



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file - Votre référence

Our file - Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

THE HORSE
ON ATTIC POTTERY
FROM THE NINTH TO THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Under the Direction of
Professor Martin Kilmer

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Arts
Department of Classical Studies
March 1993

Joy Barrie
430843



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-89676-0

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....p	i-iii
CHAPTER ONE - BEGINNINGS.....p.	1-10
CHAPTER TWO - EQUIPMENT.....p.	11-33
CHAPTER THREE - RIDERS.....p.	34-47
CHAPTER FOUR - OCCASIONS.....p.	48-73
CHAPTER FIVE - HORSES.....p.	74-94
CHAPTER SIX - ICONOGRAPHY.....p.	95-113
CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSIONS.....p.	114-137
NOTES.....p.	138-181
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....p.	182
GLOSSARY.....p.	194
FIGURES.....p.	198
PLATES.....p.	200

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I must thank Professor Martin Kilmer for all his help and advice from the very beginning of this project. Thanks too are due to Cathy Leddy, of Snohomish WA, who provided me with photographs of and information about her own Akhal Teke horses, as well as sending me the unpublished manuscript by Eberhard K Sprandel which gave me the clues to the early history of this beautiful animal. My gratitude and thanks also go to Sue Waldock, Secretary-Founder of the British Akhal Teke Society, for her prompt replies to my inquiries. Finally, I would like to thank Franco di Angelo for his help with Italian correspondence.

Joy Barrie

Ottawa

27 March 1993.

INTRODUCTION

The only work known to me which deals exclusively with the subject of horses on Greek vases is Mary B. Moore's doctoral thesis, Horses on Black-figured Vases of the Archaic Period, Circa 620-480 B.C. This much-quoted work is still unpublished, but is available through the services of University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Some of the essential ideas from it also appear in her article entitled 'Horses of Exekias' in volume 72 of the American Journal of Archaeology, 1978. Moore provides detailed discussion of anatomical parts, harness and scenes including horses, together with a summary of trends, lists of horse names appearing on the vases and some tables which should enable art historians to date black figure work of the period more easily. As far as I am aware, nothing has been published on the topic of horses on red figure vases.

Commentators on Greek pottery mention horses only rarely. Often the word 'horse' does not even appear in the indexes of their books. Even the great Beazley is of little help here. Once, on page 7 of Greek Vases, he gives a very rudimentary classification of the three types of horses he sees on black figure ware, whilst

in The Development of Attic Black-figure he mentions the bit-burr and comments briefly on harnessing scenes and horse-head amphoras; and that is all.

Art historians are of little help. Even Sydney Markham, the author of a book called The Horse in Greek Art, includes remarks on only some half-dozen vases, since pottery, he observes, is 'a minor art'.

The classic modern works on horses and horse management of the ancient world are, of course, J.K. Anderson's Ancient Greek Horsemanship, published in 1961, and J.P. Vigneron's Le cheval dans l'antiquité greco-romain from 1968. Both contain much valuable information and offer a wide view of the subject. Their illustrations are useful, though similar, and some are taken from both black and red figure vases.

Tribute must be paid to an earlier work which includes much information on the ancient horse - W. Ridgeway's The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred. While many of Professor Ridgeway's ideas may now seem eccentric and modern discoveries in the field of genetics have disproved some of his theories, this is a fascinating book with numerous stories from ancient sources. However, Professor Ridgeway too disregards ancient pottery as a source of information.

Several writers have published articles and books on ancient chariots, carts and harness. The definitive work in this field, however, is Etudes expérimentales sur l'attelage, translated into English in 1983 by Mary Littauer in an edition available from the publishers, J.A. Allen, 1 Lower Grosvenor Place, London SW1WOEL. Spruytte's practical experiments give all his observations great authority and it is a book which deserves to be better known.

Last, but by no means least, Morris H. Morgan's Notes to his translation of Xenophon's The Art of Horsemanship are to be extolled as clear, helpful, original and my personal favourite. Not only does he provide many useful insights into Xenophon's text, ^{but} most of the drawings from his chapter headings are taken from red figure vases. This volume can be obtained from J.A. Allen, whose address appears above.

CHAPTER ONE

BEGINNINGS

...Onchestos, Poseidon's bright grove
where the new-broken colt distressed with drawing
the trim chariot, gets spirit again and the skilled
driver springs from his car and goes on his way.
Then the horses for a while rattle the empty chariot...
in the woody grove, men look after the horses but tilt
the chariot and leave it there... it falls lot to the god,
Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo 229 - 38¹

This study focuses on the life of the horse in ancient Greece as it is portrayed on the painted pottery of the times and as it is described, often inadvertently, by a variety of ancient authors. It is hoped that something may be discovered about the types and breeds of animals used and where they came from, the harness and equipment in use and how it changed over the centuries, the occasions which a horse might be expected to attend, and something about the way he was treated and regarded by his owners.

The first question that may well be asked is: why only Attic pottery? Although thriving workshops existed elsewhere on the

Greek mainland, Attic pottery has been studied, photographed and published more extensively than any other, and so it is easy to obtain good photographs of horses, even when they are not the main topic of discussion. The earliest horses appear on Mycenaean ware. Argos too, at a later date provides many interesting animals and since the potter's art is to some extent a product of all that ^{has gone} ~~went~~ before, I have not hesitated to include some of these examples.

It is unfortunate that the Age of the Horse has come and gone without anyone applying the great wealth of practical experience which it produced to the subject of ancient horses. Mediaeval scholars, however, were largely ignorant of Greek pottery and those of later centuries were too busy sorting out chronologies and shapes and investigating the identity and locale of the potters and painters to turn their attention to the matter. Generally speaking, it seems that those who love horses are not very interested in Attic vases - and vice versa. Yet it is strange that even authors who claim an interest in horses and have written about the animal in the Archaic or Classical eras have preferred, as a rule, to look elsewhere for their information. While the pictures on the vases are, of course, subject to artistic licence and

conventions at which we can only guess, they provide a lively and accurate record of the horse and his activities.

Only two ancient Greek writers on the topic of horsemanship have come down to us: Simon, an Athenian whose dates are uncertain, but who probably wrote towards the end of the fifth century BC, and Xenophon, better known for his Anabasis, whose brief work, Peri Hippikēs, was written about 360 BC. Simon's work survives only in one fairly long fragment and several quotations by Pollux. Xenophon's work is complete. Unfortunately, neither author has anything to say about the origins of the horse in Attica or Greece, or even about the horses available in his day. Neither gives a hint about many things which we would like to know: where were horses bred? How did they reach the cities? Who were the breeders and trainers? What were their methods? However, Xenophon's book, when read in conjunction with his other writings, and with a line here and there from Herodotos, Pausanias and later agricultural writers, does provide some clues to the answers to these and other questions.²

There are as many theories about the arrival of the horse in Greece as there are hippologists. The only certainty is that

no-one has yet been able to say exactly how or whence the horse appeared. Some recent archaeological opinion favours the theory that domestication of the horse first took place on the steppes of what is now Ukraine about 6000 years ago. Thus the horse and the skills associated with it may have reached Greece via Thrace and Macedonia, or in a more circuitous route via Asia Minor and the Islands.³

Little is known about these horses. Horse burials are few and those we have date from Mycenaean times and so far, there have been no published reports concerning types, breeds, or osteology. Hard archaeological evidence, such as bits, bridles, chariots and the like is also mostly lacking. However, we do know the horse became a part of ancient Greek life in a way that no other animal ever did, taking a prominent place in sport, ceremony and war.⁴

Fig. III The first representation of the horse on the Greek mainland comes from Mycenaean times. A gold signet ring dating from some time in the sixteenth century BC shows two people in a light chariot. One is shooting with bow and arrow at a stag. The other is apparently the driver. The chariot is drawn by two small horses with shaggy manes and tails. Other horses appear on

grave stelai and palace murals from around the same time, but are not sufficiently well drawn to give much information. The horses of the so-called 'Wild Style' pottery are even more confusing, for it seems as though the artists are drawing animals they had only been told about but never seen. Great liberties are taken with anatomy and equipment, almost everything being sacrificed to principles of design,⁵

The Mycenaean world came to an end in the twelfth century and it is on the pottery of the Proto-Geometric period, about two hundred and fifty years later, that we next see horses. With varying degrees of charm and anatomical accuracy they prance or stride sedately through the equine round of racing, funeral processions, war and stable life. Most of these horses are drawing chariots, or are about to be harnessed to chariots. There are no riders.⁶

Until very recently, many experts believed that chariots and driving came before riding. While this is what the Helladic and Geometric pottery seem to indicate, and this is reinforced by Homer whose heroes, except on one special occasion, do not ride, there are obvious difficulties with this theory. Charioteering

involves no immediate satisfaction without a great deal of long-term planning and preparation. The chariots and harness must be designed, driving and engineering principles mastered and refined, while, at the same time, the horse, which is nervous and restless at the best of times, must be persuaded to have patience with all of this. Riding, on the other hand, means simply jumping on - and away we go. Whether or not we stay on eventually becomes a matter of personal expertise. It comes as no surprise, then, to learn that recent studies prove the existence of riding many centuries before the use of the chariot, or indeed any wheeled vehicle. This took place in central Asia, however, and the skill of riding seems to have taken a very long time to reach the civilisations of the Mediterranean.⁷

Pl. 1 The earliest known portrait of a man on horseback is that of a young Egyptian groom of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1560 BC. He is modelled riding bareback upon a black horse, with only a string or thong knotted about the jaw to guide it. A wall carving from the mid-fourteenth century BC shows a man on horseback escaping from battle. His mount looks like an unhitched chariot horse. The rider sits far back, using a long,

Fig. IV

loose rein and looking rather awkward. Assyrian riders from a bronze relief of the ninth century also sit far back on their mounts and are so insecure, apparently, that they need attendants at the horses' heads to lead them into battle. However, by the eighth century the Assyrians are enviably competent, driving and riding large, well-groomed, magnificently turned-out animals to war and to lion hunts.⁸

Why were the Greeks so far behind in mastering this new skill? Possibly the horses or ponies they had were simply not up to carrying the weight of a fully armed warrior. Perhaps they were overwhelmed by their topography. Greece, after all is not horse country, being steep, rocky and devoid of pasturage in summer. Only Thessaly, Epiros and the Argive region were said to have those well-watered plains suitable for horse breeding. Whatever the reason, it is not until the early seventh century that we see the first strange little man climb aboard his wide-eyed little horse, on an amphora from the Argive Heraion. And it is not until 648 BC that horse racing becomes an event at the Olympic Games, thirty two years after chariot racing was first featured there.⁹

Fig.
V (a)

Horses are not prominent in Hellenic myth. Gods do not ride and only rarely do they mount war chariots. However, the horse

was sacred to Poseidon. The connection is an Indo-European one and not, at first sight, obvious - until we recollect that Poseidon was seen as the embodiment of elemental force like the earthquake and the sea storm, and that the horse was the single strongest force under man's control at that time. Poseidon was said to have sired the first horse and to have fathered the winged horses Pegasus and Areion on Medusa and Erinyes, respectively. Horses were sacrificed to Poseidon by drowning at Argos and elsewhere in Greece and they continued to be sacrificed to one god or another until at least the middle of the third century BC. There were sanctuaries dedicated to Poseidon in his Horse-Tamer aspect throughout the land. An altar of his may have been the Horse Scarer at a certain turn of the race course at Eleia. An oracle at Onchestos, mentioned in the Homeric Hymn quoted at the beginning of this chapter and so far unexplained, involved horses pulling driverless chariots in Poseidon's sacred grove.¹⁰

Although the energy of the horse belonged to Poseidon, the honour of providing the skill and technology to harness all this reckless force went to Athena. Pindar, in his usual allusive, elusive style, seems to be saying in the Olympian Ode XII, that the bit, a gift from Athena, was first used in Corinth. Athena also helped to build the wooden horse of Troy. To her mysterious

foster son Erichthonios goes the credit for introducing the first chariot and four, from Egypt.¹¹

Fig.
V(b)

Little enough of this appears on painted pottery. An Argive amphora of the early seventh century BC gives us a small picture of a stallion being led down a pebbly shore to the water by a man in a crested helmet or feathered head-dress, watched by four other men. Preparations for a sacrifice? Who can say?

Poseidon appears rarely, if ever, on the vases with horses, but his horse-child Pegasos is a popular subject on black figure work, where he often confronts the Chimaira, alone or with Bellerophon. Athena usually appears with other peoples' horses, notably those of Herakles plus chariot, in apotheosis. There is also a charming picture of her hard at work on a half life-size clay model of a horse on an amphora in Berlin.¹²

Athena has nothing to do with Amazons, despite their common interest in horses and warfare. Amazons are a late mythological entry, reputed to be the first fighting force to use cavalry. They may have been based upon the Sarmatian women, who were said to ride herd and to accompany their menfolk into battle.

Pl. 46 The Amazons are usually depicted as taking part in episodes from the adventures of Achilles, Theseus and Herakles. They begin to appear on pottery quite suddenly, about 575 BC and remain popular well into the fourth century.¹³

The lusty, bibulous centaurs may be seen as a bridge between the human and animal worlds, but it is also possible to see them as an early misinterpretation of mounted men. Their progenitor, Kentauros, was fathered by king Ixion of Thessaly and they were said to live in the mountains of that region. This might indicate that riding skills were first mastered in the north and then filtered south.¹⁴

Considering the small body of myth extant concerning the centaurs, their popularity with vase painters seems surprising. However, nothing fills up the blank field of a vase half so well as a centaur, or better yet, several centaurs, or some horses and chariots. This may well be one reason why such subjects as centauiromachies, Amazonomachies and other mounted scenes are so popular. Horses, in fact, outnumber every other subject except man himself.

Perhaps because of the very confining nature of their terrain,

the Greeks were the first people to attempt a collected style of riding. This means that the horse's neck is bent at the poll with his head slightly in front of the vertical, the hocks and heels are well under the body, producing a short, controlled stride; he accepts the bridle with a light, soft contact and there is total submission throughout. While this is not what we see all the time on Attic pottery, it seems to be what Xenophon had in mind and is clearly extolling in Book X of his monograph. Not for Athenians the headlong, extended gallop of the Scythian steppes, the headstall and guiding stick of the Numidian desert, nor yet the restraining hand of an attendant on the bridle. Horse and rider were to be one controlled unit. How this effect might be produced will be among the topics of the next chapter.¹⁵

CHAPTER TWO

EQUIPMENT

Their manes streamed along the blast of the wind, the chariots rocking now would dip to the earth that fosters so many and now again would spring up clear of the ground, and the drivers stood in the chariots, with the spirit beating in each man with the strain to win, and each was calling aloud upon his own horses, and the horses flew through the dust of the flat land.

Homer, The Iliad XXIII 368 -74 ¹

To a horse-lover, without doubt, the most noticeable feature of horses in Greek art is the expression of chronic discomfort which almost everyone of them wears. Ears are laid back, eyes roll, jaws are open. It is possible that artists strove to give the animals a spirited, mettlesome look in this way. It is equally and unfortunately possible that this is the way those horses looked most of the time.

The ancient Greek, like all horsemen of his day, rode without saddle or stirrups. With nothing to brace himself against, should his mount decide to run away, he needed a bit which would be certain of attracting its attention. That riders of the times expected to cut their horses about the mouth seems all too likely. A story is told of Apelles the painter trying for hours to achieve a realistic rendering of the blood-flecked spume around a horse's

mouth, losing patience, throwing his sponge at the wall and thereby achieving the desired effect. ?

Fig.
XII

When we look at the few bits which have been found in tombs and temples, we can easily discover the Cause of all this equine blood, sweat and anxiety. A bronze bit with a roller band around a stiff central core was found at Olympia and dates from 550 to 490 BC. Although it looks fairly harmless, it is still capable of giving a nasty jab to the tender corners of a horse's mouth, because the roller is shorter than the bar it encloses. The reins were attached to the ring at either end of the mouth-piece. The cheek-strap of the bridle divided above the horse's mouth and each end attached to the ends of the crescent shaped side-pieces of the bit. Such side-pieces are often seen on pottery of the sixth to the fourth centuries.

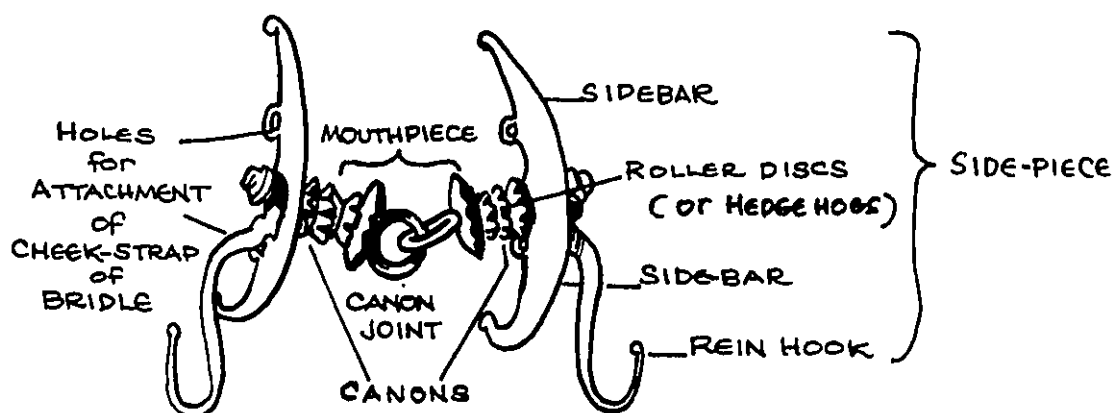


Fig. A

NAMES OF THE PARTS OF THE BIT
(A GREEK BIT OF THE 4th CENT. BC)

Another bit with crescent-shaped side-pieces is said to come 'from Achaea' and is vaguely dated to the fourth century BC.

Fig. A
(p 12)

It has a wicked jointed mouthpiece, with sharp roller discs and two spiked central discs, clearly deserving the name 'hedge-hogs'.³

A bit from a grave in Boeotia has huge S-shaped sidepieces. It is difficult to say how they were worn. One of the Persian

Fig.
XIII

horses from the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii wears a similar bit, with the sidepieces curving outward and then under the lower jaw, but a cup from the workshops of Euphronios shows a different way of wearing this bit, or one very like it. Certainly this bit deserves Louis Taylor's description of it as 'hellish'.⁴

Pl. 37

Roller discs were designed to prevent the horse closing his mouth and taking hold of the bit between his teeth. The light rings suspended from the canon joint were supposed to distract him this purpose too. However there may have been a secondary objective. Before World War I, English carriage horses often wore similar rings on their bits. As they tossed their heads and tongued the rings, the constant action and the metallic clinking were thought to give them a spirited air. More likely the poor beasts moved their mouths in a hopeless search for a moment's comfort.

A simpler, jointed bit comes from the fourth century grave of a Scythian chief in Kuban, whose tribe had probably been engaged in trade and cultural exchange with the Greeks since at least the sixth century. The sidepieces are spiked, so that when the reins were pulled the lips and jaws would be compressed between them. No-one can say whether the bit is Scythian or Greek, for no examples have turned up in Greece itself, although many sidepieces resembling this are seen on Attic black figure and red figure ware from about 550 to 425 BC. There may have been an influx of Scythians to Athens during this period. Of course, there is no way of telling what type of bit is worn simply by looking at the sidepieces, which are all we see on the vases. To judge from their unhappy bearing, however, it seems likely that most horses wore bits of a severity comparable to those described above. ⁵

Pl. 24 On the well-known belly-amphora by Exekias, entitled 'The Return of the Dioscuri' by Boardman, Kyllaros, Kastor's horse is a prime example. There he stands, somewhere between twelve and thirteen hands high and so not even a horse by modern standards, nicely groomed, well turned out, with a necklace of medallions and a decorated bridle ^{with} ~~and~~ what look very much like spiked sidepieces on the bit, at least those small oblong plates with little

Fig.
XV

Pls:
23
24
29
32
46
50

Fig.
XVII

circles described within must surely represent nail heads whose spikes protrude on the other side of the plate. Tyndareos is patting him on the nose, but Kyllaros does not respond. His expression is typical of a long line of Attic horses over the centuries, from the Geometric vases to those much admired horses of the Parthenon friezes: extreme discomfort. As Desmond Morris has observed, laid back ears often indicate a horse that is submissive to, or fearful of a brutal rider. A rider using the hardware described above would have to be very careful indeed if that epithet were not to be applied to him. ⁶

Were the Greeks then brutal riders? Only in the twentieth century has a humane attitude come to prevail in the treatment of animals, and even yet it is by no means universal. Ever since man first put a bit in a horse's mouth there has been a school of thought which says that if the horse does not comply with the rider's wishes, then he must be hurt to make him do so. The more he is hurt, the faster he will obey, or so the reasoning goes. This idea still exists, not only in the third world but in the show ring and the western rodeo. ⁷

The evidence would certainly indicate a brutal element among ancient Greek riders, young men more interested in cutting a

dash, perhaps, than in careful handling of their horses. Such men are common to all ages. If a parallel to the ancient style of riding is sought, it is to be found in the style of Old Spain and Baja California, where the horse was ridden 'by the weight of the reins' and the cruel spade bit was used as an ever present threat and two-way channel of communication. Reins were slack and lightness of hand was all. Not every rider could appreciate this fact, or would want to.⁸

We find a spokesman for the humane approach in Xenophon, who spends much time in Peri Hippikēs discussing bits. A rider should have at least two, although they are not to be used at the same time. One is to be smooth, the other 'rough', but it is clear that even the smooth one is rough by our standards, since it is to have 'discs of a fair size' with the hedgehogs 'rounded', while the rough bit is to have pointed hedgehogs. The rough bit is to be used as a threat - the horse will be trained using it and once he has learned his lessons he will work in a smooth bit. The rough bit will be used for refresher courses, as it were. Even then it is to be used with a light hand:

You must pull at the horse's mouth neither too roughly, so that he throws up his head to avoid the bit, nor too gently, so that he does not feel it. When the action of the bit makes him raise his head, you must give rein at once.

Pl.28 Handsome Leagros, if Leagros it is, is taking just this action on the well-known cup by Euphronios. ⁹

Fig.
XII

Xenophon is insistent that the bit be flexible. The canons are to have broad, roomy joints. A stiff bit would have a joint that was too snug, or be all in one piece, like the bit from Olympia. Doubtless a stiff bit would be hard on bridle straps, too. Above all, our author is concerned that the horse should accept the bit willingly, '... for the horse who refuses the bit is useless.' ¹⁰

It must have taken much ingenuity to get horses to accept such disagreeable bits and it is easy to understand why so many of them look uncomfortable. There is one notable exception which, interestingly enough, comes from the city of Corinth with all its mythological associations. The little horses of the Chigi vase stride forward serenely, eyes calm and knowing, ears pricked, mouths at ease around their bits. Did the Corinthians really possess some skill that the Athenians overlooked? Or is it simply a matter of the hardware involved? Perhaps the horses are wearing nosebands in the Egyptian tradition. Although nosebands are not mentioned as being used in Greece, there is at least one example of what seems to be a spiked noseband on a vase by the Villa Giulia Painter. It is a broad band worn rather lower than the Egyptian model, with spots painted on it which may, as in the case of the spiked bit, be intended to represent spikes. The

Pl.
47

The horse here is relaxed, his jaws closed, his ears pointed forwards, his attention on the woman who stands before him. Both Arrian and Strabo write of spiked nosebands used by Indians. If this is so, then ~~then~~ the noseband, or cavesson, would be quite an effective device. ¹¹

Fig.
XVII

The types of bridle used apparently vary according to the needs of the owner. There is always a cheek-strap which divides in two and attaches to each end of the sidepieces of the bit. There may be a browband, or a noseband or occasionally both. There may or may not be a throat-lash. All these variations are seen from the sixth century onwards. In an age without buckles, the ends of the bridle-straps are sewn to the bit, the throat-lash Pl. 43 and cheek-straps tied in place. The reins are attached to the bit by means of a ring or screw, sometimes to the end of the mouth-piece, sometimes to a wing of the sidepiece. Occasionally they are fixed to hooks on the sidepieces. The same bridles and bits are used whether the horses are ridden or driven.

Fig. XIX

Pls;

28

38 must have been a dangerous practice, for if one rein were dropped, the horse became unmanageable. In chariot driving the same custom prevailed, the reins often being knotted in groups of four. This

will be discussed further when we turn our attention to chariots.

To judge from the pictures on pottery, whether in the eighth century or the fourth, men ride bareback. Saddlecloths would be expected if only for reasons of comfort and safety but they are rare indeed. An Amazon uses a leopard skin in one example and on another from the Louvre, an Arimasbian horse which has lost his rider in a battle with the Griffins, gallops off with a leopard skin slipping from his back. All other horses on this bowl have riders but no saddlecloths. Perhaps artistic convention demands that they be left off. 12

In his monograph for cavalry commanders, Hipparchikos, Xenophon says that bits and saddlecloths (ἔφιππον) are secured by straps and so a commander should always have a ready supply. Elsewhere he sneers that Persians use more coverlets on their horses than on their beds. Possibly only armed combatants in wartime, or cissies in peacetime, used saddlecloths. 13

Although many exotic riders and charioteers are portrayed, including Thracians, Scythians and Persians, their horses always wear basic Athenian gear. The Scythian graves at Pazaryk have disclosed marvellous horse trappings: beautiful necklaces,

matching saddles and bridles extravagantly decorated, bits intricately carved of wood or bone, embroidered and appliquéd saddlecloths. The Persians too are known to have had luxurious horse equipment, whilst anyone who saw the 1987 Montreal exhibit, 'Gold of the Thracian Horsemen', will remember the splendid gold ornaments for Thracian horses.¹⁴

Fig.
XVII
Pl.29

Exekias' Kyllaros is wearing what may be decorated reins with a chased metal attachment to the bit. A dashing team of horses from the late fifth century seem to be wearing studded bridles. Although what are presumed to be bronze bridle decorations have been discovered, Athenian artists certainly do not draw them very often. However, Kyllaros is also wearing a necklace around his withers and chest. These necklaces are quite different from the collars of tooled leather that were used for chariot pulling and they enjoyed several periods of popularity at various times. That these necklaces were purely decorative and often valuable may be inferred from the story Xenophon tells about King Agesilaos and the son of the satrap Pharnabazos. It seems that the young man suddenly presented the king with a very fine javelin. The king, somewhat at a loss, one imagines, and having nothing else to hand, gave him the medallions (φάλαρα) from the neck of his secretary's horse.¹⁵

Fig.
III

The prototype of the Greek chariot is seen on Mycenaean gems, pottery and wall paintings. The Hittites, the Assyrians and the Egyptians all used similar designs at one time or another with this important difference: their drivers all stood over, or in front of the axle. Greek drivers of the eighth century begin to stand behind the axle and after about 700 BC always do. There has been some discussion about this, some experts claiming it can make no difference to the load no matter where the driver stands, except that his weight might be used as a differential. However, in one of the most interesting and least-known books to be published this century Etudes expérimentales sur l'attelage, J Spruytte has demonstrated otherwise. ¹⁶

Spruytte and his team reconstructed a series of two- and four-horse chariots of Assyrian, Egyptian and Greek design, as seen on wall paintings, carvings and pottery. They then test-drove these vehicles on terrain approximating ancient unpaved roads. The results were surprising. The Greek mode of harnessing was found to be the most efficient and the biggest advantage was found to be the weight of the driver behind the axle, since this relieved the draught animals of the vehicle's weight pressing on the yoke. The chest collar, contrary to scholarly opinion in recent years, did not impede the horse's efforts. If it were

made to measure for each horse and properly adjusted it never slipped out of place and at no time did it impede the animals' breathing. It sat at the base of the neck on the point of the shoulder. ¹⁷

A quick survey of the vase painters will show that some Attic painters are a little vague on this point. Sometimes the collars are too high, sometimes too low. This is not to be wondered at, for they were artists after all, not aristocrats and probably never drove a chariot. Nearchos, Exekias and Psiax all get it right. Sophilos sometimes gets it right. Kleitias and the Painter of London B176 get it wrong. After about 480 there is a longish period when chariots and horses do not appear on the vases, perhaps because with their aristocratic overtones they were thought to be unsuitable in the new democracy. By the time they reappear, to some extent in the heroic scenes of the last quarter of the fifth century, the position of the collar is always correct. This is not to say that there was not perhaps a passing fashion for collars worn high in Kleitias' day, but it is the type of detail which might escape the attention of someone who was not an expert charioteer and who was not very interested in horses, except as a means of filling up a frieze or predella.

Pls:
11
21
9

Fig. II
Pl. 27

Pls:
54
55

At first chariots seem to have been made of heat-treated wood
 Pl. 2 with the breast work and wings covered in hide or wicker. Some
 later chariots may have been covered or at least decorated with
 Pls: thin sheets of bronze or other metal. No Greek originals have
 53 been found. Most of our information about Mycenaean chariots
 54 comes from the inventories of Knossos. The Pylos chariot records
 are missing, but we do have the inventories of wheels. They were
 indexed separately as they seem to have been knocked down, me-ta-
ke-ku-me-na, for storage. The wheels are of cypress wood, with
 ivory borders and they are bound with bronze or silver. In the
Iliad the gods' chariots are made of various metals and have
 axles of iron or bronze, silver poles, wheels of bronze with golden
 felloes and harness of silver and gold. Only Diomedes, as befits
 a mere mortal, has an oaken axle. 18

Pl. 4 Looking at the vases of the seventh and sixth centuries, we see
 plain, undecorated wheels probably of heat-bent wood, with four
 paddle-shaped spokes, an inner felloe, again probably of wood
 and an outer felloe or tyre which must consist of some harder
 Pl. 19 material. They are attached to a fixed axle by means of a linch
 Pl. 22 pin reinforced with bindings. The chariot floor, just large
 enough for two to stand upon, is D-shaped and probably made of
 interwoven thongs or wicker to act as shock absorber. The pole

- Pl.22 runs under the floor but above the axle and curves upward at an
 Pl.11 oblique angle in front of the chariot box. It terminates in a
 Fig.III cone-shaped finial. Below this, the yoke is bound at an angle
 of 40° to the pole and there is a pad or cushion at either end.
 The yoke is always positioned behind the withers of the two pole-
 horses. A strap, or stay is fastened from the finial of the pole
 to the upper chariot rail, apparently to provide stability. The
 pole is sometimes bound along its length with leather or raw-
 hide to prevent splitting and to hold it together if it did split.
 Pole binding is often seen in Egyptian and Mycenaean painting,
 Pl.27 more rarely on Attic pottery. The place where the pole ran under
 the chariot box was another weak spot and this may be why a
 Pl.19 triangular brace is seen there in some frontal views. ¹⁹

Harnessing presents something of a problem, from the evidence of
 Fig.III the paintings. The two pole-horses wear collars which are attached
 Fig.B to the yoke. The collars of the two outer or trace-horses are
 (p 25) attached to their girths, when these are worn. In some frontal
 views these girths would appear to be attached to the girth of
 the neighbouring pole-horse. This method is borne out by the
 Pazaryk burials, where four horses, still hitched to a ceremonial
 cart, were attached in just this way. It is difficult to see how
 the trace-horses could have been of any assistance in pulling

the chariot, if this were the case, although they might have been useful when cornering at speed and generating competition in the pole-horses. 20

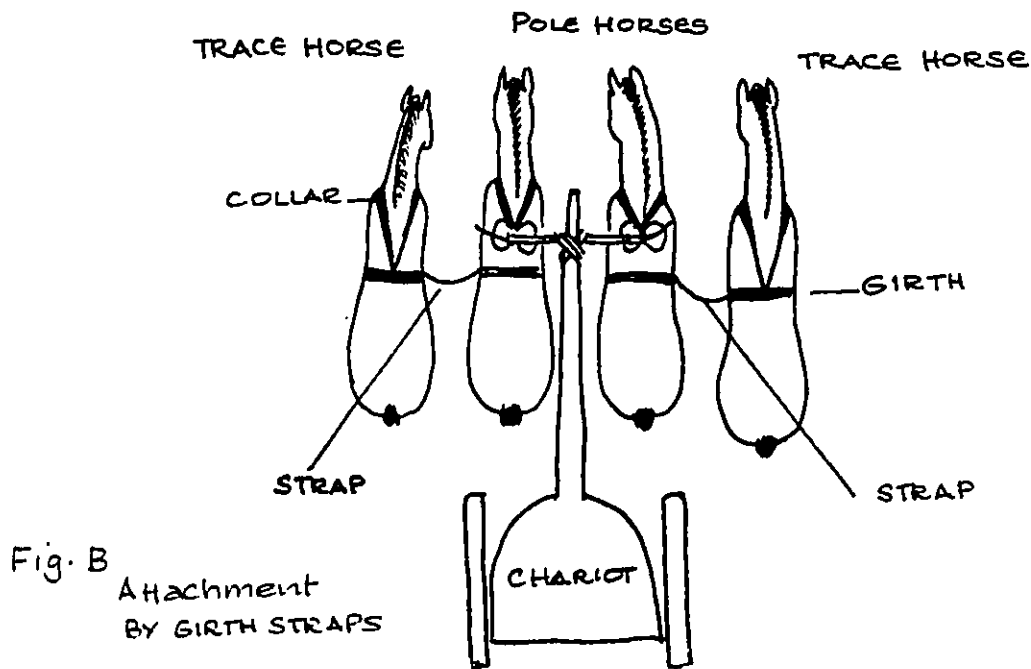
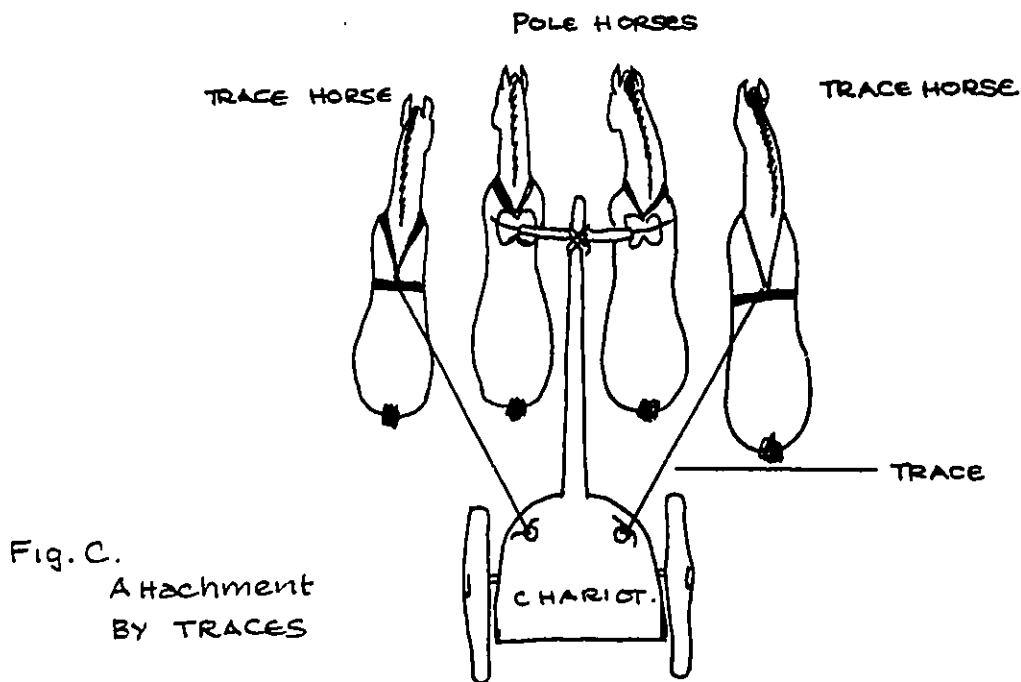


FIG. III An alternative suggestion, which is supported by many of the harnessing scenes of the late sixth century and the occasional frontal view, is that the outer horses were attached to the chariot by the trace or strap which is seen running from the collar, through a ring on the lower chariot rail to an invisible point on the floor. This would not help much either, if extra traction is the purpose. However, in the case of an accident,

Fls:
19
22
26

or if the horses panicked and ran, they could be very easily detached from the vehicle by cutting the traces, leaving only two horses for the charioteer to control. Nestor does this in Book VIII of the Iliad, when one of his horses is killed by an arrow in a skirmish. In the only picture where it is completely certain that only two horses are harnessed to the chariot, on a dinos by the Altamura Painter, circa 450 BC, in the Greek Museum in Newcastle upon Tyne, these traces are absent. ²¹



Possibly different charioteers favoured different hitching patterns. Of course, if the yoke were wide enough to span

all four horses, then there is no problem but I have found no evidence to suggest that this was the case. Why four horses were used when only two were actually pulling may be the real enigma of ancient chariotry. Doubtless more practical experiments are needed in this area before an answer can be found.

The vexed question of three-horse chariots, as described in the Iliad or surmised from Assyrian wall reliefs, need not be discussed here, for there are only three examples known in Geometric pottery and none at all from later Attic pottery. This can be proved simply by counting heads and legs. Where those numbers do not tally with the number of reins, it seems to be the result of artistic carelessness. ²²

Fig.
VIII

Fig.
XVI

Most vase painters are very accurate and there is almost always a pair of reins for every horse, so we may conclude that Y-reins were unknown. The reins passed through terret rings which must have been fixed to the yoke, although exactly how is not known.

