THE HORSE IN ANCIENT GREEK ART

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Attributed to Painter of Berlin 2268, Greek (Attic), *Red-Figure Kylix (Type B)*, ca. 510–500 BCE
terracotta, Private Collection, Virginia [see Cat. no. 29]

(see Cat. no. 63)

RIDERS AND VICTORS: COMPETING ON HORSEBACK IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREEK ART

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Few of the countless monuments that survive from classical antiquity surpass in beauty and fame the cavalcades proceeding in magnificent relief across the Parthenon frieze from the Athenian Acropolis (**Fig. 49** and Mattusch, **Fig. 44**). While these horsemen outnumber other figures on the frieze, they constitute but a small sampling of horsemen in Greek art. Many others appear carved in stone, modeled in terracotta and precious metal, stamped onto coins, and—above all—painted on pottery. As the English classicist T.B.L. Webster noted long ago in a wide-ranging study of Athenian black-figure and red-figure vases, "A very

Fig. 49 Greek, Attic, *Marble relief (Block IX) from the West frieze of the Parthenon*, 442–438 BCE, Acropolis Museum, Athens (Acr. 20.023)

Fig. 50 Sophilos, Pharsala, Palaiokastro, *Fragment of a black-figure dinos. Funeral games in honour of Patroklos*, 580–570 BCE, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (A 15499)

large number of vases have pictures of horsemen."[1] These, he suggested, could be connected primarily with war, games, and cavalry training.[2] Similarly, as Mark Griffith wrote in his impressive recent survey of horses in ancient Greek literature, "Horses were for war, for hunting, for play, for show. Rarely were they used to do *work*."[3] For beasts of burden, the Greeks turned to oxen and other equids like donkeys and mules, while *hippotrophia*, the competitive breeding and training of horses, was "perhaps the most precious and distinctive marker of wealth, brilliance, and style" in the Greek world.[4] In the pages that follow, we shall examine riders and victors who best exemplify aspects of *hippotrophia* in the visual arts, particularly on Greek painted pottery.

HORSERACING FROM MYTH TO HISTORY

We begin in the heroic age of the mythical past, to which the Greeks traced the origin of

many historic competitions. The great warrior Achilles famously organized a chariot race as part of the funeral games for his fallen comrade Patroklos during the Trojan War, as Homer describes at length in the *Iliad* (23.287–650). Remarkably, this same competition is clearly depicted on a well-known black-figure vase fragment signed by the vase-painter Sophilos in the early sixth century BCE (**Fig. 50**).[5] Inscriptions identify both the event (the games of Patroklos) and the organizer (Achilles), who must be one of more than a dozen bearded spectators watching and gesturing excitedly from stepped bleachers. Four harnessed horses race toward the spectators, their chariot and driver lost beyond the break. Also lost are the other competitors and their horses, as well as any indication whether Sophilos depicted the prizes that feature so prominently in the Homeric account and in other depictions of the race. On a neck section of the so-called François Vase in Florence, for example, the same event appears in less fragmentary form, with five charioteers racing their teams to the right, the two best-preserved galloping over a cauldron and a tripod that must be prizes.[6] Framing the horses and horsemen are a turning-post (at left) and Achilles (at right, labeled *A[CH]ILEUS*), standing with a staff and a large tripod—reminders that the rules and prizes associated with competition in historic times were (perhaps anachronistically) envisioned for heroes as well. Crucially, the painters of these two vases included numerous inscriptions to help the viewer recognize this particular race from the mythological tradition. The small differences in detail between the visual and literary accounts (e.g., how many chariots competed and how many horses pulled each chariot, the names of the victor and other competitors) are of little consequence, and the ancient viewer must have been accepting of numerous versions.[7]

Long before Achilles and the Trojan War, according to myth, earlier generations of heroes held athletic and equestrian competitions. Pausanias (5.8.4), a travel writer of the second century CE, writes of great heroes organizing Olympic Games, with Herakles himself prevailing in wrestling and the *pankration*. In the chariot race, his nephew Iolaos drove Herakles' mares to victory, and "an Arkadian called Iasios won the horse race on a riding horse." Tradition tells us that these heroic games eventually ceased, only to be re-founded in historical times with the institution of a single footrace by King Iphitos of Elis (a city-state near Olympia) in 776 BCE. In the ensuing years, Pausanias continues (5.8.5), "whenever they remembered something else they added it" to the program, including the *tethrippon* (four-horse chariot race) in 680 BCE and the *keles* (horse race) in 648 BCE.[8] For the ancients, in other words, there was mythical precedent not only for athletic contests and chariot races, but also for mounted horse races, even if heroes and Olympian gods rarely appear on horseback themselves.[9]

Representations of the games of Patroklos are remarkable for their correspondence to Homer, but many other horsemen appear in Greek art without inscriptions or other details to connect them with specific mythological episodes. Such imagery can still offer valuable information about ancient horse racing, particularly in the Archaic period. For instance, on a fragmentary vase also produced in the workshop of Sophilos (but now in Heraklion, Crete), a horse race occupies a frieze running all the way around the shoulder. A draped man holding a staff stands just beyond two tripods and a small Ionic column, which likely indicates the finish line. As Seán Hemingway has suggested, he may be a race official or judge "to initiate the competition and to ensure that there were no false starts."[10] Between start and finish, the race

takes place, with young jockeys, all nude, racing their horses toward the leader, who turns back to look at his opponents as his horse crosses the line. A similar line of riders races across one side of a Siana cup in this exhibition, but facing left rather than right (Cat. no. 60). Without an official or any distinct start, finish, or turn-posts, we cannot be certain whether a formal race is shown, but clearly the painter has suggested an element of competition between the four nude jockeys, each grasping his reins and urging his mount forward.

