"The role of Athena in fifth century Athenian drama"

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, May 1995

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ABSTRACT

The goddess Athena is currently perceived through a series of contradictions. She is both warrior and reconciler, killer and patron of the artisan, a goddess who denies her own womanhood and ignores the existence of women. Using Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the extant complete plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, this thesis reconciles each of these contradictions both within themselves and with each other. It finds that Athena had a prominent role as goddess of the polis: as a warrior she protected the polis from the external threat of war, and as a reconciler she protected it from the internal threat of civil strife. As polis goddess, Athena encourages peace and prosperity in her city; this requires that she inspire the artisan with *techne*, and the politician with wisdom. As polis goddess, Athena was also concerned for the perpetuation of her city and as such protected the children who were to be the future citizens, and the mothers who bore and nurtured them. This thesis argues that, as patron of *techne*, Athena becomes the patron of all women's work (which was all craft work). From this association the evidence of civic religion and the drama is used to argue for a relationship between Athena and Athenian women which was independent from Athenian men, independent from their relationship with Athena, and just as special.

A unified interpretation of Athena as the polis goddess affords us a fuller and more realistic image of her as the goddess of Athens and patron of all its people than does one based on the "Imperial Athena" of the fifth century who represtents only one side of Athena's nature.

Preface

The corpus of plays for this thesis is the extant complete dramas of the Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. When I refer to 'fifth century' drama, I will be referring to this corpus of plays. Where I quote lines from a play or from Homer, I have used whichever translation provides the best sense of the Greek as it relates to the issue concerned. The translations used are listed in the bibliography, and I do not attribute translations.

I have used where possible, the most familiar spelling of Greek words, whether Latinised (Clytemnestra) or transliterated (Achaians). Where neither form is particularly familiar, I have transliterated. I have transliterated religious terms. There are some names which I have used and spelt specifically: Ajax I use to refer both to Sophocles' play and to its subject; whereas Aias is the 'lesser' one, and the one who seizes Cassandra from Athena's temple. With the Athenian autochthony myth, I use the names and genealogy of Euripides' *Ion* (Erechtheus as the autochthonous child, and Erichthonius as Kreousa's father), since I discuss the autochthony myth most within the context of that play. In the Introduction, however, I follow Brulé when discussing his opinion. Finally Athena: I have chosen to use the Attic form throughout, rather than change between the Attic and Homeric forms as the discussion moves between Homer and the fifth century. Throughout however, when quoting, I follow the quoted author's usage.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost my thanks go to Alan Sommerstein. The sheer breadth and depth of his knowledge left me speechless, often. He knew when and how to inspire me, and equally when to leave me to my own devices. Quite simply I could not have had a better supervisor, and I hope this thesis does justice to his contribution. Also to Akbar Khan who supervised my studies when Alan Sommerstein was on study leave. Adrienne Edwards, secretary of the Classics Department, was always there, and always ready with ideas, coffee and humour - many thanks. The staff of the Classics Department variously helped and humoured me along. Thanks must go to Sue Hammersley, Andrew David, Janet Ashworth and John Hammersley who diligently read through this thesis and gave me both encouragement and suggestions. Angela White and Helen Henry gave me huge amounts of support, encouragement and affection, way beyond the call of their professions. My thanks also go to the staff of the Hallward Library, and particularly the porters who will now have significantly fewer books to reshelve. The staff at the Medical Research Council's Institute of Hearing Research, where I worked whilst doing this thesis, are now a group of scientists who know more about Athena than most Classics undergraduates; my thanks go to them for listening, and for at least pretending to follow! Thanks to my family and to countless friends who kept me (largely) human, and who laughed at my theories and my distraction. I will now be able to repay them with my attention and my company. Finally, my thanks go to Chris Barkway, who gave so much, and reminded me about the wood when I was up in the trees. My overriding memory of this time and these studies is the humour and unending support of these and many other people; this thesis would not have been the same without these people and is undoubtedly better for their contributions. However, I was the only one who could do the work, and ultimately it was up to me, with a pile of books facing me and an empty page staring belligerently at me. This thesis is a testimony to the power of the human spirit and its will to survive.

Chapter 1 Introduction

The initial definition of Athena in the Collins Dictionary of Classical Mythology[1] runs: "**Athena** or **Athene**. The virgin goddess of arts, crafts and war, and the patroness of Athens". This summary accurately reflects the current image of Athena, an image which this thesis will not reject but will expand into a redefinition. Athena was the daughter of Zeus and of Metis (Wisdom)[2]. After Zeus had swallowed Metis, Athena was born out of his head, an adult and a fully armed warrior. She was a warrior goddess[3] whose thinking violence contrasted with the unthinking violence of Ares, god of war. Among the gods, Athena was Zeus' favourite child; she alone knew where the thunderbolt was kept; she alone had Zeus' aegis. Zeus had shown his favouritism by granting her wish that she remain unmarried and virgin; "motherhood she steadfastly refuse[d]"[4] and she was dependent on no one but her father. Athena was goddess of cities, worshipped as such in Athens, Thebes, Sparta, and Troy; through this, Homer gives her the epithet Ἀλαλκομενηΐς Ἀθήνη, 'Athena who stands by her people' (*Iliad* IV 8, V 908)[5]. She was patron of Athens, having won the patronage in a contest for it against Poseidon by giving Athens the cultivated olive tree[6]. One of the ways in which she was able to help her city was through her intimacy with her father, 'the gods keep safe the goddess Athena's city' (Aes. *Persae* 347). As goddess of Athens, Athena was considered by her people to be involved in the political and military life of the city. As a natural corollary to this, she was linked with Nike, Victory, whether by association with the separate goddess Nike, or as representing victory herself, with the epithet Nike[7]. With Hephaestus and Prometheus, she gave *techne*, skill and craft, to humans and was Athena Ergane, patron goddess of the artisan. As such she watched over and inspired the carpenter and the weaver. She was also goddess of wisdom, and particularly practical wisdom:

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1 Tripp 1988, p. 115. For a summary of Athena, see Burkert 1985, p. 139-43; for a more progressive interpretation, see Loraux 1993; and for the mythological background, see Parker 1988, p. 190-96.

2 Hesiod *Theog.*, 894-96, 924-26.

3 I refer to Athena throughout this thesis interchangeably as god and as goddess. For an interesting discussion on the gender issues and meanings of these words, see Loraux 1992.

4 Jane Harrison 1903, p. 301.

5 On this epithet of Athena, see Bernal 1991, pp. 81-87 and 104-105.

6 On her patronage of Athens, see Garland 1992, p. 28-31. On the possible Egyptian background to her struggle with Poseidon, see Bernal 1991, pp. 88-90. There is also a myth (in Augustine's *City of God*, XVIII, 9) in which the struggle of Athena and Poseidon and the name of the city is put into gender terms: Cecrops the king of Athens is told to let the people of Athens vote to decide the issue. The men vote for Poseidon, and the women for Athena. Athena wins because there are more women than men. Poseidon avenges the vote by flooding Attica, and the men avenge it by denying women any future role in Athenian politics.

7 On the temple of Athena Nike, see Meiggs 1972, pp. 135, 498-503; and on Athena Nike in drama, see for example, Jebb 1890, p. 30-31, note on 134.

for example[8] where Poseidon was god of the horse, Athena taught men to tame horses and build chariots; where Poseidon was god of the sea, Athena taught men to build ships and to sail; where Hermes was god of the flock, Athena taught women to use wool and to weave; and where Demeter was god of the crop, Athena taught cultivation and cookery. Through this wisdom, she inspired the politician and the general, as well as the potter and weaver. As goddess of wisdom and goddess of the artisan, she oversaw and ensured the prosperity of the city; prosperity which could flourish best in peace. As such Athena can be seen as essentially a peaceful goddess who reconciled warring factions within the city, and who, as a warrior goddess, used war (and victory) in order to achieve peace for her city. Thus Athena was involved in all of the public aspects of city life, whether in war or peace, in military or civilian life, political or artisan life. As goddess of the city, she encouraged the prosperity of the city, kept its people safe, and sought the best for her people.

Jane Harrison[9] claims that "To tell the story of the making of Athene is to trace the history of the city of Athens. ... Politics and literature turned the local Kore of Athens[10] into a non-human, unreal abstraction". So as Athens grew and prospered, Athena was made into an ever more central and important figure in the city, and this was reflected in "the insistent way in which Attic tragedy likes to emphasize the blurring of the borders between the goddess and the city"[11]. For example, in the sixth century, the Peisistratids glorified Athena in her annual 'birthday' festival, the Panathenaia. They determined that each fourth year the festival should be celebrated in a more elaborate style, the Great Panathenaia[12]. In the fifth century, after the Persians had burnt down the buildings on the Acropolis, Pericles instituted a programme of rebuilding; the goddess had given Athens its victory, and the rebuilding would be the people's thank-offering, and it would glorify her. Amongst this programme was Pheidias' colossal and magnificent gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos. As Herington[13] remarks "To the Pericleans ... Athena *is* Athens; the best that Athens stands for". This trend continued during the fifty years between the end of the Persian Wars and the start of the Peloponnesian War, "the Athenian state increasingly came to see itself as dependent upon the exclusive patronage of Athena, who now began to symbolise ... the Athenian imperialist will to dominate over the

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8 see Burkert 1985, p. 141.

9 1903, pp. 303, 304.

10 Harrison 1903, pp. 301-02, argues that Athena (Ἀθηναία) is adjectival, she is the goddess of Athens.

11 Loraux 1993, p. 137.

12 For a recent exhibition catalogue of Athena and the Panathenaia, see Neils 1992a, and see Ridgway 1992, for a discussion of the images of Athena on the Acropolis.

13 1955, pp. 56-57, his italics.

Aegean. ... Athena also came to be perceived as the tutelary deity of her empire"[14]. Despite this glorification of Athena, and the fifth century idea that she stood for the strengths and glories of Athens, we see apparent contradictions within her 'character', or rather within the portrayal of her.

One of these contradictions is that of the warrior deity as against the reconciliatory deity. These two Athenas recall those portrayed in Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* respectively. Aspects of each of them are also found in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the first and last of the extant plays of the fifth century in which Athena played a key role. Another contradiction and a main feature of Athena's portrayal, is her sexuality or her androgyny. It manifests itself most clearly in the image of Athena as the female patron of Athens who has a special and intimate relationship with Athenian men, who is concerned with their affairs, politics and war, but who appears to disregard the existence of Athenian women. Just[15] describes Athena in a way which well reflects general academic perception of her: "Her existence as Athens' patron goddess has nothing to do with women's position within the social structure of classical Athens or with its notions about the nature of women. Her identity with Athens is as old as Athens itself. It was an historical fact for the Athenians as much as it is for us, and an immutable one. But inasmuch as this goddess came to stand for a variety of qualities which were considered non-feminine ... we should also note what came to be her most salient characteristic: her total asexuality. ... Athena's [virginity] is not a-marital, but androgynous. Blessed with a goddess as a patron deity, Athens turns her into a transvestite, sexless, cerebral creature who springs fully formed from the head of Zeus". This contradiction seems to originate in Athena's birth from Zeus' head rather than from her mother, her lack of mother in the normal sense, and her alignment with Zeus. She was her father's daughter, and his favourite. The contradiction is seen to be confirmed by her wish, granted by Zeus, that she remain an unmarried virgin; she becomes a masculinised goddess. As Just[16] remarks "Athena is no longer a woman [sic]; she is the progeny of the mind of Zeus". This male-female contradiction has been explored in terms of re-feminising Athena[17], in terms of cutting through the layers of myth and cultural domination to find Athena the Earth or Mother goddess[18], and in terms of Athena's role in the general development of religions as a whole[19].

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14 Garland 1992, p.106, on this see pp. 99-111.

15 1989, p. 278.

16 1989, p. 278.

17 For example, Zeitlin 1978, specifically of Athena in the *Eumenides*; Kerényi 1978; and Keller 1982.

18 For example, Luyster 1965; and Baring and Cashford, 1991, particularly pp. 332-40.

19 For example, Bernal 1987 and 1991.

This thesis will follow neither of these paths, but will look at how this contradiction affects our perception of fifth century Athens and the Athenians. The resolution of the contradiction will allow us an enhanced interpretation of the goddess and of the society. While I will not dispute Just's interpretation, I will use a different perspective and will look for other evidence, that of a relationship between Athena and women equal to that between Athena and men which will allow our interpretation of her to be both fuller and more realistic, and our image of her to be more plausible. Just's description of Athena and therefore also of Athens seems to me to be limited: how could the patron deity (whether male or female) disregard half of the people of her city?

These contradictions continue in other attributes of Athena: the warrior who also watches over the craft of the artisan, and the warrior who also protects her people (particularly the Athenians) with an apparently maternal loving. Nor has academic debate resolved these contradictions. It has subjected Athena to various analyses but has not resolved her contradictions. As Luyster[20] remarks: "It has long been seen that a tension exists between the royal, civic, and martial aspects of Athena, on the one hand, and her more pacific, natural, and agricultural connotations on the other. Because no evident connection could be sensed between these two halves of her being, it has become customary to select one as primary and then to explain the other as a later and artificial development", and he then gives a list of those scholars taking either side. I will return to Luyster, but will first look at more recent works. The lack of debate on this subject is vast, and the treatment of Athena is uniform if also various. For that reason, I will discuss here, with the exception of Loraux, a fairly random selection of recent academic work with which to highlight the limitations of the current perceptions of Athena. Kerényi[21] remarks that "the image of Athene contains a polarity and an inner tension"; his study focuses on Athena as "mother and virgin", and he uses Jungian psychoanalysis in order to resolve those aspects of her. Zeitlin[22] makes Athena female in her role in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, particularly in comparison with Clytemnestra, and in league with the Eumenides; she says that "Athena is the truly positive female figure ... Free from any but symbolic maternal associations, she thus foreswears any matriarchal projects. In this sense, the *Oresteia* also judges and justifies Athena". Nevertheless she still accepts Athena's female contradictions: "the oxymoron of virginal maternity promises fertility without its dangerous corollary of sexuality". But it also offers so much more which Zeitlin

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20 1965, pp. 133-34.
21 1978, p. 7.
22 1978, quotations from pp. 173 and 172.

missed. Segal[23] accepts Athena's contradictions, and interprets them from within the sexuality of hierarchy of male and female: "At the opposite pole [from female reproductive sexuality] is the child sprung from Zeus alone, a virginal female, Athena, removed from sex and birth. Her loyalty is totally to her father and to the masculine arts of war and technology". In the same year, Loraux's *Children of Athena* was first published. This book shows by far the most progressive attitude towards what we might call the potential of the resolved Athena. Loraux perceives Athena as the civic goddess, the goddess of Athens, and from that premise she discusses her "ideas about citizenship and the division between the sexes". Loraux gives women an important role in Athenian society, and a place in Athens as "citizens" (whether or not that word is linguistically applicable). Through this perception of women's roles in Athenian society, she gives women a relationship to Athena as citizen to patron deity. It is not relevant to the issues of her book to look at or for an independent relationship between women and Athena, and so she does not. Loraux is concerned with the female civic role (the female right to "citizenship"), and therefore with the civic Athena. She considers the other aspects of Athena only as they relate, or do not relate, to her central themes; and she tends either to ignore the contradictions, or just to acknowledge their existence: "Athena is the Parthenos who remains a *parthenos* ... among the gods, her role represents security itself for the *andres*. ... She represents the security of the male for all time. ... Yet the feminine ... haunts the Athenian civic imagination, which never succeeds in separating the goddess from the women of Athens."[24]. Although Burkert's *Greek Religion*[25] provides a thorough summary of her, he resolves Athena anachronistically: "Such primitive ferocity [as displayed by the aegis] is balanced by her concern for peaceful handicrafts" and "What unites these [Athena's] divergent spheres of competence is ... the force of civilization". Goldhill[26], like Zeitlin, discusses Athena's role in the *Oresteia*, and accepts the contradiction in his interpretation of her *in that trilogy* as both (or neither) male and female: "[Athene] ... stands between and against the opposition [of the sexes]". Brulé[27] on the other hand, discusses Athena as female and as woman-related. He argues[28] that she represents all aspects of the human female: *kore*, *pais*, *parthenos*, and mother, the attractive female who inspires Hephaestus' pursual, and the mother who organises the care and nurture of Erichthonius. She is a young girl, an adult woman and an old woman. He also argues that the various and diverse female rituals associated with Athena reflected and are reflected by her own diversity: "Athéna est multiforme". But

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23 1981, p. 26.
24 1993, p. 11.
25 Originally published in 1983, pp. 139-41. Quotations from pp. 140 and 141.
26 1986, quotation from p. 259.
27 1987, pp. 13-139.
28 1987, p. 123.

he remarks[29] that on the Panathenaic amphorae Athena is portrayed in her masculinised aspect, "hommasse", and he fails to discuss this particular diversity, he merely reminds the reader that the contradiction still exists. Baring and Cashford[30] provide a useful discussion on the background to Athena, the role of the Athena-like Minoan and Mycenaean goddess, and as a fertility goddess. But this is within the context of looking at the images and development of the myth of The Goddess, and they leave their investigation of Athena with her absorption into the "Olympiad".

The current position of academic debate on the contradictions of Athena is reflected in two essays in Schmitt Pantel's *Women in History* volume. Georgoudi[31] discusses the myth (quoted above, footnote 6) of the struggle of Poseidon and Athena for Athens being settled by the votes, and how this myth relates to the idea of a patriarchal phase succeeding a matriarchal phase. However, she argues, one "problem [with this] has to do with the dual nature of Athena, who is a female deity, ... but also a motherless daughter descended solely from her father, Zeus". By calling Athena's nature "dual", she accepts the contradiction rather than questioning it. In the same volume, Loraux[32] says "Just because mortal women cannot settle on virginity as a permanent state, it does not follow that the goddesses' choice of virginity constitutes some sort of degree zero of femininity. Athena herself provides proof [in the tale of Hephaestus' pursual of Athena and Erechtheus' birth, and] Athena, still a virgin, raises the miraculous offspring", in this comment, she perceives Athena without the contradiction of the goddess who denies motherhood. Finally, in contrast to Loraux, Wilkins[33] in his recent commentary on Euripides' *Heraclidae*, without hesitation, dismisses the idea of Athena as mother when the chorus address her as 'mother, mistress and guardian of the city'. He understands this reference only in terms of the physical act of bearing and giving birth, "For μήτηρ as an address to a goddess who is not literally a mother cf ..."; he refuses even the idea of Athena as mother of the city.

I will now return to Luyster who, twenty years ago, came closer to a resolution of Athena than anyone has since, although he was looking at Athena as a cult goddess and as an ancient earth goddess rather than as the civic and societal goddess of fifth century Athens. He discusses the seated peaceful Athena and the standing warlike Athena, and concludes[34] that the former "connotes death quite as much as life and

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29 1987, p. 139.
30 1991, particularly pp.332-40.
31 1992, p. 461.
32 1992, p. 24.
33 1993, p. 150, on 771-72.
34 1965, pp. 162-63.

fertility [while] Athena as the striding war-maiden employs her destructiveness in an ultimately maternal way". He continues that "Each half of the dichotomy is not only dependent upon the other but inextricably implicated in it"; that the combination is a natural one, and not one which had to be "artificially fused for what are usually described as political reasons. For ... it is ... [not] rare ... that a maternal goddess who issued life and fertility to her followers, should be at the same time a destructive and deathly goddess ... just as life and death are insolubly joined, so the goddess who dispenses them is one and single".

So, the contradictions of Athena stand - occasionally resolved anachronistically or within specific aspects, but generally either ignored or accepted. The whole spectrum of all Athena is seen as irreconcilable, the contradictions are an accepted paradox. However, this thesis will examine the contradictions of Athena: the warrior who reconciles, the killer who has the patience of a carpenter, the motherless warrior who protects the soldier and the child as a mother, in an attempt to facilitate a fuller and more plausible image of this goddess who is fundamental to fifth century Athens and, I think, to our perception of that society.

I will use Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the group of fifth century plays to attempt to resolve the two main contradictions in Athena. I will argue that the warrior could be the reconciler, and that the goddess who is made to claim (Aes. *Eum.* 737) to 'approve the male principle in all things' could and *did* have an active and special relationship with the women of her city. The extent of academic debate on Homer and the fifth century plays is so large and overwhelming that I am often selective in my citations, or centre my discussions on a few specific works (as above). However there are also very few discussions which relate directly to my main argument, although the idea of this image of Athena is so central to the fifth century plays that each direct reference to her in the drama is incorporated.

With her epithet of Athena Polias, Athena is the goddess of the polis. The reason for this association seems to stem from a link with the Minoan and particularly the Mycenaean religions[35]. When a group of people (generally an army) absorbed another group, they would take over the local cultures, land and societies, and also the existing deities and cults. To make one's domination and superiority as effective and secure as possible, one absorbs local deities and cults into one's own religion. Through this process, the two similar cults of the Mycenaean palace goddess who protected the king and his family, and the Minoan snake goddess who was

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[35] See Nilsson 1950, pp. 485-501; Burkert 1985, pp. 139-140; Baring and Cashford 1991, pp. 302 and 332-40.

worshipped at domestic shrines as guardian of the house, were incorporated into the image of the Olympian Athena. The Mycenaean goddess, in protecting the lives of the king and his family, also protected his city and land[36] (as we find Athena doing for Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, discussed in Chapter 2). In times of peace, this goddess was perceived as protecting the king and his family by ensuring the prosperity of the city, and this was achieved by providing artisan and agricultural knowledge and skills. The deity who protects the king in peace, protects him likewise in times of war, or against martial attack. "The Mycenaean kings of the mainland were warlike princes ... and they required the protections of their house-goddess ... in what they were most engaged in ... war. Consequently their house-goddess became a warlike goddess"[37]. In time this goddess' sphere of protection widened to incorporate the king's people (who actually fought his wars) as well as his immediate family; in other words, she became the goddess of the community.

The Minoan snake-goddess, the guardian of the house, protected the domestic sphere of all her people, whether king or not; whether in war or peace. The main function of the house is to provide a safe place for nourishment and rest; a base from which to go forth. This is also the space in which life is nurtured and where children grow safely towards adulthood and learn the skills and values of their community. Thus, this is the place where the future is secured for the family, polis or community. Obviously times of peace and prosperity are most conducive to a calm life and a secure future, and so these were the times when the domestic goddess flourished. However, in many ways it is more crucial to the survival of the community that during times of threat (whether war, drought, or pestilence) the offspring who will become the adults of the future and the parents of the future generations are born and nurtured, so the protecting role of the goddess is more crucially important to the future of the community during such times. The Minoan goddess often appears with a snake and with a bird and her absorption into Athena is a possible explanation of Athena's association of those creatures. Harrison[38] outlines Athena's ancient associations with the snake, the sea-diver, and the owl, and concludes that "by the time she appears in art, ... [she] has reduced the shapes she once wore of snakes and bird to attributes". There is also a practical reason for this association: the Little owl, *Athene noctua*[39], prefers the dry, rocky and quiet habitat of the sites which tended to

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36 Nilsson 1950, p. 500-501.
37 Nilsson 1950, p. 499.
38 1903, pp. 304-08.
39 See Thompson 1895, pp. 45-46 and Pollard 1977, pp. 39 and 143 on this owl.

be chosen for an acropolis, so it tended to inhabit the temples of Athena there, and became associated with her[40].

When one civilisation invaded another, its native religion and politics became dominant and absorbed those of the local communities. "When the power of the king weakened ... the cults attached to him and his palace ... belonged to a certain extent to the state. ... The shrine in the palace of the Mycenaean king is the precursor of the public temple of the Greek city-state"[41]. And so the goddess who protected the life of the king began to protect the lives of the people of the city, and became the goddess of the city-state and its people. The goddess who protected the royal palace, in other words the goddess *of* the royal palace, became the goddess of the city and the goddess of the city's focal point, whether that was the palace or the acropolis. This is particularly true of Athens where the palace became the Acropolis and was called πόλις (as for example in *Lysistrata*, 302, 487); the palace became the city. This same goddess became the protecting deity of poleis, of polis-like communities, and perhaps ultimately of all communities. In the Mycenaean and Minoan cults we can see the two contradictory strands of the fifth century Athena. The Mycenaean goddess, who represents the public-face of the community, who protects the community within the wider world, and who protects the city and its people locally from external threat, becomes the warrior and the political aspects of the fifth century Athena. More precisely, in absorbing the Mycenaean goddess, Athena absorbed these roles. Likewise, by absorbing the Minoan goddess who protects the home and the family, and so protects future generations of the society, Athena acquires her protecting, maternal aspects. Both goddesses were associated with agricultural and artisan skills which were added to Athena's existent associations with *techne*. Through this development, we find that Athena was worshipped where there was a formal polis or city-state, and equally where there was a community. An example of this is found in the *Iliad*, which I discuss in Chapter 2, where neither Troy nor the Greek army is a polis in the strict fifth century sense, but both communities worship Athena as the goddess of their community.

A natural development of the deity who is a warrior when her people need protection, and particularly a natural development for the god of the victorious side, is for that deity to become associated with victory. Through such an association this god in time will become the god of armies (both victory-seeking and victorious), just as this god became the god of armies from protecting the life of the king and then the city, to protecting the king's army and the city's army. So we find Athena Nike.

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40 On this, see Nilsson 1950, pp. 491-98, and Luyster 1965, pp. 145-54.

41 Nilsson 1950, p. 487.

In the Chapters 2, 3 and 4, I will address the contradiction of the warrior and reconciler. In Homer's *Iliad*, we see Athena as a warrior goddess - the only deity who will fight against Ares (XXI 390-430), the goddess who relishes the battles and the Greek advances, and the goddess who turns her head away from the appeals of the Trojan women (VI 311). By contrast in the *Odyssey* we see Athena as the goddess who protects not only Odysseus, but also his wife and child, the goddess who helps Odysseus bring peace and stability back to his home, and the goddess who at the end, brings peace to Ithaca and reconciles Odysseus and the families of the dead Ithacan suitors. I will use the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to argue that this is in fact one goddess, the goddess of the polis, Athena Polias. By 'polis' I refer to a polis-like society, or a community with a quasi-polis structure; for example, I argue that Troy, the Greek army at Troy, and Odysseus' city-kingdom of Ithaca are polis-like communities, or the precursors to the fifth-century polis. As the goddess who protects the polis (a feature of the Mycenaean goddess), Athena is concerned for the prosperity and security of the polis. This means she will protect the polis from all threats, whether the external threat of war (such as Paris' abduction of Helen caused) or the internal threat of civil strife (such as the Ithacan suitors of Penelope). The most effective way to deal with external threats is to defend the community by war. In other words, to present the warrior face of the community and to use the community's warrior goddess. On the other hand, the most effective way to deal with the internal threat of civil strife is to reconcile the factions to each other peacefully. An internally united and strong community will also be better able to defend itself from external threats. The warrior and the peacemaker become two sides of one coin, two aspects of one goddess who protects her city whether from external threats with war, or from internal threats with reconciliation. Through this interpretation I argue that the warrior:reconciler contradiction of Athena is resolved, and that in its resolution we are able to see Athena as the polis goddess in a fuller and a more meaningful way, a way which also enhances our perception of her as the fifth century goddess.

There are aspects of both the Iliadic and Odyssean Athenas in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the first and last plays of the fifth century in which Athena has a significant role. In Chapter 3, I apply the single Homeric Athena to these two plays in order to establish whether she can also be perceived there as a single deity. In the *Eumenides*, the Erinyes threaten Athens with pestilence and infertility if Orestes is acquitted. Athena is able not only to neutralise this external threat to Athens, but to reconcile them so closely to Athens that they become an internal blessing to the city as well. In the *Lysistrata*, the male chorus use the warrior Athena when they defend her and the acropolis from the women, and the women, especially Lysistrata, use the reconciling Athena to achieve peace. In discussing this

play, I also look at the identity of Lysistrata, and argue that through her as Athena's representative we can see Athena's reconciliatory role more directly. Also in Chapter 3, I discuss the Panathenaia, its role in Athens, and its reflection of the one Athena. Having established that in the *Eumenides* and the *Lysistrata*, this single Athena, goddess of the polis, exists, in Chapter 4 I apply it to the other plays of the corpus of fifth century drama, and find that this single interpretation of Athena continues and affords us a fuller interpretation of the drama. I look specifically at some groups of plays, the Trojan War plays, the Athenian suppliant plays, and the Theban plays, as well as at the more general, Athens-centred drama. Finally, I discuss Aristophanes' portrayal of her as the polis goddess, and conclude that he uses her in such a way that confirms that our interpretation of her is correct and was not only known in fifth century Athens, but was known so well that Aristophanes could assume this Athena, and could use her for his comic ends.

In the fifth chapter, I address the contradiction of the woman-ignoring Athena. I argue that as patron goddess of the polis, the patron deity, whether male or female, must be concerned for all the people of the city; that as patron deity and as polis goddess Athena was concerned for the prosperity, future and security of Athens. Such concerns involve the children of the Athenians who are the city's future; and since this necessarily involves Athenian women, the mothers of the children, Athena is likely to have been concerned for the women as well. I argue that particularly as patron of the female tasks of weaving and water carrying, Athena would have had a relationship with the women of her city. Since women's only public role was in civic worship, I use that as a base from which to establish that there are grounds for such a relationship to exist, and that it can have existed independently to that of the relationship the Athenian men had with the patron goddess. From there I use the corpus of plays to examine how much public religion affected women's lives and involved them. I also argue that by contradistinction with the other goddesses, Athena is the patron of women's work; and I use the plays to establish this patronage and to examine its extent in women's lives and consequently the relevance of Athena to their lives. I also address the issue of the Chalkeia festival, in which the weaving of the sacred peplos is begun. I argue that the festival is in fact a festival in honour of Athena not just as the patron of the male artisan, but also as the patron of women's work. I then discuss the importance of the festival from this perspective, and particularly both its importance to Athenian women, and to our perception of Athena and her relationship with the women. I add another aspect to this 'women's Athena' by examining evidence in the corpus of plays which suggests the existence of a cult of Athena Epikleros, patron of the human epikleros. I discuss its implications for Athenian society, how it reflects the importance of the epikleros' position, and

enhances the idea that a relationship between Athena and Athenian women did exist. Finally, from the evidence of the plays, I discuss the idea of Athena's role as mother, not as earth mother, nor in the sense of her physically giving birth, but as mother in the maternal and nurturing senses. I argue that in the evidence we can see Athena as the mother of Athens, as the mother of the Athenians, and so as role model to the mothers of Athens; I enlarge upon this idea and connect it back to the idea of Athena as patron of women's work. I conclude that Athena was involved in all aspects of the lives of the Athenian women; that she had an important relationship with them which was as special and intimate as that which she enjoyed with the Athenian men; that she was thereby equally the patron of Athenian women as patron of Athenian men; and that this woman's Athena was central to the lives of Athenian women. I also conclude that through Athena's patronage of women, and through her (masculinised) portrayal as the unmarried virgin and the independent goddess, the Athenian women may have been able to perceive themselves as being more independent (like the portrayal of Athena); and particularly that through this patronage we are able to perceive Athenian women as having a greater (if only slightly greater) degree of independence than we have hitherto perceived them as having. Through Athena's patronage, the Athenian women acquire a more central, respected and substantial place in Athenian society.

I conclude that by resolving the 'warrior' contradiction of Athena, our interpretation of her as the polis goddess and as goddess of Athens is enhanced and made more realistic; and that in the resolution of the "woman-ignoring masculinised" contradiction, we gain a rounded and more realistic perception of Athena as patron goddess of the men and the women of Athens. Through these resolutions, Athena becomes not only *the* goddess of Athens, but goddess of *all* Athenians.

Chapter 2 Athena as warrior and reconciler I: *Iliad* and *Odyssey*

The diverse images of Athena as the warrior and as the reconciler are clearly seen in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* respectively. In these poems we can also see the beginnings and the importance of Athena's role as polis goddess. Homer was one of the most prevalent literary sources in fifth century Athens, as demonstrated by the recital of his work at the Panathenaia; and formed a large and crucial part of the literary background to fifth century Athenian drama[1]. As such, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* will provide a useful definition of the Homeric Athenas to take forward as a model for interpretation of Athena's role in the fifth century dramas. It will also be useful to look in these plays for any links between the apparently diverse roles of warrior and reconciler.

I will start my study of the Homeric Athenas with the *Odyssey*. As I interpret the poem, the three fundamental issues of the storyline are Ithaca, Athena and Odysseus. Ithaca is central to the activities of the poem, and is also the most passive recipient of those activities. Homer's portrayal of Ithaca is obviously the means by which the audience (whether fifth century or modern) conceive of the city. It is also only through his description that we can interpret how the fifth century audience would have perceived Ithaca. By this I mean that Ithaca was not a polis in the classical sense, which Ehrenberg[2] defines as a "community, self-absorbed, closely united in its narrow space and permeated by a strong political and spiritual intensity that led to a kind of special culture of every Polis". It was a city-kingdom ruled by Odysseus, and this is how Homer's original audience would have interpreted the politics of Ithaca and the political background of the poem. However, the fifth century Athenian audience, because of their own political background, were more likely to have received the description of Ithaca in terms of a polis society like their own. As a consequence of this, they are likely to have perceived Homer's Odyssean Athena as the polis goddess with whom they were familiar, and whom they worshipped. They would therefore have perceived Athena as the polis goddess of the polis of Ithaca, and interpreted the poem from these perceptions. The fifth century Athenian audience would not have been in the least surprised by Athena's role in the *Odyssey* because they frequently saw Athena helping Odysseus in the tragedies of their time. Conversely, they were sufficiently familiar with Athena's relationship with Odysseus in

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1 See Goldhill 1986, pp. 139-142, on the centrality of Homer to fifth century Athenian life.

2 1969, p. 94. Scully 1990, p. 15, defines the Homeric polis as "a paradoxical unit of inherently self-contradictory components".

the *Odyssey* not to be surprised by her helping role in the tragedies. They perhaps even expected her to fulfil that role - just as they might have been willing to perceive Ithaca as a polis-society because that was their own culture; and likewise they might have been willing to perceive Athena as the polis goddess with whom they were so familiar that they did not expect to see her in any other role with regard to a city-state, or perhaps even with regard to a community. They would have interpreted Athena's motivation in the *Odyssey* first and foremost as helping Odysseus, and as helping Ithaca because of Odysseus (although with others[3], I dispute the view that this is Athena's motivation, as I argue below). In the same way, the fifth century Athenians generally considered Athens to be Athena's favourite polis because she cared for the Athenians, so they would have seen Ithaca as a favoured polis because she cared so much for Odysseus. This view of Ithaca as a polis can be shown to be more than just a fifth century interpretation. It is also suggested in the text by Athena's reference to the 'men of Ithaca', Ἰθακήσιοι (XXIV 531); by the assemblies called (II 5-6, XX 146, XXIV 420[4]); and particularly by Aigyptios' remark at the first assembly that there has been no 'assembly of us or any session' during Odysseus' absence (II 25-29). This latter instance indicates that there were assemblies when Odysseus was present. Further evidence is the festival to Apollo (XX 276-78, XXI 258-59) which was an Ithacan-community festival, and which suggests that even in Odysseus' absence at least some of Ithaca's civic activities, central to the life of a polis, continued. So it seems likely that the fifth century audience would have viewed Ithaca in the *Odyssey* as a polis, or at least as a polis-structured society, in their own sense of the word. And a polis of course would have been protected by the patron deity of poleis[5]. Thus, Athena's role in the *Odyssey* is ultimately that of the polis goddess and I will argue below how that role means that Ithaca, rather than Odysseus, is the central theme and focus of the poem.

More specifically, Athena has four levels of involvement in the *Odyssey*. At her most distant, she is portrayed as apparently being little more than 'just a god', although in fact each of her appearances and references to her serves a purpose whether or not obvious at the time. For example: her anger with the Greeks following the Trojan War (I 326-27, V 107-09), bestowing her skills (on Penelope II 116-18, and on Pandareos' daughters XX 72), and being honoured with dedications (by Telemachus

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3 For example, Wender 1978, Clay 1983, Murnaghan 1987, and Clarke 1989.

4 This assembly is different from the others, because it is attended only by the *aristoi*. It occurs after the suitors have been killed, by which time the people know that Odysseus has returned and that he was responsible for the killings.

5 An example of this Athenian attitude is Peisetaerus' assumption in Aristophanes' *Birds* (826-28) that the *only* god to have as the god of a city is Athena Polias.

II 432-33, and by Nestor XV 222-23). Secondly, she appears in a more schematic way, but without altering any situation, for example: making Penelope sleep (I 363-64, XVI 449-51, XIX 602-04, XXI 357-58), and Odysseus sleep (V 491-93); and both of them on their first night together (XXIII 241-44, 342-48); on Olympus (I 48-50, XXIV 472-88); giving favourable winds (II 420-21, XV 292); and being provocative (XVIII 346-48, XX 284-86, 345-46, XXII 236-38, 255-57, 272-73). Thirdly, Athena appears in disguise, or gives indirect support, such that the person receiving it does not realise her hand is at play. This is particularly true of her early dealings with Telemachus (II 285-87, III 75-78, XV 1-3); and with Odysseus before he reaches Ithaca (VI 14-15, 19-20[6], 139-41, VII 14-15, 18-20). In this indirect style she also improves the appearance of certain people (particularly Odysseus, Penelope, Laertes, and Telemachus) when appropriate (Odysseus VI 229-35 before he meets Nausikaa, XVIII 69-71 as he prepares to fight Iros the beggar in front of the suitors, XXIII 153-62 as Eurynome washes and dresses him after Penelope knows his identity; Penelope XVIII 187-97 while preparing to appear before the suitors; Laertes XXIV 365-69 while bathing before eating with Odysseus; Telemachus II 12 before his first assembly); she also gives Laertes strength (XXIV 520-21); inspires Penelope to go before the suitors (XVIII 158-62, XXI 1-3); hinders the suitors in the fight (XXII 272-73); and inspires Telemachus generally during his travels. Finally Athena appears quite openly and directly, for example to Telemachus (I 320-23, III 25-28, 370-80) and in Penelope's dream (IV 805-07, 825-29). The clearest example of this is of course her reaction to Odysseus from XIII 287. An indication of how open Athena is in her support is shown by Odysseus' confidence that she will help him kill the suitors (XIII 389-91, XVI 233-34, 259-61, 282-84, 297-98, XIX 1-2, 51-52) and by his remark to Telemachus that they are receiving divine help (XIX 31-43).

Athena's relationship with Odysseus, which is one of the major themes of the poem, raises the question of why she was portrayed as being so intimate with Odysseus, and so involved in his life. On the simplest level, the answer is because Athena was both the goddess of the polis (concerned with its safety, survival and prosperity), and the (Mycenaean) goddess who protected the king and his interests. Given the importance of her role as protecting deity of the king, this was not only an entirely appropriate response, but the only appropriate response, since any other level of inter-reaction would have been inappropriate. As Clarke[7] observes: "Athena in the *Odyssey* not only is the hero's patron saint [sic], but also is interested in his family, in

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6 Odysseus later (XIII 322-23) claims he recognised her at this point, in Scheria, but these lines are disputed.

7 1989, p. 81.

his reputation as a wise ruler ..., and in preserving his house". To find intimacy in a deity:human relationship was not unusual in myths and epics: for example in the *Iliad* many of the gods are quite open and intimate with their human favourites; and in myths some gods are closely associated with certain families, for example Apollo with the house of Admetus. However, the degree of the intimacy between Athena and Odysseus, and the two-way nature of their intimacy, is unusual. There is no extant fifth century play in which Athena responds so openly to a human; and indeed it is unusual to see any deity respond lovingly to specific humans in extant fifth century drama. Athena does not at any point question her own motivation in helping Odysseus (I will suggest below that she actually has more than one motivation), nor, with the exception of Poseidon, do the gods doubt that he is worthy of her efforts. Odysseus admits to having doubted Athena at XIII 318-320, but apart from that one instance, he knows that she is there for him, and that he can take her help and protection for granted, whether on Ithaca or in the world beyond, as at Troy.

During the time before Odysseus reaches Ithaca, Athena claims (XIII 341-343) she could not help him because of Poseidon's anger, but nonetheless claims to have watched over and protected him (XIII 300-301). She uses Poseidon's anger more as an excuse than as a reason[8], as Odysseus makes clear (XIII 314-319) when he shows Athena that he knows for how long she withheld her support and protection - and that that time began when the Greeks left Troy, some time before he killed Polyphemus and angered Poseidon. Odysseus' reference to Athena's apparent abandonment of him during his time of need indicates in itself a history of her support such that he is surprised and upset by her absence. Clarke[9] suggests two reasons for Athena's absence: "the Wanderings are made up of folk tales where Olympian divinities ordinarily would not intrude. Another explanation, and one more appropriate to the *Odyssey*, is that the maritime adventures ... were Odysseus' *personal* trials, which he had to endure alone and independently". Bassett[10] suggests that Athena was intentionally kept out of Odysseus' journey so that the description might be more exciting, and to prevent Athena being constantly present in the poem. Dietrich[11] interprets Odysseus' return in terms of fate, and discusses the implications of the origin of that fate: "Zeus above all, and Athene, know of the return of Odysseus, and they cause it to come about at last ... This may not necessarily mean that Zeus had in the beginning ordained that such should be the fate of Odysseus; but it could equally

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8 See Clay 1983, pp. 44-53, and Clarke 1989, pp. 79ff for full discussions on this topic.
9 1989, p. 79, his italics.
10 1918.
11 1965, p. 221.

well be explained as belonging to the poetic plan of the *Odyssey*, or as *moira* being conceived of as an established fate of unknown source of which the gods are conscious". Clay[12] considers Hermes' comments (V 103-115) to Calypso ('on the voyage home they offended Athene, who let loose an evil tempest and tall waves against them', V 108-09) as crucial evidence that Athena herself was angry with Odysseus: "Now, at last, this remarkable passage explicitly implicates Athena in Odysseus' troubles. ... The placement of these lines - immediately before Odysseus' first entrance in the *Odyssey* - could not be more emphatic or significant. The goddess who, from now on, will protect and support the hero has not always been so favourably disposed. Her present benevolence must be understood as a change from an earlier hostility". However, since Hermes refers to 'them' (the Greek army) in his remarks to Calypso, and since Athena's anger against the Greek army for their failure to punish Aias was well-known and is assumed to be known in the poem, it would appear that Athena's anger was not against Odysseus individually, but had been against him as part of the Greek army and as one of its leaders. Dimock[13] on the other hand, who holds the traditional view, argues against Clay: "By the time Odysseus reaches Ithaca, we have been shown that not Athena's wrath but Poseidon's was the chief cause of his troubles"[14], and indeed rejects what he terms the "traditional view" that Athena's anger had caused the Greek fleet to be scattered: "Athena's answer that she only held aloof out of respect for Poseidon both rejects the traditional view and accounts for it; more than that it frees Odysseus once and for all from the imputation that she was ever displeased with him". Dimock expands upon the view that Athena never left Odysseus so that he sees Athena as Odysseus' unquestioned supporter[15]: "Odysseus [is] presented by Athena as the paradigm of undeserved suffering". He cites as evidence here Athena's question (I 62) 'Why, Zeus, are you now so harsh with him?', but I would interpret it as Athena comparing Odysseus' situation with that of Aegisthus whom they have just been discussing, and using this opportunity to ensure Odysseus' urgent return. Friedrich[16] argues that Odysseus' actions and words in the *Cyclopeia* are an example of his arrogance and constitute a *hubris* to which both Poseidon and Zeus (for different reasons) take exception and punish him: "The Odysseian hybris springs from a turbid mixture of heroic ambition and moral pretensions". He concludes that one of the themes of the *Odyssey* is the development of Odysseus' character through his sufferings, the

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12 1983, p. 50.
13 1989, pp. 184-85.
14 For this opinion see also Kirk 1962, pp. 365ff.
15 1989, p. 66.
16 1991, pp. 26-28.

"boasting and presumptuous Sacker of Cities will become the just ruler"; he cites as proof of this Odysseus' opinion (XXII. 410) that to rejoice in killing the suitors would be *hubris*. The extension of this argument is presumably that Athena's anger is directed at Odysseus for two reasons, the hubris of the Greek army and the anger (and therefore will) of Zeus.

So, the divine anger at Odysseus has dissipated, and Athena persuades (sufficient of) the other gods to let Odysseus return home and resume his 'normal' life. Why does Athena do this? Why forgive Odysseus his part in such a fundamental trespass and allow him to return? In fact, Athena does not forgive Odysseus, nor does she decide to allow him to return home because he has suffered enough. She allows him to return home because Ithaca needs him, and because of her role as protecting deity. Athena allows him to return in order that he may resume his role as king and protector of the community: as Clarke[17] says "he is, after all, the powerful king of Ithaca, the ruler who defeats the enemies who would dare to disorder his kingdom and subvert his authority". She also has to fulfil her own role as protecting goddess of the king, his family and estate - her role as the polis goddess. She acts out of her duty to Ithaca as its protecting deity rather than out of any affection for Odysseus; "Athena, therefore, is less Odysseus' personal good luck charm than his protectress in his function as father and king"[18]. This is demonstrated by Athena herself who, rather than going to Odysseus once she has ensured his safe return home, goes instead to Ithaca: as Clay remarks "It is there that her help and intervention are most needed ... It is not so much Odysseus himself, but the pressure of events on Ithaca that compels Athena to release Odysseus and to bring him home to set things right"[19]. The serious danger which is posed to the future of Ithaca and her concern for its survival supersedes her anger with Odysseus. Despite her anger and their initial and instinctive testing of each other, Athena soon tells Odysseus why she finds it so hard to be angry with him (XIII. 330-32) 'How like you to be so wary! And so I cannot abandon you when you are unhappy, because you are fluent, and reason closely, and keep your head always'. This comment leads Clarke[20] to remark that "between Athena and Odysseus is an affection and an understanding that so deeply affects Athena that in Book XIII she herself has to comment on it". But she also makes it clear that, as a god, she is more powerful than he could ever be: as Clay observes[21] "The underlying issue in the conversation between Odysseus and Athena has been the difference

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17 1989, p. 79.
18 Clarke 1989, p. 89.
19 1983, pp. 233-34.
20 1989, p. 80.
21 1983, p. 211.

between gods and men and the demarcation of their power spheres" - and it was his transgression of these spheres that caused so much anger in Zeus and in Athena[22]. Dietrich[23] interprets the situation very differently, viewing Odysseus' return home as being the decision and the choice of Zeus and Athena: "Indeed from the treatment of this all-important theme [*moira*] of the *Odyssey*, it becomes clear that that was part of a preconceived poetic plan which is explained as being the will of Zeus, and in a somewhat lesser way, that of Athene". He also sees the situation as having two separate issues[24], with different gods responsible for each: "the return of Odysseus and the punishment of the suitors' crime are skilfully worked together: the one being the main concern of Zeus, the other that of Athene".

