Stubbe, Jan – Schwartz, Adam

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by Jan Stubbe Østergaard and Adam Schwartz

NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK IN 2787: BASIC DESCRIPTION

This is a fragment of a stele shaft with a low figurative relief. It was acquired for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in 1929 by the then director, Frederik Poulsen, on the art market in Paris (fig. 1)[1]. It was said to come from »near Athens«, a provenance which is possible but not proven[2]. It is of a marble judged by Poulsen to be Parian; this is probable but has not yet been confirmed by petrographic analysis[3]. The maximum preserved height is 56 cm, the upper and lower part having been broken off. The sides of the relief are preserved, giving a width of 50.2 cm at the base line of the relief field, decreasing to 49 cm at the highest point of preserved width; this shows that the stele tapered very slightly towards the top. The low relief has a maximum depth of ca. 2 cm.

The average preserved thickness of the stele itself is 6 cm, with a maximum of 7 cm (figs. 2. 3). On the sides of the stele, the surfaces are smoothed to a fine finish; there are no remains of holes drilled for insertion of metal pins or hooks[4].

The back of the stele (fig. 4) has been roughly worked with the pointed chisel in recent times. This was probably done to lessen the weight of the fragment before transport. The

1 Poulsen 1951, 32 no. 13a with earlier bibliography; add: Bakalakis 1946, 22; Lippold 1950, 84 n. 4; Poulsen 1950, 116–118 (about acquisition); Friis Johansen 1951, 101 f. 108. 110. Johansen 1994, 50 no. 10 with bibliography since Poulsen 1951; add: Himmelmann 1956, 32 n. 9; Vos 1963, 78 n. 1; Despinis 1967, 78 and n. 8. 12; Möbius 1968, 102; Schmaltz 1969/1970, 185 n. 30; Berger 1970, 146 f. fig. 156; Schefold 1974, 140 and n. 18; Hiller 1975, 68 n. 3; 122 n. 14; Stupperich 1977, 15; Floren 1987, 288 and n. 45. Bibliography after 1994: Grossman 2001, 100 and n. 10; Arrington 2015, 102 n. 44.

2 The quality of the relief indicates high social status, such as that held by landed gentry, and important Archaic funerary monuments were also erected in the Attic countryside. A provenance »near Athens« is therefore possible. Well expressed by Friis Johansen 1951, 109 f.

3 We share this opinion, supported by the translucency revealed by a concentrated light source. To our knowledge, no other source has been proposed.

4 This feature is found on some Classical funerary reliefs, such as that of Chairedemos and Lykeas from Salamis (Piraeus, Archaeological Museum inv. 385), and is shown on Attic white ground lekythoi; offerings of taeniae are seen hanging on the hooks. Cf. Scholl 2018, 219 and n. 143. We thank Hans R. Goette for pointing out that such hooks are usually found higher up on the stele than what we have preserved on IN 2787.

Fig. 1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 2787. Fragment of a relief with two hoplites

Fig. 2. As fig. 1, left side

Fig. 3. As fig. 1, right side

Fig. 4. As fig. 1, back

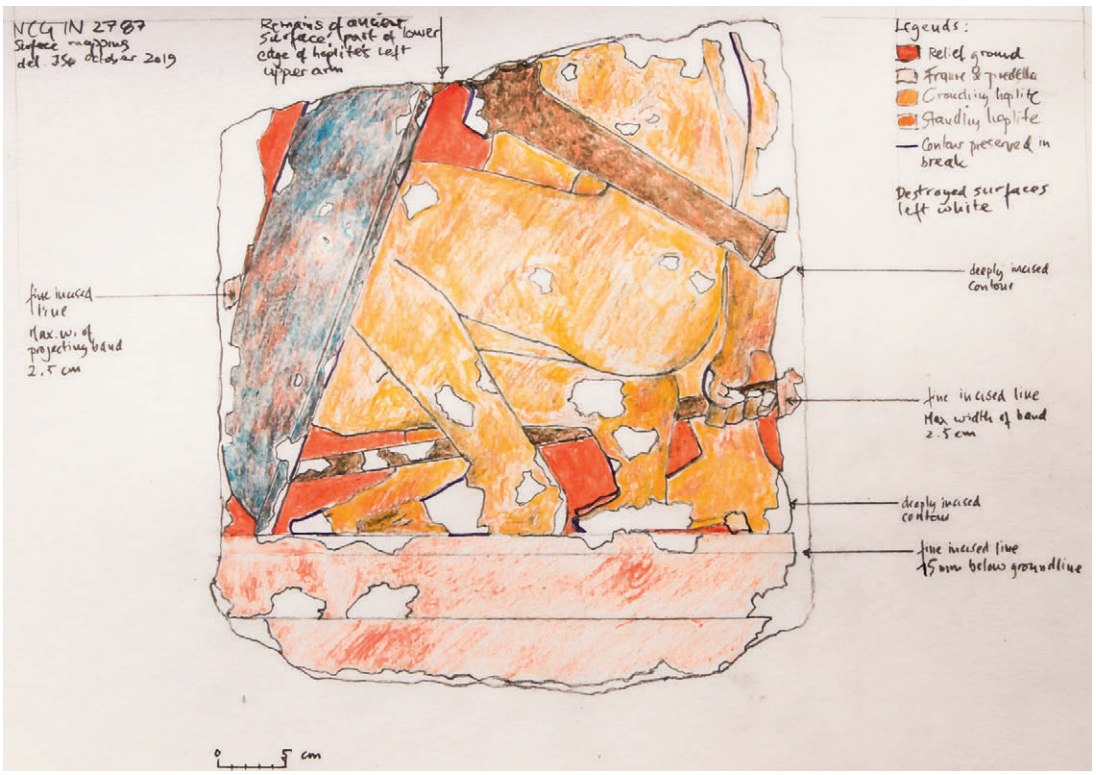

Fig. 5. As fig. 1, surface mapping of the front of the fragment

thickness of the stele is correspondingly below the average of 10 cm or more of comparable stelai[5]. On the vertical axis, there are the remains of the two iron dowels which once served to attach the piece to its first museum mounting, on a wooden backing. Six brass bolts from an earlier mounting on the wall of Room 6 in the Glyptotek in 1974 have been covered with plaster. For the present mounting, holes have been drilled in the lower break surface.

BRIEF RESEARCH HISTORY

Frederik Poulsen published the relief very speedily in 1929[6]. He reconstructed the original motif and its context in a concise and generally convincing manner, suggesting a date between 500 and 490 BCE on the basis of comparison with Attic red-figure vase painting. He followed up in 1942 with a short article in support of the connection of the motif with the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE; in his 1951 catalogue entry, he summed up his opinions[7].

That same year, Knud Friis Johansen mentioned it in his seminal work on the Attic grave reliefs of the Classical period. He placed the relief in its proper context, emphasising the need to study the Archaic antecedents of the Classical Attic reliefs to understand the latter[8].

Gisela M. A. Richter mentioned the piece briefly in her »Archaic Attic Gravestones« (1944)[9] and then again in her 1961 monograph on the same subject[10]. Since then, the piece has, to our knowledge, been discussed at any length only by Reinhard Stupperich in 1977[11]. He found that Poulsen's interpretation was rather »abwegig« but did not provide the reader with the reasons why. To our knowledge, this remains the only published criticism of Poulsen.

The general context of IN 2787 was developed by Bernhard Schmaltz in 1983, in an in-depth critical section on Archaic Attic grave reliefs, and in 1987 by Josef Floren[12]. In 2001, an important parallel to IN 2787, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, was published by Janet Burnett Grossman. This relief provides vital evidence for details of the iconography of our sculpture and constitutes a close stylistic parallel, with a concomitant bearing on the issue of dating[13]. In 2015, Stupperich's work was continued by Nathan Arrington; in connection with figural reliefs decorating Athenian casualty lists, he says that IN 2787 »[…] may also have decorated a public grave because of the unusual subject matter«[14]. Be that as it may, Arrington's work provides a valuable insight into the context in which the relief would originally

5 An estimate based on the evidence provided by Richter 1961, passim. The closely related stele of Pollis has a thickness of 15.9 cm: see Grossman 2001, 98.

6 Poulsen 1929.

7 Poulsen 1942; Poulsen 1951, with further bibliography before 1951. To our knowledge, no argument against Poulsen's interpretation and dating has since been put forward.

8 Johansen 1951, 100 f.

9 Richter 1944, 103.

10 Richter 1961, 50 f. no. 77.

11 Stupperich 1977, 15 f. and n. 1.

12 Schmaltz 1983, 150–189; Floren 1987, 281–290. Schmaltz 1969/1970, 185 n. 30 briefly mentions doubt about the function of IN 2787.

13 Grossman 2001, 100 and n. 10. The details in question are the angle of entrance of the left arm into the shield, the relation of the left arm to the scabbard of the sword and the relation of the upper edge of the shield to the face of the hoplite; cf. below p. 16–19, »Iconography and reconstruction«.

14 Arrington 2015, 102 n. 44.

have belonged – were it to be shown to be a fragment of a *polyandrion* from the burial ground of the city state, the *dēmosion sēma* in the Kerameikos, along the road to the Academy.

›HYBRID‹ SURFACE MAPPING OF IN 2787

The surface mapping shown here (fig. 5) is based on naked-eye observation and the use of ×3 magnifying glasses[15]. A complete surface mapping would include a greater range of features such as incrustations and closer characterisation of the state of preservation of the surfaces and identification of toolmarks. The version presented here is a simplified ›hybrid‹, concentrating on features relevant to a reading and an interpretation of the scene shown. Areas where the ancient surface is lost are left in white to facilitate observation of the preserved parts of the ancient relief. What the surface mapping offers is therefore a detailed documentation of the state of preservation of the artefact. Here at the outset, it may be noted that the ancient surfaces do not show signs of weathering and have not undergone anything but superficial cleaning in modern times[16].

The mapping shows, in two tonalities of red, the preserved portions of the relief ground, the surrounding frame of vertical plain projecting bands and the horizontal reverse Lesbian cyma moulding below. The close examination required for surface mapping reveals easily overlooked details (figs. 6–9). Thus, one may note the very fine incised lines, horizontal on the cyma (fig. 6) and vertical on the framing plain bands (figs. 7. 8), no doubt serving as guidelines for the polychromy in the form of ornamental borders[17]. Not shown in the mapping are the traces of red pigment below the cyma (fig. 9). Extreme raking light has revealed the incised contours of the leaves of the Lesbian cymation[18].

