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VI MOUNTED WARRIORS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

Corinth

In vase-painting of the Ripe Corinthian style illustrations of horses in a military context become much commoner, and particularly during the first half of the sixth century before this brilliant style fades, and ceramic evidence for Corinthian warfare fades with it. But unfortunately for the military historian the scenes of actual fighting are few, and sometimes it is difficult to assess how the armed riders would have used their horses. All the same there is enough decisive evidence to show that both Helbig and Alföldi were wrong to treat the mounted hoplite (a term which I shall use for men in hoplite armour who dismounted to fight on foot in the phalanx) and the true cavalryman (who fought from horseback) as mutually exclusive. For Helbig there were only mounted hoplites and their mounted squires, whereas for Alföldi all armed horsemen were true cavalry, and the very idea of mounted hoplites was to be dismissed out of hand. In fact we shall find that Corinth had both equestrian types as did Athens, where Black Figure pottery, superior both in the number of its representations of horsemen and in its far greater number of battle-scenes, will make a much clearer picture.

A clear illustration of Corinthian mounted hoplites is the battle-scene on C9 (fig. 50), a vase already mentioned in Chapter III. As Helbig noted, it gives a very vivid illustration of the roles of the *hippostrophos* and the *hippobatas* of the EC aryballos, C2 (see above, p. 58, fig. 36).¹ In the centre two hoplites have been fighting, and the left-hand one is running away. The squire of the victorious warrior now rides up leading his master's horse ready for him to mount for the pursuit. But the retreating hoplite's squire has panicked, or at least his horses have; and instead of waiting for his master to mount

MOUNTED WARRIORS IN THE 6TH CENTURY



FIG. 50
Middle Corinthian
cup of the early
sixth century
showing hoplites
in battle while
their mounted
squires hold their
horses (C9)

he is galloping off with both horses, while three bearded and naked men, one with a javelin ($\psi\lambda\omicron\iota$?), run to intercept him, and the front one is shown catching at the runaway's bridle. Now Alföldi, who does not mention this vase, would have to argue that the youthful riders are not the squires of hoplites but the companions of warriors who were the 'successors of the chariot-borne warriors, who acted both as cavalymen and infantrymen, although not in the phalanx but in a loose tactical formation with the *hippostrophos*'.² This at any rate was his interpretation of C2. Now it is true that the same warrior may sometimes have fought from horseback as well as dismounting to fight on foot (as perhaps the warrior of C8, fig. 48), although this would not of course have been, as Alföldi maintained, according to any either real or 'Homeric' charioteering method. But it is inconceivable that hoplites would have been operating ineffectively outside the phalanx so long a time after Corinthian vases had revealed the introduction of that organized style of warfare, and yet Alföldi maintained that the *hippobatas-hippostrophos* 'Rottengemeinschaft' was contemporary with the vase-painting which depicted it. The only possibility of keeping Alföldi's explanation would be to argue that the painters of both the EC aryballos (C2) and the MC cup (C9) had been deliberately archaizing by depicting pre-phalanx usage in post-phalanx equipment. But there is nothing to suggest that C2 is not contemporary; and although the later vase does have mythological scenes on the other side, the battle-scene of C9 gives every appearance of a cross-section of a phalanx battle: both hoplites are using the single thrusting-spear of the developed phalanx tactics and not the weapons of the individual pre-phalanx warfare. And we have already discussed Alföldi's general objections to the theory of mounted hoplites, and found them to be groundless. Among other

FIG. 51
Mounted squires
waiting with their
masters' horses
behind the lines
during a hoplite
battle on a Middle
Corinthian cup
(C10)



examples may be cited C10, an MC cup on which hoplite duels are flanked by a mounted squire who similarly holds a spear (a spare for his master perhaps, or perhaps for his own defence), and leads a second horse (*fig. 51*). Here the artist was apparently trying to indicate a phalanx by a plurality of overlapping duels, and again the scene has no archaizing or heroizing features. A contemporary vase illustrated by Alföldi does admittedly have inscriptions (C11). On both sides it presents a pair of duelling hoplites, Ajax and Aeneas on one side, Hector and Achilles on the other, and each duel is flanked by mounted squires who are similarly holding second horses but this time are without spears. And a similar scene on an LC vase also has inscriptions which may have been intended to heroize it although they make nonsense (C12). But even here the heroic features are confined to the inscriptions. On neither vase is there so much as a Boeotian shield to detract from the contemporary appearance of the warriors; and the fact that the mounted squires even of C11 are dressed only in the tunic is an indication that they belonged to contemporary warfare, since a painter who included mounted 'squires' only for the purpose of illustrating heroic practice would surely have given armour and arms to no lesser personages than the other Ajax and Hippocles, Sarpedon and Phoenix (as indeed at least one Attic artist did on vase A14, where rival goddesses are also present holding a spare spear for their favourites). Moreover, although the duellists may be heroic individuals, a battle between two phalanxes was scarcely more than a duel on a grand scale, and certainly there is no reason to doubt that the non-heroic examples represented cross-sections of phalanx battles in which the mounted squires and spare horses were drawn up in reserve behind the lines, ready to help the hoplites either in pursuit or flight when one of the phalanxes broke, or when they had to retire wounded.

For true cavalry there is one unequivocal vase-painting, and I have



FIG. 52
Helmeted
Corinthian cavalry
riding into a
hoplite battle on
a wine-jug of the
early seventh
century (C13)

not found it mentioned by any previous writer. In the centre of a continuous battle-scene which goes right round a large MC oenochoe (C13), a hoplite battle is represented by three hoplite duels and an archer who is kneeling and shooting (*fig. 52a*). And from either side a line of three horsemen is riding into battle. Like the hoplites they all wear helmets, but unlike them they have no other armour – no shields, corslets, greaves or swords. Of the three riding in from the right (*fig. 52b*), the first into battle is aiming his single spear apparently at the back of the hoplite at the right-hand edge of the central battle. The second and third have not yet poised their spears, of which the second has one, the third two; and the latter is glancing behind him as he rides. Now it is possible that the artist was intending to show the horsemen attacking each other on the wing of the phalanx battle; but it may also be that the phalanxes are being attacked where they are most vulnerable, in the rear, and if so this scene would illustrate how the introduction of phalanx warfare may have prompted the development of the horse's military role in the creation of organized cavalry. At any rate, these horsemen are clearly a squadron of true cavalry and not mounted hoplites. Helbig conceded that sometimes mounted hoplites might fight from horseback in pursuit; but these warriors are neither pursuing nor fleeing since the hoplite

battle is still raging in the middle, and in any case, if they had been hoplites, they would scarcely have dispensed with their corslets, swords and greaves for this purpose even if they had left their shields!

Of other armed riders there are several examples, but none of them are actually shown fighting, and it is often hard to be sure of their role. And it is less straightforward than is sometimes claimed to use as criteria the presence and absence of shield or greaves, the number of spears, or a second horse. Of armoured riders four categories may be distinguished: (i) those without shields, unattended by squires, and without a second horse shown in outline on the inside of their mounts (C14a, C15); (ii) those similarly unsquipped and single-horsed but carrying shields (C14b, C16); (iii) those with shields and a second horse (C17–C23); and (iv) those who are like the last but have a tunic-clad squire clearly shown riding the inside horse (C24). Then finally there is a large category of unarmoured horsemen, usually epebes, usually wearing only a tunic, and invariably carrying a single spear. Now the horsemen of the first category, if they are going to fight at all, must surely fight from horseback. The relevant side of C14 (*fig. 53a*) depicts a helmeted rider like those on C13 (*fig. 52*). He rides towards a furious battle of three hoplites fighting over the body of a wounded fourth; and in contrast to their full panoplies he wears only a high-crested helmet and carries two spears. And he similarly contrasts with the four mounted warriors who form the motif of the other side of the vase and have blazoned shields and greaves (*fig. 53b*). Without shield and greaves he is not going to dismount to fight, even if there were someone to hold his horse for him. And his two spears, though not in themselves a criterion of the cavalryman, are more necessary to him than to a hoplite: it cannot have been very often that a hoplite would be unable to extract his spear from a corpse, but a horseman, if a lancer, might sometimes have had to let go or be pulled from his horse, or if a javelineer, he would not always be able to retrieve his spears. For similar reasons the horseman who leads the mixed force of hoplites and unarmoured cavalry on C15 must also be a cavalryman: he wears a red corslet over his white chiton, but unlike the hoplites who are following him on foot he has no shield. Similarly too the helmeted rider holding a spear and looking over his shoulder on the subsidiary frieze of a very worn MC cotyle (C25).³



FIG. 53
A helmeted cavalryman, hoplites in battle, and three mounted hoplites on a Middle Corinthian vase of the early seventh century (C14)

a



b

The other three categories of armoured riders who are not actually fighting, those with shields, are less straightforward. One basic fact is that they are almost all fully equipped to fight on foot in the phalanx: besides helmets, all have round shields and one or two lances, and with two possible exceptions all have greaves. Is it likely then that they fought from horseback equipped in this way? It will be useful to consider first the properties of the separate items of the equipment, and then of the panoply as a whole. To take first the greaves, it is sometimes stated that their presence indicates mounted infantry because the much hard riding and very firm seat required by the cavalryman would cause them to cut into the horse's flanks. But this is not necessarily so even of metal greaves. Surviving examples from the sixth century reveal that they were closely moulded to the rounded shape of the calf-muscle, and since the two edges came very close to meeting at the back they would not therefore dig into the horse.⁴ Moreover it is the thighs which provide the horseman's main grip, and they were the only part of the otherwise completely mailed Parthian cataphract to be left unprotected.⁵ Then to put the matter beyond doubt there are several Attic representations of greaved horsemen who are unmistakably cavalrymen in action (e.g.

