

The Archaic warrior from Metaponto

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ABSTRACT

The chalcidic helmet with ram's protome in the Saint Louis Art Museum comes from a tomb in Metaponto. The grave assemblage has been reconstructed and displays the helmet wearer as a remarkable warrior, with the most complete panoply preserved in the Archaic Greek world. The work presents the panoply, discusses why this warrior has not been reconstructed until now, and proposes a reading of the role of this figure in Magna Grecia of the period following the destruction of Sibaris.

KEYWORDS

Arms and armour typology; Restoration criticism; Greek-epicorion interaction; Archaic period; hoplite.

INTRODUCTION: MORE THAN JUST A HELMET

In the beginning of September 1942, a tomb in Metaponto (in the area of *località Crucinia – Casa Ricotta*) was plundered, which contained a spectacularly decorated helmet with a zoomorphic protome. Shortly after, the archaeologists from the Soprintendenza of Taranto intervened to save what little the *tombaroli* (grave robbers) had left.¹ While this was happening, the helmet and a set of metallic fragments, which had been recovered with it, began a journey through antique shops, which continued until 1949, when they reached Saint Louis (Missouri, USA). Subsequently, the helmet was recorded through publications and exhibited in the Saint-Louis Art Museum (SLAM), where it has become an icon for Archaic toreutics, creating a series of myths based on the uncritical acceptance of its restoration and its current appearance. Both factors, a too interpretative restoration and the undisputed acceptance of the result, have given importance to the helmet while silencing its context and associated objects. Although there are only two, the studies which tried to understand the set formed by the helmet, the fragments in Saint Louis,² and the extra materials excavated by the Soprintendenza of Taranto³ have been forgotten. The helmet has been, paradoxically, both a symbol and an obstacle: a referent for the iconography in Metaponto and the Archaic period, but its decontextualization has hindered an understanding of the most complex Late Archaic panoply of the Greek world and the Magno-Greek panoply productions. This has also resulted in imprecise datings and social interpretations, with efforts trying to force a match between the helmet's tomb and

1 The official handwritten manuscript with date 12th September 1942 is still unpublished (KUNZE 1991, 114; DE SIENA 2008, 13, n.8; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 200, n.12).

2 HOOPES 1953. Once acquired by the SLAM, the fragments preserved were published on, together with some other pieces (s. below) attributed to the tomb for commercial interests.

3 LO PORTO 1977–1979. F.G. Lo Porto tried to offer an overall view of the helmet and its tomb from Italy, unfortunately without having directly accessed the materials in the SLAM. He had Hoopes' publications as a guide and added material preserved in Metaponto, which had not been reported in the literature.

the written sources in order to contextualize it. The result has affected the understanding of several series of metallic objects, but especially that of Metaponto and Magna Grecia.

The following study focuses on the helmet and the other pieces of armour found together with it.⁴ The exceptional nature of the objects and their combination requires a double perspective for their study, Greek and Southern-Italic, because, as we will see, both cultural realities can inform them, but paradoxically they do not fit completely in either. This duality requires a work proposal divided into two well-differentiated parts: firstly, the identification of all the funerary objects, for which all the available documentation (from the plundering, the subsequent emergency excavation, and the restoration) needs to be examined, and secondly, comparison of the panoply with other panoplies known in the Italic ('anhellenic') world and the other Magno-Greek realities. This latter part will open the discussion of whether it is a singular example of a parade panoply,⁵ a hoplite⁶ (or functional) panoply,⁷ or a combination of both to allow participation in: war, social representation, and the dialogue between Greeks and between Greeks and Italics.⁸

THE DISCOVERY: METAPONTO

The tomb was discovered in the beginning of September 1942,⁹ in an area where other tombs had already been documented during some gravel extraction works (**Fig. 1**). The date can be deduced from the moment when the R. Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Puglia e del Materano intervened to organize a salvage excavation, which was between the 12th and 19th September 1942.¹⁰ The objective was to enlarge the area surrounding the tomb, where the helmet with plastic decoration was discovered, document its structure and recover whatever may remain there. Unexpected finds included the recovery of many iron arms fragments and parts of a silver and bronze metallic plate, found beneath one of the flat stones that covered the tomb.¹¹

The tomb belonged to the *semicamera* type and measured 2.20 × 1.15 × 1.35 metres.¹² The features and measurements of the sepulchre are slightly inferior to other tombs discovered in the same necropolis but correspond with other tombs chronologically. However, we should highlight that this type of construction is exclusive to a privileged group. Many materials were recovered during the rescue excavation (**Fig. 2**).¹³ Some were wrongly interpreted, including bronze fragments from a cuirass, a silver belt with palmette decoration and an appliqué in the shape of a 'bovine head'. Others were correctly identified as a fragment of a greave, and iron, wooden and amber fragments of a shaft. Only a comparison of the aforementioned with

4 This work reviews and extends the monographic study of the panoply of the tomb of Metaponto (GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019). Recent syntheses on the achaean Polis of Metaponto and its origins in BOTTINI 2020; DE STEFANO 2020; TORNESE 2020.

5 TAGLIAMONTE 1994, 86; MERTENS 2006, 163; ROBINSON 2011, 62.

6 BOTTINI 1986, 110; ROCCHIETTI 2002, 173.

7 HOOPES 1953, 833.

8 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 320.

9 De Siena (2008, 4) suggests that the plundering took place in 1942, while Robinson (2011, 62) suggests a wider dating during the Second World War.

10 LO PORTO 1977-1979, 171; DE SIENA 2008, 4, note 8.

11 LO PORTO 1977-1979, 171.

12 LO PORTO 1977-1979, 173, fig. 2; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 198, fig. 2/2.

13 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 200-201, tav. 2/1, tav. 2/16, tav. IX.

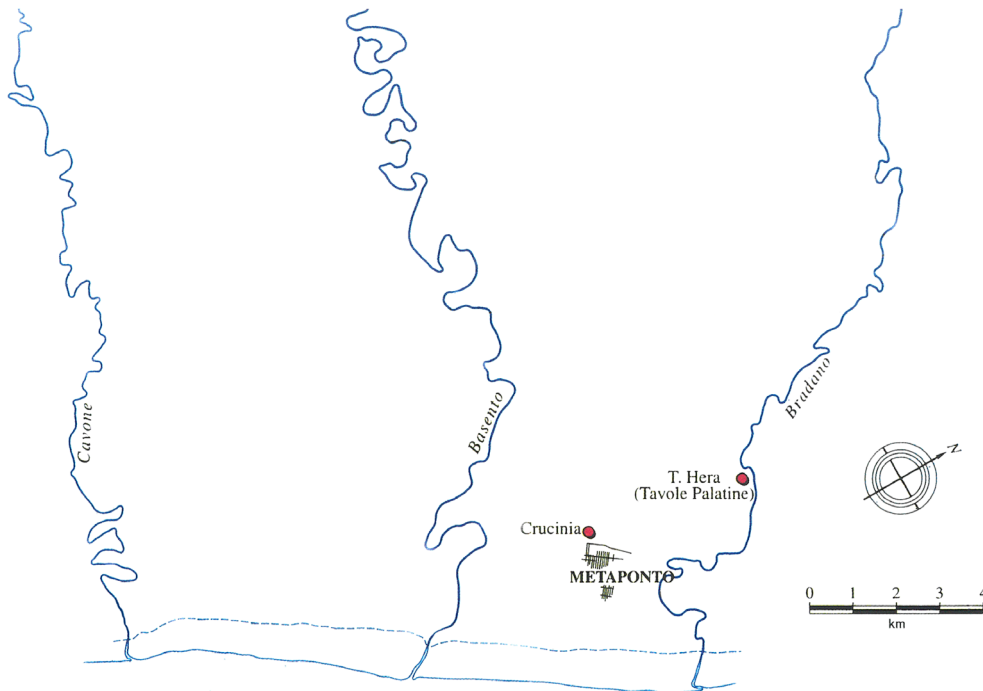


Fig. 1: Metaponto, map and location of the necropolis in relation to the polis (Map Author, drawing after CARTER 2005).



Fig. 2: Metaponto, rescue excavation between the 12th and 19th September 1942: bronze and silver fragments from the plundered semicamera grave. Without scale (after Lo Porto 1977–1979, tav. LXVa).

the helmet and other plundered fragments in a joint study can reconstruct the grave goods and panoply of the tomb.

The necropolis was investigated between 1991 and 1993 under supervision of A. De Siena (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata).¹⁴ Those campaigns allowed the identification of the grave of the panoply. Its location is proposed to the northeast of graves 590–595 and south of grave 238.¹⁵

THE JOURNEY: FROM METAPONTO TO SAINT LOUIS

After the plundering, the helmet and fragments did not reach Saint Louis directly.¹⁶ They changed hands multiple times until they were acquired by the SLAM in 1949, although details of how many times and whose hands are unknown. We do not know who discovered and plundered the tomb of Metaponto, who acted as an intermediary for the first sale, who photographed and gave those images to Curtius, director of the Deutsches Archäologisches

14 BOTTINI – VULLO 2019, 61; BOTTINI 2020, 72–74; TORNESE 2020, 154.

15 VERGER 2019, 397. The relationship between the two tombs (that of the armour and tomb 238) does not go beyond this supposed spatial proximity. The chronological distance between the two makes their relationship impossible in any other way (BOTTINI 2020, 91).

16 This detailed study has been possible thanks to the documentation preserved in the SLAM, which has been made available to me with utmost transparency and generosity, but with some restrictions regarding its circulation and reproduction, according to American legislations. Therefore, as for my previous work (GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019), I offer a comment on the documents. The correspondence and documents in the SLAM archive do not have any specific numbering and can be found in the helmet's documentary dossier no. 282:1949.

Institut of Rome between 1928 and 1937 (**Fig. 3**), or who was the collector, who kept the objects in Switzerland until 1949 (or if such a collector even existed). However, what we do know is sourced from a complete documentation of the protagonists of the American acquisition of the pieces: Perry T. Rathbone, director of the SLAM and responsible for the acquisition of the helmet; Thomas T. Hoopes, curator of the SLAM and first researcher to publish on the helmet; Joseph Ternbach, restorer of the helmet and other elements acquired by the SLAM, and Adolph Loewi, the antiques dealer, who sold the panoply.¹⁷



Fig. 3: The helmet from Metaponto before any restoration. Note the absence of eyes and decorative caps (after KUNZE 1967, Abb. 61-62).

The sequence we have reconstructed shows that at a certain moment after the plundering, the helmet and other fragments were sold in Switzerland, where an unknown collector (mentioned in one of Loewi's letters with the initial 'B' and the city of 'Basel') preserved them until 1949, the year when the helmet and the silver and bronze plate fragments arrived in America. According to Hoopes, the collector did not sell all the materials associated with the helmet; he kept a bronze square-section 'spearhead'. It is not easy to characterize this piece with just this information, but thanks to other details added by Hoopes we can consider it as a *sauroter* (s. below).¹⁸

¹⁷ GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 203-204.

¹⁸ It is possible that the *sauroter* was sold in 1958 by H. A. Cahn (GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 267, fig. 2/43).

In 1949, the helmet and fragments of the metallic plate arrived in Los Angeles, where they were displayed in Loewi's antique shop until Rathbone agreed to purchase them for \$ 6,500. 00. This price included Loewi's restoration and cleaning of the helmet, estimated at \$800. 00. On the 14th October 1949, the helmet was sent to the SLAM¹⁹ and on the 4th November, Hoopes requested the remaining associated plate fragments also be restored.²⁰ During November 1949,²¹ the helmet and other pieces of the set were shipped to New York so that the restorer, Ternbach, could work on them. The final cost of the helmet's restoration was \$2253.84, plus \$615.05 for the shield, plus the costs of transport and pictures made during the process. In total, the costs were close to half of the price paid for the helmet. On the 5th June 1950, the helmet and non-restored fragments were shipped back to the SLAM.

