

"DEAR GREY EYES"

A Revaluation of Pallas Athene

They said:
she is high and far and blind
in her high pride,
but now that my head is bowed
in sorrow, I find
she is most kind.

-- H. D., "Pallas"¹

It seemed simple at first. I had been called to write on "the woman artist"; I knew that what I might contribute would be an archetypal exploration, another in my series of reflections on how the images of Greek mythology enter into our own soul history. It seemed obvious that this time around ~~it was time to~~ ^{I would} attend to Athene, the goddess of artist and artisan, the prototype of the artistically creative woman. It seems less simple now. James Hillman says that once we know at whose altar a question belongs, we will know better the matter of proceeding.² Perhaps it is also true that we discover what our question really is by finding ourselves before a particular altar. Or discover that the real questions are the ones addressed to us. I had not realized until I heard the owl hoot outside my window as it does every night how unwittingly I (who live on Serpentine Drive with an olive tree shadowing my patio) had been prepared for this

encounter with the goddess whose emblems are snake and owl and olive. I had not known how challenging her questions to me (as to all women who aspire to creative accomplishment) would be. Kindly but unflinchingly she demands that I review how in my life I have balanced my loyalties to mother and father, women and men, to the so-called feminine and the so-called masculine aspects of myself. She asks about how I have responded to the alternating pull of work and relationships, friendship and solitude, ego and soul, femininity and creativity. It is time to begin to answer, she indicates, this goddess whom I have known and avoided for so long.

Athene is a goddess I once loved--entirely and innocently as perhaps one can love only in adolescence. She was all I wanted to be and I gave my soul to her--self-confident and courageous, clear-eyed and strong, intelligent and accomplished, judicious and fair. I delighted in her ability to make full use of the given possibilities in any situation, in her gift for deep friendship unentangled with the confusions of passion, in her pleasure in struggle and challenge. Her dedication to the world of art and culture, of clear thought and realized accomplishment, were important testimony to me of how a woman might order her life. I coveted for myself the love and respect she was given by her father and her ease in the world of men. She was for me (as Walter Otto so beautifully names her), "the ever-near."³ Had I known it then, I might have chosen as my song

the Homeric Hymn dedicated to her whose opening lines are: "I begin to sing of Pallas Athene, the glorious goddess, bright-eyed, inventive, unbending of heart, pure virgin, savior of cities, courageous Tritogeneia."⁴

She was singularly important to me in high school and in college, years when I felt close to my father and his vision of me and distant from a mother who did not share my intellectual interests or ambitions. But then I got married and felt I had left Athene's realm; I came to look back on that youthful period and the goddess who had dominated it somewhat disparagingly. Athene now seemed too cool and distant, too suspicious of the emotional and sensual, too extroverted and ambitious--too "heady," in a word. I understood her birth from Zeus's head as the perfect mythological expression for what was wrong with her, and became critical of her over-identification with men, her seeming denial of her own femininity. I felt with Jane Harrison, "We cannot love a goddess who on principle forgets the Earth from which she sprang; always from the lips of the Lost Leader we hear the shameful denial:

There is no mother bore me for her child,
I praise the Man in all things (save for
marriage),
Whole-hearted am I, strongly for the Father."⁵

I could still accept the appropriateness of Athene's role in my life earlier on, but was sure I had now left her behind.

Goddesses aren't dismissed so easily, however, though I am only now beginning to see how Athene has been present all

through my life. There have been certain periods along the way when that presence has been most evident: the years of adolescence, of course, and then again when I entered graduate school seven years after my marriage, ^{There I} and rediscovered the excitement of the full exercise of my intellectual and creative capacities and of the recognition of these by the fatherly teachers I respected and the brotherly colleagues who accepted me as one of themselves. ~~And, again,~~ ^Much later, on the other side of a profoundly ego-shattering experience connected to the traumatic ending of a love affair, I began to come back to life again in response to Athene's beckoning. She came, as she often did of old, in the guise of a man, recalling me to the deep excitement of shared intellectual concerns, the passion inherent in the kind of competitive rivalry where each partner urges the other to high achievement, to consummated accomplishment. In that meeting of spirit with spirit, I felt myself come to myself again. But again there came a time when I felt something in me was not being nourished, ^{while attending} by my attendance at this altar. I needed separation from Athene and from the relationship; I needed soul and not just spirit. And so ~~I~~ left (not suspecting that she may offer both) ^I left.

Or so I thought. Now I understand the pertinence of Hillman's question, "Can one close the door on the person who brought one to the threshold in the first place?" and recognize the inevitability of the negative response. Athene is still

there, has always been. The ambivalence she arouses in me is a clue to her own paradoxical nature; such ambivalence, not the radical alternation between wholehearted celebration and passionate disparagement, is appropriate response to a complexity I had undervalued. I only now begin to understand that the ambiguity is hers, not just mine. Not only does her light side become dark when looked at from a different perspective; there is also a dark side which from that other perspective is seen as light.

Jung has taught us to see the gods and goddesses as our diseases, our pathologies. I wanted to be free of Athene because I did not want to be the animus-ridden woman I ^{took} ~~had come~~ ~~to see her~~ ^{to be} ~~as~~. What had once appeared as a splendid ego-ideal now looked like malignant shadow, for the heroic ego itself (of which Athene seemed the exemplary female image) had come under my suspicion. But that, to borrow another phrase of Hillman's, was "to confuse neurotic foreground with archetypal background" and to forget that the goddess's power and the wounds she inflicts and suffers are deeply intertwined. To see this is to understand both her and myself very differently.

As I recognize not only that Athene has been present all along but that her presence permeates every aspect of my life, I recall Otto's words, "Always divinity is a totality, a whole world in its perfection. This applies also to the supreme gods, Zeus, Athena, and Apollo, the bearers of the highest ideals. None of them represents a single virtue, none is to be encountered in only one direction of teeming life; each desires to

fill, shape and illumine the whole compass of human existence with his peculiar spirit."⁶ To open myself to Athene's illumination means, I see, re-visioning my whole life through her: an overwhelming and awesome task. "The facts do not change, but their order is given another dimension through another myth. They are experienced differently; they gain another meaning because they are told through another tale."⁷ What belongs and what is extraneous, what is important and what trivial, how the different parts relate--all this is now to be understood anew. Not that Hera's illumination or Demeter's is to be discounted; there are seemingly endless ways the tale can be told, no one better or "more conscious" than the others. I have come to believe that making a story of the events, the images, is always what Freud called "secondary elaboration," part of the soul's search for logos--a search with which Athene is closely identified. The new telling needs to be not just about Athene but in her mode: reflective not analytical, concrete and imaginal rather than speculative.

