ATHENA AND ARES

AND

A COMPARISON OF THE TWO

AS

DIVINITIES OF WAR

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ATHENA.

OUTLINE--.

I Introduction.

II. Birth. p. 2.

III. Appearance. p. 3.


V. Worship. p. 11.

VI. Important God. p. 15.

VII. Goddess of War. p. 21.


IX. Goddess of Mind. p. 28.

X. Patroness of . p. 33.
I. AmniA.

The aim of this paper will be to set forth the conception of Athena as found in the principal early sources of Greek mythology, namely the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer; the Theogonia, Works and Days, and Shield of Heracles, of Hesiod; the Homeric Hymns; and the excerpts of Proclus from the Epic Cycle. Her birth, appearance, worship, and importance among the gods will be treated, also the modes of her manifestation to men and her prerogatives in dealing with them. The last will be found to be as follows: goddess of war, goddess of arts, goddess of mind, and patroness of heroes. The threefold province, war, arts, and mind, is attested in the following passages. The poet of the Hymn to Aphrodite says of Athena:

"Not to her are the works of golden Aphrodite pleasing, but instead wars and the work of Ares are a delight, and combats and battles and to care for glorious deeds. She was the first to teach earth-dwelling artisans to make chariots and cars decorated with bronze. And she taught splendid works to soft-skinned maidens in the megaras, adding to the intelligence of each. It is said of Penelope that she was "mindful at heart of those things which Athena gave her especially, knowledge of fair works and a noble mind and skill such as we never heard of in any one of the women of old". "As much as the Phaeacian men are skilled beyond others in sailing a swift ship upon the sea, so are the women skilled in weaving with the

2. Odyssey II, 116-118.
looms, for Athena gave them special skill in very beautiful work, and also noble minds".

II. Birth.

Her birth from the head Zeus is attested by Hesiod, who tells how Zeus swallowed Metis, his wife, when she was about to bear a child, "and he himself produced from his head bright-eyed Tritogenia". The additional point that she sprang forth in armor is shown in the following: "Tritogenia, whom Zeus himself, the counsellor, bore from his holy head, wearing arms of war, golden, all shining, and wonder took possession of all the immortals beholding and she rushed eagerly in front of aegis-bearing Zeus from his immortal head, brandishing a sharp javelin". The continuation of this passage indicates the effect of the great event upon the universe - the abode of the gods, earth, sea, and sun. "And great Olympus was shaken terribly by the mighty bright-eyed, and the earth about resounded fearfully, and the sea was set in motion, thrown into confusion with purple waves, and the brine was poured forth on a sudden, and the glorious son of Hyperion stopped his swift-footed horses a long time until the maiden, Pallas Athena, took from her immortal shoulders the god-like armor, and counsellor Zeus was glad."

5. Homeric Hymn to Athena, 4-9.
6. Homeric Hymn to Athena, 9-16.
This miraculous birth which was so great an event among the gods is continually recalled by the poets in the following expressions, which from their frequency became in nature like epithets:

*Ηνυφ Αίός*
Daughter of Zeus.

Iliad 3.
Odyssey 16.
Homeric Hymns 1.
Sh. of Her. 2.
Total 22.

*Δίος Θυράτης*
Daughter of Zeus.

Iliad 10.
Odyssey 4.
Sh. of Her. 1.
Total 15.

*Δίος Τέκνος*
Child of Zeus.

Iliad 10.
Odyssey 2.
Homeric Hymns 1.
Total 13.

*ἄρομποτήρ, Daughter of a mighty father.*

Iliad 2.
Odyssey 2.
Total 4.

The expression Τετομένα has evidently some meaning with reference to her birth, but the derivation of the first half of the compound is uncertain. We accept the whole word as an epithet without attempting explanation, and find that it occurs as follows:

Iliad 3.
Odyssey 1.
Theogonia 2.
Sh. of Her. 1.
Total 7.

III. Appearance.

The appearance of the goddess is suggested chiefly by descriptive epithets. The most common of all epithets applied to her is ἄλαμπνης, bright-eyed. It occurs as follows:

Iliad 30.
Odyssey 55.
Theogonia 4.

See Addenda pp. 45-46.
The gleaming of her eyes is mentioned in two places, each a situation of some excitement. After taunting Ares, whom she has overthrown in battle, "she turned away her gleaming eyes." When she is restraining Achilles from killing Agamemnon, "her eyes gleamed terribly." The descriptive epithets ἐπιλόκαμος, with well-arranged hair, and ἰωκόμος, fair-haired, occur a few times. They have no particular force as applied to Athena for they were used indiscriminately to indicate a feature of beauty in goddesses and women.

The distinctive attributes of dress assigned Athena were the aegis and helmet. These are described in the Iliad: "And among them was bright-eyed Athena wearing the very famous aegis, ageless, immortal, from which hung a hundred all-gold tassels, all well plated and each of the value of a hecatomb".

"And about her shoulders she placed the tasseled aegis, terrible, which is crowned on all sides with fear, and in it are strife and power and chilling battle-din. And upon her head she put the double crested helmet, with four peaks, golden, decked with soldiers of a hundred cities".

8. Iliad XXI, 415.
10. Iliad VI, 92, 273, 303.
11. See Odyssey VIII 452, XII 369, XI 318, Homeric Hymn to Dionysus (XXVI) 3. Odyssey XII 132, I 86, V 30, 125, 390, VI 198, 238, 135, 222, VII 41, 246, 255.
12. Iliad II, 446-449.
13. Iliad V, 738-744.
As further equipment for war she has the spear, and in one case used a chariot. "Upon the flaming chariot she set her foot and grasped her heavy spear, great and stout, with which she subdues the ranks of men who are heroes, with whom she, the great daughter of a mighty father, is angry". In works of art she is given these attributes, aegis, helmet, and spear, e.g., as portrayed on the shield of Heracles, "having a spear in her hands and a golden helmet, and an aegis about her shoulders". Her attire was the regular Greek dress only more beautiful. "Athena, the maiden, daughter of aegis-baring Zeus, cast off at her father's threshold her fine many-colored peplos which she herself made and toiled over with her hands and she put on the chiton of Zeus, the cloud-gatherer, and arrayed herself in armor for the mournful war". "She bound under her feet beautiful sandals, ambrosial, golden, which bore her over the water and the boundless land, swift as the blast of the wind".

Her descent to the earth is most often expressed by the following line: βὴ γὰρ Ὁλύμπῳ παρ' ἅθαλα. "And she went leaping down from the peaks of Olympus". Her movement through space was compared above to a blast of wind. Her approach to Nausicaa in a dream in the guise of her friend, the daughter of Dymas, is less majestic but more gentle. "And she like a breath of wind moved to the couch of the maiden."

15. Shield of Heracles, 199-200.
17. Odyssey I, 96-98.
Her descent into battle is compared to a star and to the rainbow. "Like a star which the child of the wily Kronos sent down, which is a bright portent to sailors and to the broad camp of the people and from which sparks dart forth - like this Pallas Athena leaped to the ground and sprang into the midst and wonder seized those who saw." "As from heaven Zeus stretches for mortals the gleaming rainbow to be a sign of war or of chilly storm which makes men cease from work upon the earth and afflicts the flocks, so, having clothed herself in gleaming cloud, Athena entered the host of Achaeanites and roused each man." But an element of delicacy even in time of war is suggested in the simile used of Hera and Athena who have come down in a chariot, "And the two goddesses went their way with steps like turtle doves".

IV. Mode of Appearance to Men.

Athena's appearances to men were made principally under disguises so various that Odysseus, who was permitted to talk with her in her divine character, said, "It is hard, goddess, for a mortal meeting you to recognize you even though he is very wise, for you liken yourself to everything", 

The forms she assumed were those of human kind or of birds. The former may be divided into two general classes, the disguise as some known person and the disguise as one of a class of persons, e.g. heralds. Instances of the first class are as follows. When she wished to rouse the Trojans to break a truce "she went through the throng of Trojans like a man in form, Laodicos, the son of

20. Iliad IV, 75-79.
21. Iliad XVII, 547-552.
23. Odyssey XIII 312-313.
Antenor, a mighty spearman." She spoke to Menelaus in the form of the herald, Phoenix, to Hector in the form of his brother, Deiphobos. She went through the city of the Phaeacians as the herald of king Alcinoos, and through Ithaca as Telemachus. She came to Telemachus once as Mentes, a friend of Odysseus, and twice as Mentor, an old Ithacan. As Mentor also she appeared in the midst of the fight between Odysseus and the suitors and in his conflict with the Ithacans. She counselled Nausicaa in a dream under the guise of her friend, the daughter of Dymas.

The second class of human disguises, in which she was recognized as one of a class but not as a particular individual, is exemplified in the passage, "Beside Odysseus bright-eyed Athena looking like a herald compelled the people to be silent". Her appearances to Odysseus were many of them of this sort. In Phaeacia she guides him to the king's palace "in the guise of a young maiden carrying a jar". She helps him in the athletic contests there by marking out the limits, "like a man in form". She meets him when left alone on the shore of Ithaca, "in form like a young man, a herder of flocks, all tender, such as are the sons of rulers, wearing a well-made double mantle. And she had sandals under her shining feet and in her hands a spear."

27. Odyssey VIII, 8. 33. Odyssey VI, 22.
36. Odyssey VIII, 194.
After talking with Odysseus a short time in this disguise she changes her form to that of a "woman beautiful and large and skilled in cunning work". This change of form in the presence of a mortal is a unique occurrence and there are several considerations which go to show that the form last assumed is the goddess's real, divine appearance. First, there is now no reason for disguise, but every reason for a revealing. Odysseus is too wily to tell the truth to the supposed shepherd, and it is necessary for the welfare of his interests that he receive and accept careful counsel from the goddess herself at this time. Therefore, she wishes him to know that it is she. Second, there was no need for the change and no significance in it except in order to reveal herself. Third, it is evident that the change does tell him who she is, for her words imply that she knows she is recognized before she mentions her name. Fourth, the description is in full harmony with her character in the Odyssey as goddess of women's work and of mind rather than the war divinity as in the Iliad. Further, Athena's subsequent appearances entirely bear out the idea that she allowed Odysseus, and him only, to see her undisguised.

38. Odyssey XIII, 296-299. "But come let us no longer talk of these things, for we both know wiles, since you are far the best of all mortals in counsel and speech, and I claim to be the best among all the gods in guile and tricks."
39. Compare Sec's. I, VIII, IX.
40. Compare Sec's. I, VII, X.
She appears four times after this in the story of the Odyssey. Two of these were public appearances in which she assumed the guise of Mentor, as mentioned above. The other two were to Odysseus alone. She comes to the swineherd's hut, the day after the event just discussed, to restore Odysseus from his disguise of beggar to his natural appearance in order that Telemachus may recognize his father. The description of Athena is exactly the same as above. It is to be noted that Telemachus was not allowed to see her, "for the gods do not appear visibly to all men. But Odysseus saw her, and the dogs, and they did not bark, but whining fled to the other part of the place". The effect upon the dogs could hardly have been made by a god who looked simply like a mortal woman. Once afterward she came to Odysseus as he lay awake, troubled, in his own house. She was "in form like a woman". Odysseus has no doubt of her identity, though she does not indicate it in her words till after he has recognized her, for he calls her "goddess" and expresses his fear lest he shall kill the suitors, according to her will and that of Zeus, and have no means of escaping vengeance. On all these things that trouble him he asks her advice. She then speaks of her power as a god and quiets his fears. Here again an undisguised appearance of his patron goddess to Odysseus is quite clearly indicated. A like appearance is recorded in the Iliad. Athena comes to Achilles to restrain his anger with Agamemnon. "She stood behind and

42. Odyssey XVI, 159-160.
43. Odyssey XVI, 161-163.
caught him by his tawny hair, appearing to him alone, and no one of the others saw her. But Achilles wondered and turned about and straightway recognized Pallas Athena, and her eyes gleamed terribly." In this case also she was evidently not disguised and was seen only by the favored hero.