THE RESTORATION: TERNBACH'S CREATIVITY

The helmet's restoration process spanned little more than six months and took place in Ternbach's workshop in New York, where the other fragments were also present. During this time, the restorer could only clean and reconstruct parts of the helmet and assemble some elements of a silver plate, which he and director Rathbone had interpreted as fragments of a silver crest (**Fig. 4**). The rest of the fragments could not be restored and Ternbach clearly communicated that recognizing any other object was impossible.

The helmet was cleaned and restoration completed, the missing parts were created *ex novo* by Ternbach (with Rathbone's consent) assuming some slightly inaccurate parallels with other artefacts (**Fig. 5-8**). Further details on this are discussed later, but an important point is that absence of the plates that decorated the cheekpieces or the upper part of the protome were of special interest in this restoration. Evidence of this absence is provided in Curtius' unpublished study of the helmet, pictures from before the restoration and a letter sent by Rathbone asking Loewi if he or the previous owner had other fragments that could help restore the helmet, or if he could contact the tomb's plunderers.²² Loewi's reply included some impossible information, Rathbone was, however, satisfied. Loewi said that new excavations had been completed in the tomb after Curtius' report (dated 10th October 1948) and several fragments had been recovered, among them 'the two decorated ear-pieces'.²³ However, according to the documentation available up to that date (from the antiques dealer and the Soprintendenza), there are some inconsistencies: the tomb had been discovered in 1942 and Loewi had come into contact with the helmet through the Swiss collector in order to take it to America between 1948 and 1949, so it does not seem likely that Loewi knew details about the original plundering. Moreover, a letter dated 18th October 1949 from Loewi's assistant to Rathbone mentions that there were no remains of those elements among the fragments kept by the antique dealer.²⁴ Furthermore, it is more than certain that the Soprintendenza had already completely excavated the tomb where the helmet was found.

19 Letter from Robertson to Rathbone, 18th October 1949 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

20 Letter from Rathbone to Loewi, 4th November 1949 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

21 Letter from Hoopes to Ternbach, 14th November 1949 (SLAM archive, 282:1949), informing about shipment of the pieces. Reply from Ternbach to Hoopes, 30th November 1949 (SLAM archive, 282:1949), with the confirmation of receipt and an estimate for the restoration.

22 Letter from Rathbone to Loewi, 12th January 1950 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

23 Letter from Loewi to Rathbone, 17th January 1950 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

24 Letter from Robertson to Rathbone, 18th October 1949 (SLAM archive, 282:1949); GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 205.

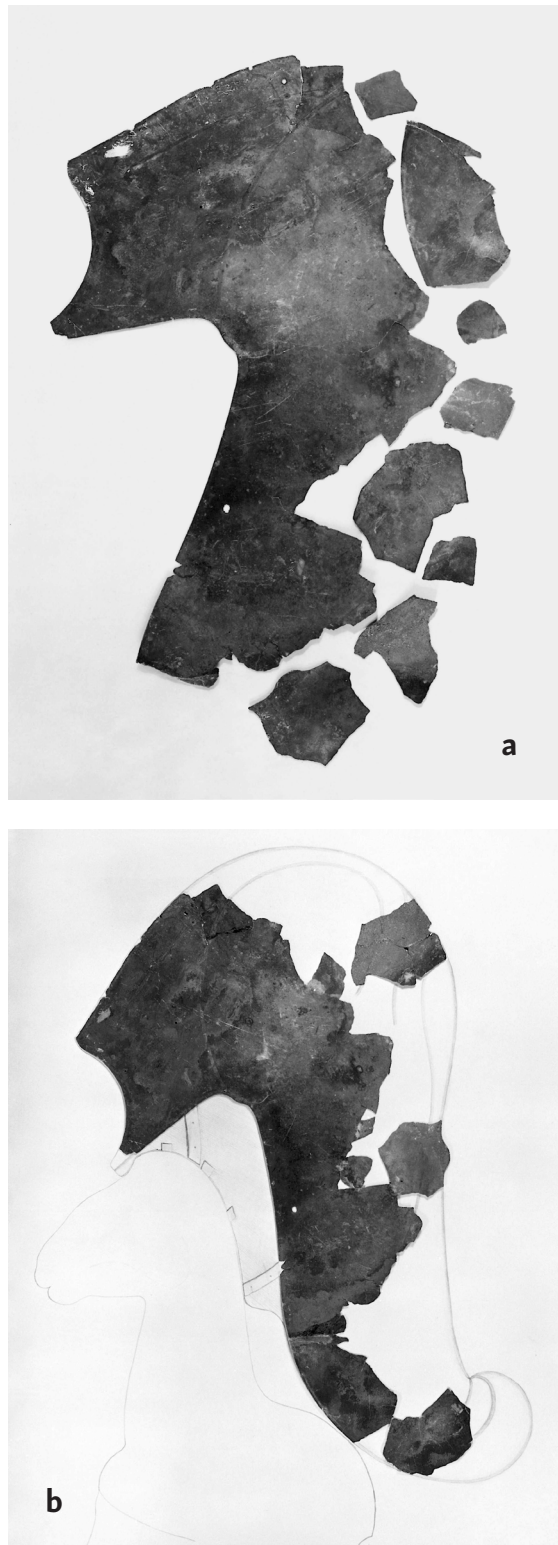


Fig. 4: Lophos reconstruction process by J. Ternbach: a - fragments; b - composition on a predetermined drawing. © Saint Louis Art Museum, Archive, Museum Purchase 282:1949. 1.

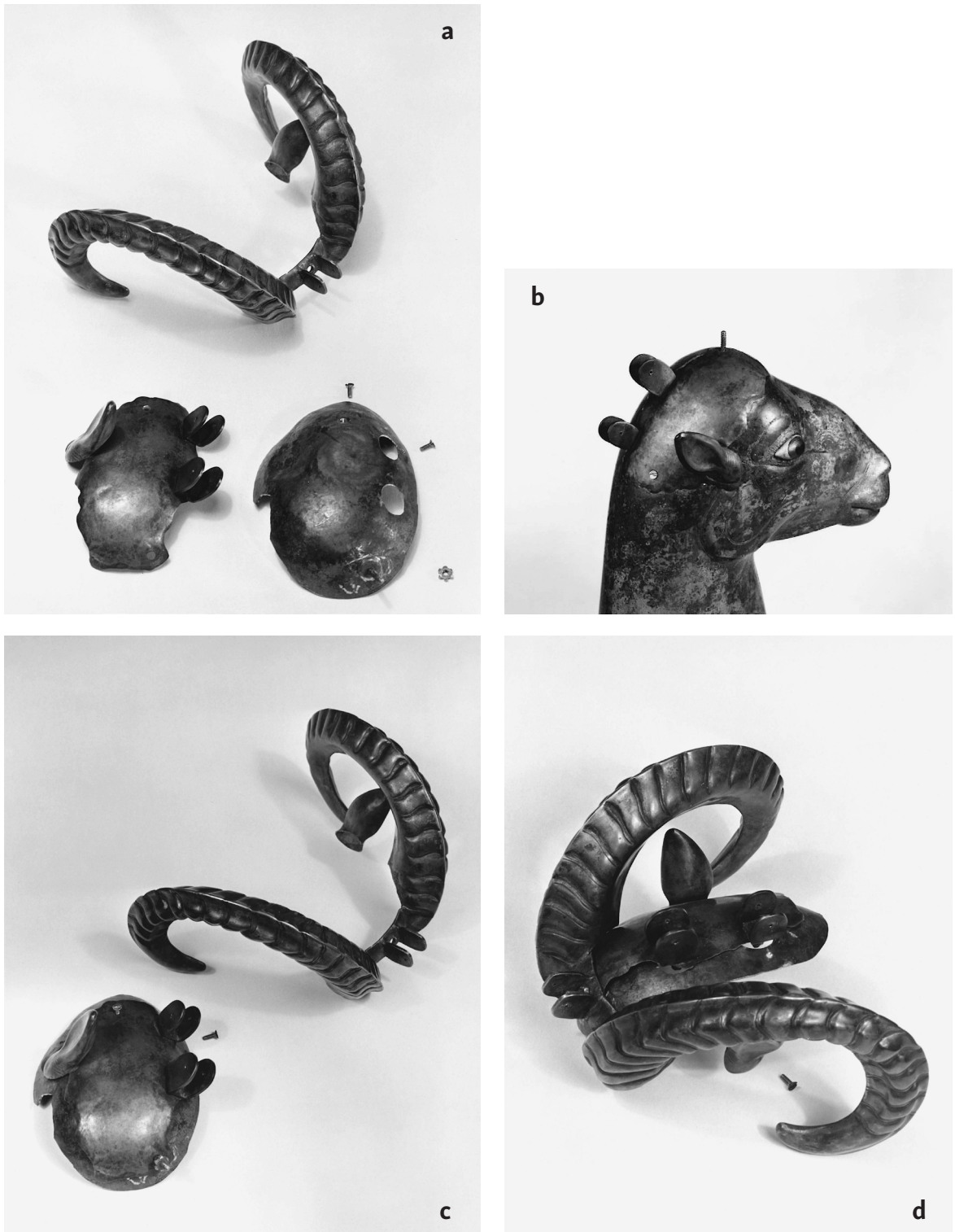


Fig. 5: Protome's horns reconstruction by J. Ternbach: a - pieces made of brass: horns, plate to be fixed in the interior of the protome, plate with ears for external adjustment and for holding the horns; b - protome with the inner and external plates before assembling the horns; c - outside pieces; d - Set of assembled reconstructed elements. © Saint Louis Art Museum, Archive, Museum Purchase 282:1949. 1.



Fig. 6: Restored appearance of the protome. Present condition: side view and back view (photos by G. Zufferri, with permission of the SLAM).



Fig. 7: Nasal protector reconstruction by J. Ternbach. Front view with distinction between the original helmet and the added piece, made of brass. Note the decorative inconsistency. © Saint Louis Art Museum, Archive, Museum Purchase 282:1949. 1.



Fig. 8: Cheekpiece reconstruction by J. Ternbach. Note the absence of holes in the perimeter, present in all the original appliqués, and the reconstructed eye as a single painted piece (photo by G. Zuferrì, with permission of the SLAM).

What we consider important to report here is that Loewi undertook an illegal excavation in Metaponto between October 1948 and November 1949 to recover pieces (or to complete previously plundered collections) and that between that moment and June 1950, Rathbone asked for another excavation. The explicit purpose of this second excavation was to complete the collection acquired by the SLAM. Loewi asked his Roman partner to contact the provider of the pieces, who surprisingly was no longer the Swiss collector, who appears in other documents, but the owner of the land. They reached the conclusion that it was impossible to recover more pieces.²⁵ Obviously, this letter is important to estimate Loewi's involvement in the helmet's original plundering: if he knew who had discovered it, it is possible that he stayed in contact with them after 1942. If that is the case, which role did the Swiss collector play? Did he really exist? Was the collector the first owner or was this just a commercial ploy to launder the exportation of Italian pieces? Unfortunately, we lack information to settle this issue.

Either way, since Rathbone could not acquire any new fragments, he gave responsibility for the restoration to Ternbach, who then unleashed his creativity and turned the helmet into a *pastiche* (**Fig. 9**), ignoring other fragments, which he did not understand or value.²⁶

25 Letter from Loewi to Rathbone, 4th March 1950 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

26 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 208.



Fig. 9: Ideal 3D reconstruction of the helmet as restored by Ternbach. Non-preserved parts, such as the neck guard in the rear side, have been reintegrated using the Locri helmet (MAN Napoli) as a reference.

