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THE USE OF RIDICULE IN THE
ATTIC ORATORS

being a thesis presented by

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to the University of St. Andrews
in application for the degree of

BACHELOR OF PHILOSOPHY



Tu 5733

C E R T I F I C A T E

I certify that Michael A.R. Tuck has spent ^{K.S.B.} *the equivalent of* _h three terms at Research work in the University of St. Andrew s, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinances Nos. 61 and 50, and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

I first matriculated as a Research Student on 1st August 1962, and the research was carried out on a part-time basis between then and June 1968.

Michael A.R. Tuck

I have been indebted throughout to Professor K.J. Dover, who suggested the subject, and whose advice and assistance have been unfailing.

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General Introduction

The purpose of any speech, whether made in a law court or in the Assembly, is to convince, and a straight exposition of the facts may well not be the best way to achieve this end. We must always bear in mind that Athenian juries were large, and that laughter is very infectious. Since no time was allowed after the speeches for a calm discussion of the arguments, the overall impression made by a speaker was very important. In fact, we learn from Aristotle (Rhet.1419b 2) that Gorgias advised the orator " to confound his opponents' earnest (σπουδῆν) with jest (γέλωτι), and their jest with earnest" (1), and Aristotle himself admits (Rhet.1415a 36) that it is not always expedient to engage a juror's attention, which is the reason why many speakers try to make their hearers laugh.

That humour was effective is shown by the comments of Demosthenes (XXIII 206) "You, men of Athens, acquit men who have committed the gravest crimes and are clearly proved guilty, if they treat you to one or two pleasantries (ἐν ἡ δούλοτεῖα)" (2). This may well be an exaggeration, but it indicates that the courts were not

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(1) cf. Volkmann p.285; Grant p.18; Radermacher p.47.

(2) I do not agree with Volkmann, p.286, who says this sounds almost like a confession of Demosthenes' own weakness.

solemn places, as does the following comment (LIV 13)
 "He will try to divert your attention from the outrage
 and the actual facts, and will seek to turn the whole
 matter into mere jest and ridicule (εἰς γέλωτα καὶ
 σκώματ' ἐμβαλεῖν)".

Hyperides' remarks to Philippides (II.fr.21.7)
 suggest truly Aristophanic behaviour: "But if you think
 that your usual vulgar dancing and joking will secure
 your pardon in court (κορδακίῳν καὶ
 γελωτοποιῶν)" (3).

Aristophanes (Wasps 566-7) mentions the jokes and
 jests made by defendants, though these may have no
 effect on his tough old jury-men. Bdelycleon declares
 (1256-61) that you can avoid an action for assault by
 turning a drunken brawl into a joke, and Aristophanes
 himself may have escaped from Cleon by jesting (1284-91).
 Unfortunately, the jokes supplied by Philocleon are not
 likely to be paralleled in the speeches of the orators,
 although the Athenians, at least in the Assembly, did
 find mere abuse amusing according to Demosthenes (IX.54)
 (4).

R.J. Bonner (5) finds only a very limited amount of
 humour in the extant speeches, and says that the majority

(3) cf. Verva[^]et p.47-8. (4) cf. Grant p.27.

(5) Wit and Humor in Athenian Courts, G.P.17 (1922)
 p.97-103.

of the wit which delighted Philocleon must have come in the interrogation of litigants by each other in open court, when they had sufficient assurance (cf. Acharnians 687: "they drag up and cross-examine their opponents, setting little legal traps."), informal addresses to the court (cf. Apology 38C and Wasps 579f), and such informal proceedings as are mentioned by Antiphon (Choreutes 21f).

It is my intention to show that the speeches as published contain many examples of humour, or rather ridicule. The distinction is rather a fine one, since ridicule involves laughter at someone's expense, and this will usually apply in court. The difficulty, of course, is that, although the examples quoted by Bonner readily strike a modern reader as humorous, the Athenian sense of humour was in some respects very different from ours (6).

We have no way of judging whether what we read was actually spoken in court, for not even seemingly extempore remarks can be relied on, to judge from Demosthenes' Speech against Meidias (e.g. XXI.4), and jokes may have been put in or left out according to the mood of the jury.

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(6) cf. Zdanowicz p.103-4; Rutherford p.446; Vervaeet p.11.

Ancient Theories on Humour

Before we examine the speeches, we must first discover what the Greeks thought to constitute humour (7).

Plato (Philebus 48-50) provides us with the first suggestion as to the nature of the ridiculous (8): Self-ignorance, whether of wealth, personal appearance, or one's wisdom and virtue, is the basis of the ridiculous. Ignorance is an evil, so we have here the frequently recurring idea -that the fundamental point in the ridiculous is what is ugly or defective (9). He also links laughter with envy (10), (an emotion which could easily be aroused in a court case) and says that angry men use ridicule to hurt each other (Laws XI.934d-936a).

Aristotle (Poetics 1449a 32) says that "comedy is an imitation of men worse than the average, but not, however, absolutely wicked, for the ridiculous (τὸ γελοῖον) is but a part of the ugly (τοῦ λίσχρῶ). It is that kind of failing (ἀμάρτημα) and deformity (λίσχος) which is not painful or injurious to others, such as we may see, for example, in the comic mask. This is ugly and distorted (λίσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον) without causing pain."

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(7) This section is based on the work of Arndt, Grant and Woodbury.

(8) cf. Greene p.116; Grant p.19.

(9) cf. Sully p.88-94, 101-7.

(10) cf. Else p.187f.

It is reasonable to assume, with Woodbury (11), that Aristotle, in view of the opinion of Plato just stated, was not merely referring to bodily deformity. Sully (12) declares that Aristotle has the germ of the theory of degradation, while Gregory (13) says that he (Aristotle) recognises the double factor of incongruity and relief in the ludicrous (14).

Although Aristotle's full account of jests is lost, there is much that can be gleaned from his works. In the Rhetoric (1419b 7) he states that irony (εἰρωνεία : a word discussed fully later) is more gentlemanly than buffoonery (βωμολοχία), because irony is employed on one's own account.

At 1405b 28, he says that diminutives can make the good and the bad appear less, and are used jestingly by Aristophanes (15).

At 1406b 6, we find "metaphors also are inappropriate, some because they are ridiculous (γελοῖον)", because they cause frigidity, yet later (1410-1413) he gives metaphors and their sub-division,

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(11) p.135.

(12) p.120.

(13) p.102.

(14) See also Greig p.225 et passim.

(15) cf. Tract.Coisl. καθ' ὑποκορισμόν, and Rutherford p.443.

similes, as the main source of smart (ἄστειά) and popular sayings. Metaphors, rare words and the rest can be used, unsuitably, for the express purpose of raising a laugh. Deception (προεξάπατᾶν or προσεξάπατᾶν), slight changes in words, or letters, and ambiguous words, can all be used for the purpose of ridicule (16).

While the Tractatus Coislinianus (17) is only concerned with comedy, it does offer some additional sources of wit which could be found in the orators.

Humour is said to arise from language through:

(i) homonyms, (ii) synonyms, (iii) verbosity (ἄσολεσχία), (iv) paronyms, (v) diminutives, (vi) puns, (vii) solecisms. Verbosity was earlier mentioned by Aristotle (Rhet. 1406a 34) as a fault.

Humour also arises from situations through (i) making one thing appear like another; (ii) deception; (iii) impossibility; (iv) irrelevance (ἐκ τοῦ συνάτου καὶ ἀνακολουθοῦ), (v) the unexpected, (vi) presenting characters as worse than they are, (vii) vulgar dances; (viii) bathos; (ix) lack of logical sequence.

The author is thought by many to be closely

(16) cf. Arndt p.4-7, Navarre p.57-9.

(17) Studied in detail by Grube in The Greek and Roman Critics p.141f.

following the Aristotelian tradition, if not representing the 'lost' book of the poetics, although this is strongly denied by Grube (18). I do not follow Volmann's view (19) that these categories are entirely useless in the field of oratory.

Demetrius on Style (20) says (s.128) "Elegance of expression includes graceful pleasantries (Χαριεντισμός) and gay speech. Some pleasantries (Χάριτες) - those of the poets - are loftier and more dignified, while others are more commonplace and comic, resembling gibes, as is the case with those of Aristotle, Sophron and Lysias. Such witticisms (ἀστεϊσμοί) as 'whose teeth could sooner be counted than her fingers' (of an aged woman) (21), and 'he has received pounds where he deserved poundings', differ in no way from gibes (σκώμματα), nor are they far removed from buffoonery (γελοιοποιίαι)."

In section 134 he says that a subject which is naturally unpleasing and distasteful can often be brightened by the writer, and quotes an example from Xenophon.

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(18) Op.cit. p.149.

(19) p.289.

(20) Discussed by Arndt p.17-22; Grant p.34-5; Grube op.cit. p.115f. and in A Greek Critic.

(21) He mentions this again in s.262.

Wit can also come from brevity (s.137,253), double meanings (s.138), an unexpected end to a sentence (s.139, 152-3), proverbs (s.156-8), mistakes (s.159), and hyperbole (s.161-2). He disapproves of the famous series of antitheses in Demosthenes (XVIII.265), while saying that it is like someone not being serious ($\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\iota$), rather than showing anger. Some of the passages which he regards as demonstrating forcefulness ($\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$) (e.g. Dem.XVIII.255,314) also, to my mind, involve ridicule.

Longinus (IV.4) has a poor view of play upon words, which is perhaps why he thinks Demosthenes only succeeds in making himself look ridiculous (XXXIV.3), though we can find in Demosthenes all the figures which he praises in Hyperides.

Cicero (De Oratore 216-290) classifies jests, starting with the definition of the Poetics, and covering most of the possibilities already mentioned. He adds (s.240) the telling of stories, which can be completely made up, and (s.242) quotations 'depravata imitatione.' He ends by saying (s.288) "I feel I have overdone my classifications of these witticisms already, but as for those that concern the matter and sense, they fall into a few main heads, deceiving of expectation, ridiculing other people's characters, and pointing to the ridiculous in one's own."

While in general the definitions of the rhetoricians offer little help, there are some quotations which can add to our knowledge, though they are by no means consistent, and often include the same quotation under several headings.

δίσουπρός

Alexander (p.26) (22) says "This is seen for example in Hyperides (Demos fr.2) 'and you malign the Areopagus and publish challenges, in which you ask how you came by the gold, who gave it to you, and where. Perhaps you will end by asking what you used it for after you obtained it, as though you were demanding a banker's statement from the Areopagus'. And Phryne (fr.30) 'Why is she to blame if a stone hangs over the head of Tantalus?', and Aeschines (III,166) 'Do you not remember his disgusting and incredible words: You men of iron, how could you bear to listen to them? When he came forward and said "Certain men are pruning the city etc."' (23). And Demosthenes (XVIII.232) 'The fate of Greece became worse if I used this word and not that or moved my hand this way and not that!'".

 (22) References to Spengel *Rhetores Graeci*, Vol.3, Teubner 1856.

(23) This passage is called irony by Herodian p.91-2.

In the first example, Hyperides is following the advice of Gorgias and making Demosthenes' demand for proof of the transaction appear ludicrous by exaggeration. Unfortunately, the relevance of the remark about Phryne is lost on us, though it is probably in the same vein as the previous quotation. The remarks of Aeschines are rather different in character and follow the comic trait of holding up unusual vocabulary to ridicule (24). Demosthenes' comment could be put over as ridicule, but would probably be more effective as a deadly serious statement - it would depend on the mood of the audience.

Phoebammon (p.54) says that it is disparagement without proper demonstration, which suits the passage of Hyperides we have just looked at.

Tiberius (p.79), while agreeing with this, quotes Demosthenes (XVIII.28) "But they could have sat in the cheap seats, if I had not moved my resolution". This passage does not really suit his definition, but is in fact the reverse, showing the paltriness of the opposition, a feeling which can also be seen in the passage of Demosthenes (XVIII.232), mentioned above, which he also quotes.

Cocondrius (p.236) is not very good here, giving a definition and example which suit, and are mentioned by Trypho under, irony.

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(24) cf. Denniston C.C.21 (1927).

εἰκασμός (25)

Trypho (p.202) says "Caricature is mimicry of form such a ^ς distorts its appearance in order to make it ludicrous. It is sometimes called σκῶμμα. It differs from likeness (εἰκῶν) as species from genus. The εἰκῶν is not primarily εἰκασμός, but the εἰκασμός is necessarily εἰκῶν.

Aristides (p.493) quotes as examples Demosthenes' description of Aristogeiton (XXV.52) "But he goes through the market-place like a snake or a scorpion with sting erect...." and the description of the Athenians (Pseudo-Dem. X.6) "... but we cannot even rouse ourselves from sleep; we are like men who have drunk mandragora or some such drug."

I do not think that either of these passages is intended to be taken humorously, but the topic will be dealt with fully later.

εἰρωνεία (26)

Alexander (p.22-3) : "a λόγος pretending to say the opposite, as Medea calls Jason a wonderful husband, and Demosthenes says (XVIII.41) 'Yes, Aeschines, beyond a doubt you are grieved at the misfortunes of the Thebans, with your estates in Boeotia, while I rejoice - whose

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(25) See Rutherford p.276f.; Fraenkel, *Ag.* ad 1.163, 1244, 1629, and Monaco throughout.

(26) See Volkmann p.432-4, Rutherford p.271-2, Stanford p.61-8.

surrender was at once demanded by the perpetrator of those wrongs."

Phoebammon (p.53): "As when we say of a busy-body: the man who is always doing nothing."

Tiberius (p.60) quotes Demosthenes (III.24) "Our ancestors commanded the willing obedience of the Greeks." Here I think he is wrong, Demosthenes meant exactly what he said. He goes on to say that Demosthenes uses irony in a novel way against himself (XXI.69): "I volunteered for chorus-master, whether you wish to think it madness - for it may be madness to engage in something beyond one's power - or ambition." This is a very difficult example, and κxivωs is probably the best word for it.

Anonymus περὶ σχημάτων (p.140-2) discusses a number of Homeric examples bringing out the precise meaning, adding that in irony we exalt what we despise. Then he quotes the author of the speech on Halonnesus (s.32) "He has robbed the Pheraeans of their city, placing a garrison in their citadel, in order, I suppose, to ensure their independence." He adds, to leave no room for doubt, "They, by receiving a garrison from him, also were robbed of their independence." He also quotes the rest of the section, emphasising the last sentence "He greatly wishes the Greeks to be free and independent, as his acts reveal." He finishes with section 44, emphasising the last sentence "Is he not obviously

benefiting you greatly?"

In effect, the rhetoricians all define an ironical word or statement as (obviously) meaning the opposite of what it says, and some provide us with various subdivisions: it is called *ἄστεισμός* when used against oneself (Cocondrius p.235), *μυκτηρισμός* when said with a breath through one's nostrils e.g. Anonymus *περὶ τρόπων* (p.213): "as when we say reviling a man caught doing wrong: 'you have done a fine thing, worthy of a wise man!', blowing out through our nostrils." Though a very similar example is given by Georgios Choeroboskos (p.255) as *σαρκασμός* (27), a figure which Herodian (p.92) calls one of the subtler forms of irony, involving contortion of the face. The example of *σαρκασμός* given by Gregory of Corinth (p.222) supports the view of Hesychius that it involves a sneer: "How very well, Melanthius, you are keeping the night watch, lying in your soft bed."

Other divisions of irony suggested are *χλευσμός*, said with a smile ("As when someone calls a shield-abandonner a brave warrior" P.254), *διασυρμός*, *ἐπικερτόμησις*, *ἐναντίωσις* and *χαριεντισμός* (Cocondrius p.235-6).

I do not intend to try to sort out the various names

(27) See Volkmann p.433

for very similar forms of expression, but the word "irony" needs particular care. For many people it is synonymous with Socratic irony which, according to Stanford (28), is unique in literature, while others use irony and sarcasm indifferently e.g. W.W. Goodwin, On the Crown p.52 and p.194. To avoid any confusion, I will use the term "sarcasm" to refer to statements or words which must be taken to mean the opposite of what they say.

παρονομασία (29)

Word play of all kinds was something in which the Athenians delighted, as is shown by the works both of the tragedians and the comic writers, but to what extent it was consciously used by the orators (Demosthenes was said to be very fond of it), and to what extent it would delight the Assembly or juries, we shall never know (30).

In certain contexts, however, we can see that humour was intended, as in the example quoted by Alexander (p.36)

from Demosthenes (XIX.122) "...for the whole business was still in the clouds, and the future uncertain,

σύλλογοι παντοδαπὸι καὶ λόγοι were going on in the market-place.", and that given by Anonymus on

Figures (p.185) again from Demosthenes (XIX.233): "οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ Αἰσχίῃνη."

(28) p.63

(29) See Kingsbury p.23 & 32.

(30) cf. Vervaeet p.36.

Evidence from the Orators

The Attic Orators themselves do provide us with some examples of what they thought was ridiculous.

Isocrates

Isocrates uses the word *δισσύρω* four times, and in the three places where we can see his meaning, it involves denying absolutely the importance of the matter under discussion e.g. (XX.5) "Perhaps Lochites will try to belittle the importance of the affair, and ridiculing (*δισσύρων*) my accusation, will say that I suffered no injury from his blows, but am exaggerating the gravity of what happened." (31)

The only other word of interest is *καταγέλαστος*. In the majority of cases this involves inconsistency e.g. (VIII.40) "It is absurd to submit to the cauteries of physicians to be relieved of greater pains, and yet to refuse to hear discourses." (32)

Demosthenes

Demosthenes uses *γελοῖος* six times, and in three cases it involves inconsistency e.g. (XX.153) "Otherwise it is absurd for them to defend one law as commissioners, and violate another themselves." (33) Of the other

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(31) cf. XV.199, 300.

(32) cf. X.9; XIII.5; XV.56 etc.

(33) cf. XXI.194; XXXVI.31.

instances, *μίμους γελοίων* (II,19) is indeterminate, while in VII.6 and XXXI.12, the overtones suggest that the subject himself is not being serious.

His use of *διασύρω* (eleven times) is more interesting. The overtone is the same as was the case with Isocrates, but most of the examples refer to his treatment at the hands of Aeschines e.g. (XVIII.126) "This man who ridicules certain words of mine."; (XVIII.27) "The places about which Aeschines was so sarcastic Serrium" (34). The example in Speech VII.12 is also interesting: "Demosthenes fills our ears with phrases, and ridicules our present state."

κατα γέλαστος and *καταγελῶ* do not submit to any overall analysis. Inconsistency can be involved e.g. (XVII.7) "But it is ridiculous to expel the Lesbian tyrants but not the Messenian ones.", while the other examples would almost involve Plato's ignorance e.g. (IV.45) "When you send out a general with empty decrees your enemies laugh at you." and (XXIV.137) "Will Athens not be a laughing-stock, if she is discovered enacting laws for the deliverance of temple-robbers?" (35)

σκώπτω and *σκῶμμα* indicate the activities of speakers (36), and in particular we have the neat climax

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(34) cf. XVIII.180, 218, 299.

(35) cf. VIII.67; XXI.151; LXI.44.

(36) cf. LIV.13 above.

in the Crown (XVIII.262) "... no wonder you taunt
 (*σκώπτεῖς*) with cowardice those of us who have no
 experience of such engagements." (37)

Aeschines' usages repeat the pattern already
 revealed, and do not need to be quoted. (38)

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(37) cf. XVIII.15, 245.

(38) See I.126, 132, 167-8; II.38, 41.

Comedy

Of course the place where the sense of humour of the Athenians is amply displayed is in comedy. Unfortunately the art of Aristophanes, like that of many other great writers, is beyond simple analysis, but a number of features can be remarked upon. Throughout his plays, intellectual humour is subtly combined with slapstick. The Athenian audience must have had exceedingly quick and retentive minds, firstly, to remember the words of Euripides' plays, and then to pick up the many parodies in Aristophanes (39). In the courts too, a speaker may often have parodied his opponent, but since we very rarely have both sides of a case, we cannot judge how often it was done. Aeschines and Demosthenes, however, provide us with several examples of what can be done with the words or phrases of an opponent. That there is a great deal of verbal humour of all kinds in Aristophanes, is readily obvious even without the Tractatus Coislinianus. I hope to show that its occurrence is not rare in the orators.

Another major source of humour is incongruity (40), which can cover a variety of things - Dionysus in a lion-skin, women in parliament or freedom of sexual expression entirely absent from the rest of Greek Literature (41).

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(39) See Denniston C.Q. vol.21 (1927).

(40) See Jernigan.

(41) Hadas Introduction p.4.

We can include under incongruity, caricature, the unexpected, the unfamiliar and the illogical (42). That Aristotle recognised this method is suggested by "Comedy sets out to represent people as worse than they are" (Poetics 1448a 17) and "Comedy is an imitation of men worse than the average" (Poetics 1449a 32). If we link these passages, we can say that a man will appear ridiculous if he is made out to be inferior (43).

The basis for all the humour in Aristophanes is a small close-knit community, which spent the majority of its time out of doors, with the result that there can have been little private life in our sense of the phrase. It is normal procedure for any man to weigh up those people with whom he comes into contact, and for convenience to pigeon-hole them as certain types. The comedian, and the orator, do the same, only quite naturally exaggerate, making people black or white, and reducing the number of types. Even in the first comedy of Aristophanes, the *Daitales*, we get the good and the bad son, the conservative father and the modern son (44). Particular people became the stock reference for certain failings or qualities and their names occur frequently (45). This feature of comedy is

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(42) cf. Vervaet p.18.

(43) See Bain p.256-263.

(44) Ehrenberg p.40.

(45) cf. Greece and Rome Series I, vol.IX no.26, Personalities in Aristophanes.

much less marked in the fourth century, but Chaerephon and Ctesippus turn up frequently, and Menander may not be representative of the whole of New Comedy. Polybius (XII. IV. 13-15) for example, criticizes Timaeus for taking a scurrilous comment on Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes, from Archedicus the comic poet.

When an orator hurls accusations at his opponent without making any attempt to demonstrate their validity, he is copying this procedure. For to label any person as a type is a convenient way of raising a laugh (46).

Particular passages from comedy will be used for illustration or comparison in the discussion of passages from the orators.

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(46) cf. Zdanowicz p.105; Grene D. passim; Bergson, *Le Rire*, Paris 1913, p.167; Vervaet p.25 f.

Procedure Adopted

The failure to discover an all-embracing source of humour has often been lamented, but in a sphere where the relationship between one man and another is all-important, any neat solution is unlikely to be found. I first collected all the passages from Græek oratory, which in the light of my investigations, I thought contained ridicule, and then arranged them to show the predominant method employed in each case. Since ridicule must have an object as well as a method I lastly re-examined all the instances to classify them again from the viewpoint of the target or object aimed at.

It comes as a surprise to some that we cannot trust the "facts" given to us by the orators, but the differences between the accounts of Aeschines' family and life given in 343 and 330 should serve as a warning. They also serve as a good introduction to the subject, since their value as evidence is unique.

Demosthenes on Aeschines: A comparison

That exaggeration was used to make known or supposed facts or characteristics ridiculous is amply demonstrated by the treatment which Demosthenes gives to Aeschines and his family in 343, compared with the developments which he adds 13 years later. Of course, not even the story in the Speech on the Embassy is free from embroidery (1).

De Falsa Legatione, 343 B.C.

His father is stated to be the Schoolmaster Atrometus (s.281) who taught letters (s.249) (2). His mother is given rather fuller treatment: she is named as Glaucothea the assembler of bacchanals (s.281), who performed the rites and reaped a profit from the wealth of the worshippers (s.249). The jurors themselves are said to know that Aeschines read the books for his mother as she performed the rites, and rolled amid the bacchanals and drunks (s.199). Then he was an under-clerk and πονηρος for 2 or 3 drachmas (s.200). All the brothers are called under-clerks and servants (ὑπηρετοῦντες) earning pay (s.249). Aeschines is twice more called an under-clerk (ὑπογραμματεὺς) (s.200, 237) and three times a clerk (s.98, 249, 314) (3),

(1) cf. Bruns, p.585.