Fig. D
(p 28)

Pl. 11

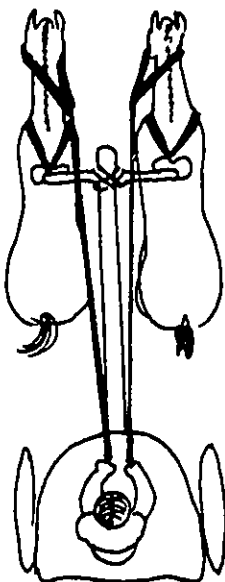
Fig. X

We have only one close-up by Nearchos and it raises more questions than it answers. JP Vigneron's sketches do not help. Terret rings gave the driver leverage as he pulled on the horses' mouths to direct them and helped him keep the reins tightly grouped, coming in as they did from four different directions. Sometimes, as in

Fig. II the chariot groups of the François vase, the reins are knotted in two groups of four, once half way along their length and again near the driver's end. From this one may infer that cross-reining was practiced: the left hand or near side reins in one group, the right hand or off side reins in the other. The modern Irish carrick or curricule is harnessed in a manner similar to the ancient Greek chariot and the reins are grouped in this cross-over pattern. It is suitable for such a two-horse vehicle, but becomes complicated with four horses. It enables the driver to direct his horses more easily on the turns. The knotting of reins continues until the end of the sixth century, becoming both less obvious and less evident as time goes on, finally disappearing in the early fifth century. ²³

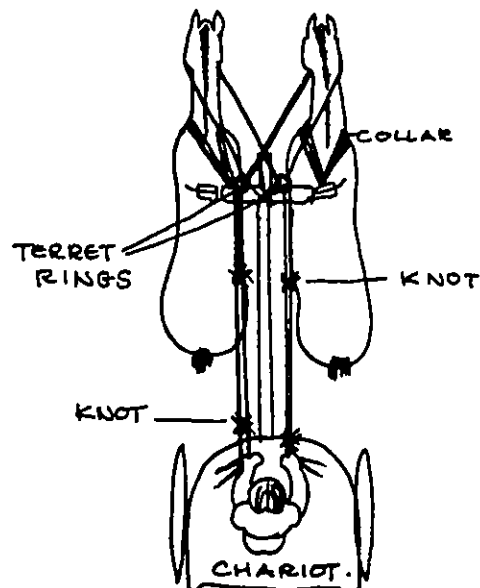
Pl. 54

Fig. D.



Y- REINS

Fig. E.



CROSS- REINING

Fig. Terret rings are an ancient refinement used by the Hittites,
 X(a) Medes, Chaldeans, Egyptians and Assyrians. The Mycenaeans seem
 not to have used them and they are not seen on Attic pottery
 until the early sixth century. They are not actually seen then,
 Pl.11 except on the Nearchos fragment, but one must suppose them to
 be there, for the reins no longer run free from bit to hand as
 Pl.8: they do in earlier vase paintings.
 2
 3
 4

Chariot harnessing scenes abound, especially in the last quarter
 Pl.26 of the sixth century. There are usually five men and three horses
 involved. The two pole-horses stand already yoked and harnessed.
 The charioteer, recognizable by his long white robe and beard,
 stands beside them, adjusting harness. An assistant stands at the
 horses' heads. A third man has the reins in his hands and is
 either in the chariot or in the act of stepping up. A groom leads
 in the third horse which is wearing a halter and sometimes a
 muzzle as well. The fifth man holds a whip or gives directions
 'off stage' to his right, or leads on the fourth horse. The
 Pl.11 Nearchos fragment is the first such scene we have. On it, the
 horses face the viewer's left. In all other examples, the horses
 face right.

From the yoke on the off side, hangs the collar, bridle and bit

of the in-coming horse. Once there is, as well, a cross-shaped gadget on which Beazley discerned 'prickles'. He thought it was a burr to discourage boring - the action of a horse which continually pulls on the bit with a thrusting forward and downward motion - but if it is a burr, it is more likely to be the sort used in conjunction with a bar to train horses to lead off with the same leg and to turn in unison. It could be dispensed with, once the horses had learned this important lesson. 24

Fig.
XVIII

The muzzle (κημός) was a requisite at all times when the horse was being led. Greek horses were given to biting, mostly because they were stallions which tend to be unruly in one another's company. On at least one painting by the E Group, both pole-horses are wearing muzzles while working, but the trace-horses do not. Muzzles by Epiktetos look as though they are made of rope or basket-work, but the only extant example is made of bronze. It comes from the same grave in Boeotia as the bit with the dangling rings.

Pl.23

Fig.
XIV

Pl.25

Halters (φορβεία) are often seen on the vases, especially in the harnessing scenes. Xenophon says they must always be used when leading a horse, to avoid damaging his mouth with the bit. Oddly, to us, he counsels against leading horses 'from behind'. By this he means leading them in the way the horse in Fig. V b

is being led. This is another ancient habit which led commentators to believe that driving predated riding. That halters were used under bridles is not surprising for it is still the custom to-day in some parts of Greece. It enables the rider or driver to dismount and let his horse graze, while still holding the long rope tied to the halter, or to tie the beast up without damaging its mouth. The plastic vases representing donkey and mule heads ^{show} ~~wear~~ halters. So do the horses of the horse-head amphoras, which are to be taken as informal pictures of the horse at home. 25

Pl. 14

Although Xenophon has interesting tales to tell about tying bags over horses' feet so that they would not sink into snowdrifts, such items do not appear on the vases. Greek horses were not shod, a fact which caused much grief to Athenian scouting parties trekking over rough terrain at the end of the Pelopponesian wars, as recounted by Thucydides, and was probably a consideration for anyone undertaking a long journey. As with so many other boons to mankind, horseshoes are not mentioned at all for centuries and then are written about in the first century BC as though they had been part of the scene for ages. As might be expected, Peri Hippikes is full of hints and advice on how to look after hooves. Hard hooves ^{were} ~~was~~ probably the most important features an ancient horse could possess. 26

Before concluding this chapter on horse equipment, we must consider the alternative forms of harness and transport sometimes depicted on Attic pottery. Horses at work pulling carts or carrying pack-saddles are non-existent. There may have been a natural reluctance in the ancient world to make horses perform this lowly work. The horse was seen as a noble animal, gallant, swift, showy and deserving of consideration. It was also expensive, an aristocratic possession, or what we would now call a status symbol.

Besides, there were plenty of slaves, donkeys and mules for heavy work. Mules often appear drawing carts full of passengers at weddings and occasionally at funerals, too. On one fragment by Polygnotos, a well-matched pair of mules is wearing sun hats.

Pls:
19A
25
Pl.50

On this same fragment from Adria, there are discernible traces of a neck yoke. A different type of harness is seen on a vessel from the British Museum which depicts the Apēnē, or race for two-mule vehicles, inaugurated at the seventieth Olympiad in 500 BC, but abandoned by the eighty fourth. ²⁷

Fig.
XIX

A pair of horses wear a similar type of harness in the earliest Panathenaic vase we have, from the Kuban group, dated to 566 BC. The most curious feature here is the absence of reins. The driver sits in a light cart with high wheels, almost like a modern sulky,

Pl.13

guiding his horses with the aid of a long, flexible pole with some kind of pendants at the end. One might be well inclined to doubt the existence of such a risky looking mode of transport were it not for the other representations of it that we have.

- Pl. 19A The Amasis Painter, about 530 BC, produced a meticulously drawn wedding group on a lekythos. There are two carts on it. The first, pulled by two donkeys, holds the bride and groom and the best man. The second cart, pulled by a mule, holds four guests. Neither driver uses reins, but only a long stick or goad. The Gela Painter, who worked during the first half of the fifth century, has drawn the same turn-out on a lekythos now at the University of Giessen. In the Assyrian Room at the British Museum are at least a half a dozen more examples of carts driven in this manner by seventh century Elamites, who are being systematically pursued and destroyed on all fronts by the Assyrians. It seems as though this unlikely mode of travel was not only possible, but popular over a considerable period of time.
- Pl. 6

RIDERS

With crowns that gleam afar Hiero has
adorned Syracuse, the haunt of Artemis, with
whose aid he guided his richly caparisoned horses
with gentle hands.

Pindar, Pythian II,5.

All the riders we see on Attic pottery are men, with the sole exception of Amazons. Moreover, they are all men between the ages of puberty and forty, or thereabouts. The reasons are not hard to understand, for only the young and the fit would have the necessary muscular power to sit astride an unsaddled horse for any length of time. The very young, the elderly and the female would not have this requirement. There are many scenes on the exteriors of cups, especially those of the mid-fifth century, which show young boys racing, exercising or communing with their ponies. No infants, girls, women or old men are seen anywhere as riders.

Amazons are a special case. It is difficult to know how seriously they were taken by the Greeks. In the Anabasis at one point, Xenophon upon meeting a Persian prisoner of war, observes that he carries the same type of battle axe 'as the Amazons do'. Not, you notice, as Amazons are said to carry. However, it is not

always necessary to believe in something to draw it, or discuss it. One has only to think of angels or unicorns, both of which are presently enjoying a revival as art forms. If the ancient Greeks did not actually believe in Amazons, it is clear that they would have liked to. On the vases, the Amazons usually
 Pl.46 wear variations of Scythian or Persian dress, or what passed for it in Athens: slim-fitting trousers and wildly patterned tops. ¹

On journeys, women were passengers in mule drawn carts, or used a sitting-chair resembling a bench with a ledge for the feet, perched sideways on the back of a horse or mule led by an attendant. The mule is often used by Hephaistos, who was lame, on his
 Pl.8 return to Olympos and sometimes by Dionysos, whose drunkenⁿess rendered him incapable of riding alone. On the Erskine Dinos by Sophilos we see him apparently seated sideways on a swan-backed chair or saddle. ²

Women chariot drivers are few and far between. On a neck amphora
 Pl.22 by Exekias a woman in a richly patterned dress is driving a four-horse chariot which carries a male passenger. All four persons in the picture are crowned with laurel and a young man who can only be Apollo, is playing the kithara. This could be the apotheosis of Herakles with Athena as charioteer. Although she is

wearing none of her usual attributes, the very fact that she is driving may be sufficient to identify her. After all, her foster son Erichthonios was said to have introduced this vehicle to Athens and driving would be a suitable skill for Athena Promachos. On other examples from approximately the same period she is specifically identified by her helmet, shield and aegis. Homer makes it clear that she had her own chariot, which she herself drove. Not only that, but Hera and Hebe knew how to

Pl.34 harness it for her. The Brygos Painter portrayed Selene handling a chariot and pair on the interior of a very fine cup, while

Pl.53 the Nikias Painter gives us a comic Herak^κles in a chariot drawn by four centaurs driven by Nike. ³

Women had owned and raced, though not of course, driven chariots at Olympia, according to Pausanias. Agesilaos, in the fourth century had encouraged his sister Kyniska to breed and race horses, so that when she won he could point out to his fellow Spartans that little honour accrued from such a thing if even a woman could do it. Although none of this appears on the vases, that is not to say there were not women who rode or drove far from the public eye. Possibly, in the countryside there were women who persuaded fathers, brothers or lovers to teach them the equestrian arts. In Hellenistic times we begin to read of

women doing more adventurous things and even of a princess who mounted her horse to rally her father's fleeing troops. Sparta, it seems, permitted its women to drive in the festivals, which means they must have been able to drive at other times. In Athens, however, where the lives of the women seem to have been much more restricted, they used only the approved forms of transport and the pottery reflects this. 4

Riding lessons must have figured prominently in the education of the young Athenian. One such lesson is depicted on an amphora in the British Museum. A chubby youth attempts to clamber on to the back of a coarse-looking pony, while two men stand by. One lends a hand, as the youth seems in danger of falling back. He has already managed to jab the mouth of the pony, which throws up its head in an effort to avoid the pressure of the bit. The dejected tail, flattened between its legs tells the rest of the story as it prepares to endure another bout with a ham-fisted rider.

This is the only known picture of a rider in the act of mounting. Xenophon thinks that a young man should know how to vault up on to his horse's back, but says he takes no exception to '... the horse crouching, for convenience in mounting...' Elsewhere,

he suggests the 'Persian Manner', particularly for older men. This is now generally supposed to be what is known as a 'leg up' and since fellow citizens were to offer this service to one another it makes more sense than, say, bending over and presenting one's back as a mounting block. The Governor of West Armenia was the Persian King's best friend and the only person permitted to help him mount. A leg up seems the most likely method here too. Vaulting or leaping up in a single bound is not hard, given adequate practice and may provide yet another way of showing off in front of one's peers. ⁵

Fig.
XIX

Xenophon makes it clear that a halter was worn under the bridle, for he recommends that the lead rope (ῥῆτις) is to be held loosely in the left hand, while the reins (ῥίγιναι) are in the right hand as the rider faces the horse in preparation for mounting. He may then grasp the mane near the ears as well before swinging up, with or without the aid of his spear. Xenophon, a great believer in preparing for all eventualities, points out that it is a good idea to practice mounting from both sides. He also offers hints on how to mount 'without making an unseemly spectacle from behind.' ⁶

The important thing was not to jerk the horse's mouth, as the

young man in Pl. 48 is doing. It was also important not to rake the horse's back with the spur as the rider's leg was thrown over. The spur is not seen on the vases, but seems to have been in general use. It was called a 'gad fly' (μύωψ) and is always referred to in the singular. It is likely that only one was worn, since only single spurs turn up in graves, which may seem odd to modern riders who always use two. An elderly Irishman of my acquaintance always wore only one spur and found that his horse could be controlled quite satisfactorily between the crop on the left and the spur on the right. 'And if you spur one side of your horse, doesn't the other side come along with it?' he would ask of doubters. In Peri Hippikes, it looks as though the spur were used only as a signal for jumping. ⁷

Once seated, 'whether bareback, or on the saddle' our preceptor would not have the rider sit as though in an armchair '... but as though standing upright, with legs astride...' This is sometimes taken to mean that an older style of riding still prevailed at the time he wrote, where men sat far back on their mounts' loins, with knees bent. This does not seem to be the case, however, if we are to judge from the paintings, reliefs and sculptures of the time. Even if our earliest Greek rider (Fig. V(a)) is sitting rather far back, this may have more to do with the size of his

pony or the artist's inability to cope with all aspects of a new subject rather than a preferred style of riding. The 'donkey seat' as it is called for obvious reasons, may still be used to-day by full-grown men riding Icelandic ponies. What Xenophon is advocating is the extreme fork, or 'tongs over a wall' seat. This is not only impractical on the minimal equipment then in use, but unsafe. The more natural seat, and the one we see everywhere on the vase paintings, has the rider sitting on the lower blades of his pelvis, upper body loose and relaxed, knees lightly bent, gripping the horses's sides, lower legs hanging free. In fact, this is the seat Xenophon goes on to describe in the next section.⁸

Pls:
32
37
51

Pl.18

In some black figure painting there does seem to be a tendency for some riders to sit a little further back and to lean somewhat further back as well. The Amasis Painter's splendid group of horsemen on an amphora in Munich are a good example. This position is recommended by Xenophon if there is a risk of falling, particularly while moving fast over hard ground. He thought it made it made it easier for the rider to stay in place, should the horse stumble. Nowadays we know that this is not so.⁹

Obviously, the ancient rider, naked or lightly clad on bareback horses, experienced a much more intimate form of contact with his

mount than any modern, fully clothed rider perched on a thick saddle who boasts of a light, steady contact via the reins and and bit. The ancient style of riding has little in common with that school, seen everywhere now at international shows and on television, known as the English, or European. Xenophon has often been unfairly criticised for instructing the rider to hold on to the mane when going uphill or jumping. Certainly no rider to-day would dare do this, but to-day's rider has stirrups and a saddle to keep him in place and his horse is not likely to be wounded by the snaffle bit in use. ¹⁰

Xenophon insists on a slack rein and a light hand, as well as on the necessity for sitting as still as possible. This is in the tradition of Old Spain and Baja California, and even the manoeuvres described in Book VI of Peri Hippikēs: the fether, or figure of eight, the volte and the demi-passade, are a stylized form of the exercises at which those riders and horses excelled, along with changing leads at the gallop. ¹¹

All these figures are described in the training of the war-horse. Something extra was expected of the brilliant horse (λαμπρός ἵππος). This is a technical term whose exact translation is now unknown. He may have been a war-horse, but he was trained

to shine in parades and later, in the third century BC, in competitions too. He must know how to perform the cadenced trot and how to rear and prance on command. He may even perform the Mézair and the Courbette, as they are now known, a series of advancing jumps on the hind legs which are actually natural movements of the fighting feral stallion. Aristotle, in the Progression of Animals, mentions that stallions advancing in this way in religious processions soon become tired.¹²

Xenophon seems to think that such things can be overdone. Although he admits that a rearing, prancing horse controlled by a relaxed rider is always a popular sight, he advises the commander not to hold up the rest of the unit with his cavorting, but to lead at the optimum pace for all. 'There will be such continual neighing and snorting of the horses going on behind you, that not only you yourself, but all the troop behind you will be worth watching'.¹³

Herodotos tells the story of a horse that was trained to fight in battle, evidently an unusual mount. It belonged to Artybios, the Persian Governor of Cyprus and would rear up, strike and bite at foot-soldiers. Onesilos, the Greek commander, and his armour bearer agreed before the battle of Salamis (not the

renowned Salamis, but another town on the island of Cyprus) that when they met this awesome pair, Onesilos would tackle Artybios while his armour bearer dealt with the horse. This was exactly what happened. Onesilos parried Artybios, the armour bearer waited until the horse reared up and brought its hooves down on Onesilos' shield, then he cut off its forelegs with his sword. Onesilos then killed Artybios. This story shows how a fighting horse may be more of a liability than an asset. Moreover, once a stallion begins to take an active part in battle, as was discovered in mediaeval times, it is nearly impossible to make him stop, should the Retreat sound.¹⁴

Pl.17 Once a ride was over, it was important to dismount at the exercise place, but away from the crowds of men or horses. There are at least two amphoras which show men dismounting. The first, by the Amasis Painter, shows a rider who is wearing a Corinthian helmet and carrying a shield, jumping down from his horse, his right hand on its poll. His squire, nearly invisible alas, because this pot was misfired, rides an accompanying horse. The Painter of Bologna 228 has chosen to portray an Amazon in the act of dismounting. Her hand is not in the same position, but she is in the act of leaping from her horse. The ancient rider seems to have swung a leg over the horse's withers, held on to the

mane just behind the ears, as he did in mounting, and slid or jumped to the ground with his back to the horse's shoulder. What he sacrificed in complete control of his mount at that moment would be more than offset by the fact that he was ready to face an opponent. A groom or squire holding the reins, or standing at the horse's head, would ensure safety.¹⁵

There does not seem to be any specific dress for riding. Although many naked riders are represented and it is possible that young men raced or exercised horses in this way, some sort of clothing would be required if the ride were to last any length of time, if only as a protection against weather and the animals' sweat. Clothes, when worn, are the standard Athenian outdoor costume: a short, pleated tunic reaching to mid-thigh, high boots, a wide-brimmed, soft hat and a cloak. All of this might be worn by anyone engaged outdoors, hunter, shepherd, or traveller. The Athenian cavalry appears to have turned out in this costume although it is by no means a uniform. Thracian cloaks with wide, patterned bands seem to have been popular with cavaliers during the first three decades of the fifth century. Those riders wearing trousers are usually intended to be Scythians or Persians. It seems safe to assume that riders carrying spears and accompanied by dogs, are out hunting. If they have spears

Pls:
37
41
51

Pls:
28
32
38
39
40

but no dogs, then the purpose is probably warlike.

This is not the place to enter into that argument involving mounted hoplites versus true cavalry. We must resign ourselves to the fact that at present we have no way of telling, simply by looking at them, whether armed riders intend to dismount and fight on foot when they reach the battlefield, or to remain on horseback. All points of view on the question are ably discussed by Glenn Bugh in the first chapter of The Horsemen of Athens. He also points out that there is no incontrovertible evidence for an official company of Athenian cavalry before the middle of the fifth century BC. That individual mounted skirmishes took place cannot be doubted, and this may be what we see on the vases.¹⁶

Xenophon, whose monographs on horsemanship and on the duties of the cavalry commander are quoted throughout this chapter, was probably writing for his sons. It is clear, however, that he was writing too for the moneyed class who could afford to keep one horse or many. In Attica, with its few small farms and a notable lack of grazing, the expense must have been considerable. Possession of horses, indeed, had distinguished the aristocrat from the peasant in the circum-Mediterranean complex from the very earliest times. Kings and nobles used horses for pursuits

deemed worthy and glorious, while the rest of the population made do with oxen, donkeys or camels for their necessary but unappealing toil.

There is no mention of riding just for pleasure anywhere in Greek literature. Riding, it seems, must always have a destination or a purpose. Men might ride or drive from Athens to the Piraeus for a dinner party, or to the country to supervise their estates. There they might train their mounts or practice cross-country riding and gain useful experience of the terrain. On longer journeys, they prefer to walk. This may have been because a trip of several days' duration was hard on horses' feet or because of the difficulties of finding forage. Those who rode were well aware of its pleasures, however. 'No action of man bears a closer resemblance to flying,' Xenophon concedes, while Chrysantas, the quasi-Persian, wittily enumerates the advantages of the horseman in Chapter IV of the Kyropaedia. He lists four ears and eyes instead of two, a horizon at the same time nearer and farther away, an impressive turn of speed and all the advantages of the centaur, in fact, without the need to take four legs and a tail to bed at night. ¹⁷

But all this speed and dash and power at one's command could

lead to a dangerous affliction. Naturally, the philosophers were aware of it. Probably, indeed, they were the first to observe it. According to Diogenes Laertius, Plato was once persuaded to mount a horse but got down again very quickly, lest he be overtaken by Horse Pride.¹⁸

CHAPTER FOUR

OCCASIONS

Go to the Agora, to the Herms, the place frequented
by the phylarchs, and to their handsome pupils, whom
Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting. ¹
Mnesimachos, frag. 4.

Fig.
VI (f)

The earliest^t appearances of the horse on Attic pottery are invariably associated with funerals. Indeed, J.H. Benson's opinion is that whenever a horse is seen on a late Geometric vase, we should at once think of funerals. He offers, as one among many telling examples, a cup from the eighth century BC which shows two men, both prominently armed with swords, one holding a whip, the other the reins of a skittish pony. These men, he says are about to harness that pony for a funeral parade. This may seem like a great leap of the imagination, but is quite possibly a continuation of late Mycenaean tradition and may well be one of those associations which the conventions of pot-painting - still largely unknown to us - enabled the ancient contemporary viewer to make. ²

In a seemingly endless series of processions advancing sedately to the right around the shoulders and bellies of sometimes enormous vessels, we see warriors with Dipylon shields, driving what look like wicker-sided chariots and we note that the artist

- Pl.2 has drawn probably not just what he sees, but everything he knows to be there: two wheels to the chariot, two heads, eight legs for the horses. The charioteer seems to be standing on top of the chariot because the artist did not know how to draw him inside it. By 700 BC, at least some of the artists had learned how to do this as well as how to make one wheel represent two.
- Pl.3 We see long-robed charioteers poised behind the axles of these chariots, and chariots alternating with riders, all at the same measured pace. There are bands of mourners above or below, and often the dear departed one himself laid out on a bier, shrouded by a chequered cloth, on a cart pulled, perhaps, by his favourite team.
- Pl.2

Much later, about 510 BC, there is what might be termed the 'Poor Man's Ekphora', with a corpse on a cart pulled by donkeys. Four mourners walk and an elderly man playing the flute brings up the rear. Two mourners sit on the floor of the cart, which greatly resembles that of the Amasis Painter's wedding (Pl.19A), with the benches removed. By this time, prothesis and ekphora scenes were no longer being produced for the Athenian market, which makes this kantharos something of an anomaly, and raises unanswered questions about foreign markets. ³

Horse Head amphoras, of which about a hundred are known, had some funereal significance, although we cannot tell what it was. At one time, they were thought to be grave markers, but this is no longer generally accepted. They are belly amphoras with a horse's head and neck in a panel on either side and no other decoration. The draughtsmanship is very poor, the horse's lower jaw being emphasised as a little lumpy out-growth. On a vase in Munich, the mouth and jaw look as though they had been sliced off and grafted on to the nose. The horses are pictured 'at home', for all wear head-stalls or halters, not bridles and bits. These amphoras do not appear after the middle of the sixth century.⁴

Pl.14

The connection between horses and funerals certainly dates back to very early times and it is a connection that is reinforced in literature. In the twenty third book of The Iliad, in the ninth year of the Trojan war, upon the death of Patroklos, Achilles and the Myrmidons '... three times, mourning drove their horses with flying manes about the body...' then went off to sacrifice and feast. The day after the cremation, Achilles organised funeral games, bringing out from his ship where he stored his treasure '... cauldrons and tripods and horses and mules and heads of cattle and fair-girdled women and grey iron...' Obviously, ownership of horses was associated with wealth and

aristocracy and the perpetuation of the heroic way of life.⁵

P1.9 Sophilos and Kleitias both chose to represent the famous chariot race at the funeral games for Patroklos. Although Homer named only two horses per team, in this instance, the artists, perhaps following the custom of their own times, have drawn four to a team. On the Sophilos fragment, the spectators, wildly excited, sit on specially built bleachers which Homer does not mention but Sophilos, again, probably imported from his own age. On the Kleitias frieze a lebes and a tripod are seen under the second team, doubtless prizes for the winner.⁶

It may be that funeral games became less necessary after other games and athletic festivals began to be inaugurated. Perhaps funeral customs simply changed. Certainly, when we look around for real life examples after the heroic age, the paucity^{of funeral} is ^{games} striking. The Olympic Games, first held officially in 776 BC, were the most important and famous of all the Panhellenic games and four-horse chariot races figured there from 680 BC onwards. By the fifth century, the starting gate was a wonder of ingenuity. At the Pythian Games, there was no space among the Delphic crags, so the horse races were held at Krisa, on the plains by the shore below. There were all kinds of horse races at the Isthmean and

Nemean Games and at the Panathenaic Festival and indeed throughout the Greek world, or wherever Greeks gathered. ⁷

Xenophon relates the story of impromptu games held as part of a thanksgiving festival by his army on their long march homeward. The Marshal, who was a Spartan, laid out a race course which ran steeply down hill to the sea shore, then turned back up hill to the altar. The horses fell over on the down hill run and the riders fell off on the way back, causing much laughter and amusement. The prizes offered were the hides of sacrificial victims. ⁸

Even the permanent race courses of those days were far more informally laid out than those, say, of Roman times, and the length seems to have varied according to the space available. At Olympia the track was three stades, or 600 yards long. The Panathenaic course, between the city and the Piraeus was, at eight stades, the longest known and so permitted races of a single lap, without a turn (*ἀκαμνίος*). The course at Delos was similar in length. They were the only two courses where the starting line was not also the finishing line. Pausanias speaks of sixty chariots in one race, while Pindar mentions a forty chariot pile-up at Krisa. In Sophokles' ^Pdescription of the ten-chariot race at the same course, in which he pretends

Orestes has lost his life, there is a head-on collision (μέτωπα συμπαιλῶσι) which could not have happened had this been a heavily prepared course with a permanent barrier, or spina, down the middle.⁹

On the shorter tracks, numerous circuits would be necessary to complete a race. At Olympia, thanks to Pindar, we think that the chariots circled the course twelve times, making a distance of almost nine miles. The art of winning lay not only in the speed, experience and obedience of the horses, but in the judgement and skill of the charioteer. Nestor offers guidance to Antilochos which is echoed some three centuries later by Sophokles in describing Orestes' alleged death. The art lay in manoeuvring for a position on the inside track and making the tightest possible turn at the post. Turns on the course were always to the left, so that the driver had to be adept at getting as close as possible to the post, checking the left-hand trace-horse and at the same time urging on the right hand trace-horse, then whipping all horses on in the split second after the turn had been negotiated. Of the four horses, the yoked pair would be the steadier, exercising some restraint on the trace horses, which as we know, were not actually harnessed to the chariot. There is some evidence that the right trace-horse occupied the place of honour, but much depended upon the left trace-horse. If there were a pile-

up at the turn the left trace-horse would suffer, caught between the post and the weight of the other horses and the chariot. Indeed, this is where Orestes reportedly dies. He turns too tight at the post, his near wheel mounts the base of the post, the axle breaks and he is tossed among the horses and dragged to his death.¹⁰

Such crashes, bloody, dramatic and often fatal, were, of course, part of the popular appeal of the races. The toll in horse-flesh must have been enormous, not simply in immediate fatalities, but in broken legs, torn ligaments and ruptured muscles. Often, even after recuperation some animals would not be fit to race again, or for much activity at all. What happened then? There is silence on this aspect of a race-horse's career. Nor is there mention of anyone skilled in veterinary medicine, although such men, probably slaves, must have existed. When a horse was hopelessly injured how and by whom was it dispatched? If it had earned an honourable retirement, was it sent off to the farm or was it sold to the ancient Athenian equivalent of the glue-factory or the dog-meat shop? Herodotos bears witness to the story that Kimon's team of mares, three time victorious at Olympia, were buried near their owner. Pausanias tells the same story about Euagoras of Sparta and his team.¹¹

The Taraxippos, or Horse Scarer, was sometimes blamed for crashes. At Olympia there was a round altar, just before the turn, said to be haunted by the ghosts of ancient heroes. Pausanias carefully recounts all the other things which are said to make horses shy at a critical place on other courses, before observing shrewdly that there is no Taraxippos at Krisa, although there is no lack of accidents there, either.¹²

There may have been a natural disinclination among the pot-painters to portray race course wrecks, or naufragia as the Romans aptly termed them, whether out of superstitious respect or a lack of eager buyers. In fact, horses are rarely pictured as fallen and we have not one representation of a full-scale crash.¹³

Fig.
XVI

There are, of course, many fine pictures of the chariots in action, Take for example the dashing and decorative team on the border of a mid-sixth century cup from Tarquinia. The charioteer's weight is well behind the axle, his upper body bent towards the rail, knees bent to absorb shocks. The side rails do not even reach his knees. What a precarious position ! There may have been rings or clogs on the floor of the chariot, into which he could fit his feet to gain some security and avoid being bounced out of the vehicle, at least this is what one line in Hippolytos

Pl.29 suggests. He holds three reins in each hand but drive four horses. They gallop along, eyes rolling, manes and tails flying, their forelegs painted in that sixth century fashion which makes them look as though they will strike the ground one after the other. One can almost hear the thunder of hooves. A Panathenaic vase of the late fifth century offers the same subject in more casual but still spirited style. Note the all-important turning post.¹⁴

Pls: Both drivers carry long whips or switches. *κέντρον* is usually translated as a goad, *μαστιγὴ* as a lash. Four well-fed horses would need little encouragement to move along and being harnessed abreast would probably be inclined to try to outdo one another at the gallop. A goad would seem to be the least of a driver's needs, but a long, pliant switch would be needed to cue turns and correct unruly behaviour. However, goads do appear to have been used by both riders and drivers.

The four-horse chariot race (τέθριππον) became an Olympic event in 680 BC. The Kelēs, a race for fully grown, mounted horses, was first run there in 648. At the beginning of the fifth century two other races were added, one was the Apēnē for mule carts, the other the mysterious Kalpē, described by Pausanias as follows:

The animals in the race were mares and on the last lap the mounters jumped off and ran with the mares, holding their bridles, just as the anabatai do in my time.

This race was part of the Olympics for more than fifty years, but this is the only mention of it. Of the 'anabatai' we shall speak later.¹⁵

fig.
XIX

The race for mule teams is well illustrated on on yet another Panathenaic amphora from the British Museum. The neat little cart bears some resemblance to the modern racing sulky and it has a step for the driver's feet. Mules seem to have been favoured for long journeys, perhaps because they could forage for themselves and did well on poor fare. Although the ancient world's opinion of the mule was certainly higher than that of the present day, Simonides the poet was said to have objected when asked to write an ode about a winning team of mules, saying they were no subject for poetry. Fortunately, Pindar had no such reservations and he points out twice how dangerous the race was. Pausanias says it was discontinued because it had neither tradition or dignity (εὐπρεπεία).¹⁶

There are no identifiable pictures of the Kalpē. If the competitors were armed, like the 'anabatai', there is a cup in the

British Museum with armed men trotting beside their horses on the exterior which just might represent this race. Since how the hoplites carry shields, it may simply be another military exercise.¹⁷

Both the Apēnē and the Kalpē, begun in the same year, were abandoned in 444 BC, which meant that the horse events at Olympia were once again reduced to two. Over the next two hundred years other events were introduced for young horses which duplicated events for older horses. This nebulous statement is due to the fact that Pausanias, in explaining the changes, uses the word 'πωλολ', which most writers have understandably translated as 'foals'. But foals do not race in harness. They do not race at all until they have been broken in and trained, and training was not usually completed until they were three years old and almost fully grown. We might therefor be justified in translating 'πωλολ' in this instance as 'three-year-olds', bearing in mind that there are, so far, no contemporary definitions of the term. The age division more or less echoes the groupings of Men and Boys in the human events.¹⁸

The Synoris, first run at Olympia in 408 BC, had surely been a part of the sporting scene for some time before that. Some

Pl.13

writers assume that this was simply a race for the conventional two-horse chariot, but as we have seen, there is not much evidence for the use of two-horse chariots after the Geometric period. On a Panathenaic amphora in London, the earliest known, dated circa 560 BC, we see a man in a high wheeled cart drawn by two horses. He has no reins, only a long switch with pendants which he may have shaken on one side or the other for directional cues, or he may have used on the animals' necks in a way reminiscent of those Libyan riders who so impressed the ancient world. This method of driving had been in use for centuries. Was this Synoris? ¹⁹

Pl.33

The Kelēs, or flat race as we would term it, does not seem to have attracted as much attention or glory as the chariot race. The two best action pictures come from a Panathenaic amphora from the Leagros Group and a red figure cup by the Pistoxenos Painter. The amphora shows two beefy stallions with worried expressions, heads so high in the air they can have no idea where they are going, bounding along under the enthusiastically applied lashes of their riders. The horses on the cup are in an entirely different category. Slender, sleek and swift as grey-

Pl.41

hounds, they streak along with all eight hooves of the ground at the same time. This is a remarkable picture and nothing like

it will be seen again until Eadward Muybridge arrives with his stop-action photographs in the late nineteenth century. Note the telling glance between riders as the boy nearer us realizes that he is being overtaken.²⁰

What Beazley calls 'one of the most attractive pictures to appear on any Panathenaic amphora' comes from the Nauplion Museum. Here the winning horse is led in by the owner, who pats his neck in gratitude. Horse and rider are covered with fillets and garlands and a young man in the rear waves an olive branch. An amphora long attributed to the Swing Painter shows a similar moment of triumph. Here the horse and rider are preceded by a herald who says 'The horse of ~~of~~ Dysniketos wins', although the name is misspelled, and they are followed by a slave bearing the prize, a tripod, and holding up the victor's wreath for all to see.²¹

Pl.21

Pl.49

There was a variety of what nowadays would be called 'novelty events' at the games and festivals. In one of them, mounted men galloped past a shield hung on a pole and hurled javelins at it, the winner being the man who scored a bull's eye. On one of Sir William Hamilton's vases, now, alas, vanished, there is a picture of a race mentioned by Plato. This is the Lampada, a mounted relay race held at night in honour of the Thracian goddess

Bendis, where the riders carried not batons, but torches. A race like this was held by Alexander at Susa, on his way to India.²²

The anabatai, or 'mounters' mentioned earlier in this chapter in an extract from Pausanias, are more usually called 'apobatai' or 'dismounters'. They are first seen on Protogeometric vases. According to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, there was a race after the chariot race, run by the same contestants, where armed men ran alongside the chariot driven at full speed by the charioteer, mounted it via the wheel, then dismounted again and ran on. Sometimes the charioteer mounted and then left the chariot and horses to run on alone, which is what seems to be going on in those puzzling lines from the Hymn to Pythian Apollo which I have used to head Chapter One.²³

There is not an apobates to be seen on any black figure vase.

PJ.15 What we do have on an undated Panathenaic vase from Rhodes, is an acrobatic display of a kind which perhaps entertained the crowd between events at the festivals. As in the Sophilos fragment (PJ.9), there are bleachers with an appreciative crowd seated on them. They are shouting 'ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΥΒΙΟΤΕΛΤΟΙΣ' intended^d to be 'Great summersaults!' or, 'Well done, the acrobat!' The meaning is unclear. They are applauding a group which

consists of a flute player, an acrobat, a man riding one horse and leading another and two youngsters, one with an axe beneath the horses, the other shinning up a pole behind them. The acrobat, who may or may not be a boy, since the scale of the picture requires him to fit into a small space, is naked but wears a crested helmet and carries two shields. They are both painted with whirligigs, the type of pattern which changes as it is revolved at varying speeds. He is leaping up on to one of the horses from a pedestal.²⁴

This scene is unique in all Greek art. It can be interpreted as an acrobatic performance: the boy leaps up as the horses canter by. Twirling his shields, he will jump from one horse to another as the flautist plays suitable music. Homer describes a similar performance, although he envisions it as taking place on a public highway, without arms or music. The art of leaping from back to back of moving horses has, of course, a lengthy tradition and is still seen in circuses of the present day.²⁵

Instead, however, of cantering in circles, the horses may be dancing to the music of the flute, just as the ponies of the Indonesian Islands of Sumba and Sumbawa dance to-day. With bells tied to their forelegs, ridden bareback by young boys, they move in

time to the beat of a tom-tom. This is believed to be a relic of Arab tradition in the islands. The fact that these ponies require riders to perform leads me to believe that unlike other 'dancing' horses, they are actually moving in time to rhythm of the musician, rather than the musician keeping time with the horses, which is the usual way of things.²⁶

There is a story found in several ancient authors, but first told by Charon of Lampsakos in the fifth century BC. The people of Kardia loved feasting and music and had taught their horses to dance to the sound of the flute. When Thracian invaders arrived, a traitor provided them with a slave who knew the tunes to play and he struck up a dance tune as soon as the battle lines were drawn. The Kardian horses reared up and began to dance. The Kardians fell off and victory went to the Thracians.²⁷

The horse was expected to take part in war, although exactly how and to what extent remains a matter for debate. Certainly he pulled chariots for his master. But what was the function of these chariots? Very little of Greece is level enough to allow chariot deployment on a large scale. There are signs that when even cavalry use was planned the ground had to be 'prepared'. Presumably this meant clearing boulders and rocks, breaking

down stone boundaries and the like. Several ancient authors observe that Attica, in particular, was ill-suited to cavalry fighting.²⁸

Homer makes it clear that the chariot was used only on ceremonial occasions and for transport behind the lines, very rarely as a fighting vehicle. This makes sense, for unless there were two men on board, one to drive and one to fight, the chariot, the horses, his shield and weapons would have been too much for one man to control, since he would have had to keep an eye open for natural hazards as well as the foe. Of course, when reading Homer, one must always ask how much of what he says is a true reflection of Mycenaean life and custom, how much is contamination from the intervening centuries and how much is simply poetic licence.

