

HORSEPOWER AND DONKEYWORK: EQUIDS AND THE ANCIENT GREEK IMAGINATION

MARK GRIFFITH

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

IN THE FIRST PART OF this article,¹ I provided a general survey of the historical and zoological facts concerning horses, donkeys, and mules in Archaic and Classical Greece, and sketched the different roles that were generally assigned to each. I noted the sharp cultural distinction that was maintained between the “noble” horse and “servile” donkey, both in the actual uses to which each was put and in literary and visual representations of them, and I observed that these corresponded in many respects to the distinctions between “free” (or aristocratic) and “slave” (or lower-class, banausic) in human society. Within this cultural binary, which was based in part on actual, natural differences between the two species, but also to a large degree on arbitrary preferences and prejudices, mules were—not surprisingly—found to occupy an intermediate position, ranging as they did in both appearance and uses from thoroughly donkeylike laborers to elite, horselike, conveyances and even *apene* racers. Indispensable and highly valued for their versatility, endurance, and longevity, yet always kept separate from the most prestigious activities that were exclusively reserved for horses (most notably, cavalry action, ceremonial riding, and chariot racing), they did not fit comfortably into any obvious cultural niche (though modern scholars have tended on the whole to lump them together with donkeys and disregard their distinctive and important differences).

Up to this point, I have been accepting, more or less at face value, the ancient Greek structural division between the equids (noble horse vs. servile ass)—a division that is still quite widely held in the modern West, it seems—while granting to the mule, in a provisional kind of way at least, the convenient intermediate place “between” them. But so far from constituting a comfortable “middle class” or “golden mean” that might tidily reconcile opposites and provide a zone of practical and imaginary normality to which

1. This is Part Two of a two-part article, of which Part One appeared in the previous issue of *CP* (vol. 101, no. 3: [July 2006]: 185–246). Please note that the numbering of the article’s figures continues from Part One to Part Two; references in Part Two to figures 1 to 14 are to figures to be found in Part One of the article; figure 15 can be found in Part Two, on p. 349 below. See in general also Chandezon 2005.

ordinary Greeks could relate, this equine middle term turns out instead, as we shall see, to be in many respects quite awkward and unsettled. Or, to be more precise, a disparity (discrepancy) can be seen between the physical, practical realities of what mules actually did, on the one hand, and the ideological position assigned to them, on the other. That is to say, if mules did indeed constitute a middle (equine) class, the Greeks apparently were not comfortable thinking of them as such. Furthermore, the mystique of the noble horse itself turns out, on closer inspection, to be invested with several curious contradictions and ambivalences that both result from, and contribute further to, a striking pattern of gender and class confusion that is, I suggest, highly revealing of Greek social attitudes and institutions.

The reasons for this confusion, this awkwardness and discrepancy, lie in three main areas, which combine in various important ways to complicate the relations of power, sex/gender, and class that are implicit in the simple binary structures of equine signification that I have outlined so far: (1) the cosmetics of equine presentation and display, in relation to human cosmetics and human gender and class distinctions; (2) the means of control exercised by humans over their various equids, that is, the nature and terminology of ancient Greek harnesses and the associated styles of training, riding, and driving, with all their (heavily, but confusingly, gendered) resemblances to human processes of education, homosocial bonding, courtship, and marital relations; and (3) the peculiar origin, nature and characteristics of mules. And within this third area (the nature of mules) itself, there seem to be two distinct dimensions: on the one hand, the facts of equine (sexual and reproductive) life, that is, the recurring need for sexual union between “high-class” mares and “low-class” donkey-jacks, a dynamic that raised for the Greeks the deeply repressed, and usually unmentionable, specter of human miscegenation between male slaves and free citizen women; and on the other hand, the ancient Greek reluctance to consider most kinds of “work” as anything but demeaning, whether for a free man or for a noble equid.

1. COSMETICS: HAIR, GROOMING, DISPLAY

The processes of training, adorning, and publicly presenting a high-quality horse (“grooming” and “dressage”), whether for ceremonial, military, or recreational purposes, had much in common with those applied to upper-class human beings, especially the young.² First and foremost, the long hairs of the horse’s mane and tail received minute and conspicuous attention: they were combed constantly, and might be braided, clipped into patterns, arranged in pom-poms, or decorated with bows, bells, or ribbons, oiled, and even perfumed (see figs. 3a, 3b, and 6b). When allowed to flow unchecked, the glory of these long, silky locks floating in the breeze—sometimes clutched between the fingers of the rider—was extremely sexy (see fig. 6a). The same terms are

2. On Greek *paideia* (both male and female), especially “herds” of adolescent boys and girls, choruses, self-presentation, and military training in the Archaic and early Classical period, see esp. Jeanmaire 1939; Brelich 1969; Lonsdale 1993; Kennell 1995; Calame 1997; Schnapp 1997; Naerebout 1997; Stehle 1997; Griffith 2001.

used for the hair of horses' manes as for human tresses (χαίτη and its derivatives; ἔθειρα; θρίξ; κόμη, κομάω); no other animal hair except lions' manes seems to be so designated. Epithets specifying a horse's fine hair are common:³ and likewise innumerable representations of women and goddesses in Archaic literature and art, from the elaborate sculpted *korai* to the descriptions of heroic and divine characters in epic and lyric poetry, focus on their carefully arranged and decorated tresses, as well as the necklaces, ribbons, crowns, veils, and perfumes, that are placed on, in, and around them. Sometimes, indeed, artists combined human and equine coiffures in striking juxtaposition (as in fig. 3b), as if to underline the similarity—and desirability—of both.⁴

In an archetypal scene of sexual seduction in the *Iliad*, Hera in “deceiving” Zeus relies as much on the appeal of her hair as on the special accoutrements she has borrowed from Aphrodite and Athena (14.175–79):⁵

τῷ ῥ' ἥ γε χροά καλὸν ἀλειψαμένη ἰδὲ χαίτας
 πεξαμένη χερσὶ πλοκάμους ἔπλεξε φαεινοῦς
 καλοῦς ἀμβροσίους ἐκ κράτος ἄθανάτοιο.
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβρόσιον ἑάνον ἔσαθ', ὃν οἱ Ἀθήνη
 ἔξυσ' ἀσκήσασα, τίθει δ' ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πολλά·

When with this she had anointed her delicate body
 and combed her hair, next with her hands she arranged the shining
 and lovely and ambrosial curls along her immortal
 head, and dressed in an ambrosial robe that Athene
 had made her carefully, smooth, and with many figures upon it.

(Trans. R. Lattimore)

Equally focused on hair, too, is the praise uttered by Alcman's chorus of young women (*Partheneion* 1, *PMG* 1.45–101), and the analogy—even identity—between human and equine beauty is explicit, as the maidens describe themselves as running like racehorses of various breeds, apparently competing in both speed and beauty against a rival Spartan chorus of “Pleiads” (Alc. *PMG* 1.50–59):

... ἧ οὐχ ὀρήϊς; ὁ μὲν κέλῃς
 Ἐνητικὸς· ἃ δὲ χαίτα
 τᾶς ἐμᾶς ἀνεψιῶς
 Ἀγισιχόρας ἐπανθεῖ

3. See, e.g., Richter 1968, 72 for Homeric epithets (εὐθριξ, καλλίθριξ, ὄθριξ, κυανοχαίτης). Conversely, when the horses of Achilles mourn the death of Patroclus, their ἡνίοχος, who used to wash and anoint their manes (23.280–82), they bow their heads to the ground, weep tears, and droop their manes in the dirt (17.437–40 χαίτη, 457 χαϊτάων), like Achilles himself (18.23–24; also Laertes at *Od.* 24.316–17); see Edwards 1991, ad loc.

4. For good further examples, see, e.g., Anderson 1961, pls. 14, 15, 17, 23, plus 22b (a pair of horses with parasols attached to their harness, and female[?] driver with elaborate hair and head covering: *ARV* 678, 15); Vigneron 1973, pls. 19, 20, 25, 28f, 32c, 34; Boardman 1974, figs 46, 47, 83, 114; 1996, ills. 38, 39, 45, 53, 59–61, 69–77; or virtually any book on Archaic Greek sculpture or vase-painting. Sometimes elegant wings add to the effect: see, e.g., *LIMC*, s.v. “Pegasos.”

5. On this scene, and Hera's preparations, see Janko 1992, ad loc. For the hairstyles and ornamentation of Archaic statues of *kouroi* and *korai*, see, e.g., Boardman 1996, 83–94.

χρυσὸς [ὦ]ς ἀκήρατος·
 τό τ' ἀργύριον πρόσωπον,
 διαφάδαν τί τοι λέγω;
 Ἀγησιχόρα μὲν αὐτὰ·
 ἃ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδῶ τὸ ρεῖδος
 ἵππος Ἰβηνῶ Κολαξαῖος δραμήται·

Why, don't you see? The race-horse is Venetic;
 but the hair of my cousin Hagesichora has the bloom of undefiled gold,
 and her silver face—why do I tell you openly?
 This is Hagesichora here; and the second in beauty after Agido
 will run like a Colaxaeon horse against an Iberian.

(Trans. D. A. Campbell)⁶

Thus for aristocratic women and finely bred horses alike, the hair on their heads and necks was their crowning glory, an ostentatious sexual symbol, artfully and proudly displayed to all, yet untouchable except by their authorized husband/rider (figs. 6a and b) or their specially designated “maids/grooms.”⁷

Such female luxuriance could also be the object of male suspicion, however, or of more particular ethnic or class antagonism, just as *hippotrophia* itself and other ostentatious displays of elegance might be resented in contexts of increasing conflict over the distribution of wealth and the proper indices of civic worth.⁸ Hellenic (or “democratic”) simplicity and manliness came increasingly to be contrasted with “Asiatic” (or aristocratic) luxury and effeminacy as the fifth century progressed; even as early as the seventh and sixth centuries we find criticisms of horsiness being expressed by discontented representatives of the less privileged. Thus in Semonides’ misogynistic iambics about the types of women supposedly born from different animals (frag. 7 W), we find an unobvious description of the woman conceived from a “delicate, fine-haired mare” (ἵππος ἀβρὴ χαίτεσσα), one who eschews all

6. Further references to the young girls’ hair occur at 70 (κόμαι) and 101 (ξανθαὶ κομίσκαι). On this passage (and the conventions of girls’ self-presentation and the *parthenion* in general) see esp. Calame 1997; Stehle 1997.

7. Well-born women in Homer, and unmarried women in Classical Athens, normally kept their heads covered except in the presence of their husband or kin; see, e.g., Janko 1992, on *Il.* 14.184. The raising of the head covering (κρήδεμνον) by the bridegroom at the completion of the marriage ceremony was a climactic gesture; and in general, direct access to a woman’s hair (on any part of her body) tended to be an extremely intimate moment: cf. Archil. 196a.53 W; Hedreen 2006. And just as Helen has her prized Laconian Nurse who travels everywhere with her and serves as her special confidante (*Il.* 3.386–89; at 387 the nurse is called εἰροκόμοις = “wool dresser”), so too a horse is entrusted to a groom (ἵπποκόμος = lit. “horse minder,” or “horse-hairdresser”) who alone knows his/her most intimate secrets (cf. *Hdt.* 3. 85–88, 6.68; also n. 104 below; and for the “horsiness” of Homer’s Helen, see Alden 2000, and Part One, n. 187). The Greek grammarians seem to have misinterpreted the regular term for “horse minder” [ἵππο- + *κόμος, from κομέω = “tend”] as coming from ἵππος + κόμαι, κομάω, i.e., the one who combs and carries the “long horsehair” of the mane (like Patroclus at *Il.* 23.280–82; see n. 3 above).

8. For the equation of “luxury/effeminacy” and “Asia,” see esp. Hall 1989; Stewart 1997; 182–202. But see too Kurke 1992; Miller 1997; Neer 2002, 19–23, for reminders that in certain Greek elite circles, Lydian and Persian opulence and style continued to be admired and emulated. Likewise, the “soft,” “effeminate,” and “Asian” (Phrygian) aspects of Dionysus are vigorously criticized—yet admired—by individual characters in the tragedies of Aeschylus (*Edonians*), Euripides (*Bacchae*), and Aristophanes (*Frogs*); and in the end, his essentially Greek nature (and original status as a Theban, son of Zeus) is always reasserted, even as his costume and hairstyle remain as luxurious as ever. On the long-haired, dainty-stepping Paris/Alexandros (a Trojan/Phrygian, yet also a heroic warrior), see further below, p. 313.

kinds of work and instead spends her whole time bathing, combing her hair, and (perhaps) even compelling her husband to have sex with her (Sem. frag. 7.57–70 W):⁹

τὴν δ' ἵππος ἄβρῃ χαιτέεσσ' ἐγείνατο,
 ἥ δούλι' ἔργα καὶ δύνῃ περιτρέπει,
 κοῦτ' ἂν μύλης ψαύσειεν, οὔτε κόσκινον
 ἄρειεν, οὔτε κόπρον ἐξ οἴκου βάλοι, 60
 οὔτε πρὸς ἱπνὸν ἀσβόλην ἄλεομένη
 ἵξοιτ'. ἀνάγκη δ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖται φίλον·
 λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρης ἄπο ῥύπον
 δῖς, ἄλλοτε τρίς, καὶ μύροις ἀλείφεται,
 αἰεὶ δὲ χαίτην ἐκτενισμένην φορεῖ 65
 βαθεῖαν, ἀνθέμοισιν ἐσκιασμένην.
 καλὸν μὲν ὦν θέημα τοιαύτη γυνή
 ἄλλοισι, τῷ δ' ἔχοντι γίνεται κακόν,
 ἦν μὴ τις ἦ τύραννος ἢ σκηπτούχος ἢ
 ὅστις τοιούτοις θυμὸν ἀγλαΐζεται. 70

Another a dainty, long-maned mare engendered.
 She pushes servile tasks and trouble onto others
 and she wouldn't touch a millstone, lift a sieve,
 throw dung out of the house, or sit by the oven since she avoids soot.
 And she forces a man to be her lover.
 Twice every day, sometimes three times,
 she washes the dirt off her and anoints herself with scents,
 and she always wears her hair combed out and long, shaded with flowers.
 Such a woman is a beautiful sight
 to others, but for the man who has her as wife she is a plague,
 unless he is some tyrant or scepter bearer
 whose heart delights in such things.

(Trans. D. E. Gerber)

Nonetheless, even if by the standards of nonaristocratic critics such as Hesiod or Semonides—or, later, of fifth-century Athenian democrats—such cosmetic luxuriance was deeply suspect, there were few, it seems, who were entirely immune to its allure, and it continued to function as a potent signifier of wealth, power, and sexual desirability throughout antiquity. The gendered and ethnic implications of elaborate cosmetics and coiffure were in any case far from simple or straightforward. Long, beautiful hair was by no means restricted to females; nor could luxuriousness and elegant style in general be unilaterally stigmatized as “foreign.” After all, colts no less than fillies were admired for their flowing manes and tails; and some of the most “masculine”

9. Line 62 has been taken in two quite different ways by modern interpreters: (i) “She renders her husband familiar with [φίλον] necessity [= hardship, poverty],” sc. because she wastes all his resources, or (ii) “She makes her husband her own [φίλον] by compulsion,” sc. because she is sexually insatiable. Both interpretations can be supported from Hesiod’s *Works and Days* ((i) 90–95, 373–75; (ii) 65–66, 582–88) and from many other passages of Greek literature—and both also suit the characterization of this woman as a pampered but sex-mad “mare.” For the alleged sexual appetite of mares, see esp. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.575b21–32, 576b20–577a15 (discussed below).

of the elite warriors in Homeric epic, as well as the notoriously tough—and quintessentially Hellenic—Spartiates, were likewise renowned for their long tresses.¹⁰ For ephebes all over Greece (and even earlier, in Bronze Age Crete and Thera) their hair was a vital component of their preparation for manhood.¹¹ Braided, perfumed hair flowing down the neck and shoulders¹² and often highlighted by crowns, earrings, or other jewelry, was a mark of super-elite “Anacreontic” Athenians of the late sixth century; fine hair also characterized the finest seventh- and sixth-century marble and bronze statues of *kouroi*, as well as Apollo, Dionysus, and the innumerable pretty boys and leisured adolescent *eromenoi* depicted on vases and celebrated in song all over Greece. Thus, for example, representations of Ganymede as he is pursued by Zeus almost invariably emphasize his luxurious hair;¹³ and both boys and men could expect to be especially admired—or rebuked, according to the context and the observer—for their coiffure and hair ornaments, along with additional features of male cosmetics and “grooming,” such as shaving, depilation, garlands, and ribbons, all of which were also vital to the stylish turnout of a fine riding horse or team.¹⁴

10. Thus, e.g., in the *Iliad*, Achilles and Menelaus are both conspicuously ξανθός, Poseidon is formulaically κωνοχαίτης (like the stallion at *Il.* 20.224), and all the Achaeans are “long-haired” (κάρη κομοῦντες Ἀχαιοί). Among the Spartans, Leonidas’ three hundred at Thermopylae comb their hair in ritual preparation for death (*Hdt.* 7.208; cf. 1.82.8); and see, e.g., Dover 1989, 78–79. In light of this aristocratic fascination with human and equine hair/manes, it is curious to note the coincidence of nomenclature (but not of gender) stretching over two hundred years, between the famous racehorse **Pherenicus**, victor in the Olympic *keles* race in 476 (and repeatedly elsewhere), who is described by Bacchylides as “tawny-haired colt, running like the wind” (ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον . . . πῶλον ἀελλοδρόμαν, 5.37–39), and Queen **Berenice** of Ptolemaic Egypt, whose stolen lock of hair (*Coma Berenices*) was so extensively celebrated in poems for centuries to come. In other passages of Bacchylides too, daughters and horses are described in very similar language, as virtual extensions of a male self: 3.1–14, 23–29, 34–35, 58–62, 69, 92–96. On the associations of horses—and also winds—with human desire, sexuality, and even immortality, see, e.g., Nagy 1990, 223–62; and n. 78 below.

11. Ancient (and some modern) etymologists derived the standard word for “young man” (κοῦρος) or “young woman” (κόρη, κόρη) from κείρω = “clip, shear”; Greek adolescent initiation rites normally entailed dedication of locks of hair (e.g., to a river): see further Jeanmaire 1939, 257–90, 307–24; Calame 1997, 106–7, with further references; also Leach 1958. Elaborate hairstyles for both boys and girls (cornrows, mohawks, Horus locks, etc.) were a prominent marker of Bronze Age Minoan age-group distinctions: Koehl 1986; Davis 1986.

12. σῦγγιν, δε(ι)ρή are terms used both of humans and of horses; and they often carry strong erotic implications; see Loraux 1987, 50–53.

13. See *LIMC*, s.v. “Ganymedes.” See also, e.g., *ARV* 206, 124 (bell-crater by the Berlin Painter = Boardman 1975, fig. 150); *ARV* 553, 39 (amphora by the Pan Painter = Boardman 1975, fig. 339); Boardman 1996, fig. 127 (terracotta group of Zeus carrying Ganymede, from Olympia).

14. For hair curling, shaving, and depilation, see, e.g., *Ar. Thesm.* 1–276 (esp. 191–92, 236–39), 582–89; *Dio Chrys.* 33.63; Dover 1989, 71, 142–45; Gleason 1995, 62–76; Hubbard 2003, index, s.vv. “depilation,” “hair.” (Among the Romans, see *Sen. Ep.* 114.14, etc.) For the wearing of garlands and ribbons (esp. in connection with ceremonies and athletics), see, e.g., Gardiner 1978; Miller 2004, index, s.v. “victory tokens,” with figs. 208, 211. As the focus in male education shifted increasingly to verbal performance and oratory, much of the language and imagery of cosmetics and ornamentation, including “hair curling,” “smoothness/depilation,” “beard,” etc., came to be transferred to rhetorical and literary style: e.g., *Cic. Orat.* 23, 78; *Tac. Dial.* 26 (*calamistri*); Gleason 1995, *passim*. The semiotics of “fine” vs. “coarse,” “rough” vs. “smooth,” “hard” vs. “soft,” were always subject to redefinition, both in oratorical style and in personal grooming: one man’s “beauty” (then as now) might be another man’s “effeminacy” or “decadence.” When Pericles proudly asserts (*Thuc.* 2.40): “we love beauty . . . without being soft” (φιλοκαλοῦμεν . . . ἄνευ μαλακίας), he, as a typical arbiter of taste and political correctness, is staking out for the Athenians a middle ground between boors (e.g., Spartans or Boeotians) and decadents (e.g., Persians or Milesians).

In the *Iliad*, we twice find a simile comparing a warrior to a galloping horse (6.503–14; cf. 15.263–70):

Οὐδὲ Πάρις δῆθ' οὐκ ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι δόμοισιν,
 ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἐπεὶ κατέδυ κλυτὰ τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῶ,
 σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἀνὰ ἄστρ' οὐρανὸν ποσσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πεποιθώς.
 ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ
 δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεῖη πεδίον κροαίνων
 εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐὺρρεῖος ποταμοῖο
 κυδιόων· ὕψος δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
 ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθώς
 ῥίμφα ἔ γούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·
 ὥς υἱὸς Πριάμοιο Πάρις κατὰ Περγάμου ἄκρης
 τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥς τ' ἡλέκτωρ ἐβεβήκει
 καρχαλόων, ταχέες δὲ πόδες φέρον·

But Paris in turn did not linger long in his high house,
 But when he had put on his glorious armour with bronze elaborate
 He ran in the confidence of his quick feet through the city.
 As when some stalled horse who has been corn-fed at the manger
 Breaking free of his rope gallops over the plain in thunder
 To his accustomed bathing place in a sweet-running river
 And in the pride of his strength holds high his head, and the mane floats
 Over his shoulders; sure of his glorious strength, the quick knees
 Carry him to the loved places and the pasture of horses;
 So from uttermost Pergamos came Paris, the son of
 Priam, shining in all his armour of war as the sun shines,
 Laughing aloud, and his quick feet carried him.

(Trans. R. Lattimore)

The first time this simile is used, it applies to Paris, the second time to Hector. It is hard to determine whether the description is meant to be unequivocally positive on both occasions: given Paris' mixed reputation as a warrior/pretty boy in the epic, there may be a hint of excessive sexual energy and luxuriance present, though this would hardly suit Hector in Book 15.¹⁵ But certainly in both cases the sexual potency and attractiveness of the hair are prominent; and in the context of Archaic Greek horse pasturage and breeding practices, it is natural to suppose that the reason that this stallion has been chained-up at the stall (506–7) would be in order to prevent him from mixing with the mares and young colts and fillies that would be roaming free together by the “sweet-running river” (508) and in “the open pastures” (512).¹⁶ Thus in the simile the long-haired, long-striding warrior's lust for battle is implicitly equated with the stallion's desire, not only for the river and open fields, but also for

15. In the famous scene between Hector and his family in Book 6, it is his helmet “with nodding horse-hair plume” (λόφον ἵπποχαίτην, 6.469) that disturbs his baby son; only when this is removed can Hector resume his natural role as father and husband, rather than warrior.

16. On this customary technique for keeping stallions separate from mares and foals, see Anderson 1961, 42; Richter 1968; cf. Columella *Rust.* 6.27.8–9 (and 6.37 for donkey-jacks to be used for mule breeding). Compare too the language of Creon at Soph. *Ant.* 578–79, for females “roaming at large” (ἀνεμμένας).

access to his mares, and Paris' (or even Hector's) exuberance signals a male energy that is both highly attractive and also liable to get easily out of control and generate disaster.¹⁷

Certainly there is no mistaking Archilochus' disapproval of such tall, horse-like types (frag. 114 W):

οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλιγμένον
οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον οὐδ' ὑπεξυρμένον,
ἀλλὰ μοι σμικρὸς τις εἴη καὶ περὶ κνήμας ἰδεῖν
ροϊκός, ἀσφαλῶς βεβηκὼς ποσσὶ, καρδίης πλέως.