Of forms other than human, Athena assumes only those of birds. During the Trojan War she and Apollo, having brought about a pause in the battle, "in the guise of birds of prey sat down upon a tall oak of their father, aegis-bearing Zeus". The bird of prey was a fitting emblem of the war-goddess and its presence near the field of battle natural.

Athena, descending at the bidding of Zeus to distil nectar into the breast of Achilles, "like a long-winged, shrill-voiced falcon leaped forth from heaven through the upper air". Swiftness and sureness are suggested by this description. After guiding Telemachus to Pylos unrecognized in the guise of Mentor, Athena left him and went away "in the form of a sea eagle". A similar occurrence takes place during the fight of Odysseus with the suitors. Athena as Mentor encourages Odysseus and shortly "darting up to the roof-beam of the smoky megaron she sat down, like a swallow in presence." Again a bird appropriate to the situation has been chosen.

Later in the fight she is said to wave the aegis from above, but her appearance is not described.

44. Iliad I, 197-200.
45. Iliad VII, 59-60.
46. Iliad XIX, 350-351.
47. Odyssey III, 371. Her departure from Telemachus in Ithaca is not the same. She is said to fly away ὑπερτερόν while in this case ἀναστήσατο and in the others cited some form of ἄνω is used.
In most of her appearances in human form Athena is strikingly human in word and action. She is just like the person whose form she takes. For example, as Mentes, the stranger, she comes to the house of Odysseus where she is received and entertained by Telemachus as any guest would be. She converses with him on the topics most natural to one who claims to have known Odysseus, and even her advice does not show superhuman intelligence. In fact, the only superhuman feature of the event is her disappearance into the sky. Again, as Mentor, she is with Telemachus on his journey to Pylos and arouses no suspicion of her divinity until she disappears in the form of an eagle. As the Phaeacian maiden carrying water, who guided Odysseus through the city, and as the man who was friendly to him in the contests, she played the human part completely. In some cases a divine element is more discernible, though still masked under a mortal guise. In a very few cases, as we have seen, she appears in her own personality.

V. Worship.

There is no complete account in any of our sources of the worship of Athena, but from incidental mention some information can be gathered. The only shrine of Athena which is spoken of is in Troy in the upper city. That it contained a statue of Athena will appear in the account of the worship given below. Probably this statue was the zoanon to which Cassandra fled for protection during the sack of Troy and from which she was torn by Ajax. In Phaeacia was "a splendid

52. Odyssey VII, 20-81. 55. See excerpt by Proclus from the Sack of Ilium.
grove of Athena, near the road, of black peplars, and in it a spring and about, a meadow." After a service to Odysseus in Phaeacia, it is said that Athena "went away to the barren sea and left lovely Scheria and came to Marathon and to broad-street-ed Athens and entered the strong house of Erechtheus". This is evidently an Erechtheum and the implication is that she was at home there. The following shows that the shrine was hers originally. The Athenians are spoken of as "the people of great-hearted Erechtheus, whom once Athena fostered, when the grain-producing earth bore him, and placed in Athens, in her rich shrine and there the sons of the Athenians propitiate him with bulls and goats as the years roll around."

The method of worshipping the goddess in Troy may reflect Greek forms, either as a transferred worship or because a Greek bard would naturally tell of the worship as he knew it. The Trojan women perform the ceremonies to the maiden goddess. Though appropriate, this need not be taken in general significance for in time of war it was the part of the women to propitiate the gods while the men fought. Hecabe sent her maids to gather together the old women of the city. She herself chose the most beautiful peoples in her store and led the way.

"And when they came to the shrine of Athena in the upper city, fair-cheeked Theano, daughter of Cisses and wife of horse-taming Antenor, opened the doors for them, for the Trojans had made her priestess of Athena. And they all stretched out their hands to Athena with a wail, and then fair-cheeked Theano

took the robe and placed it upon the knees of fair-haired Athena
and she prayed and made a vow to the daughter of great Zeus.

Her prayer was that Diomedes might be overthrown, and her vow to
sacrifice in the temple twelve cattle, sleek and ungoaded, in
hope that the goddess might pity the wives and children of the
Trojans. Another case of special prayer and sacrifice is re-
corded in the Odyssey. When Athena, who came with Telemachus
to Pylos as Mentor, flies away as a bird, Nestor perceives who
she is and prays for glory for himself, his sons and his wife,
and promises to sacrifice "a sleek, broad-browed heifer, untamed,
which a man has never led under the yoke", and to gild her horns
with gold. Shortly after this he prays again, pouring out a
libation to Athena. The next day the sacrifice is made with
much ceremony. The victim is brought from the fields, the com-
panions of Telemachus called from the ship, and a goldsmith summon-
ed to gild the horns, "and Athena came to meet the sacrifice.

And the old knight, Nestor, gave the gold and the goldsmith then
poured it about the horns of the heifer, adorning them in order
that the goddess might be glad when she saw the glory. And
Stratios and goodly Echephron led the cow by the horns, and
Aretos came from the thalamon, bringing water in a shining basin
and in the other hand he had barley in a basket. And Thrasymedes,
steaun~c in battle, having a sharp axe in his hand, stood near
to cut off the head of

59. Iliad VI, 297-304.
60. Odyssey III, 382.
61. Odyssey III, 393-4
62. Compare Poseidon's going to the
Aetheopians to meet the hecatomb of bulls
and goats, Odyssey I, 22-25. Evidently
there was a belief in the presence of
the god, visible or invisible, on such
occasions.
the cow, and Perseus held the bowl. And the old knight, Nestor, began the washing and the sprinkling of the barley and he prayed fervently to Athena when beginning, casting the forelocks into the fire. But when they had prayed and scattered barley, straightway Nestor's son, high-spirited Thrasymedes, standing near, gave the blow, and the axe cut the sinews of the neck and loosed the strength of the heifer. And the daughters and daughters-in-law and the honored wife of Nestor, Euridice, the eldest of the daughters of Clymenos, raised a cry. The men then, lifting up the head from the wide-wayed earth, held her and Peisistratos, captain of men, cut her throat. Then her black blood flowed forth and strength left her bones. Then quickly they poured out the blood and cut off all the thighs according to custom and covered them with fat, laying it on two-fold and put on them bits of meat. And the old man burned them on split wood and poured on gleaming wine, and the young men beside him held five-pronged forks in their hands. But when he had burned down the thighs and they had tasted the vitals, they cut up the rest and pierced them with spits and roasted them, holding the sharp-pointed spits in their hands." Such was the ceremony of sacrifice. The Pylians also are said to have sacrificed a heifer to Athena, praying for success in the war with the Eleians. Diomede, when starting out with Odysseus to spy out the Trojan camp, makes this vow to Athena. "Stand by me now willingly and protect me and I will sacrifice to you a yearling heifer, broad-browed, unbroken which a man has never led under the yoke. Her will I sacrifice to you, having gilded her 63. Odyssey III, 435-463. 64. Iliad XI, 729,736.
It would appear from these instances that the heifer was the regular offering to Athena, but in one place mention is made also of the sacrifice of goats.

Athena was recognized particularly in libations by Telemachus and his companions on shipboard the first night of the journey to Pylos, also by Odysseus and Diomede in gratitude for success as spies. Again when about to set sail home, Telemachus "prayed and sacrificed to Athena beside the stern of his ship." Instances of prayer to her for help without any special act of worship will be treated under the topic of her assistance of certain heroes.

VI. Important God.

The importance of Athena among the gods is indicated by her close connection with Zeus. She is frequently named along with him and Hera and Poseidon and seems to have ranked with Apollo. The phrase ἂν πάσα, Ἐὔτατο πάτερ καὶ Αθηναία καὶ Ἀπόλλων, used in the expression of a wish, is common.

Agamemnon remarks, "If Zeus, the aegis-bearer, and Athena grant me to sack Ilium," and Hector says, "Would that I were thus a child of aegis-bearing Zeus all my days and the lady Hera bore me and I were honored as Athena and Apollo are honored, so now would this day bring utter ruin to all the Argives." That Athena was the favorite child of Zeus is indicated in the complaint of Ares regarding her, - "But this child you do not chasten

68. Odyssey XV, 222-223.
70. Odyssey IV, 341, VII 311, XVII 132
71. Odyssey XXIII, 235, XXIV 376.
72. Iliad XIII, 825-829.
at all either in word or deed, but you urge her on, since you
yourself produced the destructive child." Her seat among the
gods was next to Zeus, for when Thetis comes to their council,
she takes a seat beside Zeus, Athena yielding her place.
She wears his chiton, going to his house as if it were her
home, where she arms for battle.

Their relation appears in an interesting light when
she is angry with Zeus for aiding the Trojans. She says,
"Now he hates me and fulfils the plans of Thetis." "Indeed
the time will come when he will again call me his dear bright-
eyed." Before that time comes, however, Zeus has occasion
to threaten to break the knees of Hera and Athena's horses
and cast them out of their chariot and break it in pieces, and
that ten years will not heal the wounds they shall receive from
the thunderbolt, "in order that the bright-eyed may know how
it will be when she fights with her father." This is an
instance of the clash of wills, in which Zeus is of course
superior. But Athena and Hera's spirit is as unquenchable
as his, for they sit apart from him and will not speak to him,
but mutter and plan ills for the Trojans. Of Athena particular-
ly it is said, "Then truly Athena was silent and did not speak
at all, being angry with Zeus, her father, and fierce anger
seized her". At another time Athena is vexed because Zeus
has asked the gods whether they will allow Hector to die at the

73. Iliad V, 879-880.
74. Iliad XXIV, 100.
75. Iliad VIII, 375-6, 384-7.
See also Iliad XIX, 355.
76. Iliad VIII, 369.
77. Iliad VIII, 372.
78. Iliad VIII, 406.
79. Iliad VIII, 459-60.
hands of Achilles, as it was long before fated. She tells him, in anger, to save Hector if he pleases, but insinuates her undying wrath if he does. Zeus then very gracefully backs down, saying, "Have courage, Trito-born, loved child, I did not speak at all with resolute purpose, but I wish to be kind to you. Do whatever is your intention and do not draw back." In other cases his partiality is shown incidentally in his way of addressing her, e. g. ΤΕΜΥΝΩΤ ἐμῷ; my child.

