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STUDIES ON ANCIENT SPORT HISTORY

To the memory of Joachim Ebert

I

PHILIP II THE SPORTSMAN

Summary: There are historical facts that Philip II was a triplex Olympic victor and he started to build the Philippeum in Olympia. It is noteworthy that the friendly connections between Macedonia and Olympia were established by Alexander I, who could hellenize his own country, and these contacts became more intensive during the rule of Philip II, who planned to hellenize the eastern territories. Philip was an outstanding athlete according to several historical sources. The soldier king had good physical abilities and he took care of the physical education of his son, Alexander with particular attention.

Key words: Macedonia and Olympia, Philip the sportsman, sport and politics.

At the Sixth International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia I gave a lecture on the subject of how the organizers of the Ancient Olympic Games wanted to integrate the inhabitants of the marginal Greek territories, as the Macedonians, into the participants of the Games introducing new equestrian competitions: the *kalpe* and *apênê*.¹ Immediately before the Greek–Persian Wars this step of sport politics resulted from the integrating role of Olympia and at the same time was in accord with the ambition of the Macedonian Royal House to have itself recognized as Greek. Namely the introduction of the *kalpe* and *apene* in the Olympic schedule coincided with the appearance of Alexander I at the Games and his successful participation in the competition of stadion runners.² Pindar celebrated Alexander I in the series of the most outstanding sportsmen³ and for this reason Alexander the Great treated the descendants of the great poet with consideration at the destruction of Thebes.⁴

¹ I. KERTÉSZ: New Aspects in the Connections between Macedonia and the Ancient Olympic Games, in: *Ancient Macedonia. Sixth International Symposium I*, Thessaloniki 1999, 579–584.

² Herodotus V. 22.

³ Pindar frg. 92, 93. in: Pindar. *Siegesgesänge und Fragmente*. Griechisch und deutsch hrsg. und übersetzt von O. WERNER, München 1967, 437.

⁴ Plutarch, Alex. 11.

Alexander I, who was an excellent sportsman⁵, hellenized Macedonia and in the course of hellenization realized a program which later served as a model for the hellenization of the Near and Middle East.⁶ This latter work was completed by Alexander the Great and his diadochs but was prepared by Philip II, the father of the world-conqueror.⁷ It seems to me to be an interesting parallel that Philip II, the other great Macedonian king of the period that came after Alexander I, was interested in sports and Olympic traditions, too. He was a sportsman and educated his son, the later Alexander the Great, in the same spirit.

Philip II the athlete appears before us in the story of Polyaeus. The king of Macedonia and Menegetes the pancratiast were wrestling in the palaestra. Philip's soldiers were standing around in a circle, shouting demands for their pay. The king unexpectedly ran through the middle of the soldiers and threw himself into a swimming pool. After that he dived in competition with the pancratiast and did not stop sprinkling his face. His soldiers laughed but later grew tired and departed.⁸ Consequently Philip liked the combat sport, was able to swim well, and we are aware of his running ability from Plutarch. According to the Boeotian historiographer, once he was asked by his friends if had a great mind to take part in the Olympic running competitions.⁹

The father of Alexander the Great had psychical endowments too, which were equivalent to his physical abilities. The best evidence of these were his serious wounds in the battle-field where he did not avoid any danger.¹⁰ His physical and psychical qualities, together with the competence of warfare, made him one of the best generals of antiquity.¹¹ It is quite obvious that a ruler of this kind started the reorganization of his army with the systematic development of the physical condition of the soldiers. As we are aware from Frontinus, that Philip forbade wagons to be used by the army and limited servants to one for every ten foot soldiers and one for every cavalryman to carry hand mills (for grinding grain) and other gear. For a long campaign the soldiers had to carry food enough for 30 days in addition to the usual equipment.¹²

⁵ E. N. BORZA rejects the tradition of Alexander's participation in the Olympic Games and states: "It seems that no Macedonian king before Philip II participated in panhellenic games". See his study in *Ancient Macedonia. Fifth International Symposium I.*, Thessaloniki 1993, "The Philhellenism of Archelaus", 237–244. But I cannot agree with him.

⁶ N. G. L. HAMMOND–G. T. GRIFFITH: *A History of Macedonia II. 550–336 B. C.*, Oxford 1979, 98–115; Ap. DASCALAKIS: *The Hellenism of the Ancient Macedonians*, Thessaloniki 1965, 147–223; I. KERTÉSZ: *Hellénisztikus történelem (A Hellenistic History)*, Budapest 2000, 33 ff.

