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Daughter of a Mighty Father: The Unique Relationship Between Zeus and Athena in Myth, Society, and Cult

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Abstract

The gods of the Greek pantheon are connected by a network of familial relationships. Zeus is father to many deities; however, as expressed by Ares in *Iliad* 5.877-880, Athena appears to hold a special place in Zeus' heart. The aim of this thesis is to investigate the unique relationship between Zeus and Athena in myth, literature, society, and cult, primarily from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period across the Greek world. Although Zeus and Athena respectively are often subjects of scholarly analysis, no one investigation has examined the relationship between these two deities to the extent which can be found in this thesis. I begin with an analysis of the myths of the birth of Athena in order to lay the foundation of Zeus' and Athena's relationship (Chapter One). The subsequent chapters then follow a thematic structure in order to investigate the relationship between these two deities across multiple contexts: protection of the polis (Chapter Two), the sphere of crafts (Chapter Three), the military and maritime spheres (Chapter Four), and justice (Chapter Five). To ensure a consistent method of analysis across all five chapters, this thesis applies a theoretical framework which blends elements of previous paradigms. Most notable is the examination of how far the 'structuralist' tenet of the mode of action can be a useful tool for analysing the relationship between Zeus and Athena in each context studied. This thesis illustrates that, although their familial bond is a fundamental thread that underpins their relationship, the relative power and prominence of Zeus and Athena in the same context is not static and shifts depending on geographical location and sphere of activity. Most importantly, this thesis argues that Zeus and Athena share a symbiotic relationship, forged at the moment of Athena's birth, in which each deity's power enhances and stabilises that of the other. This conclusion challenges the notion that Athena is simply the 'agent of Zeus' or just an extension of Zeus' will and reveals the potential for Athena to possess a higher level of agency and control in the relationship. I suggest that mutual consolidation and confirmation of power is, therefore, essential to the unique and close relationship between Zeus and Athena.

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Conventions and Abbreviations

Abbreviations in this thesis follow the *American Journal of Archaeology.*

https://ajaonline.org/submissions/standard-reference/

Abbreviations of ancient authors follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 4th edn.

https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/ocdabbreviations

Epigraphic abbreviations follow the 'List of Abbreviations of Editions and Works of Reference for Alphabetic Greek Epigraphy'.

https://www.aiegl.org/grepiabbr.html

Other abbreviations:

AIO	*Attic Inscriptions Online.*
CAVI	Immerwahr, H. (2009) *A Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions (CAVI).*
Clara Rhodos	*Clara Rhodos. Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto storico-archeologico di Rhodi* (1928-41), vols. 1-10. Rhodes.

The spelling of commonly used Greek names are Latinized (e.g., Thucydides, Aeschylus) following *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 4th edn. Greek personal names and terms are Hellenized, as well as a few more familiar names (e.g., Hephaistos).

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Introduction

In *Iliad* Book 5, after Athena helps Diomedes to wound Ares, the injured god approaches his father, Zeus, to complain about Athena's actions. Ares protests,

> ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ πάντες, ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ᾽ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,
> σοί τ᾽ ἐπιπείθονται καὶ δεδμήμεσθα ἕκαστος·
> ταύτην δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἔπεϊ προτιβάλλεαι οὔτε τι ἔργῳ,
> ἀλλ᾽ ἀνιεῖς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ᾽ ἀίδηλον.
>
> For all the other gods who are in Olympus are obedient to you, and subject to you, each one of us; but her you do not oppose either in word or in deed, but rather incite her, since this destructive maiden is your *own child*.[1]

Ares accuses Zeus of favouritism: while every other god is required to be obedient and subject to Zeus, Athena is allowed to play by her own rules. Ares even suggests that Zeus purposefully encourages Athena and her 'destructive' actions. The reason given by Ares for this favouritism is that Athena is Zeus' *own child* (αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ᾽, l. 880), but Zeus has many children, including Ares. What makes Zeus' relationship with Athena different from his relationships with his other children? Ares seems to suggest that Zeus and Athena have a special relationship that is dependent on some kind of unique familial tie. The Greek αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ᾽ is translated above as 'your own child', but really means 'you bore the child yourself'. Various scholars have

[1] Hom. *Il.* 5.877-880 (tr. Murray 2003). The italics are my own. See Synodinou 1986, for her discussion of this passage and how Ares' complaint is not quite true: Zeus does not always let Athena do whatever she pleases, e.g., Zeus threatens Athena and Hera when they disobey him: Hom. *Il.* 8.397-408.

suggested, or have taken for granted, that this line may refer to the unusual birth of Athena from Zeus' head, which is represented in various mythological traditions.[2] Ares' comment and the myths of the birth of Athena imply a close relationship between Zeus and Athena, which is explored throughout the chapters of this thesis.

This thesis aims to investigate the unique relationship between Zeus and Athena in myth, literature, society, and cult. To achieve this, I will analyse their relationship across multiple contexts: protection of the polis (Chapter Two), the sphere of crafts (Chapter Three), the military and maritime spheres (Chapter Four), and justice (Chapter Five). I will ask how far Zeus and Athena complement or constrain each other's power, how far they intervene in similar or different ways in each sphere of influence, and if there are any overlapping themes or issues between these chosen spheres. A thread which runs through this thesis is the importance of the birth of Athena (Chapter One) in establishing the unique relationship between Zeus and Athena. This thesis will consider what power (if any) Athena gains when she is born and how far she confirms her father's power in this moment and beyond. The chronological focus of this investigation is the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. The geographical focus incorporates regions where joint cults, epithets, and myths

[2] E.g., Burkert 1985, 142; Kirk 1990, 151; Neils 2001, 221; Park 2014, 275. For the debate regarding whether Homer knew about the unique birth of Athena or not, see Synodinou 1986, 155, n. 2 and 156, n. 2. Regardless, Ares still highlights that Zeus and Athena have a particularly close and unique relationship based on some sort of special familial tie. Myths of the birth of Athena: Hes. *Theog.* 886-900, 924-926; *Hymn. Hom.* 3.307-309; *Hymn. Hom.* 28; Stes. fr. 270 Finglass; Pind. *Ol.* 7.33-38; Eur. *Ion.* 452-457; Strab. 14.2.10; Aristid. *Or.* 37.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6; Lucian *Dial. D.* 13 (8); Paus. 1.24.2-3.

of Zeus and Athena are attested and sufficiently documented, including locations where they are worshipped as particularly prominent gods either separately or together. This thesis uses a wide range of evidence (literary, epigraphic, archaeological, iconographic) to analyse the relationship between Zeus and Athena. I will discuss how different types of evidence can illuminate various aspects of Zeus' and Athena's relationship, and how far we can apply what we know about these deities in myth to their worship in cultic contexts. Additionally, this thesis applies a theoretical framework by combining elements of previous frameworks. This includes the 'structuralist' tenet of the mode of action, which will be discussed further in Sections III and IV. This thesis will ask the extent to which the mode of action is a useful tool for investigating the relationship between Zeus and Athena, and how far their modes of action are applicable in each context studied. Critical to this thesis is the study of Zeus and Athena as a divine pair. Studying Zeus and Athena together can draw attention to aspects of both deities which were previously not considered prominent or important. This thesis, therefore, will draw out aspects of the divine characters of Zeus and Athena previously disregarded or neglected by analysing these deities together.

I. Existing Scholarship: Zeus and Athena

An evaluation of the existing scholarship on Zeus will naturally start with Arthur Bernard Cook's *Zeus: a Study in Ancient Greek Religion.*[3] This vast

[3] Cook 1914-1940.

three-volume work strives to study comprehensively almost every aspect of Zeus by focusing on a singular god. Although Cook's survey of Zeus is not the most up-to-date, especially given the many new epigraphic discoveries in the last century or so, his book is still the most detailed work available. Ken Dowden has since written a short book about Zeus as part of the 'Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World' series.[4] Although useful and more recent, this book is not aimed at an advanced academic audience.

Many recent works are titled in a manner which appear to emphasise Zeus as a key focus of their investigations; for example, Hugh Lloyd-Jones' *The Justice of Zeus*, Karim Arafat's *Classical Zeus*, John Scheid's and Jesper Svenbro's *The Craft of Zeus*, and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge's and Gabriella Pironti's *The Hera of Zeus.*[5] Despite the fact that all of these book titles include direct reference to Zeus, Zeus is not the central focus of their investigations. Zeus is a primary focus of *Classical Zeus* to some extent; however, Arafat's main concern is bridging the gap between art and literature, and he uses Zeus as a case-study by which the relationship between these two genres can be better understood. Zeus as a god is therefore peripheral to Arafat's analysis. In Pirenne-Delforge's and Pironti's book, Hera is given a heavier emphasis than Zeus. *The Craft of Zeus* is about political, conjugal, and poetic weaving more generally rather than Zeus; in fact, Zeus' association with craft is rarely explored.[6] *The Justice of Zeus* is about *dike* ('justice') more broadly than solely

[4] Dowden 2006.
[5] Lloyd-Jones 1983; Arafat 1990; Scheid and Svenbro 2001; Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022.
[6] Scheid and Svenbro 2001, 1-2.

'the justice *of Zeus*'. Often, although not always, the use of the phrase 'of Zeus' tends towards vagueness, as frequently scholars do not discuss Zeus as a deity but use Zeus as a springboard to analyse a certain theme such as justice. Although the titles of these publications imply the continued interest in Zeus as a deity after Cook's *Zeus*, most of these works do not provide the depth of analysis of Zeus that one may expect. In contrast to these studies, this thesis will refocus Zeus alongside Athena across multiple contexts to provide an in-depth examination of Zeus as a deity in his own right as well as his relationship with Athena.

Athena has also received scholarly attention. Overviews of Athena as a deity include Ann Shearer's *Athene: Image and Energy,* Lee Hall's *Athena: a biography*, and Susan Deacy's *Athena.*[7] *Athena in the Classical World*, a more recent collection of essays edited by Deacy and Alexandra Villing, seeks to display the 'multifaceted nature' of Athena through diverse approaches by different scholars.[8] Deacy's many works on Athena have been particularly influential.[9] In particular, her 2022 investigation highlights how scholars tend to characterise Athena as 'serene, wise, or patriarchalized' and desexualised, which has led to elements of her character being overlooked or simplified.[10] Although this thesis will engage with some of the more typical characterisations of Athena (for example, how she may uphold patriarchal

[7] Shearer 1996; Hall 1997; Deacy 2008.
[8] Deacy and Villing 2001.
[9] E.g., Deacy 1995, 1997, 2000, 2008, 2010, 2016, 2022; Deacy and Villing 2001; Deacy and Villing 2009; Deacy and McHardy 2015.
[10] Deacy 2022, 178.

values), it will also demonstrate that Athena is a multifaceted and complex goddess. One way this thesis will tackle this is to consider the position Athena occupies between violence and intelligence, which are often positioned in opposition to each other. This opposition has occasionally resulted in simplistic readings of Athena as a wise deity in contrast to the more typically violent Ares.[11] Athena is a complex goddess, and I do not intend to simplify or overlook aspects of her character; however, it is not possible to cover every aspect of Athena's or Zeus' divine characters in this study.

It appears that the study of Athena has been slightly more popular than the study of Zeus in recent scholarship. This could be for several reasons. One is that Athena's identity as a virgin goddess with masculine qualities correlates with the recent interest in feminist readings of the goddess and an uptick in the study of gender and sexuality. For example, Nicole Loraux's *The Children of Athena* uses a feminist approach 'without apology', as it focuses on the myths associated with the goddess, the polis of Athens, and how women were a part of this picture.[12] Athena is often included in scholarship on gender — for instance, in Froma Zeitlin's *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in the Classical World* — and the dichotomy between her virginity and desirability has also been a subject of contemporary study.[13] Although these kinds of approaches can be useful when examining Athena, this thesis only engages

[11] See Deacy 2000, for discussion of the oversimplified dichotomy between Athena and Ares.
[12] Loraux 1993, 3-8. Quote: Ormand 1995, 22.
[13] Zeitlin 1996. For examples of virginity and desirability, see Deacy 1997; Llewellyn-Jones 2001.

with Athena's gender in the context of her relationship with Zeus. For example, in Chapter One, I analyse the potentiality of Athena's womb and how her virginity upholds Zeus' power. In this context, the importance of Athena's gender is applicable to the analysis; however, overall, a feminist approach or use of gender theory were less essential to further understanding the relationship between Zeus and Athena.

Another reason for Athena's popularity in recent scholarship is the modern interest in the analysis of Athena's cults outside of Athens and Attica. This is partly the result of a reaction to the disproportionate attention that the polis of Athens has garnered within the study of Greek religion and Greek history more generally. Although concerns regarding Athenocentrism have led to investigations into the cults of other deities outside of Athens, the scholarly move away from Athens has been especially impactful regarding the study of Athena, as she is considered a 'special goddess' of the region.[14] The result is the recent consensus that one cannot use the Athena of Athens as a paradigm for the goddess in other regions, as Athena (or indeed any other god or goddess) does not necessarily maintain the same nature, character, and prominence across the Greek world.[15] This is due to the potentially changing nature of local pantheons from polis to polis. As a result, a new and expanding bank of information has been developed regarding Athena's presence in other

[14] Athena as a 'special goddess': Parker 2005a, 396-397; Parker 2011, 87.
[15] The Athenian Athena cannot be used as a paradigm for elsewhere: Cole 1995; Burkert 1995; Deacy and Villing 2001, 23-24. Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, explains clearly and convincingly why one should study a god at polis level as well as panhellenic.

poleis, including investigations into Athena in Corinth, Sparta, Kos, Anatolia, Thessaly, Boiotia, and Amorgos.[16] For example, Stefan Ritter states that his motivation for undertaking his analysis of Athena and Aphrodite in Corinth is to investigate how Athena's role in Corinth might have contrasted with her role in Athens.[17] Likewise, Villing's investigation into the iconography of Athena in mainland Greece and the east Greek world is in part motivated by the need to look beyond Athens to gain a broader understanding of Athena's iconography.[18] Other scholars use Athena as a means to explore a particular theme or topic but still beyond Athens. In his article on Athena in Anatolia, Robert Parker uses Athena as a vehicle to further understand the spread of Greek gods and names in Asia Minor.[19] Stephanie Paul examines the epithets shared by Zeus and Athena on Kos due to her interest in epithets on the island more widely.[20] Gerald Lalonde studies Athena Itonia in the four regions of Thessaly, Boiotia, Athens, and Amorgos, where the extant evidence for the epithet Itonia has primarily been located.[21]

[16] Corinth and Sparta: Villing 1997a. Corinth: Ritter 2001. Kos: Paul 2010. Anatolia: Parker 2016a. Boiotia: Deacy 1995. Thessaly, Boiotia, and Amorgos: Lalonde 2019. Villing 1998, on Athena Ergane and Athena Promachos, extends her discussion to eastern Greece.
[17] Ritter 2001, 143.
[18] Villing 1997b, 12.
[19] Parker 2016a.
[20] Paul 2010, 65.
[21] Parker 2016a; Paul 2010, 65; Lalonde 2019, 1. Other examples of studies that focus on epithets are Herington 1955 and Jim 2022, but they do so in different ways. Herington follows a similar line of enquiry to Lalonde, in which Herington considers the epithets that are associated with one god (Athena), whereas Jim investigates the trans-divine epithets 'Soter' and 'Soteira' and how they apply to different gods. See section II of this chapter for more on the study of epithets in scholarship.

Although numerous scholars have studied Zeus and Athena separately, no single investigation has analysed the relationship between Zeus and Athena to the extent that can be found in this thesis. Jennifer Neils' chapter 'Athena, Alter Ego of Zeus' in *Athena in the Classical World* has provided a useful starting point for this thesis.[22] In Neils' words, her 'paper examines the unique relationship of Athena and Zeus in myth and literature, in religion and state cults, and in the art of ancient Athens'.[23] However, as Neils does not have the space to sufficiently comment on the vast array of evidence she presents, the result is a helpful but brief overview of the material. Furthermore, Neils' investigation is set entirely in an Athenian context with a focus primarily on Athena. This thesis engages with evidence from beyond Athens, as a broad geographical framework avoids the risk of Athenocentrism previously highlighted. Furthermore, in this thesis, Zeus and Athena are considered of equal importance to ensure that the research of either deity is not underdeveloped. This thesis will also investigate how far Athena is the 'agent of Zeus' and if Zeus ever assists Athena in a similar way. This will aid in answering how far Zeus and Athena complement or constrain each other's power and help to uncover how they work as a team.

Several other scholars have also focused on the relationship between Zeus and Athena. This includes Katerina Synodinou's 'The Relationship Between Zeus and Athena in the *Iliad*', Stephanie Paul's 'À propos d'épiclèses «

[22] Neils 2001.
[23] Neils 2001, 219.

trans-divines » : le cas de Zeus et d'Athéna à Cos', and Noriko Yasumura's chapter on the birth of Athena in her book *Challenges to the Power of Zeus in Early Greek Poetry.*[24] Although useful, these publications are all relatively narrow in scope: Synodinou's analysis is specific to the *Iliad*, Paul concerns herself with shared epithets of Zeus and Athena on Kos, and Yasumura's analysis is in the context of Zeus' power in early Greek poetry. This thesis will study Zeus and Athena more broadly beyond these specific contexts. Broadening the scope in this way will allow me to test if any conclusions made by these scholars are applicable to other texts, geographical locations, and spheres of influence. I will also test if the familial relationship between Zeus and Athena is significant across the thematic chapters of my thesis.

When explaining the unique relationship between these two deities, the scholars mentioned above tend to foreground the familial bond between Zeus and Athena. In the context of Kos, Paul comments: 'Pourtant, chaque fois que le père apparaît dans les inscriptions, la fille n'est jamais très loin'.[25] Paul does not explicitly mention the birth of Athena from Zeus' head, but refers to them twice as 'le père' ('father') and 'la fille' ('daughter') without expanding upon *why* this is important; why does it matter that Zeus and Athena are father and daughter?[26] It is almost assumed that the birth of Athena is significant to their relationship, but what is so special about this? Yasumura more explicitly refers to the birth of Athena when she observes that Zeus and

[24] Synodinou 1986; Paul 2010; Yasumura 2011.
[25] Paul 2010, 69.
[26] Paul 2010, 69, 76.

Athena create a 'strong alliance' when Athena is born from Zeus' head.[27] This thesis considers how far this 'strong alliance' is reflected across multiple contexts, something not explored by Yasumura. What are the ramifications of the birth of Athena and how (if at all) does this positively or negatively affect Zeus' power? This thesis will build upon existing studies to advance our understanding of the relationship between Zeus and Athena, which has not yet been sufficiently studied across multiple geographical and thematic contexts. I will do this by not only investigating Zeus and Athena as a divine pair, but also by illuminating aspects of their individual divine characters that have been previously overlooked, such as Zeus' role in the sphere of crafts. Therefore, this thesis will expand and further our knowledge of Zeus and Athena both together and independently.

II. Existing Scholarship: Greek Religion

Recently, there has been a paradigm shift in the study of Greek religion in which scholarly interest has returned to the study of the gods themselves.[28] Thomas Harrison notes several recent publications that explicitly include the study of the gods in their titles: for example, *Coping with the Gods* and *Sharing with the Gods*.[29] These studies suggest that the gods may have 'moved centre-

[27] Yasumura 2011, 96.
[28] Erskine 2010, 505: there has been a drive to 'put the gods back in religion'; Harrison 2015, 170. See Henrichs 2010, 23, n. 21, for a bibliography of some of the previous treatments of Greek religion in modern scholarship. Well-known studies include: Detienne and Vernant 1991; Vernant 1980, 1991, 2006; Detienne 1997, 1998. More recently: Bremmer and Erskine 2010; Parker 2005a; Parker 2011; Versnel 2011; Bonnet *et al*. 2016a; Bonnet *et al*. 2016b.
[29] Versnel 2011; Jim 2014.

stage' in the analysis of Greek religion.[30] The breadth of interest is so vast that an exhaustive list cannot be supplied, but the previously mentioned Routledge series entitled 'Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World' provides a good indication of the recent interest in the gods.[31] This series includes overviews of Greek deities such as Prometheus, Zeus, Dionysos, Athena, Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis, and Hermes.[32] Its publication and expansion to include other gods suggests that public interest in the gods is only increasing. The seemingly simple questions of 'what is a Greek god?' or 'what is a goddess?' have also been raised by Albert Henrichs and Nicole Loraux respectively to try and elucidate what makes a god, a god.[33]

Another developing area of investigation in the context of Greek religion is the study of epithets.[34] A god may have many epithets, each of which acts as a focusing device that centre on a particular aspect of divine power.[35] Functional epithets are primarily used for differentiating between multiple aspects of a given god or bringing an aspect of their power into focus.[36] Some epithets can be completely unique to one god, whereas others are shared by multiple gods. In scholarship, the latter is referred to as the

[30] Quote: Harrison 2015, 170. Further examples are: Bremmer and Erskine 2010; Platt 2011; Naiden 2013; Clauss *et al.* 2016; Parker 2017; Jim 2022.
[31] See also, Deacy 2025: a recent publication accessible for academic and non-academic audiences alike, which focuses on the myths and the modern reception of the Greek gods.
[32] Prometheus: Dougherty 2006. Zeus: Dowden 2006. Dionysos: Seaford 2006. Athena: Deacy 2008. Apollo: Graf 2009. Aphrodite: Cyrino 2010. Artemis: Budin 2015. Hermes: Allan 2018.
[33] Henrichs 2010, esp. 29, 38; Loraux 1994.
[34] See Usener 1948; Parker 2003; Belayche *et al.* 2005; Brulé 2007; Parker 2017; Ricl 2017; Bonnet *et al.* 2018; Jim 2022; Bonnet and Palamidis 2024. In this thesis I will use the word 'epithet' rather than 'epiclesis' to refer to both poetic and cult epithets.
[35] Jim 2022, 5.
[36] Parker 2003, 175-177.

'trans-divine' epithet.[37] Initially, scholarly analyses of epithets had primarily been theoretical, focusing more on models and frameworks regarding epithets rather than using them to further our understanding of the experiences of worshippers. More recently, the use of epithets as a vehicle for understanding the relationship between worshippers and gods has started gaining attention.[38] I will engage with the analysis of epithets by examining both the individual and shared epithets of Zeus and Athena to uncover what their shared epithets can illuminate about their relationship. I consider cult epithets to be a useful tool for understanding the worshipper's perspective of the relationship between Zeus and Athena.[39] In the recently published *What's in a Divine Name?*, Corinne Bonnet observes that onomastics provide a way of studying Zeus' relationship with his children. This publication is the outcome of the project *Mapping Ancient Polytheisms. Cult Epithets as an Interface Between Religious Systems and Human Agency.* The purpose of this project was to collect and study 'onomastic sequences' from the Greek and West Semitic worlds dating from 1000 BCE to c. 400 CE, to consider primarily the structure of divine systems and their use in context.[40] From the data collected in the *MAP* (*Mapping Ancient Polytheisms*) database, it emerges that Zeus is frequently attested together with Athena in a single inscription and that they

[37] On 'trans-divine' epithets, see Jim 2015 and 2022.
[38] Theoretical analysis: Usener 1948; Parker 2003; Belayche *et al.* 2005; Brulé 2007, esp. ch. 14; Versnel 2011, esp. 60-88; Parker 2017; Bonnet 2021; Bonnet and Palamidis 2024. See Anderson 1995, Paul 2010, Jim 2015, Lalonde 2019, Jim 2022, for epithet-specific studies. See Jim 2022, 2-3, for the observation that scholars have primarily focused on theoretical analyses of epithets. Jim uses epithets to gain access 'to worshippers' deepest fears and desires', which, at the time of writing in 2022, had 'yet to be exploited'.
[39] Although, there are also poetic epithets: Parker 2003, 173. See Anderson 1995, who analyses the epithets of Athena in the plays of Aristophanes.
[40] Bonnet and Pironti 2021, 11, n. 6.

are often worshipped under the same epithet; for example, Phratrios/Phratria ('of the phratry'), Boulaios/Boulaia ('of the *boule*'), Soter/Soteira ('saviour'), Polieus/Polias ('of the city'), to name a few.[41] Of the 25,919 testimonies collected so far in the *MAP* database, 297 are related to Zeus and Athena jointly; in fact, at present, the database reveals that Zeus appears in inscriptions alongside Athena in this way far more than with any of his other children.[42] Although Bonnet brings this important evidence to light, she does not inquire as to why Zeus and Athena are worshipped alongside each other to such a large degree. In this thesis, I will consider why and under what circumstances Zeus and Athena were often worshipped as a divine pair. This thesis will build upon this developing area of study in order to gain insight into the relationship between Zeus and Athena from what their epithets may reveal.

Closely related to the study of epithets is the question of 'one or many', as discussed by Henk Versnel.[43] As previously mentioned, a god may have many epithets, which can bring different aspects of a given god into focus. The question remains, are we to understand Athena as one goddess with many names or, for example, are Athena, Athena Polias, and Athena Nike all separate and individual goddesses? In her chapter on polis religion, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood states, 'the gods who were worshipped in the

[41] Bonnet 2024, 20.
[42] Bonnet 2024, 20.
[43] See especially Versnel 2011, ch. 1 and appendix 2; Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2015, 39-47.

different poleis were, of course, perceived to be the same gods'.[44] On the opposite side of this debate is John D. Mikalson, who writes, when discussing the epithets of Zeus, 'each of the Zeuses specified by an epithet is to a greater or lesser degree a separate deity'.[45] Versnel reviews these two sides of the debate and, drawing on theories of cognitive dissonance, argues, 'gods bearing the same name with different epithets *were* and *were not* one and the same, depending on their momentary registrations in the believer's various layers of perception'.[46] Vernsel argues that the Greeks were able to shift their focus unconsciously between different versions of gods and, therefore, the question of 'one or many' was likely a 'non-issue' for the Greeks.[47] Importantly, in different regions, or even in the same region, Zeus and Athena may be worshipped in different ways and known by a multitude of epithets; therefore, conclusions made in one context cannot always be extrapolated to another.

Recently, scholars have been exploring the ways in which cognitive approaches can be applied to the study of Greek religion.[48] For example, Esther Eidinow uses ideas of embodied cognition ('specifically theories of embodied simulation') to investigate the usefulness of divination to the ancient Greek worshiper, to uncover the role of imagination in oracular

[44] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 300, reprint in 2000, 18.
[45] Mikalson 1983, 71-72.
[46] Versnel 2011, appendix 2; quote: Versnel 2011, 82 (his italics). In section IV, I will expand upon how I will apply Versnel's idea of dissonance to my thesis more widely.
[47] Quote: Jim 2022, 6. See also Jim 2022, 6, n. 18, for the idea that 'one or many' was probably a 'non-issue'. Jim notes the 'rare instance of reflection' by Socrates: Xen. *Symp.* 8.9.
[48] See e.g., Larson 2016, Eidinow 2018, Boutsikas 2020, and Eidinow et al 2022.

consultation, and to offer 'a suggestion for refining explanations which aim to show that the ancients "believed" in oracles'.[49] Cognitive approaches, therefore, can assist in addressing the numerous ways in which worshipers engaged with the divine. Although these developing approaches can be useful, the scope of this thesis did not call for detailed engagement with cognitive theory. This is due to the experiential aspect of Greek religion playing a smaller role in the analysis. Nevertheless, Versnel's application of cognitive dissonance theory to the study of Greek religion mentioned above is applicable across my analysis of the relationship between Zeus and Athena and will be applied as part of my methodology (see Sections III and IV).

Another paradigm for studying Greek religion is the 'polis religion' model. According to this model, which is often associated with Sourvinou-Inwood, the polis 'provided the fundamental framework in which Greek religion operated'.[50] This is different from the 'panhellenic' religious system, which Sourvinou-Inwood explains as being articulated through panhellenic poetry and sanctuaries; in other words, the panhellenic god is the god of Homer or of Hesiod, the central character that is widespread and overarching.[51] Scholars have often criticised the 'polis religion' model; for example, Irene Polinskaya argues that the model is underdeveloped; Julia Kindt suggests that there are aspects of religion (for instance, personal religion, magic, or religious discourse) that the 'polis religion' model cannot

[49] Eidinow 2018, 447-448.
[50] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 295, reprint in 2000, 13.
[51] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 299, reprint in 2000, 17.

sufficiently account for; and Eidinow argues that the polis religion model 'cannot provide a comprehensive account of ritual practice across and within ancient Greek communities', opting for an application of social network theory instead (discussed below).[52] In a 2018 publication, Parker attempts to untangle these criticisms, highlighting that they are not all entirely justified.[53] For example, Parker comments that the criticism that Sourvinou-Inwood neglected regions where the polis was less dominant is 'scarcely fair' as 'her subject was polis religion'.[54] Another potentially unwarranted criticism is that Sourvinou-Inwood discounted the prominence of private religion. As noted by Parker, this criticism is not quite accurate as she did note the role of individuals within polis religion.[55] One conclusion Parker reaches is that the polis did not control the day-to-day running of sub-polis and private religion, and that individuals had some choice when it came to the worship of their gods; however, when there was a crisis, the polis could exercise an element of control over religion, and, therefore, 'religious freedom was not absolute'.[56] Although not all criticisms of the 'polis religion' model are entirely justified, it seems that on the whole scholars have still paid more attention to public religion.[57] This thesis engages with the increasing awareness that the study of

[52] Polinskaya 2013, 23, who cites Jameson 1997, 172-173; Kindt 2012, 13; Eidinow 2011, 11.
[53] Parker 2018.
[54] Parker 2018, 23: although he does follow that up with 'admittedly some of her formulations may suggest a broader claim'.
[55] Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 265-268, reprint in 2000, 44-47. Parker 2018, 29: although, once again, he admits that the rebuttal to this might be that 'she failed to appreciate the extent to which this scope for individual agency undermined her picture of total control by the polis'.
[56] Quote: Parker 2018, 39.
[57] Although the analysis of individual religion is a growing area of study: e.g., Rüpke and Spickermann 2012; Rüpke 2013 and 2016; Jim 2014; Kindt 2015. Jim 2022, analyses both individuals and 'collectives' to 'demonstrate that the two perspectives are compatible and provide the necessary complement to each other' (quotation on page 4). I also take this

Greek religion cannot just be restricted to the level of the polis. It is not sufficient to consider *only* the polis; on the one hand, one needs to consider how panhellenic gods overlap with, differ from, complement, or contradict more local versions, and, on the other, how Greek religion was understood at the sub-polis, supra-polis, and private levels. Therefore, this thesis will analyse religious activities at panhellenic, polis, sub-polis, and private levels. For example, I will investigate how widely the various myths of the birth of Athena were known and how these myths were represented in different local traditions. Examining the relationship between Zeus and Athena at panhellenic, polis, sub-polis, and private levels allows us to ask how far the panhellenic characters of Zeus and Athena informed the lower levels of society and vice versa.

As alluded to above, Eidinow builds upon Sourvinou-Inwood's polis religion model by offering a new approach to studying ritual practice: social network theory.[58] Eidinow proposes that instead of 'conceptualising ancient Greek religion in terms of a single entity, the *polis*, we might better picture it in terms of social networks, that is, at its simplest as sets of nodes (representing individuals or groups), linked by ties, usually multiple ties (representing relationships of various different sorts)'.[59] This approach allows for a more fluid understanding of Greek religion as a dynamic network that can change

stance in this thesis. See Parker 2018, 29-30, for some of the issues regarding the study of 'individual' religion.

[58] Eidinow 2011.

[59] Eidinow 2011, 11.

and develop over time.[60] The ways in which the social network model considers relationships is applicable to this thesis. Eidinow draws on the work of Harrison White, who comments on the formation of identities through ties and relationships.[61] This thesis analyses the relationship between Zeus and Athena, as well as the relationship between this pair of deities and those who worship them. Therefore, network theory illustrates why it is useful for two or more deities to be analysed together, as the relationship they have with each other informs their own identity. Furthermore, the idea that these relationships and identities are context based and could change over is also helpful in analysing cults of Zeus and Athena across various time periods and locations.

More recently, some scholars have studied particular gods or local pantheons beyond Athens. This usually consists of an in-depth study of the local pantheon of one particular region and is, in part, a reaction to the Athenocentric study of Greek religion mentioned in Section I; for example, Joy Rivault's *Zeus en Carie* and Parker's 'Athena in Anatolia'.[62] Other scholars focus on the pantheon of their chosen location; among others, Polinskaya, Paul, and Juliane Zachhuber have produced books on Aigina, Kos, and Rhodes respectively to survey the local pantheons of these regions.[63] Polinskaya comments that the benefit of this approach is that it will 'steer away both

[60] Eidinow 2011, 11.
[61] Eidinow 2011, 16; White 2008.
[62] Rivault 2022; Parker 2016a.
[63] Polinskaya 2013; Paul 2013; Zachhuber 2024.

from the pitfalls of the panhellenic model and from the limitations of the polis-centred model' to focus on the local variation of the pantheon in Aigina. Paul also provides this as a benefit of the regional approach.[64] Villing takes a slightly different approach in her study of the iconography of Athena across mainland Greece and the east Greek world.[65] Villing casts a wide geographical net in order to analyse the goddess' panhellenic and local iconographic depictions to examine the extent to which local cult, among other factors, determined the iconography of Athena.[66] Instead of surveying the cults and pantheon of one geographical location, I adopt the approach of Villing in this thesis by investigating a variety of local pantheons that include the worship of Zeus and Athena together.

III. How to Analyse a God

To best analyse the relationship between Zeus and Athena, this thesis will engage with multiple theoretical frameworks in order to create a new approach for studying these gods. This section discusses the works of Jean-Pierre Vernant (and the École de Paris[67]), Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti, Walter Burkett, and Versnel. In Section IV, I will provide my own theoretical framework for this thesis, which is drawn from elements of the frameworks put forth by these scholars.

[64] Polinskaya 2013, 25; Paul 2013, 13.
[65] Villing 1997b.
[66] Villing 1997b, 1.
[67] Following Vernsel 2011, 35, n. 41, I use 'École de Paris' 'as a catchword for the works of Vernant, Detienne and Vidal-Naquet and their closest adherents'.

The 'structuralist' approach to the study of Greek gods adopted by Vernant and the École de Paris was inspired by the previous application of structuralist linguistics to myth by Claude Lévi-Strauss.[68] Lévi-Strauss' linguistic 'structuralist' methodology was then developed further in the study of Greek religion by Georges Dumézil.[69] An important tenet of early structuralism was that the gods could be active in any number of spheres of influence; for example, political, craft, military, or maritime. If, according to the École de Paris, a given god could be active in any number of domains, then the 'central defining core' of each god must lie in his mode of action rather than spheres of influence.[70] The mode of action (or 'mode of activity') is a prominent aspect of a god distinct to them that differentiates their involvement in each sphere of influence from that of other deities.[71] Marcel Detienne and Vernant observed that the most plausible candidate for Athena's mode of action is her μῆτις, 'cunning intelligence', and Zeus' is his sovereignty.[72] For example, in the maritime sphere, Athena's μῆτις is visible in her organisation of the voyage in the *Odyssey* and how she provides Argus with the instructions to build the Argo in the *Argonautica*.[73] In the same sphere, Zeus has sovereignty over the weather, for example, when he casts storms upon Odysseus' ships on multiple

[68] Versnel 2011, 30; Lévi-Strauss 1963a.
[69] Dumézil esp. 1966. Detienne 1997, 58, explicitly states the influence Dumézil had on his structuralist approach. Although Segal 1982, 224, comments that calling Vernant a 'structuralist' may be simplistic, this is currently the most convenient way to describe Vernant's approach to the study of Greek religion and Greek deities.
[70] See Parker 2011, 88-89, for a useful list of the primary 'structuralist' tenets.
[71] 'Mode of activity', e.g., Parker 2011, 88-90.
[72] Athena's μῆτις: Detienne and Vernant 1991, esp. ch. 8. Zeus' sovereignty: Vernant 1980, 105. This is not to say that other deities do not possess μῆτις but that it is not their *mode of action.*
[73] Athena's μῆτις: Hom. *Od.* 2.262-433; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.105-114; Detienne and Vernant 1991, 219.

occasions.[74] Zeus and Athena contributed to this sphere differently in terms of their distinctive modes of action. According to these French scholars, in some contexts, a god's mode of action can be used to differentiate them from other gods in a particular sphere of influence.

The idea that each god possesses a distinctive mode of action has been met with some criticism. In a later article, Detienne argued that the focus on modes of action is too static and similar to the old idea that a god was defined by a sphere of influence, for example, Poseidon as the 'god of the sea'.[75] Another criticism is that structuralism does not account for the ways in which a god's power may shift across contexts and localities.[76] For example, in Sourvinou-Inwood's examination of Persephone at Locri, she demonstrates how Persephone presided predominantly over weddings and marriage in this context, rather than fertility and the underworld.[77] This suggests that the divine character of a deity could change depending on the needs of the community and, therefore, perhaps the power of a god was not static.[78] A further concern is that, according to 'structuralist' principles, each deity has its own unique mode of action, but this mode of action is not always discernible or distinctive to a particular god. A good example of this is Athena and Hephaistos. As stated by Detienne and Vernant, Athena's mode of action is supposed to be μῆτις, but in their book *Cunning Intelligence*, there are

[74] Zeus' storms: e.g., Hom. *Od.* 7.248-250, 12.384-388, 23.329-332.
[75] Detienne 1997, 61-62.
[76] Jim 2022, 12.
[77] Sourvinou-Inwood 1978.
[78] Jim 2022, 12-13.

multiple references to Hephaistos' μῆτις but no mention of a unique mode of action that he alone possesses.[79] Detienne and Vernant are primarily concerned with the subject of μῆτις in *Cunning Intelligence*, so it is reasonable that they would refer to other gods that possess μῆτις, including Athena. However, if Hephaistos and Athena are considered to both share in, for example, the sphere of crafts, it seems necessary by structuralist principles that they possess different modes of action. It could be argued that they approach the sphere of crafts differently because of the materials they oversee; Hephaistos is typically concerned with metalworking, pottery, and crafts that require fire, whereas Athena is typically concerned with carpentry and weaving. Yet, on closer inspection, this differentiation is not entirely satisfactory either. A potter's hymn to Athena details how Athena can protect the kiln by holding her hands over it, which may suggest that she is, in some contexts at least, a patron of potters.[80] Furthermore, if one is forced to discern Hephaistos' mode of action, for example, τέχνη ('skill'), one runs the risk of imposing structure rather than unveiling it.[81] Therefore, although I agree with the general principle that gods often approach a given sphere of influence differently and that Athena's mode of action seems to be μῆτις, the gods can overlap in function and the distinctions between them can be a little more blurry than structuralism sometimes allows.

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[79] E.g., Detienne and Vernant 1991, 197, 272-273, 280. Bruit-Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 190, also explicitly say that Hephiastos has μῆτις but they do not suggest a unique mode of action for him.

[80] Ps. Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 32.

[81] Redfield 1991, 70 and Naerebout 1997, 305, are concerned that Vernant's method often imposes structure rather than discovers it. However, see Vernant 1980, 105: the 'least incorrect' (tr. Lloyd) definition for Zeus' mode of action is his sovereignty. This seems to imply that the application of mode of action is not a foolproof system.

Another emphasis of the École de Paris is the idea that it is better to study a god in the context of the wider Greek pantheon rather than in isolation. Cook's *Zeus* has received criticism for studying Zeus in isolation. His book is an excellent place to find everything one may want to know about the god's cults and epithets, but, according to Louise Bruit-Zaidman and Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, it conveys 'no understanding of the divinity's [Zeus'] place within the Greek pantheon as a whole'.[82] This criticism is, to some extent, unfair. Cook's *Zeus* is already a huge three-volume work, so it is hard to comprehend where he would have reasonably added discussion of another deity or other deities. Furthermore, one can obtain *some* understanding of Zeus' place in the wider pantheon (for example, his epithets, places of worship, spheres of influence), and so the claim that Cook's monumental work conveys '*no* understanding' could be considered too strong.[83] Differently from Cook or indeed many other scholars, Vernant's chapter 'Hestia-Hermes', in his book *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*, demonstrates some of the benefits of studying a god alongside another.[84] Vernant considers how Hestia and Hermes complement or oppose each other and what this means in the context of the wider pantheon of gods.[85] Vernant's approach serves to illustrate how Hestia and Hermes define each other's power, something that may not be so obvious if one were to study either god in isolation. However,

[82] Bruit-Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 183-184.
[83] My italics.
[84] Vernant 2006, 157-186.
[85] Vernant 1980, 127-175.

Parker comments that the binary opposition Vernant creates between Hestia and Hermes is not always useful and can be misleading.[86] Nowhere in this thesis will it be implied that Zeus and Athena are opposites; instead, I will consider if and how Zeus and Athena complement or constrain each other's power.

A more recent book, *The Hera of Zeus*, seeks to understand Hera in part by considering her relationship to Zeus.[87] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti comment that 'in studying her [Hera], the ancient evidence requires us to take as our point of departure her relationship to Zeus, which is an essential component of her profile'.[88] They do not wish to 'dissociate' Hera from Zeus; instead they consider how Hera and Zeus function as a divine pair.[89] The implication is that Hera cannot be sufficiently studied without considering her relationship to Zeus.[90] This thesis adopts the approach of studying two gods alongside each other rather than in isolation. As previously mentioned, this method is vital to this thesis, as it will help to unveil elements of Zeus and Athena previously overlooked, such as Zeus' position in the craft sphere, or how Athena operates in the maritime sphere. I will also analyse Zeus and Athena alongside a few other gods (such as Ares and Hephaistos) where appropriate.

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[86] Parker 2011, 88, n. 60. Cf. Polinskaya 2013, 98.
[87] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022.
[88] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 10.
[89] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 10-11. Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 8, praise Kerényi 1975 for 'focusing attention on the importance of seeing Zeus and Hera precisely as a divine *couple*', although they do not entirely agree with Kerényi's use of 'modern myths'.
[90] As previously mentioned, the idea of the importance of relationships within network theory is also highlighted by Eidinow 2011.

In *The Hera of Zeus*, Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti further propose a new paradigm for analysing the gods. Their method seeks to modify the traditional 'structuralist' framework: instead of the mode of action being the defining core of a god, it is the god's *name* that is the defining centre, which links the different representations of the god in various genres of literature, cult, and localities. They select one deity, Hera, in order to understand 'the network of meaning' that surrounds her and use the name Hera as a central thread throughout their investigation.[91] This 'network' has two possible meanings. One is that each deity is connected to a network of other deities; for example, as previously mentioned, in *The Hera of Zeus,* Hera's relationship to Zeus is considered particularly important. The other is that each deity has their own network made up of different elements: modes of actions, of intervention, the forms they take, and representations of them.[92] If we look closely at the method of Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti, it seems that their framework is not entirely new: whether knowingly or not, their 'network' method builds upon and adapts, on the one hand, the 'structuralist' tenet that a god has a unique core (in this context, the name) and, on the other, combines this with similar components to those suggested long ago by Burkert. In his chapter on 'The Gods', Burkert comments that the 'personality of a god' is structured around at least four different factors — cult, name, myths, and iconography — although, 'this complex is easily dissolved'.[93] He

[91] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 5.
[92] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 5-6.
[93] Burkert 1985, 119.

explains that this dissolution arises from these elements being 'continually separated from one another and reformed in new combinations'.[94] However, these 'new combinations' may still consist of the four elements in varying formations. Therefore, although cult, name, myths, and iconography may change from context to context, they all remain present. Burkert's components, applied by Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti, provide a network in which to study Zeus and Athena that is more flexible than simply focusing on the mode of action.

Alongside the frameworks of Vernant, Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti, and Burkert, I will also apply elements of the framework of Versnel. In his book *Coping with the Gods*, Versnel suggests that worshippers can cope with a lack of structure in the pantheon and that they live in a 'dissonant, pluralistic, diverse reality'.[95] Versnel also places the views of Vernant and Burkert into the dichotomy of 'order vs. chaos', a dichotomy seemingly supported by Polinskaya, but one that fails to convince.[96] Although Versnel argues for dissonance and complexities in Greek religion, his position is more obviously anti-structuralist. He attributes the idea of '*potential* chaos' to Burkert, but, as we have seen, Burkert allows for a kind of structure made up of four

[94] Burkert 1985, 119.
[95] Versnel 2011, 149.
[96] Versnel 2011, 26. Note that even Versnel himself wonders if the question of 'order or chaos' is the correct one to ask in the context of Greek religion: Versnel 2011, 36. See also, Polinskaya 2013, 93, 98, in which she engages with the problematic dichotomy of 'order vs. chaos'. Polinskaya labels Burkert's view as 'chaotic', a label which I believe to be too simplistic and inaccurate.

components: cult, name, myths, and iconography.[97] Perhaps Burkert's position is best explained as the suggestion of a *potential* lack of structure, rather than no structure altogether. Despite this, I find Versnel's idea of cognitive dissonance and 'coping' with the problems present in a polytheistic society useful to this thesis.

IV. Methods and Sources

There is a long history of scholarship that has approached the study of Greek religion through the more limited lens of a text, author, or genre. For example, Jenny Strauss Clay focuses on the wrath of Athena in the *Odyssey*, Thalia Papadopoulou examines representations of Athena in Greek Tragedy, and Synodinou studies the relationship between Zeus and Athena in the *Iliad.*[98] Equally limited in scope, but more recent in its application, is the study of Greek religion through the lens of a sphere of influence. In her book *Des dieux dans le four,* Anne-Catherine Gillis examines the worshipping habits of artisans in ancient Greece. She analyses the reciprocal relationship between artisans and gods through the lens of crafts by focusing on inscribed dedications.[99] Vincent Cuche's doctoral thesis *Les dieux au combat: Guerre et interventions divines en Grèce à l'epoque Classique* focuses on the military sphere, to study divine intervention in war and the dichotomy between history and myth in this context.[100] Annick Fenet adopts a similar approach in

[97] '*Potential* chaos': Versnel 2011, 149 (his italics). See also, Burkert 1985, 119: 'But a polytheistic world of gods is nevertheless potentially chaotic'.
[98] Clay 1997; Papadopoulou 2001; Synodinou 1986.
[99] Gillis 2021.
[100] Cuche 2010, 8.

Les dieux olympiens et la mer, this time in the maritime sphere.[101] Gillis, Cuche, and Fenet are good examples of how focusing on a particular sphere of influence can improve understanding of an aspect of Greek religion. Nevertheless, these studies can be restrictive. It is harder to access a varied picture of Zeus and Athena in a study of solely the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, or just the military or craft spheres. Various chapters of this thesis will investigate the relationship between Zeus and Athena in different spheres of influence. After Chapter One, each of the subsequent chapters will focus on a particular sphere to gain a deeper understanding of Zeus and Athena in each context. This approach will allow both depth and breadth of analysis and provide different contexts in which to tackle my research questions. To avoid the risk of creating a fragmented picture, I will consider how the relationship between Zeus and Athena may change or stay the same in each context. Likewise, I will investigate the similarities and differences of their roles and activities in each sphere. The chapters of this thesis will also be tied together by my theoretical framework outlined below, which provides a consistent approach to each sphere or context studied.

To best analyse the relationship between Zeus and Athena, this thesis critically engages with several theoretical frameworks discussed in Section III. I will first address the issue of the mode of action before discussing how I will combine these frameworks and how this methodology will be employed in

[101] Fenet 2019.

achieving the aims of the thesis. Despite the potential problems associated with the mode of action, this thesis will test this 'structuralist' tenet across the spheres of influence outlined previously. In several chapters of this thesis, Athena's μῆτις and Zeus' sovereignty are revealed as prominent elements of their divine characters; however, nowhere in this thesis do I claim that each mode of action is necessarily their *defining core.* I will employ the mode of action as part of Zeus' and Athena's networks, each of which includes cult, name, myths, and iconography. I will demonstrate that the mode of action is not always the most prominent or significant aspect of the gods concerned in a particular context. For example, in Chapter Two, I will explore Zeus and Athena as gods of the phratry and conclude that they occupy this position in the polis primarily because of their strong familial connection. Athena is not a god of the phratry because of her μῆτις, but because she is the daughter of Zeus and a 'special goddess' in Athens. This thesis will test the limits of the mode of action to see how far this can be a useful conceptual tool for studying both the relationship between Zeus and Athena, and Zeus and Athena as individual deities.

This thesis will combine and build upon previous frameworks outlined in Section III to create a new method for analysing the gods. As it is not clear if Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti knowingly combined the 'structuralist' tenet of the mode of action and Burkert's four components of a god (cult, name, myths, and iconography), this thesis is explicit in integrating the frameworks of

Burkert and Vernant across different contexts.[102] For the purpose of this study, Burkert's second component of 'name' is expanded to also include epithets. Despite Versnel's potentially anti-structuralist approach, and his unconvincing dichotomy of 'order vs. chaos', it is his idea of cognitive dissonance in Greek religion that can allow for the seemingly incompatible frameworks of Burkert and Versnel to be used collaboratively. This thesis recognises the benefits of focusing on the modes of action to further understand how Zeus and Athena contribute to various spheres of influence similarly or differently. In this way, both Burkert's and 'structuralist' principles will be used with the added insight from Versnel that dissonance is embedded in Greek religion. This blend of several theoretical frameworks will not only help to further our understanding of the relationship between Zeus and Athena but can also be applied to the study of other deities in work undertaken beyond this thesis.

The choice to combine the above theoretical frameworks will assist in achieving the aims of this thesis in various ways. In order to understand the relationship between Zeus and Athena, these deities must be studied together as a divine pair. This approach can be linked to both 'structuralist' principles and network theory outlined by Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti as well as Eidinow. Additionally, the 'structuralist' principle of the mode of action provides a helpful starting point to the analysis of the relationship between these two deities across various spheres of influence. Their modes of action

[102] Bremmer 2008, 22-23, also argues for a mixture of both approaches from Burkert and Vernant, but regarding the problem of whether a god is a person or a power.

can be visualised as nodes on their individual networks that may complement or constrain that of the other. Burkert's four components of a god (cult, name, myths, and iconography) encompass the different types of evidence that will be used throughout the thesis, namely literary, epigraphic, archaeological, and iconographic material (discussed below). Finally, Vernsel's application of cognitive dissonance theory can assist in uncovering the extent to which Zeus' and Athena's relationship may shift and change across time and geographical location. Therefore, this methodology is instrumental in achieving the primary aim of this thesis, which is to investigate the unique relationship between Zeus and Athena in myth, literature, society, and cult.

A broad chronological and geographical scope will be applied throughout this thesis. The chronological focus spans the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, although outliers to this chronological framework will be adopted where appropriate. A broad chronological scope will allow me to trace the relationship between Zeus and Athena across an extended time-period. I will consider how (if at all) elements of their relationship change and if the narratives of the birth of Athena have panhellenic and/or local significance across these time periods. These questions cannot be sufficiently answered without casting a wide chronological net. The geographical focus of this thesis includes locations such as Rhodes and Kos, where joint cults of Zeus and Athena are attested and sufficiently documented. As mentioned, I will also consider regions where epithets and myths of Zeus and Athena are attested, and where Zeus and Athena are worshipped as particularly prominent gods

either separately or together. The case studies of Thessaly, Rhodes, and Kos in Chapter Two of this thesis were chosen for several reasons. Importantly, there is a wealth of evidence for the joint worship of Zeus and Athena in these locations, with helpful and relevant scholarship to assist in the analysis of the cults of Zeus and Athena in these regions. [103] Additionally, these case studies illustrate the developing nature of the worship of Zeus and Athena over time. Other locations, such as Corinth, are explored in less detail due to a lack of evidence and the limited scholarly exploration of the relationship between Zeus and Athena in these localities.[104] Nevertheless, I will analyse Zeus and Athena independently and as a divine pair both inside and outside of Attica to broaden the geographical parameters of the study of Zeus and Athena together. A broad geographical scope is necessary to avoid being too Athenocentric in the use of evidence and in drawing my conclusions. As previously mentioned, recent scholarship has made a conscious effort to study the Greek gods in regions other than Athens. However, if we are aware that the Athena of Athens cannot be a paradigm for the Athena of elsewhere, then nor can the Athena of Rhodes, Kos, or Thessaly be used as a paradigm for other locations, and the same holds true for Zeus. Scholarship that uses the regional approach has the benefit of studying that particular region in depth, but this is achieved at the expense of breadth of understanding of the divine characters and worship of Zeus and Athena in a variety of local pantheons and their relationship to each other. By contrast, this thesis will consider the

[103] Scholarship: e.g., Graninger 2011 and Mili 2014 (Thessaly); Lala 2023, Monaco 2023, and Zachhuber 2023 and 2024 (Rhodes); Paul 2010 and 2013 (Kos).
[104] For an analysis of Athena in Corinth, see Chapter Three of this thesis.

relationship between Zeus and Athena across various regions to analyse the variety of myths, epithets, and cults (independent and joint) of Zeus and Athena. It is worth noting that the same attention cannot be given to every region or time-period, and so, in order to maintain depth of analysis, I will attempt to highlight the most significant and interesting material in the context of each chapter. Consequently, the evidence discussed in this thesis is not exhaustive.

A range of literary, epigraphic, archaeological, and iconographic material will be analysed in this thesis in order to gain a broader understanding of the relationship between Zeus and Athena. This thesis will engage with a variety of literary sources. Homer and Hesiod claim to provide insight into the conversations and interactions between deities in ways that historical sources, such as Thucydides, do not. Therefore, one can learn about the nature of the relationship between Zeus and Athena through their interactions in these texts. Exchanges between deities can also be found in other sources like Pindar, the *Homeric Hymns*, Apollonios Rhodios, and Valerius Flaccus. In Attic tragedy, we lose the direct perspective of Zeus. This could be in part due to a distinct shift towards the idea of the incomprehensible deity, which is applicable to all gods, not just Zeus.[105] Histories and geographies also offer information on the divine, such as epiphanies, oracles, and the location of cults and/or the inner workings of cult

[105] See Parker 1999, on the incomprehensible nature of gods, particularly in Sophocles.

practice. For example, Pausanias provides insight into the locations of cults and cult practice of many deities including Zeus and Athena. Information gleaned from these literary sources can be compared and contrasted in order to understand different dimensions of the relationship between Zeus and Athena. This thesis will consider how far we can apply what we know about Zeus and Athena's interactions in genres such as epic poetry to other kinds of evidence, for example, historical, epigraphic, or archaeological.

Epigraphic evidence is essential to this study of Zeus and Athena. I will deploy a range of epigraphic sources: dedicatory inscriptions, sacred laws, and sacrificial calendars. I gathered this material using several databases, namely the *PHI* (*Packard Humanities Institute*), *MAP (Mapping Ancient Polytheisms)*, and *CGRN* (*Collection of Greek Ritual Norms*) databases. Corpuses of inscriptions, such as the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, were also consulted. Different types of epigraphic material can elucidate various aspects of Greek religion; for example, dedicatory inscriptions may illuminate under what circumstances ancient Greek people worshipped Zeus and Athena independently and jointly. As noted by Parker, it is not possible to give an overall view of the religious life of any one individual; however, if we combine evidence from a variety of individuals, this may provide a better understanding of how Zeus and Athena were worshipped in particular contexts.[106] For example, in Chapter Three, I will use epigraphic evidence to analyse how artisans worshipped Athena. By

[106] Parker 2018, 29.

using dedicatory inscriptions from different individuals, we can uncover some of the various circumstances under which people may have approached Athena as a goddess of crafts. Sacred laws often illuminate how certain cults were conducted, and sacrificial calendars can offer similar information. These sources can highlight the importance of certain deities in a particular polis. For example, a sacrificial calendar from Kos dating to ca. 350 BCE provides a significant amount of information pertaining to a sacrifice to Zeus Polieus.[107] The information provided in this calendar may suggest that Zeus Polieus held a particularly prominent position in the polis of Kos, at least from ca. 350 BCE onwards.[108] Sacred laws and sacrificial calendars may unveil the relationship of the polis and some sub-polis groups with Zeus and Athena, and dedicatory inscriptions may provide insight into personal relationships between worshipper and deity. Therefore, the use of epigraphic material may help us to understand the relationship between Zeus and Athena at panhellenic, polis, sub-polis, and private levels.

This thesis will also employ archaeological and iconographic material. Similarly to the epigraphic sources, I will collect archaeological and iconographic evidence from geographical locations that best attest to cults, epithets, and myths of Zeus and Athena. Archaeological and iconographic material that depict the myths associated with Zeus and Athena (primarily the birth of Athena) are particularly significant to this thesis. For example, the east

[107] *IG* XII,4 274-278 = *CGRN* 86.
[108] See Paul 2010 and 2013, on this cult. See also ch. 2 of this thesis.

pediment of the Parthenon most likely depicted a version of the myth of the birth of Athena, and other depictions of this myth are illustrated on painted pottery.[109] This kind of material can help to answer the question of how far myths of Zeus and Athena impacted cult and society beyond the literary material. Furthermore, archaeological and literary evidence can often work together to uncover a clearer and fuller picture. For example, the archaeological remains from the east pediment of the Parthenon are fragmented, but we know from Pausanias' report that the east pediment depicted the myth of the birth of Athena.[110] Epigraphy, archaeology, and iconography can complement or contradict what we know from the literary sources.

V. Possible Conclusions and Chapter Summaries

This thesis argues that the foundation of Zeus' and Athena's relationship is Athena's unique birth from Zeus' head. More importantly, this moment is significant in part because the qualities Athena receives from Zeus, namely μῆτις and authority, as a result of her unique birth are vital for understanding her position across different contexts. Critically, Athena's birth is the moment when Zeus and his daughter enter a symbiotic relationship. By 'symbiotic' I mean a mutually reciprocal relationship in which each deity's power is enhanced, complemented, and confirmed by that of the other. Due to this symbiosis, Zeus and Athena complement more than constrain each

[109] See ch. 2 for further discussion of the east pediment of the Parthenon.
[110] Paus. 1.24.5.

other's power. Additionally, this thesis argues that Zeus and Athena are an important divine pair to worshippers, and that Zeus' and Athena's relationship is not static and often shifts depending on context.

Chapter One contextualises the birth of Athena in the Hesiodic succession cycle by investigating the two major and intertwined motifs of violence and intelligence. This chapter considers how far Athena has power and agency in ending the succession cycle, breaking cycles of violence, and consolidating her father's power. It also explores the possible qualities Athena may have gained from her unusual birth that could assist her in other contexts: μῆτις and authority. This chapter establishes the foundation for the subsequent chapters, most of which explore a different sphere of influence. Chapter Two analyses the roles of Zeus and Athena as city-protectors. Zeus and Athena are both worshipped under the epithet Polieus/Polias ('of the city'), which is exclusive to them among the gods. I focus on protection of the polis in this chapter as it is seemingly one of the most important areas of their activities. This chapter considers how far Athena's role as a city-protector is dependent on her familial relationship with Zeus. It further investigates Zeus' and Athena's connection to different aspects of the polis, including agriculture, fertility, prosperity, wealth, and political institutions such as the phratries and *boule*. It also analyses the relationship between old and new civic identities through the case studies of Zeus and Athena in Thessaly, Rhodes, and Kos.

Chapter Three focuses on Zeus' and Athena's roles in the sphere of crafts. It demonstrates specifically how Zeus' and Athena's differing 'hands-off' and 'hands-on' approaches to this sphere can work together effectively. This chapter expands the definition of 'craft' beyond artisanal crafting to encompass abstract forms of crafting in order to uncover how Zeus might be more involved in this sphere than traditionally thought. Chapter Three also foregrounds the importance of Athena's μῆτις in this sphere, and the connection between μῆτις and the birth of Athena. Furthermore, it attempts to correct several longstanding misconceptions related to this sphere of influence, namely assumptions regarding Athena Ergane ('worker') and Zeus' position (or assumed lack of position) in the sphere of crafts. Chapter Four further highlights Zeus and Athena's methods of intervention but this time in the military and maritime spheres. I consider if there are any overlapping themes or issues between the military and maritime spheres and the sphere of crafts. Additionally, this chapter brings the themes of violence and intelligence back into focus. Chapter Five focuses on Zeus' and Athena's relationship in the context of justice and how Athena may or may not contribute to Zeus' 'network of order'. It brings back into focus the Hesiodic succession cycle in parallel to Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and illustrates how Athena's μῆτις is necessary to facilitate some form of progress in the context of justice. It also revisits Athena's ability to break cycles of violence, and in doing so, this investigation closes where it began: the birth of Athena.

Chapter One. The Birth of Athena: Between Violence and Intelligence

Introduction

αὐτὸς δ’ ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ’ Ἀθήνην,
925 δεινὴν ἐγρεκύδοιμον ἀγέστρατον ἀτρυτώνην,
πότνιαν, ᾗ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε·

He [Zeus] himself gave birth from his head to bright-eyed Athena, terrible, battle-rouser, army-leader, indefatigable, queenly, who delights in din and wars and battles.[111]

Amid descriptions of divine marriages, births, and genealogies in Hesiod’s *Theogony* is one of the most interesting instances of divine birth in myth — the birth of Athena. The details of the birth vary between Hesiod and other sources, but a common theme is that Athena was born from the head of Zeus.[112] Although some texts (for example, *Iliad* 5.880) do not mention the head explicitly, Athena’s birth directly from Zeus remains a constant in the ancient sources. The head of Zeus is of great significance, primarily due to its association with authority, and will be discussed throughout the chapter. This chapter argues overall that the foundation of the close relationship between Zeus and Athena begins at the point of her birth. It argues that Athena plays an instrumental role in ending the Hesiodic succession cycle and confirming

[111] Hes. *Theog.* 924-926 (tr. Most 2018).
[112] *Hymn. Hom.* 3.307-309; *Hymn. Hom.* 28; Stes. fr. 270 Finglass; Pind. *Ol.* 7.33-38; Eur. *Ion.* 452-457; Strab. 14.2.10; Aristid. *Or.* 37.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6; Lucian *Dial. D.* 13 (8); Paus. 1.24.2-3.

Zeus' power, resulting in a symbiotic relationship between father and daughter.

