

Female Charioteers in Greek Antiquity: Image or Reality?*

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An unpublished Attic red-figure kylix in the collection of Walter and Molly Bareiss, currently in the J.Paul Getty Museum, is of considerable interest.¹ On the exterior of both sides A and B is represented a chariot at full gallop drawn by a team of three horses. At the reins is a young, apparently female driver, who wears a long garment fastened at the waist. Her short hair flies in the breeze and she holds a whip in her right hand. There are some distinctions in iconographical detail between the two sides - for example, the hairstyles, both human and equine, the landmarks on the flanks of the horses, and the presence on side A of a *terma*, a turning post or finishing post. This secures the identification of the charioteers as participants in a race. The interior of the cup, which is in rather poor repair and has lost much detail, depicts in profile a youthful player of the *kithara*. He wears a long chiton and confronts a winged female figure who is alighting before him; the latter is most probably an image of Nike, the personification of victory, and is designed to indicate the young man's success in a musical competition.

Before discussing the subject matter there is need to establish an approximate date for this work by evaluation of its stylistic qualities. The draper (where detectable) is rather cursorily rendered, its folds suggested by irregular fine vertical strokes and lacking the delicacy of line of, for example, the Eretria Painter; it does not possess the rich, clinging, diaphanous quality of much late fifth-century work by the Meidias Painter and his group. Comparable representations can be seen in the work of minor cup-painters at the lower end of the Classical period, such as in the name vase of the Cambridge 73 Painter (now Cambridge G51 - 1864), who, like the painter of Bareiss 358, tends to use broken heavy lines to adorn and emphasize the hems of his garments.² Though detail is lacking on the drapery of the Nike figure in the tondo, the contour of her peplos with its "swallowtail" form is reminiscent of the archaizing treatment of the peplos with long overfall on

the figure of Athena on a red-figure oenochoe from the Agora of c.410. The Doric peplos with long overfall to the thighs and with a girdle appears on vases after the mid-fifth century and is typically the dress of Athena and of other divine or mythological figures such as Persephone, Nike, and Cassandra.³ It is the feminine style of dress in competitive scenarios and is similarly worn by the charioteers on the exterior of Bareiss 358. In contrast, the standard dress of male charioteers is generally the long chiton, which is excellently illustrated in sculpture by the well-known Delphic charioteer. Yet there are instances of other styles, as on the Panathenaic Burgon amphora, on which the driver has a short purple chiton, or on BM B132, where he has short tight-fitting trunks.⁴ But the latter depicts a mule-cart race.⁵

The Bareiss kylix is remarkable in the portrayal of some physical attributes of its figures: while the depiction of the eye is subject to some variation, as in the painters of the Classical Period generally, the facial profile of the tondo Nike is remarkably similar to that of Thetis in the name vase of the Peleus painter in Ferrara (c.430)⁶, and indeed the juxtaposition of musician and Nike present a poignant parallel. The hands and feet, however, are elongated and cursorily drawn on the interior, even if we make allowance for the poor state of preservation. The fingers of the right hand of the musician, which grasp the plectrum, recall most nearly Cambridge G51-1864 (Cambridge 73), where (side A) Apollo, accompanied by the Muses, grasps the plectrum in a manner comparable to that of the Bareiss cup.⁷ On the exterior of our vase the feet of the charioteers are not visible, but the hands clearly show the proper alignment of thumb and the fleshy area of the trapezium, as in the more accomplished artists of the period.

Here might be observed the rather careless rendering of the charioteers' hair, not at all the elaborate styling of the Late Classical masters. For the headband and earring (?) of the tondo Nike we may look for comparison again to G51-1894 (Cambridge 73).⁸

In Greek painting hairstyles vary tremendously, presumably a reflection of the fashion of the times and of the geographical area. They range from the close cropped style visible on a number of Panathenaics to the long style, in which the hair is drawn back into a

knot at the nape of the neck. Often male and female hairstyles are distinguished only with some difficulty and this fact has in part been responsible for scholarly controversies about some sculptural representations of chariot racing. One or two examples may usefully be considered: first, a fragment of a relief in Athens depicting a race for an *apobates*.⁹ It was the base of a votive offering erected by an *apobates* to commemorate his victory at the Amphiarraia, an athletic festival held in honor of Amphiarraos at his sanctuary at Oropus. The charioteer stands on the driver's board and wears an ankle-length chiton. "His" hair is short and blows wildly in the wind. Yet comparison with similar styles on clearly female figures elsewhere raises doubts about the gender of the charioteer.¹⁰

Second, an example from the small chariot frieze on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The frieze is less than three feet high and carved in thin slabs of Pentelic marble. It has suffered uneven damage, some parts being very fragmented, so that a complete chariot team cannot be reassembled, but some figures are in relatively good repair. One charioteer leans forward in a posture comparable to the figures on the Bareiss vase,¹¹ dressed in a long chiton secured at the waist and with long hair drawn neatly into a knot at the back of the head. NEWTON, the discoverer of this frieze, believed the figure to be a woman, and others subscribed to this opinion; subsequently it has been argued that the hair simply reflects a Carian fashion for men, and that the facial features are masculine. Nevertheless, the same scholar's comparison in another context of this head to that of the Demeter of Cnidos in the British Museum gives one cause for reflection.¹²

The figures are depicted largely in profile, the natural tendency in this medium. But the upper torso of the tondo Nike is in three-quarter view, and some sense of perspective is communicated in the figures of the charioteers. Yet the chariots are represented with only one wheel, whereas many later fifth-century artists commonly show both wheels in relatively appropriate juxtaposition and have some limited understanding of the perspective of individual objects, if not of the scene as a whole. Of interest also is the presence on the side of the chariots of what appears to be a seriphed capital *iota*; this could be simply part of the vehicle. But if it is a letter, it would be at this period the common form of a *zeta*, perhaps the initial letter of the name Zeus.¹³

In the latter case the artist might be wishing to suggest that the context is the Games of Zeus, at Olympia or Nemea; but mythical contexts must also be considered and the significance of the letter must, in the end, remain unresolved.

The facial expression of the horses is lively, largely because of the way in which the eye is depicted; our painter is perhaps less successful in the representation of the musculature of horses, though more accomplished than some near contemporaries, such as the Codrus and Marlay Painters. One remarkable aspect is the presence of what appear to be brandmarks on the flanks of the horses nearest the spectator; on one horse is depicted a *kerykeion*, on the other a diagonal cross. The use of such marks in life and in art has been the object of scholarly investigation and a variety of purposes have been identified.¹⁴ They may be the trademarks of established stables or herds; for example, horse bearing the letters *koppa* and *san* (*koppatai* and *samphorai*) exhibit the initial letters of their places of origin, Corinth and Sikyon. Elsewhere, specific symbols used as brands indicate regional associations, e.g., *boukephaloi* are from Thessaly, whereas centaurs belong to the Larissa area.¹⁵ It has even been suggested that the brands may signify the qualities of the horse, either those possessed by the horse or those desired for him by the owner.¹⁶ Thus the *kerykeion*, the herald's staff, may indicate swiftness and reliability, and may also imply a good pedigree. Certainly the *kerykeion* is among the preferred brandmarks of vase-painters in the century and a half from Exekias to the early fourth century.¹⁷ The presence of this symbol on the coinage of the Macedonian kings Alexander I (498-454) and Pausanias (390-389) has also been noted.¹⁸

Thus, on the Bareiss kylix the *kerykeion* may indicate the Macedonian origin of the horse, or it may simply be a broader reference to the horse qualities, actual or desired. It is also worth noting that artistic contexts in which horses bearing this symbol appear seem predominantly mythical or heroic.¹⁹ As a symbol independent of the horse, the *keykeion* is familiar as the attribute of the divine messengers, Hermes and Iris; it can also be found in the hands of Nike.²⁰ Both Iris and Nike are winged goddesses, and the difficulty of differentiating between them has long been the burden of art historians, and remains unresolved. But in agonistic contexts Nike is clearly the more likely

choice.²¹

The diagonal cross, which is borne by the nearside horse on side A of Bareiss 358 offers no specific interpretation or parallels in other media, beyond representing the obvious letter *chi*.