Horsemen certainly appear in Greek art of earlier periods, as we see in numerous examples in this exhibition: riding around the exterior of a Corinthian black-figure aryballos (Cat. no. 11); in relief on a fragment from a large Cretan amphora or pithos (Cat. no. 9); and more schematically as a terracotta figurine (Cat. no. 7). But the two black-figure examples just described constitute part of a notable increase in agonistic iconography on Athenian fine-ware of the second quarter of the sixth century BCE, when formal competitions in Athens and across the Greek world became increasingly visible.[11] Indeed, in the early sixth century BCE, three more Panhellenic Games were founded, joining the Olympics as athletic and equestrian competitions open to Greeks from all over the known world. These festivals, established at Delphi in 582 BCE, Isthmia in 580 BCE, and Nemea in 573 BCE, were collectively known as the "crown games" because the official prizes to the victors were leafy crowns.[12]

A fifth major festival important for our study is the Greater Panathenaia, which was reorganized and expanded from a smaller, local festival in 566/5 BCE. Held every four years at Athens and open to all Greeks, the Panathenaia was *chrematitic*, meaning it granted prizes of cash value: namely, black-figure vases full of Athenian olive oil now known conventionally as Panathenaic prize amphorae (e.g., Cat. nos. 62 & 67).[13] Large and beautiful in form, with a rounded body tapering to a small foot below and neck above, these two-handled vessels were produced for approximately 250 years, from the middle of the sixth to the late fourth century BCE. Painted on one side with an image of the warrior goddess Athena between two columns and inscribed *TON ATHENETHEN ATHLON* ("A prize from the games at Athens"), such vases were awarded in varying numbers for each event and age group, as determined by the commissioners of the games (known as *athlothetai*). A representation of the athletic or equestrian event for which the vase served as a prize appears on the other side, providing quite valuable material evidence for many details of ancient competitions.[14]

Formal equestrian races took place in hippodromes, or horse-racing tracks. Although archaeologists have long held ideas about where the hippodromes were located at many game sites, until recently no hippodrome had been systematically excavated. In 2006, however, archaeologists David Romano and Mary Voyatzis began uncovering portions of the hippodrome at the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion. Situated not far from Olympia, this Peloponnesian sanctuary hosted its own important regional festival, with athletic and equestrian competitions. In a design thus far unique in the ancient world, the Mt. Lykaion hippodrome contains the athletic stadium. Measuring 260 by 102 meters at its greatest extents, the hippodrome is irregularly shaped, and the length of the *dromos* used for foot races appears to be shorter than usual. Two stone turning-posts have been found, but no central barrier wall, suggesting that head-on collisions could occur between horses or chariots.[15] Continuing excavations at Mt. Lykaion and elsewhere may fill additional gaps in our knowledge of ancient horse racing, from the number of competitors (a lot, to judge from the elaborate starting mechanism

described by Pausanias [6.20.10–19] at Olympia); to the number of laps run in the various races (probably two for the keles (horse race); eight for the synoris, or two-horse chariot; and twelve for the tethrippon, or four-horse chariot); and the varying lengths of hippodromes from site to site.[16]

CAULDRONS AND TRIPODS AND HORSES: SYMBOLS OF EQUESTRIAN VICTORY

If the hippodrome was a proving ground for horses and their owners, the glory they won would live on in the prizes they earned. In the *Iliad* (23.259–261), Achilles speaks of lavish prizes, including "cauldrons and tripods and horses and mules and high-headed powerful cattle and beautifully girdled women and gray iron." The tripods and cauldrons we saw depicted on the François Vase parallel the large numbers of actual tripods that have been found at sanctuaries across the Greek world, where they served as symbols of victory and valuable gifts for both men and gods.[17] The earliest tripods at Olympia date to the eighth century BCE, prior to the reported inclusion of equestrian games in the official program at Olympia; nonetheless, horses and horsemen occasionally occupy the figured panels of tripod legs or stand atop the great ring handles above the bowl, whether as specific reflections of victory in equestrian events or as more general symbols of wealth and elite status.[18] On a Late Geometric amphora (Cat. no. 5, ca. 720–700 BCE), a horse takes pride of place on either side of the neck, together with a tripod and bird—the only figural decoration amid dense ornamental bands covering the rest of the vase. Although no horseman is shown, the tripod in combination with a horse certainly hints at equestrian victory.[19] Indeed, it is only toward the end of the Geometric period that horsemen first appear in Geometric art, at times together with chariots, tripods, and possible representations of competitions and myth.[20]

The theme of equestrian victory gains far more prominence on vases in the sixth century BCE. This is made explicit on the earliest surviving official Panathenaic prize vase, the so-called Burgon amphora (named for its discoverer, Thomas Burgon). Typically dated to the 560s BCE, it may belong to the first of the reorganized Panathenaic Games.[21] On the obverse stands Athena, together with a slightly longer version of the official prize inscription *TON ATHENETHEN ATHLON E[I]MI* ("I am from the games at Athens"), but without the framing columns that later became canonical. On the reverse, a man seated in a cart races his team of two equids, identified by some scholars as mules, by others as horses.[22] In either case, the event represented is rare: if mules, it is the *apene*, or mule-cart race, contested at Athens in the sixth century BCE and at Olympia between the years 500 and 444 BCE; if horses, this is a variant of the *synoris*, the two-horse chariot race, introduced at Olympia in 408 BCE.[23]