(2) cf. Aesch. I.27 for his view of "workers".

(3) cf. Ronnet p.139.

positions at which Demosthenes sneers. He is even more scornful of Aeschines' acting, calling him a chorus-school hanger-on (s.200), using a word with comic connections (παρὰ τρεφόμενος), then tritagonist, the sort who always play as their high point the parts of tyrant and the like (ss.246-7, 337) (4). This seems a surprising thing to sneer at.

The statesman who was, perhaps justly, proud of his achievements, and who strikes me as rather pompous, was a ready target for Demosthenes' ridicule. He compares the treatment received by a descendent of Harmodius, and asks what treatment this man should receive, the son of a schoolmaster and a free-lance initiator - no doubt some eastern cults had an unsavoury reputation, since one priestess was executed in connection with some rites (ss.280-1). The incongruity could not be greater. For a woman to work at all was bad enough (5), for the Greeks were terrible snobs, and even a slave in Menander expresses surprise that a woman is working (6), though this could be otherwise interpreted. His mother is said by some to have been a priestess of Sabazius, a deity

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 (4) cf. Perlman A.J.P., 85, p.170 f.

(5) cf. treatment of Euripides' mother; Aristophanes A.478, Eq.19 etc.

(6) The Hero 37-8.

whose name seems capable of raising a laugh in Aristophanes (7). To portray any sober statesman as a boy at Bacchic revels amid the drunks is bound to cause laughter by its incongruity or degradation. Aeschines was probably not very happy with his past career (cf. XIX.314), and Demosthenes also conveys the idea that even the clerkship was a great privilege granted by the people (cf. too the scorn in the word order in s.98 "being as he is a knave, a scoundrel and a government clerk", where γραμματεὺς is intended to be an anti-climax.) In ss.246-7, we not only have the taunt about his past, but a very clever use made of Aeschines' own quotations in his speech, mentioned later.

De Corona, 330 B.C.

The developments made for the purpose of ridicule are obvious all the way through (8). His father is now Troles, a shackled slave (χοίνικας παχέϊδας ἔχων καὶ ζύλον) who ran a school, while his mother, who was generally known as Empusa, the hobgoblin or monster, practised daylight marriages at a specified spot (9) until she was rescued by a slave boatswain (s.129) (10). Later

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(7) V.9; Av.875; Lys.388.

(8) cf. Adams p.52-66.

(9) cf. Aes. comments on Dem.'s method of lying II.153, III.98-9.

(10) cf. Navarre p.295; Dobson p.233; Ronnet p.138.

on he calls her Glaucothea the tympanist (s.284) (11). Aeschines, his mother's beautiful statue and tip-top third-rate actor (s.129), ground ink, sponged the benches, a slave's task, and having come of age read the service book for his mother; he organised everything else, at night putting on the worshippers' fawn skins, mixing the wine, purifying them, rubbing them down with mud and bran, and then making the ritual cry, taking pride in the fact that no one ever did it better. "In the daytime you led your gallant bacchanals through the streets, their heads garlanded with fennel and white poplar, squeezing the red snakes and lifting them over your head, shouting 'Euoi Saboi' and dancing to 'Hyes Attes! Attes Hyes!' - saluted by all the old women with such proud titles as Master of Ceremonies, Instructor, Ivy-bearer, Fan-carrier; and receiving your recompense of tipsy-cakes and twists and currant-buns. With such rewards who would not rejoice greatly and account himself the favourite of fortune?" (ss.258-60) (12). "Why it was only the day before yesterday when he became simultaneously an Athenian (13) and an orator, and, by the addition of two syllables,

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(11) cf. Gavigan p.141; Axionicus fr.1 for drunken tambouriniste.

(12) cf. Navarre p.295; Dobson p.164 ("Shows Demosthenes might have been a successful writer of mediocre comedy")

(13) cf. s.261; Eupolis 110 B 2.

changed his father from Tromes to Atrometus, and bestowed upon his mother the high-sounding name of Glaucothea, although everyone knows she was called Empusa, a nickname she owed to the diversity of her acts and experiences -- where else?" (s.130) (14). "Then you chose the finest of occupations, clerk and assistant for petty officers (ἀρχισίους). After committing all the offences of which you now accuse other people, you were relieved of that employment; and I must say your subsequent life was no disgrace to your earlier career. You hired yourself out to those actors Simylus and Socrates, known as the Growlers, and played minor parts (called his peak, 129), picking up figs and grapes and olives, like a costermonger from other people's orchards, making a better living from these than the battles which you fought for your lives. For there was no truce or armistice in the warfare between you and your audiences, at whose hands you received so many wounds that it is no wonder that you taunt with cowardice those of us who have no experience of such dangers." (ss.261-2) (15)

He sums up the contrast between Aeschines' life and his own in the famous series of antitheses (s.265) which Demetrius (16) did not like, although admitting it seemed as if he were not being serious (παίξομαι).

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(14) cf. Ronnet p.138; Voegelin p.111.

(15) cf. Dobson p.249.

(16) De Elocutione s.250.

Demosthenes would never have succeeded in getting away with this gross caricature unless the audience had laughed at it (supposing these passages were actually delivered). Aeschines' vanity, which seems to have increased over the years, would help, but Demosthenes is careful to set the right tone; Aeschines is his enemy, not the state's (s.124), why did he not indict Demosthenes at the time, he has introduced scurrility, and spoken words no decent man should (126), well what sort of man is he? He shouts out as if in a tragedy "Oh Earth! Oh Sun! Oh Virtue!" and calls on "intelligence and education". What right has he to talk of Education? The effect would of course depend on presentation, and Plutarch (Dem.7) considered that he took great care over this - it is a very different matter sitting down and reading it.

His father is now not only a slave (17), but a fettered one, the picture of a schoolmaster thus arrayed would surely make anyone laugh. It seems from Aristophanes that the word ἔμπτουσα was capable of causing laughter, (Ra.293 and especially Ec.1056) and Phormio the boatswain may well have been a notorious character. (Sarcasm - καλῆς ἐργασίας - is used here as at many points in the story).

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(17) See infra for this theme.

Aeschines himself is now pictured as taking part in the rites, as a man, not just helping as a boy. A number of unusual words are used (e.g. $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\nu\epsilon\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\xi\omega\nu$) no doubt to give the right flavour. The whole thing is highly undignified, well calculated to satirize a pompous, 60 year old, self-important man. The finale is the splendid reward of buns and cakes!

The taunt of non-Athenian parentage will be discussed fully later. That there was not an atom of justification is shown by its absence from the previous speech (which closely followed the revision of the citizen lists in 346 B.C.). The name Tromes, Trembler, was good for a laugh anyway. The sneer at his clerkship is given more humour by the diminutive (18) $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ (L.S.J. quote it otherwise only from Av.1111). Sarcasm is again used in $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$.

In a passage of this kind, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ would be used for the paronomasia, while the bellowing Simylus and Socrates replace the better known Theodorus and Aristodemus. $\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ of course picks up the refrain used both by Aeschines and Demosthenes. That an actor does well from the fruit thrown at him is still a music-hall joke, and we can probably compare $\delta\pi\omega\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\varsigma$ with
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(18) cf. Arist.Rhet.1405b 28, and Tract.Cois.; cf. also $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\phi\omega\nu$, s.209, probably a coinage.

Euripides' mother. There is a double meaning behind $\lambda\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\lambda\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ which is untranslatable, and breaking Gorgias' rule, the come-back to Aeschines' taunts of cowardice is superb.

On hearing this gross caricature, the audience, if we can call it such, must either be amused or boo; I am sure they did the former. Aeschines says that Demosthenes' story of the Olynthian woman was booed; well, it was certainly not written to be laughed at, and the audience may have been booing Aeschines!

Ridicule A: Methods Employed

As will be obvious, the divisions are artificial, not only because it is sometimes doubtful under which heading a particular passage should come, but also because in many cases a passage includes features of each division. In general a passage will only be discussed once, noting all the characteristics it contains.

1. Word Play

Playing with words, which features in all Greek literature, can have a variety of purposes. It may serve to show that the speaker is a well-educated person, or to point a contrast vividly, or to give forcefulness to ridicule. Hermogenes ($\mu\epsilon\theta.$ $\delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon.$ p.437) says that Demosthenes rendered its use agonistic (1), but it can be observed from the start of (surviving) Attic oratory.

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(1) cf. Adams p.86 "Demosthenes reserves paronomasia for sarcastic attack and ridicule."

ANTIPHON

In the First Tetralogy (2.12), he highlights the contrast between himself and the dead man with the phrase " τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν οὐ δικάζομενον ἀλλ' ἐργαζόμενον κερκτημένον," while in the Choresutes (47), he attempts

to cast ridicule upon the whole case of the prosecution:

οἵτινες ἅπερ αὐτοὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς οὐκ
 ἔπεισαν, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι πείσαι, καὶ ἅ
 αὐτοὶ ἔργῳ ἀπεδίκασαν, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς
 κελεύουσι καταδικάσαι· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
 ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς λόγους
 ἐξελέγχουσιν, οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς λόγοις
 ζήτουσι τὰ ἔργα ἀπίστα καταστήσαι (2).

(λόγος and ἔργον are frequently found in close

(2) cf. section 29. πιστὰ ... ἀπίστα.

ANDOCIDES

Andocides' speech On The Mysteries has a number of humorous touches (3), and in particular he is fond of paronomasia (4), although it is often difficult to decide its purpose. In section 24, he concludes his account of the informations lodged, which demonstrates clearly his innocence up to this point, with these words: ὡσπερ οὖν εἰ ἀληθῆ ἦν ταῦτα ἃ μου κατηγορήσαν, ἐμοὶ ἂν ὑργίξασθε καὶ ἡξιοῦτε δίκην τὴν μεγίστην ἐπιτιθέναι, οὕτως ἄξιόν ὑμᾶς..

He also uses ψεύδονται... ψευδόμενοι.. ψευδομένους in the same sentence. This is not strong enough to count as ridicule, but the jurors probably smiled.

(Aristophanes makes use of the different meanings of ἄξιος in Nubes 523-5, and Equites 182-3, 895-6.)

Other examples which might merely raise a smile are to be found in section 61: τῇ Βουλῇ τὴν βουλήν, section 81: ἔδοξε ... δόξαντα and section 138: τὰ ὄντα ... οὕσης δέ..

At a critical point (s.65), where Andocides demonstrates his family's innocence we have: οὐ πολλῶν λόγων ἔδειξεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὡμολόγει ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἔδειπτο σῶξασθαι ... καὶ οὗτοι μὲν

(3) cf. MacDowell, Introduction p.22.

(4) cf. Kingsbury p.23 and 32.

δείσαντες ὤχοντο.

The tone is perhaps contemptuous. (For an amusing scene with δέω see *Lysistrata* 431-8).

A neat example, again contemptuous, is πίστιν ἀπιστοτάτην in section 67. (cf. *Ra.*1443-7).

He very cleverly turns the tables on Epichares (s.100) εἶτα σὺ περὶ ἑταιρείας ἐμοὶ μνεῖαν ποιῆ καὶ κακῶς τινὰς λέγεις; ὅς ἐνὶ μὲν οὐχ ἡταίρησας..

If there were the slightest grounds to support the accusation, the ridicule would be very effective. But Callias is the object of a stream of biting ridicule from the ancestral law interpreted by his father (s.115:

νόμος πατριος ... πατήρ) which is shown to be a fake - made up by his father - through his somewhat tangled marital relationships (s.124: συνῶκει τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἱερεὺς ὢν τῆς μητρός καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς),

which involved wrangling over the mother's child (s.127:

ῥμοσεν ... ἀπῶμοσε), and are summed up (s.128: γυναικὶ τις γήμας ἐπέγχε τῇ θυγατρὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἐξήλασεν· ἡ μήτηρ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτη δὲ συνοικῶν βούλεται τὴν Ἐπιλύκου θυγατέρα λαβεῖν, ἵνα ἐξέλαιση τὴν τήθην ἢ θυγατρίδῃ.

to the rumour about the evil spirit in the house of

Hipponicus (ss.130-1: οἰόμενος γὰρ Ἴππόνικος

υῖόν τρέφειν ἀλιτήριον αὐτῷ ἔτρεφεν 34
ὅς ἀνατέτροφεν ἐκείνου τὸν πλοῦτον κ.τ.λ.

Clever use is here made of the perfect of τρέπω ,
τέτροφα , as against the form τέτραφα . Asyndeton is
also used to add to the effect (5). That the family of
Callias was a source of amusement is shown by
Aristophanes Aves 283f.

I do not think αἰτῶ ... ἀπαίτῶ (II.22) carries any
special flavour, though Aeschines uses ἀπαίτειν
αἰτίαν , nor is the repetition of πατρίαν εἰρήνην
(III.27) of significance.

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(5) cf. Denniston, Prose Style p.101.

LYSIAS

Lysias can use word play effectively, but perhaps it did not usually suit the characters of the ordinary people who were his clients.

When speaking on his own account, he declares with some justice (XII.34) "I wonder what he would have done if he had supported the motion (συνειπῶν), since while saying he opposed it (ἀντειπεῖν), he put Polemarchus to death."

(6) The response from the jurors may have been a grim smile.

The writer of Speech XXX claims that some ancestral rites had not been carried out because Nicomachus had entered too many new ones, and then says (s.21: "The sacrilegious scoundrel runs about saying that his transcription was piety not parsimony." (περιτρέχει, λέγων ὡς εὐσεβειῶν ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐτέλειαν ἀνέγραψε.) Here the quoted pun is being sneered at. A little later on he ridicules the choice of Nicomachus for the task (s.29: "Νικόμαχον εἴλεσθε ἀναγράψειν τὰ πατρία ... ᾧ κατὰ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως οὐ προσήκει." although he does not substantiate the charge of servile birth.

In Speech XXI. Lysias shows that Philon robbed the people of Oropus, and that not even his mother trusted him

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(6) cf. section 63.

so there was no ground for approving him (24): "For it seems to me strange (δεινόν) that for the wrongs he has already done he is never to pay the penalty (τιμωρηθήσεται), but for the benefits he intends to confer, he is already to possess honour (τετιμηθήσεται)."

Which might cause a smile. Compare section 26: οὐ
περὶ τοῦ βουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ
τοῦ δουλεύειν ἀγωνίζοιτο. (7)

(7) Denniston Prose Style p.138: "Lysias used punning
assonance out of contempt for his opponent."

ISAEUS

A somewhat different use of words is to be seen in Speech III, where he argues from probability against a case well supplied with testimony, assuming a tone of outraged dignity; Isaeus keeps repeating the same words and phrases: ἀδελφή - μεμαρτυρηκώς - ἐγγυητή - μάρτυρα - ὡς φησι (8), to such an extent that the opposition's case becomes ludicrous. The method of delivery could either be sneering (μυκτηρισμός), or less likely, gentle scorn, (compare VIII 2, 37, 38. λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν καταλέλοιπεν). There is some similarity in Aeschines III in the refrain ὄν φησι κτησιφῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν (III.92, 94, 101), and in Dinarchus (I.9, 44, 78, 79, 100), where he keeps sarcastically calling Demosthenes δημοτικός.

(8) Sections 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 23, 25, 29, 38, 39, 43, 45, 51, 78,

DEMOSTHENES

In proposing two expeditions to settle the Clynthian problem, he says that the Athenians have got money, and if they use it for the expeditions (I.19) " οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν προσδεῖ πόρου, εἰ δὲ μή, προσδεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπαντος ἐνδεῖ τοῦ πόρου." (9) The Theoric Fund was a touchy subject, and he perhaps hoped to get the assembly into a good mood.

By the use of asyndeton he is able to throw ridicule upon the Athenians' too frequent vacillation, although I doubt if the assembly found it amusing (II.25-6)
 "μελλόντων .. ἐλπίζόντων .. αἰτιωμένων ..
 κρινόντων, πάλιν ἐλπίζόντων"
 (cf. section 30, X.20 ὑστερίζετε, ἀναλίσκετε ...
 ἕψετε, δυσχεραίνετε and Aeschines III.94).

At the beginning of the First Philippic we have what must be a quite deliberate play (IV.1): εἰ γὰρ ... τὰ δέονθ' οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἴδει βουλεύεσθαι. Opening the debate, he must have wished to get the Assembly in a good mood, while also administering a mild reproof. Later on (s.47), he ridicules the behaviour of the generals who did not dare to risk their lives in battle once (ἀγωνίσασθαι), but rather preferred a common

(9) Quoted by Blass III. IS p.162.

thief's death. A similar play on ἀγωνίζω can be seen in Speech XVIII.262.

Philip's friends at Athens come in for their share of ridicule in the very pointed phrase (VII.17)E " τὰς πικρὰς ἐκείνου δωρεῖας λαμβάνοντες οἴονται οἴκαδ' εἰ λαμβάνειν, τὰ οἴκοι πωλοῦντες."

which is repeated in XI.18.

When he is defending Diopieithes against those who complained about his money-raising activities, he very neatly ridicules their complaints (VIII.27): "They say 'He is about to lay siege (μέλλει πολιορκεῖν), Does any one of them really care (μέλει τινι) about the Asiatic Greeks?" (10)

In the speech on the Embassy (XIX), he stresses that Aeschines must stick to the point and not mislead the jury (s.94) by defending agreed points (τὰ ὁμολογούμενα ἀπολογούμενα) which probably raised a useful smile. Aeschines had caused inconvenience to Demosthenes by his prosecution of Timarchus, but Demosthenes is able to turn this to account by the story that one of the ambassadors sent his son to Philip but " τοῦτον οὐκ ἔκρινεν Αἰσχίνης, ὅτι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐπεμψεν." (s.

(s.233). He also makes very good use of Aeschines'

(10) cf. Blass p.163. Ronnet p.142 calls this 'plaisanterie.'

quotations about rumour and adds one from Sophocles for Creon - Aeschines adding that he had now bidden farewell to σοφῶ Σοφοκλεῖ (s.248).

In the Crown (XVIII), we have at the beginning (s.11), the shape as it were of things to come in κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσχίνῃ, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐήθης ὤήθης, (11), which is well calculated to put the jury in a good mood. Incidentally, this is called sarcastic by Navarre (p.116) and ironic by Blass (p.163), and is commended by Hermogenes (p.437 Sp.). Apart from its neatness, it would make Aeschines look rather small. The ridicule is rubbed in in a similar way in sections 13-16, (εἰσαγγελίας ... εἰσαγγέλλοντα -- γράφοντα παράνομα παρὰ νόμων γραφόμενον) "For, of course, if he prosecutes Ctesiphon on my account, he must have been able to indict me with certain hope of success." But he did not.

After the treatment which δίδωμι and ἀποδίδωμι received over Halomnesus (12), it is rather surprising to find the emphasis on ἔδωκα and ἐπέδωκα in section 117, but is he trying to divert or concentrate attention on the main point of the case?

op. cit.

(11) Denniston, p.138: "Punning assonance heightens the contempt."

(12) cf. Alexis fr.7, 209; Anaxilas fr.9; Antiphanes fr.169; Timocles fr.12 and Aeschines III. 19,83.

Diminutives are not common, but we have *πιλίδιον* (XIX.255; cf. Aristophanes A.439) in a passage full of extremely effective ridicule, and, to deride the activities of Androtion, the memorial to his achievements, *ἀμφορίσκοι δύο* and *χρυσίδες τέτταρες ἢ τρεῖς* (XXII.76 and XXIV.184), to which we might add the scornful and sarcastic *τὴν τῶν φιαλῶν ποίησιν τὴν καλήν* (XXII.69 and XXIV.176-7).

He turns his scorn too, on the men proposed by Aristocrates and his friends for citizenship (XXIII.202) *ἀνθρώπους οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλ' ὀλίθρους* (13), and on the brother of Aristogeiton who will plead for him (XXV.80) *τοὺς ἐπιλήπτους φησὶν ἰᾶσθαι, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐπίληπτος πάσῃ πονηρίᾳ.* After this the taunt in XL.48 *ὡς ἄτοπὸν ἔστιν, εἰ οὗτος τὸν πατέρα ὡς ἁμαρτόντα εἰς αὐτὸν λοιδορήσει, διὰ τὰ ἐκείνου ἁμαρτήματα ὑμέτερος πολίτης γεγενήμενος* seems rather weak, but it is none the less effective. The precise effect of Proem.55.3 would depend on the use made of it: *τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ ποιῶσι μὲν οὐδέν, χώραν δ' ἀτέλεστον ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ τετελεσμένοι, μωρία.*

(13) Navarre p.116, Blass p.163.

AESCHINES

Aeschines does not have Demosthenes' ability in this direction, but there are some striking usages. He is scornful of Demosthenes' defence of Timarchus and

sneeringly suggests (I.119): ἀπαιτεῖν φησι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτὴν οὐκ αἰτίαν κατηγοροῦ, ἀλλὰ μαρτυρίαν τελώνου τοῦ παρὰ Τιμάρχου τοῦτο ἐκλεξάντος τὸ τέλος.

He is probably making this up, playing on his opponent's well known propensity for using prepositions. There may also be a pun in τελώνου... τέλος : see Xenon, Edmonds IIIA p.217.

Demosthenes himself (I.131) wears χλανίσκια (14) καὶ μιλκκοὺς χιτωνίσκους (15), which according to Aeschines could be thought to belong to a woman, when he writes his speeches against his friends; with these we can link the comic coinages Μυρτίσκην and Γανίδα or Γανιάδα (III.82), and μισαλέξανδρος, (III.66) μισοφίλιππος (III.73) (16), and μισοτύραννος (III.92).

He ridicules Demosthenes' use of prepositions in III.19 ἐπιδιδόναι ... ἀποδιδόντας ; III.83 δίδωσιν ... ἀποδίδωσι, and III.223 κατεπαγγελλόμενος ...

(14) cf. Ach.519.

(15) Dem. (XIX,197) uses it of a woman.

(16) cf. μισολάκων Av.V.1165 and μισολάμαχος Pax 304.

είσαγγέλλεσθαι.

One of the most biting passages in the Speech Against Ctesiphon (ss.210-12) asks what Demosthenes is making all the fuss about - crowns of gold. Well, if he doesn't get one we do not have to fear that the great warrior will commit suicide. On the head which Ctesiphon proposes (γέγραφε) to crown "he has inflicted a thousand gashes, and made money from these by bringing public indictments (γραφὰς γραφόμενος), and he once received such a blow (κατακεκονδύλισται) that I think the marks of Meidias' knuckles (κονδύλων) are still visible. The man has not got a head (κεφαλήν MSS, πρόσωπον Westermann) but an investment (πρόσοδον). (17)

(17) cf. Volkmann p.433 'sarcasm'; Dobson p.190;
Vervaeet p.56.

HYPERIDES

'Epicrates' the expert in the perfume trade pretended that he did not know the extent of his debts "That is not an excuse (ἀπολόγημα : restored), but an admission (ὁμολόγημα) that I need not pay the debts." (III.10)^{Arhenog. 20}

DEMADES

Demades is a master of words, and his works certainly teemed with neat expressions. We have at least οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς ὕδωρ λέγοιεν τὸν Δημοσθένην δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ γράφειν (18) (De Falco IV) and ὦ δήμει, μάλλον δὲ δήμει, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμεῖς ἐσιτίσατε, ὃν οὐ κατεκόψατε.

(De Falco XX).

DINARCHUS

Dinarchus too (Dem.95) provides us with a neat taunt: κατασκευάζων ψευδῆ μηνυτὴν ὡς ἐπιβουλομένων τῶν νεωρίων, καὶ περὶ τούτων γράφων μὲν οὐδέν, αἰτίας δ' ἕνεκα τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος κατασκευάζων.

