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## ODYSSEUS IN THE ILIAD

A detailed study of a character in the Homeric Poems is not pursued without a certain degree of fascination. In no case is this more true or real than in studying Odysseus in the Iliad, especially when it is remembered that Odysseus is the hero in the Odyssey. There are various fashions by which this theme may be presented, but for the present purpose the *modus operandi* will be, first, to catalogue briefly the several appearances of Odysseus as an actor in the Iliad together with such references to him as occur; secondly, to summarize the data thus obtained, in which may be included some account of the epithets applied to Odysseus, the chief instances of his participation in the action and their special significance, a categorical classification of the occasions which serve to mark certain characteristics and traits; and, thirdly, to proceed to a broad and general treatment of his character.

### I

Book 1. Agamemnon refers to the prize of Odysseus, which is a woman (138). Odysseus is suggested as one fitted to captain the ship conveying Chryseis (145). Odysseus goes as head of the mission (311). He reaches Chryse (430), returns Chryseis to her father, and prays for the removal of the pestilence sent by Apollo (440-445).

Book 2. Athene encourages Odysseus to stay the return of the Greeks (169-181). Odysseus succeeds in rallying the host (182-207). Thersites is mentioned as hateful to Odysseus on account of his revilings (220). Odysseus rebukes him, and smites him (244-266). This action pleases the crowd (270-274). Odysseus addresses the assembly, reminding the Greeks of the omen at Aulis, and counseling them to persevere (278-332). Agamemnon invites Odysseus to participate in a sacrifice (407). The followers of Odysseus are enumerated (631-637).

Book 3. Odysseus is seen on the battlefield and described by Priam (191-198). Helen identifies Odysseus (199-202). Antenor recalls an embassy on which Odysseus came to Troy (203-224). Odysseus acts as one of the sponsors for Menelaus in the latter's duel with Paris (268). He arranges the details on behalf of the Greek side (314).

Book 4. Agamemnon comes to Odysseus as he stands in battle-array (329). He chides Odysseus for not leading his men to the fight, but the Ithacan replies that he is waiting for the battle-signal (338-363). Odysseus avenges the death of a comrade (491-504).

Book 5. Odysseus assists in rousing the Greeks to fight (519). Under the guidance of Athene he slays many of the foe (669-682).

Book 6. Odysseus kills Pidytes in the general fighting (30).

Book 7. Odysseus offers to meet Hector in single combat (168).

Book 8. Odysseus does not hear (?) Diomedes calling on him to help succor Nestor (93-98). Agamemnon stands by the ships of Odysseus and exhorts the Greeks (222).

Book 9. Nestor suggests Odysseus as one of the commissioners to Achilles (168). Nestor imparts special instructions to Odysseus (180). Odysseus leads the way to Achilles's tent (192). Achilles sits facing Odysseus (218). Odysseus makes the opening speech (223-306). Achilles addresses Odysseus (307-429). Ajax asks Odysseus to accompany him back to the camp (624). Odysseus returns (657), and, asked by Agamemnon (673-675), tells what Achilles will do (676-692).

Book 10. Nestor rouses Odysseus (137), and summons him to a secret council (140-147); Odysseus obeys (148-149). Odysseus volunteers to go with Diomedes on a secret expedition into the Trojan lines (231). Diomedes chooses Odysseus (243-247), who advises a quick start (248-253). Meriones arms Odysseus (260-271). Odysseus hears an omen and prays to Athene (275-282). He sees Dolon approaching, and plans to take him alive (339-348). Odysseus and Diomedes pursue Dolon (363). Odysseus assumes the rôle of interlocutor (400-411, 423-425). Odysseus helps Diomedes strip Dolon, and dedicates his armor to Athene (458-464), hanging it on a tamarisk bush against their return (465-468). Odysseus perceives Rhesus asleep (476). He removes the dead bodies of Diomedes's victims to facilitate the carrying off of the horses (488). Odysseus leads forth the steeds, and signals Diomedes (498). He accelerates their speed to outdistance the pursuers (513). Odysseus stops for the armor (527), and receives it from Diomedes (529). Nestor hears Odysseus and Diomedes coming (536). Nestor asks Odysseus for the story (544). After Odysseus gives a brief account (554-563), he stables the steeds with those of Diomedes (564), and places Dolon's arms on his ship (571).

