Horse and Herald: Posidippus' Equestrian *Angelia*

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Abstract / Résumé

Posidippus' epigrams for equestrian victors (the *Hippika*, AB 71–88) build on epinician convention by maintaining the central role of the herald's proclamation—the *angelia*—in the representation of athletic achievement. In a few of these epigrams, however, Posidippus embeds the horse itself in postvictory rituals. For example, the horse brings the crown to the victor, replacing the figure of the herald who announced and crowned victors; or, in a narrative of the race's aftermath, the horse, incredibly, chooses the victor. Posidippus' horses, therefore, act as causal agents for the glory of their owners, and his detailed descriptions transform the horse from flesh-and-blood equine to everlasting (literary) monument.

Les épigrammes de Posidippe sur les victoires équestres (les Hippiques, 71-88 A.-B.) s'appuient sur une convention poétique propre aux épinicies qui maintient le rôle de la proclamation du héraut – l'angelia – dans la représentation de la réussite athlétique. Cependant, dans quelques-unes de ces épigrammes, Posidippe intègre le cheval lui-même au rituel marquant la victoire. Par exemple, le cheval apporte la couronne au vainqueur en remplacement de la figure du héraut qui annonce et couronne les vainqueurs ; ou encore, dans le récit de l'après-course, le cheval choisit, de façon surprenante, le vainqueur. Les chevaux de Posidippe interviennent donc en tant qu'agents causaux dans la gloire de leur propriétaire. Ses descriptions détaillées transforment ainsi l'être de chair et de sang qu'est le cheval en un monument (littéraire) éternel.

INTRODUCTION

Posidippus' oeuvre[1] was extended by the 2001 publication of the Milan Papyrus, a roll containing dozens of new poems.[2] These short epigrams were divided, whether by the poet himself or a compiler in his lifetime, into categories with headings.[3] Here, I look at the *Hippika*, a series of epigrams written for Panhellenic victors, and I contextualize them in the mode of athletic praise poetry: that is, I consider Posidippus as a poet whose poems evoke the herald's proclamation (or *angelia*)—the victor's name, father's name, event, and age group—but also modify the proclamation for rhetorical and ideological effect.[4] Posidippus' epigrams therefore provide a compelling lens through which to analyze the representation of the glory of athletic victory in a genre on the border between literature and inscription.[5]

Posidippus' *Hippika* represent a reawakening of the literary memorialization of athletic achievement.[6] Epinician vanished after the deaths of Pindar and Bacchylides (with the exception—seemingly only one—of Euripides' "epinician" for Alcibiades: *PMG* 755). Despite the 150- to 200-year gap between Classical epinician and Posidippus, and despite the change of form (inscriptional or pseudo-inscriptional; elegiac instead of lyric metre), Posidippus' *Hippika* continue to base their encomia on a modification and modulation of the *angelia*.

The herald's proclamation was at the core of Classical epinician song: the proclamation enunciated by the herald after victory, an ephemeral speech act that changed the status of one competitor to victor, is one of the central

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[1] I cite Posidippus throughout from the Center for Hellenic Studies' online edition (Angiò, Cuypers, Acosta-Hughes, and Kosmetatou 2016). English translations are my own unless cited otherwise.

[2] For a papyrological description of the Milan Papyrus, see Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001; Krevans 2007. On the discovery of the papyrus and its initial reception, see Bing 2009: 177–193. The absence of author headings and the fact that two of the poems (AB 15 and 68) were previously known to be by Posidippus argue strongly for his authorship; see Krevans 2007: 142. Others (e.g., Lloyd-Jones 2003), however, think that Posidippus is not necessarily the sole author. The papyrus has been dated to the late third or early second century BC. Posidippus was active from the 280s to the 240s BC, so he could have had a hand in its creation (Bing 2009: 178–179).

[3] On the arrangement of the poems of the *Hippika*, see Fantuzzi 2004.

[4] The original proclamation of the herald can be reconstructed through literary and material evidence: see Wolicki 2002.

[5] In addition, his epigrams are primary sources for athletics in the Hellenistic period, an area of study that has flourished lately: see Mann, Remijsen, and Schaff 2016. On the importance of sports in Hellenistic Egypt specifically, see Fantuzzi 2005 and Remijsen 2010.

[6] Posidippus' epigrams engage with epigrammatic motifs from the corpus of agonistic epigrams, though that relation is beyond the bounds of this paper. I intend to pursue Posidippus' indebtedness to Archaic and Classical agonistic epigram in a subsequent article.

generic elements in epinician song.[7] The connection between the herald and the epinician singer does not exist solely in the modern critical imagination, since heralds and representations of heralds persist throughout the epinician chorus. At times the singer takes on the role of the herald (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 7.20, 9.25–29; *Pyth.* 9.1–4; *Nem.* 4.73–75, 6.57–61; cf. fr. 70b.23–25). The song itself may be an *angelia* (e.g., *Pyth.* 2.3–4; cf. *Pyth.* 2.67) or describes the initial proclamation or the reception of the *angelia* (e.g., *Ol.* 4.3–5, 13.100; *Pyth.* 1.30–33). Finally, the victor may also be the herald (*Ol.* 5.8; *Isth.* 3.11–13).[8] Indeed, Plutarch even reports that Themistocles was once asked whether he wanted to be Homer or Achilles, to which he responded, "Would you rather be the herald or the victor at the Olympic Games?" (*Mor.* 185a). While Posidippus engages with this generic element in epinician song, both the changed form of epigram and the changed social and political context of the Ptolemaic court have contributed to alter the representation of the *angelia* in the *Hippika*. Posidippus' epigrams are therefore generic hybrids, at once epigrammatic and epinician.[9]

Posidippus' use of the epigram form, of course, suggests the possibility that his poems were originally inscribed on monuments and only later collected. Even before the discovery and publication of the Milan Papyrus, Posidippus was known as a poet of epigram; an inscription at Thermon from 263/262 BC identifies "Posidippus, the poet of epigram, from Pella."[10] "Poet of epigram," in ancient Greek ἐπιγραμματοποίος, must mean, even in the third century BC, a poet of inscriptions (as Bing remarks, it is "virtually a *terminus technicus*").[11] Therefore, we can speculate with a great degree of certainty that Posidippus composed epigrams for the traditional medium of stone and the new medium of papyrus.[12] It may never be possible, barring archaeological discoveries, to ascertain whether Posidippus' epigrams were originally on monuments.[13] Regardless, their early collection in an anthology suggests that

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[7] On the centrality of *angelia* to epinician and epigrammatic memorialization of athletic victory, see Day 1994: 63–65; 2010: 198–227. See also Nobili 2016: 159–171.