(18) cf. Kratinos fr.181, 198, 199.

2. The Unexpected or Surprise

Some people find in this the root of all humour, and there is something to be said for the theory. However, I include in this section single words, or very short phrases which either replace something which is normal in that position, or expected, or by their absurd nature effect a release of tension. It is always difficult to decide when something else was expected, for the 'audience' reaction is so important - a bad comedian always blames the audience rather than his jokes, or the method of delivery.

ANDOCIDES

Mysteries 93: He says that one of his accusers, Cephisius, had been a state debtor, but since his debt occurred before the archonship of Eucleides "now he has become instead of an exile, a citizen, instead of disfranchised - a sycophant." (συκοφάντης where ἐπίτιμος might be expected (1). Compare Vespae 166-7 where Philocleon says "Give me a sword as quick as you can, or a voting tablet."

(1) Kingsbury p.33 calls this irony.

DEMOSTHENES

I.25-6 Demosthenes asks "If Philip takes Olynthus, who will prevent him coming here? The Thebans?" Since Athens and Thebes were technically at war at that date, the suggestion is ludicrous. For an unexpected name compare Lysis.103: "My husband has been away for five months in Thrace guarding Eucrates."

III.17-18 "... if someone else makes a better suggestion, do that and I hope you succeed. But, you object, it is not a pleasant one - that is not the speaker's fault, unless he leaves out the necessary prayer!"

III.29 You can see that our foreign policy is a mess; but someone may say our home affairs are in a better state; "What is the evidence, the battlements we are whitewashing?" (2) cf. XXIII.²⁰⁸~~208~~ and Pseudo-Dem. XIII.30.

Rehdantz ad loc. compares Gorgias 490C, Symposium 2 11E and Gorgias 519A: "άνευ γάρ σωφροσύνης και δικαιοσύνης λιμένων και νεωρίων και τειχῶν και φόρων και τοιούτων φλυαριῶν ἐμπεπλήκασι τὴν πόλιν."

IV.19 Demosthenes proposes that they should get ready a force "I do not mean a mercenary force of ten or twenty thousand, mere paper forces (ἐπιστολιμαίους)"

(2) Volkmann p.433 "sarcasm in the single unexpected word."

IV.24 The trouble with mercenary forces is that "they glance at the war Athens is fighting, then sail off to Artabazus or anywhere else, and the general follows, naturally." (3)

VIII.26. In support of Diopceithes, he asks "Where is the general to get the soldiers' pay from? The sky?" (4)

XIV.12 It had been proposed that Athens should send ambassadors round to unite the Greeks against Persia, but Demosthenes declares that they are more interested in their private feuds " οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄλλ' ἢ ῥαψωδῆσουσιν οἱ πρόσβεις ." An example of the vivid language which is later ridiculed in turn.

XIX.68 He grants that Philip has had good fortune, captured cities and vast territories, but his personal luck consisted in finding "When he needed villains, greater scoundrels than he wanted."

XIX.229f. He tells the story of the Embassy to Philip in the form of a fable in which we have "One man with the money, for which he sold the city's interests, went round buying harlots and fish." The story contains ridicule throughout. Fishmongers seem to have much

 (3) Vervaeat p.76-7 calls this 'ironie'.

(4) cf. Ronnet p.142: 'plaisanterie'.

interested the comic poets, so there may be some extra point here.

XX.128-30 He asks Leptines where the immunity exists, which their ancestors had granted, and he was leaving untouched. "From the tax on metics?"

XXXVII.44 He carefully builds up the account of the brutal treatment that Pantaenetus declares he has suffered, and then produces the perpetrator, a feeble old slave. If managed with care, it is hard to imagine a more effective way of deflating an opponent.

LV.18 The son of Teisias asks if he is to be subject to this indictment when water has overflowed from a road; what will he suffer if it overflows from his own land? If he cannot drain water into the road or into private land, what is he to do: "Surely Callicles will not compel me to drink it!" (5)

(5) Bonner C.P.17 (1922) p.100.

3. Quips and Comments

These all involve revealing or inventing an absurdity in the words, behaviour or argument of the opposite side, by the means of neat or concise phrasing. The speaker will also use or invent quotations in order to ridicule or mock them, a process which often involves 'capping' in which the Greeks, along with other peoples, delighted.

ANDOCIDES

Mysteries: He suggests that the prosecution say (137-9) "The gods apparently saved me from the perils of the sea, so that I might come here and perish at the hands of Cephisius." "Certainly I think the gods would be angry and annoyed if they saw men they had saved being destroyed by mere men." (1) He is trying to ridicule their ignorance or lack of common-sense, but it is not particularly successful.

LYSIAS

VII.23. The defendant declares "If Nicomachus had provided witnesses, he would be demanding that you believe them, but since he has not got any, he thinks that it should be to my disadvantage. Indeed, in his

(1) cf. Pseudo-Dem. LVIII.54.

slandrous attack he will not be as short of arguments of that kind as he is of witnesses." It is noteworthy that Nicomachus may not have used any such argument (2).

VIII.19. The writer makes up a very neat reductio ad absurdum to suit the members of his society: "When I do not consort with you, you will turn on each other, then one by one you will conceive a hatred for yourselves, and in the end the last one left will defame himself."

IX.1. Polyaenus asks "Did they not know that they were supposed to speak to the point?" This could be said either in a humorous tone, or in one of outraged dignity.

XII.63. Lysias suggests that Eratosthenes will plead that he was a friend of Theramenes " and I suppose, if he had been in political life with Themistocles, he would have eagerly claimed to be working for the building of the walls, since he claims that he worked with Theramenes for their destruction." He naturally selects the most emotionally loaded of Theramenes' acts for his attack.

XXIV.2-3. The invalid fighting for his pension and speaking no doubt in character asks "Does he hope to get money out of me by his false accusation? So now it is obvious that he envies me since, although I suffer this
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(2) cf. Bateman p.166 compares IV.13; VII.34-5; XV.6; XXX.16.

misfortune, I am a better citizen than he is." The argument that rogues gather at his shop is reduced to the absurdity that they must then call all the Athenians rogues, as they all call at one shop or another! (19-20). The speech is full of humour and scorn, as has been frequently mentioned (3).

XXX.5. He has a very neat taunt directed at Nicomachus "You have come to such a pitch of insolence, that you think the city's property is yours, when you yourself belong to the city!"

ISOCRATES

VIII.59. He declares that the internal affairs of Greece are in such a ridiculous state that if the Thebans and Athenians had any sense they would pay for each other to hold assemblies, for whichever side has more, the other fares better.

XI.42-3. He also ridicules Polycrates' views of the gods: "For if the gods do not want their children to be good, their intentions are worse than those of mankind, but if they do want them to be, but do not know how to do it, then they are weaker than the sophists." Not that his opinion of the sophists is very high (4).

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(3) e.g. Hiddemann p.13; De Vries p.35f.; Vendryes Revue de Phil.18 (1944) p.126; Vervaeet p.90.

(4) See XIII.3-4.

XV.40. The idea that Nicocles paid him for lessons in pleading cases is absurd, because Nicocles acts as a judge for other men. "Do they think that men travel to Athens through a lack of villains at home? ... Do they spend money to become sycophants? They would much rather take it." (244-5)

XVIII.15. In the speech against Callimachus he counters his argument rather well: "I am surprised that if he thinks himself capable of recognising that it was not probable that he was willing to accept two hundred drachmae instead of ten thousand, he believes that I am incapable of discovering, if I had wished to lie, that I ought to have said I had given him more." Later on (ss.40-41), he says "Ask him to show ... that I took the money ... not that he suffered outrageously ... since he can show that by indicting any citizen whatever!"

ISAEUS

V.43. A large part of the case is occupied with blackening the character of Dicaeogenes, and the speaker demands to know what the estate was squandered on, as it was not spent on the state, his friends or horses, and he did not even possess a pair of mules. If this is contemptuous, it would heighten the ridicule which Aeschines hurls at Demosthenes for using mules for

Philip's ambassadors (II.111; III.76)

VI.54. "Surely he will not say, impudent though he is, that he was present at, and acquainted with, everything that Philoctemon did in his life."

DEMOSTHENES

VII.44. The writer answers Philip's offer to force the Cardians to go to arbitration by the scornful comment "as if you could not compel the Cardians to do anything."

X.60. "If we wish to pretend that he is not at war with us, he would be a fool to deny it. For when the injured party denies its injury, what should the malefactor do?" They are playing into Philip's hands in a quite ridiculous fashion.

XIII.5-6. The writer complains, with ridiculous exaggeration, that the generals spend their time defending themselves in court and the net result of their efforts is "So-and-so, the soneof So-and-so, has impeached So-and-so." They do not even see the enemy.

XV.16. Demosthenes, in trying to support the Rhodians, admits that "I do not know if they would ever have come to their senses in prosperity, being Rhodians." This is somewhat similar to his sneer at the Cardians in VII.44.

The dual with Aeschines provides an enormous variety of examples, whose tones have been variously interpreted. The mode of delivery could have been one of righteous indignation, but I feel sure that a humorous touch would often have been more effective, and I do not believe that Demosthenes rarely laughs (5).

XIX.98. "Now that he must answer for his deeds in court, being a rogue, an enemy to the gods, and a government clerk (bathos?), he will make his defence as though he were on trial for the peace because he can see in his own acts nothing good." (Compare s.201). He declares (s.109) that he expected him to say "...I trusted him, I was deceived, I made a mistake, I admit it, etc." No doubt he suitably imitated Aeschines, and the list of verbs in asyndeton is in the Aristophanic mode (cf. Acharnians 30f.).

In section 120, he invites Aeschines to answer a few questions - a challenge often made by orators - and when he refuses, says "It is not because of inexperience that you have nothing to say, for you take up new prosecutions just like plays."

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(5) Ronnet p.142, though giving many examples of humour, holds the opposite view.

Aeschines' voice is often a target for his attacks (vide infra), either because of jealousy as some suggest, or because its stentorian tones made it an easy thing to ridicule. In section 189 he quotes, or mis-quotes: "Ποῦ δ' ἔλεις ; ποῦ τράπεζα ; ποῦ σπονδαί ;" and says "ταῦτα γὰρ τραγῶσει περιιῶν." A little later (s.206-8), he asks "When I speak in the Assembly, how is it that the most outrageous men in the city, who also have the loudest voices, are defeated by me, a most nervous man, with the smallest voice of all?" This exaggeration may be the source of the idea that he did suffer from a small voice.

In sections 229-31, he tells the story of the Embassy as if it were a fable, and ends up (s.231) "The fourth man had gone out of his mind, did not know the city, and did not know how to throw his money away." A neat reductio ad absurdum for a story involving metaphor, incongruity, brevity and word-play.

Aeschines had left himself wide open when he talked about rumor, and speaking without keeping one's hand inside one's cloak, and Demosthenes makes full use of the opportunity (ss.243-4), employing Aeschines' own quotation from Hesiod (W.and D. 761), and saying his accusers are more numerous than those of Timarchus. Aeschines too (s.255) should have kept his hand in "Not when speaking, but on an

embassy yet here at home you use fine phrases (σεμνολογεῖ) and practise your pretty speeches (λογάρια , a comic diminutive) and walk about with your little skull-cap on." He also makes very good use of Aeschines' quotation from the Antigone (s.247) (6). The whole passage, particularly from section 252 has attracted the attention of critics from Demetrius (2.277) onwards.

XVIII.82. His comment here is much in the same vein "You said I am silent when paid, and shout when I have spent the money. But you shout when paid, and will never stop, unless the jury stop you today by disfranchising you." As for what Aeschines had said about Demosthenes' resolutions (III) "I do not think you understood it, and the greater part of it was unintelligible to me." While he reduces the attacks on his mannerisms by the withering comment (s.232) "Don't you see, the fate of Greece depended on this, whether I used this word or that, or waved my hand this way and not that." (7)

XX.160-1. ^LSeptines had excepted only the descendents

 (6) Perlmann p.170 "shows him a master of ridicule." There is a similar passage in XVIII.267.

(7) διασυρμός : Alexander περὶ σχήμ. .p.26.; Cicero Orat. 8.27: 'se purgans iocatur.'

of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and forbidden the granting of immunity in the future, so Demosthenes asks with justice "surely you did not foresee the future?"

XXI.36. He pours scorn on Meidias for assuming (according to Demosthenes) that if he shows that many have been assaulted, they will be less annoyed about Demosthenes' sufferings, and later asks (s.172) "and indeed if you take from him his " I was hipparch and steward of the Paralus', what other use is he?"

XXII.68. Demosthenes says that Androtion, when arresting citizens, asked whether the jail was built to no purpose. "I would say it was, if your father danced his way out of it, fetters and all, at the procession of the Dionysia." (8)

XXIII.185. He scornfully comments "Other men have been honoured for their good services, but this man alone because of the failure of his attempts to harm you!" There is a similar taunt in XXV.67 where the writer asks if Aristogeiton is to be considered well disposed to the people because he has been put in prison twice.

XXXV.35. He asks the jury "Think hard, do you know, or have you heard of anyone bringing wine to Athens from Pontus to sell, particularly Coan wine?" The excuse put

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(8) cf. Navarre p.295.

forward by Lacritus was presumably absurd (9).

XXXVII.36-7. Nicobulus asks Pantaenetus if he considers that people who attempt to recover loans are making an armed attack, for he has no other grounds for the complaint.

LI.2. "I am surprised that they seem to think you thank not those who do what they should, but those who say they have done it." The tone could be scornful or indignant.

LV.4. The son of Teisias says that the wall in question has been built for fifteen years and there have been no complaints - "and yet it obviously rained often then too!" Similarly section 13: "whoever thought of planting vines or figs in a watercourse, or burying their ancestors there!"

Exordium 2.1-2. He uses the next taunt "Do you think they say these things for nothing? Then the leaders of the oligarchic faction should quietly increase their pay."

AESCHINES

I.126. "Demosthenes by way of a jest (ἐν σκώμματος μέρει) cites himself, pretending to be a pleasant man, able to joke about his private life 'Unless', he says, 'I

(9) cf. Pseudo-Dem. XLII.8.

must answer to the crowd when they call me not Demosthenes, but Batalos, because I received that nickname from my nurse as a baby-name!" Since Aeschines was an actor, we must suspect that he would do a ridiculous imitation whenever possible. We do not know the exact implication of Batalos, but since Demosthenes (XVIII.180) says of its use "ὄν ἄν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ δισσύρων καλέσῃς" it must have been effective.

II.21. "He promised fountains (πηγὰς) of words... that he would stop Philip's mouth with an unsoaked rush." (10) Demosthenes certainly is fond of striking words, but it is difficult to imagine from his speeches that he boasted in the way Aeschines ridicules. For similar attacks on his vocabulary, see II.157, III.166 ("Certain men are pruning the city" etc., a passage quoted by Herodian p.91-2, and Alexander p.26), III.209, III.229 ("a man made up of syllables like a flute, if you take the mouthpiece away, there is nothing left."), and Demades fr.51 (Loeb) and fr.75 (de Falco) (11)

II.49. He also ridicules Demosthenes' gesticulations and his habit of rubbing his head. "τετρατευσάμενος, - - - - -"

(10) cf. Webster, Fourth Century Lit. p.99.

(11) cf. Com. Adesp. 294 ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν.

ὡσπερ εἶωθε, τῷ σχήματι καὶ τρίψας τῆν
κεφαλῆν .” (12) Euripides in the Frogs says of
Aeschylus (1.834) " ἐν ταῖς τραγυδίσιασιν
ἑτερατεύετο .”

II.92. He ridicules Demosthenes' charge that his delays had lost Kersebleptes his kingdom by saying that Chares said he lost it the month before, "Seeing that Ela phebolion is before Munichion." Plato's idea about ignorance would come in well with this scornful comment.

II.124-6. He attributes to Demosthenes the suggestion that he (Aeschines) went on midnight canoe trips down the river Loedias in order to write a letter for Philip. "For Leosthenes was not able to write a clever letter nor Philip himself with whom not even Demosthenes could compete!"

II.162. After the destruction of Phocis, among two hundred guests, Aeschines was obvious by his joining in the singing, according to Demosthenes who was not even there!

III.128. When the Amphictyons met, "Philip was not even in Macedonia, let alone Greece, but far away among the Scyths, yet Demosthenes will presently dare to say

(12) τερατεύομαι is also used at I.94; II.98; III.160;
τρίψας : Demades fr.75 de Falco. cf. Vervaeet p.64.

that I brought him against the Greeks." A neat hit, but one that scores nothing more than a temporary advantage.

III.160. Demosthenes had said Alexander would never move from Macedonia, but be quite content looking at entrails, because he looked at Alexander in the light of his own cowardice, not Alexander's nature (13). It is of course very easy to be wise after the event. A similar point is made neatly in section 163: *καίτοι ῥητορικὴν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει* (14), and another example of Demosthenes' misjudgement of Alexander in 164: "Alexander was shut up in Cilicia - according to you - and about to be trampled underfoot by the Persian cavalry - so your story went."

III.167. After ridiculing Demosthenes' vocabulary, he quotes him; "I admit I organised the Laconian uprising, I admit that I am raising the Thessalians and Perhaebi." and adds: "You cause a revolt of the Thessalians? Could you cause the revolt of a village?" etc. The reversed exaggeration is sufficient in itself to cause laughter (15).

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- (13) cf. Vervaet p.59.
 (14) cf. III.187.
 (15) cf. Vervaet p.56.

III.210. He asks very appositely "Why the tears? Why the noise? Why the straining of the voice? Isn't it Ctesiphon who is on trial?" (16). "No-one is afraid that Demosthenes the great warrior will go home and do aw ay with himself!" (s.212).

III.218-9. "I am silent or speak after deliberation, not under the compulsion of a spendthrift nature. But, I think, you are silent when you are paid, but shout when you have spent the money my indictment was brought in when Philip was still alive before you had your drea m or conversed with Athene and Hera at night. How then could I have been making a display for Alexander, unless, of course, I had the same dream as Demosthenes!" (17)

III. 242-3. Finally, why does Ctesiphon need Demosthenes to speak for him - "Surely you cannot pretend that you are unable to speak, for you the other day allowed yourself to be voted an ambassador Or is the man whom you ha ve moved to crown so obscure as not to be known by those he has benefited, unless someone shall help you to describe him?"

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(16) cf. Demades fr.89 de Falco.

(17) Volkman p.434 calls this Χαριεντισμός.

HYPERIDES

Presumably the quotations given as *δισσυρηός* by Alexander (*περὶ σχημ.* p.26) are comments on arguments made, or supposedly made, by the opposition.

^{Dem.}
V_k fr.2, col.3. "Finally, perhaps you will ask what you used the money for, as if you were asking for a banker's account from the Council."

Phryne fr.30. "Wha[^]t fault is it of hers if a stone hangs over the head of Tantalus?"

4. Ridiculous Stories

I include under this heading events, real or invented, which, without any extra comment, are described in such a way as to be ridiculous.

ANDOCIDES

Mysteries 124-31. While there are some comments in the account of the private life of Callias, and almost every means of ridicule is employed, it must surely rate as a ridiculous story. In particular the rumour about Hipponicus keeping an evil spirit in his house seems to be told for amusement.

LYSIAS

VI.28. The writer supplies us with a very brief and vivid picture of Andocides' travels: " ἀποδρὰς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἔφυγε μὲν τοὺς ἐνθάδε θεοὺς, ἔφυγε δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ἔφυγε δὲ εἰς οὓς τὸ πρῶτον ἀφικοῖτο". The ridicule is aided considerably by the Anaphora.

The fragment from the speech against Aeschines the Socratic preserved by Athenaeus is justly the most famous piece of wit in Lysias. " Have not the shopkeepers in his neighbourhood, whose profits he borrowed and has not returned, shut up shop and sued him? Have not his

neighbours been so annoyed by him that they have left their own houses and rented others further away? So many people come to his house at daybreak to ask for their money back that the passers-by think that they have come for his funeral. The merchants in the Peiraeus regard a business transaction with him as more dangerous than a voyage to the Adriatic. Did he not acquire the estate of Hermaeus the perfume-seller by seducing his wife, who was seventy years old? So great was his love for the maid (κόριον) enjoying her youth (ἡλικίας), whose teeth were easier to count than the fingers of a hand!" (1). For people avoiding notorious debtors, see Acharnians 614f.

ISOCRATES

XVIII.52-4. He illustrates the character of Callimachus by telling the story of perjury in the case of the supposedly murdered woman. When she was produced alive at the trial, although fourteen people had corroborated Callimachus' story, from seven hundred judges he received not one vote.

 (1) Bonner C.P.17 (1922) p.99; Dobson p.90.

DEMOSTHENES

Demosthenes, as the story about the thief called Brass (Is there any connection with the politician Aristomedes nicknamed $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$: Philemon 40 A?), and the one about the donkey's shadow indicate, had the ability to be funny. That he was not at a loss for words unless he had a speech prepared has also been demonstrated by Dorjahn.

XIX.209. He gives us a nice picture of bad-tempered exasperation "You know surely, at Peiraeus only the other day, when you did not allow him to go on an embassy, he shouted that he would impeach me - $\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$, $\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$." The cry occurs both in tragedy and comedy, and Demosthenes may have imitated one of Aeschines' tragic parts.

XXI.133. When the navy went to Euboea (probably under Phocion in 349), Meidias is said to have prayed that he would not be picked for service. "You never put on your breast-plate, but rode on a saddle with silver trappings imported from Euboea, complete with shawls ($\chi\lambda\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$) and goblets ($\kappa\upsilon\mu\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$: diminutive) and wine jars, which were confiscated by the customs." The rich man unsuitably equipped for war is proverbial, but still funny. Similarly, his shifts to avoid active service (s.160f.) are ridiculous, but perhaps might qualify for Plato's laugh in anger. (2).

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(2) Laws 935 E.

XXI.149. The account of the circumstances surrounding the birth of Meidias is without parallel in the orators: "Who of you does not know the abominable story of his birth - quite like a tragedy His true mother was the most sensible of mortals, while his reputed mother, who took him over, was the silliest of all women. The proof: the one sold him as soon as he was born, the other purchased him, though she could have bought a better bargain at the same price." (3) Since Demosthenes hated Meidias, it is difficult to decide whether he intended the jury to laugh. The frequency with which supposititious children are mentioned in New Comedy inclines me to think that the jury would laugh.

XXI.171. "You elected him hipparch, although he could not stay on his horse in a procession through the market-place." Since he had been elected hipparch, he must have been able to ride, and Demosthenes is probably hinting at some occasion when he was thrown. This would cause great amusement, particularly because Meidias was rich, and most ordinary people take delight in seeing the rich and arrogant discomfited.

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(3) Volkmann p.433 "Poisonous scorn lies in the sarcastic observation."

AESCHINES

I.61. The whole affair of Pittalacus is intended to discredit Timarchus, and although we find the subject of male prostitution disgusting, to judge from comedy, the Athenians found it amusing. " ... and Timarchus himself, not yet indeed disgusting to look at, but still usable, stroked the man's chin (ὑπογενειάξων: a λπ. λεγ. according to L.S.J.), and said he would do anything he wanted." (4)

I.80-84. He recounts with quotations what happened the previous year when Timarchus was a member of the Council. (If his reputation was as bad as Aeschines makes out, it is odd that he was not rejected at the δοκιμασία). Presumably the words that caused laughter then, would do so again, though the double-meanings are lost on us.

I.132. The picture of one of the generals who is going to support Timarchus: ὑπτιάζων καὶ κατασκοπούμενος ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ διστριβαῖς γυγονώς.

is intended to be a caricature. I am not happy with the translation "carry oneself with languid arrogance" offered by L.S.J. The idea to me is one of a wrestler swaying back

(4) cf. The ludicrous contract scene I.162-4

(a)

to avoid a hold, and keeping guard. The intention is to suggest either something out of keeping in a staid general, or that the actions are unconvincing because the general is one of Timarchus' type.