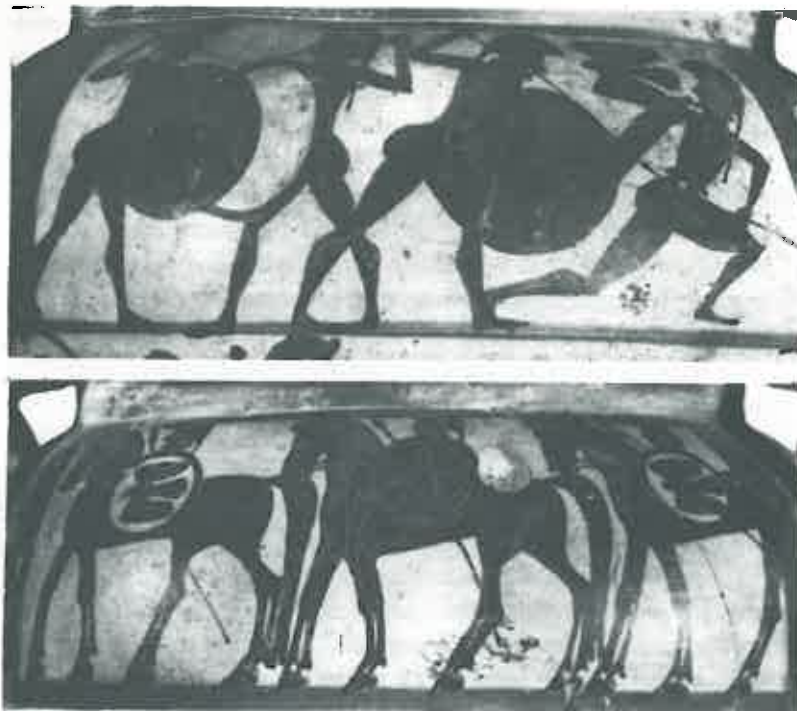
A74, A76, A79, A80, A95; *figs.* 69, 70). All the same, if some cavalrymen wore greaves, others just as clearly chose to leave them off. Now the argument from absence is only valid if it can be reasonably certain that the painter's omission was deliberate and not unconscious or careless, and this is reasonably certain on those of our vases which not only reveal in general a careful attention to detail but specifically point a contrast between greaved hoplites on foot and cavalrymen without them.⁶ And in fact just such a contrast appears on both C13 and C14a, which have already been mentioned as depicting shieldless horsemen who are unmistakably true cavalrymen (*figs.* 52, 53). If then some cavalrymen chose to forgo the protection of greaves for what was the part of a rider's body most accessible to the infantryman's thrust, there were good reasons for it, and two are not hard to find. Although it was the thighs which provided the main grip, the lower legs also helped, and bare legs would undoubtedly be more secure against lathered flanks than legs encased in shiny, rounded metal. But more importantly, the bare leg would give greater sensitivity in applying the 'aids' which control the horse's movements, and for the cavalryman in battle manoeuvrability, and in particular the ability to turn rapidly, were of the greatest importance. There were then good reasons why the cavalryman of C14a went without greaves, and therefore when we find on the same vase four mounted warriors who have both shields and greaves identical to those of the hoplites fighting on foot, the indications are that they were mounted hoplites (*fig.* 53b). It is true of course that no second horse or squire is depicted to show who could have looked after their horses while they joined the phalanx, but they are not actually shown on the battlefield, and the artist could simply have wished to depict well-to-do hoplites as they were wont to travel.

The presence of a shield is also an uncertain criterion. Without a shield a horseman is not going to fight in the phalanx, but the converse is not necessarily true. The difficulties of holding a hoplite shield while fighting from horseback can be exaggerated. The arm-band would make it possible for the left hand to hold the bridle or a spare spear, and besides the EC aryballos C8 (*fig.* 48) there are one or two Attic Black Figure vase-paintings which show cavalrymen fighting and holding what is almost certainly a hoplite shield (A52, A94, A95; *figs.* 64, 71). And perhaps the Corinthian riders of the

single other vase of category (ii) are cavalrymen too (C16). In contrast to the hoplites fighting on the other side, these riders are unmistakably without greaves, and the unusual direction of the cavalcade's progress suggests that the artist was a careful draughtsman who paid attention to detail: of all the Ripe Corinthian cavalcades of horsemen with shields I know only of this one which progresses from left to right and therefore requires the inside of the shield to be shown. And although no tunic or corslet is shown and an artistic preference for nudity must always be suspected, greaves are often shown on otherwise nude hoplites; and the absence of a corslet, while serving to point a further contrast with the hoplites on the other side, may explain why this rider, if a cavalryman, wanted the protection of a shield. The fact remains however that the overwhelming majority of cavalrymen depicted in action in Archaic Greek art (both armoured and unarmoured) are without shields. And the reason for this is surely that the hoplite shield was more trouble than it was worth for the limited protection which it afforded. It was a clumsy and weighty burden for a cavalryman to whom speed and manoeuvrability were so important. Unlike the infantryman, the rider could not easily swing his shield over to protect his front or right simply because the horse's neck and shoulders were in the way, and protection for only the left side was poor compensation for the virtual immobility of the left arm. And all in all a cavalryman who wanted protection for his body would do much better to wear a corslet and forget the shield, like the Attic rider of A32 (*fig.* 59).⁷

The next problem is the role of the second horse, since much the largest category of armoured horsemen (iii) comprises those with shields and with second horses shown in outline. Three basic possibilities need to be considered: that the second horse was riderless, that it had a similar rider, and that it had a dissimilar rider. If it was riderless, why should a horseman take along a second horse? Alföldi's recent article has suggested two answers to this question, one possible but highly improbable, the other frankly incredible. He maintained that horses' backs would rapidly become too sweaty to provide the cavalryman with a firm enough seat, and therefore these Corinthian warriors rode into battle with two horses and every so often jumped across from one to the other. Now not only is this a gross exaggeration of the problem of a slippery seat (and the rider's tunic which

FIG. 54
A Middle
Corinthian crater
showing a hoplite
battle on one side
and on the other
three mounted
hoplites, whose
outlined second
horses indicate the
presence of their
mounted squires
(C20)



usually covers the thighs would be fairly absorbent),⁸ but it would be physically impossible to try to fight while at the same time managing a shield and a second horse as well in the heat of battle. And it is not surprising that no Greek writer or artist ever bears witness to such a practice. Alföldi's only 'parallel' for cavalry who may have gone into battle with two horses was the 'Tarentine' cavalry of the first century B.C.; but Livy's account of Philopoemen's confrontation with Nabis does not say that the Tarentines actually engaged in battle with their two horses, only that Philopoemen sent to the van of his marching column 'the Cretan auxiliaries and those whom they called the Tarentine cavalry, each leading two horses with him' in case of an attack by Nabis;⁹ and in any case Tarentines were by definition light-armed javelineers who did not come into close contact with the enemy and therefore would not have risked presenting too good a target with two horses.¹⁰ Alföldi's other and less impractical suggestion emerges from his quotation of Pollux's definition of ἀμφιπτοί, that they had two horses fastened together

and jumped from one to the other from time to time in order to cover longer distances without tiring them out.¹¹ But it seems highly improbable that we should transfer this explanation to our panoplied horsemen of sixth-century Corinth. Now at this stage it is necessary to distinguish the *Desultorteknik* of Alföldi's μεταβάται (which requires two horses) from simple dismounting. Among all his quoted representations of men vaulting from horses (from many Greek cities and periods), only a few of them have two horses; and of these all are youths, not one is armed (let alone heavily armed with a shield!), and none are actually shown leaping from one horse to another. There is only one possible exception, and that is the Attic 'Siana' cup (A37) of the second quarter of the sixth century (see below, p. 117, fig. 60): it presents a frieze of heavy-armed warriors who may be vaulting from or onto their horses, of which a second is shown in outline, or they may simply be walking or running beside the horses, since a single hoplite on the bottom of the cup is similarly prancing by himself without a horse. But the warriors are certainly not jumping from one horse to another, and the second horses in outline may either suggest pairs (or even ranks) of warriors running with their horses, or else – and this would be more in tune with other representations of the Siana cup generation and with other paintings by the same artist – we may be intended to imagine the warriors' squires on the inside horses, youths perhaps like the one who appears at the far right of the frieze and whom the decorated band was not wide enough to show mounted: the top of it touches the horses' heads and the warriors' helmets as it is. Now it was clearly useful for a mounted warrior to learn to mount and dismount rapidly whether he was going to fight from horseback or not. And no doubt they practised and displayed this skill, which made an artistic motif. Sometimes, as on the fifth-century clay shield from Corinth illustrated by Alföldi, a heavily armed warrior was shown jumping down from his (single) horse.¹² But more often a mounted squire was shown holding his master's horse while he dismounted, as on an Attic lekanis-lid (A7), which was painted by the same artist as the cup mentioned above (A37), and depicts the mounted hoplite dismounting to join the phalanx (fig. 56).¹³ And here too we have a clue to the purpose of the unencumbered boys who are shown riding or jumping to the ground while leading a second horse on some of

Alföldi's illustrations: they might have been simply displaying equestrian acrobatics, but if they were the squires of heavy-armed warriors they would need to practise controlling two horses at once. At any rate, as far as our panoplied Corinthian horsemen are concerned, it is highly improbable that they were planning to jump so encumbered from one horse to another, and certainly impossible that they were going to take them into battle single-handed. There is however the further possibility that the second horse, if riderless, may signify cavalry exactly because hard riding and the likelihood of wounds would make it useful for the cavalryman to be able to ride out of battle and change horses. But even so he would need someone to look after the spare horse no less than the Huntsmen and Masters of Hounds who provide the only modern equivalent; and if our Corinthian warriors were rich enough to have two horses to take to battle with them, it is unlikely that they would not have taken their own squires. And in fact the single vase of category (iv), C24, shows an unarmed, youthful squire on the inside horse (*fig. 55*).

If then it is unlikely that their second horses were riderless if our Corinthian warriors were riding to battle, we come to the other two basic possibilities. The modern student might expect that if an artist chose not to show the inside rider's outline in order not to blur his main human figure, both riders are more likely to be similar than dissimilar. On the other hand, the Corinthian artists (and their customers) may have been so accustomed to the sight of mounted panoplied warriors attended by mounted squires that they usually felt able to take the latter's presence for granted, and only rarely bothered to show them as on C24 (*fig. 55*). And if the outlined second horses do indicate squires, there are other indications that those armoured warriors with shields, if they were going to fight as they are shown equipped, were mounted hoplites rather than squired cavalymen. The first is that the only armoured warriors on Corinthian or Attic vases who have two horses also have shields, whereas those without shields, who are clearly therefore not equipped to dismount and fight in the phalanx, invariably have only the one horse. And the sole exception to this statement is provided by an Attic vase of the second quarter of the sixth century which depicts two mounted hoplites flanking a duel between two identical hoplites on foot and holding the duellists' horses for them.¹⁴ Now these mutually



FIG. 55
A Late Corinthian vase (575–550 B.C.) which clearly shows the squires riding alongside the mounted hoplites instead of merely indicating their presence by the outline of a second horse (C24)

exclusive coincidences are surely not without significance, and although a second horse could technically be a spare for a cavalryman, it appears that only those who are equipped to fight on foot have the second horses and the squires who would be needed to take care of them. Then mounted hoplites are further indicated by the extreme rarity of any fighting with large, round shields from horseback in the whole of Archaic vase-painting, whereas there is a considerable number of fully panoplied riders with second horses on Ripe Corinthian vases, and an equally considerable number of battles on foot between identically panoplied hoplites. On vases C20 (*fig. 54*) and C23 for instance, it is very likely that the panoplied riders shown on the one side were riding to a battle in which they would dismount and fight on foot like the exactly similar hoplites on the other.¹⁵ And we may recall the contemporary vases which unequivocally testify to the practice of hoplites fighting while mounted squires hold their horses: their number is in closer proportion to the number of panoplied riders of categories (iii) and (iv), and further points a contrast with C8, the solitary possible example of such a warrior fighting from horseback (*fig. 48*). Finally we have already observed why there were so few examples of any horsemen fighting from horseback with the hoplite shield in Archaic art, and it is even less likely that our Corinthian warriors regularly did so when equipped with the rest of the panoply. At any rate I know of only one other example besides C8 of a panoplied rider fighting with a hoplite shield in the whole of Archaic vase-painting, a lancer who is lunging

at a mounted Amazon on a late sixth-century Attic vase, A95 (see below, p. 132, *fig. 71*), and his singularity is in marked contrast to the numerous contemporary examples of shieldless armoured cavalrymen in action (e.g. A74–A80, *figs. 69, 70*). Now Anderson supposed that mounted hoplites might 'sling the great shield out of the way onto the back' in order to engage the enemy on horseback.¹⁶ But I can find no example of this practice in Archaic art; and although a warrior might ease his left arm by slinging his shield on his back while riding at the walk,¹⁷ it would be impossible to ride fast or fight with a great hoplite shield in that position exactly because its diameter would be much greater than the length of the back from the neck to the base of the spine. Certainly the shields of our armoured Corinthian riders of categories (ii) – (iv) are much too big; and in any case there is not even a single example of any Corinthian warrior with a shield, either mounted or on foot, who is not holding it.