The high rank of Athena is further indicated by her assumption in a few instances of prerogatives which belong peculiarly to Zeus. On one occasion she sends an omen. Diomede and Odysseus were setting forth in the night to spy out the Trojan camp. "And to them did Pallas Athena send an omen on the right, a heron near their way, and they did not see it through the dark night, but they heard its shrill cry." Again, with Hera Athena wields the thunder. Agamemnon is arming himself and the gleam of his spear is said to shine into heaven, "and Athena and Hera thundered at it, honoring the king of very golden Mycenae." The most startling manifestation of her power, however, is her control of Dawn, whom she prevents from appearing, that Odysseus may have a longer night in his own home before he must flee on account of his murder of the suitors. "She held the long night in its course and checked Dawn at the streams of Oceanus and did not allow her to yoke the swift-footed

80. Iliad XXII, 183-186.
81. Iliad XIX, 342.
82. Iliad X, 274-276.
83. Iliad XI, 44-46.
horses which bear light to mortals, Lampos and Phaethon, the steeds which draw the Dawn."

Athena invaded also the province of Poseidon in several instances and controlled the winds over the sea. For Telemachus on his voyage to Pylos and on his return from Pylos she sent a favorable wind. It is clear, however, that she does not overrule Poseidon in his own sphere, for when he has raised against Odysseus a destructive tempest, and Odysseus is almost overcome, she does not attempt to succour him till Poseidon has left the scene. Then, "she made the other winds sink and commanded them to cease and all to sleep, but stirred up lively Boreas and broke the waves before him in order that Zeus-born Odysseus might avoid fate and mingle with the oar-loving Phaeacians."

Some other manifestations of power of different sorts may be mentioned in this connection. Odysseus, explaining the change of his appearance from that of a beggar to that of a hero,

84. Odyssey XXIII, 243-246. Compare Joshua 10:12-13. Joshua made the sun and moon stand still until the nation had avenged themselves upon their enemies.
86. Odyssey V, 380-381. Another instance of the restriction of her action by the enmity of Poseidon to Odysseus occurs soon after. Odysseus is now in Phaeacia, the land of the people of Poseidon. He sits in the grove which is sacred to Athena and prays to her to help him among the Phaeacians. "And Pallas Athena heard him. But she did not appear before him, for she respected her father's brother who was exceedingly angry with god-like Odysseus before he came to his land." This can only mean that she did not come to him openly as a god, for immediately afterward she does come in the guise of a girl carrying water, and renders him valuable assistance. Odyssey VI, 328-331.
says, "This is the work of Athena, who drives away the spoil, who makes me whatever she wishes (for she is able) at one time like a beggar, at another like a young man wearing beautiful clothing. It is easy for the gods who hold the broad heaven to beautify a mortal or disfigure him." In this instance and a former one she uses a wand, \( \delta \alpha \beta \alpha \varepsilon \). In line with such transformations is the shedding of grace or charm over a favorite, usually in connection with the bath. Probably the idea is due to the freshness and bloom imparted by the bath. After Odysseus had bathed in the stream in Phaeacia, Athena made him "taller to see and stouter, and down from his head hung thick locks like a hyacinth flower. And as some skilled man pours gold over silver, some one whom Hephaistos and Pallas Athena have taught skill of all kinds and he fashions graceful works, so then she poured grace upon his head and shoulders." A similar transformation is wrought in Laertes, in Telemachus, and in Penelope. In the last two cases the refreshing agency was sleep instead of the bath.

Athena herself when disguised as Mentor, makes an interesting statement as to a limitation of all the gods. She says, "But death, the common lot, not even the gods can ward off from a dear man, when baleful fate of death that lays men low overpowers him." A case occurs, however, of Athena's fixing the fate of a man. Odysseus tries to warn a suitor, Amphinomus,

89. Odyssey XVI, 172, XIII 429. 94. Odyssey III, 236-238.
to get away. "But not thus did he escape fate, but Athena
bound him to be subdued mightily beneath the hand and spear of
Telemachus." Again she brings the day of fate to Hector
at the hands of the son of Peleus.

Athena's powerfulness is spoken of in a general way
in the following passages. A vision sent by Athena to comfort
Penelope, says concerning the voyage of Telemachus, "Take cour-
age, do not fear too much in your heart, for so great a guide
goes along with him, one whom other men pray to stand by them,
for she is powerful, Pallas Athena." Telemachus says to
Odysseus, who has asked him if he considers Zeus and Athena
sufficient helpers for them, "These two whom you name are noble
helpers, sitting on high in the clouds, and they ruled over all
others, men and the immortal gods." This last remark is of
course not entirely true as applied to Athena, but indicates her
importance in the minds of men. Her superiority to Ares in
the realm of war will be treated at length in a later section,
as will also her great power as goddess of mind.

It remains to name a few epithets expressive of the
honor in which the goddess was held. *πολλη όρν', most glorious,
παρ-κρίθηκα, far-famed, παιδία, revered, *πολλη όρν', glorious god.

95. Odyssey XVIII, 155-6.
96. Iliad XV, 612-614. The expression here is, *περι το "παρεανον" being the word regularly
used for stirring up war, it is evident that Athena is thought of as bringing fate only as the inciter of war.
97. Odyssey IV, 325-328.
98. Odyssey XVI, 263-265.
100. Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo, 130.
101. Iliad VI, 305, Theogonia 925.
102. Homeric Hymn to Athena, I.
VII. Goddess of War.

Evidence that was a special province of Athena has already been cited. The discussion of her in this function at this point will not be exhaustive, but will be supplemented by a comparison of her with Ares. As further evidence that she was regarded primarily as a goddess of war, we have the following. Zeus says to Aphrodite, "Not to you, my child, are works of war given, but these all shall be the care of swift Ares and Athena." It is said of Diomede that "he attacked Cypris with pitiless steel, knowing that she was a cowardly goddess and not of the goddesses who rule the war of men, neither Athena nor city-wasting Enyo." When Athena leaped like a star from heaven to earth, "Each man said to his neighbor, 'Truly again there will be evil war and dreadful battle din or else Zeus has shown kindness to us both, he who as controller of the war of men has made it.'" Though in this case the control of war is referred back to Zeus, Athena is his recognized agent. Hesiod, in telling of Athena's birth, said, "He produced from his head the bright-eyed Triton-born, terrible, strife-engendering, leader of the army, tireless, revered, to whom the battle din and wars and battles are dear." She was described as fully armed at birth, armed and war-like as portrayed on Heracles' shield, and a divine warrior as respects her attributes of dress.

104. Iliad V, 428-430.
105. Iliad V, 330-333.
106. Iliad IV, 81-84.
108. Homeric Hymn to Athena, 5,6, 9,15. Sec. II above.
110. Section III above.
The impression of a warlike divinity is enhanced by the number and frequency of war-epithets applied to Athena.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{\'av\varepsilon\varepsilon\iota\nu,} } & \text{ Iliad 5.} \\
\text{driver of the spoil.} & \text{Odyssey 2.} \\
\text{\textit{\'a\tau\rho\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\eta,} } & \text{Theogonia 1.} \\
\text{unwielded.} & \text{Shield of Heracles 1.} \\
\text{\textit{\textsigma\vartheta\nu\nu\nu,} } & \text{Iliad 4.} \\
\text{severely.} & \text{Odyssey 2.} \\
\text{\textit{\textsigma\nu\vartheta\iota\omicron\nu\lambda\iota\varsigma,} } & \text{Theogonia 1.} \\
\text{savior of the city.} & \text{Total 9.} \\
\text{\textit{\textsigma\nu\sigma\iota\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma,} } & \text{Iliad 2.} \\
\text{terrible.} & \text{Total 7.} \\
\text{\textit{\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\nu\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron,} } & \text{Iliad 2.} \\
\text{strife-engendering.} & \text{Total 3.} \\
\text{\textit{\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\sigma\vartheta\omicron\alpha\omicron\omicron,} } & \text{Iliad 1.} \\
\text{leader of the army,} & \text{Homerio Hymn to Athena 1.} \\
\text{\textit{\alpha\lambda\nu\nu\nu\nu,} } & \text{Total 2.} \\
\text{valian.} & \text{112. Theogonia 1.} \\
\text{\textit{\alpha\lambda\nu\lambda\omicron\nu\nu\omicron,} } & \text{Iliad 2.} \\
\text{the guardian.} & \text{113. Theogonia 1.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

114. Homerio Hymn to Athena 3. Iliad VI 305. 
115. Theogonia 925. 
116. Theogonia 925. 
117. Homerio Hymn to Athena 3. 
118. Iliad IV 8, V 908.
It is in the Iliad principally that Athena appears as the goddess of war. In the early part of the story she acts chiefly as the agent of Hera or Zeus. She is sent by Hera to restrain the anger of Achilles and again to restrain the Greeks from returning home before the fated time. She is sent by Zeus, at the bidding of Hera, to stir up the Trojans and lead them to break their truce with the Greeks. In each case Athena's action is entirely in accord with her own inclinations, but it is done on the authority of a higher god. Another such instance is mentioned by Nestor in a story he tells of the fight of the Eleians and Pylians. He says, "Athena came running to us from Olympus by night with the message for us to arm ourselves." In the fight about Patroclus Athena is said to have "led the strife, coming done from heaven, for far-seeing Zeus sent her to rouse the Danians, for his mind was changed." In the last two cases she is thought of as the god whose right is was to assist her heroes, but who, like all the gods, is directed more or less by the will of Zeus.

The ways in which Athena takes part in war are first, inciting men to fight; second, giving them courage and strength; third, protecting them from injury; fourth, fighting like a warrior herself.

Her method of inciting men to fight is illustrated in the following: "She entered the crowd of Achaeans and roused each man. And first she spoke to the son of Atreus, strong Menelaus, for he stood near, rousing him, being like Phoenix in form and

120. Iliad II, 155-6, 163-4. 123. Iliad XVII, 543-546.
121. Iliad IV, 70-3.
voice. 'To you indeed, Menelaus, it will be a shame and re-
proach if the swift dogs shall drag the faithful comrade of
noble Achilles under the walls of the Trojans; but hold your-
self in might and rouse all the host.' It is to be noted
that she makes an appeal, by means of speech, to the soldiers' 
bravery, sense of honor, and pride, rather than by some super-
human means firing him with a desire to fight. A striking 
illustration of her persuasive powers is the case where in the 
guise of a fellow Trojan she induces Lycaon, against his will, 
to shoot Menelaus, contrary to the oaths of truce, and thus win 
glory and reward. In some such way she "roused the Achaean 
going through the throng where she could see the loiterers". 
Again, "Flashing along with the aegis she passed through the 
host of Achaean urging them on and roused courage in the 
breast of each to make war and to fight unceasingly. Then war 
became sweeter to them than to sail in the hollow ships to their 
native land." This is an approach to the idea of infusing 
courage and strength. The following is a clear case. Menelaus 
prayed to Athena for strength to fight about the body of Patroclus 
"And she put strength into his shoulders and his knees, and in 
his breast she put the persistence of the fly, which, though 
kept off many times from the skin of a man, is eager to bite, 
and the blood of man is sweet to it. With such courage she 
filled his heart which was black on both sides." On one 
ocasion she put strength and courage, μένων καὶ θαρρός, 
into Telemachus, and Odysseus once asks her to give him these

125. Iliad IV, 93-102. 128. Iliad XVII, 567-673; see also 
See also Iliad XVII, 552. 129. Odyssey I, 321-2.
qualities as she did in the Trojan war. In his prayer for strength, mentioned above, Menelaus asked also for protection from the darts. The office of protector is one often assumed by Athena, especially for individual heroes as will appear later. One citation here will illustrate the conception. "Standing before Menelaus, she warded off the bitter arrow and turned it aside from the skin, just as a mother drives away a fly from her sleeping child."