The three-horse chariot appears often in the pages of The Iliad and Homer did not invent it, for the Assyrian chariots of the early ninth century BC are always three-horse affairs. Nobody can figure out how three horses were harnessed to a single pole, or why. Greenhalgh summarizes some of the far-fetched theories in his book, Early Greek Warfare. He also provides some evidence for three-horse chariots as moulded handles for the lids of pyxides.

There is ample evidence of four-horse chariots as early as the third quarter of the eighth century BC. Greenhalgh strongly suspects, and he may well be right, that the military use of the chariot was 'a deliberate piece of heroizing' whereby racing chariots were transposed to the battlefield by black figure vase painters, the makers of a Tanagra terracotta quadriga and the artist of the Vix bronze krater. This would make all those chariot scenes of gigantomachies, Amazonomachies and ordinary mortal battles nothing but wishful thinking, but would certainly answer many awkward questions.²⁹

As for cavalry units, not until the fifth century BC do they seem to have been a part of the Athenian army. They scouted, ravaged enemy countryside, pursued the remnants of a broken army, and covered their own army's retreat. They might foul water supplies stir up dust and engineer confusion and annoyance, but they never employed a frontal charge against the enemy. Until the arrival of the stirrup fused the weight of man and beast behind the lance's point into a single projectile, a charge was just as likely to wreak havoc in the cavalry ranks as among the enemy. Much of the horseman's energy was expended in simply staying where he was, on horseback. As Xenophon points out to his men, 'In one thing alone your horsemen have the advantage. Flight is safer for them than for us'. Admittedly, Xenophon had an axe to

grind. His army had no cavalry to speak of, while the surrounding Persians were said to have ten thousand. Still, there is truth in his observation.³⁰

Organised cavalry implies a set of standards for horse and rider and a system of inspection to ensure that these standards are met. The Hipparchikos by Xenophon and the Athenaion Politeia by a pseudo-Aristotle a generation or so later, give some account of the organisation of the force. Two red figure cups are of particular interest in this regard. The earlier of the two, dated to the last decade of the sixth century, is by the Thalia Painter. Young men, some in Scythian dress, some in cloak and petasos, lead their mounts towards a man in high boots and short tunic, writing in a series of tablets. He is dressed more like an officer than a civilian official. The second cup is the name-piece of the Dokimasia Painter who completed it about 470 BC. It seems to show a scrutiny by officials, one sitting under a tree with tablets on his lap, the other standing beside him. They both wear long robes. A young man with two spears, cloak and petasos, stands before them with his horse. Behind him another long-robed personage appears to be scrutinizing the horse. This certainly looks like an official inspection and if it is, must be one of the few non-religious government occasions ever

represented in art. However, both these pictures may simply show an official muster before a parade or display.³¹

Xenophon mentions several inspections (δοκιμασίαι) and displays (ἐπιδείξεις) which took place 'before the council', at various locations: the Academy, the Lyceum, Phaleron and the Hippodrome. The parade might start at the Stoa of Herms where the cavalry headquarters was situated, at the north-west corner of the Agora. In this area too, was a riding school. The cavalry would then ride around saluting the various gods at their shrines. When the circuit was completed they would gallop, unit by unit, to the Eleusinion and return at a slower pace, making their mounts cavort and pirouette. There were exhibitions of javelin throwing from horseback at the Lyceum and what sounds like a mock battle at the Hippodrome. There is much independent evidence for the popularity of such spectacles in the fourth and third centuries BC. It seems likely that they took place in the fifth century too.³²

The popularity of horse and rider as a subject to fill the tondo of a cup is particularly evident from 520 BC onward and continues until 450, or thereabouts. Although riders wearing the alopekis, zeira and long boots are probably not to be

thought of as wearing a uniform of any kind, it does look as though this costume was popular among the young blades who formed the cavalry regiment. It is interesting to note that there is a corresponding decline in the number of paintings of chariots about this time, a fact which may well reflect the new democratic sentiments of the age.³³

Kroll has argued that the katástasis mentioned in connection with the establishment of an official body of cavalry was a loan made by the state to each recruit, once he was enrolled, to assist him in buying a horse of superior quality. This loan would be repaid on retirement and for many years the sum was set at 1200 drachmas, or the equivalent of four years' wages for a skilled workman.³⁴

Lead tablets of the fourth and third centuries BC, found in a well near cavalry headquarters, give the name of the owner, the colour, brand and evaluation of his horse, or horses, over a number of years. The animals depreciate in value at a rate of one hundred drachmas a year, on the average. At the point when the animal could no longer pass inspection, it was branded on the cheek with a wheel and turned out of the regiment. If there were evidence of neglect by the owner, he was fined

his forage allowance. The tablets record what appears to be a good deal of horse-trading, and some horses which were valued at 1200 dr. for three years in a row, presumably because they had originally been worth even more. There is nothing to tell us what happened when a horse was seriously injured, or killed in the service of the country.³⁵

Horse and rider would have served together for about ten years. The horse, which would have been about three years old at the time of enrollment, might be expected to experience a decline in its powers at about twelve years, although it should be pointed out that Kimon's triple-crowned mares (p 54) must have been at least fourteen at the time of their third Olympic victory. The rider, who was probably in his late teens at the beginning of his service, would expect to retire at about thirty to take up his estates, interest himself in the law courts, start raising a family and perform other civic duties. Enough has been said here to demonstrate that cavalry service was only for the very rich. There certainly is a link between the establishment of a regular cavalry regiment, with all the multiple expenses it entailed the government, and the increase in revenues occasioned by the expansion of the Athenian empire.

Another approved aristocratic pastime which sometimes included horses and provided a useful foretaste of war, was hunting.

Much of this was done on foot, using dogs and nets. Xenophon, at the beginning of Kynegetikos, waxes enthusiastic about all the men and women who have enjoyed this 'god-given invention' and one is just beginning to think that perhaps Phaedra's ambitions were not so outrageous after all, when the realisation dawns that our author has listed only gods, heroes and goddesses as devotees of the sport. In short, this is another purely masculine pursuit. An unusual deer hunt is pictured on a cup by the Bonn Painter. The doe is wearing a necklace. The huntsmen, two of them on horseback, wear a variety of Scythian or Oriental dress. ~~A~~ More usual deer hunt takes place on the predella of a black figure amphora in the Louvre.³⁷

The Amasis Painter has given us a picture of what may be a group of off-duty soldiers setting out on a hunting party.

Pl.18 A dog bounds keenly ahead, they all carry spears and are wearing those little pointed leather or felt caps which go under bronze helmets.

Mythical scenes commonly include horses. They are present, and understandably so, with Troilos at the well, with the corpse of Hektor under the walls of Troy, with Athena as she prepares to drive Herakles to Olympos. Less understandably, horses

Pl.31 frame the death of Priam and the sacrifice of Polyxena.

Pl.34 Selene, who as a mere woman would never be accorded this privilege, as an immortal is permitted to drive a chariot and pair on her nightly rounds. Just as it is Athena, and not Herakles, who does the driving in the apotheosis scenes because she is divine. Could there be a clearer statement that the Horse equals Power? ³⁸

Pl.10 A mythological occasion which blended the divine and the mortal was the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Both Sophilos and Kleitias attempted to describe this event. It gave them a splendid opportunity to draw gods and goddesses, all carefully labelled, decked out in their finery and mounted in chariot after chariot drawn by a variety of spirited steeds. On both the Erskine dinos and the François vase the deities are on their way to the wedding feast. The relative skill of the artists, at least as far as concerns their animals, will be discussed in a later chapter. The only question we have to ask at this point is, did such splendid assemblies have any basis of fact in the mortal world? No literary evidence leaps to mind. Even Homer is silent on this point. However it seems likely that in any area famed for its horse breeding, Thessaly, for example or far-off Thrace, a wedding would be a great occasion for showing off the best and finest horseflesh. One

can imagine. too, the Argive nobles turning out in force to impress those hoity-toity Athenians when Peisistratos married his third wife, Timonassa.³⁹

At a later date, there is some sign that the bridegroom who could afford it^f hired a chariot and team to drive his new bride to his home, while the way was lit by torch-bearers who included his mother-in-law. Just such an occasion is depicted on a pyxis by the Marlay Painter. The bride and groom mount the chariot, the torch-bearers are waiting and the slave girls carry out the presents.⁴⁰

A simpler wedding is seen on the Amasis Painter's lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum, where the wedding party sits in a cart drawn by two donkeys and the guests sit back to back in a cart pulled by a mule, the animals all driven without bits or reins. The bride holds a wreath and the woman on foot beside her carries two torches.

Clearly, horse ownership was one of the approved ways of displaying wealth in the ancient world. In a society where what is now called conspicuous consumption was condemned and dis-trusted, the horse provided an acceptable symbol of wealth and

prestige and as such was included in every important festival and ceremony celebrated by his owners.

CHAPTER FIVE

HORSES

Best of all land, the Pelasgian plain;
Best are the horses of Thrace...

Palatine Anthology XIV, 73.

Since horses were equated with wealth and power, it is understandable that they be shown in Greek art only as an adjunct of man. We do not see horses kicking up their heels in high spirits or standing companionably head to tail under trees, or even enjoying a roll in the sand. There are no suckling foals, no gambolling colts. We do not even see the mating process and this is odd, for most aspects of human coupling are pictured on the vases.

It might be concluded that these aspects of a horse's life were outside the artists' experience, for we do not know whether the pot painter's craft was hereditary, apprenticed, or enslaved, if they themselves came from the city or the country, or even if they were native-born or foreign, so we might just as well conclude that the horse's private life was of no interest to the buyers.

There are a few exceptions to the rule. The Swing Painter has painted at least three amphoras which show stallion fights, perhaps as a variation on the the antithetic horsemen appearing about this time. The Amasis Painter, on two vessels has given us a young man with a whip, perhaps a groom, poised between two rearing horses. Spectators flank both scenes.¹

Pl.16

The Dokimasia Painter shows us the preliminaries to a donkey mating on the exterior of a red figure cup now in Bologna. A jenny is tethered to a tree, tail raised and hind leg cocked, while a jackass in an excited state advances upon her. He is being guided from the rear by a man in a linen kilt. The donkeys are of Nubian breed, later popular in Christian mythology because as well as the long dark dorsal stripe seen here, there is a cross-bar over the withers and zebra rings or bands, on the legs. Such bands are seldom absent in red figure pictures of donkeys.²

Pl.45

A unique glimpse is given of the stable by the Amasis Painter on side A of a cup in the Schimmel collection. This is thought to be Poseidon's stable at Aigai, although as often happens, Homer wrote of two horses and the artist has drawn four. The Amasis Painter, in his usual way, has overlapped hindquarters

Pl.20

and positioned limbs to cover the genital area, so it is not possible to say whether these are stallions or mares. Each is being harnessed or soothed by a groom and all are being supervised by the gentleman in the himation, with a staff, on the right. We know these are stables because of the fourteen metopes supported by four columns in the background. The divine nature of these stables is surmised from the animated figures inhabiting the metopes and the two mysterious little mannikins hopping about on the horses on the left. This scene tells us nothing about Athenian stables, except perhaps that headstalls were sometimes hung on abacus corners. ³

Tack or harness rooms may have been a feature of the more luxurious mortal stables, but were certainly not a part of every Greek home, as Plutarch makes plain in his story about the lost bridle which started Pelopidas on his career as liberator. So far, no-one has identified the remains of any stables in Greece.⁴

There were probably hay-racks and certainly mangers (φατήν) for the animals to feed from. They may have been built into walls, as seen later at Tiddis and Pompeii, for example, or simply portable. After the battle of Plataia, there was a splendid bronze manger among the belongings of the Persian

general Mardonios which so impressed the Tegeans that they carried it home and dedicated it to their goddess.⁵

In contrast to Attic artists, the Argive contingent of painters^{in the Geometric Period} is fond of depicting their horses at home in stable or yard, surrounded by ponds, water-fowl, fish and other objects that may be interpreted as water-troughs, mangers and tripods, as well as a variety of other shapes, some of which look very like sun-dried fish fillets. The Paeonians were said to feed their horses on fish and the Argives may very well have done the same. The fish would have been chopped up fine and mixed with green herbs when summer grazing began to fail, or when the horses were not being worked out every day.⁶

Xenophon is not helpful on the subject of equine diet in his day, contenting himself with reminders to the owner to be vigilant against theft of fodder by the groom. Homer, however, catalogues such short feed as sifted barley, spelt and wheat, as well as long feed like grass, clover and marsh parsley. He also says Hektor's horses were given wine. This is not surprising, for the Romans knew that the lees of the wine would bring a sheen to the coats of their oxen, while modern race-horses are often given a mixture of sherry and eggs as a tonic.⁷

Alfalfa, also known as lucerne or Medean grass (Μηδική ποῦρα), is said to have been introduced to Greece by the Persians, at the beginning of the fifth century BC. This high energy food was almost certainly the basis for Kikkulis' successful régime during his stint as Master of the King's Horse in the Hittite kingdom about 1360 BC. He had a very labour intensive system for training and conditioning pairs of chariot horses, which involved indoor living, a graduated course of exercise, river bathing and vast quantities of cut hay. There is reason to believe that the introduction of a high-protein, long feed like alfalfa would release all sorts of genetic impulses towards greater size, bulk and speed in the horses fed on it. Certainly the Nesean horses, famous for their size throughout the ancient world and jealously guarded by the Persian kings, came from the same corner of the world as Kikkulis. The introduction of this fodder to Greece, even at such a comparatively late date, must have delighted all those breeders who had access to it, but since they were not the people writing for posterity, there is only one contemporary mention of it. Nor can it be said that we notice any^{great} increase in size in the horses of the day in artistic representations.⁸

Grooming was to be done on a regular basis with the 'usual implements', according to Xenophon. We have only one illustration

of this everyday activity. Thick manes and tails were much admired and many of the names inscribed beside the horses reflect this, so we must ask why so many of the horses we see have hogged, or roached manes. The first Mycenaean ponies appear to be quite shaggy, but a little later they seem to have carefully dressed manes and tied, or knotted tails. This trend carries over into the Geometric Period. Some manes may be hogged, or riffled by the breeze, some have a spiky look, as though braided or knotted. By the seventh century most animals have well-tended manes falling in graceful meshes. In the sixth century, on the François Vase, Kleitias has meticulously painted rippling manes and tails which look as though they might have been crimped, by leaving them in braids overnight, then combing them out in the morning. Forelocks are sometimes taken upwards between the ears and knotted, although some animals might be wearing plumes. Sophilos, always more slapdash, portrays his horses with both long, unruly locks and hogged manes, but they are never cut really short. Fashion apparently swung towards hogging in the second half of the sixth century and from the beginning of the fifth century, manes are nearly always hogged. Sometimes they are triple-hogged. That is to say, there is a two inch central crest of hair with a one inch ridge on either side of it. This style, unique to the Greeks of this period, can be seen to advantage on the horses of Helios and Selene on the

Fig. III

Fig. VI(e)
VI(f)

Pl.4

Fig. II

Pl.10

Pl.46

Pl.46 east pediment of the Parthenon. It is easier to carve than to draw, but the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs does his best. Once one knows what to look for, the style can be readily detected.

Pls: Note too, that throughout this later period, the forelock is
28 often left long, while the mane is cut short. This style is
29 especially favoured by cavalry types and it may have been a
34 small concession to the horse's comfort while stabled out of
38 doors, on campaign or manoeuvres, as it would protect a sensit-
40 ive area against flies. Hogging may have been a requirement for
44 the cavalry horse, as it would be only too easy to tangle a
46 long mane in the reins and weapons carried by his rider.⁹
47

Xenophon is the first of several ancient authors to repeat the story that a mare who is to be bred to a jackass must have her mane cut off, or she will be too vain to let him mount her. Manes were also shorn off as a sign of mourning.¹⁰

As soon as we begin to consider the colours of these long-ago horses, we run into a familiar problem: the ancient Greek terms for colour and our understanding of them. Exact words must have existed among the professionals. There would be no point in sending your men down to the south meadows to bring in six bays, for example, if they were going to bring back six

chestnuts. We really cannot be sure how universal are the words that we have, or how general their application, and it certainly seems that they change over the centuries.

Homer writes of white (λευκός), bay (φούνηξ), and xanthos (ξανθός) which is often translated as chestnut, but which I prefer to call dun, or more properly, yellow dun. There is no word for chestnut in the Iliad unless it is ἄθωον (burning) which is the name of one of Hektor's horses and Agamemnon's mare. Βᾶλιος, which describes a dappled or spotted effect may possibly mean gray.¹¹

Simon mentions colour only to say that he cannot judge a horse by it. Xenophon is silent on the subject. Aristotle states that the skin, hair, or plumage of every living thing is either white (λευκός), or gray (φαίος), or red (πυρρός), or black (μελάς). Most people today would not argue with this unless they were horse lovers. Aristotle does admit of a few other colours : xanthos, which in his view is yellow, tawny or sandy; phoinikeos, which if we are to translate as 'date-coloured' still means bay, and poikilos which is spotted or pied. Note that Aristotle uses phaios for gray, and not balios, and purros for reds and browns.¹²

The cavalry archives of the Kerameikos and the Agora list purros as by far the most frequent colour, and it is usually here taken to be chestnut. Other colours in descending order of popularity are: black (μελας); reddish-brown or bay (παρώας); white (λευκος); ~~and~~ spotted, piebald or skewbald (ποικίλος); and ψαρός gray, flea-bitten or dapple. Aristophanes uses this last adjective to describe a horse in Clouds, where it is sometimes translated as 'starling-coloured', as good a description as any of the flea-bitten gray.¹³

Pls: 9
10
11

As for colours on the vases, it is obvious that the artist of the first few hundred years of pottery painting could not have drawn a white horse even if he had wanted to. Once added colour became an option on black figure work, we find every possible colour combination: red with black mane and tail, white with red or black; black with white, red, or yellow and so on. A matching team of horses was not a priority. Exekias and his associates usually like to have one white horse among the team. This may be simply to provide a little variety or contrast, or it might be an allusion to a famous team of the day.¹⁴

Fl.21
Pl.27

Although Aristotle says white is a weak colour, he excepts white horses and dogs, which he says are superior. The Persians

favoured white horses both for sacrifice and as chargers for their leaders. Indeed, this is a preference that has continued almost everywhere up to the present day. The white horse does suffer one serious defect in ancient eyes - his pale hooves. Such hooves are not nearly as tough as hooves of dark coloured horn belonging to black, bay and some dun horses, and of course, tough hooves in a world without horse shoes were of prime importance.¹⁵

I am inclined to believe that palominos existed throughout the centuries which we are considering. Certainly the cream and chestnut horses necessary to produce this lovely colouring were available. How else are we to understand the filly with the xanthos mane who galloped up in the nick of time to prevent Pelopidas and his advisors from taking the decision to sacrifice a fair-haired human virgin for the success of an imminent battle?¹⁶

Simon observes that the best horses come from Thessaly. He is not telling us that there is a breed of horses known as Thessalian, only that Thessaly is the best place in Greece to raise horses. This is an important distinction, for although professional breeders must have had an immense store of practical knowledge on the subject, their approach was not, nor could it ever be, scientific. There was no classification system for equids. The science of genetics was unknown. Great emphasis

was placed on the qualities of the stallion, to the detriment of the mare's contribution. Breeders must have realised quite early that breeding two very fast horses would probably produce even faster off-spring, but we have to wonder when the racing mares had time to breed. There were no stud books, no government hand-books, no pooling of knowledge - simply a long oral tradition and doubtless individual caches of jealously guarded secrets.¹⁷

If mares ran loose in the water-meadows, and this is the earliest, most primitive style of horse-breeding, then casual matings with runaway stallions must have been fairly common. Yet, litigious though we know they were, no Greek ever seems to have taken a neighbour to court for letting a low-born stallion in among his high-born mares. This could be proof either that no horse breeding took place in Attica, or that Athenians understood so little about breeding that any foal at all was looked upon as a lucky wind-fall.¹⁸

The famous Boukephalos was bred in Thessaly and sold to Philip of Macedon by Philoneikos of Pharsalos for a very large sum of money. Pharsalos was far from the court of King Philip, but further still from Athens. This at once raises the interesting question of how

breeders in Thessaly, or Thrace, or the Argolid transported animals to their buyers. There is no mention of sea-going transports until much later, although something of the sort must have existed for the use of Olympic competitors from overseas. Philoneikos might have made a handsome profit bringing just this one horse to the Macedonian court, but surely this was an exceptional case. Unless rich men sent agents, or themselves travelled to the horse-breeding locations, it is possible that breeders collected a herd of likely young animals and drove them at a leisurely pace to regional centres where they might be sold in the market place. I say 'drove' them, rather than 'rode' them, for Xenophon seems to expect that the horse will not be broken in when it is purchased. The journey would have to be leisurely, for the drovers would not want to arrive at the market place with out-of-condition animals with worn-down hooves, and roads where they existed at all, were rough. Were the breeders commercially aware enough to time their arrival with local festivals, so that the number of prospective buyers was increased? There must have been many such festivals of which we know nothing.¹⁹

Such trail drives may explain the great number of brands which are seen on black figure horses and, to a lesser extent on red

figure beasts. The brands would belong to the breeders, providing a highly visible method of identification, both in the meadows at home and on the trail to market.

Some of these brands were famous and recur time and again over the centuries. The San, or sigma brand, the Koppa, or kappa brand and the Ox-head brand all enjoyed a high reputation. The Ox-head seems to have been particular to the area of Pharsalos and is probably the reason for Boukephalos' name, rather than any of the lame excuses offered by Alexander's biographers.

San may signify a horse from Sikyon; Koppa, a horse from Korinth.

The Circle, both broken and complete, the Snake and the Dolphin appear on the hindquarters of horses^{on vases} of the sixth century and are mentioned, along with many others, on the Agora Cavalry Archives of the fourth and third centuries BC. Nor must we forget the wheel, stamped on the jaw, which signifies unfitness for cavalry service.²⁰

When Simon and Xenophon speak of buying and training an animal, it is of the stallion they speak. The painted pottery reflects this bias. Most artists, the Amasis Painter is the one notable exception, are careful to indicate the full sexual equipment of the stallion on all the animals they draw, yet as we have seen, teams of mares were raced and Pausanias tells the famous

Pls:
27
37
46
54

story of the mare Aura who went on to win the flat race after her rider fell off but was still declared the winner and allowed to have her statue dedicated. Perhaps like later Spaniards and Normans, the Greeks thought it unmanly to ride mares. Scythians preferred geldings, and there is some evidence that gelding was practiced in Greece, although the method used is unknown. Later Arabs liked to ride mares, finding them swifter, more loyal and obedient, less rambunctious on campaign.²¹

How the horses moved, that is to say, what gaits they used, has been the subject of much controversy, not so much in the Greek and Hellenistic periods, but later, in Roman times. The experts become entangled in technical terms which one sometimes suspects even the ancient authors themselves did not fully understand.

Pls: Many marble reliefs and numerous vases appear to show the ancient
 3 horse pacing, that is, moving the left fore^e-leg and the left
 17 hind-leg forward together, then both right legs forward, rather
 21 than moving diagonally opposed limbs together. This is a perfect-
 37 ly feasible method of locomotion and while some horses perform
 43 it naturally, other can be taught to move this way. It produces
 44 a somewhat rolling gait which is more comfortable for the rider
 51 than the jarring beat of the normal trot. The only Greek author to mention it is Aristotle, who says that if a horse were to move in this way he would fall down! Such representations could

representations could well be the result of artistic error.

Since humans walk left - right - left - right, thinks the

Fig.
II

artist, so must horses, especially if he has never ridden or driven one himself. However, there is a long, respectable tradition of depicting the progression of animal movement in just

Pl.1

this way among other peoples of the Levant, and it may be this tradition and convention which the vase painters follow.²²

Throughout the centuries that pottery was produced there is, with one exception, no recognizable breed of horse at which we can point with absolute confidence. The Mycenaean ponies,

Fig.
III

especially those on that earliest seal, bear more than a passing resemblance to the present-day ponies of Skyros. The Skyros pony is sometimes called the 'world's oldest breed' and as Skyros, an out of the way island with a secure place in mythology, has several Mycenaean sites, it is possible that today's Skyros pony is a descendant of those Mycenaean animals. It is not a handsome beast and its conformation well demonstrates the result of centuries of in-breeding and poor feeding, but it does have that high head carriage first seen on the seal and the very earliest pottery.²³

The Peneia pony from the Peloponnese is strikingly similar to

the graceful little creatures of the Chigi Vase, especially about the head and forequarters. The horses of Thessaly and Epiros are nowadays represented by the Pindos pony, an attractive but undistinguished animal. Although it too is an ancient breed, it has received many infusions of foreign blood, unlike the Skyros pony.²⁴

For the rest, we are able to say that ancient Greeks rode and drove compact, strongly muscled animals with curving necks, an unusually alert head carriage and flowing manes and tails. They seem to be between twelve and fourteen hands (1.21 - 1.43m) as a rule. It is hard to estimate heights from the vases, and next to impossible from the Parthenon friezes. In the former, the animals are often squeezed into confining spaces and their riders, also often constricted, do not always give a comparative scale. On the friezes, everything is distorted by the need for isokelismos, the need to have all human heads on the same level.

All at once, however, in the early 470's, a different type of animal appears: taller, longer, slim as a greyhound, sparse of mane and tail, with a slender, sometimes swan-like neck and, again an extraordinarily alert carriage of the head. The Pisto-

Pls:
38
40
41

xenos Painter, the Foundry^fPainter and some of their contemporaries paint this breed on the ⁿodos and exteriors of their cups.

Where has this horse come from? My guess is Bactria, with the invading army of Persians under Xerxes, in 480 BC. Herodotos describes various units of the Persian army, among them the Bactrian cavalry. He also says that when Xerxes organised horse races when he arrived in Thessaly, his horses soundly beat the Thessalians.²⁵

Bactria had been the twelfth satrapy of Persia since the reign of Darius I. It seems to have covered an area roughly equivalent to today's Uzbekhistan, Afghanistan, the Hindu Kush and a part of Turkmenistan. The Bactrian horse-breeding and racing traditions were already established at this time and their horses would later be used as re-mounts for his cavalry by Alexander the Great. When Darius III fled into the desert, he took an escort of Bactrians with him. Their horses were renowned for their strength and endurance in desert conditions, their hard hooves and their superlative floating action. They may be the 'Heavenly' or 'Blood-Sweating' horses of Chinese legend and may even be an ancestor of the Arab.²⁶

To modern eyes, they are often too elongated, in every direction, for classic beauty, in fact some writers have called them 'weedy'. The Pistoxenos Painter has caught this slenderness to perfection. Probably because he does not seem to have drawn any other type of horse, they have been taken for an artistic idiosyncrasy, but a comparison with works by the Brygos Painter, the Foundry Painter, the Triptolemos Painter and various other of his contemporaries will show that they all painted this breed, probably the Turkoman, or perhaps even the Akhal Teke. The famous and much debated bronze horse from the Cape Artemision wreck is another example of this breed - the first horse of recognizable breed in Western art.²⁷

Pls:
35
38
42

It is said that the Athenians and the Spartans received Persian horses among their share of the booty after the battles of Marathon and Plataia. Can it be coincidence that the Spartans became the most ambitious horse-breeders in all Greece shortly afterwards? Because the ancient approach to breeding was less than scientific at that time, the line appears to have been lost within a few years. Certainly nothing like the Turkoman is seen in succeeding decades.²⁸

Many names appear alongside the horses on the vases, the earliest

Pl.11 on the fragment by Nearchos where Achilles is harnessing his steeds. They are called Chaitos and Euthoias. The third horse is being led in but no trace of his name remains. Let us hope it is Balios or Xanthos, for those are the names Homer gives. The names on black figure ware have been catalogued by Mary B. Moore, a few more are given by Pausanias and Pindar mentions the redoubtable Pherenikos, who belonged to Hieron of Syracuse, twice. Most names reflect a physical characteristic: Phalios or 'Blaze'; Kalikome, 'With Beautiful Mane and Tail'; Lampos, 'Shining' Or 'Glossy', perhaps. Or they represent a colour: Korax; Melanthis; Phoinix; Knakias, or a quality: Arete. Harder to explain is the name of Kastor's horse Kyllaros, 'Hermit Crab', although Kiōnis, 'Old Soft Gums' is self-explanatory.²⁹

Names on red figure vases still await their cataloguer. Given a reasonably good photograph, it is often easy to read names on the light coloured ground of black figure ware. This is not the case on red figure work and so I am unable to say whether writing names beside horses was a practice that died out around the beginning of the fifth century, or the characters simply cannot be distinguished on the black backgrounds of later vases.

Since the Athenians loved a winner, there is every reason to suppose that the names refer to famous teams or individual

horses of the day, just as the kalos names refer to young people who were famous for their beauty, or their achievements.

We have seen how the horse enters almost every aspect of Greek life, present in war and peace, at weddings and funerals, in competition, entertainment and sport. Indeed, we can observe all the forms and trappings of the association between horse and man on the painted pottery of the times, but no art can tell us how the ancient Greek really felt about his horse. Doubtless there were men, evil or ignorant, who gave no thought at all to animal suffering, who used the lash and the bit indiscriminately. For the other side of the association, the side that deals with loyalty and service, trust, valour and even affection, we must turn again to Xenophon. ³⁰

From clues here and there in the Anabasis, it seems likely that Xenophon had more than one horse with him on this expedition. His favourite, however seems to have been one which he 'liberated' from a village in Armenia. There were seventeen young horses which were being reared there as tribute to the Persian king. Xenophon 'took one for himself and gave his captains one a piece'. The horses of the region were smaller

than the Persian horses, he says, 'but much more spirited'. In exchange, he left a 'sick old horse' which he had planned to fatten up for sacrifice. The Armenian horse is not mentioned again until the expedition arrives at Lampsakos in Bithynia, months later. There Xenophon is obliged to sell his horse for fifty darics to cover expenses on the journey home. The next day, following a friend's advice, he sacrifices to Zeus the Merciful. On that very day, two of Thibron's officers arrive with money for the men and Xenophon's horse, which they had bought back and present to him, 'because they had heard that he was fond of it.' ³¹

Alexander founded a city in memory of his horse, Boukephalos. Xenophon's admission of affection, however indirect, is the *only* other one in all of Greek literature. ³²

ICONOGRAPHY

A horse exists, or did exist, painted for a competition in which Apelles appealed from the judgement of men to that of dumb beasts... he caused some horses to be brought in and showed them each picture in turn: they neighed only at the horse of Apelles...

Pliny the Elder, Nat. Hist. XXXV, 95.¹

In Attic pottery we have found a pictorial history of the horse. The artists who painted it, however, could not have done so without the work of their predecessors, which stretches back to Mycenaean times at least, and includes pottery from a variety of locations including Corinth and Argos.

It is not easy for us, with centuries of western art behind us and an understanding of it gathered from many unlikely and often unconsidered places, to recognize the difficulties faced by these early artists. We can only guess at their models, their sources and their inspiration. They were struggling to set down in a comprehensible fashion, not only a new form of transportation, the chariot, but a new animal, the horse. Little wonder that they so often get it wrong. There is evidence of real talent and clever observation, however, and we shall now consider some of the earlier examples, before going on to look at some of the highlights of black and red figure work as it concerns the horse.

The Protogeometric horse which appears on Athens Kerameikos 506 has been called 'the essence of horse'. There he stands on jointless legs firmly pointed in the ground, his ears pricked, his neck bent. We can almost hear the echo of a whinny before he wheels and gallops off...²

Fig.
VI(a)

Geometric artists wrestle unendingly with the problems of equine anatomy. During this period many strange, wild-eyed animals with manes like flames, legs like stilts and talon-shaped hooves pass before us until their creators begin to understand the knee, the hock, the fetlock and even the stifle. Accidents still occur: the painter of Athens NM. 806, for example, in efforts to impart a feeling of speed to the second of two chariot horses, has the fetlock joints bend backwards, although the the horse pulling the leading chariot has all joints working in correct apposition as he lifts his forelegs in a desperate, would-be gallop. This was an innovative move, but no other artists seem to have noticed at the time, for horses will have all four feet firmly on the floor for decades to come.

Figs:
VI(b)
VI(c)
VI(f)
Fig.
VI(e)

Earlier artists had subscribed briefly to the idea of the 'flying gallop' first seen in Mycenaean times. It is seen more rarely on Geometric ware. A mysterious horse of quite sophisticated

Fig.
III

Fig.
VII

appearance is said to belong to this later period, but since complete specifications and even the present whereabouts of this interesting animal are unknown, perhaps the least said about it the better.³

Fig.
VI(d)

One of the earliest, if not the earliest pictorial scenes in Greek pottery appears on a vessel of the mid-Geometric period, Athens Kerameikos 2159. Two men are about to harness a pony, and for the first time the proportions of the group are plausible and the pony might be one known to the artist. Note the care taken in painting the hooves and fetlocks, the way the animal shies away from the man holding the reins.⁴

Pls:
3
4

Many animals of the late eighthⁿ and early seventh centuries have an almost heraldic air about them. They stalk past in leonine fashion, eyes rolling, mouths already open in what will be the trade-mark of Athenian horses for succeeding centuries.

Fig.
IX

The Nessos Painter introduces the rocking-horse look, best seen on a fragment of a grave vase from Vari, where there are two racing horses, the second horse's head overlapping the shoulder of the leading rider. Both horses have grinning teeth, huge eyes and striped manes. Red is added to both, a habit the Nessos Painter

shares with Corinthian painters. He has also arrived at a formula for the gallop. Unfortunately, the hind legs are missing, so we cannot discover exactly how they are placed. It is likely that they were, as is usual until the late fifth century BC, drawn with the hooves flat on the ground.

Pls. 9
10 Sophilos is probably the first Attic Painter to portray white horses, first with his chariots, later with riders. His horses are more streamlined than those of his predecessors, more realistic, but still decorative. They are also colourful, with red added to manes and tails. His method of indicating the rib cage becomes Attic standard.⁵

Fig.
II The horses of Kleitias maintain the leaner, more aristocratic look. His horses are the first to wear top-knots. The herring-bone pattern of his ~~manes and~~ tails is puzzling. Is it his artistic fancy, or an indication of loose braiding? He is the first artist to lift the leading hoof of the chariot horse at the walk, so that it just tips the ground. This innovation was widely copied.⁶

Nearchos gives us the first harnessing scene and the only detailed view of the chariot pole, terret rings cross-bar, yoke

Pl.11 and yoke-pad assembly that we have. It is not enlightening. The yoke and yoke-pad have been drawn by many artists, both black and red figure. No matter whether it is seen frontally or in profile, the shape does not seem to change. Our gratitude is due Nearchos, however, for demonstrating that terret rings were in use at this time and that the correct position for the harness collar was on the point of the shoulder and not on the windpipe.

Pls: Exekias is the innovative star of the years 540-520 BC. His horses are much admired and are vividly expressive of the artist's keen interest in and deep understanding of his subject. His animals have fine heads, well rounded necks and bodies and meticulously drawn manes and tails. My only criticism is that when not in motion the limbs tend to sag slightly, as though the weight of the body were too much for them to bear. This habit seems to have been picked up by the painter of London B 176 and some members of the E Group.

Pl.24 What is sometimes called the 'bit-burr' first appears in the paintings of Exekias. This small spiked plate, forming part of the side pieces of the bit, will be seen on horses by other artists for many years. Its function was discussed in chapter two, p. 14.

Exekias is thought to have influenced another contemporary master's horses: those of the Amasis Painter, whose animals tend to be ornamental, rather than life-like in his major works. His unusual reluctance to indicate the sex of his horses, or perhaps we should say his unwillingness to insist on the universal use of the stallion, has already been mentioned. Frontal views of chariots, first seen early in the sixth century, enjoy another spurt of popularity about this time and the Amasis Painter gives a pleasant but conventional rendering which has both ends of the yoke and the yoke pads in view, details generally omitted by other artists. The harness collars are in the correct position, but it should be noted that the trace horses are not attached to the chariot or to the pole horses by any means at all.⁷

Some time during the last half of the century an amphora appears from the workshops of Exekias, bearing his signature as potter. On each side there is a three-quarter view of a chariot wheeling to the viewer's right. This cleverly takes advantage of the swelling form of the body of the amphora to project the horses towards us. The heads of the pole horses are frontal but their bodies are in profile. The depiction is adequate, in that we understand what is intended, although the eyes stick out on either side of the head in a rather disconcerting way. This bug-eyed

Pls: formula was perpetuated by subsequent painters and does not
34 seem to have been improved upon until almost the end of red
36 figure pottery, when the unknown master who painted a kylix-
krater in the Ashmolean Museum gives us a version at the same
time artistic and realistic.⁸

This Exekian amphora is altogether unusual in that it deals with spatial problems in a new way. For example, the base of the chariot pole goes up at an angle of forty five degrees, the wheels are almond shaped, the axle tilts towards the direction of movement. The artist is not able to deal with the correct placement of the driver or his passenger. In order to be seen at all they must 'float' to the left of the chariot body. Other artists ~~to~~ go on to improve upon this view until the end of the sixth century when the scene disappears from the repertoire for almost a hundred years. The best effort, in the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, is to be found in Munich, where the three-quarter view of the horse is brought to near perfection, even the shoulders of the pole horses, though not their collars, being lined up correctly.⁹

About 525 BC the Treasury of the Syphnians at Delphi was completed. On the east frieze is a Trojan chariot and team in three-quarter view. It is picked out in red and yellow and much of the

finer detail is painted in. Was there a connection? This is the type of question that art historians love to ask, for it cannot be answered and so generates endless discussion and publication. Did mural painters influence vase painters, or vice versa? Were there artists who worked on walls and vases? Was the pottery trade totally subject to the designers of gold and silver ware? How were ideas disseminated? Is what is painted on the pots just as significant as what is not? Is our whole chronology as much out of kilter as Frank Vickers suggests? Such discussion prevents the experts from becoming too smug and reminds us all how fragile is the substructure on which our chronology is based.¹⁰

- Pl.26 Harnessing scenes are very popular in the last quarter of the sixth century and there are many versions extant. Piebald horses appear for the first time. Some animals shy, some rear, causing visible alarm to their handlers. The long, lean look is still
- Pl.30 noticeable, although the horses of the Leagros Group have massive shoulders, ugly heads and a petulant look about them, due to the three lines above each horsey eye. This Group also has
- Pl.31 a penchant for framing their amphora panels with half a chariot team on either side.¹¹

A variation on the harnessing scene is the apotheosis of Herakles.