But it is used on the nearside horse of the chariot of Polydeuces in the name vase of the Meidias Painter and in a pyxis by the Lid Painter portraying Helios in his chariot; also in a pelike in Warsaw and a Lucanian bell krater by the Choephoroi Painter at Yale, both of which depict Amazonomachies.²² The difference in landmarks must, at least, imply a distinction between the two teams.

In terms of composition the tondo of the Bareiss kylix is unexceptional; the use of the reserved exergue seems to be favoured by the Classical cup painters of the post-Parthenon period. The saltires in the meander find their closest parallel in Cambridge 73, not only in the style of the saltires, but in the pattern of their distribution among the meanders.

These stylistic parallels and the general character of the work would seem to place the Bareiss kylix in the later part of the fifth century, close to the completion of the Parthenon and approximately contemporary with the Eretria painter and his group. It clearly precedes the work of the Meidias painter, whose sculptural counterpart is the Nike balustrade of c.410.²³ The draughtsmanship of Bareiss 358 is not the work of a master and may be attributable to a lesser known artist whose interest lies in athletic themes, such as the Painter of Cambridge 73. Yet the points of contact with the Ferrara calyx crater of the Peleus Painter remain haunting, for iconographical reasons stated above, and for other reasons yet to be addressed.

Let us now consider the subject matter. While neither topic - racing chariots or a victorious citharode - is unparalleled in contemporary Greek vase-painting, one's attention is drawn to the figures of the charioteers; for they appear curiously feminine in aspect and attire, and each drives a three-horse chariot.

It is appropriate to consider what is known of chariots and particularly chariot-racing in the Archaic and Classical periods in Greece and environs. The warriors

in Homer's *Iliad* are regularly carried into battle in chariots drawn by two horses.²⁴ A war chariot of this type consisted of a low car mounted on two wheels with a high framework in front and at the sides, in which the warrior and a driver stood side by side. It was open at the rear to enable the warrior to dismount readily to fight, while the charioteer held the car in readiness for a swift departure. Greek racing chariots, however, had a lighter framework which permitted space for one individual, the charioteer, and was drawn by two, or later more commonly by four horses.²⁵ Chariots of this type, drawn by two horses, were used in the Funeral Games of Patroklos, as described in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*.²⁶

Three-horse chariots, as depicted on the Bareiss cup, are less evident in Homer. But three times in the *Iliad*, all in battle contexts, appear descriptions of three-horse teams comprising a pair of yoked horses and a trace-horse (*παρήγορος*).²⁷ The use of trace-horses is known from four-horse chariots in later Greco-Roman racing contexts. The trace horses are loosely attached to the chariot by reins and their function, particularly in the case of the off-side horse, is to assist in making the turns in the course by running free on the outer side of the team.²⁸ Yet this function has no place in the battle context, and scholars have wrestled in vain to explain this phenomenon in Homer's record.²⁹ In the *Odyssey*, when Telemachus visits Menelaus in Sparta, the Spartan king as a gesture of guest-friendship presents his guest with three horses and a chariot to take back to Ithaka; Telemachus refuses the gift on the ground that horses were useless on the island.³⁰ Does this passage indicate the use - in Sparta at least - of three-horse teams? If so, it does not necessarily imply their use in chariot-racing.

The apparent variety of usage presented by the Homeric epics is simply a reflection of the circumstances of their composition: the subject matter of the poems was formulated over several centuries from the Trojan War to the time of Homer, i.e., approximately 1200-700 B.C.³¹ Archaeologically speaking, Homer offers no consistent picture of one cultural period.

In Archaic Greece the picture is similarly varied. Both two- and four-horse chariots are depicted in art from the Geometric period onwards. The two-horse chariot

race (**συνωρίς**) had an uneven history generally in Greece and particularly at Athens. Sixth-century evidence is sparse and insecure,³² but fifth-century red figure vases show two horse chariots racing.³³ More consistently in evidence is the four-horse race (**τέθριππον** or **ἄρμα**). The pervasiveness of the four-horse type is perhaps emphasized by a well-known fragmentary dinos of c.580 B.C. by the painter Sophilos which depicts the Funeral Games for Patroklos as in Homer, but substitutes **τέθριππα** for the two-horse chariots described by the bard. Similarly Exekias, in representing the death of the horse Pedasos (Homer, *Il.* 16.466-78) substitutes a four-horse team (two pole- and two trace-horses) for Homer's three horses.³⁴

That the *triga* existed in the eighth to sixth centuries in Greece may be indicated by five known examples in Late Geometric and one Protoattic pyxis cover from the Athenian Kerameikos, and these are in funerary racing contexts. Similarly, plastic renderings of three-horse groups appear as handles on Geometric pyxides.³⁵ In subsequent Attic black figures there are very few examples. In fifth-century Attic red-figure work there appear to be only two instances, which will be addressed later in this discussion. There are no clearly identifiable representations in sculpture.³⁶

Some supporting evidence comes from Etruria, where later sixth-century architectural terracottas from Velletri represent chariot-racing, in some instances using three-horse teams.³⁷ A fifth-century bronze foot of a *cista* from Palestrina depicts a chariot drawn by three horses. But other examples from pottery and sculpture, including the celebrated Munich Amphiaraios amphora of the mid sixth century, show both two and four-horse teams.³⁸ Thus, no consistent usage by the Etruscans can be demonstrated; moreover, in some cases it cannot certainly be asserted that what is represented is a racing-chariot as opposed to simple vehicular transportation.

Literary sources offer some enlightenment: Dionysius of Halicarnassus writing in the first century B.C. refers to three-horse chariots as used by the Romans, *not* by contemporary Greeks, in contests - "... a custom now fallen into disuse among the Greeks though it was an ancient institution of heroic times which Homer represents the Greeks as using in battle." The latter

part of Dionysius' statement finds support in Homer's text, but it remains unclear whether the custom continued in Greece after Homer. The likelihood that it did is perhaps strengthened by consideration of Dionysius' subsequent discussion of a second custom inherited by the Romans, the *apobates* race: this was part of the Panathenaic festival in the Archaic and Classical periods and, it is generally agreed, preserved the traditions of Homeric warfare.³⁹ The Homeric use of the three-horse chariot may have been similarly preserved.

