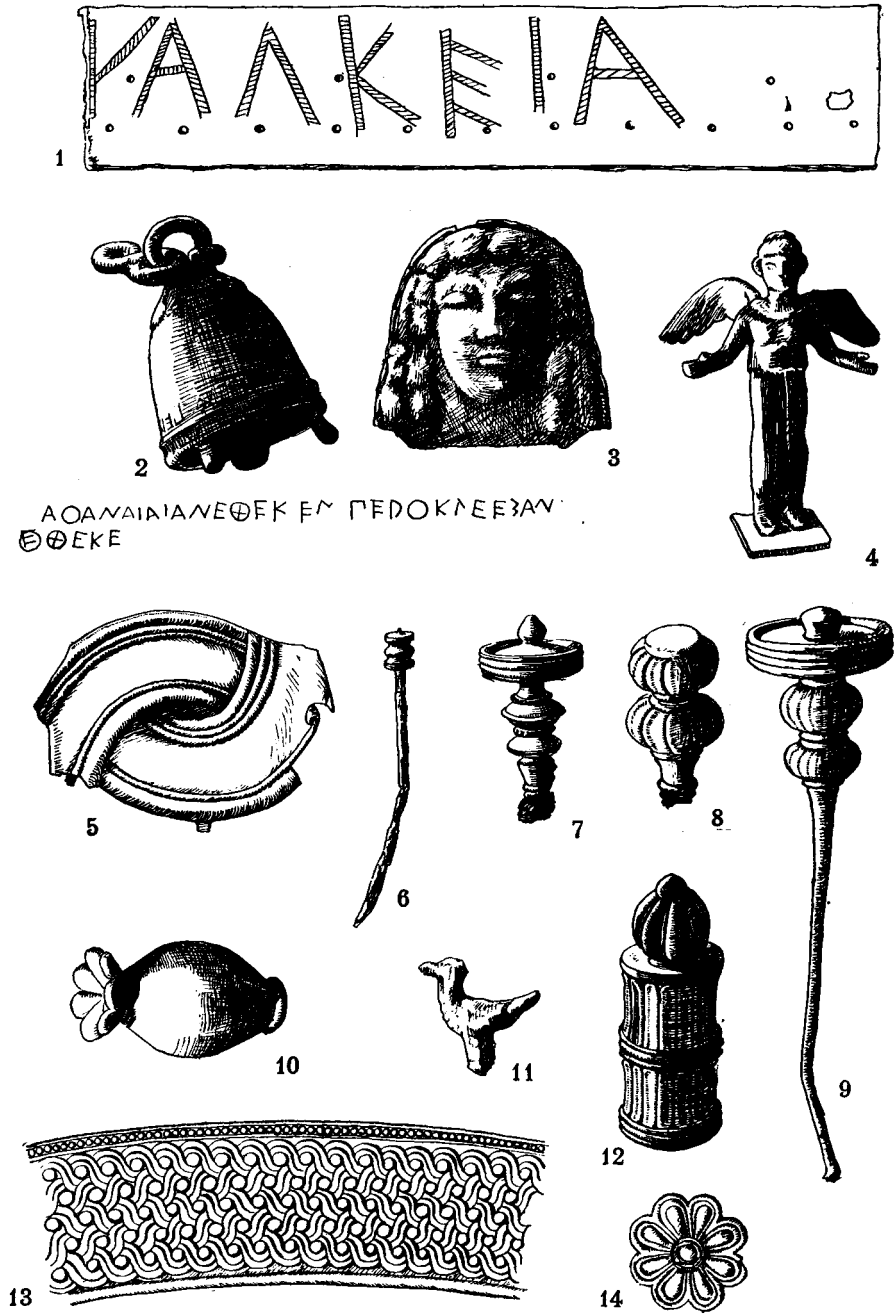


FIG. 5.—MISCELLANEOUS BRONZE OBJECTS FROM THE PORTICO.  
(Scale 1 : 2; No. 1 is 1 : 4.)

(or is this perhaps a wreath?). Owing to the poor style it is not easy to assign a date, but standing Nikai are not rare in the art of the fifth and fourth centuries. There is something reminiscent, in both pose and drapery, as well as the shape of the head, of the fifth-century statuette of Aphrodite Ourania in the British Museum (*B.M. Bronzes*, 199). Ours may perhaps be a poor fifth-century piece, not a later adaptation of the type.