STUDIES, DIFFUSION, AND POPULAR IMPACT OF A UNIQUE HELMET

As soon as the helmet and the remaining fragments arrived at the SLAM, Hoopes decided to study the new museum's highlight. The only scientific publication he devoted to the set of pieces, originally planned as provisional,²⁷ stayed as the definitive work until the work of Lo Porto²⁸. The value of Hoopes' first publication was great, since he was able to identify most of the fragments correctly, as well as make a complete summary of the main object of study, the helmet.²⁹ The only weak points of his work resulted from paying attention to Ternbach's restorations and interpretations; Ternbach had published his own article regarding the helmet's restoration.³⁰ Ternbach's alterations also influenced the good work of Lo Porto, who years later wanted to give the same value to the helmet as to the other materials, although he was never able to travel to Saint Louis and study the fragments and archival documentation in the SLAM in person.

27 HOOPES 1953.

28 LO PORTO 1977-1979.

29 For a reconstruction of the process of study followed by Hoopes, cf. GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 208-213.

30 TERNBACH 1952.

Parallel to these studies, interest in the helmet increased thanks to the many conferences given by Hoopes, as well as its appearance in the media (TV and science magazines).³¹ The popular response was surprising, with many spontaneous letters being sent to the SLAM proposing modifications to the helmet's presentation or regarding the positioning of the supposed silver crest (**Fig. 10**). These examples showed the boom of interest in the helmet, which distanced and disconnected it from the remaining fragments and its context.



Fig. 10: 3D reconstruction of the crest assembly proposals according to correspondence received by SLAM from enthusiastic readers who reacted to the publication of the restored helmet by J. Ternbach in *Life Magazine* (December 25, 1950).

A PANOPLY WITH HELMET

The helmet's uniqueness has caused some scholars to doubt its authenticity, even hypothesizing that it was a false creation by Alceo Dossena.³² This suggestion was rejected from the very beginning by Jucker³³ and later by Kunze³⁴ and should, therefore, not be considered.

The different reconstructions of the panoply have varied through time, with elements being included or removed according to the commercial interests and the understanding and interpretations of the objects. Most proposals consider the panoply to be composed of the helmet, a greave, a shield and a silver *episema*,³⁵ while others have included a cuirass.³⁶ We and

31 *Illustrated London News* 127, August 5, 1950, 221–223; *St. Louis Dispatch, Picture Supplement*, August 6, 1950; *Life magazine*, December 25, 1950, 23; *Atlantis*, February 1951/2, 72–73; *Illustrated London News*, February 10, 1951; *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 19, 1951; *Boston Advertiser*, August 19, 1951.

32 Jucker (1965, 118) based on the text by Cellini (1956, 54–58, tav. 40b).

33 A first and clear counter reaction by Jucker (1965, 118); subsequently extended by Kunze (1967, 163).

34 Kunze unquestionably responded to von Bothmer's suggestion that the ram protome was false. Cf. letter from Kunze to Hoopes, 26th September 1961 (SLAM archive, 282:1949); reply from Hoopes to Kunze, 2nd October 1961 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

35 BOTTINI 1986, 110; BORN – HANSEN 1994, 59; ROCCHIETTI 2002, 173; DE SIENA 2008, 4.

36 HOOPES 1953, 834, pl. 82:c; LO PORTO 1977–1979, 182; TAGLIAMONTE 1994, 85–86; DE SIENA 2008, 13, note 8; BURKHART 2014, 254.

Hoopes alone³⁷ propose grouping all previous elements together with some feet protections (*Fußpanzer*) and non-preserved pieces, which were also mentioned in the documentation (such as the ‘square-section spearhead’).

Between 2016 and 2019 I have been able to study directly all the preserved fragments and thus propose a panoply that is complex, unique and exceptional for many different reasons. This is a chronologically and functionally coherent panoply, although it is eclectic, as is usual in southern Italy. Within the next pages I will briefly analyse each of the pieces.³⁸

HELMET

The helmet has been the focus of general interest and attention, even giving its name to the tomb: ‘tomb of the helmet of Saint Louis’. It belongs to a variant of the Chalcidian type III of Kunze³⁹ and was manufactured using a single hammered bronze piece. The cheekpieces are covered with decorated plates applied with perimetral nails.⁴⁰ The eyes of the ram in the protome and on the plates that cover the cheekpieces are decorated using bone and vitreous paste. The main helmet is preserved in the SLAM (inv. no. 282:1949) and some fragments in the National Archaeological Museum (NAM) of Metaponto (inv. no. 54.121). Typological chronology dates it in the last quarter of the 6th century BC. Its dimensions are 492 × 324 × 171 mm. The length of the cheekpieces is 245 mm.

The helmet is an exceptional work of art that combines a Chalcidian morphology without a nasal protector of exclusive Magno-Greek tradition, with the upper protome of Oriental tradition.⁴¹ It has been attributed to a workshop from Taranto,⁴² although there is no evidence to confirm this; on the contrary, the best fit seems to be with the productions from Metaponto or the Locri-Hipponion area.⁴³

The main obstacle hindering accurate study of this helmet is its restoration. Those who have studied it used photographs and assumed the accuracy of Ternbach’s work. His completing the missing parts of the helmet made it impossible to recognize some of the remaining fragments as parts of the helmet. Further, he also distorted the reading of fragments that he did not understand, which he integrated by force into the helmet anyway. Evidently as a result, it has been impossible to reconstruct the helmet or the panoply.

In order to study the helmet, we first need to dismantle Ternbach’s restoration and explain it again to see its real aspect.

The helmet arrived at the SLAM with important fractures,⁴⁴ without the decorative plates of the cheekbones in the shape of ram protomes and without the plastic elements originally welded onto the head of the protome (see above **Fig. 3**).⁴⁵

37 HOOPES 1953, 834; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 265–270.

38 Besides the weapons analysed, 11 bronze sheet fragments are preserved in the SLAM and another 8 silver-gilt sheet fragments in the MAN-Metaponto (inv. no. 54.124). These fragments have not been identified or do not belong to weapons, which is why they are excluded from the present work.

39 KUNZE 1967b, *passim*.

40 This has been studied and commented on in detail regarding the helmet of Locris (GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2020).

41 BORN – HANSEN 1994, 59–60.

42 TAGLIAMONTE 1994, 86; TREISTER 2001, 37.

43 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2020.

44 KUNZE 1967b, Abb. 61–62; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, fig. 2/10, tav. 2/17.

45 Welding marks can be seen in different photographs, i.e., TERNBACH 1952, fig. 5–6; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 219, fig. 2/11.

Besides cleaning and restoring, Ternbach integrated some elements that he thought were missing in the helmet (s. above) (**Fig. 11**)⁴⁶: a *lophos* made with a silver double plate, the plastic decoration of the protome, the nasal protector and the decorative plates on the cheekpieces. The resulting pastiche is beyond spectacular, but is it correct?

The restoration arose from a profitable dialogue between Hoopes and Ternbach. Much of their abundant correspondence has been preserved and this shows the doubts they had and their solutions for them. For the reconstruction of the missing and invented parts, they used a bronze alloy with 85% copper and 15% zink; the missing part of the silver double-plated *lophos* was completed with silver (**Fig. 12**); for the eyes and to attach the *lophos* over the protome, they decided to use painted ivory and not plastic with inlay work, as initially planned.⁴⁷

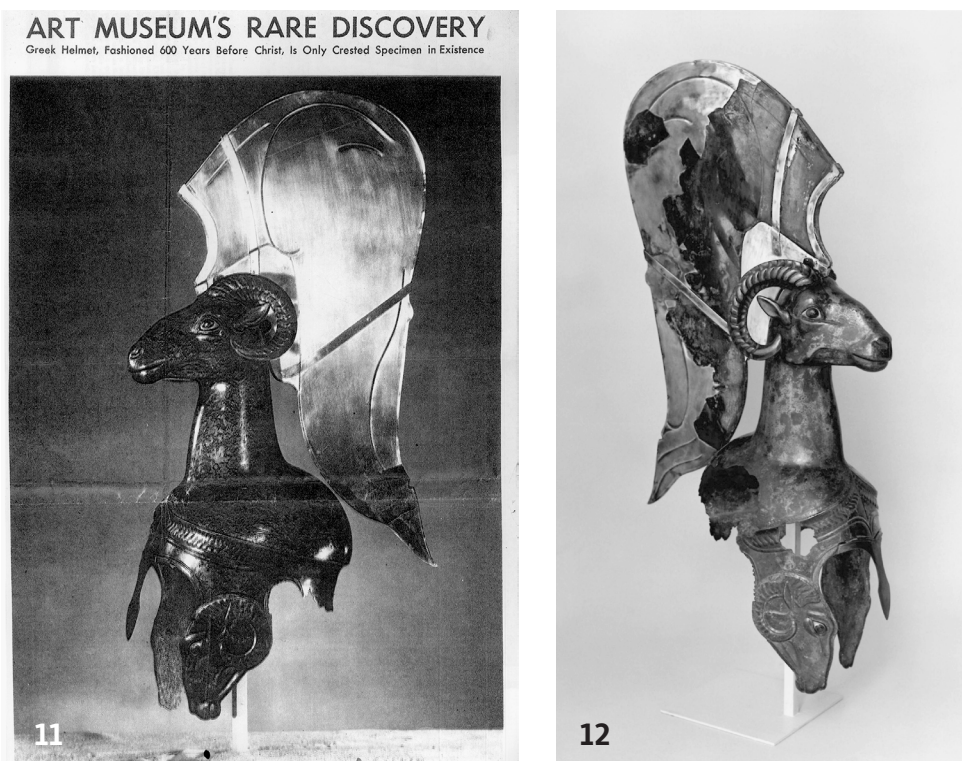


Fig. 11: Cover of the St. Louis Dispatch Picture Supplement (August 6, 1950) where it is highlighted that the helmet is the only one preserved with a crest (St. Louis Dispatch, August 6, 1950, cover).
Fig. 12: The helmet with the crest showing the uneven colouring of the original silver and the re-integrated metal. This chromatic divergence, rightly left by J. Ternbach, was eliminated by the SLAM staff before the image of the restored helmet was released. TERNBACH 1952, fig. 1

I have already mentioned the many errors of this restoration, but let's explain each one in detail.

The only justification for the alleged silver *lophos* was that they had some decorated fragments of a silver plate with embossed lines, which they could not associate with any object and which they therefore proposed were part of a *lophos*. While trying to fit them in, Ternbach noticed that they corresponded to each other, but with reverse orientation; he therefore used them as two sides of the same object. The restoring process of the *lophos* led to a discussion

46 TERNBACH 1952, *passim*; HOOPES 1952, 174; HOOPES 1953, *passim*; VERMEULE 1955, 190-191.

47 SLAM conservation report signed by Hargrove (Conservator), 4th February 1985 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

between Hoopes and Ternbach. Although there are countless other errors, only this detail has been criticized by previous research⁴⁸ and considered a pastiche from the very beginning.⁴⁹ However, the results were on public display until some conservation works in 1985.

The system of horns and ears is based on the front side scene in the Etruscan chariot of Monteleone di Spoleto (Metropolitan Museum NY, inv. no. 03. 23. 1), although no piece that could be related to these elements was recovered by the plunderers. It is possible, however, that a small horn fragment may have been recognizable among the fragments recovered during the salvage excavation in 1942.⁵⁰

The nasal protector was recreated using the reference for this type of helmet in America, the Chalcidian helmet from the collection in the Metropolitan Museum NY (inv. no. 17.230.26),⁵¹ which is actually a modern copy⁵² of the Locris helmet (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli: MAN-Napoli inv. no. 5737).⁵³ This is problematical because the latter helmet corresponds to a variant of Kunze's Chalcidian helmet type III, different to that from Metaponto.

The decorative plates over the cheekpieces were also based on the helmet in the Metropolitan Museum and on the Monteleone chariot, which explains why they were made in bronze.

