

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.¹

It seemed simple at first. I had been invited to write on "the woman artist" and understood this to mean that it was time to attend to Athene, the goddess of artist and artisan, the prototype of the artistically creative woman. It quickly became less simple. 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 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 accomplishments) 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 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, her erect carriage and her long proud stride. She was for me (as Walter Otto 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 and ambitions. Once I got married, I felt I had left Athene’s realm: I came to look back somewhat disparagingly on that youthful period and the goddess who had dominated it. 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 of what was wrong with her: her overidentification with men and 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:



Head of Athene (from Piraeus)

National Archaeological Museum, Athens, V. and N. Tombazi

*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 are not so easily dismissed. I am only now beginning to see how Athene has been present all through my life. There were periods along the way when that presence was evident: not only the years of adolescence, but again when I entered graduate school seven years after my marriage. There I rediscovered the excitement of fully exercising my intellectual and creative capacities and the delight of having these recognized by the fatherly teachers I respected and by the brotherly colleagues who accepted me as one of themselves. Much later, after 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 by my attendance at this altar. I needed separation from Athene and from the relationship; I needed soul and not just spirit. And so (not suspecting that she may offer both), I left.

Or so I thought. Now I better 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. In my transition from self-sufficient

maiden to mother, I had discovered darkness in what had earlier appeared as Athene's light side. Only more recently have I discovered the light hidden in the aspect of her which is usually obscured. There is an aspect of Athene which is minimized in the classical accounts and which she herself is represented as repressing. To recover this aspect is to see her, not as a goddess who has renounced her femininity but as one who teaches us to recognize courage and vulnerability, creativity and receptivity as equally feminine qualities. Jung has taught us that we may first encounter the gods and goddesses as our diseases, our pathologies. I had wanted to be free of Athene because I did not want to be the animus-ridden woman I took her to be. What had once appeared as a splendid ego-ideal had come to look like malignant shadow, because the heroic ego itself (of which Athene seemed the exemplary female image) had come under 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 tale."⁷ The kaleidoscope is given yet another shake. What belongs and what is extraneous,

what is important and what trivial, how the different parts relate—all this is 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.

That Athene is the goddess of weaving seems newly pertinent as I accept the necessity of unweaving the stories as previously told and weaving yet another. It is somewhat consoling to bring to mind 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 herself. This serves as a reminder that it might be dangerous to aim for perfection in my telling. I think of Penelope (whose marvelous skill in weaving was a gift of Athene's) finding she had to unweave each night what she had so gracefully woven during the day. So, too, even this story may not be my final weaving: I see my present telling as the gift 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, which had been carefully woven and embroidered during the preceding nine months.

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 more frightening than I would have imagined, for it means looking at the hitherto least explored aspects of my life: the negative side of my love for my father, my ever-repeated tendency to divert energy from my own creative work into relationships, the still present temptation to understand my assertiveness and intellectual acumen as masculine attributes. I understand now that Athene does indeed wear the Gorgon-head 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 Hephaistos and Prometheus as a cocreator, most notably perhaps in the accounts of the creation of the first human beings.

In the strange myth of Pandora, one of the few in which Greek divinities are presented as creative powers, it is Athena 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 first mixed together earth and rainwater and fashioned it into the likeness of the gods, and then Athene breathed life into the soul. (How I would love to see the sarcophagus relief described by Farnell in which Athene is represented as inserting the soul in the form of a butterfly into the newly formed human body.⁹)

Athene is thus soul-giver, soul-maker.¹⁰ As an anima figure, she is appropriately present in the Homeric hymn to Demeter playing in the meadow and gathering flowers in the company of those other animas, Persephone and Artemis and the nymphs. Yet Athene is an anima figure who may help us get past seeing anima primarily in contrasexual terms. 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, and thus as a goddess who provides us women with a singularly confirming understanding of our own creative powers as feminine powers.

At first, Athene seems to embody the presupposition that creativity, its cultivation and discipline, its coming into realized, visible form, is not really feminine. Yet these attributes are hers and she is a female god, a *goddess*. As we begin to explore Athene's relation to the masculine and feminine, we discover that even the image of the androgyne does not do full justice to her divine femininity. Such exploration calls for a close examination of her relationships to men and to women, to father and mother, to Ares and Hephaistos, to the polis and the under-

world. There is a two-sidedness to Athene which is recalled when we remember to call her by her full name: Pallas Athene.

