

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION  
ON THE ATHENIAN ORATORS  
IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

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## ABSTRACT

By the time Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to compose the brief biographies that introduce his essays on the ancient Athenian orators common histories of a variety of literary figures had already been assembled by earlier compilers of *bioi* into a collection known as the *koinē historia*. This anonymous collection of biographies was the source that rhetoricians and other writers turned to for a standard account of an orator's life. This dissertation sets out to examine the development of the biographical tradition behind the common history, as it came to be preserved in a collection of *bioi* known as Ps.-Plutarch.

In ancient times a canon of the ten best Attic orators was recognized. In Plutarch's collection of essays, the *Moralia*, is preserved a set of brief biographies of the orators of the canon, but this collection is no longer considered a genuine work of Plutarch. The introduction provides an extensive review of past scholarship on the problems of the nature and authorship of this collection, generally known as Ps.-Plutarch. It shows that the biographies are composites that were expanded through centuries of additions from a primitive core. The basic biography, which is still discernible and was originally composed by a grammarian, perhaps Caecilius of Caleacte (30 B.C.), was modeled on the biographies of the *koinē historia*. The biographies found in this anonymous collection are themselves the product of Alexandrian scholarship.

Chapter 1 examines the common history as the source of the biographies of Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch. A comparison of their lives of Isocrates shows that the author of Ps.-Plutarch not only used the same source as Dionysius but also made a

number of substantial additions, particularly of an anecdotal kind, to his account. These additions were taken from two places: from the same common history and from the biographer Hermippus. But the same comparison reveals that this biographer was an important source not only of the anecdotes on Isocrates, but also of much of the common history as it was preserved by Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch.

Hermippus proved an important source for the compilers of the common history, since he himself gathered together and transmitted existing traditions on the orators. Chapters 2 and 3 examine and evaluate the historicity of the earlier contributions of Demetrius of Phalerum and Idomeneus of Lampsacus. The former treated Demosthenes in a treatise on rhetoric; the latter the orators Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hypereides in his polemic on the Athenian demagogues. The evidence indicates that Hermippus picked up, incorporated into his own biographies and transmitted into the later tradition their treatments of these orators.

The final chapter (4) is devoted to Hermippus himself. He was a highly respected biographer and scholar in antiquity and his biographies were characterized by their rich mixture of anecdote and erudition. In particular attention was paid to his collection of biographies *On the Isocrateans*, which was schematically arranged into a *diadochē* as a construct of the history of 4th century Attic prose. From there attempts were made to reconstruct the scheme and content of his biographies of Demosthenes, Hypereides and Isocrates.

From this study it became apparent that the type of biography written by Hermippus was essentially antiquarian in approach. Much of the research was into literary sources. That is to say much of the biographical information was inferred



from texts, whether of the orator under consideration or of contemporary comic poets, or even from other antiquarian works, such Demetrius' work on rhetoric. In the end this type of biography was itself a product of same antiquarian interests that characterized much of the scholarship of the Alexandrian period.

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## PREFACE

Much of the scholarship of this century has been concerned with the origins and history of the genre of biography. F. Leo in his work, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form*, set the terms for subsequent debate. In an investigation of the literary form of the biographies of Suetonius, he reconstructed an entire history of the genre, based on a distinction between a Plutarchean and Suetonian form, and argued that the former had its origin in the Peripatos, the latter in Alexandria. The Plutarchean form of biography was essentially a chronological account that aimed at describing the  $\tau\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$  of an individual. The Suetonian form, which was invented by Alexandrian grammarians, was, by contrast, simple and schematic. In it the biographical material on literary figures was gathered and arranged into categories. Leo further postulated that with the birth of this type of "grammatical" *bios* in the age of Callimachus, literary biographies by the Peripatetics ceased, while historical and political biographies that also originated in the Peripatos continued and found full expression in the lives of Plutarch.

Much subsequent scholarship has tried to refute, or revise, Leo's hypothesis, particularly his attempt to see the origins of biography in the Peripatos.<sup>1</sup> Scholars like Momigliano and Arrighetti have pointed out some of the difficulties. It is now clear that the monographs on individual poets by such Peripatetics like Chamaeleon were

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1. For a critical review of Leo's reconstruction of the history of ancient biography, see A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Harvard 1971) 18–22; G. Arrighetti, "Satiro, Vita di Euripide," *SCO* 13 (1964); "Fra erudizione e biografia," *SCO* 26 (1977) 13–67; I. Gallo, "La vita di Euripide di Satiro e gli studi sulla biografia antica," *PP* 22 (1967) 151–6; "L'origine e lo sviluppo della biografia greca," *QUCC* 18 (1974) 173–86.

not biographies but simply exegetical works, which often included biographical details about the poet in question. The first literary biographies did not appear until the age of Callimachus. Less clear, however, is the question of political biography. Recent suggestions have been to regard it as a late invention by Nepos or Plutarch himself.<sup>2</sup> But the ethical approach which Plutarch took to the writing of biography certainly had its origin in the ethical discussions of the Peripatetics,<sup>3</sup> and members of the school, like Aristoxenus of Tarentum, do seem to have written *bioi* of philosophers.

Despite the continued controversy over the role the Peripatetics played in the development of Greek biography, the second part of Leo's hypothesis is less contentious. In fact, recent papyrological finds confirm that there existed in antiquity a type of biography developed by Alexandrian scholars that arranged the life and achievements of an author schematically. A full discussion of form and nature of the grammatical biography is reserved for the Introduction. For now it need only be noted that the first biographies to be written on the Athenian orators, whether in the *Pinakes* of Callimachus or by the biographer Hermippus, were of this type.

It has only been in the last two decades that scholars have systematically considered the method and reliability of ancient biographers. In one such attempt J. Fairweather has shown that much of the biographical material found in the ancient

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2. See J. Geiger, "Cornelius Nepos and Ancient Political Biography," *Historia* Suppl. 47 (1985); Podlecki, "A Survey of Work on Plutarch's Greek Lives, 1951-1988," *ANRW* 33. 6 (1992) 4054.

3. See A. Dihle, "Studien zur griechischen Biographie," *Abhandlung der Akademie der Wissenschaften Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 37 (1956); cf. Hamilton, *Plutarch Alexander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1969) xxxviii-xxxix.

lives was based on 1) false inferences from the works of the author under consideration; 2) from works of his contemporaries, notably the comic poets; 3) references in various types of scholarly and pseudo-scholarly works, such as epigraphical studies or historical miscellanea; and 4) attempts to schematize history into neat patterns, like genealogies or succession lists.<sup>4</sup> This was a general survey that touched briefly on a variety of lives. More comprehensive examinations both by her<sup>5</sup> and by M. Lefkowitz<sup>6</sup> dealt with the lives of the tragedians and other Greek poets. Little, however, has been done to evaluate the biographical tradition on the Athenian orators.

By the 2nd century A.D. a canon of the ten best Athenian orators had been established. This comprised Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hypereides and Dinarchus. Ancient biographers treated these orators as literary figures, and not until the time of Plutarch was there a political biography, and then only of Demosthenes. Thus the origin of the biographical tradition of the orators lies in the literary and antiquarian research that flourished in the Peripatos and later at Alexandria. But any attempt to trace the development of the biographical tradition in the Hellenistic period must come to terms with the fragmentary evidence that forces one to peer, as it were, through a small window in

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4. "Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers," *Ancient Society* 5 (1974) 231–75.

5. "Traditional Narrative, Inference and Truth in the Lives of Greek Poets," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 315–69.

6. "Fictions in Literary Biography: the New Poem and the Archilochus Legend," *Arethusa* 9 (1976) 181–9; "Poet as Hero: Fifth-Century Autobiography and Subsequent Biographical Fiction," *CQ* 28 (1978) 459–69; "The Euripides' Vita," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 187–210; "Autobiographical Fiction in Pindar," *HSCP* 84 (1980) 29–49; *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981).

order to view the broader horizon. Often one must reconstruct earlier evidence from later derivatives, or undertake the difficult task of source criticism (*Quellenkritik*). Since the treatment in the sources is uneven, with an abundance of material on one orator but not on another, the present study will concentrate on three orators for whom there is detailed surviving evidence originating with the biographer Hermippus: Isocrates, Hypereides and Demosthenes.

There are two possible approaches to the biographical tradition of these orators: the various components of the tradition can be examined topically, or by sources. A. Riginos' book, *Platonica: The Anecdotes Concerning the Life and Writings of Plato* (Brill 1976), represents a good example of the first approach. She has collected and arranged the various anecdotes concerning Plato under different headings (Apollonian origin; early youth; relations with Socrates), and then analysed their origin and influence. The other approach is represented by E. Drerup's work, *Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums* (Würzburg 1923), in which the ancients' view of Demosthenes is traced from his contemporaries down to the Byzantine period. We have adopted the latter approach but have limited the study to the Hellenistic period when the biographical tradition was established, and examined only those writers who classify the orators together, whether as rhetoricians, demagogues or Isocrateans. These writers are Demetrius of Phalerum, who composed a work on rhetoric in which Demosthenes figured prominently; Idomeneus of Lampsacus, who wrote a polemic on the Athenian demagogues in which he treated Aeschines, Demosthenes and Hypereides; and Hermippus, who assembled a collection of biographies on the students of Isocrates. We shall analyse specific sources behind the tradition to try and reach a

better understanding of how ancient scholarship worked, in particular ancient biographical and antiquarian research, which was a part of the tradition of ancient historiography within which all three writers were working. This will reveal the methods and sources used by these writers, weaknesses in their approaches, and any bias that led them to characterize an orator in a particular way.

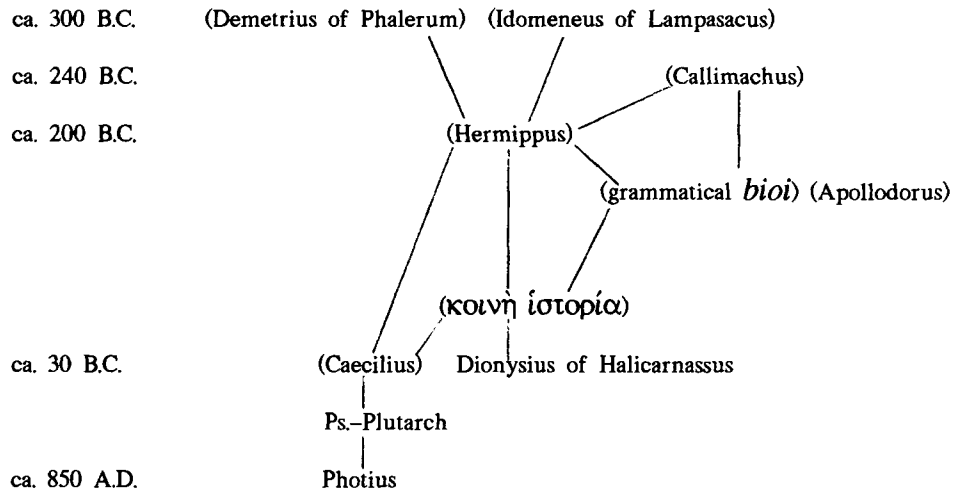
It is a truism that there can be no good biography without good anecdotes, and many of the fragments examined are anecdotes. But good biography is more than just the sum of its pleasing stories. The biographies that left the hands of the Alexandrian scholars showed a curious blend of erudition and anecdote, scholarly research and fine story-telling.<sup>7</sup> So we must deal with both aspects. Content is important and, for historians, perhaps the most important thing, but for a biographical tradition to exist it needs a biographer able to compile and arrange the various elements into a whole. In the Hellenistic period, when much of that tradition was established, only one biographer, Hermippus left an indelible mark on the later tradition; and so, much of this dissertation will center on his contribution to the biographical tradition of the orators.

The following stemma outlines the general affiliations between the sources discussed in this study.

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7. The term *erudite* is used in this dissertation not to pass evaluation on the intellect of a writer, like Hermippus, but simply to refer to his method of composition, whereby he took care to cite his sources and to display to his readers the breadth of his reading and learning.





As the evidence will show, Hermippus was crucial in the development of the biographical tradition as it was preserved in the *koine historia* and Ps.-Plutarch. By the time Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to write the brief biographies that introduce his essays on the ancient orators, common histories of various literary figures had been assembled by earlier compilers of *bioi* and incorporated into a standard collection of biographies, known as the *κοινὴ ἱστορία*, on which Dionysius could draw for biographical information on the orators. Preserved in the corpus of Plutarch, among his essays on ethics, the *Moralia*, is a collection of biographies of the ten orators of the canon. This collection, simply designated Ps.-Plutarch, belongs to the same tradition as the biographies of the *κοινὴ ἱστορία*. The common history was based on the work of earlier scholars and biographers of Alexandria, and the biographies contained in it show features characteristic of the grammatical *bioi* postulated by Leo and first introduced by Callimachus in his *Pinakes*. Our discussion begins with an examination of Ps.-Plutarch. The introduction reviews the

past scholarship on Ps.-Plutarch: the date of composition, possible authorship, character of the biographies of this collection and their relationship to grammatical *bioi*. Chapter 1 examines the source of Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch, the common history. A comparison of their lives of Isocrates reveals considerable agreement and significant departures, particularly of an anecdotal kind, on the part of the author of Ps.-Plutarch. In both cases Hermippus emerges as an important source for the common history and anecdotes about Isocrates.

His importance stemmed from the fact that he assembled together and transmitted existing traditions on the orators. Chapters 2 and 3 will be devoted to the contribution of Demetrius of Phalerum and Idomeneus of Lampsacus to the biographical tradition and to an evaluation of the historical value of their contribution. We shall show that their treatments were adapted by Hermippus in his own work, and that much of the anecdotal material that can be ascribed to them entered the biographical tradition through him. Hence his work on the Isocrateans was of fundamental importance in shaping that tradition and proved an important source for the κοινὴ ἱστορία, on which both Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Ps.-Plutarch later drew.

The chapters on Demetrius of Phalerum (2) and Idomeneus of Lampsacus (3) attempt first to trace into later antiquity the lines of a tradition that may go back to one of these writers; second, to note where Hermippus has picked up that tradition and incorporated it into his own biographies; and third, to evaluate the reliability of that tradition.

Chapter 4 on Hermippus: first examines the popularity and general character

of his writings; second, outlines the schematic arrangement followed in his work on the Isocrateans; and third, reconstructs the literary form and content of his biographies of Demosthenes, Hypereides and Isocrates. This approach leads to some unavoidable repetition of material from the preceding chapters, but is needed for completeness, since Hermippus stands at the center, both as the biographer who gathered the separate elements into a whole and as the source tapped by later compilers of the common history.

The results of the present study are threefold. In attempting to establish the relationships between the various writings on the Athenian orators, it was found that Hermippus was the pivotal figure in the development of the biographical tradition that began with earlier writers like Demetrius of Phalerum and came to be preserved in final form in later collections like Ps.-Plutarch. Secondly, by examining in detail the specific contributions of Demetrius of Phalerum, Idomeneus of Lampsacus and Hermippus, it was discovered that these writers derived much of the biographical material on the orators from the very sources identified by Fairweather. Finally, through examining the biographical methods of these writers we were able to provide a more solid basis for assessing their reliability. Much of the anecdotal material found in the works of Demetrius or Idomeneus was invented on the basis of false inferences from the text of the orators or from comedy. Indeed a certain bias is suspected of these two writers, who invented their stories only to malign the orators they were treating. Hermippus stands apart from these earlier writers in an important way. Certainly he included anecdotes in his lives but many of them were inherited. His main contribution lay in providing factual details drawn from scholarly works to

balance the anecdotes that he found in earlier writers, like Demetrius and Idomeneus.

## NOTE ON REFERENCES

In all cases the primary evidence is quoted in full in the notes and only rarely is a translation provided. The text of Ps.-Plutarch is taken from J. Mau's edition of the Teubner (*Plutarchus: Moralia*. V 2, 1. Leipzig, 1971) and will be cited according to the traditional numbering: e.g. Ps.-Pl. *Isoc.* 837a or simply Ps.-Pl. 837a. The minor biographies are cited from Westermann's *Biographi Graeci Minores* according to the page and line number: e.g. Libanius 293. 10. The fragments of Demetrius of Phalerum and Hermippus are those in Wehrli's *Die Schule des Aristoteles* IV & Suppl. I. (Basel-Stuttgart); Idomeneus of Lampsacus is cited from Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 338. Unless otherwise specified, the Teubner edition is used for all other texts.

The names of ancient authors are abbreviated in references and notes according to H.G Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. Oxford 1940) xvi-xxxviii.

Abbreviations of periodical titles follow those found in *L' Année Philologique* or *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2nd ed. Oxford 1970). Works and articles of modern scholars are cited in full once and subsequent citations are by name only, or with an abbreviated title, whenever clarity is demanded, and cross-referenced: e.g. Shoemaker (above, n. 13) 62. Below is a list of abbreviations of the most frequently cited authors.

Blass	Fr. Blass, <i>Attische Beredsamkeit</i> I-III (Leipzig 1887-1898)
Connor	R. Connor, <i>Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens</i> (Cambridge, Mass. 1968)
Drerup	E. Drerup, <i>Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums</i> (Würzburg 1923)
Düring	I. Düring, "Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition," <i>Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis</i> 68 (1957)
Fraser	P.M. Fraser, <i>Ptolemaic Alexandria</i> I-III (Oxford 1972)
Heibges	Heibges, "Hermippos," <i>RE</i> VIII 1 (1912).
Jacoby	F. Jacoby, "Apollodors Chronik," <i>Philologische Untersuchungen</i> 16 (1902)
Jacoby, <i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin-Leiden 1923-58)

Leo	F. Leo, <i>Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form</i> (Leipzig 1901)
Momigliano	A. Momigliano, <i>The Development of Greek Biography</i> (Cambridge 1971)
Müller, <i>FHG</i>	M. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (Paris 1841-85)
Pfeiffer	R. Pfeiffer, <i>History of Classical Scholarship</i> (Oxford 1968)
Prasse	A. Prasse, <i>De Plutarchi quae feruntur Vitis Decem Oratorum</i> (Marburg 1891)
Schaefer	A. Schaefer <i>Demosthenes und seine Zeit</i> I-III (Leipzig 1885-1887)
Wehrli	F. Wehrli, <i>Die Schule des Aristotles</i> I-X (Basel 1944-59)
Wehrli Suppl. I	F. Wehrli, <i>Hermippos der Kallimacheer</i> (Basel-Stuttgart 1974)

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CRC

## INTRODUCTION

In the catalogue of Lamprias we find ascribed to Plutarch in the 41st position a work entitled βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων. A collection of brief biographies by that title has come down to us in Plutarch's *Moralia*. A. G. Becker, followed by A. Westermann,<sup>1</sup> had maintained the authenticity of the collection, but since Schaefer<sup>2</sup> the accepted position has been to regard this collection as a work not written by Plutarch. The two most plausible suggestions are that either Plutarch's work on the ten orators had been lost and an anonymous composition of the same title (our Ps.-Plutarch) had taken its place in the Plutarchean collection, or that Plutarch never wrote such a work and Ps.-Plutarch is an apocryphal collection, transmitted by the manuscripts and wrongly attributed to Plutarch by Lamprias.<sup>3</sup>

In either case the work existed at the time Lamprias made his catalogue. Max Treu<sup>4</sup> had dated the catalogue to the 3rd or 4th centuries A.D., on the grounds that the title of the catalogue does not specify that it is dealing with the works of Plutarch of Chaeronea, in order to avoid confusion with Plutarch of Athens, who died in 433 A.D. In this case we have a *terminus ante quem* of the third century for the original composition of Ps.-Plutarch. The striking similarities between Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* and the *Antiphon* of Ps.-Plutarch led Blass<sup>5</sup> to conclude that the former had used the latter. Thus a *post quem non* for the date of composition can be

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1. *Plutarchi Vitae Decem Oratorum* (Quedlinburg 1833).
  2. *Commentatio de libro Vitarum X Oratorum* (Dresden 1844).
  3. M. Cuvigny, *Plutarchque oeuvres morales tome XII* (Budé 1981) 25.
  4. *Der sogenannte Lampriascatalog der Plutarchschriften* (1873) 53–4.
  5. I (1887) 93.



established sometime between the middle of the 1st and end of the 2nd centuries A.D.<sup>6</sup>

Ps.-Plutarch, as it has come down to us, represents a composite, which had been expanded through centuries of additions and amplifications from a primitive core. In refuting decisively Westermann's position that Ps.-Plutarch represented either a "collectanea sive adversaria" of Plutarch, Schaefer concluded that our collection of lives was composed not long after the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (30 B.C.) by a grammarian, as a preface to the reading of the orators, but that many interpolations and amplifications had been made at various times after that in the rhetorical schools by both learned and unlearned men.<sup>7</sup> It was Schaefer's stated intention to devote a later study to the task of distinguishing what had been written originally from what had been added subsequently, and thereby to discover the kinds of interpolations and additions made to the primitive lives. This task was taken up by Prasse,<sup>8</sup> who showed that the individual lives of Ps.-Plutarch break into two distinctive parts; the first half, the "primaria vita", represents the original biography, written as a continuous narrative; once the disturbances to the text of the primary lives had been removed, he showed that each had been arranged according to the same scheme which outlined briefly the γένος, education, career, and death of the orator,<sup>9</sup> and which concluded

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6. Cuvigny (above, n. 3) 27 n. 2, however, argues that the similarities can be explained by recourse to a common source. In fact, he adds, in certain parallel passages Philostratus is either more detailed or clearer; cf. Ps.-Pl. 833c & Philostr. I 499; Ps.-Pl. 838c-d & Philostr. I 503; Ps.-Pl. 840d & Philostr. I 509.

7. Schaefer (above, n. 2) 37-8.

8. *De Plutarchi quae feruntur Vitis Decem Oratorum* (Marburg 1891).

9. Prasse 6-7: I. vita Antiphontis: pater, pagus, praeceptores, annus natalis, annus mortis, res gestae (merita), numerus orationum. II. vita Andocidis: pater, avus, pagus, ordo patris, res gestae, annus natalis, numerus orationum, ratio dicendi. III. vita Lysiae: pater, avus, proavus, patria, annus natalis, res gestae, annus mortis, orationum numerus, ratio dicendi. IV. Isocratis: pater, avus, ordo patris, annus natalis, sors, annus mortis, orationum numerus. V. Isaei: patria, praeceptores, numerus orationum, ratio dicendi. VI.

with a formulaic phrase indicating the number of speeches attributed to that orator or his style of speaking.<sup>10</sup> The second half, the "auctaria", follows the notice on the number of speeches, and is a disjointed collection of annotations and stories written without any uniformity, often simply to amplify notices found in the primitive core. These represent the additions of successive generations. The main concern of this thesis is with the "primaria", although it will be necessary at time to discuss the "auctaria".

Much of past scholarship has been directed towards determining the relationship between Ps.-Plutarch and Photius, or between Ps.-Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, or determining whether Dionysius or Caecilius of Caleacte was the source of the primitive lives. Ballheimer<sup>11</sup> tried to show that for the biographical parts Photius had used not Ps.-Plutarch but a common archetype. He was refuted decisively by Prasse who followed Zucker<sup>12</sup> in concluding that Ps.-Plutarch was the direct source of Photius. This conclusion has become the common consensus.<sup>13</sup>

The bigger question has been the relationship of our lives to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Caecilius. It is generally agreed that these two rhetoricians were

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Aeschinis: pater, mater, pagus, gens, praeceptores, sors, ratio dicendi, orationum numerus. VII. Lycurgi: pater, avus, pagus, gens, praeceptores, sors, orationum numerus. VIII. Demosthenis: pater, mater, avus, pagus, praeceptores, sors, annus natalis, annus mortis, orationum numerus. IX. Hyperidis: pater, avus, pagus, praeceptores, sors, orationum numerus. X. Dinarchi: pater, patria, orationum numerus, ratio dicendi.

10. The phrase regularly begins with φέρωνται δὲ κτλ. Cf. 833c, 836a, 838d, 840e, 843c, 849d, 850e.

11. *De Photi Vitis Decem Oratorum* (Bonn 1871).

12. "Quae ratio inter Vitas Lysiae Dionysiacam, Pseudo-Plutarcheam, Photianam intercedat," *Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis* 1 (1878) 289-315.

13. Cuvigny (above, n. 3) 26 n. 1; Shoemaker, *Dinarchus: The Traditions of his Life and Speeches with a Commentary on the Fragments of the Speeches*. Diss. (Columbia University 1986) 41, 82; Blass III (1877) 5; cf. Treadgold, "The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius," *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 18 (1980) 48-51.

the major sources for Ps.-Plutarch. The striking verbal and structural similarities between Ps.-Plutarch and the brief lives prefaced to Dionysius' essays led Seeliger<sup>14</sup> to conclude that the primitive core of the biographies of Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus and Dinarchus were derived from Dionysius.<sup>15</sup> Prasse, on the other hand, recognized the similarities between the two writers,<sup>16</sup> but concluded that Caecilius was the immediate source of Ps.-Plutarch, because the collection as a whole followed the same uniform scheme in the primitive core of each biography, not all of which could be derived from Dionysius. Seeliger himself, as Prasse noted, conceded that the remaining lives of Antiphon, Andocides, Hypereides and Lycurgus could not have come from Dionysius.<sup>17</sup> Prasse believed, since the primary lives presented almost the same material in all the biographies in the same order and concluded with the same formula on the style or number of speeches of the orator, that the collection as a whole must be attributed to an author other than Dionysius, since the latter had not written on every orator found in Ps.-Plutarch. He certainly did not write on Antiphon, Andocides and Lycurgus, and there is some question whether he ever fulfilled his promise to write on Hypereides and Aeschines.<sup>18</sup> These arguments alone would suggest that our collection is dependent on a source subsequent to Dionysius

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14. *De Dionysio Halicarnassensi Plutarchi qui vulgo fertur in Vitis Decem Oratorum auctore* (Budiasse 1874).

15. Cuvigny (above, n. 3) concurs with Seeliger's opinion and provides a convenient list of comparisons (29 n. 1) showing where entire phrases or limbs of phrases are repeated almost verbatim by Ps.-Plutarch, or modified phrases which still allow the original framework to be recognized.

16. For his comparison see pp. 25–7 (Isocrates), 27–8 (Isaeus), 28–9 (Lysias), 30 (Dinarchus).

17. Seeliger (above, n. 14) 43; Prasse 31.

18. Prasse 31; Bonner, *The Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (repr. Amsterdam 1969) 29–38; Aujac, *Les orateurs antiques* (Budé 1978) 21.

but one which followed the same scheme as the latter and which drew on the same sort of sources.

Caecilius is the most frequently cited source in Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>19</sup> In the life of Antiphon he is cited no less than three times, and in particular as the source of the two writs of indictment against Antiphon reproduced *in extenso*.<sup>20</sup> Blass and others inferred from the inclusion of these two documents that Caecilius was the source.<sup>21</sup> Also the presence of the two decrees in honour of Demosthenes and Demochares at the end of the collection led Blass to argue that the life of Demosthenes was derived from Caecilius.<sup>22</sup>

It is generally agreed that Caecilius was a younger contemporary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Several rhetorical works are attributed to him, the most important of which, and the one most often regarded as the source of Ps.-Plutarch, was the *περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων*.<sup>23</sup> In the introduction to his essay on Dinarchus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus criticizes earlier writers, particularly Callimachus, Demetrius Magnes and the Pergamene Grammarians, for failing to provide an adequate account of the orator's life. Radermacher argued that in this review of his

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19. Ps.-Pl. 832e, 833c, 833d, 836a, 838d, 840b.

20. Ps.-Pl. 833d. At 832e the title of the work is given as *σύνταγμα περὶ Ἀντιφῶντος*. Ofenloch, *Caecilius Calactinus* (Teubner 1908) fr. 99, sees this not as separate treatise on Antiphon but as part of *περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων*. But Bonner (above, n. 18) 9 n. 4, Blass I (1887) 118 and Roberts, "Caecilius of Calacte," *AJP* 18 (1897) 305, consider this a reference to a separate work; so too of the citation in Longinus (*περὶ ὕψους* 32. 8) to a work of Caecilius on Lysias: *ὁ Κεκίλιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Λυσίου συγγράμμασιν*.

21. Blass I (1887) 93 n. 1 & 99; Prasse 32–3; Cuvigny (above, n. 3) 31 & n. 1.

22. Blass III 1 (1877) 5; cf. III 2 (1880) 96 on Lycurgus.

23. For a list of his rhetorical works among which are included *σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος*, *σύγκρισις Δημοσθένους καὶ Αἰσχίνου*, *περὶ Δημοσθένους*, *ποῖοι αὐτοῦ γνήσιοι λόγοι* καὶ *ποῖοι νόθοι* see the *Suda* and Roberts (above, n. 20) 304–5.

predecessors Dionysius would not have failed to mention his friend and rival, if Caecilius' work had been current.<sup>24</sup> Thus it would seem that his work on the ten orators followed that of Dionysius. If we accept Caecilius as the source of Ps.-Plutarch, as he must be for *Antiphon* and the other orators not treated by Dionysius, he must have followed the Dionysian scheme closely, since the verbal and structural parallels between the Dionysian and the Ps.-Plutarchean lives of Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus and Dinarchus cannot be denied. Thus concluded Radermacher in the case of *Dinarchus*. He believed that the work of Dionysius, which for the first time made use of the Proxenus-speech for biographical ends, became the model on which Caecilius based his own biography.<sup>25</sup> From his comparison of the texts of Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch he concluded that in the final analysis the notices in the latter go back to the former; but he felt that the rendering in Ps.-Plutarch was far too free a paraphrase to be credited to a mere compiler.<sup>26</sup> Radermacher thought that the author of Ps.-Plutarch tried to give an independent exposition, evident in the different turns of phrase and the chronological clarifications.<sup>27</sup> While the parallels prove the essential

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24. Radermacher, "Dinarchus," *Philologus* 58 (1899) 162; Shoemaker (above, n. 13) 52–3; Weise, *Quaestiones Caecilianae* (Berlin 1888) 21f.; Blass III 2 (1880) 261. For a discussion of whether Caecilius was a friend or rival of Dionysius see Bonner (above, n. 18) 6–10, who regards him as a close associate, as does Roberts (above, n. 20) 302–3; contrast Ofenloch (above, n. 20) xiii & xxx, who considers him both a rival and an older contemporary.

25. p. 162.

26. p. 164.

27. An example of turns of phrase which indicated to Radermacher evidence of an independent critical mind is the substitution by Ps.-Plutarch of τὰς ὁράσεις ἀσθενῆς for the Dionysian τὰς ὧν αἰσθησέν. For chronological clarification Ps.-Plutarch says that Dinarchus came to Athens καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπῆλθ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, whereas Dionysius simply καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἦν θοὺν αἱ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρων διατριβαί. According to Radermacher (164) this change presupposes historical knowledge.

agreement between Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch, the variations are so persistent and the statements in Ps.-Plutarch so much more precise that Radermacher wanted to recognize not the transcription of a compiler but the attempt at an independent treatment; he supposed that Ps.-Plutarch obtained the notices through the redaction of Caecilius.<sup>28</sup>

Recently Shoemaker<sup>29</sup> has taken issue with Radermacher and has argued that the Ps.-Plutarchean account of Dinarchus' life is based primarily on that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with additional information drawn from secondary sources, one of which was undoubtedly Caecilius, particularly for the concluding remarks in Ps.-Plutarch on the style of the orator.<sup>30</sup> Shoemaker admitted that there were noticeable differences between the two accounts,<sup>31</sup> but the divergence in expression on which Radermacher relied for evidence of an independent mind impressed her as the mark of a compiler who worked carelessly and injudiciously.<sup>32</sup> For her the similarities between the two texts in sequence of thought, in order of events and in language were too striking to admit the independent work of a later critic, such as Caecilius.<sup>33</sup> Where there are additions from another source, she believed, they were

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28. p. 164.

29. *Dinarchus: The Traditions of his Life and Speeches* (above, n. 13) 49–55.

30. pp. 47 & 54. Her position is basically that of Blass, *Dinarchi Orationes* (Leipzig 1888) xvi; Thalheim, "Deinarchos," *RE* (1901) 2387 and Conomus, *Dinarchi* (Teubner 1975) 2–3 n. citing Blass: "haec vita ex eis quae Dionysius congegit maximam partem contexta est, additis paucis quae Caeelio fortasse debentur."

31. p. 29.

32. pp. 39 & 44.

33. Shoemaker's concluded from her comparison of the two texts that the similarities are effected by identical construction; Ps.-Plutarch uses circumstantial participles, prepositional phrases and genitive absolutes at the same point of the development in the narrative as Dionysius does. Vocabulary and syntactical differences, though frequent, are nonetheless superficial (33–4).

simply grafted onto the Dionysian narrative. As Shoemaker pointed out, the similarities between the two works extend even to the omission of the results of the prosecution against Proxenus, later events of Dinarchus' life and the circumstances of his death. This same silence in both accounts, along with the similarities in construction, in both concept and language, bespeak a compiler and not the work of a critic.<sup>34</sup> According to Shoemaker,<sup>35</sup> if we agree that Caecilius simply absorbed and slightly altered Dionysius' account, then we must hold an extremely low opinion of Caecilius, who was so influential in establishing standards of eloquence.

But this is precisely the crux of the problem. Caecilius, like Dionysius, was more concerned with matters of style and eloquence than biography. As will be shown in Chapter 1, except for the life of Dinarchus, where no previous biography existed, Dionysius himself claimed no originality; he relied on a previous biographical collection, known as the κοινὴ ἱστορία, to provide him with the brief biographical sketches with which he introduced his essays on the orators. In fact, the scheme which he adopted was simply that which had been established by previous grammarians. The same may be assumed for Caecilius, whose work περὶ τοῦ χαρακτήρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων was prefaced by the same type of brief biography. As

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34. Shoemaker (36) is convinced that Ps.-Plutarch never consulted the Proxenus-speech or the writ of indictment which Dionysius tells us was attached to it and which he included in chapter 3 of his essay on Dinarchus, even though Ps.-Plutarch himself indicates his awareness of the existence of the speech (850e). How else can we explain, she argues, the inclusion in Ps.-Plutarch of the conflicting tradition of Dinarchus' Athenian origin, a fact which the writ clearly disputes. This suggests to Shoemaker the uncritical work of a compiler who perhaps read no further in Dionysius than οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τῶνδρός (300. 22) which follows the notice that Dinarchus filed suit against Proxenus. Radermacher, on the other hand, sees the remark on Dinarchus' Athenian origin as part of a pre-Dionysian tradition which has contaminated the original biography of Ps.-Plutarch.

35. p. 50.

the title of the work indicates, he was more concerned with the rhetorical style of the orators; he may have used Dionysius as a model in constructing his biographies, adding other material gathered from his own investigations.

Whether Caecilius or Dionysius of Halicarnassus was the source of Ps.-Plutarch cannot be decided decisively. What is important is that the structure of the primitive lives of Ps.-Plutarch, even if we attribute some to Dionysius, had an earlier origin in a type of biography developed by Alexandrian grammarians to which Leo gave the name "grammatical". This was an abbreviated and schematic form of biography developed by scholars, often as introductions to their commentaries on literary figures. It had its origin in the *Pinakes* of Callimachus, who prefaced to the catalogue of each author's writings a brief but limited biography.<sup>36</sup> Indeed there was a close connection between the development of biography and philology,<sup>37</sup> and we must look to the scholarship of Alexandria for the origin of the biographies of Ps.-Plutarch. The grammatical biographies produced by grammarians characteristically contained brief notices which began with the *genos* of the author and ended with his death and the honours accorded him after death. In between came biographical material on his education, production and career, schematically arranged into set rubrics.<sup>38</sup> This is close to the arrangement of the "primaria" of Ps.-Plutarch recognized by Prasse.

These grammatical biographies have come down to us in the form of

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36. Schmidt, "Die Pinakes des Kallimachos," *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* 1 (1922) 66–70. Callimachus seems to have included at least information on the *genos*, the education and perhaps the "Lebensgang" of the author.

37. Momigliano 13

38. Leo 27–8.



anonymous γένη attached to the mediaeval manuscripts. According to Leo<sup>39</sup> the γένη have the same origin as the *scholia*. As the Alexandrian *hypomnemata* had been excerpted and have reached us in the form of *scholia*, so the grammatical biographies which had originally accompanied these great commentaries have come down to us in the *genē* of the manuscripts. Although much of the learned material and the contents were lost, the general form was maintained. Despite this process of epitomization, Leo<sup>40</sup> was convinced that the brief biographies transmitted in the manuscripts in their general form and literary character did not differ greatly from what they were at the time of origin in the Alexandrian period. He assigned the period in which the majority of the preserved γένη acquired their original form to the time of Didymus or Aristarchus.<sup>41</sup>

From his examination of the various *genē* of the manuscripts Leo showed that the scheme of each of the biographical sketches was more or less consistent. The biography of each literary figure was arranged under the same rubrics.<sup>42</sup> According to Leo<sup>43</sup> the schematic arrangement was preserved to a greater extent and disturbed far less in the biographical articles of a compiler like Hesychius, whose ὀνοματολόγος, an offshoot of the literature *de viris illustribus*, drew upon the individual βίοι of the κοινὴ ἱστορία and book collections. In the Suda the biographical epitomes show

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39. pp. 19–20, 22.

40. pp. 22 & 27.

41. pp. 20 & 22–3.

42. The rubrics of the model γένος are: 1) γένος 2) Zeit 2a) Lehrer 3) Erlebnisse 4) εἶδος 5) βίος, τρόπος 6) εὐρήματα 7) Werke 8) Lebensalter, Tod, Todesart 9) Familie und Nachkommen 10) χαρακτήρ cf. βίος Αἰσχύλου in codex Mediceus 1, 9, 2, 6, 7, 8; γένος Σοφοκλέους 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 8, 7.

43. p. 30.

variations in the sections of the schematization, based in large part on the material. With philosophers, sophists and grammarians, teachers, schools and students are more important; with poets, the development of a genre. Otherwise the rubrics generally agree.<sup>44</sup>

As noted, Leo had concluded that the change which these grammatical βίοι had suffered since the end of the second century B.C. had been primarily in a reduction of contents. In general terms his hypothesis was confirmed by the discovery of *POxy* 2438, which preserves a brief biography of Pindar of the hypomnematic type, dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd centuries A.D.<sup>45</sup> It shows a certain similarity to at least one of the Pindaric γένη of the manuscripts, the *Vita Ambrosiana* (βίος Πινδάρου). The beginning of the papyrus biography is of the classic type of this genre: Πίνδαρος ὁ λυρικὸς τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Θηβαῖος.<sup>46</sup> It has a simple, straightforward structure, and scholars have repeatedly observed the extreme seriousness of the biography both in terms of the biographical material it includes and the arguments it presents.<sup>47</sup> What sets it apart from the other Pindaric biographies is the complete absence of fanciful or anecdotal material. What we do find are traces

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44. Leo 30.

45. ed. E. Lobel, *POxy* 26 n. 2438 (1961) 1–7.

46. The title Πίνδαρος and not βίος or γένος Πινδάρου has suggested to scholars that the biography did not belong to a commentated edition of the poet, but to a larger collection of biographies. Leo, on the other hand, had insisted that this type of biography arose in terms of annotated editions of the classics; cf. Arrighetti, "La biografia di Pindaro del Papiro di Ossirinco XXVI 2438," *SCO* 16 (1967) 129 n. 1 and Gallo, *Una Nuova Biografia di Pindaro* (Salerno 1968) 17–18.

47. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1968) 106; Gallo (above, n. 46) 16; Arrighetti (above, n. 46) 129; Lamedica, "Il P.Oxy. 1800 e le form della biografia greca," *SIFC* ser. 3, 3 (1985) 70–1.

of criticism and polemic,<sup>48</sup> citations of Pindar to support chronology and biographical statements,<sup>49</sup> in both cases quoting the *incipit* to identify the poem,<sup>50</sup> a technique introduced by Callimachus in his *Pinakes*.<sup>51</sup> There are clear indications of the use of chronographic lists, of the Athenian archons linked to Olympiads, of the Νῆκαι Διονυσιακαί and of Olympic victors.<sup>52</sup> All this points to a product of Alexandrian scholarship and confirms Leo's hypothesis that a type of grammatical biography was developed by the Alexandrians for scholarly use.

That the papyrus biography is not directly Callimachean in origin is shown by the polemical tone and the use of Olympiads for chronology, a system which points to a period subsequent to Eratosthenes.<sup>53</sup> But it approaches the method of Callimachus, whose πίνακες were the model and basis of all subsequent research. Whether the

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48. Polemic (ll. 2–3) seems to be directed against those writers, possibly Chamaeleon, who used the poetry of Corinna as evidence that Pindar's father was Scopelinos, and again (ll. 6–19) against those who maintained that Pindar died in the archonship of Habron (458/7) at the age of 50. The traces of polemic are especially noted in the repeated use of the verb ἄγνοέω (ll. 8 & 22). See Gallo (above, n. 46) 62 and Arrighetti (above, n. 46) 132.

49. In the first case (l. 18) Olympian 4 produced in the archonship of Chaerephontes, in the second (ll. 29–30) the ode in which the daughters of Pindar were mentioned.

50. [οὗ ἀρχή "ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βροντῶς" (l. 18); [ἐν τῇ ᾧδῃ ἧς ἡ ἀρχή "ὁ Μοισαίητάς με καλεῖ χ[ορευσοῖ] Ἀπολλων (ll. 29–30).

51. Pfeiffer 129.

52. Gallo (above, n. 46) 16.

53. Turner (above, n. 47) 106; Gallo (above, n. 46) 17 cf. 41–2. Gallo attributes the arrangement of the catalogue of Pindar's works to Aristophanes of Byzantium and notes that it differs from the catalogue in VA, generally assigned to Didymus. Aristophanes appears to be quoted in our text on two occasions, at line 21 (κατὰ τι[μ]νας, ὧν [ἐστ]ι καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης) and in particular in connection with the catalogue at line 35: δκλήρηται δὲ αὐτ[οῦ] τὰ ποιήματα Ἀριστοφάνους εἰς βιβλία ιζ'. In both cases Arrighetti, (above, n. 46) 139–40, sees the citations as polemic and accordingly assigns the catalogue of POxy to Didymus. The Didymean origin of the biography is confirmed for him by the similarity with the *Vita Ambrosiana*, which since Leutsch, "Pindarische Studien. I. Die Quellen für die Biographie des Pindaros," *Philologus* 11 (1856) 14, has been regarded as Didymean in origin; but oddly Arrighetti (139–40) suggests an Aristophanic origin for the catalogue in VA. See Gallo (27–45) for a full discussion of the classification of the poetry of Pindar in antiquity.

βίος was excerpted from Aristophanes of Byzantium (as Gallo suggests) or from Didymus (as Arrighetti suggests), it is clearly an example of the type of grammatical biography characteristic of Alexandrian scholarship.<sup>54</sup>

In the Byzantine tradition several Pindaric lives have been preserved of varying degrees of antiquity and value.<sup>55</sup> What sets the βίος of the papyrus apart from the other γένη is the complete absence of anecdotal and fanciful material, found in these other biographies.<sup>56</sup> At the same time *POxy* 2438 shares a common schematic arrangement with at least one of the γένη of the manuscripts, the *Vita Ambrosiana* (*VA*).<sup>57</sup> Both Gallo and Arrighetti have noted the similarities and the latter has even postulated a common Didymean origin for the two βίοι. The comparison of the two lives reveals that *VA* has an origin close to that of *POxy* 2438;

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54. Gallo (above, n. 46) 16; Turner (above, n. 47) 104. In a later article, "Fra erudizione e biografia," *SCO* 26 (1977) 40, Arrighetti states that *POxy* 2438 does not constitute an example of a grammatical βίος in its original form, that which ought to have characterized the biographies present in the Πίνδακος, but it is closer to them than the γένη of the Byzantine tradition. As he notes, the disproportionate length given over to matters of chronology (15 out of 40 lines) makes us suspect a subsequent development of a topic which was of particular interest. This would also confirm that originally the grammatical *bioi* were of much greater length than the form in which they appear in the *gene*. As Arrighetti noted in his earlier article ("La biografia di Pindaro," [above, n. 46] 146), *POxy* 2438 is likely a summary of a greater work in which were present erudition, technical discussion and polemic.

55. *Vita Ambrosiana* (βίος Πινδάρου), *Vita Thomana* (Πινδάρου γένος), *Vita Metrica* (Πινδάρου γένος δι' ἐπῶν), Eustathius and Suda; cf. Gallo (above, n. 46) 14–20, for a summary of the dates and nature of these biographies.

56. The exception is the Suda which lacks sections on the prodigies and θεοφιλίᾱ of the poet found in the other γένη and which contains only a single anecdote relating to the death of Pindar.

57. *VA* (Leo 28): 1) γένος with variations on the name of the father 2) prodigies in childhood 3) teachers connected with Athens 4) θεοφιλίᾱ 5) chronology based on synchronism with Simonides 6) family 7) works 8) death and epigram 9)—. *POxy* 2438 (Arrighetti 141): 1) γένος with variations on name of the father 2)—. 3)—. 4)—. 5) chronology, synchronism with Simonides 6) family 7) death 8) works 9) character.

they share a similar scheme and a similar criterion of dating.<sup>58</sup> There are differences, however, the most notable of which is the absence of sections 2, 3 and 4 of the *VA*, where we find an abundance of anecdotes which seem to have their origin with Chamaeleon and Ister.<sup>59</sup> We may suspect that many of the anecdotes preserved in the γένη go back to Chamaeleon.<sup>60</sup> In the papyrus we have no element which can be called Chamaeleonic; in fact *POxy* 2438 seems to have reacted against his romantic interpretation of the texts.

On the one hand, the serious nature of the papyrus biography confirms Leo's thesis that the γένη had their origin in the grammatical activities of the Alexandrian period. The comparison between *VA* and *POxy* 2438 confirms that the γένη retained their original scheme and had not greatly changed in form and literary character; there was a diminution in content and scholarly material, something which seems confirmed by the fact that papyrus displays a greater amount of erudite material than *VA* and the other Byzantine γένη.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, the discovery of *POxy* 2438

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58. Arrighetti (above, n. 46) 144. Cf. *POxy* 2438 11.4–6: [γέγο]νεν δὲ κατὰ τὰ Περσικά, νεώτερος πρεσβυτέρῳ Σιμωνίδῃ ἐπιβάλλων and *VA* (2. 21) ἐπέβαλλε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις Σιμωνίδῃ ἢ νεώτερος πρεσβυτέρῳ.

59. In section 2 Chamaeleon and Ister are cited as the source for the anecdote of the bee. In section 3, the θεοφιλίᾱ, the notices concerning Pan and Demeter depend on citations of text which do not contain any element related to the notices to which they refer. This suggests the method of romantic interpretation of literary texts characteristic of Chamaeleon (Arrighetti 142). For detailed discussion of the biographical method of this Peripatetic see Arrighetti, "Fra erudizione," (above, n. 54) 1–37, Leo 104f, Leutsch, "Pindarische Studien," (above, n. 53) 21f. Chamaeleon's works were not biographies as such but monographs or *syngrammata* of the genre known as περὶ-literature, closely akin to the περὶ Δημοσθένους of Didymus. See Leo, "Didymos περὶ Δημοσθένους," *NGG* (1904) 254–61 = *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* (1960) 387–94 and Pfeiffer 146.

60. Gallo (above, n. 46) 22; see Podlecki, "The Peripatetics as Literary Critics," *Phoenix* 23 (1969) 114–37 for the importance of the Peripatetics as a source of many of the literary comments in γένη of the tragedians.

61. Arrighetti (above, n. 46) 146.

has presented one problem to Leo's reconstruction: the degree of alteration in content, whereby *VA* displays quite different material from *POxy* 2438, anecdote and legend, material which cannot easily be reconciled with the scientific aims for which, Leo believed, the grammatical *bios* was originally composed.<sup>62</sup> The presence of this material in the γένη of the Byzantine tradition has been explained in one of two ways: first, by Arrighetti,<sup>63</sup> who suggested that at the time when the material was obtained for the annotated editions from the ὑπομνήματα, material for the γένη was also excerpted from the same commentaries, or from other erudite works, or from the biographies which accompanied them;<sup>64</sup> but that these γένη have not reached us in the manner in which they left the hands of epitomizers of the imperial period. At some later point, though still preserving the original scheme, in the various γένη serious erudite material was replaced with anecdote and romantic notices taken from completely different biographical works, such as those of Satyrus, Ister and Hermippus. Another explanation was offered by Gallo,<sup>65</sup> who recognized the analogy of scheme between *POxy* 2438 and *VA*, but on the origin of the γένη hypothesized the existence of different kinds of grammatical βίοι, which followed the same scheme and structure

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62. Arrighetti, "La biografia di Pindaro," (above, n. 46) 147; "Fra erudizione," (above, n. 54) 39; Gallo (above, n. 46) 15.

63. "La biografia di Pindaro," 147–8; cf. "Fra erudizione," 39.

64. Gallo, "Un nuovo frammento di Cameleonte e il problema della biografia 'grammaticale' alessandrina," *Vichiana* ns. 2 (1973) 243 n. 15, is right that *a priori* it is more likely that the γένη, as Leo suggested, were epitomized from previous biographies; certainly this is true of the biographies prefaced to Dionysius' essays on the ancient orators. In all cases the γένη, like *POxy* 2438, are excerpts from larger biographical works, still essentially grammatical and erudite, vast and extensive, as Leo put it, perhaps approaching the length of the Ps.-Plutarchean lives. Cf. Arrighetti's comments on this point mentioned in n. 54.

65. *Nuova Biografia* (above, n. 46) 25–6.

that characterized the genre, but which admitted different material and used different sources. Some were more seriously planned, to which *POxy* 2438 goes back; others accepted anecdotes and notices of a more dubious nature through the influence of biographies of the other type. In all would be found common material and agreement of scheme.<sup>66</sup>

We are presented with the same problem when we turn to Ps.-Plutarch. As it stands, it represents a composite which has grown up from a primitive core of biographies through a series of additions over the centuries up to the Byzantine period. This process of accretion best explains the frequent repetitions and contradictions preserved in the text. Despite this accretion, the primitive core of the biographies can still be recognized; as Prasse clearly showed, they were originally arranged systematically under the same scheme, which provided the same basic information for each orator.<sup>67</sup> In many respects the scheme approximates that of the γένη as it was conceived by Leo and confirmed by *POxy* 2438. A comparison of the biographies common to Ps.-Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus shows that the two authors drew on the same models. Chapter One will show that their source was a anonymous collection of *bioi*, commonly known as the κοινὴ ἱστορία, *bioi* which were closely related to the type of "grammatical" biography developed by Alexandrian

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66. Cf. Gallo's latest attempt to substantiate his hypothesis: "Un nuovo frammento di Cameleonte," (above, n. 64) 241–6. Among the fragments of *POxy* 2451, all of which belong to an Alexandrian ὑπόμνημα of Pindar, dated to the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., is found a fragment which preserves the name of Chamaeleon and relates the story of the bee. Gallo follows Lobel, the editor of *POxy* 2451, in assigning the fragment to the *vita* which introduced the commentary.

67. Momigliano (87), however, thinks that the biographies of the ten orators can only be forced into the "Suetonian" scheme with considerable difficulty. This is true of the composite but not the primitive biography.

scholars. Features that clearly point in that direction are the use of chronographies, archon-dates, Olympiads, synchronisms, or the tabulation of the number of genuine speeches of an orator. All these features are found in Ps.-Plutarch.

But at the same time anecdote can be found in some of the lives of Ps.-Plutarch. Was such material already present in their primitive core or was it added later? How much of this kind of material on an orator could one expect to find in a grammatical *bios* of the κοινὴ ἱστορία, the source of Ps.-Plutarch? As noted, Prasse had shown that the biographies of Ps.-Plutarch broke into two parts, the "vita primaria," which provided a continuous account arranged in the same scheme and concluding with the same formula on the number of speeches or the orator's style, and the "auctaria" which represented a disjointed collection of additions. The original *vita* of Hypereides concluded φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτὰ, ὧν γνήσιοι εἰσι πεντήκοντα δύο.<sup>68</sup> What follows are notices on the sexual escapades of the orator taken from Hermippus' biography. Obviously these notices in the "auctaria" were added later, after the original composition of the primitive life was fixed. But that does not necessarily mean that Hermippus was never consulted originally for other details which became part of the κοινὴ ἱστορία and eventually made their way into Ps.-Plutarch. So for instance he is mentioned for an alternative version of the death of Hypereides in Macedonia, where the orator had his tongue cut out.<sup>69</sup> In *Demosthenes* Hegesias of Magnesia is cited for the story of how Demosthenes

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68. Ps.-Pl. 849d.

69. 849c.



gave up the study of philosophy for rhetoric, after hearing Callistratus of Aphidna.<sup>70</sup> Hermippus told the same story and is likely Ps.-Plutarch's source for the citation. This anecdote appears in the primary life, but it is rejected by Prasse on the grounds that it disturbs the sense and tenor of the primitive biography.<sup>71</sup>

Drerup, however, accepts the story, even though the citation from Hegesias and its order contradicts the previous statements in the life about the orator's teachers.<sup>72</sup> His inclusion of such anecdotal material in the primary life stemmed from his conclusion that the grammarian and polyhistor Demetrius of Magnesia was the source of the life of Demosthenes in particular and of Ps.-Plutarch in general.<sup>73</sup> From a comparison of passages in Plutarch's *Demosthenes* which can be attributed to Demetrius, he concluded that Demetrius' account of Demosthenes in περὶ τῶν ὁμωνύμων was a highly anecdotal description, but equally marked by such grammatical erudition as chronological calculations, synchronisms and references to numerous versions of a subject.<sup>74</sup> Thus Ps.-Plutarch 845d-846c would represent for Drerup an excerpt from Demetrius' work.

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70. 844b: 8–20 W.

71. Prasse 8.

72. Drerup 169 n. 1.

73. pp. 167–93.

74. pp. 113–18. Cf. Ps.-Pl. 846d & Plut. 27 for Demosthenes' recall from exile on the motion of Demon, and Ps.-Pl. 846e–847a & Plut. 29–30 on his death at Calauria. In Plutarch Demetrius (Magnes?) is cited for the detail that Archias was the student of Anaximenes, whereas in Ps.-Plutarch we are told that the distich inscribed on the orator's statue was believed by Demetrius Magnes to have been written by Demosthenes before he died. There is no question that the two authors share a common source for the account of Demosthenes' death. The question is not the similarity of the two accounts but whether the whole account can be attributed to Demetrius, or whether it is not just simply a matter of particular variants specifically attributed to him by Plutarch and Ps.-Plutarch; cf. Schwartz, "Demetrios," *RE* IV 2 (1901) 2816.

The brief account of Demosthenes' political career begins with chronology: at the age of 37, calculated from the archonship of Dexitheus (385/4) to that of Callimachus (349/8), Demosthenes persuaded the Athenians to assist the Olynthians against Philip. Then follow the synchronisms with the death of Plato and the fall of Olynthus, and with the *akme* of Demosthenes and Xenophon, whose *Hellenica* ended with the battle of Mantinea and the archonship of Charicles (363/2), by which time Demosthenes had already prosecuted his guardians. Included is a series of brief notices on his trierarchy to Thasus, his duties as grain commissioner which ended in prosecution and acquittal for embezzlement, as commissioner overseeing the rebuilding of the wall to which he contributed 100 minae, his contribution of 10,000 drachmae to the theoric fund and his tax-collection among the allies. The passage concludes with notices on his frequent crownings by Demomeles, Aristonicus, Hypereides and Ctesiphon and the prosecution for παρανόμων by Diodotus and Aeschines. The style is grammatical, marked by brief entries; the notices are based on the research of grammarians into chronography and the speeches of the orators.<sup>75</sup> But amid this array of grammatical erudition can be found anecdotes, of Demosthenes' pursuit on horseback of Aeschines as he fled his conviction in the Ctesiphon case, or of his cowardly behaviour at Chaeronea, the former chronologically misplaced, the latter immediately contradicted by the statement εἶπε μέντοι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσι. For Drerup the inclusion of these anecdotes confirmed his impression that

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75. His office as grain controller and subsequent prosecution from Dem. XVIII 224–5; his contribution of 100 minae from Aesch. III 17; the donation of 10,000 drachmae to the theoric fund from the forged Psephisma in XVIII 118; the connection between Demosthenes' tax-collection among the allies and his crowning from Aesch. III 159.

the whole presentation smacked of a "biographisches Roman", which was not particularly concerned about precision in chronology, names and facts.<sup>76</sup> The confusion and disorder in the account is ascribed by Drerup to the fact that Ps.-Plutarch is an abridgement of a fuller presentation and not the result of later interpolations.<sup>77</sup>

In Drerup's opinion the model was a grammarian who essentially owed the content of his biography to an earlier source, but who enriched his material with new inventions, by collecting variant accounts, with source citations and with chronological references and synchronisms. This was his image of Demetrius of Magnesia.<sup>78</sup> By concluding that Ps.-Plutarch preserved only a very much abridged and hastily excerpted version of Demetrius' account of Demosthenes, Drerup believed that Ps.-Plutarch had left the hands of its excerptor in the form in which it is preserved today. Whereas Prasse attributed the contradictions and confusions in the primitive life to later interpolations, Drerup saw this as evidence of excerption. Whereas Prasse had moved from the premise that Ps.-Plutarch went back to Caecilius and followed a serious arrangement which did not admit much anecdotal material, Drerup saw such material as characteristic of his grammarian. His assumption that the primitive life

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76. p. 175. The confusion of names is present in the name Diodotus who with Aeschines had prosecuted Ctesiphon for *paranomon*. Drerup (174) follows Böhnecke in thinking there is a confusion here with Diondas who had prosecuted for illegality the crowning proposed by Hypereides and Demomeles in the spring 338, and in fact in one of the appended notices (848d) in the "auctaria" of the life he is mentioned but wrongly in connection with Aristonicus who proposed a crowning in 340. A similar confusion is found at 844d in the names of Demosthenes' guardians, Aphobus, Therippides, and Demophon or Demeas, the last of whom, we are told by Ps.-Plutarch, was especially prosecuted by Demosthenes ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ὄντος.

77. pp. 176–7.

78. p. 116.

was excerpted hastily from the fuller account by Demetrius Magnes, led him also to conclude that even the "auctaria", the disjointed collection of notices appended to the end of the primitive life, went back to the same compiler and to the same principal source.<sup>79</sup>

Though Prasse and Drerup disagreed fundamentally on the origin of the intrusive elements in the basic life ("primaria") inherited by Ps.-Plutarch, both authors looked to grammarians as the ultimate source of Ps.-Plutarch. The question is what type of grammarian? The difference determined for them the type of material included in Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>80</sup> Would Caecilius have admitted anecdotes of the kind which Demetrius apparently included in his treatment of Demosthenes? The question is further complicated by the fact that the lives of Ps.-Plutarch are themselves not uniform in their treatment. Whereas *Demosthenes* is rich in anecdotal material, *Lysias* is completely free of anecdote, shows a predominance of dates and facts, and admits few additions and disturbances to the primary life, even on Prasse's count; it must lead back to a source quite different from that of the life of Demosthenes. So concluded Schindel;<sup>81</sup> he rejected the *communis opinio*<sup>82</sup> that Ps.-Plutarch owed its final form to an unimportant compiler in favour of the view that at its core it was the

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79. pp. 188–89.

80. Drerup (191) is wrong when he states that Prasse's conclusions for Ps.-Plutarch in general and *Demosthenes* in particular were based on the much too narrow premise "either Didymus or Caecilius". In fact Prasse (32) rejects Didymean authorship "nam neque nomen eius usquam in vitis nominatur et fragmenta quae servantur multo magis viri grammatici quam rhetoris specimen prae se ferunt." But the implication in Drerup's remarks is right: Ceacilian authorship implies the acceptance of only certain material in the original life.

81. "Untersuchungen zur Biographie des Redners Lysias," *RhM* 110 (1967) 32–52.

82. Schaefer (above, n. 2) 37, Ballheimer (above, n. 11) 32.

work of a "kaiserzeitlichen Grammatikers", who had revised an older model very similar to the version in the essays of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>83</sup> In the case of *Lysias* Schindel identified two types of variations from the Dionysian version which clearly revealed the method of a grammarian: first, amplifications designed to add precision and secondly, orderly supplements to the Dionysian version. In the first class of additions we find exact dates not found in Dionysius,<sup>84</sup> and detailed statements about historical events only alluded to briefly in Dionysius.<sup>85</sup> In the second class we find actual supplements to Dionysius' text, all drawn from reliable literary texts.<sup>86</sup> According to Schindel, the "blasse Schemen" of *Lysias* shows that the "frühkaiserzeitlich Bearbeiter" must have written a work on *Lysias* at least, if not on the ten orators, and that he must have been acquainted with the speeches of *Lysias*, Plato's *Republic*, Ps.-Demosthenes κατὰ Νεαίρα, Timaeus' historical works and certain chronographies. This writer, suggested Schindel, could have been Caecilius.

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83. Schindel (above, n. 81) 33.

84. For the birth of *Lysias*, for the foundation of Thurii, for the year of Sicilian disaster, for the year of *Lysias*' return to Athens.

85. For instance D.H. *Lys.* 1 (452/53): ἔτη δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονώς εἰς Θουρίους ὥχeto πλέων σὺν ἀδελφοῖς δυσίν, κοινωνήσων τῆς ἀποικίας, ἣν ἔστελλον Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς δωδεκάτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου is enlarged by Ps.-Pl. (835d) το ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν εἰς Σύβαριν ἀποικίαν τὴν ὕστερον Θουρίους μετονομασθεῖσαν ἔστελλεν ἡ πόλις, ὥχeto σὺν τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Πολεμόρχῳ (ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι δύο, Εὐθύδημος καὶ Βράχυλλος), τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη τετελευτηκότος, ὥς κοινωνήσων τοῦ κλήρου, ἔτη γεγονώς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ Προξιτέλους ὄρχοντος. For further examples see Schindel 34.

86. These include the genealogical supplement τοῦ Λυσσανίου τοῦ Κεφάλου based on Plato's *Republic* (330b); the notice that Cephalus was πλούτῳ διαφέροντα from *Republic* 329e; the additional reason for Cephalus' emigration to Athens, the persuasion of Pericles, on the basis of *Lysias* XII 4; the mention of two other brothers besides Polemarchus: Euthydemus from *Republic* 328b and Brachyllus through a misunderstanding of Ps.-Demosthenes κατὰ Νεαίρα 22; and finally the continuation of the narrative beyond the point where Dionysius had ended his account with *Lysias*' return to Athens: for the arrest and flight under the Thirty *Lysias* XII 8–17 and for the return and grant of citizenship under Thrasylbulus the περὶ τῶν ἰδίων εὐεργεσιῶν and the πρὸς Ἴπποθέρσην. Cf. Schindel 34–8.

Schindel recognized a uniform arrangement for the biography of Lysias, the method of which, he believed, was generally reliable in its choice and use of sources.<sup>87</sup> Prasse had recognized this uniformity of arrangement for all the lives. But the lives of Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hypereides and Isocrates, with their abundance of anecdotal material, do not inspire the same confidence in the choice and use of sources. As we have seen, in the brief account of Demosthenes' political career (845d-846a), the compiler of the passage used the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines, chronographies and other documentary evidence, but also included anecdotes. Appended to the end of Ps.-Plutarch are decrees honouring Demosthenes, Demochares and Lycurgus, documents much like the two writs of indictment appended to the end of *Antiphon* and expressly attributed to Caecilius.<sup>88</sup> As noted, it was on the basis of these documents that Blass attributed the lives of both Antiphon and Demosthenes to Caecilius.<sup>89</sup> But unlike *Demosthenes*, *Antiphon* is as seriously arranged as *Lysias*. Hence we have two lives attributed to the same rhetorician, who in the one life admitted only serious data, but in the other both serious and frivolous material.

As noted, the compiler of Ps.-Plutarch modeled his biographies after the *bioi* of the so-called κοινή ιστορία; these were of the grammatical type. The question which

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87. Schindel (above, n. 81) 39.

88. Ps.-Pl. 833d: Ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ τετρακόσιοι κατελύθησαν, [ψήφισμα] καθ' ὃ ἔδοξεν Ἀναφῶντα κριθῆναι, ὃ Κακίλιος παρατέθειται.

89. Blass I (1887) 93 and III 1 (1877) 5. But contrast Drerup (191 n. 2) who attributes the honorary decrees relating to Demosthenes, Demochares and Lycurgus to Demetrius Magnes on the basis of the fact that the content of the decrees appears in the main body of the biographies, whereas such is not the case in *Antiphon*.

will be answered in Chapter 1 is whether the grammatical *bioi* developed by the Alexandrian scholars admitted such anecdotal material as we find in *Demosthenes*. The evidence would suggest that such material could be found in the biographies of those orators, who were treated by Hermippus. In the opening chapters of *Dinarchus* Dionysius quotes verbatim Demetrius' account of Dinarchus, which reveals none of the anecdotal material apparently found in his treatment of Demosthenes. This is the same discrepancy which we find in Ps.-Plutarch between *Lysias* and *Demosthenes*. As a matter of fact, Demetrius Magnes gave nothing which even resembles a biography of Dinarchus. Dionysius had to rely on his own research on Philochorus and the speech against Proxenus. There was no pre-existing biography of Dinarchus on which he could have drawn. Something of the same may be true of other orators like Lysias, Antiphon and Andocides, who had never been fully treated by the Alexandrian biographers. What will emerge from the discussion is that the fullness of the biographies of Demosthenes, Hypereides and Isocrates, particularly in terms of an anecdotal treatment, is due to the fact that these orators were treated by Hermippus in his *περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν*, and this work, which was characterized by its rich erudition and anecdote, was used by later scholars, when they came to compile their own biographies of these orators.

Accordingly, a reassessment of his work is in order. Hermippus is generally regarded as frivolous and fanciful with a taste for the sensational, and thus his notices are held suspect. Whilst this is partly true, it should be remembered that in ancient

times he was highly regarded; Dionysius of Halicarnassus credits him with accuracy,<sup>90</sup> whereas he criticizes the shortcomings of Callimachus.<sup>91</sup> This judgment alone should caution against modern assumptions on the character of Hermippus' work.

Leo had distinguished between two types of biography, the Peripatetic and the Alexandrian. In the Callimachean period he assumed that the biographies of literary authors by the Peripatetics had given way to a new literary form, the grammatical *bios*. For this transition Leo pointed to Callimachus, Satyrus, Hermippus and finally Heraclides Lembus. Callimachus had inherited from the Peripatetics their interest in chronology and biographical research; he then enlarged upon what he had inherited and incorporated it into his *Pinakes*.<sup>92</sup> Satyrus and Hermippus, as is suggested by the titles of their works, no longer *περὶ τοῦ δεῖναι* or *περὶ βίου τοῦ δεῖναι*<sup>93</sup> but *Βίος τοῦ δεῖναι*, showed a taste for the exposition of the *vitae* of various persons.<sup>94</sup> From the Peripatetic biography they would have preserved only the elaborate literary form.<sup>95</sup> Heraclides Lembus, with his epitomes of Satyrus, Hermippus and Sotion, would have arranged the material from their works into a definite biographical scheme, and from their works, intended for public consumption, would have created a work for scientific use.<sup>96</sup> According to Leo, then, Heraclides played the most decisive role in bringing about this transition from Peripatetic to grammatical biography. But as

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90. *Is.* 1.

91. *Din.* 1.

92. p. 118.

93. This suggested the prevalence of historical-literary and exegetical interests over genuine biographical interests in the Peripatetic works.

94. pp. 105 & 118.

95. pp. 118 & 124–25.

96. p. 135.



Steidle observed (followed by Arrighetti),<sup>97</sup> Heraclides was a figure of secondary importance who owed his fame precisely to the popular use provided by his epitomes of much larger works. This point seems confirmed by *POxy* 1367 which provides fragments of his epitome of *περὶ νομοθετῶν* of Hermippus; it is a brief summary, containing anecdotes and other notices, which hardly justifies Leo's assumption that Heraclides' work was intended for scholarly use. The fact that the *Pinakes* contained biographies of the authors that were catalogued suggests that Callimachus had already discovered a type of abbreviated, grammatical biography long before Heraclides.

Heibges, in his discussion of the biographical works of Hermippus,<sup>98</sup> places him next to Satyrus as the leading representative of Alexandrian authors of *vitae*. According to Heibges, Hermippan biography was based on the previous generation of Peripatetic biography, but differed from it "through the development of the scholarly method." Arrighetti<sup>99</sup> argues that this description suits grammatical biography but completely contradicts what Heibges says next about Hermippan biography: "It is a naive delight in collecting and compiling which we notice in these people; from the enormous wealth of the Alexandrian library was drawn out and passed on the most obscure and remote." According to Arrighetti these words describe Hermippus but not grammatical biography. Despite his objection, Heibges is close to the truth; he is right to notice a fusion of contradictory elements, the Peripatetic and the grammatical.

The discovery of Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes, entitled *περὶ*

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<sup>97</sup> Steidle, "Sueton und die antike Biographie," *Zetemata* 1 (1951) 167–8; Arrighetti, "Satiro, Vita di Euripide," *SCO* 13 (1964) 7–8.

<sup>98</sup> "Hermippos," *RE* VII 1 (1912) 847.

<sup>99</sup> Arrighetti (above, n. 97) 9.

Δημοσθένους, yields an example of the *περὶ* literature hypothesized by Leo and which Chamaeleon's literary 'biography' closely resembled. Diels and Schubart, in the introduction to their edition of the text,<sup>100</sup> gave their own explanation of the transformation of the historical-literary interest of the Peripatetics to that of the Alexandrian scholars. The Peripatetic method of research into literary history on the basis of documents and texts was brought to Alexandria by Demetrius of Phalerum. This method was adopted by Callimachus, who, however, extended the research beyond the field of drama and lyric, which was the main concern of the Peripatetics, to all genres of literature, and in particular to Attic prose. The final and extremely condensed fruit of this activity were the *Pinakes*. The whole research necessary for such a vast undertaking was distributed among Callimachus' students, and from their endeavours arose learned literature, of the type to which belong Hermippus' biographical production, in which rare notices and foolish erudition got displayed: "In the stupendous, sometimes stupid erudition of his *bioi* lies the roots of the whole historical-biographical scholarship, which from the second century partly was corrected, partly enlarged and combined, most often however simply compiled." Diels and Schubart overstated their case somewhat; they failed to note the importance of other biographers, such as Satyrus and Sotion, who were important for the biographical tradition of the tragedians and philosophers. But Hermippus did occupy a pivotal role in the development of biographical tradition of the orators. The German scholars did recognize the essential character of his work, as both serious and

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100. "Didymos Kommentar zu Demosthenes," *Berliner Klassikertexte* I (1904) xxxvi–xliii; cf. Arrighetti (above, n. 97) 10–11.

frivolous, full of both erudition and anecdote.

In the introduction to his edition of Satyrus' *bios* of Euripides, Arrighetti reexamined the whole question of whether the Peripatetics wrote biography. He also attempted to define Satyrus' position in the history of ancient biography. Leo had placed Satyrus, whom he had defined along with Hermippus as "Halbperipatetiker", among those scholars who with Callimachus had marked out the transition from Peripatetic to Alexandrian biography. The latter would have acquired its grammatical character through the epitomes of Heraclides Lembus. We have seen how untenable this hypothesis is. By examining the character of the so-called biographical productions of the Peripatetics, Aristoxenus, Dicaearchus, Heraclides Ponticus, Chamaeleon, Phaenias, Idomeneus, Duris and finally Neanthes, Arrighetti showed that a type of product of the Peripatos to which could be given the name biography never existed, particularly if we understand by biography a well-defined literary genre which researches and narrates the facts and events of a person simply because they are worth researching and narrating. Peripatetic research moved from other interests, polemic, apologetic, ethical, historical-literary, and as such was far removed from the genre of biography which as an activity was an end in itself. In the case of Chamaeleon his works on different poets are in fact only *syngrammata* of the *περὶ* genre, much like the *περὶ Δημοσθένους*, which provided interpretations on the text albeit, in the case of Chamaeleon, of a highly romantic and anecdotal character. That there were biographical elements contained in the writings of the Peripatetics

does not permit us to include their works in the genre of biography.<sup>101</sup> No longer can we speak of a transition from an older type of biography to a newer type, whereby Peripatetic biography died out to give way to grammatical biography.<sup>102</sup> Rather the actual birth of the genre of biography itself was in Alexandria, living alongside a very different type of literary production, which has been improperly called biography. Both types of works flourished and exercised reciprocal influences on one another. Thus around the middle of the third century B.C., which sees the blossoming of genuine biography, Clearchus wrote his *περὶ Βίων*, a work which "did not contain biographies but represented in models forms of lives,"<sup>103</sup> and Praxiphanes wrote a *περὶ ποιητῶν* or *περὶ ποιημάτων*.<sup>104</sup> This is the same period in which Hermippus and Satyrus also wrote.

Both Satyrus and Hermippus blend elements from Peripatetic research with the type of Alexandrian biography as it was developed by Callimachus. Arrighetti identifies four features in Satyrus' *bios* of Euripides: dialogue form, use of literary sources, arguments grouped into categories and respect for chronological order.<sup>105</sup> The dialogue form was practiced by Aristotle, and later by Peripatetics like Praxiphanes and Clearchus. The method of using literary sources found in many works *περὶ τοῦ δεῖναι* was particularly associated with Chamaeleon.<sup>106</sup> The arrangement of arguments

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101. Arrighetti (above, n. 97) 12–20; cf. Gallo, "La Vita de Euripide de Satiro e gli studi sulla biografia antica," *PP* 22 (1967) 156–7.

102. Leo 134.

103. Wehrli III 58 (frs. 37–62).

104. Wehrli IX frs. 11–17.

105. Arrighetti (above, n. 97) 21.

106. Arrighetti, "Fra erudizione," (above, n. 54) 31–49.

into categories or rubrics was seen by Leo as a peculiar feature of the type of biography developed by the Alexandrian grammarians; from them Satyrus would have derived this feature as well as a predilection for arranging his exposition chronologically.<sup>107</sup> The novelty lay in the fact that Satyrus created a new type of biography by blending elements from previously unrelated methods of research. Arrighetti sees this as nothing less than of revolutionary importance in the history of ancient biography. Hence the important position which Suetonius attributes to him next to Aristoxenus, Sotion, Antigonus of Carystus and Hermippus: "apud Graecos Hermippus Peripateticus, Antigonus Carystius, Satyrus doctus vir, et omnium longe doctissimus Aristoxenus musicus."<sup>108</sup>

Hermippus should be regarded as equally innovative in grafting on to the Callimachean type of biography elements from Peripatetic tradition. Perhaps this is reflected in the designation of Hermippus as both Peripatetic (Jerome) and Callimachean (Athenaeus). The explanation is that the student of Callimachus composed works of a kind that could easily be designated as Peripatetic, that is, concerned with literary-history and marked by a highly romantic colouring characteristic of the Peripatetic Chamaeleon.<sup>109</sup> That is to say Hermippus incorporated both the Peripatetic and the Callimachean methods of research. Hence his biographies will be both serious and frivolous, grammatical and anecdotal, just the blend we find in certain lives of Ps.-Plutarch. If Arrighetti is right in assuming that the Peripatetics

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107. Leo 27, 131 & 318; cf. Arrighetti, "Satiro," (above. n. 97) 26.

108. Jerome. *De viris illustribus Praefatio*; cf. Suetonius fr. 1 Reifersch; Wehrli Suppl. I fr. 1.

109. Arrighetti, "Fra eruditione," (above, n. 54) 35 n. 49.

did not compose biographies, we should look for the true beginning of the biographies of the orators in Alexandria, and Hermippus' work περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν will be of fundamental importance within that tradition. What we shall attempt to do is to reconstruct the form and content of his biographies of the orators, and to see just how these relate to the previous treatments of Demetrius of Phalerum and Idomeneus and just how they relate to the grammatical *bioi* of the κοινὴ ἱστορία which formed the basis of the biographies of Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch.

Below is provided an outline of Ps.-Plutarch's lives of Isocrates, Hypereides and Demosthenes, indicating the uniform scheme adopted by the author and summarizing the content under each rubric. Each biography includes the following sections in the "primaria": 1) *genos* 2) education 3) career 4) death 5) Grave/Monuments 6) Orations. There is some diversity in the scheme in part reflecting the importance attached to some biographica in the tradition. Hence the life of Isocrates has a section (3a) on the orator's students that could easily have formed part of the section on his career. As a teacher of rhetoric, Isocrates' students naturally figured prominently in his common history. As we shall see, a discussion of Demosthenes' speech impediment and the efforts taken by him to correct it was a regular feature of any biography of that orator. Accordingly Ps.-Plutarch includes a section (2a) on Demosthenes' training to correct his problem and to improve his delivery. Moreover, the biographical tradition on Demosthenes is much more extensive. As a result, the sections on his training and career each fall into two parts: early training at the time when he reached majority and prosecuted his guardians (τελειωθείς δέ), and later training after he entered political life (ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι προσῆλθεν); early career at age 37

(ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς), and later career when Alexander was campaigning in Asia (ὕστερον δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατευομένου). Between these two sections the chronology overlaps, indicating that a straightforward chronological exposition was not always what was sought in these lives but a schematic arrangement of the biographical material.

## Isocrates

- I. PRIMARIA 836e-838d
1. Genos 836ef  
son of Theodorus  
deme Erchia  
αὐλοποιός  
date of birth
  2. Education 836f-837a  
teachers  
Theramenes—anecdote
  3. Career 837ac  
logography  
philosopher  
type of writing  
school in Chios
  - 3a. Students 837c-e  
Timotheus  
Isocrateans  
Demosthenes—anecdote
  4. Death 837ef  
date  
Chaeronea  
recitation of Euripides
  - 4a. Catalogue 837f-838b
  5. Monuments 838b-c  
family grave  
Siren  
tablet.  
bronze statue  
inscription
  6. Orations 838d  
number
- II. AUCTARIA 838d-839d  
Hermippan extract 839ab

## Hypereides

- I. PRIMARIA 848d-849d
1. Genos 848d  
son of Glaucippus  
deme Collyte  
father of Glaucippus
  2. Education 848d  
Plato  
Isocrates
  3. Career 848e-849a  
περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν  
περὶ τῶν τριήρων  
τὸ ἐπὶ Τοινάρῳ ξενικὸν μὴ διαλύσαι  
logographer  
trierarch to Byzantium  
choregus  
proposed honours for Demosthenes  
prosecuted by Diondas  
prosecutor in the Harpalus affair  
tried by Aristogeiton: Chaeronea  
bon-mots  
Crannon: flight to Aegina  
pursuit by Archias
  4. Death 849b-d  
date  
place/manner of death:  
Corinth  
Macedonia  
Cleonae
  5. Grave 849d  
family burial
  6. Orations 849d  
style  
number
- II. AUCTARIA 849d-850b  
Hermippan extract 849d-e



## Demosthenes

### I. PRIMARIA 844a-847b

#### 1. Genos 844a

son of Demosthenes  
Cleobulē  
deme Paeania  
orphan

Chaeronea  
anecdote of Demosthenes' flight  
funeral oration  
commissioner of walls  
numerous crownings  
Ctesiphon case

#### 2. Education 844b-c

Isocrates/Isaeus  
Thucydides/Plato  
Callistratus-anecdote  
Isocrates/Plato  
Isaeus  
λόγοι of Zethus/Alcidamas

ii. Harpalus-affair  
exile  
aid to Polyeuctus/Arcadia  
recall from exile  
motion of Demon

#### 2a. Training 844d-845d

- i. guardianship suit  
choregus  
Meidias-affair  
speech impediments  
cave  
exercises: dagger  
mirror  
Phalerum  
Neoptolemus/actor
- ii. joined anti-Macedonians  
Eunomus-anecdote  
Andronicus-anecdote  
testimonial on delivery  
notices on dramatic delivery  
response to Lamachus' eulogy  
Philip's bon-mots

#### 4. Death 846e-847b

Lamia  
flight to Aegina/Calauria  
encounter with Archias  
in temple of Poseidon  
distich  
statue of Polyeuctus  
versions of death  
Age

#### 5. Monuments 847a-c

family  
statue  
maintenance in Prytaneum

#### 6. Orations

number

### II. AUCTARIA 847f-848d

Hermippan extract 847f

#### 3. Career 845d-846d

- i. age 37  
Ist *Olynthiac*  
capture of Olynthus  
synchronism with Xenophon  
flight of Aeschines/Ctesiphon  
trierarch to Thasos  
grain commissioner

## CHAPTER 1

### DIONYSIUS AND PS.-PLUTARCH

#### Sources: Demetrius of Magnesia or the *koinē historia*

In chapter one of his essay *On Dinarchus* Dionysius of Halicarnassus singles out three sources which he had consulted in his investigation of the life of that orator: Callimachus, the Pergamene grammarians and Demetrius of Magnesia.<sup>110</sup> The *Pinakes* of Callimachus and the Pergamene grammarians formed the basis of Dionysius' catalogue of speeches,<sup>111</sup> and it was primarily because they provided such a catalogue that they were consulted.<sup>112</sup> In his opinion, however, the pinacographers wrote nothing accurate about Dinarchus; by failing to examine his life in any depth, both Callimachus and the Pergamenes not only got many details wrong but also wrongly ascribed to Dinarchus speeches written by others and to others speeches written by Dinarchus.<sup>113</sup> Although Dionysius mainly criticizes Callimachus and the

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110. Callimachus was in his prime and a court favourite by the time of the marriage of Ptolemy II to his sister Arsinoe (278/3), an event which the poet celebrated with an epic poem. He was toward the end of his life when he composed the poem in honour of Berenice (246/5). See Pfeiffer 124–5. The Pergamenes in question were perhaps Crates and Aristarchus (Shoemaker [above, n. 13] 13 n. 8), or possibly Apollodorus of Pergamum (c. 104–22 B.C.). Demetrius flourished c. 50 B.C. He was a contemporary of Cicero and friend of Atticus; cf. *Ad Att.* IV 11. 12, VIII 11.7, XII 6, IX 9.2.

111. Shoemaker (above, n. 13) 62.

112. In chapter 10, where he catalogues the genuine public speeches, Dionysius notes that ΚΑΤὰ ΘΕΟΚΡΙΝΟΥ ἔνδειξις was entered by Callimachus ἐν τοῖς Δημοσθένους. In chapter 11, where Dionysius lists the spurious speeches, he states that ΚΑΤὰ Δημοσθένους ποικιλονόμων was assigned to Callicrates ἐν τοῖς Περγᾶμηνόις πίναξι. These two examples are clear evidence that Dionysius consulted their catalogues closely. In chapter 12 Dionysius twice suggests alternative titles for what must have been titles given by either Callimachus or the Pergamenes.

113. *Din.* 1 (297. 14): ὅμα δὲ ὁρῶν οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς οὔτε Καλλίμαχον οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ Περγᾶμου γραμματικοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ γράψαντας, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξετάσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀκριβεστέρων ἡμαρτηκότας, ὥς μὴ μόνον ἐψεῦσθαι πολλὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγους τοὺς οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτῷ προσήκοντας ὥς Δεινάρχου τοῦτῳ προστίθεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφέντας ἑτέρων εἶναι λέγειν.

Pergamene grammarians for their false ascriptions, he also censures them for failing to provide biographical details on the orator's life, which should have been found in the biographies prefaced to their catalogues; for in Dionysius' mind a clear understanding of the life and character of the orator is essential in distinguishing spurious and genuine speeches.<sup>114</sup> This is precisely how Dionysius proceeds, first by giving a brief account of the orator's life (c. 2-4), followed by an assessment of the character of his orations (5-7). These must have been the areas into which Callimachus and the others pinacographers failed to enquire in detail.

Demetrius Magnes is also found wanting in this area by Dionysius.<sup>115</sup> After quoting verbatim the entry on Dinarchus from his work *περὶ τῶν ὁμωνύμων*, Dionysius remarks that there is nothing accurate or truthful to be found in Demetrius' words. Dionysius directs his criticism against Demetrius' failure to provide the *genos*, chronology or place of the orator, that is, his biography.<sup>116</sup> What in fact Demetrius gives is simply a short evaluation of Dinarchus' ability and style as an orator.

Faced with such shortcomings in his sources, Dionysius had to gather the details of the orator's life on his own,<sup>117</sup> and so turned to Dinarchus' speech *Against*

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114. 297. 7: ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα (sc. Δεινάρχον) παρὰ πολλοῖς ἡξιωμένον ὀνόματος ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων καὶ ἀπολελοιπότεα δημοσίους τε καὶ ἰδίους λόγους οὔτε ὀλίγους οὔτ' εὐκαταφρονήτους, ἡγησάμην δεῖν μὴ παραλιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος αὐτοῦ διελεῖν καὶ διορίσαι τοὺς τε γνησίους καὶ ψευδεῖς λόγους πάντων ἢ τῶν γε πλείστων ἀναγκαιότερον οἶμαι τοῖς μὴ ἐκ περιζώματος ἀσκοῦσι ῥητορικὴν.

115. *Din.* 1 (298. 2): ἀλλὰ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, ὃς ἔδοξε γενέσθαι πολυῖστωρ, ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ὁμωνύμων πραγματείᾳ λέγων καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὑπόληψιν παρασχών, ὥς περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων τι ἀκριβές, διεψεύσθη τῆς δόξης.

116. *Din.* 2 (299. 9): ἐκ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὔτε ἀκριβές ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀληθές εὐρεῖν οὔτε γὰρ γένος τῶνδρὸς οὔτε χρόνους, καθ' οὓς ἦν, οὔτε τόπον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριψε, δεδήλωκεν κτλ.

117. *Din.* 2 (299. 14): ἃ οὖν ἐγὼ αὐτὸς δι' ἐμαυτοῦ κατελαβόμην, ταῦτ' ἔστιν.

*Proxenus* and to the history of Philochorus.<sup>118</sup> He goes out of his way to emphasize the unusual independence of his own research into the life of this orator. As his statements elsewhere make clear, he normally drew on an existing collection of biographies, or what he termed the κοινὴ ἱστορία. His criticisms of the deficiencies of his sources indicate that certain orators had never been fully treated biographically, as his remarks in the opening chapter of his essay *On Isaeus* confirm. Here again Dionysius tells us that he had to turn to the speeches of the orator, from which he determined that Isaeus had flourished after the Peloponnesian war.<sup>119</sup> In his usual source, the κοινὴ ἱστορία or common history, he found only the brief note that Isaeus was the teacher of Demosthenes, and either Athenian or Chalcidian; he could find no information on chronology, on the orator's birth and death, on the type of life he lived or on his political persuasion.<sup>120</sup> Even Hermippus, whom he regards as accurate in such matters, provided him with only two details: that Isaeus was a student of Isocrates and the teacher of Demosthenes, both of which he could find in the κοινὴ ἱστορία.<sup>121</sup> The fact that biographers like Hermippus dealt with Isaeus summarily

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118. *Din.* 3 (300. 22): οὗτος μὲν ὁ βίος τῶνδρός. ἀποδείκνυται δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστοριῶν τῶν Φιλοχόρου καὶ ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ συνέγραψε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ Προξένου κτλ.

119. *Is.* 1 (93. 5): ἤκμασε δὲ μετὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὥς ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρομαι, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου δυναστείας παρέρχεται.

