

Athena, the City-Goddess of Athens on a Late Corinthian Column Crater



1 x 1 H. ca.10/ 11cm

This picture shows a brandishing Athena with her name inscription on a small fragment (h. c.10cm) of a large/ 'grand' Late Corinthian column crater (h. c.40-c.50cm) reported by P. Perdrizet in 1908 in *Fouilles de Delphes V* (the excavations of 1892-1901) p.144, no.134, fig.594 (in a black & white photo), 'found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphes' (*Guide-Delphes Musée, efa*, 1991). [N. This colour photo was taken by the author with permission at the Delphi Museum on April 2, 2015.] (E de Boccard 227-8: 'deposit of altars': East and West of Apollo temple, East and West of *Necropolis*: 'hundreds of fragments of Corinthian vases')N]

[N This piece does not have its inventory number, and it is not recognized in the excavation-day-notebook *Journal de la grande fouille de Delphes (1892-> 1896 | ->1901)*, sent from the EFA Archive by e-mail with a message: 'This notebook is full of information concerning the excavations of the sanctuary of Apollo (1892-1896)'; and, although this piece has two name-inscriptions: ΑΘ|Α[NA] and Ι Η Ο Ν Ι Κ Α, it is not recorded as other finds with inscriptions in the same *Journal*.] Nonetheless, I myself could not recognize it in the *Journal*.]

When P. Perdrizet reported the piece in *FD V* in 1908, he must have recognized the small piece in such an excellent quality among the sorted collection of the pottery from the excavations of 1892-1901. Humfry Payne highly evaluates the quality of the piece (n.1453) in *NC* (1931).

The piece is also reported with the same photo in *the Guide de Delphes Musée* published by *efa* edited by E.de Boccard in 1991, p227-8 fig.3. The piece had long been exhibited in the Museum probably until the remodelling of the Museum began. E de Boccard, 1991, 227-8, fig.3 'il y a peu' precise exact find places'.

It is assumed, according to *FD V* (140a-155) that many Corinthian pottery were abundantly brought to Delphi, and uncovered at various locations in Delphi, the sanctuary of Apollo. (N. *FDV* 143-4: a few more fragments of *grand* vases in *beau style* (132-136) are reported, also without the find-date and find-spots. Small vases for ritual purifications were abundantly uncovered in the temples/ temenos and in tombs especially aryballoi.)

It is assumed that this piece with two name-inscriptions from ‘the shoulder’ of a large LC column crater (H c.40-50cm) was probably found somewhere at Marmaria, the sanctuary of Athena, Athena Pronaia during the 1901-excavation, although it is not found in the records of the 1901-Marmaria excavation in the excavation-day-notebook *Journal de la grande fouille de Delphes* (1892-> 1896 | ->1901, (p544-?578). H. Payne studied the piece and in *NC* (1931) highly evaluates its artistic quality.

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It is not decisive whether the LC column crater to which this marvellous fragment belonged was dedicated as a thank-offering for some reason, or it was actually utilized for any ritual or gathering of people in the sanctuary, and afterwards it was dedicated to the deity, Athena. Another case can be guessed that this large crater belonged to the sanctuary for any necessary occasions, and remained there as such.

This vase dedication might have been given with a particular intention: a plea to Athena for her help and support. As the name of the divinity inscribed on this piece is Athena, it is indeed likely that the ritual took place at the sanctuary of Athena, and the vase was dedicated to Athena here at Marmaria, rather than to Apollo in his Temple/ Temenos.

This seems to be reasonable. According to the reports the main types of vases found in the Temenos were small vases for perfume for rituals, and the most common was aryballos.

This piece probably was not uncovered in the East Nekropolis, close to Marmaria, excavated in the same year 1901, and reported in *the same Journal* as well. Here and in other tombs (*Tombe de Pylaea* 1895 excavation, 153) too small Corinthian vases were uncovered mainly aryballoi, alabastra, scyphoi, pyxides (*FD V* 152-153-155).

It is unlikely that such a large column crater (H c.40-50cm) of high quality was dedicated as a grave offering. Perdrizet would have considered in a similar way as he reports that ‘usually Panathenaic amphorae were dedicated to temples, not accompanied into the tombs’. (*FDV* 157) Nonetheless, the plausible find-places of this small fragment of a large (h c40-50cm) LC column crater could be somewhere at Marmaria, the Athena sanctuary, or at the Athenian Treasury.

When this LC column crater was complete, it might have been admirable depicting such a highly sophisticated graceful Athena as the main figure of a certain scene at the central painting panel.

‘(if) Complete, this vase (n.1453A) would have ranked among the two or three finest and most interesting red-ground craters.’ (*NC* 138) This estimable expression given to another fragment of a LC column crater (n. 1453A), Payne also sure would have had this expression in mind to this Athena on ‘the fragment in Delphi’.

Section II The Importance of this Athena

This Athena is only one, and the first and the last representation of Corinthian armed female figure equipped in the Greek armour, the hoplite panoply: helmet, spear and round shield, and definitely designated as Athena by the name inscription.

