

**War and the Warrior: Functions of Ares in  
Literature and Cult**

**Alexander T. Millington**

**UCL**

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I, Alexander Millington, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

## **Abstract**

This dissertation presents a new interpretative synthesis of the sources relating to the cults, identities, and functions of the god Ares, focusing on the Archaic and Classic periods. An apparent dichotomy is identified: in many respects, the evidence suggests that Ares must have been a very important god throughout much of the Greek world throughout the Archaic and Classic periods (and beyond), but in other respects the evidence suggests that he was not. I argue that this dichotomy does not derive from changes in the popularity, relevance, or nature of the god, as has been proposed. Instead, I argue that the elements of Ares' cults and representations which suggest that Ares was unpopular or unimportant derive from those which made him important and continually relevant. I argue that because Ares was identified with war, attitudes towards the god directly reflect Greek attitudes towards war. War's importance as an element of Greek life, and the god's power as a causal force with it, led to deep respect for Ares, reflected by widespread cult, and a place among the great Olympians. But the wild, destructive, and unpredictable nature of war, which Ares represented, meant that he was not a regular recipient of large-scale celebratory cult. Instead, war itself was conceived of as a form of cult for Ares, which he took pleasure in, despite the fact that it was not initiated on his behalf. Ares was associated with all aspects of war, and represented as a warrior archetype. I argue that the cluster of ideas and associations that Ares represented was a powerful tool which many Greek poets and artists were attracted to use in order to articulate and explore a series of interconnected ideas relating to war, violence, the nature of the warrior, and the role of the warrior within society.

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# War and the Warrior: Functions of Ares in Literature and Cult<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

### (1.1) Ares: a great god on the fringes?

A striking dichotomy, which can at first sight resemble a paradox, lies at the heart of the corpus of extant sources relating to the Greek god Ares. Ares' cults were ancient<sup>2</sup> and ubiquitous,<sup>3</sup> and he was often called upon as a witness to treaty oaths.<sup>4</sup> Repeatedly described as one of the twelve great Olympians,<sup>5</sup> Ares pervades Archaic and Classical poetry,<sup>6</sup> and was depicted by many sculptors and painters.<sup>7</sup> And yet only one city is currently thought to have called upon Ares as its primary civic

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (= Hornblower & Spawforth (2003)).

<sup>2</sup> Ares appears as a recipient of cult in a Linear B text from Knossos, and appears to feature in many Mycenaean theophoric names. Cf. Ventris & Chadwick (1956) 125 & 307 (no.201); Aura Jorro (1985) 96–98; Ilievsky (1999) 306–307; Rougemont (2005) 332; García Ramón (2011) 231; Gallavotti 1957: 229; Pötscher 1959: 11–15; Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 38; Gulizio 2001: 33; Gonzales 2004: 353–355; Millington (2013) 544–545.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Laws* (833b), Plato assumes that all Greek cities will have a sanctuary of Ares somewhere within their territory when he suggests that standard training for heavy infantry in any Greek state should include running in full armour to the nearest shrine of Ares and back (I here adopt a reading justified by England (1921) 335, contra that implied by Brisson & Pradeau (2006) 317). The extant evidence for cults of Ares is surveyed by Gonzales (2004). The majority of cult-sites of Ares may, however, have consisted of small shrines and altars, perhaps in rural areas, in addition to sacred groves. Sites of this nature are less likely to be found by archaeologists. They were, moreover, less likely to attract the attention of Pausanias and Strabo, with the exception of those instances where the god bore an unusual epithet, or where an interesting aetiological tale had developed by the second century A.D. As Snodgrass (1987: 76–77) remarks, Pausanias rarely ventured far from the cities and roads (for further discussion of Pausanias' selectivity, cf. Habicht (1985) 22–24, and Alcock (1996) 245–248). Cf. also Farnell (1909) 396.

<sup>4</sup> Brulé (2005).

<sup>5</sup> Rutherford (2010) 46.

<sup>6</sup> See below, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Beck (1984); Bruneau (1984).

patron and protector, and even there the god's primacy is not entirely certain.<sup>8</sup>

Attestations of monumental temples to Ares are few, and late,<sup>9</sup> and no major public festivals are attested before the Imperial period. In myth, Ares is often an adversary, and never the hero, or the hero's primary protector. In literature, Ares is rarely a recipient of prayer or sacrifice. In treaty oaths, Ares appears only in partnership with a protective goddess.<sup>10</sup> When the gods are depicted in groups by sculptors or painters, Ares is invariably placed on the fringes of the group, on the far right of each image.<sup>11</sup> In many respects, therefore, the evidence suggests that Ares must have been a very important god throughout much of the Greek world throughout the Archaic and Classic periods (and beyond), but in other respects the evidence suggests that he was not. The primary aim of this thesis is to explore the causes and significance of this dichotomy.

A full synthesis of the sources relating to Ares' cults, identities, and roles in life, art, and literature has never been attempted. As I show in the extended review of the scholarly literature on Ares with which I conclude this thesis, the current scholarly consensus still relies heavily on the concise studies presented by H.W. Stoll in the first volume of Roscher's *Lexikon*, published in 1886,<sup>12</sup> and by L.R. Farnell in the fifth volume of his *Cults of the Greek States*, published in 1909.<sup>13</sup> At the core of this consensus lies the idea that Ares represented a savage (either foreign or antiquated) conception of war, which was rejected both by Homer, and by the

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<sup>8</sup> Ares appears on the coins of Metropolis in Ionia, founded in the third century B.C., and received cult in a monumental temple there. See Millington (2013) 555-557 for further discussion and bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> On the temple at Athens described by Pausanias, see §6.5, below. On the temple of Mars at Halicarnassus described by Vitruvius, see Millington (2013) 557. I exclude the joint temples of Ares and Aphrodite (on which, see §4.4, below).

<sup>10</sup> See §4.4 & §6.5, below.

<sup>11</sup> Bruneau (1984) 491.

<sup>12</sup> Stoll (1886).

<sup>13</sup> Farnell (1909).

Classical Greeks. This rejection is said to have been expressed through Zeus' rebuke of, and Athena's victories over Ares in the *Iliad*, and to have been reflected by Ares' low-key presence in Classical cult. Archaic and Classical evidence suggesting that Ares was an important god is said to represent survivals from a period of savage, non-Greek influence, or from the Greeks' own more primitive prehistory. This position, as I show throughout this thesis, is unsatisfactory not only because it relies on what I will argue is a flawed reading of the *Iliad*, but also because no admissible evidence underpins these speculations regarding the god's origins.

In this dissertation, I therefore present a new interpretative synthesis, focusing on the Archaic and Classic periods. In constructing this synthesis, I build upon the groundwork laid down in a series of recent surveys of sections of the corpus of sources for Ares' cult and identities. These include Maria Luz Prieto's formal analysis of Ares and his epithets in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Matthew Gonzales' as yet unpublished catalogue of the sources for cults and sanctuaries of Ares and Enyalios, and Irmgard Beck's survey of representations of Ares in vase-painting and sculpture.<sup>14</sup> These works are, however, primarily descriptive in nature, and fail to move beyond the interpretative paradigms presented by Stoll.

## **(1.2) Theory and Method**

This is a study of Ares, that is to say, of a single named god. That I believe such a study to be both feasible and worthwhile implies several underlying assumptions. Before I proceed to outline the central arguments of this thesis, I will

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<sup>14</sup> Prieto (1996); Gonzales (2004); Beck (1984). The need for a catalogue like that presented by Gonzales has been expressed by Pritchett (1979) 159n.13. On the limitations of these works, see §9.3, below.

pause to explicate and justify these assumptions, in addition to discussing several other important methodological issues.

In this thesis, I discuss incidences of Ares' name in large-scale narrative poems, in didactic poems, in plays both comic and tragic, in praise-poems composed for athletic victors, and in myriad fragments: lyric, iambic, and elegiac. I also discuss appearances of the same name in inscribed epitaphs, in civic inscriptions relating to cult practice and inter-state diplomacy, and on painted ceramics. This discussion is predicated upon the assumption that most Greeks living in the Archaic and Classical periods associated (to a significant extent) any use or manifestation of Ares that they encountered, through any medium, with all of the other manifestations and uses of Ares with which they were acquainted.<sup>15</sup> The association of forces, images, stories, and local cults with the name of Ares may therefore be expected to derive from their resonance with one or more aspects of this wider web of associated stories, ideas and images. That two homonymous gods could be considered entirely separate deities rather than aspects of one does not vitiate the participation of both in this web of reciprocal associations.<sup>16</sup> Homogeneity is not, however, to be expected. Much of my argument also relies on the assumption that all references to the word 'Ares' would have brought to mind the god. I present evidence in support of this position in several of the chapters that follow.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> In this, I echo the formulation proposed by West (1997) 54: "An ancient god is a complex entity, a compound made up from some or all of the following: a name, or rather, a cluster of names and titles; a poetic persona; a mythology; a doxology; an iconography; a constituency, defined by geographical or social factors; a set of prompts, I mean situations and occasions when the god is brought to mind; a 'dromenology', that is, a repertory of cult activities." For discussion of the ways in which cult hymns and iconography show that there existed a perception of a goddess named Athena, of whom the cultic personae were manifestations, and who was associated with the stories told in poetry, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1997), which also explores a series of direct references to cults of Artemis in the plays of Euripides (on which see also Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 31-36).

<sup>16</sup> For discussion of the ways in which homonymous gods could be identified in some contexts, and considered distinct and separate in others, see Versnel (2011) 60-111, 143, 517-525.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. §2.1.i, §2.3.i, and §6.3, below.

Inconsistencies and contrasts between different manifestations and uses within a single local context occur with all major gods. H.S. Versnel has argued that in such cases, “both options may be true, but never at the same time. A multiperspective view allowed the Greek to cope with the ambiguity by shifting from one point of view to the other, depending on what the context, focus, discourse or frame of mind required.”<sup>18</sup> While the idea of context-driven shifts in focus, when added to a lack of the drive toward analysis and systematisation characteristic of scholars, does help to explain the ability of the ancient Greeks to cope with inconsistencies, I do not accept Versnel’s assertion that they were able, and indeed tended, to entirely close extraneous options out of the conscious mind. Ares of the *Phoenicians* is not the Ares of the *Iliad*, and neither is identical to the Ares of Achaean cult, but all three are subtly connected within the Attic imagination.

Most of the chapters that make up this thesis are, fundamentally, exercises in literary exegesis. These chapters present a series of complementary readings of portrayals and uses of, and allusions to, Ares in texts from the Archaic and Classical periods. In developing these readings, I seek to explore Ares’ roles and depictions not within isolated passages, but within the fullness of the narratives within which they appear. I also seek to contextualise these narratives within the corpora in which they appear, and within their social and political contexts. I therefore aim to present readings which may plausibly be attributed to an Archaic Greek, or to a Classical Athenian.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Versnel (2011) 143, justified by appeal to the theory of cognitive dissonance at 259n.62.

<sup>19</sup> The observations made by Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) regarding the challenges involved in reconstructing ancient perceptual filters, and the importance of extensive contextualisation of individual sources are as relevant to the reading of literary texts as to the study of iconographic representations of myth. See also Loraux (2002: 32-34) and Price (1999: 10) on the importance of reading literature as literature, within its full literary context, before using it to explore historical issues.

My readings pay close attention to the associations of and semantic fields encompassed by many individual words, especially those used as epithets of Ares. My approach here is primarily lexical.<sup>20</sup> In language as in religion, an excessive focus on origins and etymologies can distract from the realities of a specific place and time. For each word, I focus on contextualised usage within a specific period, genre, or corpus. The meanings and associations of words are not static; they often change over time, and can vary according to place, dialect, genre, and author. Throughout this thesis, I therefore present the material diachronically.<sup>21</sup>

Because a significant proportion of my discussion focuses on the precise ways in which certain words and names are and are not used, and on the contexts in which they do and do not appear, I am compelled, in order to avoid circularity, to take a somewhat conservative stance regarding textual emendations. Textual emendations can conceal unique usages, and inflate the apparent regularity and broaden the chronological and geographic spread of attestations of usages which appear on multiple occasions with the source-corpus. That I generally accept the manuscript texts for the purpose of this investigation, and choose to ignore those reconstructions which are based on context rather than traces, at least as pertains to the presence or absence of Ares and his epithets, does not mean that I do not accept and value many more interventionist readings when used for other purposes.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> I continually bear in mind the cautionary words of Stanford (1936) 110-111, and of Dover (1974) 46-50.

<sup>21</sup> On the fallacious belief that myth and religion are particularly stable or static forms of intellectual expression, see Zivie-Coche in Dunand & Zivie-Coche (2004) xiv-xv. For discussion of the impact of varying degrees and forms of literacy and orality on the ways in which myths and rituals can change, see Goody (1986) 6-10, 28-32, & 38-40. For discussion of variability in, and the localised nature (as regards time, place, and social context) of, myths in an African context, see Goody (2010) 1-12.

<sup>22</sup> See West (1990c: 355-372) for a history of textual criticism on Aeschylus, and some spirited polemic in defence of the skilled critic's right to amend the received text, and of the value of these amendments. Cf. more generally West (1973); Reynolds & Wilson (1991).

Which Archaic Greeks, and which Classical Athenians, may have read these texts in the ways that I propose may justly be questioned. Jon Mikalson has argued that the gods of tragedy reflect the imaginative powers of the great playwrights, rather than the beliefs of their audiences, whose visions of the gods were, he implies, minimally affected by what they saw in the theatre.<sup>23</sup> And yet by the time of Herodotus, if not before, it appears that Aeschylus, Homer, and Hesiod could all be considered to be authorities on the gods.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, most of the literary texts which I discuss were immensely popular and influential. Many of the surviving Attic tragedies won prizes at the annual Dionysia,<sup>25</sup> and their preservation, and that of the Homeric poems, is in large part a result of continual (and indeed, from 386 B.C. onward, statutory) re-performance at Athens.<sup>26</sup>

One significant factor that does appear to have affected the way in which a literary work portrays the gods and their actions is genre. For example, Robert Parker has suggested that the gods of tragedy (Athena excepted, for the most part), although clearly associated with the gods of cult, may be predisposed toward harshness as a result of a nature of the genre, and as a “corrective to civic

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<sup>23</sup> Mikalson (1991) 5 and *passim*. A concise but wide-ranging account of the state of the debate concerning the extent to which literature may be used as a source for popular religion is given by Harrison (2007).

<sup>24</sup> On Aeschylus, see Hdt. 2.156.4-5, with Parker (2009) 127. On Homer see Hdt. 2.53, with Price (1999) 6-7 & 13-15. Xenophanes (fr. 1 & 11-12 (Diels)) and Plato (*Ion* 531c-d & *passim*; *Republic* 331a, 363a-366b, 377d-378e, 379d-380c, 383, and 389a) also appear to treat Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and other poets seriously as popular authorities on the gods whose views are worthy of rebuttal (cf. Feeney (1991) 6-8; Price (1999) 127-130; Burnet (1930) 112-121). See also Buxton (1994) 171-181 for discussion of the kinds of teacher that literary myth could be.

<sup>25</sup> Although cf. Marshall & van Willigenburg (2004) 100-101 for exploration of the possibility that the less popular play could win.

<sup>26</sup> On revivals and re-performance at Athens of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and of the poems attributed to Homer, see Kovacs (2005) 379-383. On Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* in particular, see Easterling (2005). The precise subset of popular Attic plays that have survived to the present day, however, owes much to later Alexandrian and Byzantine tastes and requirements (see Kovacs (2005) 383-387).

optimism,”<sup>27</sup> even if this harshness, for the sake of credibility, must “fall within the forms of divine behaviour acknowledged by Greek belief.”<sup>28</sup> The literary genre which tends to express this ‘civic optimism’ is Oratory.<sup>29</sup> The assumption that genre-specific concerns and approaches may influence the ways in which the gods are used and portrayed is reflected in my discussion of some of the ways in which the praise-poets Pindar and Bacchylides differ from other lyric poets in their depictions and uses of Ares.<sup>30</sup> Different genres, as with different times, different places, and indeed different individuals all present different versions of and uses for Ares, although all are bound together in the same overarching web of associations.

In his attempt to create a coherent and distinct paradigm for ‘popular religion’, Mikalson privileged oratory, historiography, and inscriptions over tragedy, comedy, and epic.<sup>31</sup> This is a false dichotomy. Oratory and Tragedy were both publically performed literary forms which sought to engage in and with public discourse regarding many social, political, and religious issues.<sup>32</sup> Historiography, too, is literature, as are inscriptions. Inscriptions derive from many genres. Some, like sacred laws, are unique to epigraphy, while epitaphs, for example, are often forms of melic poetry. All are carefully constructed in order to have a certain effect on the reader. Publicly-erected inscriptions engaged in public discourse just as oratory and tragedy and comedy did.

A more fruitful distinction may be that between words or acts or images which express something about a god, and those which are addressed to or

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<sup>27</sup> Parker (1997) 159. Cf. Dover (1974) 14-22 for discussion of some of the ‘special characteristics’ of Tragedy and Comedy, which make them problematic sources for popular opinion. See also Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 46.

<sup>28</sup> Parker (1997) 145.

<sup>29</sup> Parker (1997) 143 & 152-158.

<sup>30</sup> See §5.4, below.

<sup>31</sup> Mikalson (1991) 1.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 1.

performed for a god.<sup>33</sup> The latter group of phenomena, which I refer to in what follows as ‘cult’, often reveals little about the ways in which the object of the people’s attention was perceived. These may sometimes be inferred, with due respect to the localised nature of both, from the former, which includes, but is not limited to what is generally called ‘myth’.

The very existence of cult for a god necessarily influences the way in which references to his name elsewhere should be interpreted. To the Greeks, Ares was not merely a symbol, a story-element, or a character. To the Greeks, Ares was a god - a recipient of widespread cult. Ares was conceived of not merely as an idea or cluster of ideas, but as a being, a personality, with whom the Greeks felt it to be desirable, even necessary, to form a relationship. Ares was seen as a being with real and significant power, which could affect the lives of his worshippers. I understand this power to be at the very heart of what makes a god, separating myth and religion from fiction and fable.<sup>34</sup> Instead of simply asking what the functions of the character are within a mythological narrative or structure, it is also necessary to ask what the powers, roles, and functions of the god were within life and causality, both personal and civic, and how those functions were reflected or hinted at by the gods’ mytho-literary incarnations.

The readings suggested in this thesis draw, therefore, on three interpretative paradigms. When Ares appears in a narrative context, whether literary or iconographic, I begin by considering the way in which his role is determined by the requirements of the narrative, in which the god’s role may be subsidiary to that of

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<sup>33</sup> The distinction between word and act, (e.g. between a traditional hymn and the physical motions of ritual) is also of limited usefulness. Cf. Christensen (2009) 14-16.

<sup>34</sup> See Henrichs (2010) 29 & 37 on the need to study Greek gods as “interactive *forces* in a complex polytheistic system” (my italics). Parker (1996: 235) remarks that, “the Olympian gods themselves are powers as much as they are persons”. Cf. also Buxton (1994) 145-146.

heroes or other gods. I then explore the ways in which this role may reflect Ares' powers and functions, and express ideas relating to their nature. Finally, I ask whether, and if so, how this role or representation is informed by the idea of the god as an anthropomorphic archetype, and what this may reveal about that archetype and attitudes toward it. I seek to examine each use and representation of Ares through all three filters, at least to the extent that each is appropriate to any given manifestation, since it is rare that all three paradigms are relevant. Many of the past interpretations that I call into question within this thesis derive from an exclusive focus on just one of these paradigms.<sup>35</sup>

### **(1.3) Thesis Outline**

The next five chapters each offer a comprehensive survey of the functions and representations of Ares within a particular corpus. Chapter two focuses on the *Iliad*, chapters three and four on the rest of early hexameter poetry, chapter five on Archaic and Classical melic poetry, and chapter six on Classical Athens. Chapter three also includes a study of joint cults of Ares and Aphrodite, which includes evidence from the Hellenistic period. The discussion of these cults ties in with the discussion of literary connections between Ares and Aphrodite elsewhere in chapter three, and also, to an ever greater extent, to the discussion of the joint cult of Ares and Athena at Athens presented in chapter six. These diachronic chapters pay close attention to change and continuity in the uses and representations of Ares, and to the

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<sup>35</sup> I also, generally in footnotes, but also throughout §6.4.vi, draw many parallels between Greek and Near Eastern texts and images. My aim here is not to demonstrate direct influence, in either direction. Rather, treating Greece as part of the Aegean world, I use parallels from other city-state societies which share many of the same social and religious structures and concerns, and with which much imagery was shared, in order to suggest or support interpretative paradigms.

importance of genre and local context. Chapter seven is thematic, synchronic, and draws upon material long after the classical period, in order to explore connections between war and dance, and the ways in which these connections led to war being conceptualised as cult for Ares. Chapter eight brings together a series of typological parallels between Ares and Hades, another important god with little observable cult. In chapter nine, I review the scholarship on Ares, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day, in light of the findings presented in the rest of the thesis.

In chapter two, I investigate Ares' functions and identity within the *Iliad*. I begin by exploring his role as causal force, contextualised by an extended discussion of causality and overdetermination within the *Iliad*. Following this, I explore the ways in which Ares' identity within the poem is shaped and revealed by his epithets, and argue that they present him as both the archetype for the heroic warrior, and as the personification of war. Having shown that the rebukes levelled at Ares by Athena and Zeus are largely driven and shaped by a mixture of formula and narrative contingency, and so cannot be used as theological statements, I turn to a discussion of Ares' various defeats within the poem. Following Nicole Loraux, I suggest that as the warrior, Ares allows the poet to examine the inextricable links between the warrior's strength and role as destroyer, and his inherent vulnerability.<sup>36</sup> I also argue that Ares' defeats demonstrate Athena's worth as a protective warrior-god.

In chapter three, I begin by showing how the *Odyssey* presents Ares as a causal force in war in the same way as the *Iliad*. Following this, I discuss the ways in which both the *Odyssey* and Hesiod's *Works and Days* stigmatise an excessive preoccupation with Ares. After this, I explore Ares' functions within the *Shield of Herakles*, and argue that, just as Athena is glorified by her victories in the *Iliad*, so

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<sup>36</sup> Loraux (1986).

Herakles' worth as a protector at Thebes is reflected by and asserted through this story.

In chapter four, I examine portrayals of Ares as a seducer and adulterer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and explore the latter's implicit discussion of issues relating to the warrior's place in society away from the battlefield. I then contrast these depictions of Ares as an adulterer with depictions of Ares as the partner of Aphrodite, and with Sappho's use of the god as a paradigm for the perfect husband. This is followed by a survey of the evidence for joint cults of Ares and Aphrodite. I conclude that these cults all form part of a single political network, and that the relationship between the two gods in these contexts is not primarily connected to their romantic entanglements. Instead, Ares is guided by Aphrodite in her role as warrior-protector, echoing their alliance in the *Iliad*.

In chapter five, I begin by showing that the idea of Ares as a causal force in and over battle which pervades the *Iliad* is also present in melic poetry. I then discuss melic portrayals of Ares' character, and argue that many highly critical depictions of the god reflect a willingness to confront the realities of war. I follow this with explorations of Pindar's and Bacchylides' depictions of Ares as an unreliable protector in war, and of their use of his role as a warrior-archetype to explore the relationship between athletic and martial heroism.

In chapter six, I begin my discussion of Ares' functions and representations in Classical Athens by exploring the impact of lexical changes on Athenian receptions of the god's identities within the hexameter tradition. Following this, I trace the development of Ares' association with the battle of Salamis through the works of Aeschylus, Herodotus, Timotheus, and Euripides.

This is followed by a discussion of Ares' roles in the plays of Aeschylus, who connects Ares with stasis, and so links war's wild destructiveness with internecine strife. I argue that in *Eumenides*, Athena is represented as taming Ares, in order to channel his power in the city's service. With this in mind, I discuss the connection between Ares and Athena in Attic cult, where the connection between the two gods parallels that between Ares and Aphrodite in Cretan and Argive cults.

After a study of Sophocles' deeply problematic portrayals of the god, I conclude my study of Ares' representations in Attic tragedy with a discussion of the ways in which Euripides and Aristophanes make Ares more like the other civic gods, although not without complications. I suggest that this may be connected to cultic developments.

Euripides counters his picture of Ares as a civic deity with a striking choral depiction of war as a grotesque parody of a Bacchic festival, carried out in honour of Ares. In chapter seven, I examine many other connections between war, dance, and cult, and argue that war could be conceptualised as cult activity in honour of Ares. Ares, like Hades, who could be thought of as a similar god, as I discuss in chapter eight received little celebratory cult.

I conclude by arguing that the elements that make up both sides of the dichotomy discussed above are all interconnected. Ares was seen as powerful and worthy of respect because of his identification with destructive, chaotic war, but because war is chaotic and destructive and unpredictable, he could not be trusted or loved or celebrated. War is often a subject for stories, but it is never the hero. The heroes are the warriors who conquer war's chaos in order to protect their people.

## **Ares in the *Iliad***

### **(2.1.i) Introduction**

In this chapter, I examine the functions and representations of Ares in the *Iliad*. As I discuss elsewhere within this thesis, the nature of Ares' cults, identities, and functions in Archaic and Classical Greece have consistently been summarised or explained by scholars through appeal to two elements of the god's portrayal in the *Iliad*: Zeus' rebuke of Ares in the fifth book, and Athena's victories over the war-god. Any reassessment of the ways in which the Greeks conceptualised and worshipped Ares must begin with an analysis of Ares' roles and identity in the *Iliad*.

My discussion of Ares' interactions with Athena, Zeus, and others as a full anthropomorphic personality is grounded in a comprehensive survey and analysis of Ares' epithets, and of the uses of the divine name in senses that may be construed as metonymic. I do not rigidly distinguish between 'personal' and 'metonymic' uses of the god, although I do recognise that the level of anthropomorphic personification varies throughout the text. If ancient audiences did perceive a word 'ἄρης' which was separate from the god "Ἄρης", to distinguish between the two with any accuracy is nearly impossible. Moreover, the closeness in meaning must have led audiences to associate one with the other. Many uses of the word which may be dubbed 'metonymic' are accompanied by an epithet, suggesting personality, and thus divinity. These cannot safely be dismissed as metaphor, any more than the role of

Athena in Achilles' change of the mind over the question of whether or not to attack Agamemnon.<sup>37</sup>

A full assessment of the roles which Ares plays within the action of the poem requires a preliminary discussion of the wider causal structures within which he acts. I therefore begin this chapter by exploring the ways in which Athena, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Hephaestus function as divine protectors and agents of causality in battle within the *Iliad*. These roles, I argue, are firmly rooted in personal relationships between these gods and the mortal cast of the poem, sometimes as individuals, and sometimes as peoples. I follow this with a concise discussion of the roles of mortal will and attributes as causal factors in the battles of the *Iliad*. I then discuss Zeus' dual nature and role within the causality of battle as a fully personified character, and as a mostly impersonal force, emphasising the universality and omnipresence of the latter in contrast to the former. These investigations provide essential context for my study of the roles of Ares.

I begin my study of Ares' own roles and functions by problematising the depiction of the god within the *Iliad*, particularly as a personified character, through an initial discussion of the relationship between Ares and Athena, and the questions that have been and could be raised by the nature of that relationship. I argue that the pairing should not primarily be understood in terms of the two being opposing protective deities, because Ares is not a divine protector in the same way that Athena and other protective deities are: he does not form personal relationships with protected mortals.

Following this, I explore the ways in which Ares parallels Zeus in his dual nature and role within the causality of battle as a fully personified character who may

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<sup>37</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.188-222.

be absent from or present in the action, in the same way as any other personified god, and as a mostly impersonal force who is omnipresent. I highlight the fact that the parallels between these two gods extend to the similar use of their names within heroic epithets. I argue that these epithets are given in praise of the heroes who bear them, and so reflect respect for Ares' power within the tradition, in the same way that epithets using the name of Zeus reflect respect for his power. I suggest that a key difference is that while Zeus is primarily interested in victory and defeat in war, Ares, at least in the *Iliad*, is more concerned with suffering, death, and the avoidance of threatened death in battle. In this role, Ares motivations are not so much mysterious (as those of Zeus may be), but entirely absent.

Having established that Ares was used as a stock comparator for warriors, that is to say, as an archetype, I explore the ways in which Ares' multi-faceted identity is constructed or revealed in the *Iliad* through his epithets. I argue that many of these, either shared with mortal heroes, or variations on heroic attributes, contribute to his portrayal as a paradigmatic warrior. Other, often closely related epithets contribute to the direct identification of the god with war and battle. These interweave with further epithets which are unambiguously pejorative in nature, and reflect a thread of hostility to war and violence within the tradition.

I argue that the adjectives used of Ares in speeches made by Athena and Zeus should not be treated as standard epithets of the god, integral to his character, or as these gods' impartial judgments of Ares. Instead, they should be understood both within their specific narrative and intertextual contexts, and within the contexts of the type-scenes that they represent: the rebuke, and the challenge-dialogue.

Finally, having explored Ares' tripartite identity as war, warrior, and god of war, I return to the question of why Ares is twice defeated by Athena. I argue that

these defeats should be understood not in terms of the denigration of Ares, but in terms of the praise and glorification of Athena. Athena's victories show her power not only in, but over war. I also present the complementary argument, following Nicole Loraux,<sup>38</sup> that these episodes may also be understood in terms of a reflection of the essential vulnerability of the warrior. I suggest that the imprisoning of Ares by the Aloids should be understood in similar terms, but with men acting in place of Athena. Neither Athena nor man, it may be observed, could succeed in imprisoning or slaying the god of war permanently.

Throughout this chapter, I show how Ares' roles as warrior-archetype and as causal force are used by the *Iliad* to discuss important issues relating to the nature of the warrior, and to causality in war.<sup>39</sup> The *Iliad*'s usages are of course representative not only of the views of the individual poet who composed the poem, but also, to a significant extent, of the larger oral tradition from which it derived, and of the society that gave birth to and nurtured that tradition. In the chapters that immediately follow this study of Ares in the *Iliad* I explore the extent to which the *Iliad*'s portrait of Ares resembles those found elsewhere in the early Greek hexameter traditions.

### **(2.1.ii) Methodological Note:**

For the purposes of this chapter, I will be assuming that Book 10 of the *Iliad*, the *Doloneia*, is an integral part of the poem (as are most of the other major sections

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<sup>38</sup> Loraux (1986).

<sup>39</sup> I will not generally distinguish between conscious and unconscious use, or between the poet of the *Iliad*, and the tradition which formed his formulaic language and much of his subject-matter. All of these things are too closely interwoven to be easily untangled, although it is rather easier to single out elements that are clearly traditional than to reliably discern the innovations of the poet.

that have been claimed to be interpolations in the past). If it is not, however, my argument will not suffer greatly. The *Doloneia* is at worst an early interpolation deriving from the same oral tradition, and so conclusions drawn from it regarding the identity of Ares within the tradition are certainly reliable, even if it does not necessarily reflect the views of the individual poet who composed the rest of the *Iliad*.<sup>40</sup>

I will also be assuming that Homeric epithets are not simply ‘ornamental’, and that it is generally worth investigating (beyond the level of meter) why a certain epithet is combined with a certain noun, and what ideas and associations these combinations may have suggested to early audiences.<sup>41</sup> The formulaic nature of many of these epithets<sup>42</sup> does mean that their use, while specific to certain nouns, is determined primarily by the metrical contexts in which those nouns occur, rather than by narrative contexts. I am therefore wary of reading too much into the use of a particular epithet in a particular context, however fitting or incongruous it may appear. Nevertheless, I will draw attention to some patterns of usage which may be significant. Adam Parry observed that the poet of the *Iliad* was not merely a representative, let alone the slave, of the tradition, but its master.<sup>43</sup> It was a tool, not a constraint. The mechanics of formulaic composition are a powerful explanatory

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<sup>40</sup> West (2011: 6-7 & 70) argues that the *Doloneia* was composed after the rest of the *Iliad*, but before the composition of the *Odyssey*. Cf. also Danek (2012); Taplin (1992) 11 & 144-153. On the place of the *Doloneia* within the tradition, cf. Dué & Ebbott (2010).

<sup>41</sup> For the idea that epithets may be ornamental, cf. M. Parry (1971) 118, 127, 139, 149 & 167. On the epithets particularised to particular characters, cf. M. Parry (1971) 145. Whallon (1961) and A. Parry (1971: lv-lxii) argue powerfully against the idea that fixed formulaic epithets should be regarded as ornamental. Cf. also Hainsworth (1993) 21-22; Shive (1987) 124-139. On the role of the fixed epithet in characterisation, cf. Yamagata (2012).

<sup>42</sup> It is important to bear in mind that not all of the adjectives listed as epithets by, e.g. Prieto (1996), are actually formulaic in nature. Non-formulaic epithets, such as those applied to Ares during the rebukes discussed below, may be assumed to be particularised by narrative context.

<sup>43</sup> A. Parry (1971) lxii.

tool, but they need not have prevented the poet from deliberately deploying a particular epithet in a fitting narrative context on some occasions.

I will remain agnostic as regards the thorny question of the dating of the *Iliad*.<sup>44</sup> Both the *Iliad*, and our other extant examples of early Greek poetry derive from a large oral tradition split into many regional and ethnic branches, most of which is unknown to us. Attempting to adduce direct connections with precise connotations between these few visible iceberg-tips based on disputed chronological relationships has little value. It is sufficient to make the uncontroversial statement that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* both derive from the Ionian branch of a much older oral tradition, of which the distinct but nonetheless closely related Boeotian branch produced the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony*. The presence of something in an earlier work is rarely more than a very partial explanation for the choice of a later author to make use of it.

### **(2.2.i) Of Gods and Men: Divine Protectors and Layers of Causality<sup>45</sup>**

“ἄλλος δ’ ἄλλω ἔρεζε θεῶν αἰγιγενετάων εὐχόμενος θάνατόν τε φυγεῖν καὶ μῶλον Ἄρηος”, one to one god, another to another, each of the Greeks prays to his

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<sup>44</sup> M.L. West (2011: 16-19) argues that the poet of the *Iliad* was born around 700 B.C., and composed the *Iliad* between 680 and 640 B.C. R. Lane Fox (2008: 381-384) champions an eighth-century dating, arguing that the *Iliad* was composed around 760-740B.C. Both provide extensive bibliography. R. Janko (2012, correcting and updating Janko (1982)) has challenged West’s arguments in favour of the precedence of Hesiod through analysing the relative frequencies of word-forms that historical linguistics has judged to be archaisms. Cf. also West (2012); Kirk (1985) 1-16; Taplin (1992) 33-35.

<sup>45</sup> For further discussion of layers of causality, cf. Lesky (2001) 176-184; Dietrich (1965) *passim*; Willcock (1970) 6-7; Braswell (1971) 24-25; Clarke (1999) 277-282; Fowler (1987) 5-6; Lovatt (2013) 87; discussion between Griffiths and Parker in Jouanna & Montanari (2009) 156-157. On Athena and Apollo as helpers and harmers of mortals in the *Iliad*, cf. Tsagarakis (1977) 34-56.

own personal deity for protection in the realm of Ares.<sup>46</sup> These personal protectors appear repeatedly within the battle-scenes of the *Iliad*.

Athena, in addition to being an active supporter of the Achaeans in general,<sup>47</sup> is a personal protector to several individual heroes. Athena's aid is at the heart of Diomedes' glorious *aristeia* in the fifth book, in which he sweeps the Trojans before him. Her aid comes in several forms. She gives him μένος and θάρσος,<sup>48</sup> and quickens his limbs.<sup>49</sup> She directs his actions, both steering him directly through her will,<sup>50</sup> and through speaking to him and giving advice and instructions.<sup>51</sup> She also guides his spear against Ares.<sup>52</sup> Athena's aid to Diomedes is not limited to his *aristeia*: she also gives him strength and advice during the *Doloneia*, in the tenth book,<sup>53</sup> and outside the martial sphere, aids him in the chariot race held as part of the funeral games for Patroclus.<sup>54</sup>

Why does Athena help Diomedes in this way? She helps him because, as Nestor observes, he is dear to her.<sup>55</sup> Agamemnon observes that Athena had also been a helper in war for Diomedes' father, Tydeus,<sup>56</sup> so she appears to have a relationship not just with Diomedes as an individual, but with his family. This relationship is formally expressed and maintained on the part of the mortal through prayer and sacrifice. When in difficulty, having been shot by Pandarus, it is to Athena, and

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<sup>46</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.400-401.

<sup>47</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.446-454; 5.778-792; 17.543-552.

<sup>48</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.1-2.

<sup>49</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.122.

<sup>50</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.8.

<sup>51</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.123-133, 792-834.

<sup>52</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.855-859.

<sup>53</sup> Hom. *Il.* 10.482-522.

<sup>54</sup> Hom. *Il.* 23.382-406.

<sup>55</sup> Hom. *Il.* 10.552-553.

<sup>56</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.389-390.

Athena alone, that Diomedes prays,<sup>57</sup> and it is to Athena that Diomedes makes a thank-offering after killing the Thracians and stealing the horses of Rhesus.<sup>58</sup>

Diomedes' companion in the *Doloneia*, who is likewise helped by Athena, is deemed dear to her by Nestor, and leads in the thank-offering to her after that adventure, is Odysseus. He too has a strong relationship with Athena, and states that he calls upon Athena first of all the immortals on Olympus.<sup>59</sup> In a similar way, Athena gives especial aid to Menelaus for the explicitly stated reason that he prays especially to her, first among all the gods, which causes her to rejoice.<sup>60</sup>

Apollo has a similar relationship with Hector. When Hector issues the challenge that is eventually accepted by Aias, he promises to Apollo any spoils which he might take, and assumes that should he win, it will be Apollo who grants him victory.<sup>61</sup> And although the duel results in a draw, Apollo does indeed aid Hector, helping him regain his feet having been knocked down.<sup>62</sup> Elsewhere in the poem, we find Apollo making an arrow swerve away from Hector, thus intervening directly on a physical level.<sup>63</sup> This ability to protect a hero from arrows is shared by Athena.<sup>64</sup> The relationship between Apollo and Hector is recognized by others – Diomedes asserts that it is to Apollo that Hector prays before battle, and credits Hector's continuing survival to the god.<sup>65</sup> Apollo also takes mortal form in order to advise and encourage Hector.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.114-121.

<sup>58</sup> Hom. *Il.* 10.570-579.

<sup>59</sup> Hom. *Il.* 10.462-464.

<sup>60</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.553-581.

<sup>61</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.81-86.

<sup>62</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.272.

<sup>63</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.311.

<sup>64</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.127-140, 539-544.

<sup>65</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.362-364.

<sup>66</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.582-590.

Aphrodite is a protector to both Paris and Aeneas. She saves Paris in his duel with Menelaus,<sup>67</sup> and protects Aeneas from Diomedes.<sup>68</sup> The connection between Aphrodite and Aeneas is an example of a relationship between a hero and his protective deity rooted in descent – he is her own son.<sup>69</sup> Aphrodite, however, is not a particularly powerful protector. Unskilled in war, she is wounded by Diomedes, and forced to ask Apollo to complete the rescue of Aeneas in her stead.<sup>70</sup> The gods are not all equal in protective power. Apollo accedes to Aphrodite's request, and protects her son, but it is worth observing that his action is not motivated purely by Aphrodite's words; Apollo has his own relationship with Aeneas. A man can have more than one divine protector. Apollo does not only protect Aeneas from Diomedes' spear;<sup>71</sup> he also appears in mortal guise and advises him during the battle over the body of Patroclus,<sup>72</sup> and later assists him against Achilles.<sup>73</sup> This relationship too is linked to cult – when Apollo steals Aeneas away and saves him from Diomedes, he places him in his own temple, which lies within the walls of Troy.<sup>74</sup>

Likewise, Hephaestus acts a protector to the son of his priest – another case of a god acting as patron to a whole family,<sup>75</sup> and Zeus wards off destruction from his own son, Sarpedon, on several occasions.<sup>76</sup> But pious prayer, pleasing sacrifice, and even kinship, do not guarantee divine aid. Zeus is explicitly described as accepting one of Agamemnon's sacrifices early in the poem, but ignoring the

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<sup>67</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.373-383.

<sup>68</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.311-351.

<sup>69</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.820.

<sup>70</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.381-415, 427.

<sup>71</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.311-351.

<sup>72</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.322-333.

<sup>73</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.110.

<sup>74</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.445-448.

<sup>75</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.9-24.

<sup>76</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.662; 12.402-403.

accompanying prayer.<sup>77</sup> Zeus extols the diligence with which the Trojans give him cult, yet still wills the fall of the city.<sup>78</sup> Eventually, he even allows Sarpedon to fall, bowing to fate and the will of Hera.<sup>79</sup> Athena is, with Hera, the most intransigent of Troy's enemies, yet receives sacrifices from Hecuba and the Trojan women.<sup>80</sup>

The presence of gods on both sides can lead to the progress of a battle being determined by competition between those gods. That strife between gods and strife between men are intertwined is suggested by Achilles' prayer for an end to both.<sup>81</sup> For example, the intensity of the battle in the thirteenth book reflects the conflict between Zeus' will, and the secret opposition of Poseidon.<sup>82</sup>

It is Athena, we are told, who causes Hector's death, though the killing is done by the hands of Achilles.<sup>83</sup> In one of Nestor's stories, in which he tells of his victories as a young man, honour is given both to the victorious Nestor, and to Zeus as his divine helper.<sup>84</sup> Famously, Hector predicts the death of Achilles at the hands of Paris and Phoebus Apollo.<sup>85</sup>

There is, then, at least in some cases, the idea of shared agency, of multi-level causality, lying behind the course of the war described in the *Iliad*, and the events that make it up. Here, the defeat and death of a hero is not caused by the mortal victor alone, nor is credit given purely to his divine helper; the two must combine. The help given by the god need not reduce the achievements of the hero. For example, when Agamemnon credits the victories of Tydeus to the assistance of Athena, he does so in the context of a speech praising the might of Tydeus, and

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<sup>77</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.402-420.

<sup>78</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.44.49.

<sup>79</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.426-461.

<sup>80</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.254-311.

<sup>81</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.107.

<sup>82</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.354-360.

<sup>83</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.612-614.

<sup>84</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.750-761.

<sup>85</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.355-360.

comparing him favorably to his son, Diomedes.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, Patroclus ridicules Hector's claim to glory. At first sight, this is understandable, since Euphorbus, not Hector, actually struck the fatal blow, but Patroclus also minimizes Euphorbus' role in his slaying, mentioning him almost as an afterthought. Instead, it is Apollo who he depicts as the prime actor, working under the auspices of Zeus or fate.<sup>87</sup> Achilles later states that he will need divine aid to defeat Hector,<sup>88</sup> yet to Aias, public admission of a desire for divine aid reflects not conventional piety, but shameful fear of the mortal opponent.<sup>89</sup>

Aias' and Patroclus' views reflect the fact that in the *Iliad*, the protective gods of the heroes are not always present or active on the battlefield. There is a certain level of tension between the idea that victory comes to those more beloved of the stronger gods, and the idea that victory comes to the stronger. This latter idea is frequently alluded to within the poem, by both the heroes and the narrator.

It is on account of the martial prowess of Aeneas and Pandaros, and not their divine helpers, that Sthenelus advises Diomedes to retreat.<sup>90</sup> When Aias fights a mass of Trojans in the fifth book, the contest is described in terms of his strength and their bravery and numbers.<sup>91</sup> To Helenus, the Trojans are reliant on the skills of Hector and Aeneas; their strength is not merely a by-product of divine aid.<sup>92</sup> It is said that Hector's superior strength would have guaranteed him victory over Menelaus, had they fought.<sup>93</sup> Achilles and Aias station their ships at the ends of the line because they trust in their own valour and in the strength of their hands.<sup>94</sup> Of course, as

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<sup>86</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.387-400.

<sup>87</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.844-850.

<sup>88</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.438-454.

<sup>89</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.193-205.

<sup>90</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.243-250.

<sup>91</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.621-626.

<sup>92</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.77-78.

<sup>93</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.104-105.

<sup>94</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.7-9.

Polydamas points out, the very strength of men may be said to be god-given,<sup>95</sup> but it is clear that mortal courage and skill is a constant determining factor in the battles of the *Iliad*, while the influence of individual gods fades in and out. Thus Zeus observes that without any divine presence interfering in the battle, Achilles would be virtually invincible, but should the Trojan's divine helpers enter the action, the Greeks, even with Achilles amongst them, would not be able to stand against them without the aid of their own gods.<sup>96</sup> Nowhere is the conflict of divine and mortal causality more pronounced than when we hear that, with Zeus asleep, his place in the contest with a now openly active Poseidon has been taken by Hector.<sup>97</sup>

### **(2.2.ii) The Complex Nature of Zeus**

When Agamemnon begins to despair of ever taking Troy, Nestor raises the question of whether it is the will of heaven, or cowardice and stupidity of men, that has stopped him from taking the city.<sup>98</sup> In the dying words of Patroclus, which we have already encountered, he lists a whole series of causes for his death and defeat: Hector, last, and before him, Euphorbus, and before him, Apollo and fate, and Zeus.<sup>99</sup>

Zeus has a dual identity as a motive force within the *Iliad*. He is a god, with a character and personality, desires and emotions, and relationships both with other gods, and with mortals; and he is a larger, less personal force, sometimes assimilated to fate.

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<sup>95</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.725-734.

<sup>96</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.1-75.

<sup>97</sup> Hom. *Il.* 14.389-391.

<sup>98</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.367-368.

<sup>99</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.844-850.

It is as the fully anthropomorphized deity that Zeus conceives the plan that drives much of the *Iliad*, formulated on account of his relationships with, and promises to, Hera, Athena, and Thetis.<sup>100</sup> It is also as such a deity that Zeus repeatedly wards off destruction from Sarpedon, acting as a personal protector to his son,<sup>101</sup> and it is as such a deity that Zeus answers Aias' prayer, which, typically, is not for strength or victory, but merely for light, that he might see well enough to save himself.<sup>102</sup> Zeus is even depicted feeling pity for and responding to the piety of Agamemnon, when saving the Achaean army from destruction at the hands of Hector, although of course this does fit into his overall plan, motivated by promises to Hera and Athena.<sup>103</sup> The motivation of Zeus can be just as multiply-determined as the events that his will helps drive. Emotional motivation is also attributed to Zeus after the duel between Hector and Aias, when the heralds say the draw was the result of Zeus loving both men.<sup>104</sup>

It is also in an anthropomorphized form that Zeus acts as the leader of the council of the gods, setting its agenda, stating its decisions, and ordering other gods to carry them out.<sup>105</sup> The procedure here strongly resembles that found in the Sumerian city-laments.<sup>106</sup> The protective deities of the city cannot overrule the chief god and the council. They must step away from their city, as Apollo does from Hector.<sup>107</sup> In this role, and as the architect of the narrative plan of the *Iliad*, Zeus relies upon his pre-eminence in strength among the gods. This is something that he

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<sup>100</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.356-367; 22.167-187.

<sup>101</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.662; 12.402-403.

<sup>102</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.643-650.

<sup>103</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.228-252.

<sup>104</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.280.

<sup>105</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.14-16; 22.167-187. Also cf. 18.115-119 where Achilles alludes to Zeus acting in concert with and as leader of the gods while pondering his own death.

<sup>106</sup> Michalowski (1989) 58-59.

<sup>107</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.213.

repeatedly claims for himself,<sup>108</sup> and which the other gods frequently admit.<sup>109</sup> In this form, Zeus can be circumvented, while absent or asleep, although his plans come to fruition nonetheless.<sup>110</sup>

Beyond this, however, Zeus also appears not as a god among other gods, helping those who pray to him and acting on account of relationships and emotions and plans, but as some more general force that underlies all events. To Agamemnon, it is the will of Zeus that will determine whether he takes Troy, and the course and events of the war.<sup>111</sup> This view is also expressed by Odysseus,<sup>112</sup> and by Menelaus who observes that all things come from Zeus.<sup>113</sup> Most memorable of all is Achilles' description of the jars of Zeus, from which come all fortunes, good and ill alike.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, when an event occurs, seemingly by chance, which is unfavourable to the speaker, and thus not attributable to his patron deity, Zeus may be seen as the cause. Thus Menelaus blames Zeus when his sword shatters.<sup>115</sup> Zeus, from the point of view of mortals, is an inexorably changeable god. Thus with Hector sweeping the Achaeans before him, Nestor observes that Zeus is giving victory to the Trojans, and that his will cannot be resisted, but that on the next day, he might give victory to the Achaeans.<sup>116</sup>

Interwoven with this is the idea of Zeus as judge: the hope that events might favour the just man, and the belief that Zeus is the divine embodiment of this moral causative factor. Thus when Menelaus and Paris prepare for their duel, Greeks and

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<sup>108</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.525-527, 560-567; 8.1-27, 357-488.

<sup>109</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.551-559; 15.100-142.

<sup>110</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.1-9; 14.188-391; 15.14-15.

<sup>111</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.114-118; 9.23-25; 14.69-74.

<sup>112</sup> Hom. *Il.* 14.85-87; 19.223-224.

<sup>113</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.631-635.

<sup>114</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.527-533.

<sup>115</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.365. Cf. also 15.484-499, when Hector easily discerns the hand of Zeus in the breaking of Teucer's bowstring.

<sup>116</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.139-144.

Trojans alike pray to Zeus that the guilty party, the man who is to blame for the war, should suffer defeat and death.<sup>117</sup> Hector's doom is also explained in terms of the justice of Zeus.<sup>118</sup> The ideas of Zeus as impersonal motive force and as judge are combined most memorably in the repeated motif of the scales of Zeus, weighing the two sides in a battle, and determining the victor.<sup>119</sup> The idea of Zeus as a universal causative force leads him to overlap with, although occasionally appearing subservient to, the impersonal force known as *Moirai*, Fate.<sup>120</sup>

### **(2.3.i) Warrior, War, and War's God**

Having surveyed the causal networks which operate within the *Iliad*, I will now discuss the roles played by Ares within them. As I have discussed above, in the *Iliad* the warrior-goddess Athena carries out a role commonly attributed to warrior-gods throughout Greece and the Near East: that of the divine protector in battle.<sup>121</sup> These gods are connected by sacrifice and prayer, or love, or a familial relationship, or by the mediation of a relationship with another god, to those they protect. I will begin this section by exploring the extent to which Ares was a similar kind of god, before asking whether his relationships with war and warriors more closely resembles those of Zeus. It will become readily apparent during this discussion that Ares' causal roles are closely interwoven in the *Iliad* with his identities as the personification of war, and as a warrior.

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<sup>117</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.320-323.

<sup>118</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.198-212.

<sup>119</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.69-74; 19.223-224; 22.209-213. Fenik (1968) 219-220 has argued that the idea of the scales of Zeus is not a Homeric innovation.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Dietrich (1965).

<sup>121</sup> Cf. e.g. Kang (1989) 15-19, 35, 63-69.

The antagonistic relationship between Ares and Athena in the *Iliad* has often drawn scholarly comment.<sup>122</sup> Twice, Athena persuades Ares to sit quietly out of the battle, both times drawing his attention to the danger that his intervention might clash with the will of Zeus and thus invoke his wrath.<sup>123</sup> Twice, Athena defeats Ares physically, the first time guiding the spear of Diomedes into Ares' belly, and the second time seizing a great stone, and casting it down upon Ares' neck. In both these encounters, Ares is incapable of striking back effectively. Athena easily deflects Ares' spear away from Diomedes, knocking it away with her hand, while in their second conflict, Ares' spear impacts harmlessly on Athena's impenetrable aegis.<sup>124</sup> Zeus remarks that Athena is particularly used to bringing Ares pain.<sup>125</sup>

Ares and Athena also appear paired in ways that seem to suggest some sort of similarity between the two gods. When Poseidon rouses the Achaeans, the followers of the Aiantes are said to be so strong that neither Athena nor Ares might make light of joining battle with them.<sup>126</sup> The battle over the body of Patroclus is described in a similar fashion, as being so intense that neither Ares nor Athena might make light of it.<sup>127</sup> Similarly, Achilles states that neither Ares nor Athena could fight all of the hosts of the Trojans on their own.<sup>128</sup> It may be observed that all of these descriptions are based on the assumption that Ares and Athena are the strongest of warriors. There is also one place in the *Iliad* where the two gods appear paired on the same side: the warriors sallying out from the besieged city on the shield of Achilles are led by Ares and Athena together.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Nilsson (1925) 132; Calhoun (1939) 16; Whitman (1958) 234-236; Fenik (1968) 14; Vian (1968) 56-58; Burkert (1985) 169; Erbse (1986) 156-167; Wathelet (1992); Deacy (2000).

<sup>123</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.29-37; 15.113-142.

<sup>124</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.850-862; 21.385-433.

<sup>125</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.765-766.

<sup>126</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.125-128.

<sup>127</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.397-399.

<sup>128</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.354-359.

<sup>129</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.513-519.

How should this pairing of Ares and Athena be interpreted? Is Ares perhaps the pro-Trojan alter-ego and opponent of the pro-Greek Athena?<sup>130</sup> That is to say, is Ares' role in war that of a divine protector in battle, connected by sacrifice and prayer, or love, or a familial relationship, or by the mediation of a relationship with another pro-Trojan god, to the Trojans?

Ares does indeed line up on the Trojan side, both for the events leading up to and including the battle of the gods,<sup>131</sup> and in earlier battles.<sup>132</sup> Like Eris, Athene, and Apollo, he is λαοσσόος – a quickener of the people.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, he does act as a helper to an individual hero, in the form of Hector.<sup>134</sup> But Ares has no personal relationship with Hector. Hector does not pray to Ares, he does not sacrifice to Ares, and he does not give thanks to Ares. Ares' aid is acknowledged only by Hector's enemy, Diomedes. In fact, there is no hero in the *Iliad* who is really dear to Ares in the sense that Diomedes is dear to Athena, and to whom he acts as protector. Hera says that Ascalaphus, Ares' son,<sup>135</sup> is the dearest of men to him, but this comes to light only after Ascalaphus has died, and Athena is able to persuade Ares to set aside vengeance even for the killing of his 'dearest' son.<sup>136</sup> Menelaus bears the epithet 'dear to Ares', but the one time that Ares gives him strength, it is in hope that he might be overly emboldened, and die at the hands of Aeneas.<sup>137</sup> It is Apollo, not Ares, who is the chief of the protectors of the Trojans, and Athena's chief opponent

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<sup>130</sup> As maintained by, e.g. Kirk (1985) 380; Janko (1994) 60.

<sup>131</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.38, 48-53, 67-69, 132-143, 149-152; 21.385-433.

<sup>132</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.439-441; 5.453-470 & *passim*.

<sup>133</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.398; 13.128; 20.48, 79.

<sup>134</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.592-595, 603-604, 699, 703-704.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.511-515: the brothers Ascalaphus and Ialmenus were the sons of Ares by Astyoche. Since her name means something on the lines of 'shelter of the city' (von Kamptz (1982: 71) suggests 'stadtbeschirmend'), Ares' seduction of Astyoche may contain a symbolic element. Monsacré (1984) 68-69 discusses a Homeric parallel between views of unstormed walls and a chaste woman.

<sup>136</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.104-142. Janko (1994: 225) suggests that this episode may form "a veiled commentary on the main plot," comparing the decisions and actions of Ares to those of Patroclus and Achilles, and the disarming of Ares by Athena to that of Patroclus by Apollo.

<sup>137</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.561-564.

in the battles that matter, where men clash, each with a god at their shoulder.<sup>138</sup> It is Apollo, again and again, as we have seen, who protects Hector and Aeneas from Athena's Achaians, Diomedes and the rest. It is only when Apollo leaves Hector that he can be slain by Achilles and Pallas Athena.<sup>139</sup> When Athena and Ares are paired, it is not as two incongruously unequal divine helpers. I will return to this question of the pairing of Ares and Athena after discussing the roles that Ares does play within the *Iliad*, and his character as an anthropomorphized god.<sup>140</sup>

Like Zeus, Ares exerts influence on the field of battle both as a fully personified god, and as a more general force.<sup>141</sup> The fully characterized and anthropomorphized side of Ares plays a relatively minor role in the battles of the *Iliad*, aside from the rampage in the fifth book which is cut short by Diomedes and Athena. But the name of Ares permeates the poem, appearing both in ways that make it seem almost synonymous with war, and as a part of epithets and names.

The use of the name of Ares in epithets intriguingly parallels the use of the name of Zeus. Menelaus,<sup>142</sup> the Achaeans,<sup>143</sup> Asteropaeus the comrade of Sarpedon,<sup>144</sup> Peisander the Myrmidon,<sup>145</sup> and Aeneas and Idomeneus as they clash in combat,<sup>146</sup> are all described as ἄρειοι, as ἄρειος, as Ares-like. It seems natural to compare this to the way in which many heroes are described as δῖος, an adjective derived from the name of Zeus as ἄρειος is from Ares. The contexts in which these Ares-epithets are used are also interesting. Menelaus is given this epithet when, for a

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<sup>138</sup> As was observed by Schwenn (1921) 311-312.

<sup>139</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.209-213.

<sup>140</sup> That Ares is a fully anthropomorphised god with a fully fleshed out character in the *Iliad*, and not a semi-realised personification, has been amply demonstrated by Pötscher (1959) 8-10.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Leaf (1902) 35.

<sup>142</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.195; 17.79-81.

<sup>143</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.800; 16.40-43; 18.200-201; 20.316-317; 20.375-376.

<sup>144</sup> Hom. *Il.* 12.101-102; 17.352-354.

<sup>145</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.193-195.

<sup>146</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.499-500.

second time, an injury to him has become the cause of war,<sup>147</sup> and when, standing over Patroclus' body, he has killed a man described as the best of the Trojans, Euphorbus, the spearman who dealt the first blow in the slaying of Patroclus.<sup>148</sup> Asteropaeus, Peisander, Idomeneus, and Aeneas are like Ares when charging eagerly into battle. The appearances of this epithet as applied to the Achaeans are split over two very different formulae. In the two later instances, both spoken by a god, the Achaeans are described as being like Ares in their future role as sackers and burners of the city of Troy.<sup>149</sup> On the other hand, the Achaeans are also described as being like Ares on three occasions when needing to take breath, worn out from their exertions in battle.<sup>150</sup> Here, perhaps, the epithet highlights the extremity of the Achaean's difficulties, and the extent of their weariness, that even those who are like Ares should need a brief rest from combat.

Another pair of parallel epithets is δῖφιλος, 'beloved of Zeus', and ἀρηίφιλος, 'beloved of Ares'.<sup>151</sup> As with δῖος and ἄρειος, no other divine name forms a similar construction. A hero can of course be beloved of Athena, but this cannot be expressed as an epithet in a single word. The vast majority of the occurrences of ἀρηίφιλος in the *Iliad* come attached to the hero Menelaus. This may seem strange at first glance, since Menelaus is not the mightiest or most savage and warlike of the heroes, but the war is fought fundamentally on his account. Moreover, the precise contexts in which this epithet is used is worthy of mention, since it is not the only epithet used for Menelaus. The vast majority of the appearances of this epithet come during the duel between Paris and Menelaus, in which Menelaus is

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<sup>147</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.195.

<sup>148</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.79-80 & 16.806-817.

<sup>149</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.316-317; 21.375-376.

<sup>150</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.800; 16.40-43; 19.200-201.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Pötscher (1959) 10-11.

victorious despite a shattered sword, the intervention of Aphrodite, and the failure of Athena or Hera to give significant assistance.<sup>152</sup> The epithet recurs during Menelaus' victory over Euphorbus and heroic stand over the body of Patroclus,<sup>153</sup> and in connection with the treacherous wounding by Pandarus' arrow that broke the truce.<sup>154</sup> Both of these events have been discussed above. The epithet also appears during Menelaus' heroic rescue of a wounded Odysseus.<sup>155</sup> The one other appearance of this epithet in relation to Menelaus comes when Ares rouses him to go against a superior warrior in Aeneas, hoping to drive him to his death. Here, Ares takes advantage of Menelaus' Ares-like characteristic, his eagerness for battle.<sup>156</sup> Being dear to Ares may not protect a warrior from Ares. While Athena protects those who are dear to her, Ares appears only to approve of those who are dear to him.

Achilles is also 'dear to Ares.' He is given this epithet in the context of a description of his men idling by their ships, engaging in sport and longing for their leader, while beyond the Achaeans advance on the city. Here, the epithet drums home the loss suffered by the Achaeans, reminding the audience that this idleness is not Achilles' natural state.<sup>157</sup> One minor hero also gains this epithet, a certain Lykomedes, in a moment of martial success.<sup>158</sup> One final individual is 'dear to Ares', namely, Meleager, as described in Phoenix's story to Achilles, a wrath-driven character who resembles Achilles in many ways.<sup>159</sup>

The Achaeans are also given the epithet 'dear to Ares'.<sup>160</sup> At first glance this seems incongruous. In his few entries into the battle, as we have seen, Ares sides

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<sup>152</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.21, 52, 69, 90, 136, 206, 232, 253, 307, 430, 432, 452; 4.12.

<sup>153</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.1-4, 11, 137-139.

<sup>154</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.150.

<sup>155</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.453.

<sup>156</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.561.

<sup>157</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.771-779.

<sup>158</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.346-348.

<sup>159</sup> Hom. *Il.* 9.550-556.

<sup>160</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.73-75; 16.303-305; 17.319, 336.

firmly with the Trojans. Why then, are the Achaeans, and not the Trojans, ‘dear to Ares’? Here again approbation rather than care seems to lie behind the phrase. The Achaeans, after all, are the bringers of war to the Dardanian plain, and the victors-to-be. In each instance where this epithet is used of the Achaeans, the Trojans are rallying, barely holding out against an Achaean surge, and always with the suggestion that their resistance is merely temporary. Also here we find a clear indication of a split of some kind between different levels of Ares’ existence within the poem, as we do with Zeus. It is no more desirable to attempt to fully divorce the appearances of Ares in a less fully personified form from the larger concept of the god than it is to do so in the case of Zeus.<sup>161</sup>

Just as the Achaeans are ‘dear to Ares’, so the Danaans are ‘the attendants of Ares’, one may assume for similar reasons.<sup>162</sup> It may be pure coincidence that the first appearance of this epithet in the Iliad comes in the context of Nestor urging the Danaans to adopt a particularly bloodthirsty strategy.<sup>163</sup> Also named ‘attendants of Ares’ are the Aiantes,<sup>164</sup> and Athena’s beloved pair, Odysseus and Diomedes, wounded and limping when this epithet is applied.<sup>165</sup> To be dear to Athena does not prevent a hero from being an attendant of Ares – the two are not so utterly opposed. Again, we may here have a reminder that the wounded, limping aspect of the heroes is not their usual demeanour.

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<sup>161</sup> Cf. Erbse (1986) 166-167; Clarke (1999) 266-269; Padel (1995) 182.

<sup>162</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.66-71; 7.382; 15.733-734; 19.78. While parallels with Near-Eastern substitute rituals in the Achilles/Patroclus story may legitimately be adduced, the etymological arguments by which this has been linked to the word *θεράπων* (cf. Lowenstam (1981) 126-131) – Patroclus is the *θεράπων* of Achilles – are deeply speculative, as Lowenstam (1981: 143), while still making extensive use of them, admits. The meaning of a word is determined by its usage, not its origins. There is no reason to believe, as Lowenstam (1981: 141 & 171) and Nagy (1999: 294-295 & 307) do, that the Danaans were in some way seen as ritual substitutes for Ares. What is meant to be a *θεράπων* of Ares should be understood in terms of the ‘subordinate comrade’ relationship to which the term usually refers, without reading too much into the sad fate of one prominent *θεράπων*.

<sup>163</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.66-71.

<sup>164</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.78-91.

<sup>165</sup> Hom. *Il.* 19.37-39.

A further remarkable parallel between Zeus and Ares is the sheer multiplicity of their descendants. Elephenor,<sup>166</sup> Licymnius,<sup>167</sup> Leonteus,<sup>168</sup> Hicetaon,<sup>169</sup> and Alcimus<sup>170</sup> are described as offshoots of Ares. While most of these are Greeks, Hicetaon is a Trojan.<sup>171</sup> Ares has descendants on both sides. Furthermore, two sons of Ares are named, Ascalaphus and Ialmenus.<sup>172</sup> None of these, it may be observed, are heroes of the first rank. Zeus, of course, is a father or ancestor to boast of, as Achilles does.<sup>173</sup> Beyond this, he is known as ‘the father of gods and men’. Many gods have offspring, but usually only one or two are mentioned. Poseidon has a grandson die in the war,<sup>174</sup> and Aeneas is the son of Aphrodite.<sup>175</sup> Why does Ares have so many? One may speculate that this reflects the begetting to unknown fathers and orphaning of children that may occur due to war.

Related to the epithets ‘ἄρειος’ and ‘dear to Ares’ is the epithet ‘peer to Ares’, ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηι. This epithet again indicates the status of Ares, and the association of the name and god with warlike prowess, since it is applied to some of

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<sup>166</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.540-541.

<sup>167</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.562-563.

<sup>168</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.745-746; 23.841.

<sup>169</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.147; 20.238.

<sup>170</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.474.

<sup>171</sup> Ares’ absence from Aeneas’ long genealogy (Hom. *Il.* 20.213-240), which includes Hicetaon, may indicate that ὄζος, ‘offshoot’, should be taken metaphorically, although Hicetaon’s descent from Ares could be via a maternal line. Furthermore, Heracles is described both as the child (παῖς) of Ampitryon and as the son (υἱός) of Zeus within the space of five lines (Hom. *Il.* 5.392-396). Being accepted by a mortal father need not preclude divine parentage. But there is a clear distinction between the status of Hicetaon and the other ‘offshoots of Ares’ and Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, whose relationship to Ares is clearly defined, including narration of the circumstances of their conception. As with διογενής, ‘born of Zeus’, ὄζος Ἄρηος may be read as a hyperbolic genealogy, emphasising the might of a hero. Either way, a strong parallel between Ares and Zeus is evident. Chantraine (1968: 777), following Hesychius, has argued that ὄζος, when applied to Ares, is a completely different word from ὄζος as it appears elsewhere in the *Iliad* (invariably in straightforwardly vegetable contexts). This speculative solution to the interpretative issues posed by reading ὄζος as ‘offshoot’ is unnecessary. Clarke (1999) 34-35 calls Chantraine’s solution ‘an empty guess’, and suggests that in order to fully understand Homer’s use of ὄζος it would be necessary to situate it in the wider context of Homeric vegetable-human assimilations.

<sup>172</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.511-515; 9.82; 13.518-525; 15.104-112.

<sup>173</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.184-199. Through his son Dardanus, Zeus is also the primogenitor of the Trojans (Hom. *Il.* 20.213-240).

<sup>174</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.206-239.