I have no liking for a general who is tall, walks with a swaggering gait,¹⁸ takes pride in his curls,¹⁹ and is partly shaven. Let mine be one who is short, has a bent look about the shins, stands firmly on his feet and is full of courage. (Trans. D. E. Gerber)

Clearly he prefers someone with coarser, more closely cropped hair, a little stockier, and shorter legged. Are we to think of a different breed of horse? Or does the iambic poet have in mind something more mulish, a companion who is unpretentious and sure footed, perhaps even donkeylike in gait and attitude?²⁰ The shortness of a donkey's coat, and the futility of attempting to obtain "donkey hair" by clipping, were proverbial (ὄνου πόκους ζητεῖς), since donkeys have little mane and only thin, stringy tails.²¹ Such comic-iambic approval of, even identification with, the donkey at the expense of the horse is later found also in the Aesopic tradition (e.g., 357 Perry = 328 Hausrath; Babrius 7 = Aesop 181 Perry), and this appears to be another area in which Archilochus invokes the "lower" aspects of a warrior in the Odyssean mold, in contradistinction to the more flamboyant brilliance of the Iliadic chieftains. (Odysseus is the only major hero in the *Iliad* who is never involved in chariot riding: indeed, his involvement with "horses" in Homer is quite peculiar.)²²

17. As often with Homeric similes, a curious reversal is also effected, in this case one that complicates the gendered use of social space. Conventionally, in the human sphere of the *oikos*, it was the male who was expected to roam abroad while the female stayed under supervision at home around the hearth; but in the simile (and in the real world of domesticated equids), it is the male who is tethered inside while the females roam free. We should recognize all the more forcibly too the significance of those many wistful references in Greek literature to mother animals and their foals/heifers, enjoying the fleeting freedoms of the wild under the protection of Artemis, virgin huntress and Mistress of Animals, until the moment when the young daughter will be captured, "broken in," and subjected to the marital "yoke." See, e.g., Anac. *PMG* 417, quoted below, and Soph. *Trach.* *passim* (Deianeira, Iole), with the discussion of Wohl 1998, 46–56.

18. *πλίσσομαι* is elsewhere used of the graceful movements of Nausicaa's (female) mules (Hom. *Od.* 6.318, quoted in Part One).

19. *γαῦρος* is a standard term for the "proud, prancing" manner of a young horse or heifer, e.g., Theocr. 11.21; Plut. *Pel.* 22. See too Ael. *NA* 2.10, quoted below.

20. Or perhaps Archilochus has in mind an ox, with its "shambling gait" (Homeric εἰλίπους)?

21. "You're looking for donkey wool!" (Zen. 5.38 in Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–51 (*CPG*); cf. Diogen. 6.99). The proverb is found as early as Ar. *Ran.* 186 (εἰς ὄνου πόκας). In another version (ὄνον κείρεις ["you are trimming a donkey!"]), the use of *κείρω* specifically reminds us of the origins of adolescent hairstyles (κούρος/κόρη), see n. 11 above. Horsehair, by contrast, was available in large quantities, for fishing lines, wigs, and several other kinds of more or less precious hardware. Horses' manes, like men's and women's hair, were sometimes clipped short as a sign of mourning (Eur. *Alc.* 428–29; Hdt. 9.24; cf. Eur. *El.* 107–10, 184, quoted pp. 316–17 below).

22. "The Homeric poems never describe Odysseus as owning a horse or driving into battle in a chariot," (Haft 1990, 54); in the *Odyssey*, Ithaca is specifically said to be unsuited to horses (4.605–08). Yet in the *Doloneia* (*Il.* 10), Odysseus actually rides a horse (the only time this occurs in the Homeric epics), and in the

Human hairstyles and horse's manes are brought into especially close combination in the luxurious plumes that nodded as a "crest" (*lophos*) atop the helmets of both cavalry and infantry soldiers and above the nude bodies of numerous heroic male figures represented on relief sculptures and vase-paintings—a prime symbol, along with the circular hoplite shield, of masculine style and military brilliance (see fig. 5). The horsehair plumes of these helmets blend valor with exuberance, horsiness with humanity, while also, it might be said, combining "masculine" assertiveness with tactile "feminine" luxuriance.²³ And whereas the free-flowing mane/hair of a galloping or rearing horse and rider (e.g., fig. 6a) suggests unchecked adolescent vigor and sexual allure, the symmetrically clipped plumes of the helmets, like some of the more meticulously arranged manes favored in this period (figs. 2, 3a, 4), make a cosmetic statement that seems scrupulously disciplined, almost austere.²⁴

There is a curious tradition, recorded not only among Greek (pseudo-) scientific writers, but also in the tragedians, concerning the vanity and self-image of mares, especially with regard to their manes.²⁵ It was widely believed that in order for a mare to condescend to let a donkey-jack mount her and thus procreate a mule, it was necessary for her owner first to hack off her mane and show her (in a mirror, or in water) that her beauty had been ruined; otherwise, she would be too proud (Ael. NA 2.10, 11.18):

Ἔστι μὲν τὴν ἄλλως ὁ ἵππος γαῦρον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ τάχος αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ αὐχένος τὸ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἡ τῶν σκελῶν ὑγρότης καὶ ἡ τῶν ὀπλῶν κρούσις ἐς φρύαγμα καὶ τυφὸν ἀνάγει· μάλιστα δὲ κομῶσα ἵππος ἀβρότατόν τε ἔστι καὶ θρυπτικώτατον. ἀτιμάζει γοῦν ἀναβῆναι τοὺς ὄνους αὐτὴν, ἵπῳ δὲ γαμουμένη ἥδεται, καὶ ἐαυτὴν ἀξιοῖ τῶν μεγίστων. ὅπερ οὖν συνειδότες οἱ βουλόμενοι ἡμιόνους σφίσι γενέσθαι, ἀποθρίσαντες τῆς ἵππου τὴν χαίτην εἰκὴ καὶ ὥς ἔτυχεν, εἴτα μέντοι τοὺς ὄνους ἐπάγουσιν· ἡ δὲ ὑπομένει τὸν ἄδοξον ἢ γαμέτην, πρῶτον αἰδουμένη. . . .
. . . θήλειαν δὲ ἵππον ἐς ἀφροδίσια λυτήσασαν πάνυ σφόδρα παῦσαι ῥαδίως ἔστιν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει, εἴ τις αὐτῆς ἀποκεῖρει τὰς κατὰ τοῦ τένοντος τρίχας· αἰδεῖται γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἀτακτεῖ, καὶ παύεται τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τοῦ σκιρτήματος τοῦ πολλοῦ, κατηφῆσασα ἐπὶ τῇ αἰσχύνῃ. τοῦτό τοι καὶ Σοφοκλῆς αἰνίττεται ἐν τῇ Τυροῖ τῷ δράματι· πεποίηται δὲ οἱ αὕτη λέγουσα, καὶ ἃ λέγει ταῦτά ἐστιν

Odyssey, the fame of his role in planning the Wooden Horse has spread far and wide: see further Mitchell-Boyask 2006. The hero of the *Odyssey* also has moments when he behaves in a quite vulgar way with animals: in particular, his ruse of clinging to the underside of a ram in escaping from Polyphemus has been likened to the gross antics of satyrs with donkeys on Attic vase-paintings (Davies 1990). For similarities between the figures of Archilochus and (Homer's) Odysseus in general, see Seidensticker 1977. Even the tradition of Archilochus' own "hybrid" parentage may be relevant here for his rejection of conventionally "thoroughbred" appearance and behavior and his self-representation as violator of Neoboule's "fair-haired" sister (Ξανθῆς, frag. 256a.53 W).

23. The technical term for a helmet's "plume base", *τροφάλεια*, may or may not truly be connected etymologically with *τροφή* = "luxury"; but the association was certainly audible.

24. Again, we may recall the associations between *κοῦρος/κόρη* and *κεῖρω* (above, nn. 11, 21); and see too n. 15 (on Hector and Astyanax). Euphronius' "Death of Sarpedon" (calyx crater in New York, Met. Mus. 1972. 11.10; see e.g. Boardman 1975, frontispiece and fig. 22) is but one of many striking further examples of the combination of luxuriance and discipline in the presentation of a naked man's hair; and here too the smoothly curved horse-hair crests of Sleep and Death are conspicuous, balancing and containing the more flamboyant flow of tresses from the heads of Hermes and the fallen hero.

25. Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.572b7–10; Plut. *Amat.* 9.754a; Ael. NA 2.10, 11.18; Poll. 1.217 (1.68.16 Bethe); Soph. *Tyro* frag. 659; Xen. *Eq.* 5.8; etc.

“κόμης δὲ πένθος λαγχάνω πάλου δίκην,
 ἥτις συναρπασθεῖσα βουκόλων ὕπο
 μάνδραις ἐν ἱππείαισιν ἀγρία χερὶ
 θέρος θερισθῇ ξανθὸν αὐχένων ἄπο,
 σπασθεῖσα δ’ ἐν λειμῶνι ποταμίων ποτῶν
 ἴδῃ σκιᾶς εἶδωλον ἀνταυγὲς τύφῳ
 κουραῖς ἀτίμως διατετιλμένης φόβην.
 φεῦ, κἄν ἀνοικτίρων τις οἰκτεῖρειέ νιν
 πτήσσουσαν αἰσχύνῃσιν, οἷα μαίνεται
 πενθοῦσα καὶ κλαίουσα τὴν πάρος φόβην.”

The Horse is generally speaking a proud creature, the reason being that his size, his speed, his tall neck, the suppleness of his limbs, and the clang of his hooves make him insolent and vain. But it is chiefly a Mare with a long mane that is so full of airs and graces. For instance, she scorns to be covered by an ass, but is glad to mate with a horse, regarding herself as only fit for the greatest [of her kind]. Accordingly those who wish to have mules born, knowing this characteristic, clip the Mare’s mane in a haphazard fashion anyhow, and then put asses to her. Though ashamed at first, she admits her present ignoble mate. . . .

. . . And when a mare shows an altogether frenzied desire to go ahorsing it is easy to arrest her, according to Aristotle [*Hist. an.* 572b7], if one clips the mane on her neck. For she feels shame and is no longer skittish and drops her wantonness and her constant frisking and is downcast at her disgrace. And Sophocles, you remember, in his drama of *Tyro* hints at this. Tyro is represented as speaking, and this is what she says [Soph. frag. 659]: “But it is my lot to grieve for my hair, even as a filly which seized by neatherds in the stables has had the yellow harvest reaped from her neck with ruthless hand; and haled to the meadow to drink of the stream, beholds the mirrored image of her reflexion with the hair cropped beneath the shears to her dishonor. Alas! even a pitiless heart would pity her, cowering in her shame, to see how wild are her grief and her tears for her lost hair.”²⁶ (Trans. A. F. Scholfield)

Such harping on the mare’s pride in her delicate and luxurious beauty, and on the disgrace of admitting a lower-class mate to mount and impregnate her, clearly reflects a deeply felt social anxiety about the despoliation or defloration of aristocratic elegance and the radical awkwardness and shame of mixing classes or breeds.²⁷ And the most conspicuous symbol of this pride—and disgrace—is hair. We find the same combination of symbols and circumstances again in Euripides’ *Electra*, where the princess has been married off by Aegisthus to a low-class laborer (ἐργάτης, αὐτουργός), in

26. Aristotle states (*Hist. an.* 6.572b8–9): αἱ μὲν οὖν ἵπποι ὅταν ἀποκεῖρονται, ἀποπαύονται τῆς ὀρμῆς μᾶλλον καὶ γίγνονται κατηφέστεραι. (“When mares have their manes shorn, their eagerness tends to slacken off and they take on a somewhat hangdog appearance” [trans. A. L. Peck].) Interestingly, several ancient and modern mule manuals describe the opposite anxiety, i.e., the need to render the mare similar in appearance to a donkey so that the jack won’t feel alienated from her and unable or unwilling to perform his procreative duty (see n. 91 below; and Chandezon 2005, 207–8).

27. We may recall too the mismatched parents of Pheidippides in Ar. *Nub.* 39–125, 795–800 (esp. 800 ἐξ εὐπτέρων), as well as several passages about mules in Herodotus to which we shall return below. Another dimension of this anxiety about mares being made available to jacks instead of stallions is revealed by Aristotle’s (quite inaccurate) assertion that donkey sperm will “overpower” horse sperm (*Hist. an.* 6.577a14–15), discussed below.

order to prevent her bearing royal children; so when we (along with Orestes) first see her, short-haired and dirty (108 ἐν κεκαρμένῳ κάρῃ, 184 πιναρὰν κόμαν), she is carrying water from the well, a menial, donkeylike, task that leads Orestes to assume that she is indeed a “slave” (107 πρόσπολόν τινα, 110 δούλης γυναικός).

Not only hairstyles, but almost every detail of the appearance and deportment of a man’s mount or team of horses, like the κόσμος and εὐεξία of his wife, son, or daughter,²⁸ was carefully shaped and evaluated, since these were all perceived as public expressions of his own worth, taste, and style, and of his whole family’s too. Similar vocabulary (and mythology) is applied to the schooling of horses as to that of the “herds” of elite children and adolescents that were trained in gymnastic exercises, dance, athletic/military manoeuvres, and races.²⁹ Diet, coordination of team formation, and, especially, musical responsiveness and elegance received close attention. For horses too, like these youthful humans, were thought to be distinctively “musical” in ways that donkeys and mules were not. Not only the war trumpet, but also more hedonistic instruments such as the syrinx and auloi were said to have a strong and beneficial effect on horses and to play a role in their training and deportment (Plut. *On the Cleverness of Animals* 961d–e):

Ἦδονης δὲ τῇ μὲν δι’ ὧτων ὄνομα κήλησίς ἐστι τῇ δὲ δι’ ὀμμάτων γοητεία· χρῶνται δ’ ἐκατέραις ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία. κηλοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ἔλαφοι καὶ ἵπποι σύριγξιν καὶ αὐλοῖς. . . .

Now pleasure that is received through the ears is a means of enchantment, while that which comes through the eyes is a kind of magic: they use both kinds against animals. For deer and horses are bewitched by pipes and flutes. . . . (Trans. B. Perrin)

(Plut. *Whether Animals Have Reason* 992a–b):

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἰχθυεῖν σκύλακας καὶ βαδίζειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πόλους μελετῶντας καὶ κόρακας διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κύνας ἄλλεσθαι διὰ τροχῶν περιφερομένων. ἵπποι δὲ καὶ βόες ἐν θεάτροις κατακλίσεις καὶ χορείας καὶ στάσεις παραβόλους καὶ κινήσεις οὐδ’ ἀνθρώποις πάνυ ῥαδίας ἀκριβοῦσιν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι.

I say nothing of puppies that are trained as hunters, or colts schooled to keep time in their gait, or crows that are taught to talk, or dogs, to jump through revolving hoops. In the theatres, horses and steers go through an exact routine in which they lie down or dance or hold a precarious pose or perform movements not at all easy even for men. (Trans. W. C. Helmbold)

If horses (and deer!) are “enchanted” (κηλοῦνται) by the same musical instruments as most affect human audiences (see too fig. 4), they must indeed

28. Or of the chorus group or ephebic “herd” under his supervision, if he was a χορηγός, χοροδιδάσκαλος, or κοσμητής: see Calame 1997, 43–73, 208–44; Marrou 1956, 19–23, 102–11; Wilson 2001.

29. Calame 1997, 187–202; cf. Stehle 1997, 22–25, 71–79, 85–88, 262–88; Kennell 1995. For the adolescent “herds” (ἀγέλαι) and their “leaders” (χορηγοί, βοαγοί, κτλ.), see n. 2 above and n. 78 below. Notable too is the language used of the “frolicking, swaggering, prancing, sauntering, frisking” movements and postures characteristic both of young horses and of upper-class adolescents, which were regarded as being especially evocative of sexuality and exuberant energy (see LSJ, s.vv. γαῦρος, σαῦλος, ἄβρος, σκαίρω, σκιρτάω, χλιδή, τρυφή, and their derivatives). Several of these terms are also frequently applied to Athenian satyr choruses (played by young citizen men); see Griffith 2002, 223–24.

have souls whose harmonious disposition resembles ours especially closely.³⁰ And if colts can be taught to “step in rhythm” (βαδίζειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ), then their affinity to the soldiers and choreut-athletes who ride them is thereby confirmed.³¹ Indeed, this imagined musical proficiency of horses gives added resonance to the notion of the “chariot” of the Muses, along with the associations between *harma* (“chariot”) and *harmonia* (“harmony”) and the “roads of song” that are mentioned so frequently in Greek accounts of poetic inspiration.³² As I noted earlier, the sounds of a horse neighing and snorting (φρυάσσω, φρύαγμα, κτλ.) were also regarded as attractive, even exciting; and the combination of these sounds with the jingle of harness and bells might be vividly described in contexts of battle and adventure.³³ By contrast, the donkey was proverbial for its unmusicality: “A donkey [is at a loss when it hears/sees] a lyre” (ὄνος λύραν).³⁴ Or, as another Aesopic Fable narrates, a donkey once wanted to sing like a cicada, and accordingly adopted the cicada’s diet—nothing but pure dewdrops—with the result that he wasted away and died.³⁵ Through such proverbial and fabular reinforcement, the central “truth”

30. See too Vigneron 1968, 210–16 (including Roman burlesques with performing donkeys—not a Greek phenomenon: Apul. *Met.* 10.17, 11.8). The well-known sixth-century black-figure scene of a comic chorus of “knights” (ABV 297, 17 = Boardman 1974, fig. 137) includes an aulete, so presumably the horse-choreuts would dance in concert with their “riders.” Satyrs and silens too are extremely musical. Pliny repeats the claim that horses are especially close to humans in their intellectual and musical abilities: *docilitas tanta est ut univ[er]sus Sybaritani exercitus equitatus ad symphoniae cantum saltatione quadam moveri solitus inveniat[ur]* (“Their docility/receptivity is so great that we learn that the entire cavalry of the army of Sybaris was accustomed to perform a kind of ballet to the music of a band,” *HN* 8.65.157). See further Part One, n. 134.

31. Some modern equestrians continue to insist that horses do indeed respond positively to rhythm and music, and that circus ponies are not merely trained to watch for visual signals but actually follow the music and appreciate it; similar hoopla surrounds horse shows such as *Cavalia* (see Part One, n. 143). On the other side, French donkey owners and breeders insist, in contrast to the ancient Greeks, that their animals too have a musical ear; for they sing them special aphrodisiac songs (*le lalandage*) to get them into the mood for generating mules (according to A. L. Hagedoorn’s *Animal Breeding* [1939, cited by Dent 1972, 83–84]). In a recent experiment (in preparation for delivering a paper on Ancient Greek donkeys at a conference in Hydra, October 2005 [See Gregory forthcoming]), Professor Justina Gregory played selections of Mozart and the Beatles to a cluster of horses and a cluster of donkeys on a farm in Vermont. The horses remained completely unaffected by any of the music; the donkeys were unimpressed by the Beatles, but showed signs of enjoying Mozart. I am grateful to Professor Gregory for this report.

32. Several of these equine images are shared with Indic and other Indo-European cultures; see Bowra 1952, 157–70; Nagy 1990, 238–50, 256–58; Janko 1992; Edwards 1991 (on Hom. *Il.* 17.426–58, 19.397–423, etc.), with further references. One particularly striking passage in Greek tradition is the description by Parmenides (B 1 DK) of the initiatory journey of a *kouros* in a chariot drawn by mares and escorted by the daughters of Helios, as “the axle emits the sound of a syrinx” (ἄξων . . . ἔει σύριγγος ἀντήν . . . , B 1.6); cf. Mourelatos 1970; Jezik 1992; Kingsley 1999, 49–54, 71–76, 116–29, 246.

33. E.g. Aesch. *Sept.* 122–23, 151–55, 203–7, 245, 475–76; Soph. *El.* 713–19. For φρύαγμα and the voices of horses, donkeys, and mules, see Part One, and n. 104 below; see also Chandezon 2005, n. 4, on βρώμησις.

34. See Adolf 1950; Vogel 1973. The story is most completely narrated in a Latin version (Aesop 542 Perry = Perrotti’s Appendix 14): *ASINUS AD LYRAM* (*Quomodo ingenia saepe calamitate intercidunt*): *Asinus iacentem vidit in prato lyram; / accessit et temptavit chordas ungula. / sonuere tactae. “Bella res mehercules / male cessit” inquit “artis quia sum nescius. / si reperisset aliquis hanc prudentior, / divinis aures oblectasset cantibus.” / Sic saepe ingenia calamitate intercidunt.* (“THE ASS AND THE LYRE [How genius is often lost through the accidents of fortune]: An ass saw a lyre lying in the meadow. He went up to it and tried the strings with his hoof; they sounded at his touch. ‘A pretty thing, on my faith,’ said he, ‘but it has ended in failure, because I am ignorant of the art. If only someone of greater skill had found this, he might have charmed all ears with notes divine.’ Thus men of genius are often lost to fame through the accidents of fortune” [trans. B. E. Perry].)

35. Aesop 184 Perry = 195 Hausrath, a Fable adapted in due course, it seems, by Callimachus in the Prologue to his *Aetia* (frag. 1.29–35 Pf.)—immediately after Apollo instructs the poet to “drive [his] chariot (27 ἐλάν ὄρρον) along a new course,” rather than follow the “broad highway” along which the (presumably mule-drawn) “wagons trundle” (25 ἄμαραι πατέουσιν).

of elite aesthetics was maintained, that “donkeys” (i.e., the lower classes) are by nature completely *amousoi*, unable to dance or sing, uneducable, and therefore fit only to work and serve their betters.³⁶

The sexual and gender implications of all these cosmetic and pedagogical homologies between humans and equids are pervasive, clearly, but far from straightforward to decipher or to map onto any simple binary grid of human masculinity and femininity. Insofar as a handsome young man and a beautiful young woman can each (as we have seen) be thought to resemble a sleek, well-groomed colt or filly—and in most respects colts and fillies are hard to distinguish, apart from their sexual organs—then they cannot be as sharply differentiated from one another as the familiar cultural binaries might assert.³⁷ Certainly both boys and girls seem to have appeared equally desirable for pursuit, capture, “taming,” and teaching/training by a potential “partner” or “rider,” for elite Greek males of this period seem normally to have been attracted to teenagers of either sex.³⁸

In the visual arts, men and women were conventionally represented in quite different styles during the Archaic and Classical periods. Sometimes male flesh was shown as darker (light brown, versus the females’ white), and in general, Greek artists liked to show young male human bodies displaying as much smooth, hairless, lightly muscled flesh as possible (often enhanced, as we have noted, with locks of hair, ribbons, armor, or various other accoutrements); female bodies, if of elite or divine status, were normally represented fully dressed, often with elaborate folds, pleats, and veils.³⁹ Horses’ bodies are generally represented in painting or sculpture as having surfaces that are flat and sleek, that is, “nude” like the heroic human flesh of the vase-painters, not furry or fuzzy—in contrast, for example, to goats or sheep⁴⁰—though the

36. In Plato’s *Laws* (Book 7), it is claimed that those who cannot sing and dance (ἀχόρευτοι) are “uneducated” (ἀπαίδευτοι); cf. Lonsdale 1993, esp. 21–43; Stehle 1997, 26–29; Naerebout 1997. If space permitted, there might be more to say here about Midas (of the ass’s ears), about Silenus (the horse-tailed associate of Dionysus and occasional sage), and about poor Marsyas, along with other equine or semi-equine types whose long furry ears and animalistic tastes eventually betray their lack of Apollinian/chivalrous musicality. In each case there is a strand of musical-intellectual rivalry, mixed with class antagonism, that threatens to become seriously disruptive. As Persius complains, *Auriculas asini quis non habet?* (*Sat.* 1.121; contrast Persius *Prologue* 1–3 *fonte . . . caballino*, etc.). See too Adolf 1950; Deonna 1956, for the religious and magical associations of asses’ ears.