⁷ N. G. L. HAMMOND–G. T. GRIFFITH (n. 6) 203–726; *Philip of Macedon*, ed. M. B. HATZOPOULOS–L. D. LOUKOPOULOS, Athens 1980; I. KERTÉSZ (n. 6) 50–65, 204–208 with the special literature.

⁸ Polyaeus 4. 2. 6.

⁹ Plutarch, Alex. 4.

¹⁰ On Philip's wounds see N. G. L. HAMMOND–G. T. GRIFFITH (n. 6) 472 ff.

¹¹ See G. T. GRIFFITH: Philip as a General and the Macedonian Army, in: *Philip of Macedon* (n. 7) 58–77; F. E. ADCOCK: *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1957, passim.; A. FERRIL: *The Origins of War from the Stone Age to Alexander the Great*, London 1988, 175 ff.

¹² Frontinus 4. 1. 6. Confer D. W. ENGELS: *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1978, 12.

As the above mentioned story of Polyaeus shows, the king passed part of his spare time with sports. A similar situation could develop among the soldiers, too. As we are aware from the sources of the better documented Eastern campaign of Alexander the Great, the generals of the conqueror found enough time for physical recreation. Athenaeus reports that Perdikkas and Craterus who were “lovers of gymnastic activities, always had in their train piles of goatskins that would fill a stadium, under cover of which, after appropriating a place in the encampments, they would carry on their exercise; they were also followed by a long train of animals carrying sand to be used in the wrestling school”.¹³ For Leonnatus, camels transported sand from Egypt to his gymnastic exercises.¹⁴ Strabo writes that as soon as Alexander’s army entered India, the native craftsmen turned in great numbers to the production of strigils and oil containers because both of them were necessary for athletic activity.¹⁵ I think it likely that the fighters of Alexander the Great followed only the example of the army of Philip with respect to sport activity in a more luxurious way as they followed in Philip’s footsteps in other aspects of the soldier’s life.

In the very successful activity of Philip II, sport became not only a part of his private life but a component of his politics. He recognized the political benefit of the Olympic triumphs and realized that his hegemony over Olympia would support his efforts to unite the Greeks under his rule.¹⁶ His equestrian victories in Olympia in 356, 352 and 348 B. C. emphasized his desire to be worthy of the old Macedonian equestrian traditions¹⁷ and of his own personal name.

The volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* list 549 Greek citizens named Philippos in the pre-Roman period.¹⁸ Among the names which include the word ‘philos’, Philippos is in second place behind Philon concerning its popularity. Heikki Solin explains the general use of the name Philippos in Athens in archaic and classical times by the importance of breeding of horses and takes for the reason of its later unpopularity there, the antipathy of the people against Philip II.¹⁹ A prosopography of the social stratum of the Athenian *hippeis* was completed by I. G. Spence. Although on the list published by him we don’t find any Athenian *hippeus* named Philippos,²⁰ it is obvious that in Athens in the 6th–5th centuries and in the Dorian-Western Greek territories in the 4th century B. C. the popularity of this name related to the

¹³ Athenaeus 12. 539C.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Alex.* 40.

¹⁵ Strabo XV. 1. 67.

¹⁶ N. G. L. HAMMOND–G. T. GRIFFITH (n. 6) 694 f.; D. G. ROMANO, Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great, and the Ancient Olympic Games, in: *The World of Philip and Alexander. A Symposium on Greek Life and Times* ed. E. C. DANIEL (University Museum Public Forum Series I), Pennsylvania 1990, 63–79.

¹⁷ On his victories in Olympia see L. MORETTI: *Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*, Rome 1957, no. 434, 439, 445.

¹⁸ *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I–IIIa, Oxford 1997.

¹⁹ H. SOLIN: Zur Geschichte der Namensippe *philos* in der antiken Anthroponymie, in: *Aspects of Friendship in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of a conference held at the Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Heidelberg, on 10–11 June, 2000*, ed. M. PEACHIN (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series Number 43), Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2001, 51–62.

²⁰ I. G. SPENCE: *The Cavalry of Classical Greece. A Social and Military History*, Oxford 1995, 287 ff.

local importance of the breeding of horses and cavalry warfare. If we investigate the Olympic victories of Philip II from this point of view, we can observe complete harmony of his activity with his own personal name.