This chapter primarily investigates the relationship between the intertwined motifs of violence and intelligence that permeate the succession cycle and the narratives of the birth of Athena. The 'succession cycle' refers to the violent, competitive, and unstable process in the *Theogony,* in which a child usurps his father: Kronos usurps Ouranos, Zeus usurps Kronos. Section I will first contextualise the birth of Athena in the Hesiodic succession cycle by considering how (if at all) the intersecting motifs of violence and intelligence are represented. Section II will investigate how violence and intelligence are illustrated in the narratives that involve the titan Metis, who happens to be Athena's mother. Is Metis — the embodiment of 'cunning intelligence' (μῆτις) — the only symbol of intelligence, or is intelligence also signified in other ways?[113] Section III will then examine the literary and iconographic narratives of the birth of Athena that do not explicitly mention Metis, and instead highlight the involvement of Hephaistos, Prometheus, and/or Hermes. Finally, Section IV will consider the extent to which Athena is essential to the termination of the succession cycle and the confirmation of Zeus' power. This section will primarily analyse the significance of Athena's virginity in confirming Zeus' power and the possible tensions that could persist between father and daughter beyond the moment of her birth. In this chapter, I will

[113] I discuss Metis (the titan) and μῆτις (the attribute) throughout this chapter. To avoid confusion, Metis will always be written in English and μῆτις will always be written in Greek.

argue that μῆτις becomes the dominant power in Zeus' cosmos after Athena is born, despite the continuous presence of violence. I will refer to this as 'violence constrained by μῆτις' throughout this chapter and the thesis.[114]

This chapter uses literary and iconographic sources to study the different narratives and depictions of the birth of Athena. Iconography is especially useful when analysing the violence of these narratives, as this is easier to visually depict than intelligence. Intelligence can be studied primarily through poetic language, although violence and intelligence are present in both mediums. In Hesiod's *Theogony* and the other narratives of the birth of Athena, intelligence is expressed using various terminologies. Brown uses μῆτις as a blanket term for all the different kinds of intelligence represented in both the succession cycle and the narratives of the birth of Athena; however, some versions of the myth do not use the word μῆτις and instead focus on δόλος ('trick'), τέχνη ('skill'), or a mixture of terminologies.[115] As a result, no Greek term stands out as an appropriate umbrella word; therefore, what I refer to as 'intelligence' will include various Greek terminology such as μῆτις, δόλος, τέχνη, and so on when I examine the language present in the succession cycle and the narratives of the birth of Athena.

[114] This theme appears again most prominently in ch. 4 and 5.
[115] Brown 1952.

I. The Succession Cycle

In order to understand the importance of the birth of Athena, we must first consider the significance of its position in the Hesiodic succession cycle. Athena's birth should not be understood as an isolated incident; in fact, it ends a long narrative involving violence, intelligence, and the contest for ultimate power over the cosmos. In the *Theogony,* Hesiod describes the divine succession cycle, which starts with Ouranos and ends with Athena: Ouranos is overthrown by his son, Kronos, who is then usurped by his son, Zeus, and Zeus' power is then confirmed by his daughter, Athena.[116] Parallels can be drawn between the birth of Athena and these previous 'cycles' of divine succession, specifically when we focus on the motifs of violence and intelligence.[117] This cycle of violence and competition follows a pattern which will be outlined in this section. This pattern results in instability, which is terminated with the arrival of Athena.

The first act of violence in the succession cycle is committed by Ouranos. Gaia first gives birth to Ouranos, whom she creates 'equal (ἴσος) to herself'.[118] Felson argues that by creating an equal in an attempt to stabilise the cosmos, Gaia in fact creates a source of conflict.[119] This conflict is a catalyst for the instability of the succession cycle that can only be ended by

[116] Schefold 1992, 8, comments that the cycle shows 'frailty and insecurity' that is eventually overcome, and that order is stabilised with the birth of Athena.
[117] Mondi 1984, 343; Scully 2015, 53-54: Mondi and Scully both discuss how the succession cycle could come from Near Eastern myth as there are similar motifs such as castration, emergence from the body, and spitting up a stone, amongst others.
[118] Hes. *Theog.* 126-128 (tr. Most 2018).
[119] Felson 2011, 258-259.

Zeus and Athena. Ouranos' first act of violence is described by Hesiod in lines 154-159,

ὅσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο
δεινότατοι παίδων, σφετέρῳ δ' ἤχθοντο τοκῆι
ἐξ ἀρχῆς· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο,
πάντας ἀποκρύπτασκε καὶ ἐς φάος οὐκ ἀνίεσκε
Γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι, κακῷ δ' ἐπετέρπετο ἔργῳ,
Οὐρανός· ἡ δ' ἐντὸς στοναχίζετο Γαῖα πελώρη
στεινομένη.

For all these, who came forth from Gaia and Ouranos as the most terrible of their children, were hated by their own father from the beginning. And as soon as any of them was born, Ouranos put them all away out of sight in a hiding place in Gaia and did not let them come up into the light, and he rejoiced in his evil deed. But huge Earth groaned within, for she was constricted.[120]

The poetic language used in this passage exhibits a level of 'raw violence'.[121] The children are described as being 'hated' (ἔχθομαι) by their 'own father' (σφέτερος... τοκεύς) and rejected by the one who fathered them. Ouranos proceeds to hide his offspring inside Gaia, an 'evil deed' (κακόν… ἔργον), which causes him to rejoice (ἐπιτέρπομαι) and Gaia to let out a painful 'groan' (στεναχίζω). In *Homeric Hymn* 28, another version of the birth of Athena, Zeus rejoices (γηθέω) after he has given birth to Athena.[122] Here are two contrasting episodes: Ouranos rejoices because he has hidden his offspring, Zeus rejoices because he has released his. Ouranos' joy is rooted in violence,

[120] Hes. *Theog.* 154-160 (tr. Most 2018).
[121] Quote: Thalmann 1984, 42.
[122] *Hymn. Hom.* 28.16.

whereas Zeus' is a positive reaction to the birth of his daughter and the end of the succession cycle. Ouranos' actions are the catalyst for the violence that characterises the succession cycle.

Gaia then retaliates by fashioning a sickle to use against Ouranos, which is wielded by her son Kronos.[123] The sickle is a violent weapon. It is described as καρχαρόδους, 'with sharp, jagged teeth', which emphasises the lethal and painful nature of the blade and, in turn, heightens the language of violence.[124] The adjective καρχαρόδους is a combination of the words κάρχαρος ('saw-like', 'jagged') and ὀδούς ('tooth').[125] The -οδούς conjures images of the mouth and teeth. Tentatively, it may be suggested that καρχαρόδους could foreshadow the violent use of the mouth by other deities in the succession cycle: Kronos swallows his offspring and Zeus swallows Metis both using their mouth, throat, and belly. There is further violence in the use of the verb ἀμάω ('reap'), which is used to describe Kronos cutting his father's genitals from his body.[126] West notes that the sickle is a weapon commonly used by heroes in Greek myths to dismember monsters; however, in other contexts, ἀμάω can have positive connotations of harvest and plenty.[127] This idea of plenty is visible in the otherwise violent episode of Ouranos' castration. In lines 182-186, blood from Ouranos' genitals falls onto Gaia, who

[123] Hes. *Theog.* 165-172.
[124] Hes. *Theog.* 175, 180.
[125] LSJ s.v. κάρχαρος, οδούς.
[126] Hes. *Theog.* 181.
[127] West 1966, 217-218. Zeus uses a sickle against Typhon in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.3. See Hamilton 1989, 20-26, for the parallels between the decapitation of Medusa and the castration of Ouranos. Harvest and plenty: e.g., Aesch. *Ag.* 1044.

populates the earth with many other creatures, for instance, the Erinyes, Giants, and Nymphs. While not all of these creatures have a positive nature, the removal of Ouranos' genitals paradoxically suggests that the world can be populated, and progress can be made. [128] The sickle, therefore, could symbolise both the possibility of a plentiful harvest, but also the violent death of a monster.

The sickle is not only a violent weapon, but also a manifestation of Gaia's intelligence. The creation of the sickle requires technical intelligence, and the use of the sickle highlights the dominance of female μῆτις over the male μῆδος in the *Theogony*. In line 180, Most translates μῆδος as 'genitals'. Although this translation is correct in the context of Kronos' removal of Ouranos' genitals, μῆδος can also mean 'counsels' or 'plans'.[129] Accordingly, one can understand the male plan (μῆδος) as overpowered by the female plan (μῆτις) as the male μῆδος is forcibly removed. The superiority of the female μῆτις to the male μῆδος is made apparent throughout the succession cycle until the arrival of Zeus, who successfully deploys both violence and intelligence. This is further illustrated in the next stage of the cycle, which continues with Kronos. Kronos swallows his offspring to ensure that none of his children will usurp him, as he did to his father. Kronos' act of swallowing his children is violent, cannibalistic, and transgressive, and causes his wife,

[128] E.g., the Erinyes represent the cycle of ancestral violence that has just begun among the divine. See Hall 2021.
[129] LSJ s.v. μῆδος. See Hes. *Theog.* 398, where μῆδος is translated as 'plan' (tr. Most 2018); West 1966, 219; Thalmann 1982, 42.

Rhea, πένθος ἄλαστον, 'unremitting grief'.[130] With the advice of Gaia, Rhea tricks Kronos into swallowing a rock instead of Zeus. When Zeus is fully grown, he causes Kronos to vomit up his offspring, 'by his [Kronos] own son's [Zeus'] skill (τέχνη) and violence (βία)'. [131] Here, Zeus uses both violence and intelligence. Ouranos' and Kronos' violence towards their female counterparts and their children result in their own violent demises. A violent action provokes another violent reaction.

The major female deities in the succession cycle often act more intelligently than violently, in contrast to the prominent male deities, who act more violently than intelligently. Both Ouranos and Kronos make plans (a sign of intelligence), but these are violent plans that fail to put an end to the succession cycle. Their plans are unsuccessful because their intelligence cannot match that of Gaia and Rhea, their female counterparts. Rhea's intelligence is rooted in the foresight she exhibits when seeking help from her parents Gaia and Ouranos. She asks them to contrive a cunning plan (μῆτιν συμφράσσασθαι) so that she can save Zeus.[132] Gaia displays many different kinds of intelligence, which are highlighted most clearly in the lines pertaining to her retaliation against Ouranos,

ἡ δ' ἐντὸς στοναχίζετο Γαῖα πελώρη
στεινομένη, δολίην δὲ κακὴν ἐπεφράσσατο τέχνην.
αἶψα δὲ ποιήσασα γένος πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος

[130] Hes. *Theog.* 453-467.
[131] Hes. *Theog.* 496 (tr. Most 2018). Warner 1998, 198, comments that Zeus and Kronos become 'surrogate mothers' through the act of producing offspring from the head and vomiting up the children respectively. Cf. Thalmann 1982, 34.
[132] Hes. *Theog.* 471. See Vergados 2020, 97-98.

τεῦξε μέγα δρέπανον καὶ ἐπέφραδε παισὶ φίλοισιν·

> But huge Gaia groaned within, for she was constricted,
> and she devised a tricky, evil stratagem. At once she
> created an offspring, of gray adamant, and she
> fashioned a big sickle and showed it to her own
> children.[133]

The language used here conveys Gaia's multi-faceted intelligence. In line 160, three words δόλιος, ἐπιφράζω, and τέχνη are used in close succession. All three words represent different kinds of intelligence: deceptive intelligence (δόλιος), intelligence of planning and communication of knowledge (ἐπιφράζω), and technical intelligence (τέχνη).[134] Gaia also built or fashioned (τεύχω) a sickle, a tangible manifestation of her technical skills.[135] Not only is Gaia intelligent, but she is also violent. As previously mentioned, Gaia recruits one of her offspring, Kronos, to castrate Ouranos and topple his rule; the plan is intelligent, but the execution is violent. On the topic of violence and intelligence in the succession cycle, Clay comments that 'the opposition of violence (*bie*) and guile (*metis*) as vehicles promoting succession are already visible in the first instantiation of the repeated pattern'.[136] However, I would argue that violence and intelligence are not in 'opposition' but are closely connected, especially in the case of Gaia and, to some extent, Rhea. Zeus also uses violence and intelligence in close connection, especially when he tricks

[133] Hes. *Theog.* 159-162 (tr. Most 2018).
[134] West 1966, 215, comments that τέχνη here should be translated as 'trick' but τέχνη is always used alongside δόλος in the examples provided by West (apart from Hes. *Theog.* 770). Therefore, in most cases, it is more appropriate that δόλος is the 'trick' and not τέχνη: Hes. *Theog.* 540, 547, 555, 560; Hom. *Od.* 4.529.
[135] Weaponry is associated not just with the succession cycle, but also with the birth of Athena. In section III, I will analyse the narratives of the birth of Athena that involve Hephaistos' axe.
[136] Clay 2003, 18.

Kronos using a combination of τέχνη and βία.[137] Gaia's actions are intelligent, but they are for violent ends. Gaia brings violence and intelligence together; they are not, contrary to what Clay argues, in opposition.

In the succession cycle, deities often possess intelligence, violence, or both, but violence and intelligence are never suitably deployed by these gods to end the cycle. Ouranos and Kronos create violent plans, but they both fail. Although in theory, Gaia can use intelligence for violent ends, in practice, she requires the help of her son, Kronos, to enact violence on her behalf.[138] Similarly, Rhea also displays intelligence but needs the help of her son to carry out her violent deeds. This all changes with the arrival of Zeus' rule and the birth of Athena. In the following sections, I will outline how the narratives shift from the violence of the succession cycle to the intelligence that surrounds the birth of Athena. Just as the succession cycle has moments of intelligence, the birth of Athena has moments of violence; however, the intelligence is more pronounced, thereby constraining the violence. The remainder of this chapter will investigate how violence and intelligence are represented in the different narratives of the birth of Athena and the extent to which Athena is vital in the confirmation of Zeus' power.

[137] Hes. *Theog.* 496. Zeus' intelligence will be explored in more detail in section II.
[138] Yasumura 2011, 85.

II. Metis in the Narratives of the Birth of Athena

Section I illustrated how violence and intelligence are foregrounded in the succession cycle. This section discusses the stage of the succession cycle that features Zeus and Metis. It is at this point in the narrative that the scales start to tip in favour of intelligence over violence. Although Metis is mentioned in Apollodoros' *Bibliotheca,* Hesiod's *Theogony* is more detailed with regard to Metis' involvement and intelligence more broadly; therefore, this section primarily (but not exclusively) focuses on Metis and Zeus in the *Theogony.* I will argue that Zeus' intelligence is illustrated in the poetic language of the *Theogony*, his ability to learn from the mistakes of his predecessors, and his manipulation of the prophecy given to him by Gaia and Ouranos. Finally, I will demonstrate that Metis embodies a type of intelligence (μῆτις) that Zeus requires in order to end the succession cycle in certain versions of the birth of Athena.

Zeus' intelligence is embedded in the poetic language used by Hesiod. This is highlighted most clearly in this passage,

Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν βασιλεὺς πρώτην ἄλοχον θέτο Μῆτιν,
πλεῖστα θεῶν εἰδυῖαν ἰδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε θεὰν γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην
τέξεσθαι, τότ' ἔπειτα δόλῳ φρένας ἐξαπατήσας
890 αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν ἐὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν,
Γαίης φραδμοσύνῃσι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
τὼς γάρ οἱ φρασάτην, ἵνα μὴ βασιληίδα τιμὴν
ἄλλος ἔχοι Διὸς ἀντὶ θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.
ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εἵμαρτο περίφρονα τέκνα γενέσθαι·
895 πρώτην μὲν κούρην γλαυκώπιδα Τριτογένειαν,

ἶσον ἔχουσαν πατρὶ μένος καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ’ ἄρα παῖδα θεῶν βασιλῆα καὶ ἀνδρῶν
ἤμελλεν τέξεσθαι, ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντα·
ἀλλ’ ἄρα μιν Ζεὺς πρόσθεν ἐὴν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν,
900 ὥς οἱ συμφράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.

Zeus, king of the gods, took as his first wife Metis, she who of the gods and mortal human beings knows the most. But when she was about to give birth to the goddess, bright-eyed Athena, he deceived her mind by a trick and with wily words he put her into his belly, by the cunning of Gaia and of starry Ouranos: for this was how they had prophesied to him, lest some other one of the eternally living gods hold the kingly honour instead of Zeus. For it was destined that exceedingly wise children would come to be from her: first she would give birth to a maiden, bright-eyed Tritogeneia, possessing strength equal to her father’s and wise counsel, and then to a son, a king of gods and of men, possessing a very violent heart. But before that could happen Zeus put her into his belly, so that the goddess would advise him about good and evil.[139]

The language of intelligence is woven into these lines. In lines 889-890, Zeus deceives (ἐξαπατάω) Metis’ mind with a trick (δόλος) and with wily words (αἰμύλος λόγος). Zeus’ intelligence parallels Gaia’s deceptive intelligence in his ability to deceive using tricks (δόλοι). Thalmann comments that Gaia’s role is often ‘described by the verb φράζειν... its compounds, and related nouns and adjectives’.[140] Φράζω means ‘to tell’, ‘to point out’ or, in the middle voice, ‘to devise’.[141] For example, in line 891, Ouranos and Gaia are described as ‘cunning’ (φραδμοσύνη). There are other terms in the above passage that

[139] Hes. *Theog.* 886-900 (tr. Most 2018, with modifications).
[140] Thalmann 1982, 44.
[141] Thalmann 1982, 44.

convey the idea of intelligent thought. The prophecy states that Metis' future children will be περίφρων, 'very thoughtful' or even 'crafty', and Athena is destined to provide 'thoughtful council', ἐπίφρων βουλή.[142] Finally, Metis is said 'to take counsel with' (συμφράζομαι) Zeus. The language of intelligence serves not only to emphasise the intelligence of Zeus and other deities in the passage, but also to foreshadow Athena's intelligence. Cleverness, knowledge, and intelligence all come together leading up to the production of the goddess of μῆτις — Athena.

Another way that Zeus' intelligence is highlighted in the *Theogony* is his ability to learn from the mistakes of his predecessors, especially Ouranos and Kronos.[143] In the above passage and Apollodoros' *Bibliotheca*, Metis is swallowed by Zeus while Athena is still in utero.[144] In both texts, Zeus swallows Metis in response to a prophecy told by Gaia (and Ouranos in the *Theogony*), according to which Metis will give birth to a son who will overthrow him. Earlier in the succession cycle, both Ouranos and Kronos hide and/or swallow their children. As Clay comments, the male deities in the *Theogony* seek to 'control and block the procreative drive in order to bring about a stable cosmic regime'.[145] However, Ouranos and Kronos are unable to 'block the procreative drive' as they focus on hiding and/or swallowing their children, not the mother. In contrast to this, Zeus blocks Metis' ability to procreate altogether

[142] LSJ s.v. περίφρων.
[143] Yasumura 2011, 76.
[144] Hes. *Theog.* 886-900; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6.
[145] Clay 2003, 18.

by swallowing her instead of waiting for any children to be born. He targets the real problem: the mother. Zeus learns from those who came before him, and he efficiently combines violence (hiding and swallowing) with intelligence (swallowing the mother not the children) in an attempt to create cosmic stability.[146]

Zeus' intelligence is illustrated further in his ability to manipulate the language, and therefore the outcome, of the prophecy. The prophecy from Gaia and Ouranos states that Athena and her brother will be 'exceedingly wise' (περίφρων) and potentially dangerous if they are born from Metis: ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εἴμαρτο περίφρονα τέκνα γενέσθαι.[147] The most important part of this sentence is ἐκ… τῆς. Zeus does not necessarily seek to prevent the birth of Athena outright; however, he can prevent Athena from being born ἐκ… τῆς, from Metis.[148] Instead, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐκ κεφαλῆς... γείνατο — he himself gives birth to Athena.[149] Zeus combines the violent methods of the male deities that came before him with the intelligence of the female deities. Zeus swallows and hides Metis, methods adopted from both Kronos and Ouranos, but he does so intelligently by swallowing the mother and manipulating the prophecy. Gladhill comments that by swallowing Metis, the source of his problems, Zeus can safely procreate with other goddesses 'without fear of

[146] Vergados 2020, 78, 98.
[147] Hes. *Theog.* 894.
[148] See Yasumura 2011, 86, for the 'potentiality' of Metis.
[149] Hes. *Theog.* 924.

giving birth to a more powerful son'.[150] The threat of usurpation is dispelled, and the succession cycle can end with Athena.

An additional demonstration of Zeus' intelligence is his ability to recognise that Metis, the embodiment of 'cunning intelligence', can be of permanent use to him. Zeus swallows Metis 'so that the goddess would advise him about good and evil' (l. 900). Zeus has two poetic epithets, μητίετα or μητιόεις, which are used throughout the *Theogony* and are derivatives of μῆτις.[151] Vergados argues that Zeus himself becomes imbued with μῆτις only after he swallows Metis, and that this newfound intelligence is expressed through the epithets μητίετα/μητιόεις.[152] Although I have demonstrated that Zeus already has some form of intelligence, the use of the purpose clause with ὥς... συμφράσσαιτο may suggest that Zeus put Metis in his belly with the intention of acquiring *additional* intelligence, namely to understand good and evil. Therefore, this line could suggest that Zeus lacks the attribute of μῆτις at this point, even though, as demonstrated earlier, he already has some kind of intelligence. As the explicit use of the word μῆτις is missing from the above passage (l. 886-900), this gives the impression that Zeus has not yet acquired μῆτις and will only do so after Metis has been swallowed. Zeus recognises the

[150] Gladhill 2018, 48-49.
[151] Μητίετα: e.g., Hes. *Theog.* 56, 520, 904, 914. Μητιόεις: e.g., Hes. *Theog.* 286, 457. It should be noted that the organisation of the *Theogony* is not entirely linear. For example, Athena helps in the fight against Typhon in line 28 and she is part of the assemblage of deities who make and adorn Pandora in lines 573-577. Both episodes are described before the birth of Athena in lines 924-926. Therefore, the fact that Zeus is called μητίετα and μητιόεις before the myth of Metis and the birth of Athena should not concern us.
[152] Vergados 2020, 95-96.

powerful intelligence Metis holds and swallows her to obtain this power for himself, whilst preventing the birth of a dangerous son. [153]

The epithet μητίετα may also be of some significance in *Homeric Hymn* 28. Some versions of the birth of Athena obscure the role of Metis, but the poetic language may hint at her presence. For example, in *Homeric Hymn* 28, the poet begins the narrative from the moment of Athena's birth and so makes no mention of Metis. Despite this, it may be possible to identify traces of Metis in the passage. Zeus is twice referred to as μητίετα Ζεύς, 'counsellor Zeus': once, when he is first named (l. 4), and again near the end of the poem (l. 16).[154] Although the myth of Metis is not recounted, the word μητίετα may allude to Metis residing in Zeus' belly. Even in the *Theogony*, the passage that describes the birth of Athena (l. 924-926) starts 24 lines after the myth of Metis (l. 886-900) with a passage in between which lists some of Zeus' other wives and children. The separation between these two passages gives the impression that 'Zeus brought forth a powerful goddess all on his own'.[155] Although Metis does not feature explicitly in *Homeric Hymn* 28, the use of μητίετα could be an indication of her presence.

[153] Brown 1952, 133; Holmberg 1997, 2, argues that although there is an association between μῆτις and the feminine, μῆτις provides 'important socio-cultural functions' and so is valuable to the male.
[154] *Hymn. Hom.* 28.4, 16; Olson 2012, 316, notes that the use of μητίετα at the beginning and end of the poem brings 'the narrative portion of the *Hymn* full-circle'.
[155] Quote: van Dongen 2011, 198-199.

After acquiring μῆτις from Metis, it may be suggested that this important attribute is passed to Athena genetically through Zeus. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, μῆτις could be considered Athena's mode of action and is an important attribute of her divine character.[156] In the *Theogony*, Athena is the daughter of Zeus and Metis, and spends time in Metis' womb. Despite this, it may be suggested that μῆτις is passed to Athena through Zeus. In Hippocratic genealogy and embryology, there are two main theories — the 'one-seed' and 'two-seed' theories. The theory that the father alone passes down his genetic material to his child is known as the 'one-seed' theory.[157] The birth of Athena is associated with the 'one-seed' theory most prominently in Aeschylus' *Eumenides.* Apollo argues that a mother is no parent and is instead a stranger from the family; he then uses Athena as an example of how men do not need women to procreate, as Zeus gave birth to Athena alone.[158] Although Apollo's argument is questionable, Athena states in the *Eumenides* that 'no mother gave birth to me' (μήτηρ γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶν ἥ μ᾽ ἐγείνατο), which emphasises her connection to her father.[159] Furthermore, Athena is referred to as 'motherless' (ἀμήτωρ) in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* and a fragment of *Erechtheus*.[160] The other theory is the 'two-seed' theory, in which both the mother and father pass

[156] Athena's μῆτις as her mode of action: Detienne and Vernant 1991, esp. ch. 8. Athena manifests her μῆτις in several ways, which will be discussed throughout this thesis.
[157] Hong 2012, 74-75; cf. Carlile 2021, 5.
[158] Aesch. *Eum.* 657-673; Bonnard 2004, 27-28.
[159] Aesch. *Eum.* 736 (tr. Sommerstein 2009). The absurdity of Apollo's argument: Deacy 2022, 183. See Deacy 2022, 179, for the alternative translation 'nobody is the mother that gave birth to me', which implies the possibility that Athena has a mother in this context.
[160] Eur. *Phoen.* 666-667; Eur. *Erecht.* fr. 370.64 Kannicht. Cf. *Hymn. Hom.* 3.323, for the claim that Zeus gave birth to Athena 'alone' (οἶος).

down genetic material to the child.[161] Hong comments that the 'two-seed' theory still seeks to keep elements of the 'one-seed' theory and maintains the importance of the father.[162] Neither theory allows for a child to inherit traits from the mother alone, which means at least *some* of Athena's μῆτις must come from Zeus. Hong argues that there appears to be a contest between male and female seeds in the 'two-seed' theory, whereby the weak (female) seed and strong (male) seed compete with one another.[163] Contest is a prominent motif throughout the succession cycle. For example, as previously mentioned, Gaia creates a contest between herself and Ouranos by giving birth to him as an 'equal' (ἴσος).[164] The whole cycle is underpinned by contest and conflict between all the deities involved: Ouranos, Gaia, Kronos, Rhea, Zeus, Metis, and even Athena, which will be discussed in Section IV. Importantly, the contest between Zeus and Metis is won by Zeus when he overpowers and swallows her.[165] I would argue that this act could symbolise Zeus' male seed overpowering Metis' female seed. When Zeus swallows Metis, he absorbs both her and her power of intelligence. In this moment, Metis (the titan) transforms into μῆτις (the attribute) and becomes a part of Zeus. Therefore, it may be suggested that μῆτις is passed through Zeus to Athena, as it is Zeus who overpowers and swallows Metis, transforming her into a part of himself.

[161] Hippoc. *Gen*. 5-8.
[162] Hong 2012, 75-76; cf. Zeitlin 1996, 109.
[163] Hippoc. *Gen.* 6; Hong 2012, 77.
[164] Hes. *Theog.* 126-128.
[165] See Holmberg 1995, 107: the act of Zeus swallowing Metis symbolises 'control over physical reproduction'.

A further theory that could support this argument is from the Hippocratic *On Generation.* In this text, the author provides a theory that the male seed originates in the brain.[166] Importantly, it is possible that this Hippocratic idea could be traced back to Hesiod. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod comments that during the summer season 'women are most lascivious—and men are weakest (ἀφαυρός), for Sirius parches their head and knees' (μαχλόταται δὲ γυναῖκες, ἀφαυρότατοι δέ τοι ἄνδρες εἰσίν, ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄζει).[167] Although ἀφαυρός is often translated as 'powerless', Pliny interprets this passage in Hesiod to mean that men are 'most backward in sexual unions' (*virosque in coitum pigerrimos scripsere*) during the summer.[168] Aristotle also comments that men want to have intercourse more so in the winter than in the summer, and that winter is the best time for intercourse overall.[169] Onians argues that Hesiod's reference to the heads of men being 'parched' during the summer may reflect knowledge of the idea that the male seed originated in the brain, as Hesiod suggests that some kind of reproductive fluid dries up at this time of year.[170] Therefore, if Hesiod had some understanding of the idea that the male seed originated in the brain, then Athena's birth from Zeus' head could further represent the

[166] Hippoc. *Gen.* 1. The Hippocratic *On Generation* is thought to have been written in c. 5th century BCE. I therefore use *On Generation* alongside the *Theogony* in the same way as I do, for example, the *Oresteia*, which was also composed in the 5th century. For more on the dating of the Hippocratic corpus, see Nutton 2004, 60. For the date of *On Generation* specifically, see Lonie 1981, 71.
[167] Hes. *Op.* 586-587 (tr. Most 2018); cf. Alc. fr. 347 Voigt. For the knees, see Onians 1988, ch. 4.
[168] Plin. *HN.* 22.43 (tr. Jones 1969).
[169] Arist. *HA.* 542a31-542b2; Arist. *Pol.* 1335a37-39; see also, Hippoc. *Aer.* 23.
[170] Onians 1988, 108-111.

overpowering of the female seed of Metis and the supremacy of the male seed, as Athena rises straight from the source. Zeus' victory over Metis could suggest that he passes down μῆτις to Athena after gaining it for himself. In this way, Zeus creates a close and special bond between himself and his daughter through the significant shared attribute of μῆτις. Importantly, it is more likely that Athena inherited μῆτις from Zeus after he gained this from Metis, and this is a key element in establishing the close connection between father and daughter.

III. Hephaistos, Prometheus, Hermes: Violence and Intelligence in the Absence of Metis

The myth of the birth of Athena is recorded by various sources, some of which do not explicitly mention Metis. Other versions such as Pindar's *Olympian* 7 and iconographic depictions do not include Metis but refer to other deities present at the birth of Athena.[171] In this section, I will demonstrate how deities other than Metis, such as Hephaistos, Prometheus, and Hermes, may provide Zeus with the various forms of intelligence that he requires to end the previous cycle of violence.

Violence is still a prominent motif in other versions of the birth of Athena. In Pindar's *Olympian* 7, the poet uses the verbs βοάω 'to shout' and ἀλαλάζω 'to raise the war cry' to convey the loud volume and fierce nature of

[171] Pind. *Ol.* 7.33-38; Eur. *Ion*. 452-457; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6; Lucian *Dial. D.* 13 (8).

Athena's eruption from her father's head.[172] In *Homeric Hymn* 28, Athena bursts forth from her father's head, brandishing her spear.[173] In iconographic depictions of the birth of Athena, Athena is often shown leaping from her father's head, raising her spear, and sometimes Zeus is depicted wielding his thunderbolt in a similar manner.[174] Furthermore, in various depictions of Athena's birth, she is still attached to Zeus, as both father and daughter raise their weapons together.[175] The image of Zeus and Athena still physically connected in an active pose could imply that they are working together in this moment.[176] The weapon-brandishing motif is common to both Zeus and Athena.[177] Athena's spear is often described in Homer as something 'with which she vanquishes the ranks of men, those with whom she is angry'.[178] A statue of Athena from Stratonikeia in Caria depicts Athena in full armour carrying a spear; its inscription reads, 'against the evil my hand is merciless; but if someone who is [pure] honours me, I hold this spear above him (in his protection)' (ἦ φαύλοις μὲν ἔχω χέρ᾽ ἀμίλιχον· εἰ δέ τις ἀ[γνὸς] | τιμῴη, κραδάω τοῦδ᾽ ὕπερ αἰγανέην).[179] Solon provides a similar image of Athena protecting the polis by holding her hand over it.[180] When Athena springs from

[172] Pind. *Ol.* 7.38.
[173] *Hymn. Hom.* 28.7-9.
[174] Athena brandishing her spear: e.g., see figs. 1, 3, and 4, which will be discussed below. Zeus brandishing his thunderbolt: see fig. 3.
[175] E.g., figs. 3 and 4.
[176] Jim 2022, 12: Athena's connection to Zeus in these depictions makes it seem 'as if she was integrally related to Zeus'.
[177] Peebles 2021, 217, argues that the Zeus *Keraunios* type was very popular in the Archaic and Classical periods. Although Peebles mainly discusses Zeus in statue form, his discussion of the Zeus *Keraunios* type may be relevant to painted pottery.
[178] Hom. *Il.* 5.746-747, 8.390-391; Hom. *Od.* 1.100-101.
[179] *I.Stratonikeia* 41 (undated) (tr. Chaniotis 2017); Peebles 2021, 213; cf. Parker 2016a, n. 38.
[180] Sol. fr. 4.1-4 West.

the head of Zeus clasping her spear perhaps she is warning all those who stand before her that she will both protect and (if necessary) avenge herself and her father. Athena's spear is a weapon that can offer protection and cause harm. The motif of Athena brandishing her weapon is a source of violence, but also protection, in various narratives of the birth of Athena.

Athena's violent outburst often provokes shock, awe, and terror from other deities, which enhances the violent nature of her birth. In Pindar's *Olympian* 7, Athena's birth causes Ouranos and Gaia to 'shudder', φρίσσειν.[181] The verb φρίσσω ('shudder') often conveys feelings of fear. For example, in Sophocles' *Electra*, the chorus shudder (φρίσσω) when they hear a dreadful cry.[182] This combination of fear and awe as a direct response to Athena's birth and weapon-brandishing is visible in *Homeric Hymn* 28,

σέβας δ᾽ ἔχε πάνταςὁρῶντας
ἀθανάτους· ἣ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
ἐσσυμένως ὤρουσεν ἀπ᾽ ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου
σείσασ᾽ ὀξὺν ἄκοντα· μέγας δ᾽ ἐλελίζετ᾽ Ὄλυμπος
δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμης Γλαυκώπιδος, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα
σμερδαλέον ἰάχησεν, ἐκινήθη δ᾽ ἅρα πόντος
κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος, ἔσχετο δ᾽ ἅλμη
ἐξαπίνης· στῆσεν δ᾽ Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός
ἵππους ὠκύποδας δηρὸν χρόνον, εἰσότε κούρη
εἵλετ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀθανάτων ὤμων θεοείκελα τεύχη
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· γήθησε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

All the immortals watched in awe, as before Zeus the aegis-bearer she [Athena] sprang quickly down from his immortal head with a brandish of her sharp

[181] Pind. *Ol.* 7.37-39.
[182] Soph. *El.* 1407-1408; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1044. Gaia also shudders (φρίσσω) at the actions of Artemis: *Hymn. Hom.* 27.8.

> javelin. A terrible tremor went through great
> Olympus from the power of the Steely-eyed one, the
> earth resounded terribly round about, and the sea
> heaved in a confusion of swirling waves. But suddenly
> the main was held in check, and Hyperion's splendid
> son halted his swift-footed steeds for a long time,
> until the maiden, Pallas Athena, took off the godlike
> armor from her immortal shoulders, and wise Zeus
> rejoiced.[183]

The hymn describes physical and sometimes violent reactions from deities and nature. A 'terrible tremor' (ἐλελίζετ᾽ δεινόν, l. 9-10) goes through Olympos, and the earth 'resounded terribly round about' (ἀμφί γαῖα σμερδαλέον ἰάχησεν, l. 10-11).[184] In this passage, forces of nature and divinities are struck with wonder and fear at the birth of Athena. The whole earth appears to be transformed; Helios even stops his chariot in the sky (l. 13-14). Nature is turned upside down at the sight of the goddess brandishing her spear from her father's head.

This combination of shock, awe, and terror is sometimes depicted in the iconography of the birth of Athena. An Attic black-figure amphora dated to 550-540 BCE (fig. 1) depicts Athena rising from her father's head wearing her panoply and aegis, and holding her shield and spear. On the right, Poseidon raises his arm and another deity, probably Eileithyia or Hebe, raises both her arms and turns away in a gesture of shock and awe (fig. 2).[185] The goddess' awe is unsurprising as Athena leaps through the air in an active pose raising

[183] *Hymn. Hom.* 28.6-16 (tr. West 2003).
[184] See also how Zeus causes Olympos to quake (ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον) in Hom. *Il.* 1.530.
[185] Pironti and Pirenne-Delforge 2015, 47.

her spear directly over Eileithyia/Hebe. Moments of release are violent or chaotic in both the succession cycle and the narratives of the birth of Athena. When Athena is born in *Theogony, Homeric Hymn* 28, and *Olympian* 7, she is described using violent imagery, which highlights her warrior status rather than her intelligence.[186] The moment of Athena's birth may require violence because it has upset the existing order. The eruption caused by Athena is necessary to reset the primordial order and to allow her to take her place among the other deities and to uphold Zeus' rule.

[186] Hes. *Theog.* 924-926; *Hymn. Hom.* 28; Pind. *Ol.* 7.35-38.



Figure 1: Attic black-figure amphora depicting the birth of Athena. 550-540 BCE. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 496. *LIMC* vol. II.2 s.v. Athena, 353, p. 745. Image from the *LIMC Online*: https://app.dasch.swiss/resource/080E/xNcOoV_zVLSPf9Xe5XUlBg



Figure 2: Detail of fig. 1: Eileithyia/Hebe raises both of her arms as Athena leaps over her. To the right, Poseidon raises his arm. Black-figure amphora depicting the birth of Athena. 550-540 BCE. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 496. *LIMC* vol. II.2 s.v. Athena, 353, p. 745. Image from the *LIMC Online*: https://app.dasch.swiss/resource/080E/xNcOoV_zVLSPf9Xe5XUlBg

Hephaistos often reacts to Athena's violent outburst in a distinct manner in Archaic depictions of the birth of Athena. In Pindar's *Olympian* 7 and Apollodoros' *Bibliotheca*, his role is to cleave the head of Zeus with an axe in order to release Athena.[187] Below is an Attic black-figure cup dated to c. 560 BCE that depicts Athena emerging from Zeus' head, both brandishing their weapons as Hephaistos holds his axe (fig. 3).[188] In figure 3, Hephaistos' feet are turned away from Zeus and Athena, indicating that he might be fleeing the scene. Schefold observes that Hephaistos is often depicted in the iconography

[187] Pind. *Ol.* 7.33-38; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6.
[188] Balmuth 1963, 69: the birth of Athena was a popular image on painted pottery, especially in the 6th century BCE.

of the birth of Athena with his feet turned away and looking back over his shoulder, as in figures 1 and 4. [189] Deacy is uncertain if Hephaistos is trying to help or wound Zeus; however, it seems more likely that Hephaistos is helping Zeus, but then fears the consequences of Athena's birth. [190] As previously mentioned, Gaia and Ouranos in Pindar's *Olympian* 7 respond with terrified 'shudders' at the sight of Athena springing from her father's head, and the deities depicted in figure 1 raise their arms as if in shock, awe, and terror. In figure 3, both Zeus and Athena brandish their weapons and Athena is depicted as jumping in the direction of Hephaistos. It is unsurprising that Hephaistos would respond to this violent outburst by fleeing.



Figure 3: Attic black-figure cup attributed to the Phrynos Painter depicting the birth of Athena from Zeus' head with Hephaistos fleeing after cleaving the head of Zeus. c. 560 BCE. London, British Museum 1867,0508.962. Image © The Trustees of the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1867-0508-962?selectedImageId=34644001

[189] Schefold 1992, 7, 11, 13. According to Levine 2015, 264, Hephaistos is not depicted in this pose after 525 BCE.
[190] Deacy 2008, 22.

The axe of Hephaistos could represent violence *and* intelligence in some versions of the birth of Athena. Parallels can be drawn between Hephaistos' axe and elements of the succession cycle. For example, Hephaistos' axe is a technical weapon, similar to Gaia's sickle which is used by Kronos to overthrow Ouranos. Additionally, when Hephaistos violently strikes Zeus on the head, releasing Athena, he does so by using his τέχνη.[191] In the *Theogony,* Zeus also uses his τέχνη and βία to release his brothers and sisters from his father's stomach. However, Hephaistos does not use his τέχνη or βία to make a bid for power as Kronos or Zeus do. Instead, Hephaistos seems to assist Zeus, as Zeus' head must be split open so that Athena can be born. In Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods*, Zeus asks Hephaistos to cleave his head to relieve the pain Athena is causing him. Hephaistos is depicted in the role of a midwife, bringing forth the child and putting an end to the 'birth-pangs'.[192] If we are to interpret Hephaistos as a midwife, then I would argue further that Athena's loud battle-cry may reflect the cry of a baby when they are first born but on a much larger scale. Hephaistos commits an act of violence in this narrative, but it is necessary violence coupled with intelligence deployed to assist Zeus and Athena.

Previously, I demonstrated that, in the *Theogony,* Zeus seeks to acquire additional intelligence (μῆτις) from Metis when he swallows her. If Hephaistos' axe is symbolic of intelligence as well as violence, then to what extent does

[191] Pind. *Ol.* 7.35.
[192] Lucian *Dial. D.* 13 (8); Deacy 2008, 17; Levine 2015, 272.

Hephaistos represent intelligence similar to that of Metis in other versions of the birth of Athena? It is Hephaistos' technical intelligence that qualifies him to help Zeus, and, in this context, this is the intelligence that Zeus requires. Although Detienne and Vernant claim that, like Athena, Hephaistos is a god who possesses μῆτις, Hephaistos is more often described in terms of his τέχνη and δόλος.[193] Detienne and Vernant claim that Hephaistos is πολύμητις; however, they are only able to provide one example of Hephaistos being described as πολύμητις in *Iliad* Book 21.[194] At this point, I have not found a source that describes Hephaistos' intelligence as μῆτις. Even when Hephaistos creates a net to capture Aphrodite and Ares, at no point is the word μῆτις used.[195] Instead, it is Hephaistos' τέχνη that is highlighted.[196] Furthermore, in the *Odyssey*, when Athena and Hephaistos are described as teaching craftspeople all kinds of 'skill', the word used is τέχνη, not μῆτις.[197] As the μῆτις of Hephaistos is usually only implied, it is instead probably more accurate to associate Hephaistos with τέχνη and δόλος. Therefore, it may be suggested that Hephaistos' presence is symbolic of the additional intelligence Zeus needs in order to bring an end to the succession cycle, specifically τέχνη, in these versions of the birth of Athena.

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[193] Detienne and Vernant 1991, 183, 280, on how Athena and Hephaistos' intelligence is similar. See Detienne and Vernant 1991, 194, 197, 272-273, for reference to Hephaistos' apparent μῆτις. Brown 1952, 137, describes Hephaistos, Prometheus, and Hermes as 'all famous for their Metis' but their intelligence goes beyond this.
[194] Hom. *Il.* 21.355; Detienne and Vernant 1991, 49, n. 35, 275, n. 43; Richardson 1993, 82, comments that this is the only time in Homer that πολύμητις is used for someone other than Odysseus. See Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.851, in which Hephaistos is described as πολύμητις and *Hymn. Hom.* 20.1, in which he is described as κλυτόμητις; however, these are rare examples. Cf. Anagnostopoulos and Chelidoni 2008, 436, who also take Hephaistos' μῆτις for granted.
[195] Hom. *Od.* 8.267-369.
[196] Τέχνη: Hom. *Od.* 8.325, 332. Κλυτοτέχνης: Hom. *Od.* 8.286. Τεχνήεις: Hom. *Od.* 8.297.
[197] Hom. *Od.* 6.234.

Metis does not seem to have been depicted in the extant iconography of the birth of Athena. Kennedy-Quigley comments that Metis is absent from the surviving iconography and 'expunged from the visual tradition'.[198] Hephaistos, on the other hand, is commonly depicted on Attic painted pottery as splitting Zeus' head with an axe. Why might Hephaistos be depicted but not Metis? One answer may be that this iconography could serve to highlight Athena's and Hephaistos' connection in the sphere of crafts in Attica.[199] Hephaistos' τέχνη is directly related to craftsmanship and to skills in metalworking specifically.[200] Hephaistos' use of an axe illuminates the craftsmanship of the god and strengthens the connection between Athena and Hephaistos in this sphere.[201] An alternative suggestion is that it might have been difficult to depict Metis inside the belly of Zeus. Whereas Metis is obscured from mortal view, the narrative involving Hephaistos would have been easier to depict visually. It is possible that the viewer may assume that Metis is in the belly of Zeus in these depictions if they were familiar with the varied narratives of the myth of the birth of Athena. This is similar to the way in which the reader could assume the presence of Metis in *Homeric Hymn* 28 due to the poet's use of μητίετα, even though she is never explicitly

[198] Kennedy-Quigley 2001, 66.
[199] Arafat 1990, 33-34. Hephaistos' and Athena's connection in the sphere of crafts: e.g., Hom. *Od.* 6.233, 23.160; Pl. *Leg.* 920d; Pl. *Protag.* 321d-e; West 1966, 413.
[200] LSJ s.v. τέχνη.
[201] The births of Athena and Hephaistos are also paralleled in the *Theogony*: Hes. *Theog.* 924-929. While West 1966, 413, argues that this places Athena and Hephaistos on 'equal terms' in the sphere of crafts, González and González Garcia 2021, 122, argue that Athena and Hephaistos represent 'good and bad parthenogenesis' where Athena is in harmony with her father and Hephaistos is shunned by his mother. Therefore, Athena is elevated above Hephaistos, and they are not equals.

mentioned.[202] However, Metis' presence can only be an assumption, whereas Hephaistos' presence is explicit. Metis and Hephaistos provide different kinds of intelligence, μῆτις and τέχνη; Zeus benefits from one or both, but regardless, Zeus is provided with the additional intelligence he needs to end the succession cycle.

Prometheus is another possible replacement for (or addition to) Metis in the narratives of the birth of Athena. In the *Bibliotheca*, Apollodoros reports that 'Prometheus or, as others say, Hephaistos, smote the head of Zeus with an axe' (πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἡφαίστου).[203] In Euripides' *Ion*, it is also Prometheus who assists with the birth of Athena, although there is no mention of an axe.[204] Prometheus may represent various types of intelligence. Like Hephaistos, Prometheus is associated with fire and technical intelligence; in this way, Prometheus could symbolise the technical ability Athena possesses as a goddess of craft. Furthermore, like Metis, Prometheus represents forethought but does so more explicitly, as his name relates to προμήθεια ('foresight, forethought').[205] In Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound,* Prometheus comments, 'the president of the immortals will yet have need of me, to reveal the new

[202] In some depictions of the birth of Athena there is a winged female figure under Zeus' throne, e.g., a winged figure sits under Zeus' throne on an Attic black-figure amphora c. 575-525 BCE. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts: 00.330. In a recent unpublished paper, Deacy tentatively suggested that this winged figure could be Metis. Deacy, 02/04/2024: seminar paper entitled "'I danced myself right out of the womb': Athena, dance and movement in ancient Greek religion", Athens Greek Religion Seminar, Swedish Institute at Athens. So far, I have found no explicit depictions of Metis.
[203] Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6.
[204] Eur. *Ion.* 452-457.
[205] LSJ s.v. προμήθεια.

plan by which he can be robbed of his sceptre and his privileges' (χρείαν ἕξει μακάρων πρύτανις, δεῖξαι τὸ νέον βούλευμ᾽ ὑφ᾽ ὅτου σκῆπτρον τιμάς τ᾽ ἀποσυλᾶται).[206] Zeus requires Prometheus' intelligence, which manifests in Prometheus' knowledge of the prophecy given to him by Gaia.[207] Prometheus comments that Gaia prophesised that whoever was destined for victory would win 'not in might nor in power but in guile' (ὡς οὐ κατ᾽ ἰσχὺν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ καρτερὸνχρείη, δόλῳ δὲ τοὺς ὑπερσχόντας κρατεῖν).[208] The word used here is δόλος — the victor would win by a trick. In *Theogony*, Zeus proves this to be true when he manages to overturn the prophecy and end the succession cycle through use of a δόλος, by swallowing Metis.[209] Similarly to the *Theogony*, the *Prometheus Bound* includes motifs of restraint and release. However, in contrast to the *Prometheus Bound,* in which Zeus needs to *release* Prometheus from his bonds in order to gain his help, in the *Theogony*, Zeus permanently *restrains* Metis to access her intelligence. The permanent restraint of Metis could emphasise how she has been fully absorbed by Zeus, whereas Prometheus is still free to act with agency. Prometheus and Metis also share in the aspect of deceptive intelligence. In Apollodoros' version of the birth of Athena, Metis 'turned into many shapes in order to avoid his [Zeus'] embraces' (μεταβαλλούσῃ εἰς πολλὰς ἰδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθεῖν).[210] Although her ability to change shape and guise is not present in

[206] Aesch. *PV.* 169-171 (tr. Sommerstein 2009). Griffith 1983, 120, comments that it is 'astonishing' that Zeus would need the help of the humiliated and bound Prometheus, but just because he is bound does not mean he is not useful.
[207] Detienne and Vernant 1991, 59.
[208] Aesch. *PV.* 212-213.
[209] Hes. *Theog.* 889.
[210] Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6 (tr. Frazer 1921).

the *Theogony,* it is unsurprising that Metis can do this, as the ability to shapeshift is quite common among Oceanids and Nereids.[211] Athena can also shapeshift, which is associated with trickery, deception, and μῆτις.[212] Prometheus performs tricks and deception in a different way to Metis. In the *Theogony,* Prometheus tricks Zeus twice; first, when he deceives him into taking the sacrificial portion of fat and bones, and second, when he steals fire from Zeus.[213] Prometheus is described in the *Theogony* as ποικιλόβουλος, 'of changeful counsel, wily' or 'shifty-planning' and partakes in 'deceptive craft' (δόλος τέχνη), which highlight his deceptive intelligence.[214] In sum, Prometheus has different types of intelligence that Zeus can use to end the succession cycle: deception, forethought, and technical intelligence connected to fire.

Although often absent from literary versions, Hermes is one of the most commonly depicted deities in the iconography of the birth of Athena.[215] Hermes is often identified on painted pottery by a selection of attributes: for example, his wide-brimmed *petasos* (a type of hat), his *kerykeion* ('herald's staff'), or his winged shoes. In the 1st century BCE, Philodemus wrote that 'some archaic artists depict him [Hermes] standing beside Zeus holding an axe' at the birth of Athena.[216] This is potentially puzzling as the extant literary

[211] See Bonanno 2019, 324, 335.
[212] E.g., Athena changes into the likeness of Mentes: Hom. *Od.* 1.105.
[213] Fat and bones: Hes. *Theog.* 535-560. Theft of fire: Hes. *Theog.* 561-569.
[214] Hes. *Theog.* 521. LSJ s.v. ποικιλόβουλος: 'of changeful counsel, wily'; tr. Most 2018: 'shifty-planning'. Δόλος τέχνη: Hes. *Theog.* 540.
[215] Pisano 2022, 264, 273.
[216] Philod. *Peri Eusebeias*. 59 (tr. Levine 2015, 270-271). Gomperz 1866, 31. See Σ *vet.* Pind. *Ol.* 7.66: some say Prometheus cleaved the head of Zeus and Sosibios claims it was Hermes.

sources tell us that it is Hephaistos or Prometheus who wield the axe, not Hermes. However, Levine has suggested that Philodemus' confusion may arise from the fact that Hephaistos was depicted wearing winged shoes in 6th-century representations of the birth of Athena.[217] Although winged shoes became a principle attribute of Hermes in the mid-6th century BCE, it was primarily Hephaistos who was depicted wearing winged shoes in the iconography of the birth of Athena up until 525 BCE.[218] An amphora by the Kyllenios painter dated to c. 570-580 BCE depicts both Hermes and Hephaistos (fig. 4). The painter has usefully labelled each deity, and so in this case we know exactly who is who. Here it is Hephaistos who is wearing winged shoes and not Hermes, and Levine argues that the way Hephaistos' winged shoe overlaps with Hermes' bare foot (fig. 5) emphasises this 6th-century convention.[219] Tentatively, I would argue further that Hephaistos' and Hermes' overlapping feet may symbolise Hermes' and Hephaistos' overlapping functions at the birth of Athena, as both deities characterise the intelligence associated with this myth. Their overlapping yet visible feet could illustrate not only their ability to inhabit the same space and exercise similar functions but also their capacity to work collaboratively.[220] This collaboration may be highlighted in their respective affiliation with fire. Detienne and Vernant

[217] Levine 2015, 270-274,
[218] Levine 2015, 273, 264. Levine 2015, 268-269, argues that the attribute of winged shoes was traditionally associated with Perseus, and so Levine suggests that painters of the birth of Athena gave Hephaistos 'Perseus' shoes' due to narrative parallels between Hephaistos and Perseus: Hephaistos flees after striking Zeus, Perseus flees after striking Medusa.
[219] Levine 2015, 265. Hephaistos also wears winged shoes in figures 1 and 3, but he is not clearly labelled as he is in figure 4.
[220] This visibility is different from Hephaistos' and Dionysos' overlapping feet on the same vase, where Dionysos' foot almost completely obscures Hephaistos'.

comment on Hermes' connection to fire, specifically a fire that darts and flashes and is associated with resourcefulness and mobility.[221] In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Hermes makes fire-sticks using 'famous Hephaistos' force' (βίη κλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο).[222] Thomas argues that this phrasing in line 115 may suggest that Hermes' technology of fire-sticks can 'collaborate with the power of another god'.[223] This possible collaboration may be reflective of the kind of collaboration Zeus requires; he needs the help of another god in order to end the succession cycle. His connection to technical intelligence is not only made manifest in his association with fire, but also in his ability to craft objects; for example, he constructs a lyre out of a tortoise shell in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes.*[224] Hermes is, therefore, linked with creation and progression, and with civilizing forces such as music, fire, and craftsmanship. Like Prometheus, Hermes is also a trickster, which is reflected in his connection to hunting and theft.[225] When he famously steals the cattle of Apollo, δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης ('for he did not forget his tricksy craft').[226] Hermes demonstrates both deceptive and technical intelligence in his theft.[227]

[221] Detienne and Vernant 1991, 282.
[222] *Hymn. Hom.* 4.115 (tr. Thomas 2020).
[223] Thomas 2020, 214.
[224] *Hymn. Hom.* 4.24-25.
[225] Detienne and Vernant 1991, 32-33. However, see Thomas 2020, 11-12, for how Hermes' and Prometheus' associations with fire are somewhat in opposition despite their similarities.
[226] *Hymn. Hom.* 4.76 (tr. Thomas 2020).
[227] Detienne and Vernant 1991, 41.



Figure 4*:* Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Kyllenios Painter depicting the birth of Athena. c. 570-560 BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung. *LIMC* vol. II.2 s.v. Athena, 346, p. 743. Image from the *LIMC Online*: https://app.dasch.swiss/resource/080E/OBPKI_ufULCnVG14WaJhqA



Figure 5*:* Detail of fig. 4: the winged shoes of Hephaistos, his name, and the overlap of Hephaistos' and Hermes' feet. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Kyllenios Painter depicting the birth of Athena. c. 570-560 BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung. *LIMC* vol. II.2 s.v. Athena, 346, p. 743. Image from the *LIMC Online*: https://app.dasch.swiss/resource/080E/OBPKI_ufULCnVG14WaJhqA

The case of Hermes highlights the importance of studying the iconographic depictions of the birth of Athena further to consider why other deities are present in these scenes. The gods most commonly depicted in the iconography of the birth of Athena are Hermes, Hephaistos, Ares, Apollo, and Poseidon, as well as Eileithyia, who is associated with childbirth.[228] Pisano argues that these gods define Athena's 'range of competences' such as μῆτις and warfare.[229] In his view, Hermes and Hephaistos represent the intelligence of Athena and gods like Ares represent her more violent, warrior nature. I would like to build upon Pisano's argument by adding that the deities present in the iconography not only symbolise the violence and intelligence that Athena possesses as a goddess, but also the violence and intelligence that is embedded in the narratives of her birth and the succession cycle. As mentioned, Hermes and Hephaistos are associated with various aspects of intelligence that are adopted by both Zeus and Athena in order to end the succession cycle. Just as Hephaistos and Hermes may be symbolic of intelligence, I would argue that Ares and Poseidon could be visual representations of violence: Ares' presence is symbolic of Athena's battle-cry, and Poseidon, the 'earthshaker' (Ἐνοσίχθων or Ἐννοσίγαιος), is symbolic of the shaking induced by Athena's birth, present in Pindar *Olympian* 7 and *Homeric Hymn* 28.[230] Therefore, in most literary narratives and iconographic depictions of Athena's birth, it may be suggested that the deities present could symbolise

[228] Pisano 2022, 270-273.
[229] Pisano 2022, 273.
[230] Athena and Ares sometimes emit a similar battle-cry: e.g., Hom. *Il.* 20.48, 51.

the violence and/or intelligence present in the narratives of the birth of Athena.

IV. The Importance of Athena

Scholars have often reiterated that Zeus' actions in the *Theogony* play a major part in the termination of the succession cycle and, as this chapter has shown, this is not unsubstantiated. Zeus learns from his predecessors; manipulates the prophecy; focuses on the right problem by swallowing Metis, blocking her ability to procreate; and is assisted by another intelligent deity (Metis, Hephaistos, Prometheus, and/or Hermes) whose intelligence he combines with violence in order to end the succession cycle. That being said, Athena plays just as important a role, and perhaps even more so, in ending the succession cycle and in the confirmation of Zeus' power. Several scholars have suggested that Athena's virginity is an important factor that upholds Zeus' rule, as Athena will not give birth to a dangerous child and, therefore, will not continue the succession cycle.[231] Despite this, no one to my knowledge has commented on why Athena may want to remain a virgin. Most scholars attribute very little power to Athena's actions and her virginity; they take her status as *parthenos* ('maiden' or 'virgin') for granted, and do not reflect on the possibility for further tension between father and daughter.[232] For example, Vergados states that 'the story of Metis signals the permanent end of the Succession Myth' and Yasumura attributes all agency and power to Zeus in

[231] Thomas 1998, 211; Felson 2011, 270; Yasumura 2011, 91; Graziosi 2016, 45; Kelly 2021, 283.
[232] E.g., those referenced in n. 232.

ending the succession cycle.[233] To my knowledge, only Deacy appears to sufficiently highlight Athena as a potential challenger to her father's power.[234]

The following section builds upon Deacy's argument that both tension and violence continue beyond the birth of Athena. However, I add that at the moment of her birth Athena constrains the violence that was so prominent in the succession cycle with her μῆτις, which brings stability to Zeus' cosmos. I will also consider the importance of Athena's virginity in confirming Zeus' power and why Athena may want to remain a *parthenos* for her own benefit, not just for Zeus'. This section provides a new angle from which to analyse the birth of Athena and argues that Athena plays a more significant role in the confirmation of her father's power than has previously been recognised. The birth of Athena, therefore, concludes in a symbiotic relationship between father and daughter as each confirms the other's power.

The poetic language in the *Theogony* suggests that tension and competition exist between Zeus and Athena before she is even born. Gaia and Ouranos tell Zeus that Athena will have 'might (μένος) equal (ἴσος) to her father' *if* she is born *from Metis*.[235] This language is similar to that of line 126,

[233] Vergados 2020, 95. Yasumura 2011, 95-96: 'by *making* Athena a *maiden* daughter', 'Zeus' *innovation* is to *construct* a new relationship', 'the *creation* of a new type of deity [Athena]' — these quotations show that the power, to Yasumura's mind, lies entirely with Zeus and there is no place for Athena's potential agency (all italics are my own apart from '*maiden*').
[234] Deacy 2016, 70; Deacy 2022, 181: Athena is both a tool of the patriarchy and has the power to disrupt it. See also Synodinou 1986, who highlights some tension between Zeus and Athena in the *Iliad.*
[235] Hes. *Theog.* 896. There are a variety of possible translations for the word μένος, including might, strength, and force: LSJ s.v. μένος. The sense is that Athena's strength and ferocity will be equal (ἴσος) to her father.

in which Gaia creates Ouranos 'equal (ἴσος) to herself'.[236] This potential for equality (ἴσος) between child and parent could possibly imply tension and competition, similar to the tension and competition between Gaia and Ouranos. However, Zeus' intelligent actions prevent Athena from being born equal to her father. As previously mentioned, one way in which Zeus exhibits his intelligence is by manipulating the prophecy given to him by Gaia and Ouranos; instead of Athena being born *from her* (Metis), she is instead born *from Zeus*.[237] Therefore, as Athena is born from Zeus and not from Metis, Athena need not be equal in might to Zeus, which removes at least part of the threat of Athena.[238]

Despite Zeus' attempt to make Athena less threatening, her violent outburst from his head shows that she still has the potential to be a danger to his power. I have demonstrated how Athena is violently born from Zeus' head in some versions of the myth. In *Homeric Hymn* 28, Athena's birth causes cosmic chaos. [239] The natural world falls into disarray when Athena emerges from her father's head in full armour brandishing her spear. In *Homeric Hymn* 28, Athena dispels the cosmic unrest created by her birth when she removes her armour.[240] Felson argues that the act of Athena removing her armour implies self-restraint, and, therefore, Felson attributes some agency to Athena

[236] Hes. *Theog.* 126-128 (tr. Most 2018).
[237] From her: Hes. *Theog.* 894. From him: Hes. *Theog.* 924.
[238] Yasumura 2011, 91, comments that Athena 'appears as an equal to Zeus' but this cannot be true. Athena is not Zeus' equal because she was not born from her (Metis).
[239] *Hymn. Hom.* 28.9-14 (tr. West 2003).
[240] *Hymn. Hom.* 28.14-16.

in confirming her father's power in this moment.[241] Athena makes the choice to remove her armour and uphold Zeus' new divine cosmic order; this choice is an example of violence constrained by μῆτις. For Felson, this is the moment when any tension and violence are removed from the cosmos. Similarly, Yasumura comments that when Athena is born 'she breaks a recurrent pattern of menace', which suggests that tension and violence end with Athena's birth. However, as noted by Deacy, this 'menace' is not completely subdued, which is illustrated by the disruptive and violent birth of Athena.[242] Most versions of the birth of Athena do not end with Athena making the choice to remove her armour and calm the environment around her, as she does in *Homeric Hymn* 28. As Deacy comments, in most versions of the myth of Athena's birth she 'looks like a child born to fulfil, rather than to subvert, the prophecy about Metis' audacious offspring'.[243] Even though the *cycle* of violence is broken by Athena, this does not mean that violence and tension are no longer present in the cosmos of Zeus, although Athena may constrain this violence with her μῆτις.

