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A One-Edged Curved Sword from Seyitömer Höyük

Gökhan COŞKUN*

Introduction

Seyitömer Höyük is located in inner western Anatolia, 25 km northwest of the provincial center, Kütahya (Fig. 1). The earliest archaeological excavations at the site were initiated by the Eskişehir Museum directorate in 1989. These were later followed by excavations undertaken by the Afyon Musuem directorate from 1990 to 1995. The excavations were abandoned for approximately a decade and then restarted by the Dumlupınar University, Department of Archaeology, between 2006-2014 under the supervision of Prof. Dr. A. N. Bilgen.

As a result of the excavations carried out at the mound until the present day, Roman, Hellenistic, Achaemenid, Middle Bronze and Early Bronze layers were discovered¹. The architectural remains, abundant pottery, and numerous small finds unearthed at the Early Bronze Age² and Middle Bronze Age³ layers indicate that the mound was an important settlement during the Bronze Ages. The Achaemenid⁴, Hellenistic⁵, and Roman⁶ settlements at the mound were relatively small, rural settlements compared to the Greek polis and important other centers during the aforementioned ages.

In terms of architecture the Achaemenid Period Settlement has two phases: 5th (Fig. 2) and 4th (Fig. 3) centuries B.C.

A terrace wall related to the 4th century B.C. settlement of Seyitömer Höyük was unearthed at the slope of the mound (Fig 3). This wall was preserved in three sections; 32.50 m on the northwest, 65.00 m on the west and southwest, and 7.40 m on the south. Considering the destroyed sections among these parts, the total length reaches 125 m. During the 2011 excavations, while the terrace wall was being removed, a one-edged curved iron sword was unearthed underneath one of the foundation stones of the northwest part of the terrace wall (Figs. 3-6). This sword is introduced and discussed in detail in the present study.

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I would like to express my gratitude to the entire excavation team supervised by Prof. Dr. A. N. Bilgen who made every effort to unearth such a sword and my dear colleague Ö. Şimşek for his endless support throughout the study.

¹ Bilgen et al. 2010, 342; Bilgen 2015, 8.

² Bilgen et al. 2015, 119-186.

³ Bilgen – Bilgen 2015, 61-118.

⁴ Coşkun 2015, 34-59; Coşkun 2011, 81-93.

⁵ Bilgen – Çevirici Coşkun 2015a, 19-33.

⁶ Bilgen – Çevirici Coşkun 2015b, 9-18.

Literary Terms for One-Edged Curved Blades (*Machaira/Kopis/Falcata*):

Researchers have used the terms *machaira* or *kopis* for describing one-edged curved swords with reference to ancient texts⁷. However, in the Iberian Peninsula these type of swords are known as *falcata*⁸.

As noted by many scholars the terms *machaira* or *kopis* were used by many ancient writers including Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Euripides and Strabo⁹. The two terms were sometimes used in ancient texts to denote the same item and at times to describe different weapons¹⁰. Moreover, previous research has demonstrated that the terms *machaira* and *kopis* were used not only to denote curved swords but also other types of cutting tools¹¹. Research has revealed that in ancient texts the terms were used for swords, daggers, butcher's knives or cleavers, sacrificial knives, surgical tools, and even a decorative dagger¹². It is difficult to distinguish precisely the use of such swords since ancient texts refer to them either as *machaira* or *kopis*. However, attempts have been made to establish such a classification¹³.

The Curved Sword from Seyitömer Höyük

Although the sword discovered at Seyitömer Höyük was corroded, it retained its general shape (Fig. 4-5). The sword has a length of 45.9 cm, with a handle of 14.4 cm and a body of 31.5 cm. The broadest part of the body measures 5 cm, while the narrowest part measures 3.3 cm. The cross-guard section, which protects the hand, has a knot of 2.7 cm. The heavy corrosion on the metal sections prevents us from discovering the probable ornamentations or grooves on the sword.

The contours of the of the sword handle resemble the bird-head samples¹⁴. It is possible to see depictions of such swords on various artefacts¹⁵. However no details can be identified since this section is also corroded. One of the rectangular bone plates, measuring 7.4 x 2.8 cm, was riveted on the sides of the handle and preserved¹⁶.

⁷ Burton 1884, 161, 224, 234-36, figs. 258-259, 265-268; Sandars 1913, 207, 232-246; Casson 1926, 166-167, 304; Quennell – Quennell 1954, 234; Gordon 1958, 24-27; Hoffmeyer 1961, 31, 35-36, 38; Roux 1964, 33-36; Snodgrass 1967, 97, 109, 119; Best 1969, 7, fig. 5; Stary 1979, 180, 196, 198; Warry 1980, 51, 103; Head 1982, 95, 108, 147, 164; Sekunda 1984, 16; Connolly 1988, 99; Quesada Sanz 1988, 285, 287-288; 1991, 475-547; 1992, 114; 1994, 75-92; 2005, 63; 2011, 211, 214; Anderson 1993, 26; Archibald 1998, 203; Webber 2001, 33, 38; Gaebel 2002, 163, 305, n. 46, 324; Webber 2003, 549-551; James 2011, 28-29.

⁸ Sandars 1913, 207, 231-258; Gordon 1958, 24; Hoffmeyer 1961, 35-36; Warry 1980, 103; Head 1982, 147, 149; Connolly 1988, 98, 150-151; Quesada Sanz 1988, 275-299; 1992, 117-120, 134, fig. 5; 1994, 75-92; 2005, 56-78; 2011, 207, 211-215, 217, 246-248; Prats i Darder et al. 1996, 137-154; Lorrio et al. 1998-1999, 149-160; García Cano – Page Del Pozo 2001, 62-104; Sierra Montesinos 2004, 83-87; García Cano – Gómez Ródenas 2006, 61-92; Sierra Montesinos – Martínez Castro 2006, 93-104.

⁹ Burton 1884, 224, 235, 266-268; Sandars 1913, 232-233, 237-238, 240; Casson 1926, 167; Gordon 1958, 24-25; Roux 1964, 35-36; Snodgrass 1967, 109; Quesada Sanz 1994, 78-92; Gaebel 2002, 163, 305, n. 46.

¹⁰ Quesada Sanz 1994, 88.

¹¹ Gordon 1958, 24; Quesada Sanz 1994, 77.

¹² Gordon 1958, 24-27; Quesada Sanz 1994, 78-92.

¹³ Gordon 1958, 24-25, figs. 2a-b; Quesada Sanz 2011, 211.

¹⁴ For bird-head samples see Sandars 1913, fig. 17k; Quesada Sanz 1991, 529, fig. 13, no. 4, 13.

¹⁵ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 1, 128-129; Sandars 1913, fig. 23; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 74, no. 3; Miller 1993, pl. 2a-b, 3a-b, 9a-b, 12c.

¹⁶ It can be observed with the naked eye that the plate attached to the handle is not made of ivory but bone. No corresponding analyses were made.

Remains of the wooden sheath can be observed on the sections other than the handle. There is an ornamented rectangular bone plate near the mouth of the sheath on these wooden remains (Figs. 5-6). The sides of this 4 cm-high plate were broken, and its preserved width is 5.5 cm. There are incised squares with X motif inside within two incised bands on the upper and lower sections of this plate which was applied on the sheath. On the band between these two an embossed wave-line motif is visible. Red paint remains might be observed on the background of the wave-line motif. When depictions of the sheaths of such swords on historical artefacts are studied, it can be observed that these rectangular plates are common near the mouth of the sheaths¹⁷. Most of the plates drawn on the vases are blank. This might stem from the difficulty of decorating such a small area on the vase. However, it is also possible to see that these plates are ornamented using meander and similar motifs in some depictions¹⁸.

Depictions on various artefacts clearly show how these swords were carried on the body. The sheaths had straps that resemble the straps of modern shoulder bags. These straps appear either as thin threads or belts, connected to the sheath on both ends. The depictions on historical artefacts¹⁹ show that the swords were carried wearing the sheath across the body (Fig. 7).

The unearthened Seyitömer Höyük sample had been intentionally placed beneath the foundations of a terrace-fortification wall built during the early 4th century B.C. This suggests that the sword, in service through the 5th century B.C., became disused in the early 4th century B.C.

Other Excavated Examples of the Swords

This type of swords were encountered over a vast geographical area²⁰ including Greece²¹, Macedonia, the Balkans, Illyria, Scythia, Thrace²², Italy²³, the Iberian Peninsula²⁴, Algeria²⁵, Egypt²⁶, and other regions together with Anatolia²⁷.

Only a few samples of these swords have been discovered during archaeological excavations in Anatolia. Such swords are represented with a sample from Smyrna²⁸ and a sample

¹⁷ Smith 1896, pl. 2, no. E 36; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 70, no. 1-2; Roux 1964, 36, pl. 10, no. 6; BAPD, no. 200974.

¹⁸ Sandars 1913, fig. 17g, 18.

¹⁹ Smith 1896, pl. 2, no. E 36; Sandars 1913, 237, fig. 18; Hoppin 1919, 245; Kurtz 1989, 120, fig. 2b; Buitron Oliver 1995, pl. 71, no. 119.

²⁰ For a range of distribution see Quesada Sanz 1991, 530, 541, fig. 14, 30.

²¹ Sandars 1913, 235, fig. 17, 246, fig. 26a; Gordon 1958, 24, n. 12; Quesada Sanz 1991, 499-500, 529, fig. 13, nos. 4, 8-13.

²² Casson 1926, 166, fig. 68; Filow 1934, 105, 116, figs. 128, 140; Best 1969, 7, fig. 5; Quesada Sanz 1991, 512-518, 537-539, fig. 25-27; Archibald 1998, 164, fig. 6.8, 203; Webber 2001, 33, 38; 2003, 550-551, n. 193-194.