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, to which Athene herself does not fall prey, is, of course, that the satisfaction of being welcomed as sister and companion may lead to a subtle subordination of one's own creativity.)

Athene gives courage and confirmation, the sudden bright idea or the seasoned reflection. She does not actively take command over the men whom she supports but brings them into touch with their own highest potentiality. Thus, in the *Iliad*, when Achilles rashly moves forward to attack Agamemnon, Athene (visible only to him) holds him back and gives him that moment in which he can recall himself. As Walter Otto shows, in her affectionate care of Herakles, 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 In a dream she offers Bellerophon the golden bridle which will enable him to capture Pegasus, the winged horse, for whom he had yearned since his youth. She advises Perseus how to go about fulfilling his rash boast of being able to overpower the Gorgon, Medusa.

Her closest involvement is with her protégé, 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. She is to him the one "who always stands beside me in all my tasks and always remembers me wherever I go."¹² She 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's childhood friend. Indi-

rectly, she thus evokes the "brotherhood" they share and seems to suggest a time "when we two were boys together." Her trust sustains him during his many-yeared journey back to Ithaca, even though she does not directly appear. She comes and goes, ever near yet clearly distinct, with a life of her own apart from him.

She wants Odysseus to remain true to himself, to maintain his sense of balance, his reasonableness, his skepticism about heroic glory, his optimism. Odysseus is a survivor. Adventures have their appeal, but homecoming matters more. The concrete pleasures of his everyday life in Ithaca have more power for him than abstractions like glory and duty. 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.

In all this, he is much like the goddess who cares for him: her masculine counterpart. Athene and Odysseus 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." As she is at ease among men, so is he trusted by women and comfortable with them. He is not identified with the masculine world 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.

Because there is nothing possessive in Athene's love for Odysseus, its naturally extends to include his son and his wife. Thus her presence brings about Telemachus's 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. Athene disguised as a visiting stranger, Mentès, 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

She not only endows Penelope with her skill in weaving but with clear understanding and wit surpassing that of any other Greek woman. Athene appears to Nausicaa in a dream and thereby prepares this young maiden for the initiation into womanhood to be effected by her encounter with Odysseus.

Although Athene's intimate connections with women are often unnoticed, to disregard them is to identify her with an exclusive bonding with men that is (as the reference to Penelope and Nausicaa suggests) foreign to her. How easily we are pulled to overlook this, to pull her into our struggle about male identification, to project onto her our ambivalence about women bonding with women. We use her as our scapegoat, when she might instead offer us a more complex image of the creative woman than is otherwise available. That she spends her leisure hours, her own time, in the company of women is suggested by the account 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. These accounts seem to imply that Athene's essential self is a with-women self—a vision of Athene that has only recently become apparent to me.

I therefore now attach much more importance than I had earlier to her close childhood friendship with Pallas, daughter of the sea god Triton by whom Athene was reared. One day as they were playing together, testing each other's skill at fencing, Athene inadvertently killed her foster sister. Grief stricken, she made a wooden image of Pallas which was at first set up on Olympus and later placed in the heart of the citadel of Troy. (Eventually the word "palladium" comes to refer to any statue of Athene in her aspect of protectress of the polis.) After the death of her friend, Athene becomes Pallas Athene. Pallas is more than an epithet or an attribute; as Guthrie says, "The one is her name as much as the other."¹⁴ Though it may be that originally Pallas was a warrior goddess among the invading

Greeks who was then united with the Athene of Mycenaean times, in classical Greece Athene is Pallas Athene. The double name suggests her two-sidedness: she is a goddess who has her own anima, who is spirit and soul.

"Pallas," so Kerenyi tells us, is a word for maiden but not just an equivalent of "Kore"; it suggests a robust, fierce maidenliness. "A distinct masculinity seems to adhere to this word even in its feminine form."¹⁵ Kerenyi sees the term as referring to Athene's "androgyny," the androgyny 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 I, on the other hand, see androgyny as misrepresenting the inner meaning of Athene's being Pallas Athene. Perhaps the whole point of Pallas Athene is to help us transcend the facile equation of strength and courage and worldly wisdom with masculinity irrespective of the gender of the bearer of these attributes. I see Pallas's strength and independence as precisely womanly, related to her being a virgin in the sense made familiar by Esther Harding: in-one-selfness. (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 Kanathos.) I am impressed that it is Zeus who is responsible for Athene's killing Pallas (and later for the palladium being thrown from Olympus). Zeus, watching the two maidens playing, becomes fearful that Pallas is about to strike his daughter, and so interposes his aegis. Pallas, startled, looks away, and is fatally wounded by her friend. It was thus his masculine misinterpretation of their assertiveness as aggression, their rivalry as destructive, that caused the death of the feminine Pallas.