4. Moulded female *protome*, with solid filling and a backing of thin bronze plate (Fig. 5, 3).<sup>1</sup> Ht. .058; br. below, .06 m. The treatment of features and hair, especially the two side-locks shewn with the 'perlenfrisur,' is a proof of its being an archaic work. It bears a strong resemblance to some of the early terracotta *protomai* from Sparta, notably two of those from the Menelaion, which were found in association with Laconian II. and earlier pottery (*B.S.A.* xv. p. 129, Fig. 3, Nos. 37 and 39), and one published below, p. 276, Fig. 7, 4.

The striking similarity of style, above all in the treatment of the mouth and chin, to the female figure (of unrecorded *provenance*) known as 'La Dame d'Auxerre' must not be neglected.<sup>2</sup> The Cretan origin of the latter is now generally accepted,<sup>3</sup> but the evidence of our terracottas and now of this bronze piece justifies the suggestion that its origin may after all be Laconian, or if the Cretan attribution be insisted on, that the dominating influence in its style is that of Laconian art.

5. Mirror, complete in one piece (Fig. 6).<sup>4</sup> L. over all .29; diam. of disc .14 m. There are small spiral volutes on the edges at the junction of disc and handle, an incised palmette at the end of the latter, and a lotus-bud pattern below the junction. A straight and a zigzag line are incised across the handle near each end. The disc is not decorated, but bears remains of an incised inscription, not very easily legible owing to the corroded surface, which seems to run [*Ἀθα*]ναίαι ἀνέθεκε Ἐδονύμα. The lettering indicates a fifth-century date, before rather than after 450.<sup>5</sup> Many Laconian names are known similarly compounded with

<sup>1</sup> Found outside the N.-W. corner of the portico; an almost exact replica was found in 1925, further west.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Collignon, in *Rev. Arch.*, 1908, pp. 153 ff., and *Mon. Piot*, xx. (1912-13), pp. 1-38.

<sup>3</sup> Collignon, *loc. cit.*; Poulsen, *Orient und frühgr. Kunst*, p. 163; Picard, *Sculpt. Antique*, pp. 79 f., 257, and Fig. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Found close to No. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The *epsilon*, which does not seem consistently to have the *hasta* prolonged downwards, must not be taken too strictly as indicating a still earlier date (before 500), for such irregularities of script are natural in a private dedication.

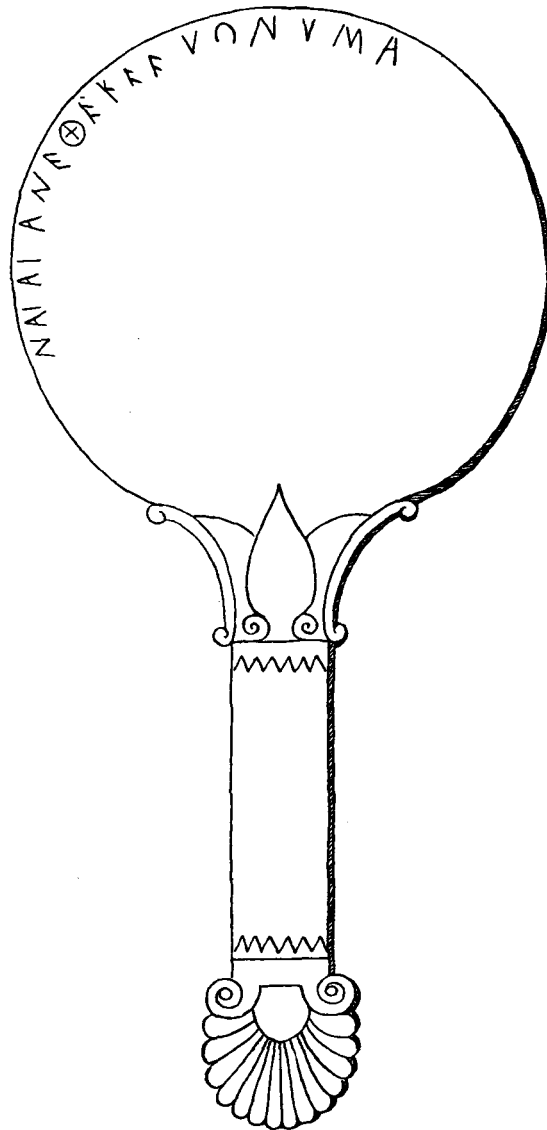


FIG. 6.—BRONZE MIRROR. (Scale 1 : 2.)