²³ Minto 1943, tav. 60; Gordon 1958, 25, fig. 2d; Stary 1979, 192, fig. 4, no. 5, 197, fig. 7; Connolly 1988, 98, fig. 12; Quesada Sanz 1988, 287, fig. 4; 1991, 501-503, 505-508, figs. 20-22.

²⁴ Sandars 1913, 246, figs. 26b-f, 251, fig. 31, no. 43, 48, pl. 13-14; Gordon 1958, 25-26, fig. 3a; Connolly 1988, 150, fig. 4; Quesada Sanz 1988, 279, fig. 2; 1992, 117-120, 134, fig. 5; 2005, 57, 71, fig. 2, 13; 2011, 249, fig. 21; Prats i Darder et al. 1996, 137-154, ill. 1-2, 9, 11-13; Lorrio et al. 1998-1999, 149-161, figs. 1-3; García Cano – Page Del Pozo 2001, 88, 106, 108, 114, 118, 120, 123, 125, 129, figs. 1, 3, 9, 13, 15, 18, 20, 24; Sierra Montesinos 2004, 83-88, figs. 1-6; García Cano – Gómez Ródenas 2006, 86-89; Sierra Montesinos – Martínez Castro 2006, 98, fig. 3, 103-104, lam. 4-6.

²⁵ Quesada Sanz 1991, 511, 536, fig. 24.

²⁶ Gordon 1958, 24-25, fig. 2b.

²⁷ Quesada Sanz 1991, 499, no. 1, 529, fig. 13, no. 5; Greenewalt 1997, 8-10, figs. 7-8.

²⁸ Quesada Sanz 1991, 499, no. 1, 529, fig. 13, no. 5.

from Sardis²⁹. The number of the examples discovered in Anatolia has only reached three with the discovery of the Seyitömer Höyük example. These findings have an exceptional importance for Anatolian archaeology as they are very scarce.

One-edged curved swords have not only been discovered as original findings in ancient sites, but they are also depicted on various historical artefacts. Scholars working on these swords have included depictions of these swords in their publications. Quesada Sanz, who has made a detailed study of these depictions, has identified and presented their appearance on various pottery and reliefs, a mosaic, and a metal vase³⁰.

It is essential to detect the depictions of such swords on historical artefacts in order to understand in which regions, by which ethnic groups, for what purpose, and during which periods such swords were used. In this study which introduces the Seyitömer example, we have also made an effort to add novel depictions of such swords to those present in related literature. Depictions of such swords are generally observed on figure-decorated vases. They are also observed on reliefs, mosaics, metal vases, stamps, and coins.

Overview and Analysis of Depictions of One-Edged Curved Blades:

Corinthian Vases

The earliest depiction discovered is on a protocorinthian alabastron³¹. Another depiction on Corinthian vases is observed in the preparations for the banquet scene on the handle of the black-figure decorated Eurytios Krater³², where the figure carving the meat holds a sword³³.

Attic Black-Figure Vases

Depictions of such swords might also be observed on black-figure decorated Attic and Etruscan vases alongside Corinthian vases. Scholars have identified four depictions of such swords on black-figure decorated vases³⁴. One of these appears in the hand of a Persian soldier in a monomachy scene³⁵ on a white-ground Attic lekythos which belongs to the private collection of G. H. Macurdy³⁶. In the other three samples³⁷ these tools are depicted in the hands of butchers³⁸.

It is possible to add further samples to the depictions on black-figure decorated Attic pottery. An example exhibited at Omaha's Joslyn Art Museum is dated to ca. 530 B.C. and attributed to the Affecter Painter. On it an Amazon who holds such a sword is attacking Hercules in the amazonomachy scene on the shoulder of hydria (Inv. 1953-255)³⁹. Perseus holds such a sword in the scene on a white-ground kyathos attributed to an artist close to the Theseus

²⁹ Greenewalt 1997, 8-10, figs. 7-8.

³⁰ Quesada Sanz 1991, 491-496, 524-528, figs. 4-11.

³¹ Payne 1931, 126, no. 1, Alabastron, no. 83, fig. 44; Quesada Sanz 1991, 491, 524, fig. 4, no. 1.

³² Engelmann – Anderson 1892, Iliad, pl. 10, no. 51.

³³ Anderson 1993, 26.

³⁴ Quesada Sanz 1991, 491, nos. 2-5, 524, fig. 4, no. 2.

³⁵ Macurdy 1932, 27, fig. 1.

³⁶ Quesada Sanz 1991, 491, 524, fig. 4, no. 2.

³⁷ For one of these see Gerhard 1840-1858, vol. 4, tab. 316, no. 1.

³⁸ Sandars 1913, 234, fig. 16; Quesada Sanz 1991, 491, nos. 3-5.

³⁹ von Bothmer 1957, pl. 29, no. 2; CVA U.S.A. 21.1, pl. 17, no. 1, 3.

Painter and dated to 510-500 B.C. It is exhibited at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (Inv. 86.AE.146)⁴⁰. Another depiction, held in the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, appears on a kylix dated to late 6th century B.C. It is attributed to a painter close to the Theseus Painter. It is held in the hand of a figure who carves fish⁴¹.

Etruscan Black-Figure Vases

Such swords also appear on black-figure Etruscan vases alongside Attic vases. A one-edged curved sword exists in the hand of a warrior who fights a centaur in the scene depicted on an amphora (Inv. 2600)⁴². Dated to the late 6th-5th centuries B.C., it is at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Moreover, such swords are also depicted in the hands of warriors on two fragments of black-figure Amphora of the Orvieto Group (Inv. E 40a) and presented at Heidelberg University⁴³.

Attic Red-Figure Vases

Depictions of such swords are encountered mostly on Attic red-figure vases. One of the earliest of these depictions can be seen on a kylix fragment associated with the Leagros group and dated to 520/500 B.C. In its gigantomachy scene we see the sword in the hand of a giant who falls down after the attack of Zeus. It is exhibited at Athens in the National Museum (Inv. A 196)⁴⁴.

A similar sword can be seen in the hand of a hoplite depicted in the amazonomachy scene, in which Heracles also participates. It is over a volute-krater attributed to Euphronios Painter and dated to 520/500 B.C. It is exhibited in Arezzo at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Inv. 1465)⁴⁵. However, as Quesada Sanz also notes, it is doubtful whether this is a curved sword or not⁴⁶.

In the sacrificial scene on an anonymous kylix dated to late 6th century B.C. at Florence's Museo Archeologico (Inv. 81600), the figure on the left holds such a cutting tool⁴⁷.

In the Ilioupersis scene inside the kylix, which is signed by Euphronios as the potter yet attributed to the Onesimos Painter, there is a Trojan named Ophruios whose wounded abdomen is bleeding. He holds a one-edged curved sword in his right hand to defend himself⁴⁸. There is a similar sword depicted below the altar in the scene on the tondo of the same vase⁴⁹. Dated to the early 5th century B.C., it is exhibited in Rome at the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia (Inv. 121110).

In the scene on the tondo of the kylix fragment dated to the early 5th century B.C. attributed to the Eleusis Painter, a Greek hoplite is attacking his opponent who is wearing a Scythian

⁴⁰ CVA U.S.A. 25.2, pl. 76, no. 1.

⁴¹ Herrmann et al. 1994, 93, fig. 38 A face.

⁴² CVA U.S.A. 3.1, pl. 23, no. 3a.

⁴³ CVA Germany 23.2, tab. 59, no. 1-2.

⁴⁴ Vian 1951, pl. 34, no. 331a; BAPD, no. 200125.

⁴⁵ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, tab. 61.

⁴⁶ Quesada Sanz 1991, 492, no. 6.

⁴⁷ CVA Italy 38.4, III. I, tav. 117, no. 1.

⁴⁸ Williams 1991, 54, fig. 8i.

⁴⁹ Williams 1991, 55, fig. 8j.

helmet with a one-edged curved sword⁵⁰. It is exhibited at Basel's H. Cahn Collection (Inv. HC101)⁵¹.

In the scene on the outer surface of the kylix dated to the early 5th century B.C. attributed to the Painter of Louvre G36, Theseus is tied and dragging a wild boar while holding a sword of this type. It is exhibited in London at the British Museum (Inv. E36)⁵².

In the boar hunt scene on the tondo of a kylix dated to the early 5th century B.C. attributed to the Antiphon Painter, the hunter is attacking the boar using a sword of this type. It is exhibited at Aberdeen University (Inv. 743)⁵³.

In the gigantomachy scene on the stamnos dated to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. and attributed to the Troilos Painter, the giant fighting Poseidon is using such a sword. It is exhibited at Williams College in Williamstown, Mass. (Inv. 1964.9)⁵⁴.

It is possible to frequently encounter such swords on the artefacts attributed to the Douris Painter. In the previous studies, depictions of two one-edged curved swords were encountered⁵⁵. The first one is the kantharos at Brussels's *Musées Royaux du Cinquanteaire* dated to circa 490 B.C. (Inv. A 718)⁵⁶. The second is a cup-skyphos at Paris's *Musée du Louvre* (Fig. 7, Inv. G 155)⁵⁷. In addition to these, there are four other sword depictions on the artefacts attributed to the Douris painter. One of these appears in the hand of Enceladus in the fight scene between the goddess Athena and Enceladus that is depicted on a lekythos dated ca. 480 B.C. It is exhibited in Cleveland at the Museum of Art (Inv. 78.59)⁵⁸. There is such a sword in the right hand of the hoplite falling into place depicted on the monomachy scene on the tondo of the signed kylix at Berlin's *Antiquarium* dated ca. 480 B.C. (Inv. F 2287)⁵⁹. In the war scene on the outer surface of another kylix exhibited there (Inv. F 2288)⁶⁰, a hoplite on the right side of the scene is attacking his opponent with a one-edged curved sword. Another similar sword depiction shows a hoplite using the sword in his attack. It exists on a sherd attributed to the painter of an example found at Leipzig University (Inv. T 626)⁶¹.