The preserved parts of the figurative scene are shown outlined in soft pencil. As in the case of the relief ground, the colours chosen for the figurative scene reflect, in a very general way, the little we know of the polychromy of Archaic Attic reliefs[19]. The principal aim here is to demonstrate how colour increases the readability of the motif[20]. The importance of polychromy for the visual reading of a relief – especially a low relief – was first explored by Georg Treu in the Dresden Albertinum in the 1880s. In its cast collection, the polychromy of Archaic sculpture was highlighted by the installation almost side by side of two casts of the stele of Aristion, one with the polychromy as preserved on the original painted in (fig. 10). We do not know whether Treu informed visitors of his intentions, but he did so elsewhere, most famously in his programmatic lecture »Sollen wir unsere Statuen bemalen?« from 1884:

15 An introduction to this important method of documentation needs to be made available in published form.

16 The absence of any trace of weathering, with even fine incised lines preserved, shows that the stele cannot have stood above ground for an extended period.

17 On both sides, the incised line is ca. 1.7 cm from the outer edge of the stele. The incised line on the cymation is 1.7–1.8 cm below the upper edge of the moulding.

18 Brinkmann 2003, cat. 236, with fig. 236.1. The image could not be retrieved.

19 Brinkmann 2003, cat. 145 (stele of Aristion), with earlier bibliography; Richter 1961, no. 67 is particularly valuable.

20 The relief itself remains to be investigated in depth by the Glyptotek's Tracking Colour project, for which see <www.trackingcolour.com>.

Fig. 6. As fig. 1, detail of horizontal incised line on cyma

Fig. 7. As fig. 1, detail of vertical incised line on the left framing band

Fig. 8. As fig. 1, detail of vertical incised line on the right framing band

Fig. 9. As fig. 1, detail of traces of red pigment below cyma

> So viel ihnen [i. e. the painted plaster casts] im Einzelnen auch noch fehlen mag, den Vorzug charakteristischer Belebung der Form, deutlicher und decorativer Fernwirkung bemalter Sculpturen zu erweisen, vermögen sie schon jetzt, während die weißen Gypsabgüsse daneben auch für den nicht allzu weit zurücktretenden Beschauer sehr bald zu bloßen, hart gegen den Hintergrund umrissenen Silhouetten mit verschwindender Innenzeichnung werden.[21]

This was the first instance of the intended juxtaposition of a cast of an original in a monochrome state and a polychrome reconstruction, accompanied by an assessment of the difference in basic visual effect[22]. Treu's example was taken up recently by the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen: here, a cast stands next to a full reconstruction of the polychromy of Aristion's stele (fig. 11)[23].

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRONT OF THE FRAGMENT

Preserved as the lowest part of the fragment (fig. 1) is a flat surface which the parallels available[24] suggest is what remains of the bottom part of the stele shaft, a rectangular or square field, a ›predella‹, intended to carry either an inscription or a figured representation of some sort, often in two-dimensions rather than in relief[25]. The shaft would probably have been set in a square stone base. Only very rarely have both shaft and base come down to us – as in the case of the stele of Aristion (fig. 12).

Above the flat surface is the preserved, lower part of the stele relief itself. It is framed below by a 7 cm high horizontal moulding, a reverse Lesbian cymation[26]. As mentioned above, faint traces of the leaves of the cymation have been observed. On both sides, the relief field is framed by a narrow projecting flat band. It would not be surprising if the ornament on the plain bands proves to be, for example, a guilloche[27]. Within this frame, and crossing over it in various places, we have a quite complicated figurative motif[28].

Immediately recognisable is the figure of a crouching warrior. In the light of the parallels offered it is important to distinguish his posture from that of ›kneeling‹ or ›squatting‹. His stance is close to that of ›get set‹ in contemporary athletic terminology. ›Kneeling‹, by contrast, is a physically static pose, with one or both knees resting on the ground; ›crouching‹ is active and in this case, as we believe, preparatory to action.

21 Treu 1884, 36: »Whatever their deficiencies [i.e. of painted plaster casts] in the detail, they are able to show the advantage of painted sculptures – a characteristic enlivening of the forms and a clear and decorative effect when seen from a distance; while even to an observer taking a few steps backwards, the white plaster casts next to them quickly become nothing but sharply outlined silhouettes against the background, with only faint inner lines.«

22 Knoll 1994, 71 fig. 53; Østergaard 2019, 188 f.

23 Østergaard 2019, 190.

24 Closest in time are Richter 1961, nos. 45 (square, relief biga); 64 (square, rider in relief); 67 (Aristion, square, no motif); 70 (Lyseas, rectangular, painted, rider); 65 (square); 71 (square, painted rider); 75 (square, with inscription).

25 Cf. Schmaltz 1983, 156.

26 See Hiller 1975, 122 n. 14.

27 Cf. Richter 1961, no. 45 (guilloche).

28 Figures regularly cross into the frame of stelai, e. g., on the stele of Aristion and others, earlier, as Richter 1961, no. 23 fig. 86, before mid-6th century BCE, Athens, Kerameikos Mus. inv. P 1132. Stroszeck 2014, 146 with fig. 27.36.

Fig. 10. Dresden, Albertinum, 1891.
Interior from the collection of casts with two casts of the stele of Aristion

Fig. 11. Tübingen, Sammlungen des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Tübingen.
Two casts of the stele of Aristion

Fig. 12. Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. EAN 29. Stele of Aristion

The crouching figure is naked, his upper body twisted towards his own right and his back shown in a three-quarters view. He is barefoot, his left foot set squarely on the ground while the right is supported on its toes, the buttock resting on its heel. Remarkably, the transition from the side of the foot to the arch of the foot sole is plastically rendered by a slight ridge (fig. 13). He is armed with a shield, a sheathed sword and a spear; his round shield is shown in profile. There are no signs of greaves or body armour. He holds his shield in front of him on his raised left arm, at a slight inwards angle, the shield's lower edge resting on the ground and

Fig. 13. As fig. 1, detail of feet

its curved front overlapping the frame[29]. In his lowered right hand, he grips his spear so tightly that the tendon of the *palmaris longus* muscle stands out in his wrist. The spear is overlapped by the frame on the right, and by the shield on the left. Along his left flank his sword in its scabbard can be seen, its chape overlapping the frame of the relief. The baldric crossing over his back up to his right shoulder would have been shown in paint only. In sum, his armament identifies him as a hoplite. The specifics of this armament in the context of Greek city state warfare will be considered further below.

The crouching hoplite is not alone: another person stands upright behind him, also facing to the left (fig. 1). We have his bare feet preserved on the ground line of the relief, with the left advanced; between the spear and the right shin of the crouching hoplite we get a glimpse of the front of his lower shin. Being almost vertical, it would not line up with the left knee shown further above. The outline of the toe of his right foot is preserved behind that of the crouching hoplite. On that right foot, the arch of the foot sole is shown plastically, in the same way as on that of the crouching hoplite (fig. 13)[30]. His left knee is visible between the scabbard and the left thigh of the crouching hoplite. How the rest of this standing figure may have looked is discussed further below; but that we have to do with a second hoplite seems to us beyond doubt[31].

[29] As on the stele of Pollis (fig. 9).

[30] On Attic reliefs the earliest instance of the arch of the foot being suggested is the Stele of Aristion, cf. detail photo Hurwit 2017, 115 fig. 64.

[31] *Pace* Vos 1963, 78 A.1, who suggests a Scythian.

RECONSTRUCTION

In the reconstruction of the original monument (fig. 20), the dimensions of predella and base are taken from the Aristion stele, while the palmette is that of the stele of Antigenes[32]. Based on measurements of the crouching figure we estimate a height of ca. 1.2 m for the standing figure, without helmet and crest. The addition of a crested helmet would increase the total height of the figurative motif to approximately 1.4 m. This would give the stele of which IN 2787 was once a part a total height of at least about 2 m. Uncertainty is involved not only in determining the height of the base and predella, but equally in the distance between the top of the relief field and the top of the stele as a whole. In reconstructing the stele, we regard the nakedness of the standing hoplite as a given, similar to that of the crouching hoplite. The choice of helmet is determined by our belief that in a funeral monument, the face of the deceased would have had to be visible. The helmet type chosen is therefore Chalcidian, rather than Corinthian. To show the face of the hoplites, the latter would have had to be shown pushed back on the head, a position for which there are parallels in combat scenes in contexts other than funerary. In the present case, a pulled back Corinthian helmet would be a perfectly viable reconstruction; however, it seems to us that the relief field does not have sufficient width.

In the case of Pollis' stele, Grossman identifies the helmet worn as Thracian, a type also leaving the face visible – and open to the defacement it was subjected to in antiquity (fig. 15). As for the armament of the standing hoplite, the only evidence we have from the original fragment is what we believe to be the lower point of his shield, preserved in outline in the form of a break surface along the upper left edge (fig. 1). Regardless of this interpretation, the reconstruction shows him armed exactly as his companion: his shield is held in a defensive position, his sword is still in its scabbard, and his active weapon is his spear.

In the reconstruction, the spear of the standing hoplite is held in an overhand grip and in a neutral position, the spearhead pointing slightly upwards; a versatile starting position easily reversed into any number of under- or overhand grips for defence or offence as needed.

FUNCTION I: A PRIVATE FUNERARY MONUMENT

Until 1961, there was consensus in seeing IN 2787 as a fragment of a funerary stele. Then, in her 1961 monograph on the Archaic gravestones of Attica, Richter called the function into doubt because of the unusual motif and what she saw as an unusual width, referring the reader to Knud Friis Johansen's 1951 work on the Attic grave reliefs of the Classical period[33]. Checking this reference, it is surprising to find that Friis Johansen is not in doubt about the function: to him, it is a funerary relief, without any discussion[34].

Nevertheless, Richter's authority has been such as to give her mention of doubt an afterlife in later influential publications, thus for example in John Boardman's handbook on Archaic sculpture, originally from 1978. Boardman reiterates Richter's remark on what she saw as the unusual width of the Copenhagen fragment, leading him to the idea that »a broader variety

[32] Richter 1961, 44 f. no. 61.
[33] Richter 1961, 51; Friis Johansen 1951, 101 f.
[34] An opinion also held by Jeffery 1962, 149 no. 11.

appears« in Late Archaic stelai, citing, among others, IN 2787[35]. In the 1993 second edition of her book on the Archaic style, Sismondo Ridgway even speaks of a »wide format« and »a broad slab« in connection with IN 2787[36]. Nevertheless, at a maximum width of 50 cm, the Copenhagen fragment is wider by only ca. 10 cm than the average Attic Archaic stele. At a suggested approximate restored total height of the shaft (with finial, without base) of ca. 2.25–2.50 m, the Copenhagen fragment, as last of the line, seems to fit well within the developmental scheme for the proportions of Attic stele shafts[37].

