

The Iconography of Athena
in Attic Vase-painting
from 440–370 BC

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Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπολιν ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,
δεινὴν, ἧ σὺν Ἄρῃ μέλει πολεμῖα ἔργα
περθόμεναί τε πόλῃες αὐτὴ τε πτόλεμοί τε,
καί τ' ἐρρύσατο λαὸν ἰόντα τε νισσόμενόν τε.
Χαίρε, θεά, δὸς δ' ἄμμι τύχην εὐδαιμονίην τε.

Of Pallas Athene, guardian of the city, I begin to sing.
Dread is she, and with Ares she loves deeds of war,
the sack of cities and the shouting and the battle.
It is she who saves the people as they go out to war and come back.

Hail, goddess, and give us good fortune with happiness!

Homeric Hymn to Athena
(tr. Evelyn-White)

καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὐτίς ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται
εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν [...]
δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται.

Xenophanes

Abbreviations

In addition to the abbreviations used in *AM* 1989, 721–728, *Archäologische Bibliographie* 1991, IX–XL, and *Der Kleine Pauly* 1, eds. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer (Munich, 1975), XXI–XXVI (for classical authors), the following will be used:

Alscher, <i>GP II 2</i>	L. Alscher, <i>Griechische Plastik II 2</i> (Berlin, 1982).
Arafat, <i>Zeus</i>	K. Arafat, <i>Classical Zeus</i> (Oxford, 1990).
<i>ABV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> (Oxford, 1956).
<i>ARV</i>	—————, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> ² (Oxford, 1963).
Berger, “Athena”	E. Berger, “Eine Athena aus dem späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.” <i>AntK</i> 10 (1967) 82–88.
Boardman, <i>ABFH</i>	J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Black Figure Vases</i> (London, 1974).
—————, <i>ARFH-1</i>	—————, <i>Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period</i> (London, 1975).
—————, <i>ARFH-2</i>	—————, <i>Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period</i> (London, 1985).

- Boardman, *GGFR* —————, *Greek Gems and Fingerrings* (London, 1970).
- , *GSAP* —————, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London, 1978).
- , *GSCP* —————, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London, 1985).
- Brouskari, *Catalogue* M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum. A descriptive catalogue* (Athens, 1974).
- Burkert, *Religion* W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985).
- Burn, *Meidias Painter* L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford, 1987).
- Add2* T. H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda²* (Oxford, 1989).
- Clairmont, *Parisurteil* C. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (Zürich, 1951).
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- Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen" P. Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen zur Kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland 2: Kopien, Varianten und Umbildungen nach Athena-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.", *AM* 102 (1987) 323–428.
- Kasper-Butz, *Athena* I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im klassischen Athen: Athena als Repräsentantin des demokratischen Staates* (Frankfurt, 1991).
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- Mathiopoulos, *Athena* E. Mathiopoulos, *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im fünften Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Bonn, 1968).

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- Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* M. Meyer, *Die Griechischen Urkundenreliefs* (Berlin, 1989).
- Mitropoulou, *Corpus* E. Mitropoulou, *Corpus I. Attic Votive Reliefs of the 6th and 5th Centuries BC.* (Athens, 1977).
- Muth, *Einführung* R. Muth, *Einführung in die griechische und römische Religion* (Darmstadt, 1988).
- Niemeyer, *Promachos* H. G. Niemeyer, *Promachos. Untersuchungen zur Darstellung der bewaffneten Athena in archaischer Zeit* (Waldsassen, 1966).
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- Para* J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971).
- Pötscher, "Athene" W. Pötscher, "Athene", *Gymnasium* 70 (1963) 394–418, 529–544.
- , *Hera* ———, *Hera. Eine Strukturanalyse im Vergleich mit Athena* (Darmstadt, 1987).
- Prange, *Niobidenmaler* M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt* (Frankfurt, 1989).
- Raab, *Darstellungen* I. Raab, *Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1972).
- Real, *Studien* W. Real, *Studien zur Entwicklung der Vasenmalerei im ausgehenden 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Münster, 1973).

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- Robertson, *HGA* M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975).
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- , *UK* ———, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin, 1934).
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- , *Répertoire* ———, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain* (Paris, 1951).
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Introduction

The primary purpose of this thesis is to investigate the appearance of Athena in Attic vase-painting during the Classical period. As the patroness of the city, Athena's role in the art, cult and politics of Athens is of special importance, and in the past has proven to be valuable in understanding Athenian history.¹ What makes a study of Athena worthwhile is not just her close affiliation with the fate of her city and her prominent place in its religious life. Given the relative wealth of material provided by vase-painting, sculpture and literature, she is an ideal candidate for a case study on the changing views of a goddess (who is at the same time a worshipped divine being and an actress in myth) over almost a century of Athenian and Greek history.²

The following study will therefore focus on the iconography of Athena herself, taking into consideration, where appropriate, the preceding Early Classical and, to a lesser extent, the subsequent Late Classical period.

The argument centres on the question of whether there are distinguishable types of Athena in vase-painting, and their possible relationship with sculptural types. Can such types provide information about the values attached to a certain goddess at a certain time, as might be the case with sculpture?³ Are certain types related to certain scenes or painters, and are they preferred in certain periods?

The investigation of these questions may shed light not only on the views of

¹See especially the most recent study of Athena by Kasper-Butz, which concentrates on the role of Athena as a goddess representing the democratic institutions of the Athenian polis (Kasper-Butz, *Athena*).

²It is, however, important to remember that although vase-painting, like other art-forms, may be a general reflection of the times, there is no necessity to interpret it in this way.

³See, for example, the discussion of the Athena Parthenos and the Delian Apollon by B. Fehr, "Zur religionspolitischen Bedeutung der Athena Parthenos im Rahmen des delisch-attischen Seebundes I.", *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 71–91.

Athena in Classical Athens, but also on the relation between sculpture and vase-painting in general.

After a short survey of the characteristics of Athena and her role in Classical Athens, a typology of Athena in vase-painting will be proposed. Some of the major distinctive types will be described, their connection with certain scenes examined, and the possibility of their derivation from sculpture or other art-forms discussed. Following this, the iconography of Athena's dress and attributes will be investigated, and their connection with certain types as well as their receptivity to sculptural or other influences will be assessed. In the conclusion, the development of the iconography of Athena in vase-painting will be summarized and compared with the contemporary view originating from sculpture, cult, politics and literature.

Much has been written in the past about Athena, but only those works which have contributed most to this study will be mentioned here. The political dimension of Athena has been treated in a dissertation by Kasper-Butz; the most thorough though partly outdated discussion of cult and connected aspects is still to be found in A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, more recently updated by Pötscher, Simon and Burkert. Athena's appearance in art is summarized in the *LIMC* article on Athena by Demargne; brief but useful compilations of Athena in Classical sculpture were published by Berger and Waywell, and the record reliefs have been covered by Lawton and Meyer.⁴

In this thesis, vases and sculptures are referred to by bold-faced catalogue numbers (plain numbers in the case of vases, and prefixed by a letter in the case of sculptures). A dot adjacent to a catalogue number indicates that there is an accompanying drawing and an asterisk an accompanying photograph at the end of the thesis.

⁴Kasper-Butz, *Athena*; Cook, *Zeus*; Pötscher, "Athene"; Pötscher, *Hera*; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich, 1969); Burkert, *Religion* esp. 139-143; P. Demargne, in: *LIMC II 1* (Zürich & Munich, 1984) s.v. "Athena"; Berger, "Athena"; Waywell, "Athena Mattei"; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs*; Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*.

Chapter 1

Athena and Athens

And how can that be a well-ordered State,
Where she, a woman born, a Goddess, stands
Full-armed, and Cleisthenes assumes a spindle?

Aristophanes, *Av.* 829-831
(tr. Rogers)

1.1 Introducing Athena: origins, functions, mythology

The goddess Athena, born according to myth by a blow of Hephaistos on the head of Zeus, after Zeus had swallowed her pregnant mother Metis (Wisdom), was known as early as Mycenaean times; her mention as “a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja” in the Linear B tablets⁵ can be interpreted either as Potnia (=mistress) Athana or Potnia of Athana. The ancient dispute, whether Athena is named after Athens or Athens after Athena, thus remains unresolved.⁶ This is, however, of minor importance for subsequent times, as at least from the Archaic period onwards, the cult of Athena seems to have been widespread. Despite her close affiliation with Athens, Athena is a panhellenic goddess.⁷

Numerous, too, are her functions and responsibilities, the majority of which are already manifest in the works of Homer, and are later only slightly modified.

⁵KN 208 = KN V52; Pötscher, *Hera* 160, and Burkert, *Religion* 139.

⁶Furthermore, it is difficult to determine whether the a-ta-na mentioned in the text is at all identical with Athens (Burkert, *Religion* 139, 403 note 3).

⁷Burkert, *Religion* 140, Muth, *Einführung* 86.

1.2 Athena in Classical Athens

The Athenian citizen of the Classical period probably knew Athena as the pre-eminent goddess of city and citadel, as an armed maiden (Parthenos = virgin, with a temple on the Acropolis: the Parthenon) and protectress of her city and its inhabitants (Polias, Poliouchos, with a temple on the Acropolis: the Erechtheion), to whom the major festival of the city, the Panathenaia, was dedicated. Her special connection with Athens is apparent also in myth: in the contest with Poseidon, in which she won control over the whole of Attica; and in her role as “mother” of Erichthonios/Erechtheus, one of the mythical kings of Athens.

These basic functions were combined with numerous further aspects, such as her role as patroness of the crafts (a joint function with Hephaistos, with whom she was connected in cult as Hephaisteia with a temple in the Agora) and of women’s work (Ergane) — both important facets of Athenian life. As Hippias, the mistress of the horses, she was worshipped together with Poseidon.⁸ Victory was the concern of Athena Nike (with a temple on the Acropolis), and health that of Athena Hygieia (with a cult on the Acropolis).⁹ As Athena Areia she was connected with her male counterpart, Ares, and as Athena Soteria with Zeus.¹⁰ As Athena Phratria she had a place in Athenian civic life and from the mid-fifth century on probably shared a temple with Zeus Phratrios in the Agora.¹¹ The latter seems especially noteworthy, as it reflects the trend towards a greater involvement of Athena in the affairs of her city especially during the second third of the fifth century.

Most of these roles are connected with temples and festivals, thus creating their own particular picture of Athena, determined by the nature of the cult and the mythology connected with it and manifested in rites, the people involved in them

⁸A thorough discussion of this aspect, but overestimating its importance: N. Yalouris, “Athena als Herrin der Pferde”, *MusHelv* 7 (1950) 19–101.

⁹H. A. Shapiro, *Personifications of Abstract Concepts in Greek Art and Literature to the End of the Fifth century BC* (University Microfilms: Ann Arbor (Mich.), 1980) 126–127, 242; Burn, *Meidias Painter* 36; H. Sobel, *Hygieia* (Darmstadt, 1990) 6–9.

¹⁰Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 106, 193.

¹¹J. McK. Camp II, *The Athenian Agora*⁴ (Athens, 1990) 76–77. She was also worshipped in the Bouleuterion as Boulaia, together with Zeus Boulaios (Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 35).

(priestesses, etc.), cult statues and votive offerings.¹²

Mythology, apart from its place in cult, is also of great importance for the arts, especially for vase-painting, while more strictly ritual and cultic aspects — at least in the Classical period — play a less prominent role.¹³ Athena, like most Greek gods in literature and art, is anthropomorphic. As such she already appears in the writings of Homer, and more frequently in the tragedies of Classical Athens, in which the Athenian citizen could even witness her being represented on stage. This human quality also made her especially susceptible to political use, as is shown already in Peisistratos' return to Athens in the company of a 'fake' Athena, but it also provoked criticism by philosophers (see p. 77).

¹²Burkert, *Religion* 119. The question of whether, at least in some cases, depictions of Athena could equally well be interpreted as depictions of the priestess of Athena has been raised by Bérard. Although this cannot be excluded, speculation about it appears superfluous, as such a priestess would not be iconographically distinguishable from figures which can be identified as Athena herself beyond reasonable doubt, and also the context rarely provides any conclusive evidence. Furthermore, evidence for the association of Athena's attributes with the priestesses is scant at best, and is confined to the wearing of the aegis on certain occasions (Burkert, *Religion* 98). At any rate, it is difficult to assess to what extent the Greeks themselves distinguished between the goddess herself and her incarnation in a priestess; a blurring of the distinction seems to be indicated by the Peisistratos/Phye incident (C. Bérard & J. P. Vernant, *La cité des images* (Lausanne, 1984) 106–108, and: C. Bérard, "Athéna mélancolique", *Recherches et Documents du Centre Thomas More* 41 (1984) 1–18, esp. 8–9).

¹³As, for example, Herington points out, the Athena Polias, personified in the old wooden image in the Erechtheion, in spite of her great religious importance could make only little imaginative appeal to the statesman, poet or artist (Herington, in: *Parthenos and Parthenon* 62).

Chapter 2

Types of Athena

In Classical Attic vase-painting Athena is only rarely shown in vigorous motion (examples are the Gigantomachy and the chasing of the daughters of Kekrops); more often she is shown standing quietly, usually together with one of her protégés, sometimes involved in a dexiosis or libation, or wreathing a figure. Occasionally her participation in the scene is limited to a simple presence or a role of symbolic support for a hero. Many Athenas in Classical images are simple standing figures holding a spear, lacking further significant classifiable characteristics necessary for a typology. These depictions, as well as poses which do not conform to any general type, often conditioned by the particular requirements of a scene, will not be considered in this chapter.¹⁴

Three of the scenes in which Athena occurs frequently in Classical vase-painting will be taken as the basis for a typology: the Gigantomachy, as the prime example of Athena in motion, fighting; the Judgement of Paris, as an example of a story for which the presence of Athena is of vital importance without requiring positive action; and scenes with Herakles, in which Athena is often a mere ‘on-looker’. The different roles played by Athena in these scenes were the main reasons for their choice as the core of the study; other important factors were their relative abundance, and their continuous use from the Archaic into the Classical period.

The first section deals with the fighting Athena and concentrates on the Gi-

¹⁴Small fragments, depictions only of Athena’s head and black-figure vases will also, apart from a few important examples, not be considered here.

gigantomachy. A relatively large amount of space is devoted to the pre-Classical treatment of this subject, as it presents an exemplary study of the continuity and breaks between Archaic, Early Classical and Classical iconography. Following this, a classification of standing, leaning and seated Athenas will be attempted, based predominantly on the depictions of Athena in the Judgement of Paris and together with Herakles, but also taking into account evidence from other contexts where appropriate.

2.1 Fighting Athena: Athena in the Gigantomachy

Ah! but behold her there brandishing
Her gorgon shield over Enceladus -
- I see her, my own Pallas Athene.

Euripides, *Ion* 209-11
(tr. Vellacott)

Although Athena is a warrior-goddess, i.e. equipped with armour and weapons, she is not often seen fighting in Classical Attic red-figure vase-painting. Outside the Gigantomachy, the scene closest to a fight is the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the Attic land, although even here the brandishing of her weapons is largely symbolic. The find of a hydria in Pella (31), dated to about 400, has recently yielded an elaborate depiction of this scene. Striding to the right and carrying a shield, Athena thrusts her spear diagonally downwards, almost into the olive-tree which she has made grow between her and Poseidon.¹⁵ An aggressive Athena can be seen occasionally in scenes connected with the discovery of Erichthonios, when Athena is chasing the Kekropids,¹⁶ and the Early Classical period sometimes sees a

¹⁵The few known depictions of this myth vary considerably: A fragment by the Mikion Painter (see ill. 81) shows Athena in a very quiet and peaceful pose, with spear but without shield, while a relief-hydria in St. Petersburg, dating from about 340 and more closely reflecting the Parthenon pediment, shows a fully armed Athena in an almost-fighting pose (St. Petersburg, II 1872.130 (KAB 6a); Cook, *Zeus*, 752 fig. 538).

¹⁶E.g. rf pyxis, late fifth century, from Athens (excavation); *ADelt* 31 B1 (1976) 30, pl. 35; H. A. Shapiro, "The Attic Deity Basile", *ZPE* 63 (1986) 134-136. See also: J. H. Oakley, "A Calyx-krater in Virginia by the Nikias Painter with the Birth of Erichthonios", *AntK* 30 (1987) 123-130.

fully armed Athena running without an obvious adversary (27, 28*). In the latter case, the carrying of a shield is the most important additional indication of Athena's readiness to fight, as spear and helmet are regularly used with statuary types merely for identification. The most prominent type of such an Athena in a fighting pose is the black-figure Athena Promachos on the Panathenaic prize-amphorae. Two exceptional red-figure depictions of this type are preserved on the necks of oinochoai from the Agora dating from about 410 (29, 30); they even imitate the archaizing style of the depictions on the prize-amphorae. Another shield-carrying Athena in motion appears on late-fifth-century bell-krater fragments (32), although it is not possible to establish Athena's exact pose or the precise context.¹⁷

The only battle Athena — or indeed any other god — is involved in is the Gigantomachy. This is the mythical battle between the gods and the giants, the sons of Gaia (Earth), who challenged the supremacy of the ruling Olympians. An oracle told the gods that they could only defeat the giants with the help of a mortal. Thus Athena, at the bidding of Zeus, summoned Herakles to take part in the battle, a measure which indeed led to the gods' victory.

The Gigantomachy was a popular myth in Athens. It was connected with the cult of Athena as, according to one version, the Panathenaia were established by Erichthonios to commemorate Athena's victory over the giants and, after the defeat of the giants (according to other versions, the Titans), Athena had been the first to perform the pyrrhic dance which formed part of the athletic contests at the Panathenaia.¹⁸ Every year during the Panathenaic festival a peplos on which the Gigantomachy was woven¹⁹ was presented to the ancient cult statue of Athena Polias, housed at first in the old Athena Temple, and later in the newly built Erechtheion. From the old Athena Temple there are also parts of a marble pediment preserved

¹⁷A. Hermary, "Trois notes d'iconographie II. Une scène inexpliquée sur un cratère d'Olynthe", *BCH* 110 (1986) 224–226 fig. 2–3 (Argonauts/death of Talos); F. Brommer, "Vier mythologische Vasenbilder in Griechenland. Glockenkrater in Saloniki", *AAA* 5 (1972) 451–455, fig. 1–3 (Birth of Erichthonios).

¹⁸G. F. Pinney, "Pallas and Panathenaia", in: *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery 3*, eds. J. Christiansen & T. Melander (Copenhagen, 1988) 465–477, esp. 471.

¹⁹The first literary evidence for this dates from the last quarter of the fifth century: Aristophanes, *Equ.* 566, *Av.* 823–831; Euripides, *Hec.* 466–474, *Iph.T.* 222–224; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 32.

which depict the Gigantomachy with Athena in a prominent position.²⁰

In the second half of the fifth century, we find the myth on the building which now carries the main sculptural decoration related to Athena, the Parthenon. The East metopes, though badly preserved, show single groups from the Gigantomachy, East 4 almost certainly depicting Athena (**S1**•). A Gigantomachy scene is known to have decorated the inside of the shield of the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, which stood inside the Parthenon,²¹ and possibly was the subject of the East pediment of the temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Akropolis.²² In Attica a Gigantomachy was probably shown on the frieze of the pronaos (**S2**), and possibly also in the pediment, of the temple of Poseidon at Sounion dating from about 460–440.²³

Late Archaic and Early Classical period

The Gigantomachy was popular with Attic vase painters from around 570, when Lydos chose the subject for the decoration of a dinos.²⁴ From the outset, Athena was most commonly associated with Zeus and Herakles. The central position she takes on many of the depictions on vases is probably due to her status as the daughter of Zeus, her central role in the myth, and possibly her suitability — as an armed goddess — for battle scenes.²⁵ Furthermore, her role as the patron goddess of Athens in general makes her more likely to assume a prominent position in Attic vase-painting.

In the Archaic period the goddess is shown either in a chariot, on foot next

²⁰Vian, *Répertoire* 16 no. 22, pl. 4; Brouskari, *Catalogue* 80–82, fig. 144–150. The traditional dating of this pediment to around 520 has recently been modified to around 510–500: Stewart, *Sculpture* 129–130; A. Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1973), 178.

²¹*LIMC IV* Gigantes 19.

²²*LIMC IV* Gigantes 20.

²³Frieze: Vian, *Guerre* 68 fig. 1; Vian *Répertoire* 17 no. 30, pl. 7; R. Herbig, “Untersuchungen am dorischen Tempel in Sounion”, *AM* 66 (1941) 87–133, esp. 104, pl. 48; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 17. Identification as fleeing Lapith woman: F. Felten, *Griechische tektonische Friese archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Waldsassen, 1984) 54–55; F. Felten & K. Hoffelner, “Die Relieffriese des Poseidontempels in Sounion”, *AA* 102 (1987) 169–184, esp. 180. Pediment: A. Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1973), 61–93.

²⁴Fragments of a black-figure dinos by Lydos: Athens, Akr. 607; *ABV* 107.1; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 64. F. Vian, in: *LIMC IV 1* 255–26 gives a brief account of the general development of the iconography of Athena in the Gigantomachy.

²⁵Arafat, *Zeus* 13.

to a chariot or simply on foot. She is armed with helmet, spear and sometimes shield. Her pose is at first most commonly that of the Promachos as she appears on the Panathenaic prize-amphorae: stepping forward to the left, left arm holding a shield (shown frontally) close to her body, right arm brandishing a spear. Later she is more frequently turned to the right, and her shield may be lifted up diagonally or even horizontally, away from her body, and shown in profile.²⁶ From the late sixth century onwards the shield is often replaced by the aegis, which extends from the right shoulder over the horizontally-extended left arm (in the following this is called a ‘shield-aegis’).²⁷ Her right hand, holding the spear, can be either raised or lowered.²⁸ The giant whom she fights — usually Enkelados — is shown either escaping or falling to the ground.

This pose and the shield-aegis also occur on the marble pediment from the Akropolis and on Late Archaic marble reliefs from the Akropolis depicting the Gigantomachy, and it is characteristic for Athena in the Gigantomachy in Late Archaic and Early Classical vase-painting.²⁹

The type of Athena with horizontal spear and extended arm is, however, not confined solely to Gigantomachy scenes, but also occasionally occurs in other scenes, mostly involving a pursuit. Around 460–450, we find Athena in this pose pursuing a woman (one of the daughters of Kekrops?) (18), or being born from Zeus’ head (19*³⁰).

²⁶Vian, *Guerre* 58–59. E.g. bf psykter, Painter N (Houston, Coll. de Menil; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 154.1–2).

²⁷It can possibly be explained as a quarter-turn of the common Late Archaic cape-like aegis, which is like a collar on the breast but hangs down longer at the back. In the Gigantomachy, the long part is laid over the arm to serve as a shield. This at the same time frees Athena’s left hand and enhances the power of the gesture of extending her arm, which could also be meant to indicate the attempted grasping of hair or helmet, a common scheme in fighting scenes: e.g. Gigantomachy on a hydria by the Tyszkiewicz Painter (London, BM E265, ca. 480 ; Arafat, *Zeus* pl. 4a): Athena is grasping the giant’s helmet.

²⁸Raised spear: e.g. *LIMC IV* Gigantes 228, pl. 129; lowered spear: e.g. *LIMC IV* Gigantes 263a, pl. 135.

²⁹Pediment: Athens, Akr. 631; reliefs: e.g. Athens, Akr. 120; Mitropoulou, *Corpus* no. 13; Brouskari, *Catalogue* 129 no. 120, fig. 247; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 10.

³⁰Earlier examples are calyx-kraters by Euphronios (Athena assists Herakles in his fight against Kyknos: New York, Coll. L. Levy & S. White; *Euphronios der Maler*. Catalogue Berlin 1991 (Milan, 1991) 106–113) and a volute-krater by the Berlin Painter (Athena assisting in the fight of Achilles and Hektor: *ARV* 206.131).

In the Early Classical period, the Niobid Painter and his group are responsible for the majority of the depictions of Athena in the Gigantomachy known to us.³¹ This includes a volute-krater (**1***) and a stamnos (**2**) by the Altamura Painter, an older colleague of the Niobid Painter, a calyx-krater (**3**) and one, perhaps two, fragments (**5**, **6**) by the Niobid Painter himself,³² and one more calyx-krater in his manner (**4**). These depictions of Athena are all (as far as one can conclude from the fragments) very much alike and basically repeat the Archaic type of Athena known to us from the Gigantomachy-pediment.

Athena is usually shown occupying the central position, on (**3**) and (**4**) (and (**6**)?) grouped with Herakles. She is striding (mostly to the right)³³ towards the giant, who, dressed as a hoplite, is turning back towards Athena to defend himself while collapsing.

The shield-aegis is placed on Athena's outstretched left arm, starting from the right shoulder and stretched all the way to her left hand. Often the inside of the aegis is visible, indicating that the artist still conceived of it as being three-dimensional and having developed from a cape-like shape (such as on (**1***), (**2**), (**3**) and, less clearly, (**4**)). This understanding seems to be lost later, as (**5**) and (**12**) indicate. On all the vases a gorgoneion is attached to the aegis; on (**4**) it is set diagonally into the scales of the aegis, facing towards the giant. One might think that this unusual placing was meant to enhance its horrible effect on the giant, but this cannot be the case, as on (**5**) the gorgoneion is facing towards Athena.

³¹(**7**), a fragment by the Stieglitz Painter, and (**8**) are the only other Early Classical Athenas in a Gigantomachy known to me.

³²On (**6**) only feet are preserved, and there are several uncertainties in the identification of the scene. First, it is not clear whether a Gigantomachy is depicted, as the leg with the greave is in a relatively erect position and might therefore not belong to a collapsing giant; secondly, the long dress does not necessarily belong to Athena, but, within a Gigantomachy, for example, could be worn also by Hera, Artemis, or even Dionysos. Only the addition of another figure, indicated by a foot close to the figure in long dress, might support the interpretation of the group as Athena and Herakles in the Gigantomachy brought forward by Stähler (see catalogue for literature), as such a close association of figures is rare if not unparalleled in other contexts in the works of the Niobid Painter.

³³In most scenes where Athena (or, in fact, any other person) is moving to the right, it is the left leg which is striding forward: this must be due to a convention in Archaic as well as Classical art which makes the leg nearer to the background be the front leg, for then the joining of profile legs to frontal upper body is easier to draw (the reverse is true, of course, if the painter wishes to show a person from the back).

While the weapon in Athena's lowered hand is usually a spear held horizontally, (4) substitutes it with a sword — a unique example of this weapon in such context. Further variations occur in details of dress (chiton (4); chiton with transverse himation: simple (2), with overfold (1*), with belted overfold (3)) and attributes; on (3) Athena is wearing a Corinthian instead of the usual Attic helmet. On (2), Athena is stepping on the leg of her opponent. This is an old fighting motif, in the Gigantomachy also used, for example, by Dionysos.³⁴ On (3) a thunderbolt between Athena and the giant indicates the (spiritual) presence of Zeus, on (3) and (4) she is helped by a snake,³⁵ and on (2) she is crowned by a female figure, probably a Nike without wings, as suggested by Prange.³⁶

Finally, a vase from outside the Niobid Group should be mentioned, a hydria dating from about 460–450 (8). Considering the war-like attitude of Artemis and Athena it seems most likely that this shows Artemis and Athena fighting against a giant, but it has also been suggested as a parody of a Gigantomachy, in which the male figure is Ares.³⁷ It is, however, unlikely that a comical depiction actually was the intention of the artist, and it is more probable that the crude drawing rather unintentionally evokes this impression.

Classical period

Quite a different type of Athena is shown on a calyx-krater by a follower of the Niobid Painter, dating from about 440 (9).³⁸ In a major innovation, this is the

³⁴*LIMC IV* Gigantes 375. The motif is common, too, in the work of the Blenheim Painter, another member of the Niobid group: Prange, *Niobidenmaler* 68,93.

³⁵Although the snake is traditionally related to Athena (see section 3.5), the snake in this context seems to be borrowed from Dionysos, who is traditionally shown assisted by one or more animals, most commonly snakes (e.g. *LIMC IV* Gigantes 365, 369, 375, 377, 378).

³⁶Prange, *Niobidenmaler* 93. Vian (*LIMC IV* s.v. Gigantes 352) describes the figure as a woman simply raising her hand, without discussing the possible purpose of this action. If she were intended to be Nike without wings, the scene would be very unusual; in the last quarter of the fifth century, small flying Nikai crowning (not only) Athena are relatively frequent, although still not in the Gigantomachy. The only parallel is in sculpture: Parthenon metope E 4 (see p. 14). On the inside of the shield of Athena in a Judgement of Paris of about 400 a flying Nike and five other figures in a Gigantomachy might be depicted (39).

³⁷N. Alfieri, *Spina* (Bologna, 1979) 42; compare also B. Pace, "Attori di comedia italiote in un vaso di Spina", *RM* 60–61 (1953–1954) 85–87.

³⁸Beazley, *ARV* 1680; *Para* 446 (period of Polygnotos, maybe the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs); P. E. Arias, in: N. Alfieri, *Spina* (Bologna, 1979) 67 (Aison); Schefold, *GS* 99 (connected with

first extant Gigantomachy where the figures are placed on different levels in a single field.³⁹ On an upper level, Hera, Zeus, Hecate and Ares are involved in duels, while Nike⁴⁰ is shown in a chariot under a crescent moon. Below Nike in the centre of the groundline is Athena, a Giants shield lying before her. Instead of rushing forward as on the Early Classical vases, she is taking only a small step to the right. Her dress consists of a chiton and long, belted himation with overfold, reminiscent of a peplos and quite similar to the one on (3) (see p. 17 and 55) and she wears a Corinthian helmet above a fillet or stephane. She holds the spear horizontally with two arms in front, seemingly pulling it away from a giant who is fleeing to the right. Her aegis is of a rare type, similar both to the Archaic cape-type and the roughly contemporary ‘bipartite’-type (see section 3.2). It has the shape of a cape laid over the shoulder, its two ends joined on the breast by a gorgoneion acting as a fastening.

On a contemporary volute-krater by a painter of the Polygnotan Group the Gigantomachy is again shown as a conventional single level composition (10). Here, Athena is shown on the right and Zeus on the left while the centre is occupied by Nike’s chariot. Athena is rushing forward to the right, holding a spear horizontally in her lowered right hand and aiming her left arm at her collapsing opponent. Although this arm is bent and slightly lowered, her pose basically resembles the Archaic/Early Classical scheme, especially as the arm is covered by an aegis. Like the conventional shield-aegis, it covers both shoulders and extends over the left arm, but it also looks like a cape, with a long part at the back slightly drawn to the left, not quite far enough to cover Athena’s arm symmetrically. Its two ends are connected by a snake-knot.⁴¹ In addition, this is the first known Gigantomachy in which Athena is wearing a peplos. It is the Attic peplos, belted over a long overfold; underneath is

Niobid Painter).

³⁹(5) might also be part of a multi-level composition, but its fragmentary state does not allow a firm conclusion.

⁴⁰The winged figure in the chariot could also be identified as Nyx or Selene if the moon-sickle above her head is taken to be an identifying attribute; however, similar figures in other depictions of the Gigantomachy can usually be identified as Nikai driving Zeus’ chariot.

⁴¹A very similar type of aegis occurs on a volute-krater by the same painter from Spina (154). Here, the aegis covers the right arm and the upper part of the left arm and hangs down far behind her back (also note the snake in Athena’s hand, which again resembles the Peisistratid Gigantomachy pediment). On a fragment from the Akropolis, Athena is wearing a similar aegis over her left arm while holding a spear (see section 3.2 and ill. 7e).

a chiton.