Book 11. Reference is made to Odysseus on the embassy to Priam mentioned in 3.203-224 (140). Odysseus calls upon Diomedes to rally the Greeks (312). Odysseus performs prodigies of valor (321-326, 335). Diomedes exhorts Odysseus to withstand Hector (346). Odysseus protects the wounded Diomedes (396). He is surrounded by Trojans, kills many, is wounded, and is succored by Menelaus (401-487). Nestor informs Patroclus that Odysseus is wounded (661). Nestor tells Patroclus of the time when he and Odysseus visited Achilles (767). Patroclus meets Eurypylos by the ships of Odysseus, where the assembly is wont to convene (806).

Book 14. Nestor meets Odysseus with the other

leaders (29). Odysseus rebukes Agamemnon, who advises retreat (82-102). Agamemnon acknowledges the justice of Odysseus's reproof (104). Odysseus assists in marshalling the host (380).

Book 16. Odysseus is mentioned as wounded (26).

Book 19. Odysseus comes to the assembly (48). Agamemnon refers to the embassy which Odysseus made to Achilles, mentioned in 9.168-656 (141). Odysseus gives advice to both Achilles and Agamemnon (154-183). Odysseus is thanked by Agamemnon (185). Odysseus gives Achilles more advice (215-237). He superintends the preparation of the peace-offerings for Achilles (247-248). Odysseus helps to comfort Achilles, who laments Patroclus (310).

Book 23. Odysseus wrestles with Ajax, gaining a slight advantage (709-732). Odysseus wins first place in a running race (754-779). Ajax says that Odysseus won through the aid of Athene (780-783). Antilochus places Odysseus second to Achilles in swiftness of foot (785-792).

## II

The results of this exhaustive inquiry into the references to Odysseus in the Iliad may be expressed after the following manner. In Books 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, and 24 Odysseus does not participate in the action; indeed, he is not mentioned in these books. Odysseus is most prominent in Book 10, the Doloneia. Book 23 stands second, after which in order come Books 11, 9, and 2. A single passing reference is made to Odysseus in each of Books 6, 7, and 16.

Of the epithets describing Odysseus, *δῖος* and *πολύμητις* are most frequently employed. The former occurs twenty-three times (1.145; 2.244; 3.205, 314; 5.669, 679; 7.168; 8.97; 9.169, 192, 223, 676; 10.248, 460; 11.449, 767; 19.48, 141, 310; 23.729, 759, 765, 778). The latter is used in eighteen places (1.311, 440; 3.200, 216, 268; 4.329, 349; 10.148, 382, 400, 423, 488, 554; 14.82; 19.154, 215; 23.709, 755). Third place is held by *διογενῆς Λαερτιάδης πολυμήχανος*, which appears seven times (2.173; 4.358; 8.93; 9.308, 624; 10.144; 23.723). The rest in order of frequency are: *πολύτλας* (8.97; 9.676; 10.248; 23.729, 778); *θεῖος* (2.335; 9.218; 10.243; 11.806), *δουρὶ κλυτὸς* (11.396, 401, 661; 16.26) and *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος* (2.169, 407, 636; 10.137); *πολύαινος* (9.673; 10.544; 11.430) and *τλήμων* (10.231, 498; 11.419); *Λαερτιάδης* (3.200; 19.185), *πτολίπορθος* (2.278; 10.363), and *δίφιλος* (10.527; 11.473); *ἀντίθεος* (11.140), *τλήμονα θυμὸν ἔχων* (5.670), *δαίφρων* (11.482), *δὸλων ἄατ' ἠδὲ πόνουο* (11.430), *ποικιλομήτης* (11.482), *μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν* (9.673), *διογενῆς* (10.340), *κέρδεα εἰδῶς* (23.709), *μεγαλήτωρ* (5.674), and *διοτρεφῆς* (14.29).

Three pregnant expressions, which belong to the province of epithets, are put into the mouths of the actors. In speaking of Odysseus to Priam, Helen applies to him the words *εἰδῶς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μῆδεα πυκνά* (3.202). The Greeks in assembly hail Odysseus as *βουλᾶς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθῆς πόλεμον τε κορύσσων* (2.273). Agamemnon addresses Odysseus as *καί' σὺ, κακοῖσι δόλοισι κεκασμένε, κερδαλέφρων* (4.339).