The most important and ongoing source of tension and danger to Zeus' power is the potentiality of Athena's womb. The area of the abdomen is a dangerous motif throughout the succession cycle. The word for womb and the

[241] Felson 2011, 270.
[242] Yasumura 2011, 4. Yasumura does not necessarily claim that the 'menace' is over, just that the *pattern* of menace has been broken; however, her argument implies that Athena poses no or a minimal threat to Zeus. See also Deacy 2022, 181. I do not think that Hephaistos can be viewed as a threat to Zeus' rule as he is never described as such.
[243] Deacy 2022, 181.

word for stomach are the same: νηδύς. When Kronos swallows his offspring, they go into his νηδύς, as does Metis when Zeus swallows her.[244] Dangerous children reside in Rhea's νηδύς. These same dangerous offspring are then temporarily locked in Kronos' νηδύς, and the mother who will produce a future threatening son is swallowed down into Zeus' νηδύς. It stands to reason that Athena's νηδύς may also be dangerous, as there is the possibility that she might give birth to a son who could overthrow Zeus. Therefore, it is important that Zeus prevents Athena's νηδύς from undermining him by ensuring she remains a *parthenos.* It is essential to the confirmation of Zeus' power that Athena's virginity remain intact. Athena must remain a *parthenos* in order to confirm Zeus' power, but what (if any) benefit will she gain from this? The remainder of this section will investigate the extent to which it is beneficial for Athena to remain a *parthenos.*

Athena's position as Zeus' daughter might be important to her divine character. The literary sources do not give much explicit indication as to why Athena would want to remain a *parthenos*. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite,* Athena is described as one of three goddesses that Aphrodite cannot persuade (πείθω) or outwit (ἀπατάω); the other two are Artemis and Hestia, two other *parthenoi*.[245] The reason provided by the poet is that Athena cannot be persuaded because she likes wars and crafts.[246] Here, the poet illuminates

[244] Hes. *Theog.* 487, 890, 899.
[245] *Hymn. Hom.* 5.7 (tr. West 2003).
[246] *Hymn. Hom.* 5.7-15. Faulkner 2008, 86, notes how war and the works of Aphrodite are juxtaposed here. Cf. Zeus' taunt of Aphrodite: Hom. *Il.* 5.428-430.

her violent (wars) and intelligent (crafts) nature, both of which could be potentially threatening to Zeus' cosmos.[247] In line 8 of the poem, Athena is referred to as 'the daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus' before she is called by her name, 'Athena' (κούρη τ᾽ αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην); this emphasises her status as Zeus' daughter.[248] Faulkner notes that Athena is commonly referred to as κούρη Διός in Homer.[249] Only three other figures are referred to in this way also in Homer: Helen, Aphrodite, and Artemis.[250] Another important epithet of Athena's is ὀβριμοπάτρη, 'daughter of a mighty father'.[251] This epithet is unique to Athena, and, as argued by Allan, the use of it in Solon fragment 4 'triggers the audience's awareness of her role in epic as Zeus' favourite child and enforcer of his will'.[252] Therefore, ὀβριμοπάτρη and κούρη Διός are used predominantly of Athena and highlight the importance of her position as the 'daughter of Zeus'.

As Zeus' daughter, Athena receives affection, favouritism, and trust. As highlighted in the introduction to this thesis, Ares complains that Zeus enables Athena and allows her to play by her own rules because 'you [Zeus] bore the child [Athena] yourself' (αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ').[253] When Athena is angry at

[247] Athena's μῆτις also has the potential to be threatening if we compare it to that of Prometheus.
[248] *Hymn. Hom.* 5.8. Although I recognise that the word order could be for the sake of the metre.
[249] Faulkner 2008, 85. Athena: e.g., Hom. *Il.* 5.733, 6.304, 6.312, 10.296; Hom. *Od.* 2.296, 3.42, 3.394, 4.752, 5.382, 6.323, 13.190, 13.252, 13.300, 13.318, 13.371, 24.529; see also Hes. *Sc.* 126, 443.
[250] Helen: Hom. *Il.* 3.426. Aphrodite: Hom. *Il.* 20.105. Artemis: Hom. *Od.* 6.151. Faulkner 2008, 85, discusses the examples of Helen and Aphrodite.
[251] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 5.747, 8.391; Hom. *Od.* 1.101, 3.135, 24.540; Sol. fr. 4.3 West.
[252] Allan 2017, 19.
[253] Hom. *Il.* 5.880 (tr. my own).

Zeus in the *Iliad*, he sometimes responds in a loving manner and says that he wishes to be ἤπιος ('kind', 'gentle') towards her.[254] Synodinou argues that, in the *Iliad*, Athena usually suppresses her anger towards Zeus in what she describes as a 'daughterly fashion'.[255] This affection and trust are also highlighted in other literary sources. In the *Eumenides,* Athena comments that she alone knows where the keys to the thunderbolt are kept, and in the *Trojan Women* she claims that Zeus has allowed her to use the thunderbolt to destroy the Achaean fleet; these are privileges that no other deity has.[256] Not only is Athena allowed to use the thunderbolt, but she also shares the aegis with Zeus, a weapon of elemental power and terror.[257] It appears that her position as ὀβριμοπάτρη may result in elevated affection and trust and, as a result, power.

As mentioned, it seems that Athena's status as 'daughter' is essential to both her divine identity and privileged relationship with Zeus and could contribute to her need to remain a *parthenos* for her own benefit. Redfield comments that, 'the daughter is the member of the family closest to the father, since she is not a potential replacement and competitor, like his son, nor a link to another lineage, like his wife' but 'the daughter is fated for

[254] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 22.182-185.
[255] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 4.22-23 = 8.459-460; Synodinou 1986, 161. Synodinou quotes from Kirk 1985, 338.
[256] Aesch. *Eum.* 827-828; Eur. *Troad.* 80-81. Athena is also referred to as 'keeper of the keys' (κλειδοῦχος) in Ar. *Thesm.* 1142.
[257] Athena using the aegis: Hom. *Il.* 21.400-402. Zeus using the aegis: Hom. *Il.* 17.591-596. Shared weapons: Aristid. *Or.* 37.5. See Fowler 1988, 105-111; Hartswick 1993; Roberston 2021; Mili 2024, 30-31, for further discussion of Athena's aegis.

marriage'.[258] Women would transition from one *oikos* ('house', 'household') to another, transforming from daughter to wife.[259] In contrast, men would ensure the continuation of their father's *oikos* through inheritance, as well as the creation of their own *oikoi.*[260] Based on Redfield's comment, it is possible that Athena can only remain close to her father in the ways highlighted above if she stays within her father's *oikos*.[261] This has led Deacy to suggest that Athena is potentially more like a son than a daughter, as she maintains her position in her father's *oikos* by preserving her virginity.[262] However, divine *oikos* and marriage are different from mortal *oikos* and marriage and cannot be compared directly. Firstly, many of the gods are related, so they are already part of the same *oikos*. Secondly, although the *oikos* is not necessarily a space and more of a family unit, movement between mortal *oikoi* usually involves a movement from one location to another. The problem with visualising the divine marriage ceremony is the lack of obvious physical space dividing up the area of Olympos; therefore, when two gods marry, they often cannot move between households nor from one physical space to another. For example, in the *Iliad*, Aphrodite and Hephaistos are married and their parents are Zeus and Dione (Aphrodite) and Zeus and Hera (Hephaistos) respectively.[263]

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[258] Redfield 1982, 187.
[259] Redfield 1982, 187-188; see Eur. *Danae.* fr. 318 Kannicht.
[260] Dem. 43.19: 'and there sprang up five households from the single one of Buselus' (καὶ ἐγένοντο πέντε οἶκοι ἐκ τοῦ Βουσέλου οἴκου ἑνὸς ὄντος); Roy 1999, 2. Cf. Eur. *IT.* 57: 'for the pillars of a house are its male children' (στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδές εἰσιν ἄρσενες).
[261] Zeus and Athena represent genealogy and the household together in cult as well as in literature as Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phatria, 'of the phratry', in Athens. See ch. 2, for further discussion of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria. See Lambert 1993, for an in-depth analysis of the phratries.
[262] Deacy 1997, 48.
[263] Aphrodite 'daughter of Zeus': e.g., Hom. *Il.* 3.374. Aphrodite as daughter of Dione: Hom. *Il.* 5.370-371. Hephaistos as son of Hera: e.g., Hom. *Il.* 21.377-380. This is the genealogy of

Therefore, there is no transition from *oikos* to *oikos* for Aphrodite, as she and Hephaistos share a father. The myth of Persephone provides an example of a goddess who transitions from the earthly realm to the underworld with her husband and abductor, Hades.[264] This myth also illustrates the similar patriarchal structures between the divine and mortal *oikoi*.[265] In the divine *oikos,* Zeus sanctions the marriages of his daughters as a mortal father would, and the daughter changes allegiance from father to husband.[266] Persephone's transition to Hades may suggest that the *oikos* of the husband takes precedence over the *oikos* of the father. Even though Hades and Zeus are brothers, it is the house of Hades where Persephone is expected to reside at the point of abduction. Therefore, if Athena were to marry, it is probable that her husband would take precedence over Zeus regardless of where she may physically reside. Athena would no longer be 'of the father' as she claims to be in the *Eumenides*, as she would be under a new patriarch.[267] This might be why Athena neither gets married nor has a child, as her *parthenos* status benefits both herself and Zeus. Zeus remains in control of the cosmos, and Athena retains her elevated power and position as Zeus' closest and favourite child, who will never leave his *oikos.*

Aphrodite and Hephaistos in the *Iliad* and their parentage differs depending on the text. For example, see Hes. *Theog.* 927-929, where Hephaistos is born from Hera alone and Hes. *Theog.* 195-200, where Aphrodite is born from the foam from Ouranos' severed genitals.

[264] *Hymn. Hom.* 2.425-433.

[265] Another common motif used in both depictions of the abduction of Persephone by Hades and images of mortal weddings is the chariot. See *Hymn. Hom*. 2.80-81, 88-89, 431; Jenkins 1983, 142; Seaford 1987, 112; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 152; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 44.

[266] Irwin 2007, 14.

[267] Aesch. *Eum.* 738.

Finally, there may be an important connection between Athena's virginity, authority, and Zeus' head. Athena is not the only virgin goddess: the other two most prominent *parthenoi* are Artemis and Hestia.[268] I would argue that understanding the virginity of Artemis and Hestia could help further our understanding of an important element of the birth of Athena that has only been touched upon so far in this chapter — Zeus' head. Zeus' head is particularly authoritative; Zeus' nod, for example, is symbolic of the utmost authority as whatever he nods assent to is completed.[269] In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite,* there are three sections devoted to Athena, Artemis, and Hestia in that order. In the passage about Hestia, she asks her father Zeus if she can remain a *parthenos* and swears an oath on his head,

> ὤμοσε δὲ μέγαν ὅρκον, ὃ δὴ τετελεσμένος ἐστίν,
> ἁψαμένη κεφαλῆς πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
> παρθένος ἔσσεσθαι πάντ᾽ ἤματα δῖα θεάων.
>
> And swore a great oath (which has indeed been
> kept), touching the head of her father, aegis-bearing
> Zeus, that she would be a virgin for all time, the
> noble goddess.[270]

Furthermore, in Sappho fr. 44A, when Artemis swears to be a virgin for life, she also does so by Zeus' head,

> Ἄρτεμις δὲ θέων] μέγαν ὅρκον ἀπώμοσε·
> νὴ τὰν σὰν κεφά]λαν, ἄϊ πάρθενος ἔσσομαι.

[268] See *Hymn. Hom.* 5.7-32, for the passages about Athena, Artemis, and Hestia.
[269] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.524, 527, 2.350; Pind. *Isth.* 8.45-46, *Pyth.* 1.72; Callim. *Hymn* 3.28; Onians 1988, 97; Torrance 2009, 3-5.
[270] *Hymn. Hom.* 5.26-28 (tr. West 2003).

> Artemis swore the (gods') great oath: 'By your
> [Zeus] head, I shall always be a virgin.[271]

Both goddesses swear to be a *parthenos* for life on the head of Zeus.[272] Other deities also swear oaths on the head of Zeus; for example, Hera and Hermes.[273] In Euripides' *Helen,* Helen swears an oath on Menelaus' head.[274] She swears by her husband's head that she will remain chaste if he is dead and she does so because of the symbolic authority of the head.[275] Torrance also makes the connection between the chastity sworn by Helen and the virginity sworn by Artemis and Hestia; they all swear an oath of purity and do so on an authoritative object, the head.[276]

Unlike Hestia and Artemis, Athena does not ask to be a *parthenos,* she simply is one. I have demonstrated that Athena may choose to remain a *parthenos* in order to remain close to her father and within his *oikos.* Additionally, I would suggest that Athena's birth from her father's head symbolises the continuation of Zeus' authority and the authoritative benefits Athena gains. Interestingly, in the *Bath of Pallas*, Kallimachos writes that Athena is the only daughter to whom Zeus gave 'all the patriarchal

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[271] Sappho fr. 44A.4-5 Voigt (tr. Campbell 1990).
[272] Richardson 2010, 228, comments that Hestia's and Artemis' actions in *Hymn. Hom.* 5 and Sappho fr. 44A Voigt resemble each other. See Faulkner 2010, 55, who argues that Artemis' attempts to tug on her father's beard when she asks to be a *parthenos* in Callim. *Hymn* 3.26-28 echoes Hestia touching her father's head in *Hymn. Hom.* 5.26-29.
[273] Hera: Hom. *Il.* 15.36-46. Hermes: *Hymn. Hom.* 4.274-276. See also Herakles asking his son, Hyllus, to swear on the head of Zeus: Soph. *Trach.* 1185.
[274] Torrance 2009, 2: 'the formal swearing of an oath in Greek poetry usually involves the invocation of a power "greater than oneself"'. In this context, the object 'greater than oneself' is Menelaus' head. Torrance quotes from Sommerstein 2007, 2.
[275] Eur. *Hel.* 835; Torrance 2009, 1.
[276] Torrance 2009, 4-5.

prerogatives' including his authoritative nod.[277] Therefore, Athena's indefinite presence within Zeus' *oikos* — due to her *parthenos* status — and her birth from her father's head, can provide her with benefits such as authority and an especially close relationship to her father. However, as mentioned, Athena does not ask to be a *parthenos*. There is no obvious explanation for why Athena does not have to ask to be a *parthenos* in the extant sources; I will provide two possibilities. Firstly, Athena's contact with Zeus' head at her birth may already suggest a commitment to virginity if the trope of swearing chastity by the head, as seen with Hestia, Artemis, and Helen, was a longstanding motif. Secondly, the fact that both Hestia and Artemis ask Zeus to remain *parthenoi* may suggest that there was an expectation that female deities would have to get married, much like mortal women. If so, this might explain why Hestia and Artemis ask for Zeus' permission to step outside of the norm and live their lives as virgin deities. What makes Athena different? As previously mentioned, Athena's womb is dangerous to Zeus, his rule, and his cosmos; therefore, perhaps Zeus has no intention of giving Athena away in marriage. Athena does not have to ask to be a *parthenos* because Zeus would prefer her to maintain her virginity. Athena's status as a *parthenos* is of mutual benefit to both father and daughter.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that although Zeus' violent and intelligent actions help to end the succession cycle, Athena also has agency in

[277] Callim. *Hymn* 5.131-136. For commentary on this passage, see Stephens 2015, 261-262.

bringing this cycle of violence to an end and confirming Zeus' power. This is not to say that violence is now absent from Zeus' cosmos, but that violence has been constrained by Athena's μῆτις and the cosmos is stabilised as a result. This chapter has shown that Athena's status as a *parthenos* is particularly important to Zeus' power due to the potentiality of her dangerous womb; therefore, it is essential that she remain a *parthenos* in order to confirm Zeus' position as father of gods and men. Importantly, this chapter has highlighted why maintaining her virginity might be beneficial to Athena, something previously overlooked in scholarship. Athena may choose to remain a *parthenos* in order to stay in her father's *oikos* so she can continue to receive his affection and trust. Furthermore, Athena's contact with Zeus' head at birth could be symbolic of a vow to lifelong virginity, as well as the continuation of Zeus' authority and, by extension, the authority of Athena. In this way, each deity confirms the power of the other; in other words, the birth of Athena is the catalyst for the symbiotic relationship between father and daughter.

Chapter Two. Zeus and Athena as City-Protectors

Introduction

> ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται
> αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
> τοίη γὰρ μεγάθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
> Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει·
>
> Our state will never perish through the
> dispensation of Zeus or the intentions of the
> blessed immortal gods; for such a stout-hearted
> guardian, Pallas Athena, born of a mighty father,
> holds her hands over it.[278]

In fragment 4, Solon describes how both Zeus and Athena protect the polis of Athens: the polis will never perish (οὔποτ᾽ ὀλεῖται, l. 1) because of the dispensation (αἶσα, l. 2) of Zeus and because Athena, born of a mighty father (ὀβριμοπάτρη, l. 3), holds her hands over the polis (χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει, l. 4). Athens will thrive because of the will of Zeus and Athena's active protection.[279] Importantly, the familial relationship between Zeus and Athena is highlighted through the use of Athena's epithet ὀβριμοπάτρη. This chapter will consider how far Athena's role as a city-protector is dependent on her relationship with her father, and how far the unique manner of Athena's birth is important to her status as a city-protector. Zeus and Athena are both worshipped under the epithets Polieus and Polias ('of the city'), and these epithets are unique to them across Greece. Section I will investigate the significance of these epithets

[278] Sol. fr. 4.1-4 West. (tr. Gerber 1999).
[279] See Irwin 2006, 65: although Solon says that the gods will not destroy Athens, the citizens have the capacity to bring about the downfall of the polis.

and how far they are related to Zeus' and Athena's genealogical relationship and the birth of Athena from Zeus' head. The subsequent sections will investigate the ways in which Zeus and Athena might protect the polis — for example, in the sphere of agriculture, wealth and prosperity — and their role in fostering the civic identity of citizens and their political participation. Although I discuss evidence from several poleis throughout this chapter, Section IV will specifically focus on Zeus and Athena in three specific poleis: Thessaly, Rhodes, and Kos. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, these case studies have been chosen for several reasons: a wealth of evidence for the joint worship of Zeus and Athena in these locations; helpful and relevant scholarship to assist in the analysis of the cults of Zeus and Athena in these regions; and that these case studies illustrate the developing nature of the worship of Zeus and Athena over time. [280]

I. City-Protection and the Problem of the 'Tutelary' Deity

The Problem of the 'Tutelary' Deity

Intertwined with the discussion of city-protecting deities is the problem of the 'tutelary' deity. In modern scholarship, various English terms such as 'special', 'patron', 'tutelary', 'poliadic', and 'primary' can be used to convey the idea that each polis had one special deity that stood at the apex of the pantheon of that polis.[281] As far as Athens is concerned, the evidence

[280] Scholarship: e.g., Graninger 2011 and Mili 2014 (Thessaly); Lala 2023, Monaco 2023, and Zachhuber 2023 and 2024 (Rhodes); Paul 2010 and 2013 (Kos).
[281] E.g., Parker 2011, 86-88, uses 'special'. Cole 1995 and Burkert 1995, use 'patron' and 'tutelary'. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 9 use 'tutelary'. See Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 204, for a brief discussion of the language used in French, English, and German scholarship when discussing the problem of the 'tutelary' deity.

suggests that Athena was more important than the other gods worshipped; the Athenians distinguished between the treasury of Athena and the treasury of 'the other gods'.[282] As discussed by Cole, this differentiation affords Athena 'special consideration' in contrast to the 'other gods', who, in this context, have been combined into one indistinguishable collective.[283] The polis of Athens is inextricably linked to Athena: for example, in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the citizens of Athens are described as 'under the wings of Pallas' (Παλλάδος δ᾽ ὑπὸ πτεροῖς) and in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* the chorus describe Athena fighting for the polis of Athens.[284] Some poets and playwrights go so far as to describe the polis of Athens as belonging to Athena, as Aeschylus' does in the *Persians,* when the messenger refers to Athens as 'Pallas' city'.[285]

It is evident that the Athenians had a special relationship with their goddess, and one may be led by the case of Athena in Athens to assume that other poleis also had a 'tutelary' deity. In her thesis entitled *Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte,* Brackertz examines evidence from 39 poleis and identifies a patron deity for each.[286] She creates a set of five main criteria and fifteen other elements to determine the 'tutelary' deity for each polis.[287] One primary criterion is that the deity guaranteed security of the

[282] See Parker 2005a, 395-397, for his discussion of Athena as the paradigm case of a 'special goddess'. For the treasury of Athena and the other gods: Ar. *Eccl.* 476; Dem. 24.120; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 217; Parker 2005a, 396, n. 32.
[283] Cole 1995, 298.
[284] Aesch. *Eum.* 1001-1002; Ar. *Thesm.* 318-319. For more references, see Parker 2005a, 395-397; Herington 1955, 55-58.
[285] Aesch. *Pers.* 347. Aesch. *Eum.* 1045: the Athenians are called 'Pallas' citizens' (Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς). Lycurg. *Leoc.* 26: Athens was allotted to Athena.
[286] Cole 1995. For a response to Cole's chapter, see Burkert 1995.
[287] Brackertz 1976, 19; Cole 1995, 299; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 203.

polis, and so a key characteristic of a 'tutelary' deity was to protect the polis.[288] However, Cole argues that Brackertz's criteria is too rigid and cannot be applied to every polis.[289] Furthermore, Cole comments that there is often not enough evidence to identify such a deity. For example, Brackertz identifies Asklepeios as the 'tutelary' deity of Epidauros, but Cole argues that if we had more archaeological evidence from the polis itself, and not just the sanctuary of Asklepeios, we might identify Apollo Maleatas as the most important divinity.[290] However, my aim is not to look for the most likely 'tutelary' deity, but to highlight the Athenocentrism present in this model. As argued by Cole, the concept of a 'tutelary' deity is largely a modern invention that stems from Athenocentric views of the Greek world.[291]

This matter is complicated further by epithets which signify the protection of the polis. Zeus and Athena are worshipped under the epithet Medeon/Medeousa from the verb μέδω ('rule over'). When applied to Zeus, Medeon denotes rulership more than protection, and Zeus Medeon is primarily attested in the *Iliad* and once in Dodona.[292] Athena Athenon Medeousa ('Athena who rules over Athens') is attested on Samos, Karpathos, and Kos.[293] Other deities are also attested under the epithet

[288] Brackertz 1976, 155; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 204.
[289] Cole 1995, 300. Brackertz notes that the criteria should not be used too rigidly, but then applies these regardless. Cf. Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 203.
[290] Cole 1995, 300; Tomlinson 1983, 22.
[291] Cole 1995; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 204.
[292] Examples of Zeus Medeon: Hom. *Il.* 3.276, 3.320, 7.202, 16.234, 24.308. Dodona: *IG* IX,1^2 4 1750 (330 BCE).
[293] Athena Athenon Medeousa: e.g., Samos: *IG* XII,6 1:238 (mid-5th century BCE), 239 (mid-5th century BCE), 240 (mid-5th century BCE), 241 (mid-5th century BCE), 242 (late-5th century BCE), 243 (late-5th century BCE), 244 (late-5th century BCE). Karpathos: *IG* I^3 1454 (445-430 BCE).

Medeon/Medeousa across the Greek world, for example, Apollo, Aphrodite, Hekate, Hestia, and Hermes.[294] In *Iliad* Book 6, Athena is called ῥυσίπτολις, 'guardian of the city' in a prayer by the Trojan women.[295] However, this passage illustrates how city-protecting deities could choose not to protect a polis when called upon to do so. During their prayer, the Trojan women perform extensive rites to Athena and present her with a spectacular robe; despite this, the goddess denies their prayer.[296] Burkert suggests that Athena's response is just an example of how deities can be unpredictable.[297] When two opposing sides both worship the same deity as a city-protector, one side will inevitably be disappointed by that deity. In this context, Athena ῥυσίπτολις turns her back on the Trojans in favour of the Achaeans. This suggests that a god could be a city-protecting deity of a polis and choose not to provide protection under certain circumstances.

Kos: *IG* I^3 1491 (425-405 BCE). Athena is also Medeousa in Ar. *Eq.* 585, 763, which takes place in Athens. For more on Athena Athenon Medeousa, see Barron 1964; Meiggs 1979, 295-298; Anderson and Dix 1997; Parker 2008, 148-149.

[294] Apollo: *SEG* XXXVI 693 (600-500 BCE); *I.dial. Olbia Pont* 57 (550-500 BCE), 58 (475-450 BCE); *SEG* XLII 712(2) (475-450 BCE); *SEG* LII 740 (389-349 BCE); *CGRN* 104 (285-245); *IG* XII,5 893 (3rd/2nd century BCE); *IG* XII,4 2:532 (1st century BCE); *IG* XII,4 5:4069 (1st century CE), 4078 (37-41 CE), 4067 (37-41 CE). Aphrodite: *Hymn. Hom.* 10.4; *CIRB* 1111 (389-348 BCE), 971 (344-310 BCE), 75 (150-125 BCE), 31 (9-7 CE), 1315 (133 CE), 35 (243 CE); *SEG* LIII 758 (93-227 CE). Hekate: *CIRB* 22 (3rd century BCE). Hestia: *I.Ephesos* 2059 (170 CE). Hermes: *Hymn. Hom.* 4.2. Mnemosyne: Hes. *Theog.* 54. Pan: Pind. fr. 95 Snell-Maehler.

[295] Hom. *Il.* 6.305. Athena's importance in Troy was symbolised by the statue of the Palladion housed in the temple of Athena. This wooden image of Athena was a protective talisman for the polis: it was believed that only if the Palladion was stolen could the city of Troy be sacked. See Linderski 2012, 1. Palladion: Virgil. *Aen.* 2.162-179; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68-69; Ov. *Fast.* 6.419-460; Sil. *Pun.* 13.36-70; Apollod. *Bib.* 3.12.3. See Faraone 1992, on protective talismans including the Palladion.

[296] Hom. *Il.* 6.311: the denial of the prayer.

[297] Burkert 1995, 209.

Various gods are also worshipped under the epithet Poliouchos ('protector of the city'), including Zeus and Athena.[298] Athena Poliouchos was the recipient of dedications on the Athenian acropolis, of which the earliest extant attestation dates to c. 550 BCE.[299] Poliouchos (πολιοῦχος) is a combination of πόλις + ἔχω meaning 'to have/hold the city'. This conjures up the imagery from Solon's fragment 4, in which Athena holds her hands over the polis to protect it.[300] The sense of Athena 'holding' the polis is further expressed in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* when the women name Athena the goddess 'who holds our city' (ἣ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει).[301] Athena's hands become a protective barrier for the polis, either holding it (πολιοῦχος) or placed over it (χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχει[302]). Anderson argues that the epithet Poliouchos denotes 'the tutelary deity of a city', but the evidence suggests otherwise.[303] For example, a string of gods could be collectively under this epithet. In *Seven Against Thebes,* Zeus, Pallas, Poseidon, Ares, Aphrodite, Apollo, Hera, and Artemis are invoked collectively as city-protecting gods of Thebes under the epithet πολιάοχος, 'protecting the city'.[304] Jim notes that it is more common that a 'constellation of divinities' would share protective

[298] E.g., Poseidon at Troezen: Plut. *Thes.* 6. Asklepios and Hygieia at Messina: *I.Messina* 104.38 = *SEG* XLII 870 (27 BCE-14 CE). Zeus Poliarchos: *I.Eleutherna* II 5A-D = *CGRN* 210 (150-100 BCE). Athena: e.g., Athens: *IG* I^3 544 (550 BCE), 683 (525-500 BCE), 662 (510-500 BCE), 718 (500-475 BCE), 775 (525-475 BCE); *IG* II^2 3606 (175-180 CE). Erythrai: *I.Erythrai* 140 (450-375 BCE). Magnesia: *I.Magnesia* 129 (400-1 BCE). Thasos: *SEG* XXXVI 790 (480-450 BCE); *IG* XII Suppl. 381 (1-400 CE). Sparta: *IG* V,1 213 (425-375 BCE), 559 (225-250 CE). Rhodes: *I.Lindos* I 2838 (500-300 BCE). Naxos: *IG* XII,5 41 (400-300 BCE).

[299] *IG* I^3 544 is the earliest attestation from 550 BCE. Although the inscription does not call Athena by her name, she is referred to as 'bright-eyed daughter of Zeus, protector of the city' ([Δ]ιὸ[ς] γ[λα]ụϙόπιδι ϙόρει *vacat* πολ[ι]όχοι) (tr. my own). See also: e.g., *IG* I^3 683, 718, 775.

[300] Sol. fr. 4.1-4 West. Cf. *I.Stratonikeia* 41 (undated), which was discussed in ch. 1.

[301] Ar. *Thesm.* 1136-1142 (tr. Henderson 2000).

[302] Sol. fr. 4.1-4 West; Herington 1963, 61-63.

[303] Anderson 1995, 11. Parker 2011, 86-87; Jim 2022, 47.

[304] Aesch. *Sept.* 109, 128-57; Jim 2022, 48.

functions.[305] Based on the available evidence, the epithet Poliouchos does not necessarily denote a singular 'tutelary' deity, nor do other epithets.

Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias: Authority, the Athenian Acropolis, and the Birth of Athena

Although they share epithets, such as Poliouchos, with other gods, Polieus and Polias ('of the city') are reserved exclusively for Zeus and Athena.[306] In the following section, I will demonstrate that Athena's connection to Zeus is instrumental to her role as city-protector in Athens, especially with regard to the location of their cult on the Athenian acropolis.[307] Cole comments that the epithets Polias and Polieus originally meant protectors of the polis in the sense of acropolis.[308] As the meaning of polis expanded to mean 'the city' in a more general sense, Polias gained political meaning and the protection it signified spread beyond the acropolis to encompass the entire city-state and its citizens.[309] Aelius Aristides associates the acropolis with authority, rulership, and guardianship. For example, in *Oration* 43, in which he exalts Zeus above other deities, Aristides comments that when people founded cities, they gave the acropolis to Zeus so he could rule over them from the highest point.[310] Contradictory to *Oration* 43, in *Oration* 37, he exalts Athena and makes an association between the goddess

[305] Jim 2022, 48.
[306] The exceptions are a few rare Roman dedications to Sarapis: e.g., *I.Portes du désert* 89.1-3 (200-250 CE); Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 210.
[307] E.g., temples to Athena were erected on the Athenian acropolis, such as the Erechtheion and the Parthenon, and there was also a sanctuary of Zeus Polieus. See Hurwit 1999, for the archaeology of the Athenian acropolis.
[308] Paus. 1.26.6; Cole 1995, 301.
[309] Cole 1995, 302-303; Cole 2004, 17; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 211.
[310] Aristid. *Or.* 43.19.

and the acropolis. He comments that Athena was named Poliouchos because she persuaded men to leave rural life and to come and reside in poleis as her gift to them, and, importantly, the acropolis was given to her 'as a token of her birth'.[311] The reason behind this slight contradiction is that Aristides writes his orations in a henotheistic way, which means that he exalts one god above the rest in a given context or moment without denying the existence of the other gods. The fact that Aristides associates both Zeus and Athena with the acropolis may suggest that he thought of them as similarly important. Additionally, Aristides also suggests that Athena is the 'power' (δύναμις) of Zeus, and that Zeus and Athena 'hold the same opinion about everything'.[312] Aristides intertwines the power of Zeus and Athena, which enables them to share the space of the acropolis under the epithets Polieus and Polias.

The Athenian acropolis could also have some connection to Zeus' head. Hills, such as the acropolis, were often associated with body parts in ancient Greek language. For example, the word σφυρόν means both 'ankle' and the 'foothill' of a mountain, and the word κάρηνον is primarily translated as 'head' but can also be used as a metaphor for mountain peaks.[313] Therefore, an analogy could be made between the acropolis and Zeus' head, not only because of the associations made in the language, but also due to the respective associations of both the acropolis and the head with authority. As discussed in Chapter One, Zeus' head is associated with authority, primarily

[311] Aristid. *Or.* 37.13; Behr 1981, 410, n. 18.
[312] 'Power': Aristid. *Or.* 37.28; Parker 2016b, 76. 'Same opinion': Aristid. *Or.* 37.27.
[313] LSJ s.v. σφυρόν, κάρηνον.

because of his authoritative nod.[314] As reported by Kallimachos, it is this authoritative nod that Athena possesses as a result of her birth from Zeus' head.[315] Consequently, it is possible that the epithets Polieus and Polias are specific to Zeus and Athena because of the authority associated with both Zeus' head and the acropolis.

This link between the Athenian acropolis and Zeus' head could be strengthened by the depiction of the birth of Athena on the east pediment of the Parthenon. The acropolis, especially the Parthenon, is the most suitable place to depict the myth of the birth of Athena, as this myth highlights her authority to rule over Athens. From the sculptures that survive, and Pausanias' description, scholars are fairly certain that the east pediment of the Parthenon once depicted the birth of Athena from Zeus' head, although the exact configuration of the sculptures remains unclear because of the fragmentary nature of the archaeological evidence.[316] Both pediments of the Parthenon may convey Athena's authority to preside over Athens. Pausanias reports that the west pediment depicted the contest between Athena and Poseidon for patronage of Athens.[317] This was an important moment in the mythic past of Athens, and so the image of this myth makes visible Athena's entitlement to

[314] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.524, 527, 2.350; Pind. *Isth.* 8.45-46, *Pyth.* 1.72; Callim. *Hymn* 3.28, 5.131-136.
[315] Callim. *Hymn* 5.131-136. Parker 2005a, 397, also suggests that Zeus Polieus' and Athena Polias' placement on the Athenian acropolis could be linked to their genealogical connection; cf. Herington 1955, 56-62.
[316] Paus. 1.24.5. For a more detailed analysis of the east pediment sculptures, see Palagia 1998, 18-39. For the full extent of the attempted restorations of the east pediment, see Palagia 1997, 28-49. See also Brommer 1963, 108-109, n. 16 and Romeo 2020, 847.
[317] Paus. 1.24.5. See Palagia 1998, 40-59, for discussion on the west pediment sculptures.

authority over Athens. The depiction of the birth of Athena highlights another reason for Athena's authority in Athens; she can rule from the Athenian acropolis because of her birth from her father's head. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Athenians saw themselves as having a privileged link to Zeus through Athena as Athens was her 'favoured city' and she was his 'favoured daughter'.[318] This idea of a privileged link not just to Athena but to Zeus as well could also be visualised on the east pediment of the Parthenon through the depiction of Athena's birth. The polis of Athens is favoured by both Zeus and Athena which, in theory, allows for a high level of protection and prosperity of the polis. The iconography on the Parthenon pediments may illustrate Athena's authority to rule over Athens, and that this authority originated in part from her genealogical connection to her father. [319]

II. Agriculture, Wealth, and Prosperity

Agriculture

An investigation into Zeus and Athena as city-protecting deities needs to consider which aspects of the polis require protection in order for the city and its inhabitants to thrive. Therefore, this investigation begins with agriculture, as the protection of crop and harvest is essential for the prosperity of the polis. Zeus was worshipped as a protector of agriculture, which is likely due to his association with the weather, especially rain.[320] Pausanias reports

[318] E.g., Herington 1963, 63: 'Zeus – his favoured daughter [Athena] – that daughter's favoured city [Athens]'.
[319] See ch. 3 of this thesis, for discussion of the possible depiction of the birth of Athena on the Hephaisteion.
[320] Parker 2005a, 417.

that Zeus is worshipped as Ombrios ('of rain') on Mount Hymettos and Mount Parnes in Attica, and Plutarch refers to Zeus Ombrios in a specifically agricultural context.[321] Sometimes, Zeus Chthonios ('in, under, or beneath the earth', 'sprung from the earth', 'of the earth') was also prayed to as 'god of the soil'.[322] For example, in the *Works and Days,* Hesiod instructs farmers to pray to both Zeus Chthonios and Demeter at the beginning of the ploughing season.[323] Zeus was often worshipped under specific epithets that connected him to the agricultural sphere, especially in later epigraphic examples from Asia Minor.[324] In his discussion of the region of Phrygia Epiktetos, Ricl comments on how it is 'no surprise' that the majority of Zeus' functional epithets in this location 'define him as a rural protector and provider of crops and cattle par excellence'.[325] Some of these epithets include: Ampelites/Ampelikos ('of the vine'); Anadotes ('causing the plants to sprout'); Thallos ('of the young shoots'); and a hapax legomenon Hekatostites ('who makes crops bear a hundredfold').[326] All of these epithets place Zeus firmly in the sphere of agriculture.

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[321] Paus. 1.32.2; Plut. *Conv. Sept. Sap.* 158 E. See Langdon 1976, for further discussion of the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos. See Langdon 2000, for mountains in Greek religion.
[322] LSJ s.v. χθόνιος; Langdon 1976, 80.
[323] Hes. *Op.* 465-467.
[324] Mostly from 1st century CE onwards. See Schuler 2012; Ricl 2017.
[325] Ricl 2017, 139.
[326] Ricl 2017, 139: all translations of these epithets are by Ricl. Ampelites/Ampelikos: e.g., *I.Mus. Uşak* 72, 73 (both undated, probably Imperial period); see also Drew-Bear, Thomas, and Yildizturan 1999, nos. 391, 422, 424, 426, 444, 447, 457, 462, 463, 508, 511, 515, 579, 580–582, 588, 591, 593, 598, 605, 606; Ricl 2017, 139, n. 94. Anadotes: *SEG* XLV 1719 (53/4 CE). Thallos: for dedications to Zeus Thallos, see Drew-Bear, Thomas, and Yildizturan 1999, nos. 390, 392, 423, 427, 429, 442, 446, 464, 509, 510, 563, 566, 567, 596, 597, 599–603, 604; Ricl 2017, 139, n. 98. Hekatostites: see Ricl 2017, 139, this epithet is known from an unpublished altar from the Eskişehir Museum. See also Parker 2023, 36-45, for more on Zeus in Phrygia and Mitchell 2023, esp. ch. 3.

An inscription from Thrakia Kome in Caria illustrates Zeus' protection of the community in an agricultural context. The people dedicate a stele to Zeus Chalazios Sozon ('Zeus of Hail who Saves').[327] The inscription reads:

> ὑπὲρ εὐκαρπίας καὶ ἀβλαβίας τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν γεοκτειτῶν καὶ τῶν συνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ κατοικούντων Θρακίαν κώμην.
>
> For the fruitfulness and freedom from harm of their crops, and for the health and safety of their farmers and those assembling for the god and residents in the Thracian village.[328]

In this context, the community do not request rain but rather ask Zeus to hold back harmful hail.[329] The connection between the safety of the crops, those who farm them, and the wider community is significant. By saving the harvest, Zeus Chalazios Sozon preserves the people of Thrakia Kome. There is also evidence of altars from Miletos belonging to Zeus Aitherios Soter ('Zeus of the Sky who Saves') alongside Apollo Didymeus ('of Didyma') and Zeus Keraunios Soter ('Zeus of the Thunderbolt who Saves') alone.[330] Although not much is known about these altars, Jim has suggested that the combination of Aitherios ('sky') and Keraunios ('thunderbolt') with Soter ('saviour') respectively could be an attempt to control Zeus' 'unpredictable power' to cause destructive weather, especially in an agricultural context.[331] At first, the epithet Keraunios

[327] Translation of epithet: Jim 2022, 69.
[328] Tr. Hasluck 1904, 21-23, no. 4, with fig. 1 (exact provenance unknown). See also Jim 2022, 69, n. 102.
[329] Schuler 2012, 72.
[330] Zeus Aitherios Soter and Apollo Didymeus: *I.Milet* VI,3 1248 (undated). Zeus Keraunios Soter: *I.Milet* VI,3 1257 (late Hellenistic/early Imperial). Jim 2022, 69, n. 101.
[331] Jim 2022, 69.

may seem not so agriculturally significant, but like hail, thunder storms could also destroy a harvest, and so Zeus Keraunios Soter needed to be appeased.[332]

Zeus was honoured as a god associated with both agriculture and the polis in other parts of the Greek world. For example, in Magnesia on the Meander, an inscription details the establishment of a new cult to Zeus Sosipolis ('saving the city', Sosipolis being a compound of σώζω + πολις).[333] The inscription prescribes that a bull be dedicated to Zeus Sosipolis each year 'when the sowing starts' (l. 14-16).[334] The bull is then to be sacrificed to Zeus Sosipolis at the time of harvest.[335] The dedication and subsequent sacrifice of the same animal frame the sowing season, which could have been an attempt to ensure continuous protection from Zeus Sosipolis both present and future. This cult was established 'for the safety of the city and the country and the citizens... for peace and prosperity and that the bearing of grain and all other fruits and livestock' (l. 26-31). The inscription is dated to 197/6 BCE, the same year a peace treaty was concluded with Miletos.[336] It appears that the goal of the cult and sacrifice was therefore to protect the polis after the conclusion of a tumultuous period of their history. The last line of the inscription sums up the true wants and needs of the people of Magnesia: '[this decree] is to be for the protection [of the country]' (τὸ δὲ] [ψ]ήφισ[μα τόδε] εἶναι εἰς φυλακὴν

[332] Zeus was also worshipped as Bronton ('thunderer') in an agricultural context: see Schuler 2012, 74-76, 91-94; Ricl 2017, 139; Parker 2023, 37.
[333] *CGRN* 194 (197/6 or 180s BCE).
[334] All translations for this inscription are from *CGRN* 194.
[335] Smith 1973, 23.
[336] *CGRN* 194 commentary.

[τῆς χώρας], l. 68). As highlighted by Schuler, it is significant that this decree was published in the agora of Magnesia, as it illustrates how important a prosperous harvest was to the welfare of the polis.[337] This inscription highlights how the protection of the polis went hand in hand with the protection of agriculture, reinforcing the link between the polis and the harvest.

Some agricultural festivals promoted the idea of social cohesion in the polis. Zeus was the most important deity worshipped in the Attic *Dipolieia* festival, in which the main ritual stressed the significance of both agriculture and social cohesion. The *Dipolieia* took place on 14th Skirophorion (June/July), which, according to Hesiod, was the best time to 'sow the fallow land'.[338] This month was also when the *Skira* festival to Athena and Demeter took place, a threshing festival celebrated at the point in the harvest when one would separate grain from the corn/crop.[339] Therefore, Skirophorion was a time of year associated with the harvest and agriculture. Not much is known about the *Dipolieia* apart from a ritual named the *Bouphonia*, 'ox-killing'.[340] The myth and ritual associated with the *Bouphonia* appear to be agriculturally significant. According to the myth, when an ox was accidentally killed by a man named Sopater, 'drought took hold, and there was terrible crop failure'.[341]

[337] Schuler 2012, 68-69. The agora was also the location of the temple of Zeus Sosipolis. See also Paul 2018, 319-320.
[338] Hes. *Op.* 462-464; Parker 2005a, 19.
[339] Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 34.1; Paus. 1.37.2; Robertson 1996, 27-28, 52-53.
[340] Parker 2005a, 187.
[341] Porph. *Abst.* 2.29.3 (tr. Clark 2000).

To rectify the problem, the community sacrificed an ox and stuffed the skin before fixing it to a plough 'as if it were working', an action with clear agricultural connotations.[342] The ritual of the *Bouphonia* was still performed in Pausanias' day in 2nd century CE, and Pausanias specifies that it was performed for Zeus Polieus.[343] Agricultural concerns and a focus on unifying the community are brought to the fore in the *Bouphonia* ritual. The ox 'must be cut down by the city' and 'everybody' must participate, which emphasises an element of social inclusion and cohesion.[344] Although many festivals could be considered to have a social function, the long-standing significance of the *Bouphonia* may suggest that the Athenians thought it was successful in reinforcing continued unity and prosperity in the polis (as well as protecting the harvest) by honouring Zeus Polieus.[345] The decision to worship Zeus in this context is agriculturally significant. When Sopater kills the ox, it is specifically drought and crop failure that consume Attica, which could only be remedied by rainfall. As a god of rain and of the polis, Zeus can bring these two facets of his divine character together to protect the community.[346]

In contrast to Zeus, Athena's direct association with agriculture is limited; nevertheless, she is associated with the olive tree. Parker has suggested that Athena's olive tree was primarily a political symbol rather than

[342] Porph. *Abst.* 2.30.2 (tr. Clark 2000); Parker 2005a, 191.
[343] Paus. 1.24.4.
[344] Porph. *Abst.* 2.29.4 (tr. Clark 2000); Parker 2005a, 189.
[345] Ar. *Nub.* 953-954; Parker 2005a, 191.
[346] While not agricultural in nature, see *I.Lindos* II 2 D.I.1-59 (99 BCE), for how Zeus saves the Lindian community using rain during a siege.

one of agricultural significance.[347] However, I would argue that there is room for both interpretations. On the one hand, in its most basic form, the olive tree was associated with agriculture and the economy, as it could be propagated in numerous ways and once mature, it was fairly simple to take care of. [348] On the other hand, it could be a symbol of protection. When the original sacred olive tree of Athena on the Athenian acropolis was burnt down by the Persians, Herodotus reports that a new shoot grew from the original stump as a sign of the continuous protection of Athena.[349] Furthermore, the statue of Athena Polias that reportedly fell from the sky was made of olive wood.[350] This statue was treated with great care, washed, adorned, and dressed as part of the *Plynteria*, *Kallynteria*, and *Panathenaia* festivals.[351] Additionally, there were twelve sacred olive trees, known as the *moriai* — the number twelve is significant, as these trees may have represented the twelve phratries.[352] It could be argued that both Athena Polias and her citizens were represented in olive wood (the statue and the trees respectively), which may have created a connection between citizen and goddess using the symbol of the olive.[353] The olive also had apotropaic significance.[354] Herodotus reports that when the land of the Epidaurians 'no longer bore produce' they sought

[347] Parker 2005a, 418.
[348] Todd 2000, 482. See Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 2.1.4; Foxhall 2007, 97-112; Håland 2012, 272. Although see Foxhall 2007, 78, for the issue that 'there is little solid evidence for the large-scale, specialized production of Attic olive oil or trade in it'.
[349] Hdt. 8.55.
[350] Paus. 1.26.6. For discussion of appearance of the ancient statue of Athena Polias, see Kroll 1982.
[351] See Robertson 1996.
[352] Håland 2012, 268.
[353] For the importance of the *moirai*: *Ath. Pol.* 60.1-3. The uprooting of an olive tree was a criminal offence and could result in a trial: Lysias 7; Todd 2000; Todd 2008, 477-540.
[354] Håland 2012, 275-276.

the help of the oracle at Delphi. The oracle told them to set up statues of Damia and Auxesia (fertility goddesses) made from olive wood. The Epidaurians then asked the Athenians to provide them with olives for the cutting as native Athenian olives were 'holiest' (ἱερώταται).[355] In this context, Athena's protective olive wood is used for the sole purpose of saving the crops of the Epidaurians and protecting their future harvests. Here, there are direct links between olive wood, agriculture, fertility, and the protection of the community. This example highlights the intersection between the olive tree's protective symbolism and its agricultural significance.

Athena usually does not operate alone in the sphere of agriculture. Detienne argues that Athena often needs another deity, such as Demeter, to assist her within this particular sphere.[356] The evidence appears to substantiate this claim; for example, Athena Skiras was worshipped alongside Demeter as part of the *Skira* festival mentioned above, and the *moriai* were protected by both Athena Moria and Zeus Morios ('guardian of the sacred olives'). Therefore, Athena did not oversee the *Skira* festival or the protection of her sacred olive trees alone but shared this responsibility with Demeter and Zeus respectively. Additionally, Athena is attributed with the creation of the plough, a device that assists with crop cultivation. Although this is an example of Athena's μῆτις being deployed in the sphere of agriculture, the plough is useless on its own. The plough needs to be pulled by an ox, the seed needs to

[355] Hdt. 5.82 (tr. Godley 1922). This passage could illustrate a non-Athenian understanding of Athena's special relationship with the olive tree.
[356] Detienne 1971, 164.

be sown in the soil (Demeter), and the rain needs to fall upon it (Zeus).[357] Athena requires the assistance of other deities in the agricultural process. Why is Athena's operation in the agricultural sphere different, when she can operate alone in other spheres of life? To take the sphere of crafts as an example, Athena's μῆτις is a necessity; wool cannot be transformed into garments without μῆτις, nor can trees be made into boats. [358] As μῆτις is essential to the sphere of crafts, Athena is able to operate alone (as well as alongside other gods) in this sphere. As observed by Detienne, Athena's μῆτις is often applied to the 'world of technology'.[359] Technology is the backbone of the sphere of crafts, whereas natural elements such as rain, sun, and earth are essential to the agricultural sphere. Although agriculture is improved by μῆτις, as crop cultivation became easier and more efficient with the advent of the plough, this sphere would fall apart without Demeter or Zeus, as they ensure the growth of the crop. Perhaps this is why Zeus can operate alone but Athena usually works alongside other deities in the sphere of agriculture.

Wealth and Prosperity

Zeus not only protects the agricultural wealth of the polis but also individual wealth. Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Meilichios protect the wealth of the *oikos*. As outlined by Parker, the *oikos* has 'physical, social, and economic applications' and all three are interconnected.[360] Zeus Ktesios (cognate word

[357] Hes. *Op.* 429-431. Athena also needed the help of Gaia to bear Erichthonios: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6.
[358] See ch. 3, for further discussion of the sphere of crafts.
[359] Detienne 1974, 166.
[360] Parker 2005a, 9. See also MacDowell 1989; Ault 2007.

of κτῆσις, 'acquisition' or 'possession') is linked to the acquisition of wealth and the protection of the storeroom that housed his image; as a result, Zeus Ktesios was worshipped inside the confines of the *oikos*.[361] Zeus Ktesios was represented by a two-handled jar (καδίσκος), which was placed in the storeroom and was filled with 'ambrosia' (water, olive oil, and fruit).[362] The use of olive oil in the mixture recalls the protective and medicinal qualities of the olive tree and its fruit.[363] Perhaps it was by incorporating olive oil into the protective mixture stored in the jar of Zeus Ktesios that Athena assisted her father in safeguarding the wealth of the household. Although Zeus Ktesios was the primary deity associated with the acquisition and preservation of wealth, the use of olive oil may imply that Athena could support her father in this context.

Zeus Meilichios protected both the social *oikos* and the wider polis by bestowing agricultural and economic abundance.[364] The relief accompanying *IG* II^2 4620 (4th-3rd century BCE) depicts Zeus Meilichios as a bearded snake. Lalonde comments that this version of Zeus Meilichios was more often associated with rural households, as snakes were thought to guard grain from pests.[365] Numerous 'family reliefs' were dedicated to Zeus Meilichios. Such reliefs more generally usually depict family groups approaching a particular

[361] Aesch. *Supp.* 443-444; Isae. 8.16; Parker 2005a, 15-16.
[362] Autokleides *FGrHist* 353 F 1 ap. Ath. 473b–c; Tresp 1914, 45-7; Parker 2005a, 16.
[363] Olive wood as protective: Hdt. 5.82. Healing olive oil: Aristid. *Or.* 37.11.
[364] LSJ s.v. μειλίχιος: 'mild, gracious', 'the protector of those who invoked him with propitiatory offerings'.
[365] Lalonde 2006, 46.

god (not always Zeus Meilichios); for example, a family relief bearing the inscription 'Aristarche, to Zeus Meilichios' depicts a family (two parents and a child) approaching the god on a throne.[366] These family reliefs suggest that Zeus Meilichios had a strong association with the *oikos*, particularly the family unit. In contrast to Zeus Ktesios, the worship of Zeus Meilichios extended beyond the physical confines of the household, enabling him to grant abundance on a broader scale. As Lalonde argues, 'we might classify Zeus Meilichios most basically as a "giver of increase", and, moreover, a maintainer of state well-being'.[367] A dedicatory relief depicting Zeus Meilichios as a bearded man holding a cornucopia approached by a group of worshippers may support this interpretation of Zeus Meilichios as a 'giver of increase', due to the cornucopia's significance as a symbol of abundance.[368] In Xenophon's *Anabasis,* when Xenophon neglects to sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios, the god prevents Xenophon's increase of gold, leaving him unable to cover his travel expenses. However, when the seer Eucleides advises him to offer a sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios, the god grants him gold.[369] Zeus Meilichios could grant increase whether that be agricultural or monetary wealth.

The worship of Zeus Meilichios as part of the Attic *Diasia* may also suggest a link between Zeus Meilichios, the family, and the polis.[370] Langdon

[366] *IG* II^2 4618 (before mid-4th century BCE); Cook 1925, vol. 2, 1106, fig. 942. For more family reliefs, see Parker 2005a, 39-42, 46-47, 425.
[367] Lalonde 2006, 47.
[368] *IG* II^2 4569 (before mid-4th century BCE) inscribed: '-toboule to Zeus Meilichios'; Cook 1925, vol. 2, 1106, fig. 943.
[369] Xen. *Anab.* 7.8.1-6. Lendle 1995, 478: Eucleides had been a priest at the *Diasia*.
[370] *Diasia*: *CGRN* 52.A.32-43 (375-350 BCE); Thuc. 1.126.6; Pl. *Leg*. 782c; Hesych. s.v. ἔβδους βοῦς; Suda s.v. β. ἔβδ; *Anth. Pal.* 6.40.

highlights the *Diasia* as one of the two most important celebrations to 'agricultural Zeus', the other being the *Dipolieia* discussed above.[371] Although there is limited evidence regarding the nature of the *Diasia*, the central themes appear to surround both the family and the wider polis. In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, Strepsiades recalls cooking a haggis for his relatives (συγγενής) at the *Diasia* and suggests that children were allowed to attend the festival.[372] If Zeus Meilichios protected both individual and state-wide increase, this double protection may have interlaced the prosperity of the individual/family unit with the prosperity of the polis. As the polis is made up of many *oikoi*, it is only natural that individual prosperity would influence the prosperity of the wider polis. Therefore, both Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Meilichios oversaw the wealth and prosperity of the polis by protecting that of the *oikos.*

In contrast to Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Meilichios, Zeus Herkeios is not linked to the protection of wealth but rather to the safeguarding of the physical boundaries of the household. Zeus Herkeios has often been associated with the physical protection of the Homeric household. The word ἕρκος is the fence or wall that enclosed the courtyard of the house, and, in the *Odyssey*, there is an altar of Zeus Herkeios in the courtyard of Odysseus' house.[373] There is some confusion in both the ancient and modern sources regarding whether Zeus Herkeios could be considered a household or

[371] Langdon 1976, 80.
[372] Ar. *Nub.* 408-411, 859-864.
[373] Hom. *Il.* 16.231; Hom. *Od.* 2.335; Parker 2005a, 16.

domestic god in the same way as Zeus Ktesios.[374] Parker argues that Zeus Herkeios was more closely associated with lineage than with the physical space of the household.[375] Similarly, Lambert has argued that Zeus Herkeios, like Apollo Patroos ('of one's father'), may have been associated with kinship groups.[376] Morgan argues that the positioning of the altar of Zeus Herkeios outside the family home 'emphasizes his importance in the wider community'.[377] It does appear that Zeus Herkeios was not necessarily confined to the family home; for example, there was an altar of Zeus Herkeios in the Pandroseion on the Athenian acropolis, shaded by Athena's sacred olive tree.[378] This may suggest that Zeus Herkeios played both a private and a public role similar to Zeus Meilichios. As the community evolved over time, it is possible that the worship of Zeus Herkeios changed. Originally a god who protected the boundaries of the household, such as in the passage from the *Odyssey*, he later could have been seen as a protector of the polis and guardian of the lineage of Athenian families. If this interpretation is correct, this would be similar to Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias, who began as guardians of the acropolis alone and later became protectors of the wider polis as the boundaries extended. Like Zeus Ktesios and Zeus Meilichios, Zeus Herkeios' protection of the individual household could have been necessary for the protection of the wider community.

[374] E.g., Hdt. 6.68: Herodotus places the altar of Zeus Herkeios inside the house, but this seems unlikely from the other evidence; Parker 2005a, 17.
[375] Soph. *Ant.* 487.
[376] Lambert 1993, 215. See *Ath. Pol.* 55.3; Dem. 57.67.
[377] Morgan 2011, 452.
[378] Philochorus *FGrHist* 238 F67; Hurwit 1999, 204; Takeuchi 2020, 64.

Athena also oversaw the wealth and prosperity of individuals and the community. To my knowledge, there is no specific epithet that associates Athena explicitly with the protection or increase of the wealth of individuals or the family; however, there is some evidence that Athena was invoked to protect the wealth of individuals.[379] For example, in a dedication from the Athenian acropolis dated to c. 360 BCE, the dedicant asks Athena to 'preserve his wealth' (πλῶτον σῶιζε).[380] Another dedication also from the Athenian acropolis, dedicated by a craftswoman, Melinna, may suggest that female artisans could accumulate wealth and would thank Athena for protecting it.[381] Melinna's dedication of an inscribed statue base may indicate a certain level of prosperity, as it is what Snodgrass calls a 'converted' offering, which was probably more expensive than 'raw' offerings such as weaving tools.[382] Alternatively, Jim has argued that Melinna may have saved her earnings over the course of her career in order to purchase this thank offering, and so it may represent a lifetime of saving rather than surplus wealth.[383] Although it is unclear how wealthy Melinna was, she still expresses thanks to Athena for sustaining her career and contributing to her personal prosperity.

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[379] It is worth noting that many of these dedications were made on the acropolis, and so it is possible that worshippers made dedications to Athena in this context because of her status as the primary deity of Athens, not necessarily because she was associated with the protection of private wealth in the same way as Zeus.
[380] *IG* II/III^3 4, 1362.
[381] *IG* II/III^3 4, 1377 (4th century BCE). I discuss Melinna further in ch. 3. Note several epigrams (dedications to Athena) that attest to poverty linked to some forms of artisanal labour such as textile work: e.g., *Anth. Pal.* 47 (Antipater of Sidon), 48 (Anonymous), 247 (Philippus), 288 (Leonidas).
[382] A 'converted' offering is wealth converted into an object (e.g., statue), a 'raw' offering is an object that already exists (e.g., weaving comb): see Snodgrass 1989-90, 291.
[383] Jim 2014, 139.

Athena also safeguarded the communal wealth in the treasury of Athena on the Athenian acropolis. In the mid-5th century BCE, after the Delian League treasury was moved from Delos to Athens, the league states paid an *aparche* ('first-fruits'), one-sixtieth of their tribute, into the treasury of Athena.[384] The transfer of the treasury meant that not only did Athena protect the wealth of Athens, but she now also protected the wealth of the Delian League. Therefore, it could be inferred that Athena was trusted to safeguard the wealth of numerous poleis, although ultimately the economic interest of Athens was always the primary concern of the Athenians.[385] The fact that dedications regarding wealth were made to Athena on the Athenian acropolis — the location of public treasuries and the cult of Athena Polias — once again may interlace individual and public wealth, although we cannot rule out the possibility that dedications were made in this context due to Athena's primary status in Athens.[386] Both Zeus and Athena oversaw the prosperity of individuals, which, in turn, contributed to the prosperity of the polis. Unlike Zeus, Athena does not appear to have any obvious connection to agricultural prosperity or the protection of the family home.

[384] This is known from tribute quota lists: e.g., *IG* I^3 259 (454/3 BCE: the earliest known quota list). See Samons 2000, 35; Rhodes 2013, 213.
[385] The treasury may have financed the Athenian military during the Peloponnesian war: Samons 2000, 34-35, 54.
[386] Some dedications made to Athena on the Athenian acropolis refer to revenue in some way. E.g., χρήματα (money): *IG* I^3 779 (500-480 BCE). κτέανον (property): *IG* I^3 647 (510-500 BCE).

III. Social Cohesion, Civic Identity, and Political Participation

Social Cohesion: Athena and Pregnant Offerings

Given Athena's limited connection to the agricultural sphere, it may seem surprising that Athena sometimes received pregnant offerings in sacrifices. Pregnant offerings were often presented to goddesses associated with agriculture and/or fertility.[387] For example, in a 4th-century sacrificial calendar, Demeter (under various epithets) receives pregnant animals at Marathon as both a fertility and agricultural goddess.[388] Therefore, pregnant offerings to Athena have often confused scholars, considering Athena's commitment to being a *parthenos* on the one hand and her limited connection to agriculture on the other.[389] For example, Parker claims that the sacrifice of a pregnant ewe to Athena Skiras in Athens cannot be evidence of Athena's connection to agriculture; however, he offers no alternative explanation as to why Athena might receive an offering of this kind.[390] Bremmer has put forward the argument that pregnant offerings are 'negative' or 'abnormal' in nature, to explain why Athena received these offerings, despite being a *parthenos*.[391] More recently, Georgoudi has pushed back against Bremmer's interpretation, arguing that Athena's pregnant offerings, attested in limited extant evidence, do not appear to be 'abnormal' or 'negative'.[392] Instead, she argues that these pregnant offerings are likely

[387] Smith 1973, 23; Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 2014, 212.
[388] *SEG* L 168 col. 2.12, 48, 49 (375-350 BCE).
[389] See ch. 1, for discussion of Athena as a *parthenos*.
[390] Parker 2005a, 418.
[391] Bremmer 2005, 155-162. Cf. Graf 1985, 27, who comments in passing that pregnant offerings are abnormal.
[392] Georgoudi 2016, 96.

symbolic of the fertility and prosperity of the polis. In what follows, I will build on Georgoudi's interpretation. To my knowledge, there are at least three major pieces of evidence regarding pregnant offerings to Athena: a pregnant ewe was offered to Athena Polias on Kos, a pregnant ewe was offered to Athena Skiras by the Salaminioi (an Attic *genos*), and a relief on the Athenian acropolis possibly depicts the offering of a pregnant sow for Athena. I will demonstrate how these pregnant offerings could be linked not only to the fertility and prosperity of the polis, but also to the unity of the polis and the cohesion of social groups, rather than solely to agricultural and economic concerns.