This Ithacan interpretation of Athena's motivation is further demonstrated by the fact that during the first four books of the *Odyssey*, Ithaca is both the theme and focus. Homer spends this time describing in detail the situation in Ithaca before turning to Odysseus whose continued absence has caused the problems to reach such proportions. Likewise, after the story of Odysseus' wanderings, Ithaca becomes the focus of the rest of the poem: as Lattimore remarks[25] "the length allotted to Odysseus on Ithaca is extraordinary. Nearly nine books ... are devoted to the time from Odysseus' arrival to his dropping of disguise and attack on the suitors." By looking at the *Odyssey* in this way, we can justify seeing Ithaca as the main and central theme of the poem, and Athena and Odysseus as its key players. Whilst it is true to say that the *Odyssey* is the story of Odysseus' home-coming, it is more accurate to say that it is the story of the rescue of Ithaca by Athena and Odysseus. Such an interpretation confirms the argument for Athena's role as goddess of the polis (and, in earlier times as goddess of the community). The Achaians, and particularly Odysseus by enacting his Homeric epithet "god-like", so offended Athena at Troy that she was willing to allow them all to die. However, her responsibility to Ithaca as its protecting deity meant that since, at its time of need, Odysseus was still alive and was the person best able to defend the polis/community (better that is than Telemachus, Laertes or Mentor), she had to ensure his swift return home in order to rescue it. As Clarke[26] comments "Of course this entails Athena's preserving Odysseus from personal destruction, but this is only part of her larger, social purpose" - in other words, she must protect him whether or not she has forgiven him, because Ithaca needs him. Another example of Athena helping a hero for the sake of his polis and despite her

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22 See Friedrich, 1991.
23 1965, pp. 221-22.
24 1965, p. 223.
25 1965, p. 16.
26 1989, p. 80.

feelings for him, can perhaps be found in Eurpides' *Helen* where Athena is largely absent. She is mentioned obliquely with reference to the judgement of Paris, 23-26 and 358, and as a Spartan goddess, 227-28, 245 and 1467. Austin[27] argues that the play is a revision of the judgement of Paris "as the necessary precondition to repealing the Judgement of Helen" such that Hera is the victor. He offers an explanation for Athena's absence: "if the quarrel that Theonoe is called to adjudicate is the old Judgement of Paris, where is Athena? She is Theonoe herself ... no longer one of the contestants but made the judge of the contest". In Plato's *Cratylus*[28], Socrates claims that the origin of the name Athena is Theonoe, which means 'mind of god'[29]. According to Euripides (10-15), the priestess was called Eido until she reached marriageable age, and from then was called Theonoe, because she knew 'the mind of god'. Austin[30] suggests that "Euripides gives Theonoe two names, as if to call attention to Theonoe's Athena-function ... once she reached the age of marriage, Theonoe chose Athena's path - celibacy and knowledge - and was given the name that would signify this allegiance". This explains Athena's absence from the play, and in particular the absence of references to her while Theonoe is on stage or still involved in the plot. Through this interpretation we can see Athena as the polis goddess helping the hero save his polis. Just as she helped Odysseus regain his wife, so here she helps Menelaus regain his (Helen); she then ensures that Menelaus returns home quickly and safely. And in each case, she has put aside her anger with a Greek hero for their part in the hubris against her in Troy in order to save their polis. We might then ask why, if Athena was willing to help both Odysseus and Menelaus, and was so concerned for the security of the polis, did she not likewise help the other leader of the Greek army, and prevent Agamemnon's murder in order to protect Mycenae? The answer would seem to be either that Euripides chose to revise only the Helen myth, or, more plausibly, that the events which followed Agamemnon's death and the lessons learnt from Orestes' sufferings after he killed Clytemnestra, were more important for that polis, and that Agamemnon's death was part of that larger scheme.

Athena's concerns are to save the polis for which she is responsible, and to help Odysseus regain what is rightfully his. One of the many ways in which she achieves this is by providing general help in the palace after Odysseus' return and in particular in preparation for the battle with the suitors. For example, she inspires Penelope to initiate the contest amongst the suitors with Odysseus' bow (XXI 1-5), and

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27 1994, pp. 171-72.
28 407b.
29 This name also recalls the Trojan priestess of Athena, Theano (*Il.* VI 305, 309-10).
30 1994, p. 172, note 30.

encourages the suitors' arrogance and rudeness towards the beggar guest (XVIII 346-48, XX 284-86); as Havelock remarks[31]: "Athene has intervened again to bemuse them and destroy them". Their reaction to the stranger makes the situation with the suitors absolutely clear to Odysseus, it rouses his anger further against them, and confirms that his intentions towards them are correct. Athena also provides the lighting in the hall when Odysseus and Telemachus are hiding the armour (XIX 33-34). Clarke uses this instance of Athena's help (which he describes as "a remarkable scene") as an example of the theme of justice, which he discusses at length[32] (and which he considers to be one of the two main the themes of the poems). He also links it to Athena's (fifth century) role as goddess of justice: "This is a domestic task befitting a household goddess, in the light of this magic lamp we have a glimpse of Aeschylus' Athena, the goddess of justice, in the making". Although Athena's concerns are two-fold, they are in effect, the same thing - the suitors threaten both the polis, of which Odysseus is leader, and his home and possessions. In this respect, Odysseus' and Athena's aims are one, and for as long as Odysseus' goal remains, she supports him without reservation. Murnaghan reflects on two aspects of this. First, the suitors who have tried to deprived Odysseus of his rightful possessions (including his wife): "The suitors define themselves as transgressors by choosing to compete with Odysseus in the one realm in which he ought not to have to compete with his peers, the household, in which he is entitled to a position of uncontested eminence"; and secondly the Homeric gods who support Athena in her endeavour: "It is in relation to the rights and obligations of the individual household that the Homeric gods act according to principles that are sufficiently consistent to be identified with justice. They support heroes who are avenging offences against the integrity of their households."[33] A clear example of both the crime of the suitors and the role of the gods in supporting the householder is given at XVIII 119-157, where Odysseus obliquely urges Amphinomus to leave (147-48 'I hope your destiny takes you home, out of his [Odysseus'] way'), but Athena keeps him there to be killed by Telemachus. Murnaghan's observation on this episode is that "Athena looks out for Odysseus' interests in this episode by keeping even this sympathetic and upright rival in the one place where Odysseus' hostility has the unwavering support of the gods."[34] Clarke[35] sees the importance of another god, Apollo, and of the link between Apollo and the use of Odysseus' sword to kill the suitors: "the Suitors who are slain at [Apollo's]

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31 1978, p. 174.
32 1989, pp. 80-85.
33 1987, p. 63.
34 1987, p. 67.
35 1989, p. 76.

feast are more than an overt threat to Odysseus' kingdom. They are an infection threatening the life of the state through its ruling family, and it is altogether appropriate that this infection be excised under the auspices of Apollo, who is also the god of health and purification".

Murnaghan[36] considers at length the idea of Odysseus returning home to save his household rather than his polis and argues that this is Athena's motivation in allowing him home: "Odysseus acquires the undivided sponsorship of one of the gods only for that part of his story that is concerned with his repossession of his house". Murnaghan focusses less on the issue of Athena's anger with Odysseus than on her commitment to her other and relative priorities[37]: "Although Athena has always shown favour to Odysseus, ... in the *Iliad* she helps other heroes ... as well, and in the *Odyssey* she is Odysseus' constant patron only during the time he is specifically engaged in regaining his house". Ultimately, she explains, "As long as he is in the wider world beyond Ithaca, he is still in the realm where other heroes ... have conflicting claims, which makes Athena's partisanship neither possible nor appropriate". In the wider world Athena is the goddess of the polis, and in this role each polis is equally important to her and each polis has an equal claim to her protection. Thus to help Odysseus secure the polis of Ithaca is her priority rather than to help him regain his home and estate. From this interpretation of Athena as the goddess of every polis, we see an Athena who seeks peace in and security for each separate polis. A natural development of this role would then seem to be a perception of Athena who, as goddess of poleis, seeks peace on a wider scale in order to facilitate peace for the individual polis. From here I would argue that we can see Greece as a unit and as a wider 'polis' which Athena protects from internal discord and external threat. This idea will be discussed further with regard to the fifth century plays in which there is a clearer impression of the 'internal' threat of war between city-states and of the 'external' threat of the Persians.

That the situation with the suitors can be interpreted either in terms of the king or in terms of a polis-like community, suggests or reflects an amount of oral development within the poem. If one regards the situation in terms of a king, then the interpretation is of the king's home and possessions (including his wife) being under siege from the suitors, who include Ithacans, and the king, Odysseus, coming home to save his palace and his monarchy. This is supported by some facts of the storyline: the battle with the suitors took place in the locked palace; in it Odysseus was

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36 1987, p. 64.
37 1987, p. 64.

supported only by his son; and the deaths were not announced until the next day. The other interpretation shows the polis being under siege from the suitors, and Odysseus, its leader, returning in order to save the community. This scenario is supported at the end of the poem when Athena brings the retributive fighting to an end in order to prevent the two factions from killing each other and destroying the future of Ithaca. Each line of the story is also hindered by the other: if Odysseus is king of his palace, why should he not defend the palace, his actions and himself against other Ithacans? Or, if Ithaca is a polis-like community, why does Odysseus kill the Ithacan suitors on his own and secretively rather than openly and with the support of the community?

Whatever Athena's motivation for laying aside her anger with Odysseus had been, once they make themselves known to each other their relationship is intimate, supportive and equal, each of which, as I have said, is unusual in deity-human relationships. In respect of the way in which they are undisguised and straight with each other, and together plan to save Ithaca and exact Odysseus' revenge, their relationship could most usefully be described as that of loving friends. An indication of this intimacy is that from Book XIV onwards, Odysseus recognises Athena on each occasion whether she is disguised or not (XVI 157-62, XX 30-32, 36-37, XXIV 502-504) even during the battle with the suitors when she appears in the likeness of Mentor (XXII 205-10)[38]. However, there is more to their relationship than simply intimacy. Family is an important issue in the *Odyssey*, and this is reflected by the importance of the roles of Penelope, Telemachus and Laertes[39]. Its importance is further highlighted by the notable absence of Odysseus' mother amongst the living of Ithaca. During his journey into Hades - which occurs before he reaches Ithaca and constitutes the first news he has of his family - Odysseus meets the ghost of his mother, Anticleia (XI 152-224). She tells him that Penelope, Telemachus and Laertes are still alive and holding the palace, but that Penelope and Laertes in particular grieve for him[40]. She then says that 'it was my longing for you, your cleverness and your gentle ways, that took the sweet spirit of life from me' (XI 202-03). Interestingly, it is precisely those qualities of his which cause his mother to pine away and die, that Athena most praises him for. In connection with this, we may note that in the *Iliad*,

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38 Her openness reaches such unprecedented levels at this point that Medon, the herald, is able to describe to the assembled men of Ithaca the appearance of 'Mentor' at the battle in a way which makes it clear that he knew it was a god rather than Mentor (XXIV 445-48). That Medon did not also use Athena's departure as a swallow (XXII 238-240) as evidence that 'Mentor' was a god, shows that she was sufficiently indiscreet in her disguise to let Medon, and presumably therefore others, realise before then that Odysseus was being helped by a god.

39 See Wender 1978, pp. 68ff, who discusses the importance of this theme and describes the parallels and contrasts to Odysseus' family group which Homer offers.

40 It is interesting that she chooses not to mention the suitors.

the lesser Aias remarks (XXIII 782-83) that Athena is 'like a mother' to Odysseus. In the *Odyssey*, Athena's dealings with Odysseus begin by enabling him to go home, as I have said, not because she has forgiven him (which by implication she has not), but because Ithaca needs him. However, once he reaches Ithaca and they meet (XIII 228-439), one can see Athena's attitude towards him softening almost visibly, and even while they are disguised, she 'smiled on him, and stroked him with her hand' (XIII. 287-88). She praises him almost constantly, claims always to have been beside him, protecting him, tells him how she inspired the Phaeacians to love him and give him so many gifts, and says she is with him now to tell him how things are in Ithaca, and to help and protect him. It is relevant also that Athena is first to drop her disguise, as Clay observes: "In showing herself to Odysseus, Athena admits her admiration and appreciation for his *dolos*. Her [disguise] ... at the very least had proved itself unnecessary"[41]. Although Odysseus is not only an adult, but also a hero and a king, in this situation he seems to feel a need for parental guidance, but his mother is dead and his father has absorbed himself in his grief. The role of Athena in this scene, of protecting, encouraging, reassuring, and advising Odysseus is very much that of a parent. Just as she did for Telemachus earlier in the poem (and which I will discuss below), Athena fills this void and becomes an ideal, loving, maternal figure. Odysseus loses his human mother and gains an immortal one. Of his four familial relationships, that of his mother is the one most easily and usefully dispensed with, and most easily and usefully replaced by a god. Of Athena's different roles, her protecting (maternal) role is also the one she can most usefully give to Odysseus, and it is one which she already gives to some extent as protector of the king and his family[42].

In her role as protector of the head of the polis, Athena must make sure that Odysseus does not go straight to the palace and to his death. She achieves this from her position as maternal protector early on in their first conversation on Ithaca. Although Odysseus claims (XIII 383-385) that but for Athena's warning, he would have gone straight to the palace, she does not in fact expressly warn him not to do so, she merely comments that it is more in his nature to test loyalties first (XIII 333-336). By saying this, Athena is effectively telling him what to do and more importantly what not to do. Dimock uses this episode (and particularly Odysseus' comment at XIII 383-85 on how he might have died as Agamemnon did, had it not been for Athena) as an example of how the gods help those who help themselves. "Odysseus seems, but only seems, to imply that this is the first time he has heard about the suitors and that he could not have found out about them by himself - implications both of which are

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41 1983, p. 198.

42 I will discuss the idea of Athena as a mother further in Chapter 5.

palpably false"[43]. He also discusses how this scene proves to Odysseus (and to the audience) that he is independent of Athena, "Best of all, it shows that he can go it alone ... our sense of his independence may reasonably be enhanced by his achieving so much in Athena's absence"[44]. His knowledge that the help of the gods cannot be assumed also explains why he continues to be cautious with Athena for so long during their conversation, even after she has dropped her disguise. An example of this caution occurs in Book XX when Odysseus tries to sleep in the forecourt of the palace the night before the battle with the suitors. He worries about how he will tackle so many men on his own, and how will he survive the consequences of the bloodshed. To this Athena replies quite sharply, as though annoyed that Odysseus still will not trust her: 'Stubborn man! Anyone trusts even a lesser companion than I, who is mortal, and does not have so many ideas. But I am a god, and through it all I keep watch over you in every endeavour of yours' (XX 45-48). Dimock describes the situation between them thus: "The statement of Odysseus' independence of Athena is now complete ... His mind is his own; but his life and success depend on the gods ... Because success depends on Athena, Odysseus puts himself completely in her hands for the rest of the scene."[45]. He also uses this episode to show how well Odysseus understands his relationship with Athena when she suggests that Odysseus plans his revenge on the suitors (XIII 376): "even though he is the best strategist on earth, he knows better than to rely on himself when a god is at hand. Wisely, he asks her to do it for him"[46] Once the situation is clear to Odysseus, Athena tells him who had remained most loyal so that he could more easily and quickly find his supporters, establish a base for himself first (XIII 404-11), ask questions to assess the situation, and learn how many suitors there were (XVI 235-36). He then goes to the palace in order to judge the suitors and their respective temperaments (XIX 33-34), and to gauge the general atmosphere of the palace, but he does this disguised as a beggar in whom no one will take much interest, much less imagine that he might be Odysseus.

As well as protecting the king and leader of the polis, one of the responsibilities of the protecting deity was to protect the family of the king. Thus, we find examples of both the direct and the indirect support which Athena gives to Penelope and Telemachus in the palace when Odysseus is absent. Just as Athena is patron of Odysseus and Telemachus, so she is also patron of Penelope. She protects and inspires all three as occasions demand. Athena's patronage of weaving and of wisdom

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43 1989, p. 187.
44 1989, p. 185.
45 1989, p. 186.
46 1989, p. 187.

are in many ways personified in Penelope. This is best demonstrated in the episode of the shroud for Laertes which Penelope weaves by day and unpicks by night in order to deceive the suitors into giving her time (XIX 139-56)[47]. Penelope's literal weaving also reflects Odysseus' metaphorical weaving, his scheming; this association emphasises not only how similar Penelope and Odysseus are to each other, but also Athena's patronage of both of them, and of their respective weaving skills[48]. Athena's relationship with Telemachus is particularly significant, both in terms of her concern for the future of Ithaca, and in terms of her maternal response to Odysseus. We see their relationship most clearly when she inspires Telemachus to go abroad to find information about his father. In many ways it parallels the relationship she has with Odysseus, although it is entirely unequal (and therefore more conventional) and less significant. Telemachus is also consistently shown to be less great than his father. Wender[49] considers the central question of the *Telemachia* to be 'Is Telemachus really the son of Odysseus?' She describes how through his travels and dealings with Athena, Telemachus acquires spirit, faith in the power of the gods, and courtly manners, and most importantly, how he reacts to Odysseus. In answer to her question, she concludes that "Telemachus is *almost* the man his father is ... [he] is a slightly tamer version of his father ... but he is his 'true son' and contributes largely to Odysseus' final blessedness".

Another of the themes of the *Telemachia* is the evolution of Telemachus' relationships with his mother and with the suitors. As he grows up, he takes charge of Penelope and their relationship, and his attitude to Odysseus changes. This transition is first seen in Book I (353-60) when Telemachus and Penelope clash over the bard Phemius' choice to sing of Odysseus, and Telemachus says to her: (I 353-60) '...'So let your heart and let your spirit be hardened to listen. Odysseus is not the only one who lost his homecoming day at Troy. ...Go therefore back in the house, and take up your own work. ... For mine is the power in this household.' Penelope went back inside the house, in amazement'. Murnaghan comments thus on their conflict[50]: "Telemachus' maturity interferes with Penelope's determination to wait for Odysseus to return in person ... For even if she prevents him from being replaced as her husband, she cannot prevent him from being replaced by Telemachus as head of his house. ... Telemachus is willing to have his father's physical presence replaced by his *kleos*, the fame that

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47 On this episode, see Rutherford 1992, p. 151, note on 139-56; and Russo et al 1992, pp. 80-82.

48 See Moulton 1979, pp. 289-90 on the use of weaving as a metaphor for scheming in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, especially by Odysseus. I will discuss Athena's connection with weaving further in Chapter 5.

49 1978, pp. 69-70, her italics.

50 1987, p. 156.

lives after him in the form of a song, while Penelope is not". This is also the first occasion when Telemachus stands up to the suitors (I 368-82). He tells them that there will be an assembly the next day, '..'where I will give you my forthright statement' ... So he spoke, and all of them bit their lips, in amazement at Telemachus and the daring way he had spoken to them'.

A consequence of his new maturity is that he dispenses with Penelope's maternal role as the balance of their relationship alters and she becomes his responsibility. Athena fills this vacuum, as well as the vacuum caused by Odysseus' absence, by acting as both his mother and his father when he needs them (which will be recalled later in Book XIII when Athena fills the same vacuum which Odysseus then feels, and which I have discussed above). Havelock gives as an example of Athena's maternal role her response to Telemachus in Book II, when he has dismissed the assembly and dejectedly prays to her: "Although appearing in the guise of Mentor, the deputy of Odysseus, she in effect mothers him: she is sure he will not be like most sons, inferior to his father; and she adds reassurance by offering a formal prophecy: the suitors, already damned by their own conduct, are all doomed to die on the same day"[51]. Athena herself remarks on her quasi-paternal role (II 285-86) 'Such a companion am I to you, as of your father. I will fit you out a fast ship, I myself will go with you'. There is ambiguity (no doubt intentional) in this remark, since she makes it from behind her disguise as Mentor. It is she who sends him on his journey, with the intention that he should win his reputation both as a man and as his father's son. Murnaghan observes[52] that the purpose of the journey "is not to bring his father back but to create the conditions that will allow him to take his father's place ... His aim is to recover his father's *kleos* both so that that *kleos* is available to be transferred to him and so that it is clear that the time has come for that transfer to be made. Thus Athena ... instructs him to go in search not of Odysseus but of information about whether Odysseus is dead or alive." Murnaghan also comments on specific instances where Telemachus demonstrates his attitude that his father will not return and is only a memory, and so is replaceable. For example, when Athena appears as Mentes and first encourages Telemachus to go abroad, he thanks her for saying, 'what any father would say to his son' (I 308). Murnaghan observes of this[53] that he is "thereby acknowledging that people other than his father can serve the function of helping him to claim his inheritance". Murnaghan continues[54] that "one of the most important

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51 1978, p. 142.
52 1987, p. 157.
53 1987, p. 157, note 19.
54 1987, p. 157, note 19.

ways in which Athena helps Telemachus is by telling him the story of Agamemnon's homecoming, a story that Menelaus later assumes he would have heard from his father (IV 94-95). When Eurymachus suggests that Athena may have brought him a message from his father, he answers that there is no longer any hope of Odysseus' return and identifies Athena as one of his father's friends - that is, as someone who, like the heroes he visits on his journey, can supply him with the knowledge of his father that he needs in the absence of any prospect of seeing his father again (I 413-419)".

Obviously it would have been easier for Athena to let Telemachus know that Odysseus was safely on his way home, and in her disguise as Mentes, she does in fact do this (I 194-203) 'They told me he was here in this country, your father, I mean. But no ... Now, I will make you a prophecy, ... though I am no prophet ... He will not long be absent from the beloved land of his fathers'. But instead of leaving the matter there, she goes on to tell him to go to Pylos and Sparta for news of Odysseus. By doing this she is thinking about the future of Ithaca and preparing its heir ('so he would win reputation by going there' XIII 422-23), as she explains to Odysseus when he challenges her on the worth of having sent Telemachus abroad, when she knew that he was about to return safely home (XIII 412-24). When Odysseus is finally able to address Telemachus as himself (XVI 202-06), he clearly fulfils Telemachus' dreams of his father, and it becomes clear that although Telemachus welcomed fatherly reactions and advice during his travels, none of those men could compare with or replace his real father. As Dimock[55] remarks: "Here is someone who fills the role which precisely answers Telemachus' need, the role of an Odysseus willing and able to be his father, to suffer, and to "sow evils" for the suitors".

Another responsibility of the protecting goddess is the safety and future prosperity of the polis, and Athena herself is more than able to fulfil this role, as Clarke's[56] description of her shows: "the goddess of defensive warfare, of the battle that saves the city by courage and prudence". This concern of Athena's shows itself in the final scene[57], when Odysseus, Telemachus, Laertes, and their supporters face the families of the dead Ithacan suitors in battle, and she brings about peace between

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55 1989, p. 210.

56 1989, p. 81.

57 The authenticity of the final 86 lines of the poem, from the Ithacan assembly (XXIV 462ff), is strongly disputed. In the 2nd century, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus made XXIII 296 the end of the poem. There are however no known doubts that in the fifth century the poem ended with its current final lines, so I shall include them in my discussion of the poem. See Wender 1978, pp. 63-67, and Russo et al 1992, pp. 353-55, who argue for authenticity, and West 1989, against it.

them. However, the future of the polis has been a dominant theme from XXIV 413, when the news of the battle, the deaths, and Odysseus' return spread through the city. The Ithacans, without being summoned, gather in assembly (XXIV 420), drawn together as a community by their anger and grief. It is possible that from this point on one can see another example of how the poem developed during the time of its oral transmission. The life of the king has become less important while the safety, prosperity and future of the polis, the community, has become more important. Eupeithes describes Odysseus' actions not in terms of the glory of the Greek victory at Troy, but in terms of Ithaca and its community (XXIV 426-29) 'Friends, this man's will worked great evil upon the Achaians. First he took many excellent men away in vessels with him, and lost the hollow ships, and lost all the people, and then returning killed the best men of the Kephallenians'. His response to Odysseus' actions is that Odysseus - the king - should be killed[58]. Medon tells the assembly of Odysseus' divine help in the battle (XXIV 443-49), presumably in an endeavour to persuade the men that Odysseus' course must have been right because the gods so manifestly helped him. Halitherses' words fail equally to turn the Ithacans from Eupeithes' suggestion, and (XXIV 463-64) 'more than half who were there sprang up with a great cry': the preference of the majority rules. Meanwhile, Odysseus knows he acted correctly and with the help of the gods in killing the suitors, and now his intention at the prospect of the battle is to protect the lives of his supporters, and to protect his hold on the kingship. Clarke[59] describes Odysseus in terms of the theme of justice in the *Odyssey*, "as avenger, as a good but powerful and sometimes merciless king". The two sides in this conflict each hold a justifiable position: the suitors are angry that Odysseus has caused the death of so many of their number both in the voyage to Troy and in killing the suitors; while Odysseus is justified in killing the suitors in order to protect his possessions. Dimock discusses[60] how the dilemma can be resolved by linking the two issues: "recognition of the will of the gods, and recognition that the dead deserved to die - in other words, that justice takes precedence over vengeance"[61]. When Athena asks Zeus what his intentions are, his reply (XXIV 484-86) confirms both the resolution of the dilemma and the progression of society: 'Let us make them forget the death of their brothers and sons, and let them be friends with each other, as in the time

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58 Although as Clarke 1989, p. 84, discusses with regard to XXIV. 98-204, "the Suitors neither ask for any revenge nor do they reckon on any vendetta. If the burden of Homer's song in this book is the reestablishment of justice among both the victors and the vanquished, then the attitude of the Suitors fits perfectly into the poet's design".

59 1989, p. 77.

60 1989, p. 331.

61 This concept recalls Aeschylus' *Eum.*, where this same change is held up as progression of the society - and so it is with Ithacan society.

past, and let them have prosperity and peace in abundance'. Having learnt the will of Zeus, Athena turns her attention and support from Odysseus to the whole community. Odysseus' attention however remains with his own survival and preeminence, with the survival of his supporters and with the intention to kill the other Ithacans if necessary (XXIV 526-28 and 537-38). "Athena no longer is automatically on his side; rather, she forces him to reach an accommodation with his rivals ... he must acknowledge the claims of others who are his peers"[62]. As Murnaghan discusses, it seems at this point that "Odysseus attains a much truer state of self-sufficiency as he recovers his home, and would gladly dispense with the rest of Ithacan society if Athena did not finally intervene to preserve the larger community and to indicate the limits of his undisputed power"[63]. Athena does this because Odysseus has now gone beyond defending what is rightfully his. Such an attitude as his poses a threat to the stability of the polis/community, "Odysseus' near destruction of the last remaining Ithacans from the vantage of his own house illustrates ... the way the hero's desire for preeminence makes him potentially hostile to the whole of the community of his peers that lies beyond his own family and household"[64]. Murnaghan reminds the reader of Athena's intervention in the assembly at the beginning of the *Iliad*, which Achilles wrongly understood as an indication of her support, "but Athena's appearance is actually inspired by Hera's equal love for Achilles and Agamemnon and is intended to stop Achilles from destroying his rival"[65]. Athena's response to this situation is to reconcile the factions which threaten the peace and prosperity of the polis. Athena's "final epiphany is not, like earlier ones, a sign of unqualified support for his [Odysseus'] assertion of himself"[66]. It seems that it is rather Athena's determined endeavour to bring peace to the polis, and as such is a sign of unqualified support for the polis.

As the two factions face each other, Athena appears as Mentor for the last time (XXIV 502-03, although Homer remarks on her appearance as Mentor at 548), and in this role she tells Laertes to take the first shot, and lets the battle commence. In this scene we at last see Odysseus with his father and his son, and the theme of the family (the family-line and family-glory) is complete. Up to this point in the poem, Laertes' role "was that of the pitiful old man, but it was made clear that his decline was premature and self-willed, the result chiefly of his beloved son's disappearance"[67]. But

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62 Murnaghan 1987, p. 65.
63 1987, p. 62.
64 Murnaghan 1987, p. 62.
65 1987, p. 65.
66 Murnaghan 1987, p. 65.
67 Wender 1978, p. 70, see also Moulton 1974.

now he is able to share with Odysseus and Telemachus the glory of their family. Bury remarks[68] that "The interest in Laertes ... is insisted on not once but repeatedly, at intervals throughout the poem. ... Laertes is never passed over in any context where it is relevant to mention him". As Wender[69] remarks of this family scene: "This is the real crown of Odysseus' triumph, that his son, emboldened to heroism by his presence, and his father, rejuvenated by his return, should both fight at his side ... This scene is the ideal vindication of Odysseus' domestic style of life, and here is the ultimate triumph of the family". In his discussion of the relationship between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Rutherford[70] compares the poems in terms of Achilles' and Odysseus' choices of life and death. In so doing, he summarises each poem so clearly and succinctly that I will quote here more than is strictly necessary: "The ideals of peace, home, domestic and political harmony, which run through the *Odyssey*, make it not only a different, but almost an opposite kind of epic compared with the *Iliad*. Achilles' great choice was a glorious death, Odysseus' is a mortal life. Achilles' story is that of a man increasingly isolated from his own society ... The *Odyssey* tells of a man and wife reunited, a family and kingdom restored to peace and order. The heroic yields place to the domestic and civic, the warrior to the bringer of peace and prosperity."

Having encouraged Laertes to kill Eupeithes, Athena seems to abandon her disguise in order to end the battle: 'So spoke Athene, and the green fear took hold of them ... at the cry of the goddess speaking' (XXIV 533-535). But each side in the conflict so believed in the right of its position that Zeus' thunderbolt was required to bring about a cessation of battle in order that (an albeit enforced) reconciliation might be achieved. Moulton[71] says of this episode: "It is similarly in character for Odysseus, who has recognized Athena's protection in battle (504), to continue to fight after her cry to stop ... It is understandable, then, that Zeus's thunderbolt, signaling the end of the battle, lands at the feet of Athena. She must delay no longer to carry out his plan". Heubeck[72] also sees the significance of Zeus' choice to send the thunderbolt not towards the "drunk with success" Odysseus, but towards Athena, "to remind her of her duty". West[73] on the other hand negates any heroic or epic effect: "here in the Ithacan countryside it [Zeus' thunderbolt] leaves the impression of a sledge-hammer employed to crack a nut". Although Athena initiates the reconciliation, she does so

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68 1922, p.6. See also West 1989, for a discussion of Laertes' role in the poem.
69 1978, pp. 70-71.
70 1993, pp. 53-54.
71 1974, p. 166.
72 Heubeck in Russo et al 1992, p. 417.
73 1989, p. 130.

because ultimately it is Zeus' will and he has openly shown it. She uses his power, and the people's fear of that power, to achieve the reconciliation (XXIV 543-544).

Perceptions of Athena and roles ascribed to her vary in this scene from the traditional, heroic and glorious, to the more questioning[74]. Even within this latter group views vary, but they tend to result in the same interpretation, namely that Athena is acting above all for the good of Ithaca. Havelock expresses the opinion[75] that "There is no such [Iliadic] "justice" operative in the *Odyssey*. The main action is extralegal". He sees Zeus and Athena's interventions as paramount, implying that without them Ithaca would have been thrown into civil war[76]: "Olympus has to intervene to settle what has become a civic impasse involving a choice between internecine war and civic accommodation. Zeus has to remind Athene that the plot to this point is the result of her engineering, but proposes a procedure for reconciliation ... So oaths are exchanged between the two sides ... ending the story with what is assumed to be political concord". Wender[77] considers the issue of the Athena/Mentor character in the scene. If Mentor is merely a disguise for Athena, her appearance in the final scene brings an end to the poem, and balances her appearance in the first book where she initiated the poem. Alternatively, she suggests, Mentor appears as himself, "a wise man", and as such is presented with reference to the goddess of wisdom. Here then, Mentor finishes his important role in the poem with a crucial piece of intervention and reconciliation. Beyond this neat balancing, Wender suggests that Athena's choice of Mentor as her disguise for this scene was "singularly appropriate"; she describes the *Odyssey* and particularly the *Telemachia* as being about learning and education, "so it is fitting for the whole to be concluded by Athene in her guise as the patroness of Telemachus. It is not Athene the personal friend of Odysseus, nor Athene the champion of justice who performs the final pacification, it is Athene the Teacher, the guide of the inexperienced". Clarke discusses the scene from the Ithacan perspective. He interprets it in terms of justice and particularly in terms of progression[78]: "The poem then ends with Homer's relating how Athena established peace between the two factions, thus presiding over the establishment of a new order of justice and peace in Ithaca". He justifies the inclusion of Book XXIV in the poem on the grounds that "it completes the second great abstract theme of the poem,

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74 I discuss the views of Havelock 1978, Wender 1978, Clay 1983, Clarke 1989, Dimock 1989, and Heubeck in Russo et al 1992 here, and of Murnaghan 1987 above, all of which fall into the latter category.

75 1978, p. 149.

76 1978, p. 148.

77 1978, pp. 67-68.

78 1989, p. 85.

justice"[79]. And he concludes[80] that "The significance of the last book is no longer personal, but civic: its outcome is of great weight and consequence for the future of Ithaca as a happy, peaceful, and well ordered kingdom". Clay[81] also sees the association of justice and Athena in the ending. She discusses how Homer intentionally dwells on the respective evils of the suitors and the nobility of Odysseus so that the killings are justifiable, a "triumph of virtue over iniquity", and "exemplary"; she continues that "Justice wins out ... and Athena has benevolently and constantly labored to this end", and concludes that Athena "inspires a truce in the last lines of the poem, inaugurating an era of peace and prosperity". Dimock[82] interprets the scene from the perspective of Odysseus being Athena's 'human counterpart', and suggests that this is why Athena is distracted from the reconciliation: "Odysseus is both enacting his name and showing the true heroic temper. This is a quality over which Athena presides as happily as she does over sagacity; but it is not the way people are reconciled ... her own heroic soul evidently has now forgotten all that as she watches her human counterpart make his magnificent charge". And once the reconciliation is back on course, "Odysseus now not only obeys Athena's words, he rejoices to do so; he is after all, her human counterpart". Heubeck[83] sees balance in the final lines: "the beginning and the end of Athena's decisive intervention in the fighting are significantly marked by the same words. The naming of the goddess in the last lines is also an appropriate end to the whole work". Appropriate though these interpretations are, it seems most appropriate for the poem to end with Athena witnessing the peace pledges in her own right, as goddess of the community and the polis of Ithaca (XXVI 546-547)[84].

Thus Athena intervenes to protect the city from internecine war. She appears as herself in order to emphasise the importance of the peace and the serious consequences of this particular battle. In doing so she takes on the role of reconciler and peacemaker. Thus the overall image of the Odyssean Athena is that of a peaceful, protective and reconciliatory deity, who reacts in two ways. One of these is indirect, cumulative and supportive; the other is directly active. Throughout the poem she is acting in her (fifth century) function as the goddess of the polis, here the polis of Ithaca and the family of its ruler, Odysseus. As Clarke[85] observes, this explains "her

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79 1989, p. 85.
80 1989, p. 85.
81 1983, pp. 234-45.
82 1989, p. 335.
83 In Russo et al 1992, p. 418.
84 This appearance by Athena as herself to achieve the fated end result is reminiscent of the *deus ex machina* to fifth century tragedies.
85 1989, p. 81.

absence during the Wanderings and her presence everywhere in Ithaca, particularly at the slaying of the Suitors and the pacification of their kinsmen. Her purpose is to restore Odysseus to the throne, end the threat of vendetta, and replace anarchy with justice in Ithaca". In this role she responds appropriately to the circumstances: for example she leaves the actual killing of the suitors entirely to the mortals, and appears only briefly to give support to Odysseus and hinder the suitors. That the suitors were killed was right, and that they died at the mortal hands of Odysseus and Telemachus was appropriate. Ending the revenge cycle, which would have left Ithaca bereft of men, and reconciling the two factions for a peaceful future is the correct action (as we will later see Lysistrata do with the Athenian and Spartan men in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, and Athena with the Erinyes in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*), and it is appropriate that the polis deity should achieve this. But she intervenes only after she has asked Zeus what was fated for Odysseus and Ithaca, and at no point does Athena actively alter the direction of events against the will of Zeus.

Athena herself began the poem as the goddess who protected the lives of the king and his family. During the course of the poem she becomes the goddess of the polis who protects the polis both from external threats (here, the suitors), and from internal threats and civil strife (here, the revenge cycle at the end). Thus both Athena and Ithaca progress from the Minoan/Mycenaean monarch-centred cultures to the Greek community-centred culture; the cause of these progressions is the principle (important to Athena as goddess of justice) that justice should replace revenge; and the result is the establishment of a new system of law, order and justice. As I will discuss later, this same concept is the theme of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and the cause there of Athens' progression from individual revenge to polis law.[86]

As with the *Odyssey*, the Athena of the *Iliad* is portrayed on various levels of involvement. There is the Athena of standard oaths (II 369-72, IV 288-89, VII 132-33, XVI 97-98), of myths (I 397-400, II 546-49, V 59-61), and general comments (V 330-33, VII 154-55, VIII 287-88, 538-41, IX 254-56, 388-91, X 242-45, XI 713-15, 720, 726-28, 735, 757, XIII 825-28, XIV 178-79, XVIII 516-19, XX 47-52, 144-46, 191-93, 358-59); the Athena who is merely a deity on Olympus, or a Greek-supporting deity (IV 7-10, 20-23, 439-42, V 418-30, 711-20, 733-47, 764-66, 907-09, VII 17-43, 58-62, VIII 30-40, 350-460, XV 213-17, XVII 398-401, XX 33, 69, XXII 177-87, XXIV 25-30, 100-02), or a warrior deity like Ares, and at times in battle with him (V 29-35, 428-30, 506-11, 842-87, XXI 391-434), or a deity who receives Greek prayers (X 460-64, 570-71, 578-79), a pro-Greek deity who hinders

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[86] See Clarke 1989, p. 84, quoted above.

the Trojans in order to assist the Greeks (IV 69-104, XVIII 216-27, 310-11, XXII 294-301, 442-44), and a Trojan god (VI 86-96, 269-79, 293-311, 379-80, 384-85). Finally, there is the Athena who actively helps and supports the Greek army, whether it means encouraging them back into battle (II 445-54, 155-84, IV 514-16, 439-42, V 1-8, XVII 551-73, XVIII 203-17), protecting specific fighters from injury (IV 127-33, XI 437-38, XX 438-40, XXI 284-92), keeping peace within the army (I 193-222), or giving, in specific instances, strength, courage or other help (IV 387-90, V 114-33, 255-61, 290-91, 674-76, 793-840, X 272-96, 365-68, 482-83, 494-97, 507-12, 550-53, XI 45-46, XV 667-70, XVII 543-46, XIX 340-56, XX 47-52, 115-18, 313-16, XXI 298-300, 303-04, XXII 214-47, 270-77, XXIII 388-92, 399-400, 403-06).

Athena's roles in the *Odyssey* as protector of the city, and as god of communities are also shown in the *Iliad*. Here, we see her as the protecting deity of two diverse communities: Troy, an established monarchical city, and the Greek army, several individual groups who become a unit for the duration of the war. We also see her in her position as goddess of the polis in a position of conflict, when she has to choose between these two groups, each of which worships her and looks to her for protection and victory in battle. Whether as goddess of the polis, or as the Minoan/Mycenaean palace goddess, Athena protected the life of the king (or leader) of the community, and the lives of his family; she also protected the society from internal and external threat, as we saw clearly in the *Odyssey*. As such, Athena's loyalties were in conflict[87]. She has to decide which side will be victorious, but more importantly, which side will be defeated and destroyed. She must turn her back on one side, dispense with her responsibilities to them, and no longer listen to their prayers. In the *Iliad*, we see the crucial situation of the polis goddess actively deserting her people, and negating the Homeric epithet Ἀλαλκομενηΐς Ἀθήνη, Athena who stands by her people[88].

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Ithaca is not a polis in the classical sense, and nor are Troy or the Greek army, but again I think that the fifth century Athenian audience would have perceived both as polis-like societies (and I will discuss this issue below). Although Troy was a monarchical city, it had a very strong sense of being a polis community[89], and there are aspects of it which suggest it had

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87 We saw this conflict with Odysseus above, and it also existed for the Athena of the fifth century, and the societies which worshipped her.

88 This epithet of Athena is used only twice in the *Iliad*, IV 8 and V 908. On each occasion it is used in a formulaic line, when Athena is paired with Hera: "Hera of Argos, with Athene who stands by her people". I think these epithets and pairing are used to enhance Athena's reputation for her loyalty rather than to suggest that Hera does not stand by *her* people.

89 Scully 1990, pp. 14-15, gives his own (quoted above) and others' definition of the Homeric polis.

started to progress towards the fifth century idea of a polis. The monarchy seems to be hereditary, unlike Ithaca (as discussed above). But just as we see Telemachus grow up and become ready to be head of his household, so in Troy we see Hector take on more of the active duties of the king (principally, as defender of the city and leader of the army), while Priam is involved only in the most important of situations. The most distinctive mark of a polis is its strong wall with towers and gates, which Troy certainly had (III 145, VI 327, XXI 608-11, XXII 2-6, 413, 462-63, XIV 709). Also important to a polis were its assemblies, where the important issues of the community were discussed and decisions made[90]. Again, Troy has these. The first time Homer focusses on the Trojans in the poem (II 788-808), an assembly is being held outside Priam's house, and led by Hector. Thus the first time we meet the Trojans, we see polis-like attributes in their society. The Trojans hold assemblies throughout the poem (II 788-808, VII 345-79, 414-18, 423, VIII 489-542, XII 82-83, XVIII 245-314, XXIV 790), which suggests that they were a normal part of life, as they were in a polis. 'Elders'[91] played a large part in the normal life of a polis, although in Troy they appear only once (III 146-153), sitting at a tower by the Skaian gates with Helen watching the two sides line up against each other when Menelaus and Paris are to fight each other in single combat for Helen. The Greek 'elders', on the other hand, play a far larger part in their community, as I will discuss below. The different roles of the elders in their respective communities (and their relative importance to each society) can be seen in the different reactions to significant deaths. The Greek elders gather around Achilles to mourn Patroclus (XIX 310-12, 338) but Hector is mourned by his family, particularly as a son and a husband (XXII 412-515); his body is returned to Priam's palace (XXIV 716ff) and laid out there, and the feast after the burial is also held there (XXIV 802-3). On the one hand, this suggests that the Trojan society was less advanced in terms of community than the Greeks, but on the other hand, the circumstances of the Greek community meant that there were no other ways in which to act.

The temple of the goddess, whether the palace, city or polis goddess, was also obviously important. In Troy, Priam, Hector and Paris each have their palace 'on the peak of the citadel' by Athena's temple (VI 313-17). The positioning of these houses,

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90 For a discussion on assemblies in war and peace, see Finley 1977, pp. 80-82; and for a discussion on consensus in the Greek army assemblies, and Thersites' treatment at its hands, see Dalby 1992, p. 21.

91 When Hector refers to the 'elders' (XXII. 119), the implication is that he would be one of them. This suggests that the term 'elders' had already begun to refer to the intelligent and influential elite, the counsellors, of the community. This meaning is also implied in the Greek army, where there are very few men who might, in terms of their age, be referred to as 'elders'.

particularly Priam's, recalls the earlier age of the palace goddess. The citadel is also the focus of the supplications of the women to Athena for her protection and their salvation (VI 86-96, 269-79, 293-310, 379-85), and it is from there that Cassandra sees Priam returning with Hector's body (XXIV 700)[92]. Thus we can see that Troy had many of the most important characteristics of a polis-like society, and had progressed some way towards that society, although it still retained some aspects of earlier societies.

For the duration of the Greek journey to Troy, and particularly the years of the war, the Greek army became a unit and a community. Like Troy, it was also polis-like in some ways. The Greek wall is one of the themes of the poem. It is built in Book VII, (435-441) 'to be a defence for themselves and their vessels; and they built within these walls gates strongly fitted'[93], but it also caused them hardships. For example, Poseidon immediately takes offence because (VII 450) they had 'not given the gods any grand sacrifice'[94]. Zeus then promises the destruction of the Greek wall to (the pro-Greek) Poseidon. The theme of the wall continues with comments from both gods and men (VIII 177-79, XIV 55-56, XXIV 446-47, 453-57, 566-67), and in Book XII the Trojans break through the wall and take the fighting back as far as the Greek ships (XII 3-36, 120-23, 175, 289, 397-99, 438). The ships constituted 'home' for the Greek army during the war and were therefore also the focus of the polis. This is best demonstrated during Odysseus' and Diomedes' nocturnal expedition against the Thracians of Book X[95], where references are made to the ships as "home", rather than as a means of getting home. When Odysseus prays to Athena (X 281), he speaks of the Greek ships as he might refer to a polis 'and grant that we come back in glory to the strong-benched vessels'. Athena herself during this episode reacts, with reference to the ships, as a polis deity when she warns Diomedes to return to the ships in case the Trojans awake and pursue them (X 507-12).

The Greek army also holds frequent assemblies (I 57-305, II 50-86, 94-150, 207-398, 402-09, 442, VII 324-44, 381-412, IX 10-79, 89-176, XII 10ff; XIX 341-276; XXIII 258ff). These are very much like the ones of the *Odyssey* and the fifth century

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92 And, beyond the *Iliad*, the site of the seizure of Cassandra, the greatest offence to Athena by the Greeks.

93 This remark raises two issues: it suggests that the building of city walls generally involved the gods, and was celebrated with sacrifices and a feast (which is not surprising); and also that the Greeks had evidently not felt vulnerable enough during the preceding nine years of the war to build a wall (unless Homer mentioned it at this point, in order to include it, and to show Poseidon's anger).

94 Adkins 1972, pp. 3-4, discusses this occasion during his examination of the word τιμή.

95 The authenticity of this book is disputed, but since it was part of the poem in the fifth century, I will discuss it as it stands.

(more so than the Trojan ones), in that they are portrayed as a forum for debate, discussion and disagreement, as Achilles and Agamemnon show in Book I (57-305), and as Diomedes reminds Agamemnon (IX 32-33): 'I will be first to fight with your folly, as is my right, lord, in this assembly; then do not be angered'. As I have mentioned above, the elders of the Greek army community play a larger role than do their Trojan counterparts. One need only look at Nestor, the role he plays, and the respect accorded to him to see the importance of the elders to the Greeks. When, in Book IX, Agamemnon decides to send a delegation to Achilles, and although it becomes clear that Agamemnon had it in mind, it is Nestor who in fact first suggests it, and it is he who chooses which men should go (Phoenix - himself an elder, Odysseus, Ajax, and 2 heralds). When Patroclus is killed, it is both the elders and the most important men (Agamemnon, Menelaus, Odysseus, Nestor, Idomeneus, and Phoenix) who sit with Achilles and mourn (XIX 310-38). Unlike Troy, the Greeks do not have a citadel. They have altars at which they make sacrifices and prayers, and which appear to be sited at the sea shore around the ships, rather than being sited on a high point of land dedicated to the gods.

Thus both the Greek army and the Trojans show signs of being polis-like societies to the extent that I think the fifth century Athenian audience would interpret those societies as polis-like, and so would expect them to worship Athena as the polis goddess. But how does Athena choose between two societies each of which worships her as its protector? The factor which actually seems to instigate her decision, albeit with Hera's prompting, is the judgement of Paris. Zeus is the first to mention the outcome of the war, in a dream to Agamemnon, and even here it is clear who the motivator is: (II 13-15) 'For no longer are the gods who live on Olympos arguing the matter, since Hera forced them all over by her supplication, and evils are in store for the Trojans'. Hera's motivation in fact seems to be twofold. She is against the Trojans because of Paris, but she also favours the Greeks because they are Greek. We must also remember Hera's Homeric epithet, Argive Hera. Although Homer uses 'Argos' in an ambiguous way[96], in itself it suggests two crucial points: the only other person to be given this epithet is Argive Helen; and 'Argives' is one of the many interchangeable names Homer uses to refer to the Greek army. Hera was worshipped all over Greece, and was the patron deity of Argos, from where the trouble (ie Helen) originated. The Argives honoured her and she loved them. Hera's opinion is clearly

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[96] Homer's Argos means a specific city (home of Diomedes rather than Agamemnon or Menelaus); but it also means 'Greece', and is used to describe the 'Greek' army. Helen is therefore a 'Greek' rather than an 'Argive'. But, Hera requires a more specific epithet than merely 'Greek'. Since 'Argive' is used only of Hera, Helen and the 'Greek' army, there are implications to Hera's epithet.

stated on the first occasion that the issue of the war occurs between her and Athena, when the Greeks are about to give up and return home: (II 155-168) 'As things are, the Argives will take flight homeward ... and thus they would leave to Priam and to the Trojans Helen of Argos, to glory over, for whose sake many Achaians lost their lives'; following this remark, Athena tells Odysseus to urge the Greeks back. Athena tends not to express her allegiance as forcefully as Hera, although she does once, during the battle of the gods when she has beaten Ares and Aphrodite: (XXI 28-29) 'Now may all who bring their aid to the Trojans be in such case as these, when they do battle with the armoured Argives.' On another occasion, Hera speaks to Poseidon on her own behalf and Athena's (XX 313-315) 'For we two, Pallas Athene and I, have taken numerous oaths and sworn them in the sight of all the immortals never to drive the day of evil from the Trojans'. Hera seems to bear the judgement less well than Athena since, throughout the poem, it is she who reminds Athena and prompts her (IV 69-85, V 711-20, XXI 418-34). This difference of reaction might in part be a consequence of Zeus' frequent and blatant neglect of his wife which means that Hera's beauty has greater implications and association for her than Athena's warring abilities, which are never disputed, have for Athena. However, in terms of the actual war, the difference in reaction seems to me to reflect the difficulty and dilemma of Athena's situation in having to choose between the Greeks and Trojans[97]; and it is only through Hera's constant prompting and reminding that Athena is able to force Trojan defeat and Greek victory[98].