The peculiar significance of each epithet is of value in arriving at an estimate of the character of Odysseus.

*Δῖος*, the most frequently recurring epithet, is of little assistance. All the Homeric heroes are *δῖοι*. *Illustris* is its best Latin equivalent. Not only is *δῖος* applied to men, but it also marks gods (2.820), horses (8.185), rivers (2.522), countries (2.615), cities (2.836), women (2.714), air (16.365), sea (1.141), dawn (24.417), and earth (24.532). Of course, it adds a touch to the composite character of Odysseus, in that he is noble and illustrious. But it signifies no special aspect or attribute which serves to distinguish him from Agamemnon, say, or Achilles. It is used four times in Books 9 and 23.

On the other hand, in *πολύμητις*, which occurs eighteen times, or five less than *δῖος*, the real Odysseus appears. Upon no other hero is this epithet bestowed. The first half of the word is very significant. The adjective *πολύς* is the basis of nearly all the characteristic words applied to Odysseus. The *πολύς*-compounds are reserved mainly for him. In Book 10 *πολύμητις* is used six times (*δῖος* appears only twice). In fact, one-third of its appearances is located in the Doloneia. Considering the nature of the adventure, such discrimination in epithets is highly appropriate. Here, also, may properly be noticed *πολυμήχανος*, *πολύαινος*, and *πολύτλας*.

*Διογενῆς Λαερτιάδης* is but a variation of the patronymics applied to all the heroes. All the chieftains are *διογενέες*, as well as *διοτρεφέες* and *δίφιλοι*.

The physical qualities of Odysseus are characterized in the use of *τλήμων*, *παλύτλας*, *τλήμονα θυμὸν ἔχων*. His reputation is reflected in *πολύαινος*, *μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν*, *δουρὶ κλυτὸς*, *μεγαλήτωρ*, *πτολίπορθος*. The mental traits and powers of the hero find expression in *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος* (three of its four uses are in Book 2), *δαίφρων*, *δὸλων ἄατ' ἠδὲ πόνουο*, *ποικιλομήτης*, *κέρδεα εἰδῶς*, in Helen's description of him (3.202), and in the taunt flung at him by Agamemnon (4.339).

A very interesting fact is to be noticed in the use of *θεῖος*. In the Iliad it is bestowed only upon Achilles and Odysseus.

It remains to consider, before we proceed to a treatment of the character of Odysseus, how his several appearances and the references to him arrange themselves under certain characteristics and traits which mark the man. Odysseus will be seen in the rôles of warrior, athlete, counselor, diplomatist, orator, and leader.

*The Physical Odysseus.*—In the first place, it is necessary to form some conception of the physical Odysseus. Priam describes him as shorter by a head than Agamemnon, but broader in respect to shoulders and chest (3.193-194). There are three references to his age. Odysseus says that he is older than Achilles (19.219); Antenor states that Menelaus is younger than Odysseus (3.215); Antilochus places Odysseus in an earlier generation than his own (but Antilochus was the son of Nestor, whom everyone called 'old man', and who himself had outlived three generations of mortal

men), and says that, though Odysseus is old, he is vigorous (23.790-791).

It is not a cause for wonder, then, that Odysseus exhibits so marvelous a capacity for endurance. On the twenty-fifth day—in the second great battle—he fights all day, manages the embassy to Achilles in the early evening, and conducts the raid into the Trojan camp later that night. The very next day Odysseus goes forth into the third great battle, and fights single-handed against great odds until he is wounded severely and compelled to retire (perhaps he was fortified by partaking of three meals between sunset and dawn: 9.89-91, 221, 578. But Odysseus had sensible views about not fighting on an empty stomach: 19.154-172). Not without reason, therefore, is he called *τλήμων*, *πολύτλας*, *τλήμονα θυμὸν ἔχων*. Odysseus must have been the possessor of an extraordinary physique, since, after receiving wounds (11.434-437), he can wrestle to a decision in a bout with Ajax (23.709-732), and, a little later, carry off first honors in a foot-race (23.755-779); all this he does only three days after his misfortune in battle.