This Athena is also the first and the last, and only one Corinthian armed Athena as the city-

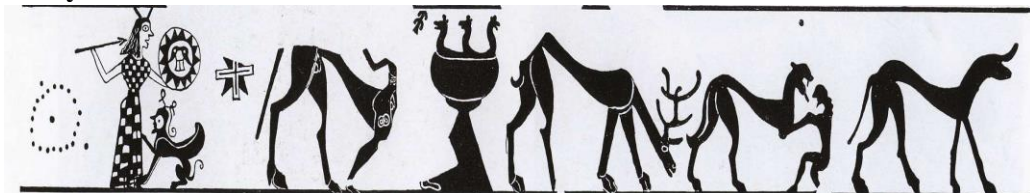
goddess of Athens. Neither before nor after this Athena, the Corinthian vase-painters produced any goddess type of female figure as Athena, nor as the city-goddess of Athens, identified with the name inscription.

Neither Payne nor Amyx particularly does point out this feature rather an important aspect from the art historical view.

[N The crude LC armed female (BrusselsM R221) too is in the Greek panoply, but not nominated, and its Corinthian vase-painter most probably depicted it still as an orientalising figure.]

The Corinthian vase-painters made *some* armed female figures of the goddess type. So far, the earliest and the first one was a late Protocorinthian, c695 BC. It is just an orientalizing reproduction, modelled on, or rather provoked by the appearance of an oriental armed war-goddess Ishtar, and it was not specified as any Greek goddess.

Simply as a newly reproduced orientalising figure it was depicted on a small PC krateriskos (h 9.6cm, dm. 11cm) juxtaposed with other six new orientalizing figures: Centauros, griffin/ lion cauldron on a high conical stand, a grazing stag with enormous horns, a bull with one horn, and a man attacked by a lion.



This is dated to LEPC/ EMPC/ c695 BC, and it is certainly the earliest and the first goddess type of armed female figure in the Greek iconography, clearly, not ambiguous, without problems, as another one 'from Thebes', the Ashmolean G146. I place and date this PC, LEPC or EMPC, c695 BC, taking the two fighting female warriors on the Tiryns-votive-shield dated to the last quarter of the 8th century/ c720-c700, just *a few years* earlier than the PC goddess type, as an orientalising reproduction provoked by the same extravagant appearance of the oriental war-goddess Ishtar. This means that the two types of armed females were reproduced from the same oriental origin: Ishtar, in a close synchronic context.

Then, later they were clearly distinguished, and the goddess type developed into and categorized as the Greek war-goddess: Athena, and the other the female warrior: the Amazon.

I just followed simply accepted the date given to the Tiryns shield 'as earlier than the armed goddess.' Now I wonder which was really earlier? Notice here the Greek artisans' motive and attitude for any reproduction from the Ishtar style/ appearance: from their cynical attitude to it their defeated fighting female warriors were devised, as seen in a few extant examples: Tiryns shield, Naxos c660 BC, Aigina c640 BC, Olympia c640-550 BC. (N references)

Now, the problem is which was the earlier production: the Tiryns-Shield or the PC Samos-Krateriskos? And which school of painters made the Tiryns-Shield? (JB 108, fig.213,Argive!) Here this issue will not be further argued.

(N Amyx 619-620: Amyx gives date to the Samos krateriskos 'MPC', and places second after the problematic aryballos 'from Thebes', OXORD G 146, Ashmolean Museum, which he dates to 'Protocorinthian'. In LIMC II 1 (P. Demargne) both of them PC: n. 26: 'the first quarter of 7th c, and n.67,' *début* 7th c'; Gardner JHS24 295-296:-6 : (Oxford G146) 'scarcely later than 8th c from the point 'an interesting link between Geometric and PC', because of the ambiguous problematic technique. N)

From the first orientalisising armed female figure of goddess type c695 BC which was reproduced by a PC vase painter, the image of the armed goddess type developed, probably mainly in Corinth, and became a definite Corinthian repertoire eventually, but extant representations are only these two: OXFORD G 146, the LC, BrusselsM R 221, so far.

The image of the City-Goddess of Athens

It is highly assumed that after 595/c590 BC, modelled on any of Corinthian goddess type of armed female figures, the Athenians created the image of their city-goddess Athena, the Protector of the City and the People, Athena Polias.

Here Athena's essential socio-political nature has commenced and developed deeply firmly rooted and tied with firm sincere piety, trust, rely of the People on their City-Goddess. Hence, the history of the trustful City-Goddess in Arms has expanded further and further, and Her City has prospered and flourished in various fields (and beautifully flowered) under her reliable steady safeguard. The image of their City-Goddess in Arms truly encouraged, stimulated, inspired, strengthened and prompted the People of Athens.

Now in the late phase of LC, 2nd quarter of 6th century, a Corinthian painter depicted a complete Athenian Athena, (indeed, a kind of a pseudo-Attic-Corinthian Athena: cf. NC 189). This LC armed goddess was really intended as Athena, the City-Goddess of Athens. This can be proved by the helmet type she wears.



the first Corinthian armed goddess



the last Corinthian armed goddess

Here, before we advance further, we see the two Corinthian armed goddesses:

The first is the earliest PC armed goddess type, which would have become the model of other Corinthian armed goddesses, (but not as Athena,) most of which were not extant, some of which might have been used as the model for making of the image of the City Goddess of Athens.