<sup>175</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.820.

the greatest warriors on either side. Hector bears this epithet on several occasions, always at times of ferocity and martial success.<sup>176</sup> Achilles, when at last unleashed upon the Trojans, also bears this epithet,<sup>177</sup> and when bearing down on a suddenly fearful, and long-doomed Hector is dubbed the peer of Enyalios, elsewhere an independent deity, but in the *Iliad*, a simple title of and alternative name for Ares.<sup>178</sup> The title ‘peer of Enyalios’ is particularly associated with the Cretan hero Meriones, who is also named ‘peer of Ares’ on one occasion.<sup>179</sup> Patroclus, too, as he cuts a swathe through the Trojans en route to his death at the hands of Apollo and Euphorbus, is named a ‘peer of Ares’,<sup>180</sup> as is Automedon,<sup>181</sup> and Meriones’ leader Idomeneus, and Aeneas.<sup>182</sup> As with the other Ares-epithets, a few less prominent heroes are also named ‘peers to Ares’, here Pylaemenes, at the very moment of his death,<sup>183</sup> and Leonteus, the descendent of Ares.<sup>184</sup>

Agamemnon, leading the army forward, in his moment of greatest majesty, is said to have had a head and eyes like Zeus, a waist like Ares, and a breast like Poseidon.<sup>185</sup> Found alongside the comparison between the head of Agamemnon and the head of Zeus, the nodding of which cannot be gainsaid,<sup>186</sup> this must be taken to indicate the magnificence of Ares’ waist, which makes it all the more interesting that it is through Ares’ waist that Athena guides the spear of Diomedes.<sup>187</sup> One further

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<sup>176</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.215-216; 11.292-295; 13.803; 17.72.

<sup>177</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.44-46.

<sup>178</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.131-132.

<sup>179</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.264; 13.295-305; 13.528-529; 17.259.

<sup>180</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.783-789.

<sup>181</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.536.

<sup>182</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.499-501. The bearing of this epithet by these heroes, who survive, undermines the argument of Nagy (1999) 293-294 that it marks the bearer for death.

<sup>183</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.576.

<sup>184</sup> Hom. *Il.* 12.125-130.

<sup>185</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.477-479.

<sup>186</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.525-527.

<sup>187</sup> But note Kirk (1985) 166, who sees this description of Agamemnon’s waist as an ‘anticlimax’ after the comparison with Zeus, and notes that the word used for waist usually refers to a woman’s waist.

intriguing direct physical comparison is that between the eyes of Hector, those of Ares, and those of the Gorgon, whose gaze is deadly.<sup>188</sup>

War is Ares' realm, just as the sea is the realm of Poseidon, the underworld the realm of Hades, and the sky the realm of Zeus. War belongs to Ares. This is made clear by many turns of phrase used within the *Iliad*. When Nestor speaks of Lykurgus going into battle in armour, he speaks of him going into the turmoil of Ares, μῶλον Ἄρηος.<sup>189</sup>

Achilles also uses this phrase to mean 'war',<sup>190</sup> as does his divine mother, Thetis.<sup>191</sup> Nestor also refers to a great clash of armies as a 'deed of Ares', as an ἔργον. The works of war are the works of Ares.<sup>192</sup> To Polydamas, war is the μένος of Ares.<sup>193</sup> The word μένος can refer both to the force and strength of a warrior's hands,<sup>194</sup> and to his will and intent.<sup>195</sup> A warrior's μένος can also be breathed,<sup>196</sup> and is akin to his spirit, which it can fill.<sup>197</sup> War is the strength that Ares wields, it is the essence of his will, he breaths it, and it fills his spirit. The poet refers to war as the strife of Ares, as ἔριδα Ἄρηος.<sup>198</sup> This is not simply the way that heroes think of war. The idea that war is the property and the province of the god Ares is embedded in the poetic language. This idea clearly pre-dates the *Iliad*.

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<sup>188</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.348-349.

<sup>189</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.147.

<sup>190</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.241-245.

<sup>191</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.134-135.

<sup>192</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.732-736.

<sup>193</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.261-265.

<sup>194</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.506; 6.502.

<sup>195</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.634.

<sup>196</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.536.

<sup>197</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.470; 22.313; 23.468. Cf. Redfield (1975) 201-202 for the idea that μένος is a drive the opposite of which is κορός, 'satiety'. Padel (1992) 24-26 argues that μένος, like χόλος, can be understood as a liquid form of anger. Bloody war may be as much the embodiment of Ares' coursing anger as it is of his strength.

<sup>198</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.861; 14.149: i.e. as that Strife, that aspect of Eris, which belongs to Ares: Eris in the domain of Ares, Eris of war (an aspect that is also expressed as ἐρίς πολέμοιο at 14.389 and 17.253).

And as war belongs to Ares, so Hector describes the cut and thrust of battle as a dance in honour of Ares. He knows how to dance this dance, μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηϊ.<sup>199</sup> And this verb, μέλω, has strong connotations of honouring, of praise, and of celebrating in song and dance. It appears in a clearly cultic context early on in the *Iliad*, where the Achaeans are described as ‘μέλποντες ἐκάεργον’ while attempting to appease Apollo through sacrifice and libation and song.<sup>200</sup> Might Hector’s statement reflect a perception of war as being in some way cult activity in honour of Ares? Elsewhere in the *Iliad*, we hear of Ares being gluttoned on the blood of the fallen.<sup>201</sup> Are those that die in war thus seen as sacrifices to Ares? Might this explain the lack of explicit references to his cult elsewhere in the poem? Ares’ epithet ἄτος πολέμοιο, ‘insatiable of war’, may thus be seen as a reflection of the god taking pleasure in his ‘cult’.<sup>202</sup> I will expand on this idea in the chapter entitled ‘Dancing for Ares’.

Ares is not an inactive owner of war. Rather, he is a key power within it. But Ares does not bring victory in war. Nor, in the *Iliad*, do we see Ares giving much attention to the wider scope of battles. Rather he is the force behind the death and suffering of individuals within the conflict. And yet, he is something larger than just the nitty gritty of combat. As battles take place within a war, so the *Iliad* tells of the many battles of the Achaeans and the Trojans which, for the sake of Helen, they had endured at the hands of Ares.<sup>203</sup> Ares, god of war and conflict, inflicts the battles upon the combatants. And within the battle, he is the bringer of death: death in battle

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<sup>199</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.241. Cf. Griffin (1980) 194 with bibliography on the relationship between battle and dance.

<sup>200</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.474.

<sup>201</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.286-289; 20.75-78; 22.265-267.

<sup>202</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.863; 6.203.

<sup>203</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.126-128.

is death at the hands of Ares, whether the anthropomorphic personification of the god is active in the fight or not.

Nestor speaks of the many long-haired Achaians whose blood keen Ares has spilled around the river Scamander,<sup>204</sup> while Priam tells both his household and Achilles that Ares has slain his many fine sons.<sup>205</sup> Ares, the character who helps the Trojans, is here presented as an epithet-bearing god who is responsible for all the Trojan casualties in the war. Like Zeus, we see a clear separation between aspects of one essentially coherent divine construct, between the character, and the larger force. The power of Priam's lament emphasizes the horror of Ares' work. This impression is further reinforced by other appearances of Ares as the bringer of death in battle. Thetis refers to the flies that feed on men killed by Ares,<sup>206</sup> and Hermes speaks of the worms that devour the Ares-slain.<sup>207</sup> It is also of the Ares-slain that Priam speaks, when he, quite unconvincingly, compares the beauty of the young corpse with the horror of the old.<sup>208</sup>

Ares, at least in this aspect, as a divine force rather than an actor in the narrative of the *Iliad*, is, as Hector observes, alike to all, turning would-be killers into the slain.<sup>209</sup> And yet Hector argues falsely, for although Ares may be alike to all, Ares is not the only power in the wars of the *Iliad*. Were Ares the only factor, Hector might have a chance, but Zeus and fate and Athena have already doomed him to defeat and death at the hands of Achilles. And yet that death, at the hands of Zeus and fate and Athena though it be, could still be described by Priam as coming at the

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<sup>204</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.328-330.

<sup>205</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.253-262, 498.

<sup>206</sup> Hom. *Il.* 19.31.

<sup>207</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.414-415.

<sup>208</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.71-72.

<sup>209</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.307-309.

hands of Ares,<sup>210</sup> just as Glaucus describes Ares as having slain Sarpedon through the spear of Patroclus.<sup>211</sup> And Ares is not just the cause of wounds and death. Somehow, he can be treated as actually being those wounds, for we hear that it is Ares who is painful to mortals when they have been wounded.<sup>212</sup>

Ares' role as a force in battle is not limited to killing. He can also save. But he does not do this actively, out of love, in response to prayer or affection, or the request of another god, or any other perceptible emotion. Instead, he appears as a cause without himself being motivated, or even, here, appearing in anthropomorphic, characterized form. Mighty Ares causes spears to fall short from Meriones and Automedon almost by chance,<sup>213</sup> just as he allows the spear to embed itself in the chest of Alcaethous, robbing it of its momentum only once it has impacted fully.<sup>214</sup> Here Ares bears an epithet, and is thus undeniably a god, but like Zeus, and unlike Athena, he is divorced from the character of the narrative. This is made even more clear by the fact that when Ares lets spears fall short before Meriones and Automedon, and slays Sarpedon, the character of Ares has been banned, and is explicitly stated to be absent, from the battlefield. These events take place after Zeus' decree that the gods should stay on Olympus,<sup>215</sup> and before their return at his order.<sup>216</sup> The absence of Ares-the-character from the battlefield is confirmed by the Ascalaphus incident discussed above. At no point is Ares described returning, or described being ordered by Zeus to take part.<sup>217</sup> Ares, it is clear, is not just a god who can act in war, but a god who is inextricably entangled with war. He is a constant

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<sup>210</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.253-262.

<sup>211</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.541-543.

<sup>212</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.567-569.

<sup>213</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.610-613; 17.525-529.

<sup>214</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.443-444. Cf. Neal (2006) 28-29.

<sup>215</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.1-27.

<sup>216</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.1-75.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. *Il.* 11.73-83, where Eris alone is said to remain with the mortals as they fight, with the other gods banished from the battlefield.

element in the multiple levels of determination that act on all of war's events. When war is brought, it is Ares who is brought.<sup>218</sup> When war is roused, Ares is roused.<sup>219</sup> It is in Ares that the warriors of the *Iliad* join and stand and die.<sup>220</sup> Much of the language used in the *Iliad* suggests that Ares and war are one and the same.

Yet war is both an action and a thing: a war consists of warring parties. Further, it is a concept: a complex abstract idea. Ares only encompasses part of this: he is never an action, never a verb. It is possible to rouse Ares, to stir him up, to enter into his turmoil, and do his deeds, but it is not possible 'to Ares' in the way that it is possible 'to war' (πολεμίζειν), 'to battle' (μάχεσθαι) or 'to strive' (ἐρίζειν). Unlike Eris, Ares is not a personified action.<sup>221</sup> Rather, he is a god, a character, a personality, who has been associated with and assimilated not to the actions that make up war, but to the larger thing that these actions make up, and the generalized concept that is used to encapsulate these actions and their results in discourse. In his lack of do-ability, Ares' power and uncontrollability is further manifested. A man may 'strive', but he cannot 'Ares'. Ares may be invoked, aroused, or entered into, but once he has been called up, Ares has a life of his own: he performs actions that affect men, rather than being an action or actions done by men.

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<sup>218</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.513-526; 19.315-318.

<sup>219</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.530-531; 19.237.

<sup>220</sup> Hom. *Il.* 19.275; 17.720-721; 21.111-113.

<sup>221</sup> Personification of the abstract or not, Eris herself can hardly be dismissed as a simple metonym. Eris consistently appears as a driving force behind the plot of the *Iliad*. Indeed, the divine quarrel which led to the Trojan War was, according to the *Cypria*, initially sparked by her agency (Proclus, *Chrestomathy* i). Within the *Iliad*, Eris appears primarily within the context of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. It is as a battle in Eris that the quarrel is first introduced (Hom. *Il.* 1.8). When Athena stops Achilles from killing Agamemnon, she asks him to cease from Eris (1.210), and Nestor too asks Achilles not to Strive against the king (1.277). Agamemnon's decision to order his men to take Briseis is described as a decision not to cease from Eris (1.319). It the Eris between himself and Achilles that Agamemnon comes to regret (2.376), and which Poseidon says has weakened the Greeks (13.109). Finally, when, after the death of Patroclus, Achilles ends his quarrel with Agamemnon, he describes himself as setting aside Eris (18.107, 19.55-73). Nagler (1988) observes that Eris is generally a negative force (contra Hogan (1981), who attempts to divorce personified Eris from other uses of the word), and is generally associated with private quarrels, quarrels within a community, and indecisive battle. Cf. also Nagy (1999) 131.

Ares, then, is both a power in and over war, and also war itself, conceived as a force that has a life of its own, beyond mortal control. The ways in which Ares is portrayed within the *Iliad*, both through his epithets, and also through his actions and interactions both with mortals and with other gods, when appearing as a fully anthropomorphised character within the action of the poem, may thus reflect the attitudes of the poet and his audience toward war, or at least this conception of war.

Ares shares some of his epithets with mortal heroes. Others echo, or are echoed in, the ways in which mortal heroes are described. On one occasion he bears the epithet ἀνδροφόνος, ‘killer of men’.<sup>222</sup> This epithet is applied to Hector on several occasions,<sup>223</sup> and once to Lycurgus,<sup>224</sup> as well as to the deadly hands of Achilles.<sup>225</sup> The fact that this may thus be seen to be a heroic epithet suggests that we should understand it as pointing to Ares’ character as a typical, or perhaps even prototypical warrior, rather than to the deadly nature of war. The same may be said of the application to Ares of the epithet πτολίπορθος, ‘sacker of cities’,<sup>226</sup> which is also carried by Odysseus, Achilles, and Oileus, in addition to the warrior-goddess Enyo.<sup>227</sup>

As the heroic mortal warrior is a killer of men, so too is the divine warrior, Ares; and as the heroes are described as mighty, so too is Ares. He is frequently described as ὄβριμος,<sup>228</sup> an epithet shared with both Hector and Achilles,<sup>229</sup> while on one occasion he is called κρατερός,<sup>230</sup> as are Diomedes, Aeneas, and Achilles,<sup>231</sup> and

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<sup>222</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.441.

<sup>223</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.242; 6.498; 17.428; 18.149; 24.509.

<sup>224</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.134.

<sup>225</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.479.

<sup>226</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.152. Edwards (1991) 308 suggests that this may be a traditional epithet of Ares, since he has no other attested metrically equivalent epithets.

<sup>227</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.278; 15.77; 2.728; 5.333.

<sup>228</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.845; 13.444, 521; 16.613; 17.529.

<sup>229</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.473; 19.408.

<sup>230</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.515.

<sup>231</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.97; 16.624; 21.566.

on another occasion he is said to be πελώριος,<sup>232</sup> an epithet shared by Aias, Hector, and Achilles.<sup>233</sup> Another attribute shared by both heroes and Ares is speed. As he is ‘swift’, θοός,<sup>234</sup> so too is Aeneas, among others.<sup>235</sup>

Alongside the might and speed characteristic of a heroic warrior, Ares also bears arms like those of a mortal hero. Like Polydoumas and the allies of the Trojans,<sup>236</sup> he is ἐγγέσπαλος, ‘spear-brandishing’.<sup>237</sup> Like Hector,<sup>238</sup> he wears a flashing helm – he is κορυθαιόλος.<sup>239</sup> And just as Hector is said to know how to fight as a shield-bearing warrior,<sup>240</sup> so Ares is a shield-bearing warrior, ταλαύρινος πολεμιστής.<sup>241</sup> The epithet χάλκεος, ‘brazen’, might refer to Ares’ bronze armour.<sup>242</sup> This epithet, however, in addition to the precise form ταλαύρινος πολεμιστής, is unique to Ares, while ἐγγέσπαλος is not a common term. It is to be assumed that a mortal warrior will carry the appropriate equipment, but in the case of Ares, this must be stated explicitly. A god can enter into battle, and indeed have success, without the spear and helm and shield of a hero, as Apollo does. These epithets of Ares make it clear that he appears in the form and with the arms of a typical warrior. And Ares is not just a typical warrior, but a prototypical warrior. Thus when Meriones and Idomeneus go forth into battle with their sharp spears, armoured in bronze, they are compared to Ares and his son Phobos going out to war.<sup>243</sup> Aias, too,

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<sup>232</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.208.

<sup>233</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.229; 11.820; 21.527. Cf. Hainsworth (1993) 197, who argues that this word probably denotes something frightening (e.g. a Gorgon – Hom. *Il.* 5.741), and should be translated as ‘dread’. Whallon (1961) 110 points out that it is used most often of Aias (four times), and of Ares only in a comparison with Aias, and argues that it refers to Aias’ (and Ares’) exceptional size and, in particular, height.

<sup>234</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.430; 8.215; 13.295, 328, 528; 16.784; 17.72, 535.

<sup>235</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.571.

<sup>236</sup> Hom. *Il.* 14.449; 2.131.

<sup>237</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.605.

<sup>238</sup> E.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.816.

<sup>239</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.38.

<sup>240</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.239.

<sup>241</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.289; 20.78; 22.267.

<sup>242</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.704, 859, 866; 7.146; 16.543.

<sup>243</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.295-305.

after his arming scene, after donning his bronze armour, is compared to Ares as he rushed into the battle.<sup>244</sup>

But Ares is more than just ἀνδροφόνος, a warrior killing men; he is also βροτολοιγός, a god destroying mortals.<sup>245</sup> This is a very general form of destruction, which can encompass the plague that often accompanies war, as well as war itself. It is λοιγός that Achilles hopes that Apollo will ward off, when he counsels the plague-smitten Greeks to sacrifice to the god.<sup>246</sup> It is also λοιγός, that which Ares brings, that Diomedes claims the god wards off from Hector when he marches before him.<sup>247</sup> A similar epithet, but more general and unspecific in meaning than βροτολοιγός or ἀνδροφόνος, is οὐλος, ‘destructive’,<sup>248</sup> also used for the martial destruction at the hands of Aeneas and Hector fled by the Achaeans.<sup>249</sup> The closely related word ὀλοός is used to describe the destruction brought by fate, μοῖρα,<sup>250</sup> and by the act of war, πόλεμος,<sup>251</sup> as well as by Achilles.<sup>252</sup> It is agent-neutral, covering all forms of destruction, from mortals to anthropomorphic gods, to impersonal divine powers, and forms of mortal action.

It is less clear whether we should think of Ares’ epithet τειχεσιπλήτης, ‘approacher of walls’, as referring to his power as war to storm walls, or merely as a variant on the heroic epithet πολίπορθος.<sup>253</sup> Similarly, the epithet βριήπυος, ‘load-roaring’,<sup>254</sup> may be seen either as an echo of Ares’ roar when stabbed by Diomedes,

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<sup>244</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.206-210.

<sup>245</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.31, 455, 518, 846, 908; 8.349; 11.295, 802; 12.130; 13.298; 20.46; 21.421.

<sup>246</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.67.

<sup>247</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.603.

<sup>248</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.461, 717.

<sup>249</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.756-59.

<sup>250</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.849; 22.5.

<sup>251</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.133.

<sup>252</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.39.

<sup>253</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.31, 455. τειχεσιπλήτης may be read as referring to the sacking of cities, whether fortified or not, on a generic level, and thus as synonymous with πολίπορθος, or it may be read as referring to the specific martial feat of storming the wall of a fortified city.

<sup>254</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.521.

or as reflecting the tumult of battle which that roar is compared to,<sup>255</sup> or as a variant on the heroic epithet βoῆν ἀγαθός, ‘good at shouting’.<sup>256</sup> That Ares’ loud roar, both in epithet-form, and when stabbed by Diomedes, is a variant on the heroic trait, magnified for a god, rather than a reflection of Ares’ association with the tumult of battle, is suggested by the fact that just as Ares’ roar is compared to thousands of warriors joining in his strife, so too is the roar of Poseidon when rousing the spirits of the Achaeans.<sup>257</sup> This is evidently not a metaphor specific to Ares, but a formula appropriate for any divine warrior in battle.<sup>258</sup>

It is clear that in the *Iliad* the epithet ὄξύς,<sup>259</sup> does not carry the meaning of swift or quick that it later developed. Rather, it has a meaning which incorporates the ideas of sharpness, keenness, and, most of all, clarity. Pains, hearing, eyesight, shouts, and the rays of the sun can all be ὄξύς.<sup>260</sup> Weapons, too, can be ὄξύς: axes, and missiles, and spears, which may be reduced to the catch-all word ‘bronze’, χαλκός, in a way that is analogous to the English use of ‘steel’, whether cold or otherwise.<sup>261</sup> This last seems most appropriate to Ares. Just as a spear is bronze, so Ares is χάλκεος, brazen. Just as a spear is sharp, so Ares is ὄξύς. The same epithets expressing weight and might, πελώριος and ὄβριμος, are used both for Ares, and also for spears.<sup>262</sup> That Ares is described on one occasion as ῥινοτόρος, shield-piercing,<sup>263</sup> also suggests some form of identification between Ares and spears, as

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<sup>255</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.859-861.

<sup>256</sup> E.g. Hom. *Il.* 13.581.

<sup>257</sup> Hom. *Il.* 14.148-151.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. Griffin (1980) 38 for Near-Eastern parallels. Just as Ares’ shout is exaggerated, so too is his size (Hom. *Il.* 21.407), in a way that echoes a description of Gilgamesh in the Babylonian Epic (Tablet 1, lines 51-59: text and translation in George (2003) 541, with commentary at 447 & 784).

<sup>259</sup> Given to Ares at Hom. *Il.* 2.440; 4.352; 7.330; 8.531; 11.836; 17.721; 18.304; 19.237.

<sup>260</sup> Pain: Hom. *Il.* 11.268; sunlight: 14.345; 17.372; hearing: 17.256; eyesight: 3.374; 17.675; sounds: 15.313; 17.88-89; 18.71.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Prieto (1996) 124.

<sup>262</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.424; 3.357.

<sup>263</sup> Hom. *Il.* 391-392. This is probably a formulaic epithet, since it also appears at Hes. *Th.* 934.

does the fact that, as Tamara Neal has discussed at length, Ares and spears are both described within the *Iliad* as being glutted with blood.<sup>264</sup> Just as Ares can be identified with battle, so too, as E.J. Bakker and F. Fabbricotti have shown, can the spear.<sup>265</sup> We have already seen that Ares controls the μένος of the spear, the typical weapon of the Homeric warrior. We have seen Ares as a force within battle, and as its embodiment. Now, is it possible to perceive Ares as the embodiment not just of battle as some amorphous, swirling whole, but of its cutting, or rather, piercing edge in particular as well. A man slain by Ares in battle is slain by Ares' will, and by his nature as battle, and by his nature as the sharp point of battle. The warrior may arouse, stand firm in, be awaited by, and be slain by sharp Ares.<sup>266</sup>

Just as Ares may be seen as χάλκεος in the sense of the sharp bronze spear-point, he may also perhaps be seen as χάλκεος in the sense of the hard, protective bronze outer layer of a shield, and of strong armour.<sup>267</sup> This is suggested by his epithet θοῦρος,<sup>268</sup> which is elsewhere used of shields,<sup>269</sup> of Apollo's protective aegis,<sup>270</sup> and of ἄλκη, a word which appears to mean something like 'courage' or 'strength', perhaps with connotations of defence, of self and comrades, since heroes encourage each other to think of strong ἄλκη when under attack.<sup>271</sup> 'Stalwart' is a

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<sup>264</sup> Neal (2006) 28-29. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.574; 15.317; 21.69-70, 168 for spears being glutted. Cf. Griffin (1980) 34 for Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, and Near-Eastern depictions of personified, or part-personified, weapons, including spears.

<sup>265</sup> Bakker & Fabbricotti (1991) 81.

<sup>266</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.440; 17.721; 11.836; 7.330. On the importance of the spear within religious thought in Greece and beyond, and on the idea of the spear as a divine power, cf. Schwenn (1921) 299-316. On the possible identification of spears with Ares, cf. also Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) 322.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. Vernant (1983) 13.

<sup>268</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.30, 35, 454, 507, 839, 904; 15.127, 142; 21.406; 24.498.

<sup>269</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.32; 20.162. A subtle implication of vulnerability may be present here, since the word for shield together with θοῦρος is ἀσπίς. The bearer of an ἀσπίς is vulnerable, while the bearer of a σάκος is not, as Bershadsky (2010) has pointed out.

<sup>270</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.308.

<sup>271</sup> E.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.234, 418; 5.718; 6.112.

serviceable rendering of θοῦρος, which, at least in the *Iliad*, appears to have more to do with stubborn defence than with rushing, impetuous, furious attack.

The epithet μαιφόνος, ‘stained with slaughter’, seems simply descriptive, particularly since it is only applied to the fully anthropomorphically manifested Ares of the fifth and twenty-first books.<sup>272</sup> In the *Iliad*, the word φονός, generally translated as ‘murder’, does not appear to carry the morally pejorative overtones of the English word. The translation ‘blood’ or ‘gore’ also seems imperfect. Neither fit the full range of the word’s usage: the Argives bring φονός to the Trojans.<sup>273</sup> A falcon brings φονός to small birds.<sup>274</sup> Achilles’ spear exists for the φονός of heroes.<sup>275</sup> The children of Niobe lay ἐν φόνῳ for nine days.<sup>276</sup> In the *Doloneia*, Odysseus and Dionysius go forth among the corpses, and the φονός.<sup>277</sup> Slaughter seems most appropriate, encapsulating both the act of killing, and its results, without taking a moral stance. The verb μαιίνω and the adjective μαιρός likewise lack the moral sense – that of religious pollution – that they gain in later Greek literature. Instead, these words are used to describe the dyeing of ivory, the befouling of helmet plumes with blood and dust, of wrestlers with dust, and of a man’s thighs with his own blood.<sup>278</sup> In the *Iliad*, therefore, the epithet μαιφόνος merely reflects that fact that Ares, the warrior, is stained with slaughter, although it may be observed that later Greek audiences may have taken him to be polluted by it.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.31, 455, 844; 21.402.

<sup>273</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.352.

<sup>274</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.757.

<sup>275</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.144; 19.391. Note the further parallel between Ares and the spear.

<sup>276</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.610.

<sup>277</sup> Hom. *Il.* 10.292.

<sup>278</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.141; 16.795; 23.732; 4.146.

<sup>279</sup> Contra e.g. Kirk (1990) 57.

Several epithets may be read as reflections of attitudes towards Ares, and therefore towards war. Ares is once described as δήϊος, ‘hostile’,<sup>280</sup> a word that is elsewhere used solely to delineate the enemy.<sup>281</sup> Ares, war, is also hateful, στυγερός,<sup>282</sup> a word also used to describe πόλεμος, the act of war,<sup>283</sup> as well as disease,<sup>284</sup> old age,<sup>285</sup> sorrow itself,<sup>286</sup> and the dread powers of the underworld, Hades and the Erinyes.<sup>287</sup> Helen, too, the cause of the *Iliad*’s war, sees herself as hateful, στυγερήν, to Menelaus.<sup>288</sup> Finally, Ares – war – is doleful, and a cause for weeping,<sup>289</sup> as is πόλεμος.<sup>290</sup>

Most of these epithets, these adjectives, are formulaic, traditional, reflecting an understanding of Ares, and of war, that stems not just from the mind of the poet, but from the tradition of which he was a part, and the society that gave it birth. And all of them come together to shape a single, unified conception of the god and of war.<sup>291</sup> Ares is both the personification of war, and a warrior-archetype. The Homeric manifestation of the god represents both of these ideas, and allows them to be discussed and explored. Yet it also reflects that aspect of the god that made him worthy of cult: his power within and over the lives of mortals.

As a warrior, Ares is a man-slaying spearman, loud of voice, and huge, mighty of frame, a sacker of cities, clad in bronze armour, with a shining helm, and

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<sup>280</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.241.

<sup>281</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.544; 6.681. Cf. Arnould (1981) 29.

<sup>282</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.385; 18.209.

<sup>283</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.240; 19.230.

<sup>284</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.670.

<sup>285</sup> Hom. *Il.* 19.336.

<sup>286</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.483.

<sup>287</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.368; 9.454. The conceptual relationship between war, plague, and death which this hints at is discussed more fully at §8, below.

<sup>288</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.404.

<sup>289</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.132; 8.516; 19.318.

<sup>290</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.165. Cf. also 17.543-544.

<sup>291</sup> Although this unified conception need not be internally consistent. Paradoxes may form an important part of the whole. Cf. Versnel (2011) *passim*.

bearing an ox-hide shield. He is swift, eager for the fray, furiously onrushing, stained with murder, hostile, a keen destroyer, rousing up others to follow him into battle. And as war itself, Ares is again an insatiably eager slayer of mortal men, loud-roaring with a multitude of voices, vast in extent, and heavy, yet swiftly onrushing, full of sharp shield-piercing spears of flashing bronze, a hostile, destructive, doleful sacker of cities, stained with murder, a hateful rouser of the people.

It is only with this tripartite identity in mind – of the god as representation of the warrior, as representation of war, and as personification of war – that any analysis of the *Iliad*'s portrayal of Ares as a fully realised anthropomorphic character can be attempted. Any attempt to explain Ares' defeats by Athena must take into account all three aspects of this complex literary manifestation of the god. Of course a purely religious explanation would be inadequate: the role of Ares within the narrative of the poem must be considered. But this role must reflect, be influenced by, and influence the development of the understanding of the nature of the god on a religious, cultic level.

### **(2.3.ii) Rebuked and Defeated**

Ares' first appearance as a fully personified god in the *Iliad* is in the fourth book, where he is described as urging on the Trojans, while Athena and Phobos and Deimos and Eris urge on the Achaeans.<sup>292</sup> While this prefigures the opposition between Ares and Athena found in later books, it may be observed that Phobos and Deimos appear elsewhere in the *Iliad* as the sons and assistants of Ares,<sup>293</sup> while Eris

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<sup>292</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.439-441.

<sup>293</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.298-299; 15.119-120.

is here explicitly described as ‘the sister and comrade’ of Ares, as his ‘κασιγνήτη ἑτάρη τε’. The lead figure in this passage is Eris, Strife, stirring up conflict between both sides equally, with the assistance of the other warlike deities. Ares and Athena here act as agents of strife, rather than helpers in battle to the opposing sides.

We next encounter a fully personified manifestation of Ares early in the fifth book. Athena takes Ares by the hand, leads him out from the battle, and persuades him that they should both refrain from interfering in the conflict, in order that the will of Zeus might decide affairs.<sup>294</sup> Ares, it is clear, although a supporter of the Trojans in this book, is not heavily invested in the Trojan cause. This passage reveals that the will of Zeus could be conceptualised as a distinct causal factor from the will of Athena, and the will of Ares, with which it had the potential to conflict. The withdrawal of Ares, the chaotic essence of battle, is presented by Athena as allowing the fight to proceed according to the higher plan of Zeus. This passage also reveals the ability of Athena, the protective goddess, to manipulate, persuade, and calm the chaotic war-god, with whom direct relationships could not be formed by mortals. Athena appears here as a potential intermediary between men and Ares.

This scene is echoed in Book 15. After hearing of the death of his son, Ascalaphus, Ares dons his armour, orders Phobos and Deimos to harness his horses, and prepares to enter the battle, in defiance of Zeus’ edict banning the immortals from the battlefield, but is forestalled by Athena.<sup>295</sup> Here again we see that the will of Zeus may come into conflict with the will of Ares, and again we see that Athena is presented as being able to persuade Ares to lay down his arms and rest. But here, we find an added ingredient: Athena’s formal rebuke of Ares. She says that he is

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<sup>294</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.29-37.

<sup>295</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.104-142.

‘raving, crazed of mind’, ‘μαινόμενε φρένας ἤλε’’, that his ears are wasted on him, and that understanding and shame are gone from him.<sup>296</sup> In the *Odyssey*, μαίνομαι is used of a self-destructive, drunken form of madness: that of the Cyclops, and of the suitors.<sup>297</sup> This drunken madness is associated in the *Iliad* with Ares’ fellow Thracian dwelling god, Dionysos.<sup>298</sup> The adjective ἤλεός is also associated with drunkenness in the *Odyssey*.<sup>299</sup> The associations that these adjectives thus have with Dionysiac madness, and so with possession, resonate with Ares’ actions elsewhere in the *Iliad*, rousing Menelaus in hope that he might engage in doomed battle with Aeneas, and entering into Hector to give him strength on the orders of Zeus, again in order to over-embolden the hero that he might meet his end, here at the hands of Achilles.<sup>300</sup> And yet it must be remembered that these adjective are not titles of Ares. They are not the impersonal words of the poet-narrator. These adjectives are specific to a certain speaker in a certain situation: Athena, afraid that Ares, maddened by a singular event, the death of his beloved son, might bring down punishment upon her and all the other gods at the hands of Zeus.

These interactions of Ares and Athena suggest that Ares, as portrayed in the *Iliad*, may be seen as a god whose actions are driven not by a consistent purpose arising from his own rational will, but according to sudden emotions, often directed by other gods, who may manipulate him through both gentle persuasion and fierce rebuke.<sup>301</sup> This idea is further reflected by the fact that just as Athena (in association

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<sup>296</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.128-129.

<sup>297</sup> Hom. *Od.* 9.350; 18.405.

<sup>298</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.132. Cf. Padel (1995) 28.

<sup>299</sup> Hom. *Od.* 14.463.

<sup>300</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.561-564; 17.209-212.

<sup>301</sup> In the centrality of the demands and rhetoric to other gods to the motivation of his actions, Ares resembles the god Erra, another destructive divine warrior, as portrayed in the Babylonian poem *šar gimir dadmē*. Erra is encouraged to destroy by the Sibitti (*Erra* I.45-93), and to cease his rampage by the god Išum (*Erra* IV.88-138).

with Hera),<sup>302</sup> and then Zeus, cause Ares to withdraw from the fighting, so he is persuaded to intervene on the side of the Trojans by Aphrodite, Apollo, and Zeus. For it is Apollo who asks Ares to fight against Diomedes, pointing to the wound inflicted upon Aphrodite by the mortal hero,<sup>303</sup> while Zeus orders Ares to enter into Hector and give him strength.<sup>304</sup> Hera attributes the intervention of Ares on the side of the Trojans to the influence of Aphrodite and Apollo.<sup>305</sup>

The formal rebuke is a type-scene in the *Iliad*. Sometimes these rebukes are a straight reaction to an action that has angered the speaker, without any real intent to change the mind of the target of the rebuke. Instead, these rebukes express the speaker's disapprobation, and shame the person who is rebuked. Thus Agamemnon rebukes Calchas on account of his oracle requiring that Agamemnon give up Chryse.<sup>306</sup> In the debate over the fate of Chryse, Agamemnon and Achilles rebuke each other, 'doing battle with words',<sup>307</sup> with Achilles calling Agamemnon 'heavy with wine',<sup>308</sup> and accusing him of excessive greed,<sup>309</sup> shamelessness,<sup>310</sup> and cowardice,<sup>311</sup> while Agamemnon tells Achilles that he is the most hateful to him of all the Zeus-nourished kings, on account of his excessive love of strife and war and battle,<sup>312</sup> and asserts that his own power is greater.<sup>313</sup> Elsewhere, Zeus rebukes Hera on account of her deceptions.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.906-908.

<sup>303</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.454-459.

<sup>304</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.209-212.

<sup>305</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.759-761.

<sup>306</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.106-108.

<sup>307</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.304.

<sup>308</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.225.

<sup>309</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.122.

<sup>310</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.149.

<sup>311</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.225-228.

<sup>312</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.175-177.

<sup>313</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.185-187.

<sup>314</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.31-33. Cf. also 8.397-408.

Other rebukes have a clear purpose, although some are unsuccessful. For example, while in the battle for the corpse of Patroclus, Glaucus rebukes Hector, accusing him of womanly cowardice, but Hector responds merely by questioning Glaucus' good-sense.<sup>315</sup> On the other hand, Hector repeatedly succeeds in spurring Paris into action through well-timed rebukes, calling his brother *γυναϊμανές*, 'woman-crazed', and a deceiver, and suggesting that he will be dishonoured and thought a coward and a weakling by Greek and Trojan alike should he fail to enter into the battle.<sup>316</sup> On another occasion, he calls Paris *δαϊμόνιος*, 'strange', and reproaches him for sitting him at home, away from the battle that he has caused.<sup>317</sup> Hector himself is successfully rebuked by Sarpedon, who stings him into furious action by asserting that the Trojans have been failing to pull their weight in the battle, instead letting their allies bear the brunt of the fighting.<sup>318</sup> Odysseus, meanwhile, when rebuking Agamemnon, accuses him of stupidity.<sup>319</sup> These rebukes, whether successful or not, are not full and accurate descriptions of the characters rebuked. They are specific to the speaker and the situation, and the language is often strident, heated, perhaps exaggerated. The rebukes delivered to Ares must be interpreted within this context.

Themes that appear both in these mortal rebukes and in Athena's rebuke of Ares in Book 15 include accusations of drunkenness, madness, and of a lack of shame and judgment. Appeals to shame are to be expected within the context of a rebuke in a Homeric milieu which has famously been described as a 'shame

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<sup>315</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.140-182.

<sup>316</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.39-75.

<sup>317</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.326-341.

<sup>318</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.470-492.

<sup>319</sup> Hom. *Il.* 14.82-109.

culture'.<sup>320</sup> A lack of judgement is naturally associated with drunkenness and madness, and shameful actions may result from madness and poor judgment.<sup>321</sup>

Athena's criticisms of Ares in Book 5, although addressed to Diomedes rather than to Ares himself, may be understood within the same context. Again, she describes him as μαινόμενος, as raving in madness.<sup>322</sup> The epithet ἀλλοπρόσαλλος, 'inconstant' or 'changeable', seems situation-specific, since Athena is criticising Ares because, she claims, having promised her that he would fight against the Trojans and give aid to the Argives, he now aids Trojans against the Argives.<sup>323</sup> Athena's description of Ares as τυκτόν κακόν, 'a well-crafted evil', is also part of this situation-motivated rebuke, rather than a dispassionate judgment of the god. But this epithet does also echo the way in which Ares, the god made of bronze, shares characteristics with sharp, well-crafted, shield-piercing spears, as discussed above.<sup>324</sup> The adjective ίδηλος, used of Ares by Athena having wounded him,<sup>325</sup> and by Zeus in his rebuke of Ares,<sup>326</sup> has rather more negative connotations than the simple translation of 'violent' or 'destructive' might indicate. In the *Odyssey*, it is used of the wicked suitors and of the treacherous Melanthius by Eumaeus, and of Ares by Hephaestus, when he discovers him in bed with Aphrodite.<sup>327</sup>

Hera's criticisms of Ares, addressed to Zeus, are closely related to Athena's words to Diomedes, and react to the same unique situation. Again, Ares is called

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<sup>320</sup> Dodds (1951) 17-18. A more accurate statement would be to characterise the world of the *Iliad* as an *aidōs*-culture, since neither the word nor the characters in the Homeric poems are free from the idea of guilt. Cf. Cairns (1993) 14-47.

<sup>321</sup> On the link between *aidōs*, 'shame', and a lack of good sense, both here and elsewhere in the *Iliad*, cf. Cairns (1993) 126-130.

<sup>322</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.831.

<sup>323</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.825-834.

<sup>324</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.831. Yamagata (1994) 211 argues that κακόν here probably means 'harmful' rather than 'wicked', and that Athena is therefore not suggesting that he is intrinsically evil.

<sup>325</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.879.

<sup>326</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.896.

<sup>327</sup> Hom. *Od.* 16.29; 23.303; 8.309.

‘senseless’ or ‘mad’, ἄφρονα, here with the added accusation that Ares knows no law.<sup>328</sup> His actions, moreover, she describes as μάψ,<sup>329</sup> a word used elsewhere to describe the reckless madness of the Trojans in stealing away Helen,<sup>330</sup> of Thersites in criticising the kings,<sup>331</sup> and, by the despairing Agamemnon, to describe the vain foolishness of the Achaeans when they decided to besiege Troy.<sup>332</sup> Hera’s words, too, are not a careful assessment of Ares’ character, but an emotional response to his actions.

Zeus’ oft-quoted criticisms of Ares in Book 5 should also be understood within this context: as an example of the rebuke type-scene,<sup>333</sup> informed by a specific context.<sup>334</sup> Earlier in the book, Zeus hears and accepts Hera’s criticisms of Ares. This is why he permits Athena to aid Diomedes against Ares. That Zeus has explicitly given permission to the goddesses to drag Ares out of the battle means that he is forced to justify that decision through rebuking Ares, when Ares complains to him about Athena’s action. The rebuke of Ares by Zeus is required by the narrative. Since in this episode, the verbal attacks mounted by the two goddesses upon Ares form a single unit, Zeus’ agreement with Hera implies agreement with Athena’s words as well as those of Hera. Thus Zeus’ use of ἀλλοπρόσαλλος to describe Ares does not reflect ‘Zeus’ view of Ares’ (let alone the view of the poet or his society),

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<sup>328</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.760.

<sup>329</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.759.

<sup>330</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.627.

<sup>331</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.214.

<sup>332</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.120.

<sup>333</sup> For a formal analysis of the rebuke type-scene in Homer, cf. Minchin (2007) 23-51.

<sup>334</sup> Contra e.g. Nilsson (1967) 518; Zampaglione (1973) 22; Erbse (1986) 156; Baldick (1994) 43; Hall (1996) 114; Purves (2011) 81; Christensen (2012) 236 (who present this as Zeus’ definitive judgment of Ares); Parker (2005a) 398 (who uses this as evidence that Ares was – ‘the pariah among immortals’); Duffy (1936) 16, (to whom this passage reveals ‘the poet’s conception of Ares’, a view shared by Séchan & Lévêque (1966) 243; Burkert (1985) 133, 169; Simon (1985) 255; Crowley (2012) 96); Jacquemin (2005) 15 (who takes this passage as representative of Greek views of Ares more generally). Cf. Pironti (2010) 122, for a discussion of similar misuse of Zeus’ words relating to Aphrodite at Hom. *Il.* 5.426-430. Cf. Stanford (1980) 103-105 on the character-as-author fallacy in general.

but rather, deliberately echoing Athena's use of the word, reflects his condemnation of Ares' changeability within the specific context of Ares' failure to keep his compact with Athena.<sup>335</sup> Furthermore, Zeus' rebuke of Ares is interwoven with a complaint about Hera, whose responsibility for Ares' hurt he alludes to.<sup>336</sup> Instead of straightforwardly endorsing the harm done to Ares, Zeus refuses to take responsibility for it.

When Zeus calls Ares the most hateful to him of all the gods on Olympus, he echoes Agamemnon's words to Achilles, when he says that he is the most hateful to him of the all the Zeus-nourished kings. In both cases, an excessive love of strife and war and battle is given as the reason – αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.<sup>337</sup> In part, both rebukes may be seen as reactions to a specific situation.

Agamemnon rebukes Achilles on account of the challenge posed by the latter to his power – the king rebuking the upstart young warrior.<sup>338</sup> That Achilles' quarrel is not merely with Agamemnon the man but with Agamemnon the king is made clear by Nestor.<sup>339</sup> And it may be observed that when Athena persuades Ares to leave the battle at the start of Book 5, she argues that by doing so he will leave control of the battle in the hands of Zeus. By re-entering the battle, without Zeus' sanction, he may thus be seen as challenging Zeus' authority.<sup>340</sup> Strife, Eris, which Achilles and Ares are accused of loving, as observed above, appears most often in the context of the

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<sup>335</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.888. Dietrich (1965) 298, also ignoring the specific context, maintains that being ἀλλοπρόσαλλος is the defining characteristic of Ares. Pötscher (1959) 6, n.8, Nilsson (1967) 518, Loraux (1986) 347, Loraux (1995) 79; Hall (1996) 114, Mezzadri (1993) 65, 69, 149 & 325, Pironti (2007) 224, and Garvie (2009) 350, also use this word out of context.

<sup>336</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.892-893.

<sup>337</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.889; 1.175-177. Lowenstam (1993) 71 raises the interesting question of whether it makes sense for a king to seriously criticise his warrior for loving war and battle.

<sup>338</sup> For discussion of Achilles as a paradigmatic warrior, closely paralleling Ares in his combination of power and intrinsic vulnerability, see Loraux (1995) 81 & 92-96.

<sup>339</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.277-279.

<sup>340</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.29-37. But note that Ares' abortive rebellion is not unique: several other gods consider opposing Zeus' will (cf. West (2011) 301-302). Cf. also Bowra (1930) 221; Toohey (1992) 34.

conflict between Achilles and his king. But Eris is also closely associated with conflict between the gods. Eris, fully personified, leaps up as Ares and Athena cry out against each other before the battle of the gods,<sup>341</sup> where the gods clash in the Eris,<sup>342</sup> which falls upon them.<sup>343</sup> It is in the context of such a conflict between gods that Ares is rebuked.

The twin rebukes of Achilles and Ares may also be seen as part of a wider dialogue about war, the warrior, and the king within the poem.<sup>344</sup> The blood-stained, bloody-handed, swift, man-slaying warrior is berated by the king for loving war, and battle, and Strife. And yet, Ares condemns strife between the gods, accusing Athena of making the gods clash in Eris,<sup>345</sup> and Achilles calls for an end to Strife, to Eris, both between men and between gods.<sup>346</sup> It is Agamemnon who launched the war against Troy, in order to regain his brother's wife and honour, and it is Agamemnon who chooses to engage in Strife with Achilles through taking Briseis. Equally, divine force behind the Trojan War and the suffering it causes is not Ares, but Zeus. Zeus uses Eris as a tool, sending her to the ships of the Achaeans,<sup>347</sup> and drawing the cords Strife and war in a knot across the armies.<sup>348</sup> Moreover, seeing the gods joined in Strife, Zeus laughs.<sup>349</sup> Achilles' words, blaming the war on Agamemnon, make the hypocrisy of the latter clear.<sup>350</sup> The parallels between the two rebukes highlight the hypocrisy of Zeus, the king.<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.48.

<sup>342</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.66.

<sup>343</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.385.

<sup>344</sup> As Sissa & Detienne (2000: 103) point out, however, Ares, unlike Achilles, does not engage in a sustained feud with his king.

<sup>345</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.394.

<sup>346</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.107.

<sup>347</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.3-14.

<sup>348</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.345-360.

<sup>349</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.390.

<sup>350</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.149-171.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. Pötscher (1959) 5, on the idea that the Olympian family in Homer was a mythical reflection of a mortal royal court.

When Athena insults Ares in the twenty-first book of the *Iliad*, her words should be understood within the context of the ‘challenge-dialogue’ type-scene.<sup>352</sup> She calls him νηπύτιος, ‘a childish fool’,<sup>353</sup> but this same insult is thrown at Apollo by Poseidon,<sup>354</sup> and at Achilles by Agenor,<sup>355</sup> among others.<sup>356</sup> Athena concludes her speech with an explicit reference to Book Five, telling Ares that her successful attack on him was a direct result of his betrayal to his promise to her in Book Five, and his resultant decision to oppose his own mother. The two defeats of Ares by Athena in the *Iliad* may therefore be seen as a single action in which Athena imposes not only her own will upon Ares, but also that of his mother Hera. But why is Athena so often paired with Ares? And why does she come into opposition with, engage, and defeat him?

We have seen that Ares is depicted in the *Iliad* as the archetype of the Homeric warrior.<sup>357</sup> Athena’s pairing with Ares, particularly on the shield of Achilles, makes her own warrior-nature clear. Although female, she is represented as being both akin to, and equal to Ares as a warrior, and, as Susan Deacy has pointed out, as being no less ferocious in battle.<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.410-414. Cf. e.g. Tlepolemos and Sarpedon (5.627-644); Diomedes, Hector, and Paris (11.345-395); Odysseus and Socus (11.428-455); Aeneas and Meriones (16.616-625); Aeneas and Achilles (20.174-258); Hector and Achilles (20.419-454).

<sup>353</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.410.

<sup>354</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.441.

<sup>355</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.585.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Prieto (1996) 115.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. Cook (2009) 158.

<sup>358</sup> Deacy (2000): this fatally undermines the idea that Athena was the goddess of skilful, controlled war, in contrast to passionate, raging Ares, and that her victories should be viewed as symbolic of the victory of a ‘new’ form of war. This idea has largely been inspired by Athena’s patronage of cunning Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, and her role as a goddess of craft and skill in later cult, and in the Fifth Homeric Hymn, *To Aphrodite*, 8-13. Note that the Hymn speaks of Athena as teaching the craft of making chariots (i.e. tools for battle), rather than the craft of battle itself. Scholars who have asserted that there existed a dichotomy between furious Ares and calm, skilled Athena include: Athanassakis & Wolkow (2013) 181-182; Prieto (1996) 298; Wathelet (1992) 127; Burkert (1985) 169; Schefold (1966) 15, 64; Vian (1958) 55-58; Otto (1954) 46, 244-248.

The victory of Athena over Ares may be seen as simply as the victory of the divine supporter of the Greeks, who are destined to win the war, over the divine supporter of the Trojans.<sup>359</sup> But Ares is not the main divine supporter of the Trojans – both Apollo and Aphrodite take precedence.<sup>360</sup> Ares has no real sympathy for or investment in the Trojan cause, and aids them purely through the will of Zeus and the influence of Apollo and Aphrodite, so the prominence and repetition of the Ares/Athena conflict is not adequately explained. Athena's victory may be partly attributed, as she herself observes, to the fact that Ares has acted wrongly in opposing his own mother, choosing his lover's side in the quarrel between the goddesses, but this seems to be an additional nuance, rather than the heart of the affair.<sup>361</sup> The battle of the gods in Book 21 may be considered a comedic interlude,<sup>362</sup> but the confrontation in Book 5 is not part of this episode. Furthermore, a comic tinge does not necessarily rob an action of significance. And if Ares may sometimes appear ridiculous, it may be observed that a tendency to make jokes out of the most serious and frightening things is common to most human societies.<sup>363</sup>

War, as discussed above, is Ares' realm. War belongs to Ares, and Ares is identifiable with war, inextricable from it. When Athena first influences and manipulates, and then fights and defeats Ares, she shows the value and quality of the

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<sup>359</sup> Cf. e.g. West (2011) 380.

<sup>360</sup> Pironti (2007: 222-224), however, makes the important point that in Book 21, Athena defeats Ares and Aphrodite as a pair, having defeated both separately in Book 5 through the spear of Diomedes, thus twice conquering both the patroness of the Trojans, and her warrior partner.

<sup>361</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.412-414.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. e.g. West (2011) 380; Richardson (1993) 85; Sagan (1979) 57.

<sup>363</sup> Grube (1951) 67 observes that, "in the Homeric epic, fear and laughter walk side by side. Homer can laugh at his gods without making their divinity ridiculous precisely because that divinity resides in their power, not their persons." He also draws attention to the distinction between divine interactions with either other, which may be humorous, and their interactions with mortals, which are not, a point previously made by Petersen (1939) 11, and repeated by, e.g. Bowra (1972) 111; Emllyn-Jones (1992) 92. Dietrich (1979) 129-130 draws attention to undignified divine behaviour in Near Eastern literature. Cf. also Mezzadri (1993) 96-97.

protection that she can offer against war's dangers.<sup>364</sup> Even when war is at its most furious, its most destructive, Athena's protective power is not only stronger than that of other divine helpers, but also stronger than the chaos of war itself. Note that when the spear of Diomedes pierces Ares' belly, he cries out with the voice of nine or ten thousand men in battle – it is as if the battle itself cries out, and indeed, the Achaeans and Trojans who make up the war tremble in their ranks at Ares' pain.<sup>365</sup> Thus in the victories of Athena over Ares, we may see not so much denigration of Ares, but praise of Athena, and reassurance for her worshippers, and it is Ares' strength that makes Athena's victory worthy of such praise.<sup>366</sup> It is significant that when Athena aids Diomedes, she brushes aside Ares' spear,<sup>367</sup> the weapon with which, as discussed above, he is particularly associated, controlling the μένος of spears in battle, and with which he is perhaps even partially assimilated, through being χάλκεος, όξύς, ρινοτόπος, and όβριμος. Because Athena is not just protector of individuals, but also of cities, it is also significant that her weapon in Book 21 is the boundary-mark of a field, a symbol of the peaceful agriculture disrupted by war.<sup>368</sup>

Ares' two defeats at the hands of Athena may be placed alongside a third defeat: that which is described by Dione when she comforts Aphrodite, after her

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<sup>364</sup> Cf. Lovatt (2013) 87 for the observation that by allowing Diomedes to wound Ares and Aphrodite, Athena asserts her own power within the divine hierarchy.

<sup>365</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.859-863. Kirk (1990: 148) points out that when Ares 'shouted' - 'έβραχε' - the verb used also occurs when bronze (armour) must grate or rattle (Hom. *Il.* 4.420; 12.396), further enhancing the parallels between Ares' shout and the sound of battle, as well as reflecting Ares' affinity with bronze arms and armour. It is fitting that Ares bears the epithet 'brazen' in this line. Significantly, this verb is not used for Poseidon's parallel shout (Hom. *Il.* 14.148-151).

<sup>366</sup> Griffin (1980: 199-200) argues that Ares' defeat in Book 5 is one of several examples of a motif in which the greatest humiliations of gods are followed by the greatest exaltations of their power and splendour. Ares is defeated, and then glorified. Might his glorification reflect well on his conqueror? Cf. Severyns (1966) 8 for a more general discussion of the glorification of Athena in the Homeric poems.

<sup>367</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.850-854.

<sup>368</sup> Hom. *Il.* 21.403-406. Griffin (1980: 24) sees the uprooting of the stone as symbolic of the disruption of peace. Both readings may intertwine. The use of a stone by Athena parallels the use of stones by Aias and Hector in their duel in Book 7, which is likewise won by the champion of the Greeks.

daughter's defeat at the hands of Diomedes, who stabbed her through the hand with his spear. In this story, Ares was bound in strong bonds by two men, Otus and powerful Ephialtes, the sons of Aloeus, and placed in a bronze<sup>369</sup> jar, in which he lay bound for thirteen months. And, according to Dione, Ares would have perished – would have been utterly destroyed, and lost to the gods, tamed by his harsh bonds – had Hermes not rescued the hard-pressed Ares, having been told of his fellow-god's predicament by the stepmother of the sons of Aloeus.<sup>370</sup> This story forms part of a catalogue of divine sufferings at the hands of men, related by Dione to show her daughter than she is not unique in her vulnerability or pain, in which we also hear of Hera and Hades being pierced by Heracles' arrows.<sup>371</sup> These are presented as but a few examples among 'many'.<sup>372</sup> The wounding of a god, Dione seeks to imply, is, if not a common occurrence, at least not one so remarkable that the wounded god need be deeply shamed by it. These tales also remind the audience that there is an extra-

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<sup>369</sup> It may be no coincidence that brazen Ares, later pieced by Diomedes' bronze spear (Hom. *Il.* 5.855-856; cf. Loraux 1986: 347), is here imprisoned, almost fatally, in a jar made of bronze. The hard, unforgiving, lethal qualities thus shown by the metal are associated with the god through the epithet. It may be that, as Loraux suggests (1986: 348), this threat posed by bronze to bronze reflects an understanding of the essential reversibility of violence. Bouvier (2002: 216) further observes that Diomedes strikes Ares at exactly the point (the lower stomach) where the god is elsewhere described as being most troublesome to poor mortals (Hom. *Il.* 13.567-569). Bakker & Fabbricotti (1991: 78-80) have argued that the poet's explicit association of the spear with bronze in this scene is both intentional and significant.

<sup>370</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.385-391. Frazer (1888: 222) suggested that the sons of Aloeus wished to trap the war-god so that he would be forced to serve them. Because it is explicitly stated that Ares would have perished had his imprisonment continued, it is most unlikely that the Homeric poet or his audience would have understood the episode in this way. Harmatta (1968, followed by West (1997) 262-263; Teffeteller (2010) 140) suggests that the story of Ares in the bronze jar may reflect the Hittite practice of imprisoning insubordinate slaves in clay jars (cf. Hoffner (1997: 138-139 & 219-220), who questions the prior assumption that this was a circumlocution for the death penalty) although comparison with the Hittite myth of Telepinu (as suggested by Riemschneider (1960: 7-8), followed by Harmatta (1968); Faraone (1992) 87n.6; West (1997) 262-263) may be more fruitful on an interpretative level, as discussed below. There may also be a link between the bronze jar and a form of Cypriot pot (cf. Harmatta (1968), et al.). These three parallels are not mutually exclusive. Cf. also Prieto (1996) 315-335 for further discussion, with some illuminating photographs of the sort of pot that may have been envisaged, and of some ancient artistic representations of the story. On the binding of gods in the *Iliad* more generally, and the idea that binding is presented as being worse for a god than wounding and pain, cf. Yasumura (2011) 39-49.

<sup>371</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.392-402.

<sup>372</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.383.

*Iliadic* precedent, from among the tales of Heracles, for the wounding of gods by mortals, and makes the subsequent wounding of Ares less shocking.

What makes the story of the binding of Ares by the sons of Aloeus particularly remarkable is the fact that Dione says that Ares would have perished within the jar had Hermes not freed him. This is reminiscent of a passage in the Old Hittite myth of the disappearance of Telepinu, according to which there stand in the Dark Earth bronze vessels with lids of lead and latches of iron. It is said that whatever goes into these vessels perishes within. The author of the text asks that Telepinu's anger go into these jars, and not return.<sup>373</sup> Dione's story of a bronze jar devouring an angry god echoes the older tale of jars which could consume a god's anger. The Hittite parallel suggests that when Dione says that Ares would have perished within the jar, she is not exaggerating the danger that he faced. Of all the immortals in the *Iliad* it is Ares who comes closest to death, although at one remove from the main narrative, buffered by the third-person voice of Dione, who speaks not as an impartial and authoritative recorder of events, but in order to comfort her daughter with the thought of others' woes. This parallel also makes it seem more likely that the story of the binding of Ares by the sons of Aloeus derived from pre-Homeric tradition, and that it was selected by the poet rather than invented by him.<sup>374</sup>

That Ares is said by Dione to have lain, bound in the jar, for thirteen months, suggests that for this period of time, the angry god, the god who rules over war, the very incarnation of war, and thus war itself, lay quiescent, bound and in danger of fading away entirely. That Ares owed his rescue and restoration to Hermes has been seen as an indignity, a slight to the war god, by those scholars who view Hermes

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<sup>373</sup> CTH 324, cf. Hoffner (1990) 17.

<sup>374</sup> Contra Willcock (1964: 145-146), who gives "and Ares would have perished" as an example of a phrase "which is irrational in the context", a trait which Willcock argues was typical of Homeric inventions.

only as a thief and a trickster.<sup>375</sup> However, Hermes is also the messenger-god,<sup>376</sup> and it is in this role that he most prominently appears within the *Iliad*, bearing Zeus' words to Priam.<sup>377</sup> Among the roles of a messenger, of course, is the bearing of declarations, announcements, and news of war. In his role as messenger, it is entirely proper for Hermes to wake the god of war.

The sons of Aloeus are here categorised as men,<sup>378</sup> rather than as giants, as they appear in the *Odyssey*.<sup>379</sup> This story may therefore be seen as showing men, that is to say, mankind, binding war, and sealing him away, only to be released by a god, the messenger of almighty Zeus. It is Zeus who is behind the war of the *Iliad*, and it is the servant of Zeus who frees Ares, against the will of men. The significance of the role of Eeriboia, the stepmother of the Aloads, who tells Hermes of Ares' plight, is unclear.

So far, I have discussed Ares' defeats in the light of his roles as the god who rules over war, and as the god who embodies war. But they can also be understood in the light of his role as the prototype of the armoured warrior. I have already discussed the ways in which this role is reflected both by the way in which he is compared to heroes through heroic epithets such as ἄρειος and ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηι,<sup>380</sup> and also by the many epithets which he shares with heroes. I have also discussed the

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<sup>375</sup> E.g. Wathelet (1992) 121, to whom being rescued by the peddler-god of merchants and thieves (following e.g. *Homeric Hymn IV: To Hermes* 13-15) represents a supreme dishonour, while Calhoun (1934) 25-26 presents Ares as a figure of fun, being amusingly rescued by Hermes, the folkloric master-thief.

<sup>376</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.103-104

<sup>377</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.339-469.

<sup>378</sup> The imprisonment of Ares is a pain that has come to an Olympian ἐξ ἀνδρῶν – 'from men' (Hom. *Il.* 5.3840. There is nothing in the *Iliad* or, indeed, elsewhere in Greek literature, that points to the role as old agricultural gods etymologically adduced for the Aloads by Kern (1926: 206-207), who argued that the name of Otos derives from the pounding of grain, Ephialtes from the pressing of grapes, and Aloeus from 'planter', and so concluded that this story shows the gods of agriculture imprisoning the war-god to stop him devastating their fields.

<sup>379</sup> Hom. *Od.* 11.305-320. Cf. also Apollodorus (1.7.4), who appears to combine the stories of the Aloads given in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Cf. Severyns (1966) 20.

<sup>380</sup> Cf. also Loraux (1986) 347; Griffin (1980) 35.

ways in which Ares' epithets can be more pronounced, exaggerated variants on heroic epithets: they shout loudly, but he shouts more loudly. Furthermore, as also discussed above, while mortals may don bronze armour and wield spears, Ares is characteristically, almost permanently brazen and spear-shaking. These are not tools that he picks up and puts down, but essential elements of his divine personality.

Ø. Andersen has pointed out that Ares' near-demise in the bronze jar is the closest approach to death taken by any god within any story in the *Iliad*.<sup>381</sup> H. Levy has made the further important observation that Homer's gods are depicted not as invulnerable, but as fated not to die. Their immortality is not incompatible with facing genuine dangers.<sup>382</sup> As Nicole Loraux observes, Ares is the god who would die, if gods could die,<sup>383</sup> although he is not unique among the gods in being menaced by death, although not fated to succumb.<sup>384</sup> When Ares falls in conflict with Athena, although his divinely immortal fate again saves him, the language used is the same as that deployed when a mortal warrior falls in death.<sup>385</sup> Loraux makes the important point that vulnerability and exposure to the risk of physical injury and death is an essential part of being a warrior, engaged in battle,<sup>386</sup> an idea explicitly expressed within the *Iliad* by Hector.<sup>387</sup> Ares' vulnerability, and, in particular, his defeats at the hands of Athena reflect this, showing that even the paradigmatic warrior, huge, bronze, spear-shaking, and imbued with divinity, can be laid low by his own violence. And yet, as Jasper Griffin, among others, has observed, Ares, as an immortal does not die completely, and so by contrast highlights the mortality of

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<sup>381</sup> Andersen (1981) 325.

<sup>382</sup> Levy (1979) 218.

<sup>383</sup> Loraux (1986) 336. Cf. also Neal (2006) 30.

<sup>384</sup> Loraux (1986) 338.

<sup>385</sup> Loraux (1986) 340. Note also that, as Lowenstam (1981: 87) points out, the fully anthropomorphised character of Ares does not appear again in the *Iliad* following his final defeat at the hands of Athena.

<sup>386</sup> Loraux (1986) 348; (1987) 53-54. Cf. Pironti (2007) 219.

<sup>387</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.307-309.

heroes such as Hector and Achilles,<sup>388</sup> further enhancing the depiction of warrior-vulnerability created by his defeats. “Alike to all is Enyalios,” says Hector, “and he slays him who he would slay.”<sup>389</sup> Alike to all: even to himself.

## (2.4) Conclusions

Ares is portrayed in the *Iliad*, largely through his epithets, most of which appear to derive from older oral tradition, as a strong, heroic warrior-archetype. He shares a series of characteristics and heroic attributes with the major heroes of the poem: spear-wielding and shield-bearing, clad in bronze, he is huge, terrible, swift, a slayer of men, and a sacker of cities. That he was perceived by the poet, and, more resoundingly, by the tradition as a whole, as strong, is strongly indicated by the use of formulae which praise heroes by calling them equal or dear to Ares, or offshoots of Ares, or Ares-like.<sup>390</sup>

Ares is also portrayed in the *Iliad* as the god concerned with, as the personification and representation of, and as a power within, war. He acts both as a force of unknown and perhaps non-existent motivation, concerned primarily with violent death, and also as a malleable medium through which other gods can influence the events of battle.

These two aspects of Ares: Ares-as-warrior, and Ares-as-war, are bound together by a complex of attributes and associations centring on his epithet *χάλκεος*, ‘brazen’. Ares is both a bronze-clad warrior, and also the sharp, *όξύς*, bronze points

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<sup>388</sup> Griffin (1980) 162-169; Richardson (1993) 85.

<sup>389</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.309. Enyalios is consistently identified with Ares in the *Iliad*.

<sup>390</sup> These positively-meant epithets (cf. Bouvier (2002) 215), and the fact that men actively rouse Ares as they enter battle, count decisively against Whitman’s (1958: 235) idea that Ares’ defeats indicate that he is purely the god of “war in its aspect of turmoil, defeat, and disgrace.”

of battle; both armoured victim and shield-piercing spear, stained with slaughter, impersonally destructive. He bellows both like the charging hero, and as a wounded warrior, but in the latter case, his shout also echoes the sounds of bronze: of armour rattling, and of spears puncturing shields and scraping on helmets.

In Ares is embodied the interesting and important idea (one largely absent within other Aegean and East-Mediterranean societies) that battle somehow has a mind of its own, the decisions of which do not always appear to be fully rational or explicable. The will of Zeus (the justice of which is a still-evolving concept but discernable nonetheless,<sup>391</sup> mixed with motive-forces deriving from interactions with other characters), and the wills of competing protective deities, may exert influence on Ares, but they cannot maintain complete control. The *Iliad* strongly asserts the power of Athena within and over war, which she may exert through both persuasion and through force, but when she persuades Ares to step aside, another god may persuade him to return to the fray, and when she strikes him down, he simply rises up again to Olympus to heal. In allowing them to compete through their conflicting interactions with Ares, which may be fluid and indecisive, the *Iliad* obviates the need for Athena and Apollo to clash directly, and for supremacy to be permanently and rigidly affirmed. Ares is himself a battlefield over which the gods may clash, as men clash within him. Ares' uncontrollability provides the potential, largely unrealised in the *Iliad*, although Hector does once hint at it,<sup>392</sup> for defeat and suffering to be explained in ways which do not require the defeated to admit that their gods are weak or have deserted them, or to attribute victory to their own weakness, or Zeus' plans. In the *Iliad*, this idea lies dormant at the back of a closely interwoven, multi-

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<sup>391</sup> Cf. Allan (2006); Lloyd-Jones (1971); Whitman (1958) 225-231.

<sup>392</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.307-309.

layered complex of causality.

Finally, Ares provides one of the ways in which the *Iliad* is able both to explore the relationship between the warrior's strength, and his vulnerability, and to express more general attitudes to 'destructive' war, the 'destroyer of mortals'. Through Ares, war can be described as hostile, hateful, and doleful, a cause for weeping. These epithets may carry more resonance and vituperative force when applied to the richly characterised divine personality Ares than when given to abstract πόλεμος.

## Ares in Early Hexameter Traditions beyond the *Iliad*<sup>393</sup>

### (3.1) Introduction

Within my discussion of Ares in the *Iliad*, I explore Ares' roles as personification of war and a power within war, and his defeat at the hands of a protective deity. In this chapter, I examine the ways in which these themes recur elsewhere in early Greek hexameter poetry, not only in the Ionian tradition (in the *Odyssey*), but also in Boiotian poems (*The Shield of Herakles*, and Hesiod's *Works and Days*). I also explore the ways in which an excessive preoccupation with Ares and his ways is stigmatised in the *Odyssey*, and in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. I argue that this reflects a rejection not of Ares or of war, but of obsession with war and violence.