*Odysseus as a Warrior.*—In battle Odysseus is a warrior of the first rank. His physical endurance—a quality so necessary to the soldier—has been considered. The Greeks call him *δοῦρὶ κλυτός* and *πολλίπορθος*. In the assembly the host hails him as *βουλᾶς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων*. Odysseus performs prodigies of valor, avenging the death of a comrade (4.493-504), slaying seven Lycians, one after another (5.676-678). Yet more would he have killed then and there, had not Hector forced a general retirement (5.679-682). Later in the day Odysseus vanquishes Pidytes (6.30). He offers to meet Hector in single combat, but the lot does not leap out for him (7.168). The next morning Molion falls before the Ithacan (11.321-322). More Trojans meet death at his hands (11.326). Odysseus slays and strips Hippodamus and Hypeirochus (11.335). Hard pressed by the enemy, he wounds two more and kills three others (11.420-426). But Odysseus is not to withdraw from the fighting unscathed. He receives a grievous wound, which Athene prevents from becoming mortal. Rescued by Menelaus, he is led out of the press (11.434-438). This concludes his actual participation in the conflict raging on the Trojan plain.

Odysseus sets a notable example when cornered. He debates within himself whether it is better to flee or to suffer capture. Even while he is divided in his mind, he checks his heart and declares that it behooves a hero to stand stubbornly, whether he be smitten or whether he smite another (11.404-410). So, having done all, he stands. Odysseus lays about him with the *grande passion* of the Crusaders, who rode to battle as to a sacrament.

*Odysseus as an Athlete.*—In Book 23, Odysseus participates in the wrestling and the running, although he had been compelled to retire from the field of battle because of a wound inflicted upon him three days previously. His wrestling with Ajax makes the Greeks marvel (728). Odysseus manages to throw Ajax by

means of a trick (725-728). In the foot-race Odysseus appears to be the favorite of the spectators (766-767). He is able to win first place only through the aid of Athene, who causes Ajax to slip (773-779). Antilochus, who brings up the rear of the runners, graciously pays tribute to the swiftness of Odysseus, declaring that only Achilles surpasses him (18.791-792).

*Odysseus as a Counselor.*—Odysseus is the wisest of counselors. His rede is always accepted, and seldom, if ever, fails to be the best. Agamemnon speaks of him as one of his counselors (1.144), and to this relation Achilles also refers (9.346-347). Odysseus is one of six invited by Agamemnon to a sacrifice to propitiate Zeus (2.407). Three of the four uses of *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος* are found in Book 2, where Odysseus staves off the home-going of the Greeks. Nestor summons him to a secret council (10.143-147). Diomedes says that Odysseus excels in understanding (10.247).

Odysseus is at his best as a counsellor in Book 14. There the Greeks are in a bad way. So Agamemnon advises a return to Greece (64-81). Then Odysseus of many counsels looks at Agamemnon sternly and tells him that he is not fit to be in command of the army (82-102: note especially 90-102)<sup>1</sup>.

. . . Be silent, lest some other of the Achaians hear this word, that no man should so much as suffer to pass through his mouth, none that understandeth in his heart how to speak fit counsel, none that is a sceptred king. . . . And now I wholly scorn thy thoughts, such a word as thou hast uttered. . . . for the Achaians will not make good the war, when the ships are drawn down to the salt sea, but will look round about to flee, and withdraw from battle. There will thy counsel work a mischief, O marshal of the host.

Agamemnon is in the wrong, and has the grace to acknowledge it (103-108).

The next day Odysseus gives advice to both Achilles and Agamemnon. Upon his reconciliation with Agamemnon, Achilles is for renewing the fight with all speed (19.148-150). But Odysseus reminds him that an army fights on its stomach. He urges that everyone partake of food and drink before the battle be begun (19.154-172). Turning to Agamemnon, he counsels him to display the gifts for Achilles, to swear that he has not lain with Briseis, to make a feast of friendship for Achilles, to be towards others more righteous in the future, to count it not a shame for a king to make amends first if he were the first to deal violently (19.172-183). Agamemnon thanks Odysseus for his words, and complies with his suggestions (19.184-197).