[N Cf.: a LC armed goddess type (Brussels R221) is rare and only extant example: with a Greek helm, a round shield and a spear, in a crude execution, an example of the 'degraded LC vase-

painting?.]



LC armed goddess type (BrusselsM R221)

The second is the Last Corinthian armed goddess type, that is, our Delphi Athena.

Now in the 2nd quarter of the 6th century a Corinthian vase painter depicted a perfect and real Athena as the City-Goddess of Athens in the completely Athenian style, (indeed a kind of a pseudo-Attic-Corinthian Athena) as the central figure in a certain creative and elaborate large scale scene in the main painting panel of a large column crater (H c.40-50 cm).

Payne would have regretfully expressed his disappointment for the loss of the rest of the vase (of n.1453), as he actually did to the same case of another LC column crater NC n.1453A:

‘The loss of the rest of the vase is a real misfortune, for the drawing is good and unusually careful, the subject rare, and the presentation of it unique.’ (NC 138, Fig. 49)

Both fragments are only c.10cm and c.12cm preserved from the large LC column craters.

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AΘA[NAIA



AΘA[NAIA and ΙΠΟΝΙΚΑ/ ΑΚΙΝΟΠΙ

This armed female figure is only one Corinthian representation of the true Athenian armed City-Goddess Athena identified by the name inscription: *A Θ A [N A]*, it is clear by her appearance. Payne proposes (NC n.53) *AΘA[NAIA]*/ ‘*Aθα[νάια]*’, appearing on the Chigi Olpe; he knows that this is not Corinthian: cf. NC 38-39 (4).

(N Cf. On the Françoise Vase Athena is named *Athenaia/AΘHNAIA*; Chios, Emporio Athena sanctuary: *AΘHNAH*; Corinth/ Πεντε Σκούφια clay votive plaque: *AΘANAIA/ Αθαναία*, 7thc.)

Amyx, however, is critical to this as ‘non/ un-Corinthian writing’, but without any proper locality (*Amyx*; n.2 557), and he takes *Aθάνα*, which appears on several Corinthian vases: ns 6, 19, 45, agreeing with Arena (n.91, 581).

Corinthian painters depicted *Athena* in some figurative scenes. Amyx lists the well-known seven Athenas with a comment that ‘*Athena* is the most popular of the Olympian divinities in the Corinthian vase paintings’, and he adds seven more extant examples, all of them accompanying Herakles in his fighting the Hydra. (*Amyx* 619-620 & ns.8-14)

These are, however, just a small number of fortunate extant Athenas. This may reflect not only difference of their repertoire, but also their essential attitude to and principles of pottery production as their principal industry, and this also may reflect social organization, system, and even social, ideological differences between the Corinthians and the Athenians.

Nonetheless, this *Athena* is outstanding among such a few extant Corinthian female figures with the name inscriptions *Athena* but unarmed, or armed female figures but not nominated with the inscription. This may well imply that the Corinthian painters did not intend their armed female figures of goddess type as *Athena*, and that *Athena* in the Corinthian vase painting, and probably for the Corinthians generally *Athena* was not an armed goddess, but of certain different divine nature.

(N: The following two lists (made after the list of *Amyx*) show, the first: the examples of Corinthian ‘*Athenas*’, named, but not armed:

1. The Chigi Olpe: *AΘANAIA*: M/ LPC H 26.2, from Veii. (*Amyx* n.1)
2. Clay votive plaque: Archaic/ 7thc *AΘANAIA/ Αθαναία* Berlin F 764, from Pente Skouphia; *Athena* standing on a chariot as the charioteer of Diomedes in *his Aristeia, Iliad E*; *Athena*

holds one spear, no doubt of Diomedes, who is fighting on the ground with a helmet, a round shield, but with one spear. Therefore, this Athena, without helmet, shield, nor her own spear, cannot be categorized as an armed Athena. She is holding Diomedes' spear, not her own.

3. A ('generic') *Departure* scene, *AΘANA*: MC column crater H 0.395, Basel BS 451. (*Amyx* n.6)
4. Herakles-Hydra, and a few more: *AΘANA* (*Amyx* ns. 8-14)

The second: Examples of Corinthian Armed female figures of goddess type 'Athenas', without the name inscriptions, taken from *Amyx*'s list.

1. LEPC/EMPC krateriskos, H 9.6cm, D 11cm. Samos Heraion *Amyx*.n4)
2. MPC aryballos, H.6.2, d3.8 AshmoleanM OXFORD G 146 (*Amyx* n.3)
- 3: LC aryballos BrusselsM R 221, Greek helmet, 'hoplite panoply' H.6.6, dm5.5 small vase; in b-f technique 2nd quarter of the 6thc. (*Amyx* n. 7).

(Notice that these three Corinthian armed females, without name inscriptions are inaptly designated as Athena just by their armed appearance as Athena's later canonical attribute. These three should not be designated as Athena. N)

Our LC armed female figure was designated as Athena by the name inscription. More precisely speaking, this Late Corinthian armed Athena was depicted modelled on the specified type of Athena as the city-goddess of Athens represented on 'all the earliest Panathenaic prize amphorae in the earliest period after the reorganization of the Panathenaia in 566 BC (according to *BzD* 89), even appearing already a little earlier, the time of the Burgon-Athena. This can be proved by the special type of the helmet crowned on the head of our Delphi-Athena.

