Hoplites, Horses, and a Comic Chorus

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IN MEMORY OF JAMES H. SCHWARTZ

Vase painters in Athens during the sixth century B.C. worked in the black-figure technique, characterized by decoration drawn in lustrous black glaze set against the warm, reddish color of the clay. These painters displayed a definite preference for scenes that illustrate heroic or divine mythology, often a combination of the two. The exploits of heroes such as Herakles and Theseus or those who fought at Troy were particularly popular. Nonmythological representations were rare in the sixth century and did not become numerous in vase painting until the fifth century, when they were mainly executed in red figure. In 1988, the Metropolitan Museum acquired a black-figured hydria depicting two scenes from daily life (Figure 1, Colorplate 1). It may be dated about 560–550 B.C. On the shoulder, the artist painted a chorus of comic dancers accompanied by an aulos-player. In the panel on the body, he drew a fully outfitted hoplite (a heavily armed foot soldier) walking behind two horses, one mounted by his squire, the other for the hoplite to ride. These are two very rare subjects in Attic black-figured vase painting. The comic chorus predates the known literary evidence for comic theater, and hoplites usually appear on foot with other hoplites. Rarely do they ride to battle, then dismount to fight. The vase has been tentatively attributed to a painter working in the Circle of Lydos, an artist active from about 570 to 540 B.C. The present discussion suggests that significant peculiarities of shape and design defy this attribution and favor instead an anonymous painter active in the Kerameikos during the second quarter of the sixth century and a bit beyond.

The Hydria

The hydria is a water jar, and MMA 1988.11.3 is a particularly good example of the variety popular in the middle of the sixth century B.C. (Figure 1, Colorplate 1). It is plump, with a sloping shoulder and a fairly strong convex profile, giving it the general effect of a sturdy, practical vessel. It has a flaring mouth with a torus rim, a slightly concave neck, a sloping shoulder, and an ovoid body tapering to join an echinus foot with a torus molding painted red. The handles are round in section, and the vertical handle widens to join the rim where three projecting “rivets” imitate those on metal vessels. There is a tongue pattern on the shoulder, at the junction with the neck, the tongues alternating red and black, and a white dot decorates the end of each painted line separating the tongues. Ivy frames the figured frieze on the shoulder, and the straight stem of each leaf joins the dividing line (Figure 2, Colorplate 2). On the body, double rows of ivy with dot clusters in the interstices frame the figured panel. Each ivy leaf has a wavy stem drawn in thinned glaze that attaches to a central vine. Above the foot are thirty-one rays. Two red lines appear below the panel and two more above the rays that continue around the body. The potter of our hydria added a few unusual details of his own. On the top side of the mouth is a groove just inside the edge that stops at the “rivets,” and a groove painted red separates the neck from the shoulder. Usually the mouth is a plain torus, and a fillet emphasizes the junction of neck and shoulder, but occasionally this area is unaccented. The vertical handle flares slightly to join the mouth; typically the flaring section takes the shape of a spool, called a rotelle, to imitate those on metal hydriai. The groove marking the echinus of the foot from the torus molding is also uncommon.

The shoulder shows a comic chorus (Figure 2, Colorplate 2), with a man standing at left playing the aulos. He wears a thigh-length, loose-fitting striped garment (perhaps an ependytes) and a white fillet with a white horse’s ear extending from it around his head. The hair hanging over his nape is painted red, as is his beard; the rest of his hair is black. Four male dancers approach him in uniform step: bent right leg raised high and thrust forward, torso leaning slightly back. Each wears a fillet with a white horse’s ear. The fillet of the first dancer has a row of white dots that distinguishes him from the others, possibly identifying him as the leader. Each dancer wears a long

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belted chiton. The chiton of the first is rendered in thinned glaze with two red horizontal bands across the skirt. That of the second has a half-black/half-red bodice and skirt. The third has a skirt in dilute glaze except for the black band at the bottom and four vertical red stripes; its bodice is red with a vertical row of white dots on the clay ground continuing from the neckline to the black band. The dress of the last dancer is red with a black belt and a black band at the bottom of the skirt. The dancers’ beards and the hair of the second are red. Their arms are akimbo, but the right arm of each dancer is inexplicably absent; also absent is the second horse ear of the presumable pair worn by each of the performers.

The body of the hydria shows the departure of a hoplite (Figure 3, Colorplate 2). At the left, a fully armed hoplite walks purposefully to the right. He wears a Corinthian helmet with a low crest painted white, and the crest-holder is decorated with red or white dots, the color having flaked off. The rest of the helmet is red, except for incisions in the forms of spirals and triangles that decorate the corner of the helmet’s opening for the eye, creating an ornamental effect that complements the overall elaborateness of the
Figure 2. Shoulder of the hydria in Figure 1 showing a comic chorus accompanied by an aulos-player. See also Colorplate 2

The hoplite’s armor. A metal corselet embellished with two tightly incised spirals shields his body, and red greaves edged with a row of white dots protect his legs from knee to ankle. On his left arm the warrior carries a large compass-drawn shield, its inside painted red and its rim accented with two rows of white dots, the inner ones larger than the outer. The shield grip is incised to imitate a twist, probably of leather or rope. His hand clasps it tightly, his fingernails painted white. The hoplite carries two spears in his right hand; at his left side a sheathed sword hangs from a double baldric over his right shoulder. Pairs of incised lines decorate the sheath, and the white pommel of the sword appears between the shafts of the spears and the warrior’s forcarm.

A mounted squire leads the hoplite’s horse. He wears a striped Thracian cloak with broad bands, some decorated with dot rosettes composed of red cores surrounded by white dots. On the cloak at shoulder level is an incised cross within a circle, its meaning unclear. The treatment of the squire’s hair is puzzling. Black hair falls on the nape of his neck, but a fillet holds in place an unidentified red object. The artist may have intended to paint a bundle of long red hair but mistakenly also included loose black hair below it. A sword is suspended at the squire’s left

Figure 3. Panel of the hydria in Figure 1 showing an armed hoplite walking behind a mounted squire leading his horse. See also Colorplate 2
side, its pommel and hilt painted white; the baldric is covered by the cloak. The squire holds two reins in each hand and a spear in his right. The painter did not clearly distinguish right from left for the reins. The reins in his right hand are probably those of his mount, the ones in his left those of the led horse. The ends of two reins hanging alongside the squire’s right thigh were painted in an accessory color, probably white, which has flaked off. The squire’s mount is an elegant animal with each lock of its luxuriant mane decorated with a vertical row of incised dots and its forelock tied up neatly to keep the long hairs out of its eyes. The horse has a large but well-formed head (except for the jaw bone, which is too convex, like that of a boid), a strong neck, well-filled-out body, and slender legs with small hooves, giving the animal a somewhat dainty aspect. The horse’s eye is red, and red lines articulate the lower edge of the rib cage and the muscles on the hindquarters. Two short vertical arcs incised on the shoulder, with a thick line of red between them, do not conform to horse anatomy. The bridle has both a browband and a noseband, an uncommon treatment, and the rein is decorated with white dots to imitate metal studs, perhaps silver, as in today’s American western parade dress. The throatlash of the bridle is covered by the long mane. A broad collar edged top and bottom with white dots completes the animal’s tack. The collar itself is red except for the incised part that surrounds the chest.

**The Dancers and the Aulos-Player**

Dancing, as natural to humankind as breathing, provides the strongest nonverbal way to express a wide range of emotions, and it was an integral component of ancient Greek life. Not only are dancers and dancing an important element in early Greek narrative, but also the earliest preserved Attic inscription honors a dancer. The graffito, incised on the shoulder of a small oinochoe found in 1871 in a grave in or near the Kerameikos, is attributed to a painter from the Dipylon Workshop (about 750–740 B.C.). The legible part of the retrograde inscription reads: “He who, of all the dancers, now performs most daintily” (Ἰος ὁς ὁ θανάτος τῶν ἁρματων παύετα ταῦτα παιζει); “the garbled sequel (τοτοδεχάλλμον), in a less skillful hand, seems to award the oinochoe to the winner.”

The inscription was incised after the oinochoe was fired, but the interval between firing and inscribing was probably brief, as the pot was found in an eighth-century Dipylon grave. Representations of men and women dancing continued long after the Geometric style ceased. Thomas Webster gives a good general account of both the visual and the literary testimonia through the Classical period, as well as illustrations of the various kinds of dances.

There were numerous dances shown in ancient Greek art, for example, those performed by men and women with hands linked and accompanied by a musician; satyrs and nymphs cavorting; dances celebrating a victory; and pyrrhic dances in which the participants wore armor. Important for our file of dancers is the komast, or padded dancer, an invention of Corinthian painters in the seventh century B.C., but most popular in the first quarter of the sixth and slightly beyond. These dancers wear rather short, tight-fitting chitons and have noticeable paunches and protruding buttocks, hence the term “padded,” though whether or not such dancers ever wore actual padding is uncertain. Sometimes they dance quite vigorously, as on an Early Corinthian aryballos in Melbourne, Australia, the namepiece of the La Trobe Painter (Figure 4).

Almost as lively are the padded dancers on another aryballos by the La Trobe Painter, Hannover KS 690, for one of them, his arms akimbo, bends his left leg sharply and kicks out with his right. In other representations, the dancers are quieter; see, for example, the komast standing between two lions on an unattributed Early Corinthian neck-amphora in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 5).

In the first quarter of the sixth century, Athenian artists approached the subject with their customary enthusiasm, especially painters from the aptly named Komast Group. These artists specialized in decorating the komast cup, which is the earliest of the Attic black-figured cups. This sturdy-looking vessel has a rather deep bowl with thin horizontal handles attached.

![Figure 4. Early Corinthian aryballos attributed to the La Trobe Painter showing komast dancers. Ca. 600 B.C. H. 7.8 cm. Melbourne, Australia, La Trobe Museum 165. (Photo: La Trobe Museum)](image-url)
to an offset lip and is supported by a low conical foot. Attic black-figured komasts, unlike their Corinthian counterparts, may be padded or nude, but as John D. Beazley wryly put it, they still have “a rather special conformation.” An example of both nude and padded dancers occurs on MMA 22.139.22, a komast cup attributed by Beazley to the Manner of the KY Painter (a member of the Komast Group), but claimed by Herman A. G. Brijder for the namepiece of the Painter of New York 22.139.22 (Figures 6, 7). Normally, as on MMA 22.139.22, all the dancers are male; occasionally they appear to be female, but were men or boys dressed as women. The dancers on a column-krater in Berlin attributed by Adolf Greifenhagen to the KY Painter provide a good example (Figure 8).