If the early Panathenaic Games included this cart race as well as the tethrippon, which appears on another early prize vase, one might expect to see the keles as well. Curiously, however, this event does not appear on prize vases until later in the century.[24] But an Athenian (Kallias, son of Phainippos) prevailed in the keles at Olympia in 564 BCE, and we have seen depictions of horse races on other pottery produced in Athens in this period, further suggesting that the event could have been contested in the earliest Greater Panathenaia.[25] Perhaps, given the very small proportion of ancient vases still extant, the absence of horse racing and other events is

Fig. 51 Greek, Attic, *Black-Figure Pseudo-Panathenaic Amphora*, ca. 540 BCE, terracotta, 13 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 8 $^{1}/_{2}$ x 27 $^{1}/_{2}$, Tampa Museum of Art, Joseph Veach Noble Collection (1986.024)

simply an accident of survival.[26] Alternatively, Jenifer Neils has suggested, horse racing may not appear on surviving prize vases because "the prize in the horse race in the first few decades of the Panathenaia may have been a tripod, rather than amphoras filled with olive oil."[27] Others, such as sport historian Donald Kyle, have suggested that the horse-head amphorae (e.g., Cat. no. 1) produced in Athens primarily during the first half of the sixth century may have served as prizes for horse races before the 566 BCE reorganization of the Panathenaia.[28]

Around 540 BCE, the painter of a vase now in Tampa focused attention on just two horses and riders, at full gallop in the middle of a race (**Fig. 51**). Although this vase features Athena Promachos on the obverse, she stands alone, without the flanking columns or prize inscription to be found on an official prize vase. Thus, this vase belongs to the class of objects known as pseudo-Panathenaic vases, smaller amphorae probably produced as souvenirs or mementos for spectators and participants in the games.[29] Although we do not have official records from this early period of the games, we know that by the fourth century BCE victors in the Panathenaic horse race took home many amphorae full of valuable Athenian olive oil.[30] Presumably they would sell most (or all) of these winnings, perhaps purchasing a smaller amphora like this as a memento. As with a number of other early pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, the shield device of this Tampa Athena is a tripod, the victory prize par excellence in both myth and history.[31]

While the theme of victory is clearly communicated on prize vases and pseudo-prize vases, the victor himself and even the event contested occasionally remain obscure, as on a much-published amphora in Paris made around 550 BCE.[32] As in the Tampa amphora, the goddess bears a shield with tripod device, but here she is flanked by columns, each topped with a large dinos, another symbol of victory. Before the columns stand two small youths, nude but for their wreathed heads—one more sign of victory—and each holding long branches, apparently as offerings for the goddess. Most unusual is the action-packed scene on the reverse, where a small group of spectators watches as a helmeted acrobat or warrior leaps up to the hindquarters of two horses, one with a nude rider. A nude youth with pick-axe loosens the

ground beneath the horses, while another climbs a post. Before the spectators is a pipe-player, and an inscription indicates a comment issued from one of the spectators: *KADOSTOIKYBISTETOI*, *kados tôi kubistetôi,* or "A vase for the jumper."[33] Scholars have suggested numerous identifications for the event shown here, with no consensus reached; perhaps most likely is the *euandria,* a sort of male beauty contest held in the tribal events of the Panathenaia.[34] The jumper also calls to mind a small jug of slightly later date now in Boston with a nude rider standing on his horse's back, or a number of Classical and early Hellenistic Greek coins (e.g., Cat. no. 64) with a rider mounting or dismounting a moving horse. More limited in detail and number of figures than the Paris vase, these likely relate to the *kalpe*, an event in which riders jumped off their mares and ran alongside them in the final lap.[35]

If the unusual imagery and reference to a "jumper" on the Paris vase raise questions about the victor and event, an equally remarkable amphora in London (Mattusch, **Fig. 41**) is more straightforward.[36] Rather than showing the competition itself, the vase illustrates its glorious result, with a youth riding his majestic horse slowly to the right. Behind him walks a nude youth, holding a victor's wreath in his extended left hand and using his right to help balance a large tripod on his head. In front stands a herald or race official, fully draped and announcing, "The horse of Dysniketos wins" (*Dy[s]niketou hippos nikai*). On the other side of this vase, Athena Promachos appears with neither the columns nor the prize inscription of an official Panathenaic vase, but flanked by Hermes, the messenger god, and an older man. Could this man be Dysniketos himself, the winner named in the inscription on the other side? Whether shown or not, Dysniketos is—to my knowledge—the only victor in a horse race whose name survives through a vase inscription.[37]

From numerous inscriptions and literary sources, we know that the victor in a horse race was not usually the jockey who rode the horse to victory but rather the horse's owner, who did not even need to be present at the race. Occasionally the owner served as jockey, but more typically the jockeys were young boys, as indicated by their small size in illustrations (e.g., on Cat. no. 62) as well as by literary accounts (some of which specify that jockeys could be slaves or foreigners).[38] On one remarkable occasion, if we are to believe a story told by Pausanias, the winning horse did not even cross the finish line together with her jockey—and the owner was still considered the victor:

> *The mare of Pheidolas of Corinth is called Breeze according to the Corinthian records, and just as the race started she threw her rider; yet she ran just as perfectly, turned round the post, and when she heard the trumpet quickened her pace and got to the umpires first; she realized she had won and stood still. The Eleans proclaimed Pheidolas the winner and allowed him to dedicate this mare.*
> (Paus. 6.13.9, trans. Levi 1971 [1979], 322)