The assumption which equates such courage and self-sufficiency as Pallas represents with the masculine is deeply embedded. It probably underlies the fact that the other Palantes associated with Athene are all male. There is, for instance, a Pallas whom she kills in the Olympians' war against the giants, and out of whose skin she makes a shield; an Arcadian Pallas who is her teacher and the father of Nike, one of her own manifestations; and a Pallas who, in a variant account of her

birth, is her father, a father who tries to rape her, 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 an explicitly masculine side of herself that is represented by her Pallas aspect. She has become Pallas Athene through (in clinical terms) an "introjection of the father" (or of a father surrogate). This denies that both names, Athene and Pallas, refer to feminine ways of being in the world.

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: the repression of the feminine and the undoing of the repression as a soul task. Really to understand Athene demands a courageous examination of our own participation in misogynous self-denial. To recover the Athene who is mothered by Metis and not only fathered by Zeus is to recover ourselves. 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. To get to the Athene who can 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 with the most familiar features of a mythologem and, by reflecting on them, discover their unfamiliarity and strangeness, their prehistory. As L. R. Farnell noted almost a hundred years ago, Athene's character became "deeper and more manifold" the longer she was worshiped¹⁷—a truth whose pertinence I have only recently come to appreciate.

Because it is the dark side of the goddesses that is most intimately associated with transformation, fully to understand Athene is to enter deeply into the dark mystery of the father-daughter bond. Because for Athene Zeus is unquestionably the father, Zeus will appear very differently to her than he does to Hera who sees him preeminently as husband. Athene's ambivalence toward Zeus 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. It means 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 provides 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.

*by the artifice of Hephaistos,
at the stroke of the bronze-beeled axe Athene sprang
from the height of her father's head with a strong cry.
The sky shivered before her and earth our mother.¹⁸*

Thus is 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.¹⁹*

According to myth, Metis, who had helped Zeus in his battle against his father by giving the emetic which forced Kronos to vomit forth his swallowed children, becomes his first sexual partner. Soon after Athene's conception, Zeus learns that Metis is destined to bear a son who would eventually overthrow his

father. To prevent this Zeus swallows Metis and her unborn female child, as his father before him had out of a similar fear swallowed his newborn offspring. In due course, Athene is born, full-grown, out of Zeus's head. She had her beginning as all of us do within her mother, but then lived the time intervening before her emergence into womanhood within her father—as all of us live the equivalent years of our life within the patriarchally defined world (and often consciously bonded more with our fathers than our mothers).

Athene's identification with the father is most vividly expressed as she announces her judgment on behalf of Orestes in Aeschylus's 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.*²⁰

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. Her favorite among mortals is not a *puer*, like Bellerophon or Perseus, but the old Odysseus, further confirmation of the determining power in her life of that primary pull to the father.

As the mother-bound 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 ourselves
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.*²¹

Only once is their closeness disrupted. 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 complete 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.*²²

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

Persephone 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's response is different; she defends against Zeus's potentially overwhelming masculine power by assimilating it in her own being, by being so like him that in many ways she 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. (It seems characteristic that even on the Acropolis, where she is the dominating figure, she is surrounded by masculine divinities, by Hephaistos, Hermes, Poseidon, Zeus.) This is the most trou-

blesome image of Athene; perhaps it echoes unwelcome and, therefore, denied misogynist stirrings. We either know we could not be Athene, could not be as confident and accomplished and creative as she—or are all too conscious of how easily we *could* be Athene, the Athene whose androgyny 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.²³

In one sense, 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. Indeed, there is a positive way of understanding Athene's beginning life as a full-grown woman. It may be taken to signify her freedom from that crippling of full feminine capacity usually engendered by the process whereby (as Freud puts it) "a woman develops out of a child with a bisexual disposition." (Again I would want to dispute that the child's wholeness is best described in terms of bisexuality.) She has thereby escaped the agony of coming to believe that "creation and femininity are incompatible" that has so deeply afflicted many women. (Anais Nin, for example, refers to "the aggressive act of creation; the guilt of creating. I did not want to rival man; to steal man's creation, his thunder.") Tillie Olsen has written powerfully of the tragic acceptance

—against one's experienced reality—of the sexist notion that the act of creation is not as inherently natural to a woman as to a man, but rooted instead in unnatural aggression, rivalry, envy, or thwarted sexuality.²⁴

Athene's emergence full-grown from Zeus's head may thus paradoxically represent her independence from him.