Also Alexander the Great greatly appreciated the Olympic equestrian victories of his father and was peculiarly attentive to the athletes who had gained the crown at the same time as Philip. Chaeron from Pellene gained three of his four Olympic victories in wrestling at the same time as Philip. Alexander the Great made him the tyrant of Pellene.²¹ Dionysodoros, from Thebes, gained Olympic victory in 352.²² As an envoy of his country he was captured by the Macedonians after the battle of Issus. But Alexander the Great set him free "because of his athletic victory at Olympia".²³

Perhaps considering his triplex Olympic champion father, Aelius Aristides, the Greek orator from the second century A. D., called Alexander the Great "an outstanding athlete (*agonistes*) of the struggle for kingdom".²⁴ It is no accident that on the other hand Plutarch called the Athenian Cimon "a well fighting athlete (*hosper athletes deinos*)" considering his duplex victory over the Persians.²⁵ Namely Cimon's grandfather was also a triplex Olympic equestrian champion.²⁶ After the battle of Chaeronea, the equestrian champion Philip II found a friendly partner in Athens, Demades who became supporter of the good connections between Athens and Macedonia. Demades was a rich breeder of race-horses and very likely in 328 won an equestrian competition at Olympia.²⁷ The friendship of the politicians possibly was due to the mutual interest in equestrian sport, too.

Philip II, who was related to horses through his name and activity, was a descendant of Heracles, who mastered the very wild horses of Diomedes. Philip's son was the only man who was able to force to obedience Bucephalas, the stallion which was elevated to cosmic importance by the later romantic traditions.²⁸ The story of Bucephalas, which shined glory on the youth of Alexander the Great, could become an integral part of the biography of the world-conqueror only in the shadow of such a father.

The first Olympic victory of Philip was gained virtually at the time of Alexander's birth.²⁹ This is the reason for which the king, who was thrown into a fever of happiness, is alleged to give his wife the name Olympias instead of the original personal name of the woman, Polyxena.³⁰ So the Olympic victory which was a public af-

²¹ D. MATZ: *Greek and Roman Sport. A Dictionary of Athletes and Events from the Eighth Century B. C. to the Third Century A. D.*, Jefferson, North Carolina, London 1991, 50. Confer Athenaeus 11. 509B.; Pausanias 7. 27. 7.

²² L. MORETTI (n. 17) no. 441.

²³ Arrian 2. 15. Confer D. MATZ (n. 21) 50.

²⁴ Aelius Aristides XXVI (*eis Rhomen*), 25.

²⁵ Plutarch, Cimon 13.

²⁶ See D. G. KYLE: *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, Leiden 1987, 111–112, 117, 158–159, 171, 204.

²⁷ At the same place 121, 166, 198–199.

²⁸ E. BEYNHAM: Who put the 'Romance' in the Alexander Romance?: The Alexander Romances within Alexander Historiography. *Ancient History Bulletin* 9. 1 (1995) 1–13.

²⁹ Plutarch, Alex. 3.

³⁰ W. GREENWALT: *Argead Name Changes*, in: *Ancient Macedonia. Sixth International Symposium I*, Thessaloniki 1999, 453–462.

fair, became absorbed in the family life and the image of the Macedonian Royal House, which demonstrated the sometimes contradictory realization of the ideas of *kalokagathia*.³¹

But the Olympic triumphs alone could not give Philip a hegemonic power over Olympia. The triumphs were necessary on the battle-fields, too, and the Macedonian king accomplished them. Analysing only the years of his Olympic victories, we list his following military successes: 356 he took the cities of Crenides and Potedaea and defeated the Illyrians; 352 he defeated the Phocian Onomarchus in the Crocus Plain and took Pherae and after that gained the hegemony over Thessaly; in 348 he took the city of Olynthus and gained the rule over the Chalcidice.³² These and other military triumphs were crowned by his victory at Chaeronea.³³ After this battle, he became the undisputable master of all of Hellas. The king, who was very successful both in Olympia and on the battle-fields, at this time decided to demonstrate his claim to the hegemony over Olympia in architectural form. With the aim of reaching this, Philip began to have the Philippeum built.

On the Philippeum H.-V. Herrmann writes very convincingly: "Als recht genau datiertes Bauwerk aus der Wende von der Spätklassik zum Hellenismus und einziger griechischer Rundbau ionischer Ordnung gehört das Philippeion zu den bemerkenswertesten Architekturdenkmalern Olympias. Von der Geschichte des Heiligtums her gesehen markiert dieser Bau, genau wie die Schlacht, die den Anlass zu seiner Errichtung gab, eine Zeitwende. Gleichviel, wie man ihn auffassen mag – als Siegesmonument, Heroon, Denkmal des Herrscherkultes oder als eine Art Schatzhaus –, entscheidend ist die hierhin sich manifestierende Durchsetzung eines Anspruch auf politische Representation auf dem heiligen Boden der Altis, wie sie in dieser Form bisher unbekannt war."³⁴

The *tholos* called Philippeum was encircled by 18 Ionian columns and decorated by the statues of the members of the Macedonian royal family, which traced itself from the Theban Heracles. The Philippeum was situated close to the Pelopeum and completed by Alexander the Great. Miller calls our attention to the choice of the place of the Philippeum.³⁵ This place was chosen intentionally because according to the myths Heracles was not only the ancestor of Philip but also the great-grandson of Pelops.³⁶ Pelops was the hero who gained the rule over the province of Elis by his victory in chariot racing and after that established the Olympic Games. Perhaps Philip wanted to express with the Philippeum that he was a new founder of Olympia and, parallel with his sport successes, had been able to establish a new world in Greece.