A pregnant offering to Athena Polias on Kos could illustrate the possible connection between pregnant offerings and a newly unified community. In the sacrificial calendar of Kos dated to c. 350 BCE, on 20th Batromios, Athena Polias was to receive a pregnant ewe on the same day Zeus Polieus was to receive an ox.[393] This sacrificial calendar was set up shortly after the synoikism of the island in 366 BCE and primarily focuses on the rites and sacrifice to Zeus Polieus. Synoikism, the process of unifying multiple villages into one polis, allowed people to continue to live in separate settlements while also being bound politically into one polis and multiple demes. Paul has argued that, in the context of the Koan calendar, Zeus Polieus represented the unification of the polis' new community.[394] As Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias

[393] Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 62 A.56-57 = *CGRN* 86.56-57.
[394] Paul 2013, 30-44, 270. This will be discussed further in section IV.

are linked in this calendar by both epithet and day of sacrifice, perhaps both deities represented the unity of a newfound community. As argued by Georgoudi, because the pregnant sacrifice is given to Athena *Polias*, 'of the city', it is likely that this sacrifice was made to ensure the prosperity, fertility, and development of the community. In this context, prosperity could be associated with economic prosperity, especially as the rites to Zeus Polieus took place in the agora.[395] Diodorus comments that since the synoikism, Kos' public revenue and private wealth had increased consistently.[396] Although this is an apparent result of the synoikism, the potential for economic prosperity could have been a contributing factor for why the synoikism took place. Additionally, Strabo reports that the synoikism occurred in response to conflict. [397] Therefore, perhaps the sacrifice of the pregnant ewe could be symbolic of the potential for a peaceful and more cohesive Kos. As the rites are to Athena Polias, fertility could refer to the fertility of the citizen body rather than the fertility of the fields. The fertility of the citizen body would then naturally lead to the physical development of the community, and children born post-synoikism would also represent a newfound social cohesion among the citizens of Kos. Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti observe that the feast of Zeus Polieus is celebrated annually to 'reaffirm that unity'.[398] In fact, the same argument can be made for Athena Polias, who also receives the sacrifice of a pregnant ewe annually. The sacrifice of a pregnant ewe to Athena on Kos

[395] Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 62 A.8, 25 = *CGRN* 86.8, 25. It is unclear where the sacrifice to Athena Polias took place.
[396] Diod. Sic. 15.76.2.
[397] Strab. 14.2.19.
[398] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 184.

could have been made in the hope that the new cohesive community would thrive both in the present and in the future.

A pregnant offering made to Athena Skiras in Athens may be additional evidence of the possible connection between pregnant offerings and social cohesion, but, this time, the unification of a social group within the polis. Although Georgoudi discusses the sacrifice to Athena Skiras in Athens, she does not apply the same argument she makes for Athena Polias on Kos to Athena Skiras.[399] I would argue that the same argument can be applied to Athena Skiras; however, it is important to proceed with caution when comparing Athena Polias on Kos and Athena Skiras from Athens. Not only do they bear different epithets, but they are also from different locations; nevertheless, there could be parallels between the two sacrifices.[400] A pregnant offering to Athena Skiras is attested in a dossier of regulations by the Athenian Salaminioi dated to 363/2 BCE. The Salaminioi were a prominent Attic *genos*, who, by the mid-4th century BCE, were divided into two branches: the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes and the Salaminioi from Sounion.[401] This inscription was set up in the sanctuary of Athena Skiras in Athens to codify an agreement between the two factions of the Salaminioi and settle a dispute.[402] In the month Maimakterion, Athena Skiras receives the offering of a pregnant

[399] Georgoudi 2016, 93-95. She primarily discusses the importance of the *Oschophoria* festival in relation to Athena Skiras.
[400] Bremmer 2005, 161-162, also compares the two.
[401] Taylor 2012, 1. See also Ferguson 1938 and Papazarkadas 2011, 296-298.
[402] Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 37 = *CGRN* 84. Another inscription regarding the Salaminioi that mentions Athena Skiras is *IG* II^2 1232 (late-4th century BCE).

ewe, but the calendar provides no more information regarding this sacrifice.[403] It is tempting to think of this as an agricultural offering because Athena Skiras is worshipped alongside Demeter as part of the *Skira* festival as previously mentioned. However, Strabo records that Skiras might have been another name for the island of Salamis, named after the hero Skiras; this is also, according to Strabo, why Athena is named Skiras, after this same hero.[404] Therefore, in this context, Athena Skiras is more likely to be associated with the Salaminioi themselves, rather than her worship having solely agricultural connotations.[405] Near the beginning of the dossier, the inscription states that the two groups of Salaminioi are to share a priesthood of Athena Skiras, which brings the two groups into close contact with each other. [406] If pregnant offerings could represent a newly unified community, I would argue that perhaps the pregnant offering to Athena Skiras was symbolic of the unification between the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes and the Salaminioi from Sounion. Their unification was then cemented further through the shared priesthood of Athena Skiras. Like the pregnant offering to Athena Polias on Kos, the pregnant offering to Athena Skiras is also performed annually. The annual sacrifice could have been offered in the hope that the relationship between the Salaminoi of

[403] Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 37.93 = *CGRN* 84.93.
[404] Strab. 9.1.9; Rhodes and Osborne 2004, 190. See Parker 1996, 312, who comments on the mysterious origins of the *genos* of the Salaminioi. Their worship of Athena Skiras is noted as something that 'appears to be distinctly Salaminian', but, as also noted by Lambert 1997, 97, it seems more likely that the Salaminioi were of Athenian origin. Parker concludes that after Athens claimed Salamis from Megara in the 6th century BCE, 'the strategically important island had to be ideologically incorporated', whether through the adoption of Salaminian cults or through Salaminian immigration. Therefore, even if the *genos* was originally Athenian, there remains an important connection to the geographical location of Salamis.
[405] This need not mean that Athena Skira's agricultural connection was entirely severed.
[406] Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 37.9-10 = *CGRN* 84.9-10.

the Seven Tribes and the Salaminoi of Sounion would develop positively. In this case, due to the context of the settlement of a dispute, the pregnant offering to Athena Skiras is probably associated with peaceful social cohesion rather than economic or physical prosperity and fertility. Therefore, I would argue that the sacrifice of a pregnant ewe to Athena Skiras in Athens served a similar function to the sacrifice of a pregnant ewe to Athena Polias on Kos: to symbolise the positive and peaceful potential of a newly unified community.

Apart from communities, it is possible that families offered pregnant sacrifices to Athena. These offerings could also be related to the prosperity and fertility of the community but on a smaller scale: the economic prosperity of the *oikos,* the biological fertility of the family, and the continuation of Athenian bloodlines. A votive relief from the Athenian acropolis dating to c. 500/480 BCE (not accompanied by an inscription) depicts Athena standing on the left in an archaic style with five worshippers approaching from the right towards the goddess (man, woman, two boys, and a girl); the worshippers are accompanied by a sacrificial, possibly pregnant, sow (figs. 6 and 7).[407]

[407] Athens AkrM. 581. Figure 7 added for a clearer image of the sow's mammary glands. See Clinton 2005 and Jameson 2014, for discussion of pigs in Greek rituals.



Figure 6: Relief of the ‘sacrifice of the pig’. Athens AkrM. 581. 490-480 BCE. Image from the Acropolis Museum: https://www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en/relief-sacrifice-pig

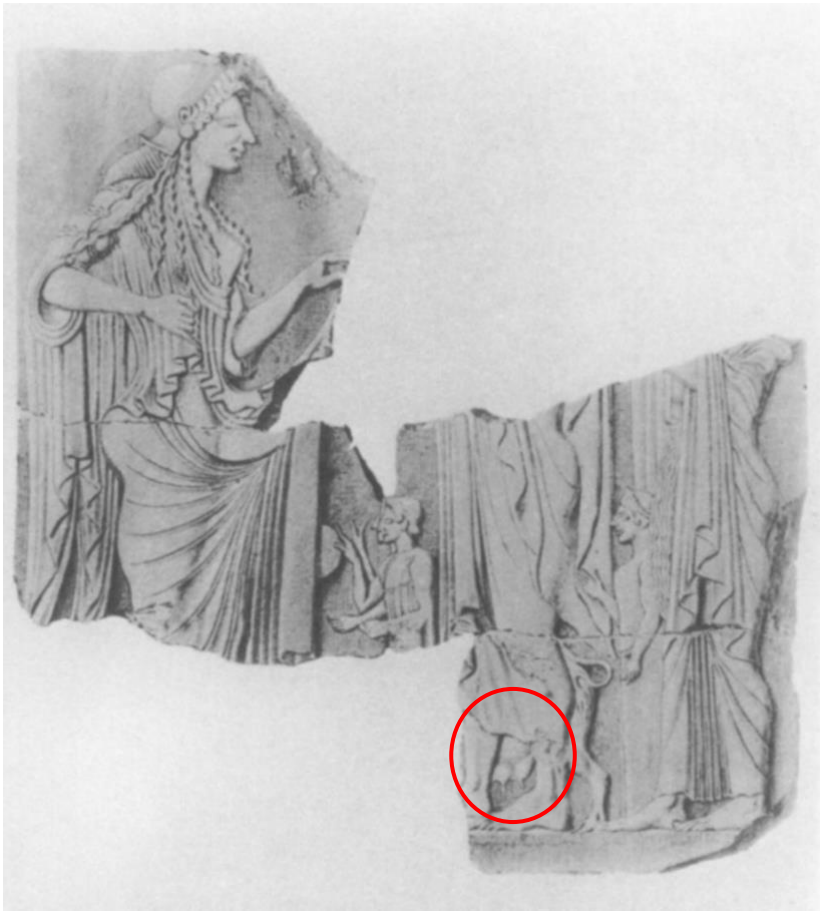


Figure 7: Photo after engraving of the 'sacrifice of the pig' relief. From Staïs 1886, pl. 9. Athens AkrM 581. Image: Palagia 1995, pl. 114 b.

The symbolism of this relief is hard to decode in the absence of comparable evidence.[408] This is a family relief dedicated (we do not know by whom) to Athena on the Athenian acropolis; beyond this, the interpretation of the iconography is less clear, especially regarding the sow. Bremmer identifies the sow as pregnant, and Van Straten comments that it is 'certainly female and probably pregnant'.[409] Other scholars have suggested that the sow is either pregnant or has recently given birth.[410] This is due to the possible identification of the sow's pronounced mammary glands (see red circle on fig.

[408] Interpretations of the iconography of this relief include Palagia 1995 and Bremmer 2005, 162.
[409] Bremmer 2005, 162; Van Straten 1995, 77.
[410] Dillon 2002, 32; Georgoudi 2016; Talatas 2023, 158.

7). Although it is difficult to see the mammary glands due to the fragmentary nature of the relief, it seems to me that the sow is more likely to be pregnant rather than lactating, as sow mammary glands swell significantly in the final third of gestation.[411] Regardless, the depiction of the pronounced mammary glands highlights the sow's fertility, as she is either pregnant or has recently given birth. Furthermore, the inclusion of the fertile sow with the family group is a visual representation of the fertility of the family and the *oikos*. Based on the limited evidence presented, I would argue that pregnant offerings to Athena could be a symbol of the pregnant polis full of potential. I suggest that pregnant offerings were made to Athena in the hope that she would grant prosperity (economic/peaceful) and fertility (of the citizen body/of the *oikos*) to a newly cohesive group or community in the polis.

Civic Identity: the Phratries

In Athens, citizenship was fundamental to civic identity. Before 451/0 BCE, descent from one citizen parent (often the father) meant one could obtain citizen status; however, with the advent of Perikles' citizenship law in 451/0 BCE, Athenians were required to have two citizen parents to be granted a 'share in the polis' (μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως).[412] Having a 'share in the polis' could take the form of having a physical share in the fabric of the polis (for example, owning land), but it could also be a more abstract share in the form

[411] Farmer 2015, 75-77.
[412] Perikles' citizenship law: *Ath. Pol.* 26.3. According to the *Ath. Pol.*, Perikles brought in this law due to the large number of citizens in Athens at that time; see Blok 2009, 141-170, for other interpretations. See also Blok 2017, 1; Todd 1993, 177. See Ogden 2009, for the issue of fatherlessness and legitimacy in ancient Greece.

of participation in politics, military service, or, for more wealthy citizens, financial contributions.[413] Citizenship and legitimacy were also important when it came to proving eligibility for inheritance.[414] There was a sense of pride associated with citizenship, which is outlined in the funeral oration attributed to Perikles.[415] In the oration, Perikles illustrates aspects of Athenian life that citizens should be proud of: a strong ancestry, military prowess, democracy, politics, law, leisure, and a prosperous local harvest.[416] Importantly, Perikles begins by referring to the common Athenian ancestors, those who 'have never ceased to dwell in an unbroken line of successive generations' (οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων).[417] Not only is the importance of a continuous chain of Athenian citizenship highlighted as a point of pride, but it may be inferred that the privileges outlined by Perikles were unattainable without a connection to this common ancestry. The idea that these institutions could be breeched by persons without legitimate citizenship may have caused anxieties regarding legitimacy. Therefore, perhaps legitimacy and citizenship had to be safeguarded to maintain the reverence of these institutions and privileges.

[413] Todd 1993, 183-184. The importance of political participation: Maskivker 2010, 857. Citizens were sometimes paid for their political involvement, e.g., as part of the jury: Sinclair 1988, 71; Markle 2004. Issues with political participation: Cartledge 1987, 61; cf. Sinclair 1988, 116; Taylor 2007. Political participation as something restricted to citizens only: Davies 2004, 20-21.
[414] Lambert 1993, 37.
[415] Thuc. 2.34-46.
[416] Debnar 2018, argues that this is different for the Spartans. See Buraselis 2023, 91, who comments that the Greek polis is not just political but 'a whole substratum of ideas and values which defined who was entitled to real participation in the Athenian community and its common life and who was not'. These 'ideas and values' are outlined here by Thucydides' Perikles.
[417] Thuc. 2.36.1-2 (tr. Smith 1928).

One polis sub-group concerned with policing legitimacy and descent were the phratries. Lambert argues that the phratries were strongly connected to Athenian citizenship.[418] Protection of the phratries was essential to protecting the polis, as the phratries were a foundation for civic identity and membership.[419] The phratry, from φράτηρ meaning 'brother,' was a group concerned mainly with ancestry and kinship.[420] It is important to note that practically all direct evidence for the Athenian phratries is from the period c. 450-250 BCE.[421] The *Athenian Constitution* informs us that the phratries existed before Cleisthenes' reforms in 508 BCE, and that he left them unchanged.[422] Usually, admission into the phratry was twofold; first as an infant in the *meion* ceremony, and second as an ephebe in the *koureion*, just before admission into the deme.[423] From the late-5th century BCE, there is evidence of the worship of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria in the *phratries,* sometimes alongside Apollo Patroos.[424] I will demonstrate the possibility that Athena's and Zeus' familial relationship was an important factor underlining

[418] Lambert 1993, 31; Parker 1996, 104-105; Lebreton 2025, 213.
[419] See Blok 2017, for her discussion regarding how religious institutions were essential to citizenship.
[420] Lambert 1993, 8. For the distinction between phratries and *gene*, see Andrewes 1961, 1.
[421] Lambert 1993, 3, 245.
[422] *Ath. Pol.* 21.6. For Cleisthenes' reforms, including the continued importance of the phratries, see Cecchet 2017, 51-61. There is a reference to the phratries in Aesch. *Eum.* 655-666, which was produced in 458 BCE. See Lambert 1993, appendix 2, for a full discussion of the phratries before Cleisthenes.
[423] Lambert 1993, 35-36; *IG* II^2 1237.A.5-8 = Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 5.A.5-8 = *CGRN* 74.A.5-8 (396/5 BCE); Cole 1984, 234. 'Usually': note that the *meion* is bypassed in Isae. 6, see Edwards 2007, 130-135, for a helpful introduction to this speech.
[424] Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria: Attica: e.g., *IG* II^2 1357 face A fr. 3. col. 1-3. l. 48-49 (400-350 BCE); *IG* II^2 2344 (early-4th century BCE); *IG* II/III^3 4, 1758 (Athena has no epithet in this inscription but is worshipped alongside Zeus Phratrios) (4th century BCE); *IG* II/III^3 4, 1798 (350 BCE); *SEG* III 121 (4th century BCE); *IG* II/III^3 4, 1799 (2nd-half 4th century BCE). Outside Attica: e.g., Rhodes: *Tit. Cam*. 127 (undated).

their joint worship in the phratries, and that it was the uniqueness of Athena's birth from Zeus' head that legitimised her role as a protector of the phratries.

Membership of a phratry could be used to prove legitimate citizenship. Oaths of legitimacy were sworn to Zeus Phratrios when the child was first introduced into the phratry. For example, this is an oath from the phratry of the Demotionidai dated to 396/5 BCE,

> ὅρκος μαρτύρων ἐπὶ τῆι εἰσαγω-
> γεῖ τῶν παίδων· μαρτυρῶ ὃν εἰσάγει ἑα-
> 110 υτῶι ὑὸν ἔναι τῶτον γνήσιον ἐγ γαμετ-
> ῆς· ἀληθῆ ταῦτα νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν Φράτριο-
> ν· εὐορκῶ<ν>τι μέν μοι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔν-
> αι, εἰ δ᾽ ἐπιορκοίην, τἀναντία.
>
> The oath of the witnesses at the introduction
> of the children: 'I witness that the one whom he is introducing
> is his own legitimate son by a wedded wife.
> This is true, by Zeus Phratrios.
> If my oath is good, may there be benefits for me,
> But if my oath is false, the opposite.'[425]

This oath suggests that people from outside the immediate family had to provide confirmation of the legitimacy of the child (l. 110), which highlights the level of scrutiny required for phratry membership. There are other examples of the importance of legitimacy in the phratries. In Isaios 7, although Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria are not explicitly mentioned, the speaker states that when introducing his son to his phratry, the father must swear that

[425] *IG* II^2 1237.B.108-113 = Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 5.B.108-113 = *CGRN* 74.B.108-113 (tr. Lambert and Schuddeboom, *AIO*).

the child is from an Athenian mother.[426] It is only by swearing that the child has two legitimate parents that they could be accepted into the phratry. Although Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria do not feature in Demosthenes 57, the speech offers another important insight into how the phratry was connected to legitimacy.[427] After accusations that he was not eligible to be an Athenian citizen, Eubulides argues that he is a legitimate citizen because he is a member of a phratry.[428] He further states that he is an Athenian citizen because he has two Athenian parents, is a member of a phratry and a deme, served as a priest of Herakles, and passed the scrutiny of eligibility (δοκιμασία) applied to elected officials.[429] Frequent disputes in Athenian law-courts about such matters suggest great anxieties surrounding the legitimacy of the citizen body and that it needed safeguarding.

Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria were worshipped as primary deities of the phratries.[430] The evidence for their worship exists mostly in epigraphic form dating from late-5th/early-4th century BCE onwards. Shared altars and shared priesthoods of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria are attested in Athens, and sacrificial regulations to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria are recorded in the Athenian sacrificial calendar dated to 403/2-400/399 BCE (face A).[431] Lambert argues that Zeus Phratrios appears to be the older, more

[426] Isae. 7.16.
[427] Dem. 57.67.
[428] Dem. 57.19, 23, 24, 40, 43, 46, 54, 67, 69.
[429] Dem. 57.46.
[430] Lambert 1993, 208.
[431] Shared altar: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1798 (350 BCE), 1799 (2nd-half 4th century BCE). Shared priesthood: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1758 (4th century BCE). Athenian sacrificial calendar: *CGRN* 45. Face A, fr. 3, col. 2.44-51.

prominent deity in the phratries as he is attested alone, whereas Athena Phratria was only ever worshipped alongside her father in Attica.[432] Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria were also worshipped together as part of the *Apatouria* festival in Athens and received sacrifices on the second day, *Anarrhysis*.[433] Not much is known about the festival, but it was intertwined with admission to the phratry, which took place on the third day, *Koureotis*. Therefore, Lambert suggests that participation in the festival was an exercise of citizenship status, highlighting the significance of the phratries to the wider polis.[434]

Why did the Athenians choose Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria to protect the phratries? I would argue that Zeus and Athena are the obvious choice due to Athena's birth directly from her father's head. As previously mentioned, there must have been anxieties regarding legitimacy and, therefore, who had a 'share in the polis' of Athens. These anxieties may have stemmed, in part, from the environment in which women gave birth. Women often gave birth away from men in women-only environments, which seemed to have caused some concern. For example, the trope of baby-swapping is present in ancient comedy, in which women are shown trying to pass off someone else's baby as their own. Although this is a trope in comedy, it may reflect real-world concerns regarding the activities of secluded parturient

[432] Zeus Phratrios alone: e.g., *CGRN* 84.92; Lambert 1993, 211.
[433] Suda s.v. Ἀπατούρια; Lambert 1997, 153.
[434] Lambert 1993, 153, 188.

women.[435] Unlike mortal men, Zeus need not worry about Athena's true parentage because she was born directly from him and not from a female deity.[436] Furthermore, Athena's birth is very public; on painted pottery, the birth of Athena is often witnessed by a group of gods or, at the very least, Hephaistos. It is interesting that Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria appear in the epigraphic record in the late-5th/early-4th century BCE, after Perikles' citizenship law was brought into effect.[437] It may be that Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria were worshipped before 451/0 BCE, but that their role might have increased in importance due to the introduction of the law.[438] As argued by Blok, after the citizenship law in 451/0 BCE 'descent is the fundamental qualification for citizenship in Athenian law'.[439] Therefore, the unequivocal knowledge that her father is Zeus puts Athena in a position where her legitimacy and descent cannot be questioned. It follows that Zeus' and Athena's combined worship in the phratries reflects the importance of legitimacy to Athenian citizenship. This could explain why Athena Phratria is never attested without Zeus Phratrios in Attica; the prominence of Athena as a legitimate child can only be brought to the fore if she is worshipped alongside her father.

[435] Baby swapping in comedy: e.g., Ar. *Thesm.* 407-409; Men. *Epit.*; Men. *Sam*.; see Marshall 2017. Todd 2000, 13-16: infidelity is highlighted in Lys. 1 in the context of breastfeeding. See also Kapparis 2002, 105.
[436] Aesch. *Eum.* 734-743: Athena explicitly refers to the fact that no mother bore her.
[437] *Ath. Pol.* 26.3.
[438] Lebreton 2025, 221-222.
[439] Blok 2017, 1.

Political Participation: the *Boule*

As previously mentioned, an important aspect of having a 'share in the polis' was participation in politics.[440] One such political institution was the *boule* ('council'), where Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia ('of the council') were worshipped together.[441] The *boule* was an important political arm of the democracy and protected the polis through collective decision-making. The *boule* held meetings in the *bouleuterion* ('council chamber') in the Athenian agora. The old *bouleuterion* was burnt down during the Persian sack of Athens and was immediately replaced by the new *bouleuterion*.[442] Several deities are worshipped under the epithets Boulaios/Boulaia in Athens and beyond, including Zeus, Hestia, and Artemis.[443] In the extant evidence from Athens, Athena Boulaia is always attested alongside Zeus Boulaios. In his reconstruction of the new *bouleuterion,* McDonald has suggested that the statues of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia were positioned nearer to the door and one would pass by them on the way to the heart of the chamber.[444]

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[440] Note that different property classes probably had access to different political systems. See *Anth. Pal.* 7.3; Wallace 2007, 61; Duplouy 2018, 21; Sinclair 1988, 110, for how the *thetes* were originally only able to partake in the *ekklesia* but this changed over time.
[441] Croix 1975: the *boule* is recorded in other poleis, but I will focus on the Athenian *boule* in this section.
[442] Rhodes 1972, 30-31.
[443] Zeus Boulaios in Athens: Paus. 1.3.5; Ant. 6.45. Hestia: Aesch. 2.45. Hestia attested alone: e.g., Erythrai: *I.Erythrai* 60 (300/260 BCE); Miletos: *I.Milet* 61 (183/164 BCE); Andros: *I.Adramytteion* 16 (129-70 BCE); Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 653 (150-210 CE). Hestia attested alongside Zeus Boulaios: e.g., Thasos: *I.Thasos* III 71 (mid-3rd century BCE); *IG* XII Suppl. 404 (mid-3rd century BCE), 405 (mid-3rd century BCE); Pergamon: *I.Pergamon* 246 (138-133 BCE); Attica: *IG* II^3 4, 117 (55/4 BCE), 118 (53/2 BCE). On Hestia Boulaia, see McDonald 1943, 137, n. 51; Wycherley 1957, 128; Kajava 2004, 2; Paul 2016, 65-66. Artemis was worshipped by the *prytaneis* alongside Apollo Prostaterios ('standing in front'): e.g., *IG* II^3 1, 1029 (234/3 BCE), 1139 (227/6 BCE), 1149 (225/4 BCE), 1153 (222/1 BCE), 1155 (219/8 BCE), 1162 (214/3 BCE); see Gawlinski 2007, 43-44. Miller 2023, 38-66: currently, archaeologists have been unable to identify the *prytaneion* in the Athenian agora. Stewart 2017, 115-116, has identified a possible statue of Athena Boulaia that stood in the open air in the agora. He presumes that she stood beside Apollo Prostaterios.
[444] McDonald 1943, 135. See Rhodes 1972, plan F, for an illustration of this reconstruction.

This idea originates from a passage from Antiphon, which is the only extant source to record that 'in that very chamber itself' stood a shrine to Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia where 'members offer prayers as they enter (εἰσιόντες)'.[445] This may suggest that the statues were inside the new *bouleuterion* but near to the door, which is signified by the participle εἰσιόντες. The prayer to both Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia on entering the chamber suggests that their worship was connected. This seems to be corroborated by the limited evidence. There are at least four inscriptions that attest to Athena Boulaia in Athens and in all four she is by her father's side.[446] Three attest to a joint priestess of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia, which may suggest that Athena was consistently associated with Zeus in this context and that both deities were considered of similar importance.[447] It is possible that because Athena was not usually a goddess of the *boule* in other poleis, it was important to legitimise her role by worshipping her alongside Zeus.

Zeus' and Athena's joint presence in the *boule* might be linked to their shared possession of the attribute of βουλή.[448] Although the *boule* is 'the council' in a political context, the word βουλή can also mean 'counsel' or 'plan' in relation to the mind.[449] In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, βουλή can translate to mean the 'plan' or 'will' of Zeus.[450] In the *Theogony*, Herakles was said to have

[445] Ant. 6.45.
[446] Geagan 1971, 97.
[447] *IG* II^2 3543 (late-1st century CE), 3544 (late-1st century CE); *IG* II/III^3 4, 1904 (mid-2nd century CE).
[448] To avoid confusion, the name of the council will be written in English (*boule*) and the attribute will be written in Greek (βουλή).
[449] LSJ s.v. βουλή.
[450] E.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.5, 13.524, 20.15; Hom. *Od.* 13.127, 14.328, 19.297.

slain Typhon 'by the plans of Athena' (βουλῇσιν Ἀθηναίης).[451] Furthermore, in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, Sisyphus seeks a wife 'by the will of Athena' (βουλῆι Ἀθ[ηναίης).[452] Both Zeus and Athena possess the attribute of βουλή regarding plans and fate. The potential for their shared βουλή is highlighted in the context of Athena's birth in the *Theogony.* When Zeus is made aware of Gaia's prophecy regarding Athena and his dangerous future son, Gaia claims that Athena will possess 'strength equal to her father's and wise counsel' (ἶσον ἔχουσαν πατρὶ μένος καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν), but, as discussed in Chapter One, only if she is born from Metis.[453] As Zeus successfully manipulates the prophecy, Athena is not born 'equal' to Zeus, but she still possesses strength and βουλή as illustrated above. Therefore, Zeus' and Athena's shared possession of βουλή could be one reason as to why they are both worshipped as gods of the *boule* in Athens.

As well as their shared possession of βουλή, I would argue that Zeus' and Athena's modes of action could make them well-suited for worship in a political context. Zeus' mode of action is sovereignty, which manifests in his authority. This combination of sovereignty and authority means he can successfully protect and oversee the *boule.* As Athena Boulaia is attested only in Athens in the extant evidence, we cannot rule out that her position in the *boule* may relate to her status as a primary deity in Athens; however, like Zeus, Athena's presence in the *boule* may relate to her mode of action of μῆτις.

[451] Hes. *Theog.* 318 (tr. Most 2018).
[452] Hes. fr. 43a.78 Merkelbach-West (tr. Most 2018).
[453] Hes. *Theog.* 895-896 (tr. Most 2018).

Sinclair argues that the *boule* was a political body that required the participation of more knowledgeable citizens in order for it to work effectively.[454] Therefore, Athena's μῆτις and her association with φρόνησις might be applicable to her worship in the *boule*.[455] Φρόνησις can be translated in a number of ways, but the translation that is perhaps most fitting for the political sphere is 'practical wisdom, prudence in government affairs'.[456] In Plato's *Symposion*, Socrates quotes Diotima, who claims that 'the greatest and finest kind of φρόνησις... is that concerned with the regulation of cities and households, which has the name moderation and justice'.[457] Therefore, regulation of the polis and the *oikos* by means of moderation and justice can best be done by someone who has φρόνησις, such as Athena. Aelius Aristides comments that, in the *Odyssey,* Athena grants Odysseus the gift of oratory, a method of speech that requires φρόνησις.[458] Additionally, in one fragment Democritus comments that 'she [Athena] is considered to be φρόνησις' (φρόνησις νομίζεται) and that from φρόνησις come the skills to deliberate, speak well, and to 'do what ought to be done'.[459] In this context, φρόνησις is not simply one aspect of a multifaceted goddess, but Athena is the personification of φρόνησις. Φρόνησις is necessary in the political sphere,

[454] Sinclair 1988, 109. Although, it is probable that this was not always possible in practice, as the councillors were chosen by lot.
[455] Villing 1997b, 227, comments that Athena's μῆτις and φρόνησις make her suited to operating within the political sphere.
[456] LSJ s.v. φρόνησις. Schofield 2003, 240, uses this translation when he mentions φρόνησις as it pertains to Stoic philosophy.
[457] Pl. *Symp.* 209a; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.10; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1141b23.
[458] Aristid. *Or.* 42.14.
[459] Democr. fr. 68 B2 Diels-Kranz (tr. Laks and Most 2016).

especially in the *boule*, where one must deliberate and speak well in order to safeguard the wider community.

It is possible that Athena's attributes of βουλή, μῆτις, and φρόνησις could work well together in the context of the *boule*. Both Zeus and Athena share the attribute of βουλή, which, as mentioned, can mean 'plan' or 'will'. Both Zeus and Athena have the ability to make plans, which are useful in the *boule*, and skill in planning might also evoke Zeus' link to fate. Athena is more often associated with μῆτις and φρόνησις. In fr. 908, Chrysippus describes Athena as μῆτις and φρόνησις: Ἀθηνᾶν, μῆτιν οὖσαν καὶ οἷον φρόνησιν.[460] De Lacy translates this as 'of Athena, who is wisdom (μῆτις) and, as it were, thought (φρόνησις)'.[461] The use of οὖσαν (feminine accusative singular of ὤν, 'being') and οἷον (neuter accusative singular of οἷος, 'just as') once again highlights the idea that Athena is the personification of φρόνησις and μῆτις. Chrysippus' fragment suggests a connection between μῆτις and φρόνησις, but still makes a distinction between the two. De Lacy suggests the translations 'wisdom' for μῆτις and 'thought' for φρόνησις, but if we apply the translations 'cunning intelligence' for μῆτις and 'practical wisdom' for φρόνησις these highlight more clearly the distinction between having intelligence (μῆτις) and the application of it (φρόνησις). I would argue that having the intelligence (μῆτις) to form a plan (βουλή) and then applying that plan in a practical way (φρόνησις) would be encouraged in the *boule*. Therefore, the potential link

[460] Chrysippus fr. 908 Von Arnim (tr. De Lacy 2005).
[461] De Lacy 2005, 225.

between φρόνησις, μῆτις, and politics illuminates Athena's position in the *boule*. Βουλή, μῆτις, and φρόνησις are all qualities that make Athena a worthy candidate to protect this political institution. Zeus' and Athena's joint worship in the *boule* may therefore work in accordance with their modes of action and be linked to their shared attribute of βουλή.

IV. Political Liberation and Unity: Thessaly, Rhodes, Kos

Political liberty and unity are necessary to protect and secure a polis from internal and external threats. There are two primary forms of freedom or liberation: civic freedom and individual freedom. Civic freedom may include freedom to engage in political activity and freedom from external threats, whereas individual freedom is associated with, for example, free speech and freedom from slavery. Although Zeus is invoked in manumission inscriptions, Athena appears not to have played a prominent role in manumission; therefore, this section focuses on the liberation and unity of communities.[462] There is evidence that cults of Zeus Eleutherios were set up when a polis had been liberated from an external threat, and cults of Zeus Polieus were set up when a polis required unification, both of which will be discussed in this section. This section will analyse Zeus' and Athena's influence primarily outside of Attica, with brief discussion of Zeus Eleutherios in Athens.

[462] See Jim 2022, 112-113, for Zeus Soter, manumission, and the complexities associated with these inscriptions.

Zeus Eleutherios and Athena Itonia: Thessalian Identity

Zeus was worshipped under the epithet Eleutherios in Athens, Plataia, and Thessaly after the expulsion of an external threat. The epithet 'Eleutherios' is related to the noun *eleutheria*, meaning 'freedom', particularly in the sense of *political* freedom.[463] Few gods were worshipped under the epithet 'Eleutherios', and only Artemis seemed to have possessed the feminine form, 'Eleutheria'.[464] Various cults and festivals of Zeus Eleutherios were established after the defeat or expulsion of an external enemy. For example, the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was set up in the Athenian agora after the Greeks had expelled the Persian threat in the 5th century BCE.[465] Deliverance from Persian threat was also associated with the establishment of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia.[466] After the battle of Plataia in 479 BCE, the allied Greeks set up a cult of Zeus Eleutherios and the *Eleutheria* festival in Plataia.[467] This was established following an epiphany from Zeus Soter to the general Arimnestos, in which the god instructed him not to move the Greek army to Eleusis, a decision which led the Greeks to victory. [468] Both Athens and

[463] Jim 2022, 54.
[464] E.g., Ammon: *IG* XII,2 484 (undated). Helios: Paus. 2.31.5. Artemis Eleutheria was worshipped in the city of Myra; the evidence mainly exists on a limited number of coins: e.g., Hill 1897, 71, pl. 15, 6; Cook 1925, vol. 2, 1940, 680-681. For further (but limited) information on Artemis Eleutheria, see Budin 2015, 145.
[465] Harp. s.v. ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς; Hesych. s.v. ἐλευθέριος; *Etym. Magnum.* ἐλευθέρος; Σ *vet.* Ar. *Plut.* 1175. See Wycherley 1957, 25-30, for all the sources. See Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 96-103, for discussion.
[466] See Wallace 2011, for the significance of Plataia to Greek *eleutheria.*
[467] Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 19.6-7, 20.4-5.
[468] Thuc. 2.71.2; cf. Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 11.5-6. It appears that in some contexts Soter and Eleutherios could be used interchangeably, as some ancient sources (listed in n. 465) refer to the great stoa and statue of Zeus in the Athenian Agora as Zeus Soter and Zeus Eleutherios. See Raaflaub 2004, 108-110, 113 and Jim 2022, 34-37. See Pritchett 1979, vol. 3, 12-13, on how 'certain epiphanies motivated the foundation of cults'.

Plataia adopted Zeus Eleutherios as a symbol of the liberation of the Greeks from external threats, which facilitated the protection of political freedom.

A cult of Zeus Eleutherios was established in Thessaly after the re-foundation of the Thessalian League in 196 BCE following Flamininus' expedition.[469] Graninger argues that this expedition was regarded as a parallel to the Persian wars, as Flamininus was working under the pretence that he was freeing the Greeks from the clutches of Philip V. Since much of the war took place in Thessaly, and because the Thessalians needed to atone for their support of the Persians during the Persian wars, Graninger argues that Thessaly established the cult of Zeus Eleutherios to renew their image as liberators of Greece.[470] Once again, Zeus Eleutherios was used a symbol of collective Greek political freedom following the expulsion of an external threat. Zeus Eleutherios may have represented a new Thessalian identity, which hailed the Thessalians as Greek liberators at the head of the Thessalian league. In Thessaly, Athena was an important deity and one of her most significant sanctuaries was the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Philia. Interestingly, Athena Itonia and Zeus Eleutherios may have been considered a divine pair after the re-foundation of the Thessalian league in 196 BCE. This connection may be suggested by their depiction on Thessalian coinage from the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, on which Athena appears on the reverse and

[469] Similar to Plataia, there is evidence for the foundation of the Thessalian *Eleutheria*, which appears to align with the establishment of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios. See Graninger 2024.
[470] Graninger 2011, 69.

Zeus on the obverse.[471] Additionally, the Thessalian League published their decrees in the sanctuaries of Athena Itonia at Philia and Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa.[472] These examples may indicate that a link was made between Zeus Eleutherios and Athena Itonia at Thessaly from 196 BCE onwards.

In contrast to Zeus Eleutherios, Athena Itonia may have represented an older Thessalian identity that predated 196 BCE. Although the history of Athena Itonia in Thessaly is complex, both Graninger and Mili argue that Athena Itonia had long been attested in the region.[473] The duration of Athena Itonia's presence in Thessaly is less important to this discussion; it is more relevant to attempt to understand how integral Athena Itonia was to Thessalian identity.[474] Athena Itonia seems to have been important to Thessalian identity, especially in the military sphere. Pausanias reports that the Thessalians used 'Itonia' as a password during a battle against the Phokians (c. 5th century BCE); several victories were commemorated at the sanctuary of Athena Itonia (for example, against the Illyrians c. early-4th century BCE); and Pyrrhus offered Athena Itonia spoils of war (c. after 275 BCE).[475] Furthermore, Athena Itonia's sanctuary at Philia was ancient, wealthy, and it had 'wide regional appeal and importance'.[476] In contrast, the cult of Zeus Eleutherios was only established in 196 BCE in line with the re-

[471] E.g., *SNG* 3 *Thessalia* pl. 6-7, no. 269-328; Graninger 2011, 42, n. 2; Axenidis 1947, 171.
[472] E.g., *SEG* XXXIV 558 (150-130 BCE); Graninger 2011, 43.
[473] Graninger 2011, 43; Mili 2014, 232. See Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 176, for proto-Geometric finds in the sanctuary at Philia.
[474] Mili 2014, 226, 232.
[475] Password: Paus. 10.1.10; Mili 2014, 226-227, 233. Victory against the Illyrians: *Anth. Pal.* 9.743. Pyrrhus: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26; Paus. 1.13.2.
[476] Mili 2014, 232.

foundation of the Thessalian League. It may be suggested that, in Thessaly, Athena Itonia symbolised an older, more local Thessalian identity, while Zeus Eleutherios represented a newer, more panhellenic one. Zeus' and Athena's respective association with new and old Thessalian identities is significant because it enabled the protection of Thessaly to be strengthened: Athena Itonia was a symbol of the enduring security of the old and continued protection of Thessaly, while Zeus Eleutherios represented a newfound liberation from external threats. The possible nature of their protection may overlap quite neatly. Athena Itonia seems to be associated with military matters, whereas Zeus Eleutherios is associated with the expulsion of an external threat. Military power is essential for expelling external threats and, as such, plays a crucial role in safeguarding political freedom. Together, the two deities worked in collaboration to ensure the protection and safety of Thessaly and her allies.

Synoikism: Rhodes

It was not only cults of Zeus Eleutherios that were established in times of crisis; some evidence suggests that cults of Zeus Polieus may have been set up in poleis where the need for political unity was emphasised. Zeus Polieus is attested in several poleis that had undergone synoikism, such as Athens, Rhodes, and Kos.[477] Rhodes underwent a synoikism in 408 BCE, which included the unification of the island (primarily the communities of Lindos, Kamiros, and Ialysos), the establishment of the new capital city of Rhodos, and

[477] Athenian synoikism: Diamant 1982; Gouščhin 1999.

the installation of a new primary god of the island: Helios.[478] Zeus Polieus is attested alongside Athena in several local pantheons on Rhodes island after the synoikism, including Lindos, Rhodos, Kamiros, and Ialysos. [479] Although Zeus and Athena are attested on the island separately before the synoikism, they appear to have been worshipped as a divine pair more frequently after 408 BCE. Similarly to Athena Itonia in Thessaly, Athena Lindia may have represented an older, more localised identity of the Lindian people, while Zeus Polieus may have symbolised a newer, more united Rhodian identity. For example, Athena is attested as Athena Lindia as early as the late-6th/early-5th century, but there is no evidence for the joint worship of Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus until the 3rd century BCE.[480] This does not mean that Zeus was not attested on Rhodes before 408 BCE; there is evidence for Zeus' worship in Kamiros as early as the 6th century BCE, and he is worshipped under the epithet Amalos in Lindos c. 400 BCE without Athena.[481] Pindar also attests to the worship of Zeus Atabyrios on Mount Atabyrion.[482] Although Zeus is attested on Rhodes before the synoikism, Athena has 'ancient roots in all three pre-synoecism communities and is thus embedded in the island's religious

[478] Synoikism: Diod. Sic. 13.75.1. See Monaco 2023; Zachhuber 2023; Zachhuber 2024, esp. ch. 2. Priests of Rhodes, see: Dignas 2003; Badoud 2015; Lala 2023. Mythical connections between Helios and Rhodes: Pind. *Ol.* 54-60; Diod. Sic. 5.56.
[479] E.g., Lindos: *I.Lindos* II 56 (313-275 BCE), 151 (197 BCE), 2 B.I.3, II.11-12, IV.19, V.28, VI.38 (99 BCE). Rhodos: *SEG* XXXIX 759 (after 78 BCE). Kamiros: *Tit. Cam*. 44 (203 BCE), 45 (194 BCE), 69 (undated). Ialysos: *Suppl. Rodio* 54 (undated).
[480] The earliest attestation of Athena Lindia I could find is: *I.Lindos* I 2818 (525-400 BCE). Athena Lindia and Zeus Polieus: e.g., *I.Lindos* II 56.
[481] *Tit. Cam*. 126 (6th century BCE); *I.Lindos* II 26 (400 BCE). The word ἀμαλός means 'soft, weak' (LSJ s.v. ἀμαλός) but the epithet is not very well known, and the etymology of the epithet is unclear: *CGRN* 63 commentary.
[482] Pind. *Ol.* 7.87-88; Zachhuber 2024, 22-23: although the archaeological evidence for the site is scant, Zachhuber comments that the sanctuary existed in some form probably from at least the late-7th or early-6th century BCE, when we find the first inscribed dedications. Zachhuber also comments that the cult is most significant from the Hellenistic period.

topography'.[483] The significance of Athena to the Lindian identity in particular is highlighted in the Lindian Chronicle. The Lindian Chronicle was set up in 99 BCE in the temple of Athena in order to record dedications that had been destroyed by a fire.[484] The Chronicle documents dedications apparently once set up by various famous individuals from mythical and historic times, and epiphanies supposedly given to the Lindians by Athena. However, the Lindian Chronicle is mostly considered a reimagining of the Lindian past.[485] Regardless, the Lindian Chronicle can help to illuminate how the Lindians felt about their connection to Athena.[486] In the Lindian Chronicle, Athena is depicted in several epiphanies as attentive and helpful to the Lindians, which illustrates her close connection with Lindos and, therefore, Lindian identity.[487]

As mentioned, before the synoikism, Athena and Zeus are rarely attested together; however, after 408 BCE, they seem to form a pair. A shared priesthood of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus is first attested in 277 BCE in Kamiros.[488] An inscription from Lindos illustrates that Zeus and Athena were initially attested separately, either before or shortly after the synoikism, and then came to be associated together later. The inscription is a sacrificial regulation from Lindos that preserves an earlier and later text. The earlier text,

[483] Zachhuber 2024, 8.
[484] *I.Lindos* II 2 A.4, D.39-42 (tr. Higbie 2003) (99 BCE); Higbie 2003, 54. See Higbie 2003, 8-15, for the chronology of the possible fire (probably the fire of 392/1 BCE) and the gradual rebuilding of the sanctuary of Athena Lindia.
[485] Higbie 2003, 205, 222-227.
[486] I discuss the Lindian Chronicle further in ch. 4.
[487] See all three epiphanies from the Lindian Chronicle: *I.Lindos* II 2 D.I, II, III; Higbie 2003.
[488] A rare attestation pre-synoikism: *Clara Rhodos*, 2 (1932) 185,11 (4th/3rd century BCE). Joint priesthood: *Tit. Cam*. 15 (273 BCE).

dated to c. 400 BCE, records a dedication to Athena Apotropaia ('averting evil'), while the later text, dated to 2nd century BCE, documents the dedication of a ram to Zeus Apotropaios and a sheep to Athena Apotropaia on 13th Sminthios.[489] The inclusion of Zeus in the later text suggests that the two deities were more often worshipped together after the synoikism. It is unclear if Athena Apotropaia and Zeus Apotropaios shared a sanctuary at this later date, nor is it clear what evil the pair were averting. Zeus Apotropaios and Athena Apotropaia are not otherwise attested on Rhodes, but they are found together in an inscription from Erythrai where they have a joint priesthood.[490] They could have shared a priesthood and a sanctuary in Lindos, but the lack of evidence means this remains uncertain.[491] If Zeus Apotropaios was moved into an already established sanctuary of Athena Apotropaia, this could attest to the Rhodian belief that the two gods had a close and special bond. What is particularly interesting is the choice to preserve the previous regulation to Athena Apotropaia alone. Zachhuber observes that, although the reason for retaining the earlier regulation is unclear, its preservation allows us to see an early version of the rites; therefore, the inscription might function as a reminder of the previous regulation to Athena Apotropaia alone.[492] To build upon this, I would suggest that the preservation of the earlier rite to Athena Apotropaia might serve as a reminder of the Lindians' ancient connection to Athena that was apparent before her more consistent association with Zeus.

[489] *CGRN* 62 (A: 400 BCE; B: 2nd century BCE).
[490] *I.Erythrai* 60.35-36 (300/260 BCE).
[491] Zachhuber 2024, 38 comments that the inscription might have been fixed to a 'temple or altar of Athena (and Zeus) Apotropaios'.
[492] Zachhuber 2024, 38.

As Zachhuber notes, we cannot draw a concrete link between the addition of the rites to Zeus Apotropaios and the synoikism; however, I would argue that the preservation of the old rites to Athena Apotropaia may highlight the older Lindian connection to Athena and the possibility that the Lindians wanted to preserve the knowledge of this ancient relationship between themselves and their goddess.[493]

Before the synoikism, both Athena and Zeus held significance to a collective identity on Rhodes island and a shared mythological Rhodian heritage. As previously mentioned, in Lindos, the worship of Athena Lindia was clearly important to Lindian identity before the synoikism; therefore, the continued worship of Athena Lindia allowed the Lindians to preserve a sense of identity distinct from the capital of Rhodos and the wider polis. Athena was important to the island as a whole, not only in cultic worship but also in a mythical context. In *Olympian* 7, Pindar reports that Athena's birth from Zeus' head took place on Rhodes.[494] This could explain why Athena and Zeus are worshipped as a divine pair after the synoikism, as their shared familial connection was integral to the mythical history of Rhodes. The worship of Athena and Zeus together not only allowed for the primary poleis of Lindos, Ialysos, and Kameiros to retain a sense of individual identity through the worship of Athena, but this also united the island through a shared mythical heritage.

[493] Zachhuber 2024, 39.
[494] Pind. *Ol.* 7.35-38.

The frequent association between the cult of Zeus Polieus and the process of synoikism may suggest that Zeus Polieus had the unique ability to bind a newly formed polis together. This ability to bring together poleis and communities is similar to Zeus Eleutherios' function in Thessaly and elsewhere, although Zeus Eleutherios operated on a broader regional and panhellenic scale: Zeus Eleutherios in Thessaly unified and protected a new *league*; Zeus Eleutherios in the Athena agora and Zeus Eleutherios in Plataia signified the expulsion of an external threat from Greece more widely; and Zeus Polieus, in the context of synokism, unified and protected a new *polis*.[495] Why set up a cult to *Zeus* specifically under the circumstances of a synoikism? Zeus is rarely attested as a 'primary' god of a polis and, due to his panhellenic nature, he may have been viewed without ties to any particular place. Poleis, therefore, might have chosen Zeus to represent the unification of their new league or polis due to his ability to represent the identity of any polis in the Greek world. Furthermore, Zeus' mode of action, sovereignty, and his ability to organise the cosmos are reflected in his role as a unifier of communities. He establishes order on various scales — cosmic, panhellenic, regional, and civic — to bring unity and structure to the cosmos, Greece, and individual poleis. Zeus works alongside his daughter as she helps local communities to preserve

[495] It is worth noting that Thessaly is an oligarchy, which is a different system of governance to Athens and Rhodes. This different system of governance appears to slightly change the worship of Athena and Zeus on the acropolis. Athena Polias on the acropolis of Larisa was primarily worshipped by political and military men, while Zeus Thaulios was worshipped by small kin groups. As argued by Mili 2014, 159, Zeus Thaulios 'and his kinsmen-worshippers on the acropolis stresses the important role of small groups in the politics of the polis'. The acropolis and Zeus and Athena are associated not with the many, but with the few.

their identity and facilitate the transition from old to new. Together, father and daughter foster an integration of old and new identities on Rhodes, symbolised by the worship of Athena Lindia/Polias and Zeus Polieus.

Post-synoikism: Kos

Apart from Rhodes, Zeus and Athena were worshipped together on Kos after its synoikism in 366 BCE. The religious landscape of Kos before the synoikism is obscure due to a lack of evidence. Even though Athena is probably attested on Kos in the 5th century BCE, it is unclear if Athena was an important deity in Koan religion before then, as in Thessaly or Lindos.[496] Therefore, with limited evidence, we cannot know how far Athena represented Koan identity before the synoikism. Additionally, it is unclear if Zeus Polieus was already worshipped and became more significant post-synoikism, or if a new cult was set up to him, as in Rhodes. Nevertheless, there is evidence that Zeus and Athena were worshipped as a divine pair on Kos following the synoikism.

In the extant evidence, Zeus and Athena share five epithets on Kos: Polieus/Polias, Machaneus/Machanis, Alseios/Alseia, Phratrios/Phratria, and Soter/Soteira. Paul has previously commented on these pairs of epithets and has convincingly argued that the rites to Zeus Polieus in the Koan calendar of c. 350 BCE indicate his association with the unity of the newly formed community.[497] Communal aspects are emphasised in this calendar by several

[496] See Paul 2013, 56.
[497] Paul 2013, 30-44. See also Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 184.

key elements: for example, multiple officials were required to participate in the selection of the sacrifice; the victim was chosen from a pool of nine oxen (one from each tribe) so that the origin of the victim would be obscured; the rites were to be conducted in the agora; the ox was for 'the people of Kos'; the meat was distributed to important members of the society including doctors, smiths, and potters; 'the rest of the meat belongs to the city'; and the meat could not be taken away.[498] As argued by Paul, the communal participation of all citizens in the cult of Zeus Polieus ('of the city') would have highlighted the importance of cohesion following the synoikism.[499] Although the rites to Athena Polias in the same calendar are very limited compared to those of Zeus Polieus (as argued in Section III), the goddess' receipt of a pregnant ewe in this context may also, as I have suggested, symbolise the future fertility of the citizen body and economic/peaceful prosperity of the newly socially cohesive polis. Athena is less prominent than Zeus in the rites devoted to her in the calendar from c. 350 BCE; however, by c. 225-200 BCE, in a calendar from the deme of Halasarna, the importance paid to the worship of Athena and Zeus appears to be more equally balanced.[500] On 16th Karneios, Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias are both prescribed the sacrifice of an adult sheep on the acropolis. The deities are to receive their sacrifices on alternating years and the meat cannot be taken away (l. 20-24). The fact that the meat could not be taken away may hold similar significance to that of the Koan calendar: the meat is to be consumed by the community in order to foster social unity.

[498] Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 62 A.4-58 = *CGRN* 86.
[499] Paul 2010, 68-69.
[500] *IG* XII,4 1:358; Paul 2010, 70-71.

Furthermore, as Zeus and Athena received sacrifices on alternating years, it could be suggested that by c. 225-200 BCE Athena might have performed a similar or even the same function as Zeus Polieus, facilitating the continued unification of the polis in his absence.

In the same Koan calendar from c. 350 BCE, there are sacrifices to Zeus Machaneus and Athena Machanis. Every other year, on 11th Karneios, an ox is selected for Zeus Machaneus in the same manner as the ox chosen for Zeus Polieus.[501] Paul highlights that the sacrifice of the ox to Zeus Machaneus closely mirrors the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus and that the rites to Athena Machanis are more detailed than those of Athena Polias.[502] The exact meaning of the epithet Machaneus/Machanis is difficult to uncover, so Paul looks to examples from outside Kos.[503] She concludes that the epithet could derive from μηχανή ('machine') and may be associated with μῆτις, which may suggest that the epithet could be associated with technical invention.[504] Evidence of this epithet not considered by Paul is Pausanias' reference to Athena Machanitis (a variation of Machanis) in Megalopolis. Pausanias comments that Athena Machanitis is known for 'plans and devices of all sorts' (ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὑρέτις).[505] This could suggest that Athena Machanitis had the ability to create in both a physical and abstract sense. The Koan calendar outlines the creation of a new

[501] Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 62 D.10-27 = *CGRN* 86.
[502] Paul 2010, 77.
[503] Paul 2013, 46.
[504] Paul 2010, 77-78; Paul 2013, 46.
[505] Paus. 8.36.5 (tr. Jones, 1918). See also Jost 1985, 388.

polis and community represented by the rites of Zeus Polieus. If the epithet 'Machaneus' does reflect the theme of creation and invention, and because Zeus Machaneus shares similar rites with Zeus Polieus, I would tentatively argue that Zeus Machaneus and, by extension, Athena Machanis could symbolise the *creation* of the new polis, while Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias represent the *unification* and continued prosperity of the new polis; however, due to the limited evidence, this remains a conjecture.

Zeus' and Athena's epithets Alseios/Alseia ('of the sacred grove')[506] have typically been linked to the gymnasium and the education of boys.[507] This is reasonable, as Livadiotti highlights that the extant inscriptions from Kos that mention Zeus Alseios and/or Athena Alseia are connected to the gymnasium in some way.[508] I would like to build upon this by arguing that the connection between Zeus Alseios, Athena Alseia, and the military is more prominent than previously suggested. A contract of the sale of a priesthood of Zeus Alseios from the 1st century BCE may shed light on how the epithet could be connected to the military. As part of the sacrifices, on the 2nd Hyakinthios, the strategos is required to sacrifice to Zeus Alseios. Additionally, a procession is to be held that includes the priest, agonothetes, gymnasiarch, sub-gymnasiarch, ephebes, and 'boys in arms' (τοὶ παῖδες μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐν ὅπλοις) (l.

[506] Paul 2013, 46-51. The epithets are associated with a sacred grove (ἄλσος) and the name of a month on Kos (LSJ s.v.Ἄλσειος) but not the sacred grove in the Asklepieion, contrary to Sherwin-White 1978, 294-295. See *IG* XII,4 1:298 = *CGRN* 147 (250-200 BCE) for the Alseia festival. For more on the Alseia festival, see Gauthier 1995.
[507] *IG* XII,4 1:328 = *CGRN* 167 (1st century BCE); Livadiotti 1994, 25; Paul 2010, 78-79.
[508] Livadiotti 1994, 26.

33-40). These 'boys in arms' highlight the military aspect of this procession, as does the sacrifice by the strategos. In this inscription, Athena is not mentioned explicitly by name, but Paul has plausibly suggested that 'the goddess' in line 24 is Athena Alseia.[509] This is probable, as other inscriptions attest to Zeus Alseios and Athena Alseia together on Kos, including inscriptions detailing how boys would dedicate the prizes they received for *euexia* ('good behaviour') to Zeus Alseios and Athena Alseia.[510] It seems that Zeus Alseios and Athena Alseia could have been closely associated with military matters, particularly in relation to Koan boys. Together, these deities might symbolise the protection and preparation of the next generation of soldiers, who were tasked with defending the newly unified Kos after the synoikism.

In the earlier analysis of Zeus and Athena on Rhodes, I suggested that the joint worship of Zeus and Athena following the synoikism of the island may have been influenced by their familial relationship, which is highlighted most prominently in Pindar's *Olympian* 7. I would argue that the available Koan evidence that attests Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira could also illuminate the importance of their familial relationship on Kos. Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira are attested together in a short fragmentary inscription from c. 300-250 BCE.[511] It concerns what is possibly a dedication for both (τε) Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira together. A later inscription, a sacrificial calendar from the

[509] Paul 2013, 49-51.
[510] *IG* XII,4 2:588 (200-150 BCE), 595 (1st century BCE), 596 (1st century BCE), 598 (late-1st century BCE); Paul 2013, 50.
[511] *IG* XII,4 1:370.

deme of Phyxia dated to c. 250-200 BCE, specifies that on 25th Artamitios, Zeus Soter was to receive an adult animal (τέλειος) and Athena a year-old animal (ἔταλον), but now the sacrifices are to be made 'on the same altar' (ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βωμοῦ, l. 20-21).[512] The significance of their sacrifices being made 'on the same altar' is not entirely clear, but it may suggest that their roles were becoming increasingly interlinked. A later decree, dating to c. 200-150 BCE, documents the establishment of a cult of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira by Pythokles.[513] The sacrifices were offered '[for the safeg]uarding of the city' (τᾶς σωτη] ρίας τᾶς πόλιος, l. 19), which would explicitly connect this cult to the safety of the polis in particular.[514] Interestingly, the cult is hereditary; the inscription states that the priesthood must 'remain in the family' (l. 7) and that Pythokles' eldest son will hold the priesthood of Zeus Soter and his youngest son will hold the priesthood of Athena Soteira (l. 8-10). The focus on age could mirror the age of the sacrifices made to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira on their shared altar, where Zeus Soter receives an adult animal and Athena Soteira a year-old animal. I would tentatively suggest that the focus on age, especially as Zeus is associated with the older animal/son and Athena the younger animal/son, could allude to their familial relationship. This argument could be supported further by the hereditary nature of the priesthoods of this cult of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira. The fact that Athena is associated with the younger sacrificial animal and the priesthood of the

[512] *IG* XII,4 1:279 = *CGRN* 146 (250-200 BCE). This altar might be *IG* XII,4 1:407 (200-150 BCE); see Bosnakis and Hallof 2010, 330.
[513] *IG* XII,4 1:350 = *CGRN* 209 (200-150 BCE). *CGRN* 209 commentary: the text is very fragmentary, so arguments made are not conclusive.
[514] *CGRN* 209 commentary.

younger son may also reflect her supporting role to Zeus on Kos. It is hard to determine from this inscription which deity is more prominent; however, in another Koan inscription, Zeus Soter's worship at the *Pythokleia* is highlighted but Athena Soteira is not mentioned at all.[515] This could suggest that Athena Soteira worked in a supporting role in this cult, as she possibly did in the annual rites to Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias recorded in the Koan calendar. While Zeus served as the sovereign deity, Athena's role could be seen as one of upholding and reinforcing her father's divine order on Kos.

In sum, Zeus and Athena formed a divine pair on Kos following the synoikism. This could have been to foster unity and community while safeguarding the future security of the polis. Their familial relationship seems to be highlighted primarily through their roles as Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, a connection that could be reflected by the sacrifices in Phyxia and the priesthoods established by Pythokles. The unified polis of Kos required a pair of deities who could collaborate effectively to safeguard their new community: Zeus, who had brought the polis together, primarily as Zeus Polieus, and his daughter and the upholder of his order, Athena.

Conclusion

Although not every polis had a 'tutelary' deity, the evidence outlined in this chapter suggests that Zeus and Athena were significant in certain poleis. This chapter has demonstrated that although Zeus' and Athena's prominence

[515] *IG* XII,4 1:281.33-34 (158-138 BCE).

in the polis varied depending on context, their association with social cohesion is important to several poleis. Communities could be unified under the protection of Zeus in his guise as an agricultural deity or under Zeus Polieus in the context of a synoikism (Rhodes and Kos). I also demonstrated that pregnant offerings to Athena are not 'abnormal' but could be symbolic not just of the unification and prosperity of a community but of smaller groups such as polis sub-groups and families as well. Additionally, Zeus' and Athena's shared epithets Polieus and Polias in Athens and their placement on the Athenian acropolis were linked to some extent with their genealogical connection and the birth of Athena from Zeus' head. In this way, this chapter has illustrated that Athena's role as a city-protecting deity was dependent on her relationship to Zeus, as this provided her with the authority to rule over Athens in particular.

In localities such as Thessaly and Rhodes, the evidence suggests that Athena was the older deity, associated with a more ancient local identity. I have shown that this is particularly significant in Lindos, where the Lindians purposefully highlighted their ancient connection to their primary goddess. Perhaps in places such as Thessaly and Rhodes, the dynamic between Zeus and Athena was slightly different; instead of Athena's role as a city-protector being dependent on her relationship to Zeus, Zeus' role as a city-protector was dependent on his relationship with Athena. In these contexts, I would argue that it is almost as if Zeus is the 'father of a mighty daughter', the natural deity to worship alongside Athena, due to his position as Athena's father (especially

in Rhodes) and his association with unification on various levels (for example, social and cosmic). This conclusion supports the argument made in Chapter One that Athena may have more power and agency in her relationship with Zeus in certain contexts than has previously been considered.

Chapter Three. Zeus and Athena in the Sphere of Crafts

Introduction

In Book 13 of the *Odyssey*, Athena claims that 'I among all the gods am famed for wisdom and craft' (ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐν πᾶσι θεοῖσι μήτι τε κλέομαι καὶ κέρδεσιν).[516] In line 299, Athena makes the connection between her μῆτις and κέρδος, the latter meaning 'gift, profit' and the cunning craft needed to obtain it.[517] Μῆτις is essential for artisanal crafts too, and this is highlighted a few lines later,

> νῦν αὖ δεῦρ᾽ ἱκόμην, ἵνα τοι σὺν μῆτιν ὑφήνω.
>
> And now I have come here to weave a plan with you [Odysseus].[518]

In this line, Athena's cunning intelligence (here translated as 'plan') is coupled with the word ὑφήνω, 'to weave'.[519] Athena refers to herself as the primary deity of crafts and craftiness, which illustrates the Greek idea that abstract 'craftiness' had some kind of connection to tangible artisanal crafts.[520] This is not limited to Athena, as Penelope's clever deception is affiliated with her ability to craft, and Philomela's intelligence is highlighted in her capacity to

[516] Hom. *Od.* 13.298-299 (tr. Murray 2004).
[517] LSJ s.v. κέρδος.
[518] Hom. *Od.* 13.303 (tr. Murray 2004).
[519] In this context, μῆτις should be translated as 'plan' and not 'cunning intelligence'; LSJ s.v. μῆτις.
[520] See Detienne and Vernant 1991, 2, for the different levels on which μῆτις operates, from tangible crafts to the characteristic of 'craftiness'.

communicate by use of her weaving skills.[521] This chapter will expand the definition of craft to encompass both artisanal and abstract crafting. By artisanal crafts, I primarily mean handiwork such as pottery, textile work, carpentry, cobbling, and sculpting; I have also included cooking and baking in this category.[522] Abstract crafting, for the purpose of this chapter, consists of planning, invention, and delegation, as this draws on the suggestion that artisanal crafts and abstract 'craftiness' were linked in Greek thought. This 'abstract' form of crafting is the craftsmanship in the mind rather than in the hands. There is naturally some overlap between these two forms of crafting: a plan or invention crafted in someone's mind may then be created with their hands. However, I will analyse these aspects separately (especially in Sections I and II) in order to investigate how far Athena and Zeus are involved similarly or differently in the sphere of crafts.