In conclusion then there is a combination of three indications to suggest that most of the mounted warriors of my categories (iii) and (iv), if they are going to fight as they are shown equipped, will dismount to fight on foot like the hoplites on the other sides of C20 (*fig. 54*) and C23. The horsemen of these vases along with those of C17, C18, C19 and C21 (all MC vases) have the full hoplite panoply of greaves, helmets and shields (and they may also have corslets hidden under their shields), and an LC vase, C24, also shows the mounted squire (*fig. 55*). On three vases they have only a single spear, C19, C20 (*fig. 54*), C22, and although those of the other four have two (C17, C18, C21, C23), a second spear to be carried by the squire as a spare for his master (and also perhaps for his own defence) is no proof of cavalry. The horsemen of one LC vase, C26, have the full panoply except for the greaves, but since there are no hoplites on foot on this vase, there is no way of telling if the omission may have been deliberate as there was in the case of C16, where the single-horsed warriors' lack of both greaves and corslet made a clear contrast with the hoplites fighting on foot on the other side. The horsemen of C26 therefore I tentatively class as mounted hoplites, and those of C16 (although they have only single spears) as cavalrymen. So far however the method of fighting has been assessed only on the assumption that the horsemen always fought as they are shown

equipped. And although the warriors of categories (iii) and (iv) would scarcely have taken all that equipment to war unless they were preparing to fight as hoplites, the presence of a squire would enable them to leave in his charge not only their horses but also their shield and even their greaves if they wanted to fight as cavalry. Some at least may have set out prepared to do either or both according to circumstances. On unsuitable cavalry terrain they might have joined the phalanx, or where cavalry could be effective they might have assumed that role. Certainly most of the landed gentry who kept horses will have been competent horsemen, and they might have practised fighting both as hoplites and as cavalry. And in this case the two spears which some of the mounted hoplites carry will have been more valuable. But all this is pure hypothesis. Two facts only are certain: that there were mounted hoplites and there were squadrons of armoured cavalry; and on balance it seems easier to believe that the cavalrymen of C13 and C14 (*figs. 52b, 53a*) were exclusively cavalrymen rather than that they had stripped down to tunic and helmet from the full panoply of the hoplites on foot and of the mounted hoplites who also appear on C14 (*fig. 53b*).

Of the final category of armed horsemen, those unarmoured but carrying a single long lance, there is a large number of examples, but the majority may not be relevant to the military historian. They were a favourite motif of the Ripe Corinthian vase-painters throughout the full period from 625 to 550 B.C. Sometimes they appear singly, merely in a context of animal motifs (C27, C28b, C29). Sometimes there are two riding one after the other (C30a, C31, C32), sometimes three (C30b, C33b, C34, C35, C36, C37), and sometimes more, so that they fill the whole circumference of the vase (C38, C39). Occasionally two appear antithetically, flanking a non-human motif (C40) or in one case a group of three similarly nude men on foot who are apparently conversing and each holding a spear (C28a, on the other side of which is a single rider with a lance between two cocks). One or two of these riders, as on the last-mentioned scene, appear to be nude, but most of them wear the chiton, and all are beardless youths. None however are shown in an unmistakably military context; but although none are unmistakably hunting either, some at least are almost certainly racing, as on C30b, on which the riders are galloping flat out, and two have goads instead of the spears

carried by the other three. Three vases however have military scenes as well as the light-armed riders, and this may perhaps suggest a military significance although of course no connexion can be taken for granted. C34 has three of the riders walking to the right on one side, and on the other a heroized departure scene featuring a chariot, a hoplite on foot and a heavily armed horseman. C39 has three friezes one above the other, and the middle one shows a file of light-armed riders beneath a hoplite battle-scene. And the third, C33, is more explicit in having a line of galloping riders on one side, and on the other two identical riders antithetically flanking a hoplite duel over a corpse, probably marked as heroic by its inscription. Now Helbig's interpretation of any scene in which mounted ephebes flanked a duel was that they were hoplites' mounted squires. But unlike those of C10 (*fig. 51*) and C12, these mounted youths are not shown with a second horse; and there are several similar examples, of which some have no heroic identifications (C41, C42), some have inscriptions which are presumably heroic (C33, C43), and occasionally there is a Boeotian shield (C44). If then these are mounted squires, it is necessary to suppose that the artist left the second horse to the imagination, since we have already dismissed Helbig's suggestion that hoplite and squire regularly had only a single horse between them. And certainly this explanation is likely enough. But it is also perhaps just possible that they are light-armed cavalrymen waiting behind the lines, or even that the motif of the duel flanked by antithetical horsemen combines the two ideas. It is true of course that no Corinthian vase known to me shows unarmoured riders actually fighting as on the Attic lekanis-lid A7 (*fig. 56*), but a similar mixed force of hoplites and light cavalry may be indicated by C15, of which one side depicts a helmeted horseman leading a file of five running hoplites followed by an unarmoured, tunic-clad rider with a lance, while the other has an unarmoured rider, similar to the last, at the front and rear of five more hoplites. These riders are surely not squires, and they give every appearance of cavalrymen accompanying an infantry phalanx, perhaps on the wings. And if that is so, perhaps some of the similar riders, who must have been a common sight to have inspired so many scenes on Ripe Corinthian vases, were neither riding to the hunt nor practising to be mounted squires (as those leading a second horse on C45 and C46 surely were), but were

light cavalrymen. At any rate, in the absence of fighting scenes there can be no absolute proof of Corinthian unarmoured cavalry, but C15 makes it a strong probability; and that probability is reinforced by contemporary Attic vases which show exactly similar cavalry in action.

Athens

Early Attic Black Figure vase-painting maintains an almost total silence on contemporary warfare. Its preference was for mythical and Orientalizing creatures, sometimes as purely decorative motifs, sometimes in narrative scenes; and its favourite contemporary activity was revelling rather than fighting.¹⁸ But when the military silence is broken from the end of the second decade of the sixth century, the war-horse is immediately represented. The story begins with a couple of sherds from the Acropolis, belonging to the third decade or perhaps a shade earlier. One of them (A5) depicts a panoplied rider, probably one of a cavalcade since the legs of a horse and rider preceding him are also visible. He has a large, round, blazoned shield, twin spears, a stilt-crested helmet and possibly greaves too; and although there is no sign of a second horse or squire, a cavalcade is not a battle, and his equipment suggests that this warrior dismounted to fight on foot like the hoplites shown duelling on other fragments of the vase. The unarmoured rider of the other sherd however appears to be a true cavalryman (A6). Only his outline is distinguishable, but he is certainly aiming a single lance overarm for a downward thrust or throw; and since he appears to be holding a small shield of uncertain shape in front of him, he is a cavalryman rather than a hunter, and to my knowledge the earliest Attic cavalryman who is actually shown fighting from horseback. Then the evidence for military horsemen becomes much greater and clearer once we are firmly into the second quarter of the century: both mounted hoplites and true cavalry are found, and of the latter there are both armoured and unarmoured cavalrymen.

The Naples lekanis-lid already mentioned (A7) provides valuable evidence for mounted hoplites and unarmoured cavalry (*fig. 56*). The subject is the Greek army marching to sack Troy, but there is no obvious archaizing or heroizing either in items of arms and armour or in tactics: there is not so much as a single Boeotian shield, and the

FIG. 56
An Attic Black
Figure lekanis-lid
of 575–550 B.C.
depicting light
cavalry riding at
the head of the
army and mounted
hoplites dis-
mounting to join
the phalanxes
while their squires
hold their horses
(A7)



advancing hoplites, fully panoplied and with single spears, are clearly shown in phalanxes. Behind each of the two phalanxes comes a mounted hoplite, perhaps an officer who has finished making his dispositions, and he is shown dismounting to fight with the identically equipped hoplites of his phalanx while his squire, a mounted unarmed youth wearing a chiton, takes care of his horse for him. Similarly dressed youths (without armour or shields) ride at the head of the advancing army, but they have no second horses and are not acting as squires. They ride abreast, and each is poised a javelin for an overarm throw. Clearly they are a squadron of light cavalry, whose task in battle would be to harass the enemy phalanx, to deal with its cavalry, to lead the pursuit in the event of victory or to try to hinder it in the event of retreat.

Other vases of this period depict both these types of horsemen, the mounted hoplite and the light cavalryman, but not generally both at the same time as A7 does. Among the other evidence for the former, there are some scenes which depict hoplite duels flanked by the mounted, unarmoured squires holding the second horse, as on A8, where one of the squires may hold a spare lance but the other appears to be unarmed. The duel is inscribed and perhaps therefore heroic, but the equipment is completely contemporary. Then there are at least two Siana cups, A9 and A10, which depict hoplite duels on the

outside while the circular field of the bottom inside features a mounted tunic-clad youth who carries a lance, leads a second horse, and is almost certainly to be interpreted in the context of A7 (fig. 56) as a hoplite's mounted squire. A vase from the Athenian Agora (A11) shows a hoplite on foot preceded by his mounted squire leading a second horse exactly as on the Corinthian *hippostrophos-hippobatas* aryballos, C2 (see above, p. 58, fig. 36). Then there are other vases which show a mounted hoplite and his squire riding side by side. There is just enough of a dinos fragment of c. 570 B.C. from the Acropolis (A12a) to indicate a cavalcade of panoplied warriors with the head and shoulders of a youth wearing only the chiton riding on their inside. And later in the second quarter of the century a funeral amphora (A13) features a single, similar pair (except that here the inner rider is an older man, bearded and wearing a felt hat). And if the warrior of the sherd might be thought a possible cavalryman since he has two spears (although a squire often carries a spear, and the rim of a shield is just visible), the clearly panoplied warrior of the later vase will surely dismount to fight with so large a shield; and since only a single spear is visible between the two of them, the inner rider will certainly be an unarmed squire rather than a light cavalryman. A different combination of horsemen side by side is provided by another fragment of the Acropolis dinos (A12b), on which both riders of each pair in a cavalcade appear to be similarly armoured, and they may perhaps be heavy cavalry. Whether they had the hoplite panoply or not is impossible to say since only their helmeted heads and the tips of their spears are visible. If they had no shields they were surely cavalrymen. And if they were panoplied, the absence of an obvious squire in a cavalcade does not alter the probability that in battle they dismounted to fight. What is certain is that a mounted hoplite would not have been wasted as another's squire in contemporary warfare, and the scene on A14, where mounted hoplites are shown flanking a hoplite duel and holding the duellists' horses for them, is clearly marked as heroic by the presence of a goddess standing behind each duellist and holding a spare spear for her favourite. There is less doubt about the rider of A15: he is equipped in the standard hoplite manner with helmet, greaves, large round shield and single spear, and the second horse shown in outline indicates the presence of a mounted squire. Last may be mentioned

FIG. 57
Light cavalry
about to engage
alongside a hop-
lite battle on an
Attic Bf cup of
near the middle of
the sixth century
(A17)



the Vatican's merrythought cup of about the middle of the century (A16), which shows on each side a hoplite dismounting while a mounted youth accompanies him as on A7 (fig. 56). The squires wear chitons (and one has a little cap), and they hold the lances while their masters dismount unencumbered by weapons.