The strength of the effect of Paris' decision is great, as can be seen in Book XXIV when Poseidon, Hera and Athena are the only gods unwilling to allow Hermes to rescue Hector's body from Achilles' outrages. The reason Homer gives for this (XXIV 25-30) would seem to summarise the opinions of these three gods, particularly Hera and Athena, 'who kept still their hatred for sacred Ilion as in the beginning, and for Priam and his people, because of the delusion of Paris who insulted the goddesses when they came to him in his courtyard and favoured her who supplied the lust that led to disaster'. Paris' judgement also causes Hera and Athena to work closely

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97 The dilemma is also shown by the Aeneas episode of XX 79-340, where Achilles and Aeneas face each other, and the gods intervene because Aeneas must survive the war in order to lead the remaining Trojans and be their king. Although Hera initially addresses her, Athena actually plays no part in the episode.

98 That Hera bore the judgement harder than Athena is also reflected in fifth century drama, for example in Euripides' *Helen*, discussed above, Athena's role in the (original) judgement is mentioned only twice, 23-26 and 358. Other references to Athena's part in the judgement are similarly brief: *IA.* 71-72, 183-84, 1300, 1305; *Andr.* 277; *Troades* 925-26, 971-74, 879-81. In fifth century drama, the only evidence we have of a representation of the judgement is Cratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, Kassel and Austin 1983. See also Isokrates 10. 41-42, for the myth of the judgement.

together (IV 7-10[99], 20-23, 69-73, V 764-68, VII 31-32, 447-49, VIII 350-468, IX 254-56, XI 45-46, XX 33, XXIV 25-30). These two formidably strong and powerful goddesses are unlikely partners, and are rarely seen as a pair elsewhere. It is effectively they who decide that the Greeks will win the war. Further evidence for the Paris motivation can be seen in the responses of Hera and Athena to Aphrodite. Again, that these three interact so clearly is unusual. Aphrodite's sphere is so different from the other two and has no place in the actual occasion of a war (although manifestly it has a great role in the cause of this war), as Zeus remarks to her: (V 28-30) 'not for you are the works of warfare. Rather concern yourself only with the lovely secrets of marriage, while all this shall be left to Athene and sudden Ares'. In fact, with one exception, the only times Hera and Athena have dealings with Aphrodite is during the two battles of the gods (V 129-32, 330-33, 418-30, XXI 415-434). In the first battle, Athena takes great pleasure in telling Diomedes to fight with none of the gods except for Aphrodite. After Diomedes has injured her, Hera and Athena tease her (V 418-30) over 'those Trojans she loves so hopelessly', and it is at this point that Zeus makes the comment quoted above. In the second battle of the gods, Athena defeats Ares[100], Hera notices Aphrodite helping him, and Athena likewise defeats Aphrodite (XXI 390-430). Hera and Athena certainly appear in these two episodes to be seeking (and enjoying) their revenge on Aphrodite. The exception to their revenge is an occasion (XIV 190-96) when Hera deceives Aphrodite so that the latter will help Hera in her endeavours to beguile Zeus while helping the Greeks defeat the Trojans. She asks Aphrodite 'Are you forever angered against me because I defend the Danaans, while you help the Trojans?'. It is interesting that Hera chooses to focus on their allegiances in the current war rather than mention Paris' judgement.

Allowing the Greeks to be victorious has two implications, each of which I will discuss: Athena will support the Greeks, and she will hinder the Trojans: she will help her friends and harm her enemies. As goddess of victory (and of victorious armies),

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[99] Menelaus is one of only two recipients in the *Iliad* of what Homer describes as Athena's motherly touch. At IV 127-33, Athena turns an arrow away from him, "as when a mother brushes a fly away from her child who is lying in sweet sleep". The other recipient is, unsurprisingly, Odysseus, when, during the running race of the funeral games, the lesser Aias says, XXIII 782-83, that Athena "has always stood over Odysseus like a mother, and taken good care of him". I will discuss the idea of Athena as mother in Chapter 5.

[100] Athena is consistently portrayed as the enemy of Ares, as the only god who confronts him and prevents him going into battle (*Il.* XV 100-140), and as the only god who fights against him (*Il* XXI 390-430). In the Theban foundation myth (*Phoen.* 666-69), Athena advices Kadmos on killing Ares' dragon, and on scattering the teeth from which grow the *spartoi*, the fully-armed warriors; she tells Kadmos how to outwit Ares. Ares represents unthinking violence where Athena represents considered violence, for example military tactics.

and as Willcock's "goddess of Greek success"[101], this poses no problems. But in her role as goddess of poleis, it poses considerable problems. In allowing the Greeks to win, Athena must also allow the Trojans to lose, and in so doing, she must withhold her protection of them and their polis. In her efforts, Athena deceives the Trojans both individually and collectively (IV 86-104 'So spoke Athene, and persuaded the fool's heart in him'; XVIII 310-11 'since Pallas Athene had taken away the wits from them'); and she actively hinders Hector during his fight with Achilles (XXII 247 'so Athene spoke and led him on by beguilement', 294-301 'it was Athene cheating me', 445-46 'Pallas Athene cut him down at the hands of Achilles'). Her anti-Trojan stance is described by Apollo (VII 27 'Since you have no pity at all for the Trojans who are dying', 30-32 'since it is dear to the heart of you ... that this city shall be made desolate'). Scully[102] remarks that of the three gods "instrumental in its destruction", Zeus and Poseidon had their reasons but that Athena's "pitiless indifference to Troy ... is never explained", and suggests instead that it "cannot be separated from her father's willingness to see Troy destroyed", which he argues was because cities are as irrelevant and transient as the people who inhabit them: "Zeus places the city back within the dispassioned framework of sun and stars" - and is then able to sanction its destruction. Worship of Athena in Troy continues regardless, and is given specific attention and more weight than worship of any other god by the Trojans. The dichotomy of this situation is made abundantly clear, and with heart-rending effect, in Book VI (86-96, 269-79, 286-312, 379-80, 384-85), when, by Helenus' instruction and at Hector's direction, the women of Troy sacrifice a robe to Athena, whom Theano, the Trojan priestess of Athena, invokes as (VI 305, 309-10) 'Athene, our city's defender', and promises her twelve heifers 'if only you will have pity on the town of Troy, and the Trojan wives, and their innocent children'. One must observe here that the women have sacrificed and appealed to Athena (although not at their own instigation), not on behalf of the warriors or even the men, but on their own behalf and that of the children. They appeal for clemency for the victims of the war - the wives who lose both husbands and sons, and the children who will grow up both fatherless, and either to be soldiers, or to be women with few prospects of marriage[103]. Athena's response to her Trojan priestess (VI 311, 'but Pallas Athene turned her head from her') is as crushing and final as her later treatment of Hector,

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101 1970, p.6.

102 1990, pp. 38-40 and 124-25.

103 This is the argument which Lysistrata (who, as Lewis 1955 argues, can be seen as the priestess of Athena Polias, as I will discuss in the next chapter) uses to such brilliantly cutting effect in Aristophanes' *Lys.*, 589-97, "We bear [war's] burden more than twice over: in the first place by bearing sons and sending them out as hoplites .... Then, at the age when we ought to be having pleasure and enjoying the bloom of our prime, we have to sleep alone".

and his response when he realises his situation (XXII 299-301, 'it was Athene cheating me, and now evil death is close to me, and no longer far away, and there is no way out'). The polis goddess deceives the Trojan warriors in battle and turns her head from the prayers and entreaties of both the warriors and the women. Without the protection of the goddess of the city and the polis, Troy can only rely on its warriors, and without the help of the goddess of victory, those warriors cannot achieve victory. Having lost the support of Athena, Troy is doomed.

Athena compounds the effects of this desertion by actively helping the Greeks to gain victory. It is in this role that we can most clearly see Athena as the polis goddess in the *Iliad.* As outlined in the above discussion of the *Odyssey*, the role of the polis goddess was to protect the polis from both internal and external threats. She fulfils both aspects of this role for the polis of the Greek army. Athena protects the Greeks from external threat in a general way by helping them on the battlefield, and, when their will is weakened, by inspiring them on to battle, back to battle, and in battle (II 155-83, 445-454, IV 387-90, 439-40, 514-16, V 1-8, 114-133, 255-61, 290-91, 674-76, 907-07, X 272-96, 365-68, 482-83, 494-97, 550-53, XI 45-46, XV 668-70, XVII 543-46, 551-73, XVIII 203-227, XX 47-52, 191-93, XXI 284-92, 298-300, 303-04, XXII 214-24, 276-77, XXIII 388-92, 399-400, 403-06). The intention of this is to protect the lives of the soldiers in battle. There are also more specific instances of Athena's protection from external threat, where she protects warriors such as Menelaus, Odysseus and Achilles from injury (IV 127-33, XI 437-38, XX 438-40); she also protects Diomedes from Ares in battle (V 792-859), and she advises him to return to the ships during his nocturnal expedition with Odysseus (X 507-12). The way in which she protects the Greek army most effectively is by actively harming and hindering the Trojans; by doing this she lessens the threat they pose. Athena also protects the Greek army from internal threat, for example by feeding Achilles with nectar and ambrosia (XIX 340-56) so that he will be capable of fighting on his return to battle[104]. Athena's best known act of protection occurs in Book I when she prevents Achilles from killing Agamemnon (I 193-222). However, on closer inspection, it is not a clear-cut situation. The motivation behind this act was not just to protect the Greek army from internal strife because problems would have been caused whether Achilles had killed Agamemnon, or had merely remained angry. The actual motivation in Athena's action was Hera (I 208-09): 'the goddess of the white arms Hera sent me, who loves both of you equally in her heart and cares for you'.

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[104] It is, however, interesting to note that Athena plays no part in either Patroclus' or Achilles' decisions to return to the fighting, each makes his own decision.

Redfield[105] observes that Athena's intervention in many respects makes matters worse for the Greek army: "Achilles' wrath is not acted out directly but with massive indirection ... the initial error [Agamemnon's refusal to relinquish Chryseis] spreads until it encompasses in its destructive consequences Troy, the leader of the Trojans, Hector. The tragedy is in motion". In order to save the Greek community from internal threat, Athena saves it from Achilles[106]. His power as the best Greek fighter makes him a threat to the Greeks. By withdrawing from the battle in his anger and stubbornness, Achilles puts the Greeks at risk. He is their best warrior and without him the Trojans pose a threat which not only allows the fighting to come to the Greek ships, but kills an unnecessarily large number of Greeks. As Murnaghan[107] remarks, comparing Odysseus' threat to Ithacan society and Achilles' threat to the Greek army, "the hero's desire for preeminence makes him potentially hostile to the whole of the community. ... If he can arrive at a position in which he no longer needs the cooperation of outsiders, the hero can afford to become their enemy". Achilles achieves the first part of this in that, by showing the Greeks how much weaker they are without him, he realises how strong he is, and thinks that he and Patroclus alone can conquer the Trojans until the death of Patroclus (which in itself occurs because of Achilles' decision to let him go back into the fighting) prevents this.

Redfield[108] also discusses Agamemnon's authority and standing within the community of the Greek army. Within his discussion he outlines various strengths of this community[109]: a single strong leader "limits conflict, guarantees solidarity, and enables the community to function ... Yet the king does not have arbitrary authority ... he is *primus inter pares*"[110]. He goes on to explain that "throughout the poem Nestor and Odysseus struggle to maintain Agamemnon's authority, not out of personal loyalty to him but because they see him as the channel through which policy can be made coherent and effective. The role of the king requires him to be both responsive and authoritative; he should hear good counsel and convert it into public policy by sealing it with his personal approval"[111]. These are the strengths of a polis society and of its leader. Making decisions based on the wishes of the majority is a quality of an assembly-based power structure, and of a polis; respecting them is a quality of a good

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105 1975, p. 98.

106 Just as we will later (in Sophocles' *Ajax*) see her protect it from the internal threat of Ajax.

107 1987, p. 62.

108 1975, pp. 90-98.

109 It must be noted that Redfield outlines these points to demonstrate how weak and ineffectual Agamemnon is, and how this, coupled with Achilles' personality, exacerbates the situation at the beginning of the poem which leads to Achilles' withdrawal, which itself causes so many deaths.

110 1975, p. 92.

111 1975, p. 93.

leader. Agamemnon shows himself to be not mature enough to accept this, as we see when he ignores the wishes of the assembly to return Chryseis to her father. The assemblies of the *Iliad* show (ideally) the strengths of such a community. An assembly could generally discuss and resolve any internal problem. But, as Havelock[112] remarks, "for disputes between competing city-states, the procedure was not available, because no common agora was available to allow it to function. Between Greeks and Trojans "justice" cannot exist, only the inaction of peace or the activity of war". The *Iliad*, and particularly the Achilles:Agamemnon episode shows us both the strengths of a polis-society, and the importance of the progression of society. In the *Odyssey* we saw how Ithacan society developed from being based on a family-centred revenge culture to a society-centred, justice-oriented culture. Both the Greek and the Trojan communities are based on the former culture, and neither progresses fully to the latter. The *Iliad* shows us how destructive was the war which this type of culture caused. When, in the *Odyssey*, Telemachus meets Nestor and Menelaus, each remembers the war "not as their greatest triumph ... but as a time of hardship and great suffering, culminating in terrible losses"[113]. Many Greeks died, but even those who survived suffer from their memories of the waste and destruction of the war. Menelaus is a particularly good example of such a survivor: he and the army achieved their purpose, in that Helen returned to Sparta with him, but as Rutherford[114] remarks, he "still feels the loss of his friends, who endured so much for his sake ... There is an undertone of guilt in this scene as he glumly tells Telemachus that money does not bring happiness". Thus the importance of the progression of society, which Athena espouses as goddess of the polis, and champions as goddess of justice, is shown to be needed (during war-time) in both societies in the *Iliad.* Progression of society was also an issue in many fifth century dramas (which I will discuss later, particularly Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*), and thus the *Iliad* may have stood then as a reminder of the consequences both of a stagnant culture, and of war. And if, as I have suggested, the fifth century audience interpreted the Athena of the *Iliad* as the polis goddess whom they worshipped, they would also have been aware of the implications of her dilemma as polis goddess, and the effects on each side of her choice between them.

Considering Athena as a polis deity allows us a fuller interpretation of both poems. In the *Iliad* we see a goddess torn between two communities and people, but also one who, having made her decision, stands by her people, inspires them to fight,

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112 Havelock 1978, pp. 137-38.
113 Rutherford 1993, p. 49.
114 1993, p. 50.

and saves them from destroying their own community; one who saves them from specific injury by the enemy, and saves them by undermining the threat of that enemy. In the *Odyssey* we see Athena as the polis goddess overcome her anger with Odysseus in order to save his polis from destruction by the suitors, and then save Ithacan society from destroying itself by the revenge cycle.

Having begun with almost contradictory images of the Iliadic and Odyssean Athenas, the warrior and the reconciler, we have found one: a Homeric Athena who protects communities, whether as the warrior for protection from external threats, or as the reconciler for the resolution of internal strife. This Homeric Athena is also one whom the fifth century Athenian audience would recognise as the polis deity they themselves worshipped, a god whose interest was the polis and its people, and the safe-keeping of that polis by her two-fold protection; a god who was also concerned for the society of that polis, and concerned that the society should be one where justice replaces revenge.

Chapter 3 Athena as warrior and reconciler II: *Eumenides* and *Lysistrata*

In fifth century Athens, Athena seems to have had two almost contradictory aspects: the warrior deity who defends the polis and inspires the Athenians to battle; and the more gentle deity who protects the Athenians with an apparently maternal loving and inspires them in creative skills. The image of these two Athenas also recalls those portrayed in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* respectively, which we have already seen as one Homeric Athena, goddess of the polis. Aspects of both of these Athenas are also portrayed in the *Eumenides* and the *Lysistrata*, the first and last of the extant fifth century plays in which Athena plays a key role, two otherwise diverse plays. The fifth century Athenian audience would have recognised the single Homeric Athena as the polis deity they themselves worshipped; a goddess whose interest was the polis and its people, and the safe-keeping of that polis, whether it required the warrior for protection from external threats, or the reconciler for the resolution of internal strife. These roles were combined, as Kerényi[1] remarks, in her weapons, "helmet, lance, shield - [which] serve both the purposes of defense and of frightening away ... In this, her frightening-away defensive aspect is allied with her maternal, protective aspect".

Key themes of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* are internal and external threats to the safety of the polis, and the resolution of those threats by Athena (or her representative). Thus we might expect to see confirmation of the Homeric Athena, Athena goddess of the polis. Another key theme of these two plays is the progression of society from vengeance to justice. Since Athena is concerned for the welfare of the polis, and associated with justice, we might again expect to see confirmation of the polis Athena. Finally, since both plays end with a Panathenaic-like procession, and since that was the main festival of Athena in Athens, we will also look at that festival for evidence of the one Athena.

Athena the polis deity is found in three key ways in the *Eumenides*: in her close connection and identification with the city and its people; by her handling of Orestes, the Erinyes, and the Athenian jury in the trial section; and by her treatment of the Erinyes thereafter. Faced with the considerable external threat which the Erinyes pose, Athena not only protects the polis, but turns the Erinyes into benevolent goddesses of Athens.

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1 1978, p. 24.

Orestes prays to Athena to come and defend him (276-98)[2], and his prayer is directed to her as a warrior. However this is the first reference in the play to the warrior Athena; the previous four references (10, 80, 242, 259) have been either to Athena's Athens, or to the ancient olive-wood statue, the βρέτας. Thus in the first 300 lines, we see her as a link with Athens, an ancient wooden statue, and then as the masculine warrior of Orestes' prayer. We see her in yet another (and partly ambiguous) position in Apollo's instruction to Orestes to go to Athens and take refuge at the statue (80), and in the Erinyes' observation (259) of Orestes doing so. Orestes is holding on to the statue for his own protection from the Erinyes until Athena arrives, but he seems also to be protecting the statue and Athena herself from the Erinyes who "in their inhuman appearance, savage character and wild dancing seem hostile to all the values of a civilised community for which Athena stands."[3] In telling Orestes to go to Athena in Athens (80)[4], Apollo took what was effectively his argument with the Erinyes over Orestes to Athena for her decision (230-31). The Erinyes (433) tell her to make the final decision, her response is to ask Orestes for his opinion, and once he has also put the decision into her hands (468-69), Athena's reaction is that the issue is not only too important for a mortal to decide, but is also too important for her to decide alone (470-80). By this she means two things. First, that the actual issue at hand is evenly balanced. Orestes is a purified suppliant who has not harmed Athens, and the Erinyes are simply doing their job, 'an allotted office not easily dispensed with' (476). Athena is unable to send them all away because that would leave Orestes to the Erinyes, and because she and Athens respect the rights of suppliants to Athens (though not least to further the city's reputation); nor can she decide in Orestes' favour, as the suppliant, because she knows the Erinyes will harm Athens in retaliation (477-79). Secondly, she means that because of the even balance a decision must be made, and this is a decision which will affect the Athenians, both because it will be taken on Athenian soil, and, more importantly, because it will set a precedent for suppliants turning to Athens in the future. She will therefore let the

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2 See Borthwick 1969, for a discussion of 294.

3 Sommerstein 1989, p. 125, note on 243.

4 This instruction to clasp Athena's statue is also given by Castor in Eur. *El.*, 1254-57; in *IT*, 961-69, Orestes recalls the trial and Athena's role in it, and in Athena's epiphany she also recalls the trial and the judgement that equal votes acquit (1469-72). Although Artemis might in some ways be the more obvious choice for *dea ex machina* here, Athena is more appropriate because here she is able to ensure that Orestes is freed from the Erinyes, that the judgement is confirmed, and that her court is upheld; she is also appropriate because Orestes and Iphigenia are going to Athens - she welcomes them and Artemis into her land and among her people.

Athenians decide, and on this occasion she will have the casting vote. She establishes an Athenian court to judge the present case and create a precedent for the future[5].

The even balancing of Orestes' and the Erinyes' cases shows that the system of retribution and retaliation, a system which stemmed from the tribal, pre-state, family-centred society, had met with the more progressive attitude which Apollo held, that once properly purified one was absolved from a crime. However, neither of these systems was able to deal with Orestes' case[6]. Athena and the jury reckon this attitude to be too generous, the former by deciding that a judgement was necessary, and the latter by the result of their vote. In the trial itself, Orestes is treated as though he were not purified: the Erinyes refuse to regard him as purified, and Apollo, interestingly, avoids addressing the issue. Purification is transcended, not superseded. In a sense, the use of the court and judgement of the case, shows that one cannot simply be purified of a crime and then continue with life normally, but that having been purified, one must also atone for the crime. By establishing a human homicide court, (whether or not motivated by Zeus who, according to Kitto[7] "has moved forward from violence and confusion, in which the Erinyes were his unquestioning agents, to arbitrary interference, which angered the Erinyes, and from that to reason and mercy, which angers them still more") Athena actively changes the system towards trial by humans, by equals, and by laws, so Athena "addresses herself to the

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5 The question might be asked what is Athena wearing in the *Eum.*? That Orestes prays to her as a warrior gives us the clearest clue that she is likely to be dressed as one. We have no way of knowing what she is wearing other than that she wore the aegis (404), though we can make some assumptions: she first appears having just received land as a prize of war, and she returns having chosen "the best of my citizens" (487), to preside over the first ever homicide court. However, being such an important deity, she is unlikely to have been represented as being dressed in anything other than a majestic fashion. Sommerstein 1989, p. 151, note on 397-489, assuming she is in warrior dress, sees her as light coming into darkness, "In addition, at the moment of her entry, the very brightness of the armour would make an effective contrast with the dark garments of the Erinyes". Athena does have the opportunity to return in different clothes once she has chosen the jury, and she is more likely then either to dress as a magistrate to reflect her role as president of the court, or to remain in military dress, and either way she will have remained wearing the aegis. The latter is the more probable since no reference is made to her having changed her clothes, and since upon her return her first words (566-73) are of a military tone, and she orders the sounding of the military trumpet. The play ends on a martial theme, with the Erinyes promising to protect Athens from factional strife, murder and bloodshed, and with Athena's blessing for victory in war (913-915). These and the fact that Athens was at the time of the performance at war and very much preoccupied by it, all suggest that Athena's dress would be most relevant, and so most likely, if it were military. On the clothes of the Erinyes, Orestes and Apollo as well as Athena, see Sommerstein forthcoming(a), § 7.6.3. He argues that from the text and from representations in art a fair amount can be deduced about their clothes; that Orestes was dressed as a traveller, with a cloak and hat; the Erinyes were dressed in dark short-skirted *chitons*, with their arms bare; and Apollo wore 'a bordered white garment draped over one shoulder' and a laurel crown.

6 Winnington-Ingram 1983, pp. 166-173.

7 1961, pp. 94-95.

task of leading mankind from barbarism to civilisation"[8]. Her motivation for doing this is to develop the polis from a group with the emphasis on individuals to one with the emphasis on cohesiveness and unity, a community: "the conflict between the Law of Dike and the Law of Hybris is resolved in the ordered system of the Polis, for now Retribution can be administered without moral guilt and violence"[9]. Both Apollo and the Erinyes show their attitudes to be less developed than this by talking in terms of individuals, or at most the family. In their debate, both sides continue to talk in terms of individuals, even to the extent of viewing parents as separate within the context of procreation, with one or the other being the more important (622-666). The Erinyes talk in their first choral ode, 307-396, about the individual murderer who will be destroyed by them, and in their second choral ode, 490-565, about how, if Orestes wins, there will be no protection either for parents from their children, or for individual from individual. It is in the latter ode, at 524, that the chorus first makes mention of a city, but only once. Apollo's attitude becomes more society-centred when he offers the allegiance of Orestes and Argos to Athens for the future. Athena, on the other hand, talks about individuals in their relation to others. There is however a crucial exception to this in her justification for her vote (735-740)[10] where she views parents not only as separate (736), but as unequal (739-740)[11]. Podlecki[12] remarks that her judgement "is not only a supremely skilful diplomatic manoeuvre ... it is also a counsel of wisdom". The use of the negative in 739 is carefully and effectively done: 'So I shall not have preferential regard for the death of a woman who killed her husband'; by using this phrase, Athena remains consistent with the view that both parents are equally important even if the killing of one is less wrong than the killing of the other. This active use of the negative is also found in the analogy of equal votes acquitting: it would not be fair to condemn an accused person when the *arguments* for

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8 Thomson 1973, p. 264.

9 Kitto 1956, pp. 81-82.

10 Hester 1981, p. 273, argues that in order not to destroy the balance of the arguments which have been carefully created and aired, Aeschylus bases Athena's vote on her specific and personal situation: "she gives the one reason which could never be used as a precedent in any actual trial and thus breaks a deadlock which was on moral grounds insoluble". See also Gagarin 1975, pp. 126-27, who argues that Athena's vote makes the tie, but that "it does not establish any precedent nor does it make her vote qualitatively different from the others, although it is of course more important dramatically".

11 On the philosophical background to Apollo's biological argument, and on how the audience might have reacted, see Sommerstein 1989, pp. 206-08. On this issue, see also Zeitlin 1978, pp. 168-72, who remarks of the episode that "the argument draws upon the new scientific theories of the day. But even as the argument looks forward in its advancement of new intellectual trends, it looks backward in relying for proof of this contention on the mythic concept of Athena's birth from the head of Zeus".

12 1983, pp. 40.

and against them were equally balanced[13]. Apart from this one exception Athena speaks of individuals in their relation to others. For example, on first noticing the Erinyes (406) she refers to them as 'visitors to this land', and then she says (413-414) that it is wrong for people to 'speak ill' of another person. When she asks Orestes to defend himself (437-38), she tells him to do so by reference to others, 'Begin by telling your country, your family, and your circumstance'. Her opinion of Orestes' case is that it is too difficult for an individual, whether mortal or not, to judge (470-71) and must be judged by representatives of the community. When the case has been decided, she wants the court and the whole city - the community - to hear her ordinances (571-72[14]). And when the Erinyes have been defeated, Athena's persuasion of them is based on their future relationship to the city and its people - to the community.

Athena identifies herself and is identified by others as the goddess of the polis throughout the play. She uses the possessive to describe both Athens (858 τόποισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσιι) and the Athenians (487 ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν; 707-08 ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν; 862 τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιιν); in the final stanza of the play, the escorts refer to Athens as Athena's city (1045 Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς); and the now-Eumenides in saying goodbye to the Athenians, do so with reference to the people's relationship with Athena (999 παρθένου φίλας φίλοι). Athena is described (288) as ἄνασσαν, which means both patron deity and ruler of the city. Her role as ruler of the city is striking in this play because it is the only time (in the extant plays) where she takes this role, which in Athenian suppliant-plays is normally ascribed to the king. This has been interpreted to imply that "heroic Athens, like fifth-century Athens, is made to consist only of Athena and a citizen-body who are no man's subjects"[15]. Likewise, or perhaps consequently, she also adopts the role of the ruler, the president of the court - the *basileus* of fifth-century Athens. Athena's interests are consistently portrayed as being the same as those of her city and people to the extent that "throughout the play Athena is identified with Athens to a degree unparalleled in the case of any other tutelary deity"[16]. When she first appears on stage (397-402) she has just come from Scamander 'where I was taking control of land ... to be mine totally

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13 This interpretation of equal votes is also expounded by Antiphon, 5.51, "an equal division [of votes] is to the advantage of the defence rather than the prosecution, in view of the fact that an equal division of the votes of a jury benefits the defence rather than the prosecution".

14 Athena demands silence for her speech, and asks the herald to signal this by blowing on the 'Tyrrhenian salpinx' (566-571). For an interesting discussion on these lines, and their link with Orestes' promise of the Argive alliance, and the Argive sanctuary of Athena Salpinx, see Egan 1979.

15 Sommerstein 1989, pp. 132-33, note on 288.

16 Dover 1957, p. 235.

and for all time, a choice gift for Theseus' sons'. Podlecki[17] takes the reference to Theseus' sons literally. However, while his observations are valid as far as they go, I would not restrict the interpretation so exclusively to one generation of Theseus' sons, but would see in the phrase a wider reference to all future Athenians, with whom Athena freely and absolutely shares her gift[18]. Athena's reaction to the suggestion that she judge the case is, as discussed above, to involve her citizens: (487-88) 'After I have selected the best of my citizens, I shall return to make a true determination of this matter'. Once acquitted[19], Orestes identifies Athena with her city when he makes his promise of eternal Argive alliance to both Athens and Athena (764-77)[20]. Loraux's[21] comment on Athena's identification with the city is that "we must take into account the insistent way in which Attic tragedy likes to emphasize the blurring of the borders between the goddess and the city. Athens belongs to Athena, just as the goddess belongs to the city. ... in the *Eumenides* itself, as if Aeschylus were trying to draw up a chart of all the possible configurations of this relationship, mutual adherence turns into identity." She cites the use of the epithet πολισσοῦχος (775, 882-83, 1010), and explains that "normally used to describe the goddess, [it] becomes a name for the Athenian citizens themselves"[22]. Athena distances herself most from Athens and its people when she is offering the Erinyes a home and honour. During these negotiations she tends to refer to 'the/this land' and 'the/these citizens' (800, 805, 807, 825, 830, 834, 852, 854, 856, 869[23], 883-84, 888, 890, 901). Once they have accepted her offer she again identifies herself fully with the Athenians (911-12: 'For I, like a careful gardener, love and will preserve from grief the race of these just men'; 927-28: 'It is with good intent to these citizens that I am doing this'). My interpretation of this temporary distance is that Aeschylus sought to convey the

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17 Podlecki 1989, p. 164, note on 402.

18 Macleod 1982, p. 125 interprets the reference as meaning "for the mythical kings Aeschylus substitutes the goddess representing her people", and in his note he remarks that, "The phrase can hardly refer to Theseus' sons in the literal sense since the play gives no indication that Athens is a monarchy". See also Sommerstein 1989, p. 152, note on 402 who thinks the reference is to Athenians rather than Theseus' sons because "a reference to them here would involve a needless inconcinnity, since in the rest of the play their existence is wholly ignored".

19 Ireland 1986, p. 29, effectively dismisses the arguments of the case and views Orestes' acquittal thus: "That he is acquitted is the result of Zeus' will, expressed through Apollo and Athena, not the underlying merits of his case".

20 On Orestes' promise of Argive allegiance, and its contemporary political implications, see Quincey 1964, de Ste Croix 1972, Chap. 5, Macleod 1982; and Roisman 1978 who discusses it also in connection with Athena's vote.

21 1993, pp.137-38.

22 1993, p. 138.

23 Although not entirely because lines 858 and 862, quoted above, occur here, which may tell in favour of the view of Dodds 1973, p. 51-52 and Sommerstein 1989, p. 251, note on 858-66, (*contra*, Carey 1990) that 858-866 is a late insertion by Aeschylus at a time when the threat of civil war was acute.

impression to the audience that Athena wanted to persuade the Erinyes to stay because of the people and fertile land in their own right, and because of what the people could give them, rather than asking them to stay because of her own associations with the city, or affecting the issue by her associations.

As goddess of the polis, Athena protected the polis and its people from external threats as a warrior, and from internal threats as a reconciler and peacemaker[24]. Holst-Warhaft[25] uses the magic which is associated with the Erinyes to describe Athena's tactic: "The spell of the Furies' words must be broken by a new spell", and Athena invokes Persuasion to achieve it. By allowing the trial to take place at Athens, Athena let into the city the Erinyes who posed a considerable threat to the city's stability, fertility, and future prosperity. The Erinyes then clearly threatened to use their destructive powers against the city if they lost (711-12, 719-20, 780-87, 810-17). Athena combines her roles as warrior and reconciler not simply in order to obviate the Erinyes' threat, but also to reconcile them so closely to the city that they themselves become deities of the polis, whose responsibility is both to protect the fertility of the land and people, and to protect the future of Athens and the future generations of Athenians. Lloyd-Jones[26] says that the Eumenides stay in Athens because they have been persuaded to do so rather than because their character changes: "They do not repent of their earlier persecution of Orestes, any more than they hand over their duty of pursuing the slayers of their own kin to the court of the Areopagus or the Athenian state. ... [They] do not change their character, but they do a deal with Athene, and in consequence their attitude changes". Kitto[27] sees the most important reconciliation as that between Zeus and the Erinyes: "the rift between them and Zeus is closed ... not only has Zeus 'progressed', but the Erinyes too, both of them reflecting on the divine plane, the advance that has taken place on the human plane, and they meet once more in a conception of Dikê which is much wider and deeper than the old one". By giving the Eumenides responsibility for marriage and childbirth (834-35), Athena places them at the very heart of the city and its people. Given the importance of citizenship in Athens and the strict laws governing citizenship, it is only through marriage (and the 'correct' marriage) that citizen children could be born. By making the Eumenides' blessing fundamental to marriage and childbirth, Athena essentially entrusts the future of the polis to them, since nothing is more important to

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24 As Zeitlin 1978, p. 172, remarks of Athena: "Female born of male, she can ally herself with male interests and still display positive nurturant behavior".

25 1992, p. 160.

26 1956, pp. 57 and 67. Kitto 1966, p. 45 discusses the use of initial capital letters when referring to nouns, such as Peitho/Persuasion, and whether the audience was meant somehow to be able to distinguish whether personification was intended or not.

27 1956, p. 86.

any race than having descendants and, through them, a future. As Rose[28] remarks of the Erinyes, "Their principles, if properly applied, are part of the fundamentals of a well-governed State". Athena agrees with the Erinyes on the need for fear as a deterrent to crime (691-92, 698-99), and encourages this fear as part of the nature and structure of this polis. She also encourages the fear which mortals have (and will continue to have) of the erstwhile Erinyes: "in political terms, the State ought not to be without a strong authority having coercive powers and exercising moral oversight"[29]. At the end of her discussion with the Erinyes, she admits (970-72) she had needed Persuasion's help to deal with their persistent anger. Earlier (886), when patiently offering the Erinyes a home, she had defined persuasion, in Weir Smyth's words, as 'the soothing appeasement and spell of my tongue'[30] and, in Podlecki's words, 'if my tongue has power to soothe and cast a spell'[31] - thus using personification as a vivid means of description. However, her tactic in dealing with the Erinyes had in fact been simple. Faced with the Erinyes, who were feared by mortals, neither worshipped nor honoured, and shunned by the gods, she used what one might otherwise call 'the human touch', which contrasted so sharply with Apollo's hostile reaction to them[32]. She offered them a home (892-93: 'one that is free of all pain and suffering'), honour (894-95: 'That no household shall flourish without you'), and friendship (901: 'as residents in the land you will acquire additional friends'). She made clear her offer at the beginning (804-07) and repeated it (833-36, 854-57, 867-69, 890-91) until it was finally considered (892-901) and accepted (916): "The Furies now have a new leader"[33].

That Athena takes the side of the male in the voting (736-38: 'I approve the male principle in all things') is in itself not unexpected, but effectively alienates half of 'her' people, and in this one sentence appears to devalue the worth of the mother and the role of women. This is a surprising stand to take in a play where she repeatedly identifies herself not merely with the city, but with the people of the city. The motivation behind it presumably stems from the fact that the male spectators would have interpreted Athena's identification with 'the people of the city' as referring exclusively to the male citizens, and this interpretation would have been encouraged by the fact that there are no Athenian women on the stage during the trial[34].

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28 1958, p. 283.
29 Rose 1958, p. 283.
30 1926, 886.
31 1989, 886.
32 Kitto 1961, p. 92.
33 Holst-Warhaft 1992, p. 160.
34 On whether or not there might have been women in the audience, see Podlecki 1990, who concludes that it would be unlikely that such a large proportion of the 'citizen' population were

However, if we look more closely at the relationship between Athena and the Athenian women as it is portrayed in this play, we can see that her vote is in fact an exception to the rule in her attitude towards, appreciation of, and relationship with the women of Athens. Goldhill's[35] explanation of her vote goes some way to prepare for this interpretation, "Athene represents the vote which allows the acquittal of Orestes. ... precisely because she stands between and against the opposition [of the sexes]. ... The goddess expresses her androgyny [through her vote]". And Loraux's[36] discussion of the implications of Athena's comment goes closer again to its relevance for the women of Athens, "as the civic goddess, she simply could not altogether negate the part played by women in the reproduction of the city. After all, is it not true that Athena protects marriage in the city?". I agree with her interpretation of another of Athena's remarks[37], that although the men are comforted by Athena's stated preference for all things male, they "must still come to terms with reality, and this reality has a great deal to do with the feminine: the reproduction of the city, of course, but also the honor of women, as servants of the goddess", Bowie[38] likewise sees the importance of the role of women in the play: "Athena, tender of the city's hearth, is always there in *Eumenides* to remind us of the centrality that the female holds in the oikos". Women are ultimately fundamental to the play: "Such is the lesson of the *Eumenides*, in which patrilineal descent, though victorious, has as its obverse the solemn welcoming of ancient feminine divinities who will give their protection to marriage and birth in Athens"[39]. These "ancient feminine divinities" will be closely linked with the Athenian women because it is the women who will be most involved with and affected by marriage and childbirth. The Eumenides will essentially become their gods as well as being, or because of being, the guardians of the future of Athens. The importance for the city of the male:female balance is reflected by the Athenians in the final procession of the play, and is discussed fully by Sommerstein[40]. The

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actively to be excluded, but that the evidence is inconclusive; and Henderson, 1991, who remarks (p. 139), that a song in *Lysistrata* (Ar. *Lys.* 1043-53) in which the chorus first addresses the 'gentlemen of the audience' and then refers to 'every man and woman' is "a unique case of direct address" which "seems to be the most explicit reference to women in the audience". His argument concludes that women were part of the audience, but that men remained "the notional audience"; and, within these terms, he remarks that the Lysistrata passage is "a rare momentary shift from the notional to the actual audience" (p. 140). Goldhill 1994, discusses, without conclusion, the issue of women's attendance as a socio-political issue, and as an issue relating to the presentation of democracy.

35 1984, p. 259.

36 1993, p. 134.

37 1993, p. 18.

38 1993, p. 19.

39 Loraux 1993, p. 18.

40 1989, p. 278, note on 1021-1047 He puts the total number for the procession at about 35 "if the Areopagites number 11 and the πρόσπόλοι roughly balance them", and observes that "It is thus likely that the sacrificial victim(s), the torches and the purple robes are all brought on together ...

Athenians in this scene comprise the members of the Areopagus, "the flower of Athenian manhood", and "the flower of Athenian womanhood"[41], women and girls with religious connections with Athena. Athena's approval of the male emphasises the fact that she is able to remove herself from the restraints of society, and indicates that she does not herself accept patriarchy as wholeheartedly as her justification for her vote suggests; as Goldhill[42] remarks "In marking Athene as separate, it delineates the poles from which she is separated - by her manifestation of both male/not-male, female/not-female. Athene is seen as a part of, as she is apart from, both sexes." Winnington-Ingram[43] discusses the contradistinction of Athena and Clytemnestra (who is represented by the Erinyes after the departure of her ghost), and its irony: "Everything, then, that Clytemnestra's nature demanded and her sex forbade or hampered, Athena is free to do, by virtue of her godhead. She is god-goddess to Clytemnestra's man-woman; and her masculinity wins her praise and worship, while that of Clytemnestra leads to disaster for herself and others", and she can even persuade the Erinyes to her opinion, rather than goad them to it as Clytemnestra did. Sommerstein[44] argues that beyond these differences between Athena and Clytemnestra lies the difference "in the spectators' attitude to their masculinity. For the masculinity of Athena was to every Athenian natural and normal. Furthermore, it will be used not to subvert but to support the social order". He continues that while Clytemnestra is alive in the trilogy, the masculine female must be manifestly abnormal and dangerous, rather than like the masculine female who was "one of the chief objects of their communal worship", and he suggests that this contrast lay behind the fact that Athena is not mentioned in the *Agamemnon* or the *Choephoroi*. Zeitlin[45] argues that "Athena is the benevolent answer to her opposite and doublet, Clytemnestra" and that she Athena and the Erinyes "are not separate entities but complements". Athena makes the importance of fertility and marriage very clear in the section after Orestes' trial and acquittal; one of the honours which Athena offers the Erinyes is that they will (834-36) 'eternally receive this vast country's firstfruits, sacrificial offerings on behalf of children and the rite of marriage'. The Erinyes are to be responsible for the fertility of the land and people, and as a result of this

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by a group of women and girls who may already be identifiable by their dress as cult-servants of Athena Polias, with the priestess herself conspicuous among them". Thus the trilogy "which has been full of opposition and conflict between male and female at both the human and the divine level thus ends with men and women united in honouring a united company of divine beings".

41 Sommerstein 1989, p. 278, note on 1021-1047.

42 1984, p. 259, footnote 46.

43 1944, pp. 144-45.

44 1980b, p. 72.

45 1978, p. 172.

responsibility will come honour and worship from the people. Goheen[46] discusses the Clytemnestra:Erinyes theme of violence and destruction in the *Oresteia*. He sees its resolution here in the Erinyes' acceptance of a place of honour and a beneficent role in Athens: "good-will grows in place of hate, a hope of fecundity flourishes where there has been only one crime giving birth to another." Zeitlin[47] discusses a different aspect of the good of the Erinyes, and describes their similarities with Athena thus: "Both agree that female will be subordinate to male within the family in patriarchal marriage and that the family itself will be subordinate to the city. ... Each is content with daughter status, for the father-daughter relationship is the purest paradigm of female dependence, while the oxymoron of virginal maternity promises fertility without its dangerous corollary of sexuality. Mother is denied but not denied". Patterson[48] argues, against Zeitlin, that "female power and authority is not so much appropriated by the male as *subordinated with the male* to the "yoke" of marriage and to the fostering of the *oikos*".

In persuading the Erinyes to stay, Athena offers them the very heart of Athenian life, society, and future. During the negotiations, some key words and phrases are used which will have stuck in the minds of the audience: ξυνοικήτωρ (833), χώρας μεταςχεῖν τῆσδε (869), τῆσδε γαμόρῳ χθονός (890), ξυνοικίαν (916), μετοίκοις (1011), μετοικίαν (1018), as well as the repeated use of ἀστοί and πολῖται, and their variations, throughout: metics, citizens, and the polis. Athena welcomed a group of 'foreigners' into her city, and offered them a home, friendship and residency, for their own benefit, as well as that of the city and its people. The cumulative effect of these repeated words will have been to lead the thoughts of the audience to the metics in Athens: foreigners who had been welcomed (no doubt sometimes grudgingly) into the city, offered a home, friendship and residency. And Athens had benefitted from them with the "extension of trade, ... pre-eminence of her naval force, ... [and] as a source of wealth"[49]. Headlam's interpretation of the repeated use of the word τιμάς in relation to the metics was that "it would seem that the μέτοικοι at this time in Athens were a class enjoying civil rights - not those, of course, belonging to full citizens, but more than those of wholly-unenfranchised ξένοι."[50] However, Whitehead[51] argues that metics did not like to be called by that name themselves, that it was not a positive term of reference: "at best *metoikos* was

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46 1958, p. 136.
47 1978, p. 172.
48 1991, p. 61, my italics; see also her explanation on p. 72, note 71.
49 Headlam 1906, p. 276.
50 1906, p. 277.
51 1986, p. 57.

an unattractive piece of nomenclature and at worst a ready-made jibe, a reminder of exclusion and ineradicable gulfs", and that in tragedy the metic "suggested something unattractive, precarious and pathetic. ... to have metics in the city might be advantageous; to *be* a metic was quite another story"[52]. He considers the *Eumenides* (with Euripides' *Eurystheus*) as "outside the semantic norm as represented by surviving fifth-century tragedy"[53]. I would tend to accept Whitehead's view of the *Eumenides* as exceptional in its treatment of metics because Aeschylus' parallel of the Eumenides with metics is so insistent and positive; μέτοικος may not usually have been a term of honour, but in the *Eumenides* it is manifestly used as such. Aeschylus simply would not have allowed Athena to use a dubious term of reference so often and so obviously while at the same time emphasising the great honour in which the newcomers were to be held. Perhaps he thought that metics deserved to be valued more, and so chose, via Athena, to re-evaluate the role of metics in Athens, and to endeavour to portray the positive contributions they could make to Athens. That Aeschylus seems to have chosen to give metics this quite forcefully positive image supports the argument that the allusions to other contemporary issues (the Argive alliance, external war, civil strife, and the Areopagus council with its associations with Ephialtes) suggest that the *Oresteia* was a pro-Periclean play[54]. In addition, Lysias' comment (12.4) that his father 'was persuaded by Pericles to come to this land'[55] also suggests that Pericles was encouraging some people to take up metic status at Athens. Whatever the reason for Aeschylus' treatment of metics, the result is that the *Eumenides* turns around the negative notion of μέτοικος to refer to an honoured new resident. The climax of the links to contemporary metics appears in Athena's final speech when she refers to the crimson cloaks (1028-29), with which the subsidiary chorus have clothed the Eumenides - the crimson cloak which contemporary metics wore at the Panathenaia[56]. Bowie[57] connects the Erinyes' robes not only with the metics' cloaks, but also with Athena and her peplos: "The robe given to Athena at the festival was decorated with a Gigantomachy, and in the play too Athena overcomes chthonic powers, though in a much less violent manner than in this earlier exploit, which predicted Zeus' establishment of the present cosmos. This time, the chthonic beings are not, like the Titans, imprisoned under the earth, but are to be

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52 1986, p. 36; for example in tragedy, Aes. *Supp*: 994-95 "everyone is ready to speak ill of a metic".

53 1986, p. 38.

54 See Dover 1957, pp. 230-37, Podlecki 1966, pp. 80-100 and 1989, pp. 17-21, and Sommerstein 1989, pp. 25-32.

55 Edwards and Usher 1985, p. 157.

56 See particularly Headlam 1906, Thomson 1966, and Bowie, 1993a.

57 1993a, p. 28.

honoured there." Goheen[58] discusses the theme of the colour of blood red/crimson and links these robes with the 'carpet' of *Agamemnon* 908-74, "these same elements are reintroduced to culminate the reverse movement from destructiveness to safety, from anguish to hope ... the guidance they afford seems surely to indicate a planned connection from strikingly colored carpet to strikingly colored robes", and continues that the colour of the carpet and robes "represents the conversion of the (darkly) lethal carpet into a (perhaps more brightly tinted) symbol of blessing. Blood has been taken up off the ground and made an element in the sacramental life of the city". Bowie[59] also refers to the *Agamemnon*, when he argues that Athena's Panathenaic peplos "present or otherwise, with its depiction of the defeat of chaos, picks up the imagery of weaving and, with the red robes of the Eumenides, brings that symbolism, which has stood so long for [Agamemnon's] entrapment and death, to an auspicious close". Both Bowie and Goheen, whilst using different links, underline the connection between the Erinyes-Eumenides and the metics, and the honour and beneficence of both.

The final procession of the *Eumenides* (1033-47) has more echoes of the Panathenaic procession than just the metic's crimson cloak, although "How many other features of the procession appeared on stage is unknowable"[60]. The extent of it is such that it seems Aeschylus must have intended the comparison, and it is certainly suggested by the extended links between metics and the Eumenides. Headlam[61] argues that "the whole of this procession was designed by Aeschylus as a reflection of the great Panathenaia, ... and that the treatment of the Eumenides is borrowed from the symbolic treatment of the μέτοικοι at that feast". The subsidiary chorus, who enter at 1003, bring torches (1005, 1022, 1029) with which to guide the Eumenides to the 'deep dwelling-places' (1004), and these references reflect the use of torches in the Panathenaia. "The procession with its flaming torches and its paean in dactylic metre and its ὀλολύγματα [shrill voices] remind[s] us of the Panathenaic παννυχίς with its torch-race, and its paeans, and its ὀλολύγματα of women"[62]. The pannychis was an all-night preliminary festival in Athena's honour, held on the Acropolis the night before the main Panathenaia festival. In Euripides' *Heraclidae* (777-83) the women invoke Athena with a reference to the Panathenaia and its pannychis: 'Since to

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58 1955, p. 125. He describes as 'carpet' what was in fact cloth. Agamemnon shrank from walking on it not because it was a carpet, which is made to be walked on, but because it was cloth, which was for clothing and, to judge by Agamemnon's reaction, it was wasteful and even impious to walk on.

59 Bowie 1993a, p. 28.

60 Bowie 1993a, p. 28.

61 1906, pp. 275-76.