The Helmet

A brief comment at the beginning of the helmet:

As the helmet this LC Athena wears is the very key element to determine this Athena's history, and the type of her helmet is indeed a leading element of this Athena, comparing this Athena's unique helmet with other real practical warrior-helmets, it will be argued for a while.

This Athena wears a helmet, the so-called skull-cap type, of a small shallow cap with two white circles/ bands, with a high white crest supported by a curved tube. It is set on the top of her head, and its long tail is hanging straight down to the middle of her back over the long rich hair. It has no cheek piece, nor the neck-guard, and the whole her sophisticated feminine face and fair neck can be seen. It is plain but a distinguished helmet, and unique type, indeed, differing from the practical real warrior-helmet, giving her an impressive dignity, and delightful cheerful atmosphere.

The skull-cap helmet was particularly created for the City-Goddess Athena by the Attic black figure vase painters around early second quarter of the 6th century, notably the C Painter, the Painter of Acropolis 606, Lydos, the Amasis painter, Exekias, as Beazley observes: 'The long line of the Panathenaic Prize amphorae begins in the time of Lydos. (*BzD* 47) (575-550-525).

Nonetheless, as the Athena on the Burgon Panathenaic amphora (BM B 130), known as 'stylistically the earliest type' (*JB* 168), wears a skull-cap helmet, this helmet of a specific type must have already been devised by creative ABF painters of the early phase of the second quarter of the 6thc/ ca.570 BC, definitely before 566 BC.

The date of the Burgon Amphora has been presumed that it might have been produced before the reorganization of the Panathenaia in 566 BC, based on the event depicted on the reverse, a *synoris* team, an *equestrian* (N), but not an athletic event.

This may prove that the Burgon Amphora was not awarded for an athletic contest, as it is generally attested that the athletic contests were for the first time introduced in 566 BC, the year of the reorganization of the Panathenaia, and Beazley assumes its date 'not to be much earlier than 566 BC stylistically'.

(N: a *synoris* team: two horse /mule carts/ an *equestrian*. JB 168 Fig. 296 h61.3; the height of the Panathenaics vary from about 60-70cm to more than 80cm.)



by the Painter of Acropolis 606



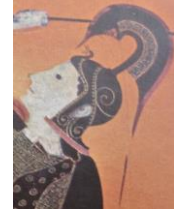
by the Amasis Painter



by the C Painter



by Exekias warriors



Penthesileia

It can be assumed that as the Painter of Acropolis 606 seems to have had a strong interest and skilled in helmets depicting his warriors with various types of helmets and crests.

(BzD pl.13.1= JB47, 48; Amasis JB F 86; Exekias)

Therefore, it seems likely that around 570 BC or early 570's, the Painter of Acropolis 606 could have visualized a special type of helmet for the City-Goddess Athena as the divine symbol of the Protector of the City and the People of Athens, a remarkable head dress for the armed City-Goddess.

By this time 570 BC, already Athena might have had appeared in arms as the Protector of the City and the people of Athens, but we have no extant earlier image of armed Athena as the City-Goddess of Athens by ABF painters.

What type of helmet she was crowned? Most probably warrior-helm, as the LC armed goddess



or the Tyrrhenian Athena in the Gorgon episode.

The Painter of Acropolis 606 would have designed the new special type of helm to characterize and distinguish the City-Goddess of Athens by a remarkable divine crown of a special type of helmet, functionally as the equipment of the divine female defender and fighter of the City of Athens, although its form is basically derived from the real practical warrior-helmet.

The Painter of Acropolis 606, thus, clearly distinguished the divine crown, the symbol of the City-Goddess from the real practical helmet for the warriors.

The painter of the Burgon Amphora would have depicted his Athena crowning the newly created helmet as a suitable and appropriate head dress for the City-Goddess Athena in the occasion of her Great Festival Panathenaia particularly appearing on the prize amphora for the



victors of the Games in Her Festival.

The Painter of Acropolis 606 might have got a brilliant inspiration from the small narrow circular hair-bands or ringlets, which the most of the female figures wear on the François Vase, including goddesses Hera, Athenaia, and amazingly in quite the same type. Even some males are wearing similar ringlets, Zeus, Apollo, for instance. The skull-cap helmet may have been devised combining the Corinthian helmet with high crest and the ringlet on the *François Vase*.



the *François Vase*: Ἀρης Ἀθ[ην]αία Ἥρα Ζεύς; Μοίραι, Μοίραι detail

Kleitias, the painter of the François Vase and the Painter of Acropolis 606 are close contemporaries in the early 2nd quarter of 6th c, and this assumption may be right, well matched chronologically: for the City-Goddess Athena the skull-cap helmet was created by the Painter of Acropolis 606, and soon the Burgon Painter adopted the new Divine-Crown to his Athena on the Prize Amphora for the victor of the Game *Synoris* of the Panathenaia, just a few years before 566 BC, the year of the reorganization of the Panathenaia.