An argument of an entirely different order, against a funerary function, was put forward by Bernhard Schmaltz in 1969[38]. He pointed out that all known Attic funerary stelai, for reasons unknown, show the figures facing to the viewers right, whereas the hoplites in the Copenhagen fragment face left.

In short, there are no compelling reasons for regarding our fragment as anything but funerary in function. It has been suggested that the stele may have served this function as a public funerary monument in the *dēmosion sēma*, the part of the Kerameikos reserved for that purpose. If so, we would be dealing with a *polyandrion*, a monument set up for a larger group of hoplites, synecdochically represented by the two shown on the stele[39]. For the early 5th century BCE, however, direct archaeological or textual evidence for this category of funerary monuments is lacking and we therefore regard IN 2787 as a private monument dedicated to two fallen hoplites.

FUNCTION II: ›NUDE‹, ›NAKED‹, ›EXPOSED‹, ›UNCLOTHED‹ – WHAT IS THE MESSAGE?

The two hoplites are shown nude – or should we say naked[40]? What were the connotations of such nudity? In 1997, Robin Osborne published an overview of what scholars had made of it up to the 1990s and added a chronological survey of the naked male body in Archaic and Classical art[41]. Here, he identified two traditions in the interpretation of the »exposed male body«: One tradition sees »[…] the exposure of male flesh […] as an act of heroization«[42], in some cases seen as ›idealisation‹ rather than heroisation[43]. The other tradition regards the

35 Boardman 1991, 163 (to fig. 236). Schmaltz 1983, 160–164 suggests that broader formats may be connected with grave stelai for female deceased shown enthroned. Cf. also Hiller 1975, 122 n. 14 on IN 2787: »[…] dessen sepulkrale Bestimmung noch nicht erwiesen ist«.

36 Ridgway 1993, 233; but sees it as funerary at p. 235.

37 Richter 1961, 2 f.; Ridgway 1993, 232. The stele of Pollis has no finial, but sufficient room for it above the relief field; note that this is where the inscription is placed. Grossman 2001 does not speak of the original appearance or installation (i. e., base etc.). Critical of Richter: Schmaltz 1983, 151–156.

38 Schmaltz 1969/1970, 185 n. 30.

39 On state burials: Stupperich 1977, 15 (IN 2787). 62–70; Goette 2009; Arrington 2015.

40 The dilemma of having to make the choice between the two terms applies solely to English but assumes general relevance because of the dominance of English in scholarly literature. The question is highlighted by the apparent lack of scholarly reflection on the choice of the two terms. One exception to the rule is Christoph W. Clairmont in his work on Classical Attic grave reliefs: he chose to systematically alternate between the two terms, cf. Clairmont 1993, 141; Hurwit 2007, 45 n. 48 does likewise. Cf. also Schäfer 1997, 13–15 with exhaustive references p. 13 n. 49.

41 Osborne 1997. He uses a range of terms – ›nude‹, ›naked‹, ›exposed‹, ›unclothed‹ – but does not discuss them.

42 Osborne 1997, 505 f. On this tradition: Himmelmann 1990, with the review by Hölscher 1993; Himmelmann 1996; Daehner 2006; Himmelmann 2007; Hurwit 2007, 45–55 with n. 102 on p. 53; Scholl 2018, esp. 215 f. with n. 127 on Chairedemos and Lykeas.

43 As Stewart 1990, 79. 106.

element of idealisation as minimal, the argument being that nudity was acceptable in certain well-defined situations in real life and could not therefore »exclusively designate a special class, such as hero or god«[44]. Osborne makes the very basic observation that »little external evidence is available to settle the arguments about the relationship between exposed bodies in Greek art and exposed bodies in Greek life«[45].

Reaching the 6th century BCE in his chronological survey, principally concerned with the kouros type[46], Osborne makes observations relevant to an understanding of IN 2787. In a fundamentally agonistic male culture, an aristocratic elite will communicate its superior social status and compete for superiority with its peers. The size and quality of a funerary monument set up in the public space of the Kerameikos was a highly visible demonstration of superior material wealth. In the Attic grave reliefs of the Archaic period, an immaterial dimension of *aretē* is added when the deceased is identified as active in a particular sphere open to aristocratic competition. The spheres in question are agonistic: those of athletics and of war.

In such contexts, the heroes of myth are exempla of this highly prized *aretē*, foremost among them Herakles and – in the case of Athens – especially Theseus, whether nude or clothed[47]. It is all the more relevant that, in the written sources of the period, individuals who have fallen for the *patris* and are thus distinguished by their *aretē* are not identified as ›heroes‹, but as *andres agathoi*, the reference being to their fulfillment of their obligations to the polis[48]. The scholarly literature on the concepts connected with this expression is considerable and falls outside the scope of the present investigation. For our purposes of interpretation of the communicative function of IN 2787, it must suffice to say that we find the nudity/nakedness of the hoplites determined by the ethical values of the polis. Whether in athletic contests or in combat, a high degree of physical fitness bore witness to the status of an *anēr agathos* and his *andragathia*[49].

In Osborne's scheme of things, we may moreover see it as an example of what he describes as the challenge to 6th century BCE sculptors and vase painters, namely to »allude to the known world in an ever-richer way, to absorb the viewer's interest and attention by encouraging a continuous and varied flow of associations, a ›richness of reference‹«[50]. We see our relief as meeting this challenge in a way which takes it out of the series of earlier Attic grave reliefs just as irreversibly as the ›Kritios Boy‹ breaks with the claim of the kouros type on general representativity for the male gender. The Kritian boy is specifically an adolescent; the hoplites on IN 2787 are, we propose, associated with specific historical events of their time.

DATE AND STYLISTIC LANDSCAPE ATTRIBUTION

There has till now been almost complete agreement in regarding the fragment as the latest in the series of Archaic Attic funerary reliefs, with no one dating it earlier than ca. 500 BCE,

44 Boardman 1985, 238 f. See also Clairmont 1993, 145 f.
45 Osborne 1997, 506.
46 On the kouros type, the literature is immense. Kyrieleis 1996, 87–121 stands out.
47 Schäfer 1997, 149 f.
48 Stupperich 1977, 62; Schäfer 1997, 22 f. with n. 17; Goette 2009, 198.
49 Stupperich 1977, 64.
50 Osborne 1997, 512. 519.

»the beginning of the 5th century« being suggested in one case[51]. Frederik Poulsen, writing first in 1929 and again in 1942 and 1951, allowed for a lower terminus post quem of ca. 490 BCE, linking it explicitly to the battle of Marathon[52].

As for close parallels in function and style, the funerary stele of Pollis so far stands alone (figs. 14–16). It is made of Parian marble and dated by Grossman to ca. 480 BCE, not by reference to parallels, but by the ›poised for action‹ pose, seen as transitional between Late Archaic and Early Classical – and by the date suggested by her for the introduction of the type of helmet worn by Pollis, one she identifies as Thracian. It is suggested that the same workshop or individual sculptor may also have produced the Copenhagen fragment[53].

It is precisely the dearth of preserved parallels – not least absolutely dated ones – which bedevils the chronology of the ›transition‹ from Late Archaic to Early Classical sculpture. The scholarly literature on the subject is too extensive to be confronted critically here[54]. We confine ourselves to noting the consensus which lies at the root of Grossman's assessment of the stele of Pollis: that a predilection for a moment of equilibrium immediately before release of action is one of the markers of what is termed ›Early Classical‹, rather than ›Late Archaic‹. Applying that consensus to IN 2787 requires one to regard it as ›Early Classical‹. Furthermore, we find no features in the rendering of the anatomy which militate against a dating on stylistic grounds to the ›Early Classical Period‹. On the other hand, IN 2787 clearly belongs to a category of monuments of Archaic, and specifically Attic, origin. As the latest known example of the Archaic Attic grave stelai, it is thus ›Late Archaic‹. The title of this contribution draws attention to the dichotomy involved in assessing this relief fragment.

In discussing the style of the Getty relief and of ours, Goette has tentatively spoken in favour of a Cycladic, Parian origin for both[55]. This opinion was first fielded by Bakalakis in 1946, and since followed by Despinis and Möbius[56]. Since the find-spot of Pollis' stele is said to be Megara, assigning to it an *inselionisch* landscape style and iconography would be evidence of the influence of that Ionic tradition in that part of mainland Greece. It is a discussion of which we are aware but have decided not to contribute to in the present context. We ourselves are led to wonder how one defines Cycladic Late Archaic stylisation of forms and differentiate them from contemporary Attic[57].

[51] Despinis 1967, 78. Interestingly, Richter 1961 does not offer a date. On the theme of warriors/hoplites in combat in Attic visual culture see Schäfer 1997; his emphasis is on the Classical period.

[52] Poulsen 1929, 140 (in this instance only indicating that another occasion could conceivably be reflected); Poulsen 1942, 29; Poulsen 1951, 32.

[53] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 90.AA.129. Schäfer 1997, 22; Grossman 2001, 98–100 no. 36. The identification of the marble is based on stable isotope analysis by Norman Herz (2000); we thank Kenneth Lapatin for this information. We are grateful to Hans Rupprecht Goette for making us aware of this parallel. The pose of this figure may usefully be compared to that of the advancing warriors VI and IX in the east pediment of the temple of Athena Aphaia on Aegina (as reconstructed by Wünsche 2011, 209 figs. 271–273).

[54] Meyer – Adornato 2020 provide most useful insights.

[55] Verbal communication 2019. On Archaic Parian sculpture in the round: Barlou 2014.

[56] Bakalakis 1946, 22; Despinis 1967, 78 with n. 8. 12; Möbius 1968, 102. The latter notes that the complexity of the composition seen in IN 2787 has a parallel in an East Greek relief from Kos: Kos, Museum inv. 77 (?); Pfuhl – Möbius 1977, 10 f. no. 7 pl. 3. According to Hiller 1975, 122 n. 14 the Lesbian cymation shows that IN 2787 was created under the influence of »ionischer Werke«, but that the »organisch klaren, straffen Körpermodellierung« reveals an Attic sculptor.