This story has been variously interpreted, as (1) an indication of the fine training of the horse, who knew just what to do even without her jockey; (2) "a rather absurd story" wrongly presupposing that the owner of a riderless horse could be awarded victory; or (3) a useful ancient testimonial to certain details of the keles*,* informing us that mares as well as stallions could compete, that the weight of the jockey was important but not regulated, and that the race involved at least one trumpet blast and turning of a post.[39] In addition, Pausanias' story underscores the message communicated by the Dysniketos vase and others—namely

Fig. 52 Rampin Master, Greek, *Rampin Horseman*, 550 BCE, marble, Musée du Louvre (Ma 3104)

that the jockey is less important than the horse, and the horse less important than the owner. Thus, although we do know the names of some famous racehorses from antiquity, we know far more names of horse owners, who appear in some Olympic victor lists in the same grammatical form—the genitive (possessive) case—as on the Dysniketos vase.[40] Similarly, much like Athenian citizens who had won athletic crowns at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, or Nemea, so could victors in the keles and tethrippon—the owners, but not the jockeys or trainers—enjoy a meal at public expense each day in Athens for the rest of their lives.[41] Moreover, according to one reading of a fragmentary inscription, so could their horses![42]

Often cited together with the Dysniketos vase is a fragmentary prize vase in Nafplio, which shows not only the victorious horse, ridden by a small, nude boy, but also a standing youth and two bearded men, all with symbols of victory. The jockey and two of the men hold palm fronds, while the man closest to the horse ties a ribbon to the reins.[43] On the more fragmentary obverse of this amphora, Athena stands between columns, with an inscription making clear that this is an official prize vase, although no specific event is named. Thus, while it is possible that the victory was in any of the equestrian events, the single horse with mounted jockey certainly suggests the keles. As archaeologist Panos Valavanis has noted, far more attention is given to the horse than to the jockey, and the man stroking the horse's forehead may well be the owner (with the trainer beside the horse, and the owner's son behind).[44] Similarly, on either side of a Droop cup by the Wraith Painter in this exhibition (Cat. no. 61), a nude jockey seated on a white horse captures the attention of six youths—three flanking him on either side. Painted in small scale and in the "wraith-like" fashion that gives the painter his (or her) modern name, the figures lack the details that might help to identify them and their relationship to the horse and rider, but it is possible that we see here nude athletes and clothed spectators, perhaps even horse owners and/or trainers.[45] Most remarkable is the red loop beneath the rider—probably a saddle cloth, or perhaps a garland or sash of the sort being tied onto the victorious steed in Nafplio.

Garlands also go to jockeys, as in the hair of the Nafplio rider. So too may the rider of Dysniketos' horse in London soon receive a garland from the tripod-bearing youth behind him. Although such wreaths were officially awarded in the crown games to the owners of victorious horses (as mentioned above), it is not surprising that the crown itself, as a symbol of victory, should be connected with horses and riders as well. From the

Athenian Acropolis, the so-called Rampin Rider, a fragmentary marble equestrian statue dated ca. 560–550 BCE (**Fig. 52**), wears a leafy crown that some scholars have sought to connect to victory wreaths awarded in Nemea, Isthmia, or Delphi.[46] Since there is little evidence for other large-scale stone equestrian sculptures in this period—either at Athens or at the sculpture-rich sanctuaries of Delphi or Olympia—questions remain about whether this sculpture (and the few others like it) can be securely related to equestrian victory.[47]

Clear connections between horses, crowns, and victory appear elsewhere in Greek art as well as literature. In London, for example, a Classical marble votive relief shows a torch-bearing woman (perhaps Demeter) crowning a horse, and numerous Athenian red-figure vases from the mid-fifth century BCE onward show victorious jockeys receiving wreaths, garlands, and other prizes from Nike, goddess of victory.[48] Similarly, the well-known horseman on Classical and Hellenistic coins from the Spartan colony of Taras in South Italy sometimes appears as a nude rider crowning his horse (see Cat. no. 34).[49] According to Pausanias (6.13.10), the sons of Pheidolas—owner of the runaway mare described above—were also keles victors, and they dedicated a representation of their horse at Olympia with this inscription:

> *... Fast-running Wolf [Lykos] has crowned Pheidolas's sons*
>
> *With one wreath at the Isthmus, two in this place*
>
> (trans. Levi 1971 [1979], 322).[50]

Rather than a deity or official crowning the horse and/or its owner or jockey, in other words, the horse could also be thought to crown its owner. Thus, Hieron, a tyrant of Syracuse in the fifth century BCE, owned a horse named Pherenikos, or "Victory Bringer." The name proved apt, for Pherenikos won multiple crowns for his owner at Olympia and Delphi, famously celebrated in odes by Pindar and Bacchylides.[51]

More straightforward representations of the horse race itself appear on numerous official Panathenaic prize vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE, illustrating certain details also mentioned in our literary sources. On a well-known vase in New York, attributed to the Leagros Group (ca. 510 BCE), for example, three horses and jockeys race to the right, the last of them just galloping past the turning-post of the course (**Fig. 53**).[52] Like the horse of Pheidolas, the horses have just made the turn. The head of the leading jockey is hidden behind his pursuer, while the second jockey's head is lost, so we cannot know whether

Fig. 53 Attributed to the Leagros Group, Greek, Attic, *Panathenaic Prize Amphora*, ca. 510 BCE, terracotta, 25 (63.5 cm), Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.80)