In the Speech on the Embassy, Vervaeat (5) has revealed what he calls the three-act comedy of the orator gloriosus.

1. Demosthenes' extravagant boasts on the journey (II.21 quoted above).

2. The expectancy aroused, and then the complete breakdown (II.34: " φθέγγεται τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο προοίμιον σκοτεινόν τι καὶ τεθνηκὸς δειλία --- ἐξαίφνης ἐσίγησε καὶ διηπορήθη, τελευτῶν δὲ ἐκπίπτει ἐκ τοῦ λόγου.

3. His sycophantic behaviour on the way home (II.40-43:

.... ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν παραδόξως ὡς φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἕκαστον διαλέγετο κ.τ.λ.

Something presumably must have happened in Macedonia, and Aeschines makes the most of it by his undoubted exaggeration of Demosthenes' behaviour before and afterwards, which he must have made appear even more ridiculous by appropriate acting. Any attempt at an explanation by Demosthenes would only make the thing worse.

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(5) cf. Dobson p.190; Jaeger Sather 13 p.33.

(a) cf. The picture of a wrestler in Pax 33f.

II.99-100. The account of Demosthenes and his bedding-sack of silver - hardly enough to ransom even one poor man - contains several allusions that are presumably funny ("the ambassadors were reminded of his nicknames Batalos (6) and Argas."), as well as ridiculing the whole idea of trying to ransom anyone. Demosthenes was rather proud of his altruism, and this is an effective counter-blow.

II.106-7. He gives us a rather unlikely quotation from Demosthenes "I admit that I am timid (*μικροκός*) and fear danger in advance Philip is marching to Thermopylae, I cover my head." (7)

II.¹¹⁰~~210~~-12. By a mixture of quotation and description, he ridicules Demosthenes' entertainment of Philip's ambassadors in Athens (repeated at III.76 (8)), and also his speeches in the assembly.

III.148-51. He bitterly ridicules Demosthenes' (successful) attempt to win over the Thebans to join Athens in resisting Philip. "The rulers at Thebes ... had no run-away orator and deserter to advise them Since he suspected they were going to make peace with

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(6) cf. Edmonds Vol.1. p.337.

(7) cf. Dobson p.189; Cawkwell C.Q. Vol.63 p.207
"Demosthenes cannot have said this."

(8) Vervaeet p.65: "The grave Demosthenes is shown as a buffoon."

Philip, and get gold from Philip without his being in on it, and thinking that life was not worth living if he was left out of any bribery swore by Athena (whose statue, it seems, Pheidias made especially for Demosthenes to perjure himself by, and to make a profit of) that if anyone said we ought to make peace with Philip, he would seize him by the hair and drag him off to prison."

III.159. "When our unexpected safety brought him back to the city, at first he was full of fear (*ὑπότρομος*) and came up to the platform half dead (*ἥμιθνής*), and urged you to vote him guardian of the peace." Similarly ludicrous is the picture of Demosthenes scuttling back across Cithaeron when he discovered that Alexander was at Thebes (III.161: " *ἀποδρᾶς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἦκεν ὑποστρέψας*). But when he thought Alexander was about to be crushed in Cilicia, "The city could not contain your odious presence, and the letters that you carried round dangling from your fingers" (III.164, cf. *Din. Dem. 35-6*).

III.173. Demosthenes' career is described vividly: "From being a trierarch, he suddenly appeared as a writer of speeches, having absurdly squandered his patrimony. But when his reputation was ruined by disclosing his clients' arguments to their opponents, he leapt onto the political platform." (9)

 (9) See Dobson p.188.

III.213-4. He declares that Demosthenes and Ctesiphon both go round saying that their only danger in the present trial lies in the character of the other. Which is sufficiently unlikely to be amusing.

5. Inconsistency

Quite naturally, a speaker is eager to expose inconsistency in his opponent's acts or arguments, and may even invent situations to reveal some inconsistency. For example, Isaeus (II.25-6) says that the prosecutor would have adopted a son if he had been childless, so he is not ashamed of making a law about adoption valid for himself, while he seeks to render this same law of no effect for his brother. I have endeavoured to pick out those examples which might be expected to cause a laugh or smile among the jurors, and distinguish: (a) those cases where an absurd inconsistency exists if what must be or must have been is deduced from what an opponent has argued; (b) those cases where absurd consequences will result if an opponent's argument is upheld.

(a) ANTIPHON

Choreutes 29. "And yet it would be odd ($\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\nu$) if the same witnesses would have been trustworthy when giving evidence for them, but will not be when doing so

for me how else can the truth be confirmed and lies disproved (τὰ ληθῆ πιστὰ ἢ τὰ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἀπιστὰ ποιεῖν)?"

LYSIAS

III.24-5. He reveals the absurdity of Simon's statement that he had given three hundred drachmae to Theodotus, by pointing out that Simon valued his own property at two hundred and fifty drachmae. "It would be amazing if he hired his companion for more than he in fact possesses!" He also tries to show that Simon's account of the affray (29-34) is absurd, ending "My premeditation was directed at myself, so that I might suffer the utmost outrage at my enemy 's hands."

VII. He ridicules the whole idea of the defendant having uprooted the olive stump, for it was supposed to have been done in daylight "as if the action required not complete secrecy, but that all the Athenians should know." He has in fact got many such stumps, but he chose just the one which everyone could see, and had a road right round it (s.26-8).

VIII.5-8. As the writer says, the members of the society make themselves look ridiculous (καταγελαστός). "You were secretly abusing the same man whom, at the same moment, you were openly treating as a friend you go around accusing all of yourselves of willingly consorting

with evil men."

X.6-20. Theomnestus is supposed to have excused his slander in front of the arbitrator, on the ground that he had not used the exact word contained in the law. Lysias proceeds to tear this argument to pieces, no doubt in a bantering tone. "Isn't it strange (δεινόν), if when you have to avenge yourself on your enemies for slander, you take the laws as I do now, but when you slander another, contrary to the laws, you do not think you should be punished?" He goes on to have a number of laws read in turn, and explains the archaic phraseology, which everybody no doubt understood already.

XII.26. Lysias uses a stinging antithesis to point to the inconsistency in the behaviour of Eratosthenes "So, you complete villain, you spoke in opposition to save him, but joined in his arrest to kill him?"

XXIV.12. The invalid asks "Yet how is it not strange, councillors, that this man should be silent if I ride on a mule (for what could he say), but because I ride on borrowed horses, should try to persuade you that I am able-bodied? It is odd that he does not also use the fact that I have two sticks ... as a proof that I am able-bodied ... for I use both the sticks and the horses for the same purpose." (1)

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(1) cf. De Vries p.36; Vervaet p.93; Albinì p.438 note 4.

ISOCRATES

VIII. After mentioning the commonplace that the Athenians are inclined to make different decisions about the same things on the same day (s.52; cf.Ach.630f.

ταχυβούλοις ... μεταβούλους) he goes on to say that with regard to generals "The advisers we employ in matters of most importance, we do not think fit to be elected generals ... but men whom nobody would trust for anything we send abroad ... as if they will become wise there."

(s.55) (2)

XI. 7-8, 37. Polycrates was guilty of a completely absurd inconsistency since he said that Busiris emulated men whose fathers had not even been born.

XIII.3-6. The Sophists "say that they do not need money, calling wealth ἀργυρίδιον and χρυσίδιον, but eager for a small gain promise to make their pupils all but immortal. But most ridiculous of all, they distrust those from whom they are to get this money; they distrust, that is, the very men to whom they are about to teach just dealing, but require their pupils to entrust the money to men they have never taught."

XV.199-202. The people that say my education is nonsense, also demand that my pupils should show an immediate improvement on coming to me. If education is

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(2) cf.Eupolis fr.205 "The generals are not fit to be market-inspectors.", and Ar.Nubes 587.

powerless to improve men, how is it that animals can be trained? (s.211-14).

XVII.17-18. "Pasion himself first hid the slave, whom I said had knowledge of the money-dealings, while accusing us of hiding him, and next when the slave was arrested, prevented him from giving evidence under torture on the ground that he was a freeman, and finally nominally gave orders that he be tortured, but in fact forbade it." Pasion is then shown pleading with the plaintiff and weeping. Whether the audience laughed at the important man shown in a mean and degrading light depends on how the passage was delivered.

ISAEUS

III.30-32. He declares that the woman's uncles had given her a different name from the one her husband had written down "I am surprised that the husband who had lived with her for more than eight years, did not know the name of his own wife" (3). After this the opposition might find it very hard to be taken seriously.

IV. The speaker is presenting a supplementary speech, and therefore the proof of the justice of the claim of Hagnon and Hagnotheus may already have been presented. At all events his purpose is to ridicule the position of

(3) cf. Verva et p.101. See VI.12 for a similar argument.

Chariades. "Chariades and his supporters say that Nicostratus was the son of Smicrus, yet claim the estate of the son of Thrasymachus" (s.3-4). The estate has been the subject of many false claims e.g. "Ameiniades came to the archon with Nicostratus' son, not yet three years old, although Nicostratus has not been in Athens for eleven years!" (s.8). If in fact Hagnon and Hagnotheus are not the kinsmen of Nicostratus, why are his actual kinsmen not disputing the estate? (s.24-5).

VI.46. Androcles is ridiculed because he claimed the daughter of Euctemon as an heiress, and then said that Euctemon had got a legitimate son.

VIII. Diocles' inconsistency is shown in that he both declared that Ciron had left nothing (s.2, 37, 38), and yet took considerable trouble to dispute the estate (4). It is a fairly obvious move on the part of someone who holds an estate to declare that it is not really worth anything, and as a result it may be equally effective for a claimant to say that this is what is being done in order to make his opponent seem the typical villain.

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(4) cf. X.17; Demos.XXVII.54, LVII.52-4.

DEMOSTHENES

VII.16. The writer reveals the absurdity of saying that Philip has no need of the sea: "The man who does not need the sea is laying down triremes, building docks things on which he sets no value." This is similar to the way in which the writer of Speech XVII reveals the hollowness of the treaty with Alexander (s.9-30).

XIX.39-40. Demosthenes has a passage read out from Philip's first letter: "I would be writing more explicitly of the benefits which I will confer on you, if I were certain that the alliance was going to be made"; but then after the signing of the alliance he says that he does not know how he can gratify them. "He does not know even what he himself promised!"

XIX.126-7. Aeschines had refused to go on the third embassy to Philip on the ground that he was too ill to travel, but when the Phocians had been destroyed - and Aeschines' wages stopped - the wise, clever, and loud-voiced man, without being authorised went off, forgetting that he was supposed to be ill and that "it was very odd for a man who had announced that the Thebans had set a price on his head, to walk straight into the middle of Thebes." (5)

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(5) cf. Ronnet p.141.

Another example is that Aeschines often called Philip a barbarian and a wretch (ἄλλόστωρ), but when he had been to Macedonia (XIX.305-8), Philip was ἑλληνικώτατον (6). δεινότατον λέγειν and φιλοθηναϊότατον (7).

XXIV.64. "How could anyone propose two more contradictory laws than that men convicted should be put in prison until they have paid, and that they should put in sureties, but must not be imprisoned? Here then Timocrates is accusing Timocrates." The absurd consequence which will result if the law is passed is mentioned later.

XXXIV.35. "Lampis declares that all he said to me before he was corrupted by this man was spoken when he was out of his mind; but as soon as he got a share of my money, then he declares that he is in his right mind and remembers everything perfectly."

XXXVII.23-4. Nicobulus says that the charge against him is quite absurd, because he was away from Athens throughout, and anyway Pantaenetus has said that Nicobulus' slave was responsible for his disfranchisement "a thing which not even a citizen could do to another citizen."; the argument is elaborated in sections 50-51.

XXXIX.21. Mantitheus demonstrates that Boētus had forced Mantias to enrol him in the clan list, and he had

(6) L.S.J.: only otherwise used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

(7) L.S.J.: superlative, a ἄπ. λεγ.

done so in the name of Boëtus^o. "If my father had not died, what would you have done about the deme list? Would you not have allowed yourself to be enrolled as Boëtus^o? But it is absurd to bring a suit to force this, and then prevent it again."

XLIV.42-3. Aristodemus rightly points out the absurdity of Leostratus and Leochares claiming to be the adopted sons of a man who had died long before they were born.

LVI.35. Darius declares that the procedure of Dionysodorus is most novel, for he repays the principal, on the ground that the ship reached port safely, but thinks he can refuse the interest on the ground that it was lost.

(b) Absurd consequences.

LYSIAS

I.36. He gives to Euphiletus the superb comment that unless they acquit him, they will give adulterers such licence that even thieves will say that they are adulterers to avoid being touched (8). As another alternative (s.48), he suggests they should alter the laws and punish men who guard their wives.

XII.29. If they acquit Eratosthenes on the plea

(8) cf. De Vries p.31; Bonner p.100; Vervaet p.94.

he is making Lysias asks "But now who will you ever punish if the Thirty will be able to say that they were carrying out the orders of the Thirty?" (9).

XXIV.8-9. The invalid points out that it would be absurd if he received a pension when he was merely disabled, but lost it when he was in addition old and sick (10). Of course, if he were declared able-bodied, (s.13), what was to prevent him from becoming one of the nine archons? A presumably ludicrous suggestion.

XXX.7. "If he attempts to say that I was one of the four hundred, reflect that on the basis of statements of this kind the four hundred will become more than one thousand!" (11).

ISOCRATES

XVI.44. Since the Athenians have pardoned Teisias, his accuser, for things which he did himself, it would be absurd for them to punish Alcibiades the younger for things which his father had done.

DEMOSTHENES

XIX.337. He declares that since the Athenians

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(9) cf. Bateman p.168.

(10) Radermacher p.71-2; Bateman p.166; Albini p.438 n.2

(11) De Vries p.41 calls this sarcasm.

almost stoned Aeschines because of his bad acting, it will be extremely absurd if they do not punish him for the manifold mischief (*μυρία κακά*) he has done in the most important affairs of state, being impressed now by his beautiful voice.

XVIII.28. In reply to the ridicule over his behaviour towards Philip's ambassadors, he asks, "Should I have ordered the theatre-manager not to give them free seats? They could, of course, have sat in the threepenny seats." (12)

XX.40. If ^LSeptines' law is passed, what is to prevent anyone from challenging Leucon (an honorary citizen) to an exchange of property?

XXIV.94. An absurd situation is also foreseen as a result of Timocrates' law, when he suggests this reply to a request for military assistance: "We have a law of Timocrates, so wait until the ninth prytany, we will come then."

XXXIX.7. Mantitheus points out here, and in several other places, that if two men have exactly the same name, how will they be distinguished for official purposes?

(12) Called *Σισυρρμός* by Tiberius p.79.

6. Comparison, εἰκῶν or εἰκασμός.

Rutherford (p.276-8) discussed εἰκασμός, and came to the conclusion that it was best suited to buffoonery in comedy; while Fraenkel discussing the use of εἰκάζειν (commentary on Agamemnon 1.1629) decides that its use by Aegisthus, together with the word-play ἦγε ... ἄξῃ, is an indication that Aegisthus is made of common stuff, since wit of this type appeals to the lower orders of society. Monaco (1) has studied in detail the examples from Plato and Aristophanes revealing the extent to which it was used. Of special interest are Plato: Symposium 2 15a, where Alcibiades says "I will try and praise Socrates by similitudes (δι' εἰκόνων). Probably he will think I do this for derision (ἐπὶ τὰ γελοϊότερα); but I choose my similitude for the sake of truth not of ridicule.", and Aristophanes Ranae 905, where Dionysius says "Speak wittily and don't use εἰκόνας such as anyone might use."

The point of a comparison is often caricature, particularly when the reference is to someone who has become a type. Comparison is probably the origin of many nicknames (cf. Aves 1377, ἀσπασόμεθα φιλύρινον
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(1) Reviewed by K.J. Dover, J.H.S., 1966, p.211.

Κινησίαν , 1290f. πέρδιξ μὲν εἰς κάπηλος
 ὠνομάζετο χωλός , and Aristotle Rhet. 1406b
 23), and may account for much of the name-calling (2)
 which occurs, particularly in Demosthenes and Aeschines,
 though in general I do not intend dealing with epithets.

ANDOCIDES

Mysteries 99. When he calls Epichares a sly fox
 (ἐπίτριπτον κίναδος) he is borrowing a description of
 Odysseus from the Ajax (1.103), but surprisingly the term
 is not often used (3), though it is found in Aristophanes
 (N.448, Aves 429). He goes on to say (s.101) "As I sat
 watching him, I quite thought I had been arrested and put
 on trial by the Thirty." That the tone is humorous is
 suggested by the following imaginary interrogation by
 Charicles; "Tellme, Andocides, he would have asked etc."

Mysteries 129. The account of the ridiculous history
 of Callias' marriages ends up with a description of his
 son - "There are three women with whom his father will have
 lived, and he is the alleged son of one, the brother of the
 second, and the uncle of the third. What should he be
 called? Oedipus, Aegisthus, or what?"

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(2) cf. Herodian, p.592 W.: "comparison is used to insult."

(3) cf. Demosthenes XVIII.162 and 242 φύσει κίναδος.
 Dinarchus, Dem. 40, οὐ τὰ τοιαῦτα κινάδη.

LYSIAS

XIII.19. The fellow-conspirator of Agoratus is stigmatised as Θ εόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ελαφροστίκτου καλούμενον . This name is held to indicate foreign or servile origin (4).

XIV.21. "If everyone had had the same character as Alcibiades, there would have been no need of generals, for they would have had no one to lead." It is made a reproach (s.25) that he was seen lying under the same cloak as Archedemus the Blear-eyed (τῷ γλάμωνι) who is an object of fun in Aristophanes (Ranae 417, 588). Neocleides is also called ὁ γλάμων in Eccl.254 and 398.

XXI.20. The defendant, after giving a long account of his public services, says that it is unfair to convict him on the arguments of his accusers - "Even the well-known Cinesias has served in more campaigns than these men." (5)

XXIV.14. The invalid says humorously of his accuser "He has come to dispute over my misfortune as if over an heiress." (6)

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- (4) cf. Aves 30; Ach.1131 Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσου; scholiast on vesp.1221: Acestor called Σίκκας; Isocrates XVII.33 Πυθόδωρον τὸν σκηνίτην καλούμενον.
- (5) For Cinesias see Pherocrates 145 K.; Ranae 1437 Aves 1373; Eccl. 329-30.
- (6) cf. Isocrates XIX.31.

ISOCRATES

XVIII.57. "After committing such crimes, he will attempt to say that we are lying. That would be like Phrynondas (7) reproaching someone with villainy, or Philourgos who stole the Gorgon's head, calling everyone temple-robbers!"

ISAEUS

VIII.3, 44. The speaker declares that his real opponent in the case is Diocles of Phlya, the one called Orestes, "who although taken in adultery, and having suffered the punishment befitting to such people, has not abandoned the practice." The current view of the son of Agamemnon was not favourable, and a notorious footpad seems to have had that name. (8)

DEMOSTHENES

IV.26. The Athenians elect ten taxiarchs, ten generals, ten phylarchs and two hipparchs; but except for the one man they send to war, the rest conduct processions, "For like men modelling clay figures, you elect taxiarchs and phylarchs for the market-place, not for war." (9) They also (s.40) carry on the war like

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(7) cf. Thesm. 861.

(8) cf. Ach. 1166f; Aves 712, 1491.

(9) Vervaeet p.76 calls this 'ironie.'

bá rbarian boxers, who clutch the place where they are hit. These two examples are similar, but perhaps not quite so humourless, to the comparison of the Athenians to men who há ve drunk mandragora (X.6).

XIX.287. Aeschines (II.151) was very annoyed at Demosthenes' description of his brother Epicrates: τοῦ καταράτου Κυρηβίωνος, who may have been a dealer in bran, or perhaps the word means 'offal'.

XIX.314. When Aeschines has been annoyed by someone calling him the ex-clerk, "He marches through the market-place, trailing his cloak round his ankles (10), walking like Pythocles (ἴσα βαινῶν) (11), and gnashing his jaws."

XVIII.22. In simulated desperation, he asks "Why you, you - what name could anyone correctly give you?". He would certainly not call him a friend of Philip or Alexander (s.51-2) "Unless we must call harvesters and any other hired labourers the friends of the men who hire them."

XVIII.122. "Then you define the necessary qualities of a good democrat as if you had put out a statue to be made by contract ... and loudly call me decent and obscene names like a clown at a carnival (ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης)".

(10) cf. Ehippus 5 κ σεμνὸς σεμνῶς χλανίδ' ἔλκων

(11) Quoted as εἰκασμός by Minucianus 603 W.

"If my accuser had been Aeacus or Radamanthus or Minos, not an idle babbler, a market-place loafer, a pestilent scribe, he would not, I think, have said such things as if he were in a tragedy, shouting 'Oh earth! Oh Sun! Oh Virtue!'" (s.127-8). Aeschines was of course brought up as his mother's beautiful statue (s.129), while she was called Empusa by everybody (s.130).

XVIII.180. "Since you with abuse and ridicule call me Battalos (12), do you want me to call you, not some chance hero, but one of those great heroes of the stage, Cresphontes, or Creon, or Oenomaus whom you once murdered by your bad acting at Collytus?" Demosthenes probably sees Creon as a villain, while it seems he may have fallen while acting Oenomaus at the Country Dionysia which Demosthenes regards as inferior (cf. *αὐτοπραγικὸς πίθηκος*, *ἀρουραῖος οἰνόμοχος* s.242).

XVIII.198. "Something to your advantage is being done, Aeschines is silent. There has been a regrettable reverse. Here is Aeschines, just like a fracture or sprain that gives trouble when you have some ailment." The idea is repeated in a somewhat different fashion in section 243,

(12) For origin and meaning, see Edmonds Vol.1, p.337.

where he is compared to a doctor who gives a sick patient no advice, but says at the funeral "If the man had done so-and-so, he would not have died." (13) This is not the way Demosthenes himself behaves (s.323) (14).

XVIII.313. "When something is required to the detriment of your fellow-citizens, then you have the loudest voice, the best memory, and are the finest actor, a tragic Theocrines." (15)

XXI.166. " Good Heavens, what are we to call a triera rchy like his? Tax-farming, two-per-cent collecting, desertion, avoiding the draft, and the like, or patriotism? ... Meidias has invented a new-fangled cavalry-collectorship."

XXV. The writer of this speech has a number of comparisons for Aristogeiton. In section 40 he asks "What then is this man?", and to the reply "The watch-dog of the people." says he is the sort that eats the sheep not the wolves, and he cannot be too quickly disposed of. This is followed by the comparison of him (s.46) to a knife that does not cut (16). He is also called here a

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(13) cf. Ronnet p.138; Gavigan p.141.

(14) cf. Dem. XLV.79.

(15) cf. Ronnet p.141.

(16) Quoted as an example by Aristeides p.493, Sp.Vol.3.

κάπηλος πονηρίας καὶ παλιγκάπηλος καὶ μεταβολεύς . In section 48 he asks what point there is in preserving him "Unless you think the state, like a farmer, should preserve the seed and stock of a sycophant and villain." Finally "He goes through the market-place like a viper or scorpion with sting erect, darting hither and thither." (17) The tone of the speech is in general bitter, and the intention seems to be to make Aristogeiton's villainy completely clear, rather than to ridicule it.

XL.59. The writer ridicules Timocrates appropriately "Timocrates alone, like a god from the machine, testifies that my father gave a feast to Boētus^o on the tenth day, yet he is the same age as the defendant (Boētus^o)!"

LIV.9. Ariston offers as a proof that Conon was responsible for the attack on him, that as he lay on the ground "Conon began to crow, imitating fighting-cocks that have won a victory, and his friends asked him to flap his elbows against his sides like wings." This is absurd behaviour for a middle-aged man like Conon.