[8] On the motif of the *angelia* in epinician song more generally, see Nash 1990 and Nünlist 1998.

[9] On *Ergänzungsspiel*, Bing's term for Hellenistic "play" with the quasi-inscriptional aspect of epigrams, see Bing 2009: 85–105; for more on literary epigram's "play" with inscribed antecedents, see Bruss 2010: 119–123.

[10] Bing 2009: 180.

[11] Bing 2009: 182; italics in original.

[12] For more on Posidippus' interest in inscriptions and scrolls, see Bing 2009: 177–193.

[13] Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 283–349. Bing observes that literary epigram continues to use the motifs of inscriptions, which makes distinguishing "genuine" and "literary" epigram difficult (Bing 2009: 204); see also Bettenworth 2007. I largely follow Bing's approach by assuming that Posidippus exploited the quasi-inscriptional status and engaged with his reader's expectations for epigrams and inscriptions in composing his poems (see Bing 2009: 214).

the poems were initially conceived, or could be understood, without reference to a physical form.[14]

Even if the *Hippika* can be understood without physical dedications, they are nonetheless intricately engaged with monuments: they are full of appeals to autopsy, and the poems construct audiences at the Panhellenic Games sanctuaries, sites that were littered with extraordinary and expensive statues and monuments. Posidippus' poems describe the ostensible monument that bears them in such a way as to permit the imagination of the viewer to (re-)construct the statue or dedication.[15] Some statues speak to us (e.g., AB 72, 73, 75, 78, etc.), while some narrate in the third person (e.g., AB 74). Posidippus plays with the expected conventions and makes epigrams—whether inscribed or not—that are still grounded in actual epigrammatic practice. The epigrams are therefore sophisticated poetic constructs, as much in dialogue with art and memorialization as Pindar's and Bacchylides' earlier epinician.[16]

THE *HIPPIKA* AND EPINICIAN

The focus on evoking a visual context and on bringing into the "mind's eye" a vision of a monument has taken the form in the *Hippika* of describing horses.[17] The *Hippika* are, unlike the corpus of Classical epinician song, only for equestrian victors in the variety of single-horse and chariot contests at the Panhellenic games (and, importantly, the Ptolemaia). While horses play a role in Pindar and Bacchylides, horses in the *Hippika*, as befits its name, are central. Posidippus' descriptions in these poems focus on the horse—in particular, its body and bodily characteristics—to the near exclusion of jockeys, charioteers, or even the patron who owned the horses and presumably commissioned the poem. The reader/viewer is invited to look at horses' indefatigable bodies (AB 72.1–2), stretched out and drawing breath (AB 72.1–2), easily bearing burdens (AB 73.2), with undefiled chests (AB 74.7–8), running on the tips of their hooves (AB 76.1), washed in the Alpheus River (AB 84.1–2), and crowned again and again.

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[14] On early epigrammatic collections and the limitations of the evidence, especially in the case of Simonides, see Sider 2007. Krevans detects an "ironic contrast between the fictional, inscriptional settings of these poems on tombstones and statues and their cramped new quarters in this book roll" (Krevans 2007: 143).

[15] On deictics in inscribed epigram in the Archaic and Classical periods, see Day 2010: 112–120. As Bing and Bruss observe, literary epigram borrows deixis, but "there is no 'there' there" (Bing and Bruss 2007: 8).

[16] On epinician song's interaction with statues and physical monuments (e.g., Pind. *Ol.* 6, *Nem.* 5), see Steiner 1998 and Thomas 2007.

[17] The play between the instant of victory and the memorialization of that instant is important throughout the *Hippika*. That is, Posidippus' epigrams are ecphrastic in the ancient sense (i.e., they have *energeia*: see Webb 2009: 87–106) and ecphrastic in the modern sense (i.e., they describe something). On the distinction between ancient and modern ecphrasis and the Hellenistic development of ecphrasis see Goldhill 1994, Männlein-Robert 2007, and Webb 2009.

While Pindar had, to some extent, relied on autopsy to inform his enco-mium (e.g., in *Ol.* 8.19–20, 10.100–105), Posidippus goes further by dispensing with any address to the reader that situates him or her in the act of viewing. In other words, the artifice of creating a spectacle of viewership is absent and the epigram reconfigures its readers as spectators at the games or in a sanctuary. In AB 76, for example, the epigram opens by describing a horse in motion, "stretched out" (ἐκτέτα[τ]αι), "rushing forward (π[ρ]οτ[ρ]έχων), "on the tips of its hooves" (ἀκρώνυχος). In the clause that follows to com-plete line 1 and 2, the verb is in the present tense (ἀεθλοφορεῖ), completing the idea that we are at the site itself and watching the horse rush to victory. The epigram does not specifically delineate a statue and is ambiguous in the scene it imagines; the reader is temporally and spatially transported to a vic-tory at Delphi and its commemoration. While epinician song also conflates victory rituals as it represents them, Posidippus' description integrates the literary rendering of the dedication into the narrative of the race itself: the race ends, figuratively, with the transmutation of the horse into stone and song.