That Athene is, ~~of course,~~ the goddess of weaving and I think ~~seems newly pertinent of her in that connection~~ as I accept the necessity of unweaving the stories as previously told and weaving yet another. It is somewhat consoling ^{to} ~~as~~ I remember Arachne whose beautifully woven account of the Olympians' more scandalous erotic involvements so enraged Athene that she tore it into shreds, beat Arachne with her shuttle and so frightened the poor woman that she hanged

— a reminder that

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herself, ^{and so} to be reminded that it might be dangerous to aim for perfection in my telling. I think, too, of Penelope whose marvellous skill in weaving was a gift of Athene's and who found she had to unweave each night what she had so gracefully woven during the day--an image somehow of the peculiar kind of fidelity requisite to soul-making. I see this new weaving as the gift, the sacrifice, I bring to Athene's altar, as each year on the occasion of the ritual observance of her birthday, the Panathenaea, she was brought ^{a peplos,} an elaborately worked ^{shawl} peplos which had been carefully woven and embroidered during the preceding nine months.

So for the fourth time I return to Athene, for the first time, perhaps, ready to look her straight in the eyes and discover who she is and who I am in her light--hoping this time for recognition and not just repetition. ^{To do} this is much more frightening than I would have imagined, for it means looking at the least explored aspects of my life. I understand now that Athene does indeed wear the Gorgonhead on her aegis. I remember that when Tiresias accidentally came upon her naked while bathing, he was struck blind. I remember, also, that in recompense Athene granted him second sight, soul sight.

To second sight Athene is to see her as one who gives soul. Cult and myth represent her as the one who gives soul to works of art. She is often associated with both Hephaestus and Prometheus as a co-creator, most notably perhaps in the accounts of the creation of the first human beings. "And in

the strange myth of Pandora, one of the few in which Greek divinities are presented as creative powers, it is Athene and Hephaestus who fashion and embellish the form of the mysterious maiden; and Athena again who gives her the gifts of the arts wherewith better to beguile the souls of men."⁸

Man was born, so Hesiod and Ovid tell us, when Prometheus mixed together earth and rainwater and fashioned it into the likeness of the gods and ~~when Athene~~^{then} breathed life into the soul. ~~How I would love to see the~~^{described by Farnell} ~~There is a lovely sarcophagus-relief~~[^] in which Athene is represented as inserting the soul in the form of a butterfly into the newly formed human body.⁹

Athene thus is soul-giver, soul-maker. In Jung's terms she is an anima figure,¹⁰ and so it is appropriate that in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter she is found playing in the meadow and gathering flowers with Persephone and Artemis and the nymphs before the arrival of dread Hades. ~~In Psychological Types~~
 Jung shows how in Goethe's "Prometheus Fragment," Minerva (the Roman near-equivalent to Athene) is soul to "the defiant, self-sufficient, godlike, god-disdaining creator and artist." Prometheus addresses her thus:

From the beginning thy words have been celestial
 light to me!
 Always as though my soul spoke to herself
 Did she reveal herself to me,
 And in her of their own accord
 Sister harmonies rang out.
 And when I deemed it was myself,
 A goddess spoke,
 And when I deemed a goddess was speaking,

~~It was myself.~~
~~So it was between thee and me,~~
~~So fervently one.~~
~~Eternal is my love for thee!~~

Yet Athene is an anima figure who may help us get past seeing anima primarily in contrasexual terms. ³ Women, too, have souls, have anima. Athene is not just a goddess who takes on the role of being a man's anima--she serves also, I am coming to recognize, as an anima-image for women.

It is true that many of the stories told about her represent her as the friend and counselor of men. (In fact, as Athene Phatria she was seen as the goddess of the Athenian male brotherhoods.) Unlike Hera who challenges men to impossible heroic feats or Aphrodite who seeks to seduce them away from their worldly responsibilities to the pleasure of sexual passion or Artemis who entices simply by her unavailability, Athene helps the men whom she befriends with their own projects. (The temptation for such an anima, which Athene herself does not fall prey, ^{xc} ~~to~~ is, of course, that the satisfaction of being welcomed as sister and companion may lead into a subtle subordination of one's own creativity.)

Athene gives courage and confirmation, the sudden bright idea or the seasoned reflection. She does not really intervene, take over for the men she supports, but brings them into touch with their own highest potentiality. Thus in the Iliad, when Achilles moves forward to attack Agamemnon, Athene (visible only to him) holds him back and gives him that moment of

reflection in which he recalls himself. As Walter Otto showed, in her affectionate care of Hercules, in her always appearing to him at the right moment as the true counselor and helper, she represents "the nearness of the divine at the moment of severest trial."¹¹ Since he was a youth, Bellerophon had yearned to capture the winged horse, Pegasus; in a dream Athene offered him the golden bridle by which he might do ~~this~~ ^{so}. ~~When~~ ^{After} Perseus had rashly boasted to King Polydectes that he would bring him the head of the Gorgon Medusa, it was Athene who advised him how to proceed. Her closest involvement, of course, was with her protege, Odysseus, whose integrity she helps to preserve as she gently encourages or restrains at every critical moment during the long years of combat at Troy and the many-yeared journey back to Ithaca. She is to him the one "who always stands beside me in all my tasks and always remembers me wherever I go,"¹² though she comes and goes, ever-near yet clearly distinct with a life of her own apart from him. They are as she knows deeply bonded by a profound psychological similarity; "Of all mankind thou art easily foremost both in counsel and speech, and among all gods I win fame for my counsel and cleverness." What she wants for him is that he remain true to himself, to his sense of balance, his reasonableness, his scepticism about heroics and glory, his optimism. Odysseus is a survivor; as his name implies he is wounded, scarred, vulnerable and experienced. Adventures have their appeal, but homecoming matters more. He is prudent and daring, resourceful

and sometimes devious, skillful in practical arts and eloquent in debate. Though liable to outbursts of passion he has learned to temper feeling with reason. The concrete pleasures of his everyday life in Ithaca have more power for him than abstractions like glory and duty. In all this he is much like the goddess who cares for him, is her masculine counterpart, ~~thus, he could be seen as her animus.~~ And ~~as~~ she is at ease among men, so he is trusted by women and comfortable with them. He is not identified with the world of men as this is represented by the heroic possibilities of the war at Troy; he tries very hard to avoid going and is determined to return home; that journey home ^{ward} involves him with ^{women representing} a highly differentiated range of female possibilities: mother, wife, virgin, seductress, nurse, and, of course, the goddess. She is ever-near but comes to him in many guises, as herself or as stranger or as friend. Not surprisingly her favorite disguise is to come to him (as also to Telemachus), "likening herself in voice and appearance to Mentor," Odysseus' childhood friend and thus indirectly evoking the "brotherhood" they share, seeming to suggest a time "when we two were boys together." ^{because} There is nothing possessive in her love, ~~and so it~~ naturally extends to include his son and his wife. Her presence is what brings about Telemachus' transition from youth to adult:

For years he has been the young boy, observing in passive indignation the depredations of the suitors, childishly irritated with the ineffectual conduct of his mother but with no idea of ever asserting himself against her. Athena, disguised as a visiting stranger, Mentos, awakens