In the literature of the post-Homeric period such terms as **τρίζυγος** and **τρίπολον ἄρμα** attest to familiarity with the concept of the three-horse team. **Τρίζυγος** is used in the dramatists and in lyric of the three goddesses at the Judgement of Paris, of the Charites, and of the Muses⁴⁰ but it appears also used metaphorically as an epithet of mortal kinsmen and in one instance of a path.⁴¹ **Τὰ τρίπολον τῶν αρμάτων** in Dionysius of Halicarnassus is anticipated by Euripides' use of **τρίπολον ἄρμα**, also in reference to the participants at the Judgement of Paris.⁴² All Archaic, Classical or Hellenistic Greek applications of these terms are in poetic contexts. Though they may well not provide definitive evidence of contemporary usage, they surely indicate concurrent awareness of the phenomenon of the three-horse chariot, whether as a reality or as a reminiscence of an earlier era. In any case, in none of these is the context that of a race. The term **δεξιόσειρος**, which indicates the "right trace-horse", is similarly used metaphorically for an outstanding human individual, because of the key position of the right-hand trace-horse in the team when making left-hand turns on the track.⁴³

Since the Bareiss kylix may be placed stylistically in the last decades of the fifth century, obviously the question arises whether in fifth-century Attic red-figure vase-painting there is any evidence of females driving chariots. If there is, is any standardized repertoire of female charioteers detectable? A survey of the known vases and their subject matter yields a limited number of female drivers, largely divinities and mythological subjects. There are the obvious metaphorical images of Selene, Nux, and Eos; to this group also belongs Artemis, known primarily as the virgin goddess of the hunt and of the moon, but in Attica associated also with the transition to womanhood and prenuptial initiatory

rites. Beyond the sphere of the metaphorical, females appear in chariots largely in contexts of either marriage or abduction: Ariadne seized by Dionysus, Thetis with Peleus, Hippodameia with Pelops. In these the bride (or bride-to-be) appears standing in or mounting the chariot car, joined or about to be joined by her prospective mate, as part of the wedding procession or as she is conveyed by her captor. Such representations can be found as early as the François vase and subjects consistently popular with Greek artists. Marital associations other than the direct portrayal of the bride and groom also account for a number of the gods and goddesses shown in chariots. Aphrodite, goddess of sexual love, is conveyed in a chariot drawn by *Erotes* and occasionally driven by Peitho. Athena, legendary inventor of the chariot and/or of the bridle and thus inextricably involved with horses and chariot-driving, is often depicted in company with Herakles.⁴⁴ Herakles, of course, represents a number of concepts important for the present purpose: he is the hero of athletes, the primary example of agonistic success in the execution of his twelve labours, and as such the subject of the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Through these labours he gained immortality. Interestingly, Athena appears also with her chariot in a number of vases in which the secondary subject is either a Heracleian labour, or athletics, or an *agon* (struggle) of both an actual and a metaphorical type, namely the struggle of the Lapiths and Centaurs.⁴⁵

Herakles himself appears in a chariot driven or accompanied by the female figure of a Nike, a winged representation of Victory, on a number of later fifth-century vases; in many of these instances the reverse illustration is of athletes or of three youths, probably in a gymnasium.⁴⁶ Nikai also regularly appear by themselves as charioteers: e.g., in a red-figure calyx krater from Boeotia in Athens (c.370), in which the chariot is driven by one Nike and led by another; and on another nearly contemporary calyx krater from Olynthus, with a Nike at the reins and two other smaller Nikai flying overhead. Sometimes they are depicted in chariot races.⁴⁷

Several works of this period and style portray goddesses in chariots whose identification is not securely established, but even in the associations earlier delineated, i.e., marriage or competition, are indicated by the presence of specific iconographical detail. For

example: a column krater in Naples⁴⁸ has on one side a goddess mounting a chariot with a Nike and a tripod, on the other a goddess mounting a chariot with a woman and torches: the tripod points to athletic victory (the tripod is a common prize for athletic contests), the torches (in conjunction with the woman and chariot) suggest the bridal procession. Occasionally the *agon* represented is war, as on the reverse of a cup by Olto in Naples which represents a goddess (?) mounting a chariot and on the left a divination scene; on the right Nestor (named) and a warrior, probably Antilochus; the obverse, interestingly, shows Herakles and the Amazons.⁴⁹ There are two points here; first, that chariots with goddesses are associated with a very limited number of concepts, namely, marriage/abduction or competition/*agon*; second, that a chariot scene of this type frequently appears in conjunction with an *agon* either on the same or on the other side of the vase.

One exception to the observations above are the Amazons: these are the one branch of women who are regularly depicted as driving their own chariots. Of course, they also represent the worst fears of Greek manhood: members of a matriarchal society, they as women go to war and usurp men's roles. The alienation from them which the Greeks felt is perhaps best illustrated by their use as subjects in the sculptural decoration of a number of post-Persian War buildings in Athens, in which Amazons fight the Greeks and stand as a metaphor for the triumph of Greek civilization over barbarians. This idea will be of significance again later in the discussion.

Illustrations of Amazons driving chariots, then, would *prima facie* concur with the Greek view of them as "unnatural women". Thus, on the shoulder of an Attic red-figure hydria of c.5000 B.C. in Munich an Amazon clad in oriental trousers enthusiastically sets about mounting a *συσσωρίς*.⁵⁰ More remarkable is the unattributed and much earlier black-figure hydria in Würzburg which shows the harnessing of a chariot: the charioteer stands beside the pole horses and has an assistant (according to standard procedure). As von Bothmer observes, "the painter of the Würzburg hydria has been most meticulous in adapting a standard harnessing scene to the world of the Amazons: his charioteer is the only Amazon ever to wear the long chiton of the charioteers, which on her looks somewhat

incongruous, the more so since she also wears the pointed cap.”⁵¹ The supposed “unnaturalness” of female participation in equestrian activity would seem to be echoed in a fragment of Melanippides on the Danaids, who “practise (for competition) in chariots with seats often throughout the sunny groves...” These words may have been the inspiration for a pyxis cover in New York, which depicts a chariot race of two teams conducted by women with an altar between them. Their identification as Danaids is far from secure, and they may even be ordinary women; in any case, they provide a rare and virtually contemporary parallel with the Bareiss kylix.⁵²

If we are to contemplate the possibility of female charioteers, we need to consider what evidence exists in fact for female participation in competitive chariot-racing. In the heroic world of Homer women are portrayed as driving themselves usually in carts drawn by mules, as, for example, Nausicaa in *Odyssey* VI. But there is no evidence of their participation in competitive sports. East Greek vases from Daphnae in Egypt of the third quarter of the sixth century show what Swindler has identified as a woman mounting a chariot and a naked female “Godiva” figure astride a horse; but the unreliability of Clazomenian artists in the depiction of anatomy makes the identification tenuous, and in neither case is there any indication that racing is involved.⁵³ For the later periods, however, suggestive evidence appears in inscriptions from the fourth century B.C. through the Hellenistic age and down to the Roman period. Here are records of the victories of women in a variety of competitive equestrian and other events at the major Panhellenic games and also at local festivals. Women are recorded as victors in the Panathenaic festivals of the mid-second century B.C., but it has usually been assumed that they were only chariot owners.⁵⁴

Particularly remarkable for our purposes is the case of Kyniska, daughter of Archidamus I of Sparta and sister of Agesilaus I. We learn from Pausanias that she “longed to do well in the Olympic Games, and was the first woman to own race horses and the first woman to win an Olympic victory. Women after Kyniska’s time, and particularly Spartan women, have won Olympic victories, but no woman is more famous as an Olympic winner than Kyniska.”⁵⁵ Kyniska’s victory came at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., not long after the

production of the Bareiss vase, and she in fact won twice in the same event, the **τέθριππον**, once in 396 and again in 392. Her victories were memorialized in the sanctuary at Olympia by one or perhaps two victory groups: Pausanias records a group of chariot horses in front of the temple of Zeus, “Not so big as real horses” which “stand on the right as you go into the porch”; and elsewhere he writes that “(beside the statue of Troilos is) a stone ledge with a chariot and team and a driver and a portrait of Kyniska herself by Apelles [and there] are inscriptions about Kyniska.”⁵⁶ Of the latter group the marble base has survived together with its epigrammatic inscription:

**Σπάρτας μὲν βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ πατέρες καὶ
ἀδελφί ἄρματι δ ὠκυπόδων ἵππων
νικῶσα Κυνίσκα εἰκόνα ταύτῃ ἔστασα.
μόναδ’ ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν Ἑλλάδος ἐκ
πάσαος τόνδε λαβεῖν στέφανον.**

Kings of Sparta were my fathers and brothers,
and I, Kyniska, winning the race with my
chariot of swift-footed horses, erected this
statue. I assert that I am the only woman in
all Greece who won this crown.⁵⁷