Painted ivory for the eyes on the protome (**Pl. 2/1**) and decorative plates does not correspond with the usual technique for this type of weapon, which is a complex structure with a nail that keeps it attached to the helmet or to the metallic plate. The usual technique includes a bone or ivory plate in the shape of an eye, with a central circular depression to embed a vitreous paste disc (**Pl. 2/1**).

Moreover, Ternbach did not reintegrate a fragment that is still preserved in the SLAM,⁵⁴ corresponding to the right rear side of the helmet shell. He reports that among the remaining fragments, there were no others which belonged to the helmet (!).

48 EMILIOZZI 2011, 117, note 29: *‘There is correspondence in early January, 1950, between the Museum’s Director, Perry Rathbone and the Los Angeles dealer Adolph Loewi asking to contact the owner about any additional fragments which might help reconstruct the shape, especially the crest. The New York restorer Joseph Ternbach worked on the helmet, reconstructing the crest with plastic and modern silver sheet based on the preserved ancient fragments. An article in The Illustrated London News on August 5, 1950, illustrated the fully restored helmet. Dr. Thomas T. Hoopes, Museum Curator, related that the crest was attached to a holder that “...was supported by three lugs (of which traces remained on the helmet).” The crest is currently attached by a modern plate that also supports the horns (modern) of the protome. At some time in the early 1960’s, Professor Dietrich von Bothmer expressed doubts that the silver crest belonged to the helmet. On September 5, 1962, Professor Emil Kunze wrote to Hoopes agreeing with von Bothmer. In a reply, Hoopes noted his observations, confirmed that the silver fragments were two sided and assured him that he was open to other interpretations of the crest unit. Ten years later, May 5th, 1972, Dr. Betty Grossman, Museum Program Coordinator, sent a memo to Emily Rauh, Museum Curator, noting that Dietrich von Bothmer said, “The silver which is restored as a crest represents a galloping deer and is a shield device.” Less than a year after I joined the Museum, I visited the Metropolitan and met with prof. von Bothmer to say hello and to inform him of my new position in Saint Louis. He suggested I rotate a photograph of the helmet 90% and would see that the silver element was the body of a running deer; not a crest ornament. He noted that Hoopes had rejected his idea more than thirty years ago. His suggestion seemed quite plausible. The crest was removed from the helmet in early 1985 before its reinstallation in the ancient galleries in 1987. The fact that the ancient silver elements on the reconstructed crest suggest that it was two-sided is still problematic.’*

49 BOTTINI 1986, 110; DE SIENA 1998b, 315 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

50 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 224, 227, tav. IX.

51 HOOPES 1953, 838–839.

52 KUNZE 1967b, 160, note 38.

53 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2020.

54 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 226, tav. 2/14:1.

The reconstruction becomes invalid due to incorrect choices from parallel works, but also due to ignorance of other fragments belonging to the helmet, which were recovered during the salvage excavation of the 12th September 1942. These fragments included: a zoomorphic silver plate (MAN-Metaponto inv. no. 54.121) (s. above **Fig. 1-2**) used to cover the left cheek-piece;⁵⁵ a small silver-gilt horn (MAN-Metaponto inv. no. 54.124)⁵⁶ similar to that of a young goat, though it cannot be ruled out that it was just the end part of a larger horn, and other silver-gilt plate fragments that may have belonged to the plastic ears fixed over the helmet (MAN-Metaponto inv. no. 54.124).⁵⁷

The lack of communication between the SLAM and the Italian academic world and the result of the restored helmet was why Lo Porto connected the silver plate fragment with a ram protome to other silver plate fragments preserved in the SLAM; this connection was made, however, without taking into account that they were no longer thought to be part of a *lophos* but of an *episema*. For this reason, Lo Porto suggested integration of the protome with the *lophos* in a unique and unusual way that resembled a lying ram.⁵⁸ The false *lophos* was made of two silver sheets with divergent directions, which had been fitted as the two sides of the same object by Ternbach. The silver protome fragment could only be fitted correctly after the published documentation of the helmet with inv. no. 124508 from the MAN V. Capialdi di Vibo Valentia.⁵⁹ This latter is a type III Chalcidian helmet without a nasal protector, the left cheekpiece of which was covered with an ‘oroargentato’ (*sic*) plate in the shape of a ram protome, with the horn covered by a gold plate. The morphology of this plate fully matches with what was found in the tomb of Metaponto, with the addition that the horn of the latter shows a curved rim, possibly also gold plated (**Pl. 2/3**), as can be seen in some fragments preserved in the MAN-Metaponto.⁶⁰

The fact that the helmet from Metaponto did not have a nasal protector arises from its comparison with the Scrimbia-Hipponion helmet and the iconography of the *prometopidia*, which are decorated with the head of a warrior wearing a Chalcidian helmet with decorated cheekpieces with ram protomes, usually without a nasal protector (**Fig. 13**).⁶¹ The helmets without this protection are the precursors to the models that were developed in southern Italy with the fully local Chalcidian variants.

The group IIIb chronology is based on two parallels dating from the end of the 6th century BC: the helmet from the complex tomb 103 in Ruvo di Puglia,⁶² whose funerary goods included up to nine bronze panoplies,⁶³ and two helmets from Hipponion, a votive deposit in Scrimbia – Vibo Valentia,⁶⁴ one of which has ‘oroargentato’ appliqués.⁶⁵ The chronologies have been confirmed with iconographic parallels regarding the *prometopidia*.

Nothing is preserved from the top of the ram’s protome. So the system of horns and ears reconstructed by Ternbach is completely hypothetical (**Pl. 2/4**).

55 LO PORTO 1977-1979, 180-183, tav. LXV.b.7, fig. 4, no. 9; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 226-227, tav. 2/1E, 2/16:7, tav. IX.

56 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 227, tav. IX.

57 LO PORTO 1977-1979, 178-179, tav. LXV.b.8, no. 7; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 227, tav. 2/16:8, tav. IX.

58 LO PORTO 1977-1979, fig. 4.

59 SABBIONE 1992, 215; CARDOSA 2014b, 52, no. 47.

60 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 269-270, tav. IX.

61 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 290, fig. 2/51:g-l; MÖDLINGER – TSIROGIANNIS 2020, 326.

62 Identified by Montanaro as an Italian-Chalcidian helmet (MONTANARO 2007, 123, 454, figs. 347-348).

63 For the analysis of the funerary goods cf. MONTANARO 2004; MONTANARO 2007, 123, 440-488.

64 SABBIONE 1992; SABBIONE 1996, 642; SABBIONE 2014a; CARDOSA 2014b.

65 SABBIONE 1992, 215; CARDOSA 2014b, 52, no. 47.



Fig. 13: Bronze south-italian *prometopidia* decorated with the head of a warrior wearing a Chalcidian helmet with decorated cheekpieces with ram protomes. From left to right: unknown provenance (Getty Museum), unknown provenance (British Museum), couple from Ruvo di Puglia (MAN Napoli) (after GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, fig. 2/51).

It is evident that the image we have of the helmet nowadays is completely conditioned by Ternbach's brutal creation and is absolutely false and incorrect. We propose a drastic intervention that could go in two directions. The first would be to recover the original preserved shape, which would require removing all the restorations. The second would be to reconstruct a copy of the helmet without the nasal protector, with silver and gold decorative plates over the cheekpieces, with a reconstruction of the eyes in the protome and in the cheekpieces made of bone and vitreous paste; the upper part of the protome should remain without decoration due to the lack of any reliable evidence (**Pl. 2/5-6**).

SHIELD

Other fragments are part of a bronze round shield that belongs to the series *Achtzeilig zu mehreren verflochtene, den Rand füllende Flechtbänder*, Type A (*Aussenbeschläge nach randornamenten*), Variant 4 (*Flechtbänder*).⁶⁶ There are only a few fragments and those which were part of the *chálkoma* are missing. Among the fragments recovered, there are rim fragments (SLAM inv. no. 282:1949; MAN-Metaponto, inv. no. 54125-54126) (**Fig. 14**),⁶⁷ inner appliqué fragments like *Rundscheibe* (MAN-Metaponto, inv. no. 54123) (**Fig. 15:a**),⁶⁸ and a fragment of the figurative *Schildband* (MAN-Metaponto, inv. no. 54122) (**Fig. 15:b**)⁶⁹ of the type IV of Kunze.⁷⁰ Some willow (*salix*) wood pieces were recovered from inside some of the fragments in the SLAM.⁷¹

66 BOL 1989, *passim*.

67 HOOPES 1953, 833-834, pl. 82a-b; LO PORTO 1977-1979, 174, tav. LXV.b.3-4, no. 1.

68 LO PORTO 1977-1979, 174-175, tav. LXV.b.5, no. 2.

69 LO PORTO 1977-1979, 175, tav. LXV.b.6, no. 3.

70 KUNZE 1950; BOL 1989.

71 HOOPES 1953, 834.

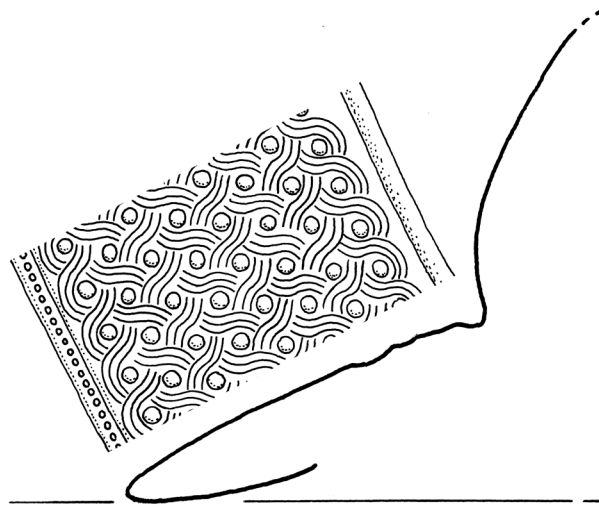


Fig. 14: Fragments of the shield. Fragment of the rim; without graphic scale (Drawing R. Graells i Fabregat and M. Weber).

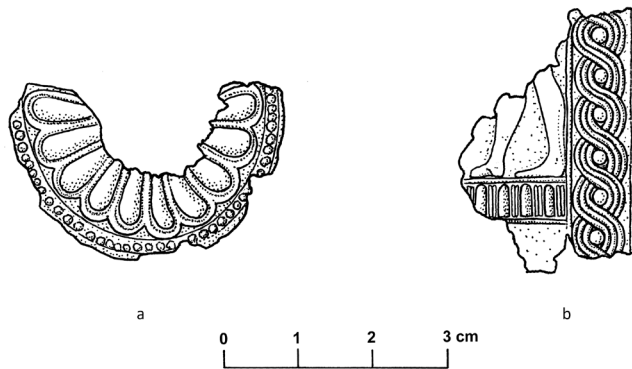


Fig. 15: Fragments of the shield: a - *Rundscheibe* appliqué; b - *Schildband* fragment (Drawings R. Graells i Fabregat and M. Weber).

In contrast to Ternbach’s work on the helmet, his reconstruction of the shield was correct. He mounted the shield fragments on a solid wood core and recreated a metallic support system, which although it lacked any archaeological evidence, was inspired by what he had observed in vase iconography.