Telemachus to the thought that he is now a man by treating him as one. You ought to do something, she says. And Telemachus responds by following through with all her suggestions. He challenges the suitors, instructs his mother to return to her own apartment while he takes care of what needs to be done, and sets out on a voyage to track down information about his father.¹³

Athene's intimate connections with women are less often noticed but to disregard them is to identify her with an exclusive bonding with men that is foreign to her, even as she is presented to us in classical mythology with its recognized patriarchal bias. Yet we are so easily pulled to overlook this, to pull her into our struggle about male identification, to project on her our ambivalence about women bonding with women, to use her as scapegoat. ^{Thereby we fail to see that} ~~Where~~ she might instead offer us an image of what a woman's anima ^{is} ~~might be~~ like. That she spends her leisure hours, her own time, in the company of women is suggested by the picture of her playing in the meadow with Persephone and the nymphs and by the tale that it was while she was bathing with her favorite nymph, Chariclo, that Tiresias accidentally came upon her naked. She endows Penelope not only with her skill in weaving but with clear understanding and wit surpassing that of any other Greek woman. She appears to Nausicaa in a dream and thereby prepares her for the initiation into womanhood, ^{to be} effected by her encounter with Odysseus in a manner remarkably similar to her intervention in Telemachus's life. Most important is her close childhood friendship with Pallas, daughter of the sea-god Triton, by whom

Athene was reared. One day, by accident, as they were playing in a tournament and lost their tempers, Athene killed her foster-sister. Grief-stricken, she made a wooden image of Pallas, ~~the~~ palladium, which was set up on Olympus until thrown out by Zeus and then placed in the heart of the citadel at Troy. Legend was that the life of the city depended on ~~it~~ ^{the palladium}, and that the Greek sack of Troy wasn't possible until Diomedes and Odysseus succeeded in stealing it away. (The word palladium later comes to refer to any statue of Athene in her aspect as protectress of the polis.) What is more significant though is that Athene becomes, after the death of her friend, Pallas Athene. Pallas is more than an epithet or an attribute; Guthrie says, "The one is her name as much as the other."¹⁴ It may be that originally Pallas as a warrior goddess among the invading Greeks who was then united with the Athene of Mycenaean times. The double name suggests her two-sidedness: she is a goddess who has her own anima, who is spirit and soul. "Pallas" is a word for maiden but not just an equivalent of "Kore," for it suggests a robust, fierce maidenliness. Kerényi says, "A distinct masculinity seems to adhere to this word even in its feminine form" and goes on to relate this to Athene's "androgeny."¹⁵ This androgeny is celebrated in the Orphic hymn to Athene where she is described as "male and female, begetter of war, counselor, she-dragon of many shapes."¹⁶ but perhaps Pallas' strength and independence are precisely womanly, related to her being a "virgin" in the sense made familiar by Esther Harding*: in-one-selfness.¹⁷

(The emphasis on her virginity is confirmed by the festival of the Plynteria at Athens during which the Palladium is annually taken to be bathed and thus to have its virginity renewed--as Hera's is renewed at Canathus.)

Perhaps the whole point of Athene is to help us get past the too-easy equation of strength and courage and worldly wisdom with "masculinity" irrespective of the gender of the bearer of those attributes. Yet that assumption is deeply imbedded. It probably underlies the fact that there are other Pallantes associated with Athena ~~beyond her maiden companion~~, all male: a Pallas whom in the Olympians' war against the giants she kills and out of whose skin she makes a shield; an Arcadian Pallas who is her teacher and father of Nike, one of her own manifestations; a Pallas who in a variant account of her birth is her father, a father who tries to rape her and whom she kills and whose skin she again wraps around herself. In each case she takes their power and their name; in these versions it is a "masculine" side of herself that is represented by her Pallas aspect, indeed an introjection of the father.

Those variants confirm that Athene's relationships to women and to her own femininity are mostly hidden and need to be uncovered by careful research and interpretation. Athene in a sense represents just this repression of the feminine and ^{its} that undoing ^{as} ~~it~~ is a soul task--a task that involves a courageous examination of our own participation in misogynous self-denial.

To recover the Athena who is mothered by Metis and not only fathered by Zeus is to recover ourselves. But ^{we need} to begin by recognizing that Athene's separation from her mother is not hers alone, and that we delude ourselves about ourselves if we self-righteously condemn her for it. As Adrienne Rich reminds us

But in fact we were always like this,
rootless, dismembered: knowing it makes the
difference.

Birth stripped our birthright from us,
tore us from a woman, from women, from ourselves
so early on
and the whole chorus throbbing at our ears
like midges, told us nothing, nothing
of origins, nothing we needed
to know, nothing that could re-member us. 18

But ~~to~~ get to the Athene who ^{can} ~~may~~ connect us to a fuller sense of what creative womanhood may encompass than our culture's pieties comprehend means beginning with the father and with the myth that Athene begins with the father. As usual we can only ^{start} begin with the most familiar features and by reflecting on them discover their unfamiliarity and strangeness, and their prehistory. As L. R. Farnell noted almost a hundred years ago, Athene's character became "deeper and more manifold" the longer she was worshipped. 19

I have learned by now that it is the dark side of the goddesses that is most intimately associated with transformations. To understand Athene is to enter deeply into the dark mystery of the father-daughter bond. It means to see Zeus very differently than from Hera's perspective, because for Athene Zeus is unquestionably the father. Her ambivalence toward him is not determined

by the tension between his roles as brother, spouse and patriarch but by the ambiguities inherent within fatherhood itself. The power that fathers have for their daughters lies at the very heart of patriarchal culture. Indeed, we might say that patriarchy appears when the daughter is felt to belong and feels herself to belong to the father, for the son's identification with the father does not imply the same radical devaluation of mother-right. To understand ourselves as women in a patriarchally-ordered world like our own therefore necessarily means penetrating this mystery and trying to comprehend as fully as we can how our creativity is released, distorted and inhibited by the power of the father--not primarily his outward power but his power in our own imagination. The relationship between Athene and Zeus seems to provide us with the possibility of looking at the bond between daughters and fathers in its purest essence, since at least on first appearance it is uncontaminated by the daughter's involvement with mother or siblings.

When, by the artifice of Hephaistos,
 at the stroke of the bronze-heeled axe Athene sprang
 from the height of her father's head with a strong cry.
 The sky shivered before her and earth our mother.²⁰

Thus Pindar's account of Athene's miraculous birth. The Apollo of "The Eumenides" concludes from this:

The mother is no parent of that which is called
 her child, but only nurse of the new-planted seed
 that grows. The parent is he who mounts. A stranger she
 preserves a stranger's seed, if no god interfere.
 I will show you proof of what I have explained. There can
 be a father without any mother. There she stands,

the living witness, daughter of Olympian Zeus,
 she who was never fostered in the dark of the womb
 yet such a child as no goddess could bring to birth.²¹

According to the myth, Metis who had helped Zeus in his battle against his father by giving the emetic which forced Cronos to vomit forth his swallowed children became his first sexual partner. Soon after Athene's conception, Zeus learned that Metis was destined next to bear him a son who would eventually overthrow him. To prevent this Zeus swallowed Metis and her unborn female child as his father before him had out of the same fear swallowed his neonate offspring. In due course Athene was born, full grown, out of his head. She had her beginning as all of us do within her mother, but then had lived the time intervening before her emergence into womanhood within her father -- as all of us live the equivalent years of our life within a patriarchally-defined world and often consciously bonded more with our fathers than our mothers.