³¹ I. KERTÉSZ: *Kalokagathia, Arisztotelész és Nagy Sándor (Kalokagathia, Aristotle and Alexander the Great)*, in: *Kalokagathia (Review of the Hungarian University of Physical Education)*, XXXII (1994) 3, 7–19.

³² See N. G. L. HAMMOND–G. T. GRIFFITH (n. 6) 722 f.

³³ N. G. L. HAMMOND: *Studies in Greek History. A Companion Volume to A History of Greece to 322 B. C.*, Oxford 1973, the chapter "The Victory of Macedon at Chaeronea", 534–557.

³⁴ H.-V. HERRMANN: *Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, München 1972, 171–172.

³⁵ S. G. MILLER: The Philippeion and Macedonian Hellenistic Architecture, *Ath. Mitt.* 1973, 192.

³⁶ Pausanias 5. 13. 2.

The political power of Philip, which seemed to become embodied in the Philippeum, could accomplish the hopes of Isocrates.³⁷ During his long rule, Philip II proved to be *demoticus, politicus, strategicus and tyrannicus*. That is, he was the friend of the people, outstanding politician and general and “princely in his superiority in all these qualities”.³⁸ The Philippeum represented Philip’s new aspect, the *athleticus* king and was an evidence of Philip’s development into a very many-sided personality who had been able to establish the unique career of his son, Alexander the Great.

II

RULERS AND HORSES IN HELLENISTIC PERGAMON

Summary: In the territory of the Pergamene Monarchy there was very significant animal husbandry. Above all the breeding of horses was developed very well. The studs of the rulers had an excellent collection of steeds. This made it possible for the first Pergamene ruler, Philetaerus, to present horses to the citizens of Cyzicus. The breeding of horses for sport was performed at a high level, which is proven by the quadriga victory of Attalus, a member of the ruling dynasty, in Olympia. Attalus was a crown-prince at the time of his Olympic victory, and this fact was exploited politically in Pergamon.

During the rule of Eumenes I, Pergamon had a powerful cavalry force. Equestrian sport, breeding of horses and cavalry warfare developed together in the Pergamene state, which became the most powerful political power of Asia Minor. This development was proved by further military and sport successes. In the time of the zenith of Pergamene history, the famous Zeus Altar, whose horse representations show specially the outstanding role of horses in the life and identity of Pergamon, was built. So we can understand W. W. Tarn who wrote of Eumenes II, the Pergamene king, who fought together with the Romans at Magnesia in 190 B.C.: “...The one battle in Asia in which a cavalry leader showed Alexander’s spirit was the action of Eumenes II at Magnesia.”

Key words: Horse breeding, equestrian sport, cavalry warfare, the horse representations of the Great Altar.

Between 283 and 133 B. C., the Hellenistic Pergamene Kingdom of the Attalids presented humankind with such unique treasures as the buildings of the Pergamene Acropolis, the world famous library with the first globe and the Great Altar of Zeus¹. Today the latter one can be visited in the Pergamon Museum of Ber-

³⁷ S. PERLMAN: Isocrates, *patris* and Philip II, in: *Ancient Macedonia. Third International Symposium*, Thessaloniki 1983, 211–227.

³⁸ Isocrates IX (Euagoras), 46.

¹ On Pergamene history and the excavations see mainly: *Die Altertümer von Pergamon*. Hrsg. vom Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut, Bde. I–XV, Berlin 1885–1986; *Pergamenische Forschungen*. Hrsg. vom Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut, Bde. I–VI, Berlin 1968–1988/1989; W. RADT: *Pergamon. Geschichte und Bauten, Funde und Erforschung einer antiken Metropole*, Köln 1988; E. ROHDE: *Pergamon. Burgberg und Altar*, Berlin 1982; M. ROSTOVITZ: *The Social and Economic history of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941, 551 ff., 634 ff., 1053 ff., 1134 ff.; R. B. MCSHANE: *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamum* (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 53), Urbana 1964; D. MAGIE: *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton–New Jersey 1950.; E. V. HANSEN: *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca–London 1971²; R. E. ALLEN: *The Attalid Kingdom. A Constitutional History*, Oxford 1983; J. HOPP: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden (Vestigia 25)*, München 1977; KERTÉSZ István: *Hellénisztikus történelem* (Hellenistic History) (História Könyvtár Monográfiák 13), Budapest 2000, the chapter “Studies on History of Pergamon”.