Achilles swears that he will not eat or drink till he shall have avenged the shame of the death of Patroclus (19.198-214). Odysseus again speaks to him, reminding Achilles that, though he is mightier with the spear, yet he (Odysseus) surpasses him greatly in counsel, since he was born first and knows more things. The living must bear the brunt of the war, he maintains, and should be prepared for the combat, but not without proper nourishment before joining battle. The more relentlessly, then, can they fight (19.215-237). Whereupon Achilles dissolves the assembly, dismissing the men to their meal (19.275).

<sup>1</sup>I give here, and below, the well-known version by Lang, Leaf, and Myers.

*Odysseus as a Diplomatist.*—Ever has Odysseus stood at the head of the canon of diplomatists and ambassadors. Most of the epithets applied to him characterize his mediatorial technique.

The first mention of the exercise of the diplomatic art of Odysseus is made in Book I, where he is selected by Agamemnon to head the mission to Chryses (311). It is a very high and important task which is intrusted to Odysseus. A tactful man is needed to smooth over the personal grievances of Chryses, for on the feelings of the insulted priest of Apollo all the hopes of Achaean safety and victory depend. In well-chosen words Odysseus restores the old man's daughter, and offers a hecatomb to appease the Archer-god (440-445). Willingly does Chryses comply with his request: at the priest's entreaty Apollo removes the pestilence from the Greeks.

The next reference to Odysseus as an ambassador is found in Book 3. Helen is on the wall above the Scaean Gate, identifying the warriors about whom Priam asks. Her attribution to Odysseus of craft and skill in all the ways of wile and cunning device (199-202) reminds the sage Antenor, who is in the company, of the time when Odysseus came to Troy on an embassy for Helen (203-208). Antenor corroborates her characterization of Odysseus, for he also knew something of his wise devices (216-224).

. . . But whenever Odysseus full of wiles rose up, he stood and looked down, with eyes fixed upon the ground, and waved not his staff whether backwards or forwards, but held it stiff, like to a man of no understanding; one would deem him to be churlish, and naught but a fool. But when he uttered his great voice from his chest, and words like unto the snow-flakes of winter, then could no mortal man contend with Odysseus; then marvelled we not thus to behold Odysseus' aspect.

Passing mention of this mission is made later by Agamemnon (11.140).

But the chief instance of Odysseus as a commissioner and diplomatist is recorded in Book 9. There the hero heads the embassy to Achilles to win back that recalcitrant warrior from his sulking aloofness to an active participation in the siege. Affairs have come to a narrow pass for the Greeks. Agamemnon summons his advisers to his tent, and seeks what advice they have to offer. Nestor urges that steps be taken to appease Achilles's wrath with gifts of friendship and kindly words, thereby securing his return to the battle-field (93-113). He recommends that Phoenix be made the chairman of the committee on overtures (168), but gives special instructions to Odysseus (180), who finally leads the way (192), thus assuming command.

Odysseus delivers the first speech, vividly picturing the plight of the Greeks, appealing to Achilles's patriotism in the present crisis, exhorting him to eschew his grievous wrath. Odysseus holds up before his mind's eye the gifts which Agamemnon will bestow upon him, if he will return to the conflict. These he enumerates, dwelling upon each: seven tripods, ten talents of gold, twenty gleaming cauldrons, twelve stalwart steeds, seven women skilled in handiwork and of surpassing beauty, Briseis also, unknown by Aga-

memnon, a ship full of Trojan gold and bronze, the twenty fairest Trojan women after Helen, the choice of any one of Agamemnon's three daughters to wife, without gifts of wooing, and accompanied by a great dowry, seven well-peopled cities (225-306: see especially 299-306).

. . . All this will he accomplish so thou but cease from wrath. But and if Agamemnon be too hateful to thy heart, both he and his gifts, yet have thou pity on all the Achaians that faint throughout the host; these shall honour thee as a god, for verily thou wilt earn exceeding great glory at their hands. Yea now mightest thou slay Hector, for he would come very near thee in his deadly madness, because he deemeth that there is no man like unto him among the Danaans that the ships brought hither.