[57] Summing up her work, Barlou 2014, 154. 156 states that a distinctive Parian style is no longer clearly discernible in the Late Archaic phase and speaks instead of a Late Archaic *koinē*. Cf. Richter 1961, 53–55, an excursus on »The Greek gravestones of the first half of the fifth century B.C.«: the appearance of stelai with figurative relief in

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Figs. 14–16. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection inv. 90.AA.129. Stele of Pollis (fig. 14), detail of head (fig. 15), and detail of torso (fig. 16)

ICONOGRAPHY AND RECONSTRUCTION: THE HOPLITES' EQUIPMENT AND POSTURES

The two hoplites stand sideways on the stele, facing left, the foremost hoplite crouching, the lower legs and feet of the man behind him wide apart and firmly planted next to his crouching comrade. The width of the tapering stele sets clear limits as to the stance of the standing hoplite's upper body and the position of his shield. We therefore suggest that he would have been shown in an upright stance, holding his shield in an angle similar to that of his comrade, and slightly overlapping it. Close examination of the upper left corner of the fragment suggests that we may here have breaks showing the contour of the lower shield edge (fig. 1). He would have been shown with his back in three-quarters view, with his spear in his lowered right hand, just like his companion. Both hoplites thus assume a defensive position, crouching low and standing with feet wide apart respectively. In the reconstruction (fig. 20), the standing hoplite is shown bearded. Any combination of bearded and beardless is of course possible, but from the time of IN 2787, the combination of one bearded and one beardless hoplite is seen on the tondo showing Achilles and Patroklos (fig. 17); a later, Classical, example is the stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas[58]. It would also be relevant to mention the Tyrannicides Group, though they are not hoplites in combat: Harmodios, the younger of the two, is beardless, Aristogeiton bearded[59]. The Late Archaic original by Antenor would have been approximately contemporary with IN 2787 and presumably have shown the same combination. As chosen for a reconstruction, this combination may carry with it the connotation of an *erastēs-erōmenos* relationship[60].

The foremost, crouching figure grips what is undoubtedly a spear shaft tightly in his right hand: the spear is held at a downward slant, the spearhead resting on the ground at a point beyond the left-hand border of the stele. He is also carrying a sword of the common *xiphos* type in a scabbard hanging at right angles on the left side of his upper body. Other pictorial representations furnish clues to how the left arm, scabbard and sword hilt of our hoplite were shown. The shield's twin grip system of *porpax* and *antilabē* is very clearly visible on a red-figure vase painting by Douris, depicting Menelaos in pursuit of Paris (fig. 18)[61]. There, however, the sword is drawn, and we are therefore fortunate in having the stele of Pollis to show us the relative position of shield, scabbard and sword hilt as they would have appeared if seen from the opposite side of our hoplite (figs. 14 and 16). It comes as no surprise that the sword hilt is very clearly on the *inside* of the left, shield-carrying arm. This allows us to understand a very small detail on IN 2787 as being what is left of the underside of the crouching hoplites' upper left arm as it enters the inside of the shield (figs. 1 and 5). The import of this is that it allows greater certainty in reconstructing the diameter of the shield and the position of the hoplite's head – although it must still be based on the evidence of contemporary vase paintings (such as fig. 18).

Northern Greece, the Aegean islands and Ionia, was due to Attic craftsmen seeking work. See also Friis Johansen 1951, 122–145 on funerary stelai outside Attica in the first half of the 5th century BCE; Hiller 1975, 122 n. 14 for Attic influence on Ionic grave reliefs. Cf. also Schmaltz 1983, 166 f.

58 Cf. Scholl 2018, 214–221.

59 Cf. Hurwit 2007, 53.

60 Cf. Hurwit 2007, 52 f. For the stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas: Scholl 2018, 214–221. He does not deal with this aspect of bearded/beardless, but on p. 215 n. 125 has a reference to an attempt to associate them with Achilles and Patroklos. Osborne 1997, 514 on the sexualising aspect of the Tyrannicides Group.

61 Paris, Louvre G 115; ca. 490–480 BCE. Buiton-Oliver 1995, 2 f. 31–33. 80 no. 119; <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010270005> (accessed 11.12.2021); BAPD no. 205119.

Fig. 17. Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. F 2278.
Kylix by the Sosias Painter, tondo. Achilles bandages Patroklos

No weapons are visible on the man standing behind, except what may be the lower edge of his shield at the very left-hand edge of the stele, tapering towards the rim (*itys*) and protruding beyond the shield in front (fig. 1). If so, the angle clearly shows that the shield is held out in front of the bearer, its rim rested on his shoulder to help support its weight. It seems a reasonable inference that he is similarly armed, and that the two men are hoplites, identifiable as such by their equipment, primarily the unmistakable, large hoplite shield, despite the absence of both regular clothing and armour. In all likelihood they both wore helmets, although the type is of course impossible to determine. And in a combat scene, helmets would surely have been shown: one searches in vain for depictions of hoplites fighting bareheaded.

Both are also clearly barefoot, as is in fact the case with all hoplites shown on the funerary stelai referred to above: depictions of hoplites wearing sandals, in battle or otherwise, are, to our knowledge, very rare indeed in any visual medium – so far there is only Achilles in the tondo of a kylix by the Sosias Painter (fig. 17) and Lykeas and Chairedemos on their much later stele, of ca. 420 BCE[62].

The left-hand side of the stele fragment is dominated by the convex surface of a hoplite shield in profile, its lower edge resting on the ground: the shield is tilted slightly backwards, seemingly resting against its bearer's raised knee. It is difficult to determine what goes on with its missing upper half, but certainly, the back of the crouching man is twisted slightly to his own right, exposing his left shoulder blade. This position may result from the left arm being

[62] Cup by the Sosias Painter: Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2278; Schwarzmaier et al. 2016, 80 f. no. 36 (A. Schwarzmaier / M. Maischberger); BAPD no. 200108. – Lykeas and Chairedemos: Peiraeus, Archaeological Museum inv. 385, ca. 420 BCE; Scholl 2018, 214–221 with fig. 21 on p. 217.

Fig. 18. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. G 115. Kylix by Douris as painter, side A: Menelaos chasing Paris

Fig. 19. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. G 25. Kylix by Onesimos, side A: crouching hoplites

thrust through the *porpax* of the shield not horizontally (as it is regularly depicted in the case of standing hoplites holding their shield in combat readiness), but from a point higher above, roughly corresponding to ›11 o'clock‹ on the shield circle, thus forcing the twisting of the upper body. This interpretation is corroborated by the very small, preserved part of the hoplites' upper left arm where it enters his shield (fig. 1. 5)[63].

While depictions of hoplites do occur on Archaic Attic funerary stelai, mainly in the second half of the 6th century BCE, they are shown standing, either nude, with or without armour, or fully armed and in armour, as in the case of Aristion (fig. 12). Moreover, we know of only one other instance of an Archaic stele with what may be two hoplites[64]. In all cases, however, the hoplites are depicted in a static pose, without any indication of actual or imminent movement. In the Copenhagen fragment, the situation shown is fundamentally different: the hoplites are in an active defensive posture and poised for imminent combat; it is the moment before decisive action is unleashed[65].

The appearance in Greek visual media of such renderings is generally regarded as a marker of the transition from the Archaic to the Early Classical period. We consider a communicative rather than aesthetic function to be the primary role of Greek funerary images and therefore assume that this moment before some vital action would have been recognisable to a contemporary viewer[66]. Nevertheless, we have been unable to find any parallels in sculpture to the pose of the crouching hoplite on IN 2787 (fig. 1)[67].

CROUCHING HOPLITES IN OTHER VISUAL MEDIA

Achilles' legs are shown in a position very close to our crouching hoplite as he bandages Patroklos in the tondo of the Attic red figure cup by the Sosias Painter (fig. 17), just mentioned and dated ca. 500 BCE[68]. The posture with the twisted torso brought about by the insertion of the shield arm at a higher point is recognisable from similar depictions in other visual media. Similarities to IN 2787 were noted by Frederik Poulsen in 1929 on the outside of an Attic red figure kylix by Onesimos from ca. 490–480 BCE, now in the Louvre (fig. 19)[69]. All six of these warriors are equipped with the minimal amount of weaponry required to be classified as hoplites, i. e. spear and shield[70]. They all sit in similar crouching postures, though four of the

63 As indicated on surface mapping fig. 5. Cf. also the position of the left arm on the stele of Pollis, figs. 14–16.

64 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 3892: Richter 1961, 50 no. 76 (»end of 6th century«). The staff shown cannot be identified with certainty as a spear. We thank Hans R. Goette for pointing out that the motif of two figures next to each other does not point towards a scene from the gymnasium. A correction to Richter's description: both hands shown belong to the foremost of the two figures; his left is certainly not clenching the shaft but holding some other object horizontally. The staff/spear is therefore held by the hindmost figure.

65 Cf. Grossman 2001, 98 on the stele of Pollis.

66 In this respect, we follow Hölscher 2017.

67 The archers (Herakles, east pediment V, and ›Paris‹, west pediment XII) in the pediments of the temple of Athena Aphaia on Aegina are anatomically related but very different in action and narrative.

68 For the cup, cf. n. 62.

69 Paris, Louvre G 25, ca. 490–480 BCE: Poulsen 1929, 139 fig. 1; BAPD no. 203243.

70 The shield was important not only to the bearer, but to the entire phalanx line, as pithily pointed out by king Damaratos of Sparta by way of an explanation of why it was the only piece of equipment which it caused *atimia* to discard in battle: Plut. mor. 220a. Something similar will have applied to the spear, which was crucial to the collective striking power of the phalanx. By contrast, armour, greaves and sword were worn for personal protection, and thus not essential to the phalanx as a whole. It is interesting in this connection how the chorus leader in Aris-

Fig. 20. Suggested reconstruction of the stele to which the fragment IN 2787 belonged

six have their right knee raised, rather than the left, while two have laid their spears over their shoulder in a manner which does not seem preparatory to immediate action[71]. Provided that the six hoplites should be understood as belonging to the same scene – by no means a certainty – they do not seem to be in any kind of formation, although they are poised for action. The poses shown provide useful information on the likely position of the shield in relation to the body and head of the IN 2787 hoplites (fig. 20).

tophanes' »Wasps« – a veteran from Marathon – sums up his and his comrades' feat (Aristoph. Vesp. 1081–1082): »Right away we charged forth with spear, with shield, and we fought them […]« (εὐθέως γὰρ ἐκδραμόντες 'ξὺν δορὶ ξὺν ἀσπίδι' | ἐμαχόμεσθ' αὐτοῖσι […], Henderson trans.).