A further contemporary example of a Gigantomachy from the Polygnotan Group is known to us, a fragmentary calyx-krater painted in the manner of the Peleus Painter (**11**). Unfortunately, little of Athena is preserved. The Gigantomachy encircles the vase in the upper of two friezes. On one side Zeus and Poseidon are involved in individual fights, while the other shows Dionysos and Athena. Only parts of the right half of Athena's body are preserved, enough though to decipher her basic pose: dressed in what most likely is a chiton, she is stepping forward to the right, where a giant, fallen onto his right knee, is trying to defend himself. She is holding a spear in her lowered right hand, pointing it diagonally downwards at the giant. The upper end of her spear seems to disappear under her armpit; this appears to be a new variant of the underarm position of the spear as it occurs on Early Classical vases and also still on (**10**). It should also be noted that on this vase Athena is fighting from the left to right, opposite to most other examples. In general, in Attic vase-painting from the late Archaic period onwards, the combatant on the left is intended to be the winner. Occasionally, however, this convention is reversed, most likely for reasons of composition and space. With the exception of the scene on the cup by Aristophanes (**12**), however, all the known Gigantomachies after 440 show Athena fighting on the right-hand side.⁴²

The next depiction of Athena in the Gigantomachy known to us dates from about 420–410. It is a cup signed by the painter Aristophanes (**12**), decorated on the inside (Poseidon) and outside (Ares, Apollo, Hera; Artemis, Zeus, Athena) with scenes from the Gigantomachy, including the latest known representation of the old Archaic type of Athena with shield-aegis.

Athena, wearing an Attic helmet and dressed in an Attic peplos, is stepping to the right, her left arm with the aegis extended straight towards her opponent. Among the scales of the aegis is set a gorgoneion, one of the very few belonging to the Classical 'beautiful' type.⁴³ The only variation on the Niobid Group's usual

⁴²The Parthenon metope E 4 (see p. 14) also uses this 'reversed' type; on the other hand, it is not new in sculpture for Athena to be shown fighting from left to right: compare the Akropolis reliefs mentioned above, p. 15.

⁴³This type does not have to be literally beautiful; the term simply means that the characteristic,

scheme — but nevertheless repeating an Archaic and Early Classical type (compare (7)) — is the diagonal position of the spear, held in Athena’s raised right hand. It seems especially remarkable that the same pose (without the aegis) occurs for three other gods on this vase: Poseidon, Zeus and Hera. It is thus not confined to Athena, but is merely a convenient formula for a warrior involved in a fight. The same is also true for the Archaic scheme used by the Niobid Group, and in general for most poses in Attic vase-painting: Each formula, though perhaps characteristic for a particular figure, can also occur for other figures. Especially in the late fifth century such ‘stock-poses’ seem to be widely used.

The next vases to be discussed probably offer the greatest iconographic innovation so far. Similar to (9), they are decorated with multi-level compositions; now, however, vertical fighting groups become frequent.

The main evidence for this new type is a neck-amphora of about 400 by the Suessula Painter (13). In the centre of the composition are (from top to bottom) Nike in a chariot, Zeus, Herakles and Athena.⁴⁴ Athena is rushing to the left, her right hand raised high above her head, thrusting down her spear almost vertically. Her opponent has fallen down on his right knee in the common pose of defeat. Athena is dressed in a patterned Attic peplos, wearing a multiple-crested Attic helmet and carrying a shield on her left arm. This is the first known certain occurrence of a shield in this context in the Classical period. The aegis, shaped like a long collar or a bib, has lost its defensive function.

A fragment from a multi-level volute-krater by a painter akin to the Pronomos Painter (14) preserves part of the helmet and right arm of Athena,⁴⁵ directly below

monster-like, facial features of the Archaic gorgoneion – such as the tongue and the broad contour of the face – give way to a more human depiction. It was probably developed in connection with a more humanized view of the Gorgon Medusa, and this is one of its first occurrences in Attic vase-painting. The most common type from the time of the Niobid Painter on, however, is the ‘middle’ type, which also shows a tendency towards a more human depiction, especially in the shape of the face, but almost always retains at least the tongue, securing the apotropaic effect (J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* (Münster, 1977), esp. 177–178; I. Krauskopf, in: *LIMC IV 1* s.v. “Gorgo, Gorgones”, esp. 325).

⁴⁴The giants on this vase are partly naked, partly dressed in an animal skin, and throwing stones at the gods; such giants are especially popular in the late fifth century, although they already occur earlier.

⁴⁵The figure must be Athena, as the bracelet visible on her right arm shows that she is female,

the chariot of Nike. Athena's helmet is Corinthian, but her pose appears to be the same as on (13). This is especially likely, as the whole composition of the fragment resembles that on the Suessula Painter's neck-amphora.

A fragmentary calyx-krater of about 400–390 in Naples, decorated by a painter close to the Pronomos Painter (15), might depict a similar Athena. The composition on the front is divided into two areas: in a lower segment of almost semi-circular shape, Gaia and the giants are fighting against the gods above the segment, on Olympos. As one of the giants is labelled 'Enkelados' Athena is bound to have appeared somewhere on the vase. She can possibly be identified by the small pieces of cloth (= two ends of a peplos open on the left side, and a further piece of cloth(?)) to the left of the chariot of Helios.⁴⁶ Almost exactly the same arrangement of peplos-ends can be seen on (13). The fact that similar elaborate scenes occur on three vases of approximately the same date is good evidence for a common model; that this model, however, should be the inside of the Parthenos shield, as suggested by von Salis⁴⁷ is far from certain. It has recently been argued that especially because a composition such as on the Naples fragments (15) would hardly fit into the inside of a shield which is partly occupied by a snake (and thus probably also hardly visible at all).⁴⁸ It may seem more likely that a new composition in a mural painting (or on the Panathenaic peplos?) was the source. Finally, a parallel in sculpture should be mentioned: On the Parthenon metope East 4 (see p. 14) Athena is standing to the left, her right hand raised above her head, holding the spear diagonally, pointing at the giant. Her lowered left arm, however, unlike on (13), is thought to be covered by an aegis. Such an arrangement is unknown in vase-painting, as is, in this context, the flying Nike who is crowning her (see also note 36).

A small fragment from about 400 in Naples shows the right arm and part of the head and helmet of Athena (16), possibly in the Gigantomachy. Her name is inscribed; parts of another inscription are preserved as well and have been interpreted

and the only female warrior wearing a helmet in the Gigantomachy is Athena.

⁴⁶ *LIMC IV* Gigantes 316.

⁴⁷ A. von Salis, "Die Gigantomachie am Schild der Athena Parthenos", *JdI* 55 (1940) 90–169; Vian, *Guerre* 149–160 fig. 7; Vian, *Répertoire* 91 no. 417; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 40.

⁴⁸ Boardman, *ARFH-2* 168; see also: K. Arafat, "A Note on the Athena Parthenos", *BSA* 81 (1986) 1–6.

as En[kelados]. Athena is facing to the left, head bowed, wearing a Corinthian helmet with a sphinx drawn on its crown. On her right shoulder a snake and a few scales are visible, belonging to her aegis. Her right hand is raised and it looks as if she was loosely holding a spear(?) in an upright position. A short distance below her hand, the spear touches something which most likely can be identified as fur, possibly even as two paws which may belong to the animal skin worn by a giant. Athena's pose and the loose grip of the spear are unparalleled in other Gigantomachies, as is the position of the fur. As only the — questionable — reconstruction of the inscription and the likewise questionable action of the spear thrust into the fur support the identification of the scene, one might wonder whether this is a Gigantomachy at all. The arrangement of Athena's fingers seems far too loose to thrust or even hold a spear, and as far as one can tell from the published photograph, the spear/stick may indeed run behind Athena's hand, leaving the movement of the hand free to be interpreted as a gesture.

The latest known Athena in a Gigantomachy occurs in a small frieze around the shoulder of a squat relief-lekythos by the Xenophantes Painter, dating from the early fourth century (17). Owing to the small size and the relief technique, details are difficult to discern. Athena is shown striding towards the right, wearing a long dress and a helmet, her shield on her left arm. She has turned her back to the observer, while her right arm is extended towards the giant, who is at the same time attacked by Herakles. There is no real parallel for the pose of Athena, which seems to combine the shield-carrying Athena as painted by the Suessula Painter (but known also from black-figure) with the extended arm of the Athena with shield-aegis.

Summary

After this survey of Early Classical and Classical vases some conclusions can be attempted.

In the Early Classical period the Gigantomachy is a popular subject mainly with the Niobid Group. Athena is present on about half (six) of the depictions of this subject by the group (the others being Dionysos against giants). As far as

visible on the vases and fragments, the pose of Athena, the composition of the scene, and the type of aegis all basically repeat the old Archaic pattern known from the Gigantomachy Pediment. Even one small detail occasionally recurs: Athena grasps one of the snakes of her aegis, curling up in her left hand (probably both on (1*) and (2), and maybe also on (4)).⁴⁹

This strong tradition of the Archaic pose combined with the shield-aegis seems to collapse with the coming of the Classical period, as more serious variations appear around 440. On (9) and (10) Athena is still shown stepping towards the right, holding her spear in a lowered horizontal position, but on (9) she uses both hands for this and on (10) her left arm, though extended towards the giant, is bent and slightly lowered. On both vases Athena is wearing a new, cape-like aegis which on (10) is used as a shield-aegis, but on (9) has lost its defensive function. On (11) the spear is held in the lowered right hand but points diagonally downward. An important new feature is displayed in (9): the first preserved Gigantomachy with an open field and figures on various levels.⁵⁰

Our next piece of evidence, after a gap of about thirty years, is the rather old-fashioned cup by Aristophanes (12). This repeats the Archaic pose with shield-aegis, but shows Athena with a spear held diagonally in her raised right hand.

At the turn of the century a neck-amphora by the Suessula Painter (13) displays a new type of Athena: stepping to the left, right hand raised above her head, thrusting a spear almost vertically downward, and carrying a shield at her left side. This type is probably repeated on two contemporary fragments. All three vases show an elaborate multi-level composition, for which outside influence is a possibility. As (13) and (17) show, the loss of the defensive character of the aegis around 400 is connected with its (re-)substitution by the shield, thus retaining the complete set of weapons. Usually a gorgoneion is attached to the aegis, probably to enhance its scary character and thus its effectiveness in war. The Gorgoneion does, however,

⁴⁹Another example of Athena grasping a snake from her aegis in a different context (Herakles and Apollo fighting over the tripod) is seen on a rf fragment of about 480 (Athens, Akr. 703; Graef/Langlotz 65 no. 703, pl. 55.703); later it recurs on a volute-krater by the Polygnotan group (153).

⁵⁰As mentioned before, it is not certain whether (5) might also be a multi-level composition

also have a special connection with the Gigantomachy: Euripides (*Ion* 987–997) describes the aegis as the “serpent slough” of Gorgon, a monster created by Gaia to help her sons in the Gigantomachy, and “slain by Pallas, child of Zeus”.⁵¹

The central position of Athena in the Gigantomachy has been noted above; from the Early Classical vases by the Niobid Group to the late fifth century depictions, she is often shown together with Herakles and Zeus; especially in the crowded compositions of the late fifth century, however, she is occasionally taken slightly out of focus.

Some scholars, such as Schefold,⁵² have suggested a particular reason for the popularity of the Gigantomachy in the late fifth century, at the time of the final defeat of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war in 404. In their view the Gigantomachy may have served as a symbol of the most glorious event in the history of Athens, the Persian war, a theory that has been proposed particularly in relation to the Gigantomachy on the Parthenon metopes. Athena, in a relatively central position, is thus identified with Athens taking the leading part in the defeat of Persia. This interpretation, however, leaves some questions unanswered: why is it not made iconographically explicit that the giants are an embodiment of the Persians, for example by dressing them in Eastern garb, or at least some elements thereof? Why is Athena not occasionally shown on her own fighting a giant? Furthermore, the victory of the gods, resulting in the restoration of the authority of the Olympians in a relatively easy battle without losses on the side of the gods, may not appear as the most obvious choice to reflect the bloody battle fought against the invasion by the Persians.

Although, in general, mythical allusions to contemporary fighting cannot be excluded, a less specific interpretation, again suggested by Schefold, appears more likely:⁵³ that the main aim was not so much to show the glory of Athens, but of the Olympians. The importance of the Twelve Gods at the time of the Peloponnesian

⁵¹This is the first known such explanation for the aegis.

⁵²Schefold, *GS* 103–104. A special relationship between Athena and the giants is also suggested by a skyphos dating from about 430, which shows Athena instructing a giant (Gigas) to build the walls of the Akropolis(?) (81).

⁵³Schefold, *GS* 103.

war, a period in which the Athenian people may have felt abandoned by the gods,⁵⁴ is indicated by the refurbishment of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora during this time.⁵⁵ The Gigantomachy was a myth well suited to underline the power of the Olympians, especially in war, and to nourish the hope and belief that the gods could grant similar strength and security to a shattered Athens.⁵⁶

2.2 Standing Athena

2.2.1 Shield-carrying Athena

Our city, by the immortal god's intent
and Zeus' decree, shall never come to harm:
for our bold champion, of proud descent,
Pallas of Athens shields us with her arms

Solon, fr. 4
(tr. Gilbert & Highet)

The full set of weapons, i.e. helmet, spear and shield, is sometimes carried by the standing Athena. It may seem remarkable that a high percentage (up to 50%) of such depictions seem to occur in scenes showing the Judgement of Paris, most of which date from the late fifth century.

Especially closely related are the representations on a hydria by the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris, a hydria and a calyx-krater by the Kadmos Painter and two hydriai by the Nikias Painter. Here, the Judgement is shown in multi-level compositions, as opposed to the earlier procession of the goddesses to Mount Ida (**39–43***). The goddesses have arrived at their destination and are grouped around Paris. Athena is depicted close to Paris, which is typical for the Classical period,

⁵⁴As is suggested by Aristophanes' play *Peace*, in which the gods neglect the mortals during their war-struggles.

⁵⁵On the Twelve Gods, see: C. R. Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (Leiden, 1987) 152–176. Long suggests that it was important to keep the Twelve Gods on Athens' side during the war in order to insure their approval of Athens' imperialism.

⁵⁶This may also explain the popularity of the subject in public art, as such a connotation was well suited to Athenian policy. The defeat of the creatures of earth by the united forces of heaven may also have signified the divine defence of order and civilisation (*κόσμος*) against the wild and animal forces of disorder (*ἀκοσμία*); the gods as givers of civilization are referred to by Euripides, *Suppl.* 201–205.

whereas on Late Archaic and Early Classical vases she usually occupies the middle position in the line of goddesses. Dressed in an Attic peplos, Athena is standing almost frontally, holding a spear upright in her right hand and a shield vertically on her left arm. She is wearing an Attic (**39**, **40**, **43***) or Corinthian helmet (**40**) and an aegis of the bib or bib-collar type (on (**41**) the type of aegis is difficult to determine).

On a calyx-krater in Munich (**44**) from about 380, Athena appears in the same basic pose, wearing a simple sleeveless dress, a vest-like aegis and a Corinthian helmet. This possibly represents a Judgement, but, as on (**122**) (see p. 37), Paris seems to be missing.

Outside the Judgement of Paris, this type of shield-holding Athena occurs on a calyx-krater and a bell-krater dated to the early fourth century (**45**, **46**).⁵⁷ Both vases show Athena in the presence of other gods attending Herakles, who is seated above an altar. An earlier example is a fragmentary volute-krater by Polion, dating from about 430–420, which shows Athena standing behind the chariot of Apollo, amongst an assembly of gods. Two more vases, a lekythos with a very crude drawing of the shield-carrying Athena next to a stele (**36**), dated to the second half of the fifth century, and a Meidian fragment (**48**), seem to reflect this type.

A bell-krater by the Oinomaos Painter (**49**) from about 400 depicts a variation, with Athena holding a spear diagonally in her lowered right hand. A similar pose appears on a Meidian aryballos with a Judgement of Paris from the late fifth century (**37**), on which Athena is walking to the right and looking back over her shoulder. A fragment dated to about 400–390 (**38**), probably decorated with a Judgement scene, shows a shield attached to Athena's left arm while she is holding a spear.⁵⁸ Rather problematic in their interpretation are calyx-krater fragments from about 400 (**50**) on which a figure probably to be identified as Athena is shown carrying a shield (device: gorgoneion and rays) in a diagonal position on her extended left arm,

⁵⁷On (**45**) the type is slightly modified by the flexion of her right leg.

⁵⁸Shield and spear on one arm are also carried by a female figure on a rf lekythos dating from about 470 (**33**); the presence of a swan or a goose, however, makes her identification as Athena uncertain (Aphrodite?). For the association of Athena with a goose, compare, however, the wgr lekythos (**128**).

while her right hand is holding a spear(?). She is dressed in a patterned sleeveless dress with a figure-decorated collar possibly depicting a Gigantomachy. The lack of unmistakable attributes, such as the aegis, the unusual figural decoration of the dress as well as the unparalleled pose adopted by the rather girlish figure, which is slightly reminiscent of contemporary depictions of the Panathenaic Promachos, have given rise to speculation that this might be the depiction of a pyrrhic dancer and not Athena herself.⁵⁹ The setting, a banquet with Dionysos and Herakles or Hephaistos, and the present of (satyr-)musicians in general would support this interpretation. The dress and the immobile pose of the figure, however — a pyrrhic dancer should be dancing while the music is playing — seem incompatible. A suggestion by Bérard could better explain some of the unusual features: the figure might be a maenad imitating Athena.⁶⁰

The frequent occurrence of a relatively coherent type of shield-carrying Athena, concentrated in a particular period and especially popular in one particular scene, raises two main questions: why was the type so common in Judgement scenes, and is there any outside influence responsible for the concentration in a certain period?

To find an answer to the first question, the depictions of the Judgement of Paris in the Classical period must be considered briefly.

Athena in the Judgement of Paris

The Judgement of Paris enjoys a fairly constant level of popularity throughout the Classical period. In all except one (**57=163**) (see p. 45) of the depictions, Athena is shown standing; on one example she is standing in a chariot drawn by snakes (**61**). Spear, helmet — the latter often, especially early, held in her hand⁶¹ — and aegis

⁵⁹F. Brommer, “Athena oder Waffentänzerin?“, *AA* 1979, 512.

⁶⁰C. Bérard, “Athéna mélancolique” *Recherches et Documents du Centre Thomas More* 41 (1984) 1–18, esp. 10.

⁶¹This gesture, which occurs in a variety of scenes since about 530 and also occasionally in sculpture, is especially difficult to interpret. It is most common in the first third of the fifth century, but rare examples persist until after 400. Theoretically both an arming and disarming gesture, it has been interpreted by some as a peaceful gesture, by others as a special emphasis of the helmet and its (and thus Athena’s) war-like nature. Although at first, especially in the Judgement of Paris, it may look like a disarming in order to enhance the feminine appeal of the

are common in most of the representations, and the shield is introduced later in the fifth century. That this heavily-armed Athena is not necessarily contradictory to the idea of the beauty contest is indicated by references to the Judgement in two plays by Euripides, dating from 415 and 405 respectively:

(Agamemnon:)

ἐνθαποτὲ

Παλλάς ἔμολε καὶ δολιόφρων Κύπρις

Ἥρα θ' Ἑρμᾶς θ', ὁ Διὸς ἄγγελος,

ἅ μὲν ἐπὶ πόθῳ τρυφῶσα,

Κύπρις, ἅ δέ δορὶ, Παλλάς,

Ἥρα τε Διὸς ἄνακτος

εὐναῖσι, βασιλίσιν,

κρίσιν ἐπὶ στρυγνὰν ἔριν τε

τᾶς καλλονᾶς, ἐμοὶ δὲ

θάνατον, ὄνομα μὲν φέροντα

Δαναΐδαισιν, ᾧ κόραι.

There on that day came Pallas
And Cypris the beguiling,
Hera, and Hermes, God's messenger -
Cypris, who crushes with desire,
Pallas with her spear,
and Hera, Zeus' royal wife and queen -
They came for the judging,
For the hateful battle of beauty
Which to me brings death, O maidens,
But to the Danaans glory.

Iph. A. 1300-1310

(tr. Walker)

competitor, the following discussion will show that the motif can also have a completely different significance. The vase-painter's intentions and understanding of the motif, however, cannot be discerned with certainty and may have been different and even contradictory in each case. See the discussion of the motif by N. Kunisch, "Zur helmhaltenden Athena", *AM* 89 (1974) 85-154 and Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Eigenart*; compare also Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 182 and E. B. Harrison, "Lemnia and Lemnos: Sidelights on a Pheidian Athena", in: *Kanon. Festschrift E. Berger*. 15. *Beiheft AntK*, ed. M. Schmidt (Basle, 1988) 101-107.

(Helen:)

ἔκρινε τρισσὸν ζεῦγος ὄδε τρισσῶν θεῶν·
καὶ Παλλάδος μὲν ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόσις
Φρυγὶ στρατηγούθ' Ἑλλάδ'. ἐξανίσταναι·
Ἥρα θ' ὑπέσχετ' Ἀσιάδ' Εὐρώπης θ' ὄρους
τυραννίδ' ἔξειν, εἴ σφε κρίνειν Πάρις·
Κύπρις δὲ τοῦ μόν' εἶδος ἐκπαυλουμένη
δώσειν ὑπέσχετ', εἰ θεὰς ὑπερδράμοι
κάλλει.

Alexander was the judge of the goddess trinity.
Pallas Athene would have given him power, to lead
the Phrygian arms on Hellas and make it desolate.
All Asia was Hera's promise, and the uttermost zones
of Europe for his lordship, if her way prevailed.
But Aphrodite, picturing my loveliness,
promised it to him, if he would say her beauty surpassed
all others.

Tro. 924-930
(tr. Lattimore)

Here it is made clear that each goddess in the competition relies on her own particular sphere of influence: Aphrodite on Eros, on the love she can inspire, Hera on her position as a consort of Zeus, and Athena on the spear as the promise of military renown.⁶² This seems to be particularly well reflected in the picture on a cup in Berlin, dating from about 430 (62*). It shows each goddess presenting to Paris what his choice can bring: the Eros carried by Aphrodite is the personification of love; the lion on Hera's arm stands for royal power; and Athena's helmet symbolizes military success.⁶³ Thus, to show Athena fully armed may have been a means of indicating Athena's gift for Paris: success in war, and glory.

This interpretation is supported by the observation that Athena in the Judgement scenes is almost always shown standing, even in the late fifth century, when the other goddesses often appear seated. Standing emphasises her readiness to fight —

⁶²T. C. W. Stinton, *Euripides and the Judgement of Paris* (London, 1965) 33.

⁶³Raab, *Darstellungen* 88.

an attitude which is not necessary, for example, in most contemporary scenes with Herakles, where her presence has no direct influence on the story or is of a friendly nature. This might explain the scarcity of the shield-carrying Athena in such scenes compared to the relatively more common seated Athenas (see section 2.4).

Comparison with sculpture

The standing Athena, carrying shield and spear, already occurs in the West pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina, dated to about 500–490.⁶⁴ The only Classical example of a free-standing shield-carrying Athena is the Athena Medici, preserved in Roman copies and probably dating from about 440–430 (**S4**•).⁶⁵ The same type occurs on the East frieze of the Athena Nike Temple (**S5**), on three record reliefs from around 400 (**S6**, **S7**, **S8**) and on a base of a dedication or shrine from the beginning of the fourth century (**S10**). The frontal Athena, as on the Nike Temple frieze (**S5**) and the two record reliefs (**S6**, **S8**), is closely related to the majority of the depictions on the vases in pose, position of shield, dress, and helmet. Probably owing to the need for interaction on the reliefs, where Athena is shaking hands or holding a wreath, she has no hand free to carry a spear; furthermore, her aegis is usually of the diagonal strap-type which does not appear to be used in vase-painting before the middle of the fourth century. On (**S9**) and (**S10**) a shoulder-pinned back-mantle⁶⁶ is added, which is paralleled on the Karlsruhe hydria (**39**). On this vase, several of Athena's features, including the back-mantle, the chiton underneath the peplos, the triple-crested helmet and the decorated shield⁶⁷ recall the Athena Medici; it is, however, rather unlikely that the painter actually intended to represent this statue, as the back-mantle also features in the dress of Hera on the same vase, and a chiton under a peplos is worn by Aphrodite. It therefore seems most likely that

⁶⁴Boardman, *GSAP* fig. 206.1

⁶⁵It has been suggested that she stood on the Akropolis in Athens (Alscher, *GP II 2*, 129–130), but her identification with the Athena Promachos by Phidias (most recently: Linfert, "Athenen" 66–71) is generally rejected for reasons of date and technique (Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen" 339–350). Other possible identifications are the Athena Areia by Phidias for Plateia, or the Athena by Kolotes for Elis.

⁶⁶The back-mantle in vase-painting and sculpture occurs rarely for Athena (without being connected with any particular type), and also for other figures: Kasper-Butz, *Athena*, 173. See also: J. Roccos, "Athena from a house on the Areopagus", *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 397–410.

⁶⁷Alscher, *GP II 2*, 130; Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen" 343.

the painter, wanting to create a particularly elaborate Athena, used features which also appear in contemporary sculpture, without reference to one particular statue.

Summary

The standing, shield-carrying Athena appears to be particularly common in the last quarter of the fifth century, especially around 400, both on reliefs and vases. Direct influence of sculpture on vase-painting cannot be excluded but cannot be proven either,⁶⁸ as there is much variation in detail as well as occasional close resemblances between some of the reliefs and many vases. The concentration in the late fifth century may merely be due to a certain fashion for this type, connected with a general trend towards accumulation of attributes and the popularity of the type in scenes depicting the Judgement of Paris. Nevertheless, some inspiration may also have come from a new statue erected (or made?) in Athens shortly before that time.

2.2.2 Hand on hip

A pose popular for Athena, especially in the third quarter of the fifth century, shows the goddess standing resting one hand on her hip. Almost always it is the inside, not the outside, of her hand which touches her hip. In her other hand she is usually holding a spear, in a vertical or diagonal position, the vertical variety being slightly more frequent; occasionally she is leaning forward with one foot raised (see section 2.3). Sometimes a shield is shown propped up on the ground beside her (see section 2.2.3), and usually she is wearing a helmet. The popularity of the pose in vase-painting, its occasional use for Athena in sculpture as well as the question whether a certain meaning is attached to it, however, justify its treatment as a distinct type.

Almost forty occurrences of Athena with hand on hip on vases throughout the Early Classical and Classical period have been listed here. They comprise a variety of subjects, and it appears as though the pose is not combined regularly with a particular type of scene, nor with any particular dress or type of helmet or aegis. Therefore, its meaning is difficult to determine.

⁶⁸Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 38–39.

According to a recent observation by Meyer,⁶⁹ this pose emphasizes both the military aspect of Athena, by the addition of a spear, as well as her pensive/spiritual aspect, expressed by the passive position of her hand. However, Meyer's claim that this pose is used particularly to indicate the 'invisible' presence of Athena lacks supporting evidence. Scenes which could be interpreted as representing an 'invisible' Athena make use of this pose but display no particular preference for it. Such scenes are those in which she is not obviously actively involved in the action, such as when she is watching a heroic deed and giving 'moral' support to one of her protégés. A more general interpretation of this gesture, as suggested by McNiven, seems more likely: the hand-on-hip pose indicates a general attentive attitude, in particular listening intently or occasionally also speaking. This versatile use of the pose explains better the multitude of scenes in which it occurs, as well as its frequent use for other figures.⁷⁰

In sculpture, the motif is known at least since the creation of the Angelitos-Athena, dating from about 480 (**S11•**),⁷¹ and about the same time it also begins to appear in vase-painting. Although a mid-fifth-century oinochoe (**82**) which shows this type of Athena atop a column may indicate that the type was conceived of (at least by this vase-painter) as having a particular connection with sculpture, it may seem doubtful that the Angelitos-Athena, a relatively small votive-statue, could have been the prototype for the pose.⁷²

The motif occurs again around 460 in the 'Mourning Athena' (**S12•**). This relief has been interpreted in many different ways,⁷³ but unless new and conclusive evidence comes to light no consensus seems possible. Several depictions on vases of

⁶⁹Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 172.

⁷⁰T. J. McNiven, *Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning 550–450 BC* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor (Mich.), 1982) 97–100, 172.

⁷¹M. Meyer, "Zur 'sinnenden' Athena", in: *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (Mainz, 1989) 161–168. The left hand of the Angelitos-Athena rests on her left hip; it has, however, been suggested, most recently by Linfert, that she was carrying a shield (Linfert, "Athenen" 73).

⁷²Niemeyer, *Promachos* 69.

⁷³The suggestions include Athena contemplating the list of the dead Athenian warriors, concentrating on the welfare of the polis, presiding over the palaestra, or representing a victorious female pyrrhic dancer (See catalogue entry (**S12•**) for literature). Most suggestions are based on similar depictions of people leaning on sticks in a relaxed or contemplative pose next to stelai, and it seems impossible to decide which is the most likely.

Athena with hand on hip, spear and lowered head have been claimed to reflect the ‘Mourning Athena’; the closest parallel can probably be found on a white-ground lekythos painted in the style of the Inscription Painter, which shows Athena next to a column (87). On a closer inspection, however, most vases display considerable differences, especially in the way the spear is held. More important even, very few actually show an inclined head (85, 91–93, 100, 108); the great majority depicts Athena with a raised gaze, or even looking away from the spear (83*, 87, 102, 109). It thus seems more likely that both the ‘Mourning Athena’ and the depictions on vases draw on common sources, using a general type of figure which was known since the beginning of the Early Classical period and popular not only for Athena, but for a wide variety of figures.

The motif of hand on hip for Athena in sculpture occurs again in the fourth century, for example in the Athena Rospigliosi from about 380–360 (S15•).⁷⁴ Her most characteristic feature, being wrapped tightly in a himation, is anticipated on four vases (81, 99, 100, 101) dating from the third quarter of the fifth century. All four show Athena holding a spear in a vertical position and wearing a himation wrapped around the right waist and left arm, covering it completely. As such a himation in the Classical period is often used for the depiction of men as ‘citizens’, the Athena Rospigliosi has been interpreted as a ‘citizen Athena’ with emphasis on her intellectual and not so much on her military power,⁷⁵ but helmet and himation were also the dress of the military leaders of Athens.⁷⁶ Fehr has pointed out that hiding one arm in the mantle while speaking in public was considered as a sign of *σωφροσύνη* and generally good behaviour, perhaps because the restricted movement of the wrapped-up arm resulted in restrained gestures. Observation on vases, however, suggests that this interpretation has little or no significance for the depiction of Athena, as the type appears in different contexts, making a coherent interpretation impossible (with a giant (81), with Hermes (100), with Boreas and

⁷⁴The ‘Athena mit Stimmstein’ and the Athena Vescovali-Arezzo (S13•, S14•) both slightly precede the Athena Rospigliosi. Two reliefs from the first quarter of the fourth century show Athena with the himation wrapped tightly around the body, but without the hand on the hip (S20, S26).

⁷⁵Borbein, “Athena Rospigliosi”.

⁷⁶N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1990) 98–100.

which are not known to us.

A column-krater by the Hephaistos Painter from about 430–420 (**119**) shows the earliest known fairly certain reflection of the Athena Parthenos, although it omits the shield. Athena is shown frontally, dressed in a belted peplos and wearing an Attic helmet, looking to the left at the small Nike on her right hand, who — unlike on the Athena Parthenos — is moving away from her. Although the spear, held vertically in the left hand, the aegis in the shape of a narrow collar and the single-crested helmet do not match Pheidias' statue, the painter has provided enough features to make at least the modern observer think of the Parthenos (which does not necessarily prove that this was the actual intention). He has, however, adapted this 'Parthenos' to a different context: Athena is standing between Achilles and Ajax playing dice, and her Nike is rushing away from her in order to crown Achilles. Whether Athena is meant to be 'real' or a statue is difficult to decide. The base on which the figures are shown as well as the onlooker at the left of the picture seem to suggest that here a sculptural group is indeed depicted.⁷⁹ There certainly was an Archaic group of statues on the Akropolis representing Achilles and Ajax playing dice, but whether Athena was present is not certain.⁸⁰

Statues of Athena occasionally occur on vases, although in most cases it is difficult to determine whether the representation of a specific statue is intended. Examples of Athena-statues can be found on a red-figure oinochoe dating from about 450 (**82**) and on a fragment from a Panathenaic prize-amphora from about 370–364/3 (**118**). In both cases, it is a column which indicates that the figure is meant to be a statue. A black-figure adaption of the Athena Parthenos, shown standing on a low base and thus probably intended as a statue, occurs on a calyx-krater dated to the third quarter of the fourth century.⁸¹ Prime examples for the depiction of statues of Athena are the palladia which, however, will not be further

⁷⁹About statues on vases in general, see: K. Schefold, "Statuen auf griechischen Vasenbildern", *JdI* 52 (1937) 30–75. Schefold (32) suggests that this krater might depict an Early Classical group of Achilles and Ajax.