120. 93. 1: Ἰσαῖος δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένους καθηγησάμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γενόμενος περιφανής, ὥς μὲν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν, Ἀθηναῖος ἦν τὸ γένος, ὥς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσι, Χαλκιδεύς... (93.7) γενέσεως δὲ καὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκριβῆ χρόνον εἰπεῖν οὐχ ἔχω οὐδὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶνδρός, οἷός τις ἦν, οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν πολιτευμάτων οὐδέν, ἀρχὴν εἰ προεἰλετό τινα ἢ πολιτείαν, οὐδ' ὅλως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾶ τοιαύτη περιτυχῶναι ἱστορίᾳ.

121. 93. 13: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράψας Ἑρμιππος, ἀκριβῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἶρηκεν ἔξω δεῦν τούτων, οὐ δὴκούσε μὲν Ἰσοκράτους καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους. By the words ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Dionysius must mean that

obviously meant that there was little in the biographical tradition on which Dionysius could draw. Other orators, like Dinarchus, were completely ignored. Dionysius indeed emphasizes that he was the first to compose a *bios* of Dinarchus. What this indicates is that the richness of the biographical tradition depended on how extensively the orators had been treated previously by Hermippus and other Hellenistic biographers.

This point is important, because other grammarians laboured under the same disadvantage. Demetrius of Magnesia was a case in point. His article on Dinarchus preserved by Dionysius indicates that in certain cases he did not always provide biographies, obviously because there were none that he could use. The same is true of Isaeus. Since Dionysius could not find a full biography of that orator, it is unlikely that one could be found by Demetrius, especially since Dionysius was familiar with his work and at least on one other occasion, while researching the life of Dinarchus, had consulted him. Instead, he drew on his usual source, the κοινὴ ἱστορία, which provided him with a few bare details on the scholastic affiliation and origin of the orator. It was from this source and not from Demetrius, though we know from Harpocration that Demetrius considered Isaeus Chalcidian and not Athenian, that Dionysius also derived this information about the orator.<sup>122</sup> He would otherwise have

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in the other biographies on the Isocrateans Hermippus was accurate in precisely the areas about which he could find nothing on Isaeus, his γένος, χρόνος, βίος.

122. Harpocr. Ἰσαῖος εἷς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων οὗτος, μαθητὴς δ' ἦν Ἰσοκράτους <Ἀθηναῖος τὸ γένος>† καθά φησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν. Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν Χαλκιδέα φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

Cf. Suda Ἰσαῖος εἷς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ῥητόρων, μαθητὴς δ' Ἰσοκράτους, διδάσκαλος δὲ Δημοσθένους, Ἀθηναῖος τὸ γένος Δημήτριος δὲ Χαλκιδέα φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

† After Liebmann (*de Isaei vita*. Halle [1831] 2), who first made the addition to Harpocration, it

specified Demetrius as his source, as he does Hermippus later in the chapter. Even if Demetrius was the immediate source of the common history on which Dionysius was drawing for the life of Isaeus, he contributed little to it and was in fact largely dependent on earlier biographers. As the article in Harpocration indicates, Hermippus was the source of every other detail of Isaeus' life that Dionysius found in the κοινὴ ἱστορία. This confirms the suspicions of scholars that only in exceptional cases did Demetrius give full biographies, and even then he is cited only for variations on the existing tradition; in no case does he ever create the tradition.<sup>123</sup>

The fact that in these two cases alone Demetrius did not include biographies of orators calls into serious question the hypothesis of Drerup. He argued<sup>124</sup> that Demetrius was the source of the life of Demosthenes in Ps.-Plutarch and, by default, of the collection as a whole. But such a premise is faulty from the very start, given that Demetrius never wrote a biography of Dinarchus or of Isaeus. Further the similarities generally recognized between Dionysius' biography of Dinarchus and that of Ps.-Plutarch indicate that the latter, either directly<sup>125</sup> or indirectly through the redaction of Caecilius,<sup>126</sup> goes back to the former. Again, the unquestionable

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is generally accepted that Hermippus was the source of the notice on Isaeus' Athenian origin; cf. Blass II (1874) 454. What this means is that, except for the Chalcidian origin, Hermippus was responsible for every notice in the κοινὴ ἱστορία (τινες ἱστοροῦσιν) on which Dionysius drew. That some of the notices in the *koinē historia*, on which Dionysius models his lives of the orators, were derived ultimately from the Hellenistic biographers is confirmed by the fact that Dionysius twice includes the notice that Isaeus was the teacher of Demosthenes, once at the beginning of chapter 1, from the same κοινὴ ἱστορία which provided him with the details of the orator's origin, and secondly at the end of the chapter from Hermippus.

123. Drerup 113; Leo 43; Schwartz, "Demetrios," IV 2 *RE* (1901) 2816.

124. pp. 167–93

125. Seeliger (above, n. 14) 5–11; Shoemaker (above, n. 13) 49; Thalheim, "Deinarchos," *RE* IV 2 (1901) 2387; Blass III 2 (1880) 261–62; II (1874) 9 n. 4.

similarities between the few details on the life of Isaeus that Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch give confirm that Dionysius was the principal source, whether directly or indirectly. These two examples alone refute Drerup's hypothesis. Since all the lives of Ps.-Plutarch follow a consistent scheme in the primitive core that suggests a single hand, a source other than Demetrius must be postulated, one dependent on Dionysius, and ultimately on his source, the κοινὴ ἱστορία.

### The *Koinē Historia*

Dionysius' recourse to Demetrius of Magnesia and the *Pinakes* of Callimachus and the Pergamene scholars was the exception. Likewise, when he was preparing the life of Isaeus, he turned to Hermippus only after he had found that his usual source was incomplete. Normally he modeled his biographical introductions after the κοινοὶ ἱστοριοί. In the first letter to Ammaeus Dionysius sets out to refute the contention of a contemporary Peripatetic that Demosthenes had learned his art from the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle. First, he had to establish the priority of Demosthenes' most celebrated speeches, and since chronology was essential to his argument, he gave a brief sketch of the lives of the two men. In drawing up these brief biographies, Dionysius states that he gathered his material ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν, ὡς κατέλιπον ἡμῖν οἱ τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνταξάμενοι.<sup>127</sup> He concludes the biography of Aristotle by reiterating the point: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἃ παραδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς

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126 Radermacher (above, n. 24) 161–69 and Prasse 30.

127. *Ad Amm.* I 3 (260. 2).

ἀναγράφοντες.<sup>128</sup> From Dionysius' words it is clear that his source was a collection or handbook of biographies, put together by compilers of *bioi*. His words could imply either that there were a number of such collections or that the individual biographies within a standard handbook, known as the κοινὴ ἱστορία, were termed common histories. The latter sense seems confirmed by his description of his source for the life of Isaeus. At one point in his biographical introduction Dionysius complains that he could find little or no details about Isaeus' life in the ἱστορία.<sup>129</sup> It was from this same source that Dionysius also derived his brief biography of Isocrates: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἱστορούμενα περὶ αὐτοῦ κεφαλαιωδῶς ταῦτ' ἐστίν.<sup>130</sup> It would seem, then, that Dionysius largely relied on a standard collection of biographies commonly designated as the κοινὴ ἱστορία or simply ἱστορία.

The similarities between the Dionysian and Ps.-Plutarchean lives of Lysias, Isaeus and Isocrates indicate that for the notices in common Ps.-Plutarch goes back directly or indirectly through Dionysius to the κοινὴ ἱστορία. As for the lives for which a comparison is impossible (Antiphon, Andocides, Aeschines, Demosthenes, Hypereides, Lycurgus), there is no way of being certain whether the author of Ps.-Plutarch drew on the κοινὴ ἱστορία. But the fact that Dionysius turned immediately to this anonymous collection, in drawing up the biographies of Demosthenes and Aristotle for Ammaeus, indicates that this was the preferred source

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128. *Ad Amm.* I 6 (263. 11).

129. *Is.* 1 (93. 7): γενέσεως δὲ καὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκριβῆ χρόνον εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ βίου τάνδρος, οἷός τις ἦν, οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν πολιτευμάτων οὐδέν, ἀρχὴν εἰ προείλετό τινα ἢ πολιτεῖαν, οὐδ' ὅλως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾶ τοιαύτῃ περιτυχᾶναι ἱστορία.

130. *Isoc.* 1 (56. 11).



among scholars and compilers alike. Certainly the author of Ps.-Plutarch could not have used Dionysius for the lives of Antiphon, Andocides or Lycurgus, for Dionysius never wrote on these orators. He must have turned to another source, which could well have been the κοινὴ ἱστορία. This last point seems confirmed by Photius who designates as his only source for the life of Lycurgus the ἱστορία.<sup>131</sup> It has long been recognized that the biographical sketches given by Photius of the ten orators are simply a revision or adaptation of Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>132</sup> What this indicates is that Photius considered the Ps.-Plutarchean collection very much along the lines of the common history used by Dionysius.

Busse in an article published in 1894 had long ago recognized the importance of the κοινὴ ἱστορία as a source of Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>133</sup> He speculated that originally the biographical sketches included little more than the γένος and "Zeitbestimmung" of the author in question, but were gradually enlarged under the influence of biographical and chronological writings. The κοινὰ ἱστορία used by Dionysius contained in concise terms the most important notices about the "Geburt, Bildungsgang, Wirksamkeit und Tod", details supplied from the work of Apollodorus who in turn owed his knowledge to the πίνακες. He further speculated that Caecilius, who was

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131. Phot. cod. 268 496b 38: Λυκούργου δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα γε τελεῖν εἰς ῥήτορας καὶ δημαγωγούς, τὸ ἐλάχιστον φερομένου οὕτω παρέσχεον ἡμῖν ὁ χρόνος λόγους ἀναγινῶναι, φέρεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἱστορίας ἡ μεμαθήκαμεν υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Λυκόφρωνος τοῦ Λυκούργου, ὃν ἡ τῶν λ' τυραννίδος ἀνεῖλε, τὸν δὴμον Ἐτεοβουτάδης ἠκροάσατο δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, ὥς ἡ ἱστορία λέγει, Πλάτωνος τοῦ Φιλοσόφου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος Ἰσοκράτους.

132. Zucker (above, n. 12) 289–312; Prasse 14–25; Blass II (1874) 9, 454 n. 2; III, 1 (1877) 5; III,2 (1880) 1 n. 1, 73 n. 2. Ballheimer (above, n. 11), however, argues that Photius did not use Ps.-Plutarch but rather the archetype of the latter. His conclusion in no way detracts from but instead enhances the argument that the source of Ps.-Plutarch was the κοινὴ ἱστορία.

133. Busse, "Zur Quellenkunde von Platons Leben," *RhM* 49 (1894) 72–90, especially 81–4.

influenced by the writings of his friend Dionysius, later supplemented the κοινὴ ἱστορίᾳ by notices from Hermippus. When a canon of the ten orators was finally recognized, the γένη, which were prefaced to the edition of the orators, were partly enlarged from excerpts from Caecilius and partly created afresh. In this form the biographical sketches were combined into a collection which has come down to us as Ps.-Plutarch. These same biographies were also transmitted separately in the editions of their speeches and augmented with further additions. This last stage is what is found in Photius, who had read them not in a new collection, as Ballheimer (18) believed, but individually as prefaces to the edition consulted by him.<sup>134</sup>

Busse never actually proved his hypothesis, and indeed there are certain difficulties in his reconstruction. First, it is best to regard Ps.-Plutarch as Photius' direct source, from whom the latter simply transcribed the biographies now found in the *Bibliotheca*. Secondly, the enlargements of which he speaks are in fact of two types. As noted in the introduction, the biographies of Ps.-Plutarch fall into two parts, the "primaria" and the "auctaria"; the former, which in each life has the same scheme and rubrics throughout, was the product of a grammarian, probably Caecilius; the latter was simply a medley of additions, made over the centuries, and in many cases taken from biographers like Hermippus. A comparison of the lives in common with

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134. Leo (31–33) in main follows Busse. He believes that Dionysius used the κοινὰ ἱστορία which proved sufficient for Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes. After the manner of Dionysius Caecilius took as his basis the κοινὰ ἱστορία, but enlarged the material and took the investigation further, as a comparison of Dionysius, Ps.-Plutarch and Photius reveals. The βίοι prefaced to the edition of the orators were enlarged once more from Caecilius and brought up to the size in which they appear in Photius. From the same κοινὴ ἱστορία an unknown person had long before put together the Ps.-Plutarchean collection.

Dionysius shows that the "primaria" were modeled after the same κοινὴ ἱστορία, but, where we find substantial additions, as in the life of Isocrates, the author of the Ps.-Plutarch took them from two places: from Hermippus, as Busse maintained, and from the same common history. The κοινὴ ἱστορία was never as concise as Busse imagined. Dionysius indicates that his life of Isocrates was only a brief summation of what could be found in the κοινὴ ἱστορία: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἱστορούμενα περὶ αὐτοῦ κεφαλαιωδῶς ταῦτ' ἐστὶ. This means that the biographies in this collection were much more extensive than those given by Dionysius. If in fact Ps.-Plutarch drew on the same anonymous collection, as seems to be the case, then many of the additions to Dionysius found in the "primaria" of Ps.-Plutarch possibly were derived from that source. But Busse was right to see the κοινὰ ἱστορία as compilations of biographical and chronographical works. Indeed, the two essential elements of these biographies, as they were identified by Dionysius, were χρόνος and βίος. The former was derived largely from Apollodorus of Athens; the latter from Hermippus, who in large measure established the common history of certain orators.<sup>135</sup>

### The Nature and Content of the Common Histories

The κοινὴ ἱστορία was a collection of anonymous biographical sketches which were compiled sometime after Apollodorus of Athens had composed his *Chronika*, a

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135. See n. 122, where it was noted that much of the common history of Isaeus was derived from the biographer.

work that formed the basis of any chronology included in these lives.<sup>136</sup> They were probably modeled after the *bioi* that were prefaced to various commentaries. Typically, they began with the *genos* of an author, from which they received the designation γένη.<sup>137</sup> Leo actually treats the κοινὴ ἱστορία in his chapter (3) on the γένη. Thus they would have shown all the characteristic features of the grammatical biographies of this type. The fact that Dionysius would resort to the *Pinakes* of Callimachus and the Pergamenes, when his usual source failed him, suggests that similar details were to be found there, as in the biographies of the *koinē historia*.

Dionysius actually identifies the type of details which could be found in these biographical sketches. In chapter 1 of *Isaeus*, as we have seen, the rhetorician complains that he could find no information in the ἱστορία on the date of the orator's birth and death, on the type of life he led, and on his political persuasion.<sup>138</sup> The elements which Dionysius expected to find in the κοινὴ ἱστορία and which, indeed, he incorporated into his other biographies, are, then, the γένος, χρόνος and βίος. These are the very elements which Demetrius Magnes failed to include and for which he was sharply criticized by Dionysius.<sup>139</sup> The life of Dinarchus which the latter compiled from his own research included all these essential elements and no doubt was modeled after the *vitae* of the common history.<sup>140</sup>

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136. The work was first dedicated to Attalus II in 144/3 B.C. But there is evidence that Apollodorus added a fourth book reaching down to 120/19 or 110/09. See Pfeiffer 253–55.

137. Busse (above, n. 133) 81.

138. See above n. 129 for text.

139. *Din.* 2 (299. 9): ἐκ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὔτε ἀκριβὲς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀληθὲς εὐρεῖν οὔτε γὰρ γένος τᾶνδρος οὔτε χρόνους, καθ' οὓς ἦν, οὔτε τόπον, ἐν ᾧ διέτριψε, δεδήλωκεν.

140. Dionysius arranged the life under the following rubrics: 1) γένος 2) migration to Athens καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἦν θοὺν αἶ τε τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρων διατριβαί. 3) education 4) early career

Dionysius' remarks imply that in any biography of the common history could be found the same basic details about an orator's life, whether it involved chronology or *bios*. This much is confirmed by a statement in *Demosthenes* 53. There he notes that the orator had worked hard on his voice and delivery, though he was ill-suited to such exertion by nature.<sup>141</sup> He attributes this to the testimony of Demetrius of Phalerum, but adds that all other compilers of his *bios* included such an account: οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες. Dionysius drew this conclusion from his own perusal of the common history that he used when he compiled the brief biographies of Demosthenes and Aristotle included in his letter to Ammaeus. Indeed, the language with which he describes his source there comes close to what we find here in *Demosthenes*: ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν, ὅς κατέλιπον ἡμῖν οἱ τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνταξόμενοι.<sup>142</sup> What this means is that any biography based on the κοινή ἱστορία included a section on Demosthenes' exercises to overcome his speech impediment, that is to say, it had become a regular feature of the biographical tradition. The very fact that every extant biography includes such a description to that effect confirms Dionysius' testimony that this had become a part of the common history of the orator's life. This would also apply to other details, such as date of birth, the education of the orator, date and manner of death. Where we find a

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ἀκμαζόντων ἔτι τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένην 5) *akme* μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν 6) later career ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ... ἕως Κόσσωνδρος τὴν πόλιν κατέσχευεν 7) migration to Chalcis in the archonship of Anaxicrates 8) return to Athens in the archonship of Philippus 9) prosecution of Proxenus.

141. *Dem.* 53 (244. 17): καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, ὡς κράτιστα ἔξειν ἔμελλεν, οὐ μικρῷ πόνῳ κατειργάσατο, καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖ χρησάμενος, ὡς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες.

142. *Ad Amm.* I 3.

consistent body of information on a particular orator in a number of sources and biographies, this, we must conclude, constituted the common history of that orator.

### Chronology

Of the two main elements of the biographies of the common history, χρόνος and βίος, Dionysius considered chronology by far the most important. The whole reason for including a biography in his essay on Dinarchus was to establish a relatively secure chronology of the orator's life as a criterion by which to distinguish the genuine from the spurious speeches.<sup>143</sup> Much the same reason stands behind the inclusion of biographies of Demosthenes and Aristotle in the letter to Ammaeus; the chronologies, which Dionysius took from the κοινὴ ἱστορία, proved the priority of the orator, who had already reached his *akme* and published his most celebrated speeches before Aristotle wrote the *Rhetoric*.<sup>144</sup>

This emphasis on chronology can best be seen in the biography of Demosthenes found in *Ad Ammaeum* I 4. It is incomplete, except for the few crucial dates marking the course of his life: the year of birth in Ol. 99. 4 (381/0);<sup>145</sup> the year

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143. *Din.* 4 (302. 22): προειρημένων δὴ τούτων ἐν ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον, τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ διορίσαι, ἵνα καὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν τε γνησίων αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ σαφές τι ἔχωμεν λέγειν. cf. 5 (304. 1): ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος τῶνδ' ὡς οἶόν τε ἀκριβέστατα εὔρηται, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τῶν λόγων τοὺς τε γνησίους καὶ μὴ διακρινοῦμεν.

144. *Ad Amm.* I 3 (259. 19): ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι τοῦτο πειράσομαι φανερόν ποιῆσαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένους ἀκμάζοντος ἤδη κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους εἰρηκότος ἀγῶνας τοὺς τε δικανικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δημηγορικοὺς καὶ θαυμαζομένου διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων τότε ὁ φιλόσοφος τὰς ῥητορικὰς ἔγραψε τέχνας. ἀνάγκη δ' ἴσως πρῶτον, ὡς παρέλαβον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν, ὧς κατέλιπον ἡμῖν οἱ τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνταξάμενοι, προειπεῖν.

145. On the obvious error of this date see Sealey, "Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Some Demosthenic Dates," *REG* 68 (1955) 77–120.

in which he prosecuted the guardians (364/3: the archonship of Timocrates); the year in which Demosthenes began writing public speeches at the age of 25 (355/4: the archonship of Callistratus); the year in which he delivered his first political speech, *On the Symmories* (354/3: the archonship of Diotimus). All these details come at the beginning of the chapter and almost certainly were derived from the κοινὴ ἱστορία, since they mark the stages in the orator's career. That is, they are the type of details one would expect to find in a biography of an orator.<sup>146</sup> The rest of the chapter mainly comprises a list of speeches and the year in which each oration was delivered; the pinacographical material was supplied from the πίνακες, which Dionysius at one point quotes for the title *On the Symmories*.<sup>147</sup> He also provides the *incipit* of each of the three Olynthian speeches, a common feature of pinacographical entries.<sup>148</sup> Some of the speeches listed by Dionysius are also accompanied by a brief description of the type of case,<sup>149</sup> a practice followed extensively in the catalogue of speeches found in *Dinarchus* and based on the *Pinakes* of Callimachus and the Pergamene scholars.<sup>150</sup> As in the notices taken from the κοινὴ ἱστορία, even the purely pinacographical entries are supplied with an archon date, but these dates must have been supplied by Dionysius himself, for there is little evidence to suggest that

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146. Two other dates which Dionysius may also have found in the κοινὴ ἱστορία include the year in which Demosthenes delivered the *Philippics* (352/1: the archonship of Aristodemus), and the year in which he delivered the Olynthian speeches (Ps.-Pl. 845e) and the speech against Meidias (844d) (349/8: the archonship of Callimachus).

147. 260. 16: ἐπὶ δὲ Διοτίμου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πρώτην εἶπε δημηγορίαν, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν.

148. Pfeiffer 129.

149. 260. 23: ἐπὶ δὲ Θουδήμου τοῦ μετὰ Διοτίμον ἄρξαντος τὸν τε κατὰ Τιμοκράτους λόγον ἔγραψε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνοντι παρὰ νόμων τὸν Τιμοκράτη

150. Shoemaker (above, n. 13) 62–63.

Callimachus dated the speeches which he catalogued.<sup>151</sup> Dionysius probably relied on a chronographical work of some kind for these dates. However, the similarity of details which Dionysius could find in the κοινὴ ἱστορία on the one hand, and the πίνακες and chronographical works on the other hand, suggest the possible genesis of the biographical sketches of the κοινὴ ἱστορία. These biographies derived many of their details, particularly of a grammatical and chronographical nature, from the erudite works of Callimachus and his successors.

This suspicion is confirmed by an examination of the βίος of Aristotle, found in chapter 5 of the same letter.<sup>152</sup> Dionysius begins with the γένος of the philosopher, whose birth falls in Ol. 99 in the archonship of Diotrephe, and concludes with his

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151. Besides his general *Pinakes* on all Greek literature (Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψόντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν), Callimachus wrote two specialized *pinakes* one of which catalogued the dramatic productions according to chronology: Πίναξ καὶ ἀναγραφή τῶν κατὰ χρόνους καὶ ἀπ' ὀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων. But there is no evidence whatsoever that Callimachus included chronology for other types of works such as the orations, catalogued in the general *Pinakes*. Only fr. 432 Pf. (*Ad Amm.* I 4) preserves a date. For the text see above, n. 147. It is clear from this fragment that the *Pinakes* were divided into categories, one of which was ῥητορικά (cf. fr 430: *Athen.* XV 669de, fr. 431: *schol. Aristoph. Av.* 692 and Pfeiffer 128). But Dionysius' words only suggest that the title came from Callimachus. The date was his own addition, gathered either from the κοινὴ ἱστορία or from a chronographical work. The only other evidence is the catalogue of speeches which Dionysius includes in *Dinarchus*. In chapter 9 he informs his reader of the method he will follow. For the genuine speeches he will only include what is in the register: τοῖς μὲν οὖν γνησίοις αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς προσέσται μόνον. In his own list he gives only the title, the type of case and the *incipit*, presumably corresponding to what was actually found in the *Pinakes* of Callimachus and the Pergamene grammarians. There are no dates. For the spurious speeches, however, Dionysius will state his reasons for rejecting them. Since this requires a knowledge of chronology, he will begin with a list of archons from the date of Dinarchus' birth to the date of his return from exile: τοῖς δὲ ψευδέσι τὰ τοῦ τ' ἐλέγχου καὶ τῆς αἰτίας διηκριβωμένα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον ἀθετοῦμεν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ τῶν χρόνων διάγνωσις, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἄρξαντας, ἀφ' οὗ Δείναρχον ὑπεθέμεθα γεγονέναι χρόνου, μέχρι τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν καθόδου. Presumably such a list was required, since the speeches were not dated by the pinacographers.

152. For an analysis and comparison of this biography and the chronology of Apollodorus, see Chroust, *Aristotle: New light on his life and on some of his lost works*. Vol. 1 (Notre Dame 1973) 16–24.



death in the 13th year after the death of Alexander in the archonship of Cephisodorus, at the age of 63. What comes in between is a brief schematic chronology of his life, each stage marked by the archon-year and a calculation of years.<sup>153</sup> Dionysius states explicitly that these were facts ἃ παραδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς (sc. Ἀριστοτέλους) ἀναγράψαντες. That is to say, they were derived from the κοινὰ ἱστορία. A comparison of Diogenes Laertius (V 10-11) reveals that these chronological notices which Dionysius found in the κοινὴ ἱστορία were derived from the Χρονικά of Apollodorus.<sup>154</sup> The two biographies are nearly identical in content and manner of presentation. Both place the birth in the first year of the 99th Olympiad (384/3), have Aristotle spend 20 years under Plato, have him depart at the time of his

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153. *Ad Amm.* I 5 (262. 8): Ἀριστοτέλης πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Νικομάχου τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀναφέροντος εἰς Μαχάονα τὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, μητὴρ δὲ Φαιστίδος ἀπογόνου τινὸς τῶν ἐκ Χαλκίδος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀγαγόντων εἰς Στάγειρα· ἐγεννήθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνενηκοστήν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα Διοτρεφοῦς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας τρισὶν ἔτεσι Δημοσθένους πρεσβύτερος. ἐπὶ δὲ Πολυζήλου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦλθεν, καὶ συσταθεὶς Πλάτῳ χρόνον εἰκοσαετὴ διέτριψε σὺν αὐτῷ. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος ἀπῆρε πρὸς Ἑρμίαν τὸν Ἀταρνέως τύραννον καὶ τριετὴ χρόνον παρ' αὐτῷ διατρίψας ἐπ' Εὐβούλου ἄρχοντος εἰς Μυτιλήνην ἐχωρίσθη· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὤχετο κατὰ Πυθόδοτον ἄρχοντα, καὶ διέτριψε χρόνον ὀκταετὴ παρ' αὐτῷ καθηγούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἐπ' Εὐαίνετου ἄρχοντος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Λυκείῳ χρόνον ἐτῶν δώδεκα. τῷ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἄρχοντος ἀπῆρας εἰς Χαλκίδα νόσω τελευτᾷ, τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη.

154. D.L. V 10-11: φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς γεννηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, παρὰ βαλεῖν δὲ Πλάτῳ καὶ διατρίψαι παρ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, ἑπτακαιδεκτὴν συστάντα· καὶ εἰς τε Μυτιλήνην ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Εὐβούλου τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Πλάτωνος δὲ τελευτήσαντος τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου, πρὸς Ἑρμίαν ἀπῆραι καὶ μεῖναι ἔτη τρία· ἐπὶ Πυθοδότῳ δ' ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, Ἀλεξάνδρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη ἥδη γεγονότος. εἰς δ' Ἀθήνας ἀφικέσθαι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνδεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ σχολάσαι ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, εἴτ' ἀπῆραι εἰς Χαλκίδα τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ τελευτῆσαι ἐτῶν τριῶν πλεονάζοντα νόσω, ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένην καταστρέψαι ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους. See Busse (above, n. 133) 82; Leo 19; Düring 254.

master's death for the court of Hermias (348/7) where he would stay for three years, then migrate to Mytilene in the archonship of Eubulus (345/4), next to the court of Philip in the archonship of Pythodotus (343/2) and finally return to Athens in the year 335/4.<sup>155</sup> Finally, both have Aristotle retire to Chalcis where he dies of illness at the age of 63.<sup>156</sup> The fact that Diogenes' excerpt from Apollodorus includes Olympiads, a method of dating which Apollodorus abandoned in favour of archon-years,<sup>157</sup> indicates that Diogenes had not used the chronographer directly but some intermediate text which had added the Olympiads to the Apollodoran synchronisms,<sup>158</sup> and which closely resembled the κοινὴ ἱστορία used by Dionysius.<sup>159</sup> The synchronisms noted by Dionysius correspond completely to the method of Apollodorus.<sup>160</sup> Except for the birth of Aristotle, Dionysius includes only archon-dates, from which Jacoby has concluded that Dionysius had used the *Chronika* directly. But as he himself must

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155. Dionysius places the return in the archonship of Euaenetus, Diogenes in Ol. 111. 2; but the former has the headship of the Lyceum last 12 years, whereas the latter 13.

156. Dionysius places the departure in the archonship of Cephisodorus (323/2), Diogenes the death in the archonship of Philocles (322/1).

157. For Apollodorus' method see Jacoby 39–59 and Pfeiffer 255–7.

158. Mejer, "Diogenes Laertius and his Hellenistic Background," *Hermes Einzelschriften* 40 (1978) 34; Jacoby 318.

159. But as Jacoby (318) points out each author has committed errors peculiar to himself, a fact which would speak against a common intermediate source. Diogenes sets the departure to Chalcis in Ol. 114. 3 (322/1), whereas it belongs to Ol. 114. 2, and accordingly calculates the tenure at the Lyceum to 13 years. Dionysius, on the other hand, places the departure in the archonship of Cephisodorus (323/2) and the death in that year (Ol. 114. 2), which does not yield 63 years, since that would entail inclusive reckoning from Ol. 99. 1 to Ol. 114. 3. On Jacoby's argument the departure came in Ol. 114. 2 (Cephisodorus) and the death in 114. 3 (Philocles). The age at which Aristotle began to study under Plato varies between 17 and 18 in Diogenes and Dionysius respectively, as does the tenure at the Lyceum between 13 and 12. The differences, according to Jacoby (319–20), are due to the fact that Apollodorus had mentioned only the archon without adding the number of years. See Chroust (above, n. 152) 20 & 282 n. 16.

160. Jacoby 318.

concede,<sup>161</sup> this conclusion contradicts the explicit testimony of Dionysius as to the origin of the content of his biography of Aristotle.<sup>162</sup> Dionysius drew his details from an anonymous collection of βίοι which made up the κοινὴ ἱστορία.<sup>163</sup>

The basis for the chronology of the common history of Demosthenes was again Apollodorus' *Chronika*. It has been noted<sup>164</sup> that the synchronisms found in the biography of Aristotle, between the age of the orator and the philosopher in Dionysius' version and between their deaths in Diogenes' version, are Apollodoran in origin.<sup>165</sup> According to the Apollodoran chronology, which forms the basis of the *bioi* of Aristotle preserved in Dionysius and Diogenes, Demosthenes died at the age of 60.<sup>166</sup> Gellius gives the same calculation in a brief comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, where he also notes that Demosthenes delivered his first orations, *Against Androtion* and *Against Timocrates*, at age 27.<sup>167</sup> Essentially the same chronology

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161. Jacoby, Apollodors," 316 n. 2.

162. *Ad Amm.* I 6 (263. 11): ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἃ παρὰδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναγράψαντες. Compare what Dionysius says as way of preface to this biography (I 4 [262. 2]: μέχρι τοῦδ' εὕρισκομένων δώδεκα λόγων, ὧν εἴρηκα, δημοσίων ... ὅπαντες <ἐγένοντο> πρότεροι τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν, ὡς ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδείξω...) and to the biography of Demosthenes (I 3 [260. 1]: ἀνάγκη δ' ἴσως πρῶτον, ὡς παρέλαβον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστορίων, ὧς κατέλιπον ἡμῖν οἱ τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνταξάμενοι, προειπεῖν.).

163. Diels, "Chronologische Untersuchungen über Apollodoros Chronika," *RhM* 31 (1871) 46, suggests Demetrius Magnes as Dionysius' source for the Apollodoran dates, but Busse, (above, n. 133) 83 n. 2, rightly points out that Dionysius, as he seems to suggest in *Dinarchus*, only resorted to Demetrius when his customary sources dried up. Cf. Düring 255.

164. Jacoby 328; Diels (above, n. 163) 45; Düring 254; but contrast Chroust (above, n. 152) 19.

165. D.H. *Ad Amm.* I 5 (262. 11): ἐγεννήθη δὲ (Ἀριστοτέλης) κατὰ τὴν ἐνενηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα Διοτρεφοῦς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος τρισὶν ἔτεσι Δημοσθένους πρεσβύτερος.

D.L. V 10: τελευτῆσαι (Ἀριστοτέλη) ἐτῶν τριῶν που καὶ ἐξήκοντα νόσω, ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένην καταστρέψαι ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους.

166. Reckoned from Ol. 99. 4 (381/0), since Demosthenes is three years younger than Aristotle (Ol. 99. 1), to Ol. 114. 3 (322/1); cf. Jacoby 328–29.

167. *NA* XV 28. 6: Illud adeo ab utriusque oratoris studiosis animadversum et scriptum est, quod Demosthenes et Cicero pari aetate inlustrissimas primas orationes in causis dixerunt, alter Κατὰ

forms the basis of the brief biography of Demosthenes gathered by Dionysius ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν.<sup>168</sup> According to Dionysius, Demosthenes was born in the year before the 100th Olympiad (381/0),<sup>169</sup> entered majority in the archonship of Timocrates (364/3),<sup>170</sup> began writing public speeches in the archonship of Callistratus (Ol. 106 .2; 355/4),<sup>171</sup> composed the speech *Against Androtion* in that same year<sup>172</sup> and finally wrote the speech *Against Timocrates* in the archonship of Thudemus (Ol. 106. 4; 353/2).<sup>173</sup> In essence this is the chronology followed by Gellius,<sup>174</sup> who used a source dependent on Apollodorus for its dates.<sup>175</sup> The same chronographer stands behind the chronology which Dionysius gathered from the *koinē historia*.

A point of note here is that Gellius' dates were derived from a writer of a σύγκρισις of Demosthenes and Cicero. Obviously he could have used the parallel lives of Plutarch, and in fact Plutarch follows the same chronology which reckoned

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Ἀνδροτίωνος et Κατὰ Τιμοκράτους septem et viginti annos natus, alter anno minor *Pro P. Quinctio* septimoque et vicesimo *Pro Sex. Roscio*. vixerunt quoque non nimis numerum annorum diversum; alter tres et sexaginta annos, Demosthenes sexaginta.

168. Jacoby 329–30.

169. 260. 6: ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος (Ol. 99. 4).

170. 260. 7: ἄρχοντος δὲ Τιμοκράτους εἰς ἔτος ἦν ἐμβεβηκῶς ἑπτακοιδέκοτον \* \* \*.

171. 260. 8: δημοσίους δὲ λόγους ἤρξατο γράφειν ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων. According to Dionysius, however, he began at the age of 25, which is obviously a miscalculation on his part, since Ol. 99. 4 to Ol. 106. 2 does not yield 25. As Jacoby notes (330 n. 5) ἔβδομον is the right number, but Dionysius seems to have made the miscalculation himself, since 25 appears later in chapter 7 (266. 4): εἴ γε ὁ μὲν εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων ἤρξατο πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν καὶ λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφειν.

172. 260. 10: καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κατασκευασθέντων ἁγώνων ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος, ὃν ἔγραψε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνοντι τὸ ψήφισμα παρὰ νόμων.

173. 260. 24: ἐπὶ δὲ Θουδήμου τοῦ μετὰ Διότιμον ἄρχαντος τὸν τε κατὰ Τιμοκράτους λόγον ἔγραψε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνοντι παρὰ νόμων τὸν Τιμοκράτη.

174. Obviously Dionysius is more precise than Gellius. The speech *Against Androtion* was written at age 26, *Against Timocrates* at age 28; but it is only a small imprecision to generalize and to consider both speeches written at age 27. Cf. Plutarch (*Dem.* 15. 3), who dates the two speeches to age 27 or 28.

175. For Gellius' use of the γέννη of the κοινῇ ἱστορίᾳ see Leo 20–21.

Demosthenes' debut as a logographer at age 27.<sup>176</sup> Like Dionysius, he seems to date the speech *περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν* to the same year as that against Androtion, and notes that it was delivered by Demosthenes himself.<sup>177</sup> But another writer of a *σύγκρισις* of Demosthenes and Cicero, whom Gellius may have used and with whom Plutarch was certainly familiar, was Caecilius.<sup>178</sup> As noted in the introduction, he is generally regarded as the source of the primary lives of Ps.-Plutarch. The close similarities between the lives common to Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch indicate that Caecilius drew on the same common history as his contemporary. Thus we should expect Apollodoran synchronisms to appear in Ps.-Plutarch, and indeed they do. At 844cd it is recorded that Demosthenes reached his majority at the time of the trial of the tutors in the archonship of Timocrates, the same date given by Dionysius *ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν*.<sup>179</sup> Other dates appear throughout Ps.-Plutarch which conform to the

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176. *Dem.* 15. 3: τῶν δὲ δημοσίων λόγων ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους καὶ <κατ' > Ἀριστοκράτους ἑτέροις ἐγράφησαν, οὕτω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθὸς αὐτοῦ δοκεῖ γὰρ δυεῖν ἢ τριῶν δέοντα ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους τοῖς δὲ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος αὐτὸς ἡγωνίσαστο, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, διὰ τὸν Χαβρίου παῖδα Κτήσιππον, ὡς φησιν αὐτός, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκου μνῶμενος. οὐ μὲν ἔγχευε ταύτην, ἀλλὰ Σαμίᾳ τινὶ συνώκησεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων.

177. *Ad Amm.* I 4 (260. 13): καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἕτερος (ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος), ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, ὃν αὐτὸς διέθετο, χαριέστατος ἀπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος.

178. *Dem.* 3. 2

179. 844cd: τελειωθεὶς δέ, ἐλάττω παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων παρὰ λαβῶν, ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους ἄρχοντος. Jacoby (330) notes that all those who have the trial against the guardians fall at age 18 essentially follow the Apollodoran calculation, since 18 years reckoned inclusively from Ol. 104. 1 (364/3) leads to a birth date of Ol. 99. 4. These would include Lib. 294. 50: *ἡ γὰρ ἐτῶν ἦν, ὅτε πρὸς τούτοις ἡγωνίζετο*; Zos. 299. 51: *ἐπιτροπευθεὶς δὲ ἰ' ἔτη καὶ ἐγγραφεὶς ὀκτωκαιδεκαέτης εἰς ἄνδρας... κρίνας τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους εἴλε τὴν δίκην*; Anon. vita 304. 51: *περὶ ἡ' ἔτη γενόμενον τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἀποθέσθαι δίκας*; Plut. *Dem.* 6. 1: *ὡς δ' οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἤρξατο δικάζεσθαι*.

Apollodoran method,<sup>180</sup> but reveal that they came from an intermediate text, since they include the Olympiad. These are *Andocides* 835a,<sup>181</sup> *Lysias* 835cd<sup>182</sup> and *Isocrates* 836f.<sup>183</sup> Schaefer considers Apollodorus as the author of these chronological notices, but Jacoby, while admitting that the chronographer followed by the author of Ps.-Plutarch in many instances agrees with Apollodorus, states that it is not Apollodorus.<sup>184</sup> Jacoby is obviously correct, since Apollodorus is only known to have dated by archons. The Olympiads were added by the compilers of the common history, who supplemented the Apollodoran chronology with information taken from other chronographies like that of Eratosthenes. But still the basis of many of the chronological notices in Ps.-Plutarch was the work of Apollodorus of Athens.<sup>185</sup>

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180. That included dating by archons, reckoning inclusively, placing important events in the ὀκμή of the person in question and adding frequent synchronisms. See Jacoby 39–59 and Pfeiffer 255–57.

181. καὶ ἦκμακε μὲν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὅμα Σωκράτει τῷ Φιλοσόφῳ ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτῷ τῆς γενέσεως Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἑβδομηκοστὴ ὀγδόη, ἄρχων δ' Ἀθήνησι Θεογενίδης ὥστ' εἶναι πρεσβύτερον αὐτὸν Λυσίου ἕτεσι που ἧ'.

182. γενόμενος Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Φρασικλῆ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς [καὶ δευτέρας] Ὀλυμπιάδος, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συνεπαιδεύετο τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ἀθηναίων.

183. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν ἕκτην Ὀλυμπιάδα Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινουσίου <ἄρχοντος, νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίου> δυσι καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι, πρεσβύτερος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπτά. Cf. D.H. *Isoc.* 1 and D.L. III 3.

184. Schaefer III B 51; Jacoby 331 n. 7.

185. To the notices already cited can be added the synchronism between the fall of Olynthus and the death of Plato at 845e: τῷ δ' ἐξῆς (sc. μετὰ ἄρχοντα Καλλιμάχον 348/7) ἐφ' οὗ Πλάτων ἐτελεύτησε, Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθίους κατεστρέψατο. It is based on the Apollodoran chronology, which according to Diogenes (III 2) placed Plato's birth in Ol. 88. 1 and his death in Ol. 108. 1 in the 81st year, that is 347. A similar synchronism, which may also be Apollodoran in origin, is the death of Isocrates and the battle of Chaeroneia at 837e.

## Biography

For chronology, then, the compilers of the common history of the orators, on which Dionysius and Caecilius later drew for their own dates, turned to the *Chronika* of Apollodorus. But chronology was only one element which according to Dionysius could be found in the *koine historia*; the other was βίος, the content of which was largely shaped by the research of earlier biographers, particularly Hermippus. A comparison of the lives of Isocrates by Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch reveals a level of correspondence between the two lives that can only be explained by the assumption that Caecilius used Dionysius directly or that they had a common source.<sup>186</sup> In either case the κοινὴ ἱστορία, which Dionysius claims to have used, stands behind the "primaria" of Ps.-Plutarch. But the same comparison also reveals that the author of Ps.-Plutarch had made a number of additions to the notices found in Dionysius, particularly of an anecdotal kind. The problem comes in determining whether these details were derived directly from Hermippus or from the common history. As noted, Dionysius himself admits that his life of Isocrates was only a brief summation of what could be found there.<sup>187</sup> Presumably the author of Ps.-Plutarch could have

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186. Blass (II [1874] 8–9) believes that the life in Ps.-Plutarch is a more detailed rendering of Dionysius; either the former used one and the same source or, as Blass prefers, directly consulted Dionysius, whom he supplemented with a more detailed biography. For the lives of Dinarchus and Isaeus Blass (9 n. 3) assumes that Dionysius is the source; for Lysias it is the same case as the life of Isocrates. Offenloch (above, n. 20) xxii, on the other hand, after assuming that Ps.-Plutarch used τὰ ῥητόρων γένη, which were prefaced to editions and were written before Dionysius, concludes that the lives written by Caecilius could not have differed greatly from those of Dionysius, since both rhetoricians drew extensively from the same sources, particularly from Hermippus. See Seeliger (above, n. 14) 29–42 for a detailed comparison of the two lives, from which he concludes that Dionysius is the primary source of Ps.-Plutarch.

187. *Isoc.* 1 (56. 11). For text see p. 44

consulted the common history for additional information and not just Hermippus. In the comparison to follow attempts will be made to show what Hermippian material already formed part of the common history of Isocrates' life and what was taken directly from the biographer. In many cases notices of the common history will prove to be abridgements of Hermippus' own account.

The "vita primaria" of Ps.-Plutarch's *Life of Isocrates* extends to 838d, where it concludes with the customary notice on the orator's style or number of speeches. The "auctaria" extends from 838e to 839d and comprises a disorderly collection of notices and anecdotes, which are often no more than enlargements of notices in the primary life. However, surprisingly few later additions have found their way into the primary life, which is to say that any additions to Dionysius arose at the time of the original composition of Ps.-Plutarch. In fact there appears to be only one obvious repetition. At 838b the notice on Isocrates' death is repeated and expanded from 837e.<sup>188</sup> Both

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188. 838b (250. 64–6W): ἐξελεῖν δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν ἐναυαῖον φασι σίτων ἀποσχόμενον, οἱ δὲ τετραταῖον ἅμα ταῖς ταφαῖς τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ πεσόντων; cf. 837e (249. 56–9): ἐτελεύτα δ' ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἀπαγγελθέντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν τῇ Ἱπποκράτους πολυαίστρᾳ πυθόμενος, ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου τέτταρσιν ἡμέραις διὰ τοῦ σιτίων ἀποσχέσθαι, προειπὼν τρεῖς ἀρχαῖς δρομάτων Εὐριπίδου κτλ.

Prasse would like to see other additions to the "primaria", but his arguments are less than convincing. He (10) thinks that the whole section dealing with the burial place of Isocrates and his family (838b–d: 87–106W) was added by the compiler at the time he repeated the notice of Isocrates' suicide. Yet many of the lives conclude in the same way with periegetical notices on the grave monuments dedicated to the orators; cf. *And.* 835a–b, *Lyc.* 842e–f, *Dem.* 847a, *Hyp.* 849d.

He (9–10) also believes that the annotations on Isocrates' orations (837f–838b: 65–84), which follow the notice of death (837ef: 55–65) was added by a later compiler. According to Prasse, lines 70–73 (838a), the notice of Isocrates' adoption of Aphareus, are out of place in a passage on the speeches and belongs to 86f, which deals more exclusively with Isocrates' family. Prasse also notes that 75–79 (838a: εἵκοσι τάλαντα λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου ἐφ' οἷς φθονηθεὶς τρεῖς προεβλήθη τριηραρχεῖν, καίτοι δις μὲν ἀσθένειαν σκηψόμενος διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς παρητήσατο, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑποστὰς ἀνήλωσεν οὐκ ὀλίγα) is an enlargement of 248. 36W (837c: ἀργυρίον τε ὅσον οὐδεὶς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὥς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι). But, as he himself admits, this addition still has



Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch follow the same order in narrating events, which again points to a common source: 1) γένος (date of birth and father); 2) teachers; 3) reason for entering politics; 4) school; 5) death.<sup>189</sup> But despite the obvious similarity, there are significant departures from Dionysius. The additions made by Ps.-Plutarch to the life of Isocrates are of two kinds: factual details and anecdotes. In the case of the latter, Hermippus seems to be the ultimate source and he may also be the source of a number of the more factual details.

### I. *Genos*

Both lives open with the γένος of the orator. Both note that Isocrates was born in the 86th Olympiad, in the archonship of Lysimachus (436/5); that he was 22 years younger than Lysias; that he was the son of Theodorus, a man of middle-class standing and the owner of slaves who made flutes; and that he was as well educated

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some connection with the section on the orations. In fact in the text the court challenges over the trierarchies is directly related to the 20 talents, which he received for his Eulogy of Evagoras, and was itself an example of the wealth acquired by Isocrates through his profession: εὐπόρησε δ' ἰκανῶς οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίων Βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Εὐαγόρου, εἴκοσι τάλαντα λάβων κτλ. If we accept the notice on the trierarchies as originally part of a section on the orations, some mention is needed to explain who was the son that petitioned Isocrates' case. In which case 70–73W is appropriate where it stands, since it provides the necessary information. In any case we are told that Aphareus was adopted by Isocrates in his old age, and this last detail is in keeping with the whole tenor of the opening lines of the section on the orations: Isocrates died at 98 or 100; a year before his death, he composed the *Panathenaicus*; the *Antidosis* was written at age 82, the speeches against Philip shortly before his death. In his old age he adopted Aphareus. The section on the orations concludes with the mention of the Eulogy for Mausolus, Helen and the Areopagus, notices which naturally follow on mention of the Eulogy of Evagoras. There is a discernible train of thought which suggests that the whole section was composed by a single author.

189. See Seeliger, (above, n. 14) 30, who concludes on this basis that Dionysius is the source of Ps.-Plutarch, but Prasse (26), though recognizing the similarity of order, rightly concludes that the same order could have been preserved, if each author drew from the same source.

as any Athenian.<sup>190</sup> The similarities between the two texts are unmistakable, even extending to verbal parallels. These few details must have constituted the common history, since they regularly appear in the later lives of Isocrates.<sup>191</sup> All of these lives

190. D.H. *Isoc.* 1 (54. 1): Ἰσοκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσιμάχου πέμπτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, δυοὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι νεώτερος Λυσίου, πατὴρ δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου, τινὸς τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντος ἀνλοποιοῦς κεκτημένου καὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔχοντος τῆς ἐργασίας. ἀγωγῆς δὲ τυχὼν εὐσχήμονος καὶ παιδευθεὶς οὐδενὸς Ἀθηναίων χειρὸν κτλ.

Ps.-Pl. 836ef: Ἰσοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν ἦν παῖς τοῦ Ἐρχιέως τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντος ἀνλοποιοῦς κεκτημένου καὶ εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων, ὥς καὶ χορηγῆσαι καὶ παιδεῦσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι, Τελέσιππος καὶ Διόμνηστος ἦν δὲ καὶ θυγάτριον ὅθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀνλοὺς κεκωμώδηται ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Στράτιδος. γεγόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν ἑκτὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινουσίου <ἄρχοντος, νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίου>† δυοὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι, πρεσβύτερος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπτά, παῖς μὲν ὢν ἐπαιδεύετο οὐδενὸς ἦτιον Ἀθηναίων κτλ.

† The manuscripts of Ps.-Plutarch are corrupt at this point in the text. The words ἄρχοντος νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίου are supplied from Photius, while τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν ἑκτὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινουσίου δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερος δὲ Πλάτωνος appear only in the margin of cod. A. This leaves a rather incomplete γεγόμενος δὲ κατὰ ἐπτά. Seeliger, (above, n. 14) 40–1, concludes from this that the passage had been obscured in the archetype and was supplied by later writers; consequently no certain judgment about the passage can be made, especially that the words originated from a source earlier than Dionysius. However, the corruption must have occurred late, since Photius at cod. 260 486b reproduces the passage faithfully: Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν π' καὶ ζ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίου ἐπὶ δυοῖν ἔτεσι καὶ κ', Πλάτωνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος ι' δεόντων τριῶν. Either he used Ps.-Plutarch directly or his source. As the text of D.L. III 3 (see below, n. 194), the connection between Plato and Isocrates was certainly known before Photius' time.

191. *POxy* 3543: [ἐπὶ τῆς πς']/ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσιμάχου, πέμ]/πιω[ι] πρό[τε]ρον ἔτει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, δυοῖν ἔτεσι [κ(αὶ) κ'] νεώτερος Λυσίου ἤκουσε δὲ Προ[δ]ίκου] τε τοῦ Κείου [κ(αὶ) Γοργίου Λεοντίου]/ κ(αὶ) Τι[σ]ίου τοῦ Συρακίου καὶ Θηραμένων τοῦ ῥή]/τορο[ς]. ἔτι δὲ νέος ὢν ἐδόκει διοίσειν τῶν περὶ Λυσίαν, κ(αὶ) τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ Σωκράτη λέγοντα ποιήσας οὕτω· "νέος ἔτι, ὦ Φαῖδρε,] Ἰσοκράτης ὁ μέντοι μαντεύομαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, λέγειν [ἐ]θέλω δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι ἀμείνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ [Λ]υσίαν εἶναι λόγους."

Zos. 256. 83: λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὅτι τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου πρεσβύτερος ἐγένετο <πέντε, Λυσίου δὲ νεώτερος [Mathieu Budé]> κβ' ἔτεσιν. ἤκουσε δὲ κατὰ τινος καὶ Προδίκου τοῦ Κείου καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίου. νέος δ' ὢν ἐδόκει διοίσειν τῶν περὶ Λυσίαν τὸν ῥήτορα πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων, καὶ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ Σωκράτην λέγοντα ποιήσας οὕτω· "νέος μὲν ἔτι, ὦ Φαῖδρε, Ἰσοκράτης ὁ μέντοι περὶ αὐτοῦ μαντεύομαι, εἰπεῖν ἐθέλω δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι ἀμείνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν εἶναι λόγους."

P. Cairo Masp. (67175) ll. 11–16: γέγονε δ' ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου. ἤκου]/σε δὲ Π[ρο]δίκου τε [καὶ] <Γ>οργί[ς]ου Τι[σ]ίου τε]/ καὶ Θηραμένους. νέος [δ'] ὢν καὶ δόξαν ἐφέρετο]/ ὥς διοίσω Λυσίον

are familiar with the synchronism with Lysias, even P. Cairo Masp., whose only chronological fix is the archonship of Lysimachus, since they either quote or refer to Plato's *Phaedrus* 278e, as evidence that even in his youth Isocrates showed signs of surpassing Lysias. This text must have been the origin of the synchronism, which in its final form made Isocrates exactly 22 years the junior of Lysias and became an enduring feature of the common history. Both Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch include it.<sup>192</sup>

Of factual details Ps.-Plutarch, however, adds more precise information. He includes the demotics both of Isocrates' father and of the archon Lysimachus, in whose year the orator was born. He also makes mention of two brothers and an anonymous sister,<sup>193</sup> adds that Theodorus was ridiculed by the comic poets for his flute-making, but notes that the wealth from this occupation helped Theodorus finance a chorus and provide an education for his children. Finally he includes the synchronism with Plato, which Dionysius did not.

Hermippus is the source for at least three of these notices in Ps.-Plutarch: 1) for the synchronism with Plato; 2) for the note on Theodorus' flute-making; and 3) for the comic ridicule.

As to the first point on chronology, the text of Ps.-Plutarch must be compared with a passage in Diogenes Laertius, where we find the same synchronism between

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τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὡς μορφύτῳ εἶν τῷ Φαίδρῳ Πλάτων.

192. Ps.-Plutarch is also aware of the text of the *Phaedrus*, but only refers to it in the "auctaria" of Lysias 836c: μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ ὡς δεινोटάτου εἰπεῖν καὶ Ἰσοκράτους πρεσβυτέρου.

193. There appears to have been a third brother named Theodorus, who Ps.-Plutarch, perhaps on the authority of Heliodorus, later notes was buried in the family grave (838c).

Isocrates and Plato.<sup>194</sup> According to Diogenes, Apollodorus set the date of Plato's birth in the 88th Olympiad; that the chronographer had accepted Ol. 108. 1, the archonship of Theophilus, as the year of the philosopher's death is assured from his chronology of Aristotle preserved in Diogenes V 9.<sup>195</sup> The span of Plato's life would have been 81 years, if Apollodorus had reckoned inclusively, which seems to be his method, from the year of death to Ol. 88. 1.<sup>196</sup> At first glance the excerpt from Hermippus seems to be confined to the words ἐν γάμοις δειπνῶν, which describes the manner of Plato's death.<sup>197</sup> If, however, Hermippus had reckoned exclusively 81 years from Ol. 108. 1, Plato's birth would fall in Ol. 87. 4, the year of Pericles' death, precisely the date given at the end of the excerpt in Diogenes. In this same passage Diogenes also includes the figure 84 years as given by Neanthes and notes the synchronism between Isocrates and Plato, the former born in the archonship of Lysimachus (436/5), the latter in the archonship of Ameinias, the year of Pericles' death (429/8). This same synchronism

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194. D.L. III 2: καὶ γίνεται Πλάτων, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, ὀγδόῃ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, Θαρρηγιῶνος ἑβδόμῃ, καθ' ἣν Δῆλοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα γενέσθαι φασι. τελευτᾷ δὲ, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος, ἐν γάμοις δειπνῶν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδοῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιούς ἔτος ἐν πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. Νεάνθης δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν τεττάρων καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τελευτῆσαι ἔτων. ἔστιν οὖν Ἰσοκράτους νεώτερος ἔτεσιν ἕξ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονεν, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν.

195. Cf. D.L. X 14; D.H. *Ad Amm.* I 5

196. On his method of inclusive reckoning see Jacoby 58–9 and 284. The best preserved example of his method comes in fr. 46 (D.L. II 44), where Apollodorus set the birth of Socrates in Ol. 77. 4 (469/8) and his death in Ol. 95. 1 (400/399), and gave the duration of his life at 70 years, that is he included both dates.

197. This is the position of both Busse (above, n. 133) 72–3 and Jacoby 304–5. The former believes that Apollodorus drew his dates from Philochorus (cf. *Vita Marciana* p. 428 11 Rose); the latter suggests Hermodorus (D.L. III 6 & II 106), who had made Plato 28 at his departure to Megara, presumably at the time of the death of Socrates. This, however, would yield a date of birth of Ol. 88. 2 calculated 28 years from Ol. 95. 1 (400/399). Schaefer, "Zu den Fragmenten des Hermippos," *Philologus* 6 (1851) 430, on the other hand, includes both the year of death (Ol. 108. 1) and the duration of 81 years as part of the Hermippian fragment quoted by Diogenes.

appears in Ps.-Plutarch, who notes that Plato was 7 years the junior of Isocrates. Obviously the passage in Diogenes is corrupt. That the archon Epameinon is meant by the name Ἀμεινίου is assured from the synchronism with Pericles' death.<sup>198</sup> Accordingly Plato was born in 429/8 (Ol. 87. 4), and was 7 not 6 years younger than Isocrates, which is what Diogenes gives.<sup>199</sup>

Jacoby<sup>200</sup> extends the corruption of the passage even to the figure of Neanthes, which, he argues, should be restored to 82 years (δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα) based on the frequent confusion between δ' and δύο. According to Jacoby it was on the basis of this figure that Plato's birth was calculated to Ol. 87. 4, the archonship of Epameinon, counting backwards inclusively 82 years from Ol. 108. 1, the year of his death. But Jacoby's argument that 82 is the only other figure transmitted in the tradition and thus necessarily must be the right one is weak, since the number 84, as it stands in Diogenes, constitutes another, unless the corruption postulated by Jacoby is admitted. In any case, even if the correction to 82 is accepted, Hermippus is still likely the source of that figure here, since Neanthes' περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν was an important biographical source for him.<sup>201</sup> Even without the correction a birth-date of Ol. 87. 4 can be reached by reckoning exclusively 81 years from the date of death.<sup>202</sup>

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198. Jacoby 316; cf. Athen. V 217e: Περικλῆς δ' ἀποθνήσκει κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου ὄρχοντος Ἐπομείνονος (429/8).

199. A corruption from ζ' to ζ' is to be assumed.

200. Jacoby 306

201. For Neanthes as an important precursor to the biographical writings of Satyrus, Sotion and Hermippus see Arrighetti, "Satiro," (above, n. 97) 20 and Leo 113.

202. See Athen. V 217ab where Athenaeus similarly counts backwards exclusively 82 years from Ol. 108. 1 to arrive at Ol. 87. 3 and the archonship of Apollodorus (430/29) as the year of Plato's birth: Πλάτων δὲ γεννᾶται ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ μετ' Εὐθύδημον ἄρξαντος δύο δὲ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη μετέλλαξεν ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίμαχον, ὅς ἐστιν ὀγδοηκοστὸς καὶ δεύτερος.

This manner of reckoning seems to conform to the method of Hermippus, who likewise calculated Demosthenes' age at 62, by counting back exclusively from the year of his death to Ol. 98 .4, particularly in the attempt to synchronize his birth and death with that of Aristotle.<sup>203</sup> Nor is it a surprise that here the birth of Plato is linked to the death of Pericles. Thus the year of death (108. 1), the duration of 81 years, as well as the manner of death all go back to Hermippus, who had placed Plato's birth in the archonship of Epameinon (429/8) and so made him 7 years younger than Isocrates. The same source may be assumed for Ps.-Plutarch, who likewise provides this age difference between Plato and Isocrates.<sup>204</sup> But since Dionysius is unaware of any such synchronism and presumably found none in the common history, it was probably derived directly from Hermippus. The common history perhaps only included Isocrates' date of birth and the synchronism with Lysias, details to be found in both Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch

The second notice (836e) that can be traced back to Hermippus refers to Theodorus' flute-making, which, so we are told, helped to finance a chorus and provide an education for his children.<sup>205</sup> The ultimate source for the last part of this

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203. See Chapter 4 pp. 286–9 for a discussion of the Hermippian date of Demosthenes' death.

204. Busse, (above, n. 133) 81–3, draws the conclusion that this parallel between Plato and Isocrates found in Ps.-Plutarch goes back to Hermippus, based on the assumption that any detail not found in Dionysius but in Photius and Ps.-Plutarch was supplied by Ceacilius, who had supplemented the notices of Dionysius with details drawn from Hermippus. Since the same age difference appears in Diogenes, the same source may be claimed for him, as for Photius and Ps.-Plutarch.

205. Ps.-Pl 836e: (Θεοδώρου) θεράποντας αὐλοποιούς κεκτημένου καὶ εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων, ὥς καὶ χορηγεῖν καὶ παιδεύειν τοὺς υἱούς.

statement is Isocrates himself.<sup>206</sup> But as Keil has shown,<sup>207</sup> the similarities between the statement at 836e, and that of 837c<sup>208</sup> and 838a,<sup>209</sup> where much the same idea is expressed about Isocrates' wealth, suggest that all three passages are drawn from the same source. That source was Hermippus. At 838a it is not only a question of the wealth which Isocrates earned from his students but also of the 20 talents he received from Nicocles for his Eulogy of Evagoras. This story is known to have been told by Hermippus in his biography of Isocrates.<sup>210</sup> In the text of Ps.-Plutarch the Nicocles story forms such an integral part of the account about the wealth which Isocrates made because of his teaching and the trierarchies which he was forced to perform because of that wealth, that we must assume that these details also came from Hermippus. The same connection is made earlier at 837c between Isocrates' wealth as a teacher and his service as trierarch, so that the same source must be assumed for both passages. But the passage at 837c corresponds so closely with what is found in Dionysius, who makes a similar statement in connection with Isocrates teaching,<sup>211</sup>

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206. *Antidosis* (XV) 161: ἀπόντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ ποτὴρ ἄμα τῇ τε πόλει χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρείχεν, ἡμῶς θ' οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς ἐπαίδευσεν ὥστ' ἐπιφανεστέρον εἶναί με τότε καὶ γνωριμώτερον ἐν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις καὶ συμπαιδευομένοις ἢ νῦν ἐν τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις. This passage is likely the ultimate source for the statement by Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch that Isocrates was as well-educated as any Athenian.

207. *Analecta Isocratea* (Pragae & Lipsiae 1885) 89.

208. ἀργυρίον τε ὅσον οὐδείς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὡς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι.

209. εὐπόρησε δ' ἱκανῶς, οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Εὐαγόρου, εἴκοσι τάλαντα λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου ἐφ' οἷς φθονηθεὶς τρίς προεβλήθη τριηραρχεῖν κτλ.

210. fr. 64 :Hypothesis Isocrates II *ad Nicoclem*: Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους, παρατιθέμενος Εὐανδρόν τινα κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν εἰρηκότα, ὡς οἱ λαβὼν εἴκοσι τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ Νικοκλέους αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰσοκράτης, ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Εὐαγόρου, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦτ' βουλόμενος χρήσιμος γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν.

211. *Isoc.* 1 (56 4): πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐδείς τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας χρηματισσόμενων.

that the notice at 837c is Hermippus only as it has been preserved in the κοινὴ ἱστορία, Dionysius' expressed source. That same source perhaps provided Ps.-Plutarch with the information that Theodorus' flute-making allowed Isocrates to become as well educated as any Athenian, a connection also implicitly made in Dionysius' text. Here we have our first hint of the importance which Hermippus played in the development of the common history.

That Hermippus had made reference in some manner to Theodorus' occupation is suggested from a third notice traceable to him, in which Ps.-Plutarch notes how Isocrates' father was ridiculed by the comic poets Aristophanes and Strattis for his flutes.<sup>212</sup> But the entry is somewhat confused in Ps.-Plutarch. According to Hermippus, Strattis had attacked Isocrates not for his father's occupation as a flute-maker, but for his own illicit affair with Lagiscē, which occurred in his old age and from which was born a daughter.<sup>213</sup> This may be the anonymous daughter referred to in the text of Ps.-Plutarch but wrongly assigned to Theodorus. Hermippus may also be behind Ps.-Plutarch's confusion in making Theodorus the subject of the comic ridicule and not Isocrates. In the comic fragment cited by Hermippus Strattis had called Isocrates an αὐλοτρύπη which could easily have been understood as a reference to his father's occupation as flute-maker. Hermippus himself may have

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212. 836e: ἦν δὲ καὶ θυγάτριον ὅθεν εἰς τοὺς αὐλοὺς κεκωμώδηται ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Στράτιδος.

213. Fr. 65 (Athen. XIII 592d): Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσοκράτους προβαίνοντά φησι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Ἰσοκράτη ἀναλαβεῖν Λαγίσκον τὴν εἰαίραν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ θυγάτριον. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Στράτις ἐν τοῦτοις

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκον τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν  
 ἰδεῖν με συκάζουσιν εὐνοίαν ἔτι  
 τὸν τ' αὐλοτρύπην αὐτὸν...



been the first to draw the inference and noted that Theodorus was ridiculed by the comic poets, but the context in which he actually quoted from Strattis was a discussion of Isocrates' affair with Lagiscē.<sup>214</sup> Nonetheless, the origins of the notice at Ps.-Plutarch 836ef are clear. It is obviously an abridgement of Hermippus' much longer account as it came down in the common history. Outside the evidence of Strattis and references in the various biographies of Isocrates, there is no other evidence of Theodorus' occupation as an αὐλοποιός. This leads one to suspect that the notice had no other life outside of the biographical tradition and that in fact Hermippus himself introduced it, as he was the first to compose a life of Isocrates and is known to have cited Strattis. But by the time Dionysius and the author of Ps.-Plutarch came to compose their biographies, a reference to Theodorus' occupation had become a standard element of the *genos* of Isocrates' life in the κοινὴ ἱστορία.

## II. Education

After the γένος both Dionysius (54. 9-15) and Ps.-Plutarch (836f-837a) pass to the education of Isocrates.<sup>215</sup> Again a community of source is readily apparent. Both

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214. For further discussion see Chapter 4 pp. 316-9.

215. D.H. 54. 9-15: καὶ παιδευθεὶς οὐδενὸς Ἀθηναίων χειρὸν, ἐπειδὴ τόχιστα ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, φιλοσοφίας ἐπεθύμησε. γενόμενος δὲ ἀκουστῆς Προδίκου τε τοῦ Κείου καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Τισίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου, τῶν τότε μέγιστον ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, ὥς δὲ τινες ἱστοροῦσι, καὶ Θηραμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃν οἱ τριάκοντα ἀπέκτειναν δημοτικὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα κτλ.

Ps.-Pl. 836f-837a: παῖς μὲν ὢν ἐπαιδεύετο οὐδενὸς ἦτιον Ἀθηναίων, ἀκροώμενος Προδίκου τε τοῦ Κείου καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Τισίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ Θηραμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος οὗ καὶ συλλαμβανομένου ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ φυγόντος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν, ἀπάντων καταπεπληγμένων, μόνος ἀνέστη βοηθήσων καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσίγησε κατ' ἀρχάς, ἔπειτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρητήθη, εἰπόντος ὀδυνηρότερον αὐτῷ συμβῆσθαι, εἴ τις τῶν φίλων ἀπολαύσει τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ ἐκείνου τινὰς οὔσας τέχνας αὐτῷ φασί

give the same list of teachers, Prodicus, Gorgias, Teisias and Theramenes. In fact the same four names appear in almost every biography of Isocrates, suggesting that Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch were following the common history at this point.<sup>216</sup> The greatest difference lies in their treatment of Theramenes. Dionysius' notice, which was derived from the common history (ὥς δέ τινες ἱστοροῦσι), included just the detail that Theramenes was executed by the Thirty for his democratic sympathies. Ps.-Plutarch, on the other hand, includes anecdotal and pinacographical material: Theramenes' flight from the Thirty to the temple of Hestia, Isocrates' defence of the fugitive, and Isocrates' use of the rhetorical works of Theramenes, which passed under the name of Botton.<sup>217</sup> The source of this last detail is anonymous (φρασι), but, as we shall see in Chapter 4, in fact goes back to Hermippus. For now it need only be noted that Theramenes bears the designation ῥήτωρ, suggesting a source that was interested in him primarily as a rhetorician. The special interest in him as the teacher of Isocrates points to Hermippus, who wrote a biography on the orator.<sup>218</sup> In this case the author of Ps.-Plutarch has drawn on the biographer for the anecdotal material

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συμπραγματεύσασθαι ἡνίκα ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο, αἳ εἰσιν ἐπιγεγραμμένοι Βότωνος.

216. The same four names are preserved in *POxy* 3543, where it is given immediately after the notice of Isocrates' birth, and again in P. Cairo Masp. 67175, which preserves the beginning of another γένος of Isocrates of an early Byzantine date. Zosimus, who also follows Dionysius in connecting Isocrates' birth with the Peloponnesian war, likewise proceeds, after the notice of birth, to list Isocrates' teachers, but he names only Prodicus and Gorgias. For text see above, n. 191.

217. Both Zosimus (256. 85) and *POxy* 3543 (7–12), instead of enlarging on Theramenes, proceed to compare Isocrates with Lysias, quoting Plato's *Phaedrus* 278e, as does P. Cairo Masp. (14–16) which, however, does not give the quotation.

218. On the Hermippian origin of the Theramenes episode see Pesely, "The Origin and Value of the Theramenes Papyrus" *AHB* 3 (1989) 29–35, "Socrates' Attempt to Save Theramenes," *AHB* 2 (1988) 31–3 and Chapter 4 pp. 305–09.

not found in Dionysius. All the same, the latter was familiar with the tradition of Theramenes the *rhētor*, as the teacher of Isocrates, who was executed by the Thirty. But his expressed source was the κοινὴ ἱστορία. This means that Hermippus is behind the common history, and in that history, as we find it preserved in many of the later biographies, Theramenes is regularly connected with Teisias, Prodicus and Gorgias, as the teacher of Isocrates.

### III. Career

After dealing with Isocrates' education, both Dionysius (54.16-55.16) and Ps.-Plutarch (837a-c) proceed to his career. They begin this new section by accounting for Isocrates' refusal to enter politics. Again, they both share common ground: both state that it was Isocrates' weak voice and timid disposition that prevented him from entering politics.<sup>219</sup> The source for these two reasons is Isocrates himself.<sup>220</sup> Both

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219. D.H. *Isoc.* 1 (54. 16): σπουδὴν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο πράττειν τε καὶ λέγειν τὰ πολιτικά, ὥς δὲ ἡ φύσις ἠγαντιοῦτο, τὰ πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀφελομένη, τόλμαον τε καὶ φωνῆς μέγεθος, ὧν χωρὶς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐν ὄχλῳ λέγειν, ταύτης μὲν ἀπέστη τῆς προαιρέσεως.

Ps.-Pl. 837a: ἐπεὶ δ' ἠνδρώθη, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέσχετο ἰσχνόφωνός τ' ὧν καὶ εὐλαβῆς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρῶα ἀποβεβληκῶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ ἄλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκῶς φαίνεται, ἕνα δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως.

† μεμελετηκῶς is Wolf's emendation for the codd. μεμαρτυρηκῶς. After ἄλλοις Zucker, followed by Mau in the Teubner, writes <οὔτε συνηγωνισμένος οὔτε> μεμαρτυρηκῶς φαίνεται, thus bringing the text more into line with the previous statement that Isocrates kept away from politics; but this need only apply to public appearances and not to work as logographer. If we accept Wolf's emendation, then we should follow Seeliger (above, n 14) 33, in seeing in the words τὰ πατρῶα ἀποβεβληκῶς the reason for Isocrates writing orations for others.

220. *Panathenaicus* XII 10: οὕτω γὰρ ἐνδεῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἐγενόμην τῶν μεγίστην δυνάμιν ἐχόντων παρ' ἡμῖν, φωνῆς ἱκανῆς καὶ τολμῆς. Isocrates, words correspond closely to those of Dionysius, which at first would seem to confirm the suspicion of Seeliger (30-1) that Dionysius had the orator's speeches before him when composing the life. In fact twice in this section Dionysius refers directly to Isocrates: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ λόγῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει (55. 9) and ὥς φησιν αὐτός (55. 17). But see Prasse's objections (26-7). The former statement, however, is simply

writers also note that Isocrates turned to philosophy and the writing of political speeches.<sup>221</sup> Again Isocrates is the ultimate source.<sup>222</sup> Finally, both lives note Isocrates' innovation in separating eristic from political speeches.<sup>223</sup> From this comparison a common source is apparent. It can only be maintained, however, that

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Dionysius' own confirmation of what he found in the biography of Isocrates.

221. D.H. 55. 1: ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ δόξης καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύουσαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ, καθόπερ αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν, ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν ἃ διανοηθεῖν κατέφυγεν, οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν ποιούμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν τότε σοφιστῶν, περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων, ἐξ ὧν ὑπελόμβανε τὰς τε πόλεις ἄμεινον οἰκῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπίδοσιν ἔξειν πρὸς ἀρέτην. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ λόγῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει.

Ps.-Pl. 837b: διατριβὴν δὲ συστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ γράφειν διανοηθεῖς ἐτράπετο, καὶ τὸν τε Παναθηναϊκὸν λόγον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν, οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὓς δ' ἑτέροις παρεσκευάζεν, ἡγούμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας προτρέψασθαι.

222. XII 11: οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀθυμήσας περιεῖδον ἑμαυτὸν ἄδοξον οὐδ' ἀφανῆ παντῶτασι γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι δῆμαρτον, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ πονεῖν καὶ γράφειν ἃ διανοηθεῖν κατέφυγον, οὐ περὶ μικρῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν ποιούμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων οὐδὲ περὶ ὧν ἄλλοι τινὲς ληροῦσαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων.

The verbal similarities between all three passages are striking. Both Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch repeat Isocrates' expression ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν... καὶ γράφειν ἃ διανοηθεῖν nearly verbatim. Dionysius, however, goes much further, adding Isocrates' stated desire for δόξα and repeating verbatim Isocrates' description of his speeches, which consisted not of trivial matters (περὶ μικρῶν) and private contracts (περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων), but of Hellenic, royal and political affairs (περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων). Dionysius took these last words directly from Isocrates as he himself indicates: ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ λόγῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει. But the rest, common to both Ps.-Plutarch and Dionysius, was derived from Isocrates only through the common history, which may perhaps explain why Ps.-Plutarch in one case more closely corresponds to Isocrates; he restores the expression τὸ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφεῖν which Dionysius had rendered as ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. That such close borrowing of an author's text could be found in the biographies of the κοινὴ ἱστορία and do not necessarily imply a direct consultation is clear from Zosimus and POxy 3543, who repeat verbatim from the text of *Phaedrus* 278e.

223. Ps.-Pl. 837b: ὁμίλει δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις, χωρίσας πρῶτος τοὺς ἐριστικούς λόγους τῶν πολιτικῶν, περὶ οὓς ἐσπούδαζε.

D.H. 55. 10: πεφυρμένην τε παρὰ λαβὼν τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν λόγων ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν σοφιστῶν πρῶτος ἐχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐριστικῶν τε καὶ φυσικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτικούς καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάζων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διετέλεσεν, ἐξ ἧς, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα παρὰ γίνεσθαι τοῖς μάθοῦσιν. Again the words ἐξ ἧς to τοῖς μάθοῦσιν are Dionysius' own addition to what he found in the common history.

the author of Ps.-Plutarch drew directly on Dionysius, if the latter had actually constructed the entire section solely from statements that he himself derived from Isocrates. But in fact only those details which go beyond the notices common to the two authors are based on Dionysius' direct consultation of the text of Isocrates. They occur at the very point where Ps.-Plutarch himself departs from Dionysius to make additions of his own. Thus, when Dionysius adds that the subject of Isocrates' speeches consisted not of trivial matters, but royal and political affairs, details that he derived directly from Isocrates, Ps.-Plutarch notes that his speeches were of two types, panegyric and deliberative, and then proceeds to mention his school in Chios. When the former notes that Isocrates' purpose in writing political speeches rather than eristic treatises was to bestow upon his students the ability to counsel, speak and act wisely, the latter mentions the public offices instituted at Chios by Isocrates. What this all means is that the two authors used and then supplemented independently a common source. In each case, where it can be established that Dionysius consulted Isocrates directly, it was for details which he added to a notice found in the common history. This, then, was the source on which Ps.-Plutarch drew for the notices in common.

The departures in Ps.-Plutarch point to a biographer who combined erudition and anecdote, precisely the character of Hermippus' writing. Ps.-Plutarch gives as an additional reason for Isocrates' refusal to enter politics, the loss of his family estate, a

detail derived from Isocrates himself.<sup>224</sup> This was added at the same time as the other additions in the section, and all are derived from a source that combined both the scholarly use of a text, as in this notice, and anecdote.

The further additions that mark the greatest departure from Dionysius are anecdotes relating to Isocrates' school in Chios.<sup>225</sup> These add some chronological confusion to Ps.-Plutarch's account. Isocrates opens his school, after failing through his political writing to turn the Greeks ἐπὶ τὸ δέοντα φρονεῖν. Certainly that is how the words διαμαρτάνων δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως, τούτων μὲν ἀπέστη must be interpreted. But Isocrates composed speeches all his life, even after he became a teacher; and, as Ps.-Plutarch has it, his innovation in making political speeches a separate art form from eristic ones came during his tenure at Chios. As Seeliger notes,<sup>226</sup> the words from διαμαρτάνων to ἀπέστη make good sense when they are connected with ἄλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκῶς φαίνεται; that is, Isocrates set up a school and turned to philosophy after failing as a logographer, which is precisely what Ps.-Plutarch says initially: ἄλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκῶς φαίνεται ... διατριβὴν δὲ συστησάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ γράφειν διανοηθεὶς ἐτρόπετο. The confusion has arisen from inserting details from a second

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224. *Antidosis* XV 161: ὅτε γὰρ ἐπομύνειν ἡρχόμην τοῖς ἰδίοις, ἀπολομένων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ πατήρ ἅμα τῇ τε πόλει χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν.

225. 837bc: διατριβὴν δὲ συστησάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ γράφειν διανοηθεὶς ἐτρόπετο, καὶ τὸν τε Πανηγυρικὸν λόγον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν, οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὓς δ' ἑτέροις παρεσκεύαζεν, ἡγούμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας προτρέψεσθαι. διαμαρτάνων δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως τούτων μὲν ἀπέστη σχολῆς δ' ἡγεῖτο, ὥς τινὲς φασι, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Χίου, μαθητὰς ἔχων ἐννέα: ὅτε καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν μισθὸν ἀριθμούμενον εἶπε δοκρύσας ὥς "ἐπέγνων ἑμαυτὸν νῦν τούτοις πεπομμένον." ὥμίλει δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις, χωρίσας πρῶτος τοὺς ἐριστικούς λόγους τῶν πολιτικῶν, περὶ οὓς ἐσπούδασε. καὶ ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Χίον κατέστησε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ πατρίδι πολιτεῖαν.

226. Seeliger (above, n. 14) 34

account among notices taken from the κοινὴ ἱστορία. That account began with a note on Isocrates' loss of patrimony. This forced him into an unsuccessful attempt at logography that then prompted him to turn to philosophy and the writing of panegyrics and deliberative speeches, and to open a school at Chios. It would seem that a single source provided Ps.-Plutarch with all these additional details, including the anecdote of how Isocrates wept at the sight of seeing his fees collected, and the detail that he instituted at Chios democratic offices modeled on Athenian ones. The source is only cited anonymously (ὥς τινὲς φασι), but the anecdotal character would suggest some biographer and the emphasis on Isocrates' role as the head of a school points to Hermippus. In fact the whole section concludes with a notice that we know had its origin with Hermippus: ἀργύριόν τε ὅσον οὐδεὶς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὥς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι (837c).<sup>227</sup>

#### IV. School

In the next section Ps.-Plutarch provides a list of Isocrates' students.<sup>228</sup>

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227. See pp. 63–4.

228. 837cd: ἀκροαταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἑκατόν, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος, συν ᾧ καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπῆλθε, συνιθεὶς τὰς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου πεμπομένας ἐπιστολάς· ὅθεν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ τάλαντον τῶν ἀπὸ Σάμου περιγενομένων. ἐμαθήτευσεν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος καὶ Ἐφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τραγωδοῦμενα συγγράψας καὶ Θεοδέκτης ὁ Φασηλῆτης ὁ τὰς τραγωδίας ὕστερον γράψας, οὗ ἐστι τὸ μνημα ἐπὶ τὴν Κυαμῖτιν πορευομένοις κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευσῖνα, τὰ νῦν κατερηρειμμένον· ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνέστησε σὺν αὐτῷ, ὧν Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς σφάζεται μόνος· Λεώδαμος τ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Λάκριτος† ὁ νομοθέτης Ἀθηναίος, ὥς δέ τινες φασι, καὶ Ὑπερίδης καὶ Ἰσαῖος.

† Westermann (248) notes in the apparatus criticus that after the name Λάκριτος, ὁ Φασηλίτης καὶ Λυκοῦργος has fallen out of the text, something which must have happened relatively early, since Photius does not include Lycurgus' name. In favour of this restoration is the fact that elsewhere Ps.-Plutarch (841b) knows of Lycurgus as a student of Isocrates.

Dionysius (55. 17- 56. 5) does not give a corresponding list, but elsewhere shows that he was aware of one, when in *Isaeus* 19 and again in *Ad Ammaeum* I 2 he identifies several Isocrateans who also appear in Ps.-Plutarch, namely Theodectes, Theopompus and Ephorus in the first case and Theodectes, Isaeus, Hypereides and Lycurgus? in the second.<sup>229</sup> In *Isocrates*, however, Dionysius only speaks generally of Isocrates as the teacher of the most eminent men of Athens and Greece.<sup>230</sup> In the *De Oratore* Cicero describes Isocrates in the same sweeping terms as the master of all rhetors and proceeds to list his various students. His catalogue shares several names with Ps.-Plutarch (Theopompus, Ephorus, Hypereides, Lycurgus?) and Dionysius (Theopompus, Ephorus, Philiscus, Naucrates, Hypereides, Lycurgus, Aeschines).<sup>231</sup> A similar catalogue is also given in the biography of Zosimus,<sup>232</sup> who includes certain names found in Ps.-Plutarch (Theopompus, Ephorus, Hypereides, Isaeus, Lycurgus?,

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229. *Is.* 19 (122. 12): ...περὶ τῶν συμβιωσάντων Ἰσοκράτει καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἐκείνου ἐκμνησθέντων οὐθενός, Θεοδέκτου λέγω καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ναυκράτους Ἐφόρου τε καὶ Φιλίσκου καὶ Κηφισοδώρου καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν.

*Ad Amm.* I 2 (259. 4): ...οὔτε οἱ τούτοις συμβιώσαντες τοῖς ἀνδράσι παραγγελημάτων τεχνικῶν συγγραφεῖς καὶ ἀγωνιστοὶ λόγων ῥητορικῶν, οἱ περὶ Θεοδέκτην καὶ Φιλίσκον καὶ Ἰσαῖον καὶ Κηφισόδωρον Ὑπερίδην τε καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Αἰσχίνην.

230. 55. 17: ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων χρόνον καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Ἀθηνησίων τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι νέων παιδεύσας, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς ἐγένοντο ἄριστοι λόγοις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πρότερον διήνεγκαν, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεις ἀνέγραψαν.

231. *De Or.* II 94: Ecce tibi exortus est Isocrates, magister rhetorum omnium, cuius e ludo, tanquam ex equo Troiano, meri principes exierunt; sed eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie illustres esse voluerunt. Atque et illi, Theopompi, Ephori, Philisti, Naucratae, multique alii naturis different, voluntate autem similes sunt et inter sese et magistri, et ei, qui se ad causas contulerunt, ut Demosthenes, Hypereides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, Dinarchus, alique complures.

232. Zos. 256. 91: ἔσχε δὲ μαθητὰς πολλοὺς μὲν, τοὺς δὲ εὐδοκμηκότας καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς τούτους Θεοπόμπου, Ἐφορον, ὧν καὶ ἱστορίαι φέρονται Ὑπερίδην, Ἰσαῖον, Λυκοῦργον, οἵτινές εἰσι τῶν ἰ' ῥητόρων τῶν κριθέντων τε καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένων εἴτα Φιλίσκον, Ἰσοκράτην ὁμώνυμον αὐτοῦ Θεοδέκτην, Ἀνδροτιῶνα τὸν τὴν Ἀθίδαν γράψαντα, καθ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔγραψε, καὶ Πύθωνα τὸν Βυζάντιον, τὸν ῥήτορα Φιλίππου.



Theodectes), as well as names found in Dionysius (Theopompus, Ephorus, Philiscus, Theodectes, Isaeus, Hypereides, Lycurgus), and in Cicero (Theopompus, Ephorus, Hypereides, Lycurgus, Philiscus).<sup>233</sup> But he seems to follow more closely yet another list preserved in *POxy* 3543, which, like Ps.-Plutarch, numbers the students of Isocrates at 100.<sup>234</sup> This list also shares much in common with Ps.-Plutarch, repeating many of the same names (Theopompus, Ephorus, Theodectes, Leodamas?, Lacritus, Hypereides, Isaeus, Lycurgus?). A comparison of all these lists clearly reveals a community of source, for a number of the same names reappear throughout.<sup>235</sup> Behind all of them must stand a core generic list which was based on the a single source, the *περὶ τῶν*

233. In fact Cicero gives the name Philistus. There is also confusion in the Suda on Philiscus and Philistus: 360 Φιλίσκος, Μιλήσιος, ῥήτωρ, Ἰσοκράτους ἀκούστης τοῦ ῥήτορος. 361 Φιλίσκος ἢ Φίλιστος, Συρακούσιος, ἱστορικός. 365 Φίλιστος, Ναυκρατίτης ἢ Συρακουσίος, Ἀρχωνίδου υἱός. μαθητὴς δὲ ἦν Εὐήνου τοῦ ἐλεγειοποιοῦ.

234. 13–18: [ἐγένοντο δ' αὐτοῦ μα]θηταὶ πρὸς ρ', ὡς ψ. [ / Ἀθηναῖον κ(αὶ) τη. [ / τοὺς κ(αὶ) ἀσήμεους []. [ Θεόπομ]πος Ἐφορος Ὑπερείδης Ἰσαῖος Λυκοῦργος Φιλίσ]κος Ἰσοκράτης Θε[ο]δ[έ]κτης Λά]κριτος καὶ τὴν [...]

The editors suppose that Λά]κριτος was preceded by Λεώδομος, whose names are absent in Zosimus but appear side by side in Ps.-Plutarch. After Θε[ο]δ[έ]κτης they suggest either the name Androtion or Pytho, both of whom are given by Zosimus. At line 13, after the reference to the number 100 (πρὸς ρ'), the papyrus seems to quote an authority (ὡς ψ), perhaps Hermippus, since φ, as the editors note, should be read instead of ψ for φ[έ]ρο[υσιν] or φησ[ί].

235.