That the Athene of the classical tradition is from her birth onwards defined by this bondedness to the father is most vividly expressed as she announces her judgment on behalf of Orestes in Aeschylus' play:

This is a ballot for Orestes I shall cast.
 There is no mother anywhere who gave me birth,
 and, but for marriage, I am always for the male
 with all my heart, and strongly on my father's side.
 So, in a case where the wife has killed her husband, lord
 of the house, her death shall not mean most to me.²²

Athene defines herself as Zeus's inspired daughter. She takes

on his attributes, is proud to be as dignified and as judicious as he, as brave and as commanding. He is her mentor and she in turn delights in coming to Odysseus in the guise of Mentor. That her favorite among mortals should be not the puers like Bellerophon or Perseus but the old Odysseus is further confirmation of the determining power in her life of that primary pull to the father.

As the motherbound son of Rhea, Zeus is, of course, ready to foster his daughter's identification with him. Among the Olympians Athene ranks second, immediately after Zeus. (Over and over again in the Iliad we hear the invocation: "O Father Zeus, and Athene, and Apollo...") He is enormously proud of his gifted and courageous daughter and indulges her to a degree that utterly outrages Ares:

It is your fault we fight, since you brought forth
 this maniac daughter
 accursed, whose mind is forever on unjust action.
 For all the rest, as many as are gods on Olympos,
 are obedient to you, and we have all rendered our-
 selves submissive.
 Yet you say nothing and you do nothing to check this
 girl, letting
 her go free, since yourself you begot this child of
 perdition.²³

Only once is their closeness disrupted when during the course of the Trojan War Zeus becomes furious at Athene's unyielding refusal to allow the war to end in any way short of the destruction of Troy. Angrily he threatens utter wreckage of the Greek forces, "so that the grey-eyed goddess may know when it is her

father she fights with." Yet even then Athene knows:

Yet now Zeus hates me, and is bent to the wishes of
 Thetis
 who kissed his knees and stroked his chin in her hand,
 and entreated
 that he give honor to Achilleus, the sacker of cities.
 Yet time shall be when he calls me again his dear girl
 of the grey eyes.²⁴

(The latently incestuous element in their attachment is patent here.)

Unlike Persephone who comes to a creative relation to the dark, aggressive father when he approaches her in the guise of Hades, chthonian Zeus, by marrying him, Athene defends against Zeus's potentially overwhelming masculine power by assimilating it in her own being, by being so like him that she in many ways becomes a female Zeus. The most exaggerated expression of that "identification with the aggressor" is the already twice cited passage from the Oresteia in which she denies any dependence on the maternal and fully aligns herself with father-right, with the male order. Even on the Acropolis, she, though its dominating figure, is surrounded by masculine figures: Hephaestus, Hermes, Poseidon, Zeus. That is the image of Athene that troubles most, perhaps because it echoes unwelcomed misogynist stirrings in us which we seek to evade by denying. We either know we couldn't be Athene, be as confident and accomplished and creative as she--or are all too conscious of how easily we could be Athene, the Athene whose androgeny becomes a capitulation to her inner "masculine" aspect.

Hillman has written of the sense in which this inner Zeus is really Athene's own creation:

We all know that fathers create daughters; but daughters create fathers too. The enactment of the maiden-daughter... draws down a fathering spirit. But its appearance and her victimization is her creation. Even the idea that she is all a result of the father (or the absent or bad father) is part of the father-fantasy of the anima archetype. And so, she must be "so attached" to father because anima is reflection of an attachment. She creates the figurative father and the belief in its responsibility which serves to confirm the archetypal metaphor of Daughter that owes its source, not to the father, but to the anima inherent in a woman's psyche, too.²⁵

So the power of the father over Athene is her fantasy--her attributing to him aspects of herself which are really her own and whose meaning in her life she distorts by this false understanding. The prophecy had been that a child born of Metis, conceived by Zeus, would overthrow him--the capacity for that emancipation from Zeus' bondage is indeed actually present in their child, Athene.

Even historically it is clear that Athene has her own existence apart from Zeus. ~~Careful study~~ ^{Careful study} Some forty years ago of the archaeological and artistic evidence led A. B. Cook in his monumental study of Zeus to conclude that Hephaestus and Athene were the pre-Greek divinities of the Athenian Acropolis and Zeus a later Hellenic arrival. The art-type of Athene's emergence from the head of Zeus represents her "conventional adoption," the subsumption of her cult under his, rather than "natural filiation." Cook sees Athene as antecedent to Zeus

and his successor. Her birth out of his head represents the "departure of the indwelling divinity" from his moribund body. He "lives on in her younger, fresher life."²⁶ This may explain why it is Athene not Zeus who in the classical period comes to be regarded as "the ideal incarnation of the many-sided Athenian life."²⁷ Even longer ago, in 1895, L. R. Farnell sought to show how the story of Athene's birth might have come into being:

The fact that in this earliest and half-savage form of the legend Athena is the daughter of Metis is a sign that for these primitive mythopoeic Greeks their goddess was no mere personification of a part of nature, but was already invested with a moral and mental character, and especially with the non-physical quality of wisdom; and of course her worship had long been in vogue, before it occurred to them to tell a myth about her origin. Again, her birth is assisted by Prometheus or Hephaestos; if this detail belongs to the first period of the story we have another indication that Athena was already a goddess of the arts of life as she was associated with these divine artists. . . . Suppose that Athena was already, before this story grew, the chief goddess of wisdom, as in the most primitive legends she always appears to be: and was also the maiden-goddess of war, averse to love: also the goddess that protected the father-right rather than the mother-right: and that then like all the other Olympians, whatever autonomy each one of them may have once enjoyed, she had to be brought into some relation to Zeus. Then upon these pre-existing ideas the Greek imagination may have worked thus: she has abundant Metis, and is the daughter of Metis; she has all the powers of Zeus, and is the very daughter of him; and she has no feminine weakness, and inclines rather to the father than the mother; therefore she was not born in the ordinary way; this might have been if Zeus swallowed her mother. Afterwards, as this swallowing-story gained ground, it received a new explanation, namely, that Zeus swallowed Metis to prevent her bearing any more children, as a son would else be born stronger than he. It seems very unlikely that this prophecy was part of the original story, leading up to the swallowing process; for there would have been other and easier ways of cutting short the child-bearing career of Metis.²⁸

As H. J. Rose observed, this myth represents "an interesting chapter in early diplomacy and ecclesiastical polity."²⁹

That her existence comes to be seen as dependent on his is one of those reversals in myth-work which interpretation-work must reverse in order to rediscover the hidden truth. Such reversals, as Freud taught us, come up against powerful resistance. The truth that will give us back a lost part of ourselves is also the one that takes away a self to which we have become deeply attached. Mary Daly names the resistance to this recovery of Athene's true history which Athene (and the Athenes among us) herself embodies:

Since the twice-born Athena is now legion, having been reproduced over and over by xerox cloning (conditioning), she may not be able to feel her true condition as did Doctor Frankenstein's monster in Mary Shelley's tale. She may not be able to feel wretched, helpless, alone, and abhorred, "apparently united by no link to any other being in existence." Since she is a Self-suffocating shell, a figment of her bizarre father's imagination, she hides depth from the Self. But behind the foreground of false selves, of fathers' favorites, there is the deep Background where the Great Hags live and work, hacking off with our Dreadful double-axes the Athena-shells designed to stifle our Selves.