From the inscription alone one might easily assume that Kyniska was the actual driver of the chariot, for nothing in the language of the epigram suggests otherwise. But a number of considerations must come into play here, not least that it is otherwise unknown for women to participate in any Olympic event and that during the Classical period it appears to have been less than usual for an owner, regardless of sex, to drive his own chariot team, even though it was customary that the owner take credit for the victory and be celebrated in song or sculptural image. There were exceptions to this rule, but other sources on Kyniska suggest that she was not exceptional: we are informed that Agesilaus, brother of Kyniska, “persuaded his sister to breed (**ἄρματοτροφεῖν**) chariot horses and show by her victory that such a stud marks the owner as a person of wealth, but not necessarily of merit.” The story is retold in Plutarch:

**...ὄρων ἐνίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ
ἵπποτροφίας δοκοῦντας εἶναι τινὰς καὶ
μέγα φρονοῦντας, ἔπεσε τὴν ἀδελφὴν
Κυνίσκαν ἄρμα καθεσάν Ὀλυμπίασιν**

**ἀγωνίσασθαι, βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι
τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἔστιν ἀρετῆς,
ἀλλὰ πλούτου καὶ δαπάνης ἢ νικῆ.**

...on seeing that some of the citizens esteemed themselves highly and were greatly lifted up because they bred racing horses, he persuaded his sister Kyniska to enter a chariot in the contests at Olympia, wishing to show the Greeks that the victory there was not a mark of any great excellence, but simply a wealth and lavish outlay.⁵⁸

The context in both instances makes it clear that Kyniska *bred* horses, not that she raced as a charioteer. Moreover, the provisions at the Olympic Games for the exclusion of mature women makes it highly unlikely that she could have participated as a driver.⁵⁹ Yet there is evidence that Spartan women - unusual in this respect, as in other areas of physical exercise - drove their own chariots to the festivals of Hyacinthus at Sparta, and they may even have been active contestants in chariot-racing. Athenaeus describes the festival in some detail and reveals that:

**...τη δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται
θεὰ ποικίλη ... τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν
ἐπὶ κανάθρων φέρονται πολυτελῶς
κατεσκευασμένων, αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀμίλλαις
ἀρμάτων ἐξζευγμένων πομπεύουιν, ...**

... in the middle of the three-day period there is held a spectacle with many features ... As for the girls, some are carried in wicker carts which are sumptuously ornamented, others parade in chariots yoked to two horses, which they race, ...⁶⁰

One early supporter of an independent Kyniska has been inclined to connect her story with an early fourth-century Attic red-figure bell krater now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.⁶¹ It depicts on side A a chariot race: the charioteer in long, apparently unbelted chiton drives a **τέθριππον** past the finishing or turning post. In the field above and below the horses is a laurel spray with berries, in the upper right field a spray of ivy. These details have led to the identification as a scene from the Pythian Games, an identification which is perhaps less than conclusive.

But the major consideration here is the figure of the charioteer, which at first sight might arguably appear to be female, since the facial features are somewhat feminine. Yet closer inspection of the preliminary sketch seems to counter this idea: the curved line of the upper torso shows no indication of the breasts and more likely represents drapery billowing in the wind. Furthermore, there is no evidence to substantiate at this early date women's participation in this Panhellenic contest. Later, however, in the Roman era, an inscription from Delphi records the victories of the three daughters of Hermesianax of Tralles in the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games and at the games of Asklepios at Epidaurus: one daughter, Hedeia, won the race for war-chariots at Isthmia, the stade foot-race at Nemea, and the kithara-singing in Athens. It is generally agreed that the wording of the inscription indicates that Hedeia actually participated as a driver in the chariot race.⁶²

To summarize: there is some evidence from the Homeric poems and from archaic pottery for women driving mule-carts or similar means of local transportation; at Sparta the tradition continued and conceivably embraced also chariot-racing; in the Classical period at Athens women appear to have been driven by men (or swept away by them in their chariots!); there is no provision for and no direct evidence of female participation in the Panhellenic games at this time; only goddesses and Amazons are portrayed by the artists of the period as driving their own chariots.

Moreover, they seldom drive three-horse chariots. The two known examples from Classical vase-painting will be discussed below. There are no clear examples of females driving three-horse chariots in contemporary sculpture.

Let us return to the Bareiss kylix, and to the tondo illustration, which depicts a winged Nike figure flying towards a wreathed youth. The youth holds a kithara and a plectrum. The kithara is of the heavy type, used only by virtuosos or by Apollo himself. The attitude of the youth as he supports his instrument immediately recalls similar figures of Apollo in a variety of settings. In the calyx krater Ferrara 2893 (c.430 B.C.), in a scene from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, Apollo confronts Thetis, rather than the Nike figure of the

Bareiss kylix, but Thetis and our Nike have similar profiles and similar gestures of the right hand.⁶³ Citharodes other than Apollo himself are frequently portrayed in parallel arrangements at the moment of victory in musical competition. For example, in a red-figure pelike in Athens a young kithara player stands on the podium playing the final chords of his piece;⁶⁴ his head, crowned with a wreath, is bent forward ready to receive the red ribbon preferred by a Nike, who flies in on outstretched wings. Behind the musician another (wingless) Nike flies to the right, her head turned to look behind her; she has a vase on her shoulder and another in her right hand and is apparently awaiting the verdict of the judge, who stands at the far left. The winner's prize, an oinochoe, stands waiting on a small column near the podium. In both examples the citharode is shown at the moment of victory, which confronts him as a winged figure. This is the climax of the *agon*.

The Nike motif can similarly be viewed in other contexts in parallel compositions. In a kylix in Berlin (inv. 2283) the tondo displays a warrior and Nike, and, most interestingly, the decorative band around the tondo exhibits a chariot race, an *agon* of a different type.⁶⁵ Nike as a personification of the abstract concept of victory is already present in the archaic period at Delphi, where, in the Siphnian treasury Nikai acroteria surmount the pediment which contains the struggle of Apollo and Herakles for the Delphic tripod, and in the second temple of Apollo (c.510), where a Nike acroterion appears above the pedimental chariot group of Apollo. Similarly at Olympia Nikai appear as acroteria surmounting one or even both of the pediments of the temple of Zeus; in each case the image of victory surmounts a scene involving an *agon*: in the West pediment the fight between Lapiths and Centaurs, in the East the chariot race of Pelops against Oinomaos for the hand of his daughter Hippodameia.⁶⁶ The Nike concept becomes particularly prevalent in the second half of the fifth century in the wake of the Persian Wars and it is frequently co-joined with an agonistic theme. Thus, the temple of Athena Nike, erected on the Acropolis in 427/6 B.C., has friezes depicting various struggles on three of its four sides: Greeks versus Greeks, or Greeks versus Persians; the fourth (East) side portrays the Olympian gods, central among whom was most probably Nike herself.

The cult statue of Athena executed by Pheidias for the Parthenon in the years 447-439 displayed a Nike standing on her hand and holding a wreath or fillet; on her shield was depicted a battle of Greeks and Amazons and a battle of gods and giants on the convex and concave surfaces respectively. These topics reflected the decorative scheme of the Parthenon itself. There, in the metopes battles of various types appear: Gods and *giants*, Greeks and Amazons, scenes from the Trojan War, and, echoing Olympia, Lapiths and Centaurs. Similarly, in the West pediment Athena and Poseidon compete for dominion over the land of Attica.