Ps.-Pl.	Dionysius <i>Is.</i> 19	<i>Ad Amm.</i>	Zosimus	<i>POxy</i> 3543	Cicero
Θεόπομπος	Θεοδέκτης	Θεοδέκτης	Θεόπομπος	Θεόπομπος	Theopompus
Ἐφορος	Θεόπομπος	Φιλίσκος	Ἐφορος	Ἐφορος	Ephorus
Ἀσκληπιάδης	Ναυκράτης	Ἰσαῖος	Ὑπερείδης	Ὑπερείδης	Philistus
Θεοδέκτης	Ἐφορος	Κηρισόδωρος	Ἰσαῖος	Ἰσαῖος	Naucrates
Λεώδομος	Φιλίσκος	Ὑπερείδης	Λυκοῦργος	Λυκοῦργος	multi alii
Λάκριτος	Κηρισόδωρος	Λυκοῦργος	Φιλίσκος	Φιλίσκος	Demosthenes
Λυκοῦργος	ἄλλοι συχνοί	Αἰσχίνης	Ἰσοκράτης	Ἰσοκράτης	Hyperides
Ὑπερείδης			Θεοδέκτης	Θεοδέκτης	Lycurgus
Ἰσαῖος			Ἀνδροτίων	Ἀνδροτίων/	Aeschines
			Πύθων	Πύθων	Dinarchus
				Λάκριτος	alii complures

Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν of Hermippus.

Those whom Hermippus had labeled in some sense as Isocratean<sup>236</sup> would have formed the core of names from which the lists preserved in our sources were derived and expanded. Cicero makes it quite clear that "multi alii" achieved fame "in pompa", besides Theopompus, Ephorus, Philistus and Naucrates. After mentioning Demosthenes, Hypereides, Lycurgus, Aeschines and Dinarchus, he adds that "aliique complures" were renowned "in acie". After all Isocrates was the "magister rhetorum omnium". Those named by Zosimus are said to be only τοὺς εὐδοκιμηκότας καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς τούτους, which implies that many more could be mentioned. The fact that in the biographical tradition, as it was preserved in Ps.-Plutarch and *POxy* 3543, the students of Isocrates numbered upwards to 100, only invited the inclusion of other great names such as Demosthenes. Thus we find him mentioned by Cicero. In his case Hermippus still is ultimately responsible, for he had made Isaeus a student of Isocrates and the teacher of Demosthenes.<sup>237</sup> He even reported how Demosthenes had secretly acquired and mastered the τέχναι of Isocrates.<sup>238</sup> Thus Hermippus had made him a second-generation Isocratean, who imitated the style of Isocrates without being his student. It was only a small step to take to make him the actual pupil of Isocrates. But, as Ps.-Plutarch informs us elsewhere, this was the view of only a few; the majority followed the Hermippan tradition, later adopted by the compilers of the catalogues in Ps.-Plutarch, Zosimus and the papyrus, where Demosthenes' name is not

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236. They would include those who were regarded either as actual pupils of Isocrates, or as second generation pupils, or simply as imitators of Isocrates' style of writing.

237. fr. 69: D.H. *Is.* 1; fr. 70: Harpocr. s.v. Ἰσοκράτης.

238. fr. 71: Plut. *Dem.* 5. 7.

included.<sup>239</sup> As if to justify the exclusion of the foremost orator of the fourth century from his list of Isocrateans, Ps.-Plutarch repeats the story told by some of how Isocrates refused Demosthenes partial instruction for partial payment.<sup>240</sup> The anonymous source (φρσι) of this anecdote is probably the same anonymous source cited in the previous line for including Isaeus and Hypereides among the Isocrateans. Hermippus is known to have included them in his biographies on the school of Isocrates.<sup>241</sup>

In Ps.-Plutarch the names of Isaeus and Hypereides are marked off from the other Isocrateans (ὥς δέ τινές φρσι). From the manner in which their names are added as an aside Seeliger concluded that Ps.-Plutarch's authority for the rest of the list was not Hermippus.<sup>242</sup> But that does not necessarily follow. There is good reason to believe that by making Isaeus and Hypereides students of Isocrates Hermippus was in fact going against established tradition.<sup>243</sup> Perhaps, as Wehrli suggests, Ps.-Plutarch was restoring a tradition that went back to Hermippus yet never completely prevailed.<sup>244</sup> Further, the anonymous nature of his citation indicates that their names

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239. Ps.-Pl. *Dem.* 844b: σχολάζων Ἰσοκράτει ὥς τινες ἔφασιν, ὥς δ' οἱ πλείστοι Ἰσοάῳ τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ, ὃς ἦν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής, διάγοντι ἐν Ἀθήναις.

240. 837de: ... ὥς δέ τινές φρσι καὶ Ὑπερείδης καὶ Ἰσαῖος. καὶ Δημοσθένη δ' ἔτι ῥητορεύοντί φρσι μετὰ σπουδῆς προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ χιλίας μὲν ὥς [μόνας] εἰσεπρόσπετο οὐκ ἔχειν φάναι παρασχεῖν, διακοσίας δὲ <μόνας> δώσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἐκμαθεῖν τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὥς "οὐ τεμαχίζομεν, ᾧ Δημοσθένης, τὴν πραγματείαν ὥσπερ δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅλους πωλοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ γὰρ σοι, εἰ βούλοιο μαθητεύειν, ὁλόκληρον ἀποδώσομαι τὴν τέχνην".

241. For Hypereides fr. 68aII (Athen. VIII 342c); Isaeus fr. 69 (D.H. *Is.* 1), fr. 70 (Harpoc. s.v. Ἰσαῖος).

242. Seeliger (above, n. 14) 38.

243. Chamaeleon had made Hypereides a student of Plato (D.L. III 47) and Isaeus seems to have been considered a student of Lysias (Ps.-Pl. 839e). See Chapter 4 pp. 224–6, 285 for a discussion of these earlier traditions.

were already regarded as part of the standard list of Isocrateans to be found in the common history. This is confirmed by Zosimus and *POxy* 3543 where Isaeus and Hypereides appear side-by-side without any note of exception. Likewise, when Dionysius reproduces a list of Isocrateans for Ammaeus (*Ad Amm.* I 2), presumably derived from the same κοινὴ ἱστορία on which he drew for the biographies of Demosthenes and Aristotle, he includes the names of Isaeus and Hypereides.<sup>245</sup> Moreover, every other name given by Ps.-Plutarch, with the exception of Asclepiades, appears in the other lists, or is known to have been treated by Hermippus in his biographies. Theopompus and Ephorus and Theodectes appear in the papyrus, in Zosimus and in Dionysius, whereas Lacritus and Leodamas, whose name is restored, are only in the papyrus. Hermippus had made Lacritus the teacher of Archias, the agent of Antipater who had hunted down Hypereides and Demosthenes. Both these orators were treated by Hermippus in his work on the Isocrateans and it is safe to assume the same for Lacritus.<sup>246</sup> Theodectes is specifically said to have been included by Hermippus in his work περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν.<sup>247</sup> There is no other

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244. Suppl. I 86.

245. Hypereides also appears in Cicero's list and is singled out by Philostratus as the most illustrious of Isocrates' pupils: Ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐλλογιμώτατος δὲ Ὑπερείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ, Θεόπομπον γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ τὸν Κυμαῖον Ἐφορον οὗτ' ἂν διαβάλοιμι οὗτ' ἂν θαυμάσοιμι (*Vitae Soph.* I 17 506). It has been suggested that the similarities between Philostratus and Ps.-Plutarch, particularly in the lives of Antiphon, Isocrates and Aeschines, indicate that the former had made use of the latter or a common source. See Cuvigny (above, n. 3) 27. Philostratus obviously has in mind a list, from which he too singles out Hypereides.

246. Fr. 76: Plut. *Dem.* 28. 3; his Isocratean affiliation is attested in Ps.-Demosthenes XXXV (*Against Lacritus*) 15.

247. Fr. 77: Athen. X 451e. Cf. Suda 138: Θεοδέκτης, Ἀριστάνδρου, Φοσηλίτης ἐκ Λυκίας, ῥήτωρ, τραπεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τραγωδίας, μαθητὴς Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους. Ps.-Plutarch also notes that he wrote tragedy, and in fr. 77 Hermippus seems to have quoted from his *Oedipus*.

known biographer who wrote on Isocrates and his pupils, who arranged his work in the manner of a school succession or *diadochē*, and from whom a list of pupils could easily be assembled. All the preserved lists of Isocrateans are derivative of a single source, something clearly shown by the community of names, many of whom were treated by Hermippus.<sup>248</sup>

The list in Ps.-Plutarch is preceded and followed by anecdotes, which seem to have their origin with Hermippus. As noted earlier, Ps.-Plutarch concludes the section on the students of Isocrates (837de) with the anecdote explaining Demosthenes' absence from the list. As the story goes, Demosthenes could afford only one-fifth of the instruction, but Isocrates refused, remarking that he was only willing to sell his teaching whole, just as fine fish are only sold whole and not cut into bits. The anecdote is of the same character as the Chian one, in which Isocrates was said to have wept at the sight of his fees being counted and remarked that now he had sold himself. Both stories illustrate a common theme, Isocrates' wealth, a point also in the notice that begins the section on the Isocrateans (837c). There Ps.-Plutarch refers to Timotheus, who is said to have been accompanied by his master on his campaigns.<sup>249</sup>

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248. Both Zosimus and Cicero and perhaps even *POxy* 3543 and Ps.-Plutarch include Lycurgus in their lists; cf. Ps.-Pl. 841b. Hermippus may have introduced Lycurgus and Hypereides together as Isocrateans against the view of Chamaeleon who had considered both of them students of Plato (D.L. III 47). In the biographical tradition the two are closely linked together in their studies (Ps.-Pl. 848d; Suda: Ὑπερείδης), and perhaps both names should be included in the Hermippan catalogue that stands behind all our lists. Likewise, in most sources Theopompus and Ephorus appear linked together as students of Isocrates, often presented with contrasting temperaments and writing styles. This would suggest that they too were introduced into the tradition together; cf. Cic. *De Or.* II 57; III 36; *Brut.* 204; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I 17. 506; Zos. 257. 98; Suda s.v. Ἐφορος and s.v. Θεόπομπος.

249. 837c: Ἀκροαταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἑκατόν, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος, σὺν ᾧ καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπῆλθε, συνιθεὶς τὰς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου πεμπομένης ἐπιστολάς ὅθεν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ τάλαντον τῶν ἀπὸ Σόμου περιγενομένων.

The notice is based on the *Antidosis* (101-39), where Isocrates discusses at length their friendship and Timotheus' campaigns, particularly the siege of Samos. The account in Ps.-Plutarch, however, likely goes back to Hermippus, for the additional notice that Isocrates composed Timotheus' letters, for which he was awarded a gift of a talent from his pupil, follows a familiar Hermippan line.<sup>250</sup>

## V. Death

The final section of the primary life contains a notice on the death of the orator (837ef), a discussion of his speeches (837f-838b), and a detailed description of the family grave (838b-d). It has already been shown that the whole passage follows a logical train of thought which suggests a single hand, with no later additions to the primary life.<sup>251</sup> The whole section concludes with the standard formula noting the number of genuine speeches attributed to Isocrates.<sup>252</sup> Both Dionysius and Caecilius are cited, which means that the author of Ps.-Plutarch either had before him both authors, when he was compiling his life of Isocrates, or more likely found Dionysius cited by Caecilius, who had made use of the work of his contemporary and the same common history.<sup>253</sup>

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250. Hermippus told how Isocrates received twenty talents for his Eulogy of Evagoras (fr. 64). See Chapter 4 pp. 313–15, where it is noted that the two donatives, the one by Timotheus and the other by Nicocles were linked in the rhetorical tradition as examples of the wealth which one could make from rhetoric and how that same tradition was picked up by Hermippus.

251. See above, n. 188.

252. 838d: Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι ἐξήκοντα, ὧν εἰσι γνήσιοι κατὰ μὲν Διονύσιον εἰκοσιπέντε κατὰ δὲ Καικίλιον εἰκοσιοκτώ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατεψευσμένοι. Cf. Phot. 486b 5.

253. Caecilius is cited in this manner elsewhere at 833c (*Antiphon*) and 836a (*Lysias*), and again for other details at 832e (*Antiphon*), 833d (*Antiphon*) and 840b (*Aeschines*). Dionysius is cited only in one other place (836a), again together with Caecilius: Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τετρακόσιοι εἰκοσιπέντε

Ps.-Plutarch's account of Isocrates' death provides a mixture of material of both an erudite and an anecdotal nature. All anecdote is absent in Dionysius, who notes only the factual details that Isocrates ended his life at the age of 98 in the archonship of Chaerondas (338/7) a few days after the battle of Chaeronea, when the outcome of Philip's victory was still undetermined.<sup>254</sup> There are a number of points of contact with Ps.-Plutarch, who likewise includes the synchronism with Chaeronea, the archon's name, and death at age 98.<sup>255</sup> All these details common to the two authors were to be found in the κοινὴ ἱστορία and perhaps go back to Apollodorus. But Ps.-Plutarch goes further by adding a second tradition according to which Isocrates had died at age 100, and by specifying that Isocrates' death occurred after 4 days of starvation. He may even have included a second version of 9 days.<sup>256</sup>

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τούτων γνησίους φασὶν οἱ περὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Καικίλιον εἶναι διακοσίους τριάκοντα <καὶ τρεῖς>, ἐν οἷς δις μόνον ἠττησθαι λέγεται. The manner of citation here confirms that the two men converged on a number of points, not the least of which would have been biographical notices, if the comparison between Ps.-Plutarch and Dionysius is valid. Nowhere does Dionysius in his essay give the number of genuine speeches attributed to Isocrates; this fact must have been derived from Caecilius.

254. 56. 5: ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον ἐπὶ Χαιρωνίδου ἄρχοντος ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης δυεῖν δέοντα βεβιωκὼς ἑκατὸν ἔτη, γνώμη χρησόμενος ὅμῃ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῆς πόλεως συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, ἀδήλου ἔτι ὄντος, πῶς χρήσεται τῇ τύχῃ Φίλιππος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἱστορούμενα περὶ αὐτοῦ κεφαλαιωδῶς ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

255. 837e: ἐτελεύτα δ' ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἀπαγγελθέντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν τῇ Ἰπποκράτους παλαιστρᾷ πυθόμενος, ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου τέταρσιν ἡμέραις διὰ τοῦ σιτίων ἀποσχέσθαι, προειπὼν τρεῖς ἀρχαῖς δρομιάτων Εὐριπίδου

Δαναὸς ὁ πενήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πῖσαν μολῶν

Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἄστὺ Κόδμος ἐκλιπών

ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοῦς ἢ ὥς τινες ἑκατόν, οὐχ ὑπομείνας τετράκις ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλουμένην.

256. This alternative is given later at 838b: ἐξελεθῆναι δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν ἐναταλὶόν φασι σίτων ἀποσχόμενον, οἱ δὲ τετραταλὶον ὅμῃ τοῖς ταφάσι τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ πεσόντων. Perhaps it is better to regard this as a subsequent addition, as Photius (487a 400) is not aware of the 9 day tradition and presumably found none in Ps.-Plutarch: ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἀπαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ περὶ

There are added facts of a more anecdotal nature that point to a biographical source: the news of Chaeronea reaching Isocrates in the palaestra of Hippocrates, his death by starvation and the recitation by Isocrates of the opening lines of Euripides' plays to justify his suicide.<sup>257</sup> Two things point to Hermippus as the source of this additional material. After noting the second tradition, according to which Isocrates died at age 100, Ps.-Plutarch then provides a short catalogue of those speeches which the orator wrote either in his old age or shortly before his death. Among them was a speech against Philip (Or. V) which, we are told, was composed shortly before he died, precisely what Hermippus himself had recorded.<sup>258</sup> Next, Ps.-Plutarch refers to the adoption of Aphareus, which also occurred in Isocrates' old age, and then goes on to note the considerable wealth which he earned not only from teaching but also from such donatives as the twenty talents which he received from Nicocles. Again, Hermippus is known to have mentioned this last detail.<sup>259</sup> What we suspect is that at the same time as the author of Ps.-Plutarch derived from Hermippus these notices on Isocrates' speeches and his wealth, he also extracted the anecdotal material on his death.

What can be concluded from this comparison of the two lives? First, when

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Χαιρώνειαν πάθους, ἐξαγαγὼν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τετράσιν ἡμέραις ἀσιτήσας, ὅτε δὴ μὴ ὑπομείνας ἰδεῖν τετράκις δουλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Both traditions, however, are given by Zosimus (258. 45) who attributes the 9 day tradition to Demetrius (Phalerum?). The 4 day tradition was preferred by the source of Ps.-Plutarch because of the neat synchronism that it provided with the funeral of those who had fallen at Chaeronea.

257. Zosimus (258. 41–50) provides exactly the same details, indicating that he has excerpted the same source as Ps.-Plutarch. For a comparison of their texts see Chapter 4 pp. 320–3.

258. 837f: τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὀλίγω πρότερον τοῦ θανάτου. Cf. fr. 66 (Hypothesis Isocrates V Philippus): ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ Ἰσοκράτης τὸν λόγον γέρων ὢν, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Φιλίππου τελευτῆς, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἑρμιππος.

259. Fr. 64: Hypothesis Isocrates II ad Nicoclem.



composing his biography of Isocrates, the author of Ps.-Plutarch gathered his material from two places, from the common history and from the biographer Hermippus. Secondly, many of the additions to Dionysius' account so far examined are anecdotal and point to the latter. But these additions were not always taken directly from Hermippus. At times they appear to have been derived from the common history. The extreme epitomization of Hermippus' citation of the comic poet Strattis (836ef), and the anonymous reference to him as the source for including Isaeus and Hypereides among the Isocrateans (837d), points to a process of abridgement by which notices of the biographer entered the γένη of the common history. This point is confirmed by Dionysius' opening words in *Isaeus*. The only details to be found in the κοινὴ ἱστορία about Isaeus were that he was the teacher of Demosthenes, and either Athenian or Chalcidian by birth. This information Dionysius found not in Hermippus, since he is cited separately at the end of the chapter for confirmation that Isaeus was a student of Isocrates and the teacher of Demosthenes.<sup>260</sup> Hermippus certainly was the first to make Isaeus an Isocratean; he had also made him Athenian,<sup>261</sup> but by the time Dionysius came to write the biographical introduction to his essay on Isaeus these details had already become part of the standard tradition. Thus it seems that the compilers, who put together the common histories of the orators, drew on the biographer for certain notices.

Further confirmation can be found in *POxy* 3543, which preserves portions of a γένος of Isocrates. The text must be compared with a portion of Zosimus' own

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260. For text see above, n. 120–21.

261. See the text of Harpocration above, n. 122.

biography of Isocrates. At line 83 Zosimus switches sources (λέγουσι δέ τινες) and begins his biography afresh.<sup>262</sup> Subsequently, and up to at least line 98, the text shows a striking similarity with that of the papyrus, for the sections on the birth, education and school of Isocrates, and these two biographies closely resemble Ps.-Plutarch. Both include the Apollodoran date of birth, but fail to note the synchronism with Plato found in Ps.-Plutarch, a date that goes back to Hermippus. In the section on Isocrates' teachers, Zosimus mentions only Prodicus and Gorgias; the papyrus mentions all four names found in Ps.-Plutarch. But instead of expanding on Theramenes in the manner of Ps.-Plutarch, who draws directly on Hermippus at this point, Zosimus and the papyrus quote from the *Phaedrus* 278e.<sup>263</sup> Each of the three biographies includes a similar list of students, all of which were derived ultimately from Hermippus. For these initial notices the three biographies seem to rely on sources that were based on the common history. In that same history must have appeared some of the information on Isocrates' death found in Ps.-Plutarch. It is probable that a similar notice originally stood in the papyrus. But it is uncertain how far it went beyond what we find in Dionysius, who used the κοινὴ ἱστορία but only noted that Isocrates died at the age of 98, after committing suicide at the time of the battle of Chaeronea.<sup>264</sup> It may be best to regard the additional material on Isocrates' death in

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262. Up to this point (1–82) he has been using a source dependent on Hermippus. See Chapter 4. p. 301.

263. This difference confirms the conclusion of the editors of *POxy* 3543 (p. 88) that despite the community of source, all the biographies of Isocrates show "a variety of independent expansions, abridgements and conflations".

264. Traces can be seen at line 32 where the verb ἐβίωσαν appears with reference to his age (cf. Zos. 258. 41: ἐβίωσε δ' οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὡς ὅτι ρ' ἔτη, οἱ 98), and at line 33 where the verb ἀπέλθῃ seems to be preserved, possibly with reference to his suicide (cf. Ps.-Pl. 838b: ἐξελεῖν δὲ τοῦ

Ps.-Plutarch as derived directly from Hermippus.

But there is one clear point of contact between the papyrus and Ps.-Plutarch that confirms that in certain cases notices from the biographies of Hermippus found their way into the common history. This concerns Isocrates' trierarchic service. After mentioning Isocrates' death, Ps.-Plutarch proceeds to a discussion of several of Isocrates' speeches written in his old age (837f-838b). The catalogue was, as noted, based in part on Hermippus, who provided at least the detail that the *Philippos* (Or. V) was written shortly before the orator's death. That same catalogue also contains notices on the adoption of Aphareus, and on the 20 talents which Isocrates received from Nicocles for the Eulogy of Evagoras (838a). We have already established that the Nicocles-story was taken from Hermippus, and that a similarly-phrased notice at 837c goes back to the same biographer, but only through the common history.<sup>265</sup> In that passage Ps.-Plutarch states that Isocrates made more money than any other sophist so that he even had to serve as trierarch.<sup>266</sup> This is precisely the point illustrated by the Nicocles-story: εὐπόρησε δ' ἱκανῶς οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους ... ἐφ' οἷς φθονηθεὶς τρις προεβλήθη τριηραρχεῖν. But obviously the brief notice at 837c represents only an abridgement of Hermippus' much fuller account, in which the biographer described in some detail Isocrates' wealth from teaching and writing and his various challenges in court to serve as trierarch.

Nearly the same thing seems to have occurred in the *POxy* 3543. After giving

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βίου οἱ μὲν ἐναυατῶν φασι σίτων ἀποσχόμενον...).

265. See pp. 64–5.

266. 837c: ἀργύριον τε ὅσον οὐδεὶς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὥς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι.

his own list of Isocrateans, the author of the papyrus goes on to mention the 1000 drachmae which Isocrates earned from each student, the challenges brought against him in court, the defence by his adopted son Aphareus and then his subsequent service as trierarch.<sup>267</sup> *POxy* 3543 represents a type of abbreviated biography which characterized the γέννη of the κοινὴ ἱστορίᾱ. As a product of that tradition it has preserved certain notices found in the biographies of Hermippus.

As a product of that same tradition Ps.-Plutarch at times has also preserved notices from Hermippus, but only as they came down through the common history. These would include such things as the detail that Isocrates' father was an αὐλοποιός; the notice that the orator had studied under Prodicus, Gorgias, Teisias and Theramenes the rhetor; a list of Isocrateans; and the note that Isocrates made so much money from his teaching that he even performed trierarchies. At other times the author of

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267. 21–21:

α' παρὰ δὲ τῶν . [   
 τες αὐτοὶ διαφορ [   
 πρῶτον εἰς τρ. [   
 δ .. [.] προεβλήθη   
 ...] τὸν υἱὸν α[   
 ...] τὸ δ(ε) δεύτερον. [   
 ]. ὑπέμεινεν . [

The editors suggest α' rather than λ, which would refer to the Thirty (Theramenes), as the better reading at line 21; in which case there is a reference to the 1000 drachmae which Isocrates collected from his students. This is the better reading in view of what appears in the following lines. At line 23 there seems to be a reference to the trierarchy which Isocrates was challenged to provide (πρῶτον εἰς τριηραρχίαν). Ps.-Plutarch (838a) notes that Isocrates went to trial three times, two of which times he was successfully defended by Aphareus. This explains the πρῶτον at line 23 and δεύτερον at line 26, which must refer to the first two trials. (It is also conceivable that the papyrus only mentioned two trials; cf Ps.-Pl. 839c.) The verb προεβλήθη is the same verb used by Ps.-Plutarch of the challenges raised against Isocrates. At line 25 there is a clear reference to Aphareus, who defended Isocrates in court (τὸν υἱὸν Ἀφარέα). At line 27 the verb ὑπέμεινεν must be equivalent to Ps.-Plutarch's ὑποστᾶς, referring to Isocrates' submission to the verdict in the third trial and subsequent service as trierarch.

Ps.-Plutarch has taken material directly from the biographer. In both cases Hermippus emerges as an important source of the biographical tradition of the orators, at least as it was represented in Ps.-Plutarch. His importance stems from two things: first that he did much to shape the common history and secondly that he incorporated into his work on the Isocrateans all other previous treatments of the orators. He used Demetrius of Phalerum, who had examined the orators mainly as rhetoricians, and Idomeneus of Lampsacus, who had treated them solely as demagogues. How the notices of these two earlier writers enter the biographical tradition, as it is preserved in Ps.-Plutarch, is best explained by the extensive borrowing from Hermippus. The most likely author of these biographies was Caecilius, or a compiler who had used Caecilius extensively. A clear point of contact between all four authors is preserved in the scholium on Aeschines, where against the opinion of Demetrius of Phalerum, Caecilius, Idomeneus and Hermippus are cited.<sup>268</sup> Even if the statement on style which follows in the rest of the notice is Caecilius' own, the biographical element of that notice on the teacher-pupil relation of Aeschines to Socrates and Plato is not. It belongs to Hermippus. Caecilius would have found Demetrius and Idomeneus cited by the biographer. It will become clear in the next two chapters that much of the anecdotal material that can be traced back to these two authors found its way into the tradition through Hermippus. Chapter 2 will focus on the contribution of Demetrius of Phalerum and the Peripatetics, Chapter 3 on that of Idomeneus.

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268. Schol. Aesch. ii 1: ὅτι μαθητὴς ἐγένετο (Αἰσχίνης), ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι, Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου, εἴθ' ὕστερον Πλάτωνος, ὡς δὲ Καϊκίλιος καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἱστοροῦσιν, οὐκ ἤκουσε τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαθήσεως χάριν. φασὶ γὰρ ὡς ὅτι οὐδὲν τοῦ χαροκτῆρος τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ σῶζει κτλ. For a full text see below, n. 280.

## CHAPTER 2

### DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM

We saw in the last chapter that, while the biographies of Ps.-Plutarch are composites, they contain a discernible core based on an anonymous collection of biographies commonly known as the κοινὴ ἱστορία. These biographies grew out of the research of Alexandrian scholars. In the biography of Isocrates, the influence of Hermippus was identifiable, either in extraneous additions taken directly from his work by Caecilius himself, or in notices from the common history, where early compilers of the history had already gathered the material from his biography, reduced it and made it part of the established tradition. Hermippus was thus a crucial figure in the development of the biographical tradition of certain orators. Whatever contributions were made by earlier writers such as Demetrius of Phalerum and Idomeneus of Lampsacus probably entered the tradition through him. This chapter will examine the contribution of Demetrius of Phalerum and the Peripatetic school.

Demetrius was responsible for the tradition, found preserved in some form in all the extant biographies, that Demosthenes performed certain exercises to correct a speech impediment. Underlying this tradition was the Peripatetic view that Demosthenes was not a naturally gifted orator but had to rely on study and practice. Demetrius developed this idea further by ascribing to Demosthenes various exercises intended to correct the problem. But an examination of his statements will reveal that his description of these exercises was originally intended to illustrate the Peripatetic theory of delivery and had little basis in fact. Thus the whole tradition

grew out of a discussion of the problems of delivery, which could be completely neglected by orators like Isocrates (fr. 169) or overdone by others like Demosthenes (fr. 161-6). In fact, as we shall learn, Demetrius was highly critical of Demosthenes' style of delivery, which he regarded as too theatrical. The evidence that he furnished was all based on comic travesty. The impression to emerge from our discussion is that the entire tradition was based on comic invention and Peripatetic thought.

### Demetrius of Phalerum

Demetrius of Phalerum was a student of Theophrastus. He became *Nomothetes* of Athens for ten years (317-07) under Cassander,<sup>269</sup> but after the capture of Athens by Poliorcetes, he fled to Boeotia and later (297) made his way to Egypt. He seems to have been involved in organizing the Museum and library at Alexandria, after the model of the Lyceum, and perhaps even influenced the direction of Alexandrian scholarship.<sup>270</sup> He was a prolific writer and certain works of his seem to have been the precursors of later scholarship.<sup>271</sup> As an important figure in the early period of the Museum, his works should have been known to later Alexandrian scholars and writers, and it is safe to assume that they were catalogued in the *Pinakes* of Callimachus. Hermippus is known to have written a biography of the Peripatetic, probably in his collection of lives on the School of Aristotle,<sup>272</sup> and the list of works

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269. For details on his dates and career see Bayer, *Demetrios Phalereus Der Athener* (1969) 1-108, Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley 1990) 36-51 and Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911). For his official title see Harding, *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome* II. no. 129 and bibliography.

270. Pfeiffer 96-101; Green, *Alexander*, 84-5; Fraser I 314-4, 320-1.

271. Notably his Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφὴ was a forerunner of Apollodorus' *Chronika* and was used by the Alexandrian. See Pfeiffer 256 and Wehrli IV 77-8 and fr. 150 (D.L. II 7) & 153 (D.L. II 44).

preserved in Diogenes (V 80-81) may have been the biographer's own,<sup>273</sup> no doubt garnered from the Πίνακες of his teacher. This in itself would suggest that Hermippus was familiar with the works of Demetrius of Phalerum. Thus it comes as no surprise that the image of the orator Demosthenes presented by the Peripatetic in his rhetorical works was picked up by this biographer.

Most of the fragments on Demosthenes deal with some aspect of his oratory, usually his delivery, and so have been assigned by Wehrli and Jacoby to Demetrius' περὶ ῥητορικῆς.<sup>274</sup> Of the fragments (156-73 W) assigned to this work many, particularly those dealing with Demosthenes, show a decidedly anecdotal character. These anecdotes were often intended to illustrate a point of rhetoric under discussion. Hence in fr. 156, on the theory of natural ability, Philodemus quotes Demetrius for the example of Philon, the architect, who without rhetorical training spoke competently to the Athenian assembly about the arsenal, his area of expertise.<sup>275</sup> This story, which was introduced as an illustration by later rhetoricians, may have originated with

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272. Fr. 58

273. Bayer (above, n. 269) 112 & 148.

274. Fr 161-70 W. Jacoby, *FGrH* 228 II D 649, and Wehrli, IV 79, reject the view of Martini, "Demetrios," *RE* IV (1901) 2831, that Demetrius wrote a βίος of the orator, despite a notice to this effect in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Dem.* 53 which concludes with the words ὡς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες. But contrast Bayer, (above, n. 269) 148-9, who suggests that both Dionysius and Plutarch had known two works by the Peripatetic. Diogenes Laertius (V 80) implies that Demetrius of Phalerum wrote several books on rhetoric (τὰ ῥητορικά). The περὶ ῥητορικῆς consisted of two books and is expressly cited by Philodemus (fr. 156, 158, 172). Other titles recorded in Diogenes which may have covered rhetorical topics were περὶ πίστεως, περὶ χάριτος and περὶ καιροῦ. See Grube, "A Greek Critic: Demetrius on Style," *Phoenix Supplementary Volume 4* (1961) 52.

275. fr. 156 (*Rhet.* I 346 Sudh.): εἶναι Φίλωνος ὁ [Δημή]τριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἔταξεν ἴσως τὰ πρόγμματα ἄλλ[ως], καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὰ περὶ θατέ[ρου] Φίλωνος. See Wehrli IV 79.



Demetrius, who, unlike Cicero, perhaps attributed Philon's eloquence to his knowledge as an architect and not to his rhetorical skill.<sup>276</sup> Elsewhere (fr. 157) Philodemus notes that, as well as the sophistic kind of speech, Demetrius added to deliberative and forensic oratory ὁ ἐντευτικός (λόγος), that is, speech which can be adapted for every occasion, for addressing assemblies and powerful princes.<sup>277</sup> Perhaps fragments 158-9 belong to this context. They describe the Athenian embassy that was sent to Antipater after the Lamian war.<sup>278</sup> Xenocrates was one of the delegates. The failure of that embassy was attributed by Demetrius to Xenocrates' training in the Academy, where he was taught to declaim according to θέσεις. He lacked a command of rhetoric, especially of the ἐντευτικός λόγος which would have better prepared him for addressing kings.<sup>279</sup>

From these examples a clear picture emerges of Demetrius' method of presentation in which a point of rhetoric was illustrated by an anecdote. The same is no less true of his treatment of Demosthenes.

### Hermippus and Demetrius

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276. *De Or.* I 14. 62: Neque enim, si Philonem illum architectum, qui Atheniensibus armamentarium fecit, constat, perdiserte populo rationem operis sui reddidisse, existimandum est, architecti potius artificio disertum, quam oratoris, fuisse. cf. Val. Max. VIII 12 ext. 2 and Phld. IV 192 Sudh.

277. *Rhet.* I 222 Sudh.: καὶ μὴν ὁ Διημήτριος μετὰ τοῦ σοφιστικοῦ γένους τῶν λόγων [προσ]θεῖς τῷ δημηγορικῷ καὶ δικανικῷ τὸν ἐντευτικὸν ἄπασιν, εἰ μὲν λαμβάνει τὸν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐντευτικὸν καὶ τὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν τοῖς δυνάσταις, ἐχέτω μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος... As Grube (above, n. 274) 53 notes, Philodemus seems to mean that Demetrius included this kind of speech under the sophistic class which in Philodemus is identical to epideictic oratory. Hence Demetrius followed Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1358 b7) in dividing rhetoric into three classes, συμβουλευτικόν (δημηγορικόν), δικανικόν and ἐπιδεικτικόν γένος; cf. Wehrli IV 79.

278. Plut. *Phoc.* 27 and D.L. IV 9.

279. Wehrli IV 80.

Not surprisingly, then, many of the fragments dealing with Demosthenes are anecdotes, and proved an important source for biographers such as Hermippus. In his *Rhetoric* Demetrius dealt with at least three orators who later appeared in the biographies of Hermippus: Isocrates, Aeschines and Demosthenes. But only in the case of Demosthenes is it possible to trace the genesis of a tradition which begins with Demetrius and passes unchanged into the late biographies. There are clear points of contact in our sources to suggest that Hermippus had used Demetrius, and clear hints that he may have been responsible for transmitting that tradition to later biographers. At the conclusion of Chapter 1 it was noted that the scholiast on Aeschines recorded how Hermippus, Idomeneus and Caecilius had disputed the claim of Demetrius that Aeschines was the pupil of Socrates (Isocrates?) and Plato.<sup>280</sup> That this discipleship had been suggested to Demetrius from a comparison of styles between Aeschines and Plato is suggested by the statement shared by Caecilius, Idomeneus and Hermippus

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280. fr. 171 (126a Ofenloch; Schol. Aesch. II 6 Schultz; Dindorf 6; Anon *Vita* 7 Martin-de Budé): ὅτι μαθητὴς ἐγένετο, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι, Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου, εἴθ' ὕστερον Πλάτωνος· ὡς δὲ Καικίλιος καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἱστοροῦσιν, οὐκ ἤκουσε τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαθήσεως χάριν. Φασὶ (φησὶ i [cod. Paris s. XIII])† γὰρ ὡς ὅτι "οὐδὲν τοῦ χαροκτῆρος τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ σφῆζει, οὔτε τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ καθαρὸν <οὔτε τὸ>† ἀπέρριπτον <οὔτε τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ>† εὐρυθμον, ἀλλὰ κεχητυῖά πῶς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἄτεχνος μὲν καὶ, προπετὴς καὶ εὐχερῶς ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν αἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀπρεπῶς ῥήτορι ἐξαγομένη, ἔχουσα δὲ τι εὐφυὲς καὶ εὐάγωνον, καὶ οἷον ἄν γένοιτό τι ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἀφανοῦς"; cf. Apollonius *Vita Aesch.* 266. 33 W: φασὶ μέντοι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἀκουστὴν γενέσθαι Πλάτωνος τε καὶ Σωκράτους, ψευδόμενοι.

† Reiske reads καθαρὸν <οὔτε τὸ>, which is the reading accepted by Müller and Wehrli; Blass, on the other, hand assumes a lacuna after ἀπέρριπτον which he fills with <οὔτε τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ>. If φησὶ is accepted this may be an argument for regarding Caecilius (Kindstrand 40 n. 90; cf. Blass III 2 [1880] 132 n. 1) or perhaps even Hermippus (Müller fr. 15 *FHG* II 493 & Jacoby fr. 13 *FGrH* 338) as the source of the stylistic evaluation.

that Aeschines preserved nothing of the character of Plato.<sup>281</sup> Such a discussion finds an obvious place in the context of Demetrius' work on rhetoric, that Hermippus consulted. The text of the scholia should be compared with a notice in Ps.-Plutarch, where we are told that certain writers made Aeschines a pupil of Isocrates and Plato, while Caecilius made him the student of Leodamus.<sup>282</sup> The anonymous source is obviously Demetrius, particularly if we follow most scholars in taking the Σωκράτους of the scholium to be a corruption of Ἰσοκράτους.<sup>283</sup> Though Caecilius made Aeschines the pupil of Leodamus, he followed Hermippus in rejecting the view of Demetrius that he was a student of Plato. It is likely that he found Demetrius and Idomeneus cited in the text of Hermippus.<sup>284</sup>

Another point of contact between Demetrius of Phalerum and Hermippus appears in Plutarch's *Demosthenes* 11 where the two authors are cited side by side for

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281. Wehrli IV 82. But Kindstrand, "The Stylistic Evaluation of Aeschines in Antiquity," *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis* 18 (1982) 71, notes that the superfluous μαθήσεως χάριν indicates that Caecilius' main point was not the same as that of Demetrius, who merely mentioned the pupil-relationship as a biographical fact.

282. *Aesch.* 840b: ἄκροατῆς δὲ γενόμενος ὥς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὥς δὲ Κοικίλιος Λεωδομόντος. Cf. Philostr. *VS* I 18: ἄκροατῆς δὲ Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Ἰσοκράτους γενόμενος; Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 264 490b: ἠκροάσατο δέ, οἱ μὲν φασιν Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος, Κοικίλιος δὲ Λεωδόμωντος λέγει. But at cod. 61 20a however, he gives the name Antalcidas which is perhaps a corruption of Alcidas: διακοῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀνταλκίδου φασι μαθητεῦσαι; cf. *Suda* s.v. Αἰσχίνης 347: μαθητῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ῥητορικὴν Ἀλκιδόμωντος.

283. Schaefer I 255 n. 1, Blass III 2 (1880) 132 n. 1 (who attributes the fragment to Demetrius Magnes), Drerup 101 n. 1, Jacoby fr. 13 *FGrH* 338 (III B 89), Kindstrand (above, n. 281) 69–71, Wehrli Suppl. I 90. With the exception of Apollonius (296. 33) in most cases Isocrates and Plato appear together as the teachers of Aeschines (Philostr. I 18, Ps.–Pl. 840b, Phot. cod. 264 490b). The same combination is found repeated for the orators Lycurgus (Ps.–Pl. 841b), Demosthenes (844bc) and Hypereides (848d).

284. Jacoby, "Idomeneus," *RE* 9 (1916) 911; *FGrH* III B 85; Wehrli Suppl. I 90; Kindstrand (above, n. 281) 40.

their similar views on Demosthenes' style of delivery.<sup>285</sup> To the masses Demosthenes' delivery appeared "wondrously pleasing", but to men of refinement like Demetrius, base, ignoble and weak. That this judgment originally appeared in his *Rhetoric* is confirmed by the fact that it is quoted by Philodemus in his *Rhetorica*.<sup>286</sup> No doubt Demetrius expressed this criticism in a section of the work in which he discussed the problem of delivery. In the same section appeared the notice at the beginning of chapter 11, where Demetrius is cited by Plutarch for a description of the exercises employed by Demosthenes to improve his voice, and possibly the story at 11. 2, which told of an injured man who once came to Demosthenes requesting his service as an advocate. The anecdote is given as an illustration of the importance that Demosthenes placed on tone and delivery as a means of persuasion.<sup>287</sup> The inclusion of such an anecdote would be consistent with Demetrius' method of presentation and in Plutarch's text at least it is directly connected with his assessment of the orator's delivery as ignoble and weak. But Plutarch derived the story from Hermippus, who was probably responsible also for the notice on the exercises and certainly for

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285. *Dem.* 11. 3 (fr. 161 W): τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες ταπεινὸν ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν, ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐστίν. Αἰσίωνα δὲ φησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐπερωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν πόλοι ρητόρων καὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀκούων μὲν ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν ἐκείνους εὐκόσμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ δῆμῳ διαλεγόμενους, ἀναγινωσκόμενοι δ' οἱ Δημοσθένους λόγοι πολὺ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέρουσιν.

286. *Phil.* I 197 Sudh. (fr. 162 W): παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φαληρεῖ λέγεται τὸ ποικίλον μὲν αὐτὸν (sc. Δημοσθένην) ὑποκρίτην γεγονέναι καὶ περιττόν, οὐχ ἀπλοῦν δὲ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν γενναῖον τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον καὶ ταπεινότερον ἀποκλείνοντα.

287. οὕτως ᾤετο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν εἶναι τὸν καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες ... ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐστίν.

Demetrius' judgment of the orator.<sup>288</sup> According to Plutarch, Hermippus had reported a conversation in which Aesion, a contemporary of Demosthenes, was asked to compare Demosthenes' style of delivery with that of the ancient orators. As the story goes, he replied that the former use to declaim to the demos in a decorous and grand manner, but Demosthenes' speeches only showed their superior arrangement when read. This statement must be understood in light of Demetrius' view of Demosthenes' delivery. To imply that Demosthenes did not declaim in the decorous and grand manner of the older orators was to say that he was low and ignoble.

But the Peripatetic content of the Aesion anecdote can be seen in another way. The obvious point being made here by Aesion is that Demosthenes' delivery was deficient; his skill was only evident in the written word, not in his delivery. The contrast is brought out in the text in the words ἀκούων and ἀναγινωσκόμενοι, between hearing a speech actually delivered and simply reading one. The same contrast is found in the Demosthenes scholia of Zosimus, where Demosthenes himself is made to express the same opinion assigned here to Aesion. When asked who was the better orator, himself or Callistratus, Demosthenes replied "ἐγὼ μὲν γραφόμενος, Καλλίστρατος δὲ ἀκουόμενος".<sup>289</sup> This was essentially what the Peripatetics had to say about Isocrates. Hieronymus is recorded as saying that Isocrates' speeches could be

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288. Drerup (31 n. 3) notes that the καὶ in the citation ὦν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἔστιν indicates that Plutarch drew from a source that had cited Demetrius.

289. Schol. ad *Tim.* (XXIV) 135 (271 vol. II p. 361 Diltz): Καλλίστρατος] οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ῥήτωρ, οὗ ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο ὁ Δημοσθένης, περὶ οὗ ἔφη ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Δημοσθένης, "τίς ἀμείνων ῥήτωρ, σὺ ἢ Καλλίστρατος;" "ἐγὼ μὲν γραφόμενος, Καλλίστρατος δὲ ἀκουόμενος." ἦν γὰρ ἐπιδεικτικὸς σφόδρα ὁ Καλλίστρατος. ὅθεν καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ ἐπιδεικνυμένου ὁ Δημοσθένης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἦλθε λόγων, ὥς εἰρήκαμεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ αὐτοῦ.

read effectively but to declaim them with proper intonation and other aspects of delivery was impossible.<sup>290</sup> Presumably this was what Demetrius of Phalerum was getting at when he stated that Isocrates' long periods were bad for delivery. We know of this from Philodemus, who quotes him in the same context in which he cites Hieronymus for his critical evaluation of Isocrates' speeches. It seems, then, that Demetrius also held that speeches whose artistic skill was only evident when they were read could not be declaimed with proper delivery. In Hermippus' account Aesion is made to express this very criticism of Demosthenes.

Philodemus notes, in the very passage in which the criticism of Isocrates' long periods is registered, that Demetrius also considered Demosthenes' delivery as over-done, not simple and noble but inclined to what is weak and ignoble. Plutarch repeats this criticism in chapter 11 in connection with the importance which Demosthenes assigned to intonation and delivery; in the very same context the opinion of Aesion is also quoted from Hermippus. It is clear then that Hermippus had expressed through Demosthenes' contemporary an opinion of decidedly Peripatetic origin. The close correspondence in thought between Demetrius' criticism of

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290. D.H. *Isoc.* 13: Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος φησιν ἀναγνῶναι μὲν ἄν τινα δυσνηθῆναι τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καλῶς, δημηγορῆσαι δὲ τήν τε φωνήν καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐπάραντα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κατασκευῇ μετὰ τῆς ἁρμοτιούσης ὑποκρίσεως εἰπεῖν οὐ παντελῶς.

Philid. I 197. 24: παρὰ δὲ τῶι Φαληρεῖ λέγεται τὸ ποικίλον μὲν αὐτὸν ὑποκρίτην γεγονέναι καὶ περιττόν, οὐχ ἀπλοῦν δὲ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν γενναῖον τρόπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ μαλακώτερον καὶ ταπεινότερον ἀποκλείνοντα. οἱ δ' οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν εἰκόασιν, ἐξ ὧν γεγράφασιν, ἀθλίως ὑποκεκρίσθαι πονηρὸν γὰρ εἶς ὑπόκρισιν αἱ μάκραι περίοδοι, καθόπερ καὶ παρὰ [Δημητρίῳ] κτεῖται περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους. Ἱερώνυμος δὲ φησιν ἀναγνῶναι μὲν αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους καλῶς δυσνήσεσθαι τινα, δημηγορῆσαι δὲ τήν τε φωνήν καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐπαίροντα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κατασκευῇ μετὰ τῆς ἁρμοτιούσης ὑποκρίσεως εἰπεῖν οὐ παντελῶς.

Demosthenes' delivery and Aesion's alleged view on the subject suggests that Hermippus' was Plutarch's source for the citation from Demetrius of Phalerum and perhaps for the entire content of chapter 11, including the description of Demosthenes' speech impediment at the beginning of the chapter.

Demetrius inaugurates the tradition that Demosthenes suffered from certain speech impediments that the orator corrected through various exercises. Underlying this tradition is a view, also originating in the Peripatos, that as an orator Demosthenes was not naturally gifted but had to rely on study and practice. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Demetrius and subsequently all other writers of his *bios* related that Demosthenes worked hard (οὐ μικρὸς πόνος) on the intonation of his voice and his gestures, despite being naturally (φύσει) ill-suited to such exertion.<sup>291</sup> This was obviously what Hermippus was getting at when he characterized the orator as ἐπιμελῆς μάλλον ἢ εὐφυῆς, and his words can only be understood in light of what Demetrius of Phalerum had said about Demosthenes' natural defects and his attempts to overcome his problems through practice..<sup>292</sup>

### The Tradition of Demosthenes' Speech Impediment

This tradition is found preserved in almost the same form and language in

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291. *Dem.* 53: διττὴν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς (sc. ὑποκρίσεως) οὕσαν ὁρῶν, περὶ ὅμφῳ τὰ μέρη σφόδρα ἐσπούδασε. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, ὡς κράτιστα ἔξειν ἔμελλεν, οὐ μικρῷ πόνῳ κατεργάσατο, καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖ χρησάμενος, ὡς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες.

292. fr. 75 (Suda sv. Δημοσθένης 454): Ἀθηναῖος, υἱὸς Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλεοβούλης, ῥήτωρ, τῶν δῆμων Ποικονιεύς ἐπιμελὴς μάλλον ἢ εὐφυής, ὡς Ἑρμιππος ἱστορεῖ κτλ.

nearly every extant biography of Demosthenes. It is repeatedly stated that the orator suffered naturally (ἐκ φύσεως) from a stutter (τραυλότης), a shortness of breath (τὸ πνεῦμα ἄτονος) and an awkward movement in his shoulder (τὸ ὦμον ἀπρεπῶς κινεῖν), all of which he corrected (διορθώω) through practice (μελέτη). These key words appear in nearly every account of Demosthenes' exercises.<sup>293</sup> The similarities suggest a common account which ultimately leads back to Demetrius, but perhaps only through Hermippus, who used similar words to characterize the orator. Obviously such a

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293. Plut. *Dem.* 11. 1: Τοῖς δὲ σωματικοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπήγεν ἄσκησιν, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἱστορεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀκοῦσαι πρεσβύτου γεγονότος τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρθροῦν εἰς τὸ στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα καὶ ῥήσεις ὅμα λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν γυμνάζειν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σιμ' ἀναβάσει διαλεγόμενον καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἢ στίχους ὅμα τῷ πνεύματι πυκνουμένῳ προφερόμενον εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἱστάμενον ἐξ ἐναντίας περαινέειν.

Ps.-Pl. 844d-e: λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι νέον ὄντα εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπιέναι καὶ κεῖ φιλολογεῖν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξυρμένον, ἵνα μὴ προέρχεται καὶ ἐπὶ στενῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα διὰ ταχέων ἀνίσταται· τὸ τε ῥῶ μὴ δυνάμενον λέγειν ἐκπονήσαι, καὶ τὸν ὦμον ἐν τῷ μελετᾶν κινεῖν ἀπρεπῶς καταπαῦσαι, παραρτήσαντα ὀβελίσκον ἢ ὡς τινες ξιφίδιον ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἵνα φοβούμενος ἡρεμοίῃ. προβαίνοντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰσχὺν ἔσοπτρον ἰσομέγεθες αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορῶντα μελετᾶν, ἵνα ἐπανορθώσῃται τὰ ἐλλείποντα. καὶ κατιόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Φαληρικὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβολὰς τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα, εἴ ποτε θορυβοίῃ ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐκασταίῃ τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος αὐτῷ ἐνδέοντος Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ ὑποκριτῇ μυρίας δοῦναι, ἵνα ὅλας περιόδους ἀπνεύστως λέγῃ.

Lib. 295. 62: ἔτι κακείνων μνημονευτέον, ὅτι τραυλὸς μὲν ἦ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἄτονώτερος... ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μελέτῃ κατάρθωσε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτῷ πρὸς δημαγωγίαν ὑπὴν ἐλαττώματα...(296. 86) ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀπρέπως τὸν ὦμον εἰώθει κινεῖν· ὑπερεκρέμασεν οὖν τοῦ ὤμου τὸ ξίφος ἐν χρῶ, καὶ οὕτω τῷ δέει τῆς πληγῆς ἡδυνήθη κατασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρέποντος σχήματος.

Zos. 299. 60: πολλὰ δ' ἐκ φύσεως ἔχων ἐλαττώματά τε καὶ νοσήματα ἐπιμελεῖα τὴν φύσιν ἐνίκησε· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στόμα τραυλὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενής, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν κραυγὰς τινὰς ἢ κτύπους, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄτονος, ὡς μὴ ἐν ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπνευστὶ δύνασθαι, καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ σώματος ἀπρεπῆς καὶ μαλακώτερος, ὅποτε δέοι λέγειν κινῶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τοὺς ὤμους περιέρριπτε τὸν τρίβωνα κατὰ τῆς γῆς. ἐπηνωρθώσατο δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τούτων τῶν τρόπων κτλ.

Suda 311. 51: τραυλὸς δ' ὢν καὶ τὸν ὦμον ἀπρεπῶς ἐκίνει, καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενής καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ διαρκές· ὅπερ ἀσκήσει διωρθώσατο.



characterization had become part of the common history of the orator and no doubt Hermippus' own account formed the basis of that common history, as it was preserved in these later biographies.

As far as we can determine, Demetrius mentioned only a stutter. The other two problems were inferred by later biographers. The term used to describe Demosthenes' articulatory disorder is τραυλότης. According to Plutarch, who cites Demetrius as his source, Demosthenes suffered from an indistinctness and lisping of the tongue (ἀσάφεια καὶ τραυλότης τῆς γλώττης). Specifically, Demetrius is known to have reported that the orator could not pronounce the letter rho.<sup>294</sup> That Plutarch meant by the word τραυλότης such an inarticulation is understood from the treatment which Demosthenes is said to have used to correct the problem. The practice of reciting with pebbles in his mouth is regularly connected in the biographical tradition with his inability to pronounce rho. Hence Zosimus notes that Demosthenes corrected his τραυλισμός by putting pebbles in his mouth and reciting continuously a passage of Homer. As a witness to his success in overcoming the problem, he records Demosthenes' own words, "I come to you with the rho which has been mastered by eloquence."<sup>295</sup>

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294. Fr. 168 (Cic. *De Div.* II 46. 96): multi etiam naturae vitium meditatione atque exercitatione sustulerunt, ut Demosthenem scribit Phalereus, cum rho dicere nequiret, exercitatione fecisse ut plenissime diceret.

295. Zos. 299. 68: τὸν μὲν τραυλισμὸν ἐμβαλλων τινὰς ψήφους ἐν τῷ στόματι καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου συνεχῶς ἔπος τι λέγων, οἷον τὸ "ρόχθει γὰρ μέγα κύμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπείριοι" οὕτως δὲ τοῦτο ἐπηγωνθῶσατο, ὥστ' εἰσελθόντα εἰπεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκεῖνο τὸ περιφερόμενον "ἦκω φέρων τὸ ρ καταρρητορευμένον." διὰ τοῦτο δ' εἶπε τὸ ρ, ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον οἱ τραυλοὶ αἰεὶ περὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο σφάλλονται, τὸ λ ἂν τὸ τοῦ ρ προφέροντες. Cf. Cic. *De Or.* I 260–61; Anon. *Vita* 305. 68.

Zosimus also notes that Demosthenes' speech disorder was a form of pararthotacism in which he

That Demetrius himself had used some form of the term τραυλότης to describe Demosthenes' articulatory disorder is suggested from the text of *PSI* 144, where the problem is described in much the same language.<sup>296</sup> The papyrus was first published by Vitelli.<sup>297</sup> Dated to the end of the second century A.D.,<sup>298</sup> the text corresponds closely to a series of Demetrian notices found in the parallel texts of Plutarch *Demosthenes* 9, Ps.-Plutarch 845a and Photius 493a 41.<sup>299</sup> There is some question whether the fragment comes from a biography<sup>300</sup> or a work of literary criticism.<sup>301</sup> But in either case it owes its origin to Alexandrian scholarship of the Callimachean tradition; it seems to have been an epitome of a work of Eratosthenes, perhaps his *περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας*.<sup>302</sup> At line 8 he is cited as the authority for certain eccentricities in Demosthenes' style of delivery. These include the metrical oath, the frenzied behaviour, the mispronunciation of Asclepius' name, the last followed by an

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substituted sound of l for r. This is the same disorder attributed to Alcibiades by Aristophanes *Wasps* 44 (cf. Plutarch *Alc.* 1. 4). As we shall see, a comparison of the two Athenians was made by the Peripatetics who noted that both men could not extemporize.

296. *PSI* 144: ὑπότραυλος ὢν καὶ τὸν ὦ)/μον μαλ[ακῶς κινῶν, γυμνα]/ζόμενος [δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δη]/μοσθένης κατώρθωσε. καὶ)/ ἐν τοῖς δι[καστηρίοις ἦδη]/ ...1.8: καὶ Ἐρατοσ[θένης δέ φη]/σι τὸν Δη[μοσθένην ὄρκον ὁ]/μωμοκέναι ἔμμετρον, παρὰ βακ[χον δ'] ἐν π[ολλοῖς γεγόνε]ναι)/ καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν εἶπε[ῖν]/ ἐπὶ τοῦ βή[ματος Ἀσκληπιον,]/ τὴν προσω[ίδιον κακῶς μετα]/στρέφον[τα καὶ παραδεικνύ]/μενον ὥς ἄ[ρα ἐστὶ λέγον]/τος ὀρθῶς εἶ[ναι γὰρ τὸν]/ θεὸν ἦπιον [· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ]/ πίπτειν αἰ[κίζόμενον.]/ Κρότητα κτλ.

297. "Da una vita di Demostene," *Papiri Greci e Latini* 2 (1913) n. 144 69–71.

298. Gallo, *Frammenti biografici da papiri I: La biografia politica* (Roma 1975) 140.

299. For a complete comparison of these texts see below, pp. 132–5.

300. Gallo (above, n. 297) suggests an epitome of a scholarly biography of the period immediately following the time of Didymus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

301. Wilamowitz, "Neue Veröffentlichungen der Italienischen Gesellschaft für Papyrusforschung," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 34 (1919) 1863; West, Review of Gallo, *Gnomon* 51 (1979) 427.

302. At line 20 of the papyrus Craterus is cited. Gallo, (above, n. 297) 147, plausibly suggests that the comic citation finds an appropriate context in Eratosthenes' treatise on comedy. In fact many of the notices (ll. 8–19), which are attributed to the Alexandrian scholar in the papyrus but, which in fact go back to Demetrius of Phalerum, are of comic origin.

anecdote in which Demosthenes justifies his pronunciation. The same notices appear in one or the other texts, where there are clear indications that they are derived from Demetrius.<sup>303</sup> The explanation must be that Eratosthenes has simply excerpted a work of Demetrius.

Presumably the notices on the orator's disabilities also were derived from the Peripatetic. In the first six lines of the papyrus it is noted that Demosthenes suffered from certain physical problems, a stutter (ὑπότραυλος) and a nervous twitch in his shoulder, which he is said to have corrected through practice (γυμναζόμενος).<sup>304</sup> At the very least the text indicates that the tradition that Demosthenes was τραυλός was established by the time Eratosthenes wrote sometime after 246 B.C.<sup>305</sup>

Demosthenes' inability to articulate the letter rho is also noted by Ps.-Plutarch in a passage (844d-e) which repeats many of the same notices about Demosthenes' exercises attributed directly to the testimony of Demetrius by Plutarch, with a few variations and additions. Ps.-Plutarch's source is anonymous (λέγουσι), indicating that Demetrius' account of Demosthenes' disability had already become part of the common tradition, established during the Hellenistic period. It is likely that when Plutarch and other later biographers speak of Demosthenes as τραυλός, they mean at

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303. See below, pp. 132–7.

304. ὁ γεγυμνασμένος is used of the practiced as opposed to the natural orator (ὁ εὐφυής) by Aristotle (*Rhet.* III 10. 1410b 8). This is precisely the characterization of Demosthenes given by Hermippus and Demetrius.

305. For his dates see Pfeiffer 153–4 and Fraser II 489 n. 205. The question is whether the word ὑπότραυλος means something different from τραυλός. If it suggests anything, it suggests that Demosthenes' stutter was only slight (cf. Hippocrates *Epid.* 7 3), that is he simply mispronounced the letter rho. But later biographers took the problem as much more severe and described a number of ailments that often accompany stuttering.

the very least that he could not pronounce the letter rho, and this tradition began with Demetrius of Phalerum.

According to Plutarch's account,<sup>306</sup> Demetrius supposedly heard first hand from Demosthenes as an old man the specific exercises that he used to correct this articulatory problem and to improve his delivery. These included reciting his speeches with a mouth full of pebbles, exercising his voice as he ran or climbed a hill, reciting speeches or verses in a single breath, and finally practicing before a large mirror.<sup>307</sup> These are the only details which can be attributed directly to the testimony of Demetrius. But from these exercises described by him were inferred the two other problems that we find mentioned in all the late biographies: *poor breathing*, corrected by reciting speeches in a single breath, while running and climbing; and *an awkward shoulder movement*, corrected by declaiming before a mirror.

The use of the pebble is repeated more than once with reference to Demosthenes' stutter (τραυλότης). Demetrius was certainly the first to mention it, but he only noted that the orator could not properly enunciate the letter rho. Yet often mentioned in close connexion with this problem in what appears to be a common tradition in the later biographies is that Demosthenes also suffered from a shortness of breath (τὸ πνεῦμα ἄτονος).<sup>308</sup> This seems to be the whole point behind Zosimus

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306. *Dem.* 11. 1. For text see above, n. 293.

307. *Dem.* 11. 2: εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ μέγα κάτοπτρον οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας ἱστούμενον ἐξ ἐναντίας περσίνειν. As Jacoby notes (F 17a *FGH* 228; II B 649), the exact demarcation of the text of the fragment in Plutarch is difficult to determine and perhaps this part of the notice is no longer from Demetrius. If this is true, Demetrius would have only mentioned a problem with Demosthenes' voice and nothing more.

308. *Lib.* 295. 63: ἔτι κἀκείνων μνημονευτέον, ὅτι τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἄτονώτερος...; *Zos.* 299. 63: καὶ γὰρ τὸ στόμα τραυλὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενής, ὥς

noting that the orator recited passages of Homer συνεχῶς. Earlier he had mentioned that a shortness of breath had prevented him from being able to speak a single passage ἀπνευστί.<sup>309</sup> Besides his inability to articulate the letter rho, Ps.-Plutarch (844f) also notes that Demosthenes suffered from the same breathing problem, which he corrected by hiring the actor Neoptolemus to train him to declaim whole periods ἀπνεύστως. This seems to be no more than an anecdotal development of Demetrius' simple notice that the orator would exercise his voice by discoursing as he ran or climbed hills, and by reciting entire passages or verses in a single breath. Demetrius need never have implied that Demosthenes suffered from any breathing problem. Reciting extended passages was simply good practice to improve one's breathing capacity, recommended both by actors and rhetoricians.<sup>310</sup> Nor is it clear from Plutarch's text that Demetrius actually mentioned such a problem, although in chapter 6 in language very similar to that which he uses to describe Demosthenes' articulatory problem in chapter 11 (τὴν μὲν ἀσάφειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης) Plutarch notes by way of introduction to the Eunomus-story that Demosthenes suffered from καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσαφεία καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης which disturbed the sense of his words by disjoining his periods. But such a problem could easily have been inferred by subsequent biographers, who saw in the various exercises described by Demetrius Demosthenes' way of correcting other physical defects, besides the one

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μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν κραυγὰς τινας ἢ κτύπους, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄτονος, ὥς μὴδ' ἐν ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπνευστί δύνασθαι... 300. 77: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα διαρκὲς κατεσκεύασεν οὕτως, καὶ πρὸς ὑψηλὰ τινα χωρία τρέχων καὶ ῥήσεις λέγων τινάς; Suda 311. 51: τραυλὸς δ' ὢν καὶ, τὸν ὦμον ἀπρεπῶς ἐκίνει, καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενῆς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ διαρκές; cf. Cic. *De Or.* I 260–61.

309. Zos. 299. 63: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄτονος, ὥς μὴδ' ἐν ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπνευστί δύνασθαι κτλ.

310. Quint. XI 3. 53.

articulatory disorder noted by the Peripatetic.<sup>311</sup> The text of *PSI* 144 suggests that Eratosthenes, who used Demetrius as a source, referred only to the stutter and the nervous twitch in the shoulder, but not to a breathing problem. But by the time Plutarch and the author of Ps.-Plutarch composed their biographies this last problem had already become part of the common tradition, that must have been established between the time of Eratosthenes and that of Cicero, who also mentions it together with the stutter.<sup>312</sup>

The story is often told how Demosthenes practiced these very exercises to improve his breathing by the shores of Phalerum. In several sources along with his stutter and shortness of breath is also mentioned his inability to project his voice,<sup>313</sup> particularly over the din of the assembly.<sup>314</sup> So in the same passage just before he mentions Demosthenes' training under the actor Neoptolemus to improve his breathing, Ps.-Plutarch notes that the orator used to go down to the bay of Phalerum and deliver his remarks to the crash of the waves so as to learn not to be perturbed by the uproar of the demos.<sup>315</sup> This anecdote appears in the same form in a number of the biographies. In each case the object of the exercise is expressly the same, to prepare Demosthenes for the uproar (θορύβοι) of the assembly, when he spoke.<sup>316</sup> In

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311. Cf. Zos. 300. 77: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα διαρκὲς κατεσκεύασεν οὕτως, καὶ πρὸς ὑψηλὰ τινα χωρία τρέχων καὶ ῥήσεις λέγων τινάς.

312. *De Or.* I 260–1.

313. τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενής (Zos. 299. 63; Suda 311. 52); φωνῆς ἀσθένεια (Plut. *Dem.* 6. 3).

314. Cf. Zos. 299. 61: καὶ γὰρ τὸ στόμα τραυλὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενής, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν κρουγὰς τινὰς ἢ κτύπους.

315. 844f: καὶ κατιόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Φαληρικὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβολὰς τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἵν', εἴ ποτε θορυβοῖν ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐκσταίῃ.

316. Lib. 295. 70: καὶ γὰρ δειλὸς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δήμου θορύβους καὶ ἐνκοιτόπληκτος, ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἐξίστασθαι. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο φασιν αὐτὸν ἄνεμον ῥαγδαῖον τηροῦντα

both Libanius and the *Anonymous Vita*, whose accounts are particularly close, Demosthenes adopted the practice of declaiming by the sea shore after a disastrous experience in the assembly. Libanius, who drew on a source dependent on Hermippus, specifies that the incident occurred when he addressed the people for the very first time. This point is important, since it indicates the origin of the tradition that Demosthenes practiced his declamation by the shores of Phalerum.

The same point is made by Plutarch in connection with the Eunomus-story.<sup>317</sup> According to the biographer, during his first public address, Demosthenes was interrupted "by the uproar" (θορύβοις) of the demos and laughed out of the assembly,<sup>318</sup> because of an inexperience, manifested in the confused periods and tortured arguments. Plutarch attributes Demosthenes' failure to his "weakness of voice" (φωνῆς

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καὶ κινουμένην σφοδρῶς τὴν θάλατταν παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς βαδίζοντα λέγειν, καὶ τῷ τῆς θαλάττης ἡχῷ συνεθίζεσθαι φέρειν τὰς τοῦ δήμου καταβοάς.

Zos. 299. 61: καὶ γὰρ τὸ στόμα τραυλὸς ἦν καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενής, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν κραυγὰς τινὰς ἢ κτύπους...299. 75: καὶ τοὺς θορύβους δὲ φέρειν ἐμελέτησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν κατιῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον τῶν κυμάτων λογοποιούμενος.

Anon. Vita 305. 69: καὶ θορυβούμενος ἐξέπιπτε τῆς σκέψεως πολλόκις...305. 77: τὴν τε κατοχὴν τῶν ἐσκεμμένων οὕτως ἐποίησε μόνιμον, ὥστε μὴδ' ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων ἐκπλήττεσθαι θορύβων ὀδεύων γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ τῶν προσπιπτόντων ταῖς ἡόσι κυμάτων τὸν ἦχον δεχόμενος ἀντέτασσε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμούς. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἄσκησις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄχλων καταφρόνησιν. Cf. Cic. *De Fin.* V 2. 5.

317. *Dem.* 6. 3: καίτοι τό γε πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τῷ δήμῳ θορύβοις περιέπιπτε καὶ κατεγελᾶτο δι' ἀήθειαν, τοῦ λόγου συγκεχύσθαι ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ βεβασανίσθαι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι πικρῶς ἄγαν καὶ κατακόρως δοκοῦντος. ἦν δέ τις ὥς ἔοικε καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης, ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων τῷ διασπᾶσθαι τὰς περιόδους. τέλος δ' ἀποστάντα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ρεμβόμενον ἐν Πειραιεῖ δι' ἀθυμίαν Εὐνόμος ὁ Θριάσιος ἤδη πάνυ γέρων θεασάμενος ἐπετίμησεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον ἔχων ὁμοιότατον τῷ Περικλέους, προδίδωσιν ὑπ' ἀτολμίας καὶ μαλακίας ἑαυτόν, οὔτε τοὺς ὄχλους ὑφιστάμενος εὐθαρσῶς, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξαρτυόμενος, ἀλλὰ τρυφῇ περιορῶν μαραινόμενον.

318. This point is suggested by both Libanius (ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἐξίστασθαι) and the *Anon. Vita* (ἐξέπιπτε τῆς σκέψεως πολλόκις) and again in Ps.-Plutarch's abridged version of the Eunomus-story (845a: ἐκπεσὼν δέ ποτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀθυμῶν ἐβόδιζεν οἴκοι).

ἀσθένεια), indistinct speech and shortness of breath, all of which disturbed the sense of his words. Finally, he describes the encounter with Eunomus. After being jeered out of the assembly, the orator wandered dejectedly through the Piraeus, where he was met by the elderly Eunomus of Thria. He reproached the orator for squandering his Periclean style of speaking "by a lack of courage and weakness", and for "not facing the crowd boldly and preparing his body for the forensic contest". In these last words there is a clear reference to the exercises which Demosthenes was to adopt to improve his voice and which Demetrius was to describe in detail. The charge that Demosthenes was "not standing up to the crowds boldly" must refer to the uproar (θορύβοι) which forced him from the assembly and occasioned his meeting with the old man. This inability to cope with the "uproar" of the assembly, reported in the later biographies, prompted him to take up the practice of declaiming by the seashore.

The same story is told in an abridged form in Ps.-Plutarch and Photius, with many of the same details right down to fact that Eunomus was already an old man.<sup>319</sup> This detail has no point in Ps.-Plutarch's account but is relevant in Plutarch, since it allows Eunomus to be both a contemporary of Pericles and of Demosthenes to whom the former is compared. No such comparison is given by Ps.-Plutarch but must have been present in his source. The Demetrian origin of this story is suggested from a number of factors. First, the story is found prefaced to a series of notices in

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319. Ps.-Pl. 845a: ἐκπεσὼν δέ ποτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀθυμῶν ἐβάδιζεν οἴκοι· συντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Εὐνόμος ὁ Θριάσιος πρεσβύτες ἤδη ὧν προετρέψατο τὸν Δημοσθένη, μάλιστα δ' ὁ ὑποκριτῆς Ἀνδρόνικος κτλ.

Phot. *Bibl.* 493a 41: ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε δημηγορῶν ἐξέπεσε τοῦ θεάτρον καὶ ἀθυμῶν οἴκοδε ἀπῆει, Εὐνόμος μὲν αὐτῷ ὁ Θριάσιος ἤδη πρεσβύτες ὧν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν συνεκύρησε, καὶ μάθων τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ αἷτιον θαρρεῖν τε προυτρέψατο καὶ ἀνεκτίσατο.



Ps.-Plutarch and Photius which go back to the Peripatetic.<sup>320</sup> Secondly, in the notice on the metrical oath, which in more than one text is attributed specifically to the testimony of Demetrius,<sup>321</sup> it is noted that the swearing of the oath caused an uproar (θόρυβος) in the assembly.<sup>322</sup> Moreover, the comparison with Pericles, which forms part of the original story, was first made in Peripatetic circles.<sup>323</sup> Even if the story itself is not Demetrius' own, but the creation of a later biographer, it contains a number of elements which owe themselves to him.<sup>324</sup> At the very least, he seems to have noted that early in his career Demosthenes became easily flustered at the uproar created in the assembly over his style of speaking. This is the point of the Eunomus-story and forms a regular feature of the references, that appear in the late biographies, to Demosthenes' habit of practicing his declamation by the shores of Phalerum.

Finally Demetrius is said to have reported that Demosthenes use to practice his oratory before a large mirror.<sup>325</sup> The point of this exercise was clearly to improve his

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320. These notices come from an extract of Eratosthenes' *περὶ κωμωδίας*. For the Demetrian origin of them see below, pp. 131–4.

321. Plut. *Dem.* 9. 4; Phot. 49 a 41

322. Ps.-Pl. 845b: προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο, ὡς κωμωδηθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους

"μὰ γῆν μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς μὰ νόματα"

ὁμόσας δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ θόρυβον ἐκίνησεν.

Photius: ὦμνυ δὲ ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι:

"μὰ γῆν μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς μὰ νόματα".

καὶ δὴ καὶ ποτε ὁμόσας τοὺς ὅρκους τούτους τῷ δῆμῳ θόρυβον ἐνεποίησεν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμνύναι τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν κτλ.

323. See below, pp. 117–8.

324. Hermippus is likely Plutarch's and Ps.-Plutarch's source for the extract from Eratosthenes' *περὶ κωμωδίας*. See pp. 119–20. He is most likely the source of Eunomus story, which in Ps.-Plutarch's account at least introduces that extract.

325. Plut. *Dem.* 11. 2. For text see above, n. 307.

gestures, which along with voice training formed an important part of delivery. Certainly this is how the notice is understood by later rhetoricians.<sup>326</sup> No physical problem need be implied, but later biographers inferred that there was one. In the biographical tradition it came to be connected with a shoulder spasm (τὸν ὤμον ἀπρεπῶς κινεῖν), which Demosthenes corrected by suspending a sword over his shoulder, while he practiced his declamation. In Ps.-Plutarch's account his use of the mirror is seen simply as a refinement over this earlier exercise. Demosthenes is said to have attached to the ceiling a dagger or spit to prevent him from moving his shoulder, while he was speaking. After progressing in his ability to speak he used a full sized mirror to correct his other faults.<sup>327</sup> Again the anonymous nature of his citation indicates that by the time the author of Ps.-Plutarch composed his biographies it had already become part of the common tradition. Indeed he informs us that this story was frequently retold but only with minor variations on the particular weapon used. Thus it is found repeated in the biographies of the manuscript tradition with only these minor variations.<sup>328</sup> The correspondence is such that a common origin

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326. Quint. XI 3. 68: Decor quoque a gestu atque motu venit; ideoque Demosthenes grande quoddam intuens speculum componere actionem solebat; adeo, quamvis fulgor ille sinistras imagines reddat, suis demum oculis credidit, quod efficeret.

327. Ps.-Pl. 844e: καὶ τὸν ὤμον ἐν τῷ μελετᾶν κινουῦντα ἀπρεπῶς καταπαῦσαι, παραρτήσαντα ὀβελίσκον ἢ ὥς τινες ξιφίδιον ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἵνα φοβούμενος ἡρεμοίῃ προβαίνοντα δὴ κατὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰσχὺν ἔσοπτρον ἰσομέγεθες αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορῶντα μελετᾶν, ἵν' ἐπανορθώσῃται τὰ ἐλλείποντα.

328. Lib. 296. 84: παρειλήφαμεν δὲ κάκεῖνο, ὥς καὶ ξίφος ποτ' ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἀπῆρτησε καὶ ἰστάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀπρεπῶς τὸν ὤμον εἰώθει κινεῖν· ὑπερεκρέμασεν οὖν τοῦ ὤμου τὸ ξίφος ἐν χρῶ, καὶ οὕτω τῷ δέει τῆς πληγῆς ἡδυνήθη κατασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρέποντος σχήματος.

Zos. 299. 64: καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ σώματος ἀπρεπῆς καὶ μαλακώτερος, ὅποτε δέοι λέγειν κινῶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τοὺς ὤμους περιέρριπτε τὸν τρίβωνα κατὰ τῆς γῆς... 300. 79: τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν κινήσεως καὶ τοῦτο ἰόσατο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξίφος ἐξαρτήσας ἐκ τῆς στέγης τῆς οἰκίας

must be assumed for all versions. Except for the *Anonymous Vita*, in each case the ailment is described in identical terms (τὸν ὦμον κινεῖν ἀπρεπῶς).<sup>329</sup> Like Ps.-Plutarch, Zosimus also indicates a progression in Demosthenes' exercises, from the use of the dagger to the use of the mirror. There is no direct evidence that Demetrius ever noted the use of a dagger. It is rather an enlargement by a later biographer. For in mentioning Demosthenes' use of the mirror Demetrius may have referred to some awkward movement, which the orator tried to correct by watching his gestures in the mirror. The anecdote of the sword was simply an embellishment of that. The text of *PSI* 144 indicates that Eratosthenes had noted, perhaps citing Demetrius,<sup>330</sup> the fact that Demosthenes stuttered and moved his shoulder in an unseemly manner.<sup>331</sup> If the restoration can be trusted, these physical problems were described in much the same manner as they are in the later accounts, with one important difference. The adverb used is μαλακῶς and not ἀπρεπῶς, which is used in all the other accounts.<sup>332</sup> This may indicate that Demetrius had something in mind other than a nervous movement of the shoulder, which is often a concomitant of stammering or stuttering.<sup>333</sup>

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ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑποκάτω τούτου ἰστάμενος, ἵνα τῷ φόβῳ τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ πεσεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνο ἀκινήτους ἔχῃ αὐτούς, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πρὸς κάτοπτρον ἀνδρόμηκες ταῖς μελέταις χρώμενος.

*Anon. vita* 305. 72: τὸν τ' ὦμον συνευτακτεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος ἔπεισε τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· λόγην ἀπὸ τῆς στέγης καταρτήσας καὶ ἰστάμενος ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔλεγε καὶ κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τὸν ὦμον ἐνουθέτησεν.

329 In the *Anonymous Vita* (305. 68) it is described as τὸν τ' ὦμον ἀκοίρῳς ἀνέσειε.

330. Gallo, (above, n. 298) 156, thinks that in a preceding section of the papyrus Demetrius was cited by name, as Eratosthenes is later at line 8.

331. ὑπότραυλος ὢν καὶ τὸν ὦμον μαλακῶς κινῶν, γυμναζόμενος [δὲ ταῦτο ὁ Δημοσθένης κατώρθωσε κτλ.

332. Only Zosimus (299. 65) speaks of this disorder as τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ σώματος ἀπρεπῆς καὶ μαλακώτερος.

333. See Holst, "Demosthenes' Speech-impediment," *Symb. Osl.* 4 (1926) 22-3.

Elsewhere it is known that Demetrius had characterized the orator's delivery as μαλακός<sup>334</sup> or τὸ μαλακώτερον,<sup>335</sup> as weak or effeminate. This may be what is being hinted at in *PSI* 144.

The evidence indicates that by 200 B.C., that is by the time Eratosthenes and Hermippus were writing, the tradition that Demosthenes stuttered (τραυλός) and suffered from a shoulder spasm (τὸν ὤμον ἀπρεπῶς κινεῖν) was well on its way to becoming part of the common history, found in the later biographies. In its basic form it certainly goes back to Demetrius, who simply noted that Demosthenes mispronounced his rhos, and moved his shoulder in some effeminate manner (μαλακῶς). The other problems which are reported by later biographers, such as a shortness of breath and an inability to project over the din of the assembly, while subsequent additions were easily inferred from what Demetrius had said. Thus the story that he trained under the actor Neoptolemus to correct his breathing was based on Demetrius' remark that Demosthenes would practice reciting whole passages in a single breath. The use of the dagger seems to have been an extension of the mirror-anecdote, while his practicing by the shores of Phalerum seems to have been inspired by Demetrius' charge that the orator became easily flustered by the uproar in the assembly. One even wonders whether Phalerum was chosen by a later author simply because Demetrius was the source for the rest of the story. In all cases the expanded tradition of these later biographies, in some form or another, owes its origin to the Peripatetic.

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334 Fr. 161: Plut. *Dem.* 11. 3

335 Fr. 161: Phld. I 197.

### The Value of the Tradition

This naturally leads to the question of the trustworthiness of Demetrius' testimony. According to Plutarch (*Dem.* 11. 3), he had supposedly learned first hand from Demosthenes as an old man what were the exercises used to improve his voice and delivery. Wehrli supposes that in claiming Demosthenes as his source Demetrius was simply assuming the literary pose of the Platonic dialogue which purported to be an eye-witness account.<sup>336</sup> There are certainly grounds for suspecting Demetrius' claim. The evidence suggests that he had fashioned the orator along Peripatetic lines. Underlying every biographical account of Demosthenes' exercises is the notion that Demosthenes was ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυῆς. Consistently it was mentioned that the orator suffered from natural disabilities (ἐκ φύσεως) which he only corrected through practice (μελέτη). According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, this characterization of the orator, which was followed by all writers of his βίος, began with Demetrius.<sup>337</sup>

#### I. The Peripatetic View of Demosthenes' Ability

This characterization grew out of discussions by the Peripatetics on Demosthenes' ability to extemporize. In their works they contrasted the orator unfavourably with naturally gifted orators like Demades and Aeschines. Such a contrast originated with Theophrastus and forms the basis of Plutarch's account in chapters 8-10. At the beginning of chapter 10 Plutarch remarks that the general

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336. Wehrli IV 80

337. D.H. *Dem.* 53. For the text see above, n. 291.

consensus was that Demades was invincible by nature and, when he extemporized, he surpassed the studied preparations of Demosthenes.<sup>338</sup> Here is an obvious variation on the φύσις-μελέτη dichotomy which we find applied to Demosthenes in the biographical tradition, even by Hermippus. Plutarch goes on to cite Ariston of Chios for the judgment of Theophrastus on the two orators. When asked what sort of orator he considered Demosthenes, Theophrastus replied "Worthy of the city". What sort was Demades? One "Too good for the city".

That this evaluation came from a rhetorical work in which Theophrastus contrasted the two orators seems assured from what Plutarch says next in the chapter. In the same work Theophrastus had reportedly also recorded the remark of a certain Polyuctus the Sphettian, who had once declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator but Phocion the most powerful speaker, since the latter expressed the most sense in the fewest words.<sup>339</sup> Plutarch further remarks, that Demosthenes would say, whenever Phocion mounted the podium, "Here comes the cleaver of my speeches". The point that needs to be made here is that Phocion emerged in the biographical tradition as an ideal Peripatetic philosopher in politics, perhaps through the invention

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338. *Dem.* 10. 1 (*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* I 87 no. 381; *Theophrastus of Eresus* II 550 no. 706): Πλήν τόν γε Δημάδην πάντες ὡμολόγουν τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνίκητον εἶναι, καὶ παραφέρειν αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα τὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάς. Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ Χῖος καὶ Θεοφράστου τινὰ δόξαν ἱστόρηκε περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων. ἐρωτηθέντα γὰρ ὁποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ῥήτωρ ὁ Δημοσθένης, εἶπεῖν " ἄξιος τῆς πόλεως" ὁποῖος δὲ Δημάδης, "ὕπερ τὴν πόλιν." ὁ δ' αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πολύευκτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σφήτιον, ἓνα τῶν τότε πολιτευομένων Ἀθηνησιν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι, μέγιστον μὲν εἶναι ῥήτορα Δημοσθένην, δυνατώτατον δὲ εἶπεῖν Φωκίωνα· πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῃ λέξει νοῦν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην φασὶν αὐτόν, ὅσάκις ἂν ἀντερῶν αὐτῷ Φωκίων ἀναβαίνοι, λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις "ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὴς ἀνίσταται."

339. It is not absolutely clear whether this citation was derived from Ariston or Theophrastus, since Plutarch simply writes ὁ δ' αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος.

of Demetrius of Phalerum.<sup>340</sup> He is like a second Socrates; he goes barefoot and can be found lost in thought, considering just how he can shorten the speech which he is about to deliver in the assembly.<sup>341</sup> He is not only presented as Demosthenes' opponent in politics, but also contrasted to him in rhetorical style and aptitude. A similar contrast was made by the Peripatetics between Demosthenes and Demades.

In chapter 8 Plutarch remarks that Demosthenes possessed his reputation not because he was εὐφυής but because his δεινότης καὶ δυνάμις came ἐκ πόνου.<sup>342</sup> This is very much the view which Dionysius of Halicarnassus ascribed to Demetrius in the context of Demosthenes' exercises. The language also comes very close to Hermippus' own characterization of the orator and he may be Plutarch's immediate source.<sup>343</sup> The evidence that Plutarch provides here to substantiate his claim was that Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak ἐπὶ καιροῦ, that is, to extemporize; even though he was called upon frequently in the assembly, he would never come forward unless he had given the matter some thought and had prepared his words. For this, Plutarch adds,

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340 See Bearzot, *Focione tra storia e trasfigurazione ideale* (Milan 1985); cf. Harding, Review of Bearzot, *JHS* 108 (1987) 233–4. In 14. 1 Plutarch cites Demetrius for a comparison of the two; because of his courage and honesty Phocion was ranked with Ephialtes, Aristides and Cimon; but Demosthenes, who was cowardly and corruptible, was only capable of praising the virtues of the older generation, not of imitating them.

341. *Phoc.* 5. 2–3

342. *Dem.* 8. 3: ἐκ δὲ τούτου δόξαν ἔσχεν ὥς οὐκ εὐφυῆς ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου συγκεκριμένη δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος. ἐδόκει τε τούτου σημείον εἶναι μέγα καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀκούσαι τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιροῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθήμενον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλάκις τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος ὀνομασθὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι πεφροντικῶς καὶ παρσκευασμένος. εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐχλεύαζον αὐτόν, καὶ Πυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἐλλυχνίων ἔφησεν ὅζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἠμείψατο πικρῶς ὁ Δημοσθένης "οὐ ταυτά" γὰρ εἶπεν "ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ ὁ λύχνος ὧ Πυθέα σύνοιδε."

343. *Suda* 309. 2: ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυῆς, ὥς Ἑρμιππος ἱστορεῖ. See Chapter 4 pp. 269–70 for the Hermippian origin of this chapter.

he was ridiculed by many of the demagogues, especially by Pytheas, who once wittily remarked that Demosthenes's arguments smelled of the lamp-wick.

This was an obvious insinuation that Demosthenes had to prepare his speeches. The saying was probably introduced by a Peripatetic as evidence of his inability to extemporize. In the biographical tradition this reproach by Pytheas came to be connected with Demosthenes' need to practice and exercise. In fact Plutarch introduces chapter 8 with a long description of the orator's method of study in the cave. In the biography of Libanius Demosthenes' night-long vigils in that cave is even said to have elicited Pytheas' remark.<sup>344</sup> Here, as elsewhere in their biographies, Plutarch and Libanius show clear points of contact that suggest that the two authors drew on sources dependent on the same biographer, who was probably Hermippus.<sup>345</sup> But what is clear is that stories about Demosthenes' habit of study in these later accounts are closely connected with the notion that he could not extemporize, a notion which was first introduced by the Peripatetics and rested on the assumption that Demosthenes was ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής.<sup>346</sup>

What follows next in Plutarch (8. 6) is a whole series of sayings attributed to Demosthenes as further confirmation of his inability to extemporize: that his speeches

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344. Lib. 295. 75: μνημονεύονται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκήσεις κατὰ γειοὶ καὶ ξυρήσεις ἀπρεπεῖς, ἵνα δι' αἰσχύνην μὴ προίοι τοῦ τῆς οἰκίας δωματίου, καὶ ὥς οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας ἐκάθευδεν, ἀλλὰ διεπονεῖτο πρὸς φῶς περὶ λόγους, ὅθεν καὶ Πυθέας σκώπτων ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Δημοσθένους λύχνων ἀπόζειν. πρὸς δὲ ὃν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀστεϊῶς ἅμα καὶ πικρῶς "οἶδα" εἶπεν "ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίων."

Also in this context Libanius notes the other famous charge of Pytheas that Demosthenes only drank water.