Ὄνομα (Ὄνυμα, Ἐννυμα); and one Εὐόνυμος, known as dedicating a bronze vessel to Apollo Hyperteleates, may have been a kinsman of the donor of this mirror; <sup>1</sup> their dates cannot be far apart, on epigraphical evidence.

6. Plaque, of rectangular shape, with the upper edge bent over backwards (Fig. 5, 1).<sup>2</sup> L. .41; ht. .08; th. .002 m. Apparently it has been cut down on the left, but is otherwise complete. There is a round hole near the right-hand end, .01 m. in diameter, and a row of small pin-holes at equal distances runs close to the lower edge; a few similar holes are also pierced along the central axis. Inscribed in letters ranging from .055--.06 m. high is the word Χαλκεία. The initial X is cut through, and we cannot tell how many letters are lost from before it. This massive plaque was clearly nailed on to a background, presumably of wood, and not stone, as the smaller nails, implied by the smaller holes, would have been useless for fixing it to a hard material.

The shape indicates that it had been attached to a plinth or base, perhaps of a large votive offering, and we may plausibly suggest that the inscription contained a verb recording the dedication of certain brazen objects. Χαλκεία is presumably the right way of transcribing the word, and it will thus be plural of Χαλκείον, of which the original sense is 'a workshop or smithy for bronze objects'; but here it must bear the sense of 'bronze objects.'<sup>3</sup>

The lettering has little distinctive about it except the *epsilon*, which is not unlike that on the previous item; but in view of the more monumental type of the inscription we may advisedly date it earlier, perhaps *ca.* 500 B.C.

7. Bell with vertical loop-handle above, in which are two links of an iron suspension-chain. There is a plain moulding round the lower edge, and there were originally three feet, of which two are preserved; the iron clapper has also survived in place (Fig. 5, 2). Ht., without feet, .057 m.

Votive bells in bronze have been found in considerable numbers on the site of the Chalkioikos-Sanctuary, the total, including the finds of 1907-08, reaching about forty.<sup>4</sup> The interest of the present example

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* v. 1, 983; for other compounds, see Poralla, *op. cit.*, Nos. 265, 446, 485, 578-580, and Tod, *J.H.S.* xxxiv. (1914), p. 63; and cf. Bechtel, *Gr. Dialekte*, ii. p. 334, § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Found close to Nos. 3 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* It can hardly be from the Epic form of the adjective χάλκε(ι)ος.

<sup>4</sup> In terracotta they were far more numerous.

lies partly in its completeness, but much more in its inscription.<sup>1</sup> Round the lower edge, is incised, upside-down

'Αθαναίαι ἀνέθεκ' Ἐνπεδοκλέες ἀν|έθεκε.

The last five letters come in a second line. It seems preferable to read it as above, and not as ἀνέθεκεν Πεδοκλέες . . . as we get a more likely name, and, moreover, the ν ἐφέλκυστικόν would be unusual in an archaic Spartan inscription.<sup>2</sup> The lettering is neat and fairly regular, but we may note the reversed *sigma*, and the correction of the first sign in l. 2 from *theta* to *epsilon*. The sixteenth letter certainly seems to be N, but the space is wide enough for M; the spelling Ἐνπ— is at least as likely as the form Ἐμπ—.<sup>3</sup> Neither form of the name is known in Laconia.<sup>4</sup> In addition to Sicily, where the philosopher and his maternal grandfather (the Olympic victor of 496) bore it, we find it in Boeotia.<sup>5</sup> Names so compounded are collected by Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 152 f.

Of the remaining objects illustrated (Fig. 5, 5–14), we may notice especially the piece (No. 12) with a melon-like knob above a cylindrical socket on which are two bands of tongue-pattern, separated by a moulding. This must have formed the head of a staff or sceptre. No. 5 is a fragment of plate with an unusually large braid-pattern, and No. 13, a common type of guilloche border, is from the rim of the votive shield mentioned above (p. 247). The dove (No. 11), which may be almost as early as the Geometric period, and the Orientalising pins, typical of numerous examples yielded by the site as a whole (Nos. 7–9), need no comment. The purpose of the large object in the form of a pomegranate-bud (?) (No. 10) is doubtful. It seems too massive for a pin-head, and might have been a pendant, or even a knob-handle from the lid of a *cista*. A similar object in ivory, from the Orthia site, is published in *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 98, and Fig. 30 *d*. No. 14 is the gold and silver rosette already mentioned (p. 248).