We have nearly two hundred of them, said to have some political connection with the Peisistratids, but just as likely to be a happy blend of popular hem (Herakles) and convenient space-filler (chariot and horses). At any rate, such scenes disappear with the arrival of red figure pottery. ¹²

This is thought to have taken place about 530 BC and for three decades or so, both black and red figure vases were produced. By the end of that period all the best artists had adopted the new style. Psiax and Epiktetos are among the artists who use both. To me, their horses are more appealing in black figure than in red. There is at once a noticeable decline in the number of chariot scenes, but whether this reflects a change in popular interest or a political sentiment is hard to say. Certainly the tondo of a drinking cup (these are now the most numerous items produced) is too confining for a chariot and four. There is sometimes hardly room for a single horse and rider without much skill on the part of the artist. On the other hand, from the surviving works of three of the finest early red figure artists: the Berlin Painter, the Kleophrades Painter and Douris, we can muster scarcely a dozen items with horses on them. A generation earlier, this would have been unthinkable. ¹³

Beazley has credited the fine picture of a race horse in Pl. 37

to the Manner of Douris, but we must wonder where he found a horse by Douris with which to compare it, since they are so few and far between. No matter who painted this fine animal, it is a good portrait, possibly even sketched from life, something which is seen at least once again in the next period, in the work of the Naples Painter.

For a time, the horse and rider fill the tondo of a cup quite satisfactorily. Euphronios gives us a splendid example in the famous Leagros Kalos cup, where the line is vigorous, expressive and full of controlled energy, as well as being beautifully adapted to the shape. When Euphronios gives up painting for potting, about the turn of the century, his influence will still be felt among his contemporaries and followers. Of course, there are exceptions. What, one wonders, did Euphronios, who signed the cup as potter, think of Onesimos? This is one artist who cannot draw horses, although he certainly keeps on trying. Pl.39 is probably one of the ugliest horses in the history of art, with a short neck, blunt head, misplaced eye, misshapen shoulders and lumpy legs. Onesimos fans might conceivably plead mistaken attribution (for even the great Beazley erred occasionally) were it not for the fact that there are plenty of other equally awful examples properly attributed to this painter. His ideas are good. It is the execution of them where horses are involved that causes pain.¹⁴

Pls: The Brygos Painter's horses are excellent, like ev^erything else
 35
 34 this painter draws. Although he perpetuates the inadequate formulaic frontal view of the horse's head in his Selene cup, Zeus's team on the exterior of the same cup is suitably splendid, with fancy collars worn very low on the chest. The Altamura Painter and the
 Pl.42 Triptolemos Painter draw horses very similar to this. The interior of a slightly later cup attributed to the Foundry Painter, but in
 Pl.38 a style very close indeed to the Brygos Painter, is both dashing and credible, providing as it does the earliest picture of the trot known to me, with diagonally opposed limbs moving correctly at the same time.

Naturalism continues with the art of the Pistoxenos Painter. He does his best work on the tondos of white-ground cups and unfortunately, to date there are no horsemen on any of them. His red figure work is good, but does not display his genius to the same extent. However, he is responsible for the stopped-action picture of the
 Pl.41 gallop on the exterior of a cup in Berlin already mentioned in chapter four, p. 60. Although the Berlin cup is damaged, the picture here is unrestored and all eight legs (twelve, if we include those of the half horse in front) are definitely off the ground. Even George Stubbs (1724-1806 AD), arguably the master horse painter of all time, had no inkling of the true mechanism of the gallop, or if he did, never painted it.¹⁵

The Penthesileia Painter was at one time confused with the Pisto Xenos Painter and it is easy to understand why, unless one looks at his horses. They are often under-sized with bright, vacant eyes and rotund, swollen-looking muzzles, all of which can be seen to advantage on any one of the numerous rather humdrum cup exteriors painted by this artist. The best, or rather the worst, examples appear on the interior of the largest cup yet discovered (diameter: 72 cm. or 23 1/2 in.) which is filled to capacity with the deeds of Theseus in a zone around the tondo which shows two handsome young men before an altar. The pose is confused, with the nearer man leading the further horse and the second man mounted on the nearer animal, but this may have had some significance at the time. The painters of the Penthesileia workshops had the habit of co-operating on certain pots and this could certainly have been done to advantage here, but the Penthesileia Painter, it seems, was happy enough with his own abilities to draw his own horses.¹⁶

From the mid-fifth century onwards red figure work begins to deteriorate, at least from the horse-fancier's point of view. The animals we see are often sinuous, sometimes pretty, eventually just cute. This is due to an overall softening of line, lack of convincing interior detail, frequent misplacement of the eye and a pervading vapidness in execution and planning.

The Group of Polygnotos draws horses' eyes in a way that reminds the modern viewer of the comic strip. The Group also has trouble with hooves, although it is not alone in this. The Painter of the Woolly Stayrs gives a good idea of the impression a team of four horses makes when it is driven along at a spanking trot. At least, he starts off well with the forelegs, but all those twinkling hooves are just too much for him and he gives up when he reaches the hind legs. They are all applied, in unison, to the ground line. It is difficult not to conclude that the vase painters were simply not seeing horses as much any more, or if they were, that horses had somehow lost their prestige. If chariots now lack detail and harness is impossibly flimsy, does anybody care? ¹⁷

The horses of Polygnotos himself are sometimes elegant, but often simply pretty and his view of the horse is the prevailing one of the day. Is it he, or a member of the Polygnotan Group, who first frees a hind leg from the ground? At any rate, at the beginning of the last quarter of the fifth century, along comes an artist

Pl. 51 Not Far From Polion who gives us the final version of the gallop. Although the front action is rather high, those rear legs are finally sharing in it as the horse travels along, the tip of one hoof just floating above the ground line. ¹⁸

It is tempting to end there, as our young horse and rider move swiftly off to the right, but it is only fair to mention the work of the Meidias Painter, whose work, it must be admitted, along with much of the vase painting of the late Classical Period is an acquired taste, which is not to say that it lacks any artistic ability. On his name vase, a hydria on which is depicted the rape of the Leukippids, we must first adjust to the fact

Pl.54 that every available surface, whether it be clothing, chariot, or harness, is heavily decorated. There is a nattily dressed driver, his arm around a languorous female passenger, being drawn along by four spirited horses. The fanned out three-quarter disposition of the team, last seen in the closing years of the sixth century, is confidently drawn down to the last detail. The snake-headed, short-necked horses bear more than a passing resemblance to those of the Parthenon friezes, and look just about as unhappy.

The same three-quarter view of a team is given us again by the

Pl.55 Suessula Painter, this time with an added twist. The viewer is now below the plane of action (a gigantomachy), and thus the under-bellies of the horses can be seen: wrinkles, muscles, swelling testicles are all competently displayed.

We must now elbow our way through the closely pressing crowd

of god and goddesses, heroes, nymphs and daintily accoutred horses on the vases of the early fourth century, casting an occasional glance of admiration at the animals of the Oinomaos Painter, flinching a little at those of the Upsala Painter and the Painter of London F 64, until we stand before a ruined kylix-krater from Al Mina. On it is the last great horse of the vase paintings. Little is now to be seen but the head, an exquisitely drawn full frontal view with flaring nostrils, shining eyes, flowing mane and a top-knot.¹⁹

The rest, if not silence, is a subdued murmur. Vases will continue to be produced in other places by other hands for some time yet, but the horses on these are negligible and tell us nothing new. In Athens, just as the great age of monumental painting gets under way, the art of vase painting fades away.

What are we to make of the horses presented to us by the vase painters? Allowing for artistic licence and individual idiosyncrasies, the animals appear to fall into the following categories:

TYPE A Late Geometric Period

Fig. VI(a) A small, sometimes shaggy pony with very alert head carriage, best seen on Athens Kerameikos 2159. The animal would appear to be between 10 and 11 hands

(1-1.1m.) high, which is really too small for adult riding and may explain why ~~why~~ riders so rarely appear on the vases at this time. This pony, or one similar to it, appears on the Mycenaean seal in Fig.III and may well be an antecedent of the present day Skyros pony, which it greatly resembles.

TYPE B 650 - 570 BC, or later

Pl.7 Best typified by the ponies of the Chigi Vase, which, however, is not Attic, this animal is a little taller, sturdier and has an arched neck and a flowing mane and tail. It can be seen on vases by the Piraeus Painter, the Nessos Painter and Kearchos. It looks very much like the modern Penaia pony.

TYPE C 580 - 500 BC

Pl.10 A somewhat leaner and finer-boned animal, again with an extraordinarily high carriage of the head, appears with the works of Sophilos and Kleitias. The same animal, but a little taller, is the Exekian Horse. On the Vatican amphora (Pl.24) it would seem to be about 13 hands (1.32m) high. It is at this period that all details of the horse and his trappings are most lovingly portrayed.

TYPE D Circa 480 BC onwards.

The most striking feature of the Type D horse is the neck. Up until this time, all horses have had arched necks. If an equid did not have an arched neck it was a mule or donkey. Now all horses are straight-necked. This is seen very clearly in the horse by the Foundry Painter (Pl.38), less clearly in the cup by Euphronios (Pl.28). Tails and manes are sparser than before and the horse gives the impression of being somewhat taller than Type C. All of this, but particularly the neck, argues the introduction of a totally different breed of horse to the Greek mainland, possibly the Turkoman, probably by the invading Persian army.

Pls:
40
41

Pls: Later animals keep the straight necks but revert to a smaller
52
54 stature. This can be seen on the Parthenon friezes as well as
55 in the works of classical painters. However, it is difficult to make more than a general assumption of height, for the cup tondos are too confining, while on the friezes, the need to keep all horse heads on one level while all the human heads remain on another, dashes all hopes of comparative estimation.

In conclusion, a few words should be said about the conventions

which appear to govern so much of Attic vase painting. First we note that almost all horses are drawn as stallions, although literary evidence for the use of mares is not lacking. Second, all animals until circa 480 BC move both legs on the same side of the body at the same time, although Aristotle says this is impossible. There is a long tradition in ancient middle eastern art of drawing animals in this way and so it should not be taken as evidence that all ancient horses were pacers. Some horses perform this gait naturally and some can be trained to perform it. However, until we learn otherwise from a yet to be discovered text, it would be wiser to treat this as an artistic convention. Third, accidents are not depicted, although they must have occurred with some regularity on the race courses. Fourth, no saddle cloths are seen, except on one or two unmounted horses. Fifth, all horses belonging to apparently Barbarian riders and drivers wear only Greek-style bridles, bits and harness.

The fact that horses appear only on public occasions and not in private moments might be considered as yet another convention, but I am convinced that it is lack of interest in the horse per se which dictates the setting. The horse was above all an indicator of wealth, power and even glamour, so Glossy and Black Flower

must needs appear champing at the bit under starter's orders, or chasing Amazons; flicking at flies under the trees, or munching oats quietly in the stall were horsey pastimes of no interest at all to the average Athenian. Still, I must confess to the hope that somewhere there is an amphora with The Fiery One enjoying a good roll in the sand. Pausias is said to have painted just such a picture which, when turned around, became a galloping horse.²⁰

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Here in the land where horses are glory...
 I have another praise to sound in song,
 a mighty gift bestowed upon our mother-city -
 the splendour of a majestic, ancient god,
 the pride and power of our earth -
 the glory of horses, glory of young horses
 the glorious rippling sinews of the sea !

Sophokles, Oedipos at Kolonos ¹

Pottery has nothing to tell us about the origin or arrival p.2
 of the first horses in Greece. The mythological connections
 with Poseidon and Athena are not reinforced by the vase painters
 and although we know that horse sacrifice took place at least
 as late as the mid-fourth century BC, nothing is seen of that p.3, 83
 either. Horses are rarely painted alone and almost never in
 natural or stable settings. It seems that artists and their
 customers preferred to see horses at more formal occasions
 where their presence underscored the wealth and aristocracy
 of their mortal owners, the splendour of their divine drivers. p.36
 Thus if the horse can be said to represent anything on Attic
 vases, it represents Power. p.71

Whatever went on elsewhere - and it now seems certain that
 riding preceded^d_^ driving in the very earliest cultures - chariot
 p.1,31

driving came before riding in ancient Greece, according to the ceramic evidence. At first, perhaps in imitation of the ox-hitching pattern, two horses were used, but later, probably sometime in the mid-eighth century, four horses were harnessed to the chariot. Two-horse chariots continue to be p.26 seen occasionally throughout the eighth to the fifth centuries BC, but no conclusions about their actual use can be drawn from this and the literary references are sparse. Three p.27 horses were used somehow by the Assyrians and Homer implies p.64-5 that this was also the case among the Achaians at Troy, but three-horse chariots do not appear on vases other than those of the Geometric period and are rare even then.

HARNESS

I. The Bit

The same bits seem to have been used for both riding and driving. It seems possible that more severe bits were used in Athens than in Corinth, where legend says they were invented. Every p.11-7 Corinthian horse looks comfortable and eager, ears pricked forward, mouth closed, whereas all Attic horses have laid-back ears, rolling eyes and ever-open jaws. There is one exception to the rule where a horse is wearing what looks like a spiked p.17-8 nose-band of a type thought to have been used in India. This

animal looks relaxed, his ears point forwards, his mouth is p.17-8
 Pl. 24 closed and his attention is on the woman who stands before him.
 Fig. Contrast this picture with the similar scene painted by Exekias.
 XIX

Although there is no evidence for the use of the curb in mainland Greece before the third century, when it was introduced by the Celts, the bits in use throughout the Archaic and Classical periods are severe, often jointed and sometimes with spiked rollers, or hedgehogs, and so easily misused by a heavy hand. About the middle of the sixth century, according to the p.14
 ceramic evidence, spiked plates, or 'bit-burrs' as Moore likes to call them, were often added to the side-pieces of bits as an attention-getting device to ensure the horse's immediate response. They must have worked, for we see them in use until p.99
 the end of the fifth century, by which time harness is looking somewhat sketchy and bits impossibly delicate.

II. The Bridle

The bridle, which holds the bit in place, may just be a simple strap running over the poll. It may have a chin strap, or a p.18
 nose band, or a brow band, or all three, or none. These are tied as necessary, for there were no buckles. The bridle is occasionally decorated with metal studs. It is by no means certain that the top-knots seen on some sixth century horses

are always formed from the mane, they may well be an ornament applied to the poll strap.

III. Halters and Muzzles

Both chariot horses and riding horses wear muzzles in the sixth century. They are often seen in harnessing pictures and other occasions when horses are being led and some chariot horses continue to wear them while working. Mules always work in halters and mostly without reins, it seems. When a horse wears a halter it usually means he is in the stable. However, Psiax has painted an amphora which shows the Dioscuri either returning home or about to leave. In this case both horses wear halters, muzzles and leading ropes, but no bridles. The practical use of the leading rope and halter, this time worn under the bridle, is elsewhere demonstrated by Exekias.

Fig.
XVIII

IV. Peins

Reins did not form a complete loop, but were divided. Although riders seem to begin using looped reins about 550 BC, drivers continue to use divided reins for as long as vases are painted. Usually, they are knotted twice, once about half way along and once again near the driver. This seems to indicate that cross-reining was practiced: all left reins in the left hand, all

right reins in the right hand. Reins were held in what we would call 'Western fashion', running down through the palm from the thumb to the little finger, whether riding or driving.

IV. The Collar

The main tool of traction was the collar. Spruytte has demonstrated that it was workable, efficient, and when made to measure p.21 for each horse, did not slip out of position. It sat on the point of the shoulder and did not impede movement or effort. Thus it was more probably the lack of decent roads and horse shoes which inhibited travel and trade, rather than inefficient harness. The original error seems to have been Lefevbre des Noettes', whose incomplete observations and carelessly described 1910 experiments have perpetuated the misunderstanding for far too long. Most early artists depict the collar in the correct position, although some do not. By the end of the sixth p.22 century all artists do so.²

The flexible collars, presumably of leather, are tooled with various designs from the sixth century onwards. In the early fifth century there are decorated borders with tassels or pendants. Collars are to be distinguished from the purely decorative necklaces which are popular from about 550 to 500

BC and are seen from time to time after that, worn by both p.20
chariot horses and riding horses in the late fifth century.

V. The Girth

All early sixth century chariot horses wear a girth, or belly- p.25
band, to which the collar is attached, but as time goes on the
girth becomes rarer. By the last quarter of the sixth century
only pole-horses are wearing them, while by the end of the
fifth century there is scarcely one to be seen. It is not
certain whether this is an another indication of the vagueness
which overtakes artists depicting horses at this time, or if
it is really a different style of harnessing.

When first worn, the girth seems to be used to hitch the trace-
horse to the girth of his neighbouring pole-horse by means
of a short strap. Where there is no girth, then the trace- p.24-6
horse may simply be attached to the chariot by the long strap
which gives him his name. It is possible to see what may be
both types of attachment in some frontal views, but on at least
one well-known amphora by the Amasis Painter, there are no
attachments of any kind shown, except the reins. It is poss-
ible that various harnessing methods co-existed and equally
possible that some artists have not mastered these intricacies.

In any case, it is apparent that the primary function of the trace-horse was not traction, but probably to provide stability on tight turns and to generate competition in the pole-horses. p.53-4

THE CHARIOT

I. The Yoke

The yoke may have looked something like this:

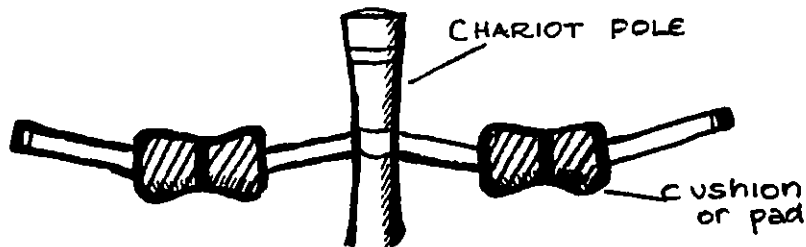


Fig. F

It is attached to the chariot pole at an angle of 40° and sits just behind the withers of the pole-horses, whose collars are somehow attached to it. The cushions protect the horses' backs from abrasions. p.24 p.99

II. Terret Rings

Until the seventh century BC, the reins of chariot horses appear to run directly from bit to hand, but then terret rings were introduced. These rings, usually fixed to the centre of the yoke, keep the reins tangle free and doubtless provide leverage in turning, and had been used by the Chaldeans in p.27 p.29

CHAPTER SEVEN

3000 BC and for centuries after that by the Assyrians. The only Greek terret rings known to me are in the Delphi Museum, made of bronze and tentatively dated to the 8th century BC. They are designed to sit on the end of the chariot pole. Nearchos shows us a different but unintelligible design in the mid-6th century. ^{p.98-9}

III. The Pole

The pole, of heat treated wood, runs under the chariot floor from back to front. It is often braced at the point where it leaves ^{p.24} the chariot body, and runs upward at an oblique angle to terminate in a cone-shaped finial. Often, it is bound along its length with strips of rawhide or leather to prevent it from splitting. This binding is seen on vases from the seventh century onwards, as well as on Egyptian tomb paintings, Mycenaean wall paintings and the Chigi Vase.

IV. Wheels

Chariot wheels have four spokes and are attached to the fixed ^{p.23} axle by linch pins and bindings. The felloes are of heat treated wood, but we do not know what material was used for the outer felloes, or tyres.

V. The Body

The basic design of the chariot body, or box, appears in Mycenaean times and while it becomes lighter, lower and

more streamlined, changes little over the course of the centuries. The chief difference noted is in the ~~brace, or~~ pole-stay, which loses its arcaded ornamentation and becomes a plain strap, running from the finial of the pole to the upper chariot rail. The breastwork and wings, originally covered in cowhide, are next made of wicker or some similar woven material, later apparently simply left open, with the rails of the wings at about knee level and the front rail just below waist level. The rails and breastwork and wings may at some time begin to be covered in beaten metal, to judge from the ornamentation on chariots ^{on pots} from the late fifth century.

From terracotta models and one plastic pyxis lid, we know that the floor space was D-shaped and may have consisted of woven thongs to act as shock-absorbers. A single literary reference suggests rings, or clogs on the floor into which the driver slipped his feet to prevent himself being bounced out of the chariot as it travelled along. p.55-6

THE DRIVER

From the eighth century BC onwards we find the driver of the ancient Greek chariot standing behind the axle. As is the case with all two-wheel vehicles, his weight might be used as a

differential, depending upon where he placed it in relation p.21
to the centre of gravity and the nature of the terrain encountered. Knees bent, upperbody leaning forward, weight as p.55
far to the rear as possible was racing stance. Body upright, legs straight, hands over, or just in front of the upper rail would be the stance at slower paces.

The driver uses a long switch or a goad to ^{cue} his horses. When p.56
racing, he wears a long white pleated robe and this distinguishes him in harnessing scenes. The very first long-robed driver p.29
appears on Athens MW 806. All drivers are men. Only immortal women such as Athena, Selene, or Nyx drive on the vases. p.35-6,
71

THE RIDER

Riding costume is a vexed question. Does the nudity we see reflect reality, or some artistic ideal? This costume, or lack of it, makes sense for racing, but not for any protracted p.44-5
exercise or journey. Perhaps when we see a naked rider we are supposed to think 'Horse Race'. The usual Attic outdoor costume of short tunic, boots, cloak and hat figures often in riding scenes. Thracian cloaks are very popular around 480 BC and when the rider carries two spears, we should probably p.65-6
be reminded of the cavalry regiment putatively founded about

this time. If the rider wears outdoor costume, carries a spear and is accompanied by a dog, then we may suppose a hunting expedition. If the rider wears trousers, he is usually a Scythian or a Persian, but may be an Athenian in disguise. p.35
Such features as hair and beard and lightness of eye may help us tell the difference, but not always.

There is no way to discover exactly what a mounted hoplite intends to do. Will he fight on horseback? Or is he on his way to a battle where he will dismount, tie up his horse, or leave it in the care of his squire, and go off to fight on foot? p.42-3
p.45

Mounting pictures are rare, dismounting pictures slightly commoner. The rider's seat once mounted does not seem to conform to Xenophon's admonitions, but it does bear some resemblance to the style of the Old West, via Baja California and Old Spain: the rider sits still and relaxed, holding a loose rein, the threat of the bit minimised by a light hand. p.37-8
p.43-4
p.16
p.39-41
Everywhere on the vases we see horses working in a state of extreme collection, necks bent at the poll, hocks well under the body, and it may well be that the Greeks invented the collected style of riding.

All riders are men between the ages of puberty and about forty. Amazons are the sole exception and they form a special case in Attic mythology. Women on journeys are passengers in carts or chariots, or they use a type of sitting chair where they perch sideways on a quiet mule led by a slave. Hephaistos, who is lame, and Dionysos who is drunk, use the same arrangement, but it is nowhere clearly depicted.

Saddlecloths

Although other ancient civilizations made use of the saddlecloth, Greeks apparently prefer to be seen on their amphoras and hydrias and sculptures riding bareback. The dictates of comfort and safety would require a covering of some sort for journeys and cavalry manoeuvres and Xenophon certainly indicates that such is the case, yet artists in all media avoid portraying any cloth, except for unmounted animals in a very few instances.

In contrasting harness and horse panoply with those of the rest of the ancient world, the Greek ideal stands out because of its simplicity. Other nations, with their tassels and plumes, their embroidered quilts and elaborately assorted harness, loved to display their wealth and passion for colour in the

equipment they gave their animals. But that was not the Greek way and even when depicting Barbarians on horseback and taking some care to indicate foreign facial features, the horses are always barebacked, with only the plainest of bits and bridles.

FUNERALS

Horses, when they first appear on Attic pottery are usually p.48 associated with funeral games or processions. It seems more prudent to conclude that these are heroic funeral^{games,} rather p.51 than an indication of actual funeral practice in Attica. By the late sixth century funerals and funeral games are no longer appearing on the vases. The Poor Man's Ekphora of 510 BC, or p.49 thereabouts, is a late and puzzling exception. Horse Head Amphoras, produced until 550BC are thought to have some funereal significance, but nobody knows what it is.

GAMES

At the Olympic Games the four-horse chariot race was the most popular of all after its inception in 680 BC. Throughout the seventh and sixth centuries scenes involving chariots abound. They gallop around friezes, predellas and pyxis lids and dash across amphoras. Harnessing scenes, where the white robed charioteer stands among the horses while grooms and owner

bustle about, bringing in other horses and adjusting bridles, p.29-30
 are so popular that I sometimes wonder if there is a message p.102-3
 here which we are all missing. Athena drives her protégé
 Herakles to Olympos on more than a hundred occasions. The
 surviving works of the great tragedians and comic writers
 will continue to echo this interest^t in horses and chariot
 racing for centuries to come.

Although there must have been many wrecks and crashes, none p.53-5
 is depicted by the artists, perhaps because such scenes were
 beyond their capabilities, perhaps out of superstitious respect.
 The few fallen horses there are seem more embarrassed than
 damaged, in fact we see no injured horses at all and search
 in vain for signs of horse doctors and clues to the eventual
 fate of old or broken-down horses. Such mysteries, along
 with logistical questions about breeding, breaking, shipping p.84-6
 and marketing, are never likely to be answered by studying
 this medium.

The pairs race for mules (Apēnē) and for horses (Synoris) are p.56
 well illustrated on Panathenaic amphoras. Here the horses are
 being driven without bit or reins, a method with a long
 history in the Levant, but one more usually associated with p.59
 mules and donkeys.

The flat race (Kelēs) did not attract fame or glory to the same extent as did the chariot race. Representations are few when compared to those of chariot racing. Leading in a winner is the theme of only two Panathenaic amphoras.

Although the ancient horse was not expected to compete in jumping a series of man-made obstacles, in the manner that is so popular today, he did take part in some novelty events, such as the torch relay race (Lampada) and the Shield Game. What is probably a between-events entertainment is depicted on a mid-fourth century, pseudo-Panathenaic amphora from Rhodes: a flutist, acrobats, dancing horses and a wildly enthusiastic crowd.

HUNTING

Although most hunting in Greece seems to have taken place on foot, the many pictures in the sixth century of men in informal dress, with javelins, spears and dogs certainly suggest that some hunting of larger, swifter game was done from horseback. Pictures of hunters actually galloping in pursuit of deer are much rarer.

WAR

The rôle of the horse-drawn chariot was probably not exactly p.63-4
as it is portrayed on pottery. Was it ever really driven into
battle? And could one man cope with four horses, his weapons,
the onslaught of the enemy and natural obstacles in the terr-
ain? Use of the chariot makes more sense as Homer describes
it, whether he is imagining Achaian useage or reporting the
habits of his own day: the chariot is simply used as trans-
portation behind the lines, occasionally and sometimes in-
advertently for encounters with the enemy. Greenhalgh's p.65
theory (1983, 29) of the 'deliberate heroizing' of the chariot
is a compelling one.

There is no incontrovertible evidence for an officially organ- p.65-9
ized body of cavalry before the mid-fifth century BC, although
riders with warlike intent move across the ceramic field with
a certain regularity. Two possible cavalry inspections appear,
one in the late sixth century, the other in the early fifth. p.66-7
The question of the date of the actual founding of the regi-
ment is an interesting one, but will not be settled on the
evidence of the vases alone.

WEDDINGS

The wedding must have been a useful social occasion for showing off horses and chariots. Although literary comment is sparse, the Erskine Dinos and the François Vase may represent something like reality, although the wedding on both vessels is that of Peleus and Thetis and all the guests are divine. The Amasis Painter draws a different class of wedding party with mules and donkeys pulling passenger carts, on a lekythos dated to 550-30 BC, while the Marlay Painter gives an account of what an Athenian wedding might look like about the middle of the fifth century, with chariot, horses, torch-bearers and slaves. p.71
p.32
p.72

WORK

Work, in the sense of pulling carts laden with agricultural or commercial goods, seems to have been reserved for mules and donkeys. The four-wheel cart is unknown. Panniers and saddlebags are seen from time to time, always on the backs of donkeys. It would be interesting to know if old or broken-down horses were ever pressed into such service through economic necessity. Only one literary reference suggests that this was the case. ³ p.32

HORSES

With a few possible exceptions, all the horses depicted are stallions, the Amasis Painter providing most of the ambiguous examples. Literary evidence for the use of mares is easily found, but apparently convention dictates that only stallions be portrayed. p.75-6 p.86-7

In all centuries, the carriage of the head is unusually high. This may very well be due in part to the severity of the bits used, but may also be a physiological property of the breeds in use. The rolling eyes, laid-back ears and open jaws which characterize the Attic horse, however, are undoubtedly due to the chronic pain and discomfort produced by cruel bits.

I. Grooming

Although the very earliest Mycenaean ponies are somewhat shaggy, it is not long before manes and tails are plaited and bound and fetlocks neatly trimmed, and this continues to be seen on many Geometric works. By the time of the Piraeus Painter, 620-10 BC, manes are long and flowing. Kleitias draws a horse with combed and waved mane, trimmed fetlocks and a tail which may be loosely plaited. He is the first to show the forelock knotted up between the ears. Exekias's horses are all well tended in the second half of the sixth century, but there is p.79 p.98

sometimes a hairy fetlock or two. Hogging becomes the rule just after the Exekian period and continues, with variations, until the end of red figure vase painting. Triple hogging seems to be a uniquely Greek fashion and a hogged mane with long forelock may well indicate a cavalry horse, although this style is sometimes worn by chariot horses too. Tails are never seen to be knotted, bound, or tightly plaited at any time after the Geometric Period. p.79-80

II. Colours

Colours depend on the limited palette of the artist. For further information on the actual colours of the horses available, we must consult Aristotle and the surviving cavalry archives. It appears that most of the colours we know today were available then, including chestnut, bay, black, grey and spotted. Homer speaks more often of duns - if we translate xanthos as 'dun' - but most of the feral horses of central Asia were and are this colour. It is still considered to be one of the primitive colours.⁴ p.80-3 p.98 p.102

III. Brands

Brands are readily distinguished on black figure animals, less so on red figure. Many shapes are seen on the vases and almost p.85-6

all of them are listed in the cavalry archives. The brands are most probably breeders' identifying marks. p.68-9

IV. Names

Names first appear about 570 BC, when Nearchos, using names that differ from those in the Iliad, inscribes them above two of Achilles's horses in our very earliest harnessing scene. p.91-3
Names do not appear, or perhaps cannot be so easily discerned on red figure work. They tend to reflect a physical quality of the horse, or an individual idiosyncrasy and may well be the names of famous winners of the day.

V. Paces

Horse movement is not always reliably observed by the ancient artists, nor is it ever clearly described by writers. This is not surprising, for the exact sequence of equine footfalls would defy the human eye to define it and would not, in fact be determined until the arrival of the camera. From about 620 BC onwards, the artist depicts a flat-footed walk fairly well and makes various more or less successful attempts at the portraying the gallop. Geometric artists had also succeeded at these paces with varying degrees of skill. p.87-8
Convention - for so it must be - decrees that both limbs on p.96-7

the same side move forward together and this is a convention honoured by many ancient peoples. Not until about 480 BC is the correct movement of the trot captured by the Foundry Painter. p.105

The 'flying gallop' appears in the Bronze age, but disappears in the succeeding centuries. All Archaic and most Classical painters keep the hind hooves fixed firmly to the ground-line, but they attempt some variation in foreleg action by 550 BC. p.96-7
In 470, or thereabouts, the Pistoxenos Painter produces his startling version of that split second of the gallop when all of the horse's hooves leave the ground together. It will not be seen again for more than two thousand years. Polygnotos, or one of his Group, finally brings the heels under the body in what looks like a collected canter and, eventually, one rear hoof up in the air. This instant of motion is perfected by the Polion Painter, or someone near him, in the last quarter of the fifth century. p.105 p.107

VI. Views

In the beginning, horses are drawn only in profile. The early sixth century sees the first frontal view of the horse, although the heads remain in profile. Group E and Exekias,

circa 540 BC, provide the first three-quarter view of a team where the heads are seen frontally. This version, copied by later painters, is not perfected until the very end of the fifth century. We have not seen the intermediate stages where this view was worked out and improved upon, for the frontal view is rare indeed between 480 and 400 BC. A hundred years or so after Exekias and the E Group, the three-quarter view reappears in its final perfected versions by such artists as the Melidias and Suessula Painters.

p.100-1
p.108

VII Breeds

The breeds of horse seen on the vases fall into four categories at present. The horse of the Late Geometric Period bears many of the characteristics of the present day Skyros pony, while the horse of the years circa 480 BC looks very like the ancient Turkoman, or even the Akhal Teke. The introduction of a new strain of horse into mainland Greece at this time is apparent from the numbers of straight- or deer-necked animals that we find on the vases.

p.109
p.88-91

Height is hard to estimate for many reasons, but it seems likely that horses of the mid to late sixth century were about 13 to 14 hands (1.32m - 1.44m at the withers) and so quite small by our standards. There is a slight increase in size by the beginning of the fifth century, but it does not seem to have been maintained.

p.14
(n.6)

VIII. Conventions

Several conventions are in force throughout the period we are considering, and these are set out on pages 111-13. The reasons for these conventions, like so much else on Attic pottery, remain a mystery to us.

The vases cannot tell us how the Athenian felt about his horse. From literature, we know that there was little sentimentality in ancient Greek life and what there was, was not expended upon animals, or women. (What is to be said in defence of a language, or a culture where the same verb serves for 'to use' and 'to have sex with'?) Certainly Greek literature lacks those tales of loyalty, devotion and affection between horse and master which we find, for example, in Arab literature. But even if the horse is seen first and foremost as an accessory^{of} wealth and status, who can doubt that at least in some instances, affection developed between man and beast? Xenophon's glancing allusion p.94 to his own sentiments concerniⁿg his horse leads me to believe that he was not the only Greek who felt this way, even if it were not always deemed prudent to admit it.⁶

Despite a limited knowledge of equine anatomy and physiology, it is clear that the ancient Greeks had a good working knowledge

of, and much practical experience in horses and horsemanship. They lacked several important items of equipment, it is true: the horse shoe, the stirrup, the saddle. Some might wish to add the draught collar to this list, but ancient economic ambitions were not at all similar to those of the modern merchant, with his need to transport enormous loads to strange places in record times and I believe that such a collar was the least of the ancient horseman's needs. The equipment he had must have suited him very well, for there is little evidence of change in more than four hundred years, and as Spruytte has demonstrated, ample evidence that it was efficient for its purpose. p.21-2

We have now reached the end of this brief survey of the life of the horse as it is portrayed on the pottery of Attica. What else remains to be said? Everything! In his peerless translation of Peri Hippikēs, Professor Morris Morgan of Harvard University, writing in 1894, observes that although there are several useful books in French and German from the decades just before his publication, yet.. 'in spite of all, the book of the ancient horse is yet to be written.' Almost one hundred years later, this is still true.

1 Translated by H.G. Evelyn White, Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge Mass. (1914) 341.

2 Simon: "I mean the man who dedicated the bronze horse at the Eleusinion in Athens with his own exploits in relief on the pedestal." Xenophon, PH I, 1.

Various attempts have been made to identify him with the Simon mentioned by Aristophanes in Knights, 242, who may have been Hipparch in 424 BC, or with the charioteer named on a vase by Psiax (Berlin 1897, ABV 293, 8) but the name was a common one, apparently.

For what remains of his work see HippCant XCIII. 1-11, 228-31, Oder and Hoppe, CGH vol. 2, also Pollux Onom I. 190, 198.

Xenophon: soldier, scholar and writer, he produced various histories, dialogues and essays, most of them in exile after choosing to fight for the 'wrong' side in the Corinthian war. Peri Hippikes was probably written for the instruction of his own sons. It is remarkable for its humane approach to horsemanship and is required reading to this day for would-be members of the British Horse Association.

(P 1-10A)

- 3 Domestication of the horse: D. Anthony, Y. Telegin and D. Brown, 'The origins of horseback riding', Scientific American, December 1991, 94-100.
- Thrace: A. Fol, I. Mazarov, Thrace and the Thracians, New York (1977) 6, state that the Thracians were riding before the Greeks
- Asia Minor: F.E. Zeuner, A History of Domesticated Animals, New York (1963) 32.
- 4 Despite horse burials at Marathon (Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, Chicago 1964 Pl. XLVII B.) and other Mycenaean centres, I can discover no published information about the animals themselves. J. Chadwick, however, The Mycenaean World, Cambridge (1976) 164, observes that the skeletons were "little bigger than Shetland ponies".
- 5 Signet ring: Karo, Schachtgraber von Mykenai, Munich (1930) Pl. 24, no. 240. He dates it to 1450 BC.
- Absolute dates for the Mycenaean period are hard to determine. Vermeule, n. 4 above, p. 346, n.9, suggests "after 1600" as a date for the Shaft Grave stelai.
- Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art, New York & Toronto (1981) suggests 1550 - 1500 BC as a date for the ring.