345. See Chapter 4 pp. 246–49.

346. See below pp. 125–7 on the Peripatetic origin of the story of the cave.



were neither altogether written or unwritten, that the true democrat was the man who practiced speaking, and that preparation was a service to the people. The repeated defence of the same charge makes one suspect that these sayings were mere invention. The only genuine aphorism may have been the actual rejoinder that Demosthenes is said to have made to Pytheas, that their lamps were not privy to the same things.<sup>347</sup>

Plutarch concludes chapter 8 by offering a final proof of Demosthenes' lack of courage πρὸς καιρόν. Often when he became confused "by the uproar of the assembly", Demades would rise and speak off the cuff in support, but Demosthenes never rendered the same service in kind.<sup>348</sup> This concluding remark anticipates the opening statement of chapter 10, with which Plutarch introduces Theophrastus' judgment of the two orators. There Plutarch noted that the general consensus was that Demades' natural ability (ἡ φύσις) to speak on the spur of the moment (αὐτοσχεδιάζων) surpassed the studied preparations of Demosthenes (σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευαί). Theophrastus' evaluation of the two orators, the one "worthy of the

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347. The same type of fabrication seems to be behind the sayings of Demosthenes reported by Plutarch in chapter 11, which aimed at answering the charge that Demosthenes' speeches lacked humour but rather were harsh and bitter. Plutarch remarks that the rejoinders which were spoken παρὰ τὸν καιρόν by Demosthenes were funny: 11. 5: οἱ μὲν οὖν γεγραμμένοι τῶν λόγων οἷ τοῦ αὐστηρὸν πολὺ καὶ πικρὸν ἔχουσι, τί ἂν λέγοι τις; ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρὰ τὸν καιρόν ἀπαντήσεσιν ἐχρῆτο καὶ τῷ γελοίῳ. Plutarch's words imply that the ability to extemporize was connected with the collection of apophthegmata preserved under an orator's name. That an orator like Demades was skilled at extemporization was inferred from the fact that no speeches of his survived, only a collection of aphorisms. However, few such aphorisms could be attributed to Demosthenes. Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 36; *Or.* 90; on the sayings of Demades see [Demetrius] *On Style* 282–6.

348. *Dem.* 8. 7: τῆς δὲ πρὸς καιρόν ἀτολμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται σημεῖον, ὅτι Δημάδης μὲν ἐκείνῳ [Δημοσθένει] θορυβηθέντι πολλάκις ἀναστὰς ἐκ προχείρου συνεῖπεν, ἐκεῖνος δ' οὐδέποτε Δημάδην.

city", the other "too good for the city", must be seen in light of this statement; obviously he had contrasted Demosthenes unfavourably to Demades; the latter was naturally talented at extemporizing; the former was not, and so needed to practice. In this context it should be noted that Theophrastus had also characterized Alcibiades in the same way, reportedly against Demosthenes' own claim in the *κατὰ Μειδίου* that Alcibiades was δεινότατος λέγειν. In chapter 10 of *Alcibiades* Plutarch records that Theophrastus had noted that Alcibiades was not adept at finding the right words and phrases to say; often he would stumble in mid-sentence and fall silent, as a particular phrase eluded him.<sup>349</sup> Certainly this is how Plutarch characterizes the orator Demosthenes in chapters 8 and 10, and presumably so did Theophrastus. It may be no coincidence that both men are said to have suffered from the same articulatory disorder, both were said to be τραυλοί, and that in both cases this inability to pronounce the letter rho was parodied in comedy,<sup>350</sup> and in the case of Demosthenes originated in a notice of Demetrius of Phalerum.

The content of chapters 8 and 10 of *Demosthenes* seems to be based ultimately

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349 *Alc.* 10. 4 (*Theophrastus of Eresus* II 550 no. 705): καὶ ὅτι μὲν δυνατός ἦν εἰπεῖν, οἳ τε κωμικοὶ μαρτυροῦσι καὶ τῶν ρητόρων ὁ δυνατώτατος, ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου, λέγων τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ δεινότατον εἰπεῖν γενέσθαι πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις. εἰ δὲ Θεοφράστῳ πιστεύομεν, ἀνδρὶ φιληκόῳ καὶ ἱστορικῷ παρ' ὀντινοῦν τῶν φιλοσόφων, εὐρεῖν μὲν ἦν τὰ δέοντα καὶ νοῆσαι πάντων ἱκανώτατος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ζητῶν δὲ μὴ μόνον ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς δεῖ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οὐκ εὐπορῶν δέ, πολλάκις ἐσφάλλετο καὶ μεταξὺ λέγων ἀπεσιώπα καὶ διέλειπε λέξεως διαφυγούσης, αὐτόν ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ διασκοπούμενος.

350. *Ar. Wasps* 42 : (ΣΩ) ἐδόκει δέ μοι Θέωρος αὐτῆς πλησίον/ χαμαὶ καθῆσθαι, τὴν κεφαλὴν κόρακος ἔχων./ εἴτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπε πρὸς με τραυλίσας/ ὁλῶς; Θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει./ (ΞΑ) ὀρθῶς γε τοῦτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐτραύλισεν. Cf. *Plut. Alc.* 1. 4. The play on the words κόραξ and κόλαξ indicates that Alcibiades turned his r's into l's. For the comic invention behind the charge by Demetrius that Demosthenes suffered from the same problem see *Plut. Dem.* 9. 5 and *D.L.* II 108 and the discussion below on these texts.

on the rhetorical discussions of the Peripatetics, in which they had noted that Demosthenes lacked the natural ability of Demades to extemporize or to speak ἐπὶ καιροῦ. This forms the basis of Theophrastus' evaluation of the two orators.<sup>351</sup> In chapter 10 Plutarch names as a source Ariston of Chios, who may have recorded the judgment of Theophrastus in his work πρὸς ῥήτορας. If the title is any indication of the content of the treatise, it was polemical. That seems to be the original intent of much of what Plutarch records in chapters 8-10. The title is listed in a catalogue of Ariston's works preserved by Diogenes Laertius (VII 163), who, however, cautions that Panaetius and Sosicrates considered only his letters genuine; all the other works named in the list were attributed to Ariston of Ceos, the Peripatetic.<sup>352</sup> This makes good sense and better explains why Theophrastus would have been cited by Ariston. He was found cited in a work not of a Stoic but of a Peripatetic. Either Plutarch was misinformed or mistaken about the identity of the Ariston in question, or at one point the text has become corrupted and must be changed from Χίος to Χεῖος.

The charge that Demosthenes lacked the natural talent of Demades to extemporize was Peripatetic in origin. It was first made by Theophrastus and picked

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351. Repeated use by Plutarch of the phrase ἐπὶ καιροῦ or some variation of it (8. 3: ἐπὶ καιροῦ; 8. 7: πρὸς καιρὸν; 9. 2: ἐν τῷ καιρῷ) in the context of the contrast between Demades' ability and Demosthenes' inability to speak extempore suggests that the account in Plutarch was derived from rhetorical discussions in which καιρός was understood in a rhetorical sense. Καιρός was a fundamental element in Isocrates' teaching. See *Against the Sophists* XIII 16. In the present context the discussion may have originated in a work by Theophrastus entitled περὶ καιρῶν, which did not deal with political crises but with the opportune moments of speaking. In fact Diogenes Laertius in his catalogue (V 42-50) distinguished two such works, a πολιτικὸν πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς in 4 books (V 45) and a περὶ καιρῶν in 2 books (V 50). Likewise Demetrius of Phalerum was known to have written a treatise περὶ καιροῦ, which may be a rhetorical work rather than a ethical or political work. See Grube (above, n. 274) 52.

352. Cf. D.L. I 16

up by later Peripatetics such as Ariston. The same charge seems to have been leveled against the orator by Demetrius of Phalerum. In chapter 9 he is cited alongside Eratosthenes and the comic poets for a series of notices which are also found in the parallel texts of Ps.-Plutarch, Photius and *PSI* 144. A full discussion of the Demetrian origin of these notices and their basis in comic travesty is reserved for later. For now it must simply be noted that the passage in Plutarch begins with a comparison with Pericles.<sup>353</sup> Such a comparison had also formed part of the Eunomus-story, which may have first been told by Demetrius himself.

There are a number of points of contact between this passage, the Eunomus-story and the contrast between Demosthenes and Demades made by other Peripatetics. According to Plutarch (8. 7) the evidence of Demosthenes' "lack of courage for the crisis" (τῆς πρὸς καιρὸν ἀτολμίας) was the fact that often Demades would rise and speak off the cuff, whenever Demosthenes became "bewildered by the clamour of the assembly" (θορυβηθέντι). It was on the occasion of Demosthenes' first public address, after he had been driven out "by the din" (θορύβοις) of the demos that Eunomus met the orator and compared his style of speaking to that of Pericles. According to Plutarch's account (6. 5) he had reproached the orator for his "lack of courage" (ἀτολμίας), his weakness, and for "not facing the crowds boldly" (οὔτε τοὺς ὄχλους ὑφιστάμενος) or "training his body for the contest". The comparison with Pericles is elaborated more fully in chapter 9. 2 with a number of the same themes. According to Plutarch, although Demosthenes rejected many other features of

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353. *Dem.* 9. 2:

Pericles' style, he did seek to imitate his "formality" (τὸ πλάσμα), his "bearing" (ὁ σχηματισμός), his "refusal to speak suddenly and on every subject" (τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν), "wanting not a reputation based on the crisis" (οὐ πάνυ προσίεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ δόξαν).<sup>354</sup> Here is the Peripatetic criticism of Demosthenes' inability to extemporize, a criticism which formed the basis of the contrast with Demades and Theophrastus' evaluation of the two orators. It is safe to assume that the comparison with Pericles found in chapter 9 was derived also from a Peripatetic source; such a comparison seems to have formed part of the Eunomus-story as it was originally told by either Demetrius of Phalerum or a source dependent on him. A similar comparison between Demosthenes and the ancient orators formed the basis of Aesion anecdote, which was also Peripatetic in content.<sup>355</sup> As it stands in Plutarch, the comparison with Pericles is presented as a preface to the series of notices (9. 3) which are ascribed to Demetrius.<sup>356</sup>

What emerges from the above discussion is that much of the content of chapters 8-10 is Peripatetic in origin. These chapters form a unified whole, a complete

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354. Cf. *Dem.* 8. 3

355. See above, pp. 94–6.

356. These notices deal with Demosthenes' frenzied style of delivery, the metrical oath and such. In their original context Demetrius introduced them to illustrate the theatrical style of Demosthenes' delivery. All, however, are taken by Plutarch as evidence that the orator possessed τόλμα καὶ θάρσος, the very things which Eunomus charged Demosthenes with failing to show and which the Peripatetics evidently considered missing in his oratory. At 9. 1–2 Plutarch, or his source, takes issue with the Peripatetic position, by quoting Aeschines and noting other examples which showed Demosthenes' τόλμα, such as the time when he alone arose to speak against Python of Byzantium, or when he defended the Thebans and Olynthians against Lamachus the Myrrhinean, who accused them of many evils in his encomium to Philip and Alexander.

excerpt made by Plutarch from a single source.<sup>357</sup> The question is what source: perhaps from the work of the Peripatetic Ariston of Ceos, whom Plutarch cites in chapter 10 for the opinion of Theophrastus.<sup>358</sup> Chapter 8, however, seems to have been derived from Hermippus, but, nonetheless, is still based on Peripatetic material, which would certainly be the case, if he drew on Ariston as a source.<sup>359</sup> It may mean that Hermippus was Plutarch's direct source for chapters 8 and 10. Chapter 9 is partly based on an extract of Eratosthenes' *περὶ κωμωδίας*, which was more likely excerpted by Hermippus than by Ariston. All three men were near contemporaries. Ariston was head of the Lyceum c. 225 B.C. Eratosthenes, though he studied for a time in Athens,<sup>360</sup> was called to Alexandria by Ptolemy III, after 246 B.C. It was in Alexandria after this date that his work on comedy was published.<sup>361</sup> Hermippus' collection of *bioi* was published sometime after 209. He made extensive use of the resources of the library and compiled extracts from a wide body of literature. Consequently he was much more inclined to use and had much greater access to a work such as Eratosthenes' *περὶ κωμωδίας* than Ariston. When composing chapters

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357. This seems confirmed by *Moralia* 803e–804a (Πολιτικῶν παροργέλημα), where a number of same notices and themes, as found in chapters 8–10 of the biography, are collected together.

358. See above, pp. 116–7.

359. Hermippus seems to have excerpted from Ariston's *Collectanea* the wills of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Straton and Lycon. Diogenes V 64 makes it clear that Ariston had compiled the various wills of his predecessors, whereas Athenaeus XIII 589c (fr. 46) shows that Hermippus knew, at least, the contents of Aristotle's will. There is a strong possibility that in the transmission of the text of these wills he was the intermediary between Diogenes and Ariston. See Düring 61, 269; "Ariston or Hermippus?" *Classica et Mediaevalia* 17 (1956) 20; Chroust (above, n. 152) 8; Heibges 849–50.

360. Under Ariston of Chios the Stoic (c. 250) and Arcesilaus the Platonist (c. 250) and perhaps even Zeno (Strab. I 2. 2), who died in 262/1.

361. For Eratosthenes' dates and the character of his work see Pfeiffer 153–4, 161–3 and Fraser I 456–8, II 489 n. 205.

8-10 Plutarch probably used him as his main source. I believe that was the case.

Whether this is right or not, the material of these chapters was certainly Peripatetic in origin. The basis of the tradition that Demosthenes was ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής was the Peripatetic' view of him as an inferior orator, who could not extemporize in the assembly but had to rely on prepared speeches. Demetrius of Phalerum accepted this characterization, when he ascribed to Demosthenes a number of exercises to improve his voice. In light of the fact that the whole tradition is based on a skewed notion of the orator's ability, it is best to suspect even Demetrius' own description of Demosthenes' exercises. In fact they were originally introduced to illustrate the Peripatetic theory of delivery.

## II. The Peripatetic Theory of Delivery

The Peripatetics regularly divided the study of ὑπόκρισις into the areas of voice and gesture. Aristotle had dealt with the question summarily in book 3 of his *Rhetoric*,<sup>362</sup> but he had defined delivery primarily as a matter of voice, how it should be used to express each emotion, with what level of volume, in what pitch and with what rhythm.<sup>363</sup> Thus when he discussed asyndeton and repetition, histrionic features suitable for delivery (ὑποκριτικά), he spoke only in terms of variation of expression and tone.<sup>364</sup> The question of gesticulation went largely undiscussed, though he hints at

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362. III 1 & 12

363. III 1 (1403b 26): ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος, οἷον πότε μεγάλη καὶ πότε μικρὰ καὶ μέση, καὶ πῶς τοῖς τόνοις, οἷον ὀξεῖα καὶ βαρεῖα καὶ μέση, καὶ ῥυθμοῖς τίσι πρὸς ἕκαστα. τρία γὰρ ἔστιν περὶ ἃ σκοποῦσιν ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μέγεθος ἁρμονία ῥυθμός.

364. III 12 (1413b 22).

its importance.<sup>365</sup> It was left to his student Theophrastus to develop this point more fully and to divide the study of delivery permanently into the two aspects of voice and gesture.

Theophrastus wrote a number of works on rhetoric and is known to have devoted an entire treatise to the subject of delivery (περὶ ὑποκρίσεως).<sup>366</sup> In his preliminary remarks to Hermogenes' work *On Issues*, Athanasius, writing sometime in the 4th century A.D., provides a paraphrase of Theophrastus' views.<sup>367</sup> He first mentions the examples of the actor Andronicus and of Demosthenes. The former is said to have introduced delivery into tragedy; the latter testified to its utmost importance in rhetoric, when he answered the question "what is rhetoric", with the

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365. At II 8 (1386a 33) Aristotle notes that pity can be aroused by gestures (σχήμασι), voice (φωναίς), dress (ἔσθητι) and delivery in general (ὑποκρίσει). In III 7 (1408b 7) he warns against excessive correspondence between style and delivery; if the words are harsh, the voice and facial expression should not be.

366. For a discussion of the content of this treatise see Fortenbaugh, "Theophrastus on Delivery," *Rutgers University Studies* 2 (1985) 272–81, who on the basis of Cicero's *De Oratore* III 213–17 argues that the primacy assigned to the voice in delivery, the division of bodily movement into gesture and countenance with special emphasis on the role of the eyes are Theophrastan, as is the notion that every emotion has by nature its own look, gesture and sound. Cf. Solmsen, "Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric," *AJP* 62 (1941) 45–6 and Sonkowsky, "An Aspect of Delivery in Ancient Rhetorical Theory," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 256–74.

367. Rabe *Prolegomenon Sylloge* 177 (Walz VI 35–6; *Theophrastus of Eresus* II 558 no. 712): Ἡ δὲ ὑπόκρισις ἐστίν, εἶναι καὶ τῷ σχήματι, καὶ τῷ βλέμματι, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ, ὡς ἂν τραγωδὸς ἄριστος καλῶς λεγομένοις συσχηματίζεται. λέγουσι δὲ σχηματίζεσθαι, ὅσον προσήκει ῥήτορι, καὶ μὴ διὰ τοῦ περιττοῦ πρὸς ἄλλο τὸ σχῆμα ἐκπεσεῖν· λέγουσι δὲ τούτου, τῆς ὑποκρίσεως φημι, πρῶτον Ἀνδρόνικον εἰσηγητὴν γενέσθαι τὸν ὑποκριτὴν, τοῦ Δημοσθένους περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπίδειξιν ἀποτυγχάνοντος, καὶ ὅτι μέγιστον τὸ ὑποκρίνεσθαι καὶ ῥητορικὸν ὄφελος, μαρτυρῶν αὐτὸς Δημοσθένης. ἐρωτηθεὶς γοῦν ποτε, τί ἂν εἴη ῥητορική, ὑπόκρισις ἔφη, ἣν δὲ καὶ τελεώτερον Πῶλος ὁ ὑποκριτὴς λέγεται αὐτὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν. τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ἀπὸ ὀργῆς Δημοσθένην τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, φημι δὲ τὸ, ῥητορική ἐστίν ὑπόκρισις, διὰ τὸ ποτε κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενον μὴ πεῖσαι δυνηθῆναι· πλὴν καὶ Θεόφραστος ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁμοίως φησὶ μέγιστον εἶναι ῥητορικῇ πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀναφέρων καὶ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν κατανόησιν τούτων, ὡς καὶ τῇ ὅλῃ ἐπιστήμῃ σύμφωνον εἶναι τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸν τόνον τῆς φωνῆς.



simple response "delivery". Athanasius adds that, like the orator, Theophrastus regarded delivery as the most important element of persuasion in rhetoric. He referred to the principles and emotions of the soul and knowledge of these, thereby bringing into harmony with the entire science the movement of the body and the intonations of the voice. Apparently Theophrastus had divided the subject of delivery into bodily movements and intonation, and had discussed these in terms of psychology, particularly the emotions, just as Aristotle had suggested for the voice.<sup>368</sup>

In Athanasius' text the testimony of Demosthenes was invoked alongside that of Theophrastus, to illustrate the importance which should be afforded delivery. In Peripatetic circles, perhaps beginning with Theophrastus but certainly with his student Demetrius of Phalerum, the orator was used as an example in their discussions on *ὑπόκρισις*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus clearly indicates that Demetrius himself had introduced him into a discussion on the two aspects of delivery. In chapter 53 of *Demosthenes* he notes that delivery is a necessary virtue in agonistic speeches, if they are to be convincing and animated.<sup>369</sup> Dionysius cites the example of Demosthenes who took special care over it. Seeing that delivery was twofold in nature, he studied both aspects thoroughly, cultivating with great toil (οὐ μικρῷ πόνῳ) τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, even though by nature (φύσει) he was unsuited to such things, as Demetrius and other writers note.<sup>370</sup> Here we have again the

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368. *Rh.* III 1 (1403b 28); cf. III 12 (1413b 9).

369. 244. 12: ταύτης δὲ φημι τῆς ἀρετῆς πάννυ δεῖν τοῖς ἐναγωνίοις λόγοις, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἔξαιν πολὺ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἔμψυχον.

370. 244. 15: διττὴν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς (sc. ὑποκρίσεως) οὕσαν ὁρῶν, περὶ ὅμφῳ τὰ μέρη σφόδρα ἐσπούδασε. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, ὡς κράτιστα ἔξαιν ἔμελλεν, οὐ μικρῷ πόνῳ κατεργάσατο, καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα οὐ πάννυ

standard Peripatetic characterization of this orator as ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής. Dionysius is equally explicit that Demosthenes followed Peripatetic theory in dividing his exercises into voice and gesture and this he connects with the testimony of Demetrius of Phalerum.

In the context of a rhetorical discussion on delivery, the exercises described by Demetrius in Plutarch (*Dem.* 11. 1) fall neatly into the two categories of voice and gesture. Thus there are exercises designed specifically to strengthen the voice and others intended to improve gesturing. Demosthenes was simply cited by way of illustration. Certainly that is how these stories are interpreted by later rhetoricians like Quintilian. At one point he notes that an orator must increase his breathing capacity in order to tackle unusually long periods. It was for this reason, he says, that Demosthenes used to recite successive lines, while climbing a hill. To improve his fluency the orator would roll pebbles under his tongue when he spoke.<sup>371</sup> Likewise to create graceful movements and gestures, he would practice his delivery before a mirror.<sup>372</sup> This is probably how the notices were first introduced by Demetrius, simply as a matter of illustration and not of biographical fact. The impression is that

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εὐτυχεῖ χρησάμενος, ὡς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες. Dionysius adds that the style of his political speeches followed the Aristotelian pattern; they were full of pathos and character which were necessary for delivery: ἡ λέξις μὲν οὖν, εἵπομ' ὅν, οἰκείως κοιτεσκεύασται πρὸς ταῦτα, μεστὴ πολλῶν οὔσων ἢ θῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ διδασκούςων, οἷος ὑποκρίσεως αὐτῇ δεῖ. Cf. Arist. *Rh.* III 12. 1413b 4.

371. Quint. XI 3. 54: Exercendus autem est, ut sit quam longissimus; quod Demosthenes ut efficeret, scandens in adversum continuabat quam posset plurimos versus. Idem. quo facilius verba ore libero exprimeret, calculos lingua volvens dicere domi solebat.

372. XI 3. 68: Decor quoque a gestu atque motu venit; ideoque Demosthenes grande quoddam intuens speculum componere actionem solebat; adeo, quamvis fulgor ille sinistras imagines reddat, suis demum oculis credit, quod efficeret.

his account of Demosthenes' exercises was made to conform to Peripatetic theory.

This impression is further strengthened, when one examines certain anecdotes which were first told in Peripatetic circles about the orator on this topic and later found their way into the biographical tradition. In each case the original context of the anecdote can still be ascertained. For example, both Plutarch (*Dem.* 7. 3) and Ps.-Plutarch (844d) note how the orator used to study in a cave and would shave one side of his head to prevent himself from coming out.<sup>373</sup> At once the story suggests a parallel with the poet Euripides, who also is said to have had recourse to a subterranean study. There is evidence to suggest that the orator and poet were compared in Peripatetic circles in a fragment of Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* (*POxy* 1176). In column 39 VIII at line 10f. one of the interlocutors seems to note that Demosthenes owed much of his ὑπόκρισις to Euripides. To prove it he cites a passage from *Aristogeiton* I 40, where the quick interchange of question and answer is said to reveal the influence of the Euripidean stychomythia.<sup>374</sup> Satyrus was influenced by the Peripatos, and was even labeled a Peripatetic.<sup>375</sup> Even if by this time the designation did not necessarily mean a philosophical affiliation, but simply denoted an interest in literary history,<sup>376</sup> the biography shows clear Peripatetic

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373. Cf. Lib. 295. 75; Anon. Vita 304. 46; Lucian *Encom.* 14

374. For a reconstruction of the general thought of this column see Gerstinger, "Satyros' ΒΙΟΣ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ," *Wien. Stud.* 38 (1916) 64–5; cf. Arrighetti, "Satiro," (above, n. 97) 124.

375. Athen. VI 248d; XII 541c, 556a

376. Arrighetti (above, n. 97) 3; Leo 118; Heibges 845; Pfeiffer 150–1; Brink, "Callimachus and Aristotle: An Inquiry into Callimachus' ΠΡΟΣ ΠΡΑΞΙΦΑΝΗΝ," *CQ* 40 (1946) 11–12; but contrast West, "Satyrus: Peripatetic or Alexandrian?" *GRBS* 15 (1974) 279–87.

influence,<sup>377</sup> both in form and content, from the dialogue form after the manner of the *περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν* of Aristotle and Praxiphanes,<sup>378</sup> from the exclusive use of literary sources after the manner of Chamaeleon,<sup>379</sup> to an Aristotelian notion of poetry.<sup>380</sup> It is quite possible then that Satyrus derived this comparison between Demosthenes and Euripides from a Peripatetic source. The emphasis on *ὑπόκρισις* may even suggest Demetrius, who was keenly interested in Demosthenes' style of delivery, particularly the excesses (fr. 161-62), which he attributed to his theatrical training (fr. 163-4).

In the next column of the papyrus (39 IX) Satyrus passed to a description of the famous cave of Euripides. It is conceivable, as Gerstinger suggests,<sup>381</sup> that mention of the cave of Demosthenes formed a transition, now lost, from 39 VIII to the next column: that the interlocutor not only mentioned the fact that Demosthenes copied the delivery of Euripides but also his habit of study. If this is true, the anecdote came from a Peripatetic source.

This is the impression given by Plutarch's version of the story (*Dem.* 7. 1-6). The biographer introduces the anecdote by first relating an encounter with the actor

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377. Latte (in Dihle, "Studien zur griechischen Biographie," *Abh. Akad. Göttingen* 37 [1956] 105 n. 1) noted a close affinity between Satyrus' biography and the *problemata* literature popular with Aristotle and his students. The biography also recalls the *περὶ* literature (*περὶ τοῦ δεῖναι*) of Chamaeleon, who wrote a number of monographs or *συγγράμματα* on the poets. See Momigliano 73. On the character of Chamaeleon's *συγγράμματα* see Leo, "Satyros βίος Εὐριπίδου," *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* 32 (1960) 369 and "Didymos Περὶ Δημοσθένους," *Kl. Schr.* 34 (1960) 387-92.

378. Leo, "Satyros," (above, n. 377) 366-7; Arrighetti, "Satiro," (above, n. 97) 21-2, 26

379. Leo, "Satyros," 368-9; "Didymos," (above, n. 377) 390; Arrighetti, "Satiro," 22, 26; "Fra erudizione," (above, n. 54) 31-49

380. Arrighetti, "Satiro," 118-20

381. Gerstinger (above, n. 374) 65 n. 1

Satyrus, who had met Demosthenes after yet another disastrous showing in the assembly. Demosthenes complained to his friend of his continued failure to win the favour of the people, despite all his hard work. The actor agreed and bade Demosthenes recite a passage of Euripides or Sophocles, which he did. Thereupon Satyrus took up the very same passage and recited it with just the right ἦθος and διάθεσις, character and delivery, so that it appeared completely different. Convinced of the importance of delivery to oratory, Demosthenes decided that practice was of little or no value, if one neglected προφορά and διάθεσις, pronunciation and delivery. Consequently (ἐκ τούτου) he built a subterranean study into which he would descend daily to fashion his delivery (πλάττειν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν) and work on his voice (διαπονεῖν τὴν φωνήν). Here is the Peripatetic division into voice and gesture, which the story seems intent on stressing. The whole object of the cave is simply as a place to practice delivery. In the papyrus the whole point of the comparison with Euripides was ὑπόκρισις, and in the context of a discussion on delivery Demosthenes' recourse to the cave would find an appropriate place.<sup>382</sup>

The same is true of yet one other anecdote, which likely goes back to Demetrius. The story is told in *Demosthenes* 11. 2, where it appears between two

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382. Plutarch's source for the story is perhaps Satyrus. See Drerup 79–80. The story seems to be a variation of the Andronicus-episode, which in all likelihood goes back to Demetrius. In that anecdote another actor convinces the orator of the importance of delivery, by reciting from memory the speech which Demosthenes had just delivered in the assembly. It appears in only an abridged form in Ps.-Plutarch (845b). In its full form it must have noted a failed attempt by Demosthenes at speaking in the assembly and mentioned that Andronicus added the proper delivery to orator's speech to make himself convincing. Certainly this last point is implied when Andronicus charges that Demosthenes' words may be fine but his delivery is deficient: μάλιστα δ' ὁ ὑποκριτὴς Ἀνδρόνικος εἰπὼν ὡς οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλῶς ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως.

citations from Demetrius, between his account of Demosthenes' exercises and his criticism of the orator's delivery, which he regarded as weak and ignoble. Certain key notes in the anecdote show that it originally belonged in the context of a rhetorical discussion. According to Plutarch, a man reportedly once came to Demosthenes begging his service as an advocate. After relating at some length how he was beaten, the orator responded, "τούτων ὧν λέγεις οὐδὲν πέπονθας." Then straining his voice he shouted, "ἐγώ, Δημόσθενες, οὐδὲν πέπονθα;" To which Demosthenes replied, "νὴ Δία, νῦν ἀκούω φωνὴν ἀδικουμένου καὶ πεπονθότος."

According to Plutarch, the story aptly illustrated the importance which Demosthenes placed on intonation (τόνος) and delivery (ὑπόκρισις) as the means of persuasion (πρὸς πίστιν). That Demetrius should include such a story in his *Rhetoric* is consistent with his method of illustrating points of discussion with anecdote. As the story stands in Plutarch, it is directly connected (οὖν) with his evaluation of Demosthenes' style of delivery. More than that, it shows a decidedly Peripatetic character. There is the division of delivery into voice (τόνος) and gesture (ὑπόκρισις). In particular the story sets about to illustrate Aristotle's own definition of delivery, as a matter of voice how best to use it for each emotion.<sup>383</sup> Why else the repeated stress on the verb πάσχω? Why Demosthenes' remark that now he heard the voice of a man who was injured and had suffered?<sup>384</sup> What we have then is

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383. *Rh.* III 1 (1403b 26): ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος.

384. According to Athanasius, Theophrastus had also related his discussion of delivery to the emotions (πάθη), and considered it most important πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαι, which is precisely the point that comes across in this story. Note Plutarch's concluding remark: οὕτως ᾤετο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν εἶναι τὸν τόνον καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων.

simply an anecdote of Peripatetic origin intended to illustrate a point of rhetoric.

Demetrius' account of Demosthenes' exercises should be seen in much the same manner as these anecdotes: simply anecdotes and nothing more, invented to fit the context of a rhetorical discussion, in which they illustrated the two aspects of delivery. This fact naturally casts suspicion on his claim that he heard about these exercises first hand from Demosthenes as an old man. There is no independent evidence to verify his testimony. All it shows is that Demosthenes' training occurred in his youth, before Demetrius was born. This fact alone should give one cause to pause. The claim of first hand knowledge from Demosthenes sounds specious, intended only to give an air of historical veracity. It recalls other testimony connected with the Peripatetics, that of Aesion cited by Hermippus, of Polyeuctus cited by Theophrastus for his comparison of Phocion and Demosthenes, of Eunomus for the comparison of Pericles and Demosthenes, or even of Demosthenes himself on Phocion, the cleaver of speeches.

### III. Peripatetic Criticism of Demosthenes' Delivery

The image that emerges is of an orator who was fashioned in the likeness of Peripatetic theory: he could not extemporize, lacked natural talent and relied on study and practice. This same image forms the basis of Demetrius' description of the exercises which Demosthenes is said to have performed to improve his voice. Even his criticism of Demosthenes' delivery followed Peripatetic lines. According to Plutarch, his delivery was exceedingly pleasing to the lower classes, but to men of

refinement, like Demetrius, it was mean, ignoble and weak.<sup>385</sup> The same criticism is preserved in Philodemus, who reports that Demetrius had regarded the orator's delivery as overly intricate and theatrical, not simple and noble, but inclined to what is weak and base.<sup>386</sup> At one level this evaluation carries with it an obvious moral censure derived from Aristotle, who had connected the rise in the importance of delivery in oratory to the corruption of political institutions (τὴν μοχθηρίαν τῶν πολιτῶν) and of the hearer (τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν)<sup>387</sup> Elsewhere Demosthenes is charged by the Peripatetic with the sins of a demagogue, cowardice and corruptibility in contrast to the brave and honest Phocion, who was also the more able speaker.<sup>388</sup>

At another level Demetrius suggests by his criticism that Demosthenes' delivery was overly theatrical, aimed only at pleasing the lower classes. This charge also has its basis in Peripatetic thought. Throughout his discussion on the subject Aristotle draws a close parallel between acting (ἡ ὑποκριτική) and delivery (ὑπόκρισις), principally that both have corrupting influence on their respective art forms.<sup>389</sup> He notes that delivery had only lately appeared in tragedy and rhapsody, since originally

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385. *Dem.* 11. 3. For text see above, n. 285.

386. *Phil.* I 197. 24: παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φαληρεῖ λέγεται τὸ ποικίλον μὲν αὐτὸν ὑποκριτὴν γεγονέναι καὶ περιττόν, οὐχ ἀπλοῦν δὲ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν γενναῖον τρόπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ μαλακώτερον καὶ ταπεινότερον ἀποκλείνοντα.

387. *Rh.* III 1 1403 b34 & 1414 a6

388. *Dem.* 14. 1; cf. 10. 2

389. In chapter 26 of the *Poetics* Aristotle responds to the charge that tragedy is more vulgar than epic, since it employs gestures (σχήματα) and movement (κίνησις) to appeal to the lower classes. He answers by stating that this is only a criticism of acting (τῆς ὑποκριτικῆς) not poetry. But he does imply that acting can be overdone. This lines up with what he says about delivery in *Rhetoric* III 1, where he insists that its importance is due to the corruption of the audience (διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν 1404 a7).



poets acted themselves. The same phenomenon, he adds, is apparent in rhetoric as in poetry. According to Aristotle, those who master the three aspects of delivery, volume, pitch and rhythm, invariably win all the prizes at the dramatic contests; the same is true in politics; just as the actor now has greater influence in drama than the poet, so it is in political contests because of the corruption of political institutions.<sup>390</sup> Accordingly, delivery, once it comes into fashion, will have the same effect on oratory as the art of acting has had on drama.<sup>391</sup> The connection between the delivery of the actor and that of the orator was probably made explicit by Theophrastus in his *περὶ ὑποκρίσεως*,<sup>392</sup> where he noted that the two shared many features and techniques. Certainly the Peripatetics introduced examples from drama by way of illustration.<sup>393</sup> This analogy between oratory and drama may explain the

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390. III 1 (1403b 20): τρίτον δὲ τούτων, ὃ δύνανται μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην, οὕτω δ' ἐπιτελείρηται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ῥαψωδίαν ὁψὲ παρῆλθεν ὑπεκρίνοντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς τραγωδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν ... ἐστὶν δὲ αὕτη μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος, οἷον πότε μεγάλη καὶ πότε μικρὰ καὶ πότε μέση, καὶ πῶς τοῖς τόνοις, οἷον ὀξεῖα καὶ βαρεῖα καὶ μέση, καὶ ῥυθμοῖς τίσι πρὸς ἕκαστα. τρία γὰρ ἐστὶν περὶ ἃ σκοποῦσιν ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μέγεθος ἁρμονία ῥυθμός. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγῶνων οὗτοι λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖ μεῖζον δύνανται νῦν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τῶν πολιτῶν. Cf. 1404a 7: ἄλλ' ὅμως μέγα δύναται, καθάπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν.

391. III 1. 7 (1404a 12): ἐκείνη (sc. ὑπόκρισις) μὲν οὖν ὅταν ἔλθῃ ταὐτὸ ποιήσει τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ.

392. See Fortenbaugh (above, n. 366) 281–83.

393. Aristotle identifies asyndeton and repetition as histrionic features (ὑποκριτικά) used by orators in debate; for the desired effect achieved by these devices he cites the example of Philemon the actor in the plays of Anaxandrides (III 12 [1413 b22]). At 193 of the *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* [Demetrius] states that the disjointed style (ἡ διαλελυμένη λέξις) lends itself to debate, and this style is called histrionic (ὑποκριτική), since λῦσις or asyndeton stimulates delivery. He notes by way of example that Menander, whose style is disjointed, can be delivered (ὑποκρίνονται) but Philemon only read. Then he cites a verse of Menander. At 195 he adds that other aspects of delivery must be considered. As an example he refers to the scene of Euripides' *Ion*, in which the hero threatens the swan with his bow. The fetching of the bow, the address to the swan and all other stage business provide the actor with a variety of movements. Realizing he has digressed, he concludes abruptly: ἄλλ' οὐ περὶ ὑποκρίσεως ἡμῖν τὰ

tradition which arises with Demetrius that Demosthenes trained under the actor Andronicus to improve his delivery. It explains his criticism of the orator, for an overly theatrical style of delivery was obviously aimed at pleasing the lower classes who alone found it appealing.

We are again compelled to raise the question of the veracity of a series of notices by Demetrius, this time on the theatrical manner of Demosthenes' delivery. The same notices with minor variations appear in the texts of Ps.-Plutarch,<sup>394</sup> Photius,<sup>395</sup>

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νῦν ὁ λόγος. As Fortenbaugh (282) notes, this last comment suggests that under the phrase "on delivery" a Peripatetic writer would include dramatic delivery. For the Peripatetic influence on this work see Grube (above, n. 274) 32–56.

394. Ps.-Pl. 845a: ἐκπεσὼν δέ ποτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀθυμῶν ἐβάδιζεν οἴκοι· συντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Εὐνομος ὁ Θριάσιος πρεσβύτες ἤδη ὦν προετρέψατο τὸν Δημοσθένη, μάλιστα δ' ὁ ὑποκριτὴς Ἀνδρόνικος εἰπὼν ὡς οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλῶς ἔχοιεν λείποι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ἀπεμνημόνευσέ τε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων· καὶ δὴ πιστεύσαντα τὸν Δημοσθένη παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ. ὅθεν ἐρομένου αὐτόν <τινος> τί πρῶτον ἐν ῥητορικῇ, εἶπεν, ὑπόκρισις· καὶ τί δεύτερον ὑπόκρισις· καὶ τί τρίτον ὑπόκρισις. προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο, ὡς κωμωδηθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους.

"μὰ γῆν μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς μὰ νόματα"

ὁμόςας δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον ἐκίνησεν. ὦμνε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπίον, προπαροξύνων Ἀσκληπίον καὶ παρεδείκνυσεν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς λέγοντα· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἥμιον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλάκις ἐθορυβήθη. σχολάσας δ' Εὐβουλίδῃ τῷ διαλεκτικῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐπηνωρθώσατο πάντα.

395. Phot. *Bibl.* 493a 41 (fr. 164 W): ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε δημηγορῶν ἐξέπεσε τοῦ θεάτρου (s.c. Δημοσθένος) καὶ ἀθυμῶν οἴκαδε ἀπῆει, Εὐνομος μὲν αὐτῷ ὁ Θριάσιος ἤδη πρεσβύτες ὦν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν συνεκύρησε, καὶ μάθων τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ αἷτιον θαρρεῖν τε προτρέψατο καὶ ἀνεκτήσατο. καὶ τούτου πλέον Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ ὑποκριτὴς τοὺς μὲν λόγους εὖ ἔχειν καὶ ὡς ἄριστα φάμενος, ἐνδεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως. ὁ δὲ παραδίδωσί τε ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ, καὶ τὴν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τέχνην ἐκεῖθεν ἐξήσκησε. διόπερ ἐρομένου ποτέ τινος αὐτόν: τί πρῶτον ἐν ῥητορικῇ; ἀνέειπεν: ὑπόκρισις· καὶ τί δεύτερον; ὑπόκρισις· τί δὲ τρίτον; ὑπόκρισις, δηλῶν μέγα μέρος εἶναι τῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πειθοῦς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. ὦμνε δὲ ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι:

μὰ γῆν μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς μὰ νόματα.

καὶ δὴ καὶ ποτε ὁμόςας τοὺς ὄρκους τούτους τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον ἐνεποίησεν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμνύναι τὸν Ἀσκληπίον, χρώμενος τῇ φωνῇ προπαροξυτόνως.

Plutarch<sup>396</sup> and *PSI* 144<sup>397</sup> In one text or another we find references to Demosthenes' training under the actor Andronicus (Ps.-Pl.; Phot.), to the theatrical mannerism of his speaking (Plut.; *PSI*), to his mispronunciation of Asclepius (Ps.-Pl.; Phot.; *PSI*) and to his use of antithesis (Plut.). In all four texts mention is made of a metrical oath that Demosthenes is said to have sworn once in the assembly. In his revision of Ps.-Plutarch Photius attributes this notice to Demetrius, which would indicate that his name had originally appeared in the text of Ps.-Plutarch or at least his source. Ps.-Plutarch adds the important detail that the oath appeared in the comedies of Antiphanes and Timocles, indicating the direction from which Demetrius drew his information on Demosthenes' theatrical displays.<sup>398</sup> At the beginning of his text, Plutarch refers generally to Eratosthenes, Demetrius and the comic poets as his sources, but specifically attributes the oath to the testimony of Demetrius. Although Plutarch cites Eratosthenes for the notice that Demosthenes often assumed a frenzied

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396. Plut. *Dem.* 9. 3: ἐπεὶ τόλμων γε καὶ θάρσος οἱ λεχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τῶν γραφέντων μᾶλλον εἶχεν, εἴ τι δεῖ πιστεύειν Ἐρατοσθένει καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκεῖνον ὄρκον ὁμοῖα ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα·

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νόματα.

τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ ῥωποπερπερήθραν, ὁ δὲ παρὰσκώπτων ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ φησὶν οὕτως·

A. ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν.

B. ἠγάπησεν ὃν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παρὰ λαβὼν Δημοσθένους.

ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀλωννήσου λόγον ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπέποιχεν, ἦν Ἀθηναίοις Δημοσθένους συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου.

397. *PSI* 144 ll. 8–19: καὶ Ἐρατοσθένους δὲ φη/σι τὸν Δημοσθένην ὄρκον ὁ/μωμοκέν/αι ἔμμετρον, παράβακ/χον δ' ἐν πολλοῖς γεγονέναι/ καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιδὸν εἰπεῖν/ καὶ τοῦ βῆ/ματος Ἀσκληπιδον/ τὴν προσωιδίαν κακῶς μετα/στρέφον/τα καὶ παραδεικνύ/μενον ὡς ἄρα ἐστὶ λέγον/τος ὀρθῶς εἶ/ναι γὰρ τὸν/ θεὸν ἦπιον [ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ/ πίπτειν αἰ/κιζόμενον.

398. Blass, III (1893) 67 n. 3, notes that after Τιμοκλέους in the text of Ps.-Plutarch there is a lacuna in which the name Demetrius had fallen out.

or theatrical appearance (παρόβακχον) when he spoke, this in fact is no more than a variation of what Demetrius himself had said, when he noted, according to Plutarch, that the orator once swore the metrical oath ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα. By these words Demetrius may have suggested to the Alexandrian scholar that Demosthenes often appeared possessed when he spoke.<sup>399</sup> In the text of *PSI* 144 Eratosthenes alone is cited for the double reference to the oath and Bacchanal behaviour of the orator, but it is clear from Plutarch and Photius that Demetrius was the original source for the notice of the oath, if not for the other detail. Next in Plutarch come two comic notices; again Antiphanes is named, this time for Demosthenes' use of antithesis. This again points to the comic origin of many of these notices.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above discussion is that the notices in all four parallel texts were ultimately derived from Demetrius, but only second hand. In each case the point of departure seems to have been an epitome made of Demetrius' work by Eratosthenes. What variations exist depend on the path of transmission subsequently taken by each text. In the case of Ps.-Plutarch and Photius, an excerpt of Eratosthenes' text came to them by way of the κοινὴ ἱστορία or Hermippus. The same basic collection of notices appears in Plutarch (*Dem.* 9. 3-5) and again in *PSI* 144, where in each case Eratosthenes is cited as a source. The text of the papyrus may in fact be a direct excerpt of Eratosthenes' περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας. Plutarch may have got his information from Hermippus. But in all cases the notices go back to Demetrius, but only as they left the hands of Eratosthenes, who consulted the

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399. *PSI* 144: παρόβακχον δ' ἐν πολλοῖς γεγονέναι.

Peripatetic primarily for his comic citations.

Eratosthenes' work was variously excerpted, and this explains the differences between each of the texts. So we find reported only in *PSI* 144, Ps.-Plutarch and Photius the notice that whenever Demosthenes swore by the name of the god Asclepius, he would put the accent on the antepenult. The orator would defend his pronunciation by arguing that the god was ἥπιος. That Demetrius included such an anecdote in his work on rhetoric can be safely assumed. Both Photius and Ps.-Plutarch note that the metrical oath had caused an uproar (θόρυβος) in the assembly. The same thing is said to have happened whenever he mispronounced the name of Asclepius. He would, according to Ps.-Plutarch, be interrupted by the clamour of the assembly (ἐθορυβήθη).<sup>400</sup> The same thing is repeated in Photius and again in the text of *PSI* 144.<sup>401</sup> Obviously this formed part of the original story and, as we have seen, was a common motif through a number of the anecdotes reported by Demetrius.

Only Ps.-Plutarch and Photius include as part of their extract the anecdote on the actor Andronicus. But the Demetrian origin of this is equally assured. As the story goes, the actor once remarked to Demosthenes that his words were fine but his delivery was deficient; he convinced him of the importance of delivery, by declaiming from memory the speech which the orator had just delivered in the assembly. Whereupon Demosthenes entrusted himself to him and thence began to practice the

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400. Scholia Demosthenes XVIII 52: Dilts I 213.

401. In the latter this is implied by the words καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ/ πίπτειν αἰκίζόμενον.

art of delivery.<sup>402</sup> As a result, when he was once asked what was the first, second and third things in rhetoric, Demosthenes answered delivery, delivery and again delivery. In both Ps.-Plutarch and Photius this testimonial is a direct consequence (ὅθεν/διόπερ) of his training under the actor Andronicus and likely formed part of the original story as it was told by Demetrius.<sup>403</sup> The anecdote at once recalls the Satyrus-story, in which it was similarly told how that actor had convinced Demosthenes of the importance of delivery by declaiming with the proper intonation and delivery a passage of Euripides or Sophocles, which the orator had just recited at his request. The Peripatetic origin of that story has already been noted.

The Andronicus-story (or the testimony of Demosthenes) is not only found in Ps.-Plutarch and Photius, but is repeated more than once in a text which shows a decidedly Peripatetic character. The passage, in which Philodemus records how Demetrius had criticized Demosthenes for his overly refined delivery, begins with the famous testimonial of the orator, in which he awarded delivery first, second and third

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402. τὴν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τέχνην ἐκεῖθεν ἐξήσκησε. This last point is only mentioned by Photius but it may have formed part of the story as it once was preserved in Ps.-Plutarch or their common source.

403. Quintilian (XI 3. 6) likewise connects the two; cf. Cic. *Orat.* XVII 56; *Brut.* XXXVIII 142; *De Or.* III 213; *Lib.* 295. 66; *Val. Max.* 8. 10 ext. Both Quintilian and Cicero (*De Or.*) note in conjunction with the testimony of Demosthenes the story of Aeschines reading to the Rhodians his speech against Ctesiphon and Demosthenes' defence. When they expressed admiration, he responded "What would you have said, if you had heard Demosthenes himself." Cicero's concluding remark is noteworthy here: ex quo satis significavit quantum esset in actione, qui orationem eandem aliam esse putaret actore mutato. Like the testimonial of Demosthenes, Aeschines' response illustrates how much oratory depended on delivery. As in the Andronicus and Satyrus stories a change of speaker was enough to signify how the effect of a speech was determined by the speaker's delivery. The anecdote picks up many of the same themes found in these other stories, again suggesting a Peripatetic origin. In any case it has found its way into the biographical tradition, where the anecdote was reported in connection with Aeschines' school in Rhodes; cf. Ps.-Pl. *Aesch.* 840e and *POxy* 1800 περὶ Αἰσχίνου l. 76.

place in rhetoric.<sup>404</sup> To this Philodemus compares the testimony of Callippides and Nicostratus, who regarded delivery as the totality in tragedy, as did Lycon in comedy. This connection between drama and rhetoric, particularly as it applied to the area of delivery, was Peripatetic. Demetrius of Phalerum must be laid under heavy obligation here; he is cited by Philodemus at 197. 25 for his criticism of Demosthenes' style of delivery and again at 198. 9 for the view that Isocrates' long periods were bad for delivery. The basis of this last comment is the Aristotelian distinction between the written and agonistic styles, the latter being *ὑποκριτικωτάτη*.<sup>405</sup> As already noted, it is to be understood specifically in light of what is said about the orator by Hieronymus, whom Philodemus cites next in the text.<sup>406</sup> According to this Peripatetic, the speeches of Isocrates could only be read but could not be declaimed with the proper modulation, pitch and appropriate delivery. This, no doubt, was Demetrius' view as well. In his mind both Demosthenes and Isocrates had abandoned the Aristotelian mean. The one neglected delivery completely; the other overdid it to the point that his delivery became *τὸ ποικίλον καὶ τὸ περιττόν*.

In the text of Athanasius, where the division of delivery into the study of the movements of the body and the intonation of the voice had been attributed to Theophrastus, the testimony of Demosthenes is directly compared to that of the philosopher, who like the orator is said to have regarded delivery as the greatest thing

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404. Phil. I 196. 3: Νῆ Δι' ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης καὶ πρῶτον ἔλεγε καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον εἶναι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐν τῇ ῥητορικῇ. Καλλιπιδίης δὲ καὶ Νεικόστρατος – ἐγὼ φήσω – τὸ πᾶν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ, Λύκων δ' ἐν κωμωδίᾳ κτλ.

405. *Rh.* III 12 (1413 b9)

406. See above, pp. 94–6 and for text n. 290.

in rhetoric πρὸς τὸ πείσαι. Athanasius begins his discussion of the subject of delivery, by noting that it involved having the gestures, the gaze and the voice conform to the spoken words (καλῶς τοῖς λεγόμενοις), as the best tragic actor would do. This is presumably what Demosthenes did not do and the whole point of the Andronicus anecdote. According to Ps.-Plutarch, the actor had charged that Demosthenes' words were fine (οἱ λόγοι καλῶς ἔχουσιν) but his delivery was deficient. Next Athanasius comments that gesturing, such as is appropriate to rhetoric, must not be overdone in one gesture or another (μὴ δία τοῦ περιττοῦ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα). As we have seen, this is precisely the charge raised against Demosthenes by Demetrius who regarded his delivery as τὸ περιττόν. Then Athanasius proceeds to note that Andronicus was the first to introduce delivery, while Demosthenes failed in declamation, which is precisely what happened to precipitate his meeting with the actor. He adds that Demosthenes himself is a witness to the fact that delivery is of the greatest help in rhetoric. Then follows in his text the famous testimonial of the orator, with the additional point that Polus the actor instructed the orator in the area of delivery. Again the testimony of Demosthenes is found in a text which shows a strong Peripatetic influence, and is connected in some way with the figure of Andronicus.

The resulting impression is that the two anecdotes were told together in a section of a rhetorical work in which a Peripatetic, likely Demetrius of Phalerum, dealt with delivery. In every case a connection is made between Demosthenes and actors, whether they share the same view of the importance of delivery or whether he is their protégé. The connection between rhetorical and dramatic delivery was



Peripatetic. Aristotle had already drawn the analogy, when he had noted that delivery would have the same corrupting effect on oratory as acting had on drama. It was probably from this analogy that it was first suggested to Demetrius that Demosthenes had himself been trained by an actor, particularly when he noted in his delivery a number of theatrical features which could only have been aimed at pleasing the common person. In Ps.-Plutarch and Photius, Demosthenes' high regard for delivery is directly associated with his training under the actor Andronicus. What follows in their texts, and again in the parallel passages of Plutarch and *PSI* 144, is a whole series of notices by which Demetrius showed how the orator's delivery was influenced by the stage: that he often appeared frenzied<sup>407</sup> and inspired, that he once swore a metrical oath. All this points to the theatrical nature of Demosthenes' delivery. It was easy for Demetrius and later biographers to suggest by notices like these that Demosthenes was trained by an actor, just as the biographer Satyrus followed the Peripatetics in suggesting that the orator was influenced by Euripides' stichomythia.

#### IV. Comic Origins

The notices preserved in the parallel passages of Ps.-Plutarch, Photius, Plutarch and *PSI* 144 may go back to Demetrius, but in every case the information was derived from comedy. As Wehrli notes,<sup>408</sup> the joke lies in the fact that rhetorical affectation could only be acquired from a real actor and, as the successful student of Andronicus, Demosthenes' confession of the importance of ὑπόκρισις suits the context

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407. παράβακχος can have the sense of "theatrical".

408. IV 81

of comic invention.<sup>409</sup> The confession itself may have been a parody of a philosophical discourse in which the actor asked his student what were the three divisions of rhetoric. Aristotle had divided his study into the three parts of τὰ πράγματα, ἡ λέξις and ἡ τάξις.<sup>410</sup> He had further subdivided λέξις into three parts of which ὑπόκρισις was only the third, howbeit with the δύναμιν μεγίστην. In this context, then, Demosthenes' praise of delivery was seen as a perversion of Aristotle's view; Demetrius included the orator's confession, as testimony to the importance of delivery in rhetoric,<sup>411</sup> but cautioned that Demosthenes' emphasis was unbalanced to the point of excluding other aspects of rhetoric. Hence his severe criticism of Demosthenes' highly intricate and refined manner of delivery, which appealed only to the lower classes, a criticism which itself was derived from Aristotle, who had regarded a discussion of delivery as relevant only because of the corruption of the hearer.<sup>412</sup>

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409. Meerwaldt, "De Comiorum Quibusdam Locis Ad Ludendum Demosthenem Pertinentibus," *Mnemosyne* ns. 55 (1927) 300, attempts a reconstruction of the comic verse.

... Φέρ' εἰπέ μοι, τί πρῶτόν ἐστ' ἐν ῥητορικῇ; Δ. ὑπόκρισις.

A. τί δεύτερον δ'; Δ. ὑπόκρισις. A. εὖ γε, τί τὸ τρίτον;

Δ. ὑπόκρισις. A...

410. *Rh.* III 1; Meerwaldt, (above, n. 409) 299, states that this was the regular tripartite division of rhetoric at the time. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion* (Princeton 1963) 10–12, notes that in its developed form rhetoric was divided into εὔρεσις, τάξις, λέξις, μνήμη and ὑπόκρισις.

411. This point often is made by those quoting Demosthenes' words; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 142. *Orat.* 56; Quint. XI 3. 5–6; Athanasius: Walz VI 35

412. *Rh.* III 1 (1404a 7). Meerwaldt, (above, n. 409) 298–300, suggests that the parody gains further import, if one starts from what Aristotle says in *Rhetoric* III 12 (1413b 21), when he describes asyndeton and repetition as ὑποκριτικὰ and adds that the repetition must be varied to pave the way for delivery: ἀνάγκη γὰρ μεταβάλλειν τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντας ὅπερ ὡς ὁδοποιεῖ τῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι. According to Meerwaldt, the comic poet had wittily parodied Demosthenes' skill at variation; that while extolling ὑπόκρισις, he was "belle ac varie ὑποκρινόμενος". Meerwaldt sees in Demetrius' criticism of Demosthenes' delivery as ποικίλον καὶ περιττὸν οὐχ ἄπλοῦν δὲ a reference to Demosthenes' unique skill a varying his voice, something, however, which Philodemus' words do not necessarily suggest.

The comic origin of the other Demetrian notices found in the four parallel texts is at once apparent. Plutarch attributes them to Eratosthenes, Demetrius of Phalerum and the comic poets. The text of *PSI* 144 seems to have been at least in part an epitome of the *περὶ κωμωδίας* of Eratosthenes, who had turned to Demetrius for his comic citations. Although Plutarch and Photius attribute the oath specifically to the testimony of the Peripatetic, Ps.-Plutarch makes it clear that the oath appeared in the comedies of Antiphanes and Timocles.<sup>413</sup> Wehrli is right when he suggests that the iambic form of the oath was derived from comic travesty.<sup>414</sup> From this parody it was concluded by Eratosthenes and perhaps by Demetrius himself that Demosthenes often made such theatrical displays while speaking.<sup>415</sup>

Again, Demosthenes' use of antithesis was itself parodied in comedy. Plutarch, at the conclusion of his list of notices, tells how the orator was ridiculed by the comic poets for it.<sup>416</sup> He further suggests that the comic verse is a parody by Antithenes of Demosthenes' *ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου* in which the orator advised the Athenians not "to take

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413. Ps.-Pl. 845b: προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλησίαις, νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο, ὡς κωμωδηθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους  
μὲν γῆν μὲν κρήνας μὲν ποταμοὺς μὲν νόματα.

414. Wehrli IV 81. On the comic origin of Demosthenes' improper pronunciation of Asclepius' name see Drerup 51–2. According to the Scholia Dem. Or. XVIII 52 (104a–c Dilts) a similar story told how Demosthenes deliberately gave the wrong intonation on the word *μισθωτός* (*μίσθωτος*) in his invective against Aeschines, so as to provoke the jurors into correcting him; accepting their correction as the answer to his rhetorical question, he replied "ἀκούεις ὃ λέγουσιν". In one version of the story (104b–c) Menander and his friends are introduced among the jurors.

415. Dem. 9. 3: ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης μὲν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παρόβακχον. *PSI* 144. 8: καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι τὸν Δημοσθένην ὄρκον ὁμωμοκέναι ἔμμετρον, παρόβακχον δ' ἐν πολλοῖς γεγονέναι.

416. For the text see above, n. 396.

but retake" the island from Philip. A similar phrase appears in Or. VII 5.<sup>417</sup> This must be the passage which Plutarch has in mind; but the authenticity of that speech was open to question even in antiquity.<sup>418</sup> It is far from certain that Demetrius used this speech as his evidence. The suggestion that Antiphanes is actually parodying the speech *On Halonneseus* is Plutarch's own. It may be, as Blass suggests,<sup>419</sup> that this "quibbling over syllables" for which Demosthenes was criticized by the comic poets and Aeschines alike, was a slogan not only of Demosthenes but of the whole anti-Macedonian party, to which Hegesippus belonged.

As in the case of the other notices preserved in the four parallel texts, Demetrius' only source was comedy. This memorable antithesis had been parodied by more than one comic poet.<sup>420</sup> It was also ridiculed by Aeschines,<sup>421</sup> who elsewhere warned generally of Demosthenes' beguiling antitheses.<sup>422</sup> This same criticism was

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417. VII 5: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε λαμβάνει αὐτόν, ὅτι δι' ὁμιότερων τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁποτέρῳ ἂν χρῆσθε, ὑμεῖς ἔξετε τὴν νῆσον, ἢν τε λάβητε ἢν τ' ἀπολάβητε.

418. Although Dionysius of Halicarnassus does not doubt its authenticity, regarding it as the eighth Philippic, he does point out the Lysianic character of the speech (*Dem.* 13 cf. 9 & *Ad Amm.* I 10). Libanius in his hypothesis (75. 3) rejects its authenticity and adds that ancient critics recognized it as a work of Hegesippus from its style and subject matter. It was, however, registered by Callimachus by the title ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου under the works of Demosthenes (fr 442 Pf.: D.H. *Dem.* 13).

419. III 2 (1880) 113

420. In Athen. VI 223e–224b is preserved a collection of such parodies by Antiphanes, by Alexis, by Anaxilas and Timocles. In the last comic passage (224a) from Timocles the particular antithesis δοῦναι–ἀποδοῦναι is not mentioned, but was understood from the context by Athenaeus: κατὰ τοὺς οὖν προειρημένους ποιητὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀποδιδόντες καὶ οὐ διδόντες τὰ ἀκόλουθα λέξομεν. In this passage is found a comic inversion of the character of Demosthenes; he is likened to Briareos who eats catapults and spears, hates words, has never uttered an antithesis but has the stare of Ares. From this a critic could easily have inferred that the orator delighted in antithesis generally, and was not simply being parodied for one memorable phrase. For a discussion of this and the other comic verses see Meerwaldt (above, n. 409) 287–93 and Drerup 5–6.

421. III 83

422. II 4: ἐφοβήθη μὲν γάρ, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τεθορύβημαι, μή τις ὑμῶν ἀγνοήσῃ με ψυχᾶ γαγνηθέντι τῷ ἐπιβεβουλευμένῳ καὶ κακοήθεσι τοῖς ἀντιθέτοις (ie XVIII [*De corona*]

later raised in Peripatetic circles against Demosthenes, whose excessive use of antithesis, they claimed, gave the impression of false artifice.<sup>423</sup> Demetrius mentioned the comic parody as sure evidence of Demosthenes' abuse of this rhetorical device, just as he had quoted the metrical oath to illustrate the theatrical mannerism of his style of speaking.

This leads to a final comic notice, which is found only in the text of Plutarch. After referring to the metrical oath, the biographer notes that one comic poet had called the orator a ῥωποπερπερήθρα. In view of the other notices in the collection it must describe Demosthenes' style of rhetoric. This seems confirmed by another comic fragment preserved in Diogenes Laertius, who apparently quotes from the same comic poet as Plutarch.<sup>424</sup> The sense of the epithet depends on the words ψευδαλαζόνες λόγοι,<sup>425</sup> and the implication of the verse is that both the philosopher and the orator share the same tendency of speaking deceitfully boastful words: "Eubulides, the Eristic, who inquires into sophisms and overpowers the orators with his deceitfully boastful

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265).

423 [Demetrius] περὶ ἑρμηνείας 250: Ἡ δὲ ἀντίθεσις, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοπόμπου ἔφην (247), οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς Δημοσθενικοῖς ἤρμοσεν, ἔνθα φησὶν, "ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτελούμην· ἐδίδασκες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφοίτων· ἐτριτογωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθεώμην· ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐσύριπτον"· κακοτεχνοῦντι γὰρ ἔοικεν διὰ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ παίζοντι, οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦντι.

424. II 108: περὶ τούτου (Εὐβουλίδου) φησὶ τις τῶν κωμικῶν

οὔριστικός δ' Εὐβουλίδης κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν

καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυλίων

ἀπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν.†

ἔφκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἀκηκοέναι καὶ ῥωβικώτερος ὦν παύσασθαι.

† ῥωποπερπερήθραν is Meineke's correction on the basis of Plutarch. Diogenes has ῥωβοστρωμυλήθραν, which is given in Suda as ῥομβοστρωμυλήθραν.

425. Drerup 54 n. 1; elsewhere (53) he translates ῥωποπερπερήθραν as "Windbeutel, der alles durcheinander schwatzt" and notes (54 n. 1) that the collocation of the words ῥῶπος and περπερήθρα converges in sense with ῥωποστρωμυλήθραν in Diogenes and the Suda, which in fact is the restoration given to the verse by Roeper, "Conjecturen zu Laertius Diogenes," *Philologus* 9 (1854) 1-5.

speeches, has gone off with his victory prize, Demosthenes the ῥωποπερπερήθρα".<sup>426</sup>

There is no suggestion whatsoever that Demosthenes studied under Eubulides as Diogenes concludes; only that the philosopher beat the orator at his own game. Drerup is justified in asking what does a faulty pronunciation of the letter rho have to do with it? Indeed ῥωβικώτερος is unintelligible according to this interpretation of the text. Consequently, Drerup (53) follows Roeper in emending ῥωβικώτερος to ῥωπικώτερος. But ancient writers saw such a relationship. More than one author, besides Diogenes, reported that Demosthenes was the philosopher's pupil.<sup>427</sup> In particular we must compare the parallel text of Ps.-Plutarch. After detailing the peculiarities of Demosthenes' delivery, as they were noted first by Demetrius, Ps.-Plutarch describes the orator's relationship to the philosopher: σχολάσας δὲ Εὐβουλιδῇ τῷ διαλεκτικῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐπηνωρθώσατο πάντα.<sup>428</sup> What were all these things which Demosthenes corrected under the tutelage of Eubulides other than a faulty pronunciation, whether that included the improper pronunciation of Asclepius' name mentioned in the previous line or the inability to enunciate correctly the letter rho?

Since the parallel texts of Ps.-Plutarch and Plutarch are derived from the same passage of Eratosthenes' περὶ κωμωδίας, we must assume that Ps.-Plutarch's source inferred this scholastic relationship between Eubulides and Demosthenes on the basis of the comic verse mentioned by Plutarch and found in Eratosthenes. In this case the

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426. This is essentially Drerup's interpretation, which is followed by Meerwaldt, (above, n. 409) 301-3, who also imagines the comic setting as a contest between a group of philosophers and orators.

427. Phld. II 206. 9; Lucian *Ecom.* 12; Apul. *Apol.* 15; Ps.Pl. 845b; Suda 1.

428. 845b

text of Diogenes needs no further emendation; ῥωβικώτερος is the correct reading. His source (and for that matter Plutarch's as well as Ps.-Plutarch's), which seems to have been Hermippus, had concluded from the comic fragment that Demosthenes had studied for a time with Eubulides and under his direction overcame his defective pronunciation.<sup>429</sup> It may have occurred to him that ῥωποπερπερήθρα was an onomatopoeia, coined by the comic poet to parody the stutter of the orator.<sup>430</sup>

The comic origin of this tradition is perhaps suggested from one other passage. Zosimus preserves what appears to be a comic verse in which the orator boasted of his success at overcoming his faulty pronunciation of the letter rho by rhetoric.<sup>431</sup> The participle καταρρητορευμένος is an obvious onomatopoeia, mimicking Demosthenes' stutter. The immediate context is his use of pebbles to correct the problem. This exercise, as we have seen, had regularly been associated in the biographical tradition, with his inability to enunciate the letter rho. But the verse

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429. Hermippus is named at 109 by Diogenes for a notice on another student of Eubulides, Alexinus of Elis. See above, pp. 119–20, where it is argued that Hermippus is Plutarch's source for the extract from Eratosthenes. In the Suda, whose article s.v. Δημ. (454) goes back to Hermippus, among the teachers is included Eubulides' name: διηκροάσατο δὲ καὶ Εὐβουλίδου τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ καὶ Πλάτωνος. See Schaefer, *Philologus* 5 (1851) 429 and Blass III (1893) 16–17 and our discussion in Chapter 4 pp. 266–7.

430. Cf. Shaefer I 332 n. 2. Demosthenes had been nicknamed Batalos by his nurse and playmates (Dem. XVIII 180; Aesch. I 126, 131; II 99). The verbal cognate of the noun is βαταλίζειν, which could easily suggest to an ancient the verb βαττερίζειν, particularly when the substitution of λ for r characterized one who was τραυλός (Zos. 299. 73–5). See Holst (above, n. 333) 13–15. Such an inference was perhaps made on the analogy of the Battus of Herodotus IV 155, who is also said to have suttered. See Chroust (above, n. 152) 290 n. 20 with reference to Aristotle's supposed lisp.

431. Zos. 299 68: τὸν μὲν τραυλισμὸν ἐμβάλλων τινὰς ψήφους ἐν τῷ στόματι καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου συνεχῶς ἔπος τι λέγων, οἷον τὸ "ρόχθει γὰρ μέγα κύμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἡπείροιο" οὕτως δὲ τοῦτο ἐπηνωρθώσατο, ὥστ' εἰσελθόντα εἰπεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκεῖνο τὸ περιφερόμενον "ἦκω φέρων ὑμῖν τὸ ρ καταρρητορευμένον." δία τοῦτο δ' εἶπε τὸ ρ, ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον οἱ τραυλοὶ ἀεὶ περὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο σφάλλονται, τὸ λ ἀντὶ τοῦ ρ προφέροντες.

appears almost too tendentious to be genuine and there is the possibility, as Drerup suggests,<sup>432</sup> that this particular comic verse was the pointed invention of a later biographer, perhaps of Zosimus himself. But even so the passage does point to the comic origin of much of the tradition about Demosthenes' stutter.

## V. The Testimony of Aeschines and Demosthenes

If there is any basis of reality in this tradition, which definitely begins with Demetrius, it must come from the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines. But even here caution must be exercised, since their remarks are charged with irony and invective. Demosthenes frequently refers to Aeschines' fine voice.<sup>433</sup> He describes his rival as εὐφωνος<sup>434</sup> and λαμπροφωνότατος.<sup>435</sup> He is said to be loud sounding, which allows him to express clearly and emphatically whatever he wants with his voice.<sup>436</sup> Demosthenes, by contrast, was said by biographers to have been unable to project his voice. Aeschines is compared by Demosthenes to a gust of wind, who can string together words clearly without even taking a breath (ἀπνευστεί).<sup>437</sup> Ironically this is what later biographers said Demosthenes could not do; he could not speak ἀπνευστί.<sup>438</sup>

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432. Drerup 51

433. Schaefer I 240 n. 2 has collected all the references; for a discussion of Demosthenes' criticism of Aeschines see Kindstrand (above, n. 281) 17–23.

434. XVIII 285; XIX 126, 338

435. XVIII 313; XIX 199. These two ideas are picked up in the biographical tradition. Ps.–Pl. 840a: λαμπρόφωνος δ' ὤν; 840e: ἐγενέτο δ' εὐφωνος; *Anon. vit. Aesch.* 268. 8: ὄντα δὲ λαμπρόφωνον; cf. *Schol. Dem.* XIX 337: ἔστι γὰρ εὐφωνότατος Αἰσχίνης, ὡς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ πολλάκις ὁ Δημοσθένης.

436. XIX 206: τινὰ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι μέγιστον ἀπάντων καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλοιτο τῇ φωνῇ; cf. XVIII 260; XIX 216, 338

437. XVIII 308

438. Zos. 299. 64; Ps.–Pl. 844f



Demosthenes charges that Aeschines places great stock in his voice, expecting to subdue the audience with his histrionic talent.<sup>439</sup> On more than one occasion he connects the fine voice of Aeschines with his training in the theatre.<sup>440</sup> He notes that his rival exercises his voice (φωνασκεῖν) and practices (μελέτη).<sup>441</sup> This is precisely the picture of Demosthenes found in the biographical tradition: he practiced his orations, trained his voice, put great import on the τόνος τῆς φωνῆς.<sup>442</sup> The irony in all this is that Demosthenes who so sharply criticized Aeschines for his naturally fine voice and histrionic talent, according to Demetrius suffered from a poor voice and had to turn to an actor Andronicus for help. Aeschines, who was regarded both by himself and later writers as naturally talented, was himself an actor;<sup>443</sup> but the orator who became noted in the biographical tradition for his lack of natural talent took up theatrical training. It sounds too specious, particularly since Aeschines never criticized Demosthenes for such training or for his poor voice. It all appears to be the invention of Demetrius of Phalerum, who was in fact highly critical of the orator.

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439. XIX 337: Καίτοι καὶ περὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἴσως εἰπεῖν ἀνάγκη πάνυ γὰρ μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φρονεῖν αὐτὸν ἀκούω, ὡς καθυποκρινοῦμενον ὑμῶς.

440. XVIII 127: ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ βοῶντα, 287: μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ διακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον, 313 ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης; cf. XVIII 13; XIX 189, 246–47.

441. XVIII 280, 308, 309; XIX 255, 336

442. Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 11. 3. At XVIII 280 he tells Aeschines that it is not the speech of the rhetor or ὁ τόμος τῆς φωνῆς that is important but supporting the policies of the people. This comment is the basis of the story told at Ps.–Plutarch 848b: once when his voice failed and he was interrupted by the din of the assembly, Demosthenes responded that the actor should be judged by his voice but the orator by his thoughts.

443. *Anon. Vita Aesch.* 268. 11: καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν διενεγκεῖν ὄντα εὐφυᾶ. *POxy.* 1800 περὶ Αἰσχίνου 48: ὑποκρινόμενος εὐφυῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις γενόμενος. Demetrius fr. 171 (126a Ofenloch): ἀλλὰ κεχηνηυῖά πῶς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἄτεχνος μὲν καὶ προπετὴς καὶ εὐχερῶς ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἀπρεπῶς ῥήτορι ἐξαγομένη, ἔχουσα δέ τι εὐφυὲς καὶ εὐάγων, καὶ οἷον ἂν γένοιτό τι ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἀφρονουῶς".

In noting that Demosthenes performed various exercises to improve his voice, Demetrius was simply reiterating a criticism voiced by other Peripatetics, who, as we have seen, regarded the orator as ἐπιμελής ἢ μᾶλλον εὐφυής. By contrast, Aeschines was reputed to be naturally talented. Here the orator is his own witness. He downplays any rhetorical training and stresses his innate ability. Φύσις is the word he uses.<sup>444</sup> Here is the source of the tradition, preserved by later biographers and rhetoricians, that Aeschines was εὐφυής μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιμελής, that his rhetorical skill was natural and not born of training.<sup>445</sup> By contrast Aeschines frequently warns of Demosthenes' beguiling τέχνη.<sup>446</sup> He is a τεχνιτὴς λόγων,<sup>447</sup> who teaches the youth the art of rhetoric.<sup>448</sup> Perhaps here is the source of the tradition that Demosthenes had to rely on study and practice; after all he did admit that he prepared and practiced his speech against Meidias.<sup>449</sup> Certainly this could apply to his other speeches and to his oratory in general.

So already in Aeschines is found the suggestion that Demosthenes was ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής in contrast to himself. Where was this contrast more apparent than in the power of their voices? So one could reason. The undue criticism of Aeschines' fine voice could suggest that this was indeed an area of weakness for Demosthenes.

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444. II 241; III 228

445. Demetrius fr 171; *POxy* 1800 l. 48; D.H. *De imit* 212 20, *Dem.* 35; Philostr. *S V I* 18 509; Phot. cod. 61 20b

446. I 117; II 1, 156; III 28, 35, 37, 193

447. I 170; III 200

448. I 117; II 156

449. XXI 191: τόχα τοίνυν ἴσως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐρεῖ, ὥς ἐσκεμμένα καὶ παρεσκευασμένα πάντῃ λέγω νῦν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐσκέφθαι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημί κοῦκ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖν, καὶ μεμελητέκνοι γ' ὥς ἐνῆν μάλιστα ἐμοί.

In fact the orator more than once seems to imply this. He warns the Athenians that a fine voice is an asset only for the duty of herald not for public office.<sup>450</sup> He tells them that they must not pay heed to Aeschines' loud sounding voice and his weak one.<sup>451</sup> He asks how it is that the most loathsome men with the loudest sounding voices can be undone by one so timid as himself, who can speak no louder than anyone else?<sup>452</sup>

These statements at best are specious and highly ironical. They are not to be taken literally. They need not imply that Demosthenes suffered from a weak voice, let alone a speech impediment of any kind. But this is precisely what could have been inferred. Thus we have the seeds of a tradition, which in its full form saw Demosthenes characterized as an orator who overcame his natural defects through training and various exercises. This tradition which goes back to Demetrius of Phalerum, whose own claim of first hand knowledge is suspect seems to be based on little more than chance references in comedy and the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes. It was in fact the creation of the Peripatetics, who had invented this image of the orator for the purposes of their rhetorical discussions.

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450. XIX 338

451. XIX 216: μηδέ γ' εἰ καλὸν καὶ μέγα οὗτος φθέγγεται, μηδ' εἰ φαῦλον ἐγώ.

452. XIX 208: τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι οἱ βδελυρότατοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μέγιστον φθειγόμενοι τοῦ καὶ ἀτολμοτάτου πάντων ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐδενὸς μεῖζον φθειγόμενου τοσοῦτον ἡττῶνται;

## IDOMENEUS OF LAMPSACUS

Idomeneus lived sometime between 325 and 270 B.C.<sup>453</sup> In his youth he studied briefly under the philosopher Epicurus, who came to his native city of Lampsacus in 310, but departed to Athens soon after in 307/6.<sup>454</sup> After a brief political career, Idomeneus returned to philosophy and began writing shortly after 300.<sup>455</sup> Two works are generally ascribed to him: *περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν* and *περὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν*.<sup>456</sup> Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hypereides figure in the second of these works. His importance for the development of the biographical tradition of the

453. Jacoby, "Idomeneus," *RE* XIX 1 (1914) 910.

454. *DL*. X 15

455. In *P. Herc.* 463 col. IX we find certain Epicureans attacked for their inconsistency, on the one hand for denying participation in political life, but on the other hand for excusing the political activity of their disciple Idomeneus on the grounds of being *μειρακίσκος*. This confirms the contention of Angeli, "Per una ricostruzione della biografia di Idomeneo di Lampsaco," *Proceedings of the XVI Int. Congr. Papyrology* (Chico 1981) 115–23, that Idomeneus participated in politics only for a brief period in his younger years, perhaps immediately after Epicurus' departure from Lampsacus in 307. She follows Momigliano, "Su alcuni dati della vita di Epicuro," *RFIC* 63 (1935) 302–16, in suggesting that Idomeneus had received his appointment from Antigonos Monophthalmos, and argues that Idomeneus was politically active for a very brief period between 306 and 301. Like Momigliano she challenges the notion that Idomeneus served under Lysimachus or was in any sense tyrant of Lampsacus.

456. The historiographical fragments (*FGrH* 338 FF 1–15), now generally assigned to the latter work, were originally assigned to the *περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν* by Sintenis, *Ausgewählte Biographien des Plutarch III: Themistokles und Perikles* (Berlin) 314. But the title of a work on the demagogues was first recovered by Sauppe, "Idomeneus," *RhM* 29 (1843) 450–52, from a text of Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca: Lex. Rhet.* p. 249 32:

ἐκλήθη οὖν ἡ μήτηρ Αἰσχίνου Ἐμπουσα, ὡς μὲν λέγει Δημοσθένης, ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντοτε ποιεῖν καὶ πόσχειν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ φάσμα παντόμορφον) ὡς δὲ Ἰδομένης φησὶ δημαγωγόν, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ σκοτεινῶν τόπων ἀνεφαίνετο τοῖς μυομένους.

According to Sauppe, Ἰδομένης φησὶ δημαγωγόν is a corruption of Ἰδομενεύς φησὶ δημαγωγῶν, which was further restored by Jacoby (*FGrH* 338 F 2) to Ἰδομενεύς φησὶ ἐν Περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνησίων Δημαγωγῶν. Cf. Angeli, "L'opera 'Sui Demagoghi in Atene' di Idomeneo," *Vichiana* n.s. 10 (1981) 5, and Jacoby, *FGrH* IIIb 57 n. 1.

orators lay in the fact that he was the first to deal biographically with a group of the orators, albeit only as demagogues. In this last respect he stands apart from Demetrius, who was chiefly concerned with the rhetorical technique of the orators. This was of little importance to Idomeneus, who concentrated on their actions as demagogues, both public and private, and usually of a scandalous kind. Consequently, the part of the biographical tradition that includes a reference to the sexual licentiousness of the orators can usually be traced back to him, often through Hermippus. How far his work on the demagogues represented actual biography cannot be determined from the fragments. Notices cover the whole span of a life, from the mention of the patrimony or education of one demagogue to details about the end of the career of another. But whether these separate notices should be taken together to represent a composite picture of a single biography of each demagogue, is an open question. There were certainly characterizing anecdotes, which made him a popular source for later biographers like Hermippus. But by and large the impression left from the evidence is of a work of a polemical kind, which used biographical anecdotes to malign the character of the demagogue.

#### Lineage: Polemic

Scholars of the 20th century have been of two minds about the inspiration for his writing; they have either regarded Idomeneus' work on the demagogues in terms

of a Peripatetic model,<sup>457</sup> or have searched for any evidence of an Epicurean attitude on his part, particularly the Epicurean hostility to rhetoric.<sup>458</sup> But the evidence

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457. Leo (109–12), who wanted to see a Peripatetic influence in virtually every piece of historical writing of the 4th and 3rd centuries, placed both Theopompus and Idomeneus within the ambit of Peripatetic activity. For him the *περὶ τῶν δημοαγωγῶν* represented a genuine biography, which had taken an important step beyond Theopompus. In his original evaluation Jacoby (*RE* IX 1 (1914) 910–12) rejected the older opinion of Christ-Schmid (*GGrLit* V 74 = VI 1 [1920] 99 n. 3) that the *περὶ τῶν δημοαγωγῶν* was a scandalous chronicle on the Athenian politicians written as a foil to his own blameless tyranny and the view of Radermacher (*PhW* 27 [1907] 302–03) that it was a "polemic work of a vulgar kind", which echoed the Epicurean distaste for rhetoric. In his view such explanations did not sufficiently account for the unfavourable tradition. Rather he followed Leo in considering Idomeneus as one of the many writers influenced by the Peripatos and his work on the demagogues as standing close to Theopompus' excursus. Later, however, Jacoby (*FGrH* 338 IIIb 84–5 & n. 3–4) abandoned this position, rejecting a Peripatetic *εἰδός* for Idomeneus. Instead he returned to Radermacher's interpretation that the two works of Idomeneus were pamphlets connected with his Epicurean beliefs and perhaps his political activity in Lampsacus.

458. According to Jacoby (*FGrH* 338 F 16 & IIIb 84) the fragments of the *περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν* supposedly reflected the Epicurean aversion to rhetoric, particularly where Idomeneus characterized Socrates as *ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς δελνός* (338 F 16: D.L. II 19). That this same aversion is evident even in the *περὶ τῶν δημοαγωγῶν*, has been argued by Radermacher (above, n. 457) who believed that the attacks on Demosthenes and Hypereides (F 10–12, 14) reflect the Epicurean condemnation of rhetoric; cf. Kowlaski, "De Phrynes Pectore Nudato," *Eos* 42 (1947) 50–62, especially 58–9. But this is the only evidence and the difficulty in seeing anything Epicurean in the *περὶ τῶν δημοαγωγῶν* has in the past led scholars to explain this apparent discrepancy in terms of Idomeneus' political activity; the work was either a scandalous attack on Athenian politicians written as a foil to his own tyranny (Christ-Schmid, *GGrLit*. VI 1 99 n. 3) or written to justify his departure from political life back to the contemplative life (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* I [Berlin 1893] 183). This problem has recently led Angeli, "Una ricostruzione," (above, n. 455) 115–23 & "Sui Demagoghi," (above, n. 456) 5–16, to reject the common attribution of the work to Idomeneus of Lampsacus and to assign the work to a homonymous historian of the Hellenistic period, who wrote a history of Samothrace (*Suda* s.v. Ἰδομενεύς ἱστορικὸς. ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν τῶν κατὰ Σαμοθράκην). Against Christ-Schmid, Sauppe, Müller and Leo, who had assigned the history to the Epicurean Idomeneus, Jacoby excluded the citation from his collection of fragments, considering such a work out of place for an Epicurean. Similar considerations led Angeli to exclude the work on the demagogues from her collection: "I frammenti di Idomeneo di Lampsaco," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionali per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi* 11 (1981) 41–101. Whereas Jacoby originally accounted for the problem by arguing that Idomeneus was never a true philosopher, although he was counted among *ἐλλόγιοι μαθηταὶ* (DL X 25; cf. Jacoby, *RE* 910), Angeli accepted that Idomeneus was a true Epicurean, but rejected the idea that he wrote the *περὶ τῶν δημοαγωγῶν*, because the Epicurean attitude toward political figures, particularly as it was voiced by Philodemus, was so decidedly different from that expressed in the fragments of the work, and because the Epicureans were indifferent to historiographical research which was so much a part of Peripatetic tradition. See "Sui Demagoghi," 10–14 and "Una ricostruzione," 119–20, 122 n. 26. Rather she connected

suggesting any Epicurean point of view is at best scant. This need to see anything decidedly Epicurean in the *περὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν* disappears as soon as it is recognized that Idomeneus had modeled his work on earlier polemics on demagogues and as such had reworked many themes common to works of this type. Hence his *περὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν* should be connected with pamphlets of the fifth and fourth centuries, particularly with τὰ *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγῶν* of Theopompus,<sup>459</sup> the *περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους* of Stesimbrotus<sup>460</sup> and the *πολιτικὸς λόγος* of Antisthenes, whose work was a scathing attack on all Athenian demagogues.<sup>461</sup> Idomeneus was indebted to these earlier writers for both the form and content of his work. He inherited from them the literary scheme of the *διαδοχή*, repeated their charges of *φιλοτιμία* and *τρυφή* against the demagogues, and reworked a number of the biographical *topoi* introduced by them in connection with these two charges.

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the work with the Peripatos in general and Phaenias' *περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων* in particular.

459. The actual title of the excursus is given in Athenaeus IV 166de (*FGrH* 115 F 100 cf. F 95): Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλίππικῶν, ὅφ' ἥς τινες τὸ τελευταῖον μέρος χωρίσαντες, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὰ *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγῶν* κτλ. His words suggest that at some point the excursus on the demagogues was separated from the rest of the history and treated as a separate work, perhaps in the Hellenistic period by the Alexandrian scholars, at which time the title *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν δημαγωγῶν* became attached to it.

460. The title is preserved in Athenaeus XIII 589de (*FGrH* 107 F 10a): ἦν δ' οὗτος <ὁ> ἀνὴρ (sc. Περικλῆς) πρὸς ἀφροδίσια πάνυ καταφερέης, ὅστις καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ γυναικὶ συνῆν, ὡς Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος ἱστορεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτῷ χρόνους γενόμενος καὶ ἑωρακὼς αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ *Περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους*. Schachermeyr, "Stesimbrotos und seine Schrift über die Staatsmänner," *Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 247. 5 (1965) 3–23, has recently argued against the older view which saw Stesimbrotus' work as a political polemic directed against Athens (Cf. Jacoby, *FGrH* 107 Ild 343: "eine politische Tendenzschrift"), but has regarded it as character-centered biography, which ought to be seen as "ein ganz respektabler Vorläufer der peripatetischen Characterologie". Cf. Meister, "Stesimbrotos' Schrift über die athenischen Staatsmänner und ihre historische Bedeutung," *Historia* 27 (1978) 274–94.

461. Athen. XII 522d.

In general he expressed the same hostility as they had toward the Athenian politicians. Theopompus was a great admirer of Antisthenes, whose persuasion he found irresistible,<sup>462</sup> and much of the Cynic's attitude is apparent in his writing, in his condemnation of luxury and democracy.<sup>463</sup> Antisthenes' πολιτικὸς διάλογος provided a *ἀπάντων καταδρομὴν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν δημαγωγῶν*.<sup>464</sup> Such a general condemnation of the demagogues appears in the excursus of Theopompus who does not even withhold his criticism from Cimon.<sup>465</sup> Likewise Idomeneus' condemnation is universal; even Aristides does not quite escape unscathed; his sense of justice at times gets the better of him. He is duped by the Spartan Ephors, while on a legation to Sparta.<sup>466</sup> He is charged with embezzlement by Themistocles.<sup>467</sup> Even Phocion, who emerged in the

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462. DL. VI 14.

463. Murray, "Theopompos or the Cynic as Historian," *Greek Studies* VIII (Oxford 1946) 156–70. For a discussion of Theopompan historiography see Von Fritz, "The Historian Theopompos: His Political Convictions and his Conception of Historiography," *The American Historical Review* 46 (1941) 765–87; Connor, "History without Heroes: Theopompos' Treatment of Philip of Macedon," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 133–54; Bruce, "Theopompos and Classical Greek Historiography," *History and Theory* 9 (1970) 86–109; G. Shrimpton, *Theopompus The Historian* (Montreal 1991).

464. Athen. V 220d. According to Athenaeus (220e) in his works οὐδείς ἀγαθὸς σύμβουλος εἶναι δοκεῖ, οὐ στρατηγὸς φρόνιμος, οὐ σοφιστὴς ἀξιόλογος, οὐ ποιητὴς ὠφέλιμος, οὐ δῆμος εὐλόγιστος.