Fig. 54 Greek, Attic, *Red-Figure Krater*, 450–400 BCE, Side A: Nike, victor in horse race, Side B: draped youths; The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (GR.8.1943)

he looked ahead or behind. We see this backward glance on two prize vases of the early fifth century BCE by the Eucharides Painter (including Cat. no. 62).[53] This depiction communicates well the speed and drama of the race. The lead jockey focuses his attention ahead, rising slightly over his mount and urging him on with his riding crop, while his pursuer raises his crop and looks back, his hair blowing in the wind. A prize vase in Leiden also includes the turning post, together with a new detail—a draped official reaching out with a long stick, apparently punishing a foul by one of the riders.[54] The official dwarfs the riders, whose small size would have been an advantage in antiquity

as today. The Berlin Painter has also left us a keles prize vase, showing four horses racing to the right—the third and fourth jockeys looking at one another, each with riding crop raised, the second looking ahead at the leader, whose head and upper body are partially hidden by the nearer horse.[55] On all of these vases, the jockeys are nude, unlike the earlier pseudo-Panathenaics discussed above.

From the second half of the fifth century BCE, no prize vases showing the keles survive, although numerous Athenian red-figure vases suggest that interest in horse racing continued to flourish in Athens. A bell krater in Cambridge (England), for example, illustrates the continuing symbolism of the Panathenaic amphora in this period, showing a nude youth seated on a horse as Nike, goddess of victory, alights before him (**Fig. 54**).[56] In her hands is a large vase of Panathenaic shape, while behind them stands another such vase, atop a column that may mark the finish line. Was this mixing bowl with images of prize vases used to celebrate an equestrian victory in Athens, the official prize vases awarded to the victor now lost? A similar allusion to victory comes on a column krater in this exhibition, as two nude jockeys maneuver their horses around the turning-post (Detail on p. 64, Cat. no. 63). Each jockey holds a riding crop in one hand and the reins in the other (hidden behind the horse's neck), and one horse looks at a dinos fallen beneath the other, perhaps just toppled off the turning-post. As with Homer and the François Vase so many generations earlier, the painter of this vase has drawn a connection between the horse race and its valuable prizes.

EQUESTRIAN VICTORS FROM HIPPODROME TO BATTLEFIELD

Our focus thus far has been on competition in the hippodrome, and equestrian victory primarily as a marker of wealth and status. But from the fifth century BCE onward, the Greek cavalry became increasingly important to military and political tactics, and equestrian skill could bring rewards beyond the hippodrome. Indeed, the military successes of Philip II and Alexander the Great of Macedon were closely tied to their cavalry forces, which appear on many Macedonian coins (e.g., Cat. no. 46). The Athenian cavalry, too, became increasingly powerful and important in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[57] Scholars have debated whether the competitive horse race had its origins in military training, but there can be no debate about overlap between equestrian competition and cavalry training in these later periods.[58] In Athens, the Panathenaia came to include not only equestrian events for wealthy horse owners from across the Greek world,

Fig. 55 Attributed to the Kuban Group, Greek, Attic, *Panathenaic Prize Amphora*, ca. 425–400 BCE, terracotta, 22 (56 cm), British Museum (1903.0217.1)

but also a specific class of events for warhorses, probably restricted to Athenians and meant to encourage the development of a strong cavalry.[59]

Thus, while prize vases with the keles resume in the fourth century BCE, most are fragmentary, and one in Munich with three young riders jockeying their horses to the left has puzzled scholars, particularly because only one of the three jockeys is clothed.[60] For John Beazley, the vase showed horsemen perhaps engaged in *quintain*, a sort of cavalry training in which riders throw javelins at a target, while Martin Bentz classes it with other horse races.[61] Clearer representations of the javelin throw from horseback (*aph' hippou akontizein* in Greek) survive on a number of Athenian vases of the late fifth and early fourth centuries BCE, including two prize vases (**Fig. 55**).[62] Unlike the small, nude youths shown as jockeys on the keles vases, these riders are larger (or their horses smaller), and they wear cloaks as well as *petasoi* (broad-rimmed hats) or plumed helmets. Although they ride vigorously and take deliberate aim at their targets, the competitive intensity seems different than in other horse races. The imagery, in fact, recalls that of fighting cavalrymen, like the two mounted warriors on an oinochoe in the exhibition (Cat. no. 39).[63] As their horses rear up, each takes aim with a large javelin at a fallen archer beneath them, holding the reins and a second javelin in the other hand. The archer, wearing a pointed cap, is likely a foreigner, here shown prostrate and inferior to his Greek counterparts.

In addition to the javelin throw from horseback, the Panathenaia came to include an event known as the *anthippasia,* a sort of mock cavalry battle described in great detail by Xenophon (*Cavalry Commander* 3.11–12). The event involved cavalry from all ten Athenian tribes—two squadrons of five regiments, which would charge and then ride through one another's ranks. Archaeologists have found two victory monuments from this competition in Athens, one of which highlights again the ancient connections between tripods and horses, now in the fourth century BCE. Carved of marble to hold a bronze tripod—perhaps the actual prize for the event—the monument bears in relief on three sides a single horseman approaching a tripod.[64] A similarly noble Athenian cavalryman appears on a red-figure pelike in the exhibition (Cat. no. 58). Wearing a cloak and petasos, he guides his cantering or gently rearing horse to the right, much like the horsemen on the Parthenon frieze (**Fig. 49**). On the other side, a draped young woman holds a torch, perhaps as part of the nighttime festival held before the great Panathenaic procession.[65] Taken together, these remind us of the importance of the horse of ancient Athens—not only for equestrian competition, but for the very culture of the city and its people.