"Radical feminism," she affirms

is not reconciliation with the father. Rather it is affirming our original birth, our original source, movement, surge of living. This finding of our original integrity is re-membering our Selves. Athena remembers her mother and consequently re-members her Self.³⁰

Thus the re-membering of Athene means the rediscovery of her relation to the feminine, to Mother, to Metis. It leads into the discovery that her strength, her wisdom, her self-confidence

are given her by her father, are expressions of her own "masculine" aspect, only because she sees them thus. For it is Metis who is the source of Zeus's wisdom, his metis, as well as her daughter's. An Oceanid, she is "the most knowing of the gods and men" and, like so many of the divinities connected to water in Greek mythology,³¹ a shapeshifter. To elude Zeus's grasp she takes on many different forms--it is when she assumes that of a fly that he is able to swallow her. Her most important metamorphosis is her re-emergence as Athene for it is here that she comes forth full-bodied as a goddess. In this sense Metis is the parthenogenetic mother of Athene that Robert Graves (and Daly) claim her to be--she creates Athene out of herself. Yet the insistence on parthenogenesis, the denial of the father, is the Furies' perspective and forecloses the possibility that after one has re-discovered the mother one can acknowledge the father in a new way. Otherwise we are back with Demeter and Persephone which is not only a different story but a different pathology.

That Metis is Athene's mother-aspect to my reading means primarily that Athene has a mother, is connected to a maternal origin, not that she necessarily is one. Here my understanding clearly differs from Kerényi's as does therefore my interpretation of the birth of Erecthonius. The tradition is that when Athene defended herself against Hephaestus' attempt to rape her, he ejaculated against her thigh. She wiped off the semen with a handkerchief which she let drop on earth (Gaea). From this

Erethonius was born. Soon after his birth Gaea gave him into Athene's care. (Eventually Erethonius grew up to become the Athenian king responsible for the establishment of the Athene cult.) Kerenyi understands this as an only slightly disguised account whose real meaning is that Athene is herself Erethonius' mother.³² I see the given, more complicated, account as yielding a deeper meaning. Athene may indeed once have been the local fertility goddess, one of the many embodiments of the great goddess--this is her Gaea aspect and it is thus appropriate that the child be conceived in Gaea and issues from her. But by the time Athene is Athene she represents a different kind of creativity. (That we lose more than we gain by focussing on her as but another face of the Great Mother may be seen more readily by women than by men.) It is true also of Persephone that an important clue as to who she is lies in the fact that she and Hades have no children: it is souls who are given life in the underworld not children.³³ Athene, similarly, is a goddess of creation not procreation. She is Athene Ergane, the worker, the maker, and as such connected to soul, to soul-work. We have already seen how she puts soul into the work of art, into that which is made. She is a more extroverted goddess than Persephone, concerned to further the outwarding of soul, its expression and realization in what we do and make.

Athene is the goddess most identified with the work of civilization, the work that makes us human, the works that

express our humanity. She is Athene Paliās, the goddess of the polis, of the human community, "cities are the gifts of Athene." She seems to have originated as the household goddess of the Mycenaean royal family, as the protectress of its citadel. Though she is to some degree associated with agriculture she is not properly speaking a nature goddess but rather the goddess who taught humans the art of cultivation, particularly the cultivation of the olive.

Athene initiates us into the difference between repression and sublimation. Her virginity, her lack of susceptibility to Aphrodite's wiles, rightly understood, stems from her commitment to cultural activity, to what Freud meant by "civilization" (not from a regressive fixation on the father.) ^{Athenes} ~~The~~ maidenhood seems to be ^{a given} so well established ~~a given with respect to Athene~~ that it limits mythological development: though Hephaestus and Athene are closely associated in cult, their relationship cannot be imaged as a marriage. Virginity carries an entirely different meaning from that of Artemis. It does not represent an untameable wildness, a withdrawal from the world of men, the choice of solitude, Athene is not a virgin in order to be alone but to be with, unentangledly. She represents a being-with that fosters mutual creativity, that is based on soul and spirit rather than on instinct and passion.

Though she is not associated with childbirth, with the

biological creation of children, she is much involved in caring for and protecting young children and in their socialization. Athene's example raises serious questions about the connection between relationships and creativity, for from her perspective passionate relationships are diversion and self-betrayal. Yet Athene's in-one-selfness is not introverted: it encompasses deep friendship; it is dedicated to the outwarding of soul in creative activity.

The "monuments" of Athene-worship, the sculptures, reliefs, vases and coins depict her in two different ways: standing erect, threatening, brandishing her weapons; seated and tranquil, with shawl and spindle. The warrior type predominates, but we do not properly appreciate this side of Athene unless we recognize how her martial aspect derives from her commitment to the polis and consequently to its defence. Athene Promachus is a protectress, the helper in battle, the instructor in the art of war, not a battle-lusty aggressor. (When focussing on Athene's pathology we may see her as too much the defender, too defensive, too well-defended.)

The warrior goddess is also the goddess of the arts; this aspect, too, derives from her original character as goddess of the household and thus of household crafts. Although the source of Athene's name remains a mystery it may well derive from words connected to pottery; in any

of the Celts
- people of
the sword
and the
word.

case she is reputed to have made the first earthenware pot. She is also, of course, in both senses a "spinster" goddess, closely associated with the feminine arts of spinning and weaving. Homer refers to "the elaborate dress which she herself had wrought with her hands' patience."³⁵ She invented the trumpet and the flute (though hated how ugly blowing it made her and so tossed it aside in disgust.) According to Graves she also invented the plough, the rake, the ox-yoke, the horse bridle, the chariot and the ship.³⁶ She fitted the ship of the Argonauts with a marvellous speaking prow from the oaks of Dodona.