465. In *FGrH* 115 F 89 Cimon's generosity is presented as an act of φιλοτιμία and in F 90 he is called κλεπτίστατος, a man who had been convicted more than once of shameful profit-making; See Connor 30–38.

466. F 6: Plut. *Arist.* 10. 7.

467. F 7: *Arist.* 4. 4; cf. Craterus *FGrH* 342 F 12 (*Arist.* 26) and St. Cyril *Contra Iulianum* 6. 188. These stories about Aristides' dishonesty were probably derived from Theopompus (Connor 166 n. 72), and in fact the passage from St. Cyril immediately follows the citation of *FGrH* 115 F 90, in which Theopompus criticized Cimon for profit-making. It would seem that Theopompus directed his criticism even against the most just of Athenians, and Idomeneus may have done the same. In F 5 (*Arist.* 1. 2–8) Idomeneus claimed, apparently against Demetrius ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει, that Aristides was elected archon and not appointed by lot: καὶ μὴν ἄρξαι γε τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς οὐ κυομευτόν, ἀλλ' ἐλομένων Ἀθηναίων φησίν. Demetrius, on the other hand, had maintained that he had been allotted the office of Eponymous archon after the battle of Plataea. Demetrius had insisted on this point to refute the charge that Aristides was poor: καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶκον εὐπορίας ἐν μὲν ἡγήτοι



Peripatetic tradition as the ideal philosopher in politics, is criticized.<sup>468</sup>

From this the intellectual lineage of Idomeneus' work is clear. He shared the very same attitude of cynicism toward the Athenian demagogues as Theopompus and Antisthenes. But his dependence on these earlier writers of polemics expresses itself most vividly in the literary form which his work took and in biographical *topoi* which he used to defame the demagogues, and for our purposes the orators. At this point it is necessary to discuss the first of these, the literary form of the work.

### The Literary Scheme: The *Diadochē*

As the title of Idomeneus' work suggests, the περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνησιν δημαγωγῶν was arranged as a διαδοχή, a scheme adopted by Theopompus in his excursus on the Athenian demagogues in book 10 of the *Philippika*.<sup>469</sup> The fragments suggest that Theopompus had arranged his excursus as a succession of demagogues, each of whom

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τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν, ἣν ἦρξε ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν ἐκ τῶν γενῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, οὓς πεντακοσιομέδμους προσηγόρευον, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἐξοστρακισμόν. By arguing that Aristides was elected archon, Idomeneus may have been insinuating that the Athenian was poor and could not rely on an aristocratic birth to secure his office. Rather he had to rely on demagoguery. As Plutarch himself points out, his election may have been due to the popular reputation which he gained after that battle: εἰ δὲ κατὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλοταιαῖς μάχην ἦρξεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Δημήτριος γέγραφε, καὶ πάνυ πιθανόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασι τηλικούτοις ἀξιωθῆναι δι' ἀρετὴν <ἀρχῆς> ἣς διὰ πλοῦτον ἐτύγχανον οἱ λαγχάνοντες. But contrast Jacoby, *FGrH* 338 IIIb 84–5, who believes that Idomeneus excluded Aristides from such condemnation, and Angeli, "Sui Demagoghi," (above, n. 456) 12, who accepts Jacoby's view and adds that the parody of the Spartan Ephors was intended to glorify the honesty of Aristides.

468. F 14: Plut. *Phoc.* 4. 1

469. On the affinity between Idomeneus' work and the περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων of the Peripatetic Phaenias of Eresus, see Angeli, "Sui Demagoghi," (above, n. 456) 16; "Una ricostruzione," (above, n. 455) 123 n. 27; Leo 112; Arrighetti, "Satiro," (above, n. 97) 17. Wehrli (IX 30) suggests as a possible model for Phaenias' περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων, not only the excursus of Theopompus, but also Ἱερώνυμος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων προηματείᾳ (*FGH* 154 F 13) and Batou's περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τυράννων (Athen. 289c).

inherited the position from a previous demagogue and then dominated for a number of years.<sup>470</sup> The ultimate model for such a list of *προστάται* may have been Stesimbrotus' *περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους*.<sup>471</sup> Certainly by the fourth century it had become common practice in rhetoric to present history in terms of a succession.<sup>472</sup> Theopompus was simply applying a common rhetorical technique to his work.<sup>473</sup> Idomeneus imposed the same pattern on his own work.

The *περὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν* was much more extensive in its treatment than Theopompus' *excursus*, covering at least two books.<sup>474</sup> Idomeneus dealt with the

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470. The evidence for this comes from *FGrH* 115 F 92 (Schol. Lucian *Timon* 30) where Cleon is said to have been *prostates* for seven years and F 96b (schol. Ar. *Wasps* 1007) where Raubitschek's reading of the text suggests that Hyperbolus was *prostates* for 6 years: "Theopompos on Hyperbolos," *Phoenix* 9 (1955) 122–6; cf. Connor 48–9, 61–2, 160–1 n. 36–7 and Rhodes, *Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 345. For the idea of regal succession, whereby one demagogue inherited the office, as it were, from a reigning demagogue, see Schol. Ar. *Pac.* 681, the content of which so closely corresponds to *FGrH* 115 F 95–6 that it is generally regarded as an excerpt of Theopompus (Bloch, *HSCP* suppl. 1 355 n. 1): Ὑπέρβολος ... οὗτος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κλέωνος δυναστείαν διεδέξατο τὴν δημαγωγίαν. See Connor 63–4 and Andrewes, *Historical Commentary of Thucydides*, V 260–1.

471. Rhodes (above, n. 470) 345. Connor (165–6 n. 69), on the other hand, suggests that the whole idea of presenting history as a succession of demagogues may go back to Eupolis' *Demes*; he also emphasizes a strong affinity between Theopompus' digression on the demagogues and old comedy (102–03).

472. Demosthenes in his third *Philippic* (IX iii 23) divides fifth and fourth century history into a series of hegemonies; the word *προστιάτης*, used by Theopompus and Aristotle (*Athen. Pol.* 28) of the Athenian demagogues, is applied by Demosthenes to the leading cities, each of which are also assigned a number of years of supremacy. Isocrates in his *Antidosis* (XV 230–6) names Solon, Cleisthenes, Themistocles and Pericles as *Προστιάται τοῦ δήμου*. See Rhodes (above, n. 470) 345–6 and Connor 165–6 n. 69.

473. Aristotle in chapter 28 of the *Athenaion Politeia* provided a similar schematic sketch of Athenian history as a succession of *prostatai*, each of whom dominated for a certain period. Both Gomme (I 48 n. 1) and Raubitschek, (above, n. 470) 125 & "Theopompos on Thucydides the son of Melesias," 14 *Phoenix* (1960) 82–3, maintain that the list in *AP* was derived from Theopompus, but Rhodes (346) suggests that Aristotle's source was a compiler who, although not an actual Attidographer, was "a writer in this tradition rather than an Athenian pamphleteer". Connor (108–10), on the other hand, suggests a common source for both Aristotle and Theopompus, one which was conservative in outlook, hostile to Pericles and composed in the late fifth or early fourth centuries, perhaps Stesimbrotus, who appears critical of all the demagogues including Cimon (103 & 176 n. 8).

474. 338 F 1: schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 947. The trial of Themistocles did not appear until the second book.

Peisistratids, whereas Theopompus had not.<sup>475</sup> Fragment 3, which concerns Hipparchus and Hippias, comes from Athenaeus, who explicitly compares their excesses with the moderation of their father. This suggests that Idomeneus had also described the rule of Peisistratus.<sup>476</sup> He may even have included Solon, who was mentioned in many fourth century succession lists of demagogues.<sup>477</sup> The very fact that Idomeneus began his work, at the very least, with the Peisistratids and concluded with Phocion, indicates that he had extended the limits of the *diadochē* beyond that found in the *περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δημογωγῶν* of Theopompus, who seems to have restricted his excursus from the period of Themistocles to Eubulus.<sup>478</sup> Further, extending the *diadochē* to cover the period of Alexander meant that Idomeneus included Aeschines, Demosthenes and Hypereides, in his treatment of the Athenian demagogues. His importance, then, for the development of the biographical tradition of these orators consisted in presenting their lives for the first time in an independent work.<sup>479</sup>

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475. F 3: Athen. XII 532f; cf. Jacoby *FGrH* 338 IIIb 85.

476. The notice on Peisistratus' moderation actually comes from book 21 of Theopompus' *Philippika*.

477. See Arist. *AP* 28; Isoc. *Antidosis* XV 232–7. Aristotle (*Pol.* II 1274a 5–10) presents Solon as founder of the democracy and Androtion *FGrH* 324 F 6 treats Peisistratus as *δημογωγός*; cf. Connor, 164 n. 60.

478. Connor 71–2 and Rhodes (above, n. 470) 345. Connor (165 n. 61) disputes Ruschenbusch's contention (*Historia* 7 [1958] 398–42) that Theopompus was responsible for the tendency in the mid-fourth century to represent Solon as founder of the Athenian democracy but argues on the basis of Plutarch *Them.* 19 that Theopompus had regarded Themistocles as the founder: after mentioning Theopompus (F 85) for the story of how Themistocles bribed the Spartan Ephors to secure the rebuilding of the walls at Athens, Plutarch stresses Themistocles' role in turning Athens from a land power to a sea power. If this part of the passage is Theopompan, it would suggest that the excursus began with the man who was responsible for such a change. Stesimbrotus also seems to have touched upon this theme and may have been Theopompus' source. In citing Stesimbrotus for Miltiades' opposition to Themistocles' naval program, Plutarch (*Them.* 4. 3) again notes this shift from a land to naval power under Themistocles' leadership.

479. The fragments in which Theopompus dealt with Demosthenes (*FGrH* 115 FF 325–28) probably appeared in the main narrative of *Philippika* (Connor 164 n. 59); likewise those fragments in which

## The Topoi of Polemic

### I. φιλοτιμία

Behind the conception of Athenian history as a διαδοχή was the charge of φιλοτιμία, which the writers of these polemics, including Idomeneus, leveled against the demagogues. What they perceived was a series of rivalries between the various demagogues, which often ended in the prosecution of the leading demagogue of the day by his successor. Hence, Stesimbrotus had represented Miltiades opposing Themistocles over the naval program,<sup>480</sup> or had recorded the prosecution of Cimon by Pericles.<sup>481</sup> Antisthenes had also mentioned the last incident, even repeating the gossip of Stesimbrotus about Pericles' relations with Elpinicē, the sister of Cimon.<sup>482</sup> Theopompus had included an account of the prosecution of Pericles by Thucydides.<sup>483</sup> He also seems to have described the trial of Themistocles which resulted in the confiscation of his property.<sup>484</sup> This same trial, which ended Themistocles' career and

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Demetrius of Phalerum dealt with the political career of the orator (frs. 133–34) were to be found in one of his political monographs such as *περὶ τῆς δεκοετίας, ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας*, or *Ἀθηναίων καταδρομή* (or perhaps even *περὶ δημογωγίας*), but Jacoby (*FGrH* 228 FF 19–20) assigns them to *περὶ ῥητορικῆς*. The first fragment charges Demosthenes with cowardice and with being susceptible to bribery (Plut. *Dem.* 14. 2); the second concerns his death (*Dem.* 28. 3).

480. *FGrH* 107 F 2: Plut. *Them.* 4. 4. For a discussion on the historicity and historical context of this fragment see Gruen, "Stesimbrotus On Miltiades and Themistocles," *CSCA* 3 (1970) 91–8.

481. F 5: Plut. *Cim.* 14. 5.

482. Athen XIII 589ef.

483. *FGrH* 115 F 91: Schol. Ar. *Wasps* 947. The Thucydides referred to by Theopompus was not the famous son of Melesias, but the son of a certain Pantaenus. According to Connor (38–43) by discrediting the patrimony of Thucydides, Theopompus was rejecting the official version.

484. A trial is suggested in *FGrH* 115 F 86 (Plut. *Them.* 25. 3), where we are told on the authority of Theopompus that 100 talents were discovered and gathered εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

forced his flight to the Persian king, was noted by Idomeneus.<sup>485</sup> In his account, however, the prosecutor appears to have been Cimon, who would have succeeded Themistocles as the leading demagogue of Athens. Idomeneus took the text of the charge against Themistocles from Craterus but did not follow the Macedonian scholar in making Leobotes, the son of Alcmeon, the prosecutor.<sup>486</sup> Rather he seems to have substituted the name of Cimon in order to preserve what he saw as a regular pattern in Athenian history, a continual and uninterrupted succession of demagogues.<sup>487</sup> Cimon thus became the leading figure until the arrival of Pericles, who in turn attempted to remove his rival by prosecution.

A similar distortion is found in Idomeneus' account of κλοπῆς καταδίκη falsely raised against Aristides by Themistocles.<sup>488</sup> Again his source seems to have been

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485. F 1 (Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 947): ὅτι δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἄειφυγίαν αὐτοῦ (sc. Θεμιστοκλέους) καταγνοῦς ἐδήμεισε τὴν οὐσίαν, καὶ πρὸς Ἀρταξέρην ἤκε φεύγων, σαφὲς ποιεῖ Ἰδομενεὺς διὰ τοῦ β' τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον "οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοῦ καὶ γένους ἄειφυγίαν κατέγνωσαν προδιδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία ἐδημεύθη."

486. *FGrH* 342 F 11: εἰσαγγελία κατὰ καινῶν καὶ ἀγράφων ἁδικημάτων αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Καικιλίου δόξα (F 155 Of.). Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ νόμων φησὶ γενέσθαι, ἐάν τις καταλύῃ τὸν δῆμον ῥήτωρ, ἢ μὴ τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλεύῃ, χρήματα λαμβάνων ἢ ἐάν τις προδιδῶι χωρίον ἢ ναῦς ἢ πεζὴν στρατιάν ἢ ἐάν τις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφικνῆται ἢ τινικοίῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ στρατεύῃται μετ' αὐτῶν, ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνῃ. συνομολογεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ Θεοφράστου ἢ κατὰ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰσαγγελία, ἣν εἰσήγγελεν, ὡς Κρατερός, Λεωβώτης Ἀλκμέωνος, Ἀγρυλῆθεν.

487. F 1 comes from a confused scholium on Aristophanes *Vesp.* 947 which seems to record the text of the εἰσαγγελία, also noted by Craterus (*FGrH* 342 F 11) and Theophrastus. Of the two charges recorded by Craterus and Theophrastus, δωροδοκία and προδοσία, the scholiast of F 1 mentions only the last, nor does he include the name(s) of the prosecutor(s), given by Craterus (*FGrH* 342 F 11) and followed by Plutarch (*Them.* 23. 1), as Leobotes, son of Alcmeon. See Angeli, "Sui Demagoghi," (above, n. 456) 13 n. 60. However, at *Aristides* 25. 10, Plutarch cites as Themistocles' prosecutors Alcmeon, Cimon and many others. Plutarch obviously has another source before him at this point. Jacoby, *FGrH* 342 IIIb 103, attributes the variant to Idomeneus, who was Plutarch's chief source for the life of Aristides, or to Stesimbrotus, who was Idomeneus' own source.

488. F 7: Plut. *Arist.* 4. 4.

Craterus; but in the latter's account Aristides was prosecuted and convicted, after the exile of Themistocles, by a certain Diophantes on the charge of δωροδοκία.<sup>489</sup> Idomeneus' liberal reworking can partly be explained in light of Plutarch's remark on the state of Craterus' account of the trial of Aristides. He notes that the Macedonian scholar provided οὐδὲν ἔγγραφον οὔτε δίκην οὔτε ψήφισμα, although he usually recorded such things and adduced his sources. This left Idomeneus free to rework his source as he wished. But the departure from Craterus, as in the case of the trial of Themistocles, was intended to emphasize the rivalry between the two demagogues, which ended predictably in the prosecution and eventual ostracism of Aristides, both engineered by Themistocles.<sup>490</sup>

Similarly, by having Cleon prosecute Pericles over his failure to take Epidaurus, Idomeneus ignored Peripatetic sources which had preserved the actual name of the prosecutors.<sup>491</sup> But it was common knowledge from Thucydides onward that, after the death of Pericles, Cleon emerged as the leading demagogue in Athens. Since Idomeneus perceived Athenian politics in terms of a succession of rivalries, which often culminated in the prosecution of the leading demagogue by his successor, it is not surprising to find Cleon challenging Pericles in the truly democratic fashion, by taking his rival to court. As we shall see, he also presented Aeschines and Demosthenes, and again Hypereides and Phocion, as pairs of rival demagogues.

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489. 342 F 12: *Arist.* 26. 1–2. Angeli, "Sui Demagoghi," (above, n. 456) 12 & n. 53–4, accepts that Idomeneus' antecedent was Craterus, whereas Jacoby, *FGrH* 342 IIIb 104, suggests that the source for both Idomeneus and Craterus was a fifth century pamphlet, reworked differently by the two authors.

490. Angeli, "Sui Demagoghi," 12 n. 54.

491. F 9: *Plut. Per.* 35. 3–5. Against Idomeneus Plutarch cites Theophrastus for the name Simmias and Heraclides Ponticus for the name Lacratides.

## II. Τρυφή

Φιλοτιμία was only the first of two charges raised against the Athenian demagogues in the polemics of Stesimbrotus, Antisthenes and Theopompus. The other was τρυφή. Here the point of contact is most apparent in Idomeneus' own work. Many of the biographical *topoi* which were introduced by these earlier writers to illustrate the extravagant and lascivious behaviour of these demagogues, he reworked, transferring them from one demagogue to the next. In this way Demosthenes and Hypereides were characterized in the same manner as Pericles was, and herein lies Idomeneus' main contribution to the biographical tradition of the orators. Many of the characterizing anecdotes first introduced by him made their way into the tradition through Hermippus.

How far Idomeneus was dependent upon these earlier polemics is apparent right from the start with his treatment of Hippias and Hipparchus. According to Idomeneus, the rule of the Peisistratids became more oppressive, not, as traditionally claimed, after the assassination of Hipparchus, but after Hippias and Hipparchus had introduced to Athens θαλίσαι καὶ κῶμοι. To these revelries flocked τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἴππων καὶ ἐτέρων πολλῶν, that is, female and male prostitutes.<sup>492</sup> As F 3 stands in the text of Athenaeus, the behaviour of Hippias and Hipparchus is contrasted with that of Peisistratus who μετρίως ἐχρῆτο ταῖς ἡδοναῖς. Theopompus was Athenaeus' source for

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492. F 3: Athen. XII 532f. *Hippoi* meant "loose women" at least in the time of Aelian NA IV 11. See Gulick, *Loeb* V 405 n. f. Angeli, "Sui Demagoghi," (above, n. 456) 13, accepts this interpretation of *hippoi* as a clear indication of the non-Epicurean stance of Idomeneus' work on the demagogues.

this last detail,<sup>493</sup> and Idomeneus may have used him. Certainly what is implied is that the excesses of the Peisistratids led to a worsening of government. The connection between the decline in the quality of government and increased sexual licence was a common theme in Theopompus' excursus. Thus he characterized Eubulus as an ἄσωτος, who even outdid the extravagance of the Tarentines; while the latter were simply intemperate at banquets, Eubulus went so far as to spend public money on μίσθοι (καταμισθοφορέω).<sup>494</sup> He is contrasted with the demagogue Callistratus, who, though he was πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκρατής, was at least careful with public money.<sup>495</sup> The extravagance of Eubulus, particularly in his misuse of public money, led to a further weakening of the moral fibre of Athens.<sup>496</sup> Idomeneus

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493. XII 532f–533c. The reference to Peisistratus comes from book 21 of *Philippika* (FGrH 115 F 135); according to Theopompus the tyrant never posted guards on his estate but allowed anyone to enter and take whatever fruit he wanted. His actions, so Athenaeus tells us, were imitated by Cimon, about whom Theopompus described the very same thing in book 10 (F 89). The comparison to Peisistratus indicates that Theopompus treated Cimon not as a conservative but as a demagogue who used his wealth to win popular favour. Wade-Gery, "Two Notes on Theopompus", *Philippika*, X, *AJP* 59 (1938)= *Essays in Greek History* 233–8, followed by Connor (32–7), has argued on the basis of Plutarch that Theopompus reported how Cimon's generosity led to Pericles' use of state funds to rival his opponent. The importance of Pericles in the scheme of Theopompus' Περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δημογωγῶν lay in his introduction of public *misthoi* which led to the moral decline of Athens, ending in the administration of Eubulus, whose distributions from the theoric fund completed the corruption of the state. Traces of Theopompus' account of Cimon's generosity (F 89) can be found in Plutarch *Cimon* 10. 1–3 and *Pericles* 9. 2–3. The account in *Pericles* 9 mentions his introduction of jury pay and festival grants, the subsequent attack on the Areopagus by Ephialtes and the ostracism of Cimon. *Pericles* 10 deals with the battle of Tanagra and Cimon's recall on the motion of Pericles in order to make peace with Sparta, a detail which corresponds to F 88 of Theopompus.

494. FGrH 115 F 100: Athen. IV 166de. Gulick (*Loeb* I 257) translates the verb as "to spend public money to hire mercenaries", Connor (67) simply as "to make public payments". Certainly the latter makes more sense as Eubulus was controller of the Theoric fund.

495. FGrH 115 F 97: Athen. IV 166e

496. This point is made clear FGrH 115 F 99, where we are told that the distribution of money by Eubulus resulted in the city becoming less courageous and more lax: Harpocr. s.v. Εὐβουλος ὅτι δὴ δημογωγὸς ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος, ἐπιμελής τε καὶ φιλόπονος, ἀργυρίον τε συχνὸν πορίζων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δένεμε, διὸ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας ἀνανδροτάτην καὶ ῥαθυμοτάτην



made the same connection in the case of the Peisistratids, whose rule became more oppressive after introducing activities that encouraged sexual licence.

The behaviour of Hippias and Hipparchus is paralleled in the life of Themistocles, who likewise exposed Athens to prostitution. Idomeneus told how Themistocles yoked four *hetairai* to his chariot and drove them through the Ceramicus, οὕτω Ἀθηναίων μεθυσκομένων οὐδ' ἑταίραις χρωμένων.<sup>497</sup> The story at once recalls Theopompus' treatment of Chares, who so lived for luxury that he was attended on his campaigns by common prostitutes; the war contributions he would spend on these vices and on bribing public officials and private individuals back home.<sup>498</sup> The charge of misusing public money was raised frequently against Themistocles.<sup>499</sup>

#### The Archetype: Pericles ὁ ἀκόλαστος

In both of these examples it was the illicit behaviour of the demagogues more than anything else which Idomeneus emphasized. The archetype of all such behaviour was Pericles.<sup>500</sup> This is particularly true in the case of the orators. Idomeneus

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συνέβη γενέσθαι ἐξεργάσατο Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ἰ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν.

497. F 4b: Athen. XII 533d; cf. F 4a: Athen. XIII 576c where the names of the four prostitutes are given.

498. *FGrH* 115 F 213 (Athen. XII 532cd).

499. Theopompus noted (*FGrH* 115 F 85: *Them.* 19. 1) Themistocles' bribing of the Spartan Ephors and suspected (F 86: *Them.* 25. 3) the source of his enormous estate, which was valued at a 100 talents. Idomeneus recorded how Themistocles was charged with embezzlement (338 F 1), a charge also raised against him by Theopompus.

500. Eubulus' excess in spending public monies, which led to a moral lapse at Athens, has it parallel in the introduction of public *misthoi* by Pericles. This action, so he was accused, also led to a moral decline at Athens; cf. Plut. *Per.* 9. 1: ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι, κακῶς ἐσθισθέντα καὶ γενόμενον πολυτελῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἀντὶ σώφρονος καὶ αὐτουργοῦ.

characterized Demosthenes and Hypereides as ἀκόλαστος περὶ ἀφροδίσια.<sup>501</sup> This charge had been raised against Pericles by Stesimbrotus. According to the Thasian writer, Pericles was so πρὸς ἀφροδίσια πάνυ καταφερής that he even consorted with his son's wife.<sup>502</sup> In this he was followed by Antisthenes who also took over from him the story of Pericles' illicit affair with Elpinicē as the price of Cimon's recall from exile. In the very same passage (XII 589e-f) in which Athenaeus quotes Stesimbrotus' περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους for the note on Pericles' affair with Xanthippus' wife, he also cites Antisthenes for details about Pericles' liaison with Aspasia, Cimon's unnatural relations with his sister and Pericles' illicit affair with her.<sup>503</sup> Antisthenes derived the notice on Cimon's recall from exile, if not all the other details, from Stesimbrotus.<sup>504</sup> Theopompus also dealt with the

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501. F 12 & F 14. The second passage (Athen. XIII 590cd) is repeated nearly verbatim in Ps.-Plutarch (849d), where the notices from Idomeneus on Hypereides' *hetairai* is prefaced by the comment that the orator was πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής.

502. *FGrH* 107 F 10a: Athen. XIII 589de. At *Pericles* 13. 15 (F 10b) Plutarch indicates that the source of such sordid details on Pericles' affairs was the comic poets. A similar charge was made by Theopompus against Callistratus who πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἡδονὰς ἦν ἀκρατής (*FGrH* 115 F 97: Athen. IV 166e).

503. Athen. XIII 589ef (*FGrH* 107 F 10a): ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια πάνυ καταφερής ὅστις καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ γυναικί συνῆν, ὡς Σησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος ἱστορεῖ ... ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους. Ἀντισθένης δ' ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐρασθέντα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀσπασίας δις τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ φευγούσης ποτὲ αὐτῆς γραφὴν ἀσεβείας λέγων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πλείονα ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκινδύνευεν. καὶ Κίμωνος δ' Ἑλπινίκη τῇ ἀδελφῇ παρὰ νόμῳ συνόντος, εἴθ' ὕστερον ἐκδοθείσης Καλλίᾳ, καὶ φυγαδευθέντος μίσθον ἔλαβε τῆς καθόδου αὐτοῦ ὁ Περικλῆς τὸ τῇ Ἑλπινίᾳ μεχθῆναι.

504. Stesimbrotus seems to have been the first to tell how before Cimon's trial Elpinicē had approached Pericles and pleaded with him on her brother's behalf (*FGrH* 107 F 5: Plut. *Cim.* 14. 5). According to the story Pericles had replied that she was too old τηλικαῦτα διαπράττεσθαι πράγματι. Since Stesimbrotus had elsewhere dealt in detail with Pericles' sexual excesses, such as his affair with Xanthippus' wife (F 10a: Athen. XIII 589de), it seems likely that Pericles' reply to Elpinicē implied something sexual. The same story is repeated almost verbatim in *Pericles* 10. 6 without reference to Stesimbrotus, but no doubt was derived from him. Here the story is connected with an account given at 10. 5 of Cimon's recall from exile, which Pericles did not propose until a secret compact had been

recall of Cimon and may have included some of the more sordid details from Stesimbrotus and Antisthenes.<sup>505</sup> It is quite possible that Idomeneus did the same.<sup>506</sup>

Beginning with Stesimbrotus Pericles had been characterized as sexually excessive; many of the stories which were first told by him were repeated by Antisthenes and Theopompus, and picked up from them by Idomeneus. The latter certainly accepted the traditional characterization of Pericles as ἀκόλαστος περὶ ἀφροδίαια, and made him the model after whom he patterned the orators' behaviour. Such stereotyping makes much of the biographical tradition that can be traced back to him suspect. As we shall see, many of the biographical details are simply variations on the conventional *topoi* of the genre in which he was working. Only six fragments deal specifically with the orators Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hypereides.<sup>507</sup> But they are representative of his treatment as a whole. What we find are standard characteristics of a demagogue: his sexual excessiveness, his low birth or his intense

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reached between the two rivals δι' Ἑλπινίκης. The anonymous source(s): ἔνιοι of this story is generally thought to be Stesimbrotus (Jacoby, *FGrH* 107 IIIb 347). The sexual implication of Elpinicē's agency in securing Cimon's recall is made explicit by Antisthenes who stated that μίσθον ἔλαβε τῆς καθόδου αὐτοῦ (sc. Κιμῶνος) ὁ Περικλῆς τὸ τῇ Ἑλπινικῇ μιχθῆναι (Athen. XIII 589f). That Stesimbrotus also had mentioned Cimon's incestuous relation with his sister seems confirmed in F 4 (*Cim.* 4. 5), where Stesimbrotus accused Cimon of being uneducated and Laconic in his nature. It is generally accepted, although not by Jacoby, that this excerpt from Stesimbrotus continues at 4. 6 with ἔτι δὲ νέος ὢν αἰτίαν ἔσχε πλησιάζεντῇ ἀδελφῇ. Jacoby (*FGrH* 107 IIIb 346) attributes these words to Plutarch's common source, but admits that an account of Cimon's incestuous affair could have stood in Stesimbrotus.

505. *FGrH* 115 F 88. At *Pericles* 10. 5, a passage which goes back to Stesimbrotus, the terms of Cimon's recall are specified, that Cimon would command 200 ships into foreign lands against the Great King, while Pericles would retain control of the city. These terms are repeated by Nepos (*Cimon* 3. 2) in a passage of Theopompan origin (Connor 26–9).

506. At *Pericles* 10. 7 Plutarch quotes him for the story of Pericles' assassination of Ephialtes and he may be included among the ἔνιοι of 10. 5 who told of Pericles' illicit affair with Elpinicē as the price of Cimon's recall.

507. FF. 2 & 10–14.

rivalry. It is now time to examine these fragments in detail and to evaluate Idomeneus' contribution to the biographical tradition.

### The Tradition on Aeschines, Demosthenes and Hypereides

#### I. φιλοτιμία

As already noted, Idomeneus arranged his work after the pattern of a *diadochē*, whereby Athenian history was viewed in terms of a series of rivalries between demagogues. He presented Demosthenes as the rival of Aeschines, and Hypereides of Phocion. The rivalry between the last two is implied in F 14 (*Phoc.* 4. 1) where we are told that Idomeneus had made Phocion's father a δοιδυκοποιός, a detail that Plutarch rejects because the low birth of the Athenian general was not mentioned in the speech of Glaucippus, although the son of Hypereides had recounted countless other evils about Phocion.<sup>508</sup> That speech probably was the basis for Idomeneus' inferring a rivalry between the two demagogues. The speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes were certainly the point of departure, when it came to gathering biographical details about them, as, for example, when Idomeneus inferred that Demosthenes actually prosecuted Aeschines for his conduct on the embassy to Philip.<sup>509</sup> Despite the inconclusive evidence offered by the two *Crown* speeches,

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508. *Phoc.* 4. 1: Φωκίωνα δὲ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ παντάπασιν εἶναι γένους ἀτίμου καὶ καταπεπτωκότος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς, δοιδυκοποιοῦ πατρός, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ Γλαύκιππος ὁ Ὑπερείδου μυρία συνειλοχῶς καὶ εἰρηκῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ κακὰ τὴν δυσγένειαν παρήκεν κτλ.

509. F 10: Plut. *Dem.* 15. 6: ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου <περὶ> τῆς παραπροσβείας ἄδηλον εἰ λέλεκται· καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεύς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνους τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν. ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔοικεν οὕτως ἔχειν τὸ ἀληθές, εἰ δεῖ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γεγραμμένοις ἑκατέρῳ λόγοις τεκμαίρεσθαι· μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐναργῶς οὐδὲ τρανῶς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὥς ἄχρι

which Plutarch notes made it impossible to determine whether or not the *Legation* speeches were ever delivered by the two orators, Idomeneus described how Aeschines was taken to court but acquitted by the narrow margin of 30 votes.<sup>510</sup> A near conviction, however, could have been explained from Aeschines' silence, and an actual reference to the trial could have been inferred from Demosthenes' comment at XVIII 142.<sup>511</sup> This was far from conclusive evidence, but the existence of speeches for and against could easily lead one to assume a trial, and there were certainly the thematic considerations of the διαδοχή. As rival demagogues, Aeschines and Demosthenes fit neatly into the pattern of Athenian history as it was conceived by Idomeneus in his work. As with Themistocles or Pericles, they were charged with φιλοτιμία, which found expression in the endless series of rivalries and political prosecutions that dominated Athenian politics.

In any event it made good biographical reading to assume an actual trial.

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δίκης προελθόντος.

510. Jacoby, *FGrH* 338 IIIb 89, notes that modern scholars are of a different opinion than Plutarch, but he is uncertain whether Idomeneus' testimony is worthy of as much credence as modern scholars have given it; cf. Schaefer II (1856) 384–6; Blass III (1877) 308–9; Christ-Schmid, *Gr. Lit.* I 6 (1912) 590f.

511. ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν οὗτος ἐλάττων ὑποληφθῇ ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῇ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας.

Besides the testimony of Idomeneus, Blass adduced this passage as evidence of Aeschines' earlier acquittal, and as for the silence observed by the orators, he states that "die Ursachen nicht fern liegen". Simcox, *The Oration of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown* (1872) 190, interprets ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη to mean "when I brought him to trial and you acquitted him". But Goodwin, *Demosthenes On The Crown* (1904 repr. 1959) 90, notes that the phrase alludes to "a former time when Aeschines caused the ruin of the Phocians by bringing home false reports" and can only refer to the return of the second embassy in 346. He adds, however, that "the statement that Aeschines was thought 'too insignificant to do so much harm' with the apprehension that the court may make the same mistake again in the present case, is one of the strongest confirmations of the opinion that the case against Aeschines really came to trial, that the speeches *de Falsa Legatione* were actually spoken, and that Aeschines was acquitted by a small majority."

Certainly that is how it appears in the biographical tradition after Idomeneus, who must be its source. Thus Ps.-Plutarch notes that it was through the aid of Eubulus that Aeschines was acquitted by thirty votes. He also adds that certain writers maintained that the speeches were composed but never delivered because of the battle of Chaeronea.<sup>512</sup> Virtually the same words are repeated by Photius, who derived the notice either from Ps.-Plutarch or a common source,<sup>513</sup> and are in the Hypothesis to *περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας* of Aeschines, again with a note on the controversy over whether the speeches were actually delivered.<sup>514</sup> In each account the characterization of Eubulus as a demagogue would indicate that the ultimate source was a writer on demagogues. Although there is no indication that Idomeneus followed Theopompus in including Eubulus in his work, the detail of Aeschines' acquittal by thirty votes points to him as the source.

However, the debate over the actual delivery of the *Legation* speeches arose after Idomeneus, during the period of Alexandrian scholarship. Through the course of his research on the speeches of the orators, Dionysius of Halicarnassus became well acquainted with the *Pinakes* both of Callimachus and of the Pergamene scholars, and his list of speeches in *περὶ Δεινάρχου* was probably based on these.<sup>515</sup> He divides the

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512. Ps.-Pl. *Aesch.* 840c: ἀλλὰ συνειπόντος αὐτῷ Εὐβούλου τοῦ Σπινθάρου Προβαλλουσίου δημαγωγοῦντος, τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀπέφυγεν. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ φασὶ συγγράψαι μὲν τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς λόγους, ἐμποδῶν δὲ γενομένων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειον, μηκέτι τὴν δίκην εἰσελεῖν.

513. Phot. 490a 26–28: Συνειπόντος μέντοι γε αὐτῷ Εὐβούλου τοῦ Σπινθάρου Προβαλεισίου δημαγωγοῦτος, ψήφοις μόνοις λ' ἀπέφυγε.

514. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φασὶ γεγράφθαι μὲν τοὺς λόγους ἀμφοτέρους, οὐ μέντοι γε εἰρησθαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰρησθαί φασι, καὶ κекινδυνευκένοι τὸν Αἰσχίνην τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀλῶναι, ὅμως μέντοι ἀποφυγεῖν Εὐβούλου αὐτῷ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ συναγωνισαμένου, οὐ μέντοι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀπογνωσθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλιππίζειν, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ παρὰ Δημοσθένους ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου.

speeches into public and private and further subdivides each category into authentic and spurious. The arrangement may in part go back to these pinacographical works.<sup>516</sup> The same kind of catalogue was used for the arrangement of Demosthenes' orations, with notations indicating whether the speech was actually delivered or not. In fact, in arranging Demosthenes' speeches into a chronological framework for Ammaeus' benefit, Dionysius speaks of Demosthenes having only composed the *περὶ παραπροσβείας*, but not actually delivering it as the orator had in the case of the eighth *Philippic*.<sup>517</sup> It is exactly in these terms that he speaks of the speech against Meidias, which, according to tradition, was also never delivered.<sup>518</sup> For his list of Demosthenic speeches, as for the catalogue in the *περὶ Δεινάρχου*, Dionysius relied on the *Pinakes* of Callimachus and others.<sup>519</sup> It was within the ambit of Alexandrian scholarship that the debate arose over whether the *Legation* speeches were ever actually delivered or not and the authority of Idomeneus was first called into question. The fact that his testimony only appears in the biographical tradition with

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515. See above, n. 112 and Shoemaker (above, n. 13) 61–3.

516. Shoemaker (63) believes that Callimachus and the Pergamene scholars did not distinguish between genuine and spurious speeches but merely listed what they considered genuine under the name of the individual orator; but contrast Hartmann, *De Canone Decem Oratorum* (Goettingen 1891) 3 and Radermacher (above, n. 24) 161.

517. *Ad Amm.* I 10: μετὰ Λυκίσκον ἔστιν ἄρχων Πυθόδοτος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὀγδόην τῶν Φιλίππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, ἧς ἔστιν ἀρχὴ ὅτι ὅτι ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως αἱ αἰτίαι, καὶ τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου συνειτάξατο λόγον, ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου τῆς δευτέρας προσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους.

518. *Ad Amm.* I 4: κατὰ τοῦτον γέγραπται τὸν ἄρχοντα (s.c. Καλλιμάχον) καὶ ὁ κατὰ Μειδίου λόγος, ὃν συνειτάξατο μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἣν ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ κατεχειροτόνησε. Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 12. 3; Ps.-Plut. 844d. Photius 491a 40 notes that the speeches against Meidias and against Aischines do not exhibit Demosthenic qualities. But see Harris, "Demosthenes' Speech Against Meidias," *HSCP* 92 (1989) 117–36, who argues that the speech was actually delivered.

519. Cf. *Ad Amm.* I 4: ἐπὶ δὲ Διοτίμου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πρώτην εἶπε δημηγορίαν, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακες συντάξαντες 'περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν'.

this note of caution, suggests that the source of the later tradition was a writer who used both Idomeneus and the *Pinakes*. Only one author comes to mind, Hermippus.

The existence of the two set *Legation* speeches only naturally led Idomeneus to assume that Aeschines and Demosthenes went to court. After all, that was what was expected of demagogues. This assumption may also explain why he accepted the less reliable tradition that included Hypereides among those politicians demanded by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes in 335 B.C. According to Plutarch, Idomeneus and Duris of Samos maintained that Alexander demanded the surrender of ten and not eight demagogues, as the majority and most reliable sources held.<sup>520</sup> Among the eight names listed by Plutarch there is no mention of Hypereides. But in *Phocion* Plutarch seems to follow the other, less reliable, tradition, that Duris and Idomeneus accepted. At 9. 10 he records that ten citizens were demanded by Alexander and later at 17. 2 provides an incomplete list of their names, when he notes that Alexander requested the surrender of the followers of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, Hypereides and Charidemus.<sup>521</sup> Apparently in that tradition Hypereides was among the demagogues so named and it was this tradition of ten names, so Plutarch tell us in *Demosthenes* 23, that Idomeneus followed.<sup>522</sup>

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520. F 11 (*Dem.* 23. 4): εὐθὺς δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξήτει πέμπτων τῶν δημαγωγῶν δέκα μὲν, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις εἰρήκασιν, ὁκτώ δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, τοῖσδε Δημοσθένην, Πολύευκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Λυκοῦργον, Μοιροκλέα, Δήμωνα, Καλλιस्थένην, Χαρίδημον.

521. *Phoc.* 9. 10: τοῦ δὲ Λυκούργου πολλὰ βλάβη πρὸς αὐτὸν (Φωκίῳ) εἰπόντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ὅτι, δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξαίτουντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, συνεβούλευεν ἐκδοῦναι κτλ. 17. 2: ὡς δὲ ἀπωλώλεισαν αἱ Θῆβαι, καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξητεῖτο τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ὑπερίδην καὶ Χαρίδημον κτλ.

522. For details on the two variant traditions see Schaefer III 137 n. 2, Bosworth, *Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* (Oxford 1980) 93–6, Jacoby, *FGrH* II C 124, Braccisi, "A proposito d'una



In some accounts that follow the ten-name tradition, Lycurgus and Demosthenes are usually singled out. So Diodorus reports that Alexander sent men to Athens to demand the surrender of ten rhetors, of whom the most distinguished were Lycurgus and Demosthenes.<sup>523</sup> Arrian in his account of this incident notes that a letter was sent by Alexander to the demos demanding "those around Demosthenes and Lycurgus." In a subsequent list of their followers he names Hypereides.<sup>524</sup> Arrian's phrase τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον comes very close to Plutarch's in *Phocion* 17. 2, where he is following the ten-name tradition. Apparently in that tradition there seems to have been an attempt to identify the political circle of those two leaders.<sup>525</sup> For the inclusion of Lycurgus there was inscriptional evidence attesting to the fact.<sup>526</sup> Demosthenes was suspected of having instigated the Theban revolt.<sup>527</sup> So naturally he would have been at the top of Alexander's list. But the involvement of Hypereides at this time is rather obscure. He was a chief advocate of the Lamian war in 322<sup>528</sup> and, along with Demosthenes, his surrender was demanded

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notizia zu Iperide," *RFIC* 95 (1965) 157–62.

523. XXVII 15. 1: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἐξαιτήσοντας τῶν ῥητόρων δέκα τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένους, ὧν ὑπῆρχον ἐπιφανέστατοι Δημοσθένης καὶ Λυκοῦργος.

524. *Anabasis* I 10. 4: ἐπιστολὴν δὲ γράψας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐξῆται τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ὑπερίδην δὲ ἐξῆται καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα· τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ξυμφορᾶς τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῇ πλημμεληθέντων ἕς τε αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Φίλιππον καὶ Θηβαίους δὲ τῆς [τε] ἀποστάσεως ἀπέφαινε αἰτίους οὐ μείον ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν Θηβαίων νεωτερίσαντας κτλ.

525. Parker, *Khares: A Fourth Century Strategos* Diss. (University of British Columbia 1986) 207 n. 81.

526. Ps.–Pl. 852d; cf. 841e.

527. Ps.–Pl. 847c; Plut. *Dem.* 23. 1–3

528. Ps.–Pl. 849f; Plut. *Phoc.* 23. 3

by Antipater.<sup>529</sup> But this was a different event 13 years later.

The similarities between this demand and that of Alexander led to a certain confusion and contamination in the biographical tradition. For instance, the Suda has two entries on Antipater. In the first (2703) mention is made of the Macedonian general demanding at the conclusion of the Lamian war the surrender of the demagogues who were responsible for rousing the Athenians to revolt, among whom are named Demosthenes, Hypereides and Himeræus.<sup>530</sup> In the second entry (2704) again we find a reference to the Lamian war, but this time the Suda notes that Antipater demanded ten *rheto*rs.<sup>531</sup> Five of the men listed, Lycurgus, Ephialtes, Chares, Charidemus and Diotimus, were already dead by the outbreak of the Lamian war and there is no tradition specifying the number at ten, as there was for the earlier demand by Alexander. Apparently the source of the second entry of the Suda had confused the ten demanded by Alexander with the unspecified number demanded by Antipater. In fact the Suda's list tallies closely with the list of names given by Arrian in his account of the aftermath of the fall of Thebes.<sup>532</sup>

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529. Ps.-Pl. 849a-b; Plut. *Dem.* 28. 4; *Phoc.* 27. 5

530. 2703: Ἀντίπατρος ... ὅτι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς Ἀθήνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι παραδόντων, ἐν δέει ὄντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπανάστασιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπώραντες, μὴ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐνέγκωσιν, ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι θανάτῳ ἐρήμην τοῦτοις κατεδίκασαν, ὧν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Ὑπερίδης καὶ Ἱμεραῖος κτλ. Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 28. 4.

531. 2704: Ἀντίπατρος οὗτος ἐπεὶ διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐπολιορκήθη μὲν ἐν Λαμίᾳ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, εἴτα τῶν ἄλλων, ἐσώθη. νικήσας δὲ ἦται τοὺς ἑῷ ῥήτορας, οὓς ἐξέδοσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημοσθένην, Ὑπερίδην, Λυκοῦργον, Πολύευκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Θρασύβουλον, Χάρητα, Χαρίδημον, Διότιμον, Πατροκλέα, Κάσσανδρον.

532. The two lists are nearly identical. The Suda gives eleven names, including all nine found in Arrian, assuming Patrocles is a corruption of the Moeroles of Arrian's list. Thrasybulus appears only in the Suda but his name may have fallen out at one point in the transmission of the text of Arrian; in which case Arrian's list of names is brought up to ten. Mysteriously the name Cassander has crept into

The same confusion appears in *POxy* 1800. Dated to the end of the 2nd or early 3rd centuries A.D. the papyrus comprises a collection of miscellaneous biographies, that includes lives of Demosthenes and Aeschines.<sup>533</sup> In a fragment of one unnamed biography there is a reference to a certain σύνεργος of Demosthenes who was involved in the Lamian war and one of the ten *rheto*rs demanded by Antipater.<sup>534</sup> The biography must be of Hypereides. Again there is some confusion. The-ten name tradition which belongs only in the context of Alexander's demand has become attached to Hypereides' activities in the Lamian war leading up to the demand by Antipater. The compiler of this biography calls the ten *rheto*rs, suggesting that his immediate source was someone interested in Hypereides primarily as a rhetorician and not as a demagogue. Indeed, his account of the orator's death is precisely that of Hermippus, who had placed Hypereides' death in Macedonia.<sup>535</sup>

This fact confirms the suspicions of scholars that what we have here are epitomes of the biographies of Hermippus.<sup>536</sup> In this case Hermippus was responsible for the confusion which arose in later antiquity between the demand by Antipater, after Lamia, and a similar one by Alexander, after the destruction of Thebes. He could easily have confused two separate events, which were so similar in detail and in

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the text of the Suda as the eleventh name, perhaps a confusion with the son and successor of Antipater.

533. The other lives include Sappho, Simonides, Aesop, Thucydides, Thrasybulus, Hypereides, Leucomas and Abderus.

534. *POxy* 1800 fr. 8 col.ii. 21: εὐγένειαι... ἐπεὶ δὲ?/ ἡ Ἀθηναίων στρατεία? περὶ/ Λαμίων τῆς [Θεσσαλίας/ συνητύχησεν ὥς σύνεργος τῷ Δημοσθένει ὧν/ ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου ἐν τοῖς/ δέκα ῥήτοροι [ῆτήθη καὶ παν?/ τῶν ἀτυχήσας .../ αὐτὸς ἐν Μακεδόνιαι ἀπώλετο κτλ.

535. Ps.-Pl. 849c

536. Lamedica, "Il P.Oxy. 1800 e le forme della biografia genre," *SIFC* 3 (1985) 55-75; Arrighetti, "Hypomnemata e scholia: alcuni problemi," *MPL* 2 (1977) 54 n. 9.

the persons involved. In Idomeneus' version Demosthenes and Hypereides were among those sought by Alexander; these two names figured most prominently among those hunted down by Antipater. Hermippus, we must conclude, was also behind the confusion in the later biographies of Demosthenes, where in the context of his surrender, it is again mentioned that Antipater demanded 10 *rhetois*.<sup>537</sup> But the confusion had already begun with Idomeneus, who named Hypereides among the ten demanded by Alexander.

For his part he could easily have assumed that a fierce anti-Macedonian, like Hypereides, was involved in the events leading up to and following the destruction of Thebes. It may have been suggested from the fact that the orator was known to have spoken against the surrender of the generals to Alexander,<sup>538</sup> just as Demosthenes had.<sup>539</sup> Certainly the latter was an intended victim of Alexander. The speech *περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν* may have led him to infer that Hypereides was among the generals demanded by Alexander. In his account, then, both Demosthenes and Hypereides were found guilty of the same demagoguery that led to the destruction of Thebes. From there it took only a small step to arrive at the confusion found in the later sources between the demands of Antipater and Alexander.

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537. Anon. *Vita* 308. 64; *Suda* (456) 311. 72. Both of these biographies noted that the orator died from drinking poison from a signet-ring, a version of Demosthenes' death given by Hermippus. See Chapter 4 pp. 278–80.

538. *Ps.-Pl.* 848e

539. *Plut. Dem.* 23. 4

## II. τροφή: οί ἀκόλοισι

Up to this point we have examined only those fragments dealing with public events of the orators' careers that in some way illustrated their φιλοτιμία: Demosthenes' prosecution of Aeschines or Hypereides' involvement in the events leading up to and following the fall of Thebes. In each case the notices were based on false inferences from the text of one of the orators' speeches. But Idomeneus also extracted from the speeches personal details on their lives. These notices, often expanded into the form of anecdotes, were meant to defame the orators, usually attacking their sexual licentiousness. Often we see Idomeneus simply reworking biographical *topoi* of the genre and fashioning the orators after the image of the traditional demagogue, as they were presented in earlier polemics.

A common charge raised against the demagogues, both by each other, by the comic poets<sup>540</sup> and by the writers of their polemics, was of low birth. So, for instance, Idomeneus claimed that Phocion's father was a δοιδυκοποιός,<sup>541</sup> or repeated the accusation made by Demosthenes that Aeschines' mother was called Empousa.<sup>542</sup> In the first instance the insinuation that Phocion was of low birth, something which

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540. On this point see Harding, "Rhetoric and Politics in Fourth-Century Athens," *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 25–39.

541. F 15: *Phoc.* 4. 1: Φωκίωνα δὲ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ παντάπασιν εἶναι γένους ἀτίμου καὶ καταπεπτωκότος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς, δοιδυκοποιῶ πατρός, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ Γλαύκιππος ὁ Ὑπερείδου μυρία συνειλοχῶς καὶ εἰρηκῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ κακὰ τὴν δυσγένειαν παρῆκεν, οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐλευθερίου [βίου] καὶ σώφρονος [καὶ] παιδείας μετέσχευ, ὥστε τῆς Πλάτωνος ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς Ξενοκράτους διατριβῆς ἐν Ἀκαδημαίᾳ μετασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζηλωτῆς γενέσθαι. Φωκίωνα γὰρ οὔτε γελάσαντά τις οὔτε κλαύσαντα ῥαδίως Ἀθηναίων εἶδεν, οὐδ' ἐν βαλανεῖῳ δημοσιεύοντι λουσάμενον, ὥς ἰστόρηκε Δοῦρις, οὐδ' ἐκτὸς ἔχοντα τὴν χεῖρα τῆς περιβολῆς, ὅτε τύχοι περιβεβλημένος.

542. F 2 For text see below, n. 546.

Plutarch emphatically denies, recalls the charge by Theopompus that Thucydides was the son not of the famous Melesias but of an unknown Pantaenus, or by Stesimbrotus that Cimon lacked a proper education.<sup>543</sup> Perhaps Plutarch is answering a similar charge by Idomeneus, when he maintains that a low birth would not have allowed Phocion to study under Plato and Xenocrates.<sup>544</sup> The notice on the menial occupation of Phocion's father was undoubtedly comic in origin. As Fairweather notes, one technique of comic and rhetorical invective picked up by biographers "was to attribute to a man the menial occupation in which his slaves were engaged."<sup>545</sup> This is precisely what Idomeneus was doing here.

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543. *FGrH* 107 F 4: *Cim.* 4. 4.

544. In the same passage Plutarch cites Duris of Samos, the Peripatetic, who claimed that Phocion was not given to demonstrative behaviour, like laughter, crying or holding his hands outside his cloak. One wonders whether Idomeneus claimed just the opposite, since he was characterizing Phocion as a typical demagogue. In this case his behaviour would resemble that of Cleon, the first demagogue of non-aristocratic birth. He was said to have been the first to "girt about his cloak", when he spoke, which is to say he gestured as he declaimed. See *AP* 28. 3, Quint. XI 3. 123, schol. Lucian *Tim.* 30 (Theopompus 115 F 92 & Philochorus 328 F 128b). Aeschines (I 25–6) claims that men of old, like Pericles, Themistocles and Aristides, were so decorous that they carefully refrained from τὸ τὴν χεῖρα ἔξω ἔχοντες λέγειν, which in his own day men do as a matter of course. He cites as an example a statue of Solon ἐντὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων. The scholiast to I 25 notes that Solon stood in that manner only when reading his elegies and adds λέγεται δὲ Κλέων ὁ δημαγωγὸς παρὰβὰς τὸ ἐξ ἔθους σχῆμα περιζωσάμενος δημηγορῆσαι. Rhodes, (above, n. 470) 354, suggests that the idea of "girting about" is to be connected with Aeschines "having the hand outside" and "must mean that he fasten his cloak so to be free to gesticulate with one or both hands."

545. "Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers," *Ancient Society* 5 (1974) 246. Aeschines (II 93) had called Demosthenes' father an *μαχαίροποιός*. This is repeated by Theopompus and later biographers: Plut. *Dem.* 4. 1; Lib. 293. 18; Val. Max. III 4 Ext. 2. That Isocrates' father was an *αὐλοποιός* was based on a comic verse of Strattis (Athen. XIII 592f). The notice, found in the lives of Euripides, that his father was a huckster (133. 1 W; 139. 1; 144. 1) was inferred from Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 387, 456; *Ach.* 478; *Eq.* 19). Duris of Samos made Socrates a slave and stone-cutter on the basis on Timon's *Silloi* (D.L. II 19). This charge of low birth and practicing his father's trade of stone-cutting had already been made by Aristoxenus (fr. 51), which, according to Wehrli (II 65), was "im Stile der Komödienverunglimpfung."

In the second instance, F 2, the charge of a questionable birth is again raised.<sup>546</sup> Certainly this is what Demosthenes was getting at when he claimed that Aeschines' mother had been a *hetaira*, and that she owed her nickname Empousa to her varied acts of prostitution.<sup>547</sup> The same point is brought out in the first half of F 2, where Demosthenes' words, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν, suggesting her activities as a *hetaira*, are quoted. At first glance the text of the fragment seems to suggest that Idomeneus explained her nickname instead by her priestly activities, something which is described in detail elsewhere by Demosthenes.<sup>548</sup> But the notice is somewhat garbled; the words καὶ γὰρ τὸ φάσμα παντόμορφον, as the text stands, are meant to qualify the explanation of her name derived from Demosthenes, that Aeschines' mother acquired the nickname Empousa ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. But in fact the words go better with Idomeneus' explanation. Like a metamorphic hobgoblin "she would appear from dark places to her initiates."

This interpretation of the text is confirmed by a notice in the *Anonymous Vita of Aeschines*, where the very same explanation is given.<sup>549</sup> More likely, Idomeneus

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546. F2 (*Lex Rhet.* 249. 32 Bkr.): ἐκλήθη οὖν ἡ μήτηρ Αἰσχίνου Ἐμπουσα, ὥς μὲν λέγει Δημοσθένης, ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ φάσμα παντόμορφον), ὥς δὲ Ἰδομενεὺς φησὶν ἐν Περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνησιν Δημαγωγῶν, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ σκοτεινῶν τόπων ἀνεφαίνετο τοῖς μυουμένοις.

547. XVIII 130: χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς τὸν μὲν πατέρ' ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησ' Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν;

548. Dem. XVIII 258–9; XIX 199, 281

549. Anon. Vita 268 2: Αἰσχίνης υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ἀτρομήτου τοῦ γραμματιστοῦ καὶ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς θιάσους τελούσης. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν παῖδα μὲν ὄντα ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπουργεῖν καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τὰς βίβλους ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ταύτην δὲ σκοτεινῶν ἐκ τόπων ὀρμωμένην καὶ ἐκφοβοῦσαν παῖδας καὶ γυναικας Ἐμπουσαν ὀνομασθῆναι, ἐπεὶ νυκτερινὸν φάντασμα ἢ Ἐμπουσα.

gave both reasons; seeing that he took special delight in noting the sexual misdemeanours of the demagogues, he would not have neglected to mention that Aeschines' mother was a prostitute. The words "she appeared to initiates" in the text of F 2 suggest the *θείασις* of a Bacchic ritual over which Aeschines' mother presided.<sup>550</sup> It was common to insinuate that such gatherings of Bacchic worshippers were a cover for illicit behaviour, particularly between young men and *hetairai*. Aspasia had been charged with impiety and it was alleged that she had received women into her place of gathering for Pericles.<sup>551</sup> Like Aspasia, Phryne, the mistress of Hypereides, also was charged with impiety; it was said that she formed illicit *thiasoi* of men and women. Idomeneus included an account of her trial among a collection of anecdotes about Hypereides' affairs with *hetairai*, all aimed at pointing out the sexual proclivity of that orator. Perhaps he introduced the story of Glaucotea's priestly activities for the same reason.

He undoubtedly insinuated that Aeschines had been privy to the illicit practices of the *thiasoi* over which his mother presided as priestess. Her nickname Empousa was due both to her activities as prostitute and priestess. Both these aspects are picked up in the late biography of Apollonius, who notes that she was first a prostitute and then a cultic priestess.<sup>552</sup> The *Anonymous vita* speaks only of her as the

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550. Demosthenes XVIII 259–60 gives a comical description of the nightly ceremonies and at 260 mentions the οἱ κοῦλοι θείασις led by Aeschines through the streets.

551. Plut. *Per.* 32. 1

552. *vita Aesch.* 265 7: μητρὸς δ' ἣν ὁ Αἰσχίνης Γλαυκοθέας ἢ ὡς ἔνιοι Γλαυκίδος, ἣν φασὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν ἡταιρηκέναι καθεζομένην ἐν οἰκίᾳ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Κολαμίτου ἡρώῳ, ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἀναστᾶσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας ταύτης ἐπὶ τὸ τελεῖν καὶ καθαίρειν τοὺς βουλομένους ἀποκλῖναι.



initiator of *thiasoi* (τῆς τοὺς θιάσους τελούσης), and of being called Empousa because "she rushed out from dark places and scared the young men and women." This explanation of her nickname is precisely that of Idomeneus, who must be the source of at least part of the notice in the *Anonymous vita*.<sup>553</sup> But the mention of *thiasoi* and "young men and women" may have suggested something more in the original context of Idomeneus' account, who probably pointed out the sexual licentiousness of Aeschines.

The sexual excess of the demagogues was, then, an important theme of Idomeneus' work, and proved his most important contribution to the biographical tradition of the orators. Many of his anecdotes were picked up by Hermippus and transmitted into the later tradition. This is confirmed from fragments 12 and 14 which deal with Demosthenes and Hypereides. These notices, which were based on defamatory remarks in the speeches, present the orator according to the traditional image of the demagogue as ἀκόλαστος. So in F 12 to introduce the story of Aristarchus and Nicodemus, Idomeneus accuses Demosthenes of being ἀκόλαστος περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια,<sup>554</sup> something which was said of Pericles by Stesimbrotus<sup>555</sup> and of

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553. The *Anonymous vita* also refers to Aeschines assisting his father at school and reading the hymns of worship for his mother. These details come from Demosthenes XVIII 258.

554. F 12: Athen. XIII 592e–593a: Δημοσθένη δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τεκνοποιήσασθαι ἐξ εἰαίρας ἔχει λόγος. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρυσίου λόγῳ προαγόχε τὰ τέκνα ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δι' ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἔξω χωρὶς τῆς μητρός, καίτοι ἔθος ἔχόντων τῶν κρινομένων τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπάγεσθαι· ἀλλ' αἰδοῖτο τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, φεύγων τὴν διαβολήν. ἀκόλαστος δ' ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, ὡς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. Ἀριστάρχου γοῦν τινος ἐρασθεὶς μεираκίου καὶ δι' αὐτὸν παροινήσας εἰς Νικόδημον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. παροιδέδοται δὲ καὶ περὶ ὧσα καὶ περὶ νέους καὶ περὶ γυναῖκας πολυτελής. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς ποτ' αὐτοῦ εἶπε· 'τί δ' ἄν τις περὶ Δημοσθένους λέγειν δύναιτο; τὰ γὰρ ἐνἑαυτῷ μελετηθέντα ἐκείνῳ μία γυνὴ μῶν νυκτὶ συνέχεεν'. ἀναλαβεῖν γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν λέγεται τινα Κνωσίωνα μεираκίσκον, καίτοι γυναῖκα ἔχων, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν ἀγανακτήσασαν συγκοιμᾶσθαι τῷ Κνωσίῳ.

Callistratus by Theopompus.<sup>556</sup> This places Demosthenes clearly within the company of demagogues.

To support his claim that Demosthenes was sexually unbridled Idomeneus relates how the orator became enamoured with the young Aristarchus, over whom Demosthenes got into a drunken brawl with Nicodemus and gouged out the latter's eyes. The anecdote was derived from Aeschines I 171,<sup>557</sup> where it is claimed that Demosthenes, after squandering his own patrimony, scoured the city for a lad whose father was dead and whose mother was administrating the estate. While under the tutelage of the orator Aristarchus murdered Nicodemus, gouging out his eyes and cutting off his tongue. The affair with Aristarchus, which Aeschines describes simply as mere pretence,<sup>558</sup> Idomeneus has taken to be a biographical fact, and the murder and gouging out of Nicodemus' eyes by Aristarchus he has transformed into a lover's quarrel between Demosthenes and Nicodemus. The same sort of distortion is apparent in the Cnasion-story, which comes at the end of F 12. Aeschines only briefly alludes to it.<sup>559</sup> But Idomeneus has turned the story into a replica of the gossip of Euripides and Cephisophon,<sup>560</sup> whereby Demosthenes becomes the traditional cuckold.

At the beginning of the fragment Athenaeus reports the story that

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555. *FGrH* 107 F 10a

556. *FGrH* 115 F 97

557. Cf. II 166; Din. I 30; Dem. XXI 104.

558. I 171 Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ τοῦ Μόσχου, τούτου προσποιησάμενος ἐραστής εἶναι. cf. II 166: οὐκ αἰσχυνθεὶς τὴν φήμην ἦν προσεποιήσω, ζηλωτὴς εἶναι τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ μερακίου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀληθείᾳ.

559. II 149: ἀλλ' οὐ Κνωσίῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ παρκατακλίνων, ὥσπερ σύ.

560. Satyrus βίος Εὐριπίδου frg. 39 col. 12/13 and γένος Εὐριπίδου 136 60 W. Cf. Schol. Aeschines II 149.

Demosthenes had children by a *hetaira*. Again the sources of such biographical details were the speeches. That the orator had his children illegitimately was inferred from the fact that Demosthenes failed during the delivery of *περὶ Χρυσίου* to produce his wife, even though it was customary to do so, when a defendant brought his children forward to arouse the jury's sympathy. At some point in the speech Demosthenes had reportedly referred to the pitiful sight of his children, and this became the basis on which Idomeneus created this biographical *topos*.

Jacoby,<sup>561</sup> however, believes that only the Aristarchus anecdote stems from Idomeneus; that the *τεκνοποιήσασθαι ἐξ ἐταίρας* was simply inferred from the speech, which indeed it was, and that the remark by Demosthenes' secretary and the Cnasion-story that conclude the passage stem from another biographer. Drerup, on the other hand, thinks that the whole fragment in Athenaeus goes back to Idomeneus.<sup>562</sup> In fact the notice that Demosthenes had children by a common prostitute recalls what Hermippus said about Isocrates, who in his advanced years took in Lagiscē and had a daughter by her.<sup>563</sup> Indeed Hermippus is cited for this story only a few lines earlier in Athenaeus, and may be the source of the entire excerpt at 592e-593a, which includes the citation of Idomeneus for the affair of Aristarchus.<sup>564</sup> Certainly the oral testimony of Demosthenes' secretary was the type of source evidence which Hermippus was known to have used.<sup>565</sup>

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561. *FGrH* 338 IIIb 89

562. Drerup 63–4

563. Athen. XIII 592f; cf. Ps.-Pl. 839a & *Vita Isocr.* 256. 77.

564. The general impression among scholars is that Hermippus is the source in later antiquity for most of the citations from Idomeneus. See Jacoby *FGrH* 338 IIIb 85 and *RE* 911.

565. Fr. 50 Secretary of Callisthenes; Fr. 73 the maid of Demosthenes.

This secretary reportedly once remarked that one woman in one night could spend completely what Demosthenes had earned in an entire year. This was a tendentious remark at best, pointing out the prodigal behaviour of the orator. Note Athenaeus' words introducing the story: παραδέδοται δὲ καὶ περὶ ὄψα καὶ περὶ νέους καὶ περὶ γυναικῶς πολυτελής. Similar charges had been raised against Pericles, who was accused of squandering his wealth on Aspasia.<sup>566</sup> Idomeneus claimed this of Hypereides, when he described how that orator kept the most expensive *hetaira* of his day, Myrrhinē, or spent a considerable sum for Phila. Even if the remark by Demosthenes' secretary was not Idomeneus' own creation, but the invention of a later biographer, such as Hermippus, it has its origin in the demagogical image of the orator presented by Idomeneus and other polemical writers. Like the inference that Demosthenes had children ἐξ ἐταίρας, it was intended to show that he was ἀκόλαστος περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια.

It is difficult to determine how much of F 12 was derived from Idomeneus and how much from a later biographer. We shall face the same dilemma, when we come to discuss F 14 and the trial of Phryne. What is certain, however, is that Idomeneus described the affair of Aristarchus in some detail and on the basis of Aeschines' insinuations he had spun the tale in full anecdotal form. Traces of that account, which perhaps entered the tradition through Hermippus, are still preserved in the late biographies of Demosthenes, though in a somewhat transmuted form.

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566. Athen. XIII 533d: perhaps Idomeneus quoting Heraclides Ponticus.

Traces are to be found in Zosimus,<sup>567</sup> the Anonymous Vita,<sup>568</sup> and the Suda.<sup>569</sup>

There is an obvious commonality of source among all three accounts, the similarities being particularly noticeable between the versions of the Anonymous Vita and the Suda. In each case the affair with Aristarchus led Demosthenes to abandon the teaching of rhetoric, whereas the slander from writing speeches for the opposing parties Apollodorus and Phormion led him to give up logography. These two notices appear as if they were introduced together into the tradition. In each and every case Demosthenes' stint at teaching and later at logography (Zosimus has the sequence of events reversed) are seen as preliminaries to his political activity. This is also how Libanius presents them, though, however, he fails to mention Aristarchus or the case of Apollodorus and Phormion.<sup>570</sup> His failure to note the two incidents which

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567. Zos. 300. 88: λογογραφεῖν δ' ἀρξάμενος καὶ εἰς τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ δημόσια καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκδοὺς λόγους δικαζομένοις, ὕστερον τούτων ἐπαύσατο διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· Ἀπολλοδώρῳ καὶ Φορμίῳ δικαζομένοις πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἦλω ἀμφοτέροις λόγους ἐκδοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλων. ὅθεν μισήσας τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐπὶ τὸ παιδεύειν λοιπὸν ἐτράπη. καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαῖς μὲν εὐτυχήσας ἔν τε τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ τῷ εὐνους εἶναι αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φοιτῶντας, ὕστερον καὶ τούτου ἀπέσχετο διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν. Ἀρίσταρχόν τινα, υἱὸν Μόσχου, ἔχων μαθητὴν εὐνούστατόν τε καὶ θρασὺν καὶ φονεύσαντα τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους αὐτῷ, τὸν τε Νικόδημον τὸν Ἀφιδναῖον καὶ Εὐβουλον τὸν πολιτευόμενον, αὐτὸς ὑπενοήθη ὑποβαλεῖν τῷ Ἀριστάρχῳ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἀπαλλαγεῖς δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος κτλ.

568. Anon. Vita 304. 55: προκόπτων δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ λέγειν ἐπαινούμενος ἐπὶ σοφιστεῖαν τρέπεται καὶ καθηγεῖται τῶν νέων τῶν ῥητορεύειν βουλευμένων. ἐπ' Ἀριστάρχῳ δὲ τῷ Μόσχου διαβληθεὶς, μεροκίῳ τῶν εὐγενῶν, ὡς ἐραστὴς αὐτοῦ γεγονώς, παρητήσατο αὐτοῦ τὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν, ἵνα τοῖς αἰτιωμένοις ὑπονοεῖν αὐτὸν μηκέτι ἔξῃ. λόγους δὲ γράφειν ἀρξάμενος ἐσυκοφαντήθη ποτὲ διαβληθεὶς ὡς δυσὶ πολίταις δέδωκε λόγους ἀπεναντίους, Ἀπολλοδώρῳ καὶ Φορμίῳ. καταγνοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ λογογραφεῖν ἀποκεκμένην εὗρε τὴν πολιτείαν κτλ.

569. Suda (456) 311. 48: σοφιστεύειν βουληθεὶς ἀπέστη, διαβληθεὶς ἐπὶ Μόσχῳ μεροκίῳ τῶν εὐγενῶν. λογογραφεῖν δ' ἀρξάμενος διεβλήθη πάλιν, ὡς ἐναντίους λόγους ἐκδοὺς Ἀπολλοδώρῳ καὶ Φορμίῳ. καὶ τούτου οὖν ἀποστὰς ἤρξατο πολιτεύεσθαι.

570. Lib. 295. 58: μετὰ μέντοι τούτους τοὺς ἀγῶνας βραχὺ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ προελθὼν σοφιστεύειν ἐνεχείρησεν, εἴτ' ἀπαλλαγεῖς τούτου συνηγόρησεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ. τούτοις δ' ὥσπερ γυμνασίῳ χρησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττειν ἦλθεν.

motivated Demosthenes to give up teaching and logography may be simply due to the abridged nature of his biography. As he himself admits at the beginning of his βίος he will not include every detail on the orator's life.<sup>571</sup> His source, no doubt, did include an account of these two incidents.

Obviously the two incidents became part of the common history of the orator. At one point they were brought together to represent that stage of Demosthenes' life, before he entered politics, when he engaged in teaching and logography. The fact that the Aristarchus affair is cited in the context of his teaching and not to illustrate his sexual proclivity, as it was by Idomeneus, suggests a biographer who was interested in him primarily as the orator, and one who had also consulted the text of Aeschines, for therein lay the origins for linking the two separate incidents.

All who mention it, including Plutarch, imply that Demosthenes supplied Apollodorus and Phormion with speeches for one and the same case.<sup>572</sup> This is clearly a mistake. It arose from a misunderstanding of Aeschines II 165, who charged that Demosthenes had informed Apollodorus of the speech that he had written for Phormion, when the former was bringing a capital charge against the latter.<sup>573</sup> From

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571. Lib. 293. 11: ἀρξόμεθα δὲ τοῦ συντάγματος ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὐχ ὅλον αὐτὸν διεξιόντες (περιττὸν γὰρ τοῦτο), ἀλλὰ τοσούτων μνημονεύοντες. ὅσα δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς κατάληψιν ἀκριβεστέραν τῶν λόγων συντελεῖν.

572. *Dem.* 15. 1: Δημοσθένης γράψει τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Φωρμίωνα καὶ Στέφανον, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἠδόξεσε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Φορμίων ἠγωνίζετο λόγῳ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλοδώρον, ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς μαχαιροπωλίου τὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγχειρίδια παλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδικοῖς; cf. *Synkrisis* 3. 5.

573. II 165: ἔγραψας λόγον Φορμίῳ τῷ τραπεζίτῃ χρήματα λαβών· τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκας Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνοντι Φορμίωνα (cf. III 173). εἰσῆλθες εἰς εὐδοαμονοῦσαν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστάρχου τοῦ Μόσχου· ταύτην ἀπώλεσας. προὔλαβες τρία τάλαντα παρ' Ἀριστάρχου φεύγοντας· τοῦτον τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐφόδια ἀπεστέρησας, οὐκ αἰσχυθεὶς τὴν φήνῃ ἣν προσεποιήσω, ζηλωτὴς εἶναι τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ μειρακίου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀληθείᾳ· οὐ γὰρ

this text biographers wrongly concluded that Demosthenes had supplied both parties with speeches for the same case, when in fact Demosthenes had written speeches for them in distinct and separate actions.<sup>574</sup>

This same text was perhaps also the source which first led biographers to introduce as part of the pair of characterizing anecdotes on Demosthenes' teaching and logography an account of his affair with Aristarchus. It too is mentioned in Aeschines II 165. But here biographers would have also drawn on Idomeneus. The Anonymous Vita repeats his insinuation that Demosthenes was Aristarchus' actual lover (ὥς ἐραστὴς αὐτοῦ γεγονώς).<sup>575</sup> Zosimus adds other details, showing a much greater dependence on Aeschines. He mentions the case of Apollodorus and Phormion first, shows an acquaintance with Aeschines I 171, when he notes that Aristarchus was Demosthenes' student and that he murdered Nicodemus,<sup>576</sup> but appears completely unaware of an Idomenean version of events, which told how Demosthenes in a drunken fit gouged out the eyes of Nicodemus ἐρασθεὶς μαιρακίου.<sup>577</sup> By contrast, the Anonymous writer shows no such familiarity with Aeschines I 171, is completely unaware of Aeschines' claim there that Demosthenes only feigned his love

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προσδέχεται δίκαιος ἔρως πονηρίαν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ προδότης καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια.

574. Holden, *Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes* (1893) 84, following Clinton, *FH* II 440 n. t.

575. Cf. Aeschines II 165: ζηλωτὴς εἶναι τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ μαιρακίου. As the scholiast makes clear, Aeschines' words were taken to mean precisely that: Demosthenes was his lover: ζηλωτὴς οἷον ἐραστὴς εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ψυχικὸν δῆθεν ἔρωτα, οἷον λέγων, ἐρῶ αὐτοῦ τὸν ψυχικὸν ἔρωτα. καλὴ γὰρ ἐκ τούτου παρέπεται φήμη ταῦτα δὲ, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐποίεις οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ζηλωτὴς ἦσθα τοῦ μαιρακίου.

576. Curiously he also states, as does the schol. Aesch. I 171, that Aristarchus murdered Eubulus, which he clearly did not. This leads one to suspect that Zosimus had not consulted Aeschines' text directly but was dependent on a biographical source. He also echoes the suspicion of Aeschines (II 148) that Demosthenes put the lad up to it.

577. F 13: Athen XIII 592f.

for Aristarchus (προσποιησάμενος ἐραστής εἶναι), nor mentions the murder of Aristarchus. Indeed by the words ὡς ἐραστής αὐτοῦ γεγονώς the Anonymous author seems to be accepting the Idomenean version.<sup>578</sup> It was this love affair, so the Anonymous maintains, which scandalized Demosthenes and forced him to give up teaching rhetoric.

That Demosthenes practiced as a logographer for a time is easily confirmed from the case of Apollodorus and Phormion. That he was ever a teacher of rhetoric is, by contrast, less plausible. It was, however, inferred on the basis of certain insinuating remarks by Aeschines to that effect.<sup>579</sup> But Aeschines' remarks are highly suspect. Throughout this portion of the *Timarchus* Aeschines tries to portray Demosthenes as a sophist. He compares him to Socrates, who was put to death for being the teacher of Critias (I 173). Demosthenes, like a Socrates, has corrupted the young Aristarchus; has become his teacher and instigator in his deeds (171). He stands in court with his pupils listening (173). After each case, he returns home and lectures to the young men, explaining just how he stole away the case from the jurors. Such

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578. Cf. Schol. Aeschines II 148: Ἀριστάρχου: τούτου μνημονεύει Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ. τούτου δὲ μειρακίου ὄντος ἐρασθεὶς καὶ δι' αὐτὸ παροινήσας εἰς Νικόδημον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ὥς φασί τινες. This is precisely what Idomeneus said: ἀκόλαστος δ' ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδισία, ὡς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς, Ἀριστάρχου γοῦν τινος ἐρασθεὶς μειρακίου καὶ δι' αὐτὸν παροινήσας εἰς Νικόδημον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. As far as we can tell from Athenaeus, Idomeneus said nothing about the murder only that Demosthenes gouged out Nicodemus' eyes in a drunken fit; according to Aeschines (I 172) it was Aristarchus who gouged out his eyes and cut off his tongue, when he murdered him.

579. I 117: ὁ τὰς τῶν λόγων τέχνας κατεπαγγελλόμενος τοὺς νέους διδάσκειν; 171 τούτου (Ἀριστάρχου) προσποιησάμενος ἐραστής εἶναι ... ἐλπιδὼν κενῶν ἐμπλήσας ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ μόλις τῶν ῥητόρων πρωτεύουσιν, κατὰλογον ἀποφαίνων, τοιούτων εἰσηγητῆς αὐτῷ καὶ διδάσκαλος ἔργων ἐγένετο; 173: ᾧ παρακεκλημένοι τινὲς τῶν μαθητῶν ἤκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν; 175: τῷ σοφιστῇ ... σεμνυνόμενον ἐν τῇ τῶν μειρακίων διατριβῇ.



was the sophist described by Aeschines, a description more ironical than truthful, since nowhere else does Aeschines speak of Demosthenes as a professional teacher or of his school.<sup>580</sup> But indeed that was precisely what biographers concluded, when they noted that Demosthenes had for a time taught rhetoric before embarking on his political career. They had also concluded that Aristarchus was his most prominent pupil. The disastrous affair with the young lad, which they found mentioned by Aeschines and described fully by Idomeneus, provided the necessary motivation for Demosthenes' departure from teaching into politics.

Hermippus himself may have concluded as much, and in this context followed Idomeneus in presenting Demosthenes as the actual ἐραστής of Aristarchus. Certainly the Anonymous Vita follows this version, as presumably the Suda and Libanius. Hermippus had undoubtedly picked up the Idomenean characterization of the orator as ἀκόλαστος<sup>581</sup> and perhaps was the first to mention Aristarchus in the context of Demosthenes' teaching. Certainly when he came to describe the illicit behaviour of Hypereides, he borrowed extensively from Idomeneus.

How far the orators had been type-cast in the role of the demagogue is clear from the example of Hypereides, whose sexual excesses Idomeneus noted in some

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580. Blass III (1877) 34; Drerup 210. One doubts whether Drerup is justified in concluding on the basis of Aeschines' statements that Demosthenes was a teacher of rhetoric around the time of the Meidias affair, but then only for a short time and again not a professional rhetorician as Isocrates and Anaximenes, but only the occasional teacher as Isaeus.

581. Suda (454) 309. 2: ἐπιμελής μάλλον ἢ εὐφυής, ὡς Ἑρμιππος ἱστορεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ αὐτός. In the Suda the characterization of the orator as ἀκόλαστος is connected with his nickname Batalus. There is no direct evidence that Idomeneus ever mentioned it, though a reference to Demosthenes' nickname, particularly in the context of the orator's lascivious behaviour is appropriate, seeing that he had noted the nickname of Aeschines' mother in such a context.

detail. In F 14 he describes the various liaisons of the orator.<sup>582</sup> According to Idomeneus, Hypereides had kept Myrrhinē, Aristagora and Phila as mistresses at various locations throughout Attica. He even removed his own son Glaucippus from his ancestral home to take up with Myrrhinē, the most expensive *hetaira* of the day. Again the archetype for such behaviour was Pericles. He had dismissed his wife from his house to live a life of pleasure with Aspasia, upon whom he squandered the greater part of his wealth.<sup>583</sup> Like his predecessor, the orator was also accused of squandering his money on such women; this must be the reason why Idomeneus included such pointed details as that Myrrhinē was ἡ πολυτελεστάτη ἑταίρα or that Phila was purchased with a large sum of money. Hypereides, like Demosthenes, has been shown to be ἀκόλαστος.<sup>584</sup>

Again the biographical details included in his account were extrapolated from

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582. 338 F 14: Athen. XIII 590cd: Ὑπερείδης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῆς πατρῶας οἰκίας τὸν υἱὸν ἀποβλαλὼν Γλαύκιππον Μυρρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἑταίραν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐν ἅστει εἶχεν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δὲ Ἀρισταγόραν, Φίλαν δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, ἣν πολλῶν ὠνησάμενος χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐλευθερώσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἰκουρὸν αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο, ὥς Ἰδομενεὺς ἱστορεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ὑπερείδης ὁμολογῶν ἐρᾶν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀπηλλαγμένος τὴν προειρημένην Μυρρίνην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσήγαγεν.

ἦν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν. κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθείου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγεν διόπερ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Εὐθείας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης συναγορεύων τῇ Φρύνῃ, ὥς οὐδὲν ἦνυε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν οἱ δικασταὶ καταψηφιοῦμενοι, παραγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς τοὺς μφανῆς καὶ περιρρήξας τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά τε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικοὺς οἴκτους ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαμονῆσαί τε ἐποίησεν τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ τὴν ὑποφῆτιν καὶ ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέω χαρισαμένους μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ ἀφεθείης ἐγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψήφισμα, μηδένα οἰκτίζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπέρ τινος μηδὲ βλεπόμενον τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν κατηγορουμένην κρίνεσθαι.

583. Athen XIII 532f: Idomeneus on the authority of Heraclides Ponticus.

584. In a parallel account in Ps.-Plutarch (849de) appear the same notices on Hypereides' sexual liaisons that are attributed here to Idomeneus. That account in Ps.-Plutarch is prefaced by the statement that Hypereides was πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερέης, precisely the charge raised against Demosthenes by Idomeneus.

the speeches of the orator. The claim that Aristagora was the orator's mistress stemmed from the fact that Hypereides was known to have delivered two speeches against her.<sup>585</sup> In the first prosecution she was acquitted.<sup>586</sup> In the second trial the charge centered around Aristagora's failure to secure a *προστώτης*.<sup>587</sup> The speech that Hypereides delivered on that occasion at times appears to have approached the pitch of a scathing attack against all prostitutes.<sup>588</sup> At one point in this second speech he named three of the most famous *hetairai* for comparison,<sup>589</sup> Lais, Ocimon and Metaneira, all of whom were made famous by comedy or an orator's words.<sup>590</sup> He noted that like other prostitutes Aristagora was nicknamed Ἀφύα or Anchovie.<sup>591</sup>

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585. Frs. 13–26 Jensen; cf. Athen. XIII 587c.

586. This is implied in fr. 20: ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς δωροξενίας νόμος ἀρμότιων ἐστὶ τῷ νῦν ἀγῶνι παρὰ χθῆναι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀποφυγόντας ξενίας εἴρηκεν ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ πάλιν γράψασθαι, ἐὰν μὴ δοκῶσι δικαίως τὸ πρῶτον ἀποπεφευγέναι, πῶς οὐ φανερόν ἐστι κατ' Ἀρισταγόρας τὸ δίκαιον; – Harp. s.v. δωροξενία (Ὑπ. ἐν τῷ Ἀρισταγ.)

587. Fr. 15: ἀπροστασίῳ εἰδος δίκης κατὰ τῶν προστώτην μὴ νεμόντων μετοίκων — Ὑπ. ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρ. ὁπρ. β'. – Harp. fr. 16: Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρισταγόρας ἀπροστασίῳ β' φησὶν ὡς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι διαμαρτυρεῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς τοῦ ἀπροστασίῳ τὸν βουλόμενον ὁμοίως τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. – Harp. s.v. διαμαρτυρία. Cf. fr. 21.

588. Fr. 22: ὁμοίως τὸν καλούμενον τόπον παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔστιν εὐρεῖν καθάπερ τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου — καὶ Ὑπερείδου κατὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας. – Theon. prog. I p. 162 W. Cf. fr. 25 κακολογεῖν Ὑπ. κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας. – Antiattic. in Bekk. Anecd. p. 102.

589. Fr. 13 (Athen. XIII 587c): Ὑπερείδης μέμνηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας β' λέγων οὕτως "ὥστε Λαίς μὲν ἢ δοκοῦσα τῶν πώποτε διεννηοχένοι τὴν ὄψιν καὶ Ὠκιμον καὶ Μετάνειρα ..." cf. 588c.

590. Lais ἐν Ἀντιλαίδι of Epicrates (Athen. XIII 570b), ἐν Γερωντομονίᾳ of Anaxandrides (570d), ἐν Κυνογίδι of Philetaerus (587e), ἐν Φιλαύλῳ of Theophilus (587f), ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λαίδα of Lysias (586e & 592e); Ocimon ἐν Γερωντομονίᾳ of Anaxandrides, ἐν Κερκώποις of Eubulus (567c); Metaneira ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς of Lysias (592c), ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεοίρα (592c) of Ps.-Demosthenes, in Hegesander perhaps quoting a comic poet (584f).

591. Fr. 24 (Athen. XIII 586a): καὶ πάλιν τὰς Ἀφύας καλουμένας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκαλέεσθε; cf. Harp. s.v. ἀφύα (Ὑ. κατ' Ἀρ.) et Bekk. Anecd. p. 473. Next in the same passage Athenaeus tells us that ἀφύα was the name given to *hetairai* and then quotes from Apollodorus' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν Ἑταιρίδων for the notice that Stagonion and Anthi were sisters, who were given this nickname because they were fair, thin and had large eyes. Antiphanes ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν also

Although it is difficult to imagine how such a speech could have been used to infer any kind of relationship between the orator and the *hetaira*, biographers often regarded these attacks as the orator's way of venting his anger on a former mistress. So for instance, Euthias, who prosecuted Phryne for impiety, appears in the biographical tradition as the scorned and hot-tempered lover of the *hetaira* and Hypereides, who defended her, as the new favourite.<sup>592</sup> Certainly, when it came to inferring that Hypereides' had been intimate with Phryne, biographers turned to the orator's own words.

After citing Idomeneus for the notices on Myrrhinē, Aristagora and Phila, Athenaeus goes on to describe the affair and trial of Phryne.<sup>593</sup> He makes clear that the only basis for assuming that an illicit liaison had existed between the orator and that *hetaira* was the text of the ὑπὲρ Φρυγῆς. A comparison with a parallel passage in Ps.-Plutarch reveals that the inference was based on what Hypereides had said at

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said that Nicostratis was nicknamed Ἀφύα for the same reason. Athenaeus most likely found the quotation from Hypereides' speech *Against Aristagora* in Apollodorus' work, which is cited immediately before (586a) for a note on Phanistrate's nickname Φθειροπούλη and immediately following for the notice on the sisters Stagonion and Anthis. Book 13 of Athenaeus, the source of F 4a, 12 and 14 of Idomeneus, all of which deal with *hetairai*, is made up of a number of excerpts from books written by Hellenistic scholars περὶ τῶν Ἀθῆνῃσι ἑταϊριδῶν (567a). These included such scholars as Aristophanes of Byzantium who gave a list of 135 names, but whose number was declared deficient by Apollodorus and Gorgias of Athens, both of whom appended more names in their works περὶ ἑταϊρῶν (583d). These works consisted of collections of anecdotes on the affairs of these prostitutes and their lovers, extracted from comedy and the speeches of orators. In fact book 13 of Athenaeus reads very much like a series of extracts from comedy and the speeches. The point of contact with comedy is shown clearly from the title of Herodicus' work περὶ κωμωδουμένων of which book 6 was devoted to *hetairai* (586a & 591c).