This chapter explores the roles of Athena and Zeus in the sphere of crafts to see what this can illuminate about their relationship and how they operate in this sphere both individually and in collaboration. Athena is well known for her contribution to the sphere of crafts. She receives dedications from craftsmen and craftswomen, is referred to in literary evidence as a goddess associated with crafting, and is worshipped under the epithet Ergane, 'worker'. In contrast, Zeus is often overlooked in this sphere as he does not

[521] Penelope: e.g., Hom. *Od.* 2.104-122, 19.137; West 1988, 137; Bergren 1983, 69-70. Philomela: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.8; Ov. *Met.* 6.575-586; Bergren 1983, 71.
[522] Other skills such as poetry, music, and medicine will not be included in this chapter, although I understand they can be considered 'crafts'.

usually demonstrate the ability to craft with his own hands. For example, even in *The Craft of Zeus*, Scheid and Svenbro do not discuss Zeus' position in this sphere at length; in fact, they only refer once to Zeus' potential to participate in crafts.[523] Scheid and Svenbro set out to analyse myths of weaving through political, conjugal, and poetic lenses in Greek and Roman sources, including an appendix on cosmic weaving. As will be demonstrated in Section III, Zeus is sometimes associated with cosmic weaving, yet he does not feature in this appendix in *The Craft of Zeus*. Scheid's and Svenbro's neglect of Zeus could give the impression that his ability to operate in the sphere of crafts is limited; however, this chapter seeks to change this perception by investigating how far Zeus operates in this sphere, primarily in the context of abstract crafting.

One issue faced in this chapter is the problem of Athenocentrism. Most of the epigraphic evidence regarding the worship of Athena by artisans comes from Athens. This could skew the data and result in more emphasis being placed on Athena as a patron of artisans when perhaps this was not necessarily the case more broadly. Therefore, this chapter investigates the extent to which Athena was worshipped as a patron of artisans beyond Athens as well as in Attica. In this chapter, I consult a variety of different types of evidence, including textual, epigraphic, archaeological, and iconographic material. Iconographic evidence is particularly significant in Section IV

[523] Scheid and Svenbro 2001, 63-66, discuss a passage from Pherekydes of Syros' cosmogony, in which Zas (Zeus) weaves a robe. For further discussion of this myth in this chapter, see section III. See McClure 1997 and Craik 1998, who highlight some of the problems with *The Craft of Zeus*.

regarding the possible depiction of the birth of Athena on the Athenian Hephaisteion (temple of Hephaistos). By using a variety of evidence, this chapter seeks to highlight the extent to which descriptions of Zeus' and Athena's divine characters in literature impacted their worship in the sphere of crafts. In other words, how far (if at all) did Athena's ability to craft with her own hands or Zeus' possibly limited technical skill affect their worship among artisans?

I. Athena, Artisans, and Artisanal Craft

This section demonstrates Athena's 'hands-on' approach to crafts and her close relationship with artisans.[524] By 'hands-on' approach, I mean Athena's ability to craft with her own hands, which renders her an ideal deity for artisans to pray to. Additionally, this section investigates the extent to which artisans worshipped Zeus as their patron and works to undo some misconceptions regarding the worship of Athena under her epithet Ergane.

Athena's 'Hands-On' Approach to the Sphere of Crafts

Important to Athena's position in the sphere of crafts is her ability to craft and create objects with her own hands. For example, in the *Iliad*, Homer describes a robe made by Athena,

αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἐανὸν πατρὸς ἐπ᾽ οὔδει,
735 ποικίλον, ὅν ῥ᾽ αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν·

[524] By 'artisan' I mean any skilled craftsperson (potters, textile works, carpenters, cobblers, sculptors, bakers) regardless of whether they craft for a living or not.

> But Athena, daughter of Zeus who bears the aegis,
> let fall on her father's floor her soft robe, richly
> embroidered, that she herself had made and she
> laboured on it with her hands.[525]

In this passage, the use of αὐτή highlights Athena's direct involvement in the creation of the robe. Not only does Athena weave garments for her own use, but she weaves for others too: in the *Iliad*, she crafts a robe for Hera; in the *Argonautica*, she creates a cloak for Jason; and Apollodoros notes how she made a robe for Herakles.[526] Athena also weaves a tapestry as part of a contest against the mortal Arachne, in an attempt to prove her superiority in this sphere.[527] In the above passage from the *Iliad*, attention is drawn to Athena's hands, which she uses to complete her work (l. 735). The hands of artisans who are explicitly linked to Athena are also emphasised in some literary and epigraphic evidence. For example, Homer describes the hands of Meriones, the shipbuilder, as 'skilled in fashioning all manner of elaborate work' (ὃς χερσὶν ἐπίστατο δαίδαλα πάντατεύχειν), and Ovid highlights the skill of Arachne's fingers (*digitus*, l. 20) as she weaves.[528] Beyond examples from myth, several Greek words for an ordinary 'craftsman' relate to the hands; for example, in a fragment of Sophocles, the craftsmen who dedicate to the goddess Ergane are referred to as χειρῶναξ ('master of the hands').[529]

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[525] Hom. *Il.* 5.733-737 = 8.384-388 (tr. Murray 2003, with modifications).
[526] Hera: Hom. *Il.* 14.178-179. Jason: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.721-724. Herakles: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.11.
[527] Ov. *Met.* 6.68-128.
[528] Meriones is described as 'loved' (ἐφίλατο) by Athena: Hom. *Il.* 5.59-61 (tr. Murray 2003). Arachne's skill is such that 'you could know that Pallas had taught her' (*scires a Pallade doctam*): Ov. *Met.* 6.23 (tr. Miller 1977). The skill of Arachne's fingers: Ov. *Met.* 6.19-23.
[529] Soph. fr. 844 Radt. Cf. Hdt. 2.167; Aesch. *PV.* 45-48; Aesch. *Cho*. 758-763. Similar is χειροτέχνης ('skilled in the hands'): e.g., Hdt. 2.167; Soph. *Trach*. 996-1003; Pl. *Rep*. 596b-d.

Furthermore, in *Greek Anthology* 6, several artisans make reference to the use of their hands, including Theris, the carpenter, who is described as διαδαλόχειρ, and the girls who dedicate their weaving tools to Athena each earn a living 'from their hands' (ἐκ χειρῶν).[530] Additionally, in a dedication to Ergane from the craftswoman named Melinna, the inscription starts with the phrase 'by her hands' (χερσί).[531] The focus on the hands underlines their importance to artisanal crafts — the hands are a necessity without which artisans cannot work. This creates a link between Athena and artisans, as both explicitly work with their skilled hands to craft their wares; both Athena and artisans take what I will now refer to as a 'hands-on' approach to crafting.

As well as her ability to fashion textiles, Athena is occasionally depicted creating other tangible objects, sometimes assisted by mortals. For example, a 5th-century BCE Attic red-figure wine jug (fig. 8) depicts Athena constructing a horse out of clay to cast in bronze.[532] She takes the clay in her hands and places it directly onto the unfinished horse, while tools hang in the field to illustrate her current status as an artisan.[533] A later Roman relief from c. 1st century CE (fig. 9) depicts Athena building the Argo, with the assistance of both Tiphys (left) and Argus (right).[534]

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[530] Δαιδαλόχειρ: *Anth. Pal*. 6.204 (Leonidas of Tarentum). Theris: *Anth. Pal.* 6.204 (Leonidas of Tarentum), Gow and Page 1965, 316 comment that δαιδαλόχειρ is not used elsewhere. Weavers: *Anth. Pal.* 6.174 (Antipater).
[531] *IG* II/III^3 4, 1377 (tr. Jim 2014) (4th century BCE).
[532] Cohen 2006, 110-111. Mayor 2023, 11, suggests that this could be a model of the Trojan Horse; however, the vase could simply depict Athena in her capacity as patron of horses.
[533] There is some sense of humour in the iconography of this vase, as the incomplete back leg of the horse could resemble a large phallus.
[534] Walters 1903, 400-401.

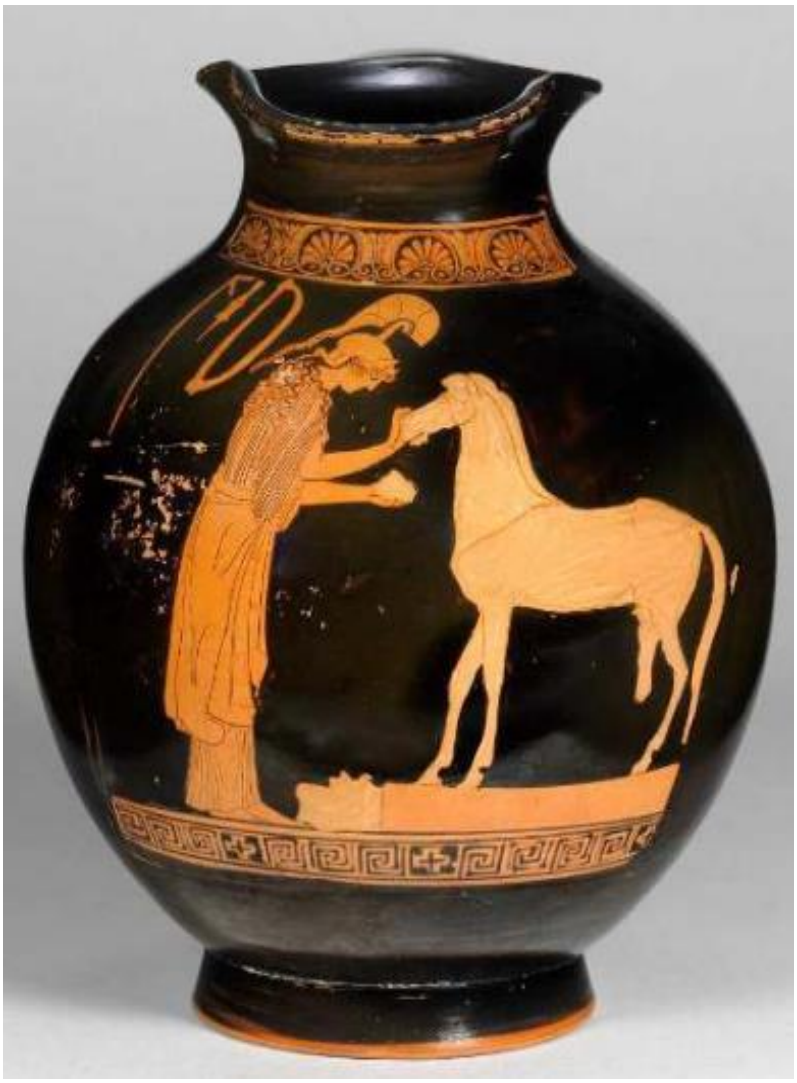


Figure 8*:* Attic red-figure wine jug depicting Athena constructing a horse out of clay. c. 460 BCE. Berlin, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen, F2415. Image: Mayor 2023, 11.



Figure 9*:* Terracotta Campana relief. Athena supervises the building of the Argo. Athena adjusts the sail while the helmsman Tiphys holds the yard. c. 1st century CE. London, British Museum 1805,0703.301. Image © The Trustees of the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-301?selectedImageId=128470001

Athena is depicted attaching a sail onto a yard, which highlights the intersection of her carpentry and textile capabilities. The relief accentuates not only Athena's ability to craft with her own hands but also her willingness to work together with mortals to build and create what she has devised.[535] Athena's 'hands-on' creation of the Argo is further illustrated in Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica.* Although unnamed 'former bards' say that Argus built the Argo only 'according to Athena's instructions', Apollonios reiterates that

[535] Walters 1903, 400, describes Athena as 'adjusting a sail on to a yard'.

Athena contributed to the construction of the Argo herself with the assistance of Argus.[536]

> αὐτὴ γὰρ καὶ νῆα θοὴν κάμε, σὺν δέ οἱ Ἄργος
> τεῦξεν Ἀρεστορίδης κείνης ὑποθημοσύνῃσιν·
>
> For she herself [Athena] also fashioned the swift ship, and with her had Argus, son of Arestor, built it according to her instructions.[537]

Once again, the use of αὐτή stresses Athena's direct involvement in the construction of the ship. Elsewhere in the *Argonautica,* Apollonios comments that Athena cut timbers from the peak of Pelion with a bronze axe, installed the beam in the keel made from the holy Dodonian oak, crafted keel props, and breathed divine strength into the ship.[538] Athena also designed (τεχνάομαι) the Argo and taught Jason how to measure thwarts.[539] Argus, on the other hand, assembled (τεύχω) the Argo and fitted the timbers together with bolts (γόμφοισιν συνάρασσε).[540] The differences between the involvement of Athena and the involvement of Argus are illustrated here.[541] Some parts of the ship touched by Athena seem to embody a kind of divine power, especially the beam in the keel made of Dodonian oak, which is able to

[536] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.18-19. 'Former bards': Gaunt 1972, 119-120, comments that 'we have little useful information about who they [the former bards] may have been'. However, see Diog. Laert. 1.10.112, for Epimenides of Crete, who wrote about the *Building of Argo and Jason's voyage to Colchis* (Ἀργοῦς ναυπηγία καὶ Ἰάσονος εἰς Κόλχους ἀπόπλους). This title may suggest that former writers placed emphasis on the construction of the Argo.
[537] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.111-112 (tr. Race 2009).
[538] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1187-1188, 1.526-7, 1.723-4, 2.612-13.
[539] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.1187, 1.724.
[540] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.111-112, 2.613-14.
[541] Murray 2005, 101.

speak.[542] Furthermore, if the Argo was indeed the first ship, then it stands to reason that Argus might require guidance from Athena, especially as, according to Apollonios, the boat is Athena's invention.[543] Not only is Athena the inventor and builder of the ship, but she also assumes a didactic role as the teacher of the craft of carpentry. In this way, she takes on a civilizing role, which is perhaps comparable to that of Demeter in relation to the cultivation of crops. Athena is directly involved in the construction of the Argo in a 'hands-on' way, but once the ship has been created, she can delegate to chosen mortals to disseminate the knowledge that they have obtained from her, as Demeter tasks Triptolemos with spreading the knowledge of agriculture.[544]

The Worship of Athena and Zeus by Artisans

Due to Athena's skill with her hands, it seems reasonable that she would be worshipped by artisans. Among the artisans who dedicate to Athena in Archaic and Classical Athens, we can identify at least a carpenter, a ship builder, a baker, two fullers, three potters, and one craftswoman more or less securely on the basis that they explicitly name their trade in their inscriptions.[545] For example, the dedication from the baker states: 'Phrygia,

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[542] The Argo speaking: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.524-527, 4.580-592; Parke 1967, 27. The Argo also has prophetic powers in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*: Val. Flac. *Argon.* 1.2; Manuwald 2013, 36.

[543] Cf. Athena teaching Pandora how to weave: Hes. *Op.* 63-64.

[544] This is similar to Athena's role in the creation of the Areopagos in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, which will be discussed in ch. 5. Athena creates the Areopagos, shows the Athenians how to try someone in the court, and then leaves it to the mortals to continue this by themselves. Demeter and Triptolemos: Callim. *Hymn* 6.19-21; Ov. *Met.* 5.643-656; Paus. 1.14.2, 7.18.2; Diod. Sic. 5.68; Suda s.v. *Rharias*.

[545] Carpenter: *IG* I^3 589 (650-600 BCE). Shipbuilder: *IG* I^3 606 (530-520 BCE). Baker: *IG* I^3 546 (500 BCE). Fullers: *IG* I^3 554 (550 BCE), 905 (530-510 BCE). Potters: *IG* I^3 628 (520 BCE), 633

the baker, offered me to Athena'.[546] Other dedicators, also from Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods, confirm their positions as artisans by claiming that they themselves made the dedication. In this category, there are four potters and a sculptor who made such a claim.[547] Occasionally, artisans dedicate *aparchai* ('first-fruits') or *dekatai* ('tithes') to Athena in Athens. As described by Jim, '*aparchai* and *dekatai* entailed offering the gods a share of proceeds from a variety of activities', including crafts.[548] Some examples of *aparchai* and *dekatai* dedicated by artisans include Polyxenos, a fuller, and Melinna, the craftswoman, who each dedicate an *aparche* to Athena, and a boat builder and the potters Peikon and Euphronios, who each dedicate a *dekate* to Athena.[549] As *aparchai* and *dekatai* were usually dedicated to a deity as a thank-offering *after* gaining some success from their trade, these dedications are likely to have been a product of the earnings made from trade. This is made explicit in Melinna's dedication to Ergane. The inscription reads that Melinna dedicates 'this memorial of her labour to you, goddess Ergane, offering a portion of her possessions as an *aparche*, honouring your favour' (σοὶ τήνδε μνήμην, θεὰ Ἐργάνη, ὧν ἐπόνησεν μοῖραν ἀπαρξαμένη κτεάνων, τιμῶσα χάριν σήν).[550] This dedication is not only an *aparche*, but it is made to

(510-500 BCE), 824 (475 BCE). Craftswoman: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1377 (4th century BCE). For the craftswoman (Melinna) see Jim 2014, 238-239.

[546] *IG* I^3 546 (500 BCE): Φρυγία ⁝ ἀνέθεκέ με τἀθεναίαι *h*ε ἀρτόπολ[ις].

[547] Potters: Athens National Archaeological Museum F2 (530 BCE), F97 a,b. (470 BCE), G389 (475-450 BCE); *BAPD* 9037151 (end 5th century BCE). Sculptor: *IG* I^3 599 (Athens, 525-500 BCE).

[548] Jim 2014, 1-2. See Jim 2014 more generally for an in-depth study of *aparchai* and *dekatai*.

[549] Fuller: *IG* I^3 554 (550 BCE). Melinna: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1377 (4th century BCE). Boat builder: *IG* I^3 589 (650-600 BCE). Potters: *IG* I^3 633 (510-500 BCE), 824 (475 BCE).

[550] *IG* II/III^3 4, 1377.5-8 (tr. Jim 2014). 'Ergane' here is almost definitely Athena, as Melinna makes her dedication on the Athenian acropolis and the epithet appears to be almost

remember Melinna's labour and her craft. Evidence of dedications to Athena by artisans can also be found outside of Athens, albeit in very few inscriptions. For example, one sculptor from Halai in Locris dedicates to Athena on the acropolis, and another sculptor, originally from Chalcedon, dedicates a bronze sculpture to Athena Lindia on the Lindian acropolis.[551] Even though they did not state their profession explicitly, these two individuals are likely to have been artisans as they claimed that they had fashioned their respective dedications; for example, the sculptor from Chalcedon states that he 'made this for Athena Lindia as a thank-offering' (ποιήσας Ἀθάναι Λινδίαι χαριστήριον).[552] Therefore, there is evidence to support Athena's worship as a patron of artisans in Athens and beyond, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods.

Despite the popularity of Athena among artisans, they did not restrict their worship to her. The epigraphic material reveals that artisans prayed to many gods, including Zeus, Apollo, Asklepios, Dionysos, Poseidon, Hera, and even heroes like Herakles.[553] Additionally, in some Greek epigrams, artisans

exclusive to Athena. See Parker 2005a, 409, n. 89, for the possibility that the Graces also share this epithet.

[551] Halai: *CEG* 348 (550-500 BCE). Lindos: *I.Lindos* II 165 (184 BCE).

[552] *I.Lindos* II 165.5 (tr. my own) (184 BCE); Gillis 2021, 77.

[553] E.g., Zeus: *SEG* XXV 463 (blacksmith, 5th century BCE). Apollo: Rhodes Archaeological Museum 14464 (blacksmith, 550-525 BCE). Asklepios: *SEG* III 464 (stonemason, 4th century BCE); *IG* IX,1 41 (stonemason, 200-150 BCE); Ragusa Archaeological Museum 1395 (potters, 310-280 BCE). Dionysos: *SEG* XXXIX 235 (cobbler, 400-350 BCE). Poseidon: *IG* IV 222, 223, 236 (potters, 7th century BCE). Hera: Samos Archaeological Museum = Niemeier 2011, 105-106 = Gillis 2021, 73 (possibly a sculptor due to the inscription claiming that the dedicator made the object (ποιήσας), mid-6th century BCE). Herakles: *IG* XIV 652 (potter, 525-500 BCE).

dedicated to other deities such as Hermes or Artemis.[554] Some scant evidence may point towards Zeus as a patron of artisans. For example, Gillis has suggested that Zeus Telesiourgos might have been worshipped in Thasos as a patron of artisans, as an inscription (possibly an altar or boundary marker) from Thasos reads 'of Athena Organe and Zeus Telesergos' in the genitive.[555] Telesergos is a variation of Telesiourgos, which may be translated as 'completing the work', as τέλειος suggests finality and the suffix -ουργος, meaning 'worker', comes from ἔργον.[556] In scholarship, Athena Ergane is assumed to be a patron of artisans, especially female workers (see below). The argument that Zeus Telesiourgos is associated with artisanal work is possibly substantiated by a dedication found in Didyma, in which the dedicator explicitly identifies himself as a τεχνίτης ('craftsman') from Miletos and dedicates to Zeus Telesiourgos.[557] Rehm notes that the dedicator traces his lineage back to Paionios, a sculptor.[558] However, despite these attestations, Telesiourgos does not seem to be exclusively associated with craftsmanship. Two other inscriptions, documenting the sales of priesthoods from Miletos,

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[554] Hermes: *Anth. Pal.* 6.92 (Phillipus of Tessalonica), 306 (Ariston). Artemis: *Anth. Pal.* 6.266 (Hegesippus), 286 (Leonidas), 287 (Antipater). Artisans also dedicate to Athena and Hephaistos respectively in the *Greek Anthology.* Athena: *Anth. Pal.* 6.39 (Archias), 47 (Antipater of Sidon), 48 (Anonymous), 103 (Philippus), 153 (Anyte), 160 (Antipater of Sidon), 174 (Antipater), 204 and 205 (Leonidas of Tarentum), 247 (Philippus), 288 and 289 (Leonidas), 342 (Anonymous).
Hephaistios: *Anth. Pal.* 6.101 (Philippus), 117 (Pancrates). Cf. epigrams in which the works of Aphrodite (*hetairai*) and Athena (weavers) are pitted against each other: *Anth. Pal.* 6.47 (Antipater of Sidon), 48 (Anonymous), 283 and 284 (Anonymous), 285 (Nicarchus).
[555] *IG* XII suppl. 380 (450 BCE); Gillis 2021, 35; cf. Pouilloux 1954, 342, comments only that Athena Organe and Zeus Telesergos are both gods of work. 'Ergane' can also be written as 'Organe'.
[556] The only example of Athena Telesiourgos to my knowledge is *IG* II/III^3 4, 1414 (2nd century CE) from Káto Soúli in Marathon. Gillis 2021, 36-37, suggests that this is a boundary stone because Athena Telesiourgos is written in the genitive.
[557] *I.Didyma* 208 (early Imperial).
[558] Rehm 1958, 124.

place Zeus Telesiourgos in a different context. The inscriptions state that whoever was to be a priest of either Rome and the Roman People or Asklepios must first be initiates of Zeus Telesiourgos.[559] The verb τελέω does not just mean to 'fulfil' or 'bring to an end' but can also mean 'to initiate'.[560] In this way, the Milesian inscriptions seem to suggest that Zeus Telesiourgos may be involved to some extent in initiation in these contexts. Zeus was worshipped under the epithet Teleios, which also begins with the prefix τελε-. Zeus Teleios was often worshipped alongside Hera Teleia in the context of marriage, to signify the formal completion of the union.[561] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti argue that when Zeus Teleios is attested independently from Hera, this epithet could take on a broader sense of achievement, accomplishment, and completion.[562] Zeus Teleios and Zeus Telesiourgos can both invoke a sense of completion and of the fulfilment of Zeus' plan. Therefore, although there is little evidence for Zeus Telesiourgos, the extant evidence suggests that this epithet was probably not exclusive to artisanal crafting but, instead, might stand for completion (of various activities) more broadly.

[559] *CGRN* 248 (129 BCE or shortly after) and 249 (15-100 CE). Latte 1930, 227, comments that the regulations between these two priesthoods are so similar that the need to be an initiate of Zeus Telesiourgos to hold a priesthood in Miletos could have been the norm. However, sales of priesthoods from Miletos are well documented, and Zeus Telesiourgos is not attested in any other.

[560] LSJ s.v. τελέω.

[561] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 93, 176: *telos* 'emphasises the aspect of an official engagement which constitutes the 'full completion', which would be the result of the project of uniting fully a man and a woman'. This unification is sexual but also goes beyond this. Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia form the royal divine couple who 'is the guarantor of the union, the *telos*' and represent a 'perfect, complete(d)' union. Plutarch names Zeus Teleios and Hera Teleia as two of the five gods who are associated with marriage: Plut. *Aetia Rom.* 3 (*Mor.* 264b).

[562] Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 175.

Local circumstances may have played an important role in the worship of Athena and Zeus by artisans. Most of the dedications to Athena by artisans listed above do not provide much information, simply the name of the divine recipient and sometimes the name and/or profession of the dedicator, and almost all of these dedications were dedicated on an acropolis. The location of the acropolis is significant, as Athena is the principal deity of both Athens and Lindos. This could suggest that artisans dedicated to Athena as the primary deity of the polis, who oversaw the protection of craft, among other aspects of her protective power.[563] The worship of Zeus by artisans could also be affected by the local cultic context. Several oracular tablets from Dodona concern enquiries by artisans to Zeus.[564] A question frequently put to the gods at Dodona by individuals (artisan or otherwise) is whether they should keep or change their profession, and sometimes this concerns craftwork; for example, one individual asks: 'can it be profitable for me to work as a blacksmith?'.[565] Questions such as these do not suggest that Zeus was a 'patron of artisans' at Dodona but that people would seek advice about their lives more generally.

[563] Raubitschek 1949, 465, suggests that the prominence of dedications by artisans on the Athenian acropolis may 'indicate the great importance of the industry, and especially pottery, to Athens'. Therefore, these dedications may have been a show of the artisans' social standing. However, as argued by Jim 2014, 174, these dedications might illustrate a display of gratitude towards the dedicator's primary deity (in this case Athena), to whom they owed their livelihood.

[564] E.g., blacksmith: *SEG* XV 403 (4th century BCE). Shoemaker: Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis 2013, no. 2271A-2272B (350 BCE). Boat builder: Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis 2013, no. 371A (mid-5th century BCE). Dyer: Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis 2013, no. 642B (2nd half-5th century BCE). Fuller: Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis 2013, no. 691B (1st half-5th century BCE). Potter: Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis 2013, no. 953A (425-400 BCE). Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis 2013, 71; Gillis 2021, 113. For a review of Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis' corpus, see González 2021.

[565] *SEG* XV 403 (4th century BCE). See also: Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, and Christidis 2013, nos. 2102 (400-375 BCE), 3147B (325-275 BCE), both of whom ask if it will be profitable to change their trade, although these are not necessarily artisans. See also Gillis 2021, 113-116.

Artisans were individuals who had a social and family life, and so would naturally worship multiple different gods for different purposes.[566] Furthermore, Zeus was the primary deity of the sanctuary of Dodona; therefore, perhaps occasionally the choice of god depended upon local circumstances rather than the god's association with artisanal work.[567] This could be supported further by the dedication of a giant strigil in Olympia by a craftsman named Dikon.[568] Although this dedication is more similar to ones received by Athena (as the craftsman identifies his trade), the dedication is made in the sanctuary of Olympia, where Zeus was worshipped as a primary deity. What may be surprising is that Hephaistos, a deity associated primarily with artisanal crafts, receives no dedications from dedicators explicitly identified as artisans in the extant epigraphic and archaeological evidence.[569] This may support the argument that local cultic context was especially important, as Hephaistos did not have many cults across Greece.[570] It seems that location may be significant regarding Athena's worship by artisans, as most of the evidence comes from Athens where she was a primary deity, and the evidence suggests that Zeus was worshipped by artisans, but probably for other reasons and not primarily in his capacity as a patron of artisanal crafts.

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[566] Gillis 2021, 124.
[567] Gillis 2021, 124.
[568] *SEG* XXV 463 (500 BCE).
[569] This does not mean there were no dedications to Hephaistos, see *IG* IV^2,1 279 (3rd century BCE): an altar to Hephaistos (Ἀφαίστου) set up in the sanctuary of Asklepios in Epidauros. However, we have no way of knowing if this was set up by an artisan; Gillis 2021, 36. Cf. a small number of dedicatory epigrams to Hephaistos: *Anth. Pal.* 6.101 (Philippus), 117 (Pancrates). See Gillis 2021, 123-124, for the absence of Hephaistos.
[570] The worship of Hephaistos was most prominent in Athens, where he was worshipped by artisans as part of the *Hephaisteia* and *Chalkeia* festivals. See section IV, for Hephaistos' importance in Athens.

As previously highlighted, there is a disproportionate amount of Athenian evidence for the worship of Athena by artisans. The extant evidence could give the impression that Athena was only worshipped by artisans because of local circumstances rather than Athena's association with crafts. However, several epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* could demonstrate the possibility that dedications to Athena by artisans were not primarily an Athenian phenomenon.[571] Although most of the epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* are literary exercises and not necessarily archaeological dedications, many are imitations of real dedications and Book 6 'contains genuine inscriptions copied from stones along with literary imitations of these'.[572] Most of these epigrams are not tied to a particular location so are not necessarily Athenian in nature. The *Greek Anthology* records a collection of dedications to Athena from artisans, especially textile workers.[573] For example, in one epigram, Telesilla dedicates to Athena as the goddess who 'presides over workers in wool' and names her the 'guardian of her well-wrought clews and balls of wool'.[574] Another specifically mentions dedicating a tithe (δεκάτη) of their textile-work to Athena.[575] Not all dedications concern textile work; for example, the carpenter Leonichus dedicates his tools to

[571] Jim 2014, 25: the *Greek Anthology* is a collection of epigrams from 10th century CE 'comprising the earlier works compiled by epigram anthologists of different dates'; cf. Bing and Bruss 2007, 20-21. For more on epigrams, see: Cameron 1993, Bing and Bruss 2007.
[572] Jim 2014, 25.
[573] Weavers: *Anth. Pal.* 6.39 (Archias), 47 (Antipater of Sidon), 48 (Anonymous), 160 (Antipater of Sidon), 174 (Antipater), 247 (Philippus), 288 and 289 (Leonidas). Carpenters: *Anth. Pal.* 6.103 (Philippus), 204 and 205 (Leonidas of Tarentum). Shipbuilder: *Anth. Pal.* 6.342 (Anonymous).
[574] *Anth. Pal.* 6.160 (Antipater of Sidon).
[575] *Anth. Pal.* 6.288.3 (Leonidas).

Athena at the end of his career.[576] These epigrams may suggest that the phenomenon of dedicating to Athena as a patron of crafts could be attested beyond Athens. This could be further supported by the idea that the readers of the *Greek Anthology* would have understood Athena to be worshipped in this capacity. In sum, even though the majority of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for Athena's worship by artisans comes from Athens, a small number of inscriptions from outside of Attica and several epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* could confirm that Athena was understood to be a patron and protector of artisanal craft and labour beyond Attica. This suggests that geographical location was possibly not the sole reason artisans chose to worship Athena. Even though the evidence suggests that any god could be the recipient of a dedication from an artisan, it is possible that Athena received more dedications that related to artisanal work and the making of wares. This is probably informed by two aspects of the goddess: her 'hands-on' approach to the sphere of crafts, and her prominence as a patron deity in Athens and Lindos.

Athena Ergane

Most of the dedications from artisans listed above are dedicated to 'Athena' with no epithet; however, four refer to Athena under four different epithets. The sculptor from Halai dedicates to Athena Poliouchos, the sculptor from Chalcedon to Athena Lindia, one Athenian potter dedicates to Athena

[576] *Anth. Pal.* 6.103 (Philippus).

Hygieia, and the craftswoman, Melinna, dedicates to Ergane.[577] Furthermore, in the *Greek Anthology,* Athena is often referred to by the poetic epithet 'Pallas' in her capacity as a patron of artisans.[578] Among all these epithets, Ergane is the only one that may relate specifically to craft. The variety of epithets used illustrates that artisans could dedicate to Athena under any epithet of their choosing, or even no epithet at all. There is no single epithet exclusively related to artisans or crafting.

Although artisans could dedicate to any god or could dedicate to Athena under any or no epithet, there is one epithet that has become synonymous in scholarship with Athena as a patron of artisans: Ergane. The identification of Athena Ergane particularly with textiles and women's work is often taken for granted by scholars and this has led to some presuppositions or assumptions regarding the specific situations in which people may worship Athena under this epithet. For example, Burkert names Athena Ergane as the 'inventor and patroness of wool-working'; Keuls comments that 'patronage of the male crafts was largely assumed by the craftsman god Hephaestus, leaving Ergane to oversee the home textile industry'.[579] When discussing the possibilities of Athena Ergane's cult in Sparta, Villing assumes she must have been worshipped as a patron of artisans, 'especially women's spinning and

[577] Poliouchos: *CEG* 348 (550-500 BCE). Lindia: *I.Lindos* II 165 (184 BCE). Hygieia: Athens National Archaeological Museum F97 a,b. (470 BCE). Ergane: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1377 (4th century BCE).
[578] E.g., *Anth. Pal.* 6.160 (Antipater of Sidon), 174 (Antipater), 204 (Leonidas of Tarentum), 247 (Philippus). For more on this epithet, see Loraux 1993, 139, Deacy 2016, Guía 2021.
[579] Burkert 1985, 141; Keuls 1993, 249.

weaving'; and Parker comments, 'as Ergane she is patroness of the works of women, and receives quite numerous dedications in that function'.[580] All four of these statements assume that Athena Ergane is primarily (or even exclusively) a patron of women's work, presumably textile work and weaving. Parker goes one step further by claiming that Athena received 'quite numerous dedications' as a 'patroness of the works of women'. However, although Athena is often associated with weaving as previously shown, these claims appear to be unsubstantiated, as I will demonstrate below.

The claim that Athena Ergane receives 'quite numerous dedications' as a patron of female crafts is unsubstantiated. So far, I have found nine inscriptions on stone (all dated to the 4th century BCE) and three fragmented pots (one undated, the other two probably date to the first half of the 5th century BCE) addressed to Athena Ergane/Organe from Athens and only one dedicator qualifies herself as a craftswoman, that of Melinna, who has already been mentioned.[581] The other dedications do not provide a craft-related profession and only two of these inscriptions indicate a possible female dedicator. In one inscription, although it is fragmentary, the dedicator appears

[580] Villing 1997a, 88. Parker 2005a, 409, n. 89: Parker's footnote does not give any examples of dedications to Athena Ergane as a patron of women's work. Further discussion regarding Athena Ergane: Parker 2005a, 266, 444, 465. Cf. Hurwit 1995, 185; Clements 2017, 36, 40.
[581] Stone: *IG* II/III^3 4, 641 (350-300 BCE), 1358 (1st half-4th century BCE), 1364 (mid-4th century BCE), 1369 (mid-4th century BCE), 1370 (mid-4th century BCE), 1371 (mid-4th century BCE), 1377 (4th century BCE), 1380 (2nd half-4th century BCE); *SEG* XXV 220 (4th century BCE). Pots: *CAVI* 1687 (undated), 1803, 1829 (both sometime before 480 BCE on the grounds that they were found in a well on the north slope of the acropolis filled in the early fifth century BCE after the Persian destruction in 480 BCE: see Roebuck 1940, 142). *CAVI* 1803 and 1829 are the least secure as they are extremely fragmented. *CAVI* 1803 is particularly fragmented, see Roebuck 1940, 247-248, for his suggested reconstruction of [Ἀθεναίαι] Ἐργ[άνει]. Melinna: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1377 (4th century BCE).

to identify herself as the θυγάτη[ρ] ('daughter') of someone (the name does not survive) from Acharnai; the other is possibly dedicated by [He]d[y]le of Euphro[n], although the name is also fragmented.[582] Most dedications to Athena Ergane from Athens are found on the Athenian acropolis. There has been some debate regarding whether there was a sanctuary of Athena Ergane on the acropolis; however, because the dedications are not clustered in one place, it is hard to determine conclusively if there was a sanctuary and exactly where that structure would have been located.[583] Although Pausanias does not explicitly mention a sanctuary of Athena Egrane, he does claim that the Athenians were 'the first to surname Athena Ergane' (πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην).[584] If correct, this suggests that 'Ergane' is originally Athenian, which might explain why there are more dedications to Athena Ergane in Athens than elsewhere. Nevertheless, inscriptions and dedications to Athena Ergane have been found in locations beyond Athens; these include: Delphi, Epidauros, Delos, Thasos, and Ephesos.[585] The earliest of these is a

[582] Θυγάτη[ρ]: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1364 (mid-4th century BCE). Hedyle: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1369 (mid-4th century BCE).

[583] Dedications found on the acropolis (specific area not disclosed): *IG* II/III^3 4, 1364, 1377, 1380. Found west of the Parthenon: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1358, 1371. Found east of the Erechtheion: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1369. Found on the north slope of the acropolis: *CAVI* 1803, 1829. Found by the Odeon of Herodes Atticus: *IG* II/III^3 4, 641. Found southwest of the Agora: *IG* II/III^3 4, 1370. See Müller 2010, 201-206. Scholars such as Consoli 2004, 31-59, use Paus. 1.24.3 to suggest that there was a separate cult location for Athena Ergane, but, as mentioned, Pausanias does not explicitly mention a sanctuary of Athena Ergane. Beschi and Musti 1982, 349, suggest that a *temenos* of Athena Ergane could have been located on the northern end of the staircase which led to the terrace of the Parthenon, due to the presence of some statuettes that potentially depict the goddess: see Di Vita 1955 and Villing 1998, for the statuettes. Therefore, it is possible there was a cult site to Athena Ergane, but the evidence leaves the possibility for a sanctuary of Athena Ergane on the Athenian acropolis inconclusive.

[584] Paus. 1.24.3 (tr. Jones 1918).

[585] Delphi: *Choix Delphes* 11 (beginning of the 5th century BCE). Epidauros: *IG* IV^2,1 166 (4th/3rd century BCE), 270 (4th century BCE). Delos: *I.Delos* 63 (5th century BCE). Thasos: *IG* XII suppl. 380 (450 BCE). Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 774 (117/138 CE).

cippus inscribed 'to Athena Ergane' found in the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia in Delphi, but with no further information regarding the dedicator.[586] The examples from Epidauros concern two dedications, both altars: the dedication to [Athen]a Ergane does not detail the profession of the dedicator, and the other altar simply reads 'of Athena Ergane'.[587] The inscription from Delos is a rock cutting at the base of Mount Kynthos reading 'of Athena Organe' in the genitive; from Thasos, the previously mentioned altar or boundary marker inscribed 'of Athena Organe and Zeus Telesergos' in the genitive; and from Ephesos is a dedication to Athena Ergane and Hadrian, again, not detailing the job of the dedicator. Therefore, the 'quite numerous dedications' (Parker) are in fact rather scant and provide very little evidence that Athena Ergane was primarily a patron of women's work.

Also questionable is the claim that Athena was primarily a 'patroness of the works of women'.[588] Evidence that Athena Ergane is specifically a patron

[586] Jacquemin 2005, 248, 253; Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont 2012, 40, no. 11.
[587] It is difficult to determine why altars were set up to Athena Ergane in the sanctuary of Asklepios; this said, most of the surviving sanctuary dates to the expansion programme which began c. 370 BCE, see Burford 1969, for evidence and detailed analysis. See also Sneed 2020, 1022. As the dedications to Athena Ergane from Epidauros are also dated to approximately the 4th/3rd centuries BCE, perhaps several builders set up dedications to Athena Ergane at this time as a patron of their craft; however, this can only remain a conjecture without more solid evidence. See also LiDonnici 1995, 93, A10, for one of the Epidaurian *iamata*, in which a cup is smashed and made whole again, seemingly by Asklepios. Perhaps there was a connection in Greek thought between healing and crafts in Epidauros, but without more concrete evidence, this suggestion remains tentative.
[588] See Suda s.v. Ἐγράνη, for the rare suggestion that Athena is called Ergane because she is the guardian of women's work. However, the idea that Athena Ergane is exclusively a patron of women's work does not seem to be borne out in the ancient literary evidence. Although, for example, Ael. *VH.* 1.2 highlights Athena Ergane's association with weaving, this need not mean she was exclusively a patron of women's work. Furthermore, in Diod. Sic. 5.73.8, Diodorus Siculus claims Athena Ergane invented weaving, carpentry, and pipes, among other things. Additionally, in Soph. fr. 844 Radt, the people who worship Ergane are referred to as χειρῶναξ ('master of the hands') in the masculine. This may suggest that Athena Ergane was worshipped by craftspeople more generally rather than just craftswomen.

of female crafts is thought to be found in two long inscriptions. In the Athenian sacrificial calendar, at the end of the month Thargelion, a sheep must be sacrificed to Athena Ergane in lines 12-13.

5 [δευτέραι] φθίνοντος
[ἐκ τῶν κα]τὰ μῆνα
[Ἀθηνά]αι φᾶρος
[ἐρίων (?)] καθαρῶν
[...^{5}..]ρες
10 [...^{5}..]ρες
[...^{5}..]ιον
[Ἀθηνα]ίαι
[Ἐργάν]ηι οἷς
[Ἀθηνά]αι (?) πρὸς
15 [..^{4}..]ον οἷς
[κεφάλ]αιον

On the penultimate day (?)
From the month-by-month
[for Athen]a a cloak (φᾶρος)
of pure [wool?]
. . .
. . .
. . .
[for Athen]a
[Ergan]ē a sheep
for [Athen]a by
. . . a sheep
total:
> 1 dr. 2 ob.[589]

Lines 7-8 detail that 'Athena' should be given a cloak (φᾶρος) of wool. The inclusion of the φᾶρος has led Lambert to suggest that the sacrifice to Athena Ergane in lines 12-13 could be associated with the *Plynteria* festival at the end

[589] *CGRN* 45 Face A, fr. 3, col. 1.5-16 (403/2-400/399 BCE (tr. Lambert 2017). Lambert follows Sokolowski's restoration, *LSS* 10A.5-16. See Sokolowski 1936, 451, 457.

of Thargelion; this festival was celebrated before the Panathenaia and involved washing the statue of Athena Polias.[590] In this context, therefore, the reference to Athena Ergane might relate to weaving and textiles, possibly the weaving of a φᾶρος for Athena and perhaps the Panathenaic *peplos*.[591] However, in this calendar, it is not Athena Ergane in lines 12-13 who is explicitly associated with weaving or textiles, but rather it is the 'Athena' named in line 7 who will receive the φᾶρος. Although scholars may interpret 'Athena' and 'Athena Ergane' as the same goddess, we cannot assume so, especially as it was quite common to outline a variety of sacrifices or dedications for one deity under different epithets or no epithet in the same inscription.[592] Furthermore, 'Athena Ergane' in lines 12-13 is largely supplemented; Lambert comments that 'though largely restored, the epithet seems likely' due to the other dedications to Athena Ergane on the Athenian acropolis.[593] Even if this supplementation is correct, the restoration raises further questions regarding how far we can link the φᾶρος to Athena Ergane in this calendar. Therefore, the evidence from this Athenian sacrificial calendar is not solid enough to substantiate the claim that Athena Ergane was associated principally with textiles and women's work.

[590] Lambert 2002, 374. The *CGRN* 45 commentary suggests that the festival could be the *Kallynteria* in which the statue of Athena Polias is adorned.
[591] For the *peplos* of Athena in Athens, see Barber 1992; Brøns 2017, 319-346.
[592] E.g., see *CGRN* 92 (335-330 BCE), detailing the regulations for the Lesser Panathenaia, which involve separate offerings to Athena Hygieia, Athena (no epithet), Athena Polias, and Athena Nike.
[593] Lambert 2002, 375.

Athena Ergane might be associated with the *Chalkeia* festival in an honorific decree from Athens dated to 118/7 BCE.[594] The *Chalkeia* was a festival celebrated by craftsmen, during which girls called *arrhephoroi* began weaving the *peplos* of Athena Polias to be presented to her at the end of the Panathenaic procession.[595] Therefore, the inclusion of Athena Ergane in this inscription may provide a link between Athena Ergane and textile work. However, both 'Chalkeia' and 'Athena Ergane' have been supplemented almost completely in lines 9-10 of this decree: [... Χαλκείοις ε]ὖ τὴν παννυχίδα τῆι Ἀ[θηναίαι τῆι Ἐργάνηι …].[596] Meritt proposes that the *pannychis* mentioned in line 10 took place in the month Pyanepsion and that this *pannychis* was possibly part of the *Chalkeia* festival that was celebrated on the last day of Pyanepsion. Due to this, Meritt suggests the supplementation of *Chalkeia* in line 9-10.[597] Meritt then supplements 'Athena Ergane' in line 10, seemingly because of the belief that she was associated with the *Chalkeia*, and that the alpha in line 10 is part of the name of the goddess concerned.[598] Meritt cites Deubner when making the connection between Athena Ergane and the *Chalkeia*; however, Deubner is unable to provide concrete evidence that Athena Ergane was associated with this festival, despite claiming it was

[594] *Agora* XV 253.
[595] Parker 2005a, 464-465; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 211-212, 268. For more on the *arrephoroi*, see Henderson 1987, 155-156; Roberts 2019.
[596] Meritt 1963, 23; Clements 2017, 39-40. Parker 2005a, 166, n. 42, describes the supplementation of *Chalkeia* as 'very uncertain'. See also Parker 2005a, 465, for his uncertainty that Athena Ergane received direct worship on the day of the *Chalkeia* due to the shakiness of the evidence from Soph. fr. 844 Radt.
[597] Suda s.v. Χαλκεῖα.
[598] Meritt 1963, 23.

specifically Athena Ergane who was worshipped at the *Chalkeia*.[599] In fact, Lambert notes that in the 3rd century BCE, Athena is worshipped under the epithet Archegetis ('Leader') at the *Chalkeia*.[600] As mentioned by Clements, 'if Meritt's reconstruction... is correct, this is one of the few, if not the only, instances where the *Chalkeia* is mentioned in relationship to Athena Ergane'.[601] Therefore, even if Meritt's supplementations are correct, this is still a rare piece of evidence for the possible worship of Athena Ergane at the *Chalkeia*. Consequently, these inscriptions are not secure attestations of Athena Ergane's association primarily with textiles and women's work.

Although Pausanias mentions Athena Ergane in several books of *The Description of Greece,* he does not provide much information about her cult. As mentioned, he comments that the Athenians were the first to surname Athena 'Ergane', that she has a sanctuary in Sparta, that there is a statue of her in Megalopolis, and that there is an image of her in Thespiae.[602] Therefore, Athena Ergane is attested in other parts of the Greek world, but we know very little about the nature of these cults.[603] Interestingly, in Olympia, Pausanias

[599] Deubner 1956, 35-36. The evidence that Deubner cites for the *Chalkeia*, e.g., Suda s.v. Χαλκεῖα, *IG* II^3 1, 900.16 (273/2 BCE), and *IG* II^2 930.3, 6 (beginning of 2nd century BCE), make no mention of Athena Ergane, and the evidence Deubner cites for Athena Ergane, primarily Soph. fr. 844 Radt, makes no mention of the *Chalkeia* (Sophocles does mention craftsmen dedicating baskets to Ergane). See Parker 2005a, 465, on Soph. fr. 844 Radt: it is unclear if Sophocles' play is set in Athens or elsewhere, and without knowledge of this or a proper understanding of the ritual 'we cannot associate the fragment [*Agora* XV 253] very confidently with a specific Athenian cult'.
[600] *IG* II^3 1, 900.16-17; Lambert 2014, 18-19.
[601] Clements 2017, 40. *IG* I^3 477.7-8 (408/7 BCE), might mention the *Chalkeia* in association with Athena but not specifically Athena Ergane: see Lambert 2016.
[602] Paus. 1.24.5, 3.17.4, 8.32.4, 9.26.8.
[603] Frazer 1898, does not make any comment on the cult of Athena Ergane in Sparta, Megalopolis, and Thespiae. Villing 1997a, 88, comments that the cult of Athena Ergane in Sparta has left 'no discernible traces in the archaeological record'. Cf. Sassu 2024, 25.

reports that descendants of Pheidias called 'Cleansers' (φαιδρυνταί) would sacrifice to Ergane before polishing the image of Olympian Zeus.[604] As Pheidias was an important and well-known artisan, a link could be made here between Athena Ergane and crafts; however, it is also probable that the Cleansers sacrificed to Ergane because they were about to polish the statue, which is non-artisanal manual labour. Pausanias also comments that the rooster might be considered sacred to Athena Ergane; however, I have found no evidence to explicitly explain why.[605] The rooster is often depicted alongside Athena on Panathenaic amphorai, which Popkin suggests could symbolise protection or fighting; roosters may even have a liminal quality as they crow when the sun rises.[606] However, there is no obvious reason as to why Athena Ergane would be associated with the rooster, unless the explanation is simply that the call of the rooster would wake people up for work in the morning.[607] Overall, the evidence for Athena Ergane is inconclusive and the assumption that Athena Ergane was principally a patron of textiles and women's work is not sufficiently borne out in the limited and often insecure pieces of evidence. The assumption that Athena Ergane was primarily a patron of women's work reduces the scope of Athena's powers, which were evidently much broader than this. It seems more reasonable to suggest that Athena Ergane is

[604] Paus. 5.14.5.
[605] Paus. 6.26.3.
[606] See, e.g., Popkin 2012; Cruccas 2016, 176. Villing 1997b, 89, adds that perhaps Pheidias added the rooster as an agonistic symbol, due to Elis' involvement in organising the Olympic games.
[607] See Plut. *Mor. Quaest. conv.* 654f. (tr. Clement and Hoffleit 1969) for a reference to the cock's association with the morning and also how 'morning rouses us for our duty to Athena Ergane' (ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐργάνην Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸν ἀγοραῖον Ἑρμῆν ἐπανίστησιν). Frazer 1898, vol. 4, does not comment on Athena Ergane and the rooster.

connected to work beyond craftwork (for example, polishing and cleaning), but perhaps still primarily artisanal work.

Athena's 'hands-on' approach, the ability to craft with her own hands, renders her an obvious and suitable patron of artisans. Her 'hands-on' approach to the sphere of crafts is made clear in literary and epigraphic evidence, not only through her ability to craft with her hands, but also in the ways in which she teaches artisans like Argus to craft and build objects such as the Argo. Although most of the epigraphic evidence for Athena as a patron of artisans comes from Athens, some epigraphic evidence from Rhodes and Halai and epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* could suggest that Athena was understood to be a patron of artisans across the Greek world. Zeus and other deities were worshipped by artisans, but not necessarily in a way that was directly related to artisanal crafts. Furthermore, although Athena Ergane could have some relationship to artisanal crafts, the claim that she was associated primarily with women's work is unsubstantiated. Likewise, Zeus Telesiourgos could be associated with artisanal crafts, but it is more likely that he was associated with the completion of any kind of work.

II. Planning, Inventing, and Delegating

From the evidence outlined in Section I, it appears that Zeus does not have the same relationship with artisans as Athena. Although artisans pray to Zeus, the evidence does not suggest that Zeus was considered a patron of artisanal crafts. As the Greek perception of crafts expanded beyond tangible

crafting, this section investigates how far Zeus and Athena were thought to craft in an abstract way. For the purpose of this chapter, this may include the ability to plan, invent, and delegate. Although a plan and/or invention can lead to a physical artisanal creation, the ability to plan and invent resides primarily in the mind rather than in the body; they are linked, but there is some separation. In this section, I will expand the definition of 'crafts' to encompass abstract crafting in order to understand further Zeus' and Athena's roles in the sphere of crafts.

Zeus' 'Hands-Off' Approach to the Sphere of Crafts

In contrast to Athena's 'hands-on' approach, Zeus' method of intervention could be described as 'hands-off' in the sphere of crafts. This is best illustrated in the Hesiodic accounts of the creation of Pandora. In both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days,* Hesiod outlines the construction of the first woman, Pandora. Hesiod describes how many gods work collaboratively to create her, each deity adding something different to Pandora's appearance or personality. In the *Theogony*, only Hephaistos and Athena are involved in the creation of Pandora: Hephaistos forms her figure from the earth and Athena adorns her.[608] In the *Works and Days* other gods are also involved, including Aphrodite, the Graces, the Seasons, and Hermes.[609] A common thread throughout both accounts is Zeus' oversight of the process and the instructions he gives to the gods. In the *Theogony*, Hesiod writes,

[608] Hes. *Theog.* 571-580.
[609] Hes. *Op.* 60-82.

αὐτίκα δ’ ἀντὶ πυρὸς τεῦξεν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι·

Immediately he [Zeus] contrived an evil for
human beings [Pandora] in exchange for fire.[610]

Here, τεύχω is translated as ‘he contrived’ (alternatively, ‘cause’, ‘bring to pass’) but it can also mean to ‘make’ or ‘build’.[611] It is clear from this context that Zeus did not ‘build’ or fashion Pandora with his own hands, as the other gods do this for him; however, he does ‘cause’ the existence of Pandora, that is, he has Pandora made (by other deities). Hesiod draws attention to how each god follows Zeus’ orders, especially in the *Works and Days.* Zeus ‘orders’ (κελεύω) each god to follow his plan to make Pandora and they obey (πείθομαι) him.[612] Hesiod first describes Zeus’ orders (l. 59-68) and then emphasises the compliance of each deity through repetition, as he describes each god performing their task for Zeus (l. 69-82).[613] This illustrates Zeus’ ‘hands-off’ approach while simultaneously highlighting his ability to create. Zeus does not lack the ability or the intelligence to produce the blueprint for Pandora; instead, he orders the other gods to do the work for him using his authority and sovereignty. Zeus delegates work to other deities in the way an architect would to a team of specialist artisans: he creates the plan, and the other deities bring it to fruition.[614] Although Zeus has the μῆτις and forethought to plan and invent, he seems to be missing physical τέχνη. In

[610] Hes. *Theog.* 570 (tr. Most 2018).
[611] LSJ s.v. τεύχω.
[612] Κελεύω: Hes. *Op.* 60. Πείθομαι: Hes. *Op.* 69.
[613] Hes. *Op.* 69-82.
[614] Arist. *Metaph.* 981b30-982a1: in the hierarchy of technical activity, the architect ranks higher than the specialised artisan.

Chapter One, I argued that Zeus required the τέχνη of Hephaistos in some of the narratives of the birth of Athena. This might be because Zeus is skilled with his mind, but not necessarily with his hands, or at least not as skilled as Hephaistos in this respect.[615] This is further expressed in the *Theogony,* when Hephaistos is said to work 'with his skilled hands, to do a favour for the father Zeus' (ἀσκήσας παλάμῃσι, χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί).[616] Hephaistos provides this service for him, which contributes to Zeus' 'hands-off' approach to the sphere of crafts.

Athena's 'Hands-Off' Approach to the Sphere of Crafts

Athena and Zeus both share the ability to plan, invent, and delegate. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Pausanias comments that in Megalopolis, Athena is worshipped under the epithet Machanitis because 'the goddess is the inventor of plans and devices of all sorts' (ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὑρέτις).[617] Here, Pausanias highlights that Athena has the capacity to invent both an abstract plan and a tangible device, but this section primarily investigates the extent to which Athena may craft in an abstract way. As mentioned, abstract invention can naturally lead to

[615] Hephaistos is usually in charge of crafting technical items for gods and heroes. E.g., the aegis: Hom. *Il.* 15.310. The shield of Achilles: Hom. *Il.* 18.478-608. The weapons of Athena: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6. The creation of Talos for Zeus: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1635-1688. Hephaistos plans, invents, and brings his creations to fruition using his own hands, e.g., the net he captures Ares and Aphrodite in: Hom. *Od.* 8.267-369. He does not delegate to other deities or heroes, instead, he creates his own automata (self-operating machines) to help him craft, e.g., the golden maidens: Hom. *Il.* 18.417-423. See Mayor 2018, for further discussion of Hephaistos' automata and Lather 2018, for further discussion of automata in early Greek hexameter.

[616] Hes. *Theog.* 580 (tr. Most 2018).

[617] Paus. 8.36.5. Athena Machanis: *CGRN* 86.D.20-21. See Paul 2013, 44-46, 321-324, for this epithet.

tangible creations: Athena was said to have invented the aulos, the chariot, the first ship, the plough, and the bit and bridle, all of which are technical and can be placed within the sphere of crafts in some way.[618] She is also said to have invented the Trojan Horse, which contributed to the Achaean victory against the Trojans.[619] In Section I, I discussed Athena's 'hands-on' approach to the sphere of crafts; for example, her direct involvement in the creation of the Argo in Apollonios' *Argonautica.* However, the evidence suggests that Athena may not always take a clear-cut 'hands-on' approach in this sphere. For example, as previously mentioned, in the *Argonautica*, Apollonios comments that 'former bards' attributed the construction of the Argo to Argus and the instructions to Athena. In this alternative version, Athena's intervention is similar to that of Zeus' during the creation of Pandora: Zeus provides the instructions, and the other deities create her; Athena provides the instructions for the Argo and Argus builds it. Similarly, regarding the making of the Trojan Horse, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus says to Demodokos,

> ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον
> δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ.
>
> But come now, change your theme, and sing of
> the building of the horse of wood, which Epeius
> made with Athena's help.[620]

[618] Aulos: Pind. *Pyth.* 12.19; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.2; Plut. *Vit. Alc.* 2.5. Chariot: *Hymn. Hom.* 5.10-16. Ship: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.18-19, 226, 526-527, 551, 723-724, 2.1187-1189. Plough: Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.402. Bit/bridle: Paus. 2.4.6.
[619] Hom. *Od.* 8.492-495, 11.523-527.
[620] Hom. *Od.* 8.942-943 (tr. Murray 1998).

Even though the Greek τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ renders more literally as 'Epeius made together with Athena', her involvement is ambiguous. As demonstrated in Section I, αὐτή can be applied to express Athena's direct involvement, but here the personal pronoun is not used; it is not clear if Athena built the horse alongside Epeius or if she just provided the plans. In Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus comments,

> αὐτὰρ ὅτ᾽ εἰς ἵππον κατεβαίνομεν, ὃν κάμ᾽ Ἐπειός,
> Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι.
>
> And again, when we, the best of the Argives, were
> about to go down into the horse which Epeius made.[621]

In this passage, Odysseus does not mention Athena at all. This could suggest that Athena did not make the horse directly but instead advised Epeius. If so, it could be argued that Epeius became the hands of Athena in the mortal world, as Hephaistos became the hands of Zeus in the creation of Pandora. A passage in Book 12 of the *Posthomerica* could substantiate this argument, as Athena appears to Epeius in a dream to command him to build the horse.[622] Quintus describes how Athena had 'given the man [Epeius] desirable skill' (ἐπεὶ θεὸς ἀνέρι τέχνην δῶκ' ἐρατήν); in this context, Athena imbues Epeius with divine τέχνη in order to create the Trojan Horse.[623] In these passages, Athena behaves similarly to Zeus, but instead of instructing other deities, she delegates to those in the hierarchical rung below her: the heroes of the mortal world. Both Zeus and Athena can act as architects devising plans and

[621] Hom. *Od.* 11.523-524 (tr. Murray 1998).
[622] Quint. Smyrn. 12.104-116.
[623] Quint. Smyrn. 12.146-147 (tr. Hopkinson 2018, with modifications).

blueprints, which are given to other gods in order to create physical objects for them ('hands-off'). The difference is that Athena has the ability to carry out these plans herself ('hands-on'), but she does not always intervene in this way. In sum, Athena and Zeus may overlap in the realm of abstract crafting, as both can plan, invent, and delegate.

III. Collaboration: Metaphorical and Cosmic Weaving

Section III will investigate how Zeus and Athena may be able to work collaboratively in the sphere of crafts through the lens of metaphorical and cosmic weaving. In Section II, I analysed abstract forms of crafting such as planning, inventing, and delegating. Although metaphorical and cosmic weaving could fall under the umbrella of 'abstract' crafting, Section II illustrated how abstract planning could lead to a tangible object such as the Argo. In contrast, metaphorical weaving is the creation of something intangible (a plan or fate) portrayed as something tangible (a spun thread or woven garment). Although cosmic weaving could result in a tangible object, the scale is much larger than the examples discussed in Section II. This section will demonstrate Athena's ability to weave in a metaphorical way, how Zeus and Athena may work collaboratively in this context, and the potential for Zeus to craft in a 'hands-on' way in the context of cosmic weaving.

Occasionally, wool-working metaphors are used to describe abstract concepts such as the formulation of plans. For example, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, in Book 13 of the *Odyssey*,

ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε, μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα, εἰδότες ἄμφω
κέρδε᾽, ἐπεὶ σὺ μέν ἐσσι βροτῶν ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος ἀπάντων
βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισιν, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐν πᾶσι θεοῖσι
μήτι τε κλέομαι καὶ κέρδεσιν· οὐδὲ σύ γ᾽ ἔγνως
300 Παλλάδ᾽ Ἀθηναίην, κούρην Διός, ἥ τέ τοι αἰεὶ
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρίσταμαι ἠδὲ φυλάσσω,
καὶ δέ σε Φαιήκεσσι φίλον πάντεσσιν ἔθηκα.
νῦν αὖ δεῦρ᾽ ἰκόμην, ἵνα τοι σὺν μῆτιν ὑφήνω.