⁸⁰H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt, 1939) 284–286 no. 412.

⁸¹Munich 6043; *AM* 99 (1984) pl. 35.3–4; P. Ducati, *Saggio di studio sulla ceramica attica figurata del secolo IV av. cr.* (Rome, 1916) pl. 7.3–4 (drawing).

discussed here.

Another fairly certain allusion to the Athena Parthenos is represented on the Baksy-krater (**120**), dating from about 400. Here, Athena is shown attending the introduction of Herakles to Olympos, a myth popular on vases throughout the fifth century. In most earlier depictions of the scene Athena is shown leading or presenting Herakles to the seated Zeus, often in the presence of other gods. In the later fifth century, however, new iconographies are introduced, the most innovative of which is probably the ascension in a chariot from the pyre on Mount Oeta.⁸² The Baksy-krater, too, deviates from the traditional scheme in that the gods, including Athena, are depicted in an upper row and thus separated from Herakles, who is approaching them — probably in a chariot — from below.

Athena, framed by Zeus and Poseidon, is shown frontally, her head in three-quarter view to the left. With her lowered left hand she is touching the rim of a shield resting against her left side; a naked warrior is drawn on its inside and may be interpreted as a warrior (Ares?) in a battle, possibly the Gigantomachy or the Amazonomachy. She is wearing an elaborate triple-crested Attic helmet, the two outer crests of which seem to emerge from the foreparts of winged animals. On the upturned cheekpieces are two sphinxes. Her aegis consists of two halves joined on the breast by a gorgoneion. These three features — aegis, helmet with elements of the Parthenos helmet, and shield-inside with painted Gigantomachy — suggest that the painter had the Athena Parthenos in mind when he drew this figure. Again, however, there are as many deviations from the model as there are congruencies: Instead of an Attic peplos, Athena wears a belted long dress without overfold, an epiblema is wrapped around her left shoulder, right waist and lower left arm, and her raised right hand is holding a spear instead of a Nike. This suggests that the painter added some features characteristic of the Parthenos to a basic type, determined by the scene (spear instead of Nike) and by the stylistic trends of his time (dress; see section 3.1). In addition, the figure has been incorporated in a narrative context; it

⁸²Shown on three vases of the late fifth century; cf. B. B. Shefton, “The krater from Baksy”, in: *The Eye of Greece*, eds. D. C. Kurtz & B. A. Sparkes (Cambridge, 1982) 149–178, esp. 175 note 104, and J. Boardman, “Herakles in Extremis”, in: *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. Festschrift K. Schauenburg* (Mainz, 1986) 127–132.

is not the statue of a goddess, but represents the goddess herself.

These two vases seem to be the only examples for which a derivation from the Athena Parthenos type can be postulated with some certainty; other examples show certain aspects of the Athena Parthenos, but deviate in the majority of their features so much from the statue that the relationship cannot be determined.

Such is the depiction on a late-fifth-century squat lekythos in the manner of the Meidias Painter (**121***). Athena is here shown attending the killing of the sphinx by Oedipus. The spear held diagonally in her lowered right hand, the vest-like aegis and the not-so-elaborate helmet are features differing from those of the Athena Parthenos. Nevertheless, the viewer is reminded of the chryselephantine statue by Athena's pose — her left arm rests on the rim of a shield propped up beside her — as well as the white and gold colouring of the figure given in relief. The iconography of this rarely-depicted scene is remarkable, too. Burn⁸³ suggests that the appointment of Athena as a divine protectress of Oedipus is the sign of an 'Atticization' of the myth, emphasized by the depiction of not just any type of Athena but one alluding to the famous Athenian statue of Athena, as well as by the addition of an olive-tree.

On another Meidian squat lekythos (**122**) a similar type of Athena occurs, with the exception that the shield is on her right hand side and the spear is held upright in her left hand. Again the figure is given in relief, and again the vest-like aegis and the simpler helmet occur, leaving only the shield and the white and gold relief as indications of a possible allusion to the Parthenos. The content of the scene has not been identified with certainty, and the suggestion that this might represent a Judgement of Paris has been rejected because of the absence of Paris.⁸⁴

The picture on a squat lekythos from about 400–390 in Athens (**123**) is another uncertain depiction of a Judgement. Besides Athena, it shows Paris (inscribed Alexandros) seated with Eros. A woman, inscribed ΗΓ (Hera or Helena?) is shown rushing towards Paris, and a small Palladion is depicted in between. As both the

⁸³Burn, *Meidias Painter* 47–48; cf. L. Burn, "The art of the state in fifth-century Athens", in: *Images of Authority. Festschrift J. Reynolds*, eds. M. M. MacKenzie & C. Roueché (Cambridge, 1989) 62–81.

⁸⁴Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. 167, pl. 36 (possibly Judgement); Raab, *Parisurteil* 196 no. K167 (opposing view).

xoanon and a running Hera would hardly fit into a Judgement scene, it has been suggested that this might represent the first meeting of Helen and Paris (the Palladion being kind of an attribute for Helen).⁸⁵ The meeting of Paris and Helen, however, is usually depicted as a rather calm and solemn event, and there are no parallels for Helen rushing towards Paris. Helen is only shown running when she is chased by Menelaos and seeking refuge at the Palladion. The latter is an episode which should be considered for the identification of the depiction on our vase, as the object closest to the running woman is a palladion. Several problems arise from this interpretation. That the palladion is a little small and Helen's(?) attention does not seem to focus on it might be dismissed as only minor objections; also, the omission of Menelaos could be explained by an abbreviation of the story, and the presence of Athena by comparison with similar depictions on other vases.⁸⁶ The addition of Paris with Eros, however, remains incomprehensible in this context. Taking into account his pose, which would be well suited for a Judgement, it remains possible to speculate whether the painter of this vase possibly combined 'stock-figures' from different contexts under the general theme of the story of Helen.

Returning to the figure of Athena, we notice that, unlike on the two lekythoi discussed above, the attribute suggesting a possible connection with the Athena Parthenos here is a snake on Athena's right hand side. Additionally, Athena is dressed in an Attic peplos, and her aegis could possibly be of the bipartite Parthenos type, although it also recalls the shape of a vest. However, the simple helmet (Attic?), the upright spear in the right hand and the position of the left hand (resting on her left hip) have nothing in common with the Parthenos.

Summarizing the observations made on the five vases discussed so far, it appears that in vase-painting certain characteristic features of the Athena Parthenos

⁸⁵Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 56 no. K173; Raab, *Parisurteil* 196–197 no. K173; Cook, *Zeus* 770 fig. 567 (drawing); *LIMC IV* 522 Helene 120, pl. 313.

⁸⁶Athena can be present when Helen is pursued by Menelaos (e.g. *LIMC IV* 541 Hélène 246, pl. 335; 541 Hélène 250, pl. 336), but there seem to be no examples of her presence in scenes in which Helen takes refuge at the Palladion. The iconography of Helen taking refuge at the Palladion is, however, modelled on the pursuit of Kassandra by Ajax, and in scenes of this pursuit Athena is present on several vases at least from the mid-fifth century onwards (see: S. B. Matheson, "Polygnotos: an Iliupersis Scene at the Getty Museum", *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 3* (Malibu, 1986) 101–114).

can be combined with other basic types of Athena, and only in few cases which accumulate such features does it seem likely that the similarities are intentional. A frequently-occurring feature is Athena holding her shield on the ground, but this motif is occasionally found before the erection of the Athena Parthenos, for example, on three vases dating to about 460–450 (**124***, **125**, **143**), and even predates the Athena Promachos.⁸⁷ A more common way of depicting Athena with a shield on the ground is, however, to show her next to a shield which she does not touch and which has no effect on Athena's pose. This motif occurs not only throughout the Classical period, but appears already at a much earlier date.⁸⁸ It is used in different contexts, but mainly in scenes with Herakles. The shield can be shown leaning against her right (**127**, **129**, **131**, **132**, **135***) or left leg (**134**, **137**, **138**), against the frame of the picture ((**139**) — compare record relief (**S29**)), propped up beside her (**126**, **128**, **136**, **140**, **141(?)**, **142**) or lying on the ground (**130**).⁸⁹ In all these depictions, Athena is holding a spear upright either in her left or right hand, while the other hand may rest on her hip (**128**, **129**, **132**, **134**, **136**, **138**, **139**)⁹⁰ or perform some gesture connected with the scene (on (**137**) the hand possibly touches the rim of the shield).

The shield on the ground thus appears to have been added to different types of Athena, the hand-on-hip-type being particularly popular.⁹¹ No particular dress, type of helmet or type of aegis, however, is characteristic for the type, nor does it usually recall the Athena Parthenos.

⁸⁷It occurs, for example, on a red lekythos of about 480 (Pan Painter; Adolphseck 52; *ARV* 366.59; *CVA* Adolphseck (1) pl. 39.4,6–7).

⁸⁸See also Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 173.

⁸⁹On (**141**) the shield is shown in a puzzling position, close to Athena's body but neither resting on the ground nor carried by her. (**142**) is decorated with an unusual scene (Herakles carrying a centaur towards Athena) and may be South Italian.

⁹⁰Compare the record relief (**S21**).

⁹¹One possible explanation for the popularity of the hand-on-hip type could be that both the shield on the ground and the gesture of the hand on hip enhance the powerful and impressive appearance of Athena and signify and attentive attitude, without demonstrating aggression, making the type suitable for a wide variety of scenes. About the shield leaning against the leg for hoplites 'at ease', see: J. Buckler, "A second look at the Monument of Chabrias", *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 466–474.

Summary

Summarizing the evidence discussed above, two points seem to be important. First, there is no exact copy of the Parthenos known in vase-painting which displays all elements as they appear on the chryselephantine statue. Instead, a few vase-painters chose to depict some of these features and modify them according to the needs of the scene, in most cases probably without the intention of producing an obvious copy of the Parthenos.⁹² Depictions of Athena with the shield on the ground beside her mostly have no connection with the Athena Parthenos, except for when she is touching the rim of the shield and other features of the Parthenos are displayed in addition.

Secondly, this rather scarce evidence for allusions to the Athena Parthenos — or even only for the adaptation of one or two of her characteristic features — appears somewhat surprising, considering that the Parthenos is generally regarded nowadays as *the* embodiment of Athena in the Classical period.⁹³ It may indicate that vase-painters were less susceptible to influence from sculpture than is often suspected. It seems furthermore remarkable that most of the allusions to the Parthenos seem to date from the last quarter of the fifth century, whereas on the record reliefs the peak appears to be even later, after the middle of the fourth century.⁹⁴

⁹²A similar phenomenon of the eclectic use of some details, such as the shield and the snake, can be seen on record and votive reliefs from the last quarter of the fifth century and the first quarter of the fourth century. The snake, for example, can also be combined with other types of Athena, such as a ‘Leaning’ and a seated Athena on two late-fifth-century record reliefs (**S32**, **S42**). Furthermore, on vases, it accompanies Athena already well before the Parthenos, e.g. on a *bf kalpis* by the Nikoxenos Painter (*ABV* 393.20; H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989) 30–31, pl. 10c).

⁹³E.g. Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 168.

⁹⁴Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 166–169; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 35.

2.3 Leaning (‘Angelehnte’) Athena and related types

Leaning Athena

A second type of Athena with a shield on the ground is believed to possibly have originated in sculpture: the Leaning Athena. This type is represented by a statue in the Akropolis Museum, a Roman copy of a Greek original of about 430–420 (**S30**). Athena is wearing an Attic peplos with a long overfold and a diagonal strap aegis with gorgoneion and snakes. She is resting her left elbow on the edge of a shield(?) and is apparently not wearing a helmet. Berger⁹⁵ suggested that she might be looking at an object in her lowered left hand. The type is also reflected by a small statue in the Akropolis Museum (**S31•**) and by four record reliefs and one votive relief, dating from 427/6 to the later fourth century (**S32–S36**).

On vases, it is known from only three depictions, dating from about 400–370, and a derivation from the sculptural type does not seem impossible.

A pyxis (**144***), dated to about 370, with a depiction of the birth of Apollo and Artemis, shows Athena standing frontally, dressed in a peplos (unbelted?), her right arm resting on a large shield on the ground beside her. In her left hand she holds a spear. Her head, crowned by an Attic helmet, is turned to the left, where Leto is seated. The weight of Athena’s body is hardly shifted towards the shield, which thus almost appears as an unnecessary attribute. A similar pose occurs on two of the document reliefs, dating from 427/6 and 410/9 (**S32**, **S33**). Instead of holding a spear, Athena is here crowning (**S32**) or shaking hands (**S33**) with another person, the basic motif thus being modified according to the needs of the scene.

Fragments of a pyxis-lid (**145**), dating from about 400, show Athena in an identical but reversed pose.⁹⁶ Different, too, are the Corinthian helmet, the aegis (of the bipartite(–bib) type) and the belted, sleeveless dress. On the edge of the shield underneath her left arm lies an epiblema. This feature is paralleled on two

⁹⁵Berger, “Athena”, 86.

⁹⁶The subject of the scene is not clear; the fragments show Hera(?) and Zeus(?) seated, Athena, and Eros with two torches.

record reliefs, dating from 410/9 (**S33**) and about 390 (**S34**). It is also used for the seated Athena on the record relief (**S46**).

A skyphos dated to about 380–370 (**146**) presents a slightly different type of Leaning Athena. Athena is shown together with Herakles, standing frontally, holding a spear upright in her right hand and leaning her left arm on a shield itself resting on the trunk of a tree. She is dressed in an Attic peplos and wearing a Corinthian helmet. The two main differences to the other two Athenas concern her pose and the position of the shield: while on the pyxides the shield is extremely big in order to serve as a support for Athena's arm, it is now much smaller and set on a tree trunk. Also, Athena seems genuinely to lean on it, as indicated by the free leg set back and to the side.⁹⁷

A shield set on a base is represented twice on reliefs with the Leaning Athena. On one of these, a later fourth century votive relief to Asklepios (**S36**), the pose of Athena is similar to that on the pyxides (and (**S32**, **S33**)), with the exception that the spear, held in her raised right hand, is leaning against her shoulder (now lost). On the other, however, dating to about 390 (**S34**), Athena is leaning with a strong inclination towards the shield without much bending of her body. Although the free leg is here set forward instead of backward, this recalls the depiction on the skyphos.

For the record reliefs, Meyer excludes the possibility of a single sculptural model of Athena,⁹⁸ pointing out the differences among them, especially in the degree of ponderation. Those depictions of Athena where the shield has no further effect on the ponderation are explained by the addition of the shield as a mere attribute to a normal standing Athena. Meyer traces back the motif of leaning as it occurs on the record relief (**S34**) — with extended free leg — to the 440s and 430s, and explains its popularity for various figures in sculpture and vase-painting by the influence of

⁹⁷This motif, though less marked, seems to have become popular in the later fifth century, where it occurs for Athena leaning forward on her spear (**145**, **150**) or shield (**148**). On these vases, however, the back leg is bent and not, as on the skyphos, straight. On (**147***), dating from about 380, Athena is shown leaning to the side (the only occurrence of this motif known to me without a shield as support) on Herakles' shoulder or on the back of his seat, with her feet arranged in a similar way.

⁹⁸Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 164.

the statue of a Leaning Aphrodite.⁹⁹

A quarter-century earlier, however, Karouzou — taking up an idea by Süsserott — had suggested that all depictions of the Leaning Athena go back to a single statue type of the Leaning Athena, which possibly developed under the influence of the Leaning Aphrodite and was constantly modified over time, e.g. by the addition of a base for the shield.¹⁰⁰ According to Karouzou, the type of Athena with no or very little inclination towards the shield (as it occurs on the majority of the reliefs (**S32**, **S33**, **S36**) and on the two pyxides) is closest to the original. This view appears to be supported by the two statues in the Akropolis Museum (**S30**, **S31**•) which are closely compatible with the depictions on vases and reliefs, as well as by details such as the epiblema on the edge of the shield on (**145**), (**S33**) and (**S34**). It therefore seems reasonable to assume a certain sculptural influence on vase-painting in the case of the Leaning Athena, albeit without strict adherence to a single well-defined type.

Leaning forward, one foot raised

In addition to the Leaning Athena, there is another way of representing the standing Athena in a relaxed pose, which shall be mentioned only briefly: Athena with one foot raised and leaning forward.

Among the nine (ten, if the half-seated Athena on (**174**) is counted) vases assembled here, four can be dated to about 450–440 (**151–154**), and a further five (**155–159**) belong to about 400–375.

The depictions vary widely, sharing only the basic position of the leg, the

⁹⁹For example: early-fourth-century grave relief (B. Schmaltz, *Griechische Grabreliefs* (Darmstadt, 1983) pl. 9); and Demeter or Artemis on a late-fifth-century bell-krater (**174**). Compare also the maenad leaning on her tympanon on a bell-krater by the Telos Painter (early fourth century; Liverpool; *Para* 491.22bis; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 341) and on a fourth century pelike by the Marsyas Painter (about 330–320; Athens, NM 1181; *ARV* 1475.5; Karouzou, “Two Statues” 154, fig. 7).

¹⁰⁰Karouzou, “Two Statues” 156–157. She suggests that the introduction of a tree-trunk as a base may have been inspired by the anthemion for the shield of the Athena Hephaisteia by Alkamenes. The statue of the Leaning Athena might be an Athena made by Alkamenes for the Athenian demos. It remains doubtful, however, that the addition of the base only took place in the fourth century, as evidence is too scarce to allow such conclusions.

leaning pose and the spear. The latter can be held in the right or left hand, either in a diagonal or vertical position. All Athenas except for one (155) wear a helmet. In most cases the foot is set on a rock, but two examples show it on the steps of a temple or shrine. (151), (153) and (155) show Athena simply resting one arm on her raised leg, while on (152*) and (154) this arm is also supporting her chin, and on (157) it is raised towards her mouth in a gesture. The remaining three show her arm resting on her hip (156, 158, 159).

There seems to be no parallel for this pose preserved in sculpture; in vase-painting especially from the late fifth century, however, the raised leg is popular for a number of figures other than Athena. Although no great meaning should be attached to its use for Athena, it may nevertheless seem noteworthy that the majority of the later occurrences is in scenes with Herakles. The pose may have been chosen by the painters to express a relaxed but attentive attitude and atmosphere,¹⁰¹ perhaps following the completion of a labour. This matches the less heroic representations of the seated Herakles, which are common at that time, and which occur on three of the four later vases mentioned here.¹⁰²

Summary

As far as conclusions can be drawn from such meagre evidence, the motif of the Leaning Athena might indeed have been introduced into vase-painting from sculpture, even though the first known examples are much later than the supposed original in sculpture, and the motif of leaning in general was not confined to Athena alone.¹⁰³ In sculpture the interest in the shift of body-weight is more likely to have been an important factor than in other media, and this in itself suggests that the motif of leaning to the side was first developed in sculpture. For the forward-leaning Athena, neither types nor connections with sculpture could be traced.

The introduction of the motif of leaning has been explained by Schefold¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹T. J. McNiven, *Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning 550–450* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor (Mich.), 1982) 60.

¹⁰²About this pose in connection with other figures, especially Hermes, see: Arafat, *Zeus* 128.

¹⁰³Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 165.

¹⁰⁴Schefold, *GS* 43. See also: Karouzou, “Two Statues” 156; Berger, “Athena” 86.

with a more intimate and human view of the gods and their relation to men in the later Classical period, which allowed such a relaxed depiction of a goddess. A similar explanation might also account for the approximately contemporary rise in popularity of the seated figure (which, however, had been known and used well before that time!). As in the case of the seated Athena, however, vase-painters almost always added the helmet — and the spear — which was usually left out in relief depictions. This may be seen as a counter-motif for the relaxed and peaceful attitude of the goddess, especially when she is leaning on one of her war-tools. It should, however, also be considered that vase-painters, following (stylistic) trends in sculpture, sometimes may have used new types without much regard to their possible ‘meaning’. This possibility might better explain the addition of the standard attributes of spear and helmet and it might also account for the occurrence of the leaning Athena in scenes where such a relaxed attitude seems less appropriate.

2.4 Seated Athena

The depiction of Athena in a seated position is never very common in Attic vase-painting. In the Archaic period, the motif occurs occasionally in representations of Athena in an assembly of gods, where it is common for the other gods as well,¹⁰⁵ in scenes with Herakles, or in pictures implying a cult context.¹⁰⁶

In the Early Classical period, the seated Athena is rare. She can be found, for example, in a depiction of Athena making a horse, dating from about 470–460 (**162**), as well as on a pyxis by the Wedding Painter of about 460 (**163**), as far as we know the only seated Athena in a post-Archaic Judgement of Paris before the Late Classical period.¹⁰⁷ With all the figures seated and Athena and Hera pouring libations, the composition of this vase is exceptional for a Judgement and reminds

¹⁰⁵H. Knell, *Die Darstellung der Götterversammlung in der attischen Kunst des VI. und V. Jhs.* (Freiburg, 1965) 55.

¹⁰⁶E.g. bf pinax, Athens, Akr. 2549; the possibility of whether these depictions reflect a cult statue (the xoanon of Athena Polias or of Athena Nike) has most recently been discussed by H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989), 27–32 — cf. (this thesis) p. 50.

¹⁰⁷The motif recurs later on a red-figure pelike by the Marsyas Painter, dated to about 330–320 (Athens, NM 1181; *ARV* 1475.5; Schefold, *UK* pl. 36).

one rather of depictions of the assembly of gods. The stiffness of Athena's pose still recalls the preceding Archaic period, but the position of the spear, held diagonally in the left hand, is a motif used throughout the Classical period.¹⁰⁸

From the early phases of the Classical period only two depictions of the seated Athena are known to me. Both can be dated to about 440, and both are anomalous in their conception and problematic in their interpretation, and have been connected with lost wall-paintings.

In a multi-level composition on a volute-krater (**164**) in Ferrara, Athena is shown seated among warriors — possibly the Argonauts. She is holding sprigs in both hands, wearing a Corinthian helmet and a long sleeved chiton. A himation is wrapped around the lower part of her body and over her left shoulder, against which a spear is leaning diagonally. The position of her legs reflects a convention widely used for seated figures from the mid-fifth century onwards: the leg in the foreground of the picture is extended, while the leg in the background is pulled back.

The basic pose of Athena as well as her dress roughly conform to the standard picture of a seated woman in vase-painting of that time.¹⁰⁹ Athena's pose is also reminiscent of the seated Athenas on the Parthenon and Hephaisteion friezes (**S37***, **S38***), dating from about 440 and 430, respectively. On the latter, however, Athena is dressed in an Attic peplos, and on the former, the position of Athena's feet differs from the usual scheme; this might be accounted for by the need for variation in a row of seated gods. In addition, she is not wearing a helmet.

On a Nolan amphora by the Trophy Painter (**165***) a seated Athena is shown dressed in almost exactly the same, conventional way as on the krater. Her pose, however, is exceptional: She is depicted frontally, sitting on her aegis — to my knowledge this is the only occurrence of an aegis used in this way in Attic vase-painting¹¹⁰ — and resting her chin on her right hand. In her left raised hand she is

¹⁰⁸On vases as well as in sculpture, e.g. on the Parthenon and Hephaisteion friezes (**S37***, **S38***).

¹⁰⁹Compare: rf oinochoe, Shuvalov Painter (Adolphseck 67; *ARV* 1207.26; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 223), and: rf epinetron, Eretria Painter (Athens, NM 1629; *ARV* 1250.50; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 235). The same dress is also worn by the first known seated Athena on a record relief (**S40**).

¹¹⁰It is, however, paralleled on a rf Apulian bell-krater (Boston 00.341; *LIMC II* 1015 Athena 620, pl. 764; L. Balensiefen, *Die Bedeutung des Spiegelbildes als ikonographisches Motiv in der antiken Kunst* (Tübingen, 1990) 89–98, 225–226, pl. 22.1).

holding a spear. Next to her a woman is standing in a similar pose. The motif of chin-in-hand can be found in art from the Early Classical period onwards; it conveys thoughtfulness, contemplation or sometimes intense attention.¹¹¹ For Athena — as for gods in general — the gesture is rare, but it does occur on two approximately contemporary examples of the standing Athena (**152***, **154**). The closest parallel, however, can be found on a fragmentary relief from the early fourth century which shows Athena seated facing to the right, chin in hand, dressed in a peplos and wearing a Corinthian helmet (**S45**). Unfortunately, the fragmentary condition of the relief does not allow any further conclusions as to the interpretation of the scene.

Following these few examples, the next known occurrences of the seated Athena appear on around a dozen vases from about 400–370. They are closely related by the use of the same basic type of Athena. This type is characterized by the motif of sitting in profile either to the right or to the left, and by the ‘canonical’ arrangement of the legs, i.e. the near leg extended, the background leg pulled back. Furthermore, Athena holds a spear, wears a Corinthian helmet, and there is a shield included somewhere in the composition, most commonly behind Athena’s back.¹¹² The arrangement of these attributes, however, can vary widely.

Two calyx-kraters by the Cecrops Painter (**167***, **168**) and one pelike by the Kiev Painter (**166**), apart from the basic type, share the arrangement of the spear held diagonally in the lowered left hand, similar to that on (**164**),¹¹³ and the gesture

¹¹¹G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965) 117–123; T. J. McNiven, *Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning 550–450* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor (Mich.), 1982) 90. The gesture of the standing woman is reminiscent of the Sterope(?) of the East pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. A slightly different gesture, probably more akin to worry, can be found in depictions of Penelope: rf skyphos, Penelope Painter (Chiusi 1831; *ARV* 1300.2; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 147). See also: W. Gauer, “Penelope, Hellas und der Perserkönig” *JdI* 105 (1990) 31–65. O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseens dans l’art antique* (Paris, 1968) 207 note 366 suggests that the standing figure might be Nausicaa, based on a comparison with a similar depiction of Nausicaa on a pyxis-lid by Aison (Boston 04.18; late fifth century; *ARV* 1177.48; *Para* 460; *Add2* 340; F. Brommer, *Odysseus* (Darmstadt, 1983) pl. 41). But why should Athena, too, be so thoughtful? The interpretation brought forward by Robertson better explains the pose of both figures: They might be Athena and Hera contemplating the sack of Troy following their rejection in the Judgement of Paris (Robertson, *HGA* 262).

¹¹²The usual dress is the Attic peplos, or the simpler sleeveless dress favoured by a number of painters around 400 (see section 3.1).

¹¹³This position of the spear also recurs later, for example on a pelike by the Herakles Painter

of the raised right hand. On **(166)** and **(167*)** Athena is leaning on a shield propped up behind her back, while on **(168)** her shield is held by Nike.¹¹⁴ Also, Athena's legs are turned slightly into a three-quarter view; on **(167*)** Athena's legs are arranged in the canonical way, but are also crossed. Both the general pose as well as the crossing of the legs can be paralleled in roughly contemporary sculpture, such as on the Nike Temple parapet (**S39**) and on record and votive reliefs of the last quarter of the fifth and early fourth century (**S40, S41, S43, S44, S46, S47, S48**).

On a bell-krater of about 400–380 (**169**) Athena is again leaning on her shield propped up behind her back, but now she is holding the spear vertically in her raised hand. The latter motif also occurs on a calyx-krater of about 400 (**170***) and on a pyxis-lid of about 370–350 (**178**), but here the shield is missing and Athena's right arm is hanging straight down. Furthermore, all three vases share Athena's backward-gaze.¹¹⁵

Vases (**171, 172, 173**) and (**174**) also feature the spear held in a vertical position, but while on **(171)** Athena's left arm is resting on a shield propped up behind her back, on **(172)** her right arm is shown lowered even though the shield appears behind her back, turned away from her and apparently resting against a rock. **(173)** shows a similar composition, except that Athena is holding the spear in her left hand. On a fragmentary calyx-krater in Oxford (**174**) Athena appears to actually sit on her shield which is lying on the ground almost horizontally. A further and unusual variation is the helmet that she is holding in her left hand instead of wearing it.¹¹⁶

A bell-krater by the Semele Painter (**175**) from about 400 has a unique place

dated to 370–350 (**176**), but embedded in a different overall pose. On another pelike by the same painter (**177**) the pose of **(178)** and **(167*)** is repeated.

¹¹⁴This motif also recurs on the reverse of this vase, where shield and helmet are shown in the possession of another goddess, the pose of which recalls that of seated Athenas. On a calyx-krater by the Nikias Painter, dating from about 400, again Nike is holding Athena's spear and shield, while Athena is receiving the child Erichthonios from Ge (Richmond (Virg.) 81.70; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 322).

¹¹⁵A later example of this type occurs on a lekane of about 340 (**179**).

¹¹⁶For the motif of 'sitting' on the shield, compare a late-fifth-century gem in London (London, BM R52; Boardman, *GGFR* 220, 297, pl. 688). The motif of Athena holding her helmet is old (see note 61) and can possibly also be reconstructed for the seated Athena on the Hephaisteion frieze (J. Dörig, *La Frise Est de l'Héphaisteion* (Mainz, 1985) 13–15).

in this discussion, as it shows Athena half-seated, half-standing, i.e. as if seated on a relatively high rock. Her right leg is raised and she holds the spear diagonally in her left hand. She is dressed in a chiton with a himation wrapped around the lower part of her body and her left arm and she wears a Corinthian helmet.

Comparison with sculpture

The seated Athena appears on record reliefs from 424/3 onwards, becoming rare, however, in the fourth century.¹¹⁷ On the Nike Temple parapet, probably dating from about 420–415, she occurs at least twice.¹¹⁸

As on the vases, there is a basic type underlying most of the relief depictions, while variations in details can occur. This basic type is principally similar to that in vase-painting, but it differs in two main respects. Firstly, Athena does not wear a helmet, whereas on the vases she almost always does. Secondly, she wears a himation wrapped around the lower part of the body, just as in earlier Classical vase-painting — on the later vases, this only occurs on (175). However, most features common on the vases occur also on the reliefs and are combined with each other in a similarly random way, such as the shield (propped-up: (S46)¹¹⁹ and Nike Temple parapet slab 24; or lying on the ground: (S44) and Nike Temple parapet slab 19), the spear and the helmet, although the latter is usually not worn by Athena, but rather held (S41), lying on her lap (S48, S50, Nike Temple parapet slab 19), or on the ground (S44, S46).

Record reliefs are known to occasionally reflect free-standing statues of gods¹²⁰ — is this the case for the seated Athena, too? Particularly recently there has been

¹¹⁷Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 163.

¹¹⁸Mathiopoulos, *Corpus* 80; see also Stewart, *Sculpture* 166, who argues for a later date. The depictions on the Nike Temple parapet have been interpreted as a reflection of the utopian concept of an ever-victorious Athens, which was not justified by the actual historical situation (Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 198). However, assuming a date for the Nike Temple parapet of about 420–415, the Peace of Nikias (421) could have been regarded as an Athenian victory and might have been enough of a reason for the Athenians to feel enthusiastic about their achievements in the Peloponnesian War (S. Hornblower, *The Greek World 479–323*² (London, 1991), 135, 138).

¹¹⁹This relief, dating from shortly after 378, very closely resembles the depiction on the roughly contemporary calyx-krater (171).

¹²⁰Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 166, 176; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 35–36, 40; both, however, agree that one should not overestimate the influence of three-dimensional sculpture on record reliefs.

some discussion about this possibility.¹²¹

The Nike parapet is certainly not the starting point, as it is antedated by at least one or two of the record reliefs. Neumann¹²² has suggested that a statue of a seated Athena from Loukou (**S51**) might be the Roman copy of an important cult-statue of the late fifth century, possibly that of Athena Nike.¹²³ In its basic type it conforms to the seated Athenas on the record reliefs. Supporting evidence is provided by a votive relief (**S49**) which shows a seated Athena next to a female xoanon (of Athena Nike?).¹²⁴ However, this suggestion has met with much opposition, on the grounds that according to literary evidence the cult statue of Athena was a wooden xoanon holding a helmet and a pomegranate.¹²⁵ This is not necessarily a contradiction if one takes the fifth-century statue to be a second cult-statue or a votive-statue: a situation as shown on the votive-relief. The main argument to weaken Neumann's suggestion is, however, the occurrence of a relatively similar type of seated Athena already on the Parthenon and Hephaisteion friezes. Furthermore, the type of dress worn by Athena as well as her basic pose, both on the reliefs and the statue, draw on the common 'stock-figure' of the seated woman, as it occurs in sculpture and in vase-painting from about 460–450.¹²⁶ It thus seems possible that the statue from Loukou and the reliefs all rely on common sources and are modifications of a type of Athena already well-known in the middle of the fifth century.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, the dedication of a statue of the seated Athena, possibly

¹²¹Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 37.