In the Iliupersis scene on the outer side of the signed kylix of the Brygos Painter, a battle between the Greeks and Trojans is depicted. Beneath the handle a warrior on the ground and the hoplite he is fighting both hold a one-edged curved sword⁶². It is exhibited at Paris's *Musée du Louvre* (Inv. G 152)⁶³. A similar sword depiction is observed in the hand of the giant that was felled by a strike of the spear of Athena. It is depicted in the gigantomachy scene

⁵⁰ Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, no. 41.

⁵¹ BAPD, no. 203237.

⁵² Smith 1896, pl. 2, no. E 36; BAPD, no. 200974.

⁵³ Gerhard 1840-1858, vol. 3, tab. 162, no. 3; BAPD, no. 203454.

⁵⁴ BAPD, no. 275166.

⁵⁵ Roux 1964, 36, pl. 10, no. 3; Quesada Sanz 1991, 492, 524, fig. 4, nos. 7-8.

⁵⁶ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, tab. 74; Hoppin 1919, 232-233, no. 13; CVA Belgium 1.1, III. I. C, pl. 6-7.

⁵⁷ Engelmann – Anderson 1892, *Iliad*, pl. 6, no. 23; Hoppin 1919, 244-245, no. 19; Buitron Oliver 1995, pl. 71, no. 119.

⁵⁸ Kurtz 1989, 120, fig. 2b.

⁵⁹ Hoppin 1919, 218-219, no. 6; Buitron Oliver 1995, pl. 69, no. 113; CVA Germany 21. 2, tab. 79, no. 1.

⁶⁰ CVA Germany 21. 2, tab. 82, no. 2; BAPD, no. 205176.

⁶¹ Buitron Oliver 1995, pl. 68, no. 111.

⁶² Roux 1964, 36, pl. 10, no. 4; Quesada Sanz 1991, 492, 524, fig. 4, no. 9.

⁶³ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 1, tab. 25; Hoppin 1919, 118-119, no. 8; Wegner 1973, pl. 20; Boardman 1975, fig. 245.2.

below the handle of a kylix dated to circa 490 B.C. and exhibited at Berlin's Antiquarium (Inv. F 2293)⁶⁴.

There is a one-edged curved sword in the hand of the falling hoplite depicted in the centauro-machy scene on the column-krater (Inv. 2410)⁶⁵. Dated to ca. 490-480 B.C. and attributed to the Myson Painter, it is exhibited in Naples at the Museo Nazionale⁶⁶. In the battle scene depicted on the calyx-krater exhibited at Berlin, Antikensammlung (Inv. 3257)⁶⁷, there is a fallen hoplite wounded by a spear and defending himself with such a sword.

In the amazonomachy scene on a column-krater at Rome's Musei Capitolini dated to 490-480 B.C. and attributed to the Harrow Painter (Inv. 23, previously 185)⁶⁸, the visible tip of the sword in the right hand and behind the helmet of the falling Amazon struck by Hercules hints that it is a one-edged curved sword.

In the Destruction of Troy scene on the kalpis, known as Hydria of Vizenio painted by the Kleophrades Painters dated to ca. 480 B.C. and exhibited in Naples at the Museo Nazionale (Inv. 2422)⁶⁹, the depiction of a one-edged curved sword was determined⁷⁰. In this scene Neoptolemos is attacking Trojan king Priam with the sword in his hand. It is possible to see depictions of such swords on other vases painted by the same painter. In the scene on the shoulders of the kalpis dated to 490-480 B.C. and attributed to this painter at Leiden's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, where lapiths and centaurs clash (Inv. PC 83)⁷¹, a hoplite on the left side of the scene holds such a sword. In the battle scene between Lapiths and Centaurs on the stamnos at Paris's Musée du Louvre (Inv. G55)⁷², the Lapith at the center of the scene holds such a sword in his right hand. In the gigantomachy scene on the stamnos at New York's Metropolitan Museum (Inv. 1976.244.1)⁷³, Apollo is attacking a giant on the left side of the scene. He wears a panther skin and uses such a sword. In the battle scene on the stamnos in Vatican City at the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano (Inv. AST735)⁷⁴ the falling hoplite at the center is trying to defend himself using a one-edged curved sword.

In the boar hunt scene on the outer surface of a kylix dated to 485-465 B.C. and attributed to the Dokimasia Painter, the hunter on the right of the scene is attacking the boar with such a sword. It is exhibited at Copenhagen's Musée National (Inv. 6327)⁷⁵.

In the war scenes depicted on the inner and outer surfaces of the kylix dated ca. 480 B.C. and painted by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, the barbaros wearing Asiatic dresses hold such swords⁷⁶. It is exhibited at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art

⁶⁴ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 3, tab. 160; Vian 1951, pl. 35, no. 334; Wegner 1973, pl. 21; CVA Germany 21. 2, tab. 67, no. 2, tab. 68, nos. 2, 4.

⁶⁵ Boardman 1975, fig. 170.

⁶⁶ Quesada Sanz 1991, 492-493, no. 14.

⁶⁷ Furtwängler 1893, 88, fig. 33.

⁶⁸ von Bothmer 1957, pl. 70, no. 2; CVA Italy 39. 2, ill. 18, no. 1.

⁶⁹ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 1, tab. 34; Boardman 1975, fig. 135 below.

⁷⁰ Sandars 1913, 237, fig. 18; Roux 1964, 36, pl. 10, no. 6; Quesada Sanz 1991, 492, 524, fig. 4, no. 13.

⁷¹ CVA Netherlands 5.3, pl. 139, no. 3, pl. 140, nos. 1-2.

⁷² CVA France 1.1, III. I. C. 5, pl. 6, no. 5, pl. 7, no. 3.

⁷³ BAPD, no. 201707.

⁷⁴ BAPD, no. 275088.

⁷⁵ CVA Denmark 3.3, pl. 143, no. 1e, c.

⁷⁶ Quesada Sanz 1991, 492, 524, fig. 4, no. 11; Greenewalt 1997, 9, fig. 9.

(Inv. 1980.11.21)⁷⁷. In the gigantomachy scene on the outer surface of a kylix, the giant falling down struck by Dionysos holds such a sword⁷⁸. It is exhibited in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is the name vase of this painter (Inv. 573)⁷⁹. On the other surface of the vase, the giant attacked by Poseidon also holds such a sword. The scene on the tondo of the same vase⁸⁰ has another sword in the hand of the giant attacked by Poseidon. Yet it is not discernible as it remains behind the shield. However, it is possible that it is a sword of the same kind based on the visible part. An example is found on the rim fragment of a kylix dated to 490-480 B.C. at Florence, the parts of which have been dispersed in Leipzig, Rome, and Amsterdam (Inv. 9B13)⁸¹. A warrior falling down holds such a sword in the battle scene on the kylix at Rome's Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia (Inv. 3586)⁸².

In the centauiromachy scene on the outer surface of a kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter and dated to circa 480 B.C., a Lapith on both sides of the vase holds such a sword⁸³. It is exhibited at Munich's Antikensammlungen (Inv. J368 previously 2640)⁸⁴. In the centauiromachy scene on the outer surface of another kylix at the same museum (Inv. 2641)⁸⁵, two hoplites attacking a centaur hold one-edged curved swords in their hands. In the battle scene on a kylix in Riehen's Gsell Collection⁸⁶, the hoplite on the right side who has a snake depiction on his shield holds such a sword.

In the battle scene between Diomedes and Aeneas depicted on a calyx-crater dated to ca. 480 B.C., we see Aeneas holding such a sword in his hand⁸⁷. It is by the Tyszkiewicz Painter which is his name vase and exhibited at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (Inv. 97.368)⁸⁸. Moreover, on the stamnos attributed to this painter and dated to 480 B.C. in Paris at the Musée du Louvre (Inv. G II5), there are depictions of this type of sword. There are such swords on the A surface of the vase; in the gigantomachy scene, in the hand of the falling giant attacked by Dionysos and his panther⁸⁹. On the B surface it is in the hand of Apollo who is attacking the giants⁹⁰.

In the battle scene of a Persian and a Greek warrior depicted on the tondo of a kylix attributed to Triptolemos Painter and dated to 480-470 B.C., it was previously determined that both figures hold one-edged curved swords in their hands⁹¹. It is exhibited at Edinburgh's Royal Scottish Museum (Inv. 1887.213)⁹². In the battle scene on the outer surface of another kylix

⁷⁷ Gerhard 1840-1858, vol. 3, tab. 166; Bovon 1963, 584, fig. 7; Boardman 1975, fig. 279; Greenewalt 1997, 9, fig. 9.

⁷⁸ Quesada Sanz 1991, 492, 524, fig. 4, no. 12.

⁷⁹ Vian 1951, pl. 36, no. 335; Boardman 1975, fig. 280.2.

⁸⁰ Vian 1951, pl. 36, no. 335; Boardman 1975, fig. 280.1.

⁸¹ CVA Netherlands 6. 1, 57, fig. 30b, pl. 32, no. A2.

⁸² BAPD, no. 204550.

⁸³ Roux 1964, pl. 11, no. 4; Quesada Sanz 1991, 492, 524, fig. 4, no. 10.