<sup>1</sup> For other inscribed bronze bells from the site cf. *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 117 f.; and for another example found in 1924, see *Prelim. Report*, 1924, Fig. 7 (= *J.H.S.*, 1924, p. 259, Fig. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Bechtel, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 329, § 34. The uncontracted form of the nominative is most unusual.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. πενπάκι, *I.G.* v. 1, 222; πένπε (= πέμπε), *ibid.*, 1119, l. 7; the common use of ἐν πολέμοι on tombstones of the fifth century; and Ἐνπεδίας a Spartan on an inscription at Delphi, *B.C.H.* xxvii. (1903), p. 58, l. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., however, Ἐμπεδίας Thuc. v. 19, and the man mentioned in the previous note.

<sup>5</sup> *I.G.* vii. Index (three times).

*Miscellaneous.*

Ivory gryphon's head (Fig. 7, 1, 2). Ht. .038; diam. of neck .012 m. Found just outside portico, on the west. The creature is shewn with jaws wide open, and two rows of finely-cut teeth. The ears are placed close to the top of the head, and from behind them falls a long curl, ending in a spiral, on to each shoulder.<sup>1</sup> The skin is shewn with

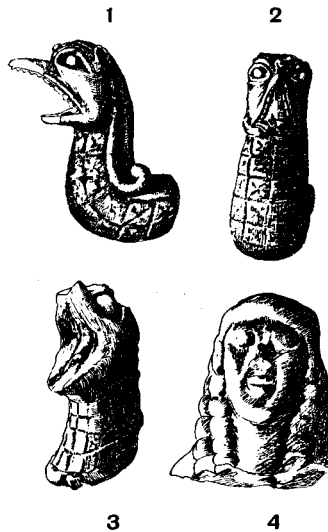


FIG. 7.—IVORY AND TERRACOTTA  
OBJECTS. (Scale Nos. 1, 2, 2:3;  
Nos. 3, 4, 1:3.)

small square scales, on each of which is a faint X-pattern. The neck is cut off vertically behind, and a small hole, originally to receive a peg, shews that the object projected from the edge of a box or vessel of some kind. The fact that it is of ivory serves to give us a clue to the date, on the analogy of the ivories from the Sanctuary of Orthia.<sup>2</sup> A somewhat similar (snake's?) head, still unpublished, came from that site, but is of less delicate work, and has a longer neck.

Fig. 7, 3 shews a similar head in terracotta, of coarser style, worth

<sup>1</sup> Many of the numerous gryphon-heads in bronze found at Olympia shew similar curls. *Bronzen*, Pls. XLV.—XLVII., Nos. 793, 794, 803, 804, 805, 807, have one curl on each side of the neck, and Nos. 796, 797 and 806 have two. None of these exhibits the squared scale-pattern; and their ears usually are more prominent than on our piece.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 77 ff. The end of the seventh century seems the likeliest date for it.

reproducing in view of the resemblance. It is the only grotesque animal's head in this material which the site has yielded so far.

Fig. 7, 4, also of terracotta, is of interest as a close replica of the bronze *protome* described above (No. 4). The features are damaged, and the paint has perished.

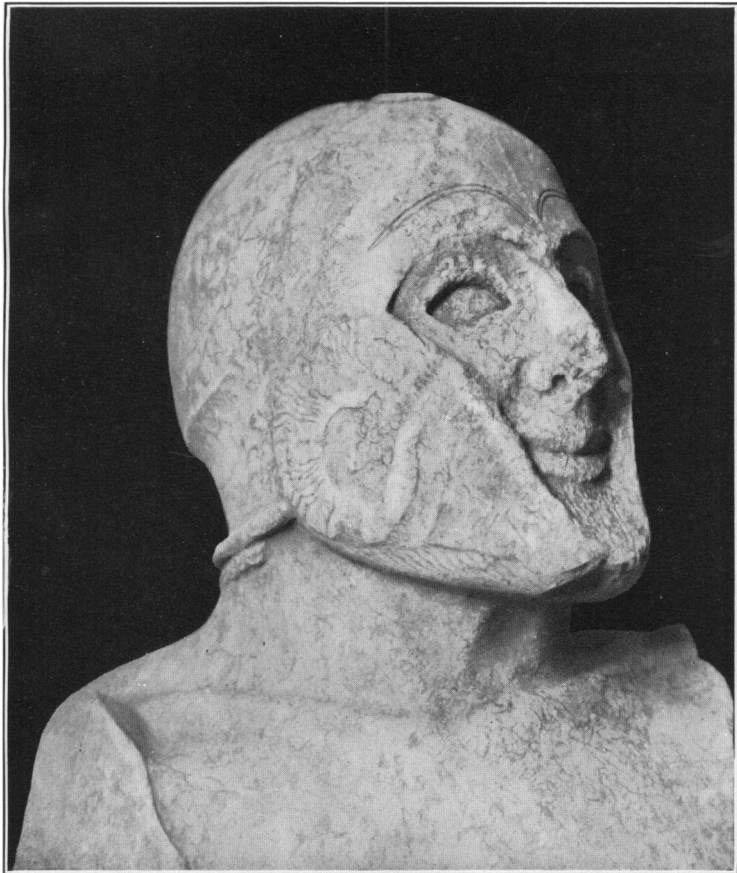
Fig. 8 shews the r. f. amphora-fragment described above (p. 248).