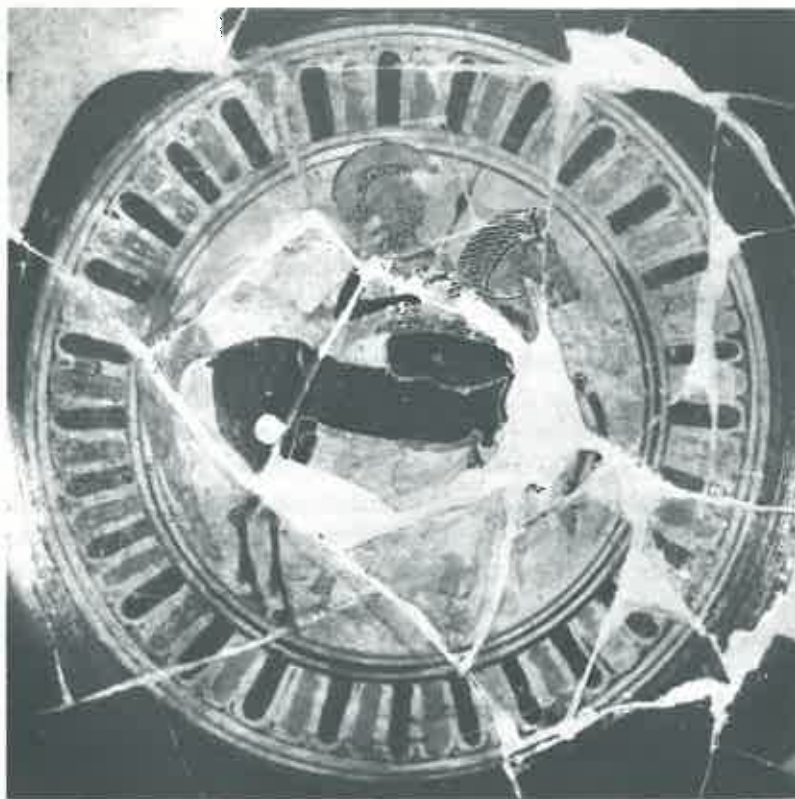
What was suspected in the case of some of the Corinthian horsemen armed with a single spear – that they were not all mounted squires for hoplites – is proved beyond question in the case of Athens in the second quarter of the sixth century since light cavalry is depicted in action. Besides the horsemen leading the army on A7 (fig. 56), a cup in Taranto (A17) shows two hoplites locked in combat while two mounted youths wearing only the chiton ride up from either side and attack each other with javelins poised for an overarm throw (fig. 57). The left-hand youth has only one javelin, but the other is holding a spare one in his left hand, which also manages the reins. And they are clearly attacking each other and not the hoplites since their horses' forelegs disappear behind the infantrymen. Now this scene may provide an alternative explanation for those armed but unarmoured riders who are shown flanking hoplite duels, not fighting themselves but not holding a second horse either. Unless painted spears have worn away, this cannot of course be the explanation of the unarmed riders flanking duels on A18 and A19: they are very probably mounted squires, and if so we must imagine second horses, as we may also be right to do on A20, where two hoplites stand facing each other while the mounted youths standing at either side



FIG. 58
Greek mounted
javelineers riding
against barbarian
horse-archers on
an Attic Bf vase of
c. 565 B.C. (A30)

give every appearance of being in attendance. But those riders who have spears, like the bearded horsemen of A21, could perhaps represent light cavalry ready to operate on the wings of a phalanx battle indicated in cross-section by the two duellists. And what is a possibility for the riders of A21 becomes a virtual certainty for those of A22 and A23. Both these vases depict three hoplites almost frontally in close order while a frontal chiton-clad rider armed with a lance appears on either wing (all four unarmoured except for the rider of the right on A22, who wears a helmet as well as the chiton and has no visible weapon). The bearded, tunic-clad rider who carries a spear on the inside of a Siana cup (A24) but has only the one horse unlike those of A9 and A10, if the warriors on the outside give him a military context, may also be a cavalryman; and the same may be true of the files of four identical riders cantering on one side of A25, A26 and A27 while hoplites battle on the other. On another Siana cup (A28) the mounted, chiton-clad youths are found galloping among hoplites running on foot, and these too are surely cavalry. And finally there are others besides those of A7 and A17 (figs. 56, 57) who are actually fighting. Among a frieze of apparently unconnected subjects including a boar-hunt and a hoplite duel flanked by chariots, a cothon in Munich (A29) features two mounted youths galloping to the right with javelins poised for an overarm throw, and they are as likely to be cavalrymen as hunters. But there is no such doubt about the riders on a roughly contemporary dinos of c. 565 B.C. from the Acropolis (A30), which presents our earliest certain illustration of cavalry fighting cavalry (fig. 58). Twelve Greek javelineers, all bearded, wearing tunics and felt caps and carrying a spare javelin in their left hand while they hurl one with the right, are charging ten barbarian horse-archers. As Anderson noted, the vase may have been dedicated in honour of some Athenian nobleman who lost his life in an Athenian enterprise in the Hellespont; and this frieze may show

FIG. 59
An armoured
Attic cavalryman
of the second
quarter of the
sixth century
wearing a bell-
corslet (A32)



the context of his death, while the main decoration may have been intended to compare it with the fate of a hero of the Trojan War.¹⁹

Armoured cavalry too is clearly attested for the second quarter of the sixth century by at least three vases, A31, A32 and A33. The first of them shows a helmeted horseman in battle, about to ride down a hoplite who advances on foot to meet him. On neither of the other two vases are the cavalrymen actually shown in action, but they are without shields and therefore not equipped to fight on foot. A32, an otherwise undecorated cup, depicts a single rider on the circular field inside (*fig. 59*). He carries a single, long lance, wears a helmet and a fine bell-corslet, and is probably without greaves. A33 has a cavalcade of four similar cavalrymen riding to the right, except that they are without corslets: they wear helmets and tunics (and probably no greaves), and carry single lances. A fourth vase already mentioned



FIG. 60
Hoplites exercising
with their
horses on an Attic
Bf vase of 575–550
B.C. (A37) by the
same painter as A7
(*fig. 56*): the
second horses
shown in outline
suggest mounted
squires

(A22) shows a frontal, helmeted rider stationed on one wing of a hoplite phalanx while an unarmoured rider is positioned on the other, and he too will be a cavalryman although he has no visible weapon. Other vases depict unsquied horsemen either riding or leading single horses, but all are holding shields, and most are probably mounted hoplites. This is true at least in the case of the fully panoplied warriors riding on A34, running with their horses on A35, or standing with them in the heroic scene of A36. None of these warriors are shown with squires who could hold their horses for them while they fought, but they are not battle-scenes. The hoplites of A35, who are running with their horses, are shown in pairs, and they are probably engaging in military exercises. And the same may be the case with the warriors of A37 (*fig. 60*), a vase already discussed as being Alföldi's main evidence for his extraordinary 'Metabatai-Desultorteknik' thesis. It shows single hoplites walking or running with their horses, and second horses are shown in outline: perhaps these second horses indicate pairs or ranks of hoplites running with single horses as clearly shown on A35, but more likely in view of their painter they suggest mounted squires whom the field is not wide enough to show. The motif of warriors on foot with their horses was much better adapted to the narrow bands of cups like A35 and A37 than riders would have been, and the width of the band no doubt dictated the preference. And in the case of A37, the likelihood that the second horse indicates a mounted squire is reinforced by the same artist's similar motif on his lekanis-lid (A7), on which he had space to show the mounted squire (*fig. 56*).²⁰ The riders with large, round shields on A38 however are likely to have been a detachment of cavalry, if indeed they fought at all as they are shown equipped. If they did not, it might be argued on Helbig's thesis that they were the squires of mounted hoplites who had left their shields to fight as cavalry, but this would be a very far-fetched explanation,

and especially so since the other side depicts panoplied hoplites fighting on foot with their shields. In contrast to the hoplites, the riders have no armour at all, neither helmets nor greaves, and are therefore both ill-equipped to fight on foot and sufficiently unburdened to be able to manage so large a shield in the manner of the similarly unarmoured Scythian cavalryman shown in action on vase A94 of the last quarter of the century. But examples of any riders using the large hoplite shield from horseback are so extremely rare that the protection which it afforded cannot generally have been thought worth the trouble of carrying it even by otherwise completely unarmoured cavalymen, of which there are a great number. And this fact reinforces the probability that the panoplied horsemen with shields were mounted hoplites.

Moving to the evidence of the second half of the sixth century we shall find that the following pattern emerges. From near the end of the second quarter the unmistakable representations of cavalry steadily increase throughout the rest of the century, and in particular the representations of cavalry in battle; but whereas the cavalymen of the third quarter are almost exclusively unarmoured, the last quarter provides a striking proliferation of heavy cavalry, armoured but shieldless. Panoplied horsemen who are equipped with the large hoplite shield continue to be depicted with mounted squires in the third quarter, but they are almost invariably shown unsquipped in the fourth. Most of these appear to be mounted hoplites, but there are a few examples of horsemen with hoplite shields who may also be cavalymen besides the extremely rare riders shown actually using a hoplite shield from horseback in battle.