But come, let us no longer talk of this, being both well versed in craft, since you are far the best of all men in counsel and in speech, and I among all the gods am famed for wisdom and craft. Yet you did not know me, Pallas Athena, daughter of Zeus, who always stands by your side in all toils and guards you. Yes, and I made you beloved by all the Phaeacians. And now I have come here to weave a plan with you.[624]

In this passage, Athena highlights her and Odysseus' shared craftiness through the μέν… δέ… construction in lines 297-299. She comments that Odysseus is famed for his abilities in counsel (βουλή) and speech (μῦθος), whereas she is famed for μῆτις and craft (κέρδος). As previously mentioned, κέρδος does not mean 'craft' in the artisanal sense, but more in the sense of 'craftiness', as one may craft a cunning plan to gain profit. Important is the weaving metaphor in line 303, when Athena tells Odysseus that she has come to 'weave a plan' (μῆτιν ὑφήνω) with him. Here, Athena demonstrates her ability to weave in a more 'hands-on' way, but she weaves something intangible — a plan (μῆτις).[625] Murnaghan argues that the nonlinear narrative of the *Odyssey* reflects the success of Athena's woven plans. Additionally, Murnaghan

[624] Hom. *Od.* 13.296-303 (tr. Murray 2004).
[625] In this context, μῆτις should be translated as 'plan' and not 'cunning intelligence'; LSJ s.v. μῆτις.

comments that the plan Athena weaves with Odysseus shifts the narrative of the epic back to civilisation, as Odysseus returns to Ithaca and restores the social order.[626] Weaving is symbolic of civilisation, as demonstrated in Euripides' *Bacchae*: when the women abandon their weaving, this is interpreted as them leaving civilisation.[627] Another creation of Athena's that could be symbolic of civilisation is the first ship, the Argo. Shipbuilding is representative of a civilised polis because of the connection to trade and transport. Odysseus also travels in a boat to return to Ithaca and is therefore part of Athena's woven plot. The woven plot is a civilizing plot, just as weaving and artisanal work are symbolic of the civilized polis.[628]

Working in Collaboration: Spinning and Weaving Fate

Similarly to Athena's metaphorical weaving, Zeus 'spins fate',

> ῥεῖα δ᾽ ἀρίγνωτος γόνος ἀνέρος ᾧ τε Κρονίων
> ὄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ.
>
> Easily known is that man for whom the son of Cronus [Zeus] spins the thread of good fortune.[629]

Zeus and the Moirai are known for their ability to 'spin fate'. Luyster argues that because Athena and the Moirai work with textiles, Athena must have some control over fate similar to the Moirai.[630] However, I would argue that the spinning conducted by Zeus and the Moirai should be defined as

[626] Murnaghan 1995, 65-66.
[627] Eur. *Bacch.* 115-119.
[628] Crafts, progress, and the polis will be discussed further in section IV.
[629] Hom. *Od.* 4.207-211 (tr. Murray 1998).
[630] Luyster 1965, 141.

something separate to Athena's weaving. Spinning is its own unique step of the textile process: it creates the linear thread, and, in the context of fate, this thread is symbolic of the lifespan of a person. It is then the process of weaving these strands together that creates a full picture represented by the completed garment or tapestry.[631] In his analysis of *Oedipus Tyrannos*, Griffith interprets the Greek perception of fate thus: Zeus and the Moirai know what will happen but not necessarily how it will happen. For example, Griffith comments that Oedipus was always fated to commit the crimes outlined in the prophecy, but the actions that led up to that point were undetermined.[632] If this interpretation is correct, then the threads spun by Zeus and the Moirai could represent *what/when something significant* will happen, whereas the process of weaving by Athena determines *how* those things will happen. I would tentatively suggest that Zeus and Athena can therefore work together to weave a life for someone: Zeus spins the thread, and Athena completes the picture by weaving. This is best demonstrated by two passages in the *Odyssey.* In Book 2, Zeus sends an omen of two eagles that claw and tear at each other; these eagles represent the fate of Penelope's suitors, who will die at the hands of Odysseus.[633] Later, in Book 13, Athena appears to Odysseus to 'weave a plan' with him. Part of this plan is to plot the downfall of the suitors as part of Odysseus' *nostos*.[634] The omen from Zeus in Book 2 illustrates that Zeus knows that Odysseus will kill the suitors, but he does not necessarily ordain how —

[631] Onians 1988, 350-351.
[632] Griffith 1996, 54-55.
[633] Hom. *Od.* 2.146.
[634] Hom. *Od.* 13.372ff.

Zeus spins the thread. Athena then 'weaves a plan' and creates the plot that will determine the demise of the suitors — Athena weaves to create the full picture. In this way, Zeus delegates to Athena, but this time, Athena has more agency than in the Pandora passages. Zeus provides Athena with the bare spun threads that dictate the fate of a person's life for her to weave together and form a narrative. Therefore, Zeus and Athena can work together in the context of metaphorical spinning and weaving to create the full picture of a person's life.

Zeus' Cosmic Weaving

Zeus' ability to spin fate suggests his ability to spin and weave on a cosmic level. For example, Aelius Aristides uses a weaving metaphor to describe Zeus' creation of the cosmos. Aristides uses the word 'interwove' (συμπλέκω, to 'twine or plait together') to describe how Zeus connected the rivers.[635] Although συμπλέκω is more akin to ropemaking, Zeus' manual creation of the rivers could imply his occasional 'hands-on' approach to the sphere of crafts but on a more cosmic level, similar to how Athena is occasionally 'hands-off'. This could be supported further by a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros' cosmogony, in which Zeus (in this version named 'Zas') weaves a robe (φᾶρος) embroidered with Earth and Ogenos (Ocean).[636] Zas' creation of the garment provides an aition for the section of the Greek wedding ceremony called the *anakalypteria* (the unveiling of the bride — the

[635] Aristid. *Or*. 43.12; LSJ s.v. συμπλέκω.
[636] Pherec. fr. 7 B2 Diels-Kranz (tr. Laks and Most 2016). Zas: West 1963, 158, argues that the main gods in the cosmogony (Zas, Chronos, and Chthonie) are purposefully named differently to create something partly 'new and untraditional'.

third stage of the wedding ceremony).[637] Scheid and Svenbro argue that Zas not only creates the robe for the wedding but also creates the first 'union of the bride and groom' beginning with himself and his bride (in this context, Chthonie); Scheid and Svenbro comment that 'literally and figuratively, Zas is a weaver'.[638] Zas weaves in both an abstract and artisanal way; he creates the wedding ceremony and the robe embroidered with images of cosmic significance.[639] Although we cannot ascertain with complete confidence whether Zas and Zeus are the same entity, the Pherekydes fragment raises the possibility that Zeus might have the ability to weave the cosmos in a 'hands-on' way.[640] However, this fragment is anomalous and, therefore, evidence of Zeus' 'hands-on' approach to weaving remains limited.

Metaphors of textile work broaden the idea of artisanal labour to encompass abstract concepts such as planning. Additionally, these metaphors highlight how Zeus and Athena can work in collaboration to create a full picture of a person's life through abstract spinning and weaving. Zeus may also take a 'hands-on' approach to cosmic weaving, although evidence for this is limited. In this way, metaphorical and cosmic weaving enable the mingling of

[637] West 1963, 165; Scheid and Svenbro 2001, 64.
[638] Scheid and Svenbro 2001, 65: it is 'possible to identify [Chthonie] with Hera'.
[639] Similarly, Athena weaves a robe for Jason, which is described in Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.721-768. A scholion to this passage (Σ Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.763-764a) comments: 'in short, he [the poet] indicates almost all that happens in cities poetically through the cloak'. Zeus weaves scenes of cosmic significance and Athena weaves scenes of the polis, each garment highlighting the extent of their power.
[640] Often scholars seem to interpret Zeus and Zas as being similar but different entities: e.g., West 1963, 158; Granger 2007, 152-153; Santamaría 2019, 95; Marshall 2023, 881, n. 22. Granger and Santamaría seem to think that Zas and Zeus needed to be differentiated due to Zas' 'feminine' weaving; however, Zeus, as discussed, partakes in textile work by spinning fate, so this argument is unconvincing.

artisanal and abstract forms of crafting, which work in harmony as Zeus and Athena do when spinning and weaving fate.

IV. Crafts and the Polis

Athena's position as a protector of artisans may be entangled with her position as a city-protector. For example, as previously mentioned, one artisan dedicates to Athena Poliouchos ('protector of the city') on the acropolis of Halai.[641] As the principal deity of poleis such as Athens and Lindos, Athena oversaw multiple activities embedded in polis life, including crafts. In this section, I will discuss the possible ways in which the polis and craft spheres could be connected by analysing Athena's protection of pottery and shipbuilding in particular and how this may link to the protection of the economy in Athens and Corinth. Furthermore, this section will argue that, in Athens, the Hephaisteion is representative of progression and technological advancement, symbolised through crafts, and that the iconography on the east pediment stresses the importance of the birth of Athena to Athena's position in the sphere of crafts.

Artisans and the Economy

It could be argued that by protecting artisanal wares, Athena protected the profits of artisans and, therefore, the economy of the polis.[642] Athena's ability to oversee the production of ceramics may relate to her position as the

[641] *CEG* 348 (550-500 BCE).
[642] See also ch. 2.

protective divinity of the polis. This can be illustrated in the so-called *Potters' Hymn*, in which Athena is invoked to protect the artisanal wares in the kiln,

εἰ μὲν δώσετε μισθὸν ἀοιδῆς, ὦ κεραμῆες,
δεῦρ᾽ ἄγ᾽ Ἀθηναίη, καὶ ὑπέρσχεθε χεῖρα
καμίνου,
εὖ δὲ μελανθεῖεν κότυλοι καὶ πάντα κάναστρα,
φρυχθῆναί τε καλῶς καὶ τιμῆς ὦνον ἀρέσθαι,
πολλὰ μὲν εἰν ἀγορῆι πωλεύμενα, πολλὰ δ᾽
ἀγυιαῖς,
πολλὰ δὲ κερδῆναι, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ ὥς σφας
ὀνῆσαι.

If you are going to pay for my singing, O potters,
then come, Athena, and hold your hand over the kiln:
may the cups turn a fine black, and all the dishes,
and be thoroughly baked, and earn the price they are worth
as they sell in quantity in the market and the streets,
and make good profits, and benefit me as it does them.[643]

Athena's protective hands in line 2 are reminiscent of her protective hands in Solon fragment 4, which stretch out over the polis of Athens to protect the citizens.[644] Furthermore, the poet asks Athena to protect the pottery not only to ensure the survival of the wares in the kiln, but so that the potters can gain profit from them (l. 5-6). Pottery was one of Athens' major exports and so had a significant impact on the Athenian economy.[645] The relationship between pottery, commerce, and the protection of the economy can be conceptualised

[643] Ps. Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 32 (tr. West 2003).
[644] Sol. fr. 4.1-4 West. Arist. *Pol.* 1291a1-2: Aristotle adds that without the artisan class, the polis would be uninhabitable; therefore, protecting the polis inherently involves protecting the artisans.
[645] See Boardman 1979, for the complexities with quantifying the Athenian pottery trade. See also Arafat and Morgan 1989; Catling 1998.

spatially in Athens, as the Agora (marketplace) and Kerameikos (potters' quarter) were located close together, separated only by the Kolonos Agoraios. On this hill stands the Hephaisteion, the temple of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaisteia.[646] Overlooking the Agora to the east and the Kerameikos to the west, the Hephaisteion was best positioned to embody both the making and trading of pottery and other wares. Athena's patronage of shipbuilders could also be associated with the protection of commerce and the economy.[647] Primarily in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, Athens was known for its naval power and so Athena's patronage of Athenian carpenters and shipbuilders created a neat intersection between the military, maritime, and craft spheres.[648] Ships would have transported goods and wares made by Athenian artisans across the sea to be traded. Therefore, Athena's protection extends to every level of the artisanal process: the making, trading, transportation, and, as a result, the profits gained by the artisans and the polis in return. Protecting the wares of potters and the ships of carpenters would ensure that artisans gained a profit and would benefit not only individuals but the polis more widely.[649]

[646] Meritt 1975, 273: the Hephaisteion is still the best-preserved Greek temple.
[647] Wade 2019, 232.
[648] Bissa 2009, 125, refers to the Athenian fleet as the 'greatest naval power in the Greek world in the classical period'. Dimova, Gleba, and Harris 2020, 767, comment that Athens built 100-200 ships between 483/2-480 BCE. During the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE), Athens was known for large shipbuilding programmes: Thuc. 4.23, 4.26, 6.43, 7.16. Both dedications by shipbuilders cited in this chapter are from Athens: *IG* I^3 589 (650-600 BCE) and 606 (530-520 BCE). For more on financing the Athenian fleet, see Gabrielsen 1994.
[649] See ch. 2, for how the protection of individual wealth could help to ensure the protection of the wealth of the polis.

Athena's protection of the kiln in the pottery process may be highlighted further on some of the Corinthian pinakes (plaques) from Penteskouphia. A large collection of terracotta pinakes from Penteskouphia (a site west of Corinth) were found dating to the Archaic period, many of which depict potters at work.[650] Some pinakes depict owls watching over the potters as they tend to the kilns (for example, fig. 10).[651] The owl in this context might symbolise the presence of Athena. Furthermore, in figure 11, a figure standing before the kiln holding a shield could be identified as Athena.[652]

[650] Hasaki 2021, 1-2: 'About 100 pinakes show potters digging for clay, forming and decorating vessels on the wheel and firing kilns'.
[651] See also B29, side B, Hasaki 2021, 132
[652] Hasaki 2021, 193-194. See also B52, side B, Hasaki 2021, 152 (Early Corinthian: 620/615-595/590 BCE): Palmieri 2016, 212, tentatively identifies the figure as Athena with no explanation as to why. Hasaki 2021, 153, is even less certain. The garment that the figure wears may suggest that this person is of a different status to the other kiln workers. If true, the garment could indicate that this figure was the owner of the workshop or even a deity; however, the identification of this figure as Athena is less convincing than in figure 11.

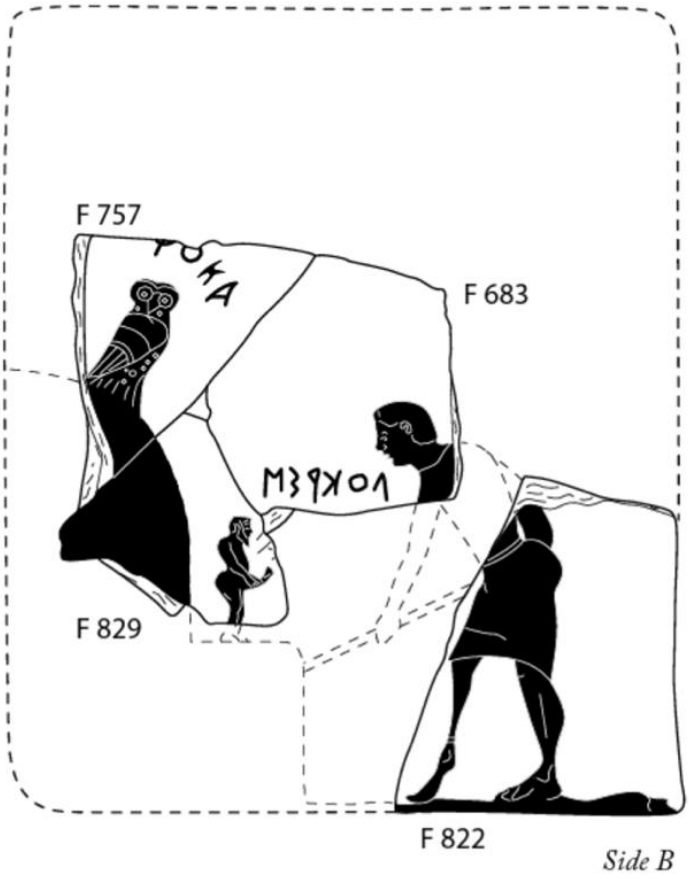


Figure 10: A pinax depicting a potter at work and an owl sitting on the dome of the kiln. Late Corinthian II: after 550 BCE. Image: B40, side B, Hasaki 2021, 141.

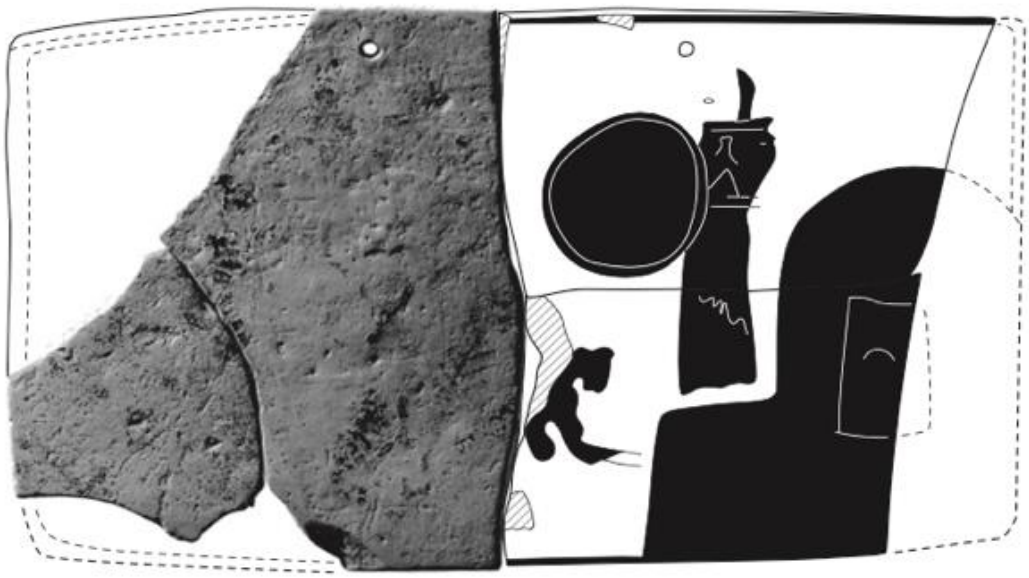


Figure 11: A pinax depicting a shield-bearing figure, perhaps Athena, standing on the kiln. Early Corinthian: 620/615-595/590 BCE. Image: B51, side B, Hasaki 2021, 152.

Although the identification of this figure as Athena cannot be made with complete certainty, Athena was worshipped in Corinth as an important goddess. According to Ziskowski, Athena was the most popular Olympian deity depicted in Corinthian iconography, especially on Archaic coins.[653] In Corinth, Athena was also worshipped under the epithets Polias ('of the city'), Hellotis ('of the Hellotia festival'), Hippia ('of horses'), Phoinike ('Phoenician'), and Chalinitis ('who bridles').[654] Ziskowski has argued that the deity worshipped on the Corinthian Temple Hill in the Archaic period is more likely to be Athena than Apollo because of Corinth's large-scale production and trade of artisanal wares.[655] If Ziskowski's identification of Athena as the god worshipped on Temple Hill is correct, then Athena could have played an even more important role in Corinthian religion than was once thought, which would make her presence on the pinakes unsurprising.

Athena always seems to appear in the same stage of production on the Corinthian pinakes. The pinakes illustrate every stage of the ceramics process, from collecting the clay to firing the pottery. However, Athena (if the identification is correct) is only ever depicted in the surviving pinakes showing the kiln; she is never shown in any other stage of the pottery process. Poseidon is also depicted on the pinakes but never on those which show the

[653] Ziskowski 2019, 173. Villing 1997a, 93, comments that Corinthian coins feature Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet from 520 BCE onwards; see also Ritter 2001, 143.
[654] Athena Polias: *SEG* XXXII 359 (Archaic period); Bookidis and Stroud 2004, 409. Athena Hellotis: Pind. *Ol.* 13.56B. Athena Hippia: Pind. *Ol.* 13.79-82. Athena Phoinike: Σ *vet.* Lycoph. *Alex*. 658. Athena Chalinitis: Paus. 2.4.5.
[655] See Ziskowski 2019. Paus. 2.3.6 identified the temple on Temple Hill as one of Apollo; however, the archaeological evidence is scant and unconvincing. See Bookidis and Stroud 2004, 416-421; Ziskowski 2019, 168-169.

ceramic work; in contrast, Athena always appears among the potters and the kiln, but her name is never inscribed on the pinakes, unlike Poseidon's.[656] This suggests further that artisans could pray to multiple different gods, some of whom, such as Poseidon, seem to have little direct relation with artisanal work.[657] However, even if the workmen worshipped different gods in relation to pottery-making, it is Athena (if correctly identified), the goddess who crafts with her own hands, who is in close proximity to the kiln and who is among the artisans in her capacity as a protector. The pinakes depict the dangers of a ceramics workshop; for example, some potters are shown climbing onto the stoking channel of the kiln to get close to the vent.[658] These elements of danger that are exhibited in the iconography of the pinakes may suggest the need for divine protection under these circumstances.[659] Therefore, it is possible that one of Athena's functions in the process of pottery-making could be to protect the wares from damage in order to advance or maintain the livelihood of the artisans and the economy of the polis. Additionally, she may have also been present to protect the artisans themselves from harm in this dangerous process, which would, in turn, protect the economy.

[656] Hasaki 2021, 309.
[657] Hasaki 2021, 305: Poseidon was an important deity in Corinth and so would have been the obvious deity to pray to in most situations. She adds that Poseidon's earthquakes may have been useful to reveal new clay, and that as a protector of the sea he could ensure calm weather in order for ships to sail and trade. I would add that as the earthshaker, potters may have also prayed to Poseidon to ask him not to shatter their wares.
[658] For examples of this, see Hasaki 2021, 96, 119-120, 137-138.
[659] Jim 2014, 169.

The Hephaisteion: Athenian Identity, Technological Progress, and the Birth of Athena

Not only was the Hephaisteion well positioned to reflect the importance of pottery and commerce, it could also be particularly symbolic of the Athenian special relationship with Athena and, as a result, their collective Athenian identity. When discussing the Hephaisteion, Pausanias mentions that he was not surprised that a statue of Athena stood next to a statue of Hephaistos, as he knew the story of Erichthonios.[660] Apollodoros records the myth of Erichthonios: after visiting Hephaistos' workshop to ask him for weapons, Athena is pursued by Hephaistos. He ejaculates onto her thigh, which she wipes off with a piece of wool and throws it to the ground. Then, from the earth and from the mingling of materials associated with Hephaistos and Athena (earth and wool respectively), Erichthonios is born.[661] The statues of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaisteia in the Hephaisteion do not survive in the modern day, but it has been suggested that the birth of Erichthonios was depicted on the base of the statues.[662] Furthermore, a line from an unknown play by Euripides suggests that the Hephaisteion might have been built on the earth from which Erichthonios was born.[663] Therefore, it was as the 'wife' of Hephaistos and 'mother' of Erichthonios that Athena was worshipped under the epithet Hephaisteia in the Hephaisteion. In this way, the Hephaisteion may

[660] Paus. 1.14.6.
[661] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6.
[662] For the statues: *IG* I^3 472 (421/0-416/15 BCE). Harrison 1977, 134; Stewart 2018, 682, 734-735: Stewart comments that the depiction of the birth could have been somewhere else in the cella of the temple, but regardless, this was the binding factor between Athena and Hephaistos in this temple.
[663] Eur. fr. 925 Kannicht; Shear 2016, 159. McInerney 2019, 235, for the location of the Hephaisteion and the idea of keeping the site of the polluted foundation story away from the acropolis.

be symbolic of the autochthonous birth of both Erichthonios and the Athenians as a whole.[664] It could represent the genealogical connection the Athenians had to Athena and Hephaistos and, therefore, to the Olympian gods.[665] The myth of Erichthonios was at the centre of the Hephaisteion and highlighted the special relationship the Athenians had with Athena, their land, and the gods more generally.

Some of the iconography depicted on the Hephaisteion could symbolise the Athenian view of themselves as technologically advanced. The metopes of the Hephaisteion portray the nine labours of Herakles and are flanked by four representations of Theseus. Theseus is shown fighting with metal weapons, which Stewart argues illustrate an Athenian triumphing over others using 'the full range of Hephaistos's metallic marvels'.[666] The east frieze may also highlight the technological progress of the Athenians. McInerney has suggested that the east frieze might have depicted a battle between the Athenians and the Pelasgians, who, according to Herodotus, tried to attack Athens.[667] Herodotus reports that the Athenians expelled rather than killed the Pelasgians, a decision which Herodotus describes as just and civilised.[668] The frieze depicts the Athenians using metal weapons and their enemy using

[664] See Edmunds 2023, for discussion of autochthonous kings, including Erichthonios on pages 9-11. See Barbato 2019, for the importance of autochthony to Athenian identity.
[665] Stewart 2018, 735.
[666] Stewart 2018, 733.
[667] Pelasgians: Hdt. 6.137. McInerney 2014, 41-24, comments that the east frieze definitely 'depicts a battle scene, but there is no consensus as to the correct identification of the scene'. McInerney suggests the battle was between the Athenians and the Pelasgians, as they were said to have settled on Lemnos, where Hephaistos landed when he fell from Olympos: Hom. *Il.* 1.590-593.
[668] Hdt. 6.137.

stones; once again, the Athenians are depicted using more technologically advanced weaponry and, according to Herodotus, are more civilised in their handling of the threat of the Pelasgians. The iconography of the temple conveys the narrative that the Athenians are more technologically advanced and civilised due to their association with crafts. Furthermore, the Hephaisteion was part of the programme of building works constructed under Perikles. Perikles' building works sought to rebuild Athens after it had been destroyed by the Persians; therefore, Perikles' works also re-civilized and advanced Athens' standing and reputation.[669] Metics were allowed to be involved in a range of artisanal works on the Periklean building programme, and they were also able to participate in the *Hephaisteia* festival that probably took place in the vicinity of the Hephaisteion.[670] This may suggest that the Athenians celebrated all different kinds of artisans from different backgrounds, who came together to rebuild Athens after the Persian Wars. The Hephaisteion promoted the ethos of progress. As the Athenians looked up to the Hephaisteion from the Agora or the Kerameikos, as they marched up to the acropolis alongside the metics as part of the Panathenaic procession, they were reminded of their own self-image as the most civilised of any Greek polis.

[669] Plut. *Vit. Per.* 13.

[670] Metics in the Periklean Building programme: Hochscheid 2020, 212-213. The *Hephaisteia*: Wijma 2014, 92-94. See Kennedy 2014, 14, for the transferability of artisanal crafts leading to a potentially high number of metics working as artisans, especially shipbuilders. The *Hephaisteia* was reorganised in 421/0 BCE, the same year the statues of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia were made for the Hephaisteion: *IG* I^3 82. See also Thompson 1977, 249-251; Makres 2014, 196.

It seems possible that Athena's ability to craft was a result of her birth from Zeus' head. Zeus' and Athena's genealogical connection may have been depicted on the east pediment of the Hephaisteion. Although the pediments of the Hephaisteion are badly damaged, Stewart has argued convincingly that the west pediment probably depicted Hephaistos' return to Olympos, and the east pediment probably depicted the birth of Athena.[671] As mentioned in Chapter Two, the east pediment of the Parthenon depicted the birth of Athena, which made visual Athena's unique relationship with Zeus and, in turn, the close connection between the Athenians, Zeus, and his daughter. As the Hephaisteion may have symbolised similar aspects of the Athenian special relationship with Olympos, it seems reasonable that the Hephaisteion would be another good place to depict this iconography. The iconography on the east pediment of the Hephaisteion, if correctly identified, reinforces Athena's and Hephaistos' relationships with Zeus, as it recalls how Hephaistos assisted Zeus by splitting his head open to extract Athena. I would argue further that the possible depiction of the birth of Athena on the Hephaisteion connects Athena's ability to craft with her birth. I argued in Chapter One that μῆτις is passed down to Athena through Zeus when she is born, and that Hephaistos symbolises the τέχνη that Athena also possesses. Μῆτις and τέχνη are essential to the sphere of crafts and, therefore, it could be argued that Athena would not have the same position in this sphere without the μῆτις inherited

[671] Stewart 2018, 689-691. The arguments are based on two criteria: the poses and attributes are comparable to the cuttings in the floors of the pediments, and the pedimental themes are a 'normal choice' for Hephaistos: Hölscher 2009, 57; cf. Osborne 2009. The most popular iconography associated with Hephaistos in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE were Hephaistos' return to Olympos and the birth of Athena; therefore, Stewart's suggestions seem reasonable.

from her father and the intervention of Hephaistos' τέχνη. Therefore, Athena's position in the sphere of crafts may be dependent on her birth from Zeus' head, which might have been depicted on the east pediment of the Hephaisteion.[672]

Conclusion

Although Athena's 'hands-on' approach makes her a more obvious patron of crafts in Attica and beyond, this chapter has demonstrated that Zeus' presence in this sphere should not be overlooked. Zeus has an important 'hands-off' role in the sphere of crafts, as he formulates plans and inventions, and delegates to other deities to bring his ideas to fruition. In this sphere, Zeus' 'hands-off' and Athena's 'hands-on' approaches align quite neatly with their modes of action, sovereignty and μῆτις. This chapter has illustrated how Zeus' and Athena's 'hands-off' and 'hands-on' approaches ensure effective collaboration in this sphere, especially in the context of metaphorical weaving and spinning. Additionally, I have shown how the possible iconography of the birth of Athena on the east pediment of the Hephaisteion may highlight the importance of Athena's birth to her position in the sphere of crafts. Without the μῆτις and τέχνη she received from Zeus and Hephaistos, she would not be able to craft with her own hands or teach others these skills. Therefore, Zeus and Athena are intrinsically linked in the sphere of crafts importantly because of their genealogical connection forged at the moment of Athena's birth.

[672] Sacrifices to Zeus, Athena, and Hephaistos were also made as part of the *Apaturia* festival, which was associated with the phratries and, therefore, genealogy. See Hdt. 1.147; Simon 2021, 236.

Chapter Four. Zeus and Athena in the Military and Maritime Spheres

Introduction

βῆ δὲ κατ᾽ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἀίξασα.
οἷον δ᾽ ἀστέρα ἧκε Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω,
ἢ ναύτῃσι τέρας ἠὲ στρατῷ εὐρέι λαῶν,
λαμπρόν· τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἵενται·
τῷ ἐικυῖ᾽ ἅιξεν ἐπὶ χθόνα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

And down from the peaks of Olympus she [Athena] darted. Just as the son of crooked-counselling Cronos sends a star to be a portent for seamen or for a wide army of warriors, a gleaming star, and from it the sparks fly thick; so darted Pallas Athena to earth.[673]

When Zeus sends Athena down to earth in *Iliad* Book 4, the poet compares Athena's 'darting' to the way Zeus sends a star to be a portent for sailors or warriors. This is not to say that Athena *is* a star, for the simile is clear, but the poet invites the reader to liken her movement and purpose to the astronomical sign sent by Zeus.[674] Just as Zeus sends signals to sailors and warriors, so too does Zeus send Athena for similar purposes. In this way, the poet indicates how Athena and Zeus can work together in the military and maritime spheres. Zeus and Athena are prominent figures in these spheres; although scholars have analysed Zeus and Athena independently in these contexts, scholars have rarely investigated these deities jointly through military and maritime lenses as I do in this chapter.[675] Furthermore, the

[673] Hom. *Il.* 4.74-78 (tr. Murray 2003).
[674] Ready 2017, argues that this is an epiphany and not an omen as previously argued by e.g., De Jong 2004.
[675] Scholarship such as Cuche 2010 and Fenet 2019, examine Zeus and Athena within these spheres respectively, but their aim is not to investigate the relationship between Zeus and

military and maritime spheres are not often studied together despite a wealth of overlapping themes between them, such as epiphanies, the impact of weather, and the emergency and risk involved in both.[676]

An important point highlighted in the above passage from *Iliad* Book 4 is Zeus' delegation to Athena, who travels to earth to assist him in his plan. This chapter will investigate the extent to which Zeus and Athena intervene in the military and maritime spheres separately and jointly. It will analyse how far Zeus and Athena work together in these spheres and whether Athena is always 'the agent of Zeus', or if this can ever be reversed.[677] Additionally, I will examine the extent to which Zeus' and Athena's modes of action (sovereignty and μῆτις) are relevant to the military and maritime spheres. Chapter Three demonstrated that delegation is an aspect of Zeus' 'hands-off' approach in the sphere of crafts. This chapter will investigate the extent to which Zeus takes a 'hands-off' approach and Athena a 'hands-on' approach, as they do in crafts, and how (if at all) their intervention in the military and maritime spheres differs from that in the sphere of crafts.

Athena through military and maritime lenses. Neils 2001, touches on their relationship in these spheres, but as part of a broader analysis of Athena as the agent of Zeus.

[676] E.g., Jim 2022, 87, notes that there may be some overlap regarding the worship of saviour gods in the military and maritime spheres, 'as 'saviour' gods worshipped by armies might also be invoked by navies and sailors for protection: this is an extension of their power to save military men'.

[677] 'Agent of Zeus': Neils 2001.

I. Zeus: 'Distal' Intervention

Zeus' 'Hands-Off' Approach to the Military Sphere

Zeus sometimes instructs deities or mortals in a military context in a manner which could be described as 'hands-off'. In the *Iliad*, there are several passages in which Zeus instructs and commands other deities regarding their movements on and off the battlefield. In this way, he acts as a commander or king, which can be a manifestation of his sovereignty. This is somewhat similar to Zeus' role in the creation of Pandora in Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*: as seen in Chapter Three, Zeus creates the blueprint for Pandora but instructs other gods to construct her.[678] In *Iliad* Book 20, Zeus instructs the gods to re-enter battle after previously commanding them to withhold from the action in Book 8.[679] Zeus states clearly that he will not participate,

Τὸν δ᾽ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς·
"ἔγνως, Ἐννοσίγαιε, ἐμὴν ἐν στήθεσι βουλήν,
ὧν ἕνεκα ξυνάγειρα· μέλουσί μοι ὀλλύμενοί περ.
ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ μενέω πτυχὶ Οὐλύμποιο
ἥμενος, ἔνθ᾽ ὀρόων φρένα τέρψομαι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι
ἔρχεσθ᾽ ὅφρ᾽ ἂν ἵκησθε μετὰ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιούς,
ἀμφοτέροισι δ᾽ ἀρήγεθ᾽, ὅπῃ νόος ἐστὶν ἑκάστου.
εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς οἷος ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχεῖται,
οὐδὲ μίνυνθ᾽ ἕξουσι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα.

Then Zeus, the cloud-gatherer, answered him, and said: "You know, Shaker of Earth, the plan in my mind for which I gathered you here; I care for them, even though they die. Yet for myself I will remain here sitting in a fold of Olympus, from which I will gaze and give my mind enjoyment; but go out you others till you come among the Trojans and Achaeans, and

[678] Hes. *Theog*. 571-580; Hes. *Op.* 60-82. See ch. 3, for an analysis of Zeus' role in the Pandora myth.
[679] Command to withhold from battle: Hom. *Il.* 8.1ff.

> assist this side or that, as is the mind of each. For if Achilles fights alone against the Trojans, not even for a little will they hold back the swift-footed son of Peleus.[680]

Zeus does not delegate specific tasks to each god as he does in the creation of Pandora; instead, the gods have a group task: to fight among the Trojans and Achaeans so that Achilles will not fight alone.[681] Zeus employs his fellow gods to fulfil his plan (βουλή, l. 20) to hold Achilles back, while he observes their actions from Olympos.[682] In this way, although the deities do not receive individual instructions, their collective intervention serves a similar purpose to the Pandora passage: their work is in aid of the plan (βουλή) of Zeus to restrain Achilles.[683]

Occasionally, Zeus delegates specific tasks to particular deities in the *Iliad.* In Book 4 and Book 17, Zeus delegates tasks to Athena, in the first instance at the behest of Hera, and on the other of his own accord.[684] At the beginning of Book 4, Zeus suggests that the gods should honour the truce made by the mortals and end the war.[685] This truce is the result of a duel between Paris and Menelaus, which the mortals have agreed will bring

[680] Hom. *Il.* 20.19-27 (tr. Murray 1999).
[681] Edwards 1991, 286; Carvounis 2008, 61-62.
[682] Edwards 1991, 289, comments that translating βουλή as 'plan' in this context 'would not make sense' and instead translates 'ἔγνως… ἐμήν… βουλήν' as 'you know what is in my mind'. However, I do not see why βουλή cannot mean plan in this context, as this passage illustrates the 'plan' of Zeus on various levels: the 'plan' to elongate the battle and his 'plan' in a more cosmic sense.
[683] The word βουλή is used in both Hes. *Theog.* 572 and Hes. *Op.* 71, 79 when referring to Zeus' 'plan' for Pandora (tr. Most 2018).
[684] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 19.340, 22.184, 22.214-231. Lipka 2022, 27, discusses the various forms of 'visibility' in the epiphany of Hom. *Il.* 22.214-231: Zeus stays away from the action and Athena appears in various guises.
[685] Hom. *Il.* 4.5-21.

peace.[686] Hera, furious at Zeus' decision, convinces Zeus to send Athena to persuade the Trojans to break their oaths.[687] Hera's choice of Athena speaks not only to Hera's and Athena's combined goal in the *Iliad* (to support the Achaeans) but also to her understanding of the power of Athena's μῆτις. When Athena reaches the battlefield, she manifests her μῆτις in two ways: by shapeshifting and persuasive speech.[688] Athena takes the form of Laodocos to 'persuade' (πείθω, l. 103) Pandaros to shoot Menelaus in order to break the oath.[689] Athena's deception is ultimately successful; Menelaus is killed by Pandaros and the oath is broken. In Book 17, when Athena is sent (προΐημι, l. 545) by Zeus to urge on the Danaans, she once again takes the shape of a mortal, Phoenix, to encourage (ἐποτρύνω, l. 553) Menelaus and give him strength.[690] This is one way in which Zeus and Athena can work collaboratively in the military sphere and a situation in which Athena could be described as the 'agent of Zeus', as Athena uses her μῆτις to fulfil Zeus' plan. In both cases, it seems that Zeus delegates to Athena because of her ability to deceive and persuade; in short, she is most probably chosen because of her μῆτις.

Zeus' 'Distal' Intervention

Although the examples above demonstrate that Zeus sometimes takes a 'hands-off' approach in a military context, he can also intervene directly in both the military and maritime spheres, primarily through the use of

[686] Hom. *Il.* 3.275-301: the oath made by Agamemnon regarding the duel.
[687] Hom. *Il.* 4.22-72.
[688] For further analyses on Athena and *peitho*, see ch. 5.
[689] Hom. *Il.* 4.85-103. Kirk 1985, 340, notes that the use of the optative in Athena's speech gives it a 'persuasive' tone.
[690] Hom. *Il.* 17.545-560.

meteorological weapons, epiphanies, and fate. In these contexts, Zeus intervenes in the action but remains at a distance. Therefore, it would be more accurate to describe Zeus' intervention in these spheres as 'distal' rather than exclusively 'hands-off'.[691] Unlike the phrase 'hands-off', which implies no direct involvement, the term 'distal' reflects that Zeus could personally engage in conflict but did so from afar.

Part of Zeus' 'distal' approach is his use of meteorological weapons, which frequently unleash terror and panic and cause the enemy to flee. In *Iliad* Book 17, Zeus shakes the aegis and creates storm clouds, lightning, and thunder. This action assists the Trojans in their victory and puts the Achaeans to flight (φοβέω).[692] Outside the Homeric epics, Herodotus reports several epiphanies when the Persians advanced on Delphi in 480 BCE,

> ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν.
>
> For when the Persians were near in their coming to the temple of Athena Pronaia, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks broke off from

[691] Lipka 2022, 29, argues that in the Homeric epics Zeus is 'always absent from the human lifeworld' in terms of visibility; however, to counter this somewhat, Zeus' meteorological epiphanies are visible manifestations of his divine power.
[692] Hom. *Il.* 17.593-596. LSJ s.v. φοβέω: this can mean to 'terrify' or 'alarm' but in Homer it is always in the sense of 'put to flight'.

> Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athena there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph. All this joining together struck panic into the Persians; and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and slew a great number.[693]

When the Persians reach the temple of Athena Pronaia ('standing before the temple [of Apollo]'), thunderbolts immediately rain down from the sky and an avalanche is triggered from Mount Parnassus. This meteorological event, along with the cry from inside Athena's temple, terrifies (φόβος) the Persians and they flee (φεύγω) Delphi. Although Herodotus does not name the god responsible for this epiphany, Diodorus reports that a trophy was set up next to the temple of Athena Pronaia,

> οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείας ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπεῖν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις βουλόμενοι, τρόπαιον ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον ἐνέγραψαν,
> μνᾶμά τ᾽ ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας
> Δελφοί με στᾶσαν, Ζανὶ χαριζόμενοι
> σὺν Φοίβῳ πτολίπορθον ἀπωσαμένοις στίχα Μήδων
> καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσαμένοις τέμενος.
>
> And the Delphians, desiring to leave to succeeding generations a deathless memorial of the appearance of the gods among men, set up beside the temple of Athena Pronaea a trophy on which they inscribed the following elegiac lines:
> To serve as a memorial to war,
> The warder-off of men, and as a witness
> To victory the Delphians set me up,
> Rendering thanks to Zeus and Phoebus who
> Pushed back the city-sacking ranks of Medes
> And threw their guard about the bronze-crowned shrine.[694]

[693] Hdt. 8.37-38 (tr. Godley 1925).
[694] Diod. Sic. 11.14.3-4 (tr. Oldfather 1946, with modifications).

In this inscription reported by Diodorus, the Delphians thank Zeus and Apollo who 'pushed back' (ἀπωθέομαι) the Persians; therefore, Diodorus provides some evidence that these meteorological epiphanies could have been associated with Zeus. While the inscription quoted by Diodorus suggests the involvement of both Zeus and Apollo, the thunderbolts are more likely to have been the work of Zeus, as Apollo is not known for his ability to use this weapon.[695] Zeus, Apollo, and Athena all appear to have contributed in different but complementary ways to the rout of the Persians: the thunderbolts and avalanche cause tangible harm, while Athena's battle-cry creates an extra layer of panic and terror. Other examples attest to Zeus' protection of his temples using natural phenomena. For example, in an inscription from Stratonikeia (39 BCE), Zeus Panamaros ('of Panamara') is described as shaking (τινάσσω, l. 7) a great flame (φλόγα πολλὴν, l. 7) at the enemy attacking his sanctuary which forces (ἀναγκάζω, l. 8) them to quickly turn away (ταχέως ἀποπηδῆσαι, l. 8).[696] Unlike the epiphany at Delphi, Zeus operates alone here, presumably because he is the primary deity in Panamara, whereas Apollo is the principal god in Delphi. The sight, sound, and experience of these meteorological epiphanies probably caused a rout because it is almost impossible for humans to fight against natural disasters. No mortal

[695] See Mili 2024, for discussion regarding the weapons of the gods. Bowie 2007, mentions neither the thunderbolts nor which god may have been responsible for the epiphany in his commentary. In her discussion of the Gallic attack on Delphi in 279 BCE, Petridou 2016, ch. 2, n. 76, poses the question, 'is he [Apollo] the same hero who defended the temple of the god some two centuries ago, this time against the Persians?'. The question suggests uncertainty regarding the deity responsible for the epiphanies in Hdt. 8.38. Lipka 2022, 140-141, seems to think that the intervention is that of Apollo, but there is no reason why Apollo and Zeus (and Athena) could not be involved together.

[696] *I.Stratonikeia* 10 + II 2 p. 35; Roussel 1931; Pritchett 1979, vol. 3, 39; Belayche 2009.

weapon can match a storm or a thunderbolt; Zeus' weapons will almost always be victorious.[697] Zeus' meteorological weapons constitute another manifestation of his power and sovereignty, and are part of his distal intervention.

Zeus' ability to cause the enemy to flee, as discussed above, could be reflected in his worship under the epithet Tropaios, 'of the rout'.[698] Trophies were often set up to Zeus Tropaios after a victory.[699] A particularly interesting, although fragmented, inscription from Pergamon dating to 144 BCE may suggest that Zeus Tropaios intervened in a particular battle through an *epiphaneia* ('epiphany').[700] The inscription details the prescription of a festival in commemoration of an epiphany of Zeus Tropaios (διὰ τὴν γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροπαίου ἐπιφάνειαν). Fränkel argues that 'die Worte διὰ τὴν γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροπαίου ἐπιφάνειαν sollen gewiss eine Epiphanie des Zeus Tropaios bezeichnen, nicht eine von ihm bewirkte andere'; in other words, Fränkel suggests that the appearance of Zeus Tropaios *himself* put the enemy to flight; however, it is unclear from the inscription how Zeus

[697] Only Athena's aegis stands a chance against the thunderbolt: Hom. *Il.* 21.400-401.
[698] Examples of Zeus Tropaios: Athens: *IG* II^2 1006 (122/1 BCE), 1008 (118/7 BCE), 1028 (100/99 BCE). Epidauros: *IG* IV^2,1 293+315 (late-3rd century BCE). Pergamon: *I.Pergamon* 237 (end of the Hellenistic period), 239 (end of the Hellenistic period), 247 (before 133 BCE). Cilicia: *I.Cilicie* 16 (209-211 CE).
[699] Trophies were known as *tropaioi* and were sometimes associated with Zeus Tropaios, see Naiden 2021, 333-334. For example, Athenian ephebes made expeditions by sea to the Salamis *tropaion* in part to make sacrifices to Zeus Tropaios: *IG* II^2 1006 (122/1 BCE), 1008 (118/7 BCE), 1028 (100/99 BCE); Potter 2003, 418; Stroszeck 2004, 319-320; Meyer 2025, 83, n. 30.
[700] *I.Pergamon* 247 (before 133 BCE).

may have manifested himself.[701] The examples seen earlier make it likely that the *epiphaneia* in this inscription was an indirect manifestation of Zeus' power, such as through a meteorological event. I would therefore tentatively suggest that this epiphany might have been meteorological in nature, due to the fact that an epiphany of Zeus Tropaios could represent both victory and 'the rout'.[702]

The Popularity of Zeus in the Military Sphere

Zeus is often the first deity invoked in inscriptions by military personnel. For example, an inscription from Selinus dating to ca. mid-5th century BCE contains a list of deities the Selinuntines believe to have assisted them in their victory.[703] Although multiple gods are thanked in this inscription, not only is Zeus invoked first, but the Selinuntines honour him most of all (μάλιστα, l. 7) and Athena is also honoured in line 4. Interestingly, Cuche observes that Zeus is the first male deity honoured and Athena is the first female deity honoured, which may suggest that they were particularly important in this victory.[704] Cuche argues that the continuous use of διά in the inscription conveys the active role of the deities in leading the Selinuntines to victory.[705] The Selinuntines thank these deities for the favour bestowed upon

[701] Fränkel 1902, 161; cf. Pritchett 1979, 37. Petridou 2016, 6, on the word *epiphaneia*; cf. Lührmann 1971; Versnel 1987.
[702] It is important to note that not all military dedications involved an epiphany of the god.
[703] *IG* XIV 268. Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 82-83, suggest any date between 460-409 BCE; cf. Calder 1963, 54-56; Cuche 2010, 287; Rhodes and Osborne 2017, 76-79.
[704] Cuche 2010, 281. Calder 1963, 30, suggests that perhaps Athena is the first of the female deities due to her 'war-like' character.
[705] Cuche 2010, 279. See also Jim 2014, 191. See the similar wordplay of διαὶ Διός in Aesch. *Ag.* 1485, which signifies that everything is the work and will of Zeus. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 1-4.

them in this particular battle.[706] Another example of a thank-offering is a dedication to various gods made by Rhodian soldiers, their naval commander, and trierarchs dated to the 2nd century BCE.[707] The gods invoked are: Zeus Soter, Athena Soteira, Poseidon Asphaleios, Artemis Orthosia, Herakles, Ares, Athena Areia, Enyo, Enyalios, and Nike in that order.[708] The dedication was made on the island of Tenos and Zeus Soter is invoked first, which could highlight his importance to the soldiers in both military and maritime aspects. Athena Soteira is, once again, the first female deity invoked, possibly because of her prominent position in the Rhodian pantheon.[709]

Zeus Soter seems especially important to worshippers in the military sphere.[710] Of all the 'saviour' gods, Zeus is the deity most often invoked as Soter in the military sphere and appears to have been widely popular among soldiers and generals.[711] For example, 23 of Alexander's cavalrymen dedicated to Zeus Soter in Orchomenos, and in the mid-1st century BCE four strategoi dedicated to Zeus Soter in Cassiope.[712] Additionally, in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, during a speech by Xenophon in which he hopes for deliverance (σωτηρία), a man sneezes, which he and the soldiers interpret as an omen from Zeus Soter.[713] Xenophon insists they make a 'vow to sacrifice to that god [Zeus

[706] Jim 2014, 191.
[707] *IG* XII,5 913.
[708] *IG* XII,5 913.9-13.
[709] Jim 2022, 88.
[710] Jim 2022, 81.
[711] Launey 1950, 914; Jim 2022, 81. For the widespread popularity of Zeus Soter among soldiers and generals, see the many references in Launey 1950, 385, 892, 894, 914, n. 3, 914-917, 919, 921, 945, 956, 992, 1016.
[712] Cavalrymen: *IG* VII 3206 (329 BCE); Launey 1950, 151-152. Strategoi: *SEG* XXVI 718.
[713] Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.8-9.

Soter] thank-offerings for deliverance as soon as we reach a friendly land' (εὔξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα).[714] In this particular context, Xenophon chose to make thank offerings to Zeus under the epithet Soter in part due to the omen he was said to have sent in the form of a sneeze.[715] It seems that Zeus Soter was popular among military personnel, as he was considered a protector of soldiers, military generals, and armies.

Zeus Soter was not always worshipped alone but could be invoked alongside other deities. For example, the commander Soteles, while serving in a garrison on Icaros, set up a dedication to Zeus Soter, Poseidon, and Artemis Soteira.[716] Zeus Soter is invoked first before Poseidon and Artemis Soteira. Multiple gods may be invoked in the same inscription for several different reasons. In the case of the Soteles inscription, Jim argues that as Poseidon (with no epithet) is placed between Zeus Soter and Artemis Soteira, perhaps Zeus Soter and Artemis Soteira saved Soteles and his men from some kind of destruction constructed by Poseidon.[717] In other inscriptions, it is probable that several gods were invoked due to their ability to contribute positively to the same event in different ways. In this way, the mode of action might be relevant here, as each deity could bring a distinctive aspect of their power to the context in which they were invoked. In the inscription from Tenos

[714] Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.9 (tr. Brownson 2001).
[715] Jim 2022, 82. Jim also adds that Zeus Soter's 'Panhellenic significance would also suit the diverse backgrounds of the soliders making up the Ten Thousand'.
[716] *SEG* XXXV 1477 (4th/beginning 3rd century BCE); Jim 2022, 87.
[717] Jim 2022, 153. Poseidon's destructive maritime character will be discussed below.

mentioned above, Zeus Soter is immediately followed by Athena Soteira and Poseidon Asphaleios ('Securer'), as well as other deities (listed above) connected to the maritime and military spheres.[718] In the maritime sphere, Zeus had the ability to calm the power of the sky and, likewise, Poseidon could quell the dangerous sea. Poseidon's epithet Asphaleios is linked to earthquakes and literally means 'not to cause to tumble'.[719] Therefore, the invocation of Zeus Soter and Poseidon Asphaleios could suggest that the two deities worked together to provide safe passage to the sailors from Rhodes. As mentioned, Athena is the primary deity of Rhodes, and Athena Soteira was possibly invoked in this inscription for this reason. It is likely that Athena Soteira was positioned alongside her father in this context due to the importance of their familial relationship on the island, as demonstrated in Pindar and illustrated in cult after the synoikism of 408 BCE.[720] Therefore, Zeus, Athena, and Poseidon all represent different but complementary forms of protection at sea in the Tenos inscription.

The joint worship of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in two cults in Attica (Piraeus and Rhamnous) may highlight the ways in which the same pair of gods can take on different prominence and natures in the same location.[721] Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira are worshipped in the Piraeus in Attica. A passage in Aristophanes' *Wealth* shows that Zeus Soter's competencies are

[718] *IG* XII,5 913 (2nd century BCE).
[719] Tr. Jim 2022, 153.
[720] Pind. *Ol.* 7.33-38. See ch. 2.
[721] See Villing 1997b, esp. 223-229, regarding how the iconography of Athena can also shift, or at least become more nuanced, depending on geographical location and local cult.

varied in the Piraeus cult, as the priest of Zeus Soter comments that people might sacrifice to Zeus Soter, for example, after a safe return from a voyage, after acquittal from a lawsuit, or when in pursuit of favourable omens.[722] Zeus Soter's and Athena Soteira's military and maritime characteristics appear to be connected in this cult, although the maritime character of the cult is particularly prominent. The maritime aspects of the cult of which we are aware are: its location in the Attic harbour and, as mentioned, that merchants (and most probably any sailor) could sacrifice to Zeus Soter to give thanks for a safe voyage.[723] With regard to the military sphere, Pausanias comments that the temple in the Piraeus contains bronze statues of Zeus and Athena: Zeus holds a staff and a Nike and Athena holds a spear, all of which are military attributes.[724] Furthermore, he comments that there are portraits in the temple that depict Greek victories.[725] The military and maritime spheres become especially intertwined in the Piraeus in the context of the *Diisoteria* festival (thought to be associated in particular with the worship of Zeus Soter), in which ephebes (young men aged between 16-18 partaking in military service) celebrated the festival by participating in regattas.[726] Interestingly, although Lycurgus and Pausanias mention both Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in the

[722] Ar. *Plut.* 1178-1184.
[723] Garland 1987, 137, suggests that the maritime sphere was possibly Zeus Soter's and Athena Soteira's primary sphere of competence in the Piraeus.
[724] Garland 1987, 137.
[725] Paus. 1.1.3.
[726] Launey 1950, 914; Garland 1987, 137-138; Parker 1996, 239-240. Although the name *Diisoteira* does not appear in the extant epigraphic evidence until 139 BCE (e.g., *IG* II^2 971.42), we know of a procession to the Piraeus shrine of Zeus Soter from the 4th century BCE (e.g., *IG* II^2 379, 320/1 BCE) and a later procession for Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira (e.g., *IG* II^2 676, 277/6 BCE); see Parker 2005a, appendix 1, 45-46, for ancient sources and discussion of the *Diisoteria.*

Piraeus cult, Aristophanes and Strabo mention only a temple and/or priest of Zeus Soter.[727] While an inscription from 163/2 BCE attests to the worship of both Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in the Piraeus, the focus of the inscription is the provision of honours for the priest of Zeus Soter only, and there is no mention of a joint priesthood.[728] This could suggest that Zeus Soter was the more prominent god in this cult. This aligns with the worship of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira more broadly in Attica, as Athena Soteira is not attested in the extant epigraphic evidence without Zeus Soter in this region.[729]

Another Attic cult of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira is attested in the coastal garrison of Rhamnous. The cult seemingly emerged in the Hellenistic period and is attested from 229 BCE. This cult appears to be primarily associated with soldiers and generals, as is attested in several dedications and sacrifices from military personnel.[730] In contrast to the cult in the Piraeus, in Rhamnous Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira are always attested together in the extant epigraphic material. Zeus and Athena may have been invoked as 'saviours' in Rhamnous due to the historical context surrounding the cult. Prior

[727] Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira: Lycurg. *Leoc.* 17; Paus. 1.1.3. Zeus Soter alone: Ar. *Plut.* 1178-1184; Strab. 9.1.15.
[728] *IG* II^2 783.
[729] Jim 2015, 65. Athena Soteira is attested alone outside of Attica in the *Odyssey* and Pausanias on Mount Boreius, in a handful of inscriptions, and one coin (to my knowledge). Mount Boreius: Hom. *Od.* 11.127; Paus. 8.44.4. Epigraphy: *IOSPE* III 121 (Chersonesus, late-4th/early-3rd century BCE); *LBW* 3:2778 = *SEG* XXXVIII 1526 (Lampethos, early-3rd century BCE); *IG* IX,2 79 (Thessaly, 3rd century BCE); *IG* XII,2 111 (Mytilene, Roman Imperial period); *SEG* XLIV 1018 (Sinope, 1st-2nd century CE); *I.Tyana* 35 (Cappadocia, Roman Imperial period). Numismatics: *RPC* III 1484 (Cyzicus, 98-117 CE).
[730] E.g., *I.Rhamnous* 22 (229 BCE), 26 (after 229 BCE), 31 (225/4 BCE), 146 (175/4 BCE), 148-153 (117/6-end 2nd/beginning of 1st century BCE). As noted by Jim 2022, 81, 'it is possible that other social groups in Rhamnus also participated' in the cult.

to the worship of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, Antigonus II was worshipped as Soter at Rhamnous while Attica was under Macedonian rule.[731] After 229 BCE, Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira are worshipped and honoured at Rhamnous as part of the *Diogeneia* festival, which commemorated how Diogenes returned the garrisons of the Piraeus, Mounichia, Salamis, and Sounion back to the Athenians through a sale of 150 talents.[732] From this point, Antigonus II was no longer worshipped in Rhamnous and Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira were instead, with the epithet probably signifying the freedom of Attica from Macedonian control.[733] It is clear that the military and political aspects of this cult are far stronger than any maritime associations. Therefore, Zeus Soter's and Athena Soteira's worship in the Piraeus and Rhamnous illustrate how the same pair of gods could take on different natures in the same region (Attica), and how the prominence of each god within that pair could shift depending on context.

II. Athena: 'Proximal' Intervention

Athena in the Military and Maritime Spheres

Between the military and maritime spheres, Athena is most obviously associated with the military. From the moment she is born, Athena's military character is an important aspect of her nature.[734] This is reflected in her worship, as she receives dedications from soldiers and military generals. For

[731] E.g., *I.Rhamnous* 7 (262-240/239 BCE); Jim 2022, 180-182.
[732] *IG* II^3,1 1160 (217/6 BCE); Parker 1996, 274.
[733] Mikalson 1998, 157.
[734] See e.g., Hes. *Theog.* 924-926; Pind. *Ol.* 7.37-39; *Hymn. Hom.* 28.

example, in Megara a group of soldiers dedicate a bronze plaque to Athena as a *dekate* from spoils of war and, as previously mentioned, soldiers dedicated to Athena Soteira alongside Zeus Soter at Rhamnous.[735] Athena also received dedications from soldiers and/or generals under the epithet Nikephoros ('bringer of victory') primarily in Pergamon.[736] Additionally, a bilingual inscription from Cyprus dated to the early 3rd century BCE is dedicated to Athena Soteira Nike and is thought to commemorate a military victory of Ptolemy I.[737] Therefore, Athena's military character is not confined to literature, but was widely recognised by worshipers.

It is possible that Athena was worshipped by military personnel in certain locations due to her position as the primary deity of the polis. For example, in Pergamon, Athena Nikephoros was an important deity especially during the Attalid dynasty, rising to primary status with a major temple on the acropolis.[738] Athena Nikephoros' status as a warrior and protector of Pergamon was heightened after Attalos I's defeat of Seleukos and the Gauls in 223 BCE, as seen from numerous dedications by Attalos I to Zeus and Athena Nikephoros.[739] In all of these dedications, Zeus is invoked first and Athena Nikephoros second. Kosmetatou comments that when Attalos I won the critical victory against the Galatians in c. 237 BCE, it 'earned him the diadem

[735] *IG* VII 37 (undated).
[736] E.g., *I.Pergamon* 33 (241-197 BCE), 34 (241-197 BCE), 35 (226-197 BCE), 37AB (241-159 BCE), 37C (241-159 BCE), 60 (195 BCE), 62a (192 BCE).
[737] *LBW* 3:2778 = *SEG* XXXVIII 1526 (early-3rd century BCE); Jim 2022, 209-210.
[738] Faita 2001, 169-170.
[739] *I.Pergamon* 33 (241-197 BCE), 34 (241-197 BCE), 35 (226-197 BCE), 36 (226-197 BCE), 37AB (241-159 BCE), 37C (241-159 BCE); Faita 2001, 170. See Scholl 2016, for discussion of the monumental Pergamon altar, on which both Zeus and Athena are depicted.

and a spearwon kingdom, allowing him to claim conquest through military victory as the foundation of his kingship'.[740] Perhaps, therefore, Zeus is invoked first as a representation of Attalos I's kingship due to Zeus' association with sovereignty, as well as the fact that it was customary to name him first in a list of invoked deities. Athena Nikephoros is then invoked as both Pergamon's patron deity and a symbol of how the kingdom of Pergamon was won — through military victory.[741] First-fruits offerings made by military personnel from Pergamon were often dedicated to Athena Nikephoros alone. For example, a dedication from Eumenes II made after the first expedition against Nabis in 195 BCE, reads thus,

> [βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης ἀπὸ] τῶ[ν γενομένων ἐκ τ]ῆς στρατείας λαφύρων,
> [ἣν ἐστρατεύσατο μετὰ Ῥωμαί]ων κ[αὶ τῶ]ν ἄλ[λων] σ[υ]μμάχων ἐπὶ Νάβιν τὸν Λάκωνα,
> [καταστρεψάμενον τοὺς Ἀργε]ίου[ς καὶ] Με[σ]σ[η]νίους, ἀπαρχὴν Ἀθηνᾶι Νικηφόρωι.
>
> [King Eumenes from] the spoils from the expedition,
> [Which he conducted with the Romans] and other allies against Nabis of Sparta
> [Who had subdued the Arg]ives and the Messenians. An *aparche* to Athena Nikephoros.[742]

In this dedication, Eumenes II dedicates the spoils of war as an *aparche* to the patron goddess Athena Nikephoros, not to Zeus and Athena Nikephoros together. Similar is another dedication of booty (ἀκροθίνιον) to Athena

[740] Kosmetatou 2003, 162.
[741] See *I.Pergamon* 63 (192 BCE), in which Eumenes II also dedicates to both Zeus and Athena Nikephoros (in that order) after the second defeat of Nabis of Sparta. See Ma 2013, 53, for Attalid warfare.
[742] *I.Pergamon* 60 (tr. my own).