The decoration of the *Schildband* fragment is especially interesting, because it can be connected to other similar Greek compositions that have a parallel in Italy in the shield from the sacred area of Scrimbia at Hipponion (MAN V. Capialbi di Vibo Valentia, inv. no. 89540).⁷² The decoration around the perimeter, with a vertical braid on the side and horizontal tongues, finds precise counterparts in the shield in tomb 545 of Banzi⁷³ and the one in Scrimbia.⁷⁴ The shield from Banzi is considered to be a Greek import and has been dated in the first half of the

72 CARDOSA 2002, fig. 3, no. 43.11; CARDOSA 2014a, fig. 4.

73 BOTTINI 2008, fig. 8-15; BOTTINI 2012, 186, n. 8.

74 CARDOSA 2002, 103; CARDOSA 2014a, 53-54, no. 57, fig. 3 (in p. 27) and 4 (in p. 28).

5th century BC,⁷⁵ while the shield from Scrimbia, which belongs to the type XXXI of Olympia, dates from the end of the 6th century BC.⁷⁶ To reinforce these datings, we should note that the shields lacking *Schildbänder* are dated in the second half of the 6th century BC, while the ones with *Schildbänder*⁷⁷ are dated at the turn from the 6th to the 5th century BC. Examples of the latter are the shield from tomb 101 in Serra di Vaglio, dated between the last quarter of the 6th century BC and the first quarter of the 5th century BC, and the two shields from tombs 652 in Chiaromonte and 545 in Banzi.⁷⁸

EPISEMA

As mentioned above, the two silver plates that Ternbach restored as a *lophos* were, in fact, the *episema* of a shield.⁷⁹ This could not have been fixed over the metallic *chálkoma* of the Argive shield we have just analysed, so it must belong to a second shield. In our reconstruction we have not limited the shield to the two plates from the SLAM (**Fig. 16**), but have also added some silver and silver-gilt plates from the MAN-Metaponto (**Fig. 17:a-c**).

Von Bothmer and Kunze have already suggested that it was an *episema*,⁸⁰ but the details for this identification are in the rivets and holes around the perimeter of these plates. This is a typical feature of this type of shield's decorative elements,⁸¹ whose purpose was to fix each plate over an organic support.

As has already been suggested, Lo Porto's reconstruction, which integrated the ram protome decoration with just one plate from the SLAM, was accepted, which obscured the fact that there were indeed two plates that formed an *episema*. Interestingly, the lying ram proposed by Lo Porto has no iconographic correspondence. The only criticism came from Philipp,⁸² who suggested an incomplete reconstruction of a quadruped animal, possibly a sheep or goat, which included the other three silver-gilt plate fragments that Lo Porto had reported:⁸³ these were two appliqués in the shape of a palmette (inv. no. 54127-54128),⁸⁴ which should be part of the *antilabes*⁸⁵ and a stripe decorated with embossed lotus flowers⁸⁶. However, Philipp's proposal had the same problem of identifying the plate with the ram protome (s. above **Fig. 2**), which (as already stated) is part of the helmet's decoration, as part of the *episema*. Nevertheless, the important part of her criticism was to draw attention to the possibility of integrating other fragments preserved in the MAN-Metaponto. As we have corroborated, some (MAN-Metaponto inv. no. 316.2000, 316.203, 316.204, and 316.205) may be part of the *episema*, especially one showing the hoof of a bovine, sheep or goat leg that has the letter A engraved on it (inv. no. 316.2000). This fragment certainly completes one of the two plates from the SLAM and is essential to

75 BOTTINI 2008, 20.

76 CARDOSA 2014a, 53-54, no. 57.

77 Documented in the tomb 101 from Braida di Vaglio, tomb 652 in Chiaromonte, tomb 545 in Banzi, tomb IV in Noicattaro, and in the sanctuaries of Mannella (3?), Scrimbia (3?), Mottola (1) and Athenaion in Poseidonia.

78 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 238.

79 TERNBACH 1952; HOOPES 1953, pl. 81, 86.

80 KUNZE 1967b, 163.

81 PHILIPP 2004; PHILIPP 2014.

82 PHILIPP 2004, 409, Nr. K, Taf. 112:2.

83 PHILIPP 2004, 409 Nr. K, Taf. 112:2.

84 LO PORTO 1977-1979, tav. LXVb:1-2.

85 With parallels in Olympia (BOL 1989, 119, D21-26, Taf. 18).

86 LO PORTO 1977-1979, tav. LXVIb.

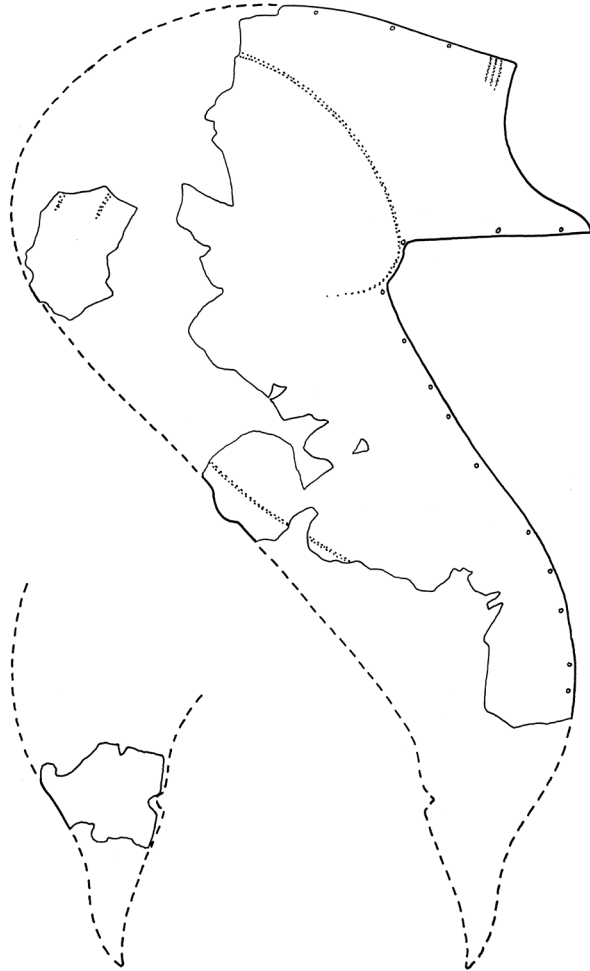


Fig. 16: Episema consisting of two sheets of silver (fragmented and very partially preserved) with simplified decoration in relief; without graphic scale (Drawings R. Graells i Fabregat and M. Weber).

understand them as the representation of the hindquarters of a quadruped animal. However, there is no evidence supporting identification of the head or body of such an animal.

Philipp suggested and we share this suggestion, that the stripe with embossed lotus flowers was also part of the *episema*. It would be located over the shield shell and below the main motif, which would be made of the two plates from the SLAM and the hoof fragment from the MAN-Metaponto in the shape of hindquarters.⁸⁷ This formula corresponds with some known shields representing animals in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe, in the sanctuary of Olympia (*Brunnen 18 StN*)⁸⁸ and is especially recurrent in *episemata* painted over Attic vases from the beginning of the 5th century BC.⁸⁹

87 This is a recurrent motif in the beginning of the 5th century BC and includes representations of goats, sheep, felines, and equids (GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 240–241, fig. 2/26).
 88 PHILIPP 2014.
 89 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 240–241, fig. 2/25.

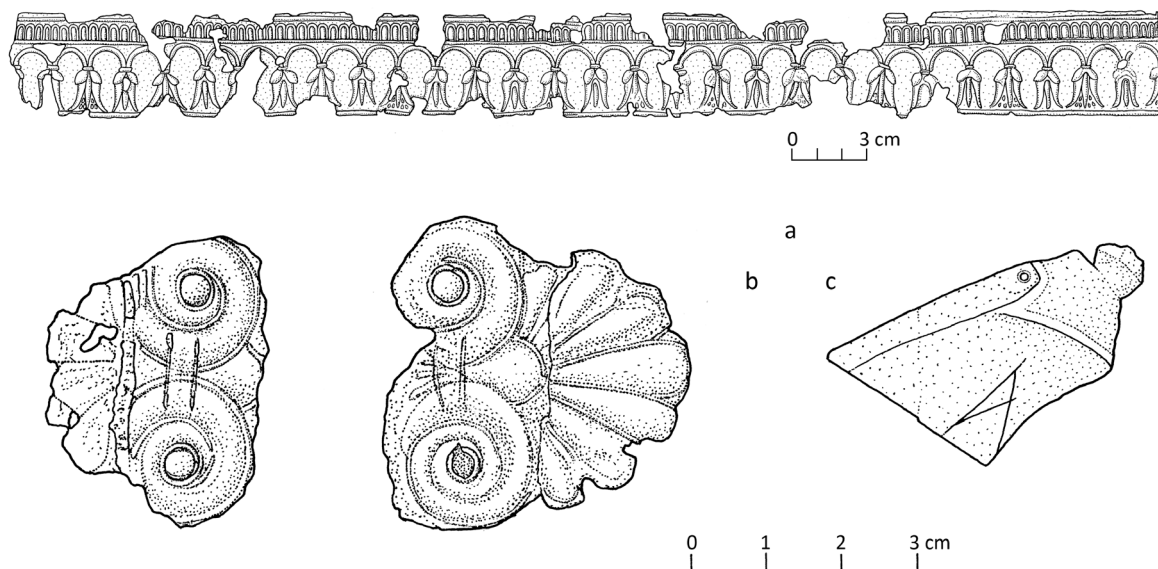


Fig. 17: Complementary decoration of the *episema* (silver and silver-gilt plates): a - stripe decorated with embossed lotus flowers; b - two appliqués in the shape of a palmette; c - animal hoof with engraved letter A (Drawings R. Graells i Fabregat and M. Weber).

CUIRASS

The fragments of two plates from a *Glockenpanzer*-type cuirass are preserved in the SLAM. These fragments were correctly identified as a cuirass by Hoopes, who requested its restoration although there was no typology to assign it to.⁹⁰ Ternbach replied saying he did not understand which cuirass fragments Hoopes was referring to,⁹¹ because none of the metallic sheet fragments sent together with the helmet could be assembled with another and none of them belonged to a cuirass. He was so vehement that Hoopes apologized for insisting on what he thought must have been a misunderstanding.⁹² Luckily, Hoopes published the existence of these cuirass fragments, although he could not display a restored and almost complete cuirass (**Fig. 18**). A careful reading of Hoopes publication⁹³ confirms that the number of metallic plate fragments in a photograph (without graphic scale) is the same number mentioned by Ternbach in his letter to Hoopes; this was the letter in which he argued that he could not restore the fragments because none belonged to a cuirass.⁹⁴

Some years later, with a clear commercial purpose, Schefold published an anatomical cuirass preserved in a Swiss collection, which he related to that found next to the helmet exhibited in Saint Louis.⁹⁵ This association of a Late Archaic helmet with a Late Classical and

90 Letter from Hoopes to Ternbach, 27th November 1950, and a telegram, 27th November 1950 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

91 Letter from Ternbach to Hoopes, 27th November 1950 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

92 Letter from Ternbach to Hoopes, 29th November 1950 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

93 HOOPES 1953, pl. 82.c.

94 Letter from Ternbach to Hoopes, 27th November 1950 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

95 In the file, Schefold described: 'Soll aus dem gleichen Grab bei Metapont stammen, aus dem ein Helm nach St. Louis gekommen ist', even quoting Hoopes' work as a reference for his statement (SCHEFOLD 1960, 216, Nr. 242).



Fig. 18: First published image of the cuirass fragments acquired by SLAM.

early Hellenistic anatomical cuirass was broadly accepted without much criticism.⁹⁶ Luckily, the chronological discrepancy between the funerary goods and an anatomical cuirass was observed by Lo Porto and Bottini, who described the association as ‘cosa molto dubbia’.⁹⁷ However, only Tagliamonte has interpreted that Schefold’s cuirass could belong to another tomb from one of the urban necropolises in Metaponto, without ruling out that it could belong to the same necropolis of località Crucinia – Casa Ricotta,⁹⁸ a hypothesis that was considered impossible by Cahn⁹⁹ and Guzzo.¹⁰⁰

The fragments preserved correspond to: twelve fragments almost complete the dorsal plate (**Fig. 19:a**). The frontal plate, however, is more incomplete and only seven fragments are preserved, which also provide a partial reconstruction (**Fig. 19:b**). The typology of the cuirass

96 Despite the doubts, LO PORTO 1977–1979, 182. Later, also GUZZO (1990, 138), who identified it with the cuirass published by CAHN (1989, W.9 = to the one by Schefold). More recently, TAGLIAMONTE 1994, 86; BURKHART 2014, 254. Regarding anatomical cuirasses, v. GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2018.