She is naturally associated with the master artisan among the gods, Hephaestus. Her cult seems to have existed at Athens before his, yet Athens was his only major cult site; probably he was important there because as Athene was more and more seen as the great city goddess, he seemed more directly available than she to the local craftsmen. But the cultic associations between them are so extensive that Cook concludes that Athene and Hephaestus were originally the local Rhea and Cronus.³⁷ One myth has it that Hera conceived Hephaestus parthenogenetically in revenge against Zeus's parthenogenetic creation of Athene. Another that Hephaestus served as midwife at Athene's birth. He is the masculine counterpart to Athene's creative aspect, as Hera's other parthenogenetic son, Ares, is the masculine counterpart to her martial aspect. There are many accounts

of Athene and Hephaestus participating in joint projects and sharing delight in one another's creations, as there are tales of intense sibling rivalry between Athene and Ares (though at the cultic level a more harmonious co-existence seems to have been presumed.) Hephaestus would evidently have liked to have their closeness consummated in sexual intercourse (though even the thwarted attempt does issue in a child and Cook remains persuaded that in the remote historical past they were husband and wife.)

How much difference is there in their relation to art or artists? Athene is more involved in the arts of women, particularly spinning and weaving. Perhaps he is given credit for creating more marvellous works of art; perhaps she devotes more attention to communicating her skills to others. She seems more extraverted, more able to combine creativity and human involvement. In their joint projects, he shapes, she embellishes and gives soul. Perhaps more significant is that Hephaestus is only artist where she is warrior, too, and he is a crippled artist, and so represents the creativity that issues from woundedness; proudly striding Athene is not crippled, unless that is her crippledness. The ever-conquering Athene is, seen from the perspective of the underworld, fatally flawed. But a touchingly beautiful relief of Athene which shows her leaning on her spear, her head drooping, pervaded with

sorrow introduces us to a very different Athene; the warrior goddess as herself touched by defeat and loss. Farnell believes she is mourning some terrible national disaster and the deaths of all those who were killed.³⁹

To know Athene deeply is to recognize the inadequacy of the idealized version, to see beyond the Athene Rose describes as "one about whom few if any unworthy tales are told."⁴⁰ Remembering her treatment of Arachne should liberate us from falling for the image of her as cold and passionless, always reasonable and fair. She strikes Tiresias blind. Krekrops' daughters go mad and kill themselves after they disobey her command not to peek into the infant Erichthonius's basket; she hounded the "lesser" Ajax to his death after he raped Cassandra at her shrine, and gave Medusa her hideous petrifying face because she had yielded to Poseidon in a sanctuary dedicated to Athene. Athene is after all sister to Dionysos, Zeus's other parthenogenetic child. (One story has it that it was she who interrupted the Titans' banquet when they were feasting on his dismembered body and rescued the heart and brought it back to Zeus.)

Krekrops

Athene's bond to the divinities associated with the underworld is closer than we usually recognize. The many ancient vases and coins representing a helmeted Athene holding a pomegranate, suggest a connection with Persephone.

Mylonas describes a sculpture which represents Demeter and Persephone being greeted by Athene; perhaps it is the equivalent of that part of the Eleusinian ritual in which the priestess of Athene at the Acropolis is informed that the sacred objects have safely arrived at Eleusis.⁴¹ There is not at all the antagonism to Demeter and her daughter represented by Hera, but rather an intimate complementarity.

There are other clues to Athene's connection to the realm of soul. As a Mycenaean household goddess she seems to have been close cousin to the Minoan snake goddess. (The Minoan connection may explain why Hephaestus is represented as cleaving Zeus's head with a double-edged axe to facilitate Athene's birth.) Even in the time of Herodotus Athene is closely identified with the guardian snake believed to live in the Acropolis. When just before Salamis the snake deserted the sanctuary, the Athenians felt the goddess had abandoned it too. A vase painting representing the judgment of Paris shows an indignant Athene accompanied by a snake equal to the goddess in height and majesty. "The artist seems dimly conscious that the snake is somehow the double of Athene."⁴² The child Erichthonius is guarded by a pair of snakes in the closed basket in which he is kept during infancy. And even in Pheidias's superb statue sculpted in the age of Pericles she is represented with a snake at her side, a scaly aegis on her breast and snakes around her waist. Cook sees

Athene as the rock-mother and everything emerging from the rocky surface of the Acropolis as instinct with her vitality. The snakes represent souls emerging from the underworld.⁴³

Cook also suggests that the owl of Athene embodies her very soul. The owl was regarded as Athene herself in visible form. "With one exception Homer has no god in the form of animals: Athene, however, sometimes transforms herself into a bird and it is by this very transformation that the aged Nestor recognizes her."⁴⁴ She appears as pigeon, hawk, kite, vulture, swallow, gull, but (especially in Athens) she is particularly identified with the owl.⁴⁵ She is also often represented as an anthropomorphic goddess with the wings of a bird; later the owl becomes an adjunct, held in her hand or mounted on her helmet (like the dove on the head of the Cnossian snake goddess.) The conventional identification of the owl with wisdom is too simple. The owl is a bird of prey (and thus equivalent to Zeus's eagle) and a night bird --- associated with death and darkness, but like all birds also associated with winged flight, with spirit. The owl thus seems to suggest that bringing of soul back into the upper air which comes up again and again in connection with Athene.

The ancient association of the owl and the serpent with Athene suggest once again the ambivalence inherent in this goddess which we miss if we take her at face value, accept her myth about herself. And yet the other truth, the other

face, is in plain view all the time. For Athene wears on her breast the Gorgoneion, Medusa's head. Although there is a well detailed myth rehearsing Perseus' decapitation of the gorgon and another version according to which Athene killed Medusa herself, Medusa exists primarily (as Jane Harrison pointed out long ago) as head, as face so terrifying that those who see it (or, Hazel Barnes suggests, are seen by it⁴⁶) are turned to stone. Harrison represents it as the "Erinys-side of the Great Mother;"⁴⁷ Rose explains it as a nightmare vision, "a face so horrible that the dreamer is reduced to helpless, stony terror;"⁴⁸ Freud believes Medusa's head represents the terrifying genitals of the Mother. Although Farnell rejects the notion "that the Gorgon was originally merely the double of Athene herself, personifying the darker side of her character"⁴⁹ I am inclined to accept it. That Athene's shadow side should be represented by a head seems singularly appropriate to this daughter brought forth from Zeus's head; the associations with the Erinyes and female sexuality also fit. And once again we are in the realm of reversal: the dark side is what redeems. The Furies through Athene's intervention become the Eumenides. The blood caught from the dripping head of Medusa is used by Athene and Aesclepius to kill and to heal; Aesclepius even uses it to raise the dead. The winged horse, Pegasus, often seen as a symbol of poetry, springs from the neck of Medusa when Perseus cuts off her head. The Gorgon which originally was

conceived as an ugly demon becomes in later sculptural representations a beautiful angel and thus there develops a new myth; it was because of Athene's envy of her beauty that Medusa was killed. Little wonder May Sarton can write a poem called, "The Muse as Medusa."