While the connection of Posidippus with epinician might seem obvious (he celebrates athletic victory, after all), the synthesis of "reading" and "view-ing" and the ambiguous "performance" context mark the epigrammatist as an explicitly epinician poet in the mode of Pindar and Bacchylides. The creation of audiences within a poem is a case in point. In an inscription attached to a monument, there is no question of signalling an audience, at least explicitly, since the audience for an inscription at Olympia is those visiting Olympia. In Posidippus' epigrams, however, the second-person forms and vocatives in combination with the named sanctuary create fictional audiences. When the speaking voice of AB 80 addresses Nemean Zeus, the poem constructs an audience of fellow visitors to the sanctuary of Nemea; when, in AB 85, the speaking voice addresses Zeus of Pisa, the audience become visitors to the sanctuary of Olympia. In this way, Posidippus' epigrams, though they borrow heavily from the tradition of inscribed verse, accord with audience expecta-tions of epinician song, because their particular context of performance is ambiguous: that is, the poems can be read in Alexandria and prompt an imag-inary landscape of Olympia.[18] Pindar and Bacchylides also create audiences in their texts, whether sanctuary visitors (e.g., *Ol.* 9.111–112; *Nem.* 2.24–25), processional singers for a homecoming celebration (e.g., *Ol.* 11.13–19), or fellow sympotic revelers (e.g., *Ol.* 1.9–11, 6.99–100, 7.1–6; *Nem.* 1.19–25). Indeed, epinician song seems to be designed to efface its performance con-text so that subsequent performances still retain their immediacy.[19] Epinician song offers a suggestive analogue to the *Hippika* because, similarly, the first performance context for the *Hippika* is unclear, and likewise, the texts were

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[18] Pindar also uses imagined landscapes to orient his audience and add to the praise of his victor, see Eckerman 2013.

[19] On epinician songs's furtive performance milieu, see Carey 2007: 199.

clearly circulated soon after, unattached to their initial performance (and, if they were not originally inscriptions, the only "performance" they have is a fictional "reperformance").[20]

AB 78 offers a concrete example of the *Hippika*'s ambiguous performance context and its creation of imagined audiences.[21] The poem's opening, ε]ἴπατε, evokes the Muses, who often "speak" to men (cf. *Il.* 2.761; *Od.* 1.1). The poem plays with epic allusion: the addressees of ἔννεπε in Homer are the Muses, whereas here the poet addresses the performers/audience themselves. The connection with epic is made explicit following the vocative phrase, since the topic that "all the singers" (78.1–2) should sing is the *kleos* of the speaker. In a *Ringkomposition* structure, the end of the poem returns to address the audience again, though this time they are configured as "Macedonians" (ὦ Μακέτα[ι, 78.14).[22] The *kleos* that is γνωστά and that ἀοιδοί are asked to sing is the abstract and generalized version of the specific [στέφανον of the end of the poem (78.14); the Macedonians (ὦ Μακέτα[ι, 78.14) are commanded to sing (ἀείδετε, 78.13) and *become* the ἀοιδοί of the opening. Rather than restricting the promulgation of *kleos* to the class of professional singers, Posidippus' poem transforms its audience into singers, and Berenice's specific crown into a general form of *kleos*.[23] Just as Pindar works to equate himself with Homer and his victor and victor's accomplishment with the martial success of Homeric heroes,[24] so too does Posidippus evoke Homer and connect this enunciation of victory with the continual reperformance tradition of epic. Despite the alterations of genre, medium, and metre, Posidippus' *Hippika*, like epinician song, connect athletic victory to martial (especially Homeric

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[20] Epinician song also relies, at times, explicitly on visual language (e.g., *Ol.* 8), but also on conceiving of victory as brilliant and seen from far away (e.g., *Pyth.* 7). On epinician reperformance scenarios, see Currie 2004 and Hubbard 2004.

[21] I follow Thompson's reconstruction of the identities of the various Ptolemaic royals in this poem (Thompson 2005: 273–279): the speaker is Berenice "The Syrian" (daughter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and sister of Euergetes); the grandfather (3) is Ptolemy I Soter; the "mother of my father" is Berenice I (5); the father is Ptolemy II Philadelphus (6–7).

[22] On Posidippus' defining the Ptolemies as Macedonians, see Thompson 2005. Posidippus himself also boasts of his specifically Macedonian lineage (AB 118.7).

[23] On the transformation of audience into poet in the reading aloud of inscribed epigram, see Day 2010. The ancient practice of reading aloud turns all readers into performers and poets, and illiterate companions into audience. In this way, inscription is always a performance script and reperformance is part of the generic inheritance of epigram with which Posidippus interacts. Posidippus' ambiguous relationship with monuments means that this could be a complete fiction that simply places us in the presence of a *Familiengruppe*-like statue, or it could be a copy of an inscription *from* a *Familiengruppe* (see Kosmetatou 2004). On patronage in this poem's opening and closing, see Ambühl 2007: 275 *et passim*.

[24] Miller 2018: 22–24.

and epic) success and the work of the athletic-praise poet to that of the epic poet.[25]

Even though Posidippus' epigrams match the epinician songs of Pindar and Bacchylides for performance allusiveness and epic inter-textuality, their approach to athletic encomium differs in at least one marked element: in contrast to epinician, Posidippus' epigrams narrate the athletic victory itself. While Classical epinician song includes mythic narratives that evoke athletic achievement through heroic analogies, the actual description of athletic achievement plays a minor role in enco-mium (appearing only at *Ol.* 8.67–69, 9.91–92; *Pyth.* 5.49–51, 8.81–87, 10.8–9, 11.49–50; *Nem.* 10.25; *Isthm.* 4.29–30, 5. 59–60, 8.64–65; Bacchyl. 5.36–45).[26] Posidippus' epigrams, however, narrate events of the race and aftermath and include details of the way in which victory was achieved.[27] In particular, horses are unusually active in the *Hippika*, and their treat-ment in the series is the most innovative aspect of Posidippus' epinician poetics.[28]

In a few epigrams from the *Hippika*, the narration of a race plays only a very minor role: in AB 79, Berenice is described as having "left behind her competitors by means of speed" (τάχει ἀπελί<μ>πανεν ἵππων, 79.3), and in AB 86, the epigram similarly begins by observing the horse's character: "boldly he ran" (θρασὺς ἔδραμε, 86.1).[29] In both cases, the verb is in the past tense and integrates a report of what had happened at the race.[30] Though relatively rare, this formation was not unknown in epinician song (perhaps most famously at *Ol.* 1.20–22). AB 73 is apposite: its beginning describes the opening of the race

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[25] On other ways in which Posidippus interacts with Homer, most notably in the *Lithika*, see Petrain 2003; on thinking of Posidippus' poetic stance vis-à-vis Homer, see Nagy 2004.