⁸⁴ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, tab. 86.

⁸⁵ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, 134, fig. 36.

⁸⁶ BAPD, no. 204360.

⁸⁷ Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, 524, fig. 4, no. 15.

⁸⁸ Beazley 1916, 146, fig. 3; Boardman 1975, fig. 186.

⁸⁹ Gerhard 1840-1858, vol. 1, tab. 64 top; Beazley 1916, 147, fig. 4; Vian 1951, pl. 34, no. 344 left.

⁹⁰ Gerhard 1840-1858, vol. 1, tab. 64 below; Beazley 1916, 148, fig. 5; Vian 1951, pl. 34, no. 344 right.

⁹¹ Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, 524, fig. 4, no. 17; Greenewalt 1997, 10, fig. 10.

⁹² Bovon 1963, 582, fig. 4; Boardman 1975, fig. 303.1.

related to this painter now exhibited at Palermo's Museo Nazionale (Inv. V. 659)⁹³, the falling hoplite at the center holds a sword of the same type.

In the gigantomchy scene on the calyx-crater attributed to the Berlin Painter, the giant falling down struck by Poseidon holds a sword of this type. It is exhibited at Florence's Museo Archeologico Etrusco (Inv. 4226)⁹⁴. In the scene on an amphora dated to 480-470 B.C. at Malibu's J. Paul Getty Museum (Inv. 96. AE. 98)⁹⁵, a Scythian warrior is depicted holding a one-edged curved sword.

In the scene depicting the battle scene of Achilles and Memnon on the outer surface of a kylix dated to 480-470 B.C. and attributed to the Castelgiorgio Painter, Memnon is fighting using a one-edged curved sword. It is exhibited at London's British Museum (Inv. E67)⁹⁶.

In the scene on an anonymous pelike dated to 480-470 B.C. in Berlin (Inv. 3189)⁹⁷, Apollo is attacking Tityos using a sword of this type.

In the gigantomachy scene on the calyx-crater dated to 480-460 B.C. and attributed to Aegisthus Painter, the god Apollon is attacking giant Tityos using a sword of this type. It is exhibited in Paris at the Musée du Louvre (Inv. G164)⁹⁸.

In the monomachy scene on the amphora dated to 480-460 B.C. and one of the vases attributed to the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, a Persian warrior is defending himself from a Greek warrior with such a sword⁹⁹. It is exhibited at New York's Metropolitan Museum (Inv. 061021.117)¹⁰⁰.

In the amazonomachy scene on an anonymous kantharos dated to 475-425 B.C., the hoplite at the center of the scene is battling mounted Amazons with a sword of this type. It is exhibited at Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum (Inv. 3715)¹⁰¹.

In the scene on the tondo of the kylix dated to 475-450 B.C. and attributed to the Ancona Painter, a butcher holds a similar cutting tool¹⁰². It is exhibited at Florence's Museo Archeologico Etrusco (Inv. 4224)¹⁰³.

In the gigantomachy scene on the stamnos dated to 470 B.C. and attributed to the Painter of the Yale Lekythos, a giant is defending himself against the attack of the god Dionysos and his panther with a one-edged curved sword. It is exhibited at Orvieto's Museo Civico (Inv. 1044)¹⁰⁴.

⁹³ CVA Italy 14.1, tav. 10, no. 2.

⁹⁴ CVA Italy 13.2, tav. 36, no. 1-2; BAPD, no. 14485.

⁹⁵ Herrmann et al. 1994, 96-97, no. 40 B surface.

⁹⁶ BAPD, no. 204134.

⁹⁷ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 3, 279, fig. 128.

⁹⁸ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 3, tab. 164; Boardman 1989, fig. 35; CVA France 1.1, III, I. C, pl. 10, no. 2.

⁹⁹ Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, no. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Bovon 1963, 581, fig. 3.

¹⁰¹ CVA Austria 1.1, III, I, tab. 45, no. 4.

¹⁰² Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, no. 36.

¹⁰³ Boardman 1989, fig. 78.

¹⁰⁴ Vian 1951, pl. 40, no. 376.

A sword of this type is observed in the right hand of the single warrior figure on the A surface of the amphora attributed to Providence Painter and dated to circa 470 B.C. at Paris's Musée du Louvre (Inv. G216)¹⁰⁵.

In the amazonomachy scene on the outer surface of the kylix dated to 470-460 B.C. and attributed to Amphitrite Painter, the falling Amazon holds a sword of this type in his hand¹⁰⁶. It is exhibited at Bryn Mawr College (Inv. P218)¹⁰⁷.

In the amazonomachy scene on the shoulder of a kalpis dated to 470-460 B.C. and attributed to the Leningrad Painter, the Amazon fighting Hercules uses a one-edged curved sword¹⁰⁸. It is exhibited at London's British Museum (Inv. E167)¹⁰⁹.

In the gigantomachy scene on the lekani attributed to Hermonax Painter and dated to 470-460 B.C., Apollo is attacking the giants with a sword of this type. It is exhibited at Ferrara's Museo Nazionale di Spina (Inv. T0 previously 3095)¹¹⁰. In the scene on the louthrophoros fragment attributed to this painter and dated to ca. 460 B.C., a warrior wearing a pileus is holding such a sword. It is exhibited in Tübingen at Eberhard-Karls-University, Archaeology Institute (Inv. S101624)¹¹¹.

Swords of this type are also depicted on vases attributed to the Penthesilea Painter. In the scene on the tondo of the kylix ca. 470 B.C., Apollo is attacking a giant with a sword of this type¹¹². It is at Munich's Antikensammlungen (Inv. J402 previously 2689)¹¹³. In the scene on the tondo of the kylix dated ca. 460 B.C., a hunter pursuing a wild boar is using a sword of this type¹¹⁴. It is displayed at New York's Metropolitan Museum (Inv. 41.162.9)¹¹⁵. In the amazonomachy scene on the calyx-krater dated to circa 460 B.C. and attributed to the Penthesilea Painter or his immediate vicinity, a Greek and an Amazon have swords of this type in their hands¹¹⁶. It is exhibited at Bologna's Museo Civico Archeologico (Inv. 289)¹¹⁷.

In the gigantomachy scene on the calyx-krater attributed to Blenheim Painter and dated to circa 465 B.C., a giant falling down after the attack of Dionysos is trying to defend himself using a sword of this type. It is exhibited at Bologna's Museo Civico Archeologico (Inv. 286)¹¹⁸.

In the gigantomachy scene on a cup-skyphos dated ca. 460 B.C. and one of the vases attributed to Painter of Bologna 228, a giant is defending himself from the attack of Dionysos using a sword of this type. It is exhibited in Brussels at the Bibliotheque Royale (Inv. 11)¹¹⁹.

¹⁰⁵ CVA France 9.6, III. I C, pl. 40, no. 9, pl. 41, no. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, no. 18.

¹⁰⁷ von Bothmer 1957, pl. 80, no. 5a.

¹⁰⁸ Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, no. 19.

¹⁰⁹ von Bothmer 1957, pl. 70, no. 1; CVA Great Britain 7.5, III. I. C, pl. 73, no. 1, pl. 79, no. 1b; BAPD, no. 202915.

¹¹⁰ CVA Italy 37.1, tav. 29, no. 1, 3; BAPD, no. 205509.

¹¹¹ CVA Germany 52.4, tab. 8, no. 1; BAPD, no. 205464.

¹¹² Roux 1964, pl. 10, no. 5; Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, 524, fig. 4, no. 23.

¹¹³ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 1, tab. 55.

¹¹⁴ Quesada Sanz 1991, 493-494, no. 24.

¹¹⁵ Richter 1942, 53, fig. 1.

¹¹⁶ Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, no. 25.

¹¹⁷ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, tab. 76; Löwy 1929, figs. 8a-b.

¹¹⁸ CVA Italy 27.4, III. I, tav. 75, no. 2; BAPD, no. 206925.

¹¹⁹ BAPD, no. 205763.

In the monomachia scene on the oinochoe dated to 460 B.C. and one of the vases attributed to the Chicago Painter, a Persian warrior is attacking a Greek warrior with such a sword¹²⁰. It is exhibited at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (Inv. 13.196)¹²¹. In the battle scene on the neck of the volute-krater dated to 450-440 B.C., the warrior at the center holds a sword of this type¹²². It is exhibited at Ferrara's Museo Nazionale di Spina (Inv. 53817)¹²³.

In the gigantomachy scene on the pelike attributed to the Ethiop Painter and dated to ca. 460 B.C., the giant falling down after a thyrsos strike by Dionysos is holding a sword of this type. It is exhibited in Paris at the Musée du Louvre (Inv. G434)¹²⁴.

In the scene on an anonymous calyx-krater dated to ca. 460 B.C., a running Persian archer holds a bow in one hand and a sword of this type in another. In the monomachy scene on the other surface of the same vase¹²⁵, a Persian archer falling down after the spear blow of a Greek warrior is defending himself using a one-edged curved sword. The krater was previously at Basel's Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, but now is in an unknown private collection (Inv. BS480)¹²⁶.