(P 1-10A)

- 6 There are only three or four figures which could be interpreted as riders in Vermeule & Karageorghis, Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting, Cambridge Mass. (1958) Pl. V.26 and they all come from Cyprus.
- 7 Riders in Homer: In the exploit known as the Doloneia, Iliad X, Odysseus and Diomedes go behind Trojan lines to steal the white horses of the Thracian King Rhesos. At line 512 and again at line 529 Homer says '.... ὅς τ' ἵππων ἐπεβήσεται....' which could be translated as 'mounted the horses'. However, according to LSJ ἵππος can serve not only as the pair of horses pulling the chariot, but also for the chariot itself, presumably while it is hitched to the horses. ἐπιβαίνω is an all-purpose word for mounting or climbing up, hence all the discussion about this passage. Did Odysseus and Diomedes ride? If the horses were 'tied to the chariot rail' (472-3), cutting them loose and galloping off makes more sense than trying to harness them to the chariot in the dark, surrounded by outraged, dying Thracians. The fact that Odysseus whipped the horses on 'with his bow' (513) seems evidence enough. Still it is strange that, amid such a wealth of technical language for horses and chariotry, Homer could find no word for 'rode'.
- 8 Very early riding: n. 2 above.

- 9 Thessaly, Epiros and the Argive region:
Homer calls Argos 'horse-pasturing', Iliad VI, 52; XV, 30; Odyss III, 263.
Pindar calls Argos 'abounding in horses' Nem X, 41.
Simon says 'the best horses come from Thessaly' (n. 1, above).
Varro talks of 'noted breeds' from Thessaly DeReAg II, 7, 36.
Virgil writes of Olympic victors from Epiros Geo I, 59 and even of 'young horses... from valiant Mycenae' III, 21.
Gratius Faliscus includes Argive and Thessalian horses in his catalogue of Greek breeds Cyneget I, 496 ff.
- Seventh century Argive horseman: Athens National Museum, no inventory number. Published by P. Courbin, La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide, Paris (1966) plate 8. Also W. Moon edit. AGAI, J. Boardman, 'Symbol and story in Geometric art', 22, pl. 2.13.
- 10 Chariots of the gods: Homer, Iliad V, 721-8 Athena
" VII, 41-6 Zeus
" XIII, 21-30 Poseidon.
- Poseidon: sired first horse - Schol. on Pind. Pyth IV, 246
Schol. on Ap. Rhod. III, 1244.
- Earth Shaker, Master of running horses - Pind. Pyth VI, 50.
Horse Tamer, Rescuer of ships - Homeric Hymn to Poseidon XII, 4
Pegasos his child - Hesiod, Theog 280-5
Areion his son - Paus. VIII. 25, 3-10
Sanctuaries - Paus. VIII. 10, 2 and VII. 21, 3
Horse Scarer - Paus. VI. 20, 15-9

- 10 Sacrifices to - Paus. VIII. 7, 2
cont'd. Oracle at Onchestos - Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo III, 229-38.
- 11 Athena: gift of bit to Bellerophon - Pind. Olymp XIII, 3 & 62-9
- Paus. II. 4, 1
Wooden horse of Troy - Homer, Odyss VIII, 493
Erichthonios - Hyg. PoetAstron II, 13
- " Fab 274
- Apollod. III. 14, 1.
Herodotos, IV, 183, says the Libyans taught the Greeks to
yoke four horses to a chariot.
- 12 Athena with clay horse: Berlin 2415, circa 470 BC, ARV 776, 1,
illustrated in I. Jucker, Vases grecs Berne (1970) Pl. 11.
- 13 Amazons: first to use cavalry - Lysias II. 4, 6
Based on Sarmatians - J.K. Anderson, AGH, 115-6
See also Herodot. IV, 110.
- 14 Ixion and the centaurs: Pind. Pyth II, 25-49
Hyg. Fab 33 & 62.
- 15 The collected horse: S. Loch, 'Those dangerous clichés: On
the bit' Riding, October 1990, 10.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

(P 11-32)

- 1 Translated by Richmond Lattimore, Chicago (1951) 460.
- 2 Dion Chrysostom LXIII. 5.
Pliny Painting 103.
- 3 Xenoph. PH X.6, 4-5
- 4 The Alexander Mosaic is in the National Museum, Naples. The Persian horse's head is illustrated in Anderson, AGH plate 27.
Louis Taylor: Bits, Their History, use and Misuse North Hollywood, California (1966) 19.
- 5 M.F. Vos, Scythian Archers in Archaic Vase Painting Groningen (1963) Makes an interesting case for a Scythian influx to Athens during the years 530-490 BC.⁶⁰⁻⁹ See also F. Lissarague, L'autre guerrier Paris and Rome (1990) 125-7.
- 6 Most commentators have overestimated the size of the horses on the vases. To judge from armour found at Dendra and the Argos panoply, to say nothing of the average height of present day Greeks, the height of the ancient Greek seems to have been between 5ft 4 in and 5 ft 6 in. Since 1 H (one hand) = 4 inches, 12 H would bring Kyllaros' withers up to just below Kastor's armpit - which looks right in this context.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

(P 11-32)

6 cont. Desmond Morris Horse Watching New York (1988) 11.

7 See Horse Illustrated November 1991, correspondence concerning the use of chains and boots in training the Tennessee Walking horse, p. 6. Also 'Fun and games?: the rowdy rodeo', p. 60.

8 The style of Old Spain: Taylor, Bits, 19.

9 Xenophon on bits: PH X, 6-7

PH X, 12-14, excerpt translated by J.K. Anderson,
AGH Appendix 175.

10 Flexible and stiff: Xenoph. PH X, 11

Refusing bit: Xenoph. PH VI, 10

11 Spiked nosebands: Arrian, Indica XVI, 10.

Strabo XV, 1.66.

12 CVA France VIII, Plate 384. Illustrated in Anderson, AGH Pl 31.

13 Xenoph. Hipparch VIII, 4.

Kyro VIII, 8.19.

14 Scythians: S. Rudenko Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazaryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen London (1970) 117-93 The saddles

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

(P 11-32)

- 14 cont. are rudimentary, without a tree, but their padding is designed to provide comfort for both horse and rider. Nothing like them will exist in the West for centuries.
 Persians: Note 13, above.
 Thracians: Catalogue of the same name as the Exhibit.
- 15 Bronze bridle decorations: W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London (1929) 181-2.
 Necklace: Xenoph. Hellen IV, 1. 39.
- 16 Driver Position; M.A. Littauer, J.H.Crouwel, Appendix to MPP Vermeule and Karageorghis, 185.
 J. Spruytte: Paris 1977.
- 17 Driver Position: Spruytte Etudes 64.
 Chest collar: " " 61.
 Collar position: " " 9.
- 18 Mycenaean Chariot Inventories: Chadwick MYC W 167
 Wheels: " " 170.
 Chariots of the Gods: Athena Iliad VI, 721-8
 Zeus " VIII 41-6
 Poseidon " XIII 21-30
 Diomedes " V, 838.

19 Angle of yoke: Spruytte Etudes, 61.

20 Pazaryk burials: Rudenko FTSib, 191.

21 Nestor: Iliad VIII, 87.

Two-horse chariots: The University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Greek Museum, inventory no. 52. Illustrated in P. Foster, Greek Arms and Armour Newcastle (1978) 14.

A neck amphora by Exekias (Boston 89.273, ABV 144, 4.) is sometimes offered as an example of a two-horse chariot, but the subject, a chariot harnessing scene, is divided between the two sides of the vase. On the first side, the off side pole horse has been harnessed and the near side pole horse is being led in. The bridle and collar of the expected trace horse hang, as usual, from the yoke. On the other side of the vase are the two trace horses and their handlers. (Illustrated in Beazley DABF² Pl. 71, also p 64.)

Nyx, or Selene usually drives a two-horse chariot, but I cannot say whether this is in deference to her gender, or for some unknown mythological reason. It certainly looks as though two-horse chariots existed but they do not often appear on pottery.

22 Three-horse chariots: Iliad XVI, 145-54. Automedon harnesses

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

(P11-32)

22 Xanthos, Balios and Pedasos for Achilles.
cont.

Odyss IV, 590. Menelaos offers three horses and a chariot to Telemachos, who politely refuses because Ithaka is no place for horses, but 'a place to feed goats'.

E. Delebecque, Le cheval dans l'Iliade Paris (1951) 99-102, thinks that Homer simply invented them.

Three-horse chariots on Geometric vases:

Sydney, the Nicholson Museum 46.41 Ahlberg ProEk fig 14.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

14. 130.14 " " fig 25.

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48. 2231 " " fig 37.

23 J.P. Vigneron 'Le cheval dans l'antiquité Gréco-Romaine' Nancy (1968) Vol II, Pl 50.

24 'Pit-burr': Beazley DABF², 73, Pl. 83.1
Spruytte Etudes 51.

25 Muzzle: Xenoph. PH V, 3.

Leading from behind: PH VI, 4.

Leading rope: PH VII, 1.

A Scythian and a hoplite can be seen using the leading rope to

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

(P 11-32)

- 25 cont. to let their horses graze on both sides of an amphora by Exekias
(Philadelphia MS 4873, ABV 145, 16) Illustrated in Beazley
DABF² Pl. 69.3 and .4.
- 26 Snow bags: Xenoph. Anab IV, 5. 36.
Cavalry problems: Thucyd. VII.27
First mention of shoes: Catullus XVII, 25-6.
Hints on hooves: Xenoph. PH I, 3,&IV, 3-5.
Hipparch I, 16
- 27 Apēnē Harness: London B 132, ABV 405, 5, late sixth century.
Illustrated in Yalouris, The Eternal Olympics fig. 137.
- 28 The Gela Painter: His lekythos now at the University of
Gissein, has no inventory number, but is illustrated in
von Bothmer, AmasisP 184, fig. 100.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

(P 34-47)

- 1 Battle axe: Xenoph. Anab IV, 4
- Amazon dress: Vos SAVP does her best to distinguish between Scythians and Persians but is not wholly successful. It is impossible to state firmly that only Scythians wear peaked caps, that only Thracians wear the alopekis and only Persians wear quilted linen vests. The cross-over top worn with trousers where the seam is hidden with braid is usually Scythian, but may also be Persian, depending on the pattern. Where there is a gorytus, or bow and arrow case, one may confidently expect a Scythian. But what are we to make of Cup 65 from the Faina collection in Orvieto (ARV 329, 133)? On the interior of that cup, wrongly attributed to Onesimos for he never could draw a horse half so well, there is a bearded Barbarian with gorytus, alopekis, quilted vest and braided trousers! Perhaps Beazley's neutral 'horseman' is the best description. Illustrated in Vos SAVP pl XIVb. Boardman ARFC 227, suspects the Amazons came to represent the Persians, at the end of the Archaic period, and he may well be right. Lissarague LAG 125-49 and M.Miller, Dining in a Classical Context edited by W.J. Slater, Ann Arbor (1991) 'Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?' 59-81, discuss this question in greater detail.
- 2 Sitting chairs: Hephaistos CVA USA VI, Pl 38.1a
CVA FRANCE II, Pl 82.8.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE
(P 34-47)

2 Women: I could find no pictures on the vases of women as
cont. passengers on horse- or mule-back. However, in Oedipus at
Colonus, 311-5, Sophocles says that Ismene approaches mounted
upon 'an Aetnean colt'. She enters 'with an attendant', which
leads one to wonder if she entered on horseback.

3 The Metropolitan Museum of Art tentatively identifies the woman
on the amphora as Athena (D. von Bothmer, Greek Vase Painting,
New York (1972) 25). She is elsewhere taken to be Hebe. Beazley
does not offer any identification of the group (ABV 144, 3).

Divine drivers: Iliad V

Hera harnesses her chariot with Hebe's help 720-32.

Hera drives 748, 755, 766

Athena her passenger 745

Athena drives Diomede's chariot 840-1.

4 Kyniska: Xenoph. Agessilaos IX, 6.

Paus. III, 8.1 and VI, 1.6.

Peter Levi, in his translation of Pausanias for the Penguin edit-
ion, London (1971) n.5, p. 286, says Kyniska's inscription comem-
orating her victory has been found, but does not mention its
present whereabouts. It is, however, included in the Palatine
Anthology 13, 16.

My father and brothers were Spartan Kings.

I won with a team of swift-footed horses

And put up this statue: I am Kyniska.

I say I am the first woman in Greece to win this wreath.

Other women owners: Paus. V, 8. 11 and III, 17.6.

Women riders: Plut. Agis. Cleo 59. A young woman escaped from
her parents' home to join her husband who had been exiled to

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE
(P 34-47)

- 4 cont. Egypt. She obtained a horse and money and rode to the coast to take ship.
Hyg. Astron 2. 24. Queen Berenike II of Egypt, when Princess of Kyrene.
Spartan festivals: Athenaeus IV, 139, gives a description of the celebration of the Hyakinthia taken from the lost Lakonika of Polykrates.

- 5 Horse crouching: Xenoph. PH VI, 12 and Hipparch I, 17.
M.H. Morgan in his translation of Peri Hippikēs, The Art of Horsemanship London (1894) 30, includes a picture supposedly taken from a black figure amphora in the Hermitage collection. It shows a hoplite (Morgan says an Amazon) holding two spears and the reins of a kneeling horse. Unfortunately, I have been unable to trace this work.
Persian manner: Xenoph. Hipparch I, 17 and PH VI, 12.
The Persian King's best friend: Tiribazos, Xenoph. Anab IV, 14.4.
Leaping up unaided: See almost any Western movie.

- 6 Mounting: Xenoph. PH VII, 1
Springing up: Hipparch I, 5
Leg-up: " I, 17
Mounting, both sides; PH VII, 3.

- 7 The spur: Xenoph PH VIII, 5.

- 8 Instructions on the correct seat: Xenoph. PH VII, 5-7.

- 9 The 'backward' seat: Xenoph. Hipparch III, 14.

- 10 Holding on to mane: Xenoph. PH VIII, 8.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

(P 34-47)

- 11 Slack rein, light hand: Xenoph. PH IX, 9, also X, 3, 12, 13 & 16. Fetter, volte, demi-passade: Xenoph. PH III, 5, VII, 13-14. Taylor Bits, 72 and Hyland Equus, 102-3 both point out these and other similarities between ancient Greek, Roman and Old Spanish styles of riding and training.
- 12 'Brilliant Horse' competitions: CIA II i, 444-5 records victors at the Thesean Games for three years in the early second century BC. There were prizes for best equipment, officers' race, other ranks' race, javelin throwing and 'brilliant horse'. Other races were for war horses only.
The Mézair: Anderson AGH 124. He is quoting Colonel Podhajsky, Die Spanische Hofreitschule, 43. The Colonel was renowned throughout Europe for his work with the Lippizaner stallions at the Spanish School in Vienna. These beautiful white horses specialise in ~~in~~ performing difficult and complicated exercises based on natural movements. The Ecole de Cavalerie at Saumur in France operates in the same traditions. Both schools pay homage to Xenophon.
Aristotle: Progression of Animals XIV, 1-14.
- 13 Leading a parade: Xenoph. PH VII, 19.
Troops of cavalry are now a rarity. The Queen of England's Household Cavalry are impressive but staid, rarely seen at any other pace than a steady trot. The Sultan of Morocco's Black Guard was rather more exciting. In February of 1956 Sultan Mohammed V returned to Morocco from exile in Madagascar and held a parade in Casablanca to show his subjects that he really had come home. I stood with the crowds on the rue Georges Mercier. A distant clatter of hooves was heard and into sight galloped a company of about forty riders in crimson uniforms faced with gold, mounted on matched bays caparisoned in white leather. They

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE
(P34-47)

- 13 swept past us and up the hill to the Place de la Victoire
cont. in seconds, cloaks flying behind them. Then came a second company riding matched chestnuts. By the time the third and final company on white horses arrived at the gallop, led by a French major on a beautiful bay mare, the crowd was dizzy with excitement. People were applauding and crying, the women were ululating in that distinctive Moroccan fashion. The arrival of the Sultan in an open Rolls-Royce was something of an anti-climax, to say nothing of his wives and concubines in a fleet of Volkswagen ^{mini-}buses. We might get a tinge of the same feeling of excitement at the charge which ends the Mounties' Musical Ride.
- 14 Herodotos V, 111. 2.
- 15 Dismounting: Xenoph. PH VII, 19.
Painter of Bologna 228: Munich 2379, ARV 336, 8.
- 16 Mounted Hoplites, or Cavalry: People keep on trying to make the distinction. H. Metzger and D. van Berchem, Gestalt and Geschichte, Festschrift K. Schefold, 'Hippeis', Beiheft 4 Bern (1967) 155-8, Antike Kunst, suggest that since cavalry was known to parade in honour of Zeus every year and since the eagle is sacred to Zeus, then every time a large bird appears with horsemen they must be knights, or cavalry men. However, everyone confuses eagles with ravens on both red and black figure vases (including the artists, or so it seems) so this theory, attractive at first appearance, cannot be valid. Besides, there are even more big birds in black figure work than in red, at a time when there was definitely no official body of cavalry, and nearly as many birds appear with chariots as riders.
G.R. Bugh: AthH, 3-38.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE
(P 34-47)

- 17 Dinner party: Xenoph. Symp IX.
 Cross-country riding: Memorab III, 13. 5-6.
 Riding like flying: Hipparch VIII, 6.
 Chrysantas: Kyroped IV, 3. 15-20.
- 18 Diogenes Laertius: III, 39. His word is 'ἵπποτυφία'.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 1 Translated by W.E. Wycherly, The Athenian Agora, III, The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Princeton (1975) 105, no. 303. Mnesimachos wrote in the mid-fourth century BC.
- 2 Horses and funerals: Benson HBM, 44.
Also, S. Langdon, 'Return of the Horse Leader' AJA vol. 93, 2, p189.
- 3 'Poor Man's Ekphora': Paris, Cabinet des Medailles 355, ABV 346, 8. Illustrated in Looking at Greek Vases edited by T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, Cambridge (1991), 147, fig 60. This comes from a small group of one-handle kantharoi all depicting the ekphora, found at various Etruscan sites, made by different artists in the same workshops, the Peizoma Group.
- 4 Horse Head amphoras: Boardman ABF, 18.
Munich vase: Munich 362, ABV 17, 34. Illustrated in Anderson AGH, pl. 14B.
- 5 Myrmidons: Iliad XXIII, 13-4
Prizes: " " 259-61.
6. Two-horse teams: Iliad XXIII 288-301. The teams consist of two stallions (Diomedes), two mares (Eumelos), a mare and a stallion (Menelaos). Homer does not specify the sex of the two remaining teams. The use of mare and stallion together is interesting, but not unthinkable.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 7 Funeral games: It may be, as suggested by Kurtz and Boardman, Greek Burial Customs, London (1971) 202, that all the Greek national games had their origins in honour of the dead. Some type of contest or match to appease the dead is a feature of funerals in many ancient societies, Geometric vases suggest that such contests took place on a heroic scale, but I have been unable to discover any attested examples of them.
 First Olympics; Paus. V, 8, 1-4.
 Four-horse chariot race: Paus. V, 8, 7. 25th Olympiad.
 Starting gate: Paus. VI, 20, 10-5.
 The problem was to ensure an even start for a large Number of competitors on a curved course. A likely reconstruction of the gate appears in The Eternal Olympics, edited by N. Yalouris New Rochelle, N.Y., (1976) 138-9
 Krisa: Present day Chryso. Paus. X, 37,4.
- 8 Xenophon: Anab, IV, 8.
- 9 Length of tracks: H.A. Harris, Sport in Greece and Rome, London (1972) 163. One stade= 200 yards = 512.6 m.
 40-chariot crash: Pind. Pyth V, 49.
 Head-on crash: Soph. Elektra 726-7.
- 10 Number of circuits: Pind. Olymp II, 53. Also Pyth V, 33.
 'Twelve times round the hallowed field' may be an observation on an actual race, or it may simply be a useful phrase for rounding out a hexameter. With Pindar, one never knows. The fact that it occurs in both odes increases

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 10
cont. the doubt, unless the tracks at Krisa and Olympia were the same length. Since the hippodrome at Krisa has not yet been identified, we must await the answer to this question a little longer.
Nestor's advice: Iliad XXIII, 306-46.
Turning post: Soph. Elektra 741-2 and 743-4.
'Death' of Orestes: " 745-56.
- 11 Veterinarians: Varro, De Ag II, 7, 16, says they existed in his time and were called ἰππιάτρους.
Kimon: Herod. VI, 103, 1-2.
Euagoras: Paus. VI, 10, 8.
- 12 Taraxippos at Nemea, Isthmea, Olympia: Paus. VI, 20, 15-20.
None at Krisa: Paus. X, 37, 4.
- 13 Fallen horses: On a cup by Onesimos, Perugia 89, ARV 320, 8, Troilos is dragged from a fallen horse by Achilles.
On an amphora in the manner of the Exekias in the Ros collection, formerly in Zurich and before that in Baden, ARV 147, 5, Para 61, Add(2) 41, the horse closest to us has fallen and a white yoke-horse is coming down. They belong to a chariot driven by two armed men.
- 14 Rings or clogs: Eur. Hippolytos 1189.
Harris, Sport 171, suggests they resembled the forms that oarsmen use in racing skiffs.
- 15 Tethrippon: Paus. V, 8, 7 25th Olympiad

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR
(P 48-73)

- 15 cont. Kelēs: Paus. V, 8, 8 33rd Olympiad
Apēnē: " V, 9, 1 70th Olympiad
Kalpē: " V, 9, 1 71st Olympiad
Description of Kalpē: " V, 9, 2.
- 16 Simonides: Arist. Rhetoric III, 2, 14.
Pindar: Olymp V, 17 and Olymp VI, 9. Olympian V may not be authentic Pindar, but a first century BC addition.
Pausanias: V, 9, 2.
- 17 Kalpē: On a cup by the C Painter, London B380, ABV 55, 91, illustrated in Boardman ABF, fig. 35. This cup is dated to about 570 BC, which makes it too early for a picture of the Olympic contest (started in 496 BC) but may indicate that such a race was run elsewhere before that.
- 18 Abolition of Apēnē and Kalpē: Paus. V, 9, 1.
Additions & Subtractions: " X, 7, 3.
Foals: Simon says that at two years the foal is a foal no longer, while Xenophon offers no comment on age. Varro, writing about horses in the first century BC, says 'in their third year they begin training for ...work' (DeAg II, 6, 5). He admits in the same passage that some breeders prefer to begin training at eighteen months.
- 19 Synoris: Both Beazley, DABF, 82 and Boardman, ABF, 168, take London B130 to be a picture of the Synoris. In a

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 19
cont. note to chapter eight (n.7, 106) Beazley wonders whether these Burgon animals are not mules too, like those of London B131. At this time, however, all horses on the vases had arched necks and prominent genitals, while mules had straight necks, no genitals and somewhat stringier tails. Thus the animals on the Burgon amphora are horses. See Chapter Two p. 32-3 for a discussion of this method of driving.
- 20 Edward Muybridge was first employed by Leland Stanford at his ranch in Palo Alto to take serial photographs to settle an argument about the sequence of hoof-falls in the trot. Having won his bet, Stanford decided to expand the experiment to include all the paces of the horse. The result, a book entitled The Horse in Motion, was published in Boston in 1882, with a text by J.D.B. Stillman, doctor in veterinary medicine and expert in equine anatomy. The photographs by Muybridge which illustrated the text were the objects of ridicule, burlesque, surprise and incredulity. "No-one understood them", says Stillman (p. 126), "It seems... unaccountable that the horse, whose movements are so open, should play such a léger-de-pied as to deceive all eyes, and give rise to controversies as earnest as did those of the chameleon in the fable" (p. 11). Many tests had been devised in the past - bells of different tones for each foot, horse-shoes of different weights and patterns for each hoof, but the proper sequence of movement could not be determined by the human eye alone. It took the camera to solve the mystery once and for all. Thus it seems our Greek vase painters did remarkably well under the circumstances.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 21 Leading in a winner: Nauplion Museum, inv. no. 1, ABV 260, 27, by the Mastos Painter. Illustrated in Beazley, DARF Pl. 94.3
- Horse of Dyniketos: Long thought to be a work of the Swing Painter, London B144 has been re-assigned by Eke Bohr, Der Schaukelmahler, Mainz (1982) 110, to the Princeton Painter, or someone close to him.
- 22 Mounted javelin throwing: A later version (circa 350 BC) is Louvre G528, a bell krater showing three horses, three riders in short tunics and two small winged victories crowning the best marksman. The ground is littered with broken javelins. Illustrated in Boardman ARFC fig. 375.
- Lampada: See Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques tome II, Tischbein t.1, pl. 52, line drawing (Vase d'Hamilton).
- Another version of this vase appears in Morgan's translation of Xenophon, 13. This drawing comes from Panofka, Bilder Antiker Lebens III, 1 and contains much more detail.
- Plato: Republic 328a. On this occasion the race was run for the first time at Athens.
- Alexander: Arrianus Anabasis III, 16, 9.
- Inscriptions testify this race was still popular centuries

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P48-73)

- 22 cont. ~~that this race was still popular centuries~~ later, in various locations, Panathenaica IG II/III, 2311, 2317; Thessaly, IG IX,2, 531=Syll³, 1059.
- 23 The apobatai: Plut. Phok 20, 1. Phokos, son of Phokion was practicing to be one.
See also N. Crowther, 'The Apobatai Reconsidered', JHS vol. CXI (1991) 174-6.
Dionysios of Halikarnassos: Antiquitates Romanae VII, 73, 2-3.
There are apobatai on the Parthenon friezes: British Museum, north frieze XXII, 64 and south frieze, XXX, 73, 74.
Protogeometric vases: Essen, amphora K969, illustrated in Ahlberg ProEk Pl. 41.
- 24 This is not a true Panathenaic vase, according to Boardman, ABF, 168. He suggests the inscription should be read as 'καδος του κυβωτοεχου', 'A vessel for the tumbler'.
- 25 Homer: Iliad, XV 679-84. One of two occasions where Homer admits there may be four horses harnessed to a chariot. The other is Iliad VIII, 185 - a line which was rejected by Aristarchos.
- 26 Indonesian ponies: Machin-Goodall, HOW, 176. They are ridden in bitless bridles and dance in competition. They are also ridden in javelin throwing competitions.
- 27 Horses of Kardias: Charon of Lampsakos, quoted by Athenaeus, XII, 520d.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 27
cont. Pliny, NatHist VIII, 57
Aelian De Natura Animalium XVI, 23.
- 28 Preparation of ground: By Hippias in 510 BC, Plain of Phaleron, Herod V, 63.
Attica unsuitable for cavalry: Plut. Sulla 15, 2-3. He uses the words 'τραχεύων', rough, and 'δυσκνήσιον' unfit for cavalry.
Thucydides: VII, 27, 5, 'hard ground'.
Herod. IX, 13, 'not fit for cavalry'.
- 29 Three-horse chariots: See Chapter Two, note 22.
Also, Delebecque, CI 143-4.
Assyrian chariots: London, BM 124579, from the North West Palace, Nimrud, shows Ashurnasirpal (883-59 BC) in a hunting chariot with three magnificent horses. It can be seen in Barnett and Lorenzini, Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum, Toronto (1975), Pls. 32 and 37.

Geometric vases: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48-2231, ill. in Ahlberg, ProEk, fig. 37.
Athens, private collection Ahlberg, ProEk fig 25.
Athens, Agora P4990
New York, Metropolitan 14, 130.14
Theories: P.A. Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfare Cambridge (1973) 27-9.
'Heroising' theory: Greenhalgh, EGW, 29.
- 30 Organised cavalry: The pros and cons are ably discussed by

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 30 cont. G.R. Bugh, The Horsemen of Athens, Princeton (1988) 3-38.
 There were horsemen before the fifth century, but were they organised, or were they individuals? Did they ride to battle and fight from horseback? Or did they dismount and fight on foot?
 Cavalry methods of fighting: Herod. IX, 20-3, 49, 6
 Brunt, introduction to his translation of Arr. Anab, p lxxx (Loeb).
 Xenophon: Anab III, 2, 18-20.
- 31 Thalia Painter: Cup in the collection of Herbert A. Cahn, published in RevArch, ser. 7, 1973, 3-22, 'Dokimasia', H.A. Cahn. In his article, the owner-author mentions other cups and fragments which may show other dokimasias, though this is by no means certain (p 15-22).
- 32 Xenophon: Hipp III, 1. 4, 6, 7, 12, 14.
 Location of HQ: J.H. Kroll, 'An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry', Hesp 46 (1977) p. 83, no.2.
 Popularity of displays: IG II² 3130 - mid-fourth century
 B.D. Merritt, 'Greek Inscriptions', Hesp 15 (1946) 176-7, no. 24..
 W.K. Pritchett 'Tribal Decree for Antihippasia Victor' Hesp 9 (1940) 111-2, no. 21.
 H.W. Parke Festivals of the Athenians, New York (1977) 143-4, 198-9, n. 186.
- 33 Alopekis: A Thracian cap of fox- rabbit- or fawn-skin, with the tail still attached and dangling, or tucked up.
Zeira: The Thracian cloak, probably of natural-coloured

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

33 cont. wools, with broad horizontal decorative bands in a contrasting shade.

34 J.H. Kroll (1977) 97-8.

The 12 mina (1200 dr.) evaluation is an insurance appraisal, thinks Kroll (p 99) and the state's maximum liability in the event of severe damage to, or loss of, the animal. This 1200 dr. price keeps cropping up in various places and may have been a conventional price for a fine horse:

Aristophanes, Clouds 21-3

Lysias, VII, 10, where it is quoted as the value of a horse given as surety for a loan.

Xenophon, Anab VII, 8, 6, whose horse was worth 50 darics or 12 1/2 Attic minas, but was rather special in other ways, as we shall see later.

Equivalent of workman's wage: G.R. Bugh (1988) 57.

35 J.H. Kroll (1977) 84-6.

Brand and fine: 'Aristotle' Athen Polit 49, 1.

Horse trading: J.H. Kroll (1977) 94.

36 None of this is spelled out in any documents that we have, but public office does not seem to have been held by anyone under thirty - a tradition followed by the Romans, who also required a minimum of ten years' military service.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 36
cont. Aristotle: Hist Anim 576 b 48. He says horses continue to improve until their twentieth year, but he is unduly optimistic, although Pelagonius, Ars Veter I, says the best could still be racing in the (Roman) arena at twenty.
- 37 Xenophon: Kynegetikos I, 1.-16, also XIII, 18.
Phaedra: Eur. Hippolytos 215-20.
Bonn Painter: Cup in Basel Antikenmuseum BS 438, ARV 351, 8
Louvre : ABV 256, 18 illustr in Anderson AGH Pl. 31c .
- 38 Death of Priam: Wurzburg 311, ABV 362, 35, Para 161, 35, by the Leagros Group.
Sacrifice of Polyxena: Berlin 1902, ABV 363, 37. Leagros Group again.
Selene: It is interesting to observe that Selene is driving only two horses. At first it seemed to me that the Brygos Painter could scarcely fit anything else into the rather disorganised tondo of this cup, but another picture of Selene, this time on the lid of the Marlay Painter's wedding pyxis (London BM 1920. 12-21.1, ARV 1277, 33) also shows her driving two horses, while Helios drives four. Probably this reflects the greater power of the sun. Professor Kilmer tells me that this picture is sometimes said to be Aurora, because of the disc above her head. The Moon's head-dress should be crescent.
The second lady on this lid, said to be Nyx, or Night, is seated sideways on a horse. Her picture is reminiscent of that on a red figure oinochoe supposedly in the Museo Archeologico

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

(P 48-73)

- 38
cont. Nazionale of Florence, illustrated in Reinach, Répertoire de vases peints, Tome I Archzeit. 1884, P. 97. 272, but now lost. A better drawing appears in Morgan (1894) 38.
- 39 Timonassa: There is some disagreement about her exact position in her second husband's life. Plutarch says she was Peisistratos' second wife, Cato Maior, C 24.
- 40 Marlay Painter: See note 38, this chapter. Illustrated in Boardman, ARFC fig. 243

- 1 The Swing Painter: Milan Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, 1062, ABV 693, 23 bis.
London, Blundell Coll. ABV 305, 23
Richmond, Va., 62.1.2 Para 133, 6.
- The above vessels are illustrated in Der Schaukelmahler:
Pls. 59A, 61A & 49B.
- The Amasis Painter: Leningrad, Hermitage 161, ABV 151, 15.
Metropolitan Museum 62, 11.11.
- 2 Nubian donkeys: F. Zeuner, A History of Domesticated Animals,
New York (1963) 374.
Representations on red figure ware: J. Beazley & L.D. Caskey,
Attic Vase Painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Boston
(1931) 20.
- 3 Poseidon's stables: At Aigai, Iliad XIII, 24-6.
The stables on the cup were independently identified by M.J..
Miller and H.J. Tucker in 1965. They were identified as Ares'
stables, however by E. Simon. See von Bothmer AmPa, 217.
- 4 Pelopidas: Plut. Pelop 8.
Stables: Roman remains are numerous, particularly in the
provinces. Tiddis and Pompeii are illustrated in Vigneron,
CAGR, vol. II, Pl. 6.
- 5 Manger: Xenoph. PH IV, 1, and V, 2.
Mardonios: Herod. IX, 70.
- 6 Argive artists: See Moon, AGAI, J. Boardman, 'Symbol and Story
in Geometric Art' 15-36.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

(P 74-94)

6
cont.

Paeonians: Herod. V, 16

7 Xenophon: PH IV, 1-2.

Homer: Barley and Spelt Iliad V, 196, VIII, 564

Wheat " VIII, 188, X, 569

Grass Odyss VI, 90Clover, Marsh Parsley, Iliad II, 776

Wine " VII, 189-90.

Μηδική ποτα: Aristophanes KNIGHTS, 606 (circa 426BC) .8 Alfalfa: Pliny NatHist XVIII, 44.

Kikkulis: The earliest known writings on the horse come from five clay tablets found at Hattusa in 1917 and were first translated into French by Bedrich Hrozny, Archiv. Orientalni III (1931) 431-61. Kikkulis dictated in Hittite, with technical words in Mittani.

Genetic impulses: Hyland EqRo, 17.

Nesean/Nisean horse: raised in the Nawar area of present day Iran, they were a breed protected by the Assyrian kings according to Barclay Rôle, 37.

They were the largest horses in the western world: Herod. VII, 40 and III, 106.

9 Xenophon: PH V, 5

Only illustration: Tondo of a cup by Onesimos, Norbert Schimmel Collection, King's Point, ARV 329, 125 bis. Illustrated in ARFA fig. 229.

Thick manes and tails: Xenoph PH V, 7-8

Simon, transl. by Morgan, 110.