37. We may note too that the same word—πῶλος—is used in Greek both of a “colt” and of a “filly,” just as the same word—παῖς—is used of “boy” and “girl” (though παιδικά is reserved for boys): see n. 38 in Part One.

38. Girls seem normally to have been courted (or seduced, or raped) and married off between the ages of 13 and 17 (see, e.g., Xen. *Oec.* 7–10, with Pomeroy’s commentary [1995]; Cantarella 2002, 40–41; also Calame 1997). On the customary age(s) for male homoerotic relationships (likewise, it seems, roughly twelve to sixteen or seventeen for the “junior” partner), see Plut. *Lyc.* 17; Xen. *Lac.* 2; Pl. *Symp.*; see also, e.g., Dover 1989; Griffith 2001, 61–66; Cantarella 2002, 36–48. (The usual ages for female homoerotic relationships are impossible to determine from the available evidence.) On Greek “bisexuality” in general, see Cantarella 2002, *passim*.

39. Only in the case of low-class women, or those working in the sex industry (or occasionally, those engaged in special rituals, such as the girls’ races at Brauron, Sparta, or the Olympic Heraia), would the female body normally be depicted naked before the fourth century B.C.E.: see, e.g., Stewart 1997, 24–42, 97–129. The phenomenon of male nudity in Greek art, even in contexts in which (in “real life”) armor or other clothing must certainly have been worn, has been usefully analyzed by Bonfante (1989: “nudity as costume”).

40. The same is sometimes, but not always, true of donkeys and of silens in vase-paintings; see Hedreen 1992. For an admiring description of a horse’s body, including “the beautiful smoothness of his skin,” see

artists, as we have seen, would also often include ornate manes, tails, and decorations, comparable to the hair and ornaments of a Ganymede, athletic victor, or *kouros*/Apollo.

Idealized “heroic” horsemen in art are often represented nude, or almost so, even though in “real life” they would normally have been more completely clothed. This nudity exaggerates the aura of aristocratic style, and often of sexual desirability as well, that is already associated with hippic display. So what happens when such heroic and lordly images are employed under the Athenian democracy, in a city where elite equestrianism is no longer so unequivocally admired and coveted as it still was in, for example, Sparta, Thessaly, or Sicily, to say nothing of Macedonia, Scythia, Thrace, or Persia? Of course, many Athenian elites possessed large estates in Thrace and elsewhere, in which they could continue to behave—and ride—as virtual kings; in some cases they continued proudly to assert their identity as *hippeis* even within Attica (as, e.g., Xenophon was still cheerfully doing in the fourth century). But they then ran the risk of being perceived, rightly or wrongly, as “Laconizers” or “Medizers” or worse.

The Parthenon Frieze is perhaps the most celebrated of all sculptural monuments to have survived from Classical Athens. Designed and executed during the heyday of the democracy (c. 445–430 B.C.E.) by Pheidias and his colleagues, it depicts a procession of Athens’ finest, 165 young horsemen with their horses and chariots, arrayed in a glorious profusion of poses and costumes.⁴¹ Many are nude or nearly nude, most are beardless, and none are old or ugly (see fig. 6a). It is striking indeed that, even at a period when hoplites and rowers were recognized (e.g., by Aeschylus in *The Persians*, or by Herodotus and Thucydides in their *Histories*) as providing the backbone of the city’s military might, and “the masses” (*demos*, *plethos*, *polloi*) were properly regarded as the dominant and sovereign political body, horses and horsemen continued to play such a central role in the city’s self-image. It is no less striking that these horsemen were so consistently imagined as being adolescents. Thus the democracy, through its official art program, fantasized and “aristocratized” itself in the image of sexy adolescent elites—and of horses too.⁴² Highly eroticized, yet entirely chaste, this frieze celebrates a

Bewick 1824, 3 (quoted further in Part One, n. 23). Human beings who are represented with hairy bodies in Greek art are almost invariably foreigners or ogres; Dover (1989, 73–81) discusses the Greek preference for smooth adolescent bodies. The ugliest satyrs/silens in Athenian art are also usually the hairiest.

41. On the Parthenon Frieze, see esp. Boardman 1996, 143–50; Cook 1997; Neils 2001; Stevenson 2003 (all with excellent illustrations). See also Stewart 1997, 75–85, 245, with further references.

42. Just as Alcman’s Spartan maidens are fantasized as being (like) horses too (*PMG* 1; pp. 309–10 above). For the “aristocratizing” tendencies of the fifth-century Athenians’ self-image, see Loraux 1986; Stevenson 2003. On the composition (numbers, age) of Athenian *hippeis* in the fifth century, see Davies 1984; Spence 1993; by the mid-fifth century, the membership of the cavalry class probably averaged no more than 1,000 to 2,000, out of a citizen population of some 100,000 (i.e., 1 to 2 percent, or perhaps 3 to 4 percent of able-bodied citizen males). Spence argues that in fact the numbers of active cavalry members (as distinct from those economically eligible) were disproportionately dominated by adolescents and men under thirty-five, who would be readier for the rigors of cavalry training and horse upkeep than older men, in which case the Parthenon Frieze may not be so “fantastical.” Most other scholars believe, however, that the ages were more evenly spread out. On any reckoning, the 1,000 to 2,000 must have included a high proportion of mature bearded men (i.e., older than seventeen).

combination of youthful human and equine energy that is intensely male, half-wild, half-trained, the epitome of “freedom” and heroic-erotic decorum.

What are the gender dynamics of this array of gorgeous adolescent horsemen, hair flowing in the wind, bodies twisting and turning to display themselves and their horses at all angles to the gaze of passersby?⁴³ Their “heroic nudity” might be said to confirm the proud and assertive masculinity of the riders. But at the same time, these handsome young (beardless) men are also presented as objects to be admired by spectators at large, and thus implicitly as objects of male desire.⁴⁴ What about their horses? These too strike the viewer as being proudly male, not only because most of them are shown with visible genitalia, but also because their mirroring of their riders’ movements and appearance implicitly assimilates them to the same gender. Yet they are also “feminized” somewhat by their resplendent manes and tails, their delicate legs, and of course their position of subjection to their riders (a point to which we will return shortly).

At the other end of the cosmetic spectrum, an equally distinctive image of Athenian elite equestrianism presents a handsome young man (fig. 6b) riding in a resplendent “Thracian” cloak (*chlamys*) and traveling hat (*petasos*) on a finely turned-out horse. (Such figures are usually represented without beards, though occasionally the rider is bearded.) Given that gaudily dressed equestrians were strongly associated (at least in Athens, after 490 B.C.E.) with Persians (and also Amazons), and that the ideal of male Athenian identity was normally constituted in visual art either by youthful nudity or by various exemplars of hoplite/heroic/athletic/musical vigor (or often by some combination of both), we may ask what kind of gendered or ethnic identity is projected by these Attic paintings. The outfit of cloak and traveling hat was apparently standard for Athenian ephebes; yet the dress code for Athenian citizens at this period was generally very sober and egalitarian.⁴⁵ How manly, masterful, and Greek—or how effeminate, soft, and Asian—was such an image in the eyes of contemporary Athenians? (And which Athenians were looking? Were these purely for private, elite viewing, within the context of the symposium? Or were such images designed also to make an impression on a broader viewing public?) Where does class difference, or inter-Greek-polis rivalry, fit in the semiotics of such scenes? For, as we noted earlier, even as *hippotrophia* provided in many respects a passport to aesthetic and social acceptability among the elite, an international ticket to ride, it also tended to be an incentive, especially in democratic Athens, to lower-class resentment or even ridicule for its extravagance, ostentation, and frivolity—and perhaps its foreignness too.⁴⁶ That these young men, and their horses

43. In its original location, the frieze was not in fact very easily visible: Neils 2001; Stevenson 2003, 233–38. But its general character, and the presence of the numerous horses and horsemen, must have been well known to all Athenians.

44. See Stevenson 2003, 242–53.

45. Miller 2004, p. 138 with fig. 222; Geddes 1987.

46. See Neer 2002, 146–49, for the class dynamics of the Dokimasia Painter’s representation of cavalry registration in Athens; also Lissarrague 1990a, 224–29. On the elaborate costumes (trousers, or multi-colored cloaks; special cap or hood) and emphasis on horses (and bow and arrow) of the Persian/Thracian/Scythian,

also, are presented as idealized supermodels of elite beauty, achievement, and desirability, seems beyond question; but it is less easy to determine what effect the elements of luxury and foreignness, even of decadence, in their depiction have on the observer. Do these very elements perhaps even add to the appeal of the image?⁴⁷

In both of these cases (Parthenon frieze and “Thracian” rider), these ideologically and erotically charged images of horses not only add stature (literal and figurative) to the human figures, but also inject an interesting dynamic of horse-human domination and submission that contains a peculiarly mixed message. It is to this relationship, and its gendered and sexual dynamics, that I turn next.

2. HARNESSES AND BITS, YOKES AND PAIRS, LOVE AND MARRIAGE

Like their neighbors and rivals (Thracians, Scythians, Persians, and others), the Greeks had no stirrups and did not normally use saddles for riding.⁴⁸ So a Greek rider sat directly on his horse’s back,⁴⁹ either bareback or on a thin cloth, gripping its body with his thighs, knees, and heels (see figs. 4, 6a, and 6b)—a very intimate and direct kind of contact. Greek harnesses, bridles, and bits, however, were not so radically different from ours.⁵⁰ The basic principle, that the animal’s tender nose should be pressured by the leather straps of a bridle, and/or that its soft gums and tongue should be

even Amazonian, “Other” in Athenian art, often contrasted with a more properly “Greek” preference for hoplite armor (shield, helmet, and spear), and/or “heroic” male nudity, see, e.g., Hall 1989; Lissarrague 1990a; Stewart 1997. One of the surviving “Thracian horseman” vases (ARV 163, 8, illustrated, e.g., in Murray 1995, fig. 6[b]) carries the subscription ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΕ, and this family (the Philadae, which included the fifth-century general and three-time Olympic chariot victor Cimon) was famous for its Thracian estates and “international” connections.

47. See Kurke 1992; Miller 1997; Stewart 1997, 75–85; Griffith 1998, 36–39, 44–52. As Andrew Stewart remarks: “The frieze artfully presents the Athenian demos as a brilliant yet wholly democratic elite that, having reached the absolute summit of human potential, collectively embodies human subjectivity at its fullest and most resonant. . . . ‘Youthening’ [J. D. Beazley’s term] had a long history in Athenian art. . . . It goes back to the sixth-century kouroi . . . but is by no means restricted to them. . . . The key to understanding this phenomenon is the fact that for the ‘ideal’ Athenian spectator—the mature citizen male—any image of a beardless youth would not only evoke all the hope and energy of ‘life’s jewelled springtime’ [Pericles’ phrase] but potentially awaken his homoerotic desire as well. . . . This incipient homoerotic relationship between spectator and youthened demos is intensified by the frieze’s remarkable imbalance between naked youths and clothed ones, and by the figures’ smooth, rippling flesh, softly undulating drapery, and supple, rhythmical movement. . . .” (Stewart 1997, 79–82). I think we should add to this the additional ingredient of the horses’ bodies combining with those of (often nude) adolescent youths, which significantly increases the spectators’ erotic excitement.

48. As noted in Part One, the only saddles they knew were either for resting packs on, like a roof rack or pillion, or for riding sidesaddle (usually on a mule or donkey), a configuration that was chiefly designed for women (see e.g. *LIMC*, s.vv. “Nereid,” “Thetis,” often on sea horses, sea monsters, or hippocamps; also “Europa” on a bull), or for laborers (e.g., the Scythian ax carrier of fig. 9), or for old and disabled men (e.g., Hephaestus, or the drunken Dionysus, passim).

49. As noted previously, unlike Early Modern Europe, or the American West, ancient Greece regarded horseback riding as exclusively a male activity, the sinister exception that proves this rule being the Amazons (and neighboring Scythians); cf. Part One, n. 78. Owning teams of horses was a different matter: so, e.g., Cynisca of Sparta, sister of Agesilaus, twice won Olympic four-horse chariot victories, in 396 and 392 B.C.E. (Paus. 3.8.1; cf. Golden 1998, 133–34); and goddesses at least could be imagined as driving a chariot team, in Homer and on Archaic vases.

50. See Anderson 1961, pp. 40–88, with pls. 32–39; Vigneron 1968, pp. 51–79 with plates. Bits for horses seem to have first been introduced as early as 4000 B.C.E.: see Anthony 1991, 265–67; Drews 2004, with further references.

afflicted by the insertion of a metal bit into the mouth, is still employed by most equestrians today. To nonequestrians, this sounds cruel—worse than human corsets and starched collars, almost like bound feet—and of course, the use of whip, and even spurs, adds still further to the intrinsic connotations of torment, slavery, and punishment. But the degree of cruelty can vary greatly, depending on the type of bit and harness, and on the style of training and disciplining that is used. Equestrians—and most nonequestrians—apparently regard the “breaking in” and disciplining of a horse (like that of youths in an old-style prep school or Marine boot camp) as an extended process that is of mutual benefit, leading in the end to the greater happiness, as well as efficiency, of both rider and mount.⁵¹

Greek bits were often extremely harsh. They may well have caused much of the foam and blood that are often described in literary texts as coming from a high-spirited horse’s mouth; and such bits surely facilitated the widespread fashion of making horses hold their heads higher than was either comfortable or efficient (see e.g. figs. 4 and 6b).⁵² Here again, as with human chorus members, shield dancers, or brides, appearance (“bearing”—ἔξις, τάξις, εὐεξία, εὐκοσμία, εὐανδρία) was often valued more highly than comfort or practicality.⁵³ Indeed, the amount of energy and concern devoted by Xenophon (normally a humane and moderate enough man, it seems, and a considerate rider) to encouraging and enforcing such a carriage of the horse’s head, along with “high-schooling” (getting the horse to rear up on its hind legs in a controlled way, for impressive, though useless, effect, as in figs. 4 and 6a), is quite remarkable.⁵⁴ As with human pupils, the challenge of developing a “brilliant horse” (λαμπρὸς ἵππος), he says, requires a combination of natural talent and beauty, expert instruction, and much hard work and practice (Xen. *Eq.* 11.1, 3, 8–9):

ἥν δὲ τις ἄρα βουλῆθῃ καὶ πομπικῶ καὶ μετεώρῳ καὶ λαμπρῷ ἵππῳ χρῆσασθαι, οὐ μάλα μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ παντὸς ἵππου γίνονται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μεγαλόφρονα καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὐρωστον. . . . ἦν οὖν τις ὑποτιθέμενος αὐτοῦ ἀνακρούη τῷ χαλινῷ, ὁκλάζει μὲν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις, αἵρει δὲ τὸ πρόσθεν σῶμα, ὥστε τοῖς ἐξ ἑναντίας φαίνεσθαι τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ταῦτα ποιῇ διδόναι αὐτῷ τὸν χαλινόν,

51. The techniques of breaking and schooling horses (and donkeys and mules) appear to have changed relatively little over the centuries (apart from the introduction of saddle and stirrups). Cf., e.g., Xen. *Eq.* passim, and Anderson 1961, 98–127, 159–60; Hyland 1990, 45–48. Cf. also Herbert [1859] 2000; Riley 1867; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999; Romer 2000, 72–76. One of Anna Sewell’s purposes in writing *Black Beauty* was to expose and criticize the harsh techniques employed in nineteenth-century England (esp. the use of a “leading rein”); see Sewell 1877, quoted in Part One.

52. On ancient bits (including Persian, Scythian, and Celtic, as well as Classical Greek), see Anderson 1961, pp. 44–63, with pls. 18b, 19–22, 27–28, 32–39. For representations of horses’ heads held abnormally and uncomfortably high, see, e.g., Anderson 1961, pls. 18b, 21a; Boardman 1974, figs 91, 145.2.

53. On the musical, choreographical, and stylish aspects of hoplite and athletic training, geared to produce good looks as well as strength, speed, and military efficiency, see, e.g., Golden 1998, 23–28 (including discussion of the πυρρίχη and group competitions in εὐανδρία); Griffith 2001; Miller 2004; also Winkler 1990; Ceccarelli 1998; and Griffith 2002 on satyr choruses, where Athenian citizens dressed up as half-horses performed especially vigorous dances. For girls’ choruses and their resemblance to racehorses, see esp. Alcman’s *Partheneion* (discussed above).

54. In general, Xenophon (*Eq.* 10–11) recommends a combination of pain (the use of an especially sharp bit in the early stages of training) and rewards (encouraging a male horse to behave “naturally,” i.e., to move the way it does when displaying its charms in front of other horses and mares; and refraining from the use of spur, whip, or excessive pulling on the reins); see Anderson 1961, 122–27, 174–76; also Hyland 1990, 45–48.

ὅπως τὰ κάλλιστα ἵππου ἐκόντα ποιῆσαι δοκῇ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν. . . ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δὴ ἵπαζόμενοι ἵππων καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες γράφονται, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ καλῶς χρώμενοι αὐτοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς φαίνονται. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μετεωρίζων ἑαυτὸν ἵππος σφόδρα ἀγαστόν, ὡς πάντων τῶν ὁρώντων καὶ νέων καὶ γεραιτέρων τὰ ὅμματα κατέχειν. οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὔτε ἀπολείπει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαγορεύει θεώμενος, ἔστ' ἂν περ ἐπιδεικνύηται τὴν λαμπρότητα.

If you want to train a horse for parade, for “high-school” work and for brilliancy, it is certainly not every horse that can develop the necessary qualities. You must have one naturally endowed with great-heartedness of spirit and strength of body. . . . When he brings [his hind legs] under him, pull him up with the bit. He will then bend his hind legs on his hocks and lift his fore-hand, so that those straight in front of him can see his belly and sexual parts. And when he does this you must give him rein, so that to the beholders he may appear to be doing of his own free will the finest actions proper to a horse. . . . Such are the horses upon which gods and heroes are depicted riding, and men who manage them well will present a magnificent appearance. And indeed a horse raising itself into the air is a thing so admirable that it captures the eyes of all beholders, both young and old. At least nobody stops watching or grows tired of the spectacle, as long as he continues to show off his brilliance. (Trans. J. K. Anderson, slightly adapted)⁵⁵

A rider and his horse were partners in a peculiarly close relationship. With his legs wrapped around the animal's body, his hands touching its neck and sometimes holding on to its hair (mane), while also tugging intermittently on a hard bar inserted into its mouth, the rider was performing an activity that in some respects resembled driving a car or motorcycle, but in others was more like sexual intercourse. Like a car or motorcycle, a horse or team of horses is far stronger and faster than the human rider or driver, and if properly directed—with just a quick dab on the gas pedal or brakes, or a deft flick of the steering wheel—can provide an exhilarating, superhuman surge of power as a virtual extension of the rider/driver's own potency and will. But, unlike a motorcycle or car, and more like a sexual partner, the horse has feelings and a mind of its own, and responds not just mechanically to the promptings and programmed directions of the rider (reins, voice, hands, knees, heels, goad, whip, etc.) but also out of its own experience, anticipation, desires, and (often most importantly) its previously learned sense of trust in its rider. Indeed, the mutual affection and loyalty of horse and rider/driver are fabled, in antiquity as in the present—for example, Achilles and his team (especially Xanthus . . .), Hippolytus and his team, Alexander and Bucephalus, Mezentius and Rhaebus—to a degree only metaphorically imputed to any actual automobile.

Many of the same expressions used in Greek of taming, harnessing, and yoking a young animal were also applied to the sexual “subjugation” of a young girl (παρθένος) to make her into a “woman” and/or “wife” (γυνή).⁵⁶

55. A little later (*Eq.* 11.12), Xenophon also mentions the “orderly and disciplined” appearance of parading horses (εὐσχημονέσται), and their “intense snorting” (ἀθρόον φρύαγμα), further assimilating their training to that of a well-choreographed and rehearsed chorus.

56. The standard term in poetry for a “wife” is *δαίμαρ* (lit. “tamed one,” from *δαμάζω*); conversely *ἄδμης*, *ἄδμητος* = “untamed/unmarried”. The notion of the “conjugal yoke” is pervasive in Greek as in Latin (*ζυγός/iugum* > *coniunx* etc.): thus a wife is *σύζυγος*, a bride *νεόζυγος*, a virgin (male or female) is *ἄζυξ*. See esp. Calame 1997, 238–43, with further references (including a nice discussion of *Hippo-lytos* and *Hippo-lyte*). For the erotic associations of *πῶλος* (masc. and fem.), cognate with Latin *pullus* (“chick”), see Part One, p. 195.

Indeed, such terminology seems scarcely to have been felt to be figurative, whether used to describe the initial “breaking in” of an inexperienced (virgin) bride, or an expert lover’s masterful control in conducting his/her eager or reluctant partner around the “course” (or “battlefield”) of an exciting love affair.⁵⁷ The notion of applying, for example, bit and bridle (χαλινός, στόμιον), reins (ἡνίαι), or yoke (ζυγόν, ζεύγος), and thus “riding” or “driving” a sexual partner by means of a combination of physical and psychological domination, was utterly familiar as a metaphor for the respective roles of man and wife (or concubine, or homoerotic partner). Such imagery could even be extended to include such terms as θρόσκω (“mounting”), ἐπεμβαίνω (“leaping-on, getting-on-top”), and κελητίζω (“riding the solo-horse”). Yet at the same time we should remember that most of the actual breaking in and training of horses was done by professionals: few owners would take the time and trouble (or possess the necessary expertise) to do this for themselves. It also appears to be the case that the best jockeys and charioteers, who drove the victorious racers at the circuit games, were generally hired professionals or expert slaves, not the owners themselves.⁵⁸ Thus horse owners would be aware (whether or not this awareness affected, consciously or unconsciously, their relationship with their boyfriend or bride) that their own close relationship with their trusted mount(s) was shared by—and had been anticipated by—a man of inferior status. Horse trainers, jockeys, charioteers, and grooms (like lady’s maids and nurses) thus enjoyed a curiously intimate and knowing partnership with their elite patrons and masters.

Anacreon devotes one whole (very famous) poem to developing the conceit of sexual seduction as equine breaking in and “subjugation” (Anacreon *PMG* 417, cited by Heraclitus in *Homeric Allegories*):

καὶ μὴν ὁ Τήιος Ἀνακρέων ἐταιρικὸν φρόνημα καὶ σοβαρᾶς γυναικὸς ὑπερηφανίαν
 οὐκ εἰδίζων τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ σκιρτῶντα νοῦν ὥς ἵππον ἡλληγόρησεν οὕτω λέγων·
 πῶλε Ὀρηκίη, τί δὴ με
 λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσά
 νηλέως φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ
 μ’ οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;
 ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι 5
 τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
 ἡνίας δ’ ἔχων στρέφοιμί
 σ’ ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου·

57. Thus, e.g., Anacreon can complain that Eros or a young boyfriend “rides, drives” him (ἡνιοχεύεις, *PMG* 360.4; cf. too *PMG* 380, with Himerius’ accompanying comments), just as elsewhere he likens Eros’ violent assault to that of a boxer (*PMG* 396). For equestrian language in general used to describe sexual activity, see Henderson 1975, 164–66; Kurke 1999, 184–87.