That Athena was conceived also as a warrior actually fighting is indicated in the passage quoted above. Again, "She seized her stout spear tipped with sharp bronze with which, thick and strong, she vanquishes the ranks of heroes with whom this daughter of a mighty father is angry." An example of her in this capacity is her combat with Ares which will be treated later. She takes the part of a charioteer for Diomedes, assisting him in his contest with Ares. But when she and Hera start to come down from heaven in a chariot, Hera acts as the charioteer, Athena as the armed warrior. After overthrowing Ares and Aphrodite, Athena boasts like any human warrior over fallen foes.

All of Athena's participation in war is as partisan of the Greeks or of certain Greek heroes. She is the recognized patron of the Greeks throughout the Trojan war. For example, Apollo meeting her on her way down from Olympus asks why she has come, adding, "Truly it is that you may give the Daanans decisive victory, since not at all do you pity the Trojans."

See also Iliad IV, 540-2. 136. Iliad VIII, 374, 380, 392.
137. Iliad XXI, 426-433. 137. Iliad V, 1, 26-7; see also Iliad V, 510, 11, 779.
The truth of the last statement is verified by the case of the Trojans' prayer to her for help and her unresponsiveness. Though addressed as savior of the city, in the shrine dedicated to her, "Athena denied their request". When the gods all range themselves on one side or the other, Athena is the foremost on the side of the Greeks, as is Ares on the side of the Trojans. This characteristic of Athena will be more apparent in the account of her patronage of Greek heroes.

In war Athena was always victorious; her party was the party of success; and she in person triumphs over her rival, Ares. The idea is continually expressed in art by the statue of Victory held in the hand as her emblem. A literary basis for this conception is found in Hesiod. Athena mounts the chariot of Heracles, "having victory and glory (γίνεται Ήτι Ηέρας) in her immortal hands," Apollo recognizes her as the god who bestows victory, when he says she has come into the battle that she may "give the Daanans decisive victory".

VIII. Goddess of the Arts.
Athena's province among the gods as teacher of the arts, particularly women's work, is shown as follows. The orphan daughters of Pandareus are being cared for by the goddesses, "Aphrodite cared for them with cheese and honey and pleasant wine; Hera gave them beauty and understanding beyond all women; and Athena taught them to do famous work." In the creation of Pandora, Zeus bade Athena "teach her arts, to ply the loom very skilfully .... and the bright-eyed goddess girded and arrayed her.... and Pallas Athena fitted to her body the whole array", including gifts made by other gods and goddesses.

Skill of hand of all kinds was referred back to Athena as the patroness of the artisan. It was said of the Trojan, Pherekleus, that he "understood all cunning work with the hands, for Pallas Athena loved him above all." She is named with Hephaistos as the instructor in metal work. The ship-builder Epeius is said to have skill "through the suggestions of Athena;" and Epeius to have made the wooden horse "with Athena." The expression Ἀθηναὶς δύσας "the slave of Athena," is used of the workman in instructions for the making of a plow.

Athena is conceived also as doing handiwork herself.

Achilles, in reply to the embassy, vows that he will not marry the daughter of Agamemnon, "not even if she vie in beauty with golden Aphrodite and be equal in handiwork to bright-eyed Athena". She made a robe for herself and one for Hera which are described as very beautiful. "She cast off at her father's threshold the fine, many-colored peplos which she had made and toiled over with her hands". Hera "clothed herself about with her ambrosial robe that Athena had fashioned, working it delicately, and placing in it many things curiously wrought." Heracles has a thorax "beautiful, golden, cunningly wrought, which Pallas Athena gave him", the presumption being that she made it; and the lofty wall of Heracles was built by the Trojans with Pallas Athena.

146. Iliad V, 59-61.
148. Iliad XV, 412.
149. Odyssey VIII, 492-3. See Also Proclus' excerpt from the Little Iliad.
IX. Goddess of Mind.

The idea of Athena as goddess of mind was indicated in each of the passages cited above on her three-fold province. That she was the impersonation of mind is suggested by the name of her mother, $\textit{Mn\gamma\eta\lambda\varsigma}$, "wisdom" and by the fact that she was born from the head of Zeus. In talking with Odysseus, after his return to Ithaca, she gives conclusive testimony to the superiority of her mind in the Greek virtues, shrewdness and deceit. She praises Odysseus for his shrewdness in the inventio tale of himself he has just related, supposing her to be the shepherd-youth of her disguise. Then as the goddess, now revealed, she says, "But come let us leave these things, we who both know tricks, since you are far the best of all mortals in counsel and speech and I am famed among all the gods for wisdom and wiles," $\textit{(\mu\nu\tau\iota \ \pi\alpha\iota \ \kappa\epsilon\rho \ \delta\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu)}$. In the same conversation, Odysseus suspects her of deceiving him, and she says, "Ever is there such a disposition in your breast. For this reason I am unable to leave you in distress, because you are discreet and wary and steadfast." Such a declaration of the reason for the marked favor shown by her for Odysseus is sufficient evidence of her own character.

The Iliad being a story of war, Athena naturally appeared chiefly as god of war, yet even in that capacity we have seen that she acted largely through the medium of mind, rousing the courage of the heroes. She was also in several instances a counsellor. She counsels restraint in Achilles "persuading" him by the promise of reward fourfold what he is losing.

156. Sec. I.
159. See Sec. VII.
More strictly counsel is her advice to Diomede when he and Odysseus are slaying the Trojan allies at night. They are liable to stay too long in the enemy's camp and so be discovered. Athena says to him, "Bethink you of return to the hollow ships, son of great-hearted Tydeus, lest some other god arouse the Trojans and you return in terror."

In the Odyssey, a story of a more peaceful character, Athena is primarily the counsellor and guardian. She comes to Telemachus in the guise of older men who give him wise advice in his perplexing situation. As the stranger, Mentor, she tells him to call an assembly of Ithacans, bid the suitors scatter to their own homes and his mother, if she desires marriage, to return to her father's palace. He himself is advised to set out and learn news of his father. As Mentor she helps him carry out her counsel. In embarking and disembarking and in every move she leads - she is the guiding mind.

The most striking illustration of her in the capacity of counsellor is the occurrence in Sparta, when she presents to his mind, as he lies awake at night, a series of reasons why it would be well for him to return to Ithaca. The reasons are, first, the suitors may consume all his possessions; second, the journey he is on is fruitless; third, his mother may be persuaded by her relatives to marry and may take treasure from his home. She advises him also, on this last account, to put his household in charge of a trust-worthy servant until he has a wife. These are just such considerations as would naturally

161. Iliad X, 509-511.
163. Odyssey I, 281.
164. Odyssey II, 416, III 12, 29, 30.
165. Odyssey XV, 10-12, 16-19.
166. Odyssey XV, 24-26.
come, in his circumstances, to a man of judgment. The Greek conceptions are that these wise thoughts were inspired in his mind directly by the goddess. The mind of Odysseus, also, was influenced by Athena in the same way. Disguised as a beggar he lies awake in his palace, dismayed by the task of vengeance before him. Athena comes and reasons away his fears, saying just such things as a man reasoning with himself would think. In other words her influence is exactly like the workings of the mind. She accosts him first with, "Why do you lie awake, ill-fated beyond all men? This is your house and in it are your wife and son, such a son as one hopes his son will be." Odysseus answers that he hesitates to undertake alone to slay so many men, and also fears the consequences. Athena replies, "Foolish man, one trusts even a weaker comrade, a mortal who does not know so many wiles. But I am a god and I guard you continually in all sorts of troubles. And I tell you plainly, if fifty companies of mortal men stand around eager to slay us two in war, even then you might drive away their cattle and sturdy sheep. But let sleep take possession of you, it is a distress to watch all night. You shall come forth from trouble yet." The note of encouragement in the last part of this speech is often a feature of her counsel. In dealing with Telemachus as the stranger, Mentor, her efforts were to rouse his hesitating spirit to self-confidence and to action along the lines of wisdom. 

167. Odyssey XX, 33-35.
Telemachus approaching Nestor and his company on the shore of Pylos, she encourages Telemachus to speak freely and promises her aid. "Telemachus, you will know some things in your own mind and others a god will suggest, for I think that not at all against the will of the gods were you born and nourished."

This brings us to a further development of Athena's powers in the realm of mind. The import, to the reader, of the assurance that a god will suggest what to say is that Athena herself means to inspire his mind. This idea is borne out when, a little later, Telemachus prays to Poseidon, and Athena "put courage in his heart to ask about the return of his father." It is said that Odysseus would have been dashed in pieces on the rocks of Phaeacia, if Athena had not put into his mind what to do and given him power of thought. She secures him care by influencing the mind of Nausicaa, and puts it into the hearts of the Phaeacians to give him many presents. When Odysseus and Telemachus are planning preparations for the fight with the suitors, Odysseus says, "Whenever much-counselling Athena puts it into my mind I will nod my head to you".

He says that when they begin the fight, Pallas Athena and counsellor Zeus will confound the suitors." The verb used, δέλεο, has reference to the mind, "to charm, to enchant". The idea is that of a magic influence on the body through the mind. The story of this peculiar influence is as follows.

173. See Sec. X.
175. Odyssey XVI, 282-3. See also Odyssey XXI, 1-4.
"In the suitors Pallas Athena roused uncontrolable laughter and turned their wits awry. And they laughed with other men's jaws and ate meat defiled with blood, and their eyes were full of tears and their hearts forbode anguish." Theoclymenos, a seer, observes their awful condition and other portents of impending doom and, with a prophecy of their fate, leaves the palace. But neither his words nor his action impress the suitors. They laugh and gibe at him and at Telemachus merrily and rudely, the goddess of mind has "turned their wits awry". She is able, then, not only to give wisdom but to take it away. Once in the Iliad a similar circumstance is recorded. Achilles is about to reenter the war, and Polydamas urges that the Trojans retreat within the city. But Hector is determined to fight in the open plain and the Trojans applaud his counsel, "foolish men, for Pallas Athena had taken away their judgment". A somewhat similar case was the turning away of Penelope's mind, i.e. attention, so that she shall not observe that the old nurse has discovered Odysseus by the scar on his leg.

We have seen Athena as the shrewdest of the gods, as the counsellor who advises and encourages, and as the inspirer and depriver of thought and wisdom. She is called πολύβουλος, rich in counsel, and πολύμηνης, of many wiles. As patron goddess of heroes she gives much advice which has not been noted since it indicates chiefly her character as guardian.

Patroness of Greeks.