[26] Even in earlier inscribed epigrams, the focus remains the postvictory rituals: see *CEG* 827 with Day 2007: 36–37. Rawles posits that Simonides may have had more athletic description, given the existence of chariot-race description in two fragments (*PMG* 516, 517; see Rawles 2012: 15). Bacchylides narrates slightly more of the athletic event; see Hadjimichael 2015. On epinician poetics and the problem of athletic narrative, see Miller 2018.

[27] Epigrams in general move toward narration; see Bowie 2010.

[28] Horses appear as instruments of equestrian victories in the Panhellenic games in inscribed epigram (e.g., *CEG* 379, 778, 828); even in this usage, they can play formidable roles in a narrative of victory (e.g., *CEG* 302, 820). *CEG* 888 refers to "knowing the pursuit of horses" (ἵππων τε διώγματα εἰδ[ὼς], 888.16), likely *hippotrophia* (cf. Pl. *Plt.* 310b) or a horse race (cf. Eur. *Or.* 988). In 828, the horses are "prize-bearing" (ἵπποις ἀθλοφόροις, 828.3), and the poem mentions two wins—the first, incredibly, while the victor was a *Hellanodikes* (see Paus. 6.1.4).

[29] Likely Berenice "The Syrian" (Thompson 2005: 273).

[30] This report builds on the proclamation of victory at the event itself. Since the *angelia* is naturally a past-tense formation—[X] *won* (ἐνίκα, ἐνίκησα)—the report of a race is easily, though rarely, extrapolated from the announcement.

(εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γραμμῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι ἔτρεχον οὕτω, 73.1: "straightaway from the starting line in the Olympics he ran thus"), and the fragmentary second and third lines presumably extrapolate *how* the victory was won.[31]

AB 72 expands the race narrative considerably and demonstrates Posidippus' significant innovation in this area: neither epinician song nor inscribed epigram offers such a complete description. The poem begins by encouraging us to view the horse (θηεῖσθε, 72.1) and specifies the particular aspect that ought to draw our attention: ὡς πνόον ἕλκει/παντὶ τύπωι καὶ πᾶς ἐ<κ> λαγόνων τέταται/ὡς νεμεοδρομέων: "how he drew breath with his whole shape and everything was stretched out from the flanks as he ran the Nemean course," 72.1–3).[32] The epigram describes the horse and directs our attention to its physical form as it runs a victorious race at Nemea.[33] The use of the present tense here (θηεῖσθε) indicates a repeated action (such as "take a look at"), and the continuous progressive aspect command is particularly apt for the focus on the horse's "indefatigable" quality. In line 3, the tense changes to the aorist (ἤνεγκε, 72.3), and the poem reports the result of the running at Nemea: the horse brought the celery (the Nemean victory crown) to Molycus. Line 4, however, adds an additional detail, namely that the horse "won by a nose," expressed in the hendiadys (νικήσας ἄκρωι νεύματι καὶ κεφαλῆι: "winning by the tip of its nod and a head," 72.4). Posidippus appears to be the first to use this phrase, which has had a long afterlife in racing and in horse-racing specifically (appearing in English as early as 1743; *OED s.v.* "head" I.1.b (b)).

The horse's nod in the poem works in at least two ways: first, it continues the effacement of the jockey that characterizes equestrian victories.[34] As in *Olympian* 1, when Pherenicus ran "ungoaded" (*Ol.* 1.20–1: δέμας/ ἀκέντητον), the horse here is the causal agent in "nodding," a move that would certainly require the jockey to pull at the bit and gear at the appropriate moment.[35] Instead, the credit for this last-minute nod and therefore the victory is given over entirely to the horse, who is then imagined as bringing the crown directly to the victor. Second, "winning by a nod" perhaps makes the victory even more special. Pindar and Bacchylides use the motif of the

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[31] The second line is fragmentary, but if any of the conjectures for this line are correct, κέντρα may be the object of a negated participle like δεξαμένος, and thus this horse, like Pherenicus at *Ol.* 1.21, needed no goad to spur it to victory (see conjectures in Angiò et al. 2016).

[32] Ebert 1972: no. 12, a likely literary epigram, compares well here, even though it depicts the moment of coronation, rather than victory; on this epigram and its "Hellenistic" style, see Köhnken 2007: 299–300.

[33] τύπωι is particularly striking for the inscriptional/literal context, since the word is used for a figure sculpted in relief since at least Herodotus (2.86, 138).

[34] On Classical epinician song's intentional obfuscation of the contributions of jockeys, charioteers, and trainers, see Nicholson 2005.

[35] My thanks to Carolyn Willekes for confirming this bit of equestrianism: the jockey may encourage the nod with a well-timed use of his whip.

past "stolen victory" to emphasize the current victory, but Posidippus here creates a situation where his victor *almost loses*, but manages, at the last minute, to win; surely, the precariousness of victory increases its appeal.[36] Not only does this race detail add to the glory of the victory, but also, perhaps more importantly, the description focuses attention on the body of the horse and therefore creates an enduring "monument" in the text itself. Posidippus' dynamic description of the race paradoxically contributes to a reification (if only literary and imaginative) of a statue of a perpetually striding horse dedicated in the sanctuary.

AB 74, the longest and most complex epigram in the *Hippika,* also uses the "stolen victory" motif to describe a special victory, and it demonstrates Posidippus' indebtedness to epinician, and his innovative focus on the horse as the agent of victory. The first two and a half lines describe victory in the past tense with a brief mention of a competitor and the final "win with a nod" phrase (ἐν Δελφοῖς ἡ πῶλος ὅτ᾽ ἀντιθέουσα τεθρίπποις/ἄξον<ι> Θεσσαλικῶι κοῦφα συνεξέπεσε/νεύματι νικήσασα: "in Delphi this filly, when racing in the four-horse chariot race, was neck-and-neck with a Thessalian, won by a nod," 74.1–3). νεύματι νικήσασα here works in tandem with ἄξον<ι> Θεσσαλικῶι, since the speed of the Thessalian rival explains why the victor won by such a small margin.[37] Both aspects play out in the remainder of the epigram, which tells the fantastic story of a conflict over the true winner of the event, and the choice by the judges to have the drivers draw lots (74.3–6). One of the horses (the right trace-horse) selects a rod from the ground (left by the judges for the *drivers* to select), and her chariot is immediately signalled as the victor because of the miraculous event: ἥδε δὲ δεξιόσειρα χαμαὶ νεύσα[ς᾽: "this right trace-horse having nodded to the ground" (74.7). Telling this story permits the horse to win "by a head," as it were, twice: first in the race itself (νεύματι νικήσασα) and then in the selection of the rod (νεύσα[σ᾽)—the use of the denominative verb recalls the importance of "nodding" and makes this horse the most active equestrian victor of all. Not only does she not need a jockey to win, but she is so special that she does not need a jockey in the aftermath of the race as well. Tellingly, the assembled crowd (σύμμιγα μυριάδ[ες: "the crowd altogether," 74.10) heralds her as the victor (κε[ίν]ηι κηρῦξαι στέφανον μέγαν: "to crown her with a great crown," 74.11). All the ancillary parts of athletic competition and its results are effaced (judges, umpires, heralds, jockeys, charioteers), and Posidippus focuses only on the horse.