58. See Nicholson (2003), who suggests that the reason why aristocratic victors preferred that their drivers almost never be mentioned in poems or inscriptions (whereas charioteers in myth are not so rigorously excluded) was not because these horse owners were embarrassed about not demonstrating equestrian skill in their own person (as most scholars have argued), but because mention of the commodified relationship between employer and employee would spoil the aristocratic flavor of the whole enterprise. (Pindar’s *Py.* 5, for Arcesilas IV of Cyrene in the chariot race of 462, exceptionally celebrates, at considerable length, Carrhotus, the brave and brilliant driver: the reason this exception is made appears to be that he was a relative of Arcesilas, not an employee.) It would be consistent with this anxiety that the charioteer’s personal intimacy with the team of animals would also be acceptable and appropriate if he were a social equal and relative or *xenos*, but not so if he were a hired technician or slave (as, e.g., at Pl. *Lysis* 208a–c, referring to both horse and mule teams).

νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκειαι
 κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις, 10
 δεξιὸν γὰρ ἵπποπείρην
 οὐκ ἔχεις ἐπεμβάτην.

Moreover Anacreon of Teos, abusing the meretricious spirit and arrogance of a haughty woman, used the “allegory” of a horse to describe her frisky disposition:

“Thracian filly, why do you look at me from the corner of your eye and flee stubbornly from me, supposing that I have no skill? Let me tell you, I could neatly put the bridle on you and with the reins in my hand wheel you round the turnpost of the racecourse; instead, you graze in the meadows and frisk and frolic [lit. ‘play like a child’] lightly, since you have no skilled horseman to ride you.” (Trans. D. A. Campbell)

As usual, the male “rider” here assumes that he is (or should be) in control of the “mount,” for the ultimate benefit of both; but an element of paradox and excitement is added as he acknowledges the possibility that she might prefer to remain independent of him, and he fantasizes about her freedom to keep on “playing” (παίζεις, 10), implicitly with her friends and/or mother, in the open meadows (like the Sorraia ponies depicted in fig. 1b).⁵⁹ Occasionally, the temporary modification of conventional power relationships between senior and junior sexual partner can be taken further, though only in contexts of courtesans and/or homoerotic courtship, not of marriage: thus the man may enjoy the exquisite reversal of allowing a courtesan (or boy) to take the initiative, turn the tables, and be “on top,” in the prized sexual position of “horsey” (κεληρίζω).⁶⁰ Thus the erotic associations between horseback riding and human sexual relations were pervasive.

Despite this quasi-erotic aura surrounding the man-horse partnership, and despite the extensive equestrian imagery of human sexual relations, Greek visual culture virtually never represents horses—any more than human heroes—in a state of sexual arousal, even though Aristotle states that “horses, both male and female, are the horniest [λαγνίστατον] of all creatures, after humans” (i.e., implicitly even more so than donkeys).⁶¹ By contrast, donkeys in art are more often than not represented ithyphallically (as are satyrs—but, remarkably, not centaurs, despite their notoriously hybriatic behavior in myth), as a signifier of their “low” and uncontrolled nature. In real life, the horses that were ridden or driven in teams might be colts, fillies, mares, or stallions (rarely would a team be mixed, for obvious reasons); the

59. See n. 17 above on the Homeric simile (Paris/Hector). Whether the “filly’s” resistance is to be taken as a sign of “arrogance” (ὕπερηφανία) and “stubborn cruelty” (νηλέως), characteristic of a proud courtesan (ἐταϊρικὸν φρόνημα), as Heraclitus asserts in quoting this poem (thus, e.g., Kurke 2001, 183–84), or of her innocent attachment to the joys of youth, is left unclear: nor can we determine whether the point of her “Thracian” ethnicity is that she is of noncitizen family, that is, probably a slave, or simply that Thracian horses are of good quality. Perhaps both. If the courtesan scenario is to be imagined, then the “filly’s” prancing and playing could possibly be taken as a case of intense female sexual fever (cf. Columella, *Rust.* 6.27 on *hippomanes*, *rabies* . . . *amore inani* . . . etc., and cf. 6.35; Verg. *G.* 3.266, 269–75).

60. See esp. Henderson 1975, Stewart 1997, 164, 256, with further references.

61. λαγνίστατον δὲ καὶ τῶν θηλειῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων μετ’ ἀνθρώπων ἵππος ἐστίν (*Hist. an.* 6.575b30–31). Previously (6.572a8) Aristotle makes a similar remark about mares in particular: τὸν δὲ θηλειῶν ὀρημητικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν συνδασμόν μάλιστα μὲν ἵππος, ἔπειτα βοῦς (“In eagerness for sexual intercourse, of all female animals the mare comes first; next, the cow” [trans. A. L. Peck]).

literary and documentary sources indicate that teams of mares were in fact used quite extensively. But painters and sculptors generally preferred to depict male horses, again, presumably, as an implicit assertion of the animals' nobility and power.

Stallions over the age of four to five, if kept entire (not castrated), are hard to manage, and in most societies male horses that are not intended for breeding purposes are usually gelded when young. Since a ratio of one breeding stallion for every ten mares is recommended in our ancient sources, this would presumably mean that up to 90 percent of Greek colts would be gelded before reaching maturity. Curiously, however, it has proven impossible to determine the extent to which the Greeks did in fact castrate their horses. Modern scholars are divided on this question.⁶² It is certainly noticeable that, whereas the literary sources show no reticence or compunction about recommending castration for donkeys and mules (as for pigs, cattle, and sheep), the subject is hardly ever mentioned in any of the (numerous) discussions of horse breeding and training. This silence is taken by some to imply that the Greeks did not in fact castrate their colts, but let them all grow into stallions and remain entire throughout their working life, however difficult they may have been to control as a result. (This equine "self-mastery" and readiness to accept human discipline and restraint would of course contribute all the more to the horse's perceived nobility.) Alternatively, the silence of our Greek sources may reflect a refusal to confront a sore topic better left unmentioned, namely, the fact that an animal with which aristocratic men identified so closely, and whose training reflected in so many ways that of a young man, should have to suffer such an indignity and such permanent damage to its sexuality.⁶³ It seems in any case that quite a high proportion of the prime racehorses and chariot teams in ancient Greece comprised either mares or colts (i.e., two- to three-year-olds), a preference that may have served at least in part to circumvent the problem, even though it also contributed further to the ambiguities already inherent in the gendered identity of these sexy animals in relation to their male drivers and riders.⁶⁴

Although, as we have seen, the sexually-tinged bond between rider and horse(s) is so marked, and equestrian language is so widely used of erotic activities among human partners, references to actual interspecies love affairs between horse and human (attempted or consummated, homo- or heterosexual) are very rare in antiquity, rarer than episodes involving a bull and a woman, for example.⁶⁵ The most conspicuous exceptions are two

62. See Part One, p. 197, esp. n. 47. But Hyland (1990, 47–48, 80–82) argues strongly that Roman (and more recently, e.g., Arab) societies have been successful in training large numbers of cavalry, racing, and draft stallions without resorting to castration.

63. In general, too, the Greeks seem to have been less comfortable with the notion of human eunuchs than were many of their Near Eastern neighbors: see, e.g., Gleason 1995, 6, 46–47; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 1:164–66, 2:209–11; Hubbard 2003, 6–7.

64. See fig. 5 (red-figure depiction of two warriors with their four-horse chariot, by the Painter of Bologna 228 = ARV 511, 4), and discussion of it p. 334 below.

65. For interspecies erotic relations in general, see, e.g., Plut. *Whether Animals Have Reason* 990f; Ael. NA 15.14 (apes that desire women); on stallions and maidens in particular, see Edmunds 1997. Much later, Pliny (HN 8.64.154) mentions that Semiramis was said to have fallen in love with her horse and

anecdotes from Aelian (admittedly a late source, but one who regularly mines Classical authors for his material), both of which strikingly underline the close (imagined) affinity between human and equine forms of courtship and “chivalry.” The first (6. 44), in the course of a discussion of reciprocal care, attention, and love between model owners and their steeds (including such expressions as κηδεμονίας, ἀμείβεται, εὐεργέτην, φιλία, κτλ), is the story of Socles the Athenian, an exceptionally fine and handsome (καλός) youth, who purchased a horse that was no less beautiful (ὡραῖον) than he, but also “mightily amorous and, as it were, more discriminating than the other horses” (ἐρωτικὸν δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ οἷον σοφώτερον ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππους). The horse fell passionately in love with its master, “snorted and neighed” (ἐφρυάττετο) when he petted it, obeyed him perfectly when ridden, and “looked languishingly” (ὕγρὸν ἑώρα) at him when he was near. But as the horse showed increasing signs of being about to make improper advances, and people were gossiping, Socles sold the horse “because/as if it were a licentious lover” (ὥς ἔραστὴν ἀκόλαστον). Aelian’s narrative seems to compliment the horse on its good taste in noticing Socles’ beauty; indeed their erotic affair, it seems, was initially decorous and even somewhat mutual, similar to that between any human *erastes/eromenos* pair. But it went a little too far. The conclusion of the story confirms the essential nobility of the lovesick horse, however: it starved itself to death, being unable to bear separation from the handsome object of its desire.

The second anecdote, attributed by Aelian (4. 8) to Eudemus, tells of a young groom who fell in love with the beautiful mare he was taking care of (“the most beautiful of the whole herd, as if she were a beautiful young lass [μειράκος], lovelier than all the others in the neighborhood”); despite his best efforts, he proved unable to restrain himself and eventually had intercourse with her. The mare’s foal (male, and “itself also very handsome and noble” [πῶλον καὶ τοῦτον καλόν]) witnessed this bestial act, and was so disgusted and enraged to see its mother “being tyrannized (τυραννουμένης) by their master” that it jumped on the groom and killed him, even returning later to desecrate his grave. The moral and social implications of the story are multiple: not only do we recognize that a man might “fall in love” (ἐρασθῆναι)

married it. (Centaurs, of course, are generally a law/lawlessness unto themselves in their pursuit of human women: see p. 326 above. But the “good centaurs”, Chiron and Pholus, are frequently imagined as having close homosocial/pederastic relationships with their young hero-students—Heracles, Jason, Achilles, et al.; see *LIMC*, s.v. “Chiron.”) For bulls and women, see, e.g., Pasiphae, Europa, and note the expression ἀταύρωτος at Aesch. *Ag.* 245. In the contemporary world, a cursory exploration (mainly via the web browser Google) reveals two main kinds of horse/human erotica or pornography: on the one hand, there are numerous web sites featuring young women having sexual intercourse (real, or simulated) with stallions; but there is also another particular sexual fetish which consists of women dressed in leather and behaving like ponies, while their male “riders/drivers” look on and/or “mount” them. (I am grateful to Tim Doran for alerting me to the existence of this cultural phenomenon.) In both cases, I would surmise that the chief audience is male. It appears that these modern kinds of “bestial” erotica differ from ancient Greek attitudes and fantasies about horses in at least three main respects: (a) young men are not imagined as “ponies,” only young women (unless there are gay web sites that I did not encounter); (b) these practices and images enact or simulate more literally what in Greek culture was more figurative or metaphorical; (c) these modern practices are regarded and presented as decidedly kinky, whereas ancient Greek fantasies about equines were more mainstream.

with a horse,⁶⁶ but we are reminded that noble young males are entitled to protect the honor of their females, even if this means violent retribution against a tyrannical-despotic superior (as in the celebrated case of Aristogiton and Harmodius). The story also suggests that horses might in some cases live up to a nobler and more chivalrous code of conduct than humans, as well as confirming that only males can be expected to participate actively in such high-level games of erotic advance, conquest, rejection, or vengeance: the notion that the mare might have protected her own honor by taking retaliatory action herself appears to have been out of the question.

In the scenarios and clichés of sexualized “taming” and “riding,” as in the anecdotes of consuming erotic passion, it is always horses, real or imaginary, that are involved with humans, never donkeys or mules.⁶⁷ None of the other equids could be imagined as participating in such an intimate partnership, it appears. The implication obviously is that only horses are imagined to possess the beautiful appearance, and the quasi-human qualities of responsiveness, loyalty, and self-control, to make them fitting mates in such a conjugal pairing. Yet as a matter of fact, both donkeys and mules can be trained to respond to a bit and bridle, and to a rider’s or driver’s commands, no less sensitively than horses: they can be ridden solo or can pull wagons in racing teams.⁶⁸ But few donkey owners or mule owners seem to have any interest in such display; and most horse owners, even nowadays, are reluctant to acknowledge such capabilities in the lower equids, preferring to think that only the noble horse can be sufficiently well-attuned to human wishes or will have a mouth or spirit sufficiently delicate and sensitive to react to the “good hands” of a sophisticated rider. This prejudice seems to have been true of the Greeks too. Although individual riders certainly did often sit on a mule

66. Anthropologists and historians have determined that actual bestiality (sexual intercourse between human and animal) is in fact relatively widespread, occurring mainly in rural areas and performed for the most part by men on female animals; see also now (with reference to Apuleius and ancient Roman culture) Lytle 2003, and n. 70 below.

67. Sex acts with donkeys (as also with goats or fawns) are not infrequently performed or attempted by satyrs on Greek vases: see esp. Lissarrague 1990b; Davies 1990; Padgett 2000; Hedreen 2006. But there are no donkey-human love affairs in Classical Greek: Lucius (and Bottom) come later. An Aesopic fable (Babrius 129 = Aesop 91 Perry) tells of a donkey that was jealous of his master’s pet dog (κυνίδιον), because it “enjoyed playing gracefully” (ἔχαιρε παῖζον εὐρύθμως) with the master and was allowed to sit in his lap, in the “utmost luxury” (ὑπέρῳτητι σὺν πάσῃ), while he himself had to labor without any such comforts. So the donkey tried to emulate the dog’s behavior, jumping up on the master as he was eating his evening meal and trying to kiss him. But he broke all the furniture, scared his master, and ended up being beaten to death by the servants.

68. They can even, if it is so desired by their owners, learn to jump fences and do tricks like show horses or circus ponies: see, e.g., Hutchins and Hutchins 1999 (or the website of “Mule Days” at Bishop, California: <http://www.muledays.org>). Donkeys cannot run nearly so fast as horses, of course, though mules are not much slower; both mules and donkeys tend to need more reminders to keep going, as they are less inclined than horses to exert themselves just for the joy of running or the excitement of competing with others. (You cannot persuade a mule to run itself to death or to persist in an obviously painful and pointless task, as you can a horse—hence the former’s reputation for “stubbornness.”) But impartial observers generally credit donkeys and mules with a greater capacity to learn complicated tasks than horses. So, for example: “It may be well, for a moment, to dwell on the sagacity of this animal. We often talk of the ass as the stupidest of the browsers of the field; yet, if any one shuts up a donkey in the same enclosure with half-a-dozen horses of the finest blood, and the party escape, it is always the donkey that has led the way: it is he alone that has penetrated the secret of the bolt and latch. . . .” (along with further examples, including donkeys as cow herders and as operators of well-bucket mechanisms: *Cassell’s Popular Natural History* 1865, 226).

or donkey,⁶⁹ and mules and mule teams were much used and valued, as we have seen, nowhere do we find any description of the relationship between mule or donkey and human rider that is remotely comparable to that between a horseman and his mount. Nor is any of the abundant sexual imagery involving the taming, breaking in, and riding of horses ever extended to include mules or donkeys except in moments of gross parody and low comedy.⁷⁰

To judge from the surviving visual representations, working donkeys and mules in ancient Greece, as in many other parts of the ancient and modern world, were usually controlled, not by means of bridle, snaffle, and bit, but simply with halter and stick (see figs. 8, 9, 11a and 11b, 12a). In such an arrangement, whether or not a harness and/or yoke was employed around the animal's shoulders and neck, nothing was inserted into its mouth. The owner might walk beside the pack- or draft animal, leading it by a halter, or might perch on the pack itself; or else he or she might sit on the cart behind, giving direction by tapping the animal on its side or back with a long stick or whip (figs. 11a and 11b, 12b).⁷¹ Such techniques of control are qualitatively different—less personal and intimate—than the contact maintained with a horse via its tongue, lips, and cheeks, or via the pressure applied to its side and back by a rider's heels, knees, thighs, and buttocks.⁷²

In both literal and metaphorical terms, the donkey's "carrot and stick" provide a much less ethically engaging system of management than the personal, reciprocal interactions of horse riding and chariot racing, whose techniques of training and collaboration have produced an extensive language for mutual (human and equine) desires, values, and incentives:⁷³ "giving free rein" (to natural vigor and talent), "spurring" (someone on to greater achievement), "curbing" (impetuous tendencies), "holding (one's) head up high," "putting (one's) best foot forward", and so forth.⁷⁴ So whereas your horse, like

69. As noted above, male riders are seldom depicted sitting on a donkey or mule on Corinthian or Athenian vases, except for Dionysus or Hephaestus. The ax-carrying Scythian who sits sidesaddle on a donkey, Hephaestus-like, in ARV 775, 1 (fig. 9), is an exception that proves the rule.

70. Apuleius/Lucian's *Golden Ass/Metamorphosis* is the obvious place to turn for this. Here we may note the contrast between the horselike Photis with her luxurious hair, and the ugly (nameless) ass into which Lucius is turned, a contrast that reaches its climax in the sexual encounter between Lucius and the "fine and wealthy lady" of Corinth (*matrona quaedam pollens et opulens*, *Met.* 10. 19–22), on which see now Lytle 2003; see also Davies 1990; Padgett 2000, 2003.

71. See further Lorimer 1903; Anderson 1961, 66–67, 112; and the well-known sixth-century Boeotian silhouette cup (BM B 80 = Anderson pl. 11b; Boardman 1998, pl. 450; Dent 1972, 64); also Part One, pp. 234–35. The same techniques, which were widespread throughout the Near East as well, were (and still are) also employed for working oxen.

72. Again, it should be emphasized that this is not because donkeys (if properly trained) cannot be ridden or driven the way fine horses are (i.e., by means of reins and bit); it is only that their owners and trainers have rarely attempted this, for reasons that seem to have at least as much to do with imagined differences between the characters ("natures") of these two types of animal as with practical utility. Modern mules are in fact almost always ridden or driven with bridles and bits (as is Hephaestus' mount in fig. 15 below). See Hutchins and Hutchins 1999 for directions concerning harnesses for donkeys and mules.

73. Nonetheless, the fact that mule-cart racing involved harnessing and driving mules in just the same way as horses in a chariot only goes to show how arbitrary the distinction between species really was: see fig. 13.

74. From the equestrian's point of view, the oral and aural communications between horse and rider/driver (clicks of the tongue, cries of "woagh!" and "giddy-up!", and monitoring of the horse's nickering and snorting) seem likewise to be important for confirming their bond of personal trust, affection, and interdependency. Compare Haraway 2003, on modern dog training and "obedience classes."

your son or daughter, or bride, or lover, was (is) expected to be obedient yet spirited, docile yet proud, and in perfectly reciprocal harmony with you, its “master”—a relationship that was technologically demanding, and often painful, for both parties, though at the same time productive of substantial honor, mutual trust, and emotion⁷⁵—by contrast, ancient Greek donkeys and mules, while doubtless they were liable to be more savagely and persistently mistreated (beaten, underfed, overloaded, etc.) than pure-bred horses, nonetheless enjoyed certain significant exemptions and freedoms. Indeed, paradoxically it might be said that a well-trained and well-treated donkey or mule (especially a mule, because it was so much more expensive and versatile) might expect to live much longer, since a horse once past twenty years old would be no longer of much use to anyone and would rarely be kept at pasture, whereas even a thirty- or forty-year-old donkey or mule could continue to do useful work; it might also enjoy in certain respects a more comfortable (less orally constricted and constrained, less aggressively competitive, and less cloyingly dependent) relationship with its driver/rider.⁷⁶

The linguistic and physical symmetries and asymmetries involved in equine “yokings,” “drivings/trainings,” and “pairings” suggest analogies and correspondences, not only to conventional notions of “the marriage yoke/bond” between husband and wife (noted above), but also to the idealized relationships amongst adolescent boys and amongst adolescent girls too that the Greeks liked to foster within the educational institutions of *συσσίτιον*, *χορός*, and *γυμνάσιον*.⁷⁷ Here, in addition to an adult “supervisor” (*σωφρονιστής*), “arranger” (*κοσμητής*), or “chorus master” (*χοροδιδάσκαλος*), who was responsible for training and directing the young human “colts” and “steers” under his charge, it was also customary (at least in several parts of Greece) for one of the adolescents to act as a kind of “team leader,” “ox leader,” or “herd driver” (*χορηγός*, *βουαγός*, *ἀγελάτης*, κτλ.) for the rest of the “troop, herd” (*ἀγέλη*) of “companions, age-mates” (*ἐταῖροι*, *ὁμήλικες*).⁷⁸ As for the

75. For the notion of a “technology” for constructing gender and maintaining and naturalizing a more or less arbitrary set of sexual, emotional, and social relations, see De Lauretis 1987, 1–30; also Bourdieu 1990, 54–97, 271–83.

76. I do not wish to sentimentalize the Greeks’ attitude to these—or any of their—animals. Certainly many donkeys, like many human slaves, were beaten, underfed, and overworked on a more or less regular basis. (See Part One; and, e.g., Apuleius *Met.* 9.12–13; Moritz 1958, 74–102.) In one Aesopic fable, however (Phaedrus 1.15 = Aesop 476 Perry), a donkey in wartime decides not to help his master flee the approach of the enemy, arguing that, even if he is captured, his new owner can’t make his life any harder: after all, he can only carry one load at a time. Such unsentimental and calculating assessment of the bond between owner/driver/rider and animal (as between master and slave) would be quite out of place in the discourse surrounding the horse. It is likely too, I think, that a good number of horses, once past the age when they were viable for racing or cavalry activities, were in fact sold off to dealers who may have put them to work of a more menial kind, or killed them for their hair, skin, etc. If we bear in mind the wide range of uses to which donkeys and (especially) mules were put, their longevity, and the relatively high cost of purchasing a new mule, then we may conclude that in some cases at least, loyalties between mule and master may well have run quite deep in antiquity, as they often have done in the modern United States: see Waller 1958 for examples.