Historically, it is clear that Athene has her own existence apart from Zeus. Some forty years ago careful study of the archaeological and artistic evidence led A. B. Cook (in his monumental study of Zeus) to conclude that Hephaistos 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."²⁵ This may explain why it is Athene and not Zeus who in the classical period comes to be regarded as "the ideal incarnation of the many-sided Athenian life."²⁶ Even longer ago, in 1895, Farnell sought to show how the story of Athene's birth might have received its present shape.

The fact that in this earliest and half-savage form of the legend Athene 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. . . . Suppose that Athene 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 (wisdom or counsel), 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.²⁷

That Athene's existence comes to be seen as dependent on Zeus is one of those reversals in myth-work which interpretation-work must undo 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 one that takes away a self to which we have become deeply attached. Mary Daly names how the resistance to this recovery of Athene's true history is supported by Athene herself (and the Athenes among us):

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," Daly 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 remembering our Selves. Athena remembers her mother and consequently re-members her Self.²⁸

The re-membling 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 Metis is the original 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, a shape-shifter. To elude Zeus's grasp she takes many different forms—it is when she assumes that of a fly that he is able to swallow her. The swallowed Metis represents perfectly those silenced mothers and grandmothers of whom Tillie Olsen speaks, mothers who identify both proudly and resentfully with their more fortunate daughters. (In my own case, my mother could happily support my identification with Athene, including my adolescent bonding with my father, because she could remember being an Athene in her own youth.) Thus Metis's most important metamorphosis is her reemergence as Athene; here she comes forth full-bodied as a goddess. In this sense, Metis is the parthenogenetic mother of Athene as claimed by Robert Graves (and Daly): she creates Athene out of herself. But this insistence on parthenogenesis, this denial of the father, is the Furies' perspective. It forecloses the possibility that after one has rediscovered the mother one can acknowledge the father in a new way. Otherwise, we are back with Demeter and Persephone—a different story and a different pathology.

Metis represents, and bequeathes to her daughter, a "watery" wisdom—intuitive, attuned to subtleties and transformations, sensitive to nuances of personal feeling, poetic rather than abstract, receptive rather than commanding. The connection with water appears elsewhere in the traditions associated with Athene: for example, in the stories which tell of her competition with Poseidon for primacy in Athens, and in the epithet

"Tritogeneia" which recalls that Pallas (and perhaps Athene herself) is fathered by a god of the sea.

Metis is Athene's mother aspect. This 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 Kerenyi's, as does therefore my interpretation of the birth of Erichthonios. The tradition is that when Athene defended herself against Hephaistos's attempt to rape her, he ejaculated against her thigh. She wiped off the semen with a handkerchief which she let drop on earth (Gaia). From this Erichthonios was born. Soon after his birth Gaia gave him into Athene's care. (Eventually Erichthonios grew up to become the Athenian king responsible for the establishment of the Athene cult.) Kerenyi understands this as an only slightly disguised statement that Athene is herself Erichthonios's mother.²⁹ 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 Mother—this is her Gaia aspect and it is thus appropriate that the child be conceived in Gaia and issue from her. But by the time Athene is Athene she represents a different kind of creativity. (That we lose more than we gain by focusing 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 to her identity lies in the fact that she and Hades have no children: it is *souls* who are given life in the underworld, not children. Athene, similarly, is not a goddess of procreation, but of creation. 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. Her relation to soul is a more extroverted one than is Persephone's. Athene is 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 Polias, the goddess of the polis, of the human community; "cities are the gifts of Athene."³⁰ She seems to have originated as the household goddess of the

Mycenean 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. Though she is not associated with childbirth, with the biological creation of children, she is much involved in caring for young children and in their socialization.