Homer, Iliad XXIII, 301, VIII, 348.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

(P 74-94)

- 9
cont. Klētias: François Vase, Florence 4209, ABV 76, 1, main frieze.
Sophilos: The Erskine Dinos, London 1971. 11-1. 1, ABV 39, 15,
when still fragments at Athens and elsewhere. Photographs of
the re-assembled dinos appear in Greek Vases in the John Paul
Getty Museum: Occasional Papers, vol. I (1983) D. Williams,
'Sophilos in the British Museum' figs. 27-34.
'Triple' hogging: East Pediment, Parthenon, figures E and O.
Cavalry requirements: Among the more than two hundred horses
on the Parthenon friezes and pediments, only one has a really
long mane. This belongs to West Frieze Slab XII, figures 22,
23. The rider stands beside his horse, apparently in discussion
with a bearded man in a long ~~robe~~ who is pointing at the horse.
I am not the first to interpret this scene as, "You can't
ride that horse in this parade until you get its hair cut!"
- 10 Vain mares: Xenoph. PH V, 8.
Mourning: Eur. Alkestis 428-9
Plut. Pelop 33, Alex 72.
Herod. IX, 24 - Persians on the death of Mardonios.
- 11 Homer and colours: White Iliad X, 436, Horses of King Rhoeos
Bay " XXIII, 454, Horses of
Diomedes.
Dun " IX, 407, XI, 608.
Aithōn " II, 839 XII, 97
Horse of Hektor VIII, 185
Aithē, mare of Agamemnon XXIII, 295
Balios, horse of Achilles XVI, 149.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

(P 74-94)

- 12 Simon: Transl. by Morgan, 110.
Aristotle, or someone of the Peripatetic School: On Colours
translated by W. Shett, Loeb Library (1936) VI, 1.
- 13 Cavalry records: J.H. Kroll, 'An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry',
Hesp 46 (1977) 86. Two colours not mentioned on the Agora
tablets appear on the Kerameikos material: γαρός and the
unintelligible μαλο [παράς] which Kroll translates as white-[brown].
Aristophanes: Clouds 1225.
- 14 Matching teams: All of King Rhesos' horses were white. Iliad
X, 46
General Meidias drove his wife to the Eleusinian
Mysteries behind a pair of Sykonian grays.
Demosthenes, XXI, 138.
The sacred chariot of Zeus (a Persian specialty)
was pulled by ten white horses. Herod. VII, 4.
- 15 Aristotle: On Colour VI, 7986.
Herodotos: offers several examples of the Persian preference
for white horses: I, 89; VII, 113 & 115; IX, 63.
- 16 Filly with yellow mane: Plut. Pelop 21-2.
- 17 Simon: Transl by Morgan, 108.
Thessaly had 3,000 square miles of alluvial plains enclosed
by mountains, loosely held by feuding aristocratic families
and worked by serfs. They had the finest cavalry in Greece.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE
(P 74-94)

- 18 During the great horse-breeding days of the Middle Ages, breeders constantly complained about this kind of thing. They were constantly repairing fences and enclosures to keep stallions out and mares in. The expense was often ruinous. See R.H.C. Davies, The Mediaeval Warhorse London (1989) Chapter two, for an explanation of practices at this time.
- 19 Price of Boukephalos: 13 talents - Pliny, NatHist VIII, 42.64
16 talents - Plut. Alex VI
- His name: Arr. AnabAlex XIX, 5: He was branded with an Ox-head, or, He had a white mark on his forehead shaped like an ox-head.
- Pliny NatHist VIII, 44: He was branded with an Ox-head, or, He was fierce in appearance.
- Strabo XV, 1.28 and Aulus Gellius V,2, both say he had a broad, ox-like head.
- R.H.C. Davies (1989) says Boukephalos was 'almost certainly' bred in Bactria. This opinion is shared by Eberhard K. Sprandel, expert on the Akhal Teke, in an unpublished manuscript in my possession, but neither man explains why he thinks so. However, it would give Alexander a new reason for the trek east!
- Local festivals: If they were not numerous, how could Theagenes

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

(P 74-94)

- 19
cont. win 1400 prizes in thirty years? Paus. VI, 11, 5. As Peter Levi points out (Penguin edition of Pausanias, 316, n. 91), this would be almost a prize a week for thirty years. Xenophon: PH I, 15 and II, 1.
- 20 Brands and breeders: Hyland EqRo 212, observes that today European horses are marked with a breed brand, but in the USA brands most often signify the owner, with subsequent brands when the horse changes hands. It seems likely that in ancient Greece brands signified the breeder, since after sale most horses seem to have been kept indoors.
Brands: Koppa or Kappa Aristoph. Clouds 122
San or Sigma " Knights 603
See also Kroll, Hesp 46 (1977) 86- 8
Mary B. Moore, Horses on Black-Figured Vases of the Archaic Period PhD dissertation, New York University (1971) gives an extensive catalogue of brands on black figure ware.
Not all horses were branded. Those that were not appear on the cavalry records as ἄσημος, Kroll, Hesp 46 (1977) 85.
The wheel: Pseudo-Aristotle, Ath Pol 49.
- 21 Aura ('Breeze'): Paus. VI, 13, 9-10.
Scythians: Pliny NatHist VIII
Arabs: Davies (1989) 37
Gelding: Xenoph. Kyrop VII, 5, 62.
Several bloodless methods of gelding are still practiced today. The spermatic cord may be crushed with a wooden mallet (the Scythian method) ^{or} and an elastic band may be wrapped around a young animal's testicles so that they eventually atrophy and die. This last method is popular among Arizona

(P 74-94)

- 21
cont. sheep ranchers. To geld a full-grown horse, as Xenophon implies, might have been trickier in the days before aseptic surgery and antibiotics. The Arabs did not geld and gelding was later prohibited by Islamic law, as a 'disgrace and a brutality'.
- 22 Aristotle: Progression of Animals XIV.
- 23 Skyros: At least two Mycenaean sites have been found, and others are suspected, according to V. Desborough, The Mycenaeans and Their Successors (1964) 138.
Mythology: Achilles hid on Skyros to avoid the Trojan war and fathered Neoptolemos there, Iliad XIX, 326.
Theseus was murdered by the King of Skyros, Paus. I, 17, 6. Plut. Theseus 36.
Skyros ponies: D. Machin-Goodall, Horses of the World Newton Abbot (1965) 96.
M. Bongiani, Guide to Horses and Ponies of the World New York (1987) no. 161.
- 24 Peneia and Pindos ponies: Machin-Goodall (1965) 95
Bongiani (1987) nos. 160, 162.
- 25 Bactrian cavalry: Herod. VII, 86.
Races: " VII, 196.
- 26 Twelfth satrapy: Herod. III, 93
Re-mounts: Arr. AnabAlex III, 30, 6.
Darius : " " III, 16, 1.
'Heavenly horses': Barclay (1980) 48. The 'blood sweating'

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE
(P 74-94)

- 26
cont. was caused by a subcutaneous parasite still endemic in Central Asia today.
Ancestor of the Arab: C. Silver, A Guide to the Horses of the World London (1987) 179. This is a controversial but not unreasonable view.
- 27 The Akhal Teke: A strain of the ancient Turkoman, this is without doubt one of the most ancient breeds in existence. Famed for its endurance, it has been known to cross 250 miles/400 kms. of waterless desert in just under three days. Its unique beauty is the metallic sheen to its coat. There are presently about six of these horses in England, a few more in Virginia, California, Colorado and Washington. They are much prized in the growing sport of endurance riding.
See; Machin-Goodall (1965) 109-11
Bongiani (1987) nos. 50 and 54
Silver (1987) 178.
- 28 After Marathon: Aelius Aristides, Panathenaikos 106.8
After Plateia: Herod. IX, 81.
Spartan breeders: Paus. VI, 1, 7,
- 29 Names; Balios, Xanthos Iliad XIX, 400.
Lampos " VIII, 185.
Pherenikos Pind. Olymp I, 19 and Pyth III, 72-4
Phoinix }
Korax } Paus. VI, 10, 7.
Enkias }
Samos }

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE
(P 74-94)

29
cont.

Names on vases: Kalliphoras, Phalios, Berlin 1720, ABV 292, 5.
Kalliphoras, Kalikome, Louvre F53, ABV 133, 9.
Pyrrychos, Pl. 23 Toledo 1980.1022.
Kyllaros, Pl. 24. Vatican 344, ABV 145, 13

All of the above names come from vases painted
by Exekias and the E Company.

Arete, Vatican 416, ABV 365, 5.
By the Leagros Group.

Kionis, Madrid 10920.

By the Priam Painter, name translated by W.
Moon, 'The Priam Painter: Some Iconographic
and Stylistic Considerations', AGAI, 106.

Melanthis, Herbert Cahn Collection,
Basle.

This last name is the only one I have seen
on a red figure vase. It is by the Thalia
Painter.

30 Cruelty to horses: I have found only one picture which could
be interpreted as a beating . It is on the exterior of a cup
by Onesimos, Louvre G105, ARV 329, bis. and is partly illustrated
in Boardman ARFA fig. 228. The horse on the right of the group
is mostly missing. Its shying away from the central figures
adds dramatic tension. A man in an alopekis holds the lead-
rope of his horse close to the bridle with his left hand and

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE
(P 74-94)

30
cont.

raises a doubled loop of it in his right hand as though to lash the head of the horse, which moves backward, away from him.

31 Xenoph: Anab IV, 5, 24 and 34-6.

A general at this time earned 48 darics a year, a foot soldier earned 12 darics a year and a daric seems to have been worth 1000 drachmai.

32 Boukephalos is reputed to have died in Bactria, at the age of thirty and Alexander founded the city of Boukephalia in his honour. Flut. Alex 61.

33 Although, of course, I cannot claim to have read all Greek literature, I have come across no other admissions of affection for a horse in the works I have read. I feel confident that if there had been some such admission, one of the modern writers on the topic of ancient horses - Anderson, or Barclay, or Dent, or Vigneron-would have discovered it and brought it to our notice.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

(P 95-113)

- 1 Translated by K. Jex-Blake, The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Art History Chicago (1968) 131. Similar stories concerning different artists abound, underlining the fact that no ancient writer anywhere mentions pottery or the art of pot painting.
- 2 "The essence of horse" Benson HBM 33.
- 3 Mysterious horse: Benson HBM 173.
- 4 "Among the earliest pictorial scenes": Benson HBM 44.
- 5 Rib cage: M.B. Moore HEVA 426.
- 6 Leading hoof: Peazley DARF² 26-7.
- 7 The earliest listing of a frontal view of a chariot comes under the Manner of the Gorgon Painter, circa 580 BC, ABV 12, 31.
- 8 See note 19, this chapter, Al Mina Kylix-Krater.
- 9 For discussion of the perspectival aspects of this and similar vases, see J.I. White, Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting London (1956) Chapter I.
 For discussion of date and attribution, see Moon, AGAI, Evelyn Bell, 'An Exekian Puzzle in Portland: Further Light on the Relationship between Exekias and Group E', 75.
 Best effort: Munich Antiker Kleinkunst inv. 1391, ABV 258, 7
 Manner of the Lysippides Painter.
 Others, similar: London E 194, Group E, ABV, 136, 56.
 Munich 1376 Manner of Princeton Painter, ABV 300, 12
 Louvre F115 Class of Cabinet des Medailles 218,

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

(P 95-113)

9 ABV 319, 4.

cont. London B 258, Group of Wurzburg 221, ABV 402, 9.

- 10 Delphi, Treasury of the Syphnians: C. Picard, P. de la Coste-Messeliere, Sculptures grecques de Delphes Fouilles de l'école française d'Athènes IV, 2 (1928) 98-116.

F. Vickers: His interesting theories about the relationship between gold and silverware and red and black figure ware appear in 'Artful Crafts: the Influence of Metalwork on Athenian Painted Pottery' JHS 105 (1985) 108-28.

His theories on chronology appear in 'The Agora Re-visited: Athenian Chronology c. 500-450 B.C.' BSA 83 (1988) 143-67.

A modified version of his metal ware theory, written with D.W.J. Gill can be read in 'Reflected Glory: Pottery and Precious Metals in Classical Greece' JdI 105 (1990) 1-30.

A reasonable response is given to both theories ~~is given~~ by Martin Robertson AVPCA 4-5 and 9.

- 11 Harnessing scenes: Piebald horse by Psiax, Wadsworth Athenaeum, 1961.8, Paralip 127

Rearing horses by Exekias, Boston 89. 273, ABV 144,4. Illustrated in DABF² Pl. 71.

Also, German Private Collection, ABV, 147,3.

- 12 Apotheoses of Herakles: The late sixth century involves Athena, Herakles, the chariot and horses, and a few divine or mortal spectators. Sometimes it is a harnessing scene. When this myth makes a come-back in the late fifth century, the story has changed and the funeral pyre, the poisoned robe and his future bride Hebe are seen, while the chariot flies through the air, or at least is seen in the upper register.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

(P 95-113)

- 13 Part of the trouble may be Beazley's listings. 'Warrior's Departure' may, or may not, ⁿinclude horses. 'Gigantomachy', 'Amazonomachy' may, or may not, ⁿinclude chariots. Martin Richardson's new book on the development of Attic red figure work (1992) provides the only picture I have ever seen of horses by the Berlin Painter (Easel Antiken Museum und Sammlung, Ludwig LU 39, unknown to Beazley) fig. 62. These are not great horses, but there is, at last, a different view of the yoke and yoke pad.

- 14 Other awful examples: Exterior of this same cup Louvre G 105, APV 324, 60, where a young man is beating a horse. Illustrated in Boardman ARFA fig. 228.
Also, interior of a cup from the Schimmel collection, King's Point where a negro groom is combing a horse's mane. Illustrated APFA fig. 229.

- 15 Pisto Xenos Painter: This artist may have had Thracian connections or interests, since he is fond of tattooed women and Thracian riders. Sydney Markham, The Horse in Greek Art 2nd Edition New York (1969) selects this as one of the few vases he mentions. He had decided not to include pottery in his book because it is a 'minor medium', vii.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

(P 95-113)

15 George Stubbs: In the portrait of William Morris with Two Saddle
cont. Horses, one horse is in an extended trot, very well observed,
the second is in the conventional 'flying gallop', with all four
legs suspended above the ground. This pose had been re-introduced
to the western world on ceramics and paintings from eighteenth
century trade with China.

16 The Theseus cup: Ferrara 44885, from Spina, APV 882, 35. Illustr-
ated in Boardman ARFC fig. 81, also T.B.L. Webster, Potter and
Patron in Classical Athens, London (1972) Pl. 11.

17 Painter of the Woolly Satyrs: New York 07.286.84, ARV 613, 1
Illustrated in Boardman ARFC fig. 12.

18 Polygnotos: Oxford 1916.68, ARV 1028, 6. Illustrated Boardman
ARFC fig. 130.
Ferrara T411, ARV 1029, 21, Illustrated in Boardman
ARFC fig. 132.

In the Oxford vase, it is difficult to say whether the left hind
leg is lifted or simply viewed in a perspectivaly correct way,
since the horses are not in absolute profile. In the Ferrara
vase there is a ground line and the left rear leg is definitely
lifted, although not high.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

(P 95-113)

- 18 cont. Group of Polygnotos: Volute krater, Mulgrave Castle, Whitby, Lord Normanby, Paralip 442. Illustrated in Boardman ARFC fig. 158.1.
London 99.7-21. 5. ARV 1052, 29. Illustrated in Boardman fig. 159.1.

The same general comments apply here as to the vessels by Polygnotos.

- 19 Oinomaos Painter: Naples 2000, ARV 1440. 1 Illustrated Boardman ARFC fig. 351.
Upsala Painter: Bologna 318, ARV 1437, 4. Illustr. ARFC fig. 348.
Painter of London F 64: Ruvo, Jatta 442, ARV 1420, 4. ARFC fig. 354.
Al Mina Kylix-krater: Oxford 1939. 599, JHS LIX, 35-44. Can be seen in ARFC fig. 387, and Robertson, Art of Vase Painting in Classical Athens London (1992) fig. 287.
- 20 Pausias: Aelian VarHist 14, 15.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

(P 114-137)

- 1 Translated by R. Fagles, The Three Theban Plays New York (1982) 309-10.
- 2 Lefebvre des Nöettes (1931) 15-6, 163-4.
- 3 Literary refer^ence: A poem about a knight's horse used for carrying wood in peace time, Babrius LXXVI, is quoted by Anderson, AGH , 139.
- 4 Dun a primitive colour: Sponenberg and Beaver (1983) 115.
- 5 John Chadwick, The Mycenaean World London (1976) 164, observes in writing of the modern Skyros Pony that '...it is perhaps not too fanciful to see in them the descendants of this ancient breed'(of Mycenaean pony).
- 6 The offending verb is *χράομαι*

10. J.D. Beazley 1963 Attic Red Figure Vase Painters
ARV 2nd Edition Oxford.

11. ***** 1972 Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black
Paralip Figure Vase Painters and Attic Red Figure
Vase Painters Oxford.

12. ***** 1974 The Berlin Painter Mainz.

13. ***** 1974 The Kleophrades Painter Mainz.

14. ***** 1986 The Development of Attic Black Figure
DABF² 2nd edition Berkeley, Los Angeles & London

15. ***** 1989 Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum
Edit. D.M. Kurtz Oxford .

16. ***** 1989 Greek Vases: Lectures by J.D. Beazley
Edit. D.M. Kurtz Oxford.

17. J.L. Benson 1970 Horse, Bird and Man Amherst N.Y.
HBM

18. J. Boardman 1973 Greek Art London.

19. ***** 1974 Athenian Black Figure Vases London.
ABF

20. ***** 1975 Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic
ARFA Period London.
21. ***** 1989 Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Classical
ARFC Period London.
22. E. Bohr 1982 Der Schaukelmahler Mainz.
23. M. Bongiani 1987 Simon & Schuster's Guide to Horses and
Ponies of the World New York.
24. D. von Bothmer 1957 Amazons in Greek Art Oxford.
25. ***** 1985 The Amasis Painter and His World
AmPa London and Malibu.
26. ***** 1987 Greek Vase Painting Metropolitan Museum
of Art New York.
27. D. Braider 1973 Life, History and Magic of the Horse
New York.
28. A.H. Brodrick 1972 Animals in Archaeology London.
Editor
29. G.R. Bugh 1988 The Horsemen of Athens Princeton.
AthH

- | | | | |
|---|------|--|-----------------------|
| 30. T.H. Carpenter | 1989 | <u>Beazley Addenda</u> | 2nd Edition Oxford. |
| 31. A.R. Burns | 1984 | <u>Persia and the Greeks: the Defence of the West</u> | London . |
| 32. W. Culican | 1965 | <u>The Medes and the Persians</u> | London. |
| 33. R.H.C. Davies | 1989 | <u>The Mediaeval Warhorse</u> | London & New York. |
| 34. E. Delebecque | 1951 | <u>Le cheval dans l'Illiade</u> | Paris. |
| 35. A. Dent | 1975 | <u>The Horse Through Fifty Centuries of Civilisation</u> | Los Angeles. |
| 36. V. Desborough | 1964 | <u>The Mycenaeans and Their Successors</u> | Oxford. |
| 37. M. & H. Dossenbach
Transl. M.W. Sutton | 1985 | <u>The Noble Horse</u> | New York. |
| 38. F. Dwyer | 1908 | <u>Seats and Saddles, Bits and Biting</u> | Washington D.C. |
| 39. J.W. Evans
A. Borton
H. Hintz
L.D. Van Vleck | 1977 | <u>The Horse</u> | 2nd Edition New York. |

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|--|---------------|
| 50. I. Jucker | 1970 | <u>Vases grecs</u> | Berne. |
| 51. E.M. Karydi | 1970 | <u>Studien zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei</u> | Basel. |
| 52. Thomas Kelly | 1976 | <u>A History of Argos to 500 B.C.</u> | Minneapolis. |
| 53. Y. Korshak | 1987 | <u>Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting
of the Archaic Age</u> | Chicago. |
| 54. D.M. Kurtz
J. Boardman | 1971 | <u>Greek Burial Customs</u> | London. |
| 55. D.G. Kyle | 1987 | <u>Athletics in Ancient Athens</u> | Oxford. |
| 56. W. Lamb | 1929 | <u>Greek and Roman Bronzes</u> | London. |
| 57. R. Lefebvre des
Noettes | 1931 | <u>L'attelage et le cheval de selle dans
l'antiquité</u> | Paris. |
| 58. H. Lhote
Transl. H. Brodick | 1959 | <u>The Search for the Tassili Frescoes</u> | New York. |
| 59. F. Lissarague | 1990 | <u>L'autre guerrier</u> | Paris & Rome. |

70. R. Oliver
B. Langrish 1991 A Photographic Guide to Conformation
London.
71. D.L. Page 1959 History and the Homeric Iliad
Berkeley & Los Angeles.
72. H.W. Parke 1977 Festivals of the Athenians Ithaca N.Y.
73. H.G. Payne 1931 Necrocorinthia Oxford.
74. S. Piggott 1992 Wagon, Chariot and Carriage London.
75. J.J. Pollitt 1974 The Ancient View of Greek Art
New Haven & London.
76. T. Rasmussen
N. Spivey
Editors 1991 Looking at Greek Vases Cambridge.
77. W. Ridgeway 1905 The Origin and Influence of the
Thoroughbred Cambridge.
78. Martin Robertson 1979 Greek Painting 2nd Edition,
New York.
79. ***** 1992 The Art of Vase Painting in Classical
AVPCA Athens Cambridge.

- | | | | |
|---|------|---|--------------------|
| 80. S. Rudenko
Transl. M.W. Thompson
<u>FTSib</u> | 1970 | <u>Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazaryk
Burials</u> | London. |
| 81. R. Sallares | 1991 | <u>The Ecology of the Ancient Greek
World</u> | Ithaca N.Y. |
| 82. M. Schafer | 1980 | <u>An Eye for a Horse</u> | London & New York. |
| 83. C. Silver | 1987 | <u>Guide to the Horses of the World</u> | London. |
| 84. R. Hope Simpson | 1965 | <u>A Gazeteer and Atlas of Mycenaean
Sites</u> | London. |
| 85. F.H. Skring
E.D. Ross | 1899 | <u>The Heart of Asia</u> | London. |
| 86. A.M. Snodgrass | 1964 | <u>Early Greek Armour and Weapons</u> | Edinburgh. |
| 87. ***** | 1967 | <u>Arms and Armour of the Greeks</u> | London. |
| 88. D.V. Sponenberg
B.V. Beaver | 1983 | <u>Horse Color</u> | Columbia S.A. |
| 89. J. Spruytte | 1977 | <u>Etudes expérimentales sur l'attelage</u> | Paris. |

90. J.D.B. Stillman 1882 The Horse in Motion as Shown by
E. Muybridge Instantaneous Photography Boston.
91. T. Talbot-Rice 1957 The Scythians London.
92. Louis Taylor 1966 Bits: Their History, Use and Misuse
N. Hollywood CA.
93. F. Tippet 1974 The First Horsemen New York.
94. W.B. Tyrrel 1984 Amazons: An Exercise in Greek Myth-
Making Baltimore MD.
95. E. Vermeule 1982 Mycenaeen Pictorial Vase Painting
V. Karageorghis Cambridge.
MPP
96. P. Vidal-Naquet 1981 Le chasseur noir: formes de pensée et
formes de société dans le monde grec
Paris.
97. J.P. Vigneron 1968 Le cheval dans l'antiquité greco-romain
Nancy.
98. M.F. Vos 1963 Scythian Archers in Archaic Vase Painting
Groningen.

99. T.B.L. Webster 1972 Potter and Patron in Classical Athens
London.
100. J.L. White 1956 Perspective in Ancient Drawing and
Painting London.
101. Lynn White 1962 Mediaeval Technology and Social Change
Oxford.
102. N. Yalouris 1976 The Eternal Olympics
New Rochelle N.Y.
103. F.E. Zeuner 1963 A History of Domesticated Animals
New York.

ARTICLES IN MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS

1. Anthony, D. D.Y. Telegin and D. Brown, 'The Origin of Horse-back Riding', Scientific American December 1991, 94-100.

2. Cahn, H. 'Dokimasia', REA ser. 7, 1973, 3-22.

3. Crowther, N. 'The Apobates Reconsidered', JHS Vol. CXI, 1991, 174-6.

4. Griaznov, M.P. G.A. Golomshtok, 'The Pazarik Burial of Altai', AJA XXXVII, 1933, 30-45.

5. Jones, J.M. 'Technicolor Horses', Horse Illustrated March 1992, 32-9.

6. Kroll J.H. 'An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry', Hesp 46 1977, 83-140.

7. Langdon, S. 'Return of the Horse Leader', AJA 93 April 1989, 185-201.

8. Littauer, M.A. J.H. Crouwel, 'Chariots and Harnessing in Mycenaean Vase Painting', appendix to Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting, E. Vermeule & V. Karageorghis.

ARTICLES IN MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS

9. Loch, S. 'Those Dangerous Clichés: On the Bit' Riding
October 1990, 10-11.
10. Lorimer, H.L. 'The Country Carts of Ancient Greece', JHS
XXIII 1903, 132-51.
11. Merritt, B.D. 'Greek Inscriptions', Hesp 15 1946, 176-7, No. 24.
12. Moore, M.B. 'Horses by Exekias', AJA 72, 1968, 357-68.
13. Pritchett, W.K. 'Tribal Decree for Antihippasia Victor', Hesp 9
1940, 111-2, No. 21.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AJA</u>	American Journal of Archaeology
<u>Hesp</u>	Hesperia
<u>JHS</u>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<u>REA</u>	Revue archéologique.

GLOSSARY

- ACTION: The manner in which a horse moves his limbs.
- ASS: Equus asinus from Africa, or equus hemionus from Asia.
Also, another name for the donkey.
- BAY: A red-brown horse with black points, i.e. mane, tail, ears and lower legs.
- BEARING
REIN: A fixed rein designed to hold the horse's head at an unnaturally high and uncomfortable angle.
- BIT: A device of metal, bone, wood or leather attached to the bridle and placed in the horse's mouth, so that it can be guided by reins.
- BORER: A horse which constantly pulls at the bit with a forward and downward motion.
- BREAKING: The initial training of the horse.
- BRIDLE: That part of the horse's tack or harness which is fitted over his head to hold the bit in place.

- COLLECTION: Total submission of the horse to the rider's will. The neck is bent at the poll, the heels are well under the body and the stride is quick and light.
- COLT: An ungelded male horse under four years (modern definition).
- COURBETTE: The horse rears up, then leaps forward on his hind legs several times.
- CREST: The part of the horse's neck from which the mane grows.
- CROWN PIECE: Sometimes called the poll strap. It is the bridle strap behind the horse's ears.
- CURB: Any bit making use of the lever and fulcrum principle.
- DEMI-PASSADE: Very fast movement down a track, with a quick reversal and return.
- DOCK: (i) The bony root of the horse's tail.
(ii) To cut the tail short by amputating the dock.
- DONKEY: Equus asinus, a small, long-eared relative of the horse.

- LUN:** In Europe, where duns are rarer, this colour describes all yellow to mouse-brown coats, whether with black points or not. In the Americas, where duns are more numerous, it covers buckskins, grüllos, zebra duns, siver duns, red duns, yellow duns, clayback duns, lilac duns and palominos, each definition varying somewhat according to locale.
- FETLOCK:** (i) The lower end of the cannon bone.
(ii) The joint between the cannon and the pastern.
- FILLY:** A female horse under four years (modern definition).
- FORELOCK:** The part of the horse's mane that grows forward between the ears.
- GAITS:** The paces of the horse: walk, trot, canter, gallop. Some breeds have additional gaits, natural or induced.
- HALTER:** Or head collar, a rope or leather headpiece used for leading a horse or tying him up in the stable.
- HAND:** A measurement of 4 inches, or just over 10 centimetres, used to indicate the height of a horse from the ground to the top of the withers. The figure after the ~~point~~ point

- HAND:
(cont.) is in inches, e.g. 14.2 = 14 hands, 2 inches, or 14 1/2 Hh.
- LEVADE: A High School movement, the horse rears at an angle of more than 45° and draws in his forefeet.
- MARE: A female horse of four years or more.
- MEZAIR: A High School movement, consisting of a series of progressive leaps on the hind legs.
- MULE: The sterile offspring of a jack ass and a mare.
- NEAR SIDE: The left hand side of a horse.
- OFF SIDE: The right hand side of a horse.
- ONAGER: A variety of Asiatic wild ass distinguished by a tail with a long tuft of hair.
- PACE: A two-time lateral gait in which the fore and the hind legs on the same side move forward together. Formerly known as the amble.
- PASSADE: To travel back and forward over a short, straight track, with alternate changes of direction at each end at various speeds and gaits.

- PIEBALD: A black horse with irregular white patches, known in the Americas as a paint, overo, tobiano, sabino, depending on pattern and colouring.
- PONY: Any horse up to 14Hh (modern definition). Thus, by this definition, most ancient Greek horses were ponies.
- SKEWBALD: A generic name for a horse of any colour other than black with irregular white patches.
- VOLTE: A full turn on the haunches.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. I The points of the horse.
- II Parts of the chariot and harness.
- III Mycenaean gold ^{signet ring} ~~seal~~. The earliest known representation
of a Greek chariot.
- IV An Egyptian rider, circa 1350 BC.
- V (a) The first Argive rider.
(b) Argive stallion - ? sacrifice to the sea.
- VI (a) 'The essence of Horse'.
(b) First horse drawn with hocks.
(c) First horse drawn with fetlocks, hocks & genitalia.
(d) First horse drawn with stifle joints.
(e) Chariot race: first long-robed charioteer.
Following horse has fetlocks which bend the wrong
way.
- VII The flying gallop.
- VIII Three horse chariot.
- IX The Hobby Horse look - after the Nessos Painter.
- X Bronze terret ring (b) bronze side piece for bit.
- XI Bit from Deve Huyuk.
- XXII Bit from Olympia.
- XIII Bit from Boeotia.
- XIV Bronze muzzle, from same grave as the bit in Fig. XIII.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. XV Scythian bit.
- XVI Racing chariot - from the border of a lip cup
 by an unknown artist.
- XVII Head of Kyllaros - detail from an amphora by Exekias.
- XVIII Horse wearing halter, muzzle and lead rope - detail
 from an amphora by Psiax.
- XIX The Apenē, race for mule pairs - detail from a
 Panathenaic amphora.

LIST OF PLATES

- | | | |
|-------|----|---|
| Plate | 1 | Earliest known representation of a rider. |
| | 2 | Funeral procession - Geometric Krater. |
| | 3 | Chariot procession - late Geometric amphora. |
| | 4 | Chariots on an amphora by the Analatos Painter. |
| | 5 | Assyrian King and two horses from Nineveh. |
| | 6 | Elamite carts driven without bit or reins, Nineveh. |
| | 7 | Riders on the Chigi vase - Corinthian jug. |
| | 8 | Mule with a swan backed saddle-chair - Erskine Dinos. |
| | 9 | Funeral Games for Patroklos - Frag. of dinos by Sophilos. |
| | 10 | Horses of Ares at the wedding of Peleus & Thetis -
Erskine Dinos by Sophilos. |
| | 11 | Achilles with Chaitos & Euthoias- Frag. of kantharos
by Nearchos. |
| | 12 | Bellerophon & the Chimaera - cup by the Heidelberg
Painter. |
| | 13 | Synoris, a race for horse pairs driven without bit
or reins - Panathenaic Amphora. |
| | 14 | Horse Head Amphora. |
| | 15 | A Group of Entertainers, with horses - Amphora of
Panathenaic shape. |
| | 16 | Groom with two horses - amphora by the Amasis Painter. |

LIST OF PLATES

- Plate 17 Armed man dismounts - neck amphora by the Amasis Painter.
- 18 Cavalcade - amphora by the Amasis Painter.
- 19 Frontal view of a chariot and four - oinochoe by the Amasis Painter.
- 19A Wedding party - lekythos by the Amasis Painter.
- 20 Divine Stables - cup exterior by the Amasis Painter.
- 21 Leading in a winner of the Kelēas - Panathenaic amphora by An artist Near the Princeton Painter.
- 22 ?Apotheosis of Herakles amphora by Exekias.
- 23 A chariot wheels to the left - amphora by Group E (Exekias as potter).
- 24 The Return of the Dioscuri - Type A belly amphora by Exekias.
- 25 Groom with mules - Fragment of a funerary plaque by Exekias.
- 26 Harnessing scene - hydria in the Manner of the Antimenes Painter.
- 27 A warrior leaves home - amphora by an unknown artist.
- 28 Rider in Thracian costume, 'Leagros Kalos' - cup tondo by Euphronios.
- 29 A chariot at the turning post - Panathenaic amphora from the Kuban Group.

LIST OF PLATES

- PLATE 30 Hunting Party - hydria of the Leagros Group.
- 31 Death of Priam - hydria of the Leagros Group.
- 32 Horseman - cup tondo by Epiktetos.
- 33 Horse race - Panathenaic amphora by the Eucharides Painter.
- 34 Selene and her two-horse team - cup tondo by the Brygos Painter.
- 35 Gigantomachy, Zeus and his chariot and team - cup exterior by the Brygos Painter.
- 36 Helios rising over the waves - Frag. of a bobbin by ?the Vouni Painter.
- 37 Portrait of a race horse - cup tondo in the Manner of Douris.
- 38 Rider in Thracian costume - cup tondo by the Foundry Painter.
- 39 Cavalryman - cup tondo by Onesimos.
- 40 Cavalryman - cup tondo by the Pistoxenos Painter.
- 41 Racing horses - cup exterior by the Pistoxenos Painter.
- 42 Armed encounter - cup exterior by the Triptolemos Painter.
- 43 Bronze chariot horse from a dedicatory group at Olympia.

LIST OF PLATES

- PLATE 44 Cavalry inspection - cup exterior by the Dokimasia Painter.
- 45 Preliminaries to a donkey mating - cup exterior by the Dokimasia Painter.
- 46 Amazons in battle - volute krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs.
- 47 A horse wearing a noseband, no bit, as a warrior leaves home - kalpis by the Villa Giulia Painter.
- 48 A riding lesson - column krater by the Naples Painter.
- 49 Mounted javelin contest, or the Shield Game - Panathenaic amphora from the Kuban Group.
- 50 Two mules wearing sun-shades witness the death of Laos - Fragment of a bell krater by Polygnotos.
- 51 Youth on horseback - oinochoe by the Polion Painter, or someone close to him.
- 52 Bellerophon and Pegasos - askos by an unknown painter.
- 53 Comic Herakles driven in a centaur chariot by Nike - oinochoe by the Nikias Painter.
- 54 Rape of the Leukippids - hydria by the Meidias Painter.
- 55 Gigantomachy - neck amphora by the Suessula Painter.

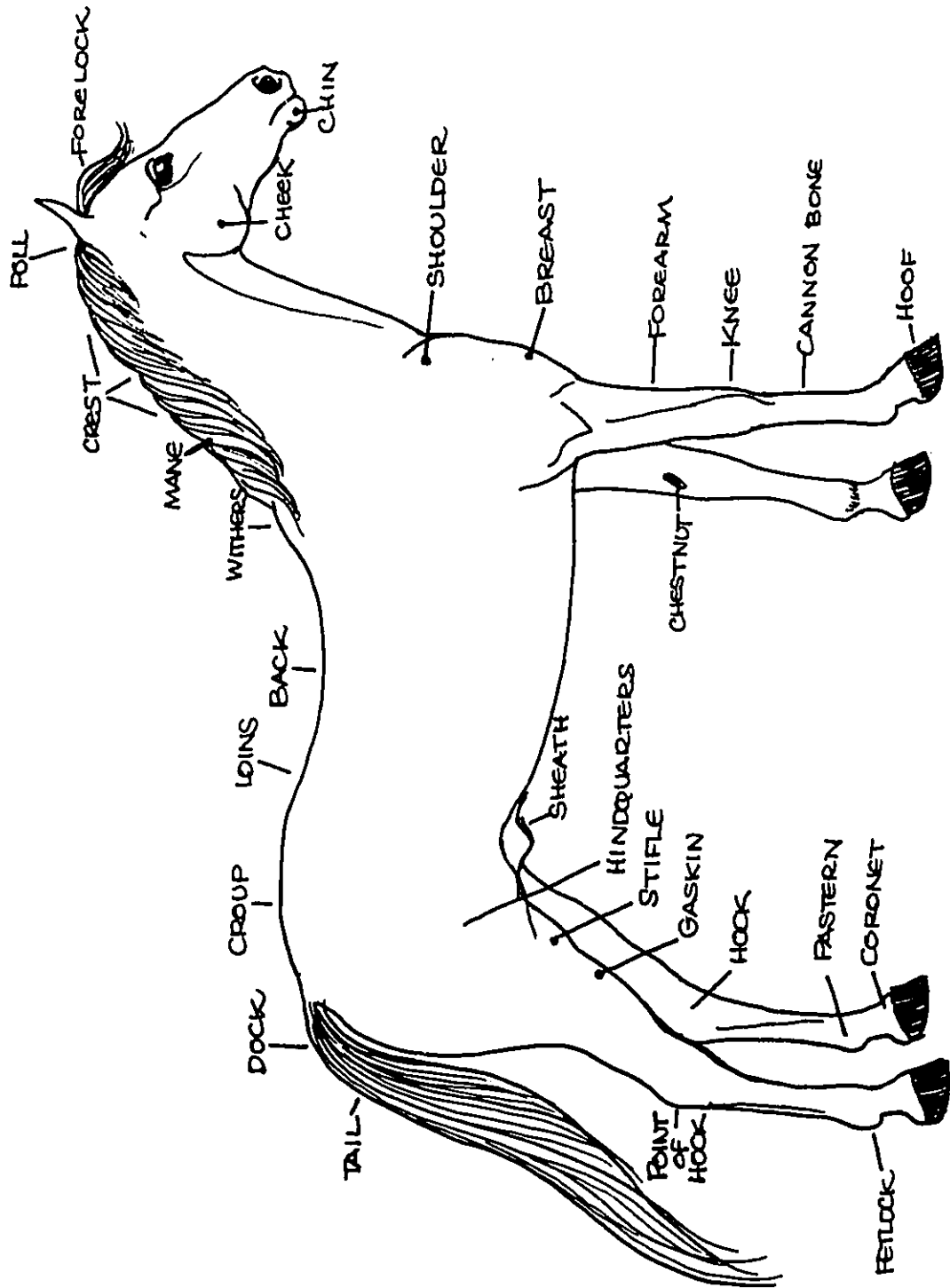


Fig.I - POINTS OF THE HORSE

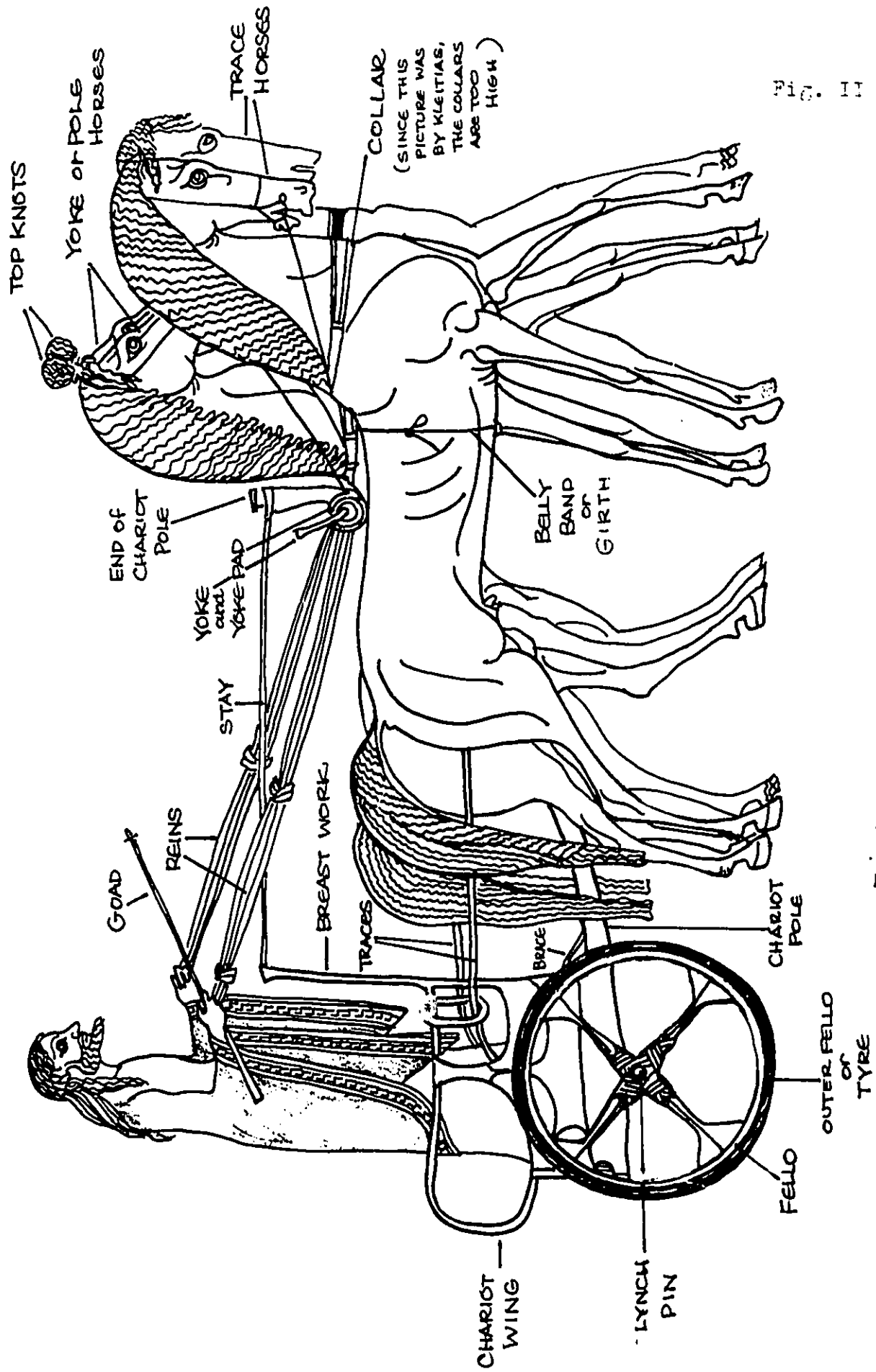


Fig II
PARTS OF THE CHARIOT AND ITS HARNESS
(Detail from Wedding Frieze, François Vase)



Fig III

Mycenaean Gold Signet Ring The Earliest Known Greek Chariot
 (approx 1 inch long) circa 1550 BC

German Archaeological
 Institute, Athens

Fig..III



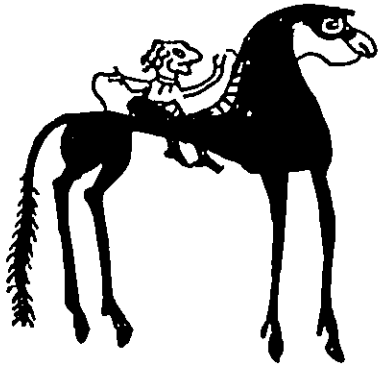
Fig IV

EGYPTIAN RIDER, circa 1350 BC

From a wall carving in the Museo
CIVICO, BOLOGNA - no inventory number.