### (3.2) Ares as War in the *Odyssey*

Ares is identified with war in the second major product of the Ionian hexameter tradition - the *Odyssey* - in the same way as he is in the *Iliad*. The relative infrequency with which his name is mentioned in the former may be attributed to its subject-matter. The *Odyssey* is a poem about the aftermath of war, not about war itself.<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> I do not discuss the *Homeric Hymn to Ares*, because I accept West's (1970) arguments in favour of dating it to the fifth century A.D.

<sup>394</sup> Ares, whether as metonym or as fully anthropomorphised character, is not alone among the gods in being absent from much of the *Odyssey* (cf. Saïd (2011) 315). Many of them take part in the action of

We have seen that men are killed ‘in Ares’ in the *Iliad*. In the same way, the *Odyssey* contains a reference to men being eager to kill Odysseus ‘in Ares’.<sup>395</sup> It may be significant that this comes in the context of Athena, who is a prominent protector in and from Ares in the *Iliad*, promising Odysseus that she will protect him from any men who may be eager to kill him ‘in Ares’.<sup>396</sup> And just as it is Ares who kills men in Ares in the *Iliad*, so too in the *Odyssey*, does Odysseus speak of men being struck with spears in combat on account of the raging of Ares.<sup>397</sup>

Athena appears again, alongside Zeus,<sup>398</sup> as the personal protector who Odysseus expects to enter the battle in his defence when the might of Ares should choose between Odysseus and Telemachus, and the suitors.<sup>399</sup> This idea of the victor in war being chosen by Ares is also found in the *Iliad*.<sup>400</sup> Once again, Athena is praised for her power within Ares’ being and realm, first by her own lips, and then by the words of her worshipper, Odysseus.

In the *Iliad*, Hector expresses the view that Ares is even-handed, and that he and his effects are something common to all mortal warriors, and that on account of this, either he or Achilles could triumph, or fall.<sup>401</sup> Hector fails to grasp the full nature of the situation: the will of Athena, supported by her father Zeus, conquers Ares and Hector alike, guaranteeing Achilles’ victory. This idea of the even-

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the *Iliad* primarily as powers within war. Jenny Strauss Clay (1983: 183) observes that, “The shield Hephaestus fashions for Achilles contains images of two cities: one at peace, the other at war. The gods appear conspicuously only in the city at war. It follows that the gods are far more conspicuous in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*.”

<sup>395</sup> Hom. *Od.* 20.50.

<sup>396</sup> Hom. *Od.* 20.44-53.

<sup>397</sup> Hom. *Od.* 11.533-537.

<sup>398</sup> Zeus appears here perhaps not only as a personal divine protector and as the supportive father of Athena, but also as guardian of hosts against guests who abuse their hospitality.

<sup>399</sup> Hom. *Od.* 16.258-269.

<sup>400</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.385; 18.209. κρινῶ is generally used to mean ‘separate out’ in Homeric contexts. The word is not used here in the judicial sense abundantly attested in Attic literature. The Attic usage could, however, have influenced later readings of this text.

<sup>401</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.307-309.

handedness of Ares, of a form of causality in battle set apart from strength and virtue, can also be found in the *Odyssey*. When Odysseus speaks to Achilles in the underworld, he tells the hero's ghost that his son, Neoptolemos, has survived the siege of Troy unharmed, evading spears both thrust and thrown. He states that such fates often occur in war, even, he implies, to warriors as strong as Neoptolemos, or indeed Achilles himself, because Ares μίνεταί ἐπιμίξ: he raves, he rages madly, and he does so in a 'mixed', confused, way.<sup>402</sup>

Elsewhere in the *Odyssey*, Ares is referred to as a protective deity, paired with Athena, who may give strength and courage in battle. But this comes in the context of a lying tale told by Odysseus to Eumaeus, in which he claims to be a Cretan, a son of Castor, son of Hylas. Ares thus appears here only as the personal protector of a fiction, of no-one.<sup>403</sup> As in the *Iliad*, so too in the *Odyssey*, Ares is capable of being portrayed as a helper in battle, one who can be paired with Athena, as on the Shield of Achilles,<sup>404</sup> but not one committed to distinct individuals or group. As in the *Iliad*, mortals cannot form relationships with Ares, although his strength, as helper or harmer, is respected.

### **(3.3) The Dangers of a Preoccupation with Ares**

It is significant that Odysseus' fictional Cretan, this lying figment within a tale within a tale, who so unusually links himself to Ares, also states that he cares not for the fields or household or children, for the things that Odysseus holds so dear, but for war and spears and arrows. He associates himself with grievous things, λυγρά,

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<sup>402</sup> Hom. *Od.* 11.8.533-537.

<sup>403</sup> Hom. *Od.* 14.213-221.

<sup>404</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.513-519.

which others shudder at, as he claims Ares as his protector.<sup>405</sup> In this way, the association of Ares with the Cretan resonates with the πολύδακρυς, the ‘tear-bringing’,<sup>406</sup> and στυγερός, the ‘hateful’,<sup>407</sup> nature of Ares in the *Iliad*.

A related theme appears near the beginning of Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, a product of the Boeotian hexameter tradition. Here, the poet tells how Zeus and the other gods made five races of men, one after the other: first the golden race who lived in the time of Kronos, then the short lived and impious silver race, and then the fierce bronze race, who were followed by the half-divine race of heroes, who were themselves succeeded by the poet’s own race of iron.<sup>408</sup>

The third race, the race of bronze, was preoccupied, ἔμελεν, with the groan-filled works of Ares, and with ὕβρις, wanton injury.<sup>409</sup> Terrible, δεινός, and massive, ὄβριμος, they ate no bread, but, stout-hearted, their spirits were like unbreakable, unchangeable adamant; they were impossible to shape or mould. Their force was great, and their hands irresistible. Their arms and their homes were of bronze, and their works were the works of bronze. They were overpowered by their own hands. Death took them, mighty, ἐκπάγλους,<sup>410</sup> though they were.<sup>411</sup>

These brazen men were born ἐκ μελιᾶν, from the Melian tree-nymphs, or from the Melian ash-trees, which perhaps amounts to much the same thing.<sup>412</sup> Ash is

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<sup>405</sup> Hom. *Od.* 14. 222-228.

<sup>406</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.132; 8.516; 19.318.

<sup>407</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.385; 18.209.

<sup>408</sup> Are we perhaps the race of silicon?

<sup>409</sup> The word ὕβρις is used in the *Iliad* to describe the injury caused by Agamemnon to Achilles when he took Briseis (1.203, 214), and it is used of the suitor’s actions in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 1.368; 4.321; 15.329; 16.86; 17.565). Cf. Fisher (1992) 151-184, who discusses the ways in which ὕβρις is used alongside condemnatory terms. The term bears unambiguously negative connotations elsewhere in the *Works and Days* (213), being presented as something for Perses to avoid (cf. Fisher (1992) 187).

<sup>410</sup> Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 1.146; 18.170; 21.589) and other heroes in the *Iliad* (20.389; 21.452) are ἐκπάγλος.

<sup>411</sup> Hes. *Erga* 142-155.

<sup>412</sup> West (1978) 187. It may be observed, however, that in Hes. *Th.* 561-564, all of humanity is described as ‘the Melian race’, so this might be an over-interpretation.

the wood from which spears were made.<sup>413</sup> These men may therefore be understood to be equally the children of nymphs, spear-like, and the products of spear-work. Like spears and Ares alike in the *Iliad*, they were brazen, and massive, ὄβριμος.<sup>414</sup> Like Ares, and like the spear, they ate meat, not wheat,<sup>415</sup> their abstinence from grain reflecting the purity of their warrior status; they knew nothing of agriculture and its products.<sup>416</sup> Like Ares in the *Iliad*, their martial, brazen, spear-like nature and their vulnerability to bronze-tipped violence were closely intertwined. The bronze men were destroyed by the works of Ares and by the ὄβρις which were their primary concerns; just as brazen Ares was himself penetrated and brought low by his own sharp, heavy bronze.<sup>417</sup> Hesiod, the poet of the builder, the craftsman, and the farmer, concerning himself with the works and ways of peace,<sup>418</sup> naturally emphasises the complete self-destructiveness of those whose way of life revolves around the works of Ares.

Like the Bronze Men of Hesiod's *Works and Days* who so closely mirror Ares' nature, and who are described as being preoccupied with Ares' works,<sup>419</sup> Odysseus' Cretan, who, perhaps rashly, claims Ares' protection, is an impossibly pure warrior, who concerns himself only with violence. This is why his actions and interests are deemed grievous.

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<sup>413</sup> Clay (2003) 90n.30.

<sup>414</sup> See §2.3.i, above.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. Clay (2003) 91; Neal (2006).

<sup>416</sup> As observed by Vernant (1983) 12. Cf. Fisher (1992) 190-191.

<sup>417</sup> See above, §2.3.ii. Cf. also Clay (2003) 91; Vernant (1983) 13-16.

<sup>418</sup> Cf. Fisher (1992) 187.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. above, pp.tbc.

### (3.4) Herakles and Athena defeat Ares in the sanctuary of Apollo

That the theme of Athena defeating Ares had resonance beyond the specific context of the *Iliad* is demonstrated by the narrative of the poem known as the *Shield of Herakles*, which is generally thought to have been composed (perhaps in Boeotia) between the late seventh and mid sixth century BC.<sup>420</sup> In this poem, Herakles encounters Ares and his son Kyknos at a sanctuary of Apollo, and, with the help of Athena, slays Kyknos and defeats Ares. The heart of the poem is an extensive description of the imagery found on Herakles' fabulously ornate shield.

Among many other things, this shield depicts both Ares and Athena, the description of Athena directly following the description of Ares. The way in which Ares and Athena are treated in this passage is central to interpreting their roles in the rest of the poem, since it shows the essence of their conception, at least in the mind of this poet and the milieu of this poem, separated from any particular situation or transient narrative.

Athena is donning her golden helmet, aegis wrapped around her shoulders, readying herself for the battle for which she is heading, spear in hand. She is described as ἀγελείη, the driver of ληίς, 'cattle'.<sup>421</sup> This may be read as a description of Athena driving off cattle as plunder, and thus as characterising the goddess as a giver of victory and its spoils.<sup>422</sup> Alternatively, however, it could be read as a characterisation of the goddess as a herdsman, protecting and guiding her herd of worshippers.<sup>423</sup> These readings are two sides of the same coin.

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<sup>420</sup> Cf. Russo (1950) 29-35; Janko (1986) 43-48; Athanassakis (2004) 112-113; Most (2006) lviii-lix.

<sup>421</sup> Hes. *Sc.* 197-200. Cf. Chantraine (1968) 626.

<sup>422</sup> E.g. Evelyn-White (1936) 235n.1; Paley (1883) 139.

<sup>423</sup> Similarly, Most (2007) sees the 'cattle' as a reference to Athena's warrior-followers, and translates *ageleiē* as 'leader of the war-host'.

And what sort of battle is Athena heading toward? Perhaps that which is described immediately before her introduction: a battle in which οὔλιος, ‘deadly’ Ares stands, bearing the arms and trappings of his slain foes, whose fresh corpses he is stripping, spear in hand, red with blood, πρυλέεσσι κελεύων, ‘ordering on the soldiers’, and perhaps in doing so, ‘directing the armed dances’.<sup>424</sup> Ares is here depicted as the deadly, rapacious director of the fray (a role in which he appears elsewhere in Boiotian tradition, in Hesiod’s *Theogony*);<sup>425</sup> Athena as a helper and protector.<sup>426</sup> In this, the *Shield* parallels the eleventh Homeric Hymn, *To Athena*, in which while Athena is associated with Ares, σύν Ἄρηι, in being concerned with the works of war,<sup>427</sup> her specific role is as the protector of cities, ἐρυσίπολιν, who keeps the people safe as they go out to war, and as they return home.

The description of the shield itself presents the whole world in microcosm. Gods and mortals, Hades and Olympus, war and peace, city and countryside and a bustling port; all are described, and the whole image is bounded and surrounded by

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<sup>424</sup> Hes. *Sc.* 191-196. The dative plurals of feminine πρύλις and masculine πρυλέες are the same, and there is no article. πρύλις appears to designate an armed dance: in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Zeus* (51-53), the Kuretes dance a πρύλις, to drive Kronos away from the helpless newborn Zeus. In his *Hymn to Artemis* (237-247), Callimachus’ armed Amazons dance a πρύλις in honour of the goddess. πρυλέες is said by Hesychius to designate armoured foot-soldiers, but this appears to derive from the fact that *Iliad* contrasts the heroes who are πρυλέες, with their charioteers who remain behind (Hom. *Il.* 11.49; 12.77). It is by no means certain that the significance of the word lies in the fact that the charioteers are mounted and the warriors on foot, rather than in the fact that the warriors go forth to battle, while the charioteers remain stationary. But even if the line in the *Shield* does primarily refer to Ares ordering on foot-soldiers, the double-meaning is not lost. Ares orders on the foot-soldiers in their armed dances. This implied idea of war as an armed dance (for further discussion of which, cf. §7.3, below) enhances the abrupt contrast between the battle, and the immediately following description of the holy chorus of the immortals, dancing to the sound of the lyre of Apollo (201-206), the god whose shrine Ares and Kyknos are invading in the narrative that frames the description of the shield (57-59).

<sup>425</sup> Hes. *Th.* 921-928 asserts that Ares was the child of Hera and Zeus, full brother of Hebe and Eileithyia, and half-brother of Athena and Hephaestus. Cythereia, Aphrodite, bore to shield-piercing Ares the terrible, δεινούς gods Phobos and Deimos (associated with Ares at Hom. *Il.* 4.439-445; 13.298-300; 15.119-120), who in war, along with their father, Ares the sacker of cities, drive the phalanxes of men hither and thither. The gods κλονέουσι, they drive the men in the same way that a boat or a flame is buffeted by wind or wave, by irresistible, seemingly random natural forces. This word implies not only the gods’ ability to drive men in flight, but also the way in which their overwhelming influence inspires the chaotic surges of battle.

<sup>426</sup> Cf. van der Valk (1966) 459n.45.

<sup>427</sup> Cf. also Homeric Hymn 5: *To Aphrodite*, 9-13.

Ocean. Athena's role as protector and Ares' role as director of the fray are both depicted as integral parts of the generally accepted order of the world. Herakles' victory over Ares disrupts this normal state of affairs in the same way as Diomedes' victory over Ares in the *Iliad*.

There are further, more detailed parallels between the action of the *Shield* and that of Book 5 of the *Iliad*. Just as in the *Iliad*, Athena goes to Diomedes, and promises him her aid against Ares, so too does Athena promise to help Herakles to defeat Ares in the *Shield*.<sup>428</sup> Athena also reaches out from the chariot of Herakles to brush aside the spear of Ares, just as she reaches out with her hand to deflect Ares' spear away from Diomedes.<sup>429</sup>

In the *Iliad*, Athena denigrates Ares in terms relating to madness. Similarly, in the *Shield*, Herakles states that man-killing Ares is raving, περιμαίνεται, howling, κεκληγώς, around the sacred grove of Apollo.<sup>430</sup> The difference is significant: Herakles is a far more proactive and confident protagonist than Diomedes. Herakles even promises to sate Ares with war, ἄῤται πολέμοιο.<sup>431</sup> Ares, explicitly introduced in this poem as a god insatiable of war, ἄατον πολέμοιο,<sup>432</sup> who appears on Herakles' shield looting corpse after blood-soaked corpse, Ares the deadly, mad killer of mortal men, will be satiated by the tearing of his own immortal flesh.

Ares and Kyknos shine in their armour, blazing bright, like burning fire,<sup>433</sup> and Ares and his arms cause all the grove and altar of Apollo to glow, as his eyes shine like fire.<sup>434</sup> And when Kyknos and Ares close with Herakles, they do so like

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<sup>428</sup> Hes. Sc. 325-337.

<sup>429</sup> Hes. Sc. 453-456.

<sup>430</sup> Hes. Sc. 98-99.

<sup>431</sup> Hes. Sc. 100.

<sup>432</sup> Hes. Sc. 59.

<sup>433</sup> Hes. Sc. 60.

<sup>434</sup> Hes. Sc. 70-72.

fire, or a storm.<sup>435</sup> Ares' blazing bronze parallels, or perhaps echoes, that of Achilles charging toward Hektor, and may suggest a contrast: Herakles stands firm where Hektor fled.<sup>436</sup> The reflected light glancing off the bronze arms and brazen being of Ares filling the grove of Apollo naturally evokes the image of the sacred grove set alight: fire is often a part of war's destruction. Perhaps Herakles is protecting the grove from burning? The eyes of Ares blaze; fire appears throughout Greek literature in the context of descriptions of madness: of people ablaze with love or fury.<sup>437</sup> Fire and storm were wielded as weapons by warrior-gods throughout the Ancient Near East.<sup>438</sup> The gods of Mesopotamia also possess *melammu*, a terrifying divine radiance,<sup>439</sup> and similarly Ares' being shines as well as his weapons.<sup>440</sup> In the *Shield of Herakles*, Ares is depicted not only as the archetype of the mortal warrior,<sup>441</sup> but also, perhaps, as a typical divine warrior.

Ares is not represented in this way in the *Iliad*, where his attributes are largely those of the vulnerable mortal warrior, rather than those of the divine warrior-protector. In the *Iliad*, Ares has no divine radiance. In the *Shield*, manifesting as a typical divine warrior, Ares acts as a personal protector to Kyknos, not only aiding his son in battle, but also attempting to avenge his death, in striking contrast to his portrayals in the *Iliad*.

Ares is defeated in part, as in the *Iliad*, by the power of Athena, who, as in the *Iliad*, is glorified by her victory. The power of the god who directs the fray is

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<sup>435</sup> Hes. *Sc.* 345.

<sup>436</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.131-137. Achilles gleams like a star - Achilles, who is described in this passage as 'equal to Enyalios', a god who is consistently identified with Ares in the *Iliad*.

<sup>437</sup> Cf. Padel (1992) 116-117.

<sup>438</sup> Cf. e.g. *Erra* I.33, 113; II.iv.28/16; IV.149; Foster (2005) 715-716; Padel (1992) 114-117; Kang (1989) 132-133; Livingston (1986) 54-57; Miller (1973) 31-32, 46; Cross (1973) 57-58, 150-156, 162, 167-168, 176; Roberts (1972) 26. See also §6.4.iii, below.

<sup>439</sup> Cf. Cassin (1968) 5-7, 19-24, and *passim*.

<sup>440</sup> Hes. *Sc.* 71-72.

<sup>441</sup> On fire-similes applied to mortal warriors' actions, weapons, and anger in the *Iliad*, see Scott (1974) 66-68.

overridden by the power of the protective goddess, the giver of victory and its spoils. But there is one key difference between the two stories. Diomedes is only able to defeat Ares because of Athena's active assistance. Without Athena's aid, the only immortal who it is safe for Diomedes to engage in battle is Aphrodite.<sup>442</sup> Herakles, on the other hand, boasts of having defeated Ares before, at Pylos, piercing the shield of the shield-piercing god,<sup>443</sup> and striking him four times with his spear, causing him to fall upon the dusty ground, so that the spoil-bearing god was fortunate not to leave his spoils in the hands of the hero.<sup>444</sup> But Herakles is not a normal hero. In the *Iliad*, we hear of him defeating another god at Pylos: according to Dione, he struck monstrous Hades with a swift arrow, giving him to sorrow among the corpses, forcing him to retreat to Olympos to seek healing, just as Ares and Aphrodite must after their wounds at the hands of Diomedes.<sup>445</sup> Hera too was struck down, Dione tells us, by the arrows of Herakles.<sup>446</sup> The heart of this story is not the defeat of Ares by a mortal, but the victory of Herakles, the ultimate hero, who, uniquely, can battle against the gods and win, and who can prevail against both war and death. The inexorable destructiveness of war is here treated as akin to unconquerable death, fitting opponents for Herakles.<sup>447</sup>

Many variants of this story have been preserved by later sources. Euripides, in his *Herakles*, first performed in ca.416 B.C.,<sup>448</sup> has his chorus tell of the hero slaying Kyknos, the murderer of travellers, with his arrows, near Mount Pelion.<sup>449</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.814-828.

<sup>443</sup> Hes. *Sc.* 363; Hom. *Il.* 21.391-392; Hes. *Th.* 933-934.

<sup>444</sup> Hes. *Sc.* 357-367.

<sup>445</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.395-404.

<sup>446</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.392-394.

<sup>447</sup> For further discussion of parallels and affinities between representations of Ares and Hades, see §8, below.

<sup>448</sup> Kovacs (1998) 303.

<sup>449</sup> Eur. *HF* 389-393.

The mythographer Apollodorus, probably writing in the first century B.C.,<sup>450</sup> wrote that when Ares, championing his son Kyknos (whose mother was Pyrene), brought him together with Herakles in combat at the river Echedorus in Macedon,<sup>451</sup> the two were separated by a lightning bolt.<sup>452</sup> Hyginus states that Herakles killed Ares' son Kyknos, but when Ares sought to avenge Kyknos and engage Herakles, the two were separated by Zeus' lightning.<sup>453</sup> Elsewhere, Apollodorus writes that Herakles slew Ares' son Kyknos (whose mother was Pelopia), near Itonus.<sup>454</sup> The historian Diodorus Siculus also tells of Herakles slaying Ares' son Kyknos near Itonus,<sup>455</sup> while Pausanias claims that Kyknos was killed by Herakles near the river Peneius.<sup>456</sup> Pindar, however, associates Kyknos with the Western Lokrians, to whom he claims that Ares is dear, and says that Kyknos defeated and drove away Herakles.<sup>457</sup> The scholiast on Pindar glosses this by writing that the poet Stesichorus, who was active from the last years of the seventh century through to the middle of the sixth, had composed a poem entitled *Kyknos*, in which the eponymous villain, a son of Ares who was building a temple to Apollo out of the skulls of travellers who he ambushed in the pass leading to Thessaly, first defeated Herakles with the aid of Ares, before being slain by the hero on a later occasion, having been abandoned by his father.<sup>458</sup> R.D. Dawe has suggested that the scholiast's 'Apollo' is a substitution for 'Phoebus', itself perhaps a textual corruption of what he conjectures may have been 'Phobos' in the original text of Stesichorus' poem,<sup>459</sup> which may well have been roughly

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<sup>450</sup> Frazer (1921) ix-xi.

<sup>451</sup> Cf. Herodotus 7.124, 127; Frazer (1921) 221n.3.

<sup>452</sup> Apollod. 2.5.11.

<sup>453</sup> Hyg. *Fab.* 31.3.

<sup>454</sup> Apollod. 2.7.7.

<sup>455</sup> Diod. 4.37.4.

<sup>456</sup> Paus. 1.27.6.

<sup>457</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 10.14-16.

<sup>458</sup> Schol. on Pind. *Ol.* 10.19.

<sup>459</sup> Dawe (1972). Dawe's emendation is accepted by Campbell (1991) 122-123.

contemporaneous with the *Shield of Herakles*. Dawe supports this suggestion through appealing to the connections between Phobos and Ares.<sup>460</sup> C.M. Bowra, however, suggests that the temple of traveller's skulls may have been intended as an insult to Apollo, observing that in the *Shield*, Kyknos is found in the sanctuary of Apollo, and has aroused the god's anger through killing travellers on their way to Delphi.<sup>461</sup> The skulls that make up the temple built by Stesichorus' Kyknos may therefore have been those of Apollo's worshippers. Bowra's suggestion is convincing in light of the fact that both poems clearly derive from the same tradition, with a possibility of direct intertextuality, leading us to expect shared elements like a temple of Apollo. It also neatly obviates the need for an elaborate reconstruction.<sup>462</sup>

This story was enormously popular as a subject for vase-paintings, especially in Attica, from the middle of the sixth century to the first couple of decades of the fifth.<sup>463</sup> As with the literary variations, the only consistent elements are Herakles and Kyknos. Neither the versions that include the gods, nor those that only feature Herakles and Kyknos, can be said to be the 'original' version of the scene, since both variants appear relatively early in the sixth century.<sup>464</sup> Some versions include both Ares and Athena,<sup>465</sup> others just one of the pair,<sup>466</sup> some show Zeus intervening,<sup>467</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> While Ares and Phobos are certainly closely connected deities (as discussed above), Dawe's claim that the two could be fully identified, and that Kyknos' temple was in fact a temple to Ares, lacks evidential support. His argument from a Selinuntine inscription, in which a past editor believed a reference to Ares to be concealed beneath the name of Phobos, is entirely circular (cf. Kern (1926) 120, who accepts and contextualises this dedication to Phobos).

<sup>461</sup> Hes. *Sc.* 472-480.

<sup>462</sup> Bowra (1961) 81, followed by Shapiro (1984b) 271. But cf. Silver (1992) 24-26, who speculates that Kyknos may have been the keeper of a toll-road, extracting money for Apollo's temple from passing travellers.

<sup>463</sup> Cf. Shapiro (1984a) 523; Vian (1945); Janko (1986) 39n.9. For a full catalogue of representations of this myth in extant vase-paintings, with excellent photographs of the majority, see Zardini (2009) 293-649. Beck (1984) 44-56 & 96-97 lists representations of Ares within this myth in both paintings and reliefs.

<sup>464</sup> Vian (1945) 25; Shapiro (1984a) 524.

<sup>465</sup> Vian (1945) 8-15.

<sup>466</sup> Vian (1945) 17-19.

<sup>467</sup> Vian (1945) 8-10.

others show Athena interposing herself between the combatants,<sup>468</sup> and one sixth century vase shows Ares seeking to avenge Kyknos.<sup>469</sup> All of the major variants are attested for both the sixth and fifth centuries. It would appear that the narrative of the *Shield*, while influential,<sup>470</sup> never became canonical.

What these variations show is that although probably not ‘later additions’, the roles of the gods within this story were peripheral. This does not necessarily mean that they were optional: Ares and Athena could have been so deeply embedded within the (evidently well-known) story that their presence did not always have to be depicted. What is clear is that the conflict between Herakles and Kyknos, not that between Herakles and Ares, let alone that between Athena and Ares, formed the core of the story. Ares is a subsidiary character. Where Ares does appear, the aim of the poet or artist was not to denigrate the god, but to make Kyknos seem a stronger opponent, and Herakles’ victory commensurately more glorious.

Herakles was not simply a mortal hero like Diomedes. Instead, he was the recipient of widespread and long-established cult.<sup>471</sup> Richard Janko has argued that the original performance of this poem was at the prominent Theban festival of Herakles (and Iolaus), the Herakleia.<sup>472</sup> At Thebes, Herakles was seen as a civic protector, bearing the epithet *πρόμαχος*, with a sanctuary just outside the main gate of the city.<sup>473</sup> Pindar explicitly connects this festival for Herakles with the hero’s victory over Kyknos.<sup>474</sup> Herakles’ victory may, therefore, be seen as a victory of the Theban civic protector over an enemy of (Theban) civilisation, in the form of the

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<sup>468</sup> Vian (1945) 20-21.

<sup>469</sup> Vian (1945) 12.

<sup>470</sup> Shapiro (1984a) 528; Janko (1986) 39n.9.

<sup>471</sup> For a survey of the many Boiotian cults of Herakles cf. Schachter (1986) 1-37.

<sup>472</sup> Janko (1986) 48. Cf. Schachter (1986) 25-30.

<sup>473</sup> Paus. 9.11.5; Pind. *Isthm.* 4.61; Schachter (1986) 17 & 22. For a full list of sources for Herakles’ cult at Thebes, cf. Schachter (1986) 14-16.

<sup>474</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 4.52-67.

robber Kyknos. Although Ares may be a peripheral figure in the tradition as a whole, as reflected by the representations of the story in visual art, he stands at the heart of the world depicted on Herakles' shield, controlling battle and its participants, and plays a prominent role in the poem's narrative. Just as Athena's victories over Ares in the *Iliad* show her efficacy as a protector, so too do Herakles' victories both over an opponent supported by the director of the fray, and also over the god himself, assert and affirm his power as a divine defender both of the civilised world in general, and of Thebes in particular.<sup>475</sup>

### **(3.5) Conclusions**

All of the central aspects of Ares' role and characterisation in the *Iliad* can be found elsewhere in the early Greek hexameter traditions, and several key themes are developed more explicitly. In the *Odyssey*, Ares fills the same dual role as he does in the *Iliad*: he is both the personification and embodiment of war, and the archetype of the heroic warrior. As in the *Iliad* Ares both embodies the field of action within which men can engage in battle and be killed, and also personifies the power that causes death in battle, and determines the victor. Again, Athena appears as a dominant power within Ares' realm, guarding those who she favours against the raving, unpredictable whims which the *Odyssey* emphasises. This combination of Ares' control over war, and Athena's ability to protect against him, also feature in the *Shield of Herakles*. War's destructiveness, and the madness of obsession with war, criticised repeatedly in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, are scathingly denounced

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<sup>475</sup> Note that Herakles is described as being 'of Ares' at Hes. *Sc.* 66. The hero must enter into Ares' realm, and his nature, in order to defeat him.

in the *Works and Days*, through the tale of the Bronze Men. The main addition to the picture of Ares found in the *Iliad* that may be adduced from the texts discussed in this chapter is the idea that other tutelary gods, exemplified by Herakles Promachos of Thebes, could be glorified by their ability to defeat Ares, just as Athena is in the *Iliad*, their protective power defined by their ability to resist war's raging onslaught.

## Ares and Aphrodite

### (4.1) Introduction

I begin this chapter by surveying the many readings that have been proposed over the last half century for Ares and Aphrodite's most famous literary coupling, as an adulterous couple in the *Odyssey*, before suggesting an additional, complementary reading. I conclude the chapter with a study of the joint cults of Ares and Aphrodite found at Argos and several Cretan cities. In between, I examine the legitimate coupling of Ares and Aphrodite in Hesiod's *Theogony* through the prism of Sappho's use of Ares as the paradigm for an ideal husband and lover. I suggest that the varied connections between Ares and Aphrodite in all of these cults and stories derive primarily from the ways in which juxtapositions of Ares' identities as war and warrior with Aphrodite's identities as protector and lover form compelling narratives. Direct connections between cults, texts and images are impossible to reliably reconstruct in all of the cases that I discuss, and are of secondary importance, with the exception of the direct religious and political connections between the Argive and Cretan cults of Ares and Aphrodite.

### (4.2) Ares as Warrior in the *Odyssey*: The Song of Ares and Aphrodite

Ares' most prominent and extended appearance in the *Odyssey* comes in the form of a story within a story: the second song that the bard Demodocus sings to

Odysseus and the Phaeacians in the Eighth book of the *Odyssey*, generally known as the “Song of Ares and Aphrodite”. Demodocus relates how Ares seduced Aphrodite, and slept with her in the bed of her husband Hephaestus, and how Hephaestus, upon discovering the affair, bound the couple to the bed, called the other gods to see them so bound, and accepted financial recompense from Ares at the insistence of Poseidon.

Much has been written about the way in which this story fits into the larger narrative and thematic structures of both Book 8, and of the *Odyssey* as a whole. W. Burkert, following ancient commentators, stressed that what he saw as the light hearted, humorous nature of this story derives in part from its situation within the playfully serene world of the Phaeacians.<sup>476</sup> B.K. Braswell has pointed out that there are strong parallels between Ares and Euryalus: beautiful, fleet-footed, arrogant youths defeated by slow-footed (or lame), more intelligent rivals, in the forms of Hephaestus and Odysseus respectively, and that just as Ares has to pay a fine to Hephaestus, so Euryalus gives a valuable gift to Odysseus.<sup>477</sup> The parallels between Ares and Euryalus can be overstated: that Euryalus bears the epithet ‘equal to Ares’<sup>478</sup> loses significance when it is observed that Demodocus tells of Odysseus going, ‘like Ares’, to the house of Deiphobus.<sup>479</sup> L.H. Doherty has speculated that Odysseus’ praise of and gift to Demodocus may reflect his acknowledgment of this parallel and implied compliment.<sup>480</sup> R.M. Newton has argued that themes of lameness and craftsmanship, attributes shared by Odysseus and Hephaestus, and of the supremacy of intelligence over strength, extend throughout the epic, and

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<sup>476</sup> Burkert (1997) 260. Cf. Gaisser (1969) 32-34 for an analysis of the humorous aspects of the song of Ares and Aphrodite.

<sup>477</sup> Braswell (1982).

<sup>478</sup> Hom. *Od.* 8.115.

<sup>479</sup> Hom. *Od.* 8.517-518. Cf. Olson (1989) 137.

<sup>480</sup> Doherty (1995) 75n.25.

observes that both have specially-crafted beds.<sup>481</sup> M.J. Alden has argued, contra Braswell, who views this line of argument as an ‘overinterpretation’,<sup>482</sup> that Demodocus’ song, “rehearses in miniature the essential elements of Odysseus’ defeat of the suitors,” and plays a key role in justifying and explaining their fate. Alden argues that the divine laughter at Hephaestus, who is willing to accept financial recompense for his shame, sets the scene for Odysseus to refuse such compensation.<sup>483</sup> C.G. Brown, however, has argued that the laughter of the gods mocks not Hephaestus, but Ares and Aphrodite.<sup>484</sup> To Y. Rinon, the three songs of Demodocus, when taken together, form a *mise en abyme* – “a part of a literary work that represents the work as a whole” – for the *Odyssey*. Rinon situates the adultery-tale of Demodocus’ second song within a wider theme running through the *Odyssey*, comparing it to the *Odyssey*’s accounts of the adultery of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, the adultery of Helen, and the threatened (but unrealised) adultery of Penelope.<sup>485</sup> Irene de Jong has suggested that the clash between outer beauty and inner quality in Demodocus’ song also reflects a theme that runs through much of the *Odyssey*.<sup>486</sup> Burkert has observed that this unserious adultery between gods, where the consequences are limited to shame and a fine, contrasts powerfully with mortal seriousness in a way that enhances the latter, as the easily-healed injuries of the gods contrast with the mortality of the heroes in the *Iliad*.<sup>487</sup>

This remarkable interweaving of themes and narrative elements between the ‘Song of Ares and Aphrodite’ and the rest of both Book 8 and the *Odyssey* as a

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<sup>481</sup> Newton (1987).

<sup>482</sup> Braswell (1982) 135.

<sup>483</sup> Alden (1997).

<sup>484</sup> Brown (1989) 284-287. Cf. Lovatt (2013) 46, who suggests that there is deliberate ambiguity here.

<sup>485</sup> Rinon (2006). Cf. also Toohey (1992) 52; Ahl & Roisman (1996) 82.

<sup>486</sup> Jong (2001) 207-208.

<sup>487</sup> Burkert (1997) 258-259. Cf. also Clay (1983) 139-140; Saïd (2011) 317-318. Lovatt (2013) 46-47 argues for direct intertextuality with the *Iliad* in this scene.

whole naturally begs the question of whether these coincidences are due to careful selection and adaptation of a traditional story, or wholesale invention on the part of the poet of the *Odyssey*. While stories and cults suggesting a relationship between Aphrodite and Ares are widely attested elsewhere, this is not true of the marriage of Aphrodite and Hephaestus which is the starting point of this story.<sup>488</sup> As I will shortly discuss, however, the pairing of Ares and Aphrodite, although preserved in many interconnected literary works, was largely restricted in cult to linked sites in Argos and Crete, and to Cretan treaty-oaths: it was a strictly localised phenomenon.<sup>489</sup> It is moreover by no means inconceivable that Hephaestus and Aphrodite were linked in one or more now-forgotten cults, and perhaps also in other stories.<sup>490</sup>

The uncertain extent to which this story is traditional does not dramatically affect the ways in which its depictions of the gods may be interpreted. If the story pre-existed in some form, then we may ask what ideas the story may have reflected, what concerns it may have engaged with, and what hopes or fears it might have resonated with, outside the context of the *Odyssey*. If the story is entirely the invention of the poet, then we may ask why the poet thought that these gods were the most appropriate for the roles required within the story that he wanted to tell. The poet may have partially disassociated himself from the story by the distancing technique of placing it in the mouth of Demodocus,<sup>491</sup> but at the very least this must

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<sup>488</sup> Hainsworth in Heubeck, West, & Hainsworth (1998) 364.

<sup>489</sup> Cf. below §4.4.

<sup>490</sup> Cf. Kahane (2012) 175. A ceramic fragment from the temple of Hephaestus at Lemnos appears to show Aphrodite and an armoured figure who may be Ares. The find-spot suggests that Hephaestus may have featured somewhere within the image (Hermay & Jacquemin (1988) 649, no.239).

<sup>491</sup> Pucci (1987: 215) further observes that there is no mention of the Muse before this song. Cf. Beck (2012) 151-153 on the shifting levels of dislocation between Demodocus' songs, and the main narrative voice of the *Odyssey*. Stylistically, the lay of Ares and Aphrodite is closer to the rest of the *Odyssey* than Demodocus' other two songs; the distance, while still present, is reduced.

still have been a story that he must have believed that his audience thought might plausibly have been told about these gods.

The pairing of Ares and Aphrodite, as found in the *Iliad* and elsewhere,<sup>492</sup> may reveal more about Greek attitudes to romantic love and sex than about their attitudes to war and violence,<sup>493</sup> although a Freudian could doubtless make much of the close association between, and shared epithets of sharp, brazen, huge, shield-piercing Ares and the sharp, brazen, huge spear discussed above.<sup>494</sup> The alliance or marriage of the two gods elsewhere does not, however, fully explain the choice to depict Ares not as Aphrodite's husband or ally, but as her adulterous partner in the *Odyssey*, and perhaps in some older, traditional tale adapted by the poet.

One possible explanation is that Ares appears here in his role as warrior-archetype, and that the story reflects the fear among older or less martial men, that young, strong warriors might seize or seduce their wives, with their martial strength and good looks and wealth,<sup>495</sup> that same wealth and strength, combined with powerful friends, allowing them to escape without consequences. The story both has meaning from this point of view - that of the craftsman - and also from that of the young warrior,<sup>496</sup> laughing at the weakness of the cuckolded husband who is unable to exact revenge even after catching the couple in the act, having expended much craft and labour on trapping them. It could therefore have appealed in different ways

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<sup>492</sup> Kern (1926: 119) sees the cultic connections between Ares and Aphrodite as evidence of the antiquity of at least some elements of the Song of Ares and Aphrodite.

<sup>493</sup> Pironti (2007) and (2010), following Mezzadri (1993) 97-98 and Monsacré (1984) 65, argues that love and war were both seen as forms of *mixis*. Pötscher (1959) 7, n.16 expresses scepticism regarding the idea that the relationship between Ares and Aphrodite was primarily an allegory for the ideal connection between hate and love, an idea alluded to by Burkert (1985) 220. Cf. Mezzadri (1993) 97-103.

<sup>494</sup> Cf. also Artemidorus 5.87.

<sup>495</sup> The wealth of the warrior, of divine Ares, who seduces Aphrodite, in part, with gifts (Hom. *Od.* 8.269) is emphasised by the epithet χρυσήνιος, 'of the golden rein'.

<sup>496</sup> And it is worth stressing that Ares in Demodocus' song is described by the other gods in terms that, through emphasising his speed (Hom. *Od.* 8.331) and his beauty (8.310) suggest that in this poem he is, like Euryalus, specifically depicted as a young warrior.

to different parts of its original audience, resonating with the concerns of both the craftsman and the warrior.<sup>497</sup>

The idea of Ares as a boorish young warrior, his violent simplicity contrasting with the crafty skill and cunning of Hephaestus (or Odysseus), which is central to the way in which the Song of Ares and Aphrodite is woven into the framework of the *Odyssey* as a whole, contrasts strikingly with an epithet given to Ares by Simonides, a poet from Iulis on Ceos active in the final quarter of the sixth century, and the first half of the fifth,<sup>498</sup> as quoted by a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius.<sup>499</sup> In Simonides poem, Eros, Love, is addressed as the “cruel child of guileful Aphrodite, whom she bore to trick-devising Ares.” Ares, undone by a δόλον, a trick, in the *Odyssey*,<sup>500</sup> is here described as δολομηχάνω.<sup>501</sup> The erotic context suggests that this may be a direct reference to the story of Ares’ affair with Aphrodite, and the ‘trick’ of the adulterous seduction itself. Similarly, when Ares is said to have seduced Astyoche in the *Iliad*, we learn that he did so λάθρη, ‘in secret’, acting stealthily rather than taking the woman by force.<sup>502</sup> In the *Odyssey* itself, Ares, although tricked, himself acts stealthily, approaching Aphrodite in secret with gifts. The adjective used by Simonides further undermines the idea that Ares was conceived of purely as a crude, savage god, and with it the idea that he represented personality to whom tactics and strategy, subtlety and deceit, were altogether alien. This further undercuts the long-established dichotomy between Ares and Athena.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> Cf. Hainsworth in Heubeck, West, & Hainsworth (1998) 364: “the divine cast of this little drama are thoroughly humanized: they are made to behave, and also to think, like the bourgeoisie of any place and age”. Cf. also Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) 323.

<sup>498</sup> Cf. *Suda* s.v. Simonides: he is said to have lived ca. 556/552-468/464 BC.

<sup>499</sup> Schol. on Ap. Rhod. 3. 26 = Campbell (1991) 458-461 = Simonides fr.575 (Page). Page (1962) 296 suggests that this is the poem of Simonides referred to by the scholiast on Theocritus 13.1-2.

<sup>500</sup> Hom. *Od.* 8.276.

<sup>501</sup> An epithet also linked to Eros by Theocritus (30.25).

<sup>502</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.515. Cf. Mezzadri (1993) 100.

<sup>503</sup> Cf. §2.3.ii, above, and §9. See Buxton (1982) 63-66 for discussion of the wider connotations of *dolos*. Trickery guided by cunning intelligence allows the weak to defeat the strong. Many of the

Just as the story of Astyoche parallels Demodocus' depiction of Ares as an adulterous seducer, so does Demodocus' tale of the rivalry between Hephaestus and Ares appear to find a parallel in a poem attributed to Sappho by Priscian, in which "Ares says he could bring Hephaestus by force".<sup>504</sup> No context is preserved, and in isolation, this line suggests that the use of the two gods to articulate the idea of a young warrior clashing with a craftsman may have had widespread resonance. This fragment has, however, been connected with the story of the binding of Hera by Hephaestus, and her rescue by Dionysus. In the much later retelling of this story by Libanius, Ares attempts to rescue his mother, but is driven back by Hephaestus, who wields flaming torches against him.<sup>505</sup> If this fragment does derive from some version of this story, then Ares' defeat may be seen as an example of the trope, common in Ancient Near Eastern myths, of a prominent and respected divine warrior failing to resolve a problem in order to increase the glory of the divine hero who provides a solution.<sup>506</sup>

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'tricks' which Buxton selects from Attic Tragedy as examples are closely associated with Ares. For discussion of uses of *dolos* in Greek historiography, see Coin-Longeray (2006) 7-10.

<sup>504</sup> Prisc. *Inst.* 6 92 = Campbell (1982) 384-385, who attributes this line to Alcaeus, following Wilamowitz via Lobel & Page (1955) 271 = Alcaeus fr.349. This attribution is made on thematic grounds: several other fragments attributed to Alcaeus have been connected to the story of the binding of Hera (West (2001) 3).

<sup>505</sup> Libanius *Narr.* 30.1 (attribution to Libanius is insecure, but this retelling certainly dates from the fourth century A.D. or later – cf. Gibson (2008) xvii-xxv). West (2001) summarises the extensive scholarship on this story, and attempts a reconstruction of part of a hymn to Dionysus in which it was told. His reconstruction of Ares into a papyrus fragment is highly speculative. For Archaic artistic representations of this story, see Schefold (1992) 28-33.

<sup>506</sup> For example, in the Babylonian myth of *Anzu*, Adad, Girru, Shara, and the other gods fearfully refuse to confront the monster. Their fear and reluctance heighten the glory of Ningirsu/Ninurta, who engages with and defeats Anzu (Foster (2005) 555-578). Likewise, in the Babylonian creation epic, *Enūma Eliš*, the glory of Marduk's victory over Tiamat is enhanced by the failures of Anu, Ea, and Nudimmud (Foster (2005) 429-462). This idea also appears in a Hittite myth, where the defeats inflicted upon a series of major gods by Frost serve to glorify the Sun-god, who alone is able to vanquish him (Hoffner (1990) 26-28 = CTH 323).

### (4.3) The Song of Ares and Aphrodite: Parallels and Contrasts

In the *Odyssey* and in the *Iliad*, Ares is depicted as an adulterer, as the warrior seducing the wives of craftsmen and city-dwellers. This contrasts strikingly with his use as a paradigm for an appealing, even ideal lover, in one of the Hymeneal songs of Sappho of Lesbos, who is said by the *Suda* to have flourished in 612/608 B.C. Here, we are told, in the context of a wedding-celebration, that, “the bridegroom is coming, the equal of Ares (ἴσος Ἄρειν), much larger than a large man.”<sup>507</sup> Geoffrey Kirk has suggested that this implies that the bridegroom is remarkably well-endowed, rather than simply being tall.<sup>508</sup> The use of a comparison with Ares might reflect the idea that the groom may be a frightening figure to some extent, come to take his prize, who will never return to her mother’s house,<sup>509</sup> and her maidenhood.<sup>510</sup> But the bridegroom appears in the Sapphic fragments in a fundamentally positive light:<sup>511</sup> happy,<sup>512</sup> and honoured.<sup>513</sup> One particularly memorable Aeolic description of the ‘dear’ bridegroom is as being comparable to a slender sapling,<sup>514</sup> suggesting youth and beauty, central characteristics of the incarnation of Ares depicted in Demodocus’ Song of Ares and Aphrodite.

In Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Ares and Aphrodite, allies in battle in the *Iliad*, appear as a divine couple. Their third child, after the warriors Phobos and Deimos, was a

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<sup>507</sup> Heph. *On Poems* 7.1 (= Sappho fr.111 (Lobel & Page)). Cf. Campbell (1982) 134-137. McEvilley (2008) 186-214 attempts to reconstruct some of the context of this passage, as does Bowra (1961) 214-221. Page (1955) 119-126 argues that such a reconstruction is impossible.

<sup>508</sup> Kirk (1963). Mulroy (1992: 95) sees the comparison with Ares as ‘impossible hyperbole’, brought down to earth by the following phrase. Cf. also Bowra (1961) 216; Schmitz (2010) 37. On the connection between beauty and warrior-competence in the *Iliad*, see Monsacré (1984) 52-55.

<sup>509</sup> Cf. McEvilley (2008) 207-208.

<sup>510</sup> McEvilley (2008) 209. Cf. Sappho quoted in Demetr. *Eloc.* 140 (= Sappho fr.114 (Lobel & Page)).

<sup>511</sup> Cf. Bowra (1961) 218.

<sup>512</sup> As quoted in Heph. *Ench.* 15.26 (= Sappho fr.112 (Lobel & Page)).

<sup>513</sup> As quoted in Serv. in Verg. *G.* 1.31 (= Sappho fr.116 (Lobel & Page))

<sup>514</sup> Heph. *Ench.* 7.6, often attributed to Sappho (fr.115 (Lobel & Page)) on thematic grounds – cf. Campbell (1982) 138-139; Bowra (1961) 218; McEvilley (2008) 211.

daughter, Harmonia, who married high-spirited Cadmus, founder of Thebes.<sup>515</sup> It is dangerous to read too much into divine genealogies. There seems to be little significance in the fact that Hebe and Eileithyia were Ares' sisters, and it is possible that the nature of Harmonia, Harmony, was seen to be connected purely to that of her mother, just as Phobos and Deimos were connected primarily to their father.<sup>516</sup> Wilamowitz, however, suggested that to the Thebans (and Hesiod was a Boeotian poet), the marriage of Ares and Aphrodite, that is to say, of the incarnations of the martial sense and the loving, gave birth to civilization, through Harmonia, and her marriage to Cadmus.<sup>517</sup>

Gabriella Pironti, on the other hand, emphasising the kinship rather than the duality of Ares and Aphrodite, has argued that just as Ares and Aphrodite both represent different aspects of engagement, *mixis*, so too do their children, with Phobos and Deimos representing engagement in war with the enemy, and Harmonia representing constructive engagement and rapport between potentially opposing forces.<sup>518</sup> Nicole Loraux has suggested that Ares himself could be seen as a harmonising force, citing a somewhat left-field etymology proposed by Dale Sinos,<sup>519</sup> but her argument is rooted in a literary use of Ares that does not appear in any extant text before Aeschylus.<sup>520</sup> Sappho's use of Ares as a paradigm for the ideal lover may tie in to the ways in which, as L. Rissman shows, she develops the metaphor of love as war through the use of Homeric allusion.<sup>521</sup> The pairing of Ares

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<sup>515</sup> Hes. *Th.* 933-937.

<sup>516</sup> West (1966) 415; Pironti (2007) 23-24 & 283-285.

<sup>517</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) 323; Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 462.

<sup>518</sup> Pironti (2007) 101. For discussion of the idea of love and war as forms of *mixis*, cf. Pironti (2007) *passim* and (2010), following Mezzadri (1993) 97-98.

<sup>519</sup> Loraux (1997) 117-118; Sinos (1980) 33-34.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. §6.4.v, below.

<sup>521</sup> Rissman (1983).

and Aphrodite as non-adulterous lovers or allies is much more common in visual art than scenes which may represent Demodocus' story.<sup>522</sup>

#### **(4.4) Ares and Aphrodite in Cult**

I have discussed above how the idea of a connection between Ares and Aphrodite recurs from the *Iliad*, through the *Odyssey* and the poems attributed to Hesiod, to the lyric poems of Sappho. In the *Iliad*, Ares acts as an ally of Aphrodite, helping to protect those who are dear to the goddess.<sup>523</sup> In Demodocus' song in the *Odyssey*, Ares, acting as an archetype of the warrior entering a peaceful community, cuckolds the craftsman Hephaestus by seducing the beautiful Aphrodite.<sup>524</sup> Hesiod's *Theogony* presents Ares and Aphrodite as the parents of Phobos, Deimos, and Harmonia.<sup>525</sup> Simonides tells how Aphrodite bore Eros to Ares.<sup>526</sup> The two gods are therefore paired not only within both the Ionian and the Boeotian hexameter traditions, but also in the lyrics of a poet from Ceos. The pairing of Ares and Aphrodite also appears in several vase-paintings from the seventh century through to the fourth, and in reliefs depicting large groups of gods.<sup>527</sup> Cultic connections between Ares and Aphrodite, on the other hand, as I will now discuss, seem to be a highly localised phenomenon.

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<sup>522</sup> Bruneau (1984) 482-483. The earliest scene showing Ares accompanying Aphrodite (who is labelled) appears on a 7<sup>th</sup> century vase from Naxos. Bruneau expresses doubt regarding the identification of both of the scenes which may be construed as representations of Ares and Aphrodite bound in Hephaestus' bed.

<sup>523</sup> See §2.3.ii, above. Cf. also Pironti (2007) 218-231, and on Aphrodite as a warrior-protector, 'dans le domaine d'Arès' more generally, see Pironti (2009) 43-45 & 47-49; (2007) 209-279; Flemberg (1991); Carratelli (1979) 137.

<sup>524</sup> See §4.2, above.

<sup>525</sup> See §4.3, above.

<sup>526</sup> See §4.2, above.

<sup>527</sup> Beck (1984) 57-60; Bruneau (1984) 482-483 & 487. Find-spots are widely-scattered.

Pausanias informs us that on the Argos-Mantineia road stood a double sanctuary, containing wooden images (ξόανα) of Ares (in the western sanctuary) and of Aphrodite (in the eastern sanctuary).<sup>528</sup> Pausanias does not give any information that can be used to reliably date this double-sanctuary, although the wooden images may suggest classical or archaic provenance. Pausanias relates an aetiological tale that the images were dedicated by Polyneices and the Argives,<sup>529</sup> but this merely shows that the sanctuary was believed to be very old by the people living in the area in the second century A.D.<sup>530</sup> W. Vollgraff has argued that the location described by Pausanias matches that of a field, located about fifteen minutes' walk from the ancient port of Deiras, in which the foundations of an ancient temple were discovered in 1890, but subsequently destroyed.<sup>531</sup>

Two fragments of an inscription dating from ca. 450 B.C. have been found at Argos, which are thought to be related to a group of fragments from Tylissos in Crete, which may be further sections of the same decree.<sup>532</sup> These fragments lay out the terms of a three-way alliance between Argos, Knossos, and Tylissos. Among the terms included in the decree is the requirement that should the cities win a battle, a priest at Knossos should sacrifice to Ares and Aphrodite. Vollgraff points out that

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<sup>528</sup> Pausanias, 2.25.1. Cf. Pritchett (1994) 4-6, and (1998) 275-276.

<sup>529</sup> Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 168 suggests that it may not be a coincidence that Polyneices was said to be a direct descendent, through Harmonia, of both Ares and Aphrodite.

<sup>530</sup> For an extensive study of Pausanias' use of the word ξόανον, see Pritchett (1998) 204-294. Pritchett concludes that the earliest cult images of the Greek gods were indeed made of wood, although cf. Donohue (1988) *passim* for the important point that this idea is founded primarily on the historical speculations of Pausanias and other Greek writers. It is certain only that Pausanias believed that the earliest cult images were made of wood.

<sup>531</sup> Vollgraff (1907) 180-181. Vollgraff's identification is accepted by Pritchett (1994) 5, by Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 167-169, and by Musti & Torelli (1986) 294.

<sup>532</sup> Initially published and discussed in Vollgraff (1910), (1913), & (1948). For further editions, translations, and discussion, see Guarducci (1934) 56-59; Graham (1964) 154-165 & 235-244; Meiggs & Lewis (1969) 99-105; Fornara (1983) 88; Gonzales (2004) 361-369. For the fragments from Tylissos, see in particular Guarducci (1934) 307-308.

the language used precludes the institution of a new cult and priesthood, so the joint cult of Ares and Aphrodite at Knossos predates this decree.<sup>533</sup>

In the other fragment from Argos, it is decreed that if the people of Tylißos should plunder a certain land, a portion of the divided-up spoils should be offered to Delphi, and a portion to what Vollgraff reconstructs as Ἄρει Κνώσοι, “Ares at Knossos.”<sup>534</sup> The only remaining traces of this are a section of the initial alpha, and the concluding οἱ of Κνώσοι, although M. Gonzales has argued that when the text was originally discovered, traces of the first omicron were also visible.<sup>535</sup> If the reconstruction is accepted, this may represent our earliest attestation of a dedication to Ares following victory,<sup>536</sup> and it might indicate that an independent cult of Ares existed at Knossos, in addition to the joint cult of Ares and Aphrodite. The traces are, however, insufficient to place much weight on this reconstruction.<sup>537</sup> Furthermore, inscriptions from Delos and Sta Lenika speak of a ‘shrine of Ares’ when referring to what appears to have been a double-sanctuary of Ares and Aphrodite.<sup>538</sup> It is possible that ‘Ares’ could be used as shorthand for ‘Ares and Aphrodite’ in some contexts.

That we should learn of a joint cult of Ares and Aphrodite at Knossos through an inscription from Argos, which maintained the only known joint cult for the two gods in mainland Greece, cannot be coincidental, especially since the decree in question directly mandates a sacrifice to the cult at Knossos, in part on behalf of Argos, in her capacity as an ally. Vollgraff suggests that both Knossos and Tylißos

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<sup>533</sup> Vollgraff (1910) 344.

<sup>534</sup> Vollgraff (1913) 291.

<sup>535</sup> Gonzales (2004) 365-366.

<sup>536</sup> This assumes that the reading of Strabo 13.1.38 proposed by Jones (1929) 76-77 is rejected, on which see §6.5, below.

<sup>537</sup> As Vollgraff (1913: 291, and 1948: 45) implicitly acknowledges.

<sup>538</sup> Chaniotis (1996) 318-330 (see below for further discussion). Van Effenterre (1943: 34-35, followed by Gonzales (2004) 288-289), however, has argued that the inscription from Pyrgos (see below) suggests the merger of a cult of Aphrodite with a previously independent cult of Ares.

may have thought of themselves as colonies of Argos,<sup>539</sup> an idea which has been further developed by A. Graham.<sup>540</sup> This may help to explain the parallel cults, and provide a broader political background to the evident cultic connections. Vollgraff argues that if Argos was the mother-city of Knossos, the cult must have originated in Argos,<sup>541</sup> but the case made by Vollgraff and Graham for Argos' colonisation of Crete is somewhat thin.<sup>542</sup> J. Deshayes has shown that there was some contact between Argos and Crete in the thirteenth century B.C., which may have facilitated the formation of cultic connections at an early date,<sup>543</sup> but there is no evidence of the kind of cultic continuity at either Knossos or Argos which could have allowed such connections to endure. Cretan objects found in the Argive Heraeum do show at least some contact in the seventh century.<sup>544</sup> Between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the seventh, however, there is no evidence of contact between Crete and Argos.<sup>545</sup> V. Pirenne-Delforge rightly urges caution regarding the question of the origins of the cult.<sup>546</sup> But while it is impossible to determine which cult was older (it is not impossible that they developed in tandem), a connection of some sort does seem certain. Furthermore, while Argos may not have actually founded colonies in Crete, the later belief that she had does appear to have strengthened the cultic, as well as the political connections between Argos and Knossos. It is possible that the

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<sup>539</sup> Vollgraff (1948) 51.

<sup>540</sup> Graham (1963) 155-165.

<sup>541</sup> Vollgraff (1948) 73-75.

<sup>542</sup> On which, see Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 169; Kelly (1976) 47-48.

<sup>543</sup> Deshayes (1966) 248. Deshayes points out that the styles of Argive vases and tombs from this period closely resemble those of vases and tombs found at Knossos. Deshayes (1953) 74-75 also argues that the vases at Argos had not been imported, but instead had been locally made in the Cretan style. Cf. Kelly (1976) 6-8, 11, 153n.51.

<sup>544</sup> Kelly (1976) 82, following Boardman (1961) 154n.6.

<sup>545</sup> Kelly (1976) 47.

<sup>546</sup> Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 169. The seventh century vase described by Pirenne-Delforge does not, however, comprise significant evidence for an archaic cult of Ares and Aphrodite at Knossos, since it is not a cult-object, and does not label either figure.

cult at Argos originated in an Argive attempt to reinforce Argos' credentials as metropolis to Knossos.

Another double-sanctuary of Ares and Aphrodite has been excavated at Sta Lenika, on Crete, by J. Bousquet.<sup>547</sup> The sanctuary stood in an upland valley on the border separating the lands of the cities of Lato and Olus,<sup>548</sup> and was extensively rebuilt in the second half of the second century B.C., apparently replacing a structure which Bousquet dates to the Geometric period.<sup>549</sup> The identity of the sanctuary is confirmed by a fragment of a building inscription found at the site, which names Ares,<sup>550</sup> combined with a second-century victory-offering recorded on an inscription found in the north wall of the shrine which was dedicated by the people of Lato to Aphrodite, suggesting that she may have been conceived of as a warrior-protector acting in the realm of Ares.<sup>551</sup> A late second century B.C. inscription found at Pyrgos, near Lato, refers to the refitting of a joint temple of Ares and Aphrodite, which has been identified with the shrine at Sta Lenika.<sup>552</sup>

Just as the cults of Ares and Aphrodite at Argos and Knossos appear to have been linked, so too do the cults at Knossos and Sta Lenika. A Cretan treaty oath from 113-116 B.C., a copy of which has been found at Sta Lenika,<sup>553</sup> records the decision laid down by the citizens of Knossos after they had been asked to arbitrate in a dispute between Lato and Olus over the ownership of the shrine at Sta Lenika

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<sup>547</sup> Bousquet (1938). Cf. Gonzales (2004) 287-294 & 319-349.

<sup>548</sup> Bousquet (1938) 387.

<sup>549</sup> Bousquet (1938) 389-392. The presence of this structure suggests very early cult-activity on the city, but not necessarily the pre-Hellenistic existence of a joint cult of Ares and Aphrodite.

<sup>550</sup> Bousquet (1938) 404.

<sup>551</sup> Bousquet (1938) 405, referring to a victory of Lato over Olus. Aphrodite may therefore be compared with Athena, on whom see §2.2.i, §6.4.v, and §6.5, above.

<sup>552</sup> Van Effenterre (1943) 32-35, who points out that it is unlikely that the people of Lato had multiple joint sanctuaries of Ares and Aphrodite. Cf. Guarducci (1935) 102-103; Gonzales (2004) 338.

<sup>553</sup> Guarducci (1935) 116-122; Chaniotis (1996) 322-330; Gonzales (2004) 326-338. Cf. also Bousquet (1938). Fragments of another, slightly earlier copy have been found in the shrine of Apollo at Delos, for which see: Guarducci (1935) 112-113; Chaniotis (1996) 318-320; Gonzales (2004) 323-326.

(ancient Dera), and the surrounding lands. Cultic links between Knossos and the shrine at Sta Lenika help to explain the choice of the people of Knossos as judges in the dispute.

The pairing of Ares and Aphrodite in these Cretan cults is reflected in the repeated pairing of the two gods in the lists of divine witnesses included in treaty-oaths between Cretan states. This is a uniquely Cretan phenomenon; the pairing of Ares and Aphrodite never occurs in inscribed oaths from mainland Greece.<sup>554</sup> The earliest attested example appears in a highly fragmentary oath from Eleutherna, dating from the early third century. The sections of the inscription identifying the second party have been lost.<sup>555</sup> It is impossible to determine when the practice of pairing the two gods in Cretan oaths began, because only two fourth-century god-lists have been preserved. That our first attestation appears in the third century is purely a result of the fact that this period saw a significant increase in the Cretan epigraphic habit. The pairing of Ares and Aphrodite also appears in a treaty between Knossos and Dreros dating from the middle of the third century, which is perhaps to be expected given the presence of the joint cult at Knossos.<sup>556</sup> It is possible that the practice of calling upon Ares and Aphrodite among the divine witnesses to treaties in Crete originated at Knossos, but the evidence is as yet insufficient to assert this with any confidence. The other well-preserved third-century examples both date from shortly after 205 B.C.<sup>557</sup> These consist of a treaty between Hierapytna and Lyttos,<sup>558</sup> in which the paired gods appear twice, and a treaty between Gortyn, Hierapytna, and

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<sup>554</sup> For a survey of oath-gods in Cretan treaties, see Brulé (2005) 168-169.

<sup>555</sup> Chaniotis (1996) 190-195.

<sup>556</sup> Chaniotis (1996) 195-201.

<sup>557</sup> The names of the two gods have been (almost certainly rightly) reconstructed into a treaty from Gortyn, dating from the middle of the third century, but only the first two letters of the name of Ares are actually extant. See Chaniotis (1996) 201-204.

<sup>558</sup> Chaniotis (1996) 241-245.

Priansos, in which although Aphrodite's name is fully preserved, only the final letter of Ares' name can be read.<sup>559</sup> Both names are fully preserved in a second-century treaty from Hierapytna.<sup>560</sup>

All of the evidence discussed so far in this section strongly suggests that while the idea of a connection between Ares and Aphrodite was reflected and explored by artistic and literary works from many cities and regions throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, this connection was a highly localised phenomenon in cult. It appears to have been restricted to a single network of interconnected cults at Argos and in Crete. There is, however, one marble relief from Athens, dating from near the end of the fifth century, which shows a veiled female divine figure pouring a wine from a jug into a cup held by a bearded divine figure wearing a helmet, with a shield standing behind him, who is pouring a libation from the cup onto an altar.<sup>561</sup> A worshipper looks on.<sup>562</sup> This may be interpreted as an Athenian representation of Ares and Aphrodite in a cultic context, although no inscription has been preserved, and the figures are not labelled. Furthermore, the relief could conceivably have been set up by an Argive or Cretan resident of Athens. This relief does not, therefore, represent strong evidence that Ares and Aphrodite were worshipped together outside of Crete and Argos, but it does suggest that the possibility of such cults existing should not be entirely disregarded. The relationship between Ares and Aphrodite is affirmed once in Athenian literature, when the Chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* describe Ares as Aphrodite's mortal-destroying bedfellow.<sup>563</sup> Ares is here partnered

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<sup>559</sup> Chaniotis (1996) 245-255.

<sup>560</sup> Chaniotis (1996) 432-439. In addition, Lato and Olus provide several late second-century attestations of the pairing, for which see Chaniotis (1996) 318-320, 338-351, and 358-376.

<sup>561</sup> The relief is old enough that the fact that the male figure is bearded does not strongly count against identification with Ares (cf. Bruneau (1984) 490).

<sup>562</sup> Bruneau (1984) 483 (no.57). Divine figures may be identified by their size.

<sup>563</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 664-665.

with Aphrodite not as an ideal lover, or even as an adulterer, but as the divine incarnation of war.

The military context of the Tyliisos inscription and the repeated use of the divine pair as oath-gods indicate that Ares and Aphrodite were conceived of as warrior-protectors in the context of their Argive and Cretan joint cults. This, as discussed above, is the role in which they are paired in the *Iliad*, in which Ares' aid to the Trojans is motivated by his affection for Aphrodite, their protector. In the cultic network which bound together Argos and the Cretan cities, Aphrodite may have been conceptualised as a protector who could tame and direct the raw, chaotic, destructive power of Ares.

#### **(4.5) Conclusions**

Ares and Aphrodite were associated with each other in epic and lyric, art and cult, but in a variety of dramatically contrasting, if subtly interconnected ways. The stories, images, and cults discussed in this chapter, although some may be partially influenced or inspired by others, may all be understood primarily as offshoots developing from a larger web of associations and ideas surrounding each god, their growth driven by the needs of a local cultic or narrative context. The underlying concepts intertwine. Ares, the young, handsome warrior-archetype may be presented as the ideal lover, as by Sappho, and so appears a natural partner for the goddess who represents sex-as-*mixis*, just as he represents the *mixis* of battle. As an ideal lover who is also a rapacious warrior, however Ares also fits neatly into the role of adulterer in the *Iliad* and in the song of Demodocus.<sup>564</sup> Ares may be represented as a

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<sup>564</sup> In this role, as in others (see e.g. §2.2.i, above), Ares resembles Zeus.

desirable protector and husband, but he was also used to articulate the concerns of the philandering warrior and of the husband fearing lest he be cuckolded by such a warrior, through his representation as a seducer and adulterer. Ares' association with adultery could not be reflected in cult, and may have hindered the development of cultic reflections of his role as lover. These associations are only loosely connected to Ares' subsidiary and inconsistent role in the *Iliad* as a protector of the Trojans for the sake of Aphrodite, and to his cultic role as Aphrodite's partner as oath-god and protector at Argos and the Cretan cities. Although this pairing may have been unique to this cultic network, I will shortly discuss a parallel relationship between Ares and another goddess, Athena, throughout a chapter devoted to Ares at Athens.