Hoplite duels flanked by mounted squires have all but disappeared by the middle of the century,²¹ but mounted squires in non-heroic contexts are not uncommonly found riding side by side with their masters, holding their horses for them while they dismount, or bringing their horses to them as they prepare to depart to battle. In mythological contexts we find vases like A40 continuing in the third quarter a motif which appeared in the second on A41 and A42, the pursuit of Troilus by Achilles. Troilus is invariably depicted as an unarmoured youth, sometimes carrying a spear, sometimes unarmed, and riding away leading a second horse while Achilles, dressed as a hoplite, runs after him on foot. Even these scenes however may not



FIG. 61
Hoplite and squire
riding side by side
on an Attic Bf
amphora of
c. 560 B.C.
(A45)

be entirely without significance since the painters had to have some reason for depicting their subjects in the guise of a hoplite and a mounted squire, whose contemporary military reality is attested by other vases of at least the second and third quarters of the century. Moreover it is worth noting that not all hoplites preceded by mounted youths with second horses are necessarily Achilles and Troilus, and we may contrast two vases of the second quarter of the century in this respect: on A42 the artist left no doubt about their identity by showing all the features of the story, but on A43 the motif is surely just a hoplite and his squire, and there are no heroic identifications. And even where there is clear heroizing such as the presence of the chariots in the chaotic battle-scene of A44, the hoplite who enters the battle from the far right is surely not Achilles pursuing Troilus but simply a *hippobatas* preceded by his *hippostrophos*, who not only reveals the true identity of the Homeric 'charioteers', but enjoyed a similar (if somewhat reduced) role in the days of the warfare to which his master's hoplite equipment belonged. Of non-heroic scenes, a Lydos amphora of roughly the middle of the century (A45) depicts what is surely a hoplite and his squire riding side by side, and here the squire is unusually the outer rider (fig. 61). The inner rider has the full hoplite panoply and carries a single spear (whose shaft is shown protruding beneath the horse's belly), while his youthful squire wears only the chiton and also carries a spear. A similar vase of the Lydos school (A46) has the same

FIG. 62
Hoplite dismounting while his squire holds his horse on an Attic Bf vase of the third quarter of the sixth century (A48)



FIG. 63
A hoplite and his mounted squire (who has both horses) bid farewell to their families before departing for battle on an Attic Bf vase of 550-525 B.C. (A50)

motif reversed: the unarmoured squire (who in this case is bearded) is the inner rider of the pair. And a third shows a departure scene in which a youthful mounted squire leading a second horse bids farewell to two other youths and an old man (A47). Vases A48 and A49 both belong to the third quarter of the century and both illustrate the mounted hoplite and his squire side by side, the former gliding down from his horse (fig. 62). The warrior of both vases is equipped with helmet, greaves and a round, blazoned shield of very large size. On A49 he holds two spears in the same hand as his shield, and grasps his horse's mane with his right to steady himself. His squire wears a chiton and a 'Scythian-looking' bonnet, but is surely not a Scythian archer as suggested by Miss Richter:²² he is clearly unarmed and his bonnet scarcely makes him an archer; and in any case Scythian archers on Archaic Attic vases are almost invariably footsoldiers, whereas mounted Scythians (e.g. A79, A94) are spearsmen.²³ On A48 the warrior is unarmed except for a sheathed sword whose



FIG. 64
A battle with cavalry and hoplites on an Attic Bf cup of early in the third quarter of the sixth century (A52)

scabbard just protrudes from beneath the lower rim of his shield, and his squire holds his spear for him (fig. 62). A hydria of the same period (A50) depicts a departure scene on either side, and the scenes are almost certainly connected (fig. 63). On the one, a panoplied hoplite takes his leave of two robed men, while on the other a mounted youth wearing a tunic and carrying a lance does the same; and since the latter is leading a second horse like his counterpart on A47, he will be the squire of the hoplite, who will ride to the battlefield. The similar mounted youth leading a second horse and depicted between two robed and bearded men and two women on A51, an earlier vase of about the middle of the century, is also likely to be a hoplite's squire, although this vase (like A47) does not show an equivalent scene for the hoplite.

For true cavalry engaging in battle with hoplites on foot, a vigorous scene is provided by A52 (fig. 64). This band-cup was painted probably early in the third quarter of the sixth century, but it has

been considerably restored and some of its details cannot be accepted with certainty. On one side the chiton-clad rider who is charging from the left against either a hoplite or a mounted archer is also wearing a helmet, and if the details of his equipment are genuine, he is one of the extremely rare cavalymen who use a hoplite shield in battle. With his right arm he is poising a long, single lance for an overarm throw, and he has a small, apparently 'hoplite' shield on his left (of which only the upper part above the elbow is visible, thus indicating the double-grip). An equal rarity in Archaic art is the Greek mounted archer, bearded and tunic-clad, who rides up and bends his bow at him (or less probably at the back of the hoplite on foot). Then the rest of the cavalymen on this side and all those on the other are unarmoured spearmen, apparently all youths (unlike the archer), and all wearing only the chiton. All have a single, long lance, which some thrust underarm while others hurl overarm; and one of the latter has engaged his fingers in a throwing-loop. The tactics are not altogether clear, and sometimes the cavalry may be attacking hoplites, sometimes each other; and it may be that the artist envisaged a cavalry battle taking place alongside a clash of infantry. A clear example of a detachment of light cavalry charging an organized hoplite force is provided by another band-cup, A53 (fig. 65). Four tunic-clad riders, of whom the first three have their single lances poised for an overarm throw, are about to clash with a phalanx of five hoplites advancing to meet them from the right. More light cavalry in action against hoplites appear on A54, an amphora which depicts two riders trampling fallen hoplites in what looks like the mounted pursuit of a routed phalanx. One wears a chlamys, the other a chiton, and the latter is thrusting underarm with a lance at a fleeing hoplite who is turning to protect himself with his shield. On A55, a Lysippides vase of c. 530 B.C., a crouching hoplite is caught between two, probably bearded, chiton-clad horsemen. They may conceivably be meant to be attacking each other since the artist superimposed the hoofs of the forelegs of both horses over the hoplite, but the angle of the single spears which they are poising in their right hands for an overarm thrust or throw suggests that they are aiming at the hoplite rather than at each other. Another Lysippides vase of similar date (A56) shows a cloaked and bearded rider helping in the rout after a hoplite battle and preparing to hurl

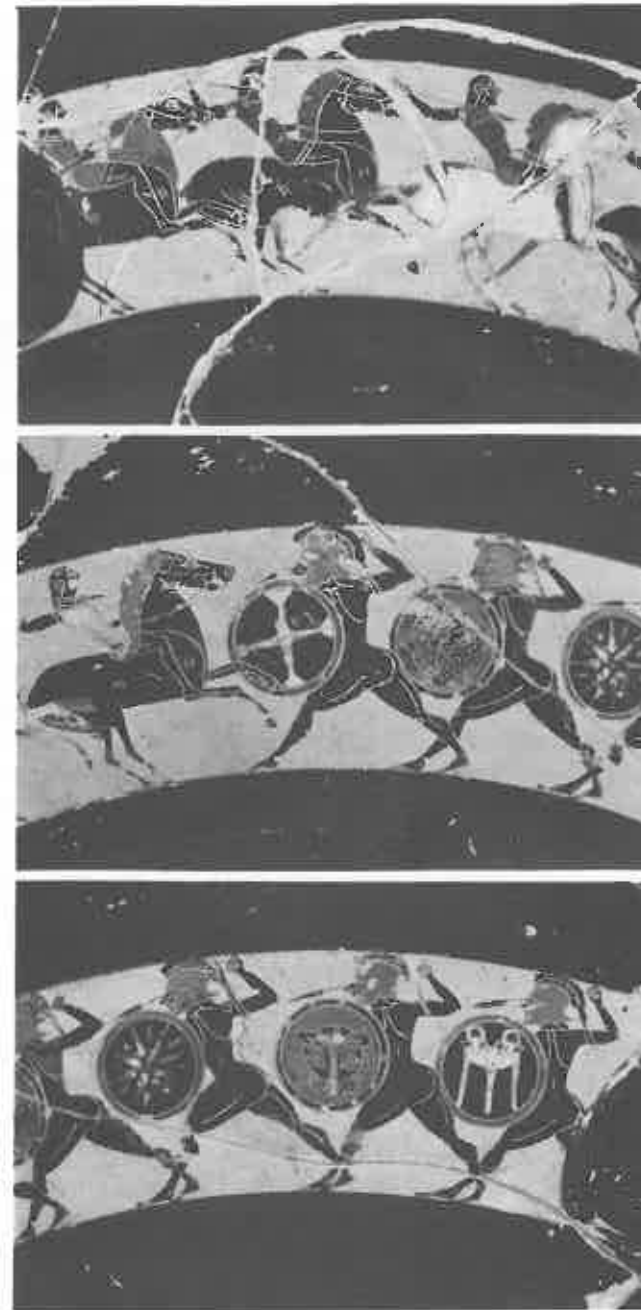


FIG. 65
Light cavalry
charging a hoplite
phalanx on
another Attic Bf
band-cup of the
third quarter of
the sixth century
(A53)

his lance at a fleeing hoplite who turns to defend himself as on A54 and A72 (fig. 68). And a work of the Amasis painter (A57) also shows light cavalry operating against hoplites. A hoplite duel is raging in the centre. To the left a hoplite rushes against a rider wearing a tunic and a conical cap and carrying a single lance, who pulls up his horse with a jerk in the face of the violent attack. To the right the exact opposite is happening. A similar cavalryman is galloping flat out in pursuit of a fleeing hoplite, who is about to be overrun and is turning to lunge at his pursuer with his lance. Neither of these riders however has yet poised his spear for action, unlike the similarly chiton-clad cavalryman of a band-cup fragment, A58. The sherd does not allow us to see his target, but he is clearly leaning back and aiming his long lance for a throw, while behind him a panoplied hoplite on foot turns and defends himself against an unknown assailant (probably not a cavalryman but another footsoldier, to judge from the angle of his spear). The battle-scene of another band-cup (A59), this time complete, is marked as a heroic scene by the inscriptions which name two of the hoplites as Hector and Ajax, and by the Boeotian shield carried by the latter. But even so we should perhaps be wrong to dismiss the scene as irrelevant to contemporary warfare. Even 'Ajax' and 'Hector' are not single duellists but members of opposing phalanxes of three, and the single Boeotian shield is the only archaism among the equipment of all six hoplites. To left and right of the phalanxes come the light-armed, auxiliary troops, an archer and a javelineer both on foot (and Athens was not unacquainted with Scythian archers at this time). Then from far left and far right mounted youths ride up carrying single spears, two from the left and three from the right. Now it seems unlikely that these riders should be interpreted as mounted squires since they have no spare horses and there are not enough of them to go round; and although their nudity is hardly realistic, what the artist had in mind as he planned his composition could well have been contemporary Athenian light cavalry squadrons, which he had seen arrayed behind the phalanx to protect its rear, or preparing to operate on the wings, or waiting to be of use in pursuit (like the riders of A54), or to cover a retreat. Another battle-scene clearly marked as mythological but even more clearly based on contemporary warfare is the Amazonomachy of A60. The battle is being fought by Greek light cavalry



FIG. 66
Two armoured
Attic cavalrymen
of the third quarter
of the sixth
century on vase
A64

against Amazons on foot who have hoplite shields and lances, and apart from the identity of the latter there are no eccentricities of equipment or tactics. The Greek horsemen, bearded and wearing only the usual tunic, are fighting with lances either hurled overarm or lunged underarm at the hoplites.