The latter subject is also highlighted in a relatively recently discovered South Italian red-figure pelike from Policoro-Herakleia near Tarentum. A work of the late fifth century, it portrays the contest between Athena and Poseidon, using the whole "canvas" of the vase: on side A we see Poseidon depicted on horseback. This is unusual for an Olympian god, though his mythical associations and epithet "*hippios*" readily explain the image. More germane for the present purpose is side B: here Poseidon's rival Athena moves against him in a chariot - a chariot with three horses. Above her head appears the lightning of her father Zeus.⁶⁷ She is attended by a somewhat voluptuous female companion, perhaps a Nike. In front of the leading horse the artist has indicated an olive branch. (We may compare the arrangement with that of the Los Angeles "Kyniska" vase). Here, then, is an example of the three-horse chariot driven by a goddess in an agonistic context.

Of considerable interest at this point is a red-figure calyx crater in Ferrara of c.430 B.C.⁶⁸ It bears two friezes of decoration: the upper is a gigantomachy, in which can be identified (with the help of superscribed names) Dionysus, assisted by a lion and a satyr, part of Athena, Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo, interspersed with giants; in the lower register is a chariot race, and another scene, poorly preserved, but perhaps also a gigantomachy. The vase particularly attracts attention for two reasons: first, and most obviously, it is a further example of the juxtaposition of two scenes related by the concept of the *agon* - gods doing battle against giants, and the competitive focus of the chariot race; second, the charioteer in the lower register drives a three-horse chariot, which, as we have earlier observed, is a phenomenon limited to deities in this period; and the superscription, indicating that the figure is a Nike,

confirms our findings, though she appears to be wingless (a break in the vase precludes certainty).⁶⁹ Here, then, the abstract concept of victory is reified and becomes not simply a figure confronting or supporting a human victor, but herself the master of the chariot. Such depictions of a Nike driving a chariot can be paralleled elsewhere, as we have seen, but they are rare in black-figure work⁷⁰ and even in red-figure are more common in later fifth-century vases. The personification of abstract concepts is common in late fifth-century vase-painting, and such notions as Harmonia, Eudaimonia, Hygeia, Paideia, Eris and Eutychia are abundant.⁷¹

The metaphorical application of the chariot race appears in literature of the period in the tragedians. In Aeschylus it provides a vivid metaphor for the danger of madness: Orestes, in his desire for revenge, is envisaged as yoked to a chariot of woe (*Cho.* 794ff.), and the image is revived in his speech at the onslaught of the Furies (1021 ff.); in Sophocles (*Electra* 698ff.), the narrative of Orestes' death in the chariot race at the Pythian games in Delphi provides an image of a more moderate, cautious driver than Orestes, an Athenian from the "god-built city", who through his foresight and restraint becomes the only survivor in the contest. In Euripides (*Hippolytus* 1173-1254) the fatal chariot ride of Hippolytus is a physical reflection of the course which Phaedra's mental anguish runs.⁷²

Thus, in the Ferrara krater 2892 (T617) we have two scenes which are related not only because they each represent an aspect of competitiveness, but here the Nike as *charioteer* looks forward to the moment of victory. One would give much to know the identity of the second charioteer! But we must remember that the result of the battle of gods and giants was in any case well known to the average Greek.

What, then, are the implications of our findings for the Bareiss cup? A variety of parallel scenes secure the identification of the tondo subject: here we must see a citharode, perhaps even Apollo himself, confronted by the spirit of victory, which implies an agonistic context. The chariot race of the exterior frieze also presents an *agon*. Fifth-century Greek art and architecture might condition us to expect some topical association between an image of victory and the second compositional subject in a single decorative context.

But what of the female charioteers? Are they human figures? If so, this represents our earliest evidence for female participation in competitive equestrian events in Attic art. Sparta is most likely to have provided the model, as indicated by the evidence of women racing chariots at the Hyacinthia and the interest of Kyniska in chariot-racing. That a Spartan subject should find its way onto an Attic vase is not especially remarkable: contemporaneously we find in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* reflection of the admiration of female Spartan athleticism, and Plato subsequently in the *Republic* appears to be influenced by Spartan usage, when he suggests that women, like men, should be trained in gymnastics.⁷³ In literature only Spartan women are known to have driven racing chariots, but even they are restricted by the regulations from active participation in the Olympic Games.

Alternatively, the charioteers may be women of legend: the Danaids remain an open possibility in light of the Melanippides' fragment, though no other extant version of the story includes a chariot-race. There exists a tradition of a race by the suitors to win the Danaids as wives; in most versions this is a foot-race, in Apollodorus, "a gymnic contest."⁷⁴ Perhaps in an alternate version of the myth, to which Melanippides alludes, the Danaids were pursued by suitors in a chariot race in the manner of Atlanta pursued by Hippomenes. In mythology and in its artistic representation there are frequently variations in the details of mythical events and contests. One of the more obvious examples is a cup by Douris which depicts Jason being disgorged by the dragon while Athena stands by. The version of the story in which Jason was first swallowed by the dragon and subsequently disgorged is not otherwise known.⁷⁵ Thus, it remains arguable that the charioteers are Danaids racing or practising for a chariot race.

But the charioteers on the Bareiss kylix drive *three--* horse chariots, and we have seen that in Attic painting of the later fifth and early fourth century only divinities are represented in this way. Among near contemporary vases the closest parallel is the Ferrara krater, which portrays a named Nike at the reins of a chariot; and Nikai are, I suggest, what we have on the Bareiss kylix.

What makes the Bareiss kylix unique is the portrayal of Nike racing Nike. That each Nike represents a distinct

team may be intimidated by the different brandmarks on the flanks of the chariot horses. We may then interpret the Nikai simply as the spirit of anticipated victory in each team. Or, further, it might be urged that the artist is attempting to communicate the tension, not only that which exists between the teams, but that which is inherent in the pursuit of victory, in the pain and mixed emotion of the *agon*. Similar representations of a psychological concept can be observed in the portrayal of the antithetical facets of “desire” (ἔρως) in vases of the last quarter of the fifth century, in which Ἔρως wrestles with (Ἄντ)ἔρως.⁷⁶

This interpretation affords several benefits: it provides a close relationship between the interior and exterior subjects - not only are they linked by the primary, obvious notion of the *agon*, but also by the concept of victory in both areas. The fact that the Nike of the tondo is winged, while the exterior Nikai are wingless, is not an impediment, since wingless Nikai, though rare, are present in Attic fifth-century red-figure work and at least one example, discussed above, shows both winged and wingless Nikai in the same scene.⁷⁷ The interior musical *agon* and the exterior equestrian contest - the arts and physical exercise - constitute, of course, the two components of Greek education, and equestrian events especially the aristocratic version thereof. But beyond the educational aspect, the Panhellenic festivals themselves had a musical component, especially at Delphi, home of Apollo. We may here recall Hedeia of Tralles, who at a later date combined success in both chariot racing and musical competition at Isthmia and Athens respectively. But in the fifth century Pindar, celebrating in poetry the victory of Hieron of Syracuse in the Delphic chariot race of 470, expresses the consequent hopes of the victor's city that:

(this city) will hereafter be famed for garlands won with its horses and in the singing festivals be a place renowned.⁷⁸

The Bareiss cup is, therefore, an embodiment of the ideal of victory in both areas of endeavour. Further, it gives expression to the agonal spirit - which has, since Jacob Burckhardt, been viewed as one of the most characteristic traits and pervasive forces of Greek culture.

Note: The editors of these *Proceedings* are grateful to *Nikephoros: Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum* for permission to include Professor Raschke's paper in this volume. Dr. Raschke's paper, rendered during this Symposium as the Ion P. Ioannides Memorial Lecture, was originally published in *Nikephoros* (7. Jahrgang- 1994).