## Ares in Melic Poetry of the Archaic and Classical Periods

### (5.1) Introduction

The *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Shield of Herakles* contain three rich, coherent, multi-faceted, and fully-realised literary manifestations of Ares, each deeply embedded in a well-preserved narrative and thematic context, two deriving from the Ionian epic tradition, and the third from the Boeotian. The next such fully-preserved literary manifestations are to be found in the tragedies of fifth century Athens. But Ares also appears in a host of fragments and minor works by poets from a wide variety of cities stretching from the seventh through to the fourth century. The wider narrative context of most of these fragments is missing, since many exist only on small scraps of papyri, or as isolated lines or phrases quoted by later writers as grammatical or metrical exempla, or to illustrate a philosophical point.<sup>565</sup> It is therefore impossible to reconstruct the ways in which Sappho, Alcaeus, Archilochus, or any of the other poets whose works are partially preserved in these fragments used Ares. It is even more futile to attempt either a diachronic or a synchronic study of Ares in Greek lyric, iambic, and elegiac poetry. The material is too sparse and often too tenuously attested for strong generalisations, and even the most loosely approximate dates of activity for many of these poets continue to be fiercely debated. These fragments can, however, show that some stories and motifs featuring Ares

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<sup>565</sup> Campbell (1991) 519 is deeply sceptical regarding the accuracy of attributions of poems to archaic poets in later anthologies.

were told by poets, and resonated with audiences, beyond the well-preserved hexameter epics. The fragments also show awareness of the concept and character of Ares, and the persistence of certain epithets, beyond the Ionian and Boeotian traditions. Hints and echoes of apparently contrasting conceptions and uses of Ares offer a valuable corrective to monolithic interpretations based on the major well-preserved literary works, suggesting regional, chronological, and personal variations and innovations.

This chapter begins with an exploration of the ways in which Ares appears as a causal agent in melic poetry. This is followed by a discussion of the kind of causal agent that Ares is depicted as being, including an examination of the epithets used to describe him. I follow this with an investigation of the uses of Ares in the better-preserved and closely related corpora of the great praise-poets Pindar and Bacchylides. I begin this investigation by exploring the ways in which the two poets make use of Ares' anthropomorphic warrior-identity, before moving on to a discussion of their depictions of Ares as a causal force within, and as the personification of, war.

## **(5.2) Ares as Motive Force**

As in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Ares repeatedly appears within the lyric corpus as a causal force within battle. When the sixth century poet Anacreon,<sup>566</sup> as quoted in the Palatine anthology, speaks of people being killed in battle, he describes

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<sup>566</sup> Cf. *Suda* s.v. Anacreon: he lived and worked in the cities of Teos and Abdera.

them as being slain by Ares,<sup>567</sup> as does the seventh-century Spartan poet Tyrtaeus,<sup>568</sup> in addition to a pair of Archaic inscribed epitaphs,<sup>569</sup> and when people survive a battle, Anacreon says that they have been spared by Ares.<sup>570</sup> Simonides, too, is said to have described men dying in battle as being struck by the arrows of Ares.<sup>571</sup> A further poem has been attributed to Simonides in which, while honouring an Athenian victory which took place in the middle of the fifth century, he describes war as a time in which θεῶν Ares either ἐπέχει, ‘holds sway over’, the cities of mortals,<sup>572</sup> or ἐφέπει, ‘governs’, the wars of the peoples,<sup>573</sup> or ἐφέπει, ‘governs or belabours’, the cities of mortals.<sup>574</sup> The line is hopelessly corrupt, with only the presence of θεῶν Ares as the subject remaining consistent across all the ancient attempts to quote it, although the sense of war being a time dominated by Ares remains clear across all four versions. The epithet appears to be ornamental here. Certainly, the Homeric sense of ‘stalwart’ is inappropriate. The word ἐφέπει, which appears in three of the four variations of the line, is polyvalent, and several of the possible meanings of the word could apply here. The core meaning of ‘ply’ (as in ‘ply a trade’) suggests an echo of the way in which war is sometimes described as

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<sup>567</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.226 = Anac. fr.100D (Diehl). Cf. Hunter (2010) 278-282, for discussion of whether this is likely to be a genuine sixth century poem. Hunter remains agnostic, but does show that the ideas within the verse would have appealed to an audience of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>568</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 4.10. 6 = Tyrtaeus fr.12 (West). Cf. *Suda* s.v. Tyrtaeus: he flourished ca. 640-637 B.C.

<sup>569</sup> One comes from Attica and is thought to date from ca.540-530 B.C. (Hansen (1983) 19-20; cf. Lorenz (2010) 143-144, who argues that the construction of the inscription might lead the reader to part-identify the statue of the dead man with Ares, whose name and epithet are the focal point of the inscription. It accepted, this idea would tie in with the idea of Ares as warrior-archetype, and the necessary reciprocity of war; but the statue is unarmed and unarmoured, which makes such a part-identification seem highly unlikely). The second inscription comes from Corcyra and is thought to date from ca.600 B.C. (Hansen (1983) 80; Tod (1933) 3-4; cf. Trümper (2010) 171-174, who argues that sepulchral epigrams of this kind may be typologically linked to the Homeric tradition (on which, see also Hunter (2010) 281-282; Bowie (2010) 356-357).

<sup>570</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.160 = Anac. fr.100D (Diehl).

<sup>571</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.443. = Campbell (1991) 564-565.

<sup>572</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.62.3. Cf. Campbell (1991) 562-563.

<sup>573</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.296. Cf. Campbell (1991) 562-563.

<sup>574</sup> Apostolius *Centuria* 7.57a; Schol. in Aristid. 3.209. Cf. Frommel (1826) 70; Campbell (1991) 562-563.

‘the works of Ares’. But the meanings which seem to fit the context here best are ‘govern’ or ‘control’, which may reflect the way in which Ares is sometimes portrayed as a central causal force within and the supreme power over war, and ‘belabour’, which would both reflect the idea of Ares as a causal force, and also present war in a negative light. If Simonides did originally say that θεοῦρος Ares ἐφέπει the cities of mortals, then all of these meanings and associations may have been intended.

I have argued that in the *Iliad* Athena’s victories over Ares can be seen as victories of the protective personal or civic goddess over war as an independent causal force. I have also argued that the victory of Herakles and Athena over Ares in the *Shield* can be understood as a similar victory of the personal protector Athena and the civic-protector-to-be Herakles over an enemy who has the aid of Ares, the director of the fray.<sup>575</sup> A line attributed by Apollonius Dyscolus to the sixth century poet Corinna, who has been connected with Thebes and Tanagra,<sup>576</sup> may be interpreted as a striking parallel to this recurring motif: “for your sake, Hermes boxes against Ares.”<sup>577</sup> Here, Hermes may be acting in the role of protective civic god, fighting on behalf of his worshippers against the otherwise uncontrollable vagaries of battle.<sup>578</sup> Pausanias gives both Herakles of Thebes and Hermes of Tanagra the epithet πρόμαχος.<sup>579</sup> It is possible that there is a connection between the attribution

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<sup>575</sup> Athena is also said to have defeated Ares, in aid of Odysseus, in the *Telegony*, although we are reliant on Proclus’ late summary (on which, see West (2013b) 297).

<sup>576</sup> Cf. *Suda* s.v. Corinna. Note however that Corinna’s date is much-disputed. West (2013a: 355-379) places her in the third century B.C. on largely stylistic grounds.

<sup>577</sup> Apollonius Dyscolus, *Pronouns* 95b-c = Corinna fr.666 (Page). Cf. Campbell (1992) 44-45, who suggests that ‘your’ = ‘Tanagra’s’.

<sup>578</sup> Hermes appears to have been the main civic deity at Tanagra. Cf. Roller (1989) 154 for a brief discussion of, and a list of sources pertaining to, his cults and the aid thought to have been given to Tanagra by the god in a war with Eretria in the early Archaic period. For a fuller account, cf. Schachter (1986) 44-50.

<sup>579</sup> Paus. 9.11.4; 9.22.2.

to these civic protectors of the epithet πρόμαχος and these myths of victory over Ares.<sup>580</sup>

The idea of Ares acting as part of a complex dialogic system of multiple-causality, in which each causal force, divine or otherwise, acts not as part of a coherent logical construct, but derives from and speaks to a multiplicity of potentially conflicting hopes, fears, and beliefs, may also be reflected in a poem by Semonides, a seventh century poet associated with Samos and Amorgos.<sup>581</sup> Stobaeus quotes Semonides as saying that Zeus controls the outcome of all things, doling out fate and fortune according to his whims, that the hopes and confidence of men result from blindness and ignorance, and that many are slain by illness or age, or sent below the dark earth by Hades having been killed by Ares, before they can accomplish their goals.<sup>582</sup> Mortal strength, the poet implies, cannot protect them from death at the hands of Zeus and Ares and Hades. Zeus and the other deadly powers combined to overdetermine mortal fates.

One significant idea that appears in lyric fragments, but not in the Homeric tradition, is that of Ares acting not only as a motive force within war, which is, to Simonides as to the poet of the *Iliad*, the work of Ares,<sup>583</sup> but as a force that causes battles to begin. In a papyrus fragment attributed to Alcaeus, a poet from Mytilene

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<sup>580</sup> The fact that Herakles Promachos at Thebes and Hermes Promachos of Tanagra may both be linked to myths in which Ares is defeated by the divine protector of the city suggests a connection between the victories of Athena over Ares in the *Iliad*, and the fact that she bore the title πρόμαχος at Athens, although most of the extant attestations of this title (Alciphron 3.51. Schol. Demosth. *Androt.* 45 (= Dilts (1986) 270); IG3.638) greatly postdate even Pausanias (Alciphron cannot be dated reliably. The dedicator of IG3.638 was praetorian prefect in Illyricum in A.D. 408-412). Farnell (1896) 357 doubts the antiquity of this title. On the possibility that the *Iliad* was redacted at Athens, cf. Sauge (2000) 469-475 & *passim*. The victories of Athena over Ares in the *Iliad* are highly unlikely to be a result of Athenian influence. Rather, an archaic Athenian redaction of the *Iliad* might indicate that the poem was well-known and valued at Athens at an early date, and that the Athenians strongly identified with elements of the narrative. One of these elements may be expected to be Athena's victories over Ares, given Athens' early cult of a warlike Athena. The title πρόμαχος may have pre-existed, or been a consequent development.

<sup>581</sup> Cf. *Suda* s.v. Semonides.

<sup>582</sup> Stob., *Flor.* 4.34.15 = Semon. fr.1 (West) = Gerber (1999b) 298-301.

<sup>583</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 6.50 = Plut. *Arist.* 19.7 = Simon. fr.107 (Diehl) = Campbell (1991) 532-533.

active in the seventh century, the narrator describes an outbreak of civil strife as a time<sup>584</sup> when Ares is pleased to turn his people to arms. Plutarch quotes Archilochus, a poet from Paros, also active in the seventh century, as describing the beginning of the close combat within a battle as Ares bringing together the press of battle on the plain.<sup>585</sup> This idea also appears in a mid-fifth century inscription from Samos, in which Ares is described as having brought together the ships of the Greeks and the Medes in battle.<sup>586</sup> Alcaeus' Ares is the cause of war, and Archilochus' Ares brings armies together in the conflict which, as other poets tell us, is Ares' domain.

### (5.3) The Nature of Ares

Few of the many formulaic epithets used of Ares in the Homeric poems recur in lyric, iambic, or elegiac poetry. The only one that appears multiple times is θοῦρος, 'stalwart', which appears in two fragments of Simonides,<sup>587</sup> and in one fragment of Tyrtaeus.<sup>588</sup> The most common epithet of Ares within the *Iliad*, βροτολοιγός, 'slayer of mortals', appears in only one papyrus elegiac fragment, speculatively attributed to Tyrtaeus by Wilamowitz.<sup>589</sup> Tyrtaeus also makes use of πολύδακρυς, 'doleful', extracted from the formula that invariably contains it in the *Iliad*.<sup>590</sup> Eustathius quotes a use of the epithet μηφόνος (a variant spelling of μαιφόνος) by Archilochus. The preservation of an attestation of this particular epithet of Ares in Archaic iambic poetry relies entirely on Eustathius' decision to

<sup>584</sup> P. Oxy. 1234 fr.2.i.1-13 = Alc. fr.70 (Lobel & Page), cf. Campbell (1982) 274-275.

<sup>585</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 5.2-3 = Archilochus fr.3 (West). This bringing together of both armies should be distinguished from the arousing or driving on of one army or the other by its divine helper.

<sup>586</sup> Meiggs & Lewis (1969) 76-77; Fornara (1983) 77.

<sup>587</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.443, 296; Diod. Sic. 11.62.3; Apostolius *Centuria* 7.57a; Schol. in Aristid. 3.209 = Campbell (1991) 562-563.

<sup>588</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 14.10.6 = Tyrtaeus fr.12 (West) = Gerber (1999a) 54-55.

<sup>589</sup> P. Berol. 11675 fr. A col. II = Tyrtaeus fr. 19 (West) = Gerber (1999a) 64-65.

<sup>590</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 4.9.16 = Tyrtaeus fr.11 (West) = Gerber (1999a) 54-55. Cf. Prieto (1996) 130-132.

provide a parallel for a use of this epithet in the *Iliad*,<sup>591</sup> which illustrates the sort of selective bias that affects the picture of Ares' treatment in Greek lyric, iambic and elegiac poetry which can be reconstructed from the fragments. With the exception of θοῦρος, a particularly common epithet of Ares in later epigraphic texts, all of these attestations of Homeric epithets appear in seventh century (i.e. relatively early) poems.<sup>592</sup> Ares also bears the epithet θοῦρος in at least one inscribed epigram from the Archaic period.<sup>593</sup>

Several epithets are given to Ares by Anacreon and Simonides that do not appear elsewhere. Simonides' use of δόλομηχανος has been discussed above. Another unique epithet is attested by Plutarch, who quotes the inscription set up on the Herms in honour of Cimon's victory over the Medes as describing Ares as 'chilling', κρυερός.<sup>594</sup> This inscription is sometimes attributed to Simonides by modern scholars.<sup>595</sup> Aeschines, however, quoting the same inscription, gives κρατερόν, an epithet which is given to Ares in the *Iliad*,<sup>596</sup> in place of Plutarch's κρυερόν.<sup>597</sup> Because Aeschines, unlike Plutarch, lived in Athens and was writing

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<sup>591</sup> Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 5.31 = Herodian ii.639.24 = Archilochus fr.18 (West) = Gerber (1999b) 92-93.

<sup>592</sup> Harvey (1957: 206) observes that Tyrtaeus generally makes heavy use of Homeric epithets. Conversely, West (2011: 17) has argued that parts of the *Iliad* may have been modelled on Tyrtaeus. On possible direct use of the Homeric tradition by Simonides, cf. Kowerski (2005) 100-102; Clay (2001). On relationships between the melic poets and the Homeric tradition more generally, cf. Fowler (1987) 3-52.

<sup>593</sup> On the monument for Croesus, set up in Attica in ca.540-530 B.C., the inscription gives Ares the epithet θορός, which is an Attic spelling of θοῦρος (for text and dating, see Hansen (1983) 19-20. Cf. Schmitz (2010) 35). There are traces of θοῦρος before Ares (the concluding -υρος) on an inscription from Samos dating from 464-54 B.C. (Hansen (1983) 230; Fornara (1983) 77; Meiggs & Lewis (1969) 76-77). Most of θοῦρος (θουρο-) has been found on a small fragment (possibly dating from the fourth century B.C.) from the Athenian Agora, where, in Pausanias' time, there stood a large temple of Ares, leading the editors to reconstruct 'Ares' after θοῦρος (Hansen (1983) 58). The first half of Ares' name has been preserved following θοῦρος on an inscribed Attic sepulchral epigram dated to the fourth century B.C. (Hansen (1989) 16-17).

<sup>594</sup> Plut. *Cim.* 7.4.

<sup>595</sup> E.g. Campbell (1991) 556-557.

<sup>596</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.515.

<sup>597</sup> Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 184. Campbell (1991) 556-557 favours Plutarch's reading, while Fantuzzi (2010) 294-295 favours that of Aeschines. It may be significant that Callimachus (*Hymn* 6.68) speaks of λιμόν αἰθωνα κρατερόν, of hunger that is both burning and strong. It is not impossible that the poet quoted by Aeschines also intended both epithets to refer to Ares, or that Callimachus read him as

many centuries earlier, and so is more likely to have seen the inscription himself, and because the epithet that he gives to Ares is attested elsewhere, his version is, all else being equal, more likely to correspond to the text of the original inscription. But the factors that make Plutarch's version plausible, and perhaps poetically preferable, are the very same factors that could have led to a corruption of the original text. These factors are the pleasing contrast between 'chilling' Ares and the 'burning' hunger with which he is paired (it is, undeniably, significantly better poetry with κρυερός as Ares' epithet), and the fact that κρυερός is used both as an epithet of Phobos, the son of Ares, in the *Iliad*,<sup>598</sup> and as an adjective qualifying the feminine noun ἀρή, 'harm', in Hesiod's *Theogony*.<sup>599</sup> One of the epithets given to Ares by Anacreon, φιλαίματος,<sup>600</sup> is also given to Phobos, although in this case in a later text, Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*.<sup>601</sup> The adjective κρυερός also appears as an epithet of Hades in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, a resonance that I will return to later.<sup>602</sup> Aeschines' κρατερός, 'mighty', a simple indication of divine warrior-power, suggests fewer enticing interpretative pathways, but is not consequently less likely to be the word used in the original inscription.

Anacreon's φιλαίματος, 'blood-loving', alongside Archilochus' use of the Homeric epithet μηρόνος, 'stained by slaughter',<sup>603</sup> may be linked to the idea, which appears in the *Iliad*, that Ares was a god who could be glutted with, and therefore craved, both blood and war.<sup>604</sup> This same idea may also be reflected by the epithet ἄατος πολέμοιο, 'insatiable of war', which appears in the *Iliad* and the *Shield*

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doing this, and that his line deliberately echoes this inscription. Cf. Gwatkin & Shuckburgh (1890) 193.

<sup>598</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.48.

<sup>599</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 657.

<sup>600</sup> As quoted in *Anth. Pal.* 7.226 = Anac. fr.100D (Diehl) = Campbell (1988) 150-151.

<sup>601</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 45.

<sup>602</sup> Hes. *Op.* 153. Cf. §8, below.

<sup>603</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above, for a discussion of this epithet in the context of the *Iliad*.

<sup>604</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above, and §7.5, below.

of *Herakles*.<sup>605</sup>

Anacreon, as quoted by Hephaestion, is also unique in giving Ares the epithet ὀρσόλοπος.<sup>606</sup> The precise meaning of this word is not altogether clear. It is related to the verb ὀρσολοπεύω, which is used by Aeschylus to describe the effect upon the spirits of his chorus of Persian elders of the impending return of the King and his army.<sup>607</sup> The verb is also used by Hermes in his Homeric Hymn to describe what Apollo does to him, being angry because he thinks Hermes has stolen his cattle.<sup>608</sup> It therefore seems likely that ὀρσόλοπος means something on the lines of ‘troublesome’. The vision of Ares as a troublesome god expressed by this adjective is akin to that expressed in the *Iliad* by the epithets δήιος, οὔλος, and στυγερός.<sup>609</sup>

As can be seen from the paucity of attestations of epithets relating to Ares in his incarnation as the warrior-archetype (e.g. those referring to his armour and weapons) in these corpora, Ares appears less frequently in fully anthropomorphic shape in the Archaic fragments than in the great hexameter epics. Despite this, however, his name is also used much less frequently in ways that may be described as metonymic. Ares is rarely liable to be confused with an abstract noun in the melic corpora.

In addition to characterisations suggested by epithets and comparisons, several melic fragments explicitly describe Ares’ relationship toward warriors, and his nature as a causal force, sometimes in apparently contradictory ways. Anacreon is quoted by Hephaestion as saying that troublesome Ares loves a staunch spearman.<sup>610</sup> And yet the *Palatine Anthology* attributes an epitaph to Anacreon in

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<sup>605</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.853; 6.203; Hes. *Sc.* 59.

<sup>606</sup> Heph. *Ench.* 15. 10 = Anac. fr.393 (Page) = Campbell (1988) 78-79.

<sup>607</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 10.

<sup>608</sup> H. *Herm.* 308

<sup>609</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>610</sup> Heph. *Ench.* 15.10 = Anac. fr.393 (Page) = Campbell (1988) 78-79.

which, having described the dead man as ‘powerful in wars’, he proceeds to conclude that Ares spares not the good, ἀγαθῶν, but the bad, κακῶν.<sup>611</sup> This statement is primarily contextually-motivated, because Anacreon aims to flatter the dead man through the implication that not only was he one of the good, but also that this very virtue was the cause of his death. This verse cannot be taken to be fully representative of Anacreon’s understanding and portrayal of Ares. And yet this epitaph must be, and is, consistent with how its audience viewed Ares, although it may exaggerate: Ares need not be seen as always sparing the bad warrior, and never the good. This idea of the warrior dying in war on account of his own strength and bravery is closely related to the idea of the bronze-clad warrior’s intrinsic vulnerability to bronze and war explored in the hexameter poems.<sup>612</sup> Anacreon’s Ares causes warriors to die because of their own warrior-nature in the same way that the *Iliad*’s Ares perishes through his own violence. The good man and warrior stands and dies. The bad man, the poor warrior, flees and lives. In the *Iliad*, Ares, loving Menelaus, drives him forward in hope of destroying him. Ares does not give special protection to those who are dear to him, in the way that Athena does.<sup>613</sup> And Anacreon does not say that Ares loves the bad, or hates the good. These two fragments of Anacreon do not necessarily conflict. Troublesome Ares does not always spare those who are dear to him, and often spares those who are not. Anacreon is not saying that Ares, the warrior archetype and the god of cult, is wicked and cowardly, or a lover of wickedness, weakness and cowardice. Instead, he is using the role of the god as prime causal force and bringer of death within war and

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<sup>611</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 7.160 = Anac. fr.100D (Diehl) = Campbell (1988) 150-151. Athena describes Ares himself as a well-crafted evil in the *Iliad* (5.831), but this statement is also contextually, not theologically, motivated (see §2.3.ii, above. Pindar’s Adrastus (*Ol.* 6.15-17) praises a man for being as good (ἀγαθόν) a spearman as he was a seer.

<sup>612</sup> Cf. §2.3.ii, above.

<sup>613</sup> Cf. §2.2.i and 2.3.i, above.

battle to explain the vulnerability of the brave, and express a troubling truth about war.

Related ideas also appear in two fragments of Tyrtaeus quoted by Stobaeus. In one fragment, the Spartan poet urges the warrior to hold his shield straight at the fore. Knowing the ‘destructive’, the *αἰδηλος* nature of the deeds of doleful Ares, and the nature of hard war, this warrior must despise life, and love the black Keres of death.<sup>614</sup> Again, we see the idea that the true warrior is intrinsically vulnerable. Tyrtaeus’ poem also suggests resentment of this state of affairs. The deeds of Ares are *αἰδηλος*, an adjective used elsewhere to describe inappropriate, wicked violence.<sup>615</sup> Unlike Anacreon, however, Tyrtaeus also stresses that those who dare to remain side-by-side in the front ranks both die in fewer numbers than those who turn their backs, and keep safe those behind. The true warrior, embracing the danger position, in the front rank, is able to defend himself, as well as others. The idea that a good warrior may be slain by Ares is, however, repeated once more in a second fragment of Tyrtaeus, also quoted by Stobaeus, in which the poet tells of the eternal glory of those who are slain by Ares while displaying their prowess, holding their ground, and fighting for their land and children.<sup>616</sup> Likewise, the epitaph of Arniadas of Corcyra (which dates from ca.600 B.C.) states that Ares slew he who was ‘by far the best’, *πολλὸν ἀριστεύοντα*, of those fighting by the ships at Araththus.<sup>617</sup>

While Tyrtaeus and Anacreon reflect on the nature of Ares’ actions within war, a fragment of Archilochus, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, appears to move beyond this to consider how Ares relates to people more generally.<sup>618</sup> Ares is, says

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<sup>614</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 4.9.16 = Tyrtaeus, fr. 11 (West) = Gerber (1999a) 54-57.

<sup>615</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>616</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 4.10.1 & 6 = Tyrtaeus, fr.12 (West) = Gerber (1999a) 57-61.

<sup>617</sup> Tod (1933) 3-4; Hansen (1983) 80.

<sup>618</sup> Clem. Al., *Strom.* 6.6.1 = Archil. fr.110 (West) = Gerber (1999b) 148-149.

the fragment, ξυνός, ‘common’, to all people. It is unclear whether this means that Ares, war, as a part of life, is something that affects all people (the use of ἄνθρωπος rather than ἀνδρός means that this statement is not restricted to men or warriors), or that Ares affects all people in the same way, impartially. Unlike in the case of Anacreon’s free-standing epitaph, we lack the context needed to fully understand this fragment. Hector, it may be observed, states in the *Iliad* that Enyalios, there identified with Ares, is alike to all,<sup>619</sup> arguing that he has a fair chance against Achilles, but we know even as he speaks that he is doomed, the context twisting the significance of his words. As with Sophocles’ κοινόν Ἄρη, both meanings may be present.<sup>620</sup>

#### **(5.4) Ares in Lyric Praise-Poetry: Pindar and Bacchylides**

Pindar, the great Boeotian praise-poet, born in Thebes in the penultimate decade of the sixth century, and active throughout the first half of the fifth century,<sup>621</sup> stands out from the other lyric poets on account of the size and coherence of his preserved corpus. The bulk of this corpus consists of odes written in honour of victors at the major athletic festivals. Although most of the poems are short and composed as stand-alone pieces, many are complete, and the context of composition (date, place, and dedicatee) is frequently recorded. In addition, the size of the corpus allows persistent themes, tropes, and techniques to be perceived without the need to resort to excessively speculative reconstruction. Pindar appears, however, to have been an extremely well-travelled poet, whose poems were composed for and

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<sup>619</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.309.

<sup>620</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 1185-1215. Cf. §6.6, below.

<sup>621</sup> Cf. *Suda* s.v. Pindar. Race (1986: 1) argues for 498-446 B.C. as the dates for Pindar's active career, and ca.518-ca.438 for his life.

carefully tailored to a wide range of dedicatees and audiences. His treatments of myths and the gods often seem to derive from, or appeal to, the local traditions of those for whom a given poem was composed.<sup>622</sup> Consistency across the Pindaric corpus as regards his uses and depictions of Ares is therefore not necessarily to be expected.<sup>623</sup>

To a far greater extent than any of the other melic poets discussed above, Pindar makes use of Ares as a fully anthropomorphic personality, in ways that bring out Ares' role as warrior archetype. Twice, he gives Ares the epithet *χάλκεος*, 'brazen',<sup>624</sup> and elsewhere he deploys the related epithet *χάλκασπις*, 'of the bronze shield',<sup>625</sup> and refers to Enyalios as *χαλκοθώρακος*, 'of the bronze breastplate'.<sup>626</sup> It is possible that Pindar, as with the poet of the *Iliad*, here identifies Enyalios with Ares, using the two names interchangeably.<sup>627</sup> The adjective *χάλκεος* appears as a stock epithet in the hexameter tradition,<sup>628</sup> and *χάλκασπις* and *χαλκοθώρακος* may be thought of as variations on this traditional theme,<sup>629</sup> their greater detail giving more physical substance to Ares' bronze arms, at the cost of the simpler adjective's allusions to Ares' brazen nature.<sup>630</sup> These may be Pindaric innovations, the praise poet adapting traditional epithets as he adapts the traditional stories. Hoplite armour

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<sup>622</sup> For discussion of Pindar's use of local traditions, see cf. Mann (1994) 332-336; Finley (1955) 44. Méautis (1962) provides a wide-ranging and thorough discussion of the contrasts between Pindar and preserved representatives of Ionian traditions, although his conclusion that the Boeotian Pindar somehow represents a Dorian tradition is suspect.

<sup>623</sup> As observed regarding Pindar's treatment of religion more generally by Gerber (1968) 373-374.

<sup>624</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 10.15; *Isthm.* 4.15.

<sup>625</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 7.25.

<sup>626</sup> Pind. Fr.169a = P. Oxy. 2450 (26, 1961) vv.6-62.

<sup>627</sup> van der Weiden (1991: 74) has argued that Enyalios should be identified with Ares in Pindar's second Dithyramb (16-17, = Fr.70B), because he is described as being armed with a spear. But Ares and Enyalios, although they are both spear-wielding gods, have distinct and separate cultic identities. Pindar, notably attuned to local myth and cult, may not necessarily have identified the two consistently.

<sup>628</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>629</sup> As noted by Arnould (1981) 82.

<sup>630</sup> On which, cf. §2.3.i and 2.3.ii, above. Cf. also Verdenius (1988) 63.

in general is associated with Ares in another of Pindar's odes.<sup>631</sup> These explicit references to the armour of Ares, the archetypical warrior, are accompanied in the Pindaric corpus by a reference to his weapon, with a fully and unambiguously personified Ares, appearing as part of the divine family living on Olympus with Zeus and Athena, being characterized by his 'darkening spear', κελαινεγχεϊ.<sup>632</sup> The spear is elsewhere described by Pindar as οὔλιος, 'deadly',<sup>633</sup> an adjective that both Pindar and the hexameter tradition also use as an epithet of Ares.<sup>634</sup> As in the *Iliad*, a kinship between Ares and his weapon is implied.<sup>635</sup> Ares is, indeed, described by Pindar as thriving with the deadly spears of the young men of Corinth.<sup>636</sup> The tenth Nemean ode is not the only place that Pindar describes Ares as an anthropomorphic character within the divine family. In his first Pythian ode, Pindar praises the golden lyre of Apollo, telling how just as it has the power to quench Zeus' warring thunderbolt, so can it lull even forceful Ares to sleep, persuading him to set aside his sharp-pointed spears.<sup>637</sup> The spear is Ares' weapon in the same way that the lightning bolt is that of Zeus;<sup>638</sup> and as we have seen, it is through the spears of men that Ares slays or spares mortals in battle.<sup>639</sup> In this ode, Pindar treats Ares and Zeus side by side as warriors, an idea that echoes the affinities between the two gods suggested by the *Iliad*.<sup>640</sup> Elsewhere, Pindar describes Achilles in terms that again bring both to

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<sup>631</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 10.14.

<sup>632</sup> Pind. *Nem.* 10.84. Bury (1890: 214) argues that the 'darkness' of Ares' spear is the black blood with which it is stained. Ares and his arms are often described as bloodstained in the hexameter poems, cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>633</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 13.23; *Pyth.* 12.8.

<sup>634</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 9.76; Hom. *Il.* 11.62; Hes. *Sc.* 192; 441. Also spelled οὔλος, cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.561 & 717.

<sup>635</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>636</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 13.23.

<sup>637</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 1.1-12.

<sup>638</sup> In Pind. *Dithyramb* 2.15-18, the shaken spear of Enyalios, who is perhaps identified with Ares by Pindar, appears between the brandished thunderbolt of Zeus, and the hissing aegis of Athena. Cf. Burton (1962) 93.

<sup>639</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>640</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

mind, again appealing to the idea of Ares as an anthropomorphic warrior-archetype through comparing the strength of Achilles' hands to that of Ares, while comparing the power of his feet to that of lightning.<sup>641</sup> In the hexameter poems, Ares' defeats are always strictly temporary. After each set-back, he is released from his bonds, or healed from his wounds.<sup>642</sup> W.H. Race and J. Finley have argued that the language of the opening of Pindar's first Pythian ode continually reminds its audience that the calming effect of the lyre's music is only momentary, and that as soon as the lyre ceases to play, the thunderbolt may strike, and Ares awake.<sup>643</sup> The parallel between this poem and the other victories over Ares is suggested by the fact that, like Athena, Herakles, and the sons of Aloeus, the lyre tames Ares by force. The notes of the lyre which cause Ares to sleep are described as κῆλα, missiles.<sup>644</sup>

The one other melic poet whose preserved works repeatedly make use of epithets that reflect Ares' role as anthropomorphic warrior-archetype is another praise-poet, Bacchylides of Ceos,<sup>645</sup> who was active during the middle of the fifth century, and was said to be the nephew of Simonides.<sup>646</sup> Bacchylides depicts Ares as wielding a mighty spear,<sup>647</sup> as Pindar does, and elsewhere describes the god, in his role as father of the Amazons, as a 'driver of horses', a charioteer.<sup>648</sup> Bacchylides also deploys another variation on χάλκεος, in the form of the epithet χαλκεόστερνος, 'bronze-breasted'.<sup>649</sup> This may refer both to the brazen nature of the god, and to the bronze breastplate that he wears as a warrior. The other two armour-related epithets

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<sup>641</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 8.35a-37.

<sup>642</sup> Cf. §2.3.ii, above.

<sup>643</sup> Race (1986) 38; Finley (1955) 81-82.

<sup>644</sup> Burton (1962) 96-97; Kirkwood (1982) 131; Hubbard (1985) 90; Race (1986) 38.

<sup>645</sup> Arnould (1981) 82 has previously pointed out the existence of similarities in the ways that Pindar and Bacchylides treat Ares, including their shared use of epithets that refer to Ares' weapons.

<sup>646</sup> Cf. *Suda* s.v. Bacchylides, who, as with his uncle, was from Iulis.

<sup>647</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 13.146.147.

<sup>648</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 9.42-44.

<sup>649</sup> Bacchyl., *Epinician* 5.34. Cf. Maehler (2004) 115.

that Bacchylides gives to Ares, however, refer to his shield and helmet not as being brazen, but as being made of gold. Here, as with the reference to ‘golden-reined’ Ares in the *Odyssey*,<sup>650</sup> Ares’ characterisation may in part represent the wealth of the successful warrior, but Bacchylides does use the quality of being golden as a typical attribute of the gods and their belongings. He describes Olympus itself as being rich in gold.<sup>651</sup> Furthermore, both of the fragments of Bacchylides which refer to Ares’ golden arms are problematic. Ares’ name is reconstructed into the fragmentary opening of a dithyramb composed for the Spartans which concludes the British Museum papyrus that contains the bulk of Bacchylides’ preserved work. This poem told the story of Euenus, the slaughter-stained son of Ares, who competed against and slew the suitors of his daughter Marpessa. It is this fragment which contains the epithet χρυσάσπιδος, ‘golden-shielded’.<sup>652</sup> This reconstruction is itself largely based on the partial reconstruction of Ares’ name (which bears the epithet χρυσολόφου, ‘gold-crested’) in another papyrus fragment, attributed to Bacchylides because it also tells the story of Idas, Marpessa, and Euenus.<sup>653</sup> Both of these reconstructions seem sound, in part because of the related epithet in the *Odyssey*, although to put excessive argumentative weight on them would risk circularity. It may be significant that both of these epithets are borne by Ares in his capacity as father of Euenus, the wealthy, yet savage king, rather than in an aspect relating directly to war or his role as warrior-archetype, where bronze would be more appropriate. To Bacchylides, the

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<sup>650</sup> Hom. *Od.* 8.269.

<sup>651</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 11.4. Apollo’s hair and lyre are golden (4.2 & 3.28), as is Hera’s robe (*Dithyramb* 19.22), and a Muse’s headband (*Epinician* 5.13); Aphrodite is simply golden (5.174-175), as is hope (10.40), while Dawn is thick with gold (5.40). Jebb (1905) 63 observes that Bacchylides often uses non-distinctive epithets for gods or goddesses. Ares’ arms-based epithets are distinctive, but their golden nature is not. For gold-related epithets in Pindar, who often calls minor deities ‘golden’, cf. Hummel (1999) 625-626.

<sup>652</sup> Bacchyl. *Dithyramb* 20.11 = Campbell (1992) 236-237. Cf. Schol. on Pind. *Isthm.* 4.92 (= Drachmann (1927) 236).

<sup>653</sup> Bacchyl. Fr.20A - P. Oxy. 1361 fr. 5 al. + 2081 (e) 13-18 = Campbell (1992) 272-277.

role of divine parent appears to have suggested that Ares be treated as one Olympian among many, rather than as the personification of war. Ares' other appearance in Bacchylides as a divine parent, a father of the Amazons, is also accompanied by an anthropomorphic epithet.<sup>654</sup>

It is possible that Pindar's relatively heavy use of a variety of epithets that reflect Ares' role as warrior-archetype derives in part from the fact that he was composing praise-poetry.<sup>655</sup> One of the central concerns of Pindar's work is the nature of heroism.<sup>656</sup> As Maurice Bowra and D.C. Young have shown, Pindar saw war and the games as closely related kinds of contest, presenting similar challenges, and requiring similar qualities in their participants.<sup>657</sup> Bowra points out that Pindar uses much the same vocabulary for talking about war as he does for describing athletic competition.<sup>658</sup> But while Ares is repeatedly presented by Pindar as an anthropomorphic warrior, Pindar's poetry does not use Ares to explore the nature and roles of the warrior. What it does do, on at least three occasions, is use Ares in his role as the warrior patron of warriors to depict athletic victors and their peoples as warriors. In the tenth Olympian ode, for a West Lokrian victor, the West Lokrians are described as being fond of brazen Ares, while in the thirteenth Olympian ode, for a Corinthian victor, Ares thrives amongst the spears of the young men of Corinth.<sup>659</sup> This is not a reference to Ares as civil strife, or any other form of war or conflict, but

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<sup>654</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 9.42-44.

<sup>655</sup> Jebb (1905) 62-63 & 68-72 discusses Bacchylides use of epithets, drawing attention to his tendency to innovate, and to the shared use of (or the use of closely related variants on) many rare epithets by both Bacchylides and Pindar. Cf. also Farnell (1898), who discusses a selection of Bacchylides' epithets in detail, arguing that some were derived from local cult, while others are merely decorative.

<sup>656</sup> Cf. Young (1971) 24-25, 39-41, 46.

<sup>657</sup> Bowra (1964) 183-184; Young (1971) 26 & 39-40; Carey (1981) 24. Note also that Pindar (*Ol.* 2.4) says that Herakles originally set up the Olympic festival with the spoils of war.

<sup>658</sup> Bowra (1964) 184.

<sup>659</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 10.13-15; 13.23. Pindar also characterises his (here, Syracusan) audience as spearmen in *Ol.* 6.86-87.

to Ares as a warrior. The warrior spirit thrives amongst the young men, who are therefore attributed an Ares-like nature. Of all the races, the one that most explicitly referred to war was the race in armour, and in the tenth Pythian ode, Pindar refers to this armour, the armour worn by the father of the boy-champion Hippokleas in his pair of past athletic victories, as the armour of Ares, which bears the shock of war. Hippokleas is then linked to these pseudo-martial feats, and made a warrior-to-be of sorts, by the statement that in his own victory, he was walking in his father's footsteps.<sup>660</sup>

A close association between athletic and military victory is also, as M.C. Demarque has shown, characteristic of Bacchylides' praise-poetry.<sup>661</sup> In one ode, he describes Hiero, victor in the Olympic chariot race, as φίλιππον ἄνδρ' ἀρήιον, a horse-loving Ares-like man (i.e. a warrior), who bears the sceptre of Zeus.<sup>662</sup> Here, we have Hiero's intertwined roles of war-leader and ruler symbolised by references to Ares and Zeus,<sup>663</sup> woven around the love of horses that gave him his Olympic victory. This passage, however, is an exception. Bacchylides does not generally compare his athletic victors to Ares, or even associate them with the god. Furthermore, a significant proportion of his uses of warrior-epithets for Ares occur in dithyrambs, rather than praise-poems for athletic victors. He does, however, characterise Theseus, the hero of one of his dithyrambs, as a youth whose thoughts are full of the ἀθουμάτων, the playthings, adornments, delights, or pastimes of Ares,

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<sup>660</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 10.12-14.

<sup>661</sup> Demarque (1966) 38-45. Cf. also Finn (1980) 181.

<sup>662</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 3.67-69.

<sup>663</sup> A related device is used by Pindar for a contrasting purpose in *Isthm.* 8.24-25. He describes the kings Peleus and Telamon as ἀντίθεοι, godlike, and their sons, the warrior-princes Achilles and Ajax, as ἀντίθεοι, dear to Ares, splitting the roles of ruler and warrior, although all four are then described both as brave while going through the groaning din of bronze war, and also as wise and prudent in spirit.

which are defined as war, πόλεμος, and the clashing bronze of battle.<sup>664</sup> The clashing of bronze which Ares and Theseus delight in may be understood to be not only the action of battle in general, but also the sound of spear striking shield or helm,<sup>665</sup> and the brazen arms as objects. Theseus, the heroic young warrior, bearing spears and sword, eyes flashing like flames, shares the preoccupations of the divine warrior-archetype.

It is possible that the concern of the two praise-poets with the nature of heroism is connected with their use of Ares. But if such a relationship is detected, it is at most a contributory factor to their use of epithets that reflect the anthropomorphic warrior-identity of the god. This aspect of the god's identity, as explored above, is particularly prominent in Epic. The use of a rich and varied array of epithets, some of which can be found in the Homeric poems, or which appear to be innovations formed on a Homeric model, is characteristic of both Pindar and Bacchylides, who both display extensive knowledge of the Homeric tradition.<sup>666</sup> Indeed, Pindar twice mentions Homer by name.<sup>667</sup> Both Pindar and Bacchylides also refer to Hesiod by name.<sup>668</sup> This similarity in the treatment of Ares by the two praise-poets may derive more from shared stylistic aims and preferences, perhaps also generated by their shared genre, than from their subject matter.<sup>669</sup> As A.E. Harvey

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<sup>664</sup> Bacchyl. *Dithyramb* 18.47-60. Cf. Kenyon (1897) 183; Jebb (1905) 398; Liddell, Scott, Jones & McKenzie (1996) s.v. ἄθρυμα.

<sup>665</sup> On the relationship between Ares and the sounds of battle in the *Iliad*, cf. §2.3.ii, above.

<sup>666</sup> Cf. Jebb (1905) 68-72. Many of the epithets used by Pindar and Bacchylides do, however, appear to be new, and are often entirely unique to the author or to epinician poetry within our received corpus.

<sup>667</sup> Pind. *Nem.* 7.20-21 & *Pyth.* 4.277-278. On Bacchylides' relationship to the Homeric poems, cf. Finn (1980) 181-182; Lefkowitz (1969) 63-64. For Pindar, cf. Nisetich (1989) 1-2, who lists and discusses Pindar's mentions of Homer, and observes that Pindar's interactions with Homeric material are less obvious than those of Bacchylides; Mann (1994), who explores Pindar's, often subtle, allusions to and use of patterns from the Homeric poems, and his attitude toward Homer; West (2013a) 129-149, who also explores Pindar's debts to and interactions with many other poets; Harvey (1957) 207-209.

<sup>668</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 5.191-193; Pind. *Isthm.* 6.67.

<sup>669</sup> Mann (1994: 334-336) argues that the epinician poet aimed to associate his patron with Homeric heroism, while still creating a unique monument to the patron's achievement, necessitating

has pointed out, Bacchylides makes particularly heavy use of Homeric language when dealing with Homeric subjects and characters.<sup>670</sup> It may therefore be significant that Bacchylides' deployment of a fully anthropomorphic, spear-wielding Ares appears in a passage narrating an episode from the Trojan War.<sup>671</sup> This contrasts with the apparent move away from the use of Homeric epithets for Ares elsewhere in melic poetry discussed above.<sup>672</sup>

A second, clearer parallel between Pindar's treatment of Ares, and that of Bacchylides, further suggests that their shared genre lies behind their broadly similar approaches to the use and portrayal of the god. In the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Shield*, Ares appears as the cause of death in battle, as the force which governs war, and, occasionally, as a helper of warriors, but he never appears primarily as a granter of victory, and he is certainly never thanked. It is therefore striking that in his eleventh Pythian Ode, Pindar describes Ares helping Orestes to defeat Aegisthus and Clytemnestra,<sup>673</sup> and in his fourth Isthmian Ode, Pindar attributes the successes of the Kleonymidai in war to the favour of Ares.<sup>674</sup> In his second Pythian Ode, in honour of a victory by Hiero of Syracuse, Pindar dubs his city 'the sanctuary of Ares'.<sup>675</sup> Bacchylides goes a step further, not only attributing responsibility for a military victory to the god, but also proceeding to thank him for it. In a victory ode for Hiero of Syracuse at the Olympic Games, Bacchylides gives thanks both to Victory, and to bronze-breasted Ares. Victory is thanked for Hiero's triumph in the chariot race, but the thanks given to Ares may be linked to the victory of Hiero and

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innovation, and the privileging of local traditions over the Homeric where clashes occurred. On the possibility that there was a fierce rivalry between Pindar and Bacchylides, and that the latter may have borrowed from the former, cf. Bowra (1953) 74-82.

<sup>670</sup> Harvey (1957) 208-209.

<sup>671</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 13.141-150.

<sup>672</sup> See §5.3, above.

<sup>673</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 11.36-37.

<sup>674</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 4.14-17.

<sup>675</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 2.1-2. Cf. Carey (1981) 24.

his brothers over the Carthaginians in 480 B.C.<sup>676</sup> It is in praise-poetry celebrating athletic triumphs that Ares, uniquely, can appear as a giver of bloodier victories. Note, however, that as Mary Lefkowitz has pointed out, while most victory odes begin with an invocation to a god, this ode opens with the mortal hero, Hiero. Hiero's victories, both military and athletic, are described as his own achievements, before any mention of Ares or Nike.<sup>677</sup>

In giving thanks to Ares, Bacchylides, unlike the vast majority of melic poets, and indeed unlike the poet of the *Iliad*, treats Ares as a god of cult, as a personified power who can be interacted with directly, rather than only through the medium of a protective deity such as Athena. Pindar, again, is unusual in repeatedly referring to Ares in ways that suggest and draw upon the assumption that he was a god of cult. Ares is described alongside Kalliope as being important to the Western Lokrians,<sup>678</sup> and as part of a list of the gods who dwell in Corinth, which includes the Muse, Justice, and Peace, Pindar describes Ares as thriving among the young men's spears.<sup>679</sup> In his first Pythian Ode, Pindar describes Ares and Zeus as an allied pair, contrasted with Typhon and the forces of chaos, implying that Ares is integrated into, rather than an enemy of the city and civilization.<sup>680</sup> In addition, as we have already seen, Pindar was able to conceptualise the whole of a city that was devoted to war as being on some level a *τέμενος*, a sanctuary, of Ares.<sup>681</sup> This practice may be linked in part to the preoccupation of the praise-poet with local traits, practices,

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<sup>676</sup> Bacchyl, *Epinician* 5.31-34, cf. Kenyon (1897) 42; Jebb (1905) 273; Campbell (1992) 138-141; Maehler (2004) 115. Campbell (1983: 197) sees this as evidence that Bacchylides saw Ares as the divine source of military success.

<sup>677</sup> Lefkowitz (1969) 49 & 58.

<sup>678</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 10.13-17.

<sup>679</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 13.23.

<sup>680</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 1.1-20.

<sup>681</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 2.1-2. Cf. Carey (1981) 24. In addition, Farnell (1932: 461) saw the reference in Pind. *Nem.* 10.84 to Ares dwelling on Olympus with Athena and Zeus as evidence for the god's status as a real cultic god in Pindar.

and cults.<sup>682</sup> The clear and unambiguous conceptualization by the two praise poets of Ares as a god of cult may well be connected to the fact that they also attribute responsibility and give thanks to Ares for victories as well for defeats.

Despite this, however, Pindar does not present Ares as a reliable, personal protector or helper in battle. The Kleonymidai, Pindar tells us, found favour with brazen Ares, but this favour was not lasting, for immediately following his statement, Pindar reveals that their fortunes later changed, so that in a single day, four of the clan fell in war.<sup>683</sup> The aid of Ares to Orestes, similarly, comes only *χρονίῳ*, after a long time.<sup>684</sup> The favour of Ares is temporary, and does not seem to stem from a real relationship between man and god.

Likewise, although Bacchylides thanks Ares for Hiero's victory in his fifth epinician ode, the rest of the poem presents Ares as at best an unreliable helper in battle. As Lefkowitz has pointed out, a central concern of the poem is the mutability of fate.<sup>685</sup> No one on earth, Bacchylides tells us, is fortunate in all things.<sup>686</sup> The figure of Meleager, Lefkowitz takes to represent Hiero, expressing the victor's mortality.<sup>687</sup> At the heart of Meleager's tale lies the direct cause of the hero's death at his mother's hands: his unintentional slaying of his uncles, her brothers, Iphiklos and Aphares. Meleager explains this accident by appeal to the unreliability of strong-spirited Ares, who does not distinguish a friend in battle, and causes missiles to fly blindly from the hands of the combatants.<sup>688</sup> The aid given to Hiero by Ares is

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<sup>682</sup> Cf. Mann (1994) 332-336; Finley (1955) 44.

<sup>683</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 4.14-17.

<sup>684</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 11.36.

<sup>685</sup> Lefkowitz (1969) 63-64.

<sup>686</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 5.53-55.

<sup>687</sup> Lefkowitz (1969) 90. Meleager, of course, dies in the wake of, and indeed, because of, his victory. Finn (1980: 181 & 297) points out that the contrast between the fates of Hiero and Meleager is enhanced by the fact that just as it is Ares who gives victory to Hiero, so it is Ares who causes Meleager's defeat and death.

<sup>688</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 5.127-135. Cf. Maehler (2004) 123; Finn (1980) 219; McDevitt (2009) 135-136, who observes that these lines express the truism that it is hard to distinguish friend from foe in a

exceptional, and not something to be relied upon.<sup>689</sup>

Furthermore, while Pindar and Bacchylides do conceptualise Ares as a god of cult, they do not describe specific cults or altars or festivals. Ares is not described as being dear to or worshipped by the Western Lokrians, but as an object of their care and concern.<sup>690</sup> Ares may have thrived among the spears of the young men of Corinth, but Pindar's poem is addressed to Zeus, and it is Zeus who is described as guiding and protecting the people, while Poseidon and Athena are the named recipients of Corinth's festivals, altars, and games.<sup>691</sup> Syracuse, because filled with warriors and regularly engaged in war, could be thought of as a sanctuary of Ares who is plunged deep in war, around whom wars surge,<sup>692</sup> but Pindar does not say that Syracuse contains a prominent sanctuary of Ares, or holds major festivals in his honour.<sup>693</sup> The thanks given to Ares by Bacchylides is for an isolated victory given to Hiero, not for continuing support for Syracuse founded upon an enduring relationship with the city or its ruler.

This idea that Ares was a god who, although he could give victory, and should be given thanks for victory, was also unreliable, and did not form relationships with men or cities, unwilling to distinguish friend from foe in battle, is echoed by a passage of Bacchylides quoted by Stobaeus. Here, stubborn, inflexible,

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chaotic melee. Finn (1980: 181-182 & 219) has argued that the epithet *χαλκεόστερνος*, given to Ares when he appeals as Hiero's supporter, foreshadows the kinslaying through echoing the Homeric epithet *χαλκεοθώραξ*, which is used in the *Iliad* in a pair of battle-descriptions filled with the sound of groaning and cries of triumph (Hom. *Il.* 4.446-451 & 8.60-65). This argument goes three interpretive leaps too far. Groans are not atypical in Homeric battle-scenes; it is extremely unlikely that Bacchylides' audience would have known the *Iliad* well enough to have viewed a fairly unremarkable epithet through the prism of its Homeric context; and it is even more unlikely that the contextually-derived associations of one epithet could have been applied fully to another epithet, however closely related.

<sup>689</sup> Lefkowitz (1969: 85), followed by Finn (1980: 234), points out the irony implicit in Herakles' description of Oeneus, father of Meleager, as 'dear to Ares' (Bacchyl. *Epinician* 5.166). The ill-fated Meleager is also given the epithet 'dear to Ares' in the *Iliad* (9.550-556).

<sup>690</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 10.14.

<sup>691</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 13.22-82.

<sup>692</sup> Fennell (1893) 160.

<sup>693</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 2.1-2.

inexorable war, ἄκνναμπτος Ares, is listed between prosperity, and all-destroying civil strife, *stasis*, as one of the fates that may fall upon men, and which they are powerless to avert, as Aisa, Destiny, moves a cloud now over one land, now over another.<sup>694</sup> Ares is as irresistible and uncontrollable as bad weather. This view of fate strongly resembles that expressed in the seventh century by Semonides, as quoted, again, by Stobaeus, albeit in a different part of his anthology.<sup>695</sup>

To Pindar, as in the *Iliad*,<sup>696</sup> Ares personifies the whole of war, so that war takes place within him, ἐν Ἄρει,<sup>697</sup> in addition to being the bringer of death in war.<sup>698</sup> Ares is the force that lies at war's heart, an idea that Pindar expresses by describing the god as βαθυπόλεμος, plunged deep in war.<sup>699</sup> The role as a bringer of victory which Pindar and Bacchylides give to Ares is grafted on to a structure inherited from epic.<sup>700</sup> The idea suggested in the above passage of Bacchylides that Ares might be conceptualised as a force of nature also appears in Pindar, who tells of a cruel blizzard of war slaying the four sons of the Kleonymidai as they lost Ares' favour.<sup>701</sup> This is partially combined with the idea of gods acting within the realm of Ares when they take part in battle when Pindar describes the battle of Salamis as a devastating rain, a storm of slaughter from Zeus, in Ares. Here war is once again a storm,<sup>702</sup> but the storm is not Ares, but the power of Zeus acting within Ares, within

<sup>694</sup> Stobaeus 1.5.3 = Bacchyl. fr.24 = Campbell (1992) 288-289.

<sup>695</sup> Stob., *Flor.* 4.34.15 = Semon. fr.1 (West) = Gerber (1999b) 298-301.

<sup>696</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>697</sup> Pind. *Ol.* 9.76-79; *Pyth.* 5.12-14; *Isthm.* 5.48-50.

<sup>698</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 7.23-24.

<sup>699</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 2.2.

<sup>700</sup> That Enyalios is identified with Ares by Pindar is strongly suggested by Pindar's description of battle as πόνους Ἐνυαλίου, the toils of Enyalios in *Isthm.* 6.52-54 (for war as the toil of Ares, cf. §2.3.i, above). Enyalios appears as a giver of victory, alongside Zeus, in *Ol.* 13.101-106. It is possible that Zeus is here expected to give the family good fortune in athletic competition, and Enyalios in war (cf. Fennell (1893: 136). Enyalios appears as the personification of danger in war, which a brave warrior may ward off with the aid of a goddess (as Diomedes drives back Ares in the *Iliad*, and Herakles drives back Ares in the *Shield*, both with the aid of Athena), in *Nem.* 9.34-37.

<sup>701</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 4.14-17.

<sup>702</sup> Cf. Young (1971) 26; Bury (1890) 179.

which men may have the power to defend themselves and their city.<sup>703</sup> Men clash with each other under a malign storm of Zeus-controlled fate, which itself operates within the domain of the god of war.

### **(5.5) Conclusions: Ares as War and Warrior in Melic Poetry**

In the *Iliad* Ares appears as the divine embodiment of war, as the personified field within which battles and violent deaths take place. This concept also appears in the *Odyssey*, in an Aeolic lyric,<sup>704</sup> and in the odes of Pindar. This identification of Ares with war and concomitant understanding of war as a thing with an immortal life of its own is, however, a much less pervasive concept in Archaic Greek poetry than the idea of Ares as a force.

The idea of Ares as controller of and giver of death in war appears repeatedly in the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey*, Ares chooses the victors in battle, a role which the god also carries out in the poems of Pindar and Bacchylides. The poems of Anacreon, Simonides, Tyrtaeus, Pindar, and Bacchylides all describe Ares as the force that brings death in war, while Anacreon describes the survivors of war as those spared by Ares. Semonides, treating death at the hands of Ares synonymously with death in battle, contrasts the Ares-slain with those killed by illness or age. This poem of Semonides explicitly places Ares' role as cause of death in battle within a wider dialogue about causality, arguing that the strength of men cannot protect them from death at the hands of Zeus and Ares and Hades. Semonides' position may not be taken as representative, but the underlying question of the respective places of Zeus,

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<sup>703</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* 5.48-50.

<sup>704</sup> Campbell (1982) 412-413.

Ares, and mortal abilities and desires in causality must have resonated with his audiences. Another side of this dialogue is reflected by the victories of the divine πρόμαχοι over Ares. The protective god of a city must defeat Ares, the ruler of war, in order to wield power within his domain, protecting his or her people.

On a larger scale, a formula that recurs several times in the *Iliad* describes war as the works of Ares, implying that all of war's actions are somehow crafted by the god, that war is something he shapes as a smith does metal, or a potter clay. This idea is more explicitly suggested by an epigram attributed to Simonides, if the majority of those quoting it give the correct verb (ἐφέπει). Similarly, on the *Shield of Heracles* Ares directs war's dance.

Just as the relationships between the many causal factors within war are a recurrent concern within Archaic poetry, so too are the causes of war. Ares rarely features within this discussion. In the *Iliad*, many gods and mortals play important roles in the gestation of the conflict, but Ares is only unleashed once battle has begun. This is also the case in the *Odyssey*, and even in the *Shield of Heracles*. Archilochus, however, presents Ares as the force that brings armies together in battle, while Alcaeus goes a step further, and speaks of Ares turning the people to arms in civil strife.

Several melic poets exploited Ares' role as god of war to explore the nature of his domain. Ares, as warrior-archetype and patron of warriors, is said by Anacreon to love strong warriors. But Ares, as the embodiment of and presiding power over war, is also, in another verse attributed to Anacreon, particularly apt to kill those same staunch warriors whom he loves. A just god might save the good and brave, but Ares, representing the reality of war, is instead more liable to spare those who flee. The deeds of Ares, to Tyrtaeus, are unjust, and the true warrior must

understand this, and embrace death when entering into his domain. Archilochus remarks on the impartiality of the god. The transient and unreliable nature of Ares' favour is strikingly illustrated by Pindar's tales of the Kleonymidai, and of Orestes. Bacchylides fifth epinician ode warns Hiero against the hope that Ares' aid, once given, may be relied upon in future, through the example of the ill-fated Meleager.

Of all the melic poets whose uses and representations of Ares I have discussed in this chapter,<sup>705</sup> only Pindar and Bacchylides make significant use of Ares in his role as warrior-archetype. Neither of these poets significantly develops Ares warrior-characterisation beyond that established in the hexameter poems. Nor do they make use of the anthropomorphic form of the god to explore the nature and roles of the warrior. Instead, through the use of epithets that evoke the god's traditional and well-known role as warrior-archetype, they associate this rich archetype with the men who they describe as being similar or connected to the god. Pindar uses this technique to enhance his evocation of the affinities between athletic and military victories, and between athletes and warriors, as, on one occasion, does Bacchylides. Bacchylides also appeals to Ares, the warrior archetype, when describing his young hero in a dithyramb for the Athenians, Theseus. The melic poets do not, for the most part, simply repeat Ares' Homeric epithets, instead favouring variations on traditional themes, accompanied by a few radical innovations, and when they do use epithets that occur in the *Iliad*, they appear outside their traditional formulaic context. The melic poets do not blindly echo ornamental formulae.<sup>706</sup> Their characterisation of the god, and the epithets through which they express this characterisation, is deliberate, and purposeful. What they

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<sup>705</sup> Sappho's use of Ares as an archetype is discussed in the chapter on Ares and Aphrodite (§4.3).

<sup>706</sup> Fowler (1987) 40.

choose to keep from the traditional material is chosen on account of its continuing resonance in their own place and time.

## Ares in Classical Athens<sup>707</sup>

### (6.1) Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the way in which pre-Classical uses and representations of Ares found in the *Iliad* and other poems were adapted to fit Classical Athenian civic needs and Attic cultic structures. The richest body of source material is Attic Tragedy: the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Readings of these plays therefore make up the bulk of this chapter, but these readings are contextualised by a comprehensive investigation of the evidence for cult activity in honour of Ares at Athens.

I begin by discussing how linguistic shifts alter the ways in which some of the epithets used in the *Iliad* to define Ares' nature, and a verb used in the *Iliad* to define his mode of action, would have been interpreted in a Classical Attic context. I also point out the potential significance of Athena's unusually central role in Attic cult.

Following this, I examine the way in which Ares became associated with a historical event in the same way that he and other gods could become associated with mythological events, despite the fact that the god does not appear in a fully personified manifestation. I trace the development of Ares' association with Salamis

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<sup>707</sup> On the dates for the first productions of the Athenian plays discussed, see Collard & Cropp (2008a) xxx-xxxii (for Euripides); Sommerstein (2010a) 6-8 (for Aeschylus); Finglass (2011) 1-11 (for Sophocles, slightly amending the dates suggested in Lloyd-Jones (1994) 8-9).

from the oracles transmitted by Herodotus, through the accounts of Aeschylus and Timotheus, to a final possible echo in a play of Euripides.

An extended discussion of Ares' roles in the plays of Aeschylus follows. I begin by exploring the ways in which Aeschylus connects Ares with stasis, before describing his roles within Aeschylus' plays as a wild destroyer in the city, on the battlefield, and within the human psyche. I then tie all of these themes together through a discussion of Ares' central role in Aeschylus' explorations of the nature of conflict and its resolution, and of the part that Athena may play at Athens in taming and channelling violence.

The connection between Ares and Athena thus suggested by Aeschylus' *Eumenides* is also found in Attic cult, where the two gods possessed a joint priesthood, joint altars, and joint sacrifices. I present the extant evidence for connections between the two gods at Athens, and discuss chronology as far as the evidence permits. I then present an extended comparison between Aeschylus' plays and a Babylonian cult-poem, in support of my argument that the connection between Ares and Athena both in Attic cult, and in Aeschylus reflected the idea that Athena could tame and steer Ares' power. This role parallels that of Aphrodite in Cretan and Argive cults.

I follow this with a reading of Ares' roles and representations in the tragedies of Sophocles, focusing on the ways in which demonstrable intertextual involvement with earlier works affects the ways in which they may be used as sources for attitudes toward. I show how choral statements regarding Ares in Sophocles' tragedies are generally undercut by choral ignorance, and frequently misrepresent Ares' actual roles within the action of the plays.

I conclude my study of Ares' representations in Attic tragedy with a

discussion of Euripides' uses and representations of the god, focusing on his Ares-filled play, the *Phoenicians*. This play is closely related to Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, and, I suggest, repeats its central message. I argue, however, that Euripides makes Ares seem more akin to the other Olympians than he may appear in the plays of Aeschylus, both through stressing Ares' ability to help a city and its people, and also by giving him full and comprehensible motivation, far removed from his apparent randomness elsewhere. This, I suggest, reflects shifts in Athenian attitudes to the god which resulted in his significant cultic presence within the city from the fourth century onwards. I reinforce this argument through a brief discussion of Ares' notable absences from the comedies of Aristophanes.

## **(6.2) Rereading the *Iliad* in Classical Athens**

The influence of the *Iliad* and the rest of the hexameter tradition on later visions both of the gods in general, and of Ares in particular, is pervasive, in Athens as much as anywhere.<sup>708</sup> But the Athenians did not receive the *Iliad* in a vacuum: the traditional stories took on new resonances and new implications in the context of Athens' cults and civic institutions, and under the influence of Athenian political events. Moreover, many of the words used in the *Iliad*, including several epithets of Ares, seem to have developed slightly different meanings and associations in Classical Attic Greek. Some of these changes may have affected the ways in which Ares was used and portrayed by the Attic tragedians, whose uses of the god provide yet another filter through which to re-read Archaic texts.<sup>709</sup> Therefore, before

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<sup>708</sup> Cf. e.g. Sauge (2000).

<sup>709</sup> On Aeschylus' debts to and creative adaptation of diction derived from the Homeric tradition, cf. Stanford (1942) 17-27; Sideras (1971) *passim*; Judet de La Combe (1995); Hall (1996) 24.

exploring the ways in which Ares was depicted and used within Athenian literature, I will discuss a few of the ways in which linguistic and cultic factors may have caused Athenian reception of Ares' representations in the *Iliad* to have differed from the picture presented in the chapter focusing on that poem.

The set of linguistic changes that bears most heavily on the identity of Ares revolve around the epithet *μιαφόνος*, which he is given on several occasions within the *Iliad*. In the *Iliad*, as I have discussed above, *μιαίνω* refers to physical staining or dirtying, while *φόνος* refers to slaughter, primarily in the form of its physical residue: the blood and the fallen bodies. The adjective *μιαφόνος* thus means 'slaughter-stained' in a fairly literal sense, and carries few moral connotations.<sup>710</sup> In Classical Athens, however, *φονός* took on the additional, highly specific meaning of murder, that is to say, of illegal homicide.<sup>711</sup> The verb *μιαίνω*, meanwhile, took on moral and ritual implications, and came to mean 'to taint' or 'defile' or 'pollute', as well as simply 'to stain'.<sup>712</sup> The adjective *μιαφόνος* therefore came to mean 'polluted by murder'.<sup>713</sup> To call Ares *μιαφόνος* became a way of reviling the god, rather than simply describing him, both in his role as a warrior-archetype, and as the personification of battle.

Another straightforward extension of the meaning of a word pertains to Ares' epithet *ὄξύς*. While retaining the sense of 'sharp' which is its sole meaning in the *Iliad*,<sup>714</sup> *ὄξύς* gained the additional sense of 'swift' in Classical Athens.<sup>715</sup>

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<sup>710</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>711</sup> Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *φονός* A 2.

<sup>712</sup> Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *μιαίνω* A 3.

<sup>713</sup> Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *μιαφονέω*. Parker (1983) 104-143 provides extensive discussion of polluting bloodshed in the Classical Period, focusing on Athens.

<sup>714</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>715</sup> Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *ὄξύς* IV.

It is less clear how an Attic audience would have understood the word *θοῦρος*, which in the *Iliad* means ‘strong in defence’, or ‘stalwart’.<sup>716</sup> This adjective generally appears in Attic drama in the variant spelling *θούριος*.<sup>717</sup> Aeschylus’ Persian chorus calls Xerxes *θούριος* when describing how, as ruler of populous Asia, he drives his flock over the whole world.<sup>718</sup> A Theban scout in Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* applies the same adjective to the seven Argive generals as they sacrifice to an array of destructive gods before the battle.<sup>719</sup> In Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, the chorus apply the epithet *θούριος* to the eagle that had appeared to Agamemnon and Menelaus as an omen, eating a pregnant hare, before they sailed to Troy, comparing the kingliness of the bird to the majesty of the two mortal rulers.<sup>720</sup> In Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*, the far-shooting bows wielded by warriors such as the Amazons are described as *θούριος* by Apollo, who himself wields a bow.<sup>721</sup> In *Prometheus Bound*, attributed to Aeschylus but now generally thought to be by a slightly later hand, Prometheus describes the monster Typhon, who fought against Zeus, as *θοῦρος*.<sup>722</sup> The word is rarer after Aeschylus, although Sophocles’ chorus calls Ajax *θούριος* while reassuring the hero’s new bride, Tecmessa,<sup>723</sup> and while remembering his former might when going out to fight on behalf of Salamis, and when shielding his people.<sup>724</sup> Aristophanes’ chorus of knights tell the sausage-seller to deploy a *θούριον* spirit, as well as irresistible arguments, in order to defeat the Paphlagonian (representing the knights’ enemy Cleon) in their debate.<sup>725</sup> The

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<sup>716</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

<sup>717</sup> Sideras (1971) 61.

<sup>718</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 73.

<sup>719</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 42.

<sup>720</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 112.

<sup>721</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 628.

<sup>722</sup> Aesch. *PV* 354.

<sup>723</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 211.

<sup>724</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 612-4; 1213.

<sup>725</sup> Ar. *Eq.* 757.

Homeric meaning of ‘strong in defence’ is inappropriate to the Seven, to the eagle, to bows, and most of all, to the destructive monster Typhon, although it could be applied to the choral descriptions of Ajax (as defender of his bride and of his people), and Xerxes (as shepherd of his people). On the other hand, the idea of onrushing aggressive speed is not evident.<sup>726</sup> In Classical Athens, θούρος or θούριος seems to simply indicate (martial) power. This might be a result of its association with Ares.