¹²²G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen, 1979) 60–62.

¹²³This would thus be the only example known to me of a Classical free-standing seated Athena.

¹²⁴See also: A. Gulaki, *Klassische und Klassizistische Nikedarstellungen* (Bonn, 1981) 127–131.

A decree, possibly referring to arrangements for a new cult image in connection with the building of the Nike Temple, is connected with the dedication of a statue of Nike on the Akropolis in 425/4 out of the booty from the Athenian campaign in and near Akarnania by H. B. Mattingly, "The Athena Nike Temple Reconsidered", *AJA* 86 (1982) 381–385, esp. 382. Compare also: R. Meiggs & D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969) 224, and R. Lonis, *Guerre et Religion en Grèce à l'Époque Classique* (Paris, 1979) 234.

¹²⁵Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 59–60 note 32.

¹²⁶Compare, for example, the Aphrodite Olympias, dating from about 440–430 (Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 219). Meyer (*Urkundenreliefs* 162) proposes that this statue might be responsible for the popularity in the third quarter of the fifth century of the type of seated woman dressed in chiton and himation

with one arm resting on the back of the chair; the Athena on the record relief dating from about 424/3 (**S40**) conforms to this type. The earlier seated Athena on a metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia conforms to a different type.

¹²⁷This possibility is already hinted at by Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 40.

even the original of the Loukou statue, may well have been an impulse for the rising popularity of the type in the later fifth century.

Summary

Summarizing the evidence for the seated Athena in Attic vase-painting of the Classical period, we can identify three relatively incoherent stages of development.

The extremely scarce evidence for the Early Classical period does not really allow any conclusions; only the spear held diagonally in the lowered hand seems to be a continuous feature occurring throughout the Classical period. Early Classical vase-paintings — despite the unusual features of the particular depictions — show an Athena similar in pose as well as in dress to other, contemporary, depictions of seated women. The largest number of seated Athenas known to us date, however, from about 400 and the first quarter of the fourth century; from then on the seated Athena remains a relatively common figure in Attic vase-painting.¹²⁸ A basic type underlying most of these representations can be identified: typical features are a certain position of the legs, the wearing of a Corinthian helmet, the presence of a spear and the existence of a shield.¹²⁹ There is, however, no common orientation. Also, the arrangement of shield and spear, which to a certain extent determine the overall pose, show a wide variety. In fact, it almost seems as if these different features were combined rather randomly with the basic type, according to the needs of context and composition and the taste of the painter.

Nevertheless, the strong similarities between the basic type of the seated Athena in vase-painting, especially around 400, and that in sculpture, as well as the evidence for a ‘vogue’ for seated

Athenas on reliefs apparently preceding the peak of the type in vase-painting, may suggest a certain influence from sculpture on vase-paintings. However, a gap of almost a quarter-century between the peak of seated Athenas on reliefs and on

¹²⁸A similar development occurs in contemporary South Italian vase-painting.

¹²⁹Deviations from these rules are: (168) – arrangement of legs; (174) – position of helmet; (173) – type of helmet(?); (170*) and (178) – no shield.

vases might seem a long time to claim direct influence.¹³⁰ Therefore, the sudden rise in popularity of this type of Athena appears rather to be due to vase-painters picking up a — ready-made — type established in sculpture at a time when the need for such a type occurred in vase-painting. They adapted it to the general type of Athena common in vase-painting which traditionally included the wearing of a helmet and the wearing of an Attic peplos or a sleeveless, belted dress.

Why did such a need occur? An attempt to explain the relative popularity of the seated Athena on the record reliefs has been made by Kasper-Butz. She suggests that the seated Athena was especially suited for the purpose of the document reliefs, because it allowed Athena easily to be shown larger, and thus more important, than other, standing, figures. Can a similar explanation apply to vase-painting? Several reasons count against this. First, vases were not official documents on which Athena had to represent the Athenian state and therefore might be represented in a particularly impressive way. Second, vase-painters had greater freedom especially in multi-level compositions in the allocation of space, and could have easily shown a figure larger than others, had this been their intention. Instead, the explanation should possibly be sought in the type of scenes in which the seated Athena occurs, an aspect entirely neglected so far. A striking tendency is revealed: while seated Athenas from the Early Classical and beginning of the Classical period can be found in various contexts, the seated Athena on the vases of the time around and after 400 occurs almost exclusively in scenes with Herakles.¹³¹ Only one of the examples listed here¹³² does not include Herakles, but shows a very similar scene: Theseus fighting with the bull (**169**).

Having Athena sitting while conversing with Herakles or observing one of his deeds might have appeared especially well suited, as in the Classical period in general Athena is even less active in supporting her protégé Herakles in a physical sense than she had been in the Archaic period. One might interpret this lack of

¹³⁰Especially, as the seated Athena on record reliefs even starts to die out when the type is most common on vases.

¹³¹For the exact subjects, see catalogue.

¹³²If (**175**) with Athena between Apollo and Marsyas is taken into consideration, there are two vases with non-Heraklean scenes.

active involent either as a shift towards a more spiritual level — ‘moral’ support through the epiphany of the goddess — or one might see it as being connected with a tendency of the time towards adding more and more divine spectators to all sorts of scenes, possibly partly to fill the otherwise empty space on large vases. These spectators are often shown seated, and thus it is not surprising also to find a seated Athena among them.¹³³ This view is supported by the observation that the poses just described for Athena are not exclusively used for her, but also appear with other figures, for example, the propped-up shield used as an armrest can be found for a warrior, on a white-ground lekythos of about 410,¹³⁴ and on the reverse of (170*), a satyr is leaning on a tympanon(?) in a similar way, but with his head turned backwards.¹³⁵ On the same vase, Dionysos is seated in a similar way, holding the thyrsos diagonally and looking backwards. Thus, without her specific attributes, the seated Athena would look like almost any seated woman of about 400 or later.

¹³³As Arafat, *Zeus* 169–170 points out, there is a general tendency at that time towards showing figures/gods in a seated position. He is wrong, however, in assuming that the ‘turning pose’ is especially characteristic for Zeus, as it also occurs several times for Athena (see above) as well as for other figures.

¹³⁴Reed Painter (Athens, NM 2011; *ARV* 1381,112; *CVA* Athens (1), pl. 4–6).

¹³⁵Compare also the maenad on a rf pelike of about 370 (Cracow 1082, *CVA* Cracow pl. 13.4).

Chapter 3

Dress and Attributes of Athena

And Athene, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus,
 cast down at her father's threshold her woven vesture
 many-coloured, that herself had wrought and her hands had fashioned,
 and put on her tunic of Zeus the cloud-gatherer,
 and arrayed her in armour for dolourous battle.
 About her shoulder cast she the tasseled aegis
 terrible, whereon is Panic as a crown all round about,
 and Strife is therein and Valour and horrible Onslaught withal,
 and therein is the dreadful monster's Gorgon head,
 dreadful and grim, portent of aegis-bearing Zeus.
 Upon her head set she the two-crested golden helm with fourfold plate,
 bedecked with men-at-arms of a hundred cities.
 Upon the flaming chariot set she her foot, and grasped her heavy spear,
 great and stout, wherewith she vanquisheth the ranks of men,
 even of heroes with whom she of the awful sire is wroth.

Homer, *Il.* 5.733-747
 (tr. Lang/Leaf/Myers)

3.1 Dress

- **Peplos:** sleeveless dress, fastened only at one point on each shoulder, with overfold, on one side either open or sewn.
- **Attic peplos:** peplos belted over (long) overfold.
- **Doric peplos:** peplos with a shorter, loose overfold.
- **Chiton:** wider dress, fastened at several points on shoulders and upper arms, usually with kolpos.

- **Himation:** large piece of cloth, draped (diagonally) around the body, sometimes fastened on one shoulder.
- **Epiblema:** smaller, shawl-like wrap/himation, often worn around shoulders, waist and arms.

This terminology is only valid for the discussion in this thesis; although it is based on generally accepted terms it does not purport to be universal. ‘Attic’ and ‘Doric’ do not describe the places of origin, but are simply means of distinguishing types.

The Attic peplos is usually considered to be closely associated with Athena. Not only does it make its first appearances in Attic art in connection with Athena,¹³⁶ but it is also worn by almost all the Athenas on record and votive reliefs.

However, only about one-third¹³⁷ of the depictions of Athena on Early Classical vases show her dressed in a peplos, while two-thirds show her wearing a chiton, occasionally underneath a peplos. Two-thirds of the depictions of the chiton show it combined with a diagonal himation, fastened on one shoulder (ill. 1).¹³⁸ This continues the traditional late Archaic dress for women, but with a tendency towards an increasing length of the himation. Furthermore, a special variety of himation occurs occasionally (ill. 2): in a Gigantomachy by the Altamura Painter ((**1***), ill. 2a), for example, Athena wears a himation with a loose overfold; on a vase with a similar depiction by the Niobid Painter the overfold of Athena’s himation is belted ((**3**), ill. 2b). This rare peplos-like himation also occurs on a few other vases of this period and the following Classical period,¹³⁹ and it is also paralleled in the sculptural types of the Athenas Albani and Hope-Farnese (**A9***). The persistence of the old

¹³⁶Angelitos Athena, about 480 (**S11***). See also: E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora 11. Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton, 1965) 52; N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf Panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1986) 39. Harrison points out that the Attic peplos is proper also to Artemis, who, like Athena, is a maiden divinity. More practical and sturdy than the chiton, it is perhaps an obvious choice for the more physically active among the goddesses.

¹³⁷The statistics given in this chapter are based on a database including over 200 relevant vases, with one-third belonging to the Early Classical and two-thirds to the Classical period.

¹³⁸There is also at least one example of an ependytes, on a vase by the Niobid Painter (**112**). For the ependytes, which had been more common in the Archaic period, see also: J. D. Beazley, “An amphora by the Berlin Painter”, *AntK* 4 (1961) 49–67, esp. 52; and: M. C. M. Miller, “The Ependytes in Classical Athens”, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 313–329.

¹³⁹See the discussion of this type (‘Diplax’) by Mathiopoulos, *Athena* 106–107, and by O. Palagia, “A Classical variant of the Corinth/Mocenigo goddess: Demeter/Kore or Athena”, *BSA* 84 (1989) 323–331. Palagia postulates an Early Classical sculptural prototype of Athena wearing the peplos-like himation, probably a dedication on the Akropolis.

type of diagonal himation, especially for Athena in both vase-painting and sculpture (it seems to be retained longer for her than for other gods), has been explained by Mathiopoulos as due to its dignified and festive air, which may have seemed especially appropriate for such an important deity as the city-goddess of Athens. One-third of Athena's himatia, however, are simply wrapped around the body in a more casual way, as on the Athenas Giustiniani and Velletri (**A12•**, **A5•**). Some of these himatia seem to enclose most of the body including one arm (ill. 3), as on the Athena Rospigliosi (**S15•**), and have been discussed above (section 2.2.2).

The Early Classical peplos worn by Athena is not always of the Attic variety, but often also of the Doric type (with an unbelted overfold). As the peplos in general becomes more common after the mid-fifth century and constitutes over half of Athena's dresses, the Attic peplos, too, gains popularity, making up about two-thirds of Athena's peploi — not quite the frequency one might expect considering its special association with Athena. In sculpture, the Attic peplos is worn by the Athenas Parthenos, Lemnia and Velletri (**S18•**, **A11•**, **A5•**). A Doric peplos can be found in the Classical Athena Cherchel (**A18•**) as well as the later Athena from Piraeus (**A19•**). The chiton, which occurs on about one-fifth of the Classical vases, appears on the Athenas Giustiniani, Albani and Hope-Farnese (**A12•**, **A9•**). In vase-painting, it is usually combined with a himation, the majority of which are fastened on the shoulder. The occasional combination of chiton and peplos is paralleled in sculpture, too, for example on the Athena Medici (**S4•**). The latter also wears a himation, partly over her shoulder, partly hanging down her back, a feature slightly resembling a rare occurrence on vases, a himation (or epiblema?) wrapped around one arm (ill. 4). A shoulder-pinned back-mantle seems to occur on only a very few vases (ill. 5).¹⁴⁰ The epiblema (ill. 6), which appears on about one-tenth of the Classical vases, is usually draped around the shoulders and arms, but it can also be seen hanging from one arm or used as a cushion for Athena's arm resting on the edge of a shield.

A new and puzzling development around 420–400 can be observed in about one-fifth of Classical Athenas, where she is dressed in a simple sleeveless, belted dress

¹⁴⁰See also: J. L. Roccos, "Athena from a house on the Areopagus", *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 397–410.

(e.g. ill. 6a), as worn by many women at that time, especially on vases by painters belonging to the circles of the Meidias, Pronomos and Telos Painters. Especially as its upper part is often entirely hidden by an aegis, it seems impossible to decide whether this is a peplos without overfold or a sleeveless chiton.¹⁴¹

The question of whether the occurrence of a certain dress is related to types defined by poses, or is used particularly in certain scenes, has occasionally been addressed above, mainly with a negative result. Instead of looking for typological or contextual connections, it seems more fruitful to examine the work of certain painters. Here we find that although some painters appear to be flexible in the choice of their dresses, others have obvious preferences. The late-fifth-century Nikias and Kadmos Painters, for example, prefer the elaborate belted peplos, while the known Athenas by the Trophy Painter are all dressed in chiton and himation.¹⁴²

The investigation of possible connections with sculpture concerning dress has proven largely unsuccessful, too. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the popularity of certain dresses may be due to sculptural influence, as is probably the case with the Attic peplos, prominent for Athena in sculpture from the beginning of the Early Classical period. Other features, such as the way of draping a himation, do not have to be confined to the influence of sculpture, but more likely reflect general trends, current in both vase-painting and sculpture. Direct dependence on a certain sculptural type is usually extremely unlikely. An example for this is the depiction of Athena on the oinochoe by the Shuvalov Painter ((**92**), ill. 1b), which on the basis of a similarity of the main features of dress as well as the slight possibility of a similar helmet/cap has been associated with the roughly contemporary Athena Albani ((**A9**•), compare also note 167). However, not only is the type of himation different (on the Athena Albani it has an overfold) but also the pose of hand-on-hip is different from the statue. A connection between the vase-painting and the statue therefore seems unlikely. Furthermore, the long, diagonal himation is not uncommon and occurs in vase-painting throughout the Classical period in various

¹⁴¹For this reason different scholars often give it different names.

¹⁴²Nikias Painter: e.g. (**42***), (**43***); Kadmos Painter: e.g. (**40**), (**41**), (**95**) – but (**149**) = Doric peplos. Trophy Painter: e.g. (**106**), (**135***), (**165***).

types of Athena. In this as in most similar cases it thus seems more likely that both vase-painter and sculptor made use of an older motif.

3.2 Aegis

According to Homer, the aegis¹⁴³ was made by Hephaistos for Zeus (who used it for provoking thunderstorms (*Il.* 17.593–595)), and was worn occasionally by Apollo (*Il.* 15.307–311), but predominantly by Athena.¹⁴⁴ In Archaic and Classical art Athena appears as the sole owner of the aegis, which is usually interpreted as an animal skin, occasionally serving as a substitute for a shield (see section 2.1).¹⁴⁵ As mentioned by Homer (*Od.* 22.297–298; *Il.* 5.738–747), the often-attached gorgoneion enhances its fearsome appearance,¹⁴⁶ and snakes usually decorate its edges.¹⁴⁷

While in Classical vase-painting the animal-skin character gradually disappears, it is still visible in the occasional depiction of a common Archaic type, the large, cape-like aegis (ill. 7), in the Early Classical and the early phases of the Classical period. Unlike on some of the Archaic vases, however, there is no collar-like front, and the arrangement can be asymmetrical. The two ends of the cape can be connected by a knot made of two fringe-snakes, recalling the way an animal-skin is knotted by its paws (ill. 7d,f, see p. 18), by a brooch (ill. 7e), or by a gorgoneion (ill. 7f, see p. 18), reflecting a new type, the bipartite aegis. A rather short cape around the shoulders occurs on some depictions of Athena in profile.

The most common type of aegis during the Early Classical period, over two-thirds of all depictions, is shaped like a large round collar, covering shoulders and

¹⁴³The latest comprehensive discussion of the aegis dates from 1915–1920 (Wagner, *Aigis*); some aspects of the black-figure aegis are investigated by Halm-Tisserant, “Gorgonéion”. The thesis by P. A. Marx, *The Attributes of Athena in Athenian Narrative Art, circa 675 to 530* (Ph. D. thesis 1988, University of Maryland, College Park) has not been accessible to me.

¹⁴⁴Halm-Tisserant, “Gorgonéion” 251–263.

¹⁴⁵The animal skin as a shield has a long tradition and occurs, for example, in depictions of giants fighting.

¹⁴⁶In vase-painting, however, the aegis-gorgoneion appears relatively late, not before 540–530, while the aegis itself occurs in art from about 580–60 (Halm-Tisserant, “Gorgonéion”, 268,272,276). It is attached to about one third of the Early Classical and over half of the Classical aegides.

¹⁴⁷These may well derive from the idea of the aegis as a shaggy animal skin, as they could represent the ragged edges. In time, however, the snakes become smaller and, in the later Classical period, also less common.

breast (ill. 8). This probably developed from the front part of the Archaic single-piece cape-aegis and occurs from the Late Archaic period onwards.

Early depictions of this and other types, especially by painters of the Niobid group, tend to be regular and elaborate, and often the aegis is framed by a multiple borderline (ill. 8a–d; (1*)); later, this feature becomes rare and the snakes are attached directly to the edge of the aegis, which is sometimes diminished in size or elongated (ill. 8e,f).

Over half of the Early Classical aegides are decorated with dots, and about one-third with scales. It has been suggested that these variants might relate to different interpretations of the aegis-origin. Thus, simple scales might represent the flayed skin of the snake-bodied giant Pallas,¹⁴⁸ while scales with middle-ribs and dots, perhaps indicating feathers, are possibly reminiscent of the skin of a winged monster, the Gorgon,¹⁴⁹ a notion which is more likely to have been current in Classical Athens.¹⁵⁰ Dots in Attic vase-painting usually characterize fur and might be linked to another interpretation in which the aegis is a goat-skin. Developed from the (antique!) ethymological interpretation of the word aegis, *αιγίς*, deriving from *αιξ* (goat), the everyday goatskin or even any skin cloak may have been called an aegis.¹⁵¹ Furthermore Herodotus (4.189) describes the aegis of the palladia as derived from fringed tasseled goatskins worn by Libyan women.¹⁵² It is of course possible, or even likely, that Athenian vase-painters were oblivious to such considerations, and that dots and scales were simply different renderings of the skin of some monster. This is supported by the use of various different patterns in the work of many painters (e.g. ill. 9b–d by the Nikias Painter).

In the Classical period, particularly before 400, the collar-aegis is still very

¹⁴⁸Apollod. I 6 I; Cic. *nat.* 3.59. Giants were sometimes regarded as half-man, half-snake, but there is no evidence for this in Attic art during our period. The first example is probably an (Apulian?) rf lekythos from the first quarter of the fourth century (*LIMC IV Gigantes* 389, pl. 149; Schefold, *GS* 104 fig. 135).

¹⁴⁹Pherekydes, fr. 26; Euripides, *Ion* 987–997; see also p. 23.

¹⁵⁰Feather-like scales could also be connected with one of the animals Athena is frequently associated with from Archaic times, the owl.

¹⁵¹Cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 360.

¹⁵²A more detailed, though partly outdated discussion of these speculations can be found in Cook, *Zeus* 837–844.

popular, accounting for about one-fifth of all aegides. The arrangement of the snakes, however, is often less regular than in the Early Classical period (e.g. ill. 8i), and especially in the last two decades of the century, the shoulders are usually covered to a much lesser extent, making the shape appear more elongated. The v-neck is a new feature occurring prominently in the works of the Kadmos, Nikias and Cecrops Painters (ill. 9). In contemporary sculpture, the collar aegis now mainly appears in an extremely narrow variety (e.g. (A3•–A7•)), which is hardly seen in vase-painting (ill. 9b). Instead, there are two completely new types on vases, one of which is unknown from sculpture. It is shaped like a vest, preferably decorated with checkerpattern/diamonds, and enjoys a short period of popularity around 400, making up about one-fifth of all Classical aegides (ill. 10). The other is the bipartite aegis, with two halves joined on the breast by a gorgoneion (ill. 11). It is probably inspired by sculpture, the statue of Athena Parthenos (S18•) being the most famous example. A similar aegis also occurs on other Classical statue types of Athena (A9•). In general, however, the possibility of influence from sculpture should be regarded with care, as another popular type of aegis in sculpture at that time, the diagonal strap-aegis,¹⁵³ seems to occur in vase-painting only a century later.¹⁵⁴

The bipartite aegis makes up about one-third of all Classical aegides in vase-painting, and is especially popular around 400. Its earliest occurrences, dating from about 440–430, are still reminiscent of the collar-aegis, as they seem to enclose both shoulders (ill. 11, 7f). Later, however, the type develops thinner shoulder straps, in line with the development of the collar-aegis, and the two halves can have either rounded corners, like half-circles, or a straight lower edge, in an amalgamation with the vest-type (ill. 13). Relatively rare, however, is the variant closest to the Parthenos, with two halves lying loosely on the breast without enclosing the chest. Sometimes the shoulder straps seem to disappear completely, to be replaced by a snake-knot. This feature is also characteristic for another type of aegis, here labelled ‘bib-aegis’ (ill. 14). This type makes up about 15% of all Classical aegides, and can look like a smallish, round collar or be of a rather longer shape. An aegis with

¹⁵³(A15•–A19•); Delivorrias, *Sparagmata* 150–154.

¹⁵⁴Rf pelike, Eleusinian Painter, about 340 (St. Petersburg II 1837.3 (St.1792); *ARV* 1476.1 (bottom); Schefold, *UK* pl. 35).

a snake-knot on the shoulder is also worn by the Athena Giustiniani, dating from about 400 (**A12***); as, however, the Giustiniani-aegis (a large, diagonal aegis) as a whole does not seem to be reflected in vase-painting, a connection appears rather unlikely.¹⁵⁵

The Classical period is not only characterized by new shapes, but also by new, ‘geometric’ decorations, the checker-pattern and diamonds, which mark a further step away from the perception of the aegis as an animal-skin.¹⁵⁶ The checkerpattern, used otherwise in vase-painting for characterizing, for example fabric, occurs as early as about 450–440, on a fragment by the Achilles Painter (ill. 15).¹⁵⁷ It becomes more common towards the end of the century, decorating about one-fifth of the aegides.

Despite the trend to a smaller, more ‘abstract’ and decorative type, the aegis in general in the Classical period gains popularity: it is worn by about three-quarters of all Athenas, compared to two-thirds in Early Classical vase-painting. Among all of these aegides, there are also some puzzling and unusual depictions. For example, on (**151**), Athena is wearing her aegis on her back, as she sometimes does in scenes of the birth of Erichthonios: there, the arrangement of the aegis has been interpreted as a cautious gesture, not to frighten the child — but why is this necessary for Herakles? On ((**157**), ill. 8i) by the Nausicaa Painter (who — like most later mannerists — is known to depict strangely shaped, irregular aegides), a moon-crescent appears on the aegis. This has provoked comparison with the aegis of the Athena Rospigliosi (**S15***), which is decorated with stars, and has been interpreted as a reference to obscure cults.¹⁵⁸ Further unfamiliar depictions are, for example, an irregularly-shaped aegis with a gorgoneion dangling from two strings(?) (ill. 8k), slightly reminiscent of the gorgoneia on some Late Archaic/Early Classical corselets, and an extremely long

¹⁵⁵Wagner, *Aigis* 41–43.

¹⁵⁶This more abstract conception of the aegis can also be traced in the reduced popularity of snakes, which only decorate about three-quarters of the aegides, compared to almost all in the Early Classical period.

¹⁵⁷A possible predecessor may be seen in alternating black-and-white scales as they occur in the late sixth century (rf amphora; Naples 81661 (H 3174); *LIMC IV* 232 Gigantes 343, pl. 147). A diamond-grid with dots and narrow square grids are known already from the Early Classical period (e.g. ill. 8d).

¹⁵⁸Wagner, *Aigis* 42–43. The evidence provided by the Athena Rospigliosi, which is only known to us from Roman copies, should, however, be regarded with care. Compare also the three dots on the aegis on a fragment by the Mikion Painter, which have remained so far unexplained (ill. 8l).

aegis with cross-bands and a belt (ill. 16a). The belted aegis can later be found regularly in South Italian vase-painting, but in sculpture it already occurs in the Athena Lemnia (**A11**•); cross-bands are known to me in Attic vase-painting only from the depiction of a pallasion on a fragment dating from about 400 (ill. 16b).

3.3 Helmet

Athena has a helmet on about two-thirds of the Early Classical and over 80% of the Classical vases.¹⁵⁹ She never wears it lowered on her head; instead the Corinthian helmet is shown pushed to the back of the head, and the Attic/Chalcidian helmet has upturned cheekpieces. When Athena appears without a helmet, a stephane or a fillet takes its place.¹⁶⁰ Especially on earlier vases Athena is sometimes holding the helmet in her hand;¹⁶¹ later this becomes far less common.

The Attic helmet is the type most frequently associated with Athena, in particular during the fifth century (ill. 17).¹⁶² Although also worn by other figures¹⁶³ (and Athena can be depicted wearing other types of helmets) the Attic helmet is characteristic for her from its first appearance in a standardised form on sixth-century Athenian coins and black-figure vases. It may even be a purely artistic creation, as it has been argued that no real Attic helmet is known to have survived.¹⁶⁴ Its most characteristic trait is a diadem-like frontlet, and often cheekpieces are attached. As the distinction between a cheekpiece and a frontlet can be difficult, the identification of the type of helmet is occasionally almost impossible. Especially common is the confusion with the Chalcidian helmet, of which real examples are known. It

¹⁵⁹There seems to be no general rule governing the context in which a helmet is worn, and there is also no connection between the type of helmet and the scene.

¹⁶⁰Sometimes these are even worn underneath the helmet (e.g. (**102**)).

¹⁶¹Athena is holding her helmet on about one-fifth of all Early Classical depictions with helmets and on about 5% of all Classical depictions with helmets; see p. 61.

¹⁶²In sculpture the Attic helmet is worn by, for example, the Athena Parthenos (**S18**•), the Athena on the Parthenon West pediment (**A15**•), the relief(?)—Athena in Basle (**A6**•), and several Athenas on record reliefs. There are, however, also helmets of the Corinthian type, such as on the Athena from Myron's group, the Athena Rospigliosi and the Athena from Piraeus (**A1**•, **S15**•, **A19**•).

¹⁶³Other wearers of the Attic helmet are often Amazons; non-mythological figures are rare.

¹⁶⁴Hannah, *Armour* 114, *Antike Helme. Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikemuseums Berlin* (Berlin, 1988) 169–179. Its popularity might be due to its possible occurrence on some well-known statue (of Athena?).

has similar characteristics but lacks the frontlet, and one might wonder whether the Attic helmet is not merely an elaborate (artistic?) version of the Chalcidian helmet. Faced with the problem that many helmets do not readily conform to the established typology, one should, however, also consider that vase-painters probably did not pay much attention to the correct depiction of a certain type of helmet, and that therefore the strict transferral of a terminology based on real objects might not be wise.

Of all the depictions of the Attic helmet in Early Classical and Classical vase-painting (as in all periods), Athena accounts for the majority,¹⁶⁵ and at least two-thirds of Athena's helmets in the Early Classical period are Attic. The remaining third are mostly Corinthian (the Corinthian helmet seems to be worn by Athenian Athena for the first time in the Early Classical period, though in some instances it can be associated with her her already earlier) while others are unidentifiable (ill. 19). The choice of the helmet-type appears to depend mainly on the painter; for example, the Attic helmet is especially popular with painters of the Niobid Group.¹⁶⁶

In the Classical period, however, the Attic helmet loses popularity, making up only about 40% of all helmets. Again, there are also some Chalcidian and some unidentifiable pieces, and one helmet might be the only known Classical example of the Phrygian/Thracian type worn by Athena.¹⁶⁷ Almost half of the helmets, however, are now of the Corinthian type. As there are few examples of real Corinthian helmets known after about 480, it seems likely that this type of helmet fell out of use in the Early Classical period; nevertheless, it remains important in the art of

¹⁶⁵Hannah, *Armour* 123.

¹⁶⁶Hannah, *Armour* 126.

¹⁶⁷This occurs on an oinochoe by the Shuvalov Painter (92). It is striped with a slightly peaked top and a strangely-shaped part above the forehead. This 'Phrygian' helmet otherwise almost exclusively occurs in South Italian/Etruscan art, but later can be found for Athena on a pelike by the Marsyas Painter (see note 107). It has been suggested that this depiction was influenced by the Athena Albani, dating from about 430 (A9*), who is wearing a wolfhead cap (K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* (Bonn, 1960) 107; K. Schefold & F. Jung, *Die Urkönige Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich, 1988) 35; cf. also p. 57). For further discussion, see: H. P. Laubscher, "Ein Athenakopf im Museo Barracco", in: *Taenia. Festschrift R. Hampe* (Mainz 1980) 227–237; and: Hannah, *Armour* 265. Compare also: bronze figurine (Athens, NM Karapanos 23, from Dodona, about 470 (Niemeyer, *Promachos* 74–75, fig. 30) and: Marble head, probably from Taranto (Laubscher, op. cit. pl. 48).

the subsequent Classical period.¹⁶⁸ That the use of the real Corinthian helmet had ceased might be reflected in its increasing use for mythological figures instead of ordinary figures since the Early Classical period, as well as in the growing number of debased depictions of this type.¹⁶⁹ By the end of the fifth century, however, the Corinthian helmet becomes rare even for mythological figures, although it remains popular for Athena, who now accounts for one-third to one-half of the depictions of this type.

At this point the choice of Athena's favourite types of helmet may seem striking: one of them was probably never used in real life and almost appears to have been developed for her, while the other became prevalent just at the time when the actual type dropped out of use. The explanation for this might be sought in the functional use of the helmet: As Athena was hardly ever seen fighting, an impressive and decorative appearance rather than practicality may have determined the choice. This was served best by the Attic helmet which, with its diadem-like frontlet, combined a war-like aspect with the divine air of a decorative stephane. The main appeal of the Corinthian helmet may have been exactly that it ceased to be used. It was now old-fashioned, but for a goddess this could acquire a positive meaning: the Corinthian helmet may have become associated with Athens' heroic and glorious past.

Another retrospective element of helmets are crests mounted on a high stilt (ill. 20). Common in the Archaic period, this feature is replaced in popularity by a low mounting in the Early Classical and Classical period,¹⁷⁰ but for Attic helmets worn by Athena it still persists, making up about one-tenth in both the Early Classical and the Classical period.¹⁷¹ The high crest seems to be especially popular for scenes in which a special solemnity and divine dignity or reference to a particular (sculptural) type is to be conveyed (e.g. Athena approaching Paris in a chariot (ill. 20a); birth of Athena (Promachos) (ill. 20b)). This is also confirmed

¹⁶⁸Hannah, *Armour* 16.

¹⁶⁹Hannah, *Armour* 36–46, 62.

¹⁷⁰Hannah, *Armour* 111.