Thus, the skull-cap helm as the divine symbolic crown of the City-Goddess of Athens was created, and wearing it the City-Goddess Athena appeared on ‘all the Panathenaic amphorae of the earliest phase’ after the reorganization of Her Great Festival.

And at this very period a Late Corinthian vase-painter depicted an Athena as the central figure of an elaborate scene at the main large panel of a column crater.

Thus the Athena wearing a skull-cap helmet on a very little part of the large column crater really proves that the LC painter depicted his Athena modelled on or copied the specified type of Athena wearing the new Divine Crown as the City-Goddess of Athens.

Section III The Red-ground Technique/ Style and ‘Fine Drawing’

The large column crater in question presumably was produced sometime in the second quarter of the 6th century, when Athens and Corinth had ‘frequent’ mutual exchange and interrelation in the pottery production, and influenced each other in techniques, skills, even aesthetic sense and expressions in ‘countless points’ as Payne remarks. (NC)

Amyx (680) observes the phenomena: ‘Corinthian borrowing from Attic vase-painting is strongly evidence only from LMC, and Attic shapes, schemes of decoration begin to appear. The Red-ground technique is regarded as further evidence of this indebtedness.’

In an amazingly ‘fine drawing’ (*NC* n.1453, 328] this figure of Athena on the fragment of the LC column crater is depicted, as Payne’s just a brief expression well tells.

Indeed, this Athena may be surpassing even other ‘fine’ Corinthian figures which were made during the period when ‘a new creative surge arose’ in the last phase of LC, as the result of the frequent technical exchange in ‘countless points’ between Attic and Corinthian vase painting production.

This small fragment from a LC column crater (Our Athena from Delphi) tells us the two phenomena which emerged from this relation.

The one is the Athenian influence on the Corinthian pottery production and the Corinthian adoption of the Athenian invention of the coating clay surface of vases, the so-called Red ground-technique. Now we will survey briefly how it effectuated on the Corinthian pottery production, particularly in the final phase of the LC vase-painting,

The Red-ground technique/ style:

A very important technical matter in the pottery production had arose both in Athens and Corinth in the 2nd quarter of the 6th century, that is, the Attic invention of the red-ground technique and the Corinthian adoption of this new Attic invention.

The Corinthians adopted this Attic new invention especially for large sized amphora, crater, (and oinochoe, hydra, as well) in order to make a good effective background of the decorative figure scenes on the large vases for mixing wine and water used mainly in banquets, symposia, and gatherings.

Payne (*NC* 104) highly evaluates the Corinthian adoption and use of the new technique which resulted ‘far reaching effect on the whole later development of figure paintings’, particularly applied for large sized vases in the final phase of LC period, and from which consequently a new pictorial style emerged, and even excellent very fine drawings were created.

Our fragment proves that the large LC column crater to which it belonged was produced in the Red-ground technique, and our Athena crowned with a skull-cap is standing effectively on the pale orange surface, the Red-Ground.

Thus this Athena proves that the LC vase-painter for producing his column crater adopted both the creation of the skull-cap helmet for the City-Goddess Athena by Attic Black Figure Vase painters and the Athenian discovery of the change of the colour of clay, the red-ground technique.

Section IV Fine Drawing

Now, we will investigate the fact that this Corinthian painter of the LC column crater was under strong influence of highly sophisticated Attic vase-painting and techniques of the pottery industry. (He could be nominated as the *A* Painter, as the *C* Painter, though his other works are unknown.)

The Athena on n.1453 is marked by Payne as one of the most remarkable representations of a series in the noticeable marvellous development in the fine softened drawing of female profiles and highly evaluates as 'fine drawing'.

Payne compares this Athena with the fragmentary figure on n.1453 A (NC 138 F49): 'a fragment from 'a youth escaping beneath a ram from Polyphemos', 'very fine drawing', and he highly admires:

'[if] Complete, this vase would unquestionably have ranked among the two or three finest and most interesting red-ground craters.'

No doubt Payne would have had in mind our Delphi Athena one of 'the two or three finest & most interesting red-ground craters'.

Tracing the development of the figurative drawing in the LC period, particularly a general tendency to soften the profiles of the faces, both female and male, Payne remarks LC artists' 'greater command of detail'.

Among the examples of the remarkable development in a series of noticeable softened drawing of female profiles on Red-ground vases, Payne places the Delphi-Athena, 'the fragment in Delphi' of no.1453, along with no. 1452, the Vatican Astarita crater, no.1453 A and no. 1471 the Departure of Amphiaraos Crater.

This development might have progressed in Corinth itself, as Payne points out, but this also may have indebted to the early Attic Black Figure Vase painters' new subtle, elegant, graceful style both in shapes and decoration, and even sculptors' aesthetic sense and marvellous skills to create highly sophisticated delicate sensitive expression and quality, and furthermore their independent dynamic creative mentality might have led the way of the development of the LC fine drawing.

Our Delphi Athena may be categorized as pseudo-Attico-Corinthian. The preserved figure at least sufficiently looks like Attic, that is, the Athena crowned with the skull-cap helmet. This may correspond to Payne's 'a double sense' to categorize 'pseudo-Corinthian vases': 'more or less closely copied direct from Corinthian original'. (NC 189).