Moving from how Ares was described, to how Ares was thought to act, one further word that seems to have shifted slightly in its associations from Archaic to Classical is the verb κρίνω. In the Homeric poems, this word possesses a range of meanings centering on the idea of picking out, choosing, and dividing up, and this continued to be true in the Classical period. In the Homeric poems, however, uses of κρίνω in senses relating to judgment, which may be just or unjust, are in a minority, while in the Classical period, the word increasingly appeared in judicial contexts.<sup>727</sup> The Ares of the *Iliad*, once a blood-stained stalwart, allotting death and victory in battle, had become a mighty judge, polluted by murder.

In the cultic sphere, the exceptional prominence of cults of Athena at Athens, in a variety of manifestations, must have given added resonance to Athena’s victories within the hexameter poems, including her victories over Ares.<sup>728</sup> Particularly significant in this context is the presence of several important cults of Athena in her role as warrior-protector of the city, as Athena Polias and Athena

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<sup>726</sup> Contra, e.g. *LSJ* s.v. θούρος.

<sup>727</sup> Cf. *LSJ* s.v. κρίνω, and §3.2, above.

<sup>728</sup> For discussion of the cults of Athena at Athens, cf. e.g. Parker (2005a) 395-399, 443-445 & *passim*; Robertson (1996); Parker (1996) *passim*; Herington (1955); Farnell (1896) 258-259, 270-272, 289-299, 302-305 & 316-318.

Nike.<sup>729</sup> The synergistic relationship between Ares and Athena at Athens, exemplified by the cult of Athena Areios, which I will discuss later in this chapter,<sup>730</sup> suggests that Athena's victories over Ares in the hexameter tradition could have been reflected by Athenian representations of their protective goddess acting as a controlling influence within the realm of Ares.<sup>731</sup>

### (6.3) The Persian Archer and the Greek Fleet: Ares at Salamis

The *Palatine Anthology* attributes a verse to Simonides, a poet closely associated with the Persian Wars, in which he describes θούρος Ares killing men with arrows.<sup>732</sup> Ares is elsewhere always armed with the spear, the weapon of the archetypical Greek warrior. The bow was the typical weapon of the warriors of Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Syria, and so also of many of their warrior-gods.<sup>733</sup> It is not altogether inconceivable that Simonides, a poet closely associated with the Persian Wars,<sup>734</sup> may have sought to characterise Ares as an Eastern god striking men down with Persian arrows, when associating him with the Persian army.

That Simonides' arrow-shooting Ares was linked to the Persians is further suggested by a passage from near the beginning of his younger contemporary Aeschylus' earliest surviving play, *Persians*, where the chorus of Persian elders describe Xerxes, driving his Syrian chariot, as leading τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη, 'Ares that

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<sup>729</sup> On these cults in particular, cf. Parker (2005a) 395-399; Farnell (1896) 297-299, 331-342 & 356-360. See §5.2, above, for the possibility that Athens also contained a cult of Athena Promachos, and the implications of this epithet.

<sup>730</sup> See §6.5, below.

<sup>731</sup> See §6.4.v, below, and §2.3.ii, above.

<sup>732</sup> Note however that this verse has been dismissed by Campbell (1991) 565 as a Hellenistic product, misattributed by the *Palatine Anthology* to Simonides. Campbell (1991: 519) cavalierly dismisses all attributions to Simonides in the *Palatine Anthology* as 'worthless'.

<sup>733</sup> Cf. e.g. Taracha (2009) 113; Haas (1994) 369-371; Beckman (1996) 41-54 (= KBo I.3) for a Hittite text in which the Luwian god Iyarri bears the title 'Lord of the Bow'.

<sup>734</sup> Cf. e.g. Molyneux (1992) 147-210.

slays with the bow’, against the spear-famed men of Greece.<sup>735</sup> Here, Aeschylus presents Ares as a metonym for the Persian army, or as the personification of their warrior-strength.<sup>736</sup> This identification of an incarnation or aspect of Ares with a specific people is not attested before these passages.<sup>737</sup>

Aeschylus uses this idea a second time near the end of the play. Here, after the defeat of that same Persian army in a naval battle at Salamis, Xerxes himself describes how he and his army had been robbed by the ship-fenced Ionian Ares, who gave victory to the other side, and cut a swathe across the night-dark surface of the sea, and the ill-starred shore.<sup>738</sup> In the same dialogue between Xerxes and the Chorus, Xerxes attributes his defeat to the fact that the Ionian people are ἀγάν ἄρειος, ‘excessively of Ares’, or ‘very Ares-like’.<sup>739</sup> The Persian army, the Ares that kills with the bow, is presented as having been defeated by the Greek fleet, the Ionian ship-fenced Ares, because the Greeks were more ‘of Ares’ than their Persian adversaries.

In Aeschylus’ *Persians*, Ares does not appear as an independent arbitrating power, a ruler over battle, handing victory to one side, or defeat to the other. Instead, the Persian Chorus and their king identify Ares with the destructive force of both

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<sup>735</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 81-86. *Persians* was produced in 472 B.C. On the relationship between Aeschylus and Simonides, cf. Stanford (1942) 33. If the verse was misattributed to Simonides by the *Palatine Anthology*, and is in fact a later composition, it may have been inspired by Aeschylus.

<sup>736</sup> The Persian soldiers are described as τοξοδάμαντες at Aesch. *Pers.* 926.

<sup>737</sup> For discussion of Aeschylus’ tendency to innovate, both coining new words, and developing new meanings for established words, see Stanford (1942) 61-67.

<sup>738</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 950-954. The precise meaning of this passage is somewhat obscure, and has been extensively discussed by commentators on the play. Broadhead (1961: 229-230) observes that it is not entirely impossible that Ares here goes with ναύφαρκτος, and therefore refers to the Persian fleet, although his argument that Ares instead goes with Ἰάων (Ionian) is convincing, and has been generally accepted. Broadhead reads Ἰάων ναύφαρκτος Ἄρης as ‘the embattled tide of Ionian ships’ in whose favour the tide of battle turns, while Garvie (2009: 350) reads the same phrase as ‘Ionian Ares protected by his ships’. Cf. also Sommerstein (2008a) 119, who follows Broadhead’s reading. Belloni (1988: 247) and Garvie (2009: 362) draw attention to the connected use of the word ναύφαρκτον at Aesch. *Pers.* 1029, where the Chorus refer to the rout of their own ναύφαρκτον ὄμιλον.

<sup>739</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 1025-1026, cf. Hall (1996) 175.

sides in the battle. The victorious side is described as having a greater affinity with the god.

There are significant verbal similarities between the Chorus' description of Xerxes and his army in Aeschylus' *Persians*, and a Delphic oracle quoted by Herodotus.<sup>740</sup> This oracle, the first given to the Athenians regarding the approaching Persian invasion, is said to have stated that fire and ὄξύς Ares, 'driving a Syrian chariot', would throw down Athens.<sup>741</sup> Here, sharp Ares either drives Xerxes on, or is identified with the King and his army. Although the advice to the Athenians to flee which both preceded and followed this prediction was modified by a second oracle, fire and Ares did throw down the Athenian Acropolis. This was acknowledged, Herodotus informs us, by the soothsayer Bacis, whose prophecy contains suggestive parallels with Aeschylus' second deployment of Ares. According to Herodotus, Bacis prophesied that the Persians, having ravaged Athens and dammed up the sacred shores of Artemis with ships, carried away by raving (ματινομένη) hope and suffering from hubristic self-satisfaction, would be defeated by justice. Bronze would mingle with bronze, and Ares would redden the sea with blood, with the result that Zeus and Nike would bring freedom to Greece.<sup>742</sup> Bacis' prophesy describes how Ares will redden the sea with blood just as Xerxes describes Ares cutting a

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<sup>740</sup> Herodotus' *Histories* appears to have been completed at some point between 425 and 414 B.C., half a century after Aeschylus' *Persians*. The last events recorded by Herodotus took place in 431/30 B.C. For discussion and bibliography, cf. Saïd (2002) 119-120; Asheri (2007) 2-5.

<sup>741</sup> Hdt. 7.140, cf. Sidgwick (1903) 6; How & Wells (1912b) 181-182; Prickard (1928) 48; Crahay (1956) 296; Smethurst (1989) 263; Hall (1996) 115; Garvie (2009) 78; Stanford (1942) 42-43; Bowden (2005) 100-107.

<sup>742</sup> Hdt. 8.77. Powell (1939: 116-117) argued for the excision of this chapter on stylistic grounds, and maintained that all three references to Bacis in this chapter are spurious. Bowie (2007: 166-167) finds Powell's argument convincing, but Crahay (1956: 338-339) has drawn attention to the subjectivity of the stylistic case for excision, and speculates regarding Herodotus' literary and aesthetic grounds for including this oracle. Perhaps the most thoughtful and balanced discussion of this issue is still that of Macan (1908: 480), who also favours the retention of this chapter. Bowden (2005: 35) compares Bacis' oracles with those of Nostradamus, as a large corpus of often-obscure oracles, some interpreted as having been fulfilled, and others awaiting fulfilment at an unspecified time.

swathe across its surface. Therefore, both in Aeschylus' *Persians* and in Herodotus' *Histories*, Ares represents both the Persian army invading Greece, and the force that slew the Persian soldiers and brought about their defeat at Salamis.

The precise nature of the relationship between Herodotus' oracles and Aeschylus' play with respect to their deployment of Ares is unclear. Herodotus appears to have spent some time in Athens,<sup>743</sup> and a series of verbal echoes suggest that he knew and used Aeschylus' *Persians*.<sup>744</sup> It is possible that Herodotus was directly influenced in his use of Ares by Aeschylus' play, but it is also possible that they were both inspired by a common source. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

Herodotus may accurately report the content of oracles that were actually given, or he may transmit the products of a pre-Aeschylean oral tradition.<sup>745</sup> It is likely that other relevant oracles were known to Herodotus, and so his selections, especially that of Bacis' less prominent oracle, which completes the Ares-pairing, seem likely to have been influenced by Aeschylus.<sup>746</sup> The idea of paired and opposed incarnations of Ares, a strikingly literary device, may have been an Aeschylean innovation, and was certainly not a standard trope before his *Persians*.

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<sup>743</sup> Cf. West (2007) 28; Asheri (2007) 3-4.

<sup>744</sup> Cf. Immerwahr (1954) 29; Saïd (2002) 118 & 137-138; Herington (1991) 6, who points out that Herodotus (2.156) once mentions Aeschylus by name.

<sup>745</sup> How & Wells (1912b: 181-182) argue that the authenticity of the first of the two Delphic oracles for the Athenians "is proved by the fact that no one would have later invented gloomy predictions and advice falsified by the event." Burn (1962: 357) demonstrates that the strategic geography of the area made a clash at Salamis inevitable, so that the oracular mention of Salamis in the second Delphic oracle does not prove that it was written after the event, contra Fontenrose (1978) 127-128 (for a more general discussion of Fontenrose's views regarding the authenticity of Herodotus' oracles, cf. Mikalson (2003) 57-58). Cf. also Garvie (2009) 78, Hall (1996) 115, and Smethurst (1989) 264, who also maintain that the two Delphic oracles existed independently of both Aeschylus and Herodotus. The authenticity of Bacis' oracle has been convincingly defended by Crahay (1956: 338-340). Maurizio (1997), however, offers an interesting alternative to a simple choice between authentic and invented oracles, placing all of the oracles reported in our literary sources into the context of orally-transmitted tradition.

<sup>746</sup> Selection with the benefit of hindsight is characteristic of historical reporting of oracles. Cf. Harrison (2000) 128-131 & 138-140.

The identification of Ares with the Greek warrior-strength at Salamis recurs in a third account of the battle. In Timotheus of Miletus' narrative poem *The Persians*, which was probably composed a couple of decades after Herodotus' *Histories*,<sup>747</sup> the fleeing Persian soldiers wish that they had not left "Tmolus, or the Lydian city of Sardis, and come to hold off Greek Ares."<sup>748</sup> Again the divine name appears to be synonymous both with a specific army, and with its strength in battle.<sup>749</sup>

A fourth parallel appears in Euripides' *Andromache*, in which the heroine describes how for Helen's sake the thousand-shipped, ὄξυς Ares of Greece sacked Troy with fire and spear and killed her husband Hector.<sup>750</sup> In addition to knowing and being influenced by the works of Aeschylus, Euripides also appears to have known Timotheus.<sup>751</sup> In his *Persians*, Timotheus explicitly connects Persia to Troy, with the fleeing Lydian soldiers praying that the Mountain Mother might bring them safely Troywards to home.<sup>752</sup> Herodotus, who is said to have given readings in Athens,<sup>753</sup> also connected Troy with Persia.<sup>754</sup> *Andromache* appears to have been

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<sup>747</sup> Bassett (1931: 158-162), having argued for the influence of Timotheus' *Persians* on Euripides' *Orestes* (produced in 408 B.C.), argues that the poem was first performed between 412 and 408 B.C. Hansen (1984) provides a clear, tabulated summary of earlier views regarding the dating of the poem, and argues that it was composed between May 410 and April 409 B.C., based in part on Satyrus' assertion that Euripides, who left Athens in 408/7, wrote a proem for Timotheus' poem (P. Oxy. ix, 1176 col.22, 166f.). Janssen (1989: 13-22) suggests the slightly later date of 408/7 B.C. Bassett, Hansen, and Janssen all agree that the first performance probably took place in Athens. Cf. also Hordern (2002) 15-17.

<sup>748</sup> Timoth. *Pers.*fr.791, line 118 (= P. Berol 9875).

<sup>749</sup> Wilamowitz (1903: 19) suggested that a lacuna in line 22 could be filled with ἄρης, so that lines 21-23 identify Ares with the thrown spears of the Greeks. This reconstruction has been defended by Janssen (1989: 39) and adopted by Campbell (1993: 96-97), but is rejected by Hordern (2002: 145-146), following Jurenka (1903: 579), and by Sevieri (2011: 103), in favour of the compelling alternative ἄκων, 'javelin'.

<sup>750</sup> Eur. *Andr.* 105-107. The epithet ὄξυς is an editorial emendation. The manuscript gives ὀκύς, swift, which would be equally appropriate here, given that that army is made swift by ships. See Stevens (1971) 108-109 for discussion.

<sup>751</sup> Hordern (2002: 4-5) suggests that Timotheus, like Euripides, may have spent time at the Macedonian court as well as at Athens. Bassett (1931: 160-161) argues for the influence of Timotheus' *Persians* on Euripides' *Orestes*. Cf. also Hansen (1984) 171.

<sup>752</sup> Timoth. *Pers.*fr.791, lines 119-129.

<sup>753</sup> Albeit by much later sources, listed and discussed by Asheri (2007) 2-4.

<sup>754</sup> Hdt. 1.1-5. On this theme in visual art at Athens, c.f. e.g. Francis (1990) 88-89.

produced before the publication of Herodotus' *Histories*,<sup>755</sup> but this does not preclude the influence of pre-publication readings. Timotheus may have been influenced by Euripides, or the parallel may reflect common influences in the forms of Aeschylus, the oracles and, perhaps, Herodotus. This identification of Ares with the Greek fleet and army in the Trojan War recurs twice in Euripides' posthumously-produced play *Iphigenia at Aulis*, where the Chorus early identifies the Myrmidon fleet with Ares.<sup>756</sup> This same chorus of Euboean women also later identify bronze-shielded Ares with the Greek army which the ships carry, and with the war and violence which it brings.<sup>757</sup>

I have delved into this tangled web of literary influences and connections because this appears to be a rare example of a directly traceable addition to the ways in which a god could be understood to function.<sup>758</sup> After the Delphic oracle had identified Ares, the force that kills and brings defeat in war, with Xerxes, the dreaded Persian king, Aeschylus proceeded to extend the identification to the entire Persian army, while making it clear that this was a highly specific manifestation of Ares by describing him as the Ares who kills with the bow. This idea of an Ares specific to and in some way identified with an army, or at least their armed might, Aeschylus then transferred to the Ionian fleet, perhaps inspired by Bacis' oracle. The resultant portrayal of Ares slaying on both sides, which is not incompatible with earlier depictions of the god in action,<sup>759</sup> appears to have influenced Herodotus' decision to quote Bacis' oracle as well those from Delphi. The idea of an Ares specific to and

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<sup>755</sup> Probably around 425 B.C.

<sup>756</sup> Eur. *IA* 237.

<sup>757</sup> Eur. *IA* 762-772. Cf. however England (1891) for the argument (on metrical grounds) that 764-767 (Ares appears at 764) are a later interpolation.

<sup>758</sup> Note that all four authors use Ares in ways which might in isolation be considered metonymic. If Ares were simply a (relatively rare) abstract noun, such detailed and persistent intertextual borrowing would seem bizarre. Instead, the shared use of Ares reflects the fact that the god appears to have become an integral part of the story, as he might in a non-historical myth.

<sup>759</sup> See §2.3.i, §3.2, §5.3, above.

identified with the army of a people was then adopted by Euripides and Timotheus. We have already encountered Ares as the personification of war and battle, and of the weapons that slay within it, and as the power which gives death or defeat, and sometimes victory, and which brings the armies together. Here, Ares also embodies the warriors themselves.

It is significant that despite these links to specific peoples, Ares is still, in all four examples, portrayed only as a destroyer of the enemy, and not as a protector of his people. In Aeschylus' *Persians*, the Chorus who call the army a bow-slaying Ares mingle praise of the army's destructive power and achievement with fear and foreboding lest it be destroyed in the future.<sup>760</sup> Herodotus' Delphic oracle predicted the sack of Athens, while in Bacis' oracle, Ares will slaughter the Persians, but it is Zeus and Nike who will give freedom, and thus safety to the Greeks. Timotheus' Ares is a threat to the Persians, not a protector of the Greeks, while the Ares described by Euripides' Andromache has sacked Troy, her city, and slain her beloved husband.

#### **(6.4.i) *Stasis***<sup>761</sup>

Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* is both the story of a war between Argos and Thebes, and the story of the conflict between Eteocles and Polynices, the sons of Oedipus. It tells both of war against an external enemy, and also of strife within a city, and within a family.<sup>762</sup> The two conflicts are intertwined, and so the ideas of

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<sup>760</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 8-139.

<sup>761</sup> Both this section and the section entitled 'Taming Ares', below, develop lines of argument suggested by Loraux (2002) 32-39, 106, 119-120, and by Podlecki (1966) 74-80.

<sup>762</sup> Cf. Thalmann (1978) 6.

war and *stasis*, generally distinct elsewhere, tangle together.<sup>763</sup> It is in the *Seven against Thebes*, therefore, that Aeschylus first began to associate Ares with civil strife.

The external enemy, the invading Argives, swear to Ares that they will destroy the city, or accept death at his hands.<sup>764</sup> They give themselves over to Ares, and accept the necessarily reciprocal combination of deadliness and vulnerability that is inherent in the nature of those who enter into Ares, and become warriors.<sup>765</sup> Preparing for death, they commit themselves to destruction.<sup>766</sup> Following their oath, the Theban scout describes them as having gazes filled with Ares,<sup>767</sup> and he describes their army as a wave driven by the breaths of Ares.<sup>768</sup> The chorus of Theban maidens, hearing war-cries from beyond the walls, seeing the oncoming army, and hearing the clatter of spears and shields, and echoing the scout in describing the attackers as a wave driven by the breaths of Ares, ask the god if he intends to hand over the land to the enemy, and beg him to protect them.<sup>769</sup> The Argive invaders, embracing Ares, who fills their vision, form a wave driven on by the god, which may be opposed by the Ares of the Theban defenders. But at the heart of this external war lies the internecine strife between the two brothers. Ares is named as the cause of the deaths of the brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, who killed each other in battle. It is Ares who has fulfilled the curse of their father, Oedipus.<sup>770</sup>

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<sup>763</sup> On the war/*stasis* distinction, see Arnould (1981) 15-28.

<sup>764</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 42-51. Ares is accompanied in this oath by Enyo and Phobos, who were also associated with him in the hexameter tradition (see §2.3.ii and §4.4, above).

<sup>765</sup> Cf. §2.3.ii, above, for the ways in which this idea is articulated through Ares' own defeats within the hexameter tradition.

<sup>766</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 46-53.

<sup>767</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 53.

<sup>768</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 63-64.

<sup>769</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 89-136.

<sup>770</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 906-910; 938-946.

Aeschylus further developed this idea of an association between Ares and intra-familial strife in his *Oresteia*. In the *Agamemnon*, Cassandra compares Clytemnestra, about to murder her husband, with Scylla, who betrayed her father and city, and, describes her as a raging mother from Hades, breathing a truceless Ares against her dear ones. Cassandra explicitly portrays Clytemnestra's future violence against her husband as analogous to, but separate from warfare, describing her crying out ὄσπερ, 'as if' turning an enemy to flight in battle. In this passage, Ares is presented as crossing the boundary between warfare and violence within the family.<sup>771</sup> The *Agamemnon*'s chorus of Argive elders also associate the god, here more strongly personified, with the strife taking place within their royal family, telling how 'black' Ares forces his way, with further streams of kindred<sup>772</sup> blood.<sup>773</sup>

In the second play of the trilogy, the *Libation Bearers*, violence within the family is again associated with Ares. As Orestes and Pylades force Clytemnestra into the palace, and, once out of sight, kill her, the Chorus announces that a twofold Ares has come to the house of Agamemnon.<sup>774</sup> While this may refer to the avenging pairing of Orestes and Pylades, who may well be those referred to as a 'twofold lion,' it might also allude to the fact that this is the second round of familial violence to strike the household.<sup>775</sup> It is possible that this is what Orestes means when, earlier in the play, he says that, 'Ares will clash with Ares'.<sup>776</sup> Note that in associating Ares

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<sup>771</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1231-1238. Ἄρη is reconstructed here, but fits the context better than any other reading (cf. Fraenkel (1950c) 571; Sidgwick (1905) 62). As Young (1964: 18-21) and Zeitlin (1966: 648) have pointed out, however, the phrase does make perfectly good sense with the retention of ἀράν, 'curse', which is given in the MSS. I find the presence of Ἄρη here to be rather less likely than in line 375, the other possible example of someone 'breathing Ares', on which see note in §6.4.iv, below. Discarding this example of an intra-familial Ares would not greatly affect my argument. Higgins (1978: 27-28) has speculated that there is intentional ambiguity between Ἄρη and ἀράν here.

<sup>772</sup> Literally: 'of the same sowing'. This suggests an echo of the *Spartoi* of the Theban myth, most of whom were also killed by Ares, as Aeschylus reminds us at *Sept.* 412.

<sup>773</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1507-1512.

<sup>774</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 937-938.

<sup>775</sup> Garvie (1986) 305-306 for bibliography and discussion on this issue.

<sup>776</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 461. Cf. Higgins (1978: 30).

with Orestes' matricide, Aeschylus either echoes or is echoed by Pindar.<sup>777</sup> This may derive from the direct influence of one poet upon the other, or a common source which may also feature Ares.<sup>778</sup> Orestes, Pylades, Electra, and their violence are also identified with Ares in Sophocles' later retelling of the story, which was certainly influenced by that of Aeschylus.<sup>779</sup> Given that Ares is used quite infrequently by all three poets, this shared association of the god with the story of Orestes cannot be coincidental. Either the role of the god was thought to be integral to the myth, or the later poets are deliberately echoing their predecessors.<sup>780</sup>

It is in the *Eumenides*, the concluding part of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, however, that this idea of Ares as strife within the family receives its clearest formulation, when the chorus of Erinyes describe how, whenever Ares, "being domestic [τιθασός], takes away a dear one" they hunt him down.<sup>781</sup> The hypothetical killer is here identified with Ares, as Orestes and Pylades are in the *Libation Bearers*. This direct identification of the perpetrators of violence with Ares applies to the individual acting within the household, an idea that Aeschylus first appears to have developed to express the destructive warrior-strength of the Persian and Ionian armies in the *Persians*.<sup>782</sup> The use of the adjective τιθασός to qualify Ares shows that

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<sup>777</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 11.36-37. On the vexed question of the dating of Pindar's take on the tale of Orestes, which may either significantly predate (474 B.C.) or swiftly follow (454 B.C.) that of Aeschylus (458 B.C.), see Kurke (2013) and Finglass (2007b) 5-19.

<sup>778</sup> Perhaps Stesichorus (on which, see Kurke (2013) 106), but see also Garvie (1986) ix-xxvi (of which Finglass (2007a) 4-8 is essentially a summary, and which largely supersedes Jebb (1894) xv-xlvi), for a fuller discussion of the story of Orestes before Aeschylus.

<sup>779</sup> Soph. *El.* 1384-1390. See Finglass (2007a) 4-8, and Dunn (2012) 265-267 for discussion of the relationship between Sophocles' *Electra* and Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*. Finglass also (2007a: 505; 2007b: 107) points out that Pindar, Aeschylus, and Sophocles all make use of Ares in their descriptions of this scene (see also Kamerbeek (1974) 179). As Kurke (2013: 112) observes, Pindar's use of Ares is made more striking by the (for Pindar) unusual absence of divinities elsewhere in his version of the story.

<sup>780</sup> As with Ares' association with the story of the battle of Salamis (see §6.3, above), the god's association with the myth of Orestes shows that Aeschylus and his readers consistently associated the divine name with the god, even when it is used in an apparently metonymic sense.

<sup>781</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 355-356. Sommerstein (1989: 143) suggests "when Ares, being nurtured within the home". The adjective τιθασός generally refers to tame/domestic animals (*LSJ*).

<sup>782</sup> Cf. §6.3, above.

it is a highly specific incarnation of the god who is involved in these episodes of intra-familial violence.

Aeschylus seems to have seen this familial violence as a microcosm of *stasis*, of wider civil strife.<sup>783</sup> In the *Seven against Thebes*, the two ideas are bound together by a causal relationship: the rivalry between the two brothers causes a war between their respective supporters, and the city becomes their battlefield.<sup>784</sup> In the *Oresteia*, on the other hand, the idea of an association of conflict within a family with civic *stasis* is not clearly expressed until near the end of the *Eumenides*.

Throughout the *Oresteia*, the Erinyes drive the chain of violence afflicting the house of Atreus. We hear in the *Agamemnon* that the sons of Atreus were sent as Erinyes from Zeus to avenge Paris' breach of Menelaus hospitality, and this necessitated the sacrifice of Iphigenia.<sup>785</sup> In the *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra, with the aid of an Erinyes, proceeds to murder her husband in order to avenge and gain justice for Iphigenia,<sup>786</sup> while Aegisthus is driven by the Erinyes to assist her, on account of his need to avenge Atreus' murder of his father.<sup>787</sup> Orestes is then compelled by the Erinyes to murder his mother in order to avenge his father.<sup>788</sup> Ares, as discussed above, is identified with each of these incidences of Erinyes-driven violence.

When, at the conclusion of the *Eumenides*, Athena tames the Erinyes, putting an end to the chain of violence afflicting the house of Atreus, she enjoins them to cease to cause Ares ἐμφύλιος, Ares 'within the tribe', to rise up amongst her citizens, making them bold against each other. She then contrasts this form of Ares with

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<sup>783</sup> Cf. Loraux (2002) 34-39.

<sup>784</sup> This idea is most clearly expressed at Aesch. *Sept.* 758-765, where the Chorus express their fear lest the while city be laid low through the princes' strife.

<sup>785</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 42-67 & 744-749.

<sup>786</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1431-1434.

<sup>787</sup> Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1178-1198 & 1577-1611 for Cassandra's allusions to, and Aegisthus' simpler account of these older crimes, from before the events of the Trojan War, which first brought the Furies to the house of Atreus.

<sup>788</sup> Aesch., *Cho.* 269-305.

πόλεμος, war against an external enemy.<sup>789</sup> The ‘domestic’, τιθασός Ares of the *Oresteia*, a small, stageable strife within a single family, was used by Aeschylus to explore issues that were equally relevant to *stasis*, and to Ares ἐμφύλιος.

The chorus of daughters of Danaos in Aeschylus’ *Suppliants* also connect Ares with civil strife, praying that man-slaying destruction might not come upon the city of Argos and ravage it, arming Ares and force within the *demos*, within the citizenry.<sup>790</sup> The highly specific adjectives that qualify Ares in all of these examples - ἐμφύλιος, τιθασός, ἔνδημον – show that Aeschylus did not generally identify Ares with civil or familial strife as opposed to external war. Indeed, his Orestes identifies Ares with external war when swearing that Argos will never attack Athens.<sup>791</sup> Instead, he used these epithets to express an extension of Ares’ field of action into the city, and into the family, to show how civil strife poses the same threats to a city as an invasion from outside. This idea, which was also deployed by Sophocles, draws much of its power from the fact that a cult of an internal Ares was unthinkable. Even when Ares was conceived of only as the god of external war, the Athenians, as I discuss below, could only bring him into the heart of their city once his violence was moderated and controlled by the influence of Athena.

#### **(6.4.ii) The Impious Judge**

Ares acts, in the plays in Aeschylus as in melic and hexameter poetry, as a causal force, deciding the outcome of conflict, and bringing death. When men fall to

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<sup>789</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 858-863. This passage may be a later addition to the play, possibly made by Aeschylus himself. Cf. Sommerstein (1989) 251-252.

<sup>790</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 681-683. This passage is corrupt, but all of the possible readings are consistent with the idea of Ares as a bringer of civil strife. Cf. Johansen & Whittle (1980) 45-47.

<sup>791</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 764-767.

Persian arrows, it is Ares who has slain with his bow, and when Aeschylus' Xerxes bewails his defeat at Salamis, it is to Ares that he attributes the slaughter of his soldiers.<sup>792</sup> A chorus of Theban maidens refer to Ares as λαοδάμας, the tamer, or slayer, of peoples,<sup>793</sup> and the daughters of Danaus describe him as a reaper of men.<sup>794</sup> The elders of Argos speak of how Ares takes the living men who go off to war, and exchanges them for urns of ashes and dust, heavy with grief, before sending them home.<sup>795</sup> The power to give death implies the power to withhold it: Eteocles describes those of the Spartoi who were not slain in their internecine strife as men spared by Ares.<sup>796</sup>

In Aeschylus' plays, however, Ares is a highly specific kind of causal force: he is a judge, albeit one whose judgments are random and unpredictable. Regarding the clash between Tydeus and Melanippus at Proetus' gate, Eteocles says that Ares κρινεῖ, 'will judge' the matter κύβοις, 'with dice'.<sup>797</sup> After the deaths of Eteocles and Polynices, the Chorus refer to Ares as a πικρός, 'bitter', and κακός, 'wicked' δατητάς, 'distributor', of property.<sup>798</sup> This noun, δατητής, refers in Attic law to a court-appointed official who divides up property when a man is unwilling for it to be administered in partnership.<sup>799</sup> A refusal to act in partnership is of course the cause of the brothers' deaths, since it resulted in the appointment of a deadly adjudicator in the form of Ares. This idea of Ares as a bitter and wicked adjudicator, who judges using dice - as an arbitrator analogous to a mortal judge, but entirely separated from

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<sup>792</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 950-952.

<sup>793</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 343.

<sup>794</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 635-636. This is reiterated at 665-666, where this Chorus also give Ares the Homeric epithet βροτολογός, 'destroyer of mortals' (cf. §2.3.i, above).

<sup>795</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 433-444. See Bakewell (2007) for full discussion of this metaphor, which treats Ares as analogous to a moneychanger. Cf. also Seaford (2010) 187. For a much earlier (Hittite) example of unfair scales in the marketplace as a paradigm of villainy, see Singer (2002) 35 (= CTH 374).

<sup>796</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 412.

<sup>797</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 414.

<sup>798</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 944-946.

<sup>799</sup> [ps.-]Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.6.

mortal law - is expressed more clearly in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. Here, an Egyptian herald, his demands for the extradition of the daughters of Danaus having been rejected by Pelasgus, the king of Argos, threatens that Ares δικάζει, 'will judge', this matter, and that he will not do this by appeal to witnesses, for he will not settle the quarrel by taking silver. Instead, many men must be crippled, and fall, their lives ending violently.<sup>800</sup> Likewise, the chorus of Argive elders in the *Agamemnon* describe Ares as the holder of the scales in the battle of spears.<sup>801</sup> Like Zeus in the *Iliad* weighing the fates of the Achaeans and the Trojans,<sup>802</sup> and of Achilles and Hector,<sup>803</sup> Ares places the lives and deaths of mortal warriors upon his balance, in a war that Aeschylus' choruses repeatedly describe as a lawsuit brought by the sons of Atreus against Priam.<sup>804</sup> This war forms part of the chain of violence driven by the Erinyes, as discussed above, and the connections between Ares, the Erinyes, and Justice continue down the chain, so that Orestes, avenging the vengeance wreaked upon his father by his mother on account of the murder of his sister, cries out that Ares will clash with Ares, and Justice with Justice.<sup>805</sup> The chorus of palace serving-women form the same connection, likening the way in which the twofold Ares comes to the house of Agamemnon to the way in which justice, the justice of heavy punishment, came to the house of Priam.<sup>806</sup> Ares is presented as akin both to a judge, and to the justice that he hands down. Thus the chorus of elders in the *Agamemnon* describe 'black' Ares as providing justice for the boys devoured at the banquet of Thyestes, the guilt for which has been inherited by the whole house, when he forces

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<sup>800</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 934-937.

<sup>801</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 437-439. Bakewell (2007: 124) argues for a further layer of meaning: just as a money-changer assesses the quality of gold, so Ares assesses men's value in battle.

<sup>802</sup> Hom. *Il.* 8.69-72.

<sup>803</sup> Hom. *Il.* 22.209-212.

<sup>804</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 40-46, 397-402, 451; *Cho.* 935-936.

<sup>805</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 461. Cf. Podlecki (1966) 63-80.

<sup>806</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 935-938.

his way with further streams of kindred blood.<sup>807</sup> Fraenkel points out that the language here is generalising, and refers not only to the children of Thyestes, but also to children in general, who pay with their lives when Ares controls events.<sup>808</sup>

Ares may be conceived of as a sort of judge, but not as a good one; he is a bitter and evil judge,<sup>809</sup> rolling his dice to determine the course of events. The underlying idea of Ares as an unpredictable, seemingly random force is also found in the Homeric poems,<sup>810</sup> but the Athenian idea of Ares as an erratic judge creates the image of the god as an unreliable state official, embedded within the polis.<sup>811</sup> Ares is not just, or pious. The Theban chorus, enumerating the many woes that afflict a conquered city, wail that upon the whole of this burning, slaughter-filled city blows Ares, the raving tamer of the people, *μαίνων εὐσέβειαν*, ‘defiling piety’. In the *Eumenides*, the Erinyes, the punishers of impiety, although the driving force behind Ares’ violence throughout the *Oresteia*, turn against him.<sup>812</sup> In Aeschylus’s plays as in an Athenian reading of the *Iliad*, Ares acts as a polluted judge.<sup>813</sup>

### **(6.4.iii) The Wild God**

As in the *Shield of Herakles*, Ares is described in the plays of Aeschylus as bearing an aspect and weapons that were typical among destructive warrior-gods in the Near East.<sup>814</sup> Like Babylonian Erra, among others, Ares is associated with the

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<sup>807</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1510-1512. Cf. Raeburn & Thomas (2011) 226; Denniston & Page (1957) 209.

<sup>808</sup> Fraenkel (1950c) 716.

<sup>809</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 944-946.

<sup>810</sup> See §2.3.i and 3.2, above. See also §5.4 for discussion of Ares’ deadly unpredictability in the poems of Pindar and Bacchylides.

<sup>811</sup> The image of an unreliable state official may echo the idea of an unreliable civic god.

<sup>812</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 355-357.

<sup>813</sup> The possibility that Aeschylus’ idea of Ares-as-judge was inspired by the *Iliad* is discussed by Johansen & Whittle (1980) 242-243.

<sup>814</sup> See §3.4, above, for discussion of Ares’ portrayal as a typical divine warrior in the *Shield*.

lion, and wields wind, wave, storm, and fire. Here, the strength that allows the god to give victory or defeat in battle blurs with an evocation of a key destructive force that acts within war, and with identifications between the tumult of war, and the wild, uncontrollable forces that perpetually threaten civilisation from without.

In the *Seven against Thebes*, the Seven, their vision filled with Ares, are likened to lions as they prepare to join Polynices in battle against his city and his brother.<sup>815</sup> Similarly, in the *Libation Bearers*, the Chorus speaks of ‘a twofold lion, a twofold Ares’ when describing Orestes and Pylades in pursuit of Clytemnestra.<sup>816</sup> These servants and incarnations of the domestic Ares are thus assimilated to lions, as by implication is the god himself. A.F. Garvie has observed that here, “Orestes, like his mother, has become a lion. And both embody Ares”.<sup>817</sup>

In Mesopotamia, and particularly in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, kings represented themselves as both lions and lion-slayers, while gods could be both lions, and controllers of lions. Both monarchs and divine warriors could associate themselves with the wild power of the lion, while also fighting or taming the destructive extra-civilisational force that it represented.<sup>818</sup> Within the first millennium, the idea of the king as lion is primarily attested in Assyrian royal ideology,<sup>819</sup> and the identification of gods with lions generally appears in martial

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<sup>815</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 51-53.

<sup>816</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 938.

<sup>817</sup> Garvie (1986) 306.

<sup>818</sup> See Reade (1983) 72 & 78; Root (1979) 303-308; Watanabe (2002) 76-88; Dick (2006); Annus (2002) 102-108; Foster (2005) 916. The lion appears as killer of livestock, sent by the angry god Erra, at *Erra* IIIA.15. On associations between lions and plague-bringing gods, see Mastrocinque (2007) 203-205.

<sup>819</sup> This idea is also attested in texts from the Ur III period (21<sup>st</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century B.C.). Cf. Cassin (1981), and Watanabe (2002) 42-58 for examples from both Ur III and the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The lion, when used in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, usually appears in a martial context. It is not a symbol of royalty in all its aspects: the lion is not connected to the king as lawgiver, or as judge, or as gardener. The lion is almost always associated with the king turned outwards, towards the enemy, as a destroyer (cf. Cassin (1981: 373).

contexts.<sup>820</sup> The idea of the lion-as-warrior, or indeed as war itself, as victorious war, is expressed most clearly by the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions on a lion-statue from Kalhu, which calls the depicted lion an overwheeler of the enemy land, and a bringer in of good.<sup>821</sup> The good in question must be booty from successful wars. The idea of the lion-slaying king or hero, on the other hand appears prominently in Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid Persian royal iconography.<sup>822</sup> Images representing gods, and in particular, goddesses as tamers and controllers of lions are heavily attested throughout the Greek world and the Near East.<sup>823</sup> The lion therefore appears to have been treated in the Near East primarily as a wild force needing to be tamed (and then, perhaps, channelled) or defeated. Aeschylus' use of lion-imagery, as with the lion-imagery found in the Homeric poems through which he may have received the motif,<sup>824</sup> may be interpreted as a reflex of this widespread paradigm.

In Aeschylus' plays, as in Mesopotamia, the lion appears a wild and savage if powerful force.<sup>825</sup> By likening them to lions, Aeschylus stresses the uncivilised

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<sup>820</sup> E.g. Ninurta (Watanabe 2002: 90); Erra, who describes himself as 'the lion upon earth' (*Erra* I.109), and is said to have had the face of a lion (*Erra* III.C.22; IV.21).

<sup>821</sup> Watanabe (2002) 115-116. The inscription was carved by a scribe who lived in the reign of Shalmaneser IV (782-773 B.C.).

<sup>822</sup> Herakles, greatest of Greek heroes, was also a lion-slayer (see Zardini (2009) 172-179 and Bérard (1987) for discussion of this tradition in both literature and art). For further discussion of lions in Greece, and parallels between the use of lion-imagery in Greece and the Near East, see Faraone (1992) 21-26 & 31. Babylonian examples include an 8<sup>th</sup> century Babylonian seal depicting a lion fighting swordsman, attributed to Marduk-apla-iddina II (Ornan (2005) 71), and a 6<sup>th</sup> century rock relief from Syria showing Nebuchadnezzar II fighting a lion (Ornan (2005) 111). Reliefs of royal lion-hunts, watched from afar by the people, decorated many of the walls of the North Palace at Nineveh. These were sculpted in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. on the orders of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (see Reade (1983) 72-79; Reade in Curtis & Reade (1995) 84-88). The lion-killing hero also featured in Achaemenid Persian iconography (see Porada (1965) 127-128 & 157; Root (1979) 81-82, 101-103, 107-108, 113, 121-122, 303-308). A particularly striking cylinder-seal from Thebes, which clearly follows Assyrian models, depicts Darius shooting lions from his chariot (Porada (1965) 176-178).

<sup>823</sup> Many examples are provided by Marinatos (2000), and by Ornan (2005) 35-36, 67, 82, 92-93 and 160.

<sup>824</sup> On lion-similes in the *Iliad*, cf. Scott (1974) 58-62.

<sup>825</sup> Garvie (1986) 306; Denniston & Page (1957) 181. For extensive discussion of representations of the lion as an aggressor in Greek art and literature, see Markoe (1989). For a more general discussion of the division and opposition between man and wild beast in Greek thought, see Aston (2011) 16-21.

nature of the violence carried out by Orestes, by Clytemnestra, by the Seven, and, most of all, by Ares, who binds them all together.<sup>826</sup>

Aeschylus also depicts Ares as a bringer of fire. In his *Suppliants*, Aeschylus' Danaid chorus pray that Ares will not cause the Pelasgian land (Argos) to be devastated by fire.<sup>827</sup> This echoes the fate feared by the Chorus in the *Seven against Thebes*, who imagine the city stained with smoke as an invader lays it waste with fire, while Ares breathes upon the city.<sup>828</sup> The association of Ares with the lion is purely symbolic, while fire played a real and significant role in war and siege, in 'the works of Ares'.<sup>829</sup> Both the lion's savagery and fire, however, represented destructive forces that a warrior might wield,<sup>830</sup> primarily as an aggressor, while outside war, fire, like the lion, could appear as a wild force, ravaging the civilised world. Sweeping forest-fires are still a recurrent danger in Greece today.<sup>831</sup> Fire, ravaging both town and country, also appears prominently as a weapon of destructive gods, identified with lions, in a popular Babylonian poem.<sup>832</sup>

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<sup>826</sup> Markoe (1989) 111-112 discusses several images where an armoured head is juxtaposed with a lion. Reading these images through the filter of Aeschylus' association of Ares and the lion, Markoe argues, rather speculatively, for a wider association of Ares with leonine aggression.

<sup>827</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 633-636. The Chorus pray that Ares will not cause Argos to be πυρίφατον, an adjective literally meaning 'fire-slain'. Cf. Johansen & Whittle (1980) 9.

<sup>828</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 340-344.

<sup>829</sup> Aeschylus' Chorus of Argive women use this phrase at *Cho.* 160-164, although the 'work of Ares' alluded to, which they hope will be prosecuted by sword and bow, the weapons of war, is internecine and familial violence against Aegisthus and Clytemnestra.

<sup>830</sup> For fire and the lion in Babylonian weapon-names, see Livingston (1986) 54-61.

<sup>831</sup> Destructive fire is distinct from the fire that warms, cooks, or heats a forge. In the Greek world, the use of fire as a tamed, positive force was associated with Prometheus and Hephaestus (who also uses deploys the wild, destructive force of fire at Hom. *Il.* 21.324-382), rather than with Ares.

<sup>832</sup> *Erra* II.iv.28/16 may be read as "I will lay waste cane-brake and reed-thicket and burn them up like Girra", although the reading of the verb that I render as 'lay waste', and which is formed from the root *hrr*, is debated. Dalley (1989) appears to read it as a Š-stem (causative) of *harāru* ('to dig'). Foster (2005) seems to see it as a verbal form of the word *šahurratu* ('an awesome stillness'). Al-Rawi & Black, however, and CAD, see it as a form of *suhruru* ('to lay waste'). Cagni (1969) sees Girra as a simple synonym for fire in *Erra*, but he does appear as an anthropomorphised warrior-god elsewhere. Cf. e.g. Foster (2005) 557, 565 and 660-663. Erra elsewhere (*Erra* I.113) identifies himself with Girra, saying that 'in the reed-thicket, I am Girra,' and orders Išum to burn the land (*Erra* IV.149). One of the Sibitti, the destructive demons who urge Erra to destroy, each of whom represents a different destructive force, is said to 'scorch like Girra, and burn like a flame' (*Erra* I.33). On the popularity of this poem within Mesopotamia, cf. Cagni (1977) 5. For discussion of the Babylonian god Nergal's use of and association with fire, see von Weiher (1971) 80, and Fulco (1976) 37 (Nergal

A recurring motif in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* is the representation of the city as a ship being buffeted by waves (the attacking army), which are themselves driven by the breath of Ares.<sup>833</sup> When the Theban scout reports to Eteocles on the approach of the Argive army, he tells him to be a diligent helmsman, and to put a bulwark around the buildings of the city to fend off the approaching army, which he likens to a land-wave with its shout, and identifies with the breaths of Ares. Bright foam drips from the horses' lungs, as from crashing waves.<sup>834</sup> The Chorus, echoing this, describe the besiegers as a wave of men crashing upon the city, driven on by the breaths of Ares.<sup>835</sup> Ares' breath is also associated by the Chorus with the fire and slaughter that ravage a fallen city.<sup>836</sup> Aeschylus links wind and storm to the other form of violence that he associates with Ares in the *Libation Bearers*, when the Chorus describe the outbreaks of internecine, familial violence described in the *Oresteia* as tempests blowing through the royal house.<sup>837</sup> The use of the metaphor of a storm-battered ship to represent a besieged city is most closely paralleled in the Sumerian *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, composed over a millennium before Aeschylus' play, in which the warlike king of the gods, Enlil, wields a storm of warriors against a series of cities.<sup>838</sup> The laments of Aeschylus' chorus may have been inspired by the poet's memories of the sack of

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is identified with Erra in *Erra* III C.31). Incidentally, Roberts (1972: 24-26) argues that Erra is etymologically linked to fire.

<sup>833</sup> To Thalmann (1978) 32, this, "can justly be called the basic or unifying image of the play." For further discussion of this image, see Torrance (2007) 41; Hutchinson (1985) 52; Thalmann (1978) 55; Brock (2013) 53-67 (who traces the history of this image from Archilochus to the early modern period).

<sup>834</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 59-65.

<sup>835</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 110-115.

<sup>836</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 338-344.

<sup>837</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 1065-1067.

<sup>838</sup> The Gutians are compared to Enlil's flood, storm, fire, and earthquake (Michalowski (1989) 40-43), the invading armies in general are likened to a flood (Michalowski (1989) 36-37), the attacking Elamites incarnate the word of Enlil, which is itself characterised as an attacking storm (Michalowski (1989) 46-47), and when Enlil ceases to attack Sumer, and instead destroys Gutium and Anshan, his inimical intentions are described as a city-destroying storm (Michalowski (1989) 66-69).

Athens by the Persians.<sup>839</sup> Related imagery appears in the *Iliad*, where armies are described as flooding rivers,<sup>840</sup> and as conflicting winds shaking a wood.<sup>841</sup> The analogy between the seemingly inexorable force that is an invading army and a moving mass of turbulent water is perhaps a natural one, while the elements, including storm and flood, wild natural disasters, were wielded as weapons by many Greek and Near Eastern gods.<sup>842</sup> In the *Seven against Thebes*, as in the Sumerian laments, these two ideas are compellingly woven together.<sup>843</sup>

In the plays of Aeschylus, Ares, the wild warrior, is, like several Near Eastern divine warrior-archetypes, associated with the lion, a force tamed and controlled by female warrior-protectors. Ares is also presented as a cause of the fires that most powerfully exemplify and symbolise the unconstrained destruction that comes from war, and as the power that drives on the army-as-natural disaster, waves of men crashing upon the walls of civilisation. Aeschylus' Ares does not represent an isolated aspect of war. Rather, his wild destructiveness reflects, and is integral to Aeschylus' portrayal of war in general. Aeschylus' Ares is not, however, limited to wild destruction; he may also give victory to the defenders of the city, should he choose, as I discuss below.<sup>844</sup>

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<sup>839</sup> As argued by Podlecki (1966) 30, following Sheppard (1913) 77, and Tucker (1908) xlvi.

<sup>840</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.452-456; 16.389-393.

<sup>841</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.765-771.

<sup>842</sup> Cf. e.g. Padel (1992) 114-116 (Zeus and Athena); Annus (2002) 123-124 (Ninurta); *Erra* IIC.31; IV.40. See also §5.2, above.

<sup>843</sup> For discussion of parallel allusions to a relationship between flood and war in Greek and Mesopotamian texts, see Haubold (2013) 61-65. There are many other parallels between Mesopotamian city-laments and those found in Attic Tragedy, just as there are between the latter, and later Greek laments (on which, cf. Alexiou (2002) 83-101).

<sup>844</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 105-107; 136-137. Cf. §6.4.v, below.

#### (6.4.iv) Internal Wildness

Ares breathes the turbulent waves of men upon the city, bringing fire and slaughter, but they can also breathe him. Clytemnestra may be described by Cassandra as ‘breathing truceless Ares’ against her dear ones.<sup>845</sup> Aeschylus’ chorus of Argive elders may also describe Paris and the Trojans as “breathing Ares more than is just,” in daring to break the laws of hospitality, and take Helen.<sup>846</sup> The meaning of both of these passages, and Ares’ presence in them, is disputed, but the retention of Ares in the choral ode allows a meaningful reading with little or no amendment to the manuscript text. Ruth Padel has argued that ‘breathing Ares’ may be understood as a form of divine possession, inspiring madness. The breaths of Ares, which drive the land-wave of the army on, and which at the same time are the

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<sup>845</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1231-1238. Ares is reconstructed (cf. note in §6.4.i, above).

<sup>846</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 374-376. The MSS. give *πέφανται δ’ ἐγγόνους ἀτολήτων Ἄρη πνεόντων μείζον’ ἢ δικαίως* (Sidgwick 1905: 28). To Sidgwick, this “is not a sentence at all, and has no construction”. Sidgwick favours Hartung’s reconstruction, *πέφανται δ’ ἐκτίουσα τόλμη τῶν Ἄρη πνεόντων μείζον’ ἢ δικαίως* (Hartung 1853: 46 – in Hartung’s text these are lines 342-343), although changing Hartung’s *τόλμη*, which Fraenkel (1950b: 196) rejects as a non-Tragic form, to *τόλμᾶ*, and translates as “We have seen it paying penalty, the wickedness (*τόλμα*, ‘criminal daring’) of those who breathed out war more fiercely (*μείζον*) than was just”. Verrall (1904: 48-49 – in Verrall’s text these are lines 385-387), follows much of Hartung’s reconstruction, but rightly rejects *ἐκτίουσα* as being too far from the MSS., and instead suggests *ἐγγόνουσα*, which is closer to the MSS., which he reads as ‘containing offspring’, so that the passage refers to seeing the fruits of the daring of those breathing Ares more than is just. Denniston & Page (1957: 102), favouring *ἐγγόνους*, read lines 385-6 as a reference to the gods punishing Paris with ill-judgment for his ancestors’ sins, but there is no mention of punishment or of ancestral sin at 385-6. Lawson (1932: 122) and Fraenkel (1950b: 195-196), among others (listed by Fraenkel), argue, rightly, that 374f. is about the personal sins of Paris and his ilk, not ancestral sin. Denniston & Page also suggest *ἄρη*, ‘harm’, in place of *Ἄρη*, but fitting in *ἄρη* as a nominative singular subject here is no less problematic than the unusual use of *μείζον* implied by *Ἄρη*, which leads Fraenkel to object to *Ἄρη*. Aeschylus was, however, an inveterate innovator (Stanford (1942) 61-67). Padel (1992: 90) defends the presence of personified Ares (contra e.g. Fraenkel (1950a: 114), and West (1990a: 210)), pointing out parallel cases of Archaic and Classical Greek poets characterising people by the way in which they breathe. No reference to a penalty is necessary in this passage, since the context (the news of the fall of Troy) makes clear the consequences that are shown to future generations of breathing Ares more than is just. The objection raised by Raeburn & Thomas (2011: 112), that the attribution of excessive militarism to Paris and the Trojans seems incongruous, is unfounded. Paris and the Trojans began the conflict. Wilamowitz’s suggestion of Eros in place of Ares (1914a: 196 & 1914b: 195), although untenably speculative, is suggestive: Aeschylus may be envisioning the seductive Ares of the *Odyssey*; but Aeschylus’ exclusive association of Ares with forms of violence elsewhere makes this unlikely (but cf. Padel (1992) 154).

army, and which flow all over the city as it is stormed and ravaged, may reflect the same idea: those whom Ares breathes, breathe Ares.<sup>847</sup> This idea is connected with the scout's description of Hippomedon in the Seven against Thebes. This Argive warrior, standing outside the Gate of Athena Onka, is described as ululating a war-cry, ἔνθεος δ' Ἄρει, 'Ares the god within him', raging for the fight like a Bacchant, seeing Phobos, and as Phobos himself, boasting at the gate.<sup>848</sup> Ares possesses Hippomedon as he does Hector in the *Iliad*.<sup>849</sup> Hippomedon is also identified with Phobos, who is described as filling his vision, just as Ares is described as filling the vision of the Seven.<sup>850</sup> Through seeing Ares, the Seven may be understood to, on some level, become Ares. War, Ares, fills warriors. War is incarnated in the participants who constitute it. Ares possesses the fighters, seizing control of them, so that they become subject to war's seemingly random ebbs and flows, which cannot be controlled by any individual warrior, and, carry out the mad deeds that make up both war and internecine violence: they kill and boast and burn.<sup>851</sup> But this internal Ares also constitutes the strength that allows the warrior to carry out violent deeds. Old men and children, although they may have a will to violence, do not have Ares in their breasts, and are not ἀρείων, 'Ares-like', or 'of Ares'.<sup>852</sup> An isolated woman, likewise, say the daughters of Danaus, has no Ares in her.<sup>853</sup>

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<sup>847</sup> Padel (1992) 115-116; 90: "'breaths of Ares' appear as if they came from the god *into* people, blasting the city, urging besiegers on."

<sup>848</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 486-500. Cf. Padel (1995) 28 & 126-128 for discussion of the connections between Hippomedon's possession by Ares, and his Bacchic madness.

<sup>849</sup> Hom. *Il.* 17.209-212.

<sup>850</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 53. Alternatively, Ares and Phobos may be understood to be shining out the eyes of these warriors from within, again suggesting some kind of possession.

<sup>851</sup> Cf. Padel (1992) 90; Higgins (1978: 29).

<sup>852</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 72-82. On the grammar of this passage, see Medda (2012). The old men state that they are kept from war not by lack of will, but by their 'ancient flesh'. The association made by this passage between Ares being within a person and that person being ἀρειος has interesting implications regarding Aeschylus' and his audience's reading of the adjective ἀρειος elsewhere.

<sup>853</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 749. It is the mode of expression which matters here. The daughters of Danaus exaggerate their lack of Ares, as can be seen from (ps.)-Aesch. *PV* 860-862. Their repeated appeals for Ares to stay away from Argos are coloured by the fact that they bring Ares with them, not as a pursuing Egyptian army, but within their own chests.

Aeschylus' Ares acts within war, but he does not create war. Ares' wildness must be unleashed. Ares, the power to wield violence, lurks dormant within the chests of the strong, but he does not possess or breathe people, and is not breathed by them, until they enter his realm, driven by a curse, or by Zeus, or by the Erinyes, or by their own will. In the *Seven against Thebes*, it is the Curse of Oedipus, personified as a Fury, which drives Ares to slay Eteocles and Polynices.<sup>854</sup> In the *Suppliants*, it is twice stated, once by the daughters of Danaus, and once by the Egyptian herald, that arming Ares, and giving him control over the events, is a course that may be chosen or rejected by the rulers of cities.<sup>855</sup> In the *Agamemnon*, responsibility for the violence, for 'the Ares', is shared, in the eyes of Cassandra, the Chorus, and Clytemnestra herself, by the woman, Clytemnestra, by her equally mortal paramour, Aegisthus, by a Fury, and by the Daimon which, acting through the agency of Helen and Clytemnestra, is assaulting the house of Atreus.<sup>856</sup> In the *Libation-Bearers*, Orestes is unambiguously shown throughout the play to be fully responsible for the next part of this chain of violence, for the next unleashing of Ares, although supported by the Fury,<sup>857</sup> and encouraged by Apollo.<sup>858</sup>

#### **(6.4.v) Taming Ares**

A central theme of both the *Seven against Thebes* and the *Oresteia* is the resolution of violence.<sup>859</sup> Another key theme is the distinction between the kind of

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<sup>854</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 886-897 & 944-946. Cf. Torrance (2007) 42-46 for a discussion of the relationship between Curse, Fury, and Ares in the *Seven against Thebes*.

<sup>855</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 698-703 & 930-937.

<sup>856</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1114-1120; 1431-1433; 1468-1471; 1505-1512. The Fury was driven to action by Agamemnon's own crime (cf. 1521-1529).

<sup>857</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 400-404; 649-652.

<sup>858</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 1029-1039.

<sup>859</sup> *Seven against Thebes* appears to have been the final play in a Tragic trilogy. Cf. Dawson (1970) 22-23.

violence that threatens the city, and the kind of violence that protects it. Aeschylus' portrayals and uses of Ares play important roles in the articulation of both of these intertwined themes.

In the *Seven against Thebes*, Ares primarily embodies the violence that threatens the city, and the lives of its two princes, as discussed above, but he is also appealed to by the Chorus in terms that reflect the idea that he is also capable of helping to defend the city. They cry out to Ares, calling him *παλαίχθων*, he 'who has been long in the land', and ask if he intends to hand them over to their enemies, before asking the golden-helmeted Daimon to watch over the city which was once beloved of him.<sup>860</sup> They repeat this request later in the same ode, crying out to Ares to guard the city bearing the name of Cadmus, and show how he cares for it.<sup>861</sup> The idea of Ares as potential helper and protector in war which these appeals imply is paralleled in Pindar and in the *Iliad*,<sup>862</sup> but in all three cases his unreliability is evident. In the *Seven against Thebes*, the Chorus fear betrayal, and Eteocles rebukes them for wailing when they hear of men being wounded or killed, as they wailed "φεῦ, φεῦ" to Ares on hearing the noise of the approaching army, telling them that Ares feeds on the slaughter of mortals.<sup>863</sup> Wailing to Ares is futile both because he loves slaughter and will not be stopped by simple entreaties, and because slaughter is how he will save the city, if his dice fall that way.

In the *Seven against Thebes*, violence resolves itself. Ares' judgment is completed, and as a result, both of the sons of Oedipus lie dead.<sup>864</sup> This form of

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<sup>860</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 104-107. The epithet 'golden-helmeted' evokes the idea of Ares as warrior, and also emphasises his Olympian divinity (cf. §4.2 and §5.4, above).

<sup>861</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 136-137. Immediately following this appeal to Ares, the Chorus cry out in turn to Aphrodite, to Apollo, and to Artemis, who, alongside Ares, are associated with the Trojan side in the battle of the gods described in *Iliad* 21.

<sup>862</sup> Cf. §2.3.i and §5.4, above.

<sup>863</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 242-244.

<sup>864</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 906-956.

resolution causes great grief, both on account of the deaths of the two princes,<sup>865</sup> and because of the many deaths among their followers, even though Thebes remains free.<sup>866</sup> As a result, Ares, who resolves strife through violence, is not pleasing to the people.<sup>867</sup> He is πικρός, ‘bitter’, like the iron which has finally begun to replace bronze as the bringer of death in literary representations of war.<sup>868</sup>

In the *Oresteia*, on the other hand, Athena, through rebuking the Erinyes, a key motive element in the chain of violence personified as Ares, succeeds in bringing about a peaceful resolution. Athena, the protective goddess of Athens, exerts influence over the Erinyes, and so over Ares, through a combination of implicit criticism, flattering praise, and direct requests.<sup>869</sup> This is reminiscent of the way in which Athena manipulates Ares (albeit more directly) in the *Iliad*.<sup>870</sup> Under Athena’s auspices, the rule of mortal, civic law, in the form of the court of the Areopagus, the Hill of Ares, replaces Ares’ wild and violent judgment and the absolute justice of the Erinyes, which lie outside the Polis, and which can too easily form endless cycles of destruction.<sup>871</sup> Ares ἐμφύλιος and τιθασός, the uncontrollable internecine Ares who ended the Theban strife with the deaths of both conflicting brothers, is not welcome in Athens.<sup>872</sup> The idea of the civic justice of the court replacing the violence of the wild god is emphasised by Athena’s aetiology for the

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<sup>865</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 900-905; 915-921.

<sup>866</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 922-925.

<sup>867</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 910.

<sup>868</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 941-946.

<sup>869</sup> Harrison (1912: 386n.1), building on a suggestion made by Gilbert Murray, observed that the transition from violence to persuasion is a recurring theme in the plays of Aeschylus. This idea has been developed by Buxton (1982) 67-114 (see in particular pp.110-113, where Buxton discusses the end of the *Eumenides*).

<sup>870</sup> Cf. §2.3.ii, above. See also Buxton (1982) 79-82, for discussion of the connection between Ares and βία, ‘force’, in Aeschylus’ *Suppliants*, and of the dichotomy between βία and πειθώ, ‘persuasion’.

<sup>871</sup> For full discussion of this idea, see Podlecki (1966) 74-81, Higgins (1978) 32-33, and Carey (1990) 243-250. Cf. also Kennedy (2009: 20-37), who argues that Orestes’ status as an ally reflects the idea that Athenian civic justice should be extended to the rest of her empire.

<sup>872</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 858-863.

hill, in which she tells how the Amazons set up a fortress upon it in honour of Ares and in direct opposition to the city of Theseus, and its values.<sup>873</sup> The court for enforcing a new civic order is established upon the hill that symbolises the destructive anti-civic presence within the city of the old violence that it tames and displaces.<sup>874</sup>

But Ares is not wholly banished from Athens. External war cannot be avoided, and may even be embraced, and Ares' power within and influence over that sphere of action demands recognition.<sup>875</sup> As the tamed Erinyes become protectors of Athena's city, we find them joined to Ares and to Zeus in the same role.<sup>876</sup> Athens is here described as the guardian of the gods and their altars, and as a delight to the gods of Greece.<sup>877</sup> This has been connected to Athens' role in the defeat of the Persians, who ravaged the sacred places of many Greek cities, including Athens, during their invasion.<sup>878</sup> Aeschylus, as discussed above, associates Ares, and

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<sup>873</sup> Leahy (1973: 203) points out that the anti-Athenian nature of these sacrifices to Ares may have been emphasised through resonance with the fact that the Persians had, in living memory, used the Areopagus as a staging-ground for an assault on the Acropolis, just as the Amazons were said to have done. Battles against the Amazons were an immensely popular theme among Athenian vase-painters and sculptors from the second quarter of the sixth century onwards (Bothmer (1957) 6 and *passim*; cf. Tyrrell (1984) 2-22 for more general discussion of Amazon-myths at Athens). There is no reason to believe that Aeschylus' aetiology for the name of the hill was his own invention (as maintained by Wallace (1989) 88; Jacoby (1949) 217; Nilsson (1951) 82; Scullion (2000) 231). Recent events, political circumstances, and his own poetic purpose need only have influenced the selection of this particular story, which may already have coexisted with that popularised by Euripides (*El.* 1254-1263). It is impossible to determine priority in the absence of earlier evidence, while further aetiologies may have been lost (cf. Seaford (2009) 222). The tendency of competing aetiologies to continually proliferate is strikingly exemplified by the solar explanation of the name of the Areopagus proposed by Gardner (1880: 51), under the influence of Max Müller and his followers (on whom, see Dorson (1955), and Csapo (2005) 22-30). Gardner was not alone in connecting Ares to light (see Müller (1848) 1-2 for discussion and bibliography). Cf. also Schwenn (1924) 239n.4 for earlier bibliography on the name of the Areopagus.

<sup>874</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 681-691. The focus on the Areopagus must be connected in some way to the Reforms of Ephialtes of 462/1 B.C. (cf. Podlecki (1966) 81-85 for discussion and bibliography, with Sidgwick (1902) 23-25, Lloyd-Jones (1970) 75-77, and Nilsson (1951) 81-83), but the replacement of Ares' unconstrained violence with the justice of the court on Ares' Hill has deeper resonance. Cf. Verrall (1908) xl.

<sup>875</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 864-866. Cf. Higgins (1978) 34.

<sup>876</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 916-918.

<sup>877</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 919-921.

<sup>878</sup> See e.g. Verrall (1908) 162; Sommerstein (1989) 263.

specifically Ionian Ares,<sup>879</sup> with the Greek victory in his account of the decisive battle at Salamis.<sup>880</sup> The emphasis placed by Aeschylus' Athena on the value of external war, and the prominent place given to Ares within Athena's city by the tamed Erinyes may also have been inspired by the fact that when the *Oresteia* was first produced, in 458 B.C., Athens was committed to wars with Persia, Corinth, and Aegina.<sup>881</sup>

The idea that Ares may be both a god in and of the city, and also the personification of the city's enemies, is however a recurrent Aeschylean device, hinted at by the rival Persian and Ionian incarnations of Ares, and expressed more clearly in the *Seven against Thebes*, where the Chorus appeal to Ares as a protective god of their land and city, even as his breath drives the Argive army against their walls. In the *Eumenides* too, Ares, even when set up as a god within the city, is still presented by Athena as the god who kills those who fall within the contests within which she gives the city its victories and glory,<sup>882</sup> and a hypothetical invading Argive army is also identified with Ares by Orestes.<sup>883</sup> This echoes the Herald's striking description in the *Agamemnon* of Ares as the bringer of death in battle, and thus of pain to city and household alike.<sup>884</sup> The political circumstances of the *Oresteia*'s composition bring the idea of external war's desirability to the forefront,

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<sup>879</sup> On the significance of Aeschylus' focus on the Ionians in *Persians*, cf. Podlecki (1966) 18-21. It is true that the Ionians are identified with Ares by their Persian enemies, while the Persians are identified with Ares by the Greeks, but Ares is not exclusively identified with enemies within Attic Tragedy. In Euripides' *Phoenicians* (1081-1082 & 1090-1092), the Messenger tells Jocasta of the victory of the Cadmeian Ares.

<sup>880</sup> Cf. §6.3, above.

<sup>881</sup> Thuc. 1.103-105. Cf. Sommerstein (1989) 28-30; (2010b) 132-133.

<sup>882</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 913-915. On ἀρείφατος, cf. Smethurst (1972) 93n.21, contra Stanford (1942) 19.

<sup>883</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 765-766.

<sup>884</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 636-643. Sommerstein (2008b: 76-77) and Higgins (1978: 29) point out that the double whip and two-pronged ruin associated with Ares here relate to the division between the public and the private grief felt for each of the fallen described by the preceding lines. This duality may also, however, reflect the duality between killing and being killed which Ares may be seen as representing elsewhere (cf. §2.3.ii, above). Higgins (1978: 26) sees reflections of this idea elsewhere in the *Oresteia*.

and place Ares within the city's heart, but even in the *Eumenides*, Aeschylus does not let the audience forget that Ares is equally dangerous to both sides. Athena's praise of war may have rung slightly hollow in the ears of some of Aeschylus' audience, who might have remembered the cries of the Chorus to treacherous Ares in the same poet's *Seven against Thebes*, performed less than a decade earlier.<sup>885</sup> The audience may also have remembered the way in which, during that same decade, through both his chorus of suppliant daughters of Danaus and the Egyptian herald who sought to force their surrender, Aeschylus had eloquently made a case for favouring negotiation, diplomacy, and just treaties over arming destructive, unpredictable Ares.<sup>886</sup> In *Suppliants*, Ares is not embraced by Pelasgus and the Argives, but boldly risked when necessary in order to prevent injustice.