97 LO PORTO 1977–1979, 182; BOTTINI 1992b, 147–148.

98 TAGLIAMONTE 1994, 86–87. The arguments for such a statement are not presented in the cited work, but an interpretation of Schefold’s text that would correct the impossibility of an association between an anatomical cuirass and the famous Chalcidian helmet is suggested. At the same time, Tagliamonte accepts that both warrior tombs belong to the necropolis of Metaponto, which is extraordinary considering the archaeological documentation from the Achaean polis or any other Magno-Greek colony.

99 CAHN 1989, W.9.

100 GUZZO 1990a, 138–139.

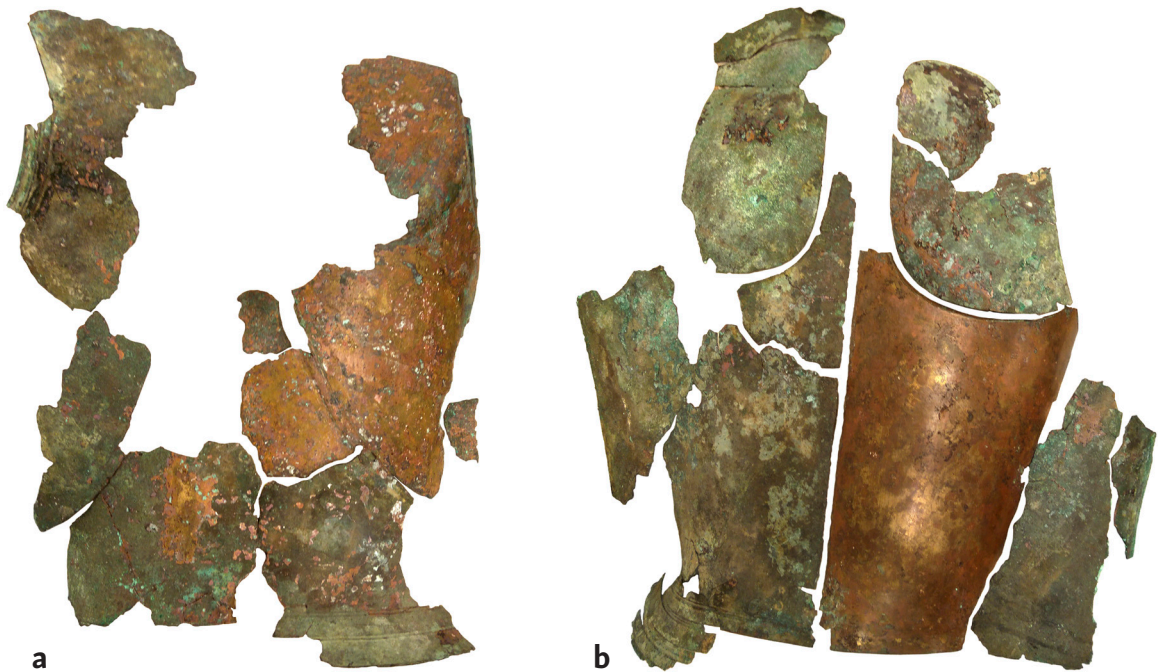


Fig. 19: Bell cuirass: a - Fragments of the dorsal plate; b - fragments of the front plate. Note on both plates the presence of pieces in different colours due to incomplete restoration and cleaning of the metal (photos by G. Zuferrì, with permission of the SLAM).

belongs to the Greek type called bell cuirass (*Glockenpanzer*) (Pl. 2/7), in particular to the last group,¹⁰¹ which is contemporary with the other objects from the panoply of the tomb and with the iconography from the end of the 6th century BC and the beginning of the 5th century BC.

The presence of this cuirass in the funerary goods from Metaponto gives us the possibility of dating precisely the later period of the Greek Archaic bell cuirass. Evidently, this new chronology has relevant historical implications and also implications for the history of art. In fact, it is from the year 475 BC that painted cuirasses evolved from the previous bell shape to show for the first time the detail of the abdominal muscles.¹⁰² This had already been observed a bit earlier in the bronze hoplite figures and in some terracottas and sculptures, like the small altar of Metaponto¹⁰³ or the metope F.IV from the temple F of Selinus.¹⁰⁴ None of these representations was a faithful reflection of human anatomy, but they expressed the moment of transition from the Archaic concept of the body tradition to the Classical model. Either way, the substitution process of the bell-shaped model for the fully anatomical cuirass did not finish until the end of the 5th century BC when due to social needs the civilizing myth of Heracles was reassumed, the episode of his apotheosis having been quite successful. This justified the value and realism of the anatomical cuirasses as a privileged inheritance of the immortal body of a hero, who was now a god.¹⁰⁵

101 GRAELLS I FABREGAT forthcoming.

102 For a catalogue, cf. MUTH 2008.

103 MAN-Napoli inv. no. 200.553 (DOBROWOLSKI 1972; NEILS 1994, n. 226; DE CARO - BORRIELLO 1996, 35, 65-66, Cat. no. 6.5).

104 LIPPOLIS 1992, 180; MARCONI 2009, 261, fig. 124. Dated by Marconi in the year 490 BC.

105 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2015, *passim*.

GREAVES

A few fragments belong to two anatomical greaves that are incomplete. A total of 11 fragments with anatomical details are preserved in the SLAM (**Fig. 20 above**), while an upper fragment of a left greave, with embossed decoration of snakes and a frontal view of an armed horseman on a horse, is kept in the MAN-Metaponto (inv. no. 54120) (**Fig. 20 below**).¹⁰⁶ The fragments in the SLAM have never been identified as greave fragments, and were even confused with cuirass fragments (!).¹⁰⁷



Fig. 20: Fragments of greaves. The decorated fragment (preserved in the MAN-Metaponto) does not match the fragments preserved in the SLAM, which are not decorated (photos by G. Zuferrri, with permission of the SLAM; and N. Armento).

Greaves with figurative decoration are very rare. All the decorated greaves documented in southern Italy are located in the same chronological framework, between the end of the 6th century BC and the beginning of the 5th century BC. Among them is the frontal image of a horseman, which is completely atypical and has some parallels in the *baltei* from the tombs 103 and 108 in Brada di Vaglio.¹⁰⁸ In fact, the iconographic model¹⁰⁹ is probably a der-

¹⁰⁶ LO PORTO 1977-1979, 175-178, no. 4, tav. LXVI:a, fig. 3; KUNZE 1991, 59, n. 117, 64-65, n. 126-127, 114, Anhang III.h.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Goldstein to Cahn, 16th May 1988 (SLAM archive, 282:1949).

¹⁰⁸ BOTTINI - SETARI 2003, 100-101, tav. XXX; BOTTINI 2012, 178.

¹⁰⁹ KUNZE 1991, 64-65, n. 126.

ivation of the decoration in the plates that embellish the *porpax*¹¹⁰ in the Archaic shields, with ‘hoplites on horseback’ seen from the front. This is also valid for Attic black-figure ceramic. We should remember that these types of productions are dated in the second half of the 6th century BC.¹¹¹

The horseman decoration on the *baltei* in Braida di Vaglio was the reason why Bottini suggested that the matrices for these greaves were Greek originals being used in the Italic world.¹¹² However, the absence of this type of decoration in Greece raises the question of whether the greaves were of Italic or Greek production. We cannot go on with the discussion without referring to Kunze’s remarks.¹¹³ The concentration of these elements with embossed representations of warriors (sometimes called hoplites) on horseback or *Gorgoneia* and their combination with other decorative elements such as felines, date them in the last quarter of the 6th century BC. This proposal, based on the chronologies offered by the contexts of the *arm-guards* and *prometopidia*,¹¹⁴ aligns completely with the chronology of the greaves decorated with snakes from the so-called *Club Variant* group¹¹⁵ (**Pl. 2/8**) and with other decorative details found near the greave of Metaponto.¹¹⁶

FUSSPANZER

Two fragments with parallel embossed decorations, preserved in the SLAM, were interpreted by Hoopes¹¹⁷ as *Fußspanzer* fragments. Hoopes could only compare them to the *Fußspanzer* from Ruvo di Puglia, preserved in the British Museum. *Fußspanzer* are protections that completely cover the foot, made with a bronze plate that adheres to the feet as a second skin, thanks to the hammering process that reproduced the foot’s anatomy realistically. The catalogue of *Fußspanzer* is extremely limited; just two were found in tomb 103 in Ruvo di Puglia,¹¹⁸ three in the sanctuary of Olympia¹¹⁹ and at least one in the tomb of Metaponto. Jarva suggested they dated from the second half of the 6th century BC,¹²⁰ a dating later proved by the study of the tomb 103 in Ruvo.¹²¹

110 For a synthesis of the artefacts in Olympia, cf. KUNZE 1958, 97–107.

111 BOTTINI – SETARI 2003, 100–101.

112 BOTTINI 2012, 178.

113 KUNZE 1991, 65: ‘Es handelt sich gewiß um ein schon in seiner Zeit auffalendes, irgendwie exzeptionelles, hinter der allgemeinen Entwicklung der griechischen Beinschiene etwas zurückgebliebenes Werk. Die zügelos Krause Fülle der Dekoration aber, die sich auf der Ausenseite ausbreitet, ist gewiß nur an der Peripherie des Griechentums denkbar: Ein Hoplit des Mutterlandes hätte daran schwerlich Gefallen gefunden’.

114 BOTTINI – GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 845–848; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 276–296.

115 JARVA 1995, 95.

116 Like the ones in Campo Scavo-Armento (Russo 1995, 26, fig. 30), Braida di Vaglio (Basileis 1995, 44; BOTTINI – SETARI 2003) or the sanctuary of Olympia (KUNZE 1967a, 95–96, 98–100, tav. 46–47; JARVA 1995, 95).

117 HOOPES 1953, 834.

118 BM B2870. KUNZE 1967c, 208, Nr. 1–2; JARVA 1995, 105–106, fig. 59, no. 4; MONTANARO 2007, 457–458, fig. 351, no. 103. 12.

119 Olympia B5092, B6027, Athens NM6431. KUNZE 1967c, 208–209, fig. 58, pl. 99:3, Nr. 2, 3, 5; JARVA 1995, 105–106, fig. 58, no. 1–3.

120 JARVA 1995, 105–106.

121 MONTANARO 2007, 457.

SPEAR AND SAUROTER

As aforementioned, Hoopes regretted that the SLAM had not acquired the bronze square-section spearhead that was part of the original collection. This piece was in the possession of the Swiss collector in Basel.¹²² Fortunately, Hoopes quoted a precise parallel for the item they were unable to acquire; it was morphologically similar to the inscribed *sauroter* that had been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum NY (Acc. no. 38. 11. 7).¹²³

The spear from the tomb in Metaponto could be recognized in the iron fragments mentioned in the report from the salvage excavation that took place on the 12th September 1942, although these fragments are not preserved. If this were the case, the spear would have been made of an iron head and a bronze ferrule.

