Therippides, were appointed trustees. The two former, as nearest of kin, were, according to Attic custom, to marry the widow and her daughter, but these provisions were not carried out. During the years of Demosthenes' minority his guardians ruined the sword business by their mismanagement, and squandered the accumulated profits.

At the age of eighteen Demosthenes, who had been brought up by his mother, laid claim to his father's estate. The guardians by various devices attempted to frustrate him, and three years were spent in attempts at compromise and examinations before the arbitrators. During this time Demosthenes was studying rhetoric and judicial procedure under Isaeus, to whose methods his early speeches are so deeply indebted that a contemporary remarked 'he had swallowed Isaeus whole.'[1] At last, when he was twenty-one years old, he succeeded in bringing his wrongs before a court; thanks to the training of Isaeus he was able to plead his own case, and he won it. The ingenuity of his adversaries enabled them to involve him in further legal proceedings which lasted perhaps two years more. In the end he was victorious, but by the time he recovered his patrimony there was very little of it left.

Being forced to find a means of living he adopted the profession of a speech-writer, which he followed through the greater part of his life.[2] He made speeches

[1] Pytheas, quoted by Dionysius.

[2] The last private speeches of which the genuineness is undoubted are dated about 346 and 345 B.C., but others, *e.g.* *Against Phormio*, of which the authenticity was not questioned in ancient times, go down to 326 B.C. or even later. The genuineness of the *Phormio* is at least probable.

for others to use, as his father had made swords, and he was as good a craftsman as his father. He succeeded by this new trade in repairing his damaged fortunes.

In addition to forging such weapons for the use of others, he instructed pupils in the art of rhetoric. This practice he seems to have abandoned soon after the year 345 B.C., when public affairs began to have the chief claim on his energies.[1] From that time forward he wielded with distinction a sword of his own manufacture.

It is said that as a youth barely of age he made an attempt to speak in the ecclesia, and failed. His voice was too weak, his delivery imperfect, and his style unsuitable. The failure only inspired him to practise that he might overcome his natural defects. We are familiar with the legends of his declaiming with pebbles in his mouth and reciting speeches when running up hill, of his studies in a cave by the sea-shore, where he tried to make his voice heard above the thunder of the waves.

The training to which he subjected himself enabled him to overcome to a great extent whatever disabilities he may have suffered from, but he never had the advantage of a voice and delivery such as those of Aeschines. Legends current in the time of Plutarch represent him as engrossed in the study of the best prose-writers. He copied out the history of Thucydides eight times, according to one tradition. This we need not accept, but it may be taken as certain that he studied the author's style carefully. He may not

[1] Aesch. (in 345 B.C.) in the *Timarchus*, §§ 117, 170-175, refers to him as a teacher. In the *Embassy* (343 B.C.) there is no reference to this profession.

have been a pupil of Isocrates or Plato, but from the former he must have learnt much in the way of prose-construction and rhythm, and the latter's works, though he dissented from the great principle of Plato that the wise man avoids the *agora* and the law-courts, may well have inspired him with many of the generous ideas which are the foundation of his policy. From the study of such passages as the Melian controversy and others in which the historian bases Justice upon the right of the stronger, he may have turned with relief to the nobler discussion of Justice in the Republic, and indeed, in his view of what is right and good, Demosthenes approaches much nearer to the philosopher than to the historian.

A professional speech-writer at Athens might make a speciality of some particular kind of cases, and by thus restricting his field become a real expert in one department, as Isaeus, for instance, did in the probate court; or, on the other hand, he might engage in quite general practice. A farmer might have a dispute with his neighbours about his boundaries, or damage caused by the overflow of surface water;[1] a quiet citizen might seek redress from the law in a case of assault against which he was unable or unwilling to make retaliation in kind;[2] an underwriter who had been defrauded in some shady marine transaction might wish to bring another knave to account.[3] But besides these private cases, whether they are purely civil,[4] or practically, if not technically, criminal actions, there is other work of more importance for a *logographos*.

[1] *Against Callicles.* [2] *Against Conon.*
[3] The speeches *Against Zenothemis, Lacritus, Dionysodorus,* and *Phormio.* [4] *E.g. Against Boeotus.*

The State may wish to prosecute an official who has abused its trust. In times when honesty is rarer than cleverness it may find the necessity of appointing a prosecutor rather for his known integrity than for his ability in the law-courts. Such a prosecutor will need professional assistance; and this need evoked some of the early political speeches of Demosthenes, *Against Androtion*, *Timocrates*, and *Aristocrates* (355-352 B.C.). It is noticeable that we have no trace of his work between the speeches delivered against his guardians and the first of this latter group. Probably he spent these ten years partly in study and partly in the conduct of such cases as fell to the portion of a beginner. In this time he must gradually have built up a reputation, but he may not have wished to keep any record of his first essays which, when he had arrived at his maturity as a pleader, could not, perhaps, have seemed to him worthy of his reputation.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of these varied activities to the career of Demosthenes. In the course of these early years he must have made himself familiar with many branches of the law; he was brought into intimate relations with individuals of all classes, and all shades of political opinion. In order to be of use vicariously in political cases he must have made a careful study of politics. Such studies were of great value in the education of a statesman, and by means of the semi-public cases in which he was engaged, though not on his own account, and perhaps not always in accordance with his convictions, his own political opinions must gradually have been formed.

In 354 B.C., the year after the trial of Androtion,

Demosthenes appeared in person before the dicastery on behalf of Ctesippus in an action against Leptines. This was a case of some political importance. A few months later he came forward in the assembly to deliver his speech *On the Symmories*, which was shortly followed by another public harangue *On behalf of the people of Megapolis* (353 B.C.). Two years later he came to the front not as a mere pleader, but a real counsellor of the people, and began the great series of *Philippics*.

His career from this point onward is divided naturally into three periods.

In the first, 351-340 B.C., he was in opposition to the party in power at Athens. The beginning of it is marked by some famous speeches, the *First Philippic* and the first three *Olynthiac* orations (351-349 B.C.). Till this time the Athenians had not realized the significance of the growth of the Macedonian power. It was only eight years since Philip, on his accession to the throne, had undertaken the great task of uniting the constituent parts of his kingdom which had long been torn by civil war, of fostering a national feeling, and creating an army. He had won incredible successes in a few years. By a combination of force and deceit he had made himself master of Amphipolis and Pydna in 357 B.C. In the following year he obtained possession of the gold mines of Mt. Pangaeus, which gave him a source of inexhaustible wealth, and enabled him to prepare more ambitious enterprises. This was an important crisis in his career: the bribery for which he was famous and in which he greatly trusted could now be practised on a large scale.

In the early speeches of Demosthenes there is little

reference to Philip; he is certainly not regarded as a dangerous rival of Athens. There is a passing mention of him in the *Leptines* (384 B.C.);[1] in the *Aristocrates* he plays a larger part, but is treated almost contemptuously: 'You know, of course, whom I mean by this Philip of Macedon' (*ἴστε δήπου Φίλιππον τουτονὶ τὸν Μακέδονα*) is the form in which his name is introduced (§ 111). He is considered as an enemy, but only classed with other barbarian princes, such as Cersobleptes of Thrace.

But Philip was not content with annexing towns and districts in his own neighbourhood in whose integrity Athens was interested—Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Methone, and part of Thrace. He interfered in the affairs of Thessaly, which brought the trouble nearer home to Athens (353 B.C.). In 352 B.C. he proposed to pass through Thermopylae, and take part in the Sacred War against Phocis, but here Athens intervened for the first time and checked his progress.

After this one vigorous stroke the Athenians, in spite of Philip's renewed activities in Thrace and on the Propontis, relapsed into an apathetic indifference, from which Demosthenes in vain tried to rouse them.

The language of the *First Philippic* shows that Demosthenes fully recognized the seriousness of the situation, and the imminent danger to which the complacency of his countrymen was exposing them; he wishes to make them feel that the case, though not yet desperate, is likely to become so if they persist in doing

[1] § 61. 'Pydna and Potidaea, which are subject to Philip and hostile to you.' Also § 63.

nothing, while a whole-hearted effort will bring them into safety again :

§ 2. 'Now, first of all, Gentlemen, we must not despair about the present state of affairs, serious as it is ; for our greatest weakness in the past will be our greatest strength in the future. What do I mean ? I mean that you are in difficulties simply because you have never exerted yourselves to do your duty. If things were as they are in spite of serious effort on your part to act always as you should, there would be no hope of improvement. Secondly, I would have you reflect on what some of you can remember and others have been told, of the great power possessed not long ago by Sparta ; yet, in face of that power you acted honourably and nobly, you in no wise detracted from your country's dignity ; you faced the war unflinchingly in a just cause. . . .'

§ 4. 'If any of you thinks that Philip is invincible, considering how great is the force at his disposal, and how our city has lost all these places, he has grounds for his belief ; but let him consider that *we* once possessed Pydna, Potidaea, and Methone, and the whole of that district ; and many of the tribes, now subject to him, were free and independent and better disposed to us than to Macedon. If Philip had felt as you do now, that it was a serious matter to fight against Athens because she possessed so many strongholds commanding his own country, while he was destitute of allies, he would never have won any of his present successes, or acquired the mighty power which now alarms you. But he saw clearly that these places were the prizes of war offered in open competition ; that the property of an absentee goes naturally to those who are on the spot to claim it, and those who are willing to work hard and take risks may supplant those who neglect their chances.'

§ 8. 'Do not imagine that he is as a God, secure in eternal possession. There are men who hate and fear and

envy him, even among those who seem his closest associates. These feelings are for the present kept under, because through your slowness and your negligence they can find no opening. These habits, I say, you must break with.'

§ 10. 'When, I ask, when will you be roused to do your duty?—When the time of need comes, you say. What do you think of the present crisis? I hold that a free nation can never be in greater need than when their conduct is of a kind to shame them. Tell me, do you want to parade the streets asking each other, "Is there any news to-day?" What graver news can there be than that a Macedonian is crushing Athens and dictating the policy of Greece? "Philip is dead," says one. "Oh no, but he is ill," says another. What difference does it make to you? Even if anything happens to him you will very soon call into existence a second Philip if you attend to your interests as carefully as you are doing now. For it is not so much his own strength as your negligence that has raised him to power.'

The orator proceeds to give detailed advice for the conduct of the war; he asks for no 'paper forces,' [1] such as the assembly is in the habit of voting, irrespective of whether they can be obtained or not—ten or twenty thousand of mercenaries or the like. He requires a small but efficient expeditionary force, of which the backbone is to be a contingent of citizen-hoplites, one quarter of the whole; a small but efficient fleet, and money to pay both army and navy—this was a matter often overlooked by the assembly—and an Athenian general in whom the host will have confidence. The advice was moderate and sound in the extreme. Demosthenes probably knew what he was talking about when he said that two thousand hoplites,

[1] ἐπιστολιμαίους δυνάμεις, § 19.

two hundred cavalry, and fifty triremes were enough for the present. A resolute attack on Philip by such a force would probably have put fresh heart into the many enemies whom he had not yet completely subdued.

There is a further point which marks the difference between the present advice and that of previous counsellors. The army is not to be enlisted for a particular expedition only; it is to be maintained at its original strength as long as may be necessary.[1] Soldiers will serve for a certain limited time, and at the end of their term will be replaced by fresh troops.[2] The army which he suggests will not be enough to defeat Philip unaided, but enough to produce a strong impression. They might send a large force, but it would be unwieldy, and they could not maintain it.[3]

The *First Philippic* failed to produce the effect desired. The *Olynthiac* speeches which closely followed it were also ineffectual. In 349 B.C. Philip seized a pretext for making war on Olynthus, which appealed for help to Athens. The alliance, which had been sought in vain in 357 and 352 B.C., was now, apparently, granted with little opposition, and Chares with two thousand mercenaries sent to the help of the Olynthian league. Demosthenes tries to emphasize the importance of the situation; the aid which has been voted is not enough; they ought to act at once, sending two forces of citizens, not mercenaries; the one to protect Olynthus, the other to harass Philip elsewhere. Large

[1] § 19, δύναμιν . . . ἣ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει. . . .

[2] § 21, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, μὴ μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις.

[3] § 23, οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτήν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή), οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ.

supplies of money are necessary, and he hints that the Athenians have such supplies ready at hand. He refers to the Festival Fund (*θεωρικόν*), but concerning this he is in a delicate position. The ministry of Eubulus was in power, and a law of Eubulus had pronounced any attempt to tamper with the *θεωρικόν* a criminal offence. Demosthenes, being one of a weak minority, could only move cautiously, suggesting that a change of administration was desirable, but not proposing a definite motion.

There is a marked difference in tone between the first two speeches and the third. In the former Demosthenes insists that everything is still to be done, but he points out that there are many weak points in Philip's armour, and a vigorous and united policy may still defeat him. In the third he makes it clear that the opportunity is past, and the lost ground can only be recovered by desperate measures. He openly advocates the conversion of the Festival Fund into a military chest, and this is the main theme of the oration, to which every argument in turn leads up.[1]

The efforts of Athens were dilatory and insufficient; Olynthus and the other cities of the Chalcidian League fell in the following year (349 B.C.); they were destroyed, and all the inhabitants made slaves. Attempts to unite the Peloponnesian States against the common enemy were futile, and negotiations were begun between Philip and Athens. They were conducted at first informally by private persons, but in 347 B.C., on

[1] I have assumed the traditional order of the Olynthiac speeches to be the correct one. The question is much disputed, and is lucidly discussed by M. Weil in his introductions to the speeches (*Les Harangues de Démosthène*).

the proposal of Philocrates, an embassy was sent to Philip. Philip's answer, received in 346 B.C., demanded that Phocis and Halus should be excluded from the proposed treaty. Demosthenes contested this point, but Aeschines carried it. A second embassy was sent, and the discreditable Peace of Philocrates was signed. The result was the ruin of Phocis. Although Demosthenes disapproved of the peace, later in the year, in his speech *On the Peace*, he urged Athens to keep its conditions, arguing that to break it would bring upon them even greater disaster.

In consequence of the peace, Philip had been able to convoke the Amphictyonic Council, and pass a vote for the condemnation of Phocis. Twenty-two towns were destroyed, and the Phocian votes in the Council transferred to Philip, who was also made president of the Pythian Games. Thus the barbarian of a few years ago had received the highest religious sanction for his claim to be the leader of Greece. Athens alone, whose precedence he had usurped, refused to recognize him, and Demosthenes saw that to persist in a hostile attitude might involve all the States in a new Amphictyonic war. It was better to surrender their scruples, and to regard the convention not, indeed, as a permanent peace, but a truce during which fresh preparations might be made. Six years of nominal peace ensued, during which Philip extended his influence diplomatically. Whether from principle or policy he treated Athens with marked courtesy, and, through his agents, made vague offers of the great services which he was prepared to render. Many of the citizens believed in his sincerity, notably Isocrates, who in 346 B.C. spoke of the baseless suspicions caused by the assertions of malicious

persons, that Philip wished to destroy Greek freedom.[1] Demosthenes was never duped by these professions. He was now a recognized leader, and was gathering to his side a powerful body of patriotic orators such as Lycurgus and Hyperides. Philip, after organizing the government of Thessaly and allying himself with Thebes, interfered in the Peloponnese by supporting Messene, Arcadia, and Argos against Sparta.

An Athenian embassy, led by Demosthenes, was sent to these states to advise them of the danger which they incurred by their new alliance. Some impression was produced, and apparently an embassy was sent by some of the states to Athens. In reply to their representations, of which no trace is preserved, Demosthenes delivered the *Second Philippic*. In it he exposes the king's duplicity. 'The means used by Athens to counteract his manœuvres are quite inadequate; we talk, but he acts. We speak to the point, but do nothing to the point. Each side is superior in the line which it follows, but his is the more effective line (§§ 1-5). Philip's assurances of goodwill are accepted too readily. He realized that Thebes, in consideration of favours received, would further his designs. He is now showing favour to Messene and Argos from the same motive. He has paid Athens the high compliment of not offering her a disgraceful bargain (§§ 6-12). His past actions betray him; as he made the Boeotian cities subject to Thebes, he is not likely to free the Peloponnesian States from Sparta. He knows that he is really aiming at you, and that you are aware of it; that is why he is ever on the alert, and supports against you Thebans and Peloponnesians,

[1] Isocr., *Philippus*, § 73-74.

who, he thinks, are greedy enough to swallow his present offers, and too stupid to foresee the consequences' (§§ 12-19). The epilogue contains an indictment of those whose policy is to blame for the present troubles. In accordance with Demosthenes' general practice Aeschines and Philocrates, at whom he aims the charge, are not mentioned by name.

The anti-Macedonian party grew in strength in 343 B.C. Hyperides impeached Philocrates, who retired into exile and was condemned to death. About the same time Demosthenes himself brought into court an action against Aeschines, which had been pending for three years, for traitorous conduct in connexion with the embassy to Philip. The position was a difficult one for two reasons: his own policy in that matter could not be sharply distinguished from that of Aeschines; the accusation depended largely on discrimination of motives, and he had practically no proof of the guilt of Aeschines. Considering the technical weakness of the prosecutor's case it is not surprising that Aeschines escaped; it is more remarkable that he was acquitted only by a small majority.

In 342 B.C. Philip, whose influence in the Peloponnese had slightly waned, began a fresh campaign in Thrace, and in 341 B.C. had reached the Chersonese. The possession of this district meant the control of the Dardanelles, and, as Athens still depended largely on the Black Sea trade for her corn supply, his progress was a menace to her existence. Diopeithes, an Athenian mercenary captain, had in 343 B.C. taken settlers to Cardia, a town in the Chersonese in nominal alliance with Macedon. Cardia was unwilling to receive them, and Philip sent help to the town. Dio-

peithes, who, in accordance with the habit of the times, in order to support his fleet, exacted 'benevolences' from friends and foes impartially, happened to plunder some districts in Thrace which were subject to Macedon. Philip addressed a letter of remonstrance to Athens, and his adherents in the city demanded the recall of Diopeithes. Demosthenes in his speech *On the Chersonese* urged that the Chersonese should not be abandoned at such a crisis: a permanent force must be maintained there. He defends the actions of Diopeithes by an appeal to necessity. The Athenians were in the habit of voting armaments for foreign service without voting them supplies; consequently the generals had to supply themselves.

'All the generals who have ever sailed from Athens take money from Chios, Erythrae, or from any other Asiatic city they can. Those who have one or two ships take less; those with a larger force take more. Those who give, whether in large or small amounts, are not so mad as to give them for nothing; they are purchasing protection for merchants sailing from their ports, immunity from ravages, safe convoy for their own ships and other such advantages. They will tell you that they give "Benevolences," which is the term applied to these extortions.

'Now in the present case, since Diopeithes has an army, it is obvious that all these people will give him money. Since he got nothing from you, and has no private means to pay his soldiers with, where else do you imagine he can get money to keep them? Will it fall from the skies? Unfortunately, no. He has to live from day to day on what he can collect and beg and borrow.'[1]

In addition to including a plan of campaign, the speech contains, as many of the orations do, a frank

[1] *Chers.*, §§ 24-26.

statement of the position of affairs, and the usual invectives against Athenian apathy. The concluding section, however, contains a more solemn warning than is usual, showing that Demosthenes almost despairs of success.

'If you grasp the situation as I have indicated, and cease to make light of everything, it may be, it may be that even now our affairs may take a favourable turn; but if you continue to sit still and confine your enthusiasm to expressions of applause and votes of approval, but shirk the issue when any action is required of you, I cannot conceive of any eloquence which, without performance of your duty, can guide our State to safety.' [1]

The *Third Philippic* was delivered in the same year (341 B.C.). The situation is in all essentials the same. Demosthenes again demands that help should be sent to the Chersonese and the safety of Byzantium assured; but he does not enlarge on these points, which have been treated by previous speakers.[2] 'We must help them, it is true, and take care that no harm befalls them; but our deliberations must be about the great danger which now threatens the whole of Greece.' [3] It is this breadth of view which distinguishes the *Third Philippic*, and makes it the greatest of all the public harangues.

In the *Chersonese* Demosthenes had suggested the dispatch of numerous embassies; he now enlarges on this topic; the interests of Athens must be identified with those of all Greece, and all States must be made to realize this. Philip's designs are against Greek liberty as a whole; Athens must arm and put herself at the head of a great league in the struggle for freedom.

[1] § 77. [2] § 19. [3] § 20.

'I pass over Olynthus, Methone, and Apollonia, and thirty-two cities in the Thracian district, all of which he has so brutally destroyed that it is hard for a visitor to say whether they were ever inhabited. I am silent about the destruction of a great nation, the Phocians. But how fares Thessaly? Has he not deprived the cities of their governments, and established tetrarchies, in order that they may be enslaved, not only city by city, but tribe by tribe? Are not the cities of Euboea now ruled by tyrants, though that island is close on the borders of Thebes and Athens? Does he not expressly state in his letters "I am at peace with those who will obey me"? And his actions corroborate his words. He has started for the Hellespont; before that he visited Ambracia; he holds in the Peloponnese the important city of Elis; only the other day he made plots against Megara. Neither Greece nor the countries beyond it can contain his ambition.'[1]

This short extract is a fair example of Demosthenes' vigorous use of historical argument, but it can give little idea of the speech as a whole. It abounds, indeed, in enumerations of recent events bearing on the case, and in contrasts between the present and the past.

This running appeal to example to a great extent takes the place of reasoned argument, but the effect of the whole, with its combined appeals to feeling and reason, is convincingly strong.

The orator himself must have attached great importance to this speech as an exposition of his policy, for he appears to have published two recensions of it. Both are preserved in different families of MSS. The shorter text contained in S (*Parisinus*) and L (*Laurentianus*) omits many phrases and even whole passages which occur in the other group. It is believed that the

[1] §§ 26-27.

shorter is the final form in which Demosthenes wished to preserve the speech.[1]

The *Fourth Philippic* contains the suggestion that Athens should make overtures to the Persian king for help against Philip. The speech is probably a forgery, but one of a peculiar kind. About a third of the text consists of passages taken directly from the speech *On the Chersonese*, and one division (§§ 35-45) is in favour of a distribution of the Theoric Fund, which is quite opposed to the policy of the *Olynthiacs* and the Chersonese speech. On the other hand, some passages are in a style and tone quite worthy of Demosthenes, and consistent with his views. There can be little doubt that we have here a compilation from actual speeches of Demosthenes, expanded by a certain amount of rhetorical invention. The 'answer to Philip's letter' and the speech *περὶ συντάξεως* are, on the other hand, simple forgeries. This concludes the list of the *Philippic* speeches.

Our record of Demosthenes' public speeches ceases with the *Third Philippic*, at the moment when his eloquence had reached its greatest height. The great speeches belong to the years of opposition; now, after

[1] The subject is admirably discussed by M. Weil (*Les Harangues de Démosthène* (2me éd.), pp. 312-316). His arguments should be carefully read by those interested in the subject. I quote only his conclusions: 'Nous avons déjà vu que plusieurs passages, qui manquent dans S et L, ne pouvaient guère émaner que de Démosthène lui-même' (p. 314). 'Le résultat de cet examen, c'est que nous nous trouvons en présence de deux textes également autorisés, et que les additions et les modifications qui distinguent l'un de l'autre doivent être attribuées à l'orateur lui-même . . .' (p. 315). These conclusions are adopted by Blass (*Att. Bered.*, 1893) and Sandys (1900), who, however, considers that the shorter version was the orator's first draft. Butcher (*Demosthenes*, 3rd ed., 1911) considers that the shorter text represents 'the maturer correction of the orator.'

eleven years of combat, he had established himself as chief leader of the assembly. He spoke, no doubt, frequently and impressively, but, engaged in important administrative work, he had no leisure or need for writing.

The years 340-338 B.C. were a time of vigorous revival for Athens. For a short but brilliant period it seemed that the city-state might emerge triumphant from the struggle against monarchy. Enthusiasm inspired the patriotic party to noble efforts. Euboea was removed from Philip's influence, and Athens inaugurated a new league, including Acarnania, Achaea, Corcyra, Corinth, Euboea, and Megara. Philip himself suffered a check before Byzantium, which had appealed to Athens for help, and had not called in vain.

In internal affairs, a new trierarchic law not only increased the efficiency of the fleet, but abolished a great social grievance by making the burden of trierarchy fall on all classes in just proportion to their means, whereas hitherto the poorer citizens had suffered unduly. A still greater reform was the execution of the project, so long cherished, for applying the Theoric Fund to the expenses of war (339 B.C.). In 338 B.C. Lycurgus was appointed to the Ministry of Finance, an office which he was to fill with exceptional efficiency for twelve years to come.

But Philip held many strings, and was most dangerous when he seemed to turn his back on his enemies. Unsuccessful on the Hellespont, he withdrew his fleet and undertook an expedition by land against a Scythian prince who had offended him. This journey had no direct relation to his greater designs, and Athens was pleased to think that he might be defeated or even

killed. He was, indeed, wounded, but he returned to Macedonia in 339 B.C., having accomplished what was probably his chief object, to restore the confidence of his soldiers after their reverses in recent encounters with the Greeks.

Meanwhile events in Greece, which perhaps were partly directed by his influence, pursued a course favourable to his plans.

In 340 B.C. two enemies of Demosthenes, Midias and Aeschines, represented Athens as *pylagorae* at the Amphictyonic Council. Aeschines describes how, apparently from no political motive but for the satisfaction of a personal grudge, he himself inflamed the passions of the Amphictyons to the point of declaring a sacred war against the Locrians of Amphissa. Any war between Greeks was to Philip's advantage. The Amphictyonic War was carried on in a dilatory way, and in the autumn of 339 B.C. the Council, still under the influence of Aeschines, nominated Philip to carry the affair to a conclusion. The king had recovered quickly from his wound, and eagerly embraced the sacred mission which allowed him to pass through Thessaly and Thermopylae unmolested. On reaching Elatea, once the principal town of Phocis, but now desolate, he halted and began to put the place in a state of defence. The news was received at Athens with great consternation, as Demosthenes vividly describes.[1] An assembly was hastily summoned, and Demosthenes explained the full import of this action. It was a threat to Athens and Thebes alike. All the masterly eloquence of the great statesman was exerted to the utmost of his powers to induce Athens to forget

[1] *de Cor.*, §§ 169-170.

long-standing enmities and offer to Thebes the help of her entire fighting force freely and unconditionally. It was probably the greatest triumph of eloquence ever known that Demosthenes was successful in his plea. War was inevitable sooner or later, and it is greatly to his credit that he brought about the Theban alliance, though it ended disastrously for all the Greeks concerned in the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.).

Henceforward the influence of Athens on external affairs was strictly limited, though she retained her independence, for Philip was a generous foe.[1] Demosthenes busied himself with internal matters; to him was committed the repair of the fortifications, to the expense of which he gave a contribution of 100 minae. For this act Ctesiphon proposed in 337 B.C. that he should be rewarded with a gold crown. Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon for an illegal motion, and the famous case of *The Crown*, which produced great speeches from both the rivals, was the result. The case, however, was not heard till six years later.

In 336 B.C. Philip was murdered. Demosthenes set the example of rejoicing by appearing in public crowned with flowers, though he was in mourning for his daughter at the time. The great hopes which the city-states had entertained were dashed to the ground by the energy of Alexander, who, though only twenty years old, proved himself an even greater general and statesman than his father.

Thebes was induced to revolt by Demosthenes, who was supported by Persian gold, but Alexander crushed

[1] Philip seems to have had a genuine admiration for Athens, and always treated her with extraordinary consideration. For a full appreciation of this attitude see Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander*.

and destroyed Thebes before help could reach it, and sent an ultimatum to Athens. He demanded the surrender of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and eight other orators of their party. They were saved, it appears, by the intervention of Demades.[1]

Alexander departed for Asia, and Athenian statesmen were left to quarrel about the politics of their city. It was now that the great case in which Demosthenes and Aeschines were concerned came up for trial. The matter nominally in dispute was only a pretext; it was really a question of reviewing and passing judgment on the political life of the two great antagonists for the last twenty years.

The charges of illegality brought against Ctesiphon were three: (1) That the decree, falsely asserting that Demosthenes had done good service to the State, involved the insertion of a lie into the public records. (2) That it was illegal to crown an official who, like Demosthenes, was still subject to audit. (3) That proclamation of the crowning in the theatre was illegal.

On (2) and (3), the technical points, the prosecutor had a strong case, but the first section was the only one of real importance, since the process was really aimed at Demosthenes. The main part of the speech of Aeschines against Ctesiphon is accordingly devoted to an indictment of the public life of Demosthenes. Four periods are taken: (1) From the war about Amphipolis to the peace of Philocrates (357-346 B.C.). (2) The years of peace (346-340 B.C.). (3) The ministry of Demosthenes (340-338 B.C.). (4) The years after Chaeronea (338-330 B.C.).

The reply of Demosthenes (*de Corona*) is mainly con-

[1] Plut., *Dem.*, ch. xxiii.

cerned with a defence of his own policy, the technical points on which the issue nominally depended being kept very much in the background. It is remarkable that in dealing with the early years he makes no attempt to take credit for the great speeches by which in that time he attempted to influence his country—the *First Philippic* and the three *Olynthiacs*. He discusses chiefly the peace negotiations. He speaks more fully of the second period, and lays the greatest stress on the third—the years during which he was the acknowledged leader of the people, so that an eulogy of the national policy must involve a tribute to his own patriotism. Only short allusions are made to the last period, the years since the battle of Chaeronea.

The order is not chronological, and the structure is not apparently systematic; nevertheless the *de Corona* is the greatest of all Athenian speeches.

The speech cannot be represented by extracts; it must be read as a whole to be appreciated. All that a summary can do is to draw attention to the peculiarities of structure, which are possibly due in some measure to the length of the speech and the variety of the subjects which have to be treated:[1]

1. §§ 1-8. The conventional exordium, in this case both introduced and finished by a solemn prayer.
2. §§ 9-52. Refutation of the calumnies uttered by Aeschines. This section consists chiefly of Demosthenes' own version of the negotiations for the peace of 346 B.C., showing that Aeschines and his associates were really guilty of treason in their dealings with Philip.

[1] See also *infra*, p. 253, *note* 1, and p. 254.

3. §§ 53-125. Defence of Ctesiphon—Demosthenes undertakes to prove (*a*) that he deserved to receive a crown, (*b*) that on the legal point Ctesiphon is not to blame. (*a*) He summarizes the condition of Greece during the years of peace, and immediately after it records his own public services and justifies his policy. (*b*) He examines the question of legality, and proves that Ctesiphon is on the right side of the law.
4. §§ 126-159. Invective against Aeschines. This might be called a pseudo-epilogue, but is really only an interlude. It deals with (*a*) the birth and life of his rival, and (*b*) in particular, his action which kindled an Amphictyonic war.
5. §§ 160-251. Demosthenes continues the discussion of his past policy, in regard to the Theban alliance and the last war with Philip.
6. §§ 252-324. An epilogue of exceptional length, mainly devoted to a comparison between Demosthenes and Aeschines. The speaker closely identifies himself with the city, whose policy he has shaped; so that in attacking him, Aeschines attacks Athens. The speech ends, as it began, with a prayer.

§ 3

For the next few years Demosthenes probably spent some of his time in composing private speeches for others, though the extant speeches of this period are mostly of doubtful authenticity. He also remained as a prominent figure in Athenian politics. He had not changed his views, but he seems to have been deposed from the leadership of the patriotic party by

others whose patriotism was of a more violent type than his, so that he must be now counted as a moderate in opinion. It may have been this position which brought him into danger in 324 B.C.

Harpalus, who had been left as Alexander's governor at Babylon, on receipt of a rumour of his master's death in India, made off with the royal treasure, and, accompanied by a force of six thousand men, took ship and sailed for Greece. He appeared off Piraeus, and the fervid patriots proposed that Athens should welcome him and use his treasure and his men to help them in a revolt.

Demosthenes opposed an open breach with Alexander, and on his motion admission was refused to the flotilla. Harpalus came a second time without his army, and was admitted. Close on his heels came messengers from Alexander to demand his surrender, but this was resisted by Demosthenes and Phocion. On the motion of Demosthenes it was decided to temporize; Harpalus was to be treated as a prisoner, and the treasure deposited in the Parthenon. The amount of the treasure was declared by Harpalus as 720 talents, but it soon became known that only 350 talents had been lodged in the Acropolis. Harpalus in the meantime had escaped from prison and disappeared, and suspicion was roused against all who had had any kind of dealings with him. To allay the public excitement Demosthenes proposed that the Council of the Areopagus should investigate the mystery of the lost talents. Six months later the Council gave its report, issuing a list of nine public men whom it declared guilty of receiving part of the lost money. The name of Demosthenes himself headed the list; he

was charged with having received twenty talents for helping Harpalus to escape. This declaration did not constitute a judicial sentence, but in consequence of it prosecutions were instituted, ten public prosecutors were appointed, and Demosthenes was found guilty. He was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to raise the money he was cast into prison. He soon escaped, and fled first to Aegina and then to Troezen, where, according to Plutarch, he sat daily by the sea, watching with sad eyes the distant shores of Attica.

The whole affair is obscure; we do not know how Demosthenes defended himself, but we possess two of the speeches for the prosecution, by Hyperides and Dinarchus. Neither is explicit. The report of the Areopagus was held to have established the facts, so that no further evidence was required; it was the business of the court only to interpret motives and decide the degree of each defendant's guilt.

Hyperides [1] affirms that Demosthenes began by admitting the receipt of the money; but he afterwards denied it, declaring that he was ready to suffer death if it could be proved that he had received it.[2] It was certainly Demosthenes who proposed that the Areopagus should investigate the affair.

Two details in the case give rise to perplexity: the fine inflicted—two and a half times the amount involved—was light, considering that the law demanded ten-fold restitution; secondly, it is difficult to see when Demosthenes can have received the money. Harpalus could not pay him at the time of his escape,

[1] Hyp., *Against Dem.*, fr. 3, col. xiii.
[2] Dinarchus, *Against Dem.*, § 1.

or indeed at any time subsequent to his arrest, for he did not take the money to prison with him. It seems improbable that the money should have been paid earlier, for Demosthenes was acting against Harpalus all the time. Professor Butcher supposed that payment might have been made when Demosthenes resisted the surrender of Harpalus to Alexander.[1]

Two theories have been proposed with a view to the complete or partial exculpation of the orator—one, that he was absolutely innocent, but became the victim of a combination of his political enemies, the extreme patriots, who were dissatisfied with his moderate policy, and his ancient foes the Macedonian party. The other view is that he received the money and spent it, or intended to spend it, on secret service of the kind on which every State spends money, though it is generally impossible to give a detailed account of such expenses. Even if he could not prove such a use, the offence of receiving bribes was a venial one, as even his prosecutor Hyperides admits, if they were not received against the interests of the State. In Demosthenes' favour we have the late evidence of Pausanias, who affirms that an agent of Harpalus, when examined by Alexander with regard to this affair, divulged a list of names which did not contain that of Demosthenes.

A minor charge of bribery is brought by Dinarchus, who asserts that Demosthenes received 300 talents from the Great King to save Thebes in 335 B.C., but sacrificed Thebes to his own avarice because he wished to keep ten talents which had been promised to the Arcadians for their assistance. The story is ridiculous.

[1] Butcher, *Dem.*, pp. 124-127.

In 323 B.C. Alexander died; the hope of freedom revived, and Demosthenes started at once on a tour of the Peloponnese to urge on the cities the need of joint action. He was reconciled with the party of Hyperides and recalled from exile. He was fetched home in a trireme, and a procession escorted him from the harbour to the city. By a straining of the law, the public paid his fine. The Lamian war opened successfully under Leosthenes, but at the battle of Crannon Antipater crushed the Greek forces. Athens was forced to receive a Macedonian garrison, to lose her democratic constitution, and to give up her leaders to the conqueror's vengeance. Demades carried a decree for the death of Demosthenes and Hyperides. Demosthenes had already escaped and taken sanctuary in the temple of Posidon on the island of Calauria. Here he was pursued by an agent of Antipater, one Archias, known as the exile-hunter, who had been an actor. This man tried to entice him forth by generous promises, but Demosthenes answered, 'Your acting never carried conviction, and your promises are equally unconvincing.' Archias then resorted to threats, but was met by the calm retort, 'Now you speak like a Macedonian oracle; you were only acting before; only wait a little, so that I may write a few lines home.' While pretending to write he sucked poison from the end of his pen, and then let his head sink on his hands, as if in thought. When Archias approached again he looked him in the face and said, 'It is time for you to play the part of Creon, and cast out this body unburied. Now, adored Posidon, I leave thy precinct while yet alive; but Antipater and his Macedonians have left not even thy shrine undefiled.' He essayed

to walk out, but fell and died upon the steps of the altar.[1]

Lucian, in his *Encomium of Demosthenes*, has given a fanciful account of Antipater receiving the news from Archias; these are the concluding words:

'So he is gone, either to live with the heroes in the Isles of the Blest or along the path of those souls that climb to Heaven, to be an attendant spirit on Zeus the giver of Freedom; but his body we will send to Athens, as a nobler memorial for that land than are the bodies of those who fell at Marathon.'[2]

§ 4. *Literary Reputation*

The verdict of antiquity, which has generally been accepted in modern times, ranked Demosthenes as the greatest of orators. In his own age he had rivals: Aeschines, as we have seen already, is in many respects worthy of comparison with him; of his other contemporaries Phocion was impressive by his dignity, sincerity, and brevity—'he could say more in fewer words'; the vigorous extemporizations of Demades were sometimes more effective than the polished subtleties of Demosthenes; Aeschines claims to prefer the speaking of Leodamas of Acharnae, but the tone in which he says so is almost apologetic, and the laboured criticism to which Aeschines constantly subjects his rival practically takes it for granted that the latter was reckoned the foremost speaker of the time.

Later Greek authorities, who are far enough removed to see in proper perspective the orators of the pre-Macedonian times, have an ungrudging admiration for Demosthenes. The author of *The Sublime* saw in him

[1] This account is taken from Plutarch (*Dem.*, ch. xxix.).
[2] Lucian, *Dem. Enc.*, § 50.

many faults, and admitted that in many details Hyperides excelled him.[1] Nevertheless he finds in Demosthenes certain divine gifts which put him apart from the others in a class by himself; he surpasses the orators of all generations; his thunders and lightnings shake down and scorch up all opposition; it is impossible to face his dazzling brilliancy without flinching. But Hyperides never made anybody tremble.

In later times we find Demosthenes styled 'The Orator,' just as Homer is 'The Poet.' Lucian, whose literary appreciations are always worthy of attention, wrote an *Encomium of Demosthenes*, containing an imaginary dialogue, in which Antipater is the chief speaker. He pays a generous tribute to his dead enemy, who 'woke his compatriots from their drugged sleep';[2] the *Philippics* are compared to battering-rams and catapults, and Philip is reported to have rejoiced that Demosthenes was never elected general, for the orator's speeches shook the king's throne, and his actions, if he had been given the opportunity, would have overturned it.

Of Roman critics, Cicero in many passages in the *Brutus* and *Orator* expresses extreme admiration for the excellence of Demosthenes in every style of oratory; he regards him as far outstripping all others, though failing in some details to attain perfection. Quintilian's praise is discriminating but sincere; in fact we may say that the Greek and Roman worlds were practically unanimous about the orator's merits.

It is difficult to take a general view of the style of Demosthenes, from the mere fact that it is extremely

[1] *de Sublimi*, ch. xxxiv.

[2] § 36, οἷον ἐκ μανδραγόρου καθεύδοντας.

varied; the three classes of speeches—the forensic speeches in private and public suits, and the public harangues addressed to the assembly, all have their particular features: nevertheless there are certain characteristics which may be distinguished in all classes.

First of these is his great care in composition. Isocrates is known to have spent years in polishing the essays which he intended as permanent contributions to the science of politics; Plato wrote and erased and wrote again before he was satisfied with the form in which his philosophy was to be given to the world; Demosthenes, without years of toil, could produce for definite occasions speeches whose finished brilliancy made them worthy to be ranked as great literature quite apart from their merits as contributions to practical policy.

It is a well-known jest against him that his speeches smelt of midnight oil, but he must have had a remarkable natural fluency to be able to compose so many speeches so well. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that the speeches which survive are not altogether in the form in which they were delivered. It seems to have been a habit among orators of this time to edit for publication their speeches delivered in important cases, in order that a larger audience might have an opportunity of reading a permanent record of the speakers' views on political or legal questions which had more than a transitory interest.

We have indirect evidence that Demosthenes was in the habit of introducing corrections into his text. Aeschines quotes and derides certain expressions, mostly exaggerated metaphors, which do not occur in

the speeches as extant to us, though some of them evidently should, if the text had not been submitted to a recension.[1] We may note the remark of Eratosthenes [2] that while speaking he sometimes lost control of himself, and talked like a man possessed, and that of Demetrius of Phaleron, that on one occasion he offended against good taste by quoting a metrical oath which bears the stamp of comedy:

'By earth and fountains, rivulets and streams.'[3]

This quotation is not to be found in any extant speech, but it is noticeable that formulae of the kind, typically represented by the familiar *ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί*—'Ye Earth and Gods'—are commonly affected by Demosthenes, as indeed they are to be found in his contemporary Aeschines.

Evidently the Attic taste was undergoing a modification; such expressions are foreign to the dignified harmonies of Isocrates and of rare occurrence in the restrained style of Lysias; but they begin to appear more frequently in Isaeus, whose style was the model for the early speeches of Demosthenes. Certain other expressions belonging to the popular speech, and probably avoided by Isocrates as being too colloquial, are found in Demosthenes' public speeches—*e.g.* *ὁ δεῖνα* and *ὦ τᾶν*.

Under the same heading must come the use of coarse expressions and terms of personal abuse. In many of the speeches relating to public law-suits Demosthenes allows himself all the latitude which was

[1] Aesch., *Ctes.*, §§ 72, 166; *de Leg.*, § 21; *Ctes.*, §§ 84, 209.
[2] Plut., *Dem.*, ch. ix., *παράβακχον*.
[3] *ἐνθουσιῶντα*. Cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 194:
μὰ γῆν, μὰ παγίδας, μὰ νεφέλας, μὰ δίκτυα.

sanctioned by the taste of his times. In the actual use of abusive epithets—*θηρίον*, *κατάρατος*, and the like—he does not go beyond the common practice of Aeschines, and is even outstripped by Dinarchus; but in the accumulation of offensive references to the supposed private character of his political opponents he condescends to such excesses that we wonder how a decent audience can ever have tolerated him.[1] Evidently an Athenian audience loved vulgarity for its own sake, apart from humour.

In the private speeches there is at times a certain coarseness—inevitably, since police-court cases are often concerned with sordid details. Offensive actions sometimes have to be described;[2] but this is a very different matter from the irrelevant introduction of offensive matter.

In the speeches delivered before the ecclesia Demosthenes set himself a higher ideal. Into questions of public policy, private animosities should not be allowed to intrude, and throughout the *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs* Demosthenes observes this rule. Under no stress of excitement does he sink to personalities; his political opponents for the time being are not abused, not even mentioned by name. The courtesies of debate are fully and justly maintained.

[1] Notably the caricatures of Aeschines' private life and family history in the *de Corona*, §§ 129-130, 260. Mr. Pickard-Cambridge makes it clear that the habitual members of the law-courts would be of a lower average socially than the ecclesia. The pay in either case was not enough to attract any but the unemployed, but whereas members of the leisured classes would have sufficient motives for attending the ecclesia, and well-to-do business-men might sacrifice valuable time unselfishly for the good of the State, there would be little inducement to such people to endure the wearisome routine of the law-courts (see *Demosthenes*, ch. iii.).

[2] *E.g. Conon*, § 4.

§ 5. *Style and Composition*

Though Demosthenes wrote in pure Attic Greek, it is to Lysias and Isocrates rather than to him that Dionysius assigns praise for the most perfect purity of language. It is probable that Demosthenes was nearer to the living speech. Even in his deliberative speeches he can use such familiar expressions as *ὦ τᾶν*, *ὁ δεῖνα* and such expletives as *νὴ Δία*, the frequent use of which would have seemed to Isocrates to belong to the vocabulary of Comedy. The epideictic style would also have shunned such vigorous touches as *λαγὼ βίον ἔζης*—'you lived a hare's life,' or, to give the proper equivalent, 'a dog's life,'[1] or the famous *κακῶν Ἰλιάς*—'Twenty-four books of misery.'[2] Colloquial vigour is apparent in some metaphorical uses of single words, *e.g. ἔωλα καὶ ψυχρά*—'stale and cold' (applied to crimes),[3] *προσηλῶσθαι*—'to be pinned down,'[4] or the succession of crude metaphors in the account of how Aristogiton, in prison, picked a quarrel with a newcomer; 'he being newly caught and fresh, was getting the better of Aristogiton, who had got into the net some time ago and been long in pickle; so finding himself getting the worst of it, he ate off the man's nose.'[5] There is bold personification of abstractions in 'Peace, which has destroyed the walls of your allies and is now building houses for your ambassadors,'[6] and such phrases as *τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους*

[1] *de Cor.*, § 263.
[2] *de Falsa Leg.*, § 148.
[3] *Midias*, § 91.
[4] *Ibid.*, § 105.
[5] On the other hand he often apologizes for metaphors by *ὥσπερ* or *οἷον*—*ἦν τοῦθ' ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ*——though *ἐμπόδισμα* is probably as natural a form of expression as our 'obstacle.'
[6] *de Falsa Leg.*, § 275.

—' they are frightened to death of so and so,' are more vigorous than literary.[1]

Demosthenes seems to discard metaphor in his most solemn moments. In a spirit of sarcasm he can use such expressions as those quoted above about the disorderly scene in prison, and in an outburst of indignation he can speak of rival politicians as ' Fiends, who have mutilated the corpses of their fatherlands, and made a birthday present of their liberty first to Philip, and now again to Alexander ; who measure happiness by their belly and their basest pleasures ' ;[2] but on grave occasions, whether in narrative or in counsel, he reverts to a simplicity equal to that of Lysias. The plainness of the language in which he describes the excitement caused by the news of Philip's occupation of Elatea is proverbial ;[3] and the closing sentences of the *Third Philippic* afford another good example :

' If everybody is going to sit still, hoping to get what he wants, and seeking to do nothing for it himself, in the first place he will never find anybody to do it for him, and secondly, I am afraid that we shall be forced to do everything that we do not want. This is what I tell you, this is what I propose ; and I believe that if this is done our affairs may even yet be set straight again. If anybody can offer anything better, let him name it and urge it ; and whatever you decide, I pray to heaven it may be for the best.'

The simplicity of the language is only equalled by the sobriety of tone. The simplest words, if properly used, can produce a great effect, which is sometimes heightened by repetition, a device which Demosthenes

[1] 1 *Phil.*, § 45 ; cf. τεθνάναι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίους, *de Falsa Leg.*, § 81.
[2] *de Cor.*, § 296. [3] *de Cor.*, § 169.

finds useful on occasion—ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε—'But surely, *surely* you were not wrong.'[1] We realize a slight raising of the voice as the word comes in for the second time. Dinarchus, an imitator of Demosthenes, copies him in the use of this 'figure,' but uses it too much and inappropriately. In this, as in other details, his style is an unsuccessful parody of the great orator.

Dionysius compares Demosthenes to several other writers in turn. He finds passages, for instance, which recall the style of Thucydides.[2] He quotes the first section from the *Third Philippic*, and by an ingenious analysis shows the points of resemblance. The chief characteristic noticed by the critic is that the writer does not introduce his thoughts in any natural or conventional sequence, but employs an affected order of words which arrests the attention by its avoidance of simplicity.

Thus, a parenthetical relative clause intrudes between the subject and the verb of the chief relative clause, while we are kept in long suspense as to what the verbs are to be, both in relative clauses and in the main clause itself. The peculiar effects which he notices cannot be reproduced in a non-inflexional language such as English.

At other times, especially in narrative, Demosthenes emulates the lucidity of Lysias at his best. Dionysius quotes with well-deserved approval the vivid presentment of the story on which the accusation against Conon is based. As the speech gives us an excellent picture of the camp life of an undisciplined militia, it will be worth while here to quote some extracts :

[1] *de Cor.*, § 208.

[2] *de Thucyd.*, ch. 53.

'Two years ago, having been detailed for garrison-duty, we went out to Panactum. Conon's sons occupied a tent near us; I wish it had been otherwise, for this was the primary cause of our enmity and the collisions between us. You shall hear how it arose. They used to drink every day and all day long, beginning immediately after breakfast, and this custom they maintained all the time that we were in garrison. My brothers and I, on the contrary, lived out there just as we were in the habit of living at home. So by the time which the rest of us had fixed for dinner, they were invariably playing drunken tricks, first on our servants, and finally on ourselves. For because they said that the servants sent the smoke in their faces while cooking, or were uncivil to them, or what not, they used to beat them and empty the slops over their heads . . . and in every way behaved brutally and disgustingly. We saw this and took offence, and first of all remonstrated with them; but as they jeered at us and would not stop, we all went and reported the occurrence to the general—not I alone, but the whole of the mess. He reprimanded them severely, not only for their offensive behaviour to us, but for their general conduct in camp; however, they were so far from stopping or feeling any shame that, as soon as it was dark that evening, they made a rush on us, and first abused us and then beat me, and made such a disturbance and uproar round the tent that the general and his staff and some of the other soldiers came out, and prevented them from doing us any serious harm, and us from retaliating on their drunken violence.'[1]

Another passage quoted from the same speech gives a companion picture of the defendant's behaviour in civil life:

'When we met them, one of the party, whom I cannot identify, fell upon Phanostratus and held him tight, while

[1] *Against Conon*, §§ 3-5.

the defendant Conon and his son and the son of Andromenes fell upon me, and first stripped me, and then tripped me up, and dashed me down in the mud. There they jumped upon me and beat me, and so mishandled me that they cut my lip right through, and closed up both my eyes. They left me in such a weak state that I could neither get up nor speak, and as I lay on the ground I heard them uttering floods of abominable language. What they said was vilely slanderous, and some of it I should shrink from repeating, but I will mention one thing which is an example of Conon's brutality, and proves that he was responsible for the whole incident—he began to crow like a game-cock after a victory, and the others told him to flap his arms against his sides in triumph. After this I was carried home naked by some passers-by, while the defendants made off with my coat.' [1]

Dionysius observes that the ecclesia and the courts were composed of mixed elements ; [2] not all were clever and subtle in intellect ; the majority were farmers, merchants, and artisans, who were more likely to be pleased by simple speech ; anything of an unusual flavour would turn their stomachs : a smaller number, a mere fraction of the whole, were men of high education, to whom you could not speak as you would to the multitude ; and the orator could not afford to neglect either section. He must therefore aim at satisfying both, and consequently he should steer a middle course, avoiding extremes in either direction.

In the opinion of Dionysius both Isocrates and Plato give good examples of this middle style, attaining a seeming simplicity intelligible to all, combined with a subtlety which could be appreciated only by the expert ; but Demosthenes surpassed them both in the

[1] *Against Conon*, §§ 8-9.

[2] *de Demos.*, ch. xv.

perfection of this art. To prove his case he quotes first the passage from *The Peace* which Isocrates himself selected for quotation, as a favourable example of his own style, in the speech on the *Antidosis*. With this extract a passage from the third *Olynthiac* is contrasted, greatly to the advantage of Demosthenes, who is found to be nobler, more majestic, more forcible, and to have avoided the frigidity of excessive refinement with which Isocrates is charged.

The criticism professes to be based on an accumulation of small details, but there is no doubt that Dionysius depended, in the main, not upon analysis, but upon subjective impressions. After enumerating the points in which either of the writers excels or falls short, he describes his own feelings :

'When I read a speech of Isocrates, I become sober and serious, as if I were listening to solemn music ; but when I take up a speech of Demosthenes, I am beside myself, I am led this way and that, I am moved by one passion after another : suspicion, distress, fear, contempt, hate, pity, kindliness, anger, envy—passing successively through all the passions which can obtain a mastery over the human mind ; . . . and I have sometimes thought to myself, what must have been the impression which he made on those who were fortunate enough to hear him ? For where we, who are so far removed in time, and in no way interested in the actual events, are led away and overpowered, and made to follow wherever the speech leads us, how must the Athenians and other Greeks have been led by the speaker himself when the cases in which he spoke had a living interest and concerned them nearly ? . . .'[1]

Dionysius, as we know from many of his criticisms, had a remarkably acute sense of style ; he had also a

[1] *Demos.*, ch. xxii.

strong imagination. In this same treatise he recounts how the forms of the sentences themselves suggest to him the tone in which the words were uttered, the very gestures with which they were accompanied.[1]

Though we modern students cannot expect to rival him in these peculiar gifts, it is still possible for us to sympathize with his feelings. We cannot fail, in reading a speech like the *Third Philippic*, for instance, to appreciate how fully Demosthenes realizes the Platonic ideal, expressed in the *Gorgias*, that rhetoric is the art of persuasion. We need not pause to analyse the means by which he attains his end; he may resemble Lysias at one moment in a simple piece of narrative, at another he may be as involved and antithetical as Thucydides, or even florid like Gorgias; he can be a very Proteus, as Dionysius says, in his changes of form; but in whatever shape he appears, naïve, subtle, pathetic, indignant, sarcastic, he is convincing. The reason is simple: he has a single purpose always present to his mind, namely, to make his audience feel as he feels. Readers of Isocrates were expected, while they followed the exposition of the subject-matter, to regard the beauties of the form in which it was expressed; in Demosthenes there is no idea of such display. A good speech was to him a successful speech, not one which might be admired by critics as a piece of literature. It is only incidental that his speeches have a literary quality which ranks him among the foremost writers of Attic prose; as an orator he was independent of this quality.

[1] *Demos.*, chs. liii., liv. So Aeschines, after reading aloud some extracts from Demosthenes, and observing their effect on his hearers, exclaimed, 'But what if you had heard the brute himself?'

The strong practical sense of Demosthenes refused to be confined by any theoretical rules of scholastic rhetoricians. He does not aspire to the complexity of periods which makes the style of Isocrates monotonous in spite of the writer's wonderful ingenuity. Long and short, complex and simple sentences, are used in turn, and with no systematic order, so that we cannot call any one kind characteristic; the form of the sentence, like the language, is subordinate to its purpose.[1]

He was moderately careful in the avoidance of hiatus between words, but in this matter he modified the rule of Isocrates to suit the requirements of speech; he was guided by ear, not by eye; thus we find that hiatus is frequently omitted between the *cola* or sections of a period; in fact any pause in the utterance is enough to justify the non-elision of an open vowel before the pause. Isocrates, on the contrary, usually avoids even the appearance of hiatus in such cases.

There is one other formal rule of composition which Demosthenes follows with some strictness; this is the avoidance of a succession of short syllables. It is notable that he very seldom admits a tribrach (three short syllables) where a little care can avoid it, while instances of more than three short vowels in succession are very exceptional.[2] An unusual order of

[1] *de Chersoneso*, §§ 69-71, gives an example of a sentence of about twenty-seven lines in the Teubner edition.

[2] *Timocrates*, § 217, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ὄφελος εἴη is a case in point—(⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –); in this instance no other arrangement of the words was possible; οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν εἴη ὄφελος would give a harsh hiatus. Cf. also *First Olynthiac*, § 27, ἡλίκα γ' ἐστὶ τὰ διάφορ' ἐνθάδ' ἢ 'κεῖ πολεμεῖν, where five shorts appear in sequence.

words may often be explained by reference to this practice.[1]

We know from Aristotle and other critics that earlier writers of artistic prose, from Thrasymachus onwards, had paid some attention to the metrical form of words and certain combinations of long and short syllables. Thrasymachus in particular studied the use of the *paeonius* (– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ or ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –) at the beginning and end of a sentence.[2]

The effect of increasing the number of short syllables, whether in verse or prose, is to make the movement of the line or period more rapid. The frequent use of tribrachs by Euripides constantly produces this impression, and an extreme case is the structure of the Galliambic metre, as seen, for instance, in the *Attis* of Catullus.[3] Conversely the multiplication of long syllables makes the movement slow, and produces an effect of solemnity.[4]

Demosthenes seems to have been the first prose-writer to pay attention to the avoidance of the tribrach; Plato seems to have consciously preferred a succession of short syllables where it was possible. The difference between the two points of view is probably this—that Plato aimed at reproducing the natural rapidity of conversation, Demosthenes aimed

[1] *E.g. de Falsa Leg.*, § 11, διεξιὼν ἡλίκα τὴν Ἑλλαδα πᾶσαν, οὐχὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἀδικοῦσι μόνον πατρίδας οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες. The position of ἀδικοῦσι is peculiar, but the sentence already contains a preponderance of short syllables, and any other arrangement would give more of them together: *e.g.* the more natural orders τὰς ἰδίας μόνον πατρίδας ἀδικοῦσι (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑) or ἰδίας μόνον ἀδικοῦσι πατρίδας (⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑).

[2] Arist., *Rhet.*, iii. 8. 4.

[3] Super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria, etc. The ending with five short syllables gives an impression of headlong speed.

[4] Cf. the 'spondaic' hymn, Ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχά, πάντων ἄγητορ, Ζεῦ σοὶ σπένδω ταύταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν.

at a more solemn and dignified style appropriate to impressive utterance before a large assembly.

This is the only metrical rule which Demosthenes ever observed, and one of the soundest of modern critics believes that even this observance was instinctive rather than conscious.[1] He never affected any metrical formula for the end of sentences comparable to Cicero's famous *esse videatur*, or the double trochee (—⏑—⏑) at the beginning of a sentence, approved by later writers. An examination shows that he has an almost infinite variety both in the opening and the close of his sentences. He seems never to follow any mechanical system.

Much labour has been expended, especially in Germany, on the analysis of the rhythmical element in Demosthenes' style. There is no doubt that many orators, from Gorgias onwards, laboured to produce approximate correspondence between parallel or contrasted sections of their periods. In some cases we find an equal number of syllables in two clauses, and even a more or less complete rhythmical correspondence. Such devices serve to emphasize the peculiar figures of speech in which Gorgias delighted, and may have been appropriate to the class of oratory intended primarily for display, but it is hard to believe that such elaboration was ever consciously carried through a long forensic speech.

The appendix to the third volume of Blass' Attic oratory is a monumental piece of work. It consists of an analysis of the first seventeen sections of the *de Corona*, and the whole of the *First Olynthiac* and *Third Philippic* speeches, and conveys the impression that

[1] Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. Gr.*, tome iv., pp. 552-553.

this Demosthenic prose may be scanned with almost as much certainty as a comparatively simple form of composition like a Pindaric ode. It is hard to pronounce on such a matter without a very long and careful study of this difficult subject; but the theory of rhythmical correspondence seems to have been worked out far too minutely. In many cases emendation is required; we have to divide words in the middle, and clauses are split up in an arbitrary and unnatural way. I am far from believing that analysis can justifiably be carried to this extent; it is more reasonable to suppose that Demosthenes had a naturally acute ear, and that practice so developed his faculty that a certain rhythm was natural to all his speech. I am not convinced that all his effects were designed.[1]

§ 6. *Rhetorical Devices*

Isaeus, the teacher of Demosthenes, was a master of reasoning and demonstration; Demosthenes in his earliest speeches shows strong traces of the influence of Isaeus, but in his later work he has developed varied gifts which enable him to surpass his master. Realizing the insufficiency, for a popular audience, of mere reasoning, he reinforced his logic by adventitious aids, appealing in numerous indirect ways to feeling and prejudice. One valuable method of awakening interest was his striking use of paradox:

'On the question of resources of money at present at our disposal, what I have to say will, I know, appear paradoxical, but I must say it; for I am confident that, considered in the proper light, my proposal will appear to be the only true and right one. I tell you that we need not raise the question of money at all: we have great resources

[1] See *ad hoc*, Croiset, iv. 553. 1.

which we may fairly and honourably use if we need them. If we look for them now, we shall imagine that they never will be at our disposal, so far shall we be from willingness to dispose of them at present; but if we let matters wait, we shall have them. What, then, are these resources which do not exist at present, but will be to hand later on? It looks like a riddle. I will explain. Consider this city of ours as a whole. It contains almost as much money as all other cities taken together; but those individuals who possess it are so apathetic that if all the orators tried to terrify them by saying that the king is coming, that he is near, that invasion is inevitable, and even if the orators were reinforced by an equal number of soothsayers, they would not only refuse to contribute; they would refuse even to declare or admit the possession of their wealth. But suppose that the horrors which we now talk about were actually realized, they are none of them so foolish that they would not readily offer and make contributions. . . . So I tell you that we have money ready for the time of urgent need, but not before.' [1]

Similarly in the *Third Olynthiac* he rouses the curiosity of the audience by propounding a riddle, of which, after some suspense, he himself gives the answer. The matter under discussion is the necessity of sending help to Olynthus. There is, as usual, a difficulty about money.

'"Very well," you may say; "we have all decided that we must send help; and send help we will; but how are we to do it; tell me that?" Now, Gentlemen, do not be astonished if what I say comes as a surprise to most of you. *Appoint a legislative board.* Instruct this board not to pass any law (you have enough already), but to repeal the laws which are injurious under present conditions. I refer to the laws about the Theoric Fund.' [2]

[1] *de Symmor.*, §§ 24-26. [2] *Third Olynthiac*, §§ 10-11.

This mention of the Festival Fund suggests some reflections on the orator's tenacity and perseverance. He is not content to say once what he has to propose, and leave his words to sink in by their own weight. Like a careful lecturer he repeats his statement, emphasizing it in various ways, until he perceives that his audience has really grasped its importance. The walls which he is attacking will not fall flat at the sound of the trumpet; his persistent battering-rams must make a breach, his catapults must drive the defenders from their positions. Such is the meaning of Lucian's comment in the words attributed to Philip.[1]

The speech *On the Chersonese*, for instance, may be divided into three parts, dealing successively with the treatment of Diopeithes, the supineness of Athens, and the guilt of the partisans of Philip; but in all parts we find emphatically stated the need for energetic action. This is really the theme of the speech; the rest is important only in so far as it substantiates the main thesis.

The extract last given [2] shows with what adroitness he introduces dialogues, in which he questions or answers an imaginary critic. This is a device frequently employed with considerable effect. The following shows a rather different type:

'If Philip captures Olynthus, who will prevent him from marching on us? The Thebans? It is an unpleasant thing to say, but they will eagerly join him in the invasion. Or the Phocians?—when they cannot even protect their own land, unless you help them. Can you think of any one else?—"My dear fellow, he won't want to attack us." It would indeed be the greatest surprise in the world if he

[1] Quoted above, p. 230.

[2] *Supra*, p. 245.

did not do it when he got the chance; since even now he is fool enough to declare his intentions.'[1]

Narrative, too, can take the place of argument; a recital of Philip's misdeeds during the last few years may do far more to convince the Athenians of the necessity for action than any argument about the case of a particular ally who chances to be threatened at the moment.[2]

Demosthenes' knowledge of history was deep and broad. The superiority of his attainments to those of Aeschines is shown in the more philosophic use which he makes of his appeals to precedent; his examples are apposite and not far-fetched; he can illuminate the present not only by references to ancient facts, but by a keen insight into the spirit which animated the men of old times.[3]

The examples already quoted of rhetorical dialogue with imaginary opponents will have given some idea of his use of a sarcastic tone. Sarcasm thinly concealed may at times run through a passage of considerable length, as in the anecdote which follows. We may note in passing that he is usually sparing in the use of anecdote, which is never employed without good reason. Here it may be excused by the fact that it figures as an historical precedent of a procedure which he ironically recommends to his contemporaries.

[1] *First Olynthiac*, §§ 25-26.

[2] *Chersonese*, §§ 61-67. The recital of the present condition of Phocis is a simple but impressive piece of argument by description: 'It was a terrible sight, Gentlemen, and a sad one; when we were lately on our way to Delphi we were compelled to see it all, houses in ruins, walls demolished, the country empty of men of military age; only a few poor women and little children and old men in pitiable state—words cannot describe the depth of the misery in which they are now sunk' (*de Falsa Leg.*, § 65).

[3] Cf. *Third Olynthiac*, §§ 24-26.

Inveighing against the reckless procedure of the Athenian politicians, who propose laws for their own benefit almost every month,[1] he recounts the customs of the Locrians, and, with an assumption of seriousness, implies a wish that similar restrictions could be imposed at Athens :

'I should like to tell you, Gentlemen, how legislation is conducted among the Locrians. It will do you no harm to have an example before you, especially the example of a well-governed State. There men are so convinced that they ought to keep to the established laws and cherish their traditions, and not legislate to suit their fancy, or to help a criminal to escape, that any man who wishes to pass a new law must have a rope round his neck while he proposes it. If they think that the law is a good and useful one, the proposer lives and goes on his way ; if not, they pull the rope and there is an end of him. For they cannot bear to pass new laws, but they rigorously observe the old ones. We are told that only one new law has been enacted in very many years. Whereas there was a law that if a man knocked out another man's eye, he should submit to having his own knocked out in return, and no monetary compensation was provided, a certain man threatened his enemy, who had already lost an eye, to knock out the one eye he had left. The one-eyed man, alarmed by the threat, and thinking that life would not be worth living if it were put into execution, ventured to propose a law that if a man knocks out the eye of a man who has only one, he shall submit to having both his own knocked out in return, so that both may suffer alike. We are told that this is the only law which the Locrians have passed in upwards of two hundred years.' [2]

This, however, occurs in a speech before the law-

[1] Viz., on every meeting of the ecclesia at which legislation was possible.

[2] *Timocrates*, §§ 139 *sqq.*

courts ; it is excellent in its place, but would have been unsuitable to the more dignified and solemn style in which he addresses the assembly. Equally unsuitable to his public harangues would be anything like the virulent satire which he admits into the *de Corona*, the vulgar personalities of abuse and gross caricatures of Aeschines and his antecedents.[1] For these the only excuse is that, though meant maliciously, they are so exaggerated as to be quite incredible. They may be compared to Aristophanes' satire of Cleon in the *Knights*, which was coarse enough, but cannot have done Cleon any serious harm. Demosthenes indeed becomes truly Aristophanic when he talks about Aeschines' acting :

' When in the course of time you were relieved of these duties, having yourself committed all the offences of which you accuse others, I vow that your subsequent life did not fall short of your earlier promise. You engaged yourself to the players Simylus and Socrates, the " Bellowers," as they were called, to play minor parts, and gathered a harvest of figs, grapes, and olives, like a fruiterer getting his stock from other people's orchards ; and you made more from this source than from your plays, which you played in dead earnest at the risk of your lives ; for there was a truceless and merciless war between you and the spectators, from whom you received so many wounds that you naturally mock at the cowardice of those who have never had that great experience.' [2]

He is generally described as deficient in wit, and he seems in this point to have been inferior to Aeschines,

[1] In particular *de Corona*, §§ 129-130, 258-262. Cf. *supra*, p. 164.

[2] *de Corona*, §§ 261-262.

though on one or two occasions he could make a neat repartee.[1] As Dionysius says :

'Not on all men is every gift bestowed.'[2]

If, as his critic affirms,[3] he was in danger of turning the laugh against himself, he had serious gifts which more than compensated this deficiency.

It must not be supposed that he was entirely free from sophistry. Like many good orators in good or bad causes he laboured from time to time to make a weak case appear strong, and in this effort was often absolutely disingenuous. The whole of the *de Corona* is an attempt to throw the judges off the scent by leading them on to false trails. It may be urged in his defence that on this occasion he had justice really on his side, but finding that Aeschines on legal ground was occupying an impregnable position, he practically threw over the discussion of legality and turned the course of the trial towards different issues altogether. In this case, admittedly, the technical points were merely an excuse for the bringing of the case, and were probably of little importance to the court. The trial was really concerned with the political principles and actions of the two great opponents, while Ctesiphon was only a catspaw. But a study of other speeches results in the discovery of many minor points in which, accurately gauging the intelligence of his audience, he has intentionally misled them. Thus, his own knowledge of history was profound ; but experience has proved that the knowledge possessed by any audience

[1] *Vide supra*, pp. 170, 177.
[2] οὐ γάρ πως ἅμα πάντα θεοὶ δόσαν ἀνθρώποισι.
[3] *de Sublimi*, ch. xxxiv.

of the history of its own generation is likely to be sketchy and inaccurate. Events have not settled down into their proper perspective; we must rely either on our own memories, which may be distorted by prejudice, or on the statements of historians who stand too near in time to be able to get a fair view. This gives the politician his opportunity of so grouping or misrepresenting facts as to give a wrong impression.

Instances of such bad faith on the part of Demosthenes are probably numerous, even if unimportant. In the speech on the *Embassy*[1] he asserts that Aeschines, far from opposing Philip's pretension to be recognized as an Amphictyon, was the only man who spoke in favour of it; yet Demosthenes himself had counselled submission. In the speech *Against Timocrates* there are obvious exaggerations to the detriment of the defendant. Timocrates had proposed that certain debtors should be given time to pay their debts; Demosthenes asserts that he restored them to their full civic rights without payment.[2] Towards the end of the speech a statement is made which conflicts with one on the same subject in the exordium.[3]

But such rhetorical devices are only trivial faults to which most politicians are liable.[4] The orator him-

[1] *de Falsa Leg.*, §§ 112-113, with Weil's note. [2] § 90.

[3] §§ 9, 196. Weil remarks truly, 'Les orateurs ne se piquent pas d'être exacts: ils usent largement de l'hyperbole mensongère.'

[4] Mr. Pickard-Cambridge (*Demos.*, p. 80) observes: 'Men who are assembled in a crowd do not think. . . . The orator has often to use arguments which no logic can defend, and to employ methods of persuasion upon a crowd which he would be ashamed to use if he were dealing with a personal friend.' This is partly true, but should be accepted with reservations. The arguments in the harangues of Demosthenes will generally bear the light, and the public speeches by distinguished statesmen of this country on the causes of the Great War have frequently appealed to the *higher* nature of their audiences.

self would probably feel that even more doubtful actions were justifiable for the sake of the cause which he championed. We must remember that all the really important cases in which he took part had their origin on political grounds, and during his public career he never relaxed his efforts for the maintenance of those principles which he expounded in his public harangues. Until the end he had hopes for Greek freedom, freedom for Athens, not based on any unworthy compromise, but dependent on a new birth of the old Athenian spirit. The regeneration which he pictured would be due to a revival of the spirit of personal self-sacrifice. Every man must be made to realize first that the city had a glorious mission, being destined to fulfil an ideal of liberty based on principles of justice; secondly that, to attain this end, each must live not for himself or his party but wholly for the city. It is the consciousness that Demosthenes has these enlightened ideas always present in his mind which makes us set him apart from other orators. Lycurgus, a second-rate orator, becomes impressive through his sincerity and incorruptibility; Demosthenes, great among orators, stands out from the crowd still more eminently by the nobleness of his aspirations.

§ 7. *Structure of Speeches*

The structure of the speeches will give us a last example of the versatility of the composer and his freedom from conventional form.

We find, indeed, that he regularly has some kind of exordium and epilogue, but in the arrangement of other divisions of the speech he allows himself perfect freedom; we cannot reckon on finding a statement of the

case in one place, followed regularly by evidence, by refutation of the opponent's arguments, and so forth. All elements may be interspersed, since he marshals his arguments not in chronological nor even, necessarily, in logical order, but in such an arrangement as seems to him most decisive. He is bound by no conventional rules of warfare, and may leave his flanks unprotected while he delivers a crushing attack on the centre. In some cases it is almost impossible to make regular divisions by technical rule; thus, in the *de Corona* there is matter for dispute as to where the epilogue really begins.[1]

The majority of the speeches actually end, according to the Attic convention which governed both Tragedy and Oratory, in a few sentences of moderate tone contrasting with the previous excitement; a calm succeeds to the storm of passions. In the forensic speeches there is usually at the very end some appeal for a just verdict, or a statement of the speaker's conviction that the case may now be safely left to the court's decision; thus the *Leptines* ends with a simplicity worthy of Lysias:

'I cannot see that I need say any more; for I conceive there is no point on which you are not sufficiently instructed'; the *Midias* more solemnly, 'On account of all that I have laid before you, and particularly to show respect to the god whose festival Midias is proved to have profaned,

[1] There is a pseudo-epilogue, §§ 126-159, devoted chiefly to the birth and life of Aeschines. Here the speech might have ended, but the orator reverts in § 160 to an examination and defence of his own political life. The real epilogue is contained in §§ 252-324. The disorder is undoubtedly due in part to the peculiar facts of the case, namely, that the issues of the trial were much wider than might have appeared. Demosthenes is not so much concerned to prove the legality of Ctesiphon's decree as to offer an *apologia* of his own political conduct during many years.

punish him by rendering a verdict in accordance with piety and justice.'

In the *de Falsa Legatione* there is more personal feeling: 'You must not let him go, but make his punishment an example to all Athens and all Greece.' The *Timocrates* is rather similar: 'Mercy under these circumstances is out of place; to pass a light sentence means to habituate and educate in wrong-doing as many of you as possible.' The *Androtion* ends with a personal opinion on the aspect of the offence, and the *Aristocrates* is in a similar tone. The (first) speech against Aristogiton appeals directly to the personal interests of all the jurors: 'His offence touches every one, every one of you: and all of you desire to be quit of his wickedness and see him punished.'

The *de Corona* is remarkable in every way; this great speech, which, arising from causes almost trivial, abandons the slighter issues, and is transformed into a magnificent defence of the patriotic policy, begins with a solemn invocation: 'I begin, men of Athens, with a prayer to all the gods and goddesses that you may show me in this case as much good-will as I have shown and still show to Athens and to all of you.' It ends in an unique way with an appeal, not to the court but to a higher tribunal, an appeal which is all the more impressive as its language recalls the sacred formulas of religious utterance. 'Never, ye gods of heaven, never may you give their conduct your sanction; but, if it be possible, may you impart even to my enemies a sounder mind and heart. But if they are beyond remedy, hurl them to utter and absolute destruction by land and sea; and to the rest of us

grant, as quickly as may be, release from the terrors which hang over us, and salvation unshakable.'

The speeches before the assembly are naturally different in their endings from the judicial speeches; there is no criminal to attack, and no crime to stigmatize; the hearers themselves are, as it were, on their defence, and Demosthenes freely points out their faults, but, as has been noticed, individual opponents escape; if there have been evil counsellors, the responsibility for following bad advice rests with the public, and they can only be exhorted to follow a better course. The speeches on the *Symmories* and on *Megalopolis* end with a summary of the speaker's advice. So, too, does that *On the Freedom of Rhodes*, the last words containing a fine appeal to the lesson of antiquity. 'Consider that your forefathers dedicated these trophies not in order that you might gaze in admiration upon them, but in the hope that you might imitate the virtues of those who dedicated them.'

Several of the speeches dealing with the Macedonian question end with a short prayer for guidance: thus, the *First Philippic*, 'May that counsel prevail which is likely to be to the advantage of all'; the *First Olynthiac*, 'May your decision be a sound one, for all your sakes'; the *Third Philippic*, 'Whatever you decide, I pray to heaven it may be to your advantage'; the *Third Olynthiac*, 'I have told you what I think is to your advantage, and I pray that you may choose what is likely to be of advantage to the State and all yourselves.'

Sometimes there is a greater show of confidence, as in the *Second Olynthiac*: 'If you act thus, you will not only commend your present counsellor, but you will

have cause to commend your own conduct later on, when you find a general improvement in your prospects.'

The *Second Philippic* ends with a prayer rather similar to that in the *de Corona*, though less emphatic; the speech *On the Chersonese* with a reproof and a warning.[1] *The Peace* contains no epilogue at all, but breaks off with a sarcasm.

An indication of the nature of the subjects of the genuine speeches may be useful for reference. They may be taken in their three groups: A. Private, B. Public, C. Deliberative speeches.

A.—Speeches in Private Causes

Against Aphobus, i. and ii., 363 B.C., delivered in the action which Demosthenes brought against his guardian for the recovery of his property.

For Phanos against Aphobus, 363 B.C. Aphobus, convicted in the former case, accused a witness, Phanos, of perjury: Demosthenes defends the latter.

Against Onetor, i. and ii., 362 B.C. Another case arising out of the guardianship. When Aphobus was convicted it was found that he had made over some of the property to his father-in-law Onetor, against whom Demosthenes was forced to bring a δίκη ἐξούλης.

On the Trierarchic Crown, between 361-357 B.C. Apollodorus, having been awarded the crown given each year to the trierarch who first had his ship in commission, claims a second crown for having given the best equipped ship.

Against Spudias (date unknown). One Polyeuctus died, leaving his property equally to his two daughters. The husband of the elder claims that the dowry promised with her was never paid in full, and that Spudias,

[1] Quoted *supra*, p. 216.

the husband of the younger daughter, has consequently no right to half of the *gross* estate. The debt to the complainant should be discharged first.

Against Callicles (date unknown). Callicles, a farmer, alleges that the defendant's father built a wall stopping a water-course; consequently the plaintiff's land was flooded in rainy weather. The defendant denies the charge, and ridicules it on the ground that the high-road was the natural water-course.[1]

Against Conon (possibly 341 B.C., see Paley and Sandys' edition). Ariston prosecutes Conon for assault. The quarrel dated from a time when the two parties were on garrison duty, and Conon and his sons deliberately annoyed Ariston and his friends. Subsequently the defendant, aided by his sons and others, members of a disreputable 'Mohock' club called the 'Triballi,' violently assaulted the speaker.[2]

For Phormio, 350 B.C. Phormio, chief clerk to Pasion, the famous Athenian banker, succeeded him in the business. Some years later Apollodorus, Pasion's elder son, claimed a sum of money, said to be due to him under his father's will; Phormio, however, proved that a compromise had been made which rendered the present action invalid.

Against Stephanus, i., 349 or 348 B.C. Apollodorus accuses Stephanus, a witness for Phormio in the previous case, of perjury. It is noticeable that Demosthenes, the professional speech-writer, has now changed sides, an action of rather dubious morality if judged by strict standards.

[1] A plausible answer. In Greece at the present day water-courses are used as roads, and the same is true of the south of Spain. At Malaga, a few years ago, the tram-line actually crossed the river-bed.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 237.

Against Boeotus, i., 348 B.C. Mantias, an Athenian politician, had three sons, Mantitheus (legitimate), and Boeotus and another illegitimate. Boeotus laid claim to the name Mantitheus, and the true Mantitheus brought an action to restrain him from using the name.

Against Pantaenetus, 346 B.C. A plea (παραγραφή) by one Nicobulus against Pantaenetus, who had charged the former with damaging his mining property. The case is hard to follow, since the mine in question was held in succession by no less than six different parties, whether as owners, mortgagees, or lessees.

Against Nausimachus (about 346 B.C.). Nausimachus and Xenopeithes, orphans, brought an action against their guardian Aristaechmus with regard to their estate, but agreed to compromise for three talents, which was duly paid. After his death they brought an action against his four sons, renewing their original claim. The sons put in a παραγραφή to stop the action on the ground of the compromise.

Against Eubulides, 345 B.C. Euxitheus, who has been 'objected to' at the revision of the list of citizens, claims that he is a citizen by rights, but has been removed from the roll maliciously by Eubulides. The present case is his appeal (ἔφεσις) to the court against the decision.

The remaining private speeches were quite possibly not composed by Demosthenes, though proof is generally impossible. They seem, however, to be genuine speeches, composed for delivery by some author or authors of the Demosthenic period, and are of extreme interest and importance to all students of private life at Athens.

Against Callippus, 369 B.C. An ἔφεσις or appeal

to a court from an arbitration which, according to the plaintiff Apollodorus, Pasion's son, was informal, as the arbitrator had not taken the oath. The case arises from a claim made by Callippus for money deposited with the banker Pasion, and by him paid out to one Cephisiades.

Against Nicostratus, 368-365 B.C. Apollodorus had declared that Arethusius, a debtor to the State, possessed two slaves, who were liable to be confiscated in payment of the debt. Nicostratus, brother of Arethusius, declared that the slaves were his. Apollodorus in this speech has to prove that the claim is false.

Against Timotheus, 362 B.C. Apollodorus claims from Timotheus money which, he affirms, the latter borrowed from Pasion.

Against Polycles, 358 B.C. Apollodorus was forced to act at trierarch beyond the appointed time, as Polycles, his successor, was not ready to take over the duty. The former claims damages.

Against Stephanus, ii. See *Against Stephanus*, i., to which this is a supplement.

Against Euergus and Mnesibulus, 356-353 B.C. A prosecution for perjury of witnesses in a case of ex-trierarchs who are state-debtors.

Against Zenothemis, date unknown. An intricate story of fraud and collusion in connexion with money borrowed on the security of a ship and an attempt to scuttle the ship.

Against Boeotus, ii., 348-346 B.C. (see the first speech *Against Boeotus*). Mantitheus claims from his brothers the payment of his mother's dowry in addition to his share of his father's inheritance.

Against Macartatus, *c.* 341 B.C. A case dealing with a forged will and conflicting claims to an inheritance.

Against Olympiodorus, *c.* 341 B.C. Olympiodorus and Callistratus, brothers-in-law, obtained the inheritance of Conon. Their title being questioned, judgment went against them by default. They brought a fresh action, Olympiodorus claiming the whole and Callistratus half, but they had secretly agreed to divide the booty equally. Olympiodorus was awarded the whole, and kept it, so Callistratus brought an action on the ground of their agreement.

Against Lacritus, date unknown. Lacritus disclaims responsibility for the debts of his brother Artemon, whose property he has inherited.

Against Phaenippus, 330 B.C. (?). The petitioner, chosen for the trierarchy, claimed that Phaenippus was better able to afford it, and should submit to *antidosis*, or exchange of property. He accuses Phaenippus of making a false declaration.

Against Leochares, date unknown; another case of disputed inheritance.

Against Apaturius, 341 B.C. (?). Apaturius claims that the speaker has certain liabilities towards him in accordance with an agreement which he has lost. The speaker affirms in a παραγραφή that the contract was fulfilled some time ago and the document torn up.

Against Phormio, *c.* 326 B.C. Phormio having borrowed money on the security of a ship's cargo in a voyage to the Bosporus and back, shipped no cargo on the return journey, but as the ship was lost, evaded his liabilities. When Chrysippus, the debtor,

claimed repayment, Phormio put in a παραγραφή stating that he had fulfilled his contract.

Against Dionysodorus, 323-322 B.C. Another action for breach of contract in a similar case.

B.—Speeches in Public Causes

Against Androtion, 355 B.C., written for Diodorus. Androtion had proposed the bestowal of a golden crown on the Boulé for their services during the year. Euctemon and Diodorus attacked the proposal as illegal because the navy had not been increased during the year. Demosthenes in this speech attacks the retrograde naval policy, pointing out by historical argument the importance of the navy, and inveighs generally against the corruptness of the party which Androtion represents, as well as his personal character.

Against Leptines, 354 B.C. This is the first appearance of Demosthenes in a public court. Leptines had proposed the abolition of hereditary immunities from taxation (ἀτέλειαι) granted to public benefactors. It was a salutary measure in view of the existing financial embarrassment, but Demosthenes opposed it as being a breach of faith. 'You must take care not to be found guilty of doing, as a State, the sort of thing that you would shrink from as individuals.' [1] This debasement of the State is compared to a debasement of the coinage,[2] which is a capital offence.[2]

Against Timocrates, 353 B.C. Another speech written for Diodorus, contains several passages repeated from the *Androtion*. This man and others, having failed to repay certain moneys which they had embezzled, were liable to imprisonment. Timocrates proposed

[1] § 136. [2] § 167.

an extension of the time within which they might pay. Demosthenes maintains that the law was informally passed and was unconstitutional. Many of the arguments are sophistical or trivial, but some are weighty, and on general grounds, that retrospective legislation in the interests of individuals is bad, this speech is very sound. The peroration contains an eulogy on the laws of Athens.[1]

Against Aristocrates, 352 B.C., is an important authority for the Athenian law of homicide. Aristocrates had carried a resolution making the person of Charidemus inviolable. This man, an Euboean by birth, was a mercenary leader, who having helped to lose Amphipolis, was now proposing to recover it. He was at present commanding the forces of the Thracian chief Cersobleptes. Demosthenes wrote this speech for Euthycles, who impeached the proposal. It contains an unusually careful arrangement in three divisions: (1) The proposal is illegal, (2) it is against our interest, (3) Charidemus is an unworthy person. Demosthenes is seen at his best in his appeal to legislative principle, his use of historical argument, and his description of the conditions of mercenary service and the politics of the barbarian fringe. The case against Charidemus is strong; he has been in the service of Athens, Olynthus, Asia, and Thrace, and has played fast and loose with all.

Against Midias, 347 B.C. A fine speech on a trivial subject, which all the eloquence of Demosthenes cannot dignify. Strong emotion is evident all through, the tone is exalted, there are pathetic and humorous passages, and all about a box on the ear!

[1] §§ 210 *sqq.* 'A State's character is reflected in its laws' (*νόμους . . . ὑπείληφασι . . . τρόπους τῆς πόλεως.*).

Midias, who had a long-standing personal grudge against Demosthenes, was also his political opponent. When Demosthenes undertook to furnish the chorus for his tribe at the greater Dionysia in 348 B.C., Midias did all that he could to ruin the performance. On the day itself he slapped Demosthenes in the face in the presence of the whole people in the theatre.[1] Demosthenes laid a complaint, and Midias was declared guilty of 'contempt' in a religious sense (*ἀδικεῖν περὶ τὴν ἑορτήν*). This preliminary vote involved no penalty, and Demosthenes was determined to push the case to extremes. Midias, having assaulted an official in discharge of his duty, and, further, committed sacrilege in so doing, might be condemned to death or confiscation of property. In the end, however, as we learn from Aeschines,[2] a compromise was made, and Demosthenes accepted half a talent as compensation for his injuries. This sum was quite inadequate, but there is good reason to believe that Demosthenes gave way for political reasons, since at the end of this year we find there is an understanding between him and the party of Eubulus, to which Midias belonged.

On the Embassy (*de Falsa Legatione*), 344 B.C.

We come now to the two great speeches arising out of the political hostility of Demosthenes and Aeschines, the speeches *On the Embassy*, 344 B.C., and *On the Crown*, 330 B.C. The history of the quarrel has been given in earlier chapters, and the speeches themselves to some extent described, since an account of the lives of the two orators must have been very incomplete without a full reference to their antagonism.[3] A few supplementary remarks may, however, be in place here.

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 190.
[2] *Ctes.*, § 52.
[3] *Vide supra*, pp. 168, 194, 223.

In the *Embassy* Demosthenes has to fight an uphill fight; he accuses Aeschines of having, from corrupt motives, concluded a dishonourable and fatal peace. He can bring no direct evidence of the guilt of his rival, but his presumptive evidence is strong. He has one undisputed fact to work upon: Aeschines, on his return from the second embassy, made certain statements and promises which misled the people, and resulted in the occupation of Thermopylae and the ruin of Phocis. Aeschines himself must either have been duped or bribed by Philip, and as he has never admitted that he was a fool, it becomes certain that he was a knave. A long section of the speech (§§ 29-97) is devoted to a description of the effects of Aeschines' policy, and another (§§ 98-149) infers his guilt on the lines indicated and from other incidents in his career. A presumption of guilt had already been reached in the opening sections (§§ 9-28) where the sudden change of front of Aeschines is described. The impression is strengthened by a review of the events of the second embassy (§§ 150-178). The charge has now been established as far as circumstances permit; the remainder of the speech, almost as long as this first part, is really a supplement. It is more discursive, and in some places, by its enunciation of general principles, recalls the tone of deliberative oratory.

The speech *On the Crown*,[1] 330 B.C., surpasses even the preceding speech in the appearance of disorder, which is probably due to deep design. The unity and consistency of the whole is preserved by the thought, which pervades every section, that the speaker must identify himself with the city; his policy has been

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 223.

hers; personal interests are merged in those of the community, and the case is to be won not on technical points of law but by a justification of the broader principles which have underlain all actions of the State.

The speeches *Against Aristogiton*, 325-4 B.C.,[1] are generally considered spurious; Weil, however, defends the authenticity of the first, while abandoning the second. The process is an attempt to crush a malicious and dangerous sycophant.

Two more public speeches by contemporary writers are included wrongly in editions of Demosthenes: *Against Neaera*, written for Apollodorus between 343 and 339 B.C., on a question of the legal status of a *hetaira*, and *Against Theocrines*, about 340 B.C. Theocrines was another sycophant, whom Demosthenes branded for ever by using his name as a term of abuse, referring to Aeschines as 'a Theocrines with the bearing of a tragic actor.'[2]

C.—Deliberative Speeches

On the Symmories, 354 B.C., deals with a rumour that Persia intended to invade Greece. Demosthenes points out that this apprehension is unfounded, and discourages any rash steps; but admits that trouble is to be anticipated in the future, and so finds an opportunity for introducing a scheme of naval reform. The money could be obtained when the danger was imminent;[3] it was necessary now to perfect the machinery. The style is Thucydidean.

[1] We know from Dinarchus, *Aristogiton*, § 13, that this trial shortly preceded the affair of Harpalus.

[2] *de Cor.*, § 313, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης. [3] *Vide supra*, pp. 244-245.

For the people of Megalopolis, 353 B.C. Megalopolis, the city of the Arcadian league, instituted by Epaminondas, was threatened with disruption by Sparta, and appealed to Athens. Sparta sent an embassy at the same time. Demosthenes, professing neutrality, really supported the Arcadians, wishing to preserve their integrity for the sake of the balance of power. He failed in his object.

First Philippic, 351 B.C., *vide supra*, pp. 206-210.

For the Liberty of the Rhodians, 351 B.C., supports the claim of the islanders against oppression by Artemisia, widow of Mausolus of Caria. Demosthenes failed again, chiefly through the prejudice against Rhodes, which had revolted against Athens in 357 B.C.

First, Second, and *Third Olynthiacs*, all in 349 B.C., *vide supra*, p. 210.

On the Peace, 346 B.C., *vide supra*, p. 212.

Second Philippic, 344 B.C., *vide supra*, pp. 213-214.

On the Chersonese, 341 B.C., *vide supra*, pp. 215-216.

Third Philippic, 341 B.C., *vide supra*, pp. 216-218.

The spurious *Fourth Philippic* (341-340 B.C.) has been discussed (*supra*, p. 218). The speech on *Halonnesus* (342 B.C.) is attributed to Hegesippus. It is a reply to an offer on the part of Philip to present to Athens the island of Halonnesus which he had seized, after clearing out the pirates who occupied it.[1]

[1] This Hegesippus, an orator of secondary importance, was an ardent supporter of the patriotic party. In 357 B.C. he had brought an accusation against one Callippus in connexion with the affairs of Cardia (*de Halon.*, § 43, and the hypothesis to the speech). In 343 B.C. he was one of an embassy sent to Philip (Demos., *de Falsa Leg.*, § 331). He was still alive in 325 B.C. (Croiset, vol. iv. p. 621). The extant speech consists of a clear and straightforward discussion of the various points in Philip's proposal; the style is easy, but without distinction, and Dionysius, who did not doubt that it was the work of Demosthenes, remarks that the orator has reverted

On the Treaty with Alexander, date uncertain, probably 335 B.C., is also by a contemporary of Demosthenes. The theme is,—Treaties should be observed by all, but Macedon has broken promises, so this is an opportunity for Athens to recover her freedom.

The *Answer to Philip's Letter* and the speech περὶ συντάξεως (on financial organization) are generally regarded as rhetorical forgeries.

Two epideictic speeches, the *Epitaphius* and *Eroticus*, are almost certainly not by Demosthenes, and the six *Letters* are doubtful. The fifty-six *prooemia*, or introductions to speeches, are probably genuine exercises of the orator's early days.

to the style of Lysias (*de Demos.*, ch. ix.). Hiatus is frequent and there are some monotonous repetitions. Critics were somewhat shocked by the concluding phrase of § 45—'If you carry your brains in your heads, and not in your heels so as to walk on them.' Aeschines calls the orator κρώβυλος, from his affected way of wearing his hair in a 'bun' on the top of his head.

CHAPTER X

PHOCION, DEMADES, PYTHEAS

THOUGH as a rule an orator could not hope to be successful in fourth-century Athens without a professional training, yet there were at times men who, either through strength of character or natural gifts, could dispense with a rhetorical education.

Foremost among the men of the peace party was Phocion, an aristocrat by instinct if not by birth; a man admired alike for ability and integrity, so that, though he was no great orator, his speeches always commanded respect. He aspired, like Pericles, to be both a statesman and a general, and in the former capacity had at times to speak in the assembly. Various anecdotes in Plutarch point to his efforts to attain a conciseness which was almost laconic. His utterance was as trenchant as it was brief—Demosthenes called him 'the knife that cuts my speeches down'; and he had a lively wit, which must have pleased his hearers even though his policy was unpopular. On one occasion, when the people applauded him—which was rare, for he neither courted nor expected popularity—he paused in his speech and asked, 'Have I said something absurd?'

An unsparing critic of the democracy, as he was nevertheless their faithful servant, he continued, from

the purest motives, to urge peace, though the best years of his life were spent in war. He was respected for his high character by Philip and Alexander, and acquiesced in the government instituted by Antipater in 322 B.C., but fell a victim to the hatred of the extreme democrats, and was forced to drink hemlock, at the age of eighty years, in 317 B.C.

Demades, his contemporary, and a member of the same political party, is a perfect type of the vulgar demagogue. He depended for his success on a lively wit and a never-failing flow of words. After the battle of Chaeronea, where he was taken prisoner, he became an avowed agent of Philip and Alexander.[1] In consequence of his supposed services to Athens after the destruction of Thebes, he attained great popularity, his statue was erected in the market-place, and the more material benefit of perpetual meals in the Prytaneum was decreed to him. He was put to death by Cassander, the son of Antipater; his fellow-citizens melted down his statues and applied the metal to even baser purposes.[2] His recorded sayings show imagination—'Alexander is not dead; if he were, the whole world would stink of his corpse'; or again, 'Macedon without Alexander would be like the Cyclops without his eye';[3] finally, Athens is to him 'not the sea-fighter whom our ancestors knew, but an old woman, wearing slippers and supping barley-water.'[4] For the high opinion entertained of his eloquence we may refer to the verdict of Theophrastus—'Demosthenes is an orator worthy of Athens; Demades is on a higher

[1] Dinarchus, *Demos.*, § 104, ὁμολογῶν λαμβάνειν καὶ λήψεσθαι.
[2] Plut., *Moralia*, 820 F, κατεχώνευσαν εἰς ἁμίδας.
[3] Demetrius, *de Elocutione*, §§ 282, 284.
[4] *Ibid.*, § 286.

plane than Athens.'[1] We have no further means of forming any conception of his style.

Pytheas, another orator who raised himself by his talents from a humble position, was much younger than the previous two, who were about contemporary with Demosthenes.[2] He was one of the prosecutors of Demosthenes in the affair of Harpalus in 324 B.C. Soon after the death of Alexander he was banished, took service with Antipater, and worked as his agent in the Peloponnese, using his influence to thwart the efforts of Demosthenes towards united resistance. After this we lose sight of him. He is said to have had talent, but to have been handicapped by lack of education. He was the coiner of the famous phrase about the speeches of Demosthenes, that they 'smelt of the lamp,' and another equally apt, though less familiar, that Demosthenes 'had swallowed Isaeus whole.'[3]

[1] For this and other judgments, see Plut., *Demos.*, chs. viii.-x.
[2] *Ibid.*, ch. viii.
[3] Dionysius, *Isaeus*, ch. iv.

CHAPTER XI

LYCURGUS, HYPERIDES, DINARCHUS

§ 1. *Life*

LYCURGUS, according to Libanius, was older than Demosthenes,[1] though they were practically contemporaries. He belonged to the illustrious house of the Eteobutadae, who traced their descent from one Butes, brother of Erechtheus. The priesthood of Posidon-Erechtheus, and other religious offices, were hereditary in this family.

The grandfather of the orator, also called Lycurgus, was put to death by the Thirty ; his father, Lycophron, is known only by name.

In the orator's extant speech, and in his recorded actions, we find abundant proof of a sincere piety and deep religious feeling, which were natural in the true representative of such a family. The traditions of his house may well have turned his thoughts to the stern virtues of ancient days, the days of Athenian greatness, when self-sacrifice was expected of a citizen. He expresses a friendly feeling towards Sparta.

Of his earlier political life we know only that he was an ally of Demosthenes.[2] He came into greater prominence after Chaeronea, and was one of the ten orators whose surrender was demanded by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes.

[1] Hypothesis to Demos., *Against Aristogiton.*

[2] In some MSS. of Demosthenes (*Phil.*, iii., § 72) his name occurs as a member of an embassy which made a tour of the Peloponnese in 343 B.C. to rouse opposition against Philip.

In 338 B.C., when the war party came into power, he succeeded Eubulus, the nominee of the peace party, in an important financial office. In the decree quoted by the Pseudo-Plutarch he is called 'Steward of the public revenue' (*τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου ταμίας*), which is probably not his correct title, though it fairly represents his appointment.[1] He kept this office for twelve years. His long administration, which was characterized by absolute probity, brought the finances of Athens to a thoroughly sound condition. During his office he built a theatre and an odeon, completed an arsenal, increased the fleet, and improved the harbour of Piraeus. He also embellished the city with works of art—statues of the great poets erected in the public places, golden figures of Victory and golden vessels dedicated in the temples. His respect for the poets was further shown by his decree that an official copy should be made of the works of the three great tragedians—a copy which afterwards passed into the possession of the Alexandrine library.[2]

He conceived it as his mission to raise the standard of public and private life. Himself almost an ascetic,[3] he enacted sumptuary laws; as a religious man by instinct and tradition, he built temples and encouraged religious festivals; an ardent patriot by conviction,

[1] See (Aristotle) *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, ch. 43, with Sandys' notes. He must have been either *ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* or president of *οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν*, or perhaps he held both these appointments, as the scope of his work seems to imply. Ps.-Plutarch says *πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν χρημάτων*.

[2] Ptolemy Philadelphus borrowed it in order to have it copied. He deposited a large sum as security, but in the end he sacrificed the deposit, kept the original, and presented Athens with his new copy.

[3] He wore the same clothes in summer and winter, and shoes only in very severe weather (*Ps.-Plut.*).

he thought it his duty to undertake the ungrateful part of a public prosecutor, pursuing all who failed in their sacred duty towards their country. In this way he conducted many prosecutions, which were nearly all successful. He was never a paid advocate or a writer of speeches for others; indeed he would have thought it criminal to write or speak against his convictions.[1] His indictments were characterized by such inflexible severity that his contemporaries compared him to Draco, saying that he wrote his accusations with a pen dipped in death instead of blood.[2]

He died a natural death in 324 B.C.,[3] and was honoured by a public funeral. His enemy Menesaechmus, who succeeded to his office, accused him of having left a deficit, though, according to one story, Lycurgus, on the point of death, had been carried into the ecclesia and successfully defended himself on that score. His sons were condemned to make restitution, and, being unable to pay, were thrown into prison, in spite of an able defence by Hyperides. They were released on an appeal by Demosthenes, then in exile.[4]

§ 2. *Works*

Fifteen speeches of Lycurgus were preserved in antiquity, nearly all accusations on serious charges. He prosecuted Euxenippus, whom Hyperides defended; he spoke against the orator Demades, and, in alliance with Demosthenes, against the sycophant Aristogiton. Other speeches known to us by name are *Against Autolycus*, *Against Leocrates*, two speeches *Against Lycophron*,

[1] See his condemnation of the advocates of Leocrates, § 135.

[2] οὐ μέλανι ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ χρίοντα τὸν κάλαμον κατὰ τῶν πονηρῶν (*Ps.-Plut.*).

[3] Suidas.

[4] Assuming (with Blass) the authenticity of the third letter of Demosthenes, which is doubtful.

Against Lysicles, against Menesaechmus, a *Defence of himself against Demades, Against Ischyrias, πρὸς τὰς μαντείας* (obscure title), *Concerning his administration, Concerning the priestess*, and *Concerning the priesthood*.[1]

Only one speech is now extant, the impeachment of Leocrates.

Leocrates, an Athenian, during the panic which succeeded the battle of Chaeronea, fled from Athens to Rhodes, and thence migrated to Megara, where he engaged in trade for five years. About 332 B.C. he returned to Athens, thinking that his desertion would have been forgotten; but Lycurgus prosecuted him as a traitor.

Only a small part of the speech is really devoted to proving the charge. By § 36 Lycurgus regards it as generally admitted. The remaining 114 sections consist mostly of comment and digressions which aim at emphasizing the seriousness of the crime and produce precedent for the infliction of severe punishment in such cases.

Analysis

1. *Introduction.* Justice and piety demand that I should bring Leocrates to trial (§§ 1-2); the part of a prosecutor is unpopular, but it is my duty to undertake it (§§ 3-6). This is a case of exceptional importance, and you must give your decision without prejudice or partiality, emulating the Areopagus (§§ 7-16).
2. *Narrative.* The flight of Leocrates to Rhodes. *Evidence* (§§ 17-20). His move to Megara and occupation there. *Evidence* (§§ 21-23).

[1] This list is taken from Suidas. The list compiled by Blass, from various sources, is different in some details.

3. *Argument.* Comments on the narrative. Possible line of defence (§§ 24-35). The case is now proved. It remains to describe the circumstances of Athens at the time when Leocrates deserted her (§ 36).

4. The panic after the battle of Chaeronea (§§ 37-45). Praise of those who fell in the battle there (§§ 46-51). Acquittal is impossible (§§ 52-54). Another ground of defence cut away (§§ 55-58). Further excuses disallowed (§§ 59-62). Attempt of his advocates to belittle his crime refuted by appeal to the principles of Draco (§§ 63-67). They appeal to precedent—the evacuation of the city before the battle of Salamis: this precedent can be turned against them (§§ 68-74). The sanctity of oaths and punishment for perjury. Appeals to ancient history. Codrus (§§ 75-89). Leocrates says he is confident in his innocence—*quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat* (§§ 90-93). Providence (§§ 94-97). Examples of self-sacrifice; quotations from Euripides and Homer (§§ 97-105). Praise of Sparta. Influence of Tyrtaeus on patriots. Thermopylae (§§ 106-110). Severity of our ancestors towards traitors (§§111-127). Sparta was equally severe (§§ 128-129). Due severity will discourage treachery, and the treachery of Leocrates is of the basest sort (§§ 130-134). His advocates are as bad as he is (§§ 135-140). Appeal to the righteous indignation of the judges (§§ 141-148).

Epilogue (§§ 149-150):

'I have come to the succour of my country and her religion and her laws, and have pleaded my case straight-

forwardly and justly, neither slandering Leocrates for his general manner of living, nor bringing any charge foreign to the present matter; but you must consider that in acquitting him you condemn your country to death and slavery. Two urns stand before you, the one for betrayal, the other for salvation; votes placed in the former mean the ruin of your fatherland, those in the latter are given for civil security and prosperity. If you let Leocrates go, you will be voting for the betrayal of Athens, her religion, and her ships; but if you put him to death, you will encourage others to guard and secure your country, her revenues, and her prosperity. So imagine, Athenians, that the land and its trees are supplicating you, that the harbours, the dockyards, and the walls of the city are imploring you; that the temples and holy places are urging you to come to their help; and make an example of Leocrates, remembering what charges are brought against him, and how mercy and tears of compassion do not weigh more with you than the safety of the laws and the commonwealth.'[1]

§ 3. *Style, etc.*

Lycurgus is called a pupil of Isocrates; whether he was actually a student under the great master we cannot be sure, but undoubtedly he had studied the master's works. The influence of the *Panegyric* may be traced here and there in the forms of sentences and in certain terms of speech which are characteristic of the epideictic style. Blass and others have drawn attention to isolated sentences in the speech against Leocrates which might have been deliberately modelled, with only the necessary changes of words for the different circumstances, on sentences in Isocrates.[2] The employment of a pair

[1] §§ 149-150.

[2] *E.g.* cf. § 3, *ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὥσπερ ὀυφέλιμόν ἐστι*, etc., with Isocr. viii. (*de Pace*), § 36, *ἠβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὥσπερ προσῆκόν ἐστιν*, etc.; also § 7 with Isocr. vii. (*Areopagiticus*), § 43, etc.

of synonyms, or words of similar sense, where one would suffice, also belongs to this style [1]—*e.g.* safeguard and protect, § 3; infamous and inglorious, § 91; greatheartedness and nobility, § 100.

With these we must class such phrases as *τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων* for *τὰ κοινὰ ἀδικήματα* [2] (§ 6), and the employment of abstract words in the plural, as *εὔνοιαι, φόβοι*, § 48, 43.

Lycurgus is very variable with regard to hiatus. In some instances he has deliberately avoided it by slight distortions of the natural order of words; [3] in some passages he has been able to avoid it without any dislocation of order—a work of greater skill; [4] but again there are sentences where the sequences of open vowels are frequent and harsh. [5] Other instances of careless writing may be found in the inartistic joining of sentences and clauses, for instance in §§ 49-50, where several successive clauses are connected by *γάρ*, [6] or in the clumsy accumulation of participles, as in § 93. [7] We must conclude that Lycurgus, though so familiar with the characteristics of Isocratean prose as to reproduce them by unconscious imitation, was too much interested in his subject to care about being a stylist; and that

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 134.

[2] This circumlocution may have been employed originally for the avoidance of hiatus, as in the example quoted, and in § 111, *τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων*; it is, however, also used in cases where no such consideration enters, *e.g.* § 48, *τοὺς ποιητοὺς τῶν πατέρων*.

[3] *E.g.* § 7, *οὐ μικρόν τι μέρος συνέχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως, οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλιγὸν χρόνον*, where *συνέχει | οὐδ'* is deliberately avoided.

[4] *E.g.* §§ 71-73.

[5] *E.g.* § 143, *καὶ αὐτίκα μάλ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσει ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου.* § 20, *πολλοὶ ἐπείσθησαν τῶν μαρτύρων ἢ ἀμνημονεῖν ἢ μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἢ ἑτέραν πρόφασιν εὑρεῖν.*

[6] See the translation on p. 278.

[7] *φυγόντα, καὶ . . . ἀκούσαντα . . ., ἀφικόμενον καὶ . . . καταφυγόντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον . . . ἀποθανόντα.*

though, like Demosthenes, he wrote his speeches out, he really belongs rather to the class of improvisatory speakers like Phocion.

His tendency towards the epideictic style is also seen in his treatment of his subject-matter; thus §§ 46-51 are nothing but a condensed funeral speech on those who died at Chaeronea. It is introduced with an apology (§ 46); it may seem irrelevant, he says, but it is frankly introduced to point the contrast between the patriot and the traitor. The concluding sections of the eulogy are as follows:

'And if I may use a paradox which is bold but nevertheless true, they were victorious in death. For to brave men the prizes of war are freedom and valour; for both of these the dead may possess. And further, we may not say that our defeat was due to them, whose spirits never quailed before the terror of the enemy's approach; for to those who fall nobly in battle, and to them alone, can no man justly ascribe defeat; for fleeing from slavery they make choice of a noble death. The valour of these men is a proof, for they alone of all in Greece had freedom in their bodies; for as they passed from life all Greece passed into slavery; for the freedom of the rest of the Greeks was buried in the same tomb with their bodies. Hence they proved to all that they were not warring for their personal ends, but facing danger for the general safety. So, Gentlemen, I need not be ashamed of saying that their souls are the garland on the brows of their country.'[1]

This, with the exception of a slight imperfection of style already noticed, is good in its way, in the style which tradition had established as appropriate to such subjects. It is less conventional and, in spite of its bold metaphors, less insincere than Gorgias, avoiding as it does the extravagance of his antithetical style.

[1] §§ 49-50.

But in spite of the speaker's apology we feel that it is out of place, and its effect is spoiled by the use to which it is put in the argumentative passage which immediately follows :

'And because they showed reason in the exercise of their courage, you, men of Athens, alone of all the Greeks, know how to honour noble men. In other States you will find memorials of athletes in the market-places ; in Athens such records are of good generals and of those who slew the tyrant. Search the whole of Greece and you will barely find a few men such as these, while in every quarter you will easily find men who have won garlands for success in athletic contests. So, as you bestow the highest honours on your benefactors, you have a right to inflict the severest punishments on those by whom their country is dishonoured and betrayed.' [1]

His use of examples from ancient history is similar to that of Isocrates, *e.g.* in the *Philip* and the *Panegyric* ; but many of these episodes are forcibly dragged into a trial of the kind with which Lycurgus was concerned, whereas those of Isocrates always help to convey the lesson which he is trying to enforce. Thus the following passage, which succeeds a quotation from Homer, leads up to a digression on Tyrtaeus, accompanied by a lengthy quotation from his works. There is only a bare pretence that all this has anything to do with the case :

'Hearing these lines and emulating such actions, our ancestors were so disposed towards manly courage that they were content to die not only for their own fatherland but for all Greece, as their common fatherland. Those, at any rate, who faced the barbarians at Marathon, conquered the armament of all Asia, by their individual sacrifice gain-

[1] § 51.

ing security for all the Greeks in common, priding themselves not upon their fame but on doing deeds worthy of their country, setting themselves up as champions of the Greeks and masters of the barbarians; for they made no nominal profession of courage, but gave an actual display of it to all the world.' [1]

Here Lycurgus has reverted to the antithetical style of Antiphon, the opposition of 'word' and 'deed,' 'private' and 'public,' and the like. We are also from time to time reminded of Antiphon by the prominence given in the *Leocrates* to religious considerations. The digressions may be partly explained by the speaker's avowed motive in introducing some of them —his wish to be an educator. He introduces a very moral tale of a young Sicilian who, tarrying behind to save his father, on the occasion of an eruption of Etna, was providentially saved while all the others perished. This is his excuse—'The story may be legendary, but it will be appropriate for all the younger men to hear it now'; [2] and the manner of the lecturer is evident elsewhere—'There are three influences above all which guard and protect the democracy and the welfare of the city,' etc. 'There are two things which educate our youth:—the punishment of evil-doers and the rewards bestowed on good men.' [3]

Quite apart fron these decorative digressions, Lycurgus admits into his ordinary discourse poetical phrases and metaphors which the stricter taste of Isocrates would have excluded. The bold personifications in his epilogue and elsewhere are cases in point:

'So imagine, Athenians, that the land and its trees are supplicating you; that the harbours, the dockyards, and

[1] § 104. [2] § 95. [3] §§ 3, 10; cf. also § 79.

the walls of the city are imploring you ; that the temples and holy places are urging you to come to their help.' [1]

Lycurgus must have tried the patience of his hearers by his lengthy quotations from the poets. No other orator, perhaps, would have dared to recite fifty-five lines of Euripides and to follow them, after a short extract from Homer, with thirty-two lines of Tyrtaeus. Aeschines, no doubt, was fond of quoting, but his extracts are comparatively short and generally to the point ; he can make good use of a single couplet. Demosthenes too, in capping his great adversary's quotations, observed moderation and season. But the long quotations in Lycurgus are superfluous ; that from Euripides is a mere excrescence, for he has already summarized in half a dozen lines the story from which he draws his moral ; and the only purpose in telling the story at all is to introduce the refrain ' Leocrates is quite a different kind of person.'

In this matter Lycurgus lacks taste—that is to say, he lacks a sense of proportion ; but for all that he is felt to be speaking naturally quite according to his own character ; he is attaining the highest *ethos* by being himself. We know his interest in the tragedians from the fact that he caused an official copy of the plays to be preserved ; and though religious motives would suffice to account for this decree, probably personal feeling, the statesman's private affection for the works which he thus perpetuated, to some degree influenced his judgment.

[1] § 150, cf. also § 43. ' He contributed nothing to the nation's safety, at a time when the country was contributing her trees, the dead their sepulchres, and the temples their arms.' And § 17, οὔτε τοὺς λιμένας τῆς πόλεως ἐλεῶν ; § 61, πόλεώς ἐστι θάνατος ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι. Hyperides has a similarly bold expression, ' Condemning the city to death.'

Though he may be unskilful, if judged by technical standards, Lycurgus impresses us by his dignified manner. He will not condescend to any rhetorical device which might detract from this dignity. He has no personal abuse for his opponent; he promises to keep to the specific charge with which the trial is concerned,[1] and at the end of the speech can justly claim that he has done so.[2] Though it may lay him open to the suspicion of sycophancy, he disclaims any personal enmity against Leocrates; he professes to be impelled entirely by patriotic motives, and we believe him.[3] He may seem to us excessively severe; we may regard the crime of Leocrates as nothing worse than cowardice; but we are convinced that to Lycurgus it appeared as the greatest of all crimes; and the Athenian assembly too was apparently so convinced.[4]

Failure in patriotism was to Lycurgus an offence against religion, and religion has the utmost prominence in his speech. There can be no doubt of his sincerity. The court of the Areopagus, which was more directly under religious protection and more closely concerned with religious questions than any other court, is mentioned by him with almost exaggerated praise.[5] The Areopagus was very highly respected by all Athenians, but it was not a democratic court; it was a survival from pre-democratic days. An orator who only wished to propitiate the good-will of his popular audience would praise not the old aristocratic court but the modern popular assembly before which he was speaking.

[1] § 11. [2] § 149. [3] § 5.
[4] Leocrates was acquitted by one vote only.
[5] § 12. 'It is so far superior to other courts that even those who are convicted before it do not question its justice. You should take it as your model.'

Lycurgus gives praise and blame where he thinks them due. He is by no means satisfied with the democratic courts.

'I too, shall follow justice in my prosecution, neither falsifying anything, nor speaking of matters extraneous to the case. For most of those who come before you behave in the most inappropriate fashion; for they either give you advice about public interests, or bring charges, true or false, of every possible kind rather than the one on which you are to be called on to give your verdict.

'There is no difficulty in either of these courses; it is as easy to utter an opinion about a matter on which you are not deliberating as it is to make accusations which nobody is going to answer. But it is not just to ask you to give a verdict in accordance with justice when they observe no justice in making their accusations. And you are responsible for this abuse, for it is you who have given this licence to those who appear before you. . . .'[1]

The whole speech is pervaded by references to religion; Rehdantz has noted that the word θέος occurs no less than thirty-three times; and other words of religious import are very frequent, though the orator never uses ejaculations such as the ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί of Demosthenes. This reiteration is of less significance than the serious tone of the passages in which such references occur; his opening sentences indicate the attitude which he is to maintain:

'Justice and Piety will be satisfied, men of Athens, by the prosecution which I shall institute, on your behalf and on behalf of the gods, against the defendant Leocrates. For I pray to Athena and the other gods, and to the heroes whose statues stand in the city and in the country, that if I have justly impeached Leocrates; if I am bringing to

[1] §§ 11-12.

trial the betrayer of their temples, their shrines and their sanctuaries, and the sacrifices ordained by the laws, handed down to you by your forefathers, they may make me to-day a prosecutor worthy of his offences, as the interests of the people and the city demand; and that you, remembering that your deliberations are concerned with your fathers, your children, your wives, your country, and your religion, and that you have at the mercy of your vote the man who betrayed them all, may prove relentless judges, both now and for all time to come, in dealing with offenders of this kind and degree. But if the man whom I bring to trial before this assembly is not one who has betrayed his fatherland and deserted the city and her holy observances, I pray that he may be saved from this danger both by the gods and by you, his judges.' [1]

Passages later in the speech deepen this impression, and contain definite statements of belief which we cannot disregard:

'For the first act of the gods is to lead astray the mind of the wicked man; and I think that some of the ancient poets were prophets when they left behind them for future generations such lines as these:

For when God's wrath afflicteth any man,
By his own act his wits are led astray,
And his straight judgment warped to crooked ways,
That, sinning, he may know not of his sin.

'The older men among you remember, the younger have heard, the story of Callistratus, whom the city condemned to death. He fled the country, and hearing the god at Delphi declare that if he went to Athens he would obtain his due, he came here, and took sanctuary at the altar of the twelve gods; but none the less he was put to death by the city.

'This was just; for a criminal's due is punishment. And the god rightly gave up the wrong-doer to be punished by

[1] §§ 1-2.

those whom he had wronged; for it would be strange if he revealed the same signs to the pious and the wicked.'

'But I am of opinion, Gentlemen, that the god's care watches over every human action, particularly those concerned with our parents and the dead, and our pious duty towards them; and naturally so, for they are the authors of our being, and have conferred innumerable blessings on us, so that it is an act of monstrous impiety, I will not say to sin against them, but even to refuse to squander our own lives in benefiting them.' [1]

The following fragment deserves quotation as an example of his dignified severity:

'You were a general, Lysicles; a thousand of your fellow-citizens met their death, two thousand were made prisoners, and our enemies have set up a trophy of victory over Athens, and all Greece is enslaved; all this happened under your leadership and generalship; and yet do you dare to live and face the sun's light, and invade the market-place—you, who have become a memorial of disgrace and reproach to your country?' [2]

HYPERIDES

Hyperides, a member of a middle-class family, was born in 389 B.C., and so was almost exactly contemporary with Lycurgus, whose political views he shared. He too, according to his biographer, was a pupil of Isocrates and of Plato, but the influence of the latter can nowhere be traced in his work.

A man of easy morals and self-indulgent habits, he presents a striking contrast to the austerity of Lycurgus. The comic poets satirized his gluttony and his partiality for fish, and the Pseudo-Plutarch records that he took

[1] §§ 92-94. [2] *Against Lysicles*, fr. 75.

a walk through the fish-market every day of his life; but the pursuit of pleasure did not impair his activity.

He was at first a writer of speeches for others, as Demosthenes was at the beginning of his career;[1] but before he reached the age of thirty he began to be concerned personally in trials of political import. He prosecuted the general Autocles on a charge of treachery, in 360 B.C.; he appeared against the orator Aristophon of Azenia, and Diopeithes. He impeached in 343 B.C., Philocrates, who had brought about the peace with Philip.[2] He was sent as a delegate to the Amphictyonic Council,[3] and showed himself a vigorous supporter of the policy of Demosthenes; in 340 B.C., when an attack on Euboea by Philip was anticipated, he collected a fleet of forty triremes, two of which he provided at his own cost. Shortly before Chaeronea he proposed a decree to honour Demosthenes; after the battle he took extreme measures for the public safety, including the enfranchisement of *metoeci* and the manumission of slaves. He was prosecuted by Demades for moving an illegal decree, and retorted, 'The arms of Macedon made it too dark to see the laws; it was not I who proposed the decree, but the battle of Chaeronea.'[4] He was able to retaliate soon afterwards by prosecuting Demades for the same offence of illegality. Demades had proposed to confer the title of *proxenos* on Euthycrates, who had betrayed Olynthus

[1] He could not afford to be particular as to the kind of cases which he took up; the affair of Athenogenes is far from respectable on either side, and several of his speeches were in connexion with *hetairai* of the less reputable sort. His defence of the famous Phryne was his masterpiece.

[2] He mentions these three among the most famous cases in which he has been concerned (*For Euxenippus*, § 28).

[3] Demos., *de Cor.*, §§ 134-135. [4] Fr. 28.

to Philip. A fragment which remains of Hyperides' speech on this subject shows him to be a master of sarcasm.[1]

We know nothing for certain about the origin of the breach between him and Demosthenes; it may have been due to his disapproval of the latter's policy of inactivity when Sparta in 330 B.C. wished to fight with Antipater; at any rate his language in 334 B.C. shows him to be an irreconcilable adversary of Macedon. Nicanor had sent a proclamation to the Greeks requesting them to recognize Alexander as a god, and to receive back their exiles. At the same time Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, had deserted from the king's side and arrived at Athens with a considerable treasure. Demosthenes was in favour of negotiating with Alexander; Hyperides wished to reject the proposals of Nicanor, and use the treasure of Harpalus for continuing the war against Macedon. Harpalus was arrested, but succeeded in escaping, and many prominent statesmen came under suspicion of having received bribes from him. Hyperides was chosen as one of the prosecutors, and Demosthenes was exiled.

Hyperides, after Alexander's death, took the chief responsibility for the Lamian war, and was chosen to pronounce the funeral oration on his friend, the general Leosthenes, and the other Athenians who fell in the war. Demosthenes had now returned from exile; the two patriots were reconciled, and persisted in the policy of resistance from which the prudence of Phocion had long striven to dissuade Athens. After the battle of Crannon, Antipater demanded the surrender of the leaders of the war party; Hyperides fled, was captured

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 295.

and put to death in 322 B.C. He is said to have bitten out his tongue for fear that he might, under torture, betray his friends. His body was left unburied till the piety of a kinsman recovered it and gave him interment in the family tomb by the Rider's Gate. He had proved himself consistent throughout his public life, and however mistaken his policy, especially in the latter years, may have been, honour is due to him for the unflinching patriotism which led him to martyrdom in a vain struggle to uphold his country's honour.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Hyperides was known to the modern world only from the criticisms of Dionysius and other ancient scholars, and from a few minute fragments preserved here and there by quotations in scholiasts and lexicographers. A manuscript is believed to have existed in the library at Buda, but when that city was captured by the Turks in 1526 the library was destroyed or dispersed, and Hyperides was lost.

In 1847 portions of his speeches began to reappear among the papyri discovered in Egypt. In that year a roll, containing fragments of the speech *Against Demosthenes* and of the first half of the *Defence of Lycophron*, was brought to England; a second roll discovered in the same year was found to contain the second half of the *Lycophron* and the whole of the *Euxenippus*. In 1856 were discovered considerable fragments of the Funeral Speech. In 1890, some fragments of the speech *Against Philippides* were acquired by the British Museum, while the most important discovery of all was that of the speech *Against Athenogenes*. The MS. was purchased for the Louvre in 1888, but the complete text was only published in 1892. Its import-

ance may be estimated by the fact that Dionysius couples this speech and the defence of Phryne as being the best examples of a style in which Hyperides surpassed even Demosthenes. The papyrus itself is of interest as giving us one of the very earliest classical MSS. that we possess; it dates from the 2nd century B.C.[1]

In many points Hyperides challenges comparison with Lysias. The criticism of Dionysius is well worth our consideration: 'Hyperides is sure of aim, but seldom exalts his subject; in the technique of diction he surpasses Lysias, in subtlety (of structure) he surpasses all. He keeps a firm hold throughout on the matter at issue, and clings close to the essential details. He is well equipped with intelligence, and is full of charm; he seems simple, but is no stranger to cleverness.'[2]

The first sentence contrasts Hyperides once for all with his contemporary Lycurgus, who, while less sure of his aim, has a personal dignity which gives exaltation to every theme.

We have hardly enough of the work of Hyperides to enable us to form a first-hand judgment as to the merits of his diction compared with that of Lysias. He has, indeed, the same simplicity and naturalness, but hardly, so far as we can judge, the same felicity of expression.

Hermogenes blames him for carelessness and lack of restraint in the use of words, instancing such expressions as *μονώτατος*, *γαλέαγρα*, *ἐπήβολος*, etc., which seem to him unsuited for literary prose. As we have had occasion to notice already, rare and unusual words

[1] The agreement of Blass and Kenyon on this point may be taken as conclusive. Small fragments of another speech *For Lycophron* have been recently published (*Pap. Oxyrh.*, vol. xiii.).

[2] *ἀρχαίων κρίσις*, v. 6.

may be found occasionally in every orator, almost in every writer. Hyperides was no purist; he enlivened his style with words taken from the vocabulary of Comedy and of the streets. He did not wait for authority to use any expression which would give a point to his utterance.

Critics who expected dignified restraint in oratorical prose may have been shocked by the adjective *θριπήδεστος*, 'worm-eaten,' which he applied to Greece; to us it seems an apt metaphor. Of his other colloquialisms some recall the language of Comedy—as *κρόνος* ('an old Fossil'), the diminutive *θεραποντίον*, and *ὀβολοστάτης*[1] ('a weigher of small change' = 'usurer'), *προσπερικόπτειν* ('to get additional pickings'—the metaphor is apparently from pruning a tree), *παιδαγωγεῖν* in the sense of 'lead by the nose.' Others seem to be merely colloquial, part of that large and unconventional vocabulary which was soon to form the basis of Hellenistic Greek; for we must remember that we are already on the verge of Hellenism, and that the Attic dialect must soon give way before the spread of a freer language. In this class we may put *ἐποφθαλμιᾶν* ('to eye covetously'), *ὑποπίπτειν* ('to put oneself under control of somebody'), *ἐνσείω* ('to entrap'), *κατατέμνειν* ('to abuse'), *ἐπεμβαίνω* (poetical or colloquial, 'to trample on').

In some of his speeches relating to *hetairai* he seems to have used coarse language which offended his critics; nothing offensive is found in his extant speeches.[2]

Other metaphors and similes abound; he is fond of comparing the life of the State to the life of a man, as

[1] *ὀβολοστατεῖν* was used by Lysias also (fr. 41).
[2] Demetrius, *περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, § 302.

Lycurgus does also—ἓν μὲν σῶμα ἀθάνατον ὑπείληφας ἔσεσθαι, πόλεως δὲ τηλικαύτης θάνατον κατέγνως. 'You imagine that one person (*i.e.* Philip) can live for ever, and you passed sentence of death on a city as old as ours.' The Homeric phrase ἐπὶ γήρως ὀδῷ (=ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ, 'on the threshold of old age') is curiously introduced into a serious passage in the *Demosthenes* without any preparation or apology. We can only suppose that it was so familiar to his hearers that it would not strike them as being out of place in ordinary speech. It is similarly used by Lycurgus.[1] In the same speech (*Against Demosthenes*) Hyperides speaks of the nation being robbed of its crown, but the metaphor is suggested by the fact that actual crowns had been bestowed on Demosthenes. Such metaphors as 'others are building their conduct on the foundations laid by Leosthenes,' though less common in Greek than in English, are perfectly intelligible. A happy instance of his 'sureness of aim' which Dionysius commended is preserved in a fragment about his contemporaries :

'Orators are like snakes ; all snakes are equally loathed, but some of them, the vipers, injure men, while the big snakes eat the vipers.'[2]

He uses simile, however, with varying success ; the following, though the conception is good, is not properly worked out, as the parallelism breaks down :

'As the sun traverses the whole world, marking out the seasons, and ordering everything in due proportion, and for the prudent and temperate of mankind takes charge of the growth of their food, the fruits of the earth and all else that is beneficial for life ; so our city ever continues to punish the wicked and help the righteous, preserving equal opportunities for all, and restraining covetousness,

[1] *Leoc.*, § 40. [2] Fr. 80.

and by her own risk and loss providing common security for all Greece.'[1]

The *Epitaphios* from which the last quotation is taken is a speech of a formal kind composed in the *epideictic* style, and naturally recalls similar speeches of Isocrates and others. Its composition shows much greater care than was taken with the other speeches; thus there are few examples of harsh hiatus, a matter to which the author as a rule paid no attention. All the other extant speeches have far more instances of clashing vowels.[2] The antithetical sentences are appropriate to the style, and the periodic structure is like that of Isocrates, except that the sentences are, on the whole, shorter and simpler.

In other speeches he mingles the periodic and the free styles with discretion. The objection to a long period is that it takes time to understand it; we cannot fully appreciate the importance of any one part until we have reached the end and are in a position to look back at the whole. For practical oratory it is far better to make a short statement which may be in periodic form, and amplify it by subsequent additions loosely connected by *καί*, *δέ*, *γάρ*, and such particles. This is what Hyperides does with success, for instance in the opening of the *Euxenippus*, an argumentative passage.[3] In narrative passages a free style is expected.[4]

[1] *Epitaphios*, § 5.

[2] Cf. *de Demos.*, col. xi, *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἑπτακόσια φήσας εἶναι τάλαντα, νῦν τὰ ἡμίση ἀναφέρεις, καὶ οὐδ' ἐλογίσω ὅτι τοῦ πάντα ἀνενεχθῆναι ὀρθῶς*, κ.τ.λ. *Ibid.*, col. xiii., *καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀναγκάσουσι* κ.τ.λ. *Euxenippus*, § 19, etc.

[3] §§ 1-3, although a full stop occurs in the second line of § 3, are all really one sentence, but in spite of its length it is perfectly lucid.

[4] A good example of a story told by a succession of short sentences joined by *καί* is to be found in *Athenogenes*, § 5.

In contrast to this flowing style we must notice the quick abrupt succession of short sentences which he sometimes affects, either in the form of question and answer, as in the following fragment, or otherwise :

'"Did you propose that the slaves should be made free?" "I did, to save the free men from becoming slaves." "Did you move that the disfranchised citizens should be enfranchised?"—"I did, in order that all in harmony might fight side by side for their country."'[1]

Still more effective is the following :

'It is on this account that you have enacted laws to deal separately with every possible offence that a citizen may commit. A man commits sacrilege—prosecution for sacrilege before the king-archon. He neglects his parents—the archon sits on his case. A man proposes an illegal measure—there is the council of the Thesmothetae. He makes himself liable to arrest—the "eleven" are permanent officials.'[2]

Hyperides possessed an active wit which enabled him on many occasions to evade an argument by making his opponent appear ridiculous. Euthias, in prosecuting Phryne for impiety, made his audience shudder by describing the torments of the wicked in Hades. 'How is Phryne to blame,' asked Hyperides, 'for the fact that a stone hangs over the head of Tantalus?'[3] In the *Euxenippus*, he complains that the process of impeachment before the assembly has been applied to the present case :

'Impeachment has hitherto been employed against people like Timomachus, Leosthenes, Callistratus, Philon, and Theotimus who lost Sestos—some of them for betraying ships which they commanded, some for betraying cities, and one for giving, as an orator, bad advice to the

[1] Frr. 27-28. [2] *Euxenippus*, §§ 5, 6. [3] Fr. 173.

people. . . . The present state of affairs is ridiculous—Diognides and Antidorus are impeached for hiring flute-players at a higher price than the law allows; Agasicles of Piraeus is impeached for being registered as of Halimus; and Euxenippus is impeached on account of the dream which he says he dreamed.' [1]

His sarcasm is playful at times, even in serious passages; for instance the following:

'These Euboeans Demosthenes enrolled as Athenian citizens, and he treats them as his intimate friends; this need not surprise you; naturally enough, since his policy is always ebbing and flowing, he has secured as his friends people from Euripus.' [2]

Another good example of his sarcastic humour appears in the defence of Euxenippus against the charge of Macedonian sympathy:

'If your assertion (the prosecutor's) were true, you would not be the only person to know it. In the case of all others who in word or deed favour Philip, their secret is not their own; it is shared by the whole city. The very children in the schools know the names of the orators who are in his pay, of the private persons who entertain and welcome his emissaries, and go out into the streets to meet them on their arrival.' [3]

This same sarcasm is in many places a powerful weapon of offence, as in the next extract from the indictment of Demosthenes:

'You, by whose decree he was put in custody, who when the watch was relaxed did nothing to assure it, and when it was abandoned altogether did not bring the guilty to trial—no doubt it was for nothing that you turned the opportunity to such advantage. Are we to believe that

[1] *Euxenippus*, §§ 1-3.

[2] *Against Demos.*, fr. v., col. xv. 15. The tide in the Euripus, which ebbed and flowed nine times a day, was, of course, proverbial.

[3] *Euxenippus*, col. xxxiv., § 22.

Harpalus gradually paid out his money to the minor politicians, who could only make a noise and raise an uproar, and overlooked you, who were master of the whole situation ?' [1]

The following fragment contains the most striking example of irony to be found anywhere in his works ; the situation explains itself :

'The reasons which Demades has introduced are not the true justification for Euthycrates' appointment, but if he must be your *proxenos*, I have composed, and now put forward, a decree setting forth the true reasons why he should be so appointed :—Resolved—that Euthycrates be appointed *proxenos*, for that he acts and speaks in the interests of Philip ; for that, having been appointed a cavalry-leader, he betrayed the Olynthian cavalry to Philip ; for that by so doing he caused the ruin of the people of Chalcidice ; for that after the capture of Olynthus he acted as assessor at the sale of the prisoners ; for that he worked against Athens in the matter of the temple at Delos ; for that, when Athens was defeated at Chaeronea, he neither buried any of the dead nor ransomed any of the captured.'[2]

We have seen already how he could turn his wit against the whole class of orators, to which he belonged himself ; it is pleasant to find him, in a speech which he wrote for a fee, thus describing Athenogenes : 'A common fellow, a professional writer of speeches.' [3] It was the business of the *logographos* to sink his own personality in that of his client, and Hyperides, who was an artist by instinct, did so more successfully than any other speech-writer, except, perhaps, Demosthenes. In the present instance he must have felt a peculiar satisfaction in his work.

In private speeches he introduces many matters

[1] *Against Demos.*, col. xii. [2] Fr. 76.
[3] *Athenogenes*, col. 2, ἄνθρωπον λογόγραφόν τε καὶ ἀγοραῖον.

extraneous to the case ; thus in the *Athenogenes*, though the question is only about a shady business transaction, he rouses odium by references to his adversary's political offences. No doubt many weak cases succeeded by such devices, which call forth the just indignation of Lycurgus.[1] In public cases he has a higher ideal. When Lycurgus was an advocate on the other side, Hyperides referred to him with all the respect due to his character. Even the speech against Demosthenes is entirely free from personal abuse, if we except a little mild banter about Demosthenes' austere habits of sobriety.[2] The indictment of Demosthenes' public actions is vigorous enough, but it is restrained within the limits of good taste, and this is not for the sake of ancient friendship, which Hyperides repudiates :

' After that will you dare to remind me of our friendship ? . . . (as if it were) not you yourself who dissolved that friendship, when you received money to do your country harm, and changed sides ? When you made yourself ridiculous and brought disgrace on us who hitherto had been of your party ? Whereas we might have been held in the highest respect by the people, and been attended for the rest of life's journey by an honourable repute, you shattered all such hopes, and are not ashamed at your age to be tried by the younger generation for receiving bribes. On the contrary, the younger politicians ought to receive education from men like you ; if they committed any hasty action they ought to be rebuked and punished. Things are quite different now, when it falls upon the young men to correct those who have passed the age of sixty. And so, Gentlemen, you may well be angry with Demosthenes, for through you he has had his fair portion of wealth and renown ; and

[1] Lycurgus, *Leocr.*, § 11 ; cf. § 149.
[2] Col. xxxix., the last two fragments of the speech in Blass' edition.

now, with his foot on the threshold of old age, he shows that he cares nothing for his country.' [1]

Dionysius approves the diversity of Hyperides' manner in dealing with his narratives :—' He tells his story on a variety of ways, sometimes in the natural order, sometimes working back from the end to the beginning.' [2] We have no means of judging; the *Euxenippus*, the only complete forensic speech, contains practically no narrative; the story of the *Athenogenes* is, apparently, told straight through without a break, and then followed by evidence and criticism and legal arguments. Then follows the attempt to blacken the character of Athenogenes by extraneous arguments.

We may conclude this section by a few sentences from the treatise *On the Sublime*, expressing an estimate of the general character of his oratory :

' If successes were to be judged by number, not by magnitude, Hyperides would be absolutely superior to Demosthenes. He has more tones in his voice, and more good qualities. He is very nearly first-class in everything, like a pentathlete, so that, while other competitors in every event beat him for the first prize, he is the best of all who are not specialists.' . . . ' Where Demosthenes tries to be amusing and witty, he raises a laugh, but it is against himself. When he attempts to be graceful, he fails still more signally. At any rate, if he had attempted to compose the little speech about Phryne or the one against Athenogenes, he would have established still more firmly the reputation of Hyperides.' ' But . . . the beauties of the latter, though numerous, are not great ; his sobriety renders them ineffective, and leaves the hearer undisturbed—no one, at any rate, is moved to terror by reading Hyperides.' [3]

[1] *Demos.*, v., §§ 20-21.
[2] *de Dinarcho*, ch. 6.
[3] περὶ ὕψους, ch. 34.

And the passage concludes with a sincere tribute to the titanic force of Demosthenes.

Hyperides had seventy-seven speeches ascribed to him, of which fifty-two were thought by the Greek biographer to be genuine.[1] Blass has collected the titles of no less than sixty-five, in addition to the five which are extant in the papyri; so that only seven are unknown by name. Some quotations have been given from the indictment of Demosthenes;[2] the subject-matter has been explained,[3] and the treatment, so far as we can judge from the fragments, criticized.[4] The date is 324 B.C. The *Defence of Lycophron* is a speech in an εἰσαγγελία in which Lycurgus was one of the prosecutors. Lycophron, an Athenian noble, was a commander of cavalry in Lemnos, and was accused of seducing a Lemnian woman of good family, the wife of an Athenian who died before the case came on. The date is uncertain; perhaps *circa* 338 B.C. The case of Euxenippus arises out of the fact that Philip, after Chaeronea, restored the territory of Oropus to Athens. It was divided into five lots, and one lot assigned to every two tribes. A question arose whether the portion given to the Hippothoöntid and Acamantid tribes was not sacred to Amphiaraüs, and Euxenippus and two others were deputed to sleep in the shrine of the hero and obtain from their dreams a divination on the subject. They reported a dream which could be interpreted in favour of their tribes. In the present instance they are prosecuted for having given a false report of their dreams. The defendant and another advocate had already preceded Hyperides, so that the present speech is mainly devoted to bickering with the

[1] *Ps.-Plut.*, § 15.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 18, 294-296.
[3] *Supra*, p. 225-227.
[4] *Supra*, p. 296.

prosecutors, of whom Lycurgus was one. Date about 330 B.C.

The speech *Against Philippides*[1] is very much mutilated. It is a γραφὴ παρανόμων against Philippides, otherwise unknown, who had proposed a vote of thanks to a board of πρόεδροι or presidents of the ecclesia for their action in passing a certain decree, which seems to have been a vote of honour to Philip. It was passed under compulsion, and Philippides attempted subsequently to exonerate them from all possible blame by a decree which is here declared illegal.

The *Epitaphios* or Funeral Speech is a composition in a well-known conventional form. The topics for such a speech were already laid down by long custom. The skill of the orator is seen in his original way of handling the traditional commonplaces. First of all there is the strong personal note. He had been associated in politics with Leosthenes, and with him was jointly responsible for the Lamian war in which the latter met his death.[2] His personal feeling for the general is very prominent in the speech; Leosthenes is in fact the principal theme; he is put, as M. Croiset remarks, almost on a level with Athens:—'Leosthenes seeing all Greece humbled and cowering, brought to ruin by the traitors whom Philip and Alexander had bought; seeing that our city wanted a man, and all Greece wanted a city, to take the leadership, freely gave himself for his country and gave our city for the Greeks to win their freedom.'[3] It is not, he says, that he wishes to slight the other patriots, but in praising Leosthenes he is praising all. He draws a fancy picture of the heroes of antiquity welcoming Leosthenes in Hades. It is a sign of the times that the individual

[1] Date 336-5 B.C. [2] 322 B.C. [3] *Epitaphios*, § 10.

should so be exalted; we have travelled far indeed from the cold impersonality of Pericles, to whom the nameless heroes who sacrifice their lives are but part of a pageant passing before the eyes of the deathless city. The consolation to the living is remarkable for containing references to a future life, which is quite without precedent :—' It is hard to comfort those who are in such grief; for neither speeches nor laws can send sorrow to sleep ' . . . (there follow remarks about eternal praise, which are not particularly characteristic; but he concludes in a higher strain) :—' Furthermore, if the dead are as though they had never been, our friends are released from sickness and pain and the other misadventures which afflict mankind; but if the dead have consciousness, and are under the care of God, as we believe, we may be sure that they, who upheld the honour of the gods when it was threatened, are now the objects of God's loving kindness.'[1] Truly Socrates had not lived in vain.

The speech *Against Athenogenes*[2] is an admirable example of the orator's lighter style. Its chief merit is the way in which the narrative of the events is delivered by the speaker.

Hyperides' client, a young Athenian, wished to obtain possession of a young slave, who was employed in a perfumery-shop. Athenogenes, the owner of the shop—' a vulgar speech-maker, and worst of all an Egyptian '—saw his opportunity for a good stroke of business, and at first refused to sell the slave. A quarrel ensued. At this point Antigona, once the most accomplished courtesan of her day, but now retired, came and offered her services to the young man. She contrived to pick

[1] *Epitaphios*, §§ 41-43. [2] Date between 328 and 323 B.C.

up for herself a gratuity of 300 drachmas, just as a proof of his good opinion. Later, she told the young man that she had persuaded Athenogenes to release the boy, not separately, but together with his father and brother, for forty minas. The young man borrowed the money; a touching scene of reconciliation followed, Antigona exhorting the two adversaries to behave as friends in future. 'I said that I would do so, and Athenogenes answered that I ought to be grateful to Antigona for her services; "and now," he said, "you shall see what a kindness I will do you for her sake."' He offered, instead of setting the slaves free, to sell them formally to the plaintiff, who could then set them free when he liked, and so win their gratitude. 'As to any debts they have contracted, you can take them over; they are trifling, and the stock remaining in the shop will easily cover them.' Assent having been given, Athenogenes produced a contract in these terms, which he had brought with him, and it was signed and sealed on the spot. Within three months the unhappy purchaser found himself liable for business debts and deposits amounting to five talents. Athenogenes made the preposterous excuse that he had not known anything about this enormous debt. His dupe was in an awkward position, as he had formally taken over the business and its liabilities. He tries to prove that the contract should be held not valid. His legal claim is very slight; the appeal is really to equity. The second part of the speech deals with Athenogenes in his political relations. The epilogue exhorts the judges to take this opportunity of punishing such a scoundrel on general grounds, even if he cannot actually be brought under any particular law.

DINARCHUS

Dinarchus, the last of the ten orators of the Alexandrian Canon, was a Corinthian by birth. He lived as a *metoecus* at Athens, but never obtained the citizenship, and was therefore unable to appear in the courts or the assembly. He was born about 360 B.C.; on coming to Athens he is said to have studied under Theophrastus, and he began to write speeches, as a professional *logographos*, about 336 B.C. He did not come into prominence till about the time of the affair of Harpalus, and his most flourishing period was after the death of Alexander, under the oligarchic constitution set up by Cassander. During these fifteen years, 322-307 B.C., he composed a large number of speeches. In 307 B.C. the democratic restoration threatened danger to all who had flourished under the oligarchy, and he retired to Chalcis in Euboea, where he lived for fifteen years.[1] He returned to Athens in 292 B.C. and stayed for a time with one Proxenos, who, taking advantage of his age and infirmity, robbed him of a large sum of money. He brought his host to justice, and, according to Dionysius and other biographers, himself spoke in court for the first time. We know nothing of the result of the case, and have no information of the rest of the life of Dinarchus or his death.[2]

[1] Dion. (*de Dinarcho*, ch. iv., *ad fin.*) believed that he wrote no speeches during this time, for nobody would take the trouble to go to Chalcis for a speech either in a private or public action—*οὐ γὰρ τέλεον ἠπόρουν οὕτω λόγων*. Dionysius consequently rejected as spurious all speeches attributed to Dinarchus which were dated between 307 and 292 B.C.

[2] Suidas says that he was appointed Commissioner of the Peloponnese (*ἐπιμελητὴς Πελοποννήσου*) by Antipater, but this was another Dinarchus. Demetrius Magnes, quoted by Dionysius (*Din.*, ch. 1), mentions four men of this name.

Dinarchus wrote, according to Demetrius Magnes,[1] over a hundred and sixty speeches. Many of these were rejected by Dionysius, who, however, admits the authenticity of a sufficiently large number—sixty out of eighty-seven which he knew.[2] Three only have come down to us, and the authenticity of the longest of these—*Against Demosthenes*—was questioned by Demetrius. We shall, however, treat it as genuine, since in style and subject-matter it is very similar to the others. The three speeches, *Against Demosthenes*, *Aristogiton*, and *Philocles*, all relate to the affair of Harpalus. The corruption connected with this affair was so deep-rooted that it was necessary above all to find men of upright character to conduct the prosecutions, and these would not be well-known orators, since most of the prominent politicians were implicated as defendants in the case. It is hardly remarkable, therefore, that professional speech-writers should be employed or that one writer should compose speeches to be delivered in three of the many prosecutions.

Dinarchus, the last of the truly Attic orators, is of very little importance in himself, but must find a place in any history of this kind as representing the beginning of the decline of oratory. 'He flourished most of all,' says Dionysius, 'after the death of Alexander, when Demosthenes and the other orators had been condemned to perpetual banishment or put to death, and there was nobody left who was worth mentioning after them.' This contains a fairly just estimate of the merits of the man, who, according to the same critic, 'neither invented a style of his own, like Lysias and Isocrates

[1] In Dionysius, *de Din.*, ch. 1.

[2] The curious may collect the titles from Dionysius (*de Din.* chs. x.-xiii.).

and Isaeus, nor perfected the inventions of others, as, in our judgment, Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides did.'[1] His merits and defects are very obvious. He knows all the technique of prose composition; he can avoid hiatus cleverly, and writes a style which is easily intelligible, even when his sentences are inordinately long. He has some skill in the use of new words and metaphors—*μετοιωνίσασθαι τὴν τύχην*, 'auspicate your fortunes anew'—*ἐκκαθάρατε*, 'purge him away from the State'—*δευσοποιὸς πονηρία*, 'ingrained wickedness.' He has some vigour and liveliness: abrupt statements like the following are terse and graphic enough—'You chose prosecutors in due course; he came before the court; you acquitted him';[2] he makes good use of rhetorical questions addressed to the defendant:—'Did you propose any motion about it? Did you give any counsel? Did you contribute any money? Did you ever in any small matter prove serviceable to those who were working for the common safety? Not in the slightest degree' . . . etc.[3] His sarcasm, which is rare, because he is generally too directly violent to be sarcastic, is at times pointed:—'Read again the decree which Demosthenes proposed against Demosthenes.'[4] He knows the oratorical tricks: he can flatter the jury by references to their intelligence, by praise of the Areopagus, by encomia on the virtues of their ancestors. He can appeal to ancient and modern precedent for the impartiality of judges and their severity against evil-doers.

He is at his best in the long refutation of the defence which he anticipates from Demosthenes[5]—this is, on

[1] Dion., *Din.*, ch. 2. [2] *Demos.*, § 58. [3] *Ibid.*, § 35.
[4] *Ibid.*, 83. [5] *Demos.*, §§ 48-63.

the whole, orderly and effective—and in short passages like the following from the speech *Against Philocles*:

'Reflecting on these facts, Athenians, and remembering the present crisis, which calls for honour, not corruption, it is your duty to hate evil-doers, to exterminate from your city such beasts, and show the world that the nation has not shared in the degradation of certain of its politicians and generals, and is not a slave to conventional opinion; knowing that, by God's favour, with the help of justice and concord, we shall easily defend ourselves, if any enemies wrongfully attack us, but that in union with corruption and treachery and other such vices which infect mankind, no city can ever be saved.' [1]

He was, then, thoroughly competent; but he was careless. He passes from section to section with no logical and little formal connection; invective takes the place of argument, and even his abuse is incoherent. Everything is overdone; other writers have produced striking effects by slight changes in the order of words; Dinarchus disarranges his order without improving the emphasis.[2] Again, the repetition of a single word may give emphasis, as thus:—'A hireling, men of Athens, a hireling he is and has been'; but this device is used *ad nauseam*.[3] His sentences, great concatenations of participles and relatives, trail along like wounded snakes.[4]

Invective had its place in Athenian oratory, but when on every page we find such expressions as beast,

[1] *Phil.*, § 19.

[2] In such extravagances as ἡ τῶν ἐκ προνοίας φόνων ἀξιόπιστος οὖσα βουλὴ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τἀληθὲς εὑρεῖν (*Demos.*, § 6). Cf. also §§ 12, 23, 59, 110, and elsewhere.

[3] *Demos.*, § 28; cf. §§ 10, 27, 46, 76, etc.

[4] *Demos.*, §§ 18-21 (thirty-six lines without a real stop); *Philocles*, §§ 1-3 (twenty-three lines).

foul creature, foul beast, scum, cheat, accursed, thief, traitor, perjurer, receiver of bribes, hireling, unclean, we feel that the orator is spitting rather than talking.[1] There is a similar lack of decency in his imputation of corrupt motives to all the public actions of Demosthenes, good or bad, and to his exaggeration of the latter's offences. He becomes positively ridiculous when he describes Aristogiton's first imprisonment—the first of many. Aristogiton, the worst man in Athens, or rather, in all the world . . . has spent more time in prison than out . . . the first time he went there he behaved so disgustingly that the other prisoners, the dregs of all the world, refused to have their meals with him, or associate with him on terms of equality.[2] This abuse of a man who is on trial for a merely political offence, is grossly over-coloured, and is probably as false as his description of Demosthenes' callousness :— 'He went about exulting in the city's misfortunes ; he was carried in a litter down the road to Piraeus, mocking at the miseries of the poor.' Finally, his plagiarisms from Demosthenes, Aeschines, and other orators are too numerous to record ; he borrows whole passages without skill or appropriateness.[3] He borrows even from himself.[4] The ancient nicknames for him, *ἀγροῖκος Δημοσθενής, κριθινός Δημοσθενής*—' the boorish Demo-

[1] *θηρίον, μιαρός, μιαρὸν θήριον, κάθαρμα, γόης, κατάρατος, κλέπτης, προδότης, ἐπιωρκηκώς, δωρόδοκος, μισθωτός, καταπυστός* are culled without any special diligence from his elegant repertory.

[2] *Aristog.*, §§ 1, 2, 9-10.

[3] *Demos.*, § 24, description of Thebes, from Aeschines. See Weil, *les Harangues de Démosthène*, p. 338, note on *Philippic*, iii., § 41, and Din., *Aristog.*, § 24, which is borrowed from it : ' Il est à son modèle ce que la bière est au vin.' (This barley-beer was a barbarian drink.)

[4] *E.g.* the passage about Conon's son, *Demos.*, § 14, used again in *Phil.*, § 17.

sthenes,' 'the small-beer Demosthenes,' are as apt as such characterisation can be.[1]

To sum up: the very marked decline of which Dinarchus is typical, is due not to lack of technical ability, but to lack of originality on the intellectual side, and still more to moral causes:—lack of literary conscience, shown in the plagiarisms; lack of proper care, shown in the incoherence of the whole speeches; and lack of all sense of proportion and restraint, shown by the numerous exaggerations of various kinds which have been described above.

[1] Dion., *de Din.*, ch. viii.; Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, B, p. 384, iv.

CHAPTER XII

THE DECLINE OF ORATORY

OWING to the extraordinary success of the Macedonian arms, Hellenic culture spread rapidly over a great part of the world; but it was beaten out thin in the process.[1]

The conditions of life in Greece underwent a great change in the generations which succeeded the death of Alexander. Athens, which had for so long been the intellectual headquarters of the world, was now only a station of secondary importance. Alexandria, founded by the king himself, became under the divine auspices of the Ptolemies not only the great mart of the world but the greatest centre of learning; Pergamus in the course of time rivalled Alexandria, at any rate in literary resources; while Antioch and Tarsus also became prominent in the history of learning.

From early times men of genius born elsewhere in Greece, in the Ionian cities and in Magna Graecia, had turned to Athens for appreciation of their powers. It is easy to see at a glance how much Athens owed to these aliens for her intellectual advancement—Gorgias of Leontini, Protagoras of Abdera, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Thrasymachus of Chalcedon. Her dramatic poets were her own, and so were her great orators,

[1] The general decline of taste reacted on literary style, cf. *infra*, pp. 309-10.

with the exception of Lysias ; but this is partly due to the fact that the constitution of her laws gave little opportunity for aliens to win distinction on the platform or the stage. Of her great historians, one was not of Athenian birth and even wrote in a foreign dialect ; in philosophy no true-born Athenian before Plato won real distinction. In the Macedonian era a distinguished stranger had more prospect not only of appreciation but of material advancement in one of the royal cities than in a city-state which had become little better than a minor satrapy in one of the great empires, and traded only on the fading memories of its former magnificence. Life in the great cities was very different, too, from life in democratic Athens. From the time of Pericles to that of Demosthenes, all citizens had at least a strong corporate feeling ; all citizens knew each other. The sculptor fought side by side with the tanner, the Alcmaeonid met the lamp-seller in debate ; there were many common grounds in which all could meet under conditions of equality. In the law-courts the orator must satisfy not only the learned few but the unlettered many ; in the theatre the poet and his actors appealed to all classes, from the high-priest who must not be allowed to slumber on his central throne to the people who ate sweetmeats in the back rows, and, if dissatisfied, with true Athenian spirit, threw these harmless missiles at the performers.[1] Moreover, all spoke the same language. The diction of tragedy gradually put off its artificiality, and the orators approached nearer and nearer to the idiom of common speech.

In Alexandria, on the other hand, to take one typical

[1] Arist., *Eth. Nic.*, x. 5. 4, οἱ τραγηματίζοντες. Demos., *de Cor.*, cf. *supra*, p. 249.

example, there was no such unity. Among the Greek inhabitants there were many classes—the court-circle, the scholars of the Museum, the merchants, the mercenary troops, all with different aims and occupations; and these formed but a minority. In addition there would be thousands of Jews, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Mesopotamians, and others, to whom Greek was at first a foreign language, and who when they had acquired it spoke, in the κοινή, a dialect corrupted by innumerable foreign elements. Thus, though scholarship persisted and flourished, there must always have been a sharp distinction between the lettered classes and the common people.

Oratory, like all other arts, faded away in Athens after Alexander's death, partly from the general causes indicated, partly on account of the special conditions of Athenian life.

Forced to submit to Antipater in 322 B.C., Athens was allowed to exist on humiliating terms. She received a Macedonian garrison into Munychia, the democracy was overthrown; 12,000 of the poorer citizens were not only disfranchised but expatriated, and an oligarchy was instituted. Five years later a temporary revival occurred, when Polysperchon (317 B.C.) overthrew the oligarchy; but a few months after this Cassander obtained possession of the city and again established a government on narrower lines, installing as governor a man of great erudition and culture, Demetrius of Phalerum. This Demetrius, though practically a satrap of Cassander, governed the city wisely for ten years; but in 307 B.C. he fled before the approach of Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus. The Besieger made a proclamation of freedom, which the

Athenians by this time were unworthy to enjoy; they ascribed to him divine honours, and in 301 B.C. he took up his quarters in the Parthenon. No wonder that Pallas Athene fled in disgust when her shrine was polluted by the licentious orgies of this new war-god.

Phocion, Demades, and Dinarchus, from among the contemporaries of Demosthenes, lived to see their city under Macedonian rule, but they left no successors. There were few opportunities left for an orator. The ecclesia, when it met on sufferance, could debate only on matters of domestic import; and proposals to improve the water-supply, or erect statues to a tyrant, give less scope for eloquence than the great issues of peace and war which had formerly been the subject of their deliberation. Men of political ability had no scope when politics were dead. In the courts, too, there could be no public cases of great interest comparable with the case of the *Crown* or the impeachment of Demosthenes. Private cases, in which aspiring politicians had hitherto found it convenient to try their strength, were more suited to the attainments of professional lawyers, and these cases must have greatly decreased in numbers and importance when all the dependencies of Athens were taken from her.[1] The oratory of display, brought to perfection by Isocrates, had likewise but few openings. No orator could rise at the Olympic Festival to summon all Greeks to brotherhood in arms; no funeral speech could move a people to tears or exalt them to enthusiasm when battles

[1] *E.g.* many of the private speeches of Demosthenes refer to maritime speculations; many of these cases, under Macedon, would be settled in local courts instead of being brought to Athens, and the diminution of Athenian commerce would still further reduce their number.

were waged by mercenaries and war declared not by a nation but by a foreign prince. The art of rhetoric was still practised, but already Aristotle, by going back to first principles, had composed the first and last scientific treatise on this subject, and shown that it must be put into its true place as a branch of philosophy, to be studied in combination with its counterpart, Dialectic.[1] Political theory, which figures prominently in Isocrates and Demosthenes, had likewise become the property of the philosophical schools.

Demetrius of Phalerum, the regent of Cassander, is reckoned by Quintilian as the last of the orators. Such time as he could spare from the management of the city and the contemplation of the 360 statues erected to him by an admiring or subservient populace,[2] was devoted to the study of philosophy, history and oratory. He wrote more than any other Epicurean on record [3]—philosophical dialogues, historical works, erudite researches, literary and rhetorical studies, speeches, all testified alike to his industry and the wide extent of his interests. His *Rhetoric*, which contained personal reminiscences of Demosthenes, is quoted by Plutarch on that account; his treatise on *Demagogy* contained his ideas of political science; his history of his regency (περὶ τῆς δεκαετείας) might, if we could recover it, add much to our scanty knowledge of that period. So short are the fragments remaining of his work that we must turn chiefly to Cicero and Quintilian for an estimate of his value. We gather that he was an excellent example of the 'tempered style,' excelling in grace and brilliance, but deficient in vigour and in real passion. A philo-

[1] Arist., *Rhet.*, I. i., *ad init.*
[2] Diog. Laert., v. 75.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. 80-81.

sophical treatment of his subject-matter was one of his marked characteristics.[1]

A few facts about his life are known chiefly from Diogenes. He was the son of Phanostratus, an enfranchised slave. He studied under Theophrastus and entered political life about 324 B.C. Belonging to the Macedonian party, he took part in the negotiations after the Lamian war. In 317 B.C., when Phocion was put to death, he fled, but was chosen by the citizens, with the approval of Cassander, to be their governor, and ruled from 317 to 307, when he was superseded by Demetrius Poliorcetes. He retired to Thebes, and twenty years later went to Egypt. Exiled from Alexandria by Philadelphus, he died of a snake-bite in one of the remote demes of Egypt about 280 B.C.

Democharès and Charisius belong also to this period; the former, one of the few Athenians who retained any independence of spirit, was a nephew of Demosthenes, whose style he imitated; Charisius imitated and exaggerated the simplicity of Lysias.[2]

From this time onward, oratory is practically dead; declamations on fictitious subjects took the place of real speeches in the assembly or the courts; oratory became an element in education and nothing more. We need mention only Hegesias of Magnesia (*c.* 250 B.C.), the founder of what was subsequently known as the 'Asian' school of rhetoric, the characteristics of which were affected expression, grotesque metaphor, plays upon words, incongruous rhythms, and general lack of ideas.[3]

[1] Cicero, *Brutus*, § 37; *Orator*, § 92; *de Oratore*, ii. § 95; Quint., x. 1, 80; Diog. L., v. 82.

[2] Cicero, *Brutus*, § 286.

[3] He was over-fond of the *ditrochaeus* (– ⏑ – ⏑) at the end of the sentence, *vide* Cicero, *Brutus*, § 286; *Orator*, §§ 226, 230; Dion., *de Comp. Verb.*, ch. xviii.

Dionysius quotes an extract, with the remark that it looks as if it had been written for a joke. Hegesias is important only on account of the debasing influence which he exercised over his Greek and Roman followers.

For a genuine revival of oratory we must wait till the last years of the Roman Republic.

INDEX

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