Athena's patronage of the Greeks in the Trojan war was due to two causes, partiality to Greek heroes and hatred of the Trojan race. As a Greek goddess she would be expected to prefer the Greek race, but she seems to favor them principally because she hates the Trojans. Once she expresses pity for the perishing Daanans and wishes to save them by counsel if she may not in war. But her active interest in destroying the Trojans is a far more apparent feature of her attitude. She and Hera plan evils for the Trojans, and refuse absolutely to protect the Trojans for the reason Hera gives to Poseidon, "We two swore by many oaths among the immortals, Pallas Athena and I, never to ward off for the Trojans their day of evil." Athena preserves this attitude unyieldingly as regards the death and maltreatment of Hector. Her anger with Zeus for suggesting that Hector's life be spared has been noted. When his body was subjected to abuse by Achilles, it is said that the other gods wished Hermes to steal the body, "but this was not pleasing to Hera or Poseidon or the bright-eyed maiden. But they (Hera and Athena) continued as first sacred Ilium was hateful to them and Priam and his people, on account of the folly of Alexander, who mocked the goddesses when they came to his steading and approved her who gave him deadly lust." This is a reference to the decision of Paris as to the most beautiful of the three goddesses, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, and gives us the primary reason for Athena's

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182. Iliad VIII 33-37. See also 352-3 where Hera says to Athena, "Shall we no longer be concerned for the perishing Daanans even for the last time?"
183. Iliad IV, 26-21, VIII, 457-8. 185. Sec. VI.
hatred of the Trojans.

During the sack of Ilium Ajax committed a deadly offense against Athena and brought her anger upon the Greeks, himself especially. The excerpt by Proclus from the Sack of Ilium says, "Ajax, the son of Ileus, tearing Cassandra away forcibly, took along with her the zoanom of Athena." Also, "The Greeks in anger at the wickedness of Ajax, wished to stone him to death. But he fled to the altar of Athena and was saved from the impending danger. Then the Greeks sailed away and Athena planned death for them in the sea." This changed attitude of Athena is spoken of four time in the Odyssey. Hermes says to Calypso, "But an their return they offended Athena".

The bard of Odysseus sang of "the mournful return of the Achaeans which Pallas Athena ordained out of Troy." It is said that Agamemnon wished, before setting sail, "to offer sacred hecatombs, that he might ward off the terrible wrath of Athena. Foolish man, he did not know that she would not be persuaded." The fourth mention of Athena's wrath is in the account of the death of Ajax, given Telemachus by Menelaus. Athena's hatred of Ajax is mentioned as being very great, though Poseidon was the final cause of his death.

Athena, the great-hearted, μεγαλθυμος, is the patroness of all the most important Greek heroes. She favors them, apparently, because they are brave men, and their great deeds are made possible by her assistance. She "gave Diomede, son of Tydeus, strength and courage in order that he might become

188. Odyssey I, 326-7.
189. Odyssey III, 144-146. See also excerpt by Proclus from the Returns, 1-3.
190. Odyssey XIII, 121.
conspicuous among all the Argives and win noble fame."

In the case of Diomede Athena's favor seems to be bestowed partly for his father's sake. He prays her to stand by him as she did by his father. Her answer is, "Have courage now, son of Tydeus, to fight against the Trojans, for I have put your father's courage within your breast, undaunted, such as the knight, Tydeus, wielder of the buckler had." Again she rouses his courage by telling of his father's mighty deeds done through her aid and promises her protection and good-will. Continually after this Diomede recognizes Athena as his helper. He says, "Pallas Athena bids me not to tremble." Besides encouraging him, Athena makes his limbs nimble, guides his arrow and his spear, and protects him from injury. She even gives him power to recognize the gods in battle and sets him to fight both Aphrodite and Ares. In the latter case she acts as his charioteer. Her attitude may be due largely to spite against Ares, but partiality to Diomede is also evinced. Her assistance when Diomede makes a raid into the Trojan camp in the night, is typical of her patronage of heroes. In response to his prayer that she go with him, she puts strength into him to overtake and strike Dolon, the Trojan spy; when among the Thracians breathes might into him to slay them on every side; makes it possible for him to slay the king of the Thracians by sending

the latter an evil dream; and saved him and Odysseus from dis-
covery by advising an early return to the ships. In acknowledge-
ment of her support Diomede and Odysseus, when again among their
comrades, pour libations to Athena, and it is said they intended
a sacrifice, but no account of it is given.

That Athena was the patron goddess of Nestor appears
in his accounts of his exploits when he was young and a warrior.
In telling of his victory over Ereuthalion, the champion of an
opposing army, he says, "And I fought with him and Athena gave
me glory." In the war of Eleians and Pylians he says he
shone even on foot among the horsemen, "for so Athena led the
fight." She is spoken of once as the helper, with Hera,
of Menelaus, but apparently only in a general sense as partisan
of the Greeks. One mention is made in the Odyssey of her
connection with Heracles. He tells Odysseus that Hermes and
Athena sent him when he, like Odysseus, had to go down into Hades
while still alive. Hesiod speaks of the slaying of the
Hydra by Heracles and Iolaus, "according to the plans of Athena".
The Shield of Heracles gives an account of her assistance of
the hero in his fight with Ares and Kyknos. This will be
treated in a comparison of the two divinities.

To Achilles, when he was starting forth to the war,
his father said, "My child, Athena and Hera will give you strength
if they choose." Athena was evidently his recognized helper
early in the war, for Aeneas, speaking of a combat with Achilles,
says that Zeus delivered him or he would have been conquered
"by Achilles and Athena, ....who going before him made light

205. Iliad X, 509-511L 208. Iliad IV, 5-8: see also V 715-16.
211. Iliad X, 254-5.
and bade him slay the Leleges and Trojans with the bronze sword.

We have seen her as a helper who restrained his anger against Agamemnon. Her next service occurs as soon as he lays aside that anger and reenters the war. He is bidden by Iris to go and stand by the trench and inspire the Trojans with fear, but he has no armor in which to fight. "So Achilles, loved of Zeus, arose and about his strong shoulders Athena cast her tasseled aegis and about his head the divine goddess set a golden crown and from it kindled a gleaming flame." "He stood there and shouted and Pallas Athena afar off uttered her voice and roused unspeakable terror among the Trojans". This unusual honor was bestowed on Achilles chiefly for the benefit of the Greek warriors who were struggling unsuccessfully over the body of Patroclus. After that body has finally been recovered by the Greeks, Achilles mourns for his comrade and refuses to eat. Zeus pities him and stirs up Athena to perform another unique service. He says, "My child, you have utterly left the valient hero. Has Achilles no longer a place in your thoughts? ... But go distil into his breast nectar and pleasant ambrosia in order that hunger may not come upon him". Athena, who was "already eager", leaps like a falcon from heaven and carries out the suggestion. She is Achilles' protector in his first combat with Hector after the death of Patroclus, and with Poseidon comes to his aid when he is almost overcome by the River.

212. Iliad XX, 94-96. See also 191-2.
216. Iliad XX, 438-441.
The last appearance of Achilles in the Iliad in battle is his combat with Hector. The way Athena sees him safely through this is a good illustration of the Greek conception that a hero's deeds are to be credited largely to her assistance. "To the son of Peleus came the goddess, bright-eyed Athena, and standing near she spoke winged words, 'Now indeed I hope that we two, glorious Achilles, loved of Zeus, shall bear great glory for the Achaeans to the ships, having slain Hector though he is insatiate of battle. It is now no longer possible for him to escape us, not even if the far-worked Apollo prostrates himself before the father, aegis-bearing Zeus. But do you now stand and take breath and I will go and persuade this man to fight against you!" She goes to Hector, who is still running, in the form of Deiphobos and pretends that she is his brother come to help him: "With subtlety" she leads him on until he faces Achilles, who then taunts him, "No longer is there any escape for you but Pallas Athena will subdue you under my spear." In the actual combat Achilles cast and missed, and his spear "stuck in the ground, but Pallas Athena seized it and gave it back to Achilles but escaped the notice of Hector, shepherd of the people; Hector then casts his spear and loses it. Turning to Deiphobos for another he discovers the deceit and says, "O alas, truly the gods have summoned me to death, for I thought the hero Deiphobos was beside me, but he is within the walls and Athena has deceived me. Now therefore evil death has come near me and is not far off.

218. Iliad XXII, 214-223.
220. Iliad XXII, 276-7.
221. Iliad XXII, 297-300. Compare 446.
The favoritism of Athena for Odysseus is one of the principal themes of the Odyssey. We are given the idea that he was her prime favorite of all the heroes of the Trojan war. Menelaus says, "Never, indeed, have I seen gods so openly friendly as Pallas Athena openly stood by him." Odysseus says to Athena when she has revealed herself to him in Ithaca, "I know this well, that you were formerly kind to me when in Troy we Achaean wagers war." The Iliad bear out to some extent this idea of her especial favoritism for Odysseus. Diomede, when he is to choose from among the heroes a companion on his spying expedition, chooses Odysseus saying, "Pallas Athena loves him."

When Odysseus and Diomede are setting out on this exploit, Odysseus prays to Athena, "who art ever beside me in all sorts of toils. Nor when I move do I escape your notice." He was not so prominent in combats in the war as Diomede, but once when fighting he was struck through his shield and corslet by a spear, "but Pallas Athena did not let it mingle with the bowels of the man."

In athletic contests as well as in war Athena helps her favorites. A reference is made to her help of Tydeus in this respect. In the funeral games for Patroclus she gives Diomede signal honor in the chariot race and makes Odysseus win the foot race. In each case she both helps the hero and disables his opponent, and in each the glory of the victory is attributed to her.

223. Odyssey XIII, 314-15; see also 387-391.
225. Iliad X, 278-9; see also 458 to 464.
228. Iliad XXIII, 388-93, 396-400, 768-83.
Her care of Odysseus as set forth in the Odyssey includes services of any sort required by his need. If she helped him during his long wanderings over the seas, he does not know it and so does not mention it in telling his tale to the Phaeacians. He only speaks of praying to her once for help. As soon as a favorable opportunity occurs, however, she espouses his cause among the gods, saying that her heart burns for wise Odysseus, telling of his suffering and pleading his piety. When Zeus decrees that he shall now be brought home, Athena begins to plan the means. She asks that Hermes be sent to command Calypso to release him. After a second request by her this is done. Nothing is said of her helping him in his various trials on his way home until he has nearly reached Phaeacia. Then, as we have related, she helps him get safely to land. She gives him refreshing sleep that night and brings Nausicaa to his aid in the morning. She causes the maidens to scream and so wake Odysseus and gives Nausicaa courage to talk with the stranger, clothe him, and conduct him to the city. She guides him through the city to the palace, concealing him from view by a mist and giving him information about the Phaeacian people and the royal family. She inclines the minds of the Phaeacians favorably to Odysseus and gives him special beauty and strength. She appears as a friend in the athletic contest and causes the Phaeacians to give him much treasure. She comes to him on the

shore of Ithaca to help him conceal the treasure and plan a course of procedure for vengeance on the suitors. In this interview she meets Odysseus more freely and is more assiduous in helping him than we have seen her with any other mortal. She praises his shrewdness, speaks of her constant care of him, and says she never doubted his ultimate return, but did not wish to quarrel with Poseidon to bring it about. They talk about vengeance on the suitors and Athena promises her aid. Finally she disguises him as an old beggar with shriveled skin and mean attire. She restores his natural appearance the next day that he may make himself known to Telemachus, and again disguises him. Except in the matter of disguise Athena's assistance of Odysseus since he reached Ithaca has been chiefly in giving counsel. When he sits as a beggar in his own house she cares for him in similar ways. She "roused him to gather crusts among the suitors and learn who are righteous and who are lawless", and in his fight with the beggar, Irus, made him large and strong. The next was a peculiar kind of service. "Athena did not allow the haughty suitors to cease from biting scorn. She wished more pain to pierce the heart of Odysseus, son of Laertes". Perhaps she wished him to be so thoroughly angered that his vengeance would be the more unsparing. She comes and makes light for Odysseus and Telemachus to see to put away the armor out of the megaron at night; she prevents Penelope from recognizing him.