lin.² Nevertheless, Pergamon, the capital and the state with the same name, also produced lasting values as a center of Hellenistic sport and physical education, as I explained in my lecture given at the ISHPES Congress in Budapest.³ This time I shall investigate a special feature of the Pergamene civilization: this is the connection of the horse to society. Namely, if we analyze breeding of horses, cavalry warfare and equestrian sports of Pergamon, and the horse representations of fine arts there, it can be observed that all of these are of outstanding level. So it is rightly declared that the horse was a special expression of the local Pergamene identity.

Owing to the character of our historical sources, we are mainly able to analyze the activity of the royal family in the breeding of horses, equestrian sports and cavalry warfare. This activity was so successful that the horse was converted into the symbol of Pergamon.

In the territory and close neighbourhood of the Pergamene state, which was united in a political unit in the north-western part of Asia Minor, the breeding of horses is proven through early literary sources.⁴ In this respect⁵ is stressed the region of Mt. Ida by the geographer Strabo who cites Homer's writing about the son of the Trojan king, Priam, Demokoon. Here this hero pastured the horses of his father before the Trojan War.⁶ We are aware of the fact from Plutarch that the royal stud of Alexander the Great grazed also on the slopes of Mt. Ida and Eumenes of Cardia, the secretary of the king, later the governor of the province of Cappadocia, chose horses for his army here.⁷ In the close neighbourhood of the city of Pergamon existed Mysian villages that were very rich in horses. At the beginning of the 4th century B. C. Xenophon and his soldiers marched there and acquired a number of horses.⁸ Also Phrygia and neighbouring Cappadocia had plenty of horses. The latter gave the Persian King 1500 mounts and 2000 mules every year.⁹ Next to the southern boundaries of the territories under Pergamene influence was situated the city of Apamea at the river Orontes. According to Strabo, the Seleucids bred their royal studs there, that is more than 30 000 mares and 300 stallions.¹⁰

The horse breeding system of the territory of Asia Minor was influenced strongly by the species of the so-called Nesean horses, which originated from Media and were acclimatized there after the Persian conquest. Strabo writes: "In the time of the Persians 50 000 mares belonging to the Kings pastured there. As for the Nesean

² See E. ROHDE (n. 1), E. SCHMIDT: *Der Grosse Altar zu Pergamon*, Leipzig 1961.; "Wir haben eine ganze Kunstepoche gefunden!". *Ein Jahrhundert Forschungen zum Pergamonaltar*, Sonderausstellung.: der Antikensammlung Pergamonmuseum November 1986 bis April 1987.

³ Pergamon the Center of Hellenistic Sport and Physical Education, in: *Sport and Politics. Proceedings of the 6th Congress of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport*, Budapest 14–19 July, 1999, 25–28.

⁴ M. ROSTOVITZ: Notes on the Economic Policy of the Pergamene Kings, in: *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Ramsay*, Manchester 1923, 359 ff.

⁵ Strabo C 585.

⁶ Homer, *Iliad* IV. 499–500.

⁷ Plutarch, *Eumenes* 8.

⁸ Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII. 8. 9. D. MAGIE (n. 1) 492.

⁹ D. MAGIE (n. 1) 492.

¹⁰ Strabo C 752.

horses which kings used because they were the best and largest, some say they came from there (Media), others that they came from Armenia. They are characteristically different in form (i. e., in conformation) as also are the Parthian horses, as they are now called as compared with the Helladic and other horses in our country (Greece).¹¹

It is also mentioned by the great geographer that the system of Thessalian and Persian art of riding is very similar. This statement may be in harmony with the influence of the Persian horses stationed in Thessaly during the Persian–Greek War on the local breeding of horses. Herodotus gives information about the competition of Persian and Thessalian horses organized by Xerxes in 480 B. C. before the battle of Thermopylae. In this contest, the Persian animals won over the Thessalian ones, although the latter were taken to be the best in Greece.¹² One year later, the Greeks gained victory over the Persian army of Mardonius and very likely used the acquired Persian mounts in their own breeding of horses.¹³ The horses acquired by Xenophon in the region of Pergamon also could have belonged to the Nesean species because the territory plundered by the Greek mercenaries was under ownership of a Persian aristocrat, Asidates.¹⁴