The dancers on MMA 22.139.22 are particularly lively with support leg bent, the other raised and extended, both arms gesticulating. In spite of their spontaneous vigor, they may very well be the precursors of the disciplined row of dancers on MMA 1988.11.3. The dancer farthest to the right on Side B of MMA 22.139.22 offers a clue to the connection (Figure 7). Not only is the position of his legs comparable, so is that of his head, looking downward, and his body

Figure 5. Unattributed Early Corinthian neck-amphora showing a komast dancer between two lions, below: animal frieze, ca. 600 B.C. H. 29.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.1021.18)

Figure 6. Side A of a komast cup attributed to the Manner of the KY Painter showing komast dancers, ca. 580 B.C. H. 9.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.139.22)

Figure 7. Side B of the cup shown in Figure 6
posture, leaning backward ever so slightly. This is not a common pose, but there is a parallel on a Siana cup in Amsterdam attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, an artist active in the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., contemporary with the painter of the Metropolitan’s hydria (Figure 9). In the initial publication of MMA 1988.11.3 in 1967, the scene on the shoulder was compared with those on each side of this Siana cup. On Side A of the Amsterdam vase (illustrated), which is more pertinent to MMA 1988.11.3 than Side B, dancers come in from the left and the right toward an aulos-player. Each dancer wears a short tunic over a long chiton. The tunics are red but for a vertical band decorated with a border of esses; chitons are black and ornamented with a few incised dotted crosses. The musician is clad in a similar tunic (perhaps an epedyste; see note 5 above), but he wears a short chiton under it, not a long one. All of the figures wear caps with flaps covering their cheeks and ears, and each cap has a white fillet. The caps of the three dancers on the left and that of the aulos-player are rounded, and they have two black horse ears protruding above the fillet; the caps of the three dancers on the right are pointed and lack the ears. The poses of the dancers behind the aulos-player differ from those in front of him and each group appears to be a separate unit, not one large ensemble. Brijder noted that the position of the horse ears on the Amsterdam cup, which point backward slightly, is similar to the ear-sets of many satyrs and offered as a comparison the dancing satyrs on a cup in Copenhagen by the Heidelberg Painter. He relates the Amsterdam dancers to Corinthian padded dancers, and their costumes to those of actors, particularly of later tragedy. He also draws a connection to a man disguised as a satyr dancing before a maenad on a late-fifth-century unattributed oinochoe.

The dancers on MMA 1988.11.3 are closest in pose to the right trio on Side A of the Amsterdam cup, so much so that our dancers look like an excerpt from that scene. Their animated movement with the right leg raised high, left arm sharply bent, and right arm not shown is in agreement. The main differences are that our dancers are bareheaded, white ears instead of black protrude from the fillets, and the garment of each is simply a long chiton. There are fewer dancers on MMA 1988.11.3, likely because space was limited. In the initial publication of our hydria, the dancers were identified as men dressed as women, without further discussion.
with the white normally used for female flesh, and interpreted the long garments as those of women worn here by men. He called the dancers “stage nymph-satyrs.” Whether they are male dancers or men dressed as women, as may well be the case, there is an unmistakably theatrical character to this scene.

A great deal has been written on the elusive subject of the origin of Greek drama. The beginning of tragedy is associated with Thespis, who won the top prize (a goat) when tragedy was performed for the first time in Athens, at the City Dionysia in 534 B.C. The City Dionysia was celebrated in the second half of Poseideon (March) and included various performances and sacrifices. It seems to have become important in the second half of the sixth century during the reign of Peisistratos. Much less is known about the origins of comedy. Old Comedy is a feature of fifth-century theater production and does not last beyond the end of that century. Even less is known about the precursors of Old Comedy, and for the most part the evidence is pictorial. oft-cited examples include the chorus of three “knights” accompanied by an aulos-player on an amphora Type B in Berlin, attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, and the file of five men walking to right on stilts on an amphora in Christchurch, New Zealand, by the Swing Painter. These two vases date about 540 B.C. On the Berlin amphora (Figure 10), the “knights” sit on the shoulders of their “horses,” which are men slightly bent over, hands on knees, each dressed in a short red chiton. Each wears a mask consisting of a horse’s head and neck with a short upright mane, and his human face is visible below. A horse’s tail arches effectively from the small of the man’s back. Each “horse” wears a bridle, but there are no reins for control. The “knights” wear corselets over short chitons and Corinthian helmets, each with a different crest; the crest of the helmet of the left-hand “knight” is a pair of black horse’s ears. Each has his right arm bent upward at the elbow and his left reaches down to touch his horse’s neck. The Berlin amphora is of greater interest to us than the one in Christchurch, because the chorus of “knights” is combined with a man playing the aulos, similar to that on MMA 1988.11.3 and on the Amsterdam cup.

As mentioned above, the padded komast dancers may be the precursors of our dancers and, by association, with those on the Amsterdam cup (Figures 2, 9), but there are basic differences. The dancers on the hydria and on the cup do not wear padding as they do on the Berlin column-krater by the KY Painter (Figure 8), nor are they nude as they are on MMA 22.139.22 (Figures 6, 7). More importantly, each dancer on the last two vase forms as an individual, as to the beat of his own inner music. These dancers differ significantly from the dancers on the MMA hydria and on the Amsterdam cup who act as a synchronized unit, or units, as is the case with the cup. They deviate from each other only marginally— one dancer may raise his right leg a little higher than another, or heads are bent at slightly different angles. These are minor variations that do not detract from an ensemble trained to dance in step to an
accompanist’s music. The same holds true for other choruses of this type.\textsuperscript{36}

It is probably impossible to determine the specific dance the painters intended to illustrate. In his discussion of the Amsterdam cup, Brijder proposes that the dance may be the kordax. He notes, “Two main stances of the kordax are recognized: (1) lifting one leg and (2) legs bent with both feet on the ground”; and that some of the figures “lean slightly backwards and have the arms sharply bent and drawn up, the fists at chest level: an uncommon dance position.”\textsuperscript{37} If this is so, then the dance performed on MMA 1988.111.3 would also be the kordax. The problem with this identification is that, according to the ancient literary sources, the kordax was a ribald, drunken dance, and our dancers do not fit this definition; nor do those on the Amsterdam cup.\textsuperscript{38} They are lively but not indecent, and they do not appear to be drunken. Thus, it is difficult to accept this dance as a kordax.

For a significant portion of a dramatic performance, the chorus was in front of the audience and interacted with it. The chorus gains its identity from being a group, its members move in unison and wear similar costumes. Often the chorus gives the name to the play; The Birds and The Frogs by Aristophanes are familiar examples from the late fifth century.\textsuperscript{39} John K. Green notes the following about the representation of The Birds on a late-fifth-century Attic red-figured calyxkrater in the J. Paul Getty Museum: “The iconographic type of the scene [a chorus of birds] belongs to a tradition going well back over a century, a type in which a piper provides music for a chorus that dances in the guise of animals or particular categories of men, the chorus so often provided the title for a comedy.”\textsuperscript{40} Dressing in disguise is as basic a component of human nature as laughter, as the plays by Aristophanes demonstrate. In the cases of MMA 1988.111.3 and the Amsterdam cup, the choruses do not yield a specific name either to their dance or to a play, and their nature and function are not evident today, though they may have been in antiquity. Their significance, as Green recognized, is that they “stand apart as the earliest certain examples of the tradition [of comic choruses].”\textsuperscript{41}

\section*{The Hoplite and His Mounted Squire}

\textit{Rider Leading an Unmounted Horse}

Horsemanship is a common image on black-figured vases of the sixth century, but representations of horsemen leading unmounted horses are rare. The theme first appears in late Geometric Attic pottery, on a neck-amphora in Buffalo that is attributed to a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894, a prolific group rather short on artistic skill but long on figural experimentation (Figure 11).\textsuperscript{42} On the body, a mounted warrior rides to right leading an unmounted horse. He wears a bell-corset with flaring lower edge and his raised right hand holds a spear poised for throwing.\textsuperscript{43} The horses step smartly and smoothly, guided only by the reins; the horseman holds in his left hand, for his heels are well away from the animal’s rib cage. Anthony Snodgrass remarked that “this particular cavalryman is so far unique” and went on to say “he is an aristocratic Athenian cavalryman, of the kind whose survival is well-attested in later years, in the form of the ‘mounted hoplite,’ who dismounted for the actual battle, but who at this stage is quite evidently preparing to fight from horseback.”\textsuperscript{44} Perhaps so, but not just yet, because before he can fight from horseback, he will have to separate from the chariot procession in front of and behind him, then find someone to hold the unmounted horse.\textsuperscript{45} In any case, the rider leading an unmounted horse painted on the Buffalo neck-amphora stands at the head of a chronologically long, if not very numerous, series.\textsuperscript{46}

Similar riders appear in the lower frieze of the Chigi vase in the Villa Giulia, which is dated about 630 B.C. (Figure 12). These horsemen, however, are unarmed and wear only short chitons.\textsuperscript{47} The Macmillan Painter, to whom the Chigi vase is attributed, understood very well the nature of these riders and their mounts. The rider of the first horse is reining them in so they will not come too close to the chariot directly in front of them. He holds the reins tightly, causing the horses to bend their necks sharply as they respond to the pressure

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure11.png}
\caption{Late Geometric Attic neck-amphora attributed to a painter from the Workshop of Athens 894 showing a rider leading an unmounted horse, ca. 700 B.C. H. 68.3 cm. Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847 (photo: alter Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Schefold zu seinen sechzigsten Geburtstag am 26. Januar 1965, Antike Kunst, suppl. Beilage 4 [Bern, 1967], pl. 7: 1)}
\end{figure}
created by the bit on the bars of their mouths (the bars are the toothless gums between the incisors and the molars). The position of their heads forces the horses to slow down. Furthermore, the rider’s heels are well away from the rib cage, for he does not wish to send mixed signals (heels pressing into the sides of horses urge them forward). The second rider encourages his horses to walk faster, presumably to catch up. Their heads are raised in a natural position, the reins are somewhat slack, and the rider’s heels touch his animal’s sides, lightly enough so it will take longer steps, but not so strongly that it will break into a trot or a canter. The third and fourth riders do not signal their horses with their legs; the third rider reins in his mount, the fourth handles the reins much like the second.

Other scenes of a horseman leading an unmounted horse occur on three vases closer in date to MMA 1988.11.3 than the Buffalo neck-amphora and the Chigi vase. Two examples appear in the tondi of cups attributed to the C Painter, a prolific artist working in the second quarter of the sixth century who specialized in decorating Siana cups. The scenes are similar. One, in Athens, depicts a mounted squire galloping to left, dressed in a short chiton holding a spear in his right hand and the reins in his left; the second example, in Würzburg, Germany, is the same except that the squire also wears a fillet around his head and an eagle flies behind him. An amphora attributed to Lydos shows the same subject on each side, with the figures moving slowly to the right.

**Horseman Followed by a Hoplite on Foot**

The combination of a hoplite preceded by a mounted squire leading a horse does not appear often. An unattributed Early Protocorinthian flat-bottomed aryballos in London shows a hoplite walking behind a single horse and rider; there is no unmounted horse being led in this scene (Figure 13). The vase, which dates about 700 B.C., is roughly contemporary with the neck-amphora in Buffalo (Figure 11). The representation on this little vase has stirred a bit of controversy. Brian Cook interpreted the walking man as a hunter, not a fighter, even though he wears a helmet and greaves, carries a round shield and a spear, and is also armed with a sword, its pommel visible above the rim of the shield between his chin and the shaft of his spear. Cook noted that on Protocorinthian vases men who hunt especially dangerous game such as lions or boars may be armed with shields and other armor, that the shield carried by the hunter on this vase may not be “the hoplite’s heavy wooden shield with leather cover and bronze trim, but a lighter version,” and that
the “cruciform design on the shield should perhaps be interpreted as representing wickerwork.” 57 This may be so, but a hunter would not wear a helmet and greaves. Rather, Protocorinthian examples of armed hunters show them with spears and sometimes with shields. 53 More convincing is Peter A. L. Greenhalgh’s identification of this figure as a warrior based on the heavy armor and comparison with a later, similar composition on an unattributed Early Corinthian aryballos in Athens (see below and Figure 14). 54 The scene on the London aryballos is best considered a military precursor of the scene in the panel on MMA 1988.11.3 and not as a hunt.

The Early Corinthian aryballos in the Athens National Museum dates about 600 B.C. (Figure 14). 55 Almost half a century earlier than MMA 1988.11.3, but the compositions bear comparison. A warrior, walking purposefully to right, is nude but for a low-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves and is armed with a spear and a round shield seen from the inside. He is preceded by his mounted squire leading a horse, which presumably belongs to the hoplite. They, in turn, are preceded by an eagle swooping downward toward a hare that tries to escape. There are also two horse-related inscriptions: hippobatos in back of the warrior and hiplo/strophos above the hindquarters of the squire’s horse. On Greek vases, there are several kinds of inscriptions. First and foremost are the signatures of potters and painters, which began to appear in the late eighth century B.C. Inscriptions may also name figures in mythological or daily life scenes; sometimes they identify objects: many times they praise young Athenians of good families—referred to as kalos inscriptions. Occasionally, an inscription may identify the purpose of a vase, and on rare occasions, reproduce a line or two of a text. Lastly, there are even nonsense and imitation inscriptions. 56 The inscriptions on Athens NM 341 do not appear to have parallels and seem to refer to the occupations of the figures. According to Darrell A. Amynx, these two horse-related nouns are unique, a hapax legomenon (a word or form occurring only once in a document or corpus) for “neither name is known from any other source. . . . It has been observed that the names are suited to their respective owners (=Knight and Squire), suggesting that they were chosen (or even invented) to suit the context.” 57 I suggest that neither the warrior on MMA 1988.11.3 nor that on Athens NM 341 is a knight or cavalryman, but a hoplite who rides to battle, then dismounts to fight on foot.

A composition similar to the one on MMA 1988.11.3 occurs on a contemporary unattributed olpe found in the Athenian Agora, P 24946 (Figure 15). 58 The figures move to left accompanied, unusually, by a panther.
squire wears only a cloak and does not carry a spear. The warrior walking behind the horses wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and carries two spears and a round shield emblazoned with a six-pointed compass-drawn star rosette.

Hoplites with Horses

Illustrations of fully armed hoplites who are associated with horses present important evidence for the military use of horses by the hoplite force in early Greece, and will be discussed here. First, an explanation for why these warriors are hoplites, not cavalrymen. The differences lie in the arms and armor of each. Writing in the early fourth century B.C., Xenophon (ca. 428/27–ca. 354 B.C.), a member of the Athenian cavalry himself, explicitly states that the cavalryman must have a helmet that protects all parts of his face, a well-fitted corselet or breastplate, and a javelin or spear for throwing; if he wishes, his “shins and feet... can be guarded if boots made of shoe-leather are worn. . .” For harming the enemy we recommend the sabre (μάχαιρα) rather than the sword, because, owing to his lofty position, the rider will find the cut with the Persian sabre more efficacious than the thrust with the sword.” In place of the long spear, Xenophon recommends two javelins for throwing.50 Comparison of this description with the hoplite on MMA 1988.11.3, as well as with those on Athens NM 341 and Agora P 24946, reveals major differences: the hoplite carries a shield (the cavalryman does not), the hoplite has one or two thrusting spears, not javelins for throwing (the second spear would offer backup protection against breakage or loss of the first), and he wears metal greaves—not leather boots. That our hoplite wears metal greaves is revealed by the white dots indicating holes for the attachment of a leather lining.50

The Metropolitan’s hydria, Athens NM 341, and Agora P 24926 show that the hoplite on foot may be preceded by his mounted squire leading his horse.51 In other representations, however, the hoplite may already be mounted or dismounting, or engaged in battle, flanked by the squire holding his horse. A mounted hoplite accompanied by his mounted squire appears on a few vases; the figures are usually shown by themselves as if en route to battle or returning from it. The examples known to me may be dated about 570–530 B.C. The earliest representations seem to be those on each side of Berlin inv. 4823, an amphora Type B attributed to the Painter of Akropolis 606, and on an unattributed fragment of uncertain shape, Akropolis 590 d.52 On the Berlin amphora, each pair gallops to left. The hoplite wears a high-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and carries a large round shield (with the foreparts of a panther and a rosette-star as devices) that conceals his torso and half of his thighs. Only the squire’s face is visible, as he is otherwise overlapped by the hoplite. On Side A, there are two spears, perhaps one for each rider; on Side B, there is only one spear, presumably held by the hoplite. On the Akropolis fragment, the heads of two pairs of riders and one set of horses to left remain (presumably this was a cavalcade). The head of each hoplite is helmeted, that of the squire unprotected; the heads of two spears of the right hoplite remain, as well as part of his shield.

The following three examples of hoplites with horses are a bit later in time and are unattributed. First is an amphora Type B in Florence, dated about 560 B.C.53 Here, the action is to left; there is a second horse, but no trace of the squire, who is understood as being overlapped by the hoplite. The pair on each side of another vase, an amphora Type B in Geneva dating about 550–540 B.C., moves slowly and sedately to left.54 Arms and armor are similar to those on Berlin inv. 4823, and just the face of the squire appears next to that of the hoplite. The shield devices are a hare and a bull’s head, respectively. The third is an amphora once in the Hunt collection, attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 by Dietrich von Bothmer and dated about 540 B.C.55 There, the pair on each side also moves to left, the hoplite on the proper left side of his squire, and an eagle flies behind each. The shield device on one side is the foreparts of a horse, on the other the hindquarters. On all three vases the figures move from right to left, probably so as to display the shield devices.56

On his famous amphora in Naples, dated about 540 B.C., Lydos reversed the direction of the figures. This time, the squire appears closer to the viewer and overlaps the hoplite (Figure 16).57 In this stately scene, the hoplite wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet and a corselet; presumably he also wore greaves. A bit of the rim of his shield, painted red, appears next to his shoulder. Both the hoplite and his squire carry a spear; the squire holds his in his right hand, the shaft of the hoplite’s spear appears below the belly of his horse.

Two final examples of mounted hoplite and squire differ from their Attic counterparts, for they are part of an ensemble. On the reverse of an unattributed Late Corinthian column-krater of “Chalcidian” shape, dated about 560 B.C., a cavalcade of three pairs moves to left at a lively walk.58 Each hoplite wears a low-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and is armed with a round shield (devices consist of an incised circle[?], a whirligig, and one unidentified) and a spear. Only the face of each squire is visible. The second one also
seems to hold a spear, for another spearhead appears alongside the spear held by the hoplite, although this might be the latter’s second spear.\(^5\) A Chalcidian neck-amphora in Würzburg, attributed to Andreas Rumpf to the Inscription Painter and dated about 540–530 B.C. depicts a palmette-lotus configuration flanked by two mounted pairs of hoplite and his squire.\(^6\) Both hoplites wear high-crested helmets and carry two spears and a round shield. The hoplite to the right of the ornament wears greaves; the leg of the one at left is overlapped by the squire’s horse.

These representations of a mounted hoplite accompanied by his mounted squire illustrate a military practice whereby, regardless of the direction to left or to right, the hoplite always appears to the squire’s proper left. There is a good reason for this. The hoplite carried his shield on his left arm in order to make a unified attack in phalanx combat formation.\(^7\) If he were to ride to his squire’s right, the shield (as well as the spear) might inadvertently strike the squire or his horse. Riding to the left of his squire, the hoplite also avoids any obstacle in dismounting, which was done on the “near” (i.e., the proper left) side of the horse, as it is today.

**Hoplites Dismounting**

The hoplite dismounted to fight on foot, and several Attic vases show this action.\(^8\) A good example dating about 550 B.C. is MMA 25.78.4, a lip cup attributed to an unnamed painter related to Lydos and signed by Epitimos as potter (Figure 17).\(^9\) An armed hoplite wearing greaves and a helmet topped by a high crest and an animal’s ear slides down the left side of the horse, his toes almost touching the ground. With his right hand, he grasps his horse’s mane lightly, probably to steady himself when he lands. The reins are somewhat slack. The hoplite is armed with two spears and a round shield. In the background is his mounted squire wearing a leather cap and a chiton. An unattributed “merrythought cup” in the Vatican depicts a similar scene, but there the dismounting hoplite holds the reins tightly, inadvisable as he could hurt the animal by jerking its mouth when he lands.\(^7\) The theme continues on the other side of the Vatican cup where the hoplite has just touched ground, still holding a rein, but this time loosely.\(^7\) Two additional examples of a hoplite dismounting alongside his horse while his squire prepares to manage the two animals, are datable to the middle of the sixth century B.C. On Side A of a neck-amphora in London, attributed to the Amasis Painter,\(^6\) the hoplite leans back as he slides off his horse. With his right hand, he touches the top of his horse’s head and probably still holds the reins rather tightly: the visible rein is drawn horizontally. The hoplite wears a high-crested Corinthian helmet and greaves, and he carries a shield (with a boar as a device) but no spear. The bare head of his squire appears above the rim of the shield. In this scene the presence of onlookers, a nude youth and a bearded man wearing a chlamys, may indicate that the hoplite has returned to the safety of home and is not about to depart for combat. The other example occurs on Side A of a rather battered unattributed amphora Type B in Halle, Germany.\(^7\) In this scene, the squire appears to hold the reins of the hoplite’s horse, but oddly, the hoplite holds the reins of the squire’s horse near its jaw.\(^7\) The artist may have made a mistake.

**Hoplite Combats with Horses Waiting**

The function of the mounted hoplite was “to dismount and fight on foot, while his ‘squire’ holds both horses close behind in readiness for flight or pursuit as the occasion might require.”\(^7\) A fine illustration occurs on a Middle Corinthian cup in Athens attributed to the Cavalcade Painter and dating late in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (Figure 18).\(^8\) Five hoplites fight, in one case a duel; in the other, two attack one another as a third between them tries to flee to right. Flanking the scene at both ends is a mounted squire armed with a spear and holding a horse, probably belonging to the hoplite directly in front of him.

A beautiful Laconian hydria found at Ialyssos on Rhodes and attributed to the Hunt Painter depicts two hoplites fighting over a fallen nude comrade in a
composition reminiscent of the fight for the body of Patroklos. A mounted squire armed with a spear and leading a hoplite’s horse flanks the duel. In these scenes, the led horse is usually the inside one. This is the case with the pair on the left of this scene, but on the right, the led horse is closer to the viewer and its name, Sinis, is incised on its back. The illustration on a fragmentary Laconian krater of about 560 B.C. attributed to the Naukratis Painter varies the composition. Two hoplites at left fight with spears poised, presumably against another pair, and behind them a nude mounted squire leads a hoplite’s horse. This scene and the one on the Corinthian cup in Athens (Figure 18), where the number of hoplites exceeds the number of horses, may furnish evidence that some hoplites marched on foot to the scene of battle and fought. Those who could afford to, rode their horses to the battle site accompanied by a mounted squire who would hold the animal nearby after the hoplite dismounted to fight, as suggested by Glenn R. Bugh in his discussion of cavalry in the sixth century. The squire’s job entailed holding the hoplite’s horse and leading it to him when he needed to escape from danger.

In archaic Greek vase painting, representations of horses are numerous, second in frequency only to images of human beings. The majority of horses appear in mythological scenes where they may be mounts, though more often they draw chariots belonging to gods and heroes. Instances in which the horse is depicted in daily life are uncommon. The hoplite, squire, and horse in the panel of MMA 1988.11.3 and the relevant comparisons offer important visual information concerning hoplites who were rich enough to own at least one horse, but perhaps not wealthy enough to join the cavalry, which would require ownership of several horses.

The Painter

In the initial publication, MMA 1988.11.3 was attributed to a painter in the Circle of Lydos, but given the
high quality of the drawing on this vase, a more precise attribution would be welcome. I have been unable, however, to attribute MMA 1988.11.3 to a known painter, nor have I found other vases by the same hand that would constitute the work of a new artist. Discussion of various parallels between MMA 1988.11.3 and the work of several contemporary painters reveals the eclectic quality of the hydria.

As discussed, peculiarities of shape include the grooves on the top side of the mouth, separating neck from shoulder, and accenting the join of the echenus and torus of the foot. The three rivets on the top side of the mouth are also unusual. A good parallel for the latter occurs on a contemporary unattributed hydria in the Louvre, which seems to have a groove on its foot similar to the one on MMA 1988.11.3; on both hydria, the rivets are flat and button-like. Two features of the ornament on MMA 1988.11.3 deviate from the norm. One is the single row of ivy framing the panel on the shoulder instead of glaze. A good comparison for this use and placement of ivy has yet to emerge. The other feature of the ornament without a strong parallel on a contemporary hydria is the double ivy with wavy, rather than straight stems, which is the norm. The wavy stem does occur, however, on the lips of Siana cups attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, at least four examples of them concurrent with MMA 1988.11.3.

Details of drawing are the principal criteria for attributing a vase to a painter. They are his "handwriting" so to speak. As noted, the comic chorus on the shoulder of MMA 1988.11.3 seems to have only one good stylistic and iconographical parallel, that on the Siana cup in Amsterdam by the Heidelberg Painter (Figure 9), and few scenes show a hoplite in full armor walking behind a mounted squire who leads his horse. Among the details of drawing in the panel, a few deserve mention. For the hoplite: his eye with no tear duct and his white fingernails, the ornament decorating the corner of the eye opening of his helmet, the tight spirals on his corselet, the white dots outlining his greave, and the twisted shield grip. For the squire: the encircled cross or X on the shoulder of his cloak and the rendering of his hair. For the squire's horse: its ornamental mane and the pair of short arcs on its shoulder, the collar composed of a smooth red section that joins one with incised decoration, the presence of both a browband and a noseband on the headstall of the bridle, and white dots on the rein. Let us begin with the Circle of Lydos, but also consider some of the contemporary painters whose work is pertinent to the decoration on our hydria.

Lydos was the most prolific painter of large vases working primarily from about 570 to 540 B.C., and perhaps a bit later, though this is debatable. Lydos' name is known from two vases he signed as painter, an oddly decorated one-piece amphora in the Louvre, from about 560 B.C., and the Akropolis dinos, one of his masterpieces, of about 540 or a little earlier. Lydos mainly decorated large vessels, but he has left significant works among the smaller shapes, such as lekythoi, cups, and plates. The figures who appear on his earliest works are rather simple and unembellished. By the time our hydria was decorated, Lydos was creating some of his best works. His compositions complement the shapes they decorate, and his figures combine stature with elegance. Good examples are the signed amphora in the Louvre and the well-preserved column-krafter MMA 31.11.11, also the Naples amphora, which is a bit later than these (Figure 16).

Beazley grouped several anonymous artists under the general headings "Manner of Lydos," "Animal-Pieces," and "Related to Lydos." Beazley, however, distinguished two "Companions of Lydos" who have distinct personalities and whose style of drawing animals, not humans, relates them to Lydos. Of less importance here is the Painter of Vatican 309, a minor talent whose name vase is an ovoid neck-amphora. His drawing lacks sharpness, the figures rather plain and repetitious, with no embellishment of garments or hair. More interesting is the Painter of Louvre F 6 whose name vase is a hydria. He was active from about 560 to 540 B.C. and his work ranges from respectable to rather mechanical. His early vases, all hydriae, are the more accomplished, and parallels between the drawing on some of them may be made with MMA 1988.11.3.

For details of drawing, the hoplite provides a starting point for discussion. The painter of MMA 1988.11.3 drew an eye in the form of two concentric circles and painted the outer ring red, but did not include the tear duct and the opposite corner. These are usually indicated by a short incised line or by a small solid triangle, and are placed diametrically opposite one another (see Figures 14, 16). The closest comparisons are the eyes of two satyrs by Lydos, both probably a bit later than MMA 1988.11.3. One occurs on the satyr standing in front of Dionysos on MMA 31.11.11; the other is the inebriated satyr, fallen to the ground beneath Hephaistos’ mule and looking out at the viewer on a very large fragmentary column-krafter, MMA 1997.388g. But even these large eyes have a small tear duct and an articulated corner. Our painter may simply have forgotten to include these details. The hoplite's white fingernails find a parallel on the hand of a giant fleeing a goddess on Akropolis 607, a dinos by Lydos (Figure 19). The braided grip of this giant's shield is better drawn than the shield grip on MMA 1988.11.3, which is twisted like rope.
The tight spiral on his corselet and the white dots edging his grave are also comparable. The *dinos* is later than MMA 1988.11.3, but Lydos may have used such details on earlier vases that have not survived. The corner of the eye opening of our hoplite’s helmet is elegantly decorated with spirals and triangles. Three similarly ornate examples are contemporary with or slightly earlier than MMA 1988.11.3. Two come from the Akropolis: a Greek in the fragmentary Amazonomachy painted by Kleitias on a skyphos or a kantharos, and two warriors in a fight on a fragmentary *dinos* by the Painter of Louvre E 876. The third example appears on a fragmentary hydria in the Louvre attributed to the Painter of Akropolis 606 (Figure 20). There, a palmette supported by two spirals decorates the helmet of Geryon, the triple-bodied monster slain by Herakles.

Frequently, the corselet of a warrior is decorated with spirals to imitate the metal prototype. Sometimes these are elegantly drawn (see Figures 16, 19). The spirals incised on our hoplite’s corselet are coarse by comparison, and the line a bit ragged. Two examples on hydriai by the Painter of Louvre F 6 compare favorably, but have fewer spiral turns than the corselet on MMA 1988.11.3. A row of white dots outlining the edge of a grave is a recurrent detail in the decades before and after the middle of the sixth century and is not useful for attribution. See the giants on Akropolis 607 by Lydos, for example (Figure 19). The incision on the squire’s shoulder and the peculiar padlike object at the back of his head remain unparalleled.

The general proportions of the horse and its gait do not present peculiarities or criteria for attribution, nor does the forelock neatly tied in a topknot; this feature of equine grooming is common during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. and throughout much of the third. While the topknot appears often and is not a defining feature, the treatment of the mane of the horse on MMA 1988.11.3 is perhaps unique. Manes that hang alongside the neck are usually divided into separate, incised locks, as on the fragmentary kantharos by Nearchos (Figure 21). The mane with a row of incised dots accenting each lock takes its place with two other bold exceptions, one by the Nettos Painter dating about 600 B.C., the other by Exekias of about 530 B.C. The one by the Nettos Painter occurs on the second horse in the lively cavalcade painted on the bowl of a skyphos-krater in Athens. There, the mane has a strangely “layered” effect, with long, horizontal locks alternating with...
short vertical lines. The treatment contrasts sharply with the manes of the other horses in the scene, which hang down their necks in luxuriant locks. The layered mane may be influenced by, or a variation of, the ruff of a lion, such as the one on the painter’s early amphora in London.110 The depiction by Exekias occurs on a fragmentary funerary plaque in Berlin,111 and shows a finely incised mane with alternating black and red locks separated by wavy lines. Comparisons for these three manes are not yet found. The three parallel arcs on the hindquarters of the Metropolitan’s horse do not provide a criterion for attribution because they are common on horses from about 560 to 530 B.C.112 The two short, closely spaced arcs on the shoulder do not correspond to equine anatomy and comparable examples are later than MMA 1988.11.3.113 Such arcs are more often long and widely spaced.

Details of tack on MMA 1988.11.3 are odd and often defy direct comparison. The inclusion of both a browband and a noseband on the headstall of the bridle is uncommon; usually, just the browband is included. In reality both elements as well as a throatlash are necessary to prevent the bridle from slipping off the horse’s head. Lydos supplied all three bridle parts for the horses on the Naples amphora (Figure 16), but this vase is later than MMA 1988.11.3. Lydos’ amphora in Athens, which shows a mounted squire leading a horse, may be slightly earlier. There, the three straps appear.114 The only contemporary artist to draw both a browband and a noseband on all of his horses is the Painter of Akropolis 606. These elements even appear on the horse foreparts in the whirligig on the underside of his namepiece, a dinos.115 Dots decorating reins occur infrequently in the period when MMA 1988.11.3 was made, all the rest being later. One contemporary parallel is seen on an unattributed ovoid neck-amphora in Bologna that depicts on its reverse three armed horsemen galloping to left.116

Typically, mounts do not wear collars, and when they do, as on Lydos’ amphora in Naples (Figure 16), they are purely decorative.117 Collars are necessary for the pole horses of a chariot team to help hold the yoke in place on their withers (the pole horses are the two inside horses that supply the main pulling power).118 The collar rests on the withers. On the Naples amphora the strap is narrow, gradually broadening as it proceeds around the chest. It may be a plain black or red band, or it may be decorated with incised ornament. Occasionally the edges are accented with dots, as on Achilles’ chariot horse (Figure 21). The collar worn by the squire’s horse on MMA 1988.11.3 is most unusual because it appears to be composed of two separate parts: the solid red section along the shoulder and the incised section around the chest. Parallels occur on the François Vase by Kleitias on the chariot horses in the scenes of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the Games for Patroklos, and also on the trace horse of Achilles’ team on the kantharos fragment by Nearchos (Figure 21).119 The collars by Kleitias begin on the withers as a simple black band, then about one-third of the way toward the chest, two vertical incised lines separate this section from the part that goes around the chest, the latter bordered above and below by a double line. The collar on Nearchos’ horse divides into two sections at about the same place as those by Kleitias, but each section is decorated with incision, the front part with running spirals, the back part with a border of esses. The entire collar is bordered above and below by a row of white dots between a double line. The collar on MMA 1988.11.3, being partly plain and partly incised, combines the features depicted by these two artists.

The painter of MMA 1988.11.3 has proven elusive. The creative selection of ornament accenting parts of the hydria and the unusual details of drawing should furnish all the criteria necessary for attribution, but surprisingly they do not lead to a known artist. Rather, the qualities point to an anonymous painter influenced by his contemporaries active in the Kerameikos during the second quarter of the sixth century and a bit beyond. In time, other vases by this painter may be recognized, but for now the hydria remains a singleton. Its eclectic character and parallels with the various painters cited above suggest its withdrawal from the Circle of Lydos. That association seems too limited.

The artist of this hydria worked among the painters who focused on increasing the prevalent repertory of mythological representations, invented new scenes, gave the gods and heroes their attributes, and frequently inscribed their names next to them. In the Athenian Kerameikos, the second half of the sixth century B.C. was a period of intense visual storytelling that led to the superb achievements of such master painters as Exekias, the Amasis Painter, the Andokides Painter, as well as Euphronios and others of the Pioneer Group. The two scenes of daily life on MMA 1988.11.3 must be regarded as having equal importance with those of mythology. The hydria furnishes essential visual criteria for two otherwise little-known aspects of Athenian life in the mid-sixth century. The chorus of dancers and the aulos-player on the shoulder, together with its counterpart on the Heidelberg Painter’s cup in Amsterdam, offer the earliest preserved evidence for the production of comedy in Athenian theater, long before the known literary references appear. The hoplite and the mounted squire leading his horse contribute to our limited knowledge of how hoplites used horses during this
time, namely, by conveying them to battle, dismounting to fight on foot with other hoplites, and then remounting to return to safety. By choosing to paint two scenes from daily life instead of popular ones from heroic or divine mythology, the painter of MMA 1988.11.3 demonstrates an awareness of the world around him. In this way, he foreshadows the keen interest that his successors, particularly those of the fifth century, will take in depicting vignettes of life in Athens.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABV  

Addenda²  

Amx, Corinthian Vase-Painting  

Beazley, Development of Attic Black-Figure  

Brijder, “Satyr Chorus”  

Brijder, Siana Cups I  

Brijder, Siana Cups II  

Brijder, Siana Cups III  

Bugh, Horsemen of Athens  

CVA  
Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum

Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfare  

LIMC  

Moore and Philippides, Agora XXIII  

Paralipomena  
John D. Beazley. Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Second Edition). Oxford, 1971.

Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb  

Seeberg, Corinthian Komos Vases  

Spence, Cavalry of Classical Greece  

Steinhart, Kunst der Nachahmung  

Tiverios, Άυδος  

Trendall and Webster, Illustrations of Greek Drama  

Webster, Greek Chorus  

NOTES

1. In addition to those covered in the forthcoming discussion, notable exceptions occur on two lekythoi by the Amasis Painter that date about 550 B.C. One depicts a wedding procession arriving at the groom’s house, possibly in the Attic countryside (MMA 59.11.1; Paralipomena, p. 66; Addenda², p. 45). The other shows the women’s quarters of a private house, depicting the various stages of wool-working from the
initial twisting of the raw material into thick threads using a distaff and spindle, to weaving the fabric on an upright loom and then folding the finished cloth into a neat bundle (MMA 31:11:10: ABV, p. 154, no. 57; Paralipomena, p. 64, no. 57; Addenda, p. 45). Also notable are the plaques by Excels that decorated two tombs in Athens and depict the various scenes in the funeral ceremony (Berlin 1811–1826 and Athens NM 2414–2417: ABV, p. 146, nos. 22, 23; Paralipomena, p. 60, nos. 22, 23; Addenda, p. 41; Heide Mommsen, Excels I: Die Grabstelen [Mainz, 1997]). Good examples are a gathering of women in their quarters: Berlin 1813 and 1826 k, where one woman holds the child of another who has died in childbirth, in the company of others who sit or stand quietly; on Berlin 1811 a and b and 1826, the deceased woman lies on a bier surrounded by mourners (ABV, p. 146, no. 22; Paralipomena, p. 60, no. 22; Addenda, p. 41; Mommsen, Excels I, pls. 15 and 11, respectively, and color pls. I [1811 b] and IV [1813]). Lourothoroi show also scenes of mourning but only after 540 B.C. (see Moore and Philippides, Agora XXIII, p. 19).

2. MMA 1988.11.1. Height 90.2 cm; diam. of mouth 21.5 cm; diam. with handles 39.4 cm; diam. of foot 15 cm; width of resting surface 1 cm. The vase is intact, with a few nicks and scratches. The glaze mistired around the left horizontal handle and is greenish in places. It has flaked here and there, notably on the legs of the autos-player and on the head and shoulder of the hoplite. There are a few spalls, a small dent below the vertical handle, and a chip in the torus foot below the left horizontal handle.


The earliest preserved Attic black-figured hydria seems to be two joining fragments of one found at Samos and designated by Kreuzer to about 590–580 B.C. (K 6834: Bettina Kreuzer, Samos, vol. XXII, Die attisch schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Herion von Samos [Bonn, 1908], p. 131, no. 71, pl. 16, and pp. 9–12, for hydrias in early black-figure). Two other fragments, Samos K 1211 and K 1032, designated a hydria by Beazley (ABV, p. 25, no. 18), are classified as an ovoid amphora by Kreuzer (p. 9, n. 77, and pp. 109–11, no. 5, pl. 2).

4. For examples of a fillet, see the following, both by the Painter of Louvre F 6: the namepiece (ABV, p. 123, no. 3; Paralipomena, p. 51, no. 3; Addenda, p. 34) and Florence 3868, which has two fillets framing a frieze of rosettes above and below (ABV, p. 124, no. 6; Addenda, p. 34). For an example without a fillet, see an unattributed hydria, Florence 3799 (CVA, Florence 5 [Italy 42], pl. 6 [1870], 3–4). All of these may be dated about 550 B.C.

5. The epedrætes is a loose-fitting, sleeveless garment that reaches to about the knee or midcalf. It seems to appear first on autos-players painted on vases dated about 550 B.C. and continues for a long while, especially on figures of Athena on prize pana-thenaic amphorae made after 530 B.C. See Margaret C. Miller, “The Epedrætes in Classical Athens,” Helos 19 (1989), pp. 315–329, esp. pp. 314–15, for its first appearance in sixth-century representations; see also Margaret C. Miller, Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 173–76. The garment worn by our autos-player appears to be sleeveless, but it is short for an epedrætes and it is not worn over a chiton. Thus, the painter may have had in mind a different article of clothing.

Dietrich von Bothmer was the first to suggest that the object projecting from the fillet is the ear of an eed, specifically a horse (Kunstwerke der Antike [note 2 above], p. 38). It is highly unlikely, as Brijder recognized, that these objects represent feathers, as Webster thought, because there is no central rib and no stiation to indicate the individual bars. See Trendall and Webster, Illustrations of Greek Drama, p. 20, under no. I, 8: Amsterdam 3356. For the various identifications of these objects, see Brijder, “Satyr Chorus,” pp. 75–78; and Brijder, Siana Cups II, pp. 401–3. For a good example of feathers, see the two projecting from the helmet of the fallen hoplite on Side B of an amphora in the J. Paul Getty Museum, the namepiece of the Bareiss Painter: Malibu 86.EA.85 (CVA, J. Paul Getty Museum 1 [USA 23], pl. 29 [1199], 2). There the central rib and bars are clearly delineated. Feathers and horse ears decorate the helmets of warriors on an Attic black-figured amphora fragment found at Lindos; one helmet has both a pair of feathers and a pair of ears (see Christian Blinkenberg, Lindos I, Fouilles de l’Acropole, 1902–1914 [Berlin, 1931], pp. 127, n. 2918).

6. This cloak is called a ἄπεταλον and it seems to be the earliest preserved example. See Kunstwerke der Antike (note 2 above), p. 58, under lot 121.

7. Joan Mertens suggests that the artist may have intended a fibula to secure the rider’s cloak, but did not make it very intelligible.

8. For a general overview, see Lillian B. Lawler, The Dance in Ancient Greece (Seattle and London, 1984), esp. chap. 3, for pre-Classical Greece.


Also, about this time or a little later, Hesiod opened Theogony (1–53) with the Muses dancing on Mount Helicon “on soft feet about the deep-blue spring and the altar of the almighty son of Cronos, and [after bathing, they] make their fair, lovely dances upon highest Helicon and move with vigorous feet.” Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns; and, Homeric, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 79.


12. Webster, Greek Chorus; for the visual examples from the eighth to the mid-sixth-century B.C., see pp. 4–17, and for literary examples, pp. 46–80.

13. See Steinhardt, Kunst der Nachahmung, chaps. 2 and 3, with bibliography.


15. Seeburg, Corinthian Komos Dancers, p. 1. Fehr, “Entertainers at the Symposium” (note 14 above), pp. 188–89, remarks that the padding is likely artificial, even though this cannot be proven, and that the impressive size of the protruding belly may reflect the komos’s procuntry to fill up with every available meal and drink.

16. Seeburg, Corinthian Komos Vases, p. 32, no. 165, pl. 9, a–c; Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting, p. 109, no. 1, pl. 46, 6.

17. Seeburg, Corinthian Komos Vases, p. 42, no. 217; Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting, p. 109, no. 3.


20. The most thorough study of the komast cup is by Bijder, Siana Cups I.

21. Beazley, Development of Attic Black-Figure, p. 18.

22. ABV, pp. 27, no. 1; Paralipomena, p. 15, no. 1; Bijder, Siana Cups I, p. 223, no. K 1, pl. 1, d; Addenda, p. 8; Bijder, Siana Cups I, adds two more cups to the Painter of New York 22.139.22: Taranto 110550 (no. K 2, pl. 2, a) and Thorkilos TC 64.282 (no. K 3). For a brief discussion of the painter, see Bijder, Siana Cups I, pp. 69–70. For examples where all the dancers are padded, see the pair of cups in the Louvre attributed to the KY Painter, CP 10235 and CP 10236 (ABV, p. 32, nos. 17, 18; Bijder, Siana Cups I, p. 224, nos. K 10, K 11, pl. 3, c; Addenda, pp. 8–9).

23. Berlin 1966.17; see Webster, Greek Chorus, p. 12: “In Attica it is clear that men wore padded white tights to represent women in these dances (82) [Berlin 1966.17]”; Trendall and Webster, Illustrations of Greek Drama, pp. 20–21, no. 1, 7; CVAx, Berlin 7 [Deutschland 61], pl. 1 [2994], 1, and pl. 3 [2996], 1–3. For the KY Painter, see ABV, pp. 31–33; Paralipomena, p. 10; Addenda, pp. 8–9.

24. Amsterdam 3356 (ABV, p. 66, no. 57; Paralipomena, p. 27, no. 57; Addenda, p. 18; Bijder, Siana Cups II, pp. 398–404, 445–46, no. 348, pl. 112, c–e; Steinhardt, Kunst der Nachahmung, pl. 2, 1 (Side A)). Note also an ovoid neck-amphora in the Louvre attributed to the Oma Painter that shows on its reverse four men to left, each playing a lyre: the second and fourth stand quietly, but the first and third more forward with bent right leg raised high and thrust out, similar to our dancers except that the torso is not leaning backward. Each wears a mantle over a long chiton. Louvre E 861 (Paralipomena, p. 33, no. 1; Addenda, p. 24).


26. For full discussions of the dancers on this cup, see Bijder, “Satyr Chorus,” pp. 69–82; and Bijder, Siana Cups II, pp. 398–404.

27. Bijder, “Satyr Chorus,” p. 75. The cup is Copenhagen inv. no. 5179; ABV, p. 64, no. 24; Addenda, p. 17; Siana Cups II, pp. 443, no. 335, pl. 109, a, b.

28. Bijder, “Satyr Chorus,” p. 73; the oinochoe is Athens NM 1220, p. 73, fig. 4; Seeburg (Corinthian Komos Vases, pp. 78–80) urges caution in relating the komast dancers to theater, but concludes that “one is, I think, justified in continuing to seek an explanation of certain features of the subject by reference to drama, and to prefer an interpretation that takes account of the similarities.”


30. Bijder, “Satyr Chorus,” p. 78; see also Bijder, Siana Cups II, p. 103. This is a translation of “Webersatyrn,” a term coined by Buschor for the dancers on the Amsterdam cup, which he thought were men impersonating women (Ernst Buschor, Satyrstänze und frühe Drame, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung, 1943, no. 5 [Munich, 1943], pp. 51, 68). As Bijder (“Satyr Chorus,” p. 78) notes, the term is more appropriate for our dancers. For men dressed as women, see John Boardman, “Booners,” in Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum, vol. 3, Occasional Papers on Antiquities, vol. 2 (Malibu, 1986), P. 51.
The bibliography for this study is understandably long. Following are the main titles in English: all have extensive references. Thomas B. L. Webster, *Greek Theatre Production* (London, 1956), esp. ch. 1, for Athens; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*; Webster, *Greek Chorus; Caspar and Slater, Context of Ancient Drama* (note 14 above), esp. ch. 2, “The Origins of Greek Drama”; Green, *Theater in Ancient Greek Society* (note 2 above), esp. ch. 2, “The Early Period and the Fifth Century.” See also Buschor, *Satyrtravé und frühes Drama* (note 30 above); and Hans Herter, *Vom Dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel: Die Anfänge der attischen Komödie* (Iserlohn, 1947).


33. For a brief overview, see Kenneth J. Dover, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2003), pp. 367–69, “Comedy, Greek, origins of and (Greek, Old).”


35. For the Amsterdam cup, see Brjider, “Satyr Chorus,” p. 79; and Brjider, *Siana Cups II*, p. 308. In view of the distinctions made between our hydria and the Amsterdam cup and the usual assemblages of komast dancers elsewhere, I find it difficult to understand why Seeberg (Corinthian Komos Vases, p. 4) concludes: “In a variety of painting styles padded dancers are notably alike, and they are seldom differentiated within a picture; yet a ‘leader’ something one would expect, for their act must be thought of as pre-arranged and drilled, not improvised.” It seems exactly the opposite to me. So too, Fehr, “Entertainers at the Symposium” (note 14 above).

36. See those collected by Silakis, *Parabasis and Animal Choruses* (note 34 above), and by Green, *Theater in Ancient Greek Society* (note 2 above).

37. See Brjider, “Satyr Chorus,” p. 79, for the quotation; see also Brjider, *Siana Cups II*, p. 403. Brjider does not say how or where he acquired this information. For the kordax, see note 38, below.

38. For the kordax as it appears in ancient literary sources, see Georg Wissowa, *Penthys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums- wissenschaft*, vol. 11 (Stuttgart, 1922), cols. 1382–85, “Kordax” (entry by Warnecke); see also Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, pp. 259–61. While the ancient authors make clear that the kordax was considered a lewd, drunken dance, none describes its movement or how it was received by an audience (see, for example, Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.691d, trans. Charles B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1980], vol. 6, p. 407; “The Greek kordax, for example, is vulgar. . . .”); or Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. κόρδαξ. Thus, it is probably unsafe to try to identify it in representations of dances on Greek vases. Webster (Greek Chor- ria, pp. 3–4) recognized various postures dancers may assume in representations of dances on vases, but warned (p. xii): “We shall never be able to reconstruct the choreography of ancient choruses from their texts any more than we can reconstruct their music. . . . The pictures are not films or even photographs of the performance. They are what the artist remembered of the dance, translated into the prevailing convention of his art and fitted into the space at his disposal.”

39. The Birds was performed at the City Dionysia in 414 b.c. and won second prize. The Frosk was produced during the Lenainia in 405 b.c. and won first prize. See Kenneth J. Dover, in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (note 33 above), p. 164, “Aristophanes.” For the City Dionysia, see note 32, above. The Lenainia was a dionysiac festival celebrated in Athens on the twelfth day of the month Cvmelion (January/February). The location of this festival is not known for certain, but there is slight evidence that it took place in the Agora. For the festival, see Walther Jedeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich, 1951), pp. 293–96; Ludwig Deubner, *Atthische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 123–34; Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (note 32 above), pp. 25–42; and, more briefly, Parke, “Elaphobolion” (note 32 above), pp. 103–13; Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (note 32 above), pp. 100–101; Caspar and Slater, *Context of Ancient Drama* (note 14 above), pp. 122–24; for discussion, and pp. 132–37, for the literary sources. For a brief summary of the problem of locating the Lenainia in the Agora, see Homer A. Thompson and Richard E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, vol. XIV, The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 128–29.

40. Green, “Representation of The Birds of Aristophanes” (note 2 above), p. 98. The vase is Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82. AE. 83. Green suggests it may be by the Painter of Munich 2335 and offers “a date towards the later part of the fifth century although not near its end.”

41. Ibid., p. 100.

42. Buffalo Museum of Science C 12847 (Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* [note 9 above], p. 59, no. 21, a; Theodora Rombos, *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery* [Jennered, 1988], p. 439, no. 154; Susan Langdon, in *From Pasture to Polis: Art in the Age of Homer*, ed. Susan Langdon, exh. cat., Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia [Columbia, Mo., and London, 1993], pp. 60–64, no. 9, with bibliography). For unusual, vibrant compositions by painters from this workshop, see the lovely dancing women on the bowl of the standed krater. Athens NM 810. On one leg of the stand of this krater there is a horse rearing very high, its rider giving it slack rein. See Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (note 9 above), pp. 60, no. 39 and Rombos, *Attic Late Geometric II Pottery*, p. 494, no. 215. For a good illustration, see Bernhard Schweizer, *Greek Geometric Art*, trans. Peter Usborne and Cornelia Usborne (New York, 1971), pls. 63, 64.
43. For the bell corselet, see Susan Langdon, in *From Pasture to Polis* (note 42 above), p. 63, who remarks that this painted corselet finds a precise parallel with a bronze one found in a Late Geometric grave in Argos, dated about 725 B.C.


45. The problem of when the Athenians developed an organized cavalry has been addressed very well by Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, and by Spence, *Cavalry of Classical Greece*, both with copious bibliography. Bugh presents a fuller discussion of the possibility of an Athenian cavalry in the sixth century B.C. (chap. 1, pp. 3–38). Spence focuses on the history and use of the cavalry after 500 B.C. “No single piece of evidence can prove, incontestably, the existence of an Athenian cavalry before the mid-fifth century B.C. That there were *hippikes* cannot be denied, but that these ‘horsemen’ belonged to a cavalry corps still eludes unanimous consent” (Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, p. 5). This is true, but there are hints that as early as the sixth century B.C., Athens possessed a small corps of cavalry. During this time, each of the four phyletes, or tribes, of Athens was subdivided into twelve units, making a total of forty-eight. Each subdivision, called a *nauxaria*, was responsible for supplying and manning one ship. Each *nauxaria* was also called upon to provide two horsemen, totaling ninety-six. By the late sixth century, under the reforms of Kleisthenes, the *nauxaria* were perhaps replaced by demes (individual units of government) and that is the last we hear of them (Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, pp. 4–5, and Spence, *Cavalry of Classical Greece*, pp. 11–12, both with bibliography). The only ancient source that tells us the *nauxaria* also provided two horsemen each is Pollox, a scholar and rhetorician whose *Onomasticon* was written during the time of Commodus, the elder son of Marcus Aurelius, who ruled from A.D. 180 to 192. The validity of this late source has been questioned, but Bugh (Horsemen of Athens, p. 5) is correct in stating that “the testimony of Pollox should not be rejected out of hand.” Spence suggests that the *nauxaria* may have been established during the reforms of Solon (ca. 594–593 B.C.) and lasted until the time of the naval reforms of 483 B.C. (Spence, *Cavalry of Classical Greece*, pp. 11–12).

The resulting questions are the following: What were the duties of these ninety-six horsemen, what type of force were they, how were they organized, and were they a true cavalry or were they simply hoplites who rode horses to the scene of battle, then dismounted to fight? Bugh reviews the various possibilities, including the ceramic evidence, and remarks with some exasperation: “Why is it so hard to accept the idea that some rich men rode their horses to battle and dismounted to join the hoplite ranks—a carryover from the Homeric tradition, albeit with chariots—while other rich men or youths rode horses to battle and fought as cavalrymen?” (Bugh, *Horsemen of Athens*, pp. 5–38; ceramic evidence, pp. 14–20, and quotation, p. 15). It is the former that concerns us here. See also J. K. Anderson ("Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry," *American Journal of Archaeology* 79 [1975], pp. 175–87) who thinks chariot-borne heroes were replaced by mounted hoplites during the seventh century. Earlier, he remarked that “the historical evidence does not suggest that they [cavalrymen] were important” (John K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* [Berkeley, 1961], p. 130). For a fuller discussion of the ceramic evidence from the seventh and sixth centuries, see Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*, pp. 84–145, esp. pp. 96–145, for the sixth. For a general discussion of the Greek cavalry in the Archaic period, see Leslie J. Worley, *Hippikes: The Cavalry of Ancient Greece* (Boulder, 1994), pp. 21–52.

46. Anderson ("Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry" [note 45 above], p. 184) observed that “though mounted warriors appear on Geometric vases, they are never ‘shown accompanied by squires’ riding on a second horse.”

47. For a color photograph that shows two of these horsemen, see Martin Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva, 1959), p. 48. The most recent discussion of this famous vase is by Jeffrey M. Hurwit, “Reading the Chigi Vase,” *Heidelberg* 71 (2002), pp. 1–22; for the riders, see pp. 9–10. Hurwit interprets them as “squires (hippostrophoi) leading mounts for absent companions or warriors (hippostoikoi), as we know them from other vases of the period and afterward, at Corinth and elsewhere.” He thinks it is also possible the riders are “holding the horses for other youths in the same zone (as we shall see) after use in a team” (both quotations are on p. 10). He also writes, “horsemen participate directly in the lion attack depicted on the oinochoe from Erythrai . . . and so we may wonder whether the whole passage on the Chigi vase from the horsemen to the lion hunt is a Proto-corinthian revision of imagery found in the palace reliefs of Nineveh or Nimrud, where kings and their entourage, riding chariots and horses, slaughter animals by the dozen” (p. 11; see p. 8, fig. 4, for an illustration of the Erythrai oinochoe). This does not seem likely. First, the hunters on the Erythrai oinochoe ride galloping horses and have their spears poised. The composition is active and exciting, just the opposite from that on the Chigi vase. There, all of the horses walk sedately; neither the riders nor the charioteer is armed; all of them merely hold the reins, and the charioteer has a goad. Furthermore, between these two groups and the lion hunt, there is a youth on foot to right looking back at the chariot horses and holding them by a lead line; next is a pair of seated sphinxes looking out at the viewer with a figure standing between them (all of the right sphinx is preserved; just the left side of the figure, and the tail with a bit of the hindquarters of the left sphinx remain); finally, there is a fragmentary scene of the Judgment of Paris. The sphinx group functions as a separator between the horsemen and the chariot on the one hand, the lion hunt and the Judgment on the other. The best illustration of this whole frieze is in *Antike Denkmäler* 2 (Berlin, 1898), pl. 45. On the Assyrian reliefs, the confrontation between man and beast is direct and deadly, whether the attack is by a horseman armed with a spear or by the king in his chariot shooting an arrow. See, for example, R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and Their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia* ([London], 1960), pls. 83–86, 88–92.

48. For the C Painter, see *ABV*, pp. 51–56; *Paralipomena*, pp. 23–26; *Addenda*, pp. 13–17. The Siana cup takes its name from two examples in the British Museum that were found at Siana, a site on the island of Rhodes: London BM 1885.12.13.12 (ex B 386) by the C Painter (ABV, p. 51, no. 91; Addenda, p. 15) now attributed to the Cassandra Painter by Herman Briddor, *Siana Cups I*, p. 247, no. 122, pl. 25, c., and for the painter, pp. 142–51) and London BM 373 in his manner (*ABV*, p. 60, no. 20; *Paralipomena*, p. 26, no. 20; *Addenda*, p. 16). This type of cup has a deep bowl with an offset lip and a conical foot. The shape has been studied extensively by Briddor in *Siana Cups I; Siana Cups II*; and *Siana Cups III*. 53
49. Athens NM 531 (ABV, p. 55, no. 92; Addenda², p. 15). Würzburg 451 (ABV, p. 57, no. 114; Addenda², p. 15).
52. Ibid., p. 112.
54. Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfarer, pp. 50-60. Anderson, "Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry" (note 45 above), p. 184, n. 101 also does not think this is a hunting scene. He suggests, "The second horse may well be understood. . . . I am not sure about this and am inclined to believe that there is enough space in the composition for the painter to have drawn a second horse if he had wished to do so."
55. Athens NM 341 (Heinrich Heydemann, Griechische Vasenbilder [Berlin, 1870], pl. 7, 3; Payne, Neocorinthia (note 18 above), p. 287, no. 482; Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfarer, p. 38, fig. 36).
56. For a discussion of the various kinds of inscriptions, with examples, see Mary B. Moore, "Andokides and a Curious Attic Black-Figured Amphora," MJF 36 (2001), pp. 15-19, with bibliography.
57. Amyx, Corinthian Vas-Painting, pp. 554, 558, no. 7, for the quotation.
58. See Moore and Philippides, Agra XXIII, pp. 188-89, no. 679, pl. 65.
59. Xenophon 12.1-12 (Xenophon, On the Art of Horsemanship, in Scripta minora, trans. E. C. Marchant, Loeb Classical Library [London and New York, 1925], pp. 359, 361, 365). Xenophon was writing in the first half of the fourth century B.C., but the visual material from the sixth century makes clear that the arms and armor of the cavalryman differed from those of the hoplite. A mounted hoplite should not be confused with a mounted cavalryman whose equipment does not include a shield. A round shield is an intrinsic part of hoplite defense; for the cavalryman, it would be a hindrance. A shield would be a cumbersome piece of equipment for a rider trying to control a spirited horse while aiming his spear at an approaching or fleeing enemy. All of this was done without stirrups, which were not known in antiquity. See Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship (note 45 above), pp. 12, 75, 82, 106; and Mary Aiken Littauer, "Early Stirrups," Antiquity 55 (1981), pp. 99-105, reprinted in Mary Aiken Littauer and Joost H. Crouwel, Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness, ed. Peter Raeling (Leiden, 2002), pp. 439-51. Metal greaves worn by a cavalryman would hinder control of his mount because the hard material would prevent him from maintaining contact with the animal’s sides in order to guide him; soft leather would not.
60. For an actual greave with the holes along the outside edge, see MMA 06.1076, which is thought to come from Eris and dates in the fifth century B.C. (Gisela M. A. Richter, Handbook of the Classical Collection [New York, 1917], p. 95; Anthony Snodgrass, Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C. [Edinburgh, 1964], pp. 299-99, n. 59). For leather boots, see three riders on the west frieze of the Parthenon: West IV, figure 8; West X, figure 15; West XI, figure 20 (Frank Brommer, Der Parthenonfries: Katalog und Untersuchung [Mainz, 1977], respectively, pls. 30, 35, 13).
61. The two compositions compared with MMA 1988.11.3 are the only examples of this arrangement of hoplite, squire and horses that I know. I am not certain if they represent a departure for battle with the hoplite getting ready to mount or a return from it, the hoplite having dismounted upon arrival.
62. Berlin, inv. no. 5825 (ABV, p. 81, no. 4; Parallipomena, p. 39, no. 4; Addenda², p. 22). Akropolais 390 d (Boetho Graef, Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen [Berlin, 1925-33], pl. 27).
63. Florence, Museo Archeologico R 1927. The hoplite does not have a spear or greaves. His shield device is a leaf. I know this vase only from Dietrich von Bothmer’s photograph.
64. Geneva, private collection (Henri Metzger and Denis van Berchem, "Hippēs," in Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Schefold zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag am 26. Januar 1965, Antike Kunst, suppl. 4 [Bern, 1967], pp. 155-58, pls. 55, 56, 2). Attributed to the School of Lydos by Herbert Cahn (Kunstwerke der Antike, sale cat., Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, sale no. 26, October 3, 1960, lot 88). It is not included in Parallipomena. Mention should be made here of a hydria dating about 550 B.C. and attributed to the Antipilos Painter, Bochum S 1165 (CVA, Bochum I [Deutschland 71], pl. 35 [1947], 4). There, the Dioskouroi (names inscribed) appear mounted on frontal horses. Polydeukos is dressed and armed as a hoplite, Kastor as his squire. This depiction of the two does not have a parallel. See LIMC, vol. 3 (1986), pp. 552-83, 82-83, "Dioskourai" (entry by Antoine Hermann). For the attribution, see CVA, Bochum I [Deutschland 71], p. 43.
66. For shield devices, see Snodgrass, Early Greek Armour and Weapons (note 60 above), pp. 61-65, who makes the important point (p. 63) that "we can assume a shield of hoplite type only when a figured blazon is shown . . . since the object of such a blazon was presumably to overcome the anonymity conferred by the Corinthian helmet. . . ." Thus, it seems that the painters who showed mounted hoplites moving to the left with the devices on their shields well displayed were aware of their importance as a means of identification in battle. But the precise meaning of these shield emblems remains unknown.
67. Naples 81292 (ABV, p. 109, no. 23; Parallipomena, p. 44, no. 23; Addenda², p. 30).
68. Leipzig T 4849 (Amyx, Corinthian Vas-Painting, p. 587, no. 107). For the best photographs, see CVA, Leipzig 1 [Deutschland 14], pl. 48 [688]. For the Chalcidian type of Corinthian column-krafter, see Amyx, Corinthian Vas-Painting, pp. 51-1-12.
70. Würzburg 146 (Andreas Rumpf, Chalkidische Vasen [Berlin, 1927], pl. 17, no. 25, pls. 48, 49, 51; Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfarer, pp. 138-39, fig. 73).
71. For the particulars of phalanx combat, see Victor Davis Hanson, "Hoplite Technology in Phalanx Battle," in Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience, ed. Victor Davis Hanson (London and New York, 1993), pp. 63-84.
72. Xenophon (Cyropaedia 4.49) says: “And if it seems that we are of more use to you by fighting with you on horseback, in that case we shall not fail for want of courage. But if it seems that by turning footmen again we could assist to better advantage, it will be open to us to dismount and at once stand by you as foot soldiers; and as for the horses, we shall manage to find some one to whom we may entrust them.” Xenophon, Cyropaedia, trans. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1925), p. 357.

73. ABV, p. 119, no. 9; Tiverios, Aνδρος, pl. 61; Addenda, p. 33.

74. Vatican 369 (Carlo Albizati, Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticanano [Rome, 1925–39], pp. 153–54, figs. 93, 94). A “merrythought cup” is characterized by its “wishbone” handles, hence the name. See Beazley, Development of Attic Black-Figure, p. 21.

75. This scene takes with it three others, two on Siana cups and one on a lip cup. London BM 1885.12–13.12 (ex B 380) by the C Painter (note 48 above). There, the armed hoplite without a square appears four times in the frieze on Side A. The absence of the square is difficult to explain. The space around the head and spear of each hoplite may have been too narrow to include the square. But his presence here is implied by the action of the hoplite dismounting and the inclusion of the second horse. In the tondo of Warsaw 1859.46, a painter related to the C Painter depicted the hoplite landing on the balls of his feet alongside his horse, his square ready to take hold (ABV, p. 61, no. 9; Paralipomena, p. 26, no. 9). It is now attributed by Brigid to the Red-Black Painter (Siana Cup III, pp. 685–86, no. 553, pl. 189, b; for the painter, see pp. 585–95). The lip cup is Boston MFA 60.140 a, signed by Nikosthenes (ABV, p. 227, no. 17; Paralipomena, p. 107, no. 17; Addenda, p. 59). Vincent Tosto, The Black-Figure Pottery Signed ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΟΣΣΟΠΟΙΕΖΕΝ, Allard Pierson Series, vol. 11 [Amsterdam, 1990], p. 231, no. 160). Much of the hoplite is missing, but his helmeted head, his greaves, and his feet touching the ground remain. He carries two spears. The face of his square appears in the background.

Regarding London BM 1885.12–13.12 (ex B 380), Greenhalgh (Early Greek Warfront, p. 105) states that the hoplites “may be vaulting from or onto their horses, of which a second is shown in outline, or they may simply be walking or running beside the horses…” The hoplites are probably not vaulting, not with the second horse present. Given the weight of his arms and armor, a hoplite would hardly be able to vault off his horse, which would require unnumbered gymnastic skill; rather, he would bend his right leg and slip it over the horse’s withers and slide down as he does in Figure 17. Nor could a hoplite vault onto the horse’s back unless he faced the animal, as Xenophon makes clear (7.1–2):

First, then, he [the rider] must hold the leading-rein fastened to the chin-strap or the nose-band [of the bridle] ready in the left hand, and so loose as not to jerk the horse whether he means to mount by holding on to the mane near the ears or to spring up with the help of the spear. With his right hand let him take hold of the reins by the withers along with the mane, so that he may not jerk the horse’s mouth with the bit in any way as he mounts. When he has made his spring in order to mount, he should raise his body with his left hand, while at the same time he helps himself up by stretching out his right; for by mounting in this way he will not present an awkward appearance even from behind by bending his leg. Neither must he touch the horse’s back with his knee, but throw the leg over the off side [the right side]. Having brought the foot over, he must then let his buttcords down on the horse’s back. (Xenophon, Art of Horsemanship [note 59 above], pp. 327, 329.)

We see such a scene on the namepiece of the Hypobibazon Class, an amphora in the Kerameikos, inv. no. 158 (ABV, p. 339, no. 27, Addenda, p. 92). A hoplite in armor holding two spears, his right foot raised, stands in front of the horse facing it and is about to spring to its back.

