

Marathon is a special case to which they are inapplicable, I can see no evidence; we cannot simply argue that, willy-nilly, the fleet *must* have made a fast run to save Plutarch's credibility). Casson's figures have not been disputed, to my knowledge, in the 24 years they have been in print (first published in *TAPA* 1951, p. 146 f.). I am not myself a specialist in shipping, and am willing to accept amendment in detail of Casson's position, but on the whole the analysis seems to me to be right, and it seems fair that anyone not applying it to the Marathon voyage must first bear the onus of disproof.

Finally, it may help to set the Persians' speed in context if we compare it with the speeds of modern sailing craft of sophisticated design. There are two obvious subjects, the tea-clippers and ocean-racing yachts. The log of the fastest run ever made by a clipper (the *Thermopylae*, sailing from London on November 5, 1868) has been published<sup>3</sup> and it shows that speeds of 10–12 knots (the speed of Hammond's caïque) were quite uncommon. Racing for home, they were achieved on 18 days out of 91, just 1 in 5. When one realises that at 12 knots Hammond's caïque was making a speed achieved on only 4 days out of 91 by a record-breaking tea-clipper one must wonder whether so exceptional a performance offers useful evidence. What of the yachts, then? I am informed by Mr Emil 'Bus' Mosbacher and Mr Olin J. Stephens II, the skipper and the designer of the American yacht *Intrepid* which defeated the Australian challenger *Dame Pattie* in the 1967 America's Cup, that 'the maximum speed of a 12-meter [yacht] would be something slightly over 9½ knots, but the average speed would probably be nearer 7 or so'. In fact, in the 1967 competition *Intrepid* usually completed the course at an overall average of about 6½ knots. We must surely at least take a second look at a Persian fleet that, at 7 knots, manages to go faster, horse-transporters and all—*inhabile navium genus*—than the *Intrepid* winning the 1967 America's Cup.

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<sup>3</sup> W. S. Lindsay, *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce* (London, 1876), Vol. III, pp. 613–17.

NOTE: For further study of this voyage and the problems it raises the interested reader may wish to refer to my article 'Marathon: The Persians' Voyage', now being published in *TAPA* Vol. 104 (1975).

### The Man-Eating Horses of Diomedes in Poetry and Painting

(PLATE XVIII)

Diomedes, king of the Bistones, a war-like people of Thrace, owned man-eating horses, which Herakles had to subdue: according to Apollodoros (ii 5.8) this was his eighth labour. Neither the number nor the

order of Herakles' labours is certain;<sup>1</sup> our earliest evidence for a canonical twelve is the metopai decoration of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (470–457 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> The second metope from the south corner of the eastern end of the temple<sup>3</sup> is badly preserved, but enough remains to make it clear that Herakles was here represented standing in front of a single horse,<sup>4</sup> subduing it in much the same manner as he does the Cretan Bull on the west end of the Temple. Earlier, in the sixth century, Bathykleas had represented Herakles 'subduing Diomedes' on the 'throne' at Amyklai (Pausanias iii 8.12),<sup>5</sup> but of this nothing remains.

Until the publication in 1961<sup>6</sup> of a papyrus with more than fifty new verses of a poem by Pindar, our earliest literary evidence for Herakles' encounter with Diomedes was the *Alkestis* of Euripides (438 B.C.): Herakles comes to the palace of Thessalian Admetus, on his way to the Bistones (ll. 482 ff.).<sup>7</sup> The new poem, which probably antedates the *Alkestis* by several decades, begins, as preserved, with a brief mention of Herakles' theft of Geryon's cattle and the moral implications of his deed.<sup>8</sup> Then the poet turns to another labour in which Herakles was 'making just what is most violent', the subduing of Diomedes' horses.<sup>9</sup> At night, Pindar tells us, Herakles came into the stable where the horses were tethered to their manger by a single chain of bronze

<sup>1</sup> F. Brommer, *Herakles* (1972).

<sup>2</sup> B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia* (1967), 22 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 27 and figs. 177–9.

<sup>4</sup> In art Herakles tends to be represented with only one horse (on their number and sex, see below, n. 9), probably because the one-to-one ratio was compositionally more successful. Representations of Herakles and horses (which are not always clearly those of Diomedes; see below, n. 14) have been compiled by Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> (1973), 86 ff. and *Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, i: *Herakles* (1971), 144 ff. ('Rosse').

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias does not specifically mention the horses in his brief description of the subjects represented on the 'throne'. They probably were included, but we cannot be certain of this from Pausanias' words. Since both Bathykleas and his 'throne' are virtually unknown to us, we cannot know what influence they had on later art.