Fig. V

Fig V
(a.)



Amphora
from the
ARGIVE HERAION

ATHENS NM, no inventory no.
First half 7th century BC
THE FIRST ARGIVE RIDER

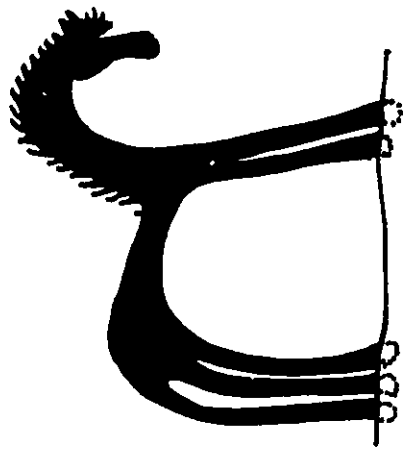


Fig.V (b.)

Krater
Fragment.

ARGIVE STALLION

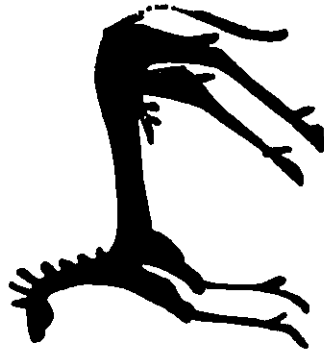
ARGOS MUSEUM
C 240
EARLY 7th
century BC



VI (a) Athens Kerameikos 506
ca 1000 - 950 BC



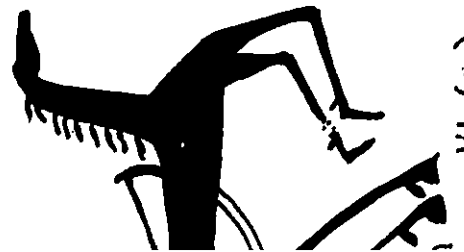
VI (b) Athens NM 18045
ca 850 BC



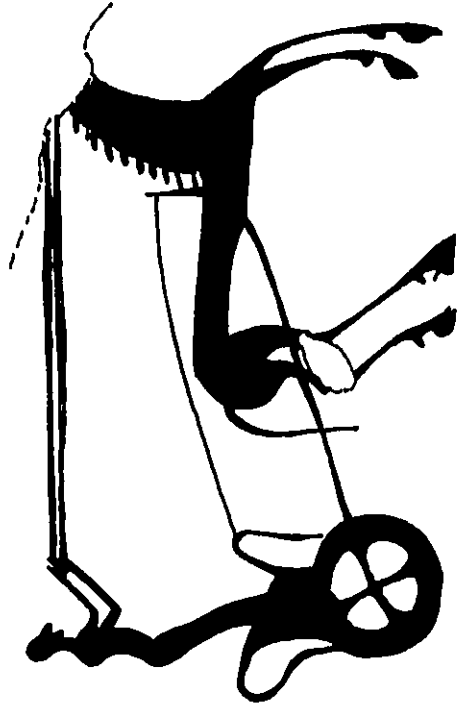
VI (c) Athens Kerameikos 290
ca 800 BC



VI (d) Paris Louvre A514
ca 800 BC



VI (e) Athens NM 806 ca. 750 BC



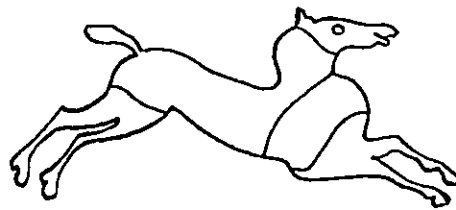
VI (f) Athens Kerameikos 2159
ca 750 BC



Fig. VI

'HORSE BIRD AND MAN'
After J.L.BENSON.

Fig. VII



? Krater fragment
No date
Present location unknown.

After Benson,
Pl. xv. 3
'Horse, Bird & Man'.

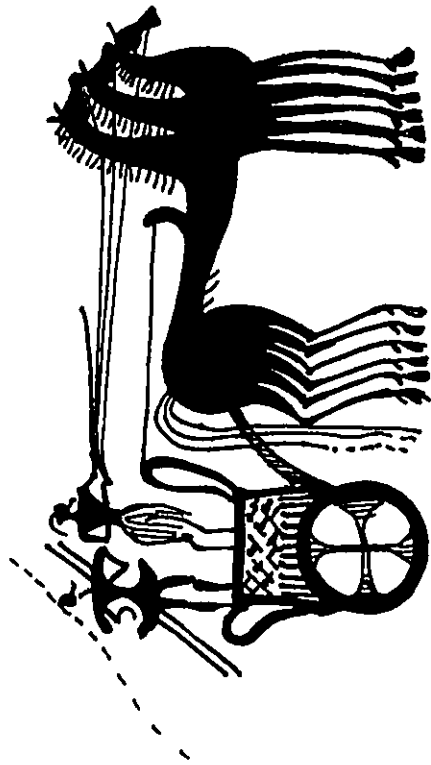


Fig.viii
Krater

SYDNEY, THE NICHOLSON MUSEUM 46.41 (14)

Fig. VIII

THREE HORSE CHARIOT

'PROTHESIS & EKTHESIS'
After Ahlberg, fig 14.



Fig IX
DETAIL from Fragment
of a GRAVE VASE
BY THE NESSOS PAINTER

ATHENS NM 16383
circa 620 BC

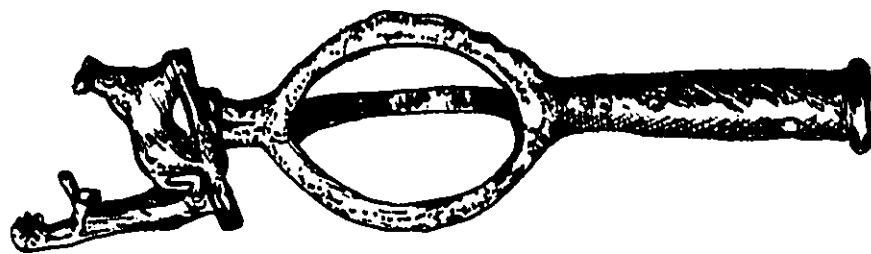


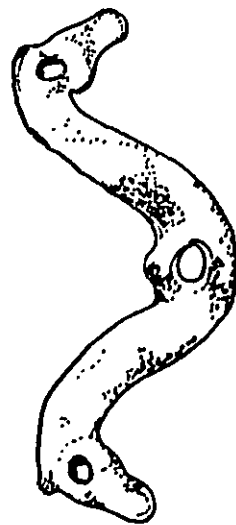
Fig X (a)

TERRET RING Delphi Museum

Inv. 5610 19.5cm high

Howas socket. Upper part:

rectangular plaque holds shepherd and his beast. Second half eighth century (?) .



Side piece Delphi Museum Inv.

Fig X (b). 4394 . 8.4cm wide Bit bar or roller in central hole. Choke Strap (divided) attached to rings on top .

Fig. X

Fig. XI

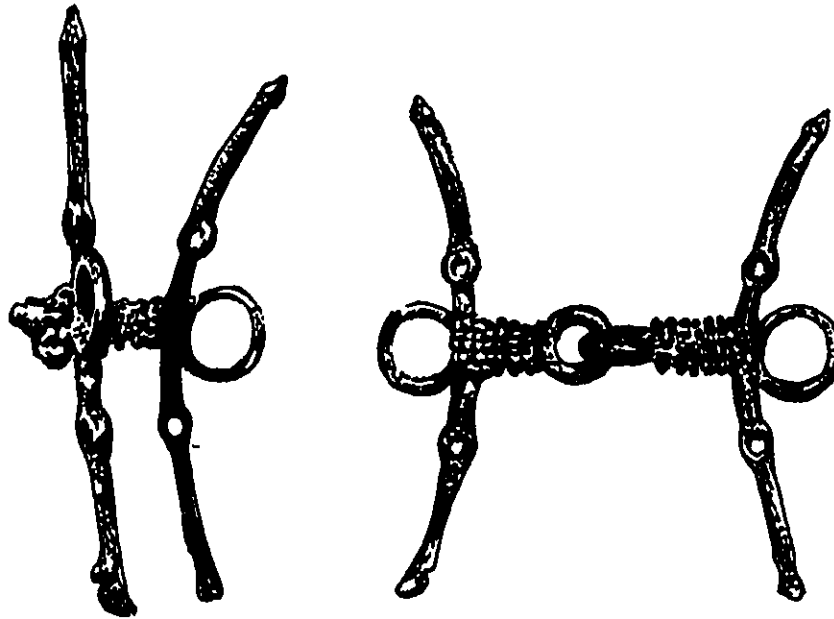


Fig. XI

ASHMOLEAN
MUSEUM
OXFORD

Hittite Bit from Deve Huyuk, 6th century BC
One end of side piece is a phallus, the lower end
is a hoof.

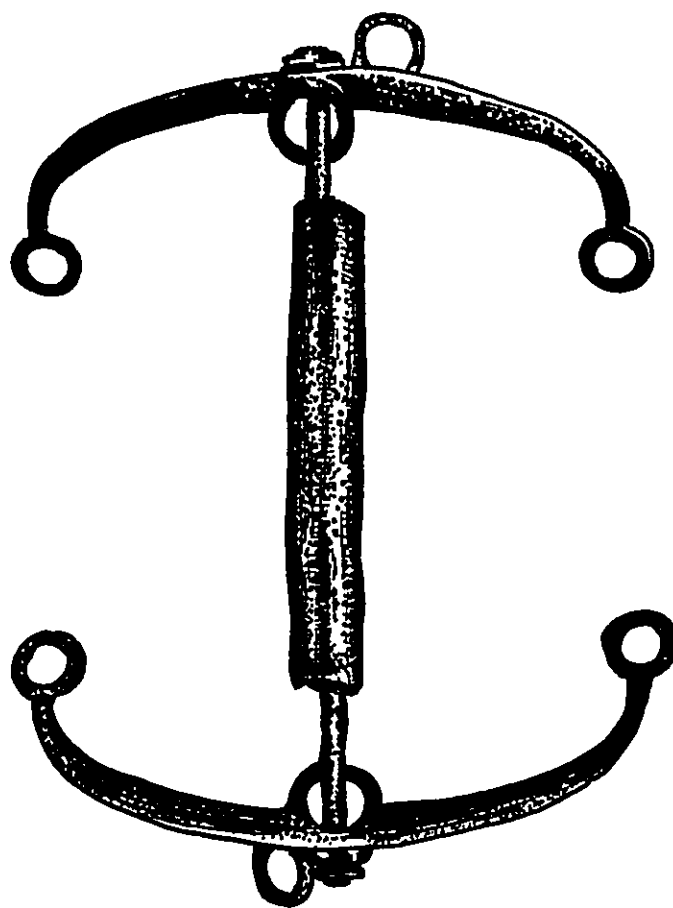


Fig xii
Smooth bit from Olympia
German Archaeological Institute
Athens.

Fig. XII

550~490 BC

Fig. XIII

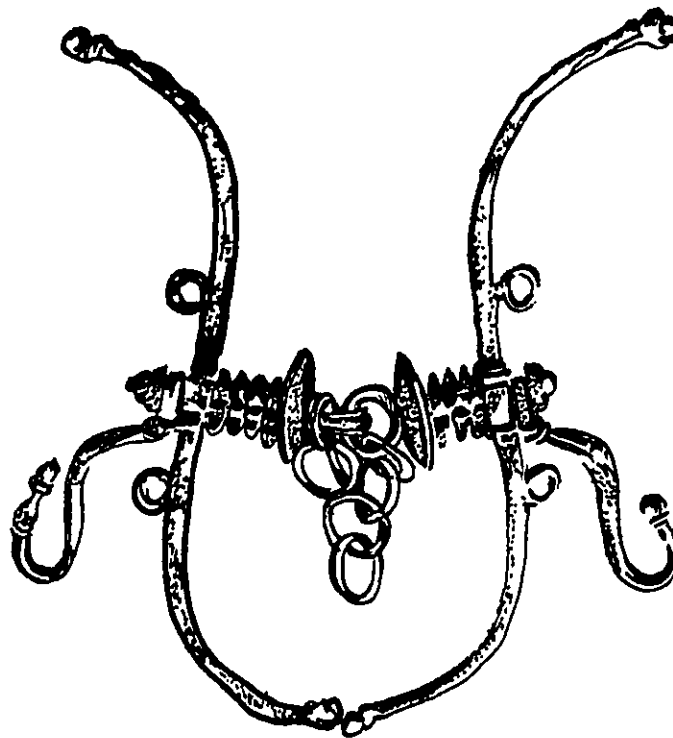


Fig XIII
Berlin State
Museum.

GREEK BIT 4TH CENTURY BC

Fig. XIV

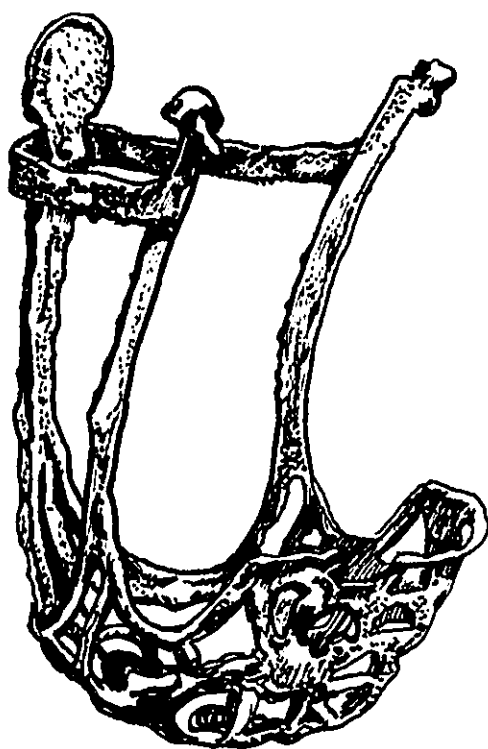
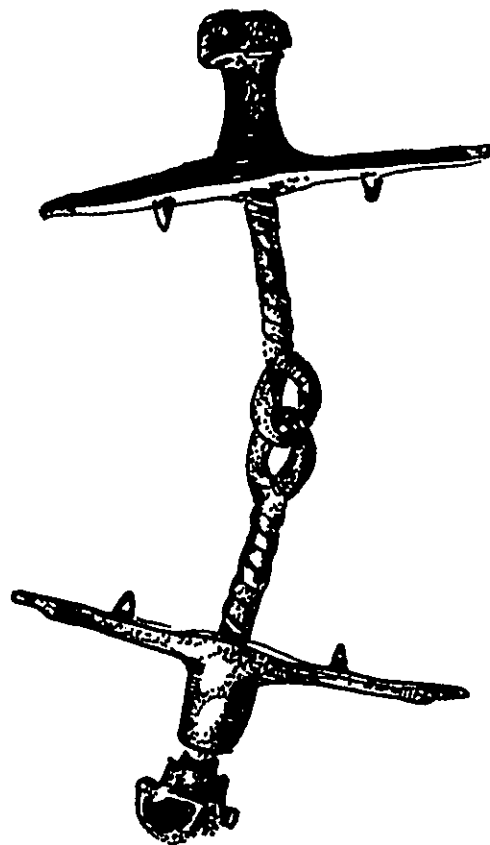


Fig XIV
Berlin State

GREEK MUZZLE 4TH CENTURY

Fig. XV



Scythian Bit - 4th century BC
from KUBAN

Fig xv
Present location
Unknown.



FIG XVI

LIP CUP

ARTIST UNKNOWN

DETAIL FROM BORDER

NOT KNOWN TO BEAZLEY

TARQUINIA RC 4194

550 - 525 BC

RACING
CHARIOT

Fig. XVI

Fig. XVII

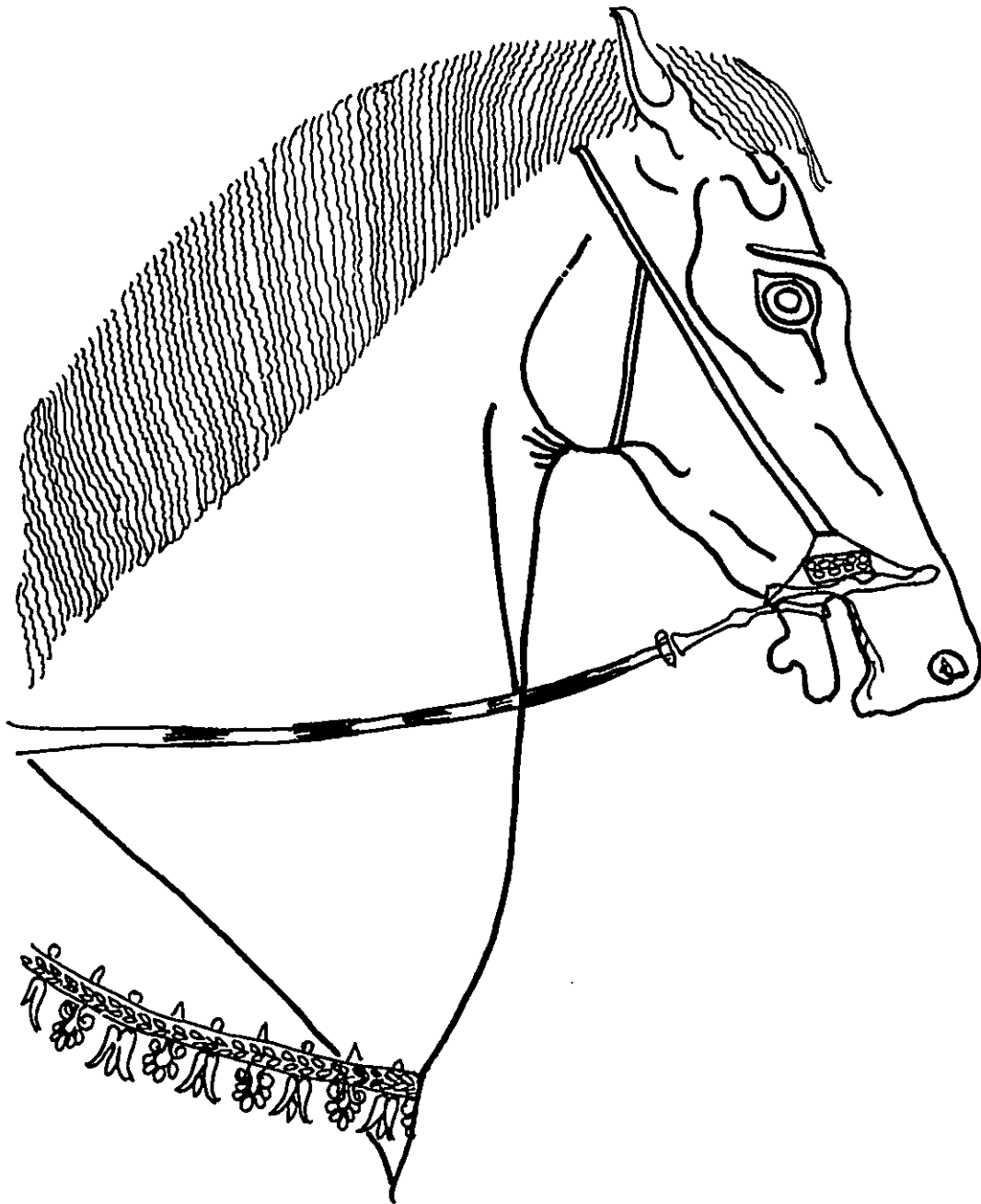


Fig xvii
Amphora
by Exekias

Detail: The Head of Kyllaros

VATICAN MUSEUMS 344
(See Plate 24)

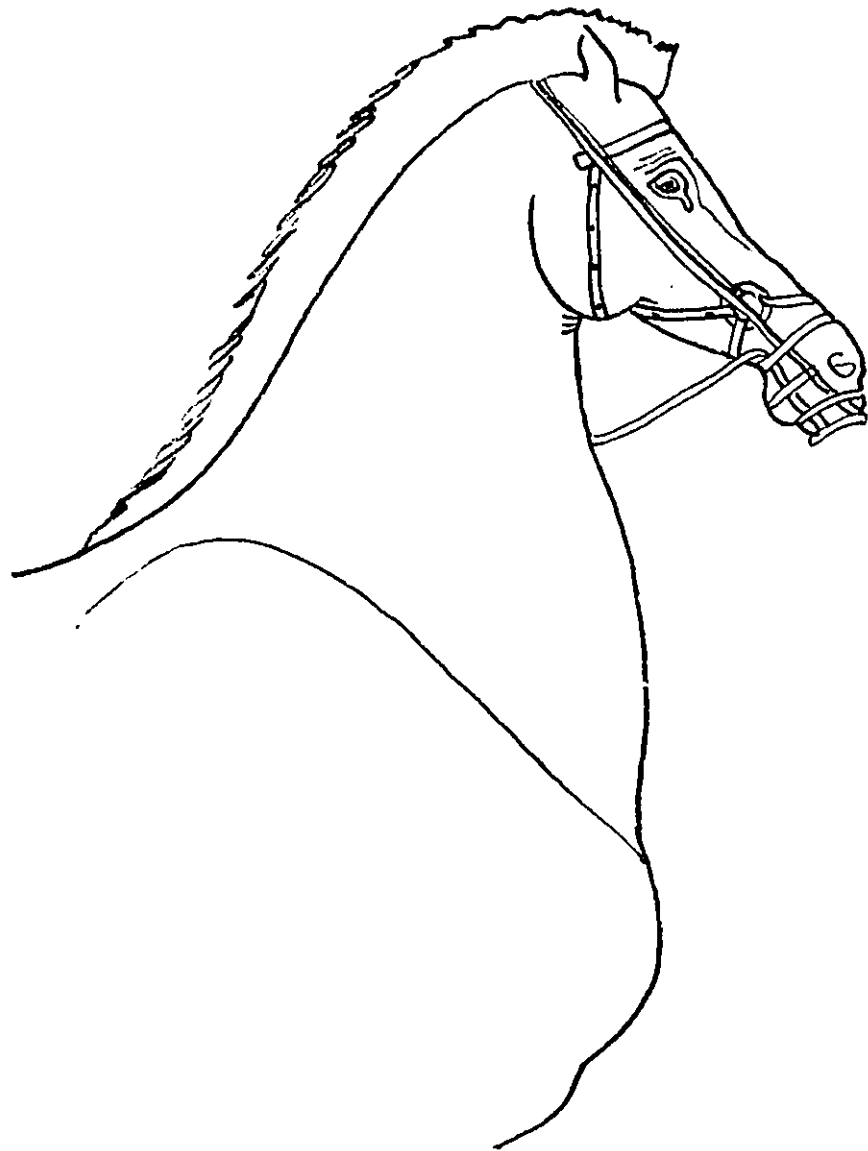


Fig XVIII

After PSIAX. Detail of amphora: HORSE WEARING HALTER
AND MUZZLE WITH LEAD-ROPE
ABV 292, 1 BRESCIA, MUSEO

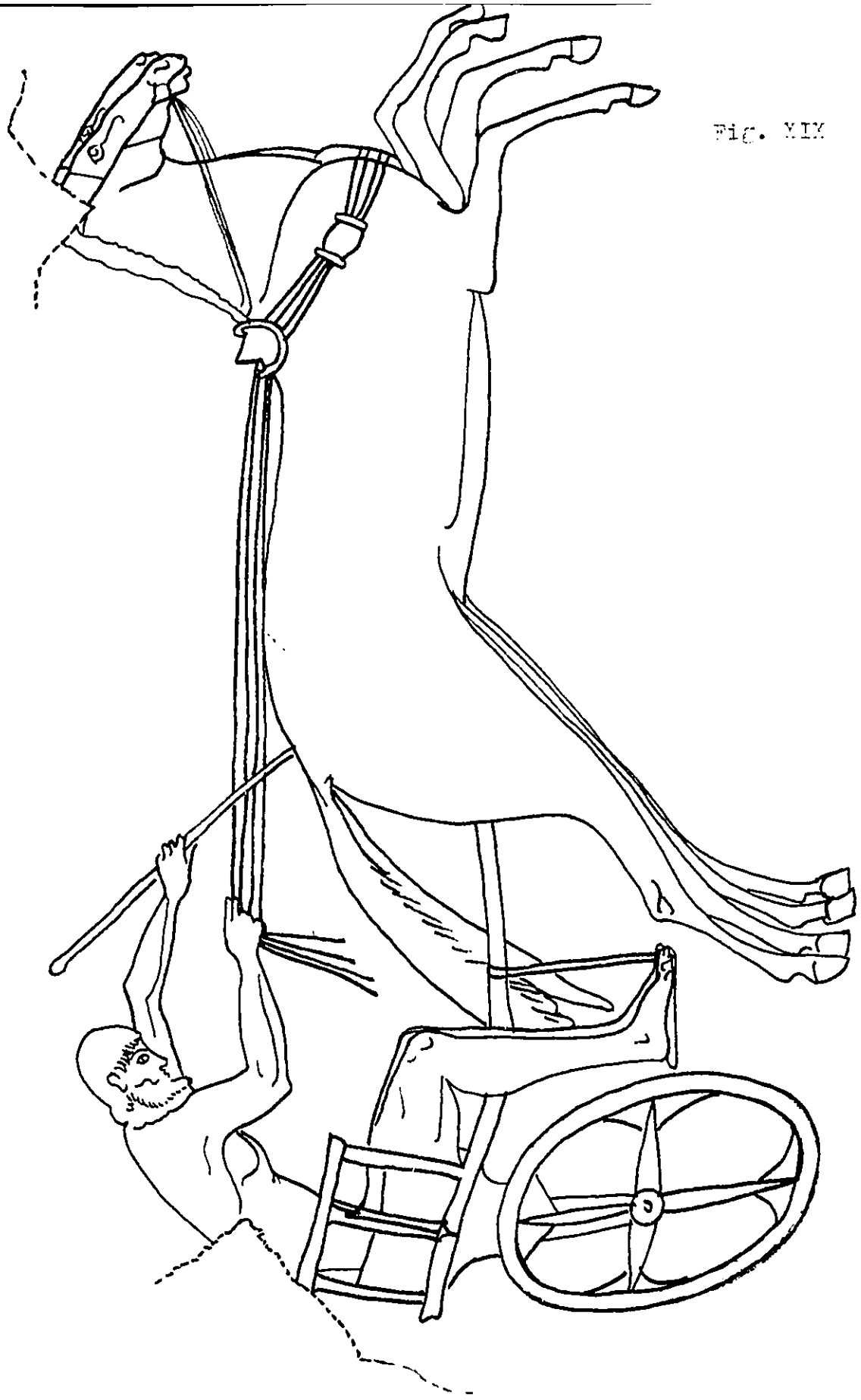
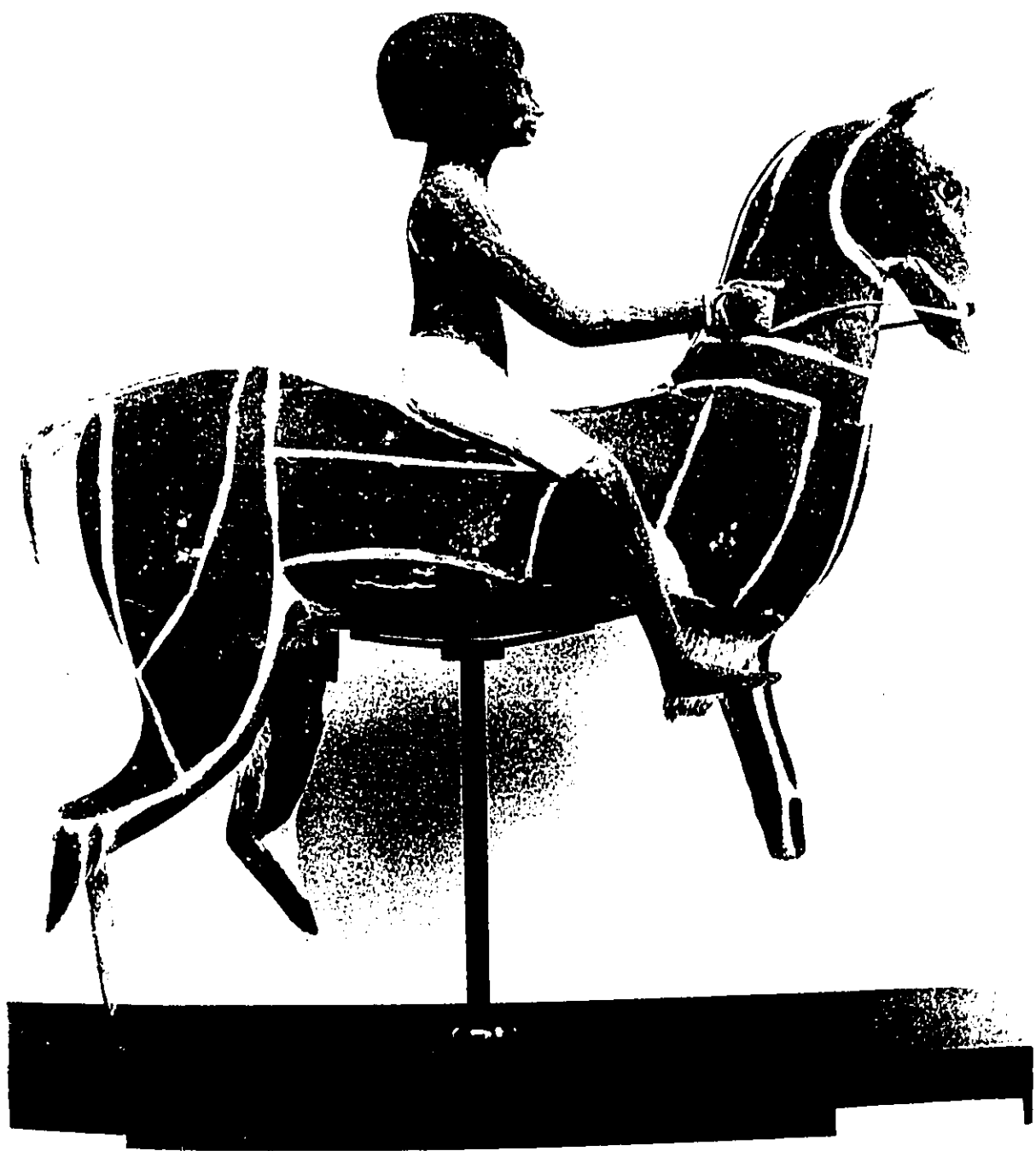


Fig. XIX

Fig XIX Panathenaic Amphora
ABV 405, 5.

THE APENE, OLYMPIC RACE FOR MULE CARTS
LONDON, B132
Late 6th cent. BC.



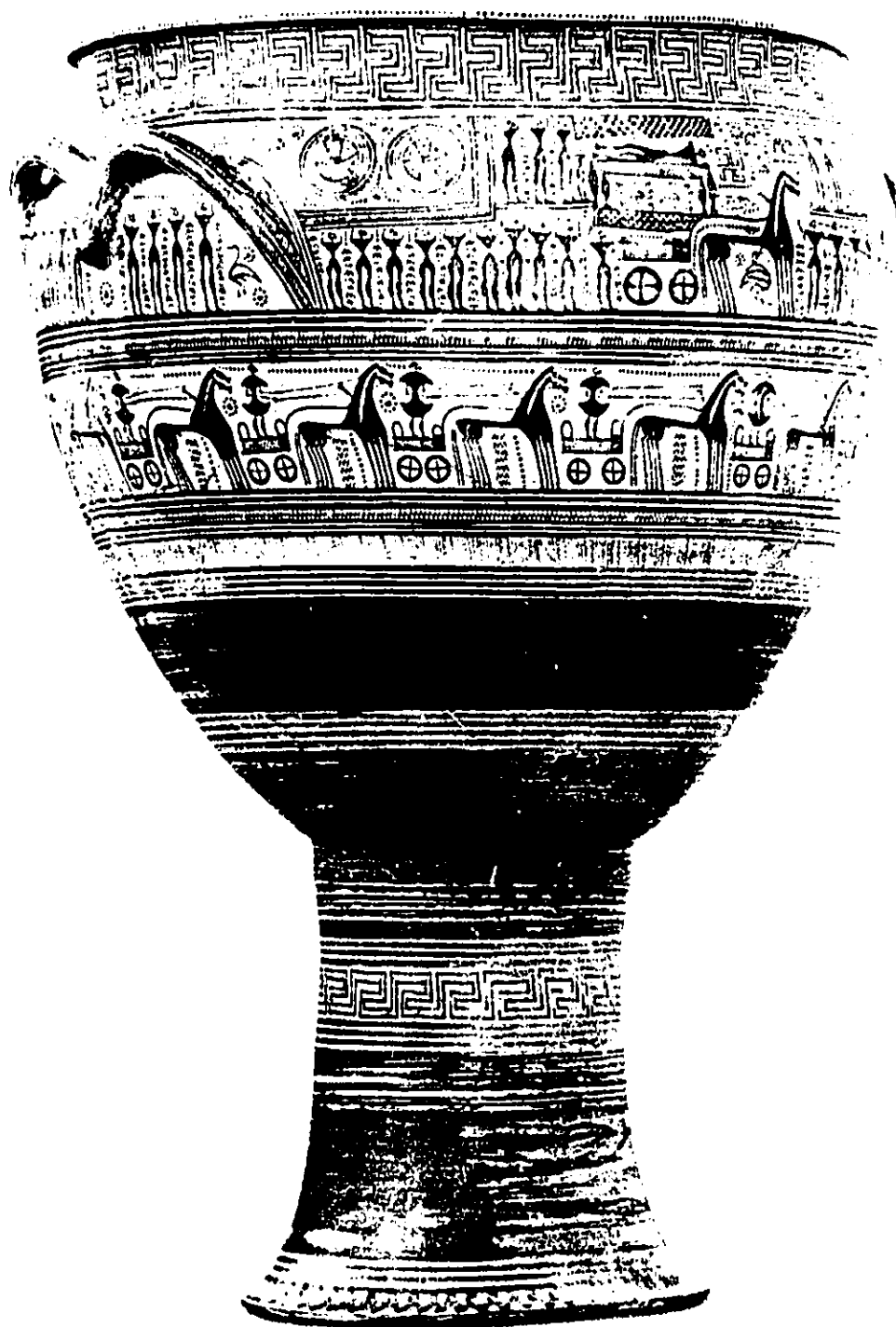
EGYPTIAN PAINTED WOODEN FIGURE

1. WOODEN STATUETTE

NEW YORK METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM

EARLIEST KNOWN
EGYPTIAN RIDER

CIRCA 1580 BC



2. Geometric Grave Krater ATHENS, NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM 990. ca. 750 BC

FUNERAL PROCESSION



3. Late Geometric Amphora
(Artist unknown)

LONDON 1936 • 10-17
Late 8th century BC



4. Proto-Attic Neck Amphora
by the Analatos Painter

PARIS, LOUVRE
CA 2985

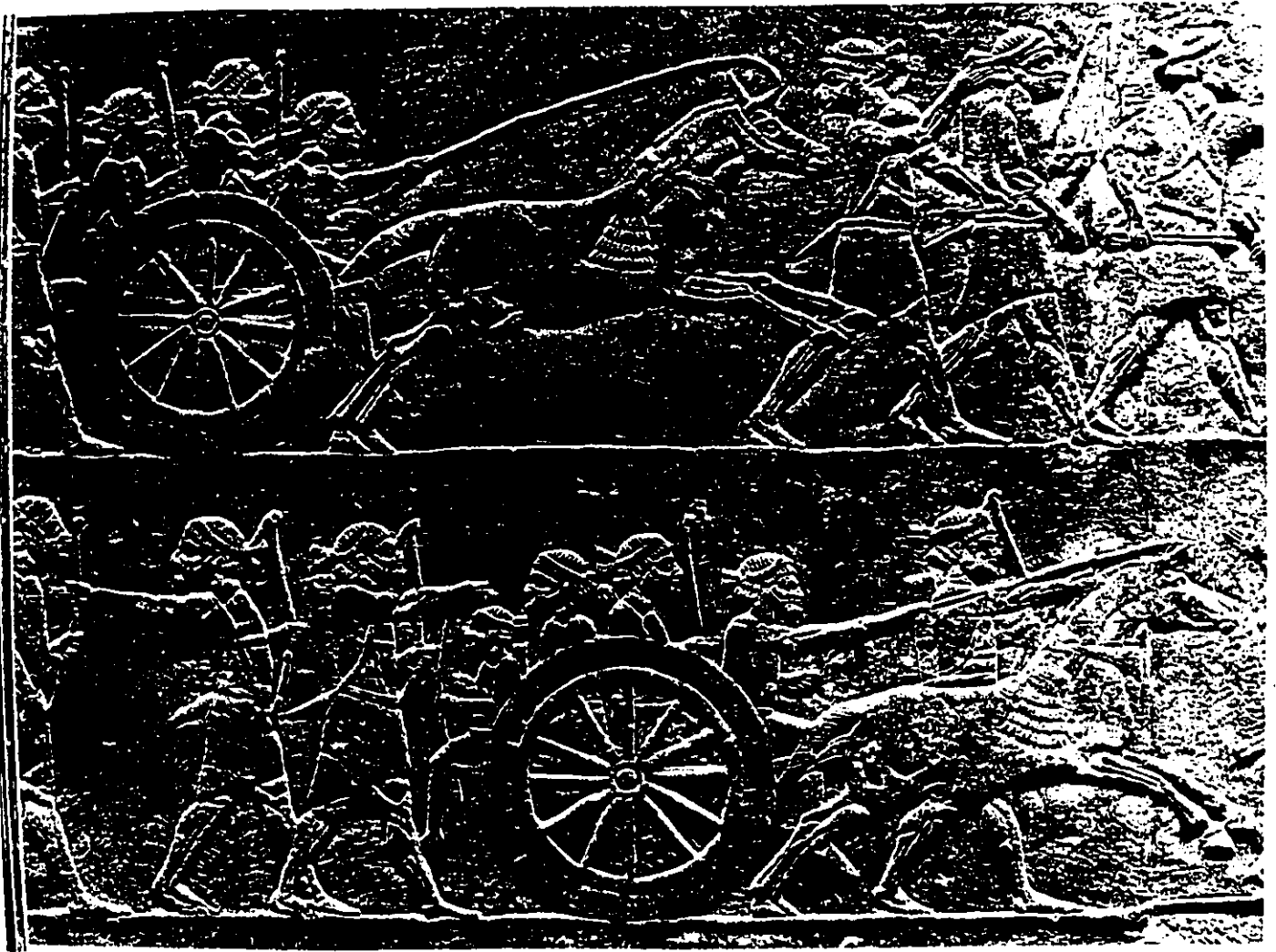
700~675 BC



5. ASSYRIAN WALL SCULPTURE
NINEVEH, Palace of Ashurbanipal
Room S. Upper chambers.

LONDON BM
124875, detail
669-631 BC

THE KING & HIS
TWO HORSES



6. ASSYRIAN WALL SCULPTURE
NINEVEH, Palace of Ashurbanipal
ROOM H

LONDON BM124939,
Detail.