62 Headlam 1906, p. 274.

you the honour of many sacrifices is accomplished and the day is not missed when the moon wanes and there are songs of young men and choirs of dancers. On the windy mountain ridge the shrill voices of maidens echo to the rhythmic beat all night of dancing feet'. The most important implication of these lines is that this all-night festival was mixed. The entire festival to the common Athena began and continued in joint celebrations of men and women. At dawn, the pannychis ended, and the festival proper began with a torch race which brought new fire from the grove of Akademos through the city to Athena's altar on the Acropolis[63]. The *Eumenides*' subsidiary chorus also brings at least one sacrificial victim (1006) with which presumably to bless both the alliance and the Eumenides' new home. At the Panathenaia over one hundred cows and sheep were sacrificed to Athena[64]. The cult of Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα, Athena guardian of Athens, was a cult of the allied territories. Meiggs[65] discusses this cult in connection with the Panathenaia: "it was probably in the early forties that Athens had required the allies to bring cow and panoply to the Great Panathenaea; she may at the same time have encouraged the spread of the cult of her patron goddess". The best cow was chosen beforehand to be sacrificed to Athena Nike, and the rest were sacrificed to Athena Polias; the meat from these animals was distributed amongst everyone regardless of status and gender. The importance of the sacrifices is shown by the inclusion of the animals on the Parthenon frieze and, as Parke[66] observes, after the presentation of the peplos, the slaughter of the victims was the other main ritual act.

The Panathenaia was the time when everyone who lived in Athens, and everyone who had links with Athens, came together to celebrate Athena and Athens: "the great procession which embodied the united power and glory of Athens"[67]. This was a time of goodwill to all by all, and again we find echoes of this in the speeches of Athena (992: 'if you are kindly to the Kindly Ones'; 1012-13 'and may there be good intent on the citizens' part for the good done to them') and the Escorts (1033-34: 'with us as escorts of good intent'). This goodwill was particularly directed towards the metics who carried bowls in the procession "in order that, partaking in the sacrifices, they may be included as being of goodwill"[68]. Headlam[69] observes that the metics "usually were regarded with disfavour, at the most with tolerance", but were accepted as an integral part of society in the Panathenaia.

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63 Paus. 1. 30. 2.
64 Parke 1977, p. 45, Burkert 1985, p. 232, and Simon 1983, pp. 55-75.
65 1972, 294-98. See also Meiggs 1966, who briefly covers this issue.
66 1977, p. 45.
67 Parke 1977, p. 37. See Neils 1992a, for discussions of the festival.
68 Headlam 1906, p. 273 quotes and explains Hesychius' statement.
69 1906, p. 273.

The Panathenaia was the main festival of Athens, and the main festival of Athena Polias, Athena of the Polis[70]. It was a festival in which the normal social boundaries were lifted, and which Bowie[71] describes as being "a symbol of the unity of forces for the good of the city". There is no evidence to suggest that there were any separate, segregated celebrations (as was usual with other mixed festivals), and certainly the main events - the pannychis, the procession, and the slaughter - were not separate. Parke[72] discusses the role which each section of society played: Athenian women and girls wove the peplos; men and boys took part in the games; both male and female metics, wearing crimson cloaks, carried trays of ritual cakes and honeycomb, and jars of water; "freed slaves and other barbarians" carried branches of oak trees[73]; and everyone took part in the procession and ate the meat from the sacrifice. This level of integration and participation seems entirely appropriate to the festival of the goddess who protects the polis from external and internal threats, who keeps the peace, and ensures prosperity; the goddess whom everyone worships, albeit from different standpoints, for "on this occasion all the inhabitants of Athens were united in a common sentiment - peace and good will to all ... that abode beneath the shadow of Athena's wings"[74]. To generalise perhaps too widely, each of the three main groups discussed here worshipped a different Athena, specific and relevant to themselves and their own experience of life in fifth century Athens. The men, whose main concern was Athens' place in the wider world, Athens as a city-state, as a naval force, and as an empire, worshipped not only the warrior Athena, and the Athena of wisdom and battle tactics who protected Athens from the external threat of war, but also Athena the reconciler and peacemaker who protected Athens from the internal threat of civil strife. The women, whose concern was the home and family, who wanted peace in order that home life was stable, and the lives of their family were safe, worshipped not only the warrior Athena who protected Athens from external threats but also the peaceful Athena, who protected the polis with negotiation and reconciliation. In discussing the Panathenaia, we will remember that the women wove the peplos for the festival (567-86), and worshipped Athena the goddess of weaving (whom we will discuss in Chapter 5). Thirdly the metics worshipped the Athena who welcomed foreigners into her city, and offered them both a home in the polis and an integrated role in society. And if Meiggs[75] is right in connecting the allied states' cult of Athena

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70 For recent exhibition catalogue of Athena and Panathenaia with academic discussion, see Neils 1992a, and particularly Neils 1992b and Kyle 1992.

71 1993b, pp. 72-72.

72 1977, pp. 43-44. See Bekker *Anecd.* I. p. 242. 3-6.

73 Bowie 1993a, p. 28, is of the opinion that "one can only speculate" on who carried the branches, but he links it with "the suppliants' branch with which *Ch.* ended".

74 Headlam 1906, pp. 274-73.

75 1972, p. 294.

to the Panathenaia, that Athena would also have been celebrated by those members of the colonies who came to the festival.

The *Eumenides* is for us the first of the 'Athena' plays of the fifth century and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* is the last. This play also has echoes of the Panathenaia. It finishes with a procession of men and women, singing and dancing, coming out of the Acropolis, Athena's sanctuary. It was to the Acropolis that the Panathenaic procession went, to Athena's altar, where the peplos was dedicated and the sacrificial slaughters were made. In being reminded of the Panathenaic procession, the audience will have been struck by the inclusion of foreigners again, although this time, they are not metics, the resident foreigners, but Spartans, the former enemies. The *Lysistrata* also echoes the *Eumenides* in its portrayal of Athena as the polis deity; both plays deal with internal and external threats to the Athenian polis; and importantly, both deal seriously with the idea of internal division within Athens in a way in which other surviving plays - particularly tragedies - do not.

The main impression of Athena in the *Lysistrata* is indirect. It is her appearance through, and representation by, the undoubtedly exceptional Lysistrata. Henderson[76], discussing the extraordinary character of Lysistrata, says that she "finds her closest analogue in Athena herself"; and Hugill[77] claims that she "rises to the occasion because there is no statesman capable of guiding Greece out of this shambles". Lewis has shown[78] the link between Lysistrata and Lysimache, who held, at the time of the production of the play, the position of priestess of Athena Polias, which was the highest, most revered and respected position any Athenian woman could hold[79]. His case is further supported both by the similarity of the names (Lysistrata means 'Dissolver of armies', Lysimache means 'Dissolver of battles, or strife'), and by the text, in which Lysistrata hopes that 'one day we will be known as Lysimaches' (554). These textual points, forceful evidence in themselves, are added to by the way in which, in the play, both the men (1086-87, 1103-04) and the women (throughout) respect Lysistrata and accept her authority; and by the fact that the men, whether Athenian or Spartan, name and address her[80]. Henderson[81] discusses that although the mother-daughter relationship is never seen directly in comedy as it is in tragedy, it is seen indirectly in characters such as Lysistrata: "older women involved in corporate plots are portrayed ... as protectors and spokesmen [sic] for the young wives".

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76 1987a, pp. xxxviii-xl.
77 1936, p. 5.
78 1955.
79 On Athena Polias, see particularly Jordan 1979, pp. 30-32.
80 The exceptional nature of this is expounded by Sommerstein 1980a, pp. 395-96.
81 1987b, p. 113, of *Lys.*, *Thes.*, and *Eccl.*

Aristophanes' reason for making this link would seem to be to give Lysistrata the authority of the priestess and, by association, the authority and reverence of Athena, "helping to link the heroine with the power and wisdom of Athena, with the reverence and affection felt by Athenians for their patron goddess, ... and so promoting in the audience the feeling that her cause is the cause of right"[82]. The result of these various and repeated forms of association is that Lysistrata becomes the mouthpiece of Athena, and by the end of the play, representative of the goddess herself, as Henderson[83] remarks "Lysistrata ... stands Athena-like in the Propylaia during the joyful exodos". And as Martin[84] remarks, "Lysistrata, unlike the other women in the comedy, never mentions a husband or lover, yet, at the key point of her stage appearance [her argument with the Magistrate], recalls her father (1124-27). ... These words could just as easily have been uttered by Athena herself".

In the discussion of the Panathenaic festival above, we saw an association of Athena's warrior role (for protecting the polis from external threats) with Athenian men, and of her reconciler role (for protecting the polis from internal threats) with Athenian women. The *Lysistrata* also reflects these respective male/female attitudes. This is particularly clear with the choruses, where each group endeavours at the beginning of the struggle to appropriate Athena to their own side. This, and the later reconciliation of these views, further reflects the unity of these Athenas, and confirms Athena as deity of the polis in its widest sense. The male chorus regard Athena as their own deity, and they speak of her and of the women's actions within these terms (262-63, 302-03, 317-18). They become so incensed with the women and so determined to defeat them that they fail to realise they are in fact attacking Athena and her temple, and that they invoke one Athena (Athena Nike) to help them in their assault on another (Athena Polias) (317-18). In contrast, the women and the female chorus use terms which are both less possessive and more respectful of Athena (176, 241-42, 344-49), as Sommerstein[85] comments "the women, with less arrogance and more reverence, speak of the Acropolis as belonging to Athena". The reconciliation of the two choruses, and of these divergent attitudes, occurs at the women's instigation. They offer friendship (1016-17), which is rejected; they dress the men (1019-21), which elicits a warmer response; they take the gnat, which represents, or

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82 Sommerstein 1990, p. 5.

83 1987, p. 215, note on 1273-78.

84 1987, pp. 85-86. He argues that Aristophanes uses the myth of the Lemnian women who killed their husbands and later married the Argonauts, as a model for the *Lys.*, and links the Lemnian women's leader, Hypsipyle, with Athena and with Lysistrata: "the resemblance between Hypsipyle and Lysistrata is strengthened by the homology between Athena and Lysistrata, which is explicit in the comedy".

85 1990, p. 167, note on 263.

causes, anger, out of the men's eyes (1031-32), which receives warmer thanks; and finally they give a kiss (1035-36), which brings about an initially hesitant reconciliation.

The wider male/female conflict takes longer to reconcile. The argument between Lysistrata and the Magistrate (430-613) allows the conflict its first (more or less) two-sided airing. In this, Lysistrata reverses the normal roles, and the Magistrate, "a pompous, arrogant, and bumbling bureaucrat"[86], stands silent while she speaks[87]. During her speech one can clearly see Lysistrata growing in stature as she defends her opinions, her decisions and the women's position. Henderson[88] argues that women were useful in comic roles: "Removed from the public world of the men, they could be mouth-pieces for observations and advice that, if credited to male types, might produce anxiety and resentment rather than laughter". At the start of the play she is an exceptional woman with high ambitions; and at the start of the argument she is the leader of the women (although only the women had seen her as a leader). Gradually, both by what she says and how she says it, she proves herself to be more than a match for the Magistrate "whose humiliation affords the spectators vicarious pleasure in authority debunked"[89], and becomes the leader of the women both within their own sphere and in the men's (political) sphere. Lysistrata intends to end the war and bring peace to Greece by using methods and skills found in the women's, domestic, sphere. Their loss in the war is just as great as the men's - they have to sit at home patiently while their husbands are away fighting (99-101), their sons are sacrificed (589-90), and the choice of young men as husbands for their daughters is limited (591-97). As Hugill[90] observes of the women, "If they were ignorant of the subtleties of policy, they were certain of the more elementary truth that internecine strife was folly. This is what Aristophanes means by his repeated contrast of the wisdom of the women with the folly of the men". The women will take over in a simple and practical way: they will deal with the city's finances as they deal with domestic finances (495)[91]; and they

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86 Henderson, 1987a, p. xxxvii.

87 There is no indication that the Magistrate sits while Lysistrata talks; dramatically it would be the more striking for him to remain standing since he would be more noticeable to the audience than if he were sitting; and the overall womanly effect of the Magistrate's appearance will remain valid with him standing since, as a magistrate, he will already be wearing a long robe, and this also means that the women do not have to clothe him.

88 Henderson 1987b, p. 129.

89 Henderson 1987b, p. 129.

90 Hugill 1936, p. 14.

91 For evidence of women dealing with domestic finances, see Schaps 1979, pp. 14-15, who remarks "it appears to have been quite common for Athenian wives to manage the household budget".

will resolve the war in the same way as they prepare their wool (567-86)[92]. They offer the added incentive of the sex-strike to encourage the men to make peace, although the Magistrate is unaware of it at the time of his argument with Lysistrata. The theme of the sex-strike obviously incorporates Aphrodite into the play. "Lysistrata's plan actually involves putting each goddess in the service of the other. ... To use Athena in the service of Aphrodite and Aphrodite in the service of Athena is a feminine way of serving the city"[93]. The reconciliation of men and women cannot start until men seek peace. There are two aspects to this reconciliation, the sex-strike, and the peace settlement[94]. Initially, the men are defeated by the sex-strike rather than reconciled to peace. The sex-strike has worked because it has reconciled them to each other as I will discuss later, and has made them turn to women (specifically to Lysistrata) for any resolution which will end the strike (1002-12, 1080-81, 1090-92, 1100-05). Lysistrata knows that the next stage of the peace process, negotiating the actual settlement, will be easy (1112-13: 'Well, it's not a difficult job, if you catch them when they're eager for it and aren't trying to take advantage of one another'), and so it proves to be. Lysistrata does what she had told the Magistrate she would do: bring about peace from the women's domestic sphere. The men, wanting sex, turned to the women and were then persuaded (even beguiled) into making a peace settlement, albeit by Lysistrata's exploitation of their weakness[95]. Having achieved this accord, Lysistrata (the representative of Athena) invites the men into Athena's home, the Acropolis, for a celebratory feast as the guests of the women. They are thus welcomed back into the women's sphere with the feast on the Acropolis (ie. the domestic situation of a meal in the women's temporary home) before returning home to a peaceful world in which men and women are able to return to their conventional roles and spheres: Aristophanes "dramatize[s] a plot that would "renew" the entire polis"[96]. It seems to me that once the women have realised that they can resolve war with a domestic (re)action, they realise their power and ability (and the comprehensive nature of Athena). The men realise this themselves, once they see the situation from the women's perspective, and realise how destructive war is of both lives and home life. They also realise how much more positive are peace and the negotiation skills which Lysistrata used. In their references to Athena, the women never seem to think

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92 Loraux 1993, p. 157, remarks of the wool scene: "Weaving, an activity for women alone, is put in the service of the people. The Athenian women will weave the people a cloak. The Amazons thus turn out to be good housewives for the city".

93 Loraux 1993, p. 151. See also Elderkin 1940 on Aphrodite's role in the play.

94 On the two 'plans', see Hulton 1972.

95 Although Bowie 1993b, p. 202, says of the use of the mute and passive Reconciliation's body for the negotiating process "This division can be decoded as the re-establishment of male control of sex (Reconciliation's body) and politics (the Greek world)".

96 Martin, 1987, p. 101.

that Athena is 'theirs' in the way that the men do; and by the end of the play, the men's attitude has become so universal and unpossessive, that they are even willing to celebrate the Spartan Athena 'of the brazen house' (1320-21)[97]. My argument for this remark is dramatical. In this play, as in Aristophanes' *Knights*, *Acharnians*, *Wealth*, and *Frogs*, the final words of the text are an instruction to sing a song whose words are not preserved with the text, so we can perhaps assume that they were traditional, and not the work of the dramatist[98]. (This assumption is based on the fact that the words of the exit songs of *Wasps*, *Peace* and *Birds* are included in the text, and were specially composed by Aristophanes.) The *Lysistrata* text gives no indication of who should sing this song in honour of the Spartan Athena, and one might reasonably suppose the instruction was given by a Spartan to the Spartan dancers. However, it would be dramatically disastrous, given the spirit of reconciliation and reunion which pervades the play, for the final song to be sung by any one other than everyone: men and women, Athenians and Spartans. Thus this song in honour of Athena becomes the climax of Athena's triumph, through Lysistrata, of reconciliation and reunion.

The other reconciliation which occurs is that of the Athenian and Spartan men. The Spartans (naturally in an Athenian play) are first to be defeated by the sex-strike (983-84) and to seek peace; but Cinesias gives the impression (993-94) that the situation is just as bad in Athens, although the Athenian men (whom he seems to represent) had not realised the link between the strike and the war. When the Spartan Herald mentions (998-1006) that Lampito had initiated the Spartan strike, and that it would continue until the men made peace, Cinesias' reaction (1007-12) suggests that he, and presumably the rest of the Athenian men, were not aware of the reasoning behind the strike. However, in the Myrrhine:Cinesias scene, Myrrhine does tell him that she will go home once they have made peace (900-01), but his mind is preoccupied with other matters and his response (901-02) is unconvincing. It is the resolution of the sex-strike rather than the resolution of the war which defeats the men, and initially unites and reconciles them (1100-02). Together they turn to Lysistrata to negotiate an end to the strike (1103-05), and agree to her condition - an end to the war. Having used fair means and foul to bring the Athenian and Spartan men together, Lysistrata chastises them for ever having fallen out with each other (1128-29), and makes them negotiate a peace settlement (albeit fairly crude and

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97 This reference to the bronze Spartan temple of Athena is also found in Eur. *Helen*, 227-28, 245, 1467, which was produced 10 months before the *Lys*. There the chorus lament for Helen, when it seems that Menelaus might be dead, that she will not again be able to worship Athena in the brazen temple. This temple also reminds us that Sparta was unusual as a Greek city because it had neither city walls nor an acropolis.

98 See Sommerstein 1990, p. 224, note on 1320-21, and Henderson 1987a, pp. 213-14, note on 1273-1321.

unrealistic, based on the naked body of 'Reconciliation'). During the feast on the Acropolis, Lysistrata ensures that they 'exchange oaths and pledges' (1185) which will cement the peace. During the feast they become fully reconciled. Now that the sex-strike and the war are over, the two groups of men get to know each other in peace, and so become friends (under the influence of the women's domestic sphere). Sex is the catalyst to their reconciliation, and good sense secures it.

Why does Lysistrata, whether as an Athenian, as priestess of Athena Polias, or even as representing Athena Polias, strive to create friendship and community between the Athenian and Spartan men rather than just negotiate terms of peace? Why does she choose to remind them of their common cults (1129-32), common descent (1130), and common enemies (1133); remind them of previous instances of mutual aid (1137-56, 1248-61); and liken them to a single family (1130 ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς)? Why does she choose to remind them that they are killing *Greek* men and destroying *Greek* cities (1134: Ἕλληνας ἄνδρας καὶ πόλεις) while their common enemy (Persia) remains a threat? Why does Aristophanes show them later on (1223-1322) laughing at the same jokes, enjoying the same music, praising each other, and joining together in dance and song? The answer is simple: each of these instances shows the similarities between the two groups, and demonstrates how many features of a single community they share. Lysistrata, in her most direct representation of Athena Polias, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans to each other within, and as part of, the greater community of Greece[99], as I will discuss below. As Henderson observes[100], "Aristophanes has arranged things in such a way that Lysistrate's plan will be managed under the shared leadership of an Athenian and a Spartan [Lysistrate and Lampito]; the development of the play will show that Aristophanes' vision of panhellenic peace sees the Greek world jointly led by her two preeminent states, just as it had been in the glorious days of the Persian invasions". We see here the intention of the polis deity both to diffuse any arguments which threaten the peace of the polis, and to keep that peace through negotiation and reconciliation. This is why Lysistrata views the war as destroying Greek lives and Greek cities in internal battles (1134) which leaves Greece the more vulnerable to external (Persian) attack, and which wastes the lives which should be used to defend Greece and to fight against that external threat. She had earlier told the Magistrate (525-26): 'after that we women straight away decided to band together and unite to save Greece'; the Spartan Herald tells Cinesias that the women intend to strike (1005-

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99 Hugill 1936, pp. 11-12.
100 1980, pp. 178-79.

06) 'until we all with one accord make peace with the rest of Greece'[101]; and in the wool metaphor Lysistrata says that the Athenian colonies should be mixed in with everything else (582)[102].

If Greece can be a single community, it can also be a polis; although in the fifth century it does not have the political structure which is a feature of the polis[103]. In the *Iliad*, as discussed earlier, the Greek army is a polis-like body, and has many of the features of a polis. As early as 421 Aristophanes in *Peace* made War plan to pound up the poleis of Greece in his mortar (236-52); he throws in Prasiae, Megara and Sicily (251), each of which he treats as a single polis, although Sicily, for example, was made up of about 20 poleis. Thus, a panhellenic organisation may seem fantastic but it exists both in the *Iliad* and, more recently, in the wars against the Persians[104]. One should also recall the owl of Salamis which was taken as a sign of Athena's support and of Greek victory. The war against the Persians was certainly a time when there was the greatest potential and impetus for Greek unity exactly because the fear of Persian invasion was a real threat to the city-states of mainland Greece. However, with the defeat of the Persians that fear receded, the separate identity of each polis returned, and the impetus for unity faded. But the ideal of a panhellenic unity, what Hornblower calls "Xerxes' legacy", remained because it was always an option, and because at any time a foreign force might become a threat; it also "survived in oratory and became an inescapable part of Athenian public life"[105]. Hornblower[106] discusses the idea of panhellenism as inspired by Xerxes' invasion, but concludes that it could not have been achieved because of the overwhelming senses of rivalry between, and the separate identities of, the city-states: "It was this [rivalry] which prevented the Greek states from coalescing into something like a nation-state, or subordinating themselves to Athens or Sparta in perpetuity ... [and] which caused Athens and Sparta to deny their citizenship to allies and outsiders, and thus ensured ... that both their hegemonies were short-lived". The fifth century in fact has various examples of attempts to unite Greece, albeit not always for sincere reasons. The Delian League (whose treasurers were *Hellenotamiai*), which was established in 478 was, in origin, very much a continuation of the Greek League of 481-478 (although without the Spartans) which had fought against and defeated the Persians. Pericles' Congress

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101 Sommerstein 1990, p. 183, note on 582 suggests this must mean the Ionic-speaking states of Asia Minor and the Aegean.

102 Hugill 1936, pp. 84ff.

103 Walbank 1951.

104 See Baldry 1965, for a general history of panhellenism.

105 Hornblower 1991, p. 9.

106 1991, pp. 9-14. See also Hall 1989, pp. 3-17, who discusses 'Greek-ness' and panhellenism in contradistinction to the Persians and barbarianism.

Decree[107] of c450 ostensibly had the object of discussing the re-building of the Greek temples which had been destroyed by the Persians, but as Meiggs remarks[108] "Athens had no intention of relaxing her hold on the organization she had built up" and he suggests[109] the possibility that their motive was insincere: "a panhellenic Congress sounded well and it may have been useful for propaganda". The idea of Greek unity and a panhellenic identity was common ground, and in a sense, the disputes of the 460s concerned the terms on which that unity was to be based, and were between those who wanted it based around Athens and her allies, and those who wanted it based around Athens and Sparta. The themes in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Peace* are of a joint leadership of Athens and Sparta, which was the one result which had the least chance of success. In *Lysistrata* panhellenism seems to mean, or to be limited to, Athens and Sparta, and it is assumed (no doubt partly for ease of plot) that the rest will fall into line. The difficult big states of Corinth and Thebes are carefully included and brought on the stage at the beginning (85-92 and 696-703) and as carefully omitted at the end; their omission enables the singing and congratulation over Athenian and Spartan cooperation without having to address difficult contemporary issues (such as the Thebans' position). The idea of Greek unity never entirely disappeared. A sort of Greek political unity was formed in 362BC (although it lasted only for a few months), and Philip's League of Corinth was established in c337. Walbank[110] argues that the reason for the continuing idea of Greek unity was linked paradoxically to its non-existence, "The Greeks possessed enough of the components of a nation to conceive a national idea; but except in times of crisis, when this idea inspired them to common action and even to self-sacrifice, their violent political and patriotic feelings were expressed through the medium of smaller political units" and yet, he continues, "when we analyse the course of Greek history ... we can clearly trace a movement toward integration in larger units ... and ultimately the Greeks felt themselves to be a single people".

Having found Athena as the goddess who protects the polis from internal and external threats in Homer, we have found her to be established in this role in the *Eumenides* and *Lysistrata*. We have also found that the scope of Athena widens in the *Lysistrata* so that she becomes the goddess of the 'polis' of Greece. This concept of Athena will have been manifest at the end of that play, when the audience see the Athenians and Spartans leaving the Acropolis, home of Athena, in a Panathenaic-like procession celebrating, among other things, an Athena who is the protector and

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[107] See Plut. *Them.* 17; and Meiggs 1972, pp. 152ff.
[108] 1972, p. 152.
[109] 1972, p. 153.
[110] 1951, pp. 56 and 59.

possession of all Greece equally (not just of Athenian men as they saw at the beginning of the play). They will have seen Greece as a single polis celebrating the goddess of the polis, Athena Polias.

Although Homer portrays an Athena whose loyalties lie beyond Athens, it is unusual to find such an Athena portrayed in fifth century Athenian drama. However, in *Lysistrata* we see an Athena whose loyalties and concern lie with Greece as a whole; and in the *Eumenides*, an Athena whose concern for the development of Athenian society is such that she risks the future prosperity of Athens in order to achieve that development. I will look next at those of the rest of the fifth century Athenian plays in which we can see this Athena, who is both the goddess of the conventional polis, whose concern is for its safety, and the goddess of the wider 'polis' of Greece, whose concern and loyalties lie with its benefit and future.

Chapter 4 Athena as warrior and reconciler III: other drama

Having found Athena as the goddess of the polis in the literary background to the fifth century, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, and having confirmed this image of her in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, we will now look at those other plays of fifth century Athens in which she appears in this role. Through these plays, we will gain an overall impression of the extent to which she was perceived as the polis goddess in fifth century Athenian drama and in fifth century Athens itself. Given Athena's role as reconciler in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and the importance of that reconciliation, we can expect to find echoes and reminders of this play in the others, as well as finding reminders of her Iliadic warrior role in the Trojan war plays. We will also look to see if there are further references to the idea of the wider polis of Greece and to the idea of a move toward panhellenism. We see Athena in her role as polis goddess in other tragedies, and these fall into three main groups: those plays whose theme is the Trojan war, Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*, and Euripides' *Troades*[1]; Athenian suppliant plays in which we see suppliants turn to Athens for protection and vindication, Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*, Euripides' *Heraclidae* and *Supplices*; and those plays which reflect Athena's role as the Theban goddess, Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos*, and *Antigone*, and Euripides' *Phoenissae*. There are two other tragedies which portray Athena as the polis goddess, but which fall into none of these categories, Aeschylus' *Persae* and Euripides' *Ion*. There are six comedies of Aristophanes, *Knights*, *Peace*, *Birds*, *Frogs*, *Ecclesiazusae* and *Wealth* in which we can see that Athena's polis role is sufficiently established that it forms part of Aristophanes' image of Athens. Finally we will look at various other references in which Athena is linked with Athens and its people, and from there we will see how central her patronage of Athens was to drama, and how it reflected the attitude of her people.

In Sophocles' *Ajax* we can clearly see Athena in her role as the polis goddess who protects the 'polis' of the Greek army from the internal threat which Ajax poses. His threat occurs on two fronts: by his attitude towards the gods, and by his decision to kill Agamemnon, Menelaus and Odysseus. In the first instance, Ajax poses a threat to the unity and the future of the Greek army by his arrogant[2] and fiercely independent attitude towards the Olympian gods. As we saw in the *Iliad*, victory will be achieved by the gods, and whichever side is to win the war needs to have the gods

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1 I will discuss these plays in the order given rather than in their chronological order.

2 We will see the divine consequences of mortal arrogance later as well, in Euripides' *Troades* and in the suppliant plays.

on their side. As Calchas reminds Teucer (762-78), Ajax had refused Athena's help on two previous occasions and, like Diomedes, Achilles and Hector in the *Iliad*, and Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, he had dared to be too much like the gods for the gods, specifically Athena, to tolerate; as Winnington-Ingram remarks "it was the more than mortal thoughts of Ajax as shown by his rejection of divine aid; it was his mortal self-sufficiency" which had caused Athena's anger, and "it is the pride of Ajax which explains the wrath of Athena, to which it is antecedent"[3]. This self-sufficiency had two consequences: it angered the gods, particularly Athena, and it threatened the unity of the Greek army; but each of those was also compounded by the other so that the effect was greater. By his intention to kill the Atreidae and Odysseus, Ajax posed a significant threat not merely to the unity of the Greek army, but also to the entire future of the expedition; as Menelaus remarks to Teucer (1054), Ajax had become a greater threat to the Greek army than the Trojans. With their three leaders dead, the Greeks would no longer have been as threatening a force, and without Odysseus they would have been unable to defeat the Trojans because they would not have had the Wooden Horse. Linked to this was the threat which Ajax posed to the Greek army by lacking the self-restraint either to check his anger before it drove him to kill the leaders, or to think about the consequences his decision would have on the rest of the Greek army.

As goddess of the polis, Athena was concerned to protect the polis from such a threat[4], but she was also motivated by Ajax's insults to her and her consequent hatred of him. Because he posed a threat to the army Athena punished him, and because he had insulted her, she gloated over him. Murnaghan[5] wryly but astutely observes, describing the internal threat exactly, "how differently the impulses of a warrior are valued depend on whether they are directed towards those defined as friends or towards those defined as enemies". She also compares the way in which Athena uses the "evaluative mechanisms of the city and of drama" to chastise and judge Ajax, with Athena's institution in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* of the Areopagus and trial system, and her supervision of the plot of the *Odyssey*, and remarks that Athena's role here recalls her "traditional association with culture and civic order". Athena protects the

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3 Winnington-Ingram 1980, pp. 42 and 162. Ajax's attitude and the problems it caused have been discussed many times, see for example Whitman 1951, p. 73, Knox 1961, p. 8, Sicherl 1977, pp. 93 and 95, Podlecki 1980, pp. 53-55, Segal 1981, p. 120, Heath 1987a, pp. 173-74, Blundell 1989, p. 67.

4 Although Podlecki 1980, p. 51, argues that Athena's role in Ajax's madness and death "may well have been, in Sophocles' estimation, part of Zeus' divine plan". He continues that assuming this, "Ajax's rehabilitation is also part of Zeus' plan". Obviously, if there is an ultimate plan of Zeus which covers each human and each god, every action originates in, or returns to, that plan.

5 1989, pp. 180-82.

community from Ajax's threat by turning his anger from the leaders on to the cattle and sheep so that they (and the shepherds) are killed rather than the Greek leaders[6], and so that the Greek army is saved. This causes Ajax considerable humiliation and frustration: his plan was thwarted, and everyone knew both that his plan had existed and that it had failed. This was a necessary consequence of saving the Greek army, and because Ajax's pride had angered the gods anyway, it was perhaps not seen as an entirely negative consequence. Knox[7] argues of Athena's making Ajax commit the lesser rather than the greater crime, "in the action of the goddess, is the working of justice"; and Adams[8] argues that when Athena calls Ajax 'ally', she is being truthful: "She has in fact already proved her alliance by diverting his sword. ... Athena will ensure Ajax's honour. That is why she is his ally". Thus we can see Athena in one aspect of her role as protector of the community. Bearing this in mind, we can see that in fact she had inspired neither Ajax's plan nor his anger, but had redirected them to fall on a less significant target. Athena could also have prevented Ajax from killing at all; she could have forced him to remain in his tent for the duration of his anger. Instead she allows him to continue with his plan, and merely deceives him into thinking that the cattle and sheep are men. She also chooses to tell Odysseus the history of Ajax's situation (51-67). All of this suggests that Athena intended something more than simply saving the Atreidae and Odysseus; it would seem that she intended the Greek army to see the threat which Ajax posed to them (66-67), and to use him to warn them against arrogance (127-33). As Murnaghan remarks[9] "Athena's contrivance does not obscure Ajax' true nature, but rather highlights one side of it in a context in which it appears as criminal insanity".

However, we must also remember that Ajax was the Greek army's best warrior, as Odysseus observes (1340-41). As such his preservation would benefit the Greek army, and should therefore have been a priority of Athena's in terms of the good of the community and its strength. Perhaps then this was another reason for her preventing Ajax from killing the leaders. Had he killed them, he would himself have been killed summarily by the rest of the army. Athena's intervention instead saved the lives of the three leaders, and of the army's best warrior. And although he endeavours

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6 Even this has implications for the army, since the sheep were booty which had not yet been shared out, and so were still a communal possession (54, 146, 175). By killing the sheep, Ajax's anger affected each soldier. On this, see Knox 1961, p. 7, Murnaghan 1989, p. 179, and Sorum 1986, p. 366 who adds the points that the sheep represented food as well as spoils, and that they were "that productive but defenseless element in a community that requires the warrior's protection".

7 1961, p. 7.

8 1957, p. 28.

9 1989, p. 179.

to blame Athena for his madness (401), it is rather more the failure of his plan (and his consequent humiliation) which he blames on her (450-56)[10]. Winnington-Ingram observes[11] that "her 'wrath' which Ajax rightly recognizes without understanding its cause, was the appropriate penalty for his pride ... Athena punishes, but does not cause, the nature and action of Ajax". However, in saving him from this crime (and by saving his life), Athena humiliates him. This humiliation in itself condemns him in his own eyes. Athena takes a risk with Ajax; in humiliating him, she risks that he will kill himself and that thereby the Greek army will be deprived of its best warrior, and so soon after Achilles' death. Because of his arrogance and ego-centricity, Ajax fails (or is perhaps unable) to see Athena's role positively, or as motivated by a desire to save him from himself. Athena's role in this situation can be compared to her role in *Iliad* I 193-222, where she appears only to Achilles and urges him not to kill Agamemnon, 'if you will follow me'. This remark suggests that Athena's role here was as one of a manifestation of will-power; Achilles has to choose between killing Agamemnon in anger or showing self-discipline and not killing him. Athena will help Achilles only if he has the mind not to kill Agamemnon, she will not make him the decision for him or force him into either decision. Likewise, Athena can be seen here as willing to help Ajax only if he has the mind to help himself and live. However, Ajax is aware only that his failure has brought more disgrace, that "he has exposed himself to the mockery of those very enemies whom he wished to punish"[12], that more than ever the gods have shown that they hate him; and that he is "cut off from [the gods], that he is an outcast from both gods and men"[13]. The pride for which Athena punished Ajax means that he is unable to deal with this humiliation in any other way than death[14]. It is only in death that he can "salvage what is most precious to him: his soul's nobility, his honor, his very self. ... In this way only can he preserve his honor and avoid disgrace"[15]. Athena herself seems to intend that through this experience Ajax, rather than kill himself, will learn humility and flexibility[16]. She seems to plan that Ajax will renounce the pride and temper for which she had punished him, and will learn to become a fuller member of the community. This appears to be the reason for her decision that her wrath will last only one day. Bowra

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10 See Knox 1961, p. 30, note 27 on this issue.

11 1980, p. 318.

12 Sicherl 1977, p. 68.

13 Bowra 1944, p. 28.

14 Wigodsky 1962, p. 157, argues that death is Ajax's only salvation, "and in this one might see merely the logical outcome of his situation, or one might attribute it to the general Sophoclean pessimism".

15 Sicherl 1977, p. 82.

16 March 1993, p. 22, remarks that "mutability is a familiar Sophoclean theme, but in no other extant play is it as central as in the *Ajax*".

argues[17] that she chooses to humble Ajax rather than kill him outright for his arrogance, that she gives him a chance to survive her wrath, and that she treats him with "a mercy that is rare in insulted divinities" because she is aware of his qualities and of the benefits he brings to the Greek army: "the goddess recognizes his great merits while she punishes his faults". She plans that he will "learn wisdom by the experience and ... instruct others by his example"[18]. By deluding Ajax in his madness, Athena seems to want not only to save the Greeks from Ajax, but also to save Ajax from himself. The result should be that Ajax becomes a wiser and better warrior, and an even greater asset to the Greek army; 'Ajax the threat' will have been reconciled to the community which he threatened, and he will become instead a boon to that community. Therefore her anger will only last for a day, the day of Ajax's learning. However, Ajax preferred to kill himself than to live having learnt Athena's lesson, that he must swallow his pride and be flexible[19]. As Moore[20] observes, Ajax had always sought high stakes and was not able to watch them dissolve in the force of this learning experience. Had Ajax remained in his tent for the day of Athena's anger, as Calchas recommends, he probably would have learnt her lesson that he would achieve more and gain more by accepting the humility and flexibility he realised were necessary for community life; thereafter he would "fit into the world-order and become a *sophron* ... of the sort the gods love"[21]. However, that would require Ajax to be a less impetuous and angry person[22]. Had he stayed in the tent, he would probably have learnt wisdom and survived; but had he done that, he would not have been Ajax. This is the paradox of his learning. It must also be remembered that Athena chose in fact not to prevent his suicide, just as she had chosen not to prevent his killing the sheep.

So Athena had succeeded in protecting the community from the internal threat which Ajax posed, but she had failed to save Ajax from himself, or to reconcile him to the community to which he was an asset, and could have been a greater asset. Realising that Ajax's pride prevented him from learning the humility and flexibility needed to live as part of a community, Athena chose not to prevent his death; even though he was the Greek army's best warrior, and it had only recently lost Achilles. She allowed him the only course of action which he could accept, by which I mean

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17 1944, p. 36.

18 1944, p. 33.

19 Sicherl 1977, p. 95, compares Ajax with Oedipus in *OC*, and observes that "his greatness, like that of Oedipus, rests upon his conscious decision to embrace the truth that annihilates, but, at the same time, saves and exalts him".

20 1977, p. 60.

21 Sicherl 1977, p. 95.

22 On this idea, see also Wigodsky 1962.

that if she was able to delude him into killing sheep instead of men, she could have deluded him to stay in his tent. But Ajax had great qualities as Athena knew (and which was her reason for trying to teach him wisdom in the first instance); he was the army's best warrior (1339-41), and he had been "no lonely Achilles, but a warrior who fights in and for the whole army"[23]. For these reasons Athena saves Ajax in death, "Ajax the hero has been proved worthy of veneration through the will of the goddess of wisdom"[24]. Through this rehabilitation he finally finds peace with the gods. Sicherl[25] sees his death as a ritual sacrifice in honour of Athena through which he atones for his offences against her and his attitude towards the gods - those attitudes which had led Athena to punish him; and that the "religious significance of Ajax' death is confirmed by his consecration as a hero". Easterling[26] argues that "the transformation of Ajax from rejected outcast to venerated hero of a community of which Athena is patron goddess" is one of the themes of the play.

This rehabilitation required that he was given a burial which saved his body from the wishes of Agamemnon and Menelaus. Although Sophocles does not explicitly seem to incorporate his future status as a cult hero into the play, Ajax must be buried so that there can be a credible link between the play and the fact for the fifth century audience (for whom Sophocles was after all writing the play) of his institution as an Attic cult hero. Blundell[27] argues that in death Ajax's life "must now be evaluated as a whole", that his achievements, despite his crime, entitle him to the honour whose earlier absence had caused his crime; and that Odysseus "thus raises the possibility not just of respecting Ajax as an enemy, but of transforming enmity back into friendship". This transformation is the reality of life which Ajax had seen but refused to accept. It is also the reconciliation to the community of the internal threat which Ajax had posed. Odysseus, "the man who stands closest to Athena ... knows where hatred must end and pity begin"[28]; he is Athena's representative in the play and achieves the burial and the saving of Ajax's body. In this role as reconciler and peacemaker at the end of the play, Odysseus becomes the human embodiment, the voice of Athena. He "speaks from feelings engendered in him by the goddess, [and] produces what is in effect her own verdict, that Ajax shall have burial"[29]. (I will discuss further Odysseus' role as reconciler shortly.) A burial is necessary because it saves the soul; it gives the

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23 Segal 1981, p. 112.
24 Adams 1957, p. 41.
25 1977, pp. 96-97. Easterling 1988, pp. 91-98 discusses the ritual aspects of the burial scene.
26 1993, p. 83.
27 1989, p. 97.
28 Kitto 1961, p. 125.
29 Adams 1957, p. 24.

soul peace and a resting place[30]. But in this case it is also a triumph over his enemies; Wigodsky[31] asks whether σῴζειν can mean, or suggest "to bury". It seems to me that in this context it can and it does. The Atreidae want to prevent his burial, they want his body to be discarded on the sea shore, and left for animals and to rot. This would mean that his soul would not receive its burial rites, and so would find no rest. The burial of Ajax and his salvation are inseparable in this instance, one will afford the other. March[32] stresses the link with Athens and argues that Teucer's final words (1413-15) are "an invitation to the audience to join imaginatively and emotionally in the funeral ... which will take place, in a sense, in the very soil of Athens itself", and that through this scene, "the Athenians have witnessed Sophocles' rehabilitation of Ajax". His burial is also required for the second step of his rehabilitation. Burian[33] argues that Sophocles makes Eurysaces both a suppliant at the corpse of Ajax, and the protector of the corpse, in order to emphasise Ajax's cult role, "Through its very anomaly as ritual, Eurysaces' supplication symbolically enacts his father's transformation into a sacred hero", and that "The final scenes are played against a solemn ritual tableau which holds the answer and testifies to the final vindication of the hero". As an Attic cult hero, Ajax's positive qualities are emphasised[34], and they stand as a model for the Athenian people and polis. Bowra[35] discusses Ajax's qualities as a leader, and describes them as "characteristically Athenian" and "of the Periclean age". He continues that Ajax's men honour him because he inspires them through his qualities, that this will have recalled Pericles' similar claims about the individual in fifth century Athens, and that the Athenian audience would have seen in

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30 Although this link between burial and the soul is not made in *Ajax* (nor in *Antig.* where burial is as central a theme), we know of its importance from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where we see it both before death when the heroes are concerned that their bodies be given the proper burial rites, and from the scenes in the Underworld where the 'lost souls' are those not afforded these proper burial rites. We also see in these poems and the fifth century plays the almost sacred importance given to the burial rites when they do occur. To throw a corpse to the dogs, or to abandon it on the sea-shore, was obviously neglectful and therefore degrading in itself, suggesting that the dead person had not inspired sufficient respect or love to motivate the living to deal with the corpse. Moreover, to refuse any formal burial rites and to insist that the corpse be abandoned as actively as Agamemnon and Menelaus do, enhances the disrespect shown to the dead person.

31 1962, p. 155.

32 1993, pp. 31-32.

33 1972, pp. 155 and 156.

34 Jebb 1907, p. xxxv, argues that because of the tenderness which Ajax feels for "those whom he is leaving" he can neither leave them in silence nor by the force which would be necessary if he were open with them. He continues that "Ajax's way of 'informing' his dependants would be seen as a stratagem in war; and the hero would not suffer in their eyes, since the end in view ... is heroic". Moore 1977, pp. 56-57, discusses how the deception speech shows Ajax's sensitivity and honour in that he preferred to deceive Tecmessa and the sailors exactly because he cared so much for them. March 1993, p. 15, argues that by ensuring that Teucer takes Tecmessa and Eurysaces to comfort his parents, "Ajax has arranged that all of his dependants will find solace in each other".

35 1944, pp. 20-21.

Ajax the great leader whom his sailors saw. As Sicherl remarks[36], the dead Ajax "takes his place by the side of Athens' protectress, as a helpful and beneficent hero". His negative aspects likewise stand, and as Segal[37] says, these negative aspects prevent Ajax from being rehabilitated easily "into a communal hero of the polis" because his death and its manner confirm his stubborn isolation so that he "remains an anomaly, a remote, gigantic figure". His negative aspects are not subsumed, they are held up as high as his attributes but as a warning to the people of the polis of the dangers of stubbornness and inflexibility. Both his positive and negative traits stand as a reminder of the importance of community solidarity for safety, as well as being a warning of what can happen to a society under threat, and to the person making that threat. Thus Sophocles is able to use Ajax as a model to his audience of the good warrior, the bad citizen, and as a model for teaching wisdom, humility and flexibility.

Before Ajax's decision to kill the Greek leaders, he had been the best sort of warrior, one who "fights in and for the whole army"[38], and we see this perception of him reflected in every speech about him. However, from the moment that he decided to attempt the three murders, Ajax set himself outside the community. Segal remarks of his transformation, "we witness this solid bulwark of the hoplite battle line in the process of becoming the citiless outcast, the *apolis*"[39]. From this position he rejected the requirements of community life, as can be seen in his treatment of his sailors and particularly of Tecmessa: "Ajax has started behaving like an enemy to people who ought to be his friends - his comrades"[40]. By setting himself beyond the limits and society of the army, and by wanting to act alone and against the community, Ajax becomes not only an internal threat, but the community's greatest threat. As discussed above, of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, other Homeric heroes at times thought themselves to be capable of fighting on their own without the help of the gods and of achieving what was either not appropriate or not possible to achieve. For example, in the *Odyssey* Odysseus hopes that with just his father, son and closest men, he will be able to defeat the kinsmen of the dead Ithacan suitors. By thinking like this and hoping to achieve this, he threatens the survival and the future of Ithaca. Athena and Zeus prevent this because Ithacan society must be preserved, and because Odysseus must act as part of the Ithacan community; he is not above the community, he exists within it, and cannot therefore act apart from it. And when in the *Iliad*, Achilles, still angry with Agamemnon and the Greek leaders, hopes that he and Patroclus alone will

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36 1977, p. 97.
37 1981, p. 142.
38 Segal 1981, p. 112.
39 1981, p. 100.
40 Easterling 1984, p. 7.

be able to take Troy, his show of independence from the Greek army is not appropriate because he is part of a community. So in this play, Ajax considers, in his frustration and humiliation, taking Troy alone (466-68). But again, he cannot be allowed to do this because he is part of the army, he is part of the community; the threat to the community is too great, and it would be inappropriate for him to do so.

In the *Eumenides*, Aeschylus chose that the reconciliation "of the factions after the great struggle between the old and the new justice"[41] should be achieved by a god, and by the goddess of reconciliation, Athena. The reconciliation of the Erinyes to Athens was difficult and had massive consequences for Athens and the Athenians, and so it was appropriate that Athena, the goddess of reconciliation and the goddess of Athens, should achieve it, and this meant that the resulting benefits would thereby be emphasised[42]. In the *Ajax*, Sophocles chose that the reconciliation should be achieved by Athena's representative, Odysseus. Meier[43] argues that the link with the *Eumenides* and Athens in *Ajax* can be seen in the "'political' part of the play, [when] the Greek army at Troy comes to broadly represent the city of Athens". This link with Athens serves to keep in the audience's mind Ajax's link with Athens and Attica. Adams[44] also compares this scene with that of the *Eumenides*: "the case of Ajax is hardly less difficult than that of Orestes. Concerning his deserts, men have been unable to decide; Athena can and does". Athena decides what Ajax's fate is, and uses Odysseus, her representative, to achieve it. Odysseus' role here can be seen in terms of his being a *deus ex machina*. The chorus ask whether he has come to 'untie the knot', to resolve the situation (1316-17). Odysseus remarks that he had heard from far off the raised voices (τηλόθεν γὰρ ἠσθόμην βοήν, 1318-19) of the Atreidae; this seems to be an echo of Athena's entrance in the *Eumenides*, where she claims to have heard Orestes' call from far off (πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοήν, 397), from the Scamander. This echo continues when both the chorus and Agamemnon address Odysseus as ἄναξ (1316 and 1321), echoing Orestes' appeal to Athena as ἄνασσ' (235). These echoes of Athena's role, and the appeals to Odysseus to resolve the situation, further enhance the interpretation of Odysseus here not just as Athena's representative, but as the human embodiment of Athena the

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41 Meier 1993, p. 187.

42 Bowra 1944, pp. 50-56, Whitman 1951, p. 78, and Meier 1993, p. 179 discuss the argument between the Atreidae and Teucer in terms of Athena's threat to the Erinyes to use force (Zeus' thunderbolt), Menelaus' Spartan-ness, and Agamemnon's oligarchic attitude. These latter attitudes would have been distasteful to the Athenian audience, and would have given further weight to what would effectively thereby become the Athenian lesson of the importance of flexibility and humility.

43 1993, p. 179.

44 1957, p. 25.

reconciler. In itself such an association here between Odysseus and Athena, and a reminder of Athena's reconciliatory functions, reminds us again of the prologue. Both in the prologue and in the final scene, we see Odysseus as human and humble, and an ideal candidate to resolve the conflict over the corpse. Athena, on the other hand, was most decidedly inhuman, inhumane, boastful and gloating in the prologue. In that scene she wants and expects Odysseus to rejoice in Ajax's downfall, but he refuses to; Odysseus disagrees with Athena that the (malicious) power of the gods is glorious to see. She addresses him in the terms of intimacy and equality of the *Odyssey*, but Odysseus responds with respect and distance. He refuses to glory at the sight of the degraded Ajax; he sees Ajax as the victim of Athena's malice and refuses to condone it. He makes this clear to Athena as well as the fact that he is aware that she might turn as swiftly, destructively and joyously on any other human, including himself. In this sense, Athena is shown to be as wrong in her perception of Odysseus as Ajax, Tecmessa, the chorus, and even to some extent Agamemnon are later shown to be. The reconciliation at the end of the *Ajax* was not as important as that of the *Eumenides* for society in general, nor for Athens, but it was significant nonetheless because it showed the importance to the polis of unity, of clear-thinking, and of reconciliation itself. Sorum[45] argues that Odysseus learnt the importance of "compromise based on a notion of the ultimate good of the group", and says that "mutual dependence and cooperation ... are the virtues of the hoplite line". Because he had learnt Ajax's lessons, Odysseus represents the future both of the fifth century hoplite ideals of warfare, and of the fifth century ideal of the polis community.