A. M. WOODWARD.



FIG. 8.—FRAGMENT OF  
R. F. AMPHORA.  
(Scale 1 : 2.)

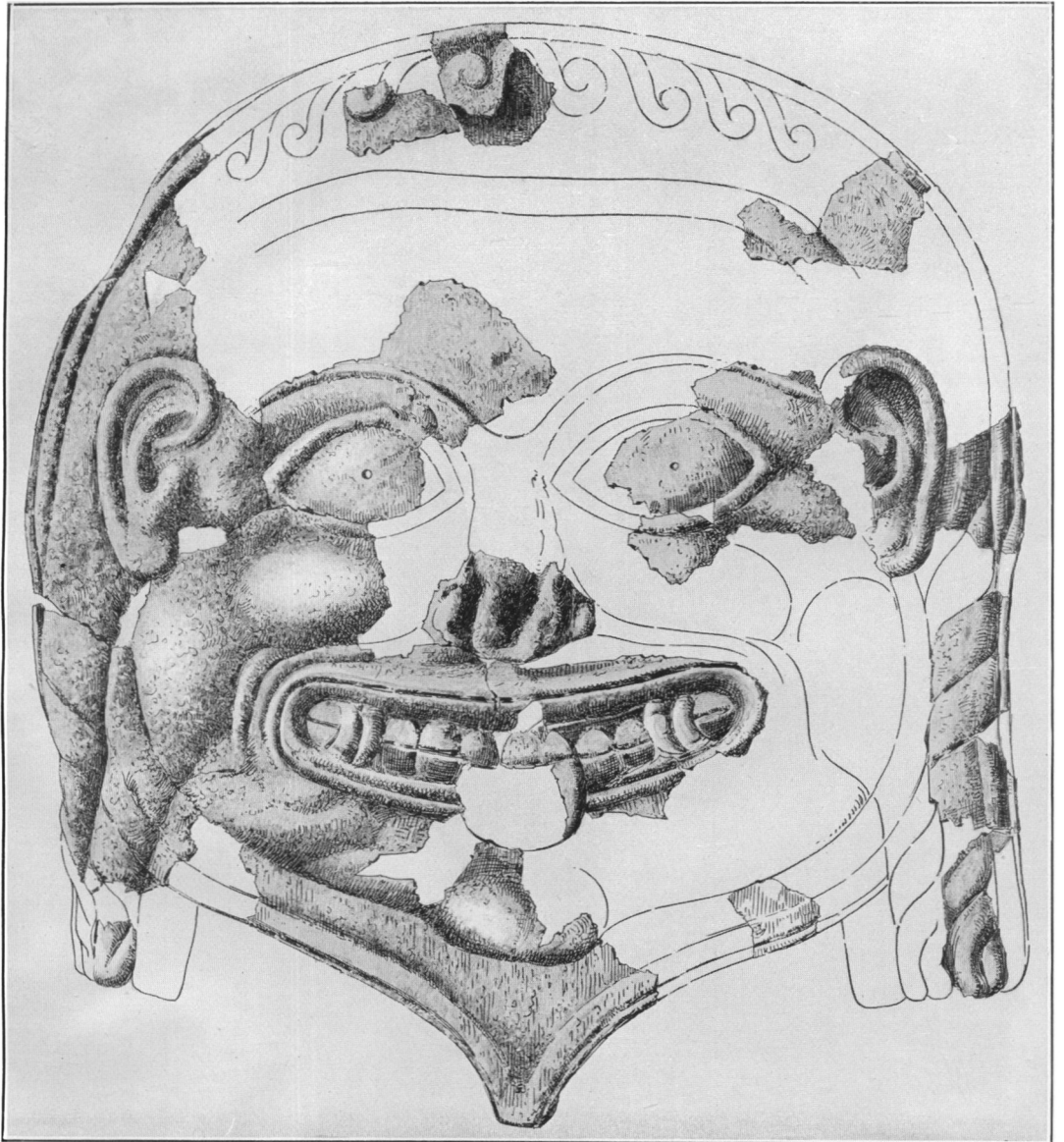




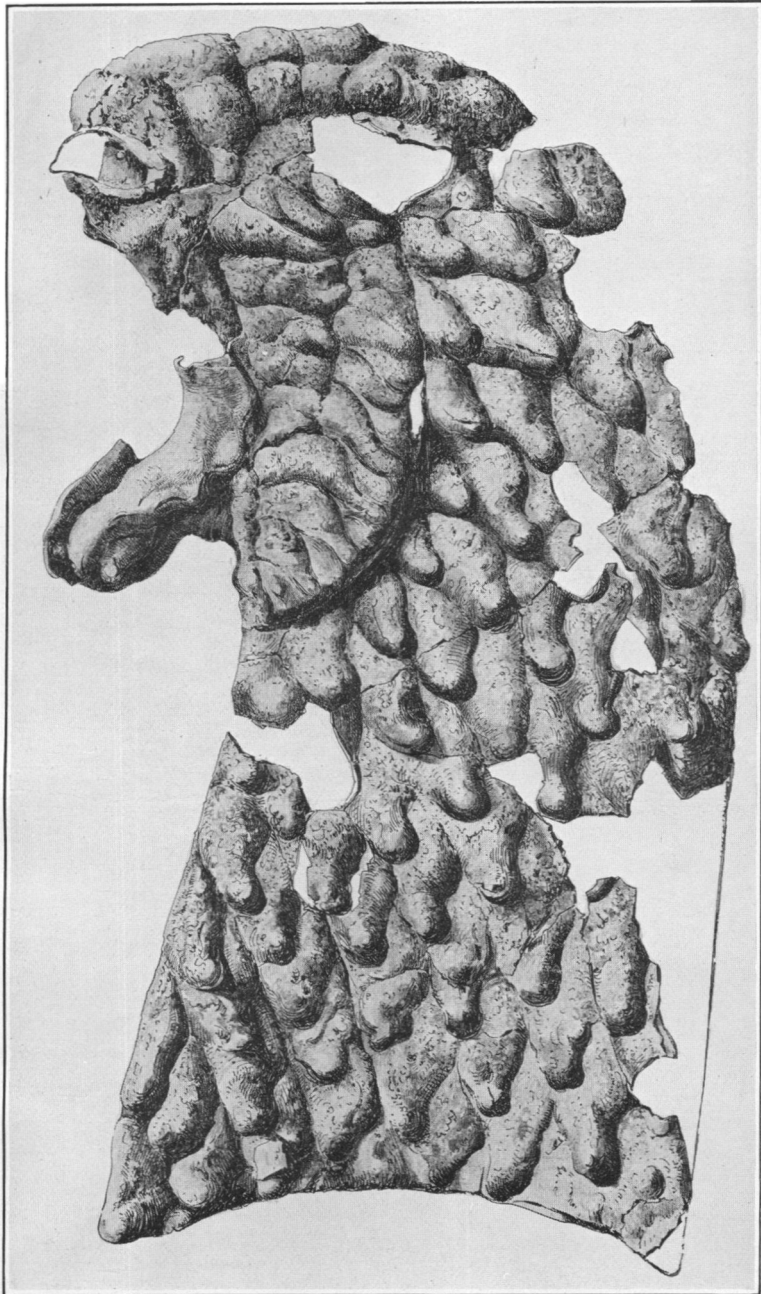
EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA: THE ACROPOLIS. HEAD AND SHOULDERS OF THE STATUE OF A WARRIOR. (Scale *ca.* 1 : 3.) From the Original.



EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA: THE ACROPOLIS. HEAD OF THE STATUE OF A WARRIOR.  
(Scale *ca.* 1 : 3.) From a Cast, with Crest restored.



EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA: THE ACROPOLIS. BRONZE GORGONEION. (Scale 2 : 5.)



EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA: THE ACROPOLIS. BRONZE LION-*PROTOME*.  
(Scale 3 : 5.)