592. This tradition is preserved in Alciphron, the author of a collection of fictional letters supposedly written between 4th-century *hetairai* and their lovers. See letters IV 4 & 5 and below, pp. 191–2.

593. XIII 590d: ... ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἰκουρὸν αὐτὴν (Φίλαν) ἐποίησατο, ὥς Ἰδομενεὺς ἱστορεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρυγῆς λόγῳ Ὁπερείδης ὁμολογῶν ἔρᾶν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ ἔρωτος ὀπτηλαγμένος τὴν προειρημένην Μυρρίνην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσήγαγεν.

the beginning of his speech.<sup>594</sup> Two fragments are assigned by Jensen to the introduction. Fragment 171 is of little value, since Pollux does not specify the speech from which his excerpt comes and, what is more, the attribution by Jensen to the ὑπὲρ Φρύνης is mere conjecture based on what Athenaeus and Ps-Plutarch tell us.<sup>595</sup> Fragment 172, by contrast, provides insight; taken from Syrianus on Hermogenes, the text reads as follows: "And again Hypereides in the ὑπὲρ Φρύνης: Although identifying himself and Euthias as both having been intimate with Phryne, he finds some difference to avoid the identification saying: (And these are Hypereides' actual words) *for it is not the same thing for one to try to save her by any means and for the other to destroy her.*"<sup>596</sup>

Syrianus' words imply that it was from this statement alone that biographers had inferred that Hypereides had been intimate with Phryne. But it is not entirely certain that Hypereides himself had meant this. The statement is not that explicit and in its original context was intended to ridicule Euthias. More likely Idomeneus had misunderstood or misrepresented what Hypereides actually said, as he had in the case of Aeschines' words about Demosthenes' affair with Aristarchus, and on that basis alleged an affair between Phryne and Hypereides as further evidence of his sexual

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594. Ps.-Pl. 849e: ὠμιληκῶς δὲ καὶ Φρύνη τῇ ἑταίρῃ ἀσεβεῖν κρινομένη συνεξητιάσθη αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δηλοῖ.

595. Fr. 171: ὠμιληκῶς δὲ καὶ Φρύνη τῇ ἑταίρῃ ἀσεβεῖν κρινομένη συνεξητιάσθη αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δηλοῖ. *Vit. X or.* 849e.— ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ὑπ. ὁμολογῶν ἑρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς κτλ. *Ath.* XIII 590d.— διελέχθη αὐτῇ καὶ διειλεγμένος εἰμι (de concubitu) ὡς Ὑπερ. *Poll.* V 93 ...

596. Fr. 172: Ὑπ. δὲ πάλιν ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης, ἐξισάζοντος, ὅτι αὐτὸς τε καὶ Εὐθίας ὠμιληκότες ἦσαν τῇ Φρύνη ... εὐρών τινα διαφορὰν ἔφυγε τὸ ἐξισάζον φήσας οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίων ἐστι τὸν μὲν ὅπως σωθήσεται ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν, τὸν δὲ ὅπως ἀπολέσει. *Syrian. ad Herm.* IV 120 Walz.

propensities. But once the suggestion had been made that the two were lovers it became fixed in the biographical tradition of that orator.

A sample of that tradition is preserved by Alciphron, the author of fictional letters supposedly written between fourth-century *hetairai* and their lovers. Throughout Euthias is made out to be the scorned lover who took his former mistress to court out of jealousy. In turn Hypereides is presented as the new found lover who championed her cause.<sup>597</sup> In these letters we find that some of the words attributed to his characters actually were derived from Hypereides' speech,<sup>598</sup> and from them it is possible to reconstruct the original context of fr 172, the source of the biographical inference that Hypereides and Phryne were intimate. So, for example, in letter 3, when Bacchis complains to the orator that *hetairai* like herself will have to give up their profession, since every time they ask for money they are charged with impiety,<sup>599</sup> it is plausible that her words were derived from a similar statement in which Hypereides ridiculed Euthias for the triviality of his charge, ridicule for which he was famous in antiquity.<sup>600</sup> Likewise in letter 5, Bacchis' caution to Myrrhinē not to ask her new found lover Euthias for any money, unless she wanted to be charged with setting fire to the shipyards and subverting the laws, again was derived from similar

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597. IV 4 & 5

598. Raubitschek, "Phryne," *RE* XX 1 (1941) 904.

599. IV 3: Βακχίς Ὑπερεΐδῃ Πᾶσαι σοι ἴσμεν αἱ ἐταῖραι χάριν καὶ ἐκάστη γε ἡμῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ Φρύνη. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀγὼν μόνῃς Φρύνης, ὃν ὁ παμπόνηρος Εὐθείας ἐπανείλετο, ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος ἀπασῶν. εἰ γὰρ αἰτοῦσαι παρὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν ἀργύριον οὐ τυγχάνομεν ἢ τοῖς διδοῦσιν [αἱ] τυγχάνουσαι ἀσεβείας κριθησόμεθα, πεπαῦσθαι κρεῖττον ἡμῖν τοῦ βίου τούτου καὶ μηκέτι ἔχειν πράγματα μηδὲ τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσι παρέχειν...

600. Longinus (*De Subl.* 32) notes that Hypereides spoke with σκώμματα, διασυρμός τε ἐπιδέξιος καὶ πολὺ τὸ κωμικὸν καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς κέντρον.

words in Hypereides' own speech.<sup>601</sup> In fact both Jensen and Kenyon in their editions included them as fragment 179 of the speech.<sup>602</sup>

Now this association of sex and shipyards is provocative. Burning shipyards is of course an act of treason for which the proper prosecution is *eisangelia*. But Hypereides seems to have used the law in more than one context as a rhetorical device, to point out the absurdity of a charge brought against his client. Thus he has Lycophron, who was charged with treason for allegedly committing adultery, quote from the law of *eisangelia* to show the illegality of being charged with adultery under the law of treason.<sup>603</sup> It is one thing to seduce a neighbour's wife, but quite another thing to betray the dockyards, burn public buildings and seize the acropolis. The same pointed ridicule appears at the beginning of *ὑπὲρ Εὐξενίππου*, where Hypereides asks the jury whether they are not weary of such *eisangeliai*. In former times it was men like Timomachus, Leosthenes, Callistratus and others who were impeached, some accused of betraying ships, others of betraying cities.<sup>604</sup> In those days only extreme

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601. IV 5: Βακχίς Μυρρίνη Μὴ δὴ κρείττονος εἶη σοι τυχεῖν ἐραστοῦ, δέσποινα Ἀφροδίτη, ἀλλ' Εὐθείας σοι ὃν νῦν περιέπεις συγκαταβίῳ. τάλαινα γυνὴ τῆς ἀνοίας, ἥτις τῷ τοιούτῳ θηρίῳ προσέφθορσαι. πλὴν ἴσως τῷ κάλλει πεπίστευκας · Μυρρίνην γὰρ στέξει δῆλον ὅτι Φρύνην ὑπερίδων. Ἀλλ' ἔοικας κνίσαι τὸν Ὑπερκείδην βεβουλησθαι ὡς ἔλαττόν σοι νῦν προσέχοντα. κακεῖνος ἐταίραν ἔχει ἀξίαν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σὺ ἐραστὴν σοὶ πρέποντα. αἵτησόν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὄψει σεαυτὴν ἢ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπερηκυῖαν ἢ τοὺς νόμους καταλύουσας. ἴσθι γοῦν ὅτι παρὰ πάσαις ἡμῖν ταῖς τὴν φιλονθρωποτέραν Ἀφροδίτην προτιμῶσαι μεμίσησαι.

602. Fr. 179 (Kenyon): Babington, quem sectus est Blassius, verba ex Alciphronē (I 32) citat, quippe quae ex haec oratione derivata sint: αἵτησόν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ (sc. Euthia), καὶ ὄψει σεαυτὴν ἢ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπερηκυῖαν ἢ τοὺς νόμους καταλύουσας.

603. II frg. III. 28.

604. III 1 [XVIII]. 8: τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον εἰσηγγέλλοντο παρ' ὑμῖν Τιμόμαχος καὶ Λεωσθένης καὶ Καλλίστρατος καὶ Φίλων ὁ ἐξ Ἀναίων καὶ Θεότιμος ὁ Σηστόν ἀπολέσας καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ναῦς αἰτίαν ἔχοντες προδοῦναι, οἱ δὲ πόλεις Ἀθηναίων, ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ ὧν λέγειν μὴ τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δημῷ.

acts of injustice were brought up on the charge of treason, but now the practice has reached the absurd. Diognides and Antidorus are charged with treason for hiring flute-girls at too high a price, or Euxenippus because he had a dream.<sup>605</sup>

The same sort of ridicule was directed against Euthias at the beginning of the speech in defence of Phryne. Hypereides surely first insinuated that Euthias was once Phryne's lover. Next he probably mocked him for bringing his former mistress to court on a charge of impiety and treason, because she scorned him, when he refused to pay her fee. Treason was reserved for serious charges like setting fire to shipyards or subverting laws. Fr. 172 must be understood in this context: "it is one thing to seek to save someone and quite another to destroy them by every possible means", that is by these trumped up charges. The whole thought is a *reductio ad absurdum*, but Idomeneus followed by other ancient biographers misunderstood the original intent of Hypereides' words and saw in fr. 172 a reference to his intimacy with the *hetaira*. Here they have taken Hypereides' insinuations all too literally and out of them have created an entire biographical fiction in which both Euthias and then Hypereides are presented as actual lovers of Phryne.

After mentioning the affair with Phryne, Athenaeus proceeds to describe the trial, which became the most celebrated incident in the biographical fiction of the orator. What made the trial so famous in antiquity was Hypereides' stratagem of

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605. 2 [XIX] 6: οὕτως μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων καὶ περιφρονῶν αἱ εἰσαγγελίαι τότε ᾤσαν. νυνὶ δὲ τὸ γινόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει πάνυ καταγέλαστόν ἐστιν. Διογνίδης μὲν καὶ Ἀντίδωρος ὁ μέτοικος εἰσαγγέλλοντο ὡς πλέονος μισθοῦντες τὰς αὐλητρίδας ἢ ὁ νόμος κελεύει, Ἀγασικλῆς δ' ὁ ἐκ Πειραίεως, ὅτι εἰς Ἀλμουσίους ἐνεγράφη, Εὐξένιππος δ' [ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνυπνίων] ὧν φησιν ἑω[ρακέ]ναι.



disrobing Phryne before the jury during his peroration. According to Athenaeus, sensing that the verdict was going against his client, the orator brought her before the jury, tore open her garments to expose her breasts and broke into such lamentation that the jurors grew superstitious at the sight of this handmaiden and priestess of Aphrodite and acquitted her. Scholars have been reluctant to reject the story, not realizing that such anecdotes are nothing more than the products of the imagination of ancient biographers.<sup>606</sup>

Like Hypereides' alleged affair with Phryne, the disrobing scene was based on what Hypereides himself had said. There is no indication that any contemporary account of the trial existed to inform biographers of what happened; this could only be inferred from the text of his speech. The disrobing scene may in fact reflect a description in the peroration, in which the orator imagined his client brought before the jurors dressed as a suppliant, gown torn, striking her breasts in the fashion of a tragic figure. Such displays to arouse the pity of the jury were certainly not beyond Hypereides. According to Longinus, he had the power of evoking pity and of telling a story fluently.<sup>607</sup> At the end of his speech on behalf of Euxenippus, Hypereides

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606. Semenov, "Hypereides und Phryne," *Klio* 28 (1935) 278–9, accepts the disrobing scene at face value and explains the fearful reaction of the jurors from the fact that they actually imagined that they were seeing the embodiment of Aphrodite. He draws as a parallel the famous ruse of Peisistratus, when he paraded Phye in full armour, as if she were Athena herself. Such a dramatic antic, he argues, was consistent with the character of Hypereides, who was depicted in the biographical tradition as fickle and sexually excessive. But such arguments falter on the very fact that Semenov fails to realize that such stories about Hypereides' love-affairs were mere inventions by biographers and have no more credibility than the disrobing scene itself.

607. *De Subl.* 34. 2–3; Longinus singles out περὶ Φρύνης and περὶ Ἀθηνογένους as Hypereides' two most outstanding pieces. The former was so highly regarded that the great Roman orator Messala Corvinus translated the speech into Latin (Quint. X 4. 3). The fame of the trial likely owes as much to Hypereides' own oratory as to the disrobing scene.

remarks that he has done all he could to help, it was now up to his client to ask the court's permission to summon his friends and children before the jurors.<sup>608</sup> The orator may have concluded his defence of Phryne with a similar comment from which it was inferred that he had led his client in to supplicate the jurors,<sup>609</sup> particularly if that comment included a vivid description of his dejected client, a rhetorical technique known as *ὑποτύπωσις* or *διατύπωσις* and one recommended by rhetoricians in the peroration to arouse pity.<sup>610</sup> In fact in one late anonymous rhetorical work this is precisely how the scene is imagined, simply as a rhetorical device to arouse pity (*ἐπὶ τινος ἐλεεινοῦ σχήματος*) on a par with introducing women and children into court. Phryne is simply described as tearing her dress and striking her naked breast, indeed the actions of a suppliant.<sup>611</sup> In yet another anonymous rhetorical work, which seems to have drawn on the same source, we read how Hypereides secured the acquittal of Phryne "by a speech full of pity and the rending of a garment" (*ἐλεεινολογίας τε πλήθει καὶ περιρρήξει τῆς ἐσθῆτος*), a comment which

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608. III 41 (XLIX). 16: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν σοὶ Εὐξένιππε βεβοήθηκα ὅσα εἶχον. λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλεῖν καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἀναβιβάζεσθαι.

609. cf. F 12: Athen. XIII 592e where Idomeneus had wrongly concluded from what Demosthenes had said in *περὶ χρυσίου* that he had his children by a *hetaira*. In the course of the speech he must have said that he was bringing before the jury his children without a mother, the last detail no doubt intended to evoke greater pity.

610. Quint. IX 2 .40; Longin. *De Subl.* 20. 1. See Kowalski, "De Phrynes Pectore Nudato," *Eos* 42 (1947) 53, 58.

611. Walz VII 334. 20–335. 8: ὁ δὲ φεύγων ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἐλεεινολογήσεται, καταφέρων διὰ τῶν παθητικῶν τὰ φρονήματα τῶν δικαστῶν ἐνταῦθα δὲ, φησί, καὶ αἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπαγωγαὶ χρήσιμοι, καὶ αἱ τῶν παίδων καὶ πατέρων, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ συγγενῶν, ὅπερ ἐλέγομεν ἀνωτέρω οὐ μόνη ἀκόη τὸν ἔλεον ἐργάσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ὁρατικῇ αἰσθήσει τὸν νοῦν ἐπιταράξει τῶν δικαζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ὅτως ἡμῶς ἐκπλήττει τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν σχημάτων φαινόμενα· τὸν γοῦν Ὑπερίδην φασὶν οὕτω τὸν ὑπὲρ Φρύνης νικῆσαι λόγον, ὥς γὰρ ἦτις το, φησὶν, εἰσήγαγε τὴν ἑταίραν ἐπὶ τινος ἐλεεινοῦ σχήματος, παιομένην τὰ στήθη γυμνά, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα περιρρήξασαν, καὶ αἱ δικαστοὶ πρὸς οἷκτον ἰδόντες ἀπεψήφισαντο.

again more aptly describes a scene of supplication than disrobing.<sup>612</sup> But the expression "rending of the garment", which was possibly lifted right from Hypereides' speech and described a supplicating Phryne, could easily have suggested to a biographer disrobing. In fact this exact same expression also appears in several accounts of the scene.<sup>613</sup> The consistency with which the same words repeat themselves in every description of the disrobing, even if they do not go back to Hypereides, at least suggest a single biographical source.

The earliest known description of the trial is found in the *Ephesia* of Poseidippus, whose comic account is preserved in Athenaeus.<sup>614</sup> The comic poet simply describes Phryne clasping the hand of each juror and with tears pleading for her life. The scene is one of supplication. There is no mention of disrobing which, if it had actually happened, would have made good comic material. The only conclusion

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612. Walz IV 413. 20–414. 6: ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ φεύγοντος διελεεινολογῶν προαχθήσεται· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παραγωγαὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων χρήσιμοι καὶ φίλων πολλοὶ γούν ἡτιώμενοι ταῖς δικαιολογίαις, τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἐλέου διεξόδῳ κεκινήκασιν πάθος, τοῖς ἀκροαμένοις ὡς τὴν νικῶσαν ἀπενέγκασθαι· καὶ τούτου μαρτύριον Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης τῆς ἐταίρας λόγῳ ἐλεεινολογίας τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ περιρρήξει τῆς ἐσθῆτος διασώσας ἐκ τῆς Εὐθείου κατηγορίας τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

613. Athen. XIII 590e: παραγαγὼν εἰς μέσον καὶ περιρρήξας τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά τε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικοὺς οἴκτους ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν; Ps.–Pl. 849e: παραγαγὼν εἰς μέσον καὶ περιρρήξας τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπέδειξε τὰ στέρνα τῆς γυναικός; Alciphron IV 4: μηδὲ τοῖς λέγουσί σοι ὅτι, εἰ μὴ τὸν χιτωνίσκον περιρρηξομένη τὰ μοστάρια τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐπέδειξας, οὐδὲν <ὄν> ὁ ῥήτωρ ὠφέλει, πείθου; Sex. Emp. Rh. II 4: Φρύνη τε, ὡς φασίν, ἐπεὶ συνηγοροῦντος αὐτῇ Ὑπερίδου ἔμελλε καταδικάζεσθαι, καταρρηξομένη τοὺς χιτωνίσκους καὶ γυμνοῖς στήθεσι προκυλινδουμένη τῶν δικαστῶν πλεῖον ἴσχυσε διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοὺς δικαστὰς πείσαι τῆς τοῦ συνηγοροῦντος ῥητορείας.

614. XIII 591f: Φρύνη ποθ' ἡμῶν γέγονεν ἐπιφανεστάτη/ πολὺ τῶν ἐταίρων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ νεωτέρα/ τῶν τότε χρόνων εἴ, τὸν γ' ἀγὼν ἀκήκοας./ βλάπτειν δοκοῦσα τοὺς βίους† μείζους βλάβας/ τὴν ἡλιαίαν εἴλεε περὶ τοῦ σώματος./ καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν καθ' ἓνα δεξιουμένη/ μετὰ δοκρῶν διέσωσε τὴν ψυχὴν μόλις.

† The text has been restored to read τοὺς νέους for τοὺς βίους in line four of the fragment, and refers to the charge of corrupting the youth. See Semenov (above, n. 606) 275.

is that the disrobing scene was a subsequent invention, sometime after 290, when Poseidippus was active as a poet.<sup>615</sup> What evidence there is suggests that the story was current around 270.<sup>616</sup> This does not rule out Idomeneus as its author. He began writing shortly after 300 and may have been active as late as 270.

In the text of Athenaeus F 14 of Idomeneus stands under the name of Hermippus, who is cited for additional details relating to Euthias.<sup>617</sup> Presumably he is Athenaeus' immediate source,<sup>618</sup> and a discussion of his contribution to the tradition is reserved for the next chapter. But there are aspects of Athenaeus' account of the

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615. He won four victories from 289/8 onwards. See A. Körte, "Poseidippos," *RE* XXII 1 (1953) 426–8.

616. A disrobing scene is found in one of mimes of Herodas. He appears to have been a contemporary of Callimachus, which would put the composition of his mimes in the late 270's early 260's. See Pliny *EP*. IV 3.4; Cunningham, *Herodas Mimambi* (Oxford 1971) 2–3, 81, 84–5; Nairn, *The Mimes of Herodas* (Oxford 1904) xiii–xv. In Mime 2 a πορνοβοσκός by the name of Battarus gives a speech which parodies the speeches delivered in the Attic courts. The defendant is a ship owner named Thales who has been charged with battery against Myrtale, one of Battarus' girls. At one point (2. 65–78) the πορνοβοσκός produces the girl before the court and bids the jurors to look at her torn dress, and the bruises and scars which she had received at the hands of Thales: δέυρο, Μυρτάλη, καὶ σύ/ νόμιξε τούτους οὓς ὀρῆς δικάζοντα/ πατέρας ἀδελφούς ἐμβλέπειν. ὀρῆτ' ἄνδρες,/ τὰ τίλματ' αὐτῆς καὶ κότῳθεν/ ὡς λεία ταῦτ' ἔτιλλεν ὠναγῆς οὗτος,/ ὅτ' εἴλκεν αὐτὴν κόβιόζετ'... It has been thought that this was a travesty of Hypereides' disrobing of Phryne. See Headlam, *Herodas* (Cambridge 1922) 92; Hicks, *CR* 5 (1891) 350; Nairn 15. But the action of Battarus could in fact be a parody of any display on the part of a battered victim or even a general, who revealed his wounds and scars to invoke the sympathy of the jurors. If there is any reminiscence of Phryne, it is in the girl's appearance as a suppliant, which is suggested by the words τίλματα and ἔτιλλεν and by her appeal to the jurors as fathers and brothers. The verb τίλλω is commonly used of supplication. But note Cunningham's translation of verses 68–70 (p. 95): "See, gentlemen, her plucked skin, below and above, how smooth this innocent has plucked it.", which brings out the obscene humour in Battarus' remarks. The parody comes in that what was shown was not necessarily scars. This may be the whole point of the disrobing of Phryne. Even if the scene does parody the disrobing of Phryne, which in itself may be nothing more than a parody of the usual display made by victims in court, it need only suggest that story became current in the Callimachean period, sometime after Idomeneus wrote.

617. 590d: Ἦν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν. κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθείας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος.

618. It is generally assumed that Idomeneus was only known in later antiquity through Hermippus. See Jacoby, *FGrH* 338 IIIB 85; *RE* 911.

trial which clearly go back to Idomeneus. By now it should be clear that he had patterned the character of the orators after the traditional image of the demagogue, as it was presented in the polemics of Theopompus, Stesimbrotus and Antisthenes. Not only does Hypereides' sexual excess parallel that of Pericles, but also his conduct at the trial. Aspasia had been charged with impiety and illicit behaviour. Supposedly she had invited free born-women into her place of gathering.<sup>619</sup> In like fashion Phryne was charged with impiety and behaving illicitly.<sup>620</sup>

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619. Plut. *Per.* 32. 1

620. Ps.-Plutarch (849e) notes that she was charged with ἄσεβεία. Athenaeus simply mentions that it was a capital charge (τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ); but as the example of Socrates clearly shows, the charge of impiety was an ἄγῶν τιμητός in which the penalty was not prescribed by law but had to be voted on. Much of the past scholarship has been concerned with the actual charges against Phryne and little concerned with the extraordinary events of the trial itself. See Cantarelli, "Osservazioni sul processo di Frine," *RFIC* 13 (1885) 465–82; Foucart, "L'accusation contre Phrynée," *Revue de Philologie* 26 (1902) 216–18; Semenov (above, n. 606) 271–9; Kowalski, "De Phrynes Pectore Nudato," *Eos* 42 (1947) 50–62; Raubitschek (above, n. 598) 893–907. Preserved in an anonymous rhetorical work entitled Τέχνη τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λογοῦ is what appears to be a fragment from Euthias' speech listing the actual charges against Phryne: she was charged with revelling shamelessly in the Lyceum, with introducing a new divinity and with forming illicit *thiasoi* of men and women: καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνακεφαλαίωσις γίνεται, ὅταν αὐτὰ τὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πεποικηκότα ψιλῶς ἐκτιθώμεθα, οἷον ἄσεβείας κρινομένη Φρύνη καὶ γὰρ ἐκώμασεν ἐν Λυκείῳ, κοινὸν εἰσήγαγεν θεόν, καὶ θιάσους ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν συνήγαγεν. "ἔπεδειξα τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἄσεβῃ Φρύνην, κωμάσασσαν ἀναιδῶς, κοινοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηγήτριαν, θιάσους ἀνδρῶν ἐκθέσμιους καὶ γυναικῶν συναγαγοῦσαν." ψιλὰ γὰρ νῦν τὰ πράγματα διεγείτω (*Rh. Gr.* I 455 Spengel). The god whose cult she supposedly introduced was that of Isodaïtes, a foreign divinity associated with Pluto (Hesychius s.v. Ἰσοδοαίτης) or Dionysus (Plut. περὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς EI 9). It was a mystery cult into which both men and women were initiated, and according to Harpocration particularly women of ill repute: Ἰσοδοαίτης Ὑπ. ἐν τῷ Φρ. ξενικός τις δοάμων, ᾧ τὰ δημόδια γύναια καὶ μὴ πάνυ σπουδαῖα ἐτέλει (fr. 177 Jensen). Cf. frs. 174 & 175. The charge of introducing a new divinity seems to have become a near *topos*, the type of accusation commonly raised against some one on trial for impiety. Again the case of Socrates is illuminating here; he was charged both with introducing a new divinity and with corrupting the youth (Pl. *Ap.* 24b; Xen. *Ap.* 10, *Mem.* I 1; D.L. II 40). According to the anonymous writer her illicit activities supposedly took place in the Lyceum, one of the gymnasia frequented by the Athenian youth, and it may be that corruption of the youth was another accusation (Cantarelli 467–8), further suggesting that many of the charges against her were *topoi*, usually the types of charges directed against philosophers. A possible reference to corrupting the youth is found in a fragment from the *Ephesia* of the comic poet Poseidippus, where he gives his own account of the trial (above, n. 614). In comic circles at least this seems to be a common charge against *hetairai*. Satyrus told

But even if the charges were genuine, the whole description of the trial itself, as it has come down to us, bears the stamp of a biographical *topos* characteristic of these polemics. Antisthenes had described how Pericles would "visit" Aspasia twice a day and how at her trial he broke down weeping as he defended his mistress on a charge of impiety.<sup>621</sup> The same behaviour is credited to Hypereides when he defended Phryne on a similar charge of impiety. According to Athenaeus, after disrobing his client, he broke down and wept at the sight of her. As evidence of Hypereides' shameless behaviour, Athenaeus also mentions a decree which supposedly was passed after her acquittal forbidding any advocate from indulging in lamentation and forbidding the accused from appearing before the jury at the time of voting.<sup>622</sup> As we have seen, Idomeneus was known to have consulted Craterus on occasion and may have found the decree mentioned by him. But it is of such a tendentious nature as to suggest pure invention. It corresponds too closely with Hypereides' alleged behaviour at the trial.<sup>623</sup> As the example of Pericles shows, such behaviour on the

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the story how the Cynic philosopher Stilpo accused Glycera of corrupting the youth, to which she responded that they both fell under the same charge (Athen. XIII 584a). According to one account Phryne even played the role of Alcibiades to Xenocrates, attempting to overcome the philosopher's self-control through seduction (D.L. IV 7).

621. Athen. XIII 589e. Plutarch (*Per.* 32. 3) tells the very same story on the authority of Aeschines Socraticus, who wrote a dialogue entitled *Aspasia* (Athen. V 220b). Antisthenes also wrote an *Aspasia* (DL VI 16), but according to Athenaeus (V 220d) in this dialogue Antisthenes slandered the sons of Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus. But in his political dialogue he attacked all Athenian demagogues. This seems to be the point behind his description of the trial of Aspasia, to malign Pericles, and this dialogue on the demagogues may be an equally appropriate context for such an account of Pericles' defence of Aspasia.

622. καὶ ἀφεθείσης ἐγγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψήφισμα μηδένα οἰκτιζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ τινος μηδὲ βλέπόμενον τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν κατηγορουμένην κρίνεσθαι.

623. Raubitschek, (above, n. 598) 906–7, believes that the decree is authentic and was introduced by Hypereides himself, something which, however, cannot be verified from the text of Athenaeus. He argues that Idomeneus found this document with Hypereides' name attached to it and that its authenticity

part of a demagogue to save his mistress was expected. Clearly what is operating here is a biographical *topos*, that has been applied to two different demagogues, transferred from the context of one trial to another, and as such, further casts suspicion on the details of the trial, as they have come down to us in the biographical tradition from Idomeneus.

In Athenaeus' account Hypereides' has assumed Phryne's role as suppliant and this aspect of the account goes back to Idomeneus. Given his fondness for attributing sexual excess to the demagogues, such a provocative act as disrobing her before the jury was certainly in character, and the whole scene should be regarded as his own creation, based on a misunderstanding of what Hypereides meant by the words "a speech full of pity and the rending of a garment". Indeed much of the biographical material included in his work on the demagogues was gathered from the speeches and turned into characterizing anecdotes. In many respects his treatment was prejudiced by his writing within a particular tradition. That is to say, he represented the orators only as demagogues, as they were typically presented in polemics by Theopompus and others. So he introduced biographical *topoi* that had become the standard fare of such works, and would thus characterize Demosthenes and Hypereides as sexually unbridled in the manner of a Pericles. Hence the part of the biographical tradition that can be traced back to him is highly suspect. Even so, Idomeneus did make an important

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need not be doubted since Idomeneus could refer to the fact that the orator himself had secured the acquittal of Phryne ἐλεεινολογίας τε πλήθει καὶ περιῶρήξει τῆς ἐσθῆτος. But this type of argument is double edged: the contents of the decree may have been suggested from what was said in the speech. Even if such a decree existed, there is no reference to any form of disrobing; the Greek need only suggest that the accused not be seen at the time of voting, so as to influence the jurors' verdict.

contribution. He seems to have been the first to include the orators in a treatment of a decidedly biographical nature, and would therefore prove an important source for Hermippus, when he came to compose his own biographies.



## CHAPTER 4

### HERMIPPUS

Up to this point we have established that by the early Augustan period a common history on the orators Isocrates, Demosthenes and Hypereides had been generally recognized. In any one of the lives of the κοινὴ ἱστορία or in the later extant biographies could be found essentially the same material. So, for instance, any biography of Demosthenes could be expected to include a section on the orator's exercises, which would thus constitute a part of his common history. Hermippus was seen to have been a important source of that common history and an important source of the anecdotal material preserved in later collections like Ps.-Plutarch. Any contribution by earlier writers like Demetrius of Phalerum and Idomeneus of Lampsacus that may have filtered down into the later tradition, it has been suggested, was transmitted by that biographer. This chapter will examine 1) his popularity as a source in later antiquity; 2) the character of his writing in general; 3) the work on the Isocrateans as a construct of literary history of 4th century Attic prose; and 4) attempt to reconstruct the scheme and content of his biographies on Demosthenes, Hypereides and Isocrates.

Hermippus was called both a Callimachean<sup>624</sup> and a Peripatetic.<sup>625</sup> This perhaps

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624. Athen. II 58f; V 213f; XV 696d

625. fr.1: Hieronymus *De viris illustribus Praefatio* 821. 1

reflects the twofold nature of his biographies.<sup>626</sup> The designation "Peripatetic" by this time no longer necessarily carried any philosophical affiliations but signified simply an interest in literary history and biographical writing, an interest which so characterized the writings of the Peripatos.<sup>627</sup> Certainly there is evident in his writings which recalls the Peripatetic method, the abundance of anecdotes, the lively entertaining style or even the use of literary sources of the author in question to infer biographical details.<sup>628</sup> As a Callimachean, his biographies were also influenced by the pinacographical activity of the Alexandrian library. His biographical production has been seen by some as a supplement to Callimachus' *Pinakes*.<sup>629</sup> If the epithet Καλλιμάχειος indicates any direct association with Callimachus, it would place Hermippus in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C., a point confirmed from the fact that the last known person to appear in his biographies was Chrysippus, who died in 208/5.<sup>630</sup> Hermippus was probably not active much beyond the turn of the century. A *terminus ante quem* may be set by the literary activities of Heraclides Lembus, who epitomized some of his biographies. He flourished during the reign of Ptolemy VI (181-146 B.C.).<sup>631</sup>

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626. Leo 124

627. See above n. 376 for bibliography.

628. For the general character of literary monographs of the Peripatetics see Leo 102-104 & 317-18; Arrighetti, "Satiro," (above, n. 97) 12-21. For the Peripatetic influence on Satyrus' βίος Εὐριπίδου see above n. 377-80.

629. Pfeiffer 129; Nietzsche, "De Laertii Diogenis fontibus," *RhM* 24 (1869) 189-91; Fraser I 781

630. DL VII 184. See Fraser II 656 n. 52.

631. See Arrighetti (above, n. 97) 3; Fraser II 656 n. 53, 741 n. 172.

### The Popularity of His Writings

In antiquity Hermippus was held in high regard both as a scholar and as a biographer. In the preface to his *De Viris Illustribus* Hieronymus (Jerome) names Hermippus, alongside Antigonus, Satyrus and Aristoxenus, as one of Suetonius' forerunners in literary biography.<sup>632</sup> It is generally acknowledged that Jerome derived his statement from Suetonius himself.<sup>633</sup> In that case, Hermippus was indeed regarded by the Roman biographer as an important model for his own *De viris illustribus*.

On more than one occasion he was praised in antiquity for his accuracy as a biographer. So, for instance, in *Apion* I 22 (163) Josephus notes that there were many who wrote on Pythagoras, but by far the most distinguished of them was Hermippus, who was careful in his reporting.<sup>634</sup> According to Josephus, Hermippus had reported in the first book of his περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου how the soul of Calliphon, after his

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632. Fr. 1 W (*Praefatio* 82l. 1): hortaris me, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens ecclesiasticos scriptores in ordinem digeram, et quod ille in enumerandis gentilium litterarum viris fecit illustribus, ego in nostris faciam, id est ut a passione Christi usque ad decimum quartum Theodosii imperatoris annum omnes qui de scripturis scantis memoriae aliquid tradiderunt tibi breviter exponam. fecerunt quidem hoc idem apud Graecos Hermippus Peripateticus, Antigonus Carystius, Satyrus doctus vir et longe omnium doctissimus Aristoxenus musicus, apud Latinos autem Varro, Santra, Nepos, Hyginus et ad cuius nos exemplum provocas Tranquillus.

633. Leo 102, 136; Wilamowitz, "Antigonos von Karystos," *Philol. Untersuch.* 4 (1881) 27; Momigliano 73; Stuart, "Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography," *Sather Classical Lectures* 4 (1928) 135, 193, who adds that Jerome's list was only illustrative not exhaustive; cf. Arrighetti (above, n. 97) 21.

634. Fr 22: αὐτοῦ (Πυθαγόρου) μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖται συγγράμματα, πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστορήκασι, καὶ τούτων ἐπισημότητός ἐστιν Ἑρμιππος, ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπιμελής. λέγει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου βιβλίων, ὅτι Πυθαγόρας, ἐνὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν συνουσιαστῶν τελευτήσαντος τοῦνομα Καλλιφῶντος τὸ γένος Κροτωνιάτου, τὴν ἐκείνου ψυχὴν ἔλεγε συνδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν· καὶ ὅτι παρεκελεύετο μὴ διέρχεσθαι τόπον, ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ὄνος ὀκλόσῃ, καὶ διψίων ὑδάτων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἀπέχειν βλασφημίας. εἶτα προστίθῃσι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τόδε· "ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραττεν καὶ ἔλεγε τὰς Ἰουδαίων καὶ Θρακῶν δόξας μιμούμενος καὶ μεταφέρων εἰς ἑαυτόν". λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνος πολλὰ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις νομίμων εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ μετενεγκεῖν φιλοσοφίαν.

death, haunted his teacher Pythagoras night and day, admonishing him to follow these prohibitions: not to pass the place where an ass had collapsed or to drink thirst-producing waters or to blaspheme. Hermippus is quoted as saying that these precepts were taken over from the Jews and the Thracians. Apparently he also claimed that Pythagoras incorporated many elements of Jewish law into his philosophy. This last statement no doubt explains Josephus' enthusiasm for Hermippus, but it still indicates the breadth of research that went into his works.<sup>635</sup> According to Josephus, his βίος was by far the most popular of all the biographies on the philosopher and was careful to include all of his *historia*. That is to say what had come to constitute the common history on that philosopher was already found in Hermippus' biography.<sup>636</sup>

It is known that Heraclides Lembus, who flourished around 170 B.C., had epitomized his biography of Pythagoras.<sup>637</sup> A fragment of this epitome is preserved

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635. Stuart, (above, n. 633) 173, regards Josephus' estimate of Hermippus as "the most celebrated authority on Pythagoras and a painstaking investigator" "an expansion of the truth".

636. This is not to disregard the importance of Aristoxenus, whose biography of Pythagoras was held in high regard in later antiquity and formed the basis of Nicomachus' biography of the philosopher (50–150 A.D.) and proved an important source for Porphyry and Iamblichus. See Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1983) 11; cf. Lévey, *Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore*, 90–128. However that may be, Diogenes Laertius does not seem to have any direct knowledge of Aristoxenus and must have used another source. See Mejer (above, n. 158) 42.

637. According to Diogenes (V 94) Demetrius Magnes reported that Heraclides was from Callatis or Alexandria, but the Suda (s.v. Ἡρακλείδης) notes that he was from Oxyrhynchus and was the son of Sarapion; the last point is confirmed by *POxy* 1367 which in Fr 2 is initialized Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἐπιτομή κτλ. The Suda adds that he flourished during the reign of Ptolemy VI (181–146) and negotiated a peace between Ptolemy and Antiochus IV. For a summary of all past scholarship and attempts at reconciling the conflicting evidence see Grenfell/Hunt, *POxy* XI (1915) no. 1367 114–15; Bloch, "Herakleides Lembos and his Epitome of Aristotle's *Politeia*," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 33; Fraser II 741 n. 172 and Gallo, *Frammenti biografici* (above, n. 298) 17–18 n. 12 & 14.

in *POxy* 1367.<sup>638</sup> Dated to the late 2nd century A.D. by the editors, it attests to a certain popularity in some circles during the imperial age, not only of Heraclides' epitomes, but more importantly of epitomes of Hermippus, and in particular of the latter's *περὶ Πυθαγόρου*. This fact, as we have just seen, was already suggested by Josephus, who singled out his biography of the philosopher for praise.<sup>639</sup>

The popularity of Hermippus as a biographical source is evident from the frequency with which he is cited in later works. Wehrli gives no less than 103 fragments. Most of these are to be found in Diogenes Laertius. Diogenes, who on occasions seems to have used Hermippus directly, cited him more than any other older source.<sup>640</sup> In fact it is generally believed that his life of Aristotle formed the basis of Diogenes' account.<sup>641</sup> Most recently Düring has reaffirmed this traditional view<sup>642</sup> and has shown that Hermippus' biography remained the standard work until

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638. The title is preserved in fr. 2: Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Σακραπίωνος ἐπιτομή τῶν Ἑρμίππου περὶ νομοθετῶν καὶ ἐπὶ σοφῶν καὶ Πυθαγόρου. As the title indicates the epitome also included Hermippus' collection of biographies on legislators and the seven wise men. These two works were extensive, comprising at least 6 and 4 books respectively. The life of Pythagoras itself covered at least 2 books. Only the epitome of *περὶ νομοθετῶν* is preserved in any form. The legislators found treated in the fragments of the papyrus include Demonax, Cecrops, Buzyges, Archimachus and an unidentified figure belonging to the Hellenistic period. The papyrus shows that in his epitome Heraclides preserved the book division of the original. The extreme conciseness of the notices of the papyrus, which are few and at best elliptical, is a far cry from the voluminous original. On the general character of the epitome of the *περὶ νομοθετῶν* see Gallo (above, n. 298) 23, 25–27.

639. The intended audience of these epitomes is a matter of dispute. Leo, who wanted to see Heraclides as the inventor of "grammatical" biography, imagined that Heraclides' epitomes were intended for scholarly use. Fraser suggests that they were intended for popular consumption, while Gallo (27–28 & 32) suggests that the epitomes served a scholastic role.

640. Mejer (above, n. 158) 32.

641. Heibges (849–50) even thinks that it is conceivable that all the Peripatetic biographies in book 5 go back to Hermippus; cf. Wilamowitz, "Antigonos von Karystos," *Philolog. Untersuchungen* 4 (1881) 78.

642. Düring 79 & 464–67. His position is fully accepted by Chroust, *Aristotle* (above, n. 152) xix–xx, 2–8, but was challenged by Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d' Aristote* (Louvain 1951) 243–7, who advanced the view that Ariston of Ceos rather than Hermippus was Diogenes' main source.

Ptolemy-el-Garib wrote his life of Aristotle.<sup>643</sup> This is precisely the impression that we received from Josephus in the case of the life of Pythagoras. Hermippus' work remained canonical at least until the end of the first century A.D.<sup>644</sup>

Such high regard for Hermippus as a biographical source is attested not only by Diogenes' extensive use of him, but, as we also have seen, by the actual praise afforded him. A bias may well be suspected in Josephus, but more respected scholars, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Pliny the elder, echo his praise. Dionysius, like Josephus, considered Hermippus a careful writer. At the beginning of his essay on Isaeus he notes that the κοινὴ ἱστορία, his usual biographical source, provided him with only two details: that Isaeus was Demosthenes' teacher, and either an Athenian or a Chalcidian by birth.<sup>645</sup> Instead he turned to Hermippus, whom he fully expected to be ἀκριβὴς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις but was surprised, when the biographer himself only noted

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See Gigon, "Interpretationen zu den antiken Aristoteles-Viten," *Museum Helveticum* 15 (1958) 147–93, who provides a detailed analysis of Diogenes' vita of Aristotle and his reliance on Hermippus. Cf. Chroust, (above, n. 152) 25–53, for his detailed examination of Diogenes' biography. For a summary of the scholarship on the subject see Chroust, "A brief Account of the traditional Vitae Aristotelis," *REG* 77 (1964) 50–69.

643. The standard view has been to identify this Ptolemy with Ptolemy Chennos who wrote sometime in the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. (Christ-Schmid *Gesch. griech. Lit.* I [6th edit. 1912] 723 n. 4), but this has been challenged by Moraux (292–4) and again by Düring (210 & 275), who argues that Ptolemy-el-Garib was a Neo-Platonist writing in the first half of 4th century. Cf. Chroust, "A brief Account," (above, n. 642) 60–61 & 60 n. 1 and *Aristotle* (above, n. 152) 9. For a reconstruction of Hermippus' life of Aristotle see Düring 465–7 and Chroust (above, n. 152) 4–6.

644. His *Apion* was written sometime after the *Antiquities* which was published in 93/4.

645. fr. 69 (*Is.* 1): Ἰσαῖος δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένους καθηγησάμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γενόμενος περιφανής, ὡς μὲν πινες ἱστοροῦσιν, Ἀθηναῖος ἦν τὸ γένος, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσι, Χαλκιδεύς ... γενέσεως δὲ καὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκριβῆ χρόνον εἰπεῖν οὐχ ἔχω οὐδὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶνδρός, οἷός τις ἦν, οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς προαίρεσεως τῶν πολιτευμάτων οὐδέν, ἀρχὴν εἰ προεῖλετό τινα ἢ πολιτείαν, οὐδ' ὅλως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενὸς διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾶ τοιαύτῃ περιτυχάνειν ἱστορίᾳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράφας Ἑρμιππος, ἀκριβὴς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν ἔξω δυνεῖν τούτων, οἷα διήκουσε μὲν Ἰσοκράτους καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους.

that Isaeus studied under Isocrates and taught Demosthenes. What these "other things" were are enumerated by Dionysius himself; he complains about not being able to find elsewhere anything accurate about chronology, about the dates of the orator's birth and death, nor anything about his βίος or his political persuasion. Presumably this was the type of information to be found in a Hermippan biography.

Dionysius' judgment is echoed by Pliny the elder, who notes that Hermippus *de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit*.<sup>646</sup> The context of this statement is Hermippus' account of Zoroaster.<sup>647</sup> Pliny informs us that in his biography Hermippus had provided an extensive catalogue of Zoroaster's writings. Taken together the testimony of Pliny and Dionysius tell us something about the character of the Hermippan biography; first that it provided an extensive account of a person's βίος and secondly that it included details of a pinacographical origin.

### The Character of Hermippan Writing

#### I. Pinacography

The pinacographical character of his writing, without any other evidence, could easily have been inferred from Hermippus' association with Callimachus. After all he had been dubbed ὁ Καλλιμάχιος.<sup>648</sup> That Hermippus made use of the πίνακες is clear

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646. fr. 2 (N.H. XXX 1. 2): sine dubio illic orta (sc. ars magica) in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. sed unus hic fuerit an postea et alius, non satis constat. Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit, sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus, qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit et viciens centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum eius postis explanavit, praeceptorem a quo institutum diceret tradidit Agonacen, ipsum vero quinque milibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse.

647. The biography appeared in the collection of lives entitled περὶ Μογῶν; cf. D.L. I 8.

648. Athen. I 58f; V 213f

from fr. 56, where we are informed that he censured Callimachus for making Lysimachus the student of Theodorus.<sup>649</sup> Hermippus, on the other hand, made him a disciple of Theophrastus. The fragment concludes with the note that Lysimachus compiled books on the education of Attalus. Presumably Hermippus derived this information on Lysimachus' writings from the *πίνακες*. That the biographer was himself interested in pinacography was implied by Pliny and is confirmed in frs. 54 and 55.

The scholia, from which these fragments come, refer to a certain disagreement between the catalogues of Hermippus and Andronicus.<sup>650</sup> It is clear from this that in antiquity there existed two *πίνακες* of Theophrastus' writings, one attributed to Hermippus, the other to Andronicus.<sup>651</sup> The catalogue of Hermippus was no doubt based in large part on Callimachus' own index, which some have thought he helped to compile or, at the very least, edited for his own biography.<sup>652</sup> Since Usener it is generally agreed that the catalogue at the end of Diogenes Laertius' life of

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649. Athen. VI 252c: Ἀτιάλου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο κόλαξ καὶ διδάσκαλος Λυσίμαχος, ὃν Καλλίμαχος μὲν Θεοδώρειον ἀναγράφει, Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Θεοφράστου μαθηταῖς καταλέγει. οὗτος δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀτιάλου παιδείας συγγέγραφε βίβλους πᾶσαν κολακείαν ἐμφανεύσας.

650. fr. 54: Subscriptio in Theophrasti Metaphysica 38 Ross-Fobes: τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον Ἀνδρόνικος μὲν καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἀγνοοῦσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ μνείαν αὐτοῦ ὅλως πεποιήνται ἐν τῇ ἀναγραφῇ τῶν Θεοφράστου βιβλίων. Νικόλαος δὲ ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ λέγων εἶναι Θεοφράστου.

fr. 55: Historia plantarum VII Subscriptio cod. Urbinat.: Θεοφράστου περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας τὸ η'. Ἑρμιππος δὲ περὶ φρυγανικῶν καὶ ποιιδῶν, Ἀδρόνικος δὲ περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας.

651. Düring, "Ariston or Hermippus?" (above, n. 359) 18

652. Diels, "Didymos Kommentar," (above, n. 100) xxxvii; Düring, "Ariston or Hermippus?" 18; Wehrli Suppl. I 78–9; Heibges 848–9; Nietzsche (above, n. 629) 191; Regenbogen, "Πίναξ," *RE* XX 2 (1950) 1424.



Theophrastus (V 42-50) goes back to our biographer,<sup>653</sup> who would have appended it to his περὶ Θεοφράστου, just as we find it in Diogenes' biography.<sup>654</sup> That catalogue is arranged according to the pinacographical method of Callimachus' πίνακες, that is, in alphabetical order.<sup>655</sup> The evidence then clearly suggests an interest on the part of Hermippus in pinacography, an interest which rightly earned him the name "the Callimachean".

This interest undoubtedly influenced the general character of his biographies. It is seen in the frequent chronological notices,<sup>656</sup> such as calculating the ages at which Plato (fr. 41: D.L. III 2), or Arcesilaus (fr. 43: D.L. IV 44) or Chrysippus (fr. 59 D.L. VII 184) died; or the dating of Isocrates' *Philippos* to the time of Philip's death (fr. 66). It is evident in the care which Hermippus took to cite his sources. Such citations abound in the fragments. In fact Hermippus was simply reflecting in his prose writing the very attitude taken by Callimachus to the writing of poetry: ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰδέω.<sup>657</sup> He diligently compiled material scattered throughout the Alexandrian library. This often meant that he uncovered and included in his biographies obscure and remote names. These included such authors as the otherwise unknown historian

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653. Usener, *Analecta Theophrastea*. Diss. (Bonn 1858) 1f.= *Kleine Schriften* 1 (Leipzig-Berlin 1912) 50f. See Düring, "Ariston or Hermippus?" 18; Heibges 849; Wehrli Suppl. I 79; Moraux (above, n. 642) 214 n. 17; Keaney, "Two notes on the Tradition of Aristotle's Writings," *AJP* 84 (1963) 61; Fraser I 453.

654. Heibges 849; Chroust, *Aristotle* (above, n. 152) 7-8; but Wehrli (Suppl. I 78-9) though agreeing that the subscriptio to Theophrastus' *Metaphysics* (fr. 54) proves the existence of a catalogue of Theophrastus' writings that was labeled Hermippan, he believes that Hermippus' scholarly works were something separate from his biographies, just as those of Callimachus were from his poetry.

655. Usener (above, n. 653) 14f; Düring, "Ariston or Hermippus?" 13; Keaney (above, n. 653) 61.

656. Diels (above, n. 100) xxxvii; Heibges 849. Callimachus' interest in chronology is evident in a special πίναξ dedicated to the dramatic poets: ἀναγγραφή τῶν κατὰ χρόνους καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων. See Pfeifer 131-32.

657. fr. 612 Pf. See Wehrli Suppl. I 102; Heibges 848.

Evanthes of Samos (fr.8), a certain Pappos who wrote on Demosthenes' death (fr. 73), a κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν by a certain Euander (fr. 64), even anonymous memoirs (fr. 71),<sup>658</sup> or oral testimony.<sup>659</sup> Where such sources were absent, he followed the Peripatetic method of inferring biography from the literary text, both of the author in question and of the comic poets.<sup>660</sup> But Hermippus was by no means mendacious nor did he invent his sources, as some scholars suggest.<sup>661</sup> This would be to mistake his diligence and zeal at gathering even the most rare notices and presenting often unheard variants to the vulgata.<sup>662</sup> He was a Callimachean and was simply acting as such. Indeed, it was the fact that Hermippus so carefully named his sources that made him popular. Thus we find him expressly quoted by later writers precisely for his sources.<sup>663</sup>

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658. For other anonymous sources see fr. 85 *τινες* and fr. 40 *συγγραφεύς τις*.

659. These include the testimony of Callisthenes' secretary (fr. 50), that of the Thracian guards and Demosthenes' maid who witnessed the orator's death (fr. 73), the opinion of Aesion, a contemporary of Demosthenes, or the remark of Arcesilaus Pita to Lacydes of Cyrene (fr. 53).

660. Leo 132; Heibges 848

661. Leo 126–127; Drerup 72–4.

662. Heibges 848. As Wehrli (Suppl. I 104) rightly notes, the overall character of his biography, with its affected display of erudition, prevents one from dismissing out of hand names like Pataecus (fr. 10: as Leo does) and Pappos (fr. 73) as pure fiction on the part of Hermippus.

663. Plutarch cites him for Evanthes of Samos (fr. 8), Pataecus (fr. 50), Stoebus, Callisthenes' secretary (fr. 71), for ὁδεσποτὸν ὑπομνήματα, Pappos (fr. 73), and for Aesion (fr. 74);

Diogenes for notices from Timaeus (fr. 25; fr. 44; cf. fr. 46), from a *συγγραφεύς τις* (fr. 40), who was in fact Timon (Gellius *NA* III 17. 4), for notices from Euthyphro and Anaxilaus, whose names Diogenes actually found cited in the *ἐν Διαδοχαῖς* of Sosicrates quoting Hermippus for them (fr. 14; cf. fr.9), for a remark of Arcesilaus of Pitane to Lacydes of Cyrene found in Favorinus quoting Hermippus (fr. 53), and finally notices from Timon (fr. 60; cf. fr. 52).

Athenaeus cites the biographer for Theopompus (fr. 21), for Callimachus (fr. 56), Strattis the comic poet (fr. 56), Idomeneus (fr. 68a1), Ephorus (fr. 83).

In Heraclides Lembus' epitome of *περὶ τῶν ἐπιτῶν σοφῶν* are references to the historians Herodotus and Philochorus, and to an obscure Lasus.

## II. Biography

An idea of Hermippus' biographical method can be gathered from an excerpt of his *περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους* preserved in Didymus' *περὶ Δημοσθένους*.<sup>664</sup> The passage in question (4. 59-6. 62) concerns Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus and friend of Aristotle. In the extant portion of the text Didymus reproduces a series of extracts, first from Theopompus' *περὶ Φίλιππον* (4. 66-5. 21) and *ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον* (5. 21-49), then from an unknown source (5. 50-63) and Callisthenes' encomium of Hermias (5. 64-6. 18), followed by a citation of Aristotle's Paeon (6. 18-35) and epigram in honour of Hermias (6. 36-42), then extracts from Bryon's *περὶ Θεοκρίτου*, which was quoted for an epigram of Theocritus of Chios (6. 43-49), from Hermippus' *περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους β'* (6. 51-59) and finally from Anaximenes, with which Didymus concludes his discourse on Hermias. As the following arguments will show, Hermippus was Didymus' main source, for the whole of this episode.<sup>665</sup>

The passage consists of a balance of favourable and unfavourable reports on Hermias.<sup>666</sup> So the two extracts from Theopompus, which give a truly negative picture of the tyrant, were followed and balanced by two positive accounts of his

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664. As the title indicates Didymus' work belongs to the class of *περὶ* literature. It was a *συγγράμμα*, a monograph as opposed to a *ὑπόμνημα* or commentary, composed of irregular lemmata from *Philippica* IX–XII, followed by explanatory notes (Pfeiffer 278). On the distinction between *συγγράμμα* and *ὑπόμνημα* see Pfeiffer 213 and Turner (above, n. 47) 113–14. But contrast West, "Chalcenteric Negligence," *CQ* ns. 20 (1970) 288–96, who argues that the *περὶ Δημοσθένους* was indeed an actual commentary. On the general form of *περὶ* literature see Pfeiffer 214 & 218 and in particular Leo (above, 377) "Didymos *Περὶ Δημοσθένους*," 390–4.

665. This is the position of Wormell, "The Literary tradition Concerning Hermias of Atarneus," *YCS* 5 (1935) 78–82; Düring 275–77; and Diels (above, n. 100) xxxii–xliii, who, however, believes that Didymus got his material from Hermippus through anonymous commentaries.

666. See Wormell (above, n. 665) 66.

character, the second of which was taken from Callisthenes' encomium. For the passage immediately preceding the excerpt from Callisthenes, which provides the first favourable account, the author's name is lost. But as Wormell has shown, at the end of Didymus' long discourse he provides a summary of his sources, where he remarks that the controversy even extended to Hermias' death. He names Hermippus ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, Callisthenes and certain others, who note that Hermias died from torture and crucifixion.<sup>667</sup> This was in fact the account given by Theopompus, whom Didymus had cited earlier. This means, as Wormell rightly remarks, that Didymus' research on Hermias was based on the testimony of Hermippus, Callisthenes and Theopompus.

Thus the passage (5. 50-63) with which Didymus' favourable treatment of the tyrant begins and in which Aristotle figures prominently, came from Hermippus' περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους.<sup>668</sup> The quotation from Callisthenes' encomium ends with a reference to Aristotle's Paean in honour of Hermias (6. 18), which Didymus then quotes at length (6. 23-34).<sup>669</sup> The Paean is quoted by Diogenes V 7-8 who used Hermippus

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667. 6. 50: ἀλλὰ γὰρ [ἐ]τι διαλλάττουσι καὶ περὶ τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Θάνατον. Ἑρμιππος γὰρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους β' ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς φησὶν αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ βασιλέως βασιλευσθέντα ἀνασταυρωθῆναι, καθάπερ προέκειται· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν [ἐ]σχλατῆα παθεῖν μηδὲν [τῶν] Φιλίππῳ συνεγνωσμένων [ὁμολογή]σαντα, καθάπερ ὁ Καλλισθένης. ἔτι δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι Κατόνῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν συλληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' ἑτέρωθι.

668. Wormell (79) follows Müller in assigning this passage to the first book, based on the assumption that book one dealt with Aristotle's life, book two with his disciples. For a discussion of this passage in Didymus see Foucart, "Etude sur Didymos d'après un papyrus de Berlin," *Men. Inst. nat. de France* 38 (1909) 155-9, who also assigns the passage to Hermippus.

669. 6. 18 (T 15f Düring p. 274): καὶ ἡ κηδεία δὲ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη κ[αὶ] ὁ γραφεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ Παιὸν μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρετῇ δόξειεν ἄν, κοῦκ ἄν [ἐ]χοι φαύλως αὐτὸν ἀναγράφειν, διὰ τὸ μὴ πολλοῖς πρὸ χειρὸς εἶναι, ἔχοντα [οἷ]ς(τως).

extensively for his life of Aristotle, and again by Athenaeus XV 696a-697b (fr. 48). In the second passage the context is a discussion on musical theory. The Paean is quoted at length to prove that it was a skolion and not a paean. Hermippus is then expressly cited from the first book of his *περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους* for the additional detail that the poem composed by Alexinus the dialectician in honour of Craterus was also a paean.<sup>670</sup> Hermippus no doubt introduced the paean to Craterus for comparison, either to prove or more likely to refute the claim raised by Aristotle's prosecutor that the Hymn to Hermias was a paean.<sup>671</sup> In either case Hermippus quoted the hymn in his life of Aristotle, which is being excerpted here by Athenaeus.<sup>672</sup>

Now to return to Didymus. The close connection in his text (5. 64-6. 35) between the excerpt from Callisthenes' encomium and Aristotle's paean, and again in the following passage (6. 36-6. 49) between the epigram composed by Aristotle for the statue dedicated to Hermias at Delphi and Theocritus' parody of that epigram, quoted

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670. Athen. XV 696e: ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τίς τι κατιδεῖν ἐν τούτοις δύναται παιανικὸν ἰδίωμα, σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦντος τοῦ γεγραφότος τετελευτηκέναι τὸν Ἑρμείαν δι' ὧν εἴρηκεν "σῶς γὰρ φιλίου μορφῶς Ἀταρνέος ἔντροφος ἡελίου χήρωσεν αὐγὰς." οὐκ ἔχει δ' οὐδὲ τὸ παιανικὸν ἐπίρρημα, καθάπερ ὁ εἰς Λύσανδρον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην γραφεὶς ὄντως παιάν, ὃν φησι Δοῦρις ἐν τοῖς Σαμίων ἐπιγγραφομένοις "Ὁροις ᾔδεσθαι ἐν Σάμῳ. παιάν δ' ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ εἰς Κρατερόν τὸν Μακεδόνα γραφεὶς, ὃν ἐτεκτήνατο Ἀλεξίνος ὁ διαλεκτικός, φησὶν Ἑρμιππος ὁ Καλλιμάχειος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους.

671. Athen. 696a: Τούτων λεχθέντων ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη "ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολυμαθεστάτου γράφειν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς Ἑρμείαν τὸν Ἀταρνέα οὐ παιάν ἐστιν, ὥς ὁ τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας κατὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου γραφὴν ἀπενεγκάμενος Δημόφιλος εἰς αἰδωτε παρασκευασθεὶς ὑπ' Εὐρυμέδοντος, ὥς ἀσεβοῦντος καὶ ᾔδοντος ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις ὁσμέροι εἰς τὸν Ἑρμείαν παιᾶνα. ὅτι δὲ παιᾶνος οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν παρέχει τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ τῶν σκολίων ἐν τι καὶ αὐτὸ εἰδὸς ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς λέξεως φανερόν ὑμῖν ποιήσω κτλ.

672. Kaibel notes in the apparatus criticus of the Teubner *Athenaeus* III 542 that "Hermippi sunt omnia inde a c. 51." He is followed by Wilamowitz (*Arist. u. Athen.* II 403), who agrees that the passage in Athenaeus including the quotation of Aristotle's hymn was derived from Hermippus, albeit through the intermediary of a treatise on musical theory. He adds that the text of the hymn also quoted by Diogenes ultimately comes from Hermippus. See also Wormell (above, n. 665) 79-80.

from Bryon, point to an extract from a single source, which was likely Hermippus.<sup>673</sup> From Athenaeus we know that the biographer quoted Aristotle's Paeon honouring Hermias. The reference to the obscure *περὶ Θεοκρίτου* of Bryon suits the erudition of a Callimachean rather than of a mere compiler such as Didymus.<sup>674</sup> The evidence would seem to indicate that Hermippus cited both the epigram dedicated by Aristotle to the tyrant and Theocritus' epigrammatic parody, found in Bryon's *περὶ Θεοκρίτου*.<sup>675</sup>

Didymus concludes his discourse on Hermias with reference to Anaximenes' *περὶ Φίλιππον*.<sup>676</sup> To this must be compared what Didymus says later about Anaximenes with reference to the *πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Φιλίππου*.<sup>677</sup> It is clear from the latter comment that Didymus got his information about Anaximenes second hand. Hermippus was known to have done research on the rhetorician from Lampsacus; in

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673. Wormell (above, n. 665) 79. Cf. Düring 59, 61, 275.

674. On the general character of the scholarship of Didymus, who merely excerpted and compiled previous commentaries, see Pfeiffer 274–77. As Pfeiffer notes, his strength lay in the verbatim excerpts and his weakness in his own comments. Cf. Diels (above, n. 100) xxx–xxii.

675. Both the hymn (V 7–8) and the two epigrams, the one by Aristotle (V 6) and the other by Theocritus (V 11) are preserved in Diogenes. Like Didymus, he knows of the Theocritan epigram only by way of Bryon's *περὶ Θεοκρίτου*, which he found cited in his source precisely for Theocritus' poem. Both Didymus and Diogenes must have used a common source, and the evidence overwhelmingly points to Hermippus. In Diogenes Aristotle's dedicatory epigram is introduced in the context of the charge of impiety raised against Aristotle by Eurymedon. Diogenes also notes (V 5–6) that the hymn together with this inscription formed the basis of Eurymedon's charge. Athenaeus (XV 696a), who names Hermippus as his source (696f), also quotes the paeon in the context of the indictment brought against Aristotle by Eurymedon. Hermippus may also have quoted from Aristotle's ἡ Ἀπολογία τῆς ἀσεβείας, in which the philosopher referred to the statue dedicated to Hermias at Delphi (697a). Thus in book one of *περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους*, from which Athenaeus cites, in the context of Aristotle's trial Hermippus introduced and quoted the paeon and epigram composed by the philosopher in Hermias' honour.

676. 6. 59: δόξε[ειε] δ' ὅν ἐν[τύπως τὸ] περὶ αὐτὸν διατεθει[έν]αι Ἀναξίμενης ἐν τῇ ἔκτῃ κ[αὶ] τῇ Περὶ Φίλιππον ἱστορίῳ, οὗ τὴν ἐκλογὴν παρίημι. αὐτὸ γὰρ ὄφελος.

677. 11. 7: ὑποτοπήσειε δ' ὅτι τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ συμπεφορῆσθαι τὸ λογίδιον ἐκ τινων Δημοσθένους πραγματικῶν ἐπισυντεθέν. καὶ (εἰσὶν) οἱ φασιν Ἀναξίμε(έν)ους (εἶναι) τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τὴν συμβουλὴν τὴν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, ἣν ὀλίγου δεῖν γράμματα αὐτοῖς ἐντελέχθαι.

fact he attributed to him Euthias' speech against Phryne.<sup>678</sup> This can be compared with Didymus' remark that Anaximenes was the author of the 11th *Philippic*. Hermippus is therefore probably the unspecified source in the second notice, and the source of the reference to Anaximenes at the end of the Hermias episode.

Thus the evidence suggests overwhelmingly that the whole of that episode came from Hermippus.<sup>679</sup> If this is the case, the Didymus passage gives a good indication of the general character of a Hermippan biography. In some episodes Hermippus provided vivid and detailed accounts, which included not only careful citation of his sources, but at times lengthy quotations, with the intent of illustrating variations or emphasizing contradictions in the tradition, even to the point of challenging the prevailing tradition.<sup>680</sup> This last point is made clear by Didymus' statement concerning the conflicting tradition on Hermias' death. Didymus was in fact summarizing Hermippus' own discussion on this matter, in which the biographer advanced his own view against that of Theopompus and Callisthenes.<sup>681</sup>

The careful citation of his sources, the inclusion of variations to the vulgata,

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678. Harpocr. Εὐθείας: ...τὸν μέντοι λόγον αὐτῷ τὸν κατὰ Φρύνης Ἀναξιμένην πεποιημένον φησὶν Ἑρμιππος.

679. Wormell, (above, n. 665) 81–2, gives three arguments for attributing the whole thing to Hermippus: 1) the general character of the writing with its tendency to anecdote and the accumulation of pedantic learning; 2) the unity of the passage with its balanced quotations suggest a critical mind which Didymus did not possess; 3) the sentence describing the conflicting traditions concerning Hermias' death supports the attribution of the whole episode to Hermippus and represents a summary of his discussion on that matter.

680. Wehrli, Suppl. I 103, notes that Hermippus' works would have abounded in such contradictions, since as a Callimachean he was careful to bring to light an unheard of tradition. But as he himself notes, next to the obscure source names are found well-known ones, which clearly show that Hermippus simply did not fill up his biographies with just rare notices. At times he could be expected to provide the vulgata, and as Wehrli (106) confirms, Hermippus was repeatedly named as a representative of it.

681. Wormell 81–2

the detail into which he went in certain episodes not only mark Hermippus out as a Callimachean, but also confirm the ancient testimonia of him as a careful and diligent biographer. In particular it confirms the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus; when faced with an incomplete κοινὴ ἱστορία of Isaeus, he turned to Hermippus fully expecting to find full details on that orator's βίος. For the common history of certain illustrious figures of the past Hermippus proved an important source. In the case of certain orators his work on the students of Isocrates was of fundamental importance in this respect.

#### On the Isocrateans

The collection of βίοι on the students of Isocrates (fr, 64-79), the Περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν, contained at least three books. It was arranged as a διαδοχή, a succession of teacher-pupils, after the pattern of philosophical schools.<sup>682</sup> The practice was widespread both in and outside the Peripatos. Phaenias seems to have been the first to compose a *diadochē* of a philosophical school with his περὶ Σωκρατικῶν.<sup>683</sup> He was followed by Idomeneus of Lampsacus who composed a work of the same title, and by Philodemus the Epicurean with his περὶ Στοικῶν. Here Hermippus was undoubtedly indebted to the Peripatetics for the literary convention of the *diadochē* and composed a number of works of this kind, on Pythagoras and his

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682. Reed, *Theopompus of Chios: History and Oratory in the Fourth Century*. Diss. (Berkeley 1976) 42.

683. Wehrli IX 38



students, on the Megarians, on the Peripatetics, or the students of Plato.<sup>684</sup> In like fashion he conceived of a school of Isocrates, who like his counterparts among the philosophers is said to have composed his own τεχναί.<sup>685</sup> The arrangement of a διαδοχή is apparent from fr. 69 where a second generation of Isocrateans is imagined. Isaeus, who studied under Isocrates, is said to be Demosthenes' teacher.<sup>686</sup> The same can be presumed of fr. 76, when Archias is made the student of Lacritus, the rhetorician.<sup>687</sup> The latter is named in other sources as Isocrates' student.<sup>688</sup>

The students were not only orators. Besides Isaeus, Demosthenes, Hypereides and Aeschines, the fragments refer to Lacritus, the rhetorician, Archias the tragic actor (fr. 76), Theodectes of Phaselis, a writer of tragedy (fr. 77)<sup>689</sup> and Theocritus of

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684. On grouping into genealogical orders based upon similarity of style or subject matter see Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Traditions and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1989) 177. On the various ways biographers stereotyped literary history see Fairweather (above, n. 545) 256–66.

685. fr. 71

686. D.H. *Is.* 1: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράφας Ἑρμιππος, ἀκριβῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν ἔξω дуεῖν τούτων, ὅτι διήκουσε μὲν Ἰσοκράτους καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους.

687. Plut. *Dem.* 28. 3: Ἑρμιππος δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθηταῖς ἀναγράφει.

688. Ps.–Pl. 837e; Phot. *Bibl.* 260 487a 3; *POxy* 3543; Ps.–Dem. XXXV 15. See Blass III (1893) 562–8. Theocritus of Chios may also have been presented as second generation Isocratean. He was treated by Hermippus (fr. 78: Athen. I 21 c), and the *Suda* (Θεόκριτος 166) makes him the student of Metrodorus the Isocratean: Θεόκριτος Χίος ῥήτωρ, μαθητὴς Μητροδώρου τοῦ Ἰσοκρατικοῦ.

689. Theodectes of Phaselis, along with Naucrates of Erythrae and Isocrates, were regarded by Theopompus as the preeminent rhetors of their time (Phot. cod. 120b 35). All four competed at the funeral of Mausolus, at which Theodectes was victorious with a tragedy (*Suda* Θεοδέκτης; Gell. *NA* X 18), but lost to Theopompus with his epitaphios (*Suda*). He was a logographer and teacher (Phot. cod. 120b 35), and according to the *Suda* a rhetor and student of Isocrates who later turned to composing tragedies, credited with 50 tragedies, τεχναὶ ῥητορικαὶ and λόγοι ῥητορικοί, either in prose (Steph. Byz. Φάσηλις: ἐποίησε τραγωδίας ν' καὶ ῥητορικὰς τέχνας καὶ λόγους ῥητορικοὺς ἐπὶ ὧν καὶ) or in meter (*Suda*: ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικὴν ἐμ μέτρῳ καὶ ἄλλα καταλογάδην); cf. Cic. *Orat.* 172; D.H. *Is.* 19; *ad Amm.* I 2; Ps.–Pl. 837c; *Anony. Vita* 257. 95; Athen. X 551e; Val. Max. VIII 14. 3.

Chios, another rhetorician (fr. 78).<sup>690</sup> The sources of the notices on Lacritus and Theocritus do not mention specifically that the two were included by Hermippus in his collection of biographies on the Isocrateans, but such is assumed from the fact that they are named as students of Isocrates in later sources. Hermippus no doubt included other famous literary figures, whom he considered in some sense Isocratean. Repeatedly in the later sources the historians Theopompus and Ephorus are linked together as students of the orator,<sup>691</sup> even at times being assigned their respective literary tasks by Isocrates.<sup>692</sup> There were undoubtedly others as well, like the historians Androtion<sup>693</sup> and Philiscus,<sup>694</sup> and perhaps even the orator Lycurgus.<sup>695</sup>

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690. Theocritus of Chios is called rhetor and student of Isocrates by the Suda (Θεόκριτος 166), which attributes to him *χρείαι, ἱστορία Λιβύης* and *ἐπιστολαὶ θαυμασταίαι*.

691. Ps.-Pl. 837c; Zos. 256. 92; POxy 3543; Cic. *De Or.* II 94; D.H. *Is.* 19; Philostr. *VS* I 17. 506.

692. Phot. cod. 260 486b; Ps.-Pl. 839a; Cic. *De Or.* II 57. Cf Lacqueur, "Theopompos," *RE* 5A 2 (1934) 2188, who sees the *Epitome of Herodotus* as an exercise in dialect set by Isocrates.

693. Zos. 257. 96; POxy 3543.

694. Philiscus of Melesia, a flute player turned rhetorician, wrote a *Μιλησιακός, Ἀμφικτυονικός, τέχνη ῥητορική* in 2 books and *Ἰσοκράτους ἀπόφασις* (Suda 360 Φιλίσκος). A *βίος* of the orator Lycurgus is attributed to him (Olympiodorus ad *Gorgias* 515d) and an epigram in honour of Lysias (Ps.-Pl. 836c). He is named a student of Isocrates in several sources: POxy 3543, D.H. *Is.* 19; *ad Amm.* I 2; Ps.-Pl. 836c; Suda Φιλίσκος 360; Cic. *De Or.* II 94; *Anony. Vita* 257. 95.

695. Zos. 256. 93; POxy 3543 (?); Cic. *De Or.* II 94; Ps.-Pl. 841b.

Several other 4th century rhetoricians are named as Isocrateans in later sources: Naucrates of Erythrae delivered speeches throughout the Greek world from which he earned his reputation as one of the most prominent rhetors of his day (Blass II [1892] 448) and an invitation to compete at the funeral of Mausolus (Suda Θεοδέκτης; Ἰσοκράτης). He seems to have written a *τεχνή* (Cic. *De Or.* III 173), in which he treated rhythm. He is said to have composed epitaphioi in the manner of Thucydides and Plato (Ps.-Dion. *τέχνη ῥητορική* VI 1); cf. Cic. *De Or.* II 94; *Orat.* 172; D.H. *Is.* 19; Quint. III 6. 3; Plut. *Cim.* 19. Isocrates of Apollonia, according to the Suda (Ἰσοκράτης Ἀμύκλα), was the Isocrates who competed at Mausolus' funeral with Theopompus and the others. Besides the *ἐπιτάφιος Μουσώλου* the Suda attributes to him five other epideictic speeches: *Ἀμφικτυονικός, προτρεπτικός, περὶ τοῦ τάφου μὴ ποιῆσαι Φιλίππου, περὶ τοῦ μετοικισθῆναι, περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πολιτείας*. Cephisodorus of Athens is named a student of Isocrates in several places (D.H. *Isoc.* 18; *Is.* 19; cf. Athen. II 60d). He is known to have composed in 4 books an *ἀπολογία Ἰσοκράτους* entitled *πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην* (D.H. *Isoc.* 18; Athen. II 60d; III 122b) and perhaps *τεχνικοὶ λόγοι* (D.H. *ad Amm.* I 2). He may also have been the historian who composed a history of the sacred war in 12 books. So Blass II (1892) 453; but see Jacoby *FGrH* 112

All the pupils mentioned by Hermippus or named in later sources as Isocrateans are literary figures, that is to say they left behind some form of written work, whether as orators, historians or poets. There is no indication that any of the actual students named by Isocrates himself, who were primarily private individuals or political figures were ever treated by Hermippus.<sup>696</sup> What Hermippus has presented is not an actual school of Isocrates but an attempt at reconstructing a literary history of fourth-century prose writing around the person of Isocrates.<sup>697</sup> Isocrates himself had claimed that he had taken in students from all over the Greek world, from Sicily, Pontus and other foreign places.<sup>698</sup> This allowed scope in recreating a history of the school of Isocrates. Among such a large unknown following could be included any number of famous men. In the biographical tradition it is even claimed that Isocrates had upwards of 100 students,<sup>699</sup> and scholars as distinguished as Dionysius of Halicarnassus could accept this as true and claim that Isocrates became the teacher of the most eminent men of Athens and the rest of Greece.<sup>700</sup> But for rhetoricians and biographers alike this meant only literary figures, since, as Dionysius notes, his school came to represent Athens to all the literary world abroad (κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας τῶν

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696. Reed (above, n. 682) 40–1. In *Antidosis* 93–4 Eunomus, Lysitheides, Callippus, Onetor, Anticles Philonides, Philomelus, Charmantides are named; Diodotus in *Epistle* IV. Although Timotheus is never called his student by Isocrates (*Antidosis* 101; *Epistle* VIII), he is so in Ps.–Demosthenes *Eroticus* 46 and again in Ps.–Plutarch 837c, where, however, he is set apart from the list of literary students, which goes back to Hermippus.

697. Reed (above, n. 682) 40. See also pages 11–13 (cf. 134 n. 14) where she notes that by the 1st century B.C., for literary critics like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 4th century history writing meant an Isocratean rubric.

698. *Antidosis* 224; cf. *Epistle* IV. 2

699. Ps.–Pl. 837c; *POxy* 3543.

700. D.H. *Isoc.* 1

λόγων).

In any reconstruction of the literary history of prose writing of the 4th century the orators would naturally figure prominently. With the names of Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hypereides and Lycurgus we have the beginnings of the canon of ten Attic orators. In fact almost all the students of Isocrates, either named in the fragments of Hermippus or in the later biographical tradition, are called ῥήτορες, whether they were among the ten orators or not,<sup>701</sup> or are said to have written some form of work on rhetoric or epideictic speeches.<sup>702</sup> In the sources a distinction is clearly drawn between those students of Isocrates who were forensic orators and those who were epideictic orators, that is between those who appeared in the political arena and those who simply wrote prose, whether epideictic speeches, technical manuals or even history.<sup>703</sup> This distinction perhaps was ultimately derived from Isocrates himself.

In his letter to Antipater (IV), in which he recommends his student Diodotus, Isocrates describes the character of his students. He places them into one of three

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701. Theodectes (Suda); Naucrates (Plut. *Cim.* 19; Cic. *Orat.* 172); Lacritus (Plut. *Dem.* 28); Isocrates of Apollonia (Suda); Theocritus of Chios (Suda); Theopompus (Suda); Ephorus (Cic. *De Or.* II 94; *Orat.* 172); Philiscus (Suda)

702. These include Theodectes, Isocrates of Apollonia, Cephisodorus, Philiscus, Naucrates. See above, n. 689–90, 694–5.

703. In ancient literary criticism history was considered a branch of rhetoric (Cic. *De Or.* II 62; Sext. Emp. *Adv. gramm.* 268; Marcellinus *Vita Thuc.* 41) and in particular a form of epideictic oratory, which may partly explain why so many fourth century historians came to be regarded as Isocrateans. Early in his essay on Thucydides (*Thuc.* 2) Dionysius of Halicarnassus notes that the most distinguished philosophers and rhetoricians regarded him as a model historian and the standard of excellence in deliberative oratory (τῆς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους δεινότητος ὄρον). This essay represents a good example of the approach which a rhetorician would take to history. On the influence of rhetoric on the speeches found in history see Diodorus Siculus' complaint (20. 1–20) and Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley: 1983) 147–52.

categories: some are distinguished for eloquence alone, others for their intelligence in practical affairs and still others are devoid of any natural ability for things practical.<sup>704</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus articulates the same distinctions: among the most eminent men of Athens and Greece who were the students of Isocrates are found the best forensic orators, those distinguished in politics and public life, and others who wrote history.<sup>705</sup> But a political figure of any worth, particularly at Athens, needed to be an able speaker both within and outside the courtroom. Consequently those who were of note in politics usually meant those who excelled in eloquence, and these two separate groups could easily be represented under the single category of forensic orators, that is the Athenian orators.

This left only Isocrates' final category, those who did not participate in practical affairs. They would be the historians, and other writers of epideictic oratory. So we find this very distinction in the sources. Dionysius divides a list of Isocrateans, which he gives in *ad Ammaeum* I 2, into τεχνικῶν συγγραφεῖς καὶ ἀγωνιστοὶ λόγων ῥητορικῶν. To the first group belong Theodectes, Philiscus and Cephisodorus, to the second Isaeus, Hypereides, Lycurgus and Aeschines. Cicero, who provides a similar list of Isocrateans in *De Oratore* II 94,<sup>706</sup> makes essentially the same distinction: from

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704. IV 2: ἐμοὶ γὰρ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν συγγεγενημένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ δόξας ἐνίων μεγάλας ἔχόντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάντων οἱ μὲν τινας περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ διανοηθῆναι καὶ προᾶξαι δεινοὶ γεγονόσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου σώφρονες καὶ χαρίεντες, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας χρήσεις καὶ διαγωγὰς ἀφυεῖς παντόπασιν.

705. *Isoc.* 1: ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων χρόνον καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Ἀθηνησίων τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι νέων παιδεύσας, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δικανικοῖς ἐγένετο ἄριστοι λόγοις, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν διήνεγκαν, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεις ἀνέγραψαν, καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἰκόνα ποιήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σχολὴν κατὰ τὰς ἀποικίας τῶν λόγων κτλ.

706. For text see above, n. 231.

the school of Isocrates, the master of all rhetors, arose those who were distinguished "in pompa" and those "in acie", that is in epideictic oratory and forensic oratory.<sup>707</sup> To the former class belong Theopompus, Ephorus, Philistus, Naucrates, to the latter Demosthenes, Hypereides, Lycurgus, Aeschines and Dinarchus. Zosimus makes essentially the same distinction, when in his list of students he singles out Theopompus and Ephorus, ὧν καὶ ἱστορίαι φέρονται, and Hypereides, Isaeus and Lycurgus, οἵτινες εἰσι τῶν ἐ' ῥητόρων τῶν κριθέντων τε καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένων.<sup>708</sup> It would seem then that in constructing a history of Attic prose of the 4th century Hermippus divided it into those Isocrateans who composed epideictic oratory of some kind, particularly history, and those who delivered orations. It was to this last group that the Athenian orators belonged, and from which we have the beginnings of a canon.

Since Hermippus had conceived of the history of 4th century prose writing in terms of a school of Isocrates, it was essential for him to establish the scholastic pedigree of the orators treated in his biographies. Often this meant he had to alter or refute existing traditions on the scholastic affiliation of these orators. In some cases he departed from earlier Peripatetic tradition that regarded them as students of Plato, either refuting outright that tradition, as in the case of Aeschines (fr. 79) or blending it seamlessly into his own account of the orator's earlier education, as in the case of Demosthenes (fr. 71-2), whereby the orator followed Plato for a time before taking up his study of rhetoric. In either case he is likely responsible for many of the notices

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707. See Reed, (above, n. 682) 18–19, for the meaning of "in pompa" as epideictic and "in acie" as forensic.

708. Zos. 256. 91. For text see above, n. 232.

found in later sources, which often named the orators as students of both Plato and Isocrates.<sup>709</sup>

This concern with establishing the scholastic pedigree of the orator can best be illustrated in the case of Isaeus and Demosthenes. The evidence indicates that Hermippus included few details on Isaeus, perhaps only by way of introducing his biography of Demosthenes. Two fragments, with essentially the same content, deal with Isaeus.<sup>710</sup> Dionysius informs his reader that Hermippus provided him with two details on this orator's life, that he was a student of Isocrates and a teacher of Demosthenes. This incomplete treatment, which seems intended simply to explain the connection between Isocrates and Demosthenes, at once suggests that Hermippus mentioned him only in the context of his biography of Demosthenes. The few details that he did give, according to Harpocration, were to be found in the second book of *Περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν*, which must be where the βίος of Demosthenes was also placed.

Isaeus was brought in to establish a link between Isocrates and Demosthenes. The latter became in a sense a second generation Isocratean. But Isaeus' association with Isocrates was not necessarily the only tradition. As we have argued in Chapter 1, the manner in which Ps.-Plutarch singles out Isaeus and Hypereides (ὥς δέ τινές φασι καὶ Ὑπερίδης καὶ Ἰσαῖος) from the other Isocrateans listed at 837d suggests that

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709. Demosthenes (Ps.-Pl. 844b); Aeschines (840b); Hypereides and Lycurgus (841b; Suda 309. 14)

710. Fr. 69: D.H. *Is.* 1: οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράψας Ἑρμιππος, ἀκριβῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦδε ρήτορος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν ἔξω δυνεῖν τοῦτων, ὅτι διήκουσε μὲν Ἰσοκράτους, καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους. Fr. 70: Harpocr.: Ἰσαῖος. For text of Harpocration see below, n. 728.

Hermippus was the first and perhaps the only author to identify them as such, and that his view was not always readily accepted as part of the common history by later scholars.<sup>711</sup> There are indications that Isaeus was at times associated with Lysias. Although the text at 839e is corrupt, Ps.-Plutarch seems to suggest that Isaeus had studied under Lysias<sup>712</sup> and notes the stylistic similarities between the two orators.<sup>713</sup> The stylistic evaluation is essentially that given by Dionysius in *Isaeus* 2, where he too cautions that, unless a person is familiar with the two orators, he would find it difficult to distinguish their speeches from one another.<sup>714</sup>

As to the passage in Ps.-Plutarch, critics<sup>715</sup> have suspected a lacuna after σχολάσας, into which they have inserted the names Isocrates and Hermippus, and have assumed that what was read there was that Isaeus studied under Isocrates but imitated the style of Lysias. If indeed, as is generally acknowledged, Caecilius was responsible for the stylistic comments in Ps.-Plutarch, taking his cue from Dionysius he noted the stylistic similarities between Isaeus and Lysias and on that basis inferred

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711. See Wehrli Suppl. I 86 and our discussion above, pp. 76–7. Ps.-Plutarch indicates elsewhere (844b), however, that his view did eventually become canonical: (Δεμοσθένης) σχολάζων Ἰσοκράτει ὥς τινες ἔφασιν, ὥς δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι Ἰσαίῳ τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ, ὃς ἦν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής, διάγοντι ἐν Ἀθήναις κτλ.

712. Wehrli Suppl. I 86.

713. *Is.* 839e: Ἰσαῖος Χαλκιδεὺς μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ σχολάσας μὲν Ἰσοκράτει ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος μάλιστα δ' ἠκολούθει† Λυσίου κατὰ τε τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἁρμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι δεινότητα, ὥστ' εἰ μὴ τις ἔμπειρος πάνυ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴη, οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίη πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων ῥαδίως ὁποτέρου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰσίν.

† Mau following Bernardakis and Dübner.

714. D.H. *Is.* 2 (94. 6): χαρακτῆρα δὲ τὸν Λυσίου κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐξήλωσε καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἔμπειρος πάνυ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴη καὶ τριβὰς ἀξιολόγους ἀμφοῖν ἔχων, οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίη ῥαδίως πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων, ὁποτέρου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰσίν κτλ.

715. Mau, Bernardakis, Dübner, Westermann.



a student-pupil relation between the two orators. This seems confirmed by Photius' adaptation of the notice, which he derived either directly from Ps.-Plutarch or from a common archetype.<sup>716</sup> As in the case of Aeschines, where the scholiast notes Hermippus' and Caecilius' common disagreement with Demetrius of Phalerum over Aeschines' Platonic education,<sup>717</sup> Caecilius probably also found in Hermippus a similar note of disagreement with an earlier source over the scholastic affiliation of Isaeus.

On the presumed association between Demosthenes and Isaeus, the evidence is clear that a tradition existed before Hermippus on which he could have drawn. In chapter 4 of his essay on Isaeus Dionysius of Halicarnassus records a remark of Pytheas ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους κατηγορίᾳ to the effect that Demosthenes had consumed the whole of Isaeus and his τέχναι.<sup>718</sup> What Dionysius infers from Pytheas' charge (ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) is that Isaeus had a reputation as a clever speaker for deception and chicanery. That such a reputation was deserved seems confirmed by the fact that he was mentioned by contemporary comic poets.<sup>719</sup> This is the only inference to be drawn from Pytheas' remark; it need imply only that Demosthenes exhibited the same

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716. Cod. 263 490a 15: Λυσίου δὲ γέγονε μιμητής, οὗ καὶ μαθητὴς ἐχρημάτισε.

717. fr. 79 See above, n. 280 for text.