Depictions of such swords are also frequently observed on the vases painted by the Niobid Painter. In the amazonomachy scene on the volute-krater attributed to this painter and dated to circa 460 B.C., a one-edged curved sword has fallen from the hand of the Amazon at the center¹²⁷. It is exhibited at Palermo's Museo Archeologico Regionale (Inv. G1283)¹²⁸. In another amazonomachy scene on the volute-krater of the same painter in Naples at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Inv. 2421)¹²⁹, there are two swords of this type: one in the hand of the Amazon and another in the hand of a Greek warrior¹³⁰. In the gigantomachy scene on the upper frieze of the calyx-krater related to the Niobid Painter, the giant fighting goddess Athena holds a sword of this type¹³¹. It is exhibited at Basel's Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig (Inv. LU51)¹³². In the gigantomachy scene on the upper frieze of another calyx-krater dated to circa 460-450 B.C. at Ferrara's Museo Nazionale di Spina (Inv. T.313)¹³³, a giant confronts goddess Artemis using a sword of this type¹³⁴. This frieze continues on the other surface of the vase, and here a sword of the same type might be observed in the hand of the giant falling down after the attack of Athena¹³⁵.

¹²⁰ Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, no. 42.

¹²¹ Bovon 1963, 589, fig. 13; Boardman 1989, fig. 29.

¹²² Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, no. 28.

¹²³ Alfieri - Arias 1958, fig. 51; BAPD, no. 207282.

¹²⁴ Millingen 1822, pl. 25; CVA France 12.8, III. I. d, pl. 44, no.1-2.

¹²⁵ Sekunda 1992, 15; CVA Switzerland 7.3, III. I, tav. 8-9, no. 3.

¹²⁶ CVA Switzerland 7.3, III. I, tav. 8-9, no. 4.

¹²⁷ Sandars 1913, 245, fig. 23; Roux 1964, pl. 10, no. 2; Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, 524, fig. 4, no. 20, 525, fig. 6.

¹²⁸ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 1, 128-129; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 74, no. 3.

¹²⁹ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 1, tab. 26-28; Löwy 1929, Abb. 10a-b; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 74, no. 4.

¹³⁰ Sandars 1913, 235, figs. 17h-j; Hoffmeyer 1961, 36, figs. 3h-j; Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, 524, fig. 4, no. 22.

¹³¹ Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, no. 40.

¹³² Boardman 1989, fig. 9.

¹³³ Vian 1951, pl. 37, no. 338 below left; Alfieri - Arias 1958, figs. 34, 36; Boardman 1989, fig. 6.

¹³⁴ Roux 1964, pl. 10, no. 1; Quesada Sanz 1991, 493, 524, fig. 4, no. 21, 525, fig. 5.

¹³⁵ Vian 1951, pl. 37, no. 338 top; Alfieri - Arias 1958, fig. 35.

In the scene on an anonymous skyphos dated to 460-450 B.C. at Malibu's J. Paul Getty Museum (Inv. 86.AE.267)¹³⁶, a giant who was bitten by a snake holds such a sword in his hand. The handle of this sword is similar to those of one-edged curved swords. However, the sword itself is not curved much, so probably based on the drawing style of the artist.

It was previously determined that in the battle scene on the body of the volute-krater attributed to Painter of Bologna 279 exhibited at Ferrara's Museo Nazionale (Inv. T 579/3031)¹³⁷, the armored warrior at the center holds a sword of this type¹³⁸. It is possible to see a similar sword depiction at the scene on the shield of the shielded figure located below the handle of the very same vase. In the monomachy scene here an Amazon is fighting a Greek warrior with a sword of this type¹³⁹. In the amazonomachy scene on the volute-krater dated to ca. 450 B.C., the Amazon at the center is trying to defend herself with a sword of this type while falling down after a spear strike. It is exhibited at Basel's Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig (Inv. BS 486)¹⁴⁰.

The hoplite falling down in the battle scene depicted on the dinos, one of the vases attributed to the Altamura Painter and dated to ca. 450 B.C., holds a sword of this type¹⁴¹. It is exhibited at Newcastle upon Tyne's Shefton Museum. In the gigantomachy scene on the volute-krater of the same date at London's British Museum (Inv. E 469)¹⁴², the giant falling down after the strike of Athena holds a sword of the same type¹⁴³. In the gigantomachy scene that continues on the other surface of this vase¹⁴⁴, Apollo uses a sword of this type.

In the amazonomachy scene on the body of the volute-krater attributed to the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs and dated ca. 450 B.C. at New York's Metropolitan Museum (Inv. 07.286.84)¹⁴⁵ the Amazon below the handle of the vase holds a sword of this type¹⁴⁶.

In the amazonomachy scene on the column-krater attributed to Orpheus Painter and dated ca. 450 B.C. at Syracuse's Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi (Inv. 37175)¹⁴⁷, the hoplite on the left is holding a sword of this type¹⁴⁸.

In light of previous studies, depictions of two swords of this type were discovered on the vases attributed to the Polygnotos Painter and his group. Quesada Sanz asserts that one of these was used by an Amazon in the amazonomachy scene on the hydria (Inv. T271) dated to ca. 440-430 B.C. at Ferrara's Museo Nazionale di Spina¹⁴⁹. The other one is the dinos related to the Group of Polygnotos and dated to 450-420 B.C. exhibited at London's British Museum. In

¹³⁶ CVA U.S.A. 33.8, III, I, pl. 391, no. 2.

¹³⁷ Boardman 1989, fig. 15.1.

¹³⁸ Roux 1964, pl. 11, no. 1.

¹³⁹ Simon 1963, pl. 10, fig. 6; CVA Italy 37.1, tav. 10, no. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Berger 1968, tab. 17, no. 1.

¹⁴¹ Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, no. 38; BAPD, no. 206828.

¹⁴² Heydemann 1881, tab. 1; Webster 1935, tab. 1; Vian 1951, pl. 36, no. 337; Boardman 1989, fig. 10.

¹⁴³ Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, no. 39.

¹⁴⁴ Heydemann 1881, tab. 1; Vian 1951, pl. 36, no. 337.

¹⁴⁵ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, tab. 117; Löwy 1929, 21-22, fig. 7b; von Bothmer 1957, pl. 75d.

¹⁴⁶ Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, 524, fig. 4, no. 26.

¹⁴⁷ Orsi 1915, 211, fig. 20.

¹⁴⁸ Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, no. 29.

¹⁴⁹ Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, no. 31.

the amazonomachy scene on this dinos (Inv. 1899.7-21.5)¹⁵⁰, Acamas is attacking an Amazon using a sword of this type¹⁵¹. In addition to these similar sword depictions are observed on two more vases painted by this painter. In the amazonomachy scene on the pelike at Syracuse's Museo Archeologico Nazionale signed by Polygnotos Painter (Inv. 23507)¹⁵², a hoplite is depicted as fighting a mounted amazon with a sword of this type in his hand. In the amazonomachy scene in which Theseus participates, the Amazon on the right side of the scene on the amphora is holding a sword of this type. It is exhibited at Jerusalem's Israel Museum (Inv. 73.15.18 previously 124.1)¹⁵³.

In the amazonomachia scene on the calyx-krater attributed to the Achilleus Painter and dated ca. 440 B.C., the Amazon Andromache is using a one-edged curved sword¹⁵⁴. It is exhibited at Ferrara's Museo Nazionale (Inv. 2890 previously T1052)¹⁵⁵.

Boeotian Red-Figure Vases

In the scene on a pelike at Munich's Antikensammlungen (Inv. 2347)¹⁵⁶, a butcher holds a cutting tool of this type.

South Italian Red-Figure Vases

Depictions of such swords also appear on the red-figure vases produced in the Lucania and Apulia regions of southern Italy. In the scene on a skyphos at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. 12.235.4), one of the Lucanian red-figure vases attributed to the Amykos Painter Marsyas holds a one-edged curved sword¹⁵⁷.

Among the Apulian red-figure vases the warrior combating the Amazon on the left side of the scene in the amazonomachy scene on the volute-krater related to the Sisyphus Group holds a sword of this type. It is dated to the late 5th century B.C. and exhibited at Taranto's Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Inv. 8264)¹⁵⁸. Also in this group is a boar hunt scene on a column-krater dated to 400-390 B.C. and related to the Ariadne Painter. The hunter at the center is attacking the boar with a sword of this type. It is exhibited at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (Inv. 1970.236)¹⁵⁹.

In the sacrifice of Iphigenia scene on the volute-krater dated to 370-350 B.C. and attributed to the Illioupersis Painter, there is a one-edged curved sacrificial knife. It is exhibited at London's British Museum (Inv. 1865.0103.21)¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁰ Gerhard 1840-1858, vol. 4, tab. 330, no. 1; Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 1, tab. 58; Löwy 1929, fig. 34; Boardman 1989, fig. 159.1.

¹⁵¹ Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, no. 37.

¹⁵² Löwy 1929, Abb. 38; Boardman 1989, fig. 135; CVA Italy 17.1, III. I, tav. 4, no. 1-2.

¹⁵³ Boardman 1989, fig. 133; BAPD, no. 4854.

¹⁵⁴ Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, no. 30.

¹⁵⁵ Alfieri – Arias 1958, fig. 57; CVA Italy 37.1, tav. 20, no. 1, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Mitchell 2004, 13, fig. 8b.

¹⁵⁷ Roux 1964, pl. 11, no. 3; Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, no. 33.

¹⁵⁸ Trendall 1934, pl. 8 on the left; BAPD, no. 9005337.

¹⁵⁹ Carpenter 2003, 15, fig. 9.

¹⁶⁰ Raoul Rochette 1827, pl. 26B.

In the boar hunt scene on the amphora attributed to Lykourgos Painter and dated ca. 360-340 B.C. at Trieste's Museo Civico (Inv. S.380)¹⁶¹, the figure at the center uses a sword of this type.

In the scene on the bell-krater attributed to Tarporley Painter and dated ca. 360-340 B.C. and exhibited at Madrid, a similar tool is used as a sort of cleaver¹⁶².

In the amazonomachy scene on the neck of a volute-krater attributed to the Baltimore Painter and dated ca. 340 B.C., the armored warrior at the center holds a sword of this type¹⁶³.