It is a masterful address, full of persuasion and skillfully constructed. Odysseus, in quick, yet subtle, transitional sequence, appeals first to Achilles's pity, then to his patriotism, his cupidity, his love, his ambition, his vanity, and, finally, his pride. Odysseus is a past-master in the science and the art of persuasion, but he fails to win over Achilles, not through any lack of arguments, but rather because the poet does not choose to have Achilles yield at this point. Indeed, Achilles would be weak, if he had foregone his position at this time. Only the death of Patroclus is the incentive to action. Yet his failure to respond, when the exigencies of the case are understood, does not lessen or detract from the cunning ingenuity implicit in the words of Odysseus.

After the other members of the embassy make their contributions to no purpose, Ajax proposes to Odysseus a return to the main body of the Greeks (624-625). Odysseus agrees, and leads the way (657). Upon their arrival in the camp Odysseus reports that Achilles's wrath still continues, and he puts the worst construction upon the matter by stating only what Achilles said in his first reply (676-692). He does not say that, though Achilles has no mind to quench his wrath, he will stay and not go home, that he will fight when Hector reaches the ships. This dry and imperfect report gives only the first attitude of Achilles; the second and third it omits. Are they interpolations? Rather, Odysseus may have been so overpowered by the first speech that the others made no impression; or, possibly, he wished to prepare the Greeks for the worst that might happen, the return of Achilles to his home. Odysseus, however, states the main fact, the persistence of Achilles's wrath. But it is a short, perfunctory recital, evidently disagreeable to its author.

This embassy is casually mentioned later by Agamemnon, when Achilles renounces his wrath (19.141). Odysseus, by the way, had with Achilles earlier dealings also of an ambassadorial nature, when he and Nestor went forth as envoys throughout Hellas to rouse the Greeks against Troy (11.767-770).

*Odysseus as an Orator.*—It is not uncommon that a man who is a counselor and a diplomatist is also an orator. Odysseus uses his persuasive powers on various occasions with more or less effect. He rallies the nobles and the commoners by his words (2.188-206), and then converts them to his views (2.278-332).

Antenor's opinion of his eloquence (3.221-223), his speech to Achilles (9.225-306), his reply to Agamemnon (14.82-102), his instillation of courage into the hearts of others (19.154-183), his persuasion of Achilles (19.215-237) have all been discussed.

The secret of Odysseus's address is that he has something to say, something he wishes to say, something he wishes to say so that those who hear him shall understand, and act as he desires. He does not open his mouth and multiply words without knowledge, as we sometimes suspect Nestor of doing. What Odysseus has to say, he speaks out clearly, concisely, and convincingly.

*Odysseus as a Leader.*—Odysseus exhibits all the essential attributes of leadership: originality and versatility, insight and initiative, executive and organizing ability, wisdom and sagacity, courage and fortitude, personality and power. He is a veritable leader of men.

Nowhere else are these qualities better illustrated than in Book 2, when the Greeks are on the point of giving over the siege. But the Greeks would not be Greeks, if they could go home without Helen. This Odysseus realizes, and grief for the loss of the enterprise gets hold upon him. It is only the wise man who can hear the voice of wisdom; hence Athene comes to him (172-181). In every sense Odysseus proves himself to be the man for the emergency. He runs, casting away his mantle in his eagerness, and seizes from Agamemnon the staff, that wonderful token of authority, ever imperishable (185-186); he is now the leader—*ecce signum*: he restrains the multitude, employing argument among the nobles and blows upon the populace (188-206). With the latter he touches the heart of the matter in his oft-quoted dictum (204): "a multitude of masters is no good king; let there be one master, one king. . . ." Odysseus is successful, for, as the poet says, 'so masterfully ranged he the host'.

But now enters Thersites, the reviler. Firmly does Odysseus deal with him before all the host. He seizes eagerly upon Thersites as an example, to serve for a turning-point back to the rational purpose of the Greeks. The army sees and applauds. The commoners are now ready to listen and to hear what Odysseus may advise. Here is the opportunity for the counselor, orator, and diplomatist to merge into the leader. Odysseus is on trial. The time has come for a strong man. The Ithacan meets the need. He sympathizes with their condition—nine years away from home. But the appointed time is at hand, even that day long foretold by Calchas, the seer, that in the tenth year the Achaeans should take the wide-wayed city of Priam (284-332).

The crowd voices its approval, and, after addresses by Agamemnon and Nestor, the day is won. Odysseus has saved the situation, converting a rout into an orderly assembly, and snatching victory from disorganized defeat.