As in the second quarter of the century, there are horsemen in the third who are unmistakably light cavalrymen although not actually engaged in battle. Recalling A22 and A23, one side of A61 indicates cavalry stationed on the wings of a phalanx by showing a frontal mounted youth with chiton and single lance on either side of four hoplites closely ordered in line abreast. The other side shows light cavalry and infantry mixed: of five frontal figures there are two panoplied hoplites on foot, a bearded, chiton-clad rider with a single lance between them in the centre, and a mounted youth similarly equipped on either flank. Another bearded light cavalryman appears in a departure scene on a roughly contemporary vase, A62. Wearing the chiton and carrying two spears, he sits on his horse between two elderly men to whom he is bidding farewell, while two hoplites walk away on the far left of the scene. More light cavalrymen, this time riding among hoplites on foot in what may be a scene of pursuit, appear on the shoulder panel of A63. Then finally a mastos in the British Museum (A64) gives a rare example of armoured riders



FIG. 67
Unarmoured
cavalrymen
thrusting at re-
treating hoplites
on an Attic Bf
wine-cup of the
last quarter of the
sixth century
(A65)

without shields in the third quarter of the century. The two cavalrymen, who are shown frontally, have tunic, greaves, helmet and two lances (fig. 66).

Attic Black Figure of the last quarter of the century continues to depict light, unarmoured cavalry, often in action, and usually fighting infantry rather than each other. The battle-scene on a cyathos (A65, fig. 67) begins with a youthful, chiton-clad cavalryman making an underarm lunge with his single lance at a hoplite who crouches to defend himself and thrusts at his assailant's horse with his spear. Then further round the vase a second and similar horseman rides up behind a hoplite who is dispatching a fleeing enemy. He holds his lance ready for an underarm thrust, and appears to be helping in the pursuit of retreating infantry. Two similar cavalrymen are taking part in a hoplite battle on A66, but they are not fighting on the same side as in the last scene. The battle centres round a hoplite duel over a corpse. The duel is marked as heroic by the Boeotian shields of the duellists, but otherwise they have the full panoply of contemporary hoplites. From either side a light cavalryman rides up, wearing chiton and chlamys and poising a single lance for an overarm throw: the angle of their javelins indicates that they are riding to attack each other, although the rider from the left is trampling a hoplite who tried to stand in his path. A later vase, A67, recalls the similar cyathos A65 by depicting a chiton-clad cavalryman similarly lunging with his lance at a hoplite who crouches to defend himself, except that this time the hoplite has a spotted chiton which presumably makes him a barbarian. Then on the other side the scene is the same except that the nationalities are reversed, since the hoplite



FIG. 68
Attic Bf plate of
c. 500 B.C. showing
a light cavalryman
helping in the
rout of a hoplite
phalanx (A72)

has a plain chiton and the rider a pointed cap. A departure scene is the subject of A68, which depicts a youth wearing chlamys and petasos, carrying two lances, and looking back over his shoulder as he leads his single horse away from an old man sitting on a stool. And he is clearly departing for battle and not to the hunt since a panoplied hoplite stands on the extreme right of the scene. A69, a slightly later vase belonging to the end of the century, depicts the back view of a mounted youth armed with two spears who stands between two hoplites on foot, one of whom is walking away and glancing back over his shoulder. A70, roughly contemporary, presents an identical scene except that the horseman is shown frontally. A71 has a hoplite on foot apparently caught between two cavalrymen who are like the horsemen of A69 and A70 in having two lances, but unlike them have 'Scythian' bonnets. A72 (fig. 68) shows a bearded, light cavalryman who appears to be helping in the

FIG. 69
A clash of
armoured cavalry-
men on an Attic
Bf fragment of the
late sixth century
(A74)



roust of a phalanx after a hoplite engagement, and he recalls the similar scenes of A54 and A56. And finally A73 of the early fifth century shows a cavalryman standing with his horse between two hoplites: he is bearded, wears the chlamys, and carries three lances.

Armoured cavalrymen without shields like the single rider of A32 (*fig. 59*) become common only in the last quarter of the century, and now they are often shown actually fighting. And unlike the contemporary unarmoured cavalry they are often shown fighting each other as well as infantrymen. Not infrequently vase-paintings depict some or all of their cavalry as Amazons, but many other scenes are entirely 'Greek'; and even in the case of Amazons, their mythological identity does not automatically mean that their equipment and manner of fighting owe nothing to contemporary Attic cavalry. Of combat scenes which are entirely Greek and have no archaizing or heroizing features we may cite first a fragmentary cup, A74 (*fig. 69*), which depicts two cavalrymen clashing on rearing horses over the body of a fallen hoplite. Each wears a heavy helmet, a chiton, a short cape and greaves and is poised a single lance in his right hand for an overarm thrust or throw. Similar 'all-Greek' scenes of cavalrymen meeting over a fallen hoplite occur on A75 and A76 (*fig. 70*). On A75 they wear the chiton, chlamys, helmet and greaves, but unlike those of A74 (*fig. 69*) they both have two spare lances in their left hand (which also holds the bridle) while they prepare to use a third in their right: one is lunging underarm, the other aiming an overarm throw, and since both are clearly aiming not at each other but at the hoplite in the centre, they are both on the same side in the battle. On A76 in contrast, the horsemen are clearly enemies charging



FIG. 70
Armoured lancers
engaging over a
fallen hoplite on a
late sixth-century
Attic Bf vase (A76)

each other with lances levelled, and like the cavalryman of A32 (*fig. 59*) they wear metal bell-corslets over their chitons (*fig. 70*). Besides their helmets (one with a flat crest, the other stilted), they wear greaves and have swords slung at their sides from the shoulder, and one has a second lance in his left hand. A corslet is also worn by the Greek cavalrymen in similar scenes on A77, A78 and A79, but their mounted opponents are respectively an armoured Amazon inscribed as 'Penthesilea' (being attacked by 'Achilles'),²⁴ an unarmoured Amazon, and a Scythian cavalryman (also unarmoured, and wearing a high-pointed cap). On A80 another mounted Amazon (unusually shown wearing greaves) attacks an armoured Greek lancer without corslet as he tramples an Amazonian hoplite. More armoured Greek cavalrymen, mounted but not fighting, appear on A81 and A82. The former depicts a frontal horseman with helmet, chiton, greaves and two lances, while panoplied hoplites stand with their shields on either side of his horse. And the single riders who form the motif on either side of A82 are similarly equipped except for the addition of a corslet and the absence of greaves. Then there are vases which depict cavalrymen leading their horses. A83 for example is a departure

scene in which a panoplied hoplite is taking his leave of an old man sitting on a stool while on either side a cavalryman stands holding his horse: both horsemen wear a helmet, chlamys and greaves (no sword, shield or corslet), and are armed with a lance. Another departure scene on A84 shows a helmeted and bare-legged cavalryman with two lances standing on the far side of his horse, and a man and woman standing to left and right. And other vases like A85 and A86, the former an early Red Figure work, simply show the helmeted warrior holding his lance and standing with his horse in no particular context. Now all these cavalrymen were Greek, but there are also many vases which depict armoured Amazonian cavaliers out of battle, and A87, A88, A89 and A90 (if indeed this last really is an Amazon) will provide a representative selection. All wear helmets and carry one (A87) or more usually two lances (A88, A89, A90), and wear a chiton (A87, A88, A90) or a chlamys (A89); most have swords at their sides (A87, A88, A89), and none have greaves.

At this point it is necessary to reconsider for some Attic vases the problem already tackled for Corinthian. In the case of all the armoured horsemen discussed above it is usually clear that they are cavalrymen, whether they are actually shown fighting or not, since without shields they are ill-equipped to dismount and fight on foot. But it is not always as easy to determine the roles of those who are found riding or holding a horse with a round shield either held or slung behind their backs. A few of these are found in the third quarter of the century besides those panoplied horsemen with mounted squires who were noted as being almost certainly mounted hoplites; and more are found in the last quarter when squired mounted hoplites have virtually disappeared, and when they are greatly outnumbered by the shieldless armoured cavalrymen who appear so commonly both on and off the battlefield. Now although the absence of a shield is a good guide to a cavalryman, its presence is not of course an absolute criterion of a mounted hoplite; but two points can be restated: (i) that it would be impossible to fight from horseback with a large shield of the usual hoplite type hanging on the back, although of course it cannot be assumed that a warrior thus equipped when leading his horse or riding slowly would not hold it in battle;²⁵ (ii) that while it is not impossible to fight from horseback while holding a hoplite shield on the left arm, the extreme

rarity of examples is in sharp contrast to the large number of shieldless cavalrymen shown in action (both armoured and unarmoured). Besides the helmeted spearman of A52 (*fig. 64*) who rode into the attack holding a fairly small but apparently hoplite shield, two cavalrymen of the last quarter of the century are shown fighting with hoplite shields on A94 and A95. On A94, a hoplite on foot is caught between Scythian horsemen who are about to hurl their lances down at him. Both riders are unarmoured, wearing only chitons, peaked headdresses, and swords or daggers at the waist; and the cavalryman riding from the left is unmistakably carrying a large, convex, emblazoned hoplite shield on his left arm: the realistic position of the shield, which completely hides the arm, clearly indicates that the artist envisaged the double grip. It does seem odd that if an artist had seen hoplite shields used by riders, he was able to portray the bridle passing impossibly over the face of the shield before disappearing behind the Scythian's right thigh. But perhaps this one carelessness should not be allowed to detract from the realism of the rest, and there is no reason to doubt that even so large a hoplite shield was occasionally used from horseback, as for example by one of the mounted barbarians of A96 (probably Thracians): one has the Thracian pelta, but the other has a convex, round shield hanging on his back, and since both are unarmoured they are unlikely to dismount to fight. The cavalryman shown in action with a hoplite shield on A95 however is definitely Greek, although he is clashing with a mounted Amazon over a fallen Amazonian hoplite (*fig. 71*). And he is fully panoplied. Wearing helmet, greaves, and a bell-corslet over his chiton, he carries a large, round shield on his left arm, and although his body obscures the centre of the shield, the position of his elbow indicates that his arm passes through a *porpax*, and he manages both the bridle and a spare lance in his left hand (as we should expect the Scythian of A94 to have done). But if the realism of this portrayal indicates that the artist had seen contemporary cavalrymen fighting thus equipped, it also helps to explain why the vast majority preferred to fight without such a shield. Its circular shape, large size, and no doubt considerable weight made it a clumsy and unwieldy shield for the rider, and it is not surprising that the evidence of the vase-paintings reveals that it was generally considered more trouble than it was worth (even by other-

FIG. 71
A Greek rider, unusually shown in action with a hoplite shield, clashes with a mounted Amazon on an Attic Bf amphora of the late sixth century (A95)



wise unprotected riders) for the limited protection which it gave, which was clearly only to the left side. Cavalry who do have shields tend to have the crescent-shaped pelta, as do the armoured riders of A97 who are charging two hoplites, or the Amazon rider of A98. But although this shield is not uncommonly carried by barbarians (both mounted and on foot), it is as yet rarely used by Greeks. (Perhaps the strange cavalymen of A97 are Greek, possibly Northern Greek, but they could very well be Orientals.) Occasionally perhaps a small round shield was used. The cavalryman's shield on A52 (if it is genuine) is fairly small; and a very small shield is carried along with a lunate pelta by a rider who appears on one side of a sixth-century Attic gravestone, and who may be the squire of the aristocratic youth who appears on the other.²⁶ Fairly small shields are also held by the youthful javelineers who gallop along the famous terracotta revetment in Thasos of the same period: they are certainly not hoplite shields since they are held at arm's length, and Richter suggested that they were the crescent-shaped pelta, but they are perhaps more likely to be convex shields of round or oval shape shown in profile.²⁷ At any rate, the use of any round shield from horseback finds but few examples, and an attempt to estimate how Greek horsemen of the later Attic vase-paintings were likely to fight with their shields, whether as cavalry or on foot, must begin with a

marked prejudice against the former possibility, although the size of the shield may be a relevant factor to take into account along with the rest of their equipment.