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(17) Aristides loc.cit., and Minucianus p.342-3, Sp.-Hammer Vol.I.

AESCHINES

I.26. He asks the jury to examine the difference between Timarchus and the Athenians of old. They kept their hands in, but he "Threw off his cloak and leapt about like a gymnast (ἔπαγκρατίχῃ) in the assembly." (18)

II.23. Demosthenes "who has not a single member of his body left unsold, as if he were Aristeides called the 'Just', is annoyed and spits on us as takers of bribes." On the way back from Macedon (s.43) he is called "This Sisyphus."

II.151. As a reply to Demosthenes' ridicule of Epicrates and Philon, he asks "Do you think they would pray for ten thousand hoplites like Philon or thirty thousand catamites like you?" Demosthenes, by not only saying what has happened, but also naming the day and someone who was present, imitates people who speak the truth (s.153, expanded in III.98-9).

III.90. The activities of Callias of Chalcis, are well compared to the eddy^{ing} Euripus by which he lived. Hyperides (DEM.fr.V,col.20) says that Demosthenes, being unstable himself, naturally has friend from the Euripus.

III.100. "Having said this, he gave the clerk a resolution to read, longer than the Iliad, but more empty

(18) For another negative comparison see I.107.

than the speeches he is accustomed to make and the life he has led."

III.158. He asks if they are not ashamed to allow the man who has completely overturned Greece and Athens to continue directing the state, when if a ferryman crossing to Salamis had once accidentally overturned a boat he is not allowed to continue as a ferryman.

III.189. He states that Demosthenes will object to comparison with the great men of the past, but Aeschines retorts, when crowns are in question, virtue is the standard, so "Do not recount how you have been a better citizen than Pataecion, but attain to virtue, and then ask the people for your reward." We do not know the reason for Pataecion's notoriety.

III.229. As part of his attack on Demosthenes' use of words, he says that "If someone takes his tongue away, as is the case with flutes, there is nothing left."

III.256. "Look at his boastfulness when he says that by his embassy he snatched Byzantium from Philip's hands ... for he thinks you have come to such a pitch of folly, that you will believe even this, as if it were the goddess Persuasion you have been nurturing in the city and not a sycophant."

HYPERIDES

Lycophon fr.IVb cols.5-6. He demonstrates the absurd nature of their argument about what he is supposed to have said at the wedding, ending up: "Do you think the mad Orestes, or Margites the biggest fool of all, would have acted like this?"

DEMADES

Fra^g.LXXV (de Falco). He says of Demosthenes "He puckers his eyebrows just like Critias who was one of the Thirty." (19)

 (19) cf. Ach.1069.

7. Sarcasm

As stated above, I use this term to describe words or phrases which are intended to be understood as the exact opposite of what they actually say. Sarcasm is not funny for the victim, but bystanders, provided they are not hostile to the speaker, usually laugh. (L.S.J. notes some examples, calling them ironical).

ἄγαθός.

Isaeus III.70. The speaker addresses the people who are trying to take away his inheritance as ὦ ἄγαθοί. Plato (Apol.24 B) refers to Meletus as τὸν ἄγαθόν. (1)

Demosthenes XIX.35. He says that Aeschines gave an account of the μεγάλη ἄγαθαί which he had persuaded Philip to grant the Athenians (cf.XIX.124, 150).

XVIII.266. He ends the famous series of antitheses comparing their lives with ἄγαθῆ γ' - οὐκ ὀρθῶς; - τύχῃ συμβεβηκώς, τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

ἀδαμάντινος.

Aeschines III.84: "Yes, as he himself says, he fortified our country with bronze and adamantine walls, by means of the alliance with Euboea and Thebes."

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(1) cf. also Nubes 61.

ἄδωρο δόκητος.

Pseudo-Demosthenes LVIII.35. The speaker produces witnesses to show that money was paid to the man who cannot be bribed (Theocrines).

ἄλγέω.

Demosthenes XVIII.41. "It is clear, Aeschines, that you grieve (ἄλγεις) over what has happened, and pity (ἔλεεις) the Thebans, since you hold estates in Boeotia, and farm land once theirs, while I rejoice (χαίρω), whose surrender was at once demanded by the perpetrator of those wrongs!" (2)

ἀμελέω.

Isocrates VIII.127. He complains that the neglected (τὰ ἀμελούμενα) interests of the demagogues have prospered to an extent they would never have dreamed of praying for.

ἀνδρείος

Demos thenes III.31. He complains that the politicians now control the money and the people have become

(2) Quoted as εἰρωνεία by Alexander p.23, Sp.III.

servants: "You are pleased if they give you a share of the Theoric Fund and τὸ πάντων ἀνδρείοτάτου you add your thanks for what is your own."

Dinarchus I.79. He has a part of a decree moved by Demosthenes after Chaeronea read out, and then comments, surely meaning to be sarcastic: "The man is democratic indeed who arranges for himself since he is brave and courageous (εὐψυχος) to remain in arms, while he orders the citizens he rejects to go off to their work." (3)

εὐξιος

Demosthenes XXIII.161-2. He has a letter from Charidemus read out and comments "A fine letter, isn't it, gentlemen, and deserving (εὐξιος) great gratitude - if it were true." and after another letter: "well-disposed (εὐνοος), isn't he? He has sent a simple (ἀπλῶς) letter, nothing false (ψεῦδος) or deceitful (ἐξαπατήσας) in it!" For this use of εὐξιος compare Hyperides Euxen.14.

Demosthenes XXVIII.7. He says that his guardians destroyed the will which gave them their authority, but carefully sealed up useless memoranda - "It is worthwhile believing whatever they say about this!" For similar examples, see XLII.25 and Dinarchus I.81.

(3) cf. Aves 91.

ἄπειστος

Hyperides, Demosth.frag.III.col.14. "There is some likelihood, so it seems, Demosthenes, that you are deaf to prayers and not to be persuaded (ἄπειστος) into taking bribes?"

ἐπλωσ

Demosthenes XXIII.162, quoted under ἄξιος.

ἄπειστος

Hyperides, Demosth.frag.III.col.14, quoted under ἄπειστος.

αὐτόνομος

Pseudo-Demosthenes VII.32. "Philip has taken their city from the Pheraeans, and placed a garrison in their citadel in order that they might be autonomous ... he eagerly wishes the Greeks to be free (ἐλεύθερος) and independent, as his acts reveal." (4)

βασιλικός

Isocrates IV.143. After recounting the Persian king's long and disastrous campaigns in Egypt, Cyprus and Rhodes, he says: "These are his most royal and august (σεμνότατα) achievements."

(4) Quoted as εἰρωνεία by Anon. περὶ σχημ. p.141., Sp.III.

βέλτιστος

Pseudo-Demosthenes XLII.27,29. The speaker addresses his opponent as ὦ βέλτιστε. Similarly Hyperides in Athenog.13. (5)

γενναῖος

Demosthenes XIX,175. He uses it of Aeschines. (6)

γινώσκω (οὐ)

Aeschines I.69. "For I think Hēsandrus will come up on the stand, trusting in the manner of his life, being an honourable gentleman (καλὸς καγαθός) and a hater of villainy (μισοπόνηρος), one who does not know who Leodamas was."

δεινός

Demosthenes XIX.126. Aeschines, forgetting he is supposed to be ill, goes off to Thebes. "This wise (σοφός), clever (δεινός) and loudvoiced man (εὐφώνος)". (7)

Aeschines II.114. "For Demosthenes, skilled (περιττός) and clever with words, had mentioned none of the

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(5) cf. Plato Rep.I.337 E.

(6) cf. Plato Euth.7 E.

(7) for σοφός, cf. Nubes 1378; Plato Rep.I.339 E.

necessary topics." In III.215, he is δεινὸς
δημιουργὸς λόγων (8)

Hyperides Euxen.14. "His deeds are terrible ... he did
what the people ordered."

δημαγωγός.

Dinarchus I.1,10,53. All describing Demosthenes.

δημοτικός.

Dinarchus I.9,44,78,79. All describing Demosthenes.

διαφέρω.

Aeschines III.212. "Not one of you will be afraid that
Demosthenes, a man of great courage (μεγαλόψυχος)
and distinguished in war (τὰ πολεμικὰ διαφέρων) ..
will commit suicide."

ἔλεέω.

Demosthenes XVIII.41. Quoted under ἄλγέω.

ἐλεύθερος

Pseudo-Demosthenes VII.32. Quoted under αὐτόνομος.

(8) δεξιός is used sarcastically in Ranae 1121.

ἔξ' ἀπατάω.

Demosthenes XXIII.162. Quoted under ἄξιος.

εὖ ἔχω.

Pseudo-Demosthenes VII.46. "It now remains for me to reply to this fine letter (τὴν εὖ ἔχουσαν)" (9).

εὐαγγέλιος.

Isocrates VII.10. "After losing all the cities in Thrace, and spending more than a thousand talents ... we have offered sacrifices for good tidings!"

εὐδαιμονίζω.

Demosthenes XVIII.260. "In the day-time, you led your gallant (καλοῦς) band of bacchanals through the streets, receiving as your reward currant buns With such rewards, who would not count himself happy and bless his fortune (τύχη)?"

εὐεργετέω.

Pseudo-Demosthenes VII.44. "Is he not obviously doing you a great (μεγάλα) service?" (10)

(9) εὐδαίμων is used sarcastically in Plutus 657.

(10) Quoted as εἰρωνεία by Anon. περὶ σχημ. p.142, Sp.III.

εὐνοία.

Pseudo-Demosthenes XXV.64. The writer says he wishes "to examine the great (μεγάλην) and marvellous (σφοδράν) good will of Aristogeiton."

εὐνοῦς.

Demosthenes XXIII.162. Quoted under ἄξιος.

εὐπορία.

Lysias XXIV.5. The invalid says "You all know, I think, the affluence which arises from my trade." Compare Demosthenes XXXIII.25. εὐπόρως.

εὐφωος.

Demosthenes XIX.126. Quoted under δεινός.

εὐψυχος.

Dinarchus I.79. Quoted under ἀνδρείος.

ἡλικία.

Lysias fr.1, Against Aeschines 5. Used with reference to the seventy year old woman: οὕτως ἐρωτικῶς τὸ κόριον μετεχειρίζετο, τῆς ἡλικίης αὐτῆς ἀπολαύων.

θαυμάσιος.

Demosthenes XIX.113. He says, to cap an alleged quip of Aeschines, "Being himself, I suppose, a wonderful soldier, by heaven." XIX.150: "In return for the shameful peace, we were going to get those wonderful benefits."

θαυμαστός.

Aeschines III.84. Used to describe the alliance with Thebes.

Demosthenes XXXVIII.24. The defendant declares to the ex-wards of his (dead) father: "If you think your claims were so marvellous, you should pay back the original settlement, and then go on with your case."

ἴσος.

Demosthenes XXII.73. He reads out the type of inscription that was on the crowns Androtion has melted down, and then the "made under the direction of Androtion" on the new saucers, and says "Just like (ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ;) the old inscriptions, isn't it? It provides you with an equal incentive to ambition, doesn't it?" Repeated in XXIV.181-2.

καλλίστος.

Demosthenes XVIII.261. When Aeschines had got himself enrolled in his deme "Immediately you chose the finest of

occupations, clerk and servant to minor office holders."

κάλος.

Isaeus V.36 (adverb).

Demosthenes IX. 65,66; XVIII.129,260; XIX.11,26,121, 303;
XXII.69; XXIII.121,161,186; XXIV.177; XXV.62,79.

Aeschines I.33

Dinarchus I.69 (adverb),79. The sarcastic use of κάλος is common in Greek literature, see L.S.J. s.v.A.IV, and C.II.7. Add Menander Perikeiromene 410.

κάλος κἀγαθός.

Andocides Mysteries 133. He uses the phrase to describe Agyrrhius, the leader of the tax-ring.

Demosthenes XXII.32,47. He uses it for Androtion and in XXIV.92 for Timocrates.

κολαστής.

Lysias XXVII.3. He describes the activities of the sycophants who get the innocent condemned, but if they think they are going to secure a conviction, take money instead from the guilty parties. "These are the men you have set up as guardians (φύλακες), and punishers of the guilty!"

κόριον.

Lysias fr.1, Against Aeschines 5. Quoted under ηλικία.

κρείττων.

Pseudo-Demosthenes LVIII.29. He describes Theocrines as "He is indeed an honourable man, and trustworthy, and above the appeal of money!"

λαμπρός.

Demosthenes XIX.120. "'Who', he will ask, 'testifies that I have taken bribes?' For this is his brilliant argument. Facts, Aeschines" XXI.174: "As cavalry commander .. this brilliant rich man did not even venture to buy a horse." LIV.35. " and these are their brilliant and vigorous (νεανικὰ) pleas 'What! Are we not to give evidence for one another? ... We will say he was not even touched by you.'"

λέγω (ού).

Demosthenes XXI.209. Quoted under ταχύ.

μακρός.

Demosthenes XIX.11. "On his return from Arcadia, he gave a report of those fine (καλοῦς) long speeches he said he had delivered ..." The 'long' need not be sarcastic, but next to the obviously sarcastic 'fine' probably is. The phrase 'those fine long speeches' is repeated in s.303.

Aeschines III.212. ^{μεγалоψυχος.} Quoted under διαφέρω.

^{μέγας.}
This is normally used to add emphasis to an already sarcastic phrase (e.g. Dem.VII.44; XIX.35; XXV.64; XXXVIII.24; Aesch.I.58; II.24), but it can be independently sarcastic: Demosthenes XIX.121: "When for the third time you elected ambassadors to go to Philip to realize those great and fine hopes which Aeschines had guaranteed ..."; XXXV.15 "But he was Lacritus of Phaselis, an important person (^{μέγας πράγμα}), a pupil of Isocrates."

^{μέλει.}
Pseudo-Demosthenes XLIII.72. Sositheus, after showing that his opponents have broken the laws, says "Much indeed do they care either for obeying your laws ... "

^{μισοπόνηρος.}
Aeschines I.69. Quoted under γιννώσκω.

^{νεκνικός.}
Demosthenes LIV.35. Quoted under λαμπρός.

οἶδα (οὐκ).

Lysias X.30. "For I was not yet aware that you punished those who had seen the crime, but pardoned those who had done the throwing away."

οἰκείως.

Demosthenes LII.22. "Lycon, gentlemen, was such a friend (οἰκείως χρώμενος) to Callippus that he never consulted him about his affairs ..."

ὅμοιος.

Demosthenes XVIII.136. Aeschines was rejected from his post of state advocate. "This is one example of the political activity of this impetuous man (νεκνίς : Is this sarcastic as well?). It is exactly like the things he charges me with, isn't it? (ὅμοιόν γ' οὐ γάρ ;)"
There are similar examples in XXII.73; XXIV.106, 181; XLV.56.

ὄφελος.

Aeschines II.24. Demosthenes is called τὸ μέγα ὄφελος τῆς πόλεως.

πάνθεινος.

Demosthenes XIX.120. "You who take up new prosecutions just like plays ... must be a really clever chap."

ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΣ.

Aeschines I.119; II.114. "The skilled-in-words Demosthenes."

ΠΙΣΤΟΣ

Pseudo-Demosthenes LVIII.29. Quoted under κρείττων.

ΠΟΛΥ

Pseudo-Demosthenes XLIII.72. Quoted under μέλει.

ΠΡᾶγμα.

Demosthenes LVII.64. Euxitheus says that his fellow-demesmen have removed an inscription in his honour, and say that he had done it to strengthen his own case. He replies " Which one of you would convict me of such madness as to perform an act punishable with death to secure such a great piece of evidence (πρᾶγμα τεκμηρίων)?" Also XXXV.15 quoted under μέγας.

Προότης

Isocrates VII.67. " Surely no-one could justly praise the mildness of the Thirty ..."

προϊκα.

Demosthenes XXIV.199. "Surely for nothing, and gaining no advantage (οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμενος), Timocrates provokes your hostility "

Hyperides, Demos.fr.III col.12. "Isn't it obvious that Demosthenes managed this opportunity for nothing?"

προσέχω.

Demosthenes XXI.209. Quoted under ταχύ.

ῥώμη.

Aeschines I.58. He describes the drunken attack on Pittalacus as a μεγάλην ῥώμην.

σεμνολόγος.

Demosthenes XVIII.133. Since this is the only instance of the word, it is impossible to decide for certain whether it is intended to be sarcastic.

σεμνός

Lysias XVI.15. Mantitheus declares "I left the field later than the fine (σεμνοῦ) fellow of Steiria who has been reproaching everyone with cowardice."

Isocrates IV.143. Quoted under βασιλικός.

Demosthenes XVIII.258. "You who are honourable (or proud) and contemptuous of others."

XIX.314. "Then you gain a farm out of it, and become honourable."

σεμνῶς.

Demosthenes XVIII.130. "He majestically gave his mother the name Glaucos." Compare XIX.23.

Aeschines III.97. "Demosthenes came forward all solemnity ..."

σοφιστής.

Aeschines I.125. "There will be, it seems, another argument as well made by the same clever man."

σοφός.

Demosthenes XIX.126. Quoted under σεινός . (11)

σφόδρα.

Lysias XIII.44. He lists the persons who lost their lives because of the depositions of Agoratus "In order that you may know how deeply you should pity Agoratus!" (12)

(11) cf. Nubes 1378; Plato Rep.I.339 E.

(12) cf. Acharn.71.

Pseudo-Demosthenes VII.32. Quoted under αὐτόνομος.
VII.38. "So great was his desire to do you a favour,
that he killed this man ... "

σφοδρός.

Pseudo-Demosthenes XXV.64. Quoted under εὐνοία.

ταχέως (ζν)

Pseudo-Andocides IV.26-7. Since Alcibiades took the team
from an Athenian, what would he have done if an ally had
tried to compete? "Indeed he would readily have allowed
him to compete ... "

ταχύ (γ' ζν)

Demosthenes XXI.209. If Meidias and his like were in
charge of the State, and one of the people had been
assaulted, "They would have been swift with their favour,
wouldn't they? Or paid attention (προσσχοίεν) to a
petition from one of the people? They would not
immediately (εὐθέως) have said"

Pseudo-Demosthenes XXV.95. "Since he has never yielded
to the admonishments which the whole people give he
would soon have paid attention to one man's words."

Aeschines I.81. The old Spartan "would quickly have
allowed Timarchus or the catamite Demosthenes to take part

in public affairs!

Lycurgus, Leocrates 133. "The man who does not help his own country would readily risk danger for someone else's."

(13)

τύχη.

Demosthenes XVIII.260. Quoted under εὐδαιμονίζω.

XVIII.266. Quoted under ἀγαθός.

φιλότιμος.

Pseudo-Demosthenes XLII.25. "He deserves (ἄξιόν γ')

then to be let off, since he has been so public-spirited

(χρήσιμος) and ambitious to serve both with his person and his property?"

φύλαξ.

Lysias XXVII.3. Quoted under κολαστής.

χαίρω.

Demosthenes XVIII.41. Quoted under ἄλγέω.

χαλκοῦς.

Aeschines III.84. Quoted under ἄδαμάντινος.

(13) cf. Plato Rep.X.610 E.

χάριν ἔχω.

Lysias XVI.I. Mantitheus says "If I did not know that my accusers wished by every means to do me harm, I should feel most grateful for this accusation."

XXIV.I. The invalid says "I can almost thank my accuser for involving me in this trial."

χρήσιμος.

Pseudo-Demosthenes XLII.25. Quoted under φιλότιμος.

χρηστός.

Demosthenes III.27. "How are we faring now under the fine men of the present day?" It is also used in XVIII.30, 89, 318; XXIII.169; XXIV.160, 200; Pseudo-Demosthenes XXV.55, 99; LVIII.29, 32; Aeschines II.36; Dinarchus II.8. (14)

ψεῦδος (οὐδέν).

Demosthenes XXIII.162. Quoted under ἄξιος.

ὠφελούμενος (οὐδέν).

Demosthenes XXIV.199. Quoted under προῖκα.

(14) cf. Nubes 8; Menander Samia 196.

Ridicule B: Target or Object1. Ancestry

Since the first question a Greek ever asks is "Who are you? Where are you from?", it is not surprising that the orators make allegations about the ancestry or status of their opponents (1). Any departure from the norm is an opportunity for ridicule, and the foreigner is a ready target for attack, good humoured or otherwise, in most societies. In Athens, the situation is complicated by the fact that the citizenship, from our point of view, is beset with problems from the time of Solon onwards; and the use of what the orators say, taken at its face value (e.g. by Haussoullier), does not help. The possession of an empire, as we have now discovered, brought added complications. For example, Demosthenes' grandmother may well have been a colonist, or accepted as such.

In the fourth century, the Athenian habit of granting the citizenship for various reasons (cf. Isocrates' complaint that they share their noble birth more readily than the Triballi or Leucani share their ignoble birth (2)), will have increased the opportunity for taunts about a man's origin. It may well be, although we must not regard it as certain, that some demarchs were prepared to

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 (1) cf. Bruns p.471f.

(2) Isoc.VIII.50; cf.Andoc.I.149; II.23.

enrol foreigners for a consideration, as Demosthenes alleges (LVII.59).

That the question of origin was one suitable for humour or ridicule can readily be seen from comedy. In addition to the well-known Paphlagonian tanner, we have the statement by Euelpides (Aves 31) that he and his companion have the opposite disease to Sacas (supposedly a reference to Acestor - the Persians called the Scythians Sacae) who is trying to become a citizen. In the Acharnians, (517f.), the Megarian decrees are said to have been the work of falsely-enrolled foreigners. Pherecrates (fr.11 Edmonds) calls Lycurgus, possibly the father of the orator, an Egyptian, and Plato (fr.31) calls Diitrephes the only-just Athenian (3). One demagogue could not even speak Attic (Plato 170 K)!

I only include in this section, allegations which are made without any attempt to demonstrate their truth, as obviously ^we have a completely different situation if the ^spea^ker is trying to prove that his opponent is not a citizen.

ANDOCIDES

When he is ridiculing his prosecutors, he asks whether the gods would want to be championed by Cephisius,

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(3) cf. Eupolis 243 K; Plato 60 K.

the greatest scoundrel in Athens, and not even an Athenian (Mysteries 139). The scholiast on Aristophanes *Vespae* 1007, quotes him as saying "Hyperbolus' father is a branded slave who still works in the public mint; and he himself is a barbarian interloper who makes lamps." (4)

LYSIAS

XIII. The case of Agoratus is a good example of the problems which can arise. He seems to have possessed at least some of the rights of a citizen, for his arrest was only allowed on the grounds that he was caught in the act (s.85) and it is said that he brought various private and public suits (s.65), and yet Lysias provides witnesses to prove he is of servile birth (s.64), though he could have provided the basis for someone else to prosecute. Since Lysias also demolishes the suggestion that he was granted the citizenship for taking part in the killing of Phrynichus (s.71f.), it is interesting to wonder where he got his rights from. His accomplice is implied to be of foreign origin by the name 'son of Elaphostictus' (s.19) (5).

(4) cf. Navarre p.295; Bowra *Landmarks in Greek Lit.* p.240; Edmonds I p.539-41; Hermippus 11-12 K.

(5) cf. Navarre p.259; Albin p.423 note 5.

XXX. He attacks Nicomachus also as being the son of a public slave, adding that to prove it would involve a long story (s.2) (6). A charge he repeats with an overtone of ridicule "You regard the State's property as yours, when you belong to it!" (s.5). "He deserves to be put to death on his own account, but sold on that of his ancestors" (s.27); and, to crown it all Νικόμαχον εἴλεσθε ἀναγράφειν τὰ πάτρια, ᾧ κατὰ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως οὐ (s.29) προσήκει.