Because of Athena's role in the prologue, it would not have been easy for her to be the reconciler in the final scene, and nor would it have been appropriate. Through the humility which Odysseus consistently shows, he is able to play Athena's reconciliatory role better than she herself could do. Sophocles is also able to achieve far more by having him rather than Athena as the reconciler. Odysseus is right for this role because he was known as Athena's representative, and following his role in the prologue where he was humbled by the thought, much less the sight, of Ajax, the lesson of the importance of flexibility and humility is shown all the more clearly. And the echoes of the *Eumenides* remind us of Athena's association with reconciliation, and of her role in that play. Meier[46] considers the play's "crucial insights" to have been the importance of co-operation over competition, and the interdependence of people within the society. He argues that Odysseus is the only character who learns the lesson that "they are the foundation on which the polis must stand" and by

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45 1986, p. 375.
46 1993, pp. 182-83.

following these principles, he is able to take on Athena's role as reconciler. Odysseus' credentials for this role are also seen in his attitude over the issue of Ajax's burial: although he had hated Ajax previously (when it had been appropriate), the issue of burial and of maltreating the dead override such issues and trivialise them[47]. For the lessons of Ajax's life and death to be learnt most effectively, his burial and reconciliation had to be achieved by a human, and a former enemy; and Odysseus is the appropriate person for that role. As Bowra[48] remarks "Ajax's burial, which is demanded by considerations of honour and decency, can only be secured when modesty defeats hatred and prejudice". Odysseus is the only character in a position to realise this and, because he is the only one who could learn the lesson so directly from Athena, he is the only character who was able to overcome the 'hatred and prejudice' of himself and others. Had Athena been the reconciler, Agamemnon's role would have been more significant because he would have had to succumb to Athena's will and agree to the burial. With Odysseus as the reconciler "it is the sons of Atreus, not Ajax, who end up on the margins of society"[49]; Agamemnon can allow Ajax's burial as a personal favour, and is able to grant that favour to Odysseus while in fact refusing to allow it himself. By keeping Agamemnon as inflexible and proud as we had earlier seen Ajax, Sophocles is able to show in a greater contrast and therefore to greater effect Odysseus' learning process and the lesson of humility which he learns.[50]

The next play in this Trojan War group is Sophocles' *Philoctetes*[51]. In this play, Athena does not appear in person, but her presence is felt throughout by her association with the Greek army, and her concern to protect and save it. For example, having persuaded Neoptolemus to act on his behalf, Odysseus invokes Nike Athena Polias (134) as he leaves the stage[52]. Although at first glance this epithet of Athena's might appear out of place, it is entirely relevant for Odysseus as the leader of the expedition to call on Athena as the goddess of the polis and as the goddess of victory since the ultimate intention of his endeavour is to save the polis of the Greek

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47 For a fuller account of this argument, see Bowra 1944, p. 57.

48 1944, p. 51.

49 Easterling 1993, p. 84.

50 The *Rhesus* falls into the Trojan War group of plays. In it Athena is portrayed in a crude role lifted from the Athena of the *Iliad*. Since the Athena of this play adds nothing to our discussion of her, I will not discuss it further. For the authenticity of the play, see Ritchie, 1964, reviewed by Fraenkel 1965.

51 Although several fragments and discussions exist of Euripides' *Phil.*, it has not survived as an actual text so will not be discussed here other than with reference to Sophocles' version.

52 In earlier versions of the story, for example the Euripides version, Odysseus went to Lemnos because Athena had instructed him to. By mentioning Athena so early on in his version, Sophocles leads the audience to expect her to play a larger part in the play than she in fact does. Their expectation will be disappointed, and this will provoke a reaction in the audience. On this line, see Jebb 1890, pp. 30-31, note on 134.

army from defeat in the war and bring it victory. He will achieve this intention by bringing Philoctetes to Troy. P.W. Rose[53] remarks that Odysseus' invocation to Athena Polias is "an epithet which implies broadly the supports of organized political life but also strongly suggests contemporary democratic Athens". I would suggest that it also reflects the 'organized political life' of the polis of the Greek army, from which Odysseus has come. The relevance of his invocation to Athena Nike, the goddess of victory, was equally appropriate, and more obvious. Odysseus has two victories to achieve by coming to Lemnos: a victory over Philoctetes to get him, by fair means or foul, on to the boat; and then victory over the Trojans once Philoctetes and his bow have reached Troy. So, to invoke Athena, the goddess of the army-polis and the goddess of victorious armies, was entirely appropriate. Segal interprets the invocation of these two Athenas as "typical of Odysseus. His gods are, in a sense, «victory», «deceit», and «safety»"[54], and she oversees all of them by patronage or example. Athena's presence is also felt through Odysseus because of their close association. Odysseus uses the Athena-like, or Athena-inspired, skills of cunning and strategic intelligence to plan to get Philoctetes on to the boat with them, and also to persuade Neoptolemus - against his will - to deceive Philoctetes to this end. It is these skills of Odysseus' which made him the obvious person to go to Lemnos; which make him a useful and vital warrior to the Greeks; and which inspired the award of the arms of Achilles to him rather than to Ajax.

In the course of the play, Odysseus, Neoptolemus and Philoctetes each pose an internal threat to the Greek army polis. Podlecki[55] argues that the play "is a case-study in the failure of communication, involving three individuals who fail to come to terms with one another because they are, in effect, speaking with different voices". In itself this 'failure of communication' makes each man a threat to the community; it also enhances the specific threats of each individual. To a greater or lesser extent, Philoctetes and Neoptolemus are eventually reconciled, back to the Greek army, and so the threat which Odysseus poses is negated. Philoctetes poses the greatest threat because the Greek army needs him. The original decision of the Greek leaders to desert Philoctetes on Lemnos constitutes an internal threat because it weakened the unity of the Greek army. This weakness was two-fold. An important warrior was lost to the army and its cause by deceitful means; and the rest of the army saw through this action that each one of them was as dispensable as Philoctetes. Both of these would have weakened the internal security and integrity of the army. The

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53 1976, p. 85.
54 1977, p. 139.
55 1966b, p. 233.

rejection of Philoctetes also poses an internal threat when the leaders subsequently realise that he is a prerequisite of their victory over Troy. While the dispute between him and the leaders remained unresolved, it was destructive of the greater good of the army (victory in the war), and of its security. Despite the prophecy of Helenus, the Greek leaders seem to be disinclined to resolve the dispute and interested in fact only in the bow: "the Atreidae and Odysseus do not need the man; they want only what is useful about him"[56]. They reject Philoctetes from the community of the army and effectively exile him, as he reminds Odysseus (1017-18) 'you cast me up [on Lemnos] without a friend, in isolation, stateless (ἄπολιν), a dead man among the living'. They left him to a life "little better than that of an animal"[57]. Yet another internal threat which Philoctetes poses to the Greek army is his rejection of the suggestion that he return to Troy. By this decision he chooses to remain *apolis*. As we saw with Ajax and Achilles, no member of a community can be allowed to act outside the limits, or apart from the community, because by doing so they threaten to undermine the essence of the community. Olson remarks[58] that within a political society "no behavior is ever absolutely free", as the other Homeric heroes discovered and as Philoctetes will be made to realise. Whitman[59] interprets the play in terms of the struggle between the man and the society, "a heroic contest between the great individual who, rejected by society, rejects it in turn, and society itself - with its many-sided selfishness, deception and rewards - which demands the use of the great man's talents". However, the reconciliation of Philoctetes to the society, as we will see below, takes far more than the promise of the 'rewards' of society.

The threat which Odysseus poses to the Greek army is more complex than that which Philoctetes posed. Like Philoctetes, he had been part of the initial threat to the Greek army by his role in the desertion of Philoctetes. But he also poses an internal threat during the play through his ego-centricity and concern for his self-preservation; he is "always determined to get his own way, regardless of the wishes or claims of others"[60]. Salvation is one of the main themes of this play and each character[61]; it manifests itself in Odysseus as a threat to the Greek army. To him, it means not the salvation of Philoctetes, but the salvation of and victory for the Greek army at Troy;

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56 Whitman 1951, pp. 182-83.

57 Buxton 1982, p. 119. Easterling 1977, p. 128, discusses how Sophocles' poignant description of Philoctetes' life on Lemnos emphasises its isolation and loneliness.

58 1991, p. 282. The remark is made of Euripides' *Phil.* but is true of any political society.

59 1951, pp. 178-79.

60 Blundell 1987, p. 315.

61 As discussed by Avery 1965, pp. 296-97, PW Rose 1976, pp. 84-85, and Segal 1977, p. 139. The play ends on the theme of salvation in the choral appeal to the sea nymphs for a safe voyage back to Troy (1417).

and he is willing to lie and deceive (81-82, 108-09) in order to achieve it. Odysseus is also, and ultimately, concerned with his own salvation which to him means his own honour and prestige, "he acts with one eye on his people's good, but with the other firmly fixed on his own reputation"[62]. This self-centred slant can be seen in his attitude towards the bow (and consequently the entire expedition): he "never speaks of anything but the bow"[63]; in his attitude towards the Atreidae, "he couples the appeal to divinity with the authority of the 'Atreids and the entire army'. They, and not the gods, are what he really serves"[64]; finally, and most fully, in his attitude towards Philoctetes who has for him "no more intrinsic value than the bow. And by Odysseus' treatment of him Philoctetes is reduced to the status of a thing"[65]. Odysseus is prepared to go to any lengths to achieve the salvation which will lead to the Greek victory, even to the extent of disregarding the need to bring Philoctetes willingly to Troy, and claiming that he or Teucer could use the bow (1056-59). Beye[66] remarks of Odysseus, that "because he seems to concentrate on recovering the weapons and to ignore the man who wields them, one reads him again as mechanical and inhuman". It is his attitude towards Philoctetes which causes Odysseus to be a threat to the Greek army. Rather than use persuasion (another of the main themes of the play) to achieve the aim of the expedition, Odysseus dismisses it out of hand (103). One suspects that this is because by its nature, persuasion suggests that both parties give and receive, and Odysseus is not prepared to give Philoctetes anything, nor to let him know that the Greek army needs him. He prefers to use deceit (96-99), with which he is familiar and which will, if successful, bring him more prestige than success by persuasion would have done. Podlecki[67] describes Odysseus as "a man for whom λόγος is not primarily intended as a means of truthful communication among men, but just another means to victory". When both deceit and force have been tried and have failed, persuasion is used, but "its success is compromised by the deceit and force which have preceded it"[68]. The threats which Odysseus poses are not resolved, nor is it relevant to think in terms of his being reconciled to the community to which he had posed the threat because he is one of the leaders of that community. Instead, Odysseus' threats are negated. This happens when Neoptolemus rejects deceit and returns the bow to Philoctetes in defiance of Odysseus, and in front of him (1286-87);

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62 Olson 1991, p. 282; again this remark concerns the Euripidean Odysseus, but is equally true of the Sophoclean one.
63 Poe 1974, pp. 20-21.
64 Segal 1977, p. 142, of 1293-94.
65 Poe 1975, p. 21.
66 1970, p. 68.
67 1966b, p. 236.
68 Knox 1964, pp. 119-120.

"against this, Odysseus ... is powerless"[69], and once his "deceit, his persuasion and his force have all been brought to nothing"[70] there is nothing more he can do but leave. Taplin[71] discusses the unusual fact that Odysseus leaves the scene in silence and without acknowledgement, he sees in this "the refutation and humiliation of him and all he stands for". The threat which Odysseus had presented was negated by the morally superior (though equally ineffectual) action of Neoptolemus. Although Odysseus' 'victory' - to get Philoctetes back to Troy - is finally achieved, and the salvation of both the Greek army and his own prestige within the army (whom one might imagine will not learn of his actual defeat) are also secured, they actually occur in such a way that cannot be regarded as victory for Odysseus[72].

The internal threat which Neoptolemus poses is caused by his inexperience and immaturity. The effect of these is that he is easily influenced and persuaded, whether by Odysseus or by Philoctetes; "that Neoptolemus seems often a pawn, now of Odysseus, now of Philoctetes, engenders suspense over whether he will or will not act"[73]. Neoptolemus poses a direct threat to the Greek army through "his willingness to be persuaded to sacrifice everything because he respects and pities Philoctetes"[74]. He is "on the point of abandoning the whole project - the Achaean army, the sack of Troy, and everything it might have meant for him - and all for the sake of one suffering man"[75]. However it is through this apparent threat that the ultimate salvation (that of Philoctetes) will come, as well as Neoptolemus' own salvation. He is saved by his friendship with Philoctetes which gives him a moral focus and starting point for his maturity. Having found the strength and the reason to stand against Odysseus, Neoptolemus is better able to think for himself, be independent, and become his own person. Jameson[76] suggests that "much of the dramatic interest centres on this struggle [between hereditary and ethical nobility] within Neoptolemus" and that he finally realises "he has misunderstood the meaning of glory and piety: they do not come from a victory purchased by deceit, nor is victory in war all important". The threat which he had posed is finally negated as a direct result of Philoctetes' reconciliation.

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69 Taplin 1971, p. 36.
70 Buxton 1982, p. 128.
71 1971, p. 37.
72 On this, see Easterling 1978, p. 38.
73 Beye 1970, p. 70.
74 Easterling 1978, p. 35.
75 Taplin 1971, p. 35.
76 1956, pp. 221 and 222.

As I said earlier, the community could not stand one of its members being *apolis*. But Philoctetes actively chooses that by rejecting the suggestion that he return to the army, because he feels "no inner compulsion whatever to help the Greek army, because he has no fellow-feeling for them at all"[77]. To help the Greeks would mean to Philoctetes rejoining their society, and thereby becoming as evil as they are (1371-72). However, it was necessary for the greater good of the army community that he should be reconciled, and should return willingly and knowingly to the community. Because this is what is ultimately important in the play, the exact wording of the oracle - whether the Greeks need just the bow, or Philoctetes as well, and whether Philoctetes needed to return in knowledge, or simply to return - is not relevant. In order that the community is as strong as possible, and therefore best able to defend itself from external threats, it must be united. The Greek army will only be united if Philoctetes, an integral part of the community, is reconciled to it, and returns not through deceit and force, but through truth and willingly.

Neoptolemus' role in this process is crucial. It is through him that Philoctetes is reconciled first through their friendship, and then, because of their friendship that he feels able to be reincorporated into the Greek army community while preserving his dignity. Neoptolemus reconciles Philoctetes with humanity and reincorporates him into society. He achieves this by offering Philoctetes friendship and partnership from the start of their relationship; he becomes a son to Philoctetes (even while deceiving him). This amity is further strengthened when Neoptolemus refuses to leave Philoctetes during the attack of his illness (810-13), and again by his admissions of deceit (915-16), and yet again when he takes the bow from Odysseus and returns it to Philoctetes (1286-87). Of this last instance, Taplin[78] observes that "the bow itself holds any trust there may be between them". After admitting to deceit, Neoptolemus is able to address Philoctetes "in honesty as a friend. ... He can speak and try to persuade, as man to man, equal to equal"[79]. Their relationship is finally cemented in a "reconciliation based on trust and achieved through *peitho*"[80] when Neoptolemus is able to persuade Philoctetes that he will take him to back to Oeta (1398-1402), "by virtue of that agreement Philoctetes is no longer an isolated and forsaken being"[81]. At this point (1403) Neoptolemus physically helps Philoctetes walk[82] towards the ship; Easterling[83] observes that "their interdependence is visually demonstrated" by

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77 Poe 1974, p. 14.
78 1971, p. 36.
79 Knox 1964, p. 136.
80 Buxton 1982, p. 130.
81 Whitman 1951, p. 186.
82 Recalling Theseus and Oedipus in *OC*.
83 1978, pp. 35 and 39.

this, and argues that this is "the profoundest moment in the play". It is indeed; it is the point at which through their 'interdependence' they become the family the other lacked; each man reconciles the other to the community which they had separately threatened; and through this reconciliation each man dispels the threat of the other. This scene then is the moment at which we see that the community of the Greek army is united and secure, and that therefore salvation has been achieved, and victory in the war will be theirs.

Yet Philoctetes has still to be reconciled to the Greek army. Persuasion, force and deceit have failed, all human efforts have failed[84]. Philoctetes in fact returns to Troy under compulsion, but of a kind that cannot be resisted. "The need to help the Greeks is imposed upon him by an outside force - the will of the gods"[85]. Heracles appears as *deus ex machina* in order to reconcile Philoctetes (and Neoptolemus) to the Greek army. Although Heracles is historically associated with Athena[86] he makes no reference to her as we would expect him to if Sophocles considered their association to be relevant to the play and if he had intended the audience to recall the association. However, it must be noted that the only gods Heracles mentions are himself and Zeus. I think the audience might well have recalled their association, particularly because it would have been enhanced by Heracles' reconciliatory role. By taking on the role of reconciler his association with Athena in this play is confirmed, and he becomes in some (albeit slight) sense her representative. It is through Heracles that Philoctetes finally has his salvation. By resisting the human efforts to get him to Troy, but obeying the divine orders, he has his salvation. He is also reconciled to the Greek army community while retaining his dignity, and "without compromising his heroic integrity"[87]. Easterling[88] considers "the moment when Philoctetes listens to Heracles' words as the ultimate and paradoxical success of persuasion". Reconciliation under these conditions saves Philoctetes from having to be personally reconciled to the Greek leaders. As Segal discusses, his return contains no forgiveness (and nor does it require any), nor does he act for the Greek army for any reasons other than those demanded by the gods, those demanded by possession of the bow, and those demanded by his friendship with Neoptolemus, "the very nature of

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84 See Segal 1977, p. 142.

85 Poe 1974, p. 14.

86 On Athena's patronage and protection of Heracles, see Euripides' *HF* 612, 907, 1003; and Sophocles' *Trach.* 1031, on which Easterling 1982, p. 204 remarks "Pallas Athena was Heracles' helper and protectress (Il 8.363ff; Od 11.626; Hesiod, Theog. 318; Eur HF 907, 1003). The literary evidence is confirmed by sculpture ... and by vase painting". See also Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1265, which is a quotation from Xenocles' *Licymnius*, originally spoken by Alkmene, Heracles' mother, following Heracles' death; on this line, see Sommerstein 1982, p. 221.

87 Whitman 1951, p. 179.

88 1978, p. 31.

his presence at Troy will continue to set him apart from the others, ... even as he plays the indispensable role in their enterprise"[89]. However, Philoctetes will never again be entirely 'set apart' or alone because of his friendship with Neoptolemus. Just as they were linked and supporting each other when Heracles appeared, so they will be in Troy. It is also only because of Philoctetes' acceptance of Heracles' instructions that Neoptolemus is reconciled to the Greek army.

Just as the threats which Odysseus, Neoptolemus, and Philoctetes had posed were not resolved but negated or dispelled, so the pronouncements of Heracles as *deus ex machina* constitute "a resolution which does not resolve"[90]. Poe argues that Heracles - the voice of the gods - does not tell Philoctetes anything new; and he "completely ignores the question of justice" which had been "the source of Philoctetes' resistance". Heracles merely enforces the will of the gods. The main reason, in terms of the storyline, for Heracles being the *deus ex machina* is his bow and through it his link with Philoctetes. However, Avery argues that Heracles negates any association he might have with Philoctetes because of the bow, and that "having separated himself from Neoptolemus and Philoctetes ... Heracles proceeds to yoke the two of them together"[91]. It is the combination of Neoptolemus, Philoctetes, and Heracles' bow (rather than Heracles himself) which will conquer Troy. We must note here that Sophocles makes no mention of Troy being taken by Athena and Odysseus with the Wooden Horse. Instead he gives full credit to Neoptolemus and Philoctetes, and negates as fully the role of Athena and Odysseus. Perhaps this emphasis is in part to facilitate the association of Heracles the reconciler with Athena; or conversely, to downplay Odysseus and Athena's role. Heracles must act as reconciler and therefore as Athena's representative because it would have been inappropriate for her to be the *deus ex machina.* This is because she was too important a deity for the role (as she had been in *Ajax*), she was too closely involved with Odysseus in the play (because of his invocation), and too closely linked with the victory and safety of the Greek army[92]. Athena acts *through* Heracles to reconcile both Neoptolemus and Philoctetes to the Greek army for its greater good and its ultimate victory. In this play we see that if each human has shown himself to be too

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89 1977, p. 158.

90 Poe 1974, pp. 9-10.

91 1965, p. 296.

92 And because of her association with the Wooden Horse, Odysseus and that defeat of Troy. Perhaps also Sophocles chose to avoid her because of her role in Euripides' *Phil.*, although Olson 1991, p. 277 argues that "there is no positive ancient evidence whatsoever to support the idea that Athena appears in Euripides' *Philoctetes.* ... Nor is there any reason why Odysseus could not have revealed his identity independently of the goddess. ... The language of the final line of the hypothesis ... fits Odysseus better than it would Athena".

flawed and self-centred to put the good of the community before their own interests, the divine representative of the polis goddess will intervene to secure the integrity of the polis. Ultimately, the polis will be saved, but only after the humans have failed to preserve it themselves.

The other Trojan War play of this group is Euripides' *Troades*, and in this play we see Athena as the offended polis goddess. As soon as she appears on stage, Euripides reminds us of two of her attributes: she arrives from the direction of the city which reminds us of her connections with polis life[93]. Athena then addresses Poseidon in what O'Neill describes as "a magnificent confrontation of victorious goddess and vanquished god"[94]. She comes immediately to her point, (48-50) 'May I relinquish my former enmity?', and it is in this 'confrontation' that we see her other attribute, her skills of reconciliation which are crucial to the peaceful and united internal state of the polis. Having been reminded of her links with cities and communities, the audience will remember how firmly she had stood in favour of the Greeks. They will then be the more surprised by her announcement that she and Poseidon will be working against the Greeks[95] (her conversation with Poseidon, or her refusal to answer some of his questions, makes it clear that her plans are against the Greeks rather than in favour of the Trojans). From this point on, we see Athena as the offended goddess. And just as in the *Iliad* she actively hindered and harmed the Trojans, so now she plans to hinder and harm the Greeks[96]. Athena explains to Poseidon that she is seeking revenge on the Greeks because they have insulted her and her temples (69), and they failed to punish Aias for his hubris at her temple (71)[97]; as O'Neill[98] remarks of this failure "the connivance of the others fatally evinces their equally impious attitude". Poseidon is persuaded to help Athena because the Greeks were only able to defeat the Trojans because of the strength of Athena (72),

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93 As Craik 1990, p. 4, discusses, when Athena and Poseidon subsequently leave the stage, Poseidon goes off in the direction of the sea, and Athena to the town, and this again symbolises their respective spheres.

94 1941, p. 312.

95 For a discussion on what Euripides seemed to intend to achieve by giving Poseidon a Trojan allegiance rather than his Homeric Greek one, see Scodel 1980, pp. 65-66.

96 One may suppose that later this will give the Trojans some small compensation and a taste of revenge as they see the Greeks being destroyed by the sea storms, and their prizes and the victory being destroyed with them. Although the Trojans will also be drowning at this point, they will be happy to die rather than live as slaves and victims, as Andromache remarks to Hecuba (630-683). On this idea, see O'Neill 1941, who interprets the play through the "Known End" of the storm and destruction of both victors and vanquished, a position obviously unavailable to the characters.

97 On this see, for example, Kitto 1966, pp. 212-13, Scodel 1980, p. 67, Zimmermann 1991, p. 14, and Fisher 1992, pp. 438-40; and see Craik 1990, pp. 6-7 for a discussion on the technical meaning, and the implications, of the words which Euripides uses of Cassandra.

98 1941, p. 319-20.

as he had made clear in his monologue where he had linked Athena to the fall of Troy (10-12, 23-24, 46-47[99]), and because their response to the vanquished Troy showed an unacceptable ingratitude to Athena. This, Athena explains is her reason for seeking revenge (73), she is "annoyed at the lack of respect for herself their neglect [in not punishing Aias] revealed"[100]. Vellacott[101] interprets both Athena's and Poseidon's reactions in personal terms, "Lest we should imagine that this project belongs to a broad concept of cosmic justice, Athena explains that her motive is personal resentment and nothing else; Poseidon accepts this without demur". As Athena explains her plan to Poseidon (77-86) and his part in it, she also outlines Zeus' role. This suggests that Zeus (who had tended from his necessarily neutral position to sympathise with the Trojans) had himself previously reacted in a similar way to Poseidon, that he had agreed that the Greek's ingratitude and lack of respect towards Athena deserved retaliation, and that he had also been willing to take up the anti-Greek side. Unlike Poseidon, Zeus had his own reasons to be angry with the Greeks since Priam had been killed at his altar, and because Neoptolemus had not been punished by the Greeks for that hubris. Thus the two most senior gods, Zeus and Poseidon, the two gods with power over the natural forces of sea, rain, thunder and lightning, were willing to support Athena both in the fact that she chose to take offence at the ingratitude of the Greeks, and in the manner by which she chose to show her anger. In other words, none of these three major gods viewed Athena's decision in terms of the waste of human endeavour, nor in terms of the wasted victory, nor even in terms of the waste of human life. This interpretation of the divine motivations I think disproves impressions of the gods such as Conacher's[102] that they were "cruel and selfish in their awful decisions and fickle allegiances", of Athena as "vindictive and spiteful", and of Poseidon as showing "a startling readiness to join in any plan ... which Athena may propose". Knox[103], giving Athena's reaction to the hubris of Aias at her temple as an example, describes the gods in Euripides as being "motivated by considerations of personal prestige ... [who] will go to any lengths to maintain that prestige, no matter what the cost in human life". What I think this play shows is not the malevolence of the gods, but how they react when a city which was sacred to them is vanquished; and how they respond to hubris and arrogance[104] in humans when it is directed towards or against them. The prologue informs the

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99 Thetis in Euripides' *Andr.*, 1252, also holds Athena directly responsible for the fall of Troy.
100 Scodel 1980, p. 67.
101 1975, p. 21.
102 1967, p. 137.
103 1985, p. 10.
104 We have already seen Athena's response to the arrogance of Ajax, and the treatment those Homeric heroes like Diomedes, Odysseus, and Achilles received when they dared to act more like gods than mortals.

audience of the attitude of the gods towards the Greek arrogance, and this then influences our perception of the rest of the play so that we see the actions of the Greeks more clearly in terms of their arrogance and hubris.

In Poseidon's monologue we see the reaction of a god who has accepted that his city has been defeated and that his altars will no longer be served. His reaction "is not one of anger but of resignation"[105]. O'Neill[106] suggests that Poseidon "is perhaps concerned to explain that he is not disloyally deserting Troy, but rather that there is nothing left to stay for". However I can see no "concern to explain" in Poseidon's remarks: the god seems to me to be stating the obvious about the end of his relationship with Troy, and as Conacher remarks, "Poseidon takes it as self-evident that once a city is defeated, its divine champions will leave it: for divine service is not wont to flourish in desolated territory"[107]. I would argue that Euripides uses Poseidon here to show the 'normal' divine acceptance of a defeated city, both as an end in itself, and in order to provide a contrast with Athena's reaction to a defeated city which is outraged by the victors. Having accepted the defeat of Troy, Poseidon then decides to abandon his city (25-27, 45-47). Hereafter any human desecration of his altars would not affect Poseidon because he had relinquished his claim to receive honour at them. So, the human committing an ostensible offence would no longer be punished by Poseidon, because the act would no longer be an offence. As Scully[108] says "Destruction of a sacred city does not, in and of itself, imply sacrilege". Athena's entrance and her anger can then be seen more clearly in terms of a divine response to a different situation. At the point when Aias dishonoured her altar and her priestess, Cassandra, Athena had not yet decided to abandon Troy - her altars were still sacred to her. Therefore Aias' action still constituted an offence to Athena, and the Greeks in failing to punish him failed to give Athena the respect that was due to her while her altars remained sacred to her. So Athena was offended; and the Greeks, by their negligence, incurred her wrath.

The Greeks did not punish Aias presumably because they assumed that the gods had abandoned their sacred sites at the very moment that Troy was defeated (if not

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105 Kovacs 1983, p. 335.

106 1941, p. 303.

107 1967, p. 135. I disagree with his later judgement of Poseidon, p. 137, that he shows "an unabashed willingness to abandon this people"; I think he has already explained Poseidon's reason.

108 1990, p. 38; although he also argues that "the Trojans must assume some responsibility for their own ruin", p. 38, Troy as a whole is responsible for and guilty of the crimes of Paris. For his discussion of the fall of Troy, see pp. 38-40 and 124-25; he concludes that Zeus allowed the destruction of Troy because it is "only an "illusion of immortality" and not the real thing ...[and is insignificant] within the dispassioned framework of sun and stars", p. 125.

before). This insensitivity towards the gods was obviously not acceptable to the gods and was caused by the arrogance of the Greeks. The Greeks had failed to learn the lesson of Ajax, of the importance of humility. They would have done well to recall Odysseus' correct reaction to Athena in the prologue of *Ajax*, which Bowra[109] describes thus, "the goddess may be triumphant, wilful and playful, but the man must none the less treat her with profound respect". The Greeks failed to treat Athena (through her altars) with respect, they "encroached on the prerogatives and honor ... of the gods"[110], they *assumed* that she condoned their physical conquest of Troy. Zimmermann[111] remarks that "the victor who gives way to the exaltation of the moment and commits acts of hubris is dancing on the brink of ruin". The Greeks bring their disaster on themselves by their hubris which offends the gods, as Kitto[112] observes "the Greeks are under sentence to death for ὕβρις, but before retribution descends on them they make it clear, by further outrages, how much they deserve it". And they further condemn themselves because they act as though they themselves were the victors[113]; they fail to acknowledge that the victory was achieved by the gods and was theirs only through the gift of Athena. It is this arrogance which turns all of the gods against them. O'Neill[114] remarks that the Greeks had offended Athena and in doing so had "alienated their staunchest friend. ... They are like the dogs that have bitten the hand that fed them".

The final image of the play is of Troy being consumed and destroyed by fire. This is likely to have been a memorable scene for the audience visually, although the words are able to convey little of the effect. Having seen how strongly Athena reacted to the earlier Greek atrocities against her city, one can only speculate at how she might respond to this ultimate hubris - the destruction of her city, her altars, temples, statues, and people by fire. In their arrogance, the Greeks intend to leave only the charred remains of a city which was still sacred to Athena when they destroyed it. The Greek army polis had offended its goddess, and we see in this play the tragedy which consequently destroys not the normal tragic individual, but the entire community[115]. This play was produced in 415, on the eve of the Sicilian

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109 1944, p. 37.
110 Zimmermann 1991, p. 114.
111 1991, p. 114.
112 1966, p. 212. On this idea see also O'Neill 1941, pp. 319-20, Kitto 1966, p. 213, Conacher 1967, p. 136, and Zimmermann 1991, p. 115.
113 Kovacs 1983 argues, I think convincingly, for the authenticity of Poseidon's final remark (95-97) and its meaning. It is a warning against the arrogant attitude of the Greeks. Men should not dwell too greatly on their success in killing people and destroying cities because this strength and ability will never be able to prevent the death which will one day come to them.
114 1941, p. 320.
115 See Kitto 1966, p. 213.

expedition; its warning to the Athenian audience on the dangers of arrogance is clear (particularly since Sicily is mentioned by the chorus, 222). Conacher[116] discusses that the theme of the play was inspired by Euripides' "indignation and sorrow at the treatment of the Melian captives by his fellow citizens" although since Melos can hardly have been captured more than two or three months before the City Dionysia, Euripides can only have been able to amend his script in order to convey these specific feelings. The warning of this play cannot have been lost on the Athenian audience. The goddess of the polis must be treated with respect, humility and sensitivity. As the goddess of victory, she would glory in the victory of the one side in a battle, but the same goddess was also the protector of every polis, even of the defeated polis. The victorious side must swallow their arrogance in victory, remember it is the achievement and the gift of the goddess of victory, and show respect to the goddess of the polis, particularly in defeat. It is difficult to imagine how this image and its message might have been conveyed more forcefully to the Athenians, particularly since at the time they were involved in so many campaigns to conquer other poleis.

The other group of plays which I will discuss is three suppliant plays, Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*, and Euripides' *Supplices* and *Heraclidae*[117]. Athena appears neither in *Oedipus Coloneus* nor in *Heraclidae*, and although she appears in *Supplices*, she does so to secure an oath from the Argives for the future rather than appearing with any specific reference to the present. Nonetheless, we can see her role as polis deity, and particularly the aspect of protecting the city from internal and external threats. In each play she is represented in this role by the king of Athens, either Theseus or Demophon, his son. The king, Athena's representative among the people of the polis, takes on her role of protector and reconciler, the role which we saw her perform in stories set in earlier times, for example the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and the Orestes myth. The plays concern Athens as the champion of suppliants[118]. Athens is that because of the attitude of Athenians historically to turn no one away (see for example, *OC* 636-37). In these plays, Athens and the Athenians are represented by their king, and that king represents Athena and the role which she had played in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. These plays are also about internal and external threats to the polis, and how these threats are dealt with, diffused and, if relevant, absorbed. Through these plays, we can see Athena's direct action becoming the action of her

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116 1967, p. 136, he gives a long and detailed footnote (note 17) on the evidence which supports this idea, and see Thucydides 3.52-70 for an account of the defeat of Plataea.

117 These plays are discussed in reverse chronological order on account of their themes.

118 We also see this briefly in Euripides' *Medea*, 771, and *HF* 1323, where Medea and Heracles go to Athens for refuge.

representative, whether the king, or her priestess as we find in contemporary society, for example in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, or someone else, for example Macaria in *Heraclidae*. Through this progression we see the progression of society from family-centred revenge cycle to the justice-centred legal system of the community which we can see in the *Eumenides*; and the progression from the Trojan type of monarchy, through Theseus' 'democratic' monarchy, to the democracy of fifth century Athens, the society of the audience. The impression of Athena watching over, protecting and caring for the polis-community remains strong and lasting throughout.

Each of these plays follows the general pattern of the suppliant turning to Athens for protection. The essence of the suppliant role carries with it an implicit threat of harm to the city through the curses which the suppliant might bring down if their request for aid is rejected. Thus the suppliant is, or has the potential to be, an external threat to the polis. This situation is further complicated in each play by the particular complexities of each suppliant's position. In each case these complexities are such that the suppliant also causes, or has the potential to cause, civil strife within Athens. The final section of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* is in some ways the ultimate suppliant play, when Athena reconciles the Erinyes to Athens, and they become the Eumenides, because although they are not in any way suppliants to Athens (and indeed, fiercely defend their independence), Athena is able to manipulate the situation to portray them, because they are homeless, as exiles and then, by offering them a home, honour and friendship, make them appear (at least to the audience) to be suppliants, or if not suppliants, to be suppliant-like. The reconciliation becomes crucial to Athens because both the curses and the benevolence which the Erinyes offer are great. The importance and intensity of the situation is reflected in the fact that it is Athena, the goddess of reconciliation, who achieves the reconciliation which at times in the play seems to be impossible. Just as in that play, Athena is able not only to dissipate the external threat but to turn it into an internal blessing by incorporating the 'suppliants' into the structure of the society, so in these three plays, Athena's representatives transform the potentially dangerous suppliant into a boon for Athens, "the central paradox of the [suppliant] play is that the suppliant is destined to be the saviour"[119].

Of the three groups of suppliants, Oedipus in *Oedipus Coloneus*[120] is most like the Erinyes of the Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. At first he is greatly feared and repulsed

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[119] Burian 1974, p. 410. This remark concerns *OC*, but is true of the suppliant play type in general.

[120] Burian 1974, p. 409-10, argues that "all of these elements [of 'the convention of suppliant drama'] can be traced in *OC*, but none appears in its straightforward, "typical" form", and that this is part of the power of the play, and proof of Sophocles' skills.

because of his appearance (141[121]), because he is sitting on holy ground[122] (43-51, 157, although he considers the ground to be a sanctuary; the chorus remark of Oedipus, he 'who fears the Furies not at all'), and finally because of who he is (226, 233-36). Each of these will remind the audience of Aeschylus' Erinyes, and of their haunting of Orestes[123]. Slatkin[124] argues that by using the grove of the Eumenides, Sophocles intends the audience to draw a parallel with "the harmonious end of the *Oresteia*" and also to emphasise "the achievement of the inclusive, self-renewing community". The idea of exile is also strong here: the rock is sacred to the Eumenides who in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* were exiles inasmuch as they had no home and were welcomed nowhere; Oedipus is an exile now, and had been in self-imposed exile before arriving at Thebes; and Theseus had himself grown up in exile (562)[125]. Theseus accepts Oedipus without question, and without judgement, in what Burian[126] describes as a "spontaneous assertion of a common human bond between himself and his suppliant". The chorus on the other hand, by their general reaction to Oedipus and their scepticism that he might possibly have a gift for the city, do need to be convinced of his worth as a suppliant, of why Athens should help, and of how he might possibly help Athens. Just as we will later see how Adrastus and Iolaus had to justify the help of Athens in their suppliant positions, so here we see Oedipus justifying himself not to Theseus but to the chorus, and through the chorus to the polis. He argues (277-81) that since he chose to live, and since the gods themselves chose to preserve his life, the chorus are not in a position to condemn him because of what they consider to be his impurity. Through the chorus, Oedipus challenges the community to "make real their values by accepting him. ... They may prove themselves an open, inclusive, compassionate society by choosing to integrate a man who has acted and suffered"[127]. When Theseus has decided to defend Oedipus, give him his burial, and accept his gift, he promises to settle Oedipus in Athens as 'a fellow-citizen with full citizen rights' (637). This speech of Theseus' is very reminiscent of Athena's promises to the Erinyes, a speech which seemed to dignify the position of the metic in fifth century Athens. This reminiscence occurs again (652-63) when Theseus goes to some lengths to reassure Oedipus that he will protect him

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121 And perhaps because of the alarming fact that he is protected and in many ways represented by his young and single daughters.

122 Ground which is sacred to the Eumenides themselves.

123 On the Eumenides in *OC* and the suggestion that because Oedipus' crimes were unintentional, he did not deserve to be haunted by them as Orestes did, see Linforth 1951, pp. 92-97.

124 1986, pp. 220-21.

125 In *Hcld.*, 186, Iolaus mentions that he, Alcmene and the Heraclidae have been exiled from Argos, and in both *OC* and *Supp.*, Polyneices had turned to Argos when he had been exiled from Thebes.

126 1974, p. 415.

127 Slatkin 1986, p. 217.

from the Thebans, and reminds him of Athens' strength and reputation which will be used to defend Oedipus if necessary. Athena had likewise gone to some lengths to persuade the Erinyes to stay in Athens, and to remind them of the glory of Athens which would be theirs and which they would further, and she had reassured them that they would be received, protected, honoured and loved in Athens.

Oedipus and Ismene refer to the gift[128] he will give Athens (eg 72, 91-92, 288, 401, 459-60, 616-28), he tells Theseus that the secret relates to saving Athens from Thebes, and that Theseus must tell the secret at his death to his eldest son alone, who must do likewise (1530-33). After Oedipus' death, Theseus reveals the condition of the secret's success, that he tell no one where Oedipus was buried (1764-65) 'if I kept my pledge, I'd keep my country free of harm forever'. Whether the gift related to keeping Athens free from the threat of Thebes, or free from any threat, the audience would have appreciated how great the gift was. Oedipus' gift in fact was far more than the relatively simple gift of physical security for Athens after his death. By his success in making the chorus accept him for who he was, he offered a benefit to Athenian society - the benefit of progress, "it is the living Oedipus who is a dynamic force for the moral and political challenge to the *polis*"[129]. Through this challenge, Oedipus offers Athenian society the chance to develop in such a way that he can finally be reconciled to society. Thebes had failed in this both by exiling him in the first instance, and currently by setting the value of his corpse above the value of his life. Slatkin comments on this gift of Oedipus' that "if the Athenians are capable of accepting Oedipus, of sharing a perspective that sees his nature as ultimately viable, even beneficent, they will be able, and will deserve, to inherit his spiritual power, his hard-won sense of "love" (1617)"[130]. Thus the arrival of Theseus who accepts Oedipus without question, stands to show either Theseus as the representative of the entire polis which now accepts Oedipus because the chorus has been won over by him, or that the polis is now as mature as Theseus in its judgement and acceptance of people. Or perhaps it shows both.

Where Oedipus was potentially an external threat but became an internal blessing, the actions of Creon[131] show him only as an external threat. As he tells the chorus, having taken Ismene and Antigone, (837) 'I warn you, it's war with Thebes if you lay a hand on me'. However, Theseus is able to overcome the threat which

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[128] Slatkin 1986, p. 212, argues that the gift and the concept of benefit help us view more clearly the overlapping of the religious and political themes of the play, to both of which the gift refers.

[129] Slatkin 1986, p. 218.

[130] Slatkin 1986, p. 218.

[131] Whitman 1951, p. 207, Knox 1964, p. 156, and Burian 1974, p. 418 compare Creon here with Odysseus in *Phil.*

Creon poses by acting on two fronts: he sends his troops to intercept Creon's soldiers and capture Ismene and Antigone back; and he argues away Creon's threats of war. This he does (906-36) by telling Creon that because he was so arrogant as to come to Athens and simply take his nieces and attempt to take Oedipus without first consulting the king, he had humiliated Thebes, and had underestimated Athens and, as Burian[132] observes, Creon "violates not only Athenian law, but precepts that Thebes and all of Greece respect". Theseus undermines the power of Creon's argument by humiliating him and proving that he had acted wrongly. Slatkin[133] describes the differences between them in their responses to Oedipus: "Theseus does not question; Creon does not listen". Having done this, Theseus has put Creon in a weak position, and can justly threaten to imprison him[134]. Creon tries to defend himself, but finally admits defeat (1018, 'What would you have me do? I am helpless'). Thus Theseus has managed to defuse and eradicate the real threat which Creon had posed to Athens.

While Theseus and his cavalry are rescuing Ismene and Antigone, the chorus sings an ode (1044-95) in which they imagine the battle, and refer to Athena Hippia, goddess of the cavalry, and Poseidon, god of horses. Athena's involvement here is in various of her aspects. She is the goddess of Athens and its people, concerned for their well-being; she is the warrior who helps her people when they are in battle; and she taught men battle tactics, and how to tame horses. It is this last respect which particularly makes her the obvious patron of the cavalry. In her role as the warrior protector of Athens, teacher of battle tactics, and as guardian of the state treasury, she is the patron of Athenian military power, and through both this and her association with taming horses, she is also the patron of the cavalry[135]. The chorus ends its odes with a prayer to Zeus, Athena, Apollo and Artemis (1085-95) to save Athens and its people from the threat of Creon. Zeus is prayed to as the king of the gods; Athena is invoked because she is the protector of Athens and its people, and because she is the patron of the cavalry; and Apollo and Artemis are invoked as hunters, reflecting Theseus hunting Ismene and Antigone, and chasing Creon out of Athens.

Whilst Polyneices poses no immediate threat to Athens, his story of his conflict with Eteocles (1292-1345) serves to show how two people can pose both as internal and external threats to a community, and how destructive that threat can be if it is not

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[132] 1974, p. 420. He discusses Creon's role at length, pp. 418-421.

[133] In Euben 1986, p. 219.

[134] Theseus' portrayal of Creon's arrogance and presumption in his treatment of another country, recall the action of the Greeks in Euripides' *Troades*, and may have reminded the audience of the consequences of that hubris.

[135] On the Athenian cavalry, see Bugh 1988.

defused as Creon's earlier threat had been. Oedipus knows from the two oracles that if he achieves burial at Colonus, Thebes and Athens will one day fight over his corpse[136]. When Antigone urges Polyneices (1416-17) to defuse his situation by turning his army back from Thebes, he refuses because of his pride. His remark (1422-23 'Exile is humiliating, and I am the elder and being mocked so brutally by my brother') shows how his pride and that of his brother will destroy not only both of them, but many other people, and the strength of Thebes. The difference between Athens and Thebes is thus thrown into sharp relief. Theseus was able to save Athens from an external threat by argument; he was prepared to use force (as we see with regard to Ismene and Antigone), but only when necessary and when words had failed. Thebes on the other hand was destined to be destroyed precisely because force and war were used rather than negotiation. Finally, when Antigone asks Theseus (1769-72) to send her and Ismene back to Thebes so that they can 'stop the slaughter marching against our brothers', we are reminded of Sophocles' earlier play, *Antigone*, and again remember that Polyneices and Eteocles will kill each other, that Creon will refuse to let Polyneices be buried, and that Antigone's decision to defy him will lead to yet more death, destruction and sorrow. The roles of both Creon and Polyneices also enforce the idea of the acceptance of the individual. They are both representatives of Thebes and of Oedipus' family, both of which had failed to accept him, failed to incorporate him, and had actively exiled him. Oedipus rejects Polyneices' offer to receive him back to (the edge of) Thebes because he knows that Polyneices wants his corpse to achieve his own personal ends - he will not accept Oedipus back into Thebes, dead or alive[137]. This position in itself will remind us that Athena protects the polis from precisely this sort of internal strife which weakens and divides the polis: "the family's calamitously destructive internal struggles are the community's greatest vulnerability"[138]. Conversely, by accepting Oedipus, Athens shows the strength of the undivided polis: "the Athenians, having taken Oedipus in, are portrayed as instantly united politically, as they, with Theseus, unanimously oppose Thebes' maneuver to repossess Oedipus".[139]

The consequences of Polyneices' decision to fight Eteocles are presented in Euripides' *Supplices*; again the curse of Oedipus' family involves Athens and Theseus when the mothers of Polyneices' dead comrades turn to Athens for help in securing the return of the dead bodies for burial. Where *Oedipus Coloneus* showed Theseus

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136 On this, see Linforth 1951, pp. 84-92.

137 On Oedipus' rejection of his suppliant son, and the contrast in his treatment of his sons against his daughters, see Easterling 1967.

138 Slatkin 1986, p. 220.

139 Slatkin 1986, p. 220.

preventing the potential threat involved in helping Oedipus - the threat which Creon posed - from becoming a real threat to Athens, the *Supplices* shows the importance of securing a reward for helping a suppliant, and the potential benefit which that reward can offer. These suppliants have no benefit to offer Athens other than the glory of having secured the burial of the bodies and the gratitude which Adrastus mentions towards the end of the play (1178-79): 'Our gratitude will not grow old; your acts to us were noble; therefore in turn we owe you nobleness'. Adrastus is aware that Argos is defeated, and is aware that all he can do is appeal to Theseus' generosity. He appeals by comparing Athens with the cities of the Peloponnese (187-89) which are unreliable (Sparta), or small and weak: 'Athens alone can undertake this task'. Not surprisingly Adrastus is unable to persuade Theseus to help him. Aethra, Theseus' mother, however is able to persuade him (304-331), because it is a 'man's duty to be bold in helping the oppressed ... but this ... is for your honour'; the dead deserve burial; he must not refuse to help because of fear when 'faced with the chance to win a crown of fame for Athens'; she tells him that Athens is 'greatest when in greatest danger'; and finally that he will 'march with Justice at your side'. The point of this episode is perhaps to show that Theseus and Athens were not - and should not be - willing to help any suppliant, or any cause which might put Athens and her people at risk, just because they were asked to. Theseus repeats his intention, mentioned in *Oedipus Coloneus*, to resolve the situation (346-47) 'if I can by persuasion; if words fail, the sword shall gain the same end'.