To begin with the middle of the century, A99 depicts three riders galloping to the left one after another, and since they are equipped exactly like the hoplites running on foot on the other side, complete with the vast round shield, helmet, single lance and greaves, they are most probably mounted hoplites. And they look as though they could be taking part in a race for mounted hoplites in the same way that the other scene appears to be the hoplitodrome. 'Acamas' and 'Demophon', the two panoplied warriors leading their horses and carrying convex, round shields on their backs on A100, a vase of the 540s, may also be hoplites since they are fully equipped to fight in the phalanx. But the youth who stands on the far side of his horse on A101 (and has a largely obliterated counterpart on the other side of the vase) is more likely to have been a cavalryman. He carries a convex, apparently round shield on his back, which may well be fairly small and easily manageable (although only the top part is visible above the horse's back). He is bare-legged, wears only helmet and chlamys, and over his shoulder he carries two long and very thin lances from which little pennants are fluttering. The motif of a warrior standing on the far side of his horse and with a shield slung on his back is also found in the last quarter of the century, as on A102 and A103 for example. The former is a fanciful work and hard to make out, but it is possible to discern a helmet, chlamys, two spears and a shield either badly drawn or of strange shape, and the subject may perhaps be an Amazon. The other (A103) is a careful work. The shield on the warrior's back is convex and of Boeotian shape, and clearly fastened by straps which emerge horizontally from the scallops to join other straps which pass tightly round each shoulder, but he is otherwise unarmoured except for his helmet and appears to have no weapons. Now the shield is at least of a suitably small size to wear on the back while riding, and perhaps the artist had seen shields of that size fastened in the way he so carefully depicted. But if so, they were surely round or oval (since the little scallops of this shield can have served no useful purpose); and a shield so fastened at the beginning of a battle would have to stay on the back, since it could not be swung round or readily detached for manipulation.

Armoured horsemen holding round shields occur on A104, A105 and A106, of which the warriors of A104 ride like those of A99, while the others lead their horses. A104 shows two panoplied horsemen riding side by side, and since they are accoutred in every detail like the panoplied hoplite who walks behind them on foot in company with a Scythian archer, they may well have been mounted hoplites. A105 is a departure scene on which a woman is bidding farewell to a panoplied hoplite on foot, while a youth carrying two spears and leading a horse is walking towards an armoured warrior on the right who, unlike the other, has no greaves or weapons but only the helmet, round shield and chlamys. And if the youth is bringing the horse and spears to him, and if he is fully dressed, he may well have been a cavalryman since his bare legs and twin spears will contrast with the greaves and single lance of the hoplite. The panoplied warrior complete with round blazoned shield and greaves who stands with his horse on A106 also has two spears in contrast to the single lances of two other panoplied warriors, who have Boeotian shields and are without horses; but in this case his complete panoply tips the balance in favour of the mounted hoplite, and the second lance could well be the spare which we have so often observed being carried by a mounted squire on earlier vases. Another panoplied warrior standing with his horse appears on A107. He has a stilt-crested helmet, greaves and corslet, a sword slung at his side, and on his back a large, round, convex shield with a tripod blazon. He holds twin lances, and stands facing his horse's head as though preparing to mount. Finally, and unusually for this period, a mounted squire may be shown on A108. To the left a hoplite is marching away glancing back over his shoulder, while in the centre a mounted youth, wearing a Thracian cloak and carrying two spears, leads a second horse to the right towards an exactly similar hoplite, behind whom stands a Scythian archer. Now this brief analysis of armoured horsemen with shields, while necessary to complete a representative survey of the ceramic evidence for how the richer landed gentry of sixth-century Athens used their horses in war, is necessarily unsatisfactory and sometimes inconclusive. What is clear however is that while there probably were cavalrymen who used the hoplite shield from horseback, the vast majority did without shields altogether, and no doubt did better without them.

To return very briefly to Helbig and Alföldi, the evidence of the vase-paintings reveals how wrong they both were, the former in maintaining that there was no true cavalry in sixth-century Athens, the latter in insisting that there were no horsemen who were not true cavalry. They had made the common mistake of treating true cavalry and mounted hoplites as mutually exclusive. But two points from their arguments remain to be briefly mentioned, if only for the sake of completeness. When Helbig found representations of light horsemen actually fighting, he maintained that they were the squires of mounted hoplites. Now the much greater volume of evidence available to-day allows us to dismiss this explanation out of hand, but even his own evidence provided cases which his thesis could not explain. It was because he realized that the detachment of cavalry shown charging a hoplite force on A53 (*fig. 65*) could not be hoplites' mounted squires that he had to make them Thessalians, although they are dressed only in the usual chiton of his typical Athenian squire and have not the slightest Thessalian identification.²⁸ And there is a more fundamental objection, that a squire whose task it was to control two horses and keep them at hand was not likely to be able to engage in the battle himself, unless perhaps in the emergency of a rout, or perhaps in a pursuit in which his master had remounted; but I know of no painting which illustrates a joint pursuit by mounted hoplites and squires, and if it might be argued that the exhausted hoplite would stay behind and leave pursuit to his squire, there remain many examples of light cavalry operating while the hoplites are still engaged. This brings us to Alföldi's point, which concerns hoplites shown on foot with unarmoured riders who have either one or two horses. He maintained that the hoplites were ἀμειπτοι, whose task was to protect and support the rider at close quarters against other hoplites.²⁹ Now in the case of those riders with two horses, little needs to be said except that only the blindest determination to refute Helbig's thesis at every point could have led him to cite the squared hoplites of A7 (*fig. 56*) as 'perfect Attic evidence'. Even if the youth could have managed two horses and fought at the same time, his lack of weapons could only make his contribution to the victory a singularly negative one. And in any case it is incredible that a panoplied hoplite could ever have been the ἀμειπτος of a light horseman, even where the latter was armed

and without a second horse. The hoplite's strength was with other hoplites in the phalanx, and he would have been both wastefully and ineffectively employed in trying to protect a horseman with whom he could never have kept up. A hoplite could not run for long under the weight of his armour, and when real ἄμιπποι are mentioned for the first time in Thucydides' description of the Boeotian army in 418 B.C., they are of course light-armed, as indeed were the ψιλοὶ who are described as combining with cavalry (though not actually called ἄμιπποι) in his account of Spartolus in 429 B.C.³⁰

'Chalcidian'

The home of 'Chalcidian' pottery is uncertain. The alphabet and dialect of its painted inscriptions effectively limit the possibilities to Chalcis in Euboea, to some Chalcidian colony in the West, or to a colonial workshop in Etruria. The high quality of the work makes it hard to believe that the potters and painters were trained outside mainland Greece. And Chalcis itself has been explored only casually. But the distribution of the pottery, of which most has been found in Etruria and Southern Italy and none East of the Adriatic, combines with the absence of influence on the receptive schools of Etruria and Boeotia to favour the possibility that it was produced in the West by emigrant Greek artists.³¹ At any rate, wherever its home, it was probably an area which was more suited to the rearing and use of horses than either Attica or Corinthia, and the pottery certainly bears witness to the use of the horse in war. If it was Chalcis in Euboea, the city was one in which Aristotle observed a connexion between early aristocratic constitutions and the martial supremacy of aristocratic knights;³² and the Chalcidian aristocracy called themselves the *Hippobotae*, who were still in possession of their lands and perhaps also of the government in the last decade of the sixth century.³³ If it was a Chalcidian colony in the West, the warfare of the metropolis had most probably been transferred from that city along with its political institutions.³⁴ And if the 'Chalcidian' artists were working in Etruria, they were Greeks themselves, the warfare which they depicted looks Greek, and even if it was local, it was largely Greek at second hand since Etruria imported both hoplite equipment and tactics (along with pottery) from the Greek colonists.³⁵ The date of 'Chalcidian' at least is reasonably certain, and whatever contempor-



FIG. 72
Hoplite duel on a
'Chalcidian' vase
of the second half
of the sixth
century (X7)

ary military evidence it provides will belong to the second half of the sixth century.

Armed horsemen both armoured and unarmoured appear frequently on the vases, but with the exception of an armoured mounted archer on X1, who looks contemporary (*fig. 76*), and an unarmoured Bellerophon who rides to attack the Chimaera with a lance as on X2, there are no scenes of fighting from horseback. There are however very many battles on foot between hoplites, often inscribed with heroic names (X3, X4, X5, X6), sometimes not (X7, X8, X9), and all equipped in the full panoply of Corinthian helmet, hoplite shield, bell-corslet and greaves, sometimes with a sheathed sword hanging at their side, and invariably using the single thrusting-spear (*fig. 72*). Their equipment and its method of use seldom give any indication of archaizing or heroizing, which seems to be confined to inscriptions, or to the presence of a goddess (X3, X4, X5), or very exceptionally there is a 'Boeotian' shield (X10). The majority of the warriors have the large, round, hoplite shield, accurately portrayed either from inside or out or in profile. Some however have a large oval shield, held vertically with the arm outstretched through the *porpax* and with the left hand clasping an *antilabe* at the lower edge

FIG. 73
'Chalcidian'
mounted hoplites
accompanied by
their squires on
vase X16



(X11, X12, X13, X14); and it is true that this type, unlike the round shield, could afford effective protection in battle only if held with the arm stiffened. But this is no adequate reason to reject it as heroic property: it is always shown so held, and indeed several warriors with vast round shields hold them with arm outstretched in the same way, which does not look unrealistic on X13 or X7 (*fig. 72*).³⁶

With the exception of the mounted archer of X1 (*fig. 76*), the armoured horsemen are invariably complete with all the items of the hoplite panoply, and are attended by mounted, unarmed squires (*figs. 73, 74, 75*). Often the knight and his squire are shown riding side by side (X15, X16, X17, *figs. 73, 74*), but on X18 the knight ('Hector') is on foot taking leave of his wife ('Andromache') while his mounted squire ('Cebriones') holds his horse ready for him (*fig. 75*); and on X19 the knight is mounted and holding a second horse while the squire approaches saluting him. Some scenes are marked as heroic by inscriptions (X15, X18), while others have no heroic identification (X16, X17, X19). Most of the knights have round shields (X15, X16, X18, X19), usually blazoned, occasionally with a heavily bossed rim (X16, *fig. 73*). A few have the oval type (X17, *fig. 74*). And all carry two stout lances, except 'Hector' of X18, who



is still saying farewell and presumably has not yet taken his spears (*fig. 75*). Now the two lances would be more necessary to a cavalryman than to a hoplite, but one could easily be a spare for the squire to hold during battle. And the absence of any examples of fighting from horseback, coupled with the large number of battles on foot between hoplites identically equipped and the invariable presence of a mounted squire who could hold his master's horse and keep it at hand for him, suggests that these knights dismounted to fight. And if so, there is no reason to doubt that the vase-painters were reflecting an important aspect of contemporary warfare. However useful true cavalry might be, the hoplite phalanx was the backbone of the Greek army, whatever the terrain. And if a state had wide territories and broad plains, and if it had a rich, landed class of sufficient size to provide it, there would be great military advantage in a fully mounted hoplite force which was able to travel fast and arrive fresh to give battle wherever necessary. Of course these knights may also have fought as true cavalry on occasions, perhaps leaving their shields with their squires, but if so there is no ceramic evidence for it.