1. Bareiss 358: Greek Vases: *The Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1983, no. 164* (See Plates 7/1, 7/2, 8/1 and 8/2 in Appendices I and II). I would like to express my gratitude to Walter Bareiss and to the J.Paul Getty Museum for generously granting permission for the publication of this cup; the Getty Museum has also graciously supplied photographs for publication; many thanks also to a number of friends and colleagues from whose wisdom I have benefitted: particularly A.E. Raubitschek, whose correspondence has been a delight and to Steve Lattimore, who read an earlier version of this paper; and to D.Larmour, T.F. Scanlon, K. Schauenberg, and A.Shapiro; special thanks are due to D.Kurtz for furnishing materials from the Beazley Archive, and to David Gill of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and Jane Gardner of Reading University, for allowing me access to vases in their collections. At an earlier stage, the Getty Museum kindly permitted photographs to be taken for study purposes; many thanks are due to Vicki Mack, who took those photographs. Abbreviations used throughout for ancient authors are according to LSJ and for periodicals according to L'Année Philologique.
2. Cambridge 73: RF kylix, Fitzwilliam Museum, now inv. G51-1864, ARV²; Addenda² 358.
3. Oenochoe: Agora P14793; see E.B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (The Athenian Agora, Vol. XI) Princeton, 1965, 52 and pl 163 b.
4. Burgon amphora, BM B130: ABV89.1; Addenda²24. D.G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, Leiden, 1987, pl .A (reverse). BM B132: ABV405.5; see E.N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London, 1910, repr. Dubuque, Iowa, 1970, fig. 166. and cf. BM B131: ABV405.4. All three vases may portray mule-cart races, see Kyle (supra) 187. One curious apparent exception to the norm is the Naples fragment of a vase by the Coghill Painter representing the rising sun, whose charioteers include Helios himself. They wear what seem to be peploi with long overfalls: Naples RC 157 from Cumae, ARV² 1042.3; Boardman, ARVCP fig. 145.
5. Beazley (apud Kyle [supra n.4, 187]) suggested that the Burgon amphora should also have represented mules; if so, then the evidence may indicate exceptional dress for drivers in mule-cart races.
6. Ferrara 2893 (T 617), name vase of the Peleus Painter: ARV² 1038.1; Addenda² 319; S. Aurigemma, *Il R. Museo di Spina*, 2nd ed., Ferrara 1936-44, p. 222 and pl.CVI; similarly, *ibid.* pl. XXXVII.
7. Likewise, the feet of the Apollo on Cambridge G51-1864 (73) side B and the fingers of the left Muse on side A.
8. The left-hand Muse on side B; also the hair of the musician, with two locks hanging down the back and "sideboards" is very like that of Cambridge G51- 1864, side B.
9. Athens, NM 1391 from Oropus: *Mind and Body: Athletic Contests in Ancient Greece*, catalogue of the exhibition at the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 15th May 1989 - 15th January 1990, Athens 1989, no. 186.
10. E.g. on a Polygnotan hydria, Naples 3232: ARV² 1032.61, Addenda² 318; on a stamnos by the Dinos Painter, Naples 2419: ARV² 1151.2, Addenda 336; on a lebes gamikos by the Washing Painter, New York 16.73: ARV 1126.6, Addenda² 332; a squat lekythos by the Eretria Painter, Berlin 2471: ARV² 1247.1, Addenda² 353; and a skyphos by the Penelope Painter, Berlin 2588: ARV² 1300.1, Addenda² 360.
11. BM 1037; cf. W.W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, Washington, 1921, 274 and fig. 65, who believes it to be a male figure; Newton *apud* Ashmole, *Architect and Sculptor*, New York, 1972, 159-162.

Though this section of the frieze, well-known for many years in its assembled form, has now been disassembled: see B.F. Cook, *The Mausoleum Frieze: Membra Disiectanda*, in: BSA 71, 1976, 49-54, esp. 53-54 (pl. 7e), the figure, even without its chariot, is clearly from its pose that of a charioteer. The frieze is discussed by K. Tancke, *Wagenrennen. Ein Friesthema der aristokratischen Repräsentationskunst spätklassisch-frühhellenistischer Zeit*, in: JDAI 105, 1990, 95-97, who subscribes to ASHMOLE's identification of the figure as male.

12. B. Ashmole, *Demeter of Cnidos*, in: JHS 71, 1951, 18.

13. I am grateful to Prof. Raubitschek for discussion on this *per litteras*.

14. On landmarks: A. Martin in D.-S. III.800 s.v. *equus*; list of references from Beazley *apud* HASPELS, *ABL62* and n.2; H.A. Cahn, in: *Antike Kunst* 5.2, 1962, 77-78; R. Blatter, in: AA, 1969, Heft 1, esp. 74 and n.14; K. Braun, in: MDAI(A) 85, 1970, 256-267; J.H. Kroll, in: *Hesperia* 46.2, 1977, 86-88. For a different perspective: B. Fellmann, in: JDAI 93, 1978, 27-29.

15. Martin (supra n.10); Kroll (supra n.14) 88.

16. Braun (supra n.14) 265.

17. *Ibid.*, 267; 258.

18. *Ibid.* 259; Cahn (supra n. 14) 77-78.

19. For the mythical and heroic contexts in which the *kerykeion* appears as a landmark, see the catalogue in Braun (supra n. 14) 258.

20. Iris with *kerykeion*: ARV² 478.307 (identified as Iris by Beazley, but doubt cast by Goulaki-Voutira, *LIMCVII*, no. 377); 624.80; 654.8; 679.42 (though, n.b, the majority of subjects by this artist, the Bowdoin Painter, are Nikai). Nike with *kwykeion*: ARV² 288.5, where the Nike is named (cf. ARAFAT (infra n.21); 686.187; 686.193; 1664.

21. There are a number of vases in which the subject is listed as "Nike or Iris", e.g. ARV² 271.3; 286.17; 379/141; 410.56; 497.9; 573.12; 641.80; 689.258; 697.28; 889.164; 915.148. K.W. Arafat in: BICS 33, 1986, 129-130, discusses briefly the question of the differentiation between Iris and Nike, though he is primarily concerned with this question in relation to libation scenes. Boardman (ARFVAP226, cited by Arafat [p.130]) has asserted that Iris "is readily confused with Nike except where the latter is clearly celebrating a victory". But he also observes (ARVCP227) that "Iris is seldom identifiable after the mid-fifth century, but her look-alike NIKE is everywhere, attending victors ..., driving chariots ...".

22. Hydria, BM E224; ARV² 1313.5; *Addenda*² 361-2. Pyxis by the Lid Painter: Athens 17983; ARV 1282.2; *Addenda*² 358; Braun (supra n.14) pl.93.3. Pelike by the Painter of Louvre G433, Warsaw 198556: ARV² 1343; *Addenda*² 367. Lucanian krater by the Choephoroi Painter at Yale: A.D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford, 1967, 121, No. 609, and pl. 61.

23. Cf. L. Bum, *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford, 1987, 10-11, who draws the parallel with caution.

24. The case against the notion of heroes fighting from a chariot is argued persuasively by J. Crowel, *Chariots and other means of land transport in Bronze Age Greece*, Amsterdam, 1981, 122- 132, 151; cf. M. Littauer and J. Crowel,

Chariots in Late Bronze Age Greece, in: *Antiquity* 57, 1983, 189- 190.

25. On the various types of chariots, see W.W. Hyde (supra n.11) 262-264; H.A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome*, Ithaca, 1972, 153-4, 171; D. Bell, *The Horse Race (KELES) in Ancient Greece from the Pre-Classical Period to the First Century B.C.*, in *Stadion* 15.2, 1989, 172. Four-horse chariots are implied several times in Homer, at Il.8.185, 11.699, and at Od.13.81.

26. On the funeral games of Patroklos and others, see L.E. Roller, *Funeral Games in Greek Art*, in: *AJA* 85.2, 1981, 107-119.

27. *Iliad* 8.80ff; 16.145ff.; 460ff.

28. DionHal., *Ant. Rom.* 7.73.2; Harris (supra n.25) 171; J.H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986, 16.