In the scene on the famous volute-krater of Darius Painter in Naples at the Museo Nazionale (Inv. 1423-3253)¹⁶⁴, the Persian behind King Darius holds a sword of this type¹⁶⁵. In the scene on the back side of the same vase¹⁶⁶, one of the Amazons attacking Chimera uses a sword of this type.

In the scene on the anonymous Apulian red-figure krater at Philadelphia's Museum of Art (Inv. L-64-42)¹⁶⁷, a tool of this type is used as a sacrificial knife.

In the scene on a volute-krater dated to late 4th century B.C. in Naples at the Museo Nazionale (Inv. 1767)¹⁶⁸, Menelaus is attacking Proteus with a sword of this type.

Metal Vessels

In the embossed scene on the golden amphora-rhyton at Plovdiv's Archaeological Museum which was unearthed at Panagyurishte¹⁶⁹, depictions of such swords were determined¹⁷⁰.

Coins

Sandars identified a one-edged curved sword depiction on a coin struck in Italy dated ca. 220 B.C.¹⁷¹.

Seals

The research undertaken in the scope of my study revealed that one-edged curved swords were depicted also on seals. Such depictions might be observed on Greek, Etruscan, and Phoenician seals. Depictions of such swords were discovered on three Greek, four Etruscan, and one Classical Phoenician seal.

On a Greek seal dated to the early 5th century at London's British Museum (Inv. T76)¹⁷², a warrior holds a sword of this type. In this museum, on a scaraboid seal dated to the same

¹⁶¹ CVA Italy 43.1, IV. D, tav. 14, no. 1.

¹⁶² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarporley_Painter#/media/File:Sacrifice_pig_Tarporley_Painter_MAN.jpg (12.12.2016).

¹⁶³ <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/originals/8b/3a/23/8b3a2360f5f9a0af6dcd05d5a2a28ad3.jpg> (12.12.2016).

¹⁶⁴ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, tab. 88.

¹⁶⁵ Quesada Sanz 1991, 494, 524, fig. 4, no. 34.

¹⁶⁶ Furtwängler et al. 1904-1932, vol. 2, 143, fig. 46.

¹⁶⁷ Hall 1906, 57, fig. 9.

¹⁶⁸ Engelmann – Anderson 1892, *Odyssey*, pl. 4, no. 22.

¹⁶⁹ Venedikov 1977, pl. 11; Daumas 1978, 26, fig. 1, pl. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Quesada Sanz 1991, 496, no. 46, 528, fig. 11.

¹⁷¹ Sandars 1913, 264, fig. 36.

¹⁷² Richter 1968, no. 89.

period (Inv. 99.6-3.2)¹⁷³, a naked warrior wearing a helmet and holding a shield has a sword of this type in his hand. Another scaraboid seal discovered at Cyprus, which is regarded as a replica of this seal and is kept in a private collection, has a similar sample on it¹⁷⁴.

There is a one-edged curved sword next to a warrior on an Etruscan scaraboid seal at London's British Museum dated to the 5th century B.C. (Inv. 65.7-12.99)¹⁷⁵. It is also observed that a warrior on another scaraboid seal in this museum in the Hamilton collection holds a sword of this type¹⁷⁶. A depiction on a scaraboid seal mounted on a golden ring dated to the early 5th century B.C. shows a sword of this type falling from the hands of a warrior. It is exhibited in Paris at the Cabinet des Médailles (Inv. 271)¹⁷⁷. On the pseudo-scarab seal dated to the 5th century B.C. at Péronne's Collection Alfred Danicourt with the Etruscan Achele (Achilles) inscription¹⁷⁸, a naked warrior holds a shield in his right hand and a one-edged curved sword in his left hand.

A similar sword is observed in the hand of a warrior on the Classical Phoenician scaraboid seal exhibited at Cagliari¹⁷⁹.

Sculpted Reliefs

Previous studies show that swords of this type are depicted on various reliefs. Depictions of such swords were observed on reliefs discovered in Italy¹⁸⁰ and on the Iberian Peninsula¹⁸¹.

Researchers have identified three sword depictions on reliefs discovered in Anatolia: on the reliefs pertaining to the Xanthos Harpy Tomb now in London's British Museum, a Greek person holds a sword of this type¹⁸². Two Greek warriors with one-edged curved swords are fighting Amazons on the reliefs pertaining to the Halicarnassus Mousoleion exhibited at the same museum¹⁸³.

It is possible to encounter depictions of such swords on other artefacts in Anatolia. In the battle scene on the Çan Sarcophagus exhibited at the Çanakkale Museum of Archaeology¹⁸⁴, the infantry accompanying the Persian cavalry holds a shield in one hand and a sword of this type in the other.

Reliefs of such swords might be observed on the railing reliefs of the second floor of the propylon of the Sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros from Pergamon which is exhibited at Berlin's Pergamon Museum¹⁸⁵.

¹⁷³ Furtwängler 1900, pl. 65, no. 3; Lippold 1922, taf. 52, no. 5; Walters 1926, pl. 9, no. 500; Boardman 1968, pl. 18, no. 264; Richter 1968, 50, no. 92.

¹⁷⁴ Furtwängler 1900, pl. 63, no. 4; Boardman 1968, pl. 18, no. 265.

¹⁷⁵ Furtwängler 1900, pl. 16, no. 46; Lippold 1922, taf. 45, no. 14; Walters 1926, pl. 11, no. 626; Richter 1968, no. 833.

¹⁷⁶ Furtwängler 1900, pl. 16, no. 40; Walters 1926, pl. 12, no. 682.

¹⁷⁷ Richter 1968, no. 840.

¹⁷⁸ Boardman 1971, 207, fig. 16.

¹⁷⁹ <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/Gems/Scarabs/Images/Robs%20Images%2003/28.034m.jpg> (12.12.2016).

¹⁸⁰ Stary 1979, 198, n. 150; Quesada Sanz 1991, 501-503, no. 1-10, 530-532, fig. 15-18.

¹⁸¹ Sandars 1913, pl. 20d; Connolly 1988, 150, fig. 14; Quesada Sanz 1988, 286, lam. 1-A; 2005, 69, fig. 11.

¹⁸² Sandars 1913, 233; Gordon 1958, 24; Quesada Sanz 1991, 496, no. 47, 527, fig. 10.

¹⁸³ Quesada Sanz 1991, 495, nos. 43-44, 526-527, figs. 8-9.

¹⁸⁴ Sevinç et al. 2001, 396, fig. 11.

¹⁸⁵ Bohn 1885, 40, tab. 21, 45, 47.

Wall Paintings

There are two depictions of swords hanging in their sheaths on the northern and southern walls of the burial chamber of the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles in Macedonia. The tomb is dated to Middle Hellenistic period. The bird-head handles of the swords on the left side on both walls¹⁸⁶ suggest that these might be one-edged curved swords.

Two warriors on the left side of the scene on the eastern frieze of the dromos of the Kazanluk tumulus in Thrace have swords of this type¹⁸⁷.

Mosaics

On the Lion-Hunt mosaic from Pella dated to the late 4th century B.C.¹⁸⁸, the hunter on the right attacking the lion is using a sword of this type¹⁸⁹.

In addition to this, on the mosaics in the andron of the House of the Mosaics at Eretria¹⁹⁰, an Arimasian fighting the griffins is using a sword of this type.

Conclusion

When the identified depictions were studied, it was detected that such swords were mostly observed in the hands of Greeks, then by Persians, Trojans, and Macedonians, respectively. In mythological scenes, such swords were used by giants in gigantomachy scenes later followed by Amazons. It is remarkable that in gigantomachy scenes such swords were not used by gods but always by giants. However, if Apollo partakes in the fight, the one-edged curved sword is depicted in the hands of Apollo, not the giants. It is very curious and needs further investigation that only Apollo was depicted using such a sword. Might this be connected to Apollo's Anatolian identity?

It would not be fair to classify such swords as rooted in the Greek culture based on the evidence from the depictions in which mainly Greeks hold such swords. This must be related to the fact that most of these depictions were drawn by Attic vase painters. Nevertheless, the same painters also depicted such swords in the hands of people from different ethnic groups.

On the other hand, the swords named *machaira* and *kopis* in ancient texts were used by different ethnic groups encompassing Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and others. In addition to this, the dispersion of one-edged curved swords over a vast geographical area and the depictions on various historical artefacts in the hands of gods, giants, and Amazons alongside Greeks, Persians, Macedonians and other ethnic groups¹⁹¹, complicates our understanding concerning the roots of such swords. This resulted in varying interpretations on the roots of such swords by various researchers. Although some attribute this type of swords to Greeks, Persians, Etruscans or the like, other scholars declare that it is difficult to make a decision¹⁹².

¹⁸⁶ Miller 1993, pl. 2a-b, 3a-b, 7a, 9a-b, 12c.

¹⁸⁷ Webber 2001, 13; 2003, 546, fig. 12d.

¹⁸⁸ Petsas 1964, 78, fig. 4; Sekunda 1984, 10; Dunbabin 1999, 12, fig. 9.

¹⁸⁹ Snodgrass 1967, 119; Quesada Sanz 1991, 495-496, no. 45.

¹⁹⁰ Dunbabin 1999, 11, fig. 7.

¹⁹¹ For a statistical survey see Quesada Sanz 1991, 528, fig. 12.

¹⁹² For some suggestions see Burton 1884, 235-236; Sandars 1913, 231-238; Gordon 1958, 24-27; Stary 1979, 196; Connolly 1988, 99; Quesada Sanz 1991, 475-479, 481-482, 519-521; 2005, 58, n. 2; 2011, 211, n. 10.