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Endnotes

1. Webster 1972, 179.
2. Webster 1972, 180.
3. See Griffith 2006, 195–205 for an overview of horses in Greek life and thought; quotation from p. 203.
4. Griffith 2006, 200. Unlike their nomadic contemporaries in lands like Thrace and Scythia, most Greeks did not rely on horses for their livelihood.
5. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15499 (*ABV* 39.16, BAPD 305075).
6. François Vase (Florence, National Archaeological Museum, 4209 [*ABV* 76.1, BAPD 300000]).
7. On "Kleitias' predilection for contemporary elements in the frieze," see Kreuzer 2013, 108, with n. 14. See also Beazley 1951, 34–35; Lissarrague 1999, 16. Another discrepancy is in the type of chariot – two horses for Homer, four for Sophilos and Kleitias, probably in keeping with the race that held the most prestige in the Olympic Games and other equestrian competitions of their day. Note that earlier in his poem, Homer, too, alludes to a four-horse chariot race (*Il*. 11.699, [cited by Gardiner 1980, 21]).
8. On the accuracy of 776 BCE and the dates attached to specific additions to the Olympic program, see Christesen 2007, esp. 15–21, 202–215, 491–504.
9. Among the few divinities who do occasionally ride are Poseidon, by some accounts the creator of horses, and Castor and Pollux; see Walker 2016, 312.
10. Heraklion inv. P33020, from Gortyn: Beazley 1971, 18.14bis, BAPD 350098; Bakir 1981, Cat. B2 (Aus dem Umkreis des Sophilos), Abb. 158–160. Hemingway 2004, 118.
11. See, e.g., Neils 2007, 41–42; Hemingway 2004, 117; Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 59 [on Siana Cups and reorganized festivals].
12. See Miller 2004a, 31 (for festival foundation dates), 87–112 (for details on the sanctuaries and athletic facilities). See also Hemingway 2004, 116–117 for introduction of horse racing at these competitions; only at Delphi did the keles feature as an event from the beginning. According to Christesen (2007, 108), "Complete catalogs of victors in the Isthmian and Nemean Games were never compiled." Perhaps as a result, Pausanias does not provide for the Isthmian and Nemean Games the same sort of detailed history of development that he does for the Olympic and Pythian Games (Christesen 2007, 110–111).
13. The bibliography on the Panathenaic Games is vast. For accessible overviews, see Neils 1992a, Kyle 1992, Valavanis 2004, 336–391, and Miller 2004a, 132–145. On the lesser Panathenaia, see Kyle 1993, 36.
14. On Panathenaic prize vases, see Bentz 1998, with additional bibliography.
15. Romano 2014, 184–187; Romano and Voyatzis 2015, esp. 245–258. The length of the *stadion dromos* at Mt. Lykaion must have been less than 138 m (Romano and Voyatzis 2015, 248). By comparison, the tracks at Olympia and Delphi measure more than 192 m and fewer than 178 m, respectively, due to differing foot measures at each site (Miller 2004a, 33).
16. See Bell 1989, 175–176; Hemingway 2004, 119–122, 133; Miller 2004a, 78–81.
17. Eighth-century BCE tripod dedications are particularly abundant at Olympia, presumably from victorious athletes, since, as Nicholas Coldstream (1979, 335) observes, "the enlargement of the form coincides approximately with the traditional foundation-date of the Games." For a brief overview of Greek tripods from the Geometric to the Hellenistic periods, as part of an innovative suggestion that the tripod may underlie in some way the development of the triglyph frieze of the Doric order, see Wilson Jones 2002 (esp. 358, n. 49 for bibliography on bronze tripod-cauldrons).
18. E.g., Olympia Br 5471, B 1665 (Coldstream 1979, Figs. 107, 108a); Oxford G. 391, from Idaean Cave (*Master Bronzes*, Cat. 27).
19. On both neck panels of a similar amphora in Athens (National Museum 18135), a pair of horses face one another above a tripod to which both are tethered – perhaps all as prizes for equestrian victory, as suggested in Tzachou-Alexandri 1989 (Cat. 195).
20. Coldstream 1979, 117–119. For the earliest horseman in Geometric vase-painting (ca. 735 BCE), see the London krater 1899,0219.1, more famous for the depiction of Theseus and Ariadne on the other side. Later in the century, horsemen are more common, both in Attica and elsewhere (see, e.g., the Italo-Geometric standed krater Tampa Museum of Art 1991.026, ca. 710 BCE).
21. The vase is London B 130 (British Museum 1842,0728.834, *ABV* 89.1, BAPD 300828).
22. Beazley (1951, 89) identifies the animals as horses and the race as the synoris, but in a note (p. 119) suggests that the equids might be mules. Kyle (1993, 187 and 1992, 93) notes Beazley's hesitation, but calls them horses. Bentz (1998, 77–78) identifies the Burgon animals as mules (Cat. 6.001) and suggests that only this vase and two by the Kleophrades Painter (cats. 5.022–023 [London B 131, B 132) show the *apene*, while no surviving Panathenaic prize amphoras (PPAs) show the synoris.
23. On these events, see Miller 2004a, 79–80 (with the Burgon amphora in Fig. 156 [*apene*]). Because the event is equestrian rather than athletic, Beazley suggested that the vase could predate 566 (although "[t]he style shows that it cannot be much earlier" (Beazley 1951, 88). For the possibility of Athenian equestrian competitions predating the Panathenaia, see Bell 1989, 178.
24. The "first generation" of official prize vases (dated 566–530 BCE) includes events contested contemporaneously at Olympia, with the surprising exceptions of boxing, pankration, and keles, and surprising inclusion of *hoplitodromos* (Bentz 1998, 123–127 [cats. 6.001–6.048], Neils 2007, 46). The early tethrippon prize vase is attributed to Lydos (Florence, inv. 92779, *ABV* 110.33, Bentz 1998, Cat. 6.008 [ca. 550–540 BCE], BAPD 310179).
25. Hemingway 2004, 117. Neils 2007, 46–47.
26. The percentage of vases that survive is very difficult to quantify. Many scholars have tried, on the basis of a fragmentary inscription from the fourth century BCE (*IG* II^2 2311; see n. 30 below), to estimate the number of prize vases needed for each festival: at least 1500, and perhaps as many as 2100. For a brief summary, see Tiverios 2007 (16, with notes). Neils (1992, 46) gives a survival rate of 0.4%. Thomas Burgon himself, in detailing his discovery of the earliest known prize amphora, in Athens in May 1813, notes with dismay that he had probably destroyed and discarded four additional Panathenaic amphorae nineteen days earlier, "owing partly to the incrusted condition in which they were found, but principally to the erroneous