Athene's 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). Indeed, she initiates us into the difference between repression and sublimation. Her maidenhood seems to be a given so well established that it limits mythological development: though Hephaistos and Athene are closely associated in cult, their relationship cannot be imaged as a marriage. Athene's 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 in order to be with others without entanglement. She represents a "being with" that fosters mutual creativity, that is based on soul and spirit rather than on instinct and passion. 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: erect and threatening, brandishing her weapons; seated and tranquil, with shawl and spindle. One aspect represents her affinities with Ares, the other her closeness to Hephaistos. These two parthenogenetic sons of Hera are the masculine counterparts of Zeus's daughter; they are her brothers despite the myths' insistence that they and she have no common parent. When viewed in relation to Athene each could be regarded as her animus: as what her assertive or creative aspect might be like were it not

integrated as part of her womanliness. There are many accounts of Athene and Hephaistos participating in joint projects and sharing delight in each other's creations, as there are tales of intense sibling rivalry between Athene and Ares. (The latter pair coexist more harmoniously in cult.) That Hephaistos and Ares are often associated with the same goddesses (Hera, Aphrodite, Athene) suggests that in a woman's consciousness they naturally appear as a complementary pair—the rejected creative animus and the overly aggressive, assertive one. The hope then would be that when creativity and assertion become consciously part of the feminine being, they will lose this negative dimension.

To understand why, among the iconic representations of Athene, the warrior-type predominates, we must recognize how her martial aspect relates to her civilizing function. It derives from her original commitment to the royal citadel and then to the polis and, consequently, to their defense. Athene Promachus is a protectress, the helper in battle, the instructor in the art of war, not a battle-lusty aggressor. A beautiful relief of her leaning on her spear, her head drooping, pervaded with sorrow, introduces us to a very different Athene: the warrior goddess herself touched by defeat and loss. Farnell believes she is mourning some terrible national disaster and the deaths of all those who were killed.³¹

When focusing on Athene's pathology we may see her as too much the defender, too well defended, but her transmutation of Ares' unrestrained aggressiveness into disciplined assertiveness is an important component of the process by which one brings creative insight to artistic expression. Virginia Woolf expresses her experience of the violence inherent in creation thus:

Sometimes I am out of touch; but go on; then again I feel that I have at last, *by violent measures*—like breaking through gorse—set my hands on something central.³²

Athene's patronage of the arts also 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 case, she is reputed to have made the first earthenware pot. She is also, 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."³³ She invented the trumpet and the flute (though, because blowing it made her ugly, she quickly 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.³⁴

Her role as goddess of art and artisan naturally brings her into association with the master artisan among the gods, Hephaistos. 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. The ritual connections between them are so extensive that Cook concludes that Athene and Hephaistos were originally the local Rhea and Kronos.³⁵ Athene's relation to Hephaistos antedates hers to Zeus. One myth has it that Hera conceived Hephaistos parthenogenetically in revenge against Zeus's parthenogenetic creation of Athene; another, that Hephaistos served as midwife at Athene's birth. It is he who releases Athene from the head of Zeus, from being contained by the masculine.

As Athene's relation to war differs from that of Ares, so her relation to artistic creativity differs from that of Hephaistos. That Athene and Hephaistos work together seems a more essential aspect of her creativity than of his. He generally does his work in private and then brings the finished marvels into the world of others. She is more extroverted, more able to combine creativity and human involvement. Athene's art is the art made within and for the human community; in her realm the distinction between the fine and practical arts fades away. It is art that issues from work, from discipline and training rather than from untutored, unfettered inspiration. She "finds place and gives image to the driving necessities"; she offers the Erinyes a cave

where they may reside and be honored.³⁶ Hephaistos is only artist, whereas Athene is warrior as well. 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.

From the perspective of the underworld, the ever-conquering Athene may seem fatally flawed. But this image of Athene as invulnerable is radically inadequate. To know Athene deeply is to see beyond the Athene that Rose describes as "one about whom few if any unworthy tales are told."³⁷ Remembering her treatment of Arachne should liberate us from accepting the image of her as cold and passionless, always reasonable and fair. She strikes Tiresias blind. Cecrops's daughters go mad and kill themselves after they disobey her command not to peek into the infant Erichthonios'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, the god of madness and ecstasy, the male divinity most closely associated with the underworld. (One story has it that it was she who interrupted the Titans' banquet when they were feasting on Dionysos' dismembered body and rescued the heart and brought it back to Zeus.) Athene's bond to other divinities associated with the underworld is also closer than we usually recognize. The many ancient vases and coins representing a helmeted Athene holding a pomegranate suggest a connection to Persephone. A sculpture representing Demeter and Persephone greeted by Athene refers to 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.³⁸ Whereas Hera represents an antagonism to Demeter and her daughter, Athene represents an intimate complementarity. Persephone is involved with the soul's initiation into the underworld, Athene with its emergence into the human world.