71 Poulsen 1929, 139.

An Attic red figure kylix attributed to Apollodoros shows, in the tondo, a crouching hoplite wearing a full panoply and Chalcidian helmet, assuming much the same posture yet again: left knee raised, the right knee held suspended just above the ground line and the spear slanting downwards in front of him, he peers to the left over the edge of the shield, toward the enemy. A cloak flung around the neck and shoulder partially obscures the view, but from the angle of the shoulder flaps of the cuirass – apparently seen directly from the side – it seems as if his arm has been inserted from straight above and downwards into the *porpax*. Schefold dates it to shortly after 500 BCE and explicitly links it to IN 2787 on both stylistic and compositional grounds (though deeming the kylix somewhat less advanced, hence probably earlier)[72].

An Attic red figure kylix found in Tanagra, by Phintias as potter and datable to ca. 500 BCE, shows a warrior kneeling on one knee and supporting his shield (with an octopus blazon) precariously on his raised left knee and left arm and shoulder, while putting on his helmet. His spear is stuck into the ground at an angle, apparently by means of the *saurotēr*[73].

A posture exactly similar to that of the hoplite on IN 2787 appears on a fragment of an Attic red figure type C kylix from ca. 500–490 BCE showing a hoplite crouching down and raising his left knee with his spear slanting downwards, though seen from the outside and facing left, so that the large shield covers his body entirely: only the knees (with greaves) and the spear protrude in the lower register, and his head above with Corinthian helmet in place. He peers intently ahead with a steady and level gaze, seemingly ready to fight at a moment's notice[74].

Hoplites in crouching defensive postures are also regularly displayed on coins minted in three distinct and separate locations, namely Tarsos in Cilicia, Mysia and Chersonesos Taurica on the Crimean Peninsula, and within a chronological range of ca. 425–300 BCE. The Tarsos coins of this specific type – silver staters or tetrobols – belong in date ranges from ca. 440 to 430 and from before 390 to 385 BCE. Coins of this specific type show a crouching Greek hoplite, either clothed or nude, on the reverse, and a tiara-clad Persian rider with either lance or bow on the obverse, and the legend TRZ (Tarsos) in Aramaic letters[75].

The Mysian silver coins – tetrobols or Persic hemi-sigloi – were minted by Orontas, satrap of Mysia, sometime around the mid-4th century BCE, and are frequently struck in Kisthene. They accordingly bear the legend OPONTA (or the like) on the reverse and show, on the ob-

[72] Private collection, Tessin: Schefold 1974, 139 f. and pl. 38, 1 (attribution to Apollodoros). BAPD no. 9919.

[73] Athens, National Museum no. 1628; Boardman 1975, 35 and fig. 49, giving Phintias as painter a date range of 525–510 BCE, but as potter he may well have been active for longer; ARV² 25, 1; BAPD no. 200146; Pinney 1981, 156 f. and passim; Robertson 1992, 81 f.; Gaunt 2017, 89 and n. 60. Pinney ascribes the cup to Hermokrates as painter, a companion of the Berlin Painter in the workshop of Phintias. Robertson ascribes it to the Berlin Painter in his earliest phase (505–500 BCE). If this is followed, a date very late in the 6th century BCE is indicated. The action of putting on the Corinthian helmet is closely paralleled on a Late Archaic funerary stele from Ios (Ios, Archaeological Museum inv. 141: Mantis 2001, fig. 1); Mantis 2001, 77 f. relates this stele to IN 2787. The mantle worn around the hips on this stele compares well with that of a youth arming on the neck of an amphora of ca. 500 BCE by the Kleophrades Painter (Berlin, Antikensammlung inv. 1970.5, fragment A: Greifenhagen 1972, 20 and pl. 11; BAPD no. 5766). We thank Agnes Schwarzmaier (Berlin) for drawing our attention to this parallel.

[74] Bryn Mawr College, The Ella Riegel Memorial Museum inv. P187: Ashmead – Phillips 1971, 8 f. and pl. 6, 1. 2; BAPD no. 139.

[75] Casabonne 2000, 68. 76–80 divides the coin type into subgroups A1 and F1–10. Silver coin from Tarsus, London, British Museum inv. 1914,0706.6 <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1914-0706-6> (accessed 11.12.2021).

verse, a naked hoplite, wearing a *pilos* helmet and holding a spear as he crouches behind his shield[76].

The presence of a Greek hoplite on Persian coins in the first place has been interpreted as indicating that such coins were intended for paying Greek mercenaries in the service of either the current satrap of Cilicia or Cyrus the Younger[77]. However, kneeling warriors (including other types, such as archers) are a frequent theme in Persian visual media, and so a pre-existing motif may have been customised in an area of considerable syncretism between Greek and Persian culture[78]. As Harrison points out, in iconography »[t]he hoplite is also a denizen of the Graeco-Persian world, where he is often the adversary of a horseman in Median dress,« and we may understand the motif of a kneeling Greek hoplite in this context[79].

The Chersonesan bronze coins, datable to ca. 350–300 BCE, show, on the reverse, a hoplite facing left and crouching with spear and shield above the legend XEP[80]. Various interpretations of the pose have been suggested, among which a reference to a stratagem used by the Athenian commander Chabrias against king Agesilaos of Sparta in the battle at Thebes in 378 BCE[81]. This interpretation does not stand up to scrutiny, however: firstly, Chabrias' stratagem did not involve hoplites crouching or kneeling[82], secondly, it seems unlikely for Chersonesos on the Black Sea to celebrate an otherwise entirely unrelated Athenian military triumph against Sparta on its coins. Two other suggestions, either an agonistic motif, or a commemoration of a military success during fighting for territorial expansion, seem on the face of it more plausible[83].

CROUCHING HOPLITES IN TEXTUAL SOURCES

Despite the appearance of crouching hoplites in a range of visual media, there is precious little to be had from contemporary textual sources, despite the preponderance of the theme of warfare. One possible allusion is Euripides' »Phoenician women«, in which a messenger describes Eteokles and Polyneikes' duel: »They lunged at each other with lances but each crouched beneath the circle of his shield so that the iron would slip off harmlessly.«[84] In all likelihood, however, this scene of intense one-on-one combat does not describe a static, crouching posture, but rather duelists warily circling each other, their knees bent in order to obtain as much cover as possible from the shield.

76 Troxell 1981, 30 and pl. 4 no. 4.

77 Troxell 1981, 35. Kraay 1976, 281 argues that the coins are »evidently« minted for the pay of »the mercenary Greek hoplites who, with the end of the Peloponnesian War, were available to sell their trained services to Persian satraps«; while Weiser 1989 (see esp. p. 280) would link the coins to the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus' ill-fated revolt, specifically their passage through Cilicia. See, however, Harrison 1982, 450–455, Casabonne 1995, 150–161 and Casabonne 2000, 40–44 with solid arguments against these datings and identifications.

78 See Boardman 1970, 201. 309 f. 314. 319. 323–327 for a discussion of similar representations on Persian seals and gems, often made by Greek craftsmen.

79 Harrison 1982, 68; cf. Casabonne 1995, 159–161.

80 Avram et al. 2004, 943 f.; Anokhin 1980 with plates; Price 1993, pl. XXIX nos. 734–744.

81 Anokhin 1980, 16.

82 See below on this page.

83 Anokhin 1980, 16. 18.

84 Eur. Phoen. 1382–1385: ᾗσσον δὲ λόγχαις· ἀλλ᾽ ὑφίζανον κύκλοις, | ὅπως σίδηρος ἐξολισθάνοι μάτην. | εἰ δ᾽ ὄμμ᾽ ὑπερσχὸν ἴτυος ἄτερος μάθοι, | λόγχην ἐνώμα, στόματι προφθῆναι θέλων (trans. Kovacs, modified).

A famous passage from Diodoros showcases the Athenian commander Chabrias' cool head when faced with a superior enemy force: »Chabrias the Athenian, however, leading his mercenary troops, ordered his men to receive the enemy with a show of contempt, maintaining all the while their battle lines, and, leaning their shields against their knees, to wait with upraised spear.«[85] It has become an accepted truth that Chabrias had his mercenaries *kneel* in front of the enemy to show his *kataphronēsis*[86], seemingly because a (lost) statue of Chabrias in the Athenian agora was believed to have been kneeling[87]. But Anderson has shown conclusively that this is a misunderstanding, probably due to a misinterpretation of Cornelius Nepos' version of the story (which is not, however, in conflict with the earlier sources): Chabrias ordered his troops to stand up in formation, spears held erect and shields rested on the ground, leaning against their knees[88].

It may be added that the posture was also known and actively used in the early Roman republican army: here, it was the standard combat readiness posture for the *triarii*, or reserves: »The *triarii* knelt beneath their banners, with the left leg advanced, having their shields leaning against their shoulders and their spears thrust into the ground and pointing obliquely upwards, as if their battle-line were fortified with a bristling palisade.«[89] *Triarii* were armed not too differently from hoplites, with round shields, and lances rather than javelins, but unfortunately, Livy has nothing to say about the reason for their kneeling position, except insofar as he compares it to a defensive structure[90].

To sum up, the written sources are not very helpful in the interpretation of crouching hoplites.

INTERPRETATION OF THE POSTURE AS A SOURCE FOR CONTEMPORARY MILITARY PRACTICE

The depiction of the hoplites on IN 2787, while obviously subject to prevailing contemporary iconographical norms, such as their nudity, may, however, reveal something of contemporary military practice. While compositionally and aesthetically successful in this case, it is highly unusual for a warrior depicted on a relief to be crouching, as is the case with the foremost hoplite. It therefore seems unlikely that the posture was chosen for aesthetics alone,

85 Diod. 15, 32, 5: Χαβρίας δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀφηγούμενος παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καταπεφρονηκότως ἅμα καὶ ἐν τῇ τάξει μένοντας, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὸ γόνυ κλίναντας σὺν ὀρθῷ τῷ δόρατι μένειν (trans. Oldfather); cf. Plut. Pel. 18, 3; Polyain. 2, 1, 2; Nep. Chabr. 1.

86 Wrightson 2019, 134.

87 Burnett – Edmondson 1961, 89–91.

88 Anderson 1963 followed by Buckler 1972; Stylianou 1998, 297 f.; Schwartz 2009, 101 n. 398. See especially Buckler 1972, 467: »The point of this entire episode is that while Agesilaos is mounting his attack, Chabrias' troops are standing at rest, a position roughly comparable to the modern ›at ease‹ position of modern armies. Chabrias' men are standing in a position that permits them to be ready for action at a moment's notice, but still allows them to take their ease. […] The casual attitude of Chabrias' line contrasts with the bravado of Agesilaos' hoplite-phalanx making its uphill attack. It was simply Chabrias' graphic way of calling Agesilaos' obvious bluff.« For a third interpretation of the sources (though not very easily reconciled with their actual wording), see Matthew 2012, 217–219.