Athene as Pallas Athene, Athene as the twofaced goddess who wears Medusa's head on her aegis embodies a much more profound mode of "realization" than the one implied by Murray Stein who says that she

keeps us in the "real world"; she gives us the wherewithall to confront its problems, the joy of conquering ourselves, others, problems, and the sagacity and confidence to slay its dragons. She keeps us grounded in "real projects," out of vain and idle speculations. As a religious attitude, Athene is muscular and action-oriented; building, winning, marching.⁵⁰

Otto, I believe, comes closer to seeing how profoundly Athene's "reality" is not that of the pragmatist but of the artist. He speaks of "the spirit of brightest vigilance which grasps with lightening speed what the instant requires", of "the bright-eyed intelligence capable of discerning the decisive element at every juncture and of supplying the most effective instrumentality." He contrasts this to Apollo's indifference to the momentary, his investment in the abstract and the infinite, in pure cognition.⁵¹

To see Athene in relation to Zeus and Metis, to Ares and Hephaestus, to the owl who is awake at night and to the serpent who creeps out of the rocks, is to see, I believe, how, more profound than the mother-maiden polarity Kerényi

focuses on, more comprehensive than the conflicting claims of patriarchy and mother-right, is the always tensive relation in Athene of soul and spirit. "Out of head comes body;" out of Zeus comes Athene; in the Athene we first know only as spirit is hidden a soul. For me this is most powerfully embodied in the image of Athene as Pallas Athene, and of Athene with the Gorgon head. Both represent her as woman with woman, both soul and spirit are feminine. I am not sure we can even speak of either aspect as Athene's ego, for the very notion of ego seems relativized. Ego is perhaps the Athenian spirit when it is divorced from soul, when it is devoted to heroic success rather than artistic realization, when it forgets and thinks of itself as masculine. But as Pallas Athene, Athene is freed from that illusion, freed from having to understand her creativity as masculine, freed for psyche-prosis rather than psycho-logic. Athene herself has given soul to my image of Athene; I no longer look at her from the perspective of Apollo - or of the Erinyes. I see her as spirit emerging from the underworld, as soul being outwardsed in artistic realization.

Nevertheless Athene is also still the one caught in the myth about being born of the father. And I am strangely glad of that because it reminds me of my continued entrapment. I had come to Athene this fourth time around wanting recognition, not repetition, and have found what I sought⁵² but also found there is still repetition. I had accepted that --

It is not helpful to reduce spirit to ego. There must be a better way of putting what you have in mind.

in general. I believed I had learned long ago that the
 images of progress and growth don't seem to apply to the
 course of my life, that I know from within what Jung means
 by the continued circumambulation of the same central
 themes. But somehow I had not seen what that meant
 concretely. That balancing the claims of work and
 passionate involvements, keeping time-with and time alone
 in creative proportion, finding ways of allowing the in-
 tellectual in me and the poetic to intermingle fruitfully
 is never going to be easy for me. I understand Athene's
 identification with her father as a reminder to me of how
 easily still I am pulled to disparage my mother, to forgive
 my father; how much harder still it is to do the reverse.
 I am forced to acknowledge how hard it is always going to
 be not to fall back defensively ^{at moments of stress} on the "masculine" in myself.
~~at moments of stress~~ --- which is "masculine" when it loses
 its touch with its ground. I will always be ~~liable~~ to the
 danger of getting pulled into the underworld and lost there
 or getting cut off from the world of soul in the upper air.
 But I see also how my very creativity as a female is stimu-
 lated and deepened by my continuing to have to struggle with
 these issues. I think of Penelope, weaving and unweaving ---
 and for today bring this weaving to Athene's altar.

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on the brink?

Notes

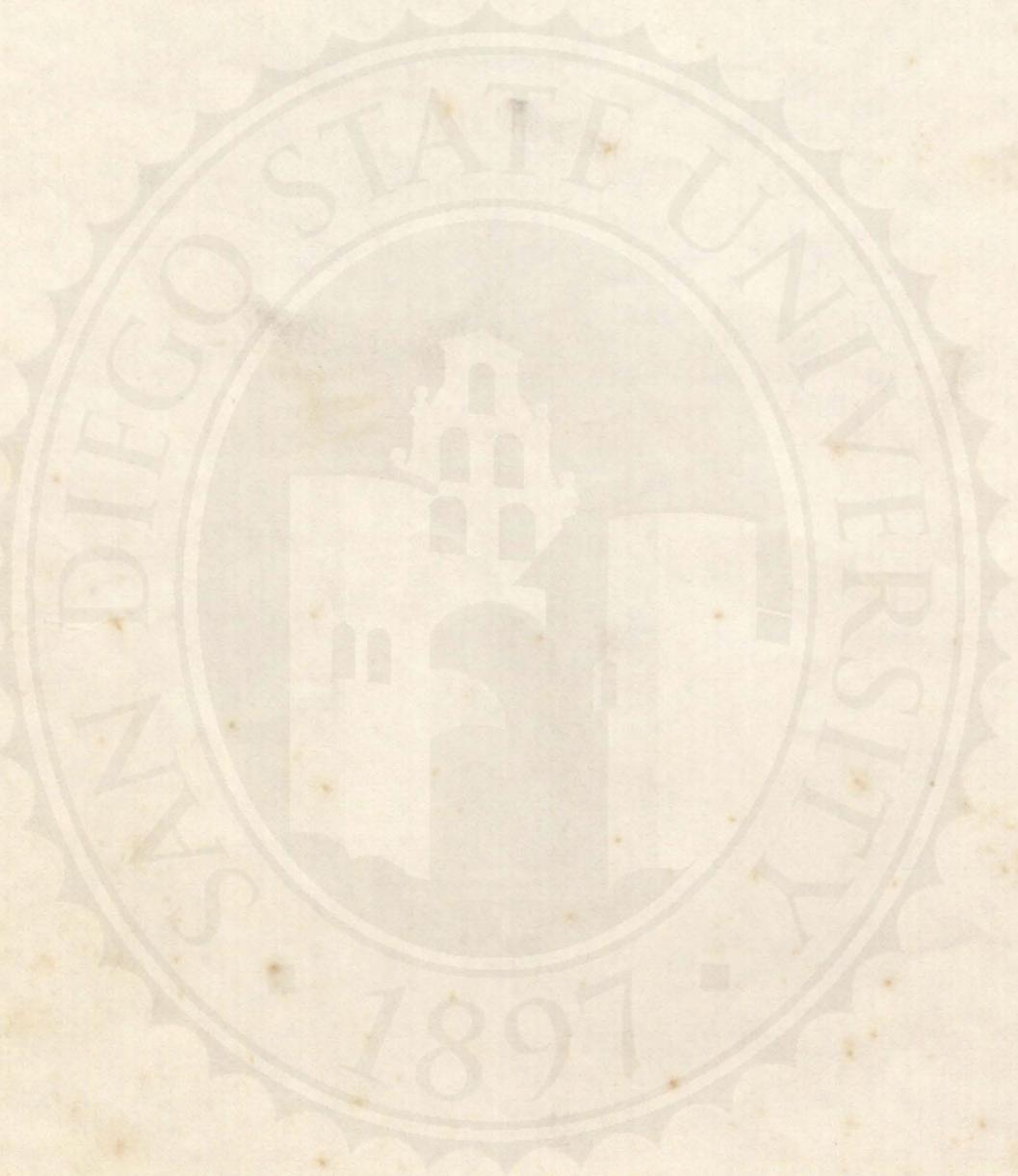
1. H. D., Selected Poems, (New York: Grove Press, 1957), p. 28.
2. James Hillman, Re-Visioning Psychology, (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 139.
3. Walter Otto, The Homeric Gods, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 60.
4. Hugh G. Evelyn-White, transl., Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homericica, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914) p. 453, 455.
5. Jane Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, (New York: Meridian Books, 1957) p. 306.
6. Otto, Homeric Gods, p. 160.
7. James Hillman, "Senex and Puer", Puer Papers (Irving, Texas: Spring Publications, 1979) p. 7.
8. Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, Vol. 1, (Chicago: Aegean Press, 1971) p. 314.
9. Ibid, p. 346, The relief is illustrated in Baumeister, Denkm. des Class. Alterth., Fig. 1568.
10. Cf. C. G. Jung, Psychological Types, CW6 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971) p. 175, Where Jung shows how in Goethe's "Prometheus Fragment," Minerva (the Roman near-equivalent to Athene) is soul to "the defiant, self-sufficient, godlike, god-disdaining creator and artist." Prometheus addresses her thus:
From the beginning thy words have been celestial
light to me!
Always as though my soul spoke to herself
Did she reveal herself to me,
And in her of their own accord
Sister harmonies rang out.
And when I deemed it was myself,
A goddess spoke,
And when I deemed a goddess was speaking,
It was myself.
So it was between thee and me,
So fervently one.
Eternal is my love for thee!
11. Otto, Homeric Gods, p. 47.