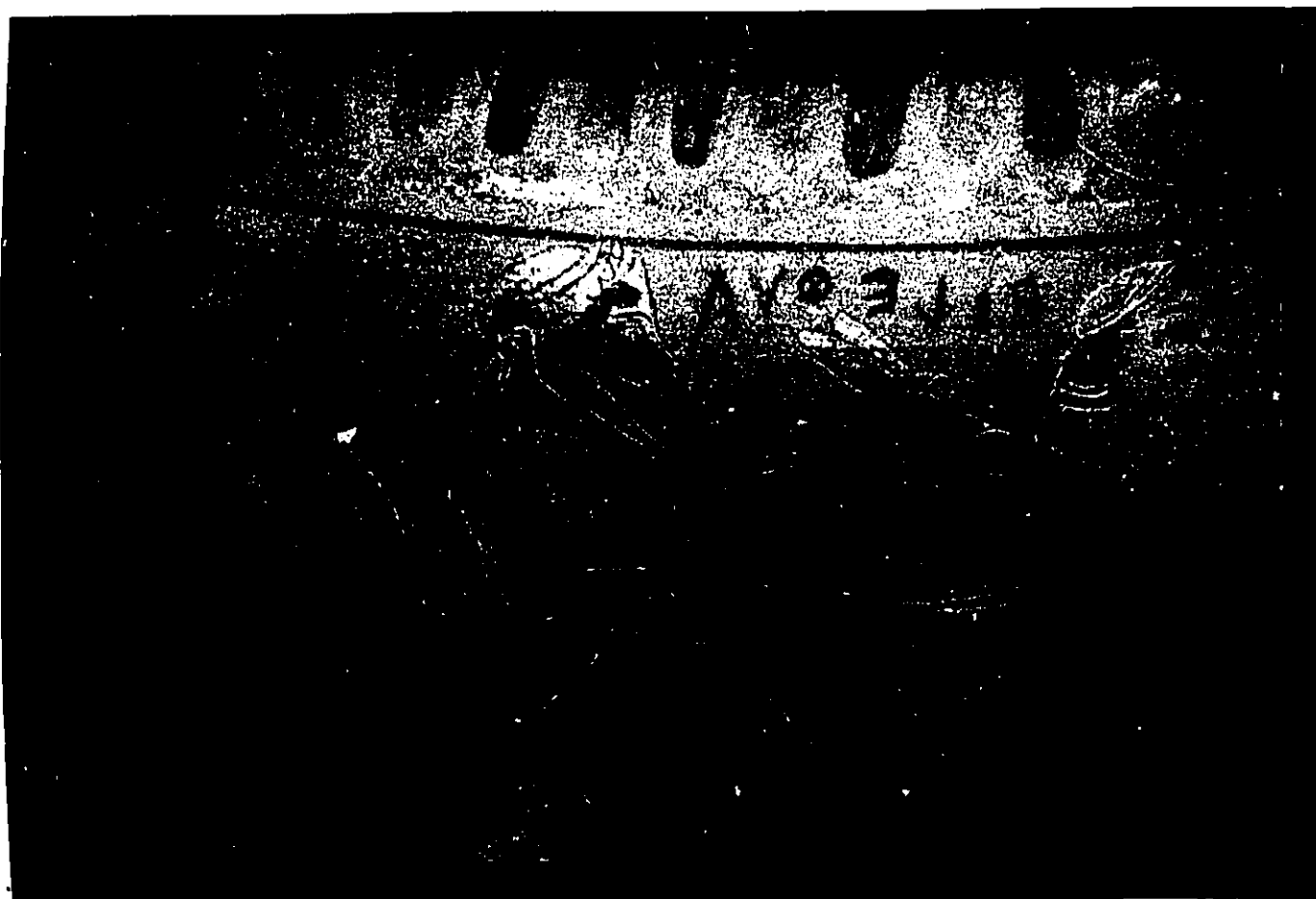
669 - 631 BC.

ELAMITES HASTEN TO THE
BATTLE OF ULAI



7. CORINTHIAN JUG
The 'CHIGI VASE'
(Artist unknown)

ROME, MUSEO NAZIONALE
DI VILLA GIULIA (no inv. no.)
Mid-seventh century BC



8. The "ERSKINE DINOS"
By SOPHILOS

LONDON 1971. 11-1.1 ca. 580-570
BC.

Paralip 16, bis

HEPHAISTOS RIDES OR LEADS

A MULE WITH A SWAN-BACK
SADDLE-CHAIR

Photograph courtesy
of Prof. M. Kilmer

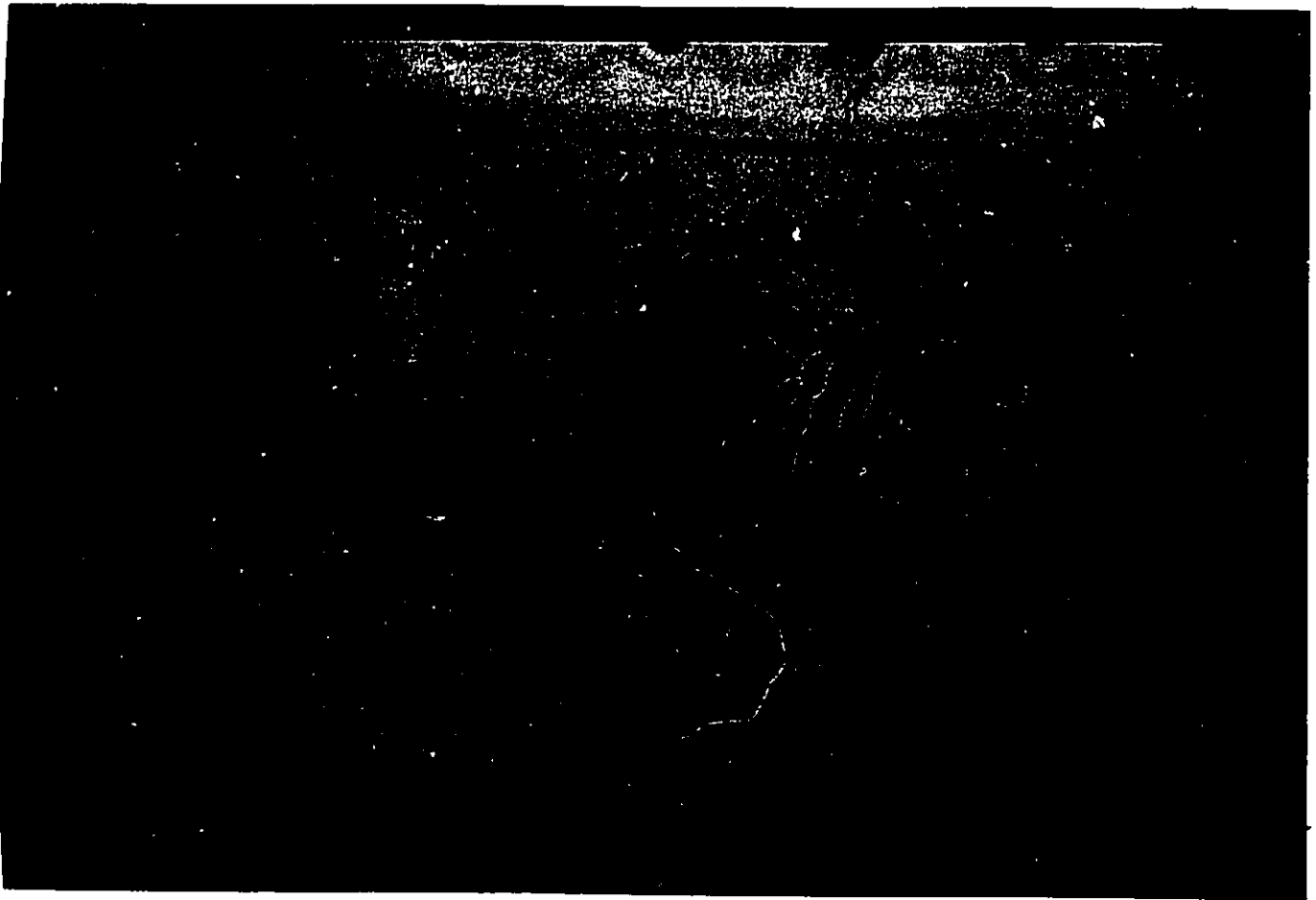


9. FRAGMENT OF DINOS
BY SOPHILOS
ABV 39 16

FUNERAL GAMES
FOR PATROKLOS

ATHENS NM 15.499

580-570 BC



10. The ERSKINE DINOS

BY SOPHILOS

Paralip 19, 16 bis

HORSES OF ARES
AT THE WEDDING
OF PELEUS & THETIS

LONDON 1971. 11-1.1

CIRCA 580-570
BC

Picture courtesy
of M. KILMER



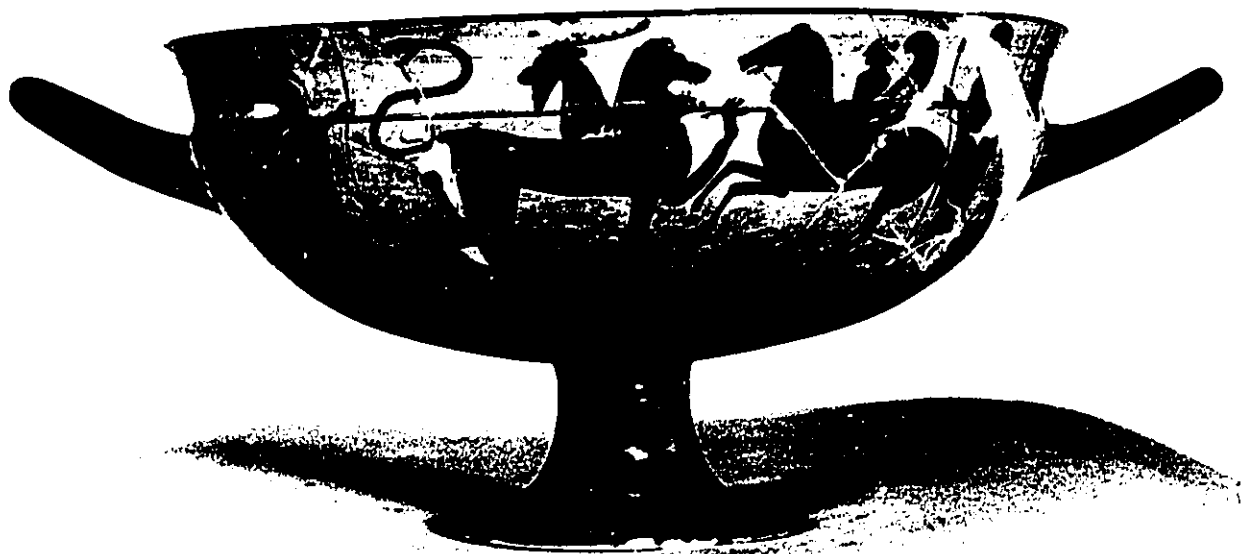
11. Fragment of a kantharos
Signed by NEARCHOS

ABV 82, 1

ACHILLES WITH CHAITOS
AND EUTHOIAS

ATHENS, ACROPOLIS 611

2nd quarter
6th century
BC.



12. Cup by the
Heidelberg
Painter

ABV 66.54.

PARIS, LOUVRE A 478

c. 575-555 BC.

BELLEROPHON & THE CHIMAERA.



13. Parian Vase
from the Burgon
group

ABV 89, 1

Near the Painter of
LONDON B76

LONDON B130

ca 560 BC

SYNORIS - A UNIQUE STYLE OF
DRIVING



14. Horse Head LONDON 1964.4-15.1 circa 550 BC
Amphora

PARALIP. 10



15. AMPHORA OF
THE PANATHENAIC
SHAPE.

(Artist Unknown)

A GROUP

OF ENTERTAINERS

PARIS, Cabinet
des Médailles
243

circa 550 BC

CVA, France, 10

P 68, Pls 88-9

(Unknown to Beazley).



16. AMPHORA by the
AMASIS PAINTER(?)

ABV 151, 15

GROOM WITH HORSES

LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE
161

CIRCA 550 BC



22 Side A.

17. Neck Amphora
By the Amasis
Painter
(misfired)

LONDON, B191 (1839.10-25.13)

ARMED MAN DISMOUNTS

circa 540 BC.

Paralip. 66.



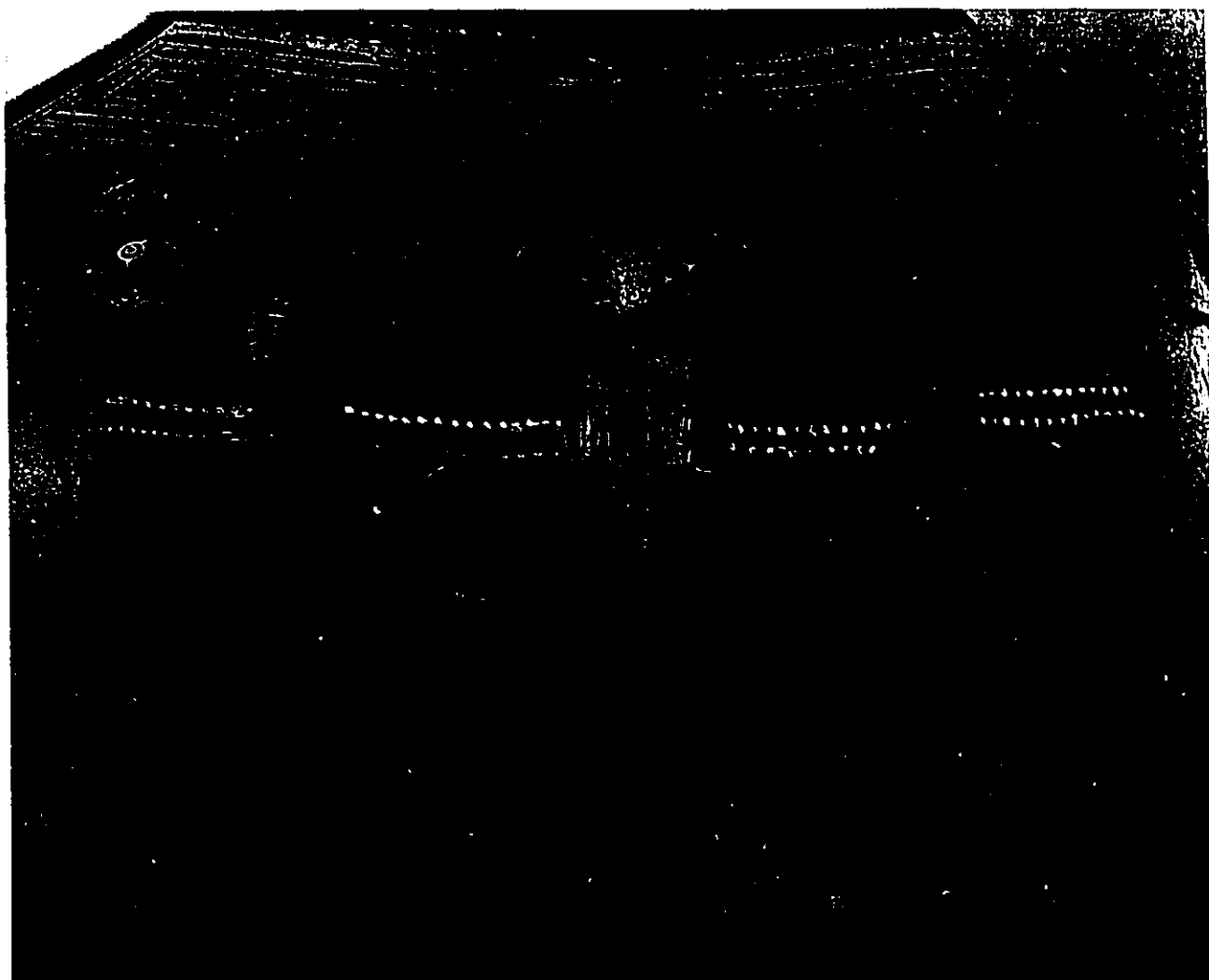
18. Panel Amphora
Side B.
By the Amasis
Painter

MUNICH inv. 8763

Circa 540 BC

CAVALCADE

Paralip. 65.



19. OINOCHOE BY THE
AMASIS PAINTER

LONDON B524
circa 540 BC

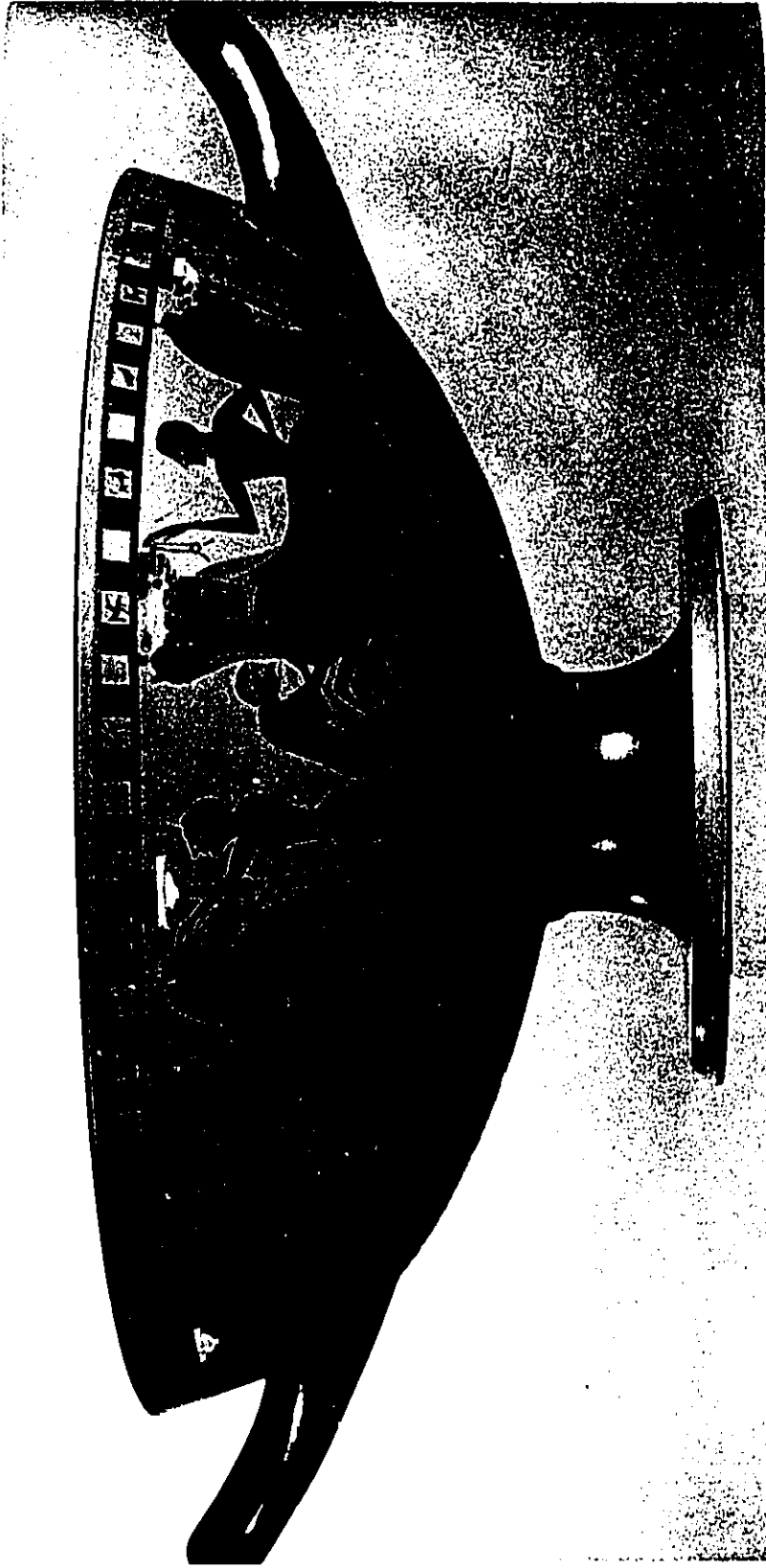
ABV 154,47 FRONTAL VIEW, CHARIOT
AND FOUR.



19A Lekythos
By the Amasis
Painter
Paralip. 66

WEDDING
PROCESSION

New York 56.11.1.
Gift of Walter C. Baker
1956
circa 530 BC.



20. CUP EXTERIOR
BY THE AMASIS
PAINTER

Paralip. 67

DIVINE STABLES

KING'S POINT, SCHIMMEL
COLLECTION

3rd QUARTER 6th cent.
BC.



21. Panathenaic Vase
 BY the SWING PAINTER
 OR, near the PRINCETON
 PAINTER.

LONDON B144
 circa 540 BC

ABV 307, 59.

LEADING IN A WINNER
 'The Horse of Dysniketos
 Wins!'



22. NECK AMPHORA
By EXEKIAS

ABV 144, 3

? APOTHEOSIS OF
HERAKLES

NEW YORK, 1917-17.230.14
circa 540 BC



23. Amphora by GROUP E
(EXEKIAS as potter)
Side A

ADDENDA, 391, 400

CHARIOT WHEELS
TO THE LEFT

TOLEDO, OHIO, 1980.1022
550-530 BC



24. Type A Belly Amphora VATICAN MUSEUMS 344
 Signed by Exekias C. 530 B.C.
 ABV 145, 13 'THE RETURN OF THE DIOSCURI'



25. Funerary Plaque
By GREKIAS
ABV 146, 22

Groom with
Mules

BERLIN 1814
circa 530 BC



26. HYDRIA in the
MANNER OF THE
ANTIMINES PAINTER

ABV 276.2

HARNESSING
SCENE

LONDON B305

circa 525 BC.



27. AMPHORA

LONDON B176

ARTIST UNKNOWN

Last quarter
6th century
BC.

A WARRIOR LEAVES
HOME.

Unknown to Beazley

(The near trace horse is branded
on the right hip: S)



28. CUP INTERIOR
BY EUPHRONIOS

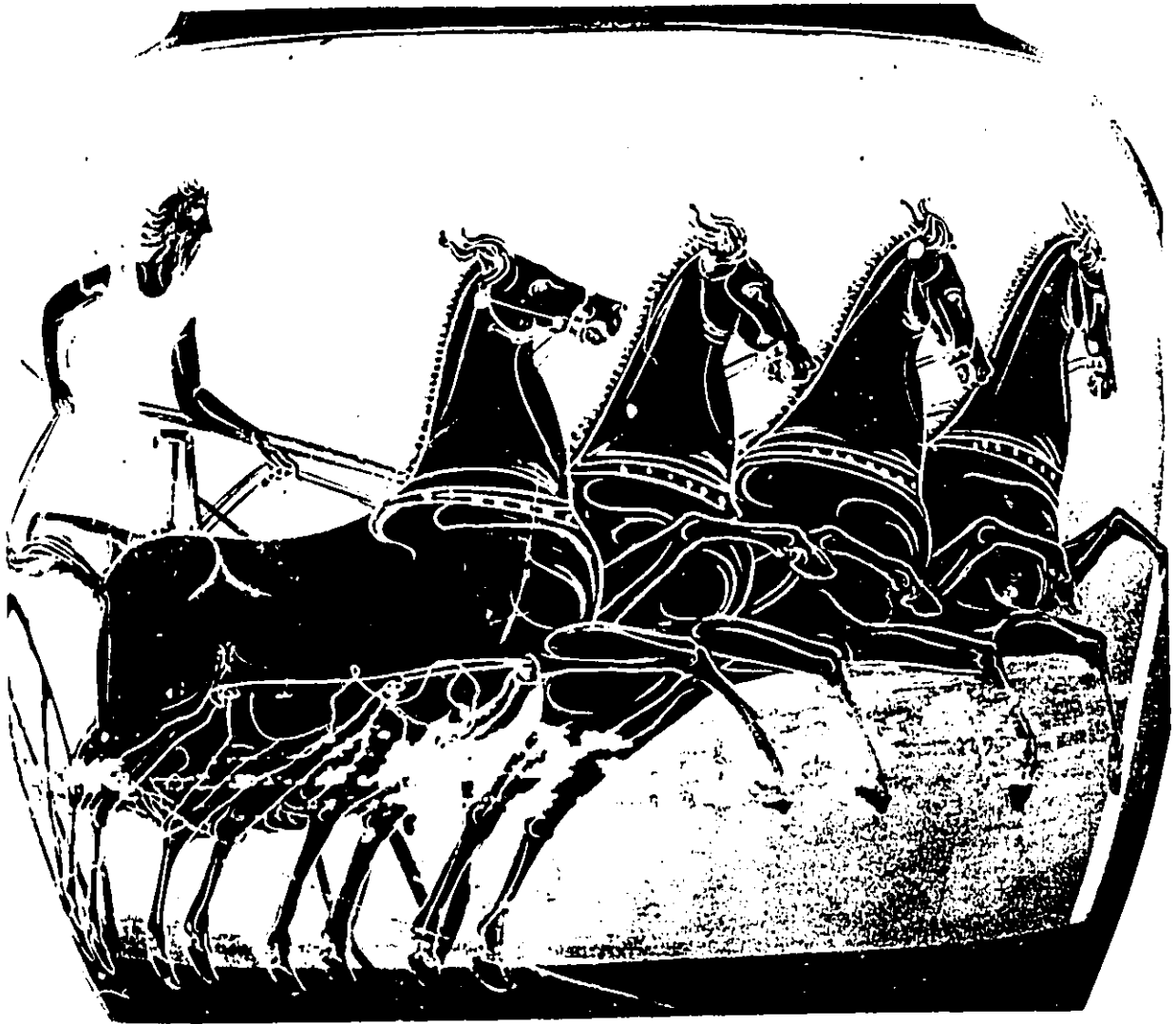
MUNICH 8704

Last decade 6^m
century BC.

RIDER IN THRACIAN

ARY 16, 17

COSTUME : 'LEAGROS KALOS'



29. Panathenaic Vase
from the Kuban
Group

ABV 411,3

CHARIOT AT THE
TURNING POST

LONDON B606
Second Half of 5th
Century BC



30. HYDRIA of the
LEAGROS GROUP
ARV 365, 68

HUNTING PARTY

LONDON B306

circa 520-500
BC



31. HYDRIA of the
LEAGROS GROUP

ABV 362, 65

DEATH OF PRIAM

WURZBURG UNIVERSITY

Martin von Wagner

MUSEUM 311

circa 510 BC



32. CUP INTERIOR
BY EPIKTETOS

A HORSEMAN

ARV 70,3

LONDON E 3
circa 520-490
BC



33. PANATHENAIC AMPHORA

BY THE EUCHARIDES PAINTER

ABV 395.1

LONDON B 133

HORSE RACE

circa 480 BC



34. CUP INTERIOR
BY the BRYGOS
PAINTER

BERLIN F 2293
500 - 480+ BC

SELENE

PARALIP. 365, 367



35. CUP EXTERIOR
BY THE BRYGOS
PAINTER

BERLIN F 2293

500 - 480+BC

GIGANTOMACHY:
ZEUS & HIS CHARIOT.

PARALIP. 365, 367



36. Fragmentary Bobbin
(? The Vouni Painter)

ATHENS, Agora Museum

1st quarter
of 5th cent
B.C.

HELIOS RISING OVER THE WAVES

Unknown to Beazley.



37. CUP INTERIOR
MANNER OF DOURIS

ARV 449, 7

PORTRAIT OF A
RACE HORSE

LONDON E 60

circa 495-475

BC

(Horse is branded on left thigh
just above the stifle: ☉)



38. CUP BY the FOUNDRY
PAINTER

ROME, Villa Giulia
50407

ARV 402, 24

RIDER IN THRACIAN
COSTUME

CIRCA 480 BC



39. CUP INTERIOR
BY ONESIMOS

ARV 324, 60

CAVALRYMAN

PARIS G 105

CIRCA 480 BC



40. CUP INTERIOR

BY the PISTOXENOS

PAINTER

? CAVALRY MAN

PARIS G108

480-470 BC

ARV 860.9



41. CUP EXTERIOR
BY THE PISTOXENOS
PAINTER

RACING HORSES

BERLIN F2282
CIRCA 475 BC

ARV 859, 1



42. CUP EXTERIOR
BY the TRIPTOLEMOS
PAINTER

BERLIN F 2295

ARMED ENCOUNTER

circa 470 BC

ARV 364, 45



43. Bronze statuette
from a dedicatory
group at Olympia

OLYMPIA MUSEUM
(no inv. number)

CHARIOT HORSE

German Archaeological
Year Book, 1941, 33

470-460 BC



44. Cup by the
DOKIMASIA
PAINTER

BERLIN, F 2296
CAVALRY INSPECTION

CIRCA 460 BC

ARV 412, 1



45. Cup by the
DOKIMASIA
PAINTER
ARV 412.9

BOLOGNA Pell.366

Circa 460 BC.

DONKEY MATING

Picture courtesy
of. M. KILMER



46. Volute krater
By the Painter
of the woolly
Satyrs

AMAZONS IN
BATTLE

(Horse is branded on the crop: "S")
Mane is triple-hogged.

NEW YORK ROGERS'
Fund 1907 (07.286.84)
ca. 475-450 BC



47. KALLIPOLIS
By the Villa Giulia
PAINTER

ARV 623, 68.

LONDON E186

circa 450 BC

WARRIOR LEAVES HOME
(HORSE WEARS NOSE BAND,
NO BIT) .



48. COLUMN KRATER
By the NAPLES
PAINTER

A RIDING LESSON

LONDON E485
circa 450 BC

ARV 1098,32



49. Panathenaic amphora
from the Kuban
group.

(From Benghazi)

ABV 411.1

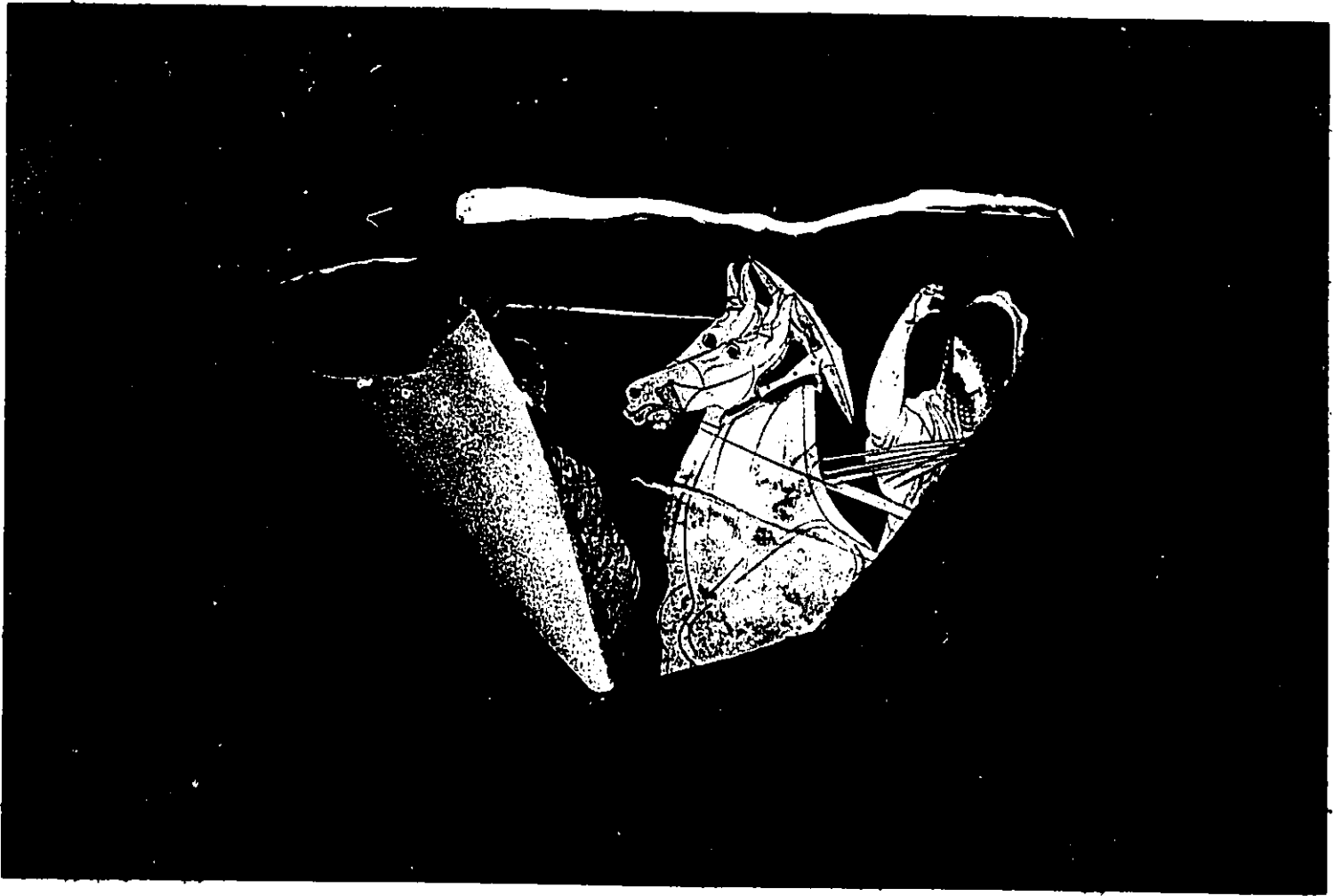
LONDON 1903.2-17.1

circa 450 BC

MOUNTED JAVELIN CONTEST

OR

THE SHIELD GAME



FRAGMENT OF BELL KRATER
By POLYGNOTOS

ADRIA, Bc 104

ARV 1029.19

DEATH OF LAIOS

CIRCA 430 BC

50.

(Two mules are depicted)



51. OINOCHOE
 BY the POLION
 PAINTER, or someone
 CLOSE to him
 ARV 1173

CYRRUS, NIKOSIA
 C 765

YOUTH
 ON HORSEBACK

circa 430-25 BC

(The horse is branded on the
 right hip: ::)



52. Askos

By an unknown
Painter

Jdl. LXXI, 63

PARIS, LOUVRE G446

BELLEROPHON

AND
PEGASOS

circa 430-25 BC.



53. OINOCHOE
BY the NIKIAS
PAINTER

ARV 1335, 34

COMIC
HERAKLES
DRIVEN IN A
CENTAUR CHARIOT
BY NIKE.

PARIS N3408
Last quarter
5th century BC



54. HYDRIA
BY the MEIDIAS
PAINTER

LONDON E224

ARV 1313.5

RAPE OF THE LEUKIPPIDS

Last quarter
5th century
BC

(The off side trace horse is branded
on the left hip: X)



55. NECK AMPHORA
By the SUESSULA
PAINTER

PARIS, LOUVRE S 1677

GIGANTOMACHY

ARV 1344, 1

Last quarter
5th century BC.