DEMOSTHENES

As has already been noted, by 330 he had turned Aeschines into the son of a slave (XVIII.130-1,261) (7). Meidias' behaviour is held to indicate his barbarian origin (XXI.150), a charge to be taken no more seriously than that against Aeschines (8). Androtion too is a stranger by birth and breeding to everything that becomes a free citizen (XXII.58). There need be no more truth in the next phrase, that Phrasierides and Polysthenes were οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλ' ὀλίθρους (XXIII.202) (9). Aristogeiton cannot plead his father's services in mitigation, or bring forward his relations, for he is not

(6) cf. Navarre p.295; Voegelin p.111,115.

(7) cf. Navarre p.295; Dobson p.233; Ronnet p.138.

(8) cf. Navarre p.295; Voegelin p.111. cf. Pseudo-Dem. Ep.4.1.

(9) cf. Navarre p.116.

a free citizen (XXV.79).

To say that a man does not behave like an Athenian may well be fair comment, and is rather different from the attacks on Aeschines, though these are so elaborate that it is very difficult to see anyone taking them seriously. They also represent a development of this line of approach, for not only is the man ridiculed for the status of his parents, but also for their behaviour. The passages concerning Aeschines do not need repeating (XIX.249,281; XVIII.129-30,284). In a similar way, ridicule is thrown upon the 'mother' of Meidias who was so foolish as to buy him (XXI.149), the father of Androtion who escaped from prison to take part in a procession still wearing his fetters (XXII.68), while Boeotus only became a citizen because of the failings of his father (XL.48).

AESCHINES

At first he half apologises for saying that Demosthenes is not a native Athenian (II.22) (10), but soon he is descended from the nomad Scyths on his mother's side and an ἀναρχος ἄνομος ἄνομος (II.78,79) (11). The charge is then repeated ad nauseam: II.87,127,171,180; III.171-2

(10) cf. Voegelin p.111.

(11) cf. Navarre p.2 95.

(with family tree) (12). Simcox and Simcox (On the Crown p.86) point out that if there had been any truth at all in the story, it would have been used by Aphobus as his reason for not marrying Cleobule. It is interesting to note that the loquacious son of Cephisodemus is described in Aristophanes as ἡ Σκυθῶν ἑρημία (Acharn.704-5).

He also refers disparagingly to Cleophon the lyremaker, whom many remember as a slave in fetters (II.76) (His mother is called a Thracian by Eupolis fr.243 K, Plato fr.60 K), and the present state of affairs in Athens is entirely due to men who have been illegally registered as citizens (II.177).

2. Social Status

Closely connected with ancestry is the question of social status. The Greeks practised snobbery to a considerable extent; it has been shown, for example, that most of the speakers in the assembly, and the movers of public decrees also, belonged to wealthy families (1). In Aristophanes, retail traders come in for considerable abuse, and the sausage-seller, having beaten the Paphlagonian tanner, sneered at the lamp-sellers, shoemakers etc. (Equit.738f.) Much of the ridicule directed

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(12) cf. Demades 75 de Falco; Din.Dem. 15,95.

(1) J. Sundwall, Epigraphische Beiträge (Klio Beiheft IV) p.62 f.

at this section of society may have its roots in suspicions about their honesty, for in general men who worked were respected, and only the beggars were despised (2).

ANTIPHON

First Tetralogy II.12. The defendant takes pride in his public services and says that his wealth (οὐσίαν) is the result of hard work, not litigation.

ANDOCIDES

I.137-9. Since the Greeks regarded prosperity partly as an index of divine favour (the prosperity of villains in the Plutus is entirely caused by the god's blindness), Andocides can point to his commercial success as a counter to the arguments of Cephisius, and ridicule his suggestion that they saved him for punishment by such a scoundrel (3).

ISOCRATES

XVII.33. He drags in as an associate of Pasion, Pythodorus, called the stall-keeper, who has no connection
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(2) See Ehrenburg, especially chaps.V,IX.

(3) cf. Pseudo-Demosthenes LVIII.54.

with the case at all. He had presumably a lower status even than a shop-keeper (4).

DEMOSTHENES

XIX. The story of Aeschines' life has already been discussed in full, but I will mention briefly the series. He started (S.199-200) by reading the service-book for his mother, and rolling among the drunks, then he was an under-clerk (repeated s.237 joined with τούς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους, and 249) and lastly tritagonist (repeated with poetic quotation for Creon-Aeschines s.246-8, and 337). He is also called a clerk as a climax to πανούργος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρός (s.98; clerk repeated in s.249,314). It is worthy of note that in the Ranae (1083 f.) Aeschylus complains that the city is full of under-clerks and altar-robbing jackanapes, (βωμολόχων δημοπιθήκων). The family must certainly have been poor, and Aeschines had some cause for satisfaction in his rise to pre-eminence.

XVIII. The additions are put in to degrade Aeschines even more. The tasks he is said to have performed at school and for the Bacchanals are more fitted to a slave (258-260) as Demosthenes falsely declares his father was⁽¹²⁹⁾. He is also made into a worse actor

(4) cf. Ehrenberg p.115.

(in repertory?) (s.180,261-2), and the clerkship is demoted to minor offices (s.261). He is an αὐτοπραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαχος, παρὰσημος ῥήτωρ (242). The contrast between the status of the two is succinctly put in the antithesis of s.265: "You taught, I went to school; you initiated, I was initiated; you were a clerk, I addressed the Assembly; you acted, I watched; you were booted off the stage, I hissed."

XXV.67. The writer asks if Aristogeiton is to be considered as a good democrat because he has been in prison twice. Prison is obviously not the place for respectable people, except under the Thirty.

AESCHINES

He can do very little with the status of Demosthenes except say he is the bastard son of a knife-maker (II.93), a charge repeated by Demades (de Falco fr.LXXV). This degrading is similar no doubt to the attacks on Cleon (a seller of bad leather, Pax 270 etc.), Hyperbolus (the lamp-maker, Nubes 1065), Diitrephes (the flask-maker, Aves 798f.), Cleophon (the lyre-maker, Andoc.I.I46) and Lysicles the friend of Pericles (called a cattle-retailer προβατοκάπηλος adesp.62). All these men were probably large scale manufacturers or ἔμποροι who for the purpose of ridicule were down-graded. Demosthenes says

his father owned a factory with thirty or so sword or knife makers (XXVII.9), and even allowing for exaggeration he was hardly an artisan.

Aeschines also sneers at his speech writing, saying that he had to do it because he had squandered his patrimony (III.173).

3. Appearance and Manner

(i) Appearance

Andocides (I.101) ridicules the appearance of his accuser Epichares, saying that when looking at him, he quite thought he was being tried by the Thirty (1).

Aeschines (I.131) and Demades (LXXV de Falco) ridicule the fine clothes worn by Demosthenes - If you just had his clothing, you would not know whether it belonged to a man or a woman (2).

(ii) Manner of Speaking:(a) Voice

Demosthenes continually ridicules the voice of Aeschines. Since he had been an actor, he probably had a rich and distinctive voice, which, though no doubt effective in the Assembly, made it possible for Demosthenes to caricature it at times. He calls him εὐφωvος

(1) cf. Nubes 184f. where Aristophanes ridicules the appearance of Socrates' pupils.

(2) cf. Thesm. 136f.

(XIX.126; XVIII.285), λαμπροφωνότατος (XVIII.313, cf. XIX.199), says he has the loudest voice (XIX.206, 208, 216, 238; XVIII.259, 260) which he carefully trains (XIX.255; XVIII.280, 308), and likes to raise (XIX.336; XVIII.291). While τραγῶδέω is used of his method of delivery (XIX.189; XVIII.13). He also refers to it scornfully as 'that voice.' (XVIII.23)

Aeschines does not have much to say in reply except to call Demosthenes' voice shrill and unholy (II.157), and to refer to his raising or straining (τόνος) of it (III.209, 210).

(b) Vocabulary

Lysias (XXX.²¹~~12~~) ridicules the words Nicomachus uses (εὐσεβείων ... εὐτέλειαν) to excuse his addition of extra sacrifices.

Demosthenes (XIX.209) ridicules Aeschines' exclamations when he is not elected for an embassy and later (s.255) pictures him practising λογάρια δύστηνα. He also describes him as calling out all sorts of names, like a clown at a carnival (XVIII.122).

Aeschines really goes to town with the vocabulary of Timarchus (I.80-84) and Demosthenes (I.119; II.21, 34, 40, 41, 49, 110; III.19, 66, 73, 82-3 (3), 92, 100, 160, 223, 229, 256).

 (3) For γένος and γένια δα cf. Acharn.606 γέλα and Καταγέλα.

A line of attack copied by Demades (Twelve Years 51; fr.LXXV de Falco).

(c) Arguments and Quotations

To turn an orator's own arguments against himself can obviously be extremely effective, and Demosthenes does this admirably with Aeschines' quotation about rumour (XIX.243-4), and his other poetic quotations (XIX.245; XVIII.267). He very neatly caps his strictures about Timarchus' hand waving (XIX.255), and the suggestion that Demosthenes kept quiet when he was paid (XVIII.82).

Direct quotation is also used and will have provided ample scope for acting ability. Demosthenes invents one ridiculous speech which he says he expected Aeschines to deliver (XIX.109) and ridicules his complaints about sharing a table (XIX.189) and his exclamations (XVIII.127-8).

Aeschines does it more frequently, as we might expect (I.126; II.43,106-7,112; III.166,167,209).

(iii) Manner of Behaviour

Demosthenes (XIX.255) says that Aeschines thinks he will pay no penalty for holding out his hand in Macedonia, if he puts his little hat on his head and stalks about abusing him. While walking across the market-place (XIX.314), he trails his cloak round his ankles (4), and

(4) cf. Ehippus 5 K.

imitates the step of Pythocles, and puffs out his cheeks. Whenever some disaster has occurred, or is going to occur, that is when you hear Aeschines (XVIII.198,313,323).

Meidias is caricatured as not being able to ride a horse through the market-place (XXI.171) and Aristogeiton is pictured as a snake or scorpion with sting erect (XXV.52). *cf.* LIV.9.

Aeschines (I.26,33) pictures Timarchus as doing gymnastics in the Assembly, describes Demosthenes as gesticulating (I.94; II.49,98,153; III.160) and rubbing his head (II.49, Demades LXXV de Falco). He also suggests that one of the generals will appear ὑπτιάζων καὶ κατασκοπούμενος ἐαυτόν (I.132).

Demosthenes' behaviour on particular occasions is also held up for ridicule. His bedding-sack of silver (II.99-100) is laughed at as completely inadequate for its supposed purpose; and his entertainment of Philip's ambassadors was also ridiculous (II.111; III.76). Just before the battle of Issus, Demosthenes strolled round the city dangling letters from his fingers (III.164; Din,I.36) and at the trial itself what was all the fuss about, for surely Ctesiphon was the person being tried (III.210; *cf.* Demades LXXXIX de Falco).

Demades (fr.IV de Falco) adds a taunt that Demosthenes only drank water, and puckered his eyebrows like Critias (fr.LXXV de Falco).

4. Private Conduct(i) Accusations of immorality

Since the Athenian men spent a great deal of their time out of the house in activities from which women were excluded, it is inevitable that close friendships were formed between man and man, which could easily be misconstrued, if that were necessary. Homosexuals or effeminate are a ready target for the comic poets (1), but they are also prepared to charge any politician with a variety of immoral habits. Epicrates, praised by both Demosthenes (XIX.277) and Aeschines (III.194) receives the rough edge of Plato's tongue, while Isocrates (VIII.14) complains that the comic poets publish the city's evils abroad (2).

Allegations of immorality made in court without any supporting evidence, could be used either for the purpose of ridicule or to blacken a man's character. They might have some small foundation, or perhaps a convenient rumour might be spread round the market-place in advance of a particular case (3). It may be that Demosthenes' liking for fine clothes was the only justification for attacks on his personal morals.

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(1) e.g. Cleisthenes A.118 etc.; Straton KI374; Ctesippus Menander 363K; Androcles Menander Samia 404-6 (Loeb).

(2) cf. Plato Laws 935E forbidding ridicule by word or likeness.

(3) cf. Dorjahn T.A.Ph.A. Vol.66 p.280-287.

ANDOCIDES

Mysteries 100. He has a clever and effective gibe at Epichares, involving the play on ἔταρπειά and ἔταρπέω which would have been the more pointed if Epichares was really ugly, and need have no basis. The history of Callias is firmly based on immorality which was seemingly notorious (S.124,128-31).

Pseudo-Andocides IV. The writer of this speech has the advantage of dealing with a man who outdid everyone, presumably in everything. He declares that he would not have enough time to deal with his adultery and abductions of women (IV.10: paraleipsis, a common figure), but his treatment of his own wife is sufficient indication of his character, for he drove her out by bringing home mistresses, both slave and free (IV.13), and the peak of his villainy was the begetting of a child by a Melian woman (IV.22-3).

LYSIAS

I.16-17. He makes the old woman say that Eratosthenes makes an art of seducing other men's wives, a remark well designed to favour the defendant's case.

XIV.25-8. His remarks about Alcibiades the younger border on the incredible, since he describes him as

keeping a mistress when $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (4), and conspiring against his father when eleven years old. That he was the object of the affections of Archedemus, Theotimus and Archebiades is possible, as is the later accusation of incest, but neither are demonstrated. His ancestors are said to have been no better [XIV.41).

XXX.2. He hints that Nicomachus had a blighted youth.

f. Against Aeschines. The statement that he lovingly seduced an almost toothless, seventy-year old woman is a delightful piece of ridicule, superbly worded.

ISAEUS

V.39. He declares that he is ashamed to mention the reproaches which everyone heard Dicaeogenes' mother hurling at him. Such hesitation is more likely to indicate that the charges were not particularly serious, rather than that the orator has any sense of shame. He shortly afterwards (s.43) hints that Dicaeogenes used the money for immoral purposes.

VIII.44. He states that the person behind the trouble is not the counter-claimant, but Diocles, called Orestes, a

(4) There is some, possible intentional, confusion here. The order in the text is: As a $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ he was seen at the House of Archedemus, then he kept a mistress when under 18, and lastly he was sent for by his father. Since his father died when he was about eleven, the implication of the order would be that he kept a mistress when under 11, but $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ is an odd word to use in that case, especially in contrast to $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$.

man caught in adultery who had suffered the appropriate punishment - the subject of great humour in Aristophanes.

X.25. He does not shrink either, from stating that Xenaenetus has spent one inheritance on paederasty, a remark just made in passing.

DEMOSTHENES

Although Demosthenes ridicules the ancestry of Aeschines, he does not charge him with immorality, unless *σοῖν ἢ τριῶν δραχμῶν πονηρὸν ὄντα* (XIX.200) is to be taken in this way. He does say, however (XIX.229), that one of the ambassadors, probably Philocrates, used his bribe money to buy prostitutes and fish (there may be some connection with the frequency with which fishmongers are attacked by the comic poets); and another, Phryno, sent his son to Philip *ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ* (XIX.233). There must have been a considerable sting in his remarks about Nicias (*βδελυρός*), and Epicrates (*τοῦ καταράτου Κυρηβίωτος*) (5), and Aphobetus (XIX.287), judging from Aeschines' reaction (6).

The attacks on Androtion are unlike anything else in Demosthenes. It may well be that the first speaker offered some proof, and that Demosthenes was content to

(5) cf. Alexis fr.359/168.

(6) II.149-152.

hammer the statements home (7).

XXIII.57. He suggests in the speech against Aristocrates that Charidemus habitually indulges in adultery, though the words could be differently interpreted.

XXV.80. The writer neatly says that Aristogeiton says he can cure people liable to fits, when he is liable to every form of villainy,

XXXVI.45. Of Apollodorus, he says that he has freed one mistress, married off another, although he has a wife, and in general lives *ἀσελγῶς* - a word used by the writer of speech XL, who considers such people as capable of poisoning or anything else (XL.57).

XLV.79. Phormio in turn is attacked for hiring citizens for prostitution, and seducing other men's wives, a rather more vicious attack than that on Apollodorus, but the two speeches worry many scholars.

In the Letters, Pytheas is said to have kept two mistresses who hastened his end (Ep.III.30) while Theramenes, having been reared in a brothel (Ep.IV.1), is a friend to Pausanias τῷ πόρνῳ and πάσχει ὡς γυνῆ (Ep.IV.11), comments unworthy of Demosthenes.

(7) XXII.2 9, 53, 58, 73(bis), 77, 78; XXIV.165, 185, 186.
cf. L. Pearson Phoenix 18 (1964) p.107.

AESCHINES

I do not intend to discuss the general treatment he accords to Timarchus, because he does attempt some demonstration, although his argument (I.125-131) that the jury should pay more attention to rumour than to arguments is indicative of his method. Some other examples of his treatment of the case are: his description of Timarchus pleading with Pittalacus and stroking his beard (I.61), the statement (I.39) "The offences which as a child he committed against his own body, I leave out" (8)m and (I.107) "In Andros ... he showed such licentiousness towards the wives of freemen, as no man ever did." He also quotes at length a speech made at least fifteen years earlier (I.110). One piece of effective ridicule is the suggested contract for prostitution (I.162-4).

That Demosthenes is a catamite is frequently stated (9), without even the slightest attempt at demonstration. We are not surprised either to learn that there are three classes of supporters for Timarchus, patrimony squanderers, men who have abused their bodies, and those who are generally licentious (I.194). The abuse of Demosthenes is sometimes relieved, e.g. (II.23) "He has not a single member of his body unsold" and (II.88) "Will you

(8) cf. Volkmann p.502; Dobson p.124.

(9) I.167,181; II.88,127,148,151; Demades LXXV de Falco.

forgive me if ... I call him unclean in his body, even including the part from which his voice comes." This is such overstatement that it must cause amusement, though the pompous Aeschines probably did not intend that it should. Ctesiphon does not escape either, he is a villain in general and a brothel-keeper in particular (III.214,246.)

(ii) Ly ing

Many of the examples of ridicule discussed in Section A, are aimed at showing that the opposition is obviously lying, a natural target for attack in a court case. The passages which do not seem to have any other object are the following: Antiphon VI.47; Andocides I.115, 127; Lysias III.2⁴⁻⁵,29-30,32-4; XII.63; Isocrates XVII.17-18; XVIII.57; Isaeus III.passim; IV.8,24-5; VI.12,46, 54; VIII.2; X.17; Demosthenes VII.16; XIX.39-40; XX.128-30; XXVII.54; XXXV.35; XXXVII.23-4,36-7,50-1; XL.59; XLII.8; XLIV.42-3; LVII.52-4; Aeschines II.153,162; III.92,94,98-9,101; Dinarchus I.95.

Isocrates (XVIII.52-4) plainly reveals the perjury of Callimachus, no doubt to the delight of the jury, while Aeschines says (III.150,219) that Demosthenes swears falsely by the Statue of Athena made by Pheidias for the purpose.

(iii) Sycophancy

This is occasionally made the target for ridicule, as by Andocides in the case of Cephisius (I.93) and Epichares (I.99). Lysias, in the case concerning the Olive-Stump (VI.23), seems to have good grounds for calling Nicomachus a sycophant. Aristogeiton is also vigorously ridiculed for his activities in this direction (Pseudo-Demosthenes XXV.40,46,48). Theocrines' behaviour too is similarly described (Pseudo-Demosthenes LVIII.54).

Demosthenes may be hinting at this when he says (XIX.120) that Aeschines takes up new cases, without witnesses, as readily as new plays. Aeschines (III.212) suggests that Demosthenes has entered several suits for premeditated assault after inflicting the wounds himself.

(iv) MiscellaneousLYSIAS

VI.28. The writer of this speech ridicules the travels of Andocides by representing him as being hounded from one place to another because of his impiety.

XII.26,34. Lysias neatly highlights the contrast between what Eratosthenes stated he said behind closed doors, and what everyone knows he actually did.

XXIV.3,14. The invalid is suggesting throughout the speech that his accuser is being absurd. He here suggests that he is acting through envy, and is rather like someone who has come to dispute an inheritance.

fr. Against Aeschines. The majority of the ridicule is directed against his habit of borrowing money, and not paying it back.

ISOCRATES

XIII.3-4. The sophists pretend that they do not care about money, yet in return for a small gain make the most extravagant promises.

XIX.31. He throws ridicule on the claim of Thrasylochus' half-sister by pointing out that she did not come to the funeral, but very quickly appeared to dispute the will.

DEMOSTHENES

XIX.233. He says that Aeschines was very quick to prosecute Timarchus for immorality, when it suited his purpose, but took no action when one of his associates supplied his son for Philip. In a similar way, Aeschines is now charging him with maladministration, but did nothing about it at the proper time (XVIII.117).

5. Public Conduct(i) Cowardice (1)

Lysias employs the alleged desertion by Alcibiades the younger for the purposes of ridicule (XIV.21) by saying that if everyone was like him they would need no generals, for they would have no-one to lead. The defendant in Speech XXI (s.20) says that even Cinesias has served on more campaigns than his accusers. Philon (XXXI.26) deserted the democracy in its hour of need, but now wants to be a councillor.

Demosthenes (IV.47) says the generals all prefer to run their risks in court rather than on the battle field, and Meidias (XXI.133) when forced to take the field never put his armour on (cf.XXI.166).

Aeschines makes constant reference to the cowardice of Demosthenes, which consisted, as far as we know, in surviving the battle of Chaeronea (III.151,159,160,161,163, 187,189,212,213). Dinarchus (I.12-13) goes as far as saying that Demosthenes alone deserted his post in the battle.

(ii) Bribery

While bribery figures large (2) in the orators, it is only occasionally made the target for ridicule.

 (1) cf. The treatment of Cleonymus in Aristophanes Vespaee 22 etc.

(2) See Appendix I.

DEMOSTHENES

The writer of Speech VII (s.17) appositely says that the people who take money from Philip, think they are bringing their money home, but they have in fact sold their homes.

Philip's great good fortune (XIX.68) consisted in finding greater villains than he needed, and when Aeschines' money stopped (XIX.126-7) he forgot he was supposed to be ill and rushed off. The man who sold the city over the Peace (XIX.229) spent the money on prostitutes and fish, while in the popular view (XIX.231), Demosthenes was mad and did not know where to throw his money. Aeschines' ridiculous about-face in his opinion of Philip (XIX.305-8) is a proof of his bribery. As for Demosthenes calling him the friend of Alexander (XVIII. 51-2), does anyone call a hired labourer a friend?

The change of tune by Lampis (XXXIV.35) is entirely due to bribery, and the trierarchs (LI.2) seem to think that bribing speakers is a substitute for doing a proper job. The writer of the second Prooemium (s.1-2) declares that the advocates of oligarchy are all paid speakers.

AESCHINES

Demosthenes of course has sold everything (II.23), thinks that life is not worth living if he misses out on any bribery (III.149), and only speaks when his pay-

masters tell him to. Ctesiphon has been bribed to move that Demosthenes should be crowned (III.242), but has not the face to speak in his own defence.

(iii) Embezzlement

Demosthenes (III.29, XIII.30, XXIII.208) points to the absurd situation in which public buildings are whitewashed, when the politicians have sumptuous private houses. The trierarchy of Meidias (XXI.166) was an excuse for making money, as was the melting down of the crowns by Androtion (XXII.76; xxiv.184).

(iv) Ineptitude in Public Affairs

Lysias (XXXI.24) points out the absurdity of not punishing Philon for deserting the state, but giving him office in the hope of future benefit.

Isocrates (VIII.52) makes the common charge that the Athenians keep changing their minds, and (s.55) that they do not listen to the advice of generals, nor think fit to elect their advisers generals. In short (s.59), if they had any sense, they and the Thebans should pay for each other to hold assemblies.