The mounted archer of X1 (*fig. 76*) is an interesting figure. He is

FIG. 74
A 'Chalcidian' departure scene showing a mounted hoplite with an oval shield (Xr7)



FIG. 75
'Hector', equipped as a hoplite, bids farewell to 'Andromache' while his mounted squire waits with the horses on 'Chalcidian' vase Xr8



being pursued by a hoplite on foot (wearing helmet, greaves, chiton and sword, and carrying a large, round shield), and as he gallops away he turns and aims a Parthian shot at his pursuer. Over a tunic with a flared skirt he wears a hoplite's bell-corslet, and he has two



FIG. 76
An armoured mounted archer aims a Parthian shot at a pursuing hoplite on 'Chalcidian' Vase Xr1

other pieces of the hoplite panoply in the form of greaves and a high-crested helmet. And slung at his left side on a shoulder strap is a large quiver. The ensemble is certainly unusual, but there is nothing impractical about it. On the contrary, it looks carefully contrived to give a cavalryman the most complete protection consistent with mobility. The position of the reins round the waist (leaving both hands free) adds to the realism of the portrayal, and it seems very probable that the artist was painting what he knew. Whether or not any Greek state either in Euboea or the West ever had such a force of armoured mounted archers must remain an open question, but if he was real, he could perhaps have been Etruscan, or a member of a Greek cavalry force which had borrowed the techniques of mounted archery from the Etruscans or their neighbours: a contemporary Etruscan Black Figure 'Pontic' vase gives evidence of mounted archers, and although they wear high-pointed caps and are unarmoured, their tactics and the way they manage the bridle are the same, as is the skirted tunic (which is also worn by the helmeted, mounted javelineers who pursue them).³⁷ Other mounted archers, this time unarmoured, occur along with squired mounted hoplites on Xr15, a vase liberally inscribed with heroic names but showing no sign of heroized or archaized equipment. A hoplite on foot, 'Demo-

docus', is greaving, while 'Hippolyte' holds his spear and his round shield, and his helmet stands on the ground beside him. To the left, a mounted hoplite rides side by side with his bearded squire. To the right, another panoplied hoplite is putting on his helmet. And further to the right a mounted archer, wearing only the chiton and with his bow and quiver slung on his back, sits holding a second horse while a similar archer on foot takes his leave. Besides chiton, bow and quiver the latter has ankle-boots with forward-curving tongues. Again, the realism of the scene suggests acquaintance with such warriors. Perhaps these too may be Etruscan, although if a Greek state formed a corps of mounted archers in an area in which they were common, they might well have taken advantage of items of native equipment just as the Etruscans borrowed hoplite armour and tactics.

Like Corinthian pottery of the first half of the century, the 'Chalcidian' of the second also favours the motif of chiton-clad youths riding either singly or in files, and carrying a long, single lance. And also like Corinthian, it fails to show them fighting from horseback (except for Bellerophon). The single rider of X20, or the riders galloping all round X21, X22, X23, X24 and X25, or the two galloping towards each other on X26, need not have any military significance at all, and even these last do not appear to be riding to attack each other since their lances are not poised for action. It is just possible however that they are light cavalrymen, and there may be some significance in the coincidence that the squires who accompany the panoplied knights are never armed whereas these riders, who have lances, are never shown leading a second horse. A military role may just possibly be suggested for the single rider of X20 by the hoplite battle raging on the other side. And X10 actually shows hoplites and two of these riders in the same scene. Two hoplites are fighting furiously in the centre, and from either side a tunic-clad rider (bearded this time) gallops up carrying a lance; and both are pulling up their horses with a jerk. Even here however there is no evidence of hostile intent, and the spear remains at the port (although it may be that the riders have only just seen each other, and are pausing to prepare for action). In conclusion, while light cavalry remain a probability, 'Chalcidian' vases clearly attest the use of the horse by only three types of warrior: much the commonest is the

panoplied knight who is accompanied by a mounted squire and almost certainly dismounts to fight as a hoplite in the phalanx; and there are the two types of mounted archer, the one heavily armoured, the other unarmoured. Bronze however may provide an armoured cavalryman like those of Corinthian vases C13 and C14 (figs. 52, 53). G. von Lücken and E. Langlotz have associated the mid-sixth century bronze rider from Grumentum with 'Chalcidian' artistry.³⁸ He wears only helmet and tunic, and his hands are pierced for reins, or perhaps he held a lance in his right hand and the bridle in his left.

East Greece

The local painters give scant evidence for contemporary East Greek warriors other than hoplites.³⁹ The vases depict riders, but except for Bellerophon they tend to be unarmed and are never shown in battle.⁴⁰ Contemporary warfare is better represented on the Clazomenian sarcophagi for the period c. 530 to c. 470 B.C., but again they attest only hoplite warfare in an area famous for its horses.

The head-piece of Borelli Painter no. 7, a sarcophagus from Clazomenae painted early in the last quarter of the sixth century, depicts a typical hoplite battle.⁴¹ Fighting two against two they wear greaves, skirted tunics, and huge helmets with the characteristic sickle-shaped crest. They carry emblazoned hoplite shields equipped with aprons, and they are thrusting overarm with single lances. To left and right the battle-scene is flanked by a rider, apparently unarmed, who may perhaps represent mounted squires. Similar hoplite battles occur on the British Museum's famous sarcophagus of the first quarter of the fifth century.⁴² The lowest of the three friezes on the left side of the lid is devoted to a full-scale battle between large numbers of hoplites, and it has no heroic indications, and no horses or chariots or squires.⁴³ On the top frieze a hoplite stands with a horse, but the rest of this heroized scene is devoted to the mounting of chariots by numerous hoplites, one of whom is dragging a woman into his chariot after him. On the right side of the lid the lower frieze is again a contemporary-looking battle, this time a cavalry charge against a hoplite force (fig. 77). Now the identity of the riders is uncertain, but they are clearly Asiatic barbarians, and most probably Persians. Their bows and quivers are clearly visible fastened at their sides and projecting backwards over their horses' rumps, and they

FIG. 77
Panel of a Clazomenian sarcophagus of the early fifth century showing East Greek hoplites being attacked with cutlasses by Persian cavalry who have bows and quivers strapped at their sides



wear some kind of soft headdress. Both these features are of course common to Scythians and Persians (although Scythians more often had pointed caps), but the distinctive Persian feature is the long cutlass with which five of the six cavalymen are preparing to slash at the hoplites. This weapon never occurs in the hands of a Scythian to the best of my knowledge, whereas it is used by the Persians of several Attic vases of the earlier fifth century (after *c.* 490 B.C.).⁴⁴ The mounted Persian of an Attic Red Figure cup in Orvieto for example, with his characteristic headdress and his bow strapped to a large quiver fastened to a belt round his waist, would suit in every detail the silhouettes of the contemporary sarcophagus.⁴⁵ And the date certainly suits Persians rather than the once universally accepted Cimmerians, whose great invasion had ended about a century and a half earlier. A similar archer, this time unhorsed and being dispatched by two hoplites, provides the central motif of the top frieze of this panel, while three racing-bigae driven by single charioteers fill the greater part of the frieze on either side. But there is no evidence of Greek cavalry. The interior end-panels of the sarcophagus itself depict a panoplied hoplite on foot between two other hoplites, who are each holding a horse and are identically accoutred except that they have no shield or lance.⁴⁶ But it would be unwarranted to suggest that these are heavy cavalry. They are unarmed, and their purpose is clearly no more than to support the central motif in a purely decorative arrangement. If perhaps in doing so they signify the use of horses in war, they are more likely to have derived from mounted hoplites, and so too is the hoplite who stands with a horse among all the heroic war-chariots of the lid.

If it seems odd to find no representation of Greek cavalry, that deficiency may have been supplied by the head-piece of Borelli no. 8, an earlier sarcophagus than the last and painted perhaps between *c.* 525 and 510 B.C.⁴⁷ The subject is clearly an attack by two cavalry-

men on two hoplites, but the fragments show only the legs and rump of the horses and no trace of the riders is preserved. They could equally well have been barbarians like the cavalymen attacking hoplites on Albertinum Group no. 19, which preserves the body of one rider and the legs of another.⁴⁸ It is not clear what weapons they are using, but their colourful costume with its elaborately embroidered trousers and upper garments identifies them generally as Asiatics, and probably as Persians. Finally there is an epigram concerning Magnesia in the Palatine Anthology which records the death in battle of a warrior called Hippaemon, who was buried with his horse Podargos, his dog Lethargos, and his squire Babes.⁴⁹ There is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine epitaph of the late Archaic period, and R. M. Cook has pointed out that it could well have belonged to an Archaic grave stele found at Dorylaeum, which gives an admirable illustration of the characters in the poem.⁵⁰ Hippaemon is shown riding his horse and looking back over his shoulder. Behind him is the outline of his squire, and under the horse there are traces of a dog. But unfortunately the stele is too worn to reveal any of Hippaemon's equipment besides the helmet discerned by Schede, and we cannot tell if he was likely to be a cavalryman or a mounted hoplite. The only certain conclusion that we can draw from the sadly inadequate evidence for East Greece is that the strength of armies was the strength of hoplites, and that the wealthy gentlemen who occupied the sarcophagi fought as hoplites and not as cavalymen. If the reputation of East Greece combines with Borelli no. 7 and with the warriors holding horses on the British Museum's complete sarcophagus to suggest that they used horses in war, they were mounted hoplites. And if so, the value of a force of mounted hoplites, both strategically and personally, would have been as great on the broad plains of Asia Minor as in Euboea or the West.