77. See esp. Jeanmaire 1939; Brelich 1969; Calame 1997; Griffith 2001.

78. On the terminology (“herds,” “leaders,” “trainers,” etc.) used for these adolescent groups, see above, nn. 2, 28, 29. Some ethnologists (arguing in some cases for Indo-European origins to Archaic Greek male homoerotic institutions) have suggested that the Greek words for “breathing, blowing” (*πνέω*, *πνεῦμα*, κτλ.), often found in association with notions of intelligence, emotional fire, and poetic or martial inspiration

young teammates themselves, even as they were expected to be loyal and devoted to one another as “equals” (ὄμοιοι), they were also encouraged to pair off amongst themselves into romantic/erotic couples. Such formalized pairings were highly prized (in some quarters at least) as the key to elite education and virtue. Thus each boy or girl was simultaneously a reliable, well-trained member of a devoted team of companions, and a dominant or subordinate partner in a more intimate and unique pairing—a relationship that might bring with it some anxiety surrounding the subordination and implicit feminization of the “junior” partner, in antiquity as in the modern era.⁷⁹

In the gymnasium, chorus, and military mess hall, two slightly different kinds of homosocial partnership seem to have been fostered: one “vertical” (between “senior” and “junior,” “teacher” and “student”), the other “horizontal” (between age-mates). Both types found resonances in the hippic relationships we have already discussed, and the constraints on the young objects of training (human adolescents and colts/fillies alike) were similar: they needed to learn to be obedient and disciplined, while still preserving a free and noble spirit; they had to be willing, dependable servants of others (their teacher or leader: their rider or driver) and yet also trusty and self-reliant comrades to their peers, as well as being potential leaders of others in due course. These institutionalized sets of relationships brought with them a remarkably complex set of expectations concerning the performance of appropriate gender roles, as modern scholars have amply documented.⁸⁰ Not only was there the problem on the erotic front of monitoring and regulating the “correct” responses of the beloved to the attention of her/his admirer(s)—notoriously a matter of much concern and tactful negotiation—, but there was a larger issue concerning the degrees of independence as against subordination that were to be inculcated in the future citizens (or lords and rulers) of the community. Young boys, as well as girls and wives (and horses),

(like Latin *spiritus, anima*), are directly related, on the one hand, to the Spartan (and Theraean, i.e., Dorian) term used for male-male sexual penetration (εἰσπνήλος, εἰσπνήλας, cf. LSJ, s.v.), and on the other, to “wind, storm blasts” (πνοή, ἄελλα, θύελλα, ἄνεμος, κτλ.). Several of these terms are associated in turn with horses, which are frequently described in moments of high poetry as “wind-swift” and “storm footed,” “snorting” excitedly, and producing “foam” from their mouths (ἀφρός, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 190–98), while being themselves in some special cases the progeny of Wind gods (e.g., Zephyrus and Podarge; Boreas; Harpies?)—or (in the case of mares) as being susceptible to impregnation by the wind (Verg. *G.* 3.266–75: . . . *equarum* . . . *exceptantque leves auras, et saepe sine ullis / coniugiis vento gravidae (mirabile dictu)* . . .; Columella *Rust.* 6.27.4–7, etc.). At Theoc. *Id.* 12.10–15, the passionately homoerotic lover prays “that the Erotes may breath equally on both of us . . .” so that they shall be “sung about by all . . . one as εἰσπνήλος . . . the other as αἰτής . . . in an equal yoke” (ἴσῳ ζύγῳ). See further, e.g., Nagy 1990, 238–58; Janko 1992, 336–37 (on *Il.* 16.149–50); Onians 1951, 53–59, 115–22, 168–73 (on breath, soul, and wind); Puhvel 1987; Edmunds 1997 (on Indo-European horse rituals); Bethe 1907 (on Dorian pederasty); also Herdt 1999 (on twentieth-century Melanesian male initiation rituals, with further anthropological references). I myself doubt that any fully coherent system of Greek beliefs or ritual practices can be extracted from this flurry of associations: but the connections are intriguing.

79. Dover 1989; Foucault 1985; Halperin 1990; Hubbard 1998, 2003; Davidson 2001.

80. The scope and inclusiveness of these “equal and free” subjects could vary, of course. The renowned “equals, fellows” (ὄμοιοι) of Theban or Spartan oligarchical society formed a much smaller proportion of the whole population than did the democratic citizens who enjoyed “equality-before-the-law” (ἰσωνομία) in Athens. But the Athenian ἵππεις (and perhaps the ἐφηβεία there too, if this existed as an institution before the fourth century) tried hard to be as exclusive as the Spartan ὄμοιοι, and sometimes succeeded. See further Griffith 2001, 48–59.

must behave modestly and “keep quiet,” not “kick against the traces/goad” (πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν) or be “too free with their mouth” (ἐλευθεροστομεῖν), even while displaying themselves as attractively as possible and competing with one another for athletic, musical, military, and romantic/marital prizes. A good-looking and high-spirited boy must not “yield” too quickly or allow himself to be “broken in” too completely: he must retain the capacity to perform as a soldier and athlete and to exercise his “licence to speak” (παρρησία) as an “equal” and a “trustworthy companion” among his age-mates and future fellow citizens.

As for horses, teams almost always comprised either pairs (συνωρίς) or fours (τέθριππον); for while threesomes (a yoked pair, plus single trace horse) were not uncommon in Near Eastern societies, they were not popular with the Greeks. (At least, they rarely show up in literature or visual art.) These homosocial pairings of horses mirrored closely the prevalent human social arrangement. Each pair of horses was supposed to be as well matched as possible, with the “yoke-mates” (σύζυγοι, ζύγιοι, ὁμόζυγες, κτλ.) chosen for compatible age, size, strength, speed, and looks.⁸¹ Such pairs and quartets are frequently encountered in visual representations; indeed, we often find just a single body drawn or painted, so that it is only the multiplicity of legs that indicates the presence of two or more animals, and the linguistic and visual vocabularies alike imply symmetry, equality, and interdependency. On the other hand, just as the human marriage yoke, and likewise the most widely approved models of homoerotic love, were normally imagined as forming an unequal partnership, in which the husband’s (or *erastes*’) greater physical strength and mental-political independence and assertiveness were complemented by the wife’s (or *eromenos*’) more delicate and reserved natural capabilities, so too we often find a similar (slight, but unmistakable) asymmetry within the equine pairings of a chariot team. Here, not only were all the horses (whether male or female, youthful or full-grown) subject to the domination of a (male) driver,⁸² but within each equine pair one, the right-hand animal (δεξιός), was expected to be somewhat faster and stronger than the other, since the right-hand (outside) horse always had to cover more ground and work harder,⁸³ while in a team of four, the “trace horse” (σειραφόρος) or “out-runner” (παρήγορος) on the extreme right was not even harnessed under the yoke with the others but ran free, attached only by the “traces” and responsible for setting the team’s pace round all the turns: this had to be the most dependable horse of all.

81. See esp. Calame 1997, 240–44 on σύζυγος and related terms; also, e.g., Eur. *Tro.* 669–70. For discussion and illustration of three-horse chariot teams (τρίζυξ, usually metaphorical in Classical Greek, as, e.g., at Eur. *Hel.* 357; but often literal in Latin = *triga*), esp. in Assyrian and Etruscan contexts, see Vigneron 1968, 117–21 with pl. 46. Early Greek examples are Hom. *Il.* 8.80–87, 16.145–54 (in both cases involving the killing of the trace horse and resultant confusion for the remaining pair); also *Od.* 4.590. In practical terms, there seems no good reason why teams of three should not have been regularly used: the preference for two or four appears to be purely cultural. Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks (*Ant. Rom.* 7.73.2) that some old Roman rituals continued to use three-horse chariots.

82. The normal term for “driving” a team of horses (ἐλαύνειν) was also often used of the dominant role in sexual intercourse, though sometimes with a nautical, rather than equestrian, flavor: Henderson 1975, 162.

83. Greek hippodromes, like modern athletic tracks, always required the competitors to race counter-clockwise. See Gardiner 1978; Miller 2004.

Athenian black-figure vase painters often liked to depict four-horse chariot teams from the front, with the middle two animals shown closely paired together, even rubbing noses, while each of the outside horses interacts instead with a human attendant or charioteer. Apart from the aesthetic symmetries and pictorial challenges (foreshortening) that such conventional arrangement presents, the viewer is thus given the impression that within the team of four—itself a well-matched unit controlled by a single authoritative human or divine driver—one particularly tightly-knit pair is accompanied by two more independent (more experienced, slightly senior?) companions. These variations and subgroupings within the team seem to mirror those of a human chorus or pedagogical troupe.⁸⁴

Sometimes the isomorphism between equine and human teams is more pronounced, as in the scene of a *tethrippon* and two warriors depicted in figure 5 (this time depicted from the side, on a red-figure column crater by the Painter of Bologna 228). Not only do the texture and configuration of the two warriors' plumes strikingly resemble the horses' manes, but the eyes and eyebrows of the horses in turn mirror those of the humans. The horses' bodies are arranged too so as to make up two distinct pairs, not merely an undifferentiated quartet.⁸⁵ Just as the charioteer is marked out as being clearly junior in age and status to his spear-wielding companion, so too within each pair of horses the necks are raised at unequal angles—while still in close relation to one another—in a manner that suggests a slight but appreciable difference of authority and dominance. It is notable, too, that (unusually) the genitals of both the horses closest to the viewer are visible.⁸⁶ The effect, I suggest, is to mirror the close male bond between the human pair, in the tradition of Theseus and Pirithous, Heracles and Iolaus, or Harmodius and Aristogiton, two loyal and devoted companions of whom one is significantly

84. On the function of the "trace horse," and its relationship to the chariot team, see Janko 1992, on *Il.* 16.152–54, 470–75. For *σείραφόρος* applied to a human "comrade, ally, buddy," see Aesch. *Ag.* 842, 1640–41, with Fraenkel 1950, ad loc. For typical "front-on" depictions of four-horse chariot teams, see, e.g., Boardman 1974, figs. 54 (*ABV* 85, 1), 75 (*ABV* 124, 16), 92 (*ABV* 315, 3), 190 (*ABV* 267, 20).

85. For the manes and horse-hair plumes, see p. 315 and nn. 15, 24 above. A single display case at the Museum of Fine Art in Boston presents two further (fairly typical) examples of such closely, yet not exactly, paired images of (male) human and equine companions. A two-handled red-figure pelike painted by Euphronius (MFA 1973.88) shows a pair of youths jumping acrobatically (i.e., presumably dancing) to an aulos player. Both have lovely hair; they are closely synchronized and symmetrical in their leaps; but one is a little taller and has slightly more prominent genitals than the other. In the adjacent vase in this cabinet, a red-figure column krater by Myson (MFA 1973.572), two youths are walking their horses, one behind the other. Each wears a similar traveling hat (*petasos*). The one on the left, who wears a decorated chiton, is slightly taller than his companion, who is nude. The smaller youth looks back at his friend, who walks close behind. Likewise, the left-hand youth's horse is very slightly taller than the other one, which, again, is being approached from the rear. Both horses have their manes arranged in fine, matching hair-dos, and the genitals of both horses are visible. In each case, this is a matched pair of buddies, certainly; but also, perhaps, a relationship is implied of (slightly) senior and junior, stronger and weaker, pursuer and pursued, lover and beloved. That is how most Greek "pairs" were supposed to operate.

86. Usually, whether one, two, or four horses of a team are represented, only one set of genitals is painted, and the other horses' bodies are arranged so that this detail is not included. Only rarely, if ever (as far as I can see), are mares specifically painted; i.e., by artistic convention, though not in equestrian fact, horses and horse teams are typically male. Of course, the absence of visible genitals in a painting may sometimes mean only that the painter did not choose to represent a penis, not that the horse is supposed specifically to be female; it is not always possible to determine which.

senior to the other.⁸⁷ The pairs and “yokings” can thus involve a multiplicity of different relationships: a man and his wife or girlfriend; a man and his young companion; a man and his (pair of) horse(s); a boy (or girl) and his/her teacher or trainer or buddy; a team of colts, or fillies, and their driver. Each of these relationships has analogies to the others, but involves key differences also, in the balance of power and gender-dynamics that have to be negotiated and maintained. In combination—and most elite Greek adolescents and their horses were involved in more than one of these relationships, often in several at once—they present a highly complex set of variations on Cahn and Heusen’s hackneyed refrain: “Love and marriage, love and marriage—go together like a horse and carriage.”

One final complication to this system of horse-team husbandry and erotic power relations: we frequently find horses (especially matched chariot teams) being exchanged between elite males as the highest-status gifts, equivalent to—or even more precious than—daughters in marriage. For example, it is striking that after Zeus has abducted long-haired young Ganymede to be his wine-pouring boyfriend on Olympus, he placates (buys off with ἄποινα) the offended parent with a gift of “high-stepping horses” (*Il.* 20.232–35), an episode that is explained in greater detail in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, including language that mingles human and hippic quite strikingly (202–3, 207–12, 215–17):

ἧ τοι μὲν ξανθὸν Γανυμήδεα μητίετα Ζεὺς
 ἥρπασεν δὴν διὰ κάλλος . . .
 Τρῶα δὲ πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχε φρένας, οὐδέ τι ἦδει
 ὅππῃ οἱ φίλον υἱὸν ἀνῆρπασε θέσπις ἄελλα·
 τὸν δὴ ἔπειτα γόασκε διαμπερὲς ἡματα πάντα.
 καὶ μιν Ζεὺς ἐλέησε, δίδου δέ οἱ υἱὸς ἄποινα
 ἵππους ἀρσίποδας, τοῖ τ' ἀθανάτους φορέουσι.
 τοὺς οἱ δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν'. . .
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ Ζηνὸς ὃ γ' ἔκλυεν ἀγγελιάων
 οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα γόασκε, γεγῆθει δὲ φρένας ἔνδον,
 γηθόσυνος δ' ἵπποισιν ἀελλοπόδεσσιν ὀχεῖτο.

Verily wise Zeus carried off golden-haired Ganymedes because of his beauty. . . . But grief that could not be soothed filled the heart of Tros; for he knew not whither the heaven-sent whirlwind had caught up his dear son, so that he mourned him always, unceasingly, until Zeus pitied him and gave him high-stepping horses such as carry the immortals as recompense for his son. These he gave him as a gift. . . . So when Tros heard these tidings from Zeus, he no longer kept mourning but rejoiced in his heart and rode joyfully with his storm-footed horses. (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

87. For further examples of significantly unequal pairings of human “horse teams”, we may consider the chorus of girls in Aleman’s *Partheneion*, Agido and Hagesichora (quoted above), or the struggling chariot team of the soul in Plato’s *Phaedrus*. Notable too is the unequal, yet intensely loyal and comradely, association of Achilles’ horse team in the *Iliad*, one of them mortal, the other two divine, including Xanthus (“Chestnut”), Achilles’ virtual alter ego and confidant. (See further Schein 2002; Mitchell-Boyask 2006.) Patroclus and Achilles themselves are a loving pair, but not perfectly matched—complementary rather than identical, though virtual soul mates; they will each be killed by another unequal pair (mortal aided by immortal: Hector and Apollo; Paris and Apollo).

The abduction of a son or daughter is thus more than offset, it appears, by the gain of a divine team of horses and a permanent family connection with the noblest family on heaven or earth.⁸⁸

3. MULES, AND THE (RE)PRODUCTIVE FACTS OF EQUINE LIFE

At last we come back to mules, which provide in several respects the deepest and most revealing—though not always the most obvious—source of equine confusion and instability in the Greek imagination. In this final section, I shall focus on the production, productivity, and contested signification of these half-asses, half-horses, in light of (a) their mixed parentage (and concomitant sterility), and (b) their versatility and intermediate, or uncertain, class status. As we noted in Part One of this article, given their ubiquitous performance of highly valued yet mostly nonelite and nonwarlike functions within Greek society, mules occupied a social and economic role that was both indispensable and yet oddly indeterminate. They were used for all kinds of practical purposes, ranging from the roughest donkeywork to quite elegant transportation and even athletic competition; and while there is plenty of evidence to show that they were (tacitly, for the most part) recognized as being both valuable and dependable, there are also numerous telltale indications that Greek authors and artists experienced mixed feelings, or even outright discomfort, when they stopped to think about the nature and origins of this peculiar hybrid. Thus even while mules were in many respects man's best (and longest-lived) friend, there were multiple reasons why he generally found it difficult to acknowledge this fact.

(a) Breeding, and the Problems of Miscegenation

The production of a mule requires animal husbandry of a peculiar kind, in as much as two species that would not normally be much inclined to mate with one another have to be manipulated by human intervention and management into performing the simple (natural) act of copulation, and this process has to be repeated over and over, generation after generation, since the hybrid product itself is incapable of reproducing. Nature cannot be left to take its course, or the breed of mules would cease to exist. This is social engineering of an unusually blatant kind, since the purpose of such breeding is solely and self-evidently to benefit human beings: there can be no pretence of improving a bloodline or creating a superior stock for posterity. So even though in practice (i.e., in terms of day-to-day management of stallions or jacks and mares and the conduct of the mating sessions themselves) the difference between selective breeding of thoroughbred horses and the breeding of mules was not very great⁸⁹—to the point that the same veterinary profession known

88. Likewise, Rhesus' superb Thracian horses are the object of universal desire among both Greeks and Trojans (literally, "to kill for . . .").

89. The chapters on horse breeding and mule breeding in, e.g., Columella *Rust.* 6.27, 36–37, do not describe radically different operations. See further Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.22–24.575b21–578a7 (a chapter each on the breeding of horses, asses, and mules), *Gen. an.* 2.746b13–749a7 (on the sterility of mules).

in Greek as “horse-medicine” (ἵπιατρική) was known instead in Roman society as “mule-medicine” (*mulomedicina*)⁹⁰—nonetheless the psychological and ideological implications seem to have been rather different. We have already noted some passages in high literature and drama that showed an uncomfortable awareness of the analogies between a mare’s sexual union with a donkey and an upper-class woman’s with a lower-class man or slave; and a reading of the scientific and didactic literature confirms that indeed conscious and unconscious anxieties about the implications of mule breeding ran deep.

Thus Aristotle, in addition to commenting on the need to overcome a proud mare’s (alleged) distaste for being mounted by a donkey,⁹¹ spends several paragraphs in both his *Historia animalium* and *De generatione animalium* discussing the genetics of mules, critiquing the theories of his predecessors (notably Empedocles and Democritus) about the reasons for a mule’s sterility, and making peculiar assertions of his own about the relative heat and strength of a horse’s and a donkey’s seed:⁹² for he asserts that, if a donkey copulates with a mare after that mare has already conceived from a stallion, the jack’s seed will “ruin, destroy” (διαφθείρει) that of the stallion (so that the mare does not give birth), whereas the reverse will never happen (i.e., a jack’s seed will not be spoilt by a stallion’s subsequent sexual activity, *Gen. an.* 2.748a33–35, and again at *Hist. an.* 6.22.577a 13–15). The reason that he gives is the (alleged) colder temperature of the donkey’s seed; but it is hard not to conclude that other anxieties are (perhaps subliminally) at work here, concerning the relative potency and viability of lower-class and upper-class human seed. (If your wife is not conceiving and giving birth, perhaps it is because someone

90. See Oder and Hoppe 1924–27; Hoppe 1933, 1938; Adams 1997. In both cases, veterinary science flourished and justified itself primarily because of the strong economic incentive to produce plenty of healthy foals (of each kind). Health care for the other animals followed (a long way behind) in the wake of equine genetics and obstetrics, which seems to have been a lucrative and indispensable (if not very high-class) profession. One gets the impression that horse/mule doctors in fact did a somewhat better job than human doctors of helping their patients stay well and produce healthy offspring.

91. Columella (who presumably spent much more time than Aristotle actually observing farm animals, rather than speculating on the possible explanations for their constitution, appearance, and alleged behavior) agrees with most modern mule breeders that in fact the more common problem is persuading a donkey-jack to mount a mare (rather than the reverse). So he recommends (*Rust.* 6.37.8–10) that a male donkey foal be suckled by a mare and grow up around horses, to make sure that he will be comfortable having sexual intercourse with mares in the future; he also recommends the use of jenny “teasers” to prepare a breeding-jack for intercourse, if he is sluggish in his performance (6.36.3–4). Columella remarks that female mules are generally more agile than male (so better, e.g., for drawing carriages, but less good for carrying packs, 6.37.11), and discusses possible methods for increasing the chances of producing males or females (e.g., Democritus’ method of tying up one or other testicle of the jack, 6.28). On the growing preference (especially under the Roman Empire) for female mules rather than male for the higher-status activities, see Part One, n. 145; also Homer *Od.* 6.66–84 (mollies) vs. *Il.* 17.742–47 (male mules), both quoted in Part One.

92. Aristotle’s own explanation for the sterility of mules is itself quite confusing and incoherent (*Gen. an.* 2.746b13–749a7), though he can hardly be blamed for not knowing about the chromosome discrepancy, a discovery that was not made until the twentieth century. Aristotle does deserve credit for realizing that (i) female mules do sometimes conceive, but then invariably fail to bring their pregnancy to term, which shows that their sterility is not due to an inability to receive male seed (as, e.g., Empedocles had claimed); (ii) those Syrophenician male and female “mules” that were reported as successfully breeding and giving birth were in fact not mules but animals “of a similar but quite different species” (ἔστι τὸ γένος ὅμοιον μὲν ἑτέρων ὅε), i.e., perhaps onagers, or what are known by modern scientists as “half-asses” or “hemionos”: see *Arist. Hist. an.* 6.24.577b23–25 (in contrast to, e.g., Varro [*Rust.* 2.1.27]; Columella [*Rust.* 6.37.3], both of whom believe those [certainly erroneous] stories of actual mule conception).

else has been kicking in your stall and “destroying” your seed . . . ?)⁹³ And even apart from Aristotle, Columella, and the other quasi-scientific analysts of mule production and constitution, a brief survey of Classical Greek literature and visual culture quickly reveals the depth of their ambivalence, even embarrassment, about this multifarious and versatile half-breed.

We should begin by revisiting Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, a prime source for Greek agricultural practices, popular superstitions, and moral attitudes during the Archaic period and beyond. As we saw in Part One, Hesiod pays considerable attention to mules (but none at all to donkeys). From the outset, he takes it for granted that at least one mule, along with an ox or two, will form the long-term basis of a farmer’s labor force;⁹⁴ but in the later stages of the poem there is a more elaborate pattern of organizational and chronological details concerning mules that calls for closer examination.⁹⁵ In designating lucky and unlucky days for various activities and enterprises (*Op.* 774–79, 790–801), Hesiod designates the 1st, 4th, and 7th as sacred while the 8th and 9th are good for human work (*Op.* 774–79):

ἐνδεκάτῃ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ τ', ἄμφω γε μὲν ἐσθλαί,
 ἡμὲν δις πείκειν ἡδ' εὐφρονα καρπὸν ἀμᾶσθαι·
 ἡ δὲ δωδεκάτῃ τῆς ἐνδεκάτης μέγ' ἀμείνων·
 τῇ γάρ τοι νεῖ νῆματ' ἀερσιπότητος ἀράχνης
 ἡματος ἐκ πλείου, ὅτε τ' ἴδρις σωρὸν ἀμᾶται·
 τῇ δ' ἴστον στήσαιτο γυνὴ προβάλοιτό τε ἔργον.

Also the eleventh and twelfth are both excellent, alike for shearing sheep and for reaping the kindly fruits; but the twelfth is much better than the eleventh, for on it the airy-swinging spider spins its web in full day, and then the Wise One, gathers her pile. On that day a woman should set up her loom and get forward with her work. (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

Then, a few lines later, he is discussing the best days for gelding animals (*Op.* 785–86, 790–91):

οὐδὲ μὲν ἡ πρώτη ἔκτῃ κούρῃ γε γενέσθαι
 ἄρμενος, ἀλλ' ἐρίφους τάμνειν καὶ πόεα μῆλων . . .

 Μηνὸς δ' ὀγδοᾶτῃ κάπρον καὶ βοῦν ἐρίμυκον
 ταμνέμεν, οὐρῆας δὲ δωδεκάτῃ ταλαεργούς.

93. As often in Greek scientific writing (and Aristotle in particular), the cultural implications and assumptions concerning “heat” and “seed” (and “breath”) are large and arbitrary. Thus Aristotle, even as he remarks that both donkeys and horses have generally low-temperature seed (which explains why they produce only one foal at a time and find impregnation relatively difficult), is also committed to the view that horses are warmer (and therefore implicitly more “masculine”) than donkeys. Perhaps this helps him to arrive at his recommendation for producing large female mules (apparently the ideal, *Gen. an.* 2.748b20; likewise Columella), since these might be expected to inherit from their mothers some of the “masculine” qualities required for hard physical work as well as some of the “agility” noted by Columella (n. 91 above).

94. *Op.* 42–46; also Thgn. 719–25 (= Solon 24.1–7), 993–96; see Part One, pp. 239–40.