¹⁷¹Hannah, *Armour* 154. The stilted mounting most usually consists of a snake or a bird's neck and head; a slightly higher crest can also be achieved by mounting on a ring or segment of a wheel (in the work of the Nikias Painter) or an animal (see below).

by the continued use of the feature for the Athena Promachos on the Panathenaic Prize-amphorae.¹⁷²

Sometimes connected with a high crest is a particularly elaborate decoration of the helmet (ill. 21). In the Early Classical period, we find such helmets (not only worn by Athena) especially on vases by painters of the Niobid Group (ill. 17a); usually they are decorated with florals on the crown, the cheekpieces, and sometimes the frontlet. Other decorative additions, used also in the Classical period, are scales or checkerpattern (mainly around 400) on the crown or cheekpieces (ill. 21c–e), and leaves attached to the top edge of the frontlet (ill. 17c). The latter feature also occurs on diadems, and is used on occasion throughout the second half of the fifth century. It was originally introduced on Athenian coins, possibly to commemorate a victory over the Persians, and then found its way into Late Archaic/Early Classical vase-painting.¹⁷³ Figural decoration is sometimes added: examples are snakes and pegasoi on cheekpieces and sphinxes on the crown (ill. 21a–b). On ((39), ill. 21f) Pegasos-protomes carry the three crests of Athena’s Attic helmet, and on a vase dating from 430 (ill. 21g) the crest is mounted on a sphinx while winged animal-protomes adorn the frontlet. A sphinx carrying the crest also appears on a vase by the Trophy Painter (ill. 21h), and stephanai with foreparts of Pegasoi or griffins are known from the work of the Achilles Painter and the Altamura Painter respectively (ill. 22). From the late fifth century there are also some examples of multiple-crested helmets, some of which (especially from the workshop of the Meidias Painter) depict the side-crests mounted on a snake or a loop (ill. 21i–m).

These helmets as well as those with added animals might be suspected to be influenced by the elaborate helmet worn by the Athena Parthenos, as almost all of them are dated after the erection of this statue. In fact, however, elaborate helmets have a long tradition, as do animal protomes on diadems, and are not confined to Athena.¹⁷⁴ Thus, it seems more likely that the elaborate helmets worn by Athena

¹⁷²The Panathenaic prize-amphorae also continue to depict the Attic helmet.

¹⁷³Hannah, *Armour* 117; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 176. Compare also the aphlaston, occasionally carried by the Early Classical Athena, possibly as a sign of naval victory.

¹⁷⁴For a general discussion of animal-protomes on diadems, see: U. Kron, “Götterkronen und Priesterdiademe”, in: *Festschrift J. Inan* (Istanbul, 1989) 373–390; see also: L. D. Caskey & J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase-paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 2* (Boston, 1954) 71 (an

in the later fifth century are merely an integral part of a generally elaborate scene. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that some painters may have been inspired by certain features occurring in sculpture, such as the triple crest or Pegasoi on the cheekpieces; several statues of Athena are known to have displayed similar elaborate arrangements of the helmet (Athena Parthenos, Athena Medici, Athena Promachos).

3.4 Shield and spear

The shield and spear carried by Athena will not be discussed in detail here, as in general they are not distinguishable from any other spear or shield depicted in vase-painting. Athena holds a spear on over 80% of the Early Classical and over 90% of the Classical depictions, and it is thus her most common attribute, even more popular than the aegis. Sometimes the spear has a sauroter, and occasionally a few thin, irregular stripes, generally in the centre of the shaft, may indicate string wound around the wood to improve the warrior's grip. This should, however, not be confused with the thick diagonal stripes or bands common for sceptres.¹⁷⁵

A shield is shown in connection with Athena on about one-fifth of the Early Classical and almost one-third of the Classical vases. Very rarely these are decorated on the inside (e.g. (13), (39), and (120)), a possible allusion to the Athena Parthenos, but usually only the outside shows any decoration. Although some of the motifs seem to have a special connection with Athena, for example, Pegasos or the gorgoneion, most shield-blazons do not (e.g. the wreath, which is most frequent), and no special significance should be attached to them.

answer to Yalouris's suggestion, that horse/Pegasos protomes are a major point of evidence for Athena's association with horses: N. Yalouris, "Athena als Herrin der Pferde", *MusHelv* 7 (1950) 19–101, esp. 51; compare also the helmets on *ARV* 437.116 (Douris), *ARV* 182.3 and *ARV* 185.33 (Kleophrades Painter).

¹⁷⁵In the only two instances known to me where such a striped 'spear' has been associated with Athena, the identification with Athena is far from being certain (Boston 28.108, hydria fr., Modica Painter, *ARV* 1340.2; C. Clairmont, "Studies in Greek Mythology and Vase-painting", *YaleClSt* 15 (1957) 161–178, esp. 165–166, 169–171: the spirals believed to belong to an aegis more likely belong to a collar-like pattern, popular with some vase-painters around 400; Cambridge (Mass.) 60.345, bell-krater, Hephaistos Painter; Bouzyges ploughing; *ARV* 1115.30; U. Kron, *Die Zehn Attischen Phylenheroen* (Berlin, 1976) 95–98, pl. 12.1: the top of the spear could also be the top of the sceptre; the figure is more likely to represent another goddess, probably Demeter.

3.5 Other attributes: animals

Apart from those discussed above, only rarely are other attributes associated with Athena in Classical vase-painting.

The owl is related to Athena particularly in Athenian coinage, as well as, for example, in the Early Classical statuette of Athena Elgin and one or two late-fifth-century finger-rings.¹⁷⁶ In vase-painting of the period discussed here, Athena with an owl is only rarely depicted, for example on a calyx-krater by the Nicias Painter of about 400 depicting the birth of Erichthonios.¹⁷⁷ As ‘Hippia’ and also through the myth of Bellerophon, Athena is associated with horses; on an Early Classical cup (162) and an oinochoe¹⁷⁸ she is depicted modelling a horse, and occasionally Pegasus appears as her shield-blazon (e.g. (33), (34)) or as the decoration of her helmet or stephane (see section 3.3). This, however, does not appear to be particularly significant, as the connection with horses and Pegasus is not confined to Athena. Slightly more prominent is Athena’s association with a snake, which is related to her also in Attic cult.¹⁷⁹ A sacred snake lived in the Erechtheion on the Akropolis at Athens¹⁸⁰ and Erichthonios, the stepson of Athena, is occasionally portrayed as a snake¹⁸¹ or is guarded by two snakes on behalf of Athena. In art, the snake accompanies her in Phidias’ statue of Athena Parthenos,¹⁸² an arrangement which might be reflected on a late-fifth-century vase-painting (98*). In the depiction of a Judgement of Paris, Athena is standing in a chariot drawn by snakes (61),¹⁸³ and twice in the Gigantomachy on Early Classical vases from the Niobid Painter’s workshop she is assisted by snakes (3, 4). Snakes also usually occur in connection

¹⁷⁶Athena Elgin: New York, 50.11.1, about 460–450, *LIMC II* 976 Athena 205, pl. 728; finger-rings: London, BM R52, Boardman, *GGFR* 220, 297, pl 688, and possibly: once Guilhou 83, Boardman, *GGFR* 220, 284, 221 fig. 221.

¹⁷⁷Richmond (Virg.) 81.70; J. H. Oakley, “A calyx-krater in Virginia by the Nicias Painter with the Birth of Erichthonios”, *AntK* 30 (1987) 123–130; *ARV* 628.1.

¹⁷⁸Rf. oinochoe, Group of Berlin 2415, about 470–460; Berlin F2415; *ARV* 776.1; *LIMC II* 962 Athena 48, pl. 708.

¹⁷⁹Cook, *Zeus* 770–774.

¹⁸⁰Herodotos 8.41; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 758 ff.

¹⁸¹Statue of Athena, Paris, Louvre 847: Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 205.

¹⁸²The snake also occurs occasionally in reflections of this statue in other media, for example on a gem dating to the third quarter of the fifth century (London, BM 515; Boardman, *GGFR* 198, 288, pl. 486); occasionally it also appears on record reliefs (e.g. (S42)).

¹⁸³A snake-chariot is more regularly associated with Triptolemos.

with the discovery of Erichthonios. The snakes fringing Athena's aegis may have no deeper implications (they are simply lively and slightly frightening tassels) and this is also the case for those occasionally carrying the crest of her helmet or appearing on the cheekpieces (see section 3.3).

Chapter 4

Conclusion: The Picture of Athena in Classical Athens

Ἀθηνᾶν Φρόνησιν οὔσαν καὶ Νοῦς ἔτι δ' Ἀρετήν

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.687c
(referring to Sophokles, *Krisis Satyrike*)

[...] Hephaistos and Athena were of a like nature, being born of the same father, and agreeing, moreover, in their love of wisdom and craftsmanship.

Plato, *Critias*, 109 c 6
(tr. Bury)

Athena is an important figure in Attic vase-painting of the Classical period, as is demonstrated by the large number of extant depictions, some 200 of which have been considered in this study. As she is characterized by clearly-defined attributes, her identification — unlike that of other figures especially in the later fifth century — usually poses no difficulties. Her position in compositions is usually a central one. This is especially striking in depictions of the Judgement of Paris, where in the later fifth century she becomes the focus of attention, even though she is not the victor of the contest.

This study has shown that in Classical Attic vase-painting various consistent types of Athena are used. These types are defined by the basic pose and partly also by attributes which can have some bearing on the pose, such as the spear and shield. Minor attributes, such as the helmet or the aegis (with the exception of the shield-aegis), as well as Athena's dress (mostly the Attic peplos, but also frequently the chiton with himation or the Doric peplos) cannot be considered as essential elements. Most of the Classical depictions of Athena are based on Late Archaic and Early Classical types, such as Athena with hand on hip or with a shield on the ground. Some types are slightly modified and form fairly consistent groups (e.g. carrying shield, or seated). There are, however, also some new types developed in the Classical period, such as the Leaning Athena, and Athena's pose in the Gigantomachy.¹⁸⁴

A fighting pose for Athena is used mainly in depictions of the Gigantomachy, a subject which, however, is abandoned soon after 400. By far the most common way of representing Athena in a wide variety of scenes is in a standing position. Especially in the late fifth century there seems to be a general trend towards the use of the seated or otherwise relaxed Athena, particularly in scenes which do not require any action on her part, such as in a divine assembly watching a deed of Herakles. In other scenes, for example, in the Judgement of Paris, a slightly more active role is implied. Here, the military success she represents is part of the story, and in the later fifth century may be indicated by her full complement of weapons, most importantly the shield. More often, however, one finds that there is no such connection between the type of Athena and the subject of the scene, and many of Athena's poses are stock-poses also used for other figures. Attributes, too, often have little specific contextual significance, which can be seen, for example, in depictions of the seated Athena. In vase-painting, despite her relaxed and peaceful pose, a seated Athena is

¹⁸⁴Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen" 395, points out that the potential for variation in the development of the iconography of Athena may be somewhat restricted by her continuing function as guardian of her city, its craftsmen and its warriors. Although this may in part account for the relative stability of the picture of Athena from the Archaic to the Classical period, continuity and the preservation of traditions are essential features of Greek religion in general; furthermore, radical changes in iconography are also rare for other gods in vase-painting, as vase-painting usually presents itself as a rather slowly-changing medium.

nearly always wearing a helmet, unlike her sculptural counterpart. This observation may be linked with another development detectable in the second half of the fifth century: the accumulation of attributes for Athena. Compared with Early Classical depictions, Athena now more often is shown with helmet and aegis, and nearly always carries a spear. As this can only sometimes be explained by the particular meaning of a certain attribute in a given scene,¹⁸⁵ another explanation must be sought. The increased frequency of spear, helmet, shield and aegis are unlikely to reflect a growing interest in Athena's role as a war-goddess, as Athena hardly ever makes any attempt at using her armour outside the Gigantomachy. Instead, a more decorative function of the armour may be supposed, coinciding with the development towards a purely decorative function of the aegis, which can be observed even in the Gigantomachy. Athena's attributes simply reveal her potential as a fighter; they are indications of her power and characterize her as a mighty goddess, protectress of heroes and of her city.

The subjects in which Athena appears in the Classical period are, on the whole, similar to those of the preceding Archaic and Early Classical period. Many old subjects remain popular but undergo iconographic changes. This is especially striking in depictions of the Gigantomachy. While the Early Classical Niobid Painter still uses the old, Late Archaic scheme including the shield-aegis, late-fifth-century, multi-level depictions feature a new, shield-carrying type. A similar development can be observed in depictions of the Judgement of Paris, in which a standing, fully-armed Athena becomes particularly popular with certain painters in the later fifth century. Also, some new subjects become common, for example the story of Athena, Marsyas and Apollo, and the Erechthonios myth.

Athena's main occupation remains the protection of heroes, in accord with her traditional image as a protectress. About two-thirds of her occurrences in this function, i.e. about a quarter of all Classical narrative scenes with Athena, are devoted to Herakles. Herakles, who has been her favourite for a long time, is still an important figure in cult, art and politics in the later fifth century, possibly even more

¹⁸⁵Examples are the aegis in the Gigantomachy and the helmet and/or shield in the Judgement of Paris.

so than Theseus.¹⁸⁶ Athena may be shown (together with other gods) watching his deeds or actively helping in his Apotheosis. Often, she is alone with him, engaged in a dexiosis, or simply attending him relaxing in his shrine. These scenes show that her support is less linked to a specific task, but more of a general, moral rather than active, nature. Such an intimate relationship does not seem to exist with any of her other protégés: Theseus, Perseus, Bellerophon or Odysseus. In the Classical period, these are joined by two newcomers, Kadmos and Oidipus. This has been interpreted as a sign of ‘Atticisation’, the infiltration of Athens into traditionally non-Attic myths. A similar interpretation might be sought for the occasional allusion to the statue of Athena Parthenos. Furthermore, in the case of Kadmos, who is closely linked with Boeotia but also with Ionia, Athena’s appearance may be designed to emphasize the part played by Athens in the colonization of Ionia and to stress Athens’ claim to supremacy. These attitudes are probably linked to Athens’ difficult situation in the Peloponnesian war, and are also paralleled in contemporary theatre, e.g. in Euripides’ *Ion*.¹⁸⁷

Depictions of Athena as a means of reflecting contemporary affairs are known from as early as the Archaic period.¹⁸⁸ In the Early Classical period, the presence of Athena when Boreas (who was believed vital for the Greek victory over the Persians) is chasing Oreithyia may serve as an example. Also Athena’s association with Nike is probably linked to Athenian military victory. It is visible in numerous Early Classical libation scenes, and in the Classical period is sometimes expressed by a small Nike with a wreath hovering above Athena’s head, as well as by the Nike held by the Athena Parthenos, and by the golden Nikai dedicated to Athena and stored in the Parthenon since the mid-fifth century. The latter probably celebrated Athenian victories, and may be an indication of the importance of Athena in the granting of

¹⁸⁶For example, the new democratic government in 403 dedicated a relief with Athena and Herakles to the Herakleion in Thebes, and two plays by Euripides (*Herc.* and *Heraclid.*) are concerned with the story of Herakles and his descendants. See also: Vollkommer, *Herakles* 86. Athena as the protectress of Herakles is mentioned in the *Iliad* (8.362–365); Athena as protectress of Theseus, for example, in Eur. *Suppl.* 1227–1229.

¹⁸⁷B. Smarczyk, *Bündnerautonomie und Athenische Seebundpolitik im Dekeleischen Krieg* (Frankfurt, 1986) 50–55. On the whole, however, the phenomenon of Atticisation is relatively restricted.

¹⁸⁸Cf. J. Boardman, “Image and Politics in sixth century Athens”, in: *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery 2*, ed. H. Brijder (Amsterdam, 1984) 239–247.

such victories, especially during the Peloponnesian war.

On Classical vases, representations of Athena engaged in cult-activities are scarce. For example, the popular Early Classical depictions of Athena libating together with a youth, man, woman or Nike virtually disappear in the Classical period, as do most other scenes related to cult-activities. Instead, cult may be referred to in a more indirect way, e.g. by the depiction of myths particularly associated with a certain cult, such as the Gigantomachy, and often with a strong Athenian undertone such as in the various depictions of the Erichthonios myth.¹⁸⁹

Fewer such references to ‘real life’, however, can be detected in fourth century vase-painting. This may be due in part to a lack of interest in current affairs on the side of the painters (and/or buyers?), but it has also been connected with a general attitude towards the old gods at a time when peace and wealth were more important than military prowess, and programmatic concepts were symbolized in personifications instead of traditional myths.¹⁹⁰

Occasionally, some parallels between vase-painting and sculpture can be discerned, and in general, reliefs appear to be more closely related to vase-painting than sculpture in the round.¹⁹¹ Only rarely is it possible to assume the direct influence of sculpture on vase-painting; although this has been suggested for many types, in most cases it cannot be verified, and often resemblances are probably due to the use of similar stock-figures in both media. The fashion, or the initial impulse, for certain poses or attributes in vase-painting, however, may sometimes be connected with their use in sculpture, as might be the case for the pose of hand-on-hip and the Leaning Athena. In other cases, such as the fighting Athena and the seated Athena, no immediate origin of a type can be detected and it seems to be equally

¹⁸⁹Some aspects in the cult of Classical Athena, such as her connection with Hephaistos and Ares, manifest also in shared temples are, however, referred to rarely if at all in contemporary vase-painting. These aspects nevertheless remained of major importance into the fourth century, as indicated by a passage in Plato’s *Laws* 11.920d–e: “Sacred to Hephaistos and Athena is the class of craftsmen who have furnished our life with the arts, and to Ares and Athena belong those who safeguard the products of these craftsmen by other defensive art.”

¹⁹⁰Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 201; B. Fehr, *Bewegungsweisen und Verhaltensideal* (Bad Braunstedt, 1979) 42–44.

¹⁹¹A problem in comparing vase-painting and sculpture is the lack of evidence, as we have record of many sculptures which have not been preserved. This should always be kept in mind.

common in both media. Reflections of a particular work of sculpture are traceable only in extremely rare cases; even the Athena Parthenos, possibly the most famous statue of Athena in Classical Athens, can be detected with some probability in only a handful of vase-paintings. And even here, only the main traits (i.e. general pose and major attributes) of the sculptural type are transferred into vase-painting, while minor features are ignored.

Thus, sculptural influence on vase-painting appears rather limited and unpredictable. This is true not only for the transmission of whole types, but also for the adoption of details. The bipartite aegis, for example, which was probably developed in sculpture, seems to appear in vase-painting almost immediately after its invention, whereas the equally popular small-collar and diagonal-strap aegis are hardly represented at all.¹⁹²

Therefore, instead of looking at specific types and details, it might be more fruitful to attempt a comparison of the general picture or the idea of Athena as it is expressed in Classical sculpture and vase-painting.

The picture of Athena in mid-fifth century sculpture can be seen as exemplified by the Athena Promachos and the Athena Parthenos. Both are fully armed and associated with victory — the victory Athena is able to grant to her city, in her concern for the well-being of Athens. Additional dimensions become visible in the Athena Parthenos: despite her aegis, which is reminiscent of a breast-plate, and her other warrior-equipment, a representative aspect is dominant. Her rich armour also serves as a surface for elaborate decoration, which makes the statue representative of the cultural and material wealth of Athens. The facts that Athena is the guardian of the treasure of the Delian League and that she receives offerings by Athens' allies during the Panathenaic festival furthermore give her a political dimension by making her a symbol of Athenian imperialism.¹⁹³ The heavily armed Athena is not the only

¹⁹²In terms of subject matter, sculptural influence is split as well: the Gigantomachy in the Classical period is popular both on vases and in architectural sculpture; whereas the subjects of the Parthenon pediments (the contest between Poseidon and Athena, and the Birth of Athena) are both extremely rare in Classical Attic vase-painting.

¹⁹³Stewart, *Sculpture* 158; Berger, "Athena" 86; B. Fehr, "Zur religionspolitischen Funktion der Athena Parthenos im Rahmen des delisch-attischen Seebundes I", *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 71–91; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 189; J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* (Münster, 1977) 146–

expression of the Classical picture of Athena. This is demonstrated by another statue, the Athena of the Athena-Marsyas group by Myron. Athena here appears as a youthful goddess equipped with spear and simple Chalcidian helmet. Nevertheless, her calm yet determined rejection of the pipes underlines her superiority, especially in contrast to the heavily gesticulating satyr Marsyas.¹⁹⁴

In vase-painting, as mentioned above, we very occasionally find possible allusions to the Athena Parthenos. Athena's strong bond with the affairs of Athens, her role as a representative of Athens (and Athens' greatness) is, however, more generally reflected in her occasional involvement in traditionally non-Attic myths, her association with Attic eponymous heroes, as well as in the increasing frequency of Athenian myths.¹⁹⁵

In the Athena Medici, again, the war-like character of Athena is emphasised. Athena is shown in an energetic, defensive pose, armed and ready to fight. As in the Athena Parthenos, this attitude is slightly modified by a representative purpose, expressed, for example, in the rich dress and helmet.¹⁹⁶ In contrast to this, the preserved three-dimensional representations of Athena in the latter part of the fifth and the early fourth century are of a more peaceful, introverted character. Pensiveness had been expressed already in the Early Classical relief of the Mourning Athena, and it is further developed by the 'Athena Lemnia' by Phidias.¹⁹⁷ Her peaceful attitude is emphasised by the position of the aegis, which is pushed to the side; a certain war-like aspect might, however, be seen in the fact that the gorgoneion is retained.¹⁹⁸

150; Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen" 323; Alscher, *GP II 2* 125–126; W. Schuller, *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Berlin & New York, 1974) 117.

¹⁹⁴Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 185.

¹⁹⁵Of the subject matter connected with the statue of Athena Parthenos in the base-relief and the depictions on the shield, however, only the Gigantomachy is popular and associated with Athena in contemporary vase-painting; the Pandora-myth is not seen after the Early Classical period, and the Amazonomachy, though common and probably alluding to the battles of Greeks/Athenians against the Persians, usually has nothing to do with Athena.

¹⁹⁶Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen" 343; Alscher, *GP* 133; Berger, "Athena" 86. This type of warrior-Athena persists until the early fourth century, but only in relief depictions and vase-painting, where it enjoys a partial revival in the later fifth century (Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 49).

¹⁹⁷Berger, "Athena" 86; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 182; J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* (Münster, 1977) 141–142.

¹⁹⁸Compare also the torso from the Agora which is associated with the cult-statue of Athena Areia.

Later Athenas, such as the Athenas Albani and Hope-Farnese, the Athena Velletri, the Athena Charchel, the Athena Ince, the Leaning Athena and the Athena Rospigliosi, in general appear peaceful, serene (the Velletri with her domineering pose possibly being an exception). No immediate political programmatic intention is obvious as it had been, for example, in the Athena Parthenos.

This development has been interpreted as the transformation of Athena into a peaceful citizen connected with the general shift in interests towards a life of peace and prosperity.¹⁹⁹ It is also expressed by the development of the formerly fearsome aegis, occasionally used as a weapon, into a purely decorative collar or strap, with the gorgoneion becoming less frightening. Although both aegis-types occur very rarely or not at all in contemporary vase-painting, the abandonment of the shield-aegis and the invention of the bib and vest-like aigides, common in vase-painting since the late fifth century reflect a parallel development, especially as they are often decorated with the textile-like checker-pattern. The trend towards a peaceful Athena might be paralleled on vases also by the disappearance of the Gigantomachy in the fourth century by the trend towards more relaxed poses, a feature not confined to Athena; at the same time, however, Athena in vase-painting is represented increasingly frequently with a shield, while free-standing sculpture usually omits this attribute. Both media share a liking for the helmet.

Apart from three-dimensional sculpture, record reliefs produced from the later fifth century offer the biggest range of sculptural depictions of Athena. Here Athena represents the Athenian state, confirming treaties and honours granted. This subject matter, however, is difficult to compare with vase-painting, in which civic life is not a traditional topic. Nevertheless, as noted above, references to a particular role for Athena in the state can also be detected in vase-painting, though usually expressed in a more indirect way, e.g. by the choice of myths and their particular iconography.

Comparing the picture of Athena in vase-painting with that in literature, the relatively prominent role of Athena in literary plays matches that on vases. The Athenian citizen saw Athena put on stage by Aischylos, Euripides and Sophokles;

¹⁹⁹Compare, for example, the statue group of Eirene and Ploutos by Kephisodotos: Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 49.

at least nine plays with Athena are known. As the protectress of her city, Athena on stage acts as a guardian of justice, treaties²⁰⁰ and democratic institutions (Aesch. *Eum.*, Eur. *Suppl.* and *Ion*) and deciding the fate of individuals and even peoples (Soph. *Aias*, Eur. *Tro.*).²⁰¹ There is no direct theatrical influence traceable in the picture of Athena in other media, nor are there traces of the critical attitude towards the gods taken by Euripides and Aristophanes. Nevertheless, poets and artists share a similar basic conception of Athena: a protectress of heroes and of her city, Athens.

Far more remote from the view of Athena in vase-painting is that in contemporary philosophy. The anthropomorphic concept of the gods had been criticised by philosophers as early as the sixth century, the first probably being Xenophanes (ca. 570–475). His attacks are aimed particularly at the gods' immoral behaviour. The anthropomorphic picture of the gods, manifest in sculpture and painting, seemed to him purely subjective.²⁰² Henceforth, philosophy concentrated more on abstract concepts of the divine, while the traditional gods occasionally were interpreted as the personification of abstract concepts or physical elements, Athena being identified with wisdom.²⁰³ These ideas probably reached Athens in the Early Classical period but were influential only in intellectual circles. However, they might partially have found their way into Attic tragedy. In Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (performed in 458), for example, Athena appears as the mythical founder and thus patron of the court, almost a personification of justice and intelligence; and in a satyr-play by Sophocles, Athena seems to stand for "phronesis, nous and arete", while Aphrodite is identified with "hedone".²⁰⁴ The Judgement of Paris thus seems to have been allegorized and

²⁰⁰This picture of Athena as a law-giving and law-keeping force is shared with the record reliefs.

²⁰¹She does not seem to appear in plays of Aristophanes, which could be attributed to her great importance and serenity, or to a lack of characteristics suitable for parody (H. Hoffmann, *Mythos und Komödie. Untersuchungen zu den "Vögeln" des Aristophanes* (Hildesheim, 1976) 24). She is, however, occasionally made fun of by other characters in Aristophanes, and does feature in later comedies.

²⁰²H. Diels & W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*¹⁰ (Berlin, 1961) 21 B 11, 14–15; I. S. Mark, "The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon", *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 289–342, esp. 316; Burkert, *Religion* 287, 371; Muth, *Einführung* 154–155.

²⁰³Athena is connected with wisdom, for example, by Plato, *Critias* 109 c 6. However, the basis for this association exists already in Homer, *Odyssey* 13.298–299: "I am renowned among all the gods by reason of my intelligence and craftiness." Herington mentions more examples of such allegorizations and interprets the development as a way of compromising with the epic gods (Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester, 1955) 53–55).

²⁰⁴*TrGF* 4, ed. S. Radt (Göttingen, 1977) 324–325 no. 360–361; T. W. C. Stinton, *Euripides*

transformed into a ‘choice of lives’ for Paris. Furthermore, Plato, whose idea of the divine is fairly detached from the anthropomorphic view of the gods, still recognises the traditional belief in gods as important for social life in a state, granting law and order by being patrons to various institutions. In his *Laws*, Athena is mentioned among the most important gods in this respect, next to Zeus, Hestia and Hermes.²⁰⁵

Popular belief and the arts, such as vase-painting, proved largely resistant to these views.²⁰⁶ However, some changes in cult as well as in vase-painting might be connected, in particular the popularity of personifications of abstract qualities in the later fifth century. The accumulation of attributes for Athena, for example, may be an increased externalization of the ideals and qualities a figure stands for.²⁰⁷

As this study has shown, the picture of Athena remains relatively consistent in its basic features throughout the Classical period, and even retains most of the characteristics it acquired during the Archaic period. Sometimes, however, slight changes in details, the contexts in which the goddess appears and her outer appearance allow us to catch a glimpse of the Athenians’ changing perception of their city, thought the way they represented their city-goddess.

and the *Judgement of Paris* (London, 1965) 88; K. J. McKay, *The Poet at Play. Kallimachos, The Bath of Pallas* (Leiden, 1962) 61; Burn, *Meidias Painter* 67; Herington, in: *Parthenos and Parthenon* 68–69.

²⁰⁵Burkert, *Religion* 473–484; Muth, *Einführung* 175–176.

²⁰⁶J. D. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion* (Chapel Hill & London, 1983) 112–114.

²⁰⁷Burkert, *Religion* 287; I. S. Mark, “The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon” *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 289–342, esp. 290; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Eigenart*.

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Catalogue

Fighting Athena: Gigantomachy

- 1*** London BM E469, from Altamura. — rf volute-krater, Altamura Painter, about 460. — Gigantomachy: Dionysos, Athena, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis(?), giants (A+B); Triptolemos (A); musical contest (B). — *ARV* 589.1; *Add2* 264; Webster, *Niobidenmaler* pl. 1; Prange, *Niobidenmaler* 157 no. A1, pl. 51–52; Vian, *Répertoire* 74 no. 337, pl. 36; Arafat, *Zeus* 184 no. 1.36, pl. 2; Schefold, *GS* 96 fig. 124.
- 2** Orvieto, Faina 2693 (67), from Orvieto. — rf stamnos, Altamura Painter, about 470. — Gigantomachy: Woman (Nike?) wreathing Athena, giant (A); departure of warrior (B). — *ARV* 593.47; *BollRest* 23–24 (1955) 175 fig. 74; Vian, *Répertoire* 79 no. 361; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 352; Arafat, *Zeus* 184 no. 1.38; Prange, *Niobidenmaler* 169 no. A61, pl. 26.
- 3** Ferrara 2891, from Spina. — rf calyx-krater, Niobid Painter, about 460–450. — Gigantomachy: Artemis, Apollo, Herakles, Athena, Zeus, goddess in chariot, Ares, Poseidon, Demeter, youth (god?), Dionysos, maenad, giants (A+B), Triptolemos, Demeter, Persephone, old man, draped man (A), Dionysos, maenads and satyrs (B). — *ARV* 602.24; *Add2* 266; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.69, pl. 5a; Prange, *Niobidenmaler* 187 no. 32; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 311, *LIMC II* Athena 389, pl. 748; Vian, *Répertoire* 75 no. 338, pl. 37.
- 4** Basle, Ludwig 51. — rf calyx-krater, manner of the Niobid Painter, about 450. — Gigantomachy: Zeus, Herakles, Hera(?), Hephaistos,

- Aphrodite/Demeter/Persephone?, giants (A+B); youths (Theseus?) with spears pursuing woman. — *ARV* (609) 1661.7bis; *Para* 396; *Add2* 268; *LIMC IV Gigantes* 312; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 9; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.70.
- 5** Basle, Cahn, HC 710. — rf calyx-krater fr., Niobid Painter (K. Huber), about 460. — Gigantomachy: Athena, giant.
- 6** Münster, University 308. — rf calyx-krater fr., Niobid Painter, about 460. — possibly Gigantomachy: Giant(?), Athena(?), Herakles(?) (identified by K. Stähler). — B. Korzus (ed.), *Griechische Vasen aus Westfälischen Sammlungen* (Münster, 1984) 45–46 no. 4 fig. 4; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.66.
- 7** Athens, Akr. 382, from Athens. — rf cup fr., probably Stieglitz Painter, about 470–460. — Gigantomachy: Athena, giant. — *ARV* 830.10; Vian, *Répertoire* 79 no. 362, pl. 38; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.65.
- 8** Ferrara T 1011, from Spina. — rf hydria, resembles Villa Giulia Painter, about 460–450. — Gigantomachy(?): Artemis, Athena, giant/Ares(?). — *ARV* (627) 1662; *Add2* 271; B. Pace, “Attori di comedia italiota in un vaso di Spina”, *RM* 60–61 (1953/54) 85–87.
- 9** Ferrara 44893, from Spina. — rf calyx-krater, Painter of the Woolly Satyrs?, about 440–430. — Gigantomachy: Hera, Zeus, giant, moon-crescent, Nike (or Selene/Nyx?), Hekate, Ares (above), Athena and giants (below) (A); rape of the daughters of Lykippos (B). — *ARV* (1062) 1680–1681; *Para* 446; *Add2* 323; Schefold, *GS* 100 fig. 131; N. Alfieri, *Spina* (Bologna, 1979) 67 fig. 153; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.72.
- 10** Mulgrave Castle. — rf volute-krater, Group of Polygnotos, about 440. — Gigantomachy: Zeus, Athena, Dionysos, giants (A+B). — *Para* 442; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 158.1.
- 11** Ferrara 2892 (T 300), from Spina. — rf calyx-krater fr., Group of Polygnotos; manner of Peleus Painter, about 440. — Gigantomachy: Dionysos, Satyr, Athena, Zeus and Poseidon against giants; Chariot race. —

- ARV* 1041.6,1679; *Para* 442; *Add2* 319; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 315; N. Alfieri & P. E. Arias, *Spina* (Munich, 1958) 50–52, pl. 66–67, Vian, *Répertoire* 83 no. 386; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.71.
- 12** Berlin F 2531, from Vulci. — rf cup, Aristophanes, about 410. — Gigantomachy: Artemis, Zeus, Athena, Ares, Apollo, Hera, giants (A+B); Ge, Poseidon, giant (I). — *ARV* 1318.1, 1690; *Para* 478; *Add2* 363; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 318, pl. 143–144; J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* (Münster, 1977) 177; Vian, *Répertoire* 84 no. 388; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.75, pl. 6b; Burn, *Meidias Painter* 45–46, 102 no. A1.
- 13** Paris, Louvre S 1677. — rf neck-amphora, Suessula Painter, about 400–390. — Gigantomachy: Apollo, Hera, Hekate, Athena, Herakles, Nike in chariot, Zeus, Dionysos in chariot, Poseidon, Hermes, Artemis, Demeter, Ares, Aphrodite, Persephone, Dioskouroi, Amazon/Medusa/Erythra?, giants (A+B). — *ARV* 1344.1, 1691; *Para* 482; *Add2* 367; *LIMC II* Athena 391, pl. 749; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 329; Vian, *Répertoire* 86 no. 393, pl. 46; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.79.
- 14** Würzburg H 4729, from Taranto. — rf volute-krater fr., akin Pronomos Painter, about 400–390. — Gigantomachy: Dionysos, Apollo, Zeus and Nike in chariot, Athena, Artemis. — *ARV* 1338, 1346, 1690–1691; *Add2* 368; *CVA* Würzburg (2) pl. 40; A. von Salis, “Die Gigantomachie am Schild der Athena Parthenos”, *JdI* 55 (1940) 90–196, esp. 127 fig. 21; Vian, *Répertoire* 85–86 no. 392, pl. 46; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.80.
- 15** Naples 2045 (2883), from Ruvo. — rf calyx-krater fr., near Pronomos Painter, about 400–390. — Gigantomachy: Helios in chariot, Dionysos/Zeus? in chariot, Athena(?), Selene on horseback, giants (A); Dionysos, satyrs, maenads (B). — *ARV* 1338; *Para* 481, *Add2* 366; Schefold, *GS* 101 fig. 132; E. Simon & M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen*² (Munich, 1981) pl. 232; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 316, Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.82; Vian, *Répertoire* 85 no. 389, pl. 44.