notion" that such large vases would be unpainted and not worth saving (as quoted from Burgon [by Corbett 1960, 53–54]).

27. Neils 2007, 50. If Neils is correct about this, whether due to longstanding tradition, influence from Delphi, or a shortage of olive oil to fill prize vases in this early period, it seems odd that prize vases were awarded for the most prestigious of the equestrian events, the tethrippon*,* as noted above.
28. Kyle 1993, 23. If this is the case, and we also wish to use it to explain the absence of early keles Panathenaic prize amphorae, should we imagine continued production of horse-head amphorae well beyond 566 BCE, specifically for victors in the keles? For a brief overview of the horse-head amphora type, see Neils 1995. Birchall (1972) includes a catalogue of horse-head amphorae, but does not discuss their subject matter or usage.
29. On pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, see Neils 1992b, 42–46, and Bentz 2001, on the Tampa vase 1986.024 (BAPD 16557, unattributed), see Neils 1992a, 172 (cat. 41).
30. *IG* II^2 2311, a fragmentary marble block in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, preserves a list of prizes awarded for victors in multiple categories and competitions. Unfortunately, many of the equestrian competitions, including the horse race, are missing. A winner of the two-horse chariot race, however, would take home 140 amphorae, more than any athletic victor (Miller 2004a, 135). See Neils 1992a, 15–16, fig. 1, for image and translation; see Miller 2004b, 81–85, for translation with estimated dollar equivalents. Neils dates the inscription ca. 370 BCE, Miller 400–350 BCE.
31. Among numerous PPAs and pseudo-PPAs with Athena bearing a shield with tripod device, most pertinent here is the fragmentary Getty amphora 86.AE.71 (BAPD 8766, Swing Painter, ca. 540–530 BCE), with two wrestlers on the reverse grappling over a large dinos, surely a prize for the victor. On the London neck-amphora B145 (Group E, BAPD 310348), Athena Promachos bears a shield with tripod device on the obverse, and battles Giants on the reverse, together with Ares. Note also the earlier neck-amphora in Bonn, with horsemen flanking a tripod (BAPD 300796, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 589; *ABV* 86.7).
32. Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 243 (BAPD 1047, unattributed).
33. The inscription is written retrograde. Others read *kalôs* rather than *kadôs,* or "Bravo/good for the jumper." See BAPD/CAVI 6092.
34. See Lissarrague 1999, 76–77; Reed 1998, 34–35; Kyle 1992, 95–96; Neils 1992a, cats. 46–47.
35. I thank Peter Schertz for bringing the Boston olpe (01.8071), decorated in Six's technique, to my attention. For the *kalpe*, see Pausanias 5.9.2, and Brauer 1974–75. Although contested at Olympia only from 496 to 444 BCE, the *kalpe* must have continued elsewhere in later years, as evidenced by the coins.
36. London B144 (1849,1122.1), BAPD 301539, *ABV* 307.59 (Swing Painter), Bohr 1982, 110 (Circle of the Princeton Painter; so, too, the British Museum website, with date ca. 540–520 BCE). See also Neils 2007, 46; Tzachou-Alexandri 1989, Cat. 198; Valavanis 2007, 298ff., with Fig. 5 (and bibliography esp. in n. 15).
37. Kyle (1993, Appendix B) lists the names of 78 known Athenian victors, including several who won horse races at the Panathenaia and other festivals, but most are known from inscriptions or literature. Kefalidou (1996, 121) lists Dysniketos together with six other victors known from vase inscriptions. The British Museum website does not include an image of Side A, but follows its *CVA* in suggesting that the bearded man could be Zeus.
38. On jockeys and owners, see Golden 2008, esp. 6–12, Nicholson 2005, esp. 2–6, 95–116. For two rare owners who rode and/or drove their own horses to victory (Herodotus of Thebes, Damonon of Sparta), see Nicholson 2005, 4.
39. (1) Miller 2004a, 79; (2) Nicholson 2005, 95; (3) Hemingway 2004, 120–121. See also Bell 1989, 168; Golden 2008, 12. Bell and Willekes (2014, 482) state that a riderless horse that crossed the finish line "was not eliminated, but dropped down a place because it did not finish with a full load." This would be contrary to what Pausanias tells us (in 6.13.9, not 6.12.9 as cited by Bell and Willekes).
40. Christesen (2007, 521–522) notes that the nominative case is used for gymnic victors, but genitive for hippic victors, probably "because this reflects the actual victory announcement" made by the herald.
41. Miller 2004b, 180 (no. 221 [*IG* I^3 131]).
42. Thompson 1979.
43. Nafplio, Archaeological Museum 1 (BAPD 302259, *ABV* 260.27, 257 [Mastos Painter, Lysippides Painter]);
44. Tzachou-Alexandri 1989, Cat. 197 [entry by Valavanis].
45. On the Wraith Painter, see *ABV* 199–201, with reference to Haspels, *ABL* 30–31, 196.
46. The sculpture is split between Paris, where the head belongs to the Louvre Museum (3104), and Athens, where the fragmentary bodies of youth and horse belong to the Acropolis Museum (590). See Eaverly 1995, 73–78 (Cat. 1). Eaverly (1995, 52) earlier suggests that the crown could be from the Isthmian or Pythian games, but since Miller (2004a, 103) explains that Isthmia did not switch from pine to wild celery wreaths until the fifth century BCE, Nemea's wild celery or Delphi's laurel seem more likely (as Eaverly 1995, 78, citing Payne 8).
47. Eaverly 1995, 50–53, 78. Other possible identifications include one of the Dioskouroi, or Hippias or Hipparchos.
48. The relief is in the British Museum (inv. 1839,0806.3, from Thessaly). Kefalidou (1996, 226–229) lists these red-figure vases: Nolan amphora, Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 364 (Oionokles Painter, *ARV*^{2} 646.9, BAPD 207521); bell krater Madrid 33.439 (Polygnotan Group, *ARV*^{2} 1054.56bis, BAPD 213687); column krater Milan, Museo Civico A.09.1527 (3643/6; BAPD 13118); bell krater Cambridge GR.8.1943 (Painter of Munich 2335, *ARV*^{2} 1164.47, BAPD 215396); bell krater Varna II.1449 (Painter of Ferrara T463, *ARV*^{2} 1447.4bis, 1694, BAPD 275567).
49. Other Tarantine horsemen appear to be competing in the *kalpe* (see above, and Brauer 1974–75).
50. Pausanias disputes the truth of the inscription, alleging that the sons of Pheidolas won just once at Olympia, but Bell (1989, 169) finds it "difficult to believe that such a mistake could have been made," following Moretti's simple solution that one of the victories was in fact that of Pheidolas himself. Regardless, the idea of a racehorse winning a crown remains.
51. See Bell 1989, 174–175; Pindar*, Olympian* 1*, Pythian* 3; Bacchylides *Odes* 4, 5.
52. New York 07.286.80, Leagros Group (ca. 510 BCE; *ABV* 369.114, BAPD 302109, Bentz 1998, 6.104).

53. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 919.5.148 (*ABV* 395.2, *ARV²* 157.69, BAPD 302965, Bentz 1998, 5.048); Met 56.171.3 (*ARV²* 232 middle, BAPD 302966, Bentz 1998, 5.047). A third by the Eucharides Painter is very similar, but both jockeys look ahead (London B133 [1836,0224.193]; *ABV* 395.1, BAPD 302964, Bentz 1998, 5.046), while a fourth in Munich is too fragmentary to say (Munich 8746, *ABV* 397, *ARV²* 232 middle, BAPD 303005).
54. Leiden, Rijksmuseum PC7; (Near Painter of Berlin 1833, *ABV* 407.1, BAPD 303077, Bentz 1998, 5.069). On such officials, whose roles and titles (*hellanodikai, agonothetai,* and *athlothetes*) differed across festivals and time periods, see Miller 2004b, 75–76. Could one of the men shown on the London and Nauplion vases discussed above include such an official?
55. Warsaw, National Museum 142346 (BAPD 303086, *ABV* 408.2, Bentz 1998, 5.073).
56. Cambridge GR.8.1943 (Painter of Munich 2335, *ARV²* 1164.47, BAPD 215396).
57. On the Athenian cavalry, see Bugh 1988, Spence 1993, and Worley 1994.
58. Bell 1989 (167) argues for this connection from early times, while Hemingway (2004, 184, n.86) disagrees.
59. Bell 1989, 178–180 (with additional information about other local festivals with strong equestrian programs); Kyle 1992, 93–94.
60. Munich, Antikensammlungen 7767, Hobble Group, ca. 336/5 BCE (Archonship of Pythodelos), BAPD 303167, *ABV* 417.2
61. Beazley 1943, 461.2. Bentz 1998, 75, 216 (Cat. 4.088). See also Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 115–116 (P10).
62. London 1903,2017.1 (Kuban Group: *ABV* 411.1, BAPD 303119; Bentz 1998, 5.229). Berlin 3980 (BAPD 16434; Bentz 1998, 4.001). For discussion of quintain, and other vases, including a remarkable red-figure chous showing quintain as well as a lidded Panathenaic amphora and a tripod (Munich, *ARV²* 1419.2) see Sparkes 1977.
63. Tampa 1986.041; Russell 1994, 74–75 (Cat. 43).
64. For the *anthippasia,* see Camp 1998, 28–30, and Reed 1998, 56–59. The monument with horsemen and tripods is Athens, National Museum no. 1733; Camp 1998, fig. 43. The other monument (Athens, Agora 17167) shows serried ranks of horsemen and fragments of a lion (for the victorious tribe, Leontis [Camp 1998, figs. 41–42]).
65. Tampa 1986.064 (ARV² 1006.2, BAPD 214096); Neils (1992a, 180 [cat. 51]; 2001, 204-5) notes a similarity to fragmentary riders no. 48 and 50 on the south side (slabs XIX-XX). Also close, but in reverse direction, is rider 17 on the west side (here Fig. 49).