718. *Is.* 4 (96. 15): ἦν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ (Ἰσαίου) δόξα παρὰ τοῖς τότε γοητείας καὶ ἀπάτης, ὥς δεινὸς ἀνὴρ τεχνιτεῦσαι λόγους ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο διεβόλλετο. δημοῖ δὲ τοῦτο τῶν ἀρχαίων τις ῥητόρων ἐν τῇ Δημοσθένους κατηγορίᾳ Πυθέας, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πονηρίαν γὰρ τῷ Δημοσθένει καὶ κακίαν τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαν ἐνοικεῖν φήσας, κατὰ τὸδε τὸ μέρος οἶον εἰς διαβολὴν ἐπιτίθουσιν, ὅτι τὸν Ἰσαῖον ὅλον καὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων ἐκείνου τέχνας σεσίτισται.

This speech was delivered by Pytheas in 324 B.C. at the prosecution of Demosthenes for accepting bribes from Harpalus. He was chosen by the state along with Hypereides and others to lead the prosecution (Ps.-Pl. 846c).

719. Theopompus in his *Theseus* (Ps.-Pl. 839f). The poet was active from 410 to 370 and probably produced the *Theseus* after 390, by which time Isaeus had become a practicing logographer. The earliest date assigned to oration 5 is 390 (Jebb, *Attic Orators* [1875] ii 350) or 389 (Blass II [1892] 488).

kind of deception and chicanery for which Isaeus was famous in his day.<sup>720</sup> But it was the type of literary material which could be produced as evidence of a teacher-student relationship between the two orators. Who better could imitate Isaeus' *technē* than his student? Dionysius seems to imply that he actually consulted the speech himself, which must mean that the κατὰ Δημοσθένη of Pytheas was extant in the Hellenistic period and was available for Hermippus to consult in the Alexandrian library. But the point is that the literary evidence on which to infer such an association was meager indeed.

The presumed relationship with Isaeus suggested itself from another quarter. Evidence was forthcoming from the fact that as a logographer Isaeus was chiefly famous for inheritance cases. All the extant speeches are concerned directly or indirectly with such matters. Consequently Isaeus would be a natural candidate as the teacher of Demosthenes, who became embroiled in a dispute with his guardians over his own inheritance. To be sure, this was precisely the inference drawn by biographers. In a note on Demosthenes' education, Ps.-Plutarch informs us that Isaeus composed the speeches for the prosecution of the guardians.<sup>721</sup> The 10,000 drachmas which Isaeus is said to have charged Demosthenes is the fee that was regularly

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720. Hoffmann, *De Demosthene Isaei Discipulo* Diss. (Berlin 1872) 12–13, notes that the only thing to be inferred from Pytheas' words is that Demosthenes had read Isaeus' oration, learned his art and imitated him, not that he was his student and studied with him. He does not think that Hermippus had used or even read Pytheas' speech.

721. *Is.* 839f: κατηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους, ἀποστάς τῆς σχολῆς, ἐπὶ δραχμαῖς μυρίαῖς διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιφανὴς ἐγένετο. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτροπικοὺς λόγους συνέταττε τῷ Δημοσθένει, ὥς τινες εἶπον. Cf. Phot. cod. 263 490a 28: Ἀποστάς δέ ποτε τῆς σχολῆς ἐπὶ δραχμαῖς μυρίαῖς κατηγήσατο Δημοσθένους· διὸ καὶ μάλιστα γέγονεν ἐπιφανής. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτροπικοὺς λόγους Δημοσθένει συντάττειν.

demanded by Demosthenes' teachers.<sup>722</sup> It is better to regard this as a later accretion, for originally the tradition that Isaeus taught Demosthenes privately (ἀποστὰς τῆς σχολῆς), perhaps in Demosthenes' own home,<sup>723</sup> grew out of the belief that, as a poor orphan, Demosthenes could not afford the fee demanded by Isocrates. This is precisely the tradition preserved in Plutarch *Demosthenes* 5, which is essentially a large extract from Hermippus.<sup>724</sup> The chapter concludes with a direct reference to Hermippus, who is cited for certain anonymous memoirs, which recorded that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato, and again quoted for a certain Ctesibius, who noted that Demosthenes had secretly purchased from Callias of Syracuse the τέχναι of Isocrates and Alcidas. The chapter opens with a descriptive account of Callisthenes' brilliant defence in the Oropus matter, his success at which roused the eager and listening Demosthenes to forsake all other boyhood pursuits and to take up the study of rhetoric. Plutarch himself notes by way of preface that the story was introduced by his source (φασι) to explain the origin of Demosthenes' desire for rhetoric.<sup>725</sup> The same story was told by Hermippus, who also presented it as the

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722. The actor Neoptolemus was said to have charged Demosthenes this amount for breathing lessons (Ps.-Pl. 844f).

723. Ps.-Pl. *Dem.* 844c: εἶτα καὶ Ἰσαίον ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τετραετὴ χρόνον αὐτὸν διεπόνησε, μμούμενος αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους.

724. *Dem.* 5. 6: ἐχρήσατο δ' Ἰσαίῳ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὑφηγητῇ, καίπερ Ἰσοκράτους τότε σχολάζοντος, εἴθ' ὥς τινες λέγουσι τὸν ὠρισμένον μισθὸν Ἰσοκράτει τελέσαι μὴ δυνάμενος τὰς δέκα μνᾶς διὰ τὴν ὀρφανίαν, εἴτε μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἰσαίου τὸν λόγον ὡς δραστήριον καὶ πανοῦργον εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀποδεχόμενος. Ἑρμιππος δέ φησιν (fr. 71) ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένη συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτῳ καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὠφεληθῆναι. Κτησιβίου δὲ μένεται λέγοντος παρὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων τὰς Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδάμαντος κρύφα λαβόντα τὸν Δημοσθένη καταμαθεῖν; cf. Ps.-Pl. 844c.

725. *Dem.* 5. 1-3: Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁρμῆς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ φασι τοιαύτην γενέσθαι.

motivating factor behind Demosthenes' decision to study rhetoric.<sup>726</sup> It is within the context of the effect that Callistratus' oratory had on Demosthenes that Plutarch goes on to note that Demosthenes employed Isaeus, when he could not pay Isocrates. Also, the fact that Hermippus went out of his way to note how Demosthenes had secretly acquired Isocrates' τέχνη, suggests that he too described how Demosthenes was unable to afford a formal education. In all likelihood Hermippus, who is named as a source at the end of chapter 5, is behind the Callistratus anecdote and this notice on Isaeus.

Confirmation is forthcoming from the Suda.<sup>727</sup> The article on Isaeus repeats almost verbatim what is found in Harpocration, who, with the exception of the Chalcidian origin of the orator, attributes everything to the testimony of Hermippus.<sup>728</sup> The articles in Harpocration and the Suda were derived from a common source that was largely based on what Hermippus had to say about Isaeus, perhaps the κοινὴ ἱστορία.<sup>729</sup> The Suda, however, adds one important detail over Harpocration, namely that Isaeus was famous both as an orator and as the one who advanced Demosthenes ἀμισθί. Since all the other details of his notice, except for the Chalcidian origin, were derived from Hermippus, one would not go wrong in attributing to the same

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726. Fr. 72: Gellius NA III 13

727. Suda Ἰσαῖος. εἷς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἰ' ῥητόρων, μαθητὴς δ' Ἰσοκράτους, διδάσκαλος δὲ Δημοσθένους, Ἀθηναῖος τὸ γένος· Δημήτριος δὲ Χαλκιδέα φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι. οὗτος ἐπαινεῖται καὶ ὡς ῥήτωρ καὶ ὡς Δημοσθένην ἀμισθὶ προαγαγών.

728. Harpocr. (fr. 70): εἷς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἰ' ῥητόρων οὗτος, μαθητὴς δὲ Ἰσοκράτους, διδάσκαλος δὲ Δημοσθένους, Ἀθηναῖος τὸ γένος, καθά φησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐν β' περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν. Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν Χαλκιδέα φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

729. One need only compare the opening notice of Dionysius' *Isaeus*, which itself was drawn from the common history: Ἰσαῖος δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένους καθηγησάμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γενόμενος περιφανής, ὡς μὲν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν, Ἀθηναῖος ἦν τὸ γένος, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσι, Χαλκιδεύς. See above, pp. 38–9.

biographer the tradition that Demosthenes employed without pay the orator Isaeus.

On certain points, then, the evidence is clear: Hermippus had made Isaeus a student of Isocrates; he had also considered him the teacher of Demosthenes. An affiliation with Isaeus readily suggested itself from the fact that, as a logographer, Isaeus seems to have excelled in inheritance cases, a fact that was particularly relevant, since Demosthenes himself had once become involved in such a dispute with his guardians. The tradition that as a poor orphan Demosthenes could not afford Isocrates, but had to turn to the free services of Isaeus, who assisted him in the prosecution of the guardians, was likely Hermippus' own creation. This is consistently how the tradition presents itself in the later biographies of Libanius,<sup>730</sup> of Zosimus<sup>731</sup> and again in the Anonymous vita.<sup>732</sup> In all three lives Isaeus' tutelage of Demosthenes

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730. Lib. 294. 37: λέγεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν πολλὴν καὶ σφοδρὰν ἐπὶ λόγους ὀρμὴν ἐντεῦθεν σχεῖν. Καλλίστρατος... ἀκούσας δ' οὕτω διετέθη, ὥστ' ἅπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας πάντα πάρεργα πρὸς τοὺς λόγους θέσθαι. διδασκάλῳ δὲ χρησόμενος Ἰσαίῳ μάλα δεινῶ ῥήτορι, εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφεῖς εὐθὺς ἀγῶνα κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐνεστήσατο κακῶς διωκηκότων τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶλε μὲν αὐτούς, οὐ μὴν ἡδυνήθη πάντα ἀπολαβεῖν ὅσα ἀπολωλέκει. τοὺς δὲ λόγους τοὺς ἐπιτροπικοὺς εἰσὶν οἳ φασιν Ἰσαίου καὶ οὐ Δημοσθένους εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀπιστοῦντες (ιη' γὰρ ἔτων ἦν, ὅτε πρὸς τούτους ἡγωνίζετο) καὶ οἳ δοκοῦσιν οἳ λόγοι τὸ τοῦ Ἰσαίου πῶς ἐπιφαίνειν εἶδος. ἕτεροι δὲ νομίζουσι συντετάχθαι μὲν ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, διαρθρωθῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσαίου.

731. Zos. 298. 39: ῥητορικῶν δ' ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούειν Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ῥητορεύοντός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντος Ἰσαίῳ ἐφοίτα, ἐνὶ τῶν ι' ῥητόρων τῶν κριθέντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν λέγεται μμήσασθαι, ὥστ' αὐτοῦ νομίζεσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων λόγους ὀρθίως γὰρ ἦν ἐξελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς.

732. Anon. Vita 303. 27: πολλὴν δ' οὗτοι (ἐπιτρόποι) παραλαβόντες οὐσίαν, δέον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ποιῆσαι πλείονα καὶ τηρῆσαι τὸν ὀρφανὸν πλούσιον, οὐ μόνον διήρπασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους παιδείας ἡμέλησαν, οὐδένα λόγον δώσειν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἐὰν τὸν ἀδικούμενον τηρήσωσιν ἀπαίδευτον. ἦν δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ παῖς ὑπὸ τῆς προνοίας τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτροπεύμενος, οἳ παρέσχον αὐτῷ ἐπιθυμίαν παιδείας λόγου ... τῆς τε γὰρ ἐγκυκλίου καλουμένης παιδείας μετέλαβε, τῷ τε μάλιστα κατὰ ῥητορικὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐπαινουμένῳ παρέδρευσεν Ἰσαίῳ, μαθητὴ μὲν Ἰσοκράτους ὄντι, κεκοσμηκότι δὲ τὴν σχολικὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐναγωνίῳ δεινότητι.

is connected with the dispute with the guardians; they diverge only on whether or not Isaeus wrote the speeches, a dispute already noted in Ps.-Plutarch 839f. In the βίοι of Libanius and Zosimus, the notice about Demosthenes' training at the hands of Isaeus is immediately preceded by an account of Callistratus' defence in the Oropus affair. Both authors note that this incident whetted Demosthenes' appetite for rhetoric.<sup>733</sup> Like Plutarch and Hermippus before them, they invested the story with the same motivating force and made it the transition into an account of the Demosthenes' association with Isaeus. The various versions are so consistent and the tradition so uniform that one must postulate a single source behind them all, that being Hermippus himself. The elements are there: he had told of the defence of Callistratus, made it the determining factor in Demosthenes' decision to study rhetoric, and he had also made Isaeus the teacher.

By making Isaeus the student of Isocrates and the teacher of Demosthenes Hermippus was thereby able to consider the latter an Isocratean, despite certain anonymous memoirs which he cited attesting to Demosthenes' association with Plato. Although the evidence is not quite as conclusive, there are indications that Hermippus had done the same with Aeschines. According to the scholiast, Demetrius of Phalerum had made Aeschines a pupil first of Socrates and later of Plato; his view was criticized by Caecilius, Idomeneus and Hermippus, who maintained that the orator

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733. Lib. 294. 37: λέγεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν πολλὴν καὶ σφοδρὰν ἐπὶ λόγους ὁρμὴν ἐντεῦθεν σχεῖν. Zos. 298. 39: ῥητορικῶν δ' ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούειν Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος.

had not listened to these two philosophers for his education.<sup>734</sup> The scholiast goes on to say that their arguments were based on the fact that Aeschines preserved nothing of the character of Plato. The notice in the scholia is, however, somewhat confused; some manuscripts give φησί and not φασί, which would indicate that the stylistic comment did not belong to all three authors. Scholars are divided on whether to regard Hermippus or Caecilius as the source of this stylistic evaluation.<sup>735</sup> Obviously Caecilius was using Hermippus and must have found in his biography some statement of disagreement with Demetrius, to which he may have added stylistic comments of his own as corroboratory evidence.<sup>736</sup>

Most scholars<sup>737</sup> think that the name Socrates in the text of the scholium is a corruption of Isocrates, primarily because he was usually named with Plato as the teacher of Aeschines.<sup>738</sup> But it is not certain that this is a valid argument. It seems unlikely that Demetrius would have referred to Isocrates as a philosopher or have linked him with Plato, particularly when he was known to have been highly critical of that orator.<sup>739</sup> In at least one late biography, that attributed to Apollonius, the

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734. fr 79: schol. ad Aeschines ii p. 6 Schultz: ὅτι μαθητὴς ἐγένετο (Αἰσχίνης), ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς φησι, Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου, εἴθ' ὕστερον Πλάτωνος, ὡς δὲ Κοικίλιος καὶ Ἰσομενεὺς καὶ Ἑρμιππος ἱστοροῦσιν, οὐκ ἤκουσε τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαθήσεως χάριν. φασι <φησι>† γὰρ ὡς ὅτι οὐδὲν τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ σώζει κτλ.

† See above, n. 280 for notes on the text.

735. See above, n. 280.

736. See above, p. 92.

737. Schaefer I 255 n. 1; Blass III 2 (1880) 132 n. 1; Drerup 101 n. 1; Wehrli Suppl. I 90; Jacoby *FGrH* IIIB 338 89; Kinstrand (above, n. 281) 69–70; cf. above, n. 283.

738. Philostr. *VS* i 18 509; Ps.–Pl. 840b. Jacoby believes that Socrates stems from a confusion with Aeschines Socraticus.

739. Fr. 169: Phld. I 198. 9. See above, n. 290 for text.

corrupt tradition, as we find it in the scholiast, has been preserved.<sup>740</sup> Even if we accept the standard view, it is not entirely certain that Hermippus or Caecilius rejected an Isocratean affiliation out of hand. As far as can be gathered from the scholium, their criticism was specifically directed at the supposed relationship with Plato, which was perhaps all that Demetrius had noted. This may have been the only point of contention between Demetrius of Phalerum, on the one hand, and Caecilius, Idomeneus and Hermippus, on the other. This may mean that Hermippus and Caecilius accepted in some sense the Isocratean affiliation of the orator.

There was the tradition that Aeschines was self-taught.<sup>741</sup> This would certainly fit the stylistic critique recorded by the scholiast that Aeschines' form of speech was ἄτεχνος, having something εὐφυὲς καὶ εὐάγωγον about it, such as happens to someone ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἀφανοῦς. But it was not beyond ancient critics to admit that an orator who owed much of his skill to natural talent could still study under certain teachers. This much is conceded of Aeschines by Philostratus in a notice which he may have drawn from Ps.-Plutarch or a common source.<sup>742</sup> Caecilius did the same, when he noted that Aeschines was the student of Leodamas. We know of this from

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740. *Aesch. Vita* 266. 33: φασι μέντοι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἀκουστὴν γενέσθαι Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Σωκράτους ψευδομένοι.

741. Ps.-Pl. *Aesch.* 840f: οἱ δ' εἶπον μηδὲ μαθητεῦσαί τισι τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραμματείας ἀρθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τότε διάγοντα. This is obviously a guess from Demosthenes.

742. *VS* I 18 509: ἀκροατῆς δὲ Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Ἰσοκράτους γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἡγάγετο. See above, pp. 1–2 & n. 5–6; p. 76 n. 245.



Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>743</sup> According to Ps.-Plutarch, there were two traditions.<sup>744</sup> One went back to Demetrius of Phalerum, if we accept the *communis opinio*, and identified Aeschines' teachers as Isocrates and Plato. The other named Leodamas, and went back to Caecilius.<sup>745</sup> But since the latter had followed Hermippus in rejecting the Demetrian tradition, he possibly also followed him here in associating Aeschines with Leodamas. We do know that Leodamas appears in the later tradition, as it is preserved in Ps.-Plutarch (837d) and possibly *POxy* 3543, as a student of Isocrates, and what we suspect is again an attempt by Hermippus to create a second generation, just as he had done when he made Demosthenes the student of Isaeus.<sup>746</sup> In the case of Aeschines Hermippus cited Demetrius of Phalerum for the fact that the orator studied under Plato, which he rejected in favour of an Isocratean affiliation, but only by

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743. Ps.-Pl. *Aesch.* 840b: ἄκροατῆς δὲ γενόμενος ὥς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος ὥς δὲ Κοικίλιος Λεωδόμωντος.

Phot. cod. 264 490b: Ἠκροάσατο δέ, οἱ μὲν φασιν Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος, Κοικίλιος δὲ Λεωδόμωντος λέγει. But cod. 61 20c: διακοῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀνταλκίδα (cod. d. Ἀλκιδόμωντι) φασι μαθητεῦσαι. In the last passage of Photius the text is obviously corrupted from Alcidas; cf. Suda Αἰσχίνης 347: μαθητῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ῥητορικὴν Ἀλκιδόμωντος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου.

744. Kindstrand, (above, n. 281) 74, follows Jacoby (*FGrH* 338 IIIB 89) in believing that there were only two traditions on the assumption that the name Alcidas found in the Suda is a corruption of Leodamas. But Usener (above, n. 653) 47 = *Kl. Schr.* 89, though he accepted only two traditions, believed, however, that the one which was derived from Idomeneus, Hermippus and Caecilius, named Alcidas. Cf. Kindstrand 74 n. 27.

745. The student-teacher relationship may have been inferred from the fact that Aeschines himself praised Leodamas highly, as a speaker no less capable than Demosthenes and much more to his taste (III 138 cf. Dem. XX 146). See Schaefer I 256 and Kindstrand 74.

746. If indeed the name Alcidas found in the Suda is a corruption of Leodamas, as Jacoby and Kindstrand suggest, the notice may conceal further confusion. What was originally said was not that Aeschines was an actual student of Leodamas (Alcidas) but that he studied his τεχνή (κατὰ τὴν ῥητορικὴν), just as Demosthenes is said by Hermippus to have purchased and studied the τεχνολογία of Isocrates and Alcidas (fr. 71: Plut. *Dem.* 5).

virtue of the fact that he had studied under Leodamas.<sup>747</sup>

## The Biographies of Isocrates, Hypereides and Demosthenes

### I. Demosthenes

At this point we are going to reconstruct three lives, those of Isocrates, Hypereides and Demosthenes. It is self-evident from the foregoing discussion that Hermippus was concerned with the education of his orators. This is certainly true of Demosthenes, with whose biography we begin. The point of departure must be the article in the Suda, which represents, if only in an extremely epitomized form, an extract from Hermippus.<sup>748</sup> He is cited explicitly as the source for the characterization of Demosthenes as ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής and for his nicknames. Despite Wehrli's objections,<sup>749</sup> it is best, as scholars generally do,<sup>750</sup> to regard the long

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747. Wehrli suggests that the notice preserved in the scholium perhaps came from an excursus in the βίος of Demosthenes, since the assessment given there precludes the possibility of Hermippus including a biography of Aeschines among the Isocrateans. But he has failed to note that the criticism of Hermippus and the others was directed specifically at the student relationship with Plato. Wehrli's argument in no way precludes the possibility that the biographer included a separate biography on Aeschines in his work on the Isocrateans.

748. Suda Δημοσθένης 454: Ἀθηναῖος, υἱὸς Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλεοβούλης, ῥήτωρ, τῶν δῆμων Παιανιεύς ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής, ὡς Ἑρμιππος ἱστορεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ αὐτός. ὅθεν καὶ νέος μὲν ὢν Βάταλος ἐκλήθη, ὡς καὶ γυναικείᾳ ἐσθῇτι πολλάκις χρησάμενος, Ἀργὰς δὲ μετὰ τὸ εἰς ἄνδρας τελέσαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄνομα ὄφεως. ἐπεθύμησε δὲ ῥητορικῆς, Καλλίστρατον θεασάμενος τὸν ῥήτορα ὑπὲρ Ὀρωπίων λέγοντα. διήκουσε δὲ Ἰσαίου τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητοῦ, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐχρήτο Ζωίλου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου σοφιστεύοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ Πολυκράτους καὶ Ἀλκιδάμαντος τοῦ Γοργίου μαθητοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μέντοι Ἰσοκράτους. συνεφιλολόγησε δὲ Αἰσίωφι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ τῷ Χίῳ φιλοσόφῳ. διηκροάστο δὲ καὶ Εὐβουλίδου τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ καὶ Πλάτωνος. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ φυγὼν εἰς Καλαυρίαν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ διὰ τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀντιπάτρον, προσενεγκάμενος φάρμακον τὸ ἐν τῷ δακτυλίῳ, ἔτη βιώσας ξβ'.

749. Suppl. I 89

750. Schaefer, "Zu den fragmenten des Hermippos," *Philologus* 6 (1851) 427–30; Drerup 68–9, 71.

list of teachers that follows as being derived from him as well, precisely because many of the same names appear in the fragments of Hermippus. In that case the Suda's excerpt can provide, if only in broad strokes, some idea of the parameters of his biography of Demosthenes.

As is borne out by the fragments, Hermippus was certainly concerned with establishing the literary lineage of the orator, that is to say with establishing any connections with earlier rhetors and writers. But his biography went well beyond that; it included notices on the γένος of the orator, on the Peripatetic characterization of Demosthenes as ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφύης and all that that entailed, references to his sexual proclivity in the Idomenean tradition (πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος), a long discussion of Demosthenes' teachers, concluded by an account of his death at Calauria. How far Hermippus discussed the political career of the orator, cannot be determined from the existing evidence.

#### I. 1. The *Genos* of Demosthenes

There can be no question that Hermippus included a note on Demosthenes' γένος. That goes without saying. But it is uncertain how far he went beyond the bare details of the Suda, which simply mentioned that the orator was an Athenian, the son of Demosthenes and Cleobule, of the deme of Paeania. Perhaps he mentioned the Scythian origin of Demosthenes' mother; perhaps he repeated the story told by Aeschines (III 171-2) of Gylon of Cerameis, the maternal grandfather, who gave one of his two daughters by a Scythian woman in marriage to Demosthenes' father. In all the extant biographies of the orator there is a reference of some kind to this episode.

Ps.-Plutarch (844a) mentions only the fact that Cleobule was the daughter of Gylon, whereas Plutarch provides a few more details, even referring to Aeschines by name.<sup>751</sup> The story, however, is only told in an expanded form in the late biographies of Libanius,<sup>752</sup> Zosimus<sup>753</sup> and the Anonymous Vita.<sup>754</sup> In the case of Libanius, he may

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751. *Dem.* 4. 1: Δημοσθένης ὁ πατήρ Δημοσθένους ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιροποιός, ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέγα καὶ δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς τοῦτο πράττοντας. ὧ δ' Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ εἶρηκε περὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνος τινος ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ προδοσίας φεύγοντος ἐξ ἄστεος γεγόνοι καὶ βαρβάρου γυναικός, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἴτ' ἀληθῶς εἶρηκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καταψευδόμενος.

752. *Lib.* 293. 14–28: Δημοσθένης τοίνυν τῷ ῥήτορι πατήρ ἦν Δημοσθένης, ἀνεπίληπτος τῷ γένει δοκῶν, ὡς καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐχθρὸς ὢν μαρτυρεῖ (εἴρηται γοῦν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι: "τούτῳ πατήρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι."), ἐργαστήριον δ' οἰκετῶν μαχαιροποιῶν κεκτημένος ἐντεῦθεν τὴν τοῦ μαχαιροποιοῦ κλήσιν ἔλαβεν. τὸ μέντοι μητρῶν γένος τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐκ ἦν, ὡς φασι, καθαρώς Ἀττικόν, Γύλωνος τοῦ πάππου τοῦ Δημοσθένους φυγόντος μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ προδοσίας ἐγκλήματι, οἰκήσαντος δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόντον, κάκει γυναικῶν ἀγαγομένου Σκυθῖν τὸ γένος, ἐξ ἧς ἦν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἡ μήτηρ Κλεοβούλη. εἰς τοῦτο γοῦν ἄλλοι τε λελοιδορήκασιν καὶ Αἰσχίνης, εἰπὼν ὡς ἄρ' εἴη Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἑλληνίζων τῇ γωνῇ.

753. *Zos.* 297. 11–25: τί γὰρ οὐ μέγα τε καὶ θαυμάσιον τῶν ἐκείνου, ὃς Ἀθήνας μὲν πρῶτον εὐτύχει πατρίδα, δῆμον δὲ Παιανιέα, ἐκ γονέων δὲ μὴ πάνυ τι σεμνῶν προελθὼν τοῖς αὐτοῦ τὰ κείνων συνέκρυσεν. πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁμωνύμου μὲν τὴν προσγορίαν, τῇ δὲ τέχνῃ μαχαιροποιοῦ (ὅ ἐστιν ἐργαστήριον ἔχοντος μαχαιροποιῶν, ὡς εἵπομεν ἤδη περὶ τοῦ πατρός Ἰσοκράτους), μητὴρ δὲ Κλεοβούλης μὲν ὀνόματι, Σκυθίδος δὲ τὸ γένος. Γύλων γὰρ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Νύμφαιον προδούς, τόπον τινα ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, μέλλων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν ὑπὲρ τούτου, φυγὼν παρὰ τοῖς τοῦ Πόντου δυνάσταις καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Κήπους τόπους τινὰς καρποῦσθαι λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν, γυναικῶν ἐκεῖσε Σκυθίδα ἡγάγετο, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε τὴν Κλεοβούλην τὴν μητέρα τοῦ ῥήτορος. αὕτη γὰρ πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός λάθρα εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ γομφεῖσα Δημοσθέει τῷ μαχαιροποιῷ τίκει τοῦτον τὸν ῥήτορα.

754. *Anon. Vita* 302. 5–22: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἀρξώμεθα. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ὧ περὶ Δημοσθένους πυνθανόμεθα. Γύλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φθονηθεὶς οἶμαι δι' ἀρετὴν (οἰκεῖον γὰρ καὶ σύνηθες τῇ πόλει τοῦτο τὸ πάθος) αἰτίαν ἔσχε προδεδωκέναι Νύμφαιον χωρίον ἐν Πόντῳ κείμενον. ἀδοξήσας δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κατηγορίας ὕβριν, τάχα δὲ καὶ φοβηθεὶς τοὺς συκοφάντας (ἰσχυρὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀθήναις τὸ τούτων γένος) τὴν τούτων κρίσιν οὐ περιέμεινε, τῆς δὲ κατηγορίας προεξῆλθε καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Σκυθίαν γομφεῖ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὸς θυγατέρα, πολλὴν προῖκα σὺν αὐτῇ λαβὼν. δύο δὲ γεννήσας καὶ θρέψας θυγατέρας, ὡς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἐπέλαβον, ἐτομάσας προῖκας αὐταῖς εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπεμψε, κομίσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα θελήσας εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, διὰ γοῦν τῶν θυγατέρων. ἔγχε δὲ τὴν μὲν Φιλοχάρη, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν Δημοσθένης, τὸν μὲν δῆμον Παιανιεύς, μαχαιροποιὸς δὲ τὴν τέχνην. ἐξ ἧς ἐγέννησε τὸν ῥήτορα Δημοσθένην κτλ.

have directly consulted the passage of Aeschines, whom he actually quotes but only, it seems, to confirm an account which he has taken over from a biographical source.<sup>755</sup> The accounts of Zosimus and the Anonymous Vita are more detailed; both show a close correspondence to one another and a striking dependence upon Aeschines' account of III 171-72, repeating many of the same details found there. Both refer to Gylon's betrayal of Nymphaeum, while Libanius does not. Zosimus alone makes mention of the *Kepoi* or Gardens, while only the Anonymous Vita notes that Gylon had two daughters; the latter even goes so far as to identify, erroneously however, the husband of the second daughter as Philochares, a point on which even Aeschines remains silent, as he admits, for political reasons.<sup>756</sup>

The inclusion of a name which was not to be found in Aeschines suggests that the author of the Anonymous Vita has drawn on an earlier biographical work.<sup>757</sup> Though Zosimus was a commentator,<sup>758</sup> who might be expected to have consulted the text of Aeschines directly, in fact, like the others, he has drawn on earlier biographies; for one detail, which appears in his account and for that matter in all the biographies, points to earlier attempts by biographers to combine scattered elements relating to Demosthenes' γένος. This is the inclusion of the nickname μαχαιοποιός, which was given to Demosthenes' father because he owned a factory of slaves employed in the

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755. That Libanius relied on an existing βίος of the orator seems confirmed by his introductory words: ἀρξόμεθα δὲ τοῦ συντάγματος ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὐχ ὅλον αὐτὸν διεξιόντες (περιττὸν γὰρ τοῦτο), ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτων μνημονεύοντες, ὅσα δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς κατάληψιν ἀκριβεστέραν τῶν λόγων συντελεῖν.

756. Demosthenes uncle was Demochares. cf. XXVII 14.

757. Note the Anonymous' introductory words: ὅθεν ὅσα περὶ τῶνδ' ἄνδρ' οὐκ ἀνώνυμοι λέγωμεν διὰ συντόμων... ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἃ περὶ Δημοσθένους πυνθανόμεθα.

758. On Demosthenes and Lysias (Suda); on Isocrates (Dem. Vita 297. 7)

business of making swords. It is not mentioned in the present text, which is the basis of the notice on Gylon, but only elsewhere (II 93) by Aeschines, nor is it attributed to the testimony of Aeschines, as is the Scythian origin of Demosthenes' mother, either by Libanius (294. 26) or by Plutarch.

In fact Plutarch actually attributes the notice to Theopompus, who seems to have made explicit reference to the factory of slaves owned by Demosthenes' father, something which Aeschines does not. Despite the fact Libanius quotes from Aeschines III 171, he does so only to confirm the testimony of his biographical source. Indeed, when he begins his account of Gylon and the Scythian origin of Demosthenes' mother, he refers anonymously to that source (ὥς φασι). What we must assume is that earlier biographers had already gathered together the scattered and various notices on the orator's family, on the occupation of his father, on the Scythian origin of his mother, perhaps even referring to the testimony of Aeschines and others (Theopompus). This is what we find in Plutarch and, as we shall see, his account through chapters 4 and 5, and again the parallel account in Libanius, are largely dependent on Hermippus. It is quite possible, then, that Hermippus himself included in his own biography similar notices on the occupation of Demosthenes' father and on the Scythian origin of his mother.<sup>759</sup> This conflation of various sources by Hermippus we have already seen in his treatment of Hermias and we shall see it repeated in a

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759. The nickname "cutler" perhaps has a parallel in the nickname given to Isocrates' father. Hermippus is known to have quoted the comic poet Strattis, who called the rhetorician αὐλοτρύπη, which seems to allude to the fact that his father was an αὐλοποιός. Certainly in the later biographies we find mention of that (Ps.-Pl. 836e; D.H. *Isoc.* 1; Zos. 253. 3). At least one biographer saw the parallel between Demosthenes' father and Isocrates': Zos. 297. 15: ὁ ἐστὶν ἐργαστήριον ἔχοντος μαχαίροποιῶν ὡς εἴπομεν ἤδη περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰσοκράτους.

number of other accounts.

## I. 2. The Sexual Mores: the Idomenean Tradition

Each and every biography, after an account of the orator's γένος, mentions the fact that he was an orphan.<sup>760</sup> Plutarch, Zosimus and the Anonymous Vita, after noting that Demosthenes was entrusted to guardians, describe how the same guardians neglected his education, even at times refusing to pay his tutors.<sup>761</sup> But as Plutarch notes, this was but one tradition to explain why Demosthenes did not pursue the studies and activities of other Athenian youths. According to the other tradition it was his sickly body which prevented him and earned for him the nickname Batalus. Here the accounts of Plutarch and Libanius converge and show a mutual dependence on a source based on Hermippus.<sup>762</sup>

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760. Ps.-Pl. 844b; Plut. *Dem.* 4. 3; Lib. 294. 28; Zos. 298. 24; Anon. *Vita* 303. 23; Suda (456) 310. 42.

761. Plut. *Dem.* 4. 3: ἀπολειφθεὶς δ' ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπταέτης ἐν εὐπορίᾳ ... ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἡδικήθη, τὸ μὲν νοσφισομένων, τὰ δ' ἀμελησάντων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερῆσαι διὰ τε δὴ ταῦτο τῶν ἐμμελῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρῳ παιδί μαθημάτων ἀπαίδευτος δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν κτλ.

Zos. 298. 25–37: καταλειφθεὶς δ' ὀρφανὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τῇ φρονήσει τε καὶ συνέσει πατὴρ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ ἑώρα τοὺς καταλειφθέντας αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτρόπους οὐκ ἐπιτρόπων μᾶλλον ἔργον ποιῶντας, ἀλλὰ πολέμιων τῷ κακῶς κεχρησθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ οὐσίᾳ ... διὸ καὶ ὥς μικροὶ τινες οἱ ἐπίτροποι τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπεστέρουσιν, ὅπως ἐμποδῶν γένοιτο τοῦτο αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ μανθάνειν σπουδαίως ἐκεῖνον.

Anon. *vita* 303. 29–31: ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους παιδείας ἡμέλησαν, οὐδένα λόγον δώσειν τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ἐὼν τὸν ἀδικούμενον τηρήσωσιν ἀπαίδευτον.

762. *Dem.* 4. 4: διὰ τε δὴ ταῦτα τῶν ἐμμελῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρῳ παιδί μαθημάτων ἀπαίδευτος δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν καὶ θρύψιν, οὐ προΐεμένης τοῖς πόνοις τῆς μητρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ προσβιαζομένων τῶν παιδαγωγῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάπσιχνος καὶ νοσώδης, διὸ καὶ τὴν λοιδορουμένην ἐπωνυμίαν, τὸν Βάταλον, εἰς τὸ σῶμα λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων λαβεῖν. ἦν δ' ὁ Βάταλος, ὥς μὲν ἔνιοι φασιν (Ἑρμιππος?), ἀνιτήτης τῶν κατεαγόντων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο κωμωδῶν αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἕτεροι δὲ τινες ὥς ποιητοῦ τρυφερὰ καὶ παροΐνια γράφοντος τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνηται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐπρεπῶν τι λεχθῆναι τοῦ σώματος μορίων παρὰ τοῖς Ἀτικοῖς τότε καλεῖσθαι

As the underlined phrases show, there is a commonality of expression that at first glance would suggest that Libanius had used Plutarch. But there are noticeable differences. Libanius, unlike Plutarch, makes no mention of Antiphanes, or of the poet Batalus, who composed *τρυφερὰ καὶ παροΐνια*, or of Demosthenes' other nickname Argas. These differences perhaps could be accounted for by the fact that Libanius was simply excerpting, except that he offers other details not found in Plutarch, such as the fact that the Ephesian Batalus was the first to wear women's clothing on stage and to sing effeminate verses, or the fact that Demosthenes earned the nickname as a man from his enemies for reasons of his effeminacy (*εἰς μαλακίαν*), not, as Plutarch states, as a child from children for reasons of his body (*εἰς τὸ σῶμα*). These differences mean that Libanius did not draw on Plutarch. Either the two authors drew separately on the same source or they drew on different sources that had a common origin and shared many common features.<sup>763</sup>

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Βάταλος. ὁ δ' Ἀργᾶς – καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ φασι τῷ Δημοσθένει γενέσθαι παρώνυμιον – ἢ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὡς θηριώδη καὶ πικρὸν ἐτέθη τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀργᾶν ὀνομάζουσιν ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἀνιῶντα τοὺς ἀκρωμένους· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργᾶς τοῦνομα ποιητῆς ἦν νόμων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀργαλέων.

Lib. 294. 28–37: ὀρφανὸς δὲ καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κομιδῇ νέος ἦν μὲν, ὡς φασιν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι καὶ χοσῶδης, ὥστε μὴδ' εἰς παλαίστραν φοιτῆσαι, καθόπερ πάντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παῖδες εἰώθεσαν. ὅθεν καὶ ἀνδρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς μαλακίαν ἐσκώπετο καὶ Βάταλος ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχεν· ιστόρηται γὰρ τινα Βάταλον Ἐφέσιον αὐλητὴν γενέσθαι, ὃς πρῶτος ὑποδήμασι γυναικείοις ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐχρήσατο καὶ μέλεσι κατεαγόσι, καὶ ὅλως τὴν τέχνην ἐμάλθαξεν ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοὺς ἐκλύτους καὶ ἀνάνδρους Βατάλους ἐκάλουν.

763. Drerup (207–8) notes several points of contact with Plutarch on the one hand, and with Ps.-Plutarch on the other.

Callistratus story: Lib. 294. 37: λέγεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν πολλὴν καὶ σφοδρὰν ἐπὶ λόγους ὁρμὴν ἐντεῦθεν σχεῖν and Plut. 5. 1: τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁρμῆς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ φασι τοιαύτην γενέσθαι; Lib. 41: ἐδεῖτο τοῦ ἐφεστῶτος οἰκέτου and Plut. ἔπεσε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν δέομενος.

Demosthenes' exercises: Lib. 295. 62: οἱ τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν τὴν γλῶττιαν ἐκ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀτονώτερος· ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων συνέβαινε φαυλοτάτην αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν



According to the Suda, Hermippus had described Demosthenes as ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυῆς and πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος. The first part of this description reflects the Peripatetic characterization of the orator, whose implications for Hermippus' account we shall discuss later. The second half of the description is the concern now; it recalls the Idomenean characterization of the orator as sexually licentious. It is within this context that Hermippus mentioned Demosthenes' nickname Batalus: καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ αὐτός ("Ερμιππος) ὅθεν καὶ νέος μὲν ὢν Βάταλος ἐκλήθη, ὡς καὶ γυναικεία ἐσθῆτι πολλάκις χρησάμενος, Ἀργᾶς δὲ μετὰ τὸ εἰς ἄνδρας τελέσαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄνομα ὀφews. Virtually

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πορεχόμενον κτλ. and Plut. 6. 4: ἦν δέ τις ὡς ἔοικε καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης, ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων τῷ διασπᾶσθαι τὰς περιόδους.

Cave: Ps.-Pl. 844d: λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι νέον ὄντα εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπιέναι καὶ κεῖ φιλολογεῖν ἡμῖς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξυρμένον, ἵνα μὴ προέρχοιτο καὶ ἐπὶ στενῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα διὰ ταχέων ἀνίστηται and Lib. 295. 75: μνημονεύονται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκῆσεις κατὰ γειοὶ καὶ ξυρήσεις ἀπρεπεῖς, ἵνα δι' αἰσχύνῃν μὴ προίῃ τοῦ τῆς οἰκίας δωματίου, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας ἐκάθευδεν, ἀλλὰ διεπονεῖτο πρὸς φῶς περὶ λόγους, where the last part recalls Ps.-Pl. 848c: ἱστοροῦσι δ' ὡς οὐδὲ λύχνον ἔσβεσεν, ἄχρι πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν ἐγένετο, διακριβῶν τοὺς λόγους.

Derision of Pytheas: Lib. 295. 78: ὅθεν καὶ Πυθέας σκώπτων ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Δημοσθένους λύχνων ἀπόζειν and Plut. 8. 4: Πυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἐλλυχνίων ἔφησεν ὅζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα).

Compare also Ps.-Pl. 845b and Lib. 295. 67 on Demosthenes' testimonial about the importance of delivery; 844e and Lib. 296. 88 on the exercises under the sword; 844f and Lib. 295. 70–75 on declaiming by the seashore. Two separate notices in Plutarch on the derision of Pytheas (c. 8) and that of a thief Chalcus (c. 11) are condensed together by Libanius (295. 80) and Demosthenes' reply "οἷδα ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον κοίω" to Chalcus he applies to Pytheas.

Based on these comparisons, together with the accounts of Demosthenes' γένος and nicknames, which compare closely in Libanius and Plutarch, Drerup (208) concluded that these points of contact with Plutarch and Ps.-Plutarch were caused by a "Quellenvorlage", which was based, as with Plutarch and Ps.-Plutarch, on Demetrius Magnes. Sturm, *De Fontibus Demosthenicae Historiae Quaestiones Duae*. Diss. (Halle 1881) 43–4, also notes the points of contact between Plutarch and Libanius and from this concludes that, just as Ps.-Plutarch and Photius drew on a common archetype, so the same can be said of Plutarch and Libanius.

the same notice appears in the "auctaria" of Ps.-Plutarch's *Demosthenes*.<sup>764</sup> The same connection is made between Demosthenes' dissolute life, evident in his wearing of women's clothing, and his nickname. So it is best to regard the anonymous source cited here as Hermippus himself. Indeed many notices of the "auctaria" were derived from the biographer.<sup>765</sup>

In his account Libanius also links the nickname Batalus to the illicit behaviour of the orator, when he comments that as a man Demosthenes was ridiculed by his enemies εἰς μολακίαν; in these last two words is a veiled reference to the orator's effeminate behaviour which showed up in his cross-dressing. This is confirmed beyond doubt by the immediate connection which Libanius draws with the Ephesian Batalus, who was the first to wear women's clothing on stage and to sing effeminate songs, and by the fact that one of the enemies whom Libanius had in mind must have been Aeschines, who ridiculed Demosthenes for doing just that.<sup>766</sup> According to the Suda, Hermippus also had noted that Demosthenes received the nickname Batalus

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764. Ps.-Pl. 847f: φασι δέ τινες καὶ ἄσώτως αὐτὸν βῶναι, γυναικείας τ' ἐσθῆσι χρώμενον καὶ κωμῶζοντα ἐκάστοτε, ὅθεν Βάταλον ἐπικληθῆναι· οἱ δ' ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς τροφῆς λέγουσιν αὐτὸν οὕτω λελοιδορῆσθαι; cf. Phot. 205 495a 31, who adds to the notice found in Ps.-Plutarch a verbatim excerpt from Libanius.

765 In the "auctaria" of *Hypereides* (849d) the account of the orator's *hetairai* and the trial of Phryne; at 839a the notice on Lagiscē. On the Hermippan origin of *Dem.* 847f see Drerup 67.

766. In Libanius' account two separate traditions have been conflated, resulting in a certain confusion, which, however, is avoided by Plutarch; though he was called Batalus as a man for his effeminacy, the nickname stemmed from (ὄθεν) the fact that in his boyhood Demosthenes' weak and sickly body prevented him from attending the palaestra. This second version is the only one adopted by Plutarch. The apologetic tone was no doubt intended to counter a polemic version which referred the nickname to the dissolute life style of the orator. The same apologetic tone is taken in Ps.-Plutarch 847f, where against the view of Hermippus that Demosthenes earned the nickname from living ἄσώτως and wearing women's clothing, the other held (according to a misunderstanding of Aeschines I 126) that Batalus was a diminutive of his nurse's name. The apologetic version must have stood in the common source of Plutarch and Libanius, both of whom show evidence of it. See Drerup 186 n. 2.

from wearing women's clothing. Drerup is right to suggest that Hermippus himself had introduced the Ephesian flute-player to serve as a model.<sup>767</sup> The effeminate behaviour of the Ephesian Batalus is certainly what is being stressed by Libanius, as it is of Demosthenes in the *Suda*.<sup>768</sup>

Plutarch informs us that the Ephesian flute-player had been satirized by Antiphanes. This comic poet was an important source of biographical material on the orators.<sup>769</sup> It certainly would have been consistent with Hermippus' method to have used him. On more than one occasion he derived biographical details on the lascivious behaviour of the orators from the comic poets.<sup>770</sup> Plutarch further adds that Batalus was a poet of *τροφερά καὶ παροΐνια* or the euphemism for a private part of the body. Again Hermippus is likely the source; such notices are in keeping with the type of rarified erudition found in his biographies. The reference to *παροΐνια* or drinking songs which were called *Βατάλεια* after a certain poet suggests a work of etymology; Batalus as a euphemism for a part of the body suggests a source of comic

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767. Drerup 67; cf. 186 n. 2, 212 n. 1.

768. The same connection between Batalus the flute-player and Demosthenes' nickname and effeminacy is repeatedly noted in the scholia of Aeschines:

I 126: *ἰδίᾳς διατριβᾶς: Βάταλος δὲ ὁ κίνοιδος λέγεται. Βάταλος δέ τις γέγονεν ἀνὴρ αὐλητῆς ἡταιρηκῶς. ἥ οὖν ἐκ τούτου Βάταλος ὁ Δημοσθένους ἐκαλεῖτο, καθότι μεγάλα καθίσματα εἶχεν, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ βαταλίζεσθαι, οἷον εἰ τύπεσθαι.*

*Βάταλον: καταπύγωνα καὶ μαλακόν. ὠνομάσθη δὲ φασιν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Βατάλου αὐλητοῦ μαλακοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ποιητοῦ κατεαγόμενα κρούματα γράφοντος. διόπερ καὶ Δημοσθένη διὰ μαλακίαν οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι. λελοιδόρηται γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντες εἰς μαλακίαν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Βάταλον προσηγόρευον τὸν πρωκτὸν καὶ Δημοσθένην ἐκ μεταφορᾶς διὰ μαλακίαν Βάταλον ἐκάλεσαν.*

II 99: *Βάταλος: ἔκλυτος καὶ ἄνανδρος, ἀπὸ αὐλητοῦ τινὸς ὀνόματι Βατάλου οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ποιητοῦ μελῶν κατεαγόντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου σκώπτει αὐτὸν εἰς μαλακίαν.*

769. Plut. *Dem.* 9. 5; Ps.-Pl. 845b.

770. Fr. 62 (Athen. 592d); Strattis; fr. 68aII (Athen. 342c); Timocles; cf. Ps.-Pl. 849e; Athen. VIII 341f.

origin.<sup>771</sup>

Certainly the notice on the nickname Argas was derived from him, for Plutarch refers to Argas as the name of a snake, which, as we are informed by the Suda, was precisely what Hermippus had said. The biographer perhaps noted, as does Plutarch, that Demosthenes earned this nickname from his harsh and bitter manner (θηριώδη καὶ πικρόν) and compared him to the Argas-snake, just as he had compared his effeminate behaviour to that of the Ephesian flute-player Batalus.<sup>772</sup> Plutarch adds two other details besides, that Argas the snake was mentioned by the poets and that Argas was also the name of a poet of νόμοι. These additional details provide a symmetry to Plutarch's account, a balance between Batalus mentioned by the comic poet Antiphanes and the Argas-snake named by certain poets,<sup>773</sup> and between Batalus the poet of τρυφερὰ καὶ παροΐνια and Argas the poet of νόμοι πονηροὶ καὶ ἀργαλέοι. This symmetry recalls the artistic arrangement of the Hermias episode, which was based on Hermippus' own account. All the evidence here points to him as Plutarch's source for the notices on Demosthenes' nicknames.

The starting point of all the notices on Demosthenes' nicknames was Aeschines. At I 131 he charged that Demosthenes was called Batalus ἐξ ἀνανδρίας καὶ

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771. Harpocr.: Εὐπολὶς τὸν πρωκτὸν Βάταλον λέγει: μήποτε οὖν ἔνθεν τοὺς κιναίδους Βατάλους λέγουσιν; cf. Schol. Aesch. I 126: Βάταλον: δοκεῖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι Βάταλος παρὰ τὸ Εὐπόλιδος σκῶμμα: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Βαπτῶν ὀνόματα κεῖσθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ πικράνῃν Βάταλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλεῖσθαι. Holden, (above, n. 574) 155, notes the suggestion of Meineke (*Hist. Com.* 334) that no such person as Batalus existed but that Eupolis in his *Baptae* transferred the name which was used to designate a class of "molliculi et dissoluti homines" to some "voluptuosus et effeminatus tibicen".

772. Cf. Bekker *Anecdota* 442. 30: Ἄργας: ὁ δεινότατος παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄργας καλεῖται. οὕτως ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην.

773. Argas is mentioned by the comic poets Anaxandrides (Kock, *CGF* II 141, 152) and Alexis (304).

κιναιδίας, even suggesting that he wore women's clothes.<sup>774</sup> Again at II 99 Aeschines connected the name Batalus with Demosthenes' lewd and effeminate behaviour, and on this occasion mentioned the other nickname, Argas.<sup>775</sup> The second passage is important, not only because it mentions both nicknames, but because it clears up some confusion in the various accounts. Plutarch notes that Demosthenes had been nicknamed Batalus as a boy ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων. On this point Hermippus apparently agreed: ὅθεν καὶ νέος μὲν ὢν Βάταλος ἐκλήθη κτλ (Suda).

Libanius, by contrast, notes that Demosthenes was called this ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, when he was a grown man (ἀνδρωθεὶς), albeit he does connect (ὅθεν) the nickname with Demosthenes' boyhood, when he was prevented from attending the palaestra for reasons of his sickly disposition. The confusion on the part of Libanius must have stemmed from a misunderstanding of what Hermippus' actually said, whose own account, however, was based on Aeschines. According to the Suda, Hermippus had denoted a clear chronological progression: Demosthenes was a boy (νέος) when he was called Batalus, but after he reached manhood (μετὰ τὸ εἰς ἄνδρας τελέσαι) he was called Argas. This points to the time when Demosthenes had graduated from ephebic service and begun prosecuting the guardians, something indeed mentioned by

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774. I 131: ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους ἐπωνυμίας, οὐ κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τίτθης, Βάταλος προσαγορεύεται, ἐξ ἀνανδρίας καὶ κιναιδίας ἐνεγκόμενος τοῦνομα. εἰ γὰρ τίς σου τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτα χλανίσκια περιελόμενος καὶ τοὺς μαλακοὺς χιτωνίσκους, ἐν οἷς τοὺς κατὰ τῶν φίλων λόγους γράφεις, περιενέγκας δοίῃ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν δικαστῶν, οἷμοι ἂν αὐτοὺς, εἴ τις μὴ προειπῶν τοῦτο ποιήσειεν, ἀπορῆσαι εἴτε ἀνδρὸς εἴτε γυναικὸς εἰλήφασιν ἐσθῆτα.

775. II 99: ἐν πασὶ μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐκλήθη δι' αἰσχρουργίαν τινὰ καὶ κιναιδίαν Βάταλος, ἐκ παίδων δὲ ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ δεκαταλάντους δίκας ἐκάστω τῶν ἐπιτρόπων λαγχάνων, Ἀργᾶς, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος προσεῖληψε τὴν τῶν πονηρῶν κοινὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, συκοφάντης κτλ. Cf. II 127 and 179, where Demosthenes is called ἀνδρογυνός and ἄνδρος καὶ γυναικείος ἄνθρωπος.

Aeschines.<sup>776</sup> The latter had also noted that Demosthenes was called Batalus ἐν παισί. Hermippus clearly had accepted Aeschines' chronology, and this same chronology formed the basis of both the accounts in Plutarch and Libanius, who obviously drew on a source dependent upon Hermippus.

### I. 3. The Education of Demosthenes

#### i. Teachers

After noting in some detail the origins of Demosthenes' two nicknames, Hermippus proceeded to a discussion of the orator's teachers. In the biographies of Libanius and Plutarch, whose accounts are based on our biographer, this is precisely how they proceed. If the extract in the Suda is any gauge of the original, Hermippus devoted considerable space to a discussion of these teachers. In doing so he combined erudition and anecdote, as can best be illustrated by the example of Callistratus.

According to Gellius, Hermippus had told the story of how Demosthenes came to hear Callistratus deliver his famous defence in the Oropus affair.<sup>777</sup> One day as he

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776. Aeschines uses the expression ἐκ παίδων to denote this stage of Demosthenes' life in contrast to the expression ἀνὴρ γενόμενος, which refers to the present time when he was called sycophant. Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 6. 1: Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἤρξατο κτλ; Ps.-Pl. 844c: τελειωθείς δέ, ἐλάττω παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων παρалаβών, ἐκρίνεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτροπῆς κτλ; Lib. 294. 45: εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφεῖς εὐθὺς ἀγῶνα κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐνεστήσατο; Zos. 299. 51: ἐγγραφεῖς ὀκτωκαιδεκαετῆς εἰς ἄνδρας ... κρίνας τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους εἴλε τὴν δίκην κτλ; Suda (456) 311. 47: παιδευθεὶς δ' εἴλε τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους.

777. Fr. 72: Gellius *NA* III 13: Hermippus hoc scriptum reliquit Demosthenen admodum adulescentem ventitare in Academiam Platonemque audire solitum. atque is, inquit, Demosthenes domo egressus, ut ei mos erat, cum ad Platonem pergeret complurisque populos concurrentes videret, percontatur eius rei causam cognoscitque currere eos auditum Callistratum. is Callistratus Athenis orator in republica fuit, quos illi δημαγωγοὺς appellant. visum est paulum devertere experiri, an digna auditio tanto properantium studio foret. venit, inquit, atque audit Callistratum nobilem illam τὴν περὶ Ὀρωποῦ δίκην dicentem atque ita motus et demultus et captus est, ut Callistratum iam inde sectari

was on the way to the Academy to hear Plato, he was drawn aside by crowds gathering to hear Callistratus. According to Hermippus, as translated by Gellius, Demosthenes was so moved and captivated by his speech that he left the Academy and began following Callistratus. The story at this point has assumed a familiar form, a virtual biographical *topos*: it was regularly noted how great literary figures were often attracted to their art by such an incident. Plato gave up tragedy after listening to Socrates before the theatre of Dionysus.<sup>778</sup> Thucydides took up the writing of history after hearing Herodotus recite a passage from his work;<sup>779</sup> Isocrates the teaching of rhetoric after the trial of Theramenes.<sup>780</sup> Hermippus had introduced the Callistratus story, then, to provide the needed motivation behind Demosthenes' decision to take up rhetoric. Despite the differences in particulars, each subsequent retelling of the story has this same unifying and motivating theme. In each case, we are told, after hearing Callistratus, Demosthenes conceived a desire for rhetoric.<sup>781</sup> The uniformity of the tradition on this one point suggests a common origin, which

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coeperit, Academiam cum Platone reliquerit.

778. D.L. III 5. See Riginos, "Platonica," 43–8.

779. Marcellinus *Vita Thuc.* 54.

780. Ps.–Pl. 837a; Zos. 254. 8–30. See below on the Hermippan origin of this story.

781. Hermippus (Gellius): *motus et demultus et captus*; Ps.–Pl. 844b: ἀκούσας δ' ἐρασιτῆς ἐγένετο τῶν λόγων; Plut. *Dem* 5. 1: τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁρμῆς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ φασι τοιαύτην γενέσθαι; Lib. 294. 37: λέγεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν πολλὴν καὶ σφοδρὰν ἐπὶ λόγους ὁρμὴν ἐντεῦθεν σχεῖν; Zos. 298. 39: ῥητορικῶν δ' ἐπιθυμίας ἐκ τοῦ ἀκουεῖν Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος; Suda 309. 7 (454): ἐπεθύμησε δὲ ῥητορικῆς, Καλλίστρατον θεασάμενος τὸν ῥήτορα ὑπὲρ Ὀρωπίων λέγοντα; cf. Schol. *Dem.* XIX 297 (524): ὁ Καλλίστρατος τῶν πάνυ δεινῶν ἦν ῥητόρων, ὃς καὶ ἐφυγαδεύθη διὰ τὴν δεινότητα· οὗ καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ μετελθεῖν τὴν τέχνην.

Both Plutarch and Libanius use the same expression (πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁρμή). That plus other common expressions in their account (Plut. ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν περὶ Ὀρωποῦ κρίσιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ μέλλοντος; Lib. ἔμελλε δημοσίαν τινα δίκην ἀγωνίζεσθαι, φασὶν οἷμαι τὴν περὶ Ὀρωποῦ; Plut. ἐπείσε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν δεόμενος; Lib. ἐδεῖτο τοῦ ἐφειστώτος οἰκέτου) suggest that the two authors drew on a common source.

must be found in Hermippus.

Before attempting any comparison of various versions of the story, one should identify the features of Hermippus' account. According to Gellius' translation, Hermippus had noted that Demosthenes was "admodum adulescens"; he was attending the Academy at the time of the trial, but after hearing Callistratus deliver a speech in defence of his involvement in the Oropus matter, left the Academy and Plato and began to follow Callistratus, presumably to study rhetoric. In his version of the story, Hermippus had grafted together two separate traditions, one which saw Demosthenes as the student of Plato, the other as the student of Callistratus. He had found recorded in certain anonymous memoirs that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato, from whom he received help in his oratory.<sup>782</sup> These unnamed documents must have resembled something along the lines of Demosthenes' letters, which according to Cicero proved "quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor."<sup>783</sup> Seizing upon evidence such as this, Hermippus spun the tale, in full anecdotal form, that Demosthenes studied under Plato until he was drawn to the study of rhetoric by the magnificent display of Callistratus at the Oropus trial.

For the other tradition, which formed the second part of the story, that

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782. Fr. 71: Plut. *Dem.* 5. 7: "Ερμιππος δέ φησιν ἄδεσπότηαις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἐγγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένη συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτῳ καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὠφεληθῆναι, Κτησιβίου δὲ μέμνηται λέγοντος παρὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων τὰς Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδομάντος κρύφα λαβόντα τὸν Δημοσθένη καταμαθεῖν.

783. *Brut.* 121; *Orat.* IV 15; cf. Olymp. scholia ad Plato *Gorgias* 515d. The letter referred to by Cicero must be 5. 3 which indeed mentions Demosthenes' instruction under Plato, but is generally regarded as a forgery. See Schaefer I 312; Goldstein, *The Letters of Demosthenes* (New York 1968) 6 n. 1 & 261–2. Both Drerup (67–8) and Schaefer (I 312) connect in this context the testimony of Mnesistratus of Thasos, who noted that Sabinus ἐν δ' Μελετητικῆς ὕλης made Demosthenes Plato's student (D.L. III 47).



Demosthenes was a student of Callistratus, Hermippus' source was perhaps Hegesias of Magnesia, the third-century historian and contemporary of Demochares. He seems to have been the first to report the incident.<sup>784</sup> The citation is preserved in a passage of Ps.-Plutarch which deals with Demosthenes' education and bears a remarkable resemblance to Plutarch chapter 5. Both drew on sources dependent on Hermippus. To this we shall return. For now it must be noted that Hegesias' account shows certain similarities and certain notable differences from Hermippus' version. As to similarities, Callistratus' speech is said to have produced the same effect on Demosthenes, as we find reported in every other version of the story, to create in him the desire to study rhetoric. Hegesias apparently noted, as Plutarch and Libanius did not but as Hermippus did, that Demosthenes became an actual student of Callistratus.

As to the differences, if Ps.-Plutarch can be trusted, Hegesias spoke generally of Callistratus delivering a speech before the assembly (μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν),

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784. Ps.-Pl. *Dem.* 844b: σχολάζων Ἰσοκράτει ὥς τινες ἔφασσαν, ὥς δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι Ἰσοάῳ τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ, ὃς ἦν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής, διάγονι ἐν Ἀθήναις, ζηλῶν Θουκυδίδην καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν Φιλόσοφον, ᾧ τινες εἶπον προηγουμένως αὐτὸν σχολάζσαι. ὥς δ' Ἑγησίας ὁ Μάγνης† φησὶν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, ἵνα Καλλιστράτου Ἐμπέδου Ἀφιδναίου, ῥήτορος δοκίμου <τοῦ> καὶ ἱππορχήσαντος καὶ ἀναθέντος τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Ἑρμῇ τῷ ἀγοραίῳ, μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν, ἀκούσῃ ἀκούσας δ' ἐραστῆς ἐγένετο τῶν λόγων. καὶ τούτου μὲν ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἤκουσεν, ἕως ἐπεδήμει. ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ μὲν ἔφυγεν εἰς Θωράκην ὁ δ' ἐγεγόνει ἐξ ἐφῆβων, τῆνικαῦτα παρέβλαπτεν Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Πλάτωνα· εἶτα καὶ Ἰσαῶν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τετραετὴ χρόνον αὐτὸν διεπόνθησε, μιμούμενος αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους. ὥς Κτησίβιος φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, διὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου πορίσας τοὺς Ζήθου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου λόγους, διὰ Χαρκλέους τοῦ Κορυστίου τοὺς Ἀλκιδόμαντος, ἀνέλαβεν αὐτούς.

† For the Ἑγησίας ὁ Μάγνης transmitted in the manuscripts Ruhnken (ad Rutulius Lupus I 7 p. 27) has suggested Δημητρίος ὁ Μάγνης, a correction accepted by Westermann (281. 8), Scheuleer and Roesiger (36 n. 2), but generally rejected by scholars: Lozynski (117), Droysen (*Philologus* 4, 428), Schaefer (I 276), Blass (*Dem.* 12 n. 3) Gebhard (10), Sturm (57), Drerup (58 & n. 2).

whereas Hermippus spoke of a judicial speech connected with Callistratus' defence in the Oropus affair (τὴν περὶ Ὀρωποῦ δίκην). But it is some form of judicial speech in the context of Oropus that is mentioned in all subsequent accounts.<sup>785</sup> On this point alone the influence of Hermippus is evident on all subsequent retellings of the story. Hegesias, as far as we can tell from Ps.-Plutarch, made no mention of Oropus and seems less likely to have been the source of Plutarch and Libanius than Hermippus, or the source of a common account on which the two have drawn.<sup>786</sup>

Callistratus' reputation as a speaker in both the courtroom and the assembly is attested by Aristotle.<sup>787</sup> He was also highly regarded by Demosthenes himself.<sup>788</sup> Here we have the beginnings of the tradition that connected the two together as teacher and pupil.<sup>789</sup> Hegesias was the first to do so. What Hermippus did was to specify a particular time and event, when Demosthenes was present to hear Callistratus, and a specific speech at that, his defence in the Oropus matter. In 367/6 B.C. Athens dispatched a force against Themison, tyrant of Eretria, and Theodorus, who had seized Oropus. Thebes responded by sending a force of their own to check the Athenians.<sup>790</sup> Apparently Callistratus had advised the Athenians not to contest their claim immediately but to allow Thebes temporary possession, until the matter

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785. Plut. *Dem.* 5. 1; Lib. 294. 39; Suda (454). Zosimus (298. 38–42) alone makes no mention of the Oropus case, but does refer to Demosthenes as a student of Plato, which clearly reflects the hand of Hermippus.

786. Drerup (206–8) believed that the common source for Plutarch chapter 5, Ps.-Plutarch 844b and Libanius was Demetrius Magnes.

787. *Rh.* I 14 (1374b 25); III 17 (1418b 10).

788. XVIII 219; XIX 297; XXIV 135.

789. Cf. Phld. II 150. 12; 156. 17; 234. 26; 244. 3; 229. 14, where the two are repeatedly connected.

790. Xen. *Hell.* VII 4.1; Dem. XVIII 99 and schol.; Aesch. II 164, III 85; Diod. XV 76.1. See Sealey, "Callistratos of Aphidna and his Contemporaries," *Historia* 5 (1956) 195–6.

could be settled later through arbitration. Chabrias carried out the orders. For this the two men were prosecuted by Leodamas.<sup>791</sup>

This is the common view, but doubts have been raised whether Callistratus was ever involved in the Oropus trial.<sup>792</sup> It is certain from *Meidias* 64 that Chabrias was prosecuted and acquitted on a capital charge relating to Oropus.<sup>793</sup> The mention by Aristotle of a speech by Leodamas against Callistratus and Chabrias is generally regarded as a reference to his prosecution of the two in the Oropus affair.<sup>794</sup> The fact that Gellius speaks of a specific speech (ἡ περὶ Ὀρωποῦ δίκη) suggests that Hermippus found one by that title listed in the *Pinakes*. Similarly Plutarch refers to ἡ περὶ Ὀρωποῦ δίκη; Libanius to a δημοσία περὶ Ὀρωποῦ δίκη. The speech probably bore the simple title περὶ Ὀρωποῦ.

In the *Pinakes* speeches were divided into public (δημοσία) and private (ἰδία) δίκη. If the evidence of Libanius can be trusted, this speech was listed under the first category. Perhaps one should even suspect a corruption in the text of Ps.-Plutarch so that what is actually being referred to by the words ἐν τῷ δημῷ λέγειν is not a speech delivered in the assembly but a δημοσία δίκη. The one difference noted between Hegesias' and Hermippus' accounts has now disappeared. What this means is that Ps.-Plutarch's account also preserved traces of one of the most enduring features of

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791. Arist. *Rh.* I 7 (1364a 19).

792. Drerup 59 n. 3. But see Sealey (above, n. 790) 195–7.

793. Demosthenes names Philostratus of Colonus as one of the prosecutors.

794. *Rh.* I 7 (1364a 19). Drerup (59 n. 3) notes that F.A. Wolf, *Demosth. adv. Leptin.* (Halle 1789) p. 368 ad 146, had thought of this as a reference to the trial mentioned by Demosthenes in *Leptines* 146, where we are told that Leodamas prosecuted Chabrias. Sealey (195) understands Aristotle to mean that the two men were prosecuted in two separate trials, and believes that the trial of Chabrias followed that of Callistratus.

the Callistratus story, as it left the hands of Hermippus, that the speech which so inspired Demosthenes was Callistratus' defence in the Oropus affair. It means that the author of Ps.-Plutarch did not take over the Callistratus story directly from Hegesias but simply found him cited as a source by Hermippus, just as later (844c) his citation of Ctesibius most assuredly came from the biographer.<sup>795</sup>

The possibility that the author of Ps.-Plutarch has mistaken a public suit, as it was reported by Hermippus, with a speech delivered in the assembly, leads one to wonder how much of Hegesias' account has assumed other Hermippan features, and how much the whole passage (844b-c) on Demosthenes' education, in which the Hegesias citation is found, is Hermippan in origin. The answer is nearly all. Drerup, however, follows Sturm in accepting that all the words from ὡς δ' Ἡγησίας up to ὡς δὲ Κτησιβίος go back to Hegesias.<sup>796</sup> This would include the notices which immediately follow the Callistratus anecdote, namely that Demosthenes was a student of Isocrates and Plato and finally of Isaeus, whom he took into his house for four years. Drerup argues that these notices likely go back to Hegesias, since Ps.-Plutarch has already mentioned Isocrates, Isaeus, Plato and Thucydides in the context of Demosthenes' education.

But there are serious problems in attributing everything in this extract to Hegesias. In the first instance, the real Callistratus, son of Callicrates, the orator prosecuted in connection with Oropus, has been wrongly identified with Callistratus

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795. Cf. fr. 71: Plutarch *Dem.* 5. 7. For text see above, n. 782.

796. Drerup 60 & Sturm (above, n. 763) 57. For the text of Ps.-Plutarch see n. 784

son of Empedus, a cavalry commander in Sicily.<sup>797</sup> Despite Drerup,<sup>798</sup> this mistake seems less likely due to Hegesias, a third-century historian, who was a contemporary of Demochares, than to a later writer. The notice that this Callistratus had set up an altar to Hermes Agoraios points to a Periegetic source, which was used either by Hermippus or Caecilius.<sup>799</sup> Moreover, Ps.-Plutarch's version of the Callistratus story shows Hermippan elements; the story not only accounts for Demosthenes' desire to study rhetoric but also concludes, as in the Hermippan version, with the orator actually following Callistratus for a time.

Nor can it be said that Hegesias differs from Hermippus as to Demosthenes' age.<sup>800</sup> According to Ps.-Plutarch, Hegesias told how Demosthenes requested his pedagogue to take him to hear Callistratus (ἐδεήθη τοῦ παιδαγώγου), something which we find mentioned in similar language by Plutarch (τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν δεόμενος) and by Libanius (Δημοσθένης παῖς ὃν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ ἐφεστῶτος οἰκέτου). Gellius mentions no pedagogue but only notes that Demosthenes was "admodum adulescens", which, however, could refer to an age when Demosthenes was still under a pedagogue. Indeed Ps.-Plutarch (Hegesias?) further adds that the orator followed

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797. Cf. Pausanias VII 16. 4.

798. Drerup 58–9.

799. Many such Periegetical notices in Ps.-Plutarch were derived by Caecilius from Heliodorus of Athens. See Keil, "Der Periget Heliodoros von Athen" *Hermes* 30 (1895) 199–246, especially 222–24. Hermippus was known to have used the Periegetes, Diodorus of Athens. See fr. 67 (Athen. XIII 591e) and our discussion below.

800. Roesiger, (above, n. 784) 36, accepts Ruhnken's correction of Demetrius Magnes for Hegesias Magnes and believes that Demetrius was responsible for the change from "admodum adulescens" of Hermippus' account to that of a mere boy of Ps.-Plutarch's.

Callistratus only for a short time up to his exile in 361 B.C.<sup>801</sup> This takes him into and beyond the ephebic years, if indeed he was born in 384 B.C., as Hermippus maintained.<sup>802</sup> Such an age could easily be described as "admodum adulescens". So there is nothing inconsistent between what Hegesias/Ps.-Plutarch and what Hermippus/Gellius had written. In fact the extract from Hegesias simply appears to be an extract from Hermippus, who was citing the historian as his source.

This leads us to the final notice. According to Hegesias, or so we are led to believe, after Callistratus had been banished to Thrace and Demosthenes had finished his ephebic duties, the orator went over to Isocrates and Plato and then took Isaeus into his house for four years. The note on Demosthenes' graduation from ephebic service looks towards the prosecution of the guardians, which Demosthenes would undertake under the direction of Isaeus, when he came of age. In fact the tradition is completely consistent on this matter. Almost every biography notes that Demosthenes, after hearing Callistratus and determining to study rhetoric, took up with Isaeus, who assisted in some way in the prosecution of the guardians. This chronological sequence, as we have argued, goes back to Hermippus and is found here, except for the minor disturbance in the text in the words παρέβαλεν Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Πλάτῳ· εἴτα καὶ, which may be regarded as one of the many additions to the

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801. This meant that he studied under the famous demagogue for about four years (Drerup 59; Swoboda, *RE* X 1734), a figure which provides a neat balance to the four years he spent with Isaeus.

802. See below pp. 280–1. Demosthenes was born in 385/4 and initiated his suit against the guardians in 364/3, immediately after graduating as an Ephebe. According to Ps.-Plutarch, he was still under the instruction of Callistratus; this leads to some confusion, since Demosthenes was said to have used Isaeus' assistance in the prosecution of the guardians.

primary life that had so often crept into the text of Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>803</sup>

The impression, then, is that the extract from Hegesias, as it was preserved in Ps.-Plutarch, differs little from what was transmitted into the common tradition from Hermippus. Indeed Sturm is right when he notes that taken as a whole the passage in Ps.-Plutarch 844b-c on Demosthenes' education follows in the tracks of Hermippus, but only as it has been reduced into the present form in which we find it by an author subsequent to Demetrius Magnes.<sup>804</sup> This was probably Caecilius, who we saw made extensive use of Hermippus for the life of Isocrates.

At the beginning of the passage in question Ps.-Plutarch notes that some maintained that Demosthenes went to the school of Isocrates (σχολάζων Ἰσοκράτει ὥς τινες ἔφασσαν), but the majority held that he was a student of Isaeus (ὥς δ' οἱ πλείστοι Ἰσαίῳ τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ, ὃς ἦν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής, διάγοντι ἐν Ἀθήναις). The latter was in fact the view of Hermippus and, as Ps.-Plutarch's words underscore, this became the prevailing tradition or common history. Indeed the other extant biographies transmit nothing different. The anonymous manner of the citation clearly indicates that the author of Ps.-Plutarch has drawn on the κοινὴ ἱστορία for his material. This much is confirmed by a comparison with the text at the beginning of Dionysius' *Isaeus*.<sup>805</sup> In the common history Dionysius found noted that Isaeus was Demosthenes' teacher and was either Chalcidian or Athenian by birth. But as the text

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803. Prasse (8) suspects that whole excerpt from ὥς δ' Ἠγησίας το διέλαβεν αὐτούς is a later addition which disturbs the sense of the text.

804. This last point by Sturm is confirmed by the fact that at the beginning of the passage mention is made of the Chalcidian origin of Isaeus, which was accepted by Demetrius Magnes.

805. *Is.* 1: Ἰσαῖος δὲ Δημοσθένους καθηγησάμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα γενόμενος περιφανής, ὥς μὲν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν, Ἀθηναῖος ἦν τὸ γένος, ὥς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσι, Χαλκιδεύς.

of Harpocration shows, all those details, except the Chalcidian origin, were derived from Hermippus, who is thus proved the source for much of the common history of Isaeus.<sup>806</sup> These included the notices of his Athenian origin, his affiliation with Isocrates and his teaching relationship with Demosthenes. All these details are found in Ps.-Plutarch, whose author must have drawn on the κοινὴ ἱστορία. For essentially what is given by Dionysius is found in Ps.-Plutarch, who, however, chose to reconcile the conflicting views of Hermippus and Demetrius by noting that Isaeus was Chalcidian but was a student of Isocrates residing in Athens.

Ps.-Plutarch adds next that Demosthenes emulated Thucydides and Plato, the latter of whom he followed, some say, with special zeal: ζηλῶν Θουκυδίδην καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον, ᾧ τινες εἶπον προηγουμένως αὐτὸν σχολάσαι. The last part of the notice recalls what Plutarch (5. 7) says about the anonymous memoirs in which Hermippus found recorded that Demosthenes had studied under Plato and got tremendous help from him in his rhetoric: "Ερμιππος δέ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἐγγράπτο τὸν Δημοσθένη συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτῳ καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὠφελῆσθαι.<sup>807</sup> Plutarch appends to this notice one further citation from Hermippus; the latter had quoted Ctesibius as saying that Demosthenes had secured secretly through Callias of Syracuse and others the τέχναι of Isocrates and

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806. Harpocration: Ἰσαῖος: εἷς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἰ' ῥητόρων οὗτος, μαθητὴς δὲ Ἰσοκράτους, διδάσκαλος δὲ Δημοσθένους, Ἀθηναῖος τὸ γένος, καθά φησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐν β' περὶ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν. Δημήτριος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν Χαλκιδέα φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

807. Wehrli Suppl. I 87. Only one other source, Zosimus (298. 44), mentions Thucydides: ἐξήλωσε δὲ μάλιστα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὸν συγγραφέα Θουκυδίδην καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικώτερον μετέφρασε. Sturm, (above, n. 763) 55, thinks that both Ps.-Plutarch and Zosimus have followed the same Hermippan tradition on this point.



Alcidamas.<sup>808</sup> This concludes Plutarch's account of Demosthenes' education.

In like fashion Ps.-Plutarch (844c) concludes his discussion by directly citing Ctesibius; the account here enlarges on Plutarch and represents a truer picture of what Hermippus had originally written.<sup>809</sup> It is more specific: Ps.-Plutarch notes that the citation came from Ctesibius *περὶ φιλοσοφίας*, and that Demosthenes acquired through Callias the speeches of Zethus (Zoilus?) of Amphipolis and through Charicles of Carystus those of Alcidamas.<sup>810</sup> Plutarch is less precise, referring only to Callias and certain others (*τινων ἄλλων*), who provided Demosthenes with rhetorical handbooks. He adds one important detail, however, not found in Ps.-Plutarch, the name of Isocrates. That Isocrates was mentioned by Ctesibius among a list of rhetoricians whose speeches Demosthenes secretly acquired and used is confirmed by the Suda, whose own list of teachers, both direct and indirect, was based on Hermippus.<sup>811</sup> His notice supplements our information from Plutarch and Ps.-Plutarch. He adds that Demosthenes used the speeches of Zoilus of Amphipolis, something which indicates that the Zethus of Ps.-Plutarch's text is corrupt; those of Polycrates, a completely new detail; those of Alcidamas, something noted already by Plutarch and Ps.-Plutarch; and finally of Isocrates himself, a detail only mentioned by Plutarch. Apparently

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808. *Dem.* 5. 7: Κτησιβίου δὲ μέμνηται (Ἑρμιππος) λέγοντος παρὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων τὰς Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδάμαντος κρύφα λαβόντα τὸν Δημοσθένη καταμαθεῖν.

809. Drerup 68.

810. Ps.-Pl. 844c: ὥς δὲ Κτησιβίος φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, διὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου πορίσας τοὺς Ζήθου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου λόγους, διὰ δὲ Χαρικλέους τοῦ Καρυστίου τοὺς Ἀλκιδάμαντος, ἀνέλαβεν αὐτούς.

811. Suda 309. 8 (454): διήκουσε δ' Ἰσαίου τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητοῦ, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐχρῆτο Ζωίλου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου σοφιστεύοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ Πολυκράτους καὶ Ἀλκιδάμαντος τοῦ Γοργίου μαθητοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μέντοι Ἰσοκράτους.

Hermippus had found in Ctesibius' *περὶ φιλοσοφίας* a long list of prominent rhetoricians of the 4th century, whose works Demosthenes supposedly used.<sup>812</sup> This list was in turn excerpted from Hermippus' biography with varying degrees of precision by both Plutarch and Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>813</sup>

With the citations from Ctesibius both Plutarch and Ps.-Plutarch conclude their respective discussions on Demosthenes' education. The similarities here and in other aspects should by now indicate that they drew on a common source, which was for the most part based on Hermippus. Both included versions of the Callistratus anecdote, which show points of contact with Hermippus. Both noted that, after hearing Callistratus, Demosthenes was motivated to study rhetoric, an element also found in Hermippus' account. Plutarch expressly connects the episode with Callistratus' defence in the Oropus affair, another Hermippan feature; Ps.-Plutarch notes that Demosthenes actually followed the demagogue for a time, something which Hermippus had himself noted. Both note that Demosthenes then took up with Isaeus. Finally, both concluded with a citation from Ctesibius, which they found in

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812. Both the Suda and Ps.-Plutarch speak only of *λόγοι*, Plutarch of actual *τέχναι*, which, however, is appropriate of Hermippus who had modeled his *περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν* after the *διδασκαλία* of a philosophical school. Isocrates, like other heads of schools, would have passed on his instruction in handbooks.

813. Drerup (74) goes too far when he doubts that a historical personality stands behind the citation from Ctesibius. Ctesibius ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς φιλόσοφος, student of Menedemus and teacher of Antigonus (Athen. I 15c; IV 162e; D.L. IV 37), is generally identified with the author of the *περὶ φιλοσοφίας* named by Hermippus. Drerup suspects that Hermippus had simply attributed to a well known personality a fictitious work. Whether we accept this or not, we should suspect the testimony of Ctesibius, since it would be expected of the most famous orator of the 4th century to have incorporated all the skills and techniques of the greatest rhetoricians of his day. In the case of Isocrates it was indeed a matter of dispute in antiquity whether his rhetorical handbooks were genuine (Cic. *Inv. Rhet.* II 2. 7; Quint. II 15. 4); cf. Wehrli Suppl. I 86–7.

Hermippus. Indeed the only difference comes in their placement of the notice on Plato, which Ps.-Plutarch introduces before the Callistratus episode, Plutarch after. But, as we have seen, the content of Ps.-Plutarch's notice is essentially that found in Plutarch, who directly cited Hermippus for the evidence of the anonymous memoirs. The impression is that the two accounts are essentially the same and essentially based on Hermippus.

According to Gellius, Hermippus had noted that at the time of the Oropus affair and the prosecution of Callistratus, Demosthenes was attending the Academy. Only Zosimus makes this connection;<sup>814</sup> though he mentions, as do all the others, that Demosthenes' desire for rhetorical studies arose from hearing Callistratus, he makes no mention of the Oropus trial or of Demosthenes following the famous orator for a time, as Hermippus had. But these omissions may be the result of nothing more than epitomization and as such are of no real significance.<sup>815</sup> Of greater import for scholars is the failure of Plutarch and Libanius, whose accounts share a common origin, to mention that Demosthenes was a student of Plato. Plutarch may, however, be alluding to this fact, when he notes that, after hearing Callistratus, Demosthenes decided to give up all other studies to pursue declamation.<sup>816</sup> To what other studies could Plutarch possibly be referring than to philosophy, when he had already noted in

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814. 298. 38: ὅμως πάντα ποιῶν ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ φιλοσόφων μὲν ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου Πλάτῳ, ῥητορικῶν δ' ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούειν Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ῥητορεύοντός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντος Ἰσοκρίτου κτλ. The scholiast to Dem. XIX 297 must be thinking of Plato, when he states that after hearing Callistratus Demosthenes conceived of his desire and changed arts (μετελθεῖν τὴν τέχνην).

815. But see Sturm, (above, n. 763) 56, who seems to think they are important.

816. *Dem.* 5. 5: ὅθεν ἐάσας τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὰς παιδικὰς διατριβάς, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἥσκει καὶ διεπώνει ταῖς μελέταις.

chapter 4 that Demosthenes could not pursue physical exercises because of his bodily fragility, and when at the end of chapter 5 he makes the point of quoting Hermippus for the very fact that Demosthenes studied under Plato?<sup>817</sup>

It is this citation at the end of the chapter that has proven the crux of the problem for scholars. Since Lozynski, the similarities between Gellius' account and that of Plutarch have suggested to more than one scholar that Plutarch had Hermippus' biography before him.<sup>818</sup> Gebhard for one has recognized them, believing that, when Plutarch narrates how Demosthenes, after hearing Callistratus, abandoned all other studies and took up rhetoric, then in passing (in *transcurso*) cites Hermippus for the detail that Demosthenes studied under Plato, he was in fact following a similar line to the one taken by Hermippus. Gebhard believes that he took over either Hermippus' account directly or more likely an account of another author reported in Hermippus.<sup>819</sup> That story, he suggests, was likely found by Hermippus in Hegesias of Magnesia. Gebhard rightly notes that many times Hermippus cited his source anonymously adding ὥς ἔνιοί φασι and the like; he suggests that Hermippus had introduced the Callistratus story in this manner; this is perhaps confirmed by the manner in which Gellius introduces it: "scriptum est." Even Plutarch himself

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817. Wehrli (Suppl. I 87) connects the words τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα with Hegesias' version of the Callistratus story (Ps.-Pl. 844b), which he believes Plutarch and Libanius followed. The latter two make no mention of any instruction under Plato. Instead of a defection from philosophy to rhetoric, as told by Hermippus, this form of the tradition recognized a simple choice of profession.

818. Lozynski, *Hermippi Smyrnae peripatetici fragm.* (Bonn 1832) 43, 117; Müller, *FHG* III 50; Haug, *Die Quellen Plutarchs* (Tüb 1854) 75; Scheurleer, *De Demetrio Magnete* (Diss. Lugdun. Batavi 1858) 64; Gebhard, *De Plutarchi in Demosthenis vita fontibus ac fide* (Programma Gymnasii Guilemini Monacensis, Munich 1880) 11.

819. "Plutarchum Hermippi vestigiis instituisse certum est ita ut aut eius sententiam comprobaret aut alius scriptoris apud Hermippum allatum relationem probabiliorē atque commodiorē esse putaret.

introduces his version anonymously (φῶσι), though Gebhard fails to note this.

Sturm, by contrast, sees nothing Hermippan in Plutarch's version of the story.<sup>820</sup> If the story, he argues, was found in another author cited by Hermippus, the significance of the citation of Hermippus at the end of chapter 5 is completely lost. He believes that the Plutarchean version has a completely different origin, which can be recognized in Ps.-Plutarch 844b, where Hegesias Magnes is cited. On the one hand, Sturm is right to point out the parallels between Plutarch's and Ps.-Plutarch's accounts, which we have already argued go back to Hermippus. On the other hand, Sturm's main objection to regarding Plutarch chapter 5 as Hermippan fails to take into account Plutarch's method of excerption.

By the time Plutarch wrote, the Callistratus story was already part of the common history of the orator, something attested by the fact that it is mentioned in some form in nearly every extant biography. Since the Callistratus-anecdote was already recognized as a standard element of the common history of Demosthenes' life, even if it was Hermippan in origin, Plutarch did not have to cite him by name, especially when Hermippus' version and that of the common history did not differ substantially. He only referred to him when something peculiar was brought to his attention. What struck Plutarch was Hermippus' reference to certain anonymous memoirs which attested to the Platonic affiliation of the orator and to a certain Ctesibius who noted that Demosthenes acquired rhetorical handbooks of various renowned orators. Indeed it may well be, as Gebhard suggests, that Hermippus simply

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820. Sturm (above, n. 763) 56–7.

cited the Callistratus story anonymously, as Gellius' words would seem to indicate. Or perhaps even Plutarch's immediate source cited the story anonymously but referred by name to Hermippus for the other details. In the end it is best to accept Drerup's conclusion that the whole of chapter 5 of Plutarch's *Demosthenes* should be regarded as Hermippian in its "Hauptinhalte". The same holds true for Ps.-Plutarch 844b-c and Libanius.

It is possible now to reconstruct the section on Demosthenes' education, as it was found in the biography of Hermippus. According to Hermippus, Demosthenes began as a pupil of Plato, on the evidence of the ἀδέσποτα ὑπομνήματα; but was drawn to study rhetoric after hearing Callistratus deliver his famous Oropus speech. For a time he followed Callistratus, perhaps until the latter was exiled. From Ctesibius Hermippus had learned how Demosthenes acquired secretly through various agents the τέχναι and λόγοι of Isocrates, Zoilus, Polycrates and Alcidamas. Presumably he adopted this course of action because he could not afford personal instruction. Indeed Demosthenes' poverty was the reason given by Hermippus to explain why the orator turned not to Isocrates but to Isaeus, employing him privately.<sup>821</sup> What we find in this account of Demosthenes' early education is a free mixture of erudition and anecdote, citations from obscure sources which have been elaborated and embroidered anecdotally.

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821. According to Drerup (70 n. 1) this explanation, which is offered by Plutarch in chapter 5, must be claimed for Hermippus because it is a necessary requirement of κρύφα λαμβάνειν.