- 16** Naples H 2664. — rf volute-krater fr., about 400. — Gigantomachy(?): giant(?), Athena. — *ARV* 1338; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 354; Vian, *Répertoire* 87 no. 398; Arafat, *Zeus* 186 no. 1.83.
- 17** St. Petersburg, Π 1837.2 (St. 1790). — rf squat lekythos with relief decoration, Xenophantes Painter, about 400–375. — Gigantomachy: Athena, giant, Herakles; Nike in biga; Persian archer; Centauromachy; Nike in biga (shoulder); Persians hunting (body). — *ARV* 1407.1; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 340; *AZ* 1856 pl. 86–87 (drawing); Schefold, *UK* 140.

Athena running with spear held horizontally

- 18** Athens NM 17917. — rf alabastron, Karlsruhe Painter, about 460–450. — Athena pursuing daughter of Kekrops?: Athena running (A); woman running and looking back (B). — *ARV* 735.107; *Add2* 283; M. Schmidt, “Die Entdeckung des Erichthonios. Zu einer neuen Lekythos des Phialemalers und einem ungedeuteten Vasenbild”, *AM* 83 (1968) 203–204 pl. 1–2.
- 19*** London BM E410, from Vulci. — rf pelike, Painter of the Birth of Athena, about 450. — Birth of Athena: Poseidon, Hephaistos, Zeus, Athena, Artemis, Eileithyia, Dionysos (all named), winged woman, draped youth, draped man, old man. — *ARV* 494.1, 1656; *Para* 380; *Add2* 250; *LIMC II* 988 Athena 358, pl. 745.
- 20** London BM E299, from Nola. — rf Nolan amphora, Nikon Painter, about 470–450. — Athena running (A); woman (B). — *ARV* 650.1 (bottom), 1614; *Add2* 276; Boardman, *ARFH-1* fig. 366.
- 21** Bologna 158, from Bologna. — rf. Nolan amphora, Providence Painter, about 480–460. — Man (Hephaistos?) pursuing Athena (A); draped man (B). — *ARV* 636.19, 1663; *Add2* 273; *LIMC II* 999 Athena 475, pl. 754.
- 22*** London BM E519. — rf oinochoe, Amphitrite Painter, about 460. — Athena running (A). — *ARV* 833.39; *Add2* 295.

23 = **28***

24 Athens NM 1291. — rf pyxis-lid, about 425. — Subject: Perseus and the Graiai (= sisters of Gorgons): three Graiai, Perseus, Phorkys, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena. — *LIMC IV* 363 Graiai 2, pl. 208.

25 = **29**

26 = **30**

Fighting Athena outside Gigantomachy (carrying shield)

27 London market (Christie's) — rf lekythos, Klügmann Painter?, about 470–460. — Athena running. — *Christie's Sales Catalogue 20th Feb. 1979* 95 no. 99, pl. 6.99.

28* London BM E321. — rf Nolan amphora, manner of Painter of London E 342, about 460–440. — Herakles & Athena: Athena pursuing Herakles (A); mantle figure (B). — *ARV* 670.10; *LIMC V* 145 Herakles 3094 pl. 136.

29 Athens, Agora P 14793, from Athens. — rf oinochoe fr., associated with workshop of the Shuvalov Painter (Green), about 410. — Athena Promachos (neck). — R. Green, “A new Oinochoe Series from the Akropolis”, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 82–94, esp. 88, no. 15, pl. 31; E. B. Harrison, *Agora 11* (Princeton, 1965) 52–53, pl. 63b; A. M. Zagdoun, *Sculpture archaisante* (Athens, 1989) 21, 51, pl. 2.6; *LIMC II* 971 Athena 142, pl. 146.

30 Athens, Agora P 15847, from Athens. — rf oinochoe fr., associated with workshop of the Shuvalov Painter (Green), about 410. — Athena Promachos (neck). — R. Green, “A new Oinochoe Series from the Akropolis”, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 82–94, esp. 88, no. 14, pl. 31.14.

31 Pella 80.514, from Pella. — rf hydria, circle of Pronomos Painter (Delivorrias), about 400. — Poseidon and Athena: contest for Attica: Athena, Poseidon, Amphitrite, Dionysos, Kekrops, Old Man of the Sea,

Artemis, Apollo, Hermes, Nikai. — A. Delivorrias (ed.), *Greece and the Sea* (Amsterdam, 1987) 202–206, no. 104; Arafat, *Zeus* 156–159, 201 no. 7.42.

- 32** Salonica 272, from Olynthos. — rf bell-krater fr., manner of the Pronomos Painter, about 400. — Subject: Argonauts: death of Talos?/ Birth of Erichthonios?: Athena, Dioskouroi running with spears, Poseidon, Hephaistos(?), Kekrops(?) (A); Wedding: youths (with torch/tray), woman playing pipes. — F. Brommer, “Vier mythologische Vasenbilder in Griechenland. Glockenkrater Saloniki”, *AAA* 5 (1972) 451–455, fig. 1–3; A. Hermary, “Trois notes d’iconographie. II. Une scène inexplicée sur un cratère d’Olynthe”, *BCH* 110 (1986) 224–226, fig. 2–3; *LIMC IV* 649 Erechtheus 232, pl. 404.

Standing Athena carrying shield

- 33** Kiel B 369, from Athens? — rf lekythos, Painter of the Yale Lekythos, about 470. — Athena (or Aphrodite?) and swan or goose. — *ARV* 659.44; *CVA* Kiel (1) pl. 41.9–10.
- 34** Mannheim. — rf lekythos, Nikon Painter, about 470–460. — Athena.
- 35** Brussels . — wgr alabastron, about 460. — Hephaistos (seated) and Athena. — *LIMC IV* 632 Hephaistos 12, pl. 386.
- 36** Prague, University 22.60 (E 91), from Greece. — rf squat lekythos, about 450–400. — Athena at stele. — *LIMC II* 1015 Athena 624, pl. 765; F. Chamoux, “L’Athena au «terme»”, *RA* 1972, 263–266; *CVA* Prague (1) pl. 41.4.
- 37** (=64) Athens NM 3841 (1707). — rf aryballos, Meidian, about 430–400. — Judgement of Paris: Aphrodite/Hera?, Paris (naked) seated, Athena, Hera/Aphrodite? — Raab, *Darstellungen* 180 no. 24, pl. 6–7.
- 38** (=71) Cambridge N 151. — rf bell-krater fr. about 400–390. — Judgement of Paris: youth in oriental costume (Paris), hand holding spear and shield

- (Athena). — *CVA* Cambridge (2) pl. 27.13; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. K164; Raab, *Darstellungen* 180 no. B22.
- 39** (=65) Karlsruhe 259 (B 36), from Ruvo. — rf hydria, Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris, about 420–410. — Subject: Judgement of Paris: Paris (centre), Hermes, Athena, Hera with sceptre, Aphrodite with sceptre, women, Zeus, Helios in chariot, Eris, Erotes, tree, dog (shoulder); Dionysos, meanads, satyrs (body). — *ARV* 1315.1, 1690; *Para* 477; *Add2* 362; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 294; *LIMC II* 992 Athena 412; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. K165; Arafat, *Zeus* 117–119 fig. 2, 199 no. 6.2; Raab, *Darstellungen* 179 no. B14.
- 40** (=66) Berlin F 2633 (destroyed), from Vulci. — rf hydria, Kadmos Painter, about 420–400. — Judgement of Paris: Ganymede, Apollon, Paris and Eros, child on dolphin, Hermes, Aphrodite and Eros, deer, Athena, Eros, Hera, Zeus, Artemis. — *ARV* 1187.32; *Add2* 341; Real, *Studien* 78–79, pl. 11; *LIMC II* 992 Athena 413; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. 169; *LIMC II* 992 Athena 413; Arafat, *Zeus* 119–121 fig. 3, 199 no. 6.3; Raab, *Darstellungen* 179 no. B15.
- 41** (=67) St. Petersburg Yu 0.28 (1807). — rf calyx-krater, Kadmos Painter, about 410–400. — Subject: Judgement of Paris: above: chariot, Eris, Themis, chariot and Zeus, below: Hebe, Hera, Hermes, Paris, Athena, Eros and Aphrodite (A); Apollo, Dionysos, maenads, satyrs, palm-tree, tripod, omphalos (B). — *ARV* 1185. 7; *Add2* 341; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 37; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. K168; Arafat, *Zeus* 121–124 fig. 4–5, 199 no. 6.4; Raab, *Darstellungen* 179 no. B16.
- 42*** (=69) once Cancelli, Spinelli, from Suessula. — rf hydria, Nikias Painter, about 420–400. — Judgement of Paris: woman, youth in Persian clothes, Hera with sceptre, Paris with spears, Hermes, Eros with wreath, Athena, Aphrodite with sceptre, woman, old man with sceptre. — *ARV* 1334.28; *RM* 2 (1887) pl. 11–12; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 56 no. K171; Raab, *Darstellungen* 180 no. B18.

- 43*** (=70) Palermo, from Chiusi. — rf hydria, Nikias Painter, about 420–400. — Judgement of Paris: Nike, man in Persian clothes; Athena, Hermes, Paris, Hera with sceptre, Aphrodite with sceptre, Eros, woman. — *ARV* 1334.29; E. Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1845) pl. D.1; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. K170; Raab, *Darstellungen* 180 no. B18.
- 44** (=76) Munich. — rf calyx-krater, about 380. — Judgement of Paris?: winged woman (Nike — holding wreath towards Athena?), Athena, woman (goddess?) seated, man with chlamys and staff. — unpublished.
- 45** Vienna IV 1025. — rf calyx-krater, Group of Vienna 1025, about 400–380. — Herakles and Athena: youth with spear seated above altar (Apollo?), youth with spear and hat (Iolaos ?), Nike, Herakles seated below tripod, Athena, Hermes, youth seated (A); satyrs and maenads (B). — *ARV* 1438.1; *Add2* 377; *LIMC V* 171 Herakles 3407, pl. 156; *CVA* Vienna (3) pl. 108.1, 109.1–2; *LIMC II* 995 Athena 438.
- 46** Sydney, Nicholson Mus. 49.04. — rf bell-krater, about 400. — Herakles and Athena: Dioskouri, Herakles seated above altar, Athena, Zeus seated (A). — *LIMC V* 172 Herakles 3417, pl. 156.
- 47** New York 27.122.8. — rf volute-krater, Polion, about 430–420. — Chariot of Apollo: Hermes, Athena, Artemis with reins of chariot, Leto(?), Apollo with kithara (A); Herakles, Dionysos, Zeus, Hera (B); Athletes (neck A+B). — *ARV* 1171.2; *Add2* 339; Richter/Hall pl. 153–154, 171.
- 48** Copenhagen, from Macedonia. — rf fr., manner of Meidias Painter, about 410. — bust of Athena. — *CVA* Copenhagen (8) pl. 354.7.
- 49** Naples 2200, from S. Agata dei Goti. — rf bell-krater, Oinomaos Painter, about 390–370. — Oinomaos and Pelops: charioteer (Myrtilus), Poseidon, Athena, Zeus, Ganymede, woman (above), warrior (Ares?), youth with ram, Oinomaos sacrificing altar, statue, Pelops and Hippodameia in chariot (A); Dionysos, Ariadne, satyrs, maenad (B). — *ARV* 1440.1; *Add2* 377;

Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 351; Arafat, *Zeus* 161–163, 201 no. 7.48, pl. 40b;
LIMC II 1009 Athena 569.

- 50** Würzburg H 5708, from Taranto. — rf calyx-krater fr., Talos P (or near), about 400. — Bearded man (Hephaistos/Dionysos/Herakles?) with thyrsos and youth (Dionysos/Herakles?) reclining, satyr-kitharoede playing kithara, satyr playing aulos, woman with shield (Athena/pyrrhic dancer/maenad?), satyrs, woman. — *ARV* 1339.5; *Add2* 367; *CVA Würzburg* (2) pl. 42; F. Brommer, “Athena oder Waffentänzerin?”, *AA* 1979, 512; G. Beckel, H. Froning & E. Simon, *Werke der Antike im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz, 1983) 124–125 no. 55; C. Bérard, “Athéna mélancolique”, *Recherches et Documents du Centre Thomas More* 41 (1984) 1–18.

Athena in the Judgement of Paris

- 51** Detroit 24.13. — rf stamnos, Tyszkiewicz Painter, about 480–470. — Judgement of Paris(?): Aphrodite with pigeon, Athena(?), Hermes (A); Aphrodite with mirror and two Horai (B). — *ARV* 291. 28; Clairmont, *Pariserurteil* 48 no. K135, pl. 31–32; *LIMC V* 325 Hermes 465, pl. 240; Raab, *Darstellungen* 171 no. A III 31.
- 52** London BM E178. — rf hydria, Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, about 470–460. — Judgement of Paris: Aphrodite, Athena, Hera, Paris with sheep. — *ARV* 502.20; *Add2* 251; Raab, *Darstellungen* 173 no. A IV 16, pl. 3; Clairmont, *Pariserurteil* 141 no. K142.
- 53*** London BM E289, from Nola. — rf Nolan amphora, Charmides Painter, about 470–460. — Judgement of Paris: Paris seated with sheep, Hera with sceptre and apple, Athena, Aphrodite with Eros (sitting on her hand and veiling her) (A); Hermes running (B). — *ARV* 653.6; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Eigenart* pl. 15; Raab, *Darstellungen* 173 no. A IV 14.

54 = 112 (=132)

55 Berlin F 4043, from Attica. — rf pyxis, Amphitrite Painter, about 460. — Judgement of Paris: Paris with staff and lyre, Athena, winged woman (Nike), Hera with crown, sceptre, apple(?), Aphrodite with two apples(?), Hermes; Erotes (lid). — *ARV* 833. 47; 1702; *Add2* 295; *CVA* Berlin (3) pl. 137; U. Gehrig, A. Greifenhagen & N. Kunisch, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung* (Berlin, 1968) 154–155, pl. 84; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 52 no. K150; Raab, *Darstellungen* 178 no. B4.

56 New York 07.286.36, from Cumae. — rf pyxis, Penthesilea Painter, about 465/60. — Judgement of Paris: Aphrodite (veiled) with Phiale and Eros, Athena, Hera (veiled) with sceptre, Hermes, Paris (seated), draped man with staff. — *ARV* 890.173; 1673; *Para* 428; *Add2* 302; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greece and Rome* (New York, 1987) 60–61; E. Simon & M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen*² (Munich, 1981) pl. 189; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 52 no. K149; Raab, *Darstellungen* 178 no. B2.

57 = 163

58 Oxford 1929.13. — rf frr., Oinante Painter, about 460. — Judgement of Paris: Athena, Hera, Aphrodite. — *ARV* 587.71; *CVA* Oxford (2) pl. 67, 27; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 51 no. K146; Raab, *Darstellungen* 178 no. A23.

59 = 103

60 = 104

61 Copenhagen 731, from Piraeus. — rf pyxis-lid, about 440–430. — Judgement of Paris: Aphrodite in chariot drawn by two erotes, Athena in chariot drawn by two snakes, Hera in chariot drawn by three horses, Hermes, Paris seated with dog and sheep. — Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Eigenart* 17, pl. 21; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 54 no. K160, pl. 35; *CVA* Copenhagen pl. 163.1; *LIMC II* 992 Athena 411, pl. 750; Raab, *Darstellungen* 173 no. A IV 21.

- 62*** Berlin F 2536, from Nola. — rf cup, Painter of Berlin 2536, about 430. — Judgement of Paris: Hera with sceptre and lion, Athena, Aphrodite with wreath and Eros, Hermes, Paris (A); Paris and Helen: Helen, Eros, woman, man (Menelaos?), Paris, youth (B); Warrior departing and old man (I). — *ARV* 1287.1; 1689; *Para* 473; *Add2* 358; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 244; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 54 no. K161; *LIMC II* 992 Athena 410; Raab, *Darstellungen* 173 no. A IV 19.
- 63** Berlin F 2610. — rf kyathos, near Dinos Painter, about 420–410. — Judgement of Paris: tree, Paris seated, dog, Hermes, Hera with sceptre, Athena, Eros, Aphrodite with sceptre. — *CVA* Berlin (East) (1) pl. 40.1–3; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 54 no. K162; Raab, *Darstellungen* no. A IV 20; A. Genick & A. Furtwängler, *Griechische Keramik* (Berlin, 1883) pl. 25,6 (Athena restored?).
- 64** = **37**
- 65** = **39**
- 66** = **40**
- 67** = **41**
- 68** Agora P 157, from Athens (Pnyx). — rf bell-krater fr., recalls Kadmos Painter, about 420–410. — Judgement of Paris(?): part of left neck, shoulder and upper arm of Athena, part of wings (of Eros), torch (held by Hera?). — L. Talcott, B. Philippaki, R. Edwards & V. R. Grace, *Small Objects from the Pnyx II (Hesperia Suppl. X)* (Princeton, 1956) 50 no. 214, pl. 20.
- 69** = **42***
- 70** = **43***
- 71** = **38**
- 72** = **137**

- 73** Delphi 4412. — rf calyx-krater fr., about 400. — Judgement of Paris: Nymph seated, Hermes, Athena, Eros, Aphrodite, Hera seated. — *FdD V* 169–170, fig. 710–710bis; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 57 no. K177; Raab, *Darstellungen* 180 no. 23.
- 74** = **157**
- 75** (Judgement?) = **97**
- 76** (Judgement?) = **44**
- 77** (Judgement?) = **122**
- 78** (Judgement?) = **98*** (=123)
- 79** Nicosia 4085 A & 4455. — rf calyx-krater fr., Dinos Painter, about 420–410. — Judgement of Paris(?): satyr (bust), head of goddess holding sceptre (Hera/Athena/Aphrodite?) and head of goddess, wings of Eros. — M. Robertson, in: *Excavations at Kition 4. The Non-Cypriote Pottery* (Nicosia, 1981) 54 no. 31a & 31b, pl. 39, 31 A–B.
- 80** Piraeus, from Piraeus. — rf bell-krater, about 450–400. — Judgement of Paris? — *ADelt* 27.2 (1) (1972) pl. 117c; *AReps* 24 (1977–78) 12 fig. 22a.

Athena with hand on hip

A. No spear

- 81** Paris, Louvre G 372. — rf skyphos, Penelope Painter, about 430. — Athena and Giant, in between: spear? — *ARV* 1300.4; *Add2* 360; *LIMC II* Athena 50; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 248; Schefold, *GS* 91 fig. 116–117; Vian, *Répertoire* 84 no. 387, pl. 42; R. D. Cromey, *JHS* 111 (1991) 165–174..

B. Spear held vertically

- 82** New York 08.258.25. — rf oinochoe, Group of Berlin 2415, about 460–450. — man and statue of Athena on column. — *ARV* 776.3; *Add2* 288; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965) 83 fig. 41; *LIMC II* 1011 Athena 590, pl. 762.
- 83*** London, BM GR. 1928.1-17.57. — rf Nolan amphora, Alkimachos Painter, about 470–460. — Hermes and Athena (A); draped youth (B). — *ARV* 529.12; *Add2* 254; *LIMC V* 342 Hermes 671 pl. 254.
- 84** Bochum, University S 1085. — rf cup fr., Penthesilea Painter, about 460. — Herakles and Athena (I). — *LIMC* 144 Herakles 3084 pl. 135.
- 85** Caltagirone 961. — rf calyx-krater, about 450. — Potters and Athena: two potters, Athena (A); two women and old man (B). — *Greek Vases. Lectures Beazley*, ed. D. C. Kurtz (Oxford, 1989), pl. 26.1; J. D. Beazley, *Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens* (London, 1944) pl. 5, fig. 1.
- 86** New York 07.286.66, from Agrigento. — rf calyx-krater, Spreckels Painter, about 460–450. — Subject: Kadmos and the dragon: Athena, Kadmos, dragon (=snake), nymph, warrior (A); Women, draped man (B). — *ARV* 617.2; *Para* 398; *Add2* 269; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 19; Richter/Hall pl. 126.
- 87** Athens, NM 1968, from Eretria. — wgr lekythos, Inscription Painter, about 440. — Athena standing in front of column. — *ARV* 749.1; A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi 1* (New York, 1907) 121–123, no. 3, fig. 32.
- 88** Paris, Louvre K 343. — rf column-krater, Duomo Painter, about 440–430. — Orestes in Delphi: Athena, Orestes with sword and scabbard kneeling on stone altar, Apollo with laurel sprig, Erinyes with snake (A); draped youths (B). — *ARV* 1117.7; *Add2* 331; A. J. N. W. Prag, *The Oresteia* (Warminster, 1985) pl. 31.
- 89** Munich 2332. — rf neck-amphora, Nausicaa Painter, about 450–440. — Odysseus and Nausicaa: Odysseus, Athena, Nausicaa, women. — *ARV*

- 1107.2; 1683; *Para* 452; *Add2* 329; F. Brommer, *Odysseus* (Darmstadt, 1983) pl. 40; K. Schefold, *Die Sagen von den Argonauten, von Theben und Troia in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich, 1989) 318 fig. 276; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 194; *LIMC II* 1009 Athena 566.
- 90** Boston 96.719, from Nola. — rf Panathenaic prize-amphora, Nausicaa Painter, about 430. — Apollo with kithara mounting platform, Athena (A); Hermes and Poseidon (B). — *ARV* 1107.6; *Para* 452; *Add2* 330; *JdI* 94 (1974) fig. 17; *LIMC II* Apollon 783, pl. 253.
- 91** New York 25.28, from Capua. — rf hydria, Nausicaa Painter, about 450. — Herakles as a child wrestling with snakes: Amphitryon attacking with sword, Herakles on kline with snakes, Athena behind kline, Alkmene fleeing (A). — *ARV* 1110.41; *Add2* 330; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 196.
- 92** Ferrara Sequestra Venezia 2615, from Spina. — rf oinochoe, Shuvalov Painter, about 430. — Perseus and the Gorgons: Perseus fleeing with head of Medusa, Athena, Gorgon. — *ARV* 1206.2; *Para* 463; *Add2* 344; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Schuwalow Maler* (Mainz, 1976) 75, 106, pl. 103.
- 93** Rome, Vatican, from Vulci. — rf bell-krater, Group of Polygnotos, about 430. — Athena, two warriors fighting, in between Nike (A); draped youths (B). — *ARV* 1054, 52; *Museum Etruscum Gregorianum 2* (Rome, 1842) pl. 25.2.
- 94** Utrecht. — rf bell-krater, Group of Polygnotos, about 420–410. — Herakles and the lion/Cerberus(?): Athena, Herakles, lion/Cerberus(?), tree, woman (nymph Nemea/Hekate ?) (A); draped youth (B). — *ARV* 1053.42; *LIMC V* 25 Herakles 1891, pl. 47; Vollkommer, *Herakles 2* no. 5, 3 fig. 2.
- 95** Amsterdam 2476. — rf bell-krater fr., Kadmos Painter, about 420. — Marsyas and Apollo: Marsyas seated playing pipes, tree, Athena, Apollon seated holding branch. — *ARV* 1185.14; *Add2* 341; *CVA* Scheurleer (1) pl. d 4.9.

- 96** Athens, NM 12674. — rf calyx-krater, about 400. — Satyrs and Athena: two satyrs (one of them Marsyas?), Athena (A); draped youths, flying Eros (B).
- 97** (=75) Madrid, from Tutuji. — rf bell-krater, Painter of the Oxford Grypomachy, about 400–375. — Subject: Judgement of Paris: Hermes, Athena, Paris (seated, in phrygian clothes), head of bull, head of figure, Aphrodite or Hera, seated god (Zeus?) (A); three youths (B). — *ARV* 1428.4; J. Barberà & E. Sanmartí, *Arte griego in España* (Barcelona, 1987) 212 fig. 274; Arafat, *Zeus* 115–117, 199 no. 6.1, pl. 36a; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 57 no. K178; Raab, *Darstellungen* 180 no. B25.
- 98*** (=123) Athens NM 1282. — rf squat lekythos, about 400–380. — Judgement of Paris(?) or first encounter of Paris and Helen(?): woman, (Hera/Helen?), Palladion, Eros, Paris (inscribed Alexandros), Athena. — *LIMC IV* 522 Hélène 120, pl. 313; Cook, *Zeus*, 770 fig. 567 (drawing); Raab, *Darstellungen* 196–197 no. K173; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 56 no. K173; M. Collignon & C. Couve, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d’Athènes* (Paris, 1902) 635–636 no. 1942.
- 99** Brunswick (Me.) 1908.3. — rf hydria (kalpis), Niobid Painter, about 460–450. — Boreas and Oreithyia: Erechtheus, fleeing woman (Nereid), Boreas, Oreithyia, Athena, Nereids. — *ARV* 606.68; *Para* 395; *Add2* 267; D. M. Buitron, *Attic Vase Painting in New England Collections* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1972) 118–119 no. 64.
- 100** New York, 22.139.11. — rf bell-krater, Cassel Painter, about 440. — Hermes and Athena (B); Kadmos and the dragon (=serpent), Harmonia. — *ARV* 1083,5; 1682; Richter/Hall pl. 131 (no. 132); *LIMC V* 342 Hermes 672, pl. 254.
- 101** Trachones (Attica), Geroulanos 343, from Trachones. — rf belly-amphora, Dinos Painter, about 430. — Subject: Collecting of oil for Athena: boy in exomis with pointed amphora, man pouring oil from pointed amphora into belly amphora on small pedestal (‘Alkimos’), Athena (A); Demeter, Plouton,

Persephone (B). — *ARV* 1154.38bis; I. Scheibler, “Bild und Gefäß. Zur ikonographischen und funktionalen Bedeutung der Attischen Bildfeldamphoren”, *JdI* 102 (1987) 57–118, esp. 67–69 fig. 5a–d; J. Fink, “Lieferanten der Athena”, *Gymnasium* 70 (1963) 133–136, pl. 13; J. Bérard, in: C. Bérard & J.-P. Vernant, *La cité des images* (Lausanne, 1984) 106–108.

C. Spear held diagonally

- 102** Paris, Louvre G 341, from Orvieto. — rf calyx-krater, Niobid Painter, about 460–450. — Herakles, Athena with shield at her feet, Dioskouroi, warriors (A); Apollo and Artemis killing the Niobids (B). — *ARV* 601.22; 1661; *Para* 395; *Add2* 266; C. Jeppesen, “Dilemma der Sieben vor Theben”, *ActArch* 41 (1970) 157–179; E. Simon, “Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter I. The ‘Argonaut’ Krater”, *AJA* 67 (1963) 43–54; Prange, *Niobidenmaler* 102–107, 186 no. N 25; *LIMC II* 1012 Athena 602.
- 103** Naples 3161, from Nola. — rf hydria, Chicago Painter, about 450 — Judgement of Paris: Paris seated with lyre, Athena, Hermes, tree. — *ARV* 630. 30; 1666; *Para* 399; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965) 126 fig. 60; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 52 no. K152; Raab, *Darstellungen* 178 no. B3.
- 104** (=60) Palermo 2118 (214433). — rf bell-krater, Eupolis Painter, about 450. — Judgement of Paris: Hermes, Athena, Paris (seated) (A); two men and woman with alabastron (B). — *ARV* 1072.2; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 53 no. K155, pl. 33b; *LIMC V* 325 Hermes 468, pl. 240; Raab, *Darstellungen* 179 no. B13.
- 105** Benevento 635 st. — rf bell-krater, about 450–430. — Herakles, Palaimon-Melikertes and Athena (A). — *LIMC V* 179 Herakles 3489; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 43 no. 285, 45 fig. 57; *RM* 93 (1986) pl. 37.2.
- 106** Paris, Louvre L 63 (S 1662), from Athens. — rf oinochoe (chous), Trophy Painter, about 430. — Athena looking at votive statue(?) of baby. — *ARV*

- 858.8; *Add2* 298; G. v. Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden, 1951) 108 no. 828, fig. 11; *AAA* 9 (1976) 111 fig. 2.
- 107** Oxford 1937.983. — rf calyx-krater, Dinos Painter, about 430. — Deeds of Theseus, in presence of Athena (A+B); Prometheus firelighter (A); Eos and Kephalos (B). — *ARV* 1153.13; *Para* 456; *Add2* 336; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 181.
- 108** Caromb, H. Metzger Collection. — rf calyx-krater, near Kleophon Painter, about 420 — Herakles and the bull: Pasiphae, Minos, Athena, Herakles and bull, Nike, Iolaos, satyr (A); Dionysiac scene (B). — Vollkommer, *Herakles* 8 no. 64; *BCH* 111 (1987) 148 fig. 1; *LIMC V* 62 Herakles 2352.
- 109** Athens, NM 18015. — rf oinochoe fr., about 410. — Bellerophon and the Chimaira: Athena, Chimaira dying, Bellerophon. — K. Schefold & F. Jung, *Die Urkönige Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich, 1988) 118 fig. 142; *LIMC II* 1007 Athena 542.
- 110** Rome, Vatican. — rf bell-krater, about 400–380. — Herakles and Athena: two satyrs, Athena, Herakles (young, beardless) seated in shrine, two satyrs (A). — P. Mingazzini, “Le rappresentazioni vascolari del mito dell’apoteosi di Herakles”, *MemLinc* 1 (1925-1926) 415–490, esp pl. 7.2; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 66 no. 481; *LIMC IV* 802 Herakles 1371; *LIMC II* 995 Athena 441.

D. With shield on the ground

- 111** (=128) Basle Kä 416. — wgr lekythos, Vouini Painter, about 460. — Athena and goose. — *ARV* 744.3; *Add2* 284; *LIMC II* 961 Athena 37 pl. 707.
- 112** (=54, 132) London BM E257, from Vulci. — rf amphora, Niobid Painter, about 460–450. — Judgement of Paris: Paris, Hera with pomegranate(?), Athena, Aphrodite with sprig (A); Dionysos, maenad, women, youth (B). — *ARV* 604. 50; *Add2* 267; Raab, *Darstellungen* 178 no. B1, pl. 4; Clairmont, *Pariserurteil* 52 no. K 153.