<sup>6</sup> E. Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xxvi (1961), 141 ff. (no. 2450). See also *HSCP* lxxii (1968), 47 ff. (C. Pavese); *ibid.* lxxvi (1972), 45 ff. (H. Lloyd-Jones, with bibliography).

<sup>7</sup> Euripides also mentions the episode in his *Herakles*, 380 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *HSCP* lxxvi, 45 ff.

<sup>9</sup> The number and the sex of Diomedes' horses varies (cf. *Oxy. Pap.* xxvi, 149, on l. 4), although four mares seem most likely, since this was the ideal chariot team. Eurystheus did not order Herakles to kill the beasts, but to bring them back to him—according to Apollodoros (ii 5.8), so that he could use them for his own chariot. In art the full number is shown on a lekythos in Syracuse (see below, n. 21) and on some Etruscan gems (cf. E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen: Berlin* ii (1969), pl. 60, no. 392).

links.<sup>10</sup> He snatched up the groom,<sup>11</sup> fed him to the beasts to distract them—a sound cracked through the rending bones<sup>12</sup>—and while ‘one was carrying off a leg, one a forearm, another in her teeth the head by the root of the neck’,<sup>13</sup> Herakles broke off the chain and drove the horses away.

The rending of the groom’s body which Pindar blood-chillingly describes is known from two Attic vases.<sup>14</sup> One, a fragmentary red-figure cup in Florence<sup>15</sup> by Oltos, features Herakles on one side, threatening a horse with his club while grasping its muzzle with his left hand, and Diomedes on the other side. Beazley published the cup in 1933<sup>16</sup> and listed the few vases on which Herakles and the horses of Diomedes are represented, but he did not mention the human arm which hangs, eaten at the fore-arm, from the horse’s mouth, nor do the other examples which he cites clearly depict man-eating horses.

The second vase on which the horse is unquestionably man-eating is an even more graphic illustration of Pindar’s story—the black-figure cup in Leningrad<sup>17</sup> by Oltos’ slightly older contemporary, Psiax.<sup>18</sup> The vase is exceptionally fine and technically unusual, in that the black figures are painted on specially prepared coral red ground.<sup>19</sup> In the tondo of the cup, Herakles, dressed in a lion-skin and wielding a club,<sup>20</sup> stands in front of one of the horses of Diomedes, collaring it with his left arm.<sup>21</sup> From the mouth of

the horse hangs the head, shoulder and arm of a man, covered with blood—the groom whose head one of the beasts carried off ‘in her teeth, by the root of the neck’. The vase is a work of the last decade or so of the sixth century; it was probably painted before Pindar was born, certainly before he wrote this poem. It is, therefore, our earliest evidence for Herakles and the horses of Diomedes.

Before Pindar’s new poem came to light, the identity of the dismembered figure on the vases was unknown—indeed virtually unrecognised (Psiax’ diminutive figure has, to my knowledge, not previously been noticed). Later writers had left us conflicting accounts: Apollodoros said Herakles fed the horses Abderus and then founded Abdera in his memory (ii 5.8); Diodorus Siculus (iv 15.3 f.) said that Diomedes was fed to the very horses he had taught the loathsome habit (although Oltos’ vase makes this unlikely, since Diomedes himself appears on the other side of the cup, entreating Herakles to return his specially trained horses). Psiax’ little dismembered man is surely the groom whom Herakles found by night in the stables: painter and poet draw on a common theme,<sup>22</sup> known long before the sculptors at Olympia carved their metope or Euripides wrote his plays. Together they give us our earliest evidence—pictorial and literary—for Herakles’ encounter with the man-eating horses of Diomedes.

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<sup>10</sup> *HSCP* lxxvi, 52; *Oxy. Pap.* xxvi, 150 (ll. 22 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> *Oxy. Pap.* xxvi, 150 (l. 15).

<sup>12</sup> *HSCP* lxxii, 74 f.; lxxvi, 52.

<sup>13</sup> *HSCP* lxxii, 78 f. See also *Maia* n.s. xvi (1964), 311 ff. (Pavese’s description of the Oltos cup).

<sup>14</sup> When Herakles appears with a horse (cf. *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup>, 186 ff.) the artist may not always have had the horses of Diomedes in mind (cf. Pfuhl, *MZ* 323, para. 337).

<sup>15</sup> Florence, I B 32, *frr. ARV* 58, no. 47. *CV* i, pl. I. B 32.