## ii. Training: the Demetrian Element

The long discussion of Demosthenes' education partly illustrated Hermippus' general characterization of the orator as ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής.<sup>822</sup> This recalls what Plutarch has to say about the orator in chapter 8. 3: ἐκ δὲ τούτου δόξαν ἔσχεν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυὴς ὢν, ἀλλ', ἐκ πόνου συγκεῖμενη δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος. The context (8. 1-2) of this statement, the source of Demosthenes' reputation, is the painstaking preparation that went into Demosthenes' speeches, as he studied in his cave. For Plutarch the evidence that Demosthenes was not εὐφυής was his refusal to extemporize, something for which he was ridiculed by his contemporaries, particularly by Pytheas, who scoffed that his arguments smelled of the lamp.<sup>823</sup> In view of the fact that Plutarch echoes Hermippus' characterization of the orator, more than one scholar has considered the contents of this chapter as Hermippan.<sup>824</sup>

What this means is that Hermippus included within his biography a section in which he described Demosthenes' habit of study. His characterization of the orator as ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής is Peripatetic. This raises the question how much of the

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822. Drerup 67.

823. *Dem.* 8. 3: ἐκ δὲ τούτου δόξαν ἔσχεν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυὴς ὢν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου συγκεῖμενη δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος, ἐδόκει τε τούτου σημείον εἶναι μέγα καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀκοῦσάι τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιροῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθήμενον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλάκις τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος ὀνομασί μὴ παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι πεφροντικῶς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος. εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐχλεύαζον αὐτόν, καὶ Πυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἑλληχνίων ἔφησεν ὅζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἡμίψατο πικρῶς ὁ Δημοσθένης "οὐ ταῦτά" γὰρ εἶπεν "ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ ὁ λύχνος ὧ Πυθέα συνοιδε."

In this same context may have been paired Pytheas' other criticism of Demosthenes that he drank water, ridicule known to Plutarch, who elsewhere cites them together (*Synkrisis* 1. 3). In a comparable passage to Plutarch' chapter 8, where Libanius describes Demosthenes' night-long preparation on his speeches, he too mentions that Pytheas ridiculed the orator for speeches that smelled of the lamp and for drinking water (295. 78-83).

824. Sturm (above, n. 763) 60; Gebhard (above, 818) 18; Drerup 66 n. 2.

Peripatetic tradition Hermippus incorporated into his own biography? Did he include Demetrius' description of Demosthenes' physical defects and his exercises to correct them? Perhaps the Suda can provide a clue. Its extract from Hermippus contains a note that Demosthenes studied philosophy with Aesion and Theopompus and was a student of Eubulides the dialectician and Plato.<sup>825</sup> Now Hermippus was known to have cited Aesion for his opinion of Demosthenes' delivery. The fragment is preserved in Plutarch, where it is cited alongside Demetrius' own criticism of the orator's delivery.<sup>826</sup> As the story goes, when asked about the differences in delivery between the older and contemporary orators, he replied that the former declaimed in a decorous and grand manner but Demosthenes' speeches only showed their superior arrangement and power when read.

As we have already shown, that remark is decidedly Peripatetic and is closely connected to the criticism of Demetrius, who regarded Demosthenes' delivery as base, ignoble and weak.<sup>827</sup> This means that Hermippus dealt with Demosthenes' delivery along Peripatetic lines, perhaps even citing Demetrius as a source. Indeed

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825. συνεφιλολόγησε (συνεφιλοσόφησε) δὲ Αἰσίωνι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ τῷ Χίῳ φιλοσόφῳ. διηκροάσατο δὲ καὶ Εὐβουλίδου τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ καὶ Πλάτωνος.

826. Fr. 74: Plut. *Dem.* 11. 4: τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες ταπεινὸν ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν, ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἔστιν. Αἰσίωνα δὲ φησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐπερωτηθέντα περὶ τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀκούων μὲν ἂν τις ἐθαύμασεν ἐκείνους εὐκόσμως καὶ μεγαλοπρέπως τῷ δῆμῳ διαλεγόμενους, ἀναγινωσκόμενοι δ' οἱ Δημοσθένους λόγοι πολὺ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέρουσιν.

827. See pp. 92–6. As Wehrli (Suppl. I 88) notes, this idea that Demosthenes was only the master of the artistic form of speaking (κατασκευή) and not of the spontaneous means of expression, as declamation and gesturing, goes back to the contrast between practice (ἐπιμελής) and nature (εὐφυής), which in Plutarch forms the basis of the comparison with Demades (c. 10) and is connected with Demosthenes' fear of extemporizing (c.8).



delivery along Peripatetic lines, perhaps even citing Demetrius as a source. Indeed Hermippus may have been Plutarch's direct source for much of the content of chapter 11. 1-4. This would include the opening part of the chapter, where Demetrius of Phalerum is cited for an account of Demosthenes' speech impediment and the various exercises used by the orator to correct it. It is hard to imagine Hermippus not including some such section, as we find in all the later biographies of the orator, on this subject. In fact his description of the orator as ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφύης suggests this, since many of the late biographers preface their own discussions of the subject with virtually the same characterization of the orator.<sup>828</sup>

That Hermippus did indeed include such a section in his biography is perhaps confirmed by the Suda, which records that Demosthenes was a student of Eubulides the dialectician. After Hermippus more than one author connected the two together.<sup>829</sup> In at least two cases this association was expressly connected with Demosthenes' inability to pronounce the letter rho, a problem first noted by Demetrius of Phalerum. Diogenes Laertius quotes a certain comic poet who had called Demosthenes a ῥωποπερπερήθρα, and concludes from that that Eubulides had helped the orator overcome his faulty pronunciation.<sup>830</sup> Plutarch must have this same verse in mind,

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828. Lib. 295. 62: ἔτι καὶ κείνων μνημονευτέον, ὅτι τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν τὴν γλῶττιν ἐκ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὀτονώτερος...ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μελέτῃ κατάρθωσε. Zos. 299. 60: πολλὰ δ' ἐκ φύσεως ἔχων ἐλαττώματά τε καὶ νοσήματα ἐπιμελεῖα τὴν φύσιν ἐνίκησε.

829. Phld. II 206. 9; Lucian *Enc.* 12; Apul. *Apol.* 15; Ps.-Pl. 845b; D.L. II 108.

830. II 108: οὐριστικὸς δ' Εὐβουλίδης κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν/ καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυλίων/ ἀπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν. ἐῶκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἀκηκοέναι καὶ ῥωβικώτερος ὢν παύσασθαι.

when he too notes that a certain comic poet called Demosthenes this name.<sup>831</sup> As noted, the comic citation comes in a long extract from the *περὶ κωμωδίας* of Eratosthenes.

The same extract is found in Ps.-Plutarch (845a-c), where it concludes with a notice on the student-teacher relationship between Eubulides and the orator: σχολάσας δ' Εὐβουλίδῃ τῷ διαλεκτικῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐτηνωρθώσατο πάντα. Obviously Ps.-Plutarch's source inferred this scholastic relation on the basis of the same comic verse as Diogenes' source had, and, as Plutarch's text indicates, that verse he found cited in Eratosthenes' work. We have already suggested that Hermippus was probably Diogenes' source for the comic fragment, and probably the source of the excerpt from Eratosthenes preserved in Plutarch.<sup>832</sup> We may rightly regard him as Ps.-Plutarch's source, not only for the notice on Eubulides but also for the whole of the Eratosthenes-Demetrius passage. It would certainly be consistent with his method to turn to such rich source-material as Eratosthenes' *περὶ κωμωδίας*. Whether Eratosthenes or Demetrius had deduced a formal relation between Demosthenes and Eubulides is not certain. Hermippus, however, certainly had; this much is confirmed by the article of the Suda, and in the later tradition it is connected with his inability to pronounce the letter rho.

The evidence is sufficient to suggest that Hermippus dealt in some manner with Demosthenes' articular problems and, by consequence, the exercises used to

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831. *Dem.* 9. 5: τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ ῥωποπερπερήραρον κτλ. See above, pp. 142–4.

832. See above, pp. 119–20; 143–5 & n. 429.

overcome those problems. Based on certain passages in Ps.-Plutarch, Plutarch and elsewhere, which show definite Hermippian influence, an idea of his treatment can be gathered. In fact Libanius, who elsewhere has drawn largely on a source dependent on Hermippus, may provide some idea as to how Hermippus proceeded, even if Libanius' own account is extremely concise and the order of material somewhat displaced.

The section began with the mention that Demosthenes was τραυλὸς τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκ φύσεως (Lib. 295. 62), τὸ πνεῦμα ἀτονώτερος, and suffered from τὸν ὤμον ἀπρεπῶς κινεῖν (296. 87). Hermippus noted that the orator corrected the first of the three problems by reciting speeches with a mouthful of pebbles (Plut. 11. 1; Ps. Pl. 844e; Zos. 299. 68), the second by discoursing as he ran or climbed or by reciting entire speeches in a single breath, and the final problem by practicing his declamation before a large mirror. This much came directly from Demetrius of Phalerum, whose account Hermippus perhaps embellished further by noting that Demosthenes employed the actor Neoptolemus to assist him in his breathing (Ps.-Pl. 844f) and, as he practiced his declamation, would suspend a sword or dagger from the ceiling to correct his awkward shoulder movement (Lib. 296. 85; Ps.-Pl. 844e; Zos. 330. 80). All these exercises were conducted in his cave (Ps.-Pl. 844d-f).

From here Hermippus went on to describe how the first two problems impaired his delivery and his ability to project over the din of the assembly (Lib. 295.

64; Plut. 6. 3; Zos. 299. 61).<sup>833</sup> He told how, at his first meeting of the assembly, Demosthenes became overwhelmed by the din of the assembly and was forced to leave (Lib. 295. 70; Plut. 6. 5; Ps.-Pl. 845a). Whereupon he was met by Eunomus, who chided the orator for squandering his talent (Plut. 6. 5; Ps.-Pl. 845b). On yet another similar occasion Demosthenes was met by the actor Andronicus, who convinced the orator of the importance of delivery, when he recited from memory the speeches which Demosthenes had just delivered in the assembly (Ps.-Pl. 845b). For a time the orator studied under the actor, and as a witness to his training, once when he was asked what was the most important thing in rhetoric, he replied, "delivery, delivery and delivery" (Lib. 295. 66; Ps.-Pl. 845b). Finally, to learn how to cope with the din of the assembly he would go down to the shores of Phalerum and recite his speeches to the crash of the waves (Lib. 295. 71; Ps.-Pl. 844f).<sup>834</sup>

At this point, or perhaps earlier in the context of his discussion of Demosthenes' exercises, Hermippus described how Demosthenes would go down into his subterranean study, where he would stay for long stretches at a time, shaving one side of his head to prevent himself from leaving out of shame (Lib. 295. 75; Ps.-Pl. 844d; Plut. 7. 3). Here he would not sleep but work on his speeches to daybreak.<sup>835</sup> For this he was ridiculed by Pytheas, who charged that his speeches smelled of the lamp (Lib. 295. 77-82). At this point Libanius' account comes very close to what is found in Plutarch chapter 8, which, as already noted, was of Hermippan origin.

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833. See Chapter 2 pp. 104-7.

834. See pp. 103-6.

835. Perhaps in this context mention was also made, as in Ps.-Plutarch 844d, of the narrow bed on which Demosthenes slept to force himself to rise quickly.

Plutarch mentions the cave where Demosthenes worked diligently on preparing his speeches. Such diligence earned him the reputation of being an orator οὐκ εὐφυῆς ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου. This is precisely how Hermippus had characterized him: ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυῆς. The proof, according to Plutarch, was his inability to extemporize, something for which he was criticized by Pytheas, who charged that his arguments smelled of the lamp-wick. The similarities are such that a common source lies behind both Plutarch and Libanius, which was largely dependent on Hermippus.<sup>836</sup> Pytheas' criticism of Demosthenes' habit of study, which showed its mark in his inability to extemporize, brings us naturally to the opinion of Aesion, which was recorded by Hermippus. A contemporary, like Pytheas, he is credited with saying that the orator's skill was only evident in the written portion of his speeches. In this context Hermippus also repeated the criticism which Demetrius of Phalerum raised against Demosthenes' delivery, particularly the theatrical side of it. Perhaps he even copied from Eratosthenes the long passage on the orator's theatrical mannerisms, on the metrical oath and such. From one of the comic citations found in Eratosthenes' text Hermippus had concluded that Eubulides was Demosthenes' teacher and helped in overcoming his faulty pronunciation of the letter rho. This would have rounded off the section.

Much of what has been said is conjectural, but, nevertheless, gives an

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836. There is, however, one important difference, in the reply which Demosthenes was said to have made to Pytheas. According to Plutarch, he responded bitterly: "οὐ τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ ὁ λύχνος ὧ Πυθέα σύνοιδε". According to Libanius: "οἶδα ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίων". The latter is found in Plutarch 11, where it is made to the thief Chalcus. But it comes in a chapter, much of whose content was largely drawn from Hermippus' biography. In this case Libanius has simply confused or condensed two separate anecdotes.

impression of the possible content and the extent of Hermippus' treatment on this matter, which was considerable to say the least.

#### I. 4. Demosthenes' Death

The final section of his biography concerned Demosthenes' death. There is no way of knowing whether or not Hermippus included anything on Demosthenes' political career in between. Libanius' biography is worthless here; after discussing Demosthenes' exercises, he proceeds to summarize the political situation when Demosthenes came ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν (296. 91). These details were garnered from a historical rather than a biographical source. In any event Libanius' biography is incomplete, breaking off in mid-sentence, making it impossible to know how he treated the rest of Demosthenes' life. As Libanius himself admits by way of introduction to his biography, there was much that could be said about Demosthenes' βίος, but he would mention only things that contributed to an accurate understanding of his speeches.<sup>837</sup> Libanius' criterion for selection may in fact have been determined by the biographical material available to him. Indeed Hermippus himself may have noted nothing of Demosthenes' political career, seeing that he was concerned with the orator as a literary figure. But one would still expect him to include the more salient moments: the incident with Meidias (Plut. 12. 3; Ps.-Pl. 844d; Anon. 305. 91; Suda [456] 311. 55) or the Harpalus affair (Plut. 25; Ps.-Pl. 846a; Zos. 301. 109; Anon. 307. 48; Suda

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837. Lib. 293. 11: ἀρξόμεθα δὲ τοῦ συντάγματος ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, οὐχ ὅλον αὐτὸν διεξιόντες (περιττὸν γὰρ τοῦτο), ἀλλὰ τοσούτων μνημονεύοντες, ὅσα δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς κατάληψιν ἀκριβεστέραν τῶν λόγων συνελεῖν.

[456] 311. 67).<sup>838</sup> But the extant fragments do not include these items. What can be said is that Hermippus went into detail on the death of the orator.

Two fragments are preserved in Plutarch on this topic. The first comes in chapter 28, where Hermippus is quoted as making Archias the student of Lacritus, the Isocratean.<sup>839</sup> The context of such a statement was, as it is in Plutarch's account, Archias' pursuit of Demosthenes and his associates, Hypereides, Aristonicus and Himeraeus, to Aegina and Calauria. Demetrius is cited alongside Hermippus for the variation that Archias belonged to the school of Anaximenes.<sup>840</sup> If this is the Magnesian, he may in fact be Plutarch's immediate source here, as Drerup contends,

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838. Hermippus may have mentioned, as we find in a number of biographies, that Demosthenes taught rhetoric and practiced as a logographer before entering politics (Lib. 295. 58–62; Zos. 300. 88–101; Anon. Vita 304. 55–66). Two incidents are noted in this context, the affair with his student Aristarchus and the slander of composing speeches for the opposing parties of Phormion and Apollodorus. The Aristarchus affair had been described by Idomeneus, and traces of his account are still evident in these later biographies. He was an important source for Hermippus and from him the latter derived the characterization of the orator as πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος. The two notices in the later tradition may ultimately be derived from Idomeneus through Hermippus. See pp. 182–7.

839. Fr. 76: *Dem.* 28. 3: ἄλλων (τῶν περὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην) δ' ἄλλαχοῦ διασπαρέντων, ὁ Ἀντίπατρος περιέπεμπε τοὺς συλλαμβάνοντας, ὧν ἦν ἡγεμὼν Ἀρχίας ὁ κληθεὶς Φυγαδοθήρας. τοῦτον δὲ Θούριον ὄντα τῷ γενεῖ λόγος ἔχει τραγωδίας ὑποκρίνεσθαι ποτε, καὶ τὸν Αἰγινήτην Πῶλον τὸν ὑπερβαλόντα τῇ τέχνῃ πάντας ἐκείνου γεγονέναι μαθητὴν ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἑρμιππος δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθηταῖς ἀναγράφει. Δημητρίος δὲ τῆς Ἀναξιμένους διατριβῆς μετεσχηκέναι φησὶν αὐτόν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀρχίας Ὑπερείδην μὲν τὸν ῥητόρα καὶ Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον καὶ τὸν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀδελφὸν Ἱμεραῖον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καταφυγόντας ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον, ἔπεμψεν ἀποσπάσας εἰς Κλεωνὰς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, κακεῖ διεφθάρησαν Ὑπερείδου δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκτιμηθῆναι ζῶντος λέγουσι.

840. The identity of the Demetrius is unspecified. On most other occasions Plutarch specifies whether it is the Phalerian (9. 3; 11. 1, 3;) or the Magnesian (15. 6; 27. 7). But here (28. 3) and at 14. 2 he is silent. The latter records the charge of cowardice and corruptibility raised against Demosthenes in contrast to the bravery and integrity of Phocion. The Demetrius in question here is obviously the Phalerian, and Jacoby would assign the citation in 28. 3 to him as well (*FGrH* 228 F 20). The gratuitous remark that Himeraeus was the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum possibly points in that direction. If this is true, Plutarch found Demetrius of Phalerum cited by Hermippus and the whole account in 28 was derived from the latter.

but the content of the whole passage most certainly goes back to Hermippus. The detail at the end of the chapter that Hypereides had his tongue cut out was told by Hermippus, albeit he placed Hypereides' death in Macedonia.<sup>841</sup> The variation accepted here by Plutarch (cf. *Phoc.* 29. 1), that the orator was taken to Cleonae and executed there, may well have come from Demetrius, but the tale is essentially the same; only the location varied.<sup>842</sup> If, on the other hand, the Demetrius in question is the Phalerian, as seems more likely (see n. 840), Hermippus has simply reworked his account of the orator's death, offering his own variations.

Other details of the passage most assuredly were derived from Hermippus: that Archias was nicknamed Φυγαδοθήρας, that he was a Thurian, a tragic actor by profession and the teacher of Polus of Aegina. The same details appear in Ps.-Plutarch 849b, where Hermippus' own version of Hypereides' death is given. Since he had occasion to mention Archias and his pursuit of Demosthenes' to Calauria, he must also have described in some manner the famous encounter between the two men in the temple of Poseidon, where the orator had taken refuge. In chapter 29 Plutarch describes such a dramatic encounter.

As the story goes, the night before their meeting, Demosthenes had dreamt that he was acting in a tragedy and contending with Archias; the next day Archias

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841. Ps.-Pl. 849c.

842. This point is confirmed by Ps.-Plutarch 849c, who after detailing Hermippus' version of Hypereides' death, adds the Demetrian version: οἱ δ' ἐν Κλεωναῖς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ἀπαχθέντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπου γλωττοτομηθῆναι καὶ διαφθορῆναι ὃν προεῖρηται τρόπον. The manner in which he died must be that just described by Hermippus, that Hypereides had his tongue cut out, that his body was left unburied, but recovered by Alphinous, burned and then returned to Athens for burial.



attempted to persuade Demosthenes to leave the temple peaceably, but the latter replied "οὐθ' ὑποκρινόμενός με πώποτ' ἔπεισας, οὔτε νῦν πείσεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος".<sup>843</sup> The scene ends with Demosthenes committing suicide by sucking poison from a stylus, as he feigned to write a letter to his family. His dying words to Archias again have the touch of the dramatic: "οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις ἤδη τὸν ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας ὑποκρινόμενος Κρέοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τουτὶ ρίπτων ἄταφον". But this account was derived from another source, either from Satyrus, who is known to have reported the orator's death in the manner described by Plutarch, by sucking poison from a pen,<sup>844</sup> or from Ariston (Ceos?). At the beginning of Chapter 30 Plutarch remarks thus: Τὸ δὲ φάρμακον Ἀρίστων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καλάμου φησὶ λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς εἴρηται. His words either mean that his source for chapter 29 was Ariston or that the philosopher gave a similar account to the one which he has just described in that chapter.

Hermippus' version of Demosthenes' death comes in chapter 30.<sup>845</sup> The account has the characteristic blend of anecdote and erudition. There are obscure references and vivid description. According to Plutarch, Hermippus had got his story

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843. Essentially the same reply is recorded in Ps.-Pl. 846f: "οὔτε, ὅτε ἐτραγώδεις, ἔπειθές με οὔτε νῦν πείσεις συμβουλεύων." Ps.-Plutarch's account of Demosthenes' flight is contaminated; first he has the orator take refuge in sanctuary of Aeacus on Aegina, which was where Hypereides and the others sought refuge, before fleeing to Calauria. Plutarch makes no mention of this. The same contamination is apparent Ps.-Plutarch's account of Hypereides' death (849b).

844. Ps.-Pl. 847b; cf. Drerup 75–8.

845. Fr. 73: Πόππος δέ τις, οὗ τὴν ἱστορίαν Ἑρμιππος ἀνείληφε, φησὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν μὲν τῷ βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένην ἐπιστολῆς ἀρχὴν εὑρεθῆναι "Δημιοσθένους Ἀντιπάτρῳ" καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο· θαυμαζομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον δξύτητος, διηγήσασθαι τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις Θρωῆκας, ὡς ἔκ τινος ῥακίου λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα προσθοῖτο τῷ στόματι καὶ καταπίοι τὸ φάρμακον· αὐτοὶ δ' ἄρα χρυσίον ῥήθησαν εἶναι τὸ καταπνόμενον ἢ δ' ὑπηρετοῦσα παιδίσκη, πυνθασμένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν, φαίη πολὺν εἶναι χρόνον ἐξ οὗ φοροίη τὸν ἀπόδεσμον ἐκεῖνον ὁ Δημιοσθένης ὡς φυλακτήριον.

from a certain Pappos, who is an obscure figure, entirely unknown, perhaps a Hellenistic historian,<sup>846</sup> or a figure of fiction.<sup>847</sup> At any rate, the story he told was based on oral testimony, which Hermippus is known to have used as evidence on occasion.<sup>848</sup> According to this Pappos, the Thracians guarding the temple told how Demosthenes had taken poison concealed in a rag, though oddly (ἄρα) they first thought that he was simply swallowing gold. Their story seemed confirmed by the testimony of Demosthenes' maid, who revealed to Archias' inquiry that the orator had long worn a sachet (ἀποδέσμων) as a protection.<sup>849</sup> The manner in which the story is told leads one to think that Hermippus had expressed some reservations about the whole thing. Indeed Pappos or Hermippus clearly imply that the Thracians had simply invented their story to explain the speed of Demosthenes' death at which they were caught off guard, and to account for their own negligence. The suspicion hanging over the story leads one to wonder whether Hermippus had offered other more plausible explanations for Demosthenes' death.

The surviving account in Plutarch is incomplete, but two things are prominent. First, Demosthenes is already described as fallen by the side of the altar with a scroll in his hand. This must mean that Hermippus had described the moments leading up

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846. Lozynski in Müller, *FHG* III 50; Seel, *RE* XVIII 3 (1949) 1084; Leo 126.

847. Wehrli Suppl. I 104 & Drerup 73, n. 1. But Wehrli is cautious and rightly notes that the character of Hermippus' biographies prevents us from dismissing outright Pappos' name as a guise for his own invention.

848. Fr. 50 (Plut. *Alex.* 53), where Hermippus cites Callisthenes' secretary. Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 164 Suppl. B I 541, believes that Hermippus' ultimate source was a Macedonian archival document, the report of Archias to Antipater, in which may or may have not be recorded the name of Pappos. But, as Wehrli (Suppl. I 88) notes, the anecdotal character of the whole episode speaks against this.

849. That the maid was tortured is to be understood; cf. Lucian *Enc.* 49.

to this point: the encounter with Archias within the temple, Demosthenes' voluntary departure to avoid polluting the temple with his death, and finally his collapse by the side of the altar, as he was overcome by the effects of the poison. This is precisely how Plutarch describes his death at the end of chapter 29, and, as the evidence will show, Hermippus followed an account similar to that. Secondly, much is made of the fact that the only thing written on the scroll found in Demosthenes' hand was the words Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ and nothing more (καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο). If anything, this emphatic denial implies a knowledge on the part of the reader of a version of the letter which contained something more than this mere greeting.

There was much speculation in antiquity as to the content of that letter. In Satyrus' account, the basis of chapter 29, apparently Demosthenes never got down to actually writing a letter; he simply feigned it (ὥς γράφειν μέλλων). Demetrius Magnes, on the other hand, claimed that the distich later inscribed on Demosthenes' statue was actually written by Demosthenes before he poisoned himself;<sup>850</sup> for this he was rightly ridiculed by Plutarch.<sup>851</sup> But the fact that Demetrius made such an obvious error is a clear indication that the content of that letter was entirely unknown and open to speculation. Yet, as the Pappos story shows, Hermippus accepted the existence of such a letter and even speculated as to its content. As the words καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο seem to suggest, he was also aware of more than one version.

Before recording Pappos' version of Demosthenes' death, Hermippus included

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850. Ps.-Pl. 847a.

851. *Dem.* 30. 5: οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Κολαυρείᾳ, μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεισθαι, κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι.

an account which described the orator's encounter with Archias in the temple, noted how he poisoned himself and referred to a letter written to Antipater. This follows the lines of the vulgate, which was given by earlier writers, such as Philochorus, who himself may have simply noted that Demosthenes died from drinking poison.<sup>852</sup> Demochares was certainly aware that this was the prevailing view about the manner of his uncle's death, when he claimed, so we are told by Plutarch, that Demosthenes' speedy death was due not to poison but to the kind favour of the gods.<sup>853</sup> In the same passage Plutarch notes that there were many other divergent accounts, but, as Demochares' words seem to imply, all were variations on the theme of poisoning. Indeed the only other version noted by Plutarch is that of Eratosthenes, who claimed that Demosthenes kept the poison in a bracelet.

In a passage that bears a marked resemblance to chapter 30, Ps.-Plutarch provides a series of variations, which are probably the kind of things Plutarch had in mind.<sup>854</sup> First he began with Hermippus, who is cited anonymously for the note that Demosthenes' letter consisted of nothing more than the greeting "Demosthenes to Antipater". Next he refers in succession to the versions of Philochorus, Satyrus,

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852. Ps.-Pl. 847a; cf. Jacoby *FGH* 328 F 164 Suppl. 1 541.

853. *Dem.* 30. 3: Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν κρίκῳ κοίλῳ τὸ φάρμακον φυλάττειν τὸν δὲ κρίκον εἶναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ φόρημα περιβραχιόνιον. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσοι γεγράφασι περὶ αὐτοῦ – πόμπολλοι δ' εἰσί – τὰς διαφορὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπεξίμεναι· πλὴν οἱ Δημοχάρης ὁ τοῦ Δημοσθένους οἰκεῖος οἴεσθαι φησιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκου, θεῶν δὲ τιμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ὀμότητος ἐξαρπαγῆναι, συντόμως καταστρέψαντα καὶ ἀλύπως.

854. Ps.-Pl. 847 a-b: ὥς δ' ἔνιοί φασι, τοῦτο εὐρέθη γεγραμμένον "Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ χαίρειν." ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν Φιλόχορος μὲν φησι φάρμακον πίνοντα· Σάτυρος δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς τὸν κάλαμον πεφαρμάχθαι, ᾧ γράφειν ἤρξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὗ γευσάμενον ἀποθανεῖν· Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ δεδοικότα Μακεδόνας περὶ τῷ βραχίονι κρίκον περικεῖσθαι πεφαρμαγμένον. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ φασι συσχόντα αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθανεῖν οἳ δ' εἶπον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν σφραγίδος φαρμάκου γευσάμενον.

Eratosthenes, and finally to two anonymous sources, one which held that Demosthenes died from holding his breath, the other, by sucking poison from a seal ring. The passage recalls the extract of notices on Demosthenes' theatrical delivery, found both in Plutarch (9) and Ps.-Plutarch (845b), derived from Eratosthenes' *περὶ κωμωδίας*. Here is a similar extract, this time on Demosthenes' death. Again Hermippus may have provided Ps.-Plutarch with this particular series of notices.

Among the variations listed by Ps.-Plutarch, and presumably known to Plutarch, was the version that Demosthenes sucked poison from a signet ring. In fact this became the prevailing tradition in the later biographies. Both Zosimus<sup>855</sup> and the Anonymous Vita give this version of the orator's death.<sup>856</sup> It is found in the first entry of the Suda (454), where it concludes the long extract from Hermippus,<sup>857</sup> and again in the third entry (456).<sup>858</sup> It appears then that this version of Demosthenes' death became the common tradition. That it originated with Hermippus seems

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855. Zos. 301. 133: ἔφυγεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἐν τῇ Καλαυρίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ Τροιζῆνι. μέλλων δ' ἄγεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὑπ' Ἀρχίου τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ πεμφθέντος πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ κρουομένου αὐτὸν, ὥς οὐκ εἰς θάνατον ἄγοιτο, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὥς ὅτι "οὔτε ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσάς μοί ποτε οὔτε νῦν πείθων." καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπὼν, μικρὸν παρῆλθὼν, ἵνα μὴ μιάνη τῷ θανάτῳ τὸ ἱερὸν, λαβὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδι εἶχε φάρμακον εἰς τοῦτ' ἐκ πολλοῦ αὐτῷ κατεσκευασμένον ἐκὼν ἀπέθανεν. ἐβίωσε δ' ἔτη ξ' καὶ γ'.

856. Anon. Vita 308. 165: ὑποτασσομένων δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν Ἀθηναίων Δημοσθένης εὐλαβηθεὶς εἰς Καλαυρίαν ἀπέδρα καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱκέτης ἐγένετο· τὸ δ' ἱερὸν ἄσυλον ἐδόκει. πέμψαντος δὲ τὸν πονηρότατον Ἀντιπάτρου τῶν ὑπασιπτῶν Ἀρχίαν, ἵνα αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ δύνηται τέχνη, βίᾳ καταγάγῃ, νοήσας ὁ Δημοσθένης τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπέδρομεν ἐπὶ τὸν βῆμα καὶ πολλὰ κατεπὼν Ἀντιπάτρου, τελευταίαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐντολὴν καταλιπὼν ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς πόλεις, ἐξέφαγε τῆς σφραγίδος τὸ τοξικὸν φάρμακον γενόμενον αὐτῷ μετὰ προνοίας ἐπὶ τοιαύτην βίου μεταβολήν, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πειραθῆναι δουλείας ἀπέθανεν ὡς Ἀθηναῖος.

857. Suda 309. 14: ἐτελεύτησε δὲ φύγων εἰς Καλαυρίαν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ διὰ τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀντίπατρον, προσενεγκόμενος φάρμακον τὸ ἐν τῷ δοκτυλίῳ, ἔτη βιώσας ξβ'.

858. Suda 311. 72: ἐκδόντων Ἀθηναίων ὁ Δημοσθένης εἰς Καλαυρίαν ἔφυγεν. Ἀρχίας δ' ὁ ὑποκριτὴς ἀποσταλὴς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου βίᾳ ἀποσπᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ὃ ἦν ἄσυλον. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδι φάρμακον ἔχων μυζήσας ἀπέθανεν.

confirmed by the Suda 454, which, as we have argued throughout, in reality is nothing more than an extract from his biography, unless of course the rest of the article was derived from him but not this notice on Demosthenes' death. What it means is that Hermippus included at least two accounts, the one told by Pappos and another along more familiar lines which told how Demosthenes concealed the poison in a signet ring, from which he drew it out, when he came to seal his letter to Antipater. Now Pappos' words καί μηδέν ἄλλο become more pointed.

The later biographies which follow this version show clear points of contact with Hermippus. Both the Anonymous Vita and the Suda 456 introduce the episode leading up to Demosthenes' flight and subsequent death, by noting that Antipater demanded ten orators. The tradition with ten names was Idomenean and was picked up by Hermippus, who seems to have confused the demand by Alexander to which Idomeneus referred with the similar demand by Antipater.<sup>859</sup> Zosimus concludes his entry by noting that Demosthenes lived 63 years, a calculation consistent with what Hermippus gave.<sup>860</sup> Zosimus' account is by far the most detailed of the later biographers and may in fact preserve something of what Hermippus himself had narrated.

It recalls certain features of the Satyrus-Ariston story, as it was given in Plutarch 29, such as Demosthenes' reply to Archias' attempts at persuasion "οὔτε ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσας μοί ποτε οὔτε νῦν πείθων", and his departure from the temple precinct to avoid polluting it with his death. That this last detail was also included by

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859. See above, pp. 172–3.

860. See below.

Hermippus is implied by the fact that Pappos' description begins with Demosthenes already dead and fallen by the side of the altar (πεσόντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν βωμόν), which was just how Satyrus-Plutarch ended their account (καὶ παραλλάξει τὸν βωμόν ἔπεσε καὶ στενάχας ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν). It seems that Hermippus drew on the same tradition as Satyrus had, and both biographers included very similar accounts, each describing a dramatic encounter between Archias and Demosthenes, recording some part of their conversation, and noting that the orator died by poisoning. Hermippus, however, claimed that the poison was concealed in a ring and this became the prevailing tradition. To this he added the story of Pappos and perhaps other variations.

Hermippus rounded out his account by noting that the orator died at the age of 62, perhaps adding as some biographers do that his death came on the 16th of Pyanepsion during the Thesmophoria,<sup>861</sup> and certainly quoting, as all do, the epigram inscribed on his statue: εἴπερ ἴσῃν ῥώμην γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, ἔσχες,/ οὐποτ' ὄν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.<sup>862</sup>

That 62 was the figure given by Hermippus is confirmed by the Suda, which we have seen is essentially an extract of his biography.<sup>863</sup> This is a departure from the Apollodoran chronology which placed Demosthenes' birth in Ol. 99. 4 (381/0) and

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861. Plut. *Dem.* 28. 1; 30. 5; Zos. 302. 149.

862. Plut. *Dem.* 30. 5; Ps.-Pl. 847a; Zos. 302. 147; Anon. Vita 308. 79; Suda (455) 310. 39; *POxy* 1800 Fr. 3. 36.

863. Suda 309. 14 (454) Δημοσθένους ἐτελεύτησε δὲ φυγὼν εἰς Καλαυρίαν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ διὰ τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀντίπατρον, προσενεγκάμενος φάρμακον τὸ ἐν τῷ δακτυλίῳ, ἔτη βιώσας ξβ'.

his death at age 60.<sup>864</sup> Hermippus, by contrast, had favoured Ol. 98. 4 (385/4) as the date of birth and traces of his chronology are preserved in Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>865</sup> There it is noted that Demosthenes was 37 years of age in the archonship of Callimachus (349/8), when he delivered the first *Olynthiac*. Calculated from this date Demosthenes died at age 62 or 63, depending on whether the date of death was placed in the archonship of Cephisodorus (323/2)<sup>866</sup> or in the archonship of Philocles (322/1).<sup>867</sup> This is precisely the calculation which is preserved under Hermippus' name in the Suda, which states that Demosthenes lived 62 years.<sup>868</sup>

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864. D.H. *Ad Amm.* I 3, 5; D.L. V 10. See above, pp. 47–53 for the Apollodoran chronology, used both by Dionysius and Diogenes.

865. 845d: ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ Δεξιθέου (385/4) εἰς Καλλίμαχον (349/8), ἐφ' οὗ παρ' Ὀλυνθίων ἦκε πρεσβεία περὶ τῆς βοηθείας, ἐπεὶ ἐπιέζοντο ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τῷ πολέμῳ, ἔπεισεν ἐκπέμψαι τὴν βοήθειαν.

866. As in D.H. *Ad Amm.* I 5

867. As in D.L. V 10. Both these calculations are based on exclusive reckoning; but by counting backwards inclusively 63 years from the archonship of Cephisodorus one still arrives at the date of 385/4. Blass (III [1893] 7 n. 3) following Schaefer (*Dem.* III B 51) notes that Ps.-Plutarch at 845d has reckoned inclusively, that is, has included the year of birth to arrive at 37 years in the archonship of Callimachus (349/8). For this reason one cannot accept Jacoby's distinction (Jacoby 331) between a Caecilian date preserved here in Ps.-Plutarch 845d, and a Hermippian date preserved in the Suda which gave the duration of Demosthenes' life at 62 years. According to Jacoby the figure 62 places Demosthenes' birth in Ol. 99. 2 (383/2) or by exclusive reckoning in Ol. 99. 1 (384/3). That the latter year was right was confirmed for him by a notice of Zosimus (302. 141), who apparently accepted Hermippus' estimate, but by reckoning inclusively gave the figure 63. But curiously Jacoby (337 n. 28) also believes that Caecilius accepted the Hermippian number of 63, but in place of the inclusive reckoning used by Hermippus calculated exclusively, thus yielding the date of 385/4. However, it may be the other way around. Hermippus reckoned exclusively, thus the 62 years; Caecilius inclusively, thus the 63; both taking their point of departure the year 385/4. Both Blass (III 8–9) and Jacoby (335–6) set the date of the orator's birth in Ol. 99. 1 (384/3); the former, on the basis of Demosthenes own statement in *Oretor* I 17, places the year of his δοκιμασίᾳ in the archonship of Cephisodorus (Ol. 103. 3 366/5), this being the 18th after his birth, counting backwards 18 archons to Ol. 99. 1 (384/3); the latter (Jacoby 331 & 336) makes this the date of birth given by Hermippus. Cf. Schaefer I 269 n. 2; Golden, "Demosthenes and the Age of Majority at Athens," *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 25–38.

868. Cf. Zosimus 302 141W: ἐβίωσε δ' ἔτη ξ' καὶ γ', ἐγεννήθη δ' ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τῆς ρ' ὀλυμπιάδος. Zosimus apparently has combined two traditions, that of Hermippus–Caecilius who gave the length of Demosthenes' life at 62 or 63, and that of Dionysius who placed the orator's birth in Ol. 99. 4.



Apparently Hermippus, followed by Caecilius as he is preserved in Ps.-Plutarch, had based his calculations on Demosthenes' own statement in *Onetor* I 15 that he had entered his δοκιμασία in the archonship of Polyzelus (367/6): ἐγήματο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Πολυζήλου ἄρχοντος σκιροφοριῶνος μηνός, ἢ δ' ἀπόλειψις ἐγράφη ποσιδεῶνος μηνός Τιμοκράτους· ἐγὼ δ' εὐθέως μετὰ τοὺς γάμους δοκιμασθεὶς ἐνεκάλουν καὶ λόγον ἀπῆτουν, καὶ πάντων ἀποστερούμενος τὰς δίκας ἐλάγχανον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος. Demosthenes' words can only mean that he was enrolled as a citizen immediately after the marriage, that is in the archonship of Polyzelus (367/6) and initiated his suit in the archonship of Timocrates (364/3). This is confirmed by what Demosthenes says immediately following at 17: μετὰ τοίνυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄρχοντα (Πολύζηλον) Κηφισόδωρος Χίων. ἐπὶ τούτων ἐνεκάλουν δοκιμασθεὶς, ἔλαχον δὲ τὴν δίκην ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους.<sup>869</sup> From the archonship of Polyzelus (Ol. 103. 2) one arrives at

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The last half of Zosimus' statement comes directly from Dionysius *Ad Amm.* I 4 (οὗτος ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος). Little help can be gained from the passage in Ps.-Plutarch 847b, which was supplied by Salmasius from Photius cod. 265 495a 2: <ἐβίω δ' ὡς μὲν οἱ τὰ πλείω λέγουσιν ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα, ὡς δ' οἱ τὰ ἐλάττω, ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐπολιτεύσατο> δὲ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν. The only words preserved in the manuscripts of Ps.-Plutarch are δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν, which makes no sense alone. Obviously Photius found something more than this originally standing in the text of Ps.-Plutarch or in his archetype. Perhaps the easiest solution is the emendation of Schaefer from ζζ' to ξγ', a solution, however, rejected by Jacoby (Jacoby 332 n. 11) who suggests that the figure 70 emerged from a synchronism with Aristotle whose death at the age of 70 was given by Eumelus (D.L. V 6). Guvigny, (above, n. 3) 77, notes in the apparatus criticus that the lacuna consists only of a single line and perhaps Lambinus' simple solution should be accepted, when he fills the lacuna of A with ἐβίω δὲ δύο ἐξήκοντα ἔτη cf. Westerman 287 apparatus criticus; in this case Ps.-Plutarch had originally preserved the figure of Hermippus.

869. Blass (III [1893] 7–8) believes that Dionysius own statement that Demosthenes was 17 in the archonship of Timocrates (*Ad Amm.* I 4) is based on the same passage in *Onetor*. Dionysius, he argues, had read εὐθέως δοκιμασθεὶς ἐνεκάλουν without the words μετὰ τοὺς γάμους, which he suspected as an interpolation and understood the passage to mean "immediately after the δοκιμασία Demosthenes lodged his suit in the archonship of Timocrates." There is the possibility that Dionysius also believed that Demosthenes entered majority at age 16, that is in his 17th year. See Golden (above, n. 864) 31 n. 24.

Ol. 99. 1 or 98. 4 for the birth of the orator, depending on whether Demosthenes entered majority at 17 or 18 years of age.<sup>870</sup> In either case the Hermippian date has proven more reliable and based on more certain evidence than the Apollodoran date preserved in Dionysius, and as such proves that our biographer could on occasion be a careful scholar. Beside his highly anecdotal accounts could be found research of a serious nature such as this.<sup>871</sup>

From this examination of the βίος of Demosthenes, we can identify certain features which we might expect to find in his other biographies of the orators: a free mixture of anecdote and erudition and an extended treatment of one particular aspect of an orator's life, in this case Demosthenes' rhetorical studies. All these elements are to be found in the biographies of Hypereides and Isocrates.

## II. Hypereides

The βίος of Hypereides came in the third book of περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν. The point of departure in reconstructing this life can once again be an

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870. Blass III (1893) 8. A figure of 17 is based on Demosthenes' own statement that he had lived under his guardians for 10 years and had lost his father at age 7 (*Aphobus* I 4, 6). However, the *Athenaion Politeia* 42. 2 indicates that Athenian youths were enrolled at age 18 (ὁκτώκαιδέκα ἔτη γεγονότες). For the most recent discussion of the problem see Rhodes (above, n. 470) 497–8, who against Sealey (*CR* 7 [1957] 175–7) argues for age 18. Perhaps the best solution is still that of Golden (above, n. 864) 30–8, who suggests that Demosthenes was 17 when he was enrolled in his deme, but 18 when he underwent his *dokimasia* before the *boule*.

871. Jacoby (336) suspects that Hermippus only moved the date of Demosthenes' birth back to Ol. 99. 1 to synchronize with that of Aristotle, who according to Apollodorus was born in that very year (D.L. V 9) and who died in Ol. 114 .1 in the archonship of Philocles (322/1), the same year in which Demosthenes died at Calauria (D.L. V 10). Thus, according to Hermippus, the orator died in 114. 1 at the age of 62 or 63, yielding a date of either Ol. 99. 1 or 98. 4 for his birth.

article of the Suda.<sup>872</sup> Though Hermippus is not named, there are at least three points which indicate that we have a substantial excerpt from him through a secondary source. He is known to have gone into detail on the erotic affairs of the orator (γυναικῶν ἡττήθη) and to have noted that Hypereides had his tongue cut out and his bones transported back to Athens for burial.<sup>873</sup> So the entry in the Suda may provide an outline of the content of Hermippus' own biography of Hypereides. It began with the *genos* and early education of the orator, followed by a section on his sexual *mores*, concluding with a detailed account of his death. As in the case of Demosthenes, there is no conclusive evidence that Hermippus ever went into the political career of Hypereides. He may have mentioned his prosecution of Demosthenes over the Harpalus affair, or his involvement in the Lamian war, which naturally led to his demand by Antipater. In the case of the latter there is some indirect evidence at least.

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872. Suda 315. 1: Υπερείδης, υἱὸς Γλακίππου τοῦ ῥήτορος (οἱ δὲ Πυθοκλέους), Ἀθηναῖος, ῥήτωρ, τῶν πρώτων κεκριμένων ἰ εἰς, μαθητεύσας ὅμοι Λυκούργῳ καὶ Πλάτῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ Ἰσοκράτει τε τῷ ῥήτορι. καὶ ἀπέβη μὲν δεξιὸς ῥήτωρ, γυναικῶν δ' ἡττήθη. ἀνηρέθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐξαγαγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐν Ἑρμιόνη ναοῦ τῆς Δήμητρος δι' Ἀρχίου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Φυγαδοθήρα, καὶ ἀποτιμηθεὶς τὴν γλῶτταν ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δ' υἱὸς Γλαύκιππος τὰ ὀστέα λαβὼν εἰς τὸ πατρῶον ἔθαψε μνήμα. εἰσι δ' οἱ πάντες λόγοι αὐτοῦ νς'.

873. Hermippus had noted it was Alphinous who secured the bones, either a cousin of the orator or the son of his own son Glaucippus. The Suda's source speaks simply of Glaucippus. This source was later than Hermippus, but dependent upon him for biographical details. The reference to Hypereides as member of the canon of ten of orators points to a period after Caecilius, who wrote on the character of the ten orators and who may have established or standardized the canon. Certainly by the 2nd century A.D. it was fixed. That the Suda's source was not Caecilius may be inferred from the fact that he gave 56 speeches, while Caecilius, on the evidence of Ps.-Plutarch (849d), presumably only numbered 52, unless of course the text of the Suda is corrupt. For a discussion of the problem of the canon of ten orators, when and by whom it was established, see Brzoska, *De Canone Decem Oratorum Atticorum Quaestiones* (Breslau 1883); Hartmann, *De Canone Decem Oratorum* (Goettingen 1891); Radermacher, "Kanon," *RE* X 2 (1919) 1873–78; Regenbogen, "Πίνναξ," *RE* XX 2 (1950) 1428–30; Douglas, "Cicero, Quintilian and the Canon of 10 Attic Orators," *Mnemosyne* 9 (1956) 30–40; Shoemaker (above, n. 13) 11–28.

## II. 1. The genos and Education

The biography undoubtedly began with an account of Hypereides' *genos*. At the very least it was noted that he was the son of Glaucippus, Athenian by birth and of the deme Collyte.<sup>874</sup> Next followed a section on his education, in which Hermippus described him as a student of Isocrates, perhaps against an earlier Peripatetic tradition that regarded both him and Lycurgus as pupils of Plato.<sup>875</sup> In the later biographical tradition on Hypereides, limited as it may be, the two orators are presented together as fellow students of Plato and Isocrates.<sup>876</sup> The two notices are virtually identical and a common source must be assumed. The Suda, as we have suggested, preserves an extract from a biography dependent on Hermippus. What we suspect is that Hermippus stands behind the tradition that linked the two, and, as in the case of Aeschines and Demosthenes, noted where he departed from early writers that had regarded them as students of Plato.<sup>877</sup> This is all that can be inferred about

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874. Cf. Ps.-Pl. 848d.

875. Chamaeleon: D.L. III 47: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Θεόφρασιν ἀκοῦσαι φασιν αὐτοῦ (Πλάτωνος). καὶ Ὑπερίδην τὸν ῥήτορα Χαμαιλέων φησὶ καὶ Λυκούργον. ὁμοίως Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ.

876. *Hyper.* 848d: ἀκροατῆς δὲ Πλάτωνος γενόμενος τοῦ φιλοσόφου ὅμα Λυκούργου καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐπολιτεύσατο Ἀθήνησι κτλ.

Suda: Ὑπερίδης, υἱὸς Γλαυκίππου τοῦ ῥήτορος (οἱ δὲ Πυθοκλέους), Ἀθηναῖος, ῥήτωρ, τῶν πρώτων κεκριμένων ἰ' εἰς, μαθητεύσας ὅμα Λυκούργῳ καὶ Πλάτωνι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ Ἰσοκράτει τε τῷ ῥήτορι κτλ.

877. Hermippus may have introduced Hypereides and Lycurgus together for reasons of their contrasting nature, just as Theopompus and Ephorus almost never appear apart in the biographical tradition. The two historians exhibit completely contrasting temperaments and writing styles; to the one Isocrates had to apply the spur, to the other the bridle. See Cic. *De Or.* II 57, III 36, *Brut.* 204; Philostr. *VS* i 17 506; Phot. cod. 176 121a; Suda s.v. Ἐφορος; s.v. Θεοπόμπος. For a critical review of all such testimonia see Reed (above, n. 682) 7–50. There is an obvious parallel in the case of the two orators. Lycurgus was known for his high moral standing; Hypereides for his dissolute way of life. The latter Hermippus treated in some detail (frs. 68aI–68aII).

Hermippus' treatment of Hypereides' education, which clearly was of less concern to him than that of Demosthenes.

## II. 2. The Sexual Mores: the Idomenean Element

By contrast, what fascinated Hermippus about Hypereides was tales of his sexual escapades. On this proclivity Hermippus went into detail. Indeed all four surviving fragments (67-68b) touched on this theme in some way; fr. 67 refers to Euthias' speech against Phryne; fr. 68aI, which comes from Athenaeus, gives an account of his relations with the *hetairai* Myrrhinē, Phila and Aristagora, as they were described by Idomeneus, his affair with Phryne and subsequent defence of her in court;<sup>878</sup> fr. 68aII mentions his daily trips to the fish markets.<sup>879</sup> Fr. 68b, which comes from Ps.-Plutarch, falls into two parts; the first half deals with the orator's death; the second, found in the "auctaria", is simply an abridgement of frs. 68aI-II.<sup>880</sup> The

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878. Fr. 68aI: Athen. XIII 590cd: Ὑπερείδης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας τὸν υἱὸν ἀποβαλὼν Γλαύκιππον Μυρρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἑταίραν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐν ᾧσται εἶχεν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δὲ Ἀρισταγόραν, Φίλαν δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ, ἣν πολλῶν ὠνησάμενος χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐλευθερώσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἰκουρὸν αὐτὴν ἐποίησατο, ὥς Ἰδομενεὺς ἱστορεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ὑπερείδης ὁμολογῶν ἔρῳ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀπηλλαγμένος τὴν προειρημένην Μυρρίνην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσήγαγεν. ἦν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν. κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθείου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγεν διόπερ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Εὐθείας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης συναγορεύων τῇ Φρύνῃ, ὥς οὐδὲν ἦνυε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν οἱ δικοσταὶ καταψηφιούμενοι, παραγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς καὶ περιρήξας τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά τε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικούς οἴκτους ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαιμονῆσαι τε ἐποίησεν τοὺς δικοστάς καὶ τὴν ὑποφῆτιν καὶ ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέφ χαρισαμένους μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ ἀφεθείσης ἐγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψήφισμα, μηδὲνα οἰκτιζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ τινος μηδὲ βλεπόμενον τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν κατηγορούμενην κρίνεσθαι.

879. Athen. VIII 342c: καὶ Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησιν ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν ἑωθινὸν τὸν Ὑπερείδην ποιεῖσθαι ἀεὶ τοὺς περιπάτους ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι.

880. *Hyper.* 849de: ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερέας, ὥς ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν τὸν υἱὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ Μυρρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἑταίραν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δ' ἔχειν Ἀρισταγόραν, ἐν

correspondence between the second half of fr. 68b and fr. 68aI is such that there can be no doubt that the author of Ps.-Plutarch has also drawn on Hermippus.<sup>881</sup> Whereas Athenaeus expressly cites him by name as his source, Ps.-Plutarch mentions the daily trip to the fish market, something which indeed was told by Hermippus (fr. 68aII). What we have here are two different extracts from the same section of Hermippus' biography dealing with Hypereides' sexual *mores*. As the text of Ps.-Plutarch shows, the anecdote on Hermippus' trips to the fish market formed part of that section.

Both Ps.-Plutarch and Athenaeus (fr. 68aI) include the notices on the orator's liaisons with Myrrhinē, Phila and Aristagora as part of a much longer account, portraying Hypereides as the man about town, a portrait which included among other things a reference to his affair with Phryne and a detailed account of her trial. As for the notices on Myrrhinē, Phila and Aristagora, Athenaeus expressly names Idomeneus. But every indication points to Hermippus as the source in later antiquity for anything on the orators which originated with Idomeneus.<sup>882</sup> So in fr. 79 (schol. Aesch. ii 1), Hermippus and Idomeneus are cited together against Demetrius of Phalerum, who had regarded Aeschines as a student of Plato. Caecilius, who is noted by the scholiast to be in full agreement with them, apparently found Idomeneus cited

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Ἐλευσίνι δ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κτήμασι Φίλαν τὴν Θηβοίαν, εἴκοσι μνῶν λυτρωσόμενος. ἐποιεῖτό τε τὸν περίπατον ἐν τῇ ἰχθυοπώλιδι ὁσημέραι. ὠμίληκώς δέ, ὡς εἰκός δῆ, καὶ Φρύνη τῇ ἑταίρῃ ἄσεβεῖν κρινομένη συνεστήθη αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δηλοῖ· μελλούσης δ' αὐτῆς ἀλίσκεσθαι, παραγαγὼν εἰς μέσον καὶ περιρρήξας τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπέδειξε τὰ στέρνα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδόντων, ἀφείθη.

881. In Ps.-Plutarch appear the three *hetairai*, Myrrhinē, Aristagora and Phila, the note that Hypereides' son was turned out of his father's house, that Myrrhinē was the most costly prostitute of her day, the detail that Phila was purchased for 20 minae, the large sum noted by Athenaeus, the mention that Phryne and Hypereides were intimate and finally an account of the trial.

882. Jacoby, *FGrH* 338 IIIb 85 & *RE* 911.

by Hermippus. The same is the case here. Athenaeus found his name recorded in the text of Hermippus' biography. The author of Ps.-Plutarch, most likely Caecilius, derived the notices on Hypereides' erotic affairs not directly from Idomeneus, but from Hermippus.

The latter had accepted the Idomenean characterization of the orator as ἀκόλαστος. Ps.-Plutarch begins his extract from Hermippus by describing the orator as πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής, precisely how Demosthenes and other demagogues were characterized by Idomeneus, who no doubt spoke of Hypereides in these same terms. What follows this description of the orator are the series of characterizing anecdotes taken from Idomeneus, who told how Hypereides expelled his own son Glaucippus from the ancestral home to make room for Myhrrinē, the most costly *hetaira* of his day, how he kept Aristagora in the Peiraeus and Phila at Eleusis. Hermippus also derived from him a description of some kind of the affair and trial of Phryne, to which he added details of his own, usually of a pinacographical character. The composite scene, as it was put together by Hermippus and preserved in Athenaeus, shows the characteristic blend of anecdote and erudition. Idomeneus was cited for stories on Hypereides' erotic affairs; the text of the περὶ Φρύνης was used to deduce biographical details relating to Phryne; the *Pinakes* were consulted for details on Euthias, the prosecutor in the trial; even a Periegetical source was used. All this material was brought together and described in a highly vivid manner.

The obvious context for any reference by Hermippus to Euthias and to questions about the authorship of his speech against Phryne (fr. 67) was the trial, which without question Hermippus described. If he took the occasion to mention

Euthias' speech, presumably he did so of Hypereides'. The reference to the ὑπὲρ Φρύνης, so precisely titled, could suggest a pinacographical source, on which Hermippus drew from time to time. But, as we have seen, the text of that speech was probably first used by Idomeneus to infer that an illicit affair had existed between the orator and the *hetaira*.<sup>883</sup> Hermippus may have simply accepted this inference and referred to the text as evidence, as we find Athenaeus doing, without actually citing or verifying it himself.

He presumably also derived from Idomeneus some account of the trial, including a description of the disrobing. Those details which, however, can only be attributed to Hermippus relate to Euthias and are of a decidedly erudite character. First Hermippus had noted that Euthias' speech against Phryne was in fact composed by the rhetorician Anaximenes.<sup>884</sup> Hermippus' source seems to have been the Periegetes Diodorus, who had noted the very same thing.<sup>885</sup> That Hermippus was familiar with his work is confirmed from fr. 68b, where his name has been plausibly restored to the text of Ps.-Plutarch 849a.

But the idea, whether Hermippus' own or Diodorus', that Euthias had hired a logographer was inferred from the fact that Hypereides in his ὑπὲρ Φρύνης had charged Euthias with sycophancy. Indeed Harpocration, the source of fr. 67, makes this connection. But it was an unsubstantiated conclusion, just like the other details

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883. pp. 189–94

884. Fr. 67: Harpocration Εὐθείας: Ὑπερείδης ὑπὲρ Φρύνης. τῶν ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ διαβεβλημένων ἦν ὁ Εὐθείας. τὸν μέντοι λόγον αὐτῷ τὸν κατὰ Φρύνης Ἀναξίμενην πεποιηκέναι φησὶν Ἑρμιππος.

885. Athen. XIII 591e (FGH 372 F36): οὐκ ἄγνοω δὲ ὅτι τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον κατ' αὐτῆς Εὐθείου λόγον Δίοδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς Ἀναξίμενους φησὶν εἶναι.



relating to Euthias. According to Athenaeus, Hermippus told how Euthias became so enraged at the acquittal of Phryne that he gave up the practice of law and never pleaded another case.<sup>886</sup> This little anecdote was probably based on the fact that no other speech was recorded under Euthias' name in the *Pinakes* of Callimachus. What we are left with is the impression that the whole of the Phryne episode, both for details of the trial and Hypereides' alleged affair with her, was based on false inferences from the text of the ὑπὲρ Φρύνης.

Although Idomeneus may have been the first to describe the trial, his account was only known to later antiquity through Hermippus, who expanded and reshaped it by adding to it. But his hand is evident in other details besides those few dealing with Euthias. Although the two accounts in Athenaeus and Ps.-Plutarch are extracts from Hermippus and contain essentially the same material, there is one significant difference. In Athenaeus' account the acquittal of Phryne is secured more through Hypereides' tears than through the disrobing of the *hetaira*, and this point is emphasized by the decree which supposedly was passed after the trial forbidding the speaker from indulging in lamentation or the defendant from being present at the time of voting: καὶ ἀφεθείσης ἐγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψήφισμα μηδένα οἰκτιζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ τινος μηδὲ βλέπομενον τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν κατηγορουμένην κρίνεσθαι. The decree may have been Idomeneus' own creation.<sup>887</sup>

In Ps.-Plutarch the emphasis falls more on Phryne's beauty (τὸ κάλλος), a detail

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886. Athen. 590d: ἦν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν. κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθείου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγεν διόπερ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Εὐθείας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὥς φησιν Ἑρμιππος.

887. See Chapter 3 pp. 199–200.

which probably reflects the hand of Caecilius, who was a rhetorician. The disrobing of Phryne was used in rhetorical works to illustrate that more than just rhetoric possessed the power of persuasion.<sup>888</sup> In these examples the stratagem is Phryne's own; she disrobes herself and by her beauty persuades the jury, when the orator's words fail. As the context of the passages in Quintilian and Philodemus show, the persuasive power of Phryne's beauty was a stock argument against defining rhetoric simply as the art of persuasion.<sup>889</sup> The emphasis on her beauty in these later accounts may be due to a tradition that grew in the Hellenistic period about her remarkable beauty. We find references to her modelling for Apelles' *Anadyomene* and for Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite,<sup>890</sup> or descriptions in works such as Alcetas' *περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς* of votive offerings produced by Praxiteles but dedicated by her.<sup>891</sup> During that same period works *περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑταιρίδων* appeared, recording the sayings and escapades of famous *hetairai*, written by such distinguished scholars as Aristophanes of Byzantium and Apollodorus of Athens.<sup>892</sup> In fact book 13 of Athenaeus, in which the account of her trial occurs, contains a number of extracts from such works.<sup>893</sup> The *hetairai* of these works are characterized as witty, sophisticated women who are quick with their repartee and who associate with

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888. Quint. II 15. 9, Sext. Emp. II 4 & Philo. I 20. 4.

889. This argument seems to be answered by Alciphron *Ep.* IV 4 (I 31), when Bacchis tells Phryne: μηδὲ τοῖς λέγουσί σοι ὅτι, εἰ μὴ τὸν χιτωνίσκον περιρρηξαμένη τὰ μαστόρια τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐπέδειξας, οὐδὲν <ὄν> ὁ ῥήτωρ, πείθου. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ γένηται σοι ἡ ἐκείνου παρέσχε συνηγορία.

890. Athen. XIII 591a

891. Athen. XIII 591c

892. Athen. XIII 567a

893. See above, n. 591.

philosophers, poets and politicians alike. It is in the company of such *hetairai* that Phryne finds herself.

It was within the context of these works on *hetairai* that the tradition grew up of her remarkable beauty and her association with great artists. Indeed the very idea that she was the model of Apelles' *Anadyomene* and Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite may have suggested itself from the disrobing scene.<sup>894</sup> We know from Athenaeus that Apollodorus in his *περὶ ἑταίρων* and Herodicus in his *περὶ κωμωδουμένων* thought that there were actually two Phrynes, and Herodicus noted that the Phryne mentioned by the orators was distinct from the Thespian Phryne.<sup>895</sup> There is the possibility that the Phryne of Hypereides' speech and the Thespian Phryne were two different figures who at one point in the tradition became identified. It was this composite figure who became known for her beauty, modeled for great works of art and was defended by Hypereides. Already in Athenaeus' account we see the process at work. Phryne was *ἐκ Θεσπιῶν* and at her disrobing the jurors grew superstitious at the sight of this handmaiden and priestess of Aphrodite, which clearly links up with the tradition that she had modeled for Apelles' and Praxiteles' Aphrodites. It is not impossible that Hermippus in giving his account of the trial was influenced by a number of these writers on *hetairai*, who were his contemporaries.

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894. This need to associate Phryne with every great artist is a common assimilation. In the case of another *hetaira*, Laïs, Hypereides noted in his speech against Aristagora that she excelled all women who ever lived in beauty (Athen XIII 587d). In the Hellenistic treatises on *hetairai* this same Laïs becomes the mistress of Apelles and is sought after by artists who come far and wide to copy her breasts (Athen. XIII 588de). In this respect Phryne was her rival, who gathered about her a company of artists and whose beauty was equally renowned.

895. Athen. XIII 591d

His account of the trial formed part of a longer section of the biography in which Hermippus described the licentious behaviour of the orator. In portraying the orator as πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερέης, he included the stories about his erotic affairs, as they were told by Idomeneus. In the same section he also depicted the orator as an ὀψοφάγος, who would daily visit the fish markets.<sup>896</sup> In the derivative text of Ps.-Plutarch 849de (fr. 68b) this habit is mentioned in close connection with the notices on his love affairs and so was intended to complement the general image of the orator as the man about town.<sup>897</sup>

This characterization of the orator as a gourmet is of comic origin. In the very same passage of Athenaeus in which fr. 68aII is preserved, several comic fragments are given which refer to it. But, when the comic poets called Hypereides an ὀψοφάγος, they were insinuating something more than just having a taste for fine foods. Timocles connected it with Hypereides' bribe taking, in the *Delos* specifically with taking bribes from Harpalus,<sup>898</sup> and in the *Icarians* generally.<sup>899</sup> There he is

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896. Fr. 68aII: Athen. VIII 342c: καὶ Ἑρμιππος δέ φησιν ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μοθητῶν ἑωθινὸν τὸν Ὑπερείδην ποιεῖσθαι αἰεὶ τοὺς περιπότους ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι.

897. Wehrli Suppl. I 85.

898. Athen. VIII 341f: καὶ Ὑπερείδης δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὀψοφάγος ἦν, ὥς φησι Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Δῆλῳ διηγούμενος τοὺς παρὰ Ἀρπάλου δωροδοκήσαντας. γράφει δὲ οὕτως.

A. Δημοσθένης τάλαντα πεντήκοντ' ἔχει.	B. μακάριος, εἵπερ μεταδίδωσι μηδενί.
A. καὶ Μοιροκλῆς εἵληφε χρυσίον πολὺ.	B. ἀνόητος ὁ διδούς, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ λαμβάνων.
A. εἵληφε καὶ Δῆμων τι καὶ Καλλισθένης.	B. πένητες ἦσαν, ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχω.
A. ὁ τ' ἐν λόγοισι δεινὸς Ὑπερείδης ἔχει.	B. τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας οὗτος ἡμῶν πλουτεῖ· ὀψοφάγος γάρ, ὥστε τοὺς λάρους εἶναι Σύρους.

899. 342a: καὶ ἐν Ἰκαρίοις δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητὴς φησι:  
τόν τ' ἰχθυόρρουν ποταμὸν Ὑπερείδην περῶς,  
ὃς ἠπίαις φωναῖσιν, ἔμφρονος λόγου  
κόμποις παφλάζων, ὑπίοις πυκνώμασι  
πρὸς πᾶν ἀπαντῶν κληῖθρ' ὅταν λύσας ἔχη,  
μισθωτὸς ἄρδει πεδία τοῦ δεδωκότος.

described as a river teeming with fish, open for hire, ready to water any briber with his flood of speaking. Another comic poet, Philetaerus, in his *Asclepius*, described Hypereides not only as an ὀψοφάγος but also as a gambler.<sup>900</sup> Apparently he had characterized Hypereides just as Axionicus ἐν Φιλευριπίδῃ had the orator Callias.

The fragment is a parody of a Euripidean monody. It begins by celebrating the great catch that was landed by Glaucus and will be food for ὀψοφάγοι. Moschion, the parasite,<sup>901</sup> will eat it in hot pickle, but not Callias, who prefers only figs and salt-fish. Either Athenaeus or his source divined from this reference to figs and salt-fish that the comic poet was actually reviling Callias for sycophancy and lewd

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900. 342 b-c: Φιλέταιρος δ' ἐν Ἀσκληπιῷ [τὸν Ὑπερείδην] πρὸς τῷ ὀψοφαγεῖν καὶ κυβεύειν αὐτόν φησι, καθόπερ καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν ῥήτορα Ἀξιόνικος ἐν Φιλευριπίδῃ

ἄλλον δ' ἰχθὺν  
 μεγέθει πίσυνόν τινα τοῖσδε τόποις  
 ἦκει κομίσας  
 Γλαυκός τις ἐν πόντῳ γ' ἁλούς,  
 σῖτον ὀψοφάγων.  
 καὶ λίχνων ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα φέρων κατ' ὤμων.  
 τίνα τῷδ' ἐνέπω τὴν σκευασίαν;  
 πότερον χλωρῷ τρίμματι βρέξας  
 ἢ τῆς ἀγρίας  
 ἄλμης πάσμοισι σῶμα λιπάνας  
 πυρὶ πομφλέκτῳ πορραδῶσω;  
 ἔφα τις, ὡς ἐν ἄλμῃ  
 θερμῇ τοῦτο φάγοι γ' ἐφθὸν ἀνὴρ  
 Μοσχίων φίλαυλος.  
 βοῶ δ' ὄνειδος ἴδιον, ὦ Καλλία.  
 ἦ σὺ μὲν ὀμφί <τε> σῦκα καὶ ὀμφί τορίχι' ἀγάλλῃ,  
 τοῦ δ' ἐν ἄλμῃ πορρεόντος  
 οὐ γεύῃ χαρίεντος ὄψου.

τὰ μὲν σῦκα, ὡς ἂν συκοφάντην λοιδορῶν, τὰ δὲ τορίχη, μήποτε καὶ ὡς αἰσχροποιουῦντος.  
 καὶ Ἑρμῆπος κτλ (fr. 68aII).

901. Athen. VI 242c

behaviour.<sup>902</sup> The charge comes close to the characterization of Hypereides presented by the other comic poets and by Hermippus, as an orator ready for hire and a frequenter of women of ill-repute. The passage in Athenaeus in which all of these comic fragments are found is rounded off by the citation from Hermippus relating to the orator's daily strolls in the fish markets. It is best to assume that the whole is an excerpt from the biographer, who had cited several comic poets for evidence that Hypereides was indeed an ὀψοφάγος.

### II. 3. The Death

It is clear from the above discussion that Hermippus provided a full and detailed treatment of the orator's licentious character. This in fact may have constituted the main part of his biography. The only other aspect of the orator's life which there is evidence that he treated in any detail was his death. Certain events leading up to it must have been noted, particularly Hypereides' active role in promoting the Lamian war, which predictably led to his demand by Antipater. This was confirmed by the *POxy* 1800. As noted, the papyrus contains a collection of miscellaneous biographies, among which is preserved a fragment of a life of Hypereides.<sup>903</sup> It was suggested that this fragment was an epitomized extract from Hermippus' own biography, since it includes his version of Hypereides' death.<sup>904</sup> In

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902. Gulick, *Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists* IV (Loeb 1930) 53 compares Athen. II 116d-f, where salt-fish are called *horaia*, an adjective applied to a beautiful boy.

903. See pp. 172-3 & n. 534 for text.

904. The papyrus may be taken as evidence that Hermippus actually included a biography of Aeschines; it contains a *genos*; a reference to his acting career as a *trigōnistēs*; a note that Aeschines was ὑποκρινόμενος εὐφυῆς, a characterization consistent with that found in fr. 79; mention of his

the same fragment mention is made of Hypereides' involvement in the Lamian war, of being the σύνεργος of Demosthenes and one the ten *rhetors* demanded by Antipater. What was suspected was that Hermippus was responsible for the confusion that occurs in later sources between Antipater's demand after Lamia and a similar demand by Alexander after the destruction of Thebes, where there indeed existed a tradition that specifically mentioned the surrender of 10 Athenian politicians. The papyrus may also be taken as evidence that Hermippus included a reference to Hypereides' involvement in Lamia, perhaps as a lead up to his account of the orator's death.

This account is preserved in Ps.-Plutarch 849a-d.<sup>905</sup> It is clear from this passage that variations abounded, each giving different versions of where Hypereides was captured, where he died and how he died. At least three distinct versions are

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indictment of Ctesiphon which failed to secure a fifth of the votes and led to his exile; an anecdote in which Demosthenes is said to have sent his rival a talent for expenses on his journey; and finally a note on the school he set up in Rhodes.

905. ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὰ περὶ Κρονωνῶνα συμβάντα ἐξαίτηεῖς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ μέλλων ἐκδίδοσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς Αἴγινα ὅμα τοῖς κατεψηφισμένοις καὶ συμβαλὼν Δημοσθένει καὶ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπολογησάμενος, ἀπαλλαγείς ἐκεῖθεν, ὑπ' Ἀρχίου τοῦ Φυγαδοθήρου ἐπικληθέντος, Θουρίου μὲν τὸ γένος ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τότε δὲ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ βοηθοῦντος, ἐλήφθη πρὸς βίαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐχόμενος <τοῦ> ἀγῶλματος καὶ ἀχθεὶς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον εἰς Κόρινθον, ἔπειτα βασανιζόμενος, διέφαγε τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐξειπεῖν τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀπορρήτων δυνηθῆναι καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε, Πυανειψιδῶνος ἐνάτη ἰστομένου. Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν γλωττοτομηθῆναι εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ ῥιφῆναι ἄταφον, Ἀλφίνου δ' ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ ἢ, ὥς τινες, Γλαυκίππου τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸν υἱὸν διὰ Φιλοπείδους τινὸς ἱατροῦ λαβόντα ἐξουσίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστέα κομίσαι εἰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς προσήκουσι παρὰ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μακεδόνων δόγματα· οὐ μόνον γὰρ κελεῦσαι αὐτοὺς φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ταφῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐν Κλεωναίς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ἀπαχθέντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπου γλωττοτομηθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὃν προεῖρηται τρόπον τοῦς δ' οἰκείους τὰ ὀστέα λαβόντας θάψαι [τε] ὅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι πρὸ τῶν Ἰππιδῶν πυλῶν, ὥς φησιν Ἡλιδώρος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ μνημάτων. νυνὶ δὲ κατερήρειπται τὸ μνήμα καὶ ἔστιν ἄδηλον.

recorded by Ps.-Plutarch. The first places his death in Corinth, the second, Hermippus' account, in Macedonia and the last in Cleonae. The first two versions, at least, described how the orator first fled to Aegina, where he met Demosthenes and excused himself for his disagreement.<sup>906</sup> From there he was pursued by Archias to Hermione. The personal details, that Archias was nicknamed Φυγαδοθήρας, came from Thuria and was once an actor, were certainly to be found in Hermippus' account.<sup>907</sup> In the first version, Hypereides was seized by Archias in the temple of Poseidon and brought to Corinth, where he was tortured but bit off his tongue to avoid divulging the secrets of his city. Ps.-Plutarch only notes where Hermippus differed from this account, namely that Hypereides went to Macedonia, where his tongue was cut out and his body was left unburied. This implies that Hermippus included all the other details of the previous version, including the pursuit by Archias the "exile-hunter" of Hypereides from Aegina to Hermione. That Hermippus had placed the capture of the orator in Hermione is perhaps confirmed by the Suda, who notes that he was seized there in the temple of Demeter.<sup>908</sup> In this one other point Hermippus may have also differed, placing the capture not in the temple of Poseidon but of Demeter. But these were minor variations and the stories were essentially the same.

This is also true of the final variation recorded in Ps.-Plutarch. According to it Hypereides died at Cleonae, where he had his tongue cut out, just as Hermippus told.

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906. This is an obvious reference to Hypereides' prosecution of Demosthenes over the Harpalus affair (Ps.-Pl. 848f) and may be an indication that Hermippus made reference to it earlier in the biography.

907. See the discussion on Demosthenes' death pp. 272–3.

908. Suda 315. 6: ἐξαγαγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐν Ἑρμίονη ναοῦ τῆς Δήμητρος δι' Ἀρχίου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Φυγαδοθήρα, καὶ ἀποτιμηθεὶς τὴν γλῶττιν ἀπέθανεν.



As if to make the point that the new version differed little from what Hermippus had said, Ps.-Plutarch adds that the orator died in the manner related above: διαφθαρήναι ὃν προείρηται τρόπον. This can only mean that even those who placed the orator's death in Cleonae, also noted that he was tortured, his tongue was cut out, his body was left unburied and his bones retrieved by his relatives. A comparison with Plutarch *Demosthenes* 28. 3-4 reveals that this final version originated with Demetrius, who not only placed the death at Cleonae but also staged the capture in the sanctuary of Aeacus on Aegina. If indeed this was the Phalerian, as Jacoby suggests, it is quite possible that Hermippus, who is cited both by Plutarch (28. 3) and Ps.-Plutarch, and who is known to have consulted the Peripatetic on more than one occasion (Fr. 79), was the source of this variation both here and in Plutarch. In which case Hermippus cited him by name, mainly adopting his account of the orator's death, but noting where he differed. He accepted, for instance, the flight to Aegina but argued that the stay there was temporary, suggesting rather that Hypereides fled to Hermione, where he was captured in the temple of either Poseidon or Demeter. Though he further argued that Hypereides was taken not to Cleonae but to Macedonia, he accepted Demetrius' view that he had his tongue cut out.<sup>909</sup>

It is not at all improbable that Hermippus was Ps.-Plutarch's source for all three variations, including the reference at the end of the passage to Diodorus, who noted in the third book of his *περὶ μνημῶτων* that Hypereides was buried with his ancestors

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909. Among those capture with Hypereides on Aegina was Himeraeus, the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum (Plut. *Dem.* 28. 4). If indeed the latter is the source of this story, we should expect personal knowledge of events, seeing that his own brother was involved, and we should consider his account accurate, accepting that Hypereides was captured on Aegina and executed at Cleonae.

πρὸ τῶν Ἰππῶδων πυλῶν.<sup>910</sup> That the biographer was familiar with his work, particularly as it related to Hypereides, has been already noted.<sup>911</sup> Common to all the variants was the problem of how Hypereides, who was condemned to perpetual exile, came to be buried in Athens.<sup>912</sup> The words τοὺς δ' οἰκείους τὰ ὅστ' αὐτὸν λαβόντας imply that Diodorus also had mentioned his death outside Athens,<sup>913</sup> and dealt with the problem of the return of the bones.<sup>914</sup> Hermippus certainly had a lot to say on this matter; he noted that either the orator's cousin or grandson Alphinous retrieved the bones through the agency of a physician named Philopeithes, that the bones were brought back to Athens contrary to a decree of the Athenians and Macedonians which had ordered his exile and forbade his burial at home. It is not beyond reason that Hermippus had consulted Diodorus here about matters relating to Hypereides' death and burial, perhaps deriving from him details of a prosopographical and chronological kind, such as the fact that he died on the 9th of the month of Pyanepsion.

From these attempts at reconstructing the biographies of Demosthenes and

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910. The text actually transmits Ἡλιόδωρος, but Ruhnken's correction to Διόδωρος has been generally accepted by scholars. See Müller, *FHG* II 354; Schwartz, "Diodoros," *RE* V 1 (1903) 662; Jacoby, "Heliodoros," *RE* VIII 1 (1912) 17, *FGrH* 372 F 34 IIIB 140 & 142; Wehrli Suppl. I 85; but contrast Keil, "Der Perieget Heliodoros von Athen," *Hermes* 30 (1895) 200–01.

911. Fr. 67. See above, pp. 289–90 & n. 881–2.

912. Wehrli Suppl. I 85.

913. Jacoby, *FGrH* 372 F 34 IIIB 142.

914. In F 35 (Plut. *Them.* 32. 4) we learn that Diodorus ἐν τοῖς περὶ μνημείων dealt with the burial of Themistocles. Plutarch makes the interesting comment that Diodorus located the burial site on the promontory opposite Alcimas on the basis of conjecture rather than actual knowledge (ὥς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλλον ἢ γινώσκων) and drew supporting evidence from the comic poet Plato. In the case of Hypereides Diodorus actually seems to have consulted the physical remains and may be the source of Ps.-Plutarch's comment that grave monument was in ruins and could no longer be identified.

Hypereides, a pattern emerges as to the content of the Hermippian biography. It contained a section on the *genos* of the orator, a discussion of his education, perhaps including a motivating anecdote to explain the orator's reason for taking up the study of rhetoric, a section on his sexual *mores*, concluding with a somewhat detailed account of his death. The life of Isocrates will prove no exception.

### III. Isocrates

The biography was found in the first book of περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰσοκράτους. Only three fragments remain. These concern the 20 talents he earned from composing a eulogy of Evagoras (fr. 64), his liaison with the *hetaira* Lagiscē (fr. 65) and the composition of the *Philippos* just before his death (fr. 66). Thus, in reconstructing his biography, we must turn to later biographies. A point of departure this time will be Ps.-Plutarch. The comparison with Dionysius' *Isocrates* in Chapter 1 revealed that the "primary" life of Ps.-Plutarch was based largely on the κοινὴ ἱστορία, Dionysius' main source. Where there were differences between the two lives, they were the result of additions made by the author of Ps.-Plutarch, taken either from the common history or from Hermippus. The details which it can be argued go back to the biographer are the following: 1) *genos*: the date of birth in the 86th Olympiad, synchronism with Plato, note on Theodorus αὐλοποιός (836ef); 2) education: the Theramenes anecdote (837a); 3) career: school in Rhodes (837bc), composition of Timotheus' letters for which he was awarded a talent (837c), refusal of partial instruction to Demosthenes (837d), the 20 talents received from Nicocles for the Eulogy of Evagoras (838a); 4) his affair with Lagiscē and marriage to Plathanē (839a);

5) death (837e). These notices corresponds closely to the general outline which Hermippus followed in his other biographies of the orators.

It is clear from this that the emphasis fell on Isocrates' activity as a teacher, with a number of illuminating details on the great wealth which he earned from this activity. This perhaps constituted the main part of his biography. In reconstructing the life of Isocrates, the Anonymous Vita, commonly attributed to Zosimus of Ascalon, can be our guide. This biography covers several pages of Westermann's *Biographi Graeci Minores* (253-59). At 256. 83 Zosimus switches sources (λέγουσι δὲ τινες) and begins afresh with a notice on the birth of the orator. The source followed by Zosimus from this point onward up to line 98 bears a marked resemblance to the biography of the κοινὴ ἱστορία, as it was preserved in Dionysius and Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>915</sup> It is the first half (253. 1-256. 82) which is of concern. Zosimus' source here seems to have been dependent on Hermippus. Several things point in that direction. The section concludes (256. 77) with the same citation from the comic poet Strattis which Hermippus quoted in connection with Isocrates' alleged affair with Lagiscē (fr. 65). Moreover, the references to the abundant wealth which Isocrates made from teaching (254. 36), to his service as trierarch (255. 42) and finally the detailed anecdote about Theramenes the *rhetor* (254. 8) are all of Hermippan origin.

### III. 1. The Genos

Zosimus begins, predictably, with the *genos* of the orator, noting that Isocrates

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915. See above, pp. 82-3

was the son of Theodorus the αὐλοποιός.<sup>916</sup> He further adds that Isocrates' father was so nicknamed not from working with his own hands at flute-making but from owning slaves who did. Zosimus appears to be answering a comic charge and his comments resemble his digression at 255. 45-51 (λέγομεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἀπολογούμενοι), where he attempts to answer the comic poets, who charged that Isocrates resorted to a πόρνη. Ps.-Plutarch provides a similar notice on Isocrates' *genos* to the one which we find in Zosimus, but adds the important detail that Theodorus was ridiculed by Aristophanes and Strattis for his flute-making.<sup>917</sup> Perhaps Zosimus has these comic poets in mind.

Hermippus is known to have quoted from Strattis, who in one comic fragment referred to Isocrates' mistress Lagiscē and called the orator αὐλοτρύπη.<sup>918</sup> As noted, he may have understood this as a reference to the orator's occupation.<sup>919</sup> It may well be from this alone that he divined that the comic poets had ridiculed Theodorus for

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916. Zos. 253. 1: Ἰσοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν τοῦ αὐλοποιοῦ ἐγένετο παῖς, ἥδυντοῦς μητρός οὐχ ὅτι δ' ἰδίαις χερσὶν εἰργάζετο, διὰ τοῦτο αὐλοποιὸς ἐκλήθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι παῖδας εἶχε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους καὶ ἐκ τούτου προσεπορίζετο τὸν βίον. As it was argued in Chapter 1 (pp. 60–2), Hermippus seems to have dated the orator's birth to the 86th Olympiad, noting that he was 7 years the senior of Plato. Certainly this date came to be the accepted one in antiquity: D.H. *Isoc.* 1; Ps.-Pl. 836f; Suda 259. 2.

917. Ps.-Pl. 836e: Ἰσοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν ἦν τοῦ Ἐρχιέως τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντας αὐλοποιοὺς κεκτημένου καὶ εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων, ὥς καὶ χορηγῆσαι καὶ παιδεῦσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι, Τελέσιππος καὶ Διόμνηστος ἦν δὲ καὶ θυγάτριον ὅθεν εἰς τοὺς αὐλοὺς κεκωμώδηται ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Στράτιδος.

918. Fr. 65: Athen. XIII 592d. For text see below n. 956.

919. See above, pp. 63–5. Cf. Pollux 4. 71: ὁ δὲ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐργαζόμενος αὐλοποιὸς καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους γλωττοποιός, καὶ αὐλοτρύπης κατὰ τὴν κωμωδίαν. But contrast the Suda Φιλίσκος (360), where the nickname αὐλοτρύπη was given to Philiscus by Isocrates, since he used to play the flute professionally: Μιλήσιος, ῥήτωρ, Ἰσοκράτους ἀκουστής τοῦ ῥήτορος. ἐγένετο δὲ πρότερον αὐλητῆς παραδοξότατος διὰ καὶ Αὐλοτρύπην Ἰσοκράτης αὐτὸν ἐκάλει. No doubt Strattis used the word in an obscene way. For obscene usages of τρυπᾶω see Theoc. 5. 42; *API.* 4. 243; for τρύπημα Ar. *Ecc.* 624.

his occupation. The reference to Strattis certainly suggests that Hermippus was Ps.-Plutarch's source. But as far as we can tell from fr. 65, the immediate context of the comic citation was Isocrates' alleged affair with Lagiscē. In that context Hermippus had noted that Isocrates was already getting on in years (προβαίνοντα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ), when he took up with the *hetaira*, something which has suggested to scholars that the play from which the comic citation comes, the *Atalante*, could not have been composed before 375 B.C.<sup>920</sup> This assumes that Hermippus deduced the orator's age from the text of the play. Certainly an old Isocrates consorting illicitly with a young woman makes good comic material.

In this case, however, a date of 375 would make any reference to Theodorus the αὐλοποιός of little or no contemporary relevance, which suggests that the nickname was never mentioned by the comic poets but was Hermippus' own inference. In turn Aristophanes could not have attacked Isocrates for his illicit affair, which supposedly occurred in his senior years, seeing that he was already long dead. Aristophanes, if he was at all cited by Hermippus, could only have referred to Theodorus. Significant, however, is the fact that only Strattis is ever quoted, which leads one to suspect that Hermippus never referred to any other comic poets by name, and if he did, never quoted them. Indeed Zosimus, who drew on a source dependent on Hermippus, when he mentions the Lagiscē affair, simply mentions the

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920, A. Körte, "Strattis" *RE* Ser. 2 4A. 1 (1931) 336–7. All references in the preserved fragments belong to the years between 409 and 375. In 375 Isocrates would have been 60 or 61, if he had been born in 436/5, the archonship of Lysimachus (Ps.-Pl. 836f; D.H. *Isoc.* 1).

comic poets generally from whom he singles out Strattis for quotation.<sup>921</sup> When Hermippus inferred that Theodorus was called αὐλοποιός, he himself may have simply noted that Isocrates' father was ridiculed by the comedians, prominent among whom was Strattis, whom he quoted later in the context of Isocrates' affair.

### III. 2. Education

In Ps.-Plutarch the whole reason for mentioning that Theodorus was a flute-maker was to emphasize the point that he was well enough off to provide an education for his sons: εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων, ὥς καὶ χορηγῆσαι καὶ παιδεῦσαι τοὺς υἱούς. As it was shown in Chapter 1, the similarities between this notice (836e) and that at 837c<sup>922</sup> and 838a,<sup>923</sup> where much the same idea is expressed about Isocrates' wealth, suggest a common source for all three passages, which was Hermippus himself.<sup>924</sup> Something like the statement at 836e formed the transition into his discussion of the education of Isocrates.

Before proceeding to the orator's education, Zosimus noted his marriage to Plathanē and his adoption of Aphareus. But in Hermippus' biography these two notices were presented later, in the context of his affair with Lagiscē. Our discussion

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921. Zos. 256. 77. Seeliger, (above, n. 14) 39–40, notes that it is unlikely that Zosimus would have overlooked Aristophanes, if he had read his name in his source. He suggests a correction to Aristophon in Ps.-Plutarch. But if Ps.-Plutarch's source, as Zosimus', had simply referred to the other comic poets generally, one can easily see how Aristophanes' name could later come to be added to that of Strattis, since he was the most noted of the ancient comedians.

922. ