

Antisthenes' Odysseus: its Context in Ancient Literature and Culture

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

at the University of Canterbury

by

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2017

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	1
Abstract	2
Abbreviations	4
Introduction	5
Scope and Methodology	7
Literature Review	10
1. Antisthenes' Ajax and Odysseus and Their Context	18
Antisthenes' Ajax and Odysseus	19
Antisthenes and Versatility in Rhetoric: Testimonia t.187	26
Odysseus in Alcidas and Gorgias	32
2. Λόγοι and ἔργα in Antisthenes and Thucydides: Odysseus as an Athenian Prototype	47
Pericles' Epitaphios: λόγοι and ἔργα	56
Intelligence and Deliberation in the Mytilene Debate	68
Thucydides' Character Judgements: Themistocles, Hermocrates, and Brasidas. ...	78
3. Themistocles: An Herodotean Odysseus?	96
Themistocles in Herodotus: The Salvation of Hellas	100
Themistocles at Salamis: Strategy, Persuasion and Cunning	119
The Sicinnus Trick	129
Themistocles and Self Interest: Euboea and Andros	136
Themistocles and Antisthenes' Ajax and Odysseus	143
4. Odysseus in Drama 1	156
Hostility to the Character of Odysseus	158
Depictions of the Hoplôn Krisis: Fragmentary Aeschylus	171
Pitying the Enemy: Odysseus in Sophocles' Ajax	178
Working for the Greater Good: Odysseus and Philoctetes	190
5. Odysseus in Drama 2	208

Euripides' Hecuba: Friendship and Funeral Oration	210
Euripides' Cyclops: Protecting φίλοι and Taking Revenge.....	229
Odysseus and φιλία in Cyclops.....	245
Conclusion to Odysseus in Drama	251
Conclusion	253
Bibliography	258

Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure to thank those people who have helped me throughout the completion of this dissertation. Any errors and omissions which remain are solely my responsibility.

I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of Department of Classics at the University of Canterbury, whose teaching over the years was an inspiration for me to continue as a graduate student in the field of Classics. I would also like to thank the University of Canterbury for providing me with the financial support of a Doctoral Scholarship.

I am very grateful to Prof. Chris Pelling for the time he spent with me at Christ Church; our conversations and his comments on my work were extremely helpful. I would like to thank the Wakefield Scholarship Committee and Wakefield Charitable Trust for their generous award of the Edward Gibbon Wakefield Doctoral Scholarship, and I am grateful to Christ Church, Oxford, for its hospitality. I would also like to thank the Christ Church Association for their contribution to the scholarship.

I am forever grateful to Prof. Graham Zanker, who has been a constant source of help and advice throughout my years as a student of Classics. I am also very appreciative for his input in my candidacy for the Wakefield Scholarship, and for introducing me to Prof. Pelling.

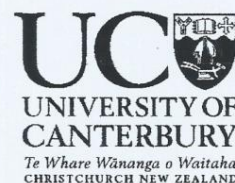
Finally, I would especially like to thank Dr. Parick O'Sullivan for his guidance and knowledge in supervising this thesis. His patience and support has been immense, and it is thanks to him that this thesis was possible.

Abstract

Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches present the conflict between the Homeric heroes as they compete for the arms of Achilles. The use of mythic characters enables Antisthenes to demonstrate the opposing natures of the two contestants in speeches which are examples of forensic oratory. While each hero's arguments are closely matched to the Homeric figures on which they are based, Odysseus, as the versatile hero, is shown as more closely aligned to the intellectual concepts of the fifth- and fourth-centuries. The ethical ideas raised bring the characterization of Odysseus into a contemporary intellectual context, and the attributes of his character in Antisthenes can be matched to other examples of forensic oratory. However, these speeches are of significance to the characterization of Odysseus beyond forensic oratory – they can be used as a framework from which to re-evaluate Athenian attitudes towards the figure of Odysseus, and his presentation in fifth- and fourth-century literature more generally.

In terms of characterisation, the speeches help to highlight parallels between Odysseus and the idealised Athenians in Thucydides – specifically from Pericles' *Epitaphios*. Further to this, I argue that Antisthenes' speeches help to identify themes in the characterisation of the Athenian hero Themistocles which are comparable to Odysseus. These examples show how a hero who represents intelligence and cunning was seen favourably, at least to a strand of Athenian intellectual discourse. In Odysseus' characterization in drama, there is a continuation of the themes which are found in Antisthenes and elsewhere in classical literature. A better understanding of the reception of the hero of intelligence in the context of fifth- and fourth-century literature allows for a reassessment of Odysseus in drama, where the villainy of his character has been overstated by modern commentators.

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The thesis supervisor, P. O'Sullivan, contributed to the original ideas in the paper and contributed to writing the paper into a finalised form for publication.

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- In cases where the candidate was the lead author of the co-authored work he or she wrote the text

Name:	Signature:	Date:
PATRICK O'SULLIVAN		30/5/17

Abbreviations

ARV	T. Carpenter, T. Mannack, and M. Mendonça, <i>Beazley Addenda</i> , 2nd ed. Oxford, 1989.
DC	D. Caizzi, <i>Antisthenis Fragmenta</i> . Milan, 1966.
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.), <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> . 6th ed., 3 vols. Berlin, 1952.
FrGH	F. Jacoby (ed.) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin, 1923-58.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . 9 vols. Zürich, 1981-1999.
LP	E. Lobel and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta</i> . Oxford, 1963.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (eds.), <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , rev. H. S. Jones, 9th ed. Oxford, 1968.
SSR	G. Giannantoni (ed.), <i>Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae</i> , 4 vols. Naples, 1983–90.
TrGF	R. Kannicht, S. Radt, and B. Snell (eds.), <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 5 vols. Göttingen, 1971–2004.

Introduction

There has been somewhat of a rising interest in the works of Antisthenes in the past two decades. Winckelmann produced the first collection of fragments and testimonia in 1842, but for a period during the twentieth century there were few major contributions to the scholarship. A Commentary from Caizzi (1966) and an expanded volume from Giannantoni (1990) filled some of this gap, but for the most part, Antisthenes received surprisingly little attention considering his importance as a student of both Socrates and Gorgias, and as an inspiration for Diogenes.¹ Popper went as far as speculatively commenting, in *The Open Society and its Enemies*, that if the works of Antisthenes had survived rather than Plato, it would have changed the course of western philosophy.²

This relative lack of interest in Antisthenes' surviving work was partially explained by the fact that so little survives except as testimonia. The *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, which are a central part of this thesis, are in fact the only complete surviving works. They present the arguments of the two Homeric heroes in their bid to win the arms of Achilles, spoken in the first person and addressed to a jury of judges. The use of Homeric or mythical characters was reasonably common in Sophistic prose and Athenian philosophy—for example, Prodicus' *Choice of Heracles*, Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen* and *Defence of Palamedes*, and Plato's myth of Er in *Republic* 10. Antisthenes' *Odysseus* and *Ajax* speeches are part of this tradition. It is their presentation of the character of Odysseus which is the primary focus of this thesis.

¹ Diogenes Laertius, in *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 6.1–2 tells us that Antisthenes met Socrates and became his student after having already studied rhetoric under Gorgias. He goes on to remark that he was an influence on Diogenes (of Sinope), Crates, and Zeno (*Lives* 6.15). Diogenes Laertius' claim that Diogenes of Sinope actually became a student of Antisthenes (*Lives* 6.21) has been called into question by modern scholarship; see Prince (2006) 77-8 and Dudley (1935) 2-3.

² Popper (1945) 20, 285-6. Popper links Antisthenes to criticism of Platonic essentialism, which he believes had a negative impact on philosophy.

These speeches have played a large role in generating interest in Antisthenes in more recent scholarship; it has been noted by others that they have received surprisingly little discussion.³ However, since Prince's 1997 dissertation *Antisthenes on Language, Thought and Culture* there has been a surge in the scholarship, with these speeches and their importance being discussed at length by both the very scholars who noted the absence of research, and other studies such as Morgan (2000) 115–19, Worman (2002) 185–92, Levystone (2005) 181–214, and Montiglio (2011) 20–37, who dedicates a chapter to Antisthenes, and a dissertation about the speeches by Kennedy (2011). The greatest recent contribution has been the ground-breaking work of Susan Prince, in her complete commentary of the works of Antisthenes, *Antisthenes of Athens: Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (2015), the first commentary of its type in English and far more expansive than Caizzi's 1966 edition.

The aim of this thesis is not simply to provide another discussion of Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches in isolation. My study will use these speeches as a framework from which to re-evaluate Athenian attitudes towards the figure of Odysseus, and his presentation in fifth- and fourth-century literature. The speeches are works of self-promotion, of praise and blame; they discuss the correct meaning of words (in particular virtue, *aretē*), the distinction between words and deeds, and the value of different types of heroism which are linked to a particular type of character. Antisthenes' depiction of character reproduces themes from Homer, but the interest in intellectual concepts is evident. As I will introduce the speeches in chapter 1, and discuss their context, date and reliability of their authorship there, to avoid repetition I have split this introduction into two parts: a summary of the objectives of the thesis, and a literature review.

³ Knudsen (2012) 31, Kennedy (2011) 21–2, and Prince (2001). For more details on what work does exist on these speeches, see Literature Review below.

Scope and Methodology

The primary focus of this thesis is to explore some of the representations of Odysseus as a hero of cunning and intellect in fifth- and fourth-century Greek literature. Stanford's 1954 book, *The Ulysses Theme*, is still the most comprehensive attempt to analyse the post-Homeric Odysseus through ancient and contemporary sources. Montiglio, in her 2011 *From Villain to Hero: Odysseus in Ancient Thought*, notices Stanford's rather scant overview of Odysseus in philosophy,⁴ and proceeds to provide an insightful discussion on the use and reception of Odysseus as a character from Antisthenes to Epicurean philosophy. She briefly discusses non-philosophical renditions of Odysseus in her introduction (pp. 1-19), before beginning her main discussion with an overview of Antisthenes, whom she sees as a starting point for the rehabilitation of Odysseus' character in Greek philosophy; following Stanford,⁵ she views Athenian representations of Odysseus, prior to his treatment in philosophy, as frequently hostile.

Like Montiglio, I begin my study with Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, but from here will take a different direction. Antisthenes produced these works of forensic oratory in a rich intellectual climate, and the value of these speeches goes beyond their contribution as philosophical or epideictic works. The overall objectives of this thesis will be related to two main subjects throughout. The first is the presentation of character in Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* and Odysseus' development as an intellectual hero,⁶ who is compatible with fifth- and fourth-

⁴ Montiglio (2011) 1-2.

⁵ Stanford (1954) 90-117 discusses Odysseus in post-Homeric literature, and sees growing hostility towards Odysseus from Pindar through to tragedy.

⁶ A point to clarify is my use of the term 'intellectual hero'. In Antisthenes, Odysseus represents a hero who uses his intellect, cunning, and pragmatism to prove he is the worthier hero. To differentiate this set of qualities, I at times refer to intellectual heroism – by which I mean simply a heroic characterization which shows intellectual abilities, such as cunning and deliberation, rather

century ethical ideals. The second is to show that the reception of the character of Odysseus in Athenian literature is not as negative as has often been assumed: it is almost a truism in modern scholarship that Odysseus is a villain in Athenian drama.⁷ Antisthenes' speeches, and the celebration of intellectual ideals linked to Odysseus, act as a springboard from which I will investigate other renditions of character where attributes aligned to the hero of cunning and intellect are present. From here, a more nuanced view emerges, where Odysseus' characterization in tragedy and elsewhere can be seen in the terms of the favourable aspects to his character alongside those which make him a rogue.

I have had to be selective with which ancient authors and texts are used throughout this discussion. The first chapter gives an overview of some of the themes in the presentation of the characters in Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches; the Homeric parallels to the speeches are important for understanding how Antisthenes maintains the characterizations from epic, while exploring these characters in a (then) contemporary intellectual context. To provide context and further analyse sophistic representations of Odysseus' character, two other speeches are introduced – (pseudo?) Alcidamas' *Odysseus Against the Treachery of Palamedes* and Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes*.⁸ These speeches are similar in genre to Antisthenes', and share commonalities in civic ethics which are relevant to the characterization of Odysseus.

The second chapter is dedicated to investigating the depiction of character of a different kind, that of the idealised Athenians in Pericles' *Epitaphios*, as related by Thucydides (*History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.35-46). The antithesis between words

than just strength or normal fighting ability. I am not referring to an intellectual hero in the sense of their achievements in intellectual pursuits, which might be a more colloquial use of the term.

⁷ See literature review below.

⁸ From here on, referred to as simply *Palamedes* and *Odysseus*.

and deeds which is created by Ajax in Antisthenes is one that is also present throughout Thucydides, as is pointed out by Parry (1981). The antithesis is challenged in Pericles' speech, bringing his rendition of the Athenians in line with more intellectually astute characters like Odysseus. Thucydides' presentation of character, including his character judgements, form the basis of the second half of this chapter; and following on from this, I will investigate the parallels in the character of Odysseus and Themistocles in Herodotus (and Plutarch). Some of these parallels show that there were already Odysseus-like characteristics associated with the Athenians, even before these intellectual trends had been showcased by Antisthenes, Alcidas, Gorgias and others. My interest in the historians is purely from a literary perspective, and I make no attempt to determine if the representations are in any way accurate historically.

The last texts which I will investigate are the dramatic texts which feature Odysseus as a character. Once we have established a set of heroic qualities which are embodied by Odysseus in Antisthenes and present also in the characterizations of historical characters, a reassessment of Odysseus' characterization in drama is possible. Odysseus' character is fluid in dramatic texts – from conciliatory in Sophocles' *Ajax*, to brutally pragmatic in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. In satyr drama, he appears as a saviour for the captive satyrs in Euripides' *Cyclops*; whereas in *Hecuba*, he is the advocate for a human sacrifice which is morally questionable. However, in all of these dramatic renditions of his character, it is possible to find elements of the same attributes which won him admiration in Antisthenes, and the same attributes which were associated with Athens' greatest wartime heroes in Herodotus and Thucydides.

Throughout all these texts which I investigate, and indeed throughout classical Greek literature, I am aware that characterizations can be inconsistent and varied depending upon the point of view. For example, Odysseus' versatility as a

speaker is present in tragedy, but sometimes seen unfavourably; in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* his evil speech (κακός λόγος) and πανουργία, willingness to do anything, are described by Philoctetes (408-9). In Euripides' *Hecuba* he is ἡδυλόγος δημοχαριστής, a sweet-talking mob pleaser (132). Even in Euripides' *Cyclops* the satyrs are aware of his reputation as a babbler κρόταλον (104), a word also used to describe him in [Euripides'] *Rhesus* (499). Admittedly, most of these attacks come from his enemies, but they still show the presence of opposition to the duplicity and fast-talking which he represents. Even Odysseus himself gives his own version of anti-rhetorical ideas in Alcidas, when he opens his speech by questioning the intentions of public speakers, and suggests that they slander one another without offering benefit to the public welfare (*Odysseus* 1). The presence of contrary ideas is not a limiting factor for my arguments: my arguments are only based on the evidence that the intellectual ideas exist, not that they are exclusively the uncontested view of the fifth- and fourth-century Athenians. In fact, these ideas only represent a strand of Athenian discourse, but this strand is prevalent enough to be significant, and should be acknowledged particularly when determining how the ancient audience may have reacted to characters like Odysseus, both on stage and in prose.

Literature Review

My thesis contributes to scholarship primarily on two subjects: the study of Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, and the study of the reception of Odysseus in fifth- and fourth-century literature. Some of the existing scholarship also overlaps these two areas – for example, Stanford (1954), Morgan (2000), Worman (2002), and Montiglio (2011) – but none of these have both Antisthenes and Odysseus as their primary focus.

As I noted above, the major recent contribution to the Antisthenes scholarship has been Susan Prince's 2015 commentary.⁹ The commentary is extensive, compiling the complete testimonia and fragments of Antisthenes' work. Her comments on the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches do mention, albeit in passing, some of the points which I discuss in this thesis. For example, she notices the lack of the epithet *polutropia* in *Odysseus*' speech and compares Antisthenes' definition of the term in a testimonia of Antisthenes (t.187 Prince = 51 DC) with Plato's *Hippias Minor*;¹⁰ she also notices the *logos-ergon* distinction in *Ajax*'s speech, and refers to Parry's (1981) discussion of the distinction in Thucydides – drawing the conclusions that the distinction was under attack from intellectuals at the time. Prince remarks that perhaps *Odysseus* embodies this alternative view, which becomes the subject of my second chapter.¹¹

Prior to Prince's commentary, the first collection of Antisthenes' texts is Winckelmann's *Antisthenis Fragmenta*, in 1842. Most of the scholarship on Antisthenes before the twentieth century was German, and focused on Antisthenes as a Socratic or a Cynic: for example, Müller (1860), *De Antisthenis Cynici Vita et Scriptis*. My interest in Antisthenes' characters concentrates on their importance to literary discussions rather than their contribution to Cynic philosophy. The characters (particularly *Odysseus*) do present attributes which can be compared to the interests of the Cynic schools which developed later;¹² but that discussion takes us well beyond the fourth and fifth century. The Cynic resonances in *Odysseus*'

⁹ I would like to thank Susan Prince for allowing me to access a draft copy of the commentary some time before it was published; it has proven an invaluable resource throughout my research.

¹⁰ Prince (2015) 231.

¹¹ See Prince (2015) 205.

¹² Some of these characteristics are discussed by Höistad (1948) 97-8; philanthropia (*Od.* 8), individualism (*Od.* 8, 14) and self-abasement (*Aj.* 5, *Od.* 8, 10) are explained as Cynic *topoi*. Antisthenes is seen as a proto-Cynic because of the connection to Diogenes of Sinope attested in ancient literature (see above n.1), although as Montiglio (2011) 67 points out, most of our sources for Cynic philosophy are from far later than the founding of Cynicism by Diogenes.

character, such as his disregard for reputation if it means he can hurt the enemy (*Od.* 9), exist in other representations of Odysseus in Athenian literature as well, for example his willingness to be slandered if it achieves the primary goal in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 64-67. These types of attributes do not have to be seen exclusively as Cynic traits, even if they were of interest to Cynics centuries later.

Caizzi's 1966 *Antisthenis Fragmenta* is an important collection of the fragments and is more complete than previous editions were. The Italian commentary is fairly brief however, and compared to Prince's work, does not offer much by way of literary discussion. Giannantoni's 1990 edition of the fragments, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* (SSR) is even more comprehensive. It reorganises the numbering from Caizzi's edition, and this referencing is maintained by Prince.¹³

From a literary perspective, Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches have mainly been discussed as part of a larger work. There have been various more general studies of Antisthenes; Rankin (1986) 150-172 in *Antisthenes Sokratikos* explores Antisthenes' work, particularly in relation to his role as a Socratic. The *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches are discussed mainly as proto-Cynical, following from Höistad (1948) 94-102. Several other studies focus on the possibility of proto-Cynic ideas in the speeches, for example Goulet-Cazé (1992) and Desmond (2008) 17-18. Navia (2001), in *Antisthenes of Athens: Setting the World Aright*, contributes a substantial overview of Antisthenes' work from a philosophical perspective, but almost entirely neglects the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches.

¹³ Prince has made some minor modifications to the selection of texts from Giannantoni's edition, and has included some passages from other parts the SSR into the Antisthenes corpus. I have utilised Prince's text; because the basis of her texts is the SSR, references to passages will match the SSR. I include Caizzi's numbering for reference. All of the passages of Antisthenes cited in this thesis are present in the SSR, Caizzi's selection of texts, and of course Prince's, which is the most complete.

More recently, the variety of scholarship which has discussed the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches has grown substantially, and has not been quite as focused on the works as proto-Cynic or Socratic. Knudsen (2012), in her discussion of sophistic speeches which utilise mythic characters, considers the speeches as important evidence for the interlocking relationship between *mythos* and *logos* – where myth becomes a vehicle for rhetorical discourse. It is Odysseus' speech, she determines, which is presented as a model for the correct way to argue.

Morgan (2000) 115-9 discusses the speeches only briefly, but her comments are another thoughtful discussion of how Antisthenes brings the Homeric characters into the late fifth-century. Like most modern commentators, she believes that Odysseus is presented favourably, while Ajax's failure to accept the power of speech makes him a failure from fifth-century standards. The character of Odysseus became a mythological analogue for the versatility of the sophist and the late fifth-century Athenians. Morgan's main purpose is to show the incongruity between the mythic past and the sophistic present.

Worman (2002) 185-193 also concludes that Antisthenes probably saw the *polutropos* nature of Odysseus in a positive light. Her analysis of the speeches pays much attention to their style, and how this affects the presentation of their character – but the shifting nature of Odysseus she also sees as problematic:

'In the fraught political climate of the late fifth century, writers associated Odysseus' penchant for disguise with persuasive techniques that make overly clever use of the most manipulative aspects of character representation. This constituted an important development in Greek thinking about style, but it also led to the further denigration of the hero's versatile type.'¹⁴

¹⁴ Worman (2002) 191.

Worman also sees the importance of Odysseus in the development of stylistic theory in her 1999 paper 'Odysseus Panourgos: The Liar's Style in Tragedy and Oratory'. She argues that he comes to represent the troubling aspects of the orator and sophistic speechwriter, from his role as a fabricator of character. This may be so, but in Antisthenes, Odysseus is able to respond to the criticisms of Ajax which accuse him of being willing to anything, and his versatility is not seen as problematic.

Other commentators on the Antisthenes speeches include LévyStone (2005), who, like Montiglio and Stanford, sees Antisthenes (and the Socratic school more generally) as rehabilitators of Odysseus, whose character, he believes, had been tarnished by the fifth-century and had come to embody demagogues. Montiglio and Stanford – but especially Montiglio – have produced studies which are the most similar to the topic of this thesis. Both argue that Odysseus has become representative of demagogues in Athens by the fifth-century, and therefore is largely the villain when he appears in drama.¹⁵ Antisthenes, and perhaps to some extent Plato as well, are doing something different by showing the versatile qualities of Odysseus in a positive light. Because Montiglio's work is much more extensive, she also begins to discuss the Cynic implications of Antisthenes' Odysseus, who displays attributes which later Cynic schools would find appealing.¹⁶ Hesk (2000), in *Deception and Democracy in Classical Athens*, approaches the context of the speeches in a slightly different way to LévyStone, Montiglio and Stanford. The speeches are covered only briefly, but he concludes that Odysseus' speech is 'longer, funnier and cleverer than the somewhat inept effort of Ajax'.¹⁷ Hesk's conclusions vary from Montiglio's: Antisthenes' speeches show how techniques of *logos* can be used to relativize views on traditional military excellence, which could allow a public

¹⁵ Montiglio (2011) 2-12, Stanford (1954) 90-117.

¹⁶ Montiglio (2011) 20-37; on Cynics, see pp.66-94. For Antisthenes' Odysseus and Cynic themes, see 68-70.

¹⁷ Hesk (2000) 119-21.

'negotiability' of military trickery. He acknowledges that 'getting your hands dirty' and tricks are given value by Antisthenes, who demonstrates the conflicting representations of deceit and its moral and ideological significance.¹⁸

It is worth noting that nearly all the modern commentators on the Antisthenes *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches decide that Odysseus is being favoured by Antisthenes. The only recent exception I can find to this is an Honours thesis from the University of Sydney (Kennedy 2011), which argues that Antisthenes' philosophical concerns were more aligned to Ajax's ethical position in the speeches. Prince also notices the fact that it is normal for scholarship to believe that Antisthenes sides with Ajax, and while she does not make any clear-cut decision on the topic herself, she acknowledges that Antisthenes could be having it both ways in his presentation of two very different characters.¹⁹

The bibliography for scholarship on Thucydides and Herodotus is vast, and much of it is only of peripheral relevance to the subject of this study. There are several stand-out works which do discuss characterization in the historical literature however. For Thucydides, De Bakker (2013) is particularly useful for an overview of Thucydides' character judgements;²⁰ De Bakker stresses the importance of the scattered judgements which Thucydides makes and their contribution to both characterization and narrative. Baragwanath's 2008 book *Motivation and Narrative in Herodotus* dedicated a whole chapter to Themistocles (pp. 290-322). She links Odyssean nature to Themistocles and the Athenians, on account of their *mētis*. Her general view is also that Herodotus is not hostile to Themistocles, unlike Podlecki

¹⁸ Hesk (2000) 121. Hesk does not go so far as to say that Antisthenes' speeches suggest an acceptance of military deceit. By negotiability, he means that the usefulness of deceit and trickery was at least up for debate in the late fifth- and early fourth-centuries.

¹⁹ Prince (2015) 200. See also Prince (2006) 84, where Prince is more explicit about Antisthenes favouring Odysseus.

²⁰ De Bakker (2013) 23-40.

(1975), who argues that Herodotus uses anti-Themistoclean sources. The implications of this will become clearer in chapter 3.

Perhaps the most relevant existing work on the historians is Marincola's *Odysseus and the Historians* (2007) 1-79. The paper covers much ground, including the Odysseus-like *ponos* of writing a history; but most importantly he covers various Homeric parallels between the historians and the *Odyssey*. The scope of his study is quite different, in that it focuses very little on character in Herodotus or Themistocles. However, Marincola does also comment on the Odysseus-like nature of Themistocles.²¹ Themistocles as a trickster figure is also discussed by Fornara (1971) 72-3 and Detienne and Vernant (1991) 313-4.

Odysseus in drama, again, has a fairly vast bibliography, although there is no unified overview of Odysseus in drama since Stanford, whose single chapter was also not particularly extensive. Montiglio's main comments on Odysseus in drama are limited to her introduction and scattered references, but her work is still more relevant to this study than many longer overviews, because she focuses specifically on Odysseus' characterization. Otherwise, Blundell's (1989) *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies* addresses ethical issues in Sophocles. Despite the fact that my work discusses the 'helping friends and harming enemies' ethic, Blundell generally presents the more negative side to Odysseus' presentation in *Philoctetes*. For Euripides' *Hecuba*, Judith Mossman's (1995) *Wild Justice: A Study of Euripides' Hecuba* is a very thorough and even-handed contribution to the literature. Her discussions of Odysseus' speeches are fairly conventional in their approach to interpreting Odysseus, viewing him as a demagogue who is pushing an immoral cause.²²

²¹ Marincola (2007) 30.

²² Mossman (1995) 113-6.

The scholarship on Euripides' *Cyclops* is somewhat more sympathetic to Odysseus, although this is not exclusively the case: for example, Ussher (1978) 191, Arrowsmith (1959) 6 and Worman (2002b) 101-25 all see Odysseus as showing some unpleasant characteristics. Goins (1991) produced a very thoughtful paper which responds to the frequent criticisms of Odysseus' character. O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 45-57 discuss the roles of friendship and revenge which justifies the blinding of the Cyclops, which are important concepts for understanding Odysseus' character throughout Euripides.

This is a fairly brief overview of a selection of the literature which exists on the topic of Antisthenes and Odysseus in history and drama. As I have said, it is the work of Montiglio and Stanford which cover this topic in the most detail, although Antisthenes' speeches are not as central to their discussions as they are for my thesis. Most other studies of Antisthenes do not focus so specifically on Odysseus' characterization and its implications for other literature. Even Montiglio and Stanford only briefly mention parallels between Odysseus and the characters from Herodotus and Thucydides, even though the parallels do have an impact upon the perception of Odysseus in Athenian literature, as I discuss in chapters 2-3. Montiglio acknowledges some of the general similarities which I discuss in detail – she compares Pericles' praise of the Athenians for their daring and calculation to the Homeric Odysseus, and notes that Themistocles and his admirers did not seem to disapprove of Odysseus' cunning.²³ These comparisons, however, are beyond the scope of Montiglio's discussion, whereas I will investigate them more fully. Antisthenes' contribution to the characterization of Odysseus in fifth- and fourth-century literature is his impression of a hero of intelligence which fits the intellectual concepts of the time. Therefore, comparisons with sophistic and historic texts help to

²³ Montiglio (2011) 27.

show a continuity in the presentations of Odysseus from Antisthenes' forensic oratory through to Athenian drama.

1. Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* and Their Context

As the two speeches of Antisthenes form such a central part of this study, I will begin with a discussion of the context of the speeches, including questions of their originality, dating, and the importance of their contribution to Athenian literature. My main focus, however, is to show how Odysseus and Ajax in Antisthenes are used to display two very different types of character, and how Odysseus becomes emblematic of a set of heroic values which would resonate with the sophisticatedly astute audience. These speeches form a background to my discussions of the development of the character of Odysseus throughout a variety of fifth- and fourth-century literature; while it is not a primary focus of my thesis to investigate Antisthenes' larger contributions or his overall impact upon later Greek literature, some of the other ideas attributed to him have a bearing on the reading of the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches. One particular testimonium (t. 187 Prince = DC 51) is useful for filling in some gaps in the vocabulary of the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches.

The second part of the chapter will discuss the speeches in relation to two other epideictic trial speeches which utilise mythic characters, Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes* and Alcidamas' *Odysseus*. Alongside Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus*, these speeches are forensic oratory, but utilise familiar characters from myth – and have therefore been categorized as 'mytho-forensic.'²⁴ Together with a display of rhetorical techniques, the character and *ēthos* of the speaker becomes an element of the speeches, which are presented in the first person. All of these speeches relate in

²⁴ Knudsen (2012), as far as I am aware, is the inventor of this term. Knudsen distinguishes these speeches from the likes of Gorgias' *Helen* because *Helen* does not mimic a forensic situation, whereas the other speeches mentioned have the mythic character as speaker in some form of a trial situation.

some way to Odysseus, either as a speaker or as the opponent of the speaker, so recurring themes which emerge from the arguments help to uncover trends in the reception of his character. Some of these themes also connect Odysseus' character to Platonic/Socratic dialogues, which cannot be ignored, especially considering that Antisthenes was a well-known student of the Socratic school.²⁵ While the Socratic Odysseus and Antisthenes' role as a student of Socrates have received more extensive coverage in other studies,²⁶ at various points Platonic reworkings of Odysseus are relevant to my arguments. Odysseus and his *polutropia* in the *Hippias Minor*, for example, can be compared to themes in Antisthenes as well. I wish to use this chapter to identify various *topoi* in the presentation of Odysseus in an intellectual context, which will become a useful basis for the future discussions of heroic intelligence.

Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus*

It is unfortunate that most of Antisthenes' work survives as testimonia. The accuracy of these testimonia, and how well they represent the thoughts and works of Antisthenes, is dependent upon the extent of the agenda and the biases of the sources of the testimonia; of course, much of the time this is almost impossible to ascertain. My interest in Antisthenes' work is much more focused, and concentrates primarily on the only complete work of Antisthenes which survives: the epideictic²⁷

²⁵ According to Xenophon, *Symposium* 4.62, Antisthenes accepts the office of successor to Socrates. He is mentioned throughout the Socratic dialogues: see Prince t. 12-21.

²⁶ See Rankin (1986), and Navia (2001).

²⁷ Note Prince (1999) 59-60 does not see these as strictly epideictic, at least in Aristotelian terms. They do fit the genre of *epideixis* in that they are regarding praise and blame, which is central to the speeches (Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1358b). Prince rightfully points out that the speeches raise issues of the nature of subjectivity and connection between language and character. Kennedy (2011) 24-31 argues that the lack of respect shown to the judges is an indication that they are not simply rhetorical set pieces, which is how Worman (2002) 33 describes them. Kennedy sees them as *ethopoiia*, a study of character types. If we are not limited to Aristotle's narrow definition of *epideixis*, I see no reason not to consider the speeches rhetorical set pieces; and Prince (2015) 197 notes that these are likely to be

Ajax and *Odysseus* speeches. The speeches are a significant contribution to post-Homeric presentations of Odysseus (and Ajax) in an intellectual context (as opposed to poetic), which has been recognized by Montiglio in her work on *From Villain to Hero*.²⁸ While Montiglio discusses Antisthenes' work as part of the philosophical rehabilitation of Odysseus' character in the fourth-century, this thesis explores the traits of the Antisthenean Odysseus and investigates the prevalence of the same themes throughout ancient Greek literature which are contemporary to Antisthenes. These themes suggest that rather than a rehabilitation of Odysseus' character, Antisthenes is expressing common ethics in his speech which were already associated favourably with Odysseus.

The authenticity of the speeches is by no means certain. Diogenes Laertius listed Αἴας ἢ Αἴαντος λόγος and Ὀδυσσεὺς ἢ [Περὶ] Ὀδυσσέως <λόγος> as works of Antisthenes (*Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.15-8 = Prince t.41A = 1 DC). The combination of Lysias, Alcidas and Antisthenes on the codex could suggest that the speeches were used in a rhetorical curriculum,²⁹ although the authenticity of the speech of Alcidas has also been called into question.³⁰ Most modern commentators either argue for authenticity on stylistic grounds (Caizzi (1966) 89, Rankin (1986) 152, and Giannantoni (1990) vol.4 262– 63), or make no commitment (LévyStone (2005) 184, following Romeyer-Dherbey (1999) 129-34); but there are no strong arguments to dismiss the speeches as inauthentic.³¹ For the purposes of my

epideictic pieces intended to attract pupils. This does not mean the speeches' primary subject cannot be both praising and blaming existing qualities alongside presenting philosophical themes of knowledge, excellence, and character.

²⁸ Montiglio (2011) especially introduction and chapter one, pp. 20ff.

²⁹ This is the codex Palatinus 88 (Heidelberg). For discussion see Prince (2015) 199.

³⁰ O'Sullivan (2008) 638-47; these arguments are discussed below p. 32-3.

³¹ Prince (2015) 199 also expresses that there is no reason to doubt their authenticity. The most cohesive argument against authenticity comes from Goulet-Cazé (1992) 18-19, who argues that the speeches do not contain vocabulary we might expect in Antisthenes (notably πόνος, which is often used by Antisthenes elsewhere). However, in response to her argument that the speech of Ajax

thesis, I assume that the speeches are genuine. As my main interest is in the content of these specific speeches and their contribution to Athenian literature, their authorship is not of vital importance. The date of the speeches is of more significance, because the context of this study is ethical and intellectual concepts prevalent in the fifth- and fourth-century.

Unfortunately, the date of the speeches' composition is almost unknown. Antisthenes is believed to have lived ca. 445-365 BCE, which would mean that if genuine, the speeches are likely from the late fifth century or early fourth century. Given the nature of the speeches and their similarities in genre to Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*, Worman suggests 415 BCE³² – however, as the date of the *Encomium* is also unknown, even this is speculative. Prince proposes later, possibly 390 BCE.³³ The exact date is not important to this study, if we consider the speeches genuine, as this would limit them to the fifth- and fourth-century. If the author is not Antisthenes, then a much later date is possible. Modern scholarship has discussed these speeches assuming they are a product of the fourth century BCE at the latest. In the absence of any evidence otherwise, I will follow this example.

The speeches represent the arguments made by Ajax and Odysseus in their contest for the armour of Achilles. The story is well known in myth, with a reference to the contest as early as Homer (*Odyssey* 11.542-62). Fragments of the *Little Iliad* tell parts of the story of the judgement (*Little Iliad* F 2, West) and the awarding of the arms (*Little Iliad* Arg. 1a, West), while the aftermath is dramatized in Sophocles'

clashes with Antisthenes' beliefs, I agree with Montiglio (2011) 164 n.23; Ajax is likely to be presented as a foil to Antisthenes' favourite hero, Odysseus, so not all his beliefs will necessarily be ones endorsed by Antisthenes himself. As epideictic speeches with an interest in character, there is no reason either speeches are expected to completely fit with Antisthenes' beliefs in his other works and testimonia.

³² Worman (2002) 170.

³³ Prince (1999) 56.

Ajax.³⁴ The speech of Ajax is much shorter than that of Odysseus, which may in itself be indicative of his character – Ajax is the quiet hero, who denounces the power of words even in his short speech, while Odysseus is expected to be rhetorically more masterful and loquacious. Hostility to words is not an explicit attribute of Ajax in Homer, but there are marked differences in descriptions of Ajax and Odysseus relating to their ability as a speaker: Ajax is described as ἀμαρτοεπής, erring in words, by Hector (*Iliad* 13.824), and produces the shortest, and most pessimistic, speech in the embassy to Achilles (*Iliad* 9.625-6 – he says nothing will be accomplished with words, οὐ γάρ μοι δοκεί μύθοιο τελευτὴ τῇδὲ γ’ ὁδῶ κρανέεσθαι). Even in the *Odyssey*, Ajax appears to Odysseus in the Underworld but is silent, refusing to speak (*Odyssey* 11.563-4). While never praised for his ability in speech or in council, his blunt rhetoric in the embassy scene seems to be the most effective, yielding the biggest concession from Achilles, who considers Ajax has spoken in accordance with his own mind (*Iliad* 9.645: although Achilles is still not persuaded, he concedes he will stay at Troy rather than leaving the next day). Odysseus, on the other hand, is presented as a technically masterful speaker, particularly at *Iliad* 3.203-24, where the eloquence of his words is described by Antenor.

The Antisthenes speeches, unsurprisingly, contain multiple allusions to Homer, which both accentuate the Homeric differences in character between Odysseus and Ajax, and reference the events from the epic cycle which the characters have yet to experience. Ajax’s early statement of ὅτι ἐμὲ μὲν ἔδει σιωπᾶν, τούτῳ δ’ οὐδὲν ἄν ἦν πλεον λέγοντι, ‘For I know that it would be right for me to keep silent, and for him who speaks more there would be no advantage’, is

³⁴ These are but a few examples. Fragments of Aeschylus’ *Hoplôn Krisis* (TrGF 174-177, Radt) indicate that the contest itself was also the subject of a tragedy, and the contest is alluded to in Pindar (*Nemean* 7 and 8, *Isthmian* 4) and depicted in art (*LIMC* Aias (I) 110, 118, 120, 121, 125).

potentially a reference to his silence in *Odyssey* 11.563-4.³⁵ Odysseus' speech evokes several Homeric descriptions of Ajax. He says that Ajax rushes into battle like a wild boar (*Od.* 6), mirroring Homer's description of Hector and Ajax as lions or wild boars during their duel, *Iliad* 7.255-7. The seven-layered shield carried by Ajax saves him twice several lines later, *Iliad* 7.259, 266; it is also described just before this duel takes place, with both its seven-layer construction and a simile comparing it to a city wall (*Iliad* 7.219-23).

The wall-like defensive armament of the Homeric Ajax is a point of contention for Antisthenes' Odysseus, who first claims that Ajax's invulnerable armour amounts to the same as him sitting behind a wall (*Od.* 7), and he suggests that Ajax alone surrounds himself with his wall-like shield. The seven layers of ox hide which form the shield's construction, ἑπταβόειον, are further alluded to in Odysseus' foretelling of how Ajax will be described by a future poet:

σὲ δέ, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, τὴν φύσιν ἀπεικάζων τοῖς τε νωθέσιν ὄνοις καὶ
βουσι τοῖς φορβάσιν...

(*Od.*14)

[he will portray you] I think, by comparing you in your nature to dull asses
and oxen that graze in the pasture...³⁶

Ajax will be compared to the oxen which his shield is made from.³⁷ In Homer this appears as a simile describing the two Ajax's fighting together as if yoked cattle (*Iliad* 13.703). The 'dull asses' refers to another simile in Homer which compares Ajax to an ass being beaten back by children with sticks, as he retreats reluctantly (*Iliad* 11.558-65). In Homer, this is meant positively, as it shows Ajax's stubbornness and imperviousness to the Trojan onslaught in his retreat, whereas Antisthenes'

³⁵ Prince (2015) 202 makes this observation.

³⁶ Translations of Antisthenes are generally taken from Prince (2015) but sometimes slightly modified. The text used throughout is Prince (2015).

³⁷ See Prince (2015) 224.

Odysseus uses the reference to highlight Ajax's lack of dynamism and his sluggishness.

Odysseus' ability to predict Ajax's future goes further than events in Homer – he also concludes that Ajax's bad temper will result in some harm to himself (*Od.* 5), and warns that he may kill himself by falling upon something (*Od.* 6), a reference to the eventual suicide of Ajax told in the epic tradition and by Pindar, Sophocles and others. His predictions are purposefully uncertain, rather than confidently omniscient: he argues that Ajax harming himself is likely according to probability, ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων.³⁸ The use of *eikos* is significant; it serves as a central theme in Gorgias' *Helen* in his explanation of her behaviour (*Helen* 5). The appearance of the phrase, ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων τι χρὴ τεκμαίρεσθαι,³⁹ 'but if there is any conclusion that should be drawn from the evidence of probability', gives Odysseus' speech a more rhetorically sophisticated feel, in line with the fourth-century interest in evidence and likelihood.⁴⁰ The Platonic Socrates criticises the likes of Gorgias and Tisias, οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν τὰ εἰκότα εἶδον ὡς τιμητέα μᾶλλον, 'who considered likelihoods more esteemed than truths' (*Phaedrus* 267a), but *eikos* is used primarily as a way of making conjectures about the truth when the facts cannot be certain (as in

³⁸ Prince (2015) 222 comments also on Odysseus' use of οἶομαι, both here at *Od.* 5 and later at *Od.* 14, as a 'modest epistemic verb'; he only conjectures that he thinks something is going to happen, but does not pretend to know it. Odysseus only uses οἶδα only when he is describing his knowledge of the enemy, *Od.* 8. I discuss this in more detail below, see p. 56-7 (chapter 2).

³⁹ Here Odysseus uses εἰκότα as the basis to form a judgement, τεκμαίρεσθαι. As a noun, τεκμήριον is often used as a word for an argumentative proof (see Hesk (2000) 285, who uses Isaeus 4.12 and 8.6 as examples; another appears in Alcidas *Odysseus* 10). An argumentative proof (as opposed to τεκμήριον referring to actual evidence) may not be always considered more solid or preferable to arguments of εἰκότα, probability; see Antiphon *Tetralogies* 2.4.10. Prince (2015) 222 still considers this 'evidence' from 'what is probable' might be a violation of the epistemic possibilities in the terms of contemporary dicastic theory.

⁴⁰ Agreeing with Knudsen (2014) 141.

Gorgias *Palamedes* 9, Alcidamas *Odysseus* 10, Antiphon *On the Murder of Herodes* 5.26).⁴¹ This level of sophistication is absent completely from Ajax's speech.

Odysseus' predictions and references to Homer extend to his own future reputation in song:

οἶμαι δέ, ἄν ποτέ τις ἄρα σοφὸς ποιητὴς περὶ ἀρετῆς γένηται, ἐμὲ
μὲν ποιήσει πολύτλαντα καὶ πολύμητιν καὶ πολυμήχανον καὶ
πτολίπορθον καὶ μόνον τὴν Τροίαν ἐλόντα

(Od.14)

*But I think, if some poet who is wise about excellence ever comes along, he
will portray me having suffered many challenges, with many wits and many
resources, a sacker of cities and the lone destroyer of Troy.*

The σοφὸς ποιητὴς which Odysseus describes, and the implicit praise of Homer, is consistent with Antisthenes' interest in and appreciation of Homer.⁴² Three of these epithets, πολύτλας, πολύμητις, and πολυμήχανος, are frequently used for Odysseus in Homer. However, *polutropos* is notably absent, even though Ajax's use of the word ὁμοιότροπος (*Aj.* 5), referring to a man of the same nature as himself (and therefore the opposite of *polutropos*), appears to be an allusion to the epithet commonly used for Odysseus. To explain some of the nuances behind this term in Antisthenes, I shall briefly digress to discuss another testimonium of Antisthenes which makes the value of Odysseus' *polutropia* clearer.

⁴¹ In relation to *Palamedes*, Knudsen calls arguments based on *eikos* and *ēthos* a fifth-century sophistic innovation. There has been considerable discussion on *eikos* in ancient Greek rhetoric. For an overview, see Gagarin (1994) 46f and (1997) 13-6, Cooper (2007) 203-19. On Gorgias' *Helen*, see Wardy (2005) 33-5. For the origin of *eikos* arguments, see Schiappa (1999) 35-39 and O'Sullivan (1992) 28. Knudsen (2014) 137ff discusses the history of the *eikos* argument prior to Plato, and includes the Antisthenes speeches as evidence of a transmission of rhetorical ideas from Homer to Aristotle.

⁴² See Prince (2015) 230. Antisthenes' appreciation of Homer is found in testimonia from Homeric scholia, Prince t.188-92 = 52-56 DC.

Antisthenes and Versatility in Rhetoric: *Testimonia* t.187

From the very beginning of Ajax's speech, Ajax sets about to isolate himself from his audience. Throughout, he attacks the judges' suitability to even make a judgement, using variations upon the statement 'you judges who know nothing' (*Aj.* 1, 4, 7, 8). Knudsen refers to his approach as what 'not to do when arguing a case';⁴³ Morgan refers to it as an 'intellectual failure.'⁴⁴ Ajax's insulting tone to the judges is completely contrary to the rhetorical technique of *eunoia* – winning the good will of the audience – which is advocated by Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 3.14.7).⁴⁵

Odysseus makes the claim that his response to Ajax is the same as it is to all the Greeks: οὐ πρὸς σέ μοι μόνον ὁ λόγος, δι' ὃν ἀνέστην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, 'The argument for which I stand is not addressed to you alone, but also all the others' (*Od.* 1). He even says he would say the same thing if Achilles were still alive; perhaps this is paying lip service to the fact we would expect Odysseus to be telling a different story for different people and situations, or perhaps this statement is an indicator of the versatility of the arguments we are about to hear – the speech is well suited to both the audience of the judges and Ajax, and would be appropriate even if Achilles were still alive.⁴⁶ The emphasis here is his conviction that he has done more good to the army than anyone else, and he would say this to anyone.⁴⁷

⁴³ Knudsen (2012) 51.

⁴⁴ Morgan (2000) 116.

⁴⁵ Aristotle also advocates for disposing the audience in a favourable way, τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναι πῶς, *Rhetoric* 1.2.3.

⁴⁶ As noted by Prince (2015) 216, Odysseus seems to be responding to words spoken by Sophoclean Ajax (Sophocles *Ajax* 442–4). Here Ajax states that if Achilles could have been the judge for the awarding of the armour, he would have selected Ajax as the winner over Odysseus. Antisthenes' Odysseus makes it clear that he would make the same arguments even if Achilles were in fact alive.

⁴⁷ By setting up a comparison with Achilles, Odysseus speech draws upon the same opposition which is the subject of Plato's *Hippias Minor* and is mentioned in the Antisthenes testimonia t. 187, discussed below.

Yet elsewhere, Antisthenes' discussions of Odysseus show some indications of the favourable side of adapting the speech to an audience. Homeric scholia, attributed to Porphyry, reveal how Antisthenes' work on Odysseus as '*polutropos*' brings this element of his character into the context of fourth-century rhetorical discussions:

πολύτροπον· οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν φησιν Ἀντισθένης Ὅμηρον τὸν Ὀδυσσέα μᾶλλον ἢ ψέγειν, λέγοντα αὐτὸν 'πολύτροπον'· οὐκ οὖν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Αἴαντα πολυτρόπους πεποιηκέναι, ἀλλ' ἀπλοῦς καὶ γεννάδας·

(Antisthenes *scholia* at Odyssey 1.1 and Iliad 9.305, attributed to Porphyry = Prince t.187 1-2 = 51 DC)

Polytropic: Antisthenes says that Homer does not praise Odysseus more than he blames him in calling him 'polytropic.' Indeed, he has not made Achilles and Ajax polytropic, but simple and noble.

The opening of the scholia suggests that *polytropos* (translated above by Prince as *polytropic*) is discussed as an ambiguous term in Antisthenes' work. A dichotomy is created between *polutropos* and 'simple and noble', ἀπλοῦς καὶ γεννάδας. It is difficult to tell from this passage if it is assumed that *polutropos* is normally negative, and perhaps has been attacked as a negative trait by an interlocutor in the dialogue;⁴⁸ certainly, as I shall discuss, the passage goes on to give a complimentary account of versatility as an element of Odysseus' *sophia*.

The use of ἀπλοῦς as a foil to πολύτροπον brings with it connotations from other uses in fourth-century intellectual thought. This passage attributed to Antisthenes bears a striking resemblance to Plato's *Hippias Minor*, which causes

⁴⁸ γεννάδας would normally be positive. For example, in Thucydides' descriptions of brutality in the Corcyrean stasis, γενναῖος is used in combination with εὐήθης (good-heartedness) as a contrast to the iniquity which had taken root (Thuc. 3.83.1). ἀπλοῦς is not present in this example, but there is still a contrast between noble and simple vs. mistrust (ἄπιστος). In this case, unlike in Antisthenes or Plato, there is no redeeming facet to the opposite of γενναῖος.

Prince, Montiglio, and Caizzi to suggest that Hippias could be the interlocutor, if this excerpt itself is from a dialogue.⁴⁹ Both works discuss Odysseus in relation to his *polutropia*; in Plato, the comparison of Odysseus to Achilles and Nestor leads Hippias to call him the most versatile, πολυτροπώτατον (*Hippias Minor* 364c). Hippias then calls Odysseus both versatile *and* false, πολύτροπός τε καὶ ψευδής, as contrasted to Achilles who is ἀληθής τε καὶ ἀπλοῦς, truthful and simple (*Hippias Minor* 365b). Socrates proceeds to investigate Hippias' views until the conclusion is reached that Odysseus is in fact better than Achilles, because he knowingly is able to tell the truth and lie, and therefore can do unjust things voluntarily (*Hippias Minor* 376b). This conclusion creates some confusion even for Socrates, but in doing so challenges the perception of deception in relation to the Homeric heroes.⁵⁰

In Plato's *Republic*, Glaucon uses the same phrase as Antisthenes, 'simple and noble man', ἄνδρα ἀπλοῦν καὶ γενναῖον, in his descriptions of a justice as a social contract. However, in this example, even though the just man (*dikaios*) is simple and noble, he would not appear to be so; while the perfectly unjust man would be able to be unjust while escaping detection, or else he is a bungler, *phaulon*.⁵¹ Despite being unjust, he would have a reputation for justice, while the just man would not soften on account of winning a poor reputation. In fact, if he did have a reputation for injustice, one would not know if he were really acting justly or for the sake of

⁴⁹ See Caizzi (1966) 104-5, Montiglio (2011) 22, and Prince (2015) 598-9; it is also discussed by Brancacci (1990) 47-52, and LévyStone (2005) 196 n. 47. There is not enough evidence to make a firm conclusion, but the distinct similarities suggest that the testimonia may have originally been part of a Socratic dialogue. Caizzi accepts that for Antisthenes, at least, *polutropos* and Odysseus' corresponding *sophia* is presented positively, whereas in Plato's work the final conclusion is more ambiguous.

⁵⁰ A complete discussion is offered by Montiglio (2011) 38ff. As she discusses, there is division amongst scholarship when it comes to the conclusion of *Hippias Minor*. Blundell (1992) 131-72 argues that Plato is conflating Odysseus with the versatile but disingenuous Sophist, and criticising this aspect of Athenian character (see particularly p. 166-7). LévyStone (2005), on the other hand, sees the dialogue as evidence of Plato's (and perhaps Socrates') high regard for Odysseus as a character.

⁵¹ This parallels Xenophon's *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 2.7-9, where the boys are encouraged to steal but punished when caught, not for stealing, but for stealing badly.

appearances only (*Republic* 2.361a-c).⁵² This tautological argument launches Socrates into a lengthy discussion of justice in the *Republic*,⁵³ but a questioning of the ethic of the simple man being the better has been raised in relation to justice.

While ultimately Glaucon's paradoxical argument makes the just man seem unjust, *haplous* does not become a universally desirable word to describe one's conduct.⁵⁴ Just as Glaucon goes on to say that the unjust man will be able to benefit his friends and harm his enemies (*Republic* 2.362b-c), Xenophon's Socrates explores differences in just behaviour to friends and enemies. It is first considered justice to deceive the enemy in wartime (the verb to deceive used here is *ἐξαπατάω*, *Memorabilia* 4.2.15); but to friends, one's conduct should be *ἀπλούστατον*, most straightforward (*Memorabilia* 4.2.16). Socrates questions this even further, showing that deceiving friends – whether it is a general lying to his troops to maintain morale or a father tricking his sick son into taking necessary medicine – is still considered just, so in this way it is not always necessary to act in a straightforward way, 'ἀπλοῖζεσθαί' (*Memorabilia* 4.2.17), but may be just, in fact, to do the opposite. Plato's *Philosopher Kings* must use falsehood and deception (*τῷ ψεύδει καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ*) for the benefits of their subjects (*Republic* 5.459c-d).

⁵² This is reminiscent of Diodotus' insistence that one must be deceptive just to be believed in the Assembly; see Thucydides 3.43.2–3. For a more complete discussion of this passage will be discussed in chapter 2; see also and Debnar (2000) 161-78. The example also gives evidence of a prevalent paradoxical idea in Athenian thought that even the honest must be deceptive in order to persuade.

⁵³ The reputational argument lies somewhat dormant until re-emerging in the guise of the mythical story of Er in Book 10 (*Republic* 10.614–10.621). Odysseus is the character who forgoes reputation and is emblematic of self-knowledge, and perhaps Glaucon's argument here is close to this idea of Odysseus; the simple and just man surprisingly will not look like it on the surface, and Odysseus' choice of the simple life coincides with this; he has inward wisdom, but it is not visible externally.

⁵⁴ It is debatable if even Glaucon sees *haplous* as positive. While he agrees that the just man is *haplous*, the rest of his argument is based on the idea that the just man actually has a much worse life than the unjust (*Republic* 2.361e-362b) which is not explored in enough detail for the discussion to extend to any proto-Cynic nuances (that is, a belief in a virtuous but simple life without the conventional motivations of wealth and power).

The complexity of this opposition between *haplous* as good (simple and straightforward) and bad (simple and unintellectual) is evident in a short passage from Isocrates' *To Nicocles*:⁵⁵

οἱ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις φθονοῦσι μὲν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν, ἀπλοῦς δ' ἡγοῦνται τοὺς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας...

(Isocrates *To Nicocles* 2.46)

*They (the majority of men) are begrudging towards those of good sense, but consider those lacking understanding to be guileless.*⁵⁶

Here *phronesis* is contrasted to not having sense or understanding, and is a source of envy in others; however, *haplous* is attributed to those who are lacking in sense by most people. *Haplous* itself is not presented as a negative trait, in fact the very men who are envious of those of sense see it as favourable. Yet, it is their own jealousy and ignorance which makes them overlook those with *phronesis*. Interestingly, at 2.45, Isocrates describes this majority (of men) as preferring pleasure which is contrary to what is best for them. They regard men of duty to be leading a life which is φιλόπονος, laborious. Isocrates presents this majority as short sighted, and opposed by nature to act in a way which is dutiful or virtuous. The danger is that good sense is mistrusted,⁵⁷ paving the way for the thoughtless who nonetheless have a good reputation. It is important to bear in mind that in this context, Isocrates' speech is to the King of Salamis, and therefore his references to the 'majority' are to be read as a commentary on democracy – and indeed its shortcomings. Still, the sentiments concerning *haplous* as opposed to *phronesis*, and the folly of seeing

⁵⁵ The distinction is used by Forster (1912) 128 in his commentary of Isocrates' *Cyprian Orations*.

⁵⁶ Translations of texts other than Antisthenes are my own unless otherwise attributed.

⁵⁷ The opposite of *haplous* is sometimes seen as guile; for example, in Aristophanes' *Plutus* 1158-9, δολόω is contrasted to ἀπλόω.

guilelessness when in fact there is a lack of understanding, fit neatly into the treatment of *haplous* by Plato, Xenophon, and Antisthenes.

In the testimonia, Antisthenes poses the rhetorical question, is Odysseus wicked (in Homer) because he is *polutropos*? The response is no – it is on account of his wisdom/cleverness, *sophia*, that Odysseus is so described. Odysseus' versatility has a particular application in speaking to others:

εἰ δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ εἰσι, διὰ τοῦτό φησι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα σοφὸν
ὄντα πολύτροπον εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡπίστατο πολλοῖς
τρόποις συνεῖναι.

(Antisthenes t.187.6 Prince = DC 51)

And if the wise are also good, for this reason he [Homer] says that Odysseus, being wise, is polytropic, because he of course knew how to converse with people in many ways.

This wisdom and versatility of speech is an ability to speak to people in many ways. It is the type of flexibility which is useful and, importantly, good. Odysseus is not wicked for being *polutropos* because Antisthenes breaks down the meaning of the word and sees the benefit of being able to intelligently change his speech; and another example is given using Pythagoras, who is able to create boyish speeches for boys, or suitably harmonious speeches for women (Antisthenes t.187.7). This use of *polytropic* is extended to medicine – where the cure must be varied to suit the patient (t.187.9).⁵⁸

In Odysseus' speech, this kind of *polutropia* cannot really be presented, as the speech is a single monologue to one audience. Instead, the versatility of the speech is

⁵⁸ Montiglio (2011) 21-3 discusses this passage as a defence of Odysseus' character by Antisthenes. Her arguments that Antisthenes presents Odysseus as *sophos* and *polutropos* in an unambiguously positive moral sense are a good assessment of the passage. See also Hesk (2000) 35, and Caizzi (1966) 106-7, who discusses this in relation to the presentation of Antisthenes as a networker in Xenophon's *Symposium* 4.64.

created from Odysseus' broad pitch: his speech is directed at everyone, not just Ajax: οὐ πρὸς σέ μοι μόνον ὁ λόγος, 'my argument is not to you alone' (*Od.* 1). Ajax, on the contrary, begins and finishes his speech with himself as the subject. He starts by saying by whom he would like to be judged, and finishes with a description of himself standing alone in the front ranks (*Aj.* 9).⁵⁹ The superiority of the scope of Odysseus' speech manifests itself in one of the primary functions of his argument; unlike Ajax, who attempts to prove that he is a better man than his shifty opponent, Odysseus seeks to prove that rather than merely appearing noble, he acts in a way which benefits the whole army (stated explicitly at *Od.* 1-2 and 9). Acting in the common interest becomes a major theme throughout Odysseus' presentation throughout Athenian fifth- and fourth-century literature, especially as a justification for behaviour which might otherwise be questionable.⁶⁰ In Antisthenes, Ajax does not mention any good he does for the whole army. By accusing Odysseus of acting shamelessly, he gives Odysseus the chance to refute these accusations and claim that it was all done for the public good. This theme is present in other presentations of Odysseus in forensic oratory, and I will turn now to Alcidamas' *Odysseus* and Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes* to investigate some of the nuances.

Odysseus in Alcidamas and Gorgias

Alcidamas' *Odysseus* and Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes* were possibly paired in antiquity. Alcidamas' speech appears to be a response to the *Defence of Palamedes*, which is most likely the earliest of the 'mytho-forensic' speeches.⁶¹ Alcidamas' *Odysseus* speech is not as well studied as those of Gorgias, or even Antisthenes. It has

⁵⁹ The self-centredness of the open and close of Ajax's speech, compared to Odysseus' broad speech to all, is noted by Prince (2015) 216. She points out that this implies Odysseus rejects the polarizing contest with Ajax, and makes the speech about bigger issues which involve everyone.

⁶⁰ In particular, this is true in drama, where Odysseus is seen as the villain – but who justifies his behaviour for the good of his fellow Greeks. For discussion in detail, see chapter 5.

⁶¹ See Knudsen (2012) 36, and Segal (1962) 100.

received most attention recently concerning questions of its authenticity. Neil O'Sullivan (2008) argued that it is in fact not Alcidas basing his arguments on linguistic considerations, and it was not even produced in the same intellectual period, but late grammatical elements of the speech must place it in the first century CE; Mariß (2002) believes it is from the same time period as Alcidas even if she does not make any conclusions of her own about the exact authorship. Muir's 2001 commentary assumes it is in fact genuine.⁶² The authorship of the speech does not have any real effect on my argument here, although naturally I would like to be able to assume that the work was written sometime in the period following Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes* and certainly by the early fourth-century. If it is in fact just a rather good mimic of Attic, at least that some of the arguments in the speech are likely modelled on ones familiar to the fifth- and fourth-century Athenian audience as well. This approach has clearly been taken by Knudsen, who discusses all four of the mythic forensic speeches together.⁶³

These speeches are interesting because they both make a case for acting for the common good of all. In the case of Palamedes, he lists the good things he has done for the Greeks specifically, and for Alcidas' Odysseus, the importance of acting in the common interest is phrased in more general gnomic statements. Palamedes' speech largely consists of developing a case based on *eikos*, and why it is unlikely that the accusations against him are true. The audience also learns that Palamedes, like Odysseus, is a hero of intelligence and craft; like Odysseus in Antisthenes, he claims to be not lazy in battles, but adds that he is not useless in councils (*Palamedes* 32). He says his accusers have accused him of σοφία, cleverness,

⁶² See Muir (2001) v, Mariß (2002) 18-20, O'Sullivan (2008) 638-647. For a more detailed overview of Alcidas and his work see for example Muir (2001) and Edwards (2007).

⁶³ Knudsen (2012) *passim*, and Knudsen (2014) 136-46. Worman (2002) 149-92 discusses these speeches in relation to the presentation of character in Athenian literature; Odysseus and Helen are used as examples.

and by this they mean τεχνήεντά τε καὶ δεινὸν καὶ πόριμον, cunning, capable and inventive (*Palamedes* 25). Indeed, Alcidas' Odysseus says of Palamedes: ὁ δὲ ἀνήρ ἐστι φιλόσοφος τε καὶ δεινός, 'the man is capable/powerful and philosophic' (*Odysseus* 4).

Palamedes' capabilities and cleverness are made evident when he explains all the good he has done for the Greeks, which includes inventions such as military strategy, writing, laws and beacons (*Palamedes* 30). Odysseus' speech in Alcidas shows that he is aware that Palamedes can lay claim to helping the Greeks from inventions, so he is careful to disassemble the arguments of Palamedes by refuting the possibility that he did in fact invent military strategy, letters, music, numbers, and coinage. The real inventors are given as evidence; in Gorgias' *Palamedes*, coinage and music are not present. Odysseus then admits Palamedes did invent weights and measures, dice, and fire beacons, but argues that all of these were not even beneficial, but a curse (*Odysseus* 22-8).⁶⁴ This is the strongest evidence that Alcidas' speech is a direct response to Gorgias', and it is also worth noting that Gorgias' *Palamedes* and Alcidas' *Odysseus* are preserved on the same manuscript.⁶⁵ While Gorgias' Palamedes tries to show that he has created things which benefitted everyone, Odysseus in Alcidas invokes the ethic of acting for the common good to explain that he is putting personal arguments aside, and to stress that if Palamedes is not punished it will set a bad example for the whole army (*Odysseus* 3 and 29 respectively).⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Fire beacons, which Odysseus says were used against the Greeks by their enemies, were used by the Persians in the Persian Wars (Herodotus *Histories* 9.3, as noted by Gagarin and Woodruff (1995) 289).

⁶⁵ Codex Crippsianus (Burney 95). See also MacDowell (1961), Knudsen (2012) 32.

⁶⁶ Muir (2001) 85 explains how the idea of public implications of not punishing wrongdoers is commonly used in court-room epilogues; see [Demosthenes] 59.112, Lysias 12.35, 22.19-20, 27.7, 30.23, Demosthenes 50.66, 54.43, Gorgias *Palamedes* 36, Andocides 1.140. In the case of law-court rhetoric, there is often an argument from the accusation that to accuse and punish the defendant of a serious

Palamedes argues that the benefit he has done for all the Greeks cannot be refuted:

φήσαιμι δ' ἄν, καὶ φήσας οὐκ ἂν ψευσαίμην οὐδ' ἂν ἐλεγχθείην, οὐ
μόνον ἀναμάρτητος ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγας εὐεργέτης ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, οὐμόνον τῶν νῦν ὄντων
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μελλόντων, εἶναι.

(Gorgias, *Palamedes* 30)

But I would say – and in so speaking I would not be lying, nor could I be refuted – that I am not only faultless but also a great benefactor of you and all the Greeks and all men, not only those now living but those to come.

His dismissal of the possibility of refutation, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλεγχθείην, is met by Alcidas' refutations in *Odysseus* 22-8. There is a commonality here between Palamedes' speech and that of Antisthenes' *Ajax*, who states:

...καὶ γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος οὐ λόγῳ κρίνεται ἀλλ' ἔργῳ: οὐδ' ἀντιλέγειν
ἔξεστι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ἢ μαχομένους κρατεῖν ἢ
δουλεύειν σιωπῇ.

(Aj. 7)

... For war, also, is decided not by word but by deed: nor is it possible to refute the enemy in argument, but only to win by fighting or to serve as a slave, in silence.

Ajax creates an antithesis between words and deeds, and denounces the value of λόγος. I will discuss this antithesis and Ajax's position in more detail in the following chapter; but it is worth noting at this point how Ajax also dismisses the possibility of contradiction. In doing so he uses a phrase similar to the sophistic idea that it is not possible to contradict, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν, which is meant in a

crime, for example a murder, is to act in conjunction with the interests of the state and the common good because it will result in lifting the pollution the defendant has brought upon the state. For example, this appears regularly in Antiphon's *Tetralogies*: *Antiphon First Tetralogy* 2 1.1, 1.10-11, 3.11, *Second Tetralogy* 3 1.2, 3.11, *Third Tetralogy* 4 1.5, 3.7.

relativistic rather than the absolute sense.⁶⁷ Ajax, rather than meaning it is impossible to contradict because there are two sides to every story,⁶⁸ instead here simply implies that words cannot be used in battle to refute an enemy. Palamedes' statement might be seen as similarly simplistic to the sophistic audience. He also shows doubts about the ability of λόγοι to ascertain the truth, when he says that it is not possible for truth (ἀλήθεια) of deeds (τῶν ἔργων) to become clear from words (διὰ τῶν λόγων), and asks the judges to make their decision based on truth, μετὰ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας (*Palamedes* 35).⁶⁹ He reminds the jury that by convicting him they will be killing a fellow Greek, who has been their benefactor (*Palamedes* 36).

The claims by Palamedes in the later parts of the speech, that he has acted for the good of all men, not only Greeks – in fact, all men to come as well – is more expansive than an earlier statement he has made by this point: at *Palamedes* 3, he claims that if the accusations were true, Odysseus would be ἄριστος if he 'saves (σώζει) the fatherland, his parents, and all Greece'. In Antisthenes, Odysseus claims he saves Ajax and 'all the others', τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας σώζω (*Od.* 8 – full passage below). Montiglio notices the similarity here, but argues that Antisthenes distances his version of Odysseus from Gorgias' Palamedes by removing the patriotic element and therefore creating a hero who has a care for 'humanity as a whole'.⁷⁰ However,

⁶⁷ This phrase is attributed to Protagoras and Antisthenes in ancient sources (Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 9.8.53, 6.1.1-2).

⁶⁸ See for example *Dissoi Logoi* (90 DK), where it is shown that every statement can be switched to be true from one perspective, but false from another.

⁶⁹ Denying the ability of words to reveal the truth is a self-defeating move from Palamedes. He fails to bring witnesses or firm evidence, so words are his only weapon. See Morgan (2000) 120-1, who notes that at this point we are reminded the speech is a failure. The doubt in the ability of words separates Palamedes from the view taken by Gorgias in *Helen* (8-10), where Gorgias imbues λόγος with immense power and the ability to create θεϊότατα ἔργα. However, unlike Ajax in Antisthenes, Palamedes does not make λόγος less powerful than ἔργα – he simply cannot transmit the truth of the ἔργα via λόγοι.

⁷⁰ Montiglio (2011) 30. See also n.48, where Montiglio admits that Palamedes has made a more general claim to be useful to all humanity as well, but dismisses it because it is in the capacity of an inventor

the evidence suggests that rather than creating anything new with Odysseus, Antisthenes is adhering to a familiar role for the hero of intelligence; that of saving others, and harming the enemy:

εἰμὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ φύλαξ καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, καὶ οἶδα τὰ τ' ἐνθάδε καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐχὶ πέμπων κατασχεψόμενον ἄλλον· ἀλλ' αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἱ κυβερνῆται τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν σκοποῦσιν ὅπως σώσουσι τοὺς ναύτας, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας σῶζω. οὐδ' ἔστιν ὄντινα κίνδυνον ἔφυγον αἰσχροῦν ἡγησάμενος, ἐν ᾧ μέλλοιμι τοὺς πολεμίους κακὸν τι δράσειν· οὐδ' εἰ μὲν ὤψεσθαί μὲ τινες ἔμελλον, γλιχόμενος ἂν τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐτόλμων· ἀλλ' εἴτε δοῦλος εἴτε πτωχὸς καὶ μαστιγίας ὧν μέλλοιμι τοὺς πολεμίους κακὸν τι δράσειν, ἐπεχείρουν ἂν, καὶ εἰ μηδεὶς ὁρῶη.

(Antisthenes *Od.* 8-9)

I am thus the leader and the protector of you and all the rest; I know the situation in the enemy camp as well as here, not because I send someone else to reconnoitre but because I go myself. Like the captain, who watches day and night so he can save his crew, I keep you and everyone safe. I did not avoid any danger I thought was shameful, if it allowed me to do harm to the enemy, nor did I take risks when someone would see me just for appearance's sake. But if I could harm the enemy by being a slave or a beggar or a rogue, I would take on the role even if no one was watching.

There is no suggestion here that Odysseus means anyone other than his fellow Greeks. While proving his sacrifices for the common good, he shows how he does these in line with causing evil to the enemy – which contradicts the idea that he ‘saves’ humanity as a whole.⁷¹ His contribution to the common good is that he hurts the enemy even when no-one is watching, and even if it means he has to do things which Ajax considers αἰσχροῦς.

rather than a soldier or politician. The argument is to present Odysseus as a potential emblem of Cynic ideals; see Höistad (1948) 100, and Montiglio (2011) chapter 3.

⁷¹ It does, however, place him in the position of leader, or general (στρατηγός), and therefore make him unique amongst his friends. The analogy of the captain is used by Odysseus also in Soph. *Ajax* 35, to describe how Athena guides him.

Helping friends and harming the enemy is a sentiment accepted by Gorgias' Palamedes as well. At *Palamedes* 18, he argues that someone might commit a crime if it were to help friends and harm enemies, but if he was guilty of the charges levelled against him he would be doing the opposite. Causing harm to friends is a perversion of the traditional ethic – even the pain which the angered Achilles causes the Greeks is presented as problematic in the opening lines of the *Iliad*.⁷² The Platonic Socrates appears to be among the first to break this ethic from a philosophical standpoint in the *Republic* 2.335D-336A, and again in the *Crito* 49B-C, where the idea that it is wrong to do an evil to anyone, friend or foe.

It is no surprise, then, that the same kind of ethic is repeated at the end of Alcidas' *Odysseus* speech:

ἀρετὴ δέ ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσέχειν καὶ τὸ
προσταττόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ τῷ πλήθει ἀρέσκειν παντί, αὐτόν τε
παρέχειν ἄνδρα πανταχοῦ ἀγαθόν, τοὺς τε φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα
καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς.

(Alcidas *Odysseus* 28)

Now, for a man to have aretē he must pay attention to his leaders, follow orders, serve the whole community, conduct himself as a good man in every respect, and help his friends and harm his enemies.

Alcidas' *Odysseus* sums up with a definition of *aretē* which includes helping friends and harming enemies. Working for the common good in this passage is not as explicit in this passage as it is in Antisthenes and Gorgias' speeches. Serving the community (the *πλήθος*) is not the same as sacrificing on their behalf; ἀρέσκειν carries a meaning of pleasing or conforming (LSJ sv ἀρέσκω). Alcidas' *Odysseus*, in other parts of the speech, makes a stronger case for more actively working for

⁷² There are frequent references to this ethic throughout Greek literature. For example, *Odyssey* 6.182-5, Plato *Meno* 71e and *Republic* 1.332d, Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.3.14, 2.6.35, and Isocrates 1.26. For an overview of more examples and discussion, see Blundell (1991) 26f and Dover (1994) 180-4.

public benefit. In the opening lines, he criticizes public speakers for offering advice which offers no benefit to the welfare of the public (ὦν ὠφέλεια μὲν οὐδεμία ἐστὶ τῷ κοινῷ, *Odysseus* 1). The importance of the common good over private affairs is expressed shortly after:

ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον μήτε ἔχθρας
ιδίας φροντίζειν μήτε ἰδίᾳ φιλειταιρίᾳ χρησάμενον ἔνεκα ἀνδρὸς
ένος χρήματα περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ὅ τι ἂν μέλλῃ τῷ
πλήθει συνοίσειν.

(Alcidamas, *Odysseus* 3)

My own opinion is that a good and just man will not consider personal enmities nor private friendships, proclaiming for the sake of one man, holding money in higher regard and not thinking about what would be of advantage to the mass of people.

There is some irony here, considering that the reader/listener is aware of the mythological fact that Odysseus holds a grudge against Palamedes for tricking him into going to Troy. But the ethic which Odysseus advocates borders on collectivism – particularly if we consider his approval of following orders at *Odysseus* 28.⁷³ A good and just man (ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον) will actually contradict the normal helping friends/harming enemies motives, if it means acting in the benefit of the πλῆθος. In this example, a sacrifice is made by the good man, because acting in the common interest will require him to put aside his personal interests and may prevent him from harming his enemies.

A parallel to this notion appears in Thucydides' version of Pericles' last speech. Here Pericles describes how behaving in a way which benefits the state, even if at the cost of personal interests, is of mutual interest to the *polis*:

⁷³ A Homeric explanation for this type of attitude coming from Odysseus could be his authoritarian controlling of the soldiers to prevent mass desertion, *Iliad* 2.185-263. This includes treating Thersites roughly for speaking out against the expedition. A kinder version of Odysseus' looking out for the interests of the war effort and the well-being of the men is shown when he tells Achilles that the men need to eat before they can go to war, *Iliad* 19.155-83.

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ ἐρόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἥσσον υναπόλλυται, ἀκοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῶ μᾶλλον διασώζεται.

(Thucydides, *History* 2.60.2-3)⁷⁴

I believe that if the city is sound as a whole, it does more good to its private citizens than if it benefits them as individuals while faltering as a collective unit. It does not matter whether a man prospers as an individual: if his country is destroyed, he is lost along with it; but if he meets with misfortune, he is far safer in a fortunate city than he would be otherwise.

Hornblower has noticed that this too is a remarkably totalitarian sentiment.⁷⁵ It is not a suggestion that a private citizen must sacrifice his own interests for the state, but the implication is that by placing interests of the state first, even if an individual may meet misfortune, he is less likely to meet complete disaster if the city is prosperous. The use of διασώζω links the vocabulary to the speeches of Gorgias' Palamedes and Antisthenes' Odysseus: the result of acting for the common good is safety for everyone. Thucydides' statement helps to solidify the concept which presents itself in the mytho-forensic speeches; the benefits of working for the common good are perceived in Athenian discourse as more than an activity worthy of praise for an individual, but could be presented as a model for how a city state and its citizens should operate.

The unique aspect Odysseus' heroism in Antisthenes – and what differentiates his presentation from the other mytho-forensic speeches – is the level of the sacrifice that he makes for the common good. He is presented as not only enduring humiliations for the safety of others and the goal of victory, but he claims that he does this alone. This is repeated at *Od.*10:

⁷⁴ The text used for Thucydides' *History* is Jones and Powell (OCT 1970) vol. 1.

⁷⁵ Hornblower (1991) 332-3, (1987) 127ff.

καὶ οὐδὲ νύξ πώποτέ με ἀφείλετο, ὥσπερ σὲ πολλάκις μαχόμενον
ἄσμενον πέπαυκεν· ἀλλ' ἥνίκα ἂν ῥέγχῃς σύ, τηνικαῦτα ἐγὼ σῶζω
σέ, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ κακόν τι ποιῶ, ἔχων τὰ δουλοπρεπῆ
ταῦτα ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ῥάκη καὶ τὰς μάλιστα, δι' ἃς σὺ ἀσφαλῶς
καθεύδεις.

(Antisthenes *Od.* 10)

*Nightfall has never taken me out of action, though it has often made you glad
to stop fighting; but I am working for your safety while you snore, and I am
always harming the enemy with these weapons, fit for a slave – rags and lash
marks – which allow you to sleep in safety.*

Odysseus is not only making sacrifices for the safety of others, but he is doing so while they snore. His actions are presented as being performed selflessly, alone, and with no implied benefits to himself as a result of his efforts.⁷⁶ If we are to look at the models of working in the interests of the common good presented by Alcidas' Odysseus and Thucydides' Pericles, we see that they involve the individual being part of the community. The virtuous man puts aside his personal squabbles and does what is best for the many, or the ideal citizen endures misfortune or less prosperity personally if it means the *polis* prospers. In Antisthenes, Odysseus' commitment to the common good goes beyond being part of a community which puts the interests of the many before personal interests. What he does for the good of the army, no one else does or can do. In *Od.* 2, he makes it clear that his private dangers are the type that will ensure the success of the whole mission – but if he were to fail, they would only lose one man. Palamedes comes closer to this level of sacrifice; as an inventor, he benefits the army in unique ways. But Palamedes' inventions are not expressed in a way which presents them as a sacrifice. The Greeks derive benefit, but Palamedes does not expose himself to risk or hardship, whereas Odysseus subjects himself to 'ιδίων κινδύνων', private risks. Odysseus' activities are also presented to be working

⁷⁶ The only benefits he derives are the same victory that all the Greeks came to Troy for (*Od.* 4), and the fact that he is helping his friends and harming his enemies. It is not explicit, but the mentioning of a poet who will call him the sacker of Troy (*Od.* 14) could be construed as a benefit resulting from his private dangers.

towards the singular objective of capturing Troy, something Palamedes' more general benefactions are not.

This type of commitment to the common objective appears in another representation of Odysseus. As in Alcidamas and Antisthenes, the Odysseus of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* becomes an advocate for working for the good of all, with a particular objective in mind. A lengthier analysis of Odysseus in *Philoctetes* will be undertaken in chapter 4, but a brief mention here is relevant to this discussion.

The Odysseus of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* argues that shameful behaviour is acceptable, if it brings salvation (*Phil.* 109); the sacking of Troy is dependent upon it. This is very similar to what Antisthenes' Odysseus insinuates in his proclamation of how he keeps the whole army safe, despite the fact he has to endure dressing as a slave or beggar – shameful behaviour in the eyes of Ajax. The chorus in *Philoctetes* express how Odysseus is acting in the interest of the army:

κεῖνος δ' εἷς ἀπὸ πολλῶν
ταχθεὶς τῶνδ' ἐφημοσύνῃ
κοινὰν ἤνυσεν ἐς φίλους ἀρωγὰν.

(Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1143-5)

*But this one man from the many,
Appointed at their behest
Has accomplished this for the common benefit of his friends.*

It is ambiguous as to whether this is directed at Odysseus or Neoptolemus,⁷⁷ but Neoptolemus' achievements so far have been dictated by Odysseus. Odysseus' actions in the *Philoctetes* are not purely villainous. He strives to use whatever means,

⁷⁷ See Schein (2013) 298. ταχθεὶς is used by Odysseus to describe how he is acting under order (*Phil.* 6), which could suggest the chorus is referring to him again here. Schein uses the text amended to τοῦδ' ἐφημοσύνῃ, which suggests that τοῦδ' should refer to Odysseus (and κεῖνος Neoptolemus).

however treacherous, to acquire the bow of Philoctetes, which after all, is in the common interests of the whole Greek army, as well as himself, Neoptolemus, and even arguably Philoctetes. Regardless of how we view his presentation in *Philoctetes*, it is yet another example of how Odysseus' character is used to represent a hero who advocates acting for the good of the state at the expense of personal interests, in line with contemporary ideas in Athenian intellectual and political thought.⁷⁸

Concluding Comments to Chapter 1

The main purpose of this introductory chapter was to discuss the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, considering their place as forensic oratory with a mythic subject and an interest in the character of the speakers. By making some comparisons with near-contemporary speeches from the same genre, which were likely created in a similar intellectual environment, some recurring themes were identified. These will be revisited throughout this thesis as it investigates attitudes to the hero of craft and intellect throughout different genres.

The references to Homer and the epic tradition in Antisthenes' speeches give some indication of intended ways to interpret the characters. Given Antisthenes' interest in Homeric subjects,⁷⁹ it is not surprising to discover that the Homeric references are more overt in Antisthenes' speeches than in the other mytho-forensic speeches. Palamedes – the subject of the Gorgias and Alcidas speeches – is not a Homeric character.

In Antisthenes, the forward-looking Odysseus has a better grasp of contemporary intellectual language than his rival Ajax. The Homeric references are generally one-sided, in that they are complimentary to Odysseus and derogatory to

⁷⁸ See discussion in chapter 4. For the contrary argument – that Odysseus is a villain throughout *Philoctetes* – see Stanford (1954) 108-9, Kirkwood (1994) 431, and Montiglio (2011) 5-8.

⁷⁹ A large number of his testimonia are concerning Homeric topics – see Prince (2015) t. 185–94.

Ajax (*Od.* 14), or foreshadow Ajax's impending doom (*Od.* 5, 6). It is Odysseus who makes these references, which leaves the listener thinking that Ajax could have said many things about Odysseus regarding episodes in the epic cycle. There is no mention of the framing of Palamedes, Odysseus' dubious parentage,⁸⁰ or the fact that he will lose all his men in his homecoming; the closest Ajax comes is the allusion to the fact that Odysseus did not come to Troy willingly (*Aj.* 9).

Odysseus correctly predicts the *polu*-epithets which will be used to describe him in Homer, but one of the most famous of Odysseus' epithets – *polutropos* – is notably absent. In light of this, I discussed the definition of the word which Antisthenes supplies in *testimonia* t. 187. Antisthenes' comments are directly responding to Homer's description of Odysseus as *polutropos*. By linking *polutropos* to the ability to adapt speech to different audiences, his definition identifies a trait which is difficult for the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches to exemplify; Odysseus only gives one speech and to one audience (even though Odysseus does direct his speech to both Ajax and the judges, whereas Ajax addresses only the judges). However, he makes the speech as universal as possible, explaining that his speech would not change even if he were competing with the likes of Achilles.

The discussion of *polutropia* did raise some similarities in vocabulary with Plato's paradoxical argument in the *Hippias Minor*. In both Plato and Antisthenes, the interest in character develops the antithesis between the versatile hero of cunning/deceptive character, and the noble and simple character. Antisthenes may champion the versatile hero, but that does not mean he is necessarily presenting anything new with the character of Odysseus. In Plato, the dialogue concludes that the versatile and cunning hero is the better one. It is an uncomfortable result for the Platonic interlocutors – Hippias refuses to agree that Odysseus is better than Achilles

⁸⁰ Odysseus is insulted in drama by being referred to as the son of Sisyphus, Euripides *Cyclops* 104, *Philoctetes* 417, and Sophocles *Ajax* 189.

or that someone who does wrong voluntarily is more just than one who does so involuntarily (*Hippias Minor* 371e, 376b) – but the conclusion is one which Antisthenes would have been happy with, if the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches are anything from which to judge.⁸¹

This is why the *Defence of Palamedes* by Gorgias and the *Odysseus* of Alcidamas are so interesting. The speeches reinforce some of the themes which occur in Antisthenes – the importance of helping friends and harming enemies, arguments from *eikos*, the impossibility of refutation, and working on the behalf of the common good. This type of ethic is not exclusive to Antisthenes, but we can see that these are strands in Athenian discourse which would be familiar to an intellectually well-informed audience; Odysseus may not be unique in representing some or all of these qualities, but he is the type of hero who does represent them nonetheless.

Odysseus shares a reputation of skilful speech and intelligence with other characters from epic: Nestor, Palamedes and Odysseus are all singled out as authors of treatises of rhetoric in Plato's *Phaedrus* 261b-c. Both Palamedes and Odysseus in the speeches by Gorgias and Alcidamas have a reputation for cleverness, and of all the mytho-forensic speeches, the only speech which makes no reference to the importance of acting in the common interest or helping friends and harming enemies is, predictably, Ajax's. The presence of these in the speech of Odysseus in Antisthenes may have implications for Odysseus' later role as a Cynic hero – but they do not have to be read as revolutionary Cynic motifs here, where they are simply aligned to fourth-century ethical concepts.

⁸¹ That erring and acting unjustly is worse when done involuntarily is supported by Odysseus in Antisthenes: he repeats that Ajax is ignorant three times (*Od.* 5 and twice in *Od.* 13). Ajax's ignorance is what will make him suffer harm, and is described as the worst of evils (*Od.* 13).

There is a variation in the tone of Palamedes' speech which sets it apart from the two Odysseus speeches. Most striking is Palamedes' concerns about the power of speech, and the ability of *logoi* to present the truth of *erga*. While not put as strongly – or simplistically – as Ajax's denunciation of *logoi*, Palamedes is expressing why his speech will fail; and the contemporary reader knows that the charges against him are in fact false, so he should win. Perhaps this is why Socrates in Plato's *Apology* chooses to emulate aspects of Palamedes' speech, as an expression that his rhetoric may not be enough to reveal the truth of his innocence and that he is being framed.⁸² Palamedes also comes dangerously close to Ajax's simplistic statement that it is impossible to contradict, when he claims that the benefits he has conferred to the army are irrefutable. The criticism of *logoi* in favour of *erga* reappears in Cleon's speech in Thucydides (*History* 3.38.4),⁸³ and it is notable that in each of these speeches, the speaker who raises these doubts about *logos* ultimately loses. Palamedes, Ajax, Socrates, and Cleon – rightfully or not – all fail to convince their audiences.

This discussion has investigated these themes in an intellectual genre where they can be expected to appear, and where these type of ethics and ideas might have the best chance of being seen favourably. This chapter has established that Antisthenes champions Odysseus in a way which is consistent with topical elements in Athenian intellectual discourse.⁸⁴ This could be part of an intellectual rehabilitation of Odysseus – as Montiglio presents it – or it could be that at the same

⁸² Socrates also contrasts words to deeds (Plato *Apology* 32a4-5), and directly compares himself to Palamedes (*Apology* 41a8-b5). Xenophon's Socrates also refers to Palamedes (Xenophon *Apology* 26). See Reeve (1989) 7-8.

⁸³ This is discussed in detail in chapter 2.

⁸⁴ This is not to say that intellectual discourse would always view Odysseus favourably; by nature, the acceptance of relativistic views would mean that certain types of behaviour could simultaneously be praised and be seen as problematic. In *Palamedes* and Alcidas' *Odysseus*, it is known that Odysseus is framing Palamedes.

time, the hero of inventiveness and cunning was seen more universally in a positive sense. To investigate further, the next chapters will move the study of Odysseus' presentation in Antisthenes to comparisons outside the genre of forensic oratory. The first of these is Thucydides, where an interest in the character of the Athenians also draws out a *logoi* and *erga* antithesis – which looms large in these intellectual and rhetorical speeches – and therefore provides some important comparisons with the Antisthenes speeches. The discussion in this chapter used Pericles' last speech as a comparison for advocating for public over private interests; the next speech I will examine is Pericles' *Epitaphios* in Thucydides.

2. Λόγοι and ἔργα in Antisthenes and Thucydides: Odysseus as an Athenian Prototype.

Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches explore aspects of Homeric heroism in a familiar Athenian context. Odysseus, whose versatility and role as a hero of greater intellectual capacities, less bound by the rigidities of honour and appearances, appears to have the upper hand over Ajax. Odysseus presents himself as more useful to the army as a whole because of what he will do, while Ajax focuses on what he would not do because it is dishonourable. So far, I have discussed some aspects of these speeches in the context of their genre as forensic oratory employing mythic characters, but parallels outside of sophistic oratory are just as interesting; especially because Antisthenes' presentation of the intellectual heroism of Odysseus has some notable parallels to aspects of the Athenian character as shown in Thucydides. Antisthenes' Odysseus shows a certain similarity to Pericles' views of the idealised Athenian character in Pericles' *Epitaphios* (*Hist.* 2.35-46), while Ajax's dismissal of λόγοι marks his divergence from the Athenian ideal. What Antisthenes' Odysseus says correlates with the Homeric Odysseus, and these types of

comparisons help us to understand the Athenian conception of Odysseus' brand of cunning heroism.⁸⁵

Geographically Ajax is considered to be more of an Athenian hero, given his homeland is Salamis. He even became an eponym for one of the Attic tribes (the Aiantis, Herodotus *Histories* 5.66).⁸⁶ Yet paradoxically, it is the intellectually more sophisticated heroism of Odysseus which is more aligned to Athenian values; it is the nature and character of the hero which is the more important. The correlation between Odysseus' heroism in Antisthenes and Athenian values in Thucydides and other fifth-century sources, therefore, requires a closer examination, and opens up a discussion of how the Athenian audience would have been familiar with the concept of Odysseus as portraying Athenian qualities, in a positive sense as well as perhaps a negative one.

These speeches, then, can give us an insight into Odysseus as an embodiment of Athenian *aretē* and intellectual values, similar in many ways to those values celebrated in Thucydides – and elsewhere – which develop aspects of his persona already found in Homeric epic. The deep-running links between Antisthenes' Odysseus and the idealized Athenians of Pericles' *Epitaphios* reveal important aspects of the reception of this central Homeric figure. Prior scholarship has discussed the characterization of the Athenians in the funeral oration at length,⁸⁷ but while the similarities between Odysseus and Pericles' idealised views of the

⁸⁵ This argument was previously published as proceedings to a paper given at the 2011 ASCS conference in Melbourne: see O'Sullivan and Wong (2012) 1-14. This chapter is a more detailed extension of the discussion, and also incorporates passages in Thucydides beyond Pericles' *Epitaphios*.

⁸⁶ In Homeric epic Ajax is described as being from Salamis, and it is specifically explained that he beaches his ships alongside the Athenian contingent (*Il.* 2.556-558). This passage is famously disputed as an Athenian interpolation (Plut. *Solon* 10.2). Plutarch also refers to Ajax's ancestors being given Athenian citizenship (*Solon* 10.3).

⁸⁷ For example, Macleod (1983) 127f., Rusten (1985) 14-9, Price (2001) 178-86, Rhodes (2004) esp. 224, and Balot (2004) 406-23.

Athenians have not escaped the notice of Montiglio, these similarities are not analysed fully.⁸⁸

The discussion of the Antisthenes speeches and the heroic values of the Athenians in the *Epitaphios* must take into account differences in genre and purpose. Antisthenes' speeches are (as discussed above), epideictic display pieces, which show elements of law court oratory; they are self-promotional speeches demonstrating rhetorical technique. Despite the obvious difference in genre and purpose, the tone of Pericles' *Epitaphios* can actually be directly compared to these speeches. It is a celebration of Athenian heroism, and demarcates what it is to be an idealised Athenian hero as opposed to the 'other'. And in this discussion, the *aretē* of the Athenian people is commemorated and set as an example for the living. This standard of behaviour, and the definition of bravery, is presented in a speech which is full of themes from Athenian intellectual discourse: the semantic meaning of what it is to be brave and the respect for words, in conjunction with effective action, are seen in light of the Athenian character. Admittedly it is a one-sided argument, but any similarities between the sentiments of the Antisthenes speeches and Pericles' *Epitaphios* show that the heroic values of Odysseus were representative of a theme which was familiar in Athenian intellectual thought.

The distinction between λόγοι and ἔργα, and the respective importance of each in determining matters of *aretē*, becomes very significant in Antisthenes' speeches from the outset. As early as Homer we can see that the ideal hero was not just a pure fighting machine, but strove to achieve excellence in public speaking as well as fighting; 'a doer of deeds and a speaker of words', according to Phoenix in *Iliad* Book 9: μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι προηκτῆρά τε ἔργων (*Il.* 9.443). The assembly (ἀγορῇ) and the battleground (μάχη) are both described as places where men win

⁸⁸ Montiglio (2011) 27 (see above p.16). A concise overview of these similarities appears in O'Sullivan and Wong (2012) 1-14, see above n. 85.

glory (κυδιάνειση).⁸⁹ In Antisthenes, the character of Ajax contradicts this paradigm. His speech opens with a statement of his lack of confidence in his judges, saying that ‘the events happened in deed’, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἐγίγνετο ἔργῳ, and that the judges know nothing ‘through speeches’, διὰ λόγων (Aj. 1).⁹⁰ From the start of Ajax’s speech we see the development of a λόγος – ἔργον antithesis, in which Ajax not only asserts the superiority of ἔργον but denies that λόγος can itself be useful without action.

No part of Ajax’s speech indicates that he accepts the two as complimentary to one another. In Aj. 7 he makes his position even more clear in his injunction to the jurors whom he denounces as ignorant:

...ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν λέγω... μὴ εἰς τοὺς λόγους σκοπεῖν περὶ ἀρετῆς κρίνοντας, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὰ ἔργα μάλλον.

(Aj. 7)

...So I tell you... do not look to the words as you make your decision about excellence, but rather to the deeds.

Ajax considers that deeds are more important than words when judging matters of excellence; and his view is just as dogmatic concerning the importance of each in war:

⁸⁹ Il.1.490, Il.12.325. See Schofield (1986) 6-31. See O’Sullivan (2005a) for an overview of rhetoric in Homer. Despite the fact that ‘a doer of deeds and a speaker of words’ is the Homeric paradigm, there are no examples in Homer of Ajax being specifically shown to go against this ideal, aside from his terseness.

⁹⁰ Rankin notes that this is a supremely tactless introduction to Ajax’s speech, although not unlike Socrates in Plato’s *Apology*. Rankin determines that Antisthenes has some sympathy for the ‘Lacanian’ simplicity of Ajax, and rightfully points out some similarity between his speech and that of the Spartan Sthenelaidas in Thucydides *History* 1.87. See Rankin (1986) 150-172. Prince (2015) 211-2 also notices that Ajax is immediately alienating himself from his audience by discrediting their ability to judge.

...καὶ γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος οὐ λόγῳ κρίνεται ἀλλ' ἔργῳ: οὐδ' ἀντιλέγειν
ἔξεστι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ἢ μαχομένους κρατεῖν ἢ
δουλεύειν σιωπῇ.

(Aj. 7)

*For war, also, is decided not by word but by deed: nor is it possible to refute
the enemy in argument, but only to win by fighting or to serve as a slave, in
silence.*

Antisthenes' Ajax determines that words are not a determining factor in war, unlike deeds; a word has no power because it cannot defeat an enemy in the heat of battle. He says that the word has 'no strength compared to the deed', οὐδεμίαν ἔχει λόγος πρὸς ἔργον ἰσχύν (Aj. 7), and that 'many long speeches are made', πολλοὶ καὶ μακροὶ λόγοι λέγονται, because of a lack of deeds (Aj. 8), a statement which displays hostility to words and deliberations which replace deeds and direct action.⁹¹

Ajax's creation of an antithesis between ἔργα and λόγοι does not sit happily with the views of Pericles' praise of the Athenians in the *Epitaphios*, as he shows how the Athenians considered both ἔργα and λόγοι to be equally important in action, which is inconsistent with the views of Antisthenes' Ajax. Ajax's unbalanced approach, as mentioned previously, already chides with Homeric ideal of a man of action but also one capable of speaking. This nexus between ἔργα and λόγοι, rather than an antithesis, often forms the basis of a paradigm in Athenian thought. Protagoras explains that his teachings are designed so that his pupil 'might become most able in word and action in the affairs of the city': ὅπως τὰ τῆς πόλεως δυνατώτατος ἂν εἴη καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν (Plato *Protagoras* 319a). It has been

⁹¹ It is worth noting that there is also a distinct similarity between Ajax's speech and some parts of Cleon's speech in the Mytilene Debate in Thucydides (*Hist* 3.38.4), when he accuses the Athenians of being regular speech-goers rather than men of action; and his attack is answered masterfully by Diodotus, who reaffirms the idea that λόγος is not unnecessary, but an essential tool for shaping policy before action. Diodotus' description of Cleon and his frightening techniques (3.42.2) are also similar to Odysseus' description of Ajax threatening the jurors (*Od.* 5). For an analysis of the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus in Thucydides, see below, and also Connor (1984) 82-91.

noticed that this appears to be a direct echo of Thucydides, and could possibly be linked to Protagoras' own admiration for Pericles (e.g., B9 DK);⁹² in Thucydides' first description of Pericles, the statesman is λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος (Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.139.4). What is suggested by Antisthenes and Homer is also proposed by both Protagoras and Thucydides; that greatness in an individual rests upon his ability to act and his ability as a speaker.⁹³ Ajax in Antisthenes not only lacks power in speaking, but actively denies the importance of λόγος. To Ajax, only ἔργα matter in war.

Ajax's λόγος-ἔργον distinction creates another problem which would have been open to attack by the sophistic audience. In *Aj.* 1, Ajax makes his announcement the matters happened in deed, ἔργα, hence making the rest of the case irrelevant. He then, in *Aj.* 2, proceeds to explain the ἔργα, that he carried the corpse of Achilles, which was the object of the Trojan's interest rather than the armour, since they wished to defile the body. But Protagoras had pointed out that there are at least two sides to every story in a work titled *Antilogiai* (B5 DK). Gorgias, whose influence on Antisthenes was recognised in antiquity,⁹⁴ also tells us that we have only 'opinion', δόξα, to rely on since remembering the past, understanding the present and prophesying the future is no easy thing, and δόξα itself is unstable and uncertain (*Helen* 11-13); yet the sophist tells us that λόγος is a great master capable of inducing all sorts of emotions in us (*Helen* 8-10).⁹⁵ Ajax's denigration of λόγος is thus likely to be seen as a self-defeating move by a

⁹² See N. O'Sullivan (1996) 15-23.

⁹³ We can assume that πράσσω here replaces ἔργα, since in its meaning is contained the idea of accomplishment. In Book 1, an ἔργα-λόγοι antithesis occurs, in which πράσσω, as a passive participle, is used in conjunction with τὰ ἔργα (1.22.2). τὰ ἔργα τῶν προαχθέντων (1.22.2) is a mirror of ὅσα λόγῳ εἶπον and τῶν λεχθέντων (1.22.1).

⁹⁴ Diogenes Laertius claimed that Antisthenes was a student of Gorgias, *Lives* 6.1.1-2, see above p. 5 n.1.

⁹⁵ See also Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen* (8). Gorgias imbues λόγος with the power to itself create θεϊότατα ἔργα, rather than λόγος being inferior to ἔργα, as Ajax asserts.

sophistically-trained audience. Moreover, when Antisthenes' Ajax says οὐδ' ἀντιλέγειν ἔξεστι, there may be considerable irony here whereby the hero undercuts his own argument, as was touched upon in the previous chapter. The idea 'it is impossible to contradict', οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν, is a fairly common sophistic notion which is attributed to Protagoras and Antisthenes in ancient sources (Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 9.8.53, 6.1.1-2).⁹⁶

Ajax's concept of ἔργα and λόγοι appears naïve and simplistic, not only to those in Antisthenes' audience familiar with sophistic speculation, but also to a writer like Thucydides – who recognised that ἔργα and λόγοι do not have to act as polar opposites. Ajax's assumptions that facts are facts, and his opinion that only if the judges were present would they know what happened in ἔργα (*Aj.* 1), leave no room for an alternative interpretation of the events.⁹⁷ The naïvety of Ajax is evident if we consider Thucydides' own views on the fallibility of witnesses (1.22.3). Like Gorgias, Protagoras, and others, Thucydides recognizes that establishing the truth is no easy thing, and more than one version of events can exist:

...τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖα περὶ ἐκάστου ἐπεξελθόν.

(*Hist.* 1.22.2)

...in recording the events in the war, I did not think it fit to record what I happened to hear, nor what seemed right to me, but instead from my own presence and from the presence of others, the accuracy of each report was examined as accurately as possible.

⁹⁶ Protagoras also wrote a work titled *Kataballontes*, 'Knock-Down Arguments', which may have also been called *Antilogiai*; see Lee (2005) 24-26.

⁹⁷ Of course, Odysseus' interpretation of the events is in fact different, even though he was himself a witness; see *Od.* 12, where Odysseus maintains that the Trojans wanted to claim the armour in order to dedicate it to the gods. Prince (2015) 169 notes that neither hero has any claim to the true account here or any objective means of determining it, however, Odysseus' use of a religious norms to back up his position may have been intended to give him a perceived advantage over Ajax's argument.

He claims he did not write down events according to the first account he heard, he did not even trust his own impressions (hence he does not simply rely upon his own δόξα without further investigation); some of his account is derived from his own presence at events, some of it from others who were present.⁹⁸

Thucydides' commentary upon the value of witnesses shows how he perceives that even first-hand witnesses come up with different stories for the same events, because of biased or imperfect memories:

ἐπιπόνως δὲ ἡύρισκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἑκάστοις οὐ
ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἑκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ
μνήμης ἔχοι. (Hist. 1.22.3)

*It made for laborious work, because those present at each of the events did not
say the same things as one other, according to some partiality or memory
each might have.*

The task of obtaining the truth is made difficult by the fallibility of witnesses; those being present at each event do not say the same thing. Thucydides' reasoning for this is because of some εὐνοία, good will or bias, or because of memory, μνήμη. The implication is that being present at events does not, *ipso facto*, give a witness the ability to perceive events correctly. Antisthenes' Ajax, however, presumes that he would not even have to say anything if those who were present at events were judging (Aj. 1). Thucydides understands that different people see things in different ways, and this causes his search for the truth to be more difficult. Hornblower considers Thucydides' explanation of the difficulty of creating the *History* and his

⁹⁸ For a discussion of some of the ambiguities and the difficulties of Thucydides' methodology as laid out in this passage, see for example Pelling (2000) 114ff.

own method as unusual for historians;⁹⁹ however, in the intellectual context of Thucydides' works such an approach is not quite so surprising.

Odysseus' position is more in tune with fifth- and fourth-century intellectual trends. In *Od.* 11, he shows how even an undisputable ἔργον such as this (there was no doubt as to who carried the body of Achilles) can be understood in a different way. He states that, if Ajax did not have the ability to carry the corpse, two men could have carried it, and then he would be in contention with them also; and even that the Trojans wanted the corpse less than the armour, since they intended to give it back and dedicate the armour to the gods (*Od.* 12), whereas Ajax presumed that it was the corpse of Achilles the Trojans wanted.¹⁰⁰ Odysseus shows how ἔργα can be disputed, since it is possible to see these deeds from different perspectives.

There is a distinct difference in the language used by Ajax and Odysseus in Antisthenes which accentuates Ajax's over-confidence in his own knowledge, as noted by Prince (2015) and Blass (1892).¹⁰¹ In *Aj.* 1, he clearly states that he 'knows', οἶδα, while he tells the judges that they know nothing: οὐδὲν εἰδότες. Ajax shows confidence in his knowledge in *Aj.* 2, 3, 4 and 8, while Odysseus more often says that he thinks (or supposes) something (for example, οἶομαι, *Od.* 5 and *Od.* 14).¹⁰² He also

⁹⁹ See Hornblower (1991) 60. It is relevant to consider Herodotus' method, which echoes some of the same sentiments as Thucydides – Hornblower also mentions Herodotus 6.14.1 (n. 1.22.3), where Herodotus admits that it is difficult to determine which of the Samians fought well or badly because they all accuse one another (see also Hornblower (1991) p. 7, n. 1.3). For more on Herodotus' method, see for example Laetiner (1989) 91-2, who uses the same example as Hornblower for reference to human fallibility, as well as *Histories* 8.87.1.

¹⁰⁰ See n.97 above.

¹⁰¹ See Prince (2014) 151, and Blass (1892) 340.

¹⁰² There is one important exception, which is Odysseus' claim: οἶδα τὰ τ' ἐνθάδε καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις, 'I know matters both here and matters with the enemy'. Prince (2015) 225 notes that this is his only real claim to omniscience, although his following statements support the claim because his knowledge arises from experience. A key difference between Odysseus' use of οἶδα and Ajax's is that Odysseus uses it to explain something he has knowledge of rather than something which he knows to be the case. Odysseus uses οἶδα to express that he has knowledge of *x*, which thanks to his experience

refers to others as thinking something rather than knowing it (*Od.* 6, 7, 11, 13, usually referring to Ajax), and switches to οἶδα when referring to something that others do *not* know (*Od.* 1, 3, 4, 6, 12, 13). Rather Socratically,¹⁰³ Odysseus does make claims to knowledge when he makes normative statements, which contrasts with Ajax's blustering statements of fact and expectation that ἔργα are undisputable. These subtle differences in language show that Antisthenes is consciously presenting Odysseus' arguments as more sophisticated than those of Ajax.

Pericles' *Epitaphios*: λόγοι and ἔργα

Of course the interaction between words and deeds is a common theme in Greek literature, so its appearance in Pericles' *Epitaphios* and Antisthenes' speeches is not necessarily surprising.¹⁰⁴ Thucydides' work is often seen to incorporate sophistic ideas and influences; in particular Pericles' speeches have been compared to the writings of Gorgias.¹⁰⁵ Pericles and Thucydides were both recognised, at least in some traditions, to be admirers of Gorgias.¹⁰⁶

is objectively true (he has been to the enemy camp, he has knowledge *of* it), whereas Ajax uses οἶδα to express that he knows something (the fact that it would be right for him to remain silent if the jury had witnessed the actual events, for example), thus a claim which he cannot really *know* to be necessarily true. The argument is that in the same example, Odysseus would have used οἶμαι. The implication is that Odysseus is showing caution in his claims to knowledge, whereas Ajax says that he knows things indiscriminately and with no acknowledgement of more relativistic theories of knowledge, such as the type we seen with Protagoras (80B4 DK).

¹⁰³ In Plato's *Apology* 21a-d, Socrates explains that he is considered the wisest of men by the Delphic Oracle, but determines this is because he realises, unlike others, that he is aware of what he does not know.

¹⁰⁴ The topic of λόγοι and ἔργα in Thucydides has been covered comprehensively by Parry (1981). See also Rusten (1989) 7-17, and Price (2001) 45-56.

¹⁰⁵ I briefly discussed some similarities between Thucydides and Protagoras above, pp. 51-2. Finley (1967) 55-117 compares the antithetical speeches of Gorgias to those of Pericles.

¹⁰⁶ Philostratus claimed Thucydides and Pericles were admirers of Gorgias (*VS.* 492-493), and that Aspasia of Miletus taught Pericles how to speak like him (*VS.* 493). There is a striking similarity between Pericles' description of the emotive effect of the sight of the city (2.43.1), and Gorgias' description of the effects of sight on the soul (*Hel.* 18-19). See Connor (1984) 55 n.10. For further discussion of erotic imagery of this line in Thucydides and its significance, see Scholtz (2007) 21-42.

Pericles' Funeral Oration, *Epitaphios*, comes as the second of Pericles' three main speeches in Thucydides. The tradition of Athenian funeral oration is briefly described by Thucydides prior to the retelling of Pericles' speech itself (*Hist.* 2.34).¹⁰⁷ It is customary to select a man known for his intelligence and who is held in high repute (*Hist.* 2.34.6).¹⁰⁸ The purpose of the speech is to remember the dead, but in the case of Pericles' *Epitaphios*, the eulogy becomes a praise of the city of Athens, its institutions, and the very things which give the city and its citizens a claim to greatness. The speech is important because it lays a clear foundation for the myth of Athens, and thus displays a view of the idealised Athenian, at least as an intellectual ideal held by the fourth-century Athenian elite; and by creating a definition for this ideal, Pericles creates a representation of the character of Athens, which, as we shall see, is as compatible with Odyssean heroism in Antisthenes as much as it contradicts the simplicity of Ajax.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ I will not dwell too long here on the details of Athenian funeral oration. For more, see for example Ziolkowski (1981) *passim*, Loraux (1986) *passim*, Low (2010) 341-58, and Hesk (2013) 49-65. Hornblower (1991) 294-6 presents a good overview of some of the literature on this topic, particularly some of the older work.

¹⁰⁸ Literally, 'not un-ξυνετός'. The fact that Thucydides introduces Pericles in regards to his ξύνεσις is significant. ξυνετός is used to describe several important characters in Thucydides: Archidamas, Theseus, the Peisistratids, Themistocles, Brasidas, Hermocrates and Phrynicus. In this example, the Athenians have selected someone specifically for their intelligence and reputation, who proceeds to explain the reputation for intelligence of the Athenians. According to Hesk (2013) 61: 'This stress on the speaker's high intellectual reputation as a criterion for selection is undoubtedly connected to the fact that we are about to hear Pericles' oration'. For more on ξυνετός, see also Hornblower (1991) 124-5, i.17.2n; this is well discussed by Price (2001) 50-4.

¹⁰⁹ My discussion of Pericles' speeches is generally focused upon Pericles as a Thucydidean character rather than as a historical statesman, because it is the intellectual aspects of the speech in the context of a praise of fifth-century Athens which are relevant to the presentation of Odysseus and Ajax in Antisthenes. It is not assumed that Thucydides is necessarily always in favour of Pericles' position: Balot (2001a) 148, for example, argues that he is at least critical of Pericles' misunderstanding of his own role in the democratic system. The problems of the relationship between Thucydides' Pericles and the historical figure has been well discussed by Yunis (1996) 61-6 and Hornblower (1987) 45-72. See also Balot (2004) 409-15, Bosworth (2000) 1-16, and Swain (1993) 33-45, who argue that the Funeral Oration plausibly represents Pericles' actual views on democracy.

The speech opens with Pericles expressing his feeling that it would be sufficient for the actions of the men who have fallen in battle to be honoured in deed/action (ἔργον),¹¹⁰ since their courage was revealed by deeds/action: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς... (*Hist.* 2.35.1). Previous speakers, he says, commended the institution of the speech (λόγος), whereas he feels that the virtue of all these men should not be endangered by the words of one man, trusting that he will speak well rather than badly. Hornblower's commentary on this passage suggests that here the opposition of λόγος to ἔργον becomes apparent from this introductory part of the speech.¹¹¹ Is Pericles, like Ajax, denouncing the importance of λόγοι because of a preference for ἔργα?

Pericles' speech is far more complex than this, as is Thucydides' use of λόγος and ἔργον. At the beginning of the speech, it is explained how what happened in deed is represented and honoured in word through the medium of the funeral oration. The two are treated as antithetical at this point; in Thucydides they appear as opposed when the nature of the λόγος is inexact, or at times, even deceptive; for example when he states that Athens under Pericles was in λόγος a democracy, but in ἔργον it was the rule of the first citizen (*Hist.* 2.65.9).¹¹² In the case of the opening of

¹¹⁰ Hornblower (1991) 296 chooses to translate ἔργον here as 'action', which matches the meaning of the passage well. It is worth noticing the differences between Thucydides and Herodotus in the parameters of the use of the word ἔργα; for Thucydides, it relates more directly to deeds and action, often in a way which has a historical or political significance (see *Hist.* 1.22.2). Herodotus' use of the word to denote 'works', including physical monuments (I borrow Hornblower's example of the constructions at Samos, *Histories* 3.60) is rare in Thucydides. See Hornblower (1991) 33-4, i.10.2.

¹¹¹ Hornblower (1991) 296, ii.234.1. Parry's discussion of the *Epitaphios* is raised by Hornblower, noting that the λόγος/ἔργον distinction occurs some 32 times. See Parry (1981) 159ff. While Hornblower presents the distinction as an opposition, Parry's complex work does not, as is maintained throughout this chapter.

¹¹² This is discussed by Price (2001) 46; another example is Hermocrates' argument to Camarina, where he states that at face value a man might see it as preserving their (Syracusan) power, while in reality he would be securing his own salvation: λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν σῶζοι ἂν τις, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν (*Hist.* 6.78.3).

the *Epitaphios*, Pericles is fearful that his words about the deeds of the fallen men may fall short of representing their actions in the eyes of the friends of the deceased, or may incite jealousy and disbelief from those in the audience who are themselves inexperienced of the actions (*Hist.* 2.35.2).¹¹³ The notion that it is difficult to speak μετρίως, within measure, is qualified by the fact that it is difficult to establish ἀλήθεια; this admittance of the different biases of individuals and the resulting problems in establishing the truth is reminiscent of *Hist.* 1.22.2. Pericles' statements are not a denunciation of λόγος, or the ability of λόγος to reach sound judgements, but rather an admittance of the difficulty of matching the speech to the expectations of a crowd of varying levels of experience, who all have a different conception of what is ἀλήθεια.

Pericles' reservations are connected to a fear of misrepresentation because of an intellectual understanding of differing views on the truth. However, Antisthenes' Ajax sees only that the events happened in deed, and fails to accept that they can be represented in λόγος (*Aj.* 1). His complete denunciation of λόγοι which follows (*Aj.* 7-8), I have discussed above; Ajax is a man of ἔργα only. By contrast, the λόγοι-ἔργα distinction is developed throughout the remainder of the *Epitaphios* in a way which expresses a very different conclusion from that of Ajax's speech and its simplistic claims as to the superiority of deeds over words.¹¹⁴

In fact, λόγοι and ἔργα frequently do not comprise a dichotomy at all in Thucydides' writings.¹¹⁵ Rather, they can work in unison. As Pericles' speech

¹¹³ For the view that speaking too well or highly of another creates jealousy, see also Plato *Protagoras* 316d and *Laches* 186c, where it is suggested that pretension to ability creates jealousy. Ajax, according to Antisthenes' Odysseus, is guilty of both a pretension of bravery (*Od.*7, 11) as well as feelings of envy and jealousy (*Od.*13).

¹¹⁴ Price (2001) 182 n.109 maintains that the *Epitaphios* starts out with words and deeds being separate, but these become united once he turns to the city and the individual.

¹¹⁵ Thucydides makes it very clear that his history is about λόγοι and ἔργα (1.22.1-2); see Parry (1981) esp. p. 9. Parry explores λόγοι and ἔργα as presented as both antithetical and complementary in

continues, he introduces the traits of the citizens of Athens which have made the city great. Incorporated into this praise of Athens is the idea that the Athenians are fully aware of the importance of λόγοι, which becomes part of his exhortation on true bravery:

...καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι: ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γινώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων.

(Thuc. Hist. 2.40.2-3)

...and we ourselves either judge or correctly ponder events, not considering words/arguments as harmful to action, but rather (we consider it harmful) not to be instructed more by word/argument before doing what is necessary in action. For differing from others in this way we are both the most daring and most calculating concerning what we are about to attempt: among others boldness is ignorance, and reflection brings hesitation. Those who are to be rightfully judged the greatest in spirit are those who, perceiving most clearly what is terrible and what is sweet, do not on that account turn away from the danger.

Pericles emphasizes the fact that all Athenians take part in politics, and that all decisions of policy are submitted to proper discussions. It is important that he considers the Athenians do not believe there is an incompatibility between words and deeds; this is in stark contrast to Antisthenes' Ajax, who claims that long speeches are made because of a lack of deeds, or that the judges can know nothing from λόγοι.

Greek literature, and even discusses how λόγοι could be seen as a true reality while ἔργα were delusive appearances of the sensible world (see p.18).

The Athenians, however, do not consider λόγοι to be damaging towards ἔργα, but rather that it is worse to go into action (ἔργω) without learning beforehand from words/speeches (λόγῳ). Several key themes are raised. First of all there is an idea that λόγοι and ἔργα are not incompatible, nor that one is more important than the other; the opposite of Antisthenes' Ajax, who claims that λόγοι have no power over ἔργα. Pericles says that it is damaging to rush into action without first deliberating with words.¹¹⁶ It is possible also that Pericles is alluding to the different nature of the Spartans, since he refers to the Athenians as αὐτοί, 'we ourselves', emphasizing the fact that all Athenians take part in the government of the state, and perhaps τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι is meant as a direct comparison to the 'laconic' brevity of the Spartans.¹¹⁷ Here we can make a direct comparison between Pericles' statement and the speeches of Antisthenes. Pericles' opinion is that action requires deliberation, whereas Ajax believes that 'there is not a man who will aid you by saying something', οὐδ' ἔστιν ὑμᾶς ὃ τι λέγων ἀνὴρ ὠφελήσει (*Aj.* 8). It is quite telling that the speech of Ajax is very brief, roughly half the length of the speech given by Odysseus.

If the views of Ajax on λόγοι and ἔργα are at odds with those of Pericles in the *Epitaphios*, the corollary is that Ajax's opponent, Odysseus, has much in common with the great Athenian statesman and other leading thinkers of the day. There are

¹¹⁶ See Rhodes (1988) 224. Rhodes notes that the combination of practical ability with intelligence among leaders becomes a rhetorical *topos*; see 2.13.2, 2.62.4-5, and Thucydides on Themistocles (1.138). Pericles is also praised for his ability to control the *demos* with his rhetorical ability in Thucydides 2.65.8-9; see P. O'Sullivan (2012) 176-77. This power of persuasion in democracy is discussed in Eupolis (*Dem.* Fr. 102KA); see Yunis (1991) 179-186. Rhodes also notes that Pericles' speech at 2.40.3 can be contrasted to the speeches of the Spartans Archidamas and Sthenelaidas (1.84-87). These are the same speeches which Rankin compared to Antisthenes' Ajax (see n.90).

¹¹⁷ As was noted by Marchant (1891) 175. Balot (2004) 410 also views this as a direct comparison with the nature of the Spartans: 'Pericles' emphasis on the Athenians' distinctively rational approach to warfare is made explicit in his contrast between Athenians and certain unnamed others, no doubt the Spartans'. Hornblower (1991) 305 and Rusten (1989) 155 choose to read the οἱ αὐτοὶ of 2.40.2 without the οἱ, emphasizing the 'we ourselves' rather than 'the same people'. I have chosen this reading; see also Balot (2001b) 508-9 for discussion, especially n.12.

notable similarities, for instance, between Thucydides' description of the idealized Athenian and Antisthenes' Odysseus concerning the issue of courage. Odysseus presents himself as the hero who takes risks which Ajax could not, and yet knows of the dangers. He criticizes Ajax's fighting style in *Od.* 6, saying that he rushes into battle like a wild boar in anger, and he claims that Ajax is brave out of ignorance, not knowing that strength and courage are different things:

...διότι γὰρ ἰσχυρός, οἶει καὶ ἀνδρείος εἶναι. οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι σοφία
περὶ πόλεμον καὶ ἀνδρεία οὐ ταυτόν ἐστιν ἰσχύσαι; ἀμαθία δὲ
κακὸν μέγιστον τοῖς ἔχουσιν.

(*Od.* 13)

*Because you are strong, you think you are also brave, and you do not know
that being strong is not the same thing as wisdom in war and courage, and
that ignorance is the greatest evil to those who have it.*

As a contrast to the 'bravery' of Ajax, who throws about himself invincible armour (*Od.* 7), Odysseus says that he goes behind the enemy walls without armour, knowing the state of things 'here and with the enemy', οἶδα τὰ τ' ἐνθάδε καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις (*Od.* 8), showing that he performs acts of daring that Ajax could not do, yet knows the risks he faces behind the enemy lines. Pericles states how others are bold out of ignorance: ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος (*Hist.* 2.40.3). Odysseus perceives that Ajax's bravery is his ignorance, as we can see from his statement that Ajax does not know how to fight, and that he confuses strength, ἰσχύς, and courage, ἀνδρεία. Pericles and Odysseus both link ἀμαθία to the so-called 'bravery' of their rivals. Consequently, Odysseus shows that he is aware of his own vulnerability, which is displayed by his emphasis on being ἄοπλος (*Od.* 8). His knowledge of the enemy is contrasted with Ajax's ἀμαθία. As in Pericles' speech, there is a theme of true bravery coming from the knowledge of the danger, as opposed to bravery from ignorance, or thinking that bravery is related to strength alone in the case of Ajax.

Ignorant boldness is contrasted with calculated bravery, τόλμα which is combined with consideration (ἐκλογίζεσθαι).¹¹⁸

It is this type of bravery – τόλμα that is calculated (λογισμός) – which Pericles' speech describes as uniquely Athenian. It is clear that in Thucydides, the opposite of this – ἀλογιστός τόλμα – is seen in a negative way. At *History* 3.82.4, in the description of the Corcyrean *stasis*, amongst the terrible things to befall the Greek city states is the fact that ἀλογιστός τόλμα becomes viewed as courage and loyalty to the party, something which Thucydides presents as perverse. It reappears at 6.59.1, to describe the rash actions of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and once again its use is pejorative.¹¹⁹ Thucydides' stance on uncalculated boldness is evident; and Odysseus' attack on Ajax is in line with an appreciation for daring which is connected to intelligence rather than ignorance.

A commonality develops between the speech of Antisthenes' Odysseus and the Pericles of Thucydides, where both show an interest in semantic distinction, which itself is in line with other intellectual thinkers of the fourth-century (Prodicus being a notable example).¹²⁰ Antisthenes explores definitions and the correct usage of words; by clarifying the meaning of ἀνδρεία, Odysseus shows that Ajax is not brave or wise concerning war, since Ajax's own belief is that his bravery comes from his strength. Strength and bravery are not the same thing. Pericles' suggestion is somewhat similar; bravery is a combination of τόλμα and λογισμός rather than θράσος through ἀμαθία. Prodicus, a slightly older contemporary of Antisthenes,

¹¹⁸ Pericles' speech in many ways anticipates the views of Aristotle, who viewed courage as a mean between cowardice and recklessness. Aristotle also discusses those who appear courageous, but are brave out of ignorance; he does not use the word ἀμαθία but the verb ἀγνοέω to describe this ignorance. See *Nicomachean Ethics* 1115a-1117b.

¹¹⁹ This point is made by Hornblower (1991) 483, and Balot (2001) 516. See also Edmund (1975) 75, and Swain (1993) 37; all mention the repetition of the phrase at 6.59.1.

¹²⁰ Prodicus became so famous for making semantic distinctions that he is the butt of a joke by Socrates in Plato (*Cratylus* 384b).

has been credited with influencing Thucydides' own interest in semantic distinctions both by ancient and modern commentators.¹²¹ A similar concept of bravery appears in Plato's *Laches*, which is attributed to Prodicus:

... ἀλλ' οἶμαι τὸ ἄφοβον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνδρείας μὲν καὶ προμηθείας πάνυ τισὶν ὀλίγοις οἶμαι μετεῖναι, θρασύτητος δὲ καὶ τόλμης καὶ τοῦ ἀφόβου μετὰ ἀπρομηθείας πάνυ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ θηρίων.

(*Laches* 197b)¹²²

...But I consider that the fearless and the courageous are not the same thing. In my opinion very few people are endowed with courage and forethought, while recklessness, boldness, and fearlessness without any forethought, are found in a great number of men, women, children, and animals.

This statement comes from Nicias, but the method used by Nicias is attributed to Prodicus in Socrates' reply.¹²³ Nicias, like Antisthenes' Odysseus and Pericles, considers the true meaning of the word ἀνδρεία, and determines that fearlessness and bravery are not the same thing. Bravery, ἀνδρεία, is linked to προμήθεια, forethought; this can be compared to the idea of bravery in Pericles' speech and Odysseus', where bravery is understood to comprise of daring with knowledge and consideration of the dangers at hand. Likewise, in Nicias' opinion, τόλμης καὶ τοῦ ἀφόβου μετὰ ἀπρομηθείας is found in most men, women, children and animals. These attributes do not constitute true bravery. Like the 'others' who are brave out of

¹²¹ See Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 36. For a discussion of similarities between the style of Prodicus and Thucydides, see Solmsen (1971) 385-408. The interest in semantic distinctions and the correctness of speech occurs in various ancient sources. In Plato, Socrates says that Protagoras taught on the subject of ὀρθοέπεια, the correct usage of words (Plato, *Phaedrus* 267c6). Democritus also wrote on the correctness of language in Homer, ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ἢ ΟΡΘΟΕΠΕΙΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΛΩΣΣΕΩΝ (B20a DK).

¹²² Citations of Plato's *Laches* are from Burnet (1968).

¹²³ Socrates says in reply to Nicias' statements that this wisdom comes from Damon, who constantly associates with Prodicus, ὅς δὴ δοκεῖ τῶν σοφιστῶν κάλλιστα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα διαίρειν, 'who now seems to be the most able of the Sophists at separating names (meanings) such as these', *Laches* 197d.

rashness in Pericles' speech (*Hist.* 2.40.3), and Ajax, who rushes into battle like an angry wild animal (*Od.* 6) and confuses strength and bravery (*Od.* 13), most people are rash rather than brave; to Nicias, bravery is in being φρόνιμος, being in control of one's senses (*Laches* 197c). This distinction in the meaning of bravery by all three authors shows us that this was a recurring theme in Athenian thought; and by highlighting these intellectual qualities Pericles and Antisthenes can claim, for the Athenian people and Odysseus respectively, the quality of true bravery, ἀνδρεία.¹²⁴

It is important to remember throughout this discussion that Thucydides, via Pericles, is presenting an idealised concept of the Athenians. So far, I have discussed how this presentation shows themes which recur in Antisthenes, in a way which exposes similarities between a fifth-century Odysseus and what it means to be an Athenian. This does not necessarily suggest that Antisthenes is directly influenced by Thucydides; instead, it merely highlights Antisthenes' use of Athenian values to promote his hero Odysseus. There are other examples in Athenian literature outside of Thucydides which also help to support this idea. Buxton, in *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy*, links πειθώ (skill with λόγοι) to the Athenian's idealised view of themselves, which is in opposition to βία, force or strength; and this polarization is connected to the contrast between the Athenians and the rest of the Greek world, or barbarians, or Spartans.¹²⁵ As examples, Buxton discusses Isocrates and Lysias and the evidence they provide for a concept of the Athenians as seeing the value of deliberation, more so than other Greek states. Lysias, in his own *Epitaphios*, in explaining the origins of Athens as a pioneer of democracy, describes how the Athenian ancestors deemed that it was the way (ἔργον) of wild beasts to control one another by βία, and to convince by argument (λόγῳ δὲ πείσσαι) was the duty of

¹²⁴ The similarity between Thucydides and Plato's *Laches* is mentioned in passing by Balot (2001) 516 n.24. For more on the distinction between courage and thoughtless daring, see de Romilly (1980) 314. Again, a similar distinction occurs in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 1115a18-19, and in the *Eudemian Ethics* 1229b22-30.

¹²⁵ Buxton (1982) 55.

men;¹²⁶ and that this was to be served in action (ἔργῳ) through the instruction of reason:

...ἡγησάμενοι θηρίων μὲν ἔργον εἶναι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βία κρατεῖσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκειν νόμῳ μὲν ὀρίσαι τὸ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πείσαι, ἔργῳ δὲ τούτοις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὑπὸ νόμου μὲν βασιλευμένους, ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ διδασκομένους.

(Lysias, *Funeral Oration* 19)¹²⁷

For they deemed that it was the way of wild beasts to be ruled by one another by force, but the duty of men to distribute justice by law, to convince by reason, and to serve these two in act by submitting to the sovereignty of law and the instruction of reason.

Buxton discusses how Isocrates also considers that persuasion and deliberation through words has a special association with Athenian democracy.¹²⁸ Isocrates' view is that of the Athenian statesmen of old, it was the ἀρίστοι ῥήτορες who brought the most good to the city. His examples are Solon (*Antid.* 231), Cleisthenes (*Antid.* 232), Themistocles (*Antid.* 233), and, of course, Pericles, who is described as a good leader and best orator, δημαγωγὸς ὦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος (*Antid.* 234). We can see the parallels here to Thucydides' description of Pericles in Book 1 of the *History* as

¹²⁶ There is a notable parallel here to Democritus (B181 DK), who remarks that persuasion, πειθῶ, through λόγος is a superior guide to ἀρετὴ than law, as law will not prevent a man from committing injustice in secret. Democritus also states, διόπερ συνέσει τε καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ ὀρθοπράγέων τις ἀνδρεῖος ἅμα καὶ εὐθύγνωμος γίγνεται, that 'through acting correctly man will become at the same time brave (ἀνδρεῖος) and upright through understanding and knowledge'. This concept of bravery through understanding is the same as that of Pericles, Antisthenes and Prodicus as explained above.

¹²⁷ Citations of Lysias' *Funeral Oration* are from Carey (2007). A recurring *topos* in fifth-century literature is 'progress theories', i.e. early human life was bestial, and ruled by violence until the invention of laws and/or religion via persuasion: e.g., Protagoras' explanation of the origin of the *polis* (Plato *Protagoras* 320c7-322d5); the so-called *Sisyphus* Fragment ascribed to Critias (*TrGF* 43 fr. 19 Snell) which explains how the laws and religion were invented to prevent human wrong-doing; for discussion, see Hesk (2000) 179-88, O'Sullivan (2012) 167-85, and Whitmarsh (2014) 109-26.

¹²⁸ See Buxton (1982) 55.

the most powerful among the Athenians in action and speech.¹²⁹ Further to this, Isocrates determines that it is the Athenians' education in wisdom and speech which sets them apart from all others, and what makes the Athenians better than the rest of the Hellenes:

...ὥσθ' ἅπασι μὲν βούλεσθαι προσήκει πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ παιδείας δεινοὺς εἰπεῖν γιγνομένους, μάλιστα δ' ὑμῖν: καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ προέχετε καὶ διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων οὐ ταῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείαις, οὐδ' ὅτι κάλλιστα πολιτεύεσθε καὶ μάλιστα φυλάττετε τοὺς νόμους οὓς ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι κατέλιπον, ἀλλὰ τούτοις οἷς περὶ ἢ φύσις ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἄμεινον πεπαιδεῦσθαι τῶν ἄλλων.

(Isocrates, *Antid.* 293-24)

*As a result, it is appropriate for everyone, especially you jurors, to want many to become skilled speakers through education. For you excel and are superior to others not because of your attention to military matters, or because you have the best constitution, or are the most effective guardians of the laws your ancestors left to you, but because of that feature which makes human nature superior to that of other living creatures and the Greek race superior to the barbarians, namely, a superior education in intellect and speech.*¹³⁰

Isocrates states that it is proper for all men to want to have their youth trained to become powerful speakers, but most of all for the Athenians, who do not distinguish themselves from all others in matters of war or government, but in the fact that they have been taught better than all others in φρόνησις and in λόγοι, 'in judgement and in speeches'. This is what distinguishes man from animals, Hellenes from barbarians, and the Athenians from the rest of the Hellenes: the ability to arrive at

¹²⁹ Even in Plato, Pericles is described as the greatest *rhētōr* of the Greeks (Menexenus 235E; although, for a discussion of the contained irony, see Yunis (1996) 138-140, and for Plato's critique of Pericles in the *Gorgias* see 142ff.). For a more comprehensive discussion of Pericles as an orator, see Hesk (2013) 61, and Yunis (1991) 179-200 (and above, n.116).

¹³⁰ Translations of Isocrates' *Antodosis* are from Mirhady and Too (2000).

sound judgements and the ability to persuade through the power of λόγος. Isocrates claims that men who have attained eloquence through philosophy and reasoning (φιλοσοφία καὶ λογισμῶ) do not speak without reflection, and therefore are less likely to make errors in προᾶξις (*Antid.* 292). Like Pericles in the *Epitaphios*, Isocrates places the importance of words in relation to decisions of action highly; λόγος enables correct judgements to be made.

What these authors also emphasize strongly, like Pericles in the *Epitaphios*, is that this disposition towards deliberation, and the wisdom that comes with the instruction of words ahead of deeds, is an essentially Athenian quality. These authors are contemporaries of Antisthenes, and since they endorse Pericles' presentation of the Athenian character, they are relevant to Antisthenes' speeches as well. Antisthenes' presentation of Ajax as decidedly opposed to Athenian characteristics is contrasted to the character of Odysseus. This polarity helps to suggest that Antisthenes makes Odysseus an intellectual hero, presenting him with 'Athenian' qualities; Ajax, on the other hand, fills the role of the 'other', the Spartans, barbarians, or even animals, to which he is compared in (*Od.* 6) and (*Od.* 14).¹³¹ This is not to say that acceptance of these Athenian intellectual qualities was necessarily universal, and in the next section I will explore another set of speeches in Thucydides which show contrasting views on the importance of deliberation and words.

Intelligence and Deliberation in the Mytilene Debate

The *Epitaphios* presents to Thucydides' readers the 'Myth of Athens', through the words of Pericles, a man for whom Thucydides appears to have a great, if not

¹³¹ The comparison of the stubbornness of Ajax to a mule in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 11.558) is seen as a positive, if unglamorous, attribute; in Antisthenes, it is turned into a negative quality. Likewise, Ajax's towering shield (*Il.* 7.220) is seen as a supreme defensive weapon in Homer, but Antisthenes' Odysseus turns it into a weapon of cowardice which Ajax hides behind in (*Od.* 7).

universal, respect.¹³² One of the key features of the idealised Athenian is, as I have discussed, a propensity, and indeed a respect, for deliberation before action which comes with an understanding of the matters at hand. The whole speech is a presentation of the Athenian Empire ‘in its Sunday best’,¹³³ and if this picture begins to crumble throughout the speeches and events which follow throughout the *History*, at least we get a clear idea of how, in popular thought, the Athenians liked to view their Empire and its unique character at the highest point of its power.

Thucydides explains that Athenian leadership was turned over to the rule of demagogues after Pericles (*Hist.* 2.65.10), but this does not mean that the general tendencies of the Athenians to deliberate before action vanished, even if they were not as prominent as under Pericles. It is useful to consider some other examples in Thucydides which strengthen the view that intelligence and deliberation are valued by the Athenians and claimed as specific traits of theirs; this further shows how Antisthenes’ Ajax is at odds with Thucydides’ idealized Athenian character – even if cracks are beginning to show in post-Periclean Athens.¹³⁴ An example of this is the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus in the Mytilene debate.¹³⁵

¹³² I will not attempt to enter into a discussion concerning Thucydides’ general views on Pericles. His *encomium* of Pericles (*Hist.* 2.65.5-13) gives us a clear expression of admiration; for discussion, see for example Yunis (1991) 179-200. There is also the possibility that Thucydides sets up the Funeral Oration as self-refuting, in that the ideal of Athenian democracy falls apart as soon as it is no longer led by Pericles, who himself fails to see his own importance in the democratic system: see Ober (1993) 96-9, Balot (2001) 522-3, and for more general discussion, Monoson and Loriaux (1998) 285-97. Taylor (2009) argues that Thucydides actually offers a critique Periclean leadership and policy, connecting his re-invention of the city to its long-term failures.

¹³³ As phrased by Orwin (1994) 28-29.

¹³⁴ Thucydides explains the shift in Athenian politics after the death of Pericles, *Hist.* 2.65; whereas Pericles was able to control the Athenians fairly, after his death his successors indulged populist whims in an attempt to secure their own positions.

¹³⁵ These speeches have been scrutinized extensively by modern scholarship; Gomme (1956) 315 concluded that the speeches were as much about how to conduct a debate in the *ekklesia* as the fate of Mytilene. For more detailed discussion of the speeches and their importance, see for example Kagan (1975) 71-94, Macleod (1983) 88-102, Ober (1998) 103, Debnar (2000) 161-78, and Hesk (2000) 248-58

Thucydides' dislike of Cleon is made clear, as he is described as the most violent of citizens (*Hist.* 3.36.6).¹³⁶ He appears as one of the prominent demagogues replacing Pericles, who are described in unfavourable terms by Thucydides as a contrast to the ability and incorruptibility of Pericles.¹³⁷ While Cleon is presented as a leading demagogue (even if this is the first time the reader of Thucydides has heard of him), Diodotus is given no introduction beyond his patronymic – perhaps it is Thucydides' intention to have the brashness of Cleon defeated by a relatively obscure but astute Athenian.¹³⁸ Cleon attempts to persuade the Athenians to uphold the decision they had previously made to kill and enslave the Mytilenians, and in this speech his remarks against rhetoric are reminiscent of Ajax's opinion on words:

αἵτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, οἵτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες ὥς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἤδη, οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστότερον ὄψει λαβόντες ἢ τὸ ἀκουσθὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων.

(*Hist.* 3.38.4)

Those responsible are you who are worthlessly organising these contests; you who have become accustomed to being spectators of speeches but listeners to actions; for deeds yet to happen you consider possible because of good speakers, but for matters which have happened already, you trust not as much in what you saw as what you heard, from those who have made a fine speech.

(who offers a particularly useful outline of the problems the speeches present in light of the rhetoric of anti-rhetoric and the paradox of Diodotus' endorsement of deception).

¹³⁶ Hornblower (1991) 420 argues that βιαίωτος should not be read as 'violent'. For more on the violence of Cleon (and as an opposite of Pericles), see Wohl (2009) 73-81, who also considers depictions outside of Thucydides, including in Plutarch and Aristophanes.

¹³⁷ See *Hist.* 2.65.10-1. Hornblower (1991) 340-1 argues that Thucydides misjudges the differences between Pericles and his successors (which does not affect how he presents Pericles, Cleon, or the idealized Athenian, even if he is historically incorrect). See also Connor (1971) 119-36 on the similarities (as well as the differences) between Pericles and Cleon.

¹³⁸ See Yunis (1996) 93, Hornblower (1991) 432, and Connor (1972) 23-4. Hornblower does point out that there are arguments to suggest that Diodotus held office at some point – see Ostwald (1979) 5-13. Hesk (2000) 255 argues that despite Diodotus' obscurity, his ability as an equal to Cleon will be problematic to the view that he is not one of the demagogues which Thucydides holds in contempt.

Cleon complains that the Athenians have become accustomed to being spectators of speeches, listeners of deeds, basing decisions on what they have heard in some speech rather than what they witnessed themselves. He makes a direct attack on the Athenian's love of sophists at *Hist.* 3.38.7,¹³⁹ saying that they are slaves to the pleasure of listening, more the audience of sophists than the council of the city: ἀπλῶς τε ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσώμενοι καὶ σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἐοικότες καθημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις. Cleon, like Antisthenes' Ajax, dislikes the reliance on words and finds the influence professional speakers have upon the Athenian people objectionable. Ironically, this powerful speech itself shows how Cleon is an able speaker, even if Cleon himself resents the prominence of speech and debate in Athens.¹⁴⁰

In Cleon's speech the nexus of λόγοι and ἔργα, which had become a defining part of Athens' greatness in the Funeral Oration, is cast aside. If Pericles felt some reservations about using λόγοι to praise the dead, it was for fear of misrepresenting their actions to the audience; Cleon's dislike of Athenian reliance on λόγοι is far deeper, in that he attacks their love of deliberation and listening to speeches. This is a stark contrast to Pericles' statement at *Hist.* 2.40.2: the Athenians do not consider words harmful to deeds, but actually consider it more harmful not to engage in deliberation in order to inform the course of action. Cleon's use of anti-intellectual language furthers the gap between his view of how the Athenians should act and the

¹³⁹ This is not, however, a direct attack on the Sophists themselves, even if hostility can be inferred. See Hornblower (1991) 427.

¹⁴⁰ While it has often been considered that Cleon is generally perceived as an 'anti-Pericles' in Thucydides (see Lang (1972) 159-69), it is worth noting that despite differences in style and policy, there are parallels between the two. For example, the speech of Pericles following the plague includes similar sentiments concerning the relationship between Athens and her allies to those of Cleon's speech during the Mytilene debate. Unlike his position in the Funeral Oration, Pericles accepts that Athens' empire is a tyranny, which has incurred the hatred of others (*Hist.* 2.63.1-2). In the same way, Cleon argues that Athens is a tyranny ruling over conspiring subjects who hate its oppression (*Hist.* 3.37.2). See Hornblower (1991) 422-3, on 3.37.2.

Athenian ideal as presented by Pericles. At 3.37.3, Cleon says he prefers ἀμαθία with σωφροσύνη to immoral craftiness,¹⁴¹ but that the simpler (φαυλότεροι)¹⁴² men make better citizens than cleverer, ξυνετώτεροι. It is ἀμαθία which Antisthenes' Odysseus accuses Ajax of suffering (*Od.* 5), and he goes on to say it is the greatest evil to those who suffer it (*Od.* 14). σύνεσις is an important word in Thucydides; it is implied that Pericles is ξυνετός (see above), and is used in a positive sense in Themistocles' character judgements of Themistocles, Theseus, Hermocrates, and others.¹⁴³

It is unusual for the term to suddenly carry negative weight.¹⁴⁴ Cleon's preference for σωφροσύνη is also interesting, because it is more often seen as a Spartan trait – at 1.79.2, Archidamas, the Spartan king, is praised for being both ξυνετός and σώφρων (the only individual to be explicitly called σώφρων in Thucydides). In the speech following this, Archidamas, like Cleon, praises the Spartan trait of σωφροσύνη while disapproving of ἀχρεΐα ξυνετοί, 'useless cleverness' (*Hist.* 1.84.3).¹⁴⁵ Similar to Cleon's attack on the Athenians, Archidamas' praise of the Spartan character aligns the mindset of discipline and a rejection of cleverness and intelligence to an acceptance and obeying of the laws. In setting up the anti-intellectual views and language expressed by Cleon, Thucydides makes him mirror the language of the Spartans idealised view of themselves.

¹⁴¹ The preference for σωφροσύνη is perhaps not too controversial at face value – but see Hornblower (1991) 125, who discusses this as a Spartan term.

¹⁴² This is the same term used by Glaucon to describe the unjust man who is not 'perfectly unjust', and is therefore a bungler, *Republic* 2.361a-c; see chapter 1 for more discussion.

¹⁴³ The term is used to praise Themistocles (1.138.3), Hermocrates (6.72.2), Archidamas (1.79.2), Theseus (2.15.2), Brasidas (4.81.2), the Pisistratids (6.54.5), and Phrynichus (8.27.5). See De Bakker (2013) 27 and n.14. I discuss this more fully in relation to Themistocles and Hermocrates below.

¹⁴⁴ Apart from Archidamos' speech, σύνεσις is also used negatively at 3.82.7, in the Corcyrean *stasis*. Here, it is the title of ξυνετόν which is being fought for – so rather than a negative use of the word *per se*, it is more that it is devious men who wish to be known as intelligent.

¹⁴⁵ See Hornblower (1991) 129, and Dover (1974) 118-9.

Diodotus' response reaffirms the Periclean idea that words and action are compatible, and that λόγος is important in shaping policy. In his speech, to contrast Cleon even more strongly, ξυνετός is used with an approving sense to the word:

τούς τε λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἀξύνετός ἐστιν ἢ ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει: ἀξύνετος μὲν, εἰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἡγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐμφανοῦς φράσαι, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῷ, εἰ βουλόμενός τι αἰσχρὸν πεῖσαι εὖ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖται περὶ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δύνασθαι, εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν ἐκπλήξαι ἂν τοὺς τε ἀντεροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους.

(Hist. 3.42.2)

Anyone who contends that speeches ought not to become the teachers of action, he is either senseless or has a private interest: senseless if he believes it possible in any other way to consider the things which are about to happen and are not yet clear; and interested if he wishes to promote some shameful thing, and not thinking he is able to speak well for a bad cause, with effective slander he thinks to stun opponents and hearers.

Diodotus, like Pericles, sees that λόγος is a necessary way to guide action, and only a fool or someone with personal interests at stake would try to say that there is any way to determine the uncertainty of the future other than through λόγοι. He uses the word διδάσκαλος to express the relationship between λόγοι and πράγματα, suggesting that deliberation and words must act as a master or teacher for deeds. It is someone who is ἀξύνετος, without intelligence, who considers that it is possible to consider the future when it is not immediately apparent, through a medium other than λόγοι.

Foresight, and the ability to see into the future, is explicitly praised by Thucydides in his character judgements of Pericles and Themistocles. Evidence of

Pericles' πρόνοια regarding the war is perceived after his death;¹⁴⁶ Themistocles is described as excelling at seeing forward (προεώρα) into the uncertain future, which is described as ἀφανής. He was the finest at forecasting, even of those things which were far away from happening, τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου (*Hist.* 1.138.3). Diodotus' exhortation that words help with determining things which are yet to happen and are unclear (using the words τοῦ μέλλοντος and μὴ ἐμφανοῦς) shows how he values the abilities which made Pericles and Themistocles the standout statesmen in Thucydides.¹⁴⁷ And this theme of looking into the future is something which is consistent with Antisthenes' Odysseus, who predicts Ajax's suicide by harming himself by falling on something (*Od.* 5),¹⁴⁸ and correctly foresees that a poet will describe himself as πολύμητιν καὶ πολυμήχανον (*Od.* 14).

This is not the only place where Diodotus' speech and Odysseus share some similarities – even if only superficially. The anti-intellectualism of both Ajax and Cleon is what creates the parallel. In fact, Ajax and Cleon are both direct in insulting their audience; while Odysseus (*Od.* 1-2, suggesting that he has done more good than everyone) and Diodotus (*Hist.* 3.43, criticizing the Athenians for being so suspicious of even good advice that it is necessary to lie to be believed¹⁴⁹) do not shy away from speaking frankly to their audience, they do not aggressively insult them.

¹⁴⁶ Near the end of Thucydides' encomium of Pericles, there is a justification for Pericles' belief that the Athenians could have won the war (*Hist.* 2.65.12-3). For more discussion of the foresight of Pericles and Thucydides' interpretation, see Luginbill (2011) 91-6.

¹⁴⁷ We should not forget Thucydides' own views on determining the past from what is probable, which is aligned with the Statesman's ability to determine the future. See Morrison (2006) 15-7.

¹⁴⁸ He determines this from what is likely, ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων. Themistocles' foresight makes him ἄριστος εἰκαστής (*Hist.* 1.138.3); see Morrison (2006) 17. Thucydides, too, refers to making reasonable conjectures in relation to the past (*Hist.* 1.9.4, εἰκάζειν δὲ χρόνῳ).

¹⁴⁹ The problem which Diodotus' peculiar endorsement for the necessity of deception creates (how can the listener/reader help but suspect Diodotus' speech of using this same deception?) has been frequently noted: see Hornblower (1991) 433, Hesk (2000) 168, 250-8, and Debnaar (2000) 161-78. Debnaar's argument is particularly interesting, in that she interprets the paradox generally as Diodotus' appeal to men who like to combine justice and expedience.

Cleon is disparaging of the Athenians in his audience (*Hist.* 3.37.1), and Ajax openly admits to not having any faith in the jurors' judgement even though they are the ones he is attempting to persuade (*Aj.* 1, 4). Insulting the audience also appears in Athenagoras' speech to the Syracusans (*Hist.* 6.39.2), a notably unpleasant and aggressive speech.¹⁵⁰ While insulting the audience does not necessarily denote any perceivable hostility from Thucydides' account, it does give a mood to the speech which fits with the anti-intellectual stance of Cleon.¹⁵¹

Diodotus explains that a good citizen should use fair argument rather than frightening to win over his opponent: *χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου φαίνεσθαι ἄμεινον λέγοντα*, 'it is necessary for the good citizen not to make his opponent fearful, but to prove himself fairly by speaking better' (*Hist.* 3.42.5). Once again *λόγος* appears as the tool of a good citizen, in the use of better reasoning (*ἄμεινον λέγοντα*), and again this statement brings the character of the blustering Cleon in line with that of Antisthenes' Ajax. Like Diodotus, Odysseus accuses Ajax of scaring his audience with threats: *προσαπειλεῖς ὥς κακὸν δράσων τι τούσδε, ἐὰν ἐμοὶ τὰ ὅπλα ψηφίσωνται*, 'you threaten that you will do something bad to these people if they vote the arms to me' (*Od.* 5). While Ajax scares his audience with direct threats (*Aj.* 7), Cleon frightens his audience with disaster; what Diodotus and Odysseus both imply is that their opponents use this technique of 'frightening' because they lack the ability to persuade with *ἄμεινον λέγοντα* – in fact they attack the value of *λόγος*

¹⁵⁰ Apart from insulting his audience and calling the Syracusans *ἀσύνετος*, devoid of sense, Athenagoras' speech is rude and aggressive: see Yunis (1991) 194-5. His dismissal of the likelihood of an invasion (*Hist.* 6.39) would appear ridiculous to Thucydides' reader, who has already heard of the Athenian preparations. To justify his position, he suggests to the assembly that his opponents (Hermocrates and those suggesting Athens intends to invade) are scaring the people to gain power, himself inciting the fear of an oligarchic revolution (*Hist.* 6.38), which ends in a general intervening and preventing further speakers, since the assembly has been reduced to trading insults (*Hist.* 6.41.1-2).

¹⁵¹ For more on Athenagoras and Stenelaidas' speech in relation to Cleon's, see Hornblower (1991) 422, and Yunis (1991) 194. For more on insulting the audience, see Dover (1974) 24f.

itself.¹⁵² Therefore the Mytilenean debate shows a repetition of the idea that proper counsel through λόγος is necessary in determining policy, and Cleon, like Ajax, are presented as making an error – at least in the Athenian mindset – by rejecting its influence and importance. And, it is worth noting, even if by a narrow margin, Diodotus' appeal ultimately persuades the Athenians.

While the main purpose of this discussion is to explore Odysseus' endorsement of λόγοι in Antisthenes and Ajax's dismissal of it, much more could be said about parallels between Antisthenes' Odysseus and the idealised citizen in Athenian self-presentation – especially the energy and versatility shared by each. Pericles claims in the *Epitaphios* that the Athenians are constantly on the move, involving themselves in politics, and willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of the city (*Hist.* 2.39-42). Antisthenes' Odysseus would have indeed made a fine Athenian; he also strives to help the army day and night, planning his next move. Odysseus never ceases to find out ways to hurt the enemy, day and night; he goes behind the walls of the enemy at night (*Od.* 8) and dresses as a beggar (*Od.* 9). Even when wearied by fighting, Odysseus attacks the enemy at night (*Od.* 10). He fights in all the same battles as Ajax, but embarks on his own private dangers as well (*Od.* 1). It is no surprise that Pericles uses the term εὐτράπελος to describe the Athenians (*Hist.* 2.41.1), resourceful or witty; Antisthenes calls Odysseus πολύμητιν καὶ πολυμήχανον (*Od.* 14), and there is no escaping Odysseus' epithet of πολύτροπος, the resourceful man of many ways. The importance of the qualities of resourcefulness and versatility is a key part of Pericles' characterization of the Athenians, since it is what makes them stand out from the more conservative, less

¹⁵² However, creating fear with speech is reminiscent of Thucydides' description of Pericles, *Hist.* 2.65.9. When the Athenians become overconfident, Pericles would shock them into fear (καταπλήσσω) with his words. At 3.42.2, Diodotus suggests that a self-interested person who denounces the ability of words to inform action might intend to stun the audience (ἐκπλήσσω) with slander. The difference is that Diodotus is expressing *ekplexis* as a technique for the self-interested to manipulate his audience, whereas Thucydides' Pericles uses it to steer the Athenians on the right course – and he is described in the same passage as διαφανής, incorruptible.

dynamic nature of the Spartans. If these attributes suit the character of Odysseus so well, it raises the question of the extent to which ancient audiences saw Odysseus as a 'villain' in plays such as Sophocles' *Philoctetes* or Euripides' *Hecuba* and even *Cyclops* — dramas in which his status as a villain has become a truism of modern scholarship.¹⁵³ But the Athenian-like characterization of Odysseus in Antisthenes perhaps tells us that his favourable presentation here may have implications for various other fifth-century representations of him, which may not be as hostile as they are usually seen. Thucydides' portrayal of the Athenians in the *Epitaphios* and elsewhere, and the Odyssean parallels which are exploited by Antisthenes in his *Odysseus* speech, give us a benchmark with which to view the Odysseus of fourth- and fifth-century Athens.

The similarities in themes in Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches compared with Pericles' speech in the Funeral Oration provide some interesting insights into Athenian perceptions of heroic identity, whether this is in the context of a mythical characterization – Antisthenes is presenting Homeric figures through a fifth-century lens – or an idealised characterization of the Athenians themselves. Odysseus' Athenian qualities became quite evident in a comparative discussion of Pericles' misty-eyed, aggrandizing notion of what it meant to be an Athenian. But, if we are to accept that some forms of the Athenian character could be favourably connected to the idea of a resourceful, intelligent hero, how would this character be seen in the light of more unpleasant and distrustful facets of an intellectual hero?

One name which has already appeared at various occasions in this discussion is Themistocles. If Pericles (or, at least, Thucydides' Pericles) believed that the Athenians championed versatility, activity, and intelligence, then a standout Athenian to exemplify these qualities was Themistocles, for better or worse. To

¹⁵³ As I discussed in my Introduction, pp. 13-4, 16. I examine the views on Odysseus in each of these dramatic works in chapters 5 and 6.

discuss Themistocles as analogous to Homeric presentations of Odysseus is perhaps a rather obvious thing to do; Montiglio notes that Themistocles was nicknamed ‘Odysseus’ because of his φρόνησις (Plutarch, *Mor.* 869F), and that the nickname implies appreciation for Odysseus’ cunning.¹⁵⁴ Themistocles’ cunning and subsequent victory against the Persians could be seen as parallel to Odysseus’ role in the defeat of Troy with the invention of the wooden horse, and in any event the use of μῆτις to defeat the enemy seems to not have been seen in wholly negative terms.¹⁵⁵ However, Themistocles, as a latter-day Odysseus, gives us some further insight into Athenian perceptions of the hero of versatility, and may help to understand some of the traits of the character which Antisthenes has chosen to praise. This discussion will take us away from wholly Athenian literature, with the main historical literary source for the exploits of Themistocles being Herodotus.

Herodotus (alongside, for a later source, Plutarch) provides the bulk of our written account of the career of Themistocles. However, before discussing Themistocles as an Odyssean figure in Herodotus, I wish to turn first to a rather interesting episode in Thucydides: the historian’s glowing praise of Themistocles, and what implications this may have for a study of Odysseus in Athenian literature.

Thucydides’ Character Judgements: Themistocles, Hermocrates, and Brasidas.

If Thucydides carved out an identity for the Athenians in the Funeral Oration of Pericles, then his character judgements – the few times when the story is broken by

¹⁵⁴ See Montiglio (2011) 27.

¹⁵⁵ For in-depth discussions, see for example Detienne and Vernant (1991) 11-23, Hesk (2000) chapter 2, pp 85ff. In a fourth-century sophistic context, trickery could be seen as good and bad at the same time; the *Dissoi Logoi* sets out a series of arguments and counter-arguments to show that everything is relative. There is even an argument that it is just to lie and deceive one’s parents, if the motives are to help them (*Dissoi Logoi* 3.3-4). Again, Xenophon approves of deceit in war, *Memorabilia* 4.2.15-6.

the author's own viewpoint – become extremely useful.¹⁵⁶ Thucydides rarely digresses from his narrative to give his own opinion of events, so these character judgements spell out to the reader with more clarity exactly what the author himself felt about the individual in question, even if the position may or not have been evident without the interjection. The Athenians, as I have discussed, are presented as men of action, thoughtfulness, and intelligence (at least in Periclean Athens); therefore to see which characters were celebrated in the writings of Thucydides (both Athenian and non-Athenian), and for what reasons, helps to explain the Athenian affinity to the hero of intelligence. Significantly, Themistocles receives the most detailed and prominent character judgement in the whole of the *History*, and it is Themistocles who is most closely linked to a later-day Odysseus. Beyond this, there are various other character judgements which deserve scrutiny (namely those of Hermocrates, Pericles and Brasidas); from these, a pattern of features emerge which point even more clearly towards an Athenian celebration of craftiness and intelligence¹⁵⁷ – and an acceptance of tricks and tactics which fit comfortably with those of Odysseus, both as presented by Antisthenes and the mythic tradition more generally.¹⁵⁸ Thucydides extends praise and respect to non-Athenians who also show these features of intelligence.

¹⁵⁶ Westlake (1968) 5-19 spends some time analysing character judgements in Thucydides, dedicating a whole chapter to 'Explicit Judgements on Ability and Character'. Westlake is keen to assert that character judgements are rare in Thucydides because he prefers to implant opinions in the reader by indirect means (p.5), and are usually present for a specific purpose. The praise of Themistocles, while mentioned in passing, is not discussed by Westlake, as his actions fall outside of the events of the Peloponnesian War. For a more recent approach to these character judgements, see for example De Bakker (2013) 23-40.

¹⁵⁷ It is not expected that these qualities are only present in Athenians. My argument here is that Thucydides' explicit praise of these characters who show intelligence and craftiness is an indication of more widespread acceptance for this type of hero.

¹⁵⁸ In many ways, the discussions in this chapter become a precursor to my approach to Odysseus' presentation in Athenian drama in chapter 4; by referring to Odysseus in the mythic tradition more generally, I refer also to these later representations of Odysseus outside of, although clearly heavily influenced by, the Homeric tradition.

According to De Bakker, there are 15 individuals who receive some kind of explicit character judgement in Thucydides, with a total of 22 examples of these types of verdicts in total.¹⁵⁹ There have been various explanations of why these judgements appear for various characters specifically, and how they play into Thucydides' narrative. Westlake, for example, argues that Pericles and Cleon receive judgements for their standout significance, but for the most part the character verdicts are more prevalent later in the work.¹⁶⁰ He argues that this could represent a general (and late) change in Thucydides' attitude in acknowledging the importance of interactions between these personalities in shaping the events of the war, or that he was becoming more confident in his own judgements. Connor and De Bakker disagree, Connor believing that composition is a factor in the use of the judgements, and they appear as a part of the overall theme of the disintegration of the *polis*.¹⁶¹ De Bakker, in concluding his thoughts on Thucydides' character judgements, suggests that they were used as a tool to steer the narrative – and the increasing prevalence marked the importance of ἥθος and the effect it had on events in the later parts of the *History*.¹⁶²

For the most part, these considerations need not be examined in quite such detail for the purposes of this study, although Connor and De Bakker's approach is more aligned to the following discussion of Thucydides' character judgements. My interest in this aspect of Thucydides' *History* is to analyse the characterization of figures such as Themistocles and to determine in what ways such characters, explicitly praised by the author, are aligned to the Athenian ideal, or at least an Athenian appreciation for the attributes of the individuals. Many of these attributes

¹⁵⁹ De Bakker (2013) 25.

¹⁶⁰ Westlake (1968) 13-15.

¹⁶¹ Connor (1984) 214.

¹⁶² De Bakker (2013) 40.

which are presented in a complimentary way by Thucydides align themselves well with the traditional characterizations of Odysseus. While Westlake chose not to investigate Themistocles, the ἥθος of Themistocles clearly plays an important role in the history of Athens prior to the Peloponnesian War, and therefore De Bakker's position is consistent with what is one of the longest and most laudatory of Thucydides' judgements – which also happens to appear very early in the *History*.

Themistocles is not a central figure in Thucydides' narrative, which makes the digression to describe his qualities remarkable. The description comes alongside a brief synopsis of the career of Pausanias; the two are described as the most prominent men of their time in Hellas (*Hist.* 1.138.6).¹⁶³ By discussing the ends of their careers, Thucydides ties up a few loose ends in the narrative which are not finished by Herodotus.¹⁶⁴ Themistocles' fall from favour in Athens is hardly even mentioned, and the fact that he had been ostracised is only referred to in passing, in order to explain his whereabouts when the Spartans implicate him in an intrigue for which the Athenians agree to punish him (*Hist.* 1.135.3). Also rather uncharacteristic for Thucydides is the extent of the praise which he uses to describe Themistocles:

ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας
καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι: οἰκεία
γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν,
τῶν τε παραχρημα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ
τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής:
καὶ ἅ μὲν μετὰ χειρὸς ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε, ὧν δ' ἄπειρος
εἶη, κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο: τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ

¹⁶³ See Hornblower (1987) 128-9. Thucydides expected his readers to know what made Thucydides and Pausanias λαμπροί. Of course Herodotus goes through Themistocles' exploits in some detail, and see 9.64.1 for an example of Pausanias' greatness.

¹⁶⁴ See Rhodes (1970) 387-400, who discusses the digression of Thucydides on Pausanias and Themistocles, and treats the episode with some scepticism. Rhodes (p.400) also points out that the digression is not completely unique in Thucydides; see also *Hist.* 1.23.1-3, 2.29, 2.102.2-6; cf. Hornblower (1987) 24.

ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν φύσεως μὲν
δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.

(Thucydides *History* 1.138.3)

For Themistocles was a man who showed the strongest signs of natural ability, and more than any other was worthy of admiration. For from his natural intelligence, without prior learning or from experience, he was the most able at forming judgements immediately with the shortest of deliberation, and the best diviner of things to be even in the furthest future. And anything which he was familiar with, he was also able to explain; but if he were inexperienced, he did not fail to judge sufficiently. And most of all he would see forward, into the unknown, the better or the worse path. In summation, in natural ability, with the shortest of practice, this man was the best at intuitively performing what needed to be done.

Thucydides' assessment of Themistocles credits him with innate foresight and natural abilities. His ability to see things in the future is a reflection of his actions and decisions which led Athens to success against the Persians, and becoming a naval power. The foresight of Themistocles, which is never made quite so clear in Herodotus, is evidently accepted automatically by Thucydides, to the point at which he refers to it as genius, using a string of superlatives to explain why Themistocles was so worthy of wonder (δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής... ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα... μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος...).¹⁶⁵ The word κράτιστος is utilised twice – the same word is used by Pericles to describe those who are able to face misfortune with the least distress (*Hist.* 2.64.6),¹⁶⁶ and Themistocles' worthiness of wonder (ἄξιος θαυμάσαι) is phrased in exactly the same terms with which Pericles

¹⁶⁵ Superlatives, as noted by De Bakker (2013) 28 n.20, do appear frequently in Thucydides' character judgements, most notably in the case of Pericles, who is δυνατώτατος (*History* 1.127.3). Yet no other character in Thucydides receives 6 descriptive superlatives in such quick succession, as is the case in the praise of Themistocles.

¹⁶⁶ This word is also used to describe Alcibiades' ability at handling the war publicly (6.15.4), and standout individuals such as Antiphon (8.68.1).

uses for the Athenian state: his explanation of the Athenian's innate nature to meet danger without training is not the only reason why τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι, 'the city is worthy of admiration' (*Hist.* 2.39.4). This mirroring of language helps to emphasize that both Themistocles and the Athenians are exceptional, and suggests that they are aligned in their native capacities which makes them so effective. It is these capacities which also make them more similar to the dynamic Odysseus than to the honour-driven and simple Ajax.

Thucydides takes a break in his main narrative in order to introduce Themistocles and Pausanias, the Athenian and the Spartan who were the most prominent of their time,¹⁶⁷ precursors to the most prominent men who are the influential characters of the *History* itself. Their most obvious equivalents are Pericles and later, Brasidas.¹⁶⁸ Themistocles' natural talents, brilliant as they are, overlap with an attribute for which Pericles is singled out; foresight (which I have previously discussed in my analysis of Diodotus' preference for deliberation to determine the future (*Hist.* 3.42.2)). Foresight is attributed to Pericles' policies regarding the war, evident only after his death (*Hist.* 2.65.12-3).¹⁶⁹ Hornblower suggests that Themistocles' attributes prepare us for those of Pericles.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ As is noted by Hornblower (1991) 223, and again in Hornblower (1987) 33; Sparta and Athens are introduced with sketches of a great citizen of each, commerce versus naval power. Themistocles, and Pericles too, are shown to be advocates for the Athenian navy.

¹⁶⁸ See Connor (1984) 139 n.79; he notes how at 4.81.2 Thucydides mirrors the description of Brasidas to that of Pausanias at 1.130.2, and that this cycle is completed by using an otherwise unique phrase to describe both the conveying of Brasidas into Amphipolis and the removal of Pausanias from the temple of Athena (5.10.11 and 1.134.3 respectively). Both are also at this point described as receiving honours from the Spartans.

¹⁶⁹ Thucydides even goes out of his way to suggest that there was evidence that Pericles' belief in the Athenians ability to win the war was sound, if the Athenians had only followed his policies (2.65.13). Periclean foresight and the Athenian aptitude for it is discussed in the first section of this chapter, and again, see Luginbill (2011) 91-6.

¹⁷⁰ Hornblower (1991) 210.

And, as Rood notes, Pericles' foresight was connected to his war strategy. Thucydides laments that Pericles' policies, of relying on the navy and avoiding extending the Empire (*Hist.* 2.65.6), were not adhered to by the Athenians and this contributes to their ultimate failure in a war they could have won (*Hist.* 2.65.13). However the war strategy of Themistocles, again of relying upon the navy and city walls (but abandoning the countryside), is successfully adopted and leads to Athenian success (Plutarch *Themistocles* 10.2, Herodotus *Histories* 7.143.1-3). Thucydides singles Pericles and Themistocles out for their abilities to determine future events and create a successful strategy through intelligence; not dissimilar to the epic Odysseus, who does after all determine a way to sack Troy and outsmart the Cyclops, and whose constant strategizing and ability to determine future events are referred to by Antisthenes (*Od.* 4, 8 And *Od.* 5, 14 respectively).

Pericles' first speech actually immediately follows the Themistocles excursus. Pericles here is also introduced with the famous words of superlative ability: ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατότατος, 'the man foremost among the Athenians at this time, most able in speech and action' (*Hist.* 1.39.4).¹⁷¹ The similarity between these two goes beyond their innate abilities to determine things yet to happen. There is a parallel in the language in Thucydides' praise of Themistocles and Pericles, which is a nod to their ability to perform pragmatically what needs to be done – making them capable in a time of crisis. *Hist.* 1.39.4 is a smooth transition from Themistocles to Pericles as the

¹⁷¹ See Rood (1998) 138. Rood draws another comparison between Themistocles and Pericles, in that despite their greatness they both suffer at the hands of the Demos at a later point in their careers; Pericles is fined sometime after the plague (Plutarch, *Pericles* 35 and *Hist.* 2.65. It is mentioned in Plato (*Gorgias* 515e), reportedly a punishment for a charge of theft). He does, however, go on to return to power. Not mentioned by Rood is the comparable fall from favour of Miltiades, who is charged with treason and fined 50 talents after his failed expedition to Paros (told by Herodotus, *Histories* 6.136). Thucydides himself is exiled by the Athenians after his failed command at Amphipolis (*Hist.* 5.26.5).

man who was 'best at intuitively performing what needed to be done'.¹⁷² Yet if these two are aligned, does Thucydides use Themistocles as an example of Athenian greatness which sets the stage for what makes a good Athenian in Pericles' Funeral Oration? And, more to the point, does this help to strengthen the idea of Athenian acceptance of the intelligent and pragmatic hero who shares, for better or worse, traits with the epic and later Athenian renditions of Odysseus?

It is, of course, never this simple: Thucydides' account of Themistocles' genius does not have to be presenting qualities which are seen as exclusively Athenian. In fact, very similar language is used (if not as excessive in its praise) to describe other (non-Athenian) characters in the *History*. Hermocrates, too, is presented as a man inferior to none in intelligence, experienced in war, and illustrious for his courage:

...καὶ παρελθὼν αὐτοῖς Ἑρμοκράτης ὁ Ἑρμωνος, ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐς
τᾶλλα ξύνεσιν οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον
ἐμπειρία τε ἱκανὸς γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρεία ἐπιφανής...

(*Hist.* 6.72.2-3)

...and Hermocrates the son of Hermon came forward to them, a man
surpassed in intelligence by no other, and who had displayed exemplary
experience and courage in the war...

This character judgement, like the one describing Themistocles, pinpoints various attributes regarding their abilities,¹⁷³ and Thucydides shows an appreciation for both

¹⁷² See Hornblower (1991) 223. Hornblower refers to Thucydides' echoing of the skills of Themistocles in descriptions of Pericles on multiple occasions; his commentary here also draws a link between Pericles' ability to 'devise and explain (ἐρμηνεύσαι) a sound policy' (*Hist.* 2.60.5) and Themistocles being able to explain, ἐξηγήσασθαι. This comparison appears also in Hornblower (1987) 122, and see also Hornblower (2009) 72-3. Hornblower switches to translate ἐρμηνεύσαι as 'expound', which better suits the idea of his ability to control the people.

¹⁷³ This similarity in language is also discussed by Allison (1989) 118-9. Hermocrates as a Themistocles-like character has been noticed, in general terms at least, frequently; for example, Hunter (1977) 287, Connor (1984) 198, Palmer (1992) 112, Orwin (1994) 167, and Mara (2008) 119.

of them in light of their capacities to be able to use their intelligence in warfare.¹⁷⁴ They display ξύνεσις; in the case of Themistocles, it comes naturally, οἰκεία, while in the case of Hermocrates it is described as second-to-none, οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος.¹⁷⁵ The two are both discussed in relation to ἐμπειρία. Hermocrates' capability in war thanks to his experience is praised, while Themistocles was all the more impressive for being able to make good judgements even when he was ἄπειρος, without experience.¹⁷⁶

Although the two exhibit the same characteristics of intelligence and foresight, there is a suggestion that there is a distinction in how they come to attain them: the fact that Themistocles has them naturally and without practice shows that they are part of his nature, *phusis*. Hermocrates acquires these attributes by virtue of his experience, so there is an implication that his skill comes from preparation or training. The distinction is also revealed in Pericles' Funeral Oration, when the Athenian courage is described as being innate and natural, while the Spartans' courage is borne from training and compulsion:

...καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεόν ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν...

(*Hist.* 2.39.4)

¹⁷⁴ See Hunter (1973) 149-53, who argues that the Hermocrates digression comes at a crucial part of the narrative. According to her, the judgement made by the narrator and the flow of events from here can be seen as a variation of the *erga-logoi* combinations which she describes; see De Bakker (2013) 30-2, and also n.26.

¹⁷⁵ The generic term for intelligence, as is noted by De Bakker, is used frequently in the positive character judgements of Thucydides; Hermocrates, Archidamas (1.79.2), Theseus (2.15.2), the Pisistratids (6.54.5), and Phrynichus (8.27.5). De Bakker for some reason omits Thucydides' use of the word in the judgement of Themistocles; see De Bakker (2013) 27 and n.14.

¹⁷⁶ Despite Hermocrates' best attempts, much of the advice he gives is not acted upon by the democratic Syracusans; his recommendations to find support from the Peloponnesians and others, or to sail out to scare the Athenian fleet into a retreat, are ultimately ignored. See Hawthorn (2014) 174.

And yet we are willing to meet danger with habits of ease, rather than from suffering in preparation, with bravery not from custom but rather character...

Just prior to this Pericles has already explained that the Athenians, unlike their enemies, trust in εὐψυχία, being stout of heart, rather than παρασκευή, preparation (*Hist.* 2.39.1), and it is this part of Athenian nature which makes Athens worthier of wonder (*Hist.* 2.39.4; see above pp. 82-3). This discussion of *nomos* and *phusis* brings Thucydides' commentary on character up-to-date with then-contemporary intellectual concepts.¹⁷⁷ While showing an interest in contrasting arguments and antitheses,¹⁷⁸ a recurring intellectual theme in fifth- and fourth-century literature was the question of the relationship between the individual and the state, and particularly from a moral standpoint, whether *nomos* or *phusis* should be considered more important. This appears in philosophical dialogue, as we see in Plato's *Protagoras*, when Hippias argues that *nomos* constrains us contrary to our nature (337d), and also in drama, when Antigone chooses the natural *nomoi* of gods over the law set by Creon (Sophocles *Antigone* 450-461).¹⁷⁹ Antiphon's argument for the perceived superiority of *phusis* – as we see in Pericles' speech – suggests that following *nomoi* strictly (even when no-one is watching) causes harm to an individual when it conflicts with nature (87 B44 A DK).¹⁸⁰ Thucydides' use of the

¹⁷⁷ The *nomos* and *phusis* A seminal discussion of *nomos* and *phusis* is Heinemann (1945). More modern scholarship is vast; Dover (1974) provides a good summary, especially pp. 83-90. See also Pownall (2010) 13-25.

¹⁷⁸ A famous example being the *Dissoi Logoi* (90 DK), probably dating from near the end of the Peloponnesian War; it presents sets of contrasting moral terms against one another to present a relativistic notion that they can mean the same thing as each other depending on one's viewpoint. Perhaps ironically, Ajax repeats the sophistic statement οὐδ' ἀντιλέγειν ἔξεστι, 'it is not possible to contradict', even though in this situation he is actually meaning it in a practical sense – it is not possible to contradict your enemy with words while you are fighting (*Aj.* 7). See Prince (2015) 212.

¹⁷⁹ For discussion see Burns (2011) 122-39. Burns argues against the idea that the divine law versus Creon's edict necessarily represents *phusis* in opposition to *nomos*, since divine law in itself is a form of *nomos*.

¹⁸⁰ See Curd (2001) 150-3 and Pownall (2010) 13-4.

antithesis is more connected to nature as a component of character, *τρόπος*. This character is not dictated by *nomos*, but it comes intuitively to the Athenians.

This interest in character and creation of a distinct Athenian way is reinforced nearing the end of the *History*, when Thucydides comments that the Spartans had difficulty fighting the Athenians because the two were so opposed in nature, in *τρόπος* – the Spartans slow, the Athenians quick and enterprising (*Hist.* 8.96.5).¹⁸¹ However, the Syracusans are *μάλιστα ὁμοιότροποι*, most similar in character, to the Athenians, which is an explanation for their success against them. Hermocrates' brilliance comes as less of a surprise, even if he is not as naturally talented as Themistocles. This interest in different types of character is a focal point of the clash between Odysseus and Ajax, and the distinction is stressed very early by Ajax in Antisthenes: Ajax states that if he were up against someone *ὁμοιότροπος*, of the same nature, it would be all the same, but *this* man (Odysseus) could not be more different (*Aj.* 5). Odysseus' closing statement is to compare himself to Ajax and how they will be remembered – Ajax like slow beasts and cows that are yoked by others, while Homer will call him *πολύμητιν καὶ πολυμήχανον καὶ πολίπορθον* (*Od.* 14).

Hermocrates' reception in Xenophon gives us another Athenian point of reference. When he is banished by the democratic party, the men miss his *ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα*, his care and eagerness and communal spirit (Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.1.30). The care of his men is somewhat reminiscent of what we expect of Odysseus, both in epic¹⁸² as well as the Antisthenes speech, where

¹⁸¹ This idea of Athenian activity as contrasted to Spartan cautiousness has a parallel in the speech of the Corinthians, Thucydides *Hist.* 1.70.1-9. At *Hist.* 4.55.2, the Spartans' reaction to Athenian movements is to spread their forces and raise a cavalry, which is contrary to their *ēthos*; and they become even more *ὀκνηρός*, timid, than ever before.

¹⁸² Odysseus' care of his men is often linked to their very human need for sustenance; at *Iliad* 19.155, it is Odysseus who points out to a raging Achilles that the soldiers must be fed before going out to war again (for comments on episode see for example Loudon (2006) 143, Stanford (1954) 68). At *Odyssey* 10.174-7 he is able to kill a stag to prevent their starvation, and the death of the stag is described in

he is vocal about acting in the interests of all (*Od.* 2, 4) and presents himself as like a captain watching over his men (*Od.* 8; although the irony of the fact that Odysseus loses all his men in the *Odyssey* must be noted, even if the opening of the epic is quick to point out this was not his fault). This theme of Odysseus as a character of self-sacrifice and acting for the good of all is revisited in tragedy, which will be discussed in chapter 4. Xenophon describes how Hermocrates' daily discussions with the men of his plans meant that he earned a reputation as the best at advising and speaking: Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἡὺδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλευεῖν τὰ κράτιστα (*Hellenica* 1.31). This presentation reinforces Thucydides' opinion of Hermocrates as a man of intellect and forethought, and a respect for his craftiness – even if it is used against the Athenians.

Hermocrates' ruse against the Athenians is an example of the intelligence for which the historical sources show their appreciation. A ploy is used involving deception and a trick to fool the enemy – a trick which is Odyssean in its craftiness¹⁸³ as much as it reminds us of Themistocles duping Xerxes (to be discussed presently). In this case, Hermocrates, after Syracuse has secured a victory over the Athenians, fears the size of their army and wishes to block their retreat; he is correct in assuming that they will withdraw overnight, but is unable to persuade the authorities to block the roads – as they doubt that the men, celebrating such a victory, would accept the order. Hermocrates takes matters into his own hands by conniving (μηχανᾶται – reminiscent of Odysseus' epithet of πολυμήχανος, as claimed by Odysseus in Antisthenes *Od.* 14) against the Athenians, sending men to

heroic terms, matching the death of Patroclus' horse Pegasus: *Odyssey* 10.163 mirrors *Iliad* 16.469. More generally, we see Odysseus' men's appreciation for his efforts shortly after at *Odyssey* 10.410, where they are delighted to see him after he has encountered Circe.

¹⁸³ It hardly seems necessary to furnish examples of this – but Odysseus' invention of the trick of the wooden horse, his misleading of the Cyclops, his disguise as a beggar amongst the suitors, and even his inability to tell the truth to Athena (*Odyssey* 13.256-86) are all examples of pre-determined deceptive or evasive stratagems which are used to defeat the enemy or avoid danger. See Barnouw (2004) 53ff.

Nicias who pretend to be friendly to the Athenian cause with false news that the Syracusans have blocked the roads. The trick is a success, and the Athenian retreat is halted until after the Syracusan allies have taken position (*Hist.* 7.73-4). The episode is attested also by Diodorus Siculus (*Library* 13.18.3-6) and Plutarch, who describes the trick as ἀπάτην (*Life of Nicias* 26.1-3).

The parallel with Themistocles' famous tricking of Xerxes with Sicinnus is obvious¹⁸⁴ – in both cases a fake deserter is sent at night to manipulate the actions of the enemy. I will discuss Herodotus' treatment of Themistocles' deceit in due course, but both of these are remarkably similar to yet another deception in Thucydides – this time an Athenian one. Wishing to meet the Syracusan army far from the city itself, they send a Catanian, who pretends to be a Syracusan sympathiser, to fabricate a story to draw out the Syracusan army, exactly according to Athens' own wishes (*Hist.* 6.64). Again, μηχανῶνται is used to describe the plan, and once again, it is successful.

Of course, Themistocles' own tricks are not part of Thucydides' tale; but to return to the character judgements, Hermocrates is marked out favourably by Thucydides, and the examples we see of his intelligence show him to be formidably cunning.¹⁸⁵ There is no reason to think that Thucydides would be so biased as only to be able to attribute intelligence, foresight and military cunning to Athenian

¹⁸⁴ In fact, Hermocrates' fears of the size and danger of the Athenian army if left to escape are exactly the same as those of Themistocles after the Persian defeat at Salamis. Themistocles, however, is unsuccessful at persuading the Greeks to block in the Persians. Consequently, he chooses to use their unwillingness for further attacks on the Persians to gain favour with Xerxes, by pretending to be responsible for allowing the Persians to escape.

¹⁸⁵ See Munn (2000) 308 n.39 notes that the praise of Hermocrates at 6.72.2-3 puts him on the same standing as the excursus with Pericles (2.65.8-9) and Alcibiades (6.15.4). However, elsewhere Alcibiades is never actually explicitly praised for his ability in Thucydides, but only commended for his actions – and at 6.15.4, Thucydides remarks: δημοσίᾳ κράτιστα διαθέντι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, 'publicly he managed the affairs of the war most ably.' On a personal level, however, Thucydides relates that people took exception to his behaviour.

individuals. Examples such as Hermocrates show how the intellectual hero, Athenian or not, is shaped by his speech and action and presented with Thucydides' nod of approval. The next example, Brasidas, is no different.

Brasidas is such a remarkable figure in the *History* that commentators have suggested that Thucydides had first-hand discussions with the Spartan general; others have pointed out that Thucydides attempts to elevate his status with a bias which amplifies his doubtlessly impressive abilities and achievements.¹⁸⁶ There is a potential hidden motive for Thucydides to show that Brasidas was exceptional – since his own exile from Athens was a result of his command against Brasidas at Amphipolis (*Hist.* 5.26.5; the events of the loss are discussed between 4.104.4-108.1).¹⁸⁷ Regardless of any potential bias, Brasidas was a successful Spartan general; but I wish to focus here on Thucydides' character judgement, and the role of versatility and deception in his presentation of him in the *History*.¹⁸⁸

Brasidas receives two explicit judgements of character by Thucydides; he is one of a select few individuals who is given positive judgements more than once throughout the *History*.¹⁸⁹ The first is a praise of his effectiveness:

...ἄνδρα ἔν τε τῇ Σπάρτῃ δοκοῦντα δραστήριον εἶναι ἐς τὰ πάντα
καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθε πλείστου ἄξιον Λακεδαιμονίοις γενόμενον.

(*Hist.* 4.81.1)

¹⁸⁶ See Westlake (1968) 148-50, and (1980) 333-4. Proctor (1980) 15, as quoted by Westlake, regards the meeting of Thucydides and Brasidas as almost certain.

¹⁸⁷ Westlake (1968) 149-50 discounts the idea of Thucydides looking for an excuse as 'hardly likely'. Williams (1998) 295-6 is not so sure, stating that Thucydides appears to counter some of the criticism directed at him by way of glorifying Brasidas; his own obsession with intelligence, foresight, and quick action may have been influenced by the nature of his defeat at Amphipolis.

¹⁸⁸ Much has been made of the fact that Brasidas displays Athenian qualities – see for example, Westlake (1968) 148-9, Connor (1984) 129, Luginbill (1999) 116, and Debbar (2001) 170-6.

¹⁸⁹ Alongside Pericles (1.127.3, 1.139.4, 2.65.8) and Phrynichus (8.27.5, 8.68.4)

*...a man in Sparta who had the reputation for effectiveness in all matters,
and since being sent away he had become the most valuable to the Spartans.*

Brasidas' is described as δραστήριος – hardly a normal trait of the Spartans, conveying an idea of activity and efficacy; this is a quality Pericles states is necessary for the Athenians to maintain their empire (*Hist.* 2.63.3). Brasidas' speed and foresight is experienced in full force when he reads and responds to the body language on the Athenians with an attack which results in Spartan victory, although ultimately his own death as well (*Hist.* 5.10.5).¹⁹⁰ Thucydides is eager to present him as exceptional, and by describing him as πλείστου ἄξιος, he uses the same language with which he used to describe Pericles in the eyes of the Athenians once they have overcome their sufferings: he is πλείστου ἄξιον νομίζοντες εἶναι (*Hist.* 2.65.5). Themistocles, too, is *axios*; again, a superlative is used to describe him as 'more than any other worthy of wonder' (see above, *Hist.* 1.138.3).¹⁹¹ Alcibiades, in justifying his suitability for his appointment over Nicias, argues that he is *axios* of the command as well as entitled to it.¹⁹²

The word *axios* denotes some kind of worth; it contains in its meaning a sense of counterbalancing or value (LSJ, s.v. Ἀξιός A.). By being described as *axios*, the characters are not only being praised for their ability, but also shows the importance of their value or usefulness to their community. Pericles and Brasidas were considered the most useful of all. In Antisthenes' speeches, Ajax and Odysseus are

¹⁹⁰ See Ferrario (2013) 191-2 on Brasidas' ability to predict the intent behind the movements of Cleon and the Athenians. For a detailed discussion of the episode, see Hunter (1973) 30-41.

¹⁹¹ It is worthwhile noting that Themistocles' worthiness of wonder is stated directly by the author, whereas the Pericles and Brasidas are described in terms of their worthiness in the eyes of their fellow citizens; it is not as strong an appraisal as the one which Themistocles enjoys.

¹⁹² As noted by Mynott (2013) 396, there appears to be a contrast built here between entitlement (*prosekon*) and worthiness (*axios*). Thucydides shows a great interest in ability, which is explored in his characterizations of key players in the story. Themistocles, Brasidas and Pericles are considered to be of great ability, and Alcibiades attempts to show that he is also worthy himself.

presenting their case for this very thing; to determine the worthiest of the armour of Achilles.¹⁹³ It is telling that Thucydides explicitly comments upon the perceived worthiness of stand-out characters, who are praised for their brilliance, intelligence, and ultimately their usefulness in times of need. Individual performances on the battlefield are of less interest than overall effectiveness in war, and Pericles expresses this when he says that the primary importance for all is the welfare of the state over private concerns (*Hist.* 2.60.2). The Athenian inclination to commit their bodies and their minds for the good of the state is even commented upon by their enemies, the Corinthians (*Hist.* 1.70.6).

The normally laconic nature of the Spartans¹⁹⁴ is also not shared by Brasidas, who is described as a ‘not a bad speaker for a Spartan’ (*Hist.* 4.84.2). By noting Brasidas’ rhetorical abilities, Thucydides again shows that Brasidas is aligned to Athenian qualities beyond his intellect, activity and decisiveness. And again we see how these intellectual qualities produce the most effective of the Spartan generals.

While Pericles’ Athenians of the Funeral Oration are not described as tricksters or deceivers – in fact if anything the opposite¹⁹⁵ – Thucydides’ reader

¹⁹³ Ajax explicitly claims that he is worthy (*axios*) of the arms so that he can give them to his friends (*Aj.* 3), while he rhetorically questions that Odysseus thinks that he is worthy: τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ὅπλων ὅδε ὁ μαστιγίας καὶ ἱερόσυλος ἀξιοῖ κρατῆσαι; (‘does this rogue and temple-robber think himself worthy to take ownership of the arms of Achilles?’ *Aj.* 6).

¹⁹⁴ Traditional Spartan terseness is reinforced in various episodes in Thucydides. Archidamas’ speech *Hist.* 1.84.1-2 highlights Spartan distaste for hearing themselves praised and a general contempt for cleverness in speeches (contrast to Cleon’s portrayal of the behaviour of the Athenians, 3.37.3-4). Debnar (2001) *passim* creates an interesting argument around the idea that the differences between the Athenians and the Spartans are most pronounced at the beginning of the *History*, and the Spartans begin to become more Athenian-like in their approach to speeches. The Corinthian ambassadors contrast the inventive nature of the Athenians to the conservative Spartans – although this is not linked specifically to their approach to speeches (*Hist.* 1.70). It is worth noting that Thucydides makes a strong comment on the difference between Athenian and Spartan national character very late as well, *Hist.* 8.96.5. See also Francis (1991-3) 198-212 for more on Spartan brevity in Thucydides, and Heath (2005) 182-5 for a shorter general discussion.

¹⁹⁵ Pericles declares that the Athenians do not hide anything, but are open their city for all to see; they do not rely on preparation or concealment (*ἀπάταις*). See *Hist.* 2.39.1. The institution of the *Krupteia*

would know how Themistocles was a master of cunning from the Persian wars, and that he devised the success at Salamis.¹⁹⁶ Brasidas is a master of trickery and concealment, and openly commends it:

...καὶ τὰ κλέμματα ταῦτα καλλίστην δόξαν ἔχει ἅ τὸν πολέμιον
μάλιστ' ἂν τις ἀπατήσας τοὺς φίλους μέγιστ' ἂν ὠφελήσειεν.

(Hist. 5.9.5)

...and these tricks, which most fool the enemy and are of greatest benefit to allies, are held in the highest regard in war.

In his final battle, Brasidas reveals his attack to the Athenians when they do not expect it; he chooses what they see and what they do not, even to the extent that when injured he is whisked away without them noticing (Hist.5.10.8).¹⁹⁷ This type of military cunning is also commended by Xenophon, who explains in detail best ways to hide from and trick the enemy in his *On the Cavalry Commander* 4.7-5.15.

Since the trickery of Hermocrates and Brasidas is so evident, yet Themistocles' own deviousness is not explicit in Thucydides, it is possible that deceit is being shown to be a non-Athenian characteristic. Even if this were to be the case – and it seems unlikely, considering Themistocles' tricks would have been well known even if Thucydides does not relate them – there is no evidence to suggest that the deviousness of Hermocrates or Brasidas are judged as morally reprehensible. The fact that the quality of ξύνεσις is given to all three characters shows at least some alignment in terms of how they are presented. This attribute is also given to Theseus (Hist.2.15.2), Archidamus (Hist.1.79.2), the Pisistratids (6.54.5), and Phrynichus (Hist.

in Sparta – which selected youths would join after their *agōgē* training – involved a special form of training whereby they would be encouraged to kill a helot by stealth (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28, 3-7).

¹⁹⁶ Evidenced by the reference to the *dolon* in Aeschylus' *Persae* 361, referring to the trick of Sicinnus by 'that Greek man' (Themistocles).

¹⁹⁷ For a good discussion of presentation of the battle strategy of Brasidas and the emphasis on visibility, see Greenwood (2015) 27-31.

8.27.5), and appears to be one of the qualities most admired by Thucydides,¹⁹⁸ both amongst the prominent Athenians and the other standout leaders in the *History*.

There are various implications which the praise of Themistocles has on the discussion of Athenian acceptance of Odyssean qualities. To be sure, in Herodotus, as will presently be seen, there are ample ways in which Themistocles is seen to be an Odyssean figure. Themistocles' qualities in Thucydides are given full praise, but there is less explicit mention of the more tricky and devious side to his actions, and no mention of his deceptions in the Persian wars. But the fact that Thucydides goes out of his way to explicitly praise Hermocrates and Brasidas, in much the same terminology and style with which he praises Themistocles and Pericles, is very useful in helping to determine the attributes which Thucydides held in high esteem. Following the narrative of the exploits of Hermocrates and Brasidas, unlike the brief narrative of Themistocles in the *History*, shows us that these attributes manifested themselves with actions of cleverness and deception as well as displays of bravery; and both of these men effectively defeated the Athenians at their own game. Again, Thucydides says that the Athenians and the Spartans were very different; the Athenians sharp and enterprising, the Spartans slow and cautious, which worked in the Athenians' favour (*Hist.* 8.96.5).¹⁹⁹ Brasidas was more Athenian in nature and therefore able to beat them; and in the same passage Thucydides explicitly comments that the Syracusans were more like the Athenians and therefore more successful in fighting them. Hermocrates was their version of Themistocles, both in nature and in strategy. These characters in Thucydides point to one thing; a recurring pattern of success amongst the sharp, inventive, and intelligent leader. The implication is that the characterization of Odysseus fits well with this ideal of an effective hero; the trickster, the pragmatic, intelligent and knowledgeable warrior

¹⁹⁸ For more discussion of these, and the character judgements generally, see De Bakker (2013) 23-40.

¹⁹⁹ For examples of the contrast in Athenian speed vs. Spartan caution, again see Thucydides *History* 1.70.1-9 and 4.55.2, and n.181.

who is presented both in epic and in Antisthenes' speeches. The importance of this Athenian acceptance of Themistocles as a hero of cunning and self-serving attributes is that it represents how certain aspects of Athenian intellectual and ethical thought were aligned to the Odysseus-like qualities of Themistocles; Antisthenes' praise of Odysseus was not in any way unique, but a continuation of this *ethos*. The next step is to investigate Themistocles' exploits in Herodotus, which gives examples of Themistoclean cunning alongside his contribution to Athenian and allied Greek victory at Salamis; although not an Athenian source, Herodotus paints a picture of the qualities of the Athenians which are given such praise by Thucydides and exemplified by Themistocles.

3. Themistocles: An Herodotean Odysseus?

So far in my discussion, Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches have been used to develop an overall picture of how Odysseus represents various attributes of character in fifth- and fourth-century literature. Antisthenes' speeches are useful because they are first-person epideictic oratory. The protagonists praise themselves and reproach each other in a way which enables the audience to see very clearly what types of character they represent, and what type of ideals and social norms they invoke to make their cases.

The previous chapter began with a discussion of the parallels between Odysseus and the idealised Athenians in Thucydides. While Pericles' appreciation for intelligence and deliberation – as Athenian attributes – is evident in the *Epitaphios* (*Hist.* 2.35-46), Thucydides' character judgements of Themistocles (and others) provide insights into the contribution their intelligence had on the events in the *History*. In this chapter, I will discuss Themistocles' presentation in Herodotus. I demonstrate that Herodotus represents Themistocles as a hero typifying a category

of Greek character; a character whose cunning and behaviour aligns him to heroes of intelligence such as Odysseus, not only as a trickster, but also in his versatility and approach to achieving his objectives. Even his apparent self-interest and duplicity (for example, his acceptance of bribes, *Histories* 8.4-5), is an ambivalent trait which is connected to Odysseus in Antisthenes.²⁰⁰ Antisthenes' depiction of the very strongly Homeric Odysseus helps to show some of the values which were perhaps important to democratic Athens in the fourth and fifth centuries; but if *polutropia*, inventiveness, resourcefulness, and even deceit, are seen as valuable by Antisthenes, surely he would not be alone in showing these qualities in a positive light if they were exercised for the right reason (for example, to bring about the defeat of the Trojans in the case of Odysseus). Themistocles' presentation in Herodotus (even if a non-Athenian source) can help our understanding of the hero of *polutropia* in Athenian literature, and affect the way we see the Odysseus tradition develop in the fourth and fifth centuries.

One does not have to delve very far in Athenian literature or even history without discovering figures who are noticeable for their inventiveness, political ability or even treachery.²⁰¹ Yet Themistocles is a standout as the greatest Athenian statesman who can be described as displaying the quality of *polutropia*. Themistocles' cunning and subsequent victory against the Persians was perhaps seen as parallel to Odysseus' role in the defeat of Troy with the invention of the wooden horse.²⁰² Marincola's in-depth discussion of Odysseus and the historians²⁰³ has already shown

²⁰⁰ In Antisthenes, Ajax claims that there is nothing Odysseus would do openly, yet would do anything for profit (*Aj.* 6). This is examined below, pp. 148-9.

²⁰¹ Obvious examples are Alcibiades in Thucydides, Pisistratus and Themistocles in Herodotus. Athena, the patroness of Athens, is a figure who represents cunning as well as wisdom; see *Odyssey* 13.291-9, Detienne and Vernant (1991).

²⁰² Again, Themistocles' nickname of 'Odysseus' helps to confirm this parallel (see above p. 78). Two major works on deception and cunning are Detienne and Vernant (1991) and Hesk (2000).

²⁰³ Marincola (2007) 1-79.

how Odysseus and his legacy are linked to the stories and characters of Herodotus, and his work on this subject will be referred to throughout this study.

Suksi also presents some of the similarities between Themistocles and Odysseus in an attempt to show how the epic Odysseus shared traits of activity, rhetorical ability and versatility with democratic Athens.²⁰⁴ She uses several parts of Themistocles' career to outline similarities with the epic Odysseus; her sources for Themistocles' actions are Herodotus' *Histories* and Plutarch (both the *Life of Themistocles* and *The Life of Aristeides*), and these are used interchangeably; there is no acknowledgement of the fact that Plutarch is a later source, or that his account of Themistocles differs so greatly from Herodotus'. The most obvious connection between Odysseus and Themistocles is their rhetorical ability. Themistocles' persuasion of the Athenians to spend the funds from the silver mines on warships is given as an example,²⁰⁵ and also his persuasion of the Athenians of his interpretation of the Delphic Oracle's 'wooden walls', which is linked to Odysseus' role in extracting the prophecies of Helenus and arranging the wooden horse and the subsequent defeat of the Trojans.²⁰⁶ Suksi then refers to Themistocles' use of deceit in the trick of Sicinnus, and follows this quickly with comparing Themistocles' smaller fleet in the narrows to Odysseus using cunning over size or strength in the wrestling match with Ajax in *Iliad* 23 and his encounter with Polyphemus (presumably *Odyssey*

²⁰⁴ See Suksi (1999) 74-90.

²⁰⁵ Suksi (1999) 81. Suksi assumes that Themistocles had the Persians in mind, although this is not necessarily explicit in Herodotus (as discussed below).

²⁰⁶ Suksi (1999) 82. The episode is from Proclus, *Little Iliad* 11.6-10. Antisthenes' Odysseus also refers to acting upon a prophecy, this time concerning the oracle that Troy will not fall unless the statue (presumably the Palladium) is reclaimed from the Trojans. Odysseus is the one who actively seeks to fulfil the terms of the prophecy (*Od.* 3).

9 or Euripides' *Cyclops*, but no exact source is mentioned). Suksi exclusively uses Plutarch for these analogies (*Themistocles* 12.2 and 14.2).²⁰⁷

Such comparisons between the historical Themistocles and the epic Odysseus are useful. They highlight similarities between the Athenian statesman and the versatile hero of epic. Of course, it is unlikely that Themistocles would have acted purposefully to emulate Odysseus (it is not impossible, given his nickname 'Odysseus' – but there is no evidence this was coined in his lifetime), and it is also somewhat unlikely that Herodotus or Plutarch would specifically have had Odysseus in mind as they crafted their presentation of him. In which case, of what relevance are these similarities? Suksi suggests that the comparison helps to explain the varied attitudes towards Odysseus in Athenian literature, and goes some way to explain how Odysseus characterizes not only the city of Athens but even, within Athens, the Athenian democracy itself.²⁰⁸

Antisthenes' Odysseus (whom Suksi ignores), helps in some way to fill the gap between Athenian similarities to Odysseus and how Odysseus is received in Athenian literature. From Antisthenes, we can see how Odysseus' characterization in post-Homeric literature contained elements which were aligned to Athenian political figures such as Themistocles, and that the value of Odysseus' heroism was in fact recognized in elite fifth- and fourth-century Athenian intellectual texts. It was, perhaps, even recognized as representative of a strand of Athenian heroism and political dexterity which is embodied by Themistocles in ancient sources.

Lenardon's overview of Themistocles' career, which is based largely on historical accounts, describes Themistocles as 'a veritable Odysseus', on account of

²⁰⁷ See Suksi (1999) 84-85.

²⁰⁸ Suksi (1999) 90.

his duplicity, versatility and ingenuity.²⁰⁹ These values, like those of Antisthenes' Odysseus, were generally seen as positive virtues in the Athenian intellectual tradition, as we shall see presently. While Themistocles' presentation in historical texts can be somewhat ambivalent, there is no doubting the overall versatility and brilliance which he is shown time and time again to possess. What follows is a discussion of Themistocles in Herodotus, and how his heroism was perhaps perceived by the Athenians to follow a paradigm of Athenian intellectual ability, which can be found in the presentation of Odysseus in Antisthenes as well.²¹⁰ If the Athenian perception of Odysseus' characterization appears to be somewhat in the background, the relevance of Themistocles, I hope, should become clearer nearer the end of this discussion, where I discuss direct parallels between the themes of characterization of Themistocles in Herodotus and Odysseus in Antisthenes.

Themistocles in Herodotus: The Salvation of Hellas

The trickster side of Themistocles' nature shines more brightly in Herodotus' *Histories* than it does in the fleeting glimpse we see in Thucydides, and the brilliance to which Thucydides refers becomes apparent throughout the course of events as recounted by Herodotus. To begin with, I will discuss Themistocles' initial appearance in Herodotus, and Herodotus' acknowledgement of the Athenian's responsibility for victory against the Persians (*Histories* 7.139.1-6).²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Lenardon (1978) 207.

²¹⁰ This becomes particularly interesting when we consider that Antisthenes, in his presentation of Odysseus, does not stray far from the Homeric model. Suksi (1999) aligns Themistocles' presentation in historical accounts (largely Herodotus and Plutarch) with the Homeric presentation of Odysseus (see pp.75-6, 81-91). The Homeric parallels are less of a focus in this argument, but will be referred to when necessary; again see Marincola (2007) 1-79.

²¹¹ Ferrario (2014) 87-8 discusses how Herodotus emphasizes the role of both the Spartans (at Thermopylae and Plataea) and the Athenians (Marathon and Salamis), but that overall the balance shifts to the Athenians at 7.139. This becomes an important passage in relation to the Athenian character and the differences between the Spartans and the Athenians; Ferrario (p. 88 n.113) points

Herodotus introduces Themistocles as a man who had recently become prominent (ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριών, *Histories* 7.143.1). The introduction comes at a very interesting time in the narrative; having just discussed how the Athenians were the reason that the Greeks won against the Persians (7.139), Herodotus continues to explain the events around the Athenian decision to leave Attica and make a stand against Xerxes. Herodotus does not name any particular Athenian as a standout leader; but by bringing the reader's attention to the prominence of Themistocles shortly after, and by leaving his introduction until now, he emphasises Themistocles' importance. This emphasis is stronger because Themistocles makes such a vital contribution to the course of the war – and at the same time enables Herodotus to give credit to the Athenians as a *polis*. Themistocles' description as πρῶτος has an epic feel; Glaucus' famous address to Sarpedon in the *Iliad* justifies their status amongst the foremost, πρώτοισιν, three times (*Iliad* 12.315-24). Agamemnon declares that it is becoming for Menestheus and Odysseus to be among the πρώτοισιν (*Iliad* 4.341) and Nausicaa uses the word to describe the leading men of Phaeacia (*Odyssey* 6.60). It also appears in Antisthenes when Ajax describes himself as standing first and alone in battle (*Aj.* 9).²¹² In describing the sway Pericles held in Athens, Thucydides states that what was a democracy in name was actually the rule of the leading man, τοῦ πρώτου (*Hist.* 2.65.9). Immediately after his introduction in Herodotus, Themistocles' prominence becomes apparent.

out the similarity of 7.139 with the Corinthians' speech describing the character of each state in Thucydides *Hist.* 1.70.1-9.

²¹² Here the sense is that Ajax is first, but alone and separated from the others; in Glaucus' speech, Agamemnon's rebuke, Nausicaa's description, and Herodotus' comment on Themistocles, the sense is *amongst* the foremost as opposed to separated from them. 'Foremost' in a more separated sense appears, for example, in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (1425), where Heracles prophesies that Philoctetes will be picked out as foremost of the army in valour, and in Euripides' *Hecuba* (304) Odysseus describes Achilles as the foremost of the army. All of these uses are meant in a positive way, although it is worth noting the subtle difference.

Podlecki argues from these lines that Herodotus was actually hostile to Themistocles: 'He lines up squarely on the side of those writers like Timocreon, Ion, and perhaps, Stesimbrotus, who, although they could not ignore Themistocles in the events of 480, nevertheless did all they could to belittle his contribution and besmirch his name.'²¹³ The term νεωστί becomes chronologically problematic (*Histories* 7.143.1), since Themistocles possibly had been an eponymous archon already at this point,²¹⁴ and in any event Herodotus backtracks to explain another time when Themistocles had benefitted Athens with the naval bill (*Histories* 7.144).²¹⁵ Podlecki argues that the reference to Themistocles' recent prominence and use of νεωστί constitutes an attack, suggesting that he did nothing of note prior to this occasion.²¹⁶ The argument is interesting but not convincing. The naval bill is unambiguously positive; Themistocles' opinion is described as the best, ἡρίστευσε, at 7.144.1. ἀρίστεύω is a word used in epic to describe a hero as being the best; for example, it is used of Nestor, being 'best in council', *Iliad* 11.627, and Hector uses it to describe himself as the bravest of the Trojan fighters at *Iliad*. 6.640.²¹⁷ It is used by

²¹³ Podlecki (1975) 68.

²¹⁴ See Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 6.34.1. See Lenardon (1978) 35-44, and Frost (1968) 105-24 for a discussion of the probability of Themistocles' archonship in 493/492.

²¹⁵ See Podlecki (1975) 68-9.

²¹⁶ For an alternative interpretation of the sentence, see Fornara (1971) 68, who sees the ἦν δὲ as a build up, linking a dark hour in Athenian history to the arrival of the saviour, Themistocles, whose name is withheld for a moment to generate suspense. Podlecki (1975) 68-9 paraphrases the argument of Fornara but notices that the word νεωστί is avoided. If Herodotus is ignorant of Themistocles' prior achievements (the archonship of 493/492 is debatable, and Thucydides' mention of Themistocles' archonship need not refer to a date this early) there is no real reason to assume that νεωστί is a slur. This is the opinion of Evans (1987) 382-4, who argues that Herodotus may in fact have connected Themistocles' rise to prominence with his role in interpreting the Oracle. Evans has also argued that it could be a reference to the ostracism of Aristides which resulted in Themistocles becoming elevated to the status of political elite; see Evans (1982) 108.

²¹⁷ ἀρίστος is an important heroic adjective in Homer. To be the best is central to a Homeric hero's worth; Agamemnon boasts that he is ἀρίστος Ἀχαιῶν (*Iliad* 1.91, 2.82), and is described as ἀρίστος as the leader (*Iliad* 2.761), but of the men Homer describes Ajax as ἀρίστος Ἀχαιῶν while Achilles is not present (*Iliad* 2.769). When Diomedes is asked to choose the best of the Greeks for a spying expedition (ἀρίστον: *Iliad* 10.236), he chooses Odysseus, who responds by asking him not to praise excessively.

Herodotus to describe how the Athenians were the best on ground at Mycale, *Histories* 9.105.1. If Herodotus is attacking Themistocles, it seems odd to do so by ignoring an archonship which has no effect on current narrative but then expressing the positive impacts his actions had on the shaping of a victory engineered by the Athenians.²¹⁸

Perhaps νεωστί is a reference to Themistocles' heritage; Podlecki also comments on the possible slur in Herodotus' address of Themistocles as παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο. It calls into question the patronymic, since ἐκαλέετο suggests that Themistocles was 'called' the son of Neocles, but that his parentage was somehow dubious.²¹⁹ Themistocles' mother was an alien, either Thracian or Carian, and that even his father was a man of no consequence.²²⁰ Even if this is the case, political mobility is described as part of Athens' greatness in Pericles' Funeral Oration – advancement in public life is a result of merit rather than social standing or wealth (*Hist.* 2.37.1). It cannot be concluded convincingly from these passages of Herodotus that the historian had any particular bias against Themistocles. Lenardon, quite feasibly, suggests that the idea of Herodotus' hostility is greatly exaggerated.²²¹

Themistocles is shown throughout Herodotus to be the best of the Greeks himself. See Nagy (1979) chapter 2.

²¹⁸ As Evans (1990) 75-6 comments, it suits Herodotus' purpose to present Themistocles as a newcomer; a man of the hour who rises quickly to prominence to engineer the success of the Greeks.

²¹⁹ Cawkwell, who also detects hostility towards Themistocles in Herodotus, notes that no other Athenian is introduced in such a way. See Cawkwell (1970) 40. See also Lenardon (1978) 56, who downplays the significance of this introduction to Themistocles. Moles (2002) 44-45 sees *neōsti* working with *Neokles* and *Themistokles* and *ekaleeto* to create a pun, 'new-fame'; and a new arrival's quick advancement through the political ranks is seen, perhaps, as praiseworthy.

²²⁰ See Plutarch *Themistocles* 1.1.1-3. The idea of questionable parentage is perhaps reminiscent of Odysseus, who is known as the son of Laertes in epic but often referred to as the son of Sisyphus in tragedy; see Euripides *Cyclops* 104, *Philoctetes* 417, and Sophocles *Ajax* 189. Note that Antisthenes, also, was said to have a Thracian or Carian mother (t.107 Prince = 90 DC).

²²¹ See Lenardon (1978) 84. See also Frost (1980) 8-9, who singles out Podlecki's arguments, saying that to attribute to Herodotus a bias against Themistocles on the basis of the scuttlebutt of certain Athenian political families is to saddle the historian with a naivety which is not found elsewhere in

Themistocles, recently prominent or not, quickly makes his impact felt. He interprets the ‘wooden wall’ prophecy in an inventive way which suggests that the wall refers to the ships of Athens, and that ‘divine Salamis will bring death to women’s sons’ did not mean the sons of the Athenians but foretold an Athenian victory (*Histories* 7.143.1-2). The Athenians are persuaded by him:

ταύτη Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα σφίσι
ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἳ οὐκ
ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ χειῖρας
ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ
οἰκίζειν.

(Herodotus, *Histories* 7.143.3)

Themistocles speaking so, the Athenians perceived his interpretation to be better than the professional diviners’, who would have them not prepare for a sea fight, and indeed saying not to raise a hand in opposition at all, but leave Attica and settle in some other land.

Herodotus makes no judgement on the decision to prepare to fight on the sea, but it is clear that Themistocles’ interpretation was considered by the Athenians to be better than the interpretation of the readers of the oracles, whose advice was to offer no resistance at all.²²² The implications of this decision would have been all too clear to anyone who knew the events that followed, and Herodotus’ account not only shows how Themistocles’ resourcefulness and foresight first enabled the Athenians to produce a strong navy, but also how his ability to persuade his fellow Athenians

his work. Macan (1908) 192-3 is also clear on his position on Herodotus’ introduction: ‘Neither does Hdt. represent him as a *novus homo*. This passage is in no way to the discredit of Themistocles; on the contrary, he is introduced with a flourish of trumpets.’

²²² Some scholars note the unusual structure of this particular use of the Delphic Oracle, in that it is consulted twice. See Evans (1982b) 27. It has also been speculated that the second question may have been carefully formulated by Themistocles himself; see for example Labarbe (1957) 119, Burn (1962) 357, and Hands (1965) 60. Harrison (2002) 125 notes that it is very possible that there was more correlation between questions and answers, and that the Pythia would respond following prompting of the consultants. Evans, in discussing the ‘wooden wall’ oracle, casts doubts on the possibility that this second response was influenced by Themistocles (or the Peloponnesians), on account of the dating and the pessimism of both oracles (p. 27f).

prevented them from taking a course of action which would have most probably resulted in their defeat at the hands of the Persians. Herodotus later shows how those who did not accept Themistocles' reading of the oracle, and chose instead to stubbornly accept the literal meaning of the 'wooden walls', were killed as the Persians storm the barricades of the Acropolis (*Histories* 8.51.2-53.2).²²³

Themistocles' prominent position in this episode of the Persian wars is significant, particularly considering how Herodotus structures the double prophecies from Delphi and their discussion in Athens. The debate is presented in a very Thucydidean manner, in which from the 'many other opinions', γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί, two opposing ideas come to the fore: the literal interpretation, and the metaphorical interpretation of the wooden walls as ships (*Histories* 7.142.1-143.1).²²⁴ Themistocles is not named as the originator of the metaphorical interpretation, but clearly becomes its spokesman, and persuades his fellow Athenians using sound reasoning, and offering alternative meanings from the literal interpretations. Themistocles' reasoning is more convincing than that of the professional interpreters, and the deliberation that the Athenian assembly employs to determine the meaning of the oracle successfully finds a solution thanks to his intellect.

The ability to interpret an oracle itself is not a quality which is immediately associated with an Odyssean character per se, but the episode as a whole begins to present the Athenian character as one of deliberation even before Thucydides and

²²³ Fontenrose (1978) 124-8 argues that the whole episode is full of folk-tale motif, and is quite unlike any other historical oracle, and is more like an oracle from myth. This leads him to conclude it is an invention which is perpetuated by Herodotus. However, as Evans (1982b) 24-9 points out, even if not factually accurate the oracle need not be an invention or lacking in historical truth.

²²⁴ This has been pointed out by Barker (2006) 21, who discusses the similarity between this debate and Thucydides' Mytilenean debate, in which opinions are voiced in the assembly, resulting in a contest between Cleon and Diodotus (Thucydides *Hist.* 3.36.6). For more on the interpretation of the Delphic Oracle, see Barker (2006) 1-28.

the speeches of Pericles; they are able to reach sound decisions through discussions, and it is their intelligence and the brilliance of Themistocles which ensures their ultimate success.²²⁵ The episode is one which combines a sense of rationality with religion, and as Harrison comments, ‘Themistocles’ interpretation is based on no special insight or authority but on a reasoned interpretation of the text of Apollo’s Oracle’.²²⁶ The oracle’s justification for a political or strategic course of action does not undermine either the pragmatic rationality of the course of action, or the validity of using religious or superstitious observances such as prophecies. Antisthenes’ Odysseus also presents the importance of achieving the conditions of a conditional prophecy so that Troy may fall; it is important to him not only that it will happen but he takes it upon himself to figure out how to make it happen:

ὅπου γὰρ ἦν κεχρημένον ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὴν Τροίαν, εἰ μὴ
πρότερον τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ λάβοιμεν τὸ κλαπὲν παρ’ ἡμῶν, τίς
ἐστὶν ὁ κομίσας δεῦρο τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄλλος ἢ ἐγώ;

(*Od.* 3)

*For when it was prophesied that Troy would be invincible if we did not first
take back the statue of the goddess, the one stolen from us, who is the one
who brought the statue back here if not myself?*

καὶ τὴν Τροίαν μὲν ἀλῶναι ἅπαντες εὐχέσθε, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν
ἐξευρόντα ὅπως ἔσται τοῦτο, ἀποκαλεῖς ἱερόσυλον;

(*Od.* 4)

*And all of you vowed that Troy would be captured, but while I discovered
myself how to do this, you call me a temple robber?*

²²⁵ Submitting important matters to discussion is presented as an Athenian trait by Pericles (*Hist.*2.40.2)

²²⁶ Harrison (2006) 140. Harrison’s discussion of the intersect between Greek rationality and the observation of religious institutions such as oracles is interesting because it confronts the idea that Periclean Athens marked a new rationalism, proposed by Dodds (1951) 192-3.

Antisthenes' use of Odysseus to exemplify pragmatic virtue ties him not only to fulfilling the conditions of oracles but also his sacrifice in his efforts to work for the common good. As Stanford argues in his work on Odysseus as an 'atypical hero', Odysseus is unique in his practical ability to act in his own interests – but also with the interests of the Greeks or his comrades taking precedent even over normally heroic notions of honour.²²⁷ This trait is repeated in tragedy, particularly in Odysseus' pursuit of fulfilling prophecies; in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, his deception of Philoctetes is driven by the need, according to a prophecy, for the bow of Heracles before Troy can be taken (*Philoctetes* 68-9, 1330-40). In Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, he is set upon the sacrifice of Iphigenia (*Iphigenia in Aulis* 529-34, 1364-8), as it is necessary for favourable winds according to the prophecy of Chalcas (89-93). In *Hecuba* he goes against his own personal debt to Hecuba to honour and placate Achilles with Polyxena's sacrifice (*Hecuba* 130-40).²²⁸ Expedient or rabble-rousing he may be, but it is always to accomplish an end which is in the interests of all (the Greeks). Such a notion of acting in the interests of the common good of the state is already evident in the Athenian mindset from Thucydides, when Pericles states that the Athenian should be ready to toil for the city (*Hist.* 2.41.5).²²⁹

Odysseus in the epic cycle behaves in the same way. Suksi compares Themistocles' interpretation of the 'wooden wall' prophecy directly to Odysseus, who extracts the prophecy of Helenus and determines the conditions of Troy's fall,

²²⁷ See Stanford (1954) 74. Stanford uses Odysseus' 'ignominious' escape from the Cyclops' cave in *Odyssey* 9 as an example (although why it is ignominious is unclear, apart from the fact it is not the kind of behaviour one would expect from Achilles or Ajax); and his pacifying of Chryses in *Iliad* 1 and the wooden horse stratagem as examples of his 'serviceability' for the collective cause.

²²⁸ Polyxena's sacrifice and honouring Achilles is itself seen in a pragmatic way; if they do not honour the best of the Greeks, what incentive is there for others to strive for excellence (*Hecuba* 313-6)? See chapter 5, 'Euripides' *Hecuba*: Friendship and Funeral Oration' for further discussion.

²²⁹ The word Thucydides uses for toil is κάμνω. In Antisthenes, Odysseus uses the same verb to describe how even after toiling in battle, he does not hang up his weapons like Ajax but continues to attack them at night (*Od.* 10). The view that the public interest is more important than individual suffering is repeated by Pericles at *Hist.* 2.60.2-4. See discussion in chapter 1.

and then develops the strategy to draw the Greek ships away from Troy while select fighters enter the ‘wooden walls of the Trojan horse’ (Suksi’s wording), which is inspired by Athena.²³⁰ Because Herodotus is reporting on historical events, it is difficult to attribute direct correlation (it seems unlikely the ‘wooden walls’ and the wooden Trojan Horse are connected), but the comparison does help to show the development of Themistocles into a hero whose character bears more than a passing resemblance to that of the traditional Odysseus.

Themistocles’ calculated reaction to the oracle forms a stark contrast to the emotional response of Croesus to the Delphic Oracle; by rushing to interpret the oracle literally, Croesus famously misses the ambiguity of the prophecy and gets it wrong at the expense of his own empire (*Histories* 1.53).²³¹ Misinterpretation of oracles is a recurring *topos* in Herodotus, but the Athenian reaction to the wooden wall oracle – in both their cautious deliberation of its meaning and their acceptance of Themistocles’ insightful interpretation – shows a marked divergence from this *topos*.²³² The episode not only shows the ability of Themistocles, but also how the Athenian propensity towards deliberation enables them to make the correct decision. The Delphic Oracle – both in examples such as Croesus’ interactions with it and the Athenians’ attempt to understand it – becomes an authoritative voice in Herodotus, and the responses of characters such as Croesus and Themistocles to the difficult and enigmatic portents of the Pythia help to shape the narrative as well as contributing to

²³⁰ Suksi (1999) 81-2. The story is told in Proclus, *Ilias Parva* 11.6-10. The tale of the Trojan Horse appears in *Odyssey* 11.523-25.

²³¹ See Barker (2006) 20. See also pp.9-14 on Croesus and the Delphic Oracle in Herodotus.

²³² Another example of differing reactions to oracles or signs appears in Herodotus’ (and Plutarch’s) account of the events leading up to the battle of Plataea. The Greeks and the Persians are given similar signs by their respective *manteis*, which is not to cross the river and engage hostilities (*Histories* 9.33, 36-8). While the Greeks respect the portents (both sides are using Greek *manteis*), Mardonius loses patience and ignores them, dismissing Hegesistratus’ sacrifices and attacking in the Persian way (*Histories* 9.41.4). Plutarch’s account of the episode shows the Greek consideration of omens, and Athenian deliberation; Aristides is credited with heeding the Delphic Oracle’s advice to fight on their own land, and listening to the dream of Arimnestus which helps the Athenians to interpret the oracle’s meaning (Plutarch *Aristides* 11.3-8). See Mikalson (2004) 92-5 for discussion.

the presentation of the wisdom (or lack of it) of his characters. The voice of the Oracle is understood to be the knowledge of Apollo, and therefore supersedes even Herodotus' authority as a rational researcher of the past.²³³ By presenting Themistocles as able to unearth the true meaning of the oracle, Herodotus empowers him with an ability to change the course of the war for the Athenians.

In Herodotus, the actions of the Persians are often marked by an anti-democratic process, for example Xerxes' announcement of his decision followed by a call for contributions so as not to seem self-willed (*Histories* 7.8.2).²³⁴ As has been shown in the previous chapter, Thucydides' own presentation of Athenian deliberation as a positive attribute helps them to make informed decisions, and prevents them from taking unnecessary risks (Thucydides *Hist.* 2.40.2-3). Herodotus' narrative shows how the Athenian deliberation concerning the Delphic Oracle enabled them, unlike so many others, to go beyond reading the oracle at face value and thereby interpret it correctly.

This positive and insightful interpretation of the Oracle – which is vital to the Greek success in the war – is immediately followed by an example of how Themistocles had previously persuaded the Athenian people with sound advice: *ἑτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλεί γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἡρίστευσε*, 'on a prior occasion the advice of Themistocles had been best of the time...' (*Histories* 7.144.1). Even though Themistocles was a relative newcomer amongst Athens' leading men

²³³ This is discussed more fully (in the example of the Croesus episode) by Kindt (2003) 34-51; see especially pp. 44-46. In response to Croesus' test, the Oracle states: οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω, 'I know the number of grains of sands and the limits of the ocean, I understand the silent and can hear the voiceless.' (*Histories* 1.47.3). For more on Herodotus' position of authority as narrator, see for example Marincola (1987).

²³⁴ See Pelling (2002) 123-4. Various other examples are scattered throughout Herodotus; Pelling mentions Cambyses' exchange with Croesus (*Hist.* 3.34-5). Of course, in Xerxes' debate before the battle of Salamis, only Artemisia speaks freely (to the delight of her enemies!), whereas Themistocles and Adeimantus appear to be able to voice their opinions openly (*Hist.* 8.60-70). However, it can be argued that even on the Greek side the debate becomes a travesty: see Pelling (1997a) 51-66.

his γνώμη had already set in motion two key factors in the naval victory over Persia. Themistocles on this occasion managed to persuade the Athenians to invest the state income from the silver mines into strengthening the navy rather than spreading the wealth among the citizens. He persuaded them to cease from the distribution of the money in order to build warships on the pretext of the war, saying they would be used in the war against Aegina, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.144.1). The foresight of Themistocles is hinted at here, but it is not explicit. Herodotus admits his actions turned out for the best for the Athenians, just as persuading the Athenians to accept the metaphorical reading of the oracle became a great benefit to the Athenians in the Persian invasion. The two episodes are further linked by the fact that in both Themistocles supported the reliance of Athens on her naval power. However, in the latter example, Herodotus appears to make Themistocles' important contribution to victory against the Persians incidental. He goes on to explain how the war with Aegina saved Greece, by forcing Athens to become a maritime power; the vessels were not used for their intended purpose, but were ready when Athens needed them (*Histories* 7.144.2). The following discussion will investigate how Herodotus presents Themistoclean foresight, and to what extent the Athenians are credited with victory over the Persians – and how this relates to their character.

Herodotus' account of Themistocles and his supposed 'foresight' in pushing forward Athens as a naval power does not explicitly give Themistocles any credit of foreseeing the use of the ships against Persia (unlike Plutarch, who comments that he had the Persians in mind all along, *Themistocles* 4.2). Herodotus generally seems to have a favourable opinion of the Athenians, the best evidence for this being the so-called 'encomium' of Athens (*Histories* 7.139), in which Herodotus makes his opinion clear that if Athens had not stood up to Xerxes, Greece would have become subjugated by the Persian invasion. He sums up his opinion by saying:

νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἄν τις λέγων σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος
οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές.

(*Histories* 7.139.5)

Even now, it would not be untrue to say that Greece was saved by the Athenians.

Herodotus creates a direct causality between the Athenians' deciding to stand up to Xerxes (and quit Athens), and the eventual salvation of Greece.²³⁵ This is referred to again in the description of how Themistocles benefitted Athens, when Herodotus comments on how the Athenian warships became instrumental in winning the battle of Salamis (*Histories* 7.144.2).

There are several things to note about the 'encomium' and Herodotus' attitude towards the Athenians and Themistocles. The first is that Herodotus states that it is his 'opinion' that the Athenians' actions resulted in the victory of Greece. The word used is γνώμην, the same as Themistocles' γνώμη which set in motion the decisions which enabled that victory (the word carries with it here a sense of reasoning or understanding). Herodotus goes on to explain the reasons for his opinion, but makes it clear that it is not a popular one (ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, 'odious to many men' *Histories* 7.139.1). Herodotus links the Athenians to the salvation of Greece, but also expresses the virtues of the Athenians and how their firm resolve (he uses the words καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο, *Histories* 7.139.6) prevented a Persian victory and that they roused the Greeks who had not defected to Persia to make a stand and fight.

The prominent role of the Athenians in the war, and indeed the vital part played by Themistocles and the navy, becomes a *topos* in Athenian literature as well.

²³⁵ This causality is explored by Demand (1987) 746-58, who employs the term 'encomium', which I have used to describe this passage of Herodotus.

Like Odysseus, who presents his own unique acts of bravery in the Antisthenes speech and is essential for the capture of Troy, Themistocles and the Athenians are positioned as the determining factor in the war against Xerxes. In Thucydides, the Athenian ambassadors to the Corinthians, presenting the role of Athens in the war against Persia, explain basically the same sentiments as Herodotus. The ambassadors link the actions and intelligence of the Athenians (and Themistocles, who is singled out as a cause for the success at Salamis, and described as *ξυνετώτατος*, ‘most intelligent’, *Hist.* 1.74.1) to the victory over Persia, but also explain how they displayed more daring than the other Greeks (*τόλμα*) and provided *ἀοκνοτάτα προθυμία*, the most unhesitating goodwill;²³⁶ they abandoned their city for the salvation of Greece (Thucydides *Hist.* 1.74.1). Likewise, Lysias’ *Funeral Oration* presents the Athenians as having made the greatest contribution to the war: they provided the most experienced men, the most ships, and Themistocles as the general who Lysias describes as *ἰκανώτατον εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πράξει*, the most capable in speech and decision and action (Lysias *Funeral Oration* 2.42).²³⁷ By choosing to abandon their city and face the Persians they surpass all in their *ἀρετῇ*, and Lysias rhetorically asks what man did not wonder at their *τόλμα* (*Funeral Oration* 2.40).

Another example of this view that the Athenians were responsible for the victory, and largely thanks to Themistocles, appears in Isocrates’ *Panathenaicus*. Again, the fact that the Athenians had abandoned their city to face the Persians and the greater naval force supplied by the Athenians is mentioned (*Panathenaicus* 12.50);

²³⁶ The *τόλμα* of the Athenians is mentioned by the Corinthians at 1.70.3. The Athenians use the same word to describe themselves at 1.70.3 and 1.74.2. Themistocles is described as ‘daring’ to say that they should stick to the sea at 1.93.4; Rood (1998) 245-6 suggests that Themistocles is possibly being expressively identified with the Athenians.

²³⁷ This phrase is similar to Thucydides’ description of Pericles as *λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος*, the most able in speech and action (*Hist.* 1.39.4). Once again, this combination of ability in speech and action is a Homeric ideal, as expressed by Phoenix at *Iliad* 9.417.

but Themistocles is not only said by everyone to be responsible, αἷτιος, for the naval victory but for all the other successes of the time as well (*Panathenaicus* 12.51). In Athenian texts, Themistocles became synonymous with the victory at Salamis as much as the Athenians seem to have been widely accepted to have orchestrated the Greek victory over the Persians.²³⁸

It is beyond the scope of this discussion to go into too much detail concerning the attitude of Herodotus towards the Athenians more generally, but even the content of the encomium has aroused some debate. Harvey dismisses the notion that Herodotus was anything other than a supporter of Athenian democracy and admirer of Pericles.²³⁹ The 'encomium' is not mentioned, but even earlier Wells had pointed out that the evidence for Herodotus' bias towards Athens is not necessarily strengthened by the encomium, since he gives the reason for victory to be Athens under the gods.²⁴⁰ Herodotus expects that if Athens had not chosen to fight by sea, the Spartans would have 'exhibited great deeds and died nobly', ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως (*Histories* 7.139.3). While they may not have had the ability to save Greece, the Spartans are in passing praised for their courage and nobility as well²⁴¹ – but this alone would not have been enough for victory.

There is also some sense of reluctance in Herodotus' admitting the Athenians' responsibility for the victory; he feels that it is necessary, ἀνάγκη, even though it

²³⁸ Although this may not have been a popular view amongst other Greek states – Herodotus admits it will be unpopular (*Histories* 7.139.1).

²³⁹ See Harvey (1966) 254-5. Harvey is writing in response to Strasburger (1955) 1-25, who argues that Herodotus may not have been a supporter of the later period of Athenian democracy, and that he disapproved of and criticized Athenian hegemony (*Histories* 8.3).

²⁴⁰ See Wells (1928) 330. Wells generally argues against the idea of an Athenian bias in Herodotus.

²⁴¹ For further references to Spartan valour in Herodotus see for example his accounts of the defence of Thermopylae and the heroism of Leonidas (7.204) and the victory of Pausanias at Plataea (9.64).

will incite the envy of most (ἐπιφθονός).²⁴² More recently, Ostwald convincingly argued that Herodotus' admiration for both Athens and Sparta could not be unconditional, and there is little evidence to suggest particular partiality for a particular city state, method of government or ruling family.²⁴³

Herodotus' bias towards the Athenians, or lack of it,²⁴⁴ becomes relevant when discussing the presentation of Themistocles in the *Histories*. Herodotus makes it very clear that in both the interpretation of the Oracle and the decision to use the funds from the silver mines to build ships, Themistocles became of use to his fellow Athenians by persuading them to make choices which 'turned out for the better', and even if he was a man recently having come into prominence, he set in motion two actions which resulted in saving Athens and Greece. The question concerning Herodotus' take on the events is whether he depicts Themistocles as an insightful genius (as we see in Thucydides), or whether his achievements here were more to do with luck. Indeed, compared to Plutarch and Thucydides, Herodotus seems to downplay the foresight of Themistocles. Even if Herodotus attempted to give a rounded, balanced account of Themistocles and how his actions were a benefit to the Athenian people (his role in the salvation of Greece is not up for debate in

²⁴² *Phthonos* amongst the Greeks is a recurring theme – it causes the generals not to be able to vote for the most deserving (*Hist.* 8.124.1). See Baragwanath (2008) 175. Antisthenes' Odysseus accuses Ajax of being sick with envy and ignorance (*Od.* 13).

²⁴³ Ostwald (1991) points out Herodotus' admiration for both Athens and Sparta (p. 141), his praise and criticism of Athenian democracy (p. 141-2) and the lack of consistent evidence for partiality to the Alcmaeonids past his defence of them on their charge of treason after Marathon (*Histories* 6.121-4). Herodotus' opinion on the family is a reasonable one, without inferring any bias on his part towards them. See also Baragwanath (2008) 27-34 for more on the defence of the Alcmaeonids in Herodotus.

²⁴⁴ The topic of Herodotus and Athens cannot be engaged with fully here. Blösel's discussion of Themistocles in Herodotus raises some of the issues of foreshadowing the forthcoming Athenian Empire (Blösel (2008) 179ff). Strasburger (1955) 21-2 argues that passages in Herodotus show the Athenians in a bad light, while Stadter (1992) 781-809 points out how the Athenians are criticized as direct successors to the Persians in taking tribute from the Ionians. Moles (1996) 259-84 examines how *Histories* 1.29-33 is a warning to the Athenians, about the consequences of power left unchecked; see also Pelling (1997a), esp. 61-2. For Herodotus on Athens more generally, see Moles (2002) 33-52, and Fowler (2003) 305-18.

Herodotus or any of the sources), the foresight of Themistocles is not necessarily a focus for the historian, and rather than being downplayed it is simply not of huge significance to the Herodotean narrative, even if it is noted to have a substantial influence on the events.

To return to Herodotus' account of Themistocles' role in the expansion of the fleet, this is clearly one of Themistocles' greatest contributions to the Greek victory at Salamis which is admitted by Herodotus. But, as we have seen, Herodotus is quick to point out that the ships were intended for the war against Aegina. There is no explicit mention of the fact that Themistocles had any idea of their usefulness in the future against the Persians. The text is ambiguous here though, since Herodotus states that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to commission the ships for the war, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων (*Histories* 7.144.1). Herodotus could have simply said that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to build ships for the war against Aegina, but as it stands there is the idea that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to build ships for war, using the pretext of the current war with Aegina to strengthen the argument – but with the impending war with the Persians in mind all along.

Some scholars have chosen to read Herodotus in such a way, perhaps in order to reconcile his views with Plutarch and Thucydides.²⁴⁵ Clearly Plutarch and Thucydides give more credit to Themistocles' actions. If the motive of Themistocles' reading of the Delphic Oracle and his naval expansion policy are unclear in Herodotus, they are seen as true examples of the foresight of Themistocles in Thucydides and Plutarch. These sources choose to present Themistocles more clearly

²⁴⁵ See Moles (2002) 45, who sees the possibility of Themistocles having a *public* argument, as well as having intentions of increasing the navy for other reasons. Baragwanath (2008) 291 also refers to this briefly. Holladay (1987) 184 suggests that Herodotus' account makes too much of Themistocles' actions seem like good luck, and while his view is that Themistocles would have had Persia in mind, he notes that it cannot be inferred from this passage. See also Cawkwell (1970) 40-1, who sees the episode as Herodotus deliberately undermining Themistocles' foresight, and Harrison (2003) 146.

as the saviour of Greece, who foresaw the oncoming peril of the Persians and whose actions at this early stage were a conscious effort to prepare Athens for the war with Persia.

Plutarch, although a much later source, stresses in his *Life of Themistocles* that Themistocles expected the Persian threat would reappear when other Athenians believed that Marathon had put an end to the danger.²⁴⁶ As an example, the proposition of Themistocles concerning the mines at Laurium is given. As has been seen, Herodotus treats Themistocles' recommendation of the building of the triremes as good luck for the Athenians – since the war with Aegina is mentioned, not the Persian threat, although it is not impossible that Themistocles intended their use against them as well – but in Plutarch Themistocles is credited with having a public and a private argument for the construction of the ships. He uses the public argument, the fact that the ships will help in the war with Aegina, in order to persuade the Athenians to commission them; concealing the private argument, that the ships would be useful against the Persians, which seemed to be a far-away threat: μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιζόμενοι παρειῶν, 'these were too far away and did not inspire great fear of their coming' (Plutarch *Themistocles* 4.2). The φιλονεικία the Athenians feel towards Aegina is used as an opportune and well-timed (εὐκαιρος) tool for Themistocles to push forward the naval bill, to build the ships which Plutarch points out were actually used at Salamis. Herodotus, too, notes the timing of Themistocles' arguments (ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε, *Histories* 7.144.1).²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ See Plutarch *Themistocles* 3.4. Themistocles is described as expecting the things yet to come, προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον, even though they were yet far in the future, πόρρωθεν ἔτι.

²⁴⁷ Baragwanath (2008) 291 accepts the conclusion of Detienne and Vernant (1991) 16 that the mastery of *kairos* is a mark of a master of *mētis*; this ability of Themistocles is praised by Thucydides as well (*Hist.* 1.138.3).

Plutarch's account, perhaps more in line with Athenian sources from nearer to the actual events (for example Lysais and Isocrates), is more interested in showing the brilliance of Themistocles and his foresight. This is to be expected considering Plutarch is writing a biography, where the character of Themistocles is a focus, whereas Herodotus' historical account places less emphasis on Themistocles' brilliance and personality.²⁴⁸ Plutarch's biography chooses to emphasize the point which is not clear in Herodotus, that is, that Themistocles always intended the ships to be used against Persia; Herodotus has no reason to conclude this from the actions of Themistocles and the Athenians in his own version. Thucydides' account supports that of Plutarch, even if it makes Themistocles' foresight less obvious; the ships were prepared for the war with Aegina, but the Persian invasion was also expected: ἄμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος (*Hist.* 1.14.3). Thucydides suggests that Themistocles was able to persuade the Athenians, but it is not clear if the argument about the Persians was used; in any event Thucydides' admiration of Themistocles and his genius is made much clearer at 1.138, which has been discussed already.²⁴⁹

If Plutarch and Thucydides' account of Themistocles' early career differ from Herodotus' in various details, in no way does this detract from the key characteristics presented by Herodotus, or for that matter how receptive the

²⁴⁸ Naturally, this is not to say that Herodotus does not present the 'character' of Themistocles, whose activity and avarice are clear in the history, and the presentation of these facets no doubt aids the narrative. In the words of Fornara: 'His purpose is artistic. He was attempting neither to blacken Themistocles' reputation nor to whitewash it. He was recreating Themistocles' character for the sake of his story, not for the "historical record"'. See Fornara (1971) 72. Perhaps, however, Plutarch is rather recreating the story of Themistocles for the sake of his character!

²⁴⁹ In addition to Thucydides' uncharacteristic praise of Themistocles (*Hist.* 1.138), Thucydides' belief in the foresight of Themistocles is made clearer by the words of the Athenian embassy responding to the allegations of the Corinthians mentioned above (*Hist.* 1.74); see Frost (1980) 11. The Athenians refer to the greater number of ships they provided for the war, and this would have been tied to the fact that Themistocles had been instrumental in their construction. Herodotus makes no reference to Themistocles' motives in building the ships, while Thucydides' assessment of Themistocles (*History* 1.138.3) would perhaps suggest that he believed in the fact that Themistocles had the future in mind when he chose to encourage Athens' growth of its navy.

intended audience would be to these types of characteristics. An analysis of the early episodes of Themistocles' rise to prominence in Herodotus has made some scholars presume that Herodotus is hostile to Themistocles,²⁵⁰ which they see as only strengthened by Herodotus' depiction of later events.²⁵¹ This is simplistic, since Herodotus' depiction of such a pivotal character in his *Histories* is done with some care. Herodotus may not have held Themistocles in the same admiration as Thucydides, but he presents the virtues and vices of the statesman on his way to becoming a major part of the salvation of Greece; his genius is praised in Thucydides,²⁵² but in Herodotus the character of Themistocles is also shown to be a deciding factor in the Persian wars. To say that Herodotus is malicious towards Themistocles would be to suggest that his audience would have seen the qualities of Themistocles in purely negative terms – in the words of Fornara: 'If we do not like this fifth-century Odysseus, it is perhaps because we are apt to glorify our heroes in more conventional terms and because we are unaccustomed to finding this kind of dramatization in a history'.²⁵³

As Fornara states, it is necessary to investigate Herodotus' presentation of Themistocles in line with conventional Greek ethics. Even as an ambivalent figure in Herodotus, it is quite clear that Themistocles' attributes and actions can be seen as typifying Greek, and indeed Athenian, ideals of cunning and *mētis*. If this comes across as self-interested, much of Herodotus' audience would not have necessarily seen this as a bad thing, and the generally positive reaction to Themistocles in later

²⁵⁰ See Cawkwell (1970) 40-3, Podlecki (1975) 67-72.

²⁵¹ Most notably the Mnesiphilus episode, again see Cawkwell (1970) 41-2, Podlecki (1975) 69-70.

²⁵² Thucydides attributes to Themistocles natural genius, which is the reason he was able to accomplish such great things (*Hist.* 1.138). Herodotus focuses less on Themistocles' inherent qualities, but none the less depicts the victory of the Greeks under the control of the scheming and inventive Themistocles.

²⁵³ Fornara (1971) 72.

literature affirms this view.²⁵⁴ Importantly for this study, Herodotus' presentation of the character of Themistocles can be in many ways aligned to that of the intellectual hero in ancient thought, specifically the character of Odysseus in Homer, as well as the Athenian re-appropriation of Odysseus in Antisthenes. Next, it is important to look more closely at how Themistocles' actual exploits throughout Book 7 and 8 live up to his reputation as an Odysseus-like Athenian.

Themistocles at Salamis: Strategy, Persuasion and Cunning

Herodotus' account of the battle of Salamis is one of our most detailed sources and is relatively contemporaneous to the actual events. After his admission of the Athenian contribution to the defeat of the Persians, the character of Themistocles begins to develop in the narrative. Beyond the impact he has already made by this point – his persuasion of the Athenians to use the income from the silver mines to build ships, and winning them over to his interpretation of the 'wooden wall' oracle – Herodotus' description of Salamis presents Themistocles as the key character. Important for this study is the type of character he emerges to be; his involvement in schemes and ability to manipulate the situation at hand, as well as his deviousness and craftiness, all make him an Odysseus-like figure. Moreover, it is his actions in this episode for which Themistocles wins great fame and praise amongst all the Greeks, and for which the Athenians claim that their contribution to the war was greater than others (for example, in Thucydides *Hist.* 1.171.3, discussed in the last section). Even if Herodotus does not self-consciously align Themistocles to Odysseus – and there is evidence that Herodotus may have himself chosen to present the ethnography of his work in a way influenced by the *Odyssey*²⁵⁵ – once again the

²⁵⁴ Perhaps typically, Plato responds in the opposite way (*Laws* 76C, *Gorgias* 455E).

²⁵⁵ Most recently discussed by Marincola (2007). I will discuss this aspect of the *Histories* more closely in the next section.

actions on display present parallels to Antisthenes' Odysseus and the Odysseus of Homeric and Athenian literature.

It is during the battle of Salamis that Themistocles' actions and strategy led him to become one of the most admired men in Greece, by both Athenians and Spartans alike. This episode is a display of more than just tactics and military trickery. In Herodotus, Themistocles is required to convince by argument his fellow Greeks, and to save a campaign by tactfully persuading the differing parties and using words which are appropriate for the occasion. Even after the battle his constant manipulations of any given situation set the tone for his characterization. A clear example of such manipulations – and using the right arguments for the right people – arises from the events and uncertainty leading up to the battle of Salamis itself. After the news of the capture of Athens reaches the fleet at Salamis, Herodotus relates that the remaining commanders resolved to fight in defence of the Isthmus. But an Athenian, Mnesiphilus, came to Themistocles and pointed out that leaving Salamis would mean the dissolution of the naval forces. Themistocles, agreeing with Mnesiphilus, had to persuade first Eurybiades to call a conference of the officers, and then to persuade the officers to remain at Salamis. Herodotus explains how Themistocles went immediately to Eurybiades, and persuaded him to hold a conference urgently, using the arguments of Mnesiphilus as if they were his own. But in the conference of the officers, Herodotus emphasizes that Themistocles switches to a different argument to persuade everyone to remain at Salamis:

...πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρῆσονται: παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν: ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο...

(*Histories* 8.60.1)

... but he said to Eurybiades nothing of what he had spoken before, how if they were to depart from Salamis they would flee in different directions, for it

*would be inappropriate for him to accuse the allies while they were present.
Instead he relied on a different argument...*

Themistocles addresses Eurybiades as to why the fleet should stay at Salamis; but it is specifically stated that it is not the argument that he had used previously, which came from Mnesiphilus. Themistocles understands that it is not the right thing to do (οὐκ ἔφερέ οἱ κόσμον) to accuse his fellow fighters while they are present, but he uses the right arguments for the right situations. In this case, he argues that it is better for the fleet to stay and fight in the narrows, where he saw the chance of a victory, since the ships of the Greeks were at an advantage to those of the Persians in a confined space, and that a defeat of the Persians at Salamis would put them into disarray and in the long term protect the Peloponnese (*Histories* 8.60.b-c). After a harsh rebuttal of the Corinthian Adeimantus, Themistocles turned to Eurybiades, and told him, 'if you remain here, you will be a good man. But if you sail, you will ruin Greece', 'σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός: εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. With a threat that the Athenian fleet would sail to Siris, he won the support of the general (*Histories* 8.61-8.62).

It is interesting that the episode has often been seen as an example of Herodotus' hostility towards Themistocles, even by ancient sources.²⁵⁶ However, it is evident that despite the fact that he had to be informed of the danger of the situation by Mnesiphilus, Themistocles is the man who jumps into action, taking the advice of

²⁵⁶ Mnesiphilus' inclusion in this part of the story has been seen as an attack on Themistocles in Herodotus. Plutarch does not include him in his account, and in fact, in an essay on Herodotus, he claimed that Mnesiphilus' contribution was fabricated by Herodotus in order to deprive Themistocles of the credit for preventing the allies from sailing off (Plutarch, *De Herodoti Malignitate* 37.869d-f). See also Cawkwell (1970) 40-3, Podlecki (1975) 67-72, who see the episode as an example of Herodotus' hostility towards Themistocles. Hignett (1963) 204 describes it as a spiteful invention robbing Themistocles of his credit for his originality and insight. Fornara (1971) 72 n.19, on the other hand, sees the episode as a way to give dramatic emphasis to the crucial moment leading up to the battle. For more on Mnesiphilus see Frost (1971) 20-5, and Pelling (2007) 157-9.

his mentor,²⁵⁷ and he uses his arguments and others in order to persuade Eurybiades to first call a council and then decide to remain at Salamis. While Eurybiades has the final say, it is Themistocles' reasoning and recognition of the urgency of the situation that enables him to react to the threat and prevent the Greek confederacy from breaking apart. Themistocles becomes advisor to Eurybiades, and since this advice does turn out to be correct, there is little evidence of any hostility towards Themistocles in this presentation of events; it is Themistocles, and not Mnesiphilus or Eurybiades, who ensures that the Hellenes remain at Salamis.²⁵⁸ And as Baragwanath notes, Themistocles is more than just taking credit for someone else's ideas, by being aware that his own authority will have greater sway.²⁵⁹

There is a recurring theme in Herodotus' *Histories* concerning the acceptance of good advice, to which this episode makes a contribution. Eurybiades almost has to be intimidated into taking the advice of Themistocles, but Themistocles accepts the advice of Mnesiphilus immediately, seeing the value of the argument. A parallel perhaps is how Xerxes rejects the good advice of Artemisia (*Histories* 8.68); she gives Xerxes good reason not to engage in a naval battle at Salamis, but Xerxes chooses to dismiss her advice, although he was 'made glad', ἡσθη, by her γνώμη (*Histories* 8.69.2). The result of ignoring the advice is a military defeat. Themistocles is

²⁵⁷ For the idea that Mnesiphilus was in fact a mentor of Themistocles, see Plutarch *Themistocles* 2.5-2.6. Clement of Alexandria also records that Mnesiphilus taught Themistocles (*Stromateis* I 14, 65. 3), but both of these are later sources; Stesimbrotus is an older source, but records that Themistocles was taught by Anaxagoras and Melissus (Stesimbrotus *FGrHist* 107 F 1). This idea is rejected by Plutarch, and by most modern scholarship. See Frost (1971) 20-21. The discovery of 12 *ostraca* bearing the name of Mnesiphilus has strengthened the argument that he is not a purely fictional character; see also Pelling (2007) 159 n. 45, and Brenne (2001) 243-5.

²⁵⁸ See Moles (2002) 45-46.

²⁵⁹ Baragwanath (2008) 306 (and n.49). Baragwanath notes how the importance of the speaker's authority is emphasized here: at 8.80 Themistocles also urges Aristides to address the Greeks since he is more likely to be believed. Cf. Euripides *Hecuba* 294-5, as quoted by Baragwanath: λόγος γὰρ ἔκ τ' ἄδοξούντων ἰὼν καὶ τῶν δοκούντων αὐτὸς οὐ ταὐτὸν σθένει, 'for the same argument, when coming from those of no repute, has not the same force as when it is uttered by men of reputation.'

‘pleased’, ἡρεσε, by the argument of Mnesiphilus, but in this case he chooses to take the advice of his mentor to the great benefit of the Greeks.²⁶⁰

This decision to listen to Mnesiphilus and act on his advice puts into motion a series of hurried events. Themistocles’ abilities are evident from Herodotus’ account, as well as the foresight of the Athenians. First, Themistocles understood the advantages of fighting in the narrows, and the dangers of the removal of the fleet from Salamis that are presented to him by Mnesiphilus. The Athenians are aware that the battle of Salamis is vital for the survival of their city. Themistocles is able to hold the Greek fleet through the persuasion of Eurybiades and the officers. The urgency of his arguments to hold a conference is clear from the fact that he says the matter is in the common interest (κοινόν τι προήγμα). Themistocles then changes his argument in front of the officers (Herodotus makes a point of distinguishing this from the last, saying he brought a differing argument, ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο) since he cannot suggest that they will sail home upon leaving Salamis to their faces.²⁶¹ But to Eurybiades, who alone knew his real concerns, he finishes with a threat, that of the potential ruin of Greece from this event and the loss of Athens’ 200 warships.

Herodotus demonstrates Themistocles’ political abilities as well as his foresight. Plutarch’s account of this episode completely omits the need to call a conference, and focuses instead on Themistocles’ persuasion of Eurybiades, who is described as μαλακοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὄντος, ‘being faint-hearted in danger’

²⁶⁰ Bowie (2007) 144 briefly discusses how the inability to listen to an adviser causes the downfall of many in Herodotus, and also uses the example of Xerxes and Artemisia; other examples frequent the narrative of Herodotus, e.g. Croesus’ failure to heed the advice of Sandanis before attacking the Persians (*Histories* 1.71), or Darius’ choice to disregard the advice of Artabanus and invade Scythia, barely escaping with his life (*Histories* 4.83). Lattimore (1939) 24-35 discusses the various appearances and forms of the wise adviser throughout the *Histories*.

²⁶¹ It is assumed that the officers will take offence at the original argument, which is as an accusation (κατηγορεῖν is the word used here); the accusation would be that by sailing home they will dissolve the Greek fleet and cause the destruction of Hellas.

(*Themistocles* 11).²⁶² While Herodotus does less to praise Themistocles explicitly, his account is a subtler rendition of Themistocles' skills. Themistocles is the man who gets the job done, and knows how to use the right words in the right situations in order to achieve a result. His use of two different arguments to persuade different ranks is reminiscent of the role of Odysseus in *Iliad* 2.²⁶³ Odysseus uses a different tone to prevent the leaders of the expedition from deserting Troy from the tone with which he enforces rule among the common soldiers. Homer relates how Odysseus, coming upon a man of rank (a βασιλῆα or ἑξοχον ἄνδρα, a king or an excellent man), would say:

... 'δαιμόνι' οὐ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὥς δειδίσεσθαι,
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλλους ἴδρυε λαούς:
 οὐ γάρ πω σάφα οἶσθ' οἷος νόος Ἀτρεΐωνος

(*Iliad* 2.190-3)

...*Good Sir! It is not seemly*²⁶⁴ *for you to be frightened like a coward,*
but yourself be seated and settle down the rest of the people.
For you do not yet clearly know the thinking of Atreides.

²⁶² The hostile third party of the Corinthians is omitted from Plutarch's account, and rather awkwardly Eurybiades is the one to scold Themistocles for starting his speech before his turn. How and Wells in their commentary of Herodotus' *Histories* saw Plutarch's version as emphasizing the rivalry between Athens and Sparta; certainly the conservative nature of the Spartans is highlighted by Eurybiades' faint-heartedness in the face of danger. See How and Wells (1928) 8.59.

²⁶³ Pelling also notes that the episode reads like a re-enactment of *Iliad* 2. See Pelling (2006) 110-112; also Blösel (2004) 236-41, and Bowie (2007) 145. For more on Homer and Herodotus generally, see Marincola (2006) 13-28.

²⁶⁴ The use of *eikos* is a precursor to the *eikos* argument, which forms a central part of Gorgias' *Palamedes*. See discussion in chapter 1, and Knudsen (2014) 137ff.

Odysseus tactfully avoids calling the men of rank cowards, but expresses that it is their responsibility to stay, and to keep their men from running away. But to the common soldiers he is much more authoritative and rough:

... δαιμόνι' ἀτρέμας ἦσο καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε,
οἳ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι, σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις
οὔτέ ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ...

(*Iliad* 2.200-2)

*...Good Sir! Sit still and listen to the words of others,
who are better than you, you unwarlike weakling,
neither valued in war nor in council...*

Odysseus states that it is 'not right' to call the βασιλεῖς cowards, but the soldiers he addresses as ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις. Different methods are used to prevent the different classes from fleeing, and to restore order; a combination of careful tact alongside harsh words are used as necessary. Likewise, Themistocles uses different arguments to persuade the officers to stay put at Salamis from those he uses to convince the commander Eurybiades. He is fully aware that by expressing his fear of the fleets breaking up would effectively be accusing the officers of suspicion of desertion, just as Odysseus refrains from openly accusing the Greek leaders of cowardice.²⁶⁵ As I showed in chapter 1, *polutropia* (as used by Homer to describe Odysseus) is a quality which Antisthenes (t.187 Prince) describes as the ability to use the appropriate speeches for the audience, in a positive sense. Themistocles and

²⁶⁵ Agamemnon is not so tactful when he accuses Menestheus and Odysseus of skulking (*Iliad* 4.340). The reaction of Odysseus is immediately to take offence and reject the accusation, saying that Agamemnon 'speaks empty wind', ἀνεμῶλια βάζειν (*Iliad* 4.355), which makes Agamemnon back down.

Odysseus' shifting arguments here are a good example of audience-appropriate rhetoric.²⁶⁶

There are further subtle elements of Odysseus' tact in rhetoric in the embassy to Achilles scene in Book 9. He repeats to Achilles almost word for word the offer which Agamemnon has asked to be delivered to the sulking hero; however, the last line of Agamemnon's order is omitted. Alongside the list of offers, faithfully related to Achilles by Odysseus, Agamemnon adds μοι ὑποστήτω, 'let him yield to me'. Agamemnon's justification is that he is more kingly and older, effectively requesting submission despite the list of gifts (*Iliad* 9.160-1). Odysseus formulaically repeats Agamemnon's offer to Achilles almost word for word, all 36 lines, but instead of repeating the final lines, he sensitively and tactfully replaces it by begging Achilles to help the Greeks even if he finds Agamemnon and his gifts hateful (*Iliad* 9.300-3). Achilles responds as if he sees through this and anticipates the deleted line.²⁶⁷

It is this type of versatility which is a significant part of the characterization of Odysseus as a hero of many ways, of *polutropia*. It is perceived for better and for worse; in tragedy, his multi-faceted nature (ποικίλος) opens him to criticism as a demagogue in Euripides. Agamemnon describes him as shiftily siding with the mob, ποικίλος ἀεὶ πέφυκε τοῦ τ' ὄχλου μέτα (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 526), while Hecuba describes him as ἡδυλόγος (*Hecuba* 132).²⁶⁸ This type of suspicion might be expected

²⁶⁶ It is worth noting that in both examples Odysseus and Themistocles are motivated by another individual (Athena and Mnesiphilus respectively), but both of them effectively act immediately to prevent disaster by using whatever arguments necessary to prevent the fleets from sailing.

²⁶⁷ For a more complete discussion of this whole episode and the context, see for example Donlan (1993) 165-8.

²⁶⁸ Montiglio (2011) 9-12 discusses this as part of a suggested Athenian theme of mistrust and dislike of Odysseus as the skilful speaker and demagogue, growing in intensity as the war generated a disillusionment with the ability of words and the Assembly. See also King (1987) 68-71. Herodotus' account of Themistocles of course predates the Peloponnesian War, and therefore these kinds of sentiments (which I address more fully in the preceding chapters). However, the connections between fifth-century views on rhetoric and speeches and Herodotus has been well established; see for

from Herodotus' audience as well, in relation to the duplicity and quickly changing rhetoric of Themistocles.

The versatility of Themistocles' rhetoric is a component in the way Herodotus presents not only the eventual success of his arguments but also Themistocles' characterization as a dynamic leader who is able to change his arguments when necessary.²⁶⁹ This persuasion of the unwilling commanders creates a pivotal turnabout in the narrative of the war, and therefore Themistocles' character in Herodotus becomes a fundamental part of this narrative; the importance of rhetoric in this critical hour is brought to the forefront of the success of the Greek allies. The sequence of events which follows is made possible by Themistocles' ability to manipulate both his own people and the enemy, either by rhetorical ability or by trickery (the trick of Sicinnus shall be discussed presently). The importance of the rhetoric of Themistocles in the narrative outcome of the *Histories* (as discussed by Baragwanath²⁷⁰) shows how carefully Herodotus has crafted the character of Themistocles into his re-telling of the events.

A rhetorical motif which links Themistocles' speech to forensic speeches is the use of τὰ οἰκότα (=Attic τὰ εὐκότα), *Histories* 8.60b. The argument from probability, *to eikos*, is reminiscent of sophistic rhetoric (see Plato, *Phaedrus* 267a); it is used by Gorgias, *Helen* 7, to denote likelihood, and also in Antisthenes (*Od.* 5) to express the

example Zali (2014), particularly 22-29, for an overview of comparisons between Herodotus and contemporary discussions on the power and perils of rhetoric.

²⁶⁹ This motif is repeated in the episode at Andros, where Themistocles persuades the Athenians to desist from chasing the Persians and breaking the bridges. Themistocles fails to persuade Eurybiades, but manages to persuade his own people to change their position; the Athenians are ready to be persuaded by anything he has to say (*Histories* 8.110.1). It is also worth noting that Themistocles is singled out for the effect of his speech before the battle of Salamis (*Histories* 8.83.1).

²⁷⁰ See Baragwanath (2008) 308. Masaracchia's comment is noted by Baragwanath, that the speeches of Themistocles have such great weight on the narrative that it is through them Herodotus presents his own interpretation of the events, and thus creates 'grandiosi quadri di carratere'. See Masaracchia (1977) 8.60.6.

likelihood of something happening in the future.²⁷¹ The speech is divided into four main sections: an outline of how Eurybiades will save Greece by following his advice; a description of the disadvantages and dangers of retreating to the Isthmus; an argument that fighting at Salamis in the narrows would be advantageous and protect the Athenians on the island and also preserve the Peloponnese; and finally (after the interjection of Adeimantus) about the threat of Eurybiades being responsible for the destruction of Greece and the Athenians pulling their 200 ships from the Greek forces.²⁷² There is an explanation of the benefits (saving Greece), a description of the method of achieving the salvation, and finally a threat or warning of what will happen if the advice is not followed. A similar set of persuasion points appear in Odysseus' speech to convince Neoptolemus to steal Philoctetes' bow in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. Odysseus' explains his plan for success which involves Neoptolemus tricking Philoctetes, and method (*Philoctetes* 55-65). It is stated that by failing to use this plan, he will inflict pain on all the Greeks and ultimate failure to their mission to sack Troy (*Philoctetes* 66-70). Conversely, the prize of victory awaits success (*Philoctetes* 81) – and thus, as with Eurybiades, the success or failure of the mission rests on the one decision faced by the individual being persuaded.

To include a threat in the process of persuasion is a common rhetorical tool; combining entreaties with threats as a technique was associated with Gorgias (B 27 DK).²⁷³ In some cases, it is veiled; Phoenix's story of the Prayers and the tale of Meleager in his attempt to persuade Achilles is a subtle warning not to be too

²⁷¹ For more on sophistic rhetorical elements in Herodotus generally see Thomas (2000) 168-190, esp. 168 n. 1. For more on *eikos* in Antisthenes and Gorgias, see chapter 1, especially 'Odysseus in Alcidas and Gorgias'.

²⁷² Bowie (2007) 147 discusses this as a tactical analysis of the choices facing the Greeks. My following examples of similar speeches are also persuasion-speeches which analyse the options available to the character being persuaded.

²⁷³ ἀνεμίσγοντο δὲ λιταῖς ἀπειλαὶ καὶ εὐχαῖς οἰμωγαί, 'threats were mingled with entreaties and laments with prayers'.

stubborn (*Iliad* 9.502-602). Hecuba reminds Odysseus how fortunes change quickly (Euripides *Hecuba* 284-5), and Odysseus, in Euripides' *Cyclops*, warns Polyphemus that gain brings a recompense of punishment (310-2). The threat is prefaced using the same imperative: 'but listen to me/be persuaded by me', ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ, Κύκλωψ (*Cyclops* 310), and ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο (*Histories* 8.62.1).²⁷⁴ In both situations, Odysseus/Themistocles is attempting to persuade a figure who has power over them, but in their closing arguments, instructs the listener to be persuaded, or else bad things will happen. It is this last part of Themistocles' argument that Herodotus thinks was effective (8.63), but of course in *Cyclops* the warning falls on deaf ears; the difference here is that Themistocles' threat was to remove the Athenian ships, whereas Odysseus' warning had no immediate effect on Polyphemus.

The Sicinnus Trick

Apart from true political and persuasive abilities, Themistocles was well known for military intelligence. The trick of Sicinnus is perhaps Themistocles' most noteworthy and deceptive strategy. Both Herodotus and Plutarch refer to the fact that, on the eve of the battle, the Peloponnesians once again wished to move their ships to the Isthmus. The urgency of this matter made Themistocles take a drastic measure that would make the Persians engage the Greek fleet in the narrow waters where their superior numbers would have less effect, and would at the same time prevent the Greek fleet from escaping from Salamis. He sent one of his own slaves, Sicinnus, (a Persian by birth according to Plutarch (*Themistocles* 12.3), but simply an οἰκέτης in

²⁷⁴ This is not specifically Odyssean – it is used in various other examples of Euripidean rhetoric, for example, Aethra's arguments to Theseus in *Suppliant Women* 314-9 (see O'Sullivan, 'Rhetoric in Euripides' (forthcoming)). However, Herodotus displays the skill of Themistocles in the speech to Eurybiades, in a way which matches conventional rhetorical technique. It is worth noting that Antisthenes' Odysseus offers a veiled threat to Ajax (you may cause some evil to yourself, falling on something' (*Od.* 6)). Ajax's threats, on the other hand, are direct: Odysseus says that Ajax threatens to harm the jurors if they do not award him the armour (*Od.* 5), and Ajax does in fact say the jurors will pay the penalty for not judging correctly (*Aj.* 8).

Herodotus²⁷⁵) to go to the Persian commanders pretending to be under orders from an Athenian sympathetic to the King's cause and hoping for a Persian victory. Sicinnus deceitfully told the Persians that the Greeks were ready to flee and that by blocking their escape immediately there would be certain victory for the Persians and no resistance from the divided Greek fleet. Plutarch's rather more favourable account of Themistocles describes how Aristeides, although not a friend of Themistocles,²⁷⁶ is full of praise for the trick when he is told about it; and that when the Hellenes realize that the Persians have moved to block their escape, they face the danger with a courage born of necessity (Plutarch, *Themistocles* 12.7). Herodotus, on the other hand, does not even tell us Aristeides' view on the whole affair, but simply relates how once told of the situation he goes to inform the rest of the captains (Herodotus *Histories* 8.81.1).²⁷⁷

The Sicinnus trick itself has a remarkable resemblance to the trick of Sinon, as told in the *Iliou Persis* (arg. 2a West) and *Little Iliad*, (arg. 4c West = Apollodorus *epit.* 5.14-5),²⁷⁸ as well as in Vergil's *Aeneid* (2.57-198). Sinon facilitates the plot of the Trojan Horse, by persuading the Trojans that the horse has been left by the now-departed Greeks. Sinon's lies, pretending himself to have been deserted by the Greeks (and hating Odysseus in particular – similar to the deceitful story Odysseus

²⁷⁵ Interestingly, he is a Greek (from the Athenian host) in Aeschylus, *Persae* 355.

²⁷⁶ Herodotus (8.79) and Plutarch (*Themistocles* 12.6) both comment upon the hostility between the two. The rivalry appears in Plutarch's *Aristeides* 2-4, 6 as well. See Marr (1998) s.v. 3.1, 12.6 (pp.75-6, 104).

²⁷⁷ Herodotus describes Aristeides as ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνησι καὶ δικαιοτάτον, the best and most just man Athens had produced (*Histories* 8.79.2). Aristeides was Themistocles' bitter rival. However, notably here, Aristeides and Themistocles join forces to work together; and while Aristeides foresees the problem, Themistocles has already taken action by this point to prevent the Greeks from sailing away. It is not the virtue of Aristeides that saves the day, but the trickery of Themistocles, a point that would not have been missed by Herodotus' readers. Moles (2002) 46-47 notes that Herodotus gives a praise of Aristeides' morality, yet shows how Themistocles' *logos* excels (*Histories* 8.74-8.83).

²⁷⁸ See West (2013) 204-6, 225-6.

invents for Neoptolemus, Sophocles *Philoctetes* 60-6), achieve a similar aim to Sicinnus'; to lure the Trojans/Persians to act in a certain way, by deceiving them with false information which will make them do exactly what the Greek army (or at least Themistocles, in the latter case) wants them to do. The concept of the Greek using a ruse to get the upper hand over the (foreign) enemy has an epic precedent, and the theme is re-played to Herodotus' audience in the context of the Persian wars, much as it is to the audience of Aeschylus' *Persae*.²⁷⁹

Questions concerning the historical accuracy of the story of the Sicinnus trick are not relevant for this discussion.²⁸⁰ What is important is that in all versions of the story, Themistocles uses deceit to manipulate both his own allies and the Persians, creating the best situation to increase the Hellenes' chances of victory. Herodotus' account in particular gives an image of disunity amongst the Hellenes, which creates a tension; there is always the threat that the Greeks will flee (*Histories* 8.75), and as Pelling notes, it is ironic that it is from this disunity and fear of flight that Themistocles creates a deceitful plot, which by necessity brings the Greek forces into unity to face the enemy; if there had not been disunity amongst the Greeks then Themistocles' trick may never have happened. Sicinnus' lie itself contained a kernel of truth in that there was a real threat of the Greek forces fleeing.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ There is some debating as to whether the deception of the enemy as a military tactic would have been seen in a completely favourable light. See Hesk (2000) 48-51, Missou (1992) 78-82. See above n. 155.

²⁸⁰ Some, like Hignett, reject the whole episode; see Hignett (1963) 403-408. Marr (1998) 100 believes that it is unreasonable to reject the substance of the story, considering Aeschylus' account could have been within 8 years of the actual events. Frost (1980) 142-143 notes that in Herodotus the Spartans honoured Themistocles for his σοφίη and δεξιότης, which is tantamount to admitting that they were themselves tricked into remaining at Salamis if they knew of Themistocles' ruse. Plutarch follows this account in his biography of Themistocles, but gives a different view in *De Herodoti Malignitate* 856BC, where the Sicinnus affair was only designed to keep the Persians in the straights; this view can be inferred from Aeschylus' *Persae* 350ff as well.

²⁸¹ See Pelling (2006) 112.

Herodotus makes little comment on Themistocles' use of deceit²⁸² in order to lure the Persians into the narrows, in fact, the strategy is not even described as deceitful – Plutarch also does not describe the trick as deceitful, although clearly it is.²⁸³ The messenger of Aeschylus' *Persae* describes the ruse as δόλον (Aeschylus *Persae* 361). Another contributing factor to the element of deceit is the fact that much of Themistocles' activity at this stage happens under the cover of darkness. Mnesiphilus comes to Themistocles after dark – Herodotus describes how it became night, νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, just as the commanders were boarding their ships to sail to the Isthmus (*Histories* 8.856.1), and dawn only breaks just after he has persuaded Eurybiades to stay (*Histories* 8.64.1). The Sicinnus trick quite possibly happens at night as well – the Persians react to the news he gives them and Herodotus reports that it is midnight by the time they have encircled Salamis (*Histories* 8.76.1)²⁸⁴ and it is noted that the moves were done at night so the enemy would not know what they were doing, and therefore none of the men had time for sleep: οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο, 'indeed they did these preparations at night, forgoing sleep' (*Histories* 8.76.3).

If the plans kept the Persians up all night, Themistocles himself was awake with the Greek commanders who were still arguing about remaining at Salamis, up until the point where Aristeides arrived, and the commanders were persuaded that

²⁸² In tricking his own fellow Greeks, Themistocles has to sneak out of the assembly when he realizes that he will be out-voted. He leaves λαθών, escaping notice (*Histories* 8.75.1), which certainly helps to create an image of Themistocles' shiftiness, as he has to perform his trick in secrecy without any of his allies knowing what is happening.

²⁸³ Bowie (2007) 164 notes how the trick is potentially more deceitful in Aeschylus' *Persae* 353-73, where it actually causes the Persian fleet to move. Aeschylus also does not mention Greek discord, and presents the Greeks as a unified force. However, as Baragwanath (2008) 294 discusses, in the lead up to the battle of Salamis Themistocles is actually a contriver of unity amongst the Greeks, even if he has to trick them into being unified.

²⁸⁴ Bowie (2007) 164 infers from μέσαι νύκτες that the message was sent in the middle of the night; however, we cannot tell how much time lapses between the message and the Persian approach to Salamis. Aeschylus' *Persae* 364-5 says that the message was sent at nightfall, which does not necessarily disagree with Herodotus' timing for it.

they have to stay and fight by the appearance of the defecting Tenian warship (*Histories* 8.82-83); it is at dawn that the Greeks are ready to fight (*Histories* 8.83.1). Themistocles' greatest contributions to the battle of Salamis, which involved keeping the commanders at Salamis and then luring the Persians into the narrows, were all achieved under the cover of darkness. This can be directly compared with Antisthenes' Odysseus, who works tirelessly at night while the other men are sleeping (*Od.* 8, 10), and who is accused by Ajax of doing nothing in the open, and sneaking behind the enemies' walls at night (*Aj.* 5). If Ajax represents the warrior who only acts openly, Odysseus and Themistocles are aligned in the way that they act in secret (note that the trick of Sicinnus is known only by Themistocles until he informs Aristeides that he caused the Persians to surround Salamis), and act at night.²⁸⁵

Themistocles, like Odysseus, is the individual who can change the whole balance of the war, and make victory possible. Themistocles' plots and activity force the Greeks into a position of victory; Odysseus in Antisthenes gives himself the credit of sacking Troy (*Od.* 14), no doubt in reference to the ploy of the Trojan Horse (and following *Odyssey* 1.2, where he is also referred to as the sacker of Troy). Ajax, in Antisthenes, is driven by a need to have an upright reputation (*Aj.* 5); Aristeides is praised for his nobility in Herodotus, who describes him as ἄριστος and δίκαιότατον.²⁸⁶ But, such nobility is represented as of less consequence in determining the fate of the Greeks compared to the actions and personality of Themistocles – similarly the nobility of the Spartans, noted by Herodotus at 7.139.3

²⁸⁵ Of course Odysseus' activity at night in Antisthenes is most probably a reference to *Iliad* 10, but also his theft of the Palladion (*Little Iliad* arg. 4e, F11 West) and his night mission into Troy (e.g. *Little Iliad* F8, arg. 4b-c West, Euripides' *Hecuba* 239-41). I discuss this further in the last section of this chapter.

²⁸⁶ Aristeides is not only noted for his nobility (*Histories* 8.79.2), but Herodotus points out that he performed a valuable service during the battle as well, by landing hoplites along the coast of Salamis (*Histories* 8.95.1). See also Plutarch *Aristeides* 9.1-2. The differences between the characters of Aristeides and Themistocles is a theme in Plutarch.

(saying they would have perished nobly, γενναίως), is expressed at the same time that he admits that the Athenians were largely responsible for victory against the Persians.²⁸⁷ Despite Herodotus openly praising Aristides, it is Themistocles who uses his intelligence and craftiness to win the battle for the Greeks, even using a trick to force his allies to stay and fight. The Greek commanders may have failed to award a first prize for valour after Salamis, but Herodotus makes it very clear that Themistocles had won the reputation as the most skilled/cleverest²⁸⁸ of the Greeks by far: Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ‘Themistocles was lauded, and throughout all of Hellas was considered the cleverest man by far of the Greeks’ (*Histories* 8.124.1). It was Themistocles’ cleverness which saved Greece, which is recognized by the Spartans also, who gave him a crown for his σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος, cleverness and dexterity of mind (*Histories* 8.124.2); he is honoured as no other with a Spartan escort (*Histories* 8.124.2-3).

Furthermore, Themistocles is presented as the true leader of the Greek forces, not only by his ability to make the commanders do what he wanted them to do, by deception or otherwise,²⁸⁹ but also more generally by his leadership abilities. His speech to the men before the battle of Salamis is singled out as the best by Herodotus:

²⁸⁷ We can recall once again Herodotus’ opinion concerning this at *Histories* 7.139.

²⁸⁸ Although often simply translated as ‘wisdom’, the σοφία of Themistocles is linked to his practical skills and cleverly devised plans in engineering the Greek victory; hence ‘cleverness’ feels like a more apt translation. See LSJ, *s.v.* σοφία, and see also the use of the word at *Histories* 1.68.1 and elsewhere. In Antisthenes, Odysseus tells Ajax that σοφία in war is not just strength (*Od.* 13).

²⁸⁹ It is notable that the ability to lead and sway the minds of the people even when theoretically not in charge is an attribute given to Pericles in Thucydides’ *History* as well: ‘what was in word a democracy, was really the rule of the first citizen’. Pericles had the ability to make the people act how he wanted them to, so it was really he who led them and not the other way around (*History* 2.65.8-9). This idea is even hinted at in Pericles’ *epitaphios* (*History* 2.37.1). Themistocles too, quite clearly, has this ability in Herodotus, as he manipulates the leaders of the expedition by threat or guile.

ἡώς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι,
προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα
ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου
φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται: παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω
αἰρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς
νέας.

(*Histories* 8.83.1-2)

At the appearance of dawn, an assembly of the fighting men was made, and Themistocles gave the best address of all the others. His words contrasted all the good aspects of the nature and condition of mankind against the bad. To conclude he advised them to choose the better, and he ordered them to board the ships.

There is some ambiguity in these lines, particularly concerning ἐκ πάντων, which has led to varying translations. It could mean that he spoke alone from (or on behalf of) all present, or it could be that out of the others, Themistocles proclaimed, προηγόρευε, things ‘being well’, εὖ ἔχοντα. This has frequently been translated as referring to the fact that Themistocles spoke well, with ἐκ πάντων referring to the superiority of his speech over the others (as I have translated above).²⁹⁰ Herodotus singles out Themistocles, and whether Themistocles is chosen to make the speech on behalf of the others, or whether his speech is best out of the others, it clearly had some impact to be mentioned by Herodotus in such terms.

An alternative translation is that ἐκ πάντων is partitive, but that προηγόρευε is in fact referring to foretelling rather than simply proclaiming.²⁹¹ As A. J. Graham suggests, it seems unlikely that Themistocles would simply be foretelling that things were well (translating ἔχοντα as ‘being’), particularly if other speeches were made, so he proposes that εὖ ἔχοντα refers to victory – the meaning would then be that, of

²⁹⁰ For example, Grene (1987).

²⁹¹ See LSJ, s.v. προαγορεύω I.2.

the others, Themistocles alone foretold victory.²⁹² This just as much portrays Themistocles as the standout leader in the situation, and again shows how Themistocles made his mark on the battle of Salamis. Herodotus does not reproduce Themistocles' direct speech, or comment on the reaction to it, and by doing so keeps the pace of the narrative high in the build up to the battle.²⁹³ The speech finishes with Themistocles' order to board the ships, which makes him appear as the *de facto* leader of the Greeks by this stage, whose strategy and brilliance have engineered the battle on his terms.

Themistocles and Self Interest: Euboea and Andros

There are episodes in Herodotus which explicitly show Themistocles' ability to deceive, to persuade, and to make a profit for himself as well. As Lateiner states, 'Herodotus clearly admired conspicuous exemplars of human wit and presumed that Hellenic audiences would enjoy hearing tales of both ordinary and prominent men deluded, especially when their motives were ignoble and the upshot produced a form of poetic justice.'²⁹⁴ Such examples of self-serving use of craftiness, plots and wit abound in Herodotus; from the simple ruse and self-inflicted injuries used to dupe the Athenians by Peisistratus in his plot to take over Athens (*Histories* 1.59.3-

²⁹² For a detailed analysis of these lines with supporting evidence from elsewhere in Herodotus, see Graham (1996) 321-6.

²⁹³ Herodotus' reasons for not including the whole speech in the narrative are interesting. Zali (2013) 261-85 has presented a range of explanations for this specific speech. These include the speed of the narrative and narrative economy (a long speech would be wearisome at this point, particularly if containing motifs explored earlier in other direct speeches). From a characterization perspective, Zali argues that the content and presentation of the speech does further enhance the figure of Themistocles as a master of rhetoric who can say the right things to manipulate an audience (pp. 476-8). Furthermore, Herodotus' may have chosen not to recreate the speech because he wants to present the shifty nature of Themistocles as well. It is the right speech for the time, but by including a deeply patriotic speech at this point the reader would generate an impression at odds to the trickster character which Herodotus is developing with Themistocles.

²⁹⁴ Lateiner (1990) 231. Histiaeus and Themistocles are used as examples of 'Herodotean swindlers'.

6),²⁹⁵ to the deceit Artayctes uses to obtain the treasure of Protesilaus (*Histories* 9.116.1-2; note however that Artayctes is described as ἀτάσθαλος, wicked).

Themistocles' roguish acts of self-interest are the other side of his activity and brilliance in acting on behalf of the state. His often times two-faced nature marks his ability to trick, to deceive, and to generally make the most out of any situation. Themistocles in Herodotus was not above taking bribes, or offering them. He is able to make a profit while benefitting the Hellenes; he accepts the bribe of the Euboeans to hold the fleet at Artemisium, and achieves this by in turn bribing Eurybiades and Adeimantus. Like him, Eurybiades and Adeimantus accept the bribe, but Themistocles shows his superiority by keeping 22 of the 30 talents, while the others presume that the money they received is a gesture from Athens (*Histories* 8.4-5).

Herodotus does not talk of this manoeuvre in negative terms.²⁹⁶ In fact, Herodotus says αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδηνε, that Themistocles himself gained,²⁹⁷ and we can perhaps even expect a nod of approval from the audience, who may have understood the strategic importance of the position at Artemisium.²⁹⁸ It is also noted that in addition to the strategic reasons to stay at Artemisium,

²⁹⁵ Uses of tricks are common in Book 1; Dewald (2012) 80-3 discusses how the often successful trickster is a staple for oral folklore.

²⁹⁶ Yet still some scholars insist on finding evidence here of Herodotean hostility towards Themistocles, since the position at Artemisium was strategically important, yet it is a bribe which makes Themistocles take action to ensure the fleet stays. See Cawkwell (1970) 41, Podlecki (1975) 69.

²⁹⁷ A desire for κέρδος is often linked to the characterization of Odysseus (see below); κέρδιστος is used in the *Iliad* (6.153) to describe Sisyphus, and in this example is used to denote craftiness rather than a negative characteristic (see Autenreith, s. v. κερδίων). The greed of Themistocles as a parallel to Odysseus is noted by Marincola (2007) 31 n.18; see also Stanford (1954) 76.

²⁹⁸ Plutarch relates the story in much the same way, but omits Adeimantus and also the fact that Themistocles makes a profit (Plutarch, *Themistocles* 7.5). Some have seen this as an indication that Herodotus' account is presenting Themistocles as fraudulent, while Plutarch justifies the intervention (see Marr (1998) 88-9). The doubt and fear felt by all the Greek forces that Herodotus speaks of is simply represented by Eurybiades in Plutarch (see Pelling (2007) 160), much as the general Athenian decision to pass over their command in Herodotus is made into the sentiments of Themistocles in Plutarch (*Themistocles* 7.2-7.3). See Frost (1980) 105.

Themistocles manages to create unity among the Greeks as well, with all parties given a reason to remain at Artemisium and the Euboeans able to move their households and children to safety.²⁹⁹

Baragwanath also recognizes that gaining the bribe ‘may perhaps have struck Herodotus’ original audience as rather enhancing his achievement.’³⁰⁰ Odysseus is accused of doing anything for κέρδος by Ajax in Antisthenes (*Aj.* 5), and he knows most about gainful ways, κέρδεα, in epic (*Odyssey* 19.285) – I will return to this point in the next section of this chapter.

Themistocles even changes his arguments to suit the situation when his persuasion fails. After the victory at Salamis the Greeks chasing the fleeing Persians hold a council at Andros, where Themistocles advocates chasing down Xerxes and cutting off his escape by destroying the bridges at the Hellespont (*Histories* 8.108). Eurybiades’ speech convinces the Peloponnesian commanders that they should not be hindering Xerxes’ fight, and should not give the Persian army cause to live off Hellenic soil (*Histories* 8.108.3-4). Themistocles, when he realizes he cannot win this

²⁹⁹ Baragwanath (2008) 293. However, Blösel (2001) 182-6, speculates that Herodotus’ whole account of the bribe is a fabrication to acquit Themistocles of accepting a bribe from the Medizing Histiaeans to retreat at Artemisium (which the Greeks do, after hearing of the fall of Thermopylae).

³⁰⁰ Baragwanath (2008) 292. Frost (1980) 10 also remarks that the Athenians would have admired Themistocles’ ability to make a bit of money on the side, and that devious methods were sometimes necessary in a hard and devious world. As Bowie (2007) shows, a moral stigma is not always attached to taking bribes in Herodotus: see for example *Histories* 5.51, 6.72, 9.2.3. See also Fornara (1971) 72. This naturally brings into question whether Herodotus’ intended audience would have extended this sentiment to actual bribe-taking. Pericles’ incorruptibility was seen as a good thing (Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.65.8) and in Hesiod ‘eating bribes’, δωροφάγος, is presented as unjust (*Works and Days* 221, 265), albeit in a law-court rather than a political setting. For more on political bribery, see Harvey (1985) 76-117.

debate,³⁰¹ changes sides and convinces the disgruntled Athenians to stay rather than sail to the Hellespont alone.

The motivations behind Themistocles' speech to the Athenians raise questions. Themistocles drops his former arguments, and even uses some of Eurybiades', to persuade the Athenians that it is not worth the risk of making the Persians desperate, since a defeated enemy can still be unpredictable; they had beaten the Persians only with luck and help from the gods (*Histories* 8.109). This sudden change of tack is presented by the participle μεταβαλὼν, which could mean a physical turn to the Athenians to begin his speech to them, or it could represent Themistocles' sudden change in argument.³⁰² This emphasizes Themistocles' versatility and changeability, since he can argue for both sides of the argument, depending on which is required, and is willing to accept that it is best for the Athenians not to sail to the Hellespont if there is no support from the Peloponnesians.

Themistocles' motivation to change his argument is twofold. First, it is in the best interests of the Athenians to remain united with their allies, and Herodotus' presentation of the situation suggests that they were ready to rush off after Xerxes alone: ὀρμέατό τε ἐξ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο, 'they [the Athenians] were eager to sail to the Hellespont even going by themselves, if the others did not wish to' (*Histories* 8.109.1). Themistocles may himself wish to do the same, but he calms the Athenians down and gives them reasons to accept that letting the Persians go is a safer option. The Athenians listen to him:

³⁰¹ There is a recurring theme here in the characterization of Themistocles in Herodotus; Themistocles knows when he cannot win a debate. See also *Histories* 8.75.1, where he sees he will be out-voted to stay at Salamis so takes matters into his own hands.

³⁰² See Macan (1908) 8.109.

Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο:
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν
ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι
πείθεσθαι.

(*Histories* 8.110.1)

In saying these things Themistocles deceived, but the Athenians were persuaded: for they had always considered him to be wise, and since he had displayed himself to be truly wise and prudent, they were willing to be persuaded by everything he said.

The Athenians are persuaded, ἐπείθοντο, because they already think highly of Themistocles, whom they regard as ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος. The word πείθω is repeated, emphasizing how the Athenians are not only persuaded by the arguments but by the fact that they acknowledge his cleverness in anything he says. Like Themistocles, they accept good advice,³⁰³ perhaps even as Themistocles is accepting of the ideas of Eurybiades.³⁰⁴

In all of Herodotus' examples, Themistocles' actions do create a unity amongst the Hellenes. If they will not stay together to fight the Persians, Themistocles devises a way to make them; and when the Athenians wish to chase the defeated Xerxes when their allies do not, Themistocles persuades them to let the Persians go, even if it goes against his own opinion on the matter. He has the best interests of the Athenians in mind at all times, yet he keeps an eye out for personal gain as well – a fact which is clear from Herodotus 8.110. Herodotus' mention of Themistocles' ulterior and self-preserving motives behind changing his argument is overshadowed by the allusion to Themistocles' later defection to the Persians. Themistocles is described as speaking deceitfully after his address to the Athenians: διαβάλλω denotes his intention to deceive, the result being that the Athenians are

³⁰³ See above discussion of Themistocles' acceptance of Mnesiphilus' advice.

³⁰⁴ As noted by Baragwanath (2008) 310-311.

persuaded. This deception is that he hides his own ulterior motive for leaving since Themistocles' ulterior motive is to gain favour with the King in case he ever needed his help, which indeed happened, as Herodotus states (*Histories* 8.109.5).³⁰⁵ Themistocles, by the end of the episode, has achieved three things as a result of his failure to convince the Greek confederates to chase down the Persians: he persuades the Athenians to remain, he contrives Greek unity despite going against his own desire to prevent the Persian escape, and he even has the foresight to use the Persian escape deceptively to gain favour with the Persian King.³⁰⁶

A parallel to Themistocles in Herodotus is perhaps Histiaeus, one of the instigators of the Ionian revolt.³⁰⁷ It is worth noting how Histiaeus is reported to have also used various tricks and deceptions, not unlike Themistocles, to defeat his enemy or save his own skin. A point of comparison to draw is Herodotus' description of Histiaeus' deception of Darius: Ἰστιαῖος μὲν λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο... 'Histiaeus said these things to deceive, but Darius was persuaded' (*Histories* 5.107). This is worded in a very similar way to Themistocles' deception of the Athenians, who were also 'nonetheless persuaded.' Aristagoras, another Herodotean trickster, is also described as deceiving, διαβάλλων, through being cunning, σοφός:

³⁰⁵ See Fornara (1971) 71. Fornara argues that Themistocles did not deceive the Greeks, but the Persians; but he then concedes that the deception of the Athenians was his concealment of his other intentions (see 71 n.17).

³⁰⁶ There would be good reason to fear falling foul of the Athenian *demos* and being treated harshly as a result. Miltiades, despite being the general at Marathon, was censured after the defeat at Paros and even tried for his life for defrauding the public. See Herodotus (*Histories* 6.136). He is let off with a fine of fifty talents, thanks to his previous services to the state. Of course, Alcibiades will later also defect after being charged with sacrilegious activities; he is accused by the Athenians of mutilating the Herms (Thucydides *Hist.* 6.28) and he flees fearing a prejudiced trial (*Hist.* 6.61).

³⁰⁷ Also an 'Odyssean' figure; see Murray (1988) 486. Histiaeus' trick of sending the slave with a message pricked on his scalp, in order that it may be kept secret until the slave's head was shaved, is referred to by Hornblower (1987) 21-2, who mentions that it aligns his character to the trickster-folk hero Odysseus. Themistocles, he comments, is another such character.

ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τᾶλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὖ...

(*Histories* 5.50.2)

Aristagoras had been clever and fooled him well...

In this example Aristagoras is trying to persuade Cleomenes of Sparta to invade Asia, and Herodotus notes that he had been wise in deceiving Cleomenes. Here though, he makes a mistake: he tells the truth. Herodotus says that he should not have told the truth, but because he did, Cleomenes is not persuaded and Aristagoras is not successful (*Histories* 5.50.3). A further example is the Amasis, who tricks Cambyses; instead of sending his own daughter to be Cambyses' concubine, he dresses up the daughter of the former King, who tells Cambyses he does not realize he has been fooled by Amasis, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος. The deceptions of cunning and clever characters and their conniving plans make an important contribution throughout the narrative of Herodotus' *Histories*.

Themistocles is not an unambiguously scrupulous hero in Herodotus – nor are any of the cunning characters in Herodotus which I have mentioned above. While Thucydides praises his genius, Herodotus presents a man who uses this intelligence to twist a situation to his own advantage. While we do not have to view the bribery and profiteering that Themistocles indulges in at Euboea (*Histories* 8.4-5) or the protection of his interests at Andros (*Histories* 8.109) as either a positive or negative product of his character – and it could be a bit of both – it does develop a tone of self-interest which is in itself Odysseus-like. Antisthenes' Odysseus states that a good man, an *agathos*, should not suffer harm from anyone, either himself or a friend or a foe (*Od.* 6). Themistocles' protection of his own interests goes as far as expecting future trouble with the Athenians, which as it turns out is prudent (*Histories* 8.109.5), and thus ensures that he does not suffer harm even from his own people. The next section of this chapter will investigate several further themes in

Antisthenes which show parallels with Herodotus' depiction of Themistocles' action and character.

Themistocles and Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus*

This discussion so far has been centred on Herodotus' use of the character of Themistocles, and has examined the ambivalence of his craftiness and deceit. Despite these ambivalences, we can see Themistocles as emerging as a champion for the Athenians and the Greeks as a whole, despite sometimes questionable means and questionable ethics.

In many ways, the *Odysseus* and *Ajax* speeches of Antisthenes appear to be a long way off the presentation of Themistocles in Herodotus. On one hand, Antisthenes' speeches are rhetorical display pieces, showing heroic qualities and perhaps even a tone of contemporary ethics; on the other, Herodotus' account of Themistocles appears as part of a historical narrative. Herodotus' Themistocles is a real character, whose relatively recent actions and motivations are retold in Herodotus' prose, whereas Ajax and Odysseus in Antisthenes are re-creations of mythical figures who represent differing forms of heroism.

The comparison between representations of character in Herodotus and Antisthenes becomes more relevant and more interesting when various other contributing elements to the characterizations are raised. As is by now quite evident, Herodotus crafts the figure of Themistocles very carefully. This character of resourcefulness, inventiveness and duplicity has been referred to as a fifth-century 'Odysseus' even by modern scholarship;³⁰⁸ whilst Fornara decides that the Athenians

³⁰⁸ Lenardon (1978) 207; he has the Homeric Odysseus in mind, rather than the Odysseus of Antisthenes or fifth-century presentations of Odysseus. The comparison is also made by Thompkins (2013) 462, and Montiglio (2011) 27, 44, 132. Of course, Themistocles' nickname of 'Odysseus' shows us that this link was drawn in ancient times (Plutarch, *Mor.* 869F).

and Herodotus would have admired Themistocles for his cleverness, Podlecki assumes that Herodotus' audience would have expected him to be presented as an Odysseus-like character, with negative ramifications.³⁰⁹ Lenardon's description of Themistocles as a 'veritable Odysseus' gives Themistocles credit for his ingenuity, but also acknowledges his adventures and travels.³¹⁰ Marincola gives a detailed overview of how Odysseus is generally relevant to Herodotus (and Thucydides), and how the historians too were influenced by the hero of travel and versatility; both Odysseus' tales and Herodotus' tell of strange lands and strange people, combining the narrative with an idea that a reliable form of first-hand knowledge is gained from experience and travel, since with it comes eyewitness testimony.³¹¹

Marincola's study also comments upon the similarities between Odysseus and Themistocles in Herodotus, if in less detail than my arguments above, and, like Suksi, is more focused upon the epic Odysseus. He is fully aware of the fact that like the Athenian reception of Odysseus in the fifth-century, Themistocles was a controversial and ambivalent figure to his contemporaries, and this is manifested in the historical sources.³¹² Themistocles and Odysseus' greed, as presented in Herodotus and the *Odyssey* (*Histories* 8.112 and Odysseus' desire to take gifts back to Ithaca³¹³) is used as an example of not just parallels between the two but also as an example of this ambivalence.

³⁰⁹ See Fornara (1971) 72, Podlecki (1975) 71-72.

³¹⁰ Lenardon (1978) 207.

³¹¹ Marincola (2007) 4-6; but note Thucydides' suspicion of eyewitness testimonies (*Hist.* 1.22.3). See also Marincola (1997) 63-85 for more general comments on the relationship between knowledge and travel/experience.

³¹² Marincola (2007) 30.

³¹³ Marincola (2007) 31; rather than giving an example from the *Odyssey*, Marincola simply references Stanford (1954) 76, 255 n.18. In the Cyclops episode in Book 9, Odysseus stays in the cave of the Cyclops because he is hoping for gifts (*Odyssey* 9.229).

Marincola draws attention to two interesting analyses of the character by sources which are unambiguously Athenian. The first is, unsurprisingly, Antisthenes. By aligning Odysseus to Stoic ideals, Marincola sees how Odysseus has become emblematic of suffering in Antisthenes, but not in vain; like Heracles,³¹⁴ he suffers for the good of mankind (although, of course, in Antisthenes this is only presented as far as suffering for the sake of the Greeks). Marincola suggests that Odysseus in Antisthenes, like Heracles, became connected to the doctrine of ‘toil is good’, ὁ πόνος ἀγαθόν.³¹⁵ The relevance of this for Marincola is the alignment of Odysseus as a representative of toil and endurance needed in writing history, an idea which is contained in Thucydides’ presentation of the difficulties in unearthing the truth (*Hist.* 1.22.3-4). It could be said that this idea flies in the face of Athenian *nomoi*; Pericles presents Athenians as having their courage and abilities naturally, and it is other city states which must toil and endure hardships to achieve courage (Thucydides *Hist.* 2.39.1-4). However, just because the Athenians do not need to suffer to become courageous, it does not mean they do not toil in times of war. They are also described as dedicating themselves to the public good in tireless action (*Hist.* 1.70.6); this tirelessness action means they live their days μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων, in constant toil and danger (*Hist.* 1.70.8).

Marincola’s second Athenian example of sympathy towards Odysseus shows more of an interest in the *Odyssey*, but an interest which is nonetheless parallel to Antisthenes’ depiction of Odysseus. This is Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, which, as a tale of wandering with a cheerful outcome, naturally has themes to share with the *Odyssey*. Marincola discusses a moment in the *Anabasis* which has particular resonance with

³¹⁴ See Buffière (1956) 374-80.

³¹⁵ Marincola (2007) 22. Heracles becomes the representative of the Greeks in Antisthenes to establish that toil is good; see Diogenes *Lives of the Philosophers* 6.2 = F19 DC. See also Prodicus’ *Choice of Heracles* (Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.1.21-34 = 2 DK). Here Heracles is offered a life of pleasure and ease, or one of virtue. The latter involves toiling to benefit the city, which is the only way to achieve *aretē* (*Memorabilia* 2.28).

Odysseus as a character of endurance and toil. At 3.2.25, Xenophon tells his men to ignore the luxury of the Medes and Persians – comparing them to the Lotus Eaters of the *Odyssey* – and to set their mind on returning home, remembering that their relative poverty is of their own choosing. The Odyssean reference shows how Xenophon, like Odysseus, watches over and guides his men; and perhaps even betters the epic Odysseus, since he manages to successfully bring them all home.³¹⁶

To return to Antisthenes: Marincola's discussion of Odysseus as a character of suffering and endurance in just one reason to compare the speeches of Antisthenes to Herodotus' *Histories*. Antisthenes' characters show a relatively contemporary reception of Homeric characters in an Athenian context. By associating Odysseus and the characterization of Themistocles, a natural pattern appears which shows a strand of intellectual Athenian discourse that is accepting of the inventive and wily hero. If Themistocles, despite his ambivalences, is accepted as a champion of Athens,³¹⁷ so too could Odysseus, despite the supposed negativity which surrounds him in Athenian sources,³¹⁸ be rehabilitated in the eyes of the Athenian audience. Themistocles' similarities with the epic Odysseus give us more of an insight into the development of the intellectual hero in Athenian literature.

The discussion of Themistocles in Herodotus has already shown a few characteristics of Themistocles' character which are important to Herodotus' narrative. Features such as rhetorical ability or foresight lend themselves well to

³¹⁶ Marincola (2007) 32-3. For more on the importance of Odyssean references in the *Anabasis*, see Losseau (1990) 47-52.

³¹⁷ Not universally of course. Even if it has been successfully argued here that Herodotus was not hostile to Themistocles, the ambivalence of his character must be noted. Demosthenes saw this ambivalence in an age when Themistocles' actions had been glorified; he uses the example of Themistocles' deceitfulness to the Spartans in building the Long Walls, whereas Conon had managed the same thing without deceit: openness is better than secrecy to Demosthenes (*Against Leptines* 20.73-74). See Hesk (2000) 45-50.

³¹⁸ Again, I refer to Montiglio (2011) 2-12, Stanford (1954) 90-117.

comparisons with the epic Odysseus, as has been commented upon by Suksi.³¹⁹ Various elements of Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches raise issues which are relevant to the assessment of the character of Themistocles.

The first of these is the description that Antisthenes' Ajax gives of Odysseus. Ajax assesses Odysseus' character by the fact that Odysseus does not do anything openly, whereas he would not act secretly; Ajax is so concerned about his reputation that he would rather suffer than endure being spoken of badly, but there is nothing Odysseus would not do for gain or profit:

ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἂν δράσειε φανερώς, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν
λάθρα τολμήσαιμι πράξαι. καγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχοίμην κακῶς
ἀκούων, οὐδὲ γὰρ κακῶς πάσχων, ὁ δὲ κἂν κρεμάμενος, εἰ
κερδαίνειν τι μέλλοι.

(Aj. 5)

For there is nothing that he would act out publicly, whereas I would not dare to do anything in secret. I would not tolerate being badly spoken of or badly treated, but he would even let himself be strung up, if he were going to make some profit from it.

There is a clear polarity being created here between two types of hero; the one who will not do anything underhandedly and thus damage their upright reputation, even if they will suffer for the consequences, as opposed to the hero like Odysseus, who is willing to perform acts in secret if there is some gain to be had. Odysseus' speech does not counter these claims, but instead he actually rebukes Ajax for toiling openly and in vain (*Od.* 6) and denounces the importance of being seen and acting for the sake of appearances alone (*Od.* 9).

³¹⁹ Suksi (1999) 76-90. Suksi's main points of comparison are Plutarch's account of Themistocles and the epic Odysseus.

Ajax uses the word *λάθρη* to allude to Odysseus' activities. This kind of behaviour can easily be attributed to the crafty Themistocles; and in fact, there are multiple examples of Themistocles acting under the cover of secrecy in Herodotus, two of which use the same vocabulary to describe Themistocles' stealth. The first is just before the trick of Sicinnus is introduced; Themistocles realises that he cannot persuade the generals to remain at Salamis, so he quits the assembly. He leaves *λαθών*, escaping notice (*Histories* 8.75.1), and effectively sneaking out. He must act in secrecy, as his next action is to send Sicinnus to Xerxes, a move which must be kept hidden from the other generals. The second time a variation of *λάθρη* is used is after the siege of Andros, when Themistocles extorts money from the islanders.³²⁰ Ever greedy for money, Themistocles demands payment from Carystus and Paros to prevent a visit from the Greek fleet. This naturally is done without the knowledge of the other generals: *Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν ἐξ Ἀνδρου ὁρμώμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτᾶτο λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν*, 'Themistocles left Andros and took money from the islanders, unknown to the other generals' (*Histories* 8.112.3). Themistocles acts *λάθρη*, secretly, as he lines either his own pockets or those of the Athenians (Herodotus is not explicit with who is the benefactor of this exchange, but one suspects Themistocles himself).

Themistocles' own greed for money and personal gain, as presented by Herodotus, also ties in well with Ajax's criticism of Odysseus. Ajax claims that *ὁ δὲ κἂν κρεμᾶμενος, εἰ κερδαίνειν τι μέλλοι*. Odysseus will do anything for gain, *κέρδος*. He even suggests that Odysseus only wants the armour of Achilles because he wishes to sell it (*Aj.* 3). The link between Odysseus and secrecy, and the drive to dare to use deception for the sake of *κέρδος*, is brought together succinctly by Odysseus' characterization in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. When Neoptolemus describes

³²⁰ His activities here have drawn many to link Themistocles' actions to the Athenian extortion racket of the Delian League. See Blösel (2001) 190-191.

lying (ψευδῆς) and hiding his identity as αἰσχρός,³²¹ Odysseus tells him that it is wrong to shrink back when there is κέρδος to be achieved (Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 109-111). In this setting the κέρδος is nothing less than the sacking of Troy. There is a common theme here in the characterization of Odysseus, who constantly seeks κέρδος, whether the gain is personal profit or for the good of the war effort. The κέρδος is achieved by whatever means, even if these means involve deception or secrecy; yet to the inflexible honour-driven hero, like Ajax and Neoptolemus, such means are seen to be daring and perverse. Yet an interest in material gain, even to a fault, is a Homeric precept; in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus waits in the cave of the Cyclops hoping to receive a gift of guest-friendship (9.229), and it is conspicuous that while he lost all his booty from Troy, he is given treasures by the Phaeacians (*Odyssey* 13.4-15).

Another parallel between Themistocles in Herodotus and Antisthenes' Odysseus which is linked to deception is their activity at night. This theme is raised by Ajax as a negative quality, briefly mentioned in reference to Odysseus' stealing of the Palladium (*Aj.* 3). Ajax says that Odysseus robbed the temple at night, and displayed it to the Achaeans as if it were a fine deed. The implication of this comment is that robbing the temple in the first place was a shameful act, but that doing so at night is additionally deceptive – it is again linked to the idea of acting λάθρα, in that the night conveys secrecy. Ajax mentions acting at night again (*Aj.* 6), once more in relation to the shameful things Odysseus endured, and his robbing of the temple. Odysseus crawls behind the walls of the city at night:

...τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσδὺς τῶν πολεμίων

(*Aj.* 6)

³²¹ Another point of similarity here between Neoptolemus in *Philoctetes* and Ajax's speech in Antisthenes is the use of τολμάω. Neoptolemus questions how one would dare to tell falsehoods (Sophocles *Philoctetes* 110); likewise Ajax says that he would not dare to act secretly.

...got inside the walls of the enemies by night

Then Ajax calls him *μαστιγίας καὶ ἱερόσυλος*, a rogue and a temple robber, meaning these both as derogatory terms, although he acknowledges that Odysseus openly admits to robbing the temple at night and will even try and persuade the jurors that it was a fine deed (*Aj.* 6). In his own speech, Odysseus does in fact admit both to robbing the temple and sneaking behind the enemy walls at night. He points out his role in finding the way to capture Troy by stealing the statue (*Od.* 3-4), and notes that if it is a fine thing to take Troy, then it is a fine thing to discover the means to do so (stealing the statue to fulfil the terms of the prophecy): ‘if it was a noble thing to take Troy, it was also a noble thing to find the way to do it’, *καίτοι εἶπερ καλόν γε ἦν εἰλεῖν τὸ Ἴλιον, καλὸν καὶ τὸ εὖρεῖν τὸ τούτου αἴτιον* (*Od.* 4). Odysseus sees that the end justifies the means, and notes that everyone else but Ajax is grateful for his endeavours. Stealing the statue may not have been problematic more generally: in the *Dissoi Logoi* 3.8 it is wrong to rob temples, but not in times of war.

The importance of acting at night is repeated by Odysseus in *Od.* 8. He links his activity at night time to the watchfulness of a captain, who keeps his crew safe:

...ἀλλ’ αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἱ κυβερνήται τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν σκοποῦσιν ὅπως σώσουσι τοὺς ναύτας, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας σώζω.

(*Od.* 8)

...but I myself, just as the pilots are on the watch night and day so that they will protect the sailors, so also I protect both you and all the others.

Odysseus is watchful, day and night. This is not shameful behaviour, if it is for the purpose of keeping everyone else safe. The imagery is like that used by Plato’s analogy of the ‘ship of state’, where the philosopher is compared to a navigator who

is κυβερνητικός, skilled at steering, but the sailors think is an ἀδολέσχης, a useless babbler, from ignorance of his ability (Plato *Republic* 4.488a-9d). The reference to the importance of harming the enemy is repeated in *Od.* 9, where Odysseus claims that he would take risks even when no one was watching, since war favours action and not appearances, both in the day and at night.

Odysseus' constant activity, both during the day and at night, again appears in *Od.*10:

οὐδ' ἥνικα κάμνω μαχόμενος, ὥσπερ σύ, τὰ ὅπλα ἑτέροις
παραδίδωμι, ἀλλ' ὅποταν ἀναπαύωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, τότε αὐτοῖς
τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιτίθεμαι, ἔχων τοιαῦτα ὅπλα ἃ ἐκείνους βλάψει
μάλιστα. καὶ οὐδὲ νύξ πώποτε με ἀφείλετο, ὥσπερ σὲ πολλάκις
μαχόμενον ἄσμενον πέπαυκεν· ἀλλ' ἥνικα ἂν ῥέγχῃς σύ,
τηνικαῦτα ἐγὼ σῶζω σέ, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ κακόν τι ποιῶ,
ἔχων τὰ δουλοπρεπῇ ταῦτα ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ῥάκη καὶ τὰς μάστιγας,
δί' ἃς σὺ ἀσφαλῶς καθεύδεις.

(*Od.* 10)

And when I get exhausted in the fight, I do not hand off my weapons to other people, as you do, but whenever the enemies stop, just then I attack them by night, having the sort of weapons that will do them most harm. Nor has night ever hindered me, as it has many times made you happy to stop fighting. But while you are snoring, then I am protecting you, and I always do some harm to the enemies, since I have these weapons fit for a slave and my rags and my lash marks, because of which you sleep securely.

Odysseus does not hand over his weapons to others when he is wearied from the fighting, as Ajax does, but goes on to attack the enemy with whatever weapons are most effective, while both Ajax and the other men snore, and once the enemy has stopped fighting, at night, τῆς νυκτὸς. The night theme is repeated, when Odysseus states that nightfall has never taken him out of the action, and again the idea behind this is that Odysseus is maintaining the safety of the others by continuing to plot against the enemy in the darkness while others rest and the guard of the enemy is down.

Antisthenes uses the theme of night to amplify his characterization of Odysseus, as Odysseus explains to Ajax how his own attitude towards defeating the enemy is more effective. He does not stop fighting the enemy in the dark, when heroes like Ajax sleep; acting in the darkness is part of the persona of Odysseus which is rejected by Ajax, because it is against his ideal of acting openly and in plain sight. Odysseus points out that it is more effective to attack the enemy at all times, and when they are most vulnerable, rather than doing everything for appearances' sake or struggling openly in vain, as Ajax does. In normal Homeric practice, nightfall means the fighting stops (*Iliad* 7.279– 82). The *Doloneia* of *Iliad* 10 is a special expedition; Nestor wakes up the Greek leaders *Iliad* 10.131-93 to ask for volunteers, who at first are stricken into silence at the suggestion (*Iliad* 218). Odysseus recalls his part in the night raid in Antisthenes and implies that he never needs to rest.

During the second meeting of the allies at Salamis, Themistocles sneaks out to send Sicinnus to the Persians with the message. It is not explicitly done at night, but the sense of Themistocles concealing his actions has already been discussed. It seems likely that the episode occurs at night, since, as we have seen, the following Persian movements are done under the cover of darkness, preventing their men from sleeping (*Histories* 8.76.1-2). Once again, Themistocles' activity is evident. He meets with Aristeides, tells him of his plan, and convinces him to make a report of their blocked position to the other commanders; finally, dawn breaks, as the Greeks are ready for action (*Histories* 8.83.1). In Aeschylus' *Persae*, the pattern is the same. Xerxes, not perceiving the Greek 'δόλον', draws up his forces just after night falls (*Persae* 362-5). The Persians' movements are described, and when day breaks, the stage has been set for their defeat; when the Greeks rush forward, not in flight but with courage, terror falls on the Persians (*Persae* 386-93).

Themistocles' concealing of his intentions, acting under the cover of darkness, and constantly planning how to enable the success of the Greek mission (or prevent

disaster for Athens, as occurs when he persuades the Athenians not to chase Xerxes, *Histories* 8.109-110) is closely paralleled by Antisthenes' Odysseus, who expresses his tireless motivation to harm the enemy even if it means acting at night and doing things which Ajax considers shameful. This activity is a specifically Athenian trait in Thucydides as well; the Athenians are born never to need any rest (ἡσυχία) nor allow it of their enemies (*Hist.* 1.70.9).

Combined with Themistocles' more noble motives are his abilities to pursue his own interests along with those of the Greeks or the Athenians; I have already argued that this does not necessarily detract from his achievements in Herodotus. Antisthenes' Ajax also is disparaging of Odysseus' drive for gain (*Aj.* 5), although Odysseus' speech includes nothing to suggest that this gain is not for the common good of the Greeks at Troy.³²²

Herodotus presents the cunning hero Themistocles, and his usefulness in the war against the Persians, using a set of characteristics which are immediately familiar to the reader of Antisthenes' *Odysseus* and *Ajax* speeches. These characteristics are also those typical of a hero of cunning, involving strategies which include acting at night, seeking profit, and using hidden means and deception to beat the enemy. Antisthenes positively comments upon aspects of heroism in a way which is clearly not revolutionary, despite the fact that some modern scholarship chooses to see Antisthenes as a transitional thinker in his acceptance of the hero of versatility.³²³ The historian Herodotus, too, displays the brilliance of Themistocles in a way which can be aligned to fifth- and fourth-century ideals of the intellectual

³²² Not that he responds directly to Ajax's rebuke about seeking profit. Montiglio sees Odysseus' comment that he did not avoid shameful behaviour if it meant doing harm to the enemy (*Od.* 9) as a response (Montiglio (2011) 31). This would mean Odysseus sees 'gain' as hurting the enemy.

³²³ Again, see Stanford (1954) 90-117, and Montiglio (2011) 2-12.

hero, and shows one of Athens' greatest historical heroes as a notably Odysseus-like personality of the Persian War.

Concluding Comments to Chapter 3

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate the Herodotean Themistocles and determine if Thucydides' assessment of his character was maintained by the more extensive treatment of his exploits in Herodotus' *Histories*. Themistocles as an Odysseus-like character is by no means a novel idea,³²⁴ but looking at Themistocles' actions and characterization from the perspective of Antisthenes' Odysseus – rather than just the epic Odysseus – we receive a clearer picture of how Themistocles' character fits with a strand of elite Athenian intellectual discourse.³²⁵ I have discussed the extent of Herodotean hostility towards Themistocles, and Herodotus' opinions on the Athenian contribution to the Persian War. If Herodotus does show any anti-Themistocles or anti-Athenian sentiments, they are not strong enough to prevent both the Athenians and Themistocles becoming the most prominent of the Greeks at a defining time in the war – especially in his account of the battle of Salamis.

As the analysis of Herodotus' presentation of the hero has shown, Themistocles was indeed an ambivalent figure, and even in modern scholarship there is division concerning Herodotus' supposed 'hostility' towards him. Much of

³²⁴ This is mentioned by Lenardon (1978) 207, Suksi (1999) 30-1, Marincola (2007) 77-90, Montiglio (2011) 27, and Provencal (2015) 249.

³²⁵ By this, I mean texts such as Antisthenes – fifth- and fourth-century works which have a strong interest in sophistic themes. I have discussed, in my opening chapter, works such as Alcidas' *Odysseus*, Gorgias' *Palamedes*, and Plato's *Hippias Minor*.

this is possibly a throwback to Plutarch – who did perceive hostility in Herodotus – but since he is a much later source it is perhaps anachronistic to view the fifth-century trickster as described by Herodotus as repugnant simply because Plutarch and others read this into Herodotus’ account. Plutarch glorifies Themistocles, presenting him without some of the perceived flaws which appear in Herodotus’ version.³²⁶ Themistocles is active, innovative, daring, resourceful, unscrupulous, deceitful and greedy – but none of these traits are shown as necessarily negative in Herodotus. He is a master of cunning, but it is this cunning which wins the battle of Salamis and ensures the unity of the Greek army, and his intelligence gives him the foresight to guide the Athenian people to victory.

The comparisons which can be made between Themistocles and Odysseus are extensive. However, Antisthenes’ presentation of Odysseus has parallels with Themistocles which range from very general (for example, foresight and duplicity), to specific (the use of *λάθρα* and cognates to describe their actions, and their interest in *kerdos*). The parallels reinforce the idea that there is a recurring theme to the presentation of the intellectual hero in Greek literature. These traits are not necessarily unique to Odysseus and Themistocles – or unique to Athenian characters either – but the connection between the characterization of the two has implications for the Athenian reception of Odysseus.

Themistocles’ achievements make him such a paradigm of Athenian excellence (as expressed by Lysias’ *Funeral Oration* 2.42 and Isocrates’ *Panathenaicus* 12.51: discussed above, pp. 112-3), that commonalities between Themistocles and Odysseus in Antisthenes are significant. Antisthenes’ favouring of Odysseus, rather than being unusual for defending his character, may in fact be presenting ethical

³²⁶ For example, Plutarch removes Mnesiphilus from his account, and says that Herodotus invented him out of hostility to Themistocles (*De Herodoti Malignitate* 37.869d-f). See above n.256. Plutarch (unlike Herodotus) also says Themistocles has the Persians in mind when he recommends building ships for Aegina, which accentuates his foresight (Plutarch *Themistocles* 4.2). See above, pp. 115-6.

ideas which were commonplace, even outside of sophistic and intellectual literature. To complete this investigation, it is necessary to look at the hostility towards Odysseus in Greek literature (specifically, drama) and determine whether there is a shift in how these ethical themes are presented; or whether we can use the discussions so far to show that the hostility to Odysseus in fifth- and fourth-century Athens is not as strong we might think.

4. Odysseus in Drama 1

After Stanford's work on the various attitudes towards Odysseus' character in both ancient and modern times,³²⁷ there has been no concise overview of Odysseus in post-Homeric literature. The importance and influence of Homer throughout literature has meant that studies such as Stanford's are inevitably required to discuss broader themes in his characterization. Other studies focus on more specific aspects in greater detail; for example, Montiglio (2011) effectively addresses areas where Stanford's study was inadequate, especially the reception of Odysseus in philosophy. However, Odysseus' place in drama is only really discussed in the introduction, and quite briefly. The purpose of this chapter is to raise concerns over an aspect of Odysseus in dramatic texts which still seems a truism in current scholarship: that Odysseus is *expected* to be a villain on stage. In the words of Worman (1999):

'The reputation of Odysseus suffered somewhat in the fifth-century. Although the man of *mētis* is a largely sympathetic hero in the Homeric epics, the dramatists tended to represent him as a mercenary and reprehensibly crafty character, whose

³²⁷ Stanford's *Ulysses Theme* (1954). Stanford's work discusses perceptions and representations of Odysseus from Homer through to modern times, and therefore he does not have an expansive study on each area he covers. His chapter on Odysseus as a villain on stage, for example, is just 16 pages long (pp. 102-118).

sly disguises and manipulative rhetorical tactics exemplify some of the dangers inherent in the nature of persuasive style. It is more or less common knowledge that in tragedy Odysseus is depicted in this manner and frequently associated with the sophists.³²⁸

This attitude pervades not only Sophoclean drama but even into Euripides' use of Odysseus in the *Cyclops*.³²⁹ Montiglio's first and second chapter suggest that Odysseus *is* a villain in Athenian literature up until Antisthenes. Despite Montiglio's excellent work on Odysseus in philosophy and her arguments to suggest that Odysseus became rehabilitated in later philosophical traditions, she maintains that Odysseus was seen negatively by the general Athenian audience throughout much of the fifth-century. While drama is not the focus of her discussion, there are many examples of the dramatic Odysseus acting in accordance with contemporary Athenian ethical ideologies, as shall be argued in this chapter. Opposition to Odysseus and his style of heroism certainly exists in the post-Homeric tradition, but Athenian literature prior to Antisthenes is not necessarily as hostile as Stanford and Montiglio have suggested. The themes which are present in Antisthenes' depiction of Odysseus are not alien to elements of his character in drama; I will begin with a background of the hostility towards Odysseus before discussing the presentations of Odysseus in drama at length.

³²⁸ Worman (1999). Worman cites Stanford (1954) as the most complete work on Odysseus' character as a whole; she also avoids discussing the moral status of Odysseus. She does, however, comment briefly on the class bias against Odysseus as representing the sophists (and therefore mercantile activity); this bias, she argues, has been reiterated by modern scholars, but she does not say which ones specifically. See Ober (1989) 273-9, for a discussion of Athenian ideology and class distinction.

³²⁹ See for example Arrowsmith (1959) 6, Ussher (1978) 191, and Worman (2002b) 101-25. However, for an opposing view, see for example Goins (1991) 187-94, and O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 45-57.

Hostility to the Character of Odysseus

The background to hostility towards the figure of Odysseus begins early. While not explicitly present in Homer, it is evident that Odysseus as a self-serving, conniving and ruthless character appears in epic poetry. Stories from the epic cycle emerge which assign to Odysseus all manners of villainy. Odysseus was said to have killed or attempted to kill even fellow Greeks throughout his devious schemes; the *Cypria* supposedly told of how he and Diomedes caused the drowning of Palamedes, while another tradition tells of how Odysseus attempted to kill Diomedes treacherously after the theft of the Palladion in order to take the credit for himself.³³⁰ But under the treatment of early lyric poets, Odysseus seems to have been relatively popular.³³¹ According to Stanford, Odysseus' popularity with Theognis won him praise for versatility that he would pay for at the hands of Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides.³³² Among Theognis' *Elegies* is an excerpt praising cleverness and the ability to present a different character to every friend;³³³ Stanford assumes that this is an allusion to the

³³⁰ Pausanias, in the *Description of Greece* 10.31.2 mentions that the *Cypria* tells of Diomedes and Odysseus causing the drowning of Palamedes while fishing; see *Cypria* (F 27 West) = Paus. 10.31.2, and Davies (2003) 47-8 for discussion. Conon tells the story of Odysseus' treachery to Diomedes in an explanation of the term 'Diomedian Compulsion', *FGrH* 26 fr. 1.34 (see Brown (2002) 242, and West (2013) 203). Hesychius' *Lexicon* refers to 'Diomedian Compulsion' being connected to the theft of the Palladion by the author of the *Little Iliad* (s.v. Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη); see *Little Iliad* (F 11 West = Hesych. δ 1881). The proverb appears in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* 1029, and again in Plato's *Republic* 6.493d. A scholiast on Plato, *Republic* 6.493d derives the origin of this proverb from Odysseus (who is described as φιλοτιμούμενος) wanting the glory of the theft of the Palladion for himself; he draws his sword on Diomedes, who sees it glinting in the moonlight and it becomes necessary for him to bind Odysseus for his own safety and drives him back to the Greek camp beating him with his sword (*Scholia in Platonem*, ed. Bekker, 79). See also Frazer (1898) 264, and Davies (2003) 66-7.

³³¹ See Stanford (1954) 90. As Stanford mentions, Alcman praises Odysseus for his traditional endurance (fr. 80), while Archilochus refers to Odysseus' refusal to gloat over the suitors and his own preference for a small bandy legged, bold hearted man over a big, arrogant general (see F 11, 60, 65, 67a DK).

³³² Stanford (1954) 91.

³³³ Theognis, *Elegies* 213-218. This type of adaptability, and the ability to change one's speech depending on the listener, is considered a praiseworthy trait of the Homeric Odysseus by Antisthenes, t.187.6 Prince = 51 DC. See Caizzi (1966) 104-5, Montiglio (2011) 22, and Prince (2015) 598-9 for discussion of this passage, and chapter 1 (pp. 26-30).

Homeric Odysseus, given its similarity to Odysseus' versatility throughout the *Odyssey*. The use of the description ποικίλον ἦθος denotes a versatile and adaptable character – even deceptive or shifty. However, it is this quality of Odysseus' character which left him open to attack from later poets and the tragedians.

Pindar uses the word as a description of stories: ποικίλοι μῦθοι (*Olym.* 1.29), embroidered tales. Here the word is not referring to adaptability but the shifting, unreliable and changeable falsehoods, ψευδῆ, of mortals. The term ποικίλος itself has a versatile meaning. While Theognis' ποικίλον ἦθος is linked to adaptability, Pindar's ποικίλοι μῦθοι are equated with deception and lies. Both uses are relevant to the character of Odysseus, and ποικίλος commonly appears in descriptions of Odysseus in tragedy and epic, for example, in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* 526 and *Hecuba* 131, where he is ποικιλόφρων,³³⁴ and *Iliad* 11.482, *Odyssey* 3.163 and *Odyssey* 13.293, where he is ποικιλομήτης.³³⁵ The last instance comes from the words of Athena, as she affectionately mocks Odysseus' attempt to trick her with a false tale of his identity, and compares their abilities in craftiness. ποικίλος is an important term in its use to describe Odysseus and similar characters who embody versatility or cunning.³³⁶ Pindar's connection of ποικίλος with falsehood helps to make sense of his other references to Odysseus specifically – but it is important to note that

³³⁴ This is also an epithet of Prometheus in Hesiod, *Theogony* 511. In the same line, Prometheus is described as αἰολόμητις, full of wiles; Pindar uses the related word αἰολος to describe the lies of Odysseus, *Nem.* 8.25 (see below). Prometheus as ποικίλος also occurs in drama: Oceanus describes him as such in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* 310.

³³⁵ The LSJ suggests that ποικιλόφρων and ποικιλομήτης have a similar meaning. These epithets are used of Zeus and Hermes, in *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.322, and *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 4.155 respectively.

³³⁶ Detienne and Vernant (1991) 18-21 discuss ποικίλος as an element of their wider discussion of μῆτις. However, Barnouw (2004) 54-5 notes that, with some exceptions (*Odyssey* 13.293), epithets containing variations of the word ποικίλος do not appear in a context where the psychological sense of cunning is relevant. The argument here is that there is a subtle distinction between ποικίλος and μῆτις – where μῆτις is a quality of practical intelligence, and ποικίλος has a more general meaning of versatility or unpredictability.

ποικίλος does not always allude to falsehood. Elsewhere in Pindar, his own poetry is described as a ποικίλος ὕμνος, an ‘embroidered song’ (*Olympian* 6.86).³³⁷

While I wish to address primarily the role of the intellectual hero and the presentation of Odysseus’ character in dramatic texts, it is worthwhile to discuss the significance of Pindar’s remarks on Homer and Odysseus. What is particularly interesting is that much of Pindar’s criticism is developed around the very conflict which is the topic of Antisthenes’ *Odysseus* and *Ajax* speeches. His use of the contrasting characters of Ajax and Odysseus is a precursor to the renditions of the two heroes in dramatic works. Pindar disapproves of the cunning liar Odysseus’ victory over Ajax in the contest of the arms in *Nemean* 7 and *Nemean* 8: Stanford considers that the first direct attack upon the character of Odysseus in extant European literature occurs in these passages.³³⁸ However, Mahaffy argues that Epicharmus was the first to attack the character of Odysseus.³³⁹ There has been some debate concerning the subject of Epicharmus’ *Odysseus the Deserter*, and Stanford suggests that it is in fact not a presentation of Odysseus as a coward, which would make this work the first to openly present Odysseus as such.³⁴⁰ Interestingly, two of Epicharmus’ works were named the *Cyclops* and the *Philoctetes*, and it is possible that these works had an influence upon the later satyr play of Euripides or the tragedy of Sophocles. In any event, while episodes found in the *Cypria* and *Little Iliad* potentially give some precedent to hostility towards Odysseus’ character,³⁴¹ Pindar’s attack is an early blow to the reputation of Odysseus.

³³⁷ For a discussion of the use of ποικίλος in Pindar, see Hamilton (2001) 1-22.

³³⁸ Stanford (1954) 91-2.

³³⁹ Mahaffey (1873-4) 265-75.

³⁴⁰ Stanford (1950) 167-9. Stanford argues that the text does not imply that Odysseus is a coward, and the title and the plot suffer unless Odysseus actually does desert – which is unprecedented in epic. Stanford instead suggests that the speech is a soliloquy, weighing up the danger of a mission against the glory that will come with it. A parallel is Odysseus’ contemplation of fleeing at *Il.* 6.404-9.

³⁴¹ See above n.330.

Without going into too much detail about any potential peripheral reasons behind Pindar's attack,³⁴² I will quickly examine the Odes in which Pindar mentions the conflict of the arms and its outcome. First, there is the passage from *Isthmian* 4, where Pindar comments upon the ups and downs of fortune:

...καὶ κρέσσον' ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων ἔσφαλε τέχνα καταμάρψαισ'.
ἴστε μὲν Αἴαντος ἀλκὰν, φοίνιον τὰν ὀψία ἐν νυκτὶ ταμῶν περὶ ᾧ
φασγάνῳ, μομφὰν ἔχει παίδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων ὅσοι Τρώανδ' ἔβαν.

(*Isth.* 4.34-36)

*...and the craft of weaker men, tripping the strong man, overthrows him.
Indeed, you know of the blood-stained might of Ajax, which late at night he
pierced by falling on his own sword, thus bringing blame on the sons of the
Greeks who went to Troy.*

Here Pindar brings the misfortune of Ajax to the attention of his listeners, suggesting that a superior man can be made to totter and be overtaken by the τέχνα of weaker men. Odysseus is not mentioned, and while the use of τέχνα ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων suggests the use of craft by an inferior man to defeat a better opponent, this does not necessarily have to refer to Odysseus. First, ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων is plural (although Pindar could be speaking generally). Secondly, Pindar goes on to say how Homer set the record straight by telling of the excellence of Ajax with divine words (*Isth.* 4.37-40); this does not in any way imply a criticism of Homer. Pindar could be referring to the actions of the Greek leaders rather than just Odysseus, although τέχνα suggests some form of craft or skill which fits particularly well with the Homeric Odysseus.³⁴³

³⁴² See Stanford (1954) 94-5 on possible reasons behind Pindar's anti-Odysean sentiments. Stanford suggests Pindar's admiration of the Dorian style and hostility towards the politically dextrous Attic-Ionic tradition contributes to his hostility, but also that he chose the Ionian Archilochus as a symbol of malicious back-biting rivals. Archilochus had shown admiration for Odysseus and the crafty heroic type: see Archilochus, frs. 11, 60, 65, 67a (Diehl) and Stanford (1954) 91, 259 n.4.

³⁴³ See for example *Odyssey* 5.259, 270, where Odysseus' skill is emphasized in building the boat and sailing it; the verb τεχνάομαι is used. Köhnken (1971) 109n believes that Pindar refers to Odysseus. Conversely, Du Plessis Boeke (2004) 49 argues that Pindar underplays Odysseus' involvement, and

In Sophocles' *Ajax*, Teucer blames Menelaus for corrupting the votes in the contest of the arms.³⁴⁴ However, what little evidence we have from the *Little Iliad* suggests that the contest was decided by the overheard conversations of Trojan girls rather than voting by the chieftains,³⁴⁵ while in the *Odyssey* it is clear the decision was made by the sons of the Trojans and Pallas Athena (11.547). Even if Odysseus is considered a worse man than Ajax by Pindar, it does not necessarily mean that Odysseus was bad, just that the judgement was unfair. Pindar's hostility towards Odysseus, if not clear from this passage,³⁴⁶ is more explicit in *Nemean* 8.

In *Nemean* 8 Pindar's opinion about the judgement of the arms appears once again. Odysseus is contrasted to the bold-hearted Ajax who is ἄγλωσσος, lacking in eloquence (*Nem.* 8.12). He explains how envy makes Ajax kill himself upon his sword (*Nem.* 8.20-3),³⁴⁷ but refers to how the Danaans favoured Odysseus in 'secret votes', κρυφίαισι γὰρ ἐν ψάφοις Ὀδυσσῇ Δαναοὶ θεράπευσαν (*Nem.* 8.26). Again, this passage has often been linked to the falsifying of votes as told in Sophocles'

that the anti-Odysseus sentiment found in *Nemean* 7 and 8 is notably absent. I am inclined to agree with Du Plessis Boeke; see n.346 below.

³⁴⁴ Sophocles, *Ajax* 1135.

³⁴⁵ See *Little Iliad*, F 2 West = Sch. Ar. *Eq.* 1056a. The arguments used by the girls are clearly known by Antisthenes, who makes Odysseus also argue that two men (rather than a woman in the girls' conversation) could carry Achilles' body if not Ajax (*Od.* 11). There is potentially some ambivalence in the use of the girls' testimony, since it could mean *even* the Trojan girls knew Odysseus deserved the arms, or that the decision to award Odysseus the arms of Achilles was based on the opinions of girls and not the fighting men. See West (2013) 175.

³⁴⁶ There is some evidence from *Isthmian* 4 which suggests that Odysseus is treated moderately here. Apart from the possibility that the blame of Ajax's suicide is attributed to the Greeks rather than Odysseus alone, there are also some elements of the ode which suggest appreciation for Odysseus-like qualities. The subject, Melissus, overcomes his physical limitations; he is not much to look at, and is compared to Cadmus, who is short, βραχύς (*Isthmian* 4.50-3). To win the victory he is described as crafty like a fox, ἐν πόνῳ, μῆτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ (*Isthmian* 4.47). Μῆτις here does not necessarily evoke Odysseus intentionally – but it is notable that it follows just a few lines after the mention of Ajax's defeat, where Odysseus is not named.

³⁴⁷ See Carey (1976) 31. Most (1985) 152 n.78, argues that the envy which brings about Ajax's downfall cannot be attributed to Odysseus, but to the Greek army; this is connected to the general idea that in Pindar's presentation of the *Hoplôn Krisis* it is the army who is responsible for not giving the arms to Ajax.

Ajax.³⁴⁸ Carey (1976) argues that *κουφίαισι* does not refer to a rigged voting system, but to actual unfairness; the votes were held secretly, but the Greeks paid court to Odysseus, and their envy brought down the illustrious Ajax.³⁴⁹

Pindar clearly believes that the arms were given to the wrong hero; he states, μέγιστον δ' αἰόλω ψεύδει γέρας ἀντέταται, 'the greatest honour gift has been offered to the shifty lie' (*Nem.* 8.25).³⁵⁰ The αἰόλος ψεῦδος refers to Odysseus.³⁵¹ Pindar goes on to comment that they did not tear equal wounds in the flesh of their enemies (*Nem.* 8.28-30), and that πάροφασις (deceitful speaking),³⁵² which existed even in old times, does harm to the upright while holding up the glory of the obscure (*Nem.* 8.32-4). The upright Ajax is λαμπρός, while Odysseus is ἄφαντος. It is not just Ajax's superiority which differentiates the two of them, but also their characters: one is shining and radiant, completely visible, while the other is obscure or hidden.³⁵³ Antisthenes raises the distinction between the two in Ajax's speech:

³⁴⁸ See Carey 1976, 31 for discussion. Carey cites Brury (1890) 154, Fennell (1899) 103, and Farnell (1930) 306; with the exception of Brury, all these refer to 'fixed' voting.

³⁴⁹ Carey (1976) 31, and p.40 n.29 where the similarity to *Olympian* 1.47 is mentioned.

³⁵⁰ Carey (1976) 31 suggests that Odysseus winning the arms of Achilles by deceit is an invention of Pindar; see also Köhnken (1971) 32.

³⁵¹ The use of the word αἰόλος is perhaps a word play on Αἰολός, the lord of the winds, and the father of Sisyphus (see *Iliad* 6.154). Pindar could be referring to the dubious parentage of Odysseus; the reference of Sisyphus as the father of Odysseus normally comes across as an insult in drama – see Sophocles' *Ajax* (189), *Philoctetes* (417), and Euripides' *Cyclops* (104). Detienne and Vernant (1991) 18-21 discuss αἰόλος in connection to μῆτις and ποικίλος – the term αἰόλος has a similar meaning of changeability, but has a nuance of speed and movement.

³⁵² The word πάροφασις appears in the description of the beguiling nature of Aphrodite's *kestos himas* (*Iliad* 14.217), which steals away the heart from even the thoughtful; here in Pindar it is the beguilement of words which has an effect of altering the perceptions of the listener causing misrepresentation. It is used favourably by Hesiod, *Theogony* 86-90, to describe the beguiling power of the words of a prince.

³⁵³ This observation is made by Park (2013) 34, although in a different context. She argues that Pindar's account of the truth comes from an obligation to the subject (who is being praised) and reality. The contrasts of 'radiant' and 'obscure' stand to make Ajax the more laudable hero, to whom envy attaches itself. Walsh (1984) 40-2 argues that because Odysseus' deeds are not performed, and

...ὃ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἂν δράσειε φανερώς, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν
λάθρα τολμήσαιμι προῤῥαι. (Aj. 5)

*For there is nothing that he would act out openly, whereas I would not dare
to do anything in secret.*

In this phrase, the obscure and hidden is opposed to the upright in terms of their actions, and what they *will not* do. Odysseus does not do anything in the open, while Ajax will not do anything secretly. The λαμπρός Ajax of Pindar matches Antisthenes' Ajax who will not do anything λάθρα. Likewise, the ἄφαντος Odysseus will not do anything φανερώς, according to Antisthenes' Ajax. Visibility of victory is very important to Antisthenes' Ajax, much as it is for the poetry of Pindar. In *Isthmian* 4, when Pindar explains how Homer set the record straight by extolling the excellence of Ajax, he describes how a word said well can spread results in an ἀκτὶς ἄσβεστος – an 'inextinguishable ray' – of fine deeds, travelling over land and sea (*Isth.* 4.41-2). Following this is another description connecting the song to visibility and light; Pindar asks the muses to kindle the πυρσὸν ὕμνων, the 'torch of songs' for Melissus (*Isth.* 4.43). At *Nemean* 7.13 Pindar states that great deeds, lacking songs, dwell in much darkness, σκότον πολὺν. The glory of the deeds must be visible, and the songs of Homer and Pindar can create this metaphorical visibility.

Antisthenes' Odysseus challenges the usefulness of this moralising distinction of visibility and obscurity by telling how Ajax toils openly but in vain, ὅτι φανερώς ἐμόχθεις καὶ μάτην ἠλίθιος ἦσθα (*Od.* 6); there is no attempt to refute the accusations made by Ajax, but a different interpretation of the value of acting openly

therefore 'invisible', a song about these deeds is πάροφασις because it glorifies them – whereas the poet should be silent.

is offered by Odysseus. This also means that his position responds to the criticisms of Pindar, because Odysseus totally contradicts the value of appearances in war:

...οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ὁ πόλεμος ἀλλὰ δρᾶν αἰεὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν
νυκτὶ φιλεῖ τι.

(*Od.* 9)

*...for war does not love appearances at all, but doing something, always,
both in the day and in the night.*

In fact, Odysseus has his cake and eats it – because he determines that his secretive approach to war is not only more fruitful, but he will be portrayed by a wise poet as the sacker of Troy (*Od.* 14). While Odysseus is not interested in fighting for the sake of appearances, he still shows an interest in some form of immortalisation in song.

Homer's immortalisation of Odysseus, however, also comes under fire from Pindar. In *Nemean* 7 there is another reference for his preference over Ajax alongside the claim that through Homer Odysseus' sufferings were exaggerated:

σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἄνεμον
ἔμαθον, οὐδ' ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβεν·
ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου πέρας
ἅμα νέονται. ἐγὼ δὲ πλεόν' ἔλπομαι
λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἄδυεπῇ γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον·
ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσί οἱ ποτανᾶ <τε> μαχανᾶ
σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία δὲ κλέπτει παρὰ γοῖσα μύθοις· τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει
ἦτορ ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος.

(*Nem.* 7.17-24)

*The clever understand the wind that will come on the third day,
And are not undone by a desire for profit;*

Rich and poor alike travel to the boundary of death.

And I deem that the story of Odysseus

became greater than his actual suffering, through the sweet songs of Homer;

since within the lies and winged contrivances

there is something majestic, and cleverness deceives, persuading with stories, and the heart of the mass of men is blind.

Pindar suggests that through the sweet poetry of Homer, Odysseus' sufferings became greater than they actually were, and he relates this to the deceptive nature of cleverness or poetic skill (here described as σοφία) and the blind hearts of men. Otherwise, Ajax would not have fallen upon his sword (*Nem.* 7.25-27). The implication here is that Ajax would not have died if he were awarded the arms of Achilles as he should have been, but the hearts of men are blind; likewise, Odysseus' reputation should not be as great as it is, but the stories of Homer deceive. The use of σοφία to describe poetic skill has been preceded by a description of the clever as σοφοί just a few lines earlier, where Pindar makes the gnomic statement at *Nem.* 7.17. Clever men know that situations change, and clever poetry deceives with ψεύδεσι and μαχανᾶ.

This passage ties in very neatly with the vocabulary and antitheses which appear in the speeches of Antisthenes. Odysseus' tale is a λόγος which has become deceptive; while it is not contrasted to a deed, Ajax is καρτερός, strong, and κράτιστον Ἀχιλλέος ἄτερ μάχα, the mightiest after Achilles (*Nem.* 7.26-7). Pindar is uncomfortable that the λόγος does not represent the stronger of the two. Antisthenes' Ajax himself denounces λόγος (*Aj.* 1, 7), and Odysseus denounces the value of Ajax's might, his being ἰσχυρός (*Od.* 13); he claims that might is not the same as σοφία in war. Pindar's caution that clever men are not destroyed by a love of profit has many connections to Odysseus, who is said to know most about κέρδεα in epic (*Odyssey* 19.285), and values κέρδος in tragedy (Sophocles *Philoctetes* 111). In Antisthenes, Ajax accuses Odysseus of doing anything for gain (*Aj.* 5), and Pindar's

use of κέρδος prior to introducing the story of Odysseus at *Nem.* 7.17-8 (stating that the clever man will not be undone by a love of profit) helps to produce a further disapproving tone around his character.³⁵⁴

However, in *Nemean* 7 the focus is not Odysseus' inferiority to Ajax as much as it is a commentary on Homer's false tale.³⁵⁵ This presentation of the deceptive nature of men's stories and poetry is a parallel to *Olympian* 1.28-34, where Pindar explains how these tales can be embellished with deceptive lies, which will make the unbelievable believable. Pindar uses both Odysseus and Homer as specific examples in *Nemean* 7. The attack on both the poet and the hero of the poem is particularly fitting in the case of Homer and Odysseus, since a large part of the *Odyssey* consists of the hero acting as bard, telling the stories of his sufferings to the Phaeacians from Books 9-12 – he is compared to a bard explicitly at *Odyssey* 11.368. As the author of these tales in Homer is Odysseus himself, the attack on Homer's exaggerated story becomes a direct attack upon Odysseus, this time in relation to his account of his sufferings rather than the contest of the arms. There are similarities in vocabulary between the description of Odysseus and the description of Homer's stories, as noted by Park:

'...such language (ψεύδει, *Nemean* 8.25; πάροφασις, 32; αἰμύλων μύθων, 33) echoes language describing Homer in *Nemean* 7 (ψεύδεσι, 22; κλέπτει παράγοισαμύθοις, 23) and thus likens Odysseus' rhetoric to untruthful poetry. By understating

³⁵⁴ However, Odysseus is not specifically linked to a desire for *kerdos* in Pindar. A *sophos* man is not undone – and as Odysseus is both *sophos* and ultimately successful, there is some ambiguity in the tone. Detienne and Vernant (1991) 12-3, 17 discuss *kerdos* and its connection with inventiveness and cunning. Relating to Odysseus specifically, see Barnouw (2004) 24-5, and Montiglio (2005) 112.

³⁵⁵ It is worth noting as well that Homer does not tell the story of the contest of the arms, but merely alludes to it (*Odyssey* 11.543-65). It is arguable that all the references to epic tradition concerning the sack of Troy are considered 'Homer' to Pindar. For a detailed argument of whether 'Homer' has a broad or narrow meaning to Pindar, see Fitch (1924) 57-65.

Odysseus' agency, Pindar generalizes praise as determined largely by an audience susceptible to verbal manipulation.'³⁵⁶

Homer can deceive with sweet poetry, but Pindar's poetry is supposedly free from deceit and can accurately convey truth.³⁵⁷ Ajax's situation, used as an example by Pindar to show how the hearts of men are blind, demonstrates not only the fallibility of Homer's poetry but also its capacity to beguile; Odysseus' inferior, lying nature and his triumph over Ajax show how deception can fool the listener.³⁵⁸

Pindar, then, breaks away from Homeric depictions of Odysseus by introducing the concept of lying and deception as purely negative attributes, in both character and in poetry. This is presented in various other odes, for example *Olympian* 4:

...οὐ ψεύδεϊ τέγξω λόγον:

διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος

(*Ol.* 4.17-18)

³⁵⁶ Park (2013) 34.

³⁵⁷ For more on Pindar and truth, see Park (2013) *passim*, especially 18-27. Von Reden (1995) 30-40 discusses poetic truth in Homer and more generally, following this with a discussion of epinikian poetry and Pindar (pp.41-4). See also Nagy (1990) 58-67, Pratt (1993) 115-29, and Walsh (1984) 10-21; Walsh discusses Pindar's views on truth also, pp. 38ff.

³⁵⁸ Pratt maintains that Odysseus is guilty of telling false stories and slander in *Nemean* 8 (see Pratt (1993) 121), and argues that despite the ambiguity of the passage in *Nemean* 7 his target becomes more Odysseus than attributing blame to Homer (p.128). Nonetheless, Park (2013) 33-4, after quoting *Nemean* 8.24-34, remarks: 'This passage ostensibly explains Odysseus' offence in *Nemean* 7.20-7, 66 but in neither ode does Pindar explicitly name Odysseus as the agent of *pseudos* (25) and *parphasis* (32), thus focussing not on Odysseus but on the deception itself, which results in the inaccurate bestowal of praise and blame.' Again, see Most (1985) 152, who declares that Pindar avoids making the claim that Odysseus won the arms of Achilles only because he deceived the Greeks. Carey (1981) 144-6 determines that Pindar must be referring to Homer as the agent of ψεῦδος, and thus *Nemean* 7, unlike *Nemean* 8, is not a direct attack on Odysseus. Kirkwood (1982) 267 understands the passage to mean that the hearts of men are blind, and the Greeks' mistaken choice of Odysseus is an example of this blindness. More generally, men being deceived by Homer's poetry are also deceived because of their blindness. In this case, there is no direct insult of Odysseus, except that he was worse than Ajax – and this does not mean we can infer he was bad.

*I will not stain my story with lies;
Indeed trial is the test of mortals*

Pindar will not taint his poetry with a lie, and the phrase following this statement provides some explanation as to why. The *διάπειρα*³⁵⁹ of mortals can put his poetry to the test. A trial of his poetry by those with experience will be able to ascertain if the story is true or false; hence to be of value to his patron the story must be true.³⁶⁰ *Olympian* 1.34 makes a similar point, when Pindar states that the days to come are the wisest of witnesses, *μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι*. In *Nemean* 7.20-27 Pindar suggests that the *μύθοι* of Homer threaten the great Ajax, but his reputation is rehabilitated by the *ἀλήθεια* of his own song.³⁶¹ This view indicates that Homer was not held to the same standard of truth as Pindar, and thus he can tell tales which deceive.

However, Pindar does not completely reject the use of lies and deception, as is noted by Pratt – he does not censure Zeus’ use of a sweet deception, *ψεῦδος γλυκύ*, in the punishment of Ixion (*Pythian* 2.21-43), and admits he will secretly attack an enemy, walking any crooked path, *ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς* (*Pythian* 2.84-5).³⁶² There is potentially a subtle praise of Homer in *Nemean* 7.20-1, where the patron of Pindar might well see the attractiveness of a poet who could skilfully make their achievements seem greater than they actually were, even if Pindar then goes on to criticize the effects of this persuasive power by using the death of Ajax as an

³⁵⁹ I have used the translation of ‘trial’ here, but Slater (1969) 130 suggests ‘perseverance’. Pratt (1993) 120 reads this phrase as a commentary on Pindar’s own poetry and as an explanation of why he will not lie – but an alternative reading of the statement is that it is simply a phrase expressing that perseverance is a test of mortal men, not a suggestion that his poetry will be put to the test.

³⁶⁰ See Pratt (1993) 120-1. This ties in very neatly with Park’s ideas concerning Pindar’s claim to truth by virtue of the fact he has an obligation to his subject and reality (Park (2013) 35).

³⁶¹ Nagy (1990) 424 suggests that this is Pindar making a bid for panhellenic status – by laying a claim to truth already ascribed to panhellenic poetry – as well as lauding Ajax as an Aeginetan hero (see below n. 366).

³⁶² For further discussion see Nagy (1990) 424, and Pratt (1993) 122-3; also Most (1985) 176-7 (as quoted by Pratt p.123).

example.³⁶³ Conversely though, it could just as easily be said that Pindar does not consider it necessary for himself to bend the truth, even if it is possible for him to do so, and thus the victory of his patron is made to be all the more glorious, and inherently lacking in deceptive qualities.³⁶⁴ Pericles, in the *Epitaphios*, also claims that Athens needs no poet like Homer or an encomiast to sing its praises, and give an appealing account which may fall foul of the truth, ἀλήθεια (*Hist.* 2.41.4).

These examples from Pindar show a distinct preference for the ‘heroic type’ of Ajax over that of Odysseus. Odysseus’ appearances in Pindar’s poetry are mainly focused upon the *hoplôn krisis*, and the issues raised by the deceptive nature of Odysseus, and the deceptive qualities of Homer’s poetry, all become embroiled in Pindar’s presentation of truth and falsehood in poetry. Deception in character is linked to deception in poetry, and by passing judgement on this Pindar is able to express the accuracy and validity of his own epinikian poetry. The concept of the muses as agents of truth or lies resembling truth is of course a notion which appears as early as Hesiod (*Theogony* 27-28).³⁶⁵ Homer’s Odysseus also tells a story of lies which are ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, as if they are true (*Odyssey* 19.203). The use of these mythical characters could have other motivations as well; Ajax, as a descendant of Aeacus, may be linked to Aegina, from where the victors of both *Nemean* 7 and 8 hail,³⁶⁶ so Pindar may have a reason to glorify Ajax at the expense of Odysseus.

³⁶³ See Pratt (1993) 127.

³⁶⁴ I owe this point to Chris Pelling.

³⁶⁵ The similarity of the Hesiodic Muses to *Olympian* 1.28-32 is striking, where Pindar also admits the ability of embroidered tales to make false things appear trustworthy. Nagy (1990) 66 n.75, notes several other passages which suggest falsehoods with an inner core of truth: Plato *Republic* 377a, Pausanias *Description of Greece* 8.2.6, Strabo *Geographica* 1.2.9 C20 and Thucydides *History* 1.21.1. See also Young (1986) 203.

³⁶⁶ There is some evidence for a cult to Ajax on Aegina: see Nagy (1990) 423. For a discussion of the Aeakidae lineage and possible links with Ajax see Nagy pp. 176-8. Nagy quotes evidence from Pausanias *Description of Greece* 2.29.6-9 and Herodotus *Histories* 8.83.2-84.2. Ajax’s presence as an Aeginetan, rather than an Athenian hero, is also suggested by Herodotus at 8.64.2; see Nagy pp.155,

As I have made clear, hostility towards the character Odysseus seems to have set in prior to Pindar, possibly even prior to Homer,³⁶⁷ but in the epic cycle the hostility seems to be centred around the framing of Palamedes and treachery towards Diomedes. While there is no evidence prior to Pindar of the contest of the arms being linked to the deceptive nature of Odysseus,³⁶⁸ Pindar's attack potentially had a significant effect upon the portrayal of the characters of Odysseus and Ajax. He sees the two as opposites of each other, and uses the judgement of the arms to distinguish the differences between the two and the moral implications of these differences. Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches approach the contest of the arms in a similar way to Pindar, presenting the upright Ajax and the hidden, deceptive Odysseus, and yet Odysseus' speech glorifies his own deceptive qualities and sees the songs that a wise poet (Homer) will sing about him as validation for his behaviour. With these contrasting views on the character of Odysseus in mind, I will now approach his presentation in dramatic texts.

Depictions of the *Hoplôn Krisis*: Fragmentary Aeschylus

If Pindar contributes towards the presentation of Ajax and Odysseus as figures that represent two different types of heroism, the appearance of these characters in drama can often be seen to replay this interpretation. The contest of the arms is a

177. Powell (1938) 108 also discusses this issue. The praise of Neoptolemus in *Nemean* 7 suggests some preference for the descendants of Aeacus, and has been linked to Pindar attempting to give the Aeginetans extra praise through rehabilitating the image of their cult hero. See Kirkwood (1982) 259. Pindar's mention of Neoptolemus killing Priam on the altar in *Paeon* 6 may not have sat well with the Aeginetans, so in *Nemean* 7 Pindar emphasizes the honour of the descendants of Aeacus, including Ajax and Neoptolemus. For reasons behind the rehabilitation of Neoptolemus, see for example Gerber (1963) 184-6.

³⁶⁷ Homer's insistence that Odysseus is justified in all his actions in the *Odyssey* (for example the defence of the fact that Odysseus fails to bring home any of his men in the opening lines of the poem), and the total lack of any mention of Palamedes in the *Iliad* are possibly evidence that even prior to Homer, Odysseus had a rather mixed reputation. However, this argument can only be speculative.

³⁶⁸ As I have pointed out earlier, it is questionable whether the downfall of Ajax is really put down to the deceptions of Odysseus even in Pindar. However, Pindar does express clearly that the armour should have been awarded to Ajax in *Isth.* 4.43-6, *Nem* 7.25-7, and *Nem.* 8.25.

setting that reappears in dramatic works, for example in the lost work of Aeschylus, the *Hoplôn Krisis*. Although we know little of the contents of this tragedy, from the fragments we have it can be speculated that there were speeches from the two heroes in a law-court situation, similar perhaps to Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, and that it was performed as the first of three plays relating to the death of Ajax.³⁶⁹

There is only one mention of Odysseus in any of Aeschylus' extant tragedies, and this consists of a single line in the *Agamemnon*.³⁷⁰ Any conclusions that can be drawn about the characterization of Odysseus and Ajax in the *Hoplôn Krisis* have to be largely speculative; all we can know for certain is that Ajax addresses Odysseus directly and casts doubts on his parentage. A scholiast's remark on line 190 of Sophocles' *Ajax* tells us that Ajax relates to Odysseus how Sisyphus had relations with Anticleia, and by doing so suggests that Sisyphus, not Laertes, is his father.³⁷¹ This allegation is made several times in tragedy, nearly always with derogatory effect to Odysseus' character (Sophocles' *Ajax* 189, *Philoctetes* 417, and Euripides' *Cyclops* 104). If Odysseus is made out as the conniving son of Sisyphus in Aeschylus, can it mean that he is also the villain in Aeschylus' *Hoplôn Krisis*?

³⁶⁹ See Gantz (2007) 55-56.

³⁷⁰ Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 841-2. Agamemnon mentions that Odysseus was the one who was reluctant to join the journey, but became his most reliable tracehorse. Stanford has argued that Odysseus once again appears in a negative light here – see Stanford, (1954b) 82-5 and (1963) 102. Ceri Stephens (1971) 358-61 discusses how Odysseus, as the initially unwilling participant who becomes the most loyal to Agamemnon, is an indication of how everything is wrong and not as it seems in the tragedy. Clytemnestra, whom Agamemnon trusts, will reveal herself as in fact untrustworthy. Raeburn and Thomas (2011) 155-6 note that Odysseus' general depiction in fifth-century tragedy as deceptive (no examples given) could signify Agamemnon's lack of perspicacity – even though there is no mention of Odysseus' deceptiveness in the *Agamemnon*. Their comment that the mention of Odysseus recalls the contrast in the homecomings of the heroes is more convincing. Agamemnon also refers to his friendship and respect for Odysseus specifically in Sophocles' *Ajax* 1331 and in the *Iliad* 4.360. In the *Iliad*, Odysseus single-handedly prevents mass desertion using the sceptre of Agamemnon and beats Thersites (*Iliad* 2.185-263). This scene alone is evidence that Odysseus did become a vital ally to Agamemnon.

³⁷¹ Aeschylus, *Hoplôn Krisis* TrGF 175 (Radt), a scholiast from Sophocles *Ajax* 190d. The story is also told by Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 43.

Unfortunately, we cannot know the answer to this – and it does not necessarily follow that Odysseus will be presented in a bad light. Odysseus' character survives such derision in Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Cyclops* (as will be discussed presently), and while Antisthenes' *Ajax* fails to mention Sisypheus, it cannot be automatically assumed that Aeschylus' portrayal of Odysseus is thoroughly negative. It does, however, seem likely that Odysseus and Ajax are presented as contrasting heroes, as they are in Antisthenes; Ajax (most probably) makes the comment, ἀπλᾶ γάρ ἐστι τῆς ἀληθείας ἔπη, 'for the words of truth are simple'.³⁷² Antisthenes' *Ajax* speech may well have been influenced by Aeschylus' depiction of Ajax, and this fragment of the tragedy suggests that speeches by the heroes were presented in an *agôn*. Antisthenes' speeches contain lines of iambic trimeters (particularly Ajax's speech), which gives them a rhythm similar to the *agôn* of a tragedy.³⁷³ Antisthenes' Ajax pronounces how the events happened in deed, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἐγίγνετο ἔργῳ (*Aj.* 1), and suggests that there can be only one interpretation of the battle over the arms of Achilles (*Aj.* 2). Ajax's view of the truth as being simple and straightforward appears as a possible common theme to the speeches given in Antisthenes and Aeschylus, although this is by no means surprising given the nature of Ajax as a taciturn, simple hero compared to the sophistic and mentally dextrous Odysseus.

The Roman tragedian Pacuvius, in his *Armorum Iudicium*, which was based chiefly on Aeschylus' *Hoplôn Krisis*,³⁷⁴ makes Ajax reject Odysseus as a competitor (F

³⁷² Aeschylus, *Hoplôn Krisis* TrGF 176 (Radt) = Stobaeus 3.11.14. The line is similar to the start of Polynices' speech in Euripides' *Phoenissae* 469, 'for the word of truth are by nature simple', ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν. In this example, Polynices also says he has urged a fair case in the estimations of those clever and simple, σοφοί and φαῦλοι (*Phoenissae* 495-6). This is reminiscent of Cleon in Thucydides, who prefers men who are φαυλότεροι (*Hist.* 3.37.3); see above pp. 71-2. Polynices, like Cleon and Ajax, opposes sophisticated or complicated speeches.

³⁷³ See Prince (2015) 197.

³⁷⁴ Warmington (1967) 172-9.

32) and accuses him of being a laggard (F 34-5, probably referring to Odysseus' feigned madness to avoid the Trojan expedition). Yet Odysseus must have won the debate in both Aeschylus and Pacuvius. The remains of Pacuvius' play includes a description, probably by a messenger, of Ajax's anger:

....feroci ingenio, torvus, praegrandi gradu;

et-

cum recorder eius ferocem et torvam confidentiam

(*Armorum Iudicium* F 43-4)

Savage by nature, fierce, with a wide stride;

and —

when I recall his savage and fierce arrogance

The exact context is unclear, but Ajax is portrayed as a frightening figure, not unlike the bullying and threatening Ajax described by Odysseus in Antisthenes (*Od.* 5). Odysseus remarks that Ajax threatens to do something bad to the judges if he loses: προσαπειλεῖς ὥς κακὸν δράσων τι τούσδε, ἐὰν ἐμοὶ τὰ ὄπλα ψηφίσωνται, 'you threaten to do some evil thing to them, if they award me the armour by vote'.³⁷⁵ He also refers to Ajax's evil rage, his κακῆς ὀργῆς, which he deems is a threat even to himself (looking forward to Ajax's future suicide). Pacuvius' Ajax is *ferox* and *torvus*, emphasizing his wild, fierce nature, and hinting at the madness which will be brought on by his forthcoming loss to Odysseus. This description naturally could suggest that Ajax in Aeschylus (and Pacuvius) is not simply presented as the rightful hero who is undone by the treachery of Odysseus, but more of a terrifying, inflexible figure, much like that of Sophocles' *Ajax*. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which presents

³⁷⁵ This is compounded by Ajax's own statements in *Aj.* 1, where he claims that the judges know nothing; he repeats this in *Aj.* 7. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* outlines the importance of keeping the hearer well-disposed to the speaker (*Rhetoric* 3.14.7), certainly not using threats or insults, the naivety of which would have been noticed by the Athenian audience.

the contest over the arms in speeches more similarly to Antisthenes, Ajax is described before his speech as *impatiens irae*, impatient in his anger, and gazes *torvo*, savagely (*Metamorphoses* 13.3).

Before addressing Sophocles' treatment of the character of Odysseus and Ajax, it is worthwhile to mention a few more fragments of Aeschylus that relate to Odysseus. We know that Aeschylus wrote a play about Palamedes (*TrGF* 180a-182 Radt),³⁷⁶ but none of the surviving fragments are of any interest to the presentation of Odysseus and any speculation is pointless; all it tells us is that the story of the downfall of Palamedes lent itself to a dramatic performance, and that there was certainly much scope to attack the figure of Odysseus here.³⁷⁷ Of more interest is a papyrus fragment, most probably of Aeschylus, which refers to the death of Ajax (*TrGF* 451q Radt). The fragment suggests that the leaders sided with Odysseus, and were not evenly balanced in mind, οὐκ ἰσορρόπῳ φρενί. Even this does not mean that Odysseus is represented negatively, but it does suggest that Aeschylus makes the Greek leaders responsible for making the decision of awarding the armour,³⁷⁸ in a way that is similar to what we see in Antisthenes: Ajax refers to the jurors in *Aj.* 1 and 7, while Odysseus refers to the judges as separate from everyone else present,

³⁷⁶ Odysseus is not mentioned in any of the surviving fragments.

³⁷⁷ Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes* may share some features of Aeschylus' play. Aeschylus' tragedy, like Gorgias' defence speech, depicts Palamedes explaining all the good he has done for the army—including his invention of number (*TrGF* 181a Radt: the invention of number by Prometheus appears in [Aeschylus] *Prometheus Bound* 447-50) and appointing commanders to bodies of troops and teaching them to distinguish their meals (*TrGF* 182 Radt). In Gorgias' *Defence of Palamedes* (30), Palamedes claims to have invented military tactics, weights and measures, written laws, writing, number, beacons, and draughts. This is contested by Odysseus in Alcidas' *Odysseus* (22-28).

³⁷⁸ This must be accepted with some caution, since the fragment is only attributed to Aeschylus, and furthermore, it is unlikely that the fragment is from the *Hoplôn Krisis* itself, as it appears to be a comparing another character's fortunes to that of Ajax. See Snell (1985) in Radt vol.3, 482. However, Pacuvius' version seems to strengthen the argument, since Agamemnon clearly presides over the awarding of the arms with the help of Athena. A Douris Kylix (*ARV* 429 no.26) shows Ajax and Odysseus quarrelling with Agamemnon standing between them, and on the other side the vote being held under the supervision of Athena.

presumably the army, in *Od.*1. In Sophocles' *Ajax* 1135-1136, Menelaus is accused of falsifying votes by Teucer:

Τεῦκρος: κλέπτης γὰρ αὐτοῦ ψηφοποιὸς ἠύρεθης.

Μενέλαος: ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς, οὐκ ἐμοί, τόδ' ἐσφάλη.

(Sophocles *Ajax* 1135-1136)

Teucer: *For you had been caught falsifying the votes in order to rob him.*

Menelaus: *At the hands of the jurymen, not mine, he suffered this defeat.*

Menelaus is accused of stealing the armour from Ajax by tampering with the votes, ψηφοποιός. This means that awarding the armour was not his decision to make, but that of jurors – his attempt to change the outcome by playing with the votes of the jurors shows that he was not in complete control of the decision even if he attempted to make Ajax lose. These jurors are then mentioned by Menelaus; the decision to award the arms to Odysseus had nothing to do with his hatred of Ajax – it was all up to the δικασταί.³⁷⁹ Of course the jurors could have been made up of the Greek leaders (as opposed to the whole army), which appears to be the case in Antisthenes.

In the epic fragments, the arms are awarded from the comments of girls (*Little Iliad* F 2, West), while Aeschylus' *Hoplôn Krisis* seems to have been a court case presided over by Agamemnon and possibly judged by Thetis and the Nereids. Fragment 174 (Radt) is a scholion on Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, which declares that the speaker was addressing the Nereids to come out of the sea to judge the contest. In the *Odyssey*, Thetis is mentioned as the one who offers the arms of Achilles as a prize (11.546). If Thetis or the Nereids are involved in judging the contest of the arms, it is all the more likely that Aeschylus presented Odysseus as a deserving

³⁷⁹ While δικασταί can mean 'judges', in the Athenian context it is more likely referring to jurors. See LSJ (s.v. δικαστής). Pindar *Nemean* 8.26-7 is an early suggestion that the voting was done by the Greek army; see above p. 162-3.

winner and Ajax as a dangerous, threatening loser; it seems unlikely that the author would present the Nereids or Thetis as awarding the arms to an undeserving winner.³⁸⁰

Unfortunately, Aeschylus mentions Odysseus in the rest of the surviving fragments only fleetingly. His appearance in the lost *Ostologoi* and *Psychagogoi* can tell us little more than that he endures humiliation from a chamber pot being thrown at him (*TrGF* 179-80 Radt) and that he is given a prophecy by Tiresias that a Heron's excrement will cause his death (*TrGF* 275 Radt).³⁸¹ The first could be seen as a comic praise for Odysseus' endurance as much as it ridicules him, and is likely to be a spoof version of *Odyssey* 17.463-4, when he is hit by a stool thrown by Eurymachus. The *Ostologoi* and *Psychagogoi* are speculatively thought to be part of the same tetralogy, including the *Penelope* and the satyric *Circe*, all of which only exist as fragments.³⁸² The titles and content indicate that the subject matter generally follows the story of Odysseus from the *Odyssey*. Despite the fact that this would mean Odysseus is likely to be presented in a positive light, it has little bearing on how he may have been depicted in the *Hoplôn Krisis*; there is no expectation of uniformity of character in tragedy, as we see from Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Philoctetes*, or Creon in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Antigone*, for example. Odysseus is a conciliatory figure in *Ajax* while an advocate for *Realpolitik* in *Philoctetes*, and Creon is transformed from a character uninterested in ruling in *Oedipus Tyrannus* to a harsh ruler in *Antigone*.

³⁸⁰ See Sommerstein (2008) 177. Sommerstein immediately suggests that the scholion might be incorrect, because an unjust decision, or bias towards Odysseus, seems unlikely coming from the Nereids. Two paintings by the Brygos Painter also show the vote being made by the army (*LIMC* Aias I 83 and 84), and a Douris Kylix depicts the vote with Athena presiding (*ARV* 429 no.26). Sommerstein (2010) 34-5 discusses the *Hoplôn Krisis* more generally and simply states that Thetis appears in person to put up the prize.

³⁸¹ For a brief discussion of the *Psychagogoi* see Bardell (2005) 85-92, and West (2013) 314-5.

³⁸² See Gantz (2007) 57-60, and Sommerstein (2011) 249-53.

As inconclusive as all the evidence from the fragments is, there is certainly a possibility that Aeschylus' *Hoplôn Krisis* was not hostile to Odysseus. The inclusion of Thetis and the Nereids must be considered as a factor; Odysseus may still have appeared as the wrongful victor, but if so the arms were awarded to him in Thetis' presence. As I have mentioned, Odysseus' character can easily survive derision as the son of Sisyphus, and the fragments of Pacuvius help to suggest that Ajax was a threatening figure on stage; this is confirmed by Ovid. While consistency in characterisation across drama cannot be expected, this evidence all helps to strengthen the possibility that Aeschylus' *Hoplôn Krisis* presented Ajax as a similar character to that of Sophocles' *Ajax*. Odysseus need not be the villain here, and although the general assumption tends to be that Odysseus will be a villain on the stage of a fifth- or fifth-century Athenian drama, this cannot be concluded from fragmentary Aeschylus.

Pitying the Enemy: Odysseus in Sophocles' *Ajax*

Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* both feature Odysseus as an important character, but not in the central role; in both cases he is considered an enemy by the main hero of the tragedy. Yet Odysseus' presentation in the two tragedies is remarkably different. Even though there are similarities in his characterization, he appears as a humane figure in the *Ajax*, but becomes a more aggressive, cynical advocate for the *Realpolitik* in *Philoctetes*. The differences in Odysseus' presentations are a result of Sophocles' dramatic purpose; the use of mythical heroes allowed for some artistic license, and a uniformity of character is not necessarily expected. Despite this, there are interesting parallels between Odysseus (and Ajax) in these tragedies, and the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches of Antisthenes. While it is tempting to suggest some form of direct influence between Sophocles and Antisthenes, this becomes too difficult to determine conclusively, but the fact that there are parallels indicates recurring themes in Athenian thought. The varying depictions of Odysseus are testament to

his own versatile character. Moreover, Montiglio warns that we should not rush to use the difference in presentation of Odysseus in the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes* as an indication of Sophocles' changing evaluation of his character.³⁸³ I will begin by discussing Odysseus in the *Ajax*.

A striking feature of the initial appearance of Odysseus in the *Ajax* is his fearfulness as he approaches to witness the madness of Ajax. Lines 75-80 consist of Odysseus attempting to persuade Athena not to call Ajax out; she rebukes him for winning himself a reputation of δειλία (*Ajax* 75), although she gives him praise for being a man who hunts down his enemies and searches for opportunities (*Ajax* 1-3).³⁸⁴ Yet clearly Odysseus wishes to avoid an encounter with the maddened Ajax. Does this make him a coward, like the δειλός that Ajax describes him as in Antisthenes (*Aj.* 3)?³⁸⁵ Odysseus himself says that he would not fear confronting Ajax if he were sane (*Ajax* 81).³⁸⁶ In the *Iliad* Odysseus is never referred to as δειλός, but there are several episodes which are a little problematic. Agamemnon rebukes him for cowering away from the action, although for incorrect reasons, at *Iliad* 4.438-40, and Diomedes tells Odysseus to turn around and help to save Nestor rather than flee

³⁸³ Montiglio (2011) 3; she also states that *Ajax* (and perhaps *Cyclops*) is the only favourable depiction of Odysseus in drama. Gellie (1972) 132-3 believes that the difference between Odysseus in *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* is not as great as some have assumed: for the contrary see Stanford (1954) 99, Knox (1964) 124 and Winnington-Ingram (1979) 57, 72, 281-2.

³⁸⁴ These opening lines are immediately reminiscent of Odysseus in Antisthenes. In *Od.* 9 and 10 Odysseus claims that he did not avoid any danger if there was opportunity to hurt the enemy, and that he is always ready to fight, attacking the enemy day and night, always finding out how to harm his foes.

³⁸⁵ Odysseus as a coward is something which might be inferred from the *Little Iliad*, in that F 20 (Davies) discusses the treacherous killing of Palamedes. See Davies (2003) 48. There is, of course, the story in the *Cypria* (according to Proclus) that Odysseus feigned madness to avoid going to war, a very un-Homeric action; again see Davies (2003) 42. See Christ (2006) 46ff for a discussion of draft-dodgers.

³⁸⁶ See Blundell (1989) 60-1, especially n.4, where she briefly discusses how this episode recalls philosophical definitions of courage as knowledge of what should and should not be feared (mad Ajax being an example of the second). See Plato, *Laches* 195 and *Protagoras* 360d, and Aristotle, *Republic* 429c and *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.6. This is also presented by Thucydides, *History* 2.40.2-3; see O'Sullivan and Wong (2012) 1-14.

like a κακός – which is enigmatically ignored by Odysseus (*Iliad* 8.93-8).³⁸⁷ However, Odysseus' famous soliloquy (*Iliad* 11.404-10) shows that he adheres to all normal standards of conduct; retreating will make him κακός, so he holds his ground.

In the *Ajax* Odysseus does not want Ajax to come out of his tent, even though Athena expects him to want to witness and laugh at his enemy (*Ajax* 79-80); and after Athena reassures him that Ajax cannot see him, he still would rather not be present to witness Ajax. Even if Odysseus does appear overly cautious, it is easy to jump to his defence. He knows that Ajax is stronger, and in this maddened state, an open encounter with him would be foolish and unnecessary. Being hidden – acting λάθρη, secretly – is an Odyssean feature in Antisthenes (*Aj.* 5), and stealth something we might expect of Odysseus' actions. Furthermore, Odysseus appears just as afraid of seeing Ajax and his madness as much as confronting him. Even when Athena reassures him that Ajax cannot see him, he expresses his desire to be far away (*Ajax* 84-88). This is confirmed when instead of gloating over the insane and deluded Ajax, as Athena does, Odysseus is moved to pity. He sees the power of the gods and the insignificance of mortals in the plight of Ajax:

ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν' οἶδ': ἐποικτίρω δέ νιν
 δύστηνον ἔμπας, καίπερ ὄντα δυσμενῇ,
 ὁθούνεκ' ἄτη συγκατέζευκται κακῇ,

³⁸⁷ There is some question as to whether Odysseus does not hear Diomedes, or if he does not respond. The verb used is εἰσακούω, which can mean simply to hear in tragedy – for example in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 351 and *Ajax* 318. See Kelly (2007) 48-9, who makes the point that Odysseus' failure to hear emphasizes the prominence of Diomedes. Kirk (1990) 306 argues that the meaning of εἰσακούειν is simply a failure to hear; while it can mean to obey (Thucydides *History* 1.82.2), it can mean to hear even in post-Homeric prose (*History* 4.34.4). Lack of awareness, according to Kelly, is a legitimate cause for inactivity, and this argument is supplied with a good range of examples (*Iliad* 4.331, 11.497-8, 13.521-2, 17.377-80, 17.401-2). Even if he hears the cry, given the clear disfavour of the gods, retreat is acceptable, as Nestor comments at 8.139-44 (Kelly p.48-9 n55). Wilson (1996) 184-5, seems confused about these lines: he says that from the root ἀκούω we may be confident that Odysseus did not listen, especially given Diomedes' rebuttal at lines 94-5, but that Homer would accuse him of 'rank cowardice' seems improbable. Notably, Odysseus is the last of the other Greeks to retreat at this point.

οὐδὲν τὸ τούτου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦμὸν σκοπῶν:

ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν

εἶδωλ' ὅσοιπερ ζῶμεν ἢ κούφην σκιάν.

(*Ajax* 121-126)

I know of no one, but I pity him

in his wretchedness all the same, even though he is hostile,

because he is yoked beneath a ruinous delusion;

and I contemplate his fate no more than I contemplate my own:

For I see that we live as nothing more than

phantoms or unsubstantial shadow.

Odysseus is not criticizing the cruelty of Athena by saying this – he is, after all, a mortal, and the gods do not have to adhere to the same moral standards.³⁸⁸ However, Ajax, although deluded, shows no sympathy to the captive he believes to be Odysseus (*Ajax* 105-6); and in fact the madness Athena inflicts on him only diverts him into believing that he is slaughtering the Greeks when he is in fact slaughtering sheep, with no suggestion that his destructive anger – or intention to murder his comrades – was a result of any divine intervention. The anger matches that of Antisthenes' Ajax. Odysseus describes his *κάκη ὀργή* (*Od.* 5), his evil anger, which will cause him to harm himself; in Sophocles, he has been weighed down with rage because of the arms of Achilles, *χόλῳ βαρυνθείς τῶν Ἀχιλλείων ὅπλων* (*Ajax* 41), which has caused him to react in such an extreme way.

The compassion that Odysseus feels towards his enemy certainly appeals to modern sensibilities. As Gellie points out, any attack on Odysseus' character based upon his supposed cowardice should be disposed of by the end of the prologue from

³⁸⁸ See Finglass (2011) 173. Garvie (1998) 135 suggests that Odysseus repetition of *δύστηνον*, which was used by Athena of Odysseus, is a rebuke of the goddess, particularly since this time it is used sincerely. Hesk (2003) 44-5 also notes the emphatic difference between Athena's use of the compound adjectives and Odysseus', but argues that this has the effect of showing Odysseus' compassion as contrasted with Athena's ironic use of the word.

the humanity of Odysseus' words. We know from here on that all the slander Odysseus receives from other characters is wrong. Odysseus' fear at confronting the mad Ajax makes Ajax's entry more anticipated, since we know that his rage can make even a brave man fearful; Odysseus repeats his wish for Ajax not to emerge at lines 76, 80 and 88.³⁸⁹

The humanity of Odysseus in Sophocles and the pity he feels for Ajax is interesting, especially since this is one quality that Odysseus rarely shows in post-Homeric literature – in fact, in the tragedies of Euripides, Odysseus is often linked to quite the opposite.³⁹⁰ We find some similar examples of Odysseus' behaviour in the *Odyssey*. Odysseus' refusal to gloat over the dead suitors (*Odyssey* 22.411-16) shows respect for the defeated, even though they are his enemies and deserved punishment.³⁹¹ While acknowledging their own reckless deeds, he says that these men were destroyed by divine fate: τούσδε δὲ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε θεῶν (*Odyssey* 22.413). Likewise, Sophocles' Odysseus is made to acknowledge the power of the gods in the prologue of the *Ajax* (see lines 118-33), and rather than laughing at Ajax, feels pity. In the *Odyssey*, he says that it is not holy to exult over slain men, οὐχ ὁσίη κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι (*Odyssey* 22.412). In both the *Odyssey* and the *Ajax*, Odysseus is the moderate and restrained hero who piously speaks no proud words in victory.

There are various explanations for Odysseus' behaviour in the *Ajax*, the most significant of which is explained by Zanker, who discusses why Odysseus extends

³⁸⁹ Gellie (1972) 6.

³⁹⁰ See Stanford and Luce (1974) 141. Odysseus' cruelty in *Trojan Women* is referred to by Hecuba at 279-91. In *Hecuba*, if not purposefully cruel, Odysseus is unmoved by the plight of the Trojan captives (see especially line 326, and the response of the chorus at lines 332-3).

³⁹¹ Archilochus seems to have admired this aspect to Odysseus, paraphrasing Odysseus' refusal to gloat (F 67a DK).

χάρις to Ajax after his death by arguing for a decent burial.³⁹² Odysseus argues that it is not justice for Agamemnon to dishonour the man who is best of the Achaeans save Achilles; this would cause Ajax no harm, only abuse the laws of the gods. It is not right to hurt a noble man, ἐσθλός, even if hated (*Ajax* 1340-1345). Zanker argues that Odysseus applies a sense of justice, connected to the laws of the gods, to temper Agamemnon's heroic τιμή-response, an appeal that ultimately succeeds. Further, Odysseus' feeling of pity for Ajax, connected to the precariousness of human life (*Ajax* 121-6), is an emotional response from which Odysseus' generosity to his enemy stems. Sophocles, therefore, presents a heroic empathy which is consistent with the response of Achilles to Priam and Hector in *Iliad* 24, where Achilles pities his enemies, and this pity is motivated by his own experiences of mortality (*Iliad* 24.516, 540).³⁹³ Odysseus in the *Ajax*, through a sense of justice and an emotional response of pity, becomes a conciliatory figure, which makes even Teucer declare that he is ἐσθλός (*Ajax* 1399), the exact word Odysseus has used to describe Ajax.³⁹⁴ Teucer also refers to Odysseus as ἄριστος (*Ajax* 1381), a repetition of the word Odysseus has recently used to describe Ajax: ἐν' ἄνδρ' ἰδεῖν ἄριστον Ἀργείων, ὅσοι Τροίαν ἀφικόμεσθα, πλὴν Ἀχιλλέως, '...to see that he was the best of the Argives who came to Troy, except for Achilles' (*Ajax* 1340-1).

Empathy towards a defeated enemy appears in various other circumstances as well, frequently in the context of the selfish response to the fact that in the plight of the enemy, the onlooker or victor can see the possibility of their own future

³⁹² Zanker (1992) 20-5.

³⁹³ Zanker (1992) 25, who is followed by Lawrence (2013) 114-6.

³⁹⁴ ἐσθλός is also notably the adjective Pindar connects to the heroic type of Ajax, suggesting that Odysseus is the opposite (*Nem.* 8.22). In Sophocles, quite the reverse is presented at the conclusion of the tragedy.

suffering.³⁹⁵ This is clearly the case for Odysseus in the *Ajax* when he remarks, οὐδὲν τὸ τούτου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦμὸν σκοπῶν (*Ajax* 124).³⁹⁶ Aristotle, it seems, was acutely aware of the inward-looking motivation behind the emotion of pity. In the *Rhetoric*, he gives a definition of the emotion of pity by describing the pitier; they must, he states, be the sort of persons who are in a position where they could suffer something bad themselves, and must realise this when viewing the misfortune of another (*Rhetoric* 2.8.2). In Herodotus, at 1.86.6, Cyrus recognises how his defeated enemy Croesus was once as fortunate as he, and out of fear of retribution as well as an understanding of the reversibility of human fortune, decides against burning Croesus on the pyre.³⁹⁷

The invocation of pity can consciously work along these lines as well. Hecuba, in Euripides' *Hecuba* (283-5) tells Odysseus how the fortunate should not presume it will always be so; she was prosperous once, but now one day took everything from her. This is her argument for why Odysseus should take pity on her.³⁹⁸ By her own suffering, and fall from fortune, she is attempting to make Odysseus feel pity by imagining that it could happen to him one day.³⁹⁹ The emphasis on human fortunes

³⁹⁵ This does not have to mark a turning away from traditional ethics of hating enemies. See Finglass (2011) 173; Heath (1987) 169 (as quoted by Finglass), Hesk (2003) 43-7, and Pelling (1997b) 16-17.

³⁹⁶ Pelling (2005) 292-3, notes that Odysseus' perspective of pity includes 'human nature', since we are all vulnerable; this natural feeling of a similarity with another human being is necessary for the feeling of pity, but nonetheless, Odysseus still pities the individual, Ajax. Pelling raises the similarities between the reactions of pity (or lack thereof) in the Croesus and Hecuba episodes which are discussed in my argument. Pelling (p.310 n.42) also raises a point of comparison with Philoctetes' invocation of pity in relation to the human condition, *Phil.* 501-6.

³⁹⁷ Aristotle and this example from Herodotus are discussed more extensively (along with the example from *Ajax*) by Pelling (2012) 288-95.

³⁹⁸ However, Hecuba as queen of a barbarian city, cannot necessarily expect pity from Odysseus – in this way the situation is different to the *Ajax*. See Konstan (1999) 125-6. However, examples such as *Iliad* 24 and Cyrus pitying Croesus show how there is a moral tendency – if not an expectation – to pity even one's stricken enemies.

³⁹⁹ See MacLeod (1974) 391-2, and the response of Pelling (2012) 294. This also is reminiscent of Priam's speech in *Iliad* 24.486-92, where Achilles is reminded of his own father who is waiting for him

changing in a single day is pertinent in the *Ajax* too, since at 131-2 Athena states that a single day can cause human affairs to sink, or raise them up again (quoted below).⁴⁰⁰ The Melians suggest something similar to the Athenians, when they tell them that they too could suffer major retaliation from their enemies should they fall from power (Thucydides, *History* 5.90).⁴⁰¹

These moral concepts, displayed in both the *Ajax* and the *Iliad* and elsewhere, help to explain the actions of Odysseus; however, Odysseus' role in the tragedy is more than that of a purely conciliatory figure. Bowra recognizes Odysseus as a contrast to Ajax, a humble man who keeps to the mean rather than a superior being full of strength and pride.⁴⁰² Certainly Odysseus plays the role of the pious man who accepts the power of the gods without question, and reflects upon the insignificance of mortals (*Ajax* 86, 123-6; see also 1342-4, where Odysseus refers to the laws of the gods). Athena's own words make clear the fact that Ajax has made himself hated by the gods for his arrogance:

... τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰσορῶν ὑπέρκοπον
μηδέν ποτ' εἴπησ' αὐτὸς εἰς θεοὺς ἔπος,
μηδ' ὄγκον ἄρη μηδέν', εἴ τινος πλέον
ἢ χειρὶ βρίθεις ἢ μακροῦ πλούτου βάθει.
ὥς ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κἀνάγει πάλιν

to come home – Achilles, knowing he will die at Troy, will also be able to see Peleus' future in the unhappiness of Priam.

⁴⁰⁰ See also Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 438, Aeschylus, *Persae* 431. For brief discussion, see Garvie (1998) 137.

⁴⁰¹ However, as noted by Pelling (2012) 294-5, there is a difference here. The Melians are suggesting that the Athenians will set a precedent – and therefore their current actions may cause them to suffer in the future, as a direct result of not pitying the Melians. In *Hecuba*, the invocation of pity is more general, and in line with *Ajax*, where there the pitier will not directly feel the consequences of showing pity.

⁴⁰² Bowra (1944) 36-37. See also Winnington-Ingram (1980) 11-2, who sees Odysseus as a model of *sōphrosunē* which is an explanation for why he is a favourite of Athena (p.322), and Lattimore (1958) 80 who discusses the importance of Odysseus' role as a foil to Ajax.

ἅπαντα τὰνθρώπεια: τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας
θεοὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ στυγοῦσι τοὺς κακοὺς.

(*Ajax* 127-33)

*...since you now witness this,
you yourself never utter an overstepping word against the gods,
nor adopt swelling pride, if you are stronger of hand
or far deeper in wealth than someone else.
For a day can both sink and raise back up again
all things relating to humankind: but those of sensible moderation
the gods hold dear, while they despise the bad.*

Athena, responding to Odysseus' own statement about the precarious condition of man, tells him to consider the fate of Ajax, and not to say an overstepping (ὑπέρκοπος)⁴⁰³ word against the gods, nor adopt a swelling pride (ὄγκος) should he outstrip another man in force or wealth.⁴⁰⁴ This is a reference to the arrogant behaviour of Ajax, who was too sure of his own strength; ὄγκος, which also means bulk or mass, could be a reference to the size of Ajax.⁴⁰⁵ Athena's comment to Odysseus that a single day can bring to nothing all human achievements is a direct echo of his own words at lines 125-126, while the following statement that the gods love the σώφρονας and hate the bad defines the distinction between the characters of Ajax and Odysseus.

⁴⁰³ This word is also used to describe Capaneus in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* 455. See Kamerbeek (1963) 44. Capaneus, like Ajax, is noted for his superlative size, but also his hubristic arrogance, which is punished by Zeus striking him with a thunderbolt.

⁴⁰⁴ ὄγκος used in conjunction with the similar word ὑπεροπτικός occurs also in Isocrates 1.30, where it relates to disdainful pride; the speech advises against being σεμνός, 'haughty', which is used by Teucer in the *Ajax* to describe the words of the Atreidae (*Ajax* 1107; see Finglass (2011) 449). In all these cases the words carry strong meanings of (negative) pride and arrogance.

⁴⁰⁵ It is perhaps worth noting the difference in size of Odysseus and Ajax here. Ajax's bulk and arrogance has associations of an ogre figure. In Euripides' *Cyclops* we see how Odysseus faces an ogre far bigger than he, whose arrogance and violence also causes him to be punished (*Cyclops* 212-213, 692-695). See Suksi (1999) 147-9, who notes how Ajax's arrogance and lack of respect for the divine has some underpinnings of Polyphemus-like behaviour.

In terms of characterization, Odysseus is notably different from his appearances in tragedies such as the *Philoctetes* and *Hecuba* where he becomes more aligned to the role of a cynical politician. However, even in *Ajax*, Odysseus is very capable of persuasion, in this case to defend the rights of his enemy to burial. Yet his heroism is not a central theme in *Ajax*, and he is certainly not a tragic hero. As Hall argues, despite Odysseus' multiple appearances in tragedy, he *always* gets what he wants, and never becomes a victim of tragic suffering.⁴⁰⁶ In *Ajax*, through Odysseus we are able to feel empathy as he does even for his defeated enemy, but, when he decides that it is right for Ajax to receive burial, his plea to the reluctant Agamemnon and Menelaus will be successful.

In the analysis of the role of Odysseus in tragedy, *Ajax* becomes a very important talking point. He breaks any preconceived ideas of his characterization as a negative entity – or at least a cynical and ruthless politician. We see him as an example of moderation, and he displays his ability to stand up for what he believes is the correct treatment of an old ally who has become his enemy. But his appearance in *Ajax* does not have to be seen as completely at odds with the use of his character elsewhere in tragedy. As Knox points out, Odysseus in *Ajax* shows adaptability by choosing to defend the burial of his bitter enemy; and his persuasiveness present him as the type of hero who embodies the democratic ideal: 'The democratic viewpoint (typically that of a seafaring and commercial community) is Odyssean – an ideal of versatility, adaptability, diplomatic skill, and intellectual curiosity,

⁴⁰⁶ Hall, (2008b) 509-511 (in relation to *Philoctetes* see Schein (2013) 20). Hall's discussion is convincing but her mention of Odysseus as a supporter of the Peloponnesians in the Trojan war – and hence an enemy to fifth-century Athenians – does not work for *Ajax*, where he pits himself against Agamemnon and Menelaus to help restore honour to the dead Ajax. Also, Hall discusses how Odysseus' appearance in tragedy sees him connected to his traditional values of intelligence, oratory and strategy, which are in line with aspects of the Athenian political system, not opposed to them, and certainly not associated with the Spartan stereotype.

insisting on success combined with glory rather than sacrificed for it.⁴⁰⁷ Knox's discussion of Ajax and Odysseus as presented as opposing heroic types in an Athenian context fits in particularly well with how Antisthenes represents the contest over the arms – with Odysseus showing exactly how his approach is more effective than the inflexible concern over appearances to which Ajax is bound.⁴⁰⁸ This characterization of Odysseus recurs in *Philoctetes*, but is displayed in a context where victory has not yet been won and ruthlessness and deception must still be employed for it to be realised.

Reading Antisthenes' speeches alongside Sophocles' *Ajax*, it becomes evident that Antisthenes' speeches may well have been influenced by the works of Sophocles, although it is entirely possible that the two were using some similar source material for the myth (perhaps Aeschylus' *Hoplôn Krisis*, for example; and both allude to events in the *Little Iliad*). The problematic nature of Ajax's obsession with appearances is one of the features of Sophocles' *Ajax*, and Odysseus, in Antisthenes, comments upon Ajax's preoccupation with appearances, which are not as favourable in war as action (*Od.* 9). Each may be drawing upon similar intellectual currents in their representation of the conflict – despite differences in genre and, potentially, time. The dating of the *Ajax* is contested, with the earliest suggestion being 460 BCE, and the most popular proposal being the 440s.⁴⁰⁹ Antisthenes' speeches would have probably been composed later – although this does not

⁴⁰⁷ Knox (1964) 121-2. See also Knox (1961) 24-6.

⁴⁰⁸ See *Aj.* 5 and *Od.* 6, where Ajax and Odysseus respectively present their ideas about success and appearances.

⁴⁰⁹ Schefold (1976) 71-8 argues for the early dating based of evidence in art. See Garvie (1998) 6-8 for discussion, and Hesk (2003) 14-5.

necessarily mean that he was familiar or at least influenced by Sophocles. It is possible that Sophocles' *Ajax* was influenced by Antisthenes, as Hesk suggests.⁴¹⁰

The theme of sickness also occurs in both Sophocles and Antisthenes. Athena describes Ajax as sick, νόσος (*Ajax* 66), and acting in a diseased frenzy, μανιάσιν νόσοις (*Ajax* 60). This madness is described as a νόσος again at by the chorus at *Ajax* 186, and Tecmessa at *Ajax* 206. Antisthenes' Odysseus also describes Ajax's jealousy as a νόσος: φθόνον δὲ καὶ ἀμαθίαν νοσεῖς, 'you are sick with jealousy and ignorance' (*Od.* 13). This ignorance and sickness is cruelly displayed in Sophocles, as in his madness Ajax does not realise that he has been fooled by Athena, and he thinks it is the Greeks he is slaughtering rather than the oxen (*Ajax* 51-4). Both in Antisthenes and in Sophocles, the relationship between sickness, madness and ignorance has a Socratic tone; in Plato's *Timaeus* 81b, the νόσος of the soul is one of two types of folly, μανία or ἀμαθία, madness or ignorance. Ajax suffers from both: in Antisthenes, he is sick from ἀμαθία, and his ignorance and jealousy will cause the μανία that he suffers from in Sophocles' *Ajax*.

These similarities are just a few which exist between the Antisthenes speeches and the *Ajax*. Odysseus in Antisthenes refers to Ajax falling upon something in the future, τάχ' ἄν ποτε ἀποκτενεῖς σεαυτὸν κακῷ περιπεσὼν τῷ, 'you may kill yourself, falling upon some evil' (*Od.* 6). Ajax's suicide by falling upon his sword was the traditional account of his death (as in Pindar *Nem.* 8.23). In *Ajax*, πίπτω combined with περί is also the verb used to describe the action of suicide (*Ajax* 828), while in Pindar it is ἀμφικυλίνδω.⁴¹¹ Odysseus' words look forward so clearly to the

⁴¹⁰ Hesk (2003) 150. Gagarin and Woodruff (1995) 167 suggest that the speeches are possibly an early work, which would mean their composition in reference to the staging of the *Ajax* is entirely dependent upon when exactly the play was performed; for example, 460BCE would mean it certainly predates Antisthenes' speeches by at least 20 years.

⁴¹¹ περιπτύχῃ is used by Tecmessa (*Ajax* 899). For use of ἀμφί and περί concerning impaling see Finglass (2011) 382.

events of the tradition that Blass added the word ξίφει to the end of the sentence to align it more closely with Sophocles.⁴¹²

Though Sophocles may have influenced Antisthenes and his portrayal of the events prior to Ajax's suicide in the *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, Odysseus in Sophocles' *Ajax* displays relatively few of the concepts linked to a hero of intelligence and inventiveness. His role in *Ajax* is not a political one, even if he does argue for the burial of Ajax on the grounds that it is 'right'. Nor does Odysseus himself demonstrate the more problematic aspects of his duplicity or willingness to do anything, which Ajax objects to in Antisthenes (*Aj.* 5);⁴¹³ his wisdom, restraint and persuasiveness are only put to good use in Sophocles' *Ajax*. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, the Odysseus we see is very different, and the ambivalences of his character are developed in ways which are more similar to the speeches of Antisthenes.

Working for the Greater Good: Odysseus and *Philoctetes*

If Odysseus is a temperate and magnanimous figure in the *Ajax*, then a somewhat different side is presented in the *Philoctetes*. Certainly his figure is less likeable, and some of his actions could even border upon arrogance, which was such a problem for Ajax; for example, Odysseus appears to have promised that he will bring back Philoctetes of his own accord or against his will, and failing this, he would offer his own head (*Phil.* 617-619).⁴¹⁴ He is excessively sure of himself, even though he knows Philoctetes hates him (*Phil.* 46-47), and, as it turns out, his confidence in bringing back Philoctetes is unfounded, since he nearly fails in the task. However, unlike

⁴¹² Blass 1881. However, Prince (2015) 223 keeps the text without it, arguing that 'falling on something' fits better with Odysseus' fictional position (where he does not know that Ajax will fall on a sword specifically).

⁴¹³ In fact, in Sophocles, it is Ajax who acts in a deceptive manner when he attempts to kill the Greeks: 'he set out for you alone, at night, in secret', νύκτωρ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δόλιος ὀρμᾶται μόνος (*Ajax* 47).

⁴¹⁴ Conversely, though, it is worth noting that these statements are part of the fabrications of the Merchant. Whether Odysseus actually offered his head is unclear.

Ajax, Odysseus is very aware of the divine aid he receives, particularly from Athena (*Phil.* 134). Some critics have read from the tragedy that Odysseus misinterprets the prophecy of Helenus,⁴¹⁵ or that every development in the play reveals a fresh depravity of his character in his method of corrupting the young Neoptolemus.⁴¹⁶ A common interpretation by modern scholarship is that Sophocles is presenting Odysseus as a ruthless character, representing men produced and corrupted by war, driven by success and uncaring human suffering.⁴¹⁷

Certainly this view is tempting if we consider the political background to the play, Athens itself still involved in the long and brutal Peloponnesian War. *Philoctetes* was produced in 409 BCE, at a time when Athens had been at war with Sparta for two decades. If *Ajax* was produced sometime between 440 and 430 BCE, the historical wartime context can be seen to be completely different to *Philoctetes*, which shows the results of a long and brutal war on the humanity of the now cynical and pragmatic, rather than empathetic, Odysseus.⁴¹⁸ However, there is little indication of any attempt of continuity of characterization between the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes*, where we can see the Homeric hero used for completely different purposes – even if some similarities may emerge. Again, dating becomes an issue; since the date of Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* cannot be ascertained, determining if *Philoctetes* was produced before or after Antisthenes' speeches can only be speculative. The similarities between Antisthenes' Odysseus and the Odysseus in the *Philoctetes* are striking, though this could simply be an indication of trends in the depiction of Odysseus' character in the late fifth century.

⁴¹⁵ See Bowra (1944) 266-9, and Waldock (1951) 200 ff.

⁴¹⁶ See Stanford (1954) 108-9, and more recently Kirkwood (1994) 431, and Montiglio (2011) 5-8.

⁴¹⁷ Bowra (1944) 286-77.

⁴¹⁸ See Stanford (1954) 109. Montiglio (2011) says Odysseus is a 'merciless opportunist and pragmatist, indifferent to human suffering', p. 4.

Within the historical context is the exile and return of Alcibiades, often seen as in some way represented by the return of Philoctetes. If Alcibiades was seen as a key component to winning the war against Sparta,⁴¹⁹ the return of Philoctetes, without whom Troy cannot fall, shares some superficial similarities.⁴²⁰ However, this would mean that the character of Philoctetes is in some way associated with Alcibiades.⁴²¹ Vickers also attempts to connect Odysseus to the figure of Andocides, who was thought to be largely responsible for Alcibiades' exile, and possibly claimed Odysseus as an ancestor.⁴²² However interesting this argument is, there are some apparent irregularities with the concept; as Schein argues, the historical figure of Alcibiades had much more in common with the intellectually dextrous Odysseus, who freely used lying to achieve political advantage (although, it is worth noting, in no tradition does Odysseus ever switch sides!).⁴²³ Once again, Knox's assessment of the Odyssean character in *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* becomes relevant.⁴²⁴ In Sophocles' play, Odysseus is the new, democratic, politically able hero, who can be seen to show traits of various historical Athenian politicians and demagogues interchangeably, including Alcibiades.⁴²⁵ The political background remains pertinent, but attempting to link specific characters and moments in the play to

⁴¹⁹ See Thucydides, *Hist.* 8.53-4. Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1421-1433 also raises the issue of Alcibiades' return.

⁴²⁰ First suggested by Lebeau (1770) 441-3. See Bowie (1997) 56-62.

⁴²¹ See Jebb (1890) xl-xli, and Vickers (1987) 171-197, and (2008) 59-65. Vickers argues strongly for this, even using the lisp of Alcibiades as evidence by recreating parts of Philoctetes' speech to have a double meaning (1987, 175-7).

⁴²² Vickers (1987) 173-174, and (2008) 65-7. Vickers also associates Odysseus with Andocides in the *Ajax*, and Ajax with Alcibiades, pp. 55-58.

⁴²³ See Jameson (1956) 219, and Schein (2013) 11.

⁴²⁴ See above n.407.

⁴²⁵ Schein (2013) 11; Jameson (1956) 219.

historical figures is difficult; reading the play too far as a political allegory can perhaps be seen to undermine much of the poetic power of Sophocles' characters.⁴²⁶

In considering the characters of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, it is easy to adopt the opinion that Odysseus, as the crafty ruthless rogue, is contrasted to the noble Philoctetes. However, especially if we bear in mind Antisthenes' characterization of Odysseus, it is possible to look at the Odysseus of the *Philoctetes* in a different way. Antisthenes' Odysseus is not so different to that of the tragic one presented by Sophocles, yet in Antisthenes he manages to present his traits in such a way which shows how he is an objectively more useful soldier compared to the noble but ineffective Ajax. In *Philoctetes*, Odysseus has the same attitude, but rather than hear him praising his own ability, we see him in action. As in the case of Ajax in the *Ajax*, Philoctetes is the foil to Odysseus, whose behaviour is motivated by an excessive drive for honour and reputation; in this case, to the detriment of the Greek war effort. Even the eventual display of nobility by Neoptolemus will not get the Greeks any closer to winning the war, and ultimately both are simply obstructing the course of fate for their own personal reasons, however justified they may seem morally.

In *Philoctetes*, Odysseus even goes some way to associate himself with Athens and the Athenian cause, when early on in the drama, he prays to Athena – understandably given his connection to the goddess since Homer, and evident also in *Ajax*. It comes at the end of the prologue, when Odysseus' motives, and his readiness to employ deceit and craft in order to win the bow of Heracles, have been revealed; the fact that the whole mission is imperative to the success of the Greek cause has also been pronounced clearly (*Phil.* 113-5).⁴²⁷ With the plan now explained

⁴²⁶ See Jebb (1890) xl.

⁴²⁷ At this point, Odysseus has not indicated that Philoctetes is necessary, and it appears it is only the bow of Heracles which is required. The details of Helenos' prophecy are never made clear; Odysseus mentions necessity of the bow alone at *Phil.* 68, 78. See Kitto (1961) 95-100, Knox (1964) 126 n.21, Seale

to the initially unwilling Neoptolemus, Odysseus prays for success to Hermes and Athena:

Ἑρμῆς δ' ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἡγήσαιο νῶν
Νίκη τ' Ἀθάνᾳ Πολιάς, ἥ σώζει μ' αἰεί. (Phil. 133-4)

*May the escorting Hermes the crafty lead the way for us
And both Nike and Athena Polias, who always saves me.*

The invocation of Hermes, particularly as Hermes 'δόλιος', is particularly fitting in this context, both because the mission relies upon deceit and deception, and because Odysseus is traditionally linked to Hermes via Autolycus.⁴²⁸ The prayer to not only Athena, but Athena 'Πολιάς', is a strong (and completely anachronistic) reference to the patron deity of Athens. This helps to bring the issues of the tragedy into the contemporary Athenian context; a climate of rhetoric and drive to succeed at all costs.⁴²⁹ Also worth noting is the use of the verb σώζω. Athena, it is true, keeps Odysseus safe in the *Ajax* and throughout the *Odyssey*, but she does not appear in person in *Philoctetes*.⁴³⁰ The word conjures the idea of salvation; even though Odysseus is referring to his own salvation, the task at hand involves the salvation

(1982) 30, and Schein (2013) 131-2, 141. Neoptolemus seems to believe that Philoctetes is also necessary, for example at *Phil.* 196-200. Tessitore (2003) 65 n.3 disagrees with the idea that Odysseus misinterprets the prophecy of Helenos by emphasizing the necessity of the bow, arguing that the prophecy is revealed gradually on a 'need to know' basis.

⁴²⁸ See Schein (2013) 145 for discussion; Odysseus is the grandson of Autolycus, in some accounts himself the son of Hermes (see Hesiod, fr. 64.18 Merkelbach-West). Odysseus is helped by Hermes before his encounter with Circe (*Odyssey* 10.302-6). Hermes is also described as *polutropos*, for example *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 13; for more on Hermes as an embodiment of cunning see Kahn (1978) 77ff, 131ff, and Osborne (1985) 53-4. Vickers (1987) 177, sees the mentioning of Hermes as ironic, since Andocides (whom Vickers believes Odysseus represents) took part in the mutilation of the Hermae.

⁴²⁹ As noted by Schein (2013) 11-2. Athena Polias is invoked nowhere else by Odysseus in extant Sophoclean drama, and the appearance here is seen as significant by Nussbaum (1976) 29-30.

⁴³⁰ Dio Chrysostom (*Orationes* 52.5, 52.13), refers to the fact that in Euripides' version of *Philoctetes*, Athena disguises Odysseus, as she does in the *Odyssey* and also in *Ajax*. It is made clear that this does not happen in Aeschylus' version.

and victory of the Greek army at Troy. The words δόλιος, Νίκη, Πολιάς and σώζω are used in quick succession, linking deceit, the city, victory and salvation all together in the prayer of Odysseus.

The importance of salvation does appear earlier in *Philoctetes*, relating directly to the salvation of the Greeks rather than Odysseus' own interests (even if, in *Philoctetes*, Odysseus' own interests and the cause of the Greeks appear to be the same thing); at *Philoctetes* 109 Odysseus tells Neoptolemus that deceit is not shameful if it brings with it τὸ σωθῆναι. Odysseus' interest in salvation and the safety of the Greeks is paralleled in Antisthenes, along with the concept that shameful or disgraceful action is acceptable if it achieves safety or success. In *Od.* 8 Odysseus likens himself to a captain who watches over his sailors,⁴³¹ saying: οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας σώζω, 'in this way also I save you, and all the others'.⁴³² He goes on to say he would face any danger even if he thought it was shameful, αἰσχρὸς, if it would hurt the enemy (*Od.* 9). σώζω is used once again at *Od.* 10, where Odysseus links the safety of Ajax snoring to the actions which Ajax disapproves, harming his enemies with weapons fit for a slave (*Od.* 10).

In *Philoctetes*, Odysseus' use of 'salvation' is much the same as it is presented by him in Antisthenes, but it clashes with an ongoing theme of the tragedy as a whole, the salvation of Philoctetes,⁴³³ whose need for rescue and desire to return home is his meaning of τὸ σωθῆναι. For example, at *Philoctetes* 496 Philoctetes uses the word ἐκῶσαι to express returning safely home; he uses the imperative 'σὺ

⁴³¹ Prince (2015) 226-7 notes the potential irony since Odysseus in fact fails to save his men in the *Odyssey*.

⁴³² This passage was discussed previously, in chapter 1 (pp. 36-7) and chapter 3 (p. 150). The word σωτηρίας combined with a nautical analogy also appears in the words of Eteocles in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, 209. Both draw on the danger of seamanship, and how the captain or helmsman is in control of the safety of the whole vessel. See also Hesiod, *Works and Days* 649, where an analogy of a captain is used, and Plato *Republic* 488a-489d, where the metaphorical captain is the navigator of the 'ship of state'.

⁴³³ See Schein (2013) 140.

σῶσον' to persuade Neoptolemus to take him away from Lemnos. Neoptolemus tells Philoctetes his intentions: σῶσαι κακοῦ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦδ', ἔπειτα δὲ ξὺν σοὶ τὰ Τροίας πεδία πορθηῖσαι μολών, 'First to save you from this misery, and then, together with you, go and plunder Troy's plains.' (*Phil.* 919-20). Together, they must go to Troy to save Philoctetes from this evil. In this way, through the meaning of salvation to the three main characters of the drama, the tragedy plays out the motivations of the characters. To Odysseus, salvation is necessary for Greek success, at whatever costs (which is expressed again at *Phil.* 1049-54). To Philoctetes, salvation is to return home. For Neoptolemus, so that he may win glory and take Troy, salvation for Philoctetes must incorporate their journeying to the city together.⁴³⁴ In actuality, only Odysseus seems to have any purely non-selfish motives in his own use of τὸ σωθῆναί, which is of benefit to the common good.

The attainment of salvation for all the characters is not without problems though. We learn early that Philoctetes hates Odysseus and the Atreidae, and we briefly hear why from Odysseus at *Philoctetes* 6-11. Odysseus gives a fleeting explanation for why it was necessary to desert Philoctetes; he removes some of his responsibility for the action by stating he was acting under the orders of the Atreidae. The effects of Philoctetes' diseased foot⁴³⁵ made it impossible for the Greeks to carry out their sacrifices, because of his wild, ἄγριος, cries which are ill-

⁴³⁴ See also *Philoctetes* 1391, where Neoptolemus identifies Philoctetes' salvation as his acceptance by the sons of Atreus back into their community, which Philoctetes rejects.. Neoptolemus then tells him he must continue to live, ἄνευ σωτηρίας, if he will not be persuaded (*Phil.* 1396).

⁴³⁵ The theme of disease recurs throughout the *Philoctetes* (*Phil.* 7, 39, 41, 173, 258, 281, 299, 313, 463, 520, 675, 734, 755, 765, 795, 847, 900, 1044, 1326, 1330, 1334, 1379, 1424, 1438). Like in the *Ajax* and Antisthenes *Od.* 10, Odysseus opposes a figure who suffers a νόσος; in the case of Philoctetes, he is not just physically sick but his isolation has made him wild and bitter (*Phil.* 183ff). For more discussion of the disease theme in Sophocles, see Biggs (1966) 223-35. See also Ceri Stephens (1995) 153-68, for a discussion of Philoctetes' wound.

omened, δυσφρημία.⁴³⁶ Norman argues that the response to δυσφρημία cannot easily be appreciated by a modern audience, with its connotations of pollution, used here as a description of a terrible noise which could invalidate the pious rituals of sacrifice.⁴³⁷ It is an excuse which Philoctetes later dismisses, pointing out that despite this they seek him out when they need him (*Phil.* 1031-5). Blundell sees Odysseus and the Atreidae guilty of treating someone who should be a friend as an enemy. This means that Odysseus cannot rely on the traditional ethic of helping friends and harming enemies to justify his future actions towards Philoctetes, because he has already failed to adhere to the code by deserting him on Lemnos. By breaking this code, he cannot claim that his treatment of Philoctetes can be justified because it harms enemies.⁴³⁸

Nussbaum is more sympathetic towards the motivations behind leaving Philoctetes on Lemnos:

‘...to keep him with the army would be to jeopardize the fortunes of all and to cause all grave distress... Though it strikes us and the Chorus as horrible that, despite his innocence of wrongdoing, he was treated so callously by those who owed much and were to owe more to his services, there is little doubt that such callousness on the part of the leaders was right from a utilitarian viewpoint.’⁴³⁹

Nussbaum accepts Odysseus’ reasons for leaving Philoctetes (his cries interrupted sacrificial rites, *Philoctetes* 10), because it is what is best for everyone other than Philoctetes. Philoctetes’ isolation, which has been made out to be a necessity for the

⁴³⁶Philoctetes also refers to his lameness and the stench as reasons for leaving him (*Phil.* 1031-2), hence removing the religious motivation and creating the impression he was callously left behind because he became an unpleasant inconvenience.

⁴³⁷ Norman (2011) 43-6.

⁴³⁸ Blundell (1989) 186.

⁴³⁹ Nussbaum (1976) 30-1.

common good of the army as a whole, generates all the more sympathy from the audience. Moreover, as Nussbaum also points out, Odysseus' actions, both in the past and in his proposed plan to ensnare Philoctetes, are decidedly lacking in *philia*-words,⁴⁴⁰ contrary to his presentation even in Euripides' *Hecuba*.⁴⁴¹ The need to act for the good of the common cause is not presented as an obligation of friendship to the other Greeks, but something more totalitarian.⁴⁴²

Blundell determines that Odysseus, since he fails to invoke *philia*, is not acting on behalf of the common good; it just so happens that his own goals happen to overlap with the interests of the Greeks collectively.⁴⁴³ Certainly, the angry Odysseus does exclaim that victory is to him everything, with no mention of the common good or duty to friends (*Phil.* 1049-52).⁴⁴⁴ Yet, the actions of Odysseus are defended by the chorus as acting on behalf of, and to the advantage of κοινάν, the public (meaning Greek) interest, and he has acted to the advantage of his friends, φίλους (*Phil.* 1143-5). He has been appointed by the many: κεῖνος δ' εἷς ἀπὸ πολλῶν ταχθεὶς. Throughout the tragedy, Odysseus is trying to do a job which will benefit the whole army (he uses the 'army as a whole' in his arguments at 66-7, 1257, and 1294), and

⁴⁴⁰ Nussbaum (1976) 36. See also Blundell (1989) 186-7.

⁴⁴¹ *Hecuba* 256, 310, 328. See discussion in next section; there is a distinction here though, because *Hecuba*, despite her attempts to claim Odysseus as a friend, remains throughout his defeated enemy. Odysseus in *Hecuba* has to make a distinction between the enemy and his real friends, whereas in *Philoctetes*, Philoctetes is arguably both of those things.

⁴⁴² The notion of putting the interests of the state above personal friendships and enmities appears in Alcidas' *Odysseus* 3. See above, p. 39-40. A totalitarian state, in which the guardians seek to obtain the greatest happiness for all rather than just for one class (and even at the expense of their own happiness) is described in Plato's *Republic* 4.420b, 7.519e.

⁴⁴³ Blundell (1989) 187.

⁴⁴⁴ Blundell (1987) 314 uses these lines to argue that Odysseus knows that what he is doing is not pious or just, since he exclaims that when the contest is one of justice and excellence, be pious – but here it is victory which is required. Montiglio notes that in *Philoctetes* victory is not described as noble, whereas in Antisthenes Odysseus calls victory a fine thing, a καλόν. See Montiglio (2011) 31.

self-serving motivation is never explicitly and definitely expressed, so the victory he refers to at *Philoctetes* 1052 does not have to mean a personal victory.⁴⁴⁵

Certainly, Antisthenes' Odysseus has an objective of overall victory in mind, even if he is competing for the arms of Achilles, which in itself will represent a personal victory.⁴⁴⁶ He states clearly:

...ἐν δὲ τοῖς
ἐμοῖς κινδύνοις, οὓς ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκινδύνευον, εἰ μὲν κατορθώσαιμι,
ἅπαντα ἡμῖν ἐπετελεῖτο ὧν ἔνεκα δεῦρο ἀφίγμεθα, εἰ δ' ἐσφάλην,
ἐμοῦ ἂν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστέρησθε. οὐ γὰρ ἵνα μαχοίμεθα τοῖς Τρωσὶ
δεῦρ' ἀφίγμεθα, ἀλλ' ἵνα τήν τε Ἑλένην ἀπολάβοιμεν καὶ τὴν
Τροίαν ἔλοιμεν.

(*Od.* 2-3)

But in my risks, which I risked alone, if I succeeded, all the things for the sake of which we came here were accomplished for us, whereas if I had failed, you would have been bereft of me, one man. For we did not come here in order to fight the Trojans, but so that we could recover Helen and capture Troy.

Odysseus stresses that he exposes himself to danger, and unlike Ajax, faces these dangers alone; but importantly, the private dangers have a public impact. He says they are for the sake of accomplishing all the things 'for us' for which 'we' came to Troy. The comment that the Greeks came to Troy to recover Helen and capture Troy,

⁴⁴⁵ This outlook is accepted by Winnington-Ingram (1980) 282. See also Kitto (1956) 122. Nussbaum (1976) 30-1 argues that Odysseus has become an agent for the Greek army, combining his interests with it apparently selflessly. As I have mentioned earlier, Blundell disputes this, claiming that his interests merely coincide with the common good; Tessitore (2003) 67-8 argues that Odysseus' interests are naturally interwoven with the Greek expedition as a whole, and points out that at *Phil.* 134 he invokes Athena as the goddess who always saves him, not the Greeks as a whole. Tessitore also uses the Merchant's speech at 617-9 to show that Odysseus has a vested interest, as he has staked his head on the mission's success; as I have argued, it does not necessarily follow that this is anything other than part of the Merchant's fabrications, since there is no mention of it earlier.

⁴⁴⁶ Odysseus' interest in gain is highlighted by Antisthenes' Ajax (*Aj.* 6); he claims that Odysseus only wants the armour so that he could sell it (*Aj.* 3).

rather than to fight Trojans, is an implication that the overall venture is more important than personal glory. In *Od.* 4 he states that if it is a fine thing to take Troy, it is a fine thing to discover the way to do so – referring to the theft of the Palladion. Ajax has rebuked him for being a ‘temple robber’, expressing his view that to do anything by craft or stealth is ignoble (*Aj.* 3), even if for the benefit of the Greek cause. Odysseus in Antisthenes, like the Odysseus of *Philoctetes*, dedicates himself to the good of the army – to the extent that he calls himself a leader and captain watching over them (*Od.* 8).

Odysseus’ characterization in Antisthenes and Sophocles is similar not only in motivation for success for the common good, but also in method. It becomes very clear that both of these presentations have assigned to Odysseus’ character the role of a hero who acts in the common interest, but also a character that is prepared to use deceit and ‘shameful’ tactics. He can see beyond personal glory and individual heroism to determine what actions must be performed to achieve overall success. This type of character is willing to use all methods in times of crisis or in order to achieve success for the κοινόν, and accepts that urgent times call for urgent measures. It was, perhaps, a familiar persona for the fifth-century Athenian audience.⁴⁴⁷ Even two decades earlier than the production of *Philoctetes*, this side of Athenian politics had become evident – according to Thucydides – and not in a necessarily negative sense. In his speech after the plague (*History* 2.60.2-4) Pericles states that it is in the interests of private citizens for the city as a whole to prosper over individual prosperity but collective failure; for private success reaps no benefit if the city as a whole is destroyed, but the good fortunes of the many may save, διασώζεται, those unfortunate individuals. The conclusion of this is that the private citizen should put aside his own personal afflictions and work for the common

⁴⁴⁷ See Winnington-Ingram (1980) 282; also, as referenced by Winnington-Ingram, Kitto (1956) 109, Poe (1974) 23, and Gellie (1972) 138.

safety, τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας. The speech, like the words of Odysseus in both Sophocles and Antisthenes, shows how achieving safety for the many is considered the ultimate cause, even if it brings hardship to an individual.⁴⁴⁸

As well as salvation, the ruse is justified by the profit that is derived from it. Odysseus' interest in gain, κέρδος, is shared in Antisthenes and Sophocles. In *Philoctetes* Odysseus openly states that it is wrong to shrink back if gain can be derived from action: ὅταν τι δρᾷς εἰς κέρδος, οὐκ ὀκνεῖν πρέπει (*Phil.* 111). When Neoptolemus questions what this κέρδος is for him,⁴⁴⁹ Odysseus' answer is simple; the κέρδος that Neoptolemus stands to achieve is the ability to capture Troy. Neoptolemus does not reject Odysseus' *kerdos*-motive ethic, even if it requires shameful action. In Antisthenes, Ajax remarks disapprovingly that Odysseus would endure being hanged if he could make a profit:

ὁ δὲ κἂν κρεμᾶμενος, εἰ κερδαίνειν τι μέλλοι· (Aj. 5)

but he would endure hanging, if he were going to make some profit from it.

Odysseus does not explicitly respond to this in his speech, but he has a different idea about what is acceptable which fits with the view of Sophocles' Odysseus. In his speech he explains that, if it is a good thing to sack Troy, it is a good thing to learn how to do it; and to Odysseus, the robbing of the temple enables the sacking of Troy (*Od.* 3-4). The actions that would result in a bad reputation for Ajax, Odysseus sees as beneficial to everyone – he says that others are grateful (*Od.* 4).

⁴⁴⁸Hall, (2008b) 510, points out how Odysseus becomes an advocate of the *Realpolitik* in tragedy. She concedes that even at his most callous, in the *Philoctetes*, Odysseus is working for a cause which is ultimately more important than the personal pride and grudge of Philoctetes.

⁴⁴⁹Nussbaum (1976) 45 discusses briefly how Odysseus' use of κέρδος is impersonal, whereas Neoptolemus is interested in κέρδος ἐμοῖ. His need for glory and inexperience make him susceptible to Odysseus' proposals, but his self-serving duplicity makes him ethically more troublesome than even Odysseus.

The *kerdos*-motive appears at various points in Sophocles, for example in the *Trachiniae* 191 and in the *Electra*.⁴⁵⁰ There is a notable similarity between Orestes' speech in *Electra* and the ethic presented by Odysseus in *Philoctetes*:

τί γάρ με λυπεῖ τοῦθ', ὅταν λόγῳ θανῶν
 ἔργοισι σωθῶ καὶ ξενέγκωμαι κλέος;
 δοκῶ μὲν, οὐδὲν ῥῆμα σὺν κέρδει κακόν. (Electra 59-61)

*For why does this vex me, when by dying in word,
 In deed I save myself and win renown?
 No word is evil, I expect, if with it comes gain.*

Here Orestes contemplates the benefits of feigning his death. Like Neoptolemus, he stands to derive profit, κέρδος, from this. In word, λόγῳ, he will be dead, but in deed, ἔργοισι, he says he will be saved, σωθῶ, and win κλέος. He states that no word will be evil if profit comes of it; as in Sophocles, salvation, profit and glory are all dependent upon a deception of words, and both Odysseus and Orestes determine that the gain is worth it. The presentation of this ethic, for better or worse, seems to have been a recurring theme in Athenian literature.⁴⁵¹ In *Philoctetes* and *Electra* characters use the possibility of κέρδος as a deciding factor in committing deception. In Homer, κερδοσύνη is used to denote craft or cunning; Athena deceptively uses words and guile, κερδοσύνη, to trick Hector into turning to fight Achilles (*Iliad*

⁴⁵⁰ See Schein (2013) 141. Hogan (1991) 316, notes that κέρδος is often associated with mean motives, for example in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 190 (and *Electra* 59a-60). In the *Trachiniae*, the messenger simply reports he hopes the good news he reports will win him gain and favour with Deianaira, so is used in a rather different context. I discuss the *Electra* in more detail below.

⁴⁵¹ There are examples of the negative response to the *kerdos*-motive, although these are often connected to profit as referring to material gain. For example, Isocrates *Nicocles* 3.50; Isocrates warns that to become rich, πλουτεῖν, is not worth as much as a good name. He follows this with: μὴ τὸ μὲν λαβεῖν κέρδος εἶναι νομίζετε, τὸ δ' ἀναλῶσαι ζημίαν, 'do not consider that to take is gain, or spending to be loss'. Acting with ἀρετή benefits the doer. Of course, in Sophocles, wealth is not what is meant by κέρδος.

22.247), and the same word is used to describe how Odysseus craftily avoids Helen's questions about his identity (*Odyssey* 4.251). That Odysseus and Orestes use the word κέρδος to justify deception is hardly surprising, when the word itself is linked to deception.

Neoptolemus is ready to use force to take Philoctetes, but Odysseus clearly sees that the only way to achieve the objective is to use words and guile⁴⁵²:

...ὅρῳ βροτοῖς

τὴν γλῶσσαν, οὐχὶ τᾶργα, πάνθ' ἡγουμένην.

(*Phil.* 98-99)

... *I see that in mortals,*

the tongue, not action, commands everything.

The statement contrasts slightly with Odysseus' statement in Antisthenes that war favours action, δρᾶν, over appearances (*Od.* 9). But it more noticeably contrasts with Ajax in Antisthenes, who states:

...γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος οὐ λόγῳ κρίνεται ἀλλ' ἔργῳ.

(*Aj.* 7)

...*for war is decided not by word, but by deed!*

Ajax believes that war is a judge of deeds, not words. Odysseus' remark about war in *Od.* 9 is clearly a response to this statement, and Odysseus' announcement in Sophocles denouncing the importance of ἔργα shows how firmly he is seen to represent the opposite of heroes such as Ajax.

Antisthenes' speeches purposefully pit the two types of hero and their attitudes to words and deeds against each other. However, in *Philoctetes* there is a possibility Odysseus is being shown to represent the power and persuasiveness of

⁴⁵² Odysseus also rejects the possibility of using persuasion to bring back Philoctetes. This has been very ably discussed by Taousiani (2011) 426-44.

speech in the Athenian judicial and democratic systems.⁴⁵³ There appears to have been a resentful reaction to the importance of speeches in the Athenian assembly in Athens. For example, Cleon in the Mytilenean debate accuses the Athenian people of having become regular speech-goers, and denounces the importance of words compared to deeds (Thucydides *History* 3.38.4). These concerns are expressed in a comically exaggerated fashion in Aristophanes' *Clouds* and *Frogs* (971-9, 1491-9, etc.). Schein notes that in tragedy speech is normally contrasted unfavourably to action,⁴⁵⁴ quite the opposite of what Odysseus does in the *Philoctetes*. The question really becomes to what extent Odysseus is as a poisonous politician, or if his admittedly callous and deceitful methods are appropriate for the situation.⁴⁵⁵

Odysseus stresses the importance of Neoptolemus' complicity in the plan by explaining the task at hand with a flow of statements beginning with δεῖ (*Phil.* 50-1, 54-5, 77-8).⁴⁵⁶ The urgency of Odysseus' argument is put in persuasive terms when he states that Neoptolemus' failure would inflict pain upon the Argives (*Phil.* 66-67): εἰ δ' ἐργάσει μὴ ταῦτα, λύπην πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις βαλεῖς. This is reminiscent of the opening lines of the *Iliad*, where the anger of Achilles is described as causing the Achaeans 'countless pains' (*Iliad* 1.1-3).

Odysseus' plans are successful, up until the point where Neoptolemus decides to return the bow to Philoctetes and abandon the purpose of the mission.

⁴⁵³ Note Philoctetes' comment that Odysseus uses his tongue to achieve what he wants (*Phil.* 407-9). A similar description of Odysseus appears in Euripides' *Trojan Women* 285-8, where Hecuba describes the twisting character of Odysseus and the twofold nature of his tongue.

⁴⁵⁴ Schein (2013) 138. His example is Euripides' *Hecuba* 1187-8, where Hecuba says that the word can never hold strength over the deed; the 'word' is γλῶσσα. This word appears in two other denunciations of speech, Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* 806-7 and Euripides' *Bacchae* 268-9; however, the latter is not a condemnation of the use of words/the tongue, but more of a statement outlining the lack of wisdom in the words of Pentheus.

⁴⁵⁵ For Odysseus as a rapacious politician, see Worman (2008) 52-5.

⁴⁵⁶ See Nussbaum (1976) 32-3.

Neoptolemus' actions at this point have a hugely destabilizing effect, and his empathy towards Philoctetes and his true honourable nature threaten to lose the whole war for the Greeks in one single moment.⁴⁵⁷ Throughout, Odysseus has been 'the great accommodator, the man who tries to see past the proud passions of the moment to what he believes is the greater good of all'.⁴⁵⁸ If his methods are questionable to both Neoptolemus and the audience, nonetheless Odysseus acts in conjunction with the purpose of Zeus; he says this himself at *Philoctetes* 990, and when Philoctetes responds by saying that Odysseus makes the gods liars, we know that he is wrong.⁴⁵⁹ Philoctetes' statement that Odysseus will perish if the gods are concerned about justice (and he presumes they are⁴⁶⁰) falls flat. The audience knows that Odysseus is not punished as a result of his treatment of Philoctetes. We all know that somehow, Philoctetes must go to Troy, and Sophocles introduces Heracles as a solution. Heracles' appearance as *deus ex machina* has been criticized as flat and unappealing,⁴⁶¹ but it does provide Philoctetes a divinely sanctioned reason to leave Lemnos with Odysseus and Neoptolemus:

τὴν σὴν δ' ἤκω χάριν οὐρανίας
 ἔδρας προλιπών,
 τὰ Διός τε φράσων βουλευμάτα σοι
 κατερητύσων θ' ὁδὸν ἣν στέλλει:
 σὺ δ' ἐμῶν μύθων ἐπάκουσον. (Phil. 1413-7)

⁴⁵⁷ Even Philoctetes' victory is a hollow one in itself – he will return to Oeta, unhealed, when he did in fact have the opportunity for glory, and to become part of the community of the Greeks once more. See Knox (1964) 139.

⁴⁵⁸ Gellie (1972) 133.

⁴⁵⁹ Schein (2013) 271 argues that Philoctetes does not mean that Odysseus makes the gods liars, but that he makes them responsible for his (Odysseus') deceit. Odysseus, in his reply at 993, says that he will make them true prophets, which suggests that Philoctetes means, or at least Odysseus understands him to mean, that Odysseus has made the gods liars.

⁴⁶⁰ This contradicts his assessment of the gods at *Phil.* 446-52, where he says that the gods protect evil.

⁴⁶¹ See Gellie (1972) 157-8. Segal (1995) 95-7, however, sees it as a key component to the drama as a whole.

*I have come for your sake,
forsaking my divine seat,
to make known to you the will of Zeus,
and to hold you back from the path on which you are setting out.
Hear my words.*

Heracles is acting on behalf of Philoctetes, but has come to stop him from leaving for Oeta with Neoptolemus. He has come to impart the will of Zeus, the Διός βουλεύματα,⁴⁶² and gives him a direct order to listen to his words. The will of Zeus is exactly what Odysseus claimed it to be at 989-90; Philoctetes and Neoptolemus must go to Troy together, where they will win glory and sack Troy⁴⁶³. When presented with this by a god, Philoctetes is finally persuaded to go willingly, and is thus saved; but, even if it is under a veil of deception, Odysseus has essentially attempted to achieve exactly the same thing as Heracles, using (unsuccessfully) whatever methods necessary, even force (*Phil.* 983, 985, 1003).⁴⁶⁴

Heracles' speech finishes with a warning, which seems oddly irrelevant to the events in the theme of the tragedy itself. He cautions the pair not to be irreverent to the gods after sacking the city, which is a reference to the actions we know Neoptolemus will commit after the sack of Troy. At the height of Neoptolemus'

⁴⁶² cf. the Διός βουλή in *Iliad* 1.5, which is accomplished by the death of many Achaeans.

⁴⁶³ Blundell (1989) 223-4 asserts that the divine intervention is necessary to preserve the pure motives of Neoptolemus, but she does recognise that Heracles at 1434f effectively echoes the words of Odysseus at 115, with the modification of using the words 'without him' rather than 'without the bow'. See p. 224 n.136.

⁴⁶⁴ It is worth noting that Neoptolemus was originally ready to use force over guile, *Phil.* 90.

nobility, we are reminded of the fact that he will in fact show irreverence and violence, and be punished as a result.⁴⁶⁵

The deliberate contrast between the characters of Neoptolemus and Odysseus has more than simply dramatic effect. For Neoptolemus is the son of Achilles, the greatest hero of the Achaeans, who chooses glory over a long life, while Odysseus is the man of intelligence who is not above deceit in order to achieve his goal. Knox sees the two as representing mythical and literary prototypes of two different worlds of thought and feeling, a distinction which would have been familiar to the Athenian audience.⁴⁶⁶ The distinction represents the contrasting 'aristocratic' viewpoint, as Knox puts it (which Pindar clearly favours) and the 'democratic' one. On one hand we have rigid standards of honour, an abhorrence for deceit (which we see so clearly in Neoptolemus) and an insistence upon the value of τιμή above all else, while on the other there is adaptability, intelligence, versatility and the emphasis upon success and glory rather than sacrificing success in the name of glory.⁴⁶⁷ This contrast is the same one that is made evident by Antisthenes, with Ajax representing the 'aristocratic' viewpoint, in his disdain for hidden actions and shameful behaviour (*Aj.* 5-6). In Antisthenes, of course, it is the limits of traditional heroism which are displayed in the views of Ajax, and the importance of the intellectual heroism is exemplified by Odysseus. However, the values of Odysseus' intellectual heroism are evident even in the *Philoctetes*.

⁴⁶⁵ See Schein (2013) 340. Neoptolemus' future violence and slaughter of Priam on the altar of Zeus appears in *Sack of Ilium* (see West (2003) 144-5). See also Pindar, *Paean* 6.113-5, Euripides *Trojan Women* 16-7.

⁴⁶⁶ See Knox (1964) 120-122. Knox uses Plato's *Hippias Minor* 365b as an example for the contrast between Achilles and Odysseus. Achilles is ἀληθής τε καὶ ἀπλοῦς while Odysseus is πολύτροπος τε καὶ ψευδής.

⁴⁶⁷ Knox (1964) 122.

This discussion of *Philoctetes* highlights the problematic nature of various opposing ethical ideas. Therefore, how the Athenian audience is expected to have responded to Odysseus' characterization becomes a difficult issue. It is too simplistic to accuse Odysseus of outright villainy in *Philoctetes*, since how he is presented attracts parallels with aspects of Athenian intellectual discourse which would have been at least partially sympathetic to his motives. Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches cannot be ignored in this context. One of the main factors here is the way Sophocles is presenting the use of the 'noble lie' by the character of Odysseus; whether this is seen as a good thing or a bad thing largely depends upon how the reader reacts to the various characters and their interactions. Deception, and its uses in a military (or even a social) context,⁴⁶⁸ are seen to have a pragmatic value which an Athenian audience would have accepted, even if the treatment of *Philoctetes* is on many levels callous and problematic.⁴⁶⁹

5. Odysseus in Drama 2

The approach so far has yielded some very interesting parallels between the presentation of Odysseus in Athenian drama and the rhetorical *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches. Yet the argument that Odysseus is a villainous stage character has always been somewhat difficult in the case of Sophocles. While *Philoctetes* creates several moral issues which are possibly intentionally ambivalent and thought-provoking, the Odysseus of the *Ajax* is not a particularly problematic character. Arguing that

⁴⁶⁸ For deception in a military context see Wheeler (1988) 25-35. Xenophon's Socrates says that deceiving the enemy in war is good (*Memorabilia* 4.2.15-6). In a social context, a sophistic representation of the 'noble lie' appears in the so-called *Sisyphus* Fragment ascribed to Critias (F 19 Snell) which explains how the laws and religion were invented to prevent human wrong-doing; for discussion, see O'Sullivan (2012) 167-85, and Hesk (2000) 179-88. Plato's *Philosopher Kings* must use falsehood and deception (τῷ ψεύδει καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ) for the benefits of their subjects (*Republic* 5.459c-d).

⁴⁶⁹ This is argued by Hesk (2000) 194-201. Hesk looks at the uses of deceit and concludes that while Odysseus' arguments in *Philoctetes* would have had 'more weight than is generally assumed', he acknowledges that the 'noble lie' of Odysseus can be seen as necessary and democratic but also destructive of trust and freedom, effective or disastrous (p. 200).

Odysseus came to represent the wily politician, the demagogue, and the vicious orator by the end of the fifth century in war-torn Athens may be a way to respond to this problem – a problem which in all reality may not need a solution.⁴⁷⁰ Certainly, Odysseus would appear on stage representing a range of attributes, and his ability as a deft orator would always be amongst the weapons at his disposal. This does not always have to be seen necessarily as negative or positive representation. Odysseus is never so simple as to be the obvious villain in Sophocles, as I hope to have shown. Euripides is a slightly later contemporary of Sophocles, and how the character of Odysseus develops in his tragedies is significant in understanding the hero of intelligence and adaptability.

Montiglio and Stanford use the surviving works of Euripides as examples of hostility to the hero in the Athenian tradition.⁴⁷¹ They argue that Odysseus became treated with progressively more disdain as the century drew to a close, and Athens' fortunes in the war – and their trust in the politicians of the assembly – led them to distrust a character showing any such attributes as Odysseus'. Euripides, then, would have shown Odysseus as a character whom the Athenian audience derived pleasure from hearing blamed.⁴⁷² By closely following the appearances of Odysseus in Euripides' extant tragedies, and using the same method of comparison with Antisthenes' speeches and other examples from contemporaneous Athenian literature, we can conclude that in reality Odysseus' representation in Euripides is every bit as complex as it is in *Philoctetes*, and certainly less villainous to the fifth-century Athenian audience than it may seem to a modern one.

⁴⁷⁰ See Stanford, Montiglio (2011) 9, King (1987) 68-71, and Stanford (1954) 100-101; all connect Odysseus' presentation in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and later drama to the changing political landscape and rise of demagogues in Athens.

⁴⁷¹ Stanford (1954) 90-117, Montiglio (2011) 2-12.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.* n.471.

In discussing Odysseus' main appearances in Euripidean drama, I hope to show not only that it is simplistic to assume that Odysseus is presented as a villain on stage, but also that it becomes anachronistic to attempt to analyse Euripides' presentation of Odysseus according to a modern audience's response to his character. Further to this, Euripides' *Cyclops* is sometimes overlooked in discussions concerning Odysseus in drama,⁴⁷³ or is also assumed to be treated with a degree of hostility by Euripides.⁴⁷⁴ Odysseus' characterization in *Cyclops* cannot be overlooked; if we accept Odysseus as a ruthless sophistic politician in Euripidean tragedy, we find something quite different in satyr drama.

Euripides' *Hecuba*: Friendship and Funeral Oration

The *Hecuba* tells of the plight of the women of Troy after the sack of the city, after the Greeks have set off for home. It is the only complete Euripidean tragedy where Odysseus plays a major role. He appears on stage, unlike in the *Trojan Women*, where he is just an ominous presence, mentioned by the Trojan Women as the worst of the Greeks to whom one could be enslaved (279-91); in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, he again does not appear but is referred to as ποικίλος by Agamemnon (536) and as having made an evil choice by Clytemnestra (1362-4).⁴⁷⁵ In the *Hecuba*, too, Odysseus seems to be naturally pitted against the wishes of Hecuba and the captive women, and their hostility towards him is evident from the start. It is Odysseus who has joined the side of those arguing to sacrifice Polyxena, and it is Odysseus who comes to enforce the decision and take Polyxena from Hecuba.

⁴⁷³ Stanford and Montiglio only mention *Cyclops* in passing; Suksi (1999) 113-133, devotes some time to aligning Odysseus in *Cyclops* to non-aristocratic Athenian democratic ideals, but in doing so concludes that it is the genre of satyr drama which enables him to be presented as such, whereas he becomes a villain in Euripidean tragedy (p. 134).

⁴⁷⁴ Stanford (1954) 90-117, Montiglio (2011) 2-12.

⁴⁷⁵ Odysseus in these two tragedies is briefly discussed by Montiglio as well, pp. 3-12. Perhaps because he is mentioned only fleetingly, not many commentators have spent much time on his appearance in these plays.

The early parts of the tragedy help to generate feelings of empathy towards Hecuba. The imagery of her dream, where she imagines that a deer is torn from her knees by a bloody-jawed wolf (90-91), is a premonition of the violent future death of her daughter. Various other animal metaphors help to accentuate the helpless innocence of Polyxena as a victim (she is a foal, πῶλον, 142; a cub, σκύμνον, 205; and a calf, μόσχον, 206 and 526).⁴⁷⁶ The references to how she will be snatched away from her mother's arms to be sacrificed to the ghost of Achilles in the underworld evokes the rape of Persephone, the virgin daughter who is forcibly taken from her mother to marry death.⁴⁷⁷ The difference here, however, is that Polyxena herself goes willingly (345-8). Odysseus describes himself as πομπός (222); he is the man who will take Polyxena to be sacrificed. Odysseus is acting as the equivalent of Hermes *psychopompos*, the deliverer of souls to the underworld, and the link helps to emphasize Polyxena's liminal status: she is alive now, but Odysseus will guide her to her death and 'marriage' to Achilles, just as Hermes guides the souls to the underworld. The word πομπός is used to describe Hermes elsewhere in tragedy (for example, Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 1548, Aeschylus *Persae* 626), and the related epithet πομπαῖος is connected to him also (Aeschylus *Eumenides* 91, Sophocles *Ajax* 832, Euripides *Medea* 759). As noted earlier, Hermes and Odysseus share some connection, possibly even in lineage; in *Philoctetes*, Odysseus prays to him along with

⁴⁷⁶ Suksi (1999) 191 notes these metaphors and contrasts them to the political sophistication of Odysseus, and, although no evidence is given from the language of Euripides, the wolf of 90-91 could be seen as Odysseus or Achilles.

⁴⁷⁷ This is mentioned by Suksi (1999) 191. See Seaford (1987) 106-30, for a discussion of the bride marrying death; for more specifically on the death of Polyxena, see Loraux (1987) 33-40.

Athena (*Phil.* 133-4).⁴⁷⁸ However, in *Hecuba*, Odysseus is more than simply the conveyer, but he also is shown to be an advocate for the sacrifice.⁴⁷⁹

The appearance of the ghost of Achilles is told by the chorus. In their account, they describe the apparition of Achilles calling out to the Greeks, asking why they leave him and his tomb ἀγέραστος, without a gift of honour (114-5). While this does not necessarily indicate a human sacrifice, the ghost of Polydorus has already asserted that what the ghost of Achilles wants is his sister Polyxena as a γέρας (40-1).⁴⁸⁰ Agamemnon's reasons for not wanting to perform the sacrifice are selfish, since it is his love for Cassandra that makes him refrain from the deed (120-2). There is no indication of a moral high ground being taken by Agamemnon; his only reason to advocate against the sacrifice is for the favour of Cassandra (126-9).

It is the sons of Theseus, who are noted to be ὄζω Ἀθηνῶν 'scions of Athens', who support the sacrifice (122-4), and Odysseus who is reported to have tipped the scales in their favour with his persuasion. The argument to sacrifice Polyxena, then, comes from Athenian men, none less than the sons of Theseus. Why Euripides chooses to single out the Athenians as supportive of the sacrifice, and Athenians linked to the politically charged figure of Theseus no less, is not entirely clear. The use of the dual here indicates the pair are Demophon and Akamas, who are not mentioned in the *Iliad*, but appear in the *Little Iliad* and *Sack of Ilium*.⁴⁸¹ Their ability

⁴⁷⁸ See above n.428.

⁴⁷⁹ An incidental connection to Hermes in Odysseus' dialogue does not have a very great effect upon how he is perceived in the tragedy. Hermes himself could be ambivalent, and comes to represent a lackey for the violent Zeus in [Aeschylus] *Prometheus Bound*.

⁴⁸⁰ The demand for a γέρας has a Homeric feel to it; see for example, *Iliad* 1.118-120. There is a brief discussion by Mossman (1995) 32 and King (1985) 52 on the need for γέρας in the *Iliad* and *Hecuba*.

⁴⁸¹ See *Little Iliad* (F 23 West) and *Sack of Ilium* (F 4 West). There is a brief discussion of their appearance by Segal (1990) 111, who notes also that this inclusion could have been intended to comment on the Athenian audience. The term ὄζω Ἀθηνῶν could refer simply to the Athenians in general, just as 'the sons of Athens' is a universal term for Athenians. However, in this case, the 'two sons of Theseus' is certainly a reference to Acamas and Demophon. They are mentioned by Diodorus

as speakers is raised here also: δισσω̃ν μύθων ῥήτορες ἦσαν. This could mean that they were eloquent in two speeches (one each), or that they were speakers with a ‘double argument’ – a sophistic attribute – possibly helping to create the Achaean assembly as a democratic debate.⁴⁸² The use of ῥήτορες can denote ‘speakers’ or ‘politicians’ in a fifth-century context,⁴⁸³ which again helps to suggest that the arguments for and against sacrifice were represented as such.

If Odysseus is after political gain, as Hecuba is later to insinuate, there is no indication as to why he would go against the wishes of Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks. At the point at which he sways the debate, the camp is evenly split, which suggests he does not do so purely for the favour of the crowd either (despite the fact he is later to be called δημοχαιριστής (*Hecuba* 132)). The Athenian source of the argument to sacrifice Polyxena could even indicate that Athenian values are at stake in the honouring of Achilles.⁴⁸⁴ To make Athenians responsible for the sacrifice, at least partially, does not necessarily mean that it is the right thing to do, but Euripides has specifically chosen to include them in the context of the human sacrifice. The arguments they use – that they would never put the bed of Cassandra before the spear of Achilles (*Hecuba* 125-9) – creates the image of them, as Athenians, upholding the values of honouring the dead, rather than anything more vicious. The Athenian precedent to the argument becomes an important starting point in understanding Odysseus’ position in the drama.

Sicilus (*Bibliotheca* 4.62) as being present at Troy, and also appear in the sack of Troy in art (Brygos Painter Louvre G.152, Beazley ARV 369.1).

⁴⁸² See Collard (1991) 137-8. Collard uses examples such as Euripides fr.189 as an example of sophistic ‘double talk’ (cf. *Dissoi Logoi* (90 DK)); see also Kovacs (1987) 140 n.19, and Michelini (1987) 143-4. Gregory (1999) 62, disagrees, and suggests that it means that they deliver between them two speeches to support sacrifice.

⁴⁸³ As is mentioned by Gregory (1999) 62; see also Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* 38, and Connor (1971) 116-7. I concur with Gregory that the Greek assembly here is represented as a contemporary ἐκκλησία (see p.58, 107n). See also Easterling (1985) 1-10, and Meier (1993) 2-7.

⁴⁸⁴ Relevant also is the idea that the sons of Theseus are inserted into the story in epic to enhance the Athenian involvement; see Mills (1997) 9-10.

Odysseus jumps into the fray just as the Greek camp is evenly divided in deciding how to deal with the sacrifice for Achilles. He argues that they should honour the dead Achilles, and not put aside the best of the Greeks for the sake of sacrificing a slave (*Hecuba* 130-40). To do so, he argues, would be ungracious (ἀχάριστοι) to those of their own who died at Troy once they had left. Collard notes how Odysseus voices contemporary Athenian values concerning slaves, particularly the routine of torturing them to give evidence in court,⁴⁸⁵ but, torturing a slave for evidence and sacrificing one for an honour gift are not really the same thing. χάρις, favour, is introduced as a main motivation for the action, and for the following debate it becomes an important issue, and is represented as more than a simple favour or feeling of good will, but a tangible concept which requires a response.⁴⁸⁶

The chorus, whose interests rest squarely with Hecuba's, clearly see Odysseus, who has fought for the sacrifice of Polyxena, as their enemy. This becomes evident in their description of him prior to his appearance on stage; he is shifty minded, sweet-talking and mob-pleasing:

...ὁ ποικιλόφρων
κόπις ἡδυλόγος δημοχαριστῆς
Λαερτιάδης... (Hec. 131-3)

...the shifty-minded
Mob-pleasing, sweet-talking prattler
The son of Laertes...

⁴⁸⁵ Collard (1991) 138. Collard uses Lysias, *On a Wound by Premeditation* 4.12-17 as an example, but see also Dover (1974) 283ff.

⁴⁸⁶ See MacLachlan (1993) 5.

Not all these epithets are necessarily negative. As I argued earlier in this chapter, ποικιλόφρων has a similar meaning to ποικιλομήτης, which is used to describe Odysseus in *Iliad* 11.482 alongside the adjective δαίφρων, ‘of warlike mind’, emphasizing Odysseus’ skills in battle. It recurs to describe Odysseus in *Odyssey* 3.163, and *Odyssey* 13.293; it is also used as an epithet for Zeus, *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.322, and Hermes, *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 4.155.⁴⁸⁷ As well as shifty-minded, it could be translated as cunning, of a versatile mind, or inventive; it is these qualities that Theognis found praise for in the ποικίλον ἦθος, the versatility of character (as we saw, p. 158-9). For better or worse, this versatility of character is a recurring theme in the presentation of Odysseus. ἡδυλόγος, ‘sweet speaking’, is used in erotic poetry and Sappho,⁴⁸⁸ but the concept of being able to talk sweetly is often seen as a favourable, for example in Hesiod and Homer.⁴⁸⁹ ἡδυεπής is used by Pindar to describe Homer’s poetry, but in the context of its ability to deceive (*Nemean* 7.21). δημοχαριστής is a *hapax*, and perhaps the most obviously derogatory of these terms. Also, the chorus refer to him as the son of Laertes, not the son of Sisyphus. He is slanderously referred to as the son of Sisyphus in both Sophocles’ *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* (189 and 417 respectively) and in Euripides’ *Cyclops* by Silenus (104), but he is spared this rebuke in the *Hecuba*.

Even if Euripides offers a negative view of Odysseus so early on in the *Hecuba*, it is hardly surprising. There is no doubt that some sympathy is generated for the chorus of Trojan Women: after all it is their plight and the suffering of Hecuba that

⁴⁸⁷ See above n.335. ποικιλομήτης, as an epithet for Zeus in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 322, is potentially an insult, since it is combined with σχέτλιος, harsh. However, σχέτλιος is also an epithet for Odysseus in a positive sense (unflinching), *Odyssey* 12.279.

⁴⁸⁸ Sappho fr. 73a 4 LP; see Mossman (1995) 75 n.17, Breitenbach (1967) 82.

⁴⁸⁹ In Hesiod’s *Theogony*, the Muses who support the King τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσει γλυκερὴν χεῖουσιν ἔεργον, ‘pour sweet dew on his tongue’, a reference to speaking sweetly and pleasantly; this has the result of harmony amongst his people (*Theogony* 80-95). See Walker (2000) 3-10. In Homer, the words, ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή, ‘from his tongue flowed speech sweeter than honey’ are used to describe Nestor’s ability to speak publicly (*Iliad* 1.247).

makes this a tragedy. Likewise, the plight of the Persians is the subject of Aeschylus' *Persae*, but that does not make the Greeks the villains of the tragedy. *Persae* 361 refers to the 'trick', δόλος, of the Hellenes. Trickery and deceit are very much a trait of Odysseus, but this is not necessarily a negative thing even in tragedy; particularly when those being tricked are enemies. Additionally, these descriptions of Odysseus come from the mouths of his defeated enemies, who are blaming him for persuading the assembly of the Greeks to sacrifice Polyxena. And it is noted even by them that he does this in order to honour the best of the Greeks: 'let it not be said that the Greeks left Troy ungraciously, forgetting their fallen comrades', ὥς ἀχάριστοι Δαναοὶ Δαναοῖς τοῖς οἰχομένοις ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων Τροίας πεδίων ἀπέβησαν, (*Hec.* 135-140).

What Odysseus stands to gain from a political perspective is not made clear, unless it is by pleasing the mob with conventional ethics – Hecuba will mention political expediency in her speech later – but at this stage Odysseus' motives are not suspicious, even if the outcome is unsavoury for the chorus. And perhaps here is one of the issues in the tragedy which would make the audience uncomfortable. Odysseus acts in a conventional manner, in line with Athenian values and political systems, in support of the sons of Theseus, in order to perform a deed which appears reasonable, yet also abhorrent, but is in the interests of all the Greeks.

This brings us to the debate between Hecuba and Odysseus. Most Euripidean scholarship has chosen to view Odysseus as a rogue, a demagogue and the supporter of an immoral cause.⁴⁹⁰ Hecuba is presented as a sympathetic figure; if we cannot feel pity for her, the events of the tragedy will have no effect on the audience. But this does not mean that Odysseus has to play the role of the villain. It is perhaps

⁴⁹⁰ Stanford (1954) 102-111, Mossman (1995) 113-116, Gregory (1999) 63-4, and Montiglio (2011) 3-9. Adkins (1966) 193-219 has a different take: he argues that Odysseus' cause is not immoral, but in line with conventional ethics.

typical of Euripides⁴⁹¹ that both characters can present engaging arguments – as shall be seen presently – and be both sympathetic and repulsive on various levels. For even if Hecuba's punishment of Polymestor is justified, she is still clearly a deranged and disturbed figure as she enacts her brutal revenge.⁴⁹² She has been betrayed and lost even the children she thought were safe, so the audience can understand her pain, and maybe even feels some kind of sense of satisfaction when she gets her revenge on Polymestor. This does not mean the audience identifies with Hecuba, who for all this is a barbarian queen, and her crazed actions could be seen with a mixture of pity and terror.⁴⁹³

Hecuba tries to persuade Odysseus not to go ahead with the sacrifice of Polyxena, and Odysseus agrees to hear her arguments (236-8). Hecuba blames Odysseus for her suffering because Polyxena will be sacrificed, which has already been mentioned by the chorus. She starts by reminding Odysseus of the time she spared him when Helen recognized him on a spying expedition in Troy, and told only Hecuba. The source of this story is unknown, possibly a Euripidean invention; in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus' disguise is only uncovered by Helen (*Odyssey* 4.242-58).⁴⁹⁴ She listened to his plea then and let him go; Odysseus admits he would have said many things in order to save his skin. Hecuba then turns this on Odysseus, and claims that ἀχάριστον, ungracious, is the type of orator who vies for popular

⁴⁹¹ Euripides presents hearing both sides of a story as Greek – Agamemnon, having set up a debate between Polymestor and Hecuba, tells Polymestor to suppress his barbarian nature and speak (*Hecuba* 1129-30). This is raised by O'Sullivan, 'Rhetoric in Euripides' (forthcoming).

⁴⁹² See Gellie (1980) 30-44 and Mossman (1995) 195-203 for a more sympathetic discussion of the tragic Hecuba; see also Kitto (1961) 219-22. Nussbaum (1986) 408 is less forgiving.

⁴⁹³ As Collard (1991) 23-5, 31-2 argues, analysis of the themes of *Hecuba* and Hecuba's own characterization presents more questions than answers – including whether or not the audience's reaction to Hecuba by the end is more pity or disgust.

⁴⁹⁴ For more on Hecuba discovering Odysseus as a Euripidean invention, and the implausibility of it, see Gregory (1999) 74.

opinion.⁴⁹⁵ This rebuke is levelled at Odysseus, although there is no indication that Odysseus has any real ulterior motives of currying favour. She says:

ἀχάριστον ὑμῶν σπέρμ', ὅσοι δημηγόρους
ζηλοῦτε τιμάς: μηδὲ γιγνώσκουσθέ μοι,
οἱ τοὺς φίλους βλάπτοντες οὐ φροντίζετε,
ἦν τοῖσι πολλοῖς πρὸς χάριν λέγητέ τι. (Hec. 254-7)

*A most ungracious race of yours, you who
vie for honour as popular orators. Oh that you were unknown to me,
you who harm your friends and think no more of it,
if you can say a word to win favour from the many.*

This is a general statement, in that Hecuba refers to ungracious people in plural. However, she is targeting Odysseus; none of the other Greeks owe her anything, and even Odysseus can hardly be described as one of her φίλοι. The attack is double edged: Odysseus is ungracious, since he owes her a debt of gratitude, and has forgotten this in order to vie for the gratitude of the multitude instead, using popular oratory. χάρις is misplaced by the δημηγόρος, who wishes to gain public advantage rather than help friends to whom he owes this debt of gratitude.

The second part of Hecuba's argument is that the sacrifice is not even necessary, and that it is not 'justice' to slaughter Polyxena, who never harmed Achilles. She suggests that oxen would be sufficient, or, if a beautiful victim is required, then Helen would be fitting (*Hecuba* 264-5). Finally, Hecuba turns to pity; she reminds Odysseus how he was her suppliant, and now she is supplicating him; there is the typical tragic reminder of the possibility of a reversal of fortune, followed by the request for pity. She calls him φίλος, and finishes with a pleading tone, even

⁴⁹⁵ Note the similarity here to what the chorus says about Odysseus at 131-3.

becoming flattery, as she tells Odysseus that a man of his reputation will be able to win over the Greeks (291-95).

To commentators such as Mossman, Hecuba's speech has a rhetorical polish and a fiery conviction which contrasts to the bland arguments of Odysseus.⁴⁹⁶ The use of an argument placing Odysseus in a debt of gratitude to Hecuba is immediately alarming considering it has used the words ἀχάριστος and φίλος; the first is clearly used to describe the how the Greeks do not wish to leave their dead comrades un-thanked (138), and the second is alarming because it is these dead Greeks, whom the Trojans have killed, who are their φίλοι.⁴⁹⁷ Hecuba, then, is effectively claiming from Odysseus the relationship which he and the other Hellenes have with Achilles: a φίλος to whom χάρις is owed. Her argument at lines 260-70 sets out two things. It first attempts to point out the injustice of offering Polyxena, since she has done Achilles no harm, whereas Helen has more of the burden of the guilt.⁴⁹⁸ Secondly, it attempts to suggest that the sacrifice of Polyxena is not necessary – which we know is not true, for Polydorus has told the audience that this was what Achilles has requested specifically (*Hecuba* 40-1). So despite the rhetoric and the polish of Hecuba's refined and moving speech, the audience may be aware that her arguments will fail. Odysseus' response makes this even clearer.

Montiglio and Stanford both see Odysseus' speech characterizing him as the main villain of the tragedy, as a frigid mouthpiece for the national interest, a politician wheedling his way out of a former commitment,⁴⁹⁹ and the smooth talker

⁴⁹⁶ Mossman (1995) 105-13.

⁴⁹⁷ Additionally, at line 43 Polydorus has already described the Hellenes as Achilles' φίλοι.

⁴⁹⁸ This is reminiscent of the *agôn* of the *Trojan Women*, where the blame for the war is discussed (914-1032). Helen tries to shift the blame on Hecuba for fathering Paris and not killing him despite the omens.

⁴⁹⁹ Montiglio (2011) 3, Stanford 1954, 113.

pushing for an immoral cause.⁵⁰⁰ In this way Odysseus' character is generally thought of as following in the footsteps of his presentation in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. Others, such as Synodinou, feel that even Odysseus' uses of patriotic conventions are simply a tool with which to achieve his end goal.⁵⁰¹

However, an analysis of Odysseus' speech reveals that it may not be quite as complicated as that. There is no evidence for any motivations that Odysseus would have for carrying out the sacrifice, other than the reasons he claims.⁵⁰² And, further to this, Odysseus' arguments are in fact very much in line with Greek ethics and even Athenian funeral oration-etiquette, as I shall show presently; they are even aligned with epic attitudes towards helping friends and harming enemies. Hecuba has attempted to sidestep these conventions by claiming she is in fact one of his φίλοι, an argument which Odysseus does not necessarily ignore in his speech, but overrides because of the obligation he has to both the dead who are his real φίλοι and his living fellow Greeks. After pushing for the sacrifice, he is the man who comes to take Polyxena; he is the hero who does what is necessary, much as he is in *Philoctetes* and *Antisthenes*.

Odysseus, in his reply, admits that he owes Hecuba a debt of gratitude, so he says he is prepared to save her life. This may seem ineffectual, since it is not her

⁵⁰⁰ Montiglio (2011) 9.

⁵⁰¹ Synodinou (1994) 195.

⁵⁰² An exception to the view of Odysseus as the main villain comes from Adkins (1966) 193-219. Adkins argues that Odysseus' speech is concurrent with fifth-century traditional (Athenian) views; even if Polyxena, the barbarian and slave, has *aretē*, it will not be able to extend beyond the group to which she belongs.

own life that Hecuba is asking him to save,⁵⁰³ but Odysseus goes on to explain why he cannot let Polyxena be spared. He says:

ἅ δ' εἶπον εἰς ἅπαντας οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι,
Τροίας ἀλούσης ἀνδρὶ τῷ πρώτῳ στρατοῦ
σὴν παῖδα δοῦναι σφάγιον ἐξαίτουμένῳ. (Hec. 303-305)

*But what I said to all, I will not now deny,
that after Troy's capture I would give your daughter to the foremost man of
the army because he demanded a victim.*

Odysseus will not go back on his word to his comrades, and stresses that Achilles demanded the sacrifice.⁵⁰⁴ The injustice and the horror of the human sacrifice are contentious; modern sensibilities naturally find it abhorrent. However, there is both epic and historic precedent. Achilles sacrifices 12 Trojan captives at the funeral of Patroclus (*Iliad* 23.175), fulfilling the promise he makes to do so upon seeing him dead (*Iliad* 18.336-7).⁵⁰⁵ The sacrifice is not presented as problematic in epic, and in fact, Vergil copies it (*Aeneid* 10.517-20). Themistocles unwillingly goes ahead with human sacrifice under the instruction of the prophet before the battle of Salamis according to Plutarch (*Life of Themistocles* 13.2-3).⁵⁰⁶ Despite his reluctance, it is made clear that the multitude look for safety even from unreasonable measures. Likewise,

⁵⁰³ Gregory (1991) 115 (n.11) claims that Odysseus is sadistic. There is no real indication of this here; he shows some compassion to Hecuba and a reluctance to sacrifice Polyxena. In fact, Odysseus is not obliged hear her speech, but he does not begrudge her an opportunity to speak (238).

⁵⁰⁴ Mossman (1995) 114 thinks that Achilles' demand is emphasized, but also that the ships cannot sail without this demand being met. This strengthens the idea that private concerns must be subordinated to matters of public importance (306f).

⁵⁰⁵ See Rohde (1925) 12-7 for a discussion of sacrifice in the *Iliad*. Also, more recently, Dennis (1991) 49ff.

⁵⁰⁶ This is discussed in more detail by Dennis (1991) 111-5, who believes that the event may not be historical.

despite Hecuba's insistence that it should not be Polyxena who is offered to Achilles, Odysseus must continue with the sacrifice which Achilles demanded.⁵⁰⁷ Furthermore, Polyxena herself is willing to be sacrificed (214-5, 346-9), which may have had particular resonance for the Athenians, because of the story of the self-sacrificing daughters of Eretheus, Pandora and Protogenia; when the oracle informs Eretheus he must sacrifice one of his daughters for Athens to win the war against the Eleusinians, he chooses to sacrifice his youngest. The story is told in a lost tragedy of Euripides, *Eretheus*.⁵⁰⁸ The sacrifice of a captured enemy or slave is more conventional, but the Athenian sacrifice story as told by Euripides is presented as a wholly patriotic and selfless action by Eretheus and his wife Praxithea. The sacrifice of Iphigenia as a member of the household does become problematic in tragedy, but it is important to remember that the sacrifice of Polyxena conforms to the more expected sacrifice of a captive or a slave.

The sacrifice of Polyxena to Achilles is more important to the Hellenes than Odysseus' own relationship with Hecuba, and he says himself that he wishes that it were not necessary (395). Odysseus must put matters of public importance above those of his own private affairs. Achilles deserves to be treated honourably by the Greeks. Achilles, as Odysseus clearly states, died most nobly fighting for 'Hellas' (310). If his use of the term *Hellas* is indeed anachronistic, as Synodinou maintains it is,⁵⁰⁹ then all this does is promote the rift created between Greek and barbarian, and

⁵⁰⁷ Also discussed by Dennis, who is more interested in the historic cultural practice of sacrifice. See pp. 60-2. See also O'Connor-Visser (1987) 50ff.

⁵⁰⁸ Euripides' *Eretheus*, F 50 = F 360N (Austin). The fragment is a quote from Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 100. The story is also told in Apollodorus, *Library* 3.15.4, and Eretheus is said to have endured killing his daughters for the benefit of his country in Euripides' *Ion* (277-8). This is discussed briefly by Loraux (1987) 47-8.

⁵⁰⁹ Synodinou (1994) 192.

even further brings Odysseus' patriotic ideals into the fifth century, rather than make the argument sound unconvincing.⁵¹⁰

Honouring the dead Achilles becomes a matter of public importance; first, there is debt of friendship:

...οὐκ οὖν τόδ' αἰσχρόν, εἰ βλέποντι μὲν φίλῳ
χρῶμεσθ', ἐπεὶ δ' ὄλωλε, μὴ χρῶμεσθ' ἔτι; (Hecuba 310-311)

...Is this not shameful, to treat him as a friend while living,
but, when he has perished, to treat him so no more?

The bonds between φίλοι go beyond death - honouring the dead is important on a personal level. The importance of φίλοι and honour is prevalent throughout the *Iliad* too: in *Iliad* Book 9 Ajax points out how Achilles has turned from his φίλοι, who honoured him above all others.⁵¹¹ Achilles, it is suggested, has a responsibility to help his φίλοι which should trump even his anger at being slighted by Agamemnon – and Achilles does not disagree with this concept in his reply (*Iliad* 9.644-55). Odysseus admits his debt to Hecuba, but the debt all of the Greeks owe to Achilles is one of friendship, and therefore must be considered more important than a debt to an enemy. Perhaps Hecuba is aware of this when she tries to claim she is a φίλος to Odysseus herself. Odysseus repeats the motivation of χάρις as well; Hecuba had tried to claim this of him also, but Odysseus says that χάρις is what he would want in death, rather than material wealth while alive (320). This is to indicate that

⁵¹⁰ Note also how Odysseus attempts to use an argument of pan-Hellenic benefaction in the *Cyclops*. He argues that he kept Poseidon's temples safe by defeating the Trojans, and all of Hellas benefitted from this, Polyphemus included (*Cyc* 290-9). However, in his case, it is desperate to the point of comical, since Troy was never any threat to Greece or the Cyclops. For more on the patriotism of Athens and the hostility towards the 'barbarian' and the 'other', see Hall (1991) especially 107-110.

⁵¹¹ *Iliad* 9.624-43. See Zanker (1991) 20-5 for a discussion of co-operative values and friendship in the *Iliad* and Sophocles' *Ajax*. The same values apply here to Odysseus, who is bound by these co-operative values to continue with the sacrifice for Achilles, not only for Achilles' sake, but for the good of his fellow Greeks.

Achilles is owed χάρις, the physical manifestation of which is the γέρας, the sacrifice of Polyxena.⁵¹²

Also, not honouring Achilles would have serious public implications. Odysseus states that it is a source of weakness for many states when a brave man receives no greater honour than his inferior (306-308), and hence not to pay honours to the greatest of the Greeks after his death would set an example for the whole army, who would think twice about risking their lives in battle if they knew the dead receive no honour. He says:

εἶεν: τί δῆτ' ἐρεῖ τις, ἦν τις αὖ φανῇ
στρατοῦ τ' ἄθροισις πολεμίων τ' ἀγωνία;
πότερα μαχούμεθ' ἢ φιλοψυχήσομεν,
τὸν κατθανόνθ' ὀρώντες οὐ τιμώμενον; (Hec. 313-316)

*Enough! What will someone say, when once more there comes
a gathering of the army and a contest of war?
Should we fight or love our lives,
seeing the dead are not honoured?*

This sentiment can be compared to Pericles' funeral oration, where Pericles describes how the honour received by the dead sets an example for the living. He says, speaking of the fallen ancestors of the Athenians:

...κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον
ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται

⁵¹²Mossman (1995) 116 n.61 comments that the word γέρας (rather than χάρις) is expected at line 320, for reasons which are unexplained. γέρας, however, is linked closely to χάρις: the ghost of Polydorus refers to Polyxena as the γέρας which his friends of Achilles will not refuse him (line 41). Odysseus' argument relies on the importance of showing χάρις after the death of a comrade, and a tomb will be a long-lasting (διὰ μακροῦ) representation of χάρις.

μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου
καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται.

(Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.43.1-2)

*For this communal giving of their lives they individually received ageless
renown, and a remarkable funeral tomb, not so much that in which they rest,
but in wherein their reputation is laid up to be eternally remembered upon
every occasion on which deed or story shall fall for its commemoration.*

Pericles' speech, while using very different vocabulary, matches the concepts of Odysseus' ethical reasons for honouring Achilles.⁵¹³ When a man dies for his city, he is repaid by eternal praise and his glory is remembered with a distinguished tomb – not a literal tomb, but in an everlasting memory. This is why it is right for men to also be daring in the face of the enemy. Odysseus approaches the precept from a different angle: if our friends are not honoured in death, why would anyone risk their life in dying bravely?

Honour as a reward for risking one's life is a Homeric concept. Sarpedon's famous speech, *Iliad* 16.310-28, explains the motivation for the pursuit of glory in the face of death, rather than honour after death; but he also expresses the reasoning behind the willingness to risk one's life in the pursuit of honour. Achilles' speech to Odysseus at *Iliad* 9.314-320 highlights the importance of τιμή both in life and death – if the brave and the weaklings receive the same honour, then there is no purpose in fighting.

This sentiment is fairly common, and sometimes carries an educational component as well. It appears in Lysias' *Funeral Oration* also, where honouring the

⁵¹³ Collard (1991) 147 notes how Odysseus' comment about the honouring of his tomb at 319-20 is a conventional view, but that the durability of fame is a cliché of funeral orations, also citing this passage from Thucydides. For more on this aspect of the funeral oration specifically, see Loraux (1986) 98-106.

dead is linked to providing a lesson for the living to emulate. He says (of the glorious dead):

τιμῶντας δ' ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις, παιδεύοντας δ' ἐν τοῖς
τῶν τεθνεώτων ἔργοις τοὺς ζῶντας.

(Lysias *Funeral Oration* 2.3)

Honouring them on the appropriate occasions such as this, and educating the living from the deeds of the dead.

For Lysias, too, in his funeral oration, the deeds of the dead are remembered in a way to inspire the living. So Odysseus' patriotic ideals seem sound, and in fact would have resounded with the Athenian audience.⁵¹⁴ Mossman admits that his argument is rather a good one, but maintains it is not successful, for the pathos of Hecuba's situation is not lessened.⁵¹⁵ The arguments of Odysseus, and the reasons he gives, are modelled to fit Athenian values, which makes the audience all the more uncomfortable when they see these values used to justify an action from which they can also feel the horror of in Hecuba's situation; much as in *Philoctetes* Odysseus shows how his plan is the only practical one in a time of difficulty, even if the audience is moved to pity in the plight of Philoctetes. The fact that Odysseus' speech is not presented as a travesty of rhetoric makes the tragedy of Hecuba's situation all the more evident: the sacrifice will go on, and must go on, because of Greek (or Athenian) values. The audience, while understanding Odysseus' words and the necessity of the sacrifice, are nonetheless feel pity for her situation.

⁵¹⁴ For more on the Athenian institution of funeral oration, see Loraux (1986) *passim*, especially 135, 330ff. More recently, see Hesk (2013) 49-65, who discusses Loraux, and mentions both Thucydides and Isocrates: see also Grethlein (2010) 115, who discusses Athenian history in the context of how it is based on celebrating the achievements of ancestors.

⁵¹⁵ Mossman (1995) 116.

The thoughts of Odysseus are summed up in the final lines of his address to Hecuba:

...τόλμα τάδ' ἡμεῖς δ', εἰ κακῶς νομίζομεν
τιμᾶν τὸν ἐσθλόν, ἀμαθίαν ὀφλήσομεν:
οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ μήτε τοὺς φίλους φίλους
ἡγεῖσθε, μήτε τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας
θαυμάζεθ', ὥς ἂν ἡ μὲν Ἑλλὰς εὖτυχη,
ὕμεῖς δ' ἔχηθ' ὅμοια τοῖς βουλευμασιν.

(Hec. 326-331)

*...Endure this; for us, if we are accustomed
to honour the brave wrongly, we shall be guilty of ignorance;
but if barbarians neither regard your friends as friends
nor honour the noble dead, may Hellas prosper,
and may you fare similarly to your resolutions.*

Again Odysseus draws a line between Greek and barbarian, and again he emphasizes the importance of *φιλία*. This serves both to demonstrate the ideological necessity to honour the great hero Achilles, but also to give a pragmatic reason to honour valiant friends who have fallen; not to do so will inspire no incentive for bravery. Hecuba and Polyxena are not only defeated enemies, they are *βάρβαροι*, and therefore have nothing by way of rights or claims to the affection or pity of Odysseus.⁵¹⁶ Odysseus shows some compassion to them, admitting some personal responsibility to protect Hecuba (*Hecuba* 301-2), and a wish that the sacrifice were not necessary (*Hecuba* 389-90). Still, in the exchange at 391-401, Odysseus flexes his muscles over the vanquished and wastes no words in telling Hecuba to endure her misfortune as Polyxena is to be led away.

⁵¹⁶ See Dover (1974) 180-3.

To return to the characterization of Odysseus: as we can see, Odysseus removes himself from his debt of gratitude to Hecuba, but he does not do so by purely being a sneaky politician. He gives several reasons: he cannot go back on his word to the Greeks, even though he would rather not sacrifice Polyxena, and the importance of honouring Achilles is derived from both friendship with the hero, and his responsibilities to the army. Odysseus can repay his debt of gratitude to Hecuba by protecting her life, but his debt to Achilles and the Greeks means that he cannot go as far as sparing Polyxena. Polyxena, in fact, agrees to go willingly, since she has no hope of happiness in life now. She disagrees with Hecuba's laments and in many ways this makes her appear as the noblest character in the tragedy.

Odysseus, by reneging on his own debt to Hecuba, shows how he is the champion for the common cause. Like his character in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, he will do anything to complete his mission, even if the methods are unsavoury. In the *Philoctetes*, and *Hecuba*, Odysseus' goal is always to the benefit of common good, and, even if he has to do the dirty work, he will at least get the job done. The trait of self-sacrifice is a key part of Odysseus' characterization in Antisthenes too, as I argued in relation to *Philoctetes*. In *Hecuba*, the comparison can be made in much the same way; Odysseus becomes an advocate for the sacrifice of Polyxena for moral values which are important to the whole Greek community, despite the unpleasantness of the deed, and despite the personal relationship he has with Hecuba. He does not send anyone else to collect Polyxena, but comes himself in person take her and explain the necessity of it to Hecuba, once he has persuaded the Greeks that it is the right course of action. In Antisthenes, Odysseus makes a point of the fact that he does not send others to reconnoitre, but goes himself (*Od.* 8), which is a different kind of situation, but the sentiment remains the same. Odysseus does not shy away from getting his hands dirty if it is for the purpose of a greater cause.

Another small example of how Odysseus in the *Hecuba* foreshadows Odysseus in later philosophy is the brief mention he makes of how he himself would be happy having little in life, as long as he is honoured in death (317-320). The idea that material wealth is unimportant to Odysseus continues into later philosophy, and into the second sophistic, where philosophers such as Dio Chrysostom saw themselves as a latter-day Odysseus, wandering the world with no material wealth.⁵¹⁷ This is primarily referring to the Odysseus of the *Odyssey*, but there are consistent traits in Odysseus' character which exist in epic and tragedy, and carry through to philosophy which developed after.

Euripides' *Cyclops*: Protecting φίλοι and Taking Revenge

Odysseus plays a major role in the only complete surviving satyr drama. It is the only major appearance of his in extant Euripides other than *Hecuba*: he is only mentioned by other characters in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and the *Rhesus* is of questionable authorship.⁵¹⁸ In the *Trojan Women* Odysseus is mentioned, but is regarded more as a malignant presence rather than appearing in person. Again, he is described only in the words of his enemy, Hecuba. He is described as παράνομος, lawless, and δόλιος, deceitful; and he has a δίπτυχος γλῶσσα, a two-folded tongue (*Trojan Women* 278-290). However, Euripides has a different use for the character of Odysseus in his *Cyclops*, where he appears as the hero to save the enslaved satyrs rather than as a hateful persecutor of a fallen enemy. Montiglio, who chooses not to discuss *Cyclops* at length, acknowledges that along with *Ajax* it is possibly one of

⁵¹⁷ Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 9.9-10, 13.10-11. For Dio on Odysseus, see Swain (1996) 231. Also, Odysseus is presented as the only hero who learns from his life and chooses not to shun humanity in the myth of Er in Plato's *Republic* (10.614-10.621). Odysseus is forced to choose the life of the ordinary person, but this is the life he wishes for in any event. In Antisthenes, Odysseus is happy to dress up in rags as a slave if it will benefit the common good (*Od.* 9). For the role of Odysseus in later philosophy, see Montiglio (2011) 66-94.

⁵¹⁸ Not to be debated here, but see for example, Ritchie (1964) 141-344, Bryce (1990) 144-9, and Liapis (2009) 71-88.

Odysseus' only appearances on stage where he is not a rogue.⁵¹⁹ However, scholarship on Odysseus in the *Cyclops* is generally divided;⁵²⁰ I will address some of the issues here.

The *Cyclops* is a satyr drama, and therefore the use of characters such as Odysseus will be fitted in to the lighter hearted context of the genre. This is not to say that the characterization is not important; but the heroic characters of satyr drama can perhaps be less problematic. Unlike tragedy, the episodes chosen are often more cheerful – for example, in *Cyclops*, there is a happy ending (for Odysseus and the satyrs at least!), and the theme of an ogre or tyrannical figure being brought some form of justice by a hero or god, perhaps with the help of the satyrs, is a recurring *topos*.⁵²¹ This potentially has some effect on how the character of Odysseus will appear, since the narrative which fits the genre of satyr drama is the story of how little Odysseus with the help of the ineffectual satyrs defeats the monstrous, tyrannical ogre who has them captive – more on this presently.

To see Odysseus as the villain of the *Cyclops* becomes rather more incongruous when viewed in the lighter hearted, happier context of satyr drama; however this does not mean that the *Cyclops* presents characters devoid of any complications, or any sophisticated intellectual or moral themes of interest to the Athenian audience. It is perhaps a major oversight of Stanford to have largely ignored the *Cyclops* when considering the character of Odysseus as represented in Athenian drama, because the virtues (and blemishes) of Odysseus in the *Cyclops* do

⁵¹⁹ Montiglio (2011) 2.

⁵²⁰ As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. Arrowsmith (1959) 6, Ussher (1978) 191, and Worman (2002b) 101-25 all consider Odysseus to be showing reprehensible characteristics, whereas Goins (1991) 187-94, and O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 45-57 discuss how Odysseus' presentation is fairly positive or heroic.

⁵²¹ This is discussed (with bibliography) by O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 28-39; however, see also Sutton (1980) 145-59, Seaford (1984) 33-44, and Seidensticker (2005) 46-53.

in fact become very relevant when considering the Odysseus tradition in Athenian classical literature and beyond.

Perhaps, as Montiglio mentions,⁵²² Silenus' familiarity with the reputation of Odysseus gives an indication of what the character of Odysseus had come to represent. Silenus responds to Odysseus' self-introduction with the following words:

...οἶδ' ἄνδρα, κρόταλον δριμύ, Σισύφου γένος.

(Cyc. 104)

*I know the man, a shrill, relentless babbler, of the race of Sisyphus.*⁵²³

Silenus knows of Odysseus, but he knows him for his reputation as a 'shrewd chatterer' rather than for his exploits at Troy.⁵²⁴ The reference to Odysseus as a son of Sisyphus appears again, as it does in the slanders of Ajax (Sophocles, *Ajax* 189) and Philoctetes (*Phil.* 417). Once again it has derogatory effect, which is made clear by Odysseus' reply, λοιδορεῖ δὲ μή, 'but do not rebuke (me)'. Odysseus makes no more of the insult, and the whole episode is no doubt intended to have comic effect. Silenus refers to Odysseus' reputation as a smooth talker once again, while urging the Cyclops to eat Odysseus, by claiming that eating his tongue will make him 'refined and most loquacious' (Cyc. 314-315). If these allusions are anything to go by, it could be assumed that Odysseus is expected to behave in the *Cyclops* as he does in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* or Euripides' *Hecuba*; as a conniving and devious character who will do anything to achieve his purpose. Interestingly enough, Odysseus does not live up to these expectations in the *Cyclops*. In the *Philoctetes* Odysseus fabricates an elaborate tale of deception, whereas in the *Cyclops*, it is Odysseus who relates the truth to Polyphemus while Silenus creates an untruthful story to save his own skin,

⁵²² Montiglio (2011) 6.

⁵²³ Translations of Euripides' *Cyclops* are from O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) unless otherwise stated.

⁵²⁴ In Aristophanes' *Clouds* (260) Socrates tells Strepsiades that he will become a κρόταλον after his teaching. While it is not necessarily a negative term here, it contributes to the presentation of Socrates as a babbler himself.

and cover up the fact that he has sold the Cyclops' property in exchange for a drink of wine (*Cyc.* 228-272).

It is Odysseus who represents piety and law, while the Cyclops represents lawlessness, impiety and cannibalism. Odysseus' speech to Polyphemus appeals to the law among mortals (perhaps forgetting that the Cyclops is in fact an immortal) to receive shipwrecked suppliants, and to give them gifts of hospitality; Odysseus refers to the accepted νόμοι of mortals and invokes the divinely sanctioned institutions of ἱκετεία and ξενία.⁵²⁵

νόμος δὲ θνητοῖς, εἰ λόγους ἀποστρέφῃ,
ἱκέτας δέχεσθαι ποντίους ἐφθαρμένους
ξενία τε δοῦναι καὶ πέπλους ἐπαρκέσαι (Cyc. 299-301)

*But, if you turn your back on these arguments, there is a law among mortals,
that you should receive those who have been languishing at sea as suppliants,
give them hospitality and provide them with clothes...*

Odysseus is the advocate for civilized values and law, whereas in the *Trojan Women* he is described as παράνομος (284). However, the lawlessness of Odysseus is not a recurring theme; and in the *Cyclops* he is working to a fairly Homeric model, where he is the civilised Greek in a strange, foreign and harsh land (20, 22);⁵²⁶ the lack of viticulture or agriculture helps to emphasize that the Cyclopes are uncivilized (121-4). This fits with traditionally rustic or far-flung settings in satyr drama, even if it

⁵²⁵ ξενία is invoked in a similar fashion by Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (9.266-71). As mentioned by O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 169, the rights of suppliants and strangers are discussed also in Euripides' *Suppliants* 191-6.

⁵²⁶ As discussed more fully by O'Sullivan, 2012a. See also O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 43, 134 (20n).

contradicts with the fifth-century Athenian conception of Sicily as a centre for Greek culture (and hence values).⁵²⁷

The divine interest in the institutions of *ἰκετεία* and *ξενία* is reinforced by Odysseus' advice to the Cyclops and his veiled threat:

ἀλλ' ἔμοι πῖθοῦ, Κύκλωψ.

πάρες τὸ μάργον σῆς γνάθου, τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς

τῆς δυσσεβείας ἀνθελού: πολλοῖσι γὰρ

κέρδη πονηρὰ ζημίαν ἡμείψατο.

(Cyc. 309-312)

But listen to me, Cyclops.

Let go of this mad appetite, and chose what is holy

instead of what is unholy.

Because wicked gains return punishment for many men.

Odysseus calls for the Cyclops to be pious, and warns that many have suffered a grim recompense for the sake of gain. Of course, in *Philoctetes*, it is Odysseus who is an advocate for κέρδος in a positive sense (*Phil.* 111), and in Antisthenes, Ajax describes Odysseus as the man who will do anything for gain (*Aj.* 5). If κέρδος is something which becomes linked to Odysseus, it is vaguely ironic for him to use the word here. However, he is relating a non-specific maxim here (the use of the aorist ἡμείψατο is gnomic⁵²⁸); base gain leads to punishment. In *Philoctetes*, Odysseus' acceptance of deception for the sake of gain is for a specific type of gain, which is itself no less than the sack of Troy. Polyphemus' response confirms that he has no respect for laws or gods; wealth is the god to worship for the wise, and he does not see Zeus as his superior in any way (315-316, 320-321). He simply states that men

⁵²⁷ See Thucydides *Hist.* 6.2-5, O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 42.

⁵²⁸ See O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 169.

who contrive laws and complicate life can go hang (338-340). The Cyclops sets himself up for his own defeat, as his arrogance and irreverence is a telling sign that his defiance of the gods and their laws will lead to his eventual downfall.

Polyphemos' contempt for Dionysos and the Bacchic rites, and indeed all of the gods, is very clear throughout the *Cyclops*.⁵²⁹ As mentioned above, Odysseus warns the Cyclops against such impious behaviour. An interpretation of this is that throughout the course of the play, Polyphemos is punished for his non-acceptance of the power of the gods and the Bacchic rites, and the catalyst for this punishment is brought by Odysseus in the form of wine, referred to throughout the play as Dionysos (156, 454, 519). The similarities between Polyphemos and figures such as Pentheus have already been noted.⁵³⁰ In Euripides' *Bacchae*, the defiant Pentheus slowly becomes bewitched by Dionysos (*Bacchae* 811-846) while in the *Cyclops*, Polyphemos becomes intoxicated from drinking the wine of Dionysos (519-589). In both cases it is Dionysos' overcoming of the defiant transgressors that leads to their ultimate downfall, the gruesome *sparagmos* in the case of Pentheus, and the blinding by Odysseus in the case of Polyphemos.⁵³¹ Odysseus in the *Cyclops*, then, can be seen to be the perpetrator of divine justice in punishing the impious and tyrannical Polyphemos; in fact the act of making the Cyclops drunk with wine is described as divinely inspired (411). It hardly seems likely that the audience could have viewed Polyphemos as anything other than the villain of the drama (considering, for example, his cannibalism and tendency to feast upon strangers, *Cyc.* 126-128, 396-

⁵²⁹ See for example *Cyc.* 26, 316-321, 348, 378, 438.

⁵³⁰ See O'Sullivan (2005b) 129, and Seaford (1981) 17-18.

⁵³¹ A further comparison between Polyphemos and Pentheus can be drawn in their portrayal as tyrannical figures. See O'Sullivan (2005b) 128-134.

404), and Dionysos, who is brought on stage in the form of wine in the wineskin, is on the side of the hero Odysseus.⁵³²

Unlike the presentation of Odysseus in most of Euripides' tragedies, Odysseus seems to come across as a true hero in the *Cyclops*. Even from the first appearance of Polyphemus, Odysseus resolves to hold his ground and die a hero or live on with his reputation intact, rather than flee (198-202), which shows influence from the Odysseus of the *Iliad* (11.404-410), where he resolves to stand and fight rather than flee when he finds himself surrounded by Trojans. Unlike what happens in Homer's *Odyssey*, Odysseus and his men come to the cave of the Cyclops because they are in need of food and water, and willing to trade fairly in order to get supplies; there is no motive of curiosity or greed for gifts of guest-friendship (see *Odyssey* 9.224-232). In the act of blinding the Cyclops, Odysseus is happy to do all the hard work himself, since the cowardly satyrs seem to be only capable of offering moral support (649-653).

However, many scholars have seen a negative side of Odysseus' nature even in Euripides' somewhat milder presentation of him. The action of Odysseus which seems to have met with general disapproval is the actual blinding of the intoxicated Polyphemus; Ussher describes the deed as a 'senseless outrage',⁵³³ Arrowsmith refers to it as 'barbaric cruelty'.⁵³⁴ These types of arguments are largely backed up with

⁵³² See Olson (1988) 502-4. Olson points out the appearance of the god Dionysos on stage in the form of the wine of Maron. He also draws a connection between Odysseus and the pirates who have captured Dionysos (*Cyc.* 11-24), noting in particular the description of ληστής used for Odysseus by Polyphemus (*Cyc.* 223; of course, Polyphemus is in fact mistaken about Odysseus and his men). It is Odysseus who has the captive Dionysos (who is represented metaphorically by the wine), and by joining forces with him, the satyrs are in fact reunited with their god. Odysseus uses the wine for his own gain, first trading it for food and then using it to dupe the unwitting Cyclops. However, there is no indication that Odysseus has captured Dionysos violently, and the fact that Dionysos saves Odysseus in the form of wine suggests that throughout the play Dionysos and Odysseus are allied.

⁵³³ Ussher (1978) 191.

⁵³⁴ Arrowsmith (1956) 6.

moralistic generalisations rather than evidence from the text. Arrowsmith sees an ironic change in sympathy as the Cyclops is transformed from a savage to a decadent, almost lovable buffoon. His abhorrence for war and generosity with wine is seen as balancing his cannibalism, while Odysseus becomes, 'vainglorious, a sophist orator, glib, with all the resources of a depraved intelligence'.⁵³⁵

This viewpoint may seem appealing from a modern perspective, from which Odysseus' brutal revenge seems excessive. It can be argued that Odysseus does not need to blind Polyphemus, because the Homeric rock blocking the entrance has been removed from Euripides' account. This has possibly been omitted because of staging difficulties. When Polyphemus is drunk, Odysseus and his men should be able to escape freely; and Odysseus himself seems to be able to come and go as he pleases (478-480). What is preventing Odysseus' men from leaving is unclear, but the audience expects the Cyclops will be blinded, so new motives for the blinding must be found. We can only presume that the men are paralyzed in terror, although Odysseus expects help from them when the satyrs make up excuses for not helping with the actual blinding (650-654). Goins points out that the problem of the absence of the giant rock cannot be seen as a reason for Odysseus not to blind Polyphemus; the blinding must take place, and Euripides' intention is not remove the necessity of the blinding for Odysseus to save his companions.⁵³⁶ Goins quotes several passages from the play which suggest this, lines 437-8, 441-2, and 478-82. While these lines indicate that Odysseus *must* blind the Cyclops to free his men and the satyrs, they also indicate another motive; revenge.

Χο. ὦ φίλτατ', εἰ γὰρ τήνδ' ἴδοιμεν ἡμέραν
Κύκλωπος ἐκφυγόντες ἀνόσιον κάρα.

(Cyc. 437-8)

⁵³⁵ Arrowsmith (1952) 7-31.

⁵³⁶ Goins (1991) 191.

Ὅδ. ...ἄκουε δὴ νυν ἦν ἔχω τιμωρίαν
θηρὸς πανούργου σῆς τε δουλείας φυγὴν.

(Cyc. 441-2)

CHO: *O dearest friend, if only we could see that day
when we escape the godless presence of the Cyclops!*

OD: *Well, hear the revenge I have for that
utterly ruthless beast and the escape from your slavery.*

The satyrs here already refer to Odysseus as φίλτατος, furthering their connection to Odysseus as a friend, compared to the ἀνόσιον, 'lawless', Cyclops. Odysseus has just referred to the old friendship between the satyrs and Dionysos (435-6) to enhance the role of friendship as opposed to the slavery imposed by Polyphemos.⁵³⁷

But Odysseus mentions not only the necessity to free his men and the satyrs from slavery (and being eaten!), but also expresses the need for τιμωρία, vengeance. We have to remember that Polyphemos has already eaten some of Odysseus' men. After blinding Polyphemos the motive of punishing the Cyclops for eating his companions is expressed again:

...κακῶς γὰρ ἂν Τροίαν γε διεπυρώσαμεν
εἰ μὴ σ' ἑταίρων φόνον ἐτιμωρησάμην.

(Cyc. 694-695)

*...For a worthless thing it would have been for me to destroy Troy by fire,
if I had not avenged the slaughter of my companions!*

⁵³⁷ See O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 185. See also p. 141, 73-5n.

Odysseus exclaims that it would have been worthless to have burnt Troy if he had not punished the Cyclops for the murder, φόνος, of his companions. Polyphemus slaughtered Odysseus' men, and the expected penalty for this homicide would be death. The satyrs suggest killing the Cyclops by slitting his throat or throwing him over a cliff (447-448), yet Odysseus' plan actually lets the Cyclops live.

Even if blinding the Cyclops is not necessary for Odysseus' escape with his men, the revenge and punishment motive is a good enough reason for the deed. Arrowsmith recognizes that the Cyclops must be punished, and even deserves the punishment,⁵³⁸ yet he still condemns Odysseus' action as brutal. However, there is no evidence from the text that Odysseus' plan for vengeance should be considered wrong by the audience of the *Cyclops*. That the ethic of 'helping one's friends and hurting one's enemies' is commonplace in ancient literature hardly needs explaining here, but a standout example of it appears in the words of Polemarchus in Plato's *Republic*; ὠφελεῖν μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἢ δικαιοσύνη, βλάπτειν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς (*Rep.* 1.334b). Even if we consider Plato's re-modelling of this conclusion to see justice as helping the just and hurting the unjust (*Rep.* 1.334d), we can see how Odysseus acts in accordance with this idea of justice.⁵³⁹ He must help his trapped friends, and punish the unjust Cyclops, who must be made to pay for his 'ungodly feast' (692-695).

The Chorus, in fact, is full of support for Odysseus' plan and sees no fault with it (*Cyc.* 465), and after the blinding they comically play with Polyphemus, making him knock himself into walls in his blindness, clearly showing no sympathy

⁵³⁸ Arrowsmith (1956) 5.

⁵³⁹ For a more in-depth discussion of this ethic, see for example Dover (1974) 180-4. I discuss this ethic in chapter 1, pp. 36-9.

(*Cyc.* 680-687).⁵⁴⁰ If the audience is meant to feel sympathy for the blinded Cyclops, it would have been very simple for Euripides to include the Cyclops' heartfelt soliloquy to his ram which appears in the *Odyssey* 9.448-461, where the Cyclops feels sorry for himself and presumes that the ram also feels for his master who has been tricked and wronged. The scene does make Polyphemus look ridiculous – he foolishly only feels the backs of the flock to check for the escaping men – but it would be an opportunity to generate sympathy for the Cyclops. Goins makes this point also,⁵⁴¹ and notes that it has been argued that the ram mentioned in the parados (41-48) is the Homeric ram, addressed by the chorus of satyrs rather than Polyphemus.⁵⁴² There is no reason why Euripides could not include Polyphemus' address to the ram, but there is less reason for him to include it if he had no intention of generating sympathy for the Cyclops.

The theme of vengeance, and that even brutal vengeance would be seen on some levels satisfying rather than morally reprehensible, is also a central issue in Euripides' *Hecuba*, and, as in *Cyclops*, it concerns the blinding of an enemy who has committed violence and injustice to the dramatic hero(ine). Odysseus' plans for vengeance are not presented in quite such a violent way as Hecuba's,⁵⁴³ but in both cases it seems to be the violence of the blinding which has made commentators assume that the audience reaction is primarily horror.⁵⁴⁴ Even if horror is one of the reactions, in the context of satyr drama, we can expect a certain amount of satisfaction from the audience when revenge is exacted. This is discussed even in the context of *Hecuba* by Mossman; revenge is expected, and even a duty of the wronged

⁵⁴⁰ This is a typically satyric theme; see O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 28-31.

⁵⁴¹ Goins (1991) 192.

⁵⁴² See Kassel (1955) 280-2 and Ussher (1978) 46.

⁵⁴³ Mossman (1995) 168-9 notes the violence of the word διαμοιράω (716ff).

⁵⁴⁴ In the case of *Hecuba*, this is contentious. The list of those who denounce her vengeance as immoral or hideous is extensive, but see for example Kitto (1961) 219-22, Nussbaum (1986) 414-6, and Micheline (1987) 131-80.

party; it is not unambiguously wrong even if it can still be problematic in the extremity of the revenge.⁵⁴⁵ In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus' punishment of the suitors is seen as justice, but he does take steps to not go too far (sparing Phemios and Medon, *Odyssey* 22.33-74),⁵⁴⁶ unlike Achilles, who is censured by Apollo for his vengeful treatment of Hector (*Iliad* 24.39-54). In the case of Odysseus in *Cyclops*, blinding hardly seems unjust punishment for the beast who has just devoured Odysseus' men – and intends to devour more. Punishment of an evil figure is not seen as a problem in Euripidean satyr drama; in the *Sciron* Theseus (presumably – although for some reason Goins attributes this line to Heracles⁵⁴⁷) says that it is a good thing to punish evil men (*TrGF* 678), while Heracles is said to be just to the just but an enemy to the evil in the *Syleus* (*TrGF* 692).

To emphasize the fact that Odysseus does not step over the line in taking vengeance, we see that the hero of the play in no way boasts or jeers at Polyphemus after the blinding. Ussher suggests that line 664 is not spoken by the Chorus Leader but by Odysseus.⁵⁴⁸ However, the line has a jeering tone, and surrounded by the rest of the jeering and mocking of the satyrs, it seems incongruous that this line should be assigned to Odysseus when the manuscript assigns it to the Chorus. Compare this to how Odysseus taunts the Cyclops in the *Odyssey* 9.475-479, exclaiming how the man whose men Polyphemus intended to eat was not such a weakling after all. All of this makes Odysseus appear as a somewhat restrained character in Euripides' *Cyclops*.

⁵⁴⁵ Mossman (1995) 169-71. Murdering children is seen as particularly reprehensible, however, which makes Hecuba more terrifying; the killing of Astyanax in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (1159-60) is described as a φόνον καὶνόν, an unprecedented murder.

⁵⁴⁶ For more on Odysseus and his treatment of the suitors see Rutherford (1986) 156.

⁵⁴⁷ Goins (1991) 193.

⁵⁴⁸ Ussher (1978) 163.

The easy response to Odysseus' characterization in the *Cyclops* is that Euripides had no reason to create a villain out of Odysseus' character. Odysseus is the restrained, cunning, noble hero of the *Cyclops* who frees the satyrs from their captivity, tricks and defeats an ogre by whom he is persecuted, and in doing so punishes the Cyclops for his mistreatment of guests and his rejection of Dionysos and the gods. Sutton comments that heroic characters are often treated comically in satyr plays; this is not the case for Odysseus:

'...Odysseus himself is treated with complete respect, but humour is generated by the fact that, despite his initial exclamation that he has stumbled upon the kingdom of Bacchus, he reacts in deadly earnest to a situation which we perceive to be less than wholly serious: the Cyclops is essentially no more than a mock-blustering bogeyman from a fairy tale...' ⁵⁴⁹

Odysseus is the clever trickster, but is not shown to be dangerous or unprincipled in the *Cyclops*. He expresses his preference for a cunning plan to defeat the Cyclops (459) and is referred to as a chatterer (104). However, in general he is a reserved, pious hero, whose seriousness makes the behaviour of Silenus and Polyphemus seem all the more caricatured and more ridiculous. It has been suggested that Odysseus' argument for the Cyclops not to eat him and his men is ridiculous,⁵⁵⁰ and I will now look at the speeches made by these two characters in more depth.

In the *Cyclops*, the mock ἀγών (228-276) – in which Polyphemus acts as the judge, jury and executioner – is hardly an ἀγών at all.⁵⁵¹ The Cyclops, interrupting

⁵⁴⁹Sutton (1985) 347-348. The Cyclops is really much more than a fairy tale bogeyman; for a discussion of his presentation as a tyrannical figure, see O'Sullivan (2005b).

⁵⁵⁰Worman, 2002b, 117.

⁵⁵¹ See O'Sullivan (2005b) 130-131. O'Sullivan argues that Polyphemus, as a tyrannical figure, has made up his mind already and refuses to give Odysseus a fair hearing; and he suggests that this

the exchange of goods between Odysseus and Silenus, is told by Silenus that Odysseus and his men are stealing the supplies which he has in fact sold them for wine. Odysseus gives a truthful account of the exchange, but despite the pleas of the Chorus, who act as witnesses for Odysseus, Polyphemus puts his trust in the old satyr, whom he trusts more than Rhadamanthys (273-275). He responds to the Chorus Leader's testimony by simply saying ψεύδεσθε, 'you lie', preferring the insincere flattery of Silenus (266). This misplaced trust only serves to make Polyphemus look more ridiculous. The would-be ἄγων is cut short by the unreasonable judgement of the Cyclops, yet it is followed by Odysseus' explanation of who he is and where he and his men have come from, with the plea for his life and Polyphemus' response (277-346).

Odysseus' plea has two main arguments as to why Polyphemus should spare them. The first is that the Cyclops, living in Sicily, inhabits a region which is in the far reaches of Hellas. Therefore, he has benefitted from the sack of Troy, and the men before him are his φίλοι (288); they prevented the disgrace of the Greeks losing to the Trojans, and they kept safe his father's temple-seats all over Greece, and the harbour of Taenarum and the Sunian silver mines sacred to the goddess Athena. A claim to φιλία is an unsurprising argument for the party who is already on the back foot; Hecuba also attempts to make a claim to be φίλος to Odysseus, although for less specious reasons (*Hec.* 286).

Odysseus' second argument is that they are suppliants, and that there is law among mortals that Polyphemus must receive them and give them gifts and hospitality according to the rules of guest-friendship. He then appeals to Polyphemus' sense of pity, saying that they have suffered so much already at Troy; this is followed by a veiled threat as he advises the Cyclops to choose a pious action

would have rankled with the Athenian νομοί which would have given Odysseus a chance to defend himself. In any event, the Cyclops clearly gets it all wrong by trusting lying Silenus without question.

rather than an ungodly one, since many have received punishment in exchange for seeking their own gain (311-312).⁵⁵² The whole argument follows a remarkably similar pattern to Hecuba's request to spare Polyxena in *Hecuba*: a claim to friendship, a plea for pity in the face of already extreme suffering, and a veiled threat in the possibility of a reversal of fortune (*Hec.* 251-95). Yet Odysseus' response uses *φιλία* and the need to honour the valiant dead to justify the sacrifice; the Cyclops has no intention of using any form of social laws or moral conventions to justify *his* unwillingness to spare Odysseus and his men.

Odysseus' speech has been attacked as inept,⁵⁵³ certainly he fails to realize what sort of monster he is up against, and he tries to reason with him as if he is a human and a Greek one at that. Sutton describes Odysseus' plea as dignified and altogether serious,⁵⁵⁴ while Goins points out that Odysseus does not realize the nature of his captor. He would not be able to understand how a civilized being would defy the defence of the Greek's gods or not fear Zeus Xenios, and his speech is not rhetorically clever but in fact the opposite.⁵⁵⁵ Facing the Cyclops, he can only make a desperate plea in the vain hope that the creature he cannot overpower has some sense of piety or pity. The appeal to the protection of guests and suppliants is as strong an argument as any.

Other than describing it as inept, scholars have compared Odysseus' speech to Athenian propaganda to justify the empire – the idea that 'we saved Greece from

⁵⁵² The threat is also reminiscent of *Hecuba* 282-5, although Hecuba's threat concerning the reversal of fortune is not brought up as a direct causal link to any moral failing. It is not right for those in power to use it out of season, for fortunes change, whereas wickedness will receive punishment according to Odysseus. O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 169 note that the appeal mixed with a threat becomes a rhetorical technique in the fifth-century; see Gorgias 82 B 27 DK.

⁵⁵³ See Arrowsmith (1956) 6; Ussher (1978) 93-4; and Seaford (1984) 55-6.

⁵⁵⁴ Sutton (1985) 347.

⁵⁵⁵ Goins (1991) 190.

the Persians' which appears in Thucydides⁵⁵⁶ (*Hist.* 6.82-83, 6.76, 7.63) and Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.157, 7.159). Goins sees this as nothing other than a humorous anachronism.⁵⁵⁷ Even if Euripides does intend to align Odysseus' speech to Athenian imperialism, exactly what this does to Odysseus' character is unclear. Seaford immediately draws the conclusion that Odysseus is so associated with crafty self-interest in Euripides that the audience would have seen the rhetoric in line with Odysseus in the *Hecuba* (*Hec.* 250), as an example of the πολλῶν λόγων εὐρήμαθ', ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν, and even goes so far as to say they may have enjoyed his defeat in the ἀγών.⁵⁵⁸ I have already argued that the character of Odysseus is not so unpleasant as it is often assumed to be in the *Hecuba*. Even if the audience is supposed to view Odysseus' plea in the *Cyclops* as rhetoric in order to stay alive, his speech be linked to any crafty or devious rhetoric.

If Odysseus' arguments seem rather inept—to the point of being vaguely ridiculous—this only contributes to the incongruity and humour derived from the fact that Odysseus fails to make a truly clever argument despite his reputation.⁵⁵⁹ He is, contrary to what Seaford suggests, a heroic representative of νομός and humanity, and he attempts to use νομός and humanity to reason with Polyphemus. Polyphemus, who has already shut down Odysseus' right to defend himself, shows that he is not sympathetic to any ideals of Athenian democratic values.

Polyphemus' response is not atheistic, but shows disrespect for divinity. He disassembles Odysseus' argument by expressing that he has no interest in his father's temples (318-319) and has no reason to fear Zeus and his thunderbolt, who

⁵⁵⁶ Seaford (1984) 56, 161.

⁵⁵⁷ Goins (1991) 190.

⁵⁵⁸ Seaford (1984) 56.

⁵⁵⁹ O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 168, note how specious Odysseus' rhetoric becomes at 297-8. The argument that the Trojans would have conquered Greece appears in Helen's argument in Euripides' *Trojan Women* 925-37.

he does not see as a superior god to himself (320-321). He sacrifices to no one but himself and his belly, the greatest of all divinities (334-335). He gives a grotesque version of guest-presents to Odysseus, fire, salt, and a pot to cook him in (*Cyc.* 342-344). The whole speech is underpinned by the idea that wealth (and power) decides how people can act, not the gods. To Polyphemus, Zeus is 'to drink and eat all you want every day and not cause yourself any grief' (336-338).⁵⁶⁰ The notion that he can rival Zeus, creating a din equal to Zeus' thunder by 'banging his clothes' (327-328), is reminiscent of characters in myth who attempt to impiously contend with Zeus, and are punished for their hubristic actions. For example, the mythic Salmoneus attempts to create thunder by dragging cauldrons behind his chariot and throwing torches, claiming to be equal to Zeus, and even claiming to be Zeus himself.⁵⁶¹ Salmoneus is punished by being destroyed by Zeus' thunderbolt and by seeing his city wiped out. Such ogre-figures in Greek myth are traditionally punished for their arrogance, and Euripides' *Cyclops* incorporates this folktale motif into the story of Polyphemus' fate. Polyphemus' speech makes it even clearer that he is not a 'lovable buffoon' in the *Cyclops*, but an oppressive monster. There is little in the actual text which suggests that Euripides is attempting to change the Homeric model of Odysseus as the wandering hero who overcomes the monstrous Cyclops, and as I have argued, Euripides' version actually portrays the Cyclops in a unsympathetic light.

Odysseus and φιλία in *Cyclops*

The barbarity of Polyphemus makes the character of Odysseus in Euripides' *Cyclops* even more difficult to compare to other presentations of Odysseus in dramatic texts. Odysseus takes on the role of a folktale hero, and there is no comparison of his nature to a character like Ajax, the type who prefers openness to deception, or

⁵⁶⁰ An echo of the hedonism of Callicles in Plato's *Gorgias* 491e-2c.

⁵⁶¹ We are given details of this myth by Apollodorus' *Library* 1.9.7 = Sophocles F 537a-41a. Sophocles' lost *Salmoneus* presumably was a satyric retelling of the story.

Neoptolemus, who would rather use fair means than foul to win over Philoctetes. The negative implications of his shifty nature, as we see in Euripides' *Hecuba* (albeit from the mouths of his enemies), are only really loosely alluded to the *Cyclops*.⁵⁶² However, there is no escaping Odysseus' intellectual heroism in the story, and it is alive in Euripides as much as it is in Homer. Even if Odysseus fails to persuade the Cyclops, and his abilities as a persuasive speaker are lost on Polyphemus, there are examples of cunning and intelligence being used by him. Odysseus cannot overcome the Cyclops by force, but rather than doing nothing (as the satyrs and his men seem to do) and simply letting himself be eaten, or risk engaging with Polyphemus, Odysseus bides his time and waits for an opportunity. At *Cyclops* 411, the divinely inspired idea of plying Polyphemus with wine comes to him. He describes his preference for something δόλιος to the satyrs when they suggest cutting his throat (447-9).

Euripides invents Polyphemus' wish to go to revel with his fellow Cyclopes, which does not exist in Homer (445-6). This means that Odysseus must persuade Polyphemus to stay until he falls asleep. The following lines are a deception scene, where Polyphemus becomes happily drunk, unaware of Odysseus' intentions, and is talked into staying with the help of Silenus (503-89). Odysseus, having found a way out of his predicament, thinks the whole plan through, including the problem of Polyphemus' wishing to leave, before he and the satyrs perform the trick and eventual blinding of Polyphemus. He uses forethought along with the tools of persuasion and deceit which are typical of Odysseus. The 'Nobody' trick of Homer is kept by Euripides, and it is particularly fitting in the context of satyr drama.

⁵⁶² Odysseus is indirectly referred to as λαλίστατος and κομψός (*Cyc.* 315), although this hardly means he is devious. As I have discussed, there is little in his rhetoric to suggest any craftiness, and throughout the *Cyclops* Odysseus uncharacteristically tells nearly no lies; this is true of the *Hecuba* as well.

A notable theme in Euripides' *Cyclops* which ties in with Odysseus' characterizations elsewhere is his willingness to put himself through danger or hardship for the welfare of his men. This motivation for his actions in the drama is summed up nicely during his instructions to the satyrs:

... ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀπολιπὼν φίλους
τοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας οὐ μόνος σωθήσομαι.
[καίτοι φύγοιμ' ἂν κακβέβηκ' ἄντρου μυχῶν·
ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον ἀπολιπόντ' ἐμοὺς φίλους
ξὺν οἷσπερ ἦλθον δεῦρο σωθῆναι μόνον.] (Cyc. 478-82)

...I shall not save myself alone and abandon the men who are my friends inside. However, I could flee and I have emerged from the recesses of the cave. But it would not be right for me to abandon my friends with whom I came here and be the only one saved.

Seaford and Kovacs, following Diggle's deletion of 480-2, have misgivings about the authenticity of these lines based on style and the 'lameness' of the sentiments.⁵⁶³ However O'Sullivan and Collard discuss how this could be consistent with Odysseus' already stilted language; since the beginnings of 480-1 appear on P. Oxy. 4545, suggesting the lines did exist at some point in antiquity, Euripidean authorship is entirely possible.⁵⁶⁴

As lines 480-2 only really add emphasis to the same sentiment applied in 478-9, their originality only has a minor impact on my discussion here. Odysseus' men are more than just his men; they are his φίλοι. It is not right for him to leave his φίλοι, although it is quite clear that this is a possibility. Their safety, and Odysseus'

⁵⁶³ See Seaford (1984) and Kovacs (1994); Diggle's emendation is made in the 1984 OCT.

⁵⁶⁴ O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 191 (480-2n.).

duty to their safety, outweighs the danger and threat to his personal well-being he will face by attempting to save them. The attitude of Odysseus in *Cyclops* – in that he cannot leave his friends, nor exit without inflicting harm to Polyphemus, who has committed a crime against his men and has enslaved his new friends the satyrs (to be discussed in more detail presently) – matches a very central part of Odysseus' characterization in Antisthenes. As has been explained throughout my discussion of Odysseus' characterization, the analogy of the captain keeping watch day and night for his men, and keeping them safe (Antisthenes *Od.* 8) becomes linked to how Odysseus is presented on stage. Acting deceptively, or at night, is for the benefit and safety of his φίλοι. Odysseus, in *Cyclops*, is the leader and protector of his men and the satyrs, and he will use deception to save them in the same way Antisthenes' Odysseus will. His revenge is brutal; we may even feel some sympathy for the bumbling Cyclops, but Odysseus' actions are typically heroic in ethos, and the punishment is morally expected.

The friendship theme continues further than Odysseus' connection to his men. The satyrs too (with the exception, of course, of Silenus) very quickly become the φίλοι of Odysseus. This begins shortly following the exchange of wine for food, which has already been set out as very fair and open, as well as mutually beneficial for both parties; at *Cyclops* 132 the satyrs offer to do anything to help Odysseus, and the purchase of food for wine involves Odysseus first seeing the goods (137) and Silenus sampling the wine on Odysseus' offer (149-50), which Silenus describes as δίκαιον. This friendly exchange clearly pleases the satyrs, and prompts them to now be inquisitive about Troy; Odysseus responds to their request for a chat by saying: καὶ μὴν φίλοι γε προσφέρεσθε πρὸς φίλον, 'of course, since you come as friends to a friend' (176). The use of μὴν strikes up a very open and friendly response to the

question of the satyrs.⁵⁶⁵ Odysseus and the satyrs are now friends, and this role continues throughout the play from this point.⁵⁶⁶

The chorus manifest this friendship by attempting to reveal the lies of their father to Polyphemus, and telling the Cyclops to not wrong the strangers (270-2), although typically the Cyclops trusts Silenus. Odysseus offers to save the chorus from captivity once Polyphemus is drunk (426-36), and the satyrs respond by calling Odysseus φίλτατος (437). Odysseus even offers to take Silenus, who has wronged him, on the ship to escape (466-8). In the actual blinding, the satyrs turn out to be useless, and Odysseus must turn to his close friends (οἰκεῖοις φίλοις) for help (650). This does emphasize the close friendship between himself and his men,⁵⁶⁷ but does not mean the satyrs are any less his φίλοι too. In the final lines of the drama, the satyrs are now happy fellow-sailors of Odysseus, who has freed them from the tyranny and enslavement of the Cyclops, and there is an optimistic air of impending reunification with their beloved true master Dionysos (708-9).⁵⁶⁸

As this examination of *Cyclops* has shown, the characterization of Odysseus in *Cyclops* becomes an important aspect of various elements of the play. The more light-hearted nature of the genre of satyr drama means that the main characters of the play fit into fairly distinct roles which are familiar in the satyric context. We have the bold, Greek hero Odysseus, who ultimately saves the day, and frees the satyrs; the

⁵⁶⁵ See O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 155 (176n.), and Denniston (1954) 353-4.

⁵⁶⁶ I mainly discuss φιλία in relation to the chorus and Odysseus here. However, there is another aspect to how φιλία is presented in *Cyclops*; this is the importance of friendship between the satyrs and Dionysos, who is only present on stage as the description of wine personified. Both aspects of this important theme of friendship in *Cyclops* are discussed in full by O'Sullivan (2011) 'Friends of Dionysos: *Philia* in Euripides' *Cyclops*' (publication forthcoming).

⁵⁶⁷ See O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 216 (650n.).

⁵⁶⁸ The argument for the satyrs as becoming φίλοι to Odysseus, and the relevance of the final lines, is presented by O'Sullivan, O'Sullivan (2011) 'Friends of Dionysos: *Philia* in Euripides' *Cyclops*' (publication forthcoming).

monstrous ogre, Polyphemus; and the comical and inept satyrs, who are nonetheless not entirely ridiculous, as they always oppose themselves to the depraved man-eating monster who has enslaved them, even turning against their father who sides with the Cyclops in the name of self-interest.⁵⁶⁹ Yet this does not mean that the themes and characterization of *Cyclops* have to be simple. The presentation of the necessity of revenge, reverence to the gods, the brutality of the revenge (despite the brutality of the crime), and the role of friendship between all the parties in the play make *Cyclops* completely relevant to the discussion of Odysseus as an intellectual hero in Athenian classical literature.

Even standing alone, and without comparing with the various roles of Odysseus in *Philoctetes*, *Hecuba*, and Antisthenes' speeches, Odysseus in the *Cyclops* is traditionally heroic. We see elements of the 'stage villain' (as Stanford calls him), but only as superficially as a passing reference to him being the chattering son of Sisyphus, or a clever talker, neither of which is really proven in the course of the drama. His need for vengeance and his loyalty and sacrifice for his friends is heroic. Combined, these two attributes form a common ethic of Greek literature, that it is right to help friends and harm enemies. Polyphemus makes himself an enemy of Odysseus and the satyrs throughout the play, through no minor slight, but by killing and eating men and keeping the satyrs captive and away from their beloved Dionysos. He goes beyond this too: he makes a mockery of the power of the gods, defying the power of Zeus and the importance of Dionysos. This behaviour will not go unpunished in drama, and the downfall of the tyrannical Polyphemus is less tragic than that of even characters as unpleasant as Pentheus in the *Bacchae*. This is not to say that the audience feels no sympathy for Polyphemus. Despite his brutal

⁵⁶⁹ O'Sullivan (2011). For the more serious side of satyrs, and how they can paradoxically become founts of wisdom, see for example Herodotus *Histories* 1.138; see Seaford (1984) 32.

words and actions, his sudden need to share his happiness and drink with his fellow Cyclopes could generate some laughter and empathy from the audience.

But there would be a far greater connection with the plight of Odysseus, who has seen his men eaten – so the need for justice and revenge for the sake of his friends would have resounded with the Athenian audience. In all of this Odysseus shows familiar traits; the very sacrifice, duty to friends, and drive to cause damage to his enemies by whatever means (including tricks and deceit, rather than brute strength), are the very same ones which appear in Antisthenes, and completely in line with the Odysseus of *Philoctetes* and *Hecuba*, even if in tragedy these attributes are explored in a more ambivalent way. *Cyclops*, then, becomes a very important part of understanding the Odysseus tradition in fifth- and fourth-century Athenian literature. Euripides can represent the qualities of Odysseus in a predominantly heroic way in satyr drama, even though the characteristics of this character on many levels are continuous with the Odysseus of tragedy. If Odysseus is indeed to be considered a villain in drama – and I hope my analysis of *Philoctetes* and *Hecuba* has shown it is not quite that simple – then it seems that Euripides' *Cyclops*, like Sophocles' *Ajax*, provides plenty of evidence against this generalisation.

Conclusion to Odysseus in Drama

The presentation of Odysseus in Greek drama is a complicated subject which deserves far more attention. Stanford left little room in his classic work on Odysseus to discuss his role in drama, and the title of the chapter dedicated to it is telling: 'The Stage Villain'.⁵⁷⁰ My arguments over the last two chapters have provided an alternative interpretation to Odysseus' appearances in tragedy and satyr drama. Odysseus in drama can be seen in a wider context by comparing his actions and speeches on stage with the themes which characterize the hero of intellect and

⁵⁷⁰ Stanford (1954) 102-117.

adaptability in fifth- and fourth-century literature – including those which are present in Antisthenes.

Hostility clearly exists towards Odysseus in post-Homeric literature, which is evident from the references to the *hoplôn krisis* in Pindar. The scattered epic tradition contains many episodes which lend themselves to Odysseus as a villain – from the treachery towards Palamedes, to an attempt to kill Diomedes and claim for himself all the credit for the theft of the Palladion. Pindar's preference for the upright Ajax, however, is not proof enough that by the fifth century Odysseus was necessarily seen in negative terms.

Montiglio's arguments suggesting that Odysseus is generally expected to be a villain in drama⁵⁷¹ are reached without extensive comparisons between drama and Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, because she presents Antisthenes' speeches as a turning point in the Odysseus tradition. Her general arguments are not unconvincing – Odysseus' character in tragedy is often that of 'falsity, unprincipled endorsement of the winner's policies ("might makes right"), and a propensity coldly to defend the rule "the end justifies the means" at all cost.'⁵⁷² But, this is not consistently the case – Odysseus in Sophocles' *Ajax* does not act in a reprehensible way, and I have shown how the villainy of Odysseus in Euripides' *Cyclops* has been far overplayed; even in Euripides' *Hecuba* and Sophocles' *Philoctetes* he acts in accordance to conventional Greek ethics. Additionally, some of these same traits which make him a villain – winning at all costs and falsity, for example – are not necessarily seen on completely negative terms.

Antisthenes' presentation of Odysseus celebrates a certain brand of intellectual heroism which Odysseus embodies. On some levels, the traits of this

⁵⁷¹ Montiglio (2011) 2-12.

⁵⁷² Montiglio (2011) 8.

type of heroism are celebrated by Thucydides in Pericles' presentation of the idealised Athenians (discussed in chapter 2, pp. 56-68), and embodied by Themistocles in both Herodotus and Thucydides (discussed in chapter 2 pp. 78-96 and chapter 3, *passim*). This style of heroism includes a disposition for deliberation and intelligence, but it is also a willingness to act secretly, sacrifice for the common good, and the old ethic of helping friends and harming enemies. In fifth- and fourth-century Athens value and usefulness were attached to these traits, which would not be forgotten as soon as Odysseus appeared on stage.

Even if we accept that there is a change in Odysseus' reception in Athens between *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* and *Hecuba*,⁵⁷³ the audience would still have seen the character of Odysseus behaving from a defensible standpoint on some levels; his characterization remains consistent with Antisthenes' Odysseus and his willingness to endure shameful things, if it is for the good of the cause. His pragmatism and drive for victory are part of his presentation in tragedy; and his dedication to his friends in Euripides provide suitable justification for his actions in *Hecuba* and *Cyclops*. The analysis of these texts with Antisthenes' speeches brings together the characterization of Odysseus from two genres, and the uniformity of his presentation helps to reassess his appearances on stage.

Conclusion

In my summation of the previous two chapters, I ultimately conclude that the characterization of Odysseus in dramatic texts is too complex to be viewed as universally positive or negative. However, an interest in displaying Odysseus' intellectual capabilities is a part of his presentation as a character in drama as much as it is in Antisthenes. Even his support for the *Realpolitik* in Sophocles, or human

⁵⁷³ Montiglio (2011) 9, Stanford (1954) 100-1; Stanford argues that the rise of demagogues in Athens made the Athenians less receptive to Odysseus' reputation as a slick orator.

sacrifice in Euripides' *Hecuba*, can be explained in terms of ethical ideas which are embedded in Antisthenes and elsewhere.

This study began with an overview of some of the themes in Antisthenes' *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches, and the presentation of character. Antisthenes' speeches develop the *ēthos* of the two heroes; unsurprisingly, Odysseus emerges as a hero of cunning, as he is in the *Iliad*. But, in Antisthenes, there is a specific set of the Homeric traits – and the practical outcomes which these traits facilitate – which are celebrated. Recurring themes arise from the presentation of Odysseus: his role as a saviour, who works for the good of his men day and night; his sacrifice for the common good and the ultimate objective; the willingness to do shameful and deceitful activities to achieve that objective; his skills as an orator, standing in opposition of the upright but unadaptable Ajax, who denounces *logos*; and the motivation for gain, *kerdos* – to name a few. These qualities define a version of an intellectual hero in Athenian literature, and are a set of ethical values which are recognisable throughout both forensic, historical, and dramatic texts.⁵⁷⁴ The speeches of Antisthenes are of a wider interest than just their sophistic context.

As I laid out in the introduction, only fairly specific texts are analysed in detail in this study. Apart from the Antisthenes speeches themselves and the generically related *mytho-forensic* speeches, parallels to Odysseus' intellectual heroism were found in the major Greek historical works, Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* and Herodotus' *Histories*. The focus then turned to drama, where a range of tragedy was investigated, with the only condition that Odysseus appears as a character. I admit some limitations to the scope of this: there is room to include other dramatic works which utilise characters known for their intelligence and cunning, and perhaps characterizations in comedy would also yield some interesting

⁵⁷⁴ I discuss forensic oratory in chapter 1, historical texts in chapters 2-3, and dramatic texts in chapters 4-5.

discussion. Limitations of time and space have restricted me from including more texts in my analysis.

There is further scope for other comparisons which were not possible within the boundaries of this thesis. While Antisthenes is often seen as proto-Cynic, and Cynic themes are present in his *Ajax* and *Odysseus* speeches,⁵⁷⁵ it was later members of the Cynic school of philosophy who came to adopt Odysseus as a kind of heroic paradigm. Diogenes was supposedly an admirer; we have, for example, in his *Cynic Letters*, favourable mentions of Odysseus as a beggar, which appealed to the Cynic school of thought.⁵⁷⁶ Bion of Borysthenes possibly modelled himself as a later day Odysseus, gaining the epithet of *polutropos* from Diogenes Laertius.⁵⁷⁷ Dio Chrystom, in the second sophistic, also emulated Odysseus, presenting himself as a wanderer in outward poverty, learning the ways of many people (*Orationes* 1.50-1). He describes Diogenes as being like Odysseus, a hidden king and a wise-man whose appearances are misleading (*Orationes* 9.9). The Cynic King is seen as a benefactor to all, acting for the good of others above his own needs (*Orationes* 1.12-13, 1.17, 1.23-4), and he watches over and protects his people like a captain steering a ship (*Orationes* 3.62f),⁵⁷⁸ a metaphor which appears in Antisthenes' Odysseus speech (*Od.* 8). Montiglio has discussed the role of Odysseus in Platonic, Cynic and second sophistic philosophy very well,⁵⁷⁹ but the development from the Antisthenic Odysseus to the second sophistic would be a natural progression for the work which has already been undertaken by this current study. While I discussed *Hippias Minor* briefly in the first chapter, a deeper investigation into the presentation of Odysseus in Plato would possibly yield some interesting discussions also, particularly when compared to

⁵⁷⁵ As discussed by Desmond (2008) 17-18, Höistad (1948) 94-102.

⁵⁷⁶ *Epistle* 7.2.1-5, 34.2.8-10. See Montiglio (2011) 68-9.

⁵⁷⁷ See Desmond (2008) 33.

⁵⁷⁸ Discussed by Desmond (2008) 197-8.

⁵⁷⁹ Montiglio (2011) chapters 2-4.

Antisthenes' Odysseus. Montiglio concludes that Plato's Socrates remains ambivalent about Odysseus' versatile intelligence, although Xenophon's Socrates appears to have appreciated Odysseus' adaptability (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4.6.15).⁵⁸⁰

My discussion of Odysseus in historical texts provides a perspective on how intellectually capable characters were received in classical literature. Marincola discusses Odysseus in depth in relation to the historians,⁵⁸¹ although it is the epic Odysseus which is his main point of comparison. The language similarities between Antisthenes' speeches and Herodotus and Thucydides' presentation of Athenian characters develop parallels which run more than skin deep. However, this represents one aspect of Athenian discourse; there are many examples which would show Athenian nature as opposed to the ideal of the intellectual hero as well – or at least viewed unfavourably. For example, after the death of Pericles, his successors seek out ἰδία κέρδη, private gains, which contribute to the disasters of the war (*Hist.* 2.65.7); and Athens is also presented as a *polis* which is open and does not conceal anything (*Hist.* 2.39.1). Both are opposed to the heroic type displayed by Antisthenes' Odysseus being seen on positive terms. These kinds of examples do not prove that Odysseus' character, or the hero representing intelligence, was vilified in Athenian literature; they simply show that more than one type of heroic identity or set of ethical ideals could exist at one time. And, on some levels, the intellectual hero is ambivalent. Odysseus in *Philoctetes* can be pitiless and deceptive, but this does not make him an immediate villain, if he is also deceptive to gain the advantage over the enemy and achieve the overall objective, which is exactly what Odysseus in Antisthenes advocates for in his speech against Ajax.

⁵⁸⁰ Montiglio (2011) 38-65.

⁵⁸¹ Marincola (2007).

Thucydides' presentation of the Athenians (*Hist.* 1.70, 2.36-45) and Themistocles (*Hist.* 1.138.3), alongside Herodotus' own account of Themistocles, is a vital part of this study. The alignment of ethical values showed how Athenian heroes show characteristics more Odysseus-like by far than they are aligned with the slow but noble Ajax. This allows for a reinterpretation of Odysseus in drama, in the light of Antisthenes' Odysseus: if some of his characteristics which appear at face-value reprehensible in drama also appear in the stories of Themistocles, we have further grounds to re-assess whether the audience would have viewed those characteristics as wholly reprehensible after all. This does not mean there is not room for Odysseus' presentation to be ambiguous on many levels. However, alongside the indications that Antisthenes' Odysseus adheres to ethics which are prevalent in both Homeric and classical literature, there is evidence to suggest that Odysseus' supposed villainy in tragedy and Athenian fifth- and fourth-century literature has been overstated in many cases.

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