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A NEW READING OF THE DAMONON *STELE*

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PREFACE

In the course of bringing this project to completion I have been immeasurably aided by more organisations and individuals than I can properly thank. A Senior Faculty Fellowship from Dartmouth College and a fellowship from Clare Hall at Cambridge University made it possible to write much of the text of this book.

The debt I owe to my family in general and my parents in particular defies simple expression but is no doubt well known to readers from their own experience. Finally, special thanks are due to my wife Cecilia and my sons Michael and Danny, for their unswerving patience, support, and good humour.

Hanover, New Hampshire   P.C.
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INTRODUCTION

The Damonon *stele* records victories that two Lakedaimonians, Damonon and his son Enymakratidas, won in the late fifth century BCE in equestrian contests and footraces at nine different local festivals.[1] The inscription on the *stele* is relatively lengthy and largely intact, and it has long been, and continues to be, a key source for the study of Lakedaimonian history. H. J. W. Tillyard, writing in the early years of the twentieth century, called the Damonon *stele* 'one of the best known and oftenest discussed of early Lakonian inscriptions'.[2] Over a century later, the editors of one of the standard resources for the study of Greek epigraphy, the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, referred to it as 'the famous *stele* of Damonon'.[3]

Scholars have repeatedly turned their attention to the Damonon *stele* because it offers invaluable insight into multiple facets of Lakedaimonian society. For example, in the most recent detailed treatment of the inscription, Massimo Nafissi uses the text to reconstruct a network of religious festivals in Lakedaimon and explore how the circulation of participants and spectators at those festivals may have helped build a sense of shared Lakedaimonian identity among Spartiates and *perioikoi*.[4]

Over the course of decades of research, a scholarly consensus has emerged on how to read the inscription on the Damonon *stele*. The inscription is commonly understood as cataloguing dozens of victories won in the four-horse chariot race (the *tethrippon*) as well as other victories won in the horse-race (*keles*) and in footraces of various lengths.

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[1] It is assumed here that Damonon and Enymakratidas were both Spartiates. This is a deduction based upon the fact that they were able to erect a large dedicatory monument on the acropolis of Sparta. Given what we know about the Lakedaimonian state, it appears to be a near certainty that only Spartiates could have made such a dedication in that particular place. All dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated. Greek words and names have been transliterated in such a way as to be as faithful as possible to original spellings while taking into account established usages for well-known individuals and places.

[2] H. J. W. Tillyard (1906/7) 175.

[3] *SEG* 61 (2011) 78.

[4] Nafissi (2013) 136–49. On that subject, see also Siriano (1996/7) 442–8.

Despite its excellent state of preservation, its obvious importance, and the regularity with which it has been studied, three rather odd features of the Damonon *stele* have never been satisfactorily explained. First, the precise wording used by Damonon to describe many of his hippic victories includes an important but cryptic phrase: ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις. The meaning of this phrase and its significance in the inscription—it is repeated no fewer than eight times—have never been entirely clear.

Second, the structure of the inscription presents challenges because it is typically understood as including a considerable amount of potentially confusing repetition. More specifically, the inscription seems to list the same victories, all won in the *tethrippon*, in multiple different parts of the inscription.

Finally, as Stephen Hodkinson astutely observed, the Damonon *stele* differs markedly from the other known victor inscriptions from Lakonia in that it is the only one that highlights hippic, as opposed to gymnic, victories. As a result, 'Damonon's dedication is unique among our surviving evidence'.[5]

The goal of this book is to propose a new reading that helps explain all of these features of the Damonon *stele*. Careful study of the wording and structure of the inscription and relevant comparanda suggests that ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις refers to the *kalpe*, a contest for mares in which the rider dismounted and ran alongside his horse in the final part of the race. The *kalpe* was based directly on cavalry training exercises, and the horses that competed in this event were heavy-bodied cavalry horses rather than the light-bodied racehorses used in other hippic competitions. This means that Damonon lists his victories in three different hippic competitions (the *tethrippon*, the *keles*, and the *kalpe*), and that many of the victories previously understood as having been won in the *tethrippon* were in fact won in the *kalpe*.

Three fragmentary terracotta votive plaques found in the excavations at the shrine of Agamemnon and Alexandra at Amyklai provide strong support for the suggestion that the ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις victories listed on the Damonon *stele* were won in the *kalpe*.[6] These plaques date to the late fifth or early fourth century and show a rider, equipped with a small round shield, who is dismounting from his horse. The iconography in question finds precise parallels in vase paintings, terracotta plaques, and coins that were produced in Greek communities in southern Italy and that depict races involving mounting and dismounting a horse. In her recent and comprehensive study of the terracotta votive plaques from Amyklai, Gina Salapata argues that the three plaques in question show the *kalpe* and that they reflect patterns of activity in Lakedaimon as a whole, and Amyklai in

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[5] Hodkinson (2000) 305.

[6] Alexandra was the local name for Kassandra. See Salapata (2014) 22–7.

particular.[7] The plaques from Amyklai thus indicate that the *kalpe* was held in Lakedaimon in the same period when the Damonon *stele* was erected, which in turn reinforces the reading of the Damonon *stele* proposed here.

When the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories are read as having been won in the *kalpe* and not the *tethrippon*, the ostensible repetitive listing of the same victories disappears entirely. Instead we see Damonon listing his victories in different hippic competitions in different parts of the inscription. This reading of the inscription also connects the Damonon *stele* much more closely to its social and archaeological context. It becomes significantly less unique, and harmonises with other athletic dedications from Lakonia in that most of Damonon's victories were won in events that were either entirely gymnic (footraces) or had an important gymnic element (*kalpe*).

The re-interpretation of the Damonon *stele* proposed here has important ramifications, along multiple axes, for our understanding of both ancient Greek horse-racing and ancient Lakedaimon. It becomes possible to explain why the *kalpe* was open only to mares and why the *kalpe* and a related event, the *apene* (a race for sulkies pulled by mules), were dropped from the Olympic Games in the second half of the fifth century.[8] Damonon becomes a remarkable athlete who had the immense wealth necessary to raise and train both racehorses and cavalry horses. He also emerges as a dutiful citizen of the Lakedaimonian state, one who not only supplied first-rate mounts to Lakedaimonian cavalry forces, but also served in the cavalry himself. Our knowledge of the programme at Lakedaimonian religious festivals is considerably enhanced, because it becomes clear that at least six such festivals included the *kalpe*. The date at which the *stele* was erected and Damonon's concern with both cavalry horses and racehorses mean that the Damonon *stele* can, and should, be factored into the ongoing scholarly debate about the significance of the Olympic chariot-racing victories won by Kyniska (the sister of King Agesilaos) in the early fourth century, and about what those victories can tell us about the role of women in Lakedaimonian society.

The inclusion of the *kalpe* in the Lakedaimonian festival circuit suggests that Spartiates were eager to emphasise their military capacities and strength in events at which *perioikoi* and perhaps helots were present. That may well have been in part a response to Athenian successes at Sphacteria and Kythera, the resulting regular incursions into Lakedaimonian territory, and concomitant Spartiate concerns about an appearance of weakness.

Most importantly, the new interpretation of the Damonon *stele* presented here offers a rare glimpse of the Lakedaimonian state at work. It

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[7] Salapata (2014) 193, 196–8, 202–3, 318–19.

[8] A sulky is a lightweight cart, typically with two but sometimes with four wheels, in which the driver and any passengers sit. It is thus different from a chariot in which the driver and any passengers stand.

reveals a Lakedaimon that is evolving rapidly in response to emergent military imperatives and Lakedaimonians who are ready, willing, and able to make swift, well-designed changes to the structure of religious festivals, and to manipulate gender expectations, in order to alter the structure of status competition and patterns of conspicuous consumption. Those changes, and the thought processes behind them, reveal a considerable level of complexity in Lakedaimonian thinking about their own social and political institutions and customs. That would not be surprising if manifested in Athens, but it contrasts sharply with the persistent picture of Lakedaimonians as unsophisticated and of Lakedaimon as a staid, conservative place with a static sociopolitical system. Indeed, the capacity of the Lakedaimonian state to make rapid, incremental changes that were in harmony with the overall structure of its sociopolitical system may well have been a key element in Lakedaimon's unusual stability. Due to the nature of our sources, such changes are typically invisible to us, so the information that can be gleaned from the Damonon *stele* is of particular importance.

The reader should be aware from the outset that the argument presented here draws upon a number of different bodies of evidence and scholarship and that, as a result, the text that follows is extensive and, at some points, involves fine-grained analysis of technical details of the inscription on the Damonon *stele* and relevant comparanda. Damonon, of course, could reasonably expect that the intended audience for his *stele* had a deep knowledge of Lakedaimonian society, and the inscription on the *stele* cannot be properly understood unless the requisite background is carefully painted in. One might well argue that the consistent misreading of the Damonon *stele* over the course of decades of scholarship can be ascribed to difficulties in achieving adequate depth in contextualisation. Hence, a lengthy discussion of background information is a necessity. The different sections of the argument are clearly marked, so that readers with a thorough familiarity with particular bodies of evidence or scholarship can easily identify places where less attention is required of them.

The text that follows is divided into six chapters. Chapter 2 lays out some relevant terminology, provides basic information about the Damonon *stele*, and presents the Greek text along with an English translation. Chapter 3 discusses the reasons why the currently accepted reading of the text on the *stele* is not tenable. Chapter 4 explores what is known about the *kalpe* and related forms of hippic competition. Chapter 5 supplies a range of information necessary to situate the *kalpe* in a Lakedaimonian context; the topics covered include terracotta plaques from Lakedaimon showing the *kalpe*, the links between the *kalpe* and cavalry service, the development of cavalry forces in Lakedaimon in the late fifth century, the pursuit of status in Lakedaimon by means of hippic competitions, and the oddity of the Damonon *stele* in the larger

archaeological record from Lakonia. Chapter 6 presents a new reading of the inscription on the Damonon *stele*. The conclusion that follows in Chapter 7 explores the ramifications of this new reading. A continuous text and translation that reflect the conclusions reached over the course of this book are presented in Appendix I. A catalogue of relevant archaeological data can be found in Appendix II.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DAMONON *STELE*

2.1 Terminology

It will be helpful to deal at the outset with a few important terminological issues. Greeks distinguished between *hippikoi agones* and *gymnikoi agones*.[1] The former featured chariot races and races for ridden horses; the latter included various footraces, the pentathlon, and combat sports such as boxing. Whereas charioteers and jockeys competed fully clothed, athletes in the other contests were (at least after the seventh century) nude (*gymnos*). Modern scholars have found it useful to Anglicise the aforementioned Greek terms and to write about hippic and gymnic contests.[2]

The ancient terminology pertaining to the city of Sparta, and to the geographical region and political unit that encompassed the city of Sparta, was complex and evolved over the course of time. It is common practice, in the present day, to use Sparta in a broad sense and hence, for example, to write about the 'Spartan state' or 'Spartan warriors'. This usage is convenient in many ways, but it is also vague and potentially misleading, not least because it implicitly narrows our focus to the city of Sparta and the relatively small group of full citizens (Spartiates), most of whom lived within the city of Sparta. In the interests of clarity, Sparta is here given a more restricted meaning as the designation of an urban centre, rather than a state or ethnicity; the geographical region in which Sparta was located is here called Lakonia; the political unit in which Sparta was located (a political unit that included Lakonia and the region of Messenia) is here called Lakedaimon.[3]

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[1] Miller (2004) 13–14.

[2] An excellent introduction to ancient Greek competitions, both hippic and gymnic, can be found in Kyle (2015). On hippic competitions in particular, see also Pierros (2003) and Canali de Rossi (2016). On athletic nudity in ancient Greece, see Christesen (2014).

[3] This system of nomenclature is relatively straightforward, but does not do justice to the full complexity of the ancient terminology, on which see Cartledge (2002) 4–5; Shipley (2004) 570–1. The precise nature of the Lakedaimonian state (whether, for instance, it can be properly classified as a *polis*) continues to be a subject of debate. The relevant issues are well treated in Ducat (2008). (See Ducat (2010) for an abridged version of the same article in English translation.) On the boundaries of the city of Sparta within the larger space of Lakonia, see the notes to Appendix II.

The terminology for hippic contests in which riders dismounted from their horses seems to have varied both spatially and temporally. Scholars in the present day use the word *kalpe* as a convenient shorthand for a race that was held at Olympia in the fifth century and that was known in antiquity as ὁ τῆς κάλπης δρόμος (the noun κάλπη, which designates the horse gait known as the canter in English, appears in the genitive). Pausanias (5.9.2) informs us that in his time there was a race that was identical to the ὁ τῆς κάλπης δρόμος except for the sex of the horse and the equipment carried by the riders; Pausanias calls the competitors in that event *anabatai*, which in turn means that the event was probably known as ὁ τῶν ἀναβατῶν δρόμος. An event that was similar if not identical to the ὁ τῆς κάλπης δρόμος was held in Thessaly starting in the fourth century at the latest; it was known as the ἀφιπποδρομά (literally the 'dismounting horse-race').[4]

As we will see, the same sort of event is described on the Damonon *stele* by means of the dative phrase ἐνhεβōhαις hίπποις. The nominative form is unknown; it could have been treated like the *kalpe* (with the name of the event put into a genitive dependent on ὁ δρόμος), or like *aphippodroma* (with the name of the event functioning as an abstract noun). The use of an otherwise unattested phrase to denote the *kalpe* in Lakonia is not particularly surprising, given the attested differences in terminology for this event and the use in Lakedaimon of special terms for institutions or practices that were widespread in the Greek world (e.g. the Lakedaimonian term *phidition* that served in place of the much more commonly used *syssition* or *andreion*).[5]

In the discussion that follows the term *kalpe* will be used throughout, except where a higher degree of precision is necessary. This approach has the advantage of simplicity, but the reader should be aware from the outset that there was some variation in the details of how hippic contests involving dismounting were organised in different places and times.

2.2 The *Stele*

The Damonon *stele* in its original form was a block of white marble approximately 185 cm high, 24 cm wide, and 17 cm deep. A relief on the top of the *stele* showed a four-horse chariot and driver, below which were inscribed approximately 95 lines of text (Figures 1–2).[6]

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[4] This terminology is treated in detail in Chapter 4.

[5] See below, Ch. 6 n. 40.

[6] The Damonon *stele* has been repeatedly published and discussed, and it is impossible to provide a comprehensive list of relevant scholarship here. A recent and thorough analysis can be found in Nafissi (2013), which provides a helpful summary of the basic information about the *stele* and the history of its discovery and publication as well as a

In its current form, the *stele* is broken into two parts of roughly equally size, one of which contains the upper half of the inscription and the other the lower half. The upper half was found in the exterior wall of the Monastery of the Holy Forty and hence approximately 7 km northeast of Sparta.[7] The lower half was discovered in the course of the British excavations conducted on the acropolis of Sparta in the early years of the twentieth century. It was built into the foundations of a late Roman building on the site of the ruins of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos.[8] The text of the inscription indicates that the *stele* was a dedication to Athena Poliachos, the more technically correct name for the cult of Athena Chalkioikos, so there is little doubt as to where the *stele* originally stood.[9]

Most of the original text of the inscription is preserved. The top of the upper half of the *stele*, with the chariot relief, is intact; the bottom of the upper half is broken off. The lower half is broken at both ends. Although the join between the two halves is not perfect, the missing text seems to consist of no more than a single line (the two parts are currently on display as a single unit in the archaeological museum in Sparta).[10] There is also an unknowable amount of text missing at the end of the bottom half, but it seems unlikely that more than a few lines have been lost. The lettering is of uniform style and size, with the exception that it becomes slightly smaller and more closely spaced toward the end of the inscription.[11] This suggests that the stonemason was nearing the end of both the stone and the inscription when cutting the last preserved lines, and hence that the text did not run much past what is preserved. Moreover, Damonon would no doubt have wished the top of the text to be legible, which would mean that the *stele* cannot have originally been significantly taller than it is in its current form.

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listing of relevant bibliography. While the interpretation of the Damonon *stele* offered here diverges in many respects from that of Nafissi, I have found his work to be an invaluable repository of information and insight (as will be apparent in the frequency with which it is cited in the text that follows). The principal edition of the text of the inscription on the Damonon *stele* is *IG* V.1.213. See also Roberts (1887) 262–5; Bourguet (1927) 42–53; Solmsen and Fraenkel (1930) 35–6; Moretti (1953) #16; C. D. Buck (1955) 268–70; Schwartz (1976); Jeffery (1990) 196–7, 407; Canali de Rossi (2016) 27–9; Nielsen (2018) 63–4. The *stele* is currently housed in the archaeological museum in Sparta (inventory number 953); see Tod and Wace (1906) 64–5.

[7] The find spot of the upper half is sometimes given as Mistra (5 km west of Sparta), but this is the result of a misreading of a report by an early traveler. I am grateful to Nicola Nenci for this information.

[8] H. J. W. Tillyard (1906/7) 176.

[9] The epithet 'Chalkioikos' comes from the bronze panels affixed to the interior walls of the temple of Athena Poliachos on the acropolis of Sparta (Paus. 3.17.2).

[10] H. J. W. Tillyard (1906/7) 177.

[11] Jeffery (1988).

2.3 The Text

The inscription is carefully organised, and junctures between distinct sections of text are indicated by *obeloi* (horizontal cuttings) of differing lengths that start in the left margin and run for some or all of the width of the stone (Figure 3).[12] In two places a new section of text begins before an *obelos* (ll. 49 and 73), and in both cases a punctuation mark in the form of two dots is added to mark the break. Based upon the contents and the section breaks indicated by *obeloi*, the text can be divided into six parts:

Part 1	ll. 1–5	Dedicatory hexameter distich[13]
Part 2	ll. 6–11	Damonon's *tethrippon* victories at the games of the Earth-Holder, the Athanaia, and the Eleusinia
Part 3	ll. 12–34	Damonon's hippic victories at the Poseidonia at Helos, the Poseidonia at Thouria, the games of Ariontia, and the Eleusinia
Part 4	ll. 35–49	Enymakratidas' gymnic victories as a boy or youth at the Lithesia, the games of Ariontia, and the Parparonia
Part 5	ll. 49–65	Damonon's gymnic victories as a boy at the games of the Earth-Holder, the Lithesia, the Maleateia, and the Parparonia
Part 6	ll. 66–96	Hippic victories of Damonon and gymnic victories of Enymakratidas as an adult, won at the same festival on the same day, at the Athanaia and the games of the Earth-Holder

Table 1. Structure of the Damonon *stele*

The content of each of these six sections of the text and accompanying English translation are presented individually below; the translation is intentionally ambiguous with respect to certain issues that will be treated in detail in the discussion that follows.[14]

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[12] Incised guidelines are a common feature of Lakonian inscriptions, including the earliest known Lakonian inscription (*SEG* 26.457), a bronze aryballos from the Menelaion dating to the middle of the seventh century, on which see H. Catling and Cavanagh (1976) esp. p. 149 and Cartledge (2001) 40–1. Other examples include the *stele* of Aiglatas (*IG* V.1.222, Appendix II, #3) and the *stele* of Glaukatias (*IG* V.1.720, Appendix II, #1), both of which date to *c.* 500.

[13] There is no *obelos* marking a break between this part of the inscription and the text that follows, but the contents are clearly different.

[14] The text given here is that printed in Nafissi (2013). In reading the inscription on the stone itself, it is helpful to bear in mind six features of the lettering: (1) ⊗ = θ; (2) Ψ = χ; (3) χ = ξ; (4) ⊟ indicates aspiration; (5) E = ε and η; (6) O = o and ω.

2.3.1 The Text, Part 1

The first part of the inscription contains a dedicatory hexameter distich in which Damonon makes an immediate and overt claim that his victories were unprecedented:

1	Δαμόνον ἀνέθε̄κε Ἀθαναία<ι> Πολιάχοι[a] νικάhας[b] ταυτᾶ, hᾶτ᾽[c] οὐδὲ̣ς[d]	Damonon dedicated [this] to Athena Poliachos, having won victories in such a manner as never any one of those now living.
5	πέ̄ποκα[e] τὸν νῦν.	

[a] Πολιᾶχος is a Lakonian dialectal variant of Πολιοῦχος (C. D. Buck (1955) 133).

[b] *h* used in place of an intervocalic sigma is a common Lakonian dialectal variant (Bourguet (1927) 46–8; C. D. Buck (1955) 55; Alonso Déniz (2009)).

[c] ταυτᾶ hᾶτ᾽ is a Lakonian dialectal variant of the adverbial dative of manner ταύτῃ ἧ̑τε (Bourguet (1927) 48–9; C. D. Buck (1955) 103).

[d] = οὐδείς (C. D. Buck (1955) 94).

[e] πέ̄ποκα is a Lakonian dialectal variant of the adverb πώποτε (Bourguet (1927) 48).

Claims of just this sort are found in a number of extant agonistic inscriptions.[15] To give but one example, a dedicatory epigram found at Delphi on the statue base of Theogenes of Thasos, who won over a thousand athletic victories in the fifth century, reads in part (*SIG*³ 36a, trans. W. Sweet):

> Your mother, the island of Thasos, is blessed, o son of Timoxenos, because of all the Greeks you have the greatest reputation for strength. For no other man was crowned victor at Olympia, as you were, for both boxing and *pankration*.[16]

2.3.2 The Text, Part 2

In the second part of the inscription, Damonon begins listing his victories:

6	τάδε ἐνίκαhε Δαμόνο̄[ν] τοῖ αὐτο̄̂[a] τεθρίππο̄<ι> αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίο̄ν·[b] ἐν Γαιαϝόχο̄[c] τετράκιν,	The following victories Damonon won with his own four-horse chariot, himself holding the reins. In [the games] of the Earth-Holder four times,
	--- [d]	

[15] Young (1996).

[16] On this inscription, see Moretti (1953) #21; Ebert (1972) #37. On the *pankration*, a particularly aggressive combat sport, see Miller (2004) 57–60.

10	καὶ Ἀθάναια τετρ[άκιν],	and the Athanaia Games four times,
	----------------------------	
	κἐλευhύνιαᵉ τετρά[κιν].	and the Eleusinia Games four times.

ᵃ αὐτô is a Lakonian dialectal variant of the reflexive genitive ἑαυτοῦ (C. D. Buck (1955) 99).

ᵇ ἀνιοχίôν comes from ἀνιοχίω, a Lakonian dialectal variant of ἡνιοχέω (Bourguet (1927) 49; C. D. Buck (1955) 22).

ᶜ Γαιαϝόχō appears in the elliptical genitive (C. D. Buck (1955) 269), whereas the names of the following two festivals are given in the accusative. This presumably reflects contemporary Lakedaimonian usages.

ᵈ The dashed lines in the middle column correspond to *obeloi* of different lengths on the stone.

ᵉ = καὶ Ἐλευσίνια (Bourguet (1927) 50; C. D. Buck (1955) 26, 269).

This part of the inscription forms a self-contained unit, with an object, verb, and subject in the first line (l. 6), followed by two lines in which the event in which Damonon won and special traits of Damonon's victories are specified, followed by three lines listing the sites and numbers of specific victories.

The list of Damonon's victories in ll. 9–11 shows every sign of being organised on the basis of relative prestige and not in chronological fashion. This was standard practice in agonistic inscriptions. For example, a statue base, found on the Athenian acropolis and dating to the third quarter of the fifth century, bears the following inscription listing the victories of the famous Athenian pankratiast Kallias (*IG* I³ 893):

Καλλίας Δ[ιδυμίο].
νῖκαι·
Ὀλυ[μ]πίασι
Πύθια ⋮ δίς
Ἴσθμια ⋮ πεντάκις
Νέμεια ⋮ τετράκις
Παναθέναια με<γά>λ[α].[17]

The listing of Kallias' victories begins with a single triumph at Olympia, the most prestigious set of contests anywhere in the Greek world, and then catalogues his victories at the other Panhellenic games, again in order of prestige, ending with a victory won in Athens itself.[18]

[17] On this inscription, see Moretti (1953) #15; Kyle (1987) 203 #A29.

[18] There are exceptions to the custom of listing victories in order of prestige (see, for example, Moretti (1953) 29–30). On the relative prestige of different athletic contests, see Miller (2004) 111–12.

The organisation of the text on the Damonon *stele* is complicated by the fact that Damonon won victories in a number of different events and so was faced with an additional sorting criterion beyond the prestige of the festival at which any given victory took place. For instance, Damonon won victories at the games of the Earth-Holder (a local epithet of Poseidon), both as a boy in the *stadion* and *diaulos*, and as an adult in the *tethrippon*.[19] The *tethrippon* victory appears in l. 9, whereas the *stadion* and *diaulos* victories appear in ll. 49–52, out of chronological order, but doubtless, in Damonon's mind at least, in proper order of importance.

The same principle of ordering by relative prestige was almost certainly at work with respect to the listing of the three different sets of games that appear in ll. 9–11, namely the games of the Earth-Holder, the Athanaia, and the Eleusinia. There is no independent evidence as to how Lakedaimonians as a group would have construed the relative prestige of these three games, but Poseidon was very closely associated with horses, and his sanctuary to the south of Sparta featured a hippodrome.[20] It would, therefore, be no surprise if the *tethrippon* contest at the games of the Earth-Holder was a particularly prestigious event. Moreover, there is no sign of ordering on the basis of chronology or number of wins (Damonon won four times at each of the three named festivals).

The text in ll. 6 and 9–11 thus provides basic information about how many victories Damonon won, and where, with that information presented in a fashion that seeks to impress by listing the most prestigious victories first.

For reasons that will become apparent, it is important to note that the event in which Damonon won is given in the dative (τεθρίππō<ι>).

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[19] It is virtually certain that Damonon's hippic victories were won as an adult since he would have needed to have control over the requisite financial resources, which in turn meant inheriting at least some part of the family estates. The *stadion* and *diaulos* were short footraces, roughly the equivalent of 200 metre and 400 metre dashes, respectively. See Miller (2004) 31–46.

[20] Dimitriadis (1994) and Nafissi (2013) 126–33 summarise what is known about each of the festivals that are named on the Damonon *stele*. See also now McInerney (2013) 60–7 and Pavlides (2018) on the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary and the festival held there.

2.3.3 The Text, Part 3

In Part 3 of the inscription, Damonon catalogues a series of hippic victories at four separate festivals:

12	καὶ Ποhοίδαια[a] Δαμόνō[ν] ἐνίκε̄[b] hέλει καὶ ho κέλε̄[ξ][c] hαμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhε̄βō̄hαις[d] hίπποις hεπτάκιν ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō̂ hίππον κὲκ τō αὐ[τ]ō̂ hίππ[ō].	And the Poseidonia Games Damonon won at Helos—and his racehorse [won] on the same occasions— himself holding the reins, *ἐνhε̄βō̄hαις hίπποις*, seven times, the horses [having been bred] from his own mares and his own stallion.

18	καὶ Ποhοίδαια Δαμόνō̄ν [ἐ]νίκε̄ Θευρίαι[e] ὀκτάκιν αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν ἐν- hε̄βō̄hαις hίπποις ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō̂ hίππō̄ν	And the Poseidonia Games Damonon won at Thouria eight times, himself holding the reins, *ἐνhε̄βō̄hαις hίπποις*, the horses [having been bred] from his own mares
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23	κὲκ τō αὐτō̂ hίππō̄.	and his own stallion.

24	κὲν Ἀριοντίας ἐνίκε̄ Δαμόνō̄ν ὀκτάκιν αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhε̄βō̄hαις hίπποις ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō̂ hίππō̄ν κὲκ τō αὐτō̂ hίππō̄ καὶ ho κέλε̄ξ ἐνίκε̄ hα[μᾶ].	And in the [the games] of Ariontia Damonon won eight times, himself holding the reins, *ἐνhε̄βō̄hαις hίπποις*, the horses [having been bred] from his own mares and his own stallion, and his racehorse won on the same occasion.

31	καὶ Ἐλευhύνια Δαμ[ό]νō̄[ν] ἐνίκε̄ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν	And the Eleusinian Games Damonon won, himself holding the reins,
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33	ἐνhε̄βō̄hαις hίπποις τετράκιν.	*ἐνhε̄βō̄hαις hίπποις*, four times.
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[a] = Ποσειδώνια (Bourguet (1927) 50–1; C. D. Buck (1955) 45, 55, 58, 269).

[b] The tense of *νικάω* shifts here from the aorist to the imperfect (*ἐνίκε̄* = *ἐνίκα* in Attic Greek). Wackernagel (Langslow (2009) 234) in 1918–19 argued that this shift provides two different perspectives on the victories, with the aorist laying out the bare fact of winning and the imperfect giving a sense of winning as a process.

[c] *κέλε̄ξ* is a Lakonian dialectal variant of *κέλης* (Bourguet (1927) 51; C. D. Buck (1955) 116).

[d] from *ἐνηβάω*, = *ἐνηβώσαις* (Bourguet (1927) 51–2; C. D. Buck (1955) 270).

[e] = Θουρίαι (Bourguet (1927) 52; C. D. Buck (1955) 270).

This part of the inscription presents significant interpretative challenges that have a major impact on how the text as a whole is read and interpreted. The crux of the problem is a surprisingly simple question: in precisely what event, beside the *keles*, did Damonon achieve the victories listed in these lines? The answer to that question lies in the precise meaning of the enigmatic phrase ἐνhēβ͞οhαις hίπποις. That subject will be addressed in due course. For the moment, we will focus on the meaning of *hαμâ*, which appears twice in Part 3 of the inscription.

In ll. 12–17 Damonon seems to be claiming that he won victories in two separate events at the same iteration of the same festival (the Poseidonia games at Helos in southern Lakonia); at ll. 24–30 he makes the same claims about victories at the games of Ariontia. This follows from two appearances of *hαμâ*, in l. 13 and again in l. 30, which are mostly easily understood on the basis of a comparable inscription from Lakonia and from one of the epigrams of Posidippos of Pella. The inscription is *IG* V.1.1120, which was found at Geronthrai in Lakonia and which dates to the fifth century. It reads as follows:

[δεύτερος - - - ἐν Ἀριοντί]-
ας στᾱ́διον [καὶ - - - καὶ δόλι]-
<χ>ο<ν>, τρίτος hαμâ δίαυλ[ον],
τέταρτος τᾶι hεκα-
τόμβαι τὸς πέντε δο-
λίχος τριετέρε͞ς²¹ ἐὸν
νικε͞ι· τᾶι δ᾽ ἄλλαι στά-
διον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ
δόλιχον καὶ τὸς πέν-
τε δολίχος καὶ τὸν
hοπλίταν νικε͞ι hαμâ.

The restorations in the first three lines are uncertain, and so the precise sense of *hαμâ* in line 3 is not immediately clear, but the usage of the same word in line 10 strongly suggests that the victor is claiming to have won multiple different footraces at the same festival. It is not immediately evident, however, whether the victor is claiming to have won victories at the same iteration of the same festival, or at different iterations of the same festival.[22]

A poem by Posidippos, from the third century, suggests that the former reading is correct. Epigram 71 runs as follows:

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[21] On the meaning of this word, see below, n. 30.

[22] On the usage and meaning of *hαμâ* in the Lakonian dialect, see Lanérès (2012) 719–21.

οὗτος ὁ μουνοκέλης Αἴθων ἐμὸς ἵ[ππος ἐνίκα
    κἀγὼ τὴν αὐτὴν Πυθιάδα στ[άδιον]²³
δὶς δ' ἀνεκηρύχθην Ἱππόστρ[ατος] ἀθλοφ[όρος τ']ἦν
    ἵππος ὁμοῦ κἀγώ, πότνια Θεσσαλία.

This, my single racehorse Aithon, won,
    and I [won] the *stadion*, at the same Pythiad
twice I, Hippostratos, was announced as victor, a prize bearer,
    my horse together with me, lady Thessaly.²⁴

Insofar as Hippostratos explicitly states that the victories were won τὴν
αὐτὴν Πυθιάδα and ὁμοῦ, the obvious conclusion is that Hippostratos and
his racehorse were together in the same place and same time when they
won their prizes.

The usages of *hamâ* in *IG* V.1.1120 and in the Damonon *stele* seem to
convey the same meaning as ὁμοῦ in the Posidippos epigram. This
interpretation of the meaning of *hamâ* in Part 3 of the Damonon *stele* is
supported by the appearance of a more specific version of the same
phrasing, μιᾶς ἀμέρας *hamâ*, on six separate occasions (ll. 37–8, 42–3, 48,
71–2, 78–9, 85–6; cf. 88–9) in Parts 4 and 6 of the Damonon *stele*. There
can be little doubt that μιᾶς ἀμέρας *hamâ* means 'at the same iteration of
the festival, on the same day'.

There is a slightly different usage of the same term in Part 3, in
reference to the games of Ariontia, in which *hamâ* appears at the end rather
than in the middle of the entry. This probably means that, whereas
Damonon won his event at the Ariontia eight times, both he and his
racehorse won in separate events at the same iteration of the Ariontia on
just one occasion.

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²³ Although the word at the end of the second line has been restored as στεφόμην by
Bernardini-Bravi, Austin's στάδιον is preferable because it is otherwise difficult to
understand why Hippostratos was twice announced victor at the same Pythiad. For the
text, proposed emendations, translations, and bibliography, see http://chs.harvard.edu/
CHS/article/display/1341.

²⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

2.3.4 The Text, Part 4

In Part 4 of the inscription, the focus shifts to Enymakratidas' gymnic victories:

35	τάδε ἐνίκαhε Ἐνυμακ[ρατίδ]-[ας]· πρᾶτ[ος π]αί<δ>ōν δολ[ιχὸν] [Λιθ]έ̄hια καὶ κέλε̄ξ μιᾶ[ς] [ἀμέ]ρας hαμ[ᾶ] ἐν[ίκ]ο̄ν. [καὶ hε]β[ō]ν [Ἐνυμακρατί]-ᵃ [δας ἐν] Ἀριοντ[ί]α[ς ἐνίκε̄]	The following victories Enyma-kratidas won, first the boys' *dolichos*[25] at the Lithesia Games, and his (?) racehorse, they won on the same occasion, in a single day. And in the age class of youths Enymakratidas in [the games] of Ariontia won
	there is a gap here between the upper and lower sections of the inscription, of uncertain but probably small size	
42	δολιχὸν [καὶ ho κέλε̄ξ μιᾶς] ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκο̄ν.	the *dolichos* and his (?) racehorse, they won on the same occasion, in a single day.

44	καὶ Παρπαρόνια ἐνίκε̄ Ἐνυμακρατίδας παῖδας στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ δολιχὸν καὶ ho κέ[λε̄ξ] μιᾶς ἀμέρας hαμᾶ	And at the Parparonia Games Enymakratidas won the boys' *stadion* and *diaulos* and *dolichos*, and his (?) racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day. : And Damonon …
49	ἐνίκε̄. : καὶ Δαμόνōν	

> ᵃ For the restoration of this line, see Schwartz (1976); see also the discussion in Nafissi (2013) 120–2.

The colon in the middle of line 49 signals the beginning of a new section of text that is not marked with an *obelos* on the stone.

The relationship between Damonon and Enymakratidas is not specified until later in the inscription; in ll. 72, 79, 86, and 94, Enymakratidas is described as 'the son'. There were clear precedents for a monument commemorating the sporting successes of father and son. For example, Pausanias (6.16.6) describes a victory monument at Olympia for the Lakedaimonians Kalliteles and his son Polypeithes, the former a victor in wrestling, the latter in the *tethrippon*. Moretti dates the monument to the early part of the fifth century.[26]

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[25] The *dolichos* was a long footrace, with the distance varying but typically in the range of 4,000–5,000 meters. See Miller (2004) 31–46.

[26] Moretti (1957) #149, 195. Cf. Paus. 6.1.7 on the monument erected at Olympia by the Lakedaimonian Anaxandros in the third quarter of the fifth century to commemorate a *tethrippon* victory. That monument included an inscription that referenced the Olympic pentathlon victory won by Anaxandros' paternal grandfather. On Anaxandros, see Moretti (1957) #327.

As Nafissi points out, the list of Enymakratidas' gymnic victories is selective in that it includes only occasions on which the family won victories in gymnic and hippic events on the same day at the same festival.[27] It is interesting to note that the time specification here is significantly more precise than in Part 2, because we encounter not only *haμâ*, but also μιᾶς ἀμέρας.

The text does not make clear whether Enymakratidas actually rode the horse himself (thus echoing the behaviour of his father) or whether Enymakratidas or Damonon was announced as the owner of the winning horse (and hence the person declared the official victor).[28] Insofar as Part 3 of the inscription includes a *keles* victory won by Damonon at the games of Ariontia (l. 30), and in view of the fact that (once the inscription is re-read as proposed here), no other victory is repeated, it seems likely that Enymakratidas was either jockey or registered owner for the *keles* victory at the Ariontia listed in Part 4.

The meaning of πρᾶτος in l. 36 is uncertain. It could be understood to mean that Enymakratidas was the first person to win the boys' *dolichos* and the horse-race on the same day. Alternatively, it could be taken to mean that Enymakratidas won the boys' *dolichos* when it was held for the first time at the Lithesian Games. Finally, πρᾶτος may indicate that these were the first athletic victories in Enymakratidas' career.[29]

The ordering principle in this part of the inscription is presumably either the importance of the games in question or, more probably, chronology. The list could be organised by relative prestige of the festivals involved, as was likely the case in Part 2; we do not know enough about the festivals in question to make an informed judgement. It is, however, noteworthy that the most spectacular victory—the remarkable feat of winning two sprints and a long distance race on a single day—appears last. The alternative possibility is that the ordering is chronological. The inscription states that Enymakratidas won at the Lithesia Games as a boy, at the games of Ariontia as a youth, and at the Parparonia Games as a boy (in that order). Some Greek athletic festivals (e.g., the Olympic Games) had two age categories (boys and men), whereas others (e.g., the Nemean Games) had three (boys, youths, and men). It is, therefore, possible that Enymakratidas could have won victories in the Lithesia, Ariontia, and Parparonia, in that order, while competing in different age categories.[30]

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[27] Nafissi (2013) 121–2.

[28] Various opinions have been expressed on this question: see Nafissi (2013) 122 and n. 50.

[29] Moretti (1953) 39 argues that Enymakratidas was the first to win the boys' *dolichos* and horse-race on the same day. See also H. J. W. Tillyard (1906/7) 179; Nafissi (2013) 121.

[30] An age that would have put a competitor among the older boys at a contest with two age categories could easily put him among the youths at a contest with three age categories. Nafissi (2013) 120–1 rejects this scenario, partly on the grounds that Spartiate *hebontes* were adults between the ages of 20 and 30 and hence could not possibly have

The fact that the next part of the inscription is organised chronologically suggests that the same ordering principle is at work here.

2.3.5 The Text, Part 5

Part 5 of the inscription lists Damonon's gymnic victories as a boy:

49	ἐνίκε̄. : καὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν ἐν Γαιαϝόχō στάδιον καὶ [δί]αυλον.	And Damonon won, entering [the games] of the Earth-Holder as a boy, the *stadion* and the *diaulos*.

53	[κ]αὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Λιθέhια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.	And Damonon won, entering the Lithesia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*.

56	καὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Μαλεάτεια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.	And Damonon won, entering the Maleateia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*.
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competed in contests intended for boys or youths. This, however, assumes that age categories for gymnic competitions—a phenomenon known throughout the Greek world—were precisely aligned at Lakedaimonian festivals with the unique age-grade system in which Spartiates were placed. There is no reason why that had to be the case, particularly if *perioikoi* competed at some of those festivals. Moreover, the terminology for age groupings in Lakedaimon remains a vexed subject that has resisted definitive analysis. It is impossible to review all of the relevant evidence here (see Ducat (2006) 69–118), but one might note that *IG* V.1.1120 (a victor list from Geronthrai dating to the fifth century; Appendix II, #18) makes mention of a gymnic victory won τριετέρε̄ς ἐὸν, whereas at that point in time the three basic age-groupings used in Sparta for males who were under the age of thirty were *paides*, *paidiskoi*, and *hebontes*. Kennell (1995) 118–20, building on Bingen (1958), argues that the *ires* was an alternative term for *hebon* and that τριετέρε̄ς designated someone who had been a member of that age group for three years. (Lanérès (2008) traces the term τριετέρε̄ς back to ἔρσην, a generic word for young males, without taking a position on the possible relationship between τριετέρε̄ς in Geronthrai and the Spartiate age-grade system.) Kennell does not, however, take into account the fact that Geronthrai was a perioikic community (Shipley (2004) 581–2), and, as a result, there is no particular reason to believe that it used the same age-grade system as that found in Sparta. Insofar as the victory Enymakratidas won as a *hebon* took place at the festival of Ariontia, the site of which is unknown (Nafissi (2013) 131), and insofar as the Damonon *stele* includes victories won at a festival at the perioikic site of Thouria (Shipley (2004) 565–6), it is possible that the games of Ariontia took place at a perioikic site with an age class system that differed from that of Sparta with respect to both age groupings and terminology. *Hebon* here may thus be nothing more than a generic term meaning 'youth', or it may reflect the technical name given to one of the age-class divisions employed at the games of Ariontia. In addition to all of the preceding complications, one might also note that line 39, which contains the reference to the victory won as a *hebon*, is almost entirely restored, and variant restorations have been suggested (Schwartz (1976); Nafissi (2013) 120–1).

59	καὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Λιθέͱια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.	And Damonon won, entering the Lithesia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*.

62	καὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Παρπαρόνια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον· καὶ Ἀθάναια στάδιον.	And Damonon won, entering the Parparonia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*. And at the Athanaia Games [he won] the *stadion*.

(For the sake of clarity, the Greek text of line 49, which bridges Parts 4 and 5 of the inscription, is repeated here, but the initial part of the line, which belongs to Part 4, is not translated.)

This section of text requires little comment beyond the observation that the organisational principle appears to be chronological. The key feature that points in that direction is that ll. 53–5 and 59–61 both record victories in the *stadion* and *diaulos* at the Lithesia Games. That would seem to rule out a listing on the basis of prestige of festival, and, insofar as all of the victories except the final one came in both the *stadion* and *diaulos*, the degree to which the victory in question involved a remarkable feat was not operable.

2.3.6 The Text, Part 6

Part 6 of the inscription catalogues victories that Damonon and Enyma-kratidas won on the same day:

66	hυπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένē[a] ἔφορο[ν] τάδε ἐνίκē Δαμόνōν· Ἀθάναια ἐνhēβōͱαις hίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν καὶ ὁ κέλēξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκē, καὶ ho hυιὸς στάδιον hαμᾶ ἐνίκē : hυπὸ δὲ	In the ephorate of Echemenes Damonon won the following victories: the Athanaia, *ἐνhēβōͱαις hίπποις*, himself holding the reins, and his racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day, and his son won the *stadion* on the same occasion: In the
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74	Εὔιππον ἔφορον τάδε ἐνίκē Δαμόνōν· Ἀθάναια ἐνhēβōͱαις hίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν καὶ ho κέλēξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκē, καὶ ho hυιὸς στάδιον hαμᾶ ἐνίκē.	ephorate of Euippos, Damonon won the following victories: the Athanaia, *ἐνhēβōͱαις hίπποις*, himself holding the reins, and his racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day, and his son won the *stadion* on the same occasion.

81	*hυπὸ δὲ Ἀριστεῖ ἔφορον* *τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμόνōν·* *ἐν Γαιαϝόχō ἐνhεβόhαις* *[h]ίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν* *[κ]αὶ ho κέλēξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας* *[h]αμᾶ ἐνίκē καὶ ho hυιὸς* *στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ* *δολιχὸν μιᾶς ἀμέρας* *ἐνίκōν πάντες hαμᾶ.*	In the ephorate of Aristeus Damonon won the following victories: in the [games] of the Earth-Holder, *ἐνhεβόhαις híπποις*, himself holding the reins, and his racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day, and his son won the *stadion* and *diaulos* and *dolichos*, on the same occasion, all in a single day.

90	*hυπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένē ἔφορον* *τάδε ἐνίκē Δαμόνōν·* *ἐν Γαιαϝόχō ἐνhεβόhαις* *híπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν* *[κ]αὶ ho hυιὸς στάδιον κα[ὶ]*	In the ephorate of Echemenes, Damonon won the following victories: in the [games] of the Earth-Holder, *ἐνhεβόhαις híπποις*, himself holding the reins, and his son won the *stadion* and …
the stone breaks off here		

   [a] The construction here uses *ὑπό* + accusative instead of the more regular *ἐπί* +
      dative (Bourguet (1927) 53; C. D. Buck (1955) 110).

Here again little comment is necessary, beyond the observations that the dating by ephor represents a new feature of the inscription and that the organisational principle is evidently chronological (see below, Ch. 7). The repetition of *hαμᾶ* in the entry found in ll. 66–73 presumably indicates that the *ἐνhεβόhαις híπποις* and *keles* victories occurred on a single day of a particular iteration of the festival in question, whereas Enymakratidas' victory in the *stadion* occurred at the same iteration of the festival but on a different day. Whereas the games of the Earth-Holder are listed before the Athanaia in Part 2, presumably reflecting their relative prestige, that order is reversed here. The ordering of ephors' names (Echemenes is listed twice, in the first entry (Athanaia) and the last entry (Earth-Holder)) strongly suggests that the ordering is not purely chronological.[31]

2.4 The Date of the *Stele*

The dating of the Damonon *stele* rests upon four bases: the lettering of the inscription; the names of the Lakedaimonian ephors listed in ll. 66, 74, 81, and 90; the absence of any mention of Olympic victories for Damonon; and the iconography of the chariot relief. For a long period of time, the

   [31] It is conceivable that Echemenes held office twice in relatively close succession or
   that there were two different ephors with the same name; both scenarios seem unlikely.

lettering on the Damonon *stele* was seen as indicative of a date in the third quarter of the fifth century. More recently, however, scholars such as L. H. Jeffery and Jean Ducat have argued that the closest comparanda date to the early years of the fourth century.[32]

The names of the ephors given in the inscription can be used to support either a high or low dating. Four victories, all listed at the end of the inscription, are dated by the names of the (presumably eponymous) ephors Euippos, Aristeus, and Echemenes. None of these names is found in the list of eponymous ephors for the years 432/1–404/3 given by Xenophon at *Hellenika* 2.3.9–10. A manumission inscription from Tainaron (*IG* V.1.1230), dated by Ducat to c. 380, references an ephor named Aristeus, but there is some uncertainty as to whether the magistrates mentioned in the manumission inscriptions from Tainaron are magistrates of the city of Sparta or of a local perioikic community.[33] It thus appears likely that Damonon won the final victories listed in the inscription either before or after the Peloponnesian War.

The absence of any mention of Olympic victories on the *stele* was taken by Paul Poralla as an indication that Damonon was competing during the years 420–400, when Lakedaimonians were (ostensibly) banned from the contests at Olympia.[34] That argument is, however, less than convincing, in part because it is far from certain that the ban lasted a full twenty years.[35] Furthermore, the Lakedaimonians were not banned from any other festivals, either Panhellenic or local, but no victories in games outside of Lakedaimon are listed. Finally, as Nafissi points out, it is entirely possible that Damonon competed unsuccessfully at Olympia.[36] It is, as a result, impossible to establish a chronology for the inscription in the fashion Poralla suggested.

Finally, Moritz Kiderlen has recently studied the iconographic details of the chariot relief on the *stele*.[37] The uniformity of the lettering suggests that everything on the *stele* was carved at a single time, and hence the relief can be used to date the *stele* as a whole. Kiderlen finds that the closest comparanda date to the early fourth century.

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[32] A good summary of the various arguments for dating the Damonon *stele* can be found in Nafissi (2013) 114–17.

[33] Ducat (1990) 180. A Lakedaimonian named Aristeus was sent to join Brasidas in Thrace in 432 (Thuc. 4.132.3), but there is no evidence that he ever served as ephor.

[34] Poralla and Bradford (1985) #219.

[35] Roy (2009); Hornblower (2000).

[36] Nafissi (2013) 116. It is also worth noting that much of Damonon's competitive career coincided with the Peloponnesian War, which no doubt made travel outside of Lakedaimon more complicated than it otherwise would have been.

[37] Kiderlen (2010).

The weight of evidence thus indicates a date of shortly after 400.[38] Given that Damonon won as many as eight times at specific festivals that cannot have been held more than once a year, and that the list of victories on the *stele* includes wins by Damonon and Enymakratidas as both boys and adults, the victories catalogued on the *stele* presumably were achieved, roughly speaking, over the course of the last third of the fifth century.

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[38] This is the chronology adopted by Nafissi, as well as Jeffery (1988); Ducat (1990) 179–80; and Hodkinson (2000) 306.

PROBLEMS WITH THE CURRENT READING OF THE DAMONON *STELE*

3.1 Deconstructing the Current Standard Reading of the Text

The central argument of this book is that the inscription on the Damonon *stele* has, since its discovery, been misread and that, as a result, the significance of the *stele* has never been fully appreciated. The key issue is the meaning of a deceptively simple phrase, ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις, that occurs no fewer than eight times, four times in Part 3 and four times in Part 6. The second word in the phrase, hίπποις (horses), presents no difficulties; ἐνhēβόhαις is quite another matter.

ἐνhēβόhαις is a participle (aorist dative feminine plural) derived from the verb ἐνηβάω and is the Lakonian dialectal equivalent of ἐνηβώσαις. There is little doubt that ἐνηβάω must be intended to communicate something important about Damonon's horses. The absence of clear comparanda, however, makes it difficult to establish the precise meaning, both because ἐνηβάω does not, to the knowledge of this author, appear in any extant literary or epigraphic texts in an agonistic context, and because the verb occurs relatively rarely in extant Greek literature.

LSJ assigns ἐνηβάω three meanings: (a) 'to spend one's youth in', citing Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.13–4, (b) 'to flourish', applying to plants, citing Nicander F 85, and (c) 'mares in the prime of youth', as an intransitive, citing the Damonon *stele*. Franco Montanari, in the *Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, supplies a single definition, 'to be in the flower of youth', citing the aforementioned passage from *Daphnis and Chloe* and fragment from Nicander.[1]

The more carefully subdivided meanings assigned by LSJ work well with the passage in *Daphnis and Chloe*, in which the verb is used to describe Daphnis' reaction to watching goats copulating in the spring, after he had been pent up in his quarters over the course of the winter and isolated from Chloe (3.13–4):

> καὶ γέροντας ὁρῶντας ἐξώρμησεν εἰς ἀφροδίτην τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα· οἱ δέ, νέοι καὶ σφριγῶντες καὶ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἔρωτα ζητοῦντες,

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[1] Montanari (2015) 694.

ἐξεκάοντο πρὸς τὰ ἀκούσματα καὶ ἐτήκοντο πρὸς τὰ θεάματα καὶ ἐζήτουν καὶ αὐτοὶ περιττότερόν τι φιλήματος καὶ περιβολῆς, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Δάφνις. οἷα γοῦν ἐνηβήσας τῇ κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οἰκουρίᾳ καὶ εὐσχολίᾳ πρός τε τὰ φιλήματα ὤργα καὶ πρὸς τὰς περιβολὰς ἐσκιτάλιζε καὶ ἦν ἐς πᾶν ἔργον περιεργότερος καὶ θρασύτερος.

At this sight even old men would have felt the fire of love rekindled within them: the more so Daphnis and Chloe, who were young and tortured by desire, and had long been in quest of the delights of love. All that they heard inflamed them, all that they saw melted them, and they longed for something more than mere embraces and kisses, but especially Daphnis, who, having spent the winter in the house doing nothing (ἐνηβήσας τῇ κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οἰκουρίᾳ καὶ εὐσχολίᾳ), kissed Chloe fiercely, pressed her wantonly in his arms, and showed himself in every respect more curious and audacious. (trans. Athenian Society)

The passage strongly evokes a sense of age versus youth, and ἐνηβήσας suggests the restless energy of a young and lusty Daphnis.

Two authors more closely contemporary to the Damonon stele, the comic poet Cratinus (fifth century) and the epic poet Nicander of Colophon (second century), use ἐνηβάω to describe flourishing plants (νάπαισι δ' ἀνθέρικος ἐνηβᾷ (F 363 (*PCG* IV.299)); κράμβη, ὁτὲ δ' ἀγριὰς ἐμπίπτουσα σπειρομέναις πολύφυλλος ἐνηβήσαι πρασιῇσιν (F 85 Gow and Schofield)).

Philo of Alexandria assigns ἐνηβάω a meaning not discussed in LSJ, insofar as he employs ἐνηβάω to describe those who have grown up and transitioned into adulthood (*On the Contemplative Life* 67.5–6):

ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐνηβήσαντας καὶ ἐνακμάσαντας τῷ θεωρη- τικῷ μέρει φιλοσοφίας …

but those who from their earliest years have grown to manhood and spent their prime in pursuing the contemplative branch of philosophy … (trans. F. Colson)

The same sort of meaning is assigned to the adjective ἔνηβος, *-ον* by a scholiast to Theocritus (8.3):

ἔνηβοι μὲν οἱ πεντεδεκαετεῖς καὶ πορρωτέρω·

ἔνηβοι are those 15 years old and older.

LSJ cites (only) this passage in defining ἔνηβος, *-ον* as 'in the prime of youth', which recalls Montanari's definition of ἐνηβάω. However, the

meanings assigned by both Philo and the scholiast to Theocritus are perhaps slightly more precise than the meanings contemplated by LSJ and Montanari, in that they use ἐνηβάω and ἔνηβος, -ον to describe an individual who is fully physically mature but still young.

Some further nuances can be deduced from looking at some related words. The verb without prefix, ἡβάω, has a range of meanings that includes 'to attain puberty', 'to be in the prime of youth', and 'to be fresh, vigorous'. Hence in Euripides' *Herakles*, we find the hero saying (436–40):

> εἰ δ᾽ ἐγὼ σθένος ἥβων
> δόρυ τ᾽ ἔπαλλον ἐν αἰχμᾷ,
> Καδμείων τε σύνηβοι,
> τέκεσιν ἂν προπαρέσταν
> ἀλκᾷ …

> If I were young in strength and able to brandish my spear in battle and my agemates in Thebes were with me, I would have stood before the children as a shield. (trans. D. Kovacs)

The verb ἡβάω does occur in agonistic contexts, for example in the following epigram from the *Greek Anthology*:

> Σοὶ τόδε, Κωνσταντῖνε, τεὴ τροφὸς ὤπασε Νίκη
>   παιδόθεν ἑσπομένη πᾶσαν ἐφ᾽ ἡλικίην.
> πέντε γὰρ ἐν σταδίοις δεκάδας τελέσας ἐνιαυτῶν
>   οὐδ᾽ ἴσον οὐδ᾽ ὀλίγον εὕρεο λειπόμενον·
> ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι κουρίζων τε καὶ ἄχνοος ἄνδρας ἐνίκας,
>   ἥλικας ἡβήσας, γηραλέος δὲ νέους. (16.372; cf. 15.44)

> This is a gift for you, Konstantinos, from your nurse, Victory, who has followed you from your childhood all through your life. For in the five decades you spent in the stadium you never did encounter an equal, or even one a little inferior to you. But while still a youth and beardless you vanquished adult men; having come of age (ἡβήσας), you vanquished those of your own age; in old age, young men. (trans. W. Paton, modified)

The primary meanings of the related noun ἥβη are 'youthful prime', 'youth', 'strength and vigour of youth'. It occurs with some frequency in conjunction with σθένος ('bodily strength') and has a sense of 'physically mature and strong'. Hence we find in the *Odyssey* two young males in Phaiakia giving the following description of Odysseus as they contemplate whether they should invite him to participate in an athletic contest (8.133–6):

φυήν γε μὲν οὐ κακός ἐστι,
μηρούς τε κνήμας τε καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρας ὕπερθεν
αὐχένα τε στιβαρὸν μέγα τε σθένος· οὐδέ τι ἥβης
δεύεται …

In his build he is no mean man, for the lower legs and thighs he has, and both arms above them, for the massive neck and the great strength, nor is it that he lacks youthful vigour … (trans. R. Lattimore, modified)

In Hesiod's *Works and Days* we find ἥβη applied to oxen (436–8):

βόε δ' ἐνναετήρω
ἄρσενε κεκτῆσθαι, τῶν γὰρ σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,
ἥβης μέτρον ἔχοντε …

Get two oxen, bulls of nine years, for their strength is not easily exhausted, and they have full measure of youthful vigour …

The Byzantine grammarian Tzetzes glosses this passage as follows:

ἭΒΗΣ ΜΕΤΡΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΕ: Συμμετρίαν φησὶν ἡλικίας ἔχοντες, καὶ μή τε ἄζυγες πῶλοι, μή τε γηραιοὶ ὄντες, ἐν τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι ἄριστοι …

'Having full measure of youthful vigour': He says that they have due measure of youth, being neither unyoked juveniles, nor elderly, at which age they are best for work …

Stitching together ἥβη and σθένος had a long history, as is evident from the fact that it appears in the poetry of Theocritus, in the context of a description of an elaborate figured vase that included a depiction of an older fisherman (1.42–4):

φαίης κεν γυίων νιν ὅσον σθένος ἐλλοπιεύειν,
ὧδέ οἱ ᾠδήκαντι κατ' αὐχένα πάντοθεν ἶνες
καὶ πολιῷ περ ἐόντι· τὸ δὲ σθένος ἄξιον ἄβας.[2]

You'd say that he was fishing with the whole strength of his limbs, such swelling sinews everywhere stand out around his neck; for, grey-haired though he be, his strength is worthy of youth still. (trans. R. Trevelyan)

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[2] ἄβας is the Doric form of ἥβας.

Thus, although the precise meaning of ἐνηβάω on the Damonon *stele* cannot be established on the basis of these sources, the general sense is clear. The horses in question were fully physically mature and had the sort of strength and vigour associated with the early stages of adulthood. A provisional translation for ἐνhēβṓhαις would thus be 'strong and physically mature'.

ἐνhēβṓhαις also communicates something important about the sex of Damonon's horses (ἐνhēβṓhαις being the feminine form of the participle). There is no doubt that it is intended to be feminine, because the relevant alpha is clear on the stone and is repeated seven more times in the text that follows.

The dative phrase ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις can, in the context of an agonistic inscription, be translated either as 'with strong and physically mature mares', or 'in the race for strong, physically mature mares'. (For the latter usage, see below, Ch. 6 §6.2.)

With this information in mind, we can consider the current standard reading of the text, which presumes that ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις qualifies an understood τεθρίππōι and that this phrase provides supplemental information about the particular horses Damonon used in winning victories in the *tethrippon*. Hence the current standard reading presumes that the text in Part 3, ll. 12–17 ought to be read as follows:

> καὶ Ποhοίδαια Δαμṓνōν
> ἐνίκē [sc. τεθρίππōι] hέλει καὶ hο κέλēξ
> haμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν
> ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις
> hεπτάκιν ἐκ τᾶν αὐτô
> hίππον κὲκ τô αὐτô hίππō.

> And the Poseidonia Games Damonon won at Helos with his *tethrippon*—and his racehorse won on the same occasions—himself holding the reins, with strong, physically mature mares, seven times, the horses having been bred from his own mares and his own stallion.

Damonon does not specify the age of his horses with respect to the victories listed in Part 2, which probably means that they were fully grown (and hence did not compete in the *tethrippon* for juvenile horses). Insofar as the current standard reading of the inscription presumes that ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις qualifies an understood τεθρίππōι and describes the particular horses that Damonon used in winning the relevant victories listed in Parts 3 and 6, it follows that all of the victories qualified by the phrase ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις and listed in Parts 3 and 6 were won in the same event as those listed in Part 2—the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses. If the inscription is

interpreted based on this reading, victories in the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses are catalogued not only in Part 2, but also in Parts 3 and 6.

This approach to reading the inscription has long been, and continues to be, the standard way of interpreting the relevant sections of text on the Damonon *stele*.[3] It is, however, problematic in several different ways, namely: (a) it results in a reading of the text that includes a considerable amount of confusing repetition; (b) it cannot account for the remarkable rarity of the word τεθρίππōι in the text of the inscription; (c) it runs counter to the most straightforward interpretation of the precise wording of the inscription with respect to the use of the dative; and (d) it cannot explain why the phrase ἐνhēβŏhαις hίππōις appears in the inscription. We will examine each of these problems in turn.

The discussion that follows is based upon the premise that Damonon (or whoever wrote the text), sought to impress viewers with his wealth and competitive successes and to that end made conscious and careful choices about what information to provide and about how to order that information. The vast majority of the contents of the inscription fall under two broad headings: basic information about what victories Damonon and Enymakratidas won, and where (as well as, in some instances, when) and supplementary information intended to show that those victories, taken as a group, were truly remarkable and in some senses unique.

Another important premise is that many Spartiates were sufficiently literate to read and understand the inscription on the Damonon *stele*. The breadth and depth of literacy in Lakedaimon in the Archaic and Classical periods continues to be the subject of vigorous scholarly debate.[4] That debate has, in large part, been driven by a handful of ancient literary sources that describe Spartiates as illiterate (e.g., *Dissoi Logoi* 2.10, Isoc. *Panath.* 209) and by the fact that, relative to Athens, there is in Lakedaimon a paucity of public and private inscriptions.[5] Some scholars have

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[3] See, for example, H. J. W. Tillyard (1906/7); Moretti (1953) 38; Nafissi (2013). Short discussions of Damonon's achievements in modern scholarship typically credit him with 43 (see, for instance, H. A. Harris (1972) 161) or 47 *tethrippon* victories (see, for instance, Kyle (2015) 183) without supplying any further details. These victory totals require assuming that the ἐνhēβŏhαις hίππōις victories listed in Parts 3 and 6 were won in the *tethrippon*, though it leaves open the question of whether they were all won in the *tethrippon* for fully-grown horses or if some were won in the *tethrippon* for juvenile horses. Hodkinson credits Damonon with a minimum of 43 victories in the *tethrippon* (Hodkinson (2000) 305), and the translation he supplies for ἐνhēβŏhαις hίππōις, 'colts', implies that the ἐνhēβŏhαις hίππōις victories were won in the *tethrippon* for juvenile horses. As we will see, that reading is equally problematic.

[4] Due to the absence of evidence pertaining to the *perioikoi*, the debate has centred around literacy among Spartiates. For obvious reasons, it seems highly probable that literacy was rare among helots.

[5] On the relative numbers of inscriptions from Attica and Sparta in the Archaic period, see Tables 1 and 4 in Whitley (1997). Note, however, that Whitley tabulates inscriptions only from Sparta, not from Lakonia or Lakedaimon.

characterised Lakedaimon as a secretive oligarchy that was actively hostile to the use of writing, and claimed that literacy was a rarity among Spartiates.[6] Others have read ancient statements about Spartiates' illiteracy as the product of Athenian biases in the relevant sources and argued that most, if not all, Spartiates were fully literate.[7]

The most convincing interpretation of the relevant evidence—that most Spartiates were literate at a basic level but that deep proficiency in reading and writing was not necessarily common—stands in between those extremes.[8] Evidence for literacy in Lakedaimon begins early enough, and exists in sufficient quantity, to render untenable the idea that Spartiates were broadly illiterate.[9] On the other hand, evidence for literacy employed informally (i.e., casual inscriptions as opposed to formal dedications) is lacking in Lakedaimon, whereas it is abundant in Athens.[10] It is important to bear in mind that Athens seems to have been atypical with respect to levels of literacy and frequency of the use of writing, particularly in public life.[11] It is, therefore, problematic to take the Spartiates' failure to achieve Athenian levels of literacy as tantamount to evidence for near total illiteracy.

It thus seems safe to conclude that Damonon could presume that many Spartiates would be able to read and understand the inscription on the *stele* he erected to commemorate his victories. Other than the dedicatory distich, the grammar and vocabulary of the inscription would not have presented great challenges to any reasonably literate Spartiate who took the time to examine it.

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[6] See, for example, Tigerstedt (1965–78) II.28; W. V. Harris (1989) 65, 74, 89, 112–14; Rosalind Thomas (1989) 22, 30–2 and (1992) 20, 131.

[7] See in particular Millender (2001).

[8] See Boring (1979) 94–7 and *passim*; Whitley (1997) 645–9; Cartledge (2001) 39–54.

[9] The earliest evidence for literacy in Lakedaimon is an inscribed bronze aryballos that was uncovered in the British excavations at the Menelaion and that dates to c. 650. See above, Ch. 2 n. 12. There is in fact good reason to believe that the alphabet came both to Taras and Olympia from Lakedaimon. See Jeffery (1990) 185, 279; Cartledge (2001) 42. On the use of epichoric dialect in Lakedaimonian inscriptions, see Guijarro Ruano 2015.

[10] Whitley (1997) 648.

[11] Millender (2001) 157.

3.1.1 Confusing Repetition

The current standard reading of the text on the Damonon *stele* is problematic in part because, if one assumes that the ἐνhεβǒhαις hίπποις victories listed in Parts 3 and 6 were won in the same event as the victories listed in Part 2, victories in the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses at the Eleusinia are listed in both Parts 2 and 3, and victories in that event in the Athanaia and the games of the Earth-Holder are listed in both Parts 2 and 6. Table 2 helps make this issue clear:

	Earth-Holder	Athanaia	Eleusinia	Poseidonia at Helos	Poseidonia at Thouria	Ariontia
Part 2	4 times [τôι αὐτô τεθρίππōι]* [αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν]	4 times [τôι αὐτô τεθρίππōι] [αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν]	4 times [τôι αὐτô τεθρίππōι] [αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν]			
Part 3			4 times αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhεβǒhαις hίπποις	7 times αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhεβǒhαις hίπποις ἐκ τâν αὐτô hίππον κὲκ τô αὐτô hίππō κέλēξ won 7 times	8 times αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhεβǒhαις hίπποις ἐκ τâν αὐτô hίππον κὲκ τô αὐτô hίππō	8 times αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhεβǒhαις hίπποις ἐκ τâν αὐτô hίππον κὲκ τô αὐτô hίππō κέλēξ won once
Part 6	ephorate of Aristeus and Echemenes αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhεβǒhαις hίπποις κέλēξ won as well son won *stadion, diaulos, dolichos* (Aristeus); *stadion* and ? (Echemenes)	ephorate of Echemenes and of Euippos αὐτòς ἀνιοχίōν ἐνhεβǒhαις hίπποις κέλēξ won as well son won *stadion*				

* The phrases in square brackets appear just once in Part 2, in a sentence that precedes, and clearly describes, all of the victories catalogued in Part 2. In Parts 3 and 6, specific descriptors are supplied for the victories won at each individual festival.

Table 2. Structure of victory catalogue in Parts 2, 3, and 6
of the inscription on the Damonon *stele*

Since the early part of the twentieth century, the ostensible overlap between Parts 2 and 6 has typically been explained in one of two ways:

(a) the four ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις victories listed in Part 6 are to be read as additional to (not a subset of) the victories listed in Part 2;

(b) the four ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις victories listed in Part 6 are a subset of the *tethrippon* victories listed in Part 2: four of the twelve victories listed in Part 2 were listed again in Part 6 in order to give Damonon the opportunity to highlight special features of those victories—namely that on those four occasions his racehorse also won, as did his son.

The first explanation goes back to Walther Kolbe's publication of the inscription in *Inscriptiones Graecae* in 1913.[12] The problem with Kolbe's reading is that it presumes that Damonon gave up the opportunity to increase the impressiveness of his achievements at the festivals referenced in Part 2 by listing six victories in the Athanaia and six in the Games of the Earth-Holder, rather than four in each.[13] In view of the effort Damonon put into highlighting his successes, that seems unlikely.

The second explanation goes back to H. J. W. Tillyard who, in the initial publication in 1907 of the bottom half of the inscription, argued that the ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις victories listed in Part 6 'do not refer to fresh victories, but only add extra details'.[14] This line of argumentation, however, has problems of its own. First, and most importantly, it is not evident how Damonon could have expected those reading the inscription to grasp that the victories listed in Part 6 were a subset of those listed in Part 2, insofar as no explicit connection is made between the victories listed in Parts 2 and 6, which are separated by roughly 50 lines of text in which a host of detailed information about other, clearly different victories is supplied to the reader.

In addition, all four victories listed in Part 6 are described as having been won ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις, but this phrase does not appear in Part 2, which, according to Tillyard, describes precisely the same victories. If ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις is in fact modifying an understood τεθρίππōι in Part 6, then it must be present to add lustre to the victories in question. But if it did in fact serve that purpose, why does it not appear in Part 2? The phrase αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν appears in Parts 2 and 6, and there is no reason why

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[12] This view has found a fair number of adherents: see, for example, Ringwood (1927) 80.

[13] Nafissi (2013) 120.

[14] H. J. W. Tillyard (1906/7) 179. This view is championed in Nafissi (2013) 117–26.

ἐνhēβṓhαις hίππoις, if it was indeed intended to make Damonon's victories more impressive, would not have appeared in Part 2.[15]

Moreover, if Part 6 is read in the way Tillyard suggested, we run into the further difficulty that Part 4 of the inscription also lists occasions on which hippic and gymnic victories were won on the same day. That, in turn, raises the question of why the victories catalogued in Part 4 would be separated out from those catalogued in Part 6. One possibility is that the victories catalogued in Part 4 were won when Enymakratidas was a boy, whereas those in Part 6 were won when Enymakratidas was an adult. Another possibility is that the *keles* victories in Part 4 were won by Enymakratidas (as jockey or owner or both), whereas the *keles* victories in Part 6 were won by Damonon. Yet another possibility is that the victories in Part 6 were more prestigious than those in Part 4 because they included a win in the *tethrippon*.

Neither Tillyard's nor Kolbe's explanation for the ostensible overlap between Parts 2 and 6 seems to be entirely satisfactory, and, even if one is willing to subscribe to one of those explanations for the overlap between Parts 2 and 6, one still has to explain the overlap between Parts 2 and 3. A glance back at Table 2, provided above, shows that both Parts 2 and 3 list victories in the Eleusinia.

It is very difficult to transfer Tillyard's explanation for the overlap between Parts 2 and 6 (the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίππoις listed in Part 6 are a subset of the victories listed in Part 2) to the overlap between Parts 2 and 3. The obvious, and fatal, objection is that both Parts 2 and 3 list four victories won at the Eleusinia, so the latter can hardly be a subset of the former.[16]

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[15] If one takes the positions that ἐνhēβṓhαις hίππoις describes a particularly successful team of mares and that the victories listed in Part 6 are a subset of those listed in Part 2, one needs to explain why those spectacularly accomplished mares are not celebrated in Part 2. One might argue that the mares in question did not win all of the victories listed in Part 2, but rather only the subset of those victories highlighted in Part 6. However, this requires arguing that it so happened that at the four particular iterations of the particular festivals at which those mares won, Damonon's *keles* also triumphed as did his son Enymakratidas, in multiple gymnic contests. That stretches the boundaries of probability unless the mares in question regularly won at the festivals in question, which in turn raises the issue of why they would not have then been mentioned in Part 2.

[16] Tillyard (H. J. W. Tillyard (1906/7) 180) offered a rather odd explanation for the overlap between Parts 2 and 3. He suggested that the victories listed at the Eleusinia in Part 2 were different from the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίππoις victories at the Eleusinia listed in Part 3 because the former were won with fully-grown horses whereas the latter were won with ἐνhēβṓhαις hίππoις. Tillyard thus seems to be positing that Damonon won victories in two different events at the Eleusinia, one for fully-grown horses and one for juvenile horses. That is a possibility worth considering (see below, §3.2.1), but, if the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίππoις victories at the Eleusinia listed in Part 3 were won in a different event from the Eleusinia victories listed in Part 2, then presumably the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίππoις victories at the Athanaia and the Games of the Earth-Holder listed in Part 6 must also have been won in a different event from the victories in those festivals listed in Part 2. Yet Tillyard explicitly states that

Kolbe's explanation (the victories in Part 6 are additional to those listed in Part 2) can be transferred, but has the same difficulties it had when applied to the overlap between Parts 2 and 6. If the four ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories won at the Eleusinia and listed in Part 3 were won at the same festival and the same event as those in Part 2, why would Damonon not have listed all of them in Part 2 and thus ended up with a much more impressive total of eight victories at the Eleusinia? It cannot be that there was something special about the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories, because, if the qualifier ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις added value to the victories, then surely it would be the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories at the Eleusinia that were listed in Part 2.

Nafissi recognises this problem and proposes an ingenious solution.[17] He argues that the festivals listed in Part 3 were annual, whereas the festivals in Part 2 were held biennially. In support of this position, he points out that Damonon won seven or eight times at the Poseidonia at Thouria and Ariontia, and hence twice as often as at the festivals listed in Part 2. Nafissi takes this to mean that there were two different versions of the Eleusinia festival, a more elaborate one held biennially (victories in which were catalogued in Part 2), and a less elaborate one held in off years (victories in which were catalogued in Part 3). Nafissi points to the Greater and Lesser Panathenaia in Athens as a parallel.

This is not inherently implausible, but there is no evidence whatsoever to support the supposition that there was a Greater and Lesser Eleusinia in Lakedaimon.[18] Given that the *stele* catalogues victories that Damonon had won since he was a boy, there was ample time for him to accumulate wins at any number of different festivals, regardless of how often they were held. Moreover, if the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories were indeed won in the *kalpe*, it would not be surprising to see Damonon accumulate more victories in an event that was less prestigious and presumably less competitive than the *tethrippon* (see below, Ch. 7 §7.2). That would account for the fact that the number of victories listed in Part 2 (dedicated to *tethrippon* victories) is considerably less than the number of victories listed in Part 3 (dedicated to *kalpe* victories).

Furthermore, Nafissi's suggestion leaves open the question of why the different versions of the festival are not indicated in the inscription by a modifier of some sort, which would not only have reduced the likelihood of the text confusing its readers, but also heightened Damonon's achievements by specifying that the victories catalogued in Part 2 were won in the more impressive, and hence presumably more competitive, version of the

the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories in Part 6 were a subset of the victories listed in Part 2 and hence were won in the same event.

[17] Nafissi (2013) 133–6.

[18] One might also note that were probably no gymnic or hippic contests at the celebrations of the lesser Panathanaia. See Tracy (2007).

Eleusinia. We have already had occasion (above, Ch. 2 §2.3.2) to look at an inscription on a statue base, found on the Athenian acropolis and dating to the third quarter of the fifth century, that reads (*IG* I³ 893):

> Καλλίας Δ[ιδυμίο].
> νῖκαι·
> Ὀλυ[μ]πίασι
> Πύθια ⋮ δίς
> Ἴσθμια ⋮ πεντάκις
> Νέμεια ⋮ τετράκις
> Παναθέναια με<γά>λ[α].

Kallias went out of his way to specify that he won his victory at the Greater Panathenaia, and Damonon had the ability, and good reason, to do the same. Insofar as no qualifying adjective is attached to the Eleusinia in either Part 2 or Part 3, it is difficult to accept the idea that there were two different versions of that festival.

The one clear conclusion from this confusing welter of complex arguments is that scholars have had considerable difficulty in explaining the relationship between the victories listed in Parts 2, 3, and 6. That may simply be the result of trying to explain a text that was composed in a confusing fashion. However, as has been pointed out above, the inscription was written and inscribed at a single moment, and it was carefully organised on the *stele* and supplied with clear section markings and punctuation. (Nafissi calls it 'un testo ben organizzato'.[19])

One might well suspect, therefore, that the confusion in the scholarly literature is the result of an erroneous (and frequently unstated and unexamined) assumption that underpins modern interpretations of the text, namely that the victories listed in Part 2 and the *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 were all won in the same event (the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses). If one removes that assumption, the situation immediately becomes much less complicated.

If one presumes that the *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* victories were won in an event other than the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses, the supposed repetition vanishes. When that reading is employed, there is no overlap between the victories listed in Parts 2 and 3, and no overlap between the victories listed in Parts 2 and 6, as is evident from Table 3 (see next page).

In short, all of the issues surrounding overlap and repetition vanish if the victories listed in Parts 3 and 6 came in a different hippic contest than those listed in Part 2, and that in turn removes the need for convoluted arguments to explain why such overlap and repetition would exist.

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[19] Nafissi (2013) 117.

	Current Standard Reading*	**Suggested Revised Reading****
Part 2	*tethrippon victories* at:	*tethrippon* victories at:
	Earth-Holder	Earth-Holder
	Athanaia	Athanaia
	Eleusinia	Eleusinia
Part 3	*tethrippon* victories at:	*ἐνhεβṓhαις hίππọις* victories at:
	Poseidonia at Helos	Poseidonia at Helos
	Poseidonia at Thouria	Poseidonia at Thouria
	Ariontia	Ariontia
	Eleusinia	Eleusinia
Part 6	*tethrippon* victories at:	*ἐνhεβṓhαις hίππọις* victories at:
	Earth-Holder	Earth-Holder
	Athanaia	Athanaia

* namely: the victories qualified by *ἐνhεβṓhαις hίππọις* that are listed in Parts 3 and 6 were won in the same event as the victories listed in Part 2 (the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses); *ἐνhεβṓhαις hίππọις* modifies an understood *τεθρίππọι* in Parts 3 and 6.

** namely: the victories qualified by *ἐνhεβṓhαις hίππọις* that are listed in Parts 3 and 6 were won in a different event from the victories listed in Part 2; *ἐνhεβṓhαις hίππọις* designates the event in which the victories listed in Parts 3 and 6 were won.

Table 3: Results of different readings of the inscription on the Damonon *stele*

3.1.2 The Absence of *τεθρίππọι* in Parts 3 and 6

One remarkable feature of the inscription on the Damonon *stele* is that, although it is commonly interpreted as cataloguing 43 or 47 different *tethrippon* victories won at six different festivals, the word *tethrippon* appears only once in the entire 95 lines of text (in line 7). This stands in sharp contrast to the frequency with which the following key words appear: Damonon (16 times); Enymakratidas (or son) (7 times); a form of the verb *νικάω* (28 times).

The Damonon *stele* features a relief of a four-horse chariot on the top, and it is of course common in ancient Greek to elide words that can be easily supplied from the preceding text. One might, therefore, conclude that the appearance of *τεθρίππọι* in Part 2 made it possible to elide the word in Part 3. However, *tethrippon* is also absent from Part 6, which is separated from Part 2 by more than 50 lines of complicated text that catalogues victories in horse-racing and a variety of gymnic events. It is, as a result, difficult to understand why *τεθρίππọι* does not appear in Part 6. It certainly cannot have been a matter of space, given that all that was involved was a single word.

Furthermore, the *tethrippon* was the most expensive and most prestigious of all of the hippic contests held by the Greeks, and Damonon had every reason to highlight the fact that he was successful in this event. This is evident from the positioning of *τεθρίππọι* in Part 2, where it appears in a prominent location, following Damonon's name and preceding the other

information (the identity of the chariot driver, the site of the victory, the number of victories) that is supplied.

It would, therefore, have been an odd choice to fail to make it clear that the victories listed in Part 6 were won in the *tethrippon*, particularly since providing that information required nothing more than adding a single word to the text.

3.1.3 The (Ostensibly) Disappearing Dative

Yet another issue with the current standard reading of the text on the Damonon *stele* is that it runs counter to the most straightforward interpretation of the precise wording of the inscription with respect to the use of the dative. In nine separate places in the inscription we encounter the phrase 'Damonon won …' followed by wording that makes it clear he was victorious in some sort of hippic contest. In the first such instance (in Part 2 of the inscription) the hippic contest he won is specified with the dative noun τεθρίππōι. In the other eight instances (four in Part 3 and four in Part 6) there is, according to the current reading of the *stele*, no explicit statement of the event in which Damonon won. However, *in each and every one* of those eight instances, the dative phrase ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις appears (and it appears nowhere else in the inscription). This pattern of usage strongly suggests that ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις in fact specifies the event in which Damonon won (which was, therefore, something different than the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses).

In order to understand the issues in play, it is necessary to understand the standard phraseology used to describe hippic and gymnic victories. The hippic event in which Damonon won is specified in Part 2 with a dative (τεθρίππōι), as opposed to the descriptions of Damonon's and Enymakratidas' gymnic victories, for which the event is given in the accusative (e.g., Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν ἐν Γαιαϝόχō στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον, at ll. 49–52). These different grammatical constructions are entirely typical of texts touching on hippic and gymnic victories. The reason for the difference had to do with the fact that owners of racehorses almost never rode their own horses or drove their own chariots in competition. A hippic victory was, however, credited not to the horses or jockeys or charioteers, but to the owner of the horses.[20] It was, therefore, significant and accurate phrasing to say that an owner won a victory with a horse or chariot rather than saying someone won a horse race or chariot race.

This was expressed in Greek by making the owner of the chariot team or racehorse the subject of expressions recording hippic victories and

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[20] Nicholson (2005) 1–116.

putting 'horse' or 'chariot' into the instrumental dative.[21] Consider, for example, the following passage from Pindar's *Isthmian* 2 (12–13):

> οὐκ ἄγνωτ’ ἀείδω
> Ἰσθμίαν ἵπποισι νίκαν
> τὰν Ξενοκράτει Ποσειδάων ὀπάσαις …

I sing the Isthmian victory with horses, not unrecognised, which Poseidon granted to Xenokrates … (trans. D. Svarlien)

Compare this to the following lines from *Olympian* 10 (16–18):

> πύκτας δ’ ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι νικῶν
> Ἴλᾳ φερέτω χάριν
> Ἀγησίδαμος …

Let Hagesidamos, having won the boxing match at Olympia, gives thanks to Ilas …

Note that whereas Pindar uses a dative to characterise a hippic victory, he employs the accusative in describing a gymnic victory.

The use of the dative to indicate a hippic victory became so well entrenched that epigraphically attested prize and victor lists for festivals employ datives to designate hippic contests. Consider, for example, the following victor list, dating to the last quarter of the fourth century, from the Lykaian Games in Arcadia (*IG* V.2.549):

> ἐπὶ ἱερεῖ Εὐκαμπίδαι Ἐσ[φ]αντίδαυ Λυκαιονῖκαι· τελέαι συνωρίδι Δαμέας Τίμωνος Ἀλεῖος, τεθρίππωι πωλικῶι Εὐπόλεμος Δάμιδος Ἀρκάς, τελέωι τεθρίππωι Χιονίδας Εὐαινέτω Ἀρκάς, ἵππωι κέλ<η>τι Φιλόνικος Φιλονίκω Ἀργεῖος, Θεοτήλ<η>ς Νικασίππω στάδιον παῖδας Ἀρκάς, Θρασύδημος Θεα<ί>ου Ἀθηναῖος πάλαν παῖδας, Νικίας Μνασίαυ παῖδας πυγμὰν Ἀρκάς, Ἀρίστιππος Ἀριστοκλέους ἄνδρας δόλιχον Ἀρκάς, Λυσίλοχος Περίλα ἄνδρας στάδιον Ἀργεῖος, Δείνων Δεινίαυ ἄνδρας δίαυλον Ἀρκάς, Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστέος πάλαν ἄνδρας Ἀργεῖος, Ἀγησίστρατος Περίλα πένταθλον Ἀργεῖος, Ἀνδρόμαχος Λυσιάνακτος ἀν[δ]ρῶν πυγμὴν Ἀλεῖος, Ἀντήνωρ Ξενάρεος Μιλήσιος ἄνδρας πανκράτιον, ὁπλίταν Πάντιχος Λεόντιος Ἀρκάς.

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[21] In stripped-down lists of events and names, in which verbs of any kind are elided, the names of hippic events are typically (but not universally) supplied in the nominative. See, for example, *POxy* II 222.

Here again the hippic contests are referenced with a dative, gymnic contests with an accusative.

The same practice is followed in lists of victories by specific individuals. For example, the epigram on a monument erected at Olympia in the early fourth century to commemorate the victories of Kyniska reads as follows (*IvO* 160 = *IG* V.1.1564a = *Anth. Pal.* 13.16):

> Σπάρτας μὲν [βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ] πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί,
> ἅ[ρματι δ᾿ ὠκυπόδων ἵππων]νικῶσα Κυνίσκα
> εἰκόνα τάνδ᾿ ἔστασε. μόν[αν] δ᾿ ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν
>   Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τό̣[ν]δε λαβῆν στέφανον.

> Kings of Sparta are my father and brothers. Kyniska, conquering with a chariot of fleet-footed steeds, set up this statue. And I declare myself the only woman in all Hellas to have gained this crown. (trans. S. Hodkinson)

Similarly, the epigram on the monument erected by Leon, a Spartiate who won a chariot racing victory at Olympia in the third quarter of the fifth century, reads (Polemon, *FHG* F 22 *ap.* Σ Eur. *Hipp.* 231):

> Λέων Λακεδαιμόνιος ἵπποισι νικῶν Ἐνέταις …

> Leon the Lakedaimon, having won with Enetic horses …

In this respect, the wording of the inscription on the Damonon *stele* conforms to standard contemporary usage. This may seem a trivial matter of grammar, but it has a significant impact on how we read the inscription on the Damonon *stele*. The victories catalogued in Part 2 are introduced as follows:

> τάδε ἐνίκαhε Δαμόνōν
> τōι αὐτō τεθρίππōι

Just as one would expect, the hippic event in which Damonon won is specified with a dative noun.

Compare that phrasing to the phrasing found at the beginning of Part 3:

> καὶ Ποhοίδαια Δαμόνōν
> ἐνίκē hέλει καὶ ho κέλēξ
> hαμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν
> ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις
> hεπτάκιν ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō
> hίππον κὲκ τō αὐτō hίππō.

Here the wording starts with the name of the festival at which he won and the facts that Damonon won the horse-race on the same day and that he held the reins himself, and then goes into the only dative in this section of text (other than the clearly locative *hέλει*), the phrase *ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις*. The dative *ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις* in l. 15 thus parallels the dative *τεθρίππōι* in l. 7 . This same basic phrasing is repeated three more times in Part 3.

Anyone reading the inscription in its original context would have been expecting a dative object specifying the hippic event in which Damonon won. The (ostensible) absence of an explicit dative specifying the event, especially after the repetition of Damonon's name and a form of *νικάω* at the start of Part 3 (which is set off from Part 2 by an *obelos*), would have been confusing. The presence of a dative phrase, *ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις*, in the same section of text that references horses but (according to the current standard reading of the text) not intended to specify the event, would only have made matters worse.

Consider also the beginning of Part 6:

> *hυπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένē ἔφορον*
> *τάδε ἐνίκē Δαμōνōν·*
> *Ἀθάναια ἐνhēβόhαις*
> *hίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν*
> *καὶ ὁ κέλēξ μιᾶς*
> *ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκē, καὶ*
> *ho hυιὸς στάδιον hαμᾶ*
> *ἐνίκē ...*

Here again there is a single dative phrase, *ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις*, in a description of a hippic victory. This same basic phrasing is repeated three more times in Part 6.

With all of this in mind, we can return to the issue raised at the beginning of this section of argumentation. There are nine places on the *stele* where the phrase 'Damonon won' is applied to what is clearly a hippic victory (one in Part 2, four in Part 3, four in Part 6). (In several other places Damonon claims a victory in the *keles*, but does so by saying that his horse won, so that the horse appears in the nominative. On the possible reasons for this rather unusual phraseology, see below, Ch. 6 §6.2.) In the first such instance, in Part 2, Damonon clearly specifies the event in which he won, by means of the dative *τεθρίππōι*. The current reading of the *stele* is that Damonon does not explicitly specify the event in which he won in any of the other eight instances.

It is, however, almost certainly significant that in each and every one of those eight instances the dative phrase *ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις* appears (and does not appear anywhere else in the inscription). The obvious conclusion

that follows is that *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* functions here to specify the event in which Damonon won. It would also follow that the event specified by *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* would be different from the victories in the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses listed in Part 2.

The (ostensible) consistent and repeated absence of clearly stated dative objects in the descriptions of the hippic victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 would be all the more remarkable because, as pointed out above: (1) the *tethrippon* was the most expensive and prestigious of all of the hippic competitions held by the Greeks, and Damonon had every reason to highlight the fact that he was successful in this event; (2) the text repeats Damonon's name 16 times and the verb *νικάω* 28 times, so one would expect that *τεθρίππōι* would appear with similar frequency if Damonon did in fact win more than 40 different *tethrippon* victories in at least six different festivals; and (3) it was possible to specify the event in which each victory was won by supplying a single word, *τεθρίππōι* (and so it cannot have been that there was insufficient space on the stone).

Given that Parts 3 and 6 are clearly meant to describe victories in hippic contests, that the standard usage in describing hippic victories was to specify the event using a dative, that there is a dative phrase—*ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις*—in Parts 3 and 6, and that the verb *νικάω* and phrase *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* both appear in each of the eight separate entries in Parts 3 and 6, the most straightforward and economical reading of the text is that *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* specifies the event in which Damonon won the hippic victories listed in Parts 3 and 6.

3.1.4 The Presence of *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* in Parts 3 and 6

A final interpretive difficulty with the current standard reading of the text is the need to explain why *ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις* appears in the inscription at all, let alone the fact that it appears in eight separate places. Damonon supplies an array of supplemental information about his victories with the clear intent of making those victories more impressive. In Part 2, Damonon mentions not only the number of times he won at specific festivals, he also adds that the chariot with which he won was his own (*τōι αὐτō τεθρίππōι*) and that he held the reins himself (*αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν*). Damonon's statement that the *tethrippon* was his own may be nothing more than emphatic, but more probably it conveys the fact that the horses pulling Damonon's chariot were not purchased in a race-ready state. Damonon lived just at the time of the earliest known purchase of race-ready horses for competition, by Alcibiades.[22] A roughly contemporary inscription, commemorating a *keles* victory won by Kleogenes at Olympia in 388, specifies that Kleogenes won with a horse 'from his own private stable' (*ἐκ δὲ ἀγέλης*

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[22] Nicholson (2005) 114–15.

αὐτὸν οἰκείας ἵππῳ κρατῆσαι κέλητι, Paus. 6.1.4).[23] There thus seems to have been some added value in having won with horses that one raised oneself.

Damonon also states that he won αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν. Here the significance is clear. In Damonon's time the vast majority of hippic victors looked on as a jockey or charioteer rode their horse or drove their chariot team.[24] Damonon, however, drove his own chariot team. Insofar as driving a chariot in a race required considerable skill and a willingness to risk serious injury, Damonon is implicitly portrayed as someone possessed of considerable physical prowess and hence as much more than a passive owner of racehorses.

In Part 3 Damonon repeats the phrase αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν in each of four entries that list hippic victories in different festivals. He adds that at two of those festivals he also won the *keles*. Three of those four entries specify that he bred the horses from which he won 'from his own mares and stallion' (ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō hίππον κὲκ τō αὐτō hίππō). Insofar as αὐτō modifies τεθρίππōι, and ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō hίππον κὲκ τō αὐτō hίππō modifies ἐνhēβδ́hαις hίπποις, it may be simply a matter of different phrasing to express the same situation. On the other hand, αὐτō is much less specific than ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō hίππον κὲκ τō αὐτō hίππō and may denote something different, perhaps that Damonon did not breed, but did rear and train, the horses that won the victories listed in Part 2, whereas he himself bred the horses that won some of the victories catalogued in Part 3.

Part 4 highlights occasions on which Damonon and Enymakratidas won gymnic and hippic victories not just at the same iteration of a festival, but also on the same day. Part 5 lists Damonon's gymnic victories and makes it clear that on four occasions Damonon won both the *stadion* and the *diaulos* at a single festival. Part 6 refers to further occasions on which the family won hippic and gymnic victories at the same iteration of a festival. Here again, mention is made of the fact that the victories occurred on a single day, and Damonon states that he held the reins himself.

The central point here is that the supplemental information in the inscription (beyond the names of the festivals and the number of wins at each) has the overt function of adding lustre to Damonon's and Enymakratidas' victories. It is, however, not apparent why Damonon would have gone out of his way to specify that the victories were won ἐνhēβδ́hαις hίπποις (which, given the current reading of the stone, would need to be translated as 'with strong, physically mature mares'). Damonon could, for example, justifiably claim that breeding his own racehorses and driving his own chariot were grounds for distinction. There was nothing

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[23] Cf. *SEG* 15.255, *IvO* 217. On Kleogenes, see Moretti (1957) # 387.

[24] Nicholson (2005) 1–116.

obviously special, however, about winning with strong, physically mature mares.

One might suppose that ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις refers to a specific, particularly successful chariot team of mares that Damonon repeatedly drove to victory and hence wished to commemorate. A small number of inscriptions commemorating hippic victories do specify horses' names or sex, and Nicholson has argued that, in spite of the very limited number of extant examples, this was not uncommon. This seems to have been the practice, however, only in cases in which the horses in question won a specific victory or set of victories.[25] For example, an inscription from Boeotia that dates to the middle of the sixth century commemorates a chariot victory in Athens (*SEG* 23.38):

> [Φοί]βο μέν εἰμ' ἄγαλ[μα Λ]ατ[ο]ίδα καλ[ό]ν·
> [ho δ' Ἀ]λκμέονος hῦϊς Ἀλκμεονίδες
> hίποισι νικέ[σας ἔ]θεκέ μ' [ὀκέαις],
> hὰς Κνοπι.[. . .]ς ἔλαυν' ho [. . .]
> hότ' ἐν Ἀθάναις Παλάδος πανέ[γυρις].

> I am a beautiful statue of Phoebus, the son of Leto. The son of Alkmeon, Alkmeonides, dedicated me when victorious with the swift mares which Cnopi[ ], the [ ], drove, when it was the festival of Pallas in Athens. (trans. N. Nicholson)

Here Alkmeon's mares won a specific chariot race. In the same vein, Herodotus notes that Kimon's team of mares received special burial:

> Kimon is buried outside the city, beyond the road called Through-the-Hollow. Right opposite him is buried his team of mares that won the three Olympic prizes. Other horses that have made the same win are those of Euagoras, the Lakonian, but otherwise none.[26] (6.103, trans. D. Grene; cf. Plut. *Cato Mai.* 5.4)

It is, however, difficult to sustain the idea that ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις refers to a specific, particularly successful chariot team of mares that Damonon repeatedly drove to victory because ἐνhεβṓhαις hίπποις is not attached to the *tethrippon* victories that Damonon listed in Part 2, which almost

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[25] Nicholson (2005) 98–100.

[26] Aelian (*Anim.* 12.40) offers a garbled version of this story, in which the mares that won three Olympic victories belong to Kimon's half-brother and are buried in the Chersonesos. Herodotus 6.36.1 informs us that Miltiades won a chariot-racing victory at Olympia, but there is no mention of multiple victories, of mares, or of special burial. Insofar as Aelian at 12.40 also mentions Euagoras, it is highly likely that Aelian confused and co-mingled two separate passages in Herodotus.

certainly were the ones that he considered to be the most prestigious. It would be odd for Damonon to go out of his way to commemorate a specific chariot team that did not win at the most competitive races at which he was successful. The resulting implicit message would be something like, 'I had a team of mares that were pretty good, but not great'.

3.2 Two Unlikely Alternative Readings

The argument unfolded in the previous section leads to the conclusion that the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 came in a hippic competition different from that highlighted in Part 2. This possibility has been explored by some scholars, though it has never attained any significant degree of popularity; it is typically mentioned only briefly in short discussions of the Damonon *stele* and has not featured in the various detailed scholarly treatments of the *stele* undertaken over the course of the past century. The ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 have been connected to two events other than the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses, namely the *tethrippon* for juvenile horses and the *tethrippon* for fully grown mares.

3.2.1 The First Alternative Reading of ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις: *Tethrippon* for Juvenile Horses

Even before the discovery of the lower half of the Damonon *stele*, E. S. Roberts had suggested that ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις designates an age category used at hippic competitions and that, whereas the victories listed in Part 2 came in the *tethrippon* race for fully grown horses, the victories listed in Part 3 of the inscription were won in the *tethrippon* race for juvenile horses.[27] The *tethrippon* race for juvenile horses was added to the programme of the Olympic Games in 384 (Paus. 5.8.10) and became a standard part of hippic competitions all over the Greek world. It is thus entirely plausible that *tethrippon* races for juvenile horses were held in Lakedaimon in the last quarter of the fifth century. Moreover, this interpretation has the advantage of removing the apparent overlaps in the victories listed in Parts 2, 3, and 6.

However, this reading of the text is not without problems of its own. To begin with, like the currently standard reading of the text, the reading proposed by Roberts cannot easily explain why τεθρίππōι does not appear in either Part 3 or Part 6 of the inscription. The absence of this word, particularly in Part 6, would have been confusing. Although the *tethrippon* for juvenile horses carried less status than that for fully grown horses, it was

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[27] Roberts (1887) I.264–5; see also Bourguet (1927) 49.

still quite a prestigious event. Damonon thus had every reason to feature the word τεθρίππōι in Parts 3 and 6.

Second, ἐνηēβṓhαις hίππoις would not be an obvious way to designate a race for juvenile horses. It would be surprising to see ἐνηβάω used to describe horses that were not yet fully grown, because that runs counter to the obvious sense of ἐνηβάω, which should denote an animal that is fully physically mature, not a juvenile. Moreover, there was a well-established habit of using πῶλος and πωλικός to designate a juvenile horse (see, for example, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 231), and that practice was, as one would expect, employed to describe the animals competing in races for juvenile horses when such races began to be held. This is apparent in the aforementioned victor list from the Lykaian Games (which includes an entry for τεθρίππωι πωλικῶι) and the same wording is found elsewhere. For example, *IG* II² 2311, which lists the prizes presented at the Panathenaic festival in Athens in the 380s, uses πωλικός to denote races for juvenile horses.[28] (For further discussion of *IG* II² 2311, see below, Ch. 6 §6.1.)

It is possible that ἐνηβάω denotes an intermediate age category consisting of the stage of development between the time when colts and fillies had all of their juvenile teeth (typically up to one year of age) and when all juvenile teeth had been replaced by adult teeth (typically around age five).[29] The only evidence for the existence of such an age category in Greek horse-racing is found in Plato *Laws* 834c:

> μονίπποις δὲ ἆθλα τιθέντες, πώλοις τε ἀβόλοις καὶ τελείων τε καὶ ἀβόλων τοῖς μέσοις καὶ αὐτοῖς δὴ τοῖς τέλος ἔχουσι, κατὰ φύσιν τῆς χώρας ἂν τὴν ἱππικὴν παιδιὰν ἀποδιδοῖμεν …

> And therefore we give our prizes for single horses: for colts who have not yet lost their juvenile teeth, and for those who are intermediate, and for the full-grown horses themselves; and thus our equestrian games will accord with the nature of the country … (trans. B. Jowett)

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[28] Careful terminological differentiations are made among various ages and sexes of horses in the present day, as follows:

	Males	Females
Less than 5 years old	colts	fillies
More than 5 years old	stallions	mares

It is not evident that the Greek terminology was quite as precise as this (see Pierros (2003) 343–4), but there was an obvious word choice when seeking to denote a juvenile horse of either sex: πωλικός, not ἐνηβάω.

[29] Hyland (1990) 45–6; http://extension.missouri.edu/p/G2842.

It is thus not out of the question that an age category intermediate between yearlings and fully grown horses, the equivalent of *agenioi* in the gymnic contests, existed in Lakedaimon.[30]

There are, however, at least to the knowledge of this author, no known hippic contests in ancient Greece that had three age categories as per Plato's recommendation. As a result, reading ἐνηβάω as designating a *tethrippon* race for horses that were not yet fully grown requires positing an age category in chariot-racing that is not otherwise attested anywhere else in the very extensive collection of literary and epigraphic evidence for Greek and Roman equestrianism.

Third, Roberts' reading of the text cannot easily explain why Damonon went out of his way to specify that the horses used to win the ἐνhēβǒhαις hίπποις victories listed in Parts 3 and 6 were female. Whereas ἐνhēβǒhοις hίπποις would have applied equally to both male and female horses, ἐνhēβǒhαις hίπποις makes it clear that the horses involved were mares. That in turn raises the question of why Damonon would have had ἐνhēβǒhαις rather than ἐνhēβǒhοις inscribed on the *stele*, in no fewer than eight separate places that in total describe 31 distinct victories, if his sole intention was to denote an age category.

There was no obvious reason why Damonon would have been racing only mares in the *tethrippon* for juvenile horses. In his treatise *On Animals*, Aelian states that mares were preferred for pulling chariots (11.36). However, a substantial body of evidence for both Greek and Roman chariot racing and horse-racing, starting with the *Iliad* and going down through to the end of the Roman empire, shows that both male and female horses competed successfully in both chariot races and in the *keles*.[31] There was, in fact, some bias toward racing male horses (either stallions or geldings), because a single stallion could service a large number of mares, which meant that the absence of stallions from breeding farms had little impact, whereas the absence of mares meant fewer foals. Indeed, Ann Hyland concludes that, in the Roman period, 'Most of the horses raced were stallions. … The mares would be mostly kept in the studs for breeding'.[32] It would, therefore, have been distinctly odd for Damonon to have voluntarily chosen to race only mares on literally dozens of different occasions (presuming that Damonon's horses did not win every race in

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[30] On age categories in Greek gymnic contests, see Miller (2004) 14; Petermandl (2013) 241–2.

[31] Hyland (1990) 214; S. Bell and Willekes (2014) 480. Male horses are on the whole slightly faster than female horses, with the gap being on the order of 1%. While that is not a trivial difference, a mare with a superior physiology and temperament for racing is more than capable of beating most if not all stallions or geldings. See http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/explainer/2010/04/and_down_the_stretch_she_comes.html.

[32] Hyland (1990) 214.

which they were entered), and, even if he did so, it is not obvious why he would have chosen to advertise that fact in a carefully-crafted victory catalogue.[33]

One might suppose that the victories in question were all won by a single dominant team of horses, all of which happened to be mares, but that view is not compatible with the supposition that those victories were won in a race for juvenile horses. The fact that Damonon lists up to eight ἐνhɛ̄βόhαις hίπποις victories at particular festivals that could not have been held more frequently than once a year makes it clear that the ἐνhɛ̄βόhαις hίπποις were won over a period of at least eight years. Although we lack a detailed knowledge of the precise age or stage of development at which Greeks considered a horse full grown (*teleios*), Simon, the author of a well-known treatise on horses that is mentioned approvingly by Xenophon (*Hipp.* 1.1), wrote that a horse 'is at his prime for swiftness and courage at six years old' (*On the Form and Selection of Horses* 11, trans. M. Morgan). Aristotle states that mares are fully grown at age five, stallions at age six (*Hist. Anim.* 576b4–8; cf. Columella, *Agr.* 6.29.4). Modern horse veterinarians agree that horses are typically fully physically mature between the ages of four and five, and, as one would expect, studies have shown that racehorses continue to run faster up until that age, at which point their performance levels off, then eventually and gradually erodes.[34] As a result, no Greek racehorse could have competed as a juvenile for eight years, and hence the ἐνhɛ̄βόhαις hίπποις victories could not possibly have been won by a single dominant team of mares.

For all of these reasons, Roberts' reading of the text, though plausible at first glance, is upon further examination untenable.

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[33] One might argue that Damonon, as a breeder of horses, had good reason to keep mares on his estates and to sell off stallions. He might conceivably, therefore, have had a pool of mares on hand and thus entered in races mostly or only mares. However, since the gestation period for horses is 330–345 days, it is necessary to taper the work load placed on a mare as pregnancy progresses, and it is considered to be dangerous for the unborn fetus to push a pregnant mare to the point of exhaustion and dehydration (https://www.extension.umn.edu/horse-health/caring-your-mare-during-breeding-and-foaling/). Moreover, Damonon's primary concern in choosing horses to race must surely have been their physical and psychological capacity for competition, and it would thus have made little sense for him to exclude unilaterally half of the horses he bred from the pool of horses from which he selected in competing. As Willekes (2016) 194–5 points out, horses used in racing need to have an intense competitive drive that is nearly impossible to teach, and Columella (*Agr.* 6.29.1) states that just that sort of competitive drive is evident virtually from the moment a horse is born. In addition, Damonon would have kept a certain number of particularly fine stallions on hand for breeding purposes, and those stallions would have been obvious choices to use in races. Damonon thus had both reason and opportunity to identify and retain stallions who demonstrated the capacity to become first-rate racehorses and to enter those stallions in competitions on a regular basis.

[34] Gramm and Marksteiner (2010); Takahashi (2015). See also: http://www.equinestudies.org/ranger_2008/ranger_piece_2008_pdf1.pdf.

3.2.2 The Second Alternative Reading of ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις: *Tethrippon* for Fully Grown Mares

Very much the same can be said about another alternative reading that has been suggested by Nicholson but not widely adopted, namely that the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 of the Damonon inscription were won in a *tethrippon* race for fully grown mares.[35] We have already seen that it is unlikely that the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις victories were won by a dominant team of fully grown mares (see above, Ch. 3 §3.1.4), and that is in fact not what Nicholson is arguing. Rather, he is arguing that there was a chariot race for fully grown horses, the entrants in which had to be mares.

This interpretation has the advantage of reflecting and respecting the precise wording of the inscription. Just as τεθρίππōι in line 7 is a dative object of νικάω specifying the event in which Damonon won, ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις in Parts 3 and 6 is a dative object of νικάω specifying the event in which Damonon won. The information about the sex of the horses involved is thus most probably an integral part of the description of the event in which Damonon won, and not information that is specific to the victories won by Damonon. In other words, Damonon is saying that he won 'in the race for strong, physically mature mares', not that he won 'with strong, physically mature mares'. (For further discussion of this point, see below, Ch. 6 §6.2.) This is a subtle but crucial difference, because the competitions for four-horse chariots pulled by teams of juvenile horses at Olympia and elsewhere were open to both male and female horses.

However, Nicholson's reading has serious difficulties, starting from the fact that this reading too cannot easily explain why τεθρίππōι does not appear in either Part 3 or Part 6 of the inscription. Victories won in a special *tethrippon* race for fully grown female horses might conceivably have been less prestigious than victories won in a *tethrippon* race open to all comers, but any wins involving the *tethrippon* were inherently prestigious, and Damonon had every reason to make it abundantly clear that the ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις were won with a four-horse chariot team, regardless of their sex.

Furthermore, there is no known example anywhere in the Greek or Roman world of a chariot race open only to mares, but Nicholson's reading requires positing that just such a race was held at no fewer than six separate festivals in Lakedaimon annually, over a period of time that lasted for at least ten years.

[35] Nicholson (2005) 4. The same reading is implied in the translation provided in Sweet (1987) 145–6 though without any explicit discussion.

3.3 Transition: A New Alternative to the
Standard Reading—the *Kalpe*

There is in fact just one hippic competition known to have been held in the ancient Greek world that limited entrants on the basis of the sex of the horse. That contest, the *kalpe*, is thus the most obvious candidate for the event specified by ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις. As we will see, reading the Damonon *stele* with that in mind resolves the aforementioned problems with the current interpretation of the text. It also reveals heretofore unappreciated nuances in Damonon's self-presentation, fits perfectly with the historical context in which the *stele* was erected, and helps explain the reasons why Damonon could erect the *stele* in the first place.

In order to pursue that line of argumentation, it is necessary to have a firm grasp of a number of distinct subjects, namely: (a) the *kalpe* and related hippic competitions; (b) the relationship between the *kalpe* and cavalry service, and the difference between racehorses and cavalry horses; (c) the development of a cavalry force in Lakedaimon in the late fifth century; (d) the systems that ensured a regular supply of adequately trained cavalry horses in Lakedaimon; (e) the pursuit of status competition in Lakedaimon by means of victories won in horse-racing competitions; and (f) the different ways in which Lakedaimonians commemorated gymnic and hippic victories, and the sheer oddity of the Damonon *stele*.

These are in some sense related areas of inquiry, but, at the same time, they draw on discrete bodies of evidence and scholarship. Insofar as few readers will be deeply versed in all of these subjects, the requisite background is supplied for each. The result is a lengthy excursus that will take us away from the details of the Damonon *stele* for some time. This is regrettable, but the persistence of what seems to be a flawed reading of the Damonon *stele* may, in no small part, be ascribed to the fact that the intended audience for the *stele* would have been intimately familiar with all of this information. Those individuals were, therefore, expected to be able to read the text against that background. Without that background, it becomes impossible to understand the Damonon *stele* fully and properly. With that in mind, let us begin by turning our attention to the *kalpe* and related forms of hippic competitions.

4

THE *KALPE*

4.1 Textual Evidence for *Kalpe*

There is a limited amount of textual evidence bearing on the *kalpe*, among which the following passage from Pausanias is the most important (5.9.1–2):[1]

κατελύθη δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἀγωνίσματα, μεταδόξαν μηκέτι ἄγειν αὐτὰ Ἠλείοις. πένταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν κότινον Εὐτελίδα Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ Ἠλείοις ἦν πεντάθλους ἐσέρχεσθαι παῖδας. τῆς δὲ ἀπήνης καὶ κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, τὸν μὲν ὀλυμπιάδι νομισθέντα ἑβδομηκοστῇ, τὸν δὲ τῆς κάλπης τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, κήρυγμα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐποιήσαντο ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς μήτε κάλπης τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε ἀπήνης ἔσεσθαι δρόμον. ὅτε δὲ ἐτέθη πρῶτον, Θερσίου μὲν ἀπήνη Θεσσαλοῦ, Παταίκου δὲ Ἀχαιοῦ τῶν ἐκ Δύμης ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη.

ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἵππος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ δρόμῳ συνέθεον [οἱ ἀναβάται][2] ταῖς ἵπποις εἰλημμένοι τῶν χαλινῶν, καθὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἀναβάται καλούμενοι· διάφορα δὲ τοῖς ἀναβάταις ἐς τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον τά τε σημεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἄρσενές σφισιν ὄντες οἱ ἵπποι.

Certain contests, too, have been dropped at Olympia, the Eleians changing their minds and no longer holding them. The pentathlon for boys was instituted at the 38th Olympiad; but after Eutelidas of Lakedaimon had received the wild olive for it, it was no longer pleasing to the Eleians that boy pentathletes take part in the contests. The *apene* and the *kalpe* [τῆς δὲ ἀπήνης καὶ κάλπης τὸν δρόμον] were instituted at the 70th Olympiad [500 BCE] and the one after that [496

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[1] On the *kalpe*, see Schneider (1917); García Romero (1992) 188–9; Golden (1998) 40–3; Pierros (2003) 322–3, 363–4; Golden (2004) 93; Willekes (2016) 204–6. On *anabatai*, see Reisch (1894a); Golden (2004) 9.

[2] Kayser, an early editor of the text, suggested deleting these words as having been improperly added by a copyist.

BCE], respectively. They made an announcement at the 84th Olympiad [444 BCE] that neither the *kalpe* nor *apene* would be held in the future. When they were held for the first time, the sulky of Thersios of Thessaly and the cantering horse of Pataikos, an Achaian from Dyme, won.

[In the *kalpe*] the horse was female, and in the last part of the race the riders jumped off and ran beside the mares, holding onto the bridles, just as in my own day those do who are called 'mounters' [οἱ ἀναβάται]. The mounters, however, differ from the riders in the cantering race by having different military gear [σημεῖα],[3] and by riding horses that are male rather than female.

Although κάλπη has typically been translated as 'trot' in the past, more recent research has shown that it in fact denoted a horse's gait that is called a 'canter' in English (Figure 4).[4] (Horses have four basic gaits, which are, in order of increasing speed: walk, trot, canter, and gallop. See below, Ch. 5, §5.2.2 for further discussion.) Thus Pausanias writes about τῆς … κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, literally the 'race of the canter'. He also writes ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη. Here κάλπη must mean something like 'cantering horse', a meaning that is not otherwise attested and may reflect some confusion on Pausanias's part. The *apene* was a two-wheeled sulky pulled by a pair of mules.[5]

Pausanias has one further occasion to refer to the *kalpe* (6.9.2):

μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃν Ἠλεῖοί φασιν οὐ γραφῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων,[6] ὅτι ἐπὶ κάλπης ἀνηγορεύθη δρόμῳ …

After the statue of the man whom the Eleians say is not recorded with the others, because he was proclaimed winner in the *kalpe* …

The testimony of Pausanias is crucial because in this section of his work he draws directly on an earlier source that provided information about the history of the Olympics and a list of Olympic victors. The first such treatise was produced by Hippias of Elis at the end of the fifth century; subsequent authors such as Aristotle and Eratosthenes, in compiling similar treatises, borrowed heavily from earlier works of the same type, including that of

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[3] On the meaning of σημεῖα, see García Romero (1992) 189.

[4] Adams (1996) 598–602; McCabe (2007) 173, whose views were anticipated in H. A. Harris (1972) 158.

[5] On the *apene*, see Reisch (1894b); Kratzmüller (1993); Griffith (2006) 233–8. On sulkies, see above, Ch. 1 n. 8 above. On the termination of the *apene* at Olympia, see also Polemon *FHG* F 21 (III.122) *apud* Σ Pind. *Olymp.* V inscr. c. (I.139 Drachmann).

[6] Pausanias is no doubt referring here to the lists of Olympic victors found at Olympia, on which see Christesen (2007).

Hippias. The precise source that Pausanias used is unknown (though there is reason to suspect it was Eratosthenes), but whatever work he consulted would have had roots that stretched straight back to Hippias, and hence to just after the period when the *kalpe* had been terminated.[7] There is, therefore, good reason to take the information about the *kalpe* supplied by Pausanias to be credible.

Plutarch also mentions the cessation of the *kalpe* (*Mor.* 675C):

> οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν' ἔφην 'ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ εἱμαρμένην ἀμετάστατον καὶ ἀμετάθετον ἐν τοῖς ἀθλήμασιν ἐκπεπλῆχθαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Πύθια τῶν μουσικῶν ἔσχε τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἐπεισοδίους ἀγῶνας, ὁ δὲ γυμνικὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον οὕτως κατέστη, τοῖς δ' Ὀλυμπίοις πάντα προσθήκη πλὴν τοῦ δρόμου γέγονεν· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θέντες ἔπειτ' ἀνεῖλον, ὥσπερ τὸν τῆς κάλπης ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀπήνης·'

> Nor is there any reason, I continued, why we should so admire and reverence the Olympic games, as if, like Fate, they were unalterable, and never admitted any change since the first institution. For the Pythian, it is true, has had three or four musical prizes added; but all the gymnic contests were for the most part the same from the beginning. But in the Olympics all beside footraces are late additions. They instituted some, and abolished them again; such as the contest of the *kalpe* and of the *apene*. (trans. W. Goodwin, modified)

The term κάλπη appears relatively rarely in extant ancient Greek literature as designating a hippic competition and was evidently sufficiently obscure that it baffled later lexicologists.[8] Pollux, in compiling his *Onomasticon* in the second century CE, had some difficulty in understanding the difference between the *kalpe* and *apene*:

> καὶ ἀγὼν δέ τις ἡμιόνων ἤγετο πάλαι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν νωτέων ἡμιόνων ἀγώνισμα ἐκαλεῖτο κάλπη, τὸ δὲ τῶν ζυγίων ἀπήνη. (1.194, cf. 2.180)

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[7] Christesen (2007) 220–7.

[8] Κάλπη could also mean 'pitcher'. It was also the name of a Greek city in Bithynia and the name for the northern pillar of Herakles (i.e. the rock of Gibraltar). The related terms καλπάζω and καλπασμός are somewhat more common, but appear in contexts in which their meaning is ambiguous. See Adams (1996) 599–600. Pierros (2003) 364 gives a list of terms used to describe the act of jumping on and off a moving horse, but all of these terms are generic words used to designate mounting or dismounting a horse, jumping, running, etc., and hence are not specifically tied to the *kalpe*. The list given by Pierros includes the interesting verb παρακαλπάζω, which LSJ defines as 'to run beside a trotting horse'. The six known occurrences of this word (four of which occur in descriptions of Alexander's initial interaction with Bucephalus: see, e.g., Plut. *Alex.* 6.6) do not, however, seem to support that definition.

> And a certain contest for mules was held long ago at Olympia, and the contest for mules as beasts of burden was called the *kalpe*, and the contest for yoked mules was called the *apene*.

Pollux makes both the *kalpe* and *apene* into races for mules, one in which they ran individually and one in which they ran in teams. Moreover, he takes *kalpe* to be the name of a competition, which was not technically correct. Pausanias refers to the race as τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον (literally 'the race of the canter'), Plutarch as τὸν τῆς κάλπης ἀγῶνα ('the contest of the canter').

Further confusion is apparent in Heyschius' *Lexicon* (from the sixth century CE), which includes the following entry: κάλπης· ἵππος βαδιστής. καὶ εἶδος δρόμου. Heyschius (mistakenly) takes κάλπης to be a nominative noun that signified a type of horse or a type of race.[9]

Beyond these passages, κάλπη with the meaning 'canter' appears only seven further times in the extant corpus of Greek texts, all in the work known to us as the *Hippiatrica*, an early Byzantine compilation of earlier treatises on veterinary medicine for horses. In that work, the recommended treatments for a number of different ailments include giving the horse exercise in the form of a run conducted at a canter. For example, part of the recommended treatment for ὀπισθοτονία (tetanic recurvation) is as follows:

> καὶ ἀναβάτην ἐπικαθίσαι ποιήσας, δρόμῳ τῷ διὰ κάλπης γύμναζε ἤτοι τῷ λεγομένῳ τριπήδῳ, ἄχρις οὗ ἱδρώσῃ … (34.23.2–3; cf. 34.3.16, 36.1.7, 36.4.1, 70.4.11, 103.1.11, 107.1.10).[10]

> And seating a rider on the horse, exercise the horse by means of a run conducted at a canter, otherwise known as a *tripedon*, until he sweats …

The rather odd form of the Greek is a result of the fact that this part of the *Hippiatrica* consists of an excerpt from a treatise by Pelagonius that was originally written in Latin. The translator took a single Latin verb, *tripodare*, and provided a double translation that included the Greek equivalent of *tripodare* and a transliterated version of *tripodare*.

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[9] The meaning of βαδιστής in this instance is less than entirely clear; the closest parallel is Eur. *Medea* 1182, where a ταχὺς βαδιστής is a swift runner.

[10] All of these references are based on the text in v. 1 of the edition of Oder and Hoppe.

4.2 Related Hippic Competitions

The literary texts cited above represent the sum total of that type of evidence for the *kalpe*. There is, however, a variety of additional evidence for hippic contests in which mounting or dismounting featured prominently.

One such race, the *apobates*, involved two or four-horse chariots, each of which had, in addition to a charioteer, a passenger (the ἀποβάτης, literally, 'the one who dismounts') who was equipped with military gear.[11] Literary descriptions give slightly divergent accounts of the event. Various lexicographical sources state that the *apobates* repeatedly jumped on and off the chariot while it was in motion.[12] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the other hand, describes the race as follows (*A.R.* 7.73.2–3):

> … παρ᾽ ὀλίγαις ἔτι φυλαττόμενον πόλεσιν Ἑλληνίσιν ἐν ἱερουργίαις τισὶν ἀρχαϊκαῖς, ὁ τῶν παρεμβεβηκότων τοῖς ἅρμασι δρόμος. ὅταν γὰρ τέλος αἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἅμιλλαι λάβωνται, ἀποπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων οἱ παροχούμενοι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις, οὓς οἱ ποιηταὶ μὲν παραβάτας, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καλοῦσιν ἀποβάτας, τὸν σταδιαῖον ἀμιλλῶνται δρόμον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

> … the race run by those who jump onto chariots, a race that is still preserved in a few Greek *poleis* on the occasion of certain ancient sacrificial rituals. For, after the regular hippic contests are over, those standing beside the charioteers, whom the poets call *parabatai*, but the Athenians *apobatai*, having jumped down from their chariots, run a race against each other that is a *stadion* in length.

This divergence is typically, and plausibly, understood as reflecting two different stages of the same race, with the jumping on and off the chariot representing the majority of the race, and the continuous sprint coming at the end.[13]

Literary, epigraphic, and artistic evidence shows that the *apobates* was popular in Attica, Boeotia, and Thessaly and that it was, at various points

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[11] The relevant scholarship includes, but is by no means limited to, Reisch (1894d); Kyle (1987) 188–9; Reed (1990); Crowther (1991); García Romero (1992) 189–90; Müller (1996) 56–69; Shear (2001) 299–310; Schultz (2007); Neils and Schultz (2012). Different depictions of the event show *apobatai* with different constellations of arms and armour; the required gear likely varied spatially and temporally.

[12] See, for example, Harpocration, *Lex.*, *s.v.* ἀποβάτης. For a full list of relevant sources, see Reisch (1894d).

[13] Gardiner (1910) 237–9. Müller (1996) is skeptical of Gardiner's interpretation, but Schultz (2007) 63–4 persuasively argues that Gardiner's view is supported by the considerable body of relevant artistic evidence from Athens.

in time, also contested in Aphrodisias, Naples, and Rome.[14] It was a featured element in the Panathenaic festival in Athens (Demosth. *Erot.* 61.23–9), and appears frequently in Athenian art.[15] Two particularly well-known representations can be found on the Parthenon frieze[16] and on the marble base of a dedication erected by an Athenian named Krates to celebrate his victory in the *apobates* race (Figure 5). The Athenians traced the origins of this race back to Erichthonios (Eratosth. *Cat.* 1.13), and scholars have drawn connections with Homeric warfare,[17] but the earliest evidence for the *apobates* race is probably a representation on an Attic red-figure pyxis from c. 510.[18] Julia Shear has argued that the race came into being at the time of the re-foundation of the Panathenaic Games in 566.[19] There is no evidence demonstrating that the race was contested outside of Athens before the fourth century.[20]

While the *kalpe* and the *apobates* contests differed in a number of ways, they apparently shared two important similarities. First, the final stage of both races consisted of a competitor racing on foot to the finish line. Dionysius states that the distance run on foot at the end of the *apobates* race was a *stadion* (approximately 200 metres), and it is possible that the same was true of the *kalpe*.[21] Second, given that Pausanias explicitly connects the competitors in the *kalpe* with the *anabatai* ('mounters') of his own day, it is probable that the *kalpe*, like the *apobates*, involved repeatedly dismounting and re-mounting prior to a final stage in the race in which riders ran alongside their horses to the finish line.

Inscriptions and coins from Thessaly and vase paintings and coins from southern Italy and Sicily suggest that the *kalpe*, or a race very much like the

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[14] Crowther (1991) 175 n. 15.

[15] The *apobates* also seems to have formed part of the Anthesteria festival at Athens. See Kyle (1987) 45–6.

[16] On that subject, see most recently Neils and Schultz (2012).

[17] Gardiner (1910) 237.

[18] Neils and Schultz (2012) 203. Some scholars have claimed that the race appears in vases from the Geometric period, but the identification of the scenes in question as an *apobates* race is disputed. See the sources listed in Schultz (2007) 59 n. 1.

[19] Shear (2001) 53. Müller (1996) 65 argues that the *apobates* formed part of funeral games prior to its addition to the Panathenaic program in 566.

[20] Szemethy (1996).

[21] The hippodrome at Olympia had a track that was four *stadia* long, with a space of three *stadia* between turning posts (Ebert (1991)); as a result, some sort of special marker would have been necessary if the final sprint in the *kalpe* at Olympia was in fact one *stadion* long.

kalpe as described by Pausanias, was popular in certain parts of the Greek world starting in the middle of the fifth century.[22]

A collection of inscriptions from Larissa in Thessaly, ranging in date from the early second century BCE through the first century CE, attests to the existence of two different sets of games, the Eleutheria and the Stena. Both games included a number of hippic competitions, which is what one might expect given Thessaly's fame as a centre of horse-breeding and cavalry forces. Four of those inscriptions (two victor lists from the Eleutheria (*IG* IX.2.528 and 534) and two from the Stena (*IG* IX.2.527 and 531)) include a contest called the *aphippodroma*.[23]

This contest is known only from victor lists, and so it is impossible to be certain what was involved. García-Romero suggests that it might have been similar to the activity described in *Iliad* 15.679–84, in which a skilled rider yokes together four horses and jumps from the back of one horse to another while the horses are in motion.[24] If the *aphippodroma* did in fact involve something along those lines, it might have had some relationship to training exercises for a type of cavalrymen called *amphippoi*, known from much later sources (Arr. *Tact.* 2.3; Ael. *Tact.* 2.4; Suda, *s.v.* ὁπλῖται (O 466 Adler)), who brought multiple horses into battle and vaulted from one to another.[25]

The name of the race, 'dismounting horse-race', suggests a different and more commonly held view, namely that the *aphippodroma* was more or less the same as the *kalpe*. Support for this view can be found in a coin type minted in the city of Larissa in the first half of the fourth century.[26] The obverse shows the head of the eponymous nymph Larissa, and the reverse

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[22] The idea that the *kalpe* required the rider to repeatedly dismount and mount his horse is endorsed in Pierros (2003) 322–3. A useful listing of probable depictions of the *kalpe* in Greek art can be found in Maul-Mandelartz (1990) 155–67.

[23] On these inscriptions, see Graininger (2006) 112–32 and (2011) 159–80. On the *aphippodroma*, see Gallis (1988) 220–1; García Romero (1992) 190–1; Pierros (2003) 322–3; see also Reisch (1894c); Axenides (1947) 13–14; Golden (2004) 12.

[24] García Romero (1992) 190.

[25] An emendation of Diodorus Siculus 19.29.2 suggested by Wesseling would read *amphippous* in place of the *asthippous* or *anthippous* found in the manuscripts. If accepted, this emendation would mean that Diodorus included *amphippoi* among the listing of the cavalry units in Antigonos' army in 317. Suda, *s.v.* ἱππική (I 546 Adler) describes the same kind of horsemen using the term *aphippoi*, presumably a mistake for *amphippoi*. Also possibly relevant is a pseudo-Panathenaic prize amphora from c. 540 (Paris Cabinet des Medailles 243) that shows a figure holding two shields who seems to have just vaulted onto the back of a horse, possibly with the aid of a ramp. An accompanying inscription on the vase is difficult to decipher but seems to read: καλῶς τῷ κυβιστῇ τοι, 'good for the tumbler!'. On this vase, see Neils (2007) 48–9. Thuillier (1989) 34 shows that Roman *desultores* performed in two different events, one of which involved them dismounting and finishing the final part of the race on foot and one of which involved them jumping from one horse to another during the race.

[26] Gardner (1883) 29.

shows a young male rider wearing a *petasos* and *chlamys* positioned alongside a running horse. The rider carries a whip and holds the horse's reins. Based on the (later) epigraphic evidence for a horse-dismounting race in Larissa and the fact that the horse is running, several scholars have taken this coin type to be a representation of the *aphippodroma*.[27]

Two vases painted in southern Italy in the first quarter of the fourth century supply further relevant evidence. Both of these nearly identical vases were attributed by A. D. Trendall, in his seminal study of southern Italian vase painting, to the aptly-named Anabates Painter, who, it is now known, worked in Metapontion in the early decades of the fourth century.[28] The Anabates Painter showed a particular fondness for bell kraters decorated with scenes involving sports, music, and the symposium. Two of the dozen or so surviving vases attributed to him depict riders vaulting off their horses. The better known of the two is currently part of the collection of the British Museum.[29] One side of the vase shows three draped youths. The other side features a nude young male horseman holding a small round shield and a javelin.[30] The horseman is jumping off his mount as he passes a column and heads toward a winged Nike holding out a wreath (Figure 6).[31]

This vase has been plausibly interpreted as depicting the *anabates* race mentioned by Pausanias, with the different phases of the race compressed into a single scene. Nicholas Sekunda notes that 'in the painting the various stages of the competition are telescoped: the *anabates* dismounts, passes the finishing post, and is crowned by Nike, the goddess of victory, all at once'.[32] This sort of synoptic depiction, in which different moments in an action are combined and collapsed, had a long history in Greek art.[33] The wreath-bearing Nike and the column (marking a finish line) are both

[27] Gallis (1988) 220–1.

[28] Trendall (1967) I.95–7; Silvestrelli (2014) 106.

[29] British Museum 1978, 0615.1. The other vase is Syracuse 16034. These vases are numbered 506 and 505 on p. 96 of Trendall 1967. (A third vase, once Zurich Market, likely shows a victorious competitor in the *kalpe* receiving a crown. See Trendall (1983) 47 C38 and plate VIIII 1–2.) The British Museum vase was originally part of the Hope Collection and as such is described in E. M. W. Tillyard (1923) 119 and plate 31. It is a nice historical idiosyncrasy that the Tillyard who published the bottom half of the Damonon *stele* was the brother of the Tillyard who catalogued a vase by the Anabates Painter.

[30] Tillyard states that the rider is holding a stick, but, given the depictions on Tarantine coins (see below) that show an *anabates* with a round shield and javelin, it seems likely that the rider on this vase is holding a javelin as well.

[31] Thuillier (1989) 35 n. 11, 41, and figures 1–2 provides a list of numerous Etruscan and Roman depictions of *desultores* (i.e., competitors in the Roman equivalent to the *kalpe*) that includes the Tomb of the Master of the Olympiads at Tarquinia.

[32] Sekunda (1994) 179.

[33] Snodgrass (1987) 139.

standard attributes of an agonistic scene. The fact that the rider carries a shield and javelin separates the race in question from the *keles*. The prominently featured act of dismounting by jumping off the horse, which is in motion, points strongly toward a horse-race involving riders carrying military equipment who dismounted during the race.

The reason for identifying the race in question as the *anabates* rather than the *kalpe* is that the horse is a stallion.[34] (Recall that Pausanias states that the *anabates* and the *kalpe* were nearly identical races with the exceptions that the former involved only stallions, whereas the latter involved only mares, and that the riders carried different military gear.) Some caution is merited here since most horses in Greek art are stallions, whereas we know from literary sources that mares were commonly used in both racing and warfare.[35] It is, therefore, possible that the horses on these vases are stallions as the result of artistic convention rather than a verisimilar reflection of the realities of the race in question, and that these vases in fact depict the *kalpe*. (Inasmuch as we do not know how the riders' equipment differed between the *anabates* and the *kalpe*, no assistance can be found in that direction.)

The vase by the Anabates Painter finds close parallels in coins minted by multiple Greek *poleis* in southern Italy, Sicily, and Cilicia. The earliest known examples were minted in Himera in western Sicily and date to the second quarter of the fifth century.[36] A similar design is found on coins minted in nearby (non-Greek) Motya sometime around the middle of the fifth century.[37] On the other side of the Greek world, the Samian colony of Kelenderis minted coins featuring a dismounting rider starting in the third quarter of the fifth century and continuing for several decades thereafter.[38]

The best known series of coins showing dismounting horsemen come from Taras in southern Italy.[39] Horsemen began to appear on the reverses of Tarantine coins in the middle of the fifth century. The riders are shown in an agonistic rather than military context because they carry, if anything, a whip, not a javelin. Starting in the late fifth or early fourth century, horsemen in a variety of guises are featured on the obverses of Tarantine coins. One type of these coins, labelled Type L in A. J. Evans' study of Tarantine coinage, features 'a naked *ephebos* vaulting from a horse

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[34] E. M. W. Tillyard (1923) 119.

[35] Spence (1993) 44.

[36] Hill (1903) 68 and plate 4.5; Franke and Hirmer (1964) #66; Maul-Mandelartz (1990) 162–4.

[37] These coins are typically seen as imitations of the Himera coins with similar designs. See Benson (1905); Head (1911) 157–8; Maul-Mandelartz (1990) 164.

[38] Head (1911) 718–9; Maul-Mandelartz (1990) 164–5.

[39] A. Evans (1889) 45–63; Brauer Jr. (1986) 36–7, 53–5, 64–5; Maul-Mandelartz (1990) 165–7; Fischer-Bossert (1999) 94–6.

cantering left' (see Figure 7).[40] The riders on Type L coins are equipped with small round shields and javelins and are shown in the act of dismounting, with their left legs fully extended toward the ground and their right legs bent at the knee sliding down the left sides of their horses.

It is perhaps significant that, whereas the horses on the vases by the Anabates Painter appear to be galloping, the horses on the Tarantine coins are cantering.[41] Here again the horse appears to be a stallion rather than a mare.

The preceding discussion does not represent an exhaustive listing of the known representations of dismounting riders in Greek art. This is because not every depiction of a dismounting rider in Greek art was meant to represent the *kalpe*. The basic act of dismounting was largely the same in both agonistic and non-agonistic contexts, and some depictions of dismounting have no agonistic overtones whatsoever. For example, the tondo of an Athenian black-figure kylix dating to the second half of the sixth century shows a dismounting hoplite with a mounted archer alongside him; this can hardly be anything other than a scene depicting a soldier jumping down from his horse.[42] Other examples, such as a late sixth-century votive shield found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth that shows an armed rider dismounting, are ambiguous in that it is not clear whether or not the context is agonistic.[43] As a result, the examples supplied in the preceding discussion include only those for which an agonistic context can be plausibly established.

4.3 Summary and Modern Analogues

We have seen that there was, for a time in the fifth century, a horse-race at Olympia in which only mares competed, that riders in that race dismounted and ran alongside their horses in the last part of the race, and that the horses went at a canter (*kalpe*) for at least some part of the race. Inscriptions, vases, and coins suggest that competitions in the *kalpe*, or an event very similar to it, were held in Greek communities in southern Italy, Sicily, Ionia, and Thessaly. The terminology used to describe the event seems to have varied temporally and perhaps spatially; Hellenistic inscrip-

[40] A. Evans (1889) 61–2.

[41] The canter is the only standard horse gait in which three hooves are in contact with the ground at any given moment and hence is visually distinctive. For more on horse gaits, see above, Ch. 4 §4.1.

[42] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.4. The vase is signed by Epitimos as potter. Full bibliography on this vase can be found at:
http://metmuseum.org/exhibitions/view?exhibitionId=%7B74ad4b7e-55574b1fa1d0254d7d32d61a%7D&oid=251802.

[43] Stillwell (1952) 227–8 #5 and plates 48–9. Maul-Mandelartz (1990) 159 argues that the date suggested by Stillwell is too early.

tions from Thessaly use the term *aphippodroma*, and Pausanias explicitly states that the *kalpe* was nearly identical to the *anabates* race of his own time. The connection made by Pausanias between competitors in the *kalpe* and the *anabatai* ('mounters') indicates that, like competitors in the *apobates* and *anabates* contests, competitors in the *kalpe* repeatedly mounted and dismounted their horses during the race.

It is likely that during the *kalpe* riders mounted and dismounted while their horses were cantering. The practicalities of mounting and dismounting a horse moving at a canter clearly emerge from the modern sport of equestrian vaulting—one of the seven equestrian disciplines recognised by the Fédération Equestre Internationale.[44] In modern equestrian vaulting, competitors, who enter either as individuals or as members of a team, perform both compulsory and freestyle exercises. The horse on which they perform those exercises moves in a 15-metre circle on a lead held by a person (a lunger or *longeur*) standing in the middle of the circle. Inexperienced vaulters work with a horse moving at a walk or trot, but all high level competitions involve horses that are cantering. No competitions are held at a gallop, because the gallop 'is very fast and bumpy' and thus 'not good for vaulting'.[45]

The fundamental exercises in modern equestrian vaulting are the mount and dismount, which are carried out while the horse is in motion. Horses in this event are equipped with a surcingle (a wide strap which runs over the back and under the belly of a horse) that has two large handles. In mounting the horse, competitors run alongside the horse, match their speed to that of the horse, grasp the handles on the surcingle, and vault onto the back of the horse. The result is most easily appreciated through the medium of video: see, for example, https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=f55Obt_W3CQ.

The dismount is also performed while the horse is cantering, by vaulting off either the left or right side.

The similarities between modern equestrian vaulting and the *kalpe* are apparent in the visual evidence. Figure 8 displays the name vase of the Anabates Painter alongside a drawing, from a training manual for modern equestrian vaulting, which shows a rider in that event dismounting. Note in particular the similarity between the depiction on the vase and the drawing of the third stage of the dismounting process.

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[44] The FEI sets the rules for international competitions in equestrian vaulting; those rules can be found on the FEI's website: see https://inside.fei.org/fei/ regulations/vaulting. Competitions at the local and national level are overseen by national organisations, which set their own rules that can diverge in some respects from those of the FEI. A good, thorough introduction to modern equestrian vaulting can be found in Wiemers (1994).

[45] This quote comes from the information section of VaultCanada's website: see https://vaultcanada.org/About-Vaulting/About-Vaulting-Competition.

Modern equestrian vaulting thus leaves no doubt that it is possible to mount and dismount a horse moving at a canter. Given the name chosen for the *kalpe*, cantering was clearly a key element in the race, and the *kalpe* likely featured riders who, during the race, mounted and dismounted repeatedly from horses moving at a canter. Competitors in the *kalpe* who had to stop their horses or slow to a trot or walk in order to mount and dismount would have been at a huge disadvantage against opponents who could mount and dismount at a canter.

The evidence discussed above makes it clear that contests that involved riders mounting and dismounting their horses became popular in the Greek world in the fifth century and that, although the *kalpe* was removed from the Olympic program in 444, such contests continued to be held in a number of different places in the Greek world. Inscriptions from Thessaly dating to the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, and Pausanias' mention of *anabatai* in his own time, show that contests like the *kalpe* had a long life.

THE *KALPE* IN ITS LAKEDAIMONIAN CONTEXT

5.1 Lakedaimonian Terracotta Plaques Showing the *Kalpe*

The evidence for the *kalpe* includes finds from Lakedaimon, in the form of three fragmentary votive terracotta plaques from the shrine of Agamemnon and Alexandra at Amyklai (Figures 9–11).[1] All three plaques, which date to late fifth or fourth century, show a rider dismounting a horse; two of those three plaques show the rider holding a small round shield (one of the three is insufficiently preserved to be certain that the rider was equipped with a shield). This is, of course, precisely the same iconography found in vase paintings and coins from southern Italy that depict the *kalpe* or a very close analogue (see above, Ch. 4 §4.2).[2]

Given the parlous state of these plaques it is helpful to compare them with closely related and better preserved terracottas from Taras, which survive in much larger numbers and hence are better known. Excavations at Taras have brought to light 64 distinct votive deposits that together have yielded thousands upon thousands of terracotta votive plaques and figurines.[3] This material has never been fully published, but certain subsets of it have been the subject of books and articles. The most directly relevant scholarship comprises Emil Petersen's study, from 1900, of the terracottas relating to the Dioskouroi from the Chiesa del Carmine deposit; Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli's 1977 study of the terracottas relating to the Dioskouroi from the Contrado Solito deposit; Clelia Iacobone's 1988 study of the terracottas from six different deposits (not including either Chiesa del Carmine or Contrado Solito);[4] and Nicoletta Poli's 2010 study of the

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[1] On the identity of Alexandra, see above, Ch. 1 n. 6.

[2] On these plaques, see Salapata (2014) 196–8, 202–3, 318–19. Professor Salapata points out to me (pers. comm.) that the Tarantine dismounters usually wear a helmet. The upper parts of the three relevant plaques from Amyklai are not preserved, so it is not clear if they also wore helmets.

[3] Lippolis (2009) 120.

[4] The deposits in question are: Giardino Ramerino, Via Regina Elena, Villa Beaumont in Via Pitagora, D'Ayala in Via di Palma, Via di Palma, and Contrado Corti Vecchie.

terracottas depicting riders from the Contrado Pizzone deposit.[5] The Chiesa del Carmine and Contrado Solito deposits studied by Petersen and Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli consist almost exclusively of dedications to the Dioskouroi and probably were associated with cult sites for the twins, whereas the Contrado Pizzone deposit studied by Poli was associated with a cult site for Demeter and Kore. One of the deposits studied by Iacobone was associated with a cult site for Artemis and Aphrodite, and another to an unknown female divinity; there is uncertainty about the divine figures associated with the other four deposits.[6] It is important to bear in mind that there is nothing approximating a comprehensive publication of the terracottas from Taras and that what we have at our disposal represents snapshots of different, relatively small subsets of a huge body of material.

In the present context it is highly significant that in all four of the aforementioned studies the material in question included terracotta votives depicting a dismounting rider that is iconographically nearly identical to the three terracotta plaques from Amyklai and to the figures on the vases and coins discussed above, Ch. 4 §4.2.[7] Petersen subdivides the material that he studied into 40 different groups on an iconographic basis, one of which (Group 30) consists of riders (with or without a small round shield) dismounting from a moving horse (Figure 12).[8] Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli subdivides her material into nine different groups, each with multiple sub-groupings. Three sub-groupings, C l–n, consist of riders, equipped with small round shields, at different stages of dismounting a moving horse (Figure 13).[9] Iacobone divides her material into six groups, each with multiple sub-groupings. Group D VIII–XII consists of riders, with or without a small round shield, in one of five different stages of dismounting a horse (Figure 14).[10] Poli works more impressionistically, but illustrates and discusses multiple examples of terracottas showing riders dismounting horses.[11] All but Poli date the dismounting terracottas they study to the fourth or third century, whereas Poli argues that some of the relevant pieces date to the early fifth century.

Some caution is necessary in interpreting the dismounting terracottas from Taras because, as we have seen, not every representation of a dismounting rider in Greek art was meant to depict the *kalpe*. That said, it

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[5] Petersen (1900); Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977); Iacobone (1988); Poli (2010).

[6] Iacobone (1988) 163–6.

[7] One might also note in this regard a late Archaic/early Classical bronze figurine (Berlin Antikensammlungen 7771) from Taras that seems to show a dismounting rider. See Neugebauer (1951) 55–6 #45 and plates 26, 45, as well as Renate Thomas (1981) 69–70 and plate XXIX, 1.

[8] Petersen (1900) 21–2, 32–4.

[9] Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977) 346–7 and plates LXXXII and LXXXIII 1.

[10] Iacobone (1988) 119–27 and plates 115–17.

[11] Poli (2010) 45–63 and figures 4–19.

seems likely that something contextually specific to Taras influenced the production and dedication of terracotta votives showing dismounting riders. Whereas terracotta votives showing riders are found throughout the Greek world, terracotta votives showing a rider dismounting have, to date, been found in just four sites: Taras; the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra at Amyklai; the sanctuary of Demeter and the Dioskouroi at Messene; and at Policoro in southern Italy (the site of ancient Heraclea, about 50 km from Taras by sea).[12]

Terracotta plaques showing a dismounting rider were, therefore, far from being generic offerings and seem to have had some special connection to patterns of activity in southern Italy and Lakedaimon. In view of the fact that the terracotta plaques from Messene were heavily influenced by those produced in Lakonia, Messene can probably be put aside as, in this case at least, reflecting rather than affecting the production and dedication of votive plaques in Lakonia.[13] The same can be said about the examples from Policoro, which followed Tarantine iconographic models and were perhaps made in moulds imported from Taras.[14] That leaves just Taras and Lakonia as the two major factors in the equation.

The question then becomes why representations of dismounting riders would have had particular resonance in Taras. It is clear, based on the iconography of the terracottas in question and the iconography of other material from the Chiesa del Carmine and Contrado Solito deposits, that at least some of the terracottas depicting dismounting riders from Taras represent the Dioskouroi. This is most obviously true of plaques that show a pair of identical or nearly identical riders dismounting and that were found among deposits of material dedicated almost exclusively to the Dioskouroi.

The dismounting scenes involving the Dioskouroi can be most easily understood in one of two, non-mutually exclusive, ways. These scenes may ultimately depend on a story about the Dioskouroi coming to the assistance of the forces of Lokroi Epizephyrioi at the Battle of Sagra. (The date of the Battle of Sagra is a subject of continuing debate, but it must be placed somewhere in the sixth century.[15]) The story, recounted most fully in Justin (*Epit.* 20.3) but also referenced by Diodorus (8.32.1) and Strabo (6.1.10), is that the Lokrians, fearing an impending attack by the much more powerful *polis* of Croton, sent to the Spartiates for assistance. The Spartiates, as always less than eager to intervene beyond the borders of Lakedaimon,

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[12] Salapata (2014) 202–3. Salapata does not mention the relevant material from Policoro, on which see Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977) 393. On the dismounting plaques from Messene, see Themelis (1988) 163–4 and figure 7.

[13] Salapata (2014) 221–2.

[14] Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977) 390–1.

[15] On the complicated historiographical issues pertaining to the Battle of Sagra, see Giangiulio (1983) and Moscato Castelnuovo (1995).

promised to lend the Lokrians the Dioskouroi as their allies, and the Lokrian envoys made couches for the Dioskouroi on their ship on the voyage home. On the day of the battle, the vastly outnumbered Lokrian forces were aided by two huge young men mounted on white horses, who disappeared as soon the Lokrians had vanquished the Crotoniates.

This legend seems to have made its way into the art of southern Italy by the fifth century at the latest. A marble sculptural group from a temple excavated at Contrada Marasà on the site of ancient Lokroi Epizephyrioi and now in the museum at Reggio di Calabria shows the Dioskouroi dismounting from horses supported by Tritons (see Figure 15).[16] Most, though not all, scholars read this scene as a representation of the arrival of the Dioskouroi by sea (hence the Tritons) from Lakedaimon to aid the Lokrians. This sculptural group is variously dated but is typically placed sometime in the second half of the fifth century. It likely reflects relatively close ties between Lakedaimon and Lokroi Epizephyrioi, which is characterised in some ancient sources as a Lakedaimonian colony (see, for instance, Paus. 3.3.1). The appearance of this scene in terracottas in Taras (which had close ties with Lokroi Epizephyrioi and which was itself almost certainly a Lakedaimonian colony) would not be surprising.[17] The continuing connections between Lakedaimon and Taras are evident from the fact that the Tarantines, in the third quarter of the fourth century, requested military assistance from Lakedaimon, in response to which request King Archidamos III was sent to their aid (Diod. 16.62.4–63.1).[18]

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[16] On the Dioskouroi sculptures from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, see Szeliga (1981) 52–5, 212–23; Costabile (1995); and Danner (1997) 63–8. The cult of the Dioskouroi was transmitted at an early date (certainly by the late sixth century) directly from Greek cities in southern Italy to Rome (Gury (1981–99) 608–9). The story of the appearance of the Dioskouroi at Sagra also made its way to Rome, where it found a doublet in the story (Livy 2.20.10–13, D. Hal. *A.R.* 6.13, Val. Max. 1.8.1, Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.2.6 and 3.5.11) that the Dioskouroi appeared on horseback at the Battle of Lake Regillus and helped lead Roman forces to victory (Szeliga (1981) 192–3). Granius Licinianus, writing in the second century CE, claims that the custom of some Roman cavalrymen of bringing two horses to battle derived from the cult of the Dioskouroi at Therapne in Lakonia (26.12–15 Criniti). This claim is patently false (even Licinianus admits that the statues of the Dioskouroi at Therapne did not show a second horse), but it is revealing of the close perceived connection in Rome between the Dioskouroi and cavalry service. On the relevant passage in Licinianus, see Scardigli and Berardi (1983) 15–19. Liv. 35.28.8 states that Tarantine cavalrymen brought two horses to battle with them, which (along with Taras' close relationship with Sparta, and the close relationship between the Dioskouroi and cavalry forces in Rome) may account for Licinianus' claim.

[17] On the connections between Lokroi Epizephyrioi and Lakedaimon, see de la Genière (1983), (1985), and (1986); Malkin (1994) 62–3; Redfield (2003) 251–3. On the relationship between Taras and Lakedaimon, see Malkin (1994) 57, 115–42 and Nafissi (1999).

[18] Diodorus notes that Lakedaimonians 'were the stock of their [the Tarantines'] ancestors' and that the Lakedaimonians 'were willing to join them [the Tarantines] because of their relationship' (16.62.4, trans. C. Oldfather).

By the fourth century, depictions of the Dioskouroi dismounting may well have taken on a more general valence of their arrival as saviours, in which guise the twins were worshipped across much of the Greek world from an early date.[19] From that perspective the dismounting scenes involving the Dioskouroi on the votive terracottas from Taras would be generic epiphany scenes that ultimately derived from the story of their arrival at the Battle of Sagra.

Alternatively, the Tarantine terracottas showing the Dioskouroi dismounting may be agonistic scenes that represent the *kalpe* and reflect the role of the Dioskouroi as horsemen and patrons of athletics. The close link between the Dioskouroi and horses is already apparent in the poetry of Homer (*Od.* 11.298–300) and Alcaeus (F 34a.5–6 L–P), as well as in the *Homeric Hymn to the Dioskouroi* (in which they are addressed as ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων, 'riders upon swift horses', 17.5; cf. 33.18).[20] On the sixth-century throne of Apollo at Amyklai they were shown mounted on horses supported by sphinxes (Paus. 3.18.14).[21] The terracotta votives from Taras include a very substantial number of representations of the Dioskouroi, with or on horses.

The close link between the Dioskouroi and athletics is apparent in the *Iliad*, in which Helen mentions 'Kastor, tamer of horses, and the goodly boxer, Polydeukes' (3.237, see also *Odyssey* 11.300), and Pindar writes in *Nemean* 10 that 'the Dioskouroi, guardians of spacious Sparta, along with Hermes and Herakles, administer the flourishing institution of the games (*agonon*)' (49–54, trans. D. Svarlien; cf. *Olymp.* 3.34–8, *Isth.* 1.19–24). Two further references in Pindar's *epinikia* suggest that hymns to Kastor were sung after equestrian competitions (*Pyth.* 2.69–70, *Isth.* 1.15–18). The Dioskouroi received dedications from athletes during the Archaic period (see, for example, *IG* IX.1.649), and they had an altar at the starting gate in the hippodrome at Olympia (Paus. 5.15.5).[22] The Dioskouroi regularly appear in the Tarantine terracotta votives with athletic equipment such as strigils, discuses, and aryballoi.[23]

There is also some reason to think that hippic contests, possibly including the *kalpe*, may have been associated with sanctuaries of the Dioskouroi in Taras and Lakonia. A considerable number of the Tarantine terracotta votives dedicated to the Dioskouroi show the twins in association

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[19] See, for example, the *Homeric Hymn to the Dioskouroi* 33.6. Burkert (1985 (1977)) 213 notes that 'the Dioskouroi are above all saviours, *soteres*'. On the Dioskouroi as saviours at Sagra, see Langlotz and Hirmer (1965) 286.

[20] The Dioskouroi have been connected to the Twin Riders in the Vedic tradition, on which see most recently Walker (2015) 32–125.

[21] That depiction may in turn have inspired the Tritons that support the Dioskouroi's horses in the sculptures from Marasà (de la Genière (1986) 405).

[22] On *IG* IX.1.649, see Moretti (1953) #10.

[23] Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977) 379–80.

with a pair of lidded amphorae, and amphorae with shapes that closely echo those represented on the terracotta votives were found in deposits with those terracotta votives.[24] Discussion of the significance of these amphorae goes back at least as far as Petersen's publication of the Chiesa del Carmine deposit in 1900. Petersen argued that when the amphorae appear in scenes of *theoxenia* the vessels should be understood as holding food or drink used in the ritual. In other instances, the amphorae appear in scenes showing the Dioskouroi mounted on swiftly moving horses (see Figure 16). Petersen suggested that the amphorae in such scenes were representations of vessels that were used as prizes, in the same fashion as Panathenaic amphorae, in contests associated with the Dioskouroi.[25] Amphorae, though of a somewhat different shape, also appear on some of the stone reliefs of the Dioskouroi that have been found in Lakonia. Jan Sanders, like Petersen, believed that such amphorae might have served as prizes in games associated with the Dioskouroi.[26] Insofar as one type of Tarantine terracotta votive that includes a pair of amphorae shows a Dioskouros dismounting from a moving horse, and insofar as the *kalpe* seems to have been particularly popular in Taras, it is possible that hippic contests associated with Dioskouroi sanctuaries in Taras and Lakonia included the *kalpe*.

The representations of the Dioskouroi dismounting found among the Tarantine terracotta votives may well then represent the *kalpe*. It must certainly have been the case that the very high degree of similarity between the iconography associated with the Dioskouroi dismounting on the Tarantine terracotta votives on one hand, and the iconography associated with the *kalpe* on southern Italian vases and Tarantine coins on the other, would have immediately suggested that the terracotta votives showed the *kalpe*. Many terracotta votives present generic scenes that reflect in a general way activities with which a divine figure was associated.[27] The close associations between the Dioskouroi, horses, and athletics would have made the terracotta votives showing the *kalpe* an obvious choice for dedications made at a shrine for the twins.

It is likely in fact that the terracotta votives showing the Dioskouroi dismounting were multivalent and perhaps intentionally ambiguous. The extensive body of scholarship on terracotta votives has shown that while there are in some cases clear connections between their iconography and the divine figure to which they were dedicated, in most cases terracotta votives were generic so that the same terracotta votive could be offered to a

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[24] Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977) 382–3.

[25] Petersen (1900) 41–7. A range of other interpretations have been suggested; see the discussion in Lippolis (2009) 137–8.

[26] Sanders (1992) 206.

[27] See Salapata (2014) 9–10 with citations of earlier scholarship.

wide variety of divine figures. The choice of votive was in many instances driven by the desires and beliefs of the dedicator rather than the nature of the divine figure to which the votive was dedicated. Moreover, terracotta votives were for the most part mass produced in moulds used by commercial workshops, and hence the choice of what to dedicate may in many instances have been limited by what objects were on offer.[28] Different dedicants thus could easily have seen quite different things in a terracotta votive showing the Dioskouroi dismounting.

It is important to emphasise that not all of the Tarantine terracotta votives showing a rider dismounting from a horse were necessarily connected to the Dioskouroi. This is apparent from the fact that the Contrado Pizzone deposit studied by Poli came from a shrine dedicated to Demeter and Kore, although the fact that these terracotta votives showing dismounting riders came from that shrine does not, in and of itself, prove that those votives were not dedicated to the Dioskouroi.[29] Any given Greek sanctuary was entirely capable of hosting the worship of multiple divine figures. It is, however, suggestive that the Chiesa del Carmine and Contrado Solito deposits, both of which came from shrines dedicated to the Dioskouroi, include scenes of pairs of riders dismounting, whereas the dismounting scenes found among the material studied by Iacobone and Poli show only single riders dismounting. Insofar as the material studied by Iacobone and Poli came from sites that were not associated with Dioskouroi shrines, it seems probable that some of the dismounting scenes from deposits other than Chiesa del Carmine and Contrado Solito were not necessarily intended to represent the Dioskouroi.

Furthermore, votive terracottas depicting dismounting riders other than the Dioskouroi could easily have been reasonable dedications at a Demeter sanctuary. As we have seen, Damonon won multiple hippic victories (including what seem to be *kalpe* victories) at the Eleusinia games, which were held at the sanctuary of Demeter at Kalyvia tis Sochas, located about 6 km south of Sparta. Little is known about the athletic contests at Taras,[30] but it is entirely possible that hippic competitions were held at a shrine for Demeter in Taras, and that the terracotta votives showing dismounting riders were connected to contests in the *kalpe* that formed part of those competitions. The same may well be true of many of the terracotta votives from the Chiesa del Carmine and Contrado Solito deposits that are associated with dedications to the Dioskouroi, but which show a single rider dismounting.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Poli (2010) 63–9 argues that the terracottas from Contrado Pizzone that show riders point to the existence, at the site of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, of a hero cult associated with initiation rites.

[30] Nafissi (1975) 173–4; Todisco (1997) 36.

All this goes to say that there is no single or certain reading of the Tarantine terracotta votives showing dismounting riders, and there was almost certainly an element of diachronic change that needs to be taken into account. Although it is presumed (on the basis of the importance of the Dioskouroi in Lakedaimon and the role of Lakedaimon in founding Taras) that the worship of the Dioskouroi began in Taras at an early date, there is little evidence for the Dioskouroi cult in Taras until the middle of the fourth century.[31] The archaeological evidence from Taras suggests that the Dioskouroi became suddenly very popular in Taras at that point in time, and it has been plausibly argued that this shift had to do with Archidamos' arrival in Taras. One manifestation of this phenomenon is the issuance of coins by Taras in the second half of the fourth century that showed the Dioskouroi on horseback.[32] The subset of the dismounting terracotta votives from Taras that show the Dioskouroi were likely thus developed in the second half of the fourth century.[33]

Moreover, it is likely that different individuals saw different things in identical votives. It is possible that some of the plaques showing dismounting riders may have had no agonistic connection at all, and may have been understood as depicting a generic act of dismounting a horse that, for example, could have been connected to service in the cavalry. The votives that overtly represent the Dioskouroi dismounting may be read as epiphany scenes or as depictions of the *kalpe*, and that latter reading also holds true for votives that do not obviously depict the Dioskouroi.

Despite all of this uncertainty, the striking similarity between the iconography on southern Italian vases and Tarantine coins, which definitely depict the *kalpe*, on the one hand, and the iconography on the Tarantine votive terracottas on the other, makes it highly probable that at least some of those terracotta votives were understood by the dedicants as representations of the *kalpe*.

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[31] Terracotta plaques from Lokroi Epizephyrioi show that the Dioskouroi were worshipped there in the middle of the sixth century; it is likely that their cult was installed in Lokroi Epizephyrioi after the Battle of Sagra (Szeliga (1981) 189–91).

[32] Lippolis (2009) 147–51.

[33] It seems likely, though purely on a speculative basis, that when the Dioskouroi cult became popular in Taras in the fourth century, the pre-existing iconography of the Dioskouroi dismounting (from Lokroi Epizephyrioi) and of the *kalpe* (from Taras), along with the practice of the *kalpe* in Taras, almost inevitably led to depiction of dismounting Dioskouroi on Tarantine votive terracottas. As Salapata points out, some of the votive plaques from the Agamemnon and Alexandra sanctuary that show riders, other than those showing riders dismounting, may have depicted the Dioskouroi. None of the Amyklai terracottas shows two riders on the same plaque, but it is possible either that a dedication was made to Kastor alone or that two plaques (one with a rider facing left and one with a rider facing right) may have been dedicated as a pair. She concludes, however, that 'it would be far-fetched to expect that every rider in Lakonia represented a Dioskouros' (Salapata (2014) 202).

With all of this in mind, we can return to the three terracotta votive plaques that show dismounting riders from the sanctuary at Amyklai where Agamemnon and Alexandra were worshipped as heroes. That sanctuary has produced two large votive deposits, only one of which has been published in any detail. The deposit that has been published included 1,273 complete and fragmentary terracotta votive plaques.[34]

In her comprehensive study of those plaques, Salapata notes that the predominant iconographical motif is that of a seated male, usually holding a kantharos and sometimes accompanied by a snake and/or a female consort. That motif is found in a series of stone reliefs from Lakonia and, with some changes, it appears in various media from the second half of the sixth century through the Roman period. It is closely associated with figures worshipped as heroes, and it was sufficiently flexible to be used at a number of different hero shrines. The other votive plaques from the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra show two or three standing figures, warriors, banqueters, and riders.

The three dismounting plaques represent just 0.2% of the more than 1,200 plaques from the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra. It is, therefore, unlikely that the dismounting plaques were ever produced in anything like the same sort of numbers as plaques showing a seated male. Nonetheless, the three extant plaques come from at least two separate moulds. Insofar as all of the plaques in question were locally produced,[35] the existence of at least two moulds shows that there was some demand for dismounting plaques in Lakonia. Some of those plaques may be found in the second, as yet unpublished, votive deposit, which includes more than 1,000 terracotta plaques, including some variants not found in the published deposit.[36] It is also possible that most of the dismounting plaques produced in Lakonia were dedicated at one or more sanctuaries other than that for Agamemnon and Alexandra, with the most obvious candidates being one or more of the several sites in Sparta at which the Dioskouroi were venerated (none of which have as yet been located).[37]

Any interpretation of the significance of the dismounting plaques from the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra needs to take into account the strong likelihood that they were directly derived from Tarantine

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[34] Salapata (2014) 16–18, 61.

[35] Salapata (2014) 46.

[36] Salapata (2014) 202 n. 114.

[37] The most important cult site for the Dioskouroi in Sparta was situated at the Phoibaion near Therapne. The primary forms of evidence for the cult of Dioskouroi in Lakonia are literary sources (listed and discussed in Wide (1893) 304–25) and stone reliefs (on which see (Sanders (1992) and Bonano Aravantinos (1994) 11–14). A sanctuary for the Dioskouroi has been excavated at Messenia: see Themelis (1988). A thorough examination of all of the evidence pertaining to the cult of the Dioskouroi in Lakonia and Messenia can be found in S. Graham (2014) 61–143. I am indebted to Dr Graham for allowing me to read and learn from her dissertation in advance of its publication.

models. As Salapata points out, the iconography of the rider plaques of all kinds from the sanctuary of Agamemnon and Alexandra is very similar to that on the Tarantine examples. The small number and fragmentary state of preservation of the three dismounting plaques from Amyklai limits the extent to which one can make direct comparisons, but this subset of the larger body of rider plaques also seems to look very much like the Tarantine examples.

Given that the numbers of dismounting terracottas from Taras vastly exceeds that from Lakonia and that the series in Taras seems to begin in the early part of the fifth century, whereas the three examples from Lakonia date to the fourth century or perhaps the late fifth century, it is probable that the iconography found on the dismounting plaques from Amyklai was imported from Taras. This is in fact precisely what Salapata concludes: 'It is generally assumed that iconographic influences went from Sparta to Taras; but … the direction of influence at this period was more likely from Taras to Sparta'.[38]

The question then becomes why Lakonians—unlike the inhabitants of virtually every other Greek community—found it amenable to import from Taras the habit of dedicating terracottas showing riders dismounting. In some part that must have been driven by the strong connections between Taras and Lakedaimon, beginning with the foundation of Taras as a Lakedaimonian colony and continuing down through the fourth century with the sending of Archidamos to the aid of the Tarantines. There must, however, have been something more to it than that, because Tarantine social, political, and artistic practices were not imported wholesale or indiscriminately into Lakonia.

Although at least some of the dismounting terracottas from Taras depict the Dioskouroi, it does not seem likely that the dismounting iconography was imported from Taras to Lakonia primarily because of its connection to the Dioskouroi. As we have seen, dismounting riders seem to have begun appearing in Tarantine terracotta votives in the fifth century, and the earliest of the terracotta plaques from Amyklai showing a dismounting rider is dated to the late fifth or early fourth century. Although statues of the Dioskouroi dismounting were placed on one of the temples in Lokroi Epizephyrioi in the fifth century, the Dioskouroi do not seem to have become popular subjects for Tarantine terracotta plaques until the third quarter of the fourth century. At the moment when the dismounting iconography was imported from Taras to Lakonia, therefore, that

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[38] Salapata (2014) 123. The movement of Dioskouroi-related iconography between Lakonia and southern Italy is complicated because the Lakonian iconography, which developed at an early date (Bonano Aravantinos (1994) 11–14) likely influenced iconography in southern Italy in its early stages (Augé (1981–99) 589–90). The Dioskouroi-related iconography then developed on its own lines in southern Italy and later, in turn, exerted an influence on Dioskouroi-related iconography in Lakonia.

iconography does not seem to have had a strong connection to the Dioskouroi.[39]

On the other hand, Taras was much in advance of Lakedaimon with respect to the development of cavalry forces and of agonistic events, particularly in the form of the *kalpe*, that, as we shall see, had a close connection to cavalry service. Moreover, iconography for representing the *kalpe* had been developed in Tarantine coinage and terracotta votives starting in the fifth century.

It is probable, therefore, that the dismounting iconography was imported from Taras to Lakonia because of its connection to the *kalpe*. As Salapata argues, 'The Amyklaian dismounter should be seen as a generic equestrian athlete who performed exercises that tested the qualities of both rider and warrior'. She is inclined to see the Amyklai plaques as evidence that the *kalpe* formed part of games associated with the Agamemnon and Alexandra sanctuary, or perhaps with the nearby sanctuary to Apollo Hyakinthos (the site of the Hyakinthia festival), but concludes that '[e]ven if such games did not take place at the Amyklai sanctuary, the imagery would not have been out of place for the hero Agamemnon honoured there'. Salapata suggests that the prominence of aryballoi among the vases dedicated at the Agamemnon and Alexandra sanctuary may reflect the existence of games at the site. That suggestion is reinforced by the existence of a plaque at Amyklai (MIS 1/8, dating to the fourth century) that shows a nude young athlete, in a contrapposto pose, with an aryballos hanging from his left wrist.[40]

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[39] Some caution is necessary here because the Dioskouroi were venerated in Sparta starting in the seventh century at the latest, and one cannot preclude the possibility that the Lokrian stone statuary of the Dioskouroi dismounting had some effect on the choice of subject matter on Lakonian terracotta plaques. Even if that were true, one would still need to explain why Lakonian coroplasts, when drawing upon a Tarantine artistic tradition that depicted the Dioskouroi in a wide variety of different ways, chose, uniquely among Greek communities, to import the iconography of the Dioskouroi dismounting. The Dioskouroi were depicted as horsemen from an early date in Lakonian art and had strong connections to athletics in Sparta, including statues in the gymnasium (Paus. 3.18.10–16, 3.14.6–7). In addition, the primary centre of their cult in Sparta, at the Phoibaion, seems to have been located near and perhaps had some sort of connection with the hippodrome associated with the sanctuary of Poseidon Gaiaochos (Hdt. 6.61.3; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.30–1; Liv. 34.38.5; Paus. 3.14.9–10, 3.20.2). If the iconography of dismount-ing was in fact imported from Taras to Lakonia in part due to the connection between the Dioskouroi and dismounting in Lokrian statuary (in which case dismounting was connected to the Dioskouroi's role as saviours), it is likely that an important factor in the choice of that particular fashion of representing the Dioskouoroi was a connection between dismounting and the *kalpe* on the one hand, and between the Dioskouroi and equestrian contests on the other.

[40] The quotations come from Salapata (2014) 203. On MIS 1/8, see Salapata (2014) 216, 221, 326. On the aryballoi from Amyklai, see Coudin (2012) 271–3, who argues that the aryballoi found in Lakonia were connected to coming-of-age ceremonies that included military and athletic activities (276). Another possibly relevant piece of evidence is an

There is, therefore, strong evidence, apart from the Damonon *stele*, that indicates that the *kalpe* was being held in Lakonia at just about the time Damonon was winning the victories he lists on his *stele*. Further support for that conclusion can perhaps be found in an Attic red-figure kylix that was produced c. 400 and that is said to have been found in Tanagra. This kylix is noteworthy because it shows a female dismounting a horse, in a pose that is directly reminiscent of the terracotta plaques from Amyklai (see Figure 17), and because a dipinto on the cup gives the name of the dismounting rider, Σ[Π]ΑΡΤΗ. In their entry for this vase in the catalogue of vases in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley emphasise that the design of the kylix, with ribbed sides that imitate metal vases, is unusual, and they point out that a very similar kylix was found in the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Athenian Kerameikos.[41]

Caskey and Beazley suggest that the Sparte represented on this kylix is the same mythological figure whom Pausanias reports was the daughter of Eurotas, wife of Lakedaimon, and mother of Amyklas (3.1.2).[42] Pausanias also mentions that a figure of Sparte holding a lyre supported a large bronze tripod that was dedicated at Amyklai to celebrate the Lakedaimonian victory at Aegispotamai (3.18.8). Sparte's representation on a cup painted sometime around the end of the fifth century is thus not entirely surprising.

In explaining why Sparte is depicted on horseback, Caskey and Beazley review the evidence for Spartiate dedication to hippotrophy in the period between the Persian Wars and Leuktra and conclude that this is the 'reason, then, for depicting Sparta as an equestrian'. They do not, however, explore why Sparte is shown in the act of dismounting. It is unlikely that the scene is intended as a representation of the *kalpe* and is more probably meant to show Sparte arriving at her own altar.

inscribed marble throne, dated to the first century BCE or CE, from the sanctuary of Alexandra and Agamemnon (*SEG* 24.281; Salapata (2002) 143). A similar throne, dated to the first quarter of the fourth century, was found re-used as building material in the city of Sparta (Sparta Museum #7730; *SEG* 46.400; Kourinou–Pikoula (1992–8)). That latter throne has an inscription that suggests it was intended for viewing performances of some kind (the interpretation of the text remains a subject of discussion: see Lanérès (2012)). A third throne (Sparta Museum #4007), dating to the late Classical or early Hellenistic period and found on the acropolis of Sparta, features a relief portraying riders and victors (Zavvou (2013) 98). It is, therefore, possible that such thrones, all dedicated by members of the Gerousia, were used at least in part to watch gymnic and hippic contests, and that the existence of such a throne at the sanctuary of Alexandra and Agamemnon, albeit from a later period, may suggest the existence of such contests that site. On these thrones, see Zavvou (2013). I am grateful to Gina Salapata for drawing my attention to the throne from Amyklai and its potential importance.

[41] Caskey and Beazley (1931–63) III.89–91 #175.00.354; https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/drinking-cup-kylix-with-ribbed-bowl-153695. On the vase from the Tomb of Lakedaimonians see now Stroszeck (2006) 108.

[42] Cf. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 3.30.3. On mythical genealogies, see Calame (1987).

Nonetheless, the choice to depict Sparte in the act of dismounting arguably reflects a strong contemporary Spartiate interest in the *kalpe*, such that there was a certain logic in depicting Sparte in the act of dismounting a horse.[43]

5.2 Links Between the *Kalpe* and Cavalry Service and the Difference between Racehorses and Cavalry Horses

A full appreciation of the significance of the *kalpe* requires an exploration of its close connections to cavalry service and the related issue of the difference between racehorses and cavalry horses. Before moving in that direction, a few words on sources are in order.

The ancient sources for hippic practices and competitions in Greece are abundant and varied. Among those sources, however, one in particular stands out—the writings of Xenophon. A soldier with a long history of service in the cavalry and a prolific author, Xenophon penned two treatises that focused on matters hippic, the *Cavalry Commander* and the *Art of Horsemanship*, and he shows a consistent interest in horses and cavalry in his other works, such as the *Hellenika*. Xenophon was active in the first half of the fourth century and hence was a (probably slightly younger) contemporary of Damonon. His hippic treatises continued to be used throughout antiquity and are still recognised today as reservoirs of insight and good advice.[44] They are, therefore, invaluable points of reference in any discussion of the Damonon *stele*.[45]

5.2.1 Mounting/Dismounting

A connection between cavalry service and the *kalpe* is immediately evident from the simple fact that the competitors in the *kalpe* carried military equipment (typically shield and javelin). Moreover, two features of the

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[43] It seems likely that this kylix was made either with a Philolakonian clientele in mind or for a Lakedaimonian who was stationed in Athens in the years immediately after the end of the Peloponnesian War. Some of the vases found in the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in Athens seem to have been produced in Athens specifically to be used as offerings at that tomb, which suggests that at least some Lakedaimonians in Athens were giving commissions to Athenian potters at the time this kylix was made. The fact that the kylix was found in Boeotia, an area in which Lakedaimonian forces were particularly active in the late fifth and early fourth century, and more specifically Tanagra, a community that was at least some points allied with Lakedaimon against Thebes (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49), may suggest that the kylix was commissioned by a Lakedaimonian soldier who took it with him when he left Athens for service in Boeotia.

[44] See, for instance, Hyland (1990) 101–3; ead. (2013) 516.

[45] On Xenophon, see the articles collected in Flower (2017) and the bibliography cited therein. On Xenophon's hippic treatises, see also Althoff (2005).

kalpe—mounting/dismounting and cantering—were directly and strongly connected to the training of cavalry forces.

The connection between the *kalpe* and cavalry forces starts from the observation that the earliest evidence for such contests, other than their inclusion in the Olympics, comes from communities in southern Italy and Sicily, a part of the Greek world that had a particular interest in cavalry from an early date.[46]

This is most immediately apparent with respect to Taras, which produced not only the best known series of coins featuring riders competing in the *kalpe*, but also a famous cavalry force. Sekunda has pointed out that by the Classical period:

> Warfare in Sicily and South Italy had developed somewhat differently … Emphasis was especially given to the development of cavalry. The city of Tarentum [Taras] in particular was renowned for its horsemen, armed with a number of javelins and small 'fist-shields', trained to jump off their horses, throw their javelins, and then re-mount and gallop away. The establishment of military training programmes for the first 'Tarantines' may well date to this period.[47]

Sekunda then goes on to discuss the aforementioned coins of Taras, which he connects to the *kalpe*.

Cavalry service was linked to hippic contests involving mounting and dismounting because competently mounting and dismounting a horse was an essential skill for cavalrymen and required considerable training and practice. It is important to bear in mind that the stirrup was not used by

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[46] On the early history of cavalry forces in Sicily, see Lombardo (1987), esp. p. 233 and Lubtchansky (2005). It has been suggested that the *apene* and *kalpe* may have been introduced to the program of events at the Olympic Games due to pressure from Greek communities in southern Italy and Sicily (Golden (1998) 40–3; Griffith (2006) 237–8). While the evidence for this suggestion is exiguous, the leading role played by those communities in the development of cavalry does fit well with the idea that the impetus for the addition of the *kalpe* to the Olympics came from southern Italy and Sicily. That said, Pierros (2003) 322–3 has argued that the *kalpe* was invented in Thessaly and transmitted from there to Olympia. In addition, the *apene* was part of the Panathenaic program for a time in the sixth century before being discontinued (Shear (2001) 293–4), and Kratzmüller (1993) 89–90 has raised the possibility that the addition of the *apene* to the Olympic program followed the example of the Panathanaia. One might also note in this regard that in Thucydides' account of the debate in the Athenian assembly about attacking Syracuse, Nicias expresses concern about the Syracusans' 'numerous cavalry' (6.21.1). On the important role played by the Syracusan cavalry in the defeat of the Athenian expedition, see Worley (1994) 100–19; Hanson (2005) 208–12. Hanson ascribes the destruction of the Athenians' Sicilian Expedition to the superiority of the Syracusan cavalry and points out that 'at almost every key juncture the absence of sufficient cavalry ruined the Athenians' (231).

[47] Sekunda (1994) 178–9; see also Lee (2013) 151. On the history of Tarantine cavalry, see Fields (2008).

Western cavalry forces before its adoption by Byzantine horsemen some-time around 600 CE.[48] Mounting and dismounting a horse without stirrups involved leaping onto and off the horse. Smoothly mounting and dismounting a horse in those circumstances was no mean feat.

Xenophon, who provides detailed instructions on mounting (*Eq.* 7.1–4), assumes that in most cases a rider will mount from the left side of the horse. He states that a rider must facilitate his leap onto the horse either by using his left hand to hold onto the horse's mane or by holding his javelin in his left hand and pushing off against it in a fashion roughly akin to a modern pole-vaulter. (A helpful video, showing the former method, can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SWIRvEb1GgE. An illus-tration of the latter method can be found in Figure 18.) Xenophon also recommends practising mounting from the right side because in that case the rider would, as soon as he mounted, have his javelin in his right hand, with the result that 'he would be fully prepared as soon as he is up on the horse's back, in case he needed suddenly to engage the enemy' (*Hipp.* 7.4, trans. R. Waterfield). A groom could make things easier by causing a well-trained horse to lower its back and could provide a helpful leg up (*Hipp.* 6.12, 16), but a cavalryman needed to be ready to mount and dismount quickly in the heat of battle without any assistance.[49] Dismounting required reversing the process by swinging one's leg over the horse (so that both legs were on the same side while the rider was still seated) and then jumping down to the ground.

Mounting and dismounting a horse without assistance was thus something of an athletic feat, and a cavalryman had to deal with the additional challenges presented by the need to mount while wearing armour and carrying one or more edged weapons.[50] Stories in the ancient sources of injuries suffered while mounting and dismounting reflect the difficulties involved. According to Herodotus, the cap on the scabbard of the Persian king Cambyses' sword once fell off in the process of mounting his horse and the exposed tip of his sword gouged his thigh, resulting in a wound that became infected and proved to be fatal (3.64, 66). The Byzantine historian Evagrius (active in the sixth century CE) recounts in his *Ecclesiastical History* the story of a Scythian named Theodoric who died in the middle of the fifth century CE as the result of an accident suffered while mounting a horse (122.18–31 Bidez and Parmentier):

[48] Shahîd (1995–2002) I.572–8.

[49] A good discussion of the ancient sources pertaining to mounting and dismounting horses can be found in Vigneron (1968) I.89–93.

[50] The arms and armour carried by cavalrymen varied widely in different times and places in the ancient Greek world. Xenophon recommends a helmet, breastplate, a long sword, and two javelins (*Eq.* 12.1–12). On the arms and armour used by Greek cavalrymen, see Spence (1993) 49–65.

> A spear, with its thong prepared for immediate use, had been suspended before his tent in barbaric fashion. He had ordered a horse to be brought to him for the purpose of exercise, and being in the habit of not having any one to assist him in mounting, vaulted into his seat. The horse, a mettlesome and ungovernable animal, reared before Theodoric was fairly mounted, so that, in the contest, neither daring to rein back the horse, lest it should come down upon him, nor yet having gained a firm seat, he was whirled round in all directions, and dashed against the point of the spear, which thus struck him obliquely, and wounded his side. He was then conveyed to his couch, and after surviving a few days, died of the wound. (trans. E. Walford)

Herodotus also states that another Persian king, Darius, suffered a severe ankle sprain when jumping down from his horse during a hunting trip (3.129).

Mounting and dismounting was a regular part of cavalry service. Cavalrymen on the march habitually alternated periods of riding with periods of walking while leading their horses (in order to give the horses rest). Hence Xenophon, in his treatise the *Cavalry Commander*, writes that, 'During expeditions a cavalry commander constantly has to think ahead and plan to have his men alternate reasonable periods of riding with reasonable periods of going on foot' (*Eq. Mag.* 4.1, trans. R. Waterfield).[51] This may seem like a trivial matter, but one needs to imagine the complications that followed upon having significant numbers of men on horseback, all carrying edged weapons, mounting and dismounting at the same time and in relatively close proximity.

The stakes involved became significantly higher when enemy forces were nearby, because dismounted cavalrymen were vulnerable to attack. For instance, Xenophon, in describing the hostilities between Lakedaimonians and Thebans in 378, recounts an episode in which Theban cavalrymen launched a surprise attack on a Lakedaimonian encampment and inflicted casualties on the Lakedaimonian horsemen, who were either dismounted or trying to remount (*Hell.* 5.4.39).

Mounting and dismounting were an equally fundamental part of service on the battlefield. Here too the need to provide rest to the horses required that cavalrymen regularly dismount, rendering them vulnerable. Cavalrymen thus needed to be able to dismount and mount rapidly and under duress. Xenophon notes with approval the skill with which a force of 50 Syracusan cavalrymen, sent by Dionysius to aid the Lakedaimonians in 369, carried out this part of their duties (*Hell.* 7.1.21):

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[51] This habit formed part of cavalry service up through the 20th century CE. See, for example, Department of War (1941) 155.

But the horsemen sent by Dionysius, few though they were, scattering themselves here and there, would ride along the enemy's line, charge upon them and throw javelins at them, and when the enemy began to move forth against them, would retreat, and then turn round and throw their javelins again. And while pursuing these tactics they would dismount from their horses and rest. But if anyone charged upon them while they were dismounted, they would leap easily upon their horses and retreat. On the other hand, if any pursued them far from the Theban army, they would press upon these men when they were retiring, and by throwing javelins work havoc with them, and thus they compelled the entire army, according to their own will, either to advance or to fall back.[52] (trans. C. Brownson)

Moreover, in the absence of stirrups, falling off one's horse during combat was not uncommon,[53] and cavalrymen actively sought to unseat their enemies and thereby render them vulnerable (Xen. *Eq.* 8.11).[54] That, in turn, put a premium on the ability to remount amidst the chaos of battle. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Socrates and an unnamed interlocutor agree that it is important to improve the ability of cavalrymen to mount their horses (ἀναβατικωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους) so that 'if anyone is thrown he may have a better chance of saving himself' (1.5–6; trans. E. Marchant).

As one would expect, training in mounting and dismounting was a key part of preparing men for cavalry service.[55] A fragment of the *Hippotrophos* (*The Horsebreeder*) by the Athenian comic poet Mnesimachos (active in the middle of the fourth century) provides some insight into how this worked in Athens (*PCG* F 4 (VII.19) *ap.* Athen. 9.402f):

> βαῖν' ἐκ θαλάμων κυπαρισσορόφων
> ἔξω, Μάνη· στεῖχ' εἰς ἀγορὰν
> πρὸς τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς,
> οὗ προσφοιτῶσ' οἱ φύλαρχοι,
> τούς τε μαθητὰς τοὺς ὡραίους,

[52] Precisely the same approach was used by Roman cavalry forces: seeMcCall (2002) 51.

[53] Spence (1993) 43–4; McDonnell (2005) 156. Andocides (1.61) lets it be known that while riding in the grounds of the Kynosarges, one of Athens' gymnasia, he fell off his horse and broke his collar bone and fractured his skull. Theophrastus' *Characters* includes an old man who acts like a young man, whom Theophrastus characterises as the sort of person who 'while he is riding a borrowed horse in the countryside … tries to practice fancy horsemanship at the same time, but falls and hurts his head' (27.9, trans. J. Rusten *et al.*).

[54] In a similar vein, Caesar writes, 'With nearly all armies what normally happens in a cavalry battle is this: when a cavalryman is once dismounted and closes in with an infantryman to engage him, he is not by any means regarded as a match for the latter' (*Bell. Hisp.* 15, trans. A. Way). On this passage, see Dixon and Southern (1992) 115.

[55] On the training of Greek cavalry, see Spence (1993) 76–9; Worley (1994) 77–80.

οὓς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
μελετᾷ Φείδων καὶ καταβαίνειν.

Come forth, Manes, from the cypress-roofed chambers. Go to the agora, near the Herms, where the cavalry commanders gather, and approach the handsome students whom Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting.

Other literary sources and finds of inscribed lead tablets recording the value of cavalry horses leave no doubt that the northwest corner of the Agora and the Stoa of the Herms were foci of cavalry activities in Athens.[56]

In his treatise the *Cavalry Commander*, Xenophon puts teaching men how to mount a horse by jumping on their backs as the first item in his training regimen:

τῶν γε μὴν ἵππων ὑπαρχόντων οἵων δεῖ τοὺς ἱππέας αὖ ἀσκητέον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναπηδᾶν δύνωνται· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἤδη ἡ σωτηρία παρὰ τοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Once the horses are satisfactory, you should next train their riders. The first thing you have to ensure is that they are capable of jumping up onto a horse's back, because that has saved many a life. (1.5, trans. R. Waterfield; cf. 6.4–5)

Later in that same work, Xenophon writes that 'I would convince the young ones to learn for themselves how to jump up on to a horse's back, but there is also nothing wrong with laying on an instructor' (1.17, trans. R. Waterfield).

This type of training made its appearance in Athenian art as well as literature. A red-figure cup painted by Onesimos and dating to the first quarter of the fifth century shows a youth practising the act of vaulting onto a horse with the aid of a javelin, under the watchful eye of an older man (see Figure 18).[57]

Roman cavalrymen, operating in similar conditions and with similar equipment, underwent similar training.[58] Vegetius, active in the late fourth or early fifth century CE, writes (*de re mil.* 1.18):

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[56] Kroll (1977); Camp (1998) 33–8.

[57] Livy's story, which is set in the fifth century, about the winning of the *spolia opima* by Cornelius Cossus describes Cornelius as using his javelin as an aid in dismounting his horse (4.19.4).

[58] On the training of Roman cavalry, see Hyland (1990) 111–21; Dixon and Southern (1992) 113–34; Hyland (1993) *passim*.

The ancients strictly obliged both the veteran soldiers and recruits to a constant practice of vaulting. … They had wooden horses for that purpose placed in winter under cover and in summer in the field. The young soldiers were taught to vault on them at first without arms, afterwards completely armed. And such was their attention to this exercise that they were accustomed to mount and dismount on either side indifferently with their drawn swords or lances in their hands. By assiduous practice in the leisure of peace, their cavalry was brought to such perfection of discipline that they mounted their horses in an instant even amidst the confusion of sudden and unexpected alarms.[59] (trans. J. Clarke)

The importance of mounting and dismounting was also reflected in the tournaments held by Roman cavalrymen, which, Arrian tells us, concluded in the following fashion (*Tact.* 43):[60]

They demonstrate in as great a variety as possible the number of shapes and forms which can be given to the act of leaping on a horse. Finally, they demonstrate how a man wearing his armour can leap on to a horse when it is running. (trans. A. Hyland)

It should come as no surprise that the Romans had hippic contests in which the competitors, called *desultores*, dismounted and ran alongside their horses to the finish line.[61] It has been argued in the past that the Romans adopted this contest from Taras (where, as we have seen, the *kalpe* is well attested), but Jean-Paul Thuillier has more persuasively argued that it had Etruscan origins.

5.2.2 Cantering

The connection between hippic contests involving repeatedly mounting and dismounting a horse on one hand and cavalry training on the other is thus strong and clear. Another prominent feature of the *kalpe*, the fact that the horses cantered in at least some parts of the race, also has its roots in the realities of cavalry service.

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[59] Marcus Cornelius Fronto, in a letter written in the second century CE, registers a series of complaints about a Roman cavalry force stationed in Antioch, including the fact that 'few of the soldiers could vault upon their steeds, the rest scrambled clumsily up by dint of heel or knee or ham' (*Ver. Imp.* 2.1.19, trans. C. Haines).

[60] On those tournaments, see Dixon and Southern (1992) 126–34; Hyland (1993) *passim.*

[61] Thuillier (1989). Some representations of this event show competitors in military gear, as was the case with the *kalpe*, and some representations show competitors without such gear.

Horses have four basic gaits, which are, in order of increasing speed: walk, trot, canter, and gallop (see Figure 4).[62] These gaits are characteristic of almost all horse breeds, both domesticated and wild. Although there is a widespread image of cavalrymen constantly galloping around, both off and on the battlefield, cavalry horses were in fact almost always ridden at one of the slower gaits.

It is of course true that speed was of great importance in carrying out a charge. For example, the *Manual of Field Operations* for the British army that was published in 1852 and authored by the memorably named Lieutenant Henry Jervis-White-Jervis notes that:

> The success of cavalry manoeuvres depends on the rapidity, steadiness, and boldness with which they are executed.… Cavalry has … but one system of attack and defence, which consists in throwing itself rapidly upon the enemy …[63]

However, even in the case of a cavalry charge in battle, the gallop was exceptional and, if employed at all, came only for a very short distance, as the final stage of a process in which there was a gradual and controlled increase in speed through the sequence of gaits. As Keegan pointed out in his seminal *The Face of Battle*, writing about later cavalry battles, 'Both popular impression and copy-book drill … supposed cavalry versus cavalry charges to mean the meeting of dense formations at high speed.… A little inquiry reveals … that formations were much less dense and speeds much lower than casual testimony … implies'. [64]

The reasons why this was the case are not treated in detail in any ancient source, but are regularly discussed in cavalry manuals from more recent centuries. The previously cited *Manual of Field Operations* has this to say on the subject:

> The success of a charge depends upon well-regulated rapidity accelerated by degrees, added to a perfect alignment, which will enable the whole line to reach the enemy at the same time. … The gradual increase of speed in a charge should be carefully attended to; otherwise, both men and horses will be breathless when they reach the enemy. In most cases, before engaging, the cavalry will have made a tedious march. The horses, worn out with want of food and the weight of their riders, will, if uselessly galloped, be too much fatigued, after one or two charges, to attempt any decided movements during the remainder of the day; besides if a charge is immediately begun at a

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[62] Some horses, by breeding or training, have other gaits. See S. Harris (1993) 32–63.

[63] Jervis-White-Jervis (1852) 87.

[64] Keegan (1976) 146–7.

gallop, the men cannot be made to keep line. It was the deep conviction of this truth which caused General Lasalle, one of the best cavalry officers of his day, on seeing a body of the enemy's cavalry charging at full gallop for a long distance, to exclaim—'There go lost men'; and it was soon after completely routed by its opponents, who had advanced at a trot.[65]

The canter was a particularly important gait for Greek cavalry because, in Damonon's time, horsemen were regularly intermingled with, and directly supported by, infantrymen called *hamippoi*.[66] Xenophon, in the *Cavalry Commander*, emphasises the importance of *hamippoi*:

ἱππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἀσθενὲς τὸ πεζῶν ἔρημον ἱππικὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς ἔχον. ἱππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ λαβόντα πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι· (*Eq. Mag.* 5.13, cf. 9.7)

The cavalry commander must also teach the *polis* how weak cavalry is without infantry, as compared to cavalry with *hamippoi* attached, and, once the hipparch has infantry, to make use of them.

The military significance of *hamippoi* in Athens is reflected in the fact that they were inspected, along with the cavalry, by the members of the Council of 500 ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 49.1).

As one might expect, given the preceding discussion, the earliest evidence for *hamippoi* comes from Sicily, in the early decades of the fifth century. Herodotus' account of the speech delivered by Gelon, the ruler of Syracuse, to envoys requesting assistance in repelling the Persian invasion of 480, includes an enumeration of the forces Gelon was prepared to supply (7.158):

ἕτοιμός εἰμι βοηθέειν παρεχόμενος διηκοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὁπλίτας καὶ δισχιλίην ἵππον καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας καὶ δισχιλίους ἱπποδρόμους ψιλούς·

I am ready to help you with 200 triremes and 20,000 hoplites and 2,000 cavalry, and 2,000 archers, and 2,000 slingers, and 2,000 light-armed men who run alongside the cavalry. (trans. D. Grene)

Herodotus uses the term ἱπποδρόμοι instead of ἄμιπποι, but they clearly functioned in the same way.

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[65] Jervis-White-Jervis (1852) 98–9.

[66] The *hamippoi* are different from and not to be confused with the *amphippoi* discussed above, Ch. 4 §4.2.

The practice of posting *hamippoi* with cavalry had definitely arrived in mainland Greece no later than the last quarter of the fifth century; Thucydides' account of the forces mustered by the Peloponnesian League in 418 to attack Argos includes the following information (5.57.2):

Βοιωτοὶ μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ τοσοῦτοι ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππῆς πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἄμιπποι ἴσοι …

The Boeotians [supplied] 5,000 hoplites and the same number of light-armed troops, and 500 cavalry and the same number of *hamippoi* …

At the Battle of Mantinea in 362, Epaminondas 'made a strong column of his cavalry and mingled *hamippoi* among them …' (ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, *Hell.* 7.5.24).[67]

Lakedaimonian commanders were thus well aware of *hamippoi* during the period when Damonon was winning the victories he catalogued on his *stele*. Indeed, Plutarch (*Ages.* 10.3) states that at the Battle of Sardis in 395, Agesilaos mixed together a force of peltasts and cavalrymen and ordered them to charge the enemy as a single unit.

The presence and importance of *hamippoi* provided a strong incentive for cavalrymen to ride at a canter on the battlefield. *Hamippoi* could go into battle either running alongside the horses or by hanging onto the tail of a horse, which helped pull them along. It is noteworthy that the *Etymologicum Magnum* glosses ἄμιπποι as 'οἱ συντρέχοντες' ('those running with').

A cavalry unit with *hamippoi* attached to it could not go faster than the speed at which lightly-armed infantrymen could run. Even with the boost provided by holding onto the tail of a horse, the *hamippoi* would be unable to keep up with galloping horses, which run at speeds easily in excess of 40 km/h.[68] A horse cantering typically runs 19–24 km/h, and the top speed at which an average male can run for a short distance is approximately 24 km/h.[69]

If a slight downward adjustment is made to allow for the encumbrance of arms and armour, it becomes apparent that a Greek cavalry unit that was charging into battle at top speed with *hamippoi* attached to it did so at a canter rather than a gallop. There was, therefore, good reason to conduct at least part of the *kalpe* at a canter, with the rider running alongside—an

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[67] It is possible that some vase paintings that show runners mixed together with horses, evidently in the context of training, may depict *hamippoi*. On these depictions, see Maul-Mandelartz (1990) 172–5.

[68] http://www.speedofanimals.com/animals/horse.

[69] https://www.ncsf.org/enew/articles/articles-limitsofhumanspeed.aspx. Elite athletes can of course achieve significantly higher speeds (in excess of 30 km/h) for very short distances under ideal conditions.

arrangement that closely echoed battlefield conditions of cavalrymen entering battle with *hamippoi* running alongside them.

5.2.3 Racehorses vs Cavalry Horses

The *kalpe* also tested the suitability of horses for cavalry service and for that reason it was, by design, a race for horses trained for cavalry service, as opposed to the horses that would have run in the standard hippic competitions such as chariot racing. It is, in this regard, helpful to bear in mind that ancient Greeks do not seem to have engaged in the sort of intensive and highly intentional horse-breeding with which we are familiar in the modern day. Instead, horses with certain types of physical traits (conformation) developed as the result of specific sets of environmental conditions, and Greeks tended to differentiate particular types of horses based on the regions from which they came.[70]

Hence the Enetic racehorses mentioned in the monument erected by the Spartiate Leon to celebrate an Olympic equestrian victory (see above, Ch. 3 §3.1.3) were not an established breed of horses, but rather were horses that came from the region of the Veneti in the northern Adriatic.[71] The horses from some regions were held to be particularly suitable for racing, others for cavalry service.[72] There were, in addition, significant variations among the physical and psychological traits of individual horses that came from a specific region.

Insofar as breeding horses was even more expensive than keeping horses, most horse owners would have purchased their mounts.[73] Horses were selected with a particular purpose in mind, and as a result the horses that competed in races were unsuitable for use on the battlefield and vice-

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[70] Anderson (1961) 15–39, especially 38–9. A collection of relevant ancient passages can be found in Willekes (2013) 334–47. An admirably clear and thorough survey of the use of various forms of equids (horses, donkeys, mules) in the Greek world can be found in Griffith (2006) 193–241.

[71] That said, horses from all of the various regions in the Greek world came from the same basic stock, what Willekes has called the 'Mediterranean horse', and hence the variation among horses from different regions in the Greek world was not as great as one might expect based on the modern-day experience with dozens of established breeds with widely divergent physical and psychological traits. See Willekes (2016) 29–34, 56–134; see also Gaebel (2002) 19–24; Donaghy (2014) 72–135. On Enetic horses in particular, see Donaghy (2014) 113–15.

[72] See Hyland (1990) 5–29, esp. 28. Studies of the brands on Athenian cavalry horses (known from lead tablets and representations in art) show that by the fourth century certain stud farms had established reputations, either for turning out superior horses or for turning out horses adapted to a specific purpose. On brands on Athenian cavalry horses, see Braun (1970); Kroll (1977).

[73] On the difference between breeding and keeping horses, see Hodkinson (2000) 312–4 and the sources cited therein.

versa. Horses suitable for racing were lighter and faster and had very different temperaments than their cavalry counterparts.[74]

In his *Art of Horsemanship* (1.1–17, 3.1–12) Xenophon provides detailed advice, intended for those wishing to purchase a cavalry mount, about the physical and psychological traits of the ideal warhorse (ἵππος πολεμιστηρίος). He concludes as follows:

> To sum up: the horse that is sound in his feet, gentle and fairly speedy, has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will, as a matter of course, give least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider in warfare. But those that want a lot of driving on account of their laziness, or a lot of coaxing and attention on account of their high spirit, make constant demands on the rider's hands and rob him of confidence in moments of danger. (3.12, trans. E. Marchant; cf. 1.1–17, 3.7)

For Xenophon the key trait in a cavalry horse was obedience, not speed. This resonates with Ann Hyland's observations about Roman cavalry horses, observations which apply equally well to ancient Greece:

> Speed is not a major requirement for a warhorse. Any *ala* would travel at a conservative speed except when harrying or in a sudden charge. Then even the slowest animal would have mustered sufficient energy for a short burst.[75]

Xenophon also provides a shorter description of the ideal horse for showy military parades and processions (ἵππος πομπικός, *Eq.* 11.1–13). He has nothing to say about racehorses, which is not surprising given his background and interests.

The initial physical and psychological differences between horses selected for racing versus cavalry service were further amplified by the intensive training they underwent from an early age to prepare them for the tasks for which they were intended. Racehorses needed to become accustomed to the conditions they would meet on the track; for example, horses intended for chariot-racing needed to learn 'the feel of the yoke, the pole, and the traces'.[76] Horses intended for cavalry service, on the other hand, needed to be exposed to sights and sounds they would encounter on the battlefield; 'in earlier training they became used to swords, javelins,

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[74] On the differences between cavalry horses and racehorses, see Anderson (1961) 19–20; Gaebel (2002) 22. On the relevant artistic evidence, see Moore (1968). See now also Aston and Kerr (2018) on differing evaluations of cavalry and race horses in Thessaly.

[75] Hyland (1990) 67. On Greek ideas about the ideal warhorse, see Hyland (2003) 33–48; Blaineau (2015) 169–97.

[76] Hyland (1990) 216.

spears, lances, bows and arrows …'.[77] Mock battles conducted in training (*antihippasia*) in Athens and elsewhere habituated cavalry horses to charges carried out in formation.[78]

In addition, a cavalry horse had to be trained to accept the sudden and hard jolt that came with a fully-armed cavalryman vaulting onto its back.[79] Hence Varro observes that (*de Agr.* 2.7.15):

> As some horses are fitted for military service, others for hauling, others for breeding, and others for racing, all are not to be judged and valued by the same standards. Thus the experienced soldier chooses his horses by one standard and feeds and trains them in one way, and the charioteer and circus-rider in another.[80] (trans. W. Hooper and H. Ash)

What this meant in practice was that the horses that competed in the *kalpe* were cavalry horses, not the racehorses that ran in other hippic competitions such as the *keles* and *tethrippon*. A well-trained cavalry horse had the strength, temperament, and training to permit an armed adult male to jump on and off its back during a race. In addition, cavalry horses were trained to work with *hamippoi*, who ran into battle among the horsemen, and hence would have been well prepared to have a rider dismount and run alongside as they cantered during the final part of the *kalpe*. A light-bodied racehorse trained to gallop at the highest possible speed with the lightest possible jockey on its back or racehorses trained to pull a chariot would have come to grief in the particular and peculiar conditions of the *kalpe*.[81]

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[77] Hyland (2013) 499; see also Virg. *Georg.* 3.179–208. Willekes (2016) 136 points out that 'The cavalry horse was not created overnight and would have endured a rigorous training and desensitizing programme'.

[78] See, for example, Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.* 2.10–13.

[79] Hyland (1993) 157–9.

[80] Willekes observes ((2016) 194): 'Not every horse was suitable for competition. Much like the warhorse, the sport horse had to fulfil certain physical and mental requirements. While the warhorse required bravery, obedience, and intelligence, the sport horse needed to have speed, stamina, bravery, and above all else competitive drive. Not every horse enjoys competing and an indifference towards competition is not something that can be readily trained out of a horse'.

[81] There is no evidence that Greeks made any effort to handicap races by weighing jockeys and giving them additional weight to carry where it was felt to be appropriate (as is done in modern thoroughbred racing). Indeed, there is some indication that there was no technical requirement that a jockey be present at all. (This emerges from a story told by Pausanias (6.13.9–10) about a horse that threw its jockey during a race at Olympia and finished first (and riderless) and was declared the victor.) It is probable, therefore, that most jockeys were small, slight slave boys (Golden (1998) 82). The famous bronze statue found at Artemision that shows a horse and jockey gives some, though perhaps an exaggerated, sense of the diminutive size of jockeys (Hemingway (2004) 92–114).

Given the obvious similarities between the *kalpe* and modern equestrian vaulting (see above, Ch. 4 §4.3), it is also helpful to consider the traits that are considered to be essential for horses used in that sport. Here are the recommendations from the German National Equestrian Foundation:

> Vaulting horses belong to no particular breed and come from no particular country of origin. They must be at least five years old and should be medium sized to large. The job of a vaulting horse is a demanding one, and four sound, correct limbs, plus a powerful constitution, are essential if he is to stand up to the heavy demands made on him. … A vaulting horse must have a kind disposition as well as a good temperament. A flowing canter, full of impulsion and above all regular, is the hallmark of a good vaulting horse and makes the vaulter's job easier. The horse must be completely non-reactive in its back, loins, flanks and neck. … A horse who is to be trained as a vaulting horse must be fully grown. Maximum demands are liable to be made on the tendons, muscles, bones, lungs, heart and circulatory system. … Vaulting is a very arduous occupation … cantering in a circle … makes great demands on strength and stamina.[82]

Similar recommendations for vaulting horses come from VaultCanada: 'The best vaulting horses are calm, strong, fit and kind with a consistent gait and excellent temperament'.[83] Three salient traits of the ideal vaulting horse emerge from these descriptions: two having to do with physical qualities (strength and physical maturity) and one psychological (an unflappable temperament).

These traits are developed and enhanced through an extended training program. The German National Equestrian Foundation recommends a training program that continues for at least six months.[84] Two of the most important parts of that process are to ensure that the horse has a smooth, even canter and to familiarise the horse with the sensations involved in having people vault on and off its back.

The evidence from modern equestrian vaulting thus echoes the conclusion suggested by the ancient sources, namely that the horses used for cavalry service and in the *kalpe* had to be specially selected and trained for that purpose. As a result, the horses used in the standard hippic competitions such as the *tethrippon* were not suitable for use in the *kalpe* and on the battlefield, and vice versa.

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[82] Vereinigung (1987) 129–30.

[83] https://vaultcanada.org/About-Vaulting/FAQ.

[84] Vereinigung (1987) 130.

The preceding discussion has shown that the *kalpe* was, at multiple levels, closely tied to the training of men and horses for cavalry service. As Sinclair Bell and Carolyn Willekes observe:

> The *kalpe* is … interesting because of its connection to the use of the horse in warfare. It is not easy to leap off a moving horse and land on one's feet, but it was an important skill. It is easy to imagine a number of situations in which it might be necessary for a cavalryman to perform an 'emergency dismount' while maintaining control of his horse. Similarly, running on foot in concert with a horse is not as simple as it sounds. The horse must be trained to stay next to its rider while holding a steady pace. The military use of these skills can be seen with the *hamippoi,* light-armed infantry who ran alongside the cavalry.[85]

To sum up, we have seen that the ability to mount and dismount a horse smoothly and safely while carrying arms and armour, in close proximity to other riders, was a key part of cavalry service. The modern sport of equestrian vaulting shows that it is possible to do so at a canter (with the gallop presenting much greater challenges), and the ability to mount and dismount while at a canter would no doubt have offered numerous advantages to cavalrymen in a variety of different situations. Moreover, training and testing the capacity to mount and dismount at a canter would have ensured that the individuals involved were highly proficient at mounting and dismounting a motionless horse. In addition, the *kalpe* tested a horse's ability to canter smoothly for an extended period in close proximity to men on foot and to other horses; that too was an important skill in the context of cavalry service.

5.3 The Development of a Cavalry Force in Lakedaimon in the Late Fifth Century

Cavalry training and cavalry horses were issues of considerable importance in Lakedaimon during Damonon's time, for the simple reason that Lakedaimon was, at that very moment in its history, assembling and then expanding its first cavalry force. This shift in Lakedaimonian military practice reflected the growing importance of cavalry on the battlefield, as well as the transformation of the Boeotian Confederacy from a trusted ally that supplied cavalry forces to the Peloponnesian League to an inveterate enemy of Lakedaimon.

Next to nothing is known about the early history of cavalry forces in the Lakedaimonian army. An elite force of 300 men, the *hippeis*, existed in the

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[85] S. Bell and Willekes (2014) 479. See also Willekes (2016) 206.

Archaic period, and their title clearly connects them to horses.[86] It is, not, however, clear that the *hippeis* ever constituted a cavalry unit in the Lakedaimonian army.[87] Thucydides' account of the Battle of Mantinea in 418 (5.72.4) shows that by the last quarter of the fifth century the *hippeis* served in the Lakedaimonian army as infantrymen.

Despite the fact that wealthy Lakedaimonians had a passion for hippotrophy starting in the middle of the sixth century at the latest (see below, §5.5), it would appear that the Lakedaimonian state did not maintain a cavalry force for much of the fifth century, and that the first such force was created in 424. This emerges from Thucydides' account of the aggressive series of attacks the Athenians mounted along the coastline of Lakedaimon in 424. He notes that 'they [the Lakedaimonians] … now took the unusual step of raising 400 horse and a force of archers …' (παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἱππέας τετρακοσίους κατεστήσαντο καὶ τοξότας, 4.55.2, trans. R. Crawley).

Lakedaimon was typical in the sense that the last quarter of the fifth century was a period when Peloponnesian *poleis* made, for the first time, major investments in cavalry forces. In his study of cavalry in Classical Greece, I. G. Spence points out that 'The Peloponnesians in general apparently had little in the way of a cavalry tradition, and most states do not seem to have had any true cavalry to speak of until either the end of the fifth or the start of the fourth century'.[88] He also observes that, when the Peloponnesian War broke out in 431, all of the cavalry forces of the Peloponnesian League were provided by three states from outside the Peloponnese: Boeotia, Phokis, and Lokris. By 370, however, most *poleis* in the Peloponnese had established cavalry forces.[89] The last quarter of the

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[86] The group is mentioned by Herodotus (8.124.2–3) in connection with Themistocles' visit to Sparta shortly after the Persian invasion of 480. Cartledge (2001) 47 suggests that the *koroi* mentioned in a sixth-century inscription (*IG* V.1.457) from Lakonia are in fact the *hippeis*. On the *hippeis*, see Figueira (2006) and the sources cited therein. On the history of cavalry forces in Sparta, see Lazenby (1985) 10–12; Spence (1993) 2–4; Worley (1994) 24–6, 89–91, 183.

[87] Various positions have been taken. Worley (1994) 24, citing Pausanias' account of the First Messenian War, argues that the Lakedaimonian *hippeis* were indeed a cavalry unit in the Archaic period. Lazenby (1985) 12 is skeptical that the *hippeis* ever fought as cavalry. Burn (1936) 161, followed by Nafissi (1991) 82, takes the view that the *hippeis* rode their horses to and from battle, but served in the phalanx as hoplites during combat. Figueira suggests that Sparta had a force of mounted men in the early Archaic period (who fought both on horseback and on foot), that this force was disbanded by the end of the Archaic period, and that, as a result, 'by the late fifth century … genuine Spartan cavalry lay so far in the past that Spartans had to scramble to create a mobile force of 400 cavalry and bowmen to counter Athenian pillaging' (Figuera (2006) 67–74, quotation from p. 74).

[88] Spence (1993) 1.

[89] Spence (1993) 1–2; see also Worley (1994) 51–3; Hanson (2005) 201–33. Hanson notes that 'as the [Peloponnesian] war progressed … city-states began to learn that horsemen

fifth century, therefore, witnessed a significant change in military practice, as cavalry forces became a standard part of the armies fielded by Peloponnesian communities.

By the time of the Battle of the Nemea River in 394, Lakedaimon's cavalry force had expanded from 400 to 720 men, who were organised in six *morai*.[90] Unlike their predecessors, who seem to have been functioned as a rapid-reaction force to deal with Athenian incursions, the Lakedaimonian cavalry became a regular component of the Lakedaimonian army in the latter stages of the Peloponnesian War and throughout the Corinthian War (395–387).[91]

The major political re-alignments that followed upon the end of the Peloponnesian War, which transformed the Boeotian Confederacy from ally to enemy of Lakedaimon, greatly increased the need for Lakedaimon to field a substantial and effective cavalry force. Throughout the latter half of the fifth century, the Lakedaimonians depended heavily on the Boeotians for cavalry, not least because sometime in the 450s Athens began developing a force of horsemen 1,200 strong.[92] Athenian cavalry helped limit the physical and psychological damage done by Peloponnesian invasions of the Attic countryside because it greatly impaired the ability of

were vital to all sorts of operations that would play major roles in determining the outcome of the war ...' (227).

[90] This emerges from Xenophon's listing of the forces present at the Battle of the Nemea River in 394, which includes 600 Lakedaimonian cavalry (*Hell.* 4.2.16). Both the Lakedaimonian infantry and cavalry forces were at that point in time divided into *morai*, and there were six infantry *morai*, five of which were present at Nemea River. This suggests that the 600-strong Lakedaimonian cavalry force at Nemea River consisted of five *morai*, each of which had 120 men. For a detailed discussion of the organisation of the Lakedaimonian army, both in general and at Nemea River, see Lazenby (1985) 5–10, 136. Diodorus (14.83.1) gives the number of Lakedaimonian cavalry present as 500. On the size of the Lakedaimonian cavalry force, see also Worley (1994) 90, who argues for a total force of 600 rather than the 720 posited by Lazenby.

[91] Lakedaimonian cavalry forces were, for example, present with the Lakedaimonian infantry at the Battle of Mantinea in 418 (Thuc. 5.67.1) and the Battle of the Nemea River in 394.

[92] That number included 200 mounted archers (*hippotoxotai*) who served as scouts. The *hippotoxotai* seem to have come from significantly lower down the socio-economic pyramid than the other members of the Athenian cavalry and were given correspondingly higher levels of economic support by the state (Bugh (1988) 221–4). A likely contributing factor in the Athenians' decision to build a large cavalry force was the behaviour of Thessalian cavalry forces at the Battle of Tanagra in 458 or 457. The Thessalians had long been Athenian allies and had supplied highly capable cavalry forces that provided valuable aid to the Athenian army (see, for example, Hdt. 5.63.3–4). A Thessalian cavalry force came to Tanagra to support the Athenian army, but just before the battle deserted to the Lakedaimonians (Thuc. 1.101.7, Diod. 11.80.1–5). The inability to rely on the Thessalians to supply cavalry seems to have helped prompt the Athenians to develop their own cavalry forces. On this subject, see Bugh (1988) 41–5. On the activities of the Athenian cavalry during the Peloponnesian War, see Bugh (1988) 79–119; Worley (1994) 63–87; Hanson (2005) 201–33.

the Peloponnesian troops to disperse and pillage. The only cavalry force that was regularly available to Peloponnesian League armies and that was capable of fighting the Athenians on equal terms came from the Boeotian Confederacy, which fielded a force of 1,100 cavalry on a regular basis and was able to assemble 2,000 horsemen if necessary.[93]

The Lakedaimonians were thus dependent upon the Boeotians when they invaded Attica (a regular part of Lakedaimonian military strategy), something of which the Athenians (and no doubt the Lakedaimonians) were well aware. Thucydides writes that when Hippokrates exhorted the Athenian army before fighting began at the Battle of Delium in 424, he told his soldiers that, 'If we are victorious, the Peloponnesians will never again, without the support of the Boeotian cavalry, invade your land …' (4.95.2). There can be no doubt that the Boeotians were cognisant of their importance to Lakedaimon, and this accounts in part for the hard line the Boeotian Confederacy adopted in dealing with the Lakedaimonian government as the war progressed.[94] The outbreak of hostilities between Lakedaimon and the Boeotian Confederacy in 395 meant that it was the Lakedaimonians rather than the Athenians who had to worry about Boeotian cavalry forces, and that in turn made it crucial for the Lakedaimonians to maintain a strong cavalry force of their own.[95]

The development of a strong cavalry force was a priority for King Agesilaos, who ascended the throne in 400 and came to dominate the political life of Lakedaimon in a way that few of his predecessors had managed.[96] Agesilaos' interest in cavalry was grounded in part in his experiences commanding the Lakedaimonian expeditionary force in Asia Minor in the early years of the fourth century. Soon after his arrival in Asia Minor, Agesilaos found that the only cavalry force at his disposal, consisting of 400 men drawn from the Ionian Greek cities, was poorly trained and undersized. After his cavalry suffered a sharp defeat in a skirmish in Phrygia in 396, Agesilaos realized that he needed a strong mounted force in order to operate against the Persians on the plains of Asia Minor.[97] He returned with his army to Ephesos, where he began to

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[93] On the Boeotian cavalry, see Salmon (1978) 178–85 and Worley (1994) 61–3.

[94] On the relationship between Boeotia and Lakedaimon between 431 and 371, see R. J. Buck (1994) 9–114 as well as Cloché (1952) 76–164; Salmon (1978) 178–96.

[95] On the long struggle between Boeotia and Lakedaimon that began with the end of the Peloponnesian War, see Cartledge (2002) 228–59.

[96] Cartledge (1987) remains the essential starting place for any exploration of Agesilaos. Hodkinson (2000) 331 n. 23 notes that Agesilaos is said to have played horse-riding games with his children (Plut. *Ages.* 25.5; *Moral.* 213E; Ael. *VH* 12.15).

[97] The problems that the expeditionary force experienced in operating in Asia Minor without a proper cavalry force are highlighted on multiple occasions in the *Hellenika*. See, for instance, 3.1.5, 3.2.1, 3.2.16.

recruit and train horsemen.[98] Agesilaos imposed a requirement on the wealthiest citizens in the Greek cities allied with Lakedaimon, in accordance with which they could either report for cavalry duty with the Lakedaimonian army or supply a fully-equipped horse and rider in their place. Almost without exception, the wealthy Ionians, not notably fond of the rigours of camp life, chose the latter alternative. Agesilaos thus developed a large force of mercenary cavalry in short order.[99]

Agesilaos' new cavalry force rapidly proved its valour. The ancient accounts of Agesilaos' victory at the Battle of Sardis, fought in 395, diverge sharply from one another.[100] It is clear, however, that his mounted force distinguished itself in combat against the Persian cavalry. When Agesilaos was recalled from Asia Minor in 394, at least some of this cavalry force came with him. He marched his army overland through Macedonia and Thessaly and was delighted when his horsemen inflicted a minor defeat on the Thessalian cavalry. Xenophon comments that Agesilaos was 'greatly pleased … that he had won a victory over those who give the most thought to their horsemanship, with the cavalry that he himself assembled' (*Hell.* 4.3.9; cf. *Ages.* 2.1.5).

The ultimate fate of the mercenary cavalry force that Agesilaos brought with him from Asia Minor in 394 is unknown, but it seems to have been disbanded at an early date, probably because the cost of maintaining a large number of mercenary horsemen was prohibitive.[101] This left the Lakedaimonians dependent upon cavalry provided from amongst the population of Lakedaimon.

Damonon thus lived in a period when cavalry forces were becoming an increasingly important part of Greek armies; when the Boeotians, who had supplied much of the cavalry for Peloponnesian League armies in the Peloponnesian War, went from being a Lakedaimonian ally to a Lakedaimonian enemy; when Lakedaimon put together its first cavalry force; and when Lakedaimon had a king who was acutely aware of the importance of effective cavalry forces and demonstrably interested in building such a force for Lakedaimon. In short, the maintenance of strong

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[98] For Xenophon's narrative of the creation of a cavalry force by Agesilaos, see *Ages.* 1.23–28 and *Hell.* 3.4.11–19. See also see Worley (1994) 127–51.

[99] The ancient sources do not indicate who oversaw the training of this mounted force, but it may well have been Xenophon (Rahe (1980); Hamilton (1991) 97; Worley (1994) 134–5).

[100] For analyses of the sources, see Anderson (1974); Gray (1979); W. Graham (1992).

[101] A mercenary cavalryman could cost up to four times as much to support as a hoplite. On the cost of maintaining a cavalry trooper and his horse, see *Hell.* 5.2.21 as well as Spence (1993) 272–86 and Worley (1994) 70–3.

cavalry forces became a major military imperative for Lakedaimon in Damonon's lifetime.[102]

5.4 The Systems that Ensured a Regular Supply of Adequately Trained Cavalry Horses in Lakedaimon

Any state that wished to maintain a cavalry force drawn from its own citizen body (as opposed to mercenary cavalrymen who brought their own horses with them) needed to ensure a reliable supply of carefully selected and trained cavalry mounts. This was an ongoing problem because cavalry horses, even barring accidents in training or battlefield casualties, were typically serviceable for no more than ten years.[103] The Roman Empire addressed this problem in part by maintaining horse-breeding farms and by making the provision of cavalry horses the responsibility of provincial governors.[104]

Greek *poleis* took a different approach, in that supplying cavalry horses was made the responsibility of wealthy individuals, not the government. Bruno Helly has argued that during the Archaic period provision was made in dividing land into lots (*kleroi*) in Thessaly to ensure that ample pastures were available to nourish horses, and that this arrangement made it possible for Thessalian communities to develop powerful cavalry forces.[105] Helly and Athanasios Tziafalias have drawn on recently excavated inscriptions, from the city of Larissa in Thessaly and dating to the third century, to make the case that the city, in order to provide feed for their mounts, sold lots of public land, called *hippoteia*, to cavalrymen.[106] The families in possession of these lots, each of which encompassed approximately 5 ha, were required to cultivate them in a fashion consonant with producing feed for horses, and fines were imposed on those who put a significant portion of the lot to other uses (e.g., growing grapes). It is not known when this system was put into operation, but it may well have had a long history before the third century; Helly and Tziafalias suggest that it

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[102] I have argued elsewhere (Christesen (2006)) that the *Cyropaedia* was in part a vehicle for Xenophon to present a plan for military reform in Lakedaimon that included turning all of the Spartiates into cavalrymen.

[103] Department of War (1941) 186; Bugh (1988) 68–70.

[104] Roy Davies (1989) 153–73; Hyland (1990) 71–86; Dixon and Southern (1992) 148–62. Dio Cassius reproduces a speech that Maecenas ostensibly delivered to Augustus in 27 BCE that included the advice to limit hippic contests outside of Rome 'to give those who are serving in the army an abundant supply of the best horses' (52.30.7, trans. E. Cary).

[105] Helly (1995) 279–328, though see the cautionary comments in Sordi (1998) and Trevett (1999). On Thessaly's capacity as a site for hippotrophy, see Blaineau (2015) 74–81. On some intriguing peculiarities with respect to Thessalian attitudes towards the use of horse, see Aston and Kerr (2018).

[106] Helly and Tziafalias (2013); Blaineau (2015) 77–9.

dates back to the first half of the fifth century.[107] Given the existence in Thessaly of a strongly entrenched elite with a deeply-rooted equestrian tradition, the provision of both a cavalry horse and a cavalryman was probably the *de facto* if not *de iure* responsibility of wealthy Thessalian families.[108]

When Athens created a 1,200-strong cavalry force in the 450s, wealthy individuals were required to serve in the cavalry and to provide themselves with an adequate mount; cavalry service thus became very much like a liturgy.[109] In order to maintain its cavalry at full complement, the Athenian government found it necessary to put in place two different funding mechanisms to subsidise the cost of serving in the cavalry. One, the *katastasis*, provided a loan to cavalrymen to buy a mount; in the event that a horse was killed or maimed in the line of duty, the loan was forgiven. The other funding mechanism provided a regular stipend to cover the cost of grain to feed that mount.[110] It was, nevertheless, still expensive to serve in the cavalry, not least because the loan to buy a cavalry horse had to be repaid, and a good cavalry horse was a pricey acquisition. Lead tablets from Athens that record *katastasis* loans show that a serviceable but unspectacular mount could be purchased for 300 *drachmai* (a full year's earnings for a skilled workman), but a truly first-rate cavalry horse went for 1,200 *drachmai* or more.[111] As a result, even with the aforementioned funding mechanisms in place, the Athenians had continuing difficulties in finding sufficient numbers of individuals ready to serve in the cavalry. Xenophon's comments in the *Cavalry Commander* (1.8–13, 9.5) show that many members of the wealthier families in Athens who were legally obliged to serve in the cavalry had to be cajoled or compelled by court order into doing so.[112]

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[107] Helly and Tziafalias (2013) 152.

[108] A passage from the *Dissoi Logoi*, which is tentatively dated to c. 400, emphasises that selecting and training horses was seen as an honourable activity in Thessaly (2.11). The treatise on horsemanship by the Athenian Simon, which was written in the fifth century, explicitly states that Thessalian horses are the best (*On the Form and Selection of Horses* 1).

[109] Blaineau (2015) 224–8. The history of Athenian cavalry forces prior to the middle of the fifth century, including the relationship between the Solonic property classes and cavalry service, remains a subject of dispute. See the discussion in Bugh (1988) 3–38.

[110] Xenophon states that paying the stipends to feed cavalry horses cost the Athenian state the quite substantial sum of 40 talents a year (*Eq. Mag.* 1.19).

[111] Kroll (1977) 88–9; see also Hanson (2005) 224–7.

[112] Xenophon also suggests that the Athenians create a force of 200 mercenary cavalrymen with the funding coming from fees paid by individuals who were legally obligated to serve in the cavalry but eager to avoid doing so (*Eq. Mag.* 9.5). The discussion in this and the following paragraph draws directly from Bugh (1988) 39–74; see also Blaineau (2015) 228–61. In reconstructing the organisation of the Athenian cavalry, Bugh draws on sources from both the fifth and fourth centuries and notes, where relevant, instances of diachronic change. Hodkinson (1992) 58 suggests that the need to raise cash to

Moreover, the Athenian state found it necessary to institute a programme of regular inspections (*dokimasiai*) to ensure that the cavalry horses that wealthy individuals supplied for themselves were well fed and well trained. The Council of Five Hundred carried out these inspections and had the power to fine individuals whose mounts were found to be underfed. In addition, the members of the Council observed the horses in action to ensure that they were sufficiently strong and well trained to carry out formation drills. Horses that failed this examination were branded with a wheel and barred from cavalry service, whereupon the owner in question had to make prompt arrangements to acquire another, more adequate, horse.

The complex arrangements made by the Athenian state to ensure that its cavalry force had adequate mounts makes it clear that many wealthy individuals were not at all eager to serve in the cavalry. In addition, those individuals who, by choice or compulsion, ended up in the cavalry, had to be monitored to ensure that they supplied a properly fed horse with adequate physical capacities and training. The fact that at least some Athenian cavalrymen—who had a strong incentive to equip themselves with a suitable horse that would help them survive on the battlefield—tried to cut corners when it came to their horse shows just how taxing it was to acquire, train, and maintain a cavalry horse.[113]

Lakedaimon, when it established and then expanded its own cavalry force, had to confront precisely the same sort of challenges faced by Athens. The relatively non-monetised nature of the Lakedaimonian economy makes it impossible to specify the costs of maintaining horses in terms of *drachmai*, but Hodkinson has shown that simply feeding four horses

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pay for cavalry horses affected the economic activity of wealthy Athenian families by encouraging them to engage in market-oriented pastoral production focused around sheep and goats.

[113] The significant costs associated with hippotrophy drive the plot of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, which was first produced in 423: see esp. 1–31. In that play Strepsiades keeps race-horses, not cavalry horses, but these forms of hippotrophy were similar in many ways. The collection of fables written in Greek and attributed to Babrius (of unknown date but definitely before the second century CE) includes a tale of a cavalryman who fails to feed his horse properly (*Fable* 76):

A knight his charger pamper'd day by day, / So long as war was rife, with barley and hay, / As his brave comrade in the battle's din; / But when war ceas'd, and peace at last came in, / When from his deme the knight drew pay no more, / Oft from the woods to town his charger bore / Huge logs of timber, and with various load / Toil'd as a hireling on a weary road; / On sorry husks he barely life preserv'd, / And yoked for draught, no longer knighthood serv'd. / But war again was heard without the walls, / On each to burnish arms the trumpet calls, / To whet his steel, his war-horse to array: / Again our knight has bridled for the fray / His charger, led for him to take the field, / But its weak limbs began to sink and yield. / 'Go rank thyself with infantry', it said: / 'If thou could'st me from horse to donkey degrade, / Nor more can I my former self be made'. (J. Davies' translation is reproduced here with minor changes to make the relevant technical terms clearer.)

for a year would have required the output from roughly 7 ha of farmland devoted to raising cereals (which represented only part of a horse's diet).[114] He observes that 'the fact that 7 ha is more than the size of a typical hoplite farm in ancient Greece … is a good indication of the heavy burden of horse rearing'.[115] In Isocrates' *Archidamos* (6.55) the Lakedaimonians are described as devoting resources to feeding 'ravenous horses' (ἵππων ἀδηφαγούντων) even after the radical diminution of Lakedaimonian territory that came with the loss of Messenia in 369.

Nothing is known about how Lakedaimon addressed this problem when it constructed its first cavalry force in 424. By the end of the first quarter of the fourth century, supplying cavalry horses was a liturgy imposed on wealthy families. This is evident from Xenophon's comments on the performance of Lakedaimonian cavalry forces at the Battle of Leuktra in 371 (*Hell.* 6.4.10–11):

ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς διά τε τὸν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαι-μονίοις κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἧκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ᾽ ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα ὁποῖα δοθείη αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο· τῶν δ᾽ αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν.

The cavalry of the Thebans was well trained on account of both the war against the Orchomenians and the war against the Thespians, while the cavalry of the Lakedaimonians was very poor at that time. For the richest men raised the horses. When the ban was called out, then the man who had been given the assignment came. Taking the horse and whatever weapons were given to him, he immediately

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[114] Domesticated horses are typically fed both forage and concentrates. Forage consists of any combination of grasses (rich in fibre) and legumes such as alfalfa (rich in protein); it can be provided by putting horses in pastures in which these plants are growing and allowing them to graze, or by providing hay (cut forage, either grasses or legumes). Concentrates are grains, such as barley and oats; they contain more calories per kilogram than forage and thus are in some ways a more efficient form of feed. However, horses living in the wild subsist largely on grasses and legumes, and the provision of substantial amounts of forage is considered to be necessary to maintain the health of domesticated horses. (In other words, horses cannot under normal circumstances be given a diet consisting solely of grains such as barley.) Horse owners in ancient Greece thus had to grow or buy not only grains, but also forage. Providing that forage in the form of grasses and legumes growing in a pasture requires approximately half a hectare of pasture per horse (http://extension.psu.edu/plants/crops/forages/pastures/animals/pasture-and-hay-for-horses). One can, therefore, see why horses were so difficult to maintain. On the feeding of horses in the ancient world, see Furet (2005) and Donaghy (2012). On depictions on Greek vases of horses grazing, see Moore (2004) 45–8.

[115] Hodkinson (2000) 315.

would go on campaign. Moreover, it was those among the soldiers who were least strong and least ambitious who served as horsemen.

The Lakedaimonian approach differed markedly from the Athenian approach in that wealthy Lakedaimonian families were obligated only to supply a cavalry horse and not to serve in the cavalry themselves.[116] This passage also leaves little doubt that, whereas in other times and places, including some places in the Greek world, cavalry service was prestigious and hence was incentivised in terms of social status, that was evidently not the case in Lakedaimon, at least at the time of the Battle of Leuktra.

It should come as no surprise, then, that the Lakedaimonians experienced difficulties in ensuring a regular supply of adequately fed and trained cavalry horses. This can be gleaned from what is known about the first female Olympic victor, Kyniska, who won the *tethrippon* at Olympia in both 396 and 392. Kyniska was the daughter of King Archidamos, the half-sister of Agis, and the sister of Agesilaos; as heiress to part of Archidamos' estate, she possessed the requisite resources for hippotrophy.

The ancient sources provide two different perspectives on the reasons behind Kyniska's entry into the male-dominated world of Olympic competition. Xenophon, in his encomium of Agesilaos, writes that Kyniska's participation was driven by her brother's desire to erode the prestige derived from hippic victories (*Ages.* 9.6):

> ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πῶς οὐ καλὸν καὶ μεγαλογνῶμον, τὸ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔργοις καὶ κτήμασι κοσμεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, κύνας τε πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς καὶ ἵππους πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν πεῖσαι ἁρματοτροφεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς ὅτι τὸ θρέμμα τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμά ἐστι …

> Here is another exploit of his which is, of course, admirable and impressive. He enhanced his own estate with the kinds of artefacts and possessions you might expect a man to own—that is, he kept a large number of hunting dogs and warhorses—but at the same time he persuaded his sister to breed a team of horses for chariot-racing and so, when she won a victory at the games, he proved that to keep such a team is not a mark of manly virtue but merely of wealth … (trans. R. Waterfield)

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[116] It is unclear whether this obligation was limited to Spartiate families or whether it also included *perioikoi*. Xenophon's passing reference to two Spartiates and one of the *perioikoi* serving in the Lakedaimonian cavalry (*Hell.* 5.4.39) shows that *perioikoi* did indeed see duty as horsemen, though it is conceivable that they did so without being under obligation to supply cavalry horses to the state.

Plutarch picks up and amplifies this view in his own biography of Agesilaos:

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ὁρῶν ἐνίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ ἱπποτροφίας δοκοῦντας εἶναί τινας καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντας, ἔπεισε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Κυνίσκαν ἅρμα καθεῖσαν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγωνίσασθαι, βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστιν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ πλούτου καὶ δαπάνης ἡ νίκη.

However, on seeing that some of the citizens esteemed themselves highly and were greatly lifted up because of their involvement in hippotrophy, he persuaded his sister Kyniska to enter a chariot in the contests at Olympia, wishing to show the Greeks that the victory there was not a mark of any great excellence but simply of wealth and lavish outlay. (*Ages.* 20.1, trans. B. Perrin, modified; cf. *Moralia* 212B.)

A different perspective can be traced back to the inscription found on one of the two monuments at Olympia that commemorated Kyniska's victories (*IvO* 160):

Kings of Sparta are my father and brothers. Kyniska, conquering with a chariot of fleet-footed steeds, set up this statue. And I declare myself the only woman in all Hellas to have gained this crown. (trans. S. Hodkinson)

This can easily be read as bold self-assertion by a confident, competitive woman, and that is certainly the way Pausanias took it when he visited Olympia (3.8.1):

Archidamos had also a daughter, Kyniska, who was passionately fond of the Olympic Games, and was the first woman who bred horses and won an Olympic victory. (trans. J. Frazer)

Scholarly interpretations of this evidence have varied widely. Paul Cartledge argues that 'Agesilaos was concerned to project the image of being above this kind of sordid, material competition in which other members of the Spartan elite, debarred as they were from other sorts of ostentatious consumption, so passionately indulged'.[117] Hodkinson sees Agesilaos as acting out of fear of rivals using chariot racing to undermine his position.[118] Donald Kyle points to the Eurypontids' embarrassing interactions with Alcibiades (who had ostensibly seduced and impregnated the wife of King Agis, the older half-brother of Agesilaos and Kyniska) and

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[117] Cartledge (1987) 150.

[118] Hodkinson (1989) 99; id. (2000) 327–8.

makes the case that Agesilaos was seeking to undermine the lingering fame of Alcibiades' domination of the Olympic chariot race in 416.[119] Ellen Millender argues that Agesilaos, whose right to the throne was disputed at the time of his ascension, used Kyniska's success in hippic competitions to elevate his status and establish his legitimacy.[120] Sarah Pomeroy reads Kyniska as a knowledgeable horse-racing aficionado driven by her own ambitions.[121] Annalisa Paradiso also sees Kyniska as exercising a considerable degree of initiative and agency.[122]

It is neither possible nor necessary to resolve here lingering questions about the motivations behind Kyniska's participation in the Olympics. For our purposes, the key issue is that Xenophon, who was quite familiar with Lakedaimonian society and one of Agesilaos' intimate associates, draws a contrast between raising warhorses on one hand, and raising racehorses on the other, and represents Agesilaos as striving to encourage the former and discourage the latter.

5.5 The Pursuit of Status Competition in Lakedaimon by Means of Victories Won in Horse-Raising Competition

The Kyniska episode highlights the importance of horse-racing in the pursuit of social status in Lakedaimon. An understanding of that part of the Lakedaimonian sociopolitical system is crucial to understanding the Damonon *stele*, and that, in turn, requires a very rapid sketch of Lakedaimon's sociopolitical trajectory. Whereas there is relatively abundant evidence for status competition among Spartiates, we are poorly informed about how *perioikoi* figured into status competition in Lakedaimon. We will, therefore, focus on Spartiates.

The Lakedaimonian *politeia* became markedly more inclusive over the course of the Archaic period. Power and influence were initially concentrated in the hands of a small group of men from very wealthy families. After a good deal of volatility, reforms were enacted that gave social and political privileges to Spartiates from less wealthy but still prosperous households. After those reforms, all male Spartiates were (notionally) equal in many respects (hence their use of the term *homoioi*), and a number of measures were put into place that helped create a high degree of egalitarianism among Spartiates. The most obvious example is

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[119] Kyle (2003); id. (2007) 141–5.

[120] Millender (2009) 18–26.

[121] Pomeroy (2002) 19–24.

[122] Paradiso (2015). For similar views, see also Hodkinson (2004) 111–12 and Fornis (2014) 316. Kyniska scholarship is something of an industry unto itself, and the rapid survey of different scholarly opinions supplied in this paragraph is by no means exhaustive.

the state-supervised educational system. As Jean Ducat has noted, 'to the extent that it was a state institution, education was the same for everyone. Rich children, poor children, sons from prominent families, sons from ordinary ones, were mixed together in age-classes and "troops" … the aim of this egalitarian treatment was, obviously, to create citizens who were all "alike"'.[123]

However, complete equality among Spartiates was an ideal that never became a reality. Some Spartiate families, probably mostly those that had been particularly prominent at the start of the Archaic period, continued throughout the Classical period to enjoy a privileged position in Lakedaimonian political, military, and social life. Moreover, as Hodkinson has shown, some Spartiate families were significantly wealthier than others. The result was, as Anton Powell has astutely observed, 'an oligarchy within an oligarchy'.[124]

The emergence of this imperfectly egalitarian sociopolitical system altered status competition in Lakedaimon. As the Lakedaimonian *politeia* became more inclusive and egalitarian, a concerted effort was made to discourage the pursuit of social status through conspicuous consumption— a practice that placed less wealthy Spartiate families at a distinct disadvantage. Xenophon notes that Lycurgus 'made it more glorious to help one's fellows by personal effort than by spending money on them, demonstrating that the former is a matter of character, the latter a matter of wealth' (*Lac. Pol.* 7.4, trans. M. Lipka; cf. 7.3 and Plut. *Lyc.* 24.2). Conspicuous consumption was curbed in part by imposing a relatively simple lifestyle that all Spartiates could afford: *phiditia*, for example, replaced *symposia*. Aristotle observes that in Lakedaimon 'there is no distinction between rich and poor … they all have the same food at their public tables, and the rich wear only such clothing as any poor man can afford' (*Politics* 1294b26–8, trans. S. Everson; cf. Thuc. 1.6).

At the same time that conspicuous consumption was being curbed, opportunities to pursue status through particular forms of meritocratic competition, particularly in the context of sport, became correspondingly more important.[125] Spartiates had a particular predilection for forms of meritocratic status competition that were linked to their key roles of soldier and citizen, and hence placed a great deal of emphasis on gymnic contests.

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[123] Ducat (2006) 169. Lakedaimon's political history is complex and imperfectly understood, and relevant issues both large and small remain the subject of scholarly debate. The perspective articulated here reflects in a general way the views on the history of Archaic and Classical Greece elucidated in Donlan (1999) and Morris (2000) and draws heavily on recent scholarship on Lakedaimonian history, noteworthy among which are Hodkinson (1983); Cartledge (1987); Finley (1987) 161–77; Hodkinson (1997); Cartledge (2002).

[124] Powell (2016) 107.

[125] Christesen (2012).

The state-sponsored, mandatory upbringing that all Spartiates underwent stressed the development and display of physical prowess as preparation for effective service on the battlefield. The Lakedaimonian state did not, however, go to war very often, and so most Spartiates spent a tiny fraction of their lives on the battlefield.[126] Gymnic competitions created opportunities to test, in a regular and generally non-fatal fashion, the physical prowess of boys in the educational system, to display the continuing fitness of adult males, and to establish the capacities of Spartiates of all ages relative to one another.

Moreover, gymnic competitions were a form of competition in which wealth was of minimal importance. In most societies, opportunities to train and to compete can be quite unequal, which can affect performance, but the socio-economic status and lifestyle of Spartiates were sufficiently similar as to make success or failure in gymnic competitions primarily a matter of individual merit. As the sport sociologist John Hargreaves has noted, 'sport approximates more to the ideal of a meritocratic social order than any other sphere of social life'.[127] What chiefly matters are speed, strength, intelligence, and drive, not social background or family connections.

Success in gymnic competitions was a source of considerable prestige in Lakedaimon, as is evident in the special treatment accorded to Olympic victors.[128] A few, extravagantly successful Olympic victors—including Hipposthenes, Chionis, and Kyniska—literally became objects of worship.[129] Less spectacular rewards awaited other Lakedaimonian athletes who triumphed at Olympia. Many Greek communities lavished financial rewards on their Olympic victors. That ran directly counter to the ethos of athletic competition in Lakedaimon, and, according to Plutarch, Lakedaimonian Olympic victors were given the more appropriate reward of the right to fight alongside the Lakedaimonian kings in battle.[130] Plutarch recounts a story of a Lakedaimonian athlete who refused a major bribe to lose intentionally in the wrestling finals at Olympia. When asked what he gained from his victory, the Lakedaimonian replied, 'In battle against the enemy my place will be in front of the king' (*Lyc.* 22.4; cf. *Mor.*

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[126] Finley (1987) 171–4; see also Hodkinson (2006).

[127] Hargreaves (1986) 111.

[128] Hodkinson (1999) 167–70.

[129] Much of the evidence for the heroisation of athletes in Sparta comes from Pausanias, but there is no doubt that most if not all of the cults for athletes that Pausanias encountered were already extant in the Classical period. On the heroisation of athletes in Lakedaimon, see Christesen (2010).

[130] It is not clear whether this privilege was granted to victors from both perioikic and Spartiate families, or only the latter. It was presumably the case that the Olympic victors who fought near the king came primarily from gymnic events. The kings' interest in having Olympic victors near them in battle likely had to do with the special aura that was felt to attach itself to men who triumphed at Olympia. See Kurke (1993).

639E). Although the veracity of this story is open to question, it is noteworthy that it draws an opposition between wealth on one hand, and status won through open competition on the other.[131]

The reasons for the strong connection between social standing and success in gymnic competitions in Lakedaimon are thus clear. Gymnic competitions gave all Spartiates, regardless of their relative affluence, equal opportunity to compete to become unequal, by means of displaying what was seen as a trait essential in fulfilling their civic duties.

In spite of all these efforts, wealthy and powerful Spartiate families managed to find contexts to deploy their resources in ways that elevated their social standing. For example, all Spartiates belonged to a *phidition*, and each member of a *phidition* made a required, equal contribution of rations on a monthly basis. However, wealthy men could and did contribute foodstuffs above and beyond the required minimum, and those foodstuffs were used to supply an additional course—called an *epaiklon*—to shared meals. Xenophon informs us that 'many extra portions are to be had from game caught by hunting; occasionally, the rich contribute wheat bread instead' (*Lac. Pol.* 5.3, trans. M. Lipka). Although all Spartiates had the capacity to hunt, only the wealthy could afford to maintain packs of hunting dogs and horses.[132] Raising wheat entailed owning land above and beyond that necessary to raise the amounts of barley that formed part of required *phiditia* contributions, and hence was something only the wealthy could do. The Hellenistic writer Molpis states that the cooks announced the names of individuals who made additional contributions to a *phidition* (*FGrHist* 590 F 2c), and such contributions no doubt helped make some Spartiates in any given mess more equal than others.

Participation in hippic competitions was another venue in which Spartiates from unusually wealthy families could and did deploy their wealth in pursuit of social status. Horse-racing, particularly chariot racing, was a proverbially expensive activity, and hence formed part of status competition throughout the Greek world from an early date.[133] As Mark Griffith has pointed out, the special status of horses was not just a matter of expense, but also a matter of contrast with other animals. Horses were not typically used as farm or pack animals, for which purposes donkeys, mules, and oxen were better suited, cheaper, and easier to acquire and maintain. He notes that 'Horses were for war, for hunting, for play, for show. Rarely were they used to do *work*' (emphasis original). As a result, horses always

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[131] Other evidence for the special treatment accorded in Lakedaimon to athletic victors can be found in a tomb (for Lakedaimonian soldiers) in the Kerameikos in Athens (van Hook (1932); Willemsen (1977); Stroszeck (2006)) and in inscriptions on gravestones in Lakonia (*IG* V.1.708 (Appendix II, #9); Hodkinson (1999) 170–3).

[132] Hodkinson (2000) 357.

[133] Howe (2008) 99–118. The *Alcibiades* attributed to Plato has a list of manifestations of Lakedaimonian wealth that includes land, slaves, and horses (220d).

retained a consistently high level of glamour akin to that associated in the modern world with expensive and emphatically non-utilitarian sports cars.[134]

Wealthy Spartiates raced horses throughout the Archaic period,[135] but they enjoyed almost improbable success in chariot racing for a span of about 75 years starting in the middle of the fifth century, and hence precisely at the time when Damonon was active. This is evident from the Olympic victor list, which, although incomplete, indicates that Spartiates won the *tethrippon* at Olympia—the most prestigious horse-race in the Greek world—in 448, 444, 440, 432, 428, 424, 420, 396, 392, and 388. (The hiatus between the victories of 420 and 396 was at least in part a result of the fact that Lakedaimonians were banned from competition at Olympia for an indeterminate period starting in 420.[136]) Reflecting on their successes in the Olympic Games, Pausanias remarks that after the Persian Wars, the Lakedaimonians 'were keener breeders of horses than all the rest of the Greeks'.[137]

Victories in hippic contests elevated the standing of the horses' owners, which in turn had significant results with respect to how the owners were treated by other Spartiates. This is evident from the fact that at least some Spartiates who won chariot-racing victories at Olympia seem to have been given important diplomatic and military posts, in part due to their successes on the track. Hodkinson has argued that 'a chariot victory could help a man to leapfrog above his former status into positions of leadership he would not otherwise have gained'.[138] There was, therefore, in Damonon's time, a long-established pattern of wealthy Spartiate families pursuing social status by means of hippic victories.

[134] Griffith (2006) 203–5; quotation from p. 203. On the contrast between horses and donkeys, see also the fable of Babrius quoted in n. 113 above.

[135] The Lakedaimonian Euagoras, for example, won the *tethrippon* at Olympia three times in the middle of the sixth century (Moretti (1957) #110, 113, 117). On the advantages of Lakedaimonian territory as a site for hippotrophy, see Blaineau (2015) 98–101.

[136] Hornblower (2000); Roy (2009).

[137] There is some uncertainty about precise dates, but the number of victories is reliable. The dates supplied here for Lakedaimonian chariot victories are taken from Hodkinson (2000) 308. Most if not all of the victories in question were won by Spartiates rather than *perioikoi*. Hodkinson connects the sudden uptick in Lakedaimonian *tethrippon* victories to the increased levels of concentration of wealth that followed upon the major loss of life caused by a massive earthquake that struck Lakonia in 464 (Hodkinson (2000) 309–11). Lakedaimonian success in Olympic chariot racing declined sharply after the first quarter of the fourth century; the primary reason for this striking development was probably economic. The huge loss of territory and attendant wealth that followed Leuktra, along with continuing military pressure, made it much more difficult to find resources to lavish on chariot racing.

[138] Hodkinson (2000) 326. For Athenian parallels, see J. K. Davies (1984) 97–105.

5.6 The Different Ways in which Lakedaimonians Commemorated Gymnic and Hippic Victories and the Sheer Oddity of the Damonon *Stele*

We have already seen that, according to Xenophon at least, Agesilaos actively sought to discourage the pursuit of social status by means of horse-racing. The commemorative monuments found in and around Sparta provide evidence that the pursuit of status via success in hippic competitions met with opposition well before Agesilaos' time. In discussing these monuments, it is helpful to differentiate victories at Olympia from those won in local contests, and to differentiate monuments erected in Lakonia from those erected at Olympia.[139] (There are no known victor monuments from Messenia for Lakedaimonian citizens, so in this particular case we will focus on Lakonia specifically.) Based on what is known from the relevant literary (especially Pausanias), epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, the following Lakedaimonian Olympic victors are known to have had commemorative monuments of one type or another in Lakonia (the list includes all known victors up to and including the end of the Hellenistic period):[140]

	Discipline	Date of Victory	Date of Commemo-ration	Nature of Monument
Chionis[141]	running	h1 c7*	h1 c5	*stele* as part of hero cult
Hipposthenes [142]	wrestling	h2 c7	c5 (?)	temple
Hetoimokles[143]	wrestling	q1 c6**	c5 (?)	statue
Mikas[144]	pentathlon	c. 500	c. 500	inscribed *halter*
Ladas[145]	running	h1 c5 (?)	h1 c5 (?)	tomb with inscription noting Olympic victory
Kyniska[146]	chariot	q1 c4	? but before c2	hero shrine

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[139] The very incomplete available information about victors in Panhellenic contests other than Olympia suggests that Spartiates showed much more eagerness to compete at Olympia than at the other games of the *periodos*. See the listing of victors in Klee (1918). See also below, Ch. 6 n. 23.

[140] On the subject of the commemoration of Olympic victors in Sparta, see Hodkinson (1999) 165–73 and (2000) 319–28.

[141] On Chionis, see Appendix II, #6.

[142] On Hipposthenes, see Appendix II, #32.

[143] On Hetoimokles, see Appendix II, #33.

[144] On this *halter*, see Appendix II, #29. *Halteres* were weights used in the jumping contest, which in turn formed part of the pentathlon. On *halteres*, see Jüthner (1965–68) II.162–213.

[145] On Ladas, see Appendix II, #42.

			CE	
	racing			
Eubalkes[147]	?	early C3	early C3	base that held unknown dedication
Euryades[148]	?	c3	c3	grave marker with inscription noting Olympic victory
Euryleonis[149]	chariot racing	Hellenistic?	Hellenistic?	statue
Ainetos[150]	pentathlon	Hellenistic?	Hellenistic?	relief
Nikokles[151]	running	c. 100	c. 100	statue

* = first half of seventh century; ** = first quarter of sixth century

Table 4: Lakedaimonian Olympic victors with commemorative monuments in Lakonia

It is instructive to compare Table 4 with Table 5, a list of Lakedaimonian Olympic victors known to have had commemorative monuments of one type or another in Olympia (the list includes all known victors up to, and including the end of, the Hellenistic period).

	Discipline	**Date of Victory**	**Date of Commemoration**	**Nature of Monument**
Eutelidas[152]	wrestling, pentathlon	q3 c7	? but after mid c6	statue
Euagoras[153]	chariot racing	mid c6	mid c6	chariot
Koiris[154]	pentathlon	c6	c6	inscribed *halter*
Akmatidas[155]	pentathlon	c. 500	c. 500	inscribed *halter*

[146] On Kyniska, see Appendix II, #35 and the bibliography cited in nn. 117–22 above. On the date of Kyniska's heroisation, see below.

[147] On Eubalkes, see Appendix II, #34.

[148] On Euryades, see Appendix II, #9.

[149] On Euryleonis, see Appendix II, #36.

[150] On Ainetos, see Appendix II, #5.

[151] On Nikokles, see Appendix II, #43.

[152] On Eutelidas, see Moretti (1957) #63–4. On the general subject of the commemoration of Lakedaimonian Olympic victories at Olympia, see Hodkinson (1999) 173–6.

[153] On Euagoras, see Moretti (1957) #110, 113, 117.

[154] Koiris' Olympic victory is known solely from an inscribed *halter* found at Olympia (Olympia Museum 679). See Jeffery (1990) 202 #63 and *IvO* 720. The only legible word in the inscription is Koiris' name; the use of the Lakonian alphabet in the inscription indicates the place from which Koiris came.

[155] Akmatidas' Olympic victory is known solely from an inscribed *halter* found at Olympia. See Hampe and Jantzen (1937) 82–4 and plate 25; Moretti (1953) #8; id. (1957) #160; Jeffery (1990) 199 #20, 448; Wachter (1995); Siewert and Taeuber (2013) #21. The inscription reads: Ἀκματίδας Λακεδαιμόνιος νικôν ἀνέθεκε τὰ πέντε ἀσσκονικτεί.

Chionis[156]	running	h1 c7	h1 c5	*stele*
Polypeithes[157]	chariot racing	q1 c5	q1 c5	chariot with inscription mentioning Olympic victory of Polypeithes' father Kalliteles in wrestling
Arkesilaos[158]	chariot racing	q3 c5	q3 c5	statue
Leon[159]	chariot racing	q3 c5	q3 c5	statue
Xenarches[160]	chariot racing	q3 c5	q3 c5	statue
Anaxandros[161]	chariot racing	q3 c5	q3 c5	statue with inscription mentioning Olympic victory of Anaxandros' paternal grandfather in wrestling
Polykles[162]	chariot racing	q4 c5	q4 c5	statue group with 3 figures
Lichas[163]	chariot racing	q4 c5	q4 c5	statue
Kyniska[164]	chariot racing	q1 c4	q1 c4	2 separate monuments: (1) group consisting of chariot along with statues of horses, charioteer, and statue of Kyniska, (2) smaller-than-life

[156] On Chionis, see Appendix II, #6.

[157] On Polypeithes and Kalliteles, see Moretti (1957) #149, 195. Pausanias (6.16.6) describes Polypeithes' monument as follows: ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἅρμα οὐ μέγα ἀνάκειται Πολυπείθους Λάκωνος καὶ ἐπὶ στήλης τῆς αὐτῆς Καλλιτέλης ὁ τοῦ Πολυπείθους πατήρ, παλαιστὴς ἀνήρ. It is a little unclear precisely what Pausanias means by *stele* here since it would seem that the monument consisted primarily of a chariot. The most likely solution is that Pausanias here uses *stele* to refer to the base on which the chariot stood, on which base there was a relief showing Kalliteles or, more probably, an inscription mentioning Polypeithes' and Kalliteles' victories.

[158] On Arkesilaos, see Moretti (1957) #305, 311.

[159] On Leon, see Moretti (1957) #332.

[160] On Xenarches, see Moretti (1957) #386 and (1970) #386.

[161] On Anaxandros, see Moretti (1957) #327.

[162] On Polykles, see Moretti (1957) #315.

[163] On Lichas, see Moretti (1957) #339 and (1987) #339.

[164] On Kyniska, see Moretti (1957) #373, 381 and the sources cited in nn. 117–22 above.

				size statues of horses
Lykinos[165]	chariot racing	q1 c4	q1 c4	2 statues (unclear if part of same dedication)
Deinosthenes[166]	running	q4 c4	q4 c4	statue and *stele*

Table 5. Lakedaimonian Olympic victors with commemorative monuments in Olympia

Whereas there are no known examples of a Lakedaimonian Olympic victor in the hippic contests with a commemorative monument at Sparta prior to Damonon's time, at least eight Lakedaimonian hippic victors erected monuments at Olympia prior to Damonon's time.

Much the same pattern emerges when we consider monuments in Lakonia for victors in all contests (including both the Olympics and contests held in Lakedaimon up through and including the Hellenistic period):[167]

	Gymnic	Hippic	Mixed	Unknown
Definite	7	--	1 (Damonon)	1
Possible	--	--	--	7

Table 6a: *Stelai* from Sparta with inscriptions listing athletic victories[168]

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[165] On Lykinos, see Moretti (1957) #324.

[166] On Deinosthenes, see Moretti (1957) #478. Deinosthenes won an Olympic victory in the *stadion* in 316 and erected a commemorative *stele* in Olympia that was seen by Pausanias (6.16.8) and that was recovered in the excavations at Olympia (*IvO* 171). The inscription on the *stele* makes a cryptic reference to another *stele*, which may or may not have been another commemorative *stele* located near Sparta, but Moretti prefers a reading of the inscription that eliminates any reference to another commemorative *stele* (Moretti (1953) #31). The existence of two commemorative monuments for the same athlete, one at Olympia and one in his hometown, was not unheard of; the Lakedaimonian athlete Chionis, for example, was honoured in just this fashion, with the caveat that the *stelai* were erected long after his death.

[167] In many cases the relevant dedications are not sufficiently well preserved for us to be certain as to where a given victory was won. It is, as a result, necessary to consider Olympic and non-Olympic victories together in analysing athletic dedications in Sparta. Details about each of the objects tabulated here can be found in Appendix II.

[168] It is probable, though not certain, that all athletic dedications in the territory of the city of Sparta were made by Spartiates. The situation at sites outside that territory but still within the boundaries of Lakedaimon is more complicated; dedications at those sites could either be those of Spartiates or *perioikoi*. Insofar as dedicatory practices in Sparta were closely linked to the *diaita* of the Spartiates, it seems likely that dedicatory practices of *perioikoi* differed from those of Spartiates. Athletic dedications made in Lakedaimon outside of Sparta thus need to be separated from those made in Sparta in order to avoid potential confusion. See Appendix II for discussion of the physical limits of Sparta.

	Gymnic	Hippic	Mixed	Unknown
Definite	1	--	--	--
Possible	--	--	--	3

Table 6b: *Stelai* from Lakonia *ex* Sparta with inscriptions listing athletic victories

	Gymnic	Hippic	Mixed	Unknown
Definite	7	5	--	3
Possible	--	1	--	--

Table 6c: Dedications from Sparta of objects (other than *stelai*) by or for victorious athletes

	Gymnic	Hippic	Mixed	Unknown
Definite	5	--	--	--
Possible	1	--	--	--

Table 6d: Dedications from Lakonia *ex* Sparta of objects (other than *stelai*) by or for victorious athletes

Three of the five objects certainly dedicated in Sparta by hippic victors (Table 6c) are Panathenaic amphorae from the Sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. A considerable number of fragments of Panathenaic amphorae were uncovered during the course of the British excavations in the early twentieth century at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos and at the Menelaion. Only seven of those amphorae have been published in any detail, and the contest for which they were awarded is discernible in three instances. In all three cases, the contest was a chariot race. The only relatively complete, securely dated vase from these three is placed in the last quarter of the sixth century.[169]

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[169] In his summary of the excavations that were conducted at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in 1907, Dickins reports finding fragments from seven separate Panathenaic amphorae (Dickins (1906/7) 152–3). There were sufficient fragments of one of those amphorae to reconstruct about two-thirds of the vase (Appendix II, #26). The other six vases were too fragmentary to reconstruct, but the sherds of two of those vases included depictions of chariots or charioteers (Appendix II, #27–8). In his summary of the excavations that were conducted at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in 1908, Dickins reports finding 26 fragments from Panathenaic amphorae, but does not comment further (Dickins (1907/8) 145). In their summary of the excavations conducted at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in 1924–5, Woodward and Hobling (1924/5) 248 mention finding a fragment of a Panathenaic amphora, again without further comment. In their summary of the excavations that were conducted at the Menelaion in 1909, Wace, Thompson, and Droop report finding several fragments of Panathenaic amphorae, which they date to the late sixth or early fifth century (Wace, Thompson, and Droop (1908/9) 114). In his summary of the excavations that were conducted at the sanctuary of Menelaion between 1973 and 1976, Catling reports finding fragments of Panathenaic amphorae, which he dates to the sixth and fifth centuries (H. Catling (1976) 41). In his book on Panathenaic amphora, Bentz catalogues one vase from the Menelaion (6.067; Appendix II, #22) as well as the seven vases from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos (6.097–103). He dates the

Another one of the five objects certainly dedicated in Sparta to commemorate a hippic triumph is a statue, located on the acropolis, of Euryleonis, who won an Olympic chariot-racing victory at an unknown date sometime after the first quarter of the fourth century. The remaining certain object celebrating a hippic victory is the hero shrine for Kyniska, which is unlikely to have been instituted before her death at some point in the fourth century. Hero cults for females were extremely rare in the Classical period, and Spartiate royal women became increasingly powerful in the Hellenistic period, so it would not be surprising if Kyniska's cult was not instituted until decades after her demise.[170] The one possible example of a monument from Lakonia to commemorate a hippic victory is a small votive capital dedicated to Helen at the Menelaion and inscribed with the name Kyniska.[171]

Any interpretative work done on this body of evidence needs to be undertaken with caution, given the relatively limited amount of extant material. There is, however, no reason to believe that the manifest differences between monuments for gymnic versus hippic victors are the result of distortions introduced by differing depositional patterns or authorial biases. If anything, one would expect monuments erected by wealthy hippic victors (who by definition brought significant resources to bear on the process of commemoration) to survive better in the archaeological record and to be more likely to have attracted Pausanias' attention during his visits to Olympia and Sparta.

The paucity and simplicity of monuments commemorating hippic victories in Sparta are striking. Lakedaimonians regularly competed in hippic contests, at Olympia, Athens, and in Lakedaimon, and, starting in the middle of the sixth century, Lakedaimonians who won Olympic victories showed no hesitancy in laying out substantial sums to erect commemorative monuments at Olympia. Prior to Damonon's time, however, the small number of hippic victors known to have

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former to the period between 566–530 and all of the latter to the period between 510–500 (Bentz (1998)). In a report of a rescue excavation conducted in Sparta in 1999, at a site located in the ancient village of Limnai and hence about 600 meters east of the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos, Themos mentions finding a fragment of an Attic black-figure vase with a chariot scene (Sparta Museum #14182) without specifying whether or not it formed part of a Panathenaic amphora (Themos (1999)). The site in question forms part of a sanctuary that seems to have seen activity throughout the Archaic and Classical periods (Pavlides (2010) 565–8).

[170] Dillon (2002) 289–90 argues that the heroisation of women was 'generally not a classical phenomenon'. See also Flower (2009) 213. It is, however, possible that, due to her achievements at the Olympic games, which put her squarely in the company of males, Kyniska was heroised at her death, as if she were a Spartan king. It remains a subject of debate whether or not all Spartan kings received heroic honors after death. Cartledge (1987) 331–43 and (1988) argues that Spartan kings were in fact heroized. For a more sceptical view, see Parker (1988) and (1989) 152–4, 169–70 nn. 51–7.

[171] See Appendix II, #38.

commemorated their victories in Sparta did so by dedicating a prize amphora that required no extra expense. This contrasts sharply with the substantial number of specially commissioned monuments and dedications that, starting in the late sixth century, were made in Sparta to commemorate gymnic victories. Insofar as none of the dozens of extant *epinikia* from the sixth and fifth centuries (with one possible exception) were written for a Lakedaimonian, the absence of commemorative monuments for Olympic hippic victors in Sparta cannot be seen as the result of a predilection for other, less tangible forms of commemoration.[172]

It thus seems likely that Lakedaimonian hippic victors were actively discouraged from commemorating their successes in Lakonia. The reasons why can probably be found in the tension between the egalitarian and oligarchic tendencies in Lakedaimonian society, and the closely connected tension between status won through meritocratic competition and status won through conspicuous consumption. Gymnic victories were achieved through meritocratic competition and demonstrated the physical prowess, and hence the military fitness, of the winner. The commemoration of such victories served to encourage the sort of meritocratic competition that was consonant with the egalitarian, meritocratic ethos upon which the Lakedaimonian *politeia* was founded. Hippic victories, on the other hand, were achieved largely on the basis of wealth, and hence stood in stark contrast to the egalitarian, meritocratic ethos of the Lycurgan system. The strong oligarchic reality that ran counter to that ethos was reflected in the capacity of hippic victories to elevate an individual's standing in Lakedaimonian society.

There were, however, limits to the tolerance for dissonance between ideal and reality, and the public commemoration of hippic victories in Sparta was apparently felt to be unacceptable. Indeed, it requires no leap of imagination to see how commemorations of hippic victories, which served to highlight the rupture between ideal and reality, were inherently problematic.

Viewed from this perspective, it may not be coincidental that the only known, specially commissioned, hippic-victor monuments from Sparta other than the Damonon *stele* commemorated the successes of women (Euryleonis and Kyniska). Although females from Spartiate families seem to have enjoyed a higher status than their counterparts in some other Greek *poleis*,[173] there was no question of a Spartiate woman competing actively with men for social standing. Insofar as they stood outside the activities by means of which men pursued social status, hippic victories

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[172] Hodkinson (2000) 317–19. The exception is Ibycus S166, on which see Barron (1984) 20–1 and Rawles (2012) 6–10. It has also been argued, on the basis of very minimal evidence, that Pindar wrote an *epinikion* for a Spartan victor; see D'Alessio (2012) 48–54 and Nielsen (2018) 35.

[173] Millender (2017).

achieved by women represented no particular threat to their male contemporaries and to the prevailing social system.

The reasons why Lakedaimonian hippic victors were at liberty to erect a commemorative monument in Olympia but not in Sparta can only be the subject of speculation. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that commemoration at Olympia was seen as elevating the standing of Lakedaimon as a whole, whereas commemoration at Sparta was seen as elevating the standing of a specific individual who excelled solely on the basis of wealth. Moreover, Olympic victors enjoyed prestige and an aura of sanctity that greatly exceeded anything that could be won from a victory in a local contest, and *epinikia* and monuments were both expensive and typically paid for out of the victor's own pockets. There may have been a feeling in Sparta that it was a potential threat to the egalitarian social order to allow an Olympic hippic victor to use wealth to increase his already very considerable prestige.[174]

All of this highlights the extent to which the Damonon *stele* is, in the context of the archaeological record from Lakonia, a *hapax*. More precisely, the Damonon *stele* was, in its original context, typical with respect to its location, but notably atypical in four respects:

(1) it celebrated both gymnic and hippic victories;
(2) it celebrated hippic victories;
(3) it celebrated hippic victories won in contests in Lakedaimon (not the Olympics or the Panathenaic Games); and
(4) it took the form of a *stele*.

The Damonon *stele* was situated in the same location as four of the five definitely known monuments for hippic victors (three Panathenaic amphorae and the statue of Euryleonis): the acropolis of Sparta.[175] This stands in contrast to the material from the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, which includes no hippic monuments of any kind and which seems to focus around the pentathlon.

The first feature that makes the Damonon *stele* unusual requires little discussion beyond the simple statement that there is no other monument from Sparta that commemorates victories in both hippic and gymnic events.

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[174] Mann's argument that the elevated status of Olympic victors was a major concern in Lakedaimon may be more applicable to commemorative monuments than to the reasons why Lakedaimonian success in the *gymnikos agon* at Olympia diminished sharply after the early sixth century (Mann (2001) 121–63).

[175] The Panathenaic amphorae, although coming from a *polis* frequently at odds with Lakedaimon, were in some sense perfectly at home in the sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis of Sparta; they were won in a festival held in honour Athena Polias, the same deity honoured on the acropolis of Sparta as Athena Poliachos. (See above, Ch. 2 §2.2 with n. 9 above.)

With respect to the commemoration of hippic victories, the Damonon *stele* is one of a very few monuments for hippic victors found in and around Sparta. It is the only known monument found in and around Sparta that commemorates hippic victories won in local contests (as opposed to the Olympics). Before Damonon's time, victors in gymnic contests at Olympia and in Lakedaimon regularly received monuments at both Olympia and in and around Sparta. In that same time frame, victors in the hippic contests at Olympia regularly erected monuments at Olympia but not in Sparta. Lakedaimonian victors in hippic contests at Athens dedicated a prize amphora at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos in at least some cases. There is no trace of monuments of any kind for hippic victors in contests in Lakedaimon. The closest comparanda to the Damonon *stele*—the hero shrine for Kyniska and the statue of Euryleonis—were dedicated at least a few decades and perhaps as much as a century or more later, and may have been rendered permissible because of the gender of the individuals they commemorated.

Finally, the Damonon *stele* was also unusual in terms of the form it took. The only known dedications made by hippic victors in Sparta prior to Damonon's time were Panathenaic amphorae, which required no special commissioning on the part of the victor and hence entailed no expenditure beyond that required to win the victory in the first place. The relative informality of these dedications is reflected in the fact that they were given dedicatory inscriptions that were roughly scratched into the surface of the vase.[176] Damonon's monument, on the other hand, had to be specially commissioned. Furthermore, Damonon chose to erect a *stele*, which had long been used in and around Sparta to commemorate gymnic victories. There are seven extant *stelai* from Sparta to commemorate gymnic victories, but not a single one that commemorates hippic victories.[177] Given the state of the evidence it is of course impossible to say that *stelai* were never used in Sparta before Damonon's time to commemorate hippic victories, but it seems likely that such *stelai*, if there were any, existed in substantially smaller number than those for gymnic victors.[178]

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[176] These inscriptions were in addition to the standard inscription that was painted on Panathenaic amphorae before they were fired. On these inscriptions, see Hondius and Woodward (1919–21) 119 #70–2 and Boring (1979) 102 #32. There were obviously substantial expenditures in raising horses and taking them to Athens to race, but dedicating a prize amphora required no extra outlay as part of the commemoration process. One might think about the difference between Panathenaic amphorae dedicated in Sparta and the Damonon *stele* in terms of the differentiation Snodgrass ((1989/90) 291–2) makes between 'raw' and 'converted' offerings.

[177] Moreover, the one relevant example in which the type of victory (gymnic versus hippic) is unclear dates to the third century and hence well after Damonon's time.

[178] The preferred location for hippic monuments in Sparta seems to have been the acropolis, which has been thoroughly explored and hence there is no obvious, unexcavated location for hippic monuments in Sparta.

One might note in this regard that the closest known match to the
Damonon *stele* is an inscribed marble *stele* that was discovered in Sparta
near the so-called tomb of Leonidas and hence south of the acropolis.[179]
This monument, which dates to c. 500, was erected by an athlete named
Aiglatas to commemorate a series of victories in long footraces won at
festivals in Sparta, including the Athanaia (the same games referenced on
the Damonon *stele*).[180] The inscription reads as follows:

> Αἰγλάτας τôι Καρνείō[ι]
> [τ]όδ᾽ ἄγαλμ᾽ ἀνέθēκε, πε-
> νπάκι νικάσας τὸν
> μ[ακ]ρὸν καὶ ποτέθē-
> [κε τ]ὸν δολιχὸν τρι-
> άκις, Ἀθαναίοις δ[ιαθέ
> υσας h]ᾶιπερ Συρμαία
> [*inscription becomes illegible and stone breaks off*]

> Aiglatas set up this *agalma* to Karneios, having won the *makros*[181] five
> times, and added [something to the *stele*], having run the *dolichos* three
> times at the Athanaia, where the *syrmaia* […]

The inscription begins with a pair of hexameters; the final foot is
missing from the second hexameter due to the damage to the stone. Above
the inscription appears, in shallow relief, what has been taken to be a
representation of a pair of ram's horns (appropriate for Apollo Karneios,
who was associated with rams), but which in fact is a stylised depiction of
an Aeolic capital. The upper surface of the *stele* has two shallow holes, as
well as other cuttings, which were probably used to attach one or more
finials that were added to the *stele* after it was erected. The preserved
section of the *stele* measures 47 cm x 31 cm x 11 cm; the original height is
unknown, both because the stone is broken at the bottom and because of
the loss of whatever was attached to the top.

The *stelai* of Aiglatas and of Damonon were thus both tall slabs of
marble with figural decoration on top that featured an inscription starting

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[179] Woodward (1908/9) 81–7; Moretti (1953) #9; Boring (1979) 102, #33; Aupert (1980);
Jeffery (1990) 199, #22.

[180] *IG* V.1.222; Greek text and English translation from Nenci (2018). The meaning of
συρμαία is unclear, and various possibilities have been suggested. Nicola Nenci argues that
it refers to a prize at the Athanaia games. I am indebted to Dr Nenci for permission to see
and benefit from his work prior to its publication. The discussion of the Aiglatas *stele* that
follows draws directly on Dr Nenci's article. See also *CEG* I.198–9 and Bowie (2010) 344 n.
59).

[181] The *makros* was a long footrace, quite possibly a torch race of some kind in which
prizes were awarded to individuals rather than teams.

with a pair of hexameters and continuing into a list of athletic victories won at athletic contests in Lakedaimon. The similarities between the *stelai* of Aiglatas and Damonon underline the extent to which the Damonon *stele* would have, to its original audience, resembled familiar monuments erected to celebrate victories in gymnic contests.

The foregoing discussion has served to highlight just how unusual the Damonon *stele* must have been in the context of the time and place in which was erected. As Hodkinson notes, 'Damonon's dedication is unique among our surviving evidence'.[182] Moreover, the monument that Damonon had erected was far from unobtrusive. It consisted of a nearly two-meter tall block of white marble that was situated in the sanctuary of Sparta's patron deity located on Sparta's acropolis, and had a four-horse chariot carved in relief on top of that block. We might well wonder how Damonon found it possible to dedicate such a monument in an environment that was anything but receptive to the commemoration of hippic victories.

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[182] Hodkinson (2000) 305.

RE-READING THE DAMONON STELE

6.1 A New Reading of the Text on the Damonon *Stele*

We are now in a position to re-read the Damonon *stele* based on the idea that the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 were won in the *kalpe*. We have already seen that the current standard reading of the text, which understands the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 as having been won in the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses, has several problems: (a) it results in a reading of the text that includes a considerable amount of confusing repetition; (b) it cannot account for the remarkable rarity of the word τεθρίππōι in the text of the inscription; (c) it runs counter to the most straightforward interpretation of the precise wording of the inscription with respect to the use of the dative; and (d) it cannot explain why the phrase ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις appears in the inscription. Two alternatives readings— that the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 were won in the *tethrippon* for juvenile horses or in the *tethrippon* for fully grown mares—have equally serious flaws. (See above, Ch. 3 §§3.1–2.)

There are nine distinct reasons for re-interpreting the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 as having been won in the *kalpe*. None of those reasons, in and of itself, offers incontrovertible grounds for re-interpreting the Damonon *stele* in the fashion proposed here, but they are cumulatively compelling.

First, all of the problems with the current standard reading of the *stele* evaporate if ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις in Parts 3 and 6 is understood as designating a hippic contest other than the *tethrippon* (see Chapter 3).

Second, insofar, as ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις seems to refer specifically to a race for strong, physically mature mares (see below, §6.2), there is immediate reason to identify that race as the *kalpe*, the only known hippic competition in the Greek world that limited participation on the basis of the sex of the horse (see above, Ch. 4).

Third, there can be no doubt that the *kalpe* was known to Lakedaimonians in Damonon's time. The terracotta votive plaques from Amyklai that show dismounting riders are most probably understood as depictions of the *kalpe*. It is also quite possible that Lakedaimonians had a special awareness of the *kalpe* due to their relationship (metropolis and colony)

with Taras, which was founded in the late eighth century and where the *kalpe* seems to have been particularly popular from a relatively early date (see above, Ch. 5 §5.1). In addition, Pausanias informs us that the *kalpe* was held at Olympia from 496 to 444, and that the first Olympic victor in this race came from Achaia. The victories catalogued on the Damonon *stele*, which was probably erected in the early years of the fourth century, were presumably won in the last third of the fifth century and were certainly won at festivals in Lakedaimon. Hence, the *kalpe* is known to have been held in a temporal and spatial context that was quite close to that in which Damonon's hippic victories took place. Given that Lakedaimon had long enjoyed close connections to Olympia[1] and that Lakedaimonians dominated the hippic contests, especially the *tethrippon*, at Olympia in the decades after 480, it is a near certainty that Lakedaimonians like Damonon who had a deep interest in horse-racing were familiar with the *kalpe*.

Fourth, the *kalpe* was closely linked to the training of men and horses for cavalry service (see above, Ch. 5 §5.2), and Lakedaimon was, in Damonon's time, busy constructing its first cavalry force (see above, Ch. 5 §5.3). There was, therefore, good reason to introduce the *kalpe* to the programme of events at Lakedaimonian festivals.

Fifth, the introduction of the *kalpe* to the programme of events at Lakedaimonian festivals directly addressed a major problem associated with constructing and maintaining a cavalry force: ensuring a regular supply of properly selected and trained cavalry horses. More specifically, the introduction of the *kalpe* to the programme of events at Lakedaimonian festivals helped resolve the contradictions between the incentives presented to wealthy Lakedaimonian families involved in hippotrophy on the one hand and the military needs of the Lakedaimonian state on the other.

Wealthy Lakedaimonian families were obliged to supply cavalry horses to the state (see above, Ch. 5 §5.4). Those horses could not hope to compete in traditional horse-racing contests such as the *keles* and the *tethrippon*, and horses that could succeed on the track could not be used on the battlefield (see above, Ch. 5 §5.2.3). There were powerful incentives— in the form of elevated social status conferred by hippic victories—for wealthy Lakedaimonian families to invest heavily in raising and training racehorses (see above, Ch. 5 §5.5). The rewards for pouring resources into raising and training cavalry horses were much less attractive. Insofar as at least some of the people who raised cavalry horses did not ride them into battle, the desire for self-preservation was removed from the equation. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Lakedaimonian state had systems for financing or inspecting cavalry horses, and, given the minimalist governmental apparatus in Lakedaimon, there is no reason to believe that such systems ever existed. The evidence from Athens (where wealthy

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[1] Hönle (1972) 29–44, 120–67.

families were given loans and stipends to defray the costs of acquiring and maintaining a single cavalry horse) strongly suggests that only the very wealthiest families in Lakedaimon could have afforded to spend lavishly on both racehorses and cavalry horses.

Wealthy Lakedaimonian families thus had several reasons to skimp in every possible way in carrying out their obligation to supply cavalry horses.[2] That created a situation in which Lakedaimon's cavalry would ride into battle on inferior mounts—hardly a prescription for the construction of an effective cavalry force. Xenophon's description of Kyniska's chariot-racing victories at Olympia suggests that this problem occupied the mind of Agesilaos, who had a particular interest in cavalry forces, and it is likely that other Lakedaimonian commanders had similar concerns (see above, Ch. 5 §5.4).

The addition of the *kalpe* to the programme of hippic contests held at Lakedaimonian festivals represented an elegant solution to the misalignment between social incentives and military needs. The *kalpe* and similar races that involved mounting and dismounting were, by design, contests in which cavalry horses rather than typical racehorses flourished (see above, Ch. 5 §5.2.3). The *kalpe* provided opportunities to win hippic victories—and hence gain social status—using cavalry horses. That in turn gave wealthy Lakedaimonians a strong incentive to invest resources in raising and training first-rate cavalry mounts, even if that meant curtailing their investments in racehorses. In the absence of the financial subsidies and regular inspections that the Athenian state used to ensure a regular supply of quality cavalry horses (practices that the Lakedaimonian state lacked the financial resources and bureaucratic apparatus to imitate), the creation of races for cavalry horses was an obvious intervention that the Lakedaimonian state could easily afford and implement. As we have seen, there was a long Lakedaimonian tradition of using status competition to encourage individuals to behave in ways that were consonant with the needs of the state (see above, Ch. 5 §5.5). Linking the raising and training of first-rate cavalry mounts to status competition was, in that sense, by no means revolutionary; rather, it was perfectly in line with Lakedaimonian practice.

One might note in this regard that at least two Lakedaimonian religious festivals, the Gymnopaidiai and the Parparonia, seem to have commemorated battles.[3] Moreover, one of the distinguishing traits of religious practice in Lakedaimon was that statues represented most deities

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[2] For obvious reasons the quality of a cavalry unit relied heavily on the quality of its mounts, and the lack of incentives to put resources into raising and training cavalry horses may well have had a deleterious effect on the quality of Lakedaimon's cavalry. For further discussion of the effectiveness of Lakedaimonian cavalry forces, see Chapter 7.

[3] Richer (2005) 250–5.

(including Aphrodite) bearing arms.[4] It would not, therefore, have been untoward to introduce a hippic competition with strong military overtones into Lakedaimonian religious festivals.

One might also note that raising cavalry horses in Athens was seen as a service to the state and hence a legitimate basis for a claim for consideration from the citizen body. This is apparent in the pseudo-Demosthenic *Against Phaenippos*, which includes the following passage (42.24):[5]

> ἓν μόνον ἄν τις ἔχοι δεῖξαι τουτονὶ Φαίνιππον πεφιλοτιμημένον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί· ἱπποτρόφος ἀγαθός ἐστιν καὶ φιλότιμος, ἅτε νέος καὶ πλούσιος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ὤν. τί τούτου μέγα σημεῖον; ἀποδόμενος τὸν πολεμιστήριον ἵππον καταβέβηκεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου ὄχημ᾽ αὑτῷ τηλικοῦτος ὢν ἐώνηται, ἵνα μὴ πεζῇ πορεύηται· τοσαύτης οὗτος τρυφῆς ἐστι μεστός. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἀπογέγραφέν μοι, τῶν δὲ κριθῶν καὶ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς γιγνομένων οὐδὲ τὸ δέκατον μέρος.

> There is one thing only, men of the jury, in which anyone could show that this man Phaenippos has been ambitious of honour from you: he is an able and ambitious breeder of horses, being young and rich and vigorous. What is a convincing proof of this? He has given up riding on horseback, has sold his warhorse (τὸν πολεμιστήριον ἵππον), and in his place has bought himself a chariot—he, at his age!—that he may not have to travel on foot; such is the luxury that fills him. (trans. A. Murray)

This acerbic attack presumes that Phaenippos could point to his provision of a cavalry horse in an appeal to the jury.

Sixth, the rich body of epigraphic evidence from Athens provides clear comparanda for the inclusion of races specifically designed for cavalry horses in a religious festival in the first half of the fourth century.[6] The most directly relevant evidence is an inscription, *IG* II² 2311, that lists the prizes presented at the Panathenaic festival and that dates to the 380s. Lines 61a–82 catalogue the prizes in hippic competitions, which are divided into three

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[4] See Plut. *Mor.* 239A, 232D; Flower (2009) 202–5; Richer (2012) 37–43.

[5] Although this speech was not written by Demosthenes, there is good reason to believe that it was composed in Athens in the fourth century (and hence is relevant to the issues under discussion here): see Scafuro (2011) 8–9.

[6] The Panathenaic Games also included a mock cavalry battle, the *antihippasia*, on which see n. 11 below.

separate sections, each of which has specific contests (and the relevant prizes) listed under it. The contests are as follows:[7]

> from the citizens: ἀποβάτηι (ll. 61b–e)
> from all:[8] ἵππωι κέλητι, ἵππων πωλικῶι ἅρματι, ἵππων ἅρματι ἀδηφάγωι, ἵππων συνωρίδι πωλικῆι, ἵππων συνωρίδι ἀδηφάγηι, ἵππων πωλικῶι ζεύγει, ἵππων ζεύγει ἀδηφάγωι (ll. 61f–69)
> πολεμιστηρίοις: ἵππωι κέλητι; ἵππων ζεύγει, ζεύγει πομπικῶι, ἀφ' ἵππο ἀκοντίζοντι (ll. 70–82).

The races are divided on the basis of eligibility. The *apobates* was open only to Athenian citizens. The races listed in lines 61f–69 were open to all comers, and include the standard slate of hippic competitions held at the Panhellenic festivals and across the Greek world: the horse-race, the chariot race for four juvenile horses, the chariot race for four fully grown horses, the chariot race for two juvenile horses, the chariot race for two fully grown horses. The ζεῦγος seems to have been some sort of sulky, and hence another form of racing that involved a team of horses yoked to a wheeled vehicle. Bell takes πολεμιστηρίοις to mean 'for warhorses', whereas Shear reads it as meaning 'for warriors'.[9] In either case, there is a clear limitation on eligibility for participation, and the competitions listed under that heading were open only to a specific subset of the Athenian population, either warhorses or warriors. Those competitions are a horse-race, a ζεῦγος race, a ζεῦγος for parade horses, and javelin throwing from horseback.

The competitions listed in ll. 70–82 are thus intended specifically and solely for cavalry horses. This is evident from the fact that the list of prizes includes two different horse-races with the same title, ἵππωι κέλητι, one in the open category and one in the πολεμιστηρίοις category.[10] In addition,

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[7] Lines 61a–s are heavily damaged on the original stone and have been plausibly restored by Shear in her careful study of this inscription and the many extant comparanda. Shear (2001) 1162–6; ead. (2003).

[8] Entrants in these races did not have to be citizens of Athens and hence these contests were 'open to all'.

[9] D. Bell (1989) 179; Shear (2001) 298.

[10] Shear (2001) 310 n. 59, following Tracy and Habicht (Tracy (1991) 141; Tracy and Habicht (1991) 199), notes that in the lists of Panathenaic victors from the second century, the word κέλης never appears in the descriptions of the contests for cavalrymen. She speculates that racehorses were still being used in the 'for warriors' events in the fourth century. The more likely explanation is that there was difficulty in describing a race involving ridden horses (i.e. not chariots) without using the word κέλης, particularly since races for the κέλης had a long history in the Greek world, whereas races for cavalry horses were a relatively new invention. Some of the second-century victor lists resort to quite long titles for particular races (e.g., ἵππωι πολεμιστεῖ δίαυλον ἐν ὅπλοις in *IG* II2 2316, l.

we have already seen that Xenophon in his *Art of Horsemanship* provided advice on how to select a parade horse (ἵππος πομπικός) immediately after his advice on how to select a cavalry horse (see above, Ch. 5 §5.2.3). There was a close relationship between the two types of horses due to the social importance of cavalry displays and parades intended to impress, and that close relationship is apparent here in the fact that the cavalry-related hippic contests include the ζεύγει πομπικῶι. The connection to cavalry service is equally clear with respect to the ἀφ' ἵππο ἀκοντίζοντι. The javelin was one of the basic offensive weapons wielded by cavalrymen (see, for example, Xen. *Eq.* 12.13). Insofar as the earliest evidence for the inclusion of javelin throwing from horseback in the Panathenaia, in the form of Panathenaic prize amphorae on which it is depicted, dates to the end of the fifth century, we can see the festival programme in Athens responding to contemporary military developments.[11] As Kyle notes, 'the development of the cavalry influenced the Panathenaic programme in the late fifth and fourth centuries'.[12]

It is worth noting that lists of Panathenaic victors from the second century (*IG* II² 2314 (with *SEG* 41.114), *IG* II² 2316, *IG* II² 2317, and *SEG* 41.115) show that races specifically for cavalry horses continued to be a feature of the Panathenaia for centuries.[13] The most completely preserved list (*SEG* 41.115) reveals that the Panathenaic Games c. 180 featured an array of hippic contests open only to citizens, including five or six events involving wheeled vehicles, three horse-races for cavalry commanders (phylarchs), and three horse-races for cavalrymen. In their publication of *SEG* 41.115, Stephen Tracy and Christian Habicht observe that, 'This part of the programme offered the knights and wealthy citizens who owned and trained horses an opportunity to compete. The events are clearly drawn from the training for the cavalry. The animal used for competition is always the standard riding horse used by the cavalry …'.[14]

The conclusion to be drawn from this collection of evidence is that Athens, which had highly developed systems of financing and inspection to ensure a regular supply of adequate cavalry horses, found it useful to

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29); this is an indication of continuing challenges in clearly describing races for cavalry horses, particularly in the compressed space available on a stone *stele*.

[11] Shear (2001) 296–99; at 340–5 she argues that the *antihippasia* (a mock cavalry battle in which tribal squadrons competed) became part of the Panathenaic programme almost immediately after Athens reorganised and enlarged its cavalry forces in the middle of the fifth century.

[12] Kyle (1987) 187.

[13] The same differentiation was present in the Eleusinia Games at Athens in the middle of the second century. See Kirchner and Dow (1937) ##2–3.

[14] Tracy and Habicht (1991) 199. The programme of events also included the usual array of standard hippic contests that were open to all comers; whereas the hippic contests open to all comers were held in the hippodrome, the events open only to citizens were held in the Agora.

include competitions for cavalry horses in its festival programme. Those races offered the owners of superior cavalry horses the opportunity to gain prestige by winning victories in front of the assembled body of citizens. In the absence of systems for financing and inspecting cavalry horses, Lakedaimonian authorities had all the more reason to include races for cavalry horses in local festivals.

Seven, what we know about the *kalpe* meshes very well with the other information provided on the Damonon *stele*. Damonon tells us that in his youth he was an accomplished runner who won either the *stadion* or *diaulos*, or both, on five separate occasions at four different festivals in Lakedaimon. Insofar as Damonon states that he held the reins himself in the ἐνhεβδόhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6, and insofar as the *kalpe* required the rider to dismount and run alongside his horse in the final part of the race (and probably to mount and dismount while the horse was cantering), Damonon's achievements in the *kalpe* fit perfectly with what he has to say about his athletic achievements in his boyhood. It is interesting to note that there is some reason to believe that the final sprint in the *kalpe* covered a *stadion* (see above, Ch. 4 §4.2), precisely the distance at which Damonon excelled in his younger years. It may not be coincidental that whereas the inscription lists victories in footraces won by Enymakratidas both as a boy (Part 3) and as an adult (Part 6), Damonon is credited with footrace victories only as a boy. That might be because the ἐνhεβδόhαις hίπποις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 included an element of running and hence Damonon did, in a way, continue to excel as a runner in his adulthood. One might also note that *desultores*—competitors in the Roman equivalent of the *kalpe*—were sometimes called *cursores* (runners).[15]

Eight, Damonon's advertisement of his victories in the *kalpe*, when juxtaposed with a simultaneous advertisement of his victories in the *tethrippon*, left no doubt in the mind of anyone examining the *stele* that Damonon was spectacularly wealthy. In Part 2 of the inscription Damonon states that he won a series of victories τôι αὐτô τεθρίππōι. In Part 3 of the inscription he states that he won a series of victories ἐνhεβδόhαις hίπποις at the Poseidonia at Helos, the Poseidonia at Thouria, and the Ariontia, in which the winning horses were ἐκ τâν αὐτô hίππōν κὲκ τô αὐτô hίππō ('from his own mares and his own stallion').

As we have seen, Damonon lived at a time when individuals began purchasing race-ready horses for competitions (see above, Ch. 3 §3.1.4), and so Damonon's statement that the *tethrippon* was τôι αὐτô seems to indicate that he had trained (but not bred) his own racehorses. The statement ἐκ τâν αὐτô hίππōν κὲκ τô αὐτô hίππō in Part 3 is much more specific and makes it explicit that these were horses that Damonon had

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[15] Thuillier (1989) 34–5.

bred himself from his own stock. Once the ἐνhēβδ̄hαις hίππoις victories are connected with the *kalpe*, the significance of the wording in Part 3 becomes much clearer—Damonon trained racehorses, and he bred cavalry horses.

A reasonably attentive reader would have been struck by the scale of resources Damonon could bring to hippotrophy. Damonon lets it be known that he has the wealth to raise and train both racehorses and cavalry horses. As Hodkinson notes, 'Any wealthy citizen who had the responsibility for providing war horses and also wished to participate in equestrian sports would have had to sustain a double economic burden in keeping two different types of animals'.[16] Furthermore, Damonon lets it be known that he does not just keep cavalry horses, he also breeds them (the latter being much more expensive than the former). Finally, both his racehorses and his cavalry horses are truly superior animals that win repeatedly in multiple competitions in multiple festivals in Lakedaimon. Insofar as Damonon clearly aimed to make an impression and to raise his status thereby, quietly but clearly highlighting his remarkable affluence was very much in his interests.

Nine, reading the *stele* as catalogueing a series of victories in the *kalpe* helps explain all of the four features that make the Damonon *stele* unusual in the context of the archaeological record from Sparta. Those features are (see above, Ch. 5 §5.6):

> (1) it celebrated hippic victories;
> (2) it celebrated both gymnic and hippic victories;
> (3) it celebrated hippic victories won in contests in Lakedaimon (not the Olympics or the Panathenaic Games); and
> (4) it took the form of a *stele*.

To begin with the first item on that list, there was, as we have seen, strong opposition to the commemoration of hippic victories in Sparta. Hence the very existence of the Damonon *stele* calls for explanation.

The addition of the *kalpe* to the programme of Lakedaimonian festivals helped incentivise wealthy Lakedaimonian families to produce superior cavalry mounts by offering the opportunity to accumulate social status via success in hippic competitions. Permitting wealthy families to commemorate the victories won by their cavalry horses in Sparta itself considerably magnified that incentive and thus was in the interests of the Lakedaimonian state.

Furthermore, the phrase αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίō̄ν, which is used to describe the hippic victories catalogued in Parts 2, 3, and 6, takes on special import when the ἐνhēβδ̄hαις hίππoις victories listed in Parts 3 and 6 are read as

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[16] Hodkinson (2000) 312.

having been won in the *kalpe*.[17] When Damonon laid claim on his *stele* to a host of victories in the *kalpe* won αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν, he was communicating two important facts to his audience: he was a talented athlete, and he was a highly trained member of the Lakedaimonian cavalry. With respect to the former, success in the *kalpe* must have relied as much on the physical gifts and skills of the rider as it did on the speed of the horse. The rider needed to be able to mount and dismount his horse while carrying arms and armour, while the horse was in motion, and he also had to sprint alongside the horse in the final part of the race.

One might note in this regard that competitors, both human and equine, in modern equestrian vaulting are expected to maintain a high level of strength and fitness. The website for the equestrian vaulting association in the Australian state of Victoria includes the following observations:

> Success in vaulting requires the training not only of the competitor but also of the horse. The execution of the more difficult vaulting movements requires high levels of agility and rhythm as well as strength. … In order to withstand the rigours of competition, and of regular practice, which is essential for improvement, both the vaulter and the horse need to be fit.[18]

The *kalpe* thus placed major physical demands on the rider. It was, as a result, much closer to a gymnic event, victories in which were regularly commemorated in Sparta, than a standard hippic event, victories in which were not typically commemorated in Sparta. The list of victories that Damonon won as a boy in running competitions that appears in Part 5 of the inscription meshes perfectly with the victories he won as an adult in the *kalpe*. Together, they paint a picture of someone whose physical gifts enabled him to build a long record of athletic success.[19]

In addition, Damonon's statement about winning *kalpe* victories αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν strongly implied, and was almost certainly intended to communicate, that he was a highly trained member of the Lakedaimonian cavalry. This follows directly from the strong connection between the *kalpe* and training for cavalry service. The construction of a successful cavalry force required not just first-rate horses, but also highly trained and talented

[17] Hodkinson (2000) 305–6 has argued that Damonon was allowed to erect a *stele* in part because he drove his own chariot and had a number of gymnic victories to his credit.

[18] http://www.qld.equestrian.org.au/vaulting/node/132.

[19] Given that Enymakratidas was an adult by the time Damonon won the *kalpe* victories listed in Part 6, Damonon must have been competing in the *kalpe* well into his forties. That is not improbable; the rigours of cavalry service meant that cavalry forces tended to be populated largely by younger men, but the relevant sources show that some men served in their forties. See Bugh (1988) 62–7.

riders; Xenophon writes in the *Cavalry Commander*, 'Starting with your men, then, the law makes it plain that you have to recruit them from among those who are, thanks to their wealth and physical condition, best qualified to serve in the cavalry …' (*Eq. Mag.* 1.9, trans. R. Waterfield). Recruiting sufficient numbers of physically gifted men into the cavalry was, however, easier said than done. Xenophon's comments in the *Cavalry Commander* leave no doubt that the Athenian state had considerable difficulty in getting men to serve in the cavalry, even when they were under legal obligation to do so (see above, Ch. 5 §5.4). His acerbic observations on the poor quality of the Lakedaimonian cavalrymen at Leuktra in 371 (he calls them τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι, 'those among the soldiers who were least strong and least ambitious' (*Hell.* 6.4.11)) show that the Lakedaimonian state, at least in the second quarter of the fourth century, experienced similar difficulties.[20]

If we recall that Damonon's victories were won in the last third of the fifth century—when Lakedaimon was building its first cavalry force—and were commemorated in the early years of the fourth century—when Lakedaimon had a king (Agesilaos) with a strong interest in building an effective cavalry force—Damonon's ability to erect a *stele* on the acropolis of Sparta to celebrate his achievements becomes significantly less surprising. Damonon's immense wealth almost certainly brought with it considerable political influence, which no doubt helped make it possible for him to erect a *stele* where he did. At the same time, the Lakedaimonian state had good reason to find ways to incentivise wealthy families to train adequate cavalry horses, and permitting someone to commemorate their victories in the *kalpe* was an obvious means to that end.

Moreover, as we know him from his *stele*, Damonon was something of model citizen; he was a talented athlete who provided valuable benefits to the Lakedaimonian state not just by breeding first-rate cavalry horses, but also by himself serving in the cavalry. In sum, Damonon was in the right place at the right time and did the right things to enable him to do something that had, insofar as we know, not previously been permitted. It may not be entirely coincidental that the *stele* was erected at a time when one of Lakedaimon's kings (who played a key role in Lakedaimon's religious life) had a strong interest in cavalry and was taking active steps to build a Lakedaimonian cavalry force equipped with suitable mounts.[21]

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[20] On the reasons why the Athenian state had difficulty recruiting cavalrymen, see Bugh (1988) 37–8.

[21] One might speculate that Damonon had supported Agesilaos and not Latychidas in the dispute over the right to succeed Agis, and that permission to erect a *stele* on the acropolis was a sort of *quid pro quo*. A not-mutually-exclusive alternative is that Damonon supported Agesilaos in his quiet but tense struggle for supremacy with Lysander. On Agesilaos' accession and his relationship with Lysander, see Cartledge (1987) 77–98, 99–115, 274–313.

This line of reasoning also helps explain the other three features that set the Damonon *stele* apart from other victory monuments found in Lakedaimon. The fact that Damonon trumpeted both gymnic and hippic victories was, in all probability, an important factor in making it possible for him to erect the *stele*. There was a long tradition in Sparta of commemorating gymnic victories, which were evidently seen as a form of meritocratic competition that was in harmony with the egalitarian ethos of the Spartiate *diaita* and as consonant with traits that were valorised among Spartiates. The commemoration of the gymnic achievements of Damonon and his son Enymakratidas were thus entirely socially acceptable, and no doubt helped make it possible for Damonon to commemorate his hippic victories. In addition, the fact that 31 of the 54 hippic victories listed on the *stele* (see below, Ch. 7 §7.2) came in the *kalpe*, which had a strong gymnic element, no doubt reinforced Damonon's identity as a first-class athlete (rather than a wealthy but physically non-participatory owner of horses).

The fact that the Damonon *stele* is unique in celebrating hippic victories won only in local contests (and not the Olympics or the Panathenaic Games) was likely another factor in making it possible for Damonon to erect a *stele* on the acropolis of Sparta. We have seen that, whereas Lakedaimonian Olympic victors in gymnic events had commemorative monuments in Sparta starting in the late sixth or early fifth century, and Lakedaimonian Olympic victors in hippic events had commemorative monuments in Olympia starting in the middle of the sixth century, there are no known commemorative monuments from Lakedaimon for Olympic victors in hippic events before Damonon's time (see above, Ch. 5 §5.6). This seems to have been the result of concerns that publicly commemorating an Olympic hippic victory ran directly counter to the egalitarian, meritocratic ethos of the Spartiate *diaita*. It is likely, therefore, that it would have been impossible for Damonon to erect a *stele* on the acropolis of Sparta on which he celebrated an Olympic hippic victory.[22] Furthermore, the evidence from Athens suggests that *kalpe* contests, which were tightly linked to the training of cavalry forces, were, outside of Olympia, open only to citizens of the community holding the contests. Damonon was, therefore, probably ineligible to compete in local contests outside of Lakedaimon in the event in which he won more than half of his listed hippic victories.[23]

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[22] It is not impossible that Damonon actually won an Olympic hippic victory but was not permitted to list it on his *stele*. Alternatively and more probably, the fact that Damonon had much more success in the (less competitive) *kalpe* than the (more competitive) *tethrippon* (see below, Chapter 7) probably indicates that his chariot teams were simply not good enough to win an Olympic victory.

[23] Lakedaimonians are known to have competed in the hippic contests at the Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean, and Panathenaic Games. (See, for instance, Paus. 6.1.7 and 6.2.2.) There are, however, no known monuments in pre-Roman Lakedaimon for victories in the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games, presumably for the same reasons why Olympic

Finally, the fact that the commemorative monument erected by Damonon took the form of a *stele*, typically used in Sparta to commemorate gymnic victories, is unlikely to be coincidental. We have seen that the strong gymnic element in Damonon and Enymakratidas' competitive careers likely played a significant role in enabling Damonon to erect a monument in Sparta. That gymnic element was signalled and highlighted by choosing a *stele*. The fact that Damonon had a *tethrippon* carved on top of that *stele* reflects the fact that, despite the egalitarian, meritocratic ethos of the Spartiate *diaita*, conspicuous consumption in the form of chariot racing was an important source of status in Lakedaimon.

6.2 Some Issues of Wording and the Arrangement of Words

The new interpretation of the Damonon *stele* proposed here thus has much to recommend it. Reading the ἐνhēβόhαις hίππoις victories catalogued in Parts 3 and 6 of the inscription as referring to the *kalpe* eliminates all of the textual difficulties with the currently standard interpretation of the inscription on the *stele*. It also accords quite nicely with the other information provided on the *stele*, makes perfect sense with respect to the historical context in which the *stele* was erected, and helps explain how Damonon was in a position to erect the *stele* in the first place.

There are, however, some issues pertaining to the meaning and arrangement of words that require discussion. The first such issue is the precise meaning of ἀνιοχίōν in the phrase αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν (a participle derived from ἀνιοχίω, the Lakonian dialectal variant of ἡνιοχέω). One's initial tendency might well be to interpret this participle as meaning 'driving a chariot'. ἡνιοχέω occurs regularly in Greek literature of the Classical period with that meaning (see, for example, Hdt. 4.193, Plat. *Phaed.* 246b), and the corresponding noun, ἡνίοχος, is frequently used to denote someone who drives a chariot (see, for example, Pind. *Pyth.* 5.50; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21). Moreover, ἀνιοχίōν is used in Part 2 of the inscription on the Damonon *stele* in connection with *tethrippon*.

All of these usages, however, follow upon the foundational meaning of ἡνιοχέω, 'to hold the reins'. In this more general sense, ἡνιοχέω can be used metaphorically, for example in reference to a poet guiding the mouths of the Muses (Arist. *Wasps* 1022). It can also be used quite literally to describe

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hippic victories were not commemorated in Lakedaimon. The presence in Sparta of Panathenaic amphorae won in hippic contests shows that such victories could be commemorated, at least in a relatively informal fashion, but those vases all date to the second half of the sixth century, whereas Damonon was active in the second half of the fifth century and in a period of open hostility between Lakedaimon and Athens. Damonon, therefore, probably could not have commemorated a victory at the Pythian, Isthmian, or Nemean Games and likely found it to be difficult if not impossible to compete at Athens.

a person holding the reins of a horse on which he is riding. The most cogent example can be found in Xenophon's *Art of Horsemanship*:

> ὅταν γε μὴν παραδέξηται τὸν ἵππον ὡς ἀναβησόμενος, νῦν αὖ γράψομεν ὅσα ποιῶν ὁ ἱππεὺς καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ ὠφελιμώτατος ἂν ἐν τῇ ἱππικῇ εἴη. (7.1)

> We will now describe what the rider should do when he has received his horse and is going to mount, if he is to make the best of himself and his horse in riding. (trans. E. Marchant)

> ὅταν δὲ προχωρεῖν σημήνῃ τῷ ἵππῳ, βάδην μὲν ἀρχέσθω· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀταρακτότατον. ἡνιοχείτω δέ, ἢν μὲν κυφαγωγότερος ᾖ ὁ ἵππος, ἀνωτέρω ταῖς χερσίν, ἢν δὲ μᾶλλον ἀνακεκυφώς, κατωτέρω· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα κοσμοίη τὸ σχῆμα. (7.10)

> When he directs his horse to go forward, let him begin at a walk, for this is least likely to excite the horse. If the horse carries his head too low, let the rider hold the reins (ἡνιοχείτω) higher with his hands; if too high, lower; for in this way he will give him the most graceful appearance. (trans. E. Marchant, modified)

There is, therefore, no difficulty whatsoever in reading αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν in Parts 3 and 6 of the inscription as referring to Damonon holding the reins of a cavalry horse.

A related issue is the placement of the datives in Parts 2 and 3. In Part 2 the event is specified with a dative that is situated quite close to the verb ἐνίκαhε:

> τάδε ἐνίκαhε Δαμṓνōν
> τōι αὐτō τεθρίππōι

In Part 3 ἐνίκē and ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις are more widely separated; so, for example, ll. 12–17:

> καὶ Ποhοίδαια Δαμṓνōν
> ἐνίκē hέλει καὶ hο κέλēξ
> hαμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν
> ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις
> hεπτάκιν ἐκ τᾶν αὐτō
> hίππον κὲκ τō αὐτō hίππō.

This could be taken as an indication that ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις ought not be read as the dative object of ἐνίκē. However, the difference in word order

almost certainly springs from the different structure and emphases of Parts
2 and 3.

   In Part 2, a catalogue of victories begins with a specification of
parameters (won with his own *tethrippon*, with Damonon himself at the
reins) that are identical for all of the victories that follow, and then moves
on to a listing of the festivals at which they were won and the number of
victories at each of those festivals. The verb νικάω appears just once in Part
2.

   Part 3 offers a listing of victories that were won under different
parameters at four separate festivals. Hence each of the four festivals gets a
distinct entry, separated from the others by an *obelos*, and an overtly stated
subject (Damonon) and verb (ἐνίκē) appear in each entry. The individual
entries are differently structured with an eye to maximising the value of
Damonon's achievements, and the entries are presented in order of
prestige. In Table 7 the parameters of each victory are given in the order in
which they appear in the inscription:

Poseidonia at Helos	Poseidonia at Thouria	Games of Ariontia	Eleusinia
Ποhοίδαια Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē hέλει	Ποhοίδαια Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē Θευρίαι	ἐν Ἀριοντίας ἐνίκē Δαμόνōν	Ἐλευhύνια Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē
keles also won	won eight times	won eight times	αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν
αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν	αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν	αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν	ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις
ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις	ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις	ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις	won four times
won seven times	used horses he bred himself	used horses he bred himself	
used horses he bred himself		*keles* also won	

Table 7: Structure of victory catalogue in Part 3 of the Damonon *stele*

What seems to have made the victories won at the Poseidonia at Helos
particularly notable was that on seven separate occasions Damonon won
ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις at the same iteration of the festival at which his *keles*
won. At the Games of Ariontia, on the other hand, Damonon won
ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις eight times, but it appears that his *keles* won only once.
That at least is the implication of the placement of the phrase *ho* κέλēξ
ἐνίκē *hαμᾶ*, which is tacked onto the very end of the entry, as opposed to
the entry for the Poseidonia at Helos, in which the equivalent information
appears right at the beginning. At the Eleusinia Damonon won only four
times, never won the *keles*, and did not use horses he bred himself. Hence
his achievements at that festival appear at the end of Part 3.

   The differing placement of the datives in Parts 2 and 3 thus seems to be
a matter of structure. Variation among the parameters of the victories
catalogued in Part 3 required four distinct entries for four different

festivals, whereas the constancy of the parameters of the victories catalogued in Part 2 made it possible to write a single entry for wins at three different festivals. This conclusion is reinforced by the structure of the entries in Part 6, as seen in Table 8.

Name of ephor in office when victory in question was won (Echemenes)	Name of ephor in office when victory in question was won (Euippos)	Name of ephor in office when victory in question was won (Aristeus)	Name of ephor in office when victory in question was won (Echemenes)
τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμṓνōν	τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμṓνōν	τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμṓνōν	τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμṓνōν
Name of festival (Athanaia)	Name of festival (Athanaia)	Name of festival (Earth-Holder)	Name of festival (Earth-Holder)
ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις	ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις	ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις	ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις
αὐτὸς ἁνιοχίōν	αὐτὸς ἁνιοχίōν	αὐτὸς ἁνιοχίōν	αὐτὸς ἁνιοχίōν
Won the horse-race as well	Won the horse-race as well	Won the horse-race as well	Son won *stadion* (and event lost due to breakage of stone)
Son won *stadion*	Son won *stadion*	Son won *stadion, diaulos, dolichos*	

Table 8: Structure of victory catalogue in Part 6 of the Damonon *stele*

These entries are more similar to those found in Part 2 in that the parameters of the victories at the different festivals were almost identical, and hence the basic structure of the four entries is almost identical. In all four of the entries in Part 6, ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις is separated from νικάω by just two words, making the grammatical connection between the νικάω and ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις much more immediately apparent than in Part 3. In this respect, Part 6 is, therefore, quite similar to Part 2. (Compare τάδε ἐνίκαhε Δαμṓνōν τōι αὐτ͂ο τεθρίππōι (ll. 6–7) with τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμṓνōν· Ἀθάναια ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις (ll. 67–9).) The differing placement of the datives in Parts 2 and 3 thus does not present any major difficulties with respect to reading ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις as a dative specifying the event in which Damonon won.[24]

A final issue of wording has to do with why Damonon would have chosen to designate victories in the *kalpe* using the phrase ἐνhēβṓhαις

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[24] One might suspect that the appearance of αὐτὸς ἁνιοχίōν and the placement of ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις in Part 3 were intended to create a degree of ambiguity with respect to the event in which Damonon won the victories listed in Part 3. The repetition of αὐτὸς ἁνιοχίōν, which appeared in the description of the *tethrippon* victories listed in Part 2, and the shifting of the dative object, ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις, away from νικάω provided a certain amount of encouragement to the casual reader to think that the victories listed in Part 3 were won in the *tethrippon*, a significantly more prestigious event than the *kalpe*. The fact that the current standard reading of the inscription takes Parts 3 and 6 to be listing *tethrippon* victories may well reflect the intentions, and subtle compositional work, of Damonon (or whoever wrote the text of the inscription).

híppois. In this regard, Damonon had to find a resolution for a rather complicated problem of terminology having to do with the name of the event. By the time the *kalpe* came into being in the fifth century, there was a well-established system for referring to the limited number of hippic contests that were regularly held in the Greek world, including at places such as Olympia. Up through 408, the Olympic programme included just two equestrian competitions (other than the *kalpe* and *apene*): a four-horse chariot race and a horse-race (Paus. 5.8.6–11). Owners of racehorses rarely drove their own chariots or rode their own racehorses, but nonetheless were considered to be the victors when their horses won a race. As a result, owners of racehorses were said to have won a victory with a *tethrippon* (four-horse chariot) or *keles* (racehorse), expressed as an instrumental dative, whereas victors in gymnic events were said to have won an event (e.g. the pentathlon), expressed in the accusative (see above, Ch. 3 §3.1.3).

Hence hippic competitions were named after the objects with which they were won. The addition of a two-horse chariot race to the Olympic programme in 408 presented no particular difficulties, since there was an extant word, *synoris*, that designated a two-horse chariot. The *kalpe*, however, was a problem in this regard, because there was no obvious object used in the race that could be used as a name for the race.

The relevant sources show that, in the absence of an obvious object used in the race that could be employed as a name for the *kalpe*, various work-arounds were employed that were based on a reference to a feature unique to that race: the fact that at least part of the race was conducted at a canter (*kalpe*), the participation of riders who mounted their horses during the race (*anabatai*), or the act of dismounting (*aphippodroma*).

In describing the *kalpe*, Pausanias employs three different usages: τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον ('the race of the canter'), ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη ('the cantering horse won'), and καθὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἀναβάται καλούμενοι ('just as in my own day those do who are called *anabatai*'). The use of κάλπη to mean 'cantering horse' is found only in that single passage in Pausanias. Plutarch's τὸν τῆς κάλπης ἀγῶνα echoes Pausanias' τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον, and that phrasing, with *kalpe* in the genitive, seems to be more grammatically correct (see above, Ch. 4 §4.1).

There was sufficient confusion that Pollux, in generating his *Onomasticon* in the second century CE, mistakenly made *kalpe* into the name of a race. Heyschius, writing four centuries later, introduced further error by taking κάλπης to be a nominative form of the word designating what Pausanias had labelled τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον (in which κάλπης is properly written as the genitive form of the noun κάλπη). The word *aphippodroma* occurs only in inscriptions from Thessaly dating to the Hellenistic period, and does not seem to have ever been widely used.

The task of finding a satisfactory resolution to this problem was made more difficult because of the widespread desire to produce lists of events,

prizes, or victors from a specific festival and lists of events won by a particular individual. These were typically written on whitened boards or cut into durable materials such as stone or bronze, and, as a result, had to be compact.[25] They thus required shorthand expressions that were nonetheless clear and precise. The use of the dative to indicate a hippic victory became so well entrenched that epigraphically attested prize and victor lists for festivals employ datives to designate hippic contests even in the absence of the verb νικάω. For example, a list of victors from the Lykaian Games dating to the late fourth century (see above Ch. 3 §3.1.3) includes the following entries:

τεθρίππωι πωλικῶι Εὐπόλεμος Δάμιδος Ἀρκάς
τελέωι τεθρίππωι Χιονίδας Εὐαινέτω Ἀρκάς

Neither *kalpe* nor *anabatai* could be built into concise expressions that were grammatically parallel to those used to designate standard chariot races and horse-races. Consider, for example, the list of victors from the Lykaian Games. If *kalpe* were used to designate a hippic competition and added to that list, it would end up looking something like this:

τεθρίππωι πωλικῶι Εὐπόλεμος Δάμιδος Ἀρκάς
τελέωι τεθρίππωι Χιονίδας Εὐαινέτω Ἀρκάς
    τῆς κάλπης τὸν δρόμον Φιλόνικος Φιλονίκω Ἀργεῖος

The sudden grammatical shift would have been jarring (particularly given the long-established tradition of referring to hippic competitions in the dative), and the usage of what seems to have been a relatively rare word, κάλπη, would have been potentially confusing. *Anabatai* was no better in this respect; it would require an entry that read something like: τῶν ἀναβατῶν τὸν δρόμον.

Aphippodroma offered more elegant but still less than entirely satisfactory possibilities. There was no need for circumlocutions involving τὸν δρόμον plus a genitive, but *aphippodroma* was the name of an act, not an object used in the race. *Aphippodroma* could easily be used as a shorthand for the race itself, but then it would most naturally have gone into the accusative rather than the dative, and that was inherently dissonant in any listing of hippic victories. This is evident in the four inscriptions from Thessaly (all from the late Hellenistic or early Roman period) that list victors in the *aphippodroma*. Three of those inscriptions (*IG* IX.2.528, 531, 534) put *aphippodroma* in the accusative, whereas one (*IG* IX.2.527) puts *aphippodroma* in the dative.

All this goes to say that there was no immediately obvious way for Damonon to reference the *kalpe* in the inscription on his *stele*. Some sort of

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[25] Christesen (2007) 126–8.

work-around was necessary, and Damonon made the logical choice of labeling the race on the basis of the objects with which it was won and putting those objects in the dative, as per standard practice for references to other Greek hippic competitions. In this case, the object with which Damonon won was mares that had been selected and trained to be cavalry horses, and ἐνηεβōͱαις hίπποις did an admirable job of saying just that.

As we have seen, ἐνηβάω seems to have suggested a condition of being fully physically mature and having the sort of strength and vigour associated with the early stages of adulthood. ἐνηβάω appears in fifth-century sources to describe flourishing plants. The related verb ἡβάω and noun ἥβη appear with some frequency in conjunction with σθένος and are used to describe Herakles, Odysseus (at a moment when he is about to compete in an athletic contest), and oxen suited for ploughing (see above, Ch. 3 §3.1). Damonon's choice of participle thus emphasised the strength and physical maturity of the horses in question.

This stood in strong, albeit implicit, contrast to the quality that was emphasised above all in racehorses, namely speed. The standard term for a racehorse, κέλης, was in fact a substantive adjective built on the Indo-European root *kel-*, which gave rise to a series of words with meanings such as 'stir into swift motion', 'speeding', and 'runner'. The Latin adjective *celer* ('swift') came from the same root.[26] The adjectival origins of κέλης are apparent in the regularity with which κέλης serves as a modifier for ἵππος. Hence Homer describes a ship-wrecked Odysseus as follows (*Od.* 5.370–1):

> αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
> ἀμφ' ἑνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, κέληθ' ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων …

> But now Odysseus
> mounted one beam, like a man riding a swift horse …

This pattern of usage had a long life in the Greek world in both literary and epigraphic contexts. Hence we find in Pausanias:

> καὶ Ἀγησίλας ἀνὴρ Λουσεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη κέλητι ἵππῳ νικῶν … (8.18.8, cf. 5.8.8, 6.13.10, 6.14.4, 6.15.2)

> And Agesilas, a man from Lousoi, was announced as winning with a swift horse …

In the list of the Panathenaic prizes dating to the 380s (*IG* II² 2311), we find: ἵππωι κέλητι νικῶντι (cf. *IG* V.2.549).

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[26] Martin (1886) 205; Pokorny (1959) vol. 1: 548; Chantraine (1968) 513; Cor de Vaan (2008) 104; Beekes (2010) I.669.

Whereas speed was the key quality that defined a first-rate racehorse, Xenophon's ideal cavalry horse 'has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient' (*Eq.* 3.12). This description closely echoes descriptions of the ideal horse for modern equestrian vaulting. As we have seen (see above, Ch. 5 §5.2.3), 'the best vaulting horses are calm, strong, fit and kind with a consistent gait and excellent temperament'. [27]

As a result, racehorses and cavalry horses had different physical traits, with the former being lighter-bodied and swifter than their heavier, stronger, and slower cavalry counterparts. Racehorses carried diminutive jockeys on their backs for short periods of time, whereas cavalry horses carried fully grown men equipped with arms and armour on their backs for extended stretches.

κέλης was thus an excellent choice to describe a racehorse, and ἐνηβάω was an equally good choice to describe a cavalry horse. The racehorse was swift, the cavalry horse was strong.

An interesting parallel to the Damonon *stele* can be found in Lysias' *On the Property of Aristophanes*, which includes the following passage (19.63):

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄξιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι οἵαν φύσιν εἶχεν ὁ πατήρ. ὅσα γὰρ ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπεθύμησεν ἀναλίσκειν πάντα φανήσεται τοιαῦτα ὅθεν καὶ τῇ πόλει τιμὴ ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι. αὐτίκα ὅτε ἵππευεν, οὐ μόνον ἵππους ἐκτήσατο λαμπροὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς[28] ἐνίκησεν Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ …

Moreover, you would do well to reflect on the kind of nature that my father possessed. In every single case where he desired to spend beyond what was necessary, it will be found that it was something designed to bring honour to the city also. For instance, when he was in the cavalry, he not only procured magnificent mounts, but also won victories with prize-winning horses at the Isthmian and Nemean Games … (trans. W. Lamb, modified).

[27] https://vaultcanada.org/About-Vaulting/FAQ.

[28] In his recent edition of Lysias' speeches, Carey prints κέλητι rather than ἀθληταῖς. κέλητι is an emendation that was proposed to remedy what was understood as an anomalous word choice that could only be the result of textual corruption. The key manuscript for Lysias' speech has ἀθλητάς; a slightly later copy of that manuscript has ἀθληταῖς. Lysias is clearly seeking to contrast racehorses and cavalry horses, for which purpose ἀθλητάς/ἀθληταῖς was much better suited than κέλητι. The text should, therefore, be accepted as found in the manuscripts. Given the grammar of the passage, ἀθληταῖς seems preferable to ἀθλητάς, and ἀθληταῖς is in fact what appears in Thalheim's Teubner edition of the speech. See Carey (2007) ix–xviii, 198; Thalheim (1913) 217.

The speaker contrasts his father's cavalry horses, which were λαμπρούς ('magnificent'), with his racehorses, which were ἀθληταῖς ('prize-winning').[29]

Both of these adjectives have interesting usages elsewhere. In a victor list from the Theseia at Athens from 161/0, in the section dedicated to races for cavalrymen, we find: ἵππωι λαμπρῶι· Λύανδρ[ος] Νικογένου (*IG* II² 965 ll. 87–8); there was thus a contest in which cavalry horses competed in 'cutting an impressive figure'. This echoes several passages in Xenophon's *Art of Horsemanship* that touch upon cavalry horses that display λαμπρότης, which was evidently felt to be particularly desirable for cavalry displays and processions (11.7, 11.9).

This pairs nicely with a passage from Plato's *Parmenides* in which the eponymous character says (137a):

> καίτοι δοκῶ μοι τὸ τοῦ Ἰβυκείου ἵππου πεπονθέναι, ᾧ ἐκεῖνος ἀθλητῇ ὄντι καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὑφ' ἅρματι μέλλοντι ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ δι' ἐμπειρίαν τρέμοντι τὸ μέλλον …

> And yet I feel very much like the horse in the poem of Ibycus—an old prize-winning horse who was entered for a chariot race and was trembling with fear of what was before him, because he knew it by experience … (trans. H. Fowler)

The speaker in the Lysias passage quoted above, in describing the hippotrophic activities of his father, who owned both cavalry horses and racehorses, picked characteristic traits of each type of horse to differentiate them. Damonon, who had won victories with both cavalry horses and racehorses, did precisely the same thing by highlighting the fact that the horses with which he had won in the *kalpe* were strong.

Using ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις was thus quite an elegant solution to the problem of finding a way to designate the *kalpe*. The use of the dative was consonant with long-established traditions of referencing hippic competitions, and the choice of verb highlighted a key trait, strength, that differentiated cavalry horses from racehorses.

Moreover, by using a participle rather than a noun, Damonon could express in a clear and highly compact fashion that the horses in question were mares. There was no specific noun in ancient Greek that designated a mare as opposed to a stallion. Instead the same word, ἵππος, was used for both mares and stallions, and sex was indicated by the use of the definite article or an adjective.[30] The use of a feminine participle left no doubt that

[29] The name of the speaker (who was the brother-in-law of the already deceased Aristophanes) is unknown. See Todd (2000) 201.

[30] The word ἡ φοράς was used in the Byzantine period to designate a mare (Pierros (2003) 344 and n. 110; Suda *s.v.* φοράς (Φ 582Adler); Hesych. *s.v.* φοράδες). That word is found in earlier sources with the meaning 'fruit-bearing' and applied to plants (see, for

the horses in question were mares, which in turn connected the victories to the *kalpe*, the only Greek equestrian contest in which participation was restricted to mares.

It is worth explicitly noting that this means that ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις does not directly specify an age-category used in the *kalpe*. It does, indirectly, say something about the age of Damonon's horses in that they must have been fully grown (a basic meaning of ἡβάω). This is what one would expect given our knowledge of the age of horses used in cavalry service. Xenophon, rather surprisingly, does not have anything to say on that subject, beyond a cautionary statement (*Eq.* 3.1) about buying a horse that has already shed all of its milk teeth—a mark of being more than 5 years old, the point at which horses are fully physically mature (see above, Ch. 3 §3.2.1).[31]

This statement resonates with the advice offered in one of the classic works on cavalry horses, John Boniface's *The Cavalry Horse and His Pack* (published in 1903). Boniface writes:

> While it is good to buy the new cavalry horse between three and a half or four years of age to perhaps six or seven, in order that while still young he may be taught the cavalry work he must perform, yet horses under five are rarely sufficiently developed to stand what field service demands of him; on the other hand, horses over seven or eight are very hard to teach, and any irregularities of gait or disposition that they may have are very apt to be found permanent and not easily corrected. Thus, it becomes necessary to know *how* to tell the horse's age, and this is most easily and correctly done by observing his teeth.[32]

Here again there are clear parallels to the modern sport of equestrian vaulting. Jutta Wiemers, in her handbook on equestrian vaulting, emphasises that the horses used in vaulting competitions 'should be fully grown, strong, and healthy'. She adds, 'your horse should be young (but fully grown) and strong' and 'Don't use a horse which is not fully grown'.[33] The horses used in vaulting competitions overseen by the Fédération

example, Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 4.16.2). (The word φοράδαν in *IG* IV².1.122, l. 27, from Epidauros and dating to the fourth century, could meaning either 'carried in a litter like a sick person' or 'pregnant'.) A diminutive of φοράς, φοράδιον, is also attested in the Byzantine sources.

[31] This is in general agreement with the evidence for the age of horses used by Roman cavalrymen, on which see Hyland (1990) 82–3. James Roy has suggested to me (pers. comm.) that ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις may in fact indicate an age category consisting of horses that had reached physical maturity but were not beyond a certain age (ten years old, for example). This is an interesting possibility, but it is not apparent that Greeks had reliable means of telling a horse's age beyond the age of roughly five (when all its permanent teeth had come in) (see Anderson (1961) 98 and the bibliography cited above, Ch. 3 n. 29).

[32] Boniface (1903) 119; see also Department of War (1941) 186; Bugh (1988) 68–70.

[33] Wiemers (1994) 7, 17, 14, respectively.

Equestre Internationale must be at least seven years old; age limits are slightly lower for some national competitions (for example, five years old in Germany, six years old in the United States).[34]

The issue of physical maturity was, as a result, another important difference between racehorses and cavalry horses. Juvenile racehorses could be entered into competitions, but cavalry horses, and hence the horses that competed in the *kalpe*, were by definition physically mature. The use of the phrase ἐνhēβṓhαις híπποις thus separated the horses Damonon rode in winning the *kalpe* from racehorses, not only on the basis of strength versus speed, but also on the basis of physical maturity. By highlighting the physical maturity of the horses used to win the hippic victories listed in Parts 2 and 3, Damonon gave those reading the inscription another means of grasping that those victories were won in the *kalpe*.

Two related questions merit discussion, both having to do with alternative wordings that Damonon did not employ. First, why did Damonon not use a word or words (ἵππος πολεμιστηρίος, for example) that unequivocally denoted a warhorse? The answer to that question can be found in the list of Panathenaic prizes, in which πολεμιστηρίοις is used as a heading for a series of events intended for cavalry horses. If the *kalpe* was indeed part of the programme of contests at no fewer than six different Lakedaimonian festivals, it is unlikely that it was the only competition intended for cavalry horses; the Panathenaic festival in the 380s had four such competitions (see above, §6.1). In those circumstances, Damonon stating that he had won a hippic competition with a warhorse (πολεμιστηρίῳ) would have been insufficient to specify the event in which Damonon had been victorious.

A second question is why Damonon put ἐνhēβṓhαις híπποις in the plural rather than the singular. He won each particular *kalpe* victory with a single horse, and, in the parallel case of recording victories in the *keles*, the singular is typically employed (e.g. Ἀγησίλας ἀνὴρ Λουσεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη κέλητι ἵππῳ νικῶν, Paus. 8.18.8). A key issue in this regard is that the usage whereby a dative singular was employed to specify the object with which a hippic victory had been won (and hence the contest in question) could be extended to a more abstract usage in which a dative plural designated the race itself.

The latter usage is apparent in the following passage from Pindar's *Pythian* 1 (29–33):

> εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὶν εἴη ἀνδάνειν,

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[34] The age of horses is specified in article 717 of the FEI's rules for vaulting competitions (available at https://inside.fei.org/fei/regulations/vaulting). On the age of horses for German and American competitions, see Vereinigung (1987) 129 and https://www.americanvaulting.org/startclub/selectinghorse.php, respectively.

ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαίας μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν ἐπωνυμίαν
κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν
γείτονα, Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλλων Ἱέρωνος
    ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου
ἄρμασι …

In a recently published edition of Pindar's odes, Anthony Verity translates
this passage as follows:

> Grant, O Zeus, grant that I may please you:
> watcher over this mountain, forehead of a fertile land
> whose neighbour namesake city was made glorious by its famous
> founder
> when at Pytho's racecourse the herald proclaimed it,
> telling of Hieron's splendid victory in the chariot race.[35]

The plural ἄρμασι can only be taken to mean that Hieron won 'in the
chariot race' and not that he won 'with chariots'. This is because the ode
celebrates a single victory and, more importantly, because the passage in
question revolves around the announcement made by the herald at Delphi
when Hieron won the particular race in question. (Hieron, who had re-
founded Catana under the name of Aitna, had himself announced as a
citizen of Aitna when he won the victory commemorated in *Pythian* 1.)
Hence this passage can only be referring to a single, specific chariot-racing
victory won by Hieron, but the word for chariot appears in the dative
plural.[36]

Verity makes an obvious choice and translates ἄρμασι as 'in the chariot
race', though 'in the race for chariots' may be more technically correct.
This reading of the passage is the standard one and is found in translations
of this passage produced by Myers, Nisetich, Gentili, and Liberman,
among others.[37]

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[35] Verity and Instone (2007) 42.

[36] Cole has discussed several passages in Pindar's *epinikia* in which there is a certain
degree of ambiguity about the number of victories won by honorands because 'either a
given number is used in such a way that it is unclear whether it refers to a total or a sub-
total … or a cardinal number is used in such a way that it could be taken as a distributive'
(Cole (1987) 559). These passages, however, involve references to multiple victories,
whereas Pindar makes it clear here that he is referring to a single victory. Hence there is
no ambiguity about number in this passage.

[37] Myers (1895) 54; Nisetich (1980) 156; Gentili, Bernardini, Cingano et al. (1995) 31;
Liberman (2004) 45. In his 1997 translation in the Loeb series, Race translates 'Hieron's
splendid victory with the chariot', which transforms ἄρμασι into an instrumental dative
but only by rendering the Greek plural with an English singular. There is no reason to
believe that the original Greek text is faulty and should be emended.

A somewhat similar phrasing can be found in passages in which plurals are used in descriptions of hippic competitions. For instance, Josephus, in recounting the establishment of contests by Herod the Great, writes (*A. J.* 15.271):

> προύθηκεν δὲ καὶ τεθρίπποις καὶ συνωρίσιν καὶ κέλησιν οὐ μικρὰς δωρεάς …

He also set up large prizes for *tethrippa* and *synorides* and racehorses …

Libanius mentions hippic contests held by the emperor Julian and writes that Julian 'presided over contests for racehorses' (κέλησιν ἠγωνοθέτει, *Orat.* 24.37) and 'offered prizes for the racehorses' (ἆθλα κέλησι θείς, *Orat.* 18.249).[38]

The many relevant literary and epigraphic texts leave no doubt that phraseology with an instrumental dative in the singular was the preferred and standard usage in descriptions of hippic victories. There was, however, also an established, albeit less typical, practice in ancient Greek to employ a dative plural to designate a hippic contest. It seems quite probable that Damonon is doing precisely that with ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις, by means of which Damonon is saying that he won in the race for strong, physically mature mares.

There was, furthermore, good reason for Damonon to avoid using an instrumental dative in the singular to designate the *kalpe*. In five of the eight entries in Parts 3 and 6 (the parts of the inscription in which the ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις victories appear), Damonon states that he won the *keles* at the same festival. So, for example, the first entry in Part 3 reads as follows (ll. 12–17):

> καὶ Ποhοίδαια Δαμόνōν
> ἐνίκē hέλει καὶ ho κέλēξ
> hαμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν
> ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις
> hεπτάκιν ἐκ τᾶν αὐτô

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[38] There are numerous passages in which hippic victories are described with dative plurals that could be read either as instrumental datives or as designations of the race in question. For instance, Posidippos writes in Epigram 78:

> ταῦτα μὲν εὔχε’ ἐπεῖδεν Ὀλυμπία ἐξ ἑνὸς οἴκου
>   ἅρμασι καὶ παίδων παῖδας ἀεθλοφόρους·

Lefkowitz translates this passage taking ἅρμασι to be an instrumental dative in the plural:

> These victories from a single house Olympia saw and the children's children were heralded victors with their chariots.

Fantuzzi, however, takes ἅρμασι as denoting the contest in which the victories in question were won:

> [Olympia] saw these glories in chariot racing from one house and the prize-winning children of children.

ἵππον κἐκ τῶ αὐτῶ hίππō.

Had Damonon written the singular ἐνhε̄βṓhαι ἵπποι (= ἐνηβώσῃ ἵππῳ) rather than the plural ἐνhε̄βṓhαις hίπποις, there would have been immediate grounds for potential confusion; the reader might have concluded that ἐνhε̄βṓhαι ἵπποι referred to the horse with which Damonon had won the *keles*. This would not have been a problem had there been an easy and unambiguous way of referencing the *kalpe*, but, as we have seen, that did not exist. By putting ἐνhε̄βṓhαις hίπποις in the plural, Damonon made a clear distinction between two different events, both of which involved riding a single horse.

This same set of concerns probably accounts for the highly unusual phrasing employed throughout the inscription, in which Damonon's racehorse is said to win (e.g. *ho κέλε̄ξ ἐνίκε̄*, l. 30) rather than the usual practice in which Damonon would be described as winning with a racehorse. As Nigel Nicholson observes, there are few attested examples of making the racehorse rather than the owner the subject of the verb νικάω.[39] In his *epinikion* commemorating the victory won by Hieron's *keles* Pherenikos at Olympia in 476, Bacchylides writes:

Ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον
Ἀλφεὸν παρ' εὐρυδίναν
πῶλον ἀελλοδρόμαν
εἶδε νικάσαντα χρυσόπαχυς Ἀώς,
Πυθῶνί τ' ἐν ἀγαθέᾳ· (5.37–41, cf. 183)

Beside the wide-whirling Alpheus, golden-armed Dawn saw the chestnut colt Pherenikos, swift as a windstorm, win, and also at most holy Pytho.

Pindar's *Pythian* 3, written to celebrate a Pythian victory by the same Pherenikos, includes the phrase ἀριστεύων Φερένικος (l. 74); Nicholson points out that Pindar uses ἀριστεύω in other odes to denote winning a victory. A somewhat similar usage is found in an epigram on a commemorative monument from Olympia in which a *keles* named Lykos is said to have 'crowned the house of the sons of Pheidolas' (Λύκος … Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους, Paus. 6.13.10). Finally, as mentioned previously (see above, Ch. 4 §4.1), Pausanias, in his account of the *kalpe*, writes, in a unique phrasing, Παταίκου δὲ Ἀχαιοῦ τῶν ἐκ Δύμης ἐνίκησεν ἡ κάλπη ('the cantering horse of Pataikos, an Achaian from Dyme, won', 5.9.1). The paucity of attested examples is significant given the fact that Damonon's *keles* is made the subject of νικάω no fewer than seven times (ll.

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[39] See Nicholson (2005) 102.

13, 30, 37–8, 42–3, 70–1, 78–9, 85–6). Hence that phrasing appears more frequently on the Damonon *stele* than in the totality of extant Greek literary and epigraphic texts. It is also noteworthy that one of four known such usages other than Damonon *stele* refers to a victory in the *kalpe*.

Moreover, making his racehorse the subject of the verb νικάω created a certain distance between Damonon and the victory in question, which is a little surprising given his overt desire for self-glorification. The presence of two separate hippic competitions involving ridden horses, one of which was difficult to designate clearly in compressed space, may well have motivated the choice to employ two entirely different kinds of phrasing to denote the two different events.

The use of the dative plural ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις thus was Damonon's way of saying, 'I won in the race for strong, physically mature mares'. That was an effective phrasing given that strength and physical maturity were features that set cavalry horses apart from racehorses and that Damonon could have safely presumed that the intended audience for the *stele* knew that there was only one race that was specifically limited to mares, the *kalpe*.

That race had different names in different places, with the different designations representing either minor variations on the general theme or simply regional dialect peculiarities. At Olympia, the technically correct name of the race was probably ὁ τῆς κάλπης δρόμος; in sentences describing someone winning that race, the name of the event went into the accusative, resulting in something like ὁ δεῖνα τὸν τῆς κάλπης δρόμον ἐνίκησε. In Thessaly, what seems to have been the same or a very similar race was called ἀφιπποδρομά; in sentences describing someone winning that race, ἀφιπποδρομά was put either into the accusative or dative (ὁ δεῖνα τὴν ἀφιπποδρομάν ἐνίκησε or ὁ δεῖνα τῇ ἀφιπποδρομᾷ ἐνίκησε). In Pausanias' time a race that was identical to the ὁ τῆς κάλπης δρόμος except for the sex of the horse and the equipment carried by the riders was probably called ὁ τῶν ἀναβατῶν δρόμος; a sentence describing someone winning that race probably ran something like ὁ δεῖνα τὸν τῶν ἀναβατῶν δρόμον ἐνίκησε (see above, Ch. 4 §4.1).

The Damonon *stele* shows that a similar victory was described in Lakedaimon with the wording ho δεῖνα ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις ἐνίκαhε. It is possible that ἐνhεβόhαις hίπποις was put into the plural on the Damonon *stele* due to the proximity of victories in that event and in the *keles* in the text of the inscription, and that ho δεῖνα ἐνhεβόhαι ίπποι ἐνίκαhε (where ἐνhεβόhαι ίπποι corresponds to ἐνηβώσῃ ίππῳ in Attic Greek) was a viable alternative phrasing. It is impossible to know whether the nominative form would have been treated like the *kalpe* (with the name of the event put into a genitive dependent on ὁ δρόμος), or like *aphippodroma* (with the name of the event functioning as an abstract noun that went into the accusative or

dative). The former seems intuitively more likely, but that is purely a matter of speculation.

It is not particularly surprising to see that, as far as can be discerned from the exiguous evidence, the name for the event in Lakedaimon is not attested elsewhere. An informative comparandum is the terminology used for a communal meal (and the building in which such a meal took place), which was called *syssition* or *andreion* in most of the Greek world. Xenophon, however, uses the term *syskenia* for Lakedaimonian *syssitia* (*Hell.* 5.3.20, *Lac. Pol.* 7.4, 9.4, 13.7, 15.4, 15.5), and a substantial number of ancient authors, starting with Aristotle (*Po.* 1271a27, 1272a2, 1272b34) and continuing through Plutarch *(Lyc.* 12.1) and beyond, explicitly state that *syssitia* were called *phiditia* in Lakedaimon. Precisely the same situation seems to have obtained with the *kalpe*, the terminology for which varied quite a bit spatially and temporally.[40]

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[40] On the terminology used for common meals in Sparta, see Lavrencic (1993) 12–16 and the sources cited therein.

7

CONCLUSION

We are now in a position to pull together the pieces of what has been a long and complicated argument and consider its larger interpretive ramifications. Four issues merit discussion: (1) the overall structure of the inscription on the Damonon *stele*; (2) the nature and relative prestige of the *kalpe* versus other hippic competitions, and how that helps us understand the history of the *kalpe* at the Olympics; (3) what the reading of the Damonon *stele* proposed here reveals about Spartiates' efforts to project an image of military strength to the other residents of Lakedaimon; and (4) how the reading of the Damonon *stele* proposed here impacts our understanding of the construction of Lakedaimonian identity and of Lakedaimonian society as a whole in the Classical period.

7.1 The Overall Structure of the Inscription on the Damonon *Stele*

The overall structure of the inscription on the Damonon *stele* is perhaps most easily understood when presented in tabular form:

		Contents	**Festivals**
Part 1	ll. 1–5	Dedicatory hexameter distich	
Part 2	ll. 6–11	Damonon (adult) victories in the *tethrippon* for fully grown horses	Athanaia Earth-Holder Eleusinia
Part 3	ll. 12–34	Damonon (adult) victories in the *kalpe* and *keles*	Ariontia Eleusinia Poseidonia at Helos Poseidonia at Thouria
Part 4	ll. 35–49	Enymakratidas (boy/youth) occasions when Enymakratidas won one or more gymnic victories and the *keles* at the same festival on the same day	Ariontia Lithesia Parparonia
Part 5	ll. 49–65	Damonon (boy) gymnic victories	Earth-Holder Lithesia Maleateia Parparonia

Part 6	ll. 66–96	Damonon (adult) and Enymakratidas (adult) occasions when Damonon won the *kalpe* and *keles* and Enymakratidas won one or more gymnic events, all at the same festival on the same day	Athanaia Earth-Holder

Table 9: Detailed structure of the inscription on the Damonon *stele*

When read vertically from the top, the *stele* begins with a depiction of a *tethrippon*, followed by a distich giving Damonon's name and a boast of unprecedented victories, followed by a listing of Damonon's victories in the *tethrippon*. Damonon thus starts with the most impressive cards in his hand—his *tethrippon* victories.

He continues by listing his other hippic victories, won in the *kalpe* and *keles*. Up to this point, the ordering of material is clearly driven by the prestige of the victories in question, based on the event itself and the number of victories Damonon won in that event.

After that chronology comes into play (though in a less than entirely straightforward way), starting with the highlights of Enymakratidas' competitive career before he became an adult, followed by Damonon's gymnic victories as a boy. The inscription ends with highlights from the period when Damonon and Enymakratidas were both competing as adults.

This understanding of the inscription provides some clarity as to why Damonon provides dates using the names of eponymous ephors only in Part 6 of the inscription.[1] Whereas Parts 2 and 3 consolidate victories won over multiple years into a single entry (e.g. Damonon won the games of the Earth-Holder four times), Parts 4–6 list specific victories. All of those victories took place in a specific year, but dates are given only for the victories listed in Part 6. This is a little odd, particularly since both Parts 4 and 6 highlight occasions when Damonon and/or Enymakratidas achieved a remarkable feat on a single day. We might well then expect to see the names of eponymous ephors being used to date the victories in Part 4 as well as Part 6.

The standing explanation for this particular feature of the Damonon *stele* accords well with the new reading offered here. That explanation goes back to Jeffery, who argued that the system of dating by eponymous ephor was just coming into use in Damonon's time and that, as a result, only the latest victories—those won when Enymakratidas was an adult—could be dated in this fashion.[2] Nafissi, who is strongly of the opinion that the

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[1] It is interesting to note that an inscription recording a decree of protection offered by the Lakedaimonian state to Delos (*SEG* 11.96 = *ID* 87) and dating to c. 400 lists the names of both kings and all five ephors.

[2] Jeffery (1990) 196–7; see also Christesen (2007) 106–7.

victories listed in Part 6 were a subset of those listed in Part 2, expresses doubt about this explanation.[3] However, once the victories in Part 6 are understood as having been won in a different event than those listed in Part 2, Jeffery's explanation is entirely plausible.

7.2. The Nature and Relative Prestige of the *Kalpe* versus other Hippic Competitions

The *kalpe* seems to have been unique among hippic competitions in ancient Greece in that entry was restricted on the basis of the sex of the horses— only mares were allowed to compete (see above, Ch. 4 §4.1). The reasons for this restriction have not, to the knowledge of this author, ever been seriously addressed in the scholarly literature.

An obvious possibility is that in the fifth century cavalry horses were all mares. There is, however, no evidence that this was in fact the case. Xenophon discusses in detail the traits of the ideal cavalry horse (*Art of Horsemanship* 3.1–12) but has nothing to say about sex, and both mares and stallions seem to have been used regularly in both Greek and Roman cavalry forces.[4] Moreover, stallions and mares competed alongside each other in other hippic contests such as the *tethrippon*.

A key clue can be found in Pausanias' statement (5.9.2) that whereas the *kalpe* was open only to mares, the *anabates* race, which Pausanias describes as nearly identical to the *kalpe*, was open only to stallions. Thus, in both the fifth century and in Pausanias' time, entry in the *kalpe* and the *anabates* was restricted to a single sex of horse. That is important because horses are herd animals that form long-term groupings with strong and clear dominance hierarchies. (A herd in the wild typically consists of either a single stallion and a varying number of mares and their young offspring, or a group of 'bachelor' stallions.) In a mixed-sex herd the stallion protects the herd from predators and other stallions, while a single dominant mare leads the herd. Any given herd has a relatively stable hierarchy, which minimises conflict; however, the instinct to form a dominance hierarchy can create difficulties when horses encounter each other for the first time because establishing hierarchy frequently results in aggressive interactions.[5]

The same instincts are at work in situations involving domesticated horses. Interactions among domesticated horses in fact have three further complications. First, encounters among horses that are not familiar with

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[3] Nafissi (2013) 119–20.

[4] Dixon and Southern (1992) 177; Spence (1993) 44; Hyland (2013) 500–1. See also above, Ch. 3 n. 31.

[5] The discussion of horse behaviour found here draws upon the following sources: Bongianni (1988) 14–16; W. Evans (2000) 41–2, 58–9; Hutchins, Evans, Jackson et al. (2004); Rubinstein (2007); Howe (2014).

each other are more frequent. Second, stallions have a strong tendency to be aggressive in any interaction with a mare in oestrus. In the wild such interactions are controlled through herd structure, but such interactions become much less structured and predictable among domesticated horses (for example, when two riders cross paths at random).

The third complication is introduced by the practice of producing geldings by castrating stallions. Geldings tend to be less aggressive and more even-tempered than stallions, and hence more serviceable for many purposes. However, stallions have a strong tendency to be immediately antagonistic in any interaction with geldings. The practice of gelding and its results were clearly familiar to Greeks; in the *Cyropaedia* Xenophon writes that 'vicious horses, when gelded, stop biting and prancing about … but are none the less fit for service in war' (7.5.62, trans. W. Miller; cf. Varro, *Agr.* 2.7.15). However, the evidence suggests that Greeks did not regularly geld their stallions (possibly due to concerns about post-operative infections), and so it is unlikely that any significant number of horses used for cavalry service or competing in the *kalpe* were geldings.[6]

The extent to which the factors outlined above produce problems has much to do to with the temperament and training of the horses involved, and the skill with which the associated humans manage equine interactions. Nonetheless, any situation in which horses that are not familiar with each other are intermingled has the potential to result in behaviour that puts horses and their riders at risk, and those risks are significantly heightened when stallions, mares, and geldings are mixed together.

In the context of standard hippic competitions such as the *tethrippon*, problematic interactions were constrained by the simple fact that the horses involved were for the most part running continuously at a gallop from start to finish.[7] Interactions were thus fleeting and tempered by the tremendous physical exertion demanded from the horses. The *kalpe*, however, was conducted at least in part at a canter, and the race was punctuated by riders mounting and dismounting. There must, as a result, have been much more contact and jostling among horses on the track over the course of the race than in any other hippic competition.[8] The

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[6] On gelding in ancient Greece and Rome, see Anderson (1961) 38; Hyland (1990) 80–1; Dixon and Southern (1992) 177–8; Hyland (1993) 28; but cf. the alternative view expressed in Vigneron (1968) 43–4 and Gaebel (2002) 27.

[7] The exception came when the horses were lined up for the start of the race. The provision of separate stalls in modern starting gates segregates horses from each other, and it is noteworthy that a similar system was used in ancient Olympia (Miller (2004) 81).

[8] Just that sort of contact and jostling would presumably have been a regular feature of cavalry units, when groups of men mounted and dismounted at the same time and when riding in formation. That feature of the *kalpe* was thus a good reflection of cavalry service.

attendant risks of erratic behaviour by the horses would have been significantly heightened by mixing together stallions, geldings, and mares.

It was, therefore, a prudent precaution and perhaps a practical necessity to limit participation in the *kalpe* on the basis of the sex of the horses. Timing may also have played a role in the sense that the natural breeding season for horses in the northern hemisphere is the spring and summer; during that time mares will cycle in and out of oestrus repeatedly.[9] The period between the late spring and the early fall was a relatively slack period for agricultural labour in most of the regions inhabited by Greeks, and hence a popular time to hold major festivals. (The Olympics, for example, were held during the second full moon after the summer solstice, which in practice meant August or early September.[10]) There was, therefore, a high probability that a considerable fraction of mares at any given set of Greek hippic contests were in oestrus, but, because of the intermittent nature of equine oestrus, it would have been impossible to know precisely which mares would be in oestrus when.

The fact that in the fifth century the *kalpe* was open only to mares and that the *anabates* in Pausanias' time was open only to stallions strongly suggests that the crux of the issue was not necessarily the sex of the horse but rather the intermingling of horses of different sexes. The switch from mares to stallions between the fifth century BCE and the second century CE likely reflects a change in the prevailing preference of cavalrymen with respect to the sex of their mounts, with Greeks preferring (but not requiring) mares and the Romans preferring (but not requiring) stallions.

That represents an entirely plausible scenario because both stallions and mares had advantages and disadvantages as cavalry mounts. Stallions are, as a general rule, significantly more difficult to manage than mares. In his 1903 book on cavalry horses, Boniface writes, 'the objections to the stallions are that they are inclined to be vicious and are often unmanageable to such an extent as to render them a nuisance …'.[11] Stallions have a strong tendency to become excited in the presence of mares in oestrus and that can lead to agitated behaviour of various kinds including loud neighing.[12] Ammianus Marcellinus notes that two Scythian tribes that threatened the Roman frontier had 'swift and very manageable'

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[9] Oestrus cycles in mares last 21 or 22 days and consist of two components: oestrus and dioestrus. Oestrus (sometimes referred to as a mare being in heat) lasts for 2–8 days, during which time ovulation takes place and mares are receptive to sexual contact with a stallion. Dioestrus occupies the remainder of the 21 or 22 days; during this time the mare is not receptive to sexual contact with a stallion. For further details, see http://pods.dasnr.okstate.edu/docushare/dsweb/Get/Document-2092/ANSI-3974web2013.pdf.

[10] Miller (1975).

[11] Boniface (1903) 96.

[12] Aristotle writes that 'After human beings, the horse, both sexes, is the most salacious of animals' (*Hist. Anim.* 575b31–2, trans. A. Peck).

horses and that 'their horses are chiefly geldings, lest at the sight of mares they should be excited and run away, or, when held back in reserve, should betray their riders by their fierce neighing' (17.12.3, trans. C. Yonge).

In addition, mares have been thought by many experienced riders to demonstrate superior endurance under difficult conditions. For example, Wellington, during the Peninsular Campaign, wrote the following in a letter to the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies about the British forces in Portugal:

> Your lordship will observe that nearly 1000 horses are wanting … I would recommend that no horses should be sent for service to this country which will not be 6 years old in May; and that mares should be sent in preference to horses [i.e. a male horse], as it has been found that they bear the work better than the horses.[13]

On the other hand, mares are frequently cantankerous when in oestrus, which, as noted above happens in the late spring and summer and hence in prime season for military campaigns. American cavalrymen refused to use mares because of concerns that they would be impregnated by a stallion during a military campaign and thus become unrideable.[14] In addition, mares that were used for cavalry service could not easily be made available for breeding purposes on a regular basis.

Insofar as one stallion could service a dozen or more mares,[15] most stallions had minimal value for breeding purposes and, as a result, were more readily available for cavalry service. Furthermore, the aggressive behaviour of stallions, which can include biting and kicking, and which made them difficult to manage off the battlefield, became a potentially important asset on the battlefield.[16] That this possibility was on the minds of Greek infantrymen emerges from the speech that Xenophon delivers in the *Anabasis* upon his election as general:

> But if anyone of you is despondent because we are without horsemen while the enemy have plenty at hand, let him reflect that your ten thousand horsemen are nothing more than ten thousand men; for nobody ever lost his life in battle from the bite or kick of a horse, but it is the men who do whatever is done in battles. Moreover, we are on a far surer foundation than your horsemen: they are hanging on their

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[13] The letter is dated 7 December 1810 and is reproduced in Gurwood (1844) IV.452. It is discussed in Brereton (1976) 77. See also Boniface (1903) 96 who notes that 'as to the physical strength, mares are frequently found fully equal to the geldings'.

[14] Boniface (1903) 96.

[15] See, for instance, Varro, *Agr.* 2.7.1.

[16] Hyland (1990) 80–1.

horses' backs, afraid not only of us, but also of falling off …[17] (3.2.18–19, trans. C. Brownson).

Stallions' aggressive behaviour may also have made them particularly valuable in attacking infantry formations, because they were likely more willing than mares to charge into small gaps between infantrymen.[18] A final advantage of stallions was that their overt and aggressive masculinity may have reinforced their owners' self-image.

It is, therefore, quite likely that Greek cavalrymen (in the fifth century) preferred mares, whereas their Roman counterparts (in Pausanias' time) preferred stallions, and that the change in the sex of horses competing in the *kalpe/anabates* reflected those preferences.[19] The Greeks' preference for mares may be reflected in the story, recounted by Herodotus and set in 480, that while Xerxes was in Thessaly he heard that the Thessalians had the best horses in Greece and arranged for a race between his own horses and those of the Thessalians. The result was that 'the Greek mares proved very much inferior' (αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν, 7.196; trans. D. Grene).[20] Insofar as it is unlikely that Xerxes would have brought racehorses with him on campaign, the race was presumably between the Persians' and Thessalians' cavalry mounts, the latter of which were mares.

One might speculate that the Greeks' evident preference for mares as cavalry mounts in the Classical period had to do with their relatively limited experience with and commitment to cavalry forces, and the fact that cavalry mounts were selected and paid for by private citizens. In those circumstances, cavalrymen, most of whom were by no means professional soldiers, would have very much appreciated the greater ease of dealing with mares, and the use of mares for cavalry service had limited impact insofar as most owners of cavalry horses were not breeding their horses. In the Roman Imperial period, cavalrymen who benefited from a great deal

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[17] See also Hdt. 5.110, which recounts the story of a combat involving the Persian general Artybius who 'has a horse that rears and, kicking and biting, does away with anyone whom he engages' (trans. D. Grene). The definite articles in the Greek show that Artybius' horse was a stallion.

[18] Willekes (2016) 187.

[19] Hyland (1990) 80–2 argues that Roman cavalrymen had a preference for stallions. Boniface (1903) 96 notes that in his time different cavalry forces had different preferences with respect to the sex of their horses. American cavalrymen rode only geldings, whereas Austrian, French, and German cavalrymen rode geldings or mares, and British and Russian cavalrymen rode stallions, geldings, and mares.

[20] Larcher (1829) II.439 argued that αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι should be translated as 'cavalry' on the grounds that ἡ ἵππος typically means cavalry. LSJ recognises this meaning, but only with ἡ ἵππος in the singular, which occurs even when numerals are attached. Precisely this usage is found in Herodotus who writes about ἡ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος (5.64) and ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη (7.41). The plural here should therefore be read as referring to the Thessalians' mares, not the Thessalian cavalry as a group.

of accumulated expertise in mounted warfare and who were professional soldiers were likely in a much better position to deal with stallions and to make use of stallions' aggressiveness on the battlefield. At the same time, the Romans' much more centralised system of breeding and supply meant that the use of mares by Roman cavalrymen would have had a greater impact than it would have had in Classical Greece.

Whatever their preferences, it was a near impossibility for cavalry units, either Greek or Roman, to require that all of their members ride a horse of a particular sex. Greek states left the logistics of raising cavalry horses to private citizens, and the numbers and geographical dispersion of Roman cavalrymen throughout a huge empire made finding adequate supplies of horses a constant challenge. (It is probably significant in this regard that the most elite and carefully supplied of the Roman cavalry units, the emperor's horse guards, typically rode stallions.[21]) Hyland suggests that any given Greek or Roman cavalry unit could have used stallions, geldings, and mares at the same time provided that three basic rules were followed: (1) 'do not put a gelding between a stallion and a mare, as to do so means certain attack'; (2) 'avoid riding a stallion alongside a mare in oestrus, though in a well-mannered stallion even this should not cause a problem'; (3) 'in the stable … put stallions in one section, mares and/or geldings in others'.[22]

The situation was different in the *kalpe/anabates*, which put horses in a highly competitive environment in the restricted space of a hippodrome, and which probably involved a considerable amount of contact and jostling. Had entry not been restricted on the basis of sex, close encounters between stallions and mares (many of whom would have been in oestrus) would have been inevitable and could easily have led to chaos and injuries to both horses and riders. Insofar as many of the riders may well, like Damonon, have been the owners of the horses competing in the race, the question of rider safety probably loomed larger than it did in other hippic competitions. One might note in this regard that the American Vaulting Association requires that horses used in competition be mares or geldings.[23] The limitation placed on the sex of horses competing in the *kalpe/anabates* thus made good sense, and the choice to permit only mares to compete in

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[21] Speidel (1994) 108–9.

[22] Hyland (1990) 81.

[23] https://www.americanvaulting.org/startclub/selectinghorse.php; see above, Ch. 3 §3.1–2. The written rules issued by the American Vaulting Association do not give an explanation of why this is the case, but Suzanne Detol, technical directior of the American Vaulting Association, has informed me (pers. comm. via email) that it is a matter of safety. She writes that 'stallions can be more aggressive and unpredictable, especially around mares who may be in heat'. She adds that 'some stallions are used for vaulting in Europe, but more often you see geldings or mares—simply because they are usually easier to handle'.

the *kalpe* at Olympia likely reflects the preference of Greek cavalrymen for mares.

It is also possible to reach some conclusions about the prestige of the *kalpe* relative to other hippic competitions. The competitions in which Damonon and Enymakratidas won their victories, and the festivals at which those competitions were held, are most easily understood when expressed in tabular form: see Table 10 (below, p. 154).

Although there remain some ambiguities (e.g. how many *keles* victories Damonon is claiming in ll. 12–17 and 24–30 and whether the victories in the *keles* listed in Part 4 should be ascribed to Damonon or Enymakratidas), it is possible to enumerate the victories cataloged on the *stele* as seen in Table 11.

	Damonon	Enymakratidas
tethrippon	12	
kalpe	31	
keles	11	3
boys' *stadion*	6	1
boys' *diaulos*	5	1
boys' *dolichos*		2
youths' *dolichos*		1
men's *stadion*		4
men's *diaulos*		1
men's *dolichos*		1

Table 11: Number and kind of victories listed on the Damonon *stele*

One observation that follows immediately from the information presented above is that Damonon, though particularly proud of his *tethrippon* victories, found much more regular success in the *kalpe*. This is as one might have suspected, given that the *kalpe* was unlikely to have been introduced into Lakedaimonian festivals prior to 424, whereas the more traditional hippic competitions, especially the *tethrippon*, were events in which Lakedaimonians had been successfully competing at the highest levels for decades.[24]

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[24] One might also note that various hippic contests held at different festivals in Lakedaimon seems to have enjoyed different levels of prestige. As we have seen, the victories in both Parts 2 and Parts 6 seem to be listed in order of prestige, with Part 2 focusing on *tethrippon* victories, whereas Part 6 focuses on *kalpe* victories. Part 2 lists victories in the games of the Earth-Holder, the Athanaia, and the Eleusinia (in that order). Part 6 lists victories in the Athanaia and the games of the Earth-Holder (in that order). That implies that the *tethrippon* at the games of the Earth-Holder was more prestigious than the *tethrippon* at the Athanaia, but that the reverse was true with respect to the *kalpe*.

	Arionti a	Athanaia	Earth-Holder	Eleusinia	Lithesia	Maleateia	Parparonia	Poseidonia Helos	Poseidonia Thouria
tethrippon		x	x	x					
keles	x	x	x		x		x	x	
kalpe	x	x	x	x				x	x
boys' *stadion*		x	x		x	x	x		
boys' *diaulos*			x		x	x	x		
boys' *dolichos*					x		x		
youths' *dolichos*	x								
men's *stadion*		x	x						
men's *diaulos*			x						
men's *dolichos*			x						

Table 10: Festivals and competitions in Lakedaimon based on the Damonon *stele*

Moreover, the *tethrippon* was doubtless a more prestigious event than the *kalpe*. This is evident in the content and ordering of material on the Damonon *stele*, and in comparanda from Athens and Rome. The prize list from the Panathenaic games from the early fourth century (*IG* II² 2311, see above, Ch. 6 §6.1) gives some sense of the relative prestige of different events based on the number of Panathenaic amphorae given as prizes for each:

> *hippic competitions open to all*:
> > *zeugos* for juvenile horses: first place: 40, second place 8
> > *zeugos* for fully grown horses: first place: 140, second place: 40
>
> *hippic competitions for warriors/warhorses*:
> > *zeugos* (presumably for fully grown horses); first place: 30, second place: 6
> > javelin-throwing from horse-back: first place: 6, second place: 1

In hippic competitions in Rome, the prizes for victorious *desultores* (competitors in an event that had clear similarities to the *kalpe*) were one-quarter of those given to victorious charioteers in the four-horse chariot race.[25] Damonon thus almost certainly faced much tougher competition in the *tethrippon* and the *keles* than in the *kalpe*.

The nature of and the relatively low prestige attached to the *kalpe* were probably major factors in the reason why it was dropped from the Olympics. The fate of the *kalpe* at Olympia was interwoven with that of the *apene*. The *kalpe* was introduced to the Olympics in 496, shortly after the *apene*, and both competitions were discontinued in 444 (see above, Ch. 4 §4.1). Both contests were comparatively mundane in that they involved animals that lacked the appeal of racehorses: cavalry horses competed in the *kalpe* and mules competed in the *apene*.

There was a special glamour attached to horses of all kinds, but it was the racehorses that were truly set apart. Racehorses were an ideal form of conspicuous consumption; they were expensive to acquire and keep and served no practical purpose whatsoever. Cavalry horses, on the other hand, were distinctly utilitarian in the sense that they were selected and trained to fulfil a fundamentally practical purpose on the battlefield. In addition, they were used on an everyday basis in a way that was not feasible with racehorses. Xenophon presumes that someone who owns a cavalry horse will ride it regularly (including on excursions between a home in town and a country estate), and he strongly recommends that the cavalry horse be used for hunting as a form of exercise and training for both horse and rider (*Eq.* 8.9–10, *Oec.* 11.17–18). J. K. Anderson points out

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[25] Thuillier (1989) 48.

that 'Xenophon … did not distinguish between the ideal horse for war or the hunt' and that 'Xenophon's object is to produce a horse that will go well across country, a finished hunter, and a good cavalry charger'.[26]

Mules were even more plebeian animals than cavalry horses. Griffith has noted that horses were rarely used in the Greek world to perform heavy labour either on or off the farm; mules, donkeys, and oxen were employed for such purposes. In his examination of the race at Olympia for sulkies pulled by mules (the *apene*), he observes that 'the economic expenditure (and sheer waste) involved in maintaining a mule team would be considerably smaller, since the mules—unlike horses—would presumably have a productive working life between races'. Moreover, sulkies pulled by mules were 'indisputably the preferred means of comfortable and cost-effective transportation for most kinds of occasion, at all levels of society', whereas chariots pulled by horses were rarely used for practical purposes 'unless one were in a big hurry or very eager to show off'.[27]

An apt modern comparandum can be found in the difference between thoroughbred and harness racing in the United States. Harness racing is a sport in which horses yoked to a two-wheeled sulky trot (rather than gallop) around a track.[28] Thoroughbred racing in the United States began in the third quarter of the seventeenth century CE and involved expensive horses that were ridden at top speed by hired jockeys. Harness racing originated in informal contests held on the streets of Northeastern cities in the early nineteenth century. Richard Davies has pointed out that:

> The horses, which the men used for their daily business travel, came from the common stock and lacked the bloodlines of the thoroughbreds. Central to the popularity of harness racing was that it permitted wide participation; anyone with a horse and buggy could try his hand, and unlike thoroughbred racing where professional jockeys were utilised, the owner and the driver were one and the same.[29]

These contests were eventually formally organised and appropriate tracks built, but harness racing always remained a much less expensive and glamorous sport than thoroughbred racing.

It is thus reasonable to conclude that the addition of the *apene* and *kalpe* to the Olympic program reflected a readiness to introduce more quotidian competitions into the Games. The removal of both competitions from the program at the same time presumably resulted from either the ebbing of

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[26] Anderson (1961) 299 n. 45, 103.

[27] Griffith (2006) 229–41. The quotes come from pg. 238 and pg. 237, respectively.

[28] Some harness races are conducted at a gait called a pace.

[29] Richard Davies (2012) 11–12. On the early history of horse-racing in the United States, see pp. 5–12 of that work. On harness racing in particular, see also Adelman (1981) 8; Akers (1983).

the more utilitarian sentiments that had prevailed two generations earlier, or a lack of interest in these less spectacular and prestigious contests, or both.[30]

The relatively brief inclusion of the *kalpe* in the program of the ancient Olympics has a parallel in the modern Olympics. In the 1920 Olympics in Antwerp, an event that was called *l'epreuve de voltige*, which resembled modern equestrian vaulting, was added to the program for the first time.[31] Competitions in this event were held on both an individual and team basis, and contestants performed a series of gymnastic exercises, including jumping on and off a horse in a variety of different ways (e.g. onto a stationary horse, over a stationary horse, onto a walking horse, etc.). All of the competitors were army officers, and the event was intentionally and overtly connected to cavalry service.[32] Although the *voltige* was a particular favourite of Pierre de Coubertin, the president of the International Olympic Committee, it was not terribly popular. All of the contestants in the *voltige* at Antwerp came from just three countries, and the event was discontinued afterward and never returned to the Olympics.[33]

7.3. The Damonon *Stele* and Spartiate Self-Presentation of Military Strength

It has long been apparent that there is a tendency in the ancient sources, and the modern scholarship founded on those sources, to present a vision of ancient Lakedaimon as a highly militarised, perfectly harmonious community that remained largely unchanged for centuries. François Ollier, nearly a century ago, memorably labelled this *le mirage Spartiate*.[34] The persistence of the Spartan mirage in the modern world is in part a product of evidentiary challenges that stretch back to the ancient world. At no point did the Lakedaimonians produce the sort of rich array of literary

[30] A number of different reasons, most of which are not mutually incompatible with the scenario presented here, have been proposed for the removal of the *kalpe* and *apene* from the Olympic program. See, for instance, D. Bell (1989) 173–4; Golden (1998) 40–3.

[31] In the English translation of the program of the Games, the event was called 'vaulting'.

[32] Coubertin (1972 (1922)) 93.

[33] Mallon and Bijkerk (2003) 153–4. The official report of the 1924 Olympic Games briefly mentions the *voltige* and notes that 'cette épreuve n'eut pas de lendemain'. (This report is available at: http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1924/1924.pdf; the quote comes from page 222.) After the addition of the *voltige* to the program of the Antwerp Games, Coubertin argued that a further addition, fencing on horseback, was the next desirable step (Phillips (1998) 76). A petition to add modern equestrian vaulting to the Olympic program can be found at: https://www.facebook.com/Petition-to-put-Equestrian-Vaulting-in-the-Olympics-139177546186827/.

[34] Ollier (1933); id. (1943).

texts that came out of Athens (and most of the texts that were produced are not extant). The Lakedaimonians do loom large in ancient Greek literary texts, but they are seen from the perspective of outsiders, many of whom were, at best, poorly informed about the realities of the people and places about which they wrote. The Lakedaimonians, who had something of a penchant for secrecy and deception, were elusive subjects. All of this meant that Lakedaimon was a nearly blank canvas on which non-Lakedaimonian authors projected their own ideals, hopes, and fears. Uncritical use of those sources in much modern scholarship turned those ideals, hopes, and fears into (ostensible) historical reality.[35]

The powerful and persistent image of ancient Lakedaimon as a highly militarised community thus needs to be cautiously received. Indeed, one of the most influential pieces of modern scholarship on ancient Lakedaimon, Moses Finley's article 'Sparta and Spartan Society', included the argument that 'militarism in Sparta was in a low key' and that argument has recently been extended and elaborated by Stephen Hodkinson.[36]

At the same time, however, we need to be careful to differentiate between the realities of the lives led by Spartiates—on which Finley and Hodkinson focused—on one hand and the image of their lives that Spartiates projected to the outside world. The Spartan mirage has typically been understood as something that was generated by non-Lakedaimonians, but Paul Cartledge, Anton Powell, Michael Flower have rightly highlighted the extent to which Spartiates, even in the absence of substantive literary production, actively contributed to the growth of the Spartan mirage.[37]

The new reading of the Damonon *stele* proposed here offers further insight into the Spartiates' role in the construction of their own image. As noted above (Ch. 1), Massimo Nafissi made use of the Damonon *stele* to reconstruct a network of religious festivals in Lakedaimon and explore how the circulation of participants and spectators at those festivals may have helped build a sense of shared Lakedaimonian identity among Spartiates and *perioikoi*.[38]

That process of identity building was important in large part due to difficulties inherent in holding together the Lakedaimonian state. The territory of the Lakedaimonian state was, by Greek standards, massive, and Spartiates, who represented a minority of the total population of Lakedaimon, resided in just one part of that territory. The presence of an at least intermittently restive helot population throughout Lakedaimon meant that Spartiates necessarily relied heavily on *perioikoi*, who lived in small

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[35] Cartledge (2001) 169–71; Powell (2018).

[36] Finley (1987) 171 (the article was originally published in 1968); Hodkinson 2006.

[37] Cartledge (1987) 118; Flower (2002); Powell (2016) 216–21.

[38] Nafissi (2013) 136–49. On that subject, see also Siriano (1996/7) 442–8 and Pavlides (2018).

communities scattered across much of the state, to ensure security against both internal and external threats. *Perioikoi* were, however, by definition second-class citizens in that they had significant obligations to a state—including serving in the Lakedaimonian army—that they had no direct role in governing.[39] It was, therefore, very much in the interest of Spartiates to find occasions to build bonds with the *perioikoi*, and Nafissi is almost certainly right in seeing the circuit of athletic festivals, known primarily through the Damonon *stele*, as quite important for that reason.

The insight that many (and perhaps all) of the festivals in that circuit included the *kalpe* points to the existence of another dimension of that festival circuit, namely that Spartiates made good use of those festivals to project an image of military strength to the other residents of Lakedaimon. As we have seen the *kalpe* was very closely tied to cavalry service, so that *kalpe* contests were inherently military in nature. When Spartiates such as Damonon competed in *kalpe* contests held outside of Sparta, they were putting Spartiate military prowess on display for everyone present. Given that some of the festivals in question were held at perioikic communities such as Thouria, the audience at least some of those festivals must have included substantial numbers of *perioikoi*, and a fragment of Sosibios (*FGrHist* 595 F 4) seems to indicate that *perioikoi* came to Sparta for the Promachia festival.[40]

Moreover, we know that helots participated in the Hyakinthia at Sparta (Polycrates, *FGrHist* 588 F 1; Eupolis, F 147 (*PCG* V.376); Athen. 138f–9f), and it is quite possible that they were present at other festivals as well. The display of Spartiate military prowess that came with *kalpe* contests may have been a source of pride for some *perioiokoi*, many of whom served in and may have understood themselves as members of the Lakedaimonian military. For other spectators, both *perioikoi* and helots, the *kalpe* was likely implicitly coercive in that the display of Spartiate military prowess suggested that Spartiates were ready, willing, and able to overcome any overt resistance to their dominance.

The existence of a military element, in the form of *kalpe* contests, in the Lakedaimonian festival circuit is not surprising given what we know about the location and foundation date of one of those festivals and the finds from the relevant sanctuary site. N. Lanérès and G. Grigorakakis have recently published a newly-discovered *halter*, dated on letter forms to the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century, found at the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas (see Appendix II #40). Damonon won victories in the boys' *stadion* and *diaulos* at contests held at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, and *halter* in question makes it clear that those contests had been in existence long before Damonon's time. Lanérès and

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[39] On the *perioikoi*, see Ducat (2018).

[40] Parker (1989) 145.

Grigorakakis make the case that as the Lakedaimonian state expanded into the area of Parnon and the coast beyond Parnon, the Lakedaimonian government founded athletic contests in newly conquered territory to mark its newly-established control in a fashion that brought Spartiates to the site in question in an iterated fashion.

The finds from that sanctuary point in the same direction. Nicolette Pavlides has shown that the dedications at the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary were, by the standards of both Greece in general and Lakedaimon in particular, unusually rich in weapons dedications in the form of spearheads and arrowheads, both functional and miniature.[41] She thus sees the festival that took place at that sanctuary as a joint perioikic-Spartiate celebration of Apollo as a patron deity of military activity. Although Damonon does not record winning the *kalpe* at that festival, it is entirely possible that the *kalpe* contests took place there, and in any case the general tenor of the festival and sanctuary make it clear that the addition of overtly military contests in the form of the *kalpe* to the Lakedaimonian festival program would not have struck a discordant note.

The addition of the *kalpe* to the program of events at Lakedaimonian festivals came at a moment when the projection of Spartiate military prowess throughout Lakedaimon may have been particularly important. As we have seen, the Lakedaimonian cavalry force seems to have been created in 424, in response to Athenian military successes at Sphacteria and Kythera and the concomitant need to defend Lakedaimonian territory against regular incursions. The *kalpe* was added to the program of events at Lakedaimonian festivals shortly thereafter (as is evident from the number of Damonon's *kalpe* victories and the date of the erection of the Damonon *stele*) and hence at a time when Spartiates may well have been concerned that iterated Athenian attacks on Lakedaimonian territory were making them look weak to *perioikoi* and helots. The consequences of an appearance of weakness were potentially catastrophic to the Spartiates in maintaining their dominance, and so there were significant advantages for Spartiates to make use of the festival circuit to circulate through Lakedaimon to put on display a new military force that was specifically intended to counteract Athenian attacks on Lakedaimonian territory.

The timing of the introduction of the *kalpe* and the rapidity with which it was introduced to the Lakedaimonian festival circuit (see below) both suggest that at least some Spartiates were giving conscious thought to the image that they were projecting to the other residents of Lakedaimon. That in turn points to a perhaps surprising degree of forethought and active participation by Spartiates in constructing an image of themselves that served their own ends.

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[41] Pavlides (2018) 2–5.

7.4 The Damonon *Stele* and the Construction of Lakedaimonian Society

In recent decades a great deal of scholarly energy has gone into painstaking historiographical analysis that has made it possible to begin to deconstruct *le mirage Spartiate*.[42] Despite those efforts, parting the many veils that dim our vision of ancient Lakedaimon has proven to be persistently difficult. In no small measure that is because of the chronological distribution of the sources at our disposal. There are, at various points along the post-Bronze Age trajectory of Lakonia, substantial reservoirs of evidence of various kinds. In the early Archaic period, the archaeological evidence from sanctuaries in Sparta is abundant. For the period between 450 and 350 there are a considerable number of directly relevant literary sources, including Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. The last of these authors is particularly important, because he had the opportunity to develop an intimate, first-hand knowledge of Lakedaimon, and because Lakedaimon figured prominently in his extensive corpus of writings, all of which are preserved. The collection of epigraphic texts from the Roman period is impressive and informative.[43]

Unfortunately, there is no point in Lakedaimon's history for which these various categories of evidence can easily be brought into a beneficial dialogue with each other. The obvious comparandum is Athens, where the abundant literary, epigraphic, and archaeological material from the Classical period is mutually informative and makes it possible to paint a detailed portrait of a community developing and changing over time. For instance, forensic speeches, inscriptions bearing on legal matters, and physical remains such as bronze juror tickets, taken together, are highly informative about the Athenian court system. Thus, the problem is not so much that there is no evidence for ancient Lakedaimon (though much more would obviously be much better), but that we lack a deep, varied collection of evidence for any given period.

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[42] These efforts build on a long but intermittent tradition of scholarship that stretches back at least as far as Fustel de Coulanges (Fustel de Coulanges (1880)). Some of the more important scholarship on the Spartan mirage includes Tigerstedt (1965–78); Rawson (1969); Hodkinson (2000) 9–64; Cartledge (2001) 169–84; Flower (2002). Much of the recent historiographic analysis of the sources for ancient Lakedaimon has been carried out under the auspices of the International Sparta Seminar coordinated by Stephen Hodkinson and Anton Powell. The series of volumes resulting from the meetings of the International Sparta Seminar are essential reading for anyone with a serious interest in Lakedaimon. See, for example, Powell and Hodkinson (1994).

[43] See, for instance, Woodward (1923–5) 159, who notes that the east parodos wall of the Roman-era theatre on the west side of the acropolis of Sparta featured a series of monumental inscriptions of such length and density that the obvious comparandum is the great terrace wall at Delphi. These inscriptions supply magistrate lists and the *cursus honorum* of individual Spartan officials from the second century CE.

In those circumstances, there is a good deal of value in any opportunity to bring together different bodies of evidence in a fashion that permits us to get behind and beyond *le mirage Spartiate*. The Damonon *stele* has unique potential in this respect because it preserves a long, almost entirely intact epigraphic text—a distinct rarity in any era of Lakedaimonian history other than the Roman period. Moreover, that text can be firmly dated to the Classical period, and, with a high degree of probability, to the first years of the fourth century. That is precisely the time for which we have at our disposal the aforementioned literary texts. The preceding argument has brought the Damonon *stele* more closely than ever before into dialog with the contemporary literary and archaeological evidence, and we are, as a result, afforded the unusual opportunity to glimpse the dynamics of Lakedaimonian society.

The introduction of the *kalpe* constituted a response to emergent military needs. Cavalry forces assumed an increasingly important role in military affairs in the Greek mainland in the second half of the fifth century, and Lakedaimon developed its first cavalry force in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. That force could not exist or function without a steady supply of well-trained cavalry horses. The provision of cavalry horses to the Lakedaimonian state was an obligation that was imposed on wealthy families. Those families had long had a habit of raising racehorses —which were of no use on the battlefield—because participation in hippic competitions (most especially competition that led to victories) was a permissible form of conspicuous consumption that elevated the standing of those who could afford it. Insofar as all but the very wealthiest families lacked the resources to raise both outstanding racehorses and first-rate cavalry mounts, there was an inherent tendency to invest resources in racehorses and skimp in every possible way on cavalry mounts—hardly a prescription for building an effective cavalry force (see above, Ch. 5 §§5.3–5).

As we have seen (above, Ch. 6 §6.1), the addition of the *kalpe* to the program of competitions at a minimum of six different religious festivals in Lakedaimon addressed that problem. Wealthy families raising cavalry horses could elevate their social status by winning victories in the *kalpe* with cavalry horses. That in turn provided an incentive to wealthy Lakedaimonian families to invest resources in raising and training first-rate mounts for the Lakedaimonian cavalry. The introduction of the *kalpe* made it possible for cavalry horses not only to serve the needs of the Lakedaimonian cavalry, but also to feed their owners' hunger for prestige.

All of this opens an illuminating window into Lakedaimon during the late fifth century. To begin with, we see Lakedaimon evolving quite rapidly. The Lakedaimonian cavalry was created in 424; by c. 410 at the latest, Damonon was winning *kalpe* victories in festivals all over Lakedaimon. It is highly improbable that Lakedaimonians were competing in the *kalpe*—a race for cavalry horses –before there was a Lakedaimonian

cavalry. Hence the program of events at Lakedaimonian religious festivals was changed almost immediately after Lakedaimon raised a cavalry force. This is not what one might expect from a society that has been characterised—starting in antiquity and regularly since then—as being slow to act[44] and deeply conservative, particularly with respect to all things religious.[45]

Furthermore, the addition of the *kalpe* to the program of events at religious festivals reveals a Lakedaimon capable of planned, intelligent interventions in its own sociopolitical structure. We see Lakedaimonians who recognise their evolving needs and who craft an elegant response by altering the parameters of status competition. That response had the distinct advantage of incentivising the production of first-rate cavalry mounts without requiring the Lakedaimonian state to invest financial resources or administrative attention to the issue on a continuing basis. (One might also note that the rapid addition of the *kalpe* to the program of at least six different festivals in both Lakonia and Messenia within a short period of time suggests that there was some sort of centralised control exercised in such matters, presumably by authorities in Sparta.)

The nature of that response suggests that there was, among at least some Lakedaimonians, a considerable degree of sophistication in their thinking about their own sociopolitical system. As we have seen (above, Ch. 5 §5.5), there was a long-established tradition in Lakedaimon of shaping status competition in a fashion that was consonant with the community's needs. The introduction of the *kalpe* into the program of events at Lakedaimonian festivals indicates that there was a conscious awareness of how the pre-existing structure of status competition did and did not serve the state's needs and the ability and willingness to make appropriate changes as necessary. It would be no surprise at all to see this kind of sociopolitical thinking in Athens, but evidence for similar behaviour in Lakedaimon has been elusive.

The degree to which the addition of the *kalpe* to festival programs in Lakedaimon achieved the desired end is difficult to assess. Xenophon certainly had nothing good to say about the battlefield performance of the Lakedaimonian cavalry in either the Corinthian War (395–387) or the Boeotian War (378–362). He ascribes the near annihilation of a

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[44] Thucydides has the Corinthian envoys, at a Peloponnesian League meeting held in 432, tell the Lakedaimonians that 'you have a genius for keeping what you have got, accompanied by a total want of invention …' (1.70.2, trans. R. Crawley). One of the main points of the Corinthians' speech is to contrast Athenian quickness with Lakedaimonian sluggishness (1.68–71).

[45] The idea that Sparta was particularly conservative with respect to religion has a long history in the scholarship and has continued to the present. See, for example, Jeanmaire (1913); Parker (1989) 165 n. 18.; Malkin (1994) 12. In some more recent work there is a recognition of the extent to which Lakedaimonian religion evolved over the course of time: see, for instance, Richer (2012) 569–70.

Lakedaimonian hoplite regiment near Lechaeum in 390 in part to the initial absence of a cavalry force that could have protected the hoplites from peltasts and to the incompetence of the horsemen when they finally did arrive (*Hell.* 4.5.11–17). The inability of the Lakedaimonians to field an effective cavalry force subsequently contributed to the disastrous defeat at Leuktra (*Hell.* 6.4.1–17) and contributed to another near defeat at Mantinea less than a decade later (*Hell.* 7.5.1–25).[46] However, Xenophon places the blame not on the quality of the Lakedaimonians' horses, but on the men mounted on those horses; he describes Lakedaimonian cavalrymen as 'those among the soldiers who were least strong and least ambitious' (*Hell.* 6.4.11). It is possible, therefore, that wealthy Lakedaimonian families, motivated in part by the incentives offered by the *kalpe*, turned out first-rate cavalry mounts, but that Lakedaimonian cavalry forces were consistently sub-standard because of continuing difficulties in recruiting talented individuals to serve in that part of the Lakedaimonian army.

The introduction of the *kalpe* also sheds light on the interplay of politics and gender in Lakedaimon. Xenophon tells us that Agesilaos prompted Kyniska to enter the Olympics in order to erode the prestige attached to winning victories with racehorses, and he implies that Agesilaos did so in order to encourage wealthy Lakedaimonians to raise cavalry horses instead (see above, Ch. 5 §5.4). Much scepticism has been expressed in recent scholarship about the motives Xenophon attributes to Agesilaos, but the new interpretation of the Damonon *stele* presented here suggests that Xenophon's views on the matter ought not be dismissed lightly. If Lakedaimonians were willing to alter the formal structure of status competition by introducing the *kalpe* into the program of events at multiple religious festivals, it is entirely credible that Agesilaos was ready and willing to pursue the same end in a less formal fashion. The manipulation of established gender expectations to achieve that end again presumes a level of conscious thought about social customs and their effects that is more typically associated with Athens than Lakedaimon.

The Lakedaimonians' consciousness of the workings of their sociopolitical system and their willingness and ability to adapt that system to meet emergent needs may offer a hint as to the reasons for that system's famed stability. Lakedaimon had, as ancient authors were fond of pointing out, a sociopolitical system that for long periods of time did not undergo the sort of revolutionary changes that took place in many Greek *poleis*; Thucydides, for example, stated that the Lakedaimonians had the same sociopolitical system for 400 years (1.18.1).

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[46] On the hostilities between Boeotia and Lakedaimon in the period between 371 and 362, see Buckler (1980) *passim*. On the Battle of Leuktra, see Hanson (1988); Hamilton (1991) 204–11; Worley (1994) 141–5; Buckler (2003) 289–93. On the (second) Battle of Mantinea, see Worley (1994) 146–52 and Buckler (2003) 347–9.

This stability has frequently been ascribed to Lakedaimonian conservatism and aversion to change, but it could be argued that precisely the opposite conclusion ought to be reached. The world around the Lakedaimonians changed constantly over the course of the Archaic and Classical periods, and it is inherently improbable that Lakedaimon survived and flourished for centuries with a static sociopolitical system. The reading of the Damonon *stele* proposed here shows that Lakedaimonians were ready, willing, and able to make rapid, intelligent changes to their sociopolitical system. The change in question in this case—the introduction of the *kalpe* to the Lakedaimonian festival program—was definitively incremental and very much in accord with the basic mechanisms around which the Lakedaimonian sociopolitical system was built. The ability to make quick, regular small changes that were in harmony with the overall structure of the sociopolitical system may well have played a major role in the stability of that system. In other words, minor course corrections rendered superfluous sudden and major changes in direction. Due to the source problems outlined above, it is nearly impossible for us to discern the Lakedaimonians making such changes, and that, in turn, heightens the importance of the insights that can be gleaned from the Damonon *stele*.

No claim can be made that any of this changes our thinking about ancient Lakedaimon in a fundamental fashion, but it does add nuance to an evolving understanding of one of the most influential communities in the Greek world.

There is, therefore, much to be gained from reconsidering the current reading of the Damonon *stele*. Moreover, the relative paucity of opportunities to productively combine different types of evidence in the context of the study of ancient Lakedaimon means that the net gain from this sort of study is much larger than it would be in the case of Athens.

It is worth noting, as a concluding sentiment, that the argument presented above, despite its length and complexity, represents a beginning rather than an end. The reading of the Damonon *stele* proposed here diverges significantly from previous interpretations and will undoubtedly benefit from considered critique. The reading proposed here may also serve as the basis for new approaches and insights that have escaped my attention and imagination. The certainty that the Damonon *stele* will, well over a century after its discovery, be the subject of ongoing scholarly discussion and debate reflects the enduring importance of this monument for our understanding of ancient Lakedaimon.

APPENDIX I

CONTINUOUS TEXT AND COMPLETE
ENGLISH TRANSLATION

1	Δαμόνōν ἀνέθēκε Ἀθαναία‹ι› Πολιάχōι[1] νικάhας[2] ταυτᾶ, hᾶτ᾽[3] οὐδὲ̄ς[4] 5 πέποκα[5] τὸν νῦν.	Damonon dedicated [this] to Athena Poliachos, having won victories in such a manner as never any one of those now living.
6	τάδε ἐνίκαhε Δαμόνō[ν] τōι αὐτō[6] τεθρίππō‹ι› αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν·[7] ἐν Γαιαϝόχō[8] τετράκιν,	The following victories Damonon won with his own four-horse chariot, himself holding the reins. In [the games] of the Earth-Holder four times,
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10	καὶ Ἀθάναια τετρ[άκιν],	and the Athanaia Games four times,
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	κὲ̄λευhύνια[9] τετρά[κιν].	and the Eleusinia Games four times.

12	καὶ Ποhοίδαια[10] Δαμόνō[ν]	And the Poseidonia Games

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[1] Πολιᾶχος is a Lakonian dialectal variant of Πολιοῦχος (C. D. Buck (1955) 133).

[2] *h* used in place of an intervocalic sigma is a common Lakonian dialectal variant (Bourguet (1927) 46–8; C. D. Buck (1955) 55; Alonso Déniz (2009)).

[3] ταυτᾶ hᾶτ᾽ is a Lakonian dialectal variant of the adverbial dative of manner ταύτῃ ἧτε (Bourguet (1927) 48–9; C. D. Buck (1955) 103).

[4] = οὐδείς (C. D. Buck (1955) 94).

[5] πέποκα is a Lakonian dialectal variant of the adverb πώποτέ (Bourguet (1927) 48).

[6] αὐτō is a Lakonian dialectal variant of the reflexive genitive ἑαυτοῦ (C. D. Buck (1955) 99).

[7] ἀνιοχίōν comes from ἀνιοχίω, a Lakonian dialectal variant of ἡνιοχέω (Bourguet (1927) 49; C. D. Buck (1955) 22).

[8] Γαιαϝόχō appears in the elliptical genitive (C. D. Buck (1955) 269), whereas the names of the following two festivals are given in the accusative. This presumably reflects contemporary Lakedaimonian usages.

[9] = καὶ Ἐλευσίνια (Bourguet (1927) 50; C. D. Buck (1955) 26, 269).

[10] = Ποσειδώνια (Bourguet (1927) 50–1; C. D. Buck (1955) 45, 55, 58, 269).

	ἐνίκε̄[11] hέλει καὶ ho κέλε̄[ξ][12] hαμᾶ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίο̄ν ἐνhε̄βόhαις[13] hίπποις hεπτάκιν ἐκ τᾶν αὐτο̄ hίππον κε̄̀κ το̄ αὐ[τ]ο̄ hίππ[ο̄].	Damonon won at Helos—and his racehorse [won] on the same occasions—himself holding the reins, in the *kalpe*, seven times, the horses [having been bred] from his own mares and his own stallion.

18	καὶ Ποhοίδαια Δαμόνο̄ν [ἐ]νίκε̄ Θευρίαι[14] ὀκτάκιν αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίο̄ν ἐν- hε̄βόhαις hίπποις ἐκ τᾶν αὐτο̄ hίππο̄ν	And the Poseidonia Games Damonon won at Thouria eight times, himself holding the reins, in the *kalpe*, the horses [having been bred] from his own mares
	---------------------------	
23	κε̄̀κ το̄ αὐτο̄ hίππο̄.	and his own stallion.

24	κε̄̀ν Ἀριοντίας ἐνίκε̄ Δαμόνο̄ν ὀκτάκιν αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίο̄ν ἐνhε̄βόhαις hίπποις ἐκ τᾶν αὐτο̄ hίππο̄ν κε̄̀κ το̄ αὐτο̄ hίππο̄ καὶ ho κέλε̄ξ ἐνίκε̄ hα[μᾶ].	And in the [the games] of Ariontia Damonon won eight times, himself holding the reins, in the *kalpe*, the horses [having been bred] from his own mares and his own stallion, and his racehorse won on the same occasion.

31	καὶ Ἐλευhύνια Δαμ[ό]νο̄[ν] ἐνίκε̄ αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίο̄ν	And the Eleusinian Games Damonon won, himself holding the reins,
	---------------------------	
33	ἐνhε̄βόhαις hίπποις τετράκιν.	in the *kalpe*, four times.

35	τάδε ἐνίκαhε Ἐνυμακ[ρατίδ]- [ας]· πρᾶτ[ος π]αί<δ>ο̄ν δολ[ιχὸν] [Λιθ]έhια καὶ κέλε̄ξ μιᾶ[ς] [ἀμέ]ρας hαμ[ᾶ] ἐν[ίκ]ο̄ν. [καὶ hε̄]β[ο̄]ν [Ἐνυμακρατί]-[15] [δας ἐν] Ἀριοντ[ί]α[ς ἐνίκε̄]	The following victories Enyma-kratidas won, first the boys' *dolichos* at the Lithesia Games, and his racehorse, they won on the same occasion, in a single day. And in the age class of youths Enymakratidas in [the games] of Ariontia won

[11] The tense of νικάω shifts here from the aorist to the imperfect (ἐνίκε̄ = ἐνίκα in Attic Greek). Wackernagel (Langslow (2009) 234) in 1918–9 argued that this shift provides two different perspectives on the victories, with the aorist laying out the bare fact of winning and the imperfect giving a sense of winning as a process.

[12] κέλε̄ξ is a Lakonian dialectal variant of κέλης (Bourguet (1927) 51; C. D. Buck (1955) 116).

[13] from ἐνηβάω, = ἐνηβώσαις (Bourguet (1927) 51–2; C. D. Buck (1955) 270).

[14] = Θουρίαι (Bourguet (1927) 52; C. D. Buck (1955) 270).

[15] For the restoration of this line, see Schwartz (1976); see also the discussion in Nafissi (2013) 120–2.

	there is a gap here between the upper and lower sections of the inscription, of uncertain but probably small size	
42	δολιχὸν [καὶ ho κέλēξ μιᾶς] ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκον.	the *dolichos* and his racehorse, they won on the same occasion, in a single day.
	---	
44 — 49	καὶ Παρπαρόνια ἐνίκē Ἐνυμακρατίδας παῖδας στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ δολιχὸν καὶ ho κέ[λēξ] μιᾶς ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκē. : καὶ Δαμόνōν	And at the Parparonia Games Enymakratidas won the boys' *stadion* and *diaulos* and *dolichos*, and his racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day. : And Damonon
50	ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν ἐν Γαιαϝόχō στάδιον καὶ [δί]αυλον.	won, entering [the games] of the Earth-Holder as a boy, the *stadion* and the *diaulos*.

53	[κ]αὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Λιθέhια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.	And Damonon won, entering the Lithesia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*.

56	καὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Μαλεάτεια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.	And Damonon won, entering the Maleateia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*.

59	καὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Λιθέhια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον.	And Damonon won, entering the Lithesia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*.

62	καὶ Δαμόνōν ἐνίκē παῖς ἰὸν Παρπαρόνια στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον· καὶ Ἀθάναια στάδιον.	And Damonon won, entering the Parparonia Games as a boy, the *stadion* and *diaulos*. And at the Athanaia Games [he won] the *stadion*.

66	hυπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένē[16] ἔφορο[ν] τάδε ἐνίκē Δαμόνōν· Ἀθάναια ἐνhēβόhαις hίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν καὶ ὁ κέλēξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκē, καὶ ho hυιὸς στάδιον hαμᾶ ἐνίκē : hυπὸ δὲ	In the ephorate of Echemenes Damonon won the following victories: the Athanaia, in the *kalpe*, himself holding the reins, and his racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day, and his son won the *stadion* on the same occasion: In the

[16] The construction here uses ὑπό + accusative instead of the more regular ἐπί + dative (Bourguet (1927) 53; C. D. Buck (1955) 110).

74	Εὔιππον ἔφορον τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμόνōν· Ἀθάναια ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν καὶ ho κέλēξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας hαμᾶ ἐνίκē, καὶ ho hυιὸς στάδιον hαμᾶ ἐνίκē.	ephorate of Euippos, Damonon won the following victories: the Athanaia, in the *kalpe*, himself holding the reins, and his racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day, and his son won the *stadion* on the same occasion.

81	hυπὸ δὲ Ἀριστê ἔφορον τάδε ἐνίκē Δαμόνōν· ἐν Γαιαϝόχō ἐνhēβṓhαις [h]ίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν [κ]αὶ ho κέλēξ μιᾶς ἀμέρας [h]αμᾶ ἐνίκē καὶ ho hυιὸς στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ δολιχὸν μιᾶς ἀμέρας ἐνίκōν πάντες hαμᾶ.	In the ephorate of Aristeus Damonon won the following victories: in the [games] of the Earth-Holder, in the *kalpe*, himself holding the reins, and his racehorse won on the same occasion, in a single day, and his son won the *stadion* and *diaulos* and *dolichos*, on the same occasion, all in single day.

90	hυπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένē ἔφορον τάδε ἐνίκē Δαμόνōν· ἐν Γαιαϝόχō ἐνhēβṓhαις hίπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίōν [κ]α̣ὶ ho hυιὸς στάδιον κα̣[ὶ]	In the ephorate of Echemenes, Damonon won the following victories: in the [games] of the Earth-Holder, in the *kalpe*, himself holding the reins, and his son won the *stadion* and …
the stone breaks off here		

APPENDIX II

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE COMMEMORATION OF HIPPIC AND GYMNIC VICTORIES IN SPARTA AND LAKEDAIMON

Notes:

(1) In assembling the archaeological data tabulated here I have drawn heavily on Hodkinson (1999) 152–76 and Hodkinson (2000) 317–23. I also made use of the inscriptions in *IG* V.1 and reports from excavations conducted in Lakonia.

(2) Both bronze and lead figurines are excluded from the tabulations presented here. There are a substantial number of extant bronze figurines thought to have been produced in Lakedaimon and that probably or possibly depict athletes of some kind. (See, for instance, Scanlon (2002) 136–8.) Many of these figurines were, however, found outside of Lakedaimon, and, with respect to the relatively small number that were uncovered in excavations at Lakedaimonian sanctuaries, it is frequently unclear what precisely they represent. (See, for example, Dickins (1906/7) 146–7 #1, on a bronze figurine from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos that might be either a trumpeter or an athlete throwing the javelin (Renate Thomas (1981) 47).) Moreover, even figurines that were excavated in a Lakedaimonian sanctuary and that likely show athletes (see, for instance, the figurine of a discus thrower from Amyklai; Herfort-Koch (1986) 113–14 #K122) cannot be securely identified as dedications made by and for victorious athletes because none of the figurines in question bears an inscription that connects it to athletic contests. The Amyklai figurine might, like an inscribed discus and a *stele* with a relief of a discus thrower from the same site (#25 and #5, respectively, in Appendix II), be an athletic dedication, but it might also simply reflect the myth connected to sanctuary (according to which Apollo accidentally killed Hyakinthos when throwing a discus (Eur. *Helen* 1469–75; [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 1.3.3, 3.10.3; Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* 14.2, 15.2, 16.2)). The same concerns apply to the many known bronze figurines of horses that have been found in Lakedaimonian sanctuaries or that have been found elsewhere and attributed to Lakedaimonian craftsmen. (On Lakedaimonian bronze figurines, see Herfort-Koch (1986).)

Vast numbers of lead figurines have been excavated in Lakedaimonian sanctuaries, particularly the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos and the Menelaion, and representations of (what are likely) athletes and (certainly) horses are found among those figurines. Here again, however, it is impossible to identify any given figurine as a dedication by a victorious athlete. On Lakedaimonian lead figurines, see Wace (1929); Cavanagh and Laxton (1984); Boss (2000).

(3) As discussed in Ch. 5 n. 168, it is probable, though not certain, that all athletic dedications in the territory of the city of Sparta were made by Spartiates. As a result, it is necessary to provide a description of the physical limits of what is here called 'Sparta' (see Section 2.1). Cartledge has argued the territory of the city of Sparta (as opposed to the state of Lakedaimon as a whole) was defined by a ring of sanctuaries that surrounded Sparta on all sides. The territory thus defined was distinct (on a *de facto* though probably not *de iure* basis) from the rest of the Lakedaimonian state. He highlights the Menelaion (to the south-east of Sparta), the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai (south), the Eleusinion at Kalyvia tis Sochas (south-west), and the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus at Tsakona (north-east) (Cartledge (1999) 43–4). Catling unfolds a similar argument and adds, to the list of sanctuaries given by Cartledge, the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus at Thornax (north of Sparta (possibly at Geladari, see Shipley (1996–2002) II.352–7), the sanctuary of Dionysos at Bryseai (to the north of Kalyvia tis Sochas at an as yet undetermined site), and the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus at Anthochori (12 km south of Sparta R. W. V. Catling (1996–2002) I.230–2). These arguments are persuasive and the space thus defined serves as a basis for dividing the relevant dedications into two distinct groups on geographical lines.

(4) In line with the suggestion by Johnston in the revised edition of Jeffery's work (Jeffery (1990) 448), the dates given by Jeffery for the Aiglatas *stele* and the Kleochares *halter* have been revised downward. Other dates have, where relevant, been revised to reflect recent scholarship. It is important to bear in mind that the dates for most inscriptions and objects are approximate.

Appendix IIa: *Stelai* from Sparta with Inscriptions Listing Athletic Victories

Definite Examples					
Item #/Description	**Place of Origin**	**Date**	**Text**	**Notes**	**References**
#1 *Stele* of Glaukatias	Sparta (exact provenience not known)	510–500	[Γ]λαυκατ[ιας ?νι] | [κας το] μ̣ναμα | καλας [ανεθε̄κ|ε?] [Πραξ]ο̣ίδα hυι|υς) παι[δι Διος μ|εγαλο]	• 22 cm x 19 cm x 12.5 cm • intact on right, fractured on left • white marble • inscription is false boustrophedon, text in hexameters • lettering placed between guidelines that curve around end of each and so resemble racetrack (cf. #3) • Kolbe in *IG* interpreted it as a funeral *stele* dedicated to Glaukatias and set up by Kalas, son of Anthia • Jeffery identifies it as victor inscription set up by Glaukatias, partly on basis of analogy with #3 • if one accepts Jeffery's reading, the event in which Glaukatias won is unclear, but the presence of racetrack-shaped guidelines, which are also found on the Aiglatas *stele* (#3), strongly suggest that it was a gymnic event (probably a footrace of some kind) • text is that given by Jeffery	• *IG* V.1.720 • *CEG* I 376 • *SEG* 11.863 • Athens Epigraphic Museum #11524 • Roberts (1887) 250 #248 • Boring (1979) 103 #46 • Aupert (1980) • Jeffery (1990) 200 #31 • Illustration in Roehl (1907) 98.5 and Jeffery (1990) plate 37 #31

#2 *stele*	Sparta, area of theatre	510–500	[- - - νι]κασας) τ[α] | πεντε [- - - | - - -]υō) τον | δολιχ[ον - - -]:	• grey marble • cutting on top for dowel for (now lost) capital • inscription runs vertically between guidelines, mixture of true and false boustrophedon • text is that given by Jeffery	• *SEG* 11.827 • Sparta Museum #2829 • Woodward (1925/6) 249–50 #37 • Boring (1979) 103 #49 • Jeffery (1990) 200 #28 • Illustration in Woodward (1925/6) 249
#3 *stele* of Aiglatas	Sparta, near the Leonideion	c. 500	Αἰγλάτας τōι Καρνείο[ι] | [τ]όδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκε, πε|νπάκι νικάσας τὸν | μακρόν, καὶ ποτέθε|[κε τ]ὸν δόλιχον τρι|άκις, Ἀθαναίοις δ[ιαθε|ύσας h]ᾶιπερ συρμαία [inscription becomes illegible and stone breaks off] 'Aiglatas set up this *agalma* to Karneios, having won the *makros* five times, and added [something to the *stele*], having run the *dolichos* three times at the Athanaia, where the *syrmaia* […]'	• 47 cm x 31 cm x 11 cm • complete all on sides except below, but surface is damaged in several places and several letters unrecoverable • greyish marble • shallow relief of volute above inscription • upper surface has two shallow holes as well as other cuttings, likely to support an additional element of some kind that was added to the *stele* after it was erected • inscription is boustrophedon and lettering is placed between guidelines that curve around end of each line and so resemble racetrack (cf. #1); last letter of each line inclined at nearly right angles to carry eye more easily to next line • inscription starts with two	• *IG* V.1.222 • *CEG* I 374 • *SEG* 14.329 • Sparta Museum #973 • Woodward (1908/9) 81–7 #87 • Moretti (1953) #9 • Boring (1979) 102 #33 • Aupert (1980) • Jeffery (1990) 199 #22 • Nenci (2018) • Illustration in Day (2010) 56 and Nenci (2018)

				hexameters • Greek text and English translation by N. Nenci	
#4 *stele*	Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia	c. 500	A.1 [- - -]κέται δα- | [- - ᾿Oρ]θίας ἐνίκ-|[η - - -] | B.1 [- - -]ντα	• fragmentary • 26 cm x 18 cm x 5 cm • bluish marble • Boring, based upon a re-examination of the lettering, argues that Kolbe's date of the early fourth century was wrong and re-dates it to the early years of the fifth century and suggests that it is a victory inscription • its association with Artemis Orthia makes it probable that the victory in question was gymnic, not hippic • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.253 • Tillyard (1905/6a) 440 #2 • Boring (1979) 110 #114 • Illustration in Tillyard (1905/6a) 440
#5 *stele* with life-size frontal relief of nude discus thrower (Ainetos?)	Amyklai, sanctuary of Apollo	c. 475	[- - - νικαh]ας δεκα) κα‹ὶ› hενατον | [- - -]	• fragmentary • 34 cm x 41.5 cm x 12 cm • marble • text is that given by Jeffery • has been interpreted as the monument of the Lakedaimonian pentathlete and Olympic victor Ainetos; Pausanias mentions a *stele* for Ainetos in the course of describing his visit to Amyklai • in order to avoid the possibility of counting the same monument	• *SEG* 11.696 • Pausanias 3.18.7 • von Massow (1926) 61 #1 • Moretti (1957) #945 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #51 • Zavvou and Themos (2011–2) 150 • Illustration in von Massow (1926) 61 figure 1

				twice, the *stele* mentioned by Pausanias is not listed separately from the *stele* at Amyklai, though it is quite possible that they are not one and the same monument • text is that given by Jeffery	
#6 *stele* of Chionis	Sparta, near tombs of Agiad kings in northern part of city	c. 470		• won multiple victories in footraces at Olympia in the seventh century • in the fifth century *stelai* commemorating his victories were erected at Olympia and near the tombs of the Agiad kings in Sparta	• Pausanias 3.143, 6.13.2 • Moretti (1957) #42–7 • Christesen (2010)
#7 *stele* of Damonon	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	c. 400	see above		• *IG* V.1.213 • *CEG* 1 378 • Sparta Museum #440 • Boring (1979) 108 #96 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #52
#8 *stele* of Arexippos	Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia	4th cent.	*Ϝωρθείαι τάδ' Ἀρ[ή]ξιππος | νικῶν ἀνέσηκε | ἐν συνόδοις πα[ί]δων | πᾶhιν hορῆν φανερά* 'Victorious Arexippos dedicated these to Orthia, manifest for all to see in the gatherings of boys' (trans. N. Kennell)	• only upper portion is preserved • 38 cm x 46 cm x 6 cm • grey marble • *stele* has pediment, in which inscription is placed, below which are cutting for five sickles (given as prizes in the contests held at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia) • the precise nature of the contests held at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, particularly in the Classical period, are unclear, but they were	• *IG* V.1.255 • Sparta Museum #1541 • Tillyard (1905/6b) 380 #48 • Woodward (1907/8) 101–2 #48 • Woodward (1929) 296–7 #1 • Moretti (1953) #18 • Kennell (1995) 126–7 • Ducat (2006) 210–13 • Illustration in

				virtually certainly all gymnic rather than hippic • text from *IG*	Woodward (1929) 296 and Kennell (1995) 127
#9 *stele* of Euryades	Sparta	3rd cent.	original inscription: col. I.1 Εὐρυάδης | ὀλυμπιονίκας | ἐμ πολέμωι col. II.1 Τάσκος | ἐμ πο[λ]έμωι additional inscription: ⟦Ξένε πα[ροδεῖτα? - - ca. 7 - -]ON.⟧ ⟦ΞΕΝ- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ΕΣ⟧ ⟦. Ο - - ca. 7 - - ΑΜΕ- - ca. 4- - ΟΣ⟧	• broken in two • 90 cm x 73 cm x 30 cm • bluish marble • dated on basis of letter forms • precise provenience is unknown; the inscription was first published in 1892 by Adolf Wilhelm, who found it at the museum in Sparta • Euryades is otherwise unknown and so the event in which he won an Olympic victory is uncertain • Zavvou shows that another inscription was added to this base in the second or first century BCE and subsequently cut away, leaving the original inscription intact • text from *IG* and Zavvou	• *IG* V.1.708 • Sparta Museum 509 • Wilhelm (1892) 121 • Tod and Wace (1906) 68 #509 • Moretti (1957) 565 • Zavvou (2004–9) 300 #5

	Possible Examples				
#10 *stele*	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	530–500	a. [Π]αλὰς Ἀθαναία, θύ[γατερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο] | [-ᵕᵕ-ᵕᵕ-ᵕ c. 16–17 letters ?κα]ὶ εἶε πολὰ Μένον[.] | [. . . . . 4 or 5 letters] ντα - - - - - - -] ειε πολὰ μὲν ον . | . . . . . ντα ϝιδεν. [- - -]. b. [- - -]οπλ[.] | ιοακο[- - -] | [- - -]εκοντι)κ | αισυνχα[- - -] | [- - -]κρανο[.] | αλανε[- - -] | [- - -]αν)κ | εσχο[- - -] | [- - -]χο | ρο[- - -] c. [- - -] | [..]εβ[- - -] | [- - -]οιhι[..|.]αβασα | [- - -]νον[..] | καταρ[- - -] | [- - -]τοτουτ | οκαπ. [- - -] | [- - -]ρθος | [.]ιhε[- - -] | ακ[..] | [- - -]	• broken at top and bottom, sides intact • 23.5 cm x 10.2 cm x 9.7/10.6 cm • grey marble • inscribed on three sides (all inscribed at single time) • boustrophedon between incised parallel lines, which run vertically on side a but horizontally on sides b and c • inscription is metrical (metre unclear) • Woodward interpreted it as a hymn to Athena • Jeffery argues that it is victory dedication with dedicatory couplet on one side and list of victories on other two; this interpretation endorsed by Peek • Jeffery suggests it was cut by stonemason that worked on Aiglatas *stele* (#3) • text from *CEG*	• *SEG* 11.652 • *CEG* I 375 • Woodward (1927/8) 45–8 #69 • Peek (1976) 80–1 #6 • Boring (1979) 102 #34 • Jeffery (1990) 199 #23 • Illustration in Woodward (1927/8) 46
#11 *stele*	Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia	525–500	a. [- - -] αρα [. . . . .] | [- - -] hιαρα ϝεξ [. . .] | [- - -]ν τοι [. . .] b. [- - -] δυο [- - -] | [- - - hε]ππ[α? - - -]	• three fragments from same *stele* (pieces do not join) • 18 cm x 16 cm x 5 cm; 16.5 cm x 13 cm x 5 cm, 26cm x 12 cm x 5 cm • blue-grey stone	• Woodward (1929) 354 #139a–c • Jeffery (1990) 201 #41 and 194 n. 5 • Illustration in Woodward

			c. [- - - - -]	[- - -] α [- - -]	[- - - - -]	• lettering separated by incised lines • Jeffery tentatively identifies this *stele* as victory list, presumably on basis of prevalence of numbers in surviving text • text is that given by Jeffery, with line breaks as given by Woodward	(1929) 354
#12 *stele*	Sparta, acropolis	c. 500	[- - -]	[ˈ]το[- - -]	Κασ[- - -]	Σαμον̣	[ℎιππιαδα̣]	Παρφ[- - -]	Ζουμι[ς]	Δαμοξενιδα̣	Αλκιπος	• found on acropolis in 1926 among loose stones thrown out from previous year's excavations • 29 cm x 8 cm x 7.6 cm • complete only on left • fine-grained limestone • incised lines separate names into pairs, each presumably a father and son • each pair of names inscribed or scratched onto stone by different hand; notable variation in letter shapes and their size and depth • Jeffery interpreted it as list of victors in local games • text is that given by Jeffery	• *SEG* 11.638 • Woodward (1925/6) 253–4 #40 • Boring (1979) 104 #50 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #44 • Illustration in Woodward (1925/6) 253 and Jeffery (1990) plate 37 #44
#13 *stele*	Sparta	c. 500	[- - -] ευς	[- - -]οφας	[- - -]σ[ος]	• 28cm x 28 cm x 10cm • bluish marble • letters are unusually large • irregular block of grey stone • no provenience stated • remains of inscriptions consists of	• *IG* V.1.357 • Sparta Museum #527 • Tod and Wace (1906) 69 #527 • Boring (1979) 104 #58 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #47

				endings of three names • Kolbe read it as a dedication to Zeus • Jeffery interpreted it as list of victors in local games • text is that given by Jeffery	• Illustration in *IG*
#14 *stele*	Amyklai, sanctuary of Apollo	c. 500	[- - -]τον τρις τα̣ [πεντε? - - - | [- - - h]αμα Αθα[ναιοις - - -]) | [- - -]ταν [hοπλιταν ? - - -]	• fragmentary • 13.5 cm x 21 cm x 4.2 cm • white marble • inscription incised between guidelines • Jeffery identifies as list of victories won by an individual athlete • the presence of a number, the word hαμα (cf. ll. 14 of the Damonon *stele* and *IG* V.1.1120 (#18)), and the probable mention of the Athanaia all indicate that Jeffery's reading is correct • text is that given by Jeffery	• *SEG* 11.693 • Buschor and von Massow (1927) 61 • Jeffery (1990) 193 n. 4 • Illustration in Buschor and von Massow (1927) 61
#15 *stele*	unclear but in Sparta museum	500–475	[- - -].κα. | τε δα[- - -] | [- - -] ἄνδρα | hελο̄ν [- - -] | [- - - ο]ρθα̑ι· | Ἐρταῖ[ος δὲ πάτραν], | [ὤλετο δ' ἐν Ταν]άγραι	• 27 cm x 17 cm x 7 cm • white marble • fragmentary (broken above and on right) • inscription is boustrophedon • Jeffery interpreted it as list of victors in local games • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.721 • Sparta Museum #625 • Tod and Wace (1906) 75 #625 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #50 • Illustration in *IG*
#16	Sparta, sanctuary	500–	[- - - κ]αὶ [Δ]ιὶ κε[- - -] | [- - -	• fragmentary	• *IG* V.1.239b

	of Artemis Orthia	450	π]ολ[ι]⟨à⟩ν h[άλα - - -] | [- - -]το [h]υδ[- - -] | [- - -]ον ἀ[ρ]ήμιον [- - -] || [- - - Αιγò?]ς πο[τ]αμο[ῖο παρ' ὄχθαις] | [- - - δ]οῦναι το[- - -] | [πλοίοισι] δι[ακ]οσίο[ισι - - -] | [- - -] τ[οῖ]σι γà[ρ - - -]	• 23 cm x 7 cm x 5 cm • greyish marble • Boring suggests that this inscription has been erroneously joined with *IG* V.1.239a and that, when read on its own, it appears to be a list of victories won by an individual athlete • text from *IG*	• Tillyard (1905/6a) 440–1 #3 • Boring (1979) 110 #113 • Illustration in Tillyard (1905/6a) 440
stele					
#17 *stele*	Amyklai	350–300	[- - -]ς τῷ Ἀπέλλ[ωνι] | [- - -]ν μ' ἀνέθηκε | [ἀπò] νικᾶς	• fragmentary • 15 cm x 17.5 cm x 8 cm • marble • pediment at top • event unclear; could be victor in a musical contest • text from Kennell	• *SEG* 1.87 • Skia (1919) 34 #8 • Kennell (1995) 192 n. 100

Appendix IIb: *Stelai* from Lakonia *ex* Sparta with Inscriptions Listing Athletic Victories

Definite Examples					
Item #/De-scription	**Place of Origin**	**Date**	**Text**	**Notes**	**References**
#18 *stele*	Geronthrai, sanctuary of Apollo on acropolis	500–450	[δεύτερος - - - ἐν Ἀριοντί] |ας στάδιον [καὶ - - - καὶ δόλι] | <χ>ο<ν>, τρίτος ἁμᾶ δίαυλ[ον], | τέταρτος τᾶι ἡεκα|τόμβαι τὸς πέντε δο||λίχος τριετέρ̄ες ἐὸν | νικεῖ· τᾶι δ' ἄλλαι στά|διον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ | δόλιχον καὶ τὸς πέν|τε δολίχος καὶ τὸν || ἡοπλίταν νικεῖ ἁμᾶ. '[The victor made this offering] … having won at the same festival the *stadion* and the *diaulos* for the third time, the *diaulos* for the fourth time, (and) at the Hekatombaia he wins the five-length race, being in third year after becoming an *iren*, and at the other (festival) he wins the *stadion*, the *diaulos*, the *dolichos*, the five-length race and the *hoplitodromos* on the same occasion.'	• 18 cm x 24 cm • left edge preserved and end of inscription preserved • bluish marble • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1120 • Tillyard (1904/5) 108–11 #10 • Illustration in Tillyard (1904/5) 108

				Possible Examples	
#19 *stele*	Mistra, found in the Byzantine museum	525–500	[- - - ἐ]λέσθαι [- - -] | [- - - ὁ]ντὸν Δαμ[- - -] | [- - -]ον τοῦτον γ[- - -] | [- - -] δὲ προτερ[- - -]	• fragmentary, broken on all sides • 20 cm x 19 cm x 7 cm • white marble • boustrophedon • Jeffery tentatively identifies *stele* as list of victories won by individual athlete • the original siting of the *stele* is unclear • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.2 • Sparta Museum #599 • Tod and Wace (1906) 72 • Boring (1979) 103 #48 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #42 and 194 n. 5
#20 *stele*	Geronthrai, church of H. Ioannes Chrysostomos	c. 500	Θαλιαχολα, | [Δρ]ῖμαξ, vacat | Ἀνχίβιος, | Ἀριστομαχίδα[ς], || Ϝίōν, | [Φ]είδιχος, | Τιμόδαμος, | Ἀρχίας	• 94 cm x 44 cm • greyish limestone • broken above and below • letters are faintly incised • Jeffery interpreted it as list of victors in local games • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.1134 • *SEG* 11.919 • Roberts (1887) 254 #256 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #45 • Illustration in Roehl (1907) 99.13
#21 *stele*	Geronthrai, found in field near site	c. 500	[˙˙]λεōν | Αϝαναξ | Τεβυκιος | Αμιτας || Αμυλος | Αϝαναξ	• Jeffery interpreted it as list of victors in local games • Wachter argues that it is a list of officials • text is that given by Jeffery	• *IG* V.1.1133 • *SEG* 11.918 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #46 • Wachter (2000) • Illustration in Roehl (1907) 97.1 and Jeffery (1990) plate 37 #46

Appendix IIc: Dedications from Sparta of Objects (Other than *Stelai*) by or for Victorious Athletes

Definite Examples					
Item #/De-scription	Place of Origin	Date	Text	Notes	References
#22 Panathenaic amphora	Menelaion	530–520		• a number of fragments of Panathenaic amphorae were uncovered in the excavations conducted at the Menelaion in the early years of the twentieth century and the excavations conducted there in the 1970s (see Ch. 5 n. 169 in main text) • this is the only published example of a Panathenaic amphora from the Menelaion • half of the right cock and some of the tongue pattern are preserved • the event in question is not discernible • Brandt attributes the vase to the Euphiletos Painter, whose work he dates to 530–520	• Brandt (1978) 6 #45 • Bentz (1998) 129 #6.067
#23 *halter* of Kleochares	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	c. 525	Κλεοχα[ρ - - -]	• broken at both ends • 6 cm x 11 cm x 7 cm • white marble • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.216 • Woodward (1907/8) 137 #64 • Boring (1979) 101 #29

					• Jeffery (1990) 199 #21 448 • Illustration in Woodward (1907/8) 137
#24 *halter*	Sparta, sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus	525–500	lower line is more legible and reads: ΚΥΝΟΣ[---]	• limestone • two-line inscription written retrograde • legible part of inscription seems to be part of name • Catling suggests that a bronze spearhead found nearby might have been used in javelin throw and possibly that shield fragments from site could be connected to *hoplitodromos* • Siriano argues that the dedications of a *halter* here and at the sanctuary of Timagenes at Aigiai (see #40) reflect the existence of local games at those (and other) sanctuaries	• *SEG* 40.357 • H. Catling (1990) 32 • Siriano (1996/7) 447–8 • H. Catling (2002) 74–5 • Illustration in H. Catling (1990) plate 5f and H. Catling (2002) 74–5, figure 5.1
#25 discus	Amyklai, sanctuary of Apollo	525–500	ἆϵ<θ>λον Ἀμυκλα{ί}οῑ	• bronze • 18 cm x 1.5 cm • 3.28 kg • uncovered in Tsountas' excavations in the last decade of the nineteenth century • text from Lazzarini	• Athens NM 8618 • de Ridder (1894) 104 #530 • Lazzarini (1976) 296 #834
#26 Panathenaic	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	510–500	τὸν Ἀθέ́νε̄θϵν ἄθλō[ν]· | [- - -]τ. . τ' Ἀθαναία[ι]	• found in fragments, about 2/3 of vase preserved and reconstructed • dimensions:	• *IG* V.1.1570 • Beazley *ABV* 369.112 • Dickins (1906/7) 150–2

amphora				height: 53 cm diameter of neck: 16 cm maximum diameter: 34 cm • includes depiction of four-horse chariot • has usual inscription added before firing • text from *IG* • also has scratched inscription, added after firing and presumably as part of dedication, placed high on body of vase below the painted scenes • attributed to the Leagros Group • date suggested by Brandt and Bentz	• Hondius and Woodward (1919–21) 119 #70 • Boring (1979) 102 #32 • Brandt (1978) 8 #72 • Bentz (1998) • Illustration in Dickins (1906/7) plate V
#27 Panathenaic amphora	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	510–500		• fragments from a Panathenaic amphora including one fragment that shows white-clad bearded charioteer with purple-cross bands holding reins in two hands and heavy curved goad and another that shows parts of three horses' heads • has scratched inscription added after firing, only one letter legible: A • date suggested by Bentz	• Dickins (1906/7) 152–3 • Hondius and Woodward (1919–21) 119 #71 • Bentz (1998) 132 #6.101
#28 Panathenaic	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	510–500		• small number of small fragments remain • fragments include depictions of	• Dickins (1906/7) 152–3 • Bentz (1998) 132 #103

amphora				chariot wheel and chariot and of piece of white tunic of charioteer • date suggested by Bentz	
#29 *halter*	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	c. 500	[- - -] πιο Μικᾶς Ἀλία[ι] Α[.?] [ἐ]στάθε .[- - -]	• fragmentary • 12.6 cm x 6 cm • green *lapis Lacedaemonius*	• *SEG* 59.388 • Pitt (Forthcoming)
#30 *halter* of Paitiadas	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	500–475	[Τᾱι Ἀθαναίαι] Παϊτιάδας	• 24 cm x 8.5 cm • marble • broken but missing only a small chip at point of fracture • inscription runs along edge and turns round one of the tapering ends • uninscribed *halter* of similar shape found close by and perhaps originally formed pair with it • text from Woodward	• *SEG* 11.655 • Woodward (1925/6) 251–3 #39 • Boring (1979) 105 #54 • Jeffery (1990) 191 • Illustration in Woodward (1925/6) 252
#31 dedication base	Sparta, Magoula	500–475	[ἀνδ]ρὸς ἀθρεῖν δ[ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-x] ǀ [- - -] γ' αὐτὸς νίκας [- - -] ǀ [- - -τα]χυτᾶτος ἐδ[ᵞ-ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-x] ǀ [τοῦ] δὲ χαριζομέν[ου ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-x] ǀǀ [- - -ἐνθά]δε παῖς Π[ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-x] ǀ [- - -]οι καὶ ἐεύφρōν?? ǀ [παῖς] Διὸς Αἰγιόχ[ω ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-ᵞᵞ-x]	• 22 cm x 25 cm x 17 cm • broken on all sides except perhaps top • bluish marble • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.238 • *CEG* I 377 • Sparta Museum #611 • Roberts (1887) 252 #253 • Boring (1979) 103 #47 • Jeffery (1990) 201 #48 • Illustration in Roehl (1907) 99.19
#32 temple of Hipposthene	Sparta, near the *dromos*	5th cent. ?		• won six Olympic victories in wrestling in the second half of the seventh century • was an object of cult at a shrine	• Paus. 3.13.9, 3.15.7, 5.8.9; see also the entry for the 37th Olympia in Eusebius' Olympic victor list (ll. 119–

s				located near the *dromos* in Sparta • there is no direct evidence as to when worship of Hipposthenes began (other than the *terminus post quem* of the seventh century provided by the date of his Olympic victories and the *terminus ante quem* provided by Pausanias) • most of the cults for athletes for which chronological information is available seem to have been initiated in the fifth century (Currie (2002)), which suggests a date in the fifth century for the construction of his cult site	21 in the Greek text in Christesen and Martirosova-Torlone (2006)) • Moretti (1957) #61, 66, 68, 73, 75 • Christesen (2010) 13–14, 21
#33 statue of Hetoimokles	Sparta, agora	5th cent. ?		• Hipposthenes' son • won five Olympic victories in wrestling • honoured with a statue in the agora • no direct evidence as to when his statue was erected, but insofar as he was active in the late seventh century (the date comes from the fact that he was Hipposthenes' son), and insofar as the earliest possible athletic statues date to the middle of the sixth century (Rausa (1994) 85–110), Hipposthenes must have been	• Paus. 3.13.9 • Moretti (1957) #82–6 • Christesen (2010) 21

				honoured with a statue in the long stretch of time between his death and Pausanias' arrival in Sparta. • insofar as Hetoimokles' father Hipposthenes was honoured with a cult that possibly began in the fifth century, Hetoimokles' statue may have been erected at the same time that cult came into being	
#34 base for dedication by Eubalkes	Sparta, acropolis	early 3rd cent.	a.1 Διάρης hιαρε[ύς]. b.2 Εὐβάλκης vac. Ὀλυμπιονίκα[s - - -]	• discovered in 1874 near theatre • broken on right and back • 21 cm x 36 cm x 87 cm • bluish marble • the stone is described as the base for a dedication in *IG*, as a roof block in Tod and Wace; one presumes it was reused (though what its original use might have been is unclear) • Woodward, followed by Moretti, suggested that Eubalkes might be the name of a contest rather than a proper name, in which case the name of the victor would be Diares • Bresson shows that personal names built on –*alk* are common in Sparta and argues that Eubalkes was in fact the name of the Olympic	• *IG* V.1.649 • Sparta Museum #393 • Tod and Wace (1906) 60 #393 • Woodward (1929) 288–9 • Moretti (1957) #510 • Bresson (2002) 30–1

				victor, pointing out that Εὐβάλκης = Εὐϝάλκης =Εὐάλκης • Hallof, at Bresson's request, examined a squeeze of the stone and suggested a date of the early third century (Bresson (2002) 30 n. 24) • Hallof also suggested that the first line of text was inscribed by a different hand than that responsible for the second line • nothing else is known about this victor and hence the event in which he won is indeterminate • text from *IG*	
#35 hero shrine of Kyniska	Sparta, near Platanistas	? but defi-nitely after 400 BCE and before C2 CE		• won two Olympic *tethrippon* victories, probably in 396 and 392 • honoured with a heroon located near Platanistas • hero cults for females extremely rare in the Classical period, and Spartiate royal women became increasingly powerful in the Hellenistic period, which suggests that Kyniska's cult was not instituted until long after her demise • possible that, like Spartan kings, she was heroised immediately after her death	• *IvO* 160, *IG* V.1.1564a • Paus. 3.8.1, 3.15.1, 5.12.5, 6.1.6 • Moretti (1957) #373 • See also Ch. 5 n. 122 in main text.

| **#36**

statue of Euryleonis | Sparta, acropolis | ? but definitely after 400 BCE and before C2 CE | | • Pausanias saw her statue on the acropolis and noted her name and that she won an Olympic victory in the two-horse chariot
• this is the only piece of evidence bearing on Euryleonis
• Moretti tentatively dates Euryleonis' victory to 368 without supplying any reasoning
• the two-horse chariot race was not introduced at Olympia until 408, and Kyniska's successes in the early fourth century made her the first female Olympic victor
• we can, therefore, be certain that Euryleonis was active after the early fourth century and before Pausanias' visit to Sparta, but she cannot be placed more precisely than that | • Paus. 3.17.6
• Moretti (1957) #368 |

Possible Examples					
Item	Location	Date	Text	Notes	References
#37 ball (?)	Menelaion	600–550	Ἀνκαιδας με ἀνέθεκε	• naturally spherical piece of limestone the size of a tennis ball with narrow hole drilled in it • unknown function but possibly connected to ball games • text from *SEG*	• *SEG* 35.319 • R. W. V. Catling (1986) 212
#38 Doric capital of Kyniska	Menelaion	c. 400 (?)	[- - -] Κυνίσκα ∣ [- - - *hελέ*]*ναι*	• fragment of a small Doric capital and abacus, complete above, on right and below • 24 cm x 24 cm x 8 cm • supported some sort of votive offering • dated by associating Kyniska referenced here with the famous Kyniska • Hodkinson suggests this capital may have formed part of a dedication that celebrated Kyniska's successes at Olympia; however, as the capital is quite small (and hence certainly did not hold a chariot statue of any size) and only two words of the inscription are legible, this is far from certain • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.235 • Woodward (1908/9) 86–7 #90 • Hodkinson (2000) 328

#39 lead *halter*	Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos	?		• in their summary of excavations conducted in 1924–5, Woodward and Hobling mention in passing find a lead object that they tentatively identify as a *halter*; no further details are given	• Woodward and Hobling (1924/5) 248

Appendix IId: Dedications from Laconia *ex* Sparta of Objects (Other than *Stelai*) by or for Victorious Athletes

Definite Examples					
Item # /Description	Place of Origin	Date	Text	Notes	References
#40 *halter*	Kosmas in northeastern Lakonia, at site of sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas	end of seventh century or beginning of sixth century	Τίρōν	• 21 cm x 9 cm x 10 cm • weight: 1650 g • grey stone • for left hand, other half of pair not found • inscription in Lakonian alphabet • dated on basis of letter forms	• Lanérès and Grigorakis (2015)
#41 *halter* of Tachistolaos	Aigiai in southern Lakonia, hero shrine of Timagenes	525–500	Ταχιστόλαϝος | Τιμαγέν⟨εν⟩ει | ἀνέθεκε	• 26.5 cm x 10.5 cm x 6 cm • weight 1970 g • greyish Taygetan stone • other half of pair not found • strigil found nearby • discovered in excavations conducted in 1982–3 in sanctuary in Lakonian Aigiai • sanctuary to Timagenes, local hero, possibly honoured with games but Timagenes not known from any literary references • Lakonian alphabet • form of *halter* and letter forms point to date in last quarter of sixth	• *SEG* 38.328 • Gytheion Museum 152 • Bonias (1985) • Siriano (1996/7) 447–8 • Bonias (1998) 107–8, 220 #605 • Illustration in Bonias (1985) plates 1–2 and Bonias (1998) fig. 67

				century • Siriano argues that the dedications of a *halter* here and at the sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus at Tsakona reflect the existence of local games at those (and other) sanctuaries • text from *SEG*	
#42 tomb of Ladas	10 km north of Sparta	first half of fifth cent. (?)		• Ladas won an Olympic victory in the *dolichos* • Pausanias indicates that he was buried approximately 10 km north of the acropolis of Sparta and hence closer to perioikic Pellana (Shipley (2004) 585–6) than to the acropolis of Sparta; this may indicate that Ladas was a *perioikos*	• Paus. 3.21.1 • *Anthol. Graec.* 16.53–4 • Moretti (1957) #211, 260 • Christesen (2013)
#43 statue base of Nikokles	Akriai	c. 100	[οἱ Ἀκριᾶτ]αι Νικοκλέ[α] | [πεντάκις ὀ]λ[υ]μπι[ο]νί[καν]	• transcribed in 1845 • Nikokles son of Nikatas is known from other sources (Pausanias 3.22.5) to have won multiple running events at two different Olympiads • the timing of his career is supplied by a list of victors in the Amphiaraeia at Oropos (*IG* VII.415 and 417) • Pausanias informs us that Nikokles was a native of Akriai • text from *IG*	• *IG* V.1.1108 • Moretti (1957) #655–7

#44 *halter*	Akriai	c. 100	NIK[- - -]	• found in excavations at Kastraki, a rural sanctuary near Kokkinia (about 25 km east of Gytheion) • the excavators plausibly associate the sanctuary with the community of Akriai • de la Genière suggests that the *halter* in question may have been dedicated by Nikokles (see above) • text from de la Genière	• *SEG* 55.432 • de la Genière (2005) 29 #41 and plate XXII and fig. 12
Possible Examples					
#45 'discus' of Melas	Kosmas	c. 500	Μέλας μ' ἐνίκε̄ Πυθαιεῖ	• bronze • diameter: 4 cm • the date is that given by Phaklares • evidently now lost • it has been speculated, largely on the basis of this dedication, that Kosmas (25 km east of the acropolis of Sparta) is located near the site of ancient Thornax and that this dedication came from the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus known to have been located in Thornax; more recently and more plausibly Thornax has been connected to remains at Geladari (4 km north of Sparta; Shipley (1996–2002) II.352–7) • in a re-examination of the inscription Kritzas builds on a	• *SEG* 11.890 • Lazzarini (1976) 296 #835 • Jeffery (1990) 199 #14 • Arvanitopoulou (1947/8) • Kritzas (1985) 715–16 • Phaklares (1985) 181–2 • Illustration in Phaklares (1985) 182 #104.2

| | | | | suggestion first made by J. and L. Robert (Bulletin Epipgraphique 1950 #113) that ἐνίκε is the aorist of φέρω (and hence is a dialectal variant of ἤνικε); that reading of the text would mean that this is not an athletic dedication (a reading that may be supported by the diminutive size of the object)
• text from Lazzarini | |

FIGURES
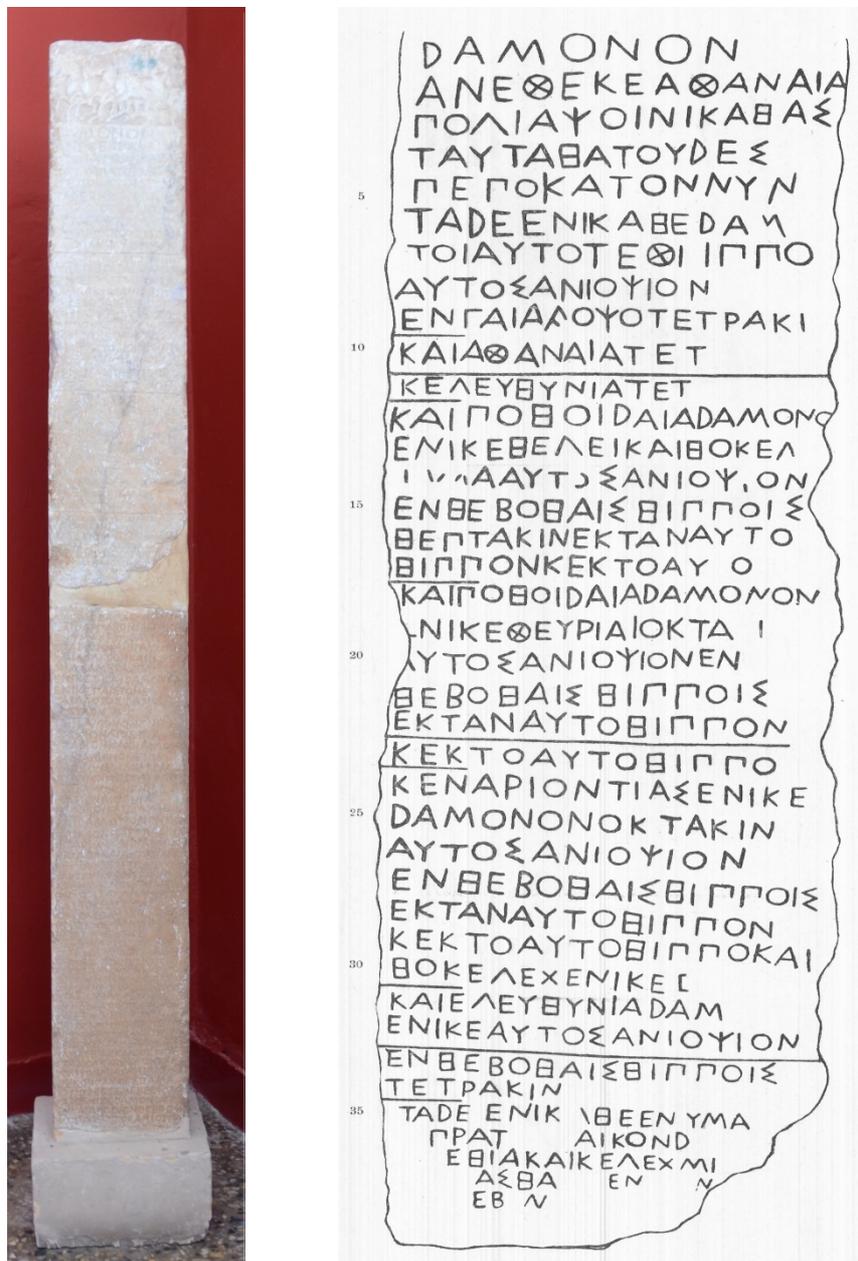
Figure 1. The Damonon *stele*
Left: the *stele* on display in the Sparta Museum (published with permission of the Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού – Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia); the rights to the depicted object belong to the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports (N. 3045/4004); photo courtesy of N. Nenci).
Right: drawing of the top half of the *stele* (from Roehl (1907) 100.17).

Figure 2: The relief on top of the Damonon *stele*

The relief on top of the Damonon *stele* (published with permission of the Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού – Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia); the rights to the depicted object belong to the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports (N. 3045/4004); photo courtesy of N. Nenci).
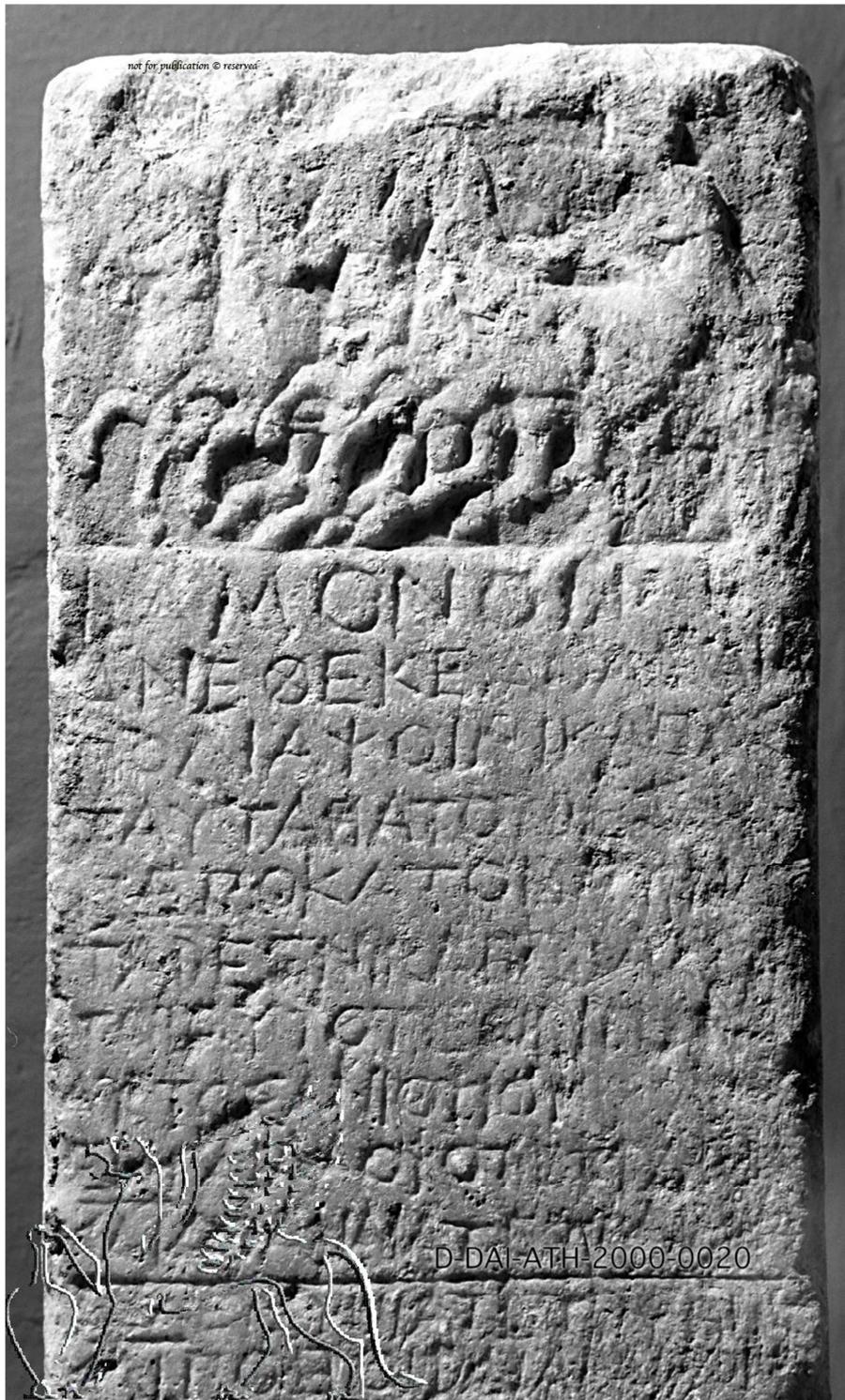
Figure 3: Close-up view of the top of the Damonon *stele*

Figure 4: The four standard gaits of horses

Figure 5: Statue base from Athens showing the *apobates*

Pentelic marble base for a dedication, with the
inscription ΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΕΟΡΤΙΟ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΥΣ
Fourth century BCE. 95 x 49 x 50 cm. Agora Museum S 399
(Photo courtesy of American School of Classical Studies at Athens:
Agora Excavations)

Figure 6: Bell krater by the Anabates Painter

c. 390–370 BCE
Dimensions: height 33 cm, depth 37 cm
British Museum 1978, 0615.1
(© The Trustees of the British Museum, reproduced under Creative
Commons License CC BY–NC-SA 4.0)

Figure 7: Silver *stater* minted in Taras

420–380 BCE
Diameter 21 mm; weight 7.57 g
Museum of Fine Arts Boston 04.309
(Photograph © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
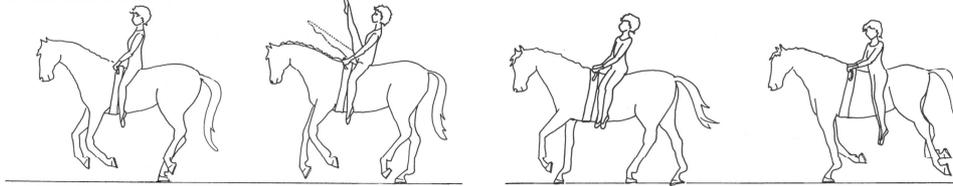
Figure 8: Dismounting, ancient and modern

Top: Bell krater by the Anabates Painter (see figure 6)

Bottom: Drawing from pp. 144–5 of Jutta Wiemer's *Equestrian Vaulting*
(Reproduced with the kind permission of Jutta Wiemer)

Figure 9: Terracotta votive plaque from the Sanctuary of Agamemnon and
Alexandra at Amyklai showing a dismounting rider

Fourth century BCE
Dimensions: 9 x 6.8 x 1.7 cm
RID 3/2 (6152/5) in Salapata (2014) 319 and plate 22b

image sourced from:
http://www.press.umich.edu/resources/salapata/index.html
(Reproduced with the kind permission of Gina Salapata)

Figure 10: Terracotta votive plaque from the Sanctuary of Agamemnon and
Alexandra at Amyklai showing a dismounting rider

Fourth century BCE
Dimensions: 5.4 x 5.8 x 1.5 cm
RID 3/3 (6152/42) in Salapata (2014) 319 and plate 22c

Image sourced from:
http://www.press.umich.edu/resources/salapata/index.html
(Reproduced with the kind permission of Gina Salapata)

Figures

Figure 11: Terracotta votive plaque from the Sanctuary of Agamemnon and
Alexandra at Amyklai showing a dismounting rider

Late fifth/early fourth century BCE
Dimensions: 6.5 x 1.2 x 1.5 cm
RID 3/1 (6152/35) in Salapata (2014) 318–19 and plate 22a

Image sourced from:
http://www.press.umich.edu/resources/salapata/index.html
(Reproduced with the kind permission of Gina Salapata)

V. 4, 5 = Typus 30.
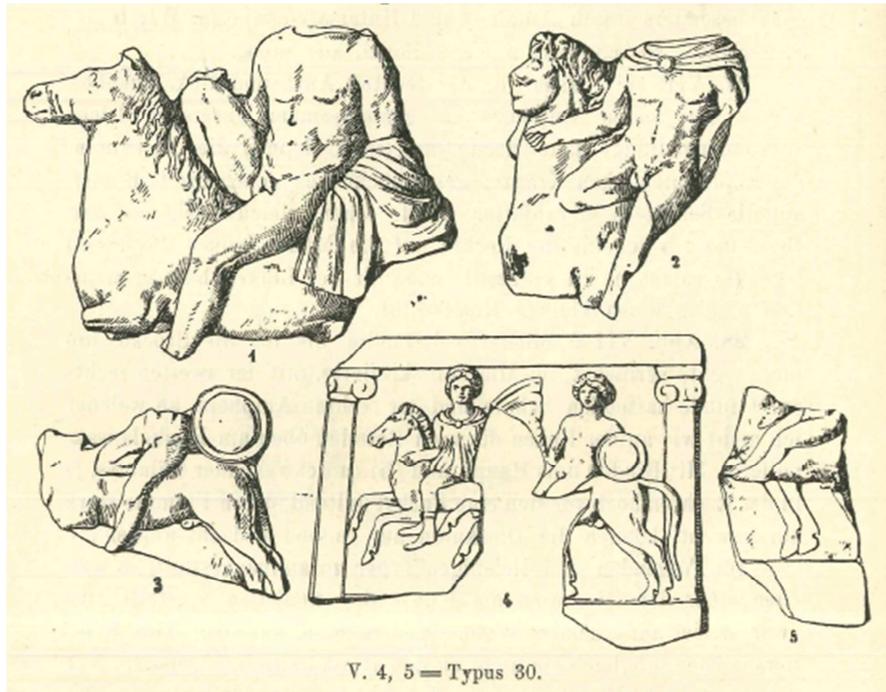
Figure 12: Terracotta votives from the Chiesa del Carmine Deposit in Taras
showing dismounting rider(s)

Fourth–third centuries BCE
Petersen (1900) 20

1-2 AMSTERDAM, Allard Pierson Museum; 3 TARANTO, Museo Nazionale.

Figure 13: Terracotta votives from the Contrado Solito deposit in Taras

Fourth–third centuries BCE
Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977) plate LXXXII
(Reproduced with the kind permission of Lucia Stefanelli)

b – D X (Ricostruzione)
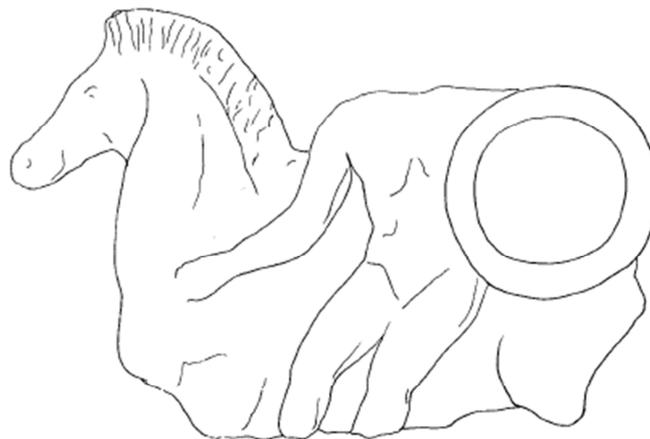
b – D XII (Ricostruzione)

Figure 14: Reconstruction drawings of terracotta votives from Taras showing dismounting riders

Fourth–third centuries BCE
Iacobone (1988) plates 116–17
(Reproduced with the kind permission of Clelia Iacobone)

Figure 15: Statues of the Dioskouroi dismounting from the Ionic temple
at Marasà (Lokroi Epizephyrioi)

Each statue group 1.27 m x 1.45 m
Second half of fifth century

Reggio Calabria Museo Nazionale
(Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e
del Turismo n. 74 del 13/07/2018
Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria)
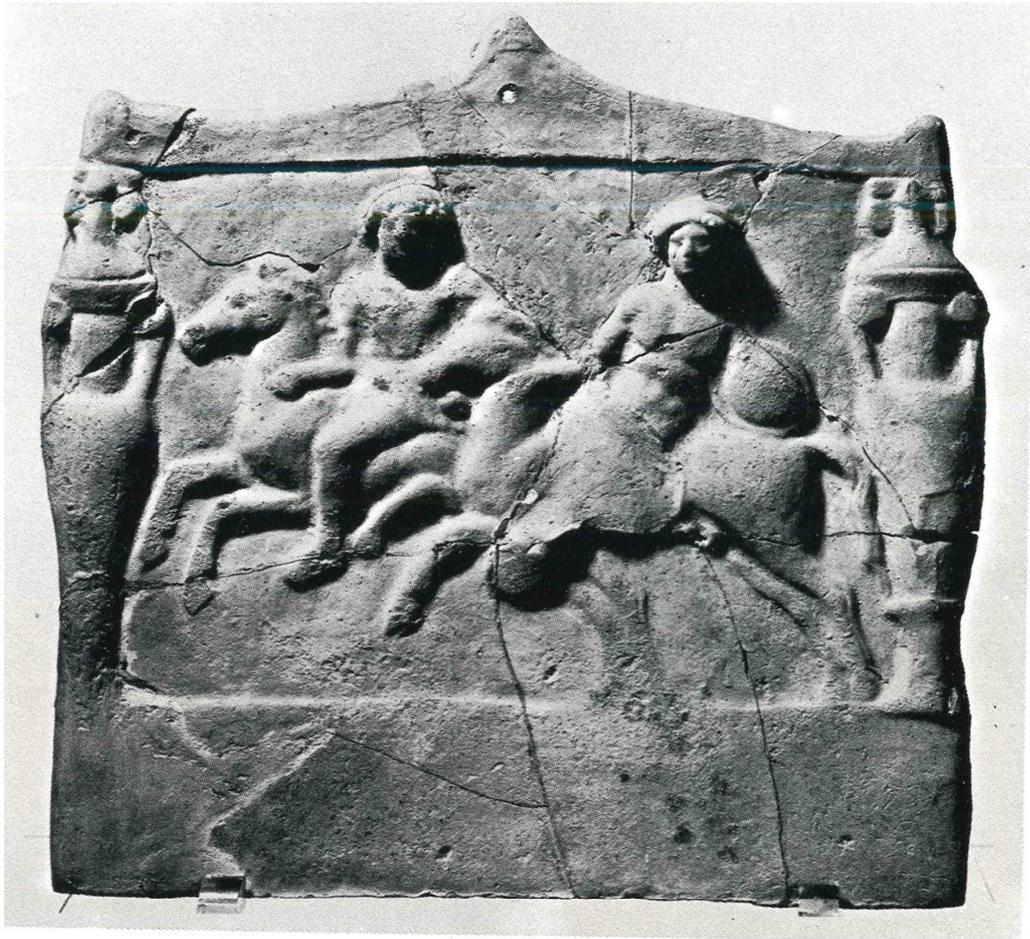
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Figure 16: Terracotta votive from the Contrado Solito deposit in Taras
showing the Dioskouroi (one dismounting) on running horses
between two lidded amphorae

Fourth–third century BCE
Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (1977) plate LXXXIII 1
(Reproduced with the kind permission of Lucia Stefanelli)

Figure 17: Attic red-figure kylix showing Sparte dismounting a horse

c. 400
Height: 9.6 cm
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.354
(Photograph © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Figure 18: Attic red-figure cup by Onesimos showing youth practising
vault onto horseback

First quarter of fifth century BCE
Munich Antikensammlungen 2639 (J 515)
(Reproduced with the kind permission of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen
und Glyptothek München, photograph by Renate Kühling)

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