On the other hand, there are also suggestions concerning the prototypes and development of this type of sword¹⁹³.

As a result it is very difficult to understand to which civilization these swords originally belonged. Regardless of its authentic origin, it is a given fact that such swords changed hands either through trade or as war spoils or as diplomatic gifts. They were widely used as a popular war tool over a vast geographical area. These tools, which were generally depicted as a type of arms/sword, were also depicted since the earlier periods as a butcher's tool. Such depictions are very rare in comparison with other depictions, and the late examples of such depictions that belong ca. mid-4th century B.C.

The Seyitömer sample was discovered in the Persian period layer of the mound. Although depictions on various artefacts show that these swords were used by many ethnic groups including the Persians, it would not be appropriate to claim this one as a Persian sword nor to assert that it was used by a Persian person. It is already known that in Anatolia the settlements under Persian domination were co-inhabited by Greeks, Phrygians, Lydians, and similar ethnic groups. The data obtained from the Persian layer of Seyitömer Höyük also support this view. The present data indicate the existence of Persian, Greek, and Phrygian populations co-inhabiting the mound during the mentioned period¹⁹⁴. Thus, our sword might have been used by a member of any of the communities mentioned here. It might even have been used by a warrior who belonged to another ethnic group, considering the cosmopolitan demography of this settlement during the period.

Depictions on historical artefacts and other data indicate that swords of this type were used during a long period in ancient history and became popular war tools during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The research undertaken within this study demonstrates that one-edged curved swords were generally depicted on artefacts dated to the 5th century B.C., mainly Attic red-figure vases¹⁹⁵. The identified depictions indicate that such swords were especially popular during the first half and the middle of this century. It has to be noted that these swords remained in use through the following centuries into the Roman period¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹³ Quesada Sanz 1991, 540, fig. 29.

¹⁹⁴ Coşkun 2015, 54.

¹⁹⁵ Among these, kraters and kylix are notably more abundant in number.

¹⁹⁶ Burton 1884, 236; Gordon 1958, 26.

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Özet

Seyitömer Höyük'ten Tek Yüzlü Kavisli Bir Kılıç

Bu makalenin amacı Seyitömer Höyüğü'nün Akhaemenid Dönem tabakasından ele geçen ve bugün Kütahya Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde korunan tek yüzlü kavisli kılıcın bilim dünyasına tanıtılmasıdır. Bu çalışmada tek yüzlü kavisli kılıçlar hakkında genel bir bilgi verildikten sonra, Seyitömer Höyük örneği tanıtılmış, bu tip kılıçların çeşitli tarihi eserler üzerindeki tasvirlerine değinilmiş ve elde edilen veriler değerlendirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Araştırmacılar antik metinlerden hareketle tek yüzlü, kavisli kılıçlar için *makhaira* ya da *kopis* terimlerini kullanmayı uygun görmüşlerdir. Diğer yandan, söz konusu İber Yarımadası olduğunda, bu tip kılıçlar için *falcata* teriminin kullanıldığı görülmektedir.

Makhaira veya *kopis* terimleri Homeros, Herodotos, Xenophon, Plutarkhos, Aristofanes, Aristoteles, Euripides, Strabon ve daha birçok antik yazar tarafından kullanılmıştır. Bu iki terim antik metinlerde kimi zaman eş anlamlı, kimi zaman ise farklı silahları nitelemek için kullanılabilmiştir. Diğer yandan, söz konusu kılıçlar üzerine yapılan araştırmalar gerek *makhaira* gerekse *kopis* terimlerinin sadece kavisli kılıçlar için değil, farklı işlevlerde kullanılan kesici aletler için de kullanılabildiğini ortaya koymuştur. Araştırmacılar bu terimlerin antik metinlerde kılıç, hançer, kasap bıçağı veya satırı, kurban bıçağı, bağ bıçağı, cerrahi bir alet, hatta bir tür aksesuar amaçlı kama için dahi kullanıldığını saptamış durumdadır.

Çeşitli merkezlerden ele geçen örnekler ve tarihi eserler üzerindeki tasvirleri bu tip kılıçların antik dönemde başta Akdeniz Dünyası olmak üzere, oldukça geniş bir coğrafyaya yayıldıklarını göstermektedir. Mevcut tasvirler bu tip kılıçların Yunan, Pers, Makedon ve benzeri çeşitli etnik gruplarca kullanıldığına işaret etmektedir. Ancak bu kılıçların orijinalinde hangi medeniyete ait olduklarını anlamak oldukça güçtür. Kökeninde hangi medeniyete ait olursa olsun, bu kılıçların Antik Dönem'de belki ticaret yoluyla veya savaş ganimeti, diplomatik hediye ve benzeri yollarla, çeşitli etnik gruplar arasında el değiştirdiği ve geniş bir coğrafyaya yayılarak popüler bir savaş aleti olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Tarihi eserler üzerindeki tasvirler ve diğer veriler bu tip kılıçların Antik Dönem'de uzun bir period içerisinde kullanıldığını ve MÖ 6. ve 5. yy.'larda popüler bir savaş aleti haline geldiğine işaret etmektedir. Bu çalışma kapsamında yapılan araştırmalar tek yüzlü kavisli kılıçların başta Attika kırmızı figürlü vazoları olmak üzere, büyük oranda MÖ 5. yy.'a tarihli eserler üzerinde tasvir edildiğini göstermektedir. Tespit edilen tasvirler bu tip kılıçların özellikle de bu yüzyılın ilk yarısında ve ortalarında çok popüler olduklarına işaret etmektedir. Bu kılıçların kullanımı daha sonrasında Roma Dönemi içlerine dek devam etmiştir.

Anadolu'da yapılan arkeolojik kazılarda tek yüzlü kavisli kılıçlar oldukça az sayıda ele geçmiştir. Söz konusu kılıçlar Anadolu'da Smyrna ve Sardis'ten ele geçen birer örnekle temsil

edilmekteydi. Seyitömer Höyük'ten ele geçen örneklerle birlikte Anadolu'dan ele geçen örneklerin sayısı ancak üçe ulaşabilmiştir. Sayılarının böylesine az olması sebebiyle bu buluntular Anadolu Arkeolojisi için ayrıca bir önem taşımaktadırlar.

Seyitömer Höyük örneği MÖ 4. yy.'ın başlarında inşa edilmiş bir teras-sur duvarının temelinin hemen altına bilinçli bir şekilde yerleştirilmiş bir vaziyette açığa çıkartılmıştır. Bu durum, MÖ 5. yy.'da kullanılan bu kılıcın kullanımına MÖ 4. yy.'ın başlarında son verildiğini göstermektedir.



Fig. 1
Map of Kütahya
Province with
Seyitömer Höyük

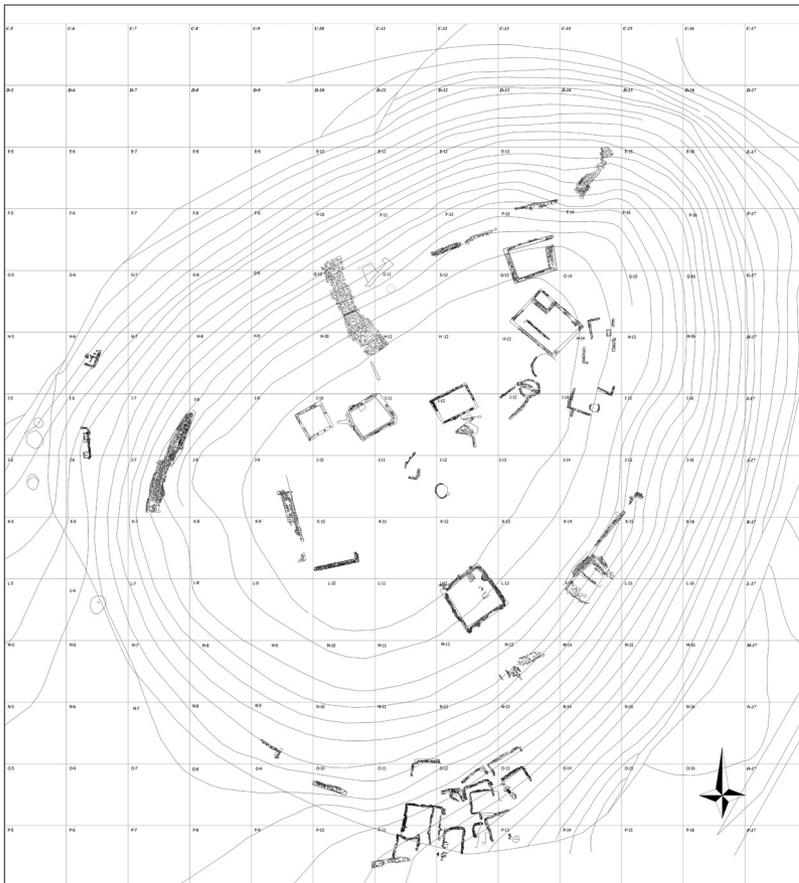


Fig. 2
Settlement plan of
5th century B.C.