when the old nurse has discovered his identity; and when he lies wakeful and distressed that night, assures him of her powerful aid. Her next appearance is at the supreme hour, when that aid should be given. She comes in the guise of Mentor into the fight with the suitors and chides Odysseus for cowardice, adding, "But come hither friend, stand beside me and see my work, that you may know what sort of a man is Mentor to repay a kindness for you among hostile men." She seems here to be about to enter the fight herself as she did at Troy, but instead she flies like a bird up to the roof-beam and leaves Odysseus and his three companions to do the fighting. She interferes only to ward off danger by turning aside the spears of the enemy, allowing them to do no more injury than slight wounds. Finally she gives actual help, but in a different way from former times. "Athena stretched forth from the roof her man-destroying aegis and their minds were panic-stricken. And they fled through the megaron like a herd of cows which the gleaming gadfly lights upon and drives about in the spring season when the days are long." The terror of the suitors makes the rest of the victory easy, and Athena is not spoken of again. She restores him to bloom and beauty that he may convince Penelope that he is her husband, and that night performs the signal service of retarding the dawn for his benefit. The next morning she conducts him safely out of the city that he may go to the farm where Laertes stays. While there he is attacked by a mob of Ithacans, angry over the

murder of the suitors. Athena, having been empowered by Zeus to establish peace, comes to his aid. She is here quite like the wat-goddess of the Iliad again, encouraging Odysseus and breathing into him great strength. But she does not allow the conflict to continue long, for she "shouted aloud and held back the whole host." They flee in fear to the city and Athena commands Odysseus to cease from war. "Then between the two Pallas Athena, daughter of the aegis-bearing Zeus, like in form to Mentor, made treaties for the future." Thus Athena triumphs, bringing her hero finally out of all his troubles and leaving him at peace in his fatherland.

But Athena has been mindful not only of the interests of Odysseus but has also taken it upon her to plan for his son, Telemachus and help him to win honor. As soon as Zeus consents that Odysseus shall be allowed to return to his home, and she has planned that Hermes be sent to Ogygia to require his release, Athena continues, "But I shall go to Ithaca to rouse his son yet more and put courage in his breast to summon the long-haired Achaeans to an assembly and denounce the suitors, who are continually slaughtering his huddling flocks and rolling-gaited, crooked-horned oxen. And I will send him to Sparta and to sandy Pylos to learn of the return of his father, if perchance he may hear, and to win a good fame among men." These things she accomplishes in the guise of Mentor and Mentor. Coming first as Mentor, the Taphian, who has stopped on a voyage of trade to visit his old friend Odysseus, she rouses in the mind of Telemachus a hope

256. Odyssey XXIV, 472-488.
257. Odyssey XXIV, 528-536.
258. Odyssey XXIV, 539-549.
259. Odyssey I, 88-95; compare XIII, 422.
that his father may still be living, and suggests to him the course of action outlined above. Then as Mentor, the old Ithacan, she helps him carry out the plan. She comes to him on the shore, stirs his father's spirit in him and promises to furnish a ship and crew for the voyage. Next in the likeness of Telemachus she gathers a crew, secures a ship and makes it ready. She causes the suitors to become confused with sleep and drunkenness, so that they may not notice the departure of Telemachus, and, embarking with him as Mentor, sends a favorable wind. When they disembark at Pylos and while there her service consists in encouragement and advice to the young man. Likewise at Sparta, where she comes to him in a dream, she gives information, advice, and promise of protection. She has been constituted his guardian by Zeus to whom she complained of the plot against him made by the suitors. Concerning this plot she warns Telemachus and adds, "But I do not think these things shall come about. Sooner shall the earth conceal some of the suitors who devour your substance. But keep your well-built ship without the islands and sail at night as well, and one of the immortals, who guards and protects you, will send a wind."

On reaching Ithaca Telemachus finds his father at the swine-herd's hut, and from this time on Athena's care of Telemachus is merged with her care of Odysseus.

262. Odyssey II, 396-5.
264. Odyssey XV, 10-42.
267. There is one exception to this statement, when Athena sheds a wondrous charm over Telemachus as he goes through the streets of Ithaca. Odyssey XVII, 63-4.
To Penelope also, as the wife of Odysseus, Athena often gives especial care. Three times it is said that she "wept for her dear husband, Odysseus, until bright-eyed Athena poured sweet sleep upon her eyelids." When she is grieving for Telemachus, who she fears will never return to her, the old nurse counsels, "Pray to Athena, daughter of the aegis-bearing Zeus, for she then may save him from death." That even the servant recognizes Athena as their reliance would indicate that she was regarded as the patron goddess of the house. In response to her prayer Athena makes a phantom like a friend of Penelope's come and comfort her in her sleep. When Odysseus is in the palace in disguise, "bright-eyed Athena, the goddess, put it into the heart of the daughter of Icarus, wise Penelope, to appear to the suitors that she might especially open the heart of the suitors and become more honored by her husband and son than she was before." Athena then puts her to sleep and makes her lovely to behold, taller and larger and whiter than ivory, with cheeks blooming and anoints her with ambrosia.

We have seen Athena hating the Trojans, helping the Greeks, making heroes of Diomeide and Nestor, watching over Achilles, and caring for Odysseus and his whole family. We now take a temporary leave of Athena and turn to the discussion of Ares.

269. Odyssey IV, 753-4.
270. Odyssey IV, 801.
271. Odyssey XVIII, 158-162.
ADDENDA.

Διός Διός Daughter of Zeus.
Iliad VIII 384, X 296, 553.
Odyssey II 296, 433, V 382, VI 322, XIII 190, 300, 318, XXIV 518, 521, III 42, 394, IV, 752, XIII 252, 371, XXIV 529, 547.
Homerica Hymn to Aphrodite 8.
Shield of Heracles 122, 443.

Διός Θυάτηρ Daughter of Zeus.
Iliad II 548, IV 128, 515, V 765, 815, VI, 269, 279, 304, 312, XV 213.
Shield of Heracles 197.

Διός Τένος Child of Zeus.
Iliad I 202, II 157, V 115, 714, 733, VIII 352, 427, X 278, 284, XXI, 420.
Odyssey IV 762, VI 323.
Homerica Hymn to Athena 17.

Δραμωτατηρ Daughter of a mighty father.
Iliad V 747, VIII 391.
Odyssey I 101, XXIV 540.

Τριτυβειία Trito-born.
Iliad IV 515, VIII 39, XXI 183.
Odyssey III 378.
Theogonia 924, 895.
Shield of Heracles 197.
1. To page 3.
1. ADDENDA.

γλαύκων, Bright-eyed.


Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo 136, 146.

Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 8, 94.

Homeric Hymn to Athena 2, 40.

Theogonia 573, 888, 895, 924.

Works and Days 72.

Shield of Heracles 325, 343, 455, 470.

1. To page 3.
I. Introduction.
III. The War Spirit Personified.  p. 4.
IV. As Warrior.  p. 7.
V. Inferior God.  p. 10.
VI. Worship p. 13.
ARES.

I. The sources of information for the discussion of Ares are the same as those stated for Athena. We shall find that he is the war god and a personification of war; that he engages in combat, with all the vicissitudes of a mortal warrior; and that he is an inferior god in character and in power.

II. God of War.

The term Ἐνδαλλος, warlike or the war-god, is applied to Ares definitely in two places. It is said that Hector put on his armor for battle "and terrible, Ares, the war-god, entered into him". Again, Askalaphos is spoken of as the "son of the war-god" and afterwards called the son of Ares. Ares is classed with Enyo, the war-goddess, as follows, "Then Ares and dread Enyo led them on, she having shameless tumult of battle and Ares having in his hands the huge spear ranged now before now behind Hector". Zeus says to Ares, "You are the most hateful to me of all the gods who hold Olympus, for ever strive and wars and battles are dear to you".

Little idea is given of his appearance and that little is simply descriptive of a mighty warrior, for example his representation on the shield of Heracles. "And on it stood the swift-footed horses of Ares, made of gold, and Ares himself, wearer of the spoil, baneful, having in his hands a spear, calling to the soldiers, crimson with blood as if slaying living men as he stands on his chariot". He is spoken of by Hephaistos in contest.

1. Iliad XVII, 210-211.
2. Iliad XIII, 519-521-2.
3. Iliad V, 591-595.
4. Iliad V, 890-91; compare 824 and Works and Days 145-6.
5. Shield of Heracles 191-195.
with his own deformity as "beautiful and swift of foot"; and by some of the other gods who are ridiculing him when ensnared by Hephaistos he is called "the swiftest of the gods who hold Olympus." Swiftness is one of the points of excellence in a Homeric warrior.

The picture of a warrior god is further developed by the series of descriptive war-epithets applied to him. A Homeric Hymn addressed to him opens as follows: "Ares, thou that excellest in might, weighing down the chariot, savior of the city, golden-helmeted, strong-minded, shield-bearing, savior of cities, bronze-crested, mighty-handed, unwearied, mighty with the spear, bulwark of Olympus, father of Victory of successful war, helper of Themis, master of enemies, leader of just men, master of manhood,"...... . The epithets most used in Iliad are,

- **Thetauptos**, impetuous
- **Thrapous**, mighty
- **Thetaos**, swift
- **Maiasare**, blood-stained
- **Xalkeos**, brazen
- **Talaapotres**, with shield of tough bull's hide
- **Talemuroons**, very warlike

6. Odyssey VIII 310.
10. Iliad V 845, XIII 521, XV 112.
11. Iliad V 43, XIII 295, 328, 528, XVII 72, 536, XXIV 260.
15. Iliad V 289, XX 78, XXII 267.
Other adjectives descriptive of the warrior are,

16. τελεσιπρός, stormer of walls  
17. ἀνδροφόνος, man-slaying  
18. δέλνος, terrible  
19. πεντηχηρός, shield-piercing  
20. ἐγχέσπολας, brandisher of the spear  
21. βριππύς, loud shouting  
22. λαοστής, savior of the people  
23. πελάρρις, huge  
24. ἐναρράφος, bearer of spoil  
25. βραστηματη, weighing down the chariot  
26. χρυσίνως, with reins of gold

16. Iliad V 31, 455.  
17. Iliad IV 441, XVII 259, Sh. of Her. 98.  
18. Iliad XVII 211.  
20. Iliad XV 605.  
22. Iliad XVII 398.  
23. Iliad VII 208.  
24. Sh. of Her. 192.  
25. Sh. of Her. 441.  
His great size suggested in the epithets χρώματος and πέδων is further brought out when, being wounded by Athena and Diomede, he is said to have roared "as loud as nine or ten thousand men in battle, joining the strife of war." Again, when wounded by Athena, "falling he covered seven plethra."