Finally as Adrastus and the chorus are about to return to Argos, Athena appears (1183) and tells Theseus he must exact from Adrastus and Argos a payment for rescuing the bodies (1187-88). Vellacott remarks of the pact which Theseus had made with the Argive sons ,"it was a pact of generosity with the hope of gratitude, sealed with Athenian blood"[140], and continues that "Athena lifts this ceremony out of its heroic and solemn simplicity, and dresses it in the pedantic bargaining of religious officialdom of fifth century diplomacy". Fitton[141], describing Athena's tone as "repugnant", observes that she brings in "the practical realities of inter-state feud". Through the pact, Adrastus is in retrospect able to bestow the gift of the suppliant. At Athena's command he will pledge that Argos will never stand against Athens, but will stand beside Athens and will offer protection if ever the need arises (1191-95). Theseus willingly agrees to demand this from Adrastus, and he observes how Athena saves and protects both him and Athens (1227-31). The goddess of the polis protects her city, her people and her representative in the city (Theseus); she saves them in this

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[140] 1975, p. 32.
[141] 1961, pp. 442-43.

situation from risking the lives of Athenians for the sake of others without securing a suitable gift in return, although Vellacott again has a cynical perception of this: "Theseus is the Athenian tradition of nobility and generosity, unable to shed its accompanying flaws; Athena is the contemporary Athenian Assembly"[142]. This pledge, despite Vellacott's remarks, binds the two states together, and secures peace and cooperation between them. As a result, Athens has one less potential enemy to watch for, and one more ally to rely on. Thus the polis goddess both negates a potential external threat, and secures an internal blessing.

By binding Argos to Athens in this oath we can also see Athena acting as the goddess of the potential 'polis' of Greece. If ever Argives turn against Athens, they will be shown Theseus' sword as a reminder of this sworn oath; and so any disagreement or any 'internal' conflict between them will be resolved. These two city-states will now stand united together against both internal and external threats. This idea, and this intention of Athena's can also be seen in her speech when she twice refers to 'Hellas'. She tells Theseus to 'call as witness all Hellas' (1204) to Adrastus' oath; and when she tells the sons of the Argive dead to attack Thebes once they have grown up, she says they will be known as 'The After-Comers' throughout Hellas (1224). This union of two city-states marked only a stage in the creation of the wider polis of Greece - other states, here specifically Thebes, had to be excluded until such time as it was interested in and willing to be reconciled with Athens and Argos.

In Euripides' *Heraclidae*, it is Theseus' son, Demophon, who is king of Athens and representative of Athena. Here the potential for internal civil strife is greater because of the oracle which demands the sacrifice of a royal virgin daughter to secure victory. The potential external threat is also greater because war between the opposing sides actually occurs. As Adrastus in the *Supplices* had no gift to offer Athens as a reward for saving his suppliant group, so Iolaus in *Heraclidae* has nothing to offer Athens. However, his arguments for turning to Demophon, and his claims on Demophon, are stronger than Adrastus' were for turning to Theseus. Demophon himself gives three reasons for agreeing to take the suppliants' side against Argos. These are (236-52) that they are sitting at Zeus' altar; kinship with them through Heracles, and his glory; and finally the greatest motivator is Demophon's fear of shame - shame of how Athens might appear to the rest of Greece. His reasons seem to obviate the need for a gift to be offered, but later, when the defence of the suppliants causes civil war to threaten Athens, and there seems to be no hope for the

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[142] 1975, p. 32.

suppliants, Macaria is able to offer Athens the gift of the suppliant by giving her life for Athenian victory in the war with Argos.

The offer to defend a suppliant, as we have seen, always carries with it the potential to cause an internal threat. Where in the other two plays, Theseus was able to diffuse that potential by negotiation, Demophon, a less mature king, is unable to achieve that. The internal threat to the security of the polis-community becomes a reality when an oracle reveals that a royal virgin daughter must be sacrificed to Persephone, and Demophon is unwilling either to sacrifice his own daughter or to ask any Athenian to offer such a sacrifice. As Vellacott remarks, "this is a king confessing that he has no authority, that his subjects' opinion weighs more with him than his own judgement of right"[143]. The Athenians are also unwilling to make the sacrifice, or even to risk going to war with Argos on behalf of the suppliants, as Demophon observes (415-419), 'There are angry gatherings to be seen, ... I have only to carry out this promise [to defend the suppliants] - and civil war is on us'. He seems at this point to be willing to admit defeat in his attempts to help the suppliants. Vellacott discusses how Macaria sees that Demophon is not confident enough "to risk ordering his army to fight for a moral principle", and describes her response as "a gesture not of piety but of contemptuous challenge"[144]. While Vellacott's remark seems to be appropriate to Macaria's perception of Demophon, one might also argue from Demophon's perspective that he chose not to force his citizens to risk their lives. The idea of a democracy is that the majority decision rules, and therefore Demophon could not dictate that his men would fight if he wanted to be truly democratic. Macaria's self-sacrifice dispels the internal threat which Demophon was unable to dispel. As she remarks (500-506), because the Athenians are prepared to risk their lives fighting for the lives of the suppliants, if they themselves are able to bring victory to the Athenians, they must do so, even if they die in the endeavour: "her sacrifice is the fulfillment of the obligation that rests upon the suppliant"[145]. Thus Macaria's self-sacrifice constitutes in the gift of the suppliant the saving both of the city and her family; her death "represents the triumphant Heraclid tribe, a tribe which is not sacrificing itself but is rather demonstrating its revival through her decision to die"[146]. Apart from the practical result of saving the lives of her siblings, she also gives victory in war and glory to Athens, "she thus dies for Genos as well as for Polis"[147]. Macaria's self-sacrifice leads to the saving of Athens, and through this she is linked to

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[143] 1975, p. 187.
[144] 1975, pp. 190-191.
[145] Zuntz 1955, p. 32.
[146] Burnett 1976, p. 16.
[147] Fitton 1961, p. 453.

Athena, the saviour of Athens. Wilkins[148] discusses how this link occurs through the invocation of Athena as μάτηρ[149] (771) in the choral ode, "A protecting goddess, even a virgin goddess, may be addressed as μήτηρ. ... Athena is closely linked with the courotrophic cult of Aglaurus ... on the Acropolis [and through the affinity of Macaria's self-sacrifice with the myth of Aglaurus] ... the city-saving aspect of her self-sacrifice may be echoed in this appeal to Athena". Whilst I agree with Wilkins that Macaria can be associated with Athena, and I dispute none of his argument, I think the association can also be found through the image of Athena Polias[150]. As we have seen, in her role as polis goddess, Athena protected and saved the polis from internal and external threats. So Macaria, by offering her sacrifice saves Athens from the internal threat of civil war and in doing this she secures victory in the war, which saves Athens from the external threat posed by Argos. When Demophon failed to reconcile his city in order to prevent the threat of civil war, he failed in his responsibility to Athena as her representative in the city. However, Macaria, perceiving his weakness, took up that responsibility and preserved the city. In the same act, she also took up the responsibility of the suppliant to benefit the city. Through these city-saving actions we can see her association with Athena, the goddess of the polis. Wilkins[151] remarks of Macaria's role "further mention of the daughter of Heracles may be superfluous, her function now merging with Athena's". Burnett[152] argues that is not just Macaria but the "mixed band of Heraclids" who constitute the blessing to the city, "this tribe begins as a persecuted exile and ends as the honored ally of the *polis*, about to reclaim its own confiscated powers in its paternal homeland".

Just as Creon in Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus* comes to take back to Thebes what he thinks is rightfully his (Oedipus and his daughters), so Eurystheus here comes to take the Heraclidae back to Argos, which he thinks is his right. And just as Creon, in doing so and threatening war if prevented, posed an external threat to the safety of Athens, so Eurystheus similarly poses an external threat. But where Theseus was able to negate the threat of Creon, we know that Demophon will not be able to achieve the same with Eurystheus. It is Macaria's gift which will save Athens from the external as well as the internal threat. The threat which Eurystheus poses is two-fold: to violate Zeus' altar in his attempt to take the suppliants, and having failed in

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148 1993, p. xxvi; see also his discussion of 770-72, pp. 149-50.

149 Athena's role as a mother will be discussed in Chapter 5.

150 See Kearns 1989, p. 24, for a discussion of Aglaurus and her connections with Athena Polias, one of which is through the ephebes, and Aglaurus' special concern for adolescents, as Macaria would have been.

151 1990, p. 336.

152 1976, p. 14-15.

that, to bring war against Athens. Both of these threats are dissipated as a direct result of Macaria's sacrifice. However, unlike Creon[153], the external threat which Eurystheus poses becomes an internal blessing to the city. Once taken as a prisoner, Eurystheus tells Alcmene and the chorus of the boon he is destined to be for Athens in his death (1026-37), because Athens spared his life at the point when it could have killed him. In sparing his life, Athens effectively makes Eurystheus a suppliant, and so it is fitting that he should have a gift with which to reward Athens. He will be buried beside Athena's temple on the Pallene hill, in front of which the battle had occurred. He describes how, having been interred there, he will be 'a guest[154], your friend, Athens' protector, under Attic soil' (1033). The final image of Eurystheus is as Athens' protector, a saviour of the city like Macaria and Athena. This image is enhanced both by the fact that it was Macaria's sacrifice which meant that Athens would be victorious and Eurystheus would be defeated; and by Eurystheus' grave being on Athena's sacred hill. Wilkins[155] observes that "there is a similarity in saviour-function between the daughter of Herakles, Athena the protector, and the enemy hero Eurystheus at the end of the play", and goes on to discuss how these two sacrificed heroes have "a form of death of great ritual significance", although the details of neither death are given in the play.

Athena's role as polis goddess, protector of the city, is seen clearly in this play. Iolaus' comment about Athena Pallas (352) precedes the bellicose choral ode, which thereby associates the two. The chorus, rejoicing in the Athenian victory, recall (919-25) how Athena had protected Heracles during his lifetime, and now her city had protected his children. Iolaus' rejuvenation occurred before Athena's temple on the Pallene hill (849-58), and meant that he was able to defeat and capture Eurystheus (859-63). The battle, in which Athens was victorious, took place before the Pallene hill, which being sacred to Athena meant that the battle effectively occurred before her and under her supervision. And Eurystheus' beneficent grave will be near Athena's shrine on the Pallene hill. These associations with Athena, valid individually, are made stronger by the cumulative effect, and are collectively underlined by the choral ode to Athena sung during the battle at which Athens will either be victorious and glorified, or vanquished and humiliated. Wilkins[156] wonders why the ode to Pallas (353ff) does not precede the battle, and answers that "It may be because of the

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153 But like the Erinyes in Aeschylus' *Eum.*, and Oedipus in Sophocles' *OC*.

154 Eurystheus uses the word 'metic' which is reminiscent of the place Theseus offered Oedipus in Athens, and more significantly, of Athena's offer to the Erinyes and which, as discussed, seemed to indicate honour in the position of the metic.

155 1990, pp. 336-37.

156 1990, p. 336, note 91.

close association of the self-sacrificing young woman with setting out to war. The kourotrophic aspect of Athena is the aspect appropriate to this point". The chorus invoke Athena to protect Athens in the battle, 'since yours is this land, Athene, your city, and you its mother, mistress and guardian'. At the crucial moment of the battle, the chorus invoke Athena as the goddess of the polis who protects and saves the community.

In these three suppliant plays, we have seen both Athena and her representatives act for the good of the city and to further its honour, whilst also being concerned above all for its preservation. Negotiation and reconciliation have been shown to be the most effective way to keep peace, and ensure stability, but force has willingly been used when negotiation fails and force is the only way to protect the city and its suppliants. The influence and positive effects of Athena as both warrior and reconciler have been implicit throughout.

The Theban plays, Aeschylus' *Septem*, Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos* and *Antigone*, and Euripides' *Phoenissae* show us how Athena was also portrayed as the Theban polis goddess. However, we must remember that these plays were produced for an Athenian audience, so do not necessarily reflect Theban life realistically. The chorus of Aeschylus' *Septem*, when faced by the external threat of war, appeal to Athena to protect the city; first as Pallas and daughter of Zeus to 'be our city's Deliverer' (127-29) and then as Queen Onca (the Theban Athena) to 'stand over us, and save your dwelling, the city of the seven gates' (161-65). This reference to the gates of the city is repeated in the other references to Athena. The messenger in relating which Argive is facing each gate refers to the fourth warrior (486-87) as having drawn 'the gate next to Athena Onca'. This reference to Athena Onca is not necessary in its context, but it does allow Eteocles to respond (501-03) with a reference to 'Onca Pallas, neighbour of our city gate'; he remarks that she will protect the gate from the hubris of the attacker, just as one keeps a snake away from nestlings (an appeal to a maternal Athena). Thus we see Athena being treated as the goddess and normal protector of the polis, although this appeal is focused on a gate rather than the acropolis of Thebes, but it is the gates which were being attacked, and which were the city's most vulnerable areas. These appeals suggest that the Thebans (or Aeschylus' portrayal of them) worshipped Athena as the protector of the city, the polis goddess, just as the Athenians did. Reference to the Theban Onca-Pallas-Athena city goddess[157] also appears in Euripides' *Phoenissae* when the messenger reports (1364-76) on the single combat of Polyneices and Eteocles. Polyneices, he

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[157] On this local goddess and her connection with Athena, see Bernal 1991, pp. 100-104.

says, looked towards Argos (the city which had received him, given him a home, and had given him an army in support of his quest for Thebes) and had prayed for victory to Hera, the patron goddess of Argos. Then Eteocles, looking towards the temple of Pallas Athena in Thebes, prayed for victory to Athena, the goddess of the polis. Fitton[158], discussing Euripides' *Supplices*, remarks of this play that "the Polis is the reality that survives the fall of its hero-leader", but that "the civic triumph ... is obscured" by the deaths of Eteocles and Polyneices.

The fall of the 'hero-leader' also obscures the civic triumph of *Oedipus Tyrannos*. The priest tells Oedipus (20-21) that there are suppliants at the altars of the market place and at the two temples of Athena; the people have turned to their protecting deity when they feel their city is under threat (here, from the plague). Jebb[159] argues that the temples are that of Athena Onca and that of Athena Kadmeia or Athena Ismenia. In the first part of the play, it seems that Sophocles was encouraging his audience to think of Athens as well as the Thebes of the play; as Jebb[160] remarks of the two temples: "It was enough for Sophocles that his Athenian hearers would think of the Erechtheum and the Parthenon - the shrines of the Polias and the Parthenos - above them on the acropolis". Later, the chorus invoke Athena, Artemis and Apollo as 'the triple shield against death' (159-63); this is another example of the people turning to Athena in their hour of need, and it is particularly relevant since the chorus call on Athena first and in such a way that emphasises the fact (the line begins with the word πρῶτα). Athena is also portrayed as the enemy of Ares[161] who has a strong and hostile presence in this song. Ares was usually one of the patrons of Thebes; he was the father-in-law of Kadmos, the first king; and it was from the teeth of his dragon that the first Theban men, the *spartoi*, grew. In *Antigone*, Eurydice tells the chorus (1184) that she had been on her way to 'visit the goddess Pallas with prayer and supplication'. If we imagine that she had been inside the palace throughout the play, she will know only of Thebes' victory, and nothing of the events of the play. The victory had much earlier (148) been credited to the goddess Nike, and this gives Eurydice an obvious motive in addressing her prayers to Athena Nike.

Two other plays, Aeschylus' *Persae* and Euripides' *Ion*, contain references to Athena as the polis goddess. Aeschylus' *Persae* is concerned with the Greek victory over the Persians, and in particular the strength of the Athenians in the battle. In this

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158 1961, p. 445, and p. 445 note 3.
159 1914, p. 8.
160 1914, p. 8.
161 See *Iliad* V where Athena helps Diomedes fight Ares; *Iliad* XXI where she fights him herself; and *Phoen.* 666-69 where the chorus recount the Theban foundation myth in which Athena helped Kadmos outwit Ares.

play, we see how a city which is internally strong can overcome an external threat, as Zimmermann[162] remarks: "The city, unified and free from faction, was able to ward off the Persian threat". Atossa and the chorus discuss the strength of Athens (230-44) in terms of its army, its wealth, and its politics; it is from this secure background that Athens was able to defeat the Persian attack. However, the gods, both Greek and Persian, significantly play a minor role in the play. Aeschylus seems to be intentionally vague about the Persian gods, perhaps because he knew little about them, but perhaps also because he wanted to portray Xerxes as offending against the natural order, for example by bridging the Hellespont, rather than having to deal with a clash of the Persian and Greek gods. He also seems intentionally to give the Greek gods a minor role in the play, for example, he describes the battle without a supernatural event and without the owl (337-47, 353-432)[163]. Aeschylus chooses not to mention that the gods fight for the Greeks until after the Persian retreat is reported. By treating the gods in this manner, he makes the reference to the help of the gods, and the only reference to Athena in the play particularly striking: 'the gods keep safe the goddess Athena's city' (347). Podlecki[164] describes this line in the Greek as being "beautifully balanced", and comments of it: "The Greeks had stood, as an anonymous contemporary writer put it, "on the razor's edge", it was only the gods that kept them from falling the wrong way". Although this is how the reality of the battle might have been, it does not seem to be the way in which Aeschylus portrays it in the play. Aeschylus uses Athena for this traditional, patriotic line, and emphasises the significance of the line by making few other divine references. Sommerstein[165] has argued that this line might be a quotation from or a paraphrase of Solon. He observes the similarity between this line and the style of Solon, and particularly the similarity with fragment 4.1-4; the lack of a connecting particle in the Aeschylean text also suggests a quotation[166].

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162 1991, p. 53; and he goes on to say that Aristophanes presented the victory over the Persians as "the reward of internal concord and resolution".

163 On the appearance of the owl at Salamis, see Plut. *Them.* 12.1; its appearance was taken as a good omen for the Athenians in particular since it was Athena's sacred bird. The chorus of Aristophanes' *Wasps*, 1086, imagine that the owl appeared at Marathon (the Athenian land battle) rather than at Salamis (the sea battle). On the owl as Athena's sacred bird, see also Aristophanes' *Birds*, 514-16, where Zeus is portrayed with an eagle (for the king of the gods), Athena with an owl (associated with Athens), and Apollo with a hawk (for hunting).

164 1970, p. 57-58.

165 Personal communication, 1994.

166 de Ste Croix 1972, p. 185, argues that by focusing on the victory of Salamis, Aeschylus was seeking "to remind the Athenians of the debt they owed to Themistocles", who had given them their 'finest hour'. Podlecki 1966a, pp. 8-26, also discussing the contemporary political implications of the play links it with Themistocles and remarks, p. 15, "Through the entire central section of the *Persians*, all of the audience's attention must have been focussed on Themistocles".

Finally, Euripides' *Ion*. Just as suppliants pose an external threat to the city defending them and offer an internal blessing to that city on being saved, so Ion does here. As well as the threat which Ion poses, Kreousa and Xuthus each pose a potential internal threat to the stability of Athens by their respective reactions to the situation. As with suppliant plays again, the future safety of the city is risked as each potential threat nearly becomes a reality. In this play, as with the *Eumenides*, the situation is sufficiently serious and complex that it can be resolved only by the intervention of the goddess of reconciliation, the goddess who protects the city from internal and external threats, the goddess of the polis, Athena.

Ion poses a threat to Athens while it is assumed that Xuthus is his natural father. Kreousa and Athens are threatened by him because he is being brought into Athens to rule it in the future as a hereditary monarch. Obviously this affronts Athenians' pride in their autochthonous origins, and affronts Kreousa particularly, not just on Athens' behalf, but also because it is her own autochthonous line which will be replaced, and because Ion's presence will be a permanent reminder to her and to Athens of her apparent infertility, and to Kreousa herself of Apollo's earlier outrage. Ion tells Xuthus (589-620) how acutely aware he is of the threat which he will be seen to pose to Kreousa and to Athens, and of the hostile reaction he will receive from both. As Saxonhouse[167] remarks "The stranger not descended from the ancient line threatens the unity and hierarchy of the city". In her ignorance, Kreousa poses an internal threat because she plans to kill Ion. Her defence (1291), that her intention was to save her house by killing its enemy, is justifiable and highlights the position Ion knew himself to hold[168]. It is also understandable because of the threat which Ion's presence and paternity pose to her personally, and because he represents, and is a permanent reminder of, the injustice of her situation. Although it is not her knowledge of Ion's true background which saves his life in the play and prevents the threat she posed, this knowledge nonetheless strengthens her position in her attitudes towards and relationships with Ion, Xuthus, Athens, and herself. Conversely, it is Xuthus' ignorance which saves him, and knowledge which, if gained, would destroy him. He poses an internal threat to the 'family unit' he shares with Kreousa and Ion (and because of their monarchy, he thereby poses a threat to Athens) because he has no interest in Ion's background. He asks no questions about his siring of Ion, nor about his role as father, he "accepts without question as his son one whom he has

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[167] Saxonhouse 1986, p. 256.

[168] Walsh 1978, pp. 306-307, however argues that this cannot be read simply "on the common presumption that Euripides must flatter Athenian pride"; he argues instead that the play opposes "human ignorance and naiveté on one side, against the wisdom to be found with the god's help on the other". It seems to me that both interpretations are valid and both can be accommodated.

absolutely no recollection of fathering"[169]. He also poses an internal threat to Athens because of this attitude, and because, when Ion suggests he might have been born of the earth (rather than a slave), Xuthus dismisses this suggestion entirely (542). This dismissal underlines the fact that he is foreign to Athens[170], while Ion's suggestion supports his Athenian origin. Xuthus' disinterest in the required role of a woman in his having a son indicates another aspect of the threat which he poses: how would he have reacted had Kreousa borne his child, and how can he be trusted to stand by his claimed intention (654-60) not to tell Kreousa? Xuthus' threat is negated not by reconciliation, but by his ignorance and arrogance, by his unquestioning acceptance of his false paternity, and by his arrogant attitude towards Kreousa's position (that she will accept an outsider as her heir because he asks her); "*his* ignorance enables Ion to return to Athens"[171]. It is Apollo who in fact saves Xuthus from being a threat. By choosing to tell him nothing of Ion's parentage, Apollo leaves Xuthus to assume that he is Ion's natural father but, as Kreousa explains to Ion (1532-36), Apollo gave his own son 'as friend to friend' in order that Xuthus might have an heir. One could suggest that by this action Apollo saves Athens, but given that he had caused Kreousa's difficult position with regard to Ion, and had caused her such guilt and shame because of his rape, I think that such an argument, in realistic terms, would be inadequate. It is rather more that Apollo, by exploiting Xuthus' ignorance and arrogance, can save the situation which he caused, atone for the wrong he did Kreousa, and can return her son to her.

Just as Theseus was earlier shown to be Athena's representative in Athens, so Kreousa is here. Some of her links with Athena pervade the play: the obvious link as queen of Athens, and her link through Erechtheus. The association underlines and is underlined by the recognition scene (1417-36); each token which proves that Ion is Kreousa's son has close associations with Athena: the cloth portraying a Gorgon and the snakes of the aegis, the serpent necklace, and the wreath of olive. The association is further confirmed when Ion refuses to believe that Apollo is his father and Kreousa swears the fact by Athena Nike; and Athena herself, by her appearance 20 lines later, finally confirms it. At first Athena might seem to be an unlikely choice for the oath here, but Kreousa is appealing by her links with Athena through Erechtheus and Athens, and because as queen of Athens she is Athena's representative. Athena Nike is appropriate because Kreousa wants victory - for herself in finding her son, and in vindication of the wrong which Apollo had done to her; and for Athens and her house

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[169] Saxonhouse 1986, p. 271.
[170] On this idea, see Saxonhouse 1986, p. 270.
[171] Saxonhouse 1986, p. 272, her italics.

and line in having an Athenian heir rather than the foreigner of Xuthus' dubious begetting.

Athena's role in this play is as reconciler and as city-saver. She is involved in the reconciliation of Kreousa and Ion initially through her association with the recognition tokens (1417-36), and finally by her role as *dea ex machina* (1533ff). By means of these two roles, Athena is also able not only to dispel the threat which Ion had posed, but also to transform him into an internal blessing. From being an external threat to the preservation of the autochthonous line of rulers of Athens, he becomes its heir and saviour as Athena herself remarks (1573-75). Once again, the blessing is as great as the earlier threat had been. As *dea ex machina*, Athena saves the Erechtheid line and saves Athens from the threat of either having no heir or of being ruled by a foreigner of uncertain parentage. She saves Kreousa and Ion from their threat to each other by reconciling them and telling them the truth of Ion's past. By telling them this truth and telling them of Apollo's role in their respective situations (1595-1601) she reconciles them to Apollo, and through this also saves Kreousa from saying anything which might invoke the wrath of the god. Athena also saves Xuthus and his relationship with his wife and son, by telling them (1602) to preserve his blissful ignorance[172]. Thus Athena saves the Erechtheid line, Ion and Kreousa. However, most importantly the goddess of the polis once again saves her city from internal threats to its unity, and from external threats to its safety; and she reconciles an external threat to the city so that it can become an internal blessing.

The olive wreath which Kreousa made from the sacred olive tree indicates another association with Athena. It was the gift of the olive to Athens with which Athena won patronage of Athens over Poseidon. The sacred olive trees on the Acropolis (which Kreousa had used) are specifically associated with Athena, Athens and its polis; and particularly so when after the Persians had burnt down the Acropolis, the olive tree grew back again almost overnight. This was taken as a symbol that Athena had not deserted them and of the ability of the Athenian people to fight back and reestablish themselves and their city[173]. In *Oedipus Coloneus*, the chorus sing a strophe to Athena (and balance it with an antistrophe to Poseidon) and the sacred olive (694-706); they refer to Zeus Morios who was said to protect the olive trees of Attica[174] and to Athena, who had given Athens the first olive tree.

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[172] Although this means that Kreousa and Ion cannot openly enjoy their relationship.

[173] Paus. 1. 27. 2, and Hdt 8.55.

[174] See Lysias 7 on the charges of damaging the sacred olive trees. To uproot one was punishable by death, Arist. *AP* 60.2.

Initially we saw how Athena, as polis deity, protected the community from internal threats by reconciliation, and from external threats by force. By looking at her role in these ten plays, we have seen this role develop into a more complex one, although its intention remains the preservation and security of the polis. We saw for example, in *Ajax* how the internal threat Ajax posed could be resolved only by force; in *Oedipus Coloneus*, how the external threat of Creon could be resolved by negotiation; and in *Ion* how the external threat of Ion could be negated by reconciliation. In the *Troades*, we gained insight into the priorities of the polis goddess: that an altar, temple or city remains sacred to its god until that god chooses to abandon it; and we saw how the Greek army suffered the consequences of their arrogance and hubris. We also saw how in time, Athenian society progressed such that Athena's role as protector of the city was taken on by her representative in Athens, whether the king, the self-sacrificing Macaria, or in *Lysistrata*, the priestess. These plays have shown how Athena as goddess of the polis will protect her city and people with her formidable skills as warrior and reconciler. But they have also shown that her protection is afforded only while those people remember and acknowledge that their resulting prosperity is owed to her and show her respect, gratitude and honour which is appropriate for such protection. It is her skills as warrior and as reconciler which bring prosperity to her city and people, and which are able to turn the strongest enemy into a friend and a blessing on the city as a result either of reconciliation to the city, or of being defeated by that city.

The tragedians of the fifth century used storylines which were largely already known, open to embellishment and change, but essentially limited. The comedies of Aristophanes on the other hand were deliberately based on an intoxicating mixture of reality and fantasy, in which "escape brings recovery, nostalgia is converted into hope"[175]. Aristophanes took a real situation, whether it was war, exploitation of democracy, inequality in society, or frustration at the generation gap, and relieved it with fantastic suggestions to solve the problem; as Heath remarks[176], "Aristophanes absorbs the role of adviser ... promptly into the realm of the purely comic". This background to his comedies, so distinct from the tragedies, provides us with a different perspective on the role of Athena as polis goddess. This perspective allows us to see her as the polis goddess both through the absurdities of comedy rather than the weight of tragedies, and based in fifth century Athens rather than in mythical cities. The clearest portrayal of Athena as the goddess of the polis occurs, as we have already seen, in *Lysistrata*. This perspective also allows us a clearer and fuller

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[175] Reckford 1987, p. 331.
[176] 1987b, p. 19.

impression of the idea that Athena as the goddess of the specific polis can be extended to Athena as the goddess of the potential polis of all-Greece. We will look to see to what extent Aristophanes portrays this idea, and whether he treats it as a feasible idea or an absurd suggestion, or whether he treats it as part of an established Athenian intention. We have already seen how the *Lysistrata* portrays Athena as actively promoting the idea of a panhellenic polis. However, that Aristophanes used an idea and argued for a specific policy once does not, by the nature of his comedy, reflect on the prevalence of that idea or attitude in contemporary society. Here we will discuss Aristophanes' portrayal of Athena as the polis-goddess in six of his comedies, *Knights*, *Peace*, *Birds*, *Frogs*, *Ecclesiazusae* and *Wealth*, and also look at whether he regularly links Athena with panhellenism.

In the *Knights*, the Sausage-seller and Paphlagon fight with each other to prove who loves Demos best and who takes best care of him. Demos represents the Athenian people, and as such we might expect Aristophanes to use the patron goddess of Athens, the goddess who seeks internal strength for Athens, the goddess who protects the people of Athens, in this struggle for the good of the Demos. As Paphlagon and the Sausage-seller go to argue their grievances against each other to the Council, the chorus pray to Athena (581-594). They pray to her as 'guardian of the city' and as 'Lady of the most sacred of all lands'. Then they ask her to bring victory with her; as we have already seen, Nike was closely associated with Athena, sometimes as epithet, sometimes as attribute, and sometimes as companion. The force of this ode, beyond being simply a choral ode, is that it reminds us how closely linked Athena and victory were, and how readily the Athenians turned to their goddess when they needed her. It will have served to reassure the Athenian audience that Athena, goddess of victory, was there for them, and remained their patron goddess during this time of war. This ode seems, by the reference to Athena as excelling 'in war, in poetry and in power', to be a prayer for victory equally in the internal struggle against Paphlagon (Cleon), in the current dramatic competition, and in the continuing war. At the start of the contest for Demos, Paphlagon prays to Athena (763-64)[177] as 'Lady Athena, guardian/sovereign of the city'. His use of the word μεδέουσα will have reminded the audience of the Athena whom the allied city-states worshipped[178], and the prayer itself will have reminded them of speeches at the Assembly which began with a prayer. When the two men argue later, the

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[177] Inasmuch as the Sausage-seller prays (794-97) he does so without reference to any individual god.

[178] See Meiggs 1972, p. 295; and Anderson 1989 on how Paphlagon's reference to this Athena associates him with Themistocles, "hero of the Persian wars ... quintessential hero of the demos".

Sausage-seller has gained sufficient confidence that he is able to claim (903) 'Our Goddess told me I should vanquish you with claptrap'. Here, Aristophanes does not attribute Paphlagon's downfall to the oracle but to Athena. Whitman[179] argues that the Sausage-seller "boasts that Athena herself has sent him to outdo Cleon in imposture; he has become a divinely appointed creature of bestiality". I think it rather reflects both the Sausage-seller's increasing confidence, and Aristophanes' attribution of as many positive aspects in this contest as possible to Athena. Each man subsequently describes a dream (1090-91 and 1092-95) in which Athena literally pours her generosity (health-and-wealth, and ambrosia) over Demos. Anderson[180] discusses the dream oracles and how they reflect on both Paphlagon and the Sausage-seller, and on their respective perceptions of Athena. He describes the Athena of the former's dream as being "peculiar to the Paphlagonian himself and quite unlike the goddess of the city"; Paphlagon's description of Athena associates her with the bath-attendant and with "the bath-attendant's disreputable character". Anderson says on the other hand that "the image of Athena called forth in the Sausage-seller's dream is comic, but with its comic features, it also combines traditional elements ['Οβριμοπάτρα 1178, Τριτογενής 1189] of the goddess that render it recognizable and familiar to Aristophanes' audience, and hence to Demos". When they then feed Demos (1168-89), each dish is associated with, and given by, Athena. Paphlagon uses more aggressive and warrior-associated titles for her: Pallas Pylaimachos (1172), the Terrifier of Armies (1177), and the Fierce-Crested One (1181). Sommerstein[181] remarks that the proper meaning of 'Pallas Pylaimachos' is 'Pallas, the Fighter at the Gates', but that "Paphlagon exploits it to make yet another allusion to his Pylos triumph" - 'Pallas the Fighter at Pylos'; he also remarks that neither of the other epithets which Paphlagon uses is attested for Athena elsewhere. The Sausage-seller on the other hand uses her more common titles: 'our Goddess' (1169, 1173, 1185), 'daughter of the Almighty Father' (1178), and 'Tritogeneia' (1189). Anderson[182] remarks that the Paphlagonian's choice of epithets for Athena are "either bizarre ad hoc creations or rarely attested titles", whereas the Sausage-seller's are "traditional and appropriate epithets". The passage (1173-78) has echoes of Solon's fragment 4 (discussed above with regard to *Persae*, 347). The Sausage-seller's remark (1173-74 'Demos, it is manifest that our Goddess is watching over you. Even now she holds over your head ... a full pot of broth') reminds Demos of the Solon passage, "and he seems to imagine that in the last line Solon wrote not *kheiras*

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[179] 1964, p. 88.
[180] 1991, pp. 150, 151, and 154-55.
[181] 1981, p. 205.
[182] 1991, p. 149, note 1.

"hands" but *khutran* "pot". Accordingly the Sausage-seller's divinely-provided pot of broth comes as no surprise to him"[183]. This echo occurs again at 1178 when the Sausage-seller refers to Athena as 'Οβριμοπάτρα (Daughter of the Almighty Father) - the title Solon had used of her. And finally Solon (4.7) specifically mentions the 'wicked minds of the leaders of the demos', an apt description of Paphlagon. Reckford[184] observes of this episode, "the alleged vision of Athena shows up the silliness of the delusions of grandeur that oracle-mongers fostered, and politicians played on, during the war". When the Sausage-seller later distracts Paphlagon in order to steal a dish of hare to give to Demos (1196-1200), he explains that 'the idea was from our Goddess, the actual stealing I did myself'[185], again he attributes to Athena a gift for Demos. Thus Athena was actively involved in the contest to find out who would best look after Demos and protect his interests. But, given that the welfare of her city and her people was at stake, we should not be surprised that Aristophanes chose to involve her in the contest.

The effect of the choral ode and of peppering the contest with references to Athena would surely have been to remind the Athenian audience that Athena was still their patron goddess, and reassure them that despite the war and the shortages in Athens, she was still concerned for their welfare, and would still do all she could to protect and save the polis. This idea of reminding and reassuring the Athenian audience of Athena's patronage would also seem to be behind the only reference to her in *Ecclesiazusae*. Blepyrus refers to an old saying when he says (474-75), 'it doesn't matter how foolishly and crazily we decide to act, everything works out for our good in the end', and Chremes answers with a prayer to 'Lady Pallas and the gods'. Ussher[186] suggests that this might be a reference to the curse of ill-counsel which Poseidon cast on Athens when he had lost it to Athena in their contest for patronage of the city. Since decrees of the gods were said to be irreversible, all Athena could do to negate the curse was to ensure that whatever happened, the situation would always work out well for Athens[187]. Chremes' prayer to Pallas Athena that all will work out for the best is then entirely appropriate. In *Peace* Athena is also invoked on an occasion when Athens has been saved. Trygaeus

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183 Sommerstein 1981, p. 205.

184 1987, p. 118.

185 Sommerstein 1981, p. 206, remarks that the line is "possibly a parody of a tragic line ... but the source, if any, is unknown".

186 1973, p. 141-42.

187 This same curse and cure are mentioned in *Clouds* 587-94, with reference to the bad decision to elect Cleon. Another aspect of this myth (Augustine. *City of God* XVIII. 9) was that Athena and Poseidon settled the patronage by allowing the people to vote. Athena won (by a majority of one) because the women voted for her and they outnumbered the men. In consequence of this, the men took away from the women of Athens all of their previous political rights.

watches War prepare to pound all the Greeks states together, and watches as Hurlyburly reports that he had been unable to get a pestle from Athens - 'the Athenians have lost their pestle, the leather-seller [Cleon] who churned up all Greece' (269-70). At this point (271), Trygaeus invokes 'Sovereign Lady Athena' in his relief. Again, Athena is involved when Athens has been saved, although on this occasion Cleon has 'saved' the city by getting killed, and as Trygaeus phrases it, 'just when the city needed to lose him' (271-72).

Whitman[188] argues that *Birds* is "the crown of Aristophanes' work in that it unites the unilinear heroic fantasy of the "polis" plays with the intellectual dilemmas of the "educational" plays". In this play, Aristophanes uses the idea that two men (Peisetaerus and Euelpides) reject Athens and leave it in order to establish a new city among the birds. As they plan the new city, 'Cloudcuckooville'[189], the bird chorus asks the very Athenian question (826-27) 'what god shall be our city's guardian? For whom shall we prepare the sacred robe?'. The underlying Athenian-ness of this new city, and the Athenian nature of the chorus are clearly and humourously shown here. Whitman[190] describes the difference between Athens and the Athens which Peisetaerus has created as being "that now he is on top instead of on the bottom"; Sommerstein[191] remarks on the similarity, "as the city ... begins to take shape, it proves in many ways to be a replica of Athens"; and Reckford[192] likewise remarks "you can take Peisetaerus and Euelpides out of Athens, but you cannot take Athens out of them ... they impose it, rebuild it wherever they go", and he remarks that in recreating Athens the play "reveals the madness of imperial Athens; or better it reveals the underlying Athenian and human wish for nothing less than everything". Peisetaerus confirms the lapse back to Athens when he suggests (828) that Athena Polias should keep the job. Beyond the obvious humour of this exchange, it seems to me that Aristophanes is perhaps indirectly asking the audience whether they would in fact want any other god as their patron. I suggest he is unobtrusively counting the blessings of the city for the audience, and encouraging them to remember their greatest blessing, that Athena is their patron goddess. Aristophanes through Euelpides (829-31) then makes a jibe at Cleisthenes, and parodies the warrior goddess and the effeminate man. Again, beyond the obvious humour of the comparison, seems to lie a reminder of the strength and the glory of Athena, and particularly of Pheidias' statue of her on the Acropolis. Peisetaerus settles the issue

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188 1964, p. 199.
189 See Sommerstein's discussion of this word, 1987, p. 1, note 2.
190 1964, p. 198.
191 1987, p. 1.
192 1987, pp. 333 and 342.

by suggesting they choose a bird as the guardian of the city (833-35), so that the extension of doubting Athena and the idea of replacing her by another (Olympian) god are avoided, and in fact we hear no more about this bird guardian. The bird which is chosen (the cock) is described as a 'chick of Ares', which suggests that the new city will be at war, presumably with the gods.

The only other reference to Athena in this play comes indirectly through Basileia. Her identity is unclear and, I think, is meant to be so. She has the attributes of various Olympian goddesses, including Athena, for example she has the thunderbolt of Zeus to which Athena had access (*Eum* 827-28), and has Athena's qualities of wisdom, law and order, and good sense. But she is clearly none of the known goddesses, nor can she be since Peisetaerus cannot marry any of the familiar goddesses (though, as a new god, he must marry a goddess), nor is there any goddess who is normally cast as young bride. Basileia must therefore be a creation of Aristophanes; and she has qualities of known goddesses in order to emphasise her beneficence. It seems to me that Aristophanes wanted to portray her as having many of Athena's attributes because it was exactly those attributes which the audience associated with the good will of Athens and with their patron goddess. Basileia was in many ways to become another patron goddess for Athens, or at least one whose concern was Athens' well-being and prosperity. I would argue that it was because there were so many similarities between Basileia and Athena that Aristophanes had created the earlier exchange between Hermes, Poseidon and Peisetaerus about Hermes' inheritance and Athena as Zeus' epikleros (1652-54) 'how do you imagine Athena as a daughter could be the Heiress, if she had legitimate brothers?'. This episode has its place in the play because of its humour, but more importantly because it is a carefully-timed reminder by Aristophanes of Athena's chosen unmarried state, so that he can give Basileia many of Athena's attributes without the risk that the Athenian audience might mistake her for their goddess[193].

In *Frogs* 378 the chorus refer to the Soteira which would seem to be a reference to Athena Soteira. Haldane[194] argues that "Athena is ... the ideal candidate for the title"; that Athena Soteira was worshipped with Zeus Soter in Athens; and that the military tone of the ode would have been appropriate to Athena. As protecting goddess of the polis, the chorus would naturally turn to Athena in a time when

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[193] Sommerstein 1987 p. 298, discusses her identity; for a different view (linking *Birds* with the Anthesteria festival, and Basileia with the role of the Basilinna there), see Craik 1987. I will discuss the apparent cult of Athena Epikleros in Chapter 5.

[194] 1964, p. 209.

Athens needed to be saved. Dover[195] suggests that Soteira might also be Demeter, since she was one of the Eleusinian deities. But Athena is far more appropriate to the situation and context; and a link between her and Demeter is implied by the invocation to Athena in *Thesmophoriazusae* (1136-47) preceding the invocation to Demeter and Persephone, the Thesmophoroi.

Even in a play as late as *Wealth*, we see that Athena is still associated with the well-being and prosperity of the polis when Chremylus announces (1191-95) that they are going to re-install Wealth in Athena's temple, in the inner cell of the Parthenon, to guard the Treasury. This is a reference to the Treasury on the Acropolis (which the women had taken over in *Lysistrata*) which was seriously depleted by the years of war (renewed in 395), and whose reserve had scarcely begun to be replaced. This reference to the Treasury in the Parthenon will have reminded the audience of the glorious days of the past when it had seemed that there was no end to Athens' wealth and prosperity, and thus also a hope for the future. Athena's role as guardian of the city's treasury is also seen in Euripides' *Hecuba*, 1008. Hecuba, using Athena's skill of wily wisdom, tells Polymestor that the gold and treasures of Troy are hidden in the temple (the acropolis) of Athena Ilia - Athena the goddess of Troy. The goddess who protects the polis also protects the wealth of the polis.

Knights and *Peace* contain references to the panhellenic idea, but neither directly associates Athena with the idea, nor involves her in any plans, and in fact the effect of the panhellenic idea is undermined by the over-riding sense of Athenian-ness, or of Athena as Athenian. In the *Knights* the Sausage-seller criticises Paphlagon for having rejected Archeptolemus' peace offering (794-96)[196]. Paphlagon replies (797) that he had done this so that Demos could 'rule over all the Greeks'. After Paphlagon has been defeated in the contest over Demos, the latter is rejuvenated, and the chorus refer to him as 'the monarch of Greece and this land' (μόναρχον, 1330) and as 'sovereign of the Greeks' (βασιλεῦ, 1333-34). Sommerstein[197] suggests that Aristophanes seems here to be arguing that since Sparta so wanted peace, Athens would be able to name the peace terms and so achieve supremacy for itself. These phrases, referring to Demos as king and monarch, support this view. They are in fact rather more against the idea of unity than for it, since they imply and mean domination rather than cooperation: Athens as supreme single ruler of Greece. This

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[195] 1993, p. 244, note on 378.

[196] Sommerstein 1981, p. 186. discusses what Aristophanes must mean here: since Archeptolemus was Athenian he must have presented a Spartan proposal for peace to the Assembly and recommended its acceptance.

[197] 1981, p. 215-16.

idea of creating a 'united' Greece (under Athenian leadership) was at times prevalent in Athens, and through the rest of the play Athena is portrayed as being concerned for the well-being of Demos, and as being very much for Athens and 'ours'.

Peace contains a shift toward panhellenism which is not found in Aristophanes' earlier plays, *Acharnians* and *Knights*. This play makes the theme more noticeable, and points the way to the *Lysistrata*. In the beginning of the play there are frequent references to Greek unity, as Trygaeus endeavours to find Peace in order to restore her to Greece. He claims he is going to fly up to heaven on behalf of 'all the Greeks' (93), that he will ask Zeus what he is doing about 'the Greeks' (105-06), and that if Zeus refuses to answer him, he will indict Zeus for betraying 'Greece to the Medes' (107-08). On arriving at heaven, he learns from Hermes that the gods have left because 'they were angry with the Greeks' (204). The reason for this anger Hermes says is that each time the gods tried to make peace, one or other side rejected it (211-20)[198]. The implication of this remark is that the Athenian and Spartan peasants (or the farmers, like Trygaeus and later the chorus) were betrayed by those on each side who urged the continuation of the war (and its effects on the people) by their refusal to make peace. Reckford[199] remarks that "A very painful idea suggested throughout *Peace* is that the gods are angry at Athens, that the city is no longer under their loving care and protection". Aristophanes in fact always refers to Greece rather than Athens (whatever else he might be meaning) in this play, and this makes Reckford's suggestion the more alarming - that the gods have abandoned all *Greece*. Aristophanes makes it clear that blame for the war lies equally with all Greeks, and so it is then appropriate that Trygaeus calls on the 'men of Greece' to help him haul Peace out of her prison since she is 'so dear to us all' (292-94). The 'men of Greece' form the chorus, and are representative of all Greece, although it should be noted that the last groups of men he calls on - immigrants, foreigners and islanders - are referred to in relation to Athens rather than in relation to Greece. Sommerstein[200] describes the chorus as "a complete list of the categories of adult males that one would expect to find in the theatre at the City Dionysia (except for "privileged" groups such as politicians, priests and generals)". Although the chorus starts off with representatives of all Greece, each city-state is soon criticised and apparently dismissed, including both Sparta and Athens[201], until finally (508) it consists only of Athenian farmers.

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198 Hermes refers to the oath by Athena which the Athenians used here; Sommerstein, forthcoming(b), claims that this is the only oath by Athena in Aristophanes.

199 1987, p. 28.

200 1985, p. 147.

201 Boeotians at 465, Argives at 475-77 and 493, Spartans at 478, Megarians at 481-83 and 500-02, and Athenians at 503-07.

When the chorus leader encourages his motley crew he calls them Πανέλληνες (302) which is best translated as 'all you Greeks'[202]. Dover[203] discusses the composition of the chorus and concludes that "there is no really clear break at which the chorus is transformed from Greeks into Athenians" until finally "Trygaios is treated more as a man who has brought peace to Athens than as a peacemaker for the Greek world". Hermes prays for blessings for 'all the Greeks', Ἕλλησιν ... πᾶσι (436). Having freed Peace and taken her attendants, Fullfruit and Showtime (Opora and Theoria), to Athens with him, Trygaeus declares to the chorus that he deserves a bride as young and attractive as Fullfruit: 'I who all alone ... saved the Greeks' (864-66). Finally Trygaeus, arguing with Hierocles (a contemporary expert on oracles), defends his decision to make peace when the opportunity arose rather than by reference to oracles: 'what should we have done ... when we had the chance to make peace and rule Greece together?' (1082). Sommerstein[204] says of this line, "many Greeks believed in 421 that the Peace of Nicias would result in such a joint Athenian-Spartan dictatorship over Greece", and this would seem to be the effect of the panhellenic references. These frequent references to 'all Greece' seem to be intended to make the audience aware that war is affecting all of Greece, that peace would benefit all of Greece, and that all of Greece can make peace. The effect is also to portray the war as an internal conflict, one of Greeks against Greeks. Newiger[205] argues "that the peace brought about here is both real and truly panhellenic ... the spirit of a panhellenic conception, however, of a peace for all cities and classes, imbues the first part of this comedy".

There seems to be a progression in Aristophanes' three plays (*Knights, Peace, Lysistrata*) most concerned with peace: from *Knights*, where Athens will rule a peaceful Greece alone, through *Peace*, where Athens and Sparta will rule together, to *Lysistrata*, where Greece will be united without any thought of domination or rule in order to fight off the Persian attack (as in the glory days of old). Although Athena is not involved in these references to the panhellenic idea, as patron goddess of the polis she would be involved, and as patron goddess of the city-state (Athens) which would rule Greece either alone or with Sparta, she would be involved. Athena thus seems to be involved by her association with Athens and her association with the poleis of Greece.

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202 Sommerstein 1985, p. 33.
203 1972, pp. 137-139.
204 1985, p. 185, see also Thuc. 5. 29.3-4.
205 1980, p. 227.

With the exception of the *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes portrays Athena as the goddess of Athens less than one might expect, but his references to her do portray her as the goddess of the polis, concerned for its strength, and concerned to protect it from internal and external threats. He also seems to be encouraging the Athenians to seek Greek unity, either as a means to end the war or in order to be in a stronger position to start the next war and defeat the Persians. Athens' involvement in this predetermines the involvement of its patron goddess. And since Athena is the polis goddess and the patron goddess of Athens, she will want what is best for Athens which Aristophanes argues is an end to the war, and peace throughout Greece, whether or not this entails panhellenic unity, and whatever the constitution of that unity is, whether Athenian, joint Athenian and Spartan, or something else again.