Several minor, but important, notices of Odysseus as a leader deserve to be mentioned before another special episode is considered. Odysseus was selected to head the mission to Chryse, charged with the rendering up

of Chryseis (1.311). He was among the chieftains entertained by Agamemnon after the assembly (2.407). He acted as one of the sponsors of Menelaus when that hero challenged Paris (3.268), and represented the Greeks in arranging the details of the duel (3.314). Later, Odysseus offered to meet Hector in single combat (7.168). On several occasions Odysseus assisted in marshalling the host for battle (3.196; 5.519-520; 11.310-315, 345-348; 14.379-381). In battle-formation Odysseus commanded a division (2.631-637). He went to Achilles as chief commissioner (9.192), and after the reconciliation superintended the delivery of the peace-offerings (19.247-248). In the *τελεγονία* it is significant that, of the seventy lines bestowed upon all the Greek heroes together, no less than thirty-four are devoted to Odysseus (3.191-225).

A leader must have originality, initiative, and resourcefulness. These qualities Odysseus possesses. The entire tenth book, the Doloneia, is submitted as evidence. From the time when Odysseus volunteers to accompany Diomedes (231) to his very last act—that of placing Dolon's armor on the ship (570-571)—Odysseus assumes full and complete charge of the adventure. He plans all the details and sees to their execution. He is a working combination of brain and brawn, with the faculty of harmonious coordination. Among the incidents of the exploit stands out the questioning of Dolon by Odysseus, whereby Odysseus seeks information about the position of Hector, his armor and his horses, the disposition of the pickets, the position of the Trojan allies, the Trojan plans (400-411). Nothing does he ask in vain. Each point indicates the careful and cautious general and leader.

There remain to be discussed two incidents in which Odysseus (at least to a cursory reader) appears in an unfavorable light.

In Book 4, on the day of the first battle, Agamemnon approaches Odysseus at the head of his men, waiting until the battle-cry should be sounded (329-335). The commander-in-chief is incensed at the calm demeanor of Odysseus as he coolly stands at ease until the proper time for joining battle. Agamemnon taunts Odysseus for being first at the feats of the counselors, but last in the battle (339-348). But Odysseus, not one whit dismayed at Agamemnon's unjust words—indeed, Odysseus seems to realize that Agamemnon is merely *primus inter pares*—withstands him to the face (349-355). Whereupon the leader of the Greeks apologizes, because he was to be blamed<sup>2</sup>.

In Book 8 occurs the Nestor-Diomedes-Odysseus scene. By the will of Zeus the tide of triumph is turning towards the Trojans, who are rolling back the Greeks (80). Only Nestor stands his ground, and upon him is advancing Hector (88-90). To the old man, like to lose his life, runs Diomedes, shouting terribly to Odysseus (91-96):

. . . Heaven-born son of Laertes, Odysseus of many wiles, whither fleest thou with thy back turned, like a coward in the throng? Beware lest as thou fleest one plant a spear between thy shoulders. Nay, stand thy ground, till we thrust back from the old man his furious foe.

<sup>2</sup>Compare also 14.82-102, already discussed.

Odysseus *οὐκ ἐσάκουσε*, but hastened to the hollow ships (97-98). Much depends upon whether the words *οὐκ ἐσάκουσε* mean that Odysseus 'did not heed' Diomedes's appeal for help, or 'did not hear' it. If the former is the meaning, then is Odysseus made out a very craven. Some interpret so. But it is better to choose the latter sense, especially since, a few hours later, Diomedes selects Odysseus as his comrade, with these words (10. 243-247):

. . . how then could I be unmindful of godlike Odysseus, whose heart is passing eager, and his spirit so manifold in all manner of toils; and Pallas Athene loveth him. But while he cometh with me, even out of burning fire might we both return, for he excelleth in understanding.

### III

"I am a part of all that I have met"—thus Tennyson makes Odysseus soliloquize. But he is the Odysseus of the Odyssey, please note. Yet the words may be applied to the Odysseus of the Iliad, who has suffered a change in passing into the later epic. This later Odysseus is the Odysseus whom we are too prone to remember. Surely the Greeks loved to hear about the Odysseus of the Odyssey oftener than about the Odysseus of the Iliad. In the former there is more of the glamor of romance and adventure, of love and domesticity. Odysseus becomes the national hero in the Odyssey, the *φιλοκερδής* who struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the ancient Greeks. There is little of this element in any one man in the Iliad, not even in Odysseus. Only when we open the Odyssey do we find that nearly all of Odysseus's plans and doings owe their inspiration and execution to a love of *κέρδος*. This reputation the Odysseus of the Iliad must live down.