89 Liv. 8, 10: *Triarii sub vexillis considebant sinistro crure porrecto, scuta innixa umeris, hastas suberecta cuspide in terra fixas, haud secus quam vallo saepta inhorreret acies, tenentes* (trans. Foster); see also Plaut. fr. 5 Ritschl (= Varro ling. 5, 89).

90 Pol. 6, 23, 2–7; 6, 23, 14–16.

if at the same time it would present a confusing or incomprehensible image to contemporary viewers[91].

The hindmost hoplite is standing erect, his feet well apart and firmly planted on the ground – in effect, the exact posture of combat readiness requested of hoplites by Tyrtaios[92]. There is no shortage of representations of hoplites standing upright on Attic grave stelai; in point of fact, this is probably the default posture, which also happens to be one well suited to the format of a standard grave marker[93]. But these differ in a fundamental aspect: on Archaic stelai they are shown with their legs together, seemingly standing stock still, whereas Classical depictions show hoplites either standing erect in the same way or, in a few cases, rushing forward to combat. While unusual, a well-balanced, upright posture as shown on this monument seems ideal for conveying alertness or defiance, qualities obviously desirable in a warrior. This makes the contrast to the even more unusual posture of the crouching hoplite in the foreground all the more remarkable. In fact, no other Archaic or Classical Attic grave stele, to our knowledge, features a kneeling or crouching person, warrior or otherwise[94].

It is worth examining why such an unconventional posture is featured so prominently on this stele. Certainly, from the viewpoint of visual communication there is some compositional advantage to be gained: more of the man behind can be seen, allowing both men to be clearly visible at once. But this can hardly be sufficient in itself: preferably, the scene shown would be recognisable and credible to a contemporary audience. As we saw above, the rearmost hoplite appears to hold his shield out in front of him, held by the twin grip system and the rim resting on his shoulder. This is the basic stance of hoplite combat readiness, conventionally portrayed in all types of visual media and in fact all but dictated by the size, construction and weight of the shield itself: holding the shield up in the defensive posture requires physical exertion, and tiring oneself before actual combat would be counterproductive, especially when the shield could be rested on the ground, leaning against one's knee and ready to be picked up at a moment's notice[95]. If so, it follows that the crouching warrior in the foreground is also portrayed in a corresponding state of combat readiness. This conclusion, however, prompts two questions: 1) what is the advantage gained from it vis-à-vis the far more usual, standing

[91] As argued on p. 30 f. in the appendix below.

[92] Tyrt. fr. 11, 21–22 West: »[…] Come, let everyone stand fast, with legs set well apart and both feet fixed firmly on the ground […]« (trans. Gerber) ([…] εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι | στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς […]).

[93] Richter 1961 catalogues a total of 79 finds definitely or possibly belonging to Attic gravestones of the Archaic period. Those not securely identified as being from a gravestone are included because it is a possibility, or because the piece has been identified as such by others, as no. 74. Of the total, 37 preserve part or the whole of a representation of a human figure; of these 37, 14 are definitely or possibly ›warriors‹, the term used by Richter, but not included in her general index. In this list of the 37 figurative pieces ›w‹ and ›w?‹ indicate ›warrior‹ and ›possibly warrior‹ respectively: 23w, 24, 25, 26, 27w?, 28, 29w?, 30, 31, 32, 33w?, 37, 45w, 46w, 47w, 49, 50, 51w?, 52, 57, 58, 59, 61, 64w?, 65w, 66w, 67w, 68w, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77w. Cf. also Schmaltz 1983, 167–173 on male figures on the gravestones.

[94] Except for IN 2787 (Richter 1961, no. 77), all ›warriors‹ on Attic gravestones as listed above show a static, standing figure. To our knowledge, a list of addenda to Richter 1961 has not been published; besides the stele of Pollis (Grossman 2001, here p. 14 and figs. 14–16), we cannot exclude the possibility of more recent finds relevant to our subject. Attic gravestones of the Classical period have not been extensively reviewed in the present context. The main source has been Clairmont 1993, s. v. ›Krieger‹ in his general index. Hoplites are shown standing, and only rarely in action, in a forward, attacking pose. We thank Andreas Scholl for pointing out that crouching figures appear in other scenes on Classical Attic gravestones, as for example Clairmont 1993, III, nos. 3.370 and 3.372c.

[95] Schwartz 2009, 28–31. 100 f.

posture, adopted even here by the hindmost warrior? 2) if it was in fact known and used, why is this posture unique among preserved sculptural representations?

1) The hoplite phalanx was an inherently defensive formation. It made considerable sacrifices in terms of mobility, versatility, speed and fluidity in order to maximise the mutual protection obtained from the closeness of the formation, more especially the large shields of its hoplite components. This in turn minimised the reliance on more technically demanding weapons handling[96]. As such, it was a formation well suited to what throughout the Archaic and Classical periods were essentially citizen militias, many of whose members may not have had the required leisure (nor, perhaps, the inclination) to train and drill to the extent necessary to maintain the fighting efficiency of a more complex organisation. Nevertheless, phalanxes normally did not push this doctrine to its logical conclusion by hunkering down and so forcing the enemy to charge their position, but invariably counterattacked, even when doing so meant abandoning a clear tactical advantage in terms of terrain and the like[97].

The unique crouching position depicted on IN 2787 is therefore all the more surprising, as it is inherently very statically defensive. We may reasonably infer that it is indicative of a different type of combat situation in which it was preferable to remain immovable while reducing the exposed body area to the absolute minimum by crouching behind the shield. And this, as we have seen, evidently being outside the scope of normal hoplite military doctrine, the circumstances triggering such a response would be equally out of the ordinary. It can hardly be a response to any sort of infantry engagement: here, the lack of mobility and the very low position would be highly disadvantageous. It might form part of a defensive line against a cavalry charge, but an essential component here would be holding the spears raised towards the chests of the attacking horses, its *saurotēr* or butt-spike stuck into the ground to receive the powerful impact. The crouching hoplite on IN 2787, on the other hand, quite clearly holds his spear slanting downwards, the spearhead resting on the ground. More importantly, cavalry of the Archaic and Classical periods was rarely used for frontal shock attacks on massed infantry, in part owing to the absence of saddles and stirrups, and were instead chiefly relegated to such tasks as pursuit, harassing, skirmishing, and flanking attacks[98]. Lastly, the position may be explained as attempted protection against arrows or slingshot. Such missiles presented a particular threat to heavy and less mobile infantry; and because they might strike home and inflict damage over distances up to 175 metres[99], their flight paths were unpredictable and their speed ensured that they were extremely difficult to see in flight, the best one could do when faced with a volley was to take cover.

2) While contemporary sources on occasion refer to archers in Greek armies of the Archaic and Classical period[100], it seems they were not normally deployed in sufficient numbers (or with sufficient savvy) against hoplite phalanxes to influence the outcome, such as by loosening concentrated volleys of arrows. Not so, however, with Persian forces, whose primary weapon

96 Xen. Kyr. 2, 1, 16–17; 2, 3, 9–11; Plat. Lach. 182d – 184c.

97 Thuk. 4, 96, 1; Xen. hell. 2, 4, 11–19; 3, 4, 23; 3, 5, 18–19; 4, 3, 17.

98 See Asklepiodotos 7, 1 for an overview of the tasks carried out by the cavalry. Though Asklepiodotos wrote at a much later date (the 1st century BCE), the importance of cavalry had only increased in the interim, making his assessment valid also for the heyday of the hoplite phalanx. For examples, see also Thuk. 4, 44, 1; 4, 96, 5; 6, 70, 3; 7, 44, 8; Plat. symp. 221a–c; Xen. hell. 5, 3, 3–6.

99 Blyth 1977, 53 f.; Krentz 2010, 26 f.

100 See Schwartz 2009, 235–292 (Appendix) for a list of sources for battles with archer participation. Plassart 1913, esp. 195–205, collects many sources on the institution of an archer corps at Athens.

was unquestionably the bow, and which also comprised contingents from their subject peoples, many of whom were similarly equipped[101]. Dareios I the Great chose to emphasise this in the trilingual inscription on the royal tomb at Naqš-e Rostam: »As a fighter of battles I am a good fighter of battles. […] As a horseman, I am a good horseman. As a bowman, I am a good bowman, both on foot and on horseback. As a spearman, I am a good spearman, both on foot and on horseback.«[102] Dareios established a new coinage system drawing on the same imagery and displaying the king on gold coins as an archer in *Knielauf*, showing the theme's centrality to Persian identity and its embodiment of Persian power[103]. This was not lost on the Greeks who, while normally calling these coins ›darics‹ (*dareikoi*), might refer to them colloquially as ›archers‹ (*toxotai*)[104].

The Book of Isaiah, probably composed between 550 and 539 BCE, states, »Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them […]. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children.«[105] Herodotos claims that »[f]rom the age of five to the age of twenty, [the Persians] teach their sons just three things: to ride horses, to shoot the bow, and to speak the truth.«[106] Aischylos, who saw action against Persian troops both at Marathon and Salamis, insistently emphasises the difference between the Persian bowmen and their Greek enemies whose primary weapon is the spear[107].

Another indication that Persian arrows were a serious concern to Greek hoplites is the appearance in visual media ca. 540 BCE of an inelegant device evidently conceived as a more or less jury-rigged response to this specific and unaccustomed threat, namely »a rectangular apron of leather or heavy cloth […] shown fastened to the lower edge of the shield by studs or rivets, and hanging down almost to the bearer's ankles«[108]. Usually referred to as a ›shield apron‹ by scholars, its Greek name has not come down to us[109]. Both the earliest and the latest appearances are, perhaps naturally, from Asia Minor; in an Athenian context they are confined to vase painting of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, the vast majority coinciding

[101] Hdt. 7, 61–80, explicitly naming as bowmen Medes, Baktrians, Sacae, Indians, Parthians, Sogdians and Arabians, among many others. Bowmen made up a considerable percentage of any Persian force at any given time; see Tallis 2010, 216 f.: »It is probable that Achaemenid formations followed the Elamite tradition of maximising the numbers of archers in the infantry units, unlike the Assyrians who seem to have maintained a 50 : 50 ratio of archers to shielded spearmen.«

[102] DNb § 2g – 2h; Kuhrt 2007, 2. 505. This statement is echoed, in a slightly different form, by Strabo 15, 3, 18 (citing Onesikritos). Lecoq 1997, 223 n. 1 comments, »L'arc est une arme noble, et c'est aussi, avec la lance, l'emblème de la puissance royale: Darius est representé avec un arc à Bisotun, et Aspačana porte son carquois à Naqš-e Rostam.« Aspačanā (or Aspathines), portrayed bearing the king's combined quiver and bow case, was a high-ranking court official; see Hdt. 3, 70.