There is, however, one central difference between the Athens of the *Eumenides*, and the Argos of the *Suppliants* or the Thebes of the *Seven against Thebes*. Athens, the city of the poet, in which Ares is claimed as a civic deity, is the city of Athena. It is Athena who has tamed the gods who unleashed the internecine Ares, and so tamed the war-god himself, and it is she who enjoins her people to engage in external wars, given confidence by her support and protection. Ares and Athena were closely connected in Athenian cult, which may have inspired, or been partially influenced by Aeschylus' portrayal of Ares' taming in the *Oresteia*.

### **(6.5) Ares and Athena at Athens**

In fourth century Attic cult, Ares was inextricably linked to Athena, in her

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<sup>885</sup> *Seven against Thebes* won the first prize in 467 B.C., and the *Oresteia* won the first prize in 458.

<sup>886</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 698-703 & 935-937.

manifestation as Athena Areia.<sup>887</sup> It is not certain that this connection was fully formed, or indeed existed at all, when Aeschylus' composed his *Oresteia*. That a connection might naturally be drawn between this cult and Aeschylus' *Eumenides* is indicated by the fact that, over half a millennium later, the travel-writer Pausanias wrote that the Athenians of his time had told him that Orestes, after being acquitted, dedicated the altar of Athena Areia which still stood on the Areopagus in Pausanias' time.<sup>888</sup> The actual age of this altar, which has not been preserved, cannot be determined.<sup>889</sup>

In the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., Dion, son of Dion, priest of Ares and Athena Areia, set up a stele in the deme of Acharnai which recorded the text of the traditional oath sworn by the ephebes of Athens, as well as the oath sworn by the Athenians before the battle of Plataia.<sup>890</sup> Among the gods called upon as witnesses to the ephebic oath are Ares and Athena Areia, who are explicitly presented as a pair. The text of this oath may date back to the sixth century. P. Siewert points out that the language of the oath "shows... no demonstrable fifth- or fourth-century traits", and argues that it does contain several typically Archaic

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<sup>887</sup> See Parker (2005b) 226 for discussion of the way in which the use of a divine name as an epithet for another god may indicate the higher status of the latter within the city.

<sup>888</sup> Paus. 1.28.5. Cf. Beschi & Musti (1982) 370.

<sup>889</sup> Pausanias (9.4.1-2) informs us that a sanctuary of Athena Areia was built at Plataia from the spoils given to the Plataians by the Athenians after the battle of Marathon. This account is corroborated by Plutarch (*Arist.* 20.3). Cf. Francis (1990) 74. If the Athenians had any say in the disposal of these funds, this may indicate that a cult of Athena Areia did exist at Athens at the beginning of the fifth century, and that this aspect of Athena was a valued protector in battle.

<sup>890</sup> *SEG* 16.140. Dating follows Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 443-448. Kellogg (2013: 264n.3) accepts this dating, although, following van Wees (2006: 152), Krentz (2007: 740-741) argues for a dating in the second quarter of the fourth century on account of resonances between the text of the 'Oath of Plataia' and the wider political context of that time. The letter forms are certainly fourth century (Tod (1948) 303; Gonzales (2004) 210). Rhodes & Osborne also observe, however, that the style of the cuirass is similar to that in the relief on the deme decree found nearby (*SEG* 21.519 – see below). For further editions and translations of the text, see Robert (1938) 302-303, and Pélékidis (1962) 112-113. For further discussion of the oath, see also Daux (1971) 370-383. As Kellogg (2013: 265) points out, this oath, and the institution of the ephebeia, may predate regular military training for the ephebes. On the possibility that the 'Oath of Plataia' may in fact have originated not at Plataia but at Marathon, see Krentz (2007), followed by Kellogg (2013) 273-274. For the idea that the 'Oath of Plataia' may have originated at Sparta, before being adapted for Athenian use in the fourth century, see van Wees (2006).

stylistic and conceptual elements. Siewert also detects a series of allusions to the oath in the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Thucydides.<sup>891</sup> But the antiquity of the list of gods cited as witnesses to the oath is less certain. The Egyptian-born Greek scholar Pollux, resident in Athens in the second century A.D., gives a version of the oath which is fairly close to that given in the inscription from Acharnae, but his god-list is significantly shorter, and omits Athena Areia.<sup>892</sup> As Siewert has pointed out, the combination of Ares and Athena Areia may be specific to the Acharnae inscription, which was, after all, set up by a priest of Ares and Athena Areia.<sup>893</sup> The pairing of Ares and Athena Areia is not reliably attested in another Athenian oath until the middle of the third century,<sup>894</sup> although they do appear in several non-Athenian treaty-oaths from the last decade of the fourth century.<sup>895</sup> That Ares retained his place in the god-list which reached Pollux is due not to the antiquity of his association with the ephobic oath, but rather to his association with the cult of Aglauros. Both Ares and Aglauros appear in the god-list of the inscribed ephobic oath, in which Aglauros is the first named god, but they are not paired. A speech

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<sup>891</sup> Siewert (1977), accepted by Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 449, and Gonzales (2004) 213-214. Robertson (1976), however, while admitting the presence of Archaic elements within the oath, argues that the oath splits naturally in two halves – ‘the soldier’s oath’, and ‘the citizen’s oath’ - and that all the Archaic language appears in ‘the citizen’s oath’.

<sup>892</sup> Pollux 8.105-106. Cf. Robert (1938) 297-307 for comparative discussion of the three extant copies of the oath (a third is provided by Stobaeus (43.48), whose version Tod (1948: 305) points out is rather closer to the text of the inscription than that of Pollux), with texts. Cf. also Harding (1985) 133-135.

<sup>893</sup> Siewert (1977) 109-110.

<sup>894</sup> Ares and Athena Areia are among the oath-gods in a treaty between Athens and Sparta dating from between 267 and 265 B.C. (Schmitt (1969) 129-133). Reconstructions of the oath-lists for the treaty between Athens and the northern kings in 356/5 B.C. (see Tod (1948) 167-168; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 254-258; Harding (1985) 92-93), and for the treaty establishing peace between the Greeks and Philip of Macedon and the creation of the League of Corinth (see Tod (1948) 224-225; Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 372-373; Harding (1985) 123-124), generally include the pairing of Ares and Athena, based on later examples. These cannot be used as evidence for the pairing of Ares and Athena (whether Areia or not) in treaties before the final quarter of the fourth century. Cf. Brulé (2005) 164-167 for a table of oath-gods in treaties from c.5<sup>th</sup> to c.2<sup>nd</sup> B.C. The unparalleled Athenian joint cult does suggest that the combination of Ares and Athena Areia in oaths may have spread from Athens, but the few well-preserved treaty god-lists do not support this theory.

<sup>895</sup> E.g. Schmitt (1969) 44-46 (treaty between the dynast Eupolemos and the city of Theangela in Caria, dating from ca.310 B.C.). Cf. Brulé (2005) 164-165.

given by Demosthenes in the summer of 343 B.C. refers to the ephebes swearing their oath in the temple of Aglauros, which explains her prominent position in the inscription's list of oath-gods.<sup>896</sup> The earliest evidence for a strong connection between Ares and the cult of Aglauros dates from the middle of the third century B.C.<sup>897</sup>

A second inscription from Acharnae, also dating from the third quarter of the fourth century, records the deme's decision, following consultation of an oracle, to build altars for Ares and Athena Areia at public expense.<sup>898</sup> Reference is initially made to a joint altar of Ares and Athena Areia. The oracle is said to have stated that the Athenians in general, as well as the Acharnians in particular, ought to build multiple altars to Ares and Athena Areia. The Acharnians then resolved to build this at public expense, aiming to complete the building-work before the Areia. This may refer to a decision to replace an original joint altar with a new pair of separate altars, one for each god.<sup>899</sup> Alternatively, it may refer to a decision to build several joint altars across the city, perhaps including the rebuilding of a pre-existing altar.<sup>900</sup> The Areia was evidently a regular, perhaps annual, sacrifice to the paired gods, of unknown scale. This decree suggests that a joint cult of Ares and Athena Areia existed before the third quarter of the fourth century, and shows that the cult was

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<sup>896</sup> Dem. 19.303.

<sup>897</sup> A decree inscribed on a stele set up by the Athenian demos during the third century B.C. refers to annual sacrifices to a series of gods including Aglauros and Ares (who begin the list). See Dontas (1983) for text and translation of this inscription, plus discussion of possible datings. For further discussion of Aglauros, her cult, and her connection to the ephebes and to Ares, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2011) 26-36; Parker (2005a) 398n.43 & 434n.64; Mikalson (1998) 165 & 176; Larson (1995) 39-41; Kearns (1989) 24-27, 57-63, & 139-140; Merkelbach (1972).

<sup>898</sup> *SEG* 21.519. Dating follows Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 443, who point out that the style of the relief is related to others that are securely dated to the third quarter of the fourth century. The letter-forms are generally agreed to be fourth-century. For text, translations, and further discussion, see Robert (1938) 293-294; Gonzales (2004) 221-226.

<sup>899</sup> This is the position taken by Gonzales (2004) 223-225.

<sup>900</sup> The altar of Athena Areia on the Areopagus referred to by Pausanias (1.21.4) may have been connected to this joint cult.

important enough at that time to attract substantial public spending.<sup>901</sup> At least in mid-fourth century Acharnae, the two gods were inextricably linked. The relief on this decree appears to show Athena crowning Ares.<sup>902</sup> As C. Lawton has observed, this relief closely resembles those found on decrees honouring men for military achievements.<sup>903</sup> Ares is perhaps being honoured for giving victories to the people protected by Athena Areia.<sup>904</sup> The goddess holds the position of authority here, and so this relief suggests that the joint cult of Ares and Athena Areia represented the civic protective goddess' influence over and power within wild Ares.

In the second century A.D., when Pausanias visited Athens, a temple of Ares stood in the Agora.<sup>905</sup> Here, the god was worshipped independently, without Athena. This temple has not yet been found by archaeologists, and so its age is unknown.<sup>906</sup> The cult statue is attributed by Pausanias to Alkamenes, a sculptor who may have been born in the Athenian cleruchy at Lemnos, and appears to have lived and worked in Athens during the second half of the fifth century B.C.<sup>907</sup> Whatever the age of

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<sup>901</sup> Robert (1938) 296 suggests that construction of the altars had already been mandated by an earlier decree, and that the decree recorded by our inscription deals with the problem of funding this project.

<sup>902</sup> Hartswick (1990: 261-272) has argued that the relief is Augustan rather than fourth century, and that it actually shows Athena crowning Gaius Caesar. But the relief is an integral part of the stele, and the letter-forms of the inscription are clearly fourth-century. The inscription does not make any reference to any mortal achievements, and so it is also highly unlikely that the relief represents a fourth-century man being crowned by the goddess in honour of his victories in the realm of Ares. Traces of red paint have been found on Ares' cuirass and shield (Lawton (1995) 13), which may reflect literary descriptions of the god being stained by slaughter (see §2.3.i, §5.4 and §6.2, above).

<sup>903</sup> Lawton (1995) 38 & 48-49.

<sup>904</sup> Lawton (1995: 49) sees this as an indication of Athena's deference to Ares in his sanctuary, but when a god or goddess is shown crowning a mortal, the crowner outranks the crowned. Furthermore, the cult was a joint cult, and not a cult of Ares alone.

<sup>905</sup> Paus. 1.8.4.

<sup>906</sup> See Korrés (1992-1998), who has shown that the temple which was evidently moved to the Agora in the Augustan period, and which was long thought to be Pausanias' temple of Ares, perhaps moved from Acharnae (see, e.g. Dinsmoor (1940); Beschi & Musti (1982) 287-288; Hartswick (1990) 258-261), actually matches the foundations of a temple of Athena in Pallene. It seems highly unlikely that a temple of Athena would have been moved to the Athenian Agora, and then repurposed as a temple of Ares (but see Gonzales (2004) 185-186 for an attempt to explain how this could occur). As an alternative to the temple moved from Pallene, Parker (2005a: 52 & 398n.43) tentatively suggests that the recently-discovered outline of foundations on the east peak of the Areopagus (discussed by Korres (1996) 113, n.70) might be identified with the temple of Ares.

<sup>907</sup> Stewart (1990) 267, who further observes that he was certainly active at Athens in or after 403 B.C.

Ares' temple in the Agora, his cult was evidently sufficiently important in the fifth century for a cult-statue to be commissioned from a prominent and no doubt expensive sculptor.<sup>908</sup> Pausanias tells us that the statue of Athena which stood in the same temple was by a Parian named Locrus. Alkamenes' statue of Ares was not, therefore, part of a pair, which suggests that Ares received independent cult at Athens in the fifth century. Several fourth-century reliefs have been found showing an armed, armoured, and bearded figure of divine stature being approached by worshippers.<sup>909</sup> These may comprise further examples of cult activity in honour of Ares (without Athena), but because unlabelled, the divine figure is equally likely to be one of Athens's many heroes. One of these reliefs, dating from the third quarter of the fourth century, was found at Acharnae, where Ares certainly did receive cult, but the presence of a cult of Ares in a deme does not preclude the contemporaneous existence of at least one hero-cult.<sup>910</sup> M. Meyer has pointed out that Ares is generally depicted as young and beardless in Classical art, which makes identification of the bearded figure in this relief with Ares somewhat problematic.<sup>911</sup> Ares is named in two fourth-century marble fragments, both of which may be from gravestones. In

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<sup>908</sup> This assumes that Pausanias' attribution is accurate. The nature of Alkamenes' other statues, which included cult-images of Hera, Dionysos, and Hephaistos, suggests that his statue of Ares was always intended to serve as a cult image (see Stewart (1990) 267-269 for discussion of Alkamenes' other recorded works, both in Athens and elsewhere, but cf. Lapatin (2010) on the question of which statues of gods may be considered 'cult statues', if any). Parker (2005a: 398n.43) concludes that the age of Ares' statue shows that some kind of sanctuary of Ares existed in the Agora in the Classical period.

<sup>909</sup> Lawton (1995) 34-36, 49, 53, 136, 141, 154.

<sup>910</sup> Harrison (1979) 77, followed by Lawton (1995) 17 & 49 (see also Bruneau (1984) 479), maintains that the find-spot offers conclusive evidence that the divine figure on this relief represents Ares. If this view is accepted, then the altar depicted in the relief may be that commissioned in *SEG* 21.519.

Lawton (1995: 141 & 154) tentatively identifies the divine figure in two further reliefs (nos. 139 & 173, Lawton) with Ares on the grounds of similarity to the relief from Acharnae (no. 125, Lawton).

<sup>911</sup> Meyer (1989) 118, following Bruneau (1984) 490, who points out that Archaic art represents Ares as a mature, bearded, armoured warrior, but like several other Olympians, he becomes beardless and nude at the end of the Archaic period. Bruneau also points out, however, that this transition was gradual, and that the loss of beard and armour did not necessarily come together. Thus one cup from the fourth quarter of the fifth century depicts a naked but bearded figure labelled as Ares. It is not, therefore, entirely inconceivable that a bearded figure could have represented Ares in the fourth century. Meyer speculates that the relief from Acharnae (no. 125, Lawton) might represent the hero Oineus, but as Harrison (1979: 77-78) points out Oineus is (also) beardless in the two cases where he is identified by an inscription in vase-paintings.

one, the god is named as the killer of the deceased, in amongst the spears,<sup>912</sup> but in the other, Ares is portrayed in a more positive light.<sup>913</sup>

Strabo quotes Alcaeus as announcing, having fled from a battle, that while he himself was safe, his arms had been dedicated by the victorious Athenians in a temple of Athena Glaukopis.<sup>914</sup> Two manuscripts (h and o) include the name Ἄρει in the first line, while the other manuscripts give the verb ἀποῖ instead.<sup>915</sup> C. Müller and F. Dübner, preferring Ἄρει, translate it as ‘Marti’,<sup>916</sup> following which Horace Jones tentatively paraphrases this quotation as, “Alcaeus is safe, but his arms have been hung up as an offering to Ares by the Attic army in the temple of Athena Glaukopis.”<sup>917</sup> Jones’ interpretation, if accepted, would provide evidence that a strong connection between Ares and Athena existed in Attic cult during the Archaic period. Several recent editions, however, reject Ἄρει entirely, on the basis on the transmission of ἀποῖ in the majority of our manuscripts.<sup>918</sup> One viable alternative is to read Ἄρει not as a Latinate dative (‘to/for Ares’), but as ‘in Ares’ (i.e. ‘Marte’), a common Archaic expression for war, the realm of Ares.<sup>919</sup> This seems a more compelling interpretation of Strabo’s text than that offered by Jones in part because it would be entirely unremarkable. Following this reading, the Archaic Athenians

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<sup>912</sup> Hansen (1989) 16-17, no.488.

<sup>913</sup> Hansen (1989) 17-18, no.489.

<sup>914</sup> Strabo 13.1.38 = Campbell (1982) 426-427 = Alc. fr.401B (Lieberman).

<sup>915</sup> Müller & Dübner (1853) 1025; Lieberman (1999) 174.

<sup>916</sup> Müller & Dübner (1853) 513: “Alcaeus Marti salvus est; non item arma”.

<sup>917</sup> Jones (1929) 76-77: “the text has been so badly mutilated by the copyists that none of the conjectural restorations can with certainty be adopted; and hence the translator can give only the general sense of the passage.” Following Leaf (1923) 22 (who favours ἀποῖ), Jones maintains that this quotation was originally a marginal note by a scholiast which has crept into the main text, but a scholiast may quote Alcaeus no less accurately (or inaccurately) than Strabo. Kramer (1852: 34), who also expresses doubts about this passage, favours Ἄρει.

<sup>918</sup> Falconer (in Hamilton & Falconer (1903) 366), accepting ἀποῖ, takes ἔντεα, ‘arms’, as the object of both verbs: Alcaeus fails to take them up, and so the Athenians set them up in Athena’s temple. Campbell (1982: 426) also reads ἀποῖ, as does Radt (2004: 578), while Lieberman (1999: 174), following West (1990b: 7) favours the reconstruction of ἄρμενα δ’ from ἀποῖ ἐνθάδ’, which I find excessively speculative.

<sup>919</sup> Cf. §2.3.i and §3.2 above.

thank Athena for her protection in Ares, but do not allude to any special relationship between their patron and the god of war.

Ares' importance in fourth century Attic cult is further indicated by Hermogenes' statement in Plato's *Cratylus* that surely an Athenian would not "forget Athena, nor Hephaestus and Ares."<sup>920</sup> In the *Laws*, Plato refers to the paired deities Ares and Athena as patrons of the warriors who defend the city,<sup>921</sup> and describes military commanders as Ἄρεος... ἄρχουσιν.<sup>922</sup>

The evidence discussed above shows that there was a strong connection in Athenian cult between Ares and Athena, particularly in her specialised manifestation as Athena Areia, from the second half of the fourth century onwards. No evidence has as yet been unearthed which might indicate whether or not this cultic connection existed prior to the fourth century. Ares also appears to have received cult at Athens as an independent god in the Classical period, and the statue by Alkamenes demonstrates that his cult possessed significant prestige near the end of the fifth century. This statue post-dates the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus by up to half a century. The precise nature of the relationship between Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and contemporary Attic cult for Ares remains impossible to determine. I further explore the implications of this cult for our interpretation of Athenian dramatic portrayals and uses of Ares at the end of my discussion of the god's roles in the plays of Euripides.

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<sup>920</sup> Pl. *Crat.* 406d.

<sup>921</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 920d-e.

<sup>922</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 671d-e.

#### (6.4.vi) Ares and Erra: Civic Concerns across the Aegean

Aeschylus uses Ares as a narrative device which helps him to tell stories about the threats posed to the city by strife and violence, both external and internal, and about the ways in which violence can be resolved. The god, incarnating the violence, and driving it on with his breath, may be identified with and appealed to by both sides in a conflict. When slaughter occurs, he possesses those who carry out the violence, and may be identified with them, as well as with their acts. If events are wholly left in the charge of Ares, the impious judge, the violence may end only when it devours itself, closure coming through the deaths of all participants. A more satisfactory resolution is for Ares, the wild god, to be tamed by the protective deity of the people, and integrated into the city under her auspices, as a force to be wielded against external foes.

This may be described as a narrative device, but it is not simply a literary conceit. Aeschylus' uses of Ares reflect the perceived nature and roles of the god within wider, essentially religious, narratives of divine causality. This is illustrated by the existence of close parallels in a work which, while composed in a very different genre,<sup>923</sup> and in an entirely alien tongue, was the product of another city-state society which spoke a different dialect of the same religious language.<sup>924</sup> Kabit-ilāni-Marduk, a poet who lived and worked in a Babylon confronted by the same

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<sup>923</sup> Although Dalley (1989) 283 remarks of Erra that, "Possibly the poem shows features of ritual drama."

<sup>924</sup> Some of the many parallels between *Erra* and Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* have previously been discussed by Burkert (1981), and (1992) 106-114 (but cf. Dowden (1992) 69). Burkert's purpose was to establish the existence and explore the nature of direct cultural and literary connections between Greece and the Near East. My purpose, however, is not to suggest direct 'borrowing', but to show how shared ideas relating to divine causal structures might have resulted in similar literary portrayals of gods. This necessarily implies that the literary works of both Aeschylus and the Babylonian poet reflect real contemporary conceptions of the relationships between the gods and causality. I therefore follow an approach related to that advocated by Mondi (1990) 144-145, and by Haubold (2013) 10-12.

threats of internecine strife and external war which troubled Aeschylus, described their realisation and resolution in a poem which the ancient Mesopotamians called *šar gimir dadmē* (*O King of all the dwelling-places*), but which modern scholars have named *The Epic of Erra* or *Erra and Išum*, after its central characters, and which I refer to simply as *Erra*.<sup>925</sup>

*Erra* begins with the god Erra awakening from a peaceful rest, eager for war. He is encouraged to go forth and carry out violence by the Sibitti, who point to a lack of due respect being paid to the god.<sup>926</sup> Erra's comrade Išum questions this course of action, but his advice is rejected by Erra. Erra then persuades Marduk to leave his temple Esagil and remove his protection from Babylon by pointing to the neglect of Marduk's statue by the Babylonians. Marduk leaves Babylon, and Erra proclaims his intentions: to stir up the whole world into chaos and strife.

In the fourth tablet, Išum rebukes Erra for entering Babylon, causing the people to rebel, and encouraging the governor to react by deploying his troops to put down the revolt, with the result that blood flowed like water through the streets of the city. Marduk then laments the fate of Babylon. Meanwhile, Erra supports an invasion of Babylonia by the Sutians, and is rebuked by Marduk, Ishtar and Ištaran. Ištaran, through grief for his city, Der, also threatens violence. Išum then rebukes Erra again, this time flattering as well as remonstrating. This time, Erra is placated,

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<sup>925</sup> The dating of *Erra* is much debated. A concise review of the extensive and complex debate on this topic has been attempted by Bodi (1991: 54-56), who concludes that the poem could date from anywhere between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the mid-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. And the poem could conceivably be even later, since Bodi's assertion that the poem could not date after ca.750 B.C. relies on his assumption that a poem which ends with Babylon supreme could not be written during the period of Assyrian supremacy in Mesopotamia. Neither the language of the poem nor the orthography of the texts precludes an early seventh-century provenance (Cagni (1969) 37-45). Our main text comes from the library of Ashurbanipal (i.e. from near the middle of the seventh century). As with the story of *the Seven against Thebes* (on which, see Burkert (1992) 106-114), it has been suggested that *Erra* is based on a historical conflict, but the impossibility of securely dating either story reduces this theory to speculation. Cf. also Machinist (1983) 221.

<sup>926</sup> The Sibitti appear within *Erra* as a group of seven gods who both serve and manipulate Erra. Each characterised by a different mode of destruction.

but not particularly apologetic, boasting of his strength. In an epilogue, the poet introduces himself, stating that the poem was dictated to him by Erra himself in a dream. Finally, a speech by Erra promises protection to those who preserve the poem.

While Aeschylus' characters talk about Ares within plays composed for a festival of Dionysos, *Erra* is a poem composed for and addressed to the god. It is an essentially cultic artefact, to the same extent as a statue or a ritual. The poem begins with an invocation, and ends with a claim to divine inspiration, and an affirmation that the preservation of the poem and its installation in sacred spaces will gain the favour of the god. Not only the narrative and performance of the poem, but also its physical reproduction and display are said to honour Erra. Texts of the poem appear to have been used as protective amulets.<sup>927</sup>

There are many important differences between the system of causality described in Aeschylus' plays, and that envisioned by the Babylonian poet. In *Erra*, as in most Mesopotamian epic, the gods are foregrounded. As a result, mortal desires, will, and strength play at most a subsidiary role. Erra's anger and Marduk's withdrawal result from mortal impiety, rather than a decision to unleash the destructive god.<sup>928</sup> While the Sibitti are, like the Erinyes, a group of dangerous deities with chthonic associations, they are not particularly associated with vengeance, the prosecution of curses, or the punishment of impious acts. While they do help to motivate Erra to act, the continuation or cessation of the destruction lies in Erra's hands, not theirs. Nor is Erra directly identified with war or violence in the

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<sup>927</sup> Reiner (1960).

<sup>928</sup> Cf. Bodi (1991) *passim*.

way that Ares is in Aeschylus plays. Erra unleashes, directs, and is associated with destruction rather than explicitly embodying it.

Nonetheless, much of Aeschylus' portrayal of Ares as a causal force, and of the ways in which this force might be controlled, closely parallel the depiction of Erra in *Erra*, and the narrative of that poem. I have already discussed the many and close parallels between the ways in which both Erra and Aeschylus' Ares are portrayed as wild and destructive gods: how they are associated with lions, and wield wind, wave, storm, and fire, all of which were natural threats to civilisation.<sup>929</sup> The way in which Ares enters into men and women, giving them strength and driving them to violence, is also loosely paralleled in *Erra*. Through the power of Erra, the cripple overtakes the swift footed, the strong defeat the weak, and the weak fly like birds.<sup>930</sup> And it is through the influence of Erra that fury seizes the heart of the governor of Babylon, driving him to command a series of evil deeds which cause harm to his city and people.<sup>931</sup>

Like Aeschylus' Ares, Kabti-ilāni-Marduk's Erra is particularly associated with strife within the city and within the family; with *stasis*. The first thirty-five lines of the fourth tablet of *Erra* describe Erra entering Babylon in mortal guise,<sup>932</sup> and stirring up civil strife within the city.<sup>933</sup> He is presented as doing this both through rabble-rousing as a mortal,<sup>934</sup> leading the insurgents in battle,<sup>935</sup> and through the use of his divine power, giving strength and skill to the people in order that they might

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<sup>929</sup> See §6.4.iii, above.

<sup>930</sup> *Erra* IV.7-11.

<sup>931</sup> *Erra* IV.23-30.

<sup>932</sup> *Erra* IV.3. As Cagni (1977, p.49) points out, Erra also 'speaks like a man' at *Erra* II.B.27.

<sup>933</sup> The trope of a god stirring up strife, giving ill advice, or even fighting in mortal guise, while common in Greek literature (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il. passim*), is much less common in Mesopotamian texts.

<sup>934</sup> *Erra* IV.5.

<sup>935</sup> *Erra* IV.15 – he takes the lead, going in front of them. Reminiscent of Ares in Hom. *Il.* V.594.

slay each other,<sup>936</sup> and filling the governor with insane fury.<sup>937</sup> It is Erra, and not the mortals who fight and rage and kill, who is made responsible by the poet.<sup>938</sup> Here, therefore, Erra appears as both the instigator of strife, and as a power within it.<sup>939</sup>

Even once he ceases to rage against Babylon, Erra maintains this association with civil war, commanding that Subartian should turn on Subartian, Assyrian on Assyrian, Elamite on Elamite, Kassite on Kassite, Sutilian on Sutilian, Gutian on Gutian, and Lullabaeon on Lullabaeon, as he turns his attention to Babylon's enemies.<sup>940</sup> Included in this is a command that brother be set against brother.<sup>941</sup>

Erra's association with strife not only within the city as a whole, but also specifically within the family, is made clear in *Erra* by a pair of couplets: one, near the end of the second tablet, blaming Erra for the estrangement of father and son, and for mothers turning on their daughters,<sup>942</sup> and the second, near the beginning of the third tablet, presents Erra as making fathers ignore their sons, and daughters speak angrily to their mothers.<sup>943</sup>

The evil deeds inspired by Erra are, moreover, no less impious than those caused by Ares. In the second tablet, Erra announces that he will let wicked men, wild beasts and demons into the temples of Babylonia,<sup>944</sup> stating that he intends to destroy the shrines outright.<sup>945</sup> In the third tablet, Erra reveals that he plans to force the people to turn against their gods,<sup>946</sup> and in the fourth tablet, the crowd, driven on

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<sup>936</sup> *Erra* IV.7-11.

<sup>937</sup> *Erra* IV.23-25.

<sup>938</sup> *Erra* IV.33-35.

<sup>939</sup> Cf. Jacobsen (1976) 227-228; Bottéro & Kramer (1989) 715.

<sup>940</sup> *Erra* IV.130-136.

<sup>941</sup> *Erra* IV.135.

<sup>942</sup> *Erra* II.iv.33/21-34/22.

<sup>943</sup> *Erra* III.A.9-10.

<sup>944</sup> *Erra* II.iv.35/23; 37/25; 43/31.

<sup>945</sup> *Erra* II.iv.42/30.

<sup>946</sup> *Erra* III.A.11-12.

by Erra, thrust fire against the temples of Babylon.<sup>947</sup> Erra's evident lust for destroying sanctuaries is also remarked upon by Išum,<sup>948</sup> who also lays at Erra's door the deaths of priests, eager to bring food-offerings to the gods.<sup>949</sup> L. Cagni has argued that the men forced to fight by Erra are specifically those who were generally exempt from military service on account of being sacred to Anu and Dagan.<sup>950</sup>

Like the Erinyes and the cycle of Ares-driven and incarnated destruction that they unleash, Erra (and, as a result, the Sibitti) are persuaded to desist from violence against the city by a protective god. In both cases, flattery succeeds after threats have failed. In Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, Apollo twice rebukes the Erinyes, listing their atrocities, while threatening retribution, and twice his rebuke goes unheeded.<sup>951</sup> Likewise, Ištaran,<sup>952</sup> however, the tutelary god of Dēr, not only rebukes Erra for turning over his city, people, and statue to the Sutians, but also responds to violence with the threat of violence, promising plague and slaughter,<sup>953</sup> storm and drought and flood. Erra ignores this rebuke, and also disregards Išum's initial rebuke, in which he asks the destroyer to justify his actions.<sup>954</sup> It is only after Išum has flattered Erra, telling him that that he has nothing left to prove, that none can possibly hold him in contempt, due to his dominance over land and sea, heaven and earth, gods and men alike, fearing none, but feared by all,<sup>955</sup> that Erra calls an end to the violence.<sup>956</sup>

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<sup>947</sup> *Erra* IV.14.

<sup>948</sup> *Erra* IV.117.

<sup>949</sup> *Erra* IV.108.

<sup>950</sup> *Erra* III.B.3; IV.33 – cf. Cagni (1977) 43n.92.

<sup>951</sup> Aesch., *Eum.* 179-197 & 644-651.

<sup>952</sup> Written AN.GAL.

<sup>953</sup> Or simply slaughter. The cuneiform may be read as either *šibtu* or *šiptu*. For discussion of this issue, see Roberts (1972) 21-29 & 81-87; Cagni (1969) 258-259.

<sup>954</sup> *Erra* III.C.35-37.

<sup>955</sup> *Erra* III.D.

<sup>956</sup> Erra himself directly attributes his appeasement and calming to the intervention of Išum, and states that without Išum, he would have continued to destroy indefinitely (*Erra* V.13-15).

Išum, the protector, is motivated by *rēmu*, ‘compassion’, for the people.<sup>957</sup> This resembles the way in which Athena, having made it clear that she sees the wrath of the Erinyes upon Athens, and the presence of an internecine Ares, as wrong and terrible and unjust,<sup>958</sup> focuses on flattering and praising them. In asking the Erinyes to cease their anger, and refrain from poisoning Athens, she implicitly acknowledges their power. Beyond this, she promises them honour and sacrifices,<sup>959</sup> and praises their age and wisdom.<sup>960</sup> They may, Athena says, be hard to please, but they are also great.<sup>961</sup>

At the end of the *Oresteia*, Ares and the Erinyes have been integrated into the city as protectors, under the auspices of Athena. At the end of *Erra*, Erra commands Išum to restore the strength of Babylonia: that Babylon’s enemies be crushed, that tribute pour into the city, that the temples might be restored, and that the city might be filled with food and water.<sup>962</sup> And as Erra calms, and aligns himself with the city, so too do the Sibitti, who accompany Išum in carrying out Erra’s orders that the enemies of Babylon be crushed,<sup>963</sup> while final his promise of protection for those who preserve the poem acts as a shield not only against his own wrath, but also against that of the Sibitti.<sup>964</sup> Just as Ares and the Erinyes<sup>965</sup> appear to have received cult at shrines at Athens in Aeschylus’ time, so both Erra and the Sibitti were recipients of cult at shrines in Babylonia when Kabti-ilāni-Marduk composed *Erra*,

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<sup>957</sup> *Erra* III.C.28-30: *rēmu* generally means ‘compassion’, ‘pity’, or ‘mercy’, but can also mean ‘womb’, which suggests that a maternal sort of compassion may be indicated (cf. CAD s.v. *rēmu*).

<sup>958</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 800-803, 824-825, 829-831, 858-866, 898-899.

<sup>959</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 834-836.

<sup>960</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 848-849.

<sup>961</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 928-929.

<sup>962</sup> *Erra* V.20-38.

<sup>963</sup> *Erra* IV.137-140.

<sup>964</sup> *Erra* V.57-58.

<sup>965</sup> As the Semnai Theai (see Parker (2005a) 52, 102, 382, 406, and 441-442; (2009) 147-151).

if not necessarily in the city of Babylon itself.<sup>966</sup>

Both the tragedies of Aeschylus and Kabti-ilāni-Marduk's *Erra* were composed within city-states threatened by both external warfare and internal strife. Through associating both forms of violence with a single wild, destructive god or group of gods, these poets suggest a kinship between the threat posed to the city by an invading army, and that posed by civil unrest, and by intra-familial conflict. Both kinds of violence are likened to the forces that menace civilisation from outside: storm, fire, and the incursion of wild beasts. As threats to the city, and so to its gods, both kinds of violence are impious.

In both cases, the god, once unleashed, is indiscriminately destructive on a horrific scale. If the god is allowed or encouraged to continue, no-one is likely to benefit from, or even to survive the conflict. The character of the god, combined with the overwhelming power inherent in divinity, therefore allows the poet to express the fact that violence, whether manifested as war or as *stasis*, is fundamentally beyond the control of mortals. Even the strongest cannot unleash the violent god with impunity. Negotiation, careful piety, and the rule of law are preferable to the rule of the impious judge.

Both poets describe the taming of the violence by a divine protector-figure, who helps to integrate the violent god into the city. In both Athens and Babylonia, this poetic integration reflected the presence of public cults for these gods. Their integration is facilitated by the fact that the root cause of their violence, in all of the

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<sup>966</sup> *Erra*'s main temple was the Emeslam in Kutha, which is mentioned several times in the poem (*Erra* II.C.8; V.22). Several shrines to the Sibitti existed within Mesopotamia, but it is not certain that the shrines within Babylon itself pre-date *Erra* (cf. F.A.M. Wiggermann in *RIA* s.v. Siebengötter). It has been suggested that there were two groups of Sibitti, one good and the recipients of cult, and one demonic (cf. Black & Green (1998) 162; Leick (1991) 152). Wiggermann sees the Sibitti in *Erra* as representative of the latter. No such distinction is made in Mesopotamian texts, or at least not explicitly, so the division may well be a false one.

cases discussed here, is mortal wrongdoing. Ares does not unleash himself, and Erra does not unleash himself unprovoked. Unchecked, self-directed violence, and violence within the city or within a family, is presented as being overwhelmingly dangerous and undesirable; but violence carried out against external foes on behalf of the city, with the aid and approbation and guidance of the city's divine protectors, may be worthy of praise.

These narratives serve to glorify the cities' divine protectors, displaying both their affection for those who worship them, and their power. Because the destroyers are tamed by persuasion, where rebukes are consistently tempered by flattery, rather than by force, the victories of the protective gods do not reduce the apparent power of the destroyer when acting in the service of the city.

Furthermore, the taming and integration of these divine destroyers may have provided a paradigm for the taming and integration of conflicting factions within a city. Those whose strength once threatened to rend the city may now act as protectors of her sanctuaries and of her people, under civic law.<sup>967</sup> Both in *Erra*, and in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, vulnerability to attack by outside forces is directly connected to civil strife. The Argives would not have posed a threat to Thebes, had Polynices not quarrelled with Eteocles. The god, personified, but not directly associated with any single person or time, may be identified by the audience with any participant in *stasis*, whether past, present, or future. And while the rebukes levelled at the violent god may appeal to those who have suffered from *stasis*, the acknowledgement of the god's reasons for acting, from the neglect of Erra to the rough justice of the *Eumenides*, may have helped a past participant in *stasis* to

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<sup>967</sup> See Loraux (2002) for discussion of the ways in which the Athenians dealt with the aftermath of *stasis*.

identify with these stories.

These parallels, I suggest, do not derive from the direct influence of one poet upon the other, or even from the influence of one literary tradition upon the other. Rather, they derive from the fact that both poets were responding to similar socio-political problems using different dialects of a shared religious language. Both poets were aided in the articulation of their ideas by a shared concept of multiple-causality which featured several layers of divine agency, including both protective and destructive deities.

#### **(6.6) Refractions of Aeschylus: Sophocles' Ares**

The career of the Athenian tragedian Sophocles stretched from 470 to 401 B.C., (his last play, *Oedipus at Colonus*, was produced five years after his death in 406).<sup>968</sup> The early stages of his career therefore overlapped with that of Aeschylus. Throughout his tragedies, Sophocles interacts, often in directly traceable ways, with the plays of Aeschylus and the Homeric poems.<sup>969</sup> This extends down to the level of lexicography, where Sophocles occasionally chooses to use a Homeric form of a word, rather than the Attic one.<sup>970</sup> In discussing Sophocles' uses and portrayals of Ares, therefore, I will explore not only Ares' roles and identities within each play, but also the ways in which Sophoclean incarnations of Ares reflect or react against those found in earlier narratives, and the implications of these echoes and distortions. Even when the influence of an earlier work cannot be directly perceived, Sophocles' narrative may be interacting with one of the many lost works of Aeschylus and other

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<sup>968</sup> Finglass (2011: 1) argues, largely based on the Parian marbles, that Sophocles was born in the early 490s B.C., and died late in 406 B.C.

<sup>969</sup> See e.g. Davidson (2012), and Dunn (2012).

<sup>970</sup> Davidson (2012) 245-246; Davidson (2006).

poets. Of Sophocles' extant plays, only one, *Philoctetes*,<sup>971</sup> makes no reference to Ares.

I have already alluded to the way in which Sophocles follows Aeschylus and Pindar in associating Ares with the murder of Clytemnestra at the hands of Orestes, perhaps because the god had become a fundamental element within the myth.<sup>972</sup> In his *Electra*,<sup>973</sup> when Orestes and Pylades enter the house in search of Clytemnestra, the Chorus ask the audience to "see where Ares advances, breathing the blood that comes from wicked strife".<sup>974</sup> This echoes the way in which Aeschylus identifies Ares both with Pylades and Orestes, and with the violence, driven by internecine strife, that they carry out.<sup>975</sup>

Sophocles also connects Ares to the preceding link in the chain of strife within the house of Ares, through Orestes reminding his sister that women too may have Ares within them, in reference to their murderous mother.<sup>976</sup> This may be adduced as a significant, although hardly decisive, addition to the case for reconstructing an explicit reference to the connection between Clytemnestra and Ares into Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.<sup>977</sup>

The exchange between Orestes and Electra in Sophocles' play also draws attention to the commonly-perceived harmlessness of, or lack of, Ares within women, which Aeschylus had played upon in his *Suppliants*, his Danaids claiming to be vulnerable, lacking Ares.<sup>978</sup> We hear in the *Prometheus Bound* that these same

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<sup>971</sup> Produced in 409 B.C.

<sup>972</sup> See §6.4.i, above.

<sup>973</sup> Finglass asserts that *Electra* must have been produced after 458 B.C., due to the assumption that it was composed under the influence of Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*, produced in that year, and believes that there are good stylistic reasons for assuming a relatively late date of composition.

<sup>974</sup> Soph. *El.* 1384-1385.

<sup>975</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 937-938.

<sup>976</sup> Soph. *El.* 1243-1250.

<sup>977</sup> Aesch. *Ag.* 1231-1238.

<sup>978</sup> Soph. *El.* 1239-1244, and Aesch. *Supp.* 749.

Danaids later carried out an act of Ares in which women did the killing.<sup>979</sup> Although the tradition attribution of the *Prometheus Bound* to Aeschylus may be false, it does appear to have pre-dated Sophocles' *Electra*.<sup>980</sup> Through the words of the genuinely vulnerable Danaids of his *Suppliants*, Aeschylus implicitly suggests that the normal feminine lack of Ares may derive from a lack of strength or opportunity, rather than from a lack of capacity for lethal intent. Sophocles' *Electra* may present an interesting twist on this idea. An important theme in Sophocles' play is Electra's powerless vulnerability in the absence of her brother. Patrick Finglass has suggested that immediately before the chorus describe the entry of Ares into the house, Electra herself follows her brother inside. To Finglass, this implies her participation, certainly moral, but perhaps even physical, in the slaughter of her mother,<sup>981</sup> which would entail her participation in Ares.

The bloody end of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, situated within a chain of intra-familial strife, is described by Sophocles' chorus as a sacrifice to Ares,<sup>982</sup> that is to say, as vengeance on account of an act enabled by an internal Ares, by means of Ares, on behalf and in honour of Ares. I will return to this last idea in a later chapter.<sup>983</sup>

The Chorus of the *Electra* explicitly say that they do not find fault with this action, with this sacrifice to Ares.<sup>984</sup> This implies that the act (murder, and

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<sup>979</sup> (ps.)-Aesch. *PV* 860-862: θηλυκτόνῳ Ἄρει. The adjective θηλυκτόνῳ derives from κτείνω, 'to kill', and θῆλυς, 'female', and may be translated as 'lethally feminine'.

<sup>980</sup> Sommerstein (2008b) 432-434. But on the possible stylistic influence of Sophocles on the *Prometheus Bound*, see Stanford (1942) 37-38.

<sup>981</sup> Finglass (2007a) 502.

<sup>982</sup> Soph. *El.* 1422-1423.

<sup>983</sup> See §7.5, below.

<sup>984</sup> Soph. *El.* 1417-1423. This follows Erfurdt's (1803) amendment of MSS. λέγειν to ψέγειν, accepted by Finglass (2007a) 82, March (2001) 124, Kells (1973) 74, and Jebb (1894) 188, among others. The manuscript text may be taken to suggest shock, rather than approbation, but this would represent a unique use of λέγειν, and the two words are easily confused (cf. Finglass (2007a) 519-520; March (2001) 224; Jebb (1894) 189-190).

specifically matricide) is one that in normal circumstances might be blameworthy, but which is thought to be just in this situation.<sup>985</sup> If Finglass' reading of *Electra* is accepted, then Electra, like the Danaids and Clytemnestra, although usually powerless on account of her gender, enters into Ares when given the opportunity. It is striking that Sophocles' Chorus does not condemn her for doing so. If this reading is followed, then Sophocles appears to suggest that while female participation in Ares may be unusual, it is not necessarily monstrous or wicked.<sup>986</sup>

A second play in which Sophocles' uses and portrayals of Ares interact directly with those of Aeschylus is his *Antigone*.<sup>987</sup> As F.M. Dunn has observed, in the *parodos* of the *Antigone*, the Chorus celebrates after being saved from the very threat which threatens the Chorus in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*.<sup>988</sup> Sophocles therefore reverses a series of images and ideas used by Aeschylus. Ares' field of action is unchanged, but the acts attributed to him in *Antigone* are the opposite of those feared by the Chorus in *Seven against Thebes*. As Dunn points out, in the *Seven against Thebes*, the clatter of spears causes the Chorus to fearfully address Ares, dreading fire and slaughter, while in *Antigone*, the Chorus describe how the clatter of Ares has driven away the Argives, their fires unlit, and blood-craving spears unfed.<sup>989</sup> Likewise, while the Chorus of the *Seven against Thebes* envisages Ares, tamer of peoples, presiding over the sack of the city, with one man leading

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<sup>985</sup> See Finglass (2007) 511 on the way in which the killing of Clytemnestra is presented as unambiguously just, and on earlier choral support for the act. But cf. also Finglass (2007) 512, 516, 525-528 on the moral ambiguities suggested by the concluding sections of the play.

<sup>986</sup> Aetiological myths circulating in the Peloponnese half a millennium later glamorised the idea of women entering into the realm of Ares in defence of their cities (Plut. *Mor.* 245c-f; Paus. 8.48.4-5). Cf. Graf (1984); Stadter (1965) 45-53.

<sup>987</sup> Regarding echoes of Aeschylus and Epic in the *parodos* of the *Antigone*, see Griffith (1999) 139. For fuller discussion of echoes of Aeschylus in this *parodos*, see. Dunn (2012) 268-270. *Antigone* dates from the 450s or 440s, with Finglass (2011: 3-4) favouring the latter.

<sup>988</sup> Dunn (2012) 268-270.

<sup>989</sup> Dunn (2012) 269, comparing Soph. *Ant.* 124-125 and Aesch. *Sept.* 103-105. Note the juxtaposition of Ares and Zeus as causal forces in this passage.

another captive, or killing, as the god wills, the Chorus of the *Antigone* explain how, in the Theban victory over the Argives, mighty Ares allotted one fate to one man, another to another.<sup>990</sup>

This presentation of Ares as an allotter of fates appears to clash intriguingly with a later choral ode, in which the audience are told that the power of Fate is such that neither wealth, nor Ares, nor a wall, nor black ships at sea can escape it.<sup>991</sup> On one level this may be an allusion to Aeschylus' *Persians* and to the battle at Salamis. Aeschylus, as discussed above, describes both sides in the battle as Ares, and characterises the Persians by their wealth, while the dichotomy of static wall and mobile ships is central to the narrative of the two oracles to the Athenians.<sup>992</sup> On another level, however, this may refer to the fully anthropomorphised warrior-archetype found in the *Iliad*, whose essential vulnerability, despite great strength, is repeatedly explored.<sup>993</sup> This use of powerful Ares' vulnerability to highlight the overwhelming strength of another divine force also appears in a Sophoclean fragment quoted by Stobaeus, although the context is unknown.<sup>994</sup>

An anthropomorphic form of Ares certainly appears later in the same choral ode, as ἀγκίπτολις Ares watches the wife of Phineus blind Phineus' sons at Salmydessus in Thrace.<sup>995</sup> The precise meaning of this passage is disputed, and J.C. Kamerbeek asserts that "the text of the mss. is manifestly corrupt."<sup>996</sup> M. Griffith and Kamerbeek, following R.C. Jebb, agree that ἀγκίπτολις refers to the fact that Ares was associated with Thrace in the Homeric poems,<sup>997</sup> and that his home was

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<sup>990</sup> Dunn (2012) 270, comparing Soph. *Ant.* 138-140 and Aesch. *Sept.* 341-344.

<sup>991</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 951-954.

<sup>992</sup> See §6.3, above.

<sup>993</sup> See §2.3.ii, above.

<sup>994</sup> Lloyd-Jones (1996) 110-111 = Soph. fr.256 = Stobaeus 1.4.5.

<sup>995</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 968-976.

<sup>996</sup> Kamerbeek (1978) 168-169.

<sup>997</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.301; *Od.* 8.361.

therefore understood to be there.<sup>998</sup> A. Brown, however, adopts Jebb's subsidiary suggestion that this may refer to a specific shrine of Ares local to Salmydessus.<sup>999</sup>

Jebb, followed by Kamerbeek and Brown, claims that it is implied that Ares viewed the cruel act of Phineus' wife with pleasure.<sup>1000</sup> Griffith, on the other hand, suggests that Ares may be viewed as a neutral witness here.<sup>1001</sup> While Jebb's interpretation is seductive, it relies on the assumption, derived from other texts, that Ares was generally thought to take pleasure from violence. Because this is not explicitly indicated in *Antigone*, however, this passage cannot be used as an example of the expression of this idea in Sophocles' oeuvre. It may also be observed that this passage is immediately preceded by a description of Ares' helplessness when confronted by Fate, and that the affliction of Phineus children is presented as an example of Fate's irresistible power.

The Chorus of Sophocles' *Antigone*, echoing the *Iliad*,<sup>1002</sup> describes war as *πάταγος Ἄρεος*, the clattering and clashing of Ares.<sup>1003</sup> This idea also appears in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, where the chorus of elders of Colonus wish that they could be on the battlefield, where the enemy will soon mingle in bronze-shouting Ares.<sup>1004</sup> As Jebb points out, this, like the clattering of Ares in *Antigone*, refers to the clash of bronze weapons in battle.<sup>1005</sup> By describing of battle as warriors

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<sup>998</sup> Jebb (1900a) 175; Kamerbeek (1978) 169; Griffith (1999) 293. Cf. Winnington-Ingram (1980) 108-109.

<sup>999</sup> Brown (1987) 205; Jebb (1900a) 175.

<sup>1000</sup> Jebb (1900a) 173 & 175; Kamerbeek (1978) 169; Brown (1987) 205.

<sup>1001</sup> Griffith (1999) 293.

<sup>1002</sup> See §2.3.i, above.

<sup>1003</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 124-126.

<sup>1004</sup> Soph. *OC* 1044-1047. For general discussion of intertextuality in *Oedipus at Colonus*, with substantial bibliography, see Markantonatos (2007) 51-70 & 195-203; Dunn (2012) 271-274. *Oedipus at Colonus* was produced posthumously, in 401 B.C.

<sup>1005</sup> Jebb (1900b) 166, followed by Kamerbeek (1984) 148.

mixing together in Ares, as the *Iliad* does, Sophocles implicitly reiterates the idea that the whole of war is Ares, and that the action of battle takes place within him.<sup>1006</sup>

The same choral ode also includes the typically Aeschylean representation of Ares as the warrior-strength of a people, although by referring to the Ares of the neighbouring people, rather than to the local Ares, Sophocles, unlike Aeschylus in *Persians*, does not directly identify Ares with the warriors.<sup>1007</sup> Furthermore, the violence of these warriors, identified with the god, is initially presented as being opposed and overwhelmed not by the power of another god, or by an opposing Ares, but by the peak of the strength of the mortal followers of Theseus. The Chorus do, however, proceed to call upon Zeus, Athena, Apollo, and Artemis to aid Theseus and his men.<sup>1008</sup> This victory over Ares may in part be a response to the warning against entering into Ares levelled by the Egyptian herald in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*.<sup>1009</sup> Because both plays revolve around supplication for asylum, *Oedipus at Colonus* naturally responds to *Suppliants*.<sup>1010</sup>

A further echo of Aeschylus appears later in the same play, when Oedipus calls upon Ares alongside the δαίμονες, who may safely be identified with the Erinyes,<sup>1011</sup> to carry out his curse.<sup>1012</sup> It is this curse that is fulfilled in the story earlier told by Aeschylus, in his *Seven against Thebes*. Oedipus calls upon Ares and the δαίμονες to ensure that Polynices will fail to capture Thebes, and fall at his brother's hand, even as he kills him.<sup>1013</sup> It is the fulfilment of this curse that causes

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<sup>1006</sup> See §2.3.i and §3.2, above.

<sup>1007</sup> Soph. *OC* 1065-1066.

<sup>1008</sup> Soph. *OC* 1085-1095.

<sup>1009</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 934-937.

<sup>1010</sup> See in particular Wilson (1997) 34-61 for discussion of the atypicality of *Oedipus at Colonus* among suppliant-plays, and the ways in which it reacts against the model suggested by Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. Cf. Travis (1999) 87-135; Markantonatos (2007) 125 & 202.

<sup>1011</sup> Polynices blames the Erinyes, sent by his father, for his exile at Soph. *OC* 1299. Cf. Jebb (1900b) 216; Wilson (1997) 162.

<sup>1012</sup> Soph. *OC* 1389-1392.

<sup>1013</sup> Soph. *OC* 1348-1396.

Aeschylus' Chorus to castigate Ares, as they hear of the deaths of the brothers.<sup>1014</sup> The pairing of the Erinyes with Ares, meanwhile, is reminiscent of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. This may be alluded to earlier in the play, when Creon refers to the council of the Areopagus, his phrasing separating out the divine name, and so emphasising that this council is located on the hill of Ares.<sup>1015</sup> Sophocles adds to this, however, the idea that Ares may be blamed for implanting the terrible mutual hatred into the brothers in the first place.<sup>1016</sup> The idea implied here, that Ares may be a cause of violence, as well as its embodiment, echoes Alcaeus, but is otherwise unattested in earlier texts.<sup>1017</sup> The same idea also seems to appear in a Sophoclean fragment quoted by Plutarch, in which the speaker claims that Ares is blind, and stirs up all kinds of evil.<sup>1018</sup> The original dramatic context, however, is unknown.

*Oedipus at Colonus* therefore sequentially presents Ares as the personification of war, within which men clash, and as the strength of those men; it presents Ares as a cause of strife and as the agent of a father's curse, having earlier reminded the audience that Ares was associated closely with the murder-court at Athens. Ares is intertwined with all aspects of conflict: from generation, through enactment, to resolution.

Ares plays a similarly pervasive role in Sophocles' *Ajax*.<sup>1019</sup> We first encounter the god as the personification of violent capital punishment, in this case by stoning.<sup>1020</sup> That Ares should be the penalty which the Chorus fear will come upon

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<sup>1014</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 944-946.

<sup>1015</sup> Soph. *OC* 947.

<sup>1016</sup> Soph. *OC* 1391-1392.

<sup>1017</sup> See §5.2, above. An internal Ares appears in the plays of Aeschylus as the personification of the will to violence, but he does not choose his hosts.

<sup>1018</sup> Lloyd-Jones (1996) 368-369 = Soph. fr.838 = Plut. *Mor.* 23b & 757a.

<sup>1019</sup> Finglass (2011: 4-11) tentatively dates *Ajax* to the 440s B.C., but does not rule out a date in the early to mid 430s or late 450s.

<sup>1020</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 253-256. For discussion of stoning as a punishment elsewhere in Attic drama, see Finglass (2011) 215. For parallel cases of Ares being identified with violent death, see Jebb (1896) 49.

them alongside their master, on account of his crime, is reminiscent of Ares' role as the personification of the punishment that came to Clytemnestra in the *Oresteia*.<sup>1021</sup>

The god Enyalios is cited by the Chorus as a possible cause of Aias' madness, perhaps on account of a grudge borne after some joint feat of arms.<sup>1022</sup> P. Finglass suggests that this may imply that Aias had failed to thank the god, or acknowledge his aid, after a victory.<sup>1023</sup> It is possible that an audience may have at least partially identified or associated Enyalios with Ares. Enyalios was separate from Ares in Attic cult, but identified with him in the Homeric poems from which Sophocles drew much inspiration.<sup>1024</sup> If Enyalios is identified with Ares in this passage, then the Chorus are connecting Ares to both crime and punishment, perhaps in a chain stretching back to an older crime against the god. This idea of Ares causing Ares is, as discussed above, central to Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

Aias is threatened by an ignominious Ares outside of war, but in the past, the Chorus later tell us, Salamis had sent him forth, being powerful in  $\theta\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  Ares. But it was through this successful participation in Ares, that Aias may have angered Enyalios. Eventually, however, Ares is credited by the Chorus as having freed their eyes from terrible grief, as Aias returns to his senses, and renounces his plan of suicide. Ares, the Chorus imply, may choose to halt his own mad violence.<sup>1025</sup>

But the Chorus are wrong. The violence is ended only by Aias taking his own life. The Chorus, hearing of this, blame no individual man, but war, personified by

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<sup>1021</sup> See §6.4.i, above.

<sup>1022</sup> Note that Enyalios' anger is thus justified. As with other gods, blaming Enyalios (or Ares) need not entail criticising that god (cf. Mikalson (2012) 432).

<sup>1023</sup> Finglass (2011) 193.

<sup>1024</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 179-181. Cf. Garvie (1998) 143, who favours an identification between Ares and Enyalios here, although Finglass (2011: 193-195) remains agnostic after extensive discussion. Sharpley (1905: 100) uses this passage as an example of Enyalios being distinguished from Ares. Soph. *Aj.* 706 is easier to understand if the Ares mentioned there is identified with the Enyalios mentioned here. Cf. also Olson (1998) 171.

<sup>1025</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 706. Cf. Jebb (1896) 111; Garvie (1998) 194; Finglass (2011) 348-349.

Ares, as a social institution. They wish that whoever first showed the Greeks common Ares, with his hateful weapons, might have died before doing so, for this man ravaged the people. ‘Common Ares’, κοινόν Ἄρη: Ares in whom men come together, who is common to all, for no-one can escape his effects, and who treats all equally; Ares, who ravages not just men, but people in general.<sup>1026</sup> Here, the Chorus explicitly reiterate the idea that Ares does not create war. Mortals must find Ares, show him to each other, and bring him forth.<sup>1027</sup>

The idea of Ares’ influence permeates and dominates the Chorus’ perception of events, but the audience know, from the very beginning of the play, that they are mistaken, at least in emphasis. Aias’ attempt to kill Odysseus was motivated, Athena tells us, by his own anger on account of the arms of Achilles.<sup>1028</sup> Aias’ subsequent madness and consequent doom were brought about not by Ares, but by Athena, Odysseus’ divine protector, who appears in person on the stage, revealing her actions only to Odysseus, and to the audience.<sup>1029</sup> This does not preclude Ares’ participation in the chain of causality, but he does not play the central role that the Chorus suggest.

This play therefore reminds us that the view of the world expressed by a Sophoclean play may be very different from that expressed by its characters.<sup>1030</sup> Sophocles’ own views sit at a further remove, and can often only be guessed at. The

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<sup>1026</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 1185-1215. I here adopt the interpretation of this passage favoured by Kamerbeek (1953) 229, Stanford (1963) 207, Garvie (1998) 223, contra Jebb (1896) 179, who read this as referring to this specific ‘common war’ of the united Greeks against the Trojans. Jebb’s case is, however, supported by the fact that the *Ajax* may be seen to repeatedly allude to another ‘common war’ of the united Greeks, this time against the Persians (Dunn (2012) 274-277).

<sup>1027</sup> For earlier examples of this idea, see §6.4.iv and §6.4.v, above.

<sup>1028</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 40-41.

<sup>1029</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 42-133. For an extended exploration of Athena’s possible motives for persecuting Aias in this play, see Kennedy (2009) 113-141.

<sup>1030</sup> See Parker (1999) 17-18 for discussion of choral statements regarding the divine in Sophocles’ plays.

Chorus do, however, still present one possible world-view, that an audience would not have found it implausible for them to hold.

Similar choral ignorance hangs over a passage in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, which, as Kamerbeek points out, loosely parallels the passage in *Ajax* where the Chorus mistakenly credit Ares with freeing their eyes from grief.<sup>1031</sup> Here, the Chorus of Trachinian women tell the audience that Herakles, long absent, is returning home, laden with booty, to free his wife from misery, having been released from his days of toil by Ares, stung to madness.<sup>1032</sup> Here, the Chorus may wish to declare, as Jebb suggests, that 'Ares, stung to madness' represents the madness of Herakles' assault on Oechalia, the city of Eurytus.<sup>1033</sup> Their words may also be read, however, as a reference not to Ares freeing Herakles for a long and happy life with Deianeira, but as a suggestion, perhaps unintended by the Chorus, that Ares will shortly release Herakles from the toils of life,<sup>1034</sup> with sorrows being unleashed onto Deianeira.<sup>1035</sup> Ares may represent the violence about to be unwittingly carried out against Herakles by Deianeira on behalf of Nessus. It may be observed, however, that the sack of Oechalia contains within it the seed of Herakles' doom, for he was inspired to take the city in order to take another woman: Iole, the daughter of Eurytus.<sup>1036</sup> It is jealousy of Iole that drives Deianeira to try to ensure Herakles' love by magic. The results of one of Ares' mad deeds may inspire another. If the death of

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<sup>1031</sup> Kamerbeek (1959) 147. Cf. Finglass (2011) 348.

<sup>1032</sup> *Soph. Trach.* 640-654. An amendment, rejected by Jebb (1892: 101), but accepted by Davies (1991: 175), has been suggested which would suggest that Ares is represented as being laid to rest here, rather than acting to free Herakles. The parallel with *Soph. Aj.* 706 weighs in favour of rejecting this amendment. I favour 'stung to madness' over 'stung to fury' as a translation of οἰστροθεΐς, following Kamerbeek (1957) 147, who observes that "οἰστρος is the 'gad-fly' by which Iole was driven to madness."

<sup>1033</sup> Jebb (1892) 101. On the dual origins of this madness - part rage, and part Eros-driven lust - see *Soph. Trach.* 248-290 & 351-374.

<sup>1034</sup> Segal (1995) 38.

<sup>1035</sup> Kamerbeek (1959) 147.

<sup>1036</sup> *Soph. Trach.* 349-386. Herakles and Iole loosely parallel Agamemnon and Cassandra.

Herakles is associated with Ares here, then the mad violence may, as with Ares in the *Oresteia*, be understood as a step in a chain of vengeance, in this case of Nessus (as representative of Herakles' monstrous victims) upon his slayer.<sup>1037</sup>

Ares is a more unambiguously malign force in his most famous Sophoclean manifestation, but here too, his presence is imagined by an ignorant Chorus. In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, a priest tells us that plague and famine afflict Thebes, driven by a fire-bringing god.<sup>1038</sup> This plague, like war in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, is likened to a storm tossing the ship of state across an angry sea.<sup>1039</sup> The actual cause of the plague, the audience learn as the play unfolds, is Oedipus' patricide, which has brought a curse upon his city.<sup>1040</sup> The connection between crime and punishment is revealed by Apollo's oracle, who orders the Thebans to drive the pollution (i.e. Oedipus) from their land.<sup>1041</sup> This echoes Apollo's role in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

The Chorus, ignorant of Oedipus' guilt, and of the consequent justice of Thebes' affliction, pray to Athena, Artemis, and Apollo for protection,<sup>1042</sup> and identify savage Ares, who is without bronze shields, with the 'fire-bringing' god referred to by the priest, describing him as scorching the land as he attacks, shouting all around.<sup>1043</sup> The Chorus wish that Ares might return to the great chamber of Amphitrite (i.e. the Atlantic Ocean),<sup>1044</sup> or to the Thracian sea, and they pray for Zeus or Apollo or Artemis or Bacchus to drive away their divine assailant, who they deem 'the god who is put away from honour among the gods'.

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<sup>1037</sup> Segal (1995) 38.

<sup>1038</sup> Soph. *OT* 25-29. The date of *Oedipus Tyrannus* is unknown.

<sup>1039</sup> Soph. *OT* 22-24.

<sup>1040</sup> Soph. *OT* 447-462, and *passim*.

<sup>1041</sup> Soph. *OT* 95-107. As Knox (1957: 9) points out, however, Apollo is not presented as being responsible for the plague or famine.

<sup>1042</sup> Soph. *OT* 151-189.

<sup>1043</sup> Soph. *OT* 190-192. But Vellacott (1971) 135 assumes that Ares and this fire-bringing god are separate.

<sup>1044</sup> Jebb (1893) 37.

Ares is here depicted as coming from outside civilisation. He is not one of the city's gods, who are sequentially appealed to for protection. Furthermore, this is not a typical Ares. The audience are not expected to automatically accept the idea of Ares as a bringer of the plague.<sup>1045</sup> He must be given the gloss, 'who is without the bronze shields'. Ares' destructive nature may make it seem fitting to Sophocles and his audience that he be blamed for plague and famine, but a gloss is necessary to tell the audience that he is not here identified with war.<sup>1046</sup> The lack of bronze shields is not an attribute, let alone a cult-title (as is revealed by the inclusion of ὄς), but an attempt to explicitly separate this Ares from the war-god found elsewhere. Consequently, as Jebb points out, the shouts associated with Ares here represent the laments of the Thebans, rather than battle-cries.<sup>1047</sup>

The 'god who is put away from honour among the gods' is not directly named as Ares. This is not a theological statement about Ares, the war-god.<sup>1048</sup> Rather, the Chorus reject the god who is attacking the city. They have already identified this attacker with an Ares, but the placing of the statement suggests a rejection primarily of specific actions, and not necessary of the divine personality. This manifestation of Ares is, furthermore, explicitly presented as atypically unarmoured, and so the chorus' rejection of their attack does not necessarily imply a rejection of the god of war. Furthermore, the Chorus' criticisms, as yet unbeknownst to them, are aimed at a god who is carrying out a just punishment for Oedipus' patricide. Their identification of this god with Ares may or may not be correct. The

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<sup>1045</sup> As Knox (1957) 10 (followed by Kamerbeek (1967) 65) points out, Ares is nowhere else portrayed as a bringer of plague.

<sup>1046</sup> Dawe (2006) 93. Faraone (1992: 67n.5) is therefore wrong to treat an association with plague as a central part of Ares' Panhellenic identity.

<sup>1047</sup> Jebb (1893) 36, followed by Dawe (2006) 93, referring back to Soph. *OT* 186.

<sup>1048</sup> Contra e.g. Nilsson (1967) 518.

plague will, furthermore, be ended not by the victory of the protective gods of the city over Ares, but by Oedipus' banishment.

Ares appears within Sophocles' plays as a personification of violence, and as the power or will to carry out violent acts that may live within both men and women. Ares appears as the personification of war, and as a causal power within it. Ares appears as an agent of vengeance, and as a source of mad rage. Ares is generally presented as a morally neutral force and personality, with the striking exception of *Oedipus Tyrannus*, where Ares the bringer of plague is explicitly distinguished from the usual manifestations of the god as warrior and god of war.<sup>1049</sup> Through a series of ignorant, confused choruses, however, Sophocles seems to call into question assumptions, which may have been widespread, regarding Ares' ubiquity as a cause of disaster. Sophocles' choruses are quick to attribute responsibility to Ares, the wild, unpredictable destroyer, which allows them to avoid blaming the true causes of their woes: Oedipus' crime in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and Aias' own anger, which caused Athena's concern for Odysseus in *Ajax*.<sup>1050</sup>

The usefulness of Sophocles' plays for understanding Athenian views of Ares is reduced, however, by the fact that his uses of Ares are sometimes directly influenced by larger-scale interactions with earlier plays and poems. In *Antigone*, the reversals in Ares' role appear to be driven not by a desire to comment on Ares' nature, but by the reversal of Aeschylean choruses in which Ares happens to feature. That Ares features in these odes derives from a decision made by Aeschylus, based

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<sup>1049</sup> I am not therefore entirely convinced by Knox's (1956) suggestion that this manifestation of Ares reflects a new conceptual connection between war and plague inspired by the plague which struck Athens early in the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>1050</sup> As Mastronarde (2010) 167-168 observes, Zeus is rebuked in Euripides' *Heracles*, but these criticisms are then undercut or refuted. This may provide a useful parallel for Sophocles' treatment of Ares. See Mastronarde (2010) 169 for a more general discussion of contesting prayers protesting to or criticising gods in the poems attributed to Homer and Theognis.

on his appropriateness for the roles that Aeschylus has him play, rather than from decisions made by Sophocles. It may nonetheless be assumed that Sophocles generally avoids representing Ares in ways which his audience would reject as incompatible with their understanding of the god's nature. This is indicated by Sophocles' decision to gloss his depiction of Ares as a plague-god with a distancing epithet.