Finally we can see how important and central Athena was to the self-perception of the Athenians, and how closely non-Athenians related her to her city and its people by the references to Athens as Athena's city, and to the Athenians as her people. For example[206], Athens is described as Athena's city in *OC* 107-08, *Hecuba* 645, *Hipp* 30, and *Plutus* 772[207]; the Athenians are her people in *IT* 960, *Clouds* 300[208], and Theseus uses Athena as an exhortation to the Athenian warriors in Euripides' *Supplices* 711-12. As the national emblem of Athens, we see Athena in a chariot in *Hecuba* 646-47 on the peplos; as representing the military power of the polis and therefore the defence of the polis in *IA* 247-52, on the banner of the Athenians going to Troy, and in the *Acharnians* 547, as the figurehead on Athenian battleships. Aristophanes freely mentions Athena in absurd situations and irrelevant contexts. In *Knights* 445-46, Paphlagon accuses the Sausage-seller of being 'a descendant of those who sinned against our Goddess'; this is a reference to those who killed Cylon and his followers who were suppliants at the sanctuary of Athena Polias in the seventh century[209]. It is a political rather than a religious reference, and is also absurd since the murderers were from the old Athenian aristocracy, and unlikely ancestors for the Sausage-seller. Later Paphlagon makes another absurd suggestion, 654-56, that following the announcement of the cheap price of sardines, 100 heifers should be sacrificed to Athena. Paphlagon is effectively suggesting that the Council vote to hold another Panathenaia in honour of the price of sardines. In the *Clouds* the chorus sing the strophe, 563-74, as clouds but the antistrophe, 595-605, in which they invoke

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206 I will not repeat those references already cited.

207 In the preceding line, Wealth has made obeisance to the sun, which we can assume was in the South; he presumably then turns around to the North to pay obeisance to the Acropolis.

208 This reference describes the Athenians as *euandroi*, perhaps alluding to the contest in *euandria* at the Panathenaia; thus this choral ode (299-313) mentions the three most important festivals of Athens, the Mysteries, the Panathenaia, and the Dionysia.

209 See Sommerstein 1981, p. 167, note on l. 445-46, Hdt. 5.71, and Thuc. 1. 126.

Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, and Athena, 'our own native Goddess, mistress of the aegis, Athena guardian of the city', as Athenians. These lines will have stood out from the rest of the song because of the chorus' sudden and temporary change of identity. The Better Argument recalls a hymn to Athena (967), 'Pallas, the terrible, sacker of cities' and bemoans that in the new, more atheistic education, the young men no longer learn those hymns. Aristophanes makes these references to Athena in such absurd situations and twisted ways that they are guaranteed to raise a laugh from the audience. He uses Athena and her position in Athenian society to raise laughs rather than to ridicule the city goddess.

Through these plays we have seen Athena as the polis goddess who protects her polis and its people, whether that polis is the Greek army at Troy, Athens or Thebes. She also ensures the protection of suppliants and ensures the suppliant gift to Athens, thereby protecting the city from external and internal threats, and rewarding the risk of supporting the suppliant with a lasting gift for Athens. This role as the protecting goddess of Athens and its people is also extended to references to the city and its people as belonging to her, to her being used as a national emblem, and even to being put to comic use. It is this last aspect of Athena's role as goddess of Athens, her indirect, casual use in comedy, which reflects how central her position was to the people of her city, and how fundamental she was to their self-perception and national pride.

Chapter 5 The relationship between Athena and Athenian women

The plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes leave one with the overwhelming impression of the 'special relationship' between Athena and Athens, and between Athena and Athenian men. In contrast to this, one sees little, if anything, of any relationship between Athena and Athenian women. Each of these points reinforces the image of Athena as the masculine warrior goddess who has denied her womanhood. Even the reconciling goddess, whom we have previously discussed, appears generally to be concerned with the safety of the polis in terms of the male aspects of the polis (that is, its politics and its positions in the wider world). As patron goddess of Athens, and patron of its (and therefore her) people, the impression we have from the plays appears to be an unbalanced view of the everyday reality of Athenian society. In this chapter I will look for evidence which suggests that Athena did have a relationship with women; that she was in fact patron goddess of their work, and finally that her relationship with Athenian women was just as 'special' as her relationship with Athenian men. All of this underlines the already accepted view that Athena was goddess of Athens and its people, but this evidence will show her role more fully - she was truly the goddess of all of her people. If at times in this discussion, I appear to dwell on the work and the lives of the women, and less on the direct links with Athena, this is for two reasons. Partly because there is so little evidence; and partly in order to emphasise the extent of women's work, the central role it had in their lives and in the life of the oikos and the polis, and through this to indicate the relevance to the women's lives of their relationship with Athena, and the importance of it.

The tragedies of the fifth century are based largely on Homer and myth; and the comedies are based largely on fantasy. The men we see in these plays are unreal; they are either mythic heroes or comic caricatures of normal men. Likewise the women are unreal; they are either mythic extremes (whether Medea or Macaria) or are caricatures. So, just as we do not expect to find a selection of 'normal' men in the plays, we should not expect to find 'normal' women. However, what we can find in the plays is an amount of detail, generally throw-away remarks or particular phraseology, which is able to give us information about normal men and women. It is these details which I will use for evidence of Athena's relationship with women. As goddess of the polis, we have seen Athena was concerned for the safety, the welfare and the perpetuation of the polis. It seems natural therefore that she should be equally concerned for the men who protected their own oikos within the polis, and the polis within the wider world, and for the women who ran the oikos, gave birth to and nurtured the children of the polis (the children who were the future of the polis), and

the women whose intention was to run the oikos in a peaceful and efficient way so as to minimise the need for men actively to protect it.

There seem to me to be four reasons which lead to the absence of evidence of Athena's relationship with the women. There is what one might call the 'obvious' male reason, though I think possibly the least relevant reason: the men preferred to appropriate Athena for themselves, and chose to emphasise and glorify her 'male' aspects - to make her one of their own. And this is the image we receive from the myths and from many of the plays. The other reasons relate more directly to women themselves and their lives. The main work of women - preparing food, spinning and weaving, bringing up the children, and running the household - were tasks which, particularly in the city, were done inside the house. So where men's work was largely done within the polis, and was 'external' to the oikos, women's work was largely done within the oikos, and this meant that "their labor [was] less visible and hence less valued"[1]. The other two reasons are linked. The main civic function of women, their other work, was in the public worship of the gods, in cult. However, the tragedians of the fifth century generally used myths rather than cult for their storylines, and since the nature of myth is not to portray 'normal' life, there was little scope or reason to portray what we could call 'real' women in drama. Pomeroy[2] explains the social difference for women of myth and cult: "In discussing the relationships of goddesses to mortal females, myth must be distinguished from cult. Myths represent goddesses as hostile to women, or show them pursuing many activities foreign to the experience of mortal women. In cult, on the other hand, ... attention is paid both to the fulfillment of women's needs and to the delineation of their proper roles in society. Thus, for women, Athena's patronage of weaving, Hera's of marriage, and Artemis' of childbirth were of supreme importance, but these qualities are not emphasised in myth". Lefkowitz[3] on the other hand argues that "myths place emphasis on the kind of experiences and problems - although in idealised and exaggerated forms - that most ancient women would encounter in the course of their lives". These four reasons tell us both that our 'real' women will not easily be found in the dramas, and they tell us why: the lives of women were not the stuff of drama. However, within this context, the details of the plays will give pointers for this study, and as Henderson[4] remarks: "Striking changes of attitude toward women can be observed between the plays of Aiskhylos and those of Euripides ... In particular, sympathetic portrayals of women

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1 Pomeroy 1975, p. 71. She goes on to say that "Since the work was despised, so was the worker. Women's work was productive, but because it was the same as slaves' work, it was not highly valued in the ideology of Classical Athens."

2 1975, p. 9.

3 1986, pp. 30-31.

4 1991, pp. 144-45.

seem to be increasingly represented in tragedy and comedy toward the end of the century". This observation indicates that, as we will find, there is little evidence among the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles concerning Athenian women which might help us; and in fact we will find only Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and *Septem contra Thebas* of any use.

The most obvious indication of the role girls and women played in the civic religion of Athens comes in the *Lysistrata*, and is shown in two ways. On the one hand, the chorus (641-47) claim the right to advise the city by outlining the civic (public) religious roles they performed in their childhood[5]. They claim to have been an Arrephoros, a Grinder, a Bear, and a basket-bearer. These positions incorporate a number of the main Athenian festivals. The Arrephoroi, during their year in office, participated not only in the Arrephoria but also in the Chalkeia and in the Panathenaia; the Grinders ground cakes for sacrifice, probably to Demeter[6]; the Bears participated in the Brauronia, a festival to Artemis; and girls carried ritual baskets (which contained, for example the sacrificial knife) at most festivals, though the role was particularly significant at the Panathenaia. The reference to the fig-necklace seems to be unclear. They were worn by the two *Pharmakoi* who were expelled from Athens as a ritual purification of the city in the Thargelia festival of Apollo where they carry negative connotations. However, the figs of the *Lysistrata* seem to carry holy connotations[7]. One must also remember the supporting roles played by the female relatives of the girls chosen to perform these various tasks; their mothers and other female relatives are all likely to have played a part in the girl's performance, whether making the saffron robe, or telling the stories and myths associated with the festival, and perhaps recalling their own childhood experiences[8]. On the other hand, the plot is created, supervised and brought to success by Lysistrata, the woman who is now generally accepted as representing Lysimache, the contemporary priestess of Athena Polias[9]. The position of priestess of Athena Polias was the highest position a woman could hold in Athenian civic religion. Thus the audience is reminded of various

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5 On these roles, see Simon 1983, pp. 18-19, 22-24, 38-48, 55-72, 77-78, 83-88; Burkert 1985, pp. 151, 227-34, 242-46; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, especially pp. 136-148. For an entirely different perspective on this passage in its context within and as an integral part of the play, see Loraux 1993, pp. 162-66.

6 On this, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, pp. 142-46.

7 See Simon 1983, pp. 76-78 on the Thargelia, and on the fig whose "meaning in cult and magic was very complex".

8 It is precisely this sort of detail which has not survived because it was not recorded; and the most likely reason for this lack of record is that such roles were not valued and their existence was taken for granted.

9 See Lewis 1955; Schaps 1977; Sommerstein 1980a, and 1990, p. 5, on that page see also his note 31 on the identity of Myrrhine as priestess of Athena Nike, which he rejects. On the priestess of Athena Polias, see Jordan 1979, pp. 30-32.

religious positions women held in Athens. As Foley[10] remarks, Lysistrata "deploys powers originating in cult and religious activities, both public and private, presided over primarily by women".

Gould[11] discusses women's religious roles in the community: "The magnificent Panathenaic procession of the Parthenon frieze displays the ritual splendour and solemnity of women's role. And alongside the great civic rituals in which women stand with men as equal participants are those other rituals, just as much part of the sacred action of the community, which are either the exclusive domain of women or in which women play the leading role. In these too the community expresses its sense of the necessary participation of women in its continuing life". There are seven festivals in which we can clearly see the cult role of women: those mentioned above (the Arrephoria, the Chalkeia, the Panathenaia, and the Brauronia), and the Plynteria and Kallynteria, the Skira, and the Thesmophoria[12]. The festival most obviously associated with the women's Athena is the Chalkeia, which was held in honour of Athena Ergane. This goddess is generally taken to be patron of the male artisan, the potter, the carpenter, and the stone mason. However, she was also, necessarily, patron of the female artisan, the weaver, the spinner, and the wreath-maker. This festival must therefore have been in her honour as well as in honour of the patron of the better known male artisan. The connection between Athena and women is clearly seen in what seems to be the only known fact of this festival - it was here that, every four years, the women began to weave the peplos for the Great Panathenaia[13]. The two young Arrephoroi were in attendance, as a blessing on the work rather than for practical assistance[14]. An indication of the invisibility of women's work and of Athena's patronage of it is shown by academic reference to this festival. Simon[15] says of it: "Above all Ergane was the goddess of spinning and weaving", she then qualifies this with reference only to the Mycenaean civilisation: the palace goddess of the Mycenaean kings, the Linear B tablets, and the skill in weaving of (the Mycenaean) Helen and Penelope. While she goes on to describe the weaving of the peplos at this festival, she fails to link the fact that fifth century Athenian women spent much of their lives weaving with the fact that in the fifth century, Athena was goddess of weaving. Burkert[16] on the other hand describes Athena as concerned for "peaceful

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10 1982, p. 8.
11 1980, p. 51.
12 Brulé 1987, pp. 99-116, discusses how women's ritual roles reflected their domestic roles.
13 For a discussion of this and pictorial evidence, see Barber 1992.
14 Luyster 1965, pp. 140-43 argues that weaving, the peplos, and the myth of Arachne are indicators of "the archetypal model of certain female initiation rites performed in the name of Athena", and that this rite is also reflected in the role of the Arrephoroi.
15 1983, pp. 38-39.
16 1985, pp. 140-141.

handicrafts which constitute such an important part of domestic property and pride". And while he mentions that "For her the women of Athens weave the *peplos* which is handed over at the Panathenaia festival", he fails to make any connection with this patronage and these 'handicrafts' with the festival of the crafts worker, the Chalkeia. In fact, he fails to mention it among the festivals of Athena, and almost dismisses it as one for Hephaestus[17]: "A smith festival *Chalkeia*, which involves Athena as well, has a place in the calendar of festivals". Jordan[18] argues quite the reverse: "The festival known ... as the Chalkeia was extremely old, and was celebrated ... in honor of Athena alone. Hephaistos' role in this festival was a later accretion".. The significance of the female religious role is shown in this festival since, apart from the animal sacrifice, the most important event of the Panathenaia was the presentation to Athena of the peplos[19]. It seems to me to be entirely appropriate that the preparations for the Panathenaia should begin with a celebration of women's work (weaving) and of Athena's patronage of this work. Jordan[20] argues that Athena Ergane was "honored with cults and worship on the citadel" and would therefore have had her own priestess. I think that since (assuming our interpretation of the evidence is correct) the priestess of Athena Polias was involved in the presentation of the peplos at the Panathenaia, and since she was the ritual mother of Arrephoroi who were involved in the Chalkeia, she would be a likely candidate for the priestess of Athena Ergane. The Plynteria also demonstrates an important cult role for women. At this festival, the priestess of Athena Polias, the two Arrephoroi, and the women of the Praxiergidai clan[21] washed the cult statue of Athena Polias in the sea, and clothed her in a simple white robe in preparation for the dedication of the peplos at the Panathenaia. Obviously this cult statue had huge importance to the people of Athens, and its absence from the city on the Plynteria meant that it was an inauspicious day for the city. That women performed the purification rite on this most important statue again reflects the importance of their religious role and the respect associated with it. The Kallynteria occurred "a short time previously"[22] to the Plynteria; on this day the temple of Athena Polias was cleaned and ritually purified, both in readiness for the return of the clean statue, and in preparation for the Panathenaia. The Arrephoroi[23] performed in both the Chalkeia and the Plynteria, and by analogy, I think we can assume their presence at the Kallynteria as well. They also played a significant role in

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17 1985, p. 168. For a different angle, see Loraux 1993, p. 127, note 73, who almost dismisses the cult of Athena Ergane, and fails to notice the link here with Athena, women and weaving.

18 1979, p. 47. On Hephaestus and the Chalkeia, see the Suda: *s.v.* Chalkeia II.

19 On these two festivals, see Simon 1983, pp. 55-72; Burkert 1985, pp. 232-33.

20 1979, p. 36.

21 On the civic role of the Praxiergidai clan, and a decree outlining their responsibilities, see Garland 1992, pp. 100-102.

22 Simon 1983, p. 46.

23 On whom, see Jordan 1979, pp. 31-32.

the Panathenaia in attending the priestess of Athena Polias. These two young girls spent a year on the Acropolis as assistants to the priestess of Athena Polias, who was their ritual mother for that time. Four potential Arrephoroi were chosen by the people, two of whom were then selected by the archon basileus, who was to be their ritual father. Since their year in office ended at the Arrephoria which occurred towards the end of the Athenian year, it seems likely that the new Arrephoroi began their year in office in the new year, when the new archon basileus also started. At the Arrephoria, which "was not a feast of the populace but was a secret rite"[24], the rite they performed, according to Pausanias[25], involved carrying baskets at night and underground. The contents of these baskets were unknown to the girls and to the priestess, but as Simon[26] points out, their contents were probably known to the archon basileus.

Although the evidence appears to suggest that the peplos was made and presented only quadrennially at the Great Panathenaia, this must be disputed. The Great Panathenaia was a sixth century Peisistratid elaboration of the annual Panathenaia. The festivals connected with the Panathenaia - the Chalkeia, the Arrephoria, and the Plynteria and Kallynteria - were annual; and the Arrephoria were appointed annually for a year's service. As a new year festival, the Panathenaia was celebrated annually; it was also the only festival exclusively in Athena's honour in Athens, and it was the festival of the city goddess. All of these reasons suggest that the preparations we know of for the Great Panathenaia, for example washing the statue of Athena Polias and cleaning her temple, would have occurred annually, and that a peplos must have been woven and dedicated each year. It would be appropriate that at the festival exclusively in Athena's honour she should be given a new dress for the new year which was also celebrated. The role of women at both the Panathenaia and the Great Panathenaia are perhaps the best known religious functions of Athenian women; apart from the significant roles of the Arrephoroi and the priestess of Athena Polias, the women took part in the festival by weaving the peplos, but also as part of the crowd, for example in the pannychis, a mixed all-night festival of singing and dancing in Athena's honour, and during the proper festival, they mixed with men in the crowd, as depicted on the Parthenon frieze[27]. Simon[28] argues that the statue of the goddess need not have been dressed with the new peplos during the festival, but that the priestess of Athena Polias might have dedicated it to her by laying it on her knees.

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24 Simon 1983, p. 40. On the Arrephoria see also Burkert 1983, pp. 150-54, and Brule 1987, pp. 79-98.

25 1.27.3.

26 1983, pp. 42-43.

27 Simon 1983, p. 67, on a discussion of the east frieze of the Parthenon.

28 1983, p. 66. She quotes as an example the Trojan women in *Iliad* VI. 303.

Another function of the priestess of Athena Polias (selected from the Eteoboutadai clan) was in the Skira[29], an exclusively female festival in honour of Demeter. The Eteoboutadai accompanied the priestess of Athena Polias, the priest of Poseidon, and the priest of Helios out of Athens to a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Skiron. We know little else about this festival, and none of its details; but we do know more about two other all-female festivals: the Thesmophoria[30] which was also in honour of Demeter, and the Brauronia, in honour of Artemis. The former, which, in Athens, lasted for three days, brought fertility to the land and to married women. The exclusion from it of men, weaned children and virgin females[31] emphasises the aspect of fertility for childbearing women. In the latter, which occurred quadrennially, girls aged 5-10 took part in a rite which symbolically ended their childhood and prepared them for marriage[32]. As Burkert[33] remarks of the Skira, they were "a special festival for the women of Athens. ... For the men, the whole business is deeply unsettling". From this discussion, it seems then that the role of the priestess of Athena Polias was highly valued, and the priestess herself was respected, and that the traditional roles of Athenian girls were also valued; but these were very public and, one might say, figurehead roles. Thus, although the role of women in civic religious worship was respected and valued, when that worship became exclusively female, the respect and value decreased. Once again, an unseen female act (whether domestic tasks or religious worship) by being invisible becomes unvalued; and by being both invisible and unvalued, fails to be recorded.

Another reminder of the role of women in the religion of the city occurs in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. At the end of the play, Athena has persuaded the Erinyes to stay in Athens and to become the goddesses of marriage and childbirth. They are to be accompanied to their new underground home by Athena and her servants (1022-25) whom Sommerstein[34] identifies as "a group of women and girls who may already be identifiable by their dress as cult-servants of Athena Polias, with the priestess herself conspicuous among them". These women cult-servants of Athena remind us that there were other religious positions for women and girls than the exalted ones previously discussed. It is also appropriate that since the Eumenides were female and now concerned with women's adult lives, they should be accompanied and served by

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29 see Simon 1983, pp. 22-24 for a full discussion and analysis of this festival; and Burkert 1983, pp. 143-49.

30 on which Simon 1983, pp. 18-22; and Burkert 1985, pp. 242-46, whose prejudice is evidenced in his unqualified remark of the festival, p. 242: "The absence of men gives a secretive and uncanny quality to the festival of the women"; and Bowie 1993b, pp. 205-17.

31 Burkert 1985, p. 242.

32 See Sourvinou-Inwood 1988; and Dowden 1989, pp. 28-32.

33 1985, p. 230.

34 1990, pp. 276-78, and p. 279 note on 1024.

women in religious positions. Euripides' *Troades* gives us an indication not of the civic religious roles of the Trojan women, but how the entire society reacted to the Wooden Horse (522-61) - although in this play, we must remember that the Trojans are portrayed as being Greek-like. In this scene we see 'young girls and old people' and 'the whole race of the Trojans' running to look at the horse, and singing with joy (527-32), and young girls dancing the night away (545-47). Athena is the only deity mentioned in this ode until 551, so the religious activity and celebrations in which the whole community participates during these lines are in her honour[35]. The role of the women and girls in this spontaneous, informal scene suggests that women were thought of as participating in the formal, civic religious structure in Troy as they did in Athens. From *Iliad* VI in particular, we know the importance of Athena to Troy: the suggestion of a particular relationship with Athena which the women feel they could appeal to, and the existence of a priestess of Athena (Theano)[36].

Through the relationship between Athena and women, I think we can see another dimension to the *Lysistrata* in which women's intelligence and use of cults play such a large and important part. As Foley[37] remarks "Lysistrata ... deploys powers originating in cult and religious activities ... presided over primarily by women". The *Lysistrata* shows what women were capable of and could be motivated by - not the sex and drink which the male chorus and magistrate assume, but the good of society, and their own personal strength and persistence, which the men assumed they did not possess. Above all, the women, and particularly Lysistrata, show their intelligence and abilities throughout the play through their religious connections. They show these connections not only through the ode detailing their childhood activities, but in their knowledge of the Acropolis and cults, and in their use of that knowledge: "to assume that woman has no avenue for exercising her powers positively for the state is to dismiss her public religious function"[38], and to dismiss her ability to use those functions when necessary. Foley[39] argues that Lysistrata uses religion to remind men and women of their common interest which is the good of the city and society: "Lysistrata ... acts to reveal precisely those areas - specifically religious ones - in

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35 See also Agathon's song, in *Thesm.* 101-129, which is a Trojan celebration of the Greeks' apparent withdrawal and is similar to this song. However, Agathon's song is in honour of the Iliadic pro-Trojan gods Apollo, Artemis and Leto, and does not mention Athena; on this see Sommerstein 1994, pp. 164-66.

36 By contrast to these images, the two choral appeals to Athena in Aes. *Sept.* (127-30, 161-65), suggest a remarkably formal approach. However, Aeschylus' intention in *Sept.* was to portray the Theban women as almost hysterical with fear, so it would be misleading to judge their relationship with Athena through these two references. On these women, see Podlecki 1983, pp. 27-30.

37 1982, p. 8.

38 Foley 1982, p. 5.

39 1982, p. 5.

which there is ultimately no division between public and private interests. Woman in the *Lysistrata* therefore represents both oikos and polis, and her "intrusion" into public life and the denouement of the play emphasises the common, not the exclusive interests of the sexes". Martin[40], using the myth of the Lemnian women to interpret the *Lysistrata*, sees cult associations in the play: "While the takeover of the Acropolis by the women warriors and the sex-strike cannot be viewed as cult acts per se, they take place within the context of women's ritual activities on the Acropolis. ... I am prepared to show that both the takeover and the strike *do* have cult associations which have not been noticed previously".

The autochthony myth is a good example of how myths tended to be negative about women, in this case by denying their role in childbirth. Athena's dual associations with the myth (her own birth without a mother, and her role in Erichthonius' birth) emphasise both the negation of women in myth, and how far removed from relevance in a woman's life the goddesses could be in myth. The male dream or ideal of autochthony is also associated with their masculinisation of Athena. This is seen particularly in the two major aspects of her portrayal: as born out of Zeus' head (with the female role delegated either to having been deceived and swallowed, or to non-existence); and as asking Zeus to allow her to remain unmarried and a virgin. Thus the men's patron is admittedly a woman, but one who has no connections with women in either an ancestral or descendant role, "her role represents ... the security of the male, comforted in his fantasy of a world without women by the idea that his goddess was not born from a woman's body"[41]. Athena is also associated with Athenian autochthony by her role in that myth: following her rejection of Hephaestus, Erichthonius was born of the earth, but Athena then nurtured and brought him up, she was his *trophos*, nurse. In this way, Athena could be said to be the (non-biological) mother of the autochthonous king of Athens (an appropriate role for the goddess of the city). Loraux[42] argues that the roles of father, mother and nurse are represented on the Acropolis by Hephaestus, Ge, and the Kekropides respectively, "but at the same time all these roles are concentrated into the single Athena. Simultaneously a *trophos*, a mother, and a father, the goddess assumes these three roles and transcends all three". The autochthonous ideal, a "fantasy of cultural transcendence"[43], is expressed by both Jason (*Medea* 573-75) and Hippolytus (*Hipp* 616-24). Foley[44] remarks of Euripides' Hippolytus, "Echoing the wish of other male characters in

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40 1987, p. 88; his italics. His connection between the Lemnian myth and *Lysistrata* is discussed more fully in Chapter 3. On this see also Bowie 1993b, pp. 186-95.

41 Loraux 1993, p. 11.

42 1993, quotation from p. 64.

43 Foley 1988, p. 147.

44 Foley 1988, p. 147. Note that she specifies her remark to tragedy rather than reality.

tragedy, he longs for a world in which women are unnecessary for reproduction. The Athenian myth of autochthonous birth from the earth, and their patron goddess Athena, a female born from the male, offered further opportunities to express these desires". The autochthonous ideal is also the theme of Euripides' *Ion*. Here Hermes in the prologue (67-73) and Athena in the epiphany (1566-68), as Apollo's representatives, outline his plans: Apollo will give Ion to Xuthus as his own son, without Kreousa's knowledge; and only once Ion comes to Athens will Kreousa learn his background and identity. Apollo's plan was to seek to deny Kreousa's role in Ion's birth, just as the woman's role had been denied by her ancestors, and as it had been in Athena's birth. The limitations of autochthony are shown[45]: Xuthus and Kreousa had to have children so that the Erechtheid line might continue; Xuthus, a foreigner, could be brought in to perpetuate the line, but Kreousa was nonetheless essential. The importance of Kreousa to the autochthonous Erechtheid line is shown through this. Henderson's remark (quoted earlier) that the treatment of women was improved by the later dramatists is also demonstrated by Kreousa in this play. According to Athena's prophecy, Xuthus' children would found the races of the Achaians and the Dorians, each of which was specifically not Athenian. The Erechtheid line was perpetuated by Apollo, and in so doing he also confirmed autochthony. The autochthony ideal is also found in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (657-75) where the chorus recount the myth of the foundation of Thebes: Kadmos killed Ares' dragon and on Athena's instructions, scattered its teeth[46]; from these grew fully-armed warriors, *spartoi*. Quite apart from the reference to Athena's instructions, the story is associated with her because the warriors were born without a mother and fully-armed, as she was. The autochthonous ideal (represented by the births of Athena, Erichthonius, and the *spartoi*) negated the role of the women in childbirth and, although in reality men knew that women were a prerequisite to producing children, they held on to their dream of autochthony and sought to devalue the woman's role. Apollo's argument in the *Eumenides* (657-67) is a crude exposition of this; but we see it conveyed in a more realistic scenario in *Lysistrata*. Following Lysistrata's wool analogy, the magistrate argues that it is disgraceful that the women should think they were able to advise the city when they contributed nothing to the war (587-88). Lysistrata's swift response (588-90) is that women pay their 'tax' not only by giving birth (echoing Medea's remark, *Medea* 248-51, that she would rather go into battle

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45 In the *Ion* the future of Athens is shown to be in jeopardy because of the Athenian preference for autochthony; the message is that citizenship must be widened and diversified, foreigners must be accepted in order that Athens can survive, and will prosper. These issues are discussed for example, by Saxonhouse 1986, and Dunn 1990.

46 Although the text is corrupt here, the goddess is referred to as both Zeus' daughter and a motherless goddess, both of which are Athena; this is also suggested by the reference to autochthony and to birth as fully armed warriors.

three times than give birth once), but also by suffering the deaths of their sons. The magistrate tells Lysistrata to shut up - he does not want to hear about such a real price which the women pay. He seems to perceive the hoplite only as a man and as a fighter whose duty it is to defend the city, and not as the literal product of his mother's labour. Obviously it is easier for the magistrate, here representing all Athenian men, to see the hoplite as a man, and as an isolated unity rather than as part of an oikos and as his mother's son. The other example is similar. Following the female chorus' claim to advise the city because of their religious roles, they add another claim, the tax they pay (651): 'I have a stake in the common wealth: I contribute men to it'[47]. The male chorus' response (658) is to call the women's attitude hubris, outrageous insolence. In disregarding the mother's role, the response of these men is portrayed as a typically male reaction. But the men in fact lose in this battle of attitudes: the magistrate goes to show himself, dressed as a dead woman, to his colleagues, and so makes himself a laughing stock[48]; and the male chorus are dressed by the women, and are treated like babies. The women defeat the male attitude. Loraux[49] argues that "the *Ion* and the *Lysistrata*, are all about the Acropolis and the whole gamut of autochthony ...; they are about the race of women and the autochthonous *genos*".

This arrogance and superiority of the men in *Lysistrata* is also shown in their use of language relating to Athena, and particularly in contrast to the women's language[50]. The *Lysistrata* is a useful play to highlight the differences in male and female language because in its plot men and women are each trying to protect Athena and the Acropolis from the other[51]. When the male chorus first appears on stage they remark that the women 'have seized my acropolis' (263 ἀκρόπολιν ἐμάν); later they urge each other on, 'Forward, hurry, to the Acropolis, on to the aid of the Goddess! Or when shall we come to her defence, Laches, if not now?' (302-04 τῇ θεῷ). The magistrate asks Lysistrata 'what was your object in shutting and barring our Acropolis?' (486-87 τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν); when the magistrate has left, the male chorus fume that the 'god-detested' women had seized 'our money and the daily pay by which I lived' (624-25 τὰ χρήμαθ' ἡμῶν ... ἔνθεν ἔζων ἐγώ). The men clearly assume that Athena is theirs and is on their side. Their intention to defend her (302-04) implies that she is under attack by the women who are her enemy, which

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47 One might ask whether the 'men' contributed by the chorus are only their sons, or whether they are also their husbands (and *kyrioi*) and the fathers of their children that the women now have to live without (either temporarily or, if widowed, permanently). We know (591-97) they include the men whom their daughters will not be able marry.

48 On this scene, see Taaffe 1993, pp. 62-66.

49 1993, pp. 11-12.

50 We have seen aspects of this issue in our earlier discussion of the reconciliation of men and women in the *Lys.*, in Chapter 3.

51 On the use of different epithets by the two choruses, see Anderson 1986, pp. 56-63.

means effectively that she is their enemy; the male attitude creates a hostile situation. The impression given here by the male chorus is a possessive one[52]; and particularly possessive of the Acropolis which symbolised their political and military lives (as shown by their attitude to the money kept there, 624-25), and of the entire physical area of the polis, which had above everything else to be protected. This attitude is also demonstrated by their interchangeable references to the Acropolis as 'polis' - the men see no distinction between them. Thus it symbolises their work - the running of the polis and its protection. And of course it both housed and symbolised the goddess whom they protected and who protected them. Through this perception, and their reaction to what they considered to be the hubris of the women, the magistrate and the male chorus (here representing all Athenian men) show first that they think Athena and the Acropolis are under attack, and secondly that they perceive the 'attackers' as an external threat to Athena, to the Acropolis and therefore to the polis of Athens as a whole. This attitude that the women are an external attacking force is also shown by their consistent description of the women as 'god-detested', and as an evil force they have been sheltering in their homes (260-61, 371). This attitude is demonstrated clearly by the male chorus when, just before the female chorus arrives, they invoke Victory to help them defeat the 'effrontery' of the women (317-18). This invocation shows that the men view the situation as a battle where the opposition is either external and so is foreign, or is internal and so means civil war. Their subjective attitude, though, is clearly shown by the fact that they invoke Athena Nike to help them attack Athena Polias, the goddess of their city. Thus the men view the women as outsiders (ie foreigners) or, worse still, as betrayers of the national (ie their own) interests. This hostile view is further emphasised in comparison with the language and attitude of the women in the play. A particular contrast can be made with the first odes of the respective choruses. As we have seen, the men referred to the Acropolis and to Athena in a possessive and overbearing manner whereas "the women, with less arrogance and more reverence, speak of the Acropolis as belonging to Athena"[53]. They refer to Athena by her usual title ὦ θεά (341), as the men had done, and by her other titles, Golden-crested Guardian of the City (344-45, χρυσολόφα πολιοῦχε) and Lady of the Lake (347, Τριτογένει'). Apart from the reverence which the use of these titles conveys, their use is also directly relevant to the context: the women are calling on Athena as protector of the city to help them protect the city, and they call on her as a water goddess to help them bring water[54] with which they will extinguish the fire which the men had brought. Another contrast with the language of the men is that the women (both Lysistrata and the chorus) refer to the Acropolis only with

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52 Just as we later see them perceiving Athena as belong to Athens and not to Sparta.

53 Sommerstein 1990, p. 167, note on 263.

54 We will discuss this water aspect of Athena later.

reference to Athena (241, τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς θεοῦ; 345, σὰς ἔσχον ἕδρας) and only as the Acropolis, not as the polis as the men do. This is further demonstrated by words used in those two phrases. Lysistrata remarks that the women have 'seized' (καθειλήφασιν) Athena's acropolis (242), and the women's chorus remark that it has been 'occupied' (ἔσχον) (345). This puts their actions into a warlike perspective, just as the men do, but again it is with reference to Athena's acropolis rather than the men's own acropolis. I think this also suggests that the women have anticipated the reaction of the men. The women's more respectful attitude is also shown in a remark following their ode, when they first notice the men: 'No men of any piety or decency would ever have been doing this' (351). The implication of this is that the men in attacking the Acropolis are attacking and violating Athena. This is of course exactly how the men perceive the actions of the women. However, the men think the women are attacking *their* acropolis, where the women know that the men are attacking *Athena's* acropolis.

These attitudes then show that the men believed the Acropolis, the treasury, and Athena to belong to them, and that the women had no right to intervene and seize them; while the women on the other hand, believed the Acropolis was Athena's and the treasury was Athens'. Hulton[55] remarks on the importance of the Acropolis in the play: "The Acropolis itself also plays a significant part. It is more than an impressive background or a necessary site for a part of the plot. It stands as a symbol of the whole". Finally, the women's attitude shows us three things: the women are at ease with their perception of Athena and the Acropolis, they happily and easily invoke her to help them; they are not overawed by the image of the men's Athena; and they know they are not being impious or hubristic in taking over the Acropolis to save Athens, and indeed they know Athena would help them in their endeavour to restore all of Athens to peace and to normal life. "Athena herself, the virgin goddess, the embodiment of wisdom, civic virtue, and the welfare of Athens, is naturally looked to by the women as saviour and protector and as one who typifies the ideals for which they are striving"[56].

We can also see a difference in male and female reference to Athena in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*. This play gives us the only evidence (658) that the festival took place in Athens on the hillside of the Pnyx[57], the site of the (men's) assembly. Also in this play, which is set on the second day of the festival, the women hold their own assembly; so we are able to look at the assembly language used here,

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55 1972, p. 36.

56 Hulton 1972, p. 36.

57 See Thompson 1936, pp. 182-92; and Simon 1983, p. 18. Burkert 1985, p. 242, carefully describes the festival site as being "close to the Pnyx".

and compare it with the assembly language of the men. The chorus twice invokes Athena (317-19, 1136-47). On each of these occasions they address her in a magnificent yet intimate manner but without using her formal titles. In the first invocation they address her by her Homeric epithet γλαυκῶπις, 'owl-eyed' or 'blue-eyed' (317), and refer to her mythic contest with Poseidon for patronage of Athens. The second, longer invocation, for example, contains the phrase πόλιν ... ἔχει (1140) which "thinly veils Athena's title polioukhos"[58]. Perhaps then when they call on Athena as φιλόχορον, lover of the choral dance, to come to their choral dance (1136-37), we should remember the dances of the pannychis held in Athena's honour the night before the Panathenaia (*Hcld* 777-83), and the male war dance in her honour at the Panathenaic games (*Clouds* 988-89); the title seems from this to be familiar to the audience whether or not as a cult title (for which there is no evidence). The chorus also refer to Athena as 'sole guardian of our city' (1140); the phrase which they use, ἣ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει, strongly suggests that here they regard the city as their own, rather than that of the men. Next in the ode is the appeal to Athena as 'hater of tyrants' (1143-44)[59], and with it a striking change in metre of which Dale[60] remarks: "Only the bacchiac line, the cry to Athena, arrests the quick movement and strikes a note of sudden gravity". The complete break which this metre causes, and the gravity of it, puts the appeal to Athena in sharp contrast with the rest of the ode, and "the shift from cultic to political language"[61] draws our attention to the chorus' very urgent and political message. The next line (1145) contains the conversational particle τοί which in itself is indicative of the intimacy the women shared with Athena. Denniston[62] says of the particle "Its primary function is ... to establish ... a close rapport between the mind of the speaker and the mind of another person. ... [It] implies ... an audience, and preferably (owing to the intimacy of appeal which it suggests) an audience of one". This is a very striking feature of this line, and it is also emphasised by the women's identification of themselves in their intimate appeal to Athena as 'the demos of women'. This appeal conveys the women's confidence both in their intimacy with Athena and in their political standing. The impression created by this ode is of an informal, even intimate address being made on a formal occasion, in an ostensibly formal manner, and being used to convey an important and urgent political message. The women address Athena more through statements of fact (she *was* the guardian of the city, and she *was* a maiden) than with the formal titles used of her by men and myth, and with more intimacy than that used by men. It must be

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58 Sommerstein 1994, p. 231, note on 1140.

59 On which see Sommerstein 1994, pp. 231-33, note on 1143-44.

60 1968, pp. 166-67.

61 Sommerstein 1994, p. 231.

62 1954, p. 537. He categorises it, p. 542, as "an urgent prayer" with two examples from tragedy, *OC* 1578, and Aes. *Ch.* 456.

noted that Aristophanes gives these phrases to the women in an unobtrusive manner which suggests that these references were familiar to the audience, and suggests that they were the titles which women were known to use of Athena[63].

The second invocation of Athena starts with an address to her as Pallas, an expression more usually associated with myth and with men in drama than with women. However, on this occasion the women are taking on the role of men by holding an assembly[64], which explains an invocation of Athena by one of her more male titles, and the chorus' invocation of Athena before the Thesmophoroi (Demeter and Kore) in whose honour the festival was held. It seems to me that the women's assumption of this male role in their manner of conducting their assembly is also indicated by their reference to themselves as 'the demos of women' (307-08 τὸν δῆμον ... τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν; 1145-46 δῆμος ... γυναικων). This male manner is adopted by Critylla when she first calls the assembly to order (301-10), and uses much of the language of the male assembly, including the earlier reference to the deme of women. In the *Lysistrata* the women's chorus also refer to 'my women fellow-citizens' (333-34, ἐμαῖς δημότισιν), and in this instance I can see no obvious political reason for it.[65]

In Euripides' *Ion*, the language and invocation of the women, both Kreousa and the chorus, also show that women had a relationship with Athena which was separate from that of the men. While admiring the temple walls, the chorus remark on various of the scenes they see, including one of Athena killing Enceladus, to which one says 'I see Pallas, my goddess'[66] (211 ἐμὰν θεόν). While Xuthus is in the temple receiving his oracle (which will tell him that Ion is his son), the chorus pray to Athena and to Artemis, Apollo's two virgin sisters, that the Erechtheid line might have heirs[67]. While praying to Athena for heirs for Athens, they explicitly refer to the fact that her birth was from Zeus alone (without a mother, like an autochthonous birth), and that she herself was a virgin, but also link her directly with Artemis, goddess of childbirth. Despite this necessarily mythic description[68], the chorus invoke Athena as 'my Athena'

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63 Had they been exceptional phrases, we would expect Aristophanes to draw attention to them and, if necessary to explain them. Since he does neither of these, we can assume their place in the Athenian language.

64 For a discussion of the theme of gender-inversion in this (but which does not address this point), see Sommerstein 1994, pp. 7-8.

65 For discussions on whether or not women were citizens, see Goldhill 1986, pp. 58-59; Whitehead 1986, pp. 77-81; and Patterson 1987, pp. 49-67.

66 Again, the use of Pallas is in a male/myth situation.

67 It should be noted that they pray for children to the line rather than to Kreousa and Xuthus; this neatly describes Ion. On the Athena/Artemis aspect of this ode, see Loraux 1993, pp. 211-12.

68 Which we have seen negates the role of woman in childbirth, and which contrasts with Ion's birth from a woman, excluding the role of the human male.

(453-54 ἐμὰν 'Αθάναν); so in the midst of the male/mythic Athena, we have a direct appeal to the woman's Athena. When Kreousa decides to tell the tale of Apollo and herself, she decides to do so with an oath (871-73) which Vellacott[69] translates as 'By the Guardian of the [better: my, ἐμοῖς] Rock of Athens, by the holy shore of the Tritonian Lake'. Kreousa thus appeals to Athena by two of her aspects: her role as patron and guardian of Athens, and her title of Tritogeneia, which is generally assumed to refer to her birth place. The effect of this is to involve Athena in the story of Ion's birth by reference to two relevant epithets - Athena's city and Athena's birth place. Kreousa also swears by Athena (1478-80) as the Gorgon-killer, and with reference to Athens (Athena's city and the site of Kreousa's rape), and to the olive tree (Athena's sacred tree, and her gift to Athens) as she tells Ion the circumstances of his conception and birth. This reference to Athena is more formal than the previous ones because it is an appeal which involves Athena and refers to the recognition tokens: the tapestry depicted the Gorgon; Athena was associated with the serpent, and had protected Erichthonius, the first autochthonous king of Athens, with serpents; and the wreath was from her sacred olive tree. As Ion still doubts his father's identity, Kreousa again swears it by Athena with another formal oath, this time to Athena Nike. The relevance of Nike is that Kreousa is finally vindicated and her family line is safe; autochthony, Athens and Kreousa herself have won. As queen of Athens it is relevant that Kreousa should use more formal invocations of Athena, and that as part of the Erechtheid line she should use references to the autochthony which involved both the goddess and herself, and that she should emphasise the links between Athena and herself. Kreousa refers to the mythic and traditional (the 'male') aspects of Athena more than the other women whom we have discussed. This presumably reflects her status as queen and her autochthonous background, whereas the other women reflect the Athena of their cult and religious roles. That both Kreousa and the servants are willing to use and are at ease with references to Athena in both formal and informal ways, and that Euripides includes them without express indication or formality, suggests again the relationship the women of Athens had with Athena, and that it was separate from that of the men. And it suggests that the relationship with Athena was informal and intimate, and that it occurred rather on the level of talking of a friend or relative with whom they shared their lives and experiences, and which reflected a mutual respect. One receives the impression that the women address Athena frequently in their daily lives, and in a casual manner, as though she were there with them. This contrasts with the attitude which we see recurrently (for example, at

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[69] 1954, p. 61.

the beginning of *Hippolytus*) of men being almost fastidious in the correctness of their observances to the gods.

Athena's patronage of weaving[70], which Pomeroy (quoted earlier) described as being of "supreme importance"[71], and her patronage of water carrying are the aspects by which we know of the relationship between Athena and women. If we compare these patronages of Athena to those of the other main goddesses - Hera as patron of marriage, Artemis of childbirth, and Hestia of the hearth - we can see quite clearly that Athena is the only one connected with women's everyday tasks, and that Athena would therefore seem to be the goddess of women's work. We will now look for evidence of this in the dramas, and see to what extent it is appropriate to describe Athena as the goddess of all women's work, and whether the image of women performing these tasks relates to Athena or enhances our interpretation of their relationship with her. While women's work was done by all women, free and slave, Athenian and foreign, it is the Athenian/citizen woman with whom we are most concerned here, since we are comparing their relationship with Athena to that of the citizen men. We have already discussed how the female chorus of the *Lysistrata* appear with pitchers of water, and they describe how they had to jostle with slaves in the dark to fill their pitchers (327-31)[72]. Fetching water was one of the anomalies of women's life. It was considered to be women's work, but it was a task which necessarily involved leaving the house; "Because fetching water involved social mingling, gossip at the fountain, and possible flirtations, slave girls were usually sent on this errand"[73]. The chorus then invoke Athena as Tritogeneia, her water epithet, to be 'with us bringing water' in the event of the men setting the acropolis alight. Shortly after this (370-86), the women throw the water over the men to prove that they mean to prevent the men setting fire to the acropolis. This series of references to water and its associations with Athena serve to remind us of this patronage of hers, and also provide another way in which Athena was helping the women's enterprise.

That weaving was a central part in the lives of women can be seen, for example, in *Troades* (199-200), when the chorus lament 'No longer shall I move the whirling shuttle back and forth at the Trojan looms'. In Euripides' *IT*, Iphigeneia laments (222-

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70 Luyster 1965, pp. 138-45, argues that in her patronage we can see Athena as an ancient Earth goddess whose weaving reflects her ancient connection with fate: "the *peplos* Athena wove was in fact the net of destiny, and it is properly this which explains its enormous ritual significance".

71 1975, p. 9.

72 Other dramatic references to water-carrying as women's work include a remark in the *Troades* (205-06), where the women bemoan their slave life awaiting them in Greece, and imagine themselves drawing water at the sacred fountain in Peirene, in Corinth, and in Eur. *El.*, 54-56, where Electra invokes the night as she sets off to fetch water.

73 Pomeroy 1975, p. 72.

24) that as an exile she has been unable to participate in the normal activities of maidens - choral dances in honour of Hera in Argos, or contributing to the weaving of the Panathenaic peplos in Athens[74]. In Euripides' *Supplices*, Evadne claims she will have victory over all wives by dying on her husband's funeral pyre. Iphis, her father, not knowing her intentions, asks whether she will achieve this victory 'In works by Pallas taught, or prudent wit' (1062). In fact, both of these - weaving and wisdom - relate to Athena, who is also about to appear in the epiphany. Athens, Athena and weaving are fundamental to the *Ion*; it is a play about Athens, the city of Athena, and is concluded by an epiphany of the city's goddess. The first reference to Athens occurs in the prologue (8-9) when Hermes refers to it as the city of Pallas of the golden-spear, which is perhaps a reference to Athena Promachos. Athena is intimately connected with authochthony through her role in the Erechtheid myth, her own birth, and through Apollo's rape of Kreousa on or near the Acropolis; as well as through her concern for the perpetuation and safety of her city. References occur throughout the play to pieces of weaving with pictures or stories on. In Athens the most famous piece of weaving with a story on it is of course the Panathenaic peplos, the gift of Athenian women to their goddess, the patron of weaving. "As a young girl, she [Kreousa] wove what, before serving as swaddling clothes for Ion, was designed to be a peplos or aegis"[75]. The *Ion* also provides us with an image of women weaving together, and listening as they weave to stories and myth which are often those depicted in their work. For example, when they notice on the temple walls a picture of Iolaus and one of the labours of Heracles (in which Athena played a signficant role), they ask (196-97) whether his is one of the tales they hear while weaving. Later, in the ode to Athena and Artemis discussed above, they recall the story of Kreousa's 'friend', and remark (507-09) that 'neither in woven web or in story' have they heard of a happy outcome for a woman who has borne a child to a god. Two remarks of Kreousa's add to this image. Following her absence (during which Xuthus learnt his oracular response), Kreousa addresses the chorus by reference to weaving, their common task, 'women who do loyal service at my loom and shuttle' (747-48). The effect of this is to prepare us for the greater loyalty which the chorus feel for Kreousa than for Xuthus (who has just demanded their silence over the oracle); but it also recalls that Kreousa weaves with the women, and probably directs their work, and it recalls the companionship of these hours. Her other remark is inspired by the

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74 These references appear to refer to Iphigeneia's two possible backgrounds. The reference to the Attic Pallas seems to be a Euripidean allusion to the myth that Helen was raped by Theseus when she was young; she was rescued by her brothers, the Dioscori; and that the child was brought up by her sister Clytemnestra. This myth is mentioned in *Cypria* 10, *Iliu Persis* 53, Lykophron, *Alexandra* 103-04, Plut. *Theseus* 31, and Ar. *Thesm.* 479-80, which suggests that it was prominent in the epic cycle and known to the audiences of Euripides and Aristophanes.