The Athena wearing the skull-cap helmet can be a close copy direct from Attic originals, and sufficiently looks like 'Attic' to be taken really as Attic. As seen above the skull-cap helmet was specially created for Athena the City-Goddess of Athens, and the image of Athena crowned with the skull cap helmet represented on 'all the earliest Panathenaic prize amphorae' for the victors of the Games in Her Festival.

This LC painter of the column crater depicted his Athena copying from the image of Athena represented on all the Panathenaic prize amphorae of the earliest phase after the reorganization of the Festival in 566 BC. This may also match chronologically to the given date.

'Pseudo-Attico-Corinthian', however, may certainly be confined particularly to the Athena represented as the main figure of a large scale elaborate scene. The rest of the certain scene of an ambitious subject at the central painting panel must have been a creative unique Corinthian presentation, as the typical Gorgoneion very well indicates.

Both pseudo-Corintho-Attic and pseudo-Attico-Corinthian vases occurred (NC 190) when mutual exchange of artistic techniques was frequent between Corinth and Athens.

Nonetheless, the painter of this LC column crater, therefore, must have been a Corinthian artist who was deeply influenced by high sophisticated aesthetic sense, quality, various techniques and skills in the works of the contemporary Attic vase painters, most remarkably seen in the elegant sophisticated fine drawing of the Delphi Athena.

The Argonauts Krater

I have fortunately encountered a very good example to make sure these two technical matters by comparing this excellent LC figure Athena (on a column crater) with another Corinthian column crater by ‘near the Cavalcade Painter’, designated and dated to c570/ c560 BC as a MC and/ or LC column crater: the so-called *Argonauts Krater* (fragmentary of 16 pieces).



(Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum (inv. no. ΘM 23656). Cf. the well preserved LC column crater the Astarita Crater, Vatican h.47cm dm.49cm (the drawing by E. Kefalidou AJA 112 617-24 Fig.1)

Its whitish surface, but not ‘red-ground’, the drawing skill and quality are good, but not yet well developed; a very fascinating, really an ‘ambitious large scale rare subject’ and its presentation seems entirely unique’, indeed.

The most impressive feature is the quality of the facial drawing of the female figure in profile. It immediately caught my attention, thinking of and comparing with the ‘softened female profile’ of Athena on ‘the fragment in Delphi’. I could very well appreciate, I think and believe, what Payne analyses the development of the Corinthian figure style, particularly of the softened drawing of the female profiles in *NC*.

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‘Kleita/ Kleite’

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Jason healing Phineus’ blind eyes



the whole scene (preserved)

The Argonauts Krater very well indicates the features and characters of the MC & LC techniques, skills & quality which Payne remarked in *NC*: ‘LC large vases, with elaborate myth/ legend scenes at the large central panels in the large scale, rare ambitious subjects and their unique presentations’, additionally the female profiles.

I recall now what I felt and noticed immediately by the first observation and impression at the Argonauts Krater: its similarity and difference from the Delphi Athena, then the similarities and differences of the two MC and LC column craters. Soon later I have learnt what Payne remarked: softened female profiles. My first impression was correct and appropriate, indeed!

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Though a fragmentary column crater, it has rare subject, excellent presentation, well-composed depicting the fascinating episodes in the whole story of *the Argonaut expedition*, including the rare presentation, indeed, Jason healing the blind eyes of king Phineus; the female figure *Kleita*/ Queen *Kleite* wife of Kyzikos’.

‘The rare subjects from myths and legends’, ‘ambitious large scale paintings of figurative scenes, ‘the unique presentation’: indeed, the Argonauts Krater is a very good perfect example for these features, in the *far much better preserved* main panel painting. It well shows how, what LC ambitious large scale paintings of figurative scenes on the large column craters were produced, and how they looked.

The Argonauts Crater also provides some keys to imagine the subject and its approximate scene of the main central panel painting of the Delphi LC column crater.

(Sincerely I thank for the generous permission and kind help for my access to the Argonauts Krater in the temporal exhibition: ‘*Ἰασίς*’ at the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens (from November, 2014 through May 31st, 2015) and to the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki for granting me permission to access the Krater and for sending me seven very good photos of the Argonauts Krater.)

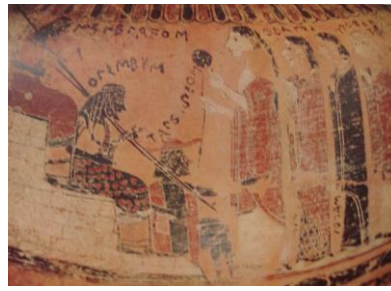
(N Eurydice Kefalidou, 2008, ‘The Argonauts Krater’, *AJA* 112/ 2008 617-624 Figs. 1-6; Fig 1: ‘the drawing shows approximate position of the surviving fragments’; Jason healing Phineus’ blind eyes, the Dioskouroi and ‘Kleita’/ ‘Kleite’ are attending.)