<sup>16</sup> *Campana Fragments* (1933), 8 and pl. Y, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Once Odessa, now Leningrad. *ABV* 294, no. 22. *Para.* 128. The diameter of the cup is 22.5 cm. Mme K. S. Gorbunova supplied the photographs and measurement.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *CF*. 8.

<sup>19</sup> L. Talcott and B. Sparkes, *Agora* xii, 18 ff.

<sup>20</sup> As Pavese has noted (*HSCP* lxxii, 78), in art Herakles wields his club, not so much to harm the beasts as to threaten them into obedience. The text of the Pindar fragment is not clear at line 29 (cf. *Oxy. Pap.* xxvi, 151). Pavese reads *τεῖρε δὲ στελεῶ*—‘stung them with his club’ (*HSCP* lxxii, 77 f.), but Lloyd-Jones (*HSCP* lxxvi, 52) has pointed out that this conjecture is impossible, and suggests, with Lobel (*Oxy. Pap.* xxvi, 151, l. 24), that something has dropped out of the text. In art Herakles may wield the club because it is one of the attributes by which he is most easily recognised, but Pavese’s notion of how Herakles dominated the animals seems to me reasonable, indeed very likely, in view of the Psiax cup: here Herakles, dressed in his lionskin, is in need of no other attribute for easy identification.

<sup>21</sup> Herakles grapples with one of the horses on a white ground lekythos with black-figure decoration in Syracuse (14569) by the Marathon Painter (*ABL* 222, no. 22; *ABV* 487; Boardman, *BF Handbook*, fig. 257) of the years around 490 B.C. Here there are four horses, and their

special character is indicated not by dismembered human bodies, but by the presence of wings. This is the sort of detail which the Marathon Painter would have liked (because it gave him yet another opportunity to display his interest in contrasting areas of black and white paint), but according to some version of the story the horses may have been winged, especially since they appear in this form on some Etruscan gems (cf. P. Zazoff, *Etruskische Skarabäen* (1968), 165, no. 685).

<sup>22</sup> *HSCP* lxxii, 79.

#### A note on Erasistratus of Ceos

In an article entitled ‘The Career of Erasistratus of Ceos’ in *Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo* (Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche, 103, 1969, pp. 518–37, abbreviated as *RL*) and more briefly in his three-volume work on *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972, Vol. 1 pp. 347 ff. and relevant notes in Vol. 2 pp. 503 ff., abbreviated as *PA I* and *PA II*), P. M. Fraser has recently re-examined the evidence concerning the life and work of the important third-century B.C. physician, anatomist and physiologist Erasistratus of Ceos. Fraser’s analysis of the testimonies for the various Chryssippi is valuable; his insistence that there are no good grounds for rejecting the story, told in several ancient writers, that Erasistratus cured King Antiochus is not misplaced, and the conclusion that



(a)

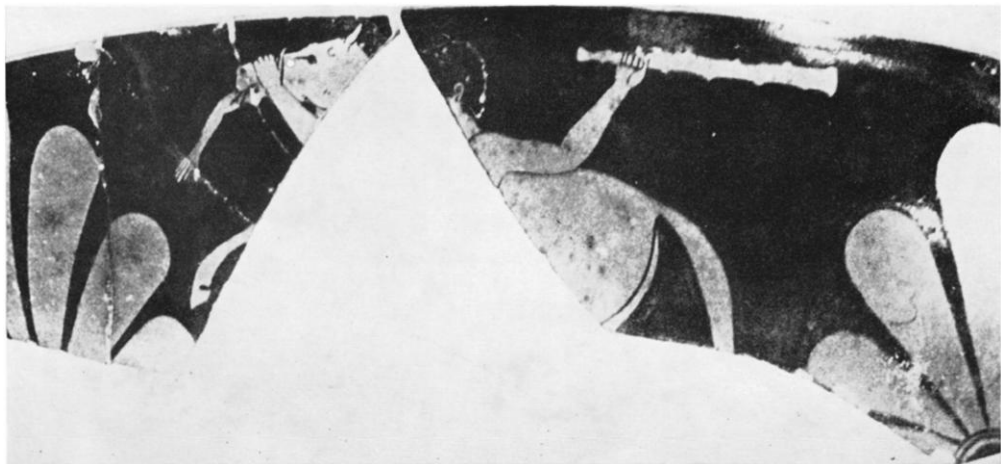


(b)



(c)

(a)–(c) Leningrad, Museum of the Hermitage (once Odessa). Coral-red cup by Psiax.



(d) Florence. Museo Archeologico Etrusco 1 B 32. Fragments of a red-figure cup by Oltos (exterior).

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