Nikephoros only, which was set up by a group of soldiers in Pergamon in 192 BCE.[743] This may suggest that Athena Nikephoros' prominence grew beyond Zeus' as her status as Pergamon's primary deity became more entrenched over time. Jim comments that many *aparchai* and *dekatai* were presented to the polis' patron deity.[744] Furthermore, in her chapter on military first-fruits offerings, Jim observes that 'in the event of a successful campaign, it appears to have been strongly prescribed by convention for cities to give the gods a portion [of the profits], usually a tenth'.[745] Therefore, it would make sense for the king and army of Pergamon to present an *aparche* to their patron deity, Athena Nikephoros, after returning from a successful campaign. In Pergamon, the worship of Athena Nikephoros in military contexts was dependent on both her military character and her position as the primary deity of Pergamon.

Although Athena's maritime character is less prominent than her military character, there are still examples of her presence in the maritime sphere in some literary and epigraphic evidence. For example, Pausanias notes the temple of Athena Anemotis ('she who stills the wind') and he records its mythical foundation: Diomedes is said to have set up a statue to Athena Anemotis because the goddess helped to quell the violent gusts of wind in Mothone on the coast of Messenia.[746] The setting up of this statue of Athena Anemotis highlights Athena's more general connection to wind, which is

[743] *I.Pergamon* I 62a.
[744] Jim 2014, 161.
[745] Jim 2014, 202.
[746] Paus. 4.35.8; Villing 1997b, 61. Athena rarely controls the wind but can sometimes do so: e.g., Hom. *Od.* 5.109-115, 5.382-387.

associated with navigation. In Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica,* the Argonauts were said to have dedicated an anchor in the temple of Jasonian Athena in Cyzicus 'as was proper' (ἣ θέμις ἦεν, l. 1.960).[747] It is possible that Athena's maritime character was particularly prominent on Rhodes, perhaps owing to Rhodes being a leading naval power. Although Athena was not worshipped under any specific maritime epithet on the island, the Lindian Chronicle and a few other dedications (discussed below) attest to her maritime association, particularly in Lindos. For example, in the Lindian Chronicle, the mythical helmsman of Menelaos, Kanopos, dedicates his steering-oar to Athena and Poseidon, a dedication which is explicitly linked to navigation.[748] Additionally, a man named Amphinomos from Sybaris and his sons dedicate a wooden cow and calf on which is inscribed: 'Amphinomos and children from broad-landed Sybaris, when a ship had been saved, dedicated this tenth'.[749] As mentioned, the Lindian Chronicle is a reimagining of the Lindian past; therefore, the addition of these dedications may suggest that Athena's maritime worship was an important aspect of her divine character in Lindos.[750]

Similarly to the military sphere discussed above, It is possible that the worship of Athena as a maritime deity could be impacted by her position as the patron deity of a polis. As mentioned, Athena's maritime character

[747] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.953-960.
[748] *I.Lindos* II 2 B.12 (99 BCE).
[749] *I.Lindos* II 2 C.26 (tr. Higbie 2003). Higbie 2003, 107, comments that the donors from Sybaris might have had some commercial interests and that Sybaris might have been a colony of Rhodes.
[750] See ch. 2, section IV, for the history of the Lindian Chronicle.

appears to come into sharper focus in Rhodes, especially in Lindos. Outside the Lindian Chronicle, dedications by Rhodian crews and/or naval commanders were also set up to Athena Lindia on the Lindian acropolis. For example, Lindian crews set up a dedication of a marble base to Athena Lindia on the Lindian acropolis in c. 265-260 BCE.[751] The inscription mentions a naval commander, two trierarches, and once contained the names of 288 sailors.[752] The inscription refers to an *aparche* of booty, which was taken from successful operations against the Tyrrhenians,

> ἀπαρχὰν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων Ἀθάναι Λινδίαι.
>
> An *aparche* from the spoils, for Athena Lindia.[753]

The fact that the navy dedicate to Athena Lindia on the Lindian acropolis may suggest that Rhodian seafarers dedicated to Athena more as their patron deity, who had the capacity to protect them at sea among other things. This is strengthened by another dedication from the Lindian acropolis made to Athena (no epithet) by a naval commander of the Rhodian fleet dated to 88 BCE.[754] As mentioned, Rhodes was a prominent maritime power and so the maritime character of their primary goddess would naturally be more pronounced than in other poleis.[755] Additionally, the temple of Athena Lindia was purposefully made to be visible from the sea, so could have been a

[751] *I.Lindos* II 88 (265-260 BCE).
[752] *I.Lindos* II 88. A.I.1-2. Gabrielsen 1997, 109-111.
[753] *I.Lindos* II 88. A.I.2 (tr. my own).
[754] *I.Lindos* II 291.
[755] See Gabrielsen 1997, for an in-depth study of the naval aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes.

navigational tool for sailors.[756] Therefore, it is possible that in the contexts of Pergamon and Rhodes, Athena's position in the military and maritime spheres respectively is more apparent due to her status as a primary goddess of these poleis.

Overall, what appears to be consistent is that Athena was usually associated with assistance and protection in the maritime sphere, rather than destruction.[757] In this way, Athena is almost a foil to Poseidon. An example of Athena's and Poseidon's contrasting maritime characters is their respective treatment of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*: Athena protects Odysseus during his journey and Poseidon continuously tries to thwart his attempts to return home. This could be reflected in an Archaic temple said to have been built by Odysseus on Mt Boreius in Arcadia, which is dedicated to Athena Soteira and Poseidon with no epithet.[758] As observed by Jim, the worship of Athena under the epithet Soteira and Poseidon under no epithet could highlight Athena's protection of Odysseus and Poseidon's hostility towards him.[759] Poseidon is very rarely invoked as Soter, possibly, Jim suggests, due to his association with destruction.[760] Detienne and Vernant illustrate the differences between

[756] See Rocco 2018, 19 and Zachhuber 2024, 132, for the visibility of the temple of Athena Lindia from the sea. See Lauter 1972, on Hellenistic architecture and the natural landscape.
[757] Fenet 2019, 60-61. The only example of Athena causing destruction at sea to my knowledge is when she stops the Achaeans from returning home. Importantly, she requires Zeus' help to achieve this: Eur. *Troad.* 77-86; Quint. Smyrn. 14.427-448. For further discussion on Zeus' assistance of Athena, see section IV of this chapter.
[758] Hom. *Od.* 11.127; Paus. 8.44.4; Jim 2022, 122-123.
[759] Jim 2022, 152.
[760] Jim 2022, 152-153. An example of Poseidon's destructive power at sea is in Hom. *Od.* 5.291-298, when he causes a storm by making all four winds blow at the same time. Biggs and Blum 2019, 130, call this 'a paradox of natural philosophy... a hyperbolic claim used to underscore how powerful and disorienting the tempest is'.

Athena and Poseidon, especially Athena's ability to tame objects of Poseidon's destructive power, such as the horse.[761] Nevertheless, Athena can harness this destructive power for her own benefit. As will be discussed in more detail below, Athena exploits the power of Zeus and Poseidon (controllers of the sky and sea respectively) to obliterate the Achaeans on their journey home in Euripides' *Trojan Women.*[762] Unlike the military sphere, in which Athena can operate alone on the battlefield, Athena cannot work alone to cause chaos at sea, as she needs assistance from Zeus and Poseidon. This could be one reason as to why the sanctuary of Poseidon in Sounion is more prominent than the temple of Athena Sounias.[763] In Sounion, the sanctuary of Poseidon is situated on the highest peak of the headland, with the sanctuary of Athena located on a lower hill.[764] Therefore, Poseidon's temple would have been more visible from the sea than Athena's. As Poseidon was the more destructive force who could control the sea on his own, it stands to reason that he would be the more prominent deity in this context. It is also possible that a temple of Athena was put up at Sounion to counteract the potentially destructive power of Poseidon and to keep his power in check. Athena's power lies in her μῆτις and she does not possess the elemental or meteorological abilities that are essential for causing havoc in a maritime context. Her aegis does not even perform in the same way to Zeus' — she cannot whip up storms of her own

[761] Detienne and Vernant 1978, 206.
[762] Eur. *Troad.* 77-86.
[763] See Barletta 2017 and Salapata 2017, for further discussion of Sounion. See Theodoropoulou Polychroniadis 2014 and 2019, for discussion of terracotta and copper-based offerings from Sounion.
[764] Barletta 2017, 3-5. Note how Paus. 1.1.1 thought that the temple on the headland was a sanctuary of Athena, but we now know this to be the temple of Poseidon. See Barletta 2017, 8-10, for this issue.

accord. Athena's power is also affected by Zeus and Poseidon when she is working to assist helmsmen in the maritime sphere. Her ability to navigate (discussed in Section III) is dependent on Zeus' wind and constellations. In this way, Athena is more limited in her ability to operate alone in the maritime sphere than in a military context.

The 'Proximal' Intervention of Athena

In contrast to Zeus, Athena often intervenes in the military and maritime spheres in physical proximity to those whom she assists. If Zeus' intervention is 'distal', then Athena's might be best described as 'proximal'. Athena often works within close proximity to sailors in order to assist them in the field of navigation. For example, in the *Odyssey,* Athena equips Telemachos with a boat and sits beside him at the stern.[765] Occasionally, Athena is described as guiding boats with her hand. In Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica*, Athena physically guides the ship through the clashing rocks to safety: 'and Athena braced her left hand against a mighty rock and with her right pushed the ship on its way through' (καὶ τότ᾽ Ἀθηναίη στιβαρῆς ἀντέσπασε πέτρης σκαιῇ, δεξιτερῇ δὲ διαμπερὲς ὦσε φέρεσθαι).[766] In the dative, σκαιός means 'with the left hand' and δεξιτερός can be with 'the right hand' rather than simply on the left or right side.[767] Athena's hands are imagined as physically placed upon the rock and the ship to guide the Argo to

[765] Hom. *Od.* 2.285-295, 399-434. One could infer that Athena steers Telemachos' ship as she appears to sit in the space meant for the pilot: West 1988, 156. However, there is no explicit reference to Athena steering the ship, although in Hom. *Od.* 2.420-421 she does send a favourable wind to guide Telemachos' ship over the sea.
[766] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.598-599 (tr. Race 2009).
[767] LSJ s.v. σκαιός, δεξιτερός.

safety.[768] Athena's proximal intervention in the maritime sphere might also be represented in Greek art and iconography. It seems depictions of Athena were sometimes fixed to boats, usually at the bow of the ship, perhaps to provide protection and to help sailors navigate safely across the sea.[769] For example, a *parasemon* ('emblem of a ship' — these could be placed on either side of the bow of a vessel) of a bust of a helmeted Athena was found in the waters of Actium, and a relief from Ostia depicts a *stolos* ('ship's prow') decorated with a helmeted Athena.[770] Both cases depict Athena at the front of the boat, which could be symbolic of her guidance and navigational skills. As previously mentioned, Athena intervenes in the maritime sphere in some literary evidence by physically sitting in the boat. The prominence of Athena 'onboard' the ship may suggest that being in close proximity to at least an image of Athena was important to sailors. Both textual and archaeological evidence could suggest that proximity to Athena may have been favourable for garnering the full extent of her power.

Athena's intervention in the military sphere can similarly be described as 'proximal'. In the *Iliad*, Athena is said to lead the Achaeans into battle by the

[768] See also Val. Flac. *Argon.* 2.49-50 (tr. Krasne 2018): Tiphys comments that Athena has 'graced our keel with her hand (*manus*)'. This could suggest Athena's contact with the boat or could simply imply her agency. It is likely that Valerius Flaccus used Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica* as a 'narrative model': Zissos 2009, 351.
[769] Images of other deities were sometimes fixed to the bow of a ship: for a well-known example, see the Nike of Samothrace: Clinton *et al.* 2020.
[770] *Parasemon*: Fenet 2019, 259, fig. 14. Relief: Fenet 2019, 261, fig. 15. I have not yet found any comparable prow-carvings depicting Zeus at the front of the boat. However, see Fenet 2019, 269-270, fig. 19 for a *stylis* depicted on a lost Campanian hydria dated to the 4th century BCE inscribed with the name 'Zeus Soter'.

hand, and she works alongside Diomedes.[771] Athena sits directly beside Diomedes in his chariot to accompany him into battle and she guides his spear into the hand of Aphrodite on one occasion and the belly of Ares on another.[772] These examples highlight the physical proximity between Athena and those whom she assists. Furthermore, in the *Odyssey*, when Athena shakes her aegis to strike fear into the suitors, she stands above (ὑψόθεν) them, specifically on the roof of a house (ὀροφή).[773] The mention of the roof confirms that Athena is not 'above' the suitors on Olympos or even in the sky, but that she is in closer proximity to them in order to instil terror. The shaking of the aegis from nearby causes their minds to become 'panic-stricken' (πτοέω) and they flee (φέβομαι).[774] Athena's aegis has a similar ability to trigger panic and rout as Zeus' aegis, but she works more effectively when in closer proximity.

In the military sphere, Athena often causes terror by means of sound and vision. After Athena clothes Achilles in the aegis and causes flames to appear from his head, Achilles strikes panic and confusion into the Trojans as follows,

> ἔνθα στὰς ἤυσ᾽, ἀπάτερθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
> φθέγξατ᾽· ἀτὰρ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἄσπετον ὦρσε κυδοιμόν.
> ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀριζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ᾽ ἴαχε σάλπιγξ
> ἄστυ περιπλομένων δηίων ὕπο θυμοραϊστέων,
> ὣς τότ᾽ ἀριζήλη φωνὴ γένετ᾽ Αἰακίδαο.

[771] Hom. *Il.* 4.542-543.
[772] Hom. *Il.* 5.837-839.
[773] Hom. *Od.* 22.298.
[774] Hom. *Od.* 22.297-301.

οἱ δ᾽ ὡς οὖν ἄιον ὄπα χάλκεον Αἰακίδαο,
πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός· ἀτὰρ καλλίτριχες ἵπποι
ἂψ ὄχεα τρόπεον· ὄσσοντο γὰρ ἄλγεα θυμῷ.
ἡνίοχοι δ᾽ ἔκπληγεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ἀκάματον πῦρ
δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς μεγαθύμου Πηλεΐωνος
δαιόμενον· τὸ δὲ δαῖε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.
τρὶς μὲν ὑπὲρ τάφρου μεγάλ᾽ ἴαχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
τρὶς δὲ κυκήθησαν Τρῶες κλειτοί τ᾽ ἐπίκουροι.

There he [Achilles] stood and shouted, and from afar Pallas Athena called out; but among the Trojans he roused unspeakable confusion. Clear as the trumpet's voice when it sounds aloud when a city is pressed by murderous foes, so clear was then the voice of the grandson of Aeacus. And when they heard the brazen voice of the grandson of Aeacus the hearts of all were dismayed; and the fair-maned horses turned their chariots backward, since they saw woe in their hearts. And the charioteers were stricken with terror when they saw the unwearied fire blaze terribly above the head of the great-hearted son of Peleus; for the goddess, flashing-eyed Athena, made it blaze. Thrice over the trench shouted mightily the noble Achilles, and thrice the Trojans and their famed allies were stricken with panic.[775]

When the Trojans 'hear' (ἀίω, l. 222) the 'voice' (ὄψ, l. 222) of Achilles and 'see' (ὁράω, l. 225) the fire blazing from Achilles' head they are struck with panic (κυκάω, l. 229).[776] Although Athena amplifies Achilles' voice 'from afar' (ἀπάτερθε, l. 217), the effect Athena has on Achilles is only successful when the Trojans can see and hear him, and therefore requires some level of proximity to Athena's protégé.[777] Part of Athena's intervention requires her to

[775] Hom. *Il.* 18.222-229 (tr. Murray 1999).
[776] LSJ s.v. κυκάω: this can mean 'stir' but can also mean 'to be confounded, panic-stricken' in the passive in Homeric epic. In line 229, κυκήθησαν is in the 3rd person plural aorist indicative passive, so in this context it can mean 'panic-stricken'. Coray 2018, 96, argues that not only do they 'hear the cry, but they understand its significance'. See Deacy and Villing 2009, for the colour of the aegis. The fact that the aegis is described in terms of its colour could suggest that the sight of the aegis is significant.
[777] Amplification of Achilles' voice: Coray 2018, 93.

be close to Achilles: she drapes the aegis around his shoulders and creates a golden cloud around his head.[778] Athena often relies on vision to make her protégés more compelling and/or fearsome.[779] As previously mentioned, Athena can take on the guises of mortals, but she sometimes makes her divinity known to her protégés through visual aids: for example, in *Iliad* Book 1*,* Achilles is aware that he is talking to Athena because he recognises the flash in her eyes.[780] Athena's reliance on sound and vision to inspire terror and awe therefore often requires close proximity in the military sphere.

Athena's use of sound, vision, and proximal assistance is also present in historical and epigraphic sources. As previously discussed, Herodotus reports a series of epiphanies sent by the gods when the Persians advanced to Delphi in 480 BCE.[781] I demonstrated previously that Zeus' intervention, although direct, was from a distance. Although the Persians do not see Athena Pronaia, there is a mighty battle-cry from inside her temple (ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο). The combined epiphanies strike fear (φόβος) into the Persians, and they flee (φεύγω).[782] Once again, Athena's epiphany relies on sound to inspire fear and panic, and the epiphany begins when the Persians are in close proximity to Athena's temple. As mentioned in Section I, Diodorus reports that a trophy was set up next to Athena's temple to thank Zeus and

[778] Hom. *Il.* 18.202-206.
[779] E.g., Athena enhances/changes the appearance of multiple characters in the *Odyssey*: Odysseus: Hom. *Od.* 8.18-23, 13.397-399, 16.172-174, 18.69-70. Telemachos: Hom. *Od.* 17.63-64. Penelope: Hom. *Od.* 18.187-199.
[780] Hom. *Il.* 1.199-200.
[781] Hdt. 8.37.
[782] Hdt. 8.38.

Apollo for their intervention. The choice to place the trophy next to the temple of Athena Pronaia commemorates where the epiphany was triggered: in close proximity to the sanctuary of the goddess. Additionally, in the Lindian Chronicle, Athena is said to have appeared in several dreams in order to help the Lindians while under siege. One epiphany details a siege on Lindos by the Persians, which was led by the general Datis in the first part of the 5th century BCE.[783] The Lindians are at the point of surrender due to lack of water, when Athena appears to 'stand over' one of the rulers in a dream vision to tell him that she will ask Zeus to provide water for the Lindians.[784] The fact that Athena 'stands over' him may suggest that the ruler felt a certain closeness between himself and Athena and could be another example of her 'proximal' intervention.[785] Sound, vision, and close proximity are all integral parts of Athena's 'proximal' intervention across mythic, historical, and epigraphic evidence.

[783] Higbie 2003, 141, suggests either 494 or 490 BCE.
[784] *I.Lindos* II 2 D.I.15-16 (99 BCE); Higbie 2003, 143.
[785] This does not mean Athena appeared in an anthropomorphised form, but there is clearly some sense of proximity between the ruler and Athena, see Graf 2004, 113, 120. It is worth noting that dream epiphanies could blur the line between proximal and distal intervention, as Zeus also sends messages via dream epiphanies, e.g., the general Arimnestos claimed he received an epiphany of Zeus Soter in a dream, providing him with instructions that resulted in Greek victory at Plataia in 479 BCE: Thuc. 2.71.2; Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 11.5-6. See also Paus. 3.18.3: Lysander claims an epiphany of Zeus Ammon came to him in a dream and told him to stop besieging Aphytis; however, when Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 20.5-6 tells the story, he comments that most people think Lysander used this dream to visit the oracle of Zeus at Ammon: Pritchett 1979, vol. 3, 27.

Athena and Ares: Violence Constrained by μῆτις

Previous scholarship has sometimes placed Athena's μῆτις in opposition to Ares' violent nature in the military sphere. Burkert sums up how Athena and Ares can approach the sphere of war differently: 'Ares embodies everything that is hateful in war; the splendour of victory, Nike, is reserved for Athena'.[786] The traditional argument is that Athena takes a skilful, controlled, and ordered approach to war, whereas Ares seems to represent bloodthirstiness, chaos, and unrestrained violence by comparison — an embodiment of what happens when one loses control.[787] However, as demonstrated in Chapter One, Athena often inhabits the grey area between violence and intelligence. In the *Iliad*, Athena is frequently the cause of violence: she rouses battles and strife, assists Diomedes in wounding not one but two gods (Ares and Aphrodite), and causes panic and terror through sound and vision.[788] Occasionally, it seems that Athena even enjoys taking part in the punishment of her enemies. For example, in Sophles' *Ajax*, Athena finds great amusement in watching Ajax suffer.[789] In the *Iliad*, Athena and Ares are sometimes described in comparable terms, such as wearing golden armour and emitting a similar battle-cry.[790] The evidence suggests that Athena and Ares overlap on a foundational level: they can fight, are violent, wear similar

[786] Burkert 1985, 169. See also Edwards 1991, 219, on Hom. *Il.* 18.516-519; Darmon 1991, 114-115; Graf 2005.
[787] Athena's repugnance to this violence could be seen in the story of Tydeus when he eats the brains of his opponent, which leads Athena to abandon him, despite previously providing him with help: Stat. *Theb.* 8.751-766.
[788] E.g., Athena is 'rouser of battles' (ἐγρεμάχης): *Hymn. Hom.* 2.424. She rouses 'strife' (νεῖκος): e.g., Hom. *Il.* 17.544-545. Diomedes' spear into the belly of Ares: Hom. *Il.* 5.855-857. Diomedes wounds Aphrodite: Hom. *Il.* 5.335-337.
[789] Soph. *Aj.* 79.
[790] Deacy 2000, 287, 290. Golden armour: Hom. *Il.* 18.516-519. Battle-cry: Hom. *Il.* 20.48, 51.

armour, and are both warmongers, but it is Athena's ability to build upon these basics that creates such a fierce and intelligent warrior.[791] For example, Ares demonstrates his lack of intelligence when he strikes Athena's aegis in *Iliad* Book 21. The aegis is described as 'the awful aegis which not even the lightning of Zeus can subdue' (σμερδαλέην, ἣν οὐδὲ Διὸς δάμνησι κεραυνός).[792] Ares' action illustrates how his violence and vengeance prevent him from making a tactical decision when attacking Athena: if even the lightning of Zeus cannot subdue the aegis, then Ares surely cannot. Athena can also commit violent acts on the battlefield, but, in contrast to Ares, she does so with μῆτις. When Athena causes Diomedes to stab Ares, this is a violent act, but thought has gone into its execution.[793] Athena also knows when to restrain violence in a military context; she physically removes Ares from the battlefield in order to constrain his violence when necessary.[794] Perhaps, then, Athena's military character can best be described as violence constrained by μῆτις. War calls for violence, but Athena often brings her μῆτις to the fore of her actions.

This restraint of violence by use of intelligence could be represented by Athena's epithet 'Areia' ('of Ares'). The epithet 'Areia' is part of a category discussed by Parker whereby the name of the god (Athena) appears as a noun

[791] This is different to Athena and Poseidon. Athena does not have the foundational elemental functions of Poseidon and therefore cannot act independently of him to cause terror and destruction.
[792] Hom. *Il.* 21.400-401.
[793] Hom. *Il.* 5.855-857.
[794] Hom. *Il.* 5.29-34, 15.123-142.

and the name of another god (Ares) is associated as an adjective.[795] Parker comments that Athena Areia is Athena when she is most like Ares.[796] Interestingly, Athena Areia and Ares are often honoured together in oaths, alliances, and treaties.[797] For example, in the Athenian ephebic oath from Acharnai, the ephebes swear: not to bring shame on the sacred weapons; to never desert their fellow warriors; to fight in defence of things sacred and profane; to improve the fatherland; to be obedient to whoever is in power and adhere to the laws; not to give allegiance to those who would destroy these laws; and to honour ancestral religion.[798] Several gods are listed as witnesses, including Ares and Athena Areia. Similarly to other ephebic inscriptions, the ephebic oath contains elements of discipline, such as maintaining obedience, upholding law and order, and not deserting fellow warriors.[799] This focus on discipline and obedience suggests that, on a certain level, violence must be constrained. The ephebes swear to 'fight *in defence* of (ἀμύνω) things sacred and profane'. This places emphasis on guardianship and protection, rather than bloodthirsty war. In this way, the oath advocates violence constrained by μῆτις among the ephebes, which is represented by Athena Areia; however, it is

[795] Parker 2005b, 219.
[796] Parker 2005b, 225.
[797] Examples of Athena Areia and Ares: *IG* V,2 343 (Orchomenos, 4th century BCE), *I.Pergamon* 13 (Pergamon, shortly after 263 BCE), *IG* II^3,1 912 (Athens, 269/8 BCE), *I.Smyrna* 14 (Smyrna, 245/3 BCE), *SEG* XVI 524 (Crete, 180 BCE), *SEG* XXXVIII 603 (Macedonia, 202-197 BCE), *IG* XII,5 913 (Tenos, 2nd century BCE); Gonzalez 2004, 149-152. Some coins from Ephesus depict Athena Areia: e.g., *RPC* IV.2 9708 (138-140 CE), 9714 (161-165 CE), IV 5001 (222-235 CE). One coin from Caria depicts Zeus Areios, this is clear from the inscription on the reverse which reads 'Zeus Areios, of the Hydiseans' (Ὑδισεων, Ζεύς Ἄρειος): *RPC* III 2208 (117-138 CE).
[798] Ephebic oath: Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 88 (335-325 BCE); Kellogg 2013.
[799] Other ephebic inscriptions also praise 'order' with regard to obedience, e.g., Osborne – Rhodes, *GHI* 89 (334/3 BCE), in which the ephebes are praised for their 'good order' (κοσμιότης) and 'discipline' (εὐταξία) in lines 31, 39-40, and 58 (tr. Lambert *AIO*).

possible that Ares is also honoured separately because war still calls for violence.[800] In sum, Athena applies intelligent violence to warfare and also knows when violence needs to be restrained.[801]

III. Collaboration: Navigation and Seafaring

In this section, I will demonstrate that Zeus and Athena work collaboratively in the maritime sphere, primarily in the field of navigation, which has received less attention in scholarship than the military. Athena is involved with navigation particularly through her assistance of helmsmen, whereas Zeus' link to navigation is indicated by his connection to the weather, especially the wind. Together, they can assist helmsmen through proximal (Athena) and distal (Zeus) navigation.

The ability to navigate requires knowledge and μῆτις; for example, Nestor claims that a helmsman requires μῆτις to guide a ship that is buffeted by winds.[802] This is because, as commented by Plato, the helmsman must consistently be alert and have knowledge of the 'seasons, the weather, the stars, the winds'.[803] These aspects of nature are primarily controlled by Zeus and must be understood and harnessed if a ship is to navigate safely. Therefore, to be a successful helmsman one must have the μῆτις of Athena to interpret the cosmic patterns of Zeus. In Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica*,

[800] Deacy 2000, 291, 'Homeric heroes regularly become the 'equal of Ares' in the thick of battle': e.g., Hom. *Il.* 5.576, 13.295, 20.46.
[801] Deacy 2000, 294.
[802] Hom. *Il.* 23.316-317.
[803] Pl. *Rep.* 488d.

Athena chooses the helmsman Tiphys to man the Argo. Tiphys did not necessarily gain his navigational skills from Athena, but might have been chosen by the goddess because of his innate talent for navigation, including his ability to predict storm winds.[804] Tiphys' skills mirror the μῆτις of Athena; this enables him to sail the Argo with the greatest technical skill, and to predict the workings of Zeus' storms. Detienne argues that Zeus Ourios ('of fair wind') provides a favourable wind, which the practised navigator can harness in order to set sail.[805] Zeus Ourios' connection to wind is particularly prominent on Delos, where he was honoured alongside Egyptian deities associated with navigation and the sea.[806] An experienced sailor knows that the wind will not always be favourable; in Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, the chorus laments that although the winds are not favourable to them, they will be favourable to someone else.[807] Not everyone can benefit from Zeus' winds at the same time; one group may suffer, while another rejoices.[808] Zeus can also make the conditions at sea treacherous for everyone; for example, Hesiod describes how Zeus, alongside Poseidon, can make sailing difficult primarily due to the rain he sends in autumn.[809] This aligns with Zeus' and Poseidon's

[804] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.105-114. See Brody 2008, 445, for how the two most important kinds of deities to seafarers are those who can control the winds and storms, and those who could aid in navigation.
[805] Detienne 1970, 150.
[806] E.g., *I.Delos* 2179 (112/1 BCE), 2415 (107/6 or 104/3 BCE). Bruneau 1970, on cults in Delos. Zeus Kasios ('of Mount Kasios') may have also been associated with wind and storms. Anchors inscribed with 'Zeus Kasios', *SEG* XLIX 1408 (3rd-1st century BCE). See Brody 2008, 448; Collar 2017, for anchors and Zeus Kasios. Reed 2020, who discusses Zeus Kasios only. Yamasaki 2024, 1273-1274, who discusses the crucial role of anchors on Mediterranean seafaring ships due to the dangerous wind conditions.
[807] Eur. *IA.* 1324-1329 (tr. Kovacs 2003).
[808] See also Lucian *Icar.* 25.
[809] Hes. *Op.* 663-677.

powers of destruction mentioned in Section II. A helmsman imbued with μῆτις, such as Tiphys, will be able to predict and adapt to the fickle weather conditions from Zeus. It is this quality of μῆτις that allows helmsmen to plan, foresee, and adapt to the navigational winds provided by Zeus. Athena's μῆτις closely connects her with the skill needed to navigate a ship, hence her close association with helmsmen and navigation.

Working in Collaboration: Navigation by Interpreting Constellations

One method by which helmsmen can navigate is by observing constellations. Constellations were a helpful tool of navigation and are often referred to as such.[810] In Aelius Aristides' *Oration* 43, it is Zeus who 'adorned the sky with stars' as part of his creation of the universe.[811] It is also Zeus who fixed stars to the sky in Aratus' *Phaenomena*,

> αὐτὸς γὰρ τά γε σήματ᾽ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν,
> ἄστρα διακρίνας, ἐσκέψατο δ᾽ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
> ἀστέρας οἵ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα σημαίνοιεν
> ἀνδράσιν ὡράων, ὄφρ᾽ ἔμπεδα πάντα φύωνται.
>
> For he [Zeus] himself fastened the signs to the sky,
> distinguishing the constellations, and organized stars
> over the course of the year that might give to men
> most clearly established signs of the seasons, so that
> everything might grow without fail.[812]

These signs fixed to the sky by Zeus are meant to assist and benefit mortals, however, Volk argues that Zeus does not necessarily reveal how to read or

[810] E.g., Hom. *Od.* 5.269-277; Theoc. *Id.* 7.52-62; Val. Flac. *Argon.* 2.61-65; Aratus *Phaen*. 62-63. See Morton 1998; Bilić 2006.
[811] Aristid. *Or.* 43.13; cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.74-78.
[812] Aratus *Phaen*. 10-13 (tr. Volk 2012). Aratus of Soli was a Greek poet who lived in the 3rd century BCE. His work, *Phaenomena*, describes constellations and weather signs.

interpret these signs.[813] How, then, did mortals learn to read the constellations for the purpose of navigation? In Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, Tiphys comments,

> atque adeo non illa sequi mihi sidera monstrat,
> quae delapsa polo reficit mare: tantus Orion
> iam cadit, irato iam stridet in aequore Perseus;
> sed mihi dux, vetitis qui numquam conditus undis
> axe nitet serpens septenosque implicat ignes.
>
> And furthermore, she [Athena] taught me not to follow those stars which, having slid down from the sky, the sea refreshes—great Orion is now setting, now Perseus is hissing in the riled water—but my leader, which (never ensconced in the forbidden waters) shines at the zenith, is the Serpent, and it entwines the sevenfold fires.[814]

Athena taught (*monstrat*, l. 61) Tiphys how to read the stars to help him navigate. This is comparable to the way Athena taught Argus how to build the first ship: the Argo. If the Argo is the first boat, then Tiphys is the first helmsman and therefore requires the help of Athena to interpret the stars in order to navigate. Athena interprets the signs laid out by her father for the helmsmen who need to use them.

Volk suggests that the constellations fixed to the sky by Zeus are a kind of book and a narrative in their own right. She argues that, in his only surviving work, *Phaenomena*, Aratus subtly compares his own written work to the work

[813] Volk 2012, 220, 226-227. Much of what Zeus does requires interpretation; for example, his oracles are often passed down through other deities such as Apollo and then interpreted further by the Pythia and the people who receive them.
[814] Val. Flac. *Argon.* 2.61-65 (tr. Krasne 2018).

of Zeus, as if Zeus' signs were written words in the sky.[815] By helping mortals to read and interpret the signs fixed to the sky by Zeus, Athena can 'read' the book that Zeus has written. It could be argued that Athena not only helps sailors to navigate on the sea with the help of constellations, but she also assists them in navigating the narrative written in the sky by Zeus. In epics such as the *Argonautica* (whether by Apollonios Rhodios or Valerius Flaccus), as the Argo moves forward, the story and the narrative also progress.[816] As Athena navigates, she moves the boat forward towards its destination, which could symbolise progression through a narrative.[817] A parallel can be drawn here with the metaphorical weaving discussed in Chapter Three: Zeus' spinning represents *what* will happen and Athena's weaving represents *how* it will happen. In the context of navigation, the book Zeus has written establishes the content (the signs to observe) and Athena reveals how to interpret it. Zeus provides the means for navigation, such as the constellations or the wind to propel the boat forward, whereas Athena interprets, teaches, and guides sailors on the water and through a narrative, assisting them in the navigation of their boat and the narrative. In this way, Zeus and Athena collaborate through combined 'distal' and 'proximal' intervention in the field of navigation.

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[815] Volk 2012.

[816] The same argument could be made for the *Telemachy* in the *Odyssey.* The majority of the *Odyssey's* narrative is non-linear, but the *Telemachy* is linear, probably because of the influence and help from Athena as helmsman. See Fenet 2019, 22-23, on how Athena only intervenes in the maritime sphere in the *Telemachy*. Cf. Murnaghan 1995, 65-66, who comments on how the non-linear narrative of the *Odyssey* reflects Athena's ability to 'weave' a plot successfully and with great skill.

[817] The sea is a liminal and transitional space. See Beaulieu 2015, 45, 65-66; Eidinow 2019, 127; Bonanno 2019, on Nemesis and discussion of the transformative nature of the sea.

Homonoia in the Maritime Sphere

In this section, I have argued that Zeus and Athena can work together to assist helmsmen in epic literature. I would like to suggest that their ability to work together in the maritime sphere could also be reflected in elements of their worship. In 224/3 BCE, in Rhamnous, a trierarch was honoured for making sacrifices to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira. He made these sacrifices, 'for the health and safety and harmony of those who sailed with him, so that they might be harmonious and protected and for the future useful to the demos' (περὶ τῆς ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τῶν [συ]νπλευσάντων, ὅπως ἂν ὁμονοοῦντες καὶ σωιζόμεν[οι κ]αὶ εἰς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα χρήσιμοι γίνωνται τῶι δήμωι).[818] 'Harmony' (ὁμόνοια, sometimes translated as 'concord' or 'oneness of mind') is mentioned twice in the inscription alongside σωτηρία ('deliverance', 'safety').[819] This suggests that the protection afforded by Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira went beyond just 'health and safety' but also encompassed the manner in which the sailors worked together to maintain safety, achieve victory, and continue their service of the polis.[820] In this way, perhaps the sailors sought to mirror the collaboration between Zeus and Athena in the maritime sphere.

Some evidence attests to the need for sailors to work together in harmony in order to maintain safety at sea. For example, in Apollonios Rhodios' *Argonautica,* the Argonauts dedicate an altar to Homonoia (the

[818] *I.Rhamnous* II 31.9-12, 16-18 (tr. Mikalson 2016).
[819] LSJ s.v. ὁμόνοια, σωτηρία.
[820] Mikalson 1998, 157-158.

goddess) on the island of Thynia after being saved by Apollo.[821] The dedication is made so that 'they would forever aid one another in singleness of mind' (ᾗ μὲν ἀρήξειν ἀλλήλοις εἰσαιὲν ὁμοφροσύνῃσι νόοιο, l. 715-716); in other words, they vow to always work together to reach safety, which is comparable in some way to the dedication from Rhamnous. Additionally, in *Oration* 39, Dio Chrysostom comments on the need for concord among sailors,

> ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἥτις ἂν μετὰ ὁμονοίας πλέῃ τοῦ κυβερνήτου καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν, αὐτή τε σῴζεται καὶ σῴζει τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅσῳ πλείω τὰ ἱστία, τοσούτῳ σφοδρότερον τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν μείζω συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη.
>
> Similarly too any ship which sails the sea with concord existing between the skipper and his crew not only is safe itself but also maintains in safety those on board; otherwise the more numerous the sails so much the more violent must be the impact of the storm and so much greater the confusion.[822]

Dio makes clear that the safety of the ship and crew is a result of *homonoia*. Importantly, this ship simile is part of a wider discussion on concord in which Dio speaks on *homonoia* in Nicaea following riots in the city.[823] One model of *homonoia* which Dio offers to his audience is the concord among the gods.[824] Near the beginning of *Oration* 39, Dio comments, 'peace and concord and

[821] Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.714-719; Étienne and Piérart 1975, 73.
[822] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 39.6 (tr. Lamar Crosby 1946). See also Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38.14, 34.16.
[823] Salmeri 2000, 80. Palm 1959, 31, comments that peace and harmony are among Dio's primary themes.
[824] Swain 2000, 41-42 and Salmeri 2000, 80, interpret Dio's endorsement of *homonoia* as something for mortals to replicate. Swain 2000, 41-42, 'these speeches are central to Dio's conception of urban life and especially the correct spiritual values of the human community as a reflection of the divine'. Salmeri 2000, 80, 'often offering as a model to his listeners the harmony reigning among the gods'.

mutual friendship are fitting for those whose city was founded by gods' (Πρέπει δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ θεῶν ᾠκισμένοις εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμόνοια καὶ φιλία πρὸς αὐτούς) and at the end of the *Oration* he prays to multiple gods: Dionysos (the progenitor of the city), Heracles (the founder), Zeus Polieus, Athena, Aphrodite Philia, Homonoia, Nemesis, and all the other gods.[825] Dionysos, Heracles, and Zeus Polieus are all explicitly linked with the polis, Aphrodite, Homonoia, and Nemesis as gods personifying concord and discontent, and perhaps Athena is positioned next to Zeus due to their ability to work harmoniously together across different contexts.[826] This is not the only oration in which Dio praises the concord of the gods; in *Oration* 36, he commends the gods for their ability to live without strife and defeat because of their commitment to concord.[827] In sum, *homonoia* is important for success in the maritime sphere, which Zeus and Athena exemplify in the context of navigation. As demonstrated in this section, Zeus and Athena can work together in the maritime sphere to assist helmsmen and sailors and I would argue further that perhaps the sailors could emulate the cooperation between Zeus and Athena in this sphere.

IV. Zeus: the Assistant of Athena?

The previous sections have illustrated how Zeus and Athena can work together in military and maritime contexts and how generally Athena acts as

[825] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 39.2, 8 (tr. Lamar Crosby 1946, with modifications).
[826] Zeus is associated with Homonoia elsewhere: e.g., *SEG* XXXVI 750 (340-330 BCE); *BCH* 99 (1975) 51-75 (261-246 BCE); *I.Erythrai* 61 (189/150 BCE). Justice and the cosmos are also associated with concord, both of which have strong links to Zeus: e.g., Pl. *Rep.* 351d; Arist. *Cael.* 397a.
[827] Dio Chrys. 36.22.

the 'agent of Zeus' and upholds his order. This section will investigate the extent to which Zeus' and Athena's roles and prominence might be changed or reversed in these spheres, particularly how Zeus might assist Athena and how this could affect his power. If their roles can change, what does this illuminate regarding the limitations of both deities? Can the power dynamics between Zeus and Athena be reversed and, if so, what does this demonstrate about their relationship?

Assistance in the Maritime Sphere: the *Trojan Women* and the *Posthomerica*

Zeus is represented as assisting Athena in the maritime sphere in Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Quintus of Smyrna's *Posthomerica* Book 14. In the *Trojan Women*, Athena is angry at Locrian Ajax because he dragged Cassandra from Athena's temple by force.[828] Not only that, but the Achaeans have failed to bring him to justice.[829] As mentioned in Section II, Athena asks Poseidon to help her destroy the Achaean fleet on their journey home as she is unable to do this alone. When Athena asks Poseidon for help, she reveals that she has already asked Zeus to send rain, wind, and hail and that he will provide her with the thunderbolt to use against the Achaeans.[830] In the *Trojan Women*, it is clear that this is the plan of Athena, but the conversation

[828] Eur. *Troad.* 70: οἶδ'· ἡνίκ' Αἴας εἷλκε Κασσάνδραν βίᾳ. See Deacy and McHardy 2015, for further discussion of this episode.
[829] Eur. *Troad.* 71 (tr. Kovacs 1999): 'And he [Ajax] was in no way punished or censured by the Achaeans' (κοὐδέν γ' Ἀχαιῶν ἔπαθεν οὐδ' ἤκουσ' ὕπο).
[830] Eur. *Troad.* 77-86. See Barlow 1986, Suter 2003, esp. 16-17, Rabinowitz 2016, 23, and esp. Dunn 1993, 24, for the disconnected structure of the *Troades,* and specifically how the prologue has elements of an epilogue, which 'suggests a deliberate avoidance of structural unity'. The deliberate flip of end to beginning turns the structure of the play on its head, which could symbolise the switch in power dynamics between Athena and Zeus.

between herself and Zeus happens 'off stage' and is merely reported to Poseidon. Athena does not use a single weapon from her own arsenal; instead, she borrows the thunderbolt from Zeus to inflict punishment on the Achaeans herself.[831] As observed by Mili, the weapons used by Athena are also those of Zeus; the aegis would be another example.[832] Their sharing of weapons highlights the closeness of their bond and Zeus' willingness to lend Athena the thunderbolt — an important object associated with upholding his order — may suggest that he trusts her not to use it against him.[833] As previously demonstrated, Athena is usually characterised as a helpful deity in the maritime sphere, associated with assistance in navigation and divine saving; however, Athena's need for Zeus' and Poseidon's help in this passage highlights her more limited role at sea, especially regarding punishment and destruction. In this context, Athena cannot punish the Achaeans without Zeus' thunderbolt or Poseidon's ability to make the sea swell.

In the *Posthomerica*, Quintus provides the full extent of the conversation between Athena and Zeus. After the same episode regarding Ajax and the Achaeans has taken place, Athena complains to Zeus that mortals do not respect the gods or justice and that she wishes to punish Ajax to set an example.[834] Interestingly, not once does Athena ask Zeus for the thunderbolt;

[831] As mentioned in section II, it appears that Athena sometimes enjoys taking part in the punishment of her enemies. Therefore, it is unsurprising that she wishes to take it upon herself to exact vengeance.
[832] Mili 2024, 30-31.
[833] Mili 2024, 27, 30.
[834] Carvounis 2007, 244.

instead, Zeus offers this weapon to Athena.[835] Zeus gives the thunderbolt as a symbol of control over the cosmic order. As argued by Carvounis, Zeus' reference to the thunderbolt as forged by the Cyclopes recalls Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which the Cyclopes give Zeus the thunderbolt as a gift for freeing them, which he then uses to end the Titanomachy: 'relying on these [the thunderbolt], he rules over mortals and immortals' (τοῖς πίσυνος θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει).[836] In the context of the *Posthomerica*, the thunderbolt is the clear weapon of choice to make an example of Ajax and restore order and justice. The image of Athena armed with the thunderbolt is described 'as if unwearying Zeus himself were charging into battle' (ὡς Διὸς ἀκαμάτοιο ποτὶ κλόνον ἐμμεμαῶτος).[837] Athena is not simply armed with the thunderbolt, but she possesses the power, strength, and authority of Zeus while she uses it.[838] Zeus 'rejoices' (ἐπιτέρπομαι) at the sight (εἰσοράω) of Athena armed with his thunderbolt as she makes Olympos 'shake' (τινάσσω) and 'put in confusion the clouds and the whole of the upper air' (σὺν δ' ἔχεεν νεφέλας τε καὶ ἠέρα πᾶσαν ὕπερθε).[839] The shaking and confusion are reminiscent of the birth of Athena in *Homeric Hymn* 28, but Zeus' glee in this episode of the *Posthomerica* is more similar to his joy when watching the theomachy in *Iliad*

[835] Quint. Smyrn. 14.427-448. Athena still asks Aiolos to hurl the weight of the winds (14.466-471) and Quintus mentions help from Poseidon who stirs up the waves (14.507-508) and Zeus provides thunder to accompany Athena's lightning (14.510-511).
[836] Hes. *Theog.* 503-504, cf. 139-141 (tr. Most 2018). Carvounis 2019, 198; James 2007, 345; cf. Burton 2011, 51: the thunderbolt as an 'early violent form of *dike*'.
[837] Quint. Smyrn. 14.465 (tr. Hopkinson 2018). Cf. Athena's arming scene in Hom. *Il.* 5.738-747, when she puts on her father's *chiton*. See Mili 2024, 30.
[838] This could also be expressed in how Athena delegates to Aiolos and sends this message via Iris: Quint. Smyrn. 14.466-471.
[839] Quint. Smyrn. 14.460-461 (tr. Hopkinson 2018).

Book 20, discussed in Section I.[840] In *Hymn* 28, Zeus 'rejoices' (γηθέω) when Athena *removes* her armour, and it is the removal of Athena's armour that will result in cosmic order and confirmation of Zeus' sovereignty.[841] In the *Posthomerica*, Athena needs to destabilise the physical cosmos to re-stabilise cosmic order, which she does by *taking up* the thunderbolt. In both *Hymn* 28 and the *Posthomerica*, the order of the cosmos is linked to military equipment: the armour Athena is born in, and the thunderbolt given to her by Zeus. Zeus sometimes chooses to assist Athena in her endeavours, as this can reinforce and uphold his cosmic order and confirm his sovereignty.

Athena's Expectations: the Lindian Chronicle and the Wooden Wall Oracle

Athena is not the only deity whom Zeus assists. In the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus' men eat the cattle of Helios, Helios asks Zeus to take vengeance on them on his behalf, which Zeus does by striking their ship with a thunderbolt.[842] Both Athena and Helios ask Zeus for help as they cannot control the weather. If other gods can also ask Zeus for help, is there anything different about Athena's level of confidence that that Zeus will provide assistance? The Lindian Chronicle may suggest an answer. There are three epiphanies in total inscribed on column D; I will primarily discuss epiphany 1 (briefly mentioned in Section II), which details a siege established by the Persians at Lindos during the first part of the 5th century BCE.[843] When the

[840] Hom. *Il.* 20.19-27.
[841] *Hymn. Hom.* 28.16; Felson 2011, 269, 279.
[842] Hom. *Od.* 12.374-388.
[843] Higbie 2003, 141.

Lindians were running out of water and considering surrendering the polis to the Persians, Athena appears in a dream to one of the Lindian rulers,

καθ' ὅν δὴ χρόνον ἀ μὲν θεὸς ἐνὶ τῶν ἀρ-
χόντων ἐπιστᾶσα καθ' ὕπνον παρεκάλει
θαρσεῖν ὡς αὐτὰ παρά τοῦ πατρὸς αἰτησευ-
μένα τὸ κατεπεῖγον αὐτούς ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ τὰν
ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἀνάγγειλε τοῖς πο-
λίταις τὰν ποτίταξιν τᾶς Ἀθάνας.
...
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τᾶι
ἐχομέναι ἀμέραι γνόφ[ο]υ μείζ<ο>νος
περὶ τὰν ἀκρόπολιν συσστάντος καὶ πολ-
λοῦ καταραγέν[τ]ος ὄμβρου κατὰ μέσον
ο[ὕ]τ<ω>ς παραδόξως τοί μὲν πολιορκεύμε-
νοι δαψιλὲς ἔσχον ὕδωρ, ἀ δὲ Περσικὰ δύνα-
μις ἐσπάνιζε.

During this time, the goddess, standing over
one of the rulers in his sleep, called upon him
to be bold, since she was about to ask her father
for the much-needed water for them.
After he had seen the vision, he announced to the citizens
the command of Athena.
...
But when on the
next day a great dark storm cloud
settled over the acropolis and
a big storm rained down across the middle,
then, paradoxically, the ones being besieged
had abundant water, but the Persian force was in need.[844]

The epiphany causes Datis, the commander of the Persians, to surrender to the Lindians and make offerings to Athena. This epiphany once again highlights Athena's limitations in the maritime sphere: she cannot send rain

[844] *I.Lindos* II 2 D.I.13-33 (99 BCE) (tr. Higbie 2003).

herself and, instead, requires her father to send it.[845] Athena tells the priest to be bold as she is 'about to ask (αἰτησευμένα, l. 15-16) her father' for rain, as if she is convinced that he will provide rain for her. The future tense of αἰτέω suggests that Athena informs the priest of her plan before she has even discussed it with Zeus. This highlights that Athena expects Zeus to give her what she wants to facilitate her plan.[846] Athena's expectation of Zeus is confirmed as realistic in lines 28-30 when Zeus provides the rain that the Lindians require and fulfils the plan of Athena.[847] Athena assists the Lindians twice in the context of a military crisis, once in this epiphany and again in epiphany 3. In epiphany 3, when Lindos is under siege by Demetrius Poliocetes in 305-304 BCE, Athena appears to a retired priest of Athena Lindia, Kallikles, and advises him to tell the prytany official Anaxipolis to write to Ptolemy for aid.[848] Zachhuber notes that in both military epiphanies, Athena acts more like a mediator and does not use violence.[849] Athena uses her μῆτις rather than violence, as that is what is more useful to the Lindians in these military contexts. Athena chooses intelligent resolution, as this is more effective in both cases. The first epiphany in particular highlights not only Athena's μῆτις, but a different and special bond between father and daughter, as Athena knows she can rely on Zeus' assistance.

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[845] *I.Lindos* II 2 D.II.59-77: Athena also requires Zeus' help in this capacity in epiphany 2. She appears in a dream to the priest of Helios, Pythannas, and informs him that the temple will be cleansed by rain sent by Zeus.
[846] Cuche 2010, 652-653, assumes that Athena acts as Zeus' agent in this epiphany, but the use of the future tense suggests that this is Athena's plan, not Zeus'; therefore, Zeus acts as Athena's assistant.
[847] This expectation can go both ways: note Hom. *Il.* 8.396-408, when Zeus is shocked that Athena has attempted to disobey him.
[848] *I.Lindos* II 2 D.III.95-115 (99 BCE); Higbie 2003, 149-150.
[849] Zachhuber 2024, 150.

It is more typical for Zeus to assist Athena than to refuse her requests.[850] Nevertheless, it is not always possible for Zeus to give Athena exactly what she wants. In Book 7 of the *Histories*, Herodotus reports that the Athenians had sent envoys to the Delphic oracle to ask about their chances against the Persians before the battle of Salamis in 480 BCE. The oracle produces two prophecies; in the second one, the oracle comments that,

> οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί᾽ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι
> λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ…
> τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς
> μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ᾽
> ὀνήσει.
>
> Pallas has no power to soften Olympian Zeus, though she entreat him with lengthy speech and with solid intelligence... far-seeing Zeus grants to Tritogeneia that the wooden wall alone shall not be taken, which will preserve you and your children.[851]

Despite Athena's attempts to use her μῆτις and her close relationship to her father to persuade Zeus in her role as the city's protective goddess, he will not listen to her.[852] The first prophecy provided by the Delphic oracle (not cited here) makes the Persian invasion and the imminent battle of Salamis seem hopeless for the Athenians.[853] In the first oracle, Athena is not mentioned,

[850] In Hom. *Il.* 8.1-27, Zeus makes a speech prohibiting the gods from joining the mortals on the battlefield. Although Athena and Hera are angry at this decision and disobey his orders (Hom. *Il.* 8.350-437), Zeus does not directly refuse Athena's plea to help the Achaeans by providing Βουλή (Hom. *Il.* 8.28-40).
[851] Hdt. 7.141 (tr. Robertson 1987, with modifications).
[852] Macan 1908, 189-190, comments that this might be metaphorical but, regardless, it provides insight into how Athena's character was perceived and her relationship with Zeus.
[853] Hdt. 7.140.

whereas the second oracle gives 'some hope of escape'.[854] Therefore, it is fate that the Persians will attack the Greeks and Zeus cannot change this. However, due to Athena's use of her lengthy and persuasive speech Zeus gives the Athenians some help in the form of the riddle of the wooden wall.[855] Athena cannot change fate, but she can influence Zeus to some degree, which is made clear by how he 'grants to Tritogeneia' (Τριτογενεῖ διδοῖ) the prophecy of the wooden wall. Interestingly, according to Plutarch, an owl appeared at the battle of Salamis and landed on the masthead of Themistocles' ship.[856] If this owl is considered by the Athenians to be an epiphany of Athena, then this may highlight her support for the Athenians, support which was expressed in the oracle from Herodotus Book 7. The owl in Plutarch could be symbolic of Athena's proximal support and the victory for the Athenians, a victory they might not have reached without Athena's μῆτις and her close relationship with Zeus.

Throughout this chapter I have demonstrated Zeus' and Athena's 'distal' and 'proximal' methods of intervention. Zeus' 'distal' intervention could map quite neatly onto his mode of action of sovereignty and Athena's 'proximal' intervention could map neatly onto her mode of action of μῆτις. Despite this, this section has highlighted that, in some contexts, Zeus' sovereignty might be brought into question. For example, in the Lindian

[854] Hdt. 7.140. Quote: Pritchett 1979, vol. 3, 311.
[855] See Robertson 1987, on the wooden wall oracle. See ch. 5 of this thesis, for more on Athena's use of intelligent persuasive speech, particularly in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*.
[856] Plut. *Vit. Them.* 12.1; see Petridou 2016, 116-117.

Chronicle, Athena presumes confidently that Zeus will assist her, and she acts as the instructor or commander. In this context, Zeus reports to Athena and acts as a partner alongside her. This is not necessarily a common occurrence, but the evidence outlined in this section could suggest that sovereignty is not always the most important aspect of Zeus' power. It is worth noting that in the Lindian Chronicle the Lindians want to make explicit their special relationship with Athena and, therefore, Zeus, so this should also be taken into account. In the Lindian Chronicle, as in the *Trojan Women* and the *Posthomerica,* it is Zeus' capacity as a god who controls the weather that is essential to Athena's plan. This is not to say that sovereignty is completely diminished, as, in the context of the *Trojan Women* and *Posthomerica* especially, one could argue that Athena upholds Zeus' cosmic order by using his thunderbolt, and the fact that Athena has to ask Zeus for the thunderbolt in the *Trojan Women* and for rain could suggest that Athena still requires Zeus' authoritative nod. However, Athena's presumption that her father will aid in her plan in the Lindian Chronicle could suggest that Athena has some kind of control in this context. In contrast, Athena's mode of action, her μῆτις, remains consistently important in different contexts. For example, in the military sphere, Athena's ability to shapeshift and persuade are useful to Zeus and are a product of her μῆτις. Additionally, in the maritime sphere, Athena teaches helmsmen how to navigate and interpret the signs set out in the sky by Zeus. Athena's plans would most likely fit into Zeus' overall design, which means that, as Zeus assists Athena, she continues to uphold his will. Therefore, Zeus assists Athena

in order to continue their symbiotic relationship so that he can maintain his sovereignty and power and so that she can uphold his will and order.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated Zeus' often 'distal' and Athena's usually 'proximal' intervention in the military and maritime spheres, which are highlighted in literary, epigraphic, and archaeological material. It has also demonstrated that to a certain extent, Zeus' and Athena's methods of intervention in the military and maritime spheres mirror that of the sphere of crafts. Zeus' intervention can be 'hands-off' in the military sphere when he delegates and instructs; however, his use of meteorological epiphanies in both spheres as well as his tendency to stay away from direct action is better described as 'distal'. All of this can be seen as a manifestation of his sovereignty. Athena's 'proximal' intervention is similar to her 'hands-on' approach to the sphere of crafts as both require μῆτις. Once again, their methods of intervention are complementary and align to a large extent with their modes of action. However, as Athena often causes panic and terror in the military sphere through sound and vision, perhaps Athena's intervention would be better described as violence constrained by μῆτις due to the grey area she inhabits between violence and intelligence in this context.

Zeus' 'distal' and Athena's 'proximal' methods of intervention can be complementary and sometimes lead to collaboration between the two deities in both spheres. Section III demonstrated how their ability to work

collaboratively is exemplified in the context of navigation. This conclusion illustrates the benefits of studying Zeus and Athena as a divine pair as opposed to individually. In her study of maritime deities, Fenet investigates each deity one-by-one. Despite highlighting that navigation is at the core of Zeus' and Athena's respective maritime characters, Fenet never makes a sufficient connection between Zeus and Athena in the context of navigation.[857] This highlights the pitfalls of a deity-by-deity approach, as it does not make room for adequate connections between deities. This chapter has highlighted that a primary area of overlap in the maritime sphere for Zeus and Athena is navigation, and that these two deities complement each other's power in this context.

This chapter has demonstrated that, although Athena is often the 'agent of Zeus', Zeus can also be the 'assistant of Athena', something frequently overlooked in scholarship.[858] Although Athena's need for Zeus' assistance speaks to her limitations especially in the maritime sphere, it also highlights the potential for a shift in power dynamics between these two deities. This is illustrated most clearly in the Lindian Chronicle when Athena expects Zeus to assist her by sending rain. It is worth noting that Zeus' assistance of Athena could be part of his wider plan and, therefore, he maintains his sovereign status as he trusts Athena to uphold his cosmic order. There is an important distinction to be made between Athena as the 'agent of

[857] Fenet 2019, 21, 98-99.
[858] Athena as the 'agent of Zeus', see Neils 2001; cf. Allan 2006, 21.

Zeus' and Zeus as the assistant of Athena. When Zeus delegates to Athena we might assume that Zeus could do that task himself, but he chooses not to; however, when Athena asks for Zeus' assistance she does so because she cannot send rain and thunder herself. This may suggest that Athena *needs* Zeus, but Zeus does not necessarily need Athena in the military and maritime spheres. Overall, Zeus and Athena can often work collaboratively in the military and maritime spheres by using their complementary 'distal' and 'proximal' methods of intervention, but Zeus appears to take on the more prominent role in the maritime sphere and in dedications from soldiers and generals.

Chapter Five. The Justice of Zeus and Athena

Introduction

In the *Works and Days*, Dike (Justice) is described as sitting beside her father, Zeus, as she tells him of the wrongful actions of mortals.[859]

> ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
> κυδρή τ᾽ αἰδοίη τε θεοῖς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν·
> καί ῥ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἄν τίς μιν βλάπτῃ σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων,
> αὐτίκα πὰρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι
> γηρύετ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον, ὄφρ᾽ ἀποτείσῃ
> δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλέων, οἳ λυγρὰ νοέοντες
> ἄλλῃ παρκλίνωσι δίκας σκολιῶς ἐνέποντες.
>
> There is a maiden, Justice, born of Zeus,
> celebrated and revered by the gods who dwell on
> Olympus, and whenever someone harms her by
> crookedly scorning her, she sits down at once
> beside her father Zeus, Cronus' son, and
> proclaims the unjust mind of human beings, so
> that he will take vengeance upon the people for
> the wickedness of their kings, who think baneful
> thoughts and bend judgments to one side by
> pronouncing them crookedly.[860]

However, it is not Dike but Zeus who bestows punishment on unjust mortals — as observed by Clay, Zeus is 'the guarantor and indeed the father of Justice' in the *Works and Days*.[861] The theme of 'the justice of Zeus' is popular in scholarship. Several scholars have investigated Zeus' relationship with justice, with perhaps the most well-known work being Lloyd-Jones' *The Justice of*

[859] Dike is also Zeus' daughter in Hes. *Theog.* 902.
[860] Hes. *Op.* 256-262 (tr. Most 2018). For commentary on this passage, see West 1978, 220-221.
[861] Clay 2016, 22; cf. Pinchard 2016, 242.

Zeus.[862] As Zeus' relationship to justice has been much discussed, this chapter will focus primarily on Athena's connection to justice, and what this can illuminate about the relationship between Zeus and Athena.[863] This chapter will provide an original contribution to the study of Athena's relationship to justice by asking how far Athena is a fundamental part of Zeus' 'network of order'.[864] Pironti argues that, in Hesiod's *Theogony*, Zeus creates an ordered system made up of goddesses such as Themis, the Horai (Eunomia, Dike, Eirene), and the Moirai (Klotho, Lachesis, and Atropos).[865] This chapter will build upon Pironti's idea by arguing that Athena is also an integral part of this network.

Section I will establish the foundation for the rest of the chapter by demonstrating the mechanics of Zeus' 'network of order', and analysing the goddesses who contribute to this network. To what extent do Themis, the Horai and the Moirai consolidate Zeus' sovereignty, and what are their limitations? The subsequent sections will consider how far (if at all) Athena is also a part of Zeus' network by analysing the extent to which she redefines and re-establishes the system of justice from one rooted in violence to one

[862] Lloyd-Jones 1983. I have used the second edition of Lloyd-Jones' *The Justice of Zeus*. For criticisms of mainly the first edition, see Herington 1973. Other scholarship on Zeus and justice: e.g., Dodds 1951; Gagarin 1973; Cohen 1986; Blickman 1987; Chiasson 1988; Nelson 1997; Clay 2016.
[863] Athena's association with justice has not been entirely ignored in existing scholarship, but scholars have predominantly focused on the connection between Athena's justice and Athens, e.g., Kennedy 2009. See also Griffith 1995, who discusses 'power and politics in the *Oresteia*', which includes references to Athena's justice and the politics of Athens.
[864] 'Justice' and 'order' are related concepts. As argued by Lloyd-Jones 1983, 4, especially in the context of epic, *dike* can be understood as 'preservation of the established order'.
[865] Pironti 2023, 85-88.

rooted in intelligence. Finally, I will compare Athena's role in the *Theogony* to her role the *Oresteia* in order to investigate how far Athena's ability to reconstruct the established order is linked to the intelligence and authority she gained when she was born from Zeus' head. It is important to remember that the Greek idea of justice might not be the same as our own. For example, when discussing justice in the *Iliad*, Lloyd-Jones argues that the actions of the gods in epic may seem 'monstrously unjust' to a modern audience, but to Homer, the gods were 'perfectly within their rights' to punish mortals as they saw fit.[866] The arguments in this chapter will be anchored in the sources that clearly discuss Zeus and Athena and their connection to justice, namely: Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*; Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, and to a lesser extent *Prometheus Bound*; and Plato's *Protagoras.* These texts belong to a closely connected literary tradition from the Archaic period and Classical Athens with considerable subsequent influence. As a result, conclusions made in this chapter may not be applicable to other texts.