Section V The Subject:

‘In the 2nd quarter of the 6th century on large LC column craters (h c40cm-50cm) ‘ambitious large scale paintings of figurative scenes’ were depicted using the new red-ground technique. The subjects were chosen from myths, legends’. This was [contemporary common trend also in Athens for the figurative scenes of Attic Black Figure on large vases such as belly and neck amphorae, craters, & oinochoai as well. (column craters: generally h c35-50cm; cf. the Françoise Vase: volute crater h66 c570 BC)

Nearly one third of the upper part of the LC column crater is usually the *painting panel* for the main figure scene. The whole figure of the Athena wearing a high crest-helmet might have occupied from the top to the lowest part of the main painting panel of the column crater. Only its two thirds of the whole figure preserved (c10cm), and the height of the whole figure including the helmet could be calculated about 13-14 cm.

An approximate appearance of the LC column crater on which our Athena was depicted may be deduced from the entirely well preserved LC column crater, the *Astarita krater* depicting *the Embassy for the Return of Helen* (*‘HAENHΣ AΠAITHΣIΣ*). The standing female figure at the centre *Θεανώ* could be the main figure (also h c13-14cm), facing Odysseus & Menelaos. The whole shape of the Delphi column crater could have been almost the same as the Astarita crater (h47.3cm, w49cm).



the Astarita crater h47.3 w49 (BzPBA43/1957 pls.11-6)

*

Judging from the appearance of Athena: her eye is looking straight forward calmly, not particularly looking at focused on something/ someone; her posture looks neither moving nor acting in any (narrative) context, just firmly calmly standing in a dignified majestic nobility. Therefore, this Athena can be a representation of a statue of a standing type, as the central figure of the composition at the centre of the painting panel, as *Θεανώ* of the Astarita crater.

*

Two branch-like enigmatic objects are closely approaching to Athena's face, mouth, chin, and touching on the left shoulder. They can be the key to determine the subject of the whole scene. A statue of the standing Athena and the closely placed branch-like objects may be combined in a certain context, most probably in a ritual/ religious context, as seen in various such paintings. The two enigmatic objects appearing so closely to her face look no doubt like stylized branches, as in the religious scenes on vase paintings, figures frequently appear holding branches. We see here three examples:



1

1. 'shortly before M6thc/ c555 BC'



2

2. c545 BC



3

3. End 6thc AkrI pl.96, Akr 2298

1. The earliest example of the sacrifice to Athena, probably at the Panathenaia, before the middle of the 6thc/ c555 BC, 'a large band cup', (*Shapiro 1989 29b, n.86, pl.9a-b*); each man holds one branch. Athena's upperpart from the waist to the head was damaged.

2. Belly amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686, c545 BC, *Shapiro 30 n.89 pl.9c*. The priestess holds up three branches in her right hand towards Athena's face, as if she is praying or pleading to Athena for her favour, help from a certain significant intention of this well-organized formal sacrifice of high quality. (she holds other three branches in her left hand above the fire at the altar.) (This Athena is also a statue: 'the very stiff posture gives the impression of a statue.' *Shapiro 30*) (from Vulci)

Athena's helmet looks very close to the skull-cap helmet of the earliest phase, probably with a little change (the photo is not clear), kind of a variation of the skull-cap helmet. Variations further increase later on, though keeping the principle of the divine symbol of the City-Goddess as *the Divine Crown*, as seen in lots of uncountable Athenas wearing various elaborate helmets.

3. Lekythos, the end of the 6th century, by the Edinburgh Painter *Graef-Langotz* I pl.96, *Akropolis* 2298, *Shapiro* 30 n.92 pl.10a.

This example 3 could be the closest to the supposed scene. Standing closely to Athena (also a statue) a priest or an ordinary and the chief man of the sacrifice group (as a *suppliant*) is holding up two branches very close to her face as if he is appealing to the Goddess intensively. This Athena is in a more active posture widely striding her feet, seems rather to be rare unusual represented as a statue. Her helmet is no more the earliest skull-cap type, at the end of 6th century, though still keeping the basic form.

In Our LC piece, the two branches so closely approach just in front of Athena's face, the mouth and chin, and at her left shoulder may well suggest that the main scene at the painting panel of this column crater depicts a ritual that is held in more acute serious situation, than in the two cases of the examples 2 and 3.

The following situation can be imagined: The branch-holder is standing right opposite to Athena (as in examples 2 and 3), most likely a priestess or an ordinary female as a suppliant, rather than a priest or a male, judging from the name I P O N I K A inscribed in *boustrophedon*/ βουστροφηδόν A K I N O P I right below the name of Athena, intended by the painter as the name of the person standing opposite to Athena.

Holding sacred branches in her hand she is pleading earnestly to Athena. Her intense plea to Athena from an ardent situation would make her attitude so excessive as to appeal with the sacred branches so closely to Athena.

Thus, Athena and the suppliant female are/ may certainly be the central figures of the whole scene of the main painting panel of this LC column crater.

The rest of the scene may be consist of a few figures of her companions, most probably with votive offerings, musicians, sacrificial animal/s, if any, and the setting of the sanctuary, the altar most importantly.

Imagine how all these were arranged in the large painting panel of this LC column crater.

The most lost figurative scene on the painting panel of this large crater may not demand necessarily for any Trojan context, rather it can be a depiction of a certain episode of a legend or a general ritual/ cult scene.