There are other signs of 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. (This connection may explain why, to facilitate Athene's birth, Hephaistos is

represented as cleaving Zeus's head with a double-edged axe, a tool peculiar to Minoan culture.) Even in the time of Herodotus, Athene was closely identified with the guardian snake believed to live in the Acropolis. 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."³⁹ The child Erichthonios is guarded by a pair of snakes in the closed basket in which he is kept during infancy. 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 connects these snakes to Athene's role as rock mother. Their salient characteristic in respect to this goddess is their emerging from the rocky surface of the Acropolis and then again disappearing. He speaks explicitly of these snakes as representing soul emerging from the underworld.⁴⁰

Martin Heidegger helps us relate this theme of emergence from the rock to the particular understanding of the nature of the work of art represented by Athene. Heidegger speaks of the Greek temple rising from the rock (as the Parthenon rises from the Acropolis) as representing the "erection of a world" which occurs simultaneously with a "bringing forward of the earth" in which earth "becomes apparent as: undisclosable."⁴¹ Heidegger's earth and world parallel what I have been calling soul and its outward expression in artistic realization. Under the aegis of Athene, art expresses its emergence from soul, from earth, *and* its dependence on its source.

The owl of Athene brings to mind similar associations. The owl was regarded as Athene herself in visible form, as her very soul, though Greek divinities are rarely represented theriomorphically. "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."⁴² She appears as pigeon, hawk, kite, vulture, swallow, gull, but (especially in Athens) she is

particularly identified with the owl.⁴³ 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 Knossian 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, associated with winged flight and also 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 suggests once again the ambivalence inherent in this goddess, which we miss if we take her at face value and accept her myth about herself. Yet the other truth, the other face, is in plain view all the time. Athene wears on her breast the Gorgoneion, Medusa's head. Although there is a well-detailed myth rehearsing Perseus's decapitation of the Gorgon and another version according to which Athene herself killed Medusa, 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 it⁴⁴) are turned to stone. Harrison represents it as the "Erinyes-side of the Great Mother";⁴⁵ Rose explains it as a nightmare vision, "a face so horrible that the dreamer is reduced to helpless, stony terror";⁴⁶ and Freud believes Medusa's head represents the terrifying genitals of the Great Mother. Although Farnell rejects the notion "that the Gorgon was originally merely the double of Athene herself, personifying the darker side of her character,"⁴⁷ I am inclined to accept it. The representation of Athene's shadow side by a head is singularly appropriate to this daughter brought forth from Zeus's head; the associations with the Erinyes and female sexuality also fit. There is a powerful instinctual feminine side of Athene which she does not really hide at all. When she wears the Gorgon-head, it conveys the dark sources of her power but it does not destroy or petrify. 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

(realism of ...)

caught from the dripping head of Medusa is used by Athene and Asklepios to kill and to heal; Asklepios 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; 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," which celebrates the Gorgon's capacity to inspire creativity:

*I saw you once, Medusa; we were alone.
I looked you straight in the cold eye, cold.
I was not punished, was not turned to stone.
How to believe the legends I am told? . . .*

*I turned your face around! It is my face.
That frozen rage is what I must explore—
Oh secret, self-enclosed and ravaged place!
That is the gift I thank Medusa for.⁴⁸*

Athene as Pallas Athene, Athene as the two-faced 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 wherewithal 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.⁴⁹

Otto, I believe, comes closer to seeing how profoundly Athene's "reality" is not that of the action-minded pragmatist but of the artist who has a clear sense of just which gesture,

which word will most fully express an intended meaning. He speaks of "the spirit of brightest vigilance which grasps with lightning 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.⁵⁰ Hillman speaks of Athene as meaning psychological reflection, the energy directed to inner integration, as the goddess "who grants *topos*, judging where each event belongs in relation to all other events."⁵¹

Athene is related to Zeus and Metis, to Ares and Hephaistos, to the owl who is awake at night and to the serpent who creeps out of the rocks. More profound than the mother-maiden polarity Kerényi focuses on, more comprehensive than the conflicting claims of patriarchy and mother-right, is the always tense 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 psycho-poesis 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 made manifest in artistic realization.