On the basis of the above mentioned facts and the study of the economic life of the Pergamene Kingdom, M. Rostovtzeff supposes that the royal stud-farm of the Attalids was established in the region of Mt. Ida.¹⁵ D. Magie does not consider this localization to be convincing enough, but he also recognizes the great importance of horse breeding in the economic life of Pergamon.¹⁶ The fact that the ruler of Pergamon had plenty of horses is proven by an inscription. In it are listed the different presents given by Philetaerus, the founder of the independent Pergamene state, to the city of Cyzicus between 280 and 275 B. C. Among the presents are 50 mounts offered by the lord of Pergamon to the army of Cyzicus.¹⁷

The high level of the Pergamene breeding of horses and the royal stud made it possible that a nephew of Philetaerus, Attalus could gain victory in the Olympic quadriga race which was likely in 276 B. C. The rhythmical inscription preserving the memory of this sport success was thoroughly analysed by J. Ebert.¹⁸ The outstanding sport historian dates the Pergamene sport success from the 5th centenary of the first official Olympic Games because the peculiarly large number of spectators is mentioned in the inscription. The fact that the victory of a member of the Attalid family was very likely gained in the jubilee Olympics possibly raised the political importance of the triumph. The Attalid dynasty which had gained control over Pergamon not a long time earlier needed this political benefit.¹⁹ Among the rivals of the

¹¹ At the same place C 525, transl. by Ann HYLAND.

¹² Herodotus VII. 196., Strabo C 531.

¹³ Ann HYLAND: *Equus: The Horse in the Roman World*, London 1990, 16–17.

¹⁴ See n. 8.

¹⁵ M. ROSTOVITZEFF (n. 4) 366.

¹⁶ D. MAGIE (n. 1) 802–803.

¹⁷ OGIS 748. Confer M. ROSTOVITZEFF (n. 1) 563 ff., E. V. HANSEN (n. 1) 18.

¹⁸ J. EBERT: *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*, Berlin 1972, no. 59., 176 ff.; J. EBERT: Zur „Olympischen Chronik“ IG II/1112 2326: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 28, 1982, 5–14.

¹⁹ I. KERTÉSZ: Some Notes on Inscription IvP. no. 10–12. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 38, 1998, 191–194.

Pergamene chariot the inscription mentions those of North-Africa, Argos and Thessaly. But the horses of Asia Minor proved to be swifter this time, too, just as the mounts of Xerxes could win over their Thessalian competitors in 480 B. C.²⁰ Arcesilaus, a philosopher from Pitane, a founder of the Middle Academy, who enjoyed the hospitality of the Attalids, expressed his admiration for the Pergamene mounts with an epigram:

Pergamum is not famed for arms alone,
But often hears its praise resound
For its fine horses, at the holy Pisa.²¹

The grandson of the Olympic victor Attalus, Philetaerus, won the quadriga contest of the Panathenaea in 178 B. C.²² One century after the above mentioned Olympic triumph, this sport success proves convincingly that Pergamene horse breeding and equestrian sport activity preserved its outstanding level. Supposedly the whole Olympic equestrian program was organized in Pergamon after 182 B. C. This year Eumenes II, king of Pergamon, declared the local Nicephorian Games organized in honour of the goddess Athena Nicephorus (Bestower of triumph) to be equal with the Olympic Games.²³

The high quality of the breeding of horses and equestrian sport doubtless influenced the development of the Pergamene army. As we learn from an inscription from the time of Eumenes I (ruled 263–241 B. C.), the mercenaries stationed in the strongholds of Philetaerea near Mt. Ida and Attalea in Lydia revolted against the Pergamene ruler.²⁴ Peace was restored by a contract concluded between Eumenes and the leaders of the mercenary groups. This pact gave the mercenaries important social concessions.²⁵ The inscription mentions that a part of the mercenaries served as cavalrymen.²⁶ We can be right in supposing that these soldiers used the horses pastured in the slopes of Mt. Ida.

After having conquered the province of the Gauls in Asia Minor, Galatia, the Attalids strengthened their army by Gallic cavalymen. In 171 B. C. at the battle of Callinicus, Eumenes II commanded 200 Gallic cavalymen and in 168 B. C. his brother, the later Attalus II, used Gallic chargers and 1000 cavalymen in the Third Macedonian War.²⁷ The Mysian military settlers called Mysoi and Masdyenoi also could take part in the cavalry warfare. They were granted Pergamene civic rights by the testament of Attalus III.²⁸

²⁰See n. 12.