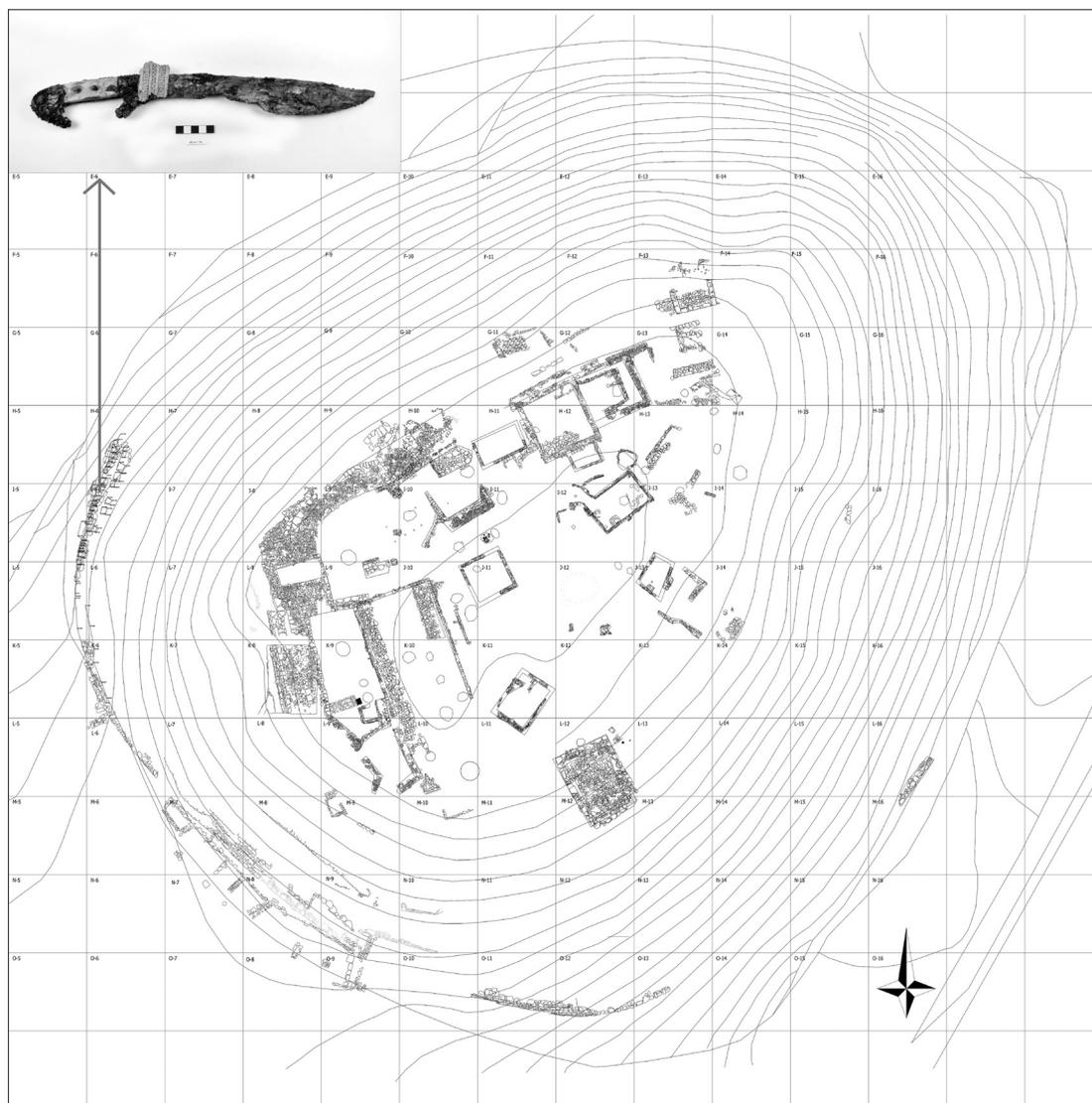


Fig. 3 Settlement plan of 4th century B.C.



Fig. 4 Locus of the one-edged curved sword discovered at Seyitömer Höyük.

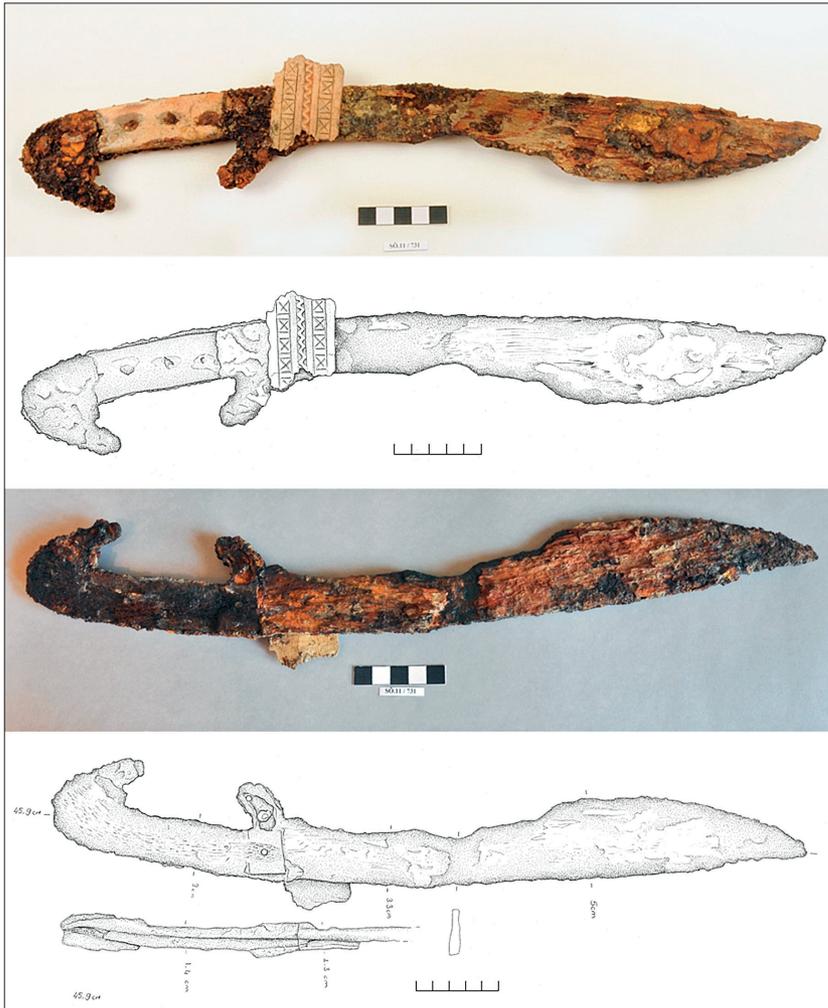


Fig. 5
One-edged curved
sword discovered at
Seyitömer Höyük.



Fig. 6
Detail of
one-edged curved
sword discovered at
Seyitömer Höyük.

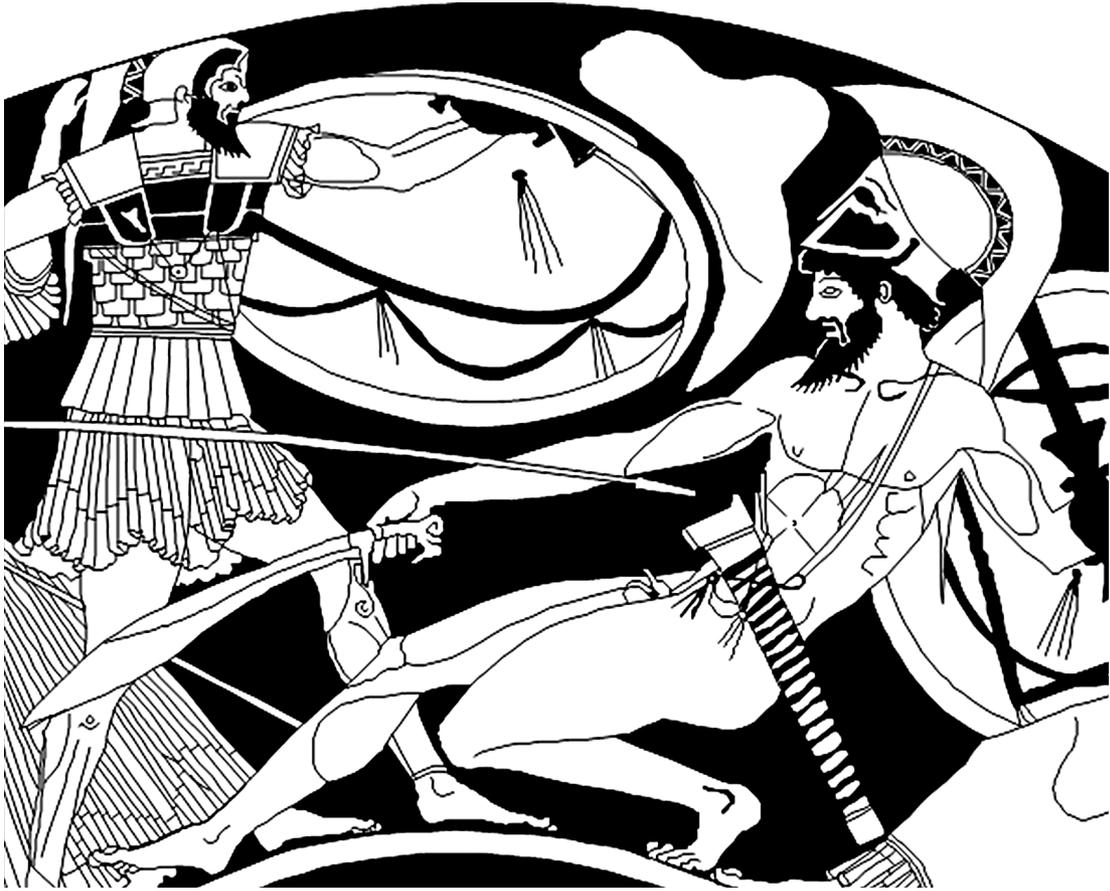


Fig. 7 Detail of Attic cup-skyphos
(reproduced from Engelmann – Anderson 1892, *Iliad*, pl. 6, no. 23).