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

repetition. I had accepted that—in general. I believed I had learned long ago that the images of progress and growth do not 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. Now I understand that balancing the claims of work and passionate involvements, keeping time-with and time-alone in creative proportion, finding ways of allowing the intellectual and the poetic to intermingle fruitfully—all of this is never going to be easy. 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 difficult it will always be not to fall back defensively at moments of stress on the masculine in myself—which *is* masculine when it loses its touch with its ground. I will always be susceptible to the danger of getting pulled into the underworld and lost there, or of getting cut off from the world of soul in the upper air. I see also how my very creativity as a female is stimulated and deepened by my continuing struggle with these issues. I think of Penelope, weaving and unweaving—and for today I bring this weaving to Athene's altar.

NOTES

1. H.D., "Pallas," in *Selected Poems* (New York: Grove Press, 1957), p. 23.
2. James Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), p. 139.
3. Walter F. Otto, *The Homeric Gods* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 60.
4. Hesiod, "To Athena," trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White, in *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914), pp. 453, 455.
5. Jane Ellen 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," in *Puer Papers* (Irving, Tex.: Spring Publications, 1979), p. 7.
8. Lewis Richard Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Aegaeon Press, 1971), p. 314.

9. Farnell, *Cults* 1:346. The relief is illustrated in Baumeister, *Denkm. des klass. Alterth.*, fig. 1568.

10. Cf. C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, CW 6 (Princeton, N.J.: 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. Homer *Iliad* 10. 278-80, rendered by Otto, *Homeric Gods*, p. 46.

13. Hazel E. Barnes, *The Meddling Gods* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), pp. 114ff.

14. W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 108.

15. Carl Kerényi, *Athene* (Zurich: Spring Publications, 1978), p. 26.

16. *The Orphic Hymns*, trans. Apostolos N. Athanassakis (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977), p. 45.

17. Farnell, *Cults* 1:357.

18. *The Odes of Pindar*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 20.

19. Aeschylus, *The Eumenides* 658-66, trans. Richmond Lattimore, in *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, vol. 1, *Aeschylus*, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 158.

20. Aeschylus, *The Eumenides* 735-40, p. 161.

21. Homer *Iliad* 5. 875-80, p. 151.

22. Homer *Iliad* 8. 370-73, p. 192.

23. James Hillman, "Anima," *Spring*, 1973, p. 118.

24. Tillie Olsen, *Silences* (New York: Delta, 1979), p. 30.

25. Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1940), pp. 732, 737.

26. Farnell, *Cults* 1:298.

27. Farnell, *Cults* 1:284ff.

28. Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978), pp. 72, 39.

29. Kerényi, *Athene*, p. 53.

30. Farnell, *Cults* 1:301.

31. Farnell, *Cults* 1:350, pl. 20.

32. Virginia Woolf cited in Olsen, *Silences*, p. 160 (my emphasis).

33. Homer *Iliad* 8. 385-86, p. 192.

34. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 96.

35. Cook, *Zeus* 3: pt. 1, p. 201.

36. James Hillman, *Facing the Gods* (Irving, Tex.: Spring Publications, 1980), p. 28.

37. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959), p. 103.

38. George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 193, 211.

39. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 306.

40. Cook, *Zeus* 3: pt. 1, p. 764.

41. Martin Heidegger cited in Vincent Vycinas, *Earth and Gods* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1961), p. 129.

42. Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), p. 27.

43. Cook, *Zeus* 3: pt. 1, p. 781.

44. See "The Look of the Gorgon," in Barnes, *Meddling Gods*.

45. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 194.

46. Rose, *Handbook*, p. 29.

47. Farnell, *Cults* 1:287.

48. May Sarton, *Collected Poems* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), p. 332.

49. Murray Stein, "Translator's Afterthoughts," in Kerényi, *Athene*, pp. 74, 75.

50. Otto, *Homeric Gods*, pp. 55-59.

51. Hillman, *Facing Gods*, pp. 31, 29.

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 Press, 1971], pp. 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 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. Freud (probably the only man whose path she crossed who was never afraid of her and who did not 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 confounded and provoked not only wonder but envy; her synthesis of intellectual and artistic accomplishment with a life full of such deep and varied relationships looked like the assumption of a masculine prerogative.