95. Admittedly this segment of the Hesiodic text (*The Days*) has come under repeated fire over the years from modern scholars, both for its authenticity and for its (lack of) semiotic value and/or coherence. But for my purposes, all that matters is that by the fifth century at least, the passage, whatever its origin or poetic worth, came to be accepted as “Hesiodic” and as belonging in this general context. I shall refer to the author (implied or actual) of the lines as “Hesiod,” without thereby taking any position as to his identity or date.

Nor is the “first-sixth” a fit day for a girl to be born, but a kindly one for gelding kids and sheep. . . . On the eighth of the month geld the boar and loud-bellowing bull, but [geld the] hard-working mules on the twelfth. . . . (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

Why a different day for mules? And why the 12th in particular? Perhaps because mules resemble “spiders, ants, and reliable weaving women” (*Op.* 776–79, quoted above) in their productivity and economic function. Certainly the fact that mules, unlike kids and sheep (or pigs or cattle), will not end up being eaten, would be sufficient reason to put them in a separate category; and a day that is good for female weavers (i.e. slave-women, perhaps a wife too) would suit these “hard-working” (ταλαεργούς) domestic equids as well.⁹⁶

Oddly enough, Plutarch in his commentary on these passages of *Works and Days* is also concerned to answer the question, why mules need to be gelded separately on this particular day.⁹⁷ His answer is quite different from the one I have suggested, but it is fascinating nonetheless: he says that the 12th day is just on the borderline between the moon’s waxing and waning, and mules are especially closely connected to the moon (Plut. frag. 107 [*Comm. on Hes. “Op.”* 791]):

Τὰς ἡμίονους οἰκείουσι τῇ σελήνῃ· διὸ καὶ τινες αὐτὴν φασιν ἐφ’ ἡμίονων ὀχεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ἡλιακὸν ἐστί ζῷον ὡς εὐδρομον, ὁ δ’ ὄνος χθόνιον ὡς Τυφῶνι φίλον καὶ συνουσιαστικόν· ἡ δὲ σελήνη μέση ἀμφοῖν, γῆς μὲν ἔχουσα τὸ σκοτιζέσθαι, ἡλίου δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον εἰληχένοι φῶς. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὀκείωται πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ ἡμίονος.

They associate [female] mules with the moon; hence some say that she rides in a mule cart.⁹⁸ The reason is that the horse is a solar animal, as being a swift runner, whereas the donkey belongs to the earth, as being dear to Typhon and given to copulation; the moon, however, is intermediate between sun and earth, having the earth’s characteristic of being darkened, and the sun’s of having its own light; so there is a natural association between the moon and the [female] mule. (Trans. F. H. Sandbach)

96. In practice, a farmer like Hesiod would perhaps rarely be the one to castrate his own mule (especially since he does not appear to own a donkey or mare in the first place); he would instead, like most farmers and millers before and since, buy a young adult mule, either female or already gelded, i.e. already at least three to four years old, broken in and trained to take the harness and yoke: see Adams 1997; Hutchins and Hutchins 1999, 31, 111–12, 115, 162, 192. Small farmers cannot always have had easy access to a veterinarian or specialist, however, and must often have castrated their own young animals (piglets, lambs, kids, calves). Perhaps mules, because of their value as well as their peculiar process of breeding, were reserved for more expert surgery. Detailed description of the best techniques for gelding oxen (no different, essentially, from the techniques used for equids) are given by Columella (*Rust.* 6.26); see also Part One, n. 47. On the (non-)jeating of equids by the Greeks, see Part One, n. 59.

97. Plutarch’s commentary was substantially, though imperfectly, preserved via Proclus, and thence incorporated into the surviving *scholia vetera* to Hesiod: see Sandbach 1969.

98. Normally ἐπὶ + genitive referring to an animal after ὀχεῖσθαι would be taken to mean “ride on,” and it may be that Plutarch means “riding [sidesaddle] on a mule” (as, e.g., Thetis does on a sea creature; see n. 48 above). But in that case the plural (ἡμίονων) would be strange; so perhaps Sandbach is right to take this as implying a mule-drawn cart (*apene*). Selene’s choice of a mule is repeated in Paus. 5.11.8 and Nonnus 7.244–47. I have not been able to find any pictures of Selene on or with mules, however. (Is it relevant that Selene has no children, and a mule is sterile?) Dan Sofaer points out to me that elsewhere Plutarch goes on at some length about the absurd functions of donkeys in the worship of Isis and Osiris (*De Is. et Os.* 351f).

Here the in-between status of mules is treated as critical: if horses belong to the sun and donkeys to the earth (because oversexed),⁹⁹ then the mule (especially the female mule) is naturally the appropriate animal to convey (“belong to,” *ῥκεῖωται*) the “in-between” heavenly body/divinity, and thus to occupy a higher status than the more mundane farm animals.

These suggested calendrical significances may seem a little far-fetched. But there is a further connection between mules, women, and work that is drawn by Hesiod in connection with the 4th and 14th days of the month (Hes. *Op.* 794–801):

Ἑσθλή δ' ἀνδρογόνος δεκάτη, κούρη δέ τε τετράς
μέσση· τῇ δέ τε μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς
καὶ κύνα καρχαρόδοντα καὶ οὐρήας ταλαεργούς
πρῆνυνεν ἐπὶ χεῖρα τιθείς· πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῷ
τετράδ' ἀλεύασθαι φθίνοντός θ' ἵσταμένου τε
ἄλγε' ἃ θυμοβορεῖ· μάλα γὰρ τετελεσμένον ἦμαρ.
Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι οἶκον ἄκοιτιν
οἰωνοὺς κρίνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματι τούτῳ ἄριστοι.

. . . The tenth is favourable for a male to be born; but for a girl, the fourth day of the mid-month. On that day begin to tame sheep and shambling, horned oxen, and the sharp-fanged dog and hardy mules to the touch of the hand. But take care to avoid troubles which eat out the heart on the fourth of the beginning and ending of the month; it is a day very fraught with fate. On the fourth of the month bring home your bride, but choose the omens which are best for this business. (Trans. H. G. Evelyn-White)

All these “4th days” are indeed full of anxieties and contradictions. But it is surely significant that bearing female children, taming mules “to/with the hand” (ἐπὶ χεῖρα τιθείς), and bringing a bride home (ἄγεσθαι οἶκον ἄκοιτιν)—a ceremony that conventionally involves placing “hand on wrist” (χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ) and a ride to the bridegroom’s house in a mule cart (fig. 12b, and Part One, p. 236)—are all thought of as properly taking place on one or other of these “4th days.” Indeed, these are mentioned in almost the same breath, thus seeming to reinforce the ambiguous potential both for “good works” (801 ἔργματι, cf. 796 ταλαεργούς) and for fateful “troubles, pains” (799 ἄλγεα) that surrounds the arrival of new females into the *oikos*. Just as the poem’s first mention of economic self-sufficiency and productivity (βίον, *Op.* 42) equates this with “the works of oxen and of hard-working mules” (ἔργα βοῶν . . . καὶ ἡμιόνων ταλαεργῶν, *Op.* 46), and then immediately goes on to warn of the deceptive dangers of Pandora (*Op.* 47–105), so in the closing prescriptions of the *Days* we find mules interwoven oddly but insistently into the works and perils of girls, women, weavers, and wives.

Moving higher up the social scale, one celebrated example of the discomfort felt about the mule’s mixed origins is found in the victory ode of Simonides composed for Anaxilas of Rhegium (*PMG* 515) that is cited by

99. Cf. the Indic and Iranian references listed above (n. 32) and in Part One, nn. 60–61; also Parmenides and the chariot of the Heliades; likewise Hyperion, Phaethon, etc. Possibly Plutarch also intends a “chthonian” religious association for the donkey (see Adolf 1950; Keuls 1970; and Part One nn. 121–25).

Aristotle as an example of positive rhetorical “spin.” Simonides (always a good bellwether for Greek anxieties about class, economics, and musical-poetic decorum) is reputed to have balked at composing an epinician poem in honor of a mule-cart victory (*apene*) at the Olympics, both because the event was too *déclassé* and because the fee offered him was too low (Arist. *Rh.* 3.2.1405b = Simonides *PMG* 515):

καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ ὁ νικήσας τοῖς ὄρευσιν οὐκ ἤθελε
ποιεῖν ὥς δυσχεραίνων εἰς ἡμιόνους ποιεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν ἐποίησε
“χαιρέτ’ ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων.”
καίτοι καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν.

When the victor in the mule-race offered Simonides only a small fee, he refused to compose a poem, since he took a poor view of writing in honour of mules. But on being given an adequate fee he wrote,

“Greetings, daughters of storm-footed horses!”

Yet they were daughters of the asses also. (Trans. D. A. Campbell)

The whole anecdote is probably apocryphal; as far as we can tell, entrants in the *apene* race during the fifty years of its existence were just as aristocratic and high-paying as those for any other circuit events;¹⁰⁰ and we may doubt that Simonides cared at all about the pedigree of the animals involved.¹⁰¹ But once again we find mules awkwardly straddling the thin line that separates the middle class from the elite—a line that can be made to appear uncrossable, until the price is made right. And it is especially appropriate that it should be Simonides, the notoriously mercenary producer of poems for cash, who is credited with finding exactly the right phrases to make these less-than-noble (but indisputably victorious) parvenus acceptable in higher society and with posterity.¹⁰²

100. Golden 1998, 40–43; Miller 2004, 80; but see Part One, pp. 237–38 above, where it is suggested that “new” monarchs (esp. Western tyrants, apart from the Syracusans) and democratic-leaning Athenian elites may have been more enthusiastic about the *apene* event than were the old horse-loving families of Sparta, Thessaly, etc.

101. Pindar (or pseudo-Pindar) shows no compunction about praising Psaumis for his *apene* victory in *Ol.* 5; and in *Ol.* 6.22–26, he waxes effusive about the noble qualities of the (once again, female) mule team and their driver, even punning on the “leadership” qualities of the mollies in relation to his patron’s name (**Hagesias** of Syracuse): ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεύξον ἥδη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων / αἱ τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθῃ τ’ ἐν καθαρᾷ / βάσομεν ὄκχον, ἱκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν / καὶ γένος. κεῖναι γὰρ ἐξ ἀλ/λᾶν ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεύσαι / ταῦταν ἐπίστανται, στεφάνους ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ / ἐπεὶ δέξαντο. χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὑμῶν ἀναπιννάμεν αὐταῖς. . . . (“O Phintis, come yoke at once the strong mules for me, as quickly as possible, so that we may drive our chariot [sic: better, perhaps, “carriage”] on a clear path and I may come to his family’s very lineage, because those mules beyond all others know how to lead the way [ἀγεμονεύσαι] on that road, for they won crowns at Olympia. Therefore we must throw open for them the gates of song. . . .” [trans. W. H. Race].)

102. For the tradition that Simonides was a shameless lover of money, willing to prostitute his art for cash (an accusation similarly leveled against the sophists by Plato’s Socrates and others), see the testimonia collected in Campbell 1991. But in general, aristocracies usually learn before long to accept the legitimacy of money, despite initial resistance. Thus “even ancient and deep-rooted monarchies conceded that money was now as useful a criterion of nobility as blue blood” (Hobsbawm 1987, 171, describing late-nineteenth-century Europe); and this was as true of Archaic Greece as of anywhere else, though the process was delicate (see Kurke 2001, 41–129, esp. 56–57 on Simonides; Nicholson 2003). In this case, the poet’s artful use of the genitive case (ἵππων) leaves open the respective gender of the mules’ horse- and ass-parents, while the epithet “wind-footed” (ἀελλοπόδων) also perhaps hints at the story of Boreas (another Northerner) and his prodigious equine procreation through the mares/daughters of the Athenian king Erichthonius.

Anxiety about mixed equine origins shows up several times in Herodotus, who of all Greek authors seems the most interested in mules—as we might have expected, given his narrative’s fascination with social mobility, crossing of boundaries, interactions between different cultures, and the impermanence of all human constructions (to say nothing of his own parentage: his mother Greek, his father Carian). There are over twenty references to mules in the *Histories* (along with almost thirty references to donkeys, and somewhat over two hundred references to horses, cavalry, etc.).¹⁰³ Three of the most important and successful kings in Herodotus’ narrative come to power by means of, or in the context of, an equine paradox. The first of these involves Cyrus of Persia, who is the subject of the oracle that announces to Croesus that his Empire will only fall “when a mule sits on the throne of the Medes . . .” (1.55). Cyrus’ mother was a daughter of Astyages, King of Media, while his father was a Persian—an aristocrat, but of inferior ethnicity as things were at that time (1.91). The ambitious “mule” shows himself soon enough to be truly regal and a born leader, both as a child and subsequently as a brilliantly successful soldier and ruler: so there is no suggestion that his mixed origin disqualifies him from the highest levels of achievement. Later on (3.71–88), the Persians acquire another capable new king through an unorthodox succession, as, following the assassination of the false (earless!) Smerdis by the seven conspirators, Darius, with the artful (or downright sneaky) assistance of his groom, is able to make their horse “snort and neigh” first in the early morning.¹⁰⁴

The third Herodotean case of disputed equine authority or paternity is that of the Spartan King Demaratus (6.61–69, esp. 68), about whose conception and birth there was apparently much controversy. His mother (unnamed) was indisputably royal; but who was his father? King Ariston? Or a donkey tender (ὄνοφορβός, 6.68, 69)? Or even perhaps the dead hero Astrabacus, appearing to Ariston’s wife in the form of a phantom? Demaratus’ subsequent career seems to confirm his in-between status, for he shows himself to be intelligent and accomplished, but never endowed with full royal power. In general, these three Herodotean narratives might suggest that “mules” (or equids of dubious breeding) make rather good monarchs—certainly better than those horsey-named disappointments, Hippias and Hipparchus of Athens.¹⁰⁵

103. Powell [1938] 1977. Not surprisingly, by contrast, there is not a single mention of donkeys or mules in Thucydides; and there are few in Xenophon. In this respect as in others, these two wealthy land-owning Athenian gentlemen show themselves to be far more elitist and narrow-minded than their Hali-carnassian predecessor; cf. Johnstone 1994. For Herodotus’ interest in mules as symbols of illegitimacy and/or sterility, see Ebbott 2003, 2–3, 74–75.

104. The terms used here for the horse’s “snorting” (φρυμάσσομαι, χρεματίζω) are not quite as species-specific as φρυάσσομαι (p. 318 and n. 33 above), since goats are also credited with such sounds. But the expressions do seem to carry some sexual innuendo. The technique employed by Darius’ groom to incite the stallion to snort (i.e., giving it a cloth to smell that is suffused with the scent of a mare in heat) is similar to the technique recommended by Columella (*Rust.* 6.27.10) for encouraging reluctant stud stallions. (See too Lytle 2003.) For the close relationship between grooms and equid owners, see n. 7 above.

105. At 3.151–54, the fall of Babylon is presaged by a prediction and “portent” (τέρας) of a molly bearing a foal, itself rather a conventional miracle that is oft-repeated in later Greek and Roman history: e.g., Suet. *Galb.* 4: *cum mula peperit* (see Olck 1907, 663; Otto 1890).

Herodotus also notes an odd “fact” about the Scythians and their equines:¹⁰⁶ there are no mules or donkeys at all in the coldest region of Scythia, because, unlike the horses there, donkeys cannot stand the constant frost (4.28), even though (he claims) in other parts of the world donkeys and mules can actually withstand the cold better than horses (Hdt. 4.28.5):¹⁰⁷

“Ἴπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.

Horses stand the winter well, but mules and donkeys cannot stand it at all; this is unusual, for elsewhere mules and donkeys bear cold easily, but horses kept standing during hard weather, are subject to frostbite. (Trans. J. Marincola)

This appears to be a case where Herodotus’ account is influenced by two separate prejudices—as well as one accurate observation: (i) donkeys and mules have a reputation for being “enduring”, and so might be expected to tolerate extremes of cold well; on the other hand, (ii) the nomadic Scythians (as imagined by Herodotus) do not have separate and distinguishable social “classes” like other societies (“upper, lower, middle” = “horses, donkeys, mules . . .”), and consequently both people and equids there must all seem quite homogenous, yet constantly on the move—numberless, fluid, non-stratified.¹⁰⁸ But (iii) Herodotus was also well aware that for “Scythians” (to use his blanket term for the numerous different cultures occupying those northern regions)¹⁰⁹ horses were integral to their whole culture (and indeed, we may note that some of these peoples employed sturdy ponies for all kinds of work that Greeks would never have inflicted on their own more delicate horses). Hence perhaps the conclusion (possibly correct) that donkeys and mules were not found in that region at all—only a plethora of horses.

Shortly after this passage, Herodotus mentions in passing (4.30): “In the whole of Elis mules cannot be produced. Elis is not cold, and there is no other apparent reason for this; but the Eleians say it is the result of a curse. . . .”¹¹⁰

106. Oddities are of course Herodotus’ bread and butter, not least when he discusses the Scythians. He spends several enthusiastic chapters discussing their *hippotrophia* (4.2 milking the mares; 4.8–10 Heracles’ missing mares and the viper-woman; 4.61 horse sacrifices; 4.71–72 horse death rituals and burials; 4.110–17 Sauromatians and Amazons; etc.). But his observations about Scythian mules seem to come from a quite different direction.

107. Neither ancient nor modern natural history can confirm Herodotus’ claim that donkeys (outside Scythia) usually do better than horses in the cold: for in general they are found in warmer climates (see Part One). Aristotle (who goes further than Herodotus, in claiming that no donkeys or mules at all can be bred “in Scythia and the neighboring parts, or the Celtic country beyond Iberia”), asserts baldly that donkeys are colder by nature than horses (*Gen. an.* 2.748a25–748b5); and perhaps Herodotus labors under a similar prejudice.

108. For these characteristics of Herodotus’ Scythians, see Hartog 1988.

109. Herodotus of course uses the term “Scythians, Scythia” to cover a huge area that included a large number of disparate peoples.

110. Therefore, says Herodotus, they take the mares over the border and have the donkey-jacks impregnate them there. This pragmatic circumvention of a divine ban against breeding mules is paralleled in Hebrew tradition: mules were quite widely purchased and used, and for important functions, even though Jews were forbidden themselves to breed them (Dent 1972, 60–65; cf. I Kings 1:38–46, quoted in Part One, n. 183). The alleged Eleian interdiction has been much discussed, mainly in relation to the “origins” of the Olympic Games: see, e.g., Calame 1997, 243–44, with further references.

Several commentators have suggested that this divine prohibition against breeding mules in the place where the Olympic Games are to be held may be a mode of commemorating the pure-bred horses of Pelops, the first victor in a chariot race there, and likewise the perfectly thoroughbred nature of this precinct, sacred to Poseidon and Zeus. Whether or not this is true (or was imagined to be true by significant numbers of Greeks), it is typical of Herodotean—and Archaic Greek—sensibilities to suppose that the gods would regard equine propagation as an important component of cosmic order.

Not far removed from the mood of Herodotus' world, in its concern for class- and ethnic- (or species-) difference, social mobility, political ambition and folly, and the sheer multiplicity of human types and idiosyncrasies, is the corpus of Aesopic fables, many of which undoubtedly go back, at least in their origin, to the Archaic period.¹¹¹ Here of course donkeys show up quite regularly, as the “average Joes” of animal society. There are about thirty-five donkey fables in all, their protagonists sometimes savvy and practical, sometimes scheming and lazy, or downright stupid. Horses are less frequent characters (twelve to fifteen fables in all): those that do show up in a fable tend to have come down in the world, mirroring the proverb, ἀπὸ ἵππων εἰς ὄνους (“From the horses to the donkeys” = “from riches to rags”);¹¹² or else they are presented as being too snooty and selfish to help anyone else (especially a donkey)—and as suffering the appropriate consequences (Aesop 565, 571 Perry).

Mules are surprisingly rare. But they are quite distinctive in the messages they convey. Only three or four Aesopic Fables contain a mule (out of a total of more than six hundred in Perry's collection), presumably because mules were felt to overlap too much with donkeys in most of their characteristics to have a separate identity, unless the point of the story specifically involved hybridity or challenges to status boundaries. The one Fable that does focus on the issue of hybridity is 315 Perry (Babrius 62 = 285 Hausrath = ps.Plut. *Banquet of the Seven Sages* 150a), a text that has several points of similarity to Aristotle's anecdote about Simonides (*PMG* 515) discussed earlier. I quote the story first in pseudo-Plutarch's version, which provides a (doubtless fictitious) context for Aesop's original delivery of the fable (*Banquet of the Seven Sages* 4.150A):

‘Ο δ’ Αἴσωπος (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὑπὸ Κροίσου νεωστὶ πρὸς τε Περίανδρον ἄμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ παρῆν ἐπὶ δίφρου τινὸς χαμαιζήλου παρὰ τὸν Σόλωνα καθήμενος ἄνω κατακείμενον) “ἡμίονος δ’,” ἔφη, “Λυδὸς ἐν ποταμῷ τῆς ὄψεως ἑαυτοῦ κατιδὼν εἰκόνα καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος ὥρμησε θεῖν ὥσπερ ἵππος ἀναχαιτίσας, εἶτα μέντοι συμφορονήσας ὡς ὄνου υἱὸς εἶη, κατέπαυσε ταχὺ τὸν δρόμον καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ φρύγμα καὶ τὸν θυμόν.”

111. The difficulties of tracking different versions, sources, “Lives,” manuscript traditions, etc. of “Aesop” and the fables attributed to him are notorious: see, e.g., Hausrath 1957; Perry 1952, 1965, xi–xlvī, 419–22; and now Kurke forthcoming.

112. Thus, e.g., in Babrius 29 (Aesop 318 Perry), a horse previously proud (γαῦρος) now works the mill; cf. Babrius 83 (Aesop 319 Perry). For the proverb (e.g., *CPG* Diogen. 1.56, with Leutsch and Schneidewin's note), and its inverse (*CPG* 1.55; also ὄνος εἰς ἄχρῳα), see Part One, nn. 45, 46; and Olck 1907, 646.

Aesop too, as it happened, having been sent by Croesus only a short time before on a mission both to Periander and to the god at Delphi, was present at the dinner, seated on a low chair next to Solon, who occupied the place just above. Aesop said: "A Lydian mule caught sight of his own image reflected in a river, and, suddenly struck with admiration at the beauty and great size of his body, tossed his mane and started to run like a horse, but then, recalling that his sire was an ass, he soon stopped his running, and gave up his pride [φρύαγμα, lit. "whinnying"] and animation." (Trans. F. C. Babbitt)

This narrative rehearses many of the familiar elements we previously noted about hippic style and asinine inelegance (gait, hair, unequal parentage, voice), but cleverly inverts the sequence and point of the water reflection. Whereas usually it is a female horse who has to be mutilated (shorn) and then forced by others to see her debased reflection in the water so that she will abandon her vain pride or her sexual fever, in this case the falsely proud animal that sees itself reflected is male, and (because his mane—though presumably somewhat less glorious than a true horse's—is still intact) he continues for a while to believe himself equivalent to a true horse, because he is so big and fine. But soon reality sinks in again, as he reminds himself who his father was; and so this upstart mule gives up its horselike voice (φρύαγμα), spirit (θυμός) and running (δρόμος), and owns up to its base origins, just as Herodotus' Croesus (the original Lydian mule, descended from the usurper Gyges and Candaules' wife) was brought down in due course (by the Persian/Median "mule", Cyrus) and made to recognize his own limitations. Aesop (in pseudo-Plutarch's story) does not explain exactly how or why this mule comes to recognize its asinine origin, but presumably the telling of the story by Aesop is itself a performative enactment of the dawning of this consciousness: the donkeylike fabulist himself (the one sitting on the lowly stool, below Solon) is reminding Croesus, by means of this fable, who he really is, and where he truly comes from.¹¹³

This story shows up twice amidst the Aesopic collections, now divorced from any particular application to Croesus. In one example, the narrative remains fairly close to the pseudo-Plutarchean version, while adding the high-life elements of leisure and fine food (Babrius 62):

Ἡμίονος ἀργῆς χιλὸν ἐσθίων φάτνης
καὶ κριθήσας ἐτρόχαζε κάφῳναι
τένοντα σείων "ἵππος ἐστί μοι μήτηρ,
ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνης οὐδὲν ἐν δρόμοις ἤττων."
ἄφνω δ' ἔπαυσε τὸν δρόμον κατηφής·
δίου γὰρ εὐθὺς πατὴρ ὦν ἀνεμνήσθη.