75 Loraux 1993, p. 225.

sight of an early attempt of hers at weaving, the cloth in which she had wrapped Ion (1417-25). This piece of weaving, a peplos, depicted the gorgon's head and had the tassles of the aegis; both strong associations with Athena and with the panathenaic peplos. The image of the young Kreousa learning to weave reminds us that women of all ages, queens and slaves, worked together at their weaving. This shows us how central weaving was to the lives of women, and therefore how important Athena's patronage of weaving also was to their lives. Pomeroy[76] remarks on the community aspect of the lives of women, "The intimacy of the discussions between heroines and choruses of female slaves in tragedy ... imply a bond between slave and free, for they spent much time together and lives were not dissimiliar". There is another reference to weaving in *Ion*: the tapestries which cover the tent for the feast of Ion and Xuthus. The messenger gives a long description of the size of the tent, which indicates the size and number of tapestries needed, and of the (symbolic) images of the tapestries (1140-65). They are referred to as *peploi*, although they are not clothes; this reference recalls the Panathenaic peplos which the women of Athens wove for Athena. Although the description of the tapestries, 'marvellous for men to see' (1142), pays tribute to the hours of work, dedication and skill put into them by the (community of) women who created them, it is indicative of the way in which women's work was devalued that these women are not mentioned[77]. In *Lysistrata* we see four women trying to escape from the Acropolis (728-62). One claims to be about to give birth, another claims insomnia, and the other two give excuses about wool and flax. This again gives us an overall impression of how much of a woman's life was taken up with spinning and weaving, and indicates how the companionship and intimacy of the *Ion* would occur. We must surely also assume that the cloth which women wove, and the images they embroidered on to it, were also designed by them; this again would require considerable skill which is not acknowledged.

The *Lysistrata* is generally interpreted in terms of the women stepping outside their usual oikos-centred lives in order that society and life might return to normal. As the chorus remarks (473-74), what they most want is to be able to sit at home quietly, and for their men to be there. McLeish[78] makes a remark about Aristophanes in general which applies well to the philosophy of *Lysistrata*: "Happiness and security are to be found when the natural balance of life is maintained; whenever natural order is upset ... unhappiness results". In the *Lysistrata*, the women abandon their normal, oikos duties in order to save the polis (which will save the oikos) because the men have abandoned their own polis duties in favour of a war which would arguably bring

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76 1975, p. 71.

77 See Goff 1988, p. 44, for a discussion of the cloth woven by Amazons.

78 1980, p. 60.

little or no direct benefit to the oikoi. As Foley[79] remarks: "When women in the *Lysistrata* claim to be able to manage public affairs, because of their knowledge of household management, the poet plays on the complementarity of *oikos* and *polis* as economic institutions". The women succeed by making their men abandon the pursuits of war and return to their polis duties; having achieved this, the women are more than happy to return to their own *oikoi* and to their own usual duties. This return to normality, and the restoration of the boundaries of oikos and polis is shown in the play when women invite the men into their home (and Athena's) the Acropolis for a feast, here a domestic, private meal. This is another woman's task, also essential to the running of the oikos: "The preparation of ordinary food [not meat] was considered exclusively women's work"[80]. In the dramas we see little preparation or production of 'ordinary', non-meat, food since the only food prepared or eaten is for feasts and sacrifices, which require meat and are obviously not 'ordinary'.

Although the ideal was for women to stay indoors, this was obviously not always possible. "Poorer women, even citizens, went out to work, most of them pursuing occupations that were an extension of women's work in the home"[81]. An example of this, and a consequence of war, is demonstrated by one of the speakers in the women's assembly in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (446-48). This woman describes how, after her husband was killed in action[82], she supported herself and her five children 'by plaiting garlands in the myrtle market'. To plait and to weave are similar tasks, and as we will discuss later, the verbs have the same root in Greek. This suggests that Athena's patronage of weaving would also have included patronage of plaiting wreaths.

Another meaning of weaving occurs in the *Lysistrata* when the male chorus leader remarks (630) that 'this plot they have woven against us is to set up a dictatorship'. To weave, ὑφαίνειν (630), in this sense means to contrive or plan, and makes an interesting connection between Athena the goddess of weaving, and Athena the goddess of wisdom (famously of Odysseus, and here of Lysistrata). The Odyssean Penelope was famously blessed by Athena with her weaving skills. Although Penelope's name is associated with πηνελοψ, a duck, a "model of conjugal fidelity"[83], it seems to me that a different link is more appropriate, as Rutherford[84] argues that "It is possible that Penelope's own name alludes to her famous task" - a

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79 1981b, p. 155.
80 Pomeroy 1975, p.72.
81 Pomeroy 1975, p.73.
82 Sommerstein 1994, p. 185, note on 446, suggests this refers to Cimon's last campaign in 451 or 450, and discusses the life of widowed women.
83 Russo 1992, p. 148, note on XXI. 1-2, and pp. 80-81, note on XIX 139-56.
84 1992, p. 151, note on XIX 139-56.

link with πήνη, meaning a thread on a bobbin, or in plural, a web. One might add another link, that with the diminutive πηνίον, a bobbin or spool. Penelope's best known piece of weaving, Laertes' shroud, demonstrated that she was also blessed with wisdom by Athena (XIX 137-56), particularly the wily wisdom with which Odysseus was also blessed. Where Odysseus weaves metaphorically in the *Odyssey*, his wife weaves literally, and Athena is patron of both people, and of both attributes[85]. Aelian describes Athena as "Πηνῖτιν θεάν", 'goddess of the loom'[86]. In *Thesmophoriazusae*, the chorus describe Mica, the first speaker, as being 'a woman of more intricate mind than they had ever heard' (434 πολυπλοκωτέρας γυναικὸς), and praise the garland-seller, the second speaker, for having 'such intricate thinking' (463 πολύπλοκον νόημ'). Again, the verb to weave, πλέκω (434, 463) comes to be associated with a complex mind, the intelligence and wisdom of Athena[87]. Apart from to weave, πλέκω also means to plait, twist or braid, an obvious link with the crafts worker, whether the male tasks of making ropes, hunting and fishing nets, or the female garland-seller. This link with the garland-seller is also an indication that the commercial work of women was an extension of their domestic work. The group of words derived from πλέκω are largely connected with women's work and with Athena: weaving, spinning and embroidery; they used bobbins in their weaving; they made baskets and other wicker pieces, and made wreaths; they plaited and curled their own and each other's hair. Another derivative meaning of πλέκω is of a sieve or strainer which is another link between Athena and women's preparation of ordinary food. As goddess of weaving, Athena must therefore have been associated with these other weaving-type tasks. I believe this proves that she was the goddess of all women's work, and this in her own right, not simply through our earlier contradistinction with the other goddesses.

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85 The similarities between the craft of weaving and crafty wisdom (the craft of wisdom?), and the fact that Athena is the goddess of both might also suggest a link between them in origin. Their association also reminds us of Odysseus and Penelope in the *Odyssey*, and of the Homeric phrase μῆτιν ὑφαίνειν (*Il.* III 212, VII 324, IX 93; *Od* IV 678, 739, IX 422, XIII 303, 386, XIX 137-56).

86 *NA* 6.57.

87 The verbs ὑφαίνω and πλέκω both mean to weave, and then to contrive, plan or invent. We can find other interesting associations of these verbs with Athena if we look more closely at some of their senses, Liddell and Scott 1940, pp. 1415, 1422, 1906. ὑφαίνω comes to mean to construct or create, which reminds us of Athena Ergane, patron of the crafts worker. This is not only the woman who weaves, but also the various male artisans, the carpenter, the smith, the potter, the boat builder. One meaning of πλέκω is to devise and contrive; and of poets it can mean to compose an ode or hymn, (π. ὕμνον) , to write a phrase or spoken word (π. ῥήματα), and to form the plot of a tragedy (π. λόγους). Given the association of Athena with weaving, (cunning) wisdom, and artisan skills, one must surely wonder whether there is an association between Athena and the skill of the poet and writer. And, since we know that the Muse inspired and was patron of the writer and poet, we might ask whether there is any link between Athena and the Muse.

We can take the issue of women's work and Athena further if we consider work as a daily subsistence task or as a chosen occupation. The work of the citizen woman was neither vocational nor occupational, it was the way in which the basic necessities of life were created. This work was also what we might call 'craft work', spinning, weaving, embroidery, and wreath making, and ideally all citizen women practised this group of crafts. The male occupations of farmer, politician or soldier were likewise neither occupational nor vocational, nor were they considered to be a *techne*, an artisan skill, whereas the occupation of the carpenter or sculptor were. Artisan skills were practised in the town or village, not in the fields, and they were done while one was not doing the subsistence tasks like farming, and not actively being a citizen (not being a soldier or participating in political activity). So as Athena Ergane, goddess of crafts, Athena was the goddess of some men, and of all women. This then supports our earlier interpretation of the Chalkeia festival for Athena Ergane. The way in which we have seen that women in drama associated their work with Athena and prayed to her in an informal manner, suggests further that the Chalkeia, the festival of Athena Ergane, would have been a festival not just of the male artisan, but also of women's work - the festival of some men and of all women. The festival therefore becomes a celebration of the close relationship between Athena and Athenian women, and witnesses the start of the weaving over nine months of the splendid and intricate peplos - the peplos which was the gift of Athenian women to Athena not only as goddess of the city, but also as goddess of their own skills: "A woman's skill in spinning and weaving is attributed to the grace granted her by Athena"[88].

Although this study is concerned more with Athenian citizen women, further evidence of the relationship between Athena and women in general is indicated by "the dedications that freedwomen made to Athena when they were released from obligations of their former owners"[89]. This is also indicated in three dedications in Athens by women to Athena[90]. The first[91], while chronologically least relevant (after 350BC), gives us the fullest information: a piece of handiwork is inscribed: "By her handiwork and skill, and with righteous courage, Melinna raised her children and set up this memorial to you, Athena, goddess of handiwork [θεὰ Ἐργάνη], a share of the possessions she has won, in honour of your kindness". Another[92], a monument in Athens dated 520BC, reads "Callicrate placed me here as a dedication to Athena". The third[93], an inscription on a black-figure vase in Athens, dated to the fifth century

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88 Pomeroy 1975, p. 5.
89 Pomeroy 1975, p. 73.
90 Lefkowitz and Fant 1992, pp. 218-19, 281-82, 162 respectively.
91 IG ii^{2}. 4334.
92 Raubitschek 1949, 348.
93 Lefkowitz and Fant 1992, p. 162, no 207.

BC reads: "I am Melosa's prize. She won a victory in the girls' carding contest". These I think prove not only the existence of the relationship between Athena and Athenian women, but also its intimacy and supportive nature, and its pervasion of the lives of Athenian women. The most appropriate place for a girls' carding contest was the Chalkeia festival, the festival of the goddess of weaving, the festival which celebrated the skill these girls were learning and competing in.

In the *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae*, wool and weaving are used as political metaphor. Lysistrata (567-86) uses an analogy of the entire process from washing the raw fleece to weaving a cloak to explain to the magistrate how peace and a panhellenic unity can be achieved. In *Thesmophoriazusae* (819-23), the chorus argue that women are thriftier and wiser than men because while men discard the weapons (and techniques) of their fathers and are constantly trying new ways of doing the same things, women preserve and use the loom and wool baskets (and techniques) which their mothers, or their mothers-in-law had given them[94]. Sommerstein[95] remarks of this that "whatever the legal rules of property and inheritance, articles of purely feminine use would in practice descend from mother to daughter or from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law (especially if these lived in the same house as they often would)". In the *Ecclesiazusae*, Praxagora (214-40) makes her rehearsal speech in which she uses the example that women never changed their methods for dyeing wool, as an argument for women being given the government. She also remarks that a mother would not neglect her soldier son, so the army would be well-fed; the implication also being that women would not send their sons (or husbands) out to unnecessary wars. These three instances, although used for comic effect, reflect the wisdom of the efficient housewife. Foley[96] remarks that "Lysistrata's strategies - the weaving of a cloak and the redirecting of public resources to peaceful purposes - are as appropriate to her public role as priestess as to that of housewife". These strategies of Lysistrata, her use of weaving and good-sense, reflect again the appropriateness of Athena's patronage of women's work and lives. Good sense and planning - attributes of the goddess of wisdom - are essential qualities for the efficient housewife (just as they are for the successful politician or general among men). However, we tend only to see such good sense in Lysistrata, the priestess, rather than in the housewife; and as we have already discussed, the role and person of the priestess were known to be exceptional.

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94 On women's preference for continuity rather than change, see Henderson 1987b, p. 113.

95 1994, p. 208, note on 822-23.

96 1982, p.9.

As goddess of wisdom, Athena inspired men in myth, epic and drama; the best known example of which is of course Odysseus[97]. That she was goddess of wisdom is generally understood to mean male wisdom (associated with Zeus and with her male attributes). However, as I have already indicated, Athena also inspired women with wisdom. The Odyssean Penelope is a famous example of this; and particularly since she was also skilled in weaving, and combined these two blessings of Athena in order to win time in her scheme with the shroud of Laertes. Penelope's combination of weaving and wisdom, together with Athena's protection of her, suggests that Athena was the personal patron of Penelope, just as she was of Odysseus. The clearest example in drama is Lysistrata who, throughout that play, demonstrates a calmness, sureness of purpose and wisdom which inspires the other women. Her wisdom is ultimately best shown in the victory of the women's actions, the scene of reconciliation between Athens and Sparta. From the entrance of the Spartan and Athenian peace delegates (1076) to the final choral ode (1320-21), during which episode Lysistrata takes on the role of reconciler and achieves peace, and during which she seems to become the personification of Athena's attributes of wisdom and reconciliation, no mention is made of the goddess. There is no need, she is on stage making peace in the person of her priestess. Three particular remarks, at the beginning of the episode, underline the wisdom of Lysistrata and the perception of her as wise. The Athenian delegate says to the Spartan delegate (1103-04) 'So why don't we summon Lysistrata, who is the only person that can make a settlement between us?'. The men finally turn to a woman in their hopes for a settlement to the end the war, that war which the men of the first half of the play so resolutely claimed was the business of men and not of women. Secondly, following the Spartan's agreement, the Athenian remarks (1106-07) that there is no need to summon Lysistrata since she is coming out anyway. Lysistrata's unprompted appearance occurs four times in the play (431, 706, 1108, 1273), "emphasising her mastery of the situation and her control of the Acropolis"[98], and indicating, I suggest, her god-like omnipotence. And thirdly, on her appearance, the chorus (or perhaps the women of the chorus) address Lysistrata (1108-11) with the intimacy and reverence with which they address Athena in their prayers.

In *Ion*, Kreousa shows her womanly wisdom when she knows what to say to Xuthus and what not to say, particularly when she realises that Ion was given to Xuthus by Apollo (1534-36) 'as friend to friend' so that Xuthus' house might have an heir, in the manner of Athenian adoptions. Athena herself confirms this when she tells

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97 Odysseus links weaving, wisdom and Athena, when he asks Athena, *Od.* XIII 386, to 'weave the design' by which he will rescue his house and family from the suitors.

98 Sommerstein 1990, p. 176, note on 431.

Kreousa and Ion (1602-04) to leave Xuthus in his happy ignorance. We can see here that Athena inspires good women just as much as good men with her wisdom. By means of her wisdom, women can run their *oikoi* efficiently and in such a way that ideally does not require her husband to be involved. The three examples given here are obviously exceptional: the Odyssean Penelope, the queen of Athens and descendant of Erechtheus, and the priestess of Athena Polias; but as examples of Athena's wisdom in women, they are representative. As goddess of wisdom, Athena bestowed her skill wherever it was deserved or required, whether on a man or woman, king, queen, priestess, citizen, or slave.

In Aristophanes' *Birds*, Peisetaerus refers to Athena as 'the Epikleros' (1653), and in Euripides' *Heraclidae*, the chorus invoke her as 'mother' (770-72). The existence of such cults obviously adds important dimensions to the idea of a woman's Athena.

In *Birds* (1653), Peisetaerus, in conversation with Hermes and Poseidon, refers to Athena as the Epikleros. Sommerstein[99] remarks that "Peisetaerus ... seems to presuppose that she is an *epikleros* now and that everybody knows she is". And Rogers[100] says "We may, with some confidence, infer from this passage that Ἐπίκληρος was a recognised appellation of Athene [in Athens]". Obviously Athena was not an epikleros since Zeus was not only still alive, but also had a legitimate son in Ares; and the epikleros situation could not arise among the immortal gods. Of course, Athena had been able to exercise her preference not to be married which an Athenian woman, particularly an epikleros, could not have done. But of the Olympians, Athena is the goddess in the most comparable position to an epikleros, and the one with whom the epikleroi could most easily identify. One of the most common styles of epithet of Athena refers to her as her father's daughter; she had access to and guarded his thunderbolt; and was her father's favourite offspring. Ares, Zeus' legitimate son, is rarely referred to by his patronymic, and is described (*OT* 215) as 'the god most dishonoured among the gods'; in *Iliad* V 889-98, Zeus seems to suggest that he would happily disinherit or even destroy Ares if he only could. And, relative to Athena, Zeus' other offspring are minor. Of all the gods, Athena was the most appropriate one to be patron of the epikleros. Although there is no evidence other than this reference of Aristophanes', it does seem likely that there was an Athenian cult of the Athena Epikleros. Given the Athenians' attitude to the gods, and their propensity to cults, and given that most other important aspects of life had a cult, particularly those relating to producing legitimate children, I think we should not

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[99] 1987, p. 305, note on 1653.
[100] 1913, p. 219, note on 1653.

be surprised to find that this cult existed. Assuming its existence, it becomes obvious that there is a need for it.

The epikleros was the daughter of a man who died without a legitimate son[101]. Athenian law stipulated that the daughter be married to the nearest male relative who declared himself. He then became *kyrios* of the woman, and managed her father's estate until their son, her father's heir, came of age and was able to inherit. The Athenian epiklerate laws were particularly strict, partly to cover all possible eventualities of a potentially complicated situation, but also as a reflection of the importance of the continuation and security of the oikos. For example, her family could dissolve her current marriage, and the male relative could divorce his wife in order to marry the epikleros. The position of the epikleros encouraged all parties to feel that they were acting in the best interests of both the oikos and the polis, and were doing their duty by Athens. Kreousa in the *Ion* is an example of an epikleros although she was married to Xuthus, not because he was a relative, but because he had fought for Athens in her time of need. As queen of Athens, Kreousa's situation was exceptional, and the politics of Athens would have played a part in such decisions.

The existence of such a cult provokes many questions relating to both its practice and its origination. For example, did the woman make a sacrifice to Athena when she became the epikleros - ie on her father's death, or when she was married, or when she gave birth to a son, or even on each occasion? Was there a temple or an altar to this Athena? Perhaps, since the perpetuation of the family line was so important to the polis, as well as to the oikos, the temple, altar, and priestess of Athena Polias were used for the cult. Each of these possibilities seems feasible, though it is quite possible that nothing will ever in fact be known. One can also speculate on the mythic origin of the cult. Poseidon would have been Athena's nearest male relative in the - human - event of Zeus' death, as Peisetaerus tells Hermes in *Birds* (1655-66). Athena and Poseidon fought over patronage and possession of Athens; and when Athena won it, she could be said to have won it as her κλῆρος, her possession and inheritance[102]. Can we then link these points to the cult? But whatever the background and practice of the cult, its existence provides another association between Athena and the very heart of the life of Athenian women. Athena was concerned for the safety and future of her polis and its people; the state of being an epikleros forced a women into a public position, akin only to a priestess, and into the probably unknown position of

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[101] For details of the epikleros' position, a particularly intricate legal position, see Harrison 1968, pp. 9-12, 132-38, 309-11 for a specifically legal perspective; and Schaps 1979, pp. 25-47.

[102] Although there is no evidence of Athena having Athens specifically as her κλῆρος, it would seem to be possible since Aes. fragment 463 refers to Cyprus as Aphrodite's κλῆρος.

being a topic for discussion by men. In this cult we see a bridge between the Athena of the man's world, of the polis, and the Athena of the women's world, of the oikos. And again it shows the prevalence of Athena in the lives of all Athenians.

The life of the Athenian woman, epikleros or not, is well described by Foley[103]: "the Athenian woman's ... primary function was to produce a male heir for the oikos of her husband, or, as an *epikleros*, for the oikos of her father". The role of mother was fundamental to her life. We should by now not be too surprised to find an association with Athena, even in this area[104]; although equally we should not by now expect to find much evidence or academic acknowledgement of it. We have already discussed her maternal role, her role as nurturer, in the Erichthonius myth. Homer uses maternal imagery of Athena twice in the *Iliad*: once of Menelaus (IV 127-33, she brushes an arrow away from him 'as when a mother brushes a fly away from her child who is lying in sweet sleep'), and once of Odysseus (XXIII 782-83 in the funeral games, Aias says Athena 'has always stood over Odysseus like a mother, and taken good care of him'); we saw in Chapter 2 how Athena took on the role of mother for Odysseus and Telemachus when necessary in the *Odyssey*. Pausanias[105] tells the story of the women of Elis: "They say the Elean women prayed to Athene to make them conceive as soon as they slept with their men, because the country was stripped bare of its youth; and their prayer was granted, so they founded a sanctuary of Athene under the title of the Mother". We have to ask why these women prayed to Athena in the first place; to do so was certainly contrary to the (male) image we have received of her. Although there is no evidence of a cult of Athena Mother in Athens, I think we can look at the evidence of the epithet Mother for Athena, and at her role as mother, a role model for Athenian mothers, and see this position as important to the overall image of Athena in Athens, and to her relationship with Athenian women. In Euripides' *Heraclidae* the chorus refer to Athena (770-72) as 'queen, mother, mistress and guardian of the polis and land'. From this reference I would deduce that there was probably not a cult of Athena Mother in Athens since the other titles are epithets and not cult titles. It would seem unlikely that a cult title would be among them without a more specific emphasis or indication of its superior status. The choral appeal to Athena as mother, μάτηρ, gives us the most direct indication of Athena in the role of a mother, although Wilkins[106] in his commentary fails to consider the

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103 1981b, p. 130.

104 In these discussions of Athena as 'mother' and of her 'maternal' role, I mean neither to stereotype the woman as mother, nor to negate the caring and protecting role of the father. Inasmuch as I stereotype, it is by following the segregated Athenian parental role, which is necessary in order to argue an important point.

105 5.3.2: trans Levi 1971, p. 202.

106 1993, p. 150, note on 771-72.

concept: "For μήτηρ as an address to a goddess who is not literally a mother cf ...". To reject the possibility of a maternal reaction in Athena (or in anyone who has not physically given birth) on the sole grounds that she is not a mother by choice, is to limit the possibilities of the goddess of the polis and to limit our perception of her. We have already seen how, as goddess of the polis, Athena is concerned for the well-being of the polis and its citizens, and that she protects them from both external and internal threats. To refer to her in the context of protector of the polis as a mother, or as displaying a maternal reaction seems entirely natural. To ignore this aspect of Athena is to concentrate only on her masculinised aspects and on her personality in myth, which we have seen is inimical to women. Loraux[107] describes Kreousa as "a father's daughter but also a woman who will turn out to be a mother" - I think we can now apply this to Athena whether as mother of the polis, mother of its people, or a role model for the real mothers. The mother's role of protecting her children from external threat and of reconciling internal arguments is also found, according to Dewald[108], in Herodotus. She argues that in about a third of Herodotus' references to women, they are portrayed in the context of family politics, where "they indicated several kinds of danger that the family confronts: aggression from without, natural causes and political strife from within".

In Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas*, the Argive Hippomedon fights at the fourth gate, which was said to be protected by Athena Onca whose altar was nearby. Eteocles, in choosing which of his men should defend that gate, says (501-03) 'Onca Pallas ... will fend him [Hippomedon] off, like a chill snake from a nestling brood'. Hutchinson[109] comments that "The image of anxiety ... is converted into an image of secure protection. The poet draws on the intimate relationship of the Athenians to Athena: her wings are over them (*Eu* 1001f)". Although this remark allows more than Wilkins' remark, it still fails to link Athena with such an obviously maternal image. The chorus of Euripides' *Phoenissae* prays to Athena in a manner which combines her mythic association with motherhood and her association with Thebes (1060-64): 'May we be mothers blessed in our children, dear Pallas, who by hurling a stone caused to flow the blood of the dragon'. In *Ion* the wreath from the sacred olive tree reminds us of Athena's gift of the tree to Athens, and of how quickly it grew back after the Persians burnt down the Acropolis[110]. In *Oedipus Coloneus* (694-706), the chorus sing an ode to Athena and the sacred olive in which (701) they refer to it as the 'nurturer of children', παιδοτρόφου, reflecting again Athena's association with

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107 1993, p. 211.
108 1981, pp. 92-93. She claims that this situation occurs in 128 of the total 375 references.
109 1985, p. 124, note on 503.
110 Hdt. 8.55.

nurturing and the maternal role. The *Eumenides* is a play in which Athena is consistently portrayed as protecting Athens and its people, and having their welfare at heart[111]. And although the imagery which Aeschylus uses does not suggest the maternal role (for example, 911-12 'For I, like a careful gardener, love and will preserve from grief the race of these just men', and 1001), Athena's actions and reactions to Athens and its people are exactly those of a mother, as are those which we see in the portrayal of her as the polis deity who protects her people from external threats and from internal strife. Here she resolves an argument, she is patient, tolerant and seeks peace and justice. She then calms the angered Erinyes and helps them to make the best of themselves in a way which will also be best for Athens internally, and which will enhance its external reputation. We can surely see Athenian mothers in this role, calming their children, sorting out their squabbles, and trying to teach them values and qualities which would in the future serve Athens. We see the human mother performing the role of negotiator and reconciler, keeping peace and harmony within the family[112]; but we more often see and use animal imagery to convey the mother who protects her offspring from external threat, for example, the mother lion and her cubs. These again are the actions of Athena in the *Eumenides*, and in her role as the polis goddess, the mother of the polis, as we have seen in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Given these descriptions of Athena as a mother or in a maternal role, we can relate it to Athenian women. As Shaw[113] remarks "The wife's virtues are demanded by the oikos, mother love, industry, and the ability to create harmony". We have now seen that they are also the skills of which Athena was patron, and with which she blessed women in their daily lives. Since the perpetuation of the polis through legitimate children was so fundamental to the polis, it is not impossible that the goddess of the polis should be associated in some way with those children[114]. These women who were taken from their father's oikos to the husbands in order to produce (male) children, worked at their daily tasks with Athena beside them, helping them to run the oikos efficiently, as we have seen. From there it seems feasible that Athena should also have a connection with their important role as mother, not as wife, for which they had Hera, nor in the act of childbirth, for which they had Artemis, but in the subsequent years of nurture (years which the infant death rate suggests were dangerous). That Athena is concerned with the mothering of the polis and its people

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111 See Chapter 3 for this discussion.

112 See Jocasta in Eur. *Phoen.* (81-82, 272-74, 446-637), who attempts to reconcile her sons; Arete, queen of the Phaiacians, of whom Athena says (*Od.* VII 74) 'She dissolves quarrels, even among men'; and of course Athena herself reconciling the two Ithacan factions at the end of the *Odyssey* (XXIV 528-48).

113 1975, p. 256.

114 For example, Kearns 1989, p. 24, argues that the Arrephoria, through its connections with the Erichthonius myth, was connected with childcare.

also suggests that this mother role had initially been reflected in her association with the nurture and protection of the people of the oikos, and that it was the mother role which was expanded or externalised, so that she became also mother to the polis[115]. Perhaps this role as mother is also reflected in Athena's role in the autochthony myths, since it was she who brought up Erichthonius, nurtured and protected him. And perhaps its being a myth, and therefore inimical to women, also explains why it was the earth who gave birth to him rather than the goddess of the city and people.

We have said that as goddess of the polis, Athena was concerned for the security and the future of the city, that she protected the Athenian children as future citizens, and protected the mothers who bore and raised them. Although Hera was the goddess of marriage, given Athena's role as protector of the citizens of the city, we might expect to find an association between Athena and marriage. Redfield[116] argues that "Athena ... has a role in the [Athenian] wedding, in that she provides the garments which are part of the luxury and charm of women ... In marriage ... the a-sexual arts [here: embroidery and weaving] of women take on a sexual charge; Athena and Aphrodite co-operate"; he also observes another link with Athena, the only gift of the bride was a weaving basket. But we should expect something connected more to the marriage than to the wedding, and more specifically a connection between Athena and the begetting of citizen offspring by married Athenians. According to the Suda[117], the priestess of Athena (presumably Athena Polias) was involved in the Proteleia, a ceremony at which the bride and her parents went up to the Acropolis and made a sacrifice to 'the goddess'. After the wedding, the priestess, wearing the sacred aegis, visited the bride and blessed the marriage. The Suda does not name the goddess who received the sacrifice at the Proteleia. Jordan[118] argues that it might have been either Athena or Artemis Brauronia, as an extension of the festival by that name which marked the transition from girlhood to marriageable age; and Brulé[119] links it only to Artemis. But I think the reference is clearly to Athena: εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ... εἰς τὴν θεὸν, Athena is *the* goddess of *the* Acropolis[120]. The

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115 This tallies with what seemed to happen to the Mycenaean palace goddess who protected the lives of the king and his family (the oikos), and in time this protection was extended to include the lives of the people of the king, in other words, to include his city (the polis), and so she became protecting goddess of the city. The arguments which relate Athena to the Mycenaean deity were discussed in the Introduction.

116 1982, pp. 194-95.

117 s.v. *proteleia* and *aigis*. See also Deubner 1956, pp. 15-16.

118 1979, p. 32.

119 1987, pp. 317-19.

120 The Proteleia is also referred to in Aes. *Aga.* 65, 218, 226 as a preliminary sacrifice to war as well as in the more specific and, Fraenkel argues (1950, pp. 40-41 on 62), the more correct sense of a preliminary to marriage. It also appears in Eur. *IA*, 433 and 718, where the reference is to the marriage sacrifice; in the latter reference, Clytemnestra asks Agamemnon whether he has made the sacrifice to the goddess, 'θεᾷ', again a usual reference to Athena.

reference seems indisputable to me. Luyster[121] remarks that the priestess' visit was "a custom evidently designed to promote the birth of offspring". This interpretation of the Suda links into our discussion of both Athena's association with the protection of current and future citizens, and her patronage of their mothers. Calame[122] and Schmitt[123] discuss the role of Athena (and of Artemis) as a guide for the Athenian adolescent female from girlhood to marriageable age, and Schmitt argues that because these girls will be the mothers of the future Athenian citizens, they are important to Athena. It would be appropriate for the priestess of the city goddess to bless marriages within the city with fertility[124]. This also recalls the *Eumenides* in which Athena "welcomes the Erinyes at the foot of her Acropolis, to protect the ... maternity and the fertility of Athens"[125] and so becomes the guarantor of Athenian marriage. Luyster, in arguing that Athena was a mother goddess (and an ancient fertility goddess), extends his discussion to the Amphidromia[126], the domestic ceremony held about five days after the birth of a child and which, he claims[127], was often held in honour of Athena Kourotrophos. Athena's association with births and marriage is found in two other places as well, in a dedicatory epigram[128]: "Callirrhoe dedicates to Aphrodite her garland, to Pallas her tress [plait] and to Artemis her girdle; for she found the husband she wanted, she grew up in virtue and she gave birth to boys", and according to [Aristotle][129] money was given to the priestess of Athena Polias at the birth and death of each citizen.

Having established this connection between Athena and marriage, we must now return to the *Lysistrata*. This play ends with Lysistrata, priestess of Athena Polias, who "stands Athena-like"[130] witnessing the reunion of the Athenian (and Spartan) husbands and wives, and as the priestess she blesses the renewed marriages. Surely this is another argument for identifying Lysistrata with the priestess of Athena Polias? It also suggests that Lysistrata would have been wearing the aegis perhaps throughout the play, but certainly at this point in order to bless the marriages (see above), and as a way of identifying her to the audience. Given Athena's association with the blessing of Athenian marriages through her priestess, the priestess can now represent herself

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121 1965, p. 137.
122 1977, i. pp. 239-40.
123 1977, pp. 1067-68.
124 This is also another link with the idea of Athena as an ancient earth or mother goddess.
125 Loraux 1993, p. 135.
126 See Garland 1990, p. 93-94 on this ceremony. It is likely enough, as Garland suggests, that it was held in honour of Hestia, "the protectress of both the home and family life", but Hestia is usually honoured in conjunction with other deities rather than on her own.
127 Quoting Eudocia 54 as his source (I have not been able to verify this).
128 Greek Anthology, IV. 59.
129 *Oeconomica*: ii.2.4; *TLG* cites the reference as *Oeconomica* 1347a.15-18.
130 Henderson 1987a, p. 215, on 1273-78.

fully and manifestly as Athena's representative or personification, and can perform on stage duties of her own which the audience would recognise, and by which they would identify her. Through this evidence, our image of Athena is now fuller still; that she blessed Athenian marriages forms a bridge (like her patronage of the epikleros) between the sphere of the oikos and the sphere of the polis. In blessing marriages, Athena is shown to be concerned for the fertility of marriages as well as protecting the mother and child. By the act of this blessing, Athena becomes involved in *every* aspect and significant occasion in the life of an Athenian woman. With this image we can truly discard the image of Athena as the masculinised goddess who denies her own femininity and ignores the existence of Athenian women.

Culham[131] remarks of the study of 'women in antiquity': "The first danger is sexism: adopting the point of view of our sources, denigrating a woman's individuality and identifying her completely with the family unit". In suggesting that Athena was patron of women's domestic tasks and of the Athenian mother, I do not mean to enforce on those women the stereotype of the woman existing only in relation to others (although I do not exclude the possibility that that was exactly the intention of Athenian men). On the contrary, I hope that by showing that women enjoyed a relationship with Athena which was independent of men and of nurturing, a relationship which centred on their creative skills (for example, weaving, especially since it must normally have been women who designed what was woven, and what was embroidered on to the cloth[132]), they were able to have something in their lives which was their own, and which reflected both their own innate independence and individuality, and that of Athena. Perhaps the male image of the masculinised, independent Athena helped the women to see their Athena as independent as well, and so to see themselves as capable of independence, even if only to a limited degree. These discussions indicate how central Athena was to the lives of the Athenian women, and likewise how central the concerns of Athenian women were to Athena. The cumulative effect of both of these is to show how important and central Athenian women in fact were to Athenian society. Dewald[133] reflects this centrality in her discussion of women in Herodotus: "Women do not only passively reflect the values of their cultures; in Herodotus's eyes, they are actively responsible both for creating social conventions and for maintaining them over time".

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131 1987, p. 12.

132 It seems to me, that there would also have been occasions, such as weaving the Panathenaic peplos, where although the polis authorities probably dictated the basic subject or design, the women weaving would have had an amount of independence in the actual creation.

133 1981, p.98

Through cult, inscription, Herodotus, and drama we have been able to establish that a relationship between Athena and Athenian women did exist. Beyond that, we have established that Athena was not only the patron of women's work, she was also the patron of Athenian women. And, importantly, blessing Athenian marriages. She helped them to run their oikoi smoothly as skilled and efficient housewives, through which they contributed to the internal strength of the polis. As patron of the Athenian mother, Athena helped the women raise and nurture their children, who were their contribution to the future of the oikos and the polis. Athenian women prayed to Athena in an informal and intimate way, reflecting the ease of the relationship, and the amount of time they spent in pursuit of Athena's skills. This reaction makes Athena's role more like that of an aunt, sister or friend than that of a formal patron deity. In view of her patronage of women's work and lives, I think we can interpret the Chalkeia as the festival not only of the male artisan, but also of the work of women. In it, women would have been able to celebrate Athena's skills, her wisdom, and her patronage of themselves. In this light, the peplos, in its size and glory, becomes a tribute to the women's Athena, a celebration of her skills and their work: a thank offering.

And yet, the existence of this relationship is not new, and nor is anything discussed here. It is rather that the concept has not been considered before, the connections have not been made, and the evidence has not been sought. Athena was goddess of Athens and protector of its people; it then follows that she will have protected the individual oikoi, and so will have helped the women who ran it using her skills (weaving and good-sense). Patterson's[134] remark confirms the importance of women in the Athenian polis: "to insist that *politai/Athenaioi* denied the female any part in their city is to distort the historical and linguistic record. A woman was not particularly visible in the political sphere, unless she stepped out into the light as priestess or *epikleros*, but her concrete, non-abstracted relationship with the Athenian land and family is an underlying reality of the Athenian polis and the Athenian language". I hope these discussions have shown the central and fundamental importance of the role of Athenian women in Athens, and have proved the existence of a real relationship between Athena and the women of her city, and that the extent and intimacy of the relationship has shown it to have been a fundamental part of the life and religion of the city; and that they have disproved the notion that Athena denied her own womanhood and ignored the existence of women in general, and Athenian women in particular. To consider the existence of a real and a useful relationship between Athena and Athenian women, I think adds to and deepens our

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[134] 1987, p. 63.

perceptions of both, and makes Athena's position as goddess of Athens and its people a fuller, more realistic, and more plausible one.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

We started with two fundamental contradictions in Athena: the warrior goddess who reconciled and who was patron of the artisan; and the goddess who appeared to have no connections with the women of her city, the patron goddess who disregarded half of her people. Using Homer and the plays of fifth century Athens, we have found not only that these contradictions can be resolved, but also that their resolutions have shown us a fuller and more meaningful Athena.

The contradiction between Athena the warrior and Athena the reconciler is resolved in the image of Athena as the goddess of the polis. In this role, the goddess who protects her people from external threats becomes a warrior, and goddess of victory; and the goddess who protects her people from internal threats becomes a peacemaker and a reconciler. The contradiction of the patron goddess who has no connection with the women of her city is not so much resolved as shown to be false. Rather than disregarding her women, we have seen that through her patronage (initially) of weaving, Athena is the goddess of women's work, and as such was with the women for a considerable amount of their working day. Within this, we were able to create an image of a community of women weaving and spinning together under the patronage of Athena, and this community was both independent of men and companionable for the women. We saw that through her patronage of weaving and of women's work, Athena was in fact involved in most aspects women's lives, and particularly in their adult lives. This relationship was also found in an apparently unlikely place, the Chalkeia festival. This was a festival which is generally thought to have been a festival of artisans in honour of their patron, Athena Ergane, and was celebrated by Athens' male artisans. However, this festival also witnesses the beginning of the weaving of the sacred peplos which was to be presented to Athena nine months later at the Panathenaia. We examined this aspect of the festival and applied Athena's patronage of women's work and particularly her patronage of weaving, to it, and we found that it was not only the festival of the male artisan, but also of the female artisan. A better description of the "female artisan", is simply the "woman worker" since ideally all citizen women practised the particular group of crafts of spinning, weaving, embroidery, or making wreaths. And, as goddess of crafts, as Athena Ergane, she was the goddess of some men, but also the goddess of *all* women. By interpreting women and their work in this more realistic way, the Chalkeia is first a festival for women to celebrate their work and Athena's patronage of it, and this is shown particularly in the ritually important act of the beginning of the weaving of the peplos there. This also suggests that the peplos, apart from being an

important element in the Panathenaia, was also the gift of Athenian women to the patron of their work, and marked a celebration of both their patron and their work.

We also discussed women's role in civic worship, their only publicly acceptable role, and an important and respected one. Through specific roles of women, for example as priestess or the Arrephoroi, we found more evidence for a relationship between Athena and women, and again that the relationship was one which was independent of men. The preliminary festivals to the Panathenaia, for example the Chalkeia, the Plynteria and the Kallynteria, are examples of this, and reflect the importance of women's civic functions, both in themselves and as reflections of the important roles which women were acknowledged to have in the community. Another example of this is the apparent existence of the cult of Athena Epikleros which confirms not only Athena's importance to women's lives, but its official recognition in a cult. Although the epikleros situation could manifestly not occur among the gods, Athena was the deity most easily associated with that human position. The epikleros position was socially important in Athens, as reflected by the complexity of the laws regarding it. Athena's cultic associations with this position reflects further the social importance of the epikleros, and also reflects Athena's role as protector of the polis, here the cohesion and continuity of both the oikos and the polis. It forms a bridge between Athena's role in the polis through the men, and her role in the oikos through the women. It also represents a link between Athena and the procreation of future citizens, and through that a link between Athena and motherhood.

The connection between Athena and motherhood underlines her essential role in the lives of women, and represents a continuity of her role as protector from that of protecting the current citizens to protecting the future citizens, as well as protecting the women who bore and nurtured those citizens. It also shows how the idea of Athena as denying women, motherhood and her own sexuality is both limited and limiting. Athena has a function as mother of the polis, mother of its people, and a role model for the Athenian mother, and this role is essential to Athens and to the self-perception of the Athenians - they live under Athena's protection (Aes. *Eum.* 1001) and are protected by her maternally. The patron deity of a city should obviously be concerned for the future of the city and this means not only protecting the city, but also protecting its people and particularly watching over the children who are the city's future and the women who were their mothers. We also discussed the role of the priestess of Athena Polias in Athenian marriages: in the Proteleia, the sacrifice to Athena by a bride and her parents, and more importantly in her visit, wearing the sacred aegis, to the recently married women in order the bless the fertility of the

marriage. This evidence further confirms Athena's concern for the future and security of her city and people, and her active role (represented by her priestess) in ensuring this security. It also shows how Athena is involved in every aspect and significant occasion of an Athenian woman's life.

By looking at the role of the polis goddess in this way, it becomes fuller and can be taken forward both usefully and easily. Athena the polis goddess becomes the protector from internal and external threats, the inspiration behind artisan and agricultural skills, and behind political and military skills; she also becomes mother to her people, is involved in their marriages, watches over their children, helps the mothers, and protects not only her current citizens, but also her future citizens, and the women who will bear and nurture those citizens. She will also be concerned for justice and for the progression of society, for example from personal revenge to a system of laws, as we see at the end of the *Eumenides*. In that play, we saw how the ultimate intention of such progress is internal peace securely established in which the city can flourish and its people live in safety.

If we perceive Athena in this way, each of her aspects and epithets is incorporated into the whole. And the whole is *the* goddess of Athens and goddess of *all* Athenians. One way of regarding the reconciliation of the diverse aspects of Athena with this whole Athena is to view it as though we had received a number of final products but without also receiving the knowledge of their source, or of their development from source to final product. In looking at the starting point, the end products and their connections become clearer. I think one can see from this point, how Athena might be perceived as having originally been an earth or mother goddess: but this thesis is concerned with the fifth century Athena and fifth century Athens, and that idea is therefore not a concern here, though I hope these findings might be of some use to those taking that path. This resolution of Athena enables the modern reader to view her not as a confusion of diverse and conflicting aspects, but as a single goddess, goddess of the polis. The significance of this single polis goddess Athena and further proof of the image, is also shown by the incorporation in the body of this thesis of each direct reference to her in the corpus of fifth century plays. The reconciliation of the goddess of the ancient Greek poleis allows us a perception of those poleis as being reconciled to their image of their goddess and of themselves. I think it also allows us to view the role of the goddess of the polis as the serious and fundamental contemporary concept which it appears to have been, but which was not easily comprehensible to us given the confusion surrounding the goddess. This interpretation of Athena as a single, reconciled whole also has implications for our perception of Athenian society. Through it we can more easily perceive Athenian

society as a unified whole, and without the fundamental social and religious exceptions or contradictions implied and created by the contradictions in Athena. From our perception of Athena as the reconciled goddess of the polis, I think we can also see how she could have been used to promote the ideal of panhellenic unity when that was politically expedient.

Why then did we not see this reconciled Athena previously? I think there are two reasons for this. First, as I remarked of the women's Athena, the evidence has always been there, but the questions have not previously been asked, or have not been asked in such a way which produced that answer (for example, Loraux[1] comes close to this idea, but her questions are not concerned with the reconciliation of Athena). Secondly, the Athena we most often see is the masculinised-Athena, the warrior and political goddess, born from Zeus' head, with no connection to her mother or to women. This Athena was increasingly used as the empire grew, to represent Imperial Athens as can be seen in the cult of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα, Athena guardian of Athens, which was an imperial cult, external to Athens. The clearest image we have received of Athena is Pheidias' Athena - intimidating, magnificent and a warrior - and the representative of the glory and might of the Athenian empire at its height. Herington[2] notes that "The goddess Athena whom Pheidias expressed in the sculptures of the Parthenon ... existed ... only in virtue of a certain balance of thought and politics", and as Harrison[3] remarks, this Athena was "the Tyche, the fortune of the city, and the real object of the worship of the citizens was not the goddess but the city". The Imperial Athena is the one reflected in and glorified by the re-building of the Parthenon, and I think this rebuilding reflects the increasingly close, contrived association of Athena with the fortunes of Imperial Athens and its empire. The rebuilding of the Parthenon presents an interesting situation for us to evaluate the attitude of the Athenians because of the number of factors involved (and the cumulation of those factors). It was not only a temple which had been destroyed (thereby offending a god), but it was the temple of Athena, who was not only the city's protecting deity, but also goddess of victory. The Athenians had ultimately been victorious in the war, and they owed their victory, of course, to Athena. And the reputation of Athens' standing both in the empire and as its head, was at stake and could ostentatiously be restored by the re-building and by the magnificence of the new buildings. Each one of these reasons demanded that the new building be marvellous to recompense and appease Athena and to reassure Athens of its strength, but cumulatively, they must have created immense pressure. Beyond all of this, and what

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1 1993.
2 1955, p. 66.
3 1903, p. 303.

I think was the greatest incentive to build on a magnificent scale (because it was the greatest blow to Athenian esteem), was the fact that the temple had been destroyed by the Persians, the ultimate enemy.

This Imperial Athena was the image of the goddess which has survived most ostensibly; this is the Athena associated with the Athenian empire, with Athenian politics and democracy, and ultimately with fifth century Athens. And it is the Athena of most of the surviving literature, art and inscriptions, which were almost entirely created by men, and almost entirely public. In contrast to this, the women's Athena was by definition private because women's work was private; and where their work was public, for example weaving the sacred peplos, it was the public Athena who was portrayed. Likewise for men, the artisan Athena or the private Athena was relevant to their occupations, their non-civic roles, and while they were working, they were not actively being a citizen and were not politically active. Again, when their work was public, for example the sculptures and friezes of the Parthenon, so the public Athena was portrayed. The Imperial Athena, then, is the one we generally imagine when we consider and study fifth century Athens. This Imperial Athena overwhelmed the other Athena, the more realistic Athena who was the patron of Athenian men and women, and who was involved in the everyday existence of the Athenians, and was celebrated privately. The Imperial Athena might have been a useful status symbol for Athens, and might have served an aegis-function itself for the city, but one cannot imagine the carpenter or the weaver invoking her with the familiarity in the prayers of their daily work and life with which we saw the women in the plays invoking their Athena. So we have not previously seen this single, reconciled Athena because the Imperial Athena and her magnificence have deafened our ears to the other side of Athena; the Athena who was concerned with the immediacy and reality of everyday Athenian life, who was concerned to inspire the carpenters as well as the soldiers, and who was concerned to protect the mothers and children of Athens as well as its soldiers.

The image of Athena the polis goddess is a complete image now, without contradiction. As the goddess whose concern is the well-being of her city and her people, she can be simultaneously the warrior and the reconciler, the warrior and the mother, inspirer of the soldier to kill and the artisan to create; involved in the running of the state and the running of the home, protector of the soldier and of the child. And finally having disproved the image of Athena as the masculinised goddess who denies her own womanhood and ignores the existence of women, she can be patron of both the men and the women of her city, enjoying an equally special relationship with each. At the end of the *Lysistrata*, we see Lysistrata, the priestess of Athena Polias,

who "stands Athena-like"[4] as she witnesses the reunion of the Athenian and Spartan men and women, blesses the renewed Athenian marriages, and watches the reconciliation of the Athenians and Spartans which she has achieved, and through which she has brought peace and stability back to Greece, and because of which the women could return to their work of running of the oikos, and the men to their work of running the polis. This image itself raises an issue: how similar was Athena's Spartan role to her Athenian role - did she also bless Spartan marriages? This question points the way to a further investigation. With regard to Athens, at any rate, we can say that Lysistrata's actions and achievements in this play can now be seen all the more clearly as actions within the spheres of the single Athena. Henderson's analogy is true indeed.

4 Henderson 1987a, p. 215 on 1273-78.

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