He is not thought of as having decided partisan interest in war. He is simply the god of war in general. "The war-god (τυχαιοι) is common and he slays the slayer." Yet in the Iliad he figures as the helper of the Trojans at the instigation of Apollo. "Impetuous Ares covered them, being a helper for the Trojans, ranging everywhere, and he fulfilled the charge of Phoebus Apollo of the golden sword, who bade him arouse the spirit of the Trojans". When the gods all take sides he goes among the Trojans and shouts like a gloomy tempest as he runs to and fro among them. In his capacity as their helper he assists particularly their champion, Hector.

He stirs up the Trojans going among them in the guise of Akamas, leader of the Thracians, and asking how long they will permit the Achaeans to slay them. He also "roused the courage of Menelaus in order that he might be conquered by Aeneas", and he entered into Hector and filled his limbs with courage and strength. He helps warriors, then, both by mental stimulous and by filling them with his warlike spirit.

27. Iliad V, 860-861.
29. Iliad XVIII, 309.
30. Iliad V, 507-511; see also 760-61.
31. Iliad XX, 38, 51-54.
32. Iliad V, 590-95, 604, 699-702; see also V, 830-34.
33. Iliad V, 876-77.
34. Iliad V, 563-4.
35. Iliad XVII, 211-12.
III. The War-Spirit Personified.

Certain words and expressions applied to Ares suggest a personification of the spirit of war rather than a being governed by intelligence, as were most of the Greek gods. Athena charges Diomede, "Smite senseless in hand-to-hand combat impetuous Ares, this raging fellow, evil incarnate, inclining first to one side then to the other, .....". Hera says that Ares has destroyed a great company of Achaeans "rashly and not according to order", and calls him "this senseless one, who knows no law", set on by Apollo and Aphrodite, just as the fighting instincts of a savage would be roused. He is the god who must be sated with blood, and is described also as, ἄτος πολέμοο, insatiable in war, and ἄνόρμητος αὐτῆς, insatiable of the battle cry.

Fear and Terror (Δέμος and Ἔσσες) are portrayed beside him on the shield of Heracles, and he commands them to yoke his horses when he is going into battle to avenge the death of Askalaphos. They come, also, bringing his chariot when he has been wounded by Heracles. These are not only the attendants of the War Spirit, but Terror is called his son. Εἶλα, strife, also, is called his sister. The relation of these symbolic divinities to Ares increases the impression of him as a raging, senseless, lawless, incarnation of war.

A series of epithets applied to him are really metaphorical, transferred from the conflict itself.

36. Iliad V, 830-34. See also Sh. Her. 98-101.
37. Iliad V, 757-761.
38. Iliad V, 289-293, XX, 78, XX 267.
39. Iliad V, 388, 863, VI, 201, Sh. Her. 59; see also Sh.Her. 101.
40. Sh. of Her. 346.
41. Sh. of Her. 195-6.
42. Iliad XV, 119-120.
43. Sh. of Her. 463-466.
44. Iliad XIII, 298-300.
45. Iliad IV, 440-441.
50. The last is used in a passage where the name Ares is a metaphor for a wound. So entirely did Ares represent war to the Greek mind that in thirty-five cases in the Iliad and Odyssey the name is used as a metaphor for war or battle. In two of these the idea of personality is retained. In the others the meaning ranges from an indefinite force or power, to the simple idea of the present strife. By far the greater number of cases have the meaning war in a general sense, e.g. μάλαν Ἐρυθρός, tumult of war, ἔργον Ἑρμαῖ, a work of war, μάλαρχος Ἀρτ, to fight in war. Some adjectives are used with Ares when it has this metaphorical sense.

46. Iliad 2. Sh. of Her. 2. Total 4.
47. Odyssey 1.
48. Iliad 1.
49. Iliad 1.

Only the last is used also when the name denotes Ares the person.
Besides thus using his name for war, the Greeks coined from it adjectives as follows:

61. ἀριστος warlike
   - Iliad 24.
   - Odyssey 5.
   - Shield of Hercules 3.
   - Homeric Hymns 1.
   Total 33.

62. ἀριστος dear to Ares
   - Iliad 19.
   - Odyssey 4.
   - Theogonia 1.
   Total 24.

63. ἀριστος swift in war
   - Iliad 2.

64. ἀριστος slain in war
   - Iliad 1.
   - Odyssey 1.

65. ἀριστος slain in war
   - Iliad 1.

50. Iliad XIII 569.
52. Iliad XVII 529, XIII 444.
53. Iliad II 281, 385, V 861, XIV 149.
54. Iliad II 401, VII 147, XVI 245, XVIII 134.
55. Iliad XI 734.
56. Iliad XVII 490.
58. Iliad VIII 516, XIX 318.
59. Iliad II 281, XVIII 209.
60. Iliad XIII, 444, XVII 529.
63. Iliad VIII 298, XX 167.
64. Iliad XIX 31, Odyssey XI 41.
65. Iliad XXII 72.
IV. As Warrior.

The highest praise that could be given to a Greek warrior was to be likened to Ares. This is shown by the frequency of expressions of comparison. They occur as follows:

66. ἄρειόν ἐστιν ἀρείον, peer of Ares. Iliad II.

67. ἄρειον ἄρειον, like Ares. Iliad 5.

68. ἄρειόν ἐστιν ἀρείον, like the war-god. Iliad 1.

69. ἄρειον ἄρειον, stock of Ares. Iliad 10.

70. ὁ ἄρειος ἄρειος, son of Ares. Iliad 2.

71. ὁ ἄρειος ἄρειος, son of the war-god. Iliad 1.

72. θεράποντες ἄρειος, servants of Ares. Iliad 8.

Agamemnon was said to be "like Ares in girdle". Twice a warrior is described as going into battle "as Ares goes". "Like Ares Odysseus went to the house of Deiphobos", during the sack of Troy. Hector, also, "raged as when Ares, the brandisher of the spear, rages".

66. Iliad II 627, VIII 215, XIII 295, 326, 500, 528, XV 302

XVI 784, XVII 72, 536. *Iliad XVII, 259.


68. Iliad XXII 132.

69. Iliad II 540, 663, 704, 745, 842, III 147, XII 187, XX 238, XXII 841, XIV 474. Sh. of Her. 181.

70. Iliad II, 512, XX 82.

71. Iliad XIII, 519.

72. Iliad II, 110, VI 67, VII 382, VIII 79, X 228, XV 733, XIX 47, 47.

73. Iliad II 479.

74. Iliad VII 208, XIII, 298.

75. Odyssey VIII 517-18.

76. Iliad XV 605-6.
Ares in disguise enters the war of men and takes part like a mortal warrior. Diomede says about Hector, "Yet there is ever beside him one of the gods who wards off destruction, and now Ares in the likeness of a mortal man is beside him." He fights, apparently, along with Hector. "And the Argives neither turned back toward the black ships at the charge of Ares and bronze-armored Hector, nor did they bear forward in battle, but fell back steadily when they learned of Ares among the Trojans. Who then was the first and who the last whom Hector, son of Priam, and brazen Ares slew in fight?" That he was conceived of as taking part in the actual fighting like any mortal warrior is further shown by the following passage: "Ares in truth was despoiling huge Periphas, by far the bravest of the Aitolians, the glorious son of Ochesios. Him was bloodstained Ares stripping. ....... And when Ares, bane of mortals, saw noble Diomede, truly he left huge Periphas lying where first he slew him and took away his life, and he went straight at Diomede, the horsetamer. And when they drew near, coming against one another, Ares first aimed a blow above the yoke and reins of the horses, eager to take away his life." He is wounded by Diomede with the aid of Athena just as a mortal could be. He is wounded also by Heracles when he is trying to avenge the death of his son, Kyknos. "The son of Amphytrion, insatiate of the terrible war-cry, wounded him with strength as he came on, where he was unprotected by the cunningly wrought shield. And the great spear, guided by the

77. Iliad V 603-604.
78. Iliad V 699-704.
79. Iliad V 842-844, 846-852.
80. Iliad V 855-859.
right hand, dashed through his flesh and cast Ares down upon
the ground in the midst." He carried a spear and had a
chariot and swift horses when he was sought by Aphrodite,
resting outside the battle. He lends her the chariot and
horses and no mention is made of his using them in the war.
After his combat with Heracles, however, when he lies wounded
upon the ground, "Fear and Terror drove the well-wheeled chariot
and horses near immediately and took him from off the broad-
wayed earth into the chariot. And then straightway they two
lashed the horses and they came to Olympus."

The picture of the god as a warrior is completed by
the association of him with his mortal sons, Askalaphos and
Kyknos. Concerning the former, Hera says to the gods "'Now al-
ready, I think, woes have been fashioned for Ares, for his son
has perished in battle, Askalaphos, the dearest of men, whom
mighty Ares says is his son'. Thus she spoke, but Ares smote his
lusty thighs with his palms and mourning said, 'Do not blame me
now, ye who have Olympian homes, if I go to the ships of the
Achaeans to avenge the death of my son, even if it be my fate
to lie smitten with the thunderbolt of Zeus among the corpses in
the blood and dust'". Regarding Ares and Kyknos it is said
that Heracles "slew Kyknos, the great-hearted son of Ares, for
he found him in the precinct of the far-darter, Apollo, and also

81. Shield of Heracles 458-462.
82. Iliad V 355-356.
83. Iliad V 363.
84. Shield of Heracles 463-466.
85. Iliad XV 110-118.
his father Ares, insatiable in war, both gleaming in armor like a flame of blazing fire, and standing in a chariot."

"And they came forward at the same time like fire, or a whirlwind, Kyknos, the horse-tamer, and Ares, insatiate of the battle shout". He does not seem to aid Kyknos in the combat, but after Kyknos has been slain, tries to avenge his death. His vengeance was not successful because Athena caused Heracles to wound him, just as in the case of the death of Askalaphos she forcibly prevented his attempting vengeance at all, but his attitude in both cases is precisely like that of a mortal father.

V. Inferior God.

The inferiority of Ares is well shown by the story of his cowardice when wounded by Diomede. "And brazen Ares roared as loudly as nine or ten thousand men in battle sound the war-cry, as they join the strife of war. And at this a trembling seized the Archaeans and Trojans fearing, so loudly did Ares, insatiable of war, roar." In this terrible out-cry he shows a lack of the endurance of the Epic hero, for a groan is the strongest expression of pain to which the latter yields. Ares then goes up to heaven and sits down beside Zeus "grieving at heart. And he showed the ambrosial blood flowing from the wound and spoke piteously." Like a jealous child he

86. Shield of Heracles 57-61.
87. Shield of Heracles 345-346.
88. Compare the attitude of Zeus when his son, Sarpedon, has fallen in the battle. He allows the Trojans and Lycians to fight for the body, and finally when it is captured by the Greeks, sends Apollo to bear it away out of the conflict. Iliad XVI 563-8, Iliad XVI 666-675.
89. Iliad V 859-863. See also Iliad XXI 416-17. "And taking him by the hand Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, led him away, groaning greatly, and with difficulty did he gather together his spirit."