Demosthenes says (I.25-6) that they must make great efforts to defend their interests, because no-one else will, making his point by suggesting the Thebans as assistants, an absurd suggestion at that time. By a clever use of words (II.25-6,30), he highlights the faults of their present system, a theme continued in the next speech

(III.17-18). He also softens his reproach about the inadequacy of past advice (IV.1) by the use of paronomasia. He is not proposing a large mercenary force ('mere paper' troops, IV.19) that goes where it will (IV.24) with the general trailing behind. The generals, in fact (IV.26) seem to be elected just to run processions in Athens, while in the conduct of war the Athenians are just like barbarian boxers (IV.40-1). If the general raises money from Chians, what else do they expect (VIII.26) if they do not give him money? But do they really care about the Asiatic Greeks (VIII.27)? The writers of Speech X (ss.6,20,60) and XIII. (s.5-6) continue the theme. In his first public speech (XIV.12), Demosthenes pours scorn on the men who were trying to unite Greece against Persia by saying that they were rhapsodising. Aeschines in turn (XVIII.²⁴³?) is like a doctor who offers a cure at the funeral. While if Meidias (XXI.172) were not able to say he had been a hipparch and steward of the Paralus, he would have no other services to mention.

Aeschines (III.90) says Callias has changed sides so often he has now been left in the middle (cf. Hyperides, Dem.fr.VI.col.20), and Demosthenes (III.158) has completely upset the affairs of all of Greece.

6. Ignorance and StupidityANDOCIDES

I.67. He states that he opposed the most untrustworthy pledge suggested by Euphiletus. The word-play underlines his view of it.

I.138. He stresses that the sea was very dangerous, and it was therefore ridiculous to suggest that the gods protected him if he was guilty of impiety.

LYSIAS

VIII.5-8,19. The composer of the speech underlines the stupid behaviour of the members of his society in abusing each other in secret.

IX.1. He asks, perhaps with his tongue in his cheek, whether his opponents did not know that they were supposed to speak to the point.

X.8-20. The demonstration to Theomnestus of the meaning of the archaic words in the laws of Athens, in an attempt to enlighten him was probably very amusing.

XXIV.2,12,19-20. Lysias very cleverly exploits the condition of the invalid to point to the foolishness of the attempt to take away his pension.

ISOCRATES

XI.7-8,42-3. He reveals that Polycrates was not only ignorant of genealogies, but also did not understand the

nature of the gods.

XV.40,199-202,211-14,224-5. He shows that the complaints made against education and his own school are ridiculously silly.

XVIII.15. Since the defendant says he paid two hundred drachmas instead of ten thousand, it is ridiculous of Callimachus to argue that the small amount shows that it is untrue, because the defendant too can see it is a small amount, and if he was lying would have made it much more. Callimachus must also show (s.40-1) that the defendant is responsible, for he can show he has been wronged by trying anyone (cf. Dem.XXI.36).

ISAEUS

III.30-32. He makes the best use of the fact that the woman in the case is given one name by her husband, and another by her uncles.

IV.3-4. Similarly, Chariades and his friends say the father of Nicostratus was Smicrus, but dispute the estate of the son of Thrasymachus.

DEMOSTHENES

VII.44. The writer says that Philip does not realise that the Athenians can compel the Cardians themselves if they wish to.

XV.16. Demosthenes says that the Rhodians, being Rhodians, would not have come to their senses in prosperity.

XIX.94,98,201. He scornfully remarks that Aeschines has not defended the issue in question, but merely discussed agreed points. But of course the word 'peace' does appeal to human sympathy.

XVIII.11. "Aeschines is malicious but he is also simple if he thinks I am going to turn aside from the point." The muddle he has made of the laws (s.111) requires a straightforward explanation, and his prize suggestion (s.232) is that the fate of Greece depended on how Demosthenes waved his arms about.

XXIII.185. It seems that Aristocrates is going to be honoured for the failure of his attempts to harm the Athenians.

XXIV.64. Timocrates in fact does not seem to have noticed that he has contradicted himself.

XXXVII.⁴⁴ Pantænētus has refused the challenge he made himself and is foolish enough to say he suffered ill-treatment at the hands of an aged slave.

LV.4,13,18. Callicles does not seem to have realised that it often rains, and that no-one buries their ancestors in a water-course. What does he expect me to do with the water? Drink it?

AESCHINES

II.92. Contrary to what Demosthenes says, Kersebleptes lost his kingdom before I set out, since Elaphebolion comes before Munichion.

II.124. It is quite ridiculous to suggest that Leosthenes or even Philip himself could not write the plain letter that was delivered.

III.128. Since Philip was in Scythia, it is foolish of Demosthenes to suggest that I brought him into Greece.

III.164. Alexander, according to Demosthenes, was about to be crushed in Cilicia at the time.

III.242. What reason can Ctesiphon have for asking for the support of Demosthenes? His acts show that he thinks himself capable of speaking, is the person he proposes to crown so obscure a man as to be unknown to his beneficiaries, unless he has assistance to describe him?

HYPERIDES

Lycophron fr.IVb.6-7. Can my opponents really believe that I was as foolish as they make me out to be? Or was Charippus so lacking in perception as to carry on with the wedding in such circumstances?

Demosthenes fr.2.col.3. He suggests that Demosthenes will ask for an account of how the money was spent - a foolish suggestion.

APPENDIX 1Bribery and Embezzlement

We are at a considerable disadvantage in court cases in that we very rarely have any trustworthy information as to exactly what any witness or witnesses are testifying to. Not, of course, that a statement by a witness is any guarantee of truth, as is shown by the famous case in Isocrates (1) where fifteen people testified to the death of a woman whom the defence produced in court! (2)

I intend to examine those instances where the speaker makes only a passing reference to bribery or embezzlement without any attempt to demonstrate the truth or likelihood of his charge. This process cannot however arrive at the complete truth because (a) the person or persons concerned may have recently stood trial and been convicted; (b) we may be dealing with a supporting speech where proof has been offered by the previous speaker.

Hyperides (3) tells us that although taking bribes was illegal, the people overlooked it, provided that it was not done against their interests. That it was a subject not taken too seriously in the 5th century is shown by the treatment it receives in Aristophanes, especially in the

 (1) XVIII.53.

(2) cf. Alexis 160 Edmonds; Lycurgus Leocrates 20.

(3) con. Demos. fr.VI Col.25.

Knights (4). Mention is scarce in Middle and New Comedy (5), but the surviving fragments may well be unrepresentative. To judge from the frequency and ease with which such charges were made (cf. the complaint of Lysias XIX.49), their purpose was chiefly to cause anger in the jury, and colour the picture of the character of the person concerned.

Philip is a very difficult proposition. Like the king of Persia, he was thought to have an inexhaustible purse, from which he made lavish gifts. Since both Aeschines and Demosthenes make some attempt to demonstrate the occurrence of bribery by a sudden change of policy, I have ignored the majority of references, in the great debate. They cannot believe that an honest man could come to the opposite conclusion to theirs.

Isocrates (VII.25) complains that people in his day looked upon state service merely as a source of revenue, very different from the time of Solon and Cleisthenes, while the people elected to the generalship were guilty of bribery (VIII.50), and the orators who could do nothing except take bribes (s.36) became rich instead of poor

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(4) See Ehrenberg p.239.

(5) cf. Timocles fr.4, Edmonds Vol.II; Edmonds Vol.III A (p.402-3) Anon.fr.312; Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy p.29-30.

(s.124-5). Such references could easily be multiplied. Ehrenberg concludes that corruption must have been rife.

A. Completely unsupported charges of embezzlement cover the following subjects:

- (i) State revenues.
- (ii) War funds.
- (iii) Extortion.
- (iv) Friend's loans.
- (v) King's money.

(i) State revenues

Andocides (I.92) states that one of his accusers, Cephisius, had purchased the right to collect rents and defaulted. The admission by Pseudo-Lysias VI.42 that this accusation might be true does not prove the point, for Cephisius may have been covered by the Amnesty of 403, but it is still surprising that Andocides offers no proof. In the epilogue of the speech against Alcibiades, the writer says that his public services were paid for by his own money, not the state's (chap.42).

Voegelin (6) has discussed Lysias' treatment of the topic without distinction as to proof offered.

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(6) p.48-71.

LYSIAS

XII.93. " These man have acquired large establishments from their public conduct." This may well be true of many of the Thirty, and would be very emotive.

XIV.25. " Alcibiades as a child was often seen at the house of Archedemus the Blear-eyed, who had embezzled not a little of your property." cf. Frogs 420f. for mention of Archedemus and Clouds 351 for a similar taunt.

XVIII.20. "You know that a proportion of confiscated estates is made away with by these man .." Whereas, of course, the speaker is using and will use this estate in state service (7).

XIX.57. " There are some men (unlike my father) who spend money to win office, in order to be able to recoup twice as much." Again the appeal is aimed at the jurors' sentiments.

XXX.26. "What reason is there for acquitting this man? But, so far from bestowing anything of his own upon you, he has embezzled a vast amount of your property." (8)

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(7) cf. Voegelin p.52 and Lysias XXI.14 for the same sentiment.

(8) cf. Albini p.446 note 5; Voegelin p.48.

DEMOSTHENES

XXII.49. "Androtion has stolen a great deal that belongs to you" (repeated in 67,69 and Timocrates 2, 161-2,174,201). This statement is one he manifestly fails to corroborate, while linking it with Androtion's vigorous collection of taxes which must have aroused great resentment.

LVIII.63. Euxitheus explains that his ejection from the deme was arranged by Eubulides with certain other men whom Euxitheus had annoyed by making them repay what they had stolen from the state. No proof is offered and the whole speech endeavours to prove a conspiracy, for which this unsupported statement would provide a good reason.

(ii) War funds

Lysias XIV.37. "Alcibiades, promising to provide money from the king, stole more than two hundred talents from the city." (9) A distortion of the truth which might be believed in his case.

Aeschines I.56. "Hegesandrus sailed to the Hellespont as treasurer to the general Timomachus, and he returned, having made the most, it is said, of the simple-mindedness of the general, with no less than eighty minas of silver." A typical associate for Timarchus!

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(9) cf. Voegelin p.52.

II.71. "Chares spent fifteen hundred talents not on his troops, but on his tricky officers ... and his hirelings on the bema and in the popular assembly."

III.146. "Demosthenes drew pay for empty places in the mercenary force, and stole the troops' pay."

(iii) Extortion (10)

The writer of Pseudo-Andocides against Alcibiades makes a great deal of this side of his activities (11), involving both citizens and allies. That the rich were villains is a frequent charge in comedy (12), and Alcibiades' activities abroad would naturally offer ample scope to a population who inclined to think all Ionians rich.

Isocrates XXI.14. While trying to show that it is not the wealthy who bring false charges against the poor, but the other way round, he says: "Timodemus extorted thirty minas from Nicias."

Demosthenes XXI.173. says that Meidias robbed the people of Cyzicus of more than five talents (13).

(10) cf. Vesp.665 f.

(11) Chaps. 11,27,30,31,32.

(12) Plutus 30f; Vesp.240f.,etc.

(13) cf. Equites 438.

(iv) Friend's loans

Isaeus V.40. "Among his friends he deprived Melas the Egyptian, who had been his friend from youth upwards, of money which he had received from him."

(v) King's money

Aeschines III.239. "You say nothing, Demosthenes, about the seventy talents which you took in advance, and kept from the king's gold." (14)

B. Completely unsupported charges of bribery. This occurs much more frequently, partly because embezzlement if discovered was more likely to be made the subject of a case, and is easier to prove, whereas bribery is rather difficult to prove and can be managed in a large variety of ways. I have divided occurrences under the following headings:

- (i) Bribery of persons to make accusations or to give false witness.
- (ii) Payment of bribe to avoid a charge.
- (iii) Bribery of officials.
- (iv) Bribery to become or create citizens.
- (v) Bribery of orators.
- (vi) Gaining of office by bribery.

 (14) cf. Timocles fr.4 Edmonds.

(vii) Various.

(i) παρροσκευή and παρροσκευάζω : I only discuss those occurrences which are unsupported, the majority of which are at the start of a speech, but they are not really sufficiently numerous to be without an effect upon the jury. They occur in Andocides *Mysteries* I. (with references in ss.105,123,132), Lysias XIII.12 with reference to a past trial (1), XIX.2 (2), XXX.31; Isaeus VIII.5, joined with false witnesses (repeated s.25), and fragment I against Hagnotheus; Demosthenes XXIX.28, joined with false witnesses, XXX.3, XLIV.3, joined with a reference to expenditure, the money being said (s.28) to belong to the plaintiff; LVII.10. Cratinus, who wrote a popular song about bribery (fr.69), also uses the word at the start of his defence (fr.185).

Andocides also mentions attempted bribery in *Mysteries* 120-1, to show the character of Callias, while explaining the cause of the enmity between them.

Isocrates (XVI.7) makes Alcibiades say "but his accusers, having united the Council and having made the speakers subservient to themselves, again revived the matter and suborned informers."

(1) cf. Voegelin p.33-4.

(2) cf. Hiddemann p.27.

The writer of Demosthenes XXV (s.37) says that Aristogeiton has seven times unsuccessfully indicted him for money.

Demosthenes (LV.I) says that Callicles has first bribed his cousin to dispute the property.

The writer of Demosthenes LVIII (s.7) declares that Theocrines has threatened some witnesses and bribed others.

Dinarchus (Demosthenes 95) says he bribed an informer to say there was a plot against the docks.

(ii) Payment of bribe to avoid a charge

The writer of Lysias XX uses this argument in defence of Polystratus, in a way which might aid his own conviction (ss.7,10,15); he also complains about embezzlement (s.19)!

Lysias (XXVIII.9): Ergocles and his friends are buying their lives and corrupting many Athenians (3).

Demosthenes (XX.145) "How is your law improved, Septines, if one of your accusers ... has been suborned by you?"

XXI.3. "I could have taken a lot of money instead of prosecuting Meidias." He did!

Aeschines II.148 "You bought off an accusation of desertion." (4)

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(3) cf. Voegelin p.68.

(4) cf. Vesp. 691; Telecleides fr.41 Edmonds.

(iii) Bribery of officials

Direct, unsubstantiated, references to the bribery of officials are surprisingly not frequent. Isocrates XVIII has two: "At first Callimachus kept his agreement, but later with Xenotimus, ... that corrupter of the courts vv. brought suit ... then again having bribed the magistrate, brought the same suit." (ss.11-12)

Demosthenes, in the speech against Meidias, mentions three cases: Meidias bribed the judges (ss.5,17,18), corrupted my trainer (s.17), and tried to corrupt the arbitrator and the archons (s.85-6). Though the latter may be covered by the witnesses at section 93.

(iv) Bribery to become or create citizens (5)

The composer of the speech against Andocides (Lysias VI.29) says he bribed the presidents to get his citizenship restored.

Lysias (XIII.72) says Agoratus' name does not appear on the stone commemorating the murder of Phrynichus, though some have paid to have their names included.

Demosthenes (XX.132) says "Because slaves, like Lycidas and Dionysius, and perhaps one other, were made friends of the state by men who are readily bribed to propose such decrees ... ", and in LVII.59 he says that members of the deme introduced foreigners for five

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(5) cf. Haussoullier p.32 f.

drachmas each (a statement which Haussoulier considers to be true!)

Aeschines (III.85): " You have suffered at the hands of the father of Callias and Taurosthenes, men whom Demosthenes now for gold dares to propose for enrolment as Athenian citizens."

(v) Bribery of orators (6)

Demosthenes and Aeschines frequently accused each other (and their supporters) of being paid to speak, but apart from these instances, the Plataeans (Isocrates XIV.3) complain that the Thebans use their money to hire speakers, while Demosthenes complains of hired opposition to Athens' interests in the speech on the Rhodians (XV.32), and that the people who despise the venal orators still take their opinion (LI.21-2). There is also a humorous touch in ^{LI.}LVII.2 where he says he is surprised that they have neglected their triremes, but prepared their orators. Aeschines (II.71) complains of Chares hiring orators; and Dinarchus (Dem.35) says that Demosthenes himself goes round hiring speakers!

(vi) Gaining of office by bribery

Aeschines (I.106-7) declares that Timarchus bought his

(6) cf. Plutus 379.

way into every magistracy, instancing auditor, and magistrate in Andros, both of which he carried out fraudulently. In the speech against Ctesiphon, we are told that the presidents gain their position by fraud (III.3), and that Demosthenes bought the position of councillor (ss.62,73). cf. Lysias (XIX.57) above.

(vii) Various

Lysias says (XXV.26) "Epigenes, Demophanes and Cleisthenes ... were capable of taking money for the release of offenders, and procuring the condemnation of the innocent.", and (XXVI.23-4) "Thrasybulus, who will defend this man ... for payment received, raised a revolution in Boeotia ... and from prisoners of war, whose fate he caused, extracted a bribe of thirty minae."

Demosthenes (VI.34) says " ... the ambassadors have kept quiet about the services for which they know they have been bribed ..." and (XVIII.44) "There are some from the cities who, taking advantage of the peace, went to Macedon and got a bribe, and among them was Aeschines!" - a statement certainly without demonstration.

In XLIV.42. he says the defendant bribed a demesman to get a child falsely enrolled.

Aeschines (II.41) says Demosthenes tried to bribe his fellow-ambassadors on the way back from Macedon, and

(III.237), that he will not mention his corruption over the Amphissians and Euboeans, while (III.257) all the people who will speak in his support of course shared his bribery.

Dinarchus (I.41-5) relates at length the venality of Demosthenes, including "Are there any people in the court who were among those included in the 300 when Demosthenes brought in the trierarchic law? Then tell your neighbours that he accepted three talents ... in some cases taking money over points for which he had already been paid etc." (Compare Hyperides Dem.fr.VI.Col.25) In the speech against Philocles, he is content to ask whether the jury think this is the first time he has taken bribes (ss.3,6), and what they think he would not sell (ss.9-10).

APPENDIX IICommon Report

The whole basis of the personal references in comedy is that the people mentioned should be well-known, or stock types like Cleonymus, or easily shown to be recognisable types. Aristotle himself (Rhet.1408a) notes that the writers of speeches frequently appeal to the common knowledge of the jury (1), and points out that the individual would be ashamed to appear not to share what is a matter of common knowledge. Dorjahn (2) has pointed out that an appropriate rumour could easily be started. It may therefore be instructive to examine those passages where the speaker refers to his opponent's misdeeds as a matter of common knowledge.

ANDOCIDES

In Mysteries 100, he supports his ridicule of Epichares by saying that the jury are well aware of his availability for a small fee, and retails the rumour about Hipponicus (ss.130-1).

 (1) The writer of Pseudo-Demosthenes complains (XL.53) that a man will say something is common knowledge, for which he has no witnesses.

(2) T.A.Ph.A. Vol.66 p.280-287.

LYSIAS

X.22. He surprisingly says he saw Theomnestus throwing away his shield, and the jury know that he did (3), although he had been acquitted of doing it! If the jurors knew he had thrown away his shield, why did they acquit him? In the case concerning the property of Nicias' brother (XVIII.20), the jurors are said to know that Poliochus and his confederates make a practice of embezzling confiscated properties. Confiscation without a doubt did give ample opportunity for embezzlement. More effective than this will be that the people are acquainted with the villainy of the corn-dealers (XXII.22).

He asks (XXX.2) "Who does not know the outrages Nicomachus has committed on the city?" Cinesias (ap.Athen. 12: p.551 D), all are said to know, is the most impious and lawless man in Athens.

ISAEUS

III.40. "The majority of you, without any words from me, know this man's villainy."

DEMOSTHENES

XVIII.50. He apologises for his discussion of the 'first period' of public policy by saying that "perhaps it

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(3) cf. Voegelin p.34: Judge = witness.

has caused annoyance to those of you who knew about his venality before I said a word."

In the speech against Meidias, he stresses repeatedly that the illegal and wanton behaviour of Meidias is a matter of common knowledge (XXI.1): "The wanton brutality and insolence with which Meidias continually treats everyone are, I think, as well known to you, as to all the other citizens." (4); XXI.132: "You remember how he abused Cratinus."; XXI.173: "But you know that when he was steward of the Paralus, he plundered the people of Cyzicus of more than five talents ... and still has the money himself."

He is rather more oblique when dealing with Eubulides (LVII.33): "You will perhaps censure me if I tell what sort of work he does as he goes about the city; and rightly, for what need is there to say what you know?" In the case of Theocrines, when it is stated that he caused the Thesmothetae to be deposed by a vote of the assembly, it is reasonable to assume the jury would in fact know this (LVIII.27-8).

The writer of letter IV says that his hearers will be reminded by his words, and attach to Theramenes the disgraceful things which he would be ashamed to mention (Ep.IV.12).

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(4) cf. XXI.137,186-7.

AESCHINES

He regards the character of Timarchus as being well known (I.20), and therefore thinks that he only has to remind the jurors (I.44) (5), who he declares called out the appropriate terms every time Timarchus spoke in the council (I.80), and if the case were being tried anywhere else, they would be his witnesses (I.89), for if the name Timarchus is mentioned, everybody asks "Which Timarchus? The prostitute?" (I.130). He in fact asks the jury to come to a decision in the light of the rumours about Timarchus (I.125-131). (c.f. I.157)

Of Demosthenes he says that the people are so accustomed to hear of his crimes that they are no longer surprised (III.144), and are going to crown him although they know that his actions have always been inspired by bribery (III.232).

DINARCHUS

He asks any of the 300 who happen to be present to tell their neighbours that Demosthenes used to alter and redraft the Trierarchie Law for each meeting of the assembly, according to how he was paid (I.42) (6). The jury know that Aristogeiton has been in prison many times

 (5) cf. Dorjahn T.A.Ph.A. Vol.66 p.291.

(6) cf. Dorjahn T.A.Ph.A. Vol.66. "

(II.9), and his villainy is notorious among all the citizens (II.15), a statement repeated in different terms a little later (II.19).

The same method of appealing to the knowledge of the jury is of course also used with regard to supposed facts concerning other people mentioned in the various cases, e.g. in Lysias XXIX.6; Isocrates XVII.33; Isaeus VI.19; Demosthenes XXIV.125,129; XXXII.10; L.49; LIV.31; LIX.30; Aeschines I.70.