### **(6.7) Ares in Focus: Euripides and his *Phoenicians***

Perhaps the most striking difference between Euripides, who was active between 455 B.C. and 406 B.C.,<sup>1051</sup> and his predecessor Aeschylus and, to a slightly lesser extent, his older contemporary Sophocles, is the extent to which he avoids using Ares. Ares does not feature at all in *Hecuba*, *Helen*, and *Iphigenia at Tauris*, is mentioned only in his role as (absent) father in *Alcestis*, and appears only in references to the distant past in *Heracles*. The only Euripidean plays in which Ares plays a significant role in the action are *Andromache*, where his name appears only once, and *Phoenicians*, where he is the central divine figure, although he is given a major role in the aftermath of *Bacchae* which is foretold by Dionysus.

Often, when the *Iliad*, or, to a slightly lesser extent, Aeschylus or Sophocles would speak of Ares, Euripides uses the word δόρυ, 'plank of wood', which is used in the *Iliad* to mean 'spear'<sup>1052</sup> or 'ship'.<sup>1053</sup> Aeschylus likewise, often uses δόρυ to

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<sup>1051</sup> Euripides was probably born in the 480s B.C. His first production at the Athenian *Dionysia* was in 455 B.C., and he won first prize for the first time in 441 B.C. His oldest surviving play, *Alcestis*, dates from 438 B.C., while *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* were both produced after his death, which occurred in 406 B.C.

<sup>1052</sup> See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.666; 12.303; 13.247.

<sup>1053</sup> Cf. Calame (1990) 323n.13.

mean an actual, physical spear,<sup>1054</sup> or a ship.<sup>1055</sup> Aeschylus does, however, also use δόρυ to mean the effects and power of the spear in a more generalised sense, as an emblem of military violence and military power. Aeschylus deploys this usage particularly frequently in *Seven against Thebes*, a play that was already full of Ares, in situations where πόλεμος and μάχη would not be appropriate.<sup>1056</sup> In *Eumenides*, however, Aeschylus appears to identify the spear with war more generally, with Orestes declaring that the Argives will be ‘allies in the spear’ to the Athenians,<sup>1057</sup> and that in the spear, the Athenians will be brought victory and safety.<sup>1058</sup> This usage may originate in this play, since the meaning of δόρυ develops almost organically within Orestes’ speech, moving further away from the idea of a simple physical weapon with each appearance. Similar patterns of usage appear in the plays of Sophocles, who uses δόρυ to designate a physical spear,<sup>1059</sup> and as a metonym for the violence carried out by a spear,<sup>1060</sup> and for battle in general.<sup>1061</sup> In *Ajax*, however, Sophocles also uses δόρυ on one occasion to designate a war-prize,<sup>1062</sup> an idea which the audience may have been primed for by an earlier reference to booty as ‘spear-taken’.<sup>1063</sup> Furthermore, on one occasion in *Antigone*, Sophocles appears to use δόρυ to designate an army.<sup>1064</sup> Euripides not only makes use of δόρυ as a metonym for an army,<sup>1065</sup> for war and battle,<sup>1066</sup> and for the violence of war and spear,<sup>1067</sup> but also

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<sup>1054</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 304, 320; *Sept.* 103, 624; *Ag.* 438; 992, 1149.

<sup>1055</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 411; *Supp.* 135, 846, 851, 1007; *Ag.* 1618.

<sup>1056</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 729; *Sept.* 216, 322, 346, 399, 416, 456, 584, 839, 962; *Ag.* 111, 517, 1122; *Eum.* 289, 766.

<sup>1057</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 773.

<sup>1058</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 777.

<sup>1059</sup> Soph. *Trach.* 240, 856; *OC* 424, 1304, 1314, 1525; *Ant.* 670.

<sup>1060</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 146, 515; *Trach.* 478; *OC* 1386.

<sup>1061</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 764, 963, 1275; *Ant.* 195.

<sup>1062</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 1013.

<sup>1063</sup> Soph. *Aj.* 146.

<sup>1064</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 674.

<sup>1065</sup> Eur. *Heracl.* 674, 834; *Tro.* 8.

<sup>1066</sup> Eur. *Heracl.* 815; *Hec.* 649. Cf. Morwood (2007) 182 for a list of uses of δόρυ as metonym for war in Euripides’ *Suppliants*, and Gregory (1999) 41-42 on δόρυ as a metonym in *Hecuba*.

<sup>1067</sup> Eur. *Hec.* 5, 1111-1112; *Supp.* 16; *Tro.* 479, 574; 1124-1299 ; *IT* 519.

uses δόρυ as a metonym for warrior-might,<sup>1068</sup> and for the power given by that warrior-might.<sup>1069</sup> The meaning of the word continually expands as the tragic corpus develops, increasingly overlapping with Ares' semantic field, and making it easier for Euripides to avoid mentioning the god of war. This seems fitting, in light of the strong parallels between Ares and the spear which may be observed in the *Iliad*,<sup>1070</sup> and the spear's role in glorifying Ares,<sup>1071</sup> whose sometime alter-ego, Enyalios, is described by one of Euripides' choruses as the 'lord of the spear', δορυμήτωρ.<sup>1072</sup>

A. Masaracchia points out that Euripides tends to build each play around a single god, such as Apollo in *Electra*, Hera in *Heracles*, Athena in *Iphigenia at Tauris*, Aphrodite (in competition with Artemis) in *Hippolytus*, Dionysus in the *Bacchae*, and Ares in *Phoenicians*.<sup>1073</sup> For the presence of Ares (or indeed Zeus, who also features less prominently in Euripides' plays than in those of his predecessors) to be as ubiquitous as it is in Aeschylus' plays or the *Iliad*, would detract from the divine focus of each play. Euripides' decision to avoid referencing Ares' role as a causal force within the action of most of his plays reflects a decision to focus on exploring the role and nature of one god at a time, rather than a rejection of multi-layered divine causality. That Euripides felt the need to remove Ares from the action in this way further confirms that appearances of Ares' name in Attic Tragedy should always be treated as references to the god, even when used in a metonymic sense.

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<sup>1068</sup> Eur. *Heracl.* 760. The *Children of Heracles* was produced fairly early in Euripides' career, ca.430 B.C.

<sup>1069</sup> *Hec.* 9, 102-103. *Hecuba* was probably produced before 423 B.C.

<sup>1070</sup> See §2.3.i, above.

<sup>1071</sup> Eur. *IA* 930-931.

<sup>1072</sup> Eur. *Andr.* 1010-1018. Suspicions that there might be phallic undertones to this conflation of Ares, Enyalios, spears, booty, and warrior-might, appear to be confirmed by Hecuba's despairing observation that the spears of the Achaeans are rather larger than their brains (Eur. *Hec.* 1158). Cf. also Artem. 5.87.

<sup>1073</sup> Masaracchia (1987) 180.

As with Sophocles, Euripides generally deploys Ares when dealing with myths in which his role was already established. The god features prominently in references back to the Trojan War,<sup>1074</sup> and in the foundation myth of Thebes.<sup>1075</sup> I have already discussed the way in which Ares' appearance in *Andromache* may doubly fit into this pattern.<sup>1076</sup> In *Alcestis*, Euripides comments on the ubiquity of Ares' sons as opponents of Herakles in battle. Thracian Diomedes, who Herakles is on his way to fight, joins Lykaon and Kyknos on the list of Ares' sons battled by the hero.<sup>1077</sup> This trope may simply have derived from a desire to make Herakles' opponents seem more powerful, and his victories commensurately more impressive.<sup>1078</sup> Although sometimes glossing over his continuing influence, Euripides acknowledges and helps to perpetuate Ares' long-established place within the mythological tradition and landscape.<sup>1079</sup>

Although Euripides rarely portrays Ares as an active force or actor outside of *Phoenicians*, Iolaus' servant in the *Children of Heracles* does present Ares as a potential force, and as the god who cares about the conduct of warriors, telling his master that Ares particularly hates those who continually say that they are 'intending' to go into battle, without actually doing so.<sup>1080</sup> This may be taken to imply that Ares is a patron of the art of armoured battle, for the servant is seeking to get his master into his armour. The same idea may underpin Plato's later idea that

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<sup>1074</sup> Eur. *Andr.* 105-107; *IA* 762-772; *Rhes.* 321-323.

<sup>1075</sup> Eur. *HF* 4-7, 250-253; *Phoen.* passim; *Supp.* 660.

<sup>1076</sup> Cf. §6.3, above.

<sup>1077</sup> Eur. *Alc.* 497-504. Cf. Parker (2007) 160.

<sup>1078</sup> It may be significant that Ares is closely identified with the spear, and Herakles with the bow, in light of the debate over the merits of the two weapons at Eur. *HF* 157-235. The idea of Ares as a 'wild god', and Herakles' role as a defender of civilisation against lions and other monsters from outside, discussed above (§3.4 and §6.4.iii) may also be relevant here. *Alcestis* is the earliest extant play by Euripides, dating from 438 B.C.

<sup>1079</sup> On the latter, cf. Eur. *Supp.* 660; *Antiope* fr. 112.82-85 & 112-115 (spring of Ares at Thebes), and *El.* 420 & *IT* 961, 1469-1473 (hill of Ares at Athens). Eur. *Antiope* fr.112 = Collard & Cropp (2008a) 207-221.

<sup>1080</sup> Eur. *Heracl.* 722-723.

hoplite training should involve running to and from a shrine of Ares.<sup>1081</sup> This idea is intertwined with the idea that the practice of war glorifies Ares, which is expressed by Achilles in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*.<sup>1082</sup>

Euripides uses Ares sparingly, but over the whole corpus of his plays, the god does appear in most of the roles in which he is found in the works of Sophocles and Aeschylus.<sup>1083</sup> Euripides changes the extent to which the god features within the dramatic action view, but not the way in which he is represented.

As discussed above, echoing Aeschylus' *Persians*, the god is identified with a fleet in *Andromache*,<sup>1084</sup> and with both fleet and army in *Iphigenia at Aulis*.<sup>1085</sup> This connection between Ares and the Greek armada setting out for Troy is also repeated in *Electra*.<sup>1086</sup> In *Phoenicians*, Ares is identified with the army, or perhaps the warrior-might of the Thebans, as they vanquish the Mycenaean spear,<sup>1087</sup> where spear represents the Argive army, or warrior strength, which is identified with Ares just a few lines later.<sup>1088</sup> In the *Trojan Women*, the Greeks emerging from the wooden horse, and the horrific violence that they bring to Troy, are identified with Ares.<sup>1089</sup> A Phrygian slave in Euripides' *Orestes* refers to war as Ares' realm, dubbing it ἀλκάν Ἄρῆως, 'the fight of Ares'.<sup>1090</sup> In *Rhesus*, which is almost certainly not by Euripides, but appears to have been composed in the same cultural milieu not

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<sup>1081</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 833. Note, however, that since the hoplites primary role was not as warriors for war's sake, but as protectors of the city, they trained in the τέμνειος of Apollo Lykeios, a divine helper and protector in battle (cf. Parker (2005a) 402).

<sup>1082</sup> Eur. *IA* 930-931.

<sup>1083</sup> Manning's (1916) exploration of structural and metrical changes and continuities from Aeschylus, through Sophocles, to Euripides illustrates the extent to which their works are connected.

<sup>1084</sup> Eur. *Andr.* 105-107.

<sup>1085</sup> Eur. *IA* 237 & 762-772. Cf. §6.3, above.

<sup>1086</sup> Eur. *El.* 1-3.

<sup>1087</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1081-1082.

<sup>1088</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1123-1124.

<sup>1089</sup> Eur. *Tro.* 560-567.

<sup>1090</sup> Eur. *Or.* 1484. *Orestes* was produced in 408 B.C. Cf. Willink (1986) 327 for parallels.

long after Euripides' final plays,<sup>1091</sup> Ares (as war) is represented by Hector as a storm tearing at the sails of the ship of state.<sup>1092</sup> Rhesus himself, as a mighty, even godlike, warrior, is identified with Ares by the Chorus of Trojan warriors.<sup>1093</sup> In the same play, Aeneas refers to the work of battle, from which the men must rest, as ἀρειφάτων, 'killing in Ares'.<sup>1094</sup> All of these usages are found or closely paralleled in earlier Attic Tragedies.

In *Bacchae*, Teiresias equates possession of the power to play a role in battle with having a share of Ares.<sup>1095</sup> Dionysos' power to panic armies come from participation in Ares, paralleling the way in which Athena is *Areia* as a helper in battle for the Athenians,<sup>1096</sup> and the way in which Clytemnestra's ability to kill her husband is characterised as an internal Ares.<sup>1097</sup> E.R. Dodds observes that Dionysos bears the epithet ἄρειος in a fourth century inscription.<sup>1098</sup> In the *Trojan Women*, the Chorus present Athena as being responsible for Ares sacking Troy. The protective goddess of the Achaeans must wield the destructive god to ravage the land of their Phrygian enemies.<sup>1099</sup>

Further continuity of representation between Euripides and Aeschylus, at least as regards their portrayals of the identity of the god, occurs in Euripides' aetiology for the Areopagus, which although conflicting with Aeschylus' aetiology, nonetheless develops and restates an Aeschylean idea. The Areopagus appears in the

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<sup>1091</sup> Cf. Liapis (2012) lxxi-lxxv for discussion.

<sup>1092</sup> Eur. *Rhes.* 321-323. This is a major motif in Aeschylus (see §6.4.iii, above).

<sup>1093</sup> Eur. *Rhes.* 380-387. Liapis (2012) 172 argues that Rhesus' later status as a recipient of cult shows that he is not a caricature-warrior here.

<sup>1094</sup> Eur. *Rhes.* 123-124.

<sup>1095</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 302-305.

<sup>1096</sup> See §6.5, above.

<sup>1097</sup> See §6.4.iv, above.

<sup>1098</sup> Dodds (1960) 109.

<sup>1099</sup> Eur. *Tro.* 560-567.

works of both poets in the context of Orestes' trial.<sup>1100</sup> Both poets explain the name of the hill by reference to events which took place before this trial. But where Aeschylus tells of an Amazon sacrifice to Ares, Euripides puts Ares on trial, for the murder of Poseidon's son Halirrhothius, who had raped Ares' daughter.<sup>1101</sup> In Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, the sacrifice to Ares by the wild, hostile Amazons reminds the audience that Ares is newly integrated into the city. In Euripides' *Electra*, on the other hand, Aeschylus' message in *Eumenides*, that wild, violent justice, of which Ares is an agent, should be tamed by law, is repeated and reinforced by the subjection to a law-court of the god himself for carrying out the same kind of violent extra-legal vengeance that he enables and part-personifies in the *Oresteia*.<sup>1102</sup>

Euripides also interacts directly with Aeschylus' work in the *Phoenicians*, where Ares takes centre stage. In many ways, *Phoenicians* appears to be a direct reaction to Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, the 'play full of Ares'.<sup>1103</sup> When he composed *Phoenicians*, Euripides had already alluded to Ares' role in the Theban foundation myth in *Heracles*, and in *Suppliants*. In *Heracles*, the Chorus attribute the slaying of the dragon and the sowing of its teeth to Ares,<sup>1104</sup> who then, Amphityron tells us, chose to spare a small number of the sown men, who went on to found Thebes.<sup>1105</sup> This contrasts dramatically with *Phoenicians*, where both Teiresias and

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<sup>1100</sup> See Eur. *El.* 1254-1263; IT 961 & 1469-1473, and §6.4.v, above. I will not discuss the variations in the aetiology for the foundation of the court of the Areopagus and the legal procedures associated with it. The differences here are not relevant to a discussion of Ares, and derive from the political context of composition, and do not reflect the greater antiquity of any of the stories involved. But for discussion, cf. England (1899) 205-206; Keene (1893) 118; Willink (1986) 354-355; Cropp (1988) 185; Torrance (2013) 34-38 & 50.

<sup>1101</sup> Eur. *El.* 1254-1263.

<sup>1102</sup> See Torrance (2013) 13-62 for a more general discussion of Euripides' uses of, and reactions to, Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

<sup>1103</sup> Ar. *Ran.* 1021 & Plut. *Mor.* 715e. For general discussion of the influence of, reactions to, and commentary on *Seven against Thebes* in *Phoenicians*, see Torrance (2013) 94-133; Masaracchia (1987) 70; Mastrorade (1994) 9-10 & 17-30.

<sup>1104</sup> Eur. *HF* 252-253.

<sup>1105</sup> Eur. *HF* 4-7.

the Chorus state that it was Cadmus who killed the serpent, and sowed its teeth.<sup>1106</sup> In *Suppliants*, composed during a war between Athens and Thebes, Theseus ridicules the Theban foundation-myth by asking a Theban herald what kind of θεῶροσ Ares can come from a snake.<sup>1107</sup> In the posthumously-produced *Bacchae*, meanwhile, Dionysos, channelling Zeus' prophetic power, tells Cadmus that he will himself become a snake, as will his wife (and Ares' daughter) Harmonia, and that after they have led an army to sack many cities and plunder Apollo's oracle, Ares will rescue them, and take them to live in the land of the blessed.<sup>1108</sup> In *Phoenicians*, according to Teiresias, Ares still holds a grudge against Cadmus.<sup>1109</sup> We cannot expect consistency across Euripides' oeuvre. Cadmus will become a serpent like the one he killed, and will serve Ares, and then at the last will be saved by his father-in-law. This last detail reflects Ares' enduring Olympian status, which is also reflected by the fact that Euripides builds a play around him in *Phoenicians*. The implied idea that Ares, although often deadly and destructive, can act as a protector and as a giver of good things, is also a major theme in *Phoenicians*.

In *Phoenicians*, probably produced as the conclusion to a trilogy between 411 and 409 B.C.,<sup>1110</sup> Ares initially appears, as in *Seven against Thebes*, as a danger to the city of Thebes. The chorus of *Phoenician* maidens tell us that before the walls θεῶροσ Ares has come and sets the turmoil and bloodshed of battle ablaze for the city.<sup>1111</sup> The Chorus then announce that Ares will soon εἴσεται, 'know' the battle. D. Mastronarde has pointed out that to translate εἴσεται as 'decide' would involve the use of an unattested sense of οἶδα, and so translates it as 'witness' (perhaps in a

<sup>1106</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 658-673 & 931-941. For other versions of this story, cf. Bond (1988) 65 & 129-130.

<sup>1107</sup> Eur. *Supp.* 579. Cf. Morwood (2007) 27-28 & 189.

<sup>1108</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 1330-1343.

<sup>1109</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 931-941.

<sup>1110</sup> Mastronarde (1994) 11-14.

<sup>1111</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 239-242. On the association between Ares and fire, see §6.4.iii and §3.4, above.

judicial sense), putting Ares in a passive role, despite the fact the Chorus say that in doing this Ares brings to Oedipus' sons the woes of the Furies.<sup>1112</sup> Either way, *Phoenicians* echoes Aeschylus' *Oresteia* by presenting Ares as an agent of the Erinyes, although here bringing his violence against an entire city, rather than a single household. *Phoenicians* realises the horror of stasis which the *Oresteia* explores in microcosm.

About halfway through the play, the Chorus rebuke Ares, in an extended series of comparisons between war, and the festive rites of Dionysos.<sup>1113</sup> I will discuss the ways in which this ode explores the relationship between war and dance in the next chapter,<sup>1114</sup> and will focus for now on how the Chorus represent Ares' nature and role within this story. They introduce him as πολύμοχθος, 'of many toils', which, as Burian and Swann point out, is also applied as an epithet to Eteocles and Polynices.<sup>1115</sup> This may indicate that Ares brings the toils that the sons of Oedipus suffer, but it may also hint that he too is a victim, and a participant, in the chain of Erinyes-driven woe, having lost his serpent to Cadmus.<sup>1116</sup> Alternatively, it may suggest that when described as πολύμοχθος, Eteocles and Polynices are presented as bringers of toils, for themselves, each other, and the city, rather than simply as sufferers. This reflexivity is also suggested by the Chorus' next words, which describe Ares, who is so often found as a possessor elsewhere, as being possessed by bloodshed and death. The self-willed god,<sup>1117</sup> they suggest, may be absorbed and robbed of volition by the things that he brings. Ares' preoccupation with war appears

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<sup>1112</sup> Mastronarde (1994) 253, contra e.g. Craik (1988) 186; Kovacs (2002) 237. Amiech (2004) 295-296, while acknowledging Mastronarde's point regarding the lack of attestations of οἶδα being used to mean 'decide', finds his proposed translation unsatisfactory in context.

<sup>1113</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 784-800. Cf. Lonnoy (1985) for an extended discussion.

<sup>1114</sup> See §7.4, below.

<sup>1115</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 784, with Burian & Swann (1981) 91.

<sup>1116</sup> On the special connection between Ares and the dragon, cf. Gagné (2013) 379.

<sup>1117</sup> Independent will is what separates a god from an abstract force.

to be proverbial elsewhere in the play.<sup>1118</sup> Rejecting cult and celebration, Ares breathes the Argive army upon Thebes.<sup>1119</sup> This seems to imply that were Ares to change his warlike ways he could receive this kind of cult. Ares is not, however, simply the enemy of the city. Ares breathes the Argives against Thebes, but he also breathes the Sown Men against the Argives. Ares, as god of war, rather than helper in battle to one side or the other, drives on both sides, just as he is identified with both sides at Aeschylus' Salamis.<sup>1120</sup> This Chorus, rebuking Ares, do not attack him for favouring the Argives, as did their counterparts in the *Seven against Thebes*. Instead, they rebuke him for being the war-god, and for bringing war to the city, in the service of Strife.<sup>1121</sup> Ares' ability to give victory as well as defeat in war is emphasised shortly afterward, when the Chorus reflect on the crowns that may be bestowed by Ares.<sup>1122</sup>

While the Chorus focus on the undesirability of Ares as bringer of war, Teiresias explains to Creon that in order to win Ares to their side as a helper in the war, Creon must sacrifice his son Menoeceus to the god. Teiresias explains that only in this way will Ares be persuaded to forgive the descendants of Cadmus for the slaughter of his serpent, and become an ally of the city.<sup>1123</sup> As in the *Oresteia*, the continuing violence is linked to an age-old vendetta. And yet, as Menoeceus reflects, before committing suicide in order to guarantee Ares' aid, it was Ares, god of slaughter, who had established the Sown Men as rulers of the land.<sup>1124</sup> The Sown

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<sup>1118</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1128-1129 & 784-800.

<sup>1119</sup> The idea of Ares 'breathing' an army echoes several parallels in Aeschylus, particularly in *Seven against Thebes*. See §6.4.iii, above.

<sup>1120</sup> See §6.3, above.

<sup>1121</sup> For discussion of the opposition between peace and war in *Phoenicians*, see Masaracchia (1987) 176 & 181; Foley (1985) 137-138

<sup>1122</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 830-832. The precise meaning of this passage is unclear. Cf. Mastronarde (1994) 389, and Craik (1988) 215-216 for discussion and bibliography. It is possible that the Chorus are reflecting on past victories, on Thebes' current strength, or on her current peril.

<sup>1123</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 931-941. Cf. Gagné (2013) 380-381.

<sup>1124</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1003-1012.

Men, as with the Race of Bronze who they closely resemble, are necessarily Ares' victims, because they have embraced him in order to win power. Menoeceus' sacrifice, and the libation of his blood to Ares, perhaps symbolise the willingness to die which alone, as Tyrtaeus pointed out,<sup>1125</sup> can grant success in battle, and give victory to Thebes, as Cadmeian Ares vanquishes the Argive spear.<sup>1126</sup> And yet the violence does not end with the rout of the Argive army. When peace and negotiation are rejected, further blood is always needed, until all lie dead. Peace comes to Thebes only when Eteocles and Polynices have poured one last libation to Ares, pouring out their blood to honour the god who they unleashed through their unconstrained rivalry.<sup>1127</sup> There *Phoenicians* therefore emphasises Ares' power, and value as an ally should a city be forced to go to war, while also stressing the terrible sacrifices required if he is invoked, and war begun, in a way that repeats a central message of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*.<sup>1128</sup>

By stressing Ares' power, personal motivations, and ability to help and give victory as well as destroy, Euripides makes Ares seem more akin to the other Olympians than he may appear in the plays of Aeschylus. This impression is reinforced by the fact that Euripides gives Ares a central role in one of his plays, as he does other major gods, while reducing references to the god elsewhere in the corpus which may make him appear to be an impersonal force. Building on Aeschylus' integration of Ares into Athens under Athena's aegis in the *Oresteia*, Euripides' treatment of the god seems to set the scene for, or reflect the socio-religious shifts which underpinned the fourth century developments in Ares' Attic cult discussed earlier, centring on the commissioning of a statue of the god by a

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<sup>1125</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 4.9.16 = Tyrtaeus, fr. 11 (West) = Gerber (1999a) 54-57.

<sup>1126</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1081-1082 & 1090-1092.

<sup>1127</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1574-1576.

<sup>1128</sup> See §6.4.i, above.

major sculptor, and the erection of separate altars, befitting the dignity of a major Olympian.

### **(6.8) Aristophanes**

Aristophanes, as J. Givens points out, makes much less use of the major Olympian gods than the tragedians do.<sup>1129</sup> The absence of Ares from most of his plays is therefore unsurprising, for the most part.<sup>1130</sup> The one exception is *Peace*, where Aristophanes creates an anthropomorphic manifestation of Polemos to personify war. This role could, at first glance, easily be played by Ares.

In the Athenian literary tradition, however, Ares, as discussed above, did not just represent war. In Aeschylus' plays, Ares is identified with violence more generally, with war's participants, and with their ability to perform violent acts, as well as war itself. πόλεμος is a much more specific term, referring only to war against external foes, and is distinct from στάσις. By explicitly attacking the dominance of Polemos, furthermore, Aristophanes directly challenges Athena's assertion, in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, that πόλεμος against external enemies is desirable.<sup>1131</sup> Similar factors may contribute to the absence of Ares from *Acharnians*,<sup>1132</sup> where the term πόλεμος occurs frequently, although it is never personified.

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<sup>1129</sup> Givens (2009) 107. Olson (1998: xl) points out that the Olympians do not tend to take an active role even when they do feature, as in *Clouds*, *Birds*, and *Peace*. A full list of gods appearing in Aristophanes' plays is given by Miles (2011) 115. *Peace* was first performed in 421 B.C.

<sup>1130</sup> Ares never features as a character in Aristophanes, but the Cock in *Birds* (834-835) is referred to as a 'chick of Ares' on account of his martial prowess (cf. Dunbar (1995) 498), while Aristophanes' Aeschylus refers to his own *Seven against Thebes* as 'a play full of Ares' in *Frogs* (1020-1022), claiming that this play makes audiences more warlike and eager to fight on behalf of their city. This label for the play is said to have first been used by the Sophist Gorgias (Plut. *Mor.* 715e).

<sup>1131</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 864-866.

<sup>1132</sup> This is particularly striking in light of the presence of a cult of Ares at Acharnai, discussed above.

Moreover, as discussed above, Ares is consistently depicted throughout Classical and Archaic poetry as one of the Olympians. In *Peace*, Hermes informs us that the Olympians, disgusted by mankind, have handed over dominion over mortals to Polemos.<sup>1133</sup> Polemos, as D. Olson points out, is never actually referred to as a god within the play.<sup>1134</sup> Ares, this implies, was seen as part of the normal order of affairs, integrated into the civic pantheon of Olympians, rather than as an outsider. The use of Polemos also helps the poet to keep the focus of the narrative on politics, rather than on theology.<sup>1135</sup> The peace-loving man will not, however, raise up a paean to Ares.<sup>1136</sup> Ares, although a recipient of civic cult, was not a recipient of celebratory praise.

## **(6.9) Conclusions**

In Attic Tragedy, as in the *Iliad* and other pre-Classical poems, Ares personifies, rules over, and acts within war. The war-god plays an important role in the causal networks surrounding violence throughout Classical and Archaic poetry. In Tragedy, Ares gains two extra roles. The god is repeatedly identified not only with the battle as a whole, but with its participants (often, but not exclusively, the enemies of the speaker). Additionally, Ares is identified with the will to violence, and with the power to carry it out, which may lie within the heart of a mortal. Furthermore, Ares' role in tragedy is generalised to encompass all forms of violence, allowing the network of associations surrounding war to be applied, often in a highly critical

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<sup>1133</sup> Ar. *Pax* 196-234.

<sup>1134</sup> Olson (1998) xl. Olson asserts that Polemos is "primarily a concrete representation of the state of affairs that men have chosen for themselves."

<sup>1135</sup> See Olsen (1998) xli-xlii.

<sup>1136</sup> Ar. *Pax*. 457.

manner, to other forms of violence. The wild, impious character of Ares therefore serves as an important facilitating and unifying element at the heart of the tragedian's critiques of strife within the family and the city, and the psychological states that underlie such outbreaks of *stasis*.

Ares is not simply a narrative device. He was conceived of as a real divine power, and the wildness and unpredictability that made him so valuable to Athenian storytellers created a need to tame him within a cultic context. The idea of a connection between Ares and Athena, with the former tamed and incorporated into the city as a protector under the aegis of the latter, is reflected in the closing passages of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Over the course of the second half of the fifth century, Ares gradually became less omnipresent, less inextricably embedded in descriptions of violence, and so more akin in his tragic representations to other gods. In Euripides' *Phoenicians*, Ares ends the play as a civic protector, as at the end of *Eumenides*, and in Aristophanes' *Peace*, Ares is carefully omitted, kept offstage with the other gods, while Polemos, a simple personification, absorbs the poet's opprobrium. These developments may reflect an Archaic cultic connection between Ares and Athena at Athens. They may also have helped to lay the groundwork for the increased prominence of the joint cult, and possibly of Ares as an independent deity, in the fourth century. If not, developments in Tragedy certainly reflected developments in the religious conception of the god. The connection between Ares and Athena at Athens may parallel that between Ares and Aphrodite at Argos and the Cretan cities (the earliest reliably-datable evidence for which is from the middle of the fifth century), which I discuss in my chapter on Ares and Aphrodite.

## Dancing for Ares

### (7.1) Introduction

In Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, Ares is described as ἄχορον and ἀκίθαρον; as the god for whom there is no dance, and no lyre.<sup>1137</sup> When the lyre plays, Pindar tells us in his first Pythian oration, Ares sleeps.<sup>1138</sup> And yet in the *Iliad*, Hector tells Aias that he knows how to dance in honour of Ares.<sup>1139</sup>

In this chapter, I will explore the complex and inherently ambivalent conceptual relationship between Ares, war, and the intertwined ideas of music, dance, and celebratory cult. I will discuss the ways in which this relationship was alluded to by Pindar, Aeschylus, and the poet of the *Iliad*, and explored more explicitly by Euripides in his *Phoenicians*. I will then suggest that this idea may have held significant resonance outside poetry, on the battlefield.

### (7.2) Celebration, worship, and peace: the ideology of music and dance

Ares is the god for whom there is no chorus. A chorus is not just a dance; the chorus is dance, and song, and celebration.<sup>1140</sup> The chorus is central to the way in

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<sup>1137</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 681.

<sup>1138</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 1.10-11. For further discussion of the duality between music and war, as represented by Ares in this passage, see Hubbard (1985) 90-92.

<sup>1139</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.241.

<sup>1140</sup> See Mullen (1982) 21, and Delavaud-Roux (1993) 26-27 on the inseparability of music and dance in ancient Greece. On dance as an expression of joy, cf. Lawler (1951) 387.

which the gods are ritually honoured.<sup>1141</sup> When Pindar honours Apollo with a hymn, he is Φοῖβον χορεύων – performing a chorus for Phoebus.<sup>1142</sup> In Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannos*, his chorus – the chorus at the *festival* of Dionysos – ask why they should perform choruses to the gods, τί δεῖ με χορεύειν,<sup>1143</sup> and later promise to perform a chorus for the mountain, Cithaeron, to thank her for protecting their prince, Oedipus.<sup>1144</sup> The Maenads, the worshippers of Dionysos, are above all, his chorus.<sup>1145</sup> In the *Phaedrus*, Plato refers to a worshipper of any given god as his χορευτής.<sup>1146</sup> Likewise, in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, the leader of the chorus states that when someone performs the rites of the Muses, ὄργια μουσῶν, he dances them, ἐχόρευσεν.<sup>1147</sup>

The connection between music and dance and joy is particularly prominent in Euripides’ *Alcestis*. In this play, Admetus announces that after his wife’s death, he will put an end to revels and music, and never more touch the lyre, or sing to the Libyan pipe, for all joy will have been taken from his life.<sup>1148</sup> He decrees that for a year after her funeral, neither αὐλός nor lyre may be played in his city.<sup>1149</sup> A lament, the Chorus of Euripides’ *Helen*, and the heroine of his *Iphigenia in Tauris* tell us, is ἄλυρον, not for the lyre.<sup>1150</sup> After Heracles saves Alcestis, Admetus orders celebratory χορούς and sacrifices.<sup>1151</sup>

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<sup>1141</sup> Cf. Emmanuel (1896) 285 & 299; Delavaud-Roux (1993) 7.

<sup>1142</sup> Pind. *Isth.* 1.7.

<sup>1143</sup> Soph. *OT.* 896.

<sup>1144</sup> Soph. *OT.* 1092.

<sup>1145</sup> Soph. *Antig.* 1154; Eur. *Bacch. passim*

<sup>1146</sup> Pl. *Phdr.* 252d

<sup>1147</sup> Ar. *Ran.* 356.

<sup>1148</sup> Eur. *Alc.* 343f.

<sup>1149</sup> Eur. *Alc.* 420-434.

<sup>1150</sup> Eur. *IT* 144-146; *Hel.* 185. Cf. Cropp (2000) 185.

<sup>1151</sup> Eur. *Alc.* 1155-1156.

ἄχορον, ἀκίθαριν δακρυογόνον Ἄρη, sing Aeschylus' suppliant chorus.<sup>1152</sup>

They want nothing to do with tear-bringing Ares. But more than this, they assert that Ares is a god who is not, or should not, be celebrated by dance and song and the music of the lyre: the lyre which, to Pindar, does not awake and attract Ares, but silences him.<sup>1153</sup> We have no evidence of processions, dances, or songs in honour of Ares in Archaic or Classical Greece. The nature of the *Areia* at Athens is unknown.<sup>1154</sup>

War and dance are repeatedly presented as an opposing pair in early Greek hexameter poetry. In the *Iliad*, Polydamas says to Hector that, “to one man has the god given the works of war, of πόλεμος, to another the dance (ὄρχηστῶν) to another the lyre (κίθαριν) and song.”<sup>1155</sup> Aias tells the Achaeans that “Hector does not call us to a chorus, but to fight.”<sup>1156</sup> Paris, meanwhile, retreating from the battlefield, appears to Helen as “if he had come from a *choros*, and not from fighting”.<sup>1157</sup> Priam, in his despair after the death of Hector, dismisses his remaining sons as ‘mere dancers’.<sup>1158</sup>

On the shield made by Hephaistos for Achilles in the *Iliad*, the very first image is that of a city filled with wedding-feasts, with the young men dancing, ὄρχηστῆρες, to the sound of flutes and lyres. This forms a pair with the other scene in that city: a duel. The shield's second city is wholly dominated by war and strife, but then follows a contrasting description of country life, with maidens and youths

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<sup>1152</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 681.

<sup>1153</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 1.10-11.

<sup>1154</sup> See §6.5, above.

<sup>1155</sup> Hom. *Il.* 13.730-731. This role-division also appears in a papyrus fragment attributed to Euripides, perhaps from *Hypsipyle* (produced between 411 and 407 B.C.), in which Euneos says that Orpheus had taught him the music of the lyre, but trained his brother in Ares' martial arms (Eur. fr. 759a = Collard & Cropp (2008b) 308-317, lines 1621-1622).

<sup>1156</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.508.

<sup>1157</sup> Hom. *Il.* 3.390-394.

<sup>1158</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.261.

accompanying the lyre and song of a boy with a dance, μολπή, and after one final interlude of violence, as lions set upon a bull, the final image to be described is a dancing floor, where a large crowd enjoy the χορόν, and two tumblers lead the μολπής.<sup>1159</sup>

The pattern is repeated in the pseudo-Hesiodic description of the shield of Heracles, where a series of monsters and demons, culminating in a war centring on Ares and Athena, contrasts abruptly with the holy chorus of the immortals, dancing around the golden lyre of Apollo. A later description of a city assailed by war is immediately followed by the depiction of a city in which the men and girls rejoice at a wedding χοροῖς, with dances.<sup>1160</sup>

The connection between music, dance, the banquet, and peace also appears in choral lyric.<sup>1161</sup> Bacchylides presents the art of the muses as an agreeable surcease for a warrior,<sup>1162</sup> while Pindar, as mentioned above, associates the music of the lyre with peace in his first Pythian ode.<sup>1163</sup> A fragmentary paean of Bacchylides also explores these themes.<sup>1164</sup>

Dance, and in particular μολπή and χορός, which are frequently accompanied by the lyre, are consistently associated with peace and unwarlike activity in Archaic and Classical poetry. And as a manifestation of peace, they are regularly contrasted with war. Within this context, the statement by Aeschylus' chorus of suppliants that Ares, the personification of war is ἄχορος and ἀκίθαρις is, perhaps, to be expected.

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<sup>1159</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.490-605.

<sup>1160</sup> Ps.-Hes. *Sc.* 140-285. Cf. Thalmann (1984) 62-64.

<sup>1161</sup> See Arnould (1981) 37.

<sup>1162</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 5.1ff.

<sup>1163</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 1.1-11.

<sup>1164</sup> Bacchyl. fr.45.

### (7.3) Dance and war: forms of movement

And yet, despite the ideological dichotomy between dance and war, Hector says to Aias that οἶδα δ' ἐνὶ σταδίῃ δηῖω μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηϊ. “I know,” says Hector, “how in the line of battle, to dance in honour of hostile Ares.” This must have been at least partly inspired by the natural comparison between war and dance as analogous forms of movement, which appears in many Classic and Archaic texts.

The Antonine grammarian Hephaestion of Alexandria gives the following line as an example of Spartan verse: “Come, armed youths of Sparta, to the movements [κίνασιν] of Ares”.<sup>1165</sup> The scholiast on Hephaestion attributes this line to Alcman, although some modern editors attribute this line to Tyrtaeus.<sup>1166</sup>

‘Movement’, κίνησις: the noun is generally used for settings-in-motion, of both bodies and events, but also of rhythms.<sup>1167</sup> It derives from the verb κινέω, to move, or set in motion. It is used both to describe the advance of soldiers in battle<sup>1168</sup> and the movement of dancers.<sup>1169</sup> When the poet sings, “Come, armed youths of Sparta to the movements of Ares”, he is probably speaking of the movements of actual war, but the word used may also cause a listener to think of dance. Certainly, the movements of war could be mimicked in a war-dance.

The class of dance that is rightly called ‘Pyrrhic’, Plato tells us, “portrays ways of avoiding all kinds of blows and throws by turning the head aside and drawing back and leaping forth to a great height and crouching down, and they also put their hands to portraying imitations of the opposites of these, bearing forms

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<sup>1165</sup> Heph. 8.4.

<sup>1166</sup> Cf. Campbell (1988) 352-353.

<sup>1167</sup> See *LSJ* s.v. κίνησις.

<sup>1168</sup> E.g. Soph. *OC* 1371; Eur. *Rh.* 139; *Phoen.* 107.

<sup>1169</sup> E.g. Pl. *Leg.* 656a; Luc. *Salt.* 63.

representing attack, in the shooting of bows and throwing of javelins and all kinds of blows.”<sup>1170</sup>

Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, describes a series of individual dances of this type, performed to impress Paphlagonian dignitaries. Two armoured Thracians danced out a sword-duel to the music of a flute. A Mysian danced with two shields, as if defending himself against first one, and then two enemies. A group of Aenianians and Magnesians danced out a confrontation between an armed farmer, and a group of robbers attempting to steal his oxen.<sup>1171</sup>

These armed dances could be thought of as practice for war. Athenaeus says of Classical Greece that, “the type of dancing in which the choruses engaged in those days was graceful and befitting great men, and imitated, as it were, the movements of men wearing armour. This is why Socrates in his poetry says that the finest dancers are also the best warriors, speaking thus: ‘Those who most beautifully honour the gods in dances are the best in war.’<sup>1172</sup> For as something close to drill under arms, the dance also demonstrates not only the good arrangement of the other things, but also the care bestowed upon their bodies.”<sup>1173</sup> The passage from Plato’s *Laws* that I quoted earlier may have influenced Athenaeus’ interpretation of Socrates’ verse. Plato goes on to praise the warlike form of dancing for the way in which it strengthens the body.<sup>1174</sup>

Socrates praises those who dance well; Aristophanes pours scorn on those

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<sup>1170</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 7.815a. Lawler (1964) 107-108 takes this as evidence that the Pyrrhic dance acted as a form of military training for Athenian boys, as does Lonsdale (1993) 137-139. Downes (1903) 104 observes that defensive movements predominate here. Many of the movements described here may be detected in Attic vase-paintings (Lawler (1964) 108; Lonsdale (1993) 144-148; Séchan (1930) 90-91).

<sup>1171</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.5-12. Lonsdale (1993) 142 claims that Xenophon’s account shows “that one of the types of weapon dance popular in the fourth century was the military training exercise Plato describes.”

<sup>1172</sup> “οἱ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοῦς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι ἐν πολέμῳ”

<sup>1173</sup> Ath. 628e-f. Cf. Pritchett (1974) 216.

<sup>1174</sup> Cf. Mullen (1982) 61-63, Garland (1972) 191-192, and Lawler (1964) 107-108, for further discussion of dance as training for war.

who dance badly, the personified ‘Better Argument’ in his Cloud choking with rage at a young man who cannot lift up his shield properly in an armed dance at the Panathenaea, contrasting such feebleness with the strength of the men who won at Marathon.<sup>1175</sup>

A much later echo of this idea that dance is good training for battle appears in a Bithynian story related by Lucian, that the god Priapus, having had Ares put into his charge by Hera, did not teach him to fight with weapons until he had made him τέλειον ὄρχηστὴν ‘a perfect dancer’.<sup>1176</sup> Ares, the god who is described by Aeschylus’ chorus as ἄχορον in the context of his role as personification of and ruler over war, may be represented as a dancer in his manifestation as warrior-archetype.

Mortal warriors may be described as dancers too. Ancaeus is described a ‘dancer’ when killed by the Calydonian boar in Lycophon’s *Alexandra*.<sup>1177</sup> In his *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon compares disciplined Persian armies to dancers.<sup>1178</sup> There may be Spartans hiding behind Xenophon’s Persians: the Spartans were famous for marching to the sound of flutes.<sup>1179</sup> In the *Iliad*, Aeneas says to Meriones, “Despite your being a nimble dancer, my spear would have stopped you dancing forever, if I had struck you.”<sup>1180</sup> But is Aeneas recognising Meriones’ skill, or taunting him?<sup>1181</sup> War may appear to mimic dance, as dance may mimic war.

Armed dance, although imitating war, possessed the same associations with worship and celebration as other forms of dance. There is little evidence of these

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<sup>1175</sup> Ar. *Nub.* 985-989. For discussion of the role of shield-manipulation in armed dances, see Borthwick (1967) 20-22. On the physical mechanics involved in this passage, see Dover (1968) 219.

<sup>1176</sup> Luc. *Salt.* 20-21

<sup>1177</sup> Lycoph. *Alex.* 493.

<sup>1178</sup> Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.18 & 3.3.30.

<sup>1179</sup> Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.8-9; Thuc. 5.69-70.

<sup>1180</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.616-617. Cf. Downes (1904) 103; Borthwick (1969) 388.

<sup>1181</sup> Cf. Ceccarelli (1998) 19. Cf. also Hom. *Il.* 24.261, where Priam, as observed above, dismissed his remaining sons as ‘mere dancers’.

mere imitations of war being directly associated with Ares.<sup>1182</sup> Armed dances appear in many contexts:<sup>1183</sup> as entertainment,<sup>1184</sup> as a part of civic festivals for Athena and other gods,<sup>1185</sup> as an apotropaic ritual on behalf of the baby Zeus,<sup>1186</sup> and as part of funeral ritual – the Pyrrhic is said by Aristotle to have been performed at the funerals of old Cretan kings, and to have been invented by Pyrrhus for the funeral of his father, Achilles.<sup>1187</sup>

Large-scale armed dances and choreographed re-enactments of battle are particularly associated with the cults of gods who act as divine helpers in battle, such as Athena at Athens,<sup>1188</sup> and Enyalios at Sparta.<sup>1189</sup> Outside the Greek world, at Guršamašša in Asia Minor, we find an armed dance in honour of Iyarri, helper in battle to the Hittite king Mursili, where the ritual combat appears to re-enact a battle between the men of Hatti, and the men of Maša, with the ritually victorious men of Hatti dedicating a prisoner to the god, evidently in thanks for helping them to victory in an actual battle against the men of Maša.<sup>1190</sup> A Sumerian hymn also describes a mock-battle, this time in honour of the warrior-goddess and civic protector Inanna.<sup>1191</sup> Ares is only linked to a mock battle once, and indirectly, through his

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<sup>1182</sup> The only clear connection of Ares to actual music or dance appears in the pseudo-Plutarchan treatise *On Music* (29. 1141b), which refers to a nome of Ares composed in the prosodiac rhythm.

<sup>1183</sup> Cf. Ceccarelli (1998) 20.

<sup>1184</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.5-12.

<sup>1185</sup> Ar. *Nub.* 985-989; Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.11. Borthwick (1969) has argued that Athena was depicted as a specifically defensive war-dancer.

<sup>1186</sup> Callim. *Hymn* 1.51-53.

<sup>1187</sup> Arist. fr. 519. Cf. Simon (2013) 495-496 for further examples of armed dances within funerary and apotropaic contexts.

<sup>1188</sup> Ar. *Nub.* 985-989; Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.11. Cf. Lonsdale (1993) 142-144 for epigraphic evidence.

<sup>1189</sup> Paus. 3.14.8-10.

<sup>1190</sup> KUB 17.35 = Carter (1962) 123–149. This text probably dates from the reign of Tudhaliya IV (second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.). Cf. de Roos (2007) 26–27. For a parallel Greek battle-commemoration dance, see Mullen (1982) 66.

<sup>1191</sup> Jacobsen (1987) 116.

identification by Herodotus with an Egyptian god who received cult at Papremis (perhaps Seth, perhaps Montu).<sup>1192</sup>

War and dance were seen by the Greeks to be akin as actions, as activities, and as movements. The movements of dance could echo the movements of war, and the movements of war could be thought reminiscent of the movements of dance. So long as we ask the questions ‘what is dance’ and ‘what is war’ on a purely physical level, comparisons, connections, and parallels between the two seem appropriate, despite the striking ideological contrast.

#### **(7.4) War as anti-cult**

Euripides plays on the dichotomy between the kinship between the movements of war and dance, and their ideological incompatibility, in one of the choral odes in his *Phoenicians*.<sup>1193</sup> The chorus address the god, calling him ‘much-labouring’, πολύμοχθος, Ares. War is described in Homer as the toils of Ares.<sup>1194</sup> Toil, work, is the opposite of joyous celebration. They then proceed to ask Ares why he is ‘possessed’, κατέχη, by bloodshed and death, and discordant, παράμουςος, with the feasts of Bromios. “It is not for you,” they continue, “among the garlands

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<sup>1192</sup> Hdt. 2.63. Cf. How & Wells (1912a) 198. For discussion of the cults and identities of the Egyptian god Seth, see Velde (1967) with Dunand & Zivie-Coche (2004) 63-64. Seth was often identified with another Egyptian warrior-god, Montu (Velde (1967) 132). For discussion of Montu’s cults and identities, see Werner (1985). Montu was primarily a regal warrior-protector, and a giver of strength. Strong warriors were sometimes identified with Montu (as on a stele of Thutmose III – see Werner (1985) 108). Montu uniquely parallels that way in which war is described as ‘the work of Ares’ in Greek literature. On an inscription praising the young Amenhotep II, warfare is repeatedly referred to as ‘the work of Montu’ (Werner (1985) 109-110), a phrase which also appears on a stele of Sethi I (Werner (1985) 293). Montu is often paired with Seth in Ramesside passages (Werner (1985) 188-189).

<sup>1193</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 784-800. For a full discussion of this ode, see Lonnoy (1985). Cf. also Foley (1985) 136-137. Craik (1988: 186) also detects corrupted dance imagery at Eur. *Phoen* 250-251, in the description of the battle soon to be watched (or decided) by Ares

<sup>1194</sup> Cf. §2.3.i, above.

that the young men wear to the fair dances [καλλιχόροις], to spread your curls and play the flute with your breath and sing [μέλπη], the music in which the graces are instituting a dance [χοροποιού], but with armed men, you breathe the Argive army upon the Theban race, and lead the chorus in a fluteless festival [κῶμον ἀναυλότατον προχορεύεις].<sup>1195</sup> Not on thyrus-raving feet with fawnskin garb, rather you make eddies whirl with chariots and the four-foot riding of bridled horses as you go swiftly through Ismenus' streams, and against the Argives you breathe the race of the Sown Men, a shield-bearing revel at arms,<sup>1196</sup> who you have clothed in bronze along the stone walls."<sup>1197</sup> War appears in this passage from the *Phoenicians* as a perverse, distorted reflection of a normal Dionysiac cult festival;<sup>1198</sup> as some kind of anti-cult for Ares. But is this simply a poetic device invented by Euripides, echoing the ways in which the language of twisted dance, as Ruth Padel has pointed out, is used for descriptions of madness?<sup>1199</sup>

Euripides' idea of war and of Ares as corrupted dance was adopted by at least two poets in the Hellenistic period. In the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, probably composed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., the beginning of war is described as follows: "And now Ares, the dancer,<sup>1200</sup> fires the land, with his conch leading forth a melody of blood. And all the land lies ravaged before my eyes and like corn bristle fields of

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<sup>1195</sup> κῶμον is generally used to designate a revel or procession, generally in honour of a god, or a band of revellers, or an ode sung in a festive procession (see *LSJ* s.v. κῶμον).

<sup>1196</sup> Kovacs (2002: 298) gives 'κῶμον ἀρήιον' at line 796, citing West (1990d: 315) in place of the manuscripts' θίασον ἔνοπλον (which is defended by Mastrorarde (1994: 383), and retained by most editors, but is metrically unsound). West puts forward κῶμον ἀρήιον as an offhand example of a metrically apt redaction which would fit the sense of the passage, rather than as a serious suggestion.

<sup>1197</sup> That Euripides' 'festival' of Ares is ἀναυλότατον, fluteless, appears, incidentally, to confirm that the Spartans were unique in marching into battle to the sound of flutes. It is unclear how this relates to Plato's ban on flutes from his ideal city in his *Republic* (Pl. *Rep.* 499d). For discussion of Spartan use of flutes in war, see Anderson (1970) 77-82.

<sup>1198</sup> Cf. Burian & Swann (1981) 12& 91.

<sup>1199</sup> Padel (1995) 132-136.

<sup>1200</sup> "ὄρχηστής Ἄρης"

gleaming spears.”<sup>1201</sup> War dances as the warrior dances. In Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos*, all Thessaly dances (ὠρχήσατο) in fear at the din of Ares’ spear striking his shield.<sup>1202</sup> Note that χορός is not used in these contexts. ὀρχέομαι is not as strongly associated with celebratory cult as χορεύω.

The idea of war as corrupted dance, as an anti-celebration, and as a warped form of worship appears to have held significant resonance. I return to Hector’s words: οἶδα δ’ ἐνὶ σταδῆι δηῖω μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηϊ. I have discussed the ways in which these words reflect the connection between war and dance as a form of movement. But the verb, μέλπω, has strong connotations of honouring, of praise, and of celebrating in song and dance. It appears in a clearly cultic context early on in the *Iliad*, where the Achaeans are described as ‘μέλποντες ἐκάεργον’ while attempting to appease Apollo through sacrifice and libation and song.<sup>1203</sup> Is Euripides’ exploration of this idea simply literary trickery, or might it reflect a more widespread conception of the relationship between Ares and war?

### **(7.5) Analogies between war and cult**

Mortals can interact with the gods in many ways. There exist a number of acts that were performed with the explicit purpose of forming a relationship with a god, and which we associate with cult. These include prayer, sacrifice, the setting up of votive offerings, and festive songs, dances and processions. But these are not the only things that mortals can do which the gods were thought to find pleasing.

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<sup>1201</sup> Lycoph. *Alex.* 249-253. Cf. Lawler (1951) 385, who observes that, “Rather persistently in Greek literature, war is spoken of as a dance or as a dancer.”

<sup>1202</sup> Callim. *Hymn* 4.139-140. Cf. Lawler (1951) 384.

<sup>1203</sup> Hom. *Il.* 1.474.

The story of Euripides' play *Hippolytus* is driven by Aphrodite's anger at the protagonist on account of his failure to honour her by loving. Instead, he spends all day hunting, honouring Artemis.<sup>1204</sup> In the theatre of Athens, plays were performed in honour of Dionysos.<sup>1205</sup> Zeus Xenios was given honour by the act of being a good host, or a good guest.<sup>1206</sup> When Xenophon was living at Scillus, near Olympia, he set up a hunting park with a temple and an altar in honour of Artemis. He offered sacrifices, including victims from his hunts, at the altar, but the central activity which he carried out in honour of the goddess was hunting.<sup>1207</sup>

Hunting and hospitality, poetry and love: these were not activities carried out in order to honour the gods, and yet through these acts, the gods were thought to be honoured. The gods took pleasure from them, as they did from sacrifice, and from celebratory song and dance. Wars were not fought for the purpose of honouring Ares, but they could be conceptualised as honouring Ares nonetheless. A city busied with war and filled with warriors, like Syracuse in one of Pindar's odes, could be conceived of a τέμενος, a sanctuary, of Ares.<sup>1208</sup>

In the *Iliad*, we hear of Ares being gluttoned on the blood of the fallen, αἵματος ἄσαι Ἄρηα.<sup>1209</sup> Ares' Homeric epithet ἄτος πολέμοιο, 'insatiable of war', may therefore be seen as a reflection of the god taking pleasure in his 'cult'.<sup>1210</sup> Anacreon similarly gives Ares the epithet φιλαίματος, 'blood-loving'.<sup>1211</sup> This idea of the battle-dead, and indeed of the violently killed in general, as sacrifices to Ares, hinted

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<sup>1204</sup> Eur. *Hipp.* 1-23.

<sup>1205</sup> Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 67-200.

<sup>1206</sup> See Hom. *Od.* 9.266-271, with Dowden (2006) 78-80.

<sup>1207</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.7-13. Garland (1972) 191 claims that hunting does differ substantially from war except in its objectives. My thanks to Emma Aston for suggesting this example to me.

<sup>1208</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 2.2.

<sup>1209</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.286-289; 20.75-78; 22.265-267. Loraux (1995) 91 declares that, "Omnipresent on the battlefield where men are falling, the 'ultimate terror' whose spear finishes off dying heroes, the furious Ares is the monstrous god whom the fighters appease with their blood."

<sup>1210</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.863; 6.203.

<sup>1211</sup> As quoted in *Anth. Pal.* 7.226 = Anac. fr.100D (Diehl) = Campbell (1988) 150-151.

at in the *Iliad*, is repeated in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, when Eteocles tells the chorus that the killing of mortals is what Ares is fed by - “Ἄρης βόσκεται”.<sup>1212</sup> In Euripides' *Phoenicians* Teiresias states that only through a libation of human blood – the blood of the offspring of Cadmus - will Ares be appeased, and cease in his wrath,<sup>1213</sup> and indeed the threat to Thebes posed by the Argive war is ended by the deaths of Polynices and Eteocles, of whom Antigone says that from their wounds the cold libation of blood has poured out, a libation of Ares given to Hades.<sup>1214</sup> Likewise, in Sophocles' *Electra*, Orestes and Pylades, having killed Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, are described as having bloody hands that reek of sacrifice to Ares, θυηλῆς Ἄρεος.<sup>1215</sup> In *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Euripides' Achilles may refer to glorifying Ares with his spear.<sup>1216</sup> When Achilles kills, it honours the war-god.

Achilles' statement that he will seek to glory Ares with his spear as far as he is able suggests that it is possible to carry out war in ways that are particularly pleasing or displeasing to the god, as with any formal ritual actions. This idea may also be reflected the assertion of Iolaus' servant, in the *Children of Herakles*, that Ares hates μέλλοντας, those 'intending' to go to into battle, but always delaying, most of all.<sup>1217</sup> Anacreon tells us that Ares loves a staunch spearman.<sup>1218</sup>

The idea of Ares feasting upon the victims of war also appears in cult.<sup>1219</sup> Pausanias tells us of an Ares Gunaikothoinas at Tegea. As Maria Prieto has pointed out, the closest linguistic parallels to Ares Gunaikothoinas, are Heracles Bouthoinas

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<sup>1212</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 244.

<sup>1213</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 931-941. Cf. Mastronarde (1994) 416; Craik (1988) 222.

<sup>1214</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1574-1576.

<sup>1215</sup> Soph. *El.* 1422-1423. Cf. Finglass (2007a) 519.

<sup>1216</sup> Eur. *IA* 931: Ἄρη τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ κοσμήσω δορί, which may be read as “I shall glorify Ares with my spear so far as in me lies”, since while κοσμήσω means ‘order/arrange’, this is often used to mean ‘adorn/embellish’ and thus ‘honour’ (see *LSJ* s.v. κοσμήσω).

<sup>1217</sup> Eur. *Heracl.* 722-723.

<sup>1218</sup> Heph. *Ench.* 15.10 = Anac. fr.393 (Page) = Campbell (1988) 78-79.

<sup>1219</sup> Note, however, that the formulation of these epithets may significant post-date the Classical and Archaic literary evidence discussed so far, even if long-established by Pausanias' time.

and Pan Arneothoinēs.<sup>1220</sup> Heracles and Pan do not feast with oxen and lambs – they feast on them. Lambs and oxen are sacrificial victims.<sup>1221</sup> Thus the original significance of the name probably has little to do with the aetiology presented by Pausanias, that this cult was rooted in a post-battle sacrifice offered to Ares by the women of Tegea after a victory over Charillus of Sparta.<sup>1222</sup> Rather, Ares Gunaikothoinas probably originally meant ‘feaster on women’, reflecting the fate of the women of a captured city: the female victims of war portrayed as sacrifices to Ares. Ares bears the epithet ἀφνειός, ‘wealthy’, which may reflect an association with the spoils of war, perhaps including female slaves, on an inscription seen by Pausanias on the borders of Tegea.<sup>1223</sup>

This connection between Ares and the spoils of war may also be perceived in the fact that when confronted by Diomedes and Athena in the *Iliad*, murder-stained Ares is found stripping the armour from the corpse of Periphras. Ares is the only god who strips a corpse in the *Iliad*.<sup>1224</sup> Ares is also described as spoil-bearing, red with blood, on the Shield of Herakles.<sup>1225</sup> But if war could be conceptualised as activity in honour of Ares, what effects might that activity have been thought to have?<sup>1226</sup>

When the spear of Diomedes pierces Ares’ belly, he cries out with the voice of nine or ten thousand men in battle – it is as if the battle itself cries out, and indeed,

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<sup>1220</sup> Γυναικοθόινας (Paus. 8.48.4), βουθοίνας (*Anth. Pal.* 16.123) ἀρνεοθόινης (*Anth. Pal.* 16.235). These parallel forms have been discussed by Prieto (1989), who argues in favour of their antiquity. See also Prieto (1996) 13.

<sup>1221</sup> In *Anth. Pal.* 16.235, attributed to Apollonides of Smyrna (tentatively identified with a rhetorician who lived in the reign of Tiberius – see Jay (1973) 207), the epithet ἀρνεοθόινης is claimed by Pan in the context of an epigram discussing the kinds of offerings that are appropriate to his nature. As regards βουθοίνας, cf. Aubreton & Buffière (1980) 267n.3 for a list of other Greek texts which refer to Herakles’ voracious consumption of beef.

<sup>1222</sup> Paus. 8.48.4-5. Cf. Graf (1984); Gonzales (2004) 119-123.

<sup>1223</sup> Paus. 8.44.7. I follow the interpretation of this epithet suggested by Farnell (1909) 397.

<sup>1224</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.842-845.

<sup>1225</sup> Ps.-Hes. *Sc.* 191-192.

<sup>1226</sup> The following paragraphs, exploring the connections between bronze, dance, and apotropaic ritual, are inspired by an observation made by Séchan (1930: 85-86).

the Achaeans and Trojans who make up the war tremble in their ranks at Ares' pain.<sup>1227</sup> Geoffrey Kirk points out that when *brazen* Ares 'shouted' - 'ἔβραχε' - the verb used also occurs when bronze (armour) must grate or rattle,<sup>1228</sup> further enhancing the parallels between Ares' shout and the sound of battle, as well as reflecting brazen, *χάλκεος* Ares' affinity with bronze arms and armour.<sup>1229</sup> Significantly, this verb is not used for Poseidon's parallel shout in *Iliad* 14.<sup>1230</sup>

The sound of battle was the intrinsically *παράμουςος* sound of bronze clashing against bronze. An early scholiast on Theocritus cites Apollodorus as writing that bronze was employed in all kinds of purificatory ritual, because it was regarded as pure and an averter of pollution.<sup>1231</sup> In Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, the Argonauts propitiate Rhea with an armed dance, clashing their swords and shields together,<sup>1232</sup> both Apollonius and Diodorus record that Athena gave Herakles bronze clappers made by Hephaistos to drive away the Stymphalian birds,<sup>1233</sup> and a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius remarks that the people of Ceos clash weapons at the rising of Sirius, to avert sickness.<sup>1234</sup> In Callimachus' Hymn to Zeus, we hear that the Kouretes dance a war-dance - *πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο* – around the infant Zeus, beating their weapons and armour, that Kronos might hear only the noise of their clashing shields, and not the baby-noises of the god.<sup>1235</sup>

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<sup>1227</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.859-863.

<sup>1228</sup> Hom. *Il.* 4.420; 12.396

<sup>1229</sup> Kirk (1990) 148.

<sup>1230</sup> Hom. *Il.* 14.148-151.

<sup>1231</sup> Schol. ad Theoc. ii.36. For further discussion, see Cook (1902) 14-26, which I draw upon heavily throughout this paragraph. Cf. also Rohde (1925) 214n.167 for Roman comparanda.

<sup>1232</sup> Ap. Rhod. 1.1135ff.

<sup>1233</sup> Apollod. 2.5.6 & Diod. 4.13.

<sup>1234</sup> Schol. ad Ap. Rhod. ii. 526.

<sup>1235</sup> Callim. *Hymn* 1.51-53. Lawler (1964) 31, however, maintains that there is "no evidence" that the (armed) dance of the Cretan Kouretes was ever a combat or war-dance. Lawler (1964: 106) also takes this passage as evidence that Greek armed dances in general originated as apotropaic rituals, on which cf. also Séchan (1930) 85. Rohde (1925) 52n.72 emphasises the power of the sound of bronze and iron/

These rituals, all centering on the sound of clashing bronze, are all apotropaic in nature, designed to turn away threats, like the libation of blood flowing from the wounds of Pylades and Eteocles turned away the wrath of Ares from Thebes in Euripides' play. I have already observed that the verb, μέλω, which Hector uses to describe the action that he knows how to perform for Ares, initially and most prominently appears in the *Iliad* in the context of the Achaeans attempting to appease the wrathful, plague-bringing Apollo.

The Kuretes dance a πρύλιον, to drive Kronos away from the helpless newborn Zeus. Callimachus' Amazons also dance an armed πρύλιον, in honour of Artemis.<sup>1236</sup> On the *Shield of Heracles*, Ares πρυλέεσσι κελεύων, gives orders to what may be read as an armed, apotropaic dance. The dative plurals of feminine πρύλις and masculine πρυλέες are the same, and there is no article.<sup>1237</sup> πρυλέες is said by Hesychius to designate armoured foot-soldiers, but this appears to derive from the fact that *Iliad* contrasts the heroes who are πρυλέες, with their charioteers who remain behind.<sup>1238</sup> It is by no means certain that the significance of the word lies in the fact that the charioteers are mounted and the warriors on foot, rather than in the fact that the warriors go forth to battle, while the charioteers remain stationary. Certainly, it is tempting to think of Aias slaying Leodamas, leader of the πρυλέες, lord of the dance?<sup>1239</sup> But even if the line in the *Shield* does primarily refer to Ares ordering on foot-soldiers, the double-meaning is not lost. Ares orders on the foot-soldiers in their armed, apotropaic dances.<sup>1240</sup>

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<sup>1236</sup> Callim. *Hymn* 3.240.

<sup>1237</sup> See above, §3.4.

<sup>1238</sup> Hom. *Il.* 11.49; 12.77. Cf. Ceccarelli (1998) 116n.127.

<sup>1239</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.517.

<sup>1240</sup> For discussion of a striking Sumerian parallel, in which the warrior goddess Inanna makes soldiers dance in war, see Kang (1989) 31.

## (7.6) Dancing for Ares: Conclusions

The idea that war may have been thought of, at least on one level, as a kind of apotropaic quasi-cult, as a form of movement, of ‘dance’, designed to drive away evil, and to please and appease, but not to celebrate, a god, may help to explain the dichotomy between Ares clear importance, and the lack of major festivals in his honour. If this conjecture, which I admit to be slightly speculative, is accepted, then Ares, who was evidently in peacetime a recipient of now-forgotten rites and sacrifices at small, inconspicuous shrines and groves,<sup>1241</sup> received greater, yet essentially involuntary honours from all states who took part in war. I suggest that Ares, from Homer to Euripides, via the poet of the *Shield of Heracles*, and Aeschylus, was a god ἄχορον and ἀκίθαριν, who led his chorus in a fluteless festival, κῶμον ἀναυλότατον προχορεύεις.

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<sup>1241</sup> See §1.1, above.