- 113** (=129) Hannover 1968.93. — rf lekythos, Alkimachos Painter, about 450. — Nike with wreath, Athena. — *LIMC II* 1002 Athena 501 pl. 756; *CVA* Hannover (1) pl. 44.
- 114** (=134) once Rome, Curtius. — rf lekythos, Painter of Munich SL. 477 (close to Syracuse Painter), about 450–400. — Athena. — *ARV* 522.1; *Add2* 253; *AAA* 5 (1972) 465 fig. 3.
- 115** (=136) Brauron, from Brauron. — rf kalathos bottom, about 430. — Athena. — *Neue Ausgrabungen in Griechenland. 1. Beiheft AntK* (1963) 44, pl. 11.4.
- 116*** (=138) London, BM E498. — rf bell-krater, Nikias Painter, about 410–400. — Herakles and Athena: Athena, Herakles, tripod on column, Nike, Dioskouroi (A); draped youths (B). *ARV* 1334.16; *Add2* 365; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 55 no. 407, fig. 72.
- 117** (=139) Thessaloniki V.67.111, from Olynthos. — rf plate, about 410–390. — Herakles and Athena: Athena, Herakles seated, altar. — *AJA* 33 (1929) 66 fig. 14; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 46 no. 317; *LIMC* 145 Herakles 3096.

Compare also:

- 118** Eleusis 2669. — bf Panathenaic prize-amphora fr., about 370–364/3. — Athena Promachos, small Athena on column opposite. — N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf Panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1986)

Parthenos/shield on ground

- 119** Berlin 3199, from Gela. — rf column-krater, Hephaistos Painter, about 430–420. — Ajax and Achilles playing dice: man, Achilles, Athena with Nike crowning Achilles, Ajax (Achilles, Athena and Ajax on base) (A); draped youths (B). — *ARV* 1114.9; *Para* 452; *Add2* 330; *JdI* 52 (1937) 31 fig. 1; *LIMC II* 977 Athena 212; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 200.

- 120** St. Petersburg. — rf bell-krater fr., near Pronomos Painter, about 400. — Introduction of Herakles to Olympos: Hephaistos(?), Apollo, Hera, Zeus, Nike, Athena, Poseidon, Aphrodite (above); Dioskouroi, charioteer (Hebe?), Herakles (below) (A); Dionysos, Ariadne, satyrs and maenads (B). — *LIMC* V 124–125 Herakles 2871 (most recent reconstruction drawing); B. B. Shefton, “The krater from Baksy”, in: *The Eye of Greece*, eds. D. C. Kurtz & B. A. Sparkes (Cambridge, 1982) 149–178.
- 121*** London, BM E696, from Marion. — rf squat lekythos with relief decoration, manner of Meidias Painter, about 410–400. — Oidipus killing the Sphinx: youth, olive-tree, Athena, Oidipus killing the sphinx, youths (Apollo, Dioskouroi, Aineas?). — *ARV* 1325.49; *Add2* 364; Burn, *Meidias Painter* 47–48, 111 no. MM 78, pl. 32.
- 122** Paris, Louvre CA 2516. — rf lekythos, near Meidias, about 420–400. — Judgement of Paris(?): goddess (Hera? Aphrodite?), Hermes, Athena, Nike with wreath, seated woman. — Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. K167, pl. 36; Raab, *Darstellungen* 196 no. K167.
- 123** = **98***
- 124*** Pourtalès Coll. 148, from Nola. — rf Nolan amphora, Karlsruhe Painter, about 460. — Nike with fillet, Athena (A); woman (B). — *ARV* 736.114; T. Panofka, *Antiques du Cabinet du Comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* (Paris, 1834) pl. 6.2.
- 125** Syracuse, from Gela. — rf lekythos, Painter of Slight Nolans and Lekythoi, about 460–450. — youth (draped, with Thracian cap(?) and spear) and Athena. — *ARV* 671.11; *MonAnt* 17 (1906), 483 fig. 342.
- 126** Dion. from Makrygioalos (Veroia). — rf Nolan amphora. — Athena.
- 127** Paris, Cab. Méd. 369. — rf Nolan amphora, Oionokles Painter, about 460. — Athena writing (A); draped man (B). — *ARV* 648.31; *Add2* 275; *Hesperia* 41 (1972) pl. 115 a.

128 = 111

129 = 113

130 London, V&A C.2505-1910. — rf Nolan amphora, Nikon Painter, about 460. — Athena (A); woman with oinochoe and phiale (B). — *ARV* 650.2; *Add2* 276; *AM* 89 (1974) pl. 47.2.

131 St. Petersburg 2227, from South Russia. — rf Panathenaic prize-amphora, Niobid Painter, about 460–450. — Subject: warrior, Athena (A); sacrifice?: draped man, draped youth (B). — *ARV* 604.52; T. B. L. Webster, *Der Niobidenmaler* (Leipzig, 1935) pl. 10 a.

132 = 112 (=54)

133 Bologna, from Felsina. — rf cup, about 460–440. — Athena and altar(?) (I); three girls (A); three women (B). — G. Pellegrini, *Catologo dei vasi Greci dipinti delle necropoli Felsinee* (Bologna, 1912) 191–192 no. 393; fig. 115 (drawing); G. Becatti *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milan & Florence, 1951) pl. 86.270.

134 = 114

135* once Naples, Hamilton. — rf, shape unknown (probably Nolan amphora), Trophy Painter, about 440. — Nike (Iris?) and Athena. — *ARV* 858.9; *Add2* 298; R. Lonis, *Guerre et Religion en Grèce à l'Époque Classique* (Paris, 1979) fig. 10.

136 = 115

137 (= 72) Syracuse 38031, from Modica. — rf hydria, Modica Painter, about 420–400. — Judgement of Paris: woman with box, Hera with sceptre, Athena, Aphrodite (seated in centre) with Eros, ram, Hermes, Paris (seated) with Eros, ram, man with sceptre. — *ARV* 1340.1; *CVA* Syracuse (1) pl. 26 (=Italy 840); Clairmont *Parisurteil* 56 no. K 172.

138 = 116*

139 = 117

- 140** Voronezh, from Capua. — rf pelike, Meleager Painter, about 400–380. — Herakles and Athena: seated woman, satyr, Herakles seated, Nike, Athena, seated woman, satyr (A); three youths (B). — *ARV* 1411.41; V. K. Malmberg & E. R. Felsberg, *Antichniya vazi* (Yuriev, 1910) pl. 6,3; *LIMC V* 171 Herakles 3405.
- 141** Berkeley 8.3495, from Boeotia. — rf calyx-krater, LC group, about 370. — Herakles and Athena: youth (Dionysos), Athena, Nike flying, Herakles, Hebe, seated man (A); Ariadne, Dionysos, satyr (B). — *ARV* 1457.7; *Images et société en Grèce ancienne. Actes du Colloque international Lausanne 8–11. février 1984*, eds. C. Bérard, C. Bron & A. Pomari (Lausanne, 1987) 60 fig. 11–13; *LIMC II* 147 Herakles 3139; *LIMC* 995 Athena 440.
- 142** London BM F43. — rf bell-krater (South Italian?), about 400–375. — Herakles carrying a centaur towards Athena. — *LIMC IV* 826 Herakles 1581, pl. 551.
- 143** Stuttgart market. — rf Nolan amphora, Group of Painter of London E 342, about 450. — woman with spear and shield (Athena?) (A); draped figure (B). — *ARV* 670.12; *Auktion Kirchelsdorf 28–29 Mai 1956*, pl. 26.1275.

Leaning Athena**A. Athena leaning to the side**

- 144*** Athens NM 1635. — rf pyxis, about 370. — Subject: Birth of Apollo and Artemis: women, Leto seated grasping palm-tree, Athena. — Karouzou, “Two Statues” fig. 6; Schefold, *GS* 45 fig. 47 (drawing); *LIMC II* 997 Athena 458.
- 145** Excavation: Attica. — rf pyxis fr., about 400. — Gods and Athena: woman

(Hera?) seated, man (Zeus?) seated, Athena standing, low altar, Eros with two torches. — *ADelt* 18 (1963) 49 pl. 53b.

- 146** Athens NM 13909. — rf skyphos, about 380–360. — Herakles and Athena (A); woman and youth (B). — Karouzou, “Two statues” 153–159, fig. 1,4; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 47 no. 323; *LIMC V* 144 Herakles 3086.
- 147*** London BM F74. — rf bell-krater, Toya Painter, about 400–375. — Herakles and Athena: woman, youth, Athena, Eros, woman A); three youths(B). — *ARV* 1448.5; *Add2* 379; *LIMC V* 171 Herakles 3409, pl. 156; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 47 no. 322; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 374.

B. Athena leaning forward

- 148** Paris, Louvre G 508, from Italy. — rf bell-krater, Painter of Louvre G 508, about 400–380. — Herakles and Athena: Hermes, woman (Hebe?), Herakles seated in shrine, Athena, youth seated (Iolaos?) (A) three youths (B). — *ARV* 1436.1; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 47 no. 319, 48 fig. 62; *LIMC V* 802 Herakles 1373, pl. 534; *LIMC II* 995 Athena 442; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 346.
- 149** Bologna 303, from Bologna. — rf calyx-krater, Kadmos Painter, about 425. — Herakles and the hind: Iolaos, Athena, Herakles & hind, tripod, Apollon altar, Artemis (A); woman seated, Ariadne crowned by Eros, Dionysos, Athena crowning Theseus, Poseidon, youth, youth in ship (B). — *ARV* 1184.6; *Para* 460; *Add* 341; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 6 no. 55, 7 fig. 11; *LIMC V* 50 Herakles 2197, pl. 68.
- 150** San Simeon 529-9-621 (5546). — rf cup, about 420–400. — Herakles and Athena: Athena, Iolaos, Herakles (I); death of Orpheus (A+B). — *Sotheby's Sales Catalogue 13th Dec. 1928* pl. 16 no. 99; *LIMC V* 147 Herakles 3135; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 46 no. 315.

C. Athena leaning forward with one foot raised

- 151** Warsaw 142301, from Nola. — rf pelike, Painter of Munich 2363, about 460–450. — Herakles and Athena: Athena, Herakles (beardless) in short chiton, with lionskin and club (A); woman running with phiale (B). — *ARV* 854.4; *LIMC V* 144 Herakles 3085, pl. 136; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 46 no. 313; J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (Oxford, 1928) 33, pl. 28,2.
- 152*** Germany, private (once Castle Ashby). — rf neck-amphora, Nausicaa Painter, about 450 — Herakles (with club and bow), Iolaos, Athena (A); draped men (B). — *ARV* 1107.4; *Add2* 329; Boardman, *ARFV-2* fig. 195; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 46 no. 314; *CVA* Castle Ashby pl. 42, 1–3; *LIMC IV* 304 Gorgo, Gorgones 214, pl. 176; E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder II* (Berlin, 1843) pl. 144 (drawing); *LIMC V* 146 Herakles 3125.
- 153** Ferrara T 6C VP, from Spina. — rf volute-krater, Group of Polygnotos, about 440. — Orestes or Alkmaion at Delphi: youth (or woman), woman, Apollo seated, tripod, Mousaios, temple, Athena, Nike/Iris?, youth (Orestes or Alcmaeon) pursued by woman (A); women (dancing?) — one (killed?) at altar (B). — *ARV* 1033.69, 1679; *Para* 442, 444; *Add2* 318; E. Paribeni, “Di alcuni chiarimenti e di un quiz non risolto”, *NumAntCl* 15 (1986) 43–53, pl. 5.
- 154** Bologna 325, from Bologna. — rf bell-krater, Polydektes Painter, about 440–430. — Perseus with the head of Medusa: Athena, Perseus with head of Gorgo Medusa, Polydektes petrified (A); draped youth and trophy (B). — *ARV* 1069.2; 1681; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 217.
- 155** Taranto, private. — rf amphora, Talos Painter(?), about 400. — Herakles, seated before shrine, and Athena (A); Nike running, Herakles and Iolaos in chariot, Nike running (B). — *LIMC IV* 801 Herakles 1368, pl. 533; *RM* 92 (1985) pl. 41.
- 156** Chicago Art Institute 1889.18. — rf calyx-krater, about 400. — Herakles and the bull: tree, man seated, man leaning on staff (Iolaos?), Athena, Herakles,

- bull, flying Nike, Hermes (A); man seated, satyr seated (above handles); three youths (B). — unpublished.
- 157** Würzburg L 645. — rf calyx-krater, Telos Painter, about 400–380. — Herakles and Athena: Satyr, Athena, Herakles seated in shrine, Artemis, satyr (A); Dionysos and maenad (B). — *ARV* 1427.39; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 66 no. 482, 71 fig. 9.
- 158** (=74) Vienna 1771, from Orvieto. — rf bell-krater, Painter of Athens Wedding (or near), about 410–390. — Judgement of Paris: Paris with Eros, Athena, Aphrodite with Eros, Hermes, Helios in chariot, Selene on horseback (A); Apollo with laurel staff, goddesses, Aphrodite with erotes, tripod (B). — *ARV* 1318; *Add2* 363; Boardman, *ARFV-2* fig. 296; Burn, *Meidias Painter* 102 no. AW 4, pl. 42–43; *LIMC II* Athena 416, pl. 715; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 55 no. K166; Arafat, *Zeus* 130–132, 199 no. 6.7.
- 159** Vienna IV 1142. — rf bell-krater, Painter of Vatican 9103, about 400–375. — Herakles and Athena: Athena, Hermes, Herakles, dog, Hebe, Iolaos(?) (A); three youths (B). — *ARV* 1438.2; *Add2* 377; *LIMC V* 163 Herakles 3321, pl. 151.
- 160** (seated?) = **175**

Seated Athena

- 161** Oxford 1925.84. — rf lekythos, Painter of the Yale Lekythos. — Athena seated. — *ARV* 659.50; *CVA* Oxford (1) pl. 37.7.
- 162** Florence V 57, from Chiusi. — rf cup, Sabouroff Painter, about 470–460. — Athena making horse: Athena seated on chair, making a (wooden?) horse (I); youths, women (A+B). — *ARV* 838.30; *Para* 423; *Add2* 296; *LIMC II* 96 Athena 49, pl. 709.
- 163** (= 57) Athens NM 14908, from Athens. — rf pyxis, near Wedding Painter, about 460. — Judgement of Paris: Paris seated with lyre, Aphrodite seated

on throne looking at jewellery with flying Eros and swan, Hera and Athena seated with phialai. — *ARV* 924; *Para* 431; *Add2* 302; Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Eigenart* 17–19, pl. 16; Clairmont, *Parisurteil* 51 no. K147.

- 164** Ferrara T 579 (3031). — rf volute-krater, Painter of Bologna 279, about 440. — Warriors (Argonauts?) and Athena (B); Battle: Seven against Thebes(?) (A); Anodos: Persephone(?), man, satyrs (B-neck); Herakles and Busiris, negroes (A-neck). — *ARV* 612.1; 1662; *Para* 379; *Add2* 268; N. Alfieri & P. E. Arias, *Spina* (Munich, 1958) 58–61, pl. 42–44; *LIMC II* 1012 Athena 601; E. Simon, “Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter II. The Spina Volute Krater”, *AJA* 67 (1963) 54–57.
- 165*** London BM E316. — rf Nolan amphora, Trophy Painter, about 440. — Athena and woman (Hera?) (A); woman (B). — *ARV* 857.6; *Add2* 298; Robertson *HGA* 262; *LIMC II* 1011 Athena 592; O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseïens dans l’art antique* (Paris, 1968) 207 note 366.
- 166** St. Petersburg BAK.7 (43 f), from Kerch. — rf pelike, Kiev Painter, about 400–390. — Herakles sacrificing to Chryse: Hermes, spear bearer, youth, bull, Herakles, altar, youth, Athena, Dionysos(?), Apollon (A); Satyr and maenads (B). — *ARV* 1346.1 (middle); *Add2* 368; Schefold, *UK* fig. 70–72; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 55 no. 412; *LIMC II* 1006 Athena 532.
- 167*** Le Curti market. — rf calyx-krater, about 400–380. — Herakles, Demeter and Athena: Hermes, Demeter seated on omphalos, two flying Nikai crowning Herakles, Athena, Pan, woman, seated youth. — A. Greifenhagen, *Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekanntem griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976) 37–42 no. 21, fig. 36; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 41 no. 269; *LIMC IV* 806 Herakles 1406a; *LIMC II* 1002 Athena 497.
- 168** Adolphseck 77, from Sicily. — rf calyx-krater, Cecrops Painter, about 410–400. — Herakles and the bull: Europa, Apollon, Herakles, Nike (leaning on shield of Athena), Athena, bull (B); Kekrops and Athena libating at tree

- and basket of Erechtheus, daughters of Kekrops, goddess with Athena's armour, Hermes, Poseidon, king (Erechtheus?), Eros, Himeros, women (A). — *ARV* 1346.1; *Para* 482; *Add2* 368; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 8 no. 69, 10 fig. 14; *LIMC V* 61 Herakles 2310, pl. 74; *LIMC IV* 930 Erechtheus 11 pl. 632; *CVA* Adolphseck (1) pl. 46–48; *LIMC II* 996 Athena 454 (=460).
- 169** Athens NM 1434. — rf bell-krater, about 400–380. — Theseus and the bull: youth, Aigeus, naked Theseus crowned by flying Nike, bull, seated Athena (A). — C. Collignon & C. Couve, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes* (Paris, 1902) 629–630 no. 1931; B. B. Shefton, “Medea at Marathon”, *AJA* 60 (1956) 159–163, esp. 163.
- 170*** London market (Sotheby's). — rf calyx-krater, Painter of London F64, about 400/420. — Herakles and the bull: Minos, Hermes, Pasiphae, Herakles, bull, Nike flying with wreath, Athena, Apollon, Zeus (A); Dionysos, satyrs, maenad, Eros (B). — *Sotheby's Sales Catalogue 13-14th July 1987* no. 441; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 8 no. 65.
- 171** Rome, Vatican, Astarita 495, from Calvi. — rf calyx-krater, Group of Munich 2388, about 380–360. — Herakles and Athena: maenad, Herakles, Athena (B); Poseidon and Amymone (A). — *ARV* 1446.1; *Add2* 378; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 47 no. 321.
- 172** once Naples, Hamilton Coll. — shape unknown, about 400. — Herakles and Athena: Athena, Herakles, Iolaos. — F. Inghirami, *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome disegnatì, incisi, illustrati V* (Fiesole, 1824) pl. 35.
- 173** University (Miss.) 77.3.226. — rf kantharos, about 370. — Herakles in assembly of gods: Hera(?), Zeus seated crowned by Nike, Athena seated (A); Herakles, woman (Demeter?), youth (B). — D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos XIII* (1950) 110–115, no. 54, pl. 74–75, Vollkommer, *Herakles* 54 no. 400; *LIMC V* 169 Herakles 3393.
- 174** Oxford 1925.622. — rf calyx-krater fr., about 400–380. — Herakles and Athena: Athena seated, Herakles. — *CVA* Oxford (1) pl. 39.7.

- 175** (=160) Athens NM 1442, from Crete. — rf bell-krater, Semele Painter, about 400. — Apollo and Marsyas: Demeter(?), Marsyas, Nike crowning Athena, Apollon (A); Satyr and Maenads (B). — *ARV* 1343.2; *Add2* 367; *LIMC II* 1014 Athena 619 (with drawing), pl. 764; Metzger, *Représentations* pl. 22.3.
- 176** once Berlin F 2626, from Athens. — rf pelike, Herakles Painter, about 370–340. — Herakles and Athena: youth (Iolaos), woman (Hebe?), Herakles reclining crowned by flying Nike, Athena (A); three youths (B). — *ARV* 1472.1; *Add2* 381; *LIMC V* 163 Herakles 3324, pl. 151; *LIMC II* 1006 Athena 534; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 47, 328.
- 177** Kerch. — rf pelike, Herakles Painter, about 370–350. — Herakles meeting Theseus and Peirithoos in the underworld: (Persephone?), Peirithoos, Nike, Herakles, Athena (A); three draped youths (B). — A. Boltounova, “Une Pélike du style de Kerch représentant la scène de la délivrance de Thésée par Héraklès”, in: *Mélanges K. Michalowski* (Warsaw, 1966) 287–292, fig. 1–2; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 23 no. 175.
- 178** Philadelphia MS 5467. — rf pyxis lid, about 370–350. — Wedding of Herakles and Hebe: two bridesmaids, Eros, dove, Hebe, Herakles, Eros, dove, Hestia, Athena, Hera, Zeus, Eros. — Vollkommer, *Herakles* 37 no. 254, 38 fig. 49; *LIMC V* 164 Herakles 3336; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 400.
- 179** Tübingen E 183. — rf lekanis, Painter of Athens 1472, about 340. — Herakles and Athena in an assembly of gods: Dionysos, Demeter, Ploutos, Kore, young man, Dioskouroi, man with torch, Dionysos, Herakles, Athena crowned by Nike. — *ARV* 1477.7; *Para* 496; *Add2* 381; *CVA* Tübingen (4) pl. 50.5, 51; *LIMC II* 997 Athena 457.
- 180** St. Petersburg 525, from Cumae. — rf hydria with relief decoration, about 370–350. — Assembly of gods at Eleusis: Ge seated on omphalos, Artemis, Kore, Eumolpos with torches, Triptolemos in winged chariot with snakes, Dionysos, Herakles, Demeter and Athena seated, Bakchos, Aphrodite. —

P. Ducati, *Saggio di studio sulla ceramica attica figurata del secolo IV*
(Rome, 1916) 108, pl. 9.

- 181** New York GR 1216. — rf oinochoe with relief decoration, 4th century. —
Aphrodite(?) seated, Hephaistos, Athena seated, Hermes, Dionysos,
Demeter(?), herm. — G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden, 1951)
157 no. 743, fig. 59a–b.

Sculpture List

This list is not intended to be a comprehensive list of types of Athena in Classical sculpture, as it only comprises those monuments which lend themselves to a comparison with the types discussed on vases. The first part of the list (S-numbers) is arranged according to types; the second part (A-numbers) consists of a small sample of free-standing statues of Athena categorized according to their type of aegis.

Types of Athena in Sculpture

A. Athena in the Gigantomachy

- S1•** Parthenon East metope 4, about 440. — F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (Mainz, 1967) 26–27, 200; E. Berger, *Der Parthenon in Basel. Dokumentation zu den Metopen* (Mainz, 1986) 60–61; *LIMC II* 979 Athena 235, pl. 731; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 18; K. A. Schwab, *The Parthenon Metopes and Greek Vase-Painting: A Study of Comparison and Influences* (University Microfilms: Ann Arbor (Mich.), 1989) 33.
- S2** East frieze of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, about 460-440. — Vian, *Guerre* 68 fig. 1; Vian *Répertoire* 17 no. 30, pl. 7; R. Herbig, “Untersuchungen am dorischen Tempel in Sounion”, *AM* 66 (1941) 87–133, esp. 104, pl. 48; *LIMC IV* Gigantes 17; F. Felten, *Griechische tektonische Friese archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Waldsassen, 1984) 54–55; F. Felten & K. Hoffelner, “Die Relieffriese des Poseidontempels in Sounion”, *AA* 102 (1987) 169–184, esp. 180 (Identification as fleeing Lapith woman).

B. Shield-carrying Athena

- S3•** Statue of Athena, Promachos-type. Roman copy (2nd century AD) of an Attic(?) original of about 460–450 (Madrid, Prado). — Chiton beneath peplos with unbelted overfold; right hand was raised and probably held a spear, left arm probably held shield. — W. Fuchs, *Die Plastik der Griechen*³ (Munich, 1983) 189 fig. 200.
- S4•** Athena Medici. Roman copy of an original of about 440–430 (Paris, Louvre Ma 3070). — Chiton beneath peplos with belted overfold, aegis and cloak hanging at her back, once with shield and spear. Has been restored in different ways: shield and spear both on left arm, phiale in right hand; spear in right hand and shield on left arm. — *LIMC II* 973 Athena 172 = 1085 Athena/Minerva 144, pl. 796; Karanastassis, “Untersuchungen” 339; Linfert, “Athenen” 66–71; Mathiopoulos, *Typologie* 7–25; Alscher, *GP II.2* 129–133; B. Ridgway, *Fifth-century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1981) 169–170; Berger, “Athena” 86; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 200.
- S5** East frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike, about 425–420. — *LIMC II* 979 Athena 239; Berger, “Athena” 85 no. 9, pl. 24.1; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 127.3 (drawing).
- S6** Record relief: treaty(?) with Mytilene, last decade of fifth century, shortly before 405 (Paris, Louvre Ma 2414). — Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 46–47 no. T5, pl. 10; Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 173, 271–272 no. A21; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 38, 244–245 no. 77.
- S7** Record relief: treaty with Chios/Mysia, 406/5 (Athens, EM 6928). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 174, 272 no. A22 pl. 8.1; Lawton *Documentary Reliefs* 38, 133–135 no. 134; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 47–48 no. T6.
- S8** Record relief: inventory of the Treasurers of Athena and the other gods, 398/7 (Athens, NM 1479). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 174, 275–276 no. A36, pl. 11.1; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 38 145–147 no. 20.

S9 Record relief, about 350 (Athens, EM 2814). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 289 no. A83, pl. 21.3; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 38, 387–388 no. 207.

S10 Base of a dedication or shrine, early fourth century (400–380), from Athens (Athens, NM 2668). — Torchbearer, Nike, Athena, woman (Meter?), man (Meikichios/Asklepios/athlete?). Possibly belonged to Metroon in Agrai. — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 174; *AM* 60/61 (1935/36) 250–253, pl. 91.

C. Hand on hip

S11• Angelitos-Athena: small votive-statue from the Akropolis, about 480 (Athens, Akr. 140). — Brouskari, *Catalogue* 129 no. 140, fig. 248; *LIMC II* 972 Athena 144, pl. 720; Linfert, “Athenen” 73.

S12• ‘Mourning Athena’: relief from the Akropolis, about 460 (Athens, Akr. 695). — Mitropoulou, *Corpus* 31 no. 30; Brouskari, *Catalogue* 123 no. 695, fig. 237; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 41; *LIMC II* 1015 Athena 625, pl. 765; Meyer, “Zur sinnenden Athena” 161–168; F. Chamoux, “L’Athéna au «terma»”, *RA* 1972, 263–266; C. Bérard, “Athena mélancolique”, *Recherches et Documents du Centre Thomas More* 41 (1984) 1–18.

S13• ‘Athena mit Stimmstein’: 4 statuettes reflecting type of about 400 (Athens, NM 3279; Athens, NM 10385 (lost); Montbéliard, Musée du Chateau 896.2; Vienna). — Taken from context of Iudicium Orestis? — Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 22–24, pl. 2; *LIMC II* 1102, Athena/Minerva 394, 395 pl. 811.

S14• Athena Vescovali-Arezzo, about 390–370 (several, partly different, copies preserved, e.g. St. Petersburg A 166), and the variant Vescovali, about 350–330 (e.g. Florence, Arch. Mus.). — The latter has a diagonal aegis, the former a bipartite one. — G. E. Rizzo, *Prassitele* (Milan, 1932) pl. 139–143; Waywell, “Athena Mattei” 382 (list of copies); R. Kabus-Jahn, *Studien zu Frauenfiguren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Freiburg, 1962) 88, pl. 16; *LIMC II* 981 Athena 256 = 1086 Athena/Minerva 156, pl. 798 (first half 4th century); Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 205.

S15• Athena Rospigliosi, 380–340 (preserved in several Roman copies, e.g. Berlin, Pergamon Mus. SK 73; Florence, Ufficii 185). — A. Borbein, “Die Athena Rospigliosi”, *MarbWPr* 1970, 29–43; Waywell, “Athena Mattei” 381 (list of copies); *LIMC II* 981 Athena 257, pl. 735 = 1086 Athena/Minerva 155, pl. 798; N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin & New York, 1990) 98–100.

S16 = S28

D. Shield on the ground

S17 Athena Promachos by Phidias, 460–450 (lost except for base on the Akropolis). — *LIMC II* 972 Athena 145; Niemeyer, *Promachos* 76–78; Mathiopoulos, *Typologie* 7–12; Linfert, *Athenen* 66–71.

S18• Athena Parthenos by Phidias, 447–438 (preserved in numerous Roman copies). — N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos. A reconstruction* (Toronto, 1971); Karanastassis, “Untersuchungen” 323–339; W.-H. Schuchhardt, “Athena Parthenos” *AntPl 2* (Berlin, 1963) 31–51; *LIMC II* 977–978 Athena 212–233; Linfert, 72; B. Fehr, “Zur religionspolitischen Funktion der Athena Parthenos im Rahmen des delisch-attischen Seebundes I”, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 71–91.

S19 Record relief, honouring Dionysios I of Syracuse and his relatives; 394/3 (Athens, EM 6899). — Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 36 148–150 no. 22; Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 166–167, 276 no. A38, pl. 11.2; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 51–53 no. T8.

S20 Record relief: treaty between Kerkyra and Athens, 376/5 (Athens, NM 1467). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 280 no. A51, pl. 16.2; Lawton, *Documentary reliefs* 161–164 no. 30; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 53–55 no. T9; *LIMC II* 1013 Athena 609, pl. 763.

S21 Record relief, 370–360 (Athens, Akr. 3006). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 166–167, 281 no. A55, pl. 18.2; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 300–301 no. 114.

- S22** Record relief, second quarter 4th century (Athens, Akr. 2663). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 166–167, 283 no. A61, pl. 19.2; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 352–353 no. 163.
- S23** Record relief: decree relief of the Neapolitans, 356/5 (Athens, NM 1480). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 284–285 no. A68, Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 105–107 no. T32.
- S24** Votive relief (or record relief?), late fifth century (Athens, Akr. 2432). — Walter, *Beschreibung* 33 no. 47; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 233–234 no. K27.
- S25** Votive relief, late fifth century (Athens, Akr. 3010). — Walter, *Beschreibung* 30 no. 41.
- S26** Votive relief, about 390–380 (Athens, Akr. 3367+2542+EM 8024). — Walter, *Beschreibung* 38–39 no. 55.
- S27** Votive relief, early fourth century (Athens, Akr. 2435). — Walter, *Beschreibung* 36 no. 51.
- S28** Record relief, 362/1 (Athens, NM 1481). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 171, 282 no. A58, pl. 17.2; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 169–172 no. 34.
- S29** Record relief: decree about Samos, 403/2 (Athens, Akr. 1333). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 170, 273 no. A26, pl. 10.1; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 138–141 no. 17; *LIMC II* 1013 *Athena* 607, pl. 763.

E. Leaning Athena

- S30** Statue, 430/20 (Athens, Akr. (no inv. no.)). — *LIMC II* 980 *Athena* 249a, 1086 *Athena/Minerva* 152 pl. 797.
- S31**• Statuette, about 420 (Akr. 3027). — *LIMC II* 980 *Athena* 249b, pl. 733; Berger, “Athena” pl. 24.8.
- S32** Record relief: proxeny for Apollophanes of Kolophon, 427/6 (Athens, EM 6615+6539). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 164–165, 265 no. A2, pl. 1.2; Lawton,

- Documentary Reliefs* 102–104 no. 2; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 78–80 no. T16; Karouzou, “Two Statues” ill. 2 (drawing).
- S33** Record relief: treaty with Neapolis, 410/9 (Athens, EM 6598+6589). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 165–165, 269–270 no. A15, pl. 5.2; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 126–128 no. 12; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 44–46, no. T4. Karouzou, “Two Statues” fig. 8.
- S34** Record relief, about 390 (Athens, EM 2787). — Shield set on base. — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 164–165, 277 no. A40, pl. 14.1; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 270–271 no. 91; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 234 no. K30, pl. 41; Karouzou, “Two Statues” fig. 9.
- S35** Record relief, about 380–370 (Athens, Akr. 2429). — Badly preserved. — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 166, 281 no. A54, pl. 18.1; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 386–387 no. 206.
- S36** Votive relief to Asklepius, later fourth century (Athens, NM 1369). — Shield set on base. — J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum 1* (Athens, 1908) pl. 37.5.

F. Seated Athena

- S37•** East frieze of the Parthenon, about 440. — F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz, 1977); I. S. Mark, “The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon”, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 289–342.
- S38•** East frieze of the Hephaisteion, about 430. — R. Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel* (Berlin, 1955); J. Dörig, *La Frieze Est de l’Héphaisteion* (Mainz, 1985); E. B. Harrison, “‘Theseum’ East Frieze: Color Traces and Attachment Cuttings”, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 339–349 (Athens: pl. 96a, 97).
- S39** Nike Temple parapet, about 420–415 (Athens, Akr.). — R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929); Mitropoulou, *Corpus* 80.