Nonetheless, in the Trojan Story, actually such an intense prayer scene can be found in *the Iliad* Book 6. 86-101.

Book 6. 86-101: In order to save Troy and the Trojans from the present crisis, Hector requests Hekabe the queen of Troy to organize a prayer to Athena. Led by Hekabe, a procession of Trojan women enter the temple of Athena on the top of the acropolis.

Offering the finest choice garment of the Queen Hekabe on Athena's knees, the priestess Theano pleads to Athena 'to hold back the cause of the present crisis Diomedes from Ilion, by 'breaking his spear', 'falling him headlong before the Scaean Gates' and 'to have mercy on the city and the wives and children'. She further vows Athena 'to offer a sacrifice of twelve oxen'.

Can this be, indeed, an appropriate scene?

The Gorgoneion emblem on the shield may have been intended by the painter as the apotropaic symbol against the cause of the acute situation, or in the earnest prayer under an acute situation.)

Another situation for the lost subject can be imagined:

A column crater was commissioned as a special votive offering to Athena Pronaia for her assist, mercy, support and uphold, from her particular purpose caused by urgent perilous situation to

release from the acute serious state, and to improve and grant a better resolution. Even Athena's advice and/ or instruction would have been expected, as to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi.

The subject of the painting on the main panel might have been ardently requested by the person to depict her earnest intensive plea to Athena.

I I O N I K A Iponika could be the person herself, the suppliant, rather than a priestess in this supposed-case.

This kind of purposes for visiting Delphi in fact quite often would have occurred not only at the sanctuary of Apollo, but also at the Athena sanctuary/ temple.

Section VI Conclusive Section:

The complex process:

1. In LPC /c695/ 690 BC/ early phase in the first quarter of 7th century a Corinthian vase-painter created reproduced an armed female of a goddess type provoked by the appearance of the oriental armed war-goddess Ishtar.

[from the same provocative model two fighting female warriors were reproduced on a terracotta votive shield in the last quarter of 7th century at the sanctuary on the Tiryns acropolis.]

2. In the first quarter of 6th century/ c590 BC the Athenians adopted the Corinthian armed female of goddess type for the image of the City-Goddess of Athens, from political reasons; hence the City-Goddess Athena Polias in Arms was established. The appearance of the type was refined and developed, and various types of the armed city goddess were produced not only in vase-paintings but also in other arts particularly in sculptures as well.

3. Now in LC, late 2nd quarter of 6thc/ c570/ c560 BC, a Corinthian vase-painter adopted, or rather copied the Athenian City-Goddess image wearing the newly created the Divine Crown, the Symbol of the Divine Defender and the Fighter of the City of Athens, the City-Goddess Athena Polias: the Corinthian painter crowned the skull-cap helmet on his Athena, depicting her as the main figure in an ambitious subject in the central painting panel on a large column crater, of which the surface was made in the red-ground technique adopted the new Attic technique.

Thus, we have seen the complex artistic inter-mutual history between Corinth and Athens in the pottery production by investigating an image of the armed City-Goddess of Athens on a small fragment of a LC column crater (pseudo-Attic-Corinthian Athena) how a warrior/ war goddess emerged, then it was chosen as the model of the City-Goddess Athena.

We have seen how the first armed female figure which was reproduced from an oriental goddess by a Corinthian painter c695 BC/ LEPC had have developed and transformed into the City-Goddess of Athens, and finally a LC painter returned Her to Corinth in a perfectly highly sophisticated form as the City-Goddess of Athens in the splendid festive appearance for her own Great Festival Panathenaia.



the first Corinthian armed goddess c.695



**the last armed goddess by Corinthian painter
a copy of the City-Goddess Athena
'pseudo-Atheno -Corinthian Athena' c560 BC**

Whether this same Corinthian painter copied more the Athenian City-Goddess on other Corinthian vases, or other Corinthian vase-painters also produced vases copying the Athenian City-Goddess is completely unknown. There is no extant Corinthian vases of this same kind, with image of pseudo Attic-Corinthian Athena. (it may have been possible, not just one.)

Nonetheless, the Delphi-Athena on the LC column crater is the only survived representation, so far as we know.

Reference & Abbreviations

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BzD: Beazley, John, 1980, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*.

JB: Boardman, J. 1974, *Athenian black figure vases: a handbook*.

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AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*

BrusselsM: Musée du Cinquantenaire

H/ h: height

Dm/ dm: Diameter

W/ w: width

F/ Fig.: Figure of Illustrations

EPC, MPC, LPC: Early, Middle, Late Protocorinthian

EC, MC, LC: Early, Middle, Late Corinthian

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To the Photo Archive of the French School at Athens / *EFA*



Here I should like to offer you a copy of a photo of the fragment of a Late Corinthian column crater uncovered at Delphi, published in *FD V* p.144, no.134, fig.594, originally in black & white (without its inventory number).

In 2015, April, with the permission from the Delphi Museum & the *Ephoreia*, I could study in detail this very important fragment. I submitted my article about this fragment to the Delphi Museum and the *Ephoreia*, as I was requested to submit it when I completed it.

Chikako Sugawara (full member of the British School at Athens) July 27, 2018