²¹Diog. Laert. IV. 30. Transl. by E. V. HANSEN.

²²See I. KERTÉSZ (n. 19) with special literature.

²³E. V. HANSEN (n. 1) passim, R. E. ALLEN (n. 1) 123–134.

²⁴OGIS 266 = IvP 13. Confer H. H. SCHMITT: *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, III.: *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.*, München 1969, Nr. 481.

²⁵I. KERTÉSZ: *Söldner im hellenistischen Pergamon*, in: *Soziale Randgruppen und Aussenseiter im Altertum*, Hrsg. I. Weiler unter der Mitwirkung von H. Grassl, Graz 1988, 129–135.

²⁶See the 59th line of the inscription mentioned in n. 24.

²⁷E. V. HANSEN (n. 1) 227 ff. with sources and special literature.

²⁸On them see I. KERTÉSZ (n. 25) 133.

The zenith of Pergamene cavalry warfare was realized in the battle of Magnesia in 190 B. C.²⁹ In this final, deciding clash between Rome and the Seleucid king, Antiochus III, the Pergamene king, Eumenes II (ruled 197–159 B. C.) led the right wing of the anti-Seleucid army. Here he commanded a number of infantrymen and 700 Pergamene and 100 Achaean cavalymen. He fought so successfully together with his cavalry that he defeated the opposite wing of the enemy. Moreover, one part of his cavalry was able to liberate the Roman left wing seriously endangered by the Seleucid army. W. W. Tarn wrote of the Pergamene king by rights: "...The one battle in Asia in which a cavalry leader showed Alexander's spirit was the action of Eumenes II at Magnesia."³⁰

Horse breeding was a very successful section of Pergamene economy; equestrian sport activity gave the Attalids a lot of triumph in the territory of sport and politics; and cavalry warfare was an important activity of Pergamene military power which raised the state to be a great power in Asia Minor. These all were entirely in harmony with the idea of the Attalids that they and their people originated from Telephus, Heracles' son.³¹ Namely Heracles tamed the man-eating horses of the son of Ares, the Thracian king, Diomedes. As descendants of Heracles also, the Attalids could be proud of their equestrian activity, and the horse became a characteristic element of their power and symbol of their state. In this respect they were similar to Alexander the Great, another descendant of Heracles. In the story exaggerated by Ps.-Callisthenes (1, 13–15), the boy or young Alexander forced a marvellous mount to be obedient as he rode in Bucephalas. This horse was more beautiful than the winged Pegasus, and the Delphic oracle told Philip, the father of Alexander, that the destined ruler of the world would be the one who could ride Bucephalas. This Bucephalas was a horse with the mark of the ox's head on his haunch and antropophagus, that is man-eater. The man who was able to tame his wildness, would become a powerful lord of the world. The Bucephalas episode predicted the prospective activity of Alexander.³² Nevertheless the Attalids were also like their mythical ancestor, since they showed the "spirit of Alexander" riding not only in the battlefield but in other fields of life as well.

At the beginning of the 2nd century B. C., Eumenes II received the recompense of his feat in the battle of Magnesia. As an ally of Rome, he was able to develop his state into the strongest one in Asia Minor.³³ At the top of his triumph, he built the famous Great Altar of Zeus on which was carved the declaration of Attalid power.³⁴ The greater part of the monument is decorated by scenes of the war of Gods against

²⁹ On the antecedents and events of this war see Livy XXXV, 43, 2–37, 45, 21.; Polybius XX, 1–21, 17, 12. Confer B. BAR-KOCHVA: *The Seleucid Army. Organization and Tactics in the Great Campaigns*. Cambridge 1976, 163 ff.

³⁰ W. W. TARN: *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, Cambridge 1930, 62.

³¹ See my earlier works with special literature: Sabazios-Kult in Pergamon, in: *Annales Univ. Sc. Bud. de Rol. Eötv. Nom. Sectio Hist.* XXII (1982), 251–259; *Hellénisztikus történelem* (n. 1) 188 ff.

³² E. BEYNHAM: Who put the 'Romance' in the Alexander Romance?: The Alexander Romances within Alexander Historiography. *Ancient History Bulletin* 9. 1 (1995) 1–13.

³³ R. B. MCSHANE (n. 1) 148 ff.; E. V. HANSEN (n. 1) 92 ff.; KERTÉSZ I. (n. 1) 154.