[103] Nimchuk 2002, 63–71.

[104] Earliest record: IG I³, 383, l. 17–18 (429/428 BCE), an entry in an Athenian treasury account listing »105 gold daric staters« (ΗΠΓ Δαρεικῶ [χρυ]σίο στατ[ῆρες]). For the appellation ›archers‹, see Plut. Ages. 15, 6; Art. 20, 4.

[105] Isaiah 13, 17–18; for the composition date, see Whybray 1983, 11 f.

[106] Hdt. 1, 136, 2: παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι (Purvis trans.).

[107] Aischyl. Pers. 140–149: »So how is King Xerxes, | son of Darius, faring? | Is the bent bow victorious, | or has the power | of the spearhead's point conquered?« (πῶς ἄρα πράσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεύς | Δαρειογενής; | πότερον τόξου ῥῦμα τὸ νικῶν, | ἢ δορυκράνου | λόγχης ἰσχὺς κεκράτηκεν; [Sommerstein trans.]); see also 26–29. 52–55. 81–85. 239 f. 268–271. 278. 554–557. 925–927. 1018–1023.

[108] Anderson 1970, 17. This earliest appearance is on the fragment of a Klazomenian black-figure vase (Brussels, Musées Royaux inv. 831); see Jarva 1987, 3 and fig. 1.

[109] Jarva 1987, 2.

with the Persian Wars, and subsequently disappearing altogether again, corroborating its conception as a defensive measure against missile combat[110].

Finally, it may be mentioned that contemporary depictions also show the use of bows in warfare and the effect of arrows on the human body: the already mentioned Attic red-figure cup tondo by the Sosias painter, shows Achilles bandaging Patroklos' arm (fig. 17): the arrow on the lower left of the tondo is hardly shown without reason, and we may in fact be tempted to see Patroklos as glaring venomously at the projectile recently extracted from his arm.[111] In sculpture of the period, the mythological scenes from the Trojan war in the pediments of the Temple of Athena Aphaia feature a warrior dying as he grasps an arrow imbedded in his chest[112].

Similarly, an arrow appears in a non-mythological narrative role in another Persian War period Attic kylix tondo by the Brygos Painter, one which combines an arrow on the lower left with a hoplite moving forward, holding up his shield with its shield apron just as a stone is about to strike it[113]. This may well be understood as a scene representing actual, contemporary combat.

In conflicts with Persian forces, then, Greeks had good reason to be wary of the threat from this formidable, ranged weapon, employed in large numbers by a skilled enemy, and to seek to nullify its effectiveness. That there was real cause for concern is apparent from the Tegeans' swift retreat to a last stand before a dense volley at Thermopylai in 480, and from the predicament in which the Spartan contingent found itself at Plataiai in 479 BCE, pinned down by a barrage of arrows and unable to move from their cover – presumably taking cover much like the foremost hoplite on IN 2787[114]. This is not the place to delve into Herodotos' famous and much debated statement that the Athenians at Marathon in 490 BCE were the first Greeks to charge at a run (δρόμῳ); but whatever the exact nature of that unconventionally fast charge, it seems a reasonable assumption that part of its intended surprise was denying the Persians the opportunity to fire at will during the advance[115].

[110] Poulsen 1929, 138; Jarva 1987, 23–25 for an exhaustive catalogue, listing 98 Athenian items ranging in time from Late Archaic to Early Classical. Jarva comments (on p. 4): »The chronological range of these begins, according to the prevailing chronology, in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. There is a notable concentration of representations in the first quarter of the century with something like 40–43 examples, whereas those datable to the second quarter of the century are less numerous, slightly exceeding thirty pieces, and only a few vases are datable to the third quarter of the century. The chronological peak in the first quarter of the fifth century is emphasised by the fact that hardly any of the vases can be dated earlier than about 490 – not to speak of the contemporary black-figure representations. The lower chronological limit of the Athenian representations seems to be a little before the end of the third quarter of the fifth century, maybe not later than about 430. In any case the interest of vase-painters in the subject decreased abruptly after the mid fifth century.«

[111] Cf. the etymology of the word ›toxic‹ from the Greek for bow/arrow.

[112] West pediment VII.

[113] London, British Museum inv. 1950,0104.10, kylix by the Brygos Painter: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1950-0104-10> (accessed 11.12.2021); BAPD no. 204043.

[114] Tegeans at Thermopylai: Hdt. 7, 218, 2–3. – Spartans at Plataiai: Hdt. 9, 61, 2–3. See also Hdt. 9, 49, 2, where the *entire* Greek coalition army is unable to defend itself effectively against hit-and-run tactics from mounted Persian archers (and cf. Plut. Arist. 14, 2).

[115] Hdt. 6, 112; Storch 2001. For a thorough and level-headed analysis and estimate of the role and killing potential of Persian arrows against Greek hoplites in major battles of the Persian wars, see Blyth 1977, 174–188a.

CONCLUSIONS

Since it is otherwise unknown in the sculpture that has come down to us, the peculiarity of the defensive posture displayed on IN 2787 likely carried a quite specific connotation to a contemporary viewer; namely that of fighting against Persian forces – forces that were characterised, and uniquely so to a Greek public, by their reliance on the bow as a main battle weapon. This connection could be achieved iconographically by representing those commemorated in defensive poses which were unusual in a purely Greek, intra-phalanx context, but potentially of vital importance when faced with more mobile troops fighting effectively from a distance by loosening barrages of arrows.

That the crouching posture was conceptually linked to fighting against an opponent armed with bows seems to be corroborated by the fact that, despite a seemingly total absence in written sources, it appears not infrequently in other media, not only in Attic vase painting, where it is found with some regularity, but also as a motif on coins. It may seem paradoxical that coins struck both by Greeks, presumably celebrating Greek military success, and by Persians, seemingly showing Greeks being vanquished, should feature hoplites in a crouching or kneeling posture, except possibly for its compositional suitability for the round image field furnished by a coin. But irrespective of the focalisation – whether the gaze is friendly or hostile, as it were – Tarsos, Cilicia and Chersonesos were alike in being situated at the fringe of the Greek world, their surrounding territory dominated by cultures that relied heavily on the bow as a weapon: Tarsos and Cilicia by the Persian empire, Chersonesos by Scythian territory. As such, it is less surprising that Greek hoplites, vanquished or victorious, should be represented in a stance at once recognisable and emblematic of their encounters with troops employing the bow on a large scale as their primary weapon.

The battle at Ephesos in 498 BCE should be reckoned as the earliest encounter between Athenian and Persian armed forces on any appreciable scale. Here, Persian forces under Artaphernes rallied, pursued and utterly routed the combined Ionian forces responsible for the sack of Sardis, and since these included an Athenian contingent from the 20 ships sent in aid of Aristagoras' revolt, this event supplies the terminus post quem for depictions of such conflicts in an Athenian context[116]. As the Athenians, smarting from this defeat, quickly withdrew from further participation in the Ionian revolt, their next encounter with Persian fighting forces must be the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE, during Dareios' punitive expedition against those mainland Greek cities – Athens and Eretria – which had aided the revolt of his coastal subjects.

Although armed conflict between Persians and Greeks certainly was to remain a fixture until the end of the Classical period, dating IN 2787 to 500–490 BCE on these grounds dovetails with its generally accepted dating on stylistic grounds to the Late Archaic / Early Classical period, or ca. 500–480 BCE. This naturally focuses the chronological window on the Persian wars, which saw the apex of such clashes, and which were, at least from a Greek perspective, momentous and all but cataclysmic events that helped shape Greek identity and self-perception for centuries.

[116] Hdt. 5, 99–102. At 5, 103, 1, Herodotos states explicitly that Athenian troops participated in the burning of Sardis ([…] ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἁλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων), and so must have been present at the subsequent engagement with the Persians at Ephesos.

On the strength of this, we argue that Frederik Poulsen's interpretation of IN 2787 was largely correct, and that IN 2787 probably is a monument occasioned by an engagement between Athenian and Persian forces sometime during this period, set up as a gravestone over two hoplites killed in such an action. The size and quality of this stele places it in the group of most other preserved Archaic Attic grave stelai, in other words a class of tomb marker normally reserved for members of the aristocracy.

APPENDIX

Investigating IN 2787: An Excursus on Hermeneutics, Epistemology, and Taxonomy

In this study of IN 2787, we are applying the methods of Classical archeology, Ancient history and Classical philology. The aim is to reap a maximum of information from a material historical source: what does the relief tell us about the history of the creation of figurative relief representations in Attica in the early 5th century BCE? What was its function? What may we learn from it about the warfare of the period? Does the relief have any bearing on historical events of the times?

There is nothing new in the hermeneutics of such an interdisciplinary approach. It is ›business as usual‹ (always a somewhat unsettling observation): might we have overlooked something, perhaps something linking the disciplines on the epistemological level? On that level, the taxonomies by which we organise the source material moves into the limelight. Since the point of departure is an archaeological source, the way such source material is taxonomically organised decides the way in which it is epistemologically received by other disciplines.

In our case, the source – IN 2787 – has without exception been taxonomically assigned to the upper-case category of ›art‹. Identification and discussion of the factors deciding this categorisation lie within the field of the historiography of art[117]. In the present context, it must suffice to point out that in the vast literature dealing with the ›art‹ of the period, the taxonomical determinator ›art‹ is assumed to be universally understood. A consensus is thus presupposed on what is meant by ›art‹ in ›Archaic Greek sculpture‹, or ›Classical Greek sculpture‹. References to any more thorough discussion on which such a consensus might be based are, however, very rare.

The supposition of a consensus on what is meant by Greek ›art‹ has been questioned by Classical archaeologists, directly or indirectly, in some cases in-depth[118]. Only the epistemological taxonomy of our disciplines themselves stand in the way of integrating such discussions into the heart of Classical archaeological methodology. Of what use it might be to do so remains to be seen.

In our opinion, good returns are to be expected since the aim of the exercise is a proper understanding of the historical status of the objects designated by us as ›art‹. In this sense, IN 2787 is as useful a case study as any.