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[36] In this manner, Roman epitaphs for charioteers are not irrelevant: they mark "come from behind" victories, etc. See *CIL* 14.2884, for example, in which Diocles boasts of having "come from behind," "won in the last dash," etc. As far as I can tell, Posidippus' race descriptions are the first instance of finding extra quality in a particularly thrilling type of victory (though, of course, they relate to boasts to have led "wire-to-wire," such as that in Bacch. 5.44).

[37] Thessalian horses were the most famous of Greek breeds (Anderson 1961: 23ff); see further below.

The Equine *Angelia*

Across five epigrams (AB 72, 75, 76, 86, 87), horses are the active agents in bearing crowns to their patrons, and their agency permits Posidippus, even more than his epinician predecessors, to focus exclusively on the horse.[38] Posidippus builds on the representation of Pherenicus, who "mingled his master with power" in *Olympian* 1 (κράτει δὲ προσέμιξε δεσπόταν, *Ol.* 1.21–22), and the description of the same horse in *Pythian* 3, when Pherenicus is remembered for having "seized crowns" (*Pyth.* 3.74); perhaps most similarly, in Bacchylides 5, Pherenicus returned to Syracuse "bearing leaves of good fortune to Hieron," that is, crowns (Ἱέρωνι φέρων/εὐ]δαιμονίας πέταλον, 5.185-6). In Posidippus, however, the metaphor of "seizing" or "bringing" is built into the structure of the narrative. AB 72, again, provides a good example, since after the "win by a nod," the horse carries (ἤνεγκε, 72.3) the celery (σέλινα, the proper crown of the Nemean Games, 72.3) to the victor Molycus (72.3–4).[39] While AB 75 and AB 76 are slightly more ambiguous, mainly because of lacunae in the text, crowns nonetheless seem to be the object of verbs that feature horses as subjects (εἵλομε<ς> 75.1; π.[. . .]ειν οὐκ ἐθέλει, 76.4). In AB 86, the speaker of the poem (the victor, whom the epigram seems to imagine standing beside us as we view a statue of "this horse" [86.2]) narrates a victory catalogue and ends by turning to himself: <χἀ>[κά]τερʼ Εὐβώταν ἐστεφ[ά]νωσεν ἐμέ: "and at another time, he [the horse] crowned me, Eubotas" (86.4); Posidippus gives the herald's duties over to the horse. AB 87 similarly focuses on the apparently literal bearing of a crown by the horse to the victor. In this poem, the speaking horses (π[ῶλοι] ἔθʼ ἁμὲς ἐοῦσαι: "we were *still* fillies," 87.1) brought the crown to Berenice at Olympia (ἀγάγομ[ε]ς στέφανον: "we led the crown," 87.2).[40]

By assigning the traditional crowning duties to the horses themselves, Posidippus highlights their central role in these victories: not only are the horses the sole agents of victory, but also they actually bring the crowns to their victors. Considering the importance of the crown in the literal ritual of victory (and the subsequent dedication of crowns at the site) and its metaphorical use (as a stand-in for the victory itself), the placing of the horse as herald here is striking: while Pindar and Bacchylides effaced the jockey from the action of victory, Posidippus' equine herald even further erases

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[38] Golden also remarks on the increased agency of horses in the *Hippika*, their propensity to speak, and the fact that jockeys and charioteers are present but unnecessary (Golden 2008: 20–21).

[39] φέρω in many forms is used throughout epinician song as the proper verb for "to win" (e.g., *Ol.* 8.64, 9.98, 10.67; *Pyth.* 9.14; *Isthm.* 1.40, 7.21).

[40] Likely Berenice I, the wife of Ptolemy I Soter (Thompson 2005: 273). Fantuzzi makes clear the relationship of this poem and *CEG* 820 for Cynisca of Sparta (Fantuzzi 2005: 253–264).

other possible foci during the literary representation of the competition and victory ceremony.[41]

Posidippus' focus on the horse as the agent of victory and its adjudication extends to the descriptions of horses in the *Hippika*. Whereas Pindar and Bacchylides gave some characterization to horses in equestrian victories (most notably, to Pherenicus in *Ol.* 1, *Pyth.* 3, Bacchyl. 5), and earlier agonistic epigrams occasionally mention horses by name, Posidippus goes much further in establishing an identity for his horses.[42] He mimics the epinician modulation of the *angelia* but forms an equine version that adds horse names as well as ages (AB 72, 74, 87), and ethnic origins (AB 76, 83, 85, 86). When we combine these categories with the event name and place of competition, we can recognize that Posidippus has carefully created a particularly equestrian *angelia*, which replaces or complements the representation of the proclamation of the victor.[43] He underscores the horse-as-herald motif through the horse's central place in its own proclamation.

The age of horses is a crucial aspect to Posidippus' equestrian *angelia*, and another element that comes from the actual herald's proclamation at the Games. In the Archaic and Classical period at Olympia, there were only three equestrian events, all of which involved adult horses (*tethrippon*, 680 BC; *kelēs*, 648 BC; *synoris*, 408 BC).[44] By the time of Posidippus' victors, however, the

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[41] The details of actual victory celebrations are frustratingly elusive, but Slater makes the case for crown dedication and Pindar's frequent metaphor of crown=song must have had a referent in reality (Slater 1984: 245). On crowns at different competitions and the evidence from a variety of sources, see Blech 1982.