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	120-1	App.I.B (i) (150)
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	12 ⁴	A.1; B.4 (i) (33; 127)
	12 ⁷	A.1; B.4 (ii) (33; 132)
	128-9	A.1; A.6; B.4 (i) (33; 84; 127)
	130-1	App.II (156) A.1; A.4; B.4 (i) (33; 64; 127)
	132	App.I.B (i) (150)
	133	A.7 (103)
	137-9	A.3; B.2 (49; 119)
	138	A.1; B.6 (32; 139)
	139 ¹⁴⁶	B.1 (115) B.2. (121)
	II 2 ²	A.1 (34)
	III 27	A.1 (34)
	IV 10	B.4 (i) (127)
	11	App.I.A (iii) (148)
	13	B.4 (i) (127)
	2 ²⁻³	B.4 (i) (127)
	26-7	A.7 (110)
	27, 30-32	App.I.A (iii) (148)
	42	App.I.A (i) (145)
fr.ap.schol.Vesp.	1007	B.I. (115)
Lysias	I 16-17	B.4 (i) (127)
	36	A.5 (b) (80)
	48	A.5 (b) (80)
	III 24-5	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (73; 132)
	29-30	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (73; 132)
	32-34	B.4 (ii) (132)

Lysias	VI	28	A.4; B.4 (iv) (64; 133)
		29	App.I.B (iv) (152)
	VII	23 ²⁶⁻²⁸	A.3; B.4 (iii) (49; 133)
	VIII	5-8	A.5 (a); B.6 (73; 139) ^{A.5(a) (73)}
		19	A.3; B.6 (50; 139)
	IX	1	A.3; B.6 (50; 139)
	X	8-20	A.5 (a); B.6 (74; 139)
		22	App.II (157)
		30	A.7 (106)
	XII	26	A.5 (a); B.4 (iv) (74; 133)
		29	A.5 (b) (80)
		34	A.I; B.4 (iv) (35; 133)
		63	A.3; B.4 (ii) (50; 132)
		93	App.I.A (i) (146)
	XIII	12	App.I.B (i) (150)
		18 ^{κ.τ.λ.}	B.I (115)
		19	A.6; B.I (85; 115)
		43-4	A.7 (109)
		72	App.I.B (iv) (152)
	XIV	21	A.6; B.5 (i) (85; 135)
		25	A.6; App.I.A. (i) (85; 146)
		25-28	B.4 (i) (127)
		37	App. I.A (ii) (147)
		41	B.4 (i) (128)
	XVI *	15	A.7 (108)
	XVIII	20	App.I.A (i); App.II (146; 157)
	XIX	2	App.I.B (i) (150)
		57	App.I.A (i); App.I.B (vi)(146; 154)
	XX	7	App.I.B (ii) (151)
		10	App.I.B (ii) (151)
		15	App.I.B (ii) (151)
		19	App.I.B (ii) (151)
	XXI	14	App.I.A (i) (146)
		20	A.6; B.5 (i) (85; 135)
	XXII	22	App.II (157)
	XXIV	1	A.7 (112)
		2	A.3; B.6 (50; 139)
		3	A.3; B.4 (iv) (50; 133)
		5	A.7 (101)
		8-9	A.5 (b) (81)
		12	A.5 (a); B.6 (74; 139)
		13	A.5 (b) (81)
		14	A.6; B.4 (iv) (85; 133)
		19-20	A.3; B.6 (51; 139)
	XXV	26	App.I.A (i); App.I.B (vii)(154)
	XXVI	23-4	App.I.B (vii) (154)
	XXVII	3	A.7 (103, 111)
	XXVIII	9	App.I.B (ii) (151)
	XXIX	3	B.4 (i)
		6	App.II (160)
	*		
	XVI	1	A.7. (112)

XXX	2	B.I; B.4 (i); App.II (116; 128; 157)
	5	A.3; B.I (51; 116)
	7	A.5 (b) (81)
	21	A.I; B.3 (ii) b (35; 123)
	26	App.I.A (i) (146)
	27	B.I (116)
	29	A.I; B.I (35; 116)
	31	App.I.B (i) (150)
XXXI	24	A.I; B.5 (iv) (36; 137)
	26	A.I; B.5 (i) (36; 135)
Aes. Soc.		A.7; A.4; B.4 (i); B.4 (iv) (101, 103;
Cines.		App.II (157) 64; 128; 134)
Isocrates	IV 140-3	A.7 (97, 108)
	VII 10	A.7 (100)
	67	A.7 (107)
	VIII 52	A.5 (a); B.5 (iv) (75; 137)
	55	A.5 (a); B.5 (iv) (75; 137)
	59	A.3; B.5 (iv) (51; 137)
	127	A.7 (95)
	XI 7-8 ₃₇	A.5 (a); B.6 (75; 139) A.5(a) (75)
	42-3	A.3; B.6 (51; 139)
	XIII 3-4	A.5 (a); B.4 (iv) (75; 134)
	5-6	A.5 (a) (75)
	XIV 3	App.I. B (v) (153)
	XV 40	A.3; B.6 (52; 140)
	199-202	A.5 (a); B.6 (75; 140)
	211-14	A.5 (a); B.6 (76; 140)
	224-5	A.3; B.6 (52; 140)
	XVI 7	App.I. B (i) (150)
	44	A.5 (b) (81)
	XVII 17-18	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (76; 132)
	33	A.6; B.2; App.II. (85; 119; 160)
	XVIII 11-12	App.I. B (iii) (152)
	15	A.3; B.6 (52; 140)
	40-1	A.3; B.6 (52; 140)
	52-4	A.4; B.4 (ii) (65; 132)
	57	A.6; B.4 (ii) (86; 132)
	XIX 31	A.6; B.4 (iv) (85; 134)
	XXI 14	App.I. A (iii) (148)
Isaeus	III passim	A.I; B.4 (ii) (37; 132)
	30-32	A.5 (a); B.6 (76; 140)
	40	App.II (157)
	70	A.7 (94)
	IV 3-4	A.5 (a); B.6 (77; 140)
	8	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (77; 132)
	2 4-5	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (77; 132)
	V 36	A.7 (103)
	39	B.4 (i) (128)

Isaeus	V	40	App.I. A. (iv) (149)
		43	A.3; B.4 (i) (52; 128)
	VI	12	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (76; 132)
		19	App.II (160)
		46	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (77; 132)
		54	A.3; B.4 (ii) (53; 132)
	VIII	2	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (77; 132)
		3	A.6 (86)
		5	App.I. B (i) (150)
		25	App.I. B (i) (150) - A.5(a) (77)
		44 ³⁷⁻³⁸	A.6; B.4 (i) (86; 128)
	X	17	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (77; 132)
		25	B.4 (i) (129)
	fr. Hagnoth.		App.I. B (i) (150)
Demosthenes	I	19 ⁻²⁵⁻²⁶	A.I (38) - A.2; B.5 (iv) (46; 137)
	II	25-6	A.I; A.2; B.5 (iv) (38; 137)
	II	30	A.I; B.5 (iv) (38; 137)
	III	17-18	A.2; B.5 (iv) (46; 138)
		27	A.7 (112)
		29	A.2; B.5 (iii) (46; 137)
		31	A.7 (95)
	IV	1	A.I; B.5 (iv) (38; 138)
		19	A.2; B.5 (iv) (46; 138)
		24	A.2; B.5 (iv) (47; 138)
		26	A.6; B.5 (iv) (86; 138)
		40-1	A.6; B.5 (iv) (86; 138)
		47	A.I; B.5 (i) (38; 135)
	VI	34 ⁴⁴	App.I. B (vii) (154) - A.3 (53)
	VII	16	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (78; 132)
		17	A.I; B.5 (ii) (39; 136)
		32	A.7 (97, 99, 110)
		38	A.7 (110)
		44	A.3; A.7; B.6 (53; 100, 105; 140)
		46	A.7 (100)
	VIII	26	A.2; B.5 (iv) (47; 138)
		27	A.I; B.5 (iv) (39; 138)
	IX	65-6	A.7 (103)
	X	6	A.6; B.5 (iv) (87; 138)
		20	A.I; B.5 (iv) (38; 138)
	*	60	A.3; B.5 (iv) (53; 138)
	XIII	5-6	A.3; B.5 (iv) (53; 138)
		30	A.2; B.5 (iii) (46; 137)
	XIV	12	A.2; B.5 (iv) (47; 138)
	XV	16	A.3; B.6 (53; 141)
		32	App.I. B (v) (153)
	XVII	9-30	A.5 (a) (78)
	XIX	11	A.7 (103, 104) - A.7 (109)
		26 ²³	A.7 (103) - A.7 (94, 105)
		39-40 ³⁵	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (78; 132)
	* XI	18	A.I. (39)

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XIX 68

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98

109

113

120

12 1

124

12 6

126-7

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199-200

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206-8

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229-31

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243-4

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249²⁵²

255

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287³⁰³

305-8

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XVIII

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*22-3

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51-2

*17

A.2; B.5 (ii) (47; 136)

A.I; B.6 (39; 141)

Comp.; A.3; B.2; B.6 (22; 54; 120; 141)

A.3; B.3 (ii) c (54; 124)

A.7 (102)

A.3; A.7; B.4 (iii) (54; 104, 106; 133)

A.7 (103, 105)

A.7 (94)

A.7; B.3 (ii) a (98, 101, 109; 123)

A.5 (a); B.5 (ii) (78; 136)

A.7 (94, 102)

A.7 (98)

A.3; B.3 (ii) a; B.3 (ii) c (55; 123; 124)

B.3 (ii) a (123)

Comp.; B.2 (22, 23; 120)

B.4 (i) (129)

A.3; B.6 (54; 141)

A.3; B.3 (ii) a (55; 123)

A.4; B.3 (ii) b (66; 123)

B.3 (ii) a (123)

A.2; B.4 (i); B.5 (ii) (47; 129; 136)

A.3; B.5 (ii) (55; 136)

A.I; B.4 (i); B.4 (iv) (39; 129; 134)

Comp.; B.2 (22; 120)

A.3; B.3 (ii) a (55; 123)

A.3; B.3 (ii) c (55; 124)

A.3; B.3 (ii) c (55; 124)

Comp.; B.2; A.3 (23, 24; 120; 56)

A.I; B.2 (40; 120)

Comp.; B.I (22; 117) A.3 (56)

A.I; A.3; B.3 (ii) a, b, c; B.3 (iii) (41; 55;

Comp.; B.I (22, 23; 117) 123; 123; 124; 124;

A.6; B.4 (i) (87; 129) — A.7 (103, 104)

A.5 (a); B.5 (ii) (79; 136)

Comp.; A.6; B.2; B.3 (iii) (22, 24; 87;

B.3 (ii) a (123) 120; 124) A.7 (109)

Comp.; A.5 (b); B.2 (23; 81; 120)

A.I; B.6 (40; 141)

B.3 (ii) a (123)

A.I (40)

A.6 (87)

B.3 (ii) a (123)

A.5 (b) (82)

A.7 (112)

A.7 (95, 99, 111)

App.I. B (vii) (154)

App.II (157)

A.6; B.5 (ii) (87; 136)

Comp. (27)

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82	A.3; B.3 (ii) c (56; 124)
89	A.7 (112)
111	A.3; B.6 (56; 141)
117	A.I; B.4 (iv) (40; 134)
122 ^{-124, 126}	A.6; B.3 (ii) b (87; 123) — Comp. (27)
127-8	A.6; B.3 (ii) c (88; 124)
129	A.6; A.7; B.2 (88; 103; 120)
129-30	Comp.; A.6; B.I; B.2 (24-6; 88; 117; 120)
130-1 ⁻¹³³	A.7; B.I (109; 116) — A.7 (108)
136	A.7 (106)
162	A.6 (84)
180	A.6; B.2 (88; 121)
198	A.6; B.3 (iii) (88; 125)
232	A.3; B.6 (56; 141)
242	A.6; B.2 (88; 121)
243 ⁻²⁵⁸	A.6; Comp.; B.5 (iv) (88; 138) — A.7 (108)
258-62	Comp.; B.2 (25-6; 120-121)
259-60	B.3 (ii) a (123)
260-1	A.7; B.I (100, 102, 103, 111; 116)
262	A.I; B.2 (39; 121)
265	Comp.; B.2 (26; 121)
266	A.7 (94, 111)
267	A.3; B.3 (ii) c (56; 124)
280	B.3 (ii) a (123)
284	Comp.; B.I (25; 117)
285	B.3 (ii) a (123)
291	B.3 (ii) a (123)
308	B.3 (ii) a (123)
313	A.6; B.3 (ii) a; B.3 (iii) (89; 123; 125)
318	A.7 (112)
323	A.6; B.3 (iii) (89; 125)
XX 40	A.5 (b) (82)
128-30	A.2; B.4 (ii) (48; 132)
132	App.I. B (iv) (152)
145	App.I. B (ii) (151)
160-1	A.3 (56)
XXI 1	App.II (158)
3	App.I. B (ii) (151)
5	App.I. B (iii) (152)
17	App.I. B (iii) (152)
18	App.I. B (iii) (152)
36	A.3; B.6 (57; 140)
85-6	App.I. B (iii) (152)
132	App.II (158)
133	A.4; B.5 (i) (66; 135)
137	App.II (158)
149	A.4; B.I (67; 117)
150 ⁻¹⁶⁰	B.I (116) — A.4 (66)
166	A.6; B.5 (i), (iii) (89; 135; 137)

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XXI	171	A.4; B.3 (iii) (67; 125)
	172	A.3; B.5 (iv) (57; 138)
	173	App.I.A (iii); App.II (148; 158)
	174 ₋₁₈₆₋₇	A.7 (104)
	209	A.7 (104, 108, 110) - App.II (158)
XXII	passim	B.4 (i) (130)
	32 ₋₄₇	A.7 (103) - A.7 (103)
	49	App.I. A (i) (147)
	58	B.I (116)
	67	App.I. A (i) (147)
	68	A.3; B.I (57; 117)
	69	A.I; A.7; App.I. A (i) (41; 103; 147)
	73	A.7 (102, 106)
	76	A.I; B.5 (iii) (41; 137)
XXIII	57 ₋₁₂₁	B.4 (i) (130) - A.7 (103)
	161-2	A.7 (96, 97, 100, 101, 103, 112)
	169	A.7 (112)
	185	A.3; B.6 (57; 141)
	186	A.7 (103)
	202	A.I; B.I (41; 116)
	208-9	A.2; B.5 (iii) (46; 137)
XXIV	2	App.I. A (i) (147)
	64	A.5 (a); B.6 (79; 141)
	92	A.7 (103)
	94	A.5 (b) (82)
	106	A.7 (106)
	125	App.II (160)
	129	App.II (160)
	160	A.7 (112)
	161-2	App.I. A (i) (147)
	174 ₋₁₇₆₋₇	App.I.A (i) (147) - A.I; A.7 (41; 103)
	181	A.7 (102, 106)
	184	A.I; B.5 (iii) (41; 137)
	199	A.7 (108, 112)
	200	A.7 (112)
	201	App.I.A (I) (147)
XXV	37	App.I.B (i) (151)
	40	A.6; B.4 (iii) (89; 133)
	46	A.6; B.4 (iii) (89; 133)
	48	A.6; B.4 (iii) (90; 133)
	52	A.6; B.3 (iii) (90; 125)
	55	A.7 (112)
	62	A.7 (103)
	64	A.7 (101, 105, 110)
	67	A.3; B.2 (57; 121)
	79	A.7; B.I (103; 117)
	80	A.I; B.4 (i) (41; 130)
	95	A.7 (110)
	99	A.7 (112)

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XXVII	54	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (77; 132)
XXVIII	6	A.7 (96)
XXIX	28	App.I. B (i) (150)
XXX	3	App.I. B (i) (150)
XXXII	10	App.II (160)
XXXIII	25	A.7 (101)
XXXIV	35	A.5 (a); B.5 (ii) (79; 136)
XXXV	15	A.7 (105, 107)
	35	A.3; B.4 (ii) (57; 132)
XXXVI	45	B.4 (i) (130)
XXXVII	23-4	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (79; 132)
	36-7	A.3; B.4 (ii) (58; 132)
	44	A.2; B.6 (48; 141)
	50-1	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (79; 132)
XXXVIII	24	A.7 (102, 105)
XXXIX	7 et pass.	A.5 (b) (82)
	21	A.5 (a) (79)
XL	48	A.I; B.I (41; 117)
	57	B.4 (i) (130)
	59	A.6; B.4 (ii) (90; 132)
XLII	8	A.3; B.4 (ii) (58; 132)
	25	A.7 (96, 111, 112)
	27 ²⁹	A.7 (98)
XLIII	72	A.7 (105, 107) - A.7 (98)
XLIV	3, 28	App.I. B (i) (150)
	42	App.I. B (vii) (154)
	42-3	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (80; 132)
XLV	56	A.7 (106)
	79	A.6; B.4 (i) (89; 130)
L	49	App.II (160)
LI	2	A.3; B.5 (ii); App.I B(v) (58; 136; 153)
	21-2	App.I. B (v) (153)
LII	22	A.7 (106)
LIV	9	A.6; B.3 (iii) (90; 125)
	31	App.II (160)
	35	A.7 (104, 105)
LV	1	App.I. B (i) (151)
	4	A.3; B.6 (58; 141)
	13	A.3; B.6 (58; 141)
	18	A.2; B.6 (48; 141)
LVI	35	A.5 (a) (80)
LVII	10	App.I. B (i) (150)
	33	App.II (158)
	52-4	A.5 (a); B.4 (ii) (77; 132)
	59	App.I. B (iv) (152)
	63	App.I. A (i) (147)
	64	A.7 (107)
LVIII	7	App.I. B (i) (151)
	29	A.7 (104, 107, 112)
	32	A.7 (112)

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LVIII	35	A.7 (95)	
	54	A.3; B.4 (iii) (49; 133)	
LIX	30	App.II (160)	
Prooem. 2.	1-2	A.3; B.5 (ii) (58; 136)	
	55.3	A.I (41)	
Ep.III	30	B.4 (i) (130)	
IV	1	B.I; B.4(i) (116; 130)	
	11	B.4 (i) (130)	
	12	App.II (158)	
Aeschines	I	App.II (159)	
	26	A.6; B.3 (iii) (91; 125)	
	33	A.7; B.3 (iii) (103; 125)	
	39	B.4 (i) (131)	
	44	App.II (159)	
	56	App.I. A (ii) (147)	
	58	A.7 (105, 108)	
	61	A.4; B.4 (i) (68; 131)	
	69	A.7 (98; 105)	
	70	App.II (160)	
	80	A.4; B.3 (ii) b; App.II (68; 123; 159)	
	82-4	A.4; B.3 (ii) b (68; 123)	
	89	App.II (159)	
	94	B.3 (iii) (125)	
	106-7	App.I. B (vi) (153)	
	107	A.6; B.4 (i) (91; 131)	
	110	B.4 (i) (131)	
	119	A.I; A.7; B.3 (ii) b (42; 107; 123)	
	125	A.7 (109)	
	126	A.3; B.3 (ii) c (58; 124)	
	130-1	App.II (159)	
	131	A.I; B.3 (i) (42; 122)	
	132	A.4; B.3 (iii) (68; 125)	
	157	App.II (159)	
	162-4	A.4; B.4 (i) (68; 131)	
	167	B.4 (i) (131)	
	181	A.7; B.4 (i) (110; 131)	
	194	B.4 (i) (131)	
II	21	A.3; B.3 (ii) b (59; 69; 123)	
	22	B.I; B.5 (ii) (117; 136)	
	23	A.6; B.4 (i) (91; 131)	
	24	A.7 (105, 106)	
	34	A.4; B.3 (ii) b (69; 123)	
	36	A.7 (112)	
	40	A.4; B.3 (ii) b (69; 123)	
	41	A.4; B.3 (ii) b; App.I. B (vii) (69; 123; 154)	
	43	A.6; B.3 (ii) c (91; 124)	
	49	A.3; B.3 (ii) b; B.3 (iii) (59; 123; 125)	
	71	App.I. A (ii); App.I. B (v) (148; 153)	

Aeschines	II	76	B.I. (118)
		78-9	B.I. (117)
		87	B.I. (117)
		88	B.4 (i) (131)
		92	A.3; B.6 (60; 142)
		93	B.2 (121)
		98	B.3 (iii) (125)
		99-100	A.4; B.3 (iii) (70; 125)
		106-7	A.4; B.3 (ii) c (70; 124)
		110	A.4; B.3 (ii) b (70; 123)
		111	A.4; B.3 (iii) (70; 125)
		112	A.4; B.3 (ii) c (70; 124)
		114	A.7 (98, 107)
		124	A.3; B.6 (60; 142)
		127	B.I; B.4 (i) (117; 131)
		148	B.4 (i); App.I.B (ii) (131; 151)
		151	A.6; B.4 (i) (91; 131)
		153	A.6; B.3 (iii); B.4 (ii) (91; 125; 132)
		157	A.3; B.3 (ii) a (59; 123)
		162	A.3; B.4 (ii) (60; 132)
		171	B.I (117)
		177	B.I (118)
		180	B.I (117)
	III	3	App.I.B (vi) (154)
		19	A.I; B.3 (ii) b (42; 123)
		62	App.I.B (vi) (154)
		66	A.I; B.3 (ii) b (42; 123)
		73	A.I; B.3 (ii) b; App.I.B (vi) (42; 123; 154)
		76	A.4; B.3 (iii) (70; 125)
		82-3	A.I; B.3 (ii) b (42; 123)
		84	A.7 (94, 102, 111)
		85	App.I.B (iv) (153)
		90	A.6; B.5 (iv) (91; 138)
		92	A.I; B.3 (ii) b; B.4 (ii) (42, 37; 123; 132)
		94	A.I; B.4 (ii) (37, 38; 132)
		97	A.7 (109)
		98-9	A.6; B.4 (ii) (91; 132)
		100	A.6; B.3 (ii) b (91; 123)
		101	A.I; B.4 (ii) (37; 132)
		128	A.3; B.6 (60; 142)
		144	App.II (159)
		146	App.I.A (ii) (148)
		149	A.4; B.5 (ii) (70; 136)
		150	A.4; B.4 (ii) (70; 132)
		151	A.4; B.5 (i) (70; 135)
		158	A.6; B.5 (iv) (92; 138)
		159	A.4; B.5 (i) (71; 135)
		160	A.3; B.3 (ii) b; B.3 (iii); B.5 (i) (61; 123; 125; 135)
		161	A.4; B.5 (i) (71; 135)
		163	A.3; B.5 (i) (61; 135)

Aeschines III	164	A.3; A.4; B.3 (iii); B.6 (61; 71; 125; 142)
	166-7	A.3; B.3 (ii) c (59, 61; 124)
	171-2	B.I (117)
	173	A.4; B.2 (71; 122)
	187	A.3 ; B.5 (i) (135)
	189	A.6; B.5 (i) (92; 135)
	209	A.3; B.3 (ii) a; B.3 (ii) c (59; 123; 124)
	*210	A.3; B.3 (ii) a; B.3 (iii) (62; 123; 125)
	212	A.3; A.7; B.4 (iii); B.5 (i) (62; 99,
	213	A.4; B.5 (i) (72; 135) 105; 133; 135
	214	A.4; B.4 (i) (72; 132)
	215	A.7 (99)
	218	A.3; B.5 (ii) (62; 137)
	219	A.3; B.4 (ii) (62; 132)
	222	A.I; B.3 (ii) b (42; 123)
	229	A3; A.6; B.3 (ii) b (59; 92; 123)
	232	App.II (159)
	237	App.I.B (vii) (155)
	239	App.I.A (v) (149)
	242	A.3; B.5 (ii); B.6 (62; 137; 142)
	246	B.4 (i) (132)
	256	A.6; B.3 (ii) b (92; 123)
	257	App.I.B (vii) (155)
	* 210-12	A.I (43)
Hyperides	Lyc.IVb.6-7	A.6; B.6 (93; 142)
	*Athen.13	A.7 (98)
	Eux.14	A.7 (96, 99)
	Dem.fr.II.	
	col.3	A.3; B.6 (63; 142)
	fr.III.col.12	A.7 (108)
	col.14	A.7 (97)
	fr.IV.col.20	A.6; B.5 (iv) (91; 138)
	fr.VII.col.25	App.I.B (vii) (155)
	Phryne fr.30	A.3 (63)
	*Athen.20	A.I (44)
Lycurgus	Leoc.133	A.7 (111)
Demades	12 years, 51	A.3; B.3 (ii) b (59; 124)
	de Falco IV	A.I; B.3 (iii) (44; 125)
	XX	A.I (44)
	* LXXV	A.3; A.6; B.I; B.2; B.3 (iii);
		B.4 (i) (59; 93; 118; 121; 125; 131)
		B.3 (i); B.3 (ii) b (122; 124)
Dinarchus	I	A.7 (99) - A.I; A.7 (37; 99)
	1-9	A.7 (99)
	10-13	A.3 ; B.5 (i) (135)
	15	B.I (118)
	35	App.I.B (v) (153)
	35-6	A.4; B.3 (iii) (71; 125)
	40	A.6 (84)
	41-5	App.I.B (vii) (155)
	44	A.I; A.7 (37; 99)
Demades	* LXXXIX	B.3 (iii) (125)

Dinarchus	I	42	App.II (159)
		53	A.7 (99)
		69	A.7 (103)
		78	A.I; A.7 (37; 99)
		79	A.I; A.7 (37; 96, 99, 101, 103)
		81	A.7 (96)
	*	95	A.I; B.I; B.4 (ii); App.I.B (i) (44; 118; 132; 151)
	II	8	A.7 (112)
		9, 15, 19	App.II (160)
	III	3	App.I.B (vii) (155)
		6	App.I.B (vii) (155)
		9-10	App.I.B (vii) (155)
	*	I 100	A.I. (37).