A mule who lived an idle life, champing fodder at the stall, began to feel his oats one day and started out to run. Tossing high his neck he cried: "My mother is a horse, and I'm no slower in the race than she!" But suddenly he checked his course and hung his head in shame, for all at once the thought occurred, his father was an ass. (Trans. B. E. Perry)

113. For Aesop as a figure of countercultural wisdom, see Kurke 2006. For representations of Aesop as "donkey" or "ape," see Lissarrague 2000. For Aesopic mules, see too Chandezon 2005.

But in the other version it is instructive to see what textual/gender chaos has erupted in the various manuscripts (Aesop 285 Hausrath):¹¹⁴

ἡμίονός τις ἐκ κριθῆς παχυνθεῖσα ἀνεσκίρτησε καθ' ἑαυτὴν βοῶσα· “πατήρ μου ἔστιν ἵππος ὁ ταχυδρόμος, κἀγὼ δὲ αὐτῷ ὅλη ἀφωμοιώθην.” καὶ δὴ ἐν μιᾷ ἀνάγκῃς ἐπελθούσης ἠναγκάζετο ἡ ἡμίονος τοῦ τρέχειν. ὥς δὲ τοῦ δρόμου πέπνυται, σκυθροπαζούσα πατρὸς τοῦ ὄνου εὐθὺς ἀνεμνήσθη.

The manuscripts here preserve almost every possible gender combination (male or female mule, parentage from stallion and jennet, or jack and mare), so uncertain are they as to which sex is more likely to be “proud” of its hair (or its galloping and prancing—again the versions differ), and which parent it is supposed to be proud of, which ashamed of. Clearly the perennial anxiety surrounding the possibility of miscegenation between upper and lower classes, and especially between male slaves and free women (as between donkey-jack and mare), has contributed to this ongoing textual confusion.

If we examine the Aesopic Fables further, with an eye to the kind and quality of the work that is performed by mules and the other equids rather than to the mules’ origin, sexuality, and parentage, we find additional results of interest. In one Fable (263 Perry = 204 Hausrath), a donkey and a mule are walking side by side, each carrying an equal load; the donkey complains that the mule is being given more and better food than he; but the mule then proceeds to prove itself stronger and harder-working (eventually taking over all the exhausted donkey’s burden), and therefore fully deserving of its better rations. In another, two (male) pack mules are carrying loads together, in convoy (Phaedrus 2.7 = 491 Perry):

MULI DUO ET LATRONES

Muli gravati sarcinis ibant duo;
 unus ferebat fiscos cum pecunia,
 alter tumentes multo saccos hordeo.
 ille onere dives celsa cervice eminet
 clarumque collo iactat tintinnabulum;
 comes quieto sequitur et placido gradu.
 subito latrones ex insidiis advolant
 interque caedem ferro ditem sauciant,
 diripiunt nummos, neglegunt vile hordeum.
 spoliatus igitur casus cum fleret suos,
 “Equidem” inquit alter “me contemptum gaudeo;
 nam nil amisi, nec sum laesus vulnere.”
 Hoc argumento tuta est hominum tenuitas,
 magnae periculo sunt opes obnoxiae.

The Two Mules and the Robbers

Two mules were going along heavily laden with packs; one was carrying baskets containing money, the other sacks bulging with full loads of barley. The one who carries riches on his back arches his neck high in the air and jingles his clear-toned bell by the tossing of his head; his companion, on the other hand, brings up the rear with a calm and quiet pace. Suddenly robbers rush upon them from ambush. Amid the slaughter,

114. I reproduce the text (but not the apparatus criticus) of Hausrath 1956–57.

they wound the rich mule with a sword and pillage the money, but they neglect the paltry barley. Accordingly, when the plundered mule bewailed his misfortune the other said; "For my part, I'm glad that I was despised; for I have lost nothing and have suffered no wound."

Here is evidence that the little man is safe; great riches are exposed to risks. (Trans. B. E. Perry)

So the money-carrying mule that carries its neck ostentatiously high and jingles his bell loud (like a war horse) ends up being attacked and wounded by bandits, while the one with the more donkeylike mentality and gait (*placido gradu*), carrying its sacks of barley quietly and unobtrusively, escapes unharmed. The official moral of the tale that we are given, as often, is slightly off-mark: the point is not simply that "thin resources" (*tenuitas*) are safer than "wealth" (*opes*), but rather that conspicuous self-aggrandizement (acting like a horse) attracts trouble: it is better to keep a low profile and simply deliver the goods without a fuss. Once again, our "middle-class" mules are shown facing that definitive choice: Which is my natural—or proper—role and social rank? Am I for show, or for work? Am I really (should I be) more like Mom, or like Dad?¹¹⁵

I conclude this article with three case studies of Greek representation of mules, selected to demonstrate the unique capacity of this hybrid to incorporate and illustrate concerns about gender- and class relations: a proverb, an image, and an anecdote. First, the proverb. As we noted earlier, donkeys are featured quite extensively in ancient Greek collections of proverbs, mules hardly at all. (When they are, it is usually in duplication of a donkey proverb.)¹¹⁶ The one really distinctive and widely-quoted proverb involving mules (preserved mostly in Latin versions, but probably Greek in origin) has an instructively egalitarian and cooperative twist to it: *mutua muli*, or, *mutuum muli scalpunt* ("mules scratch each other"); that is, "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours," often in the context of praise ("you praise me, I'll praise you!").¹¹⁷ There also exists a version (*mutuum scabere*, "to scratch

115. The familiar Aeschylean *gnome*, ἀπέδειξεν ἥθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων ("he revealed the character [innate] from his parents," of a lion-cub, *Ag.* 727–28) becomes less straightforward when the two parents are of different "characters"; cf. Orestes' choice, whether to be his father's or mother's son. For Greek medical/scientific theories about inherited characteristics, see, e.g., [Hippocr.] *On the Seed and Nature of the Child*, *On Regimen* 2.1; Arist. *Gen. an.*; and for recommendations about selection of parents for prospective horse- or mule breeding, Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.575b21–578a5; Columella *Rust.* 6.27–38.

116. Thus, especially in Latin, you can call someone either a "mule," or a "donkey," as a way of saying he is stupid (e.g., Olck 1907, 644, 662–63; Otto 1890, 232, s.v. *mulus* 1). Latin, however, uses *mulus* much more freely as a virtual (figurative) synonym for *asinus*, than Greek uses ἡμίονος or ὄρεός as equivalent to ὄνος. The widely-used proverb *mulum ex asino pingere* ("to paint a mule instead of a donkey," or "turn a donkey into a mule") is usually interpreted as meaning merely "to go through the motions of trying to change something, while leaving it essentially as ugly and worthless as it was before," which would have much the same significance as those stories we have considered of mules that first aspire to be horses but quickly are brought to realize their essentially asinine nature. But perhaps we should rather interpret the proverb in terms of false advertising, trying to palm off a cheap donkey on someone by fixing it up to look like a (more valuable) mule? The "painting" then would be part of a (false) advertisement, or an outright "touch-up" job on the donkey's coat (painting over the tell-tale stripes?).

117. This proverb in Latin predates Varro (first century B.C.E.), since one of his Menippean Satires was entitled *Mutua muli scalpunt*, and he also (*Ling.* 7.28) quotes a satirical epigram by Papinius? (or Pomponius? see Courtney 1993) that employs the phrase *mutua muli* as if it is already well-known. The proverb is found mostly in Latin (Otto 1890, 232–33; *TLL*, s.v. *mulus* (d)); but a Greek version existed that specified donkeys

one another”) that does not specify any particular animal, and the gist of the proverb recalls too the well-known *manus manum lavat* (“one hand washes the other”: a phrase that in Greek is as old as Epicharmus, χεῖρ χεῖρα νίζειι). But it is, I think, significant that the species deemed most suited to such mutual aid and comfort should be (a pair of) mules. We may recall the Homeric simile of the self-directed and collaborative mules at *Il.* 17.742–47 (quoted and discussed in Part One, pp. 240–41), as well as the pairs of mules that regularly drew wedding carts and other elegant conveyances—even racing carts—as in figs. 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13).¹¹⁸ Donkeys might generally be too hard-pressed to find the opportunity to groom one another; and they did not so often operate in teams, as mules routinely did. As for horses, they are perhaps too competitive, and certainly too noble and snooty to acknowledge such mundane physical discomforts as an itch or a sore. A mule, however, might be expected to be concerned about looking after him/herself and his/her partner and to have the sense to take the practical action required to improve their common good.

“Mutual scratching” presents, by elite standards, an unglamorous and slightly pejorative picture. (Plato’s Socrates likes to argue about itches and scratching too, to the outrage of his aristocratic interlocutors.) Yet this operation could be said to represent nothing other than a thoroughly demystified and crudely pragmatic version of aristocratic “favors” (*charis*) and gift exchange. Like the manual-laborious associations of “one hand washing the other” (or the grooming of chimpanzees and baboons, as observed in the modern era), mutual mule-help was apparently recognized at the popular and middle-brow level as providing practical benefit and fostering a spirit of non-competitive and enlightened cooperation that apparently had no negative impact at all—the opposite of “backbiting” or “backstabbing”.

My second case study is a well-known scene from the François Vase, reproduced in figure 15. Close to a splendid panel depicting the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, full of gods and goddesses on horse-drawn chariots, Hephaestus is shown riding on a mule on his way to join the gods on Olympus and to claim his (distinctly reluctant) bride, Aphrodite. She has been awarded to him after a power struggle, or labor dispute, during the course of which the technician-god fastened the Olympians to their chairs and forced them to negotiate with him.¹¹⁹ Wine played a crucial part in the

rather than mules: e.g., *CPG* Apost. 17.20: τὸν ξύοντα ἀντιξύειν· ἐπὶ τῶν βλαπτόντων ἢ ὠφελούντων τινάς, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ὄνων· ἀλλήλους γὰρ ἀντικνήθουσι (cf. Otto 1890, 233). An epigram attributed to the comic playwright Strato (third century B.C.E.) includes the phrase ὡς λέγεται, κνήθειν οἶδεν ὄνος τὸν ὄνον (*Arch. Pal.* 12.238.8). I am inclined to believe that the mule version will have existed in Greek too (especially given Varro’s Hellenizing tendencies). But it must be admitted that the Latin phrase *mutua muli* has an assonantal ring that does not work with ἡμίονος or ὄρεός, so it cannot be ruled out that the verbal jingle (along with the increased economic-social prominence of mules in Roman life) may have been responsible for inserting mules into this proverbial role; possibly it was not originally a Greek idea.

118. Exekias depicts a closely-knit and affectionate-looking pair of rather noble mules in harness (Berlin inv. 1814 = *ABV* 146, 22, also Boardman 1974, fig. 105.2); see Part One, p. 230, n. 145, p. 236, n. 170. Such a pair might surely be expected to show a proper concern for one another.

119. For illustrations and discussion of this mythological episode in Greek literature and art, see Bruneau 1963; Brommer 1978; Gantz 1993; *LIMC*, s.v. “Hephaistos”; Fineberg 2005.

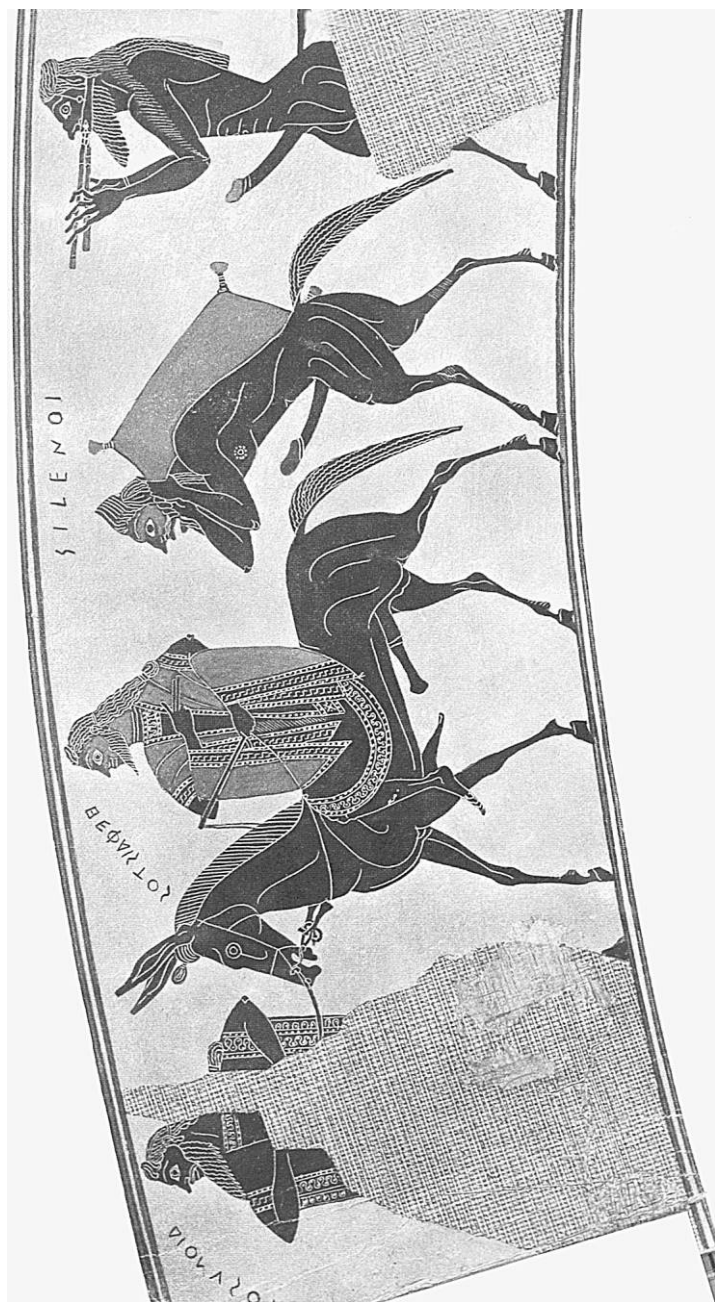


FIG. 15.—Hephaestus, mounted on a mule, arrives to join the Olympians and claim his bride, Aphrodite. Attic black-figure volute-crater from Chiusi by Cleitias and Ergotimus ("François Vase": *ABV* 76, 1; mid-sixth century. Florence Museum 4209). Facsimile from Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904, pl. 3.

proceedings too, as is indicated here by the presence of satyrs carrying wineskins and of Dionysus himself at the head of the procession, leading Hephaestus' mule by a rope attached to its halter. So we see the parvenu craftsman and his crew of silens confidently asserting their newly-acquired status at the expense of—yet in a new collaboration with—the aristocratic Olympian family. The erect phalluses of mule and silens present a striking statement—on Hephaestus' behalf, as it were, though not directly in his person or voice—combining crude, good-humored aggression with a certain impressive bearing and style. The smith has indeed proven himself a true god, resourceful, accomplished, and worthy to become an indispensable member of Zeus and Hera's household and political community, even if by the elegant (horsey) standards of the Olympians he is somewhat defective and rough-hewn. The fact that he rides a mule here, rather than (as is more commonly represented on scenes of the Return of Hephaestus) a mere donkey, and that despite his disability he sits with feet on either side of the animal, rather than sidesaddle (though his right foot is depicted as very twisted indeed), confirms his relatively high and respectable status.¹²⁰ But at the same time, the fact that he does not control his mount with reins and bit, but by means of the familiar two-pronged stick held in his left hand, with Dionysus actually leading the animal with a rope attached to its halter, perhaps concedes Hephaestus' lack of “masterly” qualities, as husband or political animal.¹²¹ He is not a high-brow equestrian.

The mule itself, which, apart from its erect penis and long ears, looks quite slim and horselike, with flowing tail (just like the horsey tails of the silens who follow close behind), neatly combed mane, and pom-pom arranged elegantly on top of its head, strides confidently, even stylishly, forward, projecting no apparent air of comedy or impropriety. As for Aphrodite (who stands, long-haired and finely dressed, immediately to the left of what one sees in fig. 15, facing the oncoming Hephaestus), she seems far from enthusiastic, as she prepares for her new role as his bride. (Of course we know that she will not long remain faithful to her new husband, and that—like the partner of any mule—she has in any case no prospect of bearing any children to him.) The viewer's focus and sympathies are thus divided, especially because this scene is presented both as a self-contained narrative of its own, and as a contrast to the surrounding panels on this large and extravagant vase, including the brilliantly heroic wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The Return of Hephaestus was one of the most popular of all subjects for sixth- and fifth-century painters, and it was an episode that was open to many variations of substance and tone.¹²²

120. He is long-haired and garlanded, again marks of higher status: in less flattering versions he wears a conical worker's-cap and short hair. See further esp. Brommer 1978; Davies 1990.

121. Dionysus appears to be leading Hephaestus' mule by a halter; no bit is evident, though the harness in other respects resembles that used for a horse; see p. 330 above. For further discussion of this scene, especially of the figure of Hephaestus himself, see Hedreen 2004; also Griffith 2002, 221–22.

122. On the same (François) vase, below one handle (somewhat damaged), another representation of Hephaestus is to be found, this time riding on a donkey, as can be seen from the white muzzle and somewhat tasseled tail (see Brommer 1978, Taf. 1.2). Although Hephaestus' feet are not preserved, it seems clear from the posture of his hips and arms that he is in this case sitting sidesaddle (again, with two-pronged stick in

In this case, I suggest, the potter and painter (Ergotimus and Cleitias) have made a point of emphasizing both Hephaestus' lower-class status and his cheerful and positive (assertive, even slightly aggressive?) social energy as an addition to the aristocratic family of Olympians. The two mulish figures, both the seated divine craftsman and his four-footed co-laborer/companion, command the viewer's respect and sympathy, even as the distinction between them and the highest echelon of "chivalrous" elites is reinforced by their physical differences. At least a few of those who have not been born full members of the Olympian/hippic elite may still through skill, hard work, and enterprise succeed in earning a valued place within it. (And if the class struggle ever threatens to get out of hand, Dionysus and his comic-phallic associates can always help to defuse a crisis.)¹²³

My third and concluding case study of hemionic distinction is an anecdote about a particular mule from fifth-century Athens that seems to have become almost legendary, for reasons that have nothing to do with sex, hair, or class conflict. This anecdote provides a rare (for the Greeks) affirmation of the dignity of labor for its own sake, along with a generous recuperation of the mule's honor (if this is not too inflated a claim), so often infringed over the years. The story is found first in Aristotle, and then in several different sources, and so apparently carried some cultural resonance. I quote it here in Aelian's version (NA 6.49):¹²⁴

Ἡμίονος γέρων Αθήνησιν ὑπὸ γε τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ ἰδίου τῶν ἔργων ἀπολυθείς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει, τοῦ μὲν φιλοπόνου καὶ ἐθελουργοῦ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν. ἡνίκα γοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι κατεσκεύαζον τὸν Παρθενῶνα, οὔτε ἐπισύρων οὔτε ἀχθοφορῶν ὅμως τοῖς νέοις ὀρεῦσι προφοροῦμένοις τὴν ὁδὸν ἄκκλητος καὶ ἐκὼν οἰοῖναι παράσειρος ἦι, δορυφορῶν ὡς ἂν εἴποις καὶ παρορμῶν τὸ ἔργον τῇ βαδίσει τῇ κοινῇ δίκῃν τεχνίτου παλαιοῦ τοῦ μὲν αὐτουργεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως ἀπολυθέντος, ἐμπειρία δὲ καὶ διδασκαλία ὑποθήγοντός τε ἅμα τοὺς νέους καὶ ἐπαίροντος. ταῦτα οὖν μαθόντες ὁ δῆμος τῷ κήρυκι ἀνείπειν προσέετασαν, εἴτε ἀφίκτο ἐς τὰ ἄλφια, εἴτε ἐς τὰς κριθὰς παραβάλοι, μὴ ἀνείργειν, ἀλλ' εἰς σιτεῖσθαι ἐς κόρον, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκτίνειν ἐν Πρυτανείῳ τὸ ἀργύριον, τρόπον τινὰ ἀθλητῇ σιτήσεως δοθείσης ἥδη γέροντι.

At Athens an aged Mule was released from work by its master, so Aristotle tells us [*Hist. an.* 6.577b30], but declined to abandon its love of labour and its willingness to work on the score of age. Thus, at the time when the Athenians were erecting the Parthenon, though it neither drew nor carried burdens, yet it would unbidden and of its own free will walk by the young mules as they went back and forth, like a trace-horse, acting as guard, so to speak; and by treading a common path it encouraged their work, like some

left hand). The donkey wears a halter (no snaffle or bit), and we can also see the throat strap to which a yoke or baggage frame would be attached, a more direct reminder of the animal's working duties than we find with the mule in fig. 15. Again, however, the carefully-etched hairs and arching neck of the animal, as well as the patterned riding cloth on which Hephaestus sits, are neat and decorous; and the donkey is not ithyphallic: contrast, e.g., Brommer 1978, Taf. 3.2, 7.1.2, 9.2, where both Dionysus and Hephaestus are sitting on one donkey; and contrast too fig. 9, for a much uglier donkey face, mane, and tail.

123. For such functions of Dionysiac art and ritual, esp. in the fifth century B.C.E., see, e.g., Seaford 1998; Griffith 2002; Kowalzig 2004.

124. The story is found at Arist. *Hist. an.* 6.577b30; Ael. *NA* 6.49; Plut. *De soll. an. (Moralia)* 970b; also Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 5.339a-b, and Plin. (*HN* 8.69.175), who states that this mule was commemorated "on Athenian monuments."

old craftsman whom age has released from labour with his hands but whose experience and knowledge are a stimulus and incitement to the young. Now when the people got to hear of this they directed the herald to proclaim that if it came in quest of barleymeal or approached to get corn, it was not to be prevented but was to be allowed to eat its fill, and that the populace would defray the cost by depositing money in the Prytaneum, as in the case of an athlete who in his old age was given free meals there. (Trans. A. F. Scholfield, slightly adapted)

The building of the Parthenon is remembered here as an ideal moment of collective and well-directed endeavor, a moment at which all the elements in the city, old and young, elite and working-class, collaborated under Pericles' leadership to make the community strong and beautiful. Comradeship (κοινῇ), pride in labor (φιλοπόνου καὶ ἐθελουργοῦ, αὐτουργεῖν), making oneself practically useful as a "craftsman" (τεχνίτου) and "expert . . . teacher" for the young (ἐμπειρία . . . καὶ διδασκαλία), these are the virtues instantiated in this mule and exemplified by his continuing love of his comrades and pride in his work (φιλοτιμία, as Plutarch terms it in his version).¹²⁵ When Aelian compares the old mule to a "trace horse" and an "athlete," the elite capabilities of this experienced laborer-technician are thereby acknowledged even in the midst of his mundane and repetitive service.¹²⁶ The solidarity of citizen laborers and craftsmen reflected in this story (curiously confirmed by the Erechtheum building records that have survived to this day, in which free men and slaves work side by side for equivalent pay)¹²⁷ was not by any means always attained, in Athens or elsewhere, and it is rarely celebrated in the iconography or literature of the period. The image of this mule's behavior and reward contrasts strikingly, indeed, with the flamboyant horsemen of the Parthenon frieze (see fig. 6a), whose brilliant display attracts admiration of a different kind. Unlimited access to the grocery stalls of the agora (as Aelian and Aristotle record the popular "decree")¹²⁸ is a rare but revealing instance, I suggest, of ancient Greek "blue-collar" values being reaffirmed, at their own level and in their own terms, rather than being "aristocratized" into hippic language and imagery. And the animal who best symbolizes this "middle-class" commitment to labor, solidarity, and persistence in a common cause is the mule, itself the product of a planned and collaborative combination of "higher" and "lower" (more and less privileged) elements within Greek equine society.