### Ares and Hades

An alternative, but not incompatible approach to understanding Ares' subdued cult is to compare his identity with those of Hades.<sup>1242</sup> In the *Iliad*, both are described as 'hateful', *στυγερός*.<sup>1243</sup> Hades was also described as 'cold', *κρυερός*,<sup>1244</sup> an epithet which may have been applied to Ares in a lyric inscription.<sup>1245</sup> In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon says of Hades that he is *ἀμείλιχος*, impossible to soothe, and *ἀδάμαστος*, untameable, and the most hated by mortals of all the gods.<sup>1246</sup> Bacchylides' Meleager, similarly, calls Ares *καρτερόθυμος*, hard-spirited, as he refuses to distinguish friend from enemy in battle.<sup>1247</sup> In a passage quoted by Stobaeus, Bacchylides dubs Ares stubborn, inflexible, *ἄκναμπος*.<sup>1248</sup> Plato describes Ares as *ἄρρατον*, 'hard'.<sup>1249</sup> These parallels are drawn from a variety of texts, genres, and centuries, but do suggest a certain level of similarity in the way in

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<sup>1242</sup> Associations between war, warriors, and death appear in neighbouring societies. The Babylonian god Erra, who I compare to Ares above (§6.4.vi), was frequently identified with Nergal, a ruler of the underworld (cf. Cagni (1977) 31n.32; George (1993) 126-127; *Erra* IIC.31 with Dalley (1989) 314, n.37 and Cagni (1977) 45n.101). Literary evidence in which Nergal is both portrayed as a divine warrior and acts as a warrior-protector, and is associated with the underworld, has been preserved in Sumerian and Akkadian texts from the Old and Middle Babylonian periods (von Weiher (1971) 14-20, 29-30, & 68-73). Nergal also acted as a warrior-protector of Neo-Assyrian kings (von Weiher (1971) 99-101). A Sumerian text referred to Nergal as 'the Enlil of the Underworld' (von Weiher (1971) 14) just Phoenix refers to Hades as Zeus *καταχθόνιος*, 'Zeus of the Underworld' in the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 9.457). For further blurring of the distinction between Hades and Zeus, cf. also Brock (2013) 6. Nergal was also identified with the planet Mars (von Weiher (1971) 76-83), and was associated with plague (von Weiher (1971) 83-87). Nergal's role as a warrior-protector, combined with the fact that the weapon of the Near Eastern warrior was the bow, contributed to the fact that he was identified by Greeks not with Ares, but with Herakles. The Syrian/Egyptian god Rešep was identified with both Nergal and Herakles (for details of these identifications, see von Weiher (1971) 90-92; Fulco (1976) 38, 48-49, 69).

<sup>1243</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.385; 8.368; 9.454; 18.209.

<sup>1244</sup> Hes. *Op.* 153.

<sup>1245</sup> See §5.3, below.

<sup>1246</sup> Hom. *Il.* 9.158-159.

<sup>1247</sup> Bacchyl. *Epinician* 5.127-135.

<sup>1248</sup> Stobaeus 1.5.3 = Bacchyl. fr.24 = Campbell (1992) 288-289.

<sup>1249</sup> Pl. *Cra.* 407d.

which the two gods could be perceived.

In war, the two gods act as a pair, Ares sending men down to Hades. This idea appears in the *Iliad*,<sup>1250</sup> in a fragment of Semonides,<sup>1251</sup> and in Euripides' *Phoenicians* where Antigone speaks of a libation of slaughter allotted to Hades, given from Ares.<sup>1252</sup> Both Ares and Hades are κοινός, common to all.<sup>1253</sup>

As a result, just as Aeschylus' Chorus describe Ares as ἄχορον and ἀκίθαριν in *Suppliants*, so the Chorus of the same poet's *Seven against Thebes* refers to a paean to Hades as 'hateful'.<sup>1254</sup> In Euripides' *Suppliants*, the Chorus describe lament and mourning as the χορός that Hades honours.<sup>1255</sup>

Joseph Fontenrose has pointed out that in Herakles' combat at Pylos, Ares and Hades appear to be interchangeable.<sup>1256</sup> In the *Iliad*, Dione refers to Hades being pierced by Herakles' arrows at Pylos,<sup>1257</sup> while in the *Shield*, Herakles boasts of defeating Ares at Pylos.<sup>1258</sup> It may be significant that Thanatos, a near-equivalent of Hades, also defeated by Herakles in Euripides' *Alcestis*, is described in that play as a 'sacrificer of the dead'.<sup>1259</sup>

That Ares was seen as in some way akin to Hades is further indicated, on a cultic level by their interchangeability in lists of the twelve Olympians.<sup>1260</sup> A statue

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<sup>1250</sup> Hom. *Il.* 7.328-330.

<sup>1251</sup> Stob., *Flor.* 4.34.15 = Semon. fr.1 (West) = Gerber (1999b) 298-301.

<sup>1252</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 1574-1576.

<sup>1253</sup> Regarding Hades, see Pind. *Pyth.* 7.30-31, speaking of 'the wave of Hades' being common to all, which echoes the association of wave- and storm-imagery with Ares elsewhere. On Ares, see e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 1194-1195 (cf. §6.6, above).

<sup>1254</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 866-869.

<sup>1255</sup> Eur. *Supp.* 71-75.

<sup>1256</sup> Fontenrose (1959) 328-330. Cf. Janko (1986) 56. A typological similarity between Ares and Hades is suggested by a parallel to Athena's victories over Ares which may be perceived in Ugaritic myth, in the form of the victory of the goddess Anath, like Athena a warrior-protectress, over Môt, the god of death, Hades' Ugaritic counterpart. Like Ares, Môt is able to recover from an apparently fatal wound. For details of the Ugaritic story, see Astour (1980), and Margalit (1980).

<sup>1257</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.392-402.

<sup>1258</sup> [ps-]Hes. *Sc.* 357-367.

<sup>1259</sup> Eur. *Alc.* 24-25. Cf. Parker (2007) 57.

<sup>1260</sup> Rutherford (2010) 47.

at Coroneia, paired with a statue of Athena, is identified with Hades by Strabo. Foucart, however, presents an inscription telling of a horse-race in honour of Athena starting from a statue of Ares, which Foucart takes to suggest that Strabo's statue could have been identified with Ares.<sup>1261</sup> Pausanias, writing later, pairs the statue of Athena Itonia at Coroneia with a statue of Zeus.<sup>1262</sup>

Like Ares, Hades was a power to be respected and honoured, but not a natural protector. Like Ares, Hades was not a recipient of monumental temples, or of large civic festivals and processions. Like Ares, Hades' ubiquitous power and influence were impossible to ignore.

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<sup>1261</sup> Strabo 9.2.29, with Foucart (1888) 432-433. Cf. Jones (1927) 325; Arnold (1934); Ure (1935); Radt (2004) 64; Schachter (1981) 91.

<sup>1262</sup> Paus. 9.34.

## Literature Review: 1848-2012

### (9.1) H.D. Müller and the Nineteenth-Century Encyclopaedias

Much of what I have said in the preceding chapters conflicts dramatically with the current scholarly consensus. Here, I will explore the ways in which this consensus has been formed. I suggest that much of the current consensus was already in place by the end of the nineteenth century. I will therefore begin this review of the scholarly literature on Ares with a brief discussion of the slender, but highly influential, monograph on the god published by H.D. Müller in 1848, before moving on to discuss the views expressed in the influential entries on the god in Roscher's *Lexicon*, and in Pauly-Wissowa. I will offer a brief critique of their shared ideas regarding Ares at the end of this section. Although many of the ideas championed by these scholars significantly pre-date them, I have chosen to begin here because these three scholars have been repeatedly cited throughout the twentieth century.

H.D. Müller, following an approach to Greek religion pioneered by K.O. Müller, saw the Greek gods of the Classical period as the end-products of a gradual process by which the (originally independent) local gods of individual communities and tribes were brought together under the names with which we are now familiar.<sup>1263</sup> Epic poetry and the great Panhellenic shrines played central roles in this process.<sup>1264</sup> As a result of this, H.D. Müller's studies of Greek religion emphasise the

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<sup>1263</sup> Konaris (2009) 91, 131-134, & 163.

<sup>1264</sup> Konaris (2009) 133.

implications of the geographical and tribal divisions of the Greeks.<sup>1265</sup> It was H.D. Müller's not entirely unjustifiable view that cultic evidence was generally too late and incomplete to be useful for the study of Archaic and Classical Greek religion. As a result, he criticises the focus on cult practice advocated by many of his contemporaries and instead concentrates on myth, although he also maintains, perhaps more contentiously, that not all Greek myths have religious content.<sup>1266</sup>

Müller's monograph on Ares was subtitled "a contribution to the history of the development of Greek religion." Müller begins by attempting to uncover the 'original' nature of the god through investigation of Ares' roles within the Theban foundation-myth and the tale of his binding at the hands of the sons of Aloeus.<sup>1267</sup> After concluding that Ares was in origin a chthonian deity, Müller then proceeds to assess the relationships between later representations of the god, and his 'original' chthonian nature.<sup>1268</sup> A brief discussion of the name and cult of the god follows.<sup>1269</sup> The monograph concludes with an extended series of comparisons between Ares and various monsters possessing chthonian associations.<sup>1270</sup> Müller claims that it is necessary to seek out Ares' original nature because the evident antiquity of his cult makes it improbable that he was simply the personification of an abstract (i.e. war). Müller appears to have believed that the oldest gods were tied to the land.<sup>1271</sup>

In 1855, H.W. Stoll published a fifty-page pamphlet on 'the original nature of Ares', which developed and defended Müller's theories regarding the chthonian

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<sup>1265</sup> Konaris (2009) 160.

<sup>1266</sup> Konaris (2009) 166-167. The field continues to oscillate between myth and cult. H.D. Müller was right to urge caution in using (e.g.) Pausanias as a source for Archaic and Classical Greek religion, but the labours of generations of archaeologists and epigraphers have done (and continue to do) much to remedy our lack of contemporary sources relating to cult activity.

<sup>1267</sup> Müller (1848) 1-55.

<sup>1268</sup> Müller (1848) 56-79. For bibliography regarding attempts to argue that Ares was a storm-god or a harm-demon, see Schwenn (1924) 225n.1.

<sup>1269</sup> Müller (1848) 80-90.

<sup>1270</sup> Müller (1848) 91-129.

<sup>1271</sup> Müller (1848) 1-2.

origins of the god. His stated purpose is to reach the same conclusions as Müller, but from a slightly different direction. Stoll characterised chthonian gods as horrific, terrible beings, who were concerned equally with procreation, fertility and death.<sup>1272</sup> Stoll's argument is largely based on his interpretation of Ares' role in the Theban foundation-myth.<sup>1273</sup> Stoll treats this myth as a single monolithic entity. In his attempts to reconstruct both this myth, and the chthonian nature of Ares within it, Stoll makes extensive use of the scholiasts, and other very late sources, in addition to carefully weaving together material from the Theban plays of Euripides and Aeschylus.<sup>1274</sup> Stoll assumes that a selection of identifiable shared elements mean much the same thing within multiple separate myths,<sup>1275</sup> arguing that the chthonian nature of the dragon of Ares is demonstrated by the chthonian associations of the dragon killed by Apollo.<sup>1276</sup> Stoll also makes extensive use of the wider mythological and religious geography of Boeotia, connecting Ares to other myths told about the locations with which he was connected, even if only by a fleeting literary allusion, or through tenuous etymological speculation.<sup>1277</sup> Stoll proceeds to interpret a series of much later cult-epithets through the prism of this chthonian paradigm.<sup>1278</sup> Stoll assumed, on account of references to Theban myth in the *Iliad*, that the Theban myth, and the portrayal of Ares within that myth, must have predated not only the *Iliad*, but also the *Iliad*'s conception of Ares.<sup>1279</sup> Stoll speculates that the old chthonian Ares of the story of Cadmus was transformed when Boiotian poets became more interested in heroic epics focusing on military threats to Thebes,

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<sup>1272</sup> Stoll (1855) 1.

<sup>1273</sup> Stoll (1855) 2-4.

<sup>1274</sup> Stoll (1855) 3-4.

<sup>1275</sup> For an attack on this assumption, see (e.g.) Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 11.

<sup>1276</sup> Stoll (1855) 4-5.

<sup>1277</sup> Stoll (1855) 5-9.

<sup>1278</sup> Stoll (1855) 18-19.

<sup>1279</sup> Stoll (1855) 48.

and combined these with Ares' traditional hostility to the city. This new form of Ares was then adopted by Homer. He was still a wild and terrible being, but now a warrior, rather than a more general chthonian death-demon linked to plague and famine.<sup>1280</sup>

Stoll deploys carefully-selected texts as evidence to support his theories. He pays too little attention to the literary and, indeed, chronological contexts of these texts, and ignores much pertinent material. The work done on orally-transmitted traditional poetry by Milman Parry and his many followers and critics has, moreover, removed the need to believe that the Theban myths were combined in a single ancient poem.<sup>1281</sup> Oral theory also shows that references to myths of Thebes in the *Iliad* do not show that the myths and representations of the gods associated with the stories about Thebes predate those found in the Homeric poems. I have shown above that the antiquity of Ares' associations with war are demonstrated by the many uses of his name in martial contexts within traditional formulae.<sup>1282</sup>

Thirty years later, Stoll wrote the entry on Ares for Roscher's encyclopaedia of Greek and Roman mythology. After a few comments on Hesiodic genealogy and on etymology, Stoll turns swiftly to the *Iliad*, describing his warlike appearance, before remarking that he is hated by Zeus, and confronted as an enemy even by his own mother.<sup>1283</sup>

Stoll then proceeds to claim that the Ares of the *Iliad* is fundamentally the embodiment of the fury that could seize the warriors of the heroic age, leading them

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<sup>1280</sup> Stoll (1855) 48-50.

<sup>1281</sup> Cf. e.g. Brillante (1990) 115, re: the changeability of myth, and the importance of literary context.

<sup>1282</sup> In this I follow Farnell (1909: 401), who made the same point long before the publication of Parry's thesis.

<sup>1283</sup> Stoll (1886) 478 & 480.

to plunge wildly into battle, not knowing friend from foe.<sup>1284</sup> Stoll attributes Athena's victories over Ares to her role as goddess of prudent warfare, which naturally overpowers his uncontrolled battle-lust. Stoll connects this to the fact that when they clash in the *Iliad*, Ares fights on the side of the 'Asiatic' Trojans, while Athena represents the Greeks, who he claims represent a 'higher culture'.<sup>1285</sup> The idea that the Greeks were inherently rational, and so could be contrasted with irrational barbarism, was widely held until the publication of E.R. Dodds' *The Greeks and the Irrational* in 1951.<sup>1286</sup>

Stoll also reiterates his belief that Ares was originally a chthonian god, and that the heartland of his prehistoric worship was Boiotia.<sup>1287</sup> Ares' 'later' role as a war-god is attributed by Stoll to the influence of Thracian immigrants.<sup>1288</sup> Regarding specific local cults of Ares, Stoll's article is entirely reliant on Pausanias.<sup>1289</sup> Near the end of this article, Stoll reveals the source of his overwhelming need to characterise Ares as a chthonian deity, explaining that ancient gods were invariably connected to nature, making it inconceivable that Ares in his original essence could truly have been a simple personification of the abstract idea of a god of war.<sup>1290</sup> This central assumption, reflecting the contemporary orthodoxy, permeates Roscher's *Lexicon*, and appears to echo the sentiment previously expressed by Müller.<sup>1291</sup>

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<sup>1284</sup> Stoll (1886) 478: "er ist dem Dichter das Idealbild eines von der Furie der Schlacht ergriffenen Helden der heroischen Zeit". The identification of Ares with battle-lust and madness goes back to the scholia (Feeney (1991) 36-37).

<sup>1285</sup> Stoll (1886) 479. "wo Ares auf Seiten der Asiaten ficht, Athene es mit den Griechen, dem Volke höherer Kultur, halt".

<sup>1286</sup> For a more general discussion of uses of this kind of duality in nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship, see Goody (1977) 1-7.

<sup>1287</sup> Stoll (1886) 482-487.

<sup>1288</sup> Stoll (1886) 482.

<sup>1289</sup> Stoll (1886) 485.

<sup>1290</sup> Stoll (1886) 486: "Da Ares als ein uralter Gott nicht wohl die blofse Personifikation der abstrakten Idee eines Kriegsgottes sein konnte, so hat man vielfach in seinem Wesen reellere Bezüge zu Natur gesucht."

<sup>1291</sup> Konaris (2010) 483-487; (2009) 129. Cf. Dowden (1992) 25-27, who observes that the arguments made by the proponents of this theory, while easily parodied, appear "less preposterous when not read

In his entry on Ares in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie* (first published in 1895), K. Tümpel begins with a concise survey of the cults of and myths pertaining to Ares, discussing each region in turn.<sup>1292</sup> Despite the vast chronological range spanned by the material cited, the only dates given are those of modern publications, among which H.D. Müller’s monograph is heavily cited. The emphasis on geographical divisions may in part derive from Müller. Tümpel follows his survey of localised manifestations of the god with a brief discussion of literary depictions of Ares.<sup>1293</sup> Tümpel makes no attempt to integrate these literary depictions with cultic manifestations of the god. Visual representations of the god are not discussed by Stoll or Tümpel, Roscher and Wissowa having commissioned entirely separate articles on that topic from A. Furtwängler and B. Sauer, respectively.<sup>1294</sup>

Tümpel gives a prominent place in his discussion of Ares’ local cults and identities to the ways in which the Homeric poems associate Ares with Thrace,<sup>1295</sup> and to the god’s mythological associations with Thebes and the rest of Boiotia.<sup>1296</sup> Three full columns are dedicated to Boiotia, far more than to any other region.

Tümpel’s discussion of Ares in poetry focuses on the *Iliad*. Tümpel takes the words of Athena and Zeus in the fifth book to be representative of the way in which the *Iliad* portrays Ares: as a raging, lawless defector, and the most hated of the gods. Observing that Athena is Ares’ main opponent in the *Iliad*, Tümpel sees a deliberate contrast within the poem between her noble, tactically-sophisticated control over

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through the words of others.” For discussion of Roscher’s interest in exploring the origins of gods, see Konaris (2009) 122.

<sup>1292</sup> Tümpel (1895) 642-656. Tümpel had previously written his doctoral dissertation (published as a monograph in 1880) on Ares and Aphrodite.

<sup>1293</sup> Tümpel (1895) 656-660.

<sup>1294</sup> Furtwängler (1886); Sauer (1895). On the non-existence of ‘Greek art’, see Carpenter (2007) 398.

<sup>1295</sup> Tümpel (1895) 642, citing Hom. *Il.*18.301; *Od.* 8.361.

<sup>1296</sup> Tümpel (1895) 646-649 & 657.

war, and Ares unsteady and ignoble battle-rage.<sup>1297</sup> Following Müller, Tümpel also suggests that some of Ares' epithets imply that the god was essentially chthonian.<sup>1298</sup> In all of this, Tümpel echoes Stoll.<sup>1299</sup>

Tümpel does, however, distinguish between the ways in which Ares is treated by different poets in different periods. Having observed that Ares is associated primarily with war in the *Iliad* and in Lyric, Tümpel suggests that Ares becomes more generally associated with death and murder in Attic Tragedy.<sup>1300</sup> This reverses the progression envisioned by Stoll.

At the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, a scholarly consensus had formed regarding three central elements of Ares' nature and origin. Stoll and Tümpel agree that Ares was originally chthonian in nature; they agree that Zeus' rebuke in the fifth book is representative of, and central to, the *Iliad*'s depiction of Ares; and they agree that Athena's victories over Ares represent the victory of civilised discipline and tactics over barbaric battle-rage. I have discussed the problems with this reading of Zeus' rebuke in a previous chapter.<sup>1301</sup> The earliest examples of this reading appear, however, very early in the history of the *Iliad*'s reception. Polybius claimed that Timaeus had presented this passage as evidence that Homer valued peace over war. Polybius, an Arcadian, was writing in the second century B.C., while Timaeus, a Sicilian who spent much of his life in Athens, was active from the last few decades of the fourth century to the middle of the third. Polybius' attribution of this interpretation to Timaeus does occur, however, in the context of a vitriolic

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<sup>1297</sup> Tümpel (1895) 657: Athena's "planvolles und edles Kriegswalten" and Ares' "unstätten und unedlen Kampfwut."

<sup>1298</sup> Tümpel (1895) 657.

<sup>1299</sup> Tümpel (1895: 661) includes both Müller (1848) and Stoll (1886) in his short list of suggested further reading.

<sup>1300</sup> Tümpel (1895) 657-658.

<sup>1301</sup> See §2.3.ii, above.

attack on the earlier historian, and it is possible that he misrepresents Timaeus' views.<sup>1302</sup> The other two ideas, on the hand, are rooted firmly in nineteenth century German thought.

As I have already pointed out, Stoll claims that Athena's victories over Ares show that the Greeks, being civilised, favoured discipline and tactics over unrestrained warrior-fury. This theory neatly dovetails with the idea of agonistic warfare, which was also a product of the nineteenth-century German academy. The putative status of the Greeks as the parents of Western civilisation inspired (and in some cases still inspires) historians to look for the roots of their own values in Greek texts and practices.<sup>1303</sup> As with the idea of the agonistic warfare, the idea that the Greeks had rejected Ares' wild savagery in favour of Athena's discipline and tactics would have appealed equally to the opponents of Prussian militarism, and to the proponents of 'modern' scientific warfare.<sup>1304</sup>

The origins of the god cannot be determined.<sup>1305</sup> Stoll's theory that the forms of Ares found in the 'Theban' myths significantly predate the form of Ares found in the *Iliad* has been rendered untenable by the discovery that our *Iliad* is an offshoot of a long oral tradition, within which Ares-as-war is a deeply embedded element. Furthermore, speculations regarding the origins of a god should not be used to interpret evidence relating to later manifestations. Origins are not a key for

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<sup>1302</sup> Polyb. 12.26.3.

<sup>1303</sup> A particularly clear statement of this imperative was made by a Swiss scholar, Jacob Burckhardt (translated into English as Burckhardt (1998) 364-365). For a restatement of the same aim from the first half of the twentieth century, see Jaeger (1945) xiii-xxix (first published in German in 1933). For more general discussion of the status of Greek culture in nineteenth century Germany, see e.g. Rajak (1999); Grafton (1992) 239-240; Most (2003); Stray (1998) 23-26; Bernal (1987) 287; Lloyd-Jones (1982) 136. Cf. also Goody (2006) 36-37 & 60-63; James (1989) 19-20, 39-41, 44-46.

<sup>1304</sup> See Dayton (2006) 7-29 for discussion of the development of the theory of agonistic warfare in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany. The rest of Dayton's monograph is dedicated to a sustained critique of this theory, arguing that the extant evidence does not indicate that limited, ritualised, 'agonistic' warfare was practiced in ancient Greece.

<sup>1305</sup> Cf. Millington (2013) 544-546 & 552-553.

understanding the essential nature of a god.<sup>1306</sup> The arguments of Müller and Stoll may, however, indicate that certain manifestations of Ares display chthonian characteristics. Both the validity of this assertion and its implications depend on what we consider a chthonian god to be.

To Stoll and Tümpel, associations with the earth, the underworld, death, fertility, and agriculture, were all necessarily intertwined within the identity of a chthonian god.<sup>1307</sup> All of these associations can indeed be combined within the identity of a single god,<sup>1308</sup> but, as Robert Parker observes, the connection is not a necessary one; an association with the underworld does not always entail links to agriculture.<sup>1309</sup> Gods who have associations of this kind may tend to receive some variant of a cluster of ‘chthonian’ forms of sacrifice, some of which involve all food or wine being given to the god, with the participants receiving nothing.<sup>1310</sup> Gods with ‘chthonian’ associations may, however, be explicitly described as Olympians in our sources (as is, indeed, the case with Ares), and may receive multiple kinds of sacrifice.<sup>1311</sup> As A. Fairbanks observes, some localised manifestations of a god may be chthonic without giving the core divine name chthonic associations.<sup>1312</sup> Nonetheless, Scott Scullion seeks to defend “the fundamental soundness of the distinction between Olympian and chthonian gods and rituals,” arguing that the form of cult given to a god is strongly influenced by his or her perceived temperament.<sup>1313</sup>

Ares is associated with death, but only as a cause of death. Ares’ role ends when the body hits the ground; he has nothing to do with the fate of the soul,

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<sup>1306</sup> Cf. Konaris (2009) 237 & 259.

<sup>1307</sup> Fairbanks (1900) 241 remarks that H.D. Müller rejected the idea that chthonic gods could bless through fertility, maintaining instead that they were only ever a source of evils needing to be averted.

<sup>1308</sup> Scullion (1994) 82-83 & 92-93.

<sup>1309</sup> Parker (2011) 80-81.

<sup>1310</sup> Parker (2011) 82-84 & 283-286.

<sup>1311</sup> Scullion (1994) 79, 90-91 & 113.

<sup>1312</sup> Fairbanks (1900) 244-246. Zeus Chthonios is of course chthonic, but Zeus is not.

<sup>1313</sup> Scullion (1994) 117-118.

whether in the sky, or beneath the earth.<sup>1314</sup> There is no evidence that indisputably indicates a connection between Ares and fertility or agriculture, and those which have been cited in favour of such a connection are invariably capable of being interpreted in other ways.<sup>1315</sup> The evidence regarding the kinds of sacrifice given to Ares is too little and too late for any reliable conclusions to be drawn, at least as regards cult-practice before the Imperial period. Nonetheless, as I have already discussed, there are strong parallels between Ares and Hades, at least as regards perceived temperament.<sup>1316</sup> Consequently, Ares could be considered to have strong chthonian associations, if Scullion's thesis is accepted. The usefulness of the distinction between Olympian and chthonian continues to be disputed, however, on account of the lack of clear boundaries as regards sacrificial practice.<sup>1317</sup>

## **(9.2) “Der Rächer”, “Schädiger” – From Kretschmer to Burkert**

The early 1920s saw the publication of pair of immensely influential articles on Ares by F. Schwenn and P. Kretschmer. Schwenn's 1924 article, the third part of his study of “Der Krieg in der griechischen Religion”, is largely a refinement of Stoll's theory that Ares was originally a chthonian god. Kretschmer's article, published in 1921, on the other hand, argues that Ares was originally an oath-god. Both scholars believed that the original nature of a god represents his true essence,

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<sup>1314</sup> Illustrative of this is the way in which the seventh-century poet Semonides, as quoted by Stobaeus, describes how when Ares fells a man, Hades sends him below the dark earth (Stob. *Flor.* 4.34.15 = Semon. fr.1 (West) = Gerber (1999b) 298-301).

<sup>1315</sup> Farnell (1909: 397) maintains that Ares has no demonstrable chthonian associations. He acknowledges that Ares Aphneios at Tegea (Paus. 8.44.5-8) may be an exception, but points out that ἀφνειός could originally have referred to the spoils of war, and that Pausanias' explanation may reflect the fact that he lived under the *Pax Romana*. The age of this epithet is unknown. A cult epithet, moreover, reveals only the unique focus of a specific cult, and not the general character associated with the divine name, in contrast to some literary or colloquial epithets (cf. Parker (2003) 175-176).

<sup>1316</sup> See §8, above.

<sup>1317</sup> See e.g. Henrichs (2005). For further bibliography, see Versnel (2011) 144n.432.

and can act as a key for interpreting later manifestations.

Kretschmer's starting-point is the fourth-century Arcadian *synoecism* between Orchomenos and Euaimon.<sup>1318</sup> In this treaty-oath, all three divine witnesses bear Ares' name as an epithet. Kretschmer concludes, from this single piece of evidence, that Ares must have been an avenger of broken oaths. Kretschmer justifies this assertion by means of a convoluted and tenuous etymological argument. Having observed that the ancient grammarians connect Ares to the feminine noun ἀρή, which they define as 'harm', Kretschmer claims that Ares' name must simply mean "Schädiger", 'harmer'.<sup>1319</sup> After pointing out that the ideas of harm and penalty may be combined within a single word, such as ζημία, Kretschmer proceeds to suggest that Ares may therefore be thought of as "Strafer, Rächer", 'punishment, avenger'. Kretschmer then extends this idea of Ares as an avenger beyond the realm of treaty-oaths, pointing to his connection with the Areopagus murder-court at Athens, and association with the vengeful Erinyes of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Kretschmer speculates that Ares' association with war in the *Iliad* resulted from a merger with Enyalios or some other previously separate war-god, and suggests that the ideas of war-god and vengeance/punishment-demon were necessarily related, since the aim of war is often to punish or gain revenge. Kretschmer considers Ares' identity in the *Iliad* to be largely separate from his identity in cult and in Attic Tragedy.<sup>1320</sup>

The etymology of a god's name does not, however, determine the role of that god.<sup>1321</sup> Plato's speculation regarding the etymology of Ares' name suggests that it

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<sup>1318</sup> *IG* V.2.343. Cf. Dušanić (1978); Jost (1985) 113-114, 272-273, 515.

<sup>1319</sup> The extent to which Kretschmer's conjecture has been adopted by subsequent scholarship is particularly remarkable in light of Decharme's (1886: 184) observation that, "Les philologues, hellénistes ou indianistes, qui ont analysé le nom d'Arès pour essayer d'en déterminer la signification, sont arrivés à des résultats dont la diversité est embarrassante." Cf. also Chantraine (1953) 69, and (1968) 107-109.

<sup>1320</sup> Kretschmer (1921).

<sup>1321</sup> Cf. Konaris (2009) 237 & 259; Kern (1926) 121-122.

was not generally associated with any other words in the Classical period.<sup>1322</sup> That Ares' primary role was not as a witness to oaths is indicated by the fact that he is absent from many treaty-oaths, and appears only when paired with Athena or with Aphrodite. The three gods who are genuinely ubiquitous in treaty-oaths are Zeus, Earth, and Helios.<sup>1323</sup> Likewise, Ares plays a strictly subordinate role in the chain of vengeance within the *Oresteia*, his violence directed by the Erinyes. If Ares is considered to be primarily an avenger, then this subordinate role appears to be inconsistent with his prominence as one of the twelve Olympians.

Schwenn approvingly cites Kretschmer for the idea that Ares' primary role in cult was as an avenger of broken oaths, but rejects Kretschmer's theory that this role was compatible with Ares also being a war-god, at least in origin.<sup>1324</sup> Schwenn claims that while nature-gods can be shared and used as common oath-gods by many peoples,<sup>1325</sup> since the elements affect all equally, a war-god can only belong to one or other party in a dispute, since he helps that party against the other. Consequently, Ares, as an ancient Panhellenic oath-god, cannot have been a war-god in cult.<sup>1326</sup>

Ares, however, as I have argued above, was not primarily an oath-god. Furthermore, I have argued above that Ares, at least in Archaic and Classical literature, was not primarily a helper in battle, but acted as the god of war as a quasi-natural force, in a manner analogous to Poseidon's control over the sea or Zeus' control over thunderstorms.<sup>1327</sup> Being a helper in battle does not, moreover, debar a god from acting as a witness to oaths; Athena, who is definitely a helper in battle,

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<sup>1322</sup> Pl. *Cra.* 407d. Plutarch (*Mor.* 757b) attributes further speculation to the third-century philosopher Chrysippus. See Prieto (1996) 30-60, and Millington (2013) 543-546, for further discussion of the name of Ares, and its origins.

<sup>1323</sup> See Brulé (2005). Cf. §6.5 and §4.4, above.

<sup>1324</sup> Schwenn (1924) 224n.2.

<sup>1325</sup> It is true, as observed above, that the most important oath-gods (Zeus, Earth, and Helios), who begin most lists of divine witnesses, may be characterised as nature-gods.

<sup>1326</sup> Schwenn (1924) 224-225 & 243-244.

<sup>1327</sup> See §2.3.i, §3.2 & §5.5, above.

appears in more oaths than Ares.<sup>1328</sup>

Having claimed that Ares' role as an oath-god implies that he must have been a nature god, Schwenn proceeds to argue, following Stoll, that he must have been a chthonic nature god (i.e. a god concerned with fertility).<sup>1329</sup> The rest of his article is largely dedicated to interpreting a series of cult-sites and epithets described by Pausanias through the lens created by this assumption. Schwenn hypothesises that Ares, having originated as a fertility god, developed into a civic protector at Thebes, a protector of the laws at Athens, and a war-god in at least one locality known to Homer. The war-god found in most of our literary sources was, to Schwenn, largely the creation of Homer, from the seed of a single, unusual localised cult.<sup>1330</sup> This theory is no longer tenable now that Ares is known to have been embedded within a major poetic tradition, of which the *Iliad* is only an offshoot.

O. Kern published the first volume of his *Religion der Griechen* in 1926. Having asserted that most gods were originally chthonic in nature,<sup>1331</sup> he claimed that this was particularly true of chthonic gods, on account of their association with death and destruction.<sup>1332</sup> In contrast to Schwenn, Kern suggests that any early association with fertility had faded by the time that the *Iliad* was composed. Kern claims that the Arcadian cults of the second century A.D. continued to preserve particularly ancient traditions, and that the cult of Ares Aphneios at Tegea may therefore reflect Ares's origins as a fertility-god.<sup>1333</sup>

Kern observes, however, that in the *Iliad* and after, Ares main connection to

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<sup>1328</sup> See Brulé (2005).

<sup>1329</sup> Schwenn (1924) 225-226.

<sup>1330</sup> Schwenn (1924) 240-241.

<sup>1331</sup> Even Poseidon, on whom see Kern (1926) 206!

<sup>1332</sup> Kern (1926) 38-39.

<sup>1333</sup> Kern (1926) 119-120. On this cult, see note in §9.1 above.

agriculture was as a devastator of the fertile plains.<sup>1334</sup> Although acknowledging Kretschmer's idea that Ares was 'Der Rächer', the avenger of broken oaths, Kern focuses on the idea of Ares as destroyer, "Schädiger".<sup>1335</sup> Ares, the personification of man-killing war,<sup>1336</sup> was not, Kern suggests, the administrator of war. Zeus took that role. There were, moreover, more than enough Greek gods and heroes who could take on military aspects for a specialised war-god to seem redundant.<sup>1337</sup> Instead, Ares was the 'evil' war god,<sup>1338</sup> the personification of wild, destructive war.<sup>1339</sup> Kern finds it strange that a god possessing such a narrow realm, who only really represents the fury of war, not only remained alive in the minds of the Greeks, but also became known as one of the twelve great Olympians.<sup>1340</sup> I argue above, however, that this is an oversimplification of Ares's role, and that within Archaic poetry he acted alongside Zeus as a power in and over war within a complex system of over-determined causality.<sup>1341</sup>

Kern finds Ares' prominence inexplicable, but observes that the name is wholly Greek, and rightly rejects the idea that the fact that the Greeks associated Ares with the wildness of Thrace meant that the god actually originated there.<sup>1342</sup> Wilamowitz, on the other hand, not only claims that Ares was an essentially barbarian god, imported by the Ionians,<sup>1343</sup> but also maintains that Ares' place among the twelve great Olympians was entirely the result of Thracian influence.<sup>1344</sup>

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<sup>1334</sup> Kern (1926) 206-207.

<sup>1335</sup> Kern (1926) 118.

<sup>1336</sup> Kern (1926) 39: "Personifikation des männermordenden Kampfes."

<sup>1337</sup> Kern (1926) 118. The ideas of 'god of war' and 'warrior-protector' are blurred together here. The idea that Ares was "not really needed" also troubled Rose (1928: 157).

<sup>1338</sup> Kern (1926) 119: "des bösen Kriegsgottes"

<sup>1339</sup> Kern (1926) 120: "Ares ward also eine Personifikation des wilden, verderbenden Krieges."

<sup>1340</sup> Kern (1926) 118.

<sup>1341</sup> See §2.3.i, §3.2, and §5.2.

<sup>1342</sup> Kern (1926) 118.

<sup>1343</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1932) 141.

<sup>1344</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) 322-323: "Ares unter den grossen Göttern ist schlechterdings unbegreiflich, wenn man den Thraker in ihm erkennt."

In this, Wilamowitz echoes Stoll. Wilamowitz, who believed the *Iliad* to have been composed by several distinct poets, claims that the composer of the fifth book treats Ares with scorn and distaste, citing Zeus's rebuke, and suggests that the poet does this because Ares was a non-Greek god.<sup>1345</sup> As the Thracian influence died away, Wilamowitz maintains, Ares' cult continued, but gradually belief in him faded. He remained as a cultic relic and as a literary figment, kept alive by the continuing popularity of the Homeric poems.<sup>1346</sup> In England, Jane Harrison had likewise championed the idea that Ares originated in Thrace.<sup>1347</sup> As with the cult of Dionysus,<sup>1348</sup> however, the decipherment of Linear B has revealed that Ares received cult in Greece in the thirteenth century, and that therefore the god could not have been adopted from Thrace in the first millennium.<sup>1349</sup>

In Sweden, meanwhile, Kretschmer's idea that Ares' name meant 'the destroyer' had been adopted by M.P. Nilsson in his *History of Greek Religion*, published in 1925. Nilsson interweaves Kretschmer's memorable label with the idea favoured by Stoll and Tümpel, that Ares simply personified "warlike courage in a form bordering upon Berserker frenzy", so that it was "no wonder that he was hostile to Athena, who represents ordered battle, which saves the city by courage combined with prudence and method." As a result, asserts Nilsson, Ares's cults were few.<sup>1350</sup> Nilsson appears to have based this on his reading of the survey of Ares' cults compiled by L.R. Farnell, whose concise study, although published in 1909, had hitherto been largely ignored by German scholars.<sup>1351</sup>

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<sup>1345</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) 323.

<sup>1346</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1932) 141.

<sup>1347</sup> Harrison (1922) 374-378. This section was preserved unaltered from the 1903 edition.

<sup>1348</sup> On which, see Parker (2000) 68-69.

<sup>1349</sup> See §1.1, above.

<sup>1350</sup> Nilsson (1925) 132.

<sup>1351</sup> Farnell's work was initially influential only in Britain, where his pupil Rose rightly followed him by stating, in his popular handbook (1928: 157), that Ares, unlike Roman Mars, was not connected to agriculture. Farnell, it may be observed, while based in Oxford and writing in English, had trained in

Farnell, however, while noting that Ares was little-loved and possessed few, if any, major cults, assumed that Ares' cults must have been widespread, but unobtrusive. Farnell directly challenges several of the views expressed by Stoll and Tümpel.<sup>1352</sup> Observing that the earliest Greek poems present Ares solely as a war-god, Farnell argues that while Ares becomes more generally associated with violent death in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles, there is no compelling evidence that Ares was ever strongly associated with agriculture or the underworld.<sup>1353</sup> Farnell also expresses justified scepticism regarding the idea that Ares originated in Thrace.<sup>1354</sup> Farnell does, however, accept Tümpel's assertion, derived not from myths from Thebes, but from myths about Thebes, that Ares was particularly prominent in that city.<sup>1355</sup> Furthermore, echoing Stoll, Farnell asserts that Ares' savagery was a survival from their barbaric past, largely rejected in the Classical period in favour of "the civilized art of war."<sup>1356</sup>

In his *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, the first edition of which was published in 1941, Nilsson, echoing Farnell, dismisses Ares' possible Thracian origins as irrelevant to his Classical identity. Nilsson reiterates his view that Ares had many myths, but few cults, and a negligible battle-field role.<sup>1357</sup> He states that

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Germany, and much of his sensibility was formed there (see Farnell (1934) 87-98), despite his stated distrust for German theory (Farnell (1934) 339).

<sup>1352</sup> The footnotes to Farnell (1909) 397-402 repeatedly address the arguments of both scholars in detail.

<sup>1353</sup> Farnell (1909) 396-399.

<sup>1354</sup> Farnell (1909) 399-401.

<sup>1355</sup> Farnell (1909) 401-402. Farnell does admit that this jars with the complete lack of supporting epigraphic or numismatic evidence from Thebes.

<sup>1356</sup> Farnell (1909) 407: "In the hierarchy of Greek religion Ares remained a backward god of most limited function, inspiring little real devotion and no affection, associated with no morality or social institution. The civilized art of war, so intimately connected with progress in culture, is not his concern. And the courage which he inspired was not the tempered civic courage exalted by Aristotle and other Greek moralists as one of the highest virtues, but the brute battle-rage, which might at times be useful, but for which the Greeks, who had left the Berserker spirit long behind them, had little sympathy."

<sup>1357</sup> Nilsson (1967) 517. I cite the third edition, which was used by Burkert, but this section changed little after the first edition, as is shown by the early dates of most of the scholarship that Nilsson refers to.

Ares was a god of cult only to a limited degree, asserting that there were no inscriptions dedicated to him, and that no votive offerings for the god have been found, which he sees as inconsistent with Ares' status as one of the twelve Olympians<sup>1358</sup>. Nilsson therefore suggests that, lacking cult, Ares owed his position among the twelve to Homer.<sup>1359</sup> Many votive offerings and inscriptions dedicated to the god have, however, been discovered and published since Farnell's study.<sup>1360</sup>

Echoing Stoll, Nilsson takes the insulting adjectives applied to Ares by an angry Athena in the *Iliad*,<sup>1361</sup> combined with Zeus' rebuke, as representative of the poet's view of the god. Nilsson also reiterates Kretschmer's view that Ares was 'der Schädiger', and that his old meaning explains Ares' role as an oath god, leading to a later meaning of 'Strafer/Rächer'. Nilsson's main contribution to the scholarly consensus on Ares is his decision to highlight the statement of the chorus in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* that Ares was 'the most unhonoured of the gods', and to treat as representative of the treatment of Ares by poets beyond Homer.<sup>1362</sup> This passage cannot, however, be read as a statement of Sophocles' views any more than Zeus' rebuke can be read as a theological statement by the poet of the *Iliad*.<sup>1363</sup>

The main disagreements between Nilsson, Wilamowitz, Schwenn, and Kretschmer regarding Ares are described, without judgment, by H. Trümper in his study of military terminology in the Homeric poems, published in 1950.<sup>1364</sup>

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<sup>1358</sup> Nilsson (1967) 518. Jouan (1989) 125 directly follows Nilsson here.

<sup>1359</sup> Nilsson (1967) 519. Nilsson's position here was adopted almost word-for-word by Dietrich (1965) 136n.7. This contrasts dramatically with the position taken by P. Wathelet (1992: 126-128), who sees Ares as a Theban protective deity warped into the representative of brutal, impulsive, unintelligent war by the *Iliad*, with a consequent loss of prestige.

<sup>1360</sup> See Gonzales (2004) *passim*.

<sup>1361</sup> Specifically: μαινόμενος, τυκτόν κακόν, and ἀλλοπρόσαλλος.

<sup>1362</sup> Nilsson (1967) 518.

<sup>1363</sup> See §6.6, above.

<sup>1364</sup> Trümper (1950: 153) also discusses the theory put forward by M. Pohlenz in 1941 that Ares reflects the Greek understanding of the horrors of war, and the repugnance with which they regard war for war's sake. Trümper suggests that Pohlenz' claim is influenced by 'global events' (i.e. the Second World War).

Trümpy's own contribution to the study of Ares is an influential discussion of the difficulty of distinguishing between Ἄρης (the personified god) and ἄρης (a putative abstract noun) in the *Iliad*. Although he demonstrates the impossibility of consistently distinguishing between god and abstract noun, Trümpy does not question the validity or usefulness of the distinction.<sup>1365</sup>

W. Pötscher, in an article simply entitled "Ares", published in 1959, also demurs from taking sides in the dispute regarding the chthonic origins of the god, but observes that the wording of Nilsson's assertion that Ares was originally nothing but a personification of battle who represented only bloodshed and murder reveals its polemical character. Pötscher also points out, in reference to the attempts of Schwenn and Kern to make a case for Ares' chthonic origins, that Kern's obsession with the chthonic nature of religion is well-known.<sup>1366</sup> This is rather unfair to Kern, who was but the latest in a long series of scholars to argue that Ares was originally chthonic, as discussed above. Pötscher implicitly accepts the idea that Ares was chthonic, despite these reservations. Assuming that the nature of a chthonic god necessarily involves both benefit and harm,<sup>1367</sup> Pötscher suggests that a chthonic nature would be compatible with Ares' 'two-faced' ἀλλοπρόσαλλος nature. This is not, however, a genuine epithet of Ares.<sup>1368</sup> Pötscher also cites Kretschmer for the idea that Ares was a (chthonic) oath-god, and 'der Schädiger'.

Pötscher diverges dramatically from the position held by Nilsson, however, when he argues that Ares cannot be treated as a simple metonym. He bases this on an extended discussion of the way in which Ares is characterised in the *Iliad*. Pötscher

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<sup>1365</sup> Trümpy (1950) pp.152-153. Cf. e.g. §2.1.i, §2.3.i, and §6.3, above, for reasons why this distinction should be discarded.

<sup>1366</sup> Pötscher (1959) 6.

<sup>1367</sup> On the invalidity of this assertion, see above.

<sup>1368</sup> See §2.3.ii, above.

further claims that the clarity of the characterisation of Ares in Homer suggests its antiquity, before discussing the then-recent discovery of Ares in Linear B texts.<sup>1369</sup> Pötscher also maintains that a key concept to understanding ancient gods is the unity of the divine ‘person’ and their sphere of action, and that consequently, within the mythic imagination and way of thinking, the phenomenon of ‘wilder Kampf’- ‘fierce struggle’ and the person ‘Ares’ are bound tightly together, in part by the ancient understanding of the personal roots of human cruelties and atrocities.<sup>1370</sup> I have argued throughout this thesis, however, that it can be useful to distinguish the anthropomorphic characterisation of a god from the power that the god represents, although this does not entail a complete division between the two aspects. On the other hand, I do argue in favour of Pötscher’s thesis that the character of Ares represents one of the ways in which the Greeks articulated their ideas about the realities of violence.

This contrasts dramatically with the position taken by W. Otto, in his study of the Homeric gods. Otto echoes Stoll in his claim that “the figure of Ares derives from the antiquated earth-religion, where his savagery had its proper place among other pitiless forces”. Otto claims that Ares’ defeats at the hands of Athena, “goddess of a genuine, intelligent Hellenism”, combined with the rebukes levelled by Athena and Zeus, represent the Greeks’ rejection of Ares, and with him mad rage and uncontrolled, savage war. Otto repeatedly declares that Ares was hardly a god at all, and that what stature he possesses in Homer derives purely from his role as a demonic spirit of vengeance. For this final point, Otto cites Kretschmer.<sup>1371</sup> A focus on the rebukes uttered by Zeus and Athena, and the idea that Athena’s ‘calm

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<sup>1369</sup> Pötscher (1959) 9-13.

<sup>1370</sup> Pötscher (1959) 9 & 14.

<sup>1371</sup> Otto (1954) 46 & 244-249.

courage' contrasts with 'the impetuous, ardent Ares' is also central to the way in which L. Séchan and P. Lévêque describe Greek attitudes to the god in their 1966 monograph on 'the great gods of Greece'.<sup>1372</sup>

F. Vian, in a much-cited article on the warrior function in Greek mythology, published in 1968, follows Nilsson for the idea that Ares had few cults, but many myths. Like Otto and Stoll, Vian attempts to explain this by claiming that Ares represented a primitive and barbarous conception of war which had given way over the course of the Mycenaean period to a new, more 'chivalrous' conception of war.<sup>1373</sup> While Vian admits that many formulae within the hexameter tradition suggest that Ares was once an important god, he claims that his defeat at the hands of Diomedes and Athena indicates that in the *Iliad* he has become an object of ridicule, and has ceased to be the functional god of war.<sup>1374</sup> To Vian, by the time of the *Iliad*, Ares had become a simple symbol of battle, and of its savagery, brutality, and uncertainty. As a result, in the *Iliad*, the warrior-function is divided up among many gods, most notably Athena.<sup>1375</sup> Ares, Vian suggests, represents war for war's sake, while Athena represents war undertaken in order to protect a prince or people, which Vian sees as a reflection of a higher level of thought.<sup>1376</sup> Vian is right to observe that Athena is a protective force in the *Iliad*, but there is no reason to believe that Athena represents a newer, more 'advanced' or more 'civilised' concept.

A further major addition to Ares' collection of scholarly epithets, joining Kretschmer's 'Der Rächer' and 'Schädiger', emerged in 1979, a fertile year for

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<sup>1372</sup> Séchan & Lévêque (1966) 243.

<sup>1373</sup> Vian (1968) 55. In all of this, Vian repeats the views that he had previously expressed, more concisely, and also citing Nilsson, in the preface to his monograph on the mythological origins of Thebes (Vian (1963) 5).

<sup>1374</sup> Vian (1968) 56.

<sup>1375</sup> Vian (1968) 57.

<sup>1376</sup> Vian (1968) 58.

influential assessments of Ares. In his monograph on war and religion in Classical Greece, Raoul Lonis, echoing Stoll and Vian, dubbed Ares ‘la personnification de la fureur guerrière’.<sup>1377</sup>

In the short section on Ares in his hugely influential handbook on Greek Religion, initially published in German in 1979, and translated into English in 1985, W. Burkert begins by citing the studies by Farnell, Stoll, Tümpel, and Pötscher as the major authorities on the god.<sup>1378</sup> Following Stoll and Tümpel, Burkert asserts that the victories of Athena over Ares in the *Iliad*, and Zeus’ rebuke in the same poem, reflect Ares’ embodiment of all that is hateful in war, which contrasts with Athena’s cultivation of the war-dance, tactics and discipline, and consequent association with the splendour of victory.<sup>1379</sup> Burkert also claims that “Ares is apparently an ancient abstract noun meaning throng of battle [Kampfgewühl], war.”<sup>1380</sup> Burkert does not attempt to justify either formulation, which he presents as established and equivalent definitions.<sup>1381</sup> Burkert rightly observes that Ares was worshipped with a temple cult in very few places,<sup>1382</sup> but also claims, without any evidence, that “armies waging war naturally sacrificed to Ares from time to time”.<sup>1383</sup> Burkert’s main original contribution, however, is his counter-intuitive assertion that, “There are few real Ares myths,”<sup>1384</sup> which jars with the fact that he then proceeds to discuss three such

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<sup>1377</sup> Lonis (1979) 120. Lonis’ formulation has been adopted by Corvisier (1999) 166, among others. Lonis cites Nilsson, Vian, and Séchan & Lévêque in support of the assertion, which supports this definition of the god, that Ares was hardly ever an object of cult, and played a minor role in literature and art.

<sup>1378</sup> Burkert (1985) 415.

<sup>1379</sup> Burkert (1985) 141 & 169.

<sup>1380</sup> Burkert (1985) 169.

<sup>1381</sup> The article by Heubeck (1971) which Burkert cites is concerned primarily with the morphology of Ares’ name, and so pays minimal attention to etymology (cf. Heubeck (1971) 14: “In diesem Zusammenhang können einige Bemerkungen zur Morphologie des GN Arēs klärend wirken; die Frage der Etymologie kann dabei vorerst weitgehend unberücksichtigt bleiben”). Heubeck certainly says nothing to justify Burkert’s assertion.

<sup>1382</sup> Although, as Farnell observed, a lack of temple-cults does not necessarily imply a paucity of cults in general.

<sup>1383</sup> Burkert (1985) 170.

<sup>1384</sup> Burkert (1985) 169. This contrasts dramatically with Nilsson’s assessment.

myths, in the form of Ares' imprisonment by Otus and Ephialtes, the story of Kyknos, and the Theban foundation-myth.<sup>1385</sup> These are not the only myths in which Ares plays a major role.<sup>1386</sup> Burkert's cursory portrait of Ares remains the first port of call for non-specialists.<sup>1387</sup>

### **(9.3) Ares after Burkert**

In 1979, the same year that the original German edition of Burkert's handbook was published, W.K. Pritchett published the third part of his study of the Greek state at war, which focused on religion. Pritchett repeats Nilsson's assertion that Ares had many myths, but few cults,<sup>1388</sup> and accepts Vian's 'explanation' that primitive, barbaric Ares gave way in the Mycenaean period to a new, more chivalrous conception of war.<sup>1389</sup> Pritchett also summarises Farnell's list of cults.<sup>1390</sup>

Although forced by expediency to accept the scholarly consensus on Ares, Pritchett was deeply dissatisfied with the lack of serious, systematic study of the god. He observes that, "Although much has been written on Ares by those steeped in mythology, where systematization and rationalization can produce almost any results, we have no study which collects and analyses the references to Ares and

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<sup>1385</sup> Burkert (1985) 169-170.

<sup>1386</sup> See above, *passim*.

<sup>1387</sup> See e.g. Rawlings (2007) 177-178. Burkert (1985) is also one of only five items cited (alongside Schwenn (1924), Farnell (1909), Bruneau (1984), and a couple of pertinent pages in the author's own work on north Ionian cults) in Fritz Graf's (2003) entry on Ares in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Graf asserts that cults of Ares are rare (which follows Nilsson, and goes further than Burkert or Farnell), and that Athena represents intelligent and orderly war, and takes Hom. *Il.* 5.890f. as evidence that Zeus 'hates' Ares in the *Iliad*, and that this is emblematic of the negative portrayal of the god in that poem. Despite this, Graf implicitly (and rightly) rejects the idea that Ares was a barbaric anachronism, and instead suggests that Ares embodies the ambivalent forces of war, while Athena acts as defender of the city. I have presented arguments in favour of this position throughout this thesis. Graf also emphasises the important point that Ares and Enyalios appear to have been distinct entities in cult.

<sup>1388</sup> Pritchett (1979) 158.

<sup>1389</sup> Pritchett (1979) 158n.10.

<sup>1390</sup> Pritchett (1979) 159n.13.

Enyalios in literature and inscriptions and representations in art.”<sup>1391</sup>

Two studies of the representations of Ares in visual art appeared in 1984. The fuller discussion in Irmgard Beck’s survey of representations of Ares in vase-painting and sculpture,<sup>1392</sup> complements P. Bruneau’s more concise, but highly perceptive article in LIMC, which is accompanied by superb plates.<sup>1393</sup> Both classify the material by both art-form (i.e. relief, statue, or vase-painting) and subject. These works largely supersede the nineteenth-century articles by Sauer and Furtwängler.

A full survey of the cults of Ares and Enyalios, including full discussion of all of the pertinent epigraphic and archaeological evidence, was attempted by M.P. Gonzales in his 2004 doctoral dissertation. Many of Gonzales’ interpretations of individual sites are heavily influenced by Schwenn’s depiction of Ares as a ‘chthonic god’, and by V.D. Hanson’s work on the connections between war and agriculture.<sup>1394</sup> This excessively reductive, and somewhat arbitrary paradigm does not improve on interpretations which attempt to take into account Ares’ literary identities, which Gonzales largely ignores.<sup>1395</sup> Nonetheless, Gonzales’ study is impressively thorough and detailed, and I have found it to be an invaluable resource.

A full study of references to Ares (or, indeed, to Enyalios) in literature has yet to be completed, although the present thesis does cover almost all of the Archaic and Classical material. Maria Luz Prieto has published a formal analysis of Ares and his epithets in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which presents much of the essential groundwork required for a full interpretative study of Ares’ roles in the *Iliad*, such as

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<sup>1391</sup> Pritchett (1979) 160n.19.

<sup>1392</sup> Beck (1984).

<sup>1393</sup> Bruneau (1984).

<sup>1394</sup> Gonzales (2004) 60-64, citing Hanson (1998), and Schwenn (1924).

<sup>1395</sup> Gonzales pays little attention to literary portrayals of Ares beyond the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, which he interprets through the lens provided by Kretschmer’s idea that Ares was a god of vengeance.

the one that I have attempted above.<sup>1396</sup> Prieto's conclusions, however, as S. Deacy has observed,<sup>1397</sup> rest on the assumption that Athena represents careful, disciplined, skilful war, and so repeat the views of Stoll, that Athena's victories reflect the triumph of a more 'civilised' form of warfare.

#### **(9.4) Conclusions**

The current scholarly consensus on Ares may be characterised as follows. Based on the evidence presented by Farnell, Ares' is believed to have had few major cults or festivals. Some scholars go further, and claim, contra Farnell, that Ares had few cults of any kind. Burkert further extends Ares' scholarly marginalisation by claiming that he has few 'real' myths. It has also generally been agreed, from the nineteenth century to the present day, that this may be explained through interpreting Ares' defeats in the *Iliad* as the victory of discipline, tactics, and rationality, represented by Athena, over savage, barbaric, irrational violence, represented by Ares. This is rooted in a complex of now largely discredited ideas: that the Greeks were fundamentally rational, that Athena was an entirely rational warrior who represented skill and cunning in battle, and that our evidence for the cult of Ares either represents the survivals of an old, pre-civilised Greek war-god replaced by Athena, or a side-effect of a brief period of Thracian influence (as argued by Wilamowitz). In this thesis, I have rejected this paradigm, and instead attempted to

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<sup>1396</sup> Prieto's (1996) monograph is a revision of her doctoral dissertation. Including those of Prieto and Gonzales, I am aware of four PhD dissertations on Ares from the last twenty years. Bernard Mezzadri's 1993 thesis on 'some aspects of the god of war', written under the supervision of Marcel Detienne, with significant advisory input from J.-P. Vernant, sets Ares within a complex divine system through a synchronic weaving-together of several carefully-selected case-studies. I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of Sally Morris' 2010 thesis, which focuses on those representations of Ares that relate to his mythological relationship with Hera.

<sup>1397</sup> Deacy (2000).

present readings which are compatible with Ares' continuing relevance.

## Conclusion

At the start of this thesis, I outlined an apparent dichotomy within the corpus of sources relating to the god Ares. Here, I will begin by recapitulating my précis of the components of that dichotomy, before summarising the scholarly reactions to it explored in chapter nine. Following this, I will argue that the readings proposed and analyses presented in this thesis demonstrate that the phenomena which constitute this apparent dichotomy are inextricably intertwined and interdependent. Ares' identification with destructive, wild, chaotic war makes him a power to be respected, but not celebrated. The functions and identities of the god tell us much about how the Greeks conceptualised and tried to resolve issues relating to war and violence.

Many factors point toward Ares' importance. Cults dedicated to Ares were widespread, and Ares was honoured in the Mycenaean period. One of the twelve Olympians, Ares was called upon as a witness to many treaty oaths. Ares features in much narrative art, both visual and literary. Like Zeus, Ares' causal role is repeatedly referred to even in the absence of a full anthropomorphic manifestation.

In many other respects, Ares may appear to have been a relatively minor god. Only a single city, Metropolis in Hellenistic Asia Minor, can be argued to have adopted Ares as its primary deity. Attestations of monumental temples to Ares are few, and late, and no major public festivals are attested before the Imperial period. There are few references to sacrifice to Ares in literary sources. Stories about Ares generally focus on his defeat, often at the hands of a hero or civic protector. In treaty

oaths, Ares appears only in partnership with a protective goddess. Visual artists tend to place Ares on the fringes of the divine family.

As discussed in chapter nine, above, the main scholarly strategy for dealing with this dichotomy has been to suggest that it derives from diachronic processes. Ares, it has been suggested, was either an old chthonic god, whose identity had radically changed, or a primitive war-god, who had become obsolete, or an ancient and now part-discarded foreign import, or a recent and only half-heartedly accepted recent foreign import, or a combination of these. Literary prominence, a place among the Olympians, and widespread cult (if accepted), have been attributed to localised prominence in Boeotia as a chthonic god, to the overwhelming influence of a foreign power, or to the importance of the old warrior spirit before the dawn of an idealised Greek civilisation.

Proponents of the chthonic origin-theory, writing before Parry showed that the *Iliad* derives from an oral tradition, have suggested that the warlike Ares was an invention of Homer, and that while this identity was perpetuated in literature, the old chthonic god lived on in cult. Others, writing before the discovery of Ares in Linear B, maintain that Ares was a personification of an abstract noun, originated by Homer, who served a literary purpose, but was never a major figure in cult. Most of these ideas can be found in Stoll's article in Roscher's encyclopaedia, and many are far older. I have offered a thorough critique of these theories, and others, in chapter nine, and will not repeat my specific rebuttals here. Instead, I will now draw together threads that run throughout this thesis in order to construct not an explanation for, but a resolution of the dichotomy.

In chapter two, I explored Ares' functions and representations in the *Iliad*, both within the specific narratives of the poem, and within the formulaic language in

which it was composed. I argued there that Ares' identity as a warrior-archetype is constructed and reflected through his use as a positive comparator for heroic warriors, often in moments of success, and through the application to Ares of a series of epithets which are frequently given to heroes. In chapter four, I explored the ways in which the *Odyssey* and one of Sappho's hymeneal hymns use Ares as an archetypical warrior away from the battlefield, as adulterer and ideal lover respectively. In chapter five, I discussed the use of Ares' identity as a warrior-archetype in the poems of Pindar and Bacchylides, where associations with the god are used as part of a more general identification between heroism in war, and heroism in athletics. Ares is also depicted as a warrior in visual art.

Chapter two also described how Ares is both represented in the *Iliad* as an omnipresent causal force within battle, and also directly identified with the battle. In chapters three, four, five, and six, I showed that Ares also appears in these roles in many other hexameter and melic poems, including inscribed epitaphs, and in Attic Tragedy. Ares' three roles as war, warrior, and the director of the fray all appear across the Archaic and Classical periods in a variety of local, thematic, and generic contexts. Ares' role as warrior-archetype is, however, rarely exploited or alluded to in non-epinician melic poems, or in Attic Tragedy.

References to Ares as the incarnation of, and a power within and over, war, permeate Archaic and Classical Greek poetry, and appear across the full spectrum of performative and epigraphic contexts. I have argued that Ares is ruler of war in the same way as Poseidon is ruler of the sea, or Hades ruler of the underworld. I have also explored the parallels that exist between Ares and Zeus a father of warriors, as a comparator for heroes, and as a causal force. These factors suffice to explain Ares' status as one of the Olympians, and the ubiquity of his cult.

Ares' functions as warrior archetype and as personification of war are closely interconnected. In chapter two, I discussed several epithets of Ares which are analogous to, or appear to derive from heroic epithets, but are never applied to, and are indeed inappropriate for mortal heroes. Ares, incarnating war, shares several epithets with the spear. Ares both wields a spear as warrior, and controls the flying spears of battle as war. These epithets bind together Ares' twin identities.

I have argued in chapter two that both of these connected roles underpin Ares' defeats at the hands of the sons of Aloeus, Diomedes, and Athena in the *Iliad*. The vulnerability of the powerful, paradigmatic warrior, penetrated by the bronze with which he is so closely associated, allows the poet to express the idea of the inherent vulnerability of the warrior: that the warrior, by entering into battle in order to commit violence, exposes himself to the same violence that he would wield. At the same time Athena's victory over Ares reflects her ability to exert influence over war itself, and so glorifies her as a warrior-protector. In chapters three, and five, I examined the ways in which victory over Ares performs a similar role for the divine πρόμαχοι Herakles of Thebes (in the *Shield of Herakles*) and Hermes of Tanagra (in a fragment of Corinna). Ares is defeated in poetry not because he was thought to be weak, but because people feared his power, and the uncontrollability of war, and wished to hear of their protective gods taming his wild destructiveness. Ares' power, his cultic ubiquity, and his defeats in popular narratives (as described in chapter three, the story of Herakles and Kyknos was beloved of visual artists) are all intertwined.

The prominence of Ares within literature derives in large part from the fact that his complex identity, or rather, the complex web of ideas associated with his name, allowed storytellers to use him to explore a wide variety of important issues.

The *Iliad* uses Ares to explore the warrior's inherent vulnerability on the battlefield, but Ares' relevance is not limited to the field of war. As I discuss in chapter four, the song of Demodocus in the *Odyssey* used Ares to explore some of the issues created by and surrounding the warrior in society, through his interactions with Aphrodite, Hephaestus, and the gathered gods.

As a causal force within war, Ares allowed Greek poets, hexameter, melic, and Tragic alike, to express fears concerning war's seeming randomness. The idea of Ares as the blind or raving or dice-rolling director of the fray incarnated the seductive idea that defeat might not be due to weakness, or just divine displeasure on the part of Zeus, or the negligence of a protective deity. Ares is, furthermore, repeatedly depicted as being not only random, but also destructive and deadly, an evoker of tears and groans, stained with slaughter. Closely connected with the idea of Ares, and so war, as a random force is the idea of its undesirability. It is more satisfying to heap opprobrium on a personality than on an abstract. Ares' connection with the apparent randomness of war intertwines with his unreliability as a helper in battle. It is this unreliability which is reflected by the fact that Ares' cult is consistently low-key, despite his power, while the god's identification with war's blind destructiveness is reflected by a lack of celebratory festivals.

In Classical Athens, as I discuss in chapter six, Aeschylus used Ares to create an association between war as represented by Ares, in all its destructive, uncontrollable wildness, and the violence of civil strife and intra-familial conflict. Ares is the wild god, the impious judge, both on the battlefield of Thebes, and in the royal household of Argos. Ares is violence, untamed by law. Ares represents the forms of violence which threaten civilisation. Once unleashed, the chain of violence incarnated by Ares can only be ended by the deaths of all involved, unless a higher

power intervenes.

That higher power, in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, is Athena, in concert with the laws of Athens. Ares' wild power, Aeschylus suggests, can be tamed and harnessed, through the power and beneficence of a strong protective goddess. The wars of Athena, directed outside Athens' walls for the benefit of the city, are not the wars of the untamed, wild Ares. This conceptualisation of Ares' joint cult with Athena at Athens helps to explain the politically connected joint cults of Ares and Aphrodite at Argos and several Cretan cities. In treaties, association with Ares magnifies the power of the protective goddess, serving the law. But Ares, the wild god whose unleashing is directly contrasted with negotiation in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, never appears in treaties alone and unbound. It is the fact that Ares can be tamed and harnessed as a civic protector that separates him in kind from Hades, a similarly deadly, destructive god, whose evident power and importance also contrasts with his low-key cult, and whose affinities and parallels with Ares are discussed in chapter eight.

Euripides, working in a city where Ares was increasingly being integrated into the civic pantheon, under the auspices of Athena, began to untangle the god from the battlefield, and from the wild horrors of war. This process is also reflected by Ares' virtual absence from Aristophanes' *Peace*. But in Euripides' *Phoenicians*, a play devoted to the study of Ares, lifting the god to the same status as the other deities treated individually by the poet, deep ambivalence can be detected. Ares ends the play as a protector of the city, in the role he appears to have held at Athens, but only after he has been an integral part of much bloodshed. It is in this same play that, as I discuss in chapter seven, Euripides explores the idea of war as a twisted dance in honour of Ares, and as a grotesque festival of blood, parodying the rites of Dionysos,

at whose festival the play was performed. Ares appears here not as a civic god, but as an ecstatic destroyer. Descriptions of Ares raving, like a Maenad, appear in the Homeric poems, as I discuss in chapters two and four, while as I show in chapter eight, the intertwining of war, dance, violence, sacrifice, and Ares appear across Archaic and Classical poetry. This idea was not invented by Euripides, although he gave it its fullest expression.

Ares' power, as a causal force, derived from his identity with war. But Ares' nature was also defined by his identity with war, in all its wild destructiveness. Associated with all of the elements that make up his domain, Ares was warrior and army (the latter perhaps an innovation of Attic Tragedy) as well as the cause of their – his – deaths. War is filled with elements, and so Ares had many associations, and could be used to tell many stories. The size and relative coherence of this web made Ares a powerful tool for the storyteller. The same factor, combined with war's importance as an element of Greek life, and the god's uncontrollable wildness, made Ares a powerful and respected god, as is reflected by his widespread cult, and by his place among the great Olympians. But that same wildness and destructiveness that made Ares powerful, meant that he could not be loved, or praised. Ares was not, on the whole, a recipient of monumental temples, or of the title of civic protector, or of major festivals. Ares' presence could never be ignored, but he sits on the fringes of the pantheon. His festivals were battles, his music the crash of bronze on bronze, and his dancers were serried ranks of warriors, thrusting forth spears with fluid grace, each victim a grim sacrifice to Ares.

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