[117] For example, Kristeller 1951; Kristeller 1952; Kristeller 1990; Porter 2009.

[118] Tanner 2006; Squire 2015; Hölscher 2017, 13–19; Squire 2018, 437 n. 9. 10 with further references.

Τέχνη, *Ars*, Art

When we speak of ›Greek art‹, the implication is that the aesthetic aspect of the object in question constitutes its primary quality. When, on the other hand, the ›art of warfare‹ is spoken of, it is understood that we are not dealing with aesthetics. It is an expression which one may follow from the 15th century CE onwards[119] and into the present century in both titles and texts of publications on military history – rather than on the depiction of warfare in art. Few, if anyone at all, would think that a book on »Eisenhower and the Art of Warfare«[120] might deal with ›art‹ as such. It is understood that the subject matter is the technique needed for making war. The same goes for the ›arts‹ of, e. g., horsemanship, healing, politics and speaking[121].

In the present context, an explanation of this situation must take place on a superficial level. The literature on the subject is daunting and falls within the sphere of the historiography and philosophy of art. Simply put, it is a matter of something lost, or perhaps rather mutated, in the semantics of post-Renaissance use of the Latin word *ars* and its subsequent translations into the modern European languages.

Going back to the meaning of the Latin word, the short definition provided by an authoritative dictionary such as Lewis & Short, is ›practical skill‹[122]. The article under this heading is of course a mile long. The short definition in the correspondingly authoritative dictionary of ancient Greek, Liddell–Scott–Jones, under the heading τέχνη, is ›art, craft, skill‹[123]. In neither definition is there any particular mention of what we mean by ›art‹ today.

There is no Greek or Latin equivalent to our term ›art‹. Classical Latin *ars* corresponds to *technē,* meaning a skill, a craft. In this basic sense we find it in Greek from the 6th century BCE onwards, first, and interestingly, applied to the skills of seamanship, prophesy and healing. Here the seminal work is that of Heinimann from 1961 on pre-Platonic theories of *technē*[124]. The skills required for the construction of monumental stone temples of Greece's Archaic period, or the colossal early marble kouroi, are notably absent from Heinimann's work. In making a note of this, it is necessary to take into account the fragmentary nature of the written evidence which has come down to us – in this instance most especially the pre-Socratics.

In relation to Greek visual culture, Heinimann's line of thinking has been continued most recently by Nadia Justine Koch[125]. The main thrust of her argument is that the visual ›arts‹ were understood in a pre-Platonic context as a *technē* closely related to that of rhetoric, *hē rhetorikē technē*[126]. Rhetoric was by the 5th century BCE a recognised ›skill‹, an instrument forged to enter the armoury of political ›skill‹, *hē politikē technē*. The visual media and speechmaking had in common the vital element of persuasion, the persuasive argument, with

119 Machiavelli 1519/1520.

120 Haycock 2004. Cf. also Winston Churchill in a letter to General Sir Hastings Ismay, 19 March 1944: »The conditions under which the military art is practiced nowadays […]«: Churchill 1952, V 516.

121 ›The art of politics‹: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=75-HzS8sw-8>.

122 Lewis & Short s. v. ›ars‹ <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/resolveform?type=exact&lookup=ars&lang=la> (accessed 11.12.2021).

123 LSJ s. v. τέχνη <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057%3Aalphabetic+letter%3D*t%3Aentry+group%3D32%3Aentry%3Dte%2Fxnh> (accessed 11.12.2021).

124 Heinimann 1961.

125 Koch 2017; Koch 2019.

126 Cf. Schmidt 2005, with conclusions p. 283–291.

mimēsis as a prerequisite – whether as a metaphor in a speech or as a convincing representation in the visual media[127].

Viewing IN 2787 in this light, a shift may be said to take place on an epistemological level. The high aesthetic quality of the relief – according to our norms – remains undisputed. But it is lifted out of the confines of its taxonomical upper category of ›art‹, becoming, first and foremost, a visual statement belonging to what Tonio Hölscher has called the »social life of Greek images«[128]. Its category is that of a finely tuned medium of communication, just like a speech; such superb handling of the medium requires a high degree of skill, of sculptural *technē*. At the same time, its message bears witness to another *technē,* namely what by the 4th century BCE was known as *hē polemikē technē*, the ›art‹ of warfare, in mimetic terms that must have been calibrated to the ›social life‹ of viewers of the times.

For the present-day historians of the visual culture and the warfare of the period, this is of obvious importance. Equally important is the indirect evidence the relief thus offers for the absolute necessity of the original polychromy for the readability of the relief, arguably on a level of quality of execution congruent with that of the carving of the marble[129].

The aim of the excursus is twofold. One is to seize the relatively rare opportunity of drawing the reader's attention to some general methodological considerations which have gained some ground in relatively recent archaeological research. The other is to invite critical comment on these considerations. IN 2787 seems well suited to test their relevance.

Abbreviations:

Anderson 1963	J. K. Anderson, The Statue of Chabrias, AJA 67, 1963, 411–413
Anderson 1970	J. K. Anderson, Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon (Berkeley, CA 1970)
Anokhin 1980	V. A. Anokhin, The Coinage of Chersonesus. IV Century B.C. – XII Century A.D. (translated from the Russian by H. B. Wells), BARIntSer 69 (Oxford 1980)
Arrington 2015	N. T. Arrington, Ashes, Images and Memories. The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens (Oxford 2015)
Ashmead – Philipps 1971	A. H. Ashmead – K. M. Phillips Jr., CVA Bryn Mawr College, The Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, Fasc. 1. Attic Red-Figured Vases (Princeton, NC 1971)
Avram et al. 2004	A. J. Avram – J. Hind – G. Tsetskhladze, The Black Sea Area, in: M. H. Hansen – T. H. Nielsen (eds.), An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis (Oxford 2004) 924–973
Bakalakis 1946	G. Bakalakis, Ellenika amphiglypha (doctoral diss.) (Thessaloniki 1946)
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database <https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery> (accessed 11.12.2021)

[127] Use of the term ›visual media‹ need not be restricted to our own times; sculpture is just as much a visual medium as television.

[128] Hölscher 2017.

[129] For the integration of form and polychromy in Archaic sculpture, see Heilmeyer – Massmann 2014, 88–97, summing up on p. 93 and 97.

Barlou 2014	V. Barlou, Die archaische Bildhauerkunst von Paros. Untersuchungen zur stilistischen Entwicklung der anthropomorphen Rundplastik (Wiesbaden 2014)
Blyth 1977	P. H. Blyth, The Effectiveness of Greek Armour Against Arrows in the Persian War (490–479 B.C.): An Interdisciplinary Inquiry (doctoral diss.) (Reading 1977)
Boardman 1970	J. Boardman, Greek Gems and Finger Rings. Early Bronze Age to Late Classical (New York 1970)
Boardman 1975	J. Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period (London 1975)
Boardman 1985	J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period (London 1985)
Boardman 1991[2]	J. Boardman, Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period [2](London 1991; first edition 1978)
Brinkmann 2003	V. Brinkmann, Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur. Mit einem Beitrag von Oliver Primavesi, Studien zur antiken Malerei und Farbgebung 5 (Munich 2003)
Buckler 1972	J. Buckler, A Second Look at the Monument of Chabrias, Hesperia 41, 1972, 466–474
Burnett – Edmonson 1961	A. P. Burnett – C. N. Edmonson, The Chabrias Monument in the Athenian Agora, Hesperia 30, 1961, 74–491
Casabonne 1995	O. Casabonne, Le *syennésis* cilicien et Cyrus: l'apport des sources numismatiques, in: P. Briant (ed.), Dans les pas des Dix-Mille: Peuples et pays du Proche Orient vus par un Grec, Pallas 43, 1995, 147–172
Casabonne 2000	O. Casabonne, Conquête perse et phénomène monétaire: l'exemple cilicien, in: Mécanismes et innovations monétaires dans l'Anatolie achéménide. Numismatique et Histoire. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 22–23 mai 1997, Varia Anatolica 12 (Istanbul 2000) 21–91
Christensen et al. 2009	D. L. Christensen – T. H. Nielsen – A. Schwartz, Herodotos and *hemerodromoi*: Pheidippides' Run from Athens to Sparta in 490 BC from Historical and Physiological Perspectives, Hermes 137, 2009, 148–169
Churchill 1952	W. Churchill, The Second World War, vol. I–VI (London 1952)
Clairmont 1983	C. W. Clairmont, Patrios Nomos. Public Burials in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. The Archaeological, Epigraphic-literary and Historical Evidence, BARIntSer 161 (London 1983)
Clairmont 1993	C. W. Clairmont, Classical Attic Tombstones I–IV (Kilchberg 1993)
Daehner 2006	J. Daehner, Grenzen der Nacktheit. Studien zum nackten männlichen Körper in der griechischen Plastik des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., JdI 120, 2006, 155–300
Despinis 1967	G. Despinis, Kykladische Grabstelen des 5./4. Jhs. v. Chr., in: W. H. Schuchhardt (ed.), Antike Plastik 7 (Berlin 1967) 77–86
Destrée – Murray 2015	P. Destrée – P. Murray (eds.), A Companion to Ancient Aesthetics (Hoboken 2015)
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Jan Stubbe Østergaard, Emeritus research curator, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Denmark, E-Mail: jso@polychromy.org

Adam Schwartz, Associate professor, Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, E-Mail: schwartz@hum.ku.dk

Abstract:
Jan Stubbe Østergaard – Adam Schwartz, A Late Archaic/Early Classical Greek Relief with Two Hoplites (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 2787)

The relief, republished in the present article in the form of a joint archaeological and historical investigation, has not been dealt with at any length since 1942. We identify it as a fragment of an Attic gravestone dating from the Late Archaic / Early Classical period. The hoplites' weapons are standard, but their postures are unique: they are defensive, but indicate readiness for action. This is interpreted as a measure against long range weapons, probably arrows. Missile combat was of limited importance in Archaic and Classical Greek city-state warfare, yet the scene depicted suggests an opposing force fielding large formations of archers or slingers. The relief may depict fighting between Athenian and Persian forces. Volleys from massed Persian archers may have led to countermeasures among hoplites, such as ›shield aprons‹. In showing the moment before action is unleashed, the scene relates to an Early Classical rather than a Late Archaic way of visual communication.

Keywords: Greek Relief Sculpture – Archaic Attic Gravestones – Polychromy – Surface Mapping – Greek Polis Warfare – Hoplite Weapons and Tactics – Persian Wars