In the Iliad (as well as in the Odyssey) Odysseus is limned in bold, strong strokes. He is a living personality, the incarnation of prudence, of selfcontrol, of calm, dispassionate, resourceful intellect, always true to his purpose, overcoming other men more by power of speech than by might of arm, truly *θεῖος*.

The delineation of his character is consistent throughout the Iliad. He is the wisest of counselors, the least despondent, the staunchest of men, the special favorite of Athene. Faithfulness, firmness, and devotion to the public weal are his chief moral attributes. Odysseus is at his best in the Doloneia. All his powers are there brought into play, displaying the boundless diversity and many-sidedness which mark the man. His is the head which directs the enterprise throughout and carries it to a successful issue. In him a powerful and versatile intellect works with the strictest reference to the practical, and works in the precise way best fitted to attain it. His prudence leans toward craft, though not so much as to impair his general integrity of aim. He can adapt himself to all sorts and conditions of men—Agamemnon, Thersites, Achilles, Diomedes, or the commons.

Odysseus is not an ethical model—a man *πολύτροπος* or *πολύμητις* can not be—but we must not censure him by modern standards. He had a ready turn in the Odyssey for dissimulation, but cunning was not a matter for reprobation in heroic days. Odysseus may

have been deceiving Dolon. Certainly he did not interpose later to prevent Diomedes from cutting him down out of hand. But it is not certain that he lied.

In all the works of peace Odysseus stands sagacious, skilled, and resourceful above his fellows. He is prominent in every enterprise (2.273). In a happy couplet Horace sums up his character (Epistulae 1.2.17-18):

quid virtus et quid sapientia possit  
utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen.

In all the practical works of life Odysseus has no rival. His valor and intrepidity in the face of danger, his athletic prowess and might, his wholesome advice and wisdom, his diplomatic abilities and capacities, his oratorical powers, he shares with others, though each appears in a peculiar way in him; his practical wisdom, his wide experience of men and manners, and his capacity for all the business of life are his own.

Odysseus is a man of like passions with us, petty and noble. He is less adroit in concealing his weaknesses. He is now generous, now selfish. He is a man in the completest sense of the term. Whatever his faults and his weaknesses, he belongs to a superior order of humanity.

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### REVIEWS

Die Burg von Athen. Von Martin Schede. Berlin: Schoetz und Parrhysius (1922). Pp. 145. 8 Marks.

Professor Martin Schede's volume, *Die Burg von Athen*, gives in brief compass the main facts, certain and conjectural, concerning the Acropolis of Athens and the monuments thereon. The twenty-three short chapters (pages 9-131), some of which are only two or three pages in length, tell the story of Athena's citadel from early times to the present day, and serve to explain the numerous illustrations. The Pre-Persian structures and the buildings of the Periclean Age, with their sculptural adornment, are described in simple language. The result is a continuous and convenient account which is well adapted as an introduction to the subject for those who read German<sup>1</sup>.

In the English language there are two excellent illustrated books which discuss the Acropolis. One of these (M. L. D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, New York, Macmillan, 1908. Pp. xx + 405 + v) is wholly devoted to the Athenian citadel. The other (C. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, New York, Macmillan, 1913. Pp. xxiv + 412) gives to the Acropolis itself some 132 pages (224-356). Neither book is included in Professor Schede's Bibliography.

The chief interest for English-speaking students in this German volume will be in its illustrations. Scattered through the text are some twenty-eight sketches. Most of these are from drawings which show restorations of the buildings on the Acropolis. These sketches are good, for the most part, and should be of service in

<sup>1</sup>Since this review was written I have discovered that this book has appeared in an English translation (*The Acropolis of Athens*. By M. Schede, translated by H. T. Price. New York, Atlantic Book and Art Corporation, 1924). The translation was favorably reviewed, by Professor G. W. Elderkin, in *The New York Saturday Review of Literature*, February 14, 1925.