³⁴ I. KERTÉSZ: Der Telephos-Mythos und der Telephos-Fries, *Oikumene* 3 (1982), 203–215.; KERTÉSZ I. (n. 1) 179 ff.

the Giants. The smaller relief represents the story of Telephus, the mythical founder of the dynasty. The reliefs had a double political goal: the first one was to compare the Olympian gods protecting civilization against the Giants with the Attalids protecting Hellenistic culture against the barbaric Gauls; the second one was to represent divine providence directing Telephus to found Pergamon under the auspices of Heracles. The exact features of figures of the Great Altar help to understand this allegory. A number of Giants take the shape of Gallic fighters and have Gallic weapons. In the gigantomachy more goddesses occur, which is in harmony with the outstanding political role of women in the family of the Attalids.³⁵ Is the outstanding importance of horses in the life of Pergamene society represented on the Great Altar of Zeus?

Several parts of the Great Altar represent mounts, chariots and mules. The animals take part in the crash as aggressively as their masters. The aggressiveness of the horses is equal to that of their live models. Supposedly the artists carved in stone the Nesean horses used widely in Asia Minor. Typical of these are the news of Herodotus on the charger of Artybius, a Persian general. This animal killed the enemies by hoofing out and biting.³⁶ Xenophon, an excellent specialist of horses, mentions that the Persians sometimes castrated their chargers that were too wild.³⁷ The horses represented in the gigantomachy of the Great Altar are not castrated.

The Attalids openly aspired to develop the city of Pergamon into the Athens of Asia Minor and to build up the Pergamene Acropolis like the Athenian one.³⁸ The group of artists led by Phryomachus was directed by this aspiration when they created the eastern side of the gigantomachy relief in such a way that the contest between Athena and Poseidon, represented in the western pediment of the Parthenon served as a model for them.³⁹ In this part of the Great Altar Zeus, Heracles, Athena and Nike are standing in the center and their fighting scene is framed by chariots, as the figures of Athena and Poseidon are surrounded by carts in the representation of the Parthenon. In the Great Altar the chariot of Ares, a son of Zeus, the god of war is running to the right of Nike. The fragments of the two horses are showing that the cart is drawn by strong-muscled and bellicose animals. They are attacking the Giants with rearing and kicking forefeet. These animals carved naturalistically suit the ancient theory of ideal horses.⁴⁰

According to this theory the conditions of the ideal stature are: a small head, black eyes, open nostrils, short ears, a flexible neck, a broad and muscular chest, straight shoulders (this is the major divergence between the ancient and modern ideal), a so-named double back (i. e., the raising of the muscle and fat on either side of the spine), a small belly, straight legs, full and muscular buttocks and thighs.

³⁵ Confer I. KERTÉSZ: Neueste Ergebnisse in der Forschung des hellenistischen Pergamons. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 38. 1998. 333–340.

³⁶ Herodotus V. 111.

³⁷ Xenophon, *Cyrus* VII. 5, 60.

³⁸ I. KERTÉSZ (n. 35) with literature.

³⁹ H.-J. SCHALLES: *Der Pergamonaltar. Zwischen Bewertung und Verwertbarkeit*, Frankfurt am Main 1986, 34.

⁴⁰ Ann HYLAND (n. 13) 5–10.; E. SCHMIDT (n. 1) 66–67.

A battle charger needed powerful haunches to give a strong support base to manoeuvres with the forehand raised, as we can observe on the horses of Ares. Opposite to the chariot of Ares, to the left of Zeus, the cart of Hera is rushing and so the symmetry is completed. The imaginative power of the artists gave wings to the rushing horses which are very likely the personification of the four winds, that is Notus, Boreas, Zephyrus and Eurus.

On the southern side of the relief the god of Sun, Helios, is driving his chariot, and in the way of a professional wagoner he is standing on the cart and attacking a Giant who is protecting himself with his raised left hand. We think we see the Olympic victor Attalus here. Behind the Giant determined to die, Eos, the goddess of Aurora is mounting and her feet are hung down on the left side of her horse. In a similar position is riding on her horse-mule Selene, the goddess of the Moon, and she is sitting with her back to the spectators. The figures of Eos and Selene show the technique of female riding entirely realistically.

Among the horse representations of the Great Altar, the two-horse chariot appearing in the northern side of the gigantomachy relief has a unique place. This is drawn by the sea-mounts of Poseidon. We can observe here a strange mixture of a horse and a fish. The stature of the animals is more graceful and less muscular than those of the other ones in the Great Altar. The bodies of the horses are covered by scales and fins are growing out of them. The waving manes are proving a vigorous attack here and in the other scenes.

Finally we can state of the representations of the Great Altar of Zeus that they express the outstanding importance of horses with respect to the identity of Pergamon very well and show us convincingly that the Attalids of Pergamon developed their state into a center of Hellenistic civilization with great success.

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