125. Plut. *De soll. an. (Moralia)* 970b3: θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐκέλευσε δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι. Plutarch also includes the name of Pericles in his narrative, and emphasizes the cooperative spirit of the old mule with repeated συν- compounds (συνειργασμένων, συνανέστρεφε, συμπαρατρόχαζεν). According to Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 6.577b34; also Plin. *NH* 8.69.175) this mule was over eighty years old, which would mean he was alive when the Cleisthenic democracy was first introduced.

126. For the term παράσειρος ("trace-horse"), i.e. the outside member of a four-horse team that runs more freely (and also further and faster) and thus helps the others negotiate each turning-post, see p. 333 above. The expression δορυφορῶν (lit. "carrying a spear") gestures towards a "hoplite" status for the mule, i.e., a trusted position as an integral member of the city's armed forces.

127. *IG* 1.2.374.

128. ἐνηγρίσαντο μὴ ἀπελάνειν αὐτὸν τοὺς σιτοπώλας ἀπὸ τῶν τηλῶν ("they voted that the grain merchants not be allowed to drive it away from their display tables," *Hist. an.* 6.577b34). Aristotle's reference to a "vote," along with Pliny's remark that the "decree . . . is visible on monuments (*decretum* . . . *monumentis apparet*)," implies that an inscription commemorated the decision.

CONCLUSION

In nineteenth-century Britain, the home of Black Beauty, the term “horse” covered a wide spectrum of physical types, mental images, and social functions, including thoroughbreds, hunters, hacks, dray horses, and pit ponies; the mythology, folklore, range of visual representations, and narrative presence of horses in literature was rich and varied. By contrast, donkeys in most regions of Britain were more uniform in size, appearance, and uses, and relatively not very numerous, while mules were quite rare; so there was little mythology or creative fiction devoted to them. The story was different in Spain and the Middle East (especially for donkeys), and in the United States (especially for mules).¹²⁹ Equids are not always used, or thought about, in the same ways. Fashions change, economies evolve, class and gender systems develop differently. For the ancient Greeks, equids in general were just as widely used as in nineteenth-century Britain, but the coexistence of large numbers of horses, donkeys, and mules within the same society, and the restricted range both of horse types and of functions for horses created a very different cultural dynamic. The sharp social and institutional distinctions that were maintained by the Greeks between “horse” and “donkey” were as much the result of arbitrary human choice and fantasy (ideology) as they were a product of nature and practical necessity. That is to say, the choices and fantasies of the Greeks concerning the natural and proper characteristics and activities of horses and donkeys were heavily colored by the facts of their own human (economic, social, and sexual) life; yet at the same time, their notions about these equids undoubtedly served in turn to reinforce their prejudices and preferences about human class and gender relations.

Within the polis and Greek institutions of the family and workplace, certain divisions of labor, gender, and authority were universally recognized. Masters should not do slavish jobs, nor should women usurp men’s roles. “Liberal” (mainly leisured) pursuits were fetishized as being superior to banausic “work.”¹³⁰ These divisions and distinctions were both economically fundamental and politically precious. The abolition of slavery, like the notion of the political equality of the sexes, was, after all, virtually unthinkable¹³¹—

129. Dent 1972, 127–53 (esp. p. 140, on the rarity of mules in Britain); see Part One, pp. 189–90 (with n. 15), 203–4, 225–26, 233–34. Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Travels with a Donkey* [sc. in the Cévennes] (1879) derives much of its charm and interest from the fact that this well-educated Scotsman has never previously had any contact with a donkey and has no idea how to interact with one, unlike most of the local French people that he encounters, who are obviously quite familiar with a donkey’s habits and preferences.

130. In practice, doubtless a fair amount of “women’s work” (e.g., weaving) was in fact done by men, and vice-versa (e.g., planting, harvesting); likewise Greek elites were probably involved quite often in manual labor, especially on the land (Odysseus is proud of his plowing, Xenophon of his digging), while (conversely) slaves and helots sometimes fought bravely in battle or practised philosophy. In just the same way, older or damaged horses were sometimes used to perform grunt work that was more normally assigned in Classical Greece to donkeys, though this seems to have been much more widespread in Roman society than in Greek (see Part One, pp. 203–4 and n. 87; also Romer 2000). But ideologically, the two sets of operations, free and unfree, male and female, were kept as distinct as possible. Thus the helots and light-armed troops who died in battle were usually not commemorated: only the hoplites and cavalry. That is why the inclusion of mule teams at the Olympics, and the celebration of their victories, gets to be so interesting, and why a decree honoring a democratic Athenian mule is so exceptional.

131. Despite Antiphon 87 B 44 DK; Arist. *Pol.* Book 1; see Garnsey 1996.

and no less so was the liberation of the donkey from its assigned roles of servile labor. Conversely, the continuation of the donkey in its prescribed (“natural”) roles as menial laborer, object of corporal degradation, and source of Dionysiac humor, helped to perpetuate the conviction that the natural world was neatly and unalterably divided, not only into male and female,¹³² but also into free and unfree, noble and gross, “better” and “worse.”¹³³ “Free” (noble) men faced life with certain expectations, which required a particular body type and set of performance skills (ἔξῃς; Latin *habitus*) that it was the business of a good upbringing and education to shape and reinforce. They should aspire to be (to look and act like) horses—and also to use (ride, drive, dominate) horses. Free (noble) women likewise were expected (required, trained) to present themselves in a certain style, a style that, as we have seen, tended to assimilate them to well-bred, well-trained, and well-groomed fillies.

Mules, however, existed (in abundance) as a confusing, but ever-present, reminder—if ever anyone wanted to stop and think about them—of precisely the arbitrariness of such class distinctions, gender roles, sexual behaviors, and divisions of labor, even as they confronted their human owners (coworkers) with tangible, flesh-and-blood instantiations of the possibility of constructing and engaging with a social “middle” that might incorporate (the best of) both worlds, or even break down the barriers between them. Any such “construction” requires unceasing work: it doesn’t just happen by itself. Indeed, you have to “breed” it anew every generation. The instinct, or habit, of aristocratizing one’s aspirations—of wanting to be (like) a horse, to display one’s equestrian power and taste (a fast and glamorous sportscar, or massive 4WD SUV) and to relegate others to the role of donkey—was and is extremely strong; and on the whole, the Greeks failed to break out of this habit. They never managed to develop a consistently egalitarian, middle-of-the-road set of values to which all members of their society would aspire. The mystique of the horse never faded, and human class and gender distinctions for the most part continued to be as sharp and essentialized as ever. But it is fascinating and instructive to watch the Greeks confront—or try to ignore and evade—this half-ass hybrid, and to take note of the places where mules are and are not mentioned and accommodated. And I should like to think that the φιλοτιμία of that most unobtrusive and versatile equid, co-builder of the Parthenon and conveyor of brides and bridegrooms (and Hephaestus) to their desired destinations, has much to teach us—a creature who would work collaboratively, patiently, and unpretentiously to carry on the day-to-day labor and social in-

132. Even here, of course, we find occasional recognition by observant Greek writers of the fluidity of gender distinctions: e.g., Hippocr. *On Regimen* 2.1 (where three more or less masculine types of men, and three more or less feminine types of women, are distinguished, including one that is defined as ἀνδρόγυνος). But in general, almost all Greeks seem to have been convinced that males and females (like horses and donkeys) are necessarily and essentially of a quite different temperature, nature, and value.

133. One of the most negative terms in fifth-century Athenian ethical discourse, signifying “worthless, foul,” is πονηρός (lit. “laboring, working-class”); we may compare English “villainous” (derived from medieval “villein” = “peasant, one who works the land” (French *paysan*); see Johnstone 1994. Similarly, a “working horse” (ἐργάτης ἵππος) was distinguished linguistically by a special term—καβάλλης; see Part One, p. 195 and n. 39.

teraction of the community, a loyal partner and companion to fellow-mules and humans alike: an unsung—or now, I hope, at least half-sung (ῥῆμι-ύμνητος) hero.

University of California, Berkeley

LITERATURE CITED

- Adams, J. N. 1997. *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire*. Leiden.
- Adolf, H. 1950. The Ass and the Harp. *Speculum* 25: 49–57.
- Alden, M. 2000. *Homer beside Himself: Para-Narratives in the "Iliad."* Oxford.
- Anderson, J. K. 1961. *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Anthony, D. W. 1991. The Domestication of the Horse. In *Equids in the Ancient World*, ed. R. H. Meadow and H. P. Uerpmann, 2:250–77. Wiesbaden.
- Beard, M., J. A. North, and S. R. F. Price. 1998. *Religions of Rome*. 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Bethe, E. 1907. Die dorische Knabenliebe: Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee. *RhMus* 62:438–75.
- Bewick, T. 1824. *A General History of Quadrupeds*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Boardman, J. 1974. *Athenian Black Figure Vases*. London.
- . 1975. *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period*. London.
- . 1996. *Greek Art*. London.
- . 1998. *Early Greek Vase Painting*. London.
- Bonfante, L. 1989. Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art. *AJA* 93:543–70.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. R. Nice. Originally published as *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris, 1979). Cambridge, Mass.
- . 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Trans. R. Nice. Originally published as *Le sens pratique* (Paris, 1990). Stanford, Calif.
- Bowra, C. M. 1952. *Heroic Poetry*. London.
- Brelich, A. 1969. *Paides e Parthenoi*. Rome.
- Brommer, F. 1978. *Hephaistos: Der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst*. Mainz.
- Bruneau, P. 1963. Héphaistos à dos d'âne. *BCH* 87:509–16.
- Calame, C. 1997. *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece*. Trans. D. Collins and J. Orion. With new details and additional bibliography by C. Calame. Originally published as *Choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Rome, 1977). New York.
- Campbell, D. A. 1991. *Greek Lyric*. Vol. 3. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.
- Cantarella, E. 2002. *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*². Trans. C. Ó'Cuilleanáin. Originally published as *Secondo natura: La bisessualità nel mondo antico* (Rome, 1988). New Haven, Conn.
- Cassell's *Popular Natural History*. 1865. Vol. 1, *Mammalia*. London.
- Ceccarelli, P. 1998. *La pirrica nell' antichità greco romana: Studi sulla danza armata*. Pisa.
- Chandezon, C. 2005. "Il est le fils de l'âne . . .": Remarques sur les mulets dans le monde grec. In *Les équidés dans le monde méditerranéen antique*, ed. A. Gardeisen, 207–17. Lattes.
- Cohen, B., ed. 2000. *Not the Classical Ideal*. Leiden.
- Cook, B. F. 1997. *The Elgin Marbles*². London.
- Courtney, E., ed. 1993. *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*. Oxford.
- Davidson, J. 2001. Dover, Foucault and Greek Homosexuality: Penetration and the Truth of Sex. *Past and Present* 170:3–51.
- Davies, J. K. 1984. *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens*. Salem, N.H.
- Davies, M. I. 1990. Asses and Rams: Dionysiac Release in Aristophanes' *Wasps* and Attic Vase-Painting. *Metis* 5.1:169–81.
- Davis, E. N. 1986. Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes. *AJA* 90:399–406.

- De Lauretis, T. 1987. *Technologies of Gender*. Bloomington, Ind.
- Dent, A. 1972. *Donkey: The Story of the Ass from East to West*. London.
- Deonna, W. 1956. Laus Asini. *RBPhil* 34:5–46, 337–64, 623–58.
- Dover, K. J. 1989. *Greek Homosexuality*². Cambridge, Mass.
- Drews, R. 2004. *Early Riders: The Beginnings of Mounted Warfare in Asia and Europe*. New York.
- Ebbott, M. 2003. *Imagining Illegitimacy in Classical Greek Literature*. Lanham, Md.
- Edmunds, A. L. 1997. The Horse and the Maiden (Aeschines 1.182 etc.): An Urban Legend in Ancient Athens. With appendices by R. Palmer. <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~edmunds/HorseMaidenTOC.html>.
- Edwards, M. W. 1991. *The “Iliad”: A Commentary*. Vol. 5, *Books 17–20*. Cambridge.
- Fineberg, S. 2005. Hephaestus on Foot in the Ceramicus. Typescript.
- Foucault, M. 1985. *The Use of Pleasure*. Trans. R. Hurley. Originally published as *L’usage des plaisirs* (Paris, 1984). New York.
- Fraenkel, E., ed. 1950. *Aeschylus “Agamemnon.”* Oxford.
- Furtwängler, A., and K. Reichhold. 1904. *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Munich.
- Gantz, T. 1993. *Early Greek Myth*. Baltimore.
- Gardiner, E. N. 1978. *Athletics of the Ancient World*. Rev. ed., Chicago.
- Garnsey, P. D. 1996. *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*. Cambridge.
- Geddes, A. G. 1987. Rags and Riches. The Costume of Athenian Men in the 5th C. *CQ* 37:307–31.
- Gleason, M. W. 1995. *Making Men*. Princeton, N.J.
- Golden, M. 1998. *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge.
- Gregory, J. Forthcoming. Donkeys and the Equine Hierarchy in Archaic Greek Literature. *CJ* 102 (2007).
- Griffith, M. 1998. The King and Eye: The Rule of the Father in Greek Tragedy. *PCPS* 44:20–84.
- _____. 2001. Public and Private in Early Greek Education. In *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Y. L. Too, 23–84. Leiden.
- _____. 2002. Slaves of Dionysos: Satyrs, Audience, and the Ends of the *Oresteia*. *ClAnt* 21:195–258.
- Haft, A. 1990. The City-Sacker Odysseus. *TAPA* 120:37–56.
- Hall, E. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian*. Oxford.
- Halperin, D. 1990. *Before Homosexuality*. New York.
- Haraway, D. J. 2003. From Cyborgs to Companion Species: Dogs, People, and Technoculture. Videorecording. Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities, University of California, Berkeley.
- Hartog, F. 1988. *The Mirror of Herodotus*. Trans. J. Lloyd. Originally published as *Le miroir d’Hérodote* (Paris, 1980). Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Hausrath, A., ed. [1940] 1956–57. *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*. Fasc. 1 1957, fasc. 2 1956. Reprint with addenda and corrigenda by H. Haas. Leipzig.
- Hedreen, G. 1992. *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting*. Ann Arbor, Mich.
- _____. 2004. The Return of Hephaistos, Dionysiac Procession Ritual and the Creation of a Visual Narrative. *JHS* 124:38–64.
- _____. 2006. “I Let Go My Force Just Touching Her Hair”: Male Sexuality in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens and Iambic Poetry. *ClAnt* 25:277–326.
- Henderson, J. 1975. *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. New Haven, Conn.
- Herbert, H. W. [1859] 2000. *Horses, Mules, and Ponies, and How to Keep Them*. Reprint. New York.
- Herd, G. H., ed. 1999. *Sambian Sexual Culture*. Chicago.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1987. *The Age of Empire*. London.
- Hoffmann, H. 1983. YBPIN OPOIAN KNQΔAΛΩN. In *Antidoron: Festschrift für Jürgen Thimme zum 65. Geburtstag am 26. September 1982*, ed. D. Metzler et al., 61–73. Karlsruhe.

- Hoppe, K. 1933. Mulomedicina. *RE* 16.1:503–13.
- _____. 1938. Pferdezzucht. *RE* 19:1444–46.
- Hubbard, T. K. 1998. Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens. *Arion*, 3d ser., 6 (1): 48–78.
- _____, ed. 2003. *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Hutchins, B., and P. Hutchins, eds. 1999. *The Definitive Donkey: A Textbook on the Modern Ass*. Rev. L. Patton. Gainesville, Tex.
- Hyland, A. 1990. *Equus: The Horse in the Roman World*. London.
- Janko, R. 1992. *The "Iliad": A Commentary*. Vol. 4, *Books 13–16*. Cambridge.
- Jeanmaire, H. 1939. *Couroi et Courètes*. Lille.
- Jezik, M. 1992. Parmenides and Uddalaka: The Upanishads and the Presocratics. *Synthesis Philosophica* 14:427–40.
- Johnstone, S. 1994. Virtuous Toil, Vicious Work: Xenophon on Aristocratic Style. *CP* 89:219–40.
- Kennell, N. M. 1995. *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*. Chapel Hill, N.C.
- Keuls, E. 1970. The Ass in the Cult of Dionysus as a Symbol of Toil and Suffering. *Anthropological Journal of Canada* 8 (1): 26–46.
- Kingsley, P. 1999. *In the Dark Places of Wisdom*. Inverness, Calif.
- Koehl, R. B. 1986. The Chieftain Cup and a Minoan Rite of Passage. *JHS* 106:99–110.
- Kowalzig, B. 2004. Changing Choral Worlds: Song-Dance and Society in Athens and Beyond. In *Music and the Muses*, ed. P. Murray and P. Wilson, 39–65. Oxford.
- Kurke, L. V. 1992. The Politics of *Habrosyne*. *ClAnt* 11:91–120.
- _____. 1999. *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold*. Princeton, N.J.
- _____. 2006. Plato, Aesop, and the Beginnings of Mimetic Prose. *Representations* 94:6–52.
- _____. Forthcoming. *The Peregrinations of Aesop*. Martin Classical Lectures (2005).
- Leach, E. 1958. Magical Hair. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 88:147–64.
- Leutsch, E. von, and F. W. Schneidewin, eds. [1839–51] 1958–65. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum (CPG)*. 2 vols. (vol. 1 1965, vol. 2 1958). Reprint. Hildesheim.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990a. *L'autre guerrier*. Paris.
- _____. 1990b. The Sexual Life of Satyrs. In *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. D. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin, 53–81. Princeton, N. J.
- _____. 2000. Aesop, between Man and Beast. In Cohen 2000, 132–49.
- Lonsdale, S. H. 1993. *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*. Baltimore.
- Loraux, N. 1986. *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*. Trans. A. Sheridan. Originally published as *L'invention d'Athènes: Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la "cité classique"* (Paris, 1981). Cambridge, Mass.
- _____. 1987. *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman*. Trans. A. Forster. Originally published as *Façons tragiques de tuer une femme* (Paris, 1985). Cambridge, Mass.
- Lorimer, H. 1903. The Country Cart of Ancient Greece. *JHS* 23:132–51.
- Lytle, E. 2003. Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the *Spurcum Additamentum* (10.21). *CP* 98: 349–65.
- Marrou, H.-I. 1956. *History of Education in Antiquity*. Trans. G. Lamb. Originally published as *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1951). London.
- Miller, M. C. 1997. *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.* Cambridge.
- Miller, S. G. 2004. *Ancient Greek Athletics*. New Haven, Conn.
- Mitchell-Boyask, R. 2006. *Odysseus, Maker of Horses: Hippological Considerations for Homeric Chronologies*. Typescript.
- Moritz, L. A. 1958. *Grain-mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity*. Oxford.
- Mourelatos, A. P. D. 1970. *The Route of Parmenides*. New Haven, Conn.
- Murray, O. 1995. *Early Greece*². London.

- Naerebout, F. G. 1997. *Attractive Performances: Ancient Greek Dance; Three Preliminary Studies*. Amsterdam.
- Nagy, G. 1990. *Greek Mythology and Poetics*. Ithaca, N.Y.
- Neer, R. T. 2002. *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting*. Cambridge.
- Neils, J. 2001. *The Parthenon Frieze*. Cambridge.
- Nicholson, N. 2003. Aristocratic Victory Memorials and the Absent Charioteer. In *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, ed. L. V. Kurke and C. Dougherty, 101–28. Cambridge.
- Oder, E., and C. Hoppe, eds. 1924–27. *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- Olck, F. 1907. Esel. *RE* 6.1:626–76.
- Onians, R. B. 1951. *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate*. Cambridge.
- Otto, A. 1890. *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Leipzig.
- Padgett, J. M. 2000. The Stable Hands of Dionysus: Satyrs and Donkeys as Symbols of Social Marginalization in Attic Vase Painting. In Cohen 2000, 43–70.
- . 2003. Horse Men: Centaurs and Satyrs in Early Greek Art. In *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art*, ed. J. M. Padgett, 3–46. Princeton University Art Museum Exhibition Catalogue. New Haven, Conn.
- Perry, B. E. 1952. *Aesopica*. Urbana, Ill.
- , ed. and trans. 1965. *Babrius and Phaedrus*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.
- Pomeroy, S. B. 1995. *Xenophon, "Oeconomicus": A Social and Historical Commentary*. Oxford.
- Powell, J. E. [1938] 1977. *A Lexicon to Herodotus*. Reprint. Hildesheim.
- Puhvel, J. 1987. *Comparative Mythology*. Baltimore.
- Richter, W. 1968. *Die Landwirtschaft im Homerischen Zeitalter*. *Archaeologia Homerica*, 11. Göttingen.
- Riley, R. 1867. *The Mule: A Treatise on the Breeding, Training, and Uses*. New York.
- Romer, F. E. 2000. ὄχῆα, Mules, and Animal Husbandry in a Prometheus Play. *TAPA* 130:67–87.
- Sandbach, F. H., ed. and trans. 1969. *Plutarch: "Moralia."* Vol. 15, *Fragments*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.
- Schein, S. L. 2002. The Horses of Achilles in Book 17 of the *Iliad*. In *Epea Pteroenta: Beiträge zur Homerforschung; Festschrift W. Kullmann*, ed. M. Reichel and A. Rengakos, 193–205. Stuttgart.
- Schnapp, A. 1997. *Le chasseur et la cité*. Paris.
- Seaford, R. 1998. *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*. Oxford.
- Seidensticker, B. 1977. Archilochus and Odysseus. *GRBS* 19:5–22.
- Sewell, A. 1877. *Black Beauty*. London.
- Spence, I. G. 1993. *The Cavalry of Classical Greece*. Oxford.
- Stehle, E. 1997. *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece*. Princeton, N.J.
- Stevenson, R. L. 1879. *Travels with a Donkey*. London.
- Stevenson, T. 2003. The Parthenon Frieze as an Idealized, Contemporary Panathenaic Festival. In *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. D. Phillips and D. Pritchard, 233–80. Swansea.
- Stewart, A. F. 1997. *Art, Desire, and the Body*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Vignerot, P. 1968, 1973. *Le cheval dans l'Antiquité*. 2 vols. Nancy.
- Vogel, M. 1973. Onos lyras: *Der Esel mit der Leier*. Dusseldorf.
- Waller, A. M. 1958. *Horses and Mules and National Defense*. United States Army.
- Wilson, P. 2001. *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia*. Cambridge.
- Winkler, J. J. 1990. The Ephebes' Song: *Tragôidia* and *Polis*. In *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?*, ed. J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, 20–62. Princeton, N.J.
- Wohl, V. J. 1998. *Intimate Commerce: Exchange, Gender, and Subjectivity in Greek Tragedy*. Austin, Tex.