[42] In the odes for Hieron of Syracuse, the horse Pherenicus ("Victory-bearer") plays a major role. In Bacchylides' Ode 5, for example, he describes "chestnut-maned" (5.37) Pherenicus through metaphor as "storm swift" (ἀελλοδρόμας, a hapax, 5.39). For more on this Olympic victory of Hieron, see Brousseau 2019: 392 in this collection. In two epigrams—not extant but reported by Pausanias—a horse played a major role in victory and was remembered for it: the story of Aura, who threw her rider yet still managed to run to victory, is likely apocryphal (Paus. 6.13.9). The sons of Aura's owner, Pheidolas, were, however, recorded to have won a victory for which they established a statue and epigram that celebrated their horse: ὠκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἴσθμι᾿ ἅπαξ, δύο δ᾿ ἐνθάδε νίκαις/Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους: "the swift Lycus by one victory at the Isthmus and two here/crowned the house of the sons of Pheidolas." Here, too, the horse is imagined as the active agent in crowning the victors. *Anth. Pal.* 6.135 purports to be an epigram for Lycus; see Köhnken 2007: 302–303.

[43] The only category he lacks is father. The appearance, of course, of the horse's owner—the actual victor—in these epigrams may point to a substitution, whereby the horse is imagined as part of the victor's *oikos* and thus victor's name stands in the same relationship to horse as father's name to human victor; see below on *hippotrophia* and the *oikos*.

[44] The chariot race for mules existed at Olympia from 500 to 444 BC (Paus. 5.9.1–2; cf. Pind. *Ol.* 4, 5); the *kalpē* (for mares, but in the last lap the rider leapt off and ran with the horse with the reins) existed from 496–444 BC (Paus. 5.9.1–2).

four-horse chariot for foals (384 BC), the two-horse chariot for foals (264 BC), and the *kelēs* for foals (256 BC) had been introduced. At Delphi, the *tethrippon* (582 BC) and *kelēs* (586 BC) were ancient, but the other equestrian events were more recent innovations (*synoris*, 398 BC; *tethrippon* for foals, 378 BC; *synoris* for foals, 314 BC; *kelēs* for foals, 338 BC; see Paus. 10.7.5–8). Considering the novelty of the *synoris* for foals and the *kelēs* for foals at Olympia, it is perhaps unsurprising that age is a component of the horse's identity, since without indicating the horse's age, the event, often left unexpressed explicitly, would not be clear. Hence, for Posidippus' equestrian *angelia*, age does double duty: it expresses equine identity and a specific event. In AB 72, when the *persona loquens* asks the audience to gaze at the horse, it specifies a colt (πώλου, 72.1); in doing so, and with the noun in the singular, the event (the *kelēs* for foals) is established and the participle νεμεοδρομέων (72.3) completes the representation of the *angelia* with the place of the contest. In AB 74, along with the horse's sex, Posidippus completes the equestrian announcement by including the horse's age early in the poem—in fact, as the fourth word, πῶλος (74.1). Here too, age completes the specification of the event.

AB 87 also indicates event (the four-horse *tethrippon* for foals at Olympia) but adds an element of narrative with the adverb ἔθ' ("we were *still* fillies," 87.1).[45] The epigram specifies the event but is also self-reflexive: the horses stand eternally announcing the glory ([πο]λυθρύλατον . . . κλέος, 87.3) of Berenice. Athletic victory statues take into account, Leslie Kurke argues, the eventual disappearance of their victors, and, in this case, a possibly fictional epigram characterizes the speaking horses similarly: as figurative statues, they look back from a time when their mortal analogues have vanished.[46] With their own death or old age imagined, the speaking equines look back from the present and recall their youth, when they won this long-lasting (χρόνιον, 87.4) victory.[47] In this epigram, age plays a role in the narrative of dedication and the publicizing of *kleos*, by emphasizing the time that has passed between victory, inscription, and report (the victory is, after all, *much*-spoken about) through the horses' own recognition of the passing years.[48]

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[45] This depends, of course, on the emendation in line 1: the *ed. pr. min.* suggests ἵπ[ποι], though π[ῶλοι] has been defended by Haslam (quoted in Stephens 2003) and De Stefani 2003. The line is further strengthened by the fact that there was no race for four mares at Olympia. Whether four mares could conceivably beat four stallions is unclear, but, certainly, for foals, any hormonal advantage would be diminished. Stephens (2003) suggests this is a reference to a "precocious victory, in keeping with the accomplishments of their precocious owner/queen." On the date of this victory and the probable event (chariot race for foals), see Stephens 2018.

[46] Kurke 1993: 147.

[47] On Pindar's claim to offer praise that has a "long life," see *Ol.* 4.10, *Pyth.* 3.115, *Nem.* 4.6.

[48] On ποτέ and other "inscriptional" motifs in epinician that also serve to imply the passage of time between composition and performance, see Young 1983.

Whereas age reflects, among other things, a specific event, the ethnic origin of horses provides more specificity when it comes to equine identity. In breed, one might see an analogy to the *polis* element in the actual *angelia*, especially since horse breeds in Archaic and Classical Greece were geographical in significance rather than indicators of genetics or genealogy: any horse born and bred in Thessaly was Thessalian; any horse born and bred in Messenia was Messenian.[49] Early evidence for horse-breeding beyond geographical adjectives is scant: Xenophon provides some general tips on selecting horses, which imply a knowledge of breeds, (Xen. *Eq.* 1.1–17), and Herodotus observes the different ethnic divisions of the Persian army and their "national" horses (7.86). Notably absent are "Arabian" horses: Arabs in the Persian army ride camels.[50]

Specific horse ethnics are used in three of Posidippus' odes, AB 76, 83, and 86; in AB 85, there is an implied ethnic origin for the horse as well. In AB 76, an epigram for Etearchus that celebrates his victory at the Pythian Games, the second line refers to the horse "who bore victory" as Arabian (Ἄ]ραψ ἵππος ἀεθλοφορεῖ, 76.2).[51] The specific quality of the Arabian does not seem to add anything particular to the attaining of victory, though Dorothy Thompson collects evidence from papyri that may refer to "Arabian" horses, and she suggests that the Arabian horses characterize Etearchus as a connoisseur of all that the Ptolemaic empire has to offer.[52] While "Arabian" may not have meaning in terms of a specific horse breed assisting in a victory, in the poem conceived as a supposed monument, it is potent: an "Arabian" horse is unusual and expensive, especially in its actual transport to Delphi. The ethnic specificity of the horse here adds lustre to the epigram *qua* monument and dedication at Delphi. We can therefore begin to see the encomiastic utility of Posidippus' focus on horses: horses can reflect the prestige (social, economic, or political) of the victor.[53]

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[49] See Anderson 1961: 38. The brands used on horses were symbols of regional identity; see Willekes 2016: 29–34.