Interestingly, the maneuvers of the Roman cavalry with regard to mounting and dismounting appear to be different for fit professionals who “demonstrate the greatest possible variety of ways of jumping onto their horses, using all the methods and styles in which a horse can be mounted by a horseman. As a climax they demonstrate leaping in full armor onto a galloping horse, which some call the ‘traveler’s leap’ (hodoipoikinen). These are the traditional exercises which the Roman cavalry have practised since ancient times” (Arrian, Ars Tactica, 43.3–44.1, based on the Teubner text of Antoon Gerard Roos, revised by Gerhard Wirth [Leipzig, 1986]; see Ann Hyland, Training the Roman Cavalry: From Arrian’s Ars Tactica [London, 1993], pp. 76–77, for the passage, and pp. 157–58, for a commentary). See also the remarks by Anderson (Ancient Greek Horsemanship [note 45 above], pp. 83), who, being an experienced horseman, says that “these instructions were more than theoretical appears from an address of the emperor Hadrian to a cavalry unit which he had been inspecting.”

76. London BM 1839.10–25.13 (ex Big 91) (ABV, p. 152, no. 24; Paralipomena, p. 24, no. 24; Addenda, p. 43).


78. Best observed in the drawing made by Slawisch (ibid., pl. 22, 1). Anderson, “Greek Chariot-Borne and Mounted Infantry” (note 45 above), p. 184; see also Xenophon, Cyropaedia (note 72 above).

80. Amx, Corinthian Vase-Painting, p. 197, no. 3, with bibliography; for the painter, pp. 197–98, 393.


82. Best observed in Clara Rhodes VIII (Rhodes, 1936), p. 92, fig. 77.


84. See note 45 above.

85. See Aristotle, Politics 4.3.1–2, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1912), p. 287: “And the upper classes have distinctions also corresponding to their wealth and the amounts of their property (for example in a stud of horses—for it is not easy to rear horses without being rich . . .).”

87. Louvre F 8: CVA, Louvre 6 [France g], pl. 59 [398], 3; for the rivets, and pl. 60 [399], 9, 3, for the groove. On this hydria, the mouth is flanged and the handles ridged resulting in a more metallic effect than that of our hydria. Three rivets, also occur on the top side of the mouth of Louvre F 38 by the Taleides Painter, an artist somewhat later than the one who decorated MMA 1988.11.3; there the rivets are more rounded. See ABV, p. 174, no. 7; Parallipomena, p. 72, no. 7; Addenda, p. 49. The rivets on this hydria are best observed in CVA, pl. 63 [402], 3.

88. On Louvre F 10, another unattributed hydria, the scene of sacrifice on the shoulder is framed by a triple band consisting of a net pattern framed by single ivy leaves without stems. The date for this hydria is probably about 550 B.C. or a bit later. See CVA, Louvre 6 [France g], pl. 62 [401], 4, 5.

89. Compare with Boston MFA 68.105, attributed to the Taleides Painter by Dietrich von Bothmer and Mary B. Moore. There, however, the way stems are in black, not thinned, glare as on MMA 1988.11.3. See CVA, Boston 2 [USA 19], pl. 73 [907]; the attribution is given on p. 15. The vase is dated about 540–530 B.C., later than MMA 1988.11.3.

90. Heidelberg S 5 (ABV, p. 63, no. 1; Addenda, p. 17; Brijder, Sienna Cups II, p. 449, no. 305, pl. 120, a; the vase is also wavy); Louvre CA 576 (ABV, p. 63, no. 3; Addenda, p. 17; Brijder, Sienna Cups II, p. 449–50, no. 307, pl. 121, d, e: wavy; vase); Taranto 110339 (Parallipomena, p. 27, no. 13 bis; Addenda, p. 17; Brijder, Sienna Cups II, p. 449, no. 306, pl. 120, d; smooth vase); and Toledo, Ohio, collection of R. F. Reichert (Brijder, Sienna Cups II, p. 451, no. 375, pl. 126, a, c; attributed by Brijder [p. 451]: smooth vase). The ornament also appears on some of the cups that belong to the late work of the painter.

91. ABV, pp. 107–13; Parallipomena, pp. 43–46; Addenda, pp. 29–32; see also the monograph by Tiverios, Addenda.

92. Louvre F 29 (ABV, p. 109, no. 21; Parallipomena, p. 44, no. 21; Addenda, p. 30). The oddity is the system of decoration with the figures stretching across the shoulder from handle to handle, instead of being set in a panel. Also, there are ornamental patterns above, below, and on the sides of the mouth; beneath the ornament on the body, an animal frieze continues around the vase without interruption. Normally, the mouth and body are black save for the figured panel and the rays above the foot. Akropolis 607 (ABV, p. 107, no. 1; Addenda, p. 29). For Lydos' signatures, see Beazley, Development of Attic Black-Figure, p. 38; for more detail, see Tiverios, Addenda, pp. 15–17, who suggests that Lydos may also have signed the Akropolis dinos as potter and inscribed it as a dedication to Athena (p. 16). On the rim there was certainly room for a dedicatory inscription along with the double signature by Lydos.

93. Good examples are the two very early (ca. 570 B.C.) hydrias, Munich 1681 (ABV, p. 108, no. 12; Addenda, p. 29) and Louvre E 804 (ABV, p. 108, no. 13; Addenda, p. 29).

94. Louvre F 29 (note 92 above); MMA 31.11.11 (ABV, p. 108, no. 5; Parallipomena, p. 43, no. 5; Addenda, p. 29); Naples 81292 (note 67 below).

95. ABV, pp. 114–20; Parallipomena, pp. 46–49; Addenda, pp. 32–33.

96. ABV, p. 114: “The difference between the three painters comes out in the human scenes; the wild animals are in a single style—whether one artist painted them all, or whether subordinates had so assimilated the master’s animal style that we cannot tell one hand from another.” And in Beazley, Development of Attic Black-Figure, p. 45: “It would plainly be unfair to Lydos that he should be burdened with such inferior pieces. The difference is not between the same man when he is himself and when he is not quite himself, but between the artist and the mechanical imitator.”

97. ABV, p. 121, no. 7; Parallipomena, p. 49, no. 7; Addenda, p. 33. For the painter, see ABV, pp. 120–22; Parallipomena, p. 49; Addenda, pp. 33–34.

98. ABV, p. 123, no. 3; Parallipomena, p. 51, no. 3; Addenda, p. 34. For the painter, see ABV, pp. 123–29; Parallipomena, pp. 50–53; Addenda, pp. 34–35.

99. For a fuller discussion of these painters, see Beazley, Development of Attic Black-Figure, chaps. 3 and 4.


101. Fragment o (note 92 above).

102. For a twisted grip, compare those of two giants on an unattributed cup from the Akropolis 2211 d and e (Graef, Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis [note 62 above], pl. 94). For a braided one, see also London BM 1846.5–18.35 (ex B 51) by the Painter of Louvre F 6 (ABV, p. 123, no. 4; Addenda, p. 34; the illustration referred to in Tiverios is printed with right and left sides reversed).

103. Kleitias: Akropolis 597 h (ABV, p. 77, no. 4): the Painter of Louvre E 876: Akropolis 634 a and d (ABV, p. 90, no. 2); Louvre CA 7,900. The scene with Geryon occupies the panel of the last; the subject was identified by Martine Denovelle, who also made the attribution. On the shoulder there remain parts of three legs of two duelling warriors and a segment of each shield. A date for this hydria is about 560–550 B.C. I thank Martine Denovelle for providing me with a digital photograph.

104. Munich 1680 (ABV, p. 123, no. 11 and London BM 1846.5–18.35 (ex B 51) (note 102 above).

105. Akropolis 607 (note 92 above). See also Athens NMAcr. 15316 (ex Akr. 606) (ABV, p. 81, no. 1: Parallipomena, p. 50, no. 1; Addenda, p. 22); London BM 1846.5–18.35 (ex B 51) (note 102 above); Vatican 315 (ABV, p. 124, no. 9, by the Painter of Louvre F 6); two unattributed cups depicting a Gigantomachy: Athens NMAcr. 2134 a and d (ABV, p. 347; some signed straws, the name lost), and Akropolis 2211 b (Graef, Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis [note 62 above], pl. 94); and Bologna P 191, an unattributed ovoid neck-amphora I know only from Dietrich von Bothmer’s photograph.


107. Athens NMAcr. 13155 (ex Ak. 611) (ABV, p. 82, no. 1: Parallipomena, p. 30, no. 1: Addenda, p. 23); also three by Lydos: Louvre E 804 (ABV, p. 108, no. 13; Addenda, p. 29), Göttingen and Cab. Méd. (ABV, p. 109, 19; Addenda, p. 30) and Kerameikos (Parallipomena, p. 43; Addenda, p. 30).

108. See, however, the hair of the man standing behind Herakles on the reverse of Basel BS 496, an amphora attributed to the Phrynos Painter by Heide Mommssen, “Zwei schwarzfigurigen Amphoren aus Athen,” Antike Kunst 32 (1989), pl. 26, 4: for the attribution, see pp. 135–37. The painter incised a row of dots on each lock of hair.
109. Athens NM 16383 (ABV, p. 77; Paralipomena, p. 3, no. 12).
110. London BM 1874–19.41 (ex A 1531) (ABV, p. 3, no. 2; Paralipomena, p. 2, no. 2; Addenda, p. 1). For the ruff, see Beazley, Development of Attic Black-Figure, pl. 12, 2, and for the mane, pl. 13, 4.
111. Berlin 1820 (ABV, p. 146, no. 22; Paralipomena, p. 60, no. 22; Addenda, p. 41; Mommsen, Exekias I [note 1 above], pl. 13, 3).
113. Ibid., pp. 292–93. This motif is especially favored by the BMN Painter, an artist active in the third quarter of the sixth century (ABV, pp. 226–28; Paralipomena, pp. 106–7; Addenda, p. 59).
114. Athens Ephoreia I (note 50 above); Tverios (Αύσσος, p. 93, no. 1) places this amphora a little earlier than Naples 81292 (ex 2770) (note 67 above).
115. Athens NMAct. 15416 (ex Akr. 606) (note 105 above); the others: Berlin inv. no. 3823 (note 62 above); Tübingen S/10 1298 (ex D 4) (ABV, p. 81, no. 5; Addenda, p. 22); and Geneva MF 153 (ABV, p. 81, no. 6; Addenda, p. 22). See also a new amphora by this painter: Olga Tzahou-Alexandri, “A Vase-Painter as Dedicat or on the Athenian Acropolis: A New View of the Painter of Acropolis 606,” in New Perspectives in Early Greek Art, Studies in the History of Art, vol. 32 (Hanover, N.H., and London, 1991), pp. 191–214; the relevant illustrations are figs. 1, 2, 4.
116. The obverse of this amphora depicts the departure of a warrior with a chariot, the reverse a komos. An unattributed example seems to occur on the mounts of Akropolis 590 d (note 62 above), only the drawing is rather imprecise and I am not certain the incision is intended to represent browband, noseband, and throatlash. The Princeton Painter almost always included all three straps, but he was active in the third quarter of the sixth century and is stylistically unrelated to the painter of MMA 1988.11.3.
118. Before 530 B.C., the trace horses also wear collars. After this date, they seldom do.
119. Florence 4209 (ABV, p. 76, no. 1; Paralipomena, p. 29, no. 1; Addenda, p. 21); Athens NMAct. 15155 (ex Akr. 611) (note 107 above).