12. Richmond Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) p.
13. Hazel E. Barnes, The Meddling Gods, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974) p. 114f.
14. W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955) p. 108.
15. Karl Kerényi, Athene, (Zurich: Spring Publications, 1978) p. 26.
16. Apostolos N. Athanassakis, The Orphic Hymns, (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977) p. 45.
17. Cf. Esther Harding, Woman's Mysteries, (New York: Bantam, 1973) esp. Ch. 9.
18. Adrienne Rich, The Dream of A Common Language, p. 75.
19. Farnell, Cults, p. 357.
20. Richmond Lattimore, trans., The Odes of Pindar, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947) p. 20.
21. Richard Lattimore, trans., The Oresteia of Aeschylus, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) p. 158.
22. Ibid., p. 161.
23. Lattimore, Iliad, p. 151.
24. Ibid., p. 193, 192.
25. James Hillman, "Anima," Spring, 1973, p. 118.
26. Arthur Bernard Cook, Zeus, Vol. III, Part 1, (Cambridge: University Press, 1940) p. 732, 737.
27. Farnell, Cults, p. 298.
28. Ibid., p. 284f.
29. H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959) p. 51.
30. Mary Daly, Gyn/Ecology, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978) p. 72, 39.

31. The elusive cultic connections of Athene to water which do not connect up with the myths associated with her nor with her attributes probably derive from Metis. This may also underlie an emphasis on the connection between Athene and Poseidon, not satisfactorily accounted for by historical cultic rivalry.
32. Kerényi, Athene, p. 53.
33. Cf. My "Persephone in Hades," Anima IV:1, p. 22-31.
34. Farnell, Cults, p. 301.
35. Lattimore, Iliad, p. 192.
36. Robert Graves, The Greek Myths, Vol. 1, (Baltimore: Penquin, 1955) p. 96.
37. Cook, Zeus III: 1, p. 201.
38. Ibid., p. 223
39. Farnell, Cults, p. 350, Pl. XX.
40. Rose, Handbook, p. 108.
41. George E. Mylonas, Eleusis, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) p. 193, 211.
42. Jane Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 306.
43. Cook, Zeus, p. 764.
44. Martin P. Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964) p. 27.
45. Cook, Zeus, p. 781
46. Cf. "The Look of the Gorgon" in Barnes, Meddling Gods.
47. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 194.
48. Rose, Handbook, p. 29.
49. Farnell, Cults, p. 287.
50. Murray Stein, "Translator's Afterthoughts" in Kerényi, Athene, p. 74, 75.
51. Otto, Homeric Gods, p. 55 - 59.

52. Among the recognitions has been a new understanding of why Lou Andreas-Salome has for so long been an important self-image for me. She was an Athene in touch with both spirit and soul, in the prime of her life, as K. R. Eissler puts it (Talent and Genius, New York: Grove, 1971, p. 24ff.), "probably the most distinguished woman in Central Europe," a novelist, essayist, poet, and therapist. Her intellectual and emotional bond with Nietzsche (who called her "sagacious as an eagle and courageous as a lion") when she was ~~she was~~ in her early twenties might, had it continued, have enabled him to withstand the Gorgon's gaze. As Athene gave Bellerophon the golden bridle by which he might capture Pegasus, so Lou helped Rilke find his own personal poetic voice. ^{Franz} (probably the only man whose path she crossed who was never afraid of her and who did not ever fall in love with her) was Zeus ("the father face of my life") and Odysseus. Their friendship began when both were in their fifties and their mutual respect and deep affection ripened until she died some twenty years later. There were significant and sustained friendships with women as well. But she confounded and provoked not only wonder but envy; her synthesis of intellectual and artistic accomplishment with a life of such deep and varied relationships looked like the assumption of a masculine prerogative.

1. Sense of general approach
2. Clarity — ending in particular
↳ rhetorical syntax.
3. What might have been included?



34. Farnell, Cults, p. 301.
35. Farnell, Cults, p. 350 PL. XX
36. Olsen, Silences, p. 160, (my emphasis)
37. Lattimore, Iliad, p. 192.
38. Robert Graves, The Greek Myths, Vol. 1, (Baltimore: Penguin, 1955) p. 96.
39. Cook, Zeus III: 1, p. 201.
40. Olsen, Silences, p. 174.
41. Rose, Handbook, p. 108.
42. George E. Mylonas, Eleusis, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969) p. 193, 211.
43. Jane Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 306.
44. Cook, Zeus, p. 764.
45. Vincent Vycinas, Earth and Gods, (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1961) p. 129.
46. Martin P. Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964) p. 27.
47. Cook, Zeus, p. 781.
48. Cf. "The Look of the Gorgon: in Barnes, Meddling Gods.
49. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 194.
50. Rose, Handbook, p. 29.
51. Farnell, Cults, p. 287.
52. Murray Stein, "Translator's Afterthoughts" in Kerényi, Athene, p. 74, 75.
53. Otto, Homeric Gods, p. 55-59.
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