[50] On the "Arabian" horse and its probable absence from antiquity, see Anderson 1961: 19. On ancient Greek horse breeds by region, see Anderson 1961: 21–33. In later writings, horse breeds take prominent roles in various *Cynegetica*: Gratius Faliscus 1.406ff; Nemesianus 204ff; Oppian 1.170ff, 230ff, 304ff. See Willekes 2019 in this collection.

[51] Arabian horses appear in no other literary source from Archaic through Hellenistic Greece. The other mention of "Arabian horsemen" in Posidippus is a conjecture (AB 10.9–10).

[52] Thompson 2005: 280 n. 66. As Arabian stones in the *Lithika* (AB 7.1, 16.1), the Arabian horse may also be an indicator of the exotic and thus of wealth (my thanks to one of the journal's anonymous readers for this observation).

[53] Horse breeds appear in early Greek literature outside of Homer, such as Anacreon *PMG* 417 (a "Thracian") and Alcman *PMGF* 1 ("Enetic," "Colaxian," "Ibenian"); on the latter, see Devereux 1965, 1966. Horse types in Alcman *PMG* 1 are used such that the audience *ought* to know what they mean and how the respective breeds are ranked (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 231, 1132).

Two further horse breeds are mentioned in the *Hippika*: in AB 86, Aithon is a Messenian, a breed with good literary pedigree; the horses of Antilochus at *Iliad* 23.303 were Πυλοιγενέες.[54] In AB 83, a Thessalian horse is impressive, and, finally, although the horse's ethnic origin is not mentioned explicitly, in AB 85 the horse described as "distinguished for its speed" (ταχυτᾶτι διάκριτον ἵππον, 85.1) is likely a Thessalian, a place with great renown for horse breeding ("I did not end my Thessalian home-land's ancient fame for horses," καὶ οὐ κατέλυσα παλαιᾶς/δόξας […] ἵπποις πατρίδα Θεσσαλίαν, 85.4). If this implies that the horse was Thessalian, then presumably in AB 83 Thessalian is similarly meant to imply a particu-larly well-regarded horse breed (cf. Hdt. 7.196.1).[55] Thessalian horses may in fact be the only horse breed about which something certain can be said in the Archaic through Hellenistic periods. Thessaly was renowned for its cav-alry from an early period (e.g., Pl. *Meno* 70a–b; Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.3–8, 7.5.15–17; Diod. Sic. 15.71.6), Thessalian hegemons minted coins with images of horses on them, and Thessalian cavalry were legendary for their performance at Gaugamela (Arr. *Anab.* 3.15.3).[56] Once more, then, we may see in Posidippus' extreme focus on equine and equestrian details an added element in the praise of the victor: here, horse breed attaches the victor to a long tradition of martial success.[57]

HIPPOTROPHIA AND PRAISE OF THE OIKOS

AB 85 not only labels the horse Thessalian, but it situates the horse firmly in the *oikos* of the victor: ἀ]π᾽ οἰκείας ἀγαγόμ<α>ν ἀγέλας/πρ[ὸ]ς σ[έ ("I brought [it] from my own herds to you" [85.2–3]). The horse is described as coming from the victor's own herd—in other words, he presumably bred

[54] Hellenistic allusiveness and the interest in recherché references may be at work here: does "Aithon" bring to mind (to the erudite reader) "Aithe" (the name of the fe-male horse of Menelaus at *Iliad* 23.409)? If so, the tables are turned, since "Aithon" in AB 86 is a male and Messenian while in the *Iliad* "Aithe" is female and of an unknown breed.

[55] AB 83's horse has also established a record: it is the "first and only" (πρῶτος κ[αὶ μ]όνος, 83.3) horse to win three times at Olympia. The epigram challenges us to con-firm the record ("check it," ἐλέγχετε, 83.3) and claims the Iamidai, Olympic prophets, as witnesses to its superlative victory (83.4). On such "records," see Young 1996.

[56] For the coins, see Spence 1993: 23 n. 102. On Thessalian victors in the *Hippika*, see Scharff 2016. For other coins celebrating equestrian feats, see Brousseau 2019 in this collection.

[57] Classical epinician song also compares athletic with martial victors (e.g., through comparison with the Seven against Thebes, *Ol.* 6.12–21; with Herakles' stand against Apollo, Poseidon, and Hades, *Ol.* 9.28–35; with the Trojan War, *Ol.* 13.55–60, *Pyth.* 3.112–14, *Nem.* 2.13–15, *Nem.* 6.49–53, *Nem.* 7.36–42, *Isthm.* 5.30–45).; Pindar's patrons are occasionally set up as contemporary martial heroes, such as Hieron after the defeat of the Carthaginians and Etruscans at Cumae, *Pyth* 1.47–80; Chromius at the Battle of Salamis, *Nem.* 9.31–40; or the unnamed uncle of one victor, *Isthm.* 7.23–25). Therefore, this may be another instance where Posidippus builds on epinician tradition.

the horse himself. Horse breeding is attested early in the literary record: Simonides uses the specialized term *hippotrophia* (*PMG* 591) and Pindar praises Xenocrates of Acragas for his raising of horses (*Isthm.* 2.38); even in song for a pancration victory, *hippotrophia* burnishes the glory of family (Pind. *Isthm.* 4.28–29). Alcibiades' *hippotrophia* was a reason to boast of his wealth and political ability (Thuc. 6.12), and Aristotle regards *hippotrophia* as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the wealthy classes (*Pol.* 1289b35).[58] Pausanias reports on an inscription at Olympia that boasts of *hippotrophia*: Cleogenes claims that "he won with a race-horse from his own stable" (ἐκ δὲ ἀγέλης αὐτὸν οἰκείας ἵππωι κρατῆσαι κέλητι, Paus. 6.1.4).

In AB 77, regrettably fragmentary, *hippotrophia* is likely implied as well if the reconstruction of ο]ὐκ ὀλίγαι δαπ[άνα]ι is correct ("not with a little expense," 77.2). Across equestrian epinician, δαπάνα is spent appropriately on glory, and the recompense for δαπάνα is ἀρετή (Pind. *Ol.* 5.15; *Isthm.* 1.42) or "sweet song" (*Pyth.* 1.90). In fact, AB 77 may specifically refer to the raising and care of horses, since the only clear word on the third line is κομιδᾶς.[59] Returning to AB 85, the specific reference to *hippotrophia* adds to Amyntas' glory, and, even more importantly, characterizes the horse as a gift particularly developed for its role as a personal dedication to Zeus (πρ[ὸ]ς σ[έ, Ζε]ῦ Πισᾶτα: "to you, Zeus of Pisa," 85.3). The unnamed horse's victory is transformed from a single equestrian success into a component of a prayer and dedication that reaches backwards to the παλαιᾶς/δόξας ("ancient fame") of Thessaly and forward in the eternal words of the figurative monument on which the epigram is inscribed: the horse is part of the *oikos*, the horse is a dedication, and the horse is a dedication *from* the victor. Posidippus' epigrams understand horses and equestrian victories as exactly what they are: the reason to race is to dedicate the victory to the gods, so Posidippus simply transforms the horse itself—in the moment of victory—into a dedication.[60]

The focus on creating an equine dedication builds on the motifs of equestrian praise in Classical epinician song. Even more than the patrons of Pindar and Bacchylides, Posidippus' patrons appear to have had no interest in memorializing the contribution of jockeys or charioteers; and Posidippus therefore includes almost no references to them. While Archaic and

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[58] On the importance of the horse to elite self-image, see Griffith 2006: 312–317.

[59] If Austin's conjecture in Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001 is correct, a "sweet prize" is likely seen as the reward for κομιδή. κομιδή is exactly what Antilochus threatens to remove *from* his horses in the *Iliad*, should they fail to beat Menelaus (*Il.* 23.411); or the care to which Hector refers when asking his horses for a special task (*Il.* 8.186). In *Iliad* 8, Hector addresses his horses by name: Podargus, Aithon, and Lampus (8.185–190). He reminds the horses of the care (κομιδή) that they have received from him and Andromache; indeed, the latter even fed them sweet and mixed wine with their water—treating them just like her husband (*Il.* 8.190).

[60] The horse's beauty can make it a dedicatory *agalma* and a sacrificial object: see Griffith 2006: 308–319.

Classical representation of jockeys and charioteers is fraught, nonetheless, some appear—along with others such as trainers—and their participation in equestrian victory is not entirely absent. We cannot simply take the absence of the jockey, in particular, as a given, since the *Horse and Jockey from Artemision* demonstrates the potential for sculpting a monument that includes a jockey.[61] The erasure of jockeys and charioteers speaks to an ideological program at work; this ideology can be further elucidated through this interpretation of Posidippus' equestrian *angelia*. Pindar and Bacchylides also focus on the horse, though the scope of reference is different and the amount of detail more copious in Posidippus. In Posidippus, the relationship between horse and patron takes centre stage: the horse, like its owner, may be imagined as the object of the herald's proclamation; horse breeds connect to geographically specific places and evoke the *polis* of the victor; horses' bodies are imagined as inheriting the care and time that a patron—and his *oikos*—puts into maintaining them (the κομιδή and δαπάνη of AB 77.2). By emphasizing the connection between owner and horse that emerges from the elite tradition of *hippotrophia* and by underscoring this connection through the representation of an equine *angelia*, Posidippus glorifies his patron's victory and family and removes any other possible focus for praise.

CONCLUSION

Posidippus' revitalization of the mode of athletic praise, if not its choral lyric form, creates complex, but brief, literary monuments. Like Classical epinician songs, Posidippus' poems assert no clear performance context, and therefore they can be read on papyrus rolls but imagined as inscriptions on monuments at the Panhellenic sanctuaries. Moreover, Posidippus' epinician epigrams maintain epinician song's focus on the glorification of the victor, and like Classical epinician, they do so only obliquely. Just as Pindar and Bacchylides praised their victors through mythical comparison, so Posidippus also finds substitutes to act as the explicit focus of his praise, in his case, the horses of the victors. Though Hellenistic kings, queens, and elites are his patrons, Posidippus' epigrams still work to praise through implication, and Hellenistic elites are imagined as Classical Panhellenic victors.[62] Posidippus' epinician epigrams continue the epinician generic convention of building

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[61] Dating on this statue is controversial and it has been placed anywhere from the fourth to the second century BC. See Hemingway 2004.

[62] Even in the Classical period, epinician and agonistic epigram treated the identities of rulers differently: the latter, at the Panhellenic site itself, removed any indication of elevated status from victors such as Gelon (see Harrell 2002: 439–451). Fantuzzi and Hunter also observe the Macedonian emphasis in Posidippus' poetry: the Ptolemies could not enter as "kings of Egypt" since non-Greeks were banned from the Olympics (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 394). The connection with Sparta (emphasized especially in AB 87) may be important, as Sparta was a model for kingship in the ancient Greek world (Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 397–398).

on the *angelia*, but his epigrams move even further from the reality of the herald's speech act and convert the *angelia* and subsequent victory rituals into fodder, as it were, for equestrian praise.

Posidippus' poems dispense with the artifice of viewing; the poems describe athletic success through the supposed dedication that remembers that success. Horses are heralds of their patron's victories, but also the voices of imagined dedications; as they speed to the finish line, stretch out for victory, and dip their heads down, Posidippus' words transform them, as if through alchemy, from flesh and blood horses to statues whose existence is constructed through ink and whose presence, though delimited by the papyrus roll, extends the victor's *kleos* across time and space.

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