- S40** Record relief: decree concerning Methone, 424/3 (Athens, EM 6596). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 162, 265 no. A4, pl. 4.1; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 106–109 no. 4; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 39–41 no. T1, pl. 7.
- S41** Record relief: proxeny decree for Sotimos from Herakleia (almost certainly 424/3 (Lawton); about 400 (Meyer); 410–400 (Kasper-Butz) (Athens, EM 6609). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 162, 274 no. A31, pl. 12.2; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 109–111 no. 5; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 83–85 no. T18.
- S42** Record relief: decree concerning Samos, 412/1 (Athens, EM 6592+6592a). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 267–268 no. A9, pl. 4.2; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 123–124 no. 10; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 43–44 no. T3, pl. 8.
- S43** Record relief: proxeny decree for Polypos from Gortys, 405/4 (Athens, EM 3169+2792+255). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 162, 272 no. A23, pl. 12.1; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 136–138 no. 16; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 85–96 no. T19, pl. 24.
- S44** Record relief, about 400 (Athens, NM 2983). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 162, 275 no. A32, pl. 13.1.
- S45** Record relief(?), about 400–375 (Athens, Akr. 2439+2967). — Walter, *Beschreibung* 21 no. 28.
- S46** Record relief: proxeny decree for five men from Abydos, shortly after 387(?) (Athens, Akr. 1330). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 162, 271 no. A18; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 262–264 no. 86; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 86–89 no. T20, pl. 25.
- S47** Record relief: honorary decree, about 400–375 (Athens, Akr. (no inv. no.)). — Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs* 162, 275 no. A33; Lawton, *Documentary Reliefs* 265–266 no. 88; Kasper-Butz, *Athena* 226 no. K4; G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen, 1979) pl. 37b.
- S48** Votive relief, about 415 (Athens, Akr. 2460+2664). — Mitropoulou, *Corpus* 51 no. 85, fig. 132.

- S49** Votive relief (Athens, Akr. 4734+2605+2447). — Walter, *Beschreibung* 46–48 no. 76; G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen, 1979) pl. 37a.
- S50** Votive relief (Athens, Akr. 4609). — Walter, *Beschreibung* 48 no. 77.
- S51** Statue. Hadrianic copy of Greek original of the late fifth century (Tripolis (Arcadia) 2505, from Loukou Abbey). — G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen, 1979) 61, pl. 36a,b.

Athena in sculpture: aegis

A. No aegis

- A1•** Athena by Myron, from a group with Marsyas(?) (Frankfurt 195). Roman copies of an original from about 450. — Peplos belted over overfold, Chalcidian helmet. — Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 61–62; C. Daltrop & P. C. Bol, *Athena des Myron. Liebieghaus Monographie 8* (Frankfurt, no year).
- A2•** (?) Corinth/Mocenigo goddess: possibly based on an Early Classical statue of Athena (Athens, Akr. 13641: Greek variant, 440–430; Corinth S68, and Rome, Terme 154583: Roman copies). — Chiton and himation with overfold. — O. Palagia, “A classical variant of the Corinth/Mocenigo goddess: Demeter/Kore or Athena?”, *BSA* 84 (1989) 323–331, pl. 45–46; Idem, “A classical variant of the Corinth/Mocenigo goddess from the Athenian Akropolis”, in: *Akten des 12. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie Berlin 1988* (Mainz, 1990) 292.

B. Small collar aegis

- A3•** Torso, about 430–420 (Athens, Agora S1232): Belonging to the East pediment of the Hephaisteion (Apotheosis of Herakles?) (?). — Peplos belted over overfold. — Berger, “Athena”, pl. 26.6; A. Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1973) 16–60;

J. McK. Camp II, *The Athenian Agora*⁴ (Athens, 1990) 203; F. Hiller, *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur griechischen Statue des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1971) pl. 6.14.

- A4** Statuettes about 420–410 (e.g. Athens, Akr. 3209+2805, and Athens, Akr. 1336). — Peplos belted over overfold. — Berger, “Athena” pl. 24.12–13.
- A5•** Athena Velletri. Roman copies of Greek original, about 430–400 (e.g. Paris, Louvre 464). — Cult statue of the Hephaisteion(?), made by Cresilas or by Alkamenes(?). Peplos belted over overfold, himation around right hips and left shoulder, Corinthian helmet. — E. B. Harrison, “Alkamenes Sculpture from the Hephaisteion”, *AJA* 81 (1977) 137–178, 411–426; *LIMC II* 980 Athena 247, pl. 733 = 1085 Athena/Minerva 146, pl. 796; Waywell, “Athena Mattei” 380 (list of copies).
- A6•** Statuette from relief(?), about 420–410 (Basel BS 228). — Peplos belted over overfold, Attic helmet. — Berger, “Athena” 82–88.
- A7•** Athena Ince. Roman copies of original of about 420–390 (Liverpool; Copenhagen 99). — Peplos belted over overfold, Corinthian helmet. — *LIMC II* 1085 Athena/Minerva 145, pl. 796; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 204; F. Hiller, *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur griechischen Statue des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1971) 51–52, pl. 7.16; Waywell, “Athena Mattei” 381 (list of copies).

C. Bipartite aegis

- A8** Athena Parthenos = **S18•**.
- A9•** Athenas Albani and Farnese-Hope. Copies of Greek original(s); Athena Albani (=prototype) about 450–440 (Rome, Villa Albani 1012), Athena Farnese-Hope about 430–400 (e.g. Naples 6024). — Chiton and diagonal himation with overfold, triple-crested Attic helmet or wolf-head cap. Cult statue of the Hephaisteion(?) or Athena Itonia by Agorakritos(?). — Mathiopoulos, *Typologie* 48–52, 68–73, 102–106; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 201,

206; E. Langlotz, *108. BWPr* (1952) 9–10; *LIMC II* 1085 Athena/Minerva 147, 148, pl. 797; O. Palagia, “A classical variant of the Corinth/Mocenigo goddess: Demeter/Kore or Athena?”, *BSA* 84 (1989) 323–331, esp. 330.

D. Big diagonal aegis

A10• Statue. Roman copy of Attic original of about 470–460 (Rome, Mus. Naz. Romano). — Peplos with short overfold and kolpos. — *LIMC II* 1084 Athena/Minerva 139 pl. 794; Fuchs 189 fig. 201.

A11• Athena Lemnia. Roman copies of Greek bronze-statue by Pheidias, about 440 (e.g. Dresden 49). — Peplos belted over overfold (and aegis). — E. B. Harrison, “Lemnia and Lemnos: Sidelights on a Pheidian Athena”, in: *Kanon. Festschrift E. Berger. 15. Beiheft AntK*, ed. M. Schmidt (Basel, 1988) 101–107; K. Hartswick, “The Athena Lemnia reconsidered” *AJA* 87 (1983) 335–346; O. Palagia, Ἐρύθημα ἀντὶ κράνουσ. In defense of Furtwängler’s Lemnia”, *AJA* 91 (1987) 81–84.

A12• Athena Giustiniani. Roman copies of an original of about 400 (e.g. Rome, Vatican 2223). — Chiton with overfold, himation around hips and left shoulder. — *LIMC II* 1086 Athena/Minerva 154 pl. 796; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 203; Waywell, “Athena Mattei” 381 (list of copies).

A13 (?) Athena Rospigliosi = **S15•**.

A14 (?) Athena Vescovali = **S14•**.

E. Diagonal strap-aegis

A15• Torso, Parthenon West pediment L (London, BM). — Peplos. — Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 79.4; F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenongiebel* (Mainz, 1983).

A16• Torso, about 430–410 (Athens, Agora S654). Cult-statue of Athena Areia(?), belonging to the Temple of Ares and Athena in the Agora(?).

Attributed to Lokros of Paros (Pausanias 1.8.4) or Agorakritos. — Peplos belted over overfold. — *LIMC II* Athena 244, pl. 732; Berger, “Athena” pl. 27.7; Delivorrias 96–97; J. McK. Camp II, *The Athenian Agora*⁴ (Athens, 1990) 206.

A17 Statuette, about 420–390 (Athens, Akr. S 1337). — Peplos belted over overfold. — R. Kabus-Jahn, “Die Grimmanische Frauengruppe in Venedig”, *AntPl* 11 (1972) 87–97, esp. 96–97, fig. 6–7.

A18* Athena Cherchel. Roman copy of a Greek original of about 430–400 (Cherchel, Museum). Cult statue of the Hephaisteion(?). — Peplos, unbelted. — *LIMC II* 980 Athena 251, pl. 733; Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 205; Waywell, “Athena Mattei” 377, 381 (list of copies).

A19* Piraeus Athena — Athena Mattei. Greek bronze-statue (with Roman copies), about 340 (Piraeus, Museum). — Unbelted peplos, Corinthian helmet decorated with owls. — Waywell, “Athena Mattei”; *LIMC II* 980–981 Athena 254, pl. 734.

F. Crossed strap-aegis

A20* Athena from Pergamum. Roman copy of a Greek original of about 450–430 (Berlin). — Peplos belted over overfold. — Boardman, *GSCP* fig. 199; *LIMC II* 981 Athena 267, pl. 735.

Illustrations

The numbered illustrations 1–22 are based on vase-paintings, and only aim to represent the basic features of the original; as the original source in most cases has been photographic, some degree of distortion is inevitable. The remaining illustrations correspond to sculptures in the sculpture list and are labelled by their catalogue numbers. It is only intended that these show the essential features of the sculptures, in order to facilitate comparisons with the vase-paintings.

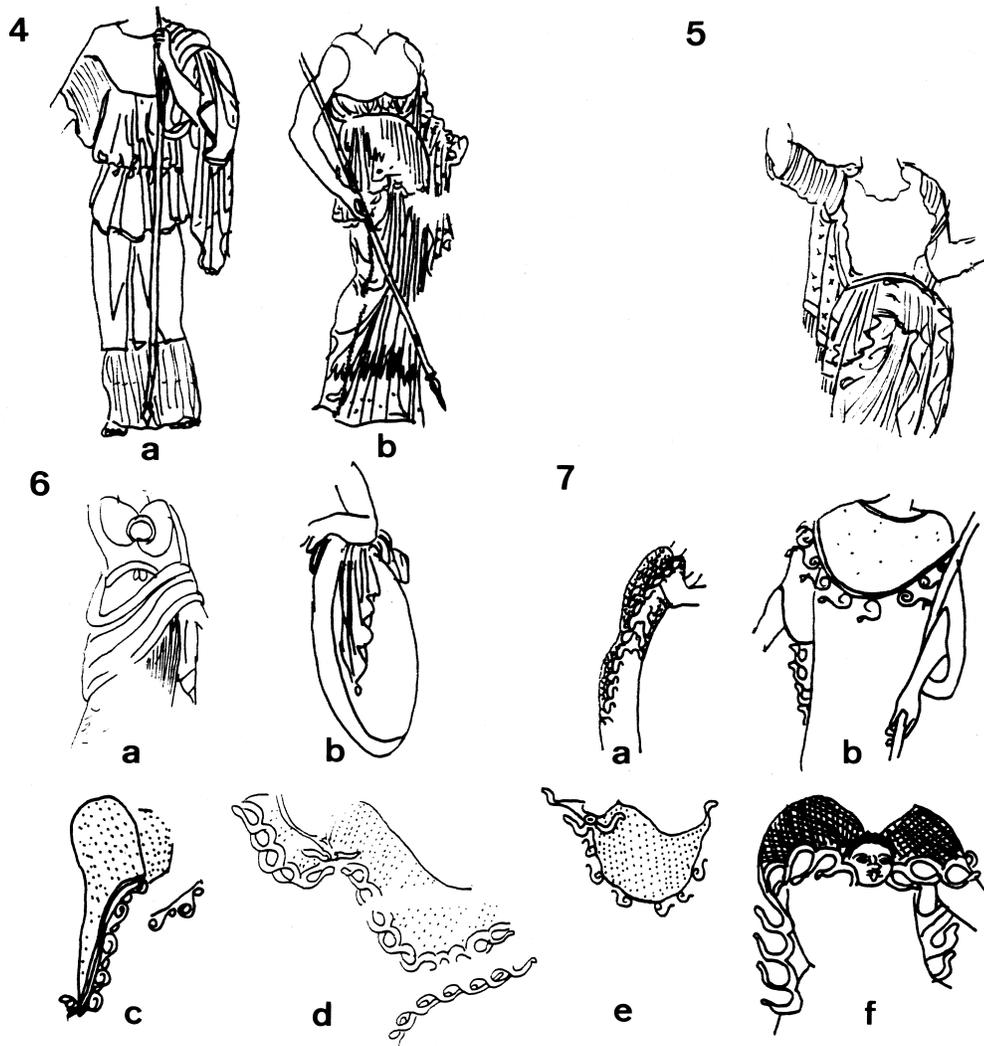
All drawings are by the author.



III. 1: (a) 92; (b) 59; (c) 168 (A).

III. 2: (a) 1*; (b) 3; (c) 102; (d) rf pyxis, Aison, late 5th century (Boston 04.18; ARV 1117.48; *Para* 460; *Add2* 340; F. Brommer, *Odysseus* (Darmstadt, 1983) pl. 41; (e) 107; (f) 158.

III. 3: (a) 99; (b) 81; (c) 100.

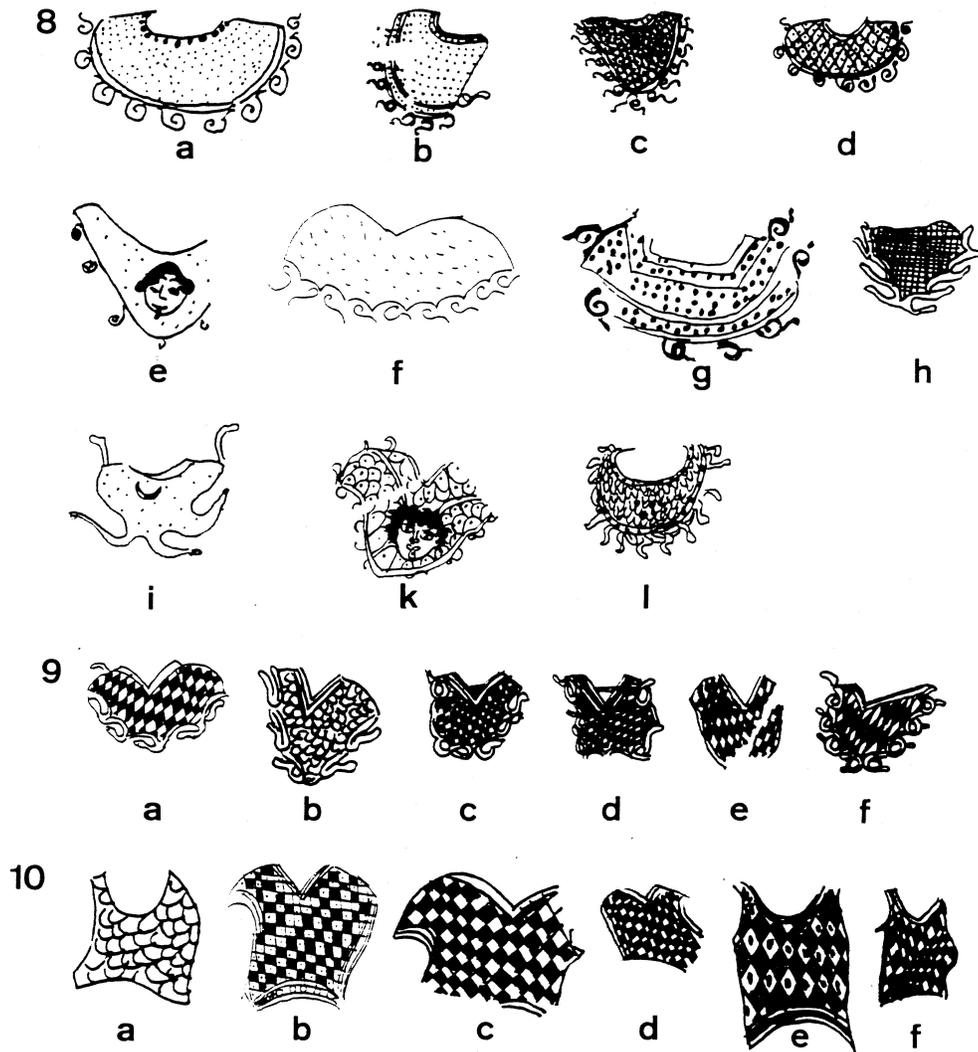


III. 4: (a) rf pelike, Trophy Painter, about 440 (Berlin F 2180; *ARV* 859.4; G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965) 31 fig. 13; (b) rf cup, Aison, late 5th century (Madrid L196 (11265); *ARF* 1174.1, 1685; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 292.1–4).

III. 5: 39.

III. 6: (a) 120; (b) 145.

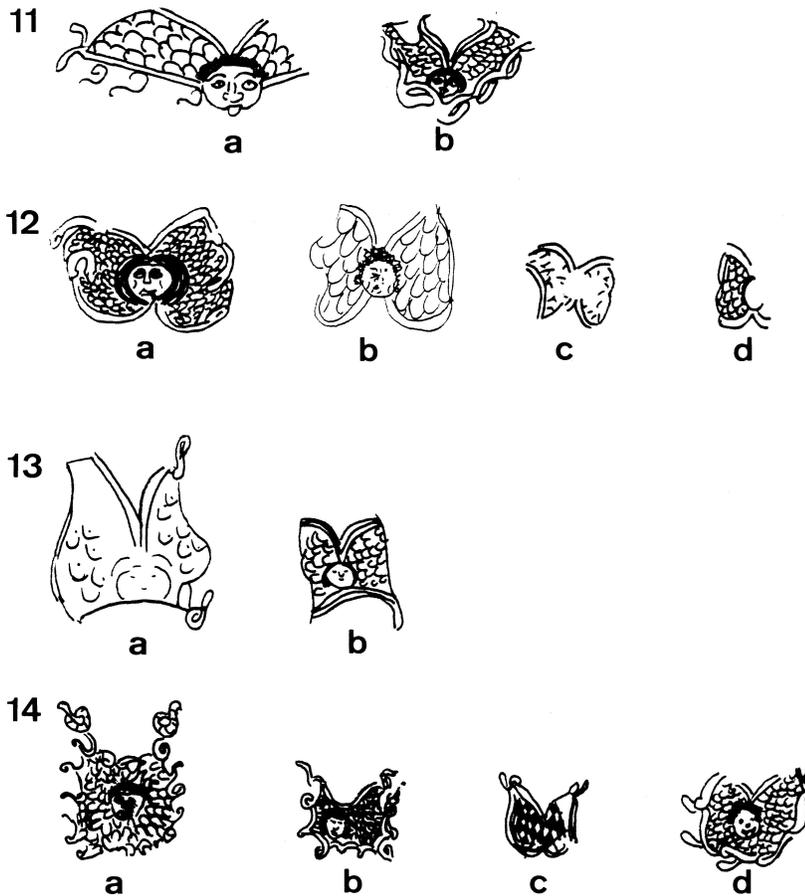
III. 7: (a) rf amphora, Andokides Painter, about 530 (Munich 2301; *ARV* 4.9; Boardman, *ABFH* fig. 161); (b) rf stamnos, Providence Painter, about 480–460 (Paris, Louvre G 370; *ARV* 639.54; E. Papoutsakis-Sermbetis, *Ο ζωγράφος της Providence* (Athens, 1983) pl. 15); (c) 127; (d) 10; (e) rf fr., about 430 (Athens, Akr. NAK 605; Brouskari, *Catalogue* 110 no. NAK 605); (f) 8.



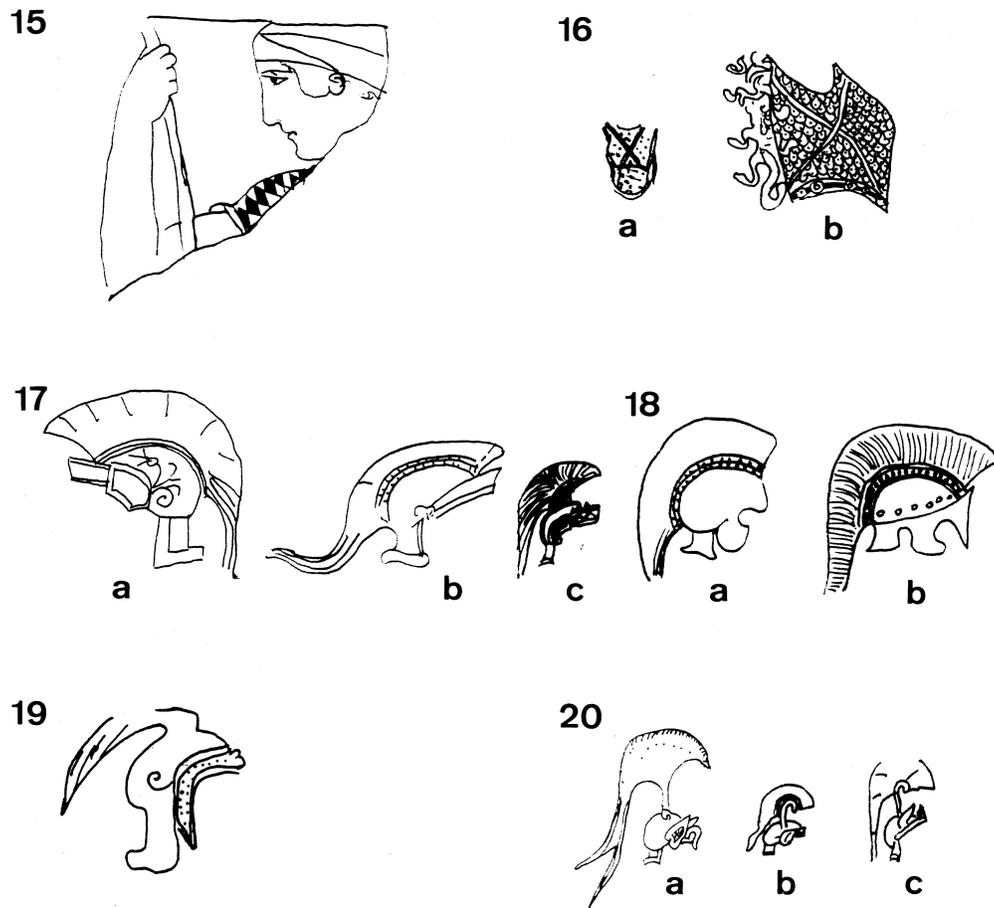
III. 8: (a) 19*; (b) 52; (c) 83*; (d) 130; (e) 93; (f) 85; (g) 87; (h) rf pelike, about 450 (Nat. Mus. of Ireland 1929.89; *OxfJArch* 333 fig. 7); (i) 89; (k) rf bellkrater fr., about 425–420 (Athens, Kerameikos, 3737; *LIMC V* 150 Herakles 3188, pl. 143); (l) rf lekanis fr., Mikion Painter, late 5th century (Athens, Akr. 594; *ARV* 1341.1; Boardman, *ARFH-2* fig. 331).

III. 9: (a) 95; (b) 116* (=138); (c) 42*; (d) 43* (=70); (e) 175 (=160); (f) rf calyx-krater, near Talos Painter, about 400 (Palermo 2365; *ARV* 1339.3 (bottom); *Add2* 367; *LIMC IV* 173 Ge 18, pl. 98).

III. 10: (a) 37; (b) 170*; (c) 169; (d) 166; (e) 97 (=75); (f) 110.



- III. 11:** (a) rf calyx/bell(?) -krater fr., about 440 (Athens, Agora P 134; *ARV* 1092.74; L. Talcott, B. Philippaki, R. Edwards & U. P. Grace, *Small Objects from the Pnyx II (Hesperia Suppl. X)* (Princeton, 1956) 46 no. 192, pl. 17.192a); (b) rf fr., about 420–400 (London, BM E 252; *JHS* 9 (1988) pl. 2).
- III. 12:** (a) **120**; (b) rf bell-krater, Painter of the New York Centauromachy, about 380 (Madrid or Murcia 2594; *LIMC* V 149 Herakles 3164, pl. 141); (c) **145**; (d) rf calyx-krater fr., Meleager Painter, about 420 (Bonn 450; *ARV* 1411.29; *CVA* Bonn (1) pl. 20.3).
- III. 13:** (a) **121***; (b) **46**.
- III. 14:** (a) **39**; (b) rf squat lekythos, Meidias Painter, late 5th century (Cleveland 82.142; Burn, *Meidias Painter* 99 no. M 20, pl. 11); (c) rf column-krater, Suessula Painter, about 400 (London, BM E 490; *ARV* 1345.7; T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in ancient Greece* (London, 1991) fig. 137); (d) = (**141**).



III. 15: rf volute-krater fr., Achilles Painter, about 440 (Palermo; *ARV* 992.64).

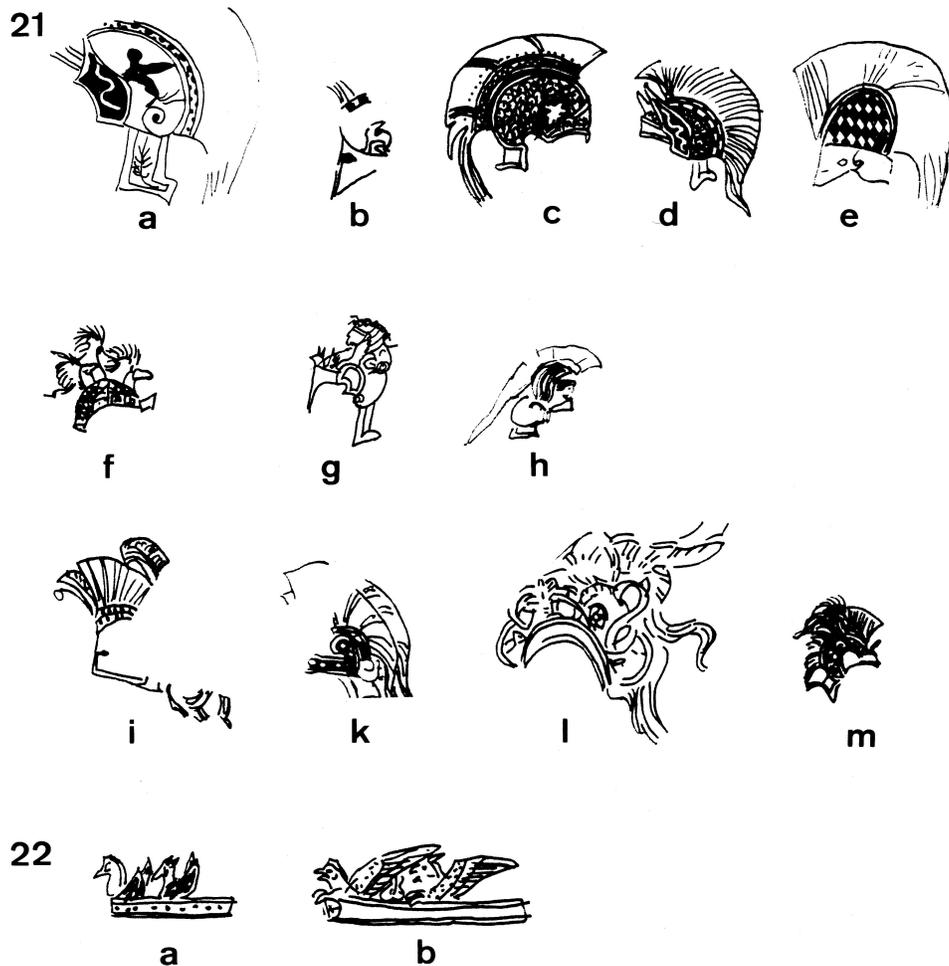
III. 16: (a) rf lekane, manner of Meidias Painter, about 410–400 (Athens, NM 14507; *ARV* (1327) 1690; Vollkommer, *Herakles* 17 no. 121); (b) rf calyx-krater fr., near Pronomos Painter, about 400 (Würzburg H 4706/4728/4695; *CVA* Würzburg (2) pl. 39.3-5).

III. 17: (a) rf hydria, Niobid Painter, about 460 (Basle 1906.296; *ARV* 606.67; Schefold, *GS* 321, fig. 463); (b) 10; (c) 43*.

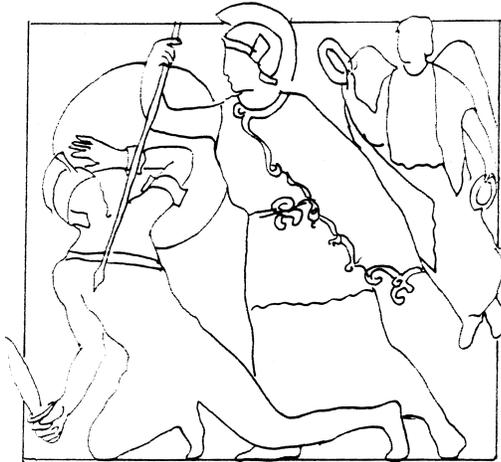
III. 18: (a) 81; (b) 102.

III. 19: 94.

III. 20: (a) 61; (b) 19*; (c) 29.



- III. 21:** (a) rf volute-krater fr., Niobid Painter, about 460 (Reggio di Calabria 12864; *ARV* 589.3bis; Prange, *Niobidenmaler* pl. 12); (b) **16**; (c) see ill. 4b; (d) see ill. 9f; (e) **175** (=160); (f) **39**; (g) rf bell-krater fr., Painter of London 494, about 430 (London, BM E 494; *ARV* 1079.3; *JHS* 70 (1950) 36 fig. 1); (h) **106**; (i) **158**; (k) **13**; (l) **120**; (m) **137** (=72).
- III. 22:** (a) rf calyx-krater fr., Altamura Painter, about 470 (Paris, Louvre G 342; *ARV* 590.12; *LIMC I* 179 Achilles 839, pl. 139); (b) rf calyx-krater fr., Achilles Painter, about 450 (Malibu 77.AE.44.1; *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2* (Malibu, 1985) 213 fig. 35 a-c).



S1

Reconstruction by Praschniker



S3



S4



S11



S12



S13



S14



S14



S15



S18



S31



S37



S38

Reconstruction by Dörig



A1



A2



A3



A5



A6



A7



A9



A9



A10



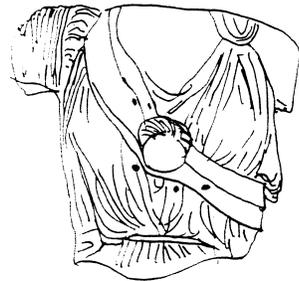
A11



A12



A15



A16



A18



A19



A20

Plates

The following plates are labelled by catalogue number; full details can be found in the the vase catalogue.

Copyright note: Plates 1, 22, 28, 116, 121, 147, 165 The British Museum; plate 42 after RM 2 (1887) pl. 11; plate 43 after E. Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder des Kniglichen Museums zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1845) pl. D.1; plate 63 after E. Gehrhard, *Antike Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1928) pl. 33; plate 98 after Cook, *Zeus*, 770 fig. 567; plate 124 after T. Panofka, *Antiques du Cabinet du Comte de Pourtals- Gorgier* (Paris, 1834) pl. 6.2; plate 135 W. Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases now in the possession of Sir Wm. Hamilton* (Naples, 1791-5), vol. 4, pl. 11; plate 144 after Schefold, *GS* 45 fig. 47; plate 167 after A. Greifenhagen, *Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekannte griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976) fig. 36; plate 170 after Sotheby's Sales Catalogue 13-14th July 1987, lot 441.



1



19



22



28



42



43



53



62



83



98



116



121



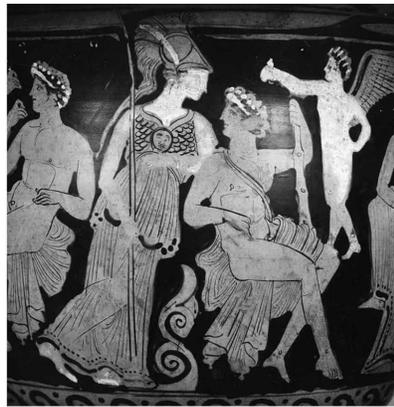
124



135



144



147



152



165



167



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