The chronology for the *sauroteres* suggested after those recovered in Olympia runs from the end of the 6th century BC until the third quarter of the 5th century BC.¹²⁴

510–490 BC

The helmet, and its tomb by extension, have usually been dated in the middle of the 6th century BC,¹²⁵ although some proposals have placed them in the first half¹²⁶ and others in the second half of the 6th century BC,¹²⁷ or even in the last quarter of the 6th century BC.¹²⁸ Our proposal is slightly more precise and later: 510–490 BC. We base our suggestion within the chronologies of other pieces from the tomb's funerary goods and on some similar productions. Among them are the *Brunnen 18 StN* from Olympia, dated between the first¹²⁹ and second¹³⁰ quarter of the 5th century BC; the tomb 103 in Ruvo di Puglia,¹³¹ dated at the turn between the 6th and the 5th centuries BC, and the sacred area of *Epimachos* in Scrimbia-Hipponion,¹³² dated between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC, which means *circa* 510–490 BC (**Fig. 21**).

122 Years after its publication, Hoopes himself noted in the SLAM helmet's file a reference made by Cahn reporting that Cahn (date 1st May 1962) had sold in the *Auktion XVIII* (29th November 1958, lot 22) a *sauroter* similar to the one in the MET.

123 HOOPES 1953, 834, n. 3, quoting RICHTER 1939, 194–201, fig. 4. This piece has been successively studied by Richter (1953, 68, 209, pl. 49:h), Cook (1998, 55, fig. 51), and Picón (2007, 91, 424, no. 99).

124 BAITINGER 2001, 63–64.

125 HOOPES 1953, 839; TAGLIAMONTE 1994, 86; DE SIENA 1998a, 178; DE SIENA 2001, 31; DE SIENA 2008, 12.

126 MELE 2013, 57–61.

127 LO PORTO 1977–1979, 187; BOTTINI 1993a, 768; HANSEN – BORN 1994, 59; GUZZO 2008, 19.

128 KOPPE 1970, 61; LO PORTO 1977–1979, 187.

129 GAUER 1975, 15–16, 228, 243; JARVA 1995, 23.

130 GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2020.

131 MONTANARO 2007, 447, n. 190: 'In questo sepolcro si trovarono prescindendo dagli altri bellissimi oggetti una corazza enea lavorata con la più bella eleganza, coll'eleganza della corazza di Achille; un'altra un legno che i Sali dell'humo hanno conservato con un principio di lapidificazione, e l'impressione di una terza nel terreno, della quale mi disse il prelado Canonico d'aver trovato la forma di un panno...'

132 CARDOSA 2018.

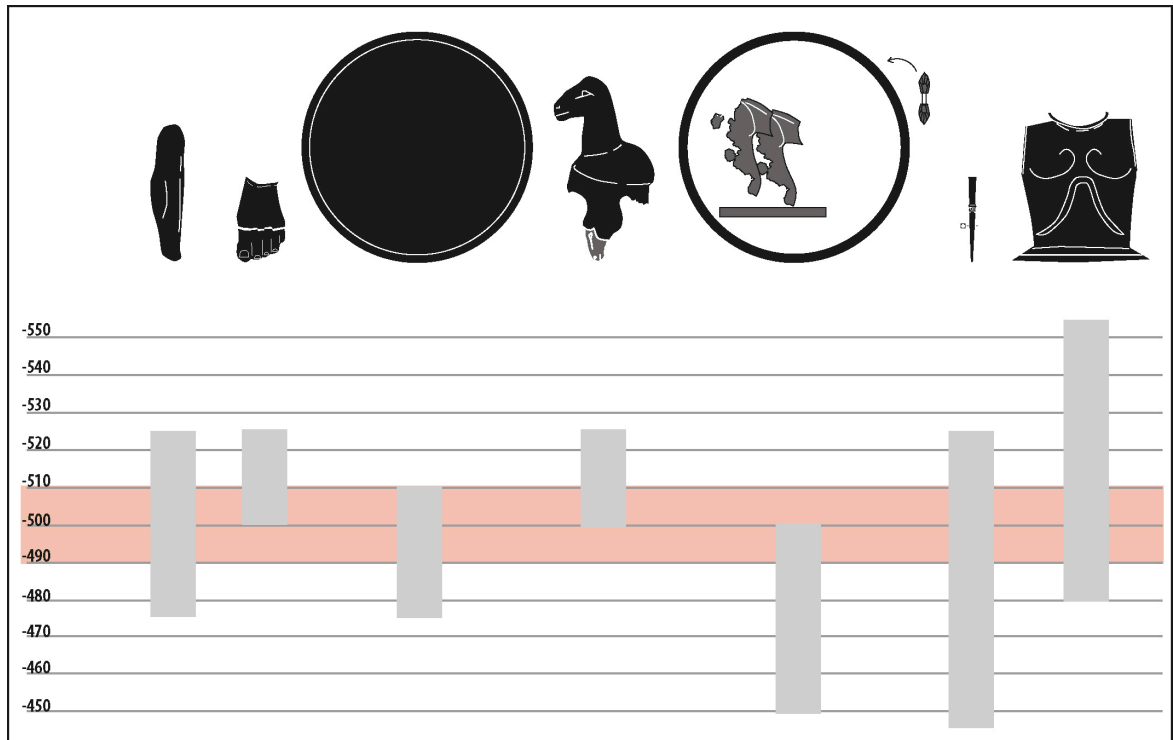


Fig. 21: Synthetic diagram with the chronology of the tomb with the detail of each piece of the set (Drawing R. Graells i Fabregat).

άνηρ όπλίτης

The 'hoplite' should not be a specific type of warrior resulting from a fictional and Hellenocentric construction of centre and periphery that overrides Greek capacity and potential to improve new repertoires through interaction with other societies.¹³³ We should remember that the term *hoplités* appears in the beginning of the 5th century BC to unify under the same term the same group of warriors. Their similarities would help with this unification, something not possible in the Archaic period, a moment in time when the heterogeneity of the weaponry and their associations requires a multitude of combinations for their description.¹³⁴

For this purpose, I believe it is wise to limit the description of the people that were buried in the tombs with weapons¹³⁵ to the concept of *άνηρ όπλίτης* (Aesch., *Sept.*, 717) as an armed warrior and only to the concept of *άρχος άνήρ* (*Il.* I.144) in exceptional cases. Therefore, the role of the Archaic armoured Greek warrior responds to a status.¹³⁶

133 Central and southern Italy and the Balkans played an important role that helps bring the discussion into a new dimension nowadays. For a complex and non-Hellenistic vision, cf. VAN WEES 2000; 2004; SNODGRASS 2013. Regarding influences in Greek armament, cf. VERČÍK 2014 (also reviewed by MÖDLINGER 2015); WEIDIG 2014, 95–160; BOTTINI – GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 275–296; GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2021.

134 ECHEVERRÍA 2012, 299.

135 For a list concerning the Greek world, see GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2019, 304–309, which is completed by the list for the Locris area (GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2020). Both share the same conclusions and coincide chronologically with each other and with the tomb of Metaponto.

136 FOXHALL 1997, 131; VAN WEES 1992; ECHEVERRÍA 2012, 315.

The change from the Archaic (of the ἀνὴρ ὀπλίτης) to the Classical (of the ‘hoplite’) concept happens precisely in the chronological framework where the tomb of Metaponto is dated. This was when the social and political transformations of the Greek world turned the warrior into an instrument of the community instead of an expression of elite members as had been the case before.

Therefore, for chronologies previous to 500 BC and southern Italic contexts, the traditional hoplite premises may not completely apply.¹³⁷ Although the adoption of Greek weapon models by Italic societies would show a relationship of monitoring and dependence during part of the 6th century BC, the creativity and proliferation of paraphernalia that completed the highest-level panoplies of the Italic elites by the end of the 6th century suggest a different situation. The example of the tomb in Metaponto may possibly explain this new situation, where exchanges were reciprocal.

ON THE IDENTITY OF THE WARRIOR OF METAPONTO

There are two basic concepts of social competition that are essential to understand the Archaic spirit: φιλονικία and φιλονεικία.¹³⁸ Although they are intrinsically related, these concepts should not be confused. Both synthesize a society under construction where rank and status are taking shape and it is clear that the amount of resources required to stand out would be directly proportional to the size of the context and the number of competitors.¹³⁹ This way, the Greek elite developed different excellence mechanisms besides the distinction of economics, like for example access to culture, which was one of the most important mechanisms.¹⁴⁰ This has been referred to as the multiplicity of communication spaces. Individuals could belong to different spheres at the same time, i.e., family, political group, etc. and would have specific behaviours to determine the social status in each one of those groups. Therefore, the elite were no longer identified by the exercise of power or possession of wealth, but instead by systems of social recognition, which were practices that created prestige and social structure, in which parade elements would have special relevance.¹⁴¹

This feature was perfected and refined progressively after the Archaic period, during a time when the division between elitist and popular culture, which was reflected in their material culture, resided in access to culture. This quest for social pre-eminence, for standing out, repetition and immobility, would turn something that was previously appreciated for its singularity into a common thing, which no longer caused wonder. In such a competition, renovation would be the motor of dynamism and the stressful indicator of the capacity to succeed.¹⁴²

Therefore, the pride of your own capability, of a distinguishing personal success, would be manifested through self-propaganda and self-celebration. Here appears the *Prosumer*, an acronym for producer and consumer, a figure that, adapted to past societies, would not only consume prestigious elements, but also produce them to emphasize his or her privileged position, practicing a selective combination instead of indifferent combination, in pursuit of

137 Discussion in GRAELLS I FABREGAT 2021.

138 STADTER 2011.

139 DUPLOUY – DE POLIGNAC – MARIAUD 2010.

140 DUPLOUY – DE POLIGNAC – MARIAUD 2010.

141 MENICETTI 2009; 2012.

142 HANDKE 1983; HAN 2019.

creating a particular aura.¹⁴³ The case of the warrior is paradigmatic in this aspect,¹⁴⁴ especially the one in the tomb of Metaponto, since he was able to modify a ‘conversational’ iconography¹⁴⁵ to express a programmed and understandable speech that emphasizes precisely his condition of being the excellent result of social construction.

The advances, transformations and interests achieved in the Archaic period, especially in the second half of the 6th century BC, stand out and define an ‘anauratic’¹⁴⁶ behaviour that determined the morphology and meaning of these armours. According to this idea, the unique, the special and original, is no more fictitious than changing perception to understand repetition as innovation. The repetition of models is hidden beneath initial surprise at apparent inventions, which are limited to negligible modifications (usually in decorations). The structure concealed before our eyes is reiterated, while the decorative elements betray an adaptation to the fashion and style of each period, although unable to adapt to the substantial in a never-ending search for modernity.

The extraordinary panoply of Metaponto, the most complete example recovered to this day in a Greek context in the whole of the Mediterranean, is the paradigm of this behaviour due to its composition and to the complex messages it carries.

This panoply would be an exaggeration in the Greek world and at the same time a limited set from an Italic point of view. However, both worlds recognize the wearer as a unique warrior and leader and as singular, extraordinary, and exceptional.¹⁴⁷ This warrior could have played an important role as the interlocutor between Metapontum and the Italic world and has been repeatedly interpreted as a tyrant,¹⁴⁸ although this may not be sure. Perhaps the embodiment of the rise of an aristocratic family.¹⁴⁹

The public use of violence, or of symbols for controlling violence, through the spectacular panoply fits correctly with the speech of those who seized power tyrannically.¹⁵⁰ These warriors would have achieved merits and popular regard thanks to their activities as military leaders,¹⁵¹ although they were probably more interested in defending their own interests rather than the community’s. However, this changed shortly after burying the warrior of Metaponto, when the impending Greco-Persian wars threatened and destabilized the Greek world.¹⁵²

The panoply’s exceptionality and luxury on the one hand and the tomb’s continuity with those of the group buried in Fondo Giacobelli (**Fig. 22**), who ruled Metapontum during the entire 6th century¹⁵³ (it represents the last testimony of an armed man, unique for his phase¹⁵⁴) on the other hand, coincide in a time close to the arrival of Pythagoras, or at least his ideas,

143 A review on the concept of ‘aura’ can be found in PUCCI 2013.

144 The discussion about the dichotomy between ‘*Kriegergräber / Waffengräber*’ outweighs the interests of this paper.

145 FONTCUBERTA 2016.

146 IRAZÁBAL 2015.

147 Like one of the ἀπαξός mentioned by Herodotus (II, 79.1 and VII, 96.2) when referring to Persian commanders (VANNICELLI 2010).