29. See G.S. Kirk, commentary on *Il.* 8.87-91; R. Janko, commentary on *Il.* 16.152-4. Cf. J. Wiesner, *Fahren und Reiten*, *Archaeologia Homerica* I, Lfg. F, Göttingen, 1968, 20-22; E. Delebeque, *Le Cheval dans l'Iliade*, Paris, 1951, 144; W. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, Vienna, 1901, 141; W. Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, 2nd ed., 1887, 129.

30. *Od.* 4.587ff

31. Attempts to identify in the Shaft-Grave Stelai from Mycenae depictions of chariot-racing at funeral games have been met with some scepticism, cf. R.C. Bronson, *Chariot Racing In Etruria*, in: *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti*, Rome, 1965, 89; cf. J.Crouwel (supra n.24) 119-120. But more recently the find of fragments of a Mycenaean amphor from Tiryns, which clearly represents a chariot race, establishes the Bronze Age origin of a popular later Greek activity: see E. Kilian, *Zur Darstellung eines Wagenrennens in spätmykenischer Zeit*, in: *MDAI(A)* 95, 1980, 21-31; J.H. Crouwel (supra n.24) 142 and pl.66 (V51), cf. pl.64 (V48); cf. 145; also V. Olivovà, *Chariot Racing in the Ancient World*, in: *Nikephoros* 2, 1989) 65-88, esp. 71-72. Nevertheless, there is still no firm evidence of the Mycenaean use of a three-horse team.

32. See n.4. supra.

33. E.g., Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.2235: ARV² 1701.50 bis; Louvre A258: ARV² 1113.10; cf. Kyle (supra n.4) 187.

34. A fine example of a four-horse team: Berlin 1897: ABV293.8; *Addenda*² 76; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1840-58, pl. 259-250; B.Schroeder, *Der Sport im Altertum*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 71; Hyde (supra n.11) 263 and pl.26.25. Sophilos frag., Athens, NM 15499: ABV39.16; *Addenda*² 10; cf. G. Bakir, *Sophilos*, Mainz am Rhein, 1981, Cat.A.3, who (pp. 39,59) dates the Pharsalos dinos (15499) to the late 580's, contemporary with the Erskine dinos (BM B1971.11-1.1) (+Bakir Cat.A.1). On Exekias' representation of Pedasos, see M.B. Moore, *The Death of Pedasos*, in: *AJA* 86, 1982,578-581.

35. Dipylon kraters: Sydney, Nicholson Museum 46.41; (fragmentary) Louvre A541; New York 14.130.14; neck amphorae (I) from the collection of the Count de Lagunillas, Havana; (ii) Athens, Agora P4990 = J. Davison, *Attic Geometric Workshops*, in: *YCIS* 16, 1961, figs. 21,23,26,35,36; Protoattic pyxis: Athens, Kerameikos = K.Kuebler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, figs. 39-40; noted by Bronson (supra n.31) 102. Bohen has suggested that the number of horses on the lids of geometric pyxides may reflect the economic status of the individual buried: B.Bohen,

Die geometrische Pyxiden (Kerameikos XIII) Berlin/New York, 1988, 11-12. This interpretation may be applicable also for the scenes on funerary vases.

36. The east frieze of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion of c.430 appears to offer one instance as portrayed in J.Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, The Classical Period*, London, 1985, fig. 120.6. But the subsequent reconstruction of Felten and Hoffelner and their drawing of the same panel (F8) indicate a four-horse team: F. Felten and K. Hoffelner, *Die Relieffriese des Poseidontempels in Sounion*, in: MDAI(A) 102, 1987, 169-184, and Beilage 2.

37. A. Akerström, *Untersuchungen über die fgürlichen Terrakottafriese aus Etrurien und Latium*, in: *OpuscRom.* 1, 1954, 191-200; Bronson (supra n.31) 103. Cf. a cippus from Chiusi, in W.Decker, *Wagenrennen bei den Etruskern-Ein Beitrag zur Anwendungsgeschichte des Wagens*, in: *Achse, Rad und Wagen - Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landfahrzeuge*, Heft 1, Wiehl, 1991, 8 and fig. 8, and further examples cited in his note 22. Also, J.-P. Thuillier, *Les jeux athlétiques dans la civilization etrusque* (Befar 256) Rome 1985, index s.v. *triga*.

38. See Bronson (supra n.31) 93, no. 19 and pl.XXVa; Akerström (supra n.37) pl1.9-10.

39. *Ant.Rom.* 7.73.2,5; the record of Dionysius of Halicarnassus has given rise to scholarly perplexity and is discussed by Wiesner and others, (supra n.29). On the derivation of the *apobates* race from Homeric warfare: Demosthenes, *Erotikos* (sp.)23-25; see D.G. Kyle, *The Panathenaic Games: Sacred and Civic Athletics*, in: J.Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, Princeton, 1992, 89, who rightly points out (n.70) that the *apobates* race was not peculiar to the Panathenaia, but was in evidence also in Boeotia and at Oropos; *contra*: N.B. Crowther, *The Apobates Reconsidered (Demosthenes Ixi 23-9)*, in: *JHS* 111, 1991, 174- 176, esp. 175. See also N.B. Reed, *A Chariot Race for Athens' Finest: The Apobates Contest Re-Examined*, in: *Journal of Sport History* 17.3, 1990, 307.

40. Eur. *Helen* 357; Soph.fr.545 (Sisyphus); *AnthGr* 11.27.4; 16.220.1. Yet, interestingly, the depiction of the Judgement of Paris on the West frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi shows the three goddesses with four-horse chariots. The most recent discussion of the Siphnian Frieze is that of M.B. Moore, *The West Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury: a New Reconstruction*, in: *BCH* 109, 1985, 131-156.

41. *AnthGr* 6.16.2,6.181.1; of a path: Soph, *Ichneut. fr.* 314.

42. *Andr.* 277.

43. As in Sophocles, *Ant* 134ff., where it is used of Ares as “the one who sets the pace”; so similarly in Eustathius, *ad Il.* ...; the association with Ares is reified in Plutarch, *Aet.Rom.et Gr.* 287 a3, where the winning trace-horse is sacrificed to Ares. On the metaphor, cf. Harris (supra n.25) 171 .LSJ interprets the term as “the right-hand trace horse in a team of four, which did the hardest work”. But the term is not so restricted as to imply a three- as opposed to a four-horse team.

44. Aphrodite drawn by Erotes or Peitho: *ARV*² 1325.57; 1417.1; cf. 1317.3 and 1328.92, *Addenda*² 364. Athena: *ARV*² 66.134; 73.27; 125.11.

45. Again present in the sculptural adornment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and, like the agonistic symbolism of the metopes, again indicative of the essential competitiveness of the Olympic Games. But this I have discussed elsewhere: “Images of Victory” in: W.J. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics, Madison, 1988, 38-54. Athena also appears mounting a chariot in the eristic context of the Western frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi, v. supra (note 40). On the conjunction of Athena and Herakles and its political

implications in sixth and fifth century Greek art, see the work of J. Boardman, *Herakles, Peisistratos and sons*, in: RA, 1972, 57-72, esp. 64-65 on the *Herakleous kore vase* (Oxford 212, by the Priam painter); *Herakles, Delphi, and Kleisthenes of Sicyon*, in: RA, 1978, 227-234; *Herakles, Peisistratos, and Eleusis*, in: JHS 95, 1975, 1-2; *Herakles, Peisistratos, and the Unconvinced*, in: JHS 109, 1989, 158-159.

46. Herakles and Nike: ARV² 1335.34, 1690; 1420.2; 1420.5, *Addenda*² 375; reverse with athletes/youths: 1419.1; 1420.3; 1420.4, *Para*490; 1424.1,2,3, *Addenda*² 376; 1437.4, 13.