90.
complains to Zeus that the gods are all at variance because of Athena and that she only is not subject to her father nor chastened by him because she is his own offspring. He recounts how she has set Diomedes to fight the immortal gods, first Aphrodite and then himself and adds, "But my swift feet bore me out of danger or I should have long suffered woes there among the dreadful heaps of slain, or should have lived without strength because of the blows of the bronze." Zeus expresses his contempt as follows: "Do not sit by me and whine, you turncoat. You are the most hateful to me of all the gods who hold Olympus, for strife and wars and battles are ever dear to you. Your mother Hera's spirit is not to be restrained, unyielding. Her I can scarcely rule with words. Therefore I think that because of her suggestions you are suffering these things. But yet I will not still longer endure your suffering woes, for you are my child and to me your mother bore you. But if you were born of any other god, thus destructive, long ago would you have been lower than the Ouranians." Thus he spoke and commanded Paion to heal him. And Paion laid upon the wound soothing drugs and healed him, for he was not at all fashioned as a mortal." He is made completely contemptible when, after all his cowardice and the censure of Zeus, "he sat down beside Zeus, rejoicing in his glory."

90. Iliad V 885-887.
91. Iliad V 889-901.
92. Iliad V 906.
His inferiority as compared with the other gods is also evident. He is trapped by Hephaistos, in an amour with Aphrodite, and is made a laughing stock to all the gods. Poseidon only takes his part, offering to stand good to Hephaistos for the fine Ares owes. He is finally released and goes away without the least show of spirit. He was bound also on one occasion by two mortals. Dione says when encouraging Aphrodite to bear her wound, "Ares bore it when Oto and strong Ephialtes, sons of Aloës, bound him with a strong chain and he lay bound in a bronze vessel thirteen months. Then might Ares, insatiate of war, have perished if the step-mother, very beautiful Eriboea, had not told it to Hermes and he stole Ares away, already worn out and the grievous chain was killing him."

Athena twice exercises control over Ares, restraining his impetuous fury. Once during the war "taking impetuous Ares by the hand, she said, 'Ares, Ares, bane of mortals, blood-stained stormer of walls, can we not permit the Trojans and Achaeans to fight alone, to whichever father Zeus may grant glory? Let us two give place and escape the wrath of Zeus.' Having spoken thus she led Ares out of the battle." Again, Ares is furious over the death of his son, Askalaphos, and is determined to avenge it despite the fact that Zeus had strictly prohibited any god from taking part in the war at that time. "Then would other still greater and more grievous wrath and anger of Zeys have been fashioned for the immortals if Athena, fearing greatly for all the gods had not left her throne on which she sat and sprung

94. Iliad, V 385-391.
95. Iliad, V, 29-35.
through the doorway and snatched from his head the helmet and
from his shoulders the shield and, seizing the bronze spear from
his sturdy hand, stood it up. And she upbraided impetuous Ares.
"Furious fellow, distraught in mind, you are mad. Have you
indeed no ears to hear and have your understanding and awe
perished? Do you indeed wish to come back to Olympus in great
grief, under compulsion, having yourself fulfilled many evils,
and to sow for all the others a great evil? For straightway he
will leave the Trojans and the great-hearted Achaeans and will
come to Olympus, to drive us in confusion and he will seize us
in turn, both the guilty and the blameless. Therefore again I
bid you restrain your anger for your son, for already a better
than he in might and hands has been slain, and it is a hard thing
to save the race and offspring of all men." Ares is thus
restrained by the superior mind and might of Athena. The marked
inferiority of Ares to Athena in the realm of war will appear in
a comparison of the two which follows.

Even Apollo, whose realm was naturally far removed
from war, ranks higher in the Trojan War than Ares. He does
much greater deeds as helper of the Trojans and it is at his
instigation that Ares espouses their cause.

VI. Worship.

No mention is made of any shrine of Ares. He is said
to have come from Thrace, and after his release from chains

96. Iliad XV, 121-141.
98. Iliad XIII 101.
by Hephaistos, he went to Thrace, presumably as his usual abode.

A species of prayer and glorification occurs in one of the Homeric Hymns. After being addressed with a long series of epithets, he is further described as, "whirling in a golden orb among the seven-coursed stars of the air, where thy fiery steeds ever hold thee above the third zone. Hear me, helper of mortals, giver of courageous youth, shedding a mild radiance from above into our life, and also warlike strength, in order that I may be able to chase bitter cowardice from my head and to control the deceitful impulse of my soul in my breast, and also to restrain the sharp anger of my heart, which incites me to enter into the chill battle-din. But do thou grant me courage, blessed one, to stay in the painless bonds of peace, avoiding the shout of enemies, and violent fates."

This picture of the god is so at variance with the conception of him found in all other places, that we must take it as a poetic effusion without real significance as to his character. He was really the god whose sole joy was the din and violence of battle, and his influence the opposite of that desired in this prayer.

100. See Section II.
101. Homeric Hymn to Ares, 6-17.
COMPARISON OF ATHENA AND ARES

AS DIVINITIES OF WAR.

OUTLINE.

I. Named together as Divinities of War.
II. Matched against Each Other.
III. Summary of Characteristics.
Comparison of the Two as Divinities of War.

I. Named together as Divinities of War.
   We have seen that war was a definite function of
   Athena's and practically the whole province of Ares. The two
   are several times mentioned together as presiding over war.
   They lead the warriors issuing from a besieged city portrayed
   on the Shield of Heracles; they roused the fighting men on
   either side in the Trojan war before battle; they are the
   type of supreme war-like endurance; and the most exacting
   judges of valor. They are both, then, in a general sense,
   divinities of war.

II. Matched against Each Other.
    In the Trojan war Athena and Ares are continually
    matched against each other. They are paired off as opponents
    when the gods are ranged on the two sides of the conflict.
    Athena, with Hera and Poseidon, watch the movements of Ares
    and Apollo, planning to oppose them if they enter the battle.
    Ares, on the contrary, is not sent by Apollo into the conflict
    until Athena has temporarily withdrawn. It was evidently
    understood among the gods that Ares was really no match for
    Athena in power. This is further shown by the words of Zeus
    to Hera, who complains of the destruction Ares is wreaking.
    Zeus says, "Well then, rouse against him Athena, driver of
    the spoil, who is most wont to approach him with evil pain."

1. Iliad XVIII 516.
2. Iliad IV, 439.
5. Iliad XX 69, 48-53, 149-152.
6. Iliad XX 138-141.
8. Iliad V 765-6.
Their comparative power is clearly shown in the combats of Ares with Diomede and with Heracles. In the case of the former, Athena encourages Diomede—"Fear neither Ares nor any other of the immortals, so great an ally am I to you." She then acts as his charioteer and drives the horses against Ares. He, on the other hand, is unable even to recognize Athena, for, "Athena put on the helmet of Aidos in order that mighty Ares might not see her." Ares comes forward to fight Diomede and thrusts at him with his spear, but Athena catches it with her hand and turns it aside. Then Diomede thrusts with his spear "and Pallas Athena drove it on into the lower belly, where he was girded with the taslet. There Diomede smote and wounded him and tore his fair skin and drew out the spear again." Ares makes no further resistance, but with loud bellowing goes up in a cloud to heaven where his wound is healed. He realizes that it is Athena who has caused his misfortune, but can merely complain of his wrongs to Zeus.

In his combat with Heracles, also, he is wounded by the hero at the instigation of Athena. Before the fight with Kyknos she has told Heracles to smite Ares "where he is unprotected by his cunningly wrought shield", and then retreat quickly, "since it is not indeed, fitting for you to seize his horses or his splendid arms." Athena enters the chariot with Heracles and Iolaus, and Ares comes forward in his chariot at the same time as Kyknos in his. Heracles taunts Kyknos, saying that Ares will not keep off death from him if they two join in combat.

In the fight Kyknos is slain, no mention being made of the help of either god being given. Then Ares comes against Heracles with a mighty shout, "but Athena, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, came against Ares with her dark aegis. And the terrible goddess, looking sternly at him, spoke winged words, 'Ares, restrain your strong might and your invincible hands, for it is not right for you to slay Heracles, the courageous son of Zeus, and strip off his splendid arms. But come, cease from battle, and do not stand against me.' Thus she spoke, but did not persuade the great-hearted spirit of Ares, but he, shouting loudly and brandishing his arms, like a flame rushed quickly upon mighty Heracles, eager to slay him. And, angry over the death of his son, he cast his bronze spear violently upon the other's great shield. But bright-eyed Athena, reaching out from the chariot, turned back the point of the spear. And bitter pain took possession of Ares, and, drawing his sharp sword, he rushed against stout-hearted Heracles, But the son of Amphitryon, insatiate of the dread war-cry, wounded him with might, as he came on, where he was unprotected by the cunningly wrought shield. And the great spear, guided by his right hand, dashed through the flesh and cast Ares down upon the ground in the midst."

This is a vivid picture of the powerful, self-contained Athena, and the tempestuous, ungoverned Ares, the rock that rushes violently down the mountainside with long bounds and a crashing noise, until it strikes against some firm, lofty peak and is stopped and held fast.

It remains to present Athena and Ares in combat with each other. The gods have all entered the war at the bidding of Zeus, arraying themselves on one side and the other. "Then indeed no longer did they stand apart, for shield-piercing Ares led off and first attacked Athena with his bronze spear and spoke a taunting word. 'Why now, O Dogfly, do you bring together the gods in strife, with stormy courage, a great spirit moving you? Do you remember when you made Diomede, son of Tydeus, wound me, and you yourself, taking a visible spear, thrust it straight at me, piercing through my fair skin? Therefore, now, I think you shall pay for all the things you have done to me.' Having spoken thus, he struck the terrible, tasseled aegis, which not even the lightning of Zeus can overcome. This blood-stained Ares struck with his long spear. But she, giving back, seized in her stout hand a stone lying on the plain, black and rough and huge, which men of old placed there as a boundary of a field. With this she struck swift Ares in the neck and loosed his limbs. And, falling, he covered seven plethra and filled his hair with dust. And his arms rang upon him and Pallas Athena laughed and, boasting she spoke winged words. 'Fool, you have not yet learned how much better than you I claim to be, that you match yourself with me in strength. Thus you shall atone for the curses of your mother, who is angry and plans evil because you have left the Achaeans, and help the haughty Trojans.' 16. Athena's own words sum up the situation well. Shortly after this she attacks Aphrodite, who is leading Ares away, and stretches them both upon the ground. 17. Iliad XXI 391-415. 16. Iliad XXI 423-425.
III. Summary of Characteristics.

We have seen that Athena and Ares both acted as divinities of war, inciting men to fight and giving them courage and strength. Also that both took part like warriors in the fighting. Athena, however, was far more prominent and far more powerful than Ares. She is the favorite child of Zeus, feared and honored by the other gods, he the coward, the most hateful to Zeus of all his children. He fights for the love of fighting, with actual weapons of war. She fights through a hero whose cause she espouses. She is some of reason and judgment; he is absolutely unreasoning. She is always victorious, he subjected often to defeat. She is thoroughly admirable, he utterly despicable. In short, Athena is an ideal divinity who presides over war, especially its heroes; Ares is the senseless, raging war-god, the embodiment of the uncontrolled fury of war.