148 DE STEFANO 2020, 32.

149 MARCONI 2016, 80.

150 ANDERSON 2005, 183; GIANGIULIO 2013, 230–231, 234.

151 ANDERSON 2005, 195.

152 ANDERSON 2005, 213.

153 BOTTINI – VULLO 2019; BOTTINI 2020; TORNESE 2020, 155. – Who knows if he was even related to them by blood ties, as might be expected given the exceptionality of the group and its spatial concentration (discussion in BOTTINI 2020, 91–92).

154 VERGER 2019, 398, fig. 3–9.

to the Achaean polis.¹⁵⁵ These coincidences distinguish the tomb of the helmet of Saint-Louis as break in the group’s history, clearly related to the transformations that affect the city. As Stéphane Verger mentions, we can see this correspondence between the group and the city with the reconstruction of temple C and temple D. That is characterized to recover old orientation, which was abandoned for a time for Temple B and the second temple A,¹⁵⁶ as well as the use of a local version of the Ionic order that breaks with the canonical Doric order.¹⁵⁷

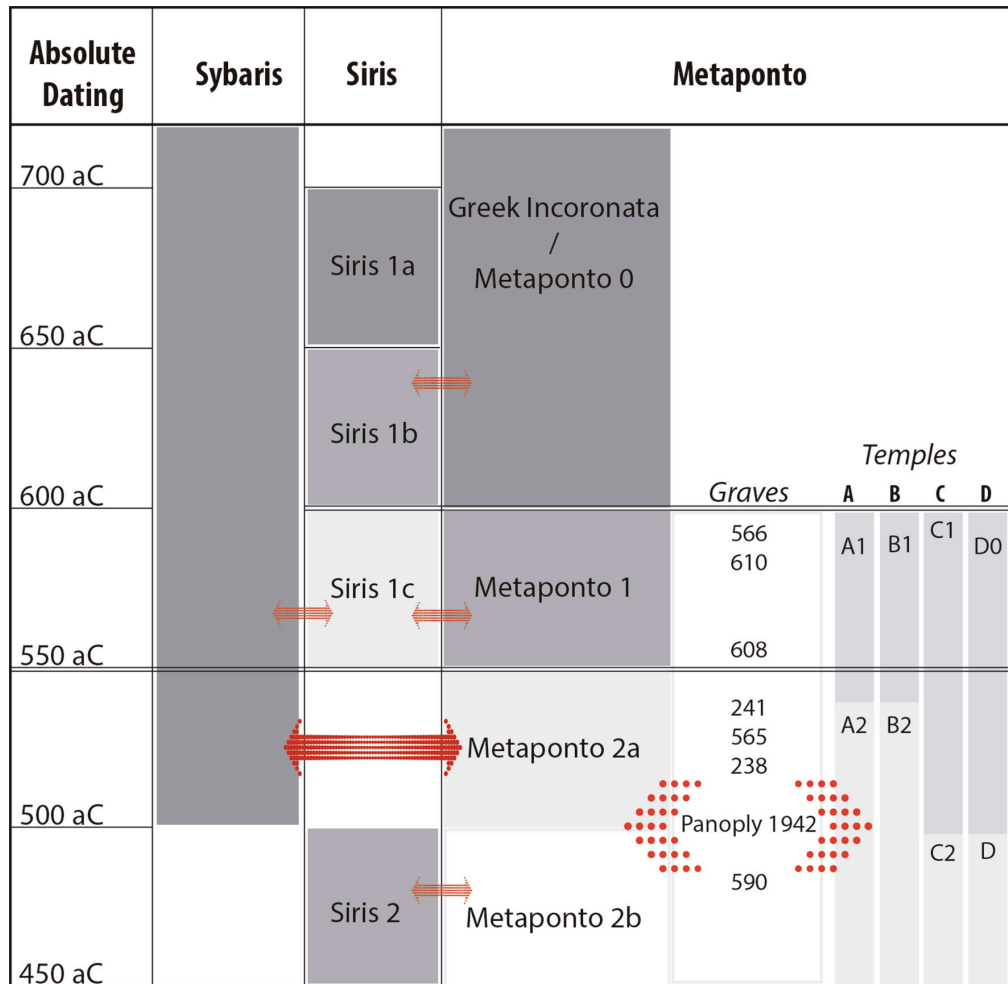


Fig. 22: Scheme of archaic chronologies of the Ionian coast proposed by S. Verger (modified) (Drawing R. Graells i Fabregat).

Furthermore, the panoply of the warrior of Metaponto answers the following philosophical ideas: the ram would be related to new ideas; the exaggeration of the panoply would be an indicator of belonging to a privileged group; the tendency towards Greek elements would reinforce the Achaean identity; this includes the infantry character of the burial lacking the

155 MELE 2013.

156 The construction of this temple has been dated in the third quarter of the 6th century BC (BOTTINI 2020, 90).

157 C.G. Tornese (2020, 156), is cautious about such an explanation.

elements that distinguish the elites of the Italic world and the defeated Sybaris. Nothing suggests belief in the afterlife or in the soul's immortality, since there are no libation or banquet elements, or supplies and rebirth symbols.

It is possible, therefore, that the panoply of Metaponto was conceived to portray different identities and to consolidate a network of connections between the Greek polis and the Italic communities, creating a new speech, understandable for both interlocutors because it had elements from both their respective symbolic systems.

This way, the case of the tomb of the warrior of Metaponto seems more like a hybrid experiment (unsuccessful) rather than the beginning of a new political government system in Metapontum.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of the helmet and all the fragments associated with it gives shape to a complex panoply that should be dated with certainty between the 510 and 490 BC. This dating is not compatible with the presence of Pythagoras in Metapontum or the tyranny of Antileon.¹⁵⁸

The identity of the warrior (or the identity that those who buried him wanted to show) was projected through his unusual panoply, which was voluntarily a mix of distinctive elements of diverse *ethne*: an approach of Italic lavishness in a Greek funerary context. This was a game of Italic and Greek identities, with both cultural markers intended to be recognized as eminent by both groups. On one side we have the burial, abnormal for Metapontum's Archaic phase¹⁵⁹ and the Italic context, and on the other side especially the elements of the panoply, too sumptuous for the Late Archaic Greek world and too plain for the Italic world. Furthermore, the absence of banquet elements and of the horse's armour,¹⁶⁰ which is a recurring priority in the indigenous area and in the Archaic Magna Grecia to show that the buried belonged to the equestrian elite (like those who had ruled over Sybaris), tilts the balance by changing the weight of the funerary goods and concentrating them in the elements of personal paraphernalia. This evidences the wish to praise the wearer.

But this is a self-celebration model different to that from Italic elites and is focused in the exceptionality of the personal Greek-type armour (made especially clear with the presence of the *Glockenpanzer*). However, it is a version of that armour, as in the case of the helmet, that keeps the Greek elements (like the presence of just one spear) and rejects the Italic model where the sword had a leading role,¹⁶¹ or the plurality of offensive weapons.

The duplicity of the shields (a classic one and the other with an *episema*) and the *Fußpanzer* undoubtedly break the idea of hoplitem or the exclusive colonial influence. On the contrary, they point towards the Italic accumulative system that expressed social competition.

The exceptionality of the tomb in Metaponto raises the question of what type of relationship existed between Metapontum and its neighbours at the end of the 6th century BC and the need for archaeological analysis of these complex landscapes, because the written sources are insufficient. We suggest, in a voluntarily provocative way, that the sudden and exaggerated military and wealthy exhibition of the warrior of Metaponto may reflect a particular interest and strategy of Metapontum towards the *Megale Hellàs*: maybe the reflection of Metapon-

158 See discussion in BOTTINI – VULLO 2019, 164–165; BOTTINI 2020, 90–91; TORNESE 2020, 155.

159 LO PORTO 1977–1979, 173, n. 6; DE SIENA 2008, *passim*.

160 Mele (2013, 60–61) considers that the panoply of Metaponto belongs to a horseman.

161 On this argument, v. LIPPOLIS 1992, 178–179; BOTTINI – SETARI 2003; BOTTINI 1999.

tum's participation in the war between Croton and Sybaris (510 BC)¹⁶² or just a subsequent event to the destruction of Sybaris,¹⁶³ which has no testimony in written sources, or maybe the reflection of focus on Greek interaction with Italic populations in a moment of crisis among other Greeks.

Regardless of one or the other option, or even a combination of both, the political formula tried by the warrior of the panoply of Metaponto was not successful and, shortly after his burial, was diluted in a different and homogeneous political mainstream in a large part of Magna Grecia.

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162 GUZZO 1996, 76; MELE 2011, 334; DE STEFANO 2020, 32.

163 VERGER 2019, 402.

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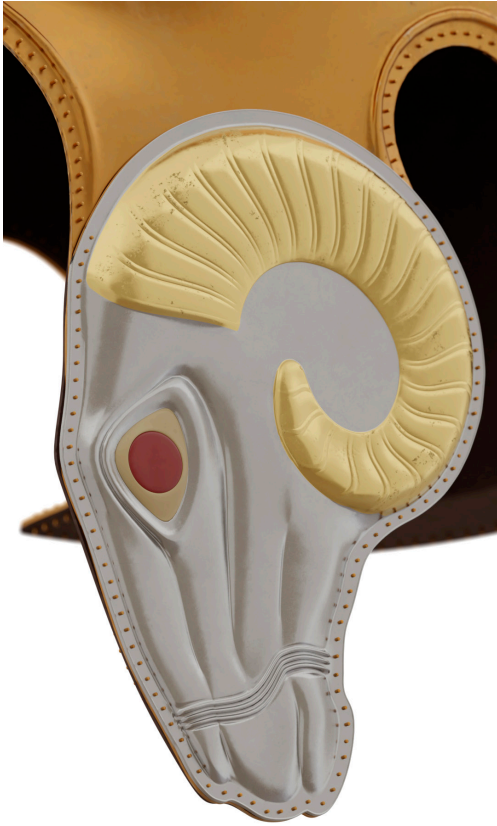
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Pl. 2/1: Detail of the ivory and painted eyes that decorate the protome, restored by J. Ternbach (photos by G. Zuferrri, with permission of the SLAM).



Pl. 2/2: 3D reconstruction of the assembly sequence of the eyes that decorated the protome. This sequence is also applicable to the Cheekpiece appliqués with the only difference being the position of the central nails: present in the structure of the protome and applied from the outside for the Cheekpieces (3D drawing M. Sánchez).



Pl. 2/3: 3D reconstruction of the original cheekpiece with a combination of silver, gilded silver appliqué, with an ivory and glass paste eye, on the bronze helmet (3D drawing M. Sánchez).



Pl. 2/4: 3D reconstruction of the protome with a realistic system of horns and ears. Nothing of the original system is preserved. Only the two fragments commented on in Fig. 17 could be related, without certainty (3D drawing M. Sánchez).



Pl. 2/5: 3D exploded drawing of the parts that shaped the original helmet, in order of assembly (3D drawing M. Sánchez).



Pl. 2/6: 3D reconstruction of the original appearance of the helmet (3D drawings M. Sánchez).



Pl. 2/7: 3D reconstruction of the bell cuirass (3D drawings J. Quesada).



Pl. 2/8: 3D reconstruction of the decorated greave fragment following the morphology of the so-called Club Variant (3D drawings J. Quesada).