I. Zeus' 'Network of Order'

This section will illuminate the functions of the key goddesses in Zeus' 'network of order', how (if at all) they consolidate Zeus' supremacy, and what their limitations are in this respect. Pironti argues that Zeus, primarily through his children by Themis, establishes a genealogical network in Hesiod's *Theogony* that consolidates his power.[867] As discussed in Chapter One, when

[866] Lloyd-Jones 1983, 4.
[867] Pironti 2023, 85-88. The primary purpose of Pironti's chapter is to analyse divine configurations; therefore, Zeus' 'network of order' is one section of a wider study of how to analyse these configurations. The children of Zeus' other wives may also be part of his

Zeus takes Metis as his first wife, he is told by Gaia and Ouranos that his future children may be dangerous to him; therefore, he swallows Metis while Athena is in utero, in order to prevent challenges to his power and to confirm his sovereign status.[868] Following this, Zeus takes multiple wives: Themis, Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, and Hera in that order.[869] In line 901, Zeus takes Themis as his second wife,

> δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὥρας,
> Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν,
> αἵ τ' ἔργ' ὠρεύουσι καταθνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι,
> Μοίρας θ', ᾗς πλείστην τιμὴν πόρε μητίετα Ζεύς,
> Κλωθώ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἵ τε διδοῦσι
> θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.
>
> Second, he married bright Themis, who gave birth to the Horai (Seasons), Eunomia (Good Order) and Dike (Justice) and blooming Eirene (Peace), who care for the works of mortal human beings, and the Moirai, upon whom the counsellor Zeus bestowed the greatest honour, Clotho and Lachesis and Atropos, who give to mortal human beings both good and evil to have.[870]

At this stage in the *Theogony*, Zeus is on the cusp of consolidating his power, which will be complete by lines 924-926 when Athena is born. As argued by Gladhill, the deities that are fathered by Zeus after he swallows Metis mainly consist of 'order-inducing Goddesses', particularly the children of Themis.[871] I will argue that the Horai symbolise order and promote good behaviour and

'network of order'; however, as this chapter concentrates on justice, I have chosen to evaluate primarily the children of Themis.

[868] Hes. *Theog.* 886-900.
[869] Hes. *Theog.* 901-929.
[870] Hes. *Theog.* 901-906 (tr. Most 2018).
[871] Gladhill 2018, 49.

adherence to laws. In contrast, the Moirai symbolise elements of unpredictability, as well as the start of Zeus' creative process in weaving and crafting his cosmos.[872]

Several of the deities fathered by Zeus in the *Theogony* are personifications of abstract nouns: abstract concepts that become deified and could (but not always) receive worship in their own right.[873] Themis, the Horai, and the Moirai all fall under the umbrella of divine personifications.[874] The meaning of 'Themis', 'Horai', and 'Moirai' together with the order of the wives could provide insight into Zeus' priorities for establishing his 'network of order' to consolidate his power. Of all the wives who follow Metis, Zeus' choice of Themis as his second wife seems particularly purposeful. The word *themis* (θέμις) can be translated in a variety of different ways: for example, the LSJ translates *themis* as 'that which is laid down or established law; justice, right' and the plural form (θέμιστες) as 'decrees of the gods, oracles'.[875] In the *Theogony*, Zeus chooses Themis to assist him in 'laying down/establishing' a new order that is represented by Themis, the Horai, and the Moirai. Zeus'

[872] See e.g., Adkins 2020, 38-40, for the problems regarding the contradictory passage in lines 211-222, in which Night gives birth to the Moirai.
[873] See Stafford 2000, on divine personifications.
[874] Stafford 2000, 36, n. 6, claims that she 'largely avoided the various female groups who appear in Greek mythology' such as the Horai and the Moirai but she dedicates the sixth chapter of her book to Eirene and elsewhere makes mention of Dike and Eunomia as personifications of abstract nouns. See also Aellen 1994, for more on divine personifications, in particular the depiction of the Erinyes on South Italian painted pottery, esp. 82-90. Aellen briefly mentions the Horai on pages 101-102 of his book, but not the Moirai.
[875] LSJ s.v. θέμις, θέμιστες. Vos 1956, 17; Miles 1989, 139; Rudhardt 1999, 19-26; Smith 2011, 42. Other scholars propose more nuanced translations: e.g., Stafford 2000, 45, argues that Themis represents 'social order'; Parker 2011, 78-79, translates 'Themis' as 'divinely sanctioned order'; and Clay 2016, 27, associates Themis with divine justice in particular.

second marriage to Themis symbolises a statement of intent to create a cosmic order based around principles of justice. This is further supported by their children, the Horai and the Moirai. Themis creates Zeus' new order (Horai and Moirai) in her womb and literally gives birth to it. Therefore, Themis is essential in laying down and establishing Zeus' order and rule.

If Themis aids Zeus in establishing his new order, how do the Horai and Moirai operate within this network and to what extent do they consolidate Zeus' sovereignty? In Hesiod's *Theogony,* the 'Horai' and the 'Moirai' are the collective names for the two sets of triplets born from Zeus and Themis.[876] In the *Theogony,* The Horai are comprised of Eunomia ('good order'), Dike ('justice'), and Eirene ('peace').[877] Typically, the word ὥρα from which Horai (Ὧραι) derives means 'season'.[878] Therefore, the Horai preside over the natural order, which is strengthened by their genealogical link to both Gaia (as the mother of Themis) and Zeus (as a deity associated with agriculture).[879] The Horai may also represent the regular order of things, as the seasons are predictable, temporal cosmic events. Eunomia is associated with good laws and adherence to those laws both mortal and divine.[880] Adherence to good

[876] The Horai as the daughters of Zeus and Themis, see: e.g., Pind. fr. 30 Snell-Maehler; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.1; Paus. 5.17.1.
[877] The Horai are also named Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.1, however, they went by different names in other contexts. E.g., Paus. 9.35.1: the Athenians worship two Horai named Karpo ('fruit') and Thallo ('blooming'). In some sources, the Horai were the guardians of the gates of Olympos: e.g., Hom. *Il.* 5.749-751 = 8.393-395.
[878] LSJ s.v. ὥρα.
[879] Stafford 2000, 47. Themis and Gaia: Hes. *Theog.* 126-136. Themis and the Horai: Hes. *Theog.* 901-903.
[880] Smith 2011, 72; cf. Andrewes 1938, 89-90. See Tyrtaios frs. 1-4 West. Smith 2011, 72; Ostwald 1969, 62-65, for *eunomia* and mortal law. See Soph. *Aj.* 713, for *eunomia* and divine law.

laws (Eunomia) naturally leads to justice (Dike) and, in the *Works and Days*, it is justice that leads to peace (Eirene), which, in turn, results in prosperity.[881] The implication is that Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene are fundamental for mortals if they want to live a prosperous life, but what benefit does this bring Zeus? If Zeus' cosmos is inhabited by Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene, the promotors of social order, good behaviour, and prosperity, then, in theory, Zeus' power would not be challenged as his law and order will be adhered to by both mortals and the divine. If this interpretation is correct, the early entry of the Horai into Zeus' 'network of order' reflects his possible fear at this stage in the *Theogony*. As mentioned, the passage prior to the one pertaining to Themis and her children details the prophecy in which Zeus will have a child destined to overthrow him. It is, therefore, essential to his sovereignty that Zeus prevents challenges to his power and Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene can assist in this through their promotion of good behaviour. In theory, Zeus provides the tools by which to prosper, and, in return, his power is not challenged.

In contrast to the Horai, the Moirai consolidate Zeus' power by presiding over the more irregular elements of Zeus' cosmic order, specifically fate.[882] The noun *moira* (μοῖρα) can be translated in a number of ways, such as 'part, portion, lot, or destiny'.[883] The Moirai (Μοῖραι) are the goddesses of fate: Klotho (Spinster), Lachesis (Dispenser of Lots), and Atropos (not to be

[881] Hes. *Op.* 225-231.
[882] Adkins 2020, 39, argues that 'by naming Zeus as the father of the Fates immediately after describing Zeus' agency over his fate, Hesiod sets Zeus apart from the other gods and establishes a key characteristic of his power'.
[883] LSJ s.v. μοῖρα.

turned, unchangeable).[884] The Moirai could represent Zeus' control over individual mortal lives, as they maintain the thread of life and determine when it is cut. Some scholars have argued that the birth of the Moirai from Zeus and Themis brings them 'into line with the regime of Zeus and reconciles them with a new system of justice'.[885] In the above passage, Hesiod claims that the Moirai 'give to mortal human beings both good and evil to have' (l. 905-906). In ancient Greek thought, the fate of a person was considered to be randomly allotted, and therefore one could not predict if their 'portion' would be good or evil. Zeus knows the fate of mortals, as do the Moirai, but humans themselves do not know what may lie in the future, nor why they have been allotted their particular portion. Therefore, if the Horai symbolise the regular and ordered side of Zeus' justice, the Moirai are symbolic of an element of randomness present in Zeus' cosmic justice. It could be argued that it is this element of unpredictability in Zeus' justice that maintains the mortal need for divine favour. Therefore, it is this aspect of the Moirai that assists in preserving Zeus' sovereignty.

Additionally, I would argue that the Moirai's association with crafts is important to the creation of Zeus' cosmic order. The Moirai work together to spin and cut the thread of a mortal life. In Chapter Three, I argued that Zeus and the Moirai both partake in cosmic spinning and that Zeus is involved in cosmic weaving. As discussed in Chapter Three, spinning and weaving are two

[884] LSJ s.v. Κλωθώ, Λάχεσις, ἄτροπος.
[885] Quote from Adkins 2020, 39. Cf. Solmsen 1949, 36-37, 205; Dietrich 1965, 59-60; Clay 2003, 29.

distinct steps of the textile process that work together to create a complete garment or tapestry. As the Moirai are among the first to be born to form Zeus' network, they might assist Zeus to start his creative process of weaving, adorning, and arranging the cosmos via their spinning ability. Although Zeus begins to apply creative intelligence by weaving his new cosmos and network, it is important to remember that at this stage in the *Theogony* the cycle of violence is not yet resolved. Even though Hesiod describes the myth of Metis before Zeus' other marriages, he separates this from the birth of Athena that is revealed in lines 924-926.[886] I would argue that Athena is born *after* Zeus' children by his other wives. In lines 921-923, Zeus marries Hera 'last of all' (λοῖσθος).[887] When Athena is born, Hera retaliates by giving birth to Hephaistos in lines 927-929. This suggests that Zeus is married to Hera at the time of Athena's birth and, therefore, Athena is born after the children to Zeus' intervening wives. As Athena is not yet born at the point of the birth of the Horai and the Moirai, she remains an underlying threat, lying in wait as Zeus crafts his new cosmos. It is only when Athena is born that the cycle of violence comes to an end (see Section IV).[888] The Horai and Moirai are limited in their ability to stop the cycle of violence and, as they promote the continuation of the established order, they cannot re-establish order. The limitations of the Horai and Moirai could leave space for Athena to enter Zeus' 'network of order' when she is born.

[886] Myth of Metis: Hes. *Theog.* 886-900.
[887] Hes. *Theog.* 923 (tr. Most 2018).
[888] See Sussman 1978, for how Zeus reproduces in a 'creative' way in order to generate a new order.

II. Early Forms of Justice: Violence Constrained by Violence

In order to understand Athena's role in Zeus' network, this section will first consider the role of violence in early forms of justice. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod suggests that justice is, in part, the absence of violence, and that this absence of violence is what separates human beings from animals. In lines 274-280, Hesiod addresses his brother, Perses,

> σὺ δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν,
> καί νυ Δίκης ἐπάκουε, βίης δ᾽ ἐπιλήθεο πάμπαν.
> τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,
> ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς
> ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ Δίκη ἐστὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῖς·
> ἀνθρώποισι δ᾽ ἔδωκε Δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
> γίνεται·
>
> Lay these things in your heart and give heed to
> Justice, and put violence entirely out of your mind.
> This is the law that Cronus' son has established for
> human beings: that fish and beasts and winged birds
> eat one another, since Justice is not among them; but
> to human beings he has given Justice, which is the
> best by far.[889]

Hesiod suggests that to put 'violence entirely out of your mind' is to follow the law (νόμος) appointed (διατάσσω) by Zeus (l. 275-276); therefore, to adhere to the justice and order of Zeus is to act without violence. This recalls the discussion of Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene: good behaviour and adherence to law, order, and justice brings prosperity to human society and security to the sovereignty of Zeus. Hesiod asks Perses to listen (ἐπακούω) to Justice (Δίκη) and to forget (ἐπιλήθω) violence (βία) altogether (l. 275). Hesiod's focus on

[889] Hes. *Op.* 274-280 (tr. Most 2018).

the φρήν (heart/mind) and on 'forgetting' violence, along with the implied acquisition of knowledge from 'listening' to Dike, may suggest an early connection between justice and intellect, but the passage more clearly states the need to dismiss violence, particularly the violence of animals, in order to be just.[890] Other sources also suggest that justice implies the absence of violence. In Plato's *Protagoras*, Zeus bestows αἰδώς ('shame') and δίκη ('justice') upon humankind because he fears that, without them, all mortals will die (ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν) due to their inability to stop doing wrong to each other (ἠδίκουν ἀλλήλους).[891] Ἀλλήλους ('one another') is also used in line 278 of the *Works and Days* to describe how animals eat one another; this is intended to contrast with humans who have *dike* and, therefore, should not subscribe to the unjust custom of animals. In order to prevent humans from acting like animals, Zeus bestows *dike* to stop the violence that may destroy them.[892]

Despite the implication that to be just is to live without violence, it appears that Zeus prevents violence by the very means of using violence. In Plato's *Protagoras*, Zeus states that whoever does not follow justice may be put to death by their fellow mortals.[893] Furthermore, the gods often exact violent punishment; for example, the many thunderbolts thrown by Zeus in

[890] Gagné 2013, 160.
[891] Pl. *Protag.* 322c; Adam and Adam 1984, 120-121.
[892] See also Hesiod's 'myth of the races', in which the races of Silver, Bronze, and Heroes destroy themselves by acting violently: Hes. *Op.* 106-201. See Beall 2005; Clay 2009, 79-80; Gagné 2013, 161-169. See also the fable of the hawk and the nightingale, in which βίη and ὕβρις are set in opposition to δίκη: Hes. *Op.* 202-213; Nelson 1997.
[893] Pl. *Protag.* 322d. See Denyer 2008, 109; Van Riel 2012, 150-151, Zeus' gift of *dike* in the *Protagoras* is 'accompanied by the threat of capital punishment to those who neglect the gift'.

the *Odyssey*, Athena's physical torture of Ajax in Sophocles' *Ajax*, or the joint effort by Athena and Zeus to kill the Achaeans in Euripides' *Trojan Women.*[894] This, in turn, creates a contradiction where justice simultaneously embodies the absence and presence of violence; the difference lies in that to *be just* one must act without violence, yet the very system by which the gods *exact justice* may in turn involve the use of violence.[895] This can be difficult to comprehend, especially as sources such as *Works and Days* place *dike* and *bia* in opposition.[896] There is a traditional view that Zeus' justice is morally superior; however, as argued by Cohen, this view neglects the importance of fear, which can be integral to Zeus' justice.[897] For example, in the *Eumenides*, Athena comments, 'for what mortal respects justice, if he fears nothing?' (τίς γὰρ δεδοικὼς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν;).[898] This sentiment is also expressed by the Erinyes in lines 517-528, when they worry that relinquishing their ability to exact justice through fear will result in the loss of justice itself.[899] Violence as a deterrent is further implied in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound.*[900] At the beginning of the play, Kratos (power) and Bia (violence) work to exact Zeus' justice by ensuring that Hephaistos binds Prometheus after the titan's theft of

[894] Thunderbolt: e.g., Hom. *Od.* 5.128, 131-132, 7.250, 12.387-388, 23.330-332, 24.539-540. Athena's torture of Ajax is a motif throughout Sophocles' *Ajax*. She explains how she is punishing Ajax in lines 51-73. See e.g., Tyler 1974, Podlecki 1980, Kennedy 2009, Debnar 2010, Finglass 2011 and 2012, for discussions of justice in *Ajax*. Athena's and Zeus' punishment of the Achaeans: Eur. *Troad.* 77-86.
[895] E.g., if you do not commit murder, you are *being just*; however, if you murder a murderer, you are *exacting justice*.
[896] E.g., the hawk and the nightingale: Hes. *Op.* 202-213. See Foley 2012, for her discussion of *peitho* and *bia* and how they might be more intertwined than previously thought.
[897] Traditional view: e.g., Winnington-Ingram 1983, 155; Lloyd-Jones 1983, 86-87, 90. Criticism: Cohen 1986.
[898] Aesch. *Eum.* 699 (tr. Sommerstein 2009); Conacher 1989, 187, n. 64.
[899] Sommerstein 1989, 175, 219.
[900] For complications regarding the authorship of *Prometheus Bound*, see Griffith 1988.

fire.[901] Lacking metalworking skills, Zeus must rely on Hephaistos to securely bind Prometheus to enable his violent punishment. Here, Zeus uses his mode of action, sovereignty, to delegate to other gods (including Hephaistos, Kratos and Bia) to exact his justice. However, Hephaistos pities Prometheus as he struggles to come to terms with punishing a 'kindred god' (συγγενῆ θεὸν) in such a violent (βίη) way.[902] He laments, 'still, I have no alternative but to endure doing it, for it is dangerous to slight the Father's word' (πάντως δ᾽ ἀνάγκη τῶνδέ μοι τόλμαν σχεθεῖν, εὐωριάζειν γὰρ πατρὸς λόγους βαρύ).[903] Hephaistos' fear of Zeus and the violent punishment of Prometheus illuminate how violence and fear are inherently connected to the justice of Zeus. Evidently, contrary to Hesiod's *Works and Days*, justice was not always understood to be the absence of violence and fear.

III. Intelligent *peitho*: Violence Constrained by μῆτις

Punishing the use of violence with violence itself is not only contradictory, but also results in other complications. In this section, I will illustrate the importance of Athena's intelligence in creating a new system of justice.[904] A particularly good source for assessing how Athena's intelligence can affect the nature of justice is the *Eumenides*. The *Oresteia* illustrates how early forms of justice (discussed in Section II) can be unsustainable. If social

[901] Aesch. *PV.* 1-17.
[902] Aesch. *PV.* 14-15.
[903] Aesch. *PV.* 16-17 (tr. Sommerstein 2009); Griffith 1988, 81.
[904] In mythology, Athena's role in justice is often political: in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* she presides as a judge over the lawcourts of Athens, and in Euripides' *Suppliants* she puts an end to the violence of the play with a treaty between Argos and Athens: Eur. *Supp.* 1183-1226; Kennedy 2009, 77-78. Sophocles' *Ajax Locrus* is very fragmented: see Kennedy 2009, 47-57.

convention in the *Oresteia* permits violence for the sake of punishing the one who used violence, then this will perpetuate cycles of violence instead of encouraging the absence or restraint of it. This results in a never-ending chain of violence and death that appears to have no hope of concluding. This is evident in the dilemma Orestes faces in the trilogy. According to the rules of the Erinyes, Orestes needs to kill whoever killed his father to avenge Agamemnon as kindred blood has been spilt and he is encouraged to do so by Apollo; however, the person who killed his father is his mother and the Erinyes punish those who commit matricide — Orestes will be cursed by the Erinyes either way.[905] This illustrates how the narrative of the *Oresteia* follows a process of complex retributive justice that spins out of control. Athena's implementation of the Areopagos court shifts the system of justice from retributive justice to the use of law and order.[906] However, it is not simply the implementation of a judicial body that changes the system of justice, it is Athena's ability to use *peitho* ('persuasion') that alters the process of attaining justice.

Peitho plays an important role in the *Eumenides*.[907] In this play, Athena uses the words πείθω ('to persuade', l. 784), εὐπειθέω (stronger than persuade, 'to obey', but related, l. 829), and invokes the power of Πειθώ (the

[905] Aesch. *Cho.* 269-305; Aesch. *Eum.* 211; Lloyd-Jones 1983, 91.
[906] The Areopagos was one of five Athenian homicide courts. For more on the Areopagos in the *Oresteia* and more generally, see Dover 1957; Thomson 1966, vol. 2, 297; Boegehold 1995, 44-50; MacLeod 1982, 127-129; Carter 2007, ch. 2; Harris 2019.
[907] Buxton 1982, 49, 'Athene's winning-over the Furies is openly described as a triumph of *peitho*'. See also Kennedy 2009, 36. Persuasion is associated with rhetoric in oratory, see Kennedy 1963; Cohen 1986; Kane 1986; Worthington 1994; Griffith 1995; Montgomery 1996.

goddess Persuasion, l. 885) to convince the Erinyes not to act upon their threats to destroy and harm the polis of Athens after Orestes has been acquitted.[908] Athena uses several tactics to try to convince them: she provides counterarguments to their claims, and she offers them a permanent home in Athens where they will be honoured by the citizens.[909] Athena has to argue multiple cases as the Erinyes are not easily convinced (δυσπαρήγορος, l. 384).[910] This could be why the force of πείθω gets stronger each time, from 'persuade' (πείθω), to 'obey' (εὐπειθέω), to invoking the goddess Peitho. As noted by Buxton, although Athena is operating via *peitho*, she still threatens the Erinyes with the potential violence of Zeus' thunderbolt if they refuse to comply.[911] She introduces the threat briefly, but then immediately goes back to *peitho*, this time employing the form, εὐπειθέω. Gagarin argues that 'it is certainly the force of her [Athena's] persuasion (*peitho*, 885, 970) more than the threat of punishment that convinces them [the Erinyes]'.[912] However, in this context, *peitho* and *bia* are not in opposition but instead complement one another.[913] Athena's threat of the thunderbolt is in fact part of her *peitho*. Athena's casual comment that she can rely on the power and violence (*kratos* and *bia*) of Zeus if her other methods of persuasion fail highlights an underlying threat of violence even if her primary tactic is persuasion.

[908] The threats of the Erinyes: Aesch. *Eum.* 778-792 = 808-822.
[909] Aesch. *Eum.* 795-799, 807.
[910] Buxton 1982, 110; Worthington 1994, 197.
[911] Aesch. *Eum.* 826-828; Buxton 1982, 110.
[912] Gagarin 1974, 83; cf. Kirby 1990, 215.
[913] See Stafford 2000, 130-132, who aligns *peitho* and *bia* primarily in the context of Helen's abduction, particularly in iconography. See also Foley 2012, on *peitho* and *bia.*

Peitho is not unique to Athena, as other gods also have the power to persuade. Athena employs a specific kind of *peitho* in the *Eumenides* that differs to that of other deities. Most notable is Aphrodite, who is associated with *peitho* as an abstract noun and personified deity.[914] Aphrodite's *peitho* might be described, in its very basic form, as erotic persuasion.[915] For example, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Athena, Artemis, and Hestia are listed as the goddesses 'whose minds (φρήν) she [Aphrodite] cannot persuade (πείθω) or deceive (ἀπατάω)'.[916] *Peitho* in this context must be one of lust, love, and eroticism, concepts that are unlikely to influence three virgin goddesses. Interesting is Stafford's observation of *peitho* as something that can be achieved not just through words, but 'by non-verbal means, too, especially through the medium of vision'.[917] Stafford comments on the adornment of Pandora by Peitho in the *Works and Days*. In this context, Peitho, who is characterised as Aphrodite's attendant, places golden necklaces around Pandora's neck: her gift is 'of sexual attractiveness, expressed in visual terms'.[918] Therefore, one difference between Athena's and Aphrodite's *peitho* could be the use of verbal and non-verbal means of persuasion. Athena is often associated with clever language. As discussed in Chapter Two, Athena has φρόνησις ('practical wisdom, prudence in government affairs'), which is associated with the ability to speak well and make good arguments. In line 850

[914] Aphrodite and Peitho in cult: e.g., Paus. 1.22.1-3, 5.11.8. See Stafford 2000, ch. 4, for her discussion of Peitho and Aphrodite primarily in a cultic context. See also Pirenne-Delforge 1991 and 1994; Pironti 2007.
[915] Buxton 1982, 4, 30.
[916] *Hymn. Hom.* 5.7, 33. See Strolonga 2012, for a discussion of Aphrodite and *erga* in this hymn.
[917] Stafford 2000, 111.
[918] Hes. *Op.* 73-75; Stafford 2000, 112.

of the *Eumenides*, Aeschylus describes Athena using the word φρονέω ('intelligence'), which is the source of the word φρόνησις.[919] This φρόνησις is connected to Athena's μῆτις and, in this context, is bound up with *peitho.* These verbal and non-verbal methods of persuasion can, of course, overlap. For example, as discussed in Chapter Four, in *Iliad* Book 4*,* Athena shapeshifts (non-verbal) and uses the power of persuasive speech (verbal) to make the Trojans break their oaths.[920] Athena influences Pandaros by taking on the guise of Laodocos, but her words are what persuade him to shoot Menelaus. In line 104, the poet writes, 'so spoke Athena, and persuaded his [Pandaros'] heart in his folly' (Ὣς φάτ᾽ Ἀθηναίη, τῷ δὲ φρένας ἄφρονι πεῖθεν).[921] It is specifically Athena's speech (φημί) that persuades (πείθω) Pandaros; the shape of Laodocos is a means to an end rather than the method of persuasion. Therefore, perhaps Athena more obviously represents intelligent, verbal *peitho* and Aphrodite erotic, non-verbal *peitho.* This is not to say both goddesses cannot use both verbal and non-verbal/intelligent and erotic forms of *peitho,* but that Athena is more obviously representative of the intelligent side and Aphrodite the erotic. Words, language, and intelligent speech are the core of Athena's persuasive strategies in contrast to Aphrodite's more non-verbal and erotic *peitho.* It is this intelligent, verbal *peitho* that Athena applies in the *Eumenides.*

[919] Most 2018, translates φρονέω as 'intelligence'.
[920] Hom. *Il.* 4.85-104.
[921] Hom. *Il.* 4.104 (tr. Murray 2003).

As alluded to above, *peitho* and speech are closely linked in the *Eumenides*. As the Erinyes persist in their resistance, Athena makes her final plea,

> ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἀγνόν ἐστί σοι Πειθοῦς σέβας,
> γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον—σὺδ᾽
> οὖν μένοις ἄν· εἰ δὲ μὴ θέλεις μένειν,
> οὐ τἂν δικαίως τῇδ᾽ ἐπιρρέποις πόλει
> μῆνίν τιν᾽ ἢ κότον τιν᾽ ἢ βλάβην στρατῷ·
> ἔξεστι γάρ σοι τῆσδε γαμόρῳ χθονὸς
> εἶναι δικαίως εἰς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένῃ.
>
> If you have reverence for the awesome power of Persuasion, the charm and enchantment of my tongue— well, anyway, please do stay. But if you prefer not to, it would be unjust for you to let fall on this city any wrath, or any anger, or any harm to its people; for you have the opportunity to be a landholder in this country, and be justly honoured for ever.[922]

Athena's arguments finally persuade the Erinyes not to cause harm to Athens but to stay in Athens, as she convinces them that to disregard her persuasion would be unjust (l. 888-891). Athena refers to the persuasive 'charm and enchantment of my tongue' (γλώσσης ἐμῆς μείλιγμα καὶ θελκτήριον, l. 886), which could be interpreted as the skill of her argument.[923] Additionally, after she has convinced the Erinyes, Athena thanks Peitho for watching 'over my tongue and lips' (ὅτι μοι γλῶσσαν καὶ στόμ᾽ ἐπώπα) and she questions if the Erinyes 'are minded to find the path of fair speech' (ἆρα φρονοῦσιν γλώσσης

[922] Aesch. *Eum.* 885-891 (tr. Sommerstein 2009).
[923] Sommerstein 1989, 225, comments that μείλιγμα ('charm') 'was used in 107 of propitiatory offerings to the Erinyes', so persuasion was the best way to 'propitiate' them.

ἀγαθῆς ὁδὸν εὑρίσκειν).[924] The association between speech, persuasion, and justice brings the intelligent side of *peitho* into focus. The cleverness of Athena's verbal *peitho* is what enables her to turn the fury of the Erinyes into passion for the protection of the polis.[925] After Athena has persuaded the Erinyes, she comments that Zeus Agoraios ('of the agora') has triumphed (l. 973) due to her success. Sommerstein notes that Zeus Agoraios 'triumphs by means of words' and is different to the retributive Zeus of the *Agamemnon.*[926] This reference to a more intellectual Zeus could symbolise further the transformation that Athena's *peitho* has brought to the system of attaining justice, a change that has been sanctioned by Zeus. It is only from lines 794-1002 that the audience finally bear witness to a successful, persuasive argument in the Areopagos court. Athena manages to showcase real intellectual persuasion in order to win over the Erinyes.[927] Athena's *peitho* is distinctly linked to language and intelligence, especially in the context of the *Eumenides*, which distinguishes her *peitho* from the *peitho* of other deities.

Although Athena has broken the cycles of violence in the *Oresteia* by persuading the Erinyes to remain in Athens as benevolent deities*,* this does not mean she has created the absence of violence completely. Athena's use of

[924] Aesch. *Eum.* 970-971, 988-989.
[925] Aesch. *Eum.* 976-1002, for the change of tone of the Erinyes.
[926] Sommerstein 1989, 269. See Σ *vet.* Ar. *Eq.* 410, for the altar of Zeus Agoraios in the agora and the assembly. See Wycherley 1957, 122-124, for more sources on Zeus Agoraios.
[927] Kennedy 2009, 80, argues that in Eur. *IT.* 77-92, the fact that some Erinyes remain unconvinced by Orestes' acquittal suggests that Athena has failed in her attempt to persuade them. I disagree; at the end of the *Eumenides,* Athena is not attempting to convince the Erinyes of Orestes' innocence, she is trying to persuade them not to harm the polis and instead to remain in Athens as protective deities. On those grounds, she is successful in her *peitho.*

peitho instead redefines when and in what context it is or is not appropriate to use violence. Athena puts new boundaries in place whereby disputes must be solved through persuasive arguments in front of a jury rather than by violence.[928] Athena also establishes that violence cannot be made against the judges of a legal case if the decision is not made in the defendant's or plaintiff's favour. For example, the Erinyes are still angry when Orestes is acquitted and they threaten violence on the polis of Athens; however, due to the establishment of these new social norms by Athena, the Erinyes are prevented from committing violent acts to satiate their desire for vengeance. This new, intelligent, persuasive justice introduced by Athena is an important divergence from the violent forms of achieving justice discussed in Section II.[929] Despite this, violence still plays a part in attaining justice, as it can be used as an effective deterrent. The difference now is that violence is restrained by an intelligent system of justice implemented by Athena. Athena frequently inhabits the grey area between violence and intelligence. As discussed in Chapter One, Athena puts an end to the cycle of violence in the *Theogony* when she is born from Zeus' head. However, Athena's birth does not necessarily result in the absence of violence and tension, as Athena (particularly her womb) remains an underlying threat to Zeus' power. Similarly to the *Theogony,* in the *Oresteia*, violence is restrained and its nature redefined, as Athena constrains the raw animal instinct towards physical violence using intelligent *peitho.* The early form of *dike* discussed in Section II

[928] Havelock 2013, 279-280; Burian 2021, 131.
[929] See ch. 1 and 4, for further analyses of violence constrained by μῆτις.

appears to have been insufficient and unsustainable, as it was violence constrained by violence, whereas Athena recognises the need to reorganise the justice system to restrain violence by applying intelligent *peitho.*

I would argue further that the placement and name of the Areopagos in the *Oresteia* could express the violence that has been restrained by Athena's intelligent *peitho.* In the context of the *Eumenides,* the Areopagos *court* is named after the Areopagos *hill* on which it stands. Aeschylus provides a mythical aetiology for how the Areopagos hill got its name: in the myth, the Amazons used it to attack the Acropolis and made sacrifices to Ares there.[930] Although it is not clear that Ares was ever worshipped on the Areopagos in a cultic context, Aeschylus' reference to this particular aetiology connects the history and naming of the hill to violence and war.[931] Additionally, as argued by Deacy, the aetiology of the Areopagos in the *Eumenides* foregrounds the Amazons, who revere their father (Ares) as Athena does Zeus, which could further explain the choice of this myth.[932] Although the creation of the Areopagos court sets justice on the path towards intelligent *peitho*, in the *Eumenides*, there is a covert undercurrent of violence and war humming in the background as it stands on the 'hill of Ares'. Athena claims that the hill is the

[930] Aesch. *Eum.* 681-690. See Sommerstein 1989, 213-214, for the background on the Amazon invasion.
[931] Sommerstein 1989, 213-214, comments that although Aeschylus probably did not invent the connection between the Areopagos hill and Amazon invasion, the sacrifices by the Amazons to Ares are not mentioned or implied by other authors. Sommerstein suggests that Aeschylus required a link between the Amazons and the name 'Areopagos', and so chose to have the warriors sacrifice to Ares on the hill. See Paus. 1.28.5, for the alternative aetiology that the Areopagos court and hill were named as such after Ares was tried on the hill for killing Poseidon's son, Halirrhothios. See also Parker 2005a, 52-54.
[932] Deacy 2022, 183.

perfect place for the court as it can promote 'respect and inborn fear of the citizens' which will 'prevent any wrongdoing' (ἐν δὲ τῷ σέβας ἀστῶν φόβος τε συγγενὴς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν).[933] Furthermore, Pausanias mentions an altar of Athena Areia ('of Ares') dedicated by Orestes on the Areopagos hill after his acquittal.[934] As discussed in Chapter Four, Athena Areia could embody the concept of violence constrained by μῆτις, and therefore the placement of an altar to Athena Areia on the Areopagos hill would strengthen its association with the restraint of violence by intelligence. The positioning of the court on top of the hill may symbolise the layering of intelligence over violence, as violence is still present but becomes secondary to intelligence.

The concept of layering may also be fruitful for understanding Athena's integration of old and new orders. In the *Eumenides*, Athena not only establishes a new order, but she combines the old and new orders together by inviting the Erinyes to reside in Athens in the form of protective deities instead of bringing her polis to ruin.[935] Despite the Erinyes' claim that Zeus has no respect for the old order, Athena in the *Oresteia* works in a similar way to Zeus in the *Theogony* when she combines new and old.[936] For example, in the *Theogony,* Zeus gains the assistance of members of the older order such as Styx and Hekate by offering them honours.[937] This is similar to Athena's

[933] Aesch. *Eum.* 690-691 (tr. Sommerstein 2009).
[934] Paus. 1.28.5; Harrison 2005, 120; Barringer and Hurwit 2005, 120.
[935] Aesch. *Eum.* 968-975; Lloyd-Jones 1982, 2: Aeschylus is 'taking advantage of a long-existing cult' of the Eumenides long established in Athens.
[936] Aesch. *Eum.* 640-645.
[937] Styx: Hes. *Theog.* 383-403. Hekate: Hes. *Theog.* 411-415. For more on Styx in the *Theogony*, see Blickman 1987.

method of offering the Erinyes honours, such as a permanent home in Athens and veneration from the citizens, in order to gain their favour.[938] Athena layers seemingly opposing forces: old and new, violence and intelligence. Therefore, the Areopagos court placed on the Areopagos hill can be a metaphor for Athena's layering of intelligence over violence, which signifies the restraint of unchecked, retributive violence.

Athena's use of *peitho* in the *Eumenides* has redefined justice. In the *Eumenides*, Athena uses her μῆτις and φρόνησις to make an intellectual addition to the process of attaining *dike*: *peitho.* As a result, the system of exacting justice evolves from a violent framework to one more rooted in intelligence. To be just still appears to be, at its core, the absence of violence, but now attaining justice is to avoid violence as a first resort. Athena helps to develop a civic process for Athens to handle acts of violence in a more intelligent and civilized way. Importantly, although it is Athena who guides Athens into a new intellectual legal era of justice in the context of the *Eumenides*, this new era of *dike* still belongs to Zeus. Athena guides the establishment of the Areopagos court in a 'hands-on' way, whereas Zeus oversees this from afar. Therefore, Zeus' and Athena's 'hand-off'/'distal' and 'hands-on'/'proximal' methods of intervention once again work in collaboration and can be applicable in this context.

[938] Aesch. *Eum.* 804-807.

IV. Breaking the Cycle: Justice and the Birth of Athena in the *Theogony* and the *Oresteia*

I have referred throughout this chapter to the potential for Athena to break cycles of violence, specifically in the *Theogony* and the *Oresteia.* This section will argue that Athena's role in the *Oresteia,* especially the *Eumenides*, mirrors that of her role in the Hesiodic succession myth. I will suggest a new interpretation of the parallel between the succession myth and the *Oresteia* by arguing that Athena is crucial in consolidating Zeus' order in both contexts. I will then demonstrate that it is the importance of Athena's birth from Zeus' head that gives her the necessary qualities to break the cycles of violence in both cases.

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* contains a potential reference to the succession cycle of the *Theogony*. The chorus mention the three stages of early divine life, generally interpreted as the ages of Ouranos, Kronos, and Zeus.[939]

οὔθ᾽ ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,
παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,
οὐδὲ λέξεται πρὶν ὤν·
ὅς τ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ἔφυ, τριακ-
τῆρος οἴχεται τυχών·
Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων.

The one who was formerly great [Ouranos],
swelling with proud confidence he could fight any
foe, will now not even be spoken of as existing in
the past; and he who was born later [Kronos] has

[939] Raeburn and Thomas 2011, 84-86.

> met his conqueror, and is gone. One who gladly utters loud songs of victory to Zeus will score a perfect hit on the target of wisdom.[940]

The chorus recall the displacement of Ouranos by Kronos and Kronos by Zeus.[941] As discussed in Chapter One, it is Athena who breaks this cycle of violence and confirms Zeus' sovereignty, order, and justice. I will consider the three plays of the *Oresteia* and the potential parallels that can be made between this trilogy and the three eras of the succession myth, before discussing Athena's specific involvement in the *Eumenides*. Tragic playwrights were required to produce three plays and a satyr play for the City Dionysia. Most playwrights did not write 'trilogies', three individual plays that formed one overarching plot; but the *Oresteia* is a trilogy in form and narrative. The succession myth is also a trilogy within the *Theogony*; it is a series of events that have their own individual narratives but lead to Zeus' rule and supremacy at the end as part of one bigger event. Although there are multiple acts of violence in the *Oresteia* and the *Theogony,* I would argue that there are three major phases of violence within the *Oresteia* and the *Theogony* respectively, followed by a fourth phase that brings intelligence to the fore. In the *Theogony*, phase one is Ouranos' violence towards Gaia; phase two is Kronos' mutilation of Ouranos; and phase three is Zeus' usurpation of Kronos.[942] In the *Oresteia*, phase one is the banquet of Thyestes; phase two is the murder of Agamemnon and Cassandra by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus; and phase three

[940] Aesch. *Ag.* 167-173 (tr. Sommerstein 2009).
[941] Ouranos and Kronos: Hes. *Theog.* 161-174. Kronos and Zeus: Hes. *Theog.* 488-491. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6.
[942] Hall 2021, 16, also outlines Ouranos' violence towards Gaia as the first act of violence and Ouranos' castration as the second act of violence.

is the murder of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus by Orestes. In both texts, the fourth phases involve Athena: her birth (*Theogony*) and her role in ending cycles of violence in the *Eumenides* (*Oresteia*). Not all elements of these phases of the succession myth can be neatly mapped onto these phases of the *Oresteia*, but the symbolism and themes lead to interesting parallels.

How does each phase of violence in the *Oresteia* correspond to each phase of violence in the Hesiodic succession cycle? In the *Agamemnon*, the audience is provided with an aetiology for the cycle of retributive justice in the family of Agamemnon and Aegisthus: Agamemnon's father, Atreus, served his brother, Thyestes (the father of Aegisthus) the flesh of Thyestes' children.[943] This transgression triggered the birth of the kindred Erinyes in the families of Agamemnon and Aegisthus.[944] Clay comments that the cycle of retributive justice in this family can be traced back five generations, all the way to Tantalus, but Aeschylus has chosen to enact the drama through three generations instead.[945] In this way, Aeschylus' conscious choice to work in threes strengthens the parallel of the *Oresteia* trilogy with the three ages of the succession myth. The story of the transgression of Atreus, who enabled his brother to unwittingly consume his own children, could be symbolic of Ouranos pushing his children back into their mother Gaia.[946] Both Thyestes and Gaia consume their young against their will and without their consent;

[943] Aesch. *Ag.* 1583-1597.
[944] Aesch. *Ag.* 1190.
[945] Clay 1969, 2. See Clay 1969 more generally, for more examples of threes used in the *Oresteia.*
[946] Hes. *Theog.* 154-162.

because of this Ouranos and the family of Atreus are faced with retributive justice.[947] It is not just Aegisthus that wishes revenge upon Agamemnon, but Clytemnestra too. Aeschylus provides a reason for Clytemnestra's desire for revenge: Agamemnon's choice to sacrifice their daughter, Iphigeneia, to Artemis.[948] Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon parallels the actions of Gaia and Rhea in the succession myth; the mother helps to avenge the death or maltreatment of her young by assisting in the death or usurpation of the father. When Aegisthus and Clytemnestra murder Agamemnon they do so because of his connection to the transgressions of Agamemnon's father and because of his sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

In the next play, the *Libation Bearers,* the 'third act of violence' is played out.[949] The 'third act of violence' in the succession myth is when Kronos swallows his children and is then forced to release them by Zeus, whereas in the *Oresteia*, the 'third act of violence' is the murder of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus by Orestes. The actions of Zeus and Orestes mirror each other; they both take vengeance on a parent for their own sake and on behalf of their siblings. After the third phase of violence, there is a fourth phase characterised by intelligence in both the succession myth and the *Oresteia.* In the *Theogony*, the fourth phase is the birth of Athena, when Athena brings the succession cycle to a close.[950] In the *Oresteia,* this fourth

[947] See Clay 1969, 8, for a discussion of the parallel of consumption between the succession myth and the *Oresteia.*
[948] Aesch. *Ag.* 1521-1529.
[949] Clay 1969, 6-7.
[950] See ch. 1, for discussion regarding intelligence in the succession cycle.

phase begins in the *Eumenides*, in which the trilogy is resolved in two ways: firstly, with the acquittal of Orestes in the court of the Areopagos and secondly, with Athena's persuasion of the Erinyes as discussed in Section III. Importantly, in both the succession cycle and the *Oresteia*, Athena ends the cycle of retributive justice and brings about an age of law and justice. Part of this phase in both the *Theogony* and the *Eumenides* is the layering of violence and intelligence, as violence is redefined with Athena's μῆτις and/or intelligent *peitho*. In both texts Athena is connected to violent elements (her armour and war-like nature in the *Theogony* and her use of the Areopagos in the *Eumenides*), which are used to preserve peace. In the succession myth and the *Oresteia*, it is Athena who resolves the cycles of violence and consolidates the new order, justice, and sovereignty of Zeus. The justice of Zeus is secured, and Athena is a vital ally and agent of justice in both the *Oresteia* and the succession myth.

Athena's ability to break cycles of violence is directly related to her birth from her father, Zeus. In the succession myth, the cycle of violence ends when Athena is born from Zeus' head and in the *Oresteia*, Athena mentions the birth from her father alone when she acquits Orestes. When the debate between the Erinyes and Apollo ends, the jury of Athenian citizens is hung; therefore, Athena must cast the deciding vote,

ἐμὸν τόδ᾽ ἔργον, λοισθίαν κρῖναι δίκην·
ψῆφον δ᾽ Ὀρέστῃ τήνδ᾽ ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι.
μήτηρ γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶν ἥ μ᾽ ἐγείνατο,
τὸ δ᾽ ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν,

ἅπαντι θυμῷ, κάρτα δ᾽ εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός·
οὕτω γυναικὸς οὐ προτιμήσω μόρον
ἄνδρα κτανούσης δωμάτων ἐπίσκοπον.
νικᾷ δ᾽ ὁ φεύγων, κἂν ἰσόψηφος κριθῇ.
ἐκβάλλεθ᾽ ὡς τάχιστα τευχέων πάλους,
ὅσοις δικαστῶν τοῦτ᾽ ἐπέσταλται τέλος.

This is now my task, to be the last to judge this case; and I shall cast this ballot for Orestes. There is no mother who gave birth to me, and I commend the male in all respects (except for joining in marriage) with all my heart: in the fullest sense, I am my Father's child.[951] Therefore I shall not set a higher value on the death of a woman, when she had killed her husband, the guardian of her house. The defendant wins, even if the judges' votes on him are equally divided. Empty the ballots from the urns at once, you of the judges to whom this function has been assigned.[952]

Athena's decision to acquit Orestes is based solely on her relationship to Zeus and, more importantly, her birth from her father.[953] She is not just her 'father's child', but she is 'of the father' (εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός), which would suggest that she is not just on the side of her father specifically, but of the patriarchy, albeit a patriarchal system that she has the potential to disrupt as discussed in Chapter One.[954] As mentioned previously, justice in the *Oresteia* is unstable and the complexities of the murders have become inextricably entangled; whichever pathway he chooses, Orestes is doomed. Therefore, Athena's reason for acquitting Orestes seems to be uniquely personal and not

[951] Sommerstein 1989, 231, also provides the alternate translations 'I am wholly on the side of my father' and 'I am a faithful follower of my father'.
[952] Aesch. *Eum.* 734-743 (tr. Sommerstein 2009).
[953] This is also mentioned by Apollo: Aesch. *Eum.* 663-666.
[954] Thomas 1998, 206. See ch. 1 of this thesis and Deacy 2022, 181, for Athena's potential for disruption and tension.

necessarily logical. Nevertheless, the reference to Athena's birth from Zeus recalls the image of her springing forth from his head and the authority this brings. In Chapter One, I argued that Zeus' head in the context of the birth of Athena could symbolise a kind of superior authority that he passes down to his daughter; specifically, the authoritative nod that Athena appears to possess in Kallimachos' *Bath of Pallas.*[955] Athena exercises her authority in the *Eumenides* when she establishes and presides over the Areopagos court.[956] Importantly, Athena continuously refers to her connection with Zeus while she is persuading the Erinyes not to unleash their vengeance on Athens. In line 797, as part of her first attempt to persuade the Erinyes, she claims that Orestes was acquitted based on the 'plain evidence originating from Zeus' (ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ Διὸς γὰρ λαμπρὰ μαρτύρια παρῆν).[957] Additionally, during Athena's second attempt at persuasion, she comments that she has 'trust in Zeus' (κἀγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνί): Athena can rely on Zeus and his superior power.[958] Athena's references to Zeus bring the audience's attention to his absence. Once again, Athena demonstrates her 'hands-on' and Zeus' 'hands-off' methods of intervention. As mentioned, Athena claims in line 850 that Zeus gave her intelligence, which, once again, provides her with authority. It seems that Aeschylus makes connections between Zeus, Athena, intelligence, and authority in conjunction with *peitho* when Athena persuades the Erinyes to remain in Athens as protective deities.

[955] Callim. *Hymn* 5.131-136.
[956] Aesch. *Eum.* 565-581.
[957] Aesch. *Eum.* 797 (tr. Sommerstein 2009, with modifications).
[958] Aesch. *Eum.* 826 (tr. Sommerstein 2009); Sommerstein 1989, 246.

Athena's purpose in the *Eumenides* mirrors that of the succession cycle, as she ends the cycle of violence, murder, and retributive justice in part because of her relationship with her father and her birth from him alone. Athena creates stability both in the divine world (*Theogony*) and in the mortal world (*Oresteia*), and she does so because of Zeus and their genealogical connection. The qualities (authority and μῆτις) Athena uses to break the cycles of violence in the succession myth and the *Oresteia* are directly connected to her birth from her father, Zeus.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that Athena is an integral part of Zeus' 'network of order'. Although Themis, the Horai, and the Moirai consolidate Zeus' power to an extent, there are limitations to their ability when it comes to redefining and re-establishing justice and order once disrupted, as their primary function is to maintain the established order. It is Athena who assists Zeus in redefining and re-establishing order when the previous or current form of justice is no longer viable. In the context of the *Oresteia*, Athena breaks the cycle of violence by use of her intelligent verbal *peitho*, μῆτις, and authority from her father, but she does not do away with violence all together. Instead, I have illustrated how Athena layers intelligence over violence, thereby making violence secondary to intelligence. Interestingly, in the closing lines of the *Eumenides*, Zeus 'the all-seeing' (παντόπτης) and Fate (Μοῖρα) are described as coming 'to the aid of Pallas' citizens' (Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς Ζεὺς παντόπτας

οὕτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα).[959] As discussed in Section III, there is a reunion here between the old (Zeus and the Moirai) and new (Athena) orders.[960] Now Athena has re-established the method of attaining justice, the Moirai (and the Horai) can work to maintain this newly established order that is to be embedded in Zeus' cosmos. Therefore, the *Eumenides* may highlight how the goddesses of Zeus' network (including Athena) can work together to bring peace (Eirene) to the polis.[961] Zeus and the Moirai once again intervene through 'hands-off' and 'distal' means, while Athena takes a more 'hands-on' and 'proximal' approach.

I have shown that the parallel between the *Theogony* and the *Oresteia* illuminates how Athena's ability to break cycles of violence can be traced back to her unique birth from her father alone. I argued in Chapter One that Athena gains μῆτις and authority when she is born from Zeus' head in the *Theogony* and, in that same moment, breaks the cycle of violence in the succession myth. In this chapter, I demonstrated that Athena uses this μῆτις and authority as well as her intelligent *peitho* when she breaks the cycle of violence in the *Oresteia*. Her consistent references to her relationship with Zeus remind the audience of Zeus' and Athena's unique relationship, and of the source of Athena's authority, which enables her to redefine justice. Athena is therefore an important component in Zeus' 'network of order', as she

[959] Aesch. *Eum.* 1045-1046 (tr. Sommerstein 2009). Podlecki 1989, 193: Zeus 'all-seeing' can be associated with 'benevolent surveillance of human affairs'.
[960] Sommerstein 1989, 285.
[961] Although Eirene is not mentioned by name in the *Eumenides*, the victory of peace and *peitho* at the end of the play is clear.

redefines and re-establishes justice as a system of violence constrained by μῆτις and, in turn, confirms and stabilises Zeus' sovereignty.

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that Zeus and Athena share a symbiotic relationship built on a mutual consolidation and confirmation of power, the significance of which has not previously been highlighted by other scholarship. By 'symbiotic' I mean a mutually beneficial relationship, in which each deity's power enhances that of the other; in other words, the stability of Zeus' power is reliant on Athena and vice versa. This symbiotic power is, in part, a consequence of Athena's decision to remain a *parthenos*: Athena's virginity and her ability to break the cycle of violence in Hesiod's *Theogony* directly impact the stability of Zeus' cosmos and the security of his power. According to Felson and Yasumura, tension is dispelled when Athena is born; however, as observed by Deacy, the possibility for tension between father and daughter lingers beyond the birth of Athena.[962] What has not been previously considered is the extent to which Athena's status as a *parthenos* could be to her own advantage, and not just for the benefit of Zeus. As a *parthenos*, Athena can remain in her father's *oikos* as the favourite daughter, who receives affection and trust from Zeus. Furthermore, Athena's authority and μῆτις — attributes that are essential to her power across multiple contexts — are directly connected to her birth and virginity. This observation enhances our understanding of Zeus and Athena as their relationship is reframed as one based on symbiosis.

[962] Felson 2011, 270; Yasumura 2011, 4; Deacy 2022, 181.

This thesis has illustrated that Zeus' and Athena's familial relationship is an essential foundation for their closeness across multiple contexts. By analysing several spheres of influence and a combination of different kinds of evidence, it has become evident that the importance of Zeus' and Athena's familial relationship is not confined to one area but permeates different contexts and materials, as illustrated in each chapter of this thesis. While the familial bond between Zeus and Athena is an important foundation for their relationship, the collaboration between these two gods is not always necessarily motivated by their familial ties. There are other reasons as to why Zeus and Athena might appear in the same context. These may include their modes of action (see below) or the complementary ways in which they work together. The reciprocal relationship between Zeus and Athena often results in collaboration, and the examples presented in this thesis highlight how Zeus and Athena regularly work together to fulfil Zeus' will. When Athena assists Zeus, her support is frequently directed towards the mortal realm. This is especially true of Athena's involvement in navigation, in which she teaches helmsmen how to read and interpret the signs laid out by Zeus. Rather than simply following Zeus' orders, Athena assists helmsmen to further their knowledge and develop their skills. Here, Athena is not just Zeus' helpful daughter; she acts as an intermediary between Zeus and human beings in part to ensure the fulfilment of Zeus' will, but also to assist mortals in various ways. This is not to say that their familial relationship is irrelevant in these contexts, but that Zeus' and Athena's appearance in the same context may reflect a

variety of factors, such as their ability to collaborate and their complementary powers.

Part of the original contribution of this thesis is the observation that Zeus' and Athena's relationship is not static and can change according to context.[963] The relative power and prominence of Zeus and Athena when they appear together in the same context is ultimately unstable, potentially shifting depending on the geographical location and the sphere of activity concerned. Notably, Zeus' and Athena's relationship can change even within the same geographical region (e.g., Attica) or sphere of influence; this illustrates the difficulty in deducing patterns or principles applicable to all contexts. As a result, Zeus' and Athena's relationship is not easy to characterise or pin down. This conclusion aligns with some aspects of network theory, in which networks can change and develop over time.[964] The network tie between Zeus and Athena thus shifts depending on context and location and should be visualised as something in constant flux rather than stationary. The potentially shifting nature of Zeus' and Athena's relationship also aligns somewhat with the idea that polytheism is a flexible framework, in which there are variations and apparent inconsistencies in the ways the gods operate.[965] While their relationship can never be truly consistent across all contexts, it is underpinned by the fundamental thread of their symbiotic familial bond. It is possible that this conclusion could be applied to other pairs or groups of gods, as this thesis

[963] See also Villing 1997b, 223-229, on the iconography of Athena.
[964] Eidinow 2011, 11.
[965] Versnel 2011, esp. appendix 2. See also Jim 2022, 236.

has shown that the divine power of any given deity cannot be understood in isolation but can be affected, complemented, or constrained by the deities that surround him.

A methodology essential to this investigation has been the analysis of Zeus and Athena as a divine pair.[966] This methodology has revealed aspects of their relationship which had been overlooked by scholars who analysed these deities individually. For example, despite highlighting navigation as a core aspect of Zeus' and Athena's respective maritime characters, Fenet failed to sufficiently make connections between Zeus and Athena due to her deity-by-deity approach.[967] Additionally, in analyses of Zeus as an individual deity, Athena is often mentioned primarily as an extension of Zeus' power.[968] As observed by Kennedy, in Lloyd-Jones' discussions of the justice of Zeus, 'Athena is seen as nothing but the instrument of Zeus' will'.[969] By studying Zeus and Athena together, this thesis has uncovered important aspects often neglected: how Zeus' power might impact Athena, and vice versa. As mentioned, not only does Athena's birth secure Zeus' power, but she too benefits from being born from his head and remaining a *parthenos.* Another observation is that in some contexts Zeus acts as the assistant of Athena. This finding therefore adds a new perspective to the assumption that Athena

[966] E.g., Bruit-Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 183-184; Vernant 2006, 157-186; Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti 2022, 10.
[967] Fenet 2019.
[968] E.g., Cook 1940, vol. 3, 656-747; Yasumura 2011, ch. 4.
[969] Lloyd-Jones 1956 and 1983; Kennedy 2009, 39, n. 5.

frequently acts as the 'agent of Zeus'.[970] The investigation of Zeus and Athena as a divine pair has revealed a different dimension to their relationship in which Athena has more agency and control. Moreover, studying Zeus and Athena as a divine pair has brought to light new insights regarding these deities respectively. For example, although Athena is recognised in scholarship for her contribution to the sphere of crafts, previous scholars have often overlooked Zeus' involvement in this sphere.[971] By positioning Zeus alongside Athena in relation to crafts, one is encouraged to view Zeus through a new lens; this has led to such conclusions as Zeus' ability to craft in a more abstract way. Therefore, an investigation into Zeus and Athena as a divine pair has not only illuminated new aspects of their relationship but has uncovered new facets of their individual divine characters that have previously been overlooked.

This thesis has blended several pre-existing theoretical frameworks together to analyse Zeus' and Athena's relationship. This primarily consisted of analysing Burkert's four components of a god (cult, name, myths, and iconography) and using multiple contexts to test how far the 'structuralist' tenet of the mode of action is useful for analysing the relationship between Zeus and Athena.[972] A comprehensive analysis of cult, name, myths, and iconography necessitates the use of various kinds of material such as

[970] Neils 2001; cf. Allan 2006, 21; Cuche 2010, 652-653.
[971] E.g., Cook 1914-1940; Scheid and Svenbro 2001.
[972] Burkert 1985, 119. Athena's μῆτις: Detienne and Vernant 1974, esp. ch. 8. Zeus' sovereignty: Vernant 1980, 105.

literature, epigraphy, archaeology, and iconography. Epic literature and myth can often show Zeus and Athena in action and provide information that is difficult to glean from other evidence such as dedicatory inscriptions. What is consistent across literary and iconographic evidence is Zeus' and Athena's familial relationship and collaboration. Literature and iconography highlight the popularity of the myths of the birth of Athena, particularly in Attica, and Zeus' and Athena's ability to work collaboratively is prominent in literature.

Epigraphical and archaeological material has elucidated aspects of the cultic worship of Zeus and Athena, and how worshippers interacted with these deities. Epigraphy is especially useful when analysing their shared cult epithets. A review of these epithets has demonstrated that the nature of a god under a given epithet can vary even in the same geographical region; additionally, the prominence of each deity may change depending on context.[973] Epigraphic evidence is also useful in uncovering local variations of a deity's divine functions and nature. Mythology can sometimes provide a more panhellenic picture of a god, but to understand the local character of, for example, Athena Lindia in Rhodes, one needs to assess the cultic evidence from that particular polis.[974] These observations reinforce the above conclusion that the relationship between Zeus and Athena is not static and can shift from place to place.

[973] E.g., see ch. 4: Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in the Attic Piraeus and Rhamnous.
[974] Although important local cults of a particular deity can be discussed in myth: e.g., Hera's association with Argos, Sparta, and Mycenae in Hom. *Il.* 4.50-52.

This thesis sought to test how far the mode of action, associated with the École de Paris, is a useful conceptual tool for analysing the relationship between Zeus and Athena. One observation is that although Zeus' and Athena's modes of action were identified as significant in several spheres of activity, this did not mean that sovereignty and μῆτις were necessarily the most prominent or the only ways by which Zeus and Athena operated in these contexts. For instance, the worship of Zeus and Athena in the Athenian phratries seemed more obviously connected to their familial relationship than their modes of action. Additionally, in places such as Athens and Rhodes in particular, it seemed that Athena's competencies were expanded due to her status there as the primary deity, rather than her μῆτις. Nevertheless, this thesis has demonstrated that Zeus' sovereignty and Athena's μῆτις were often compatible and enabled effective collaboration. This is especially true of their 'hands-off' and 'hands-on' and 'distal' and 'proximal' methods of intervention outlined in Chapters Three and Four, which mapped quite neatly onto sovereignty and μῆτις. The strength of this collaboration is brought into sharper focus when compared to other pairs of deities. Athena and Poseidon, for instance, can work together primarily in the maritime sphere. However, Athena's μῆτις often *restrains* the turbulent power of Poseidon, whereas frequently Athena's μῆτις *actualises* Zeus' sovereign power. When Zeus delegates a task to Athena for her to complete, she turns his order into a reality by means of her μῆτις. In this way, Athena helps to realise Zeus' will and, in turn, aids, supports, and confirms his power. Zeus and Athena can use

their sovereignty and μῆτις to work together successfully and this productive collaboration is another element of their symbiotic relationship.

The methodology set out in the introduction of this thesis (to combine several theoretical frameworks) was essential to the analysis of Zeus and Athena. Burkert's four components of a god (cult, name, myths, and iconography) encompass the different types of evidence that were used throughout the thesis. The 'structuralist' principle of studying two or more deities together alongside network theory assisted in understanding further the relationship between Zeus and Athena, as well as uncovering more about them as individual deities. Finally, Vernsel's application of cognitive dissonance theory facilitated the conclusion that Zeus' and Athena's relationship is not static and changes depending on context and geographical location. Therefore, this methodology was essential in achieving the aims of this thesis.

It has emerged in some chapters of this thesis that one of the most important aspects of Athena's character is her potential violence. The argument that Athena is 'intelligent', whether described as μῆτις or in some other terms, can overshadow her potentially violent nature. For example, Detienne and Vernant position Athena's μῆτις in contrast to Poseidon's violent and turbulent nature.[975] This is similar to the opposition created by some scholars between Athena and Ares in the military sphere, which has since

[975] Detienne and Vernant 1974, 196-198, 206.

received criticism.[976] However, Detienne and Vernant recognise that Athena's μῆτις and terror can be intertwined in the military sphere.[977] This thesis has built upon this idea by illustrating how Athena inhabits the grey area between violence and intelligence across multiple contexts, as well as her ability to layer intelligence over violence. I have referred to this as violence constrained by μῆτις, which is a prominent theme throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, μῆτις is still the attribute of Athena that can be applied to most spheres of influence and therefore remains 'good to think with'.[978]

Although it is evident that Athena is the 'daughter of a mighty father', this thesis has demonstrated that Zeus might also be considered the 'father of a mighty daughter', as both deities share a symbiotic relationship based on a reciprocal consolidation and confirmation of power.

[976] Burkert 1985, 141, 169; Graf 1996, 152; Darmon 1991, 114-115. Criticism: Deacy 2000.
[977] Detienne and Vernant 1974, 179-183; Deacy 2000, 286.
[978] Quote: Lévi-Strauss 1963b, 89.

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