47. Calyx crater from Boeotia, Athens, NM 12250, ARV² 1435; *Mind and Body* (supra n.9) no.2. Olynthus, in Thessalonike, Robinson, *Olynthus V*, 112; *Mind and Body* (supra n.9) no. 185. Other examples: ARV² 1040.18, *Addenda*² 319; 1104.4, *Addenda*² 329; 1109.26. Chariot-racing: ARV² 1097.13, 14; 1101.1; 1101.2, *Addenda*² 329; 1115.20,21,22.

48. Naples 2414, from Ruvo: ARV² 574.1.

49. Naples, Collection of M. Astarita 763: ARV² 1623.64 bis.

50. Munich 2420: ARV² 32.3; 1621, *Addenda*² 157; CVAp1s.220,1-2;221,3;226,3; *Mind and Body* (supra n.9) pl.199.

51. Würzburg 310: ABV666, *Addenda*² 148; 667, 714; D. Von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957, p. 107 and pl.LXIV. 1.

52. Pyxis in New York, ARV² 1277.24. The identification of the subjects as the Danaids by association with Melanippides fr.1 (=PAGE, *PMG*757) was made by Milne and is reported by Beazley (ad loc.) and by Von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections*, New York, 1961, p.61, no.242 and pl.92. The verb used by Melanippides is $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, which is regularly used of practise for athletic competition.

53. Homer, *Od*VI.57ff.; Daphnae vases: see M.H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, pl.VIII d and e; J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1961, pl. 17a, who describes the figure on horseback as a "youth"; R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, London, 1966, 136- 137 and pl.32B.

54. See list and bibliographical references given in L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome, 1953,42; cf. H.A. Harris (supra n.25) 178; H.M. Lee, Sig³ 802: *Did Women compete against men in Greek Athletic Festivals?* in: Nikephoros 1, 1988, 103- 117 *passim*. On the Panathenaia: S. Tracy and C. Habicht, *New and Old Panatheniac Victor Lists*, in: *Hesperia* 60.2, 1991, 189-236, esp. 202,205, and 213-217; idem, *The Panatheniac Festival and Games: An Epigraphic Inquiry*, in: Nikephoros 4, 1991, 133- 153; cf. Kyle (supra n.39) 89.

55. Pausanias 3.8.1.

56. Pausanias 5.12.1; 6.1.6.

57. Anth.Gr.13.16; cf. MORETTI (supra n.54) #17; latest edition and commentary: J.Ebert, *Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (ASAW, phil.-hist. Kl. 63.2) Berlin 1972, 110, no.33.

58. Xenophon, *Ages*.9.6; Plutarch, *Ages*.20.6.

59. See Pausanias 5.6.7; cf.6.28.9.

60. Athenaeus *Deip.* 4.139, translated by C.B. Gulick, Cambridge, Mass. 1957. The Greek text is, however, rather more ambiguous as to whether the girls conducted the chariots in the procession prior to the race in which they themselves - or someone else - participated.
61. Los Angeles County Museum of Art 50.8.38 (A5933.50.44): *ARV*² 1438, *Addenda*² 377; CVA Los Angeles I, pl.33; J.H. Krause, *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen* (1841), Wiesbaden, 1971, vol. 1 p.581.
62. SIG³ 802 (A.D.45); most recent discussion in LEE (supra n.54), esp.103, 108-9.
63. On the instrument: Beazley, in: *JHS* 42, 1992, 71-2, discussing a Type C amphora in the Hearst Collection, remarks: "The youth is a virtuoso; for his instrument is the heavy elaborate cithara, made of wood, with metal and ivory fittings. It is Apollo's instrument and is to be distinguished from the lighter, simpler lyre invented by the infant Hermes." Calyx krater, Ferrara 2893 (T617), see n.6 supra.
64. Athens, NM 1183: *ARV*² 1123.1; J.N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens, 1908-37, fig.130; *Mind and Body* (supra n.9) no.202.
65. Berlin 2283: *ARV*² 429.21, *Addenda*² 236; J.C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, Cambridge, Mass., 1919, vol.1, p.211.
66. For Nike in Olympia see now: A.Moustaka, *Grossplastik aus Ton in Olympia* (Olympische Forschungen XXII) Berlin/New York 1993, and the review of H.-V. Herrmann in: *Nikephoros* 7, 1994, xx.
67. E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, Munich, 1980, p11.77-78 and further sources cited therein on p.340.
68. Ferrara 2892 (T300): *ARV*² 1041.6, *Addenda*² 319, misattributed to Polygnotus by Beazley in his first edition of *ARV*, but later assigned to the manner of the Peleus Painter: Aurigemma (supra n.6) p.206 and pl.XCVIII.
69. Pace N.Alfieri and P.E. Arias, *Spina*, Munich, 1958, 51 and p11.66-67. At the point of the break what may have appeared to be part of a wing is more likely to be part of the fabric of the chiton billowing in the wind; cf. the charioteer on the bell crater in Los Angeles 50.8.38 (supra n.61).
70. A mere 2 examples in Beazley's corpus.
71. The incarnation of abstract concepts is represented in the late fifth and early fourth centuries by Aristophanes, whose comedies testify to the weariness of the People of Athens with the Peloponnesian War and introduce characters such as Eirene and her attendants Theoria and Opora, Festival and Harvest, the benefits of the Good Life which Peace brings with her. And soon after, the sculptor Kephisodotos created a statue of Eirene and Ploutos - Peace and Wealth. A study of such abstractions has been made by H.A. Shapiro, *Personification of Abstract Concepts in Greek Art and Literature to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Diss.Princeton, 1976.
72. Aristophanes, *Cho.* 794ff., see Garvie, commentary ad loc.; on Euripides, *Hipp.* 1173ff., see D.H.J. Larmour, *Phaedra and the Chariot-ride*, in: *Eranos* 86, 1988, 25-30.
73. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 78-81; Plato, *Resp.* 452a2 and Halliwell ad loc.

74. Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 2.22; I. Weiler, *Der Agon im Mythos*, Darmstadt, 1974, 194-6.

75. Douris kylix, Rome, Vatican 16545: *ARV*² 437.116, *Addenda*² 239.

76. Pyxis, Würzburg 541 (H4455): *ARV*² 1133.196, 1684; *Addenda*² 333; lebes gamikos, Munich 8926 (once Breitbrunn, Buschor): *ARV*² 1127.6bis, *Addenda*² 332; these and further examples in vases and other media: *LIMC* 3.1, Zurich 1986, 338-395.

77. Some representations of Nike *apteros* in red-figure vases and other media are listed in *LIMC* VI.1, 1990, p.881, nos.370-376. To the red figure vases there cited may be added: Athens, NM 1183: *ARV*² 1123.1 (supra p. 17 and n.64); Berlin 2406: *ARV*² 1225.1, *Addenda*² 350.

78. Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.37-38.

Appendix I



Taf.7/1 (zu Raschke *passim*): Bareiss 358 Side A; Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California; Attic Red-Figure Cup Type B; ca.420-410 B.C.; Terracotta; H: 8-8.4cm, W (handles): 29.5cm, Diam.: 22.9cm. Diam. (foot): 9cm.



Taf.7/2 (zu Raschke *passim*): Bareiss 358 Side B (vd. above Taf.7/1).

Appendix II



Taf.8/1 (zu Raschke *passim*): Bareiss 358 Tondo; Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California; Attic Red-Figure Cup Type B; ca.420-410 B.C.; Terracotta; H: 8-8.4cm, W (handles): 29.5cm, Diam.: 22.9cm, Diam. (foot): 9cm.



Taf.8/2 (zu Raschke *passim*): Bareiss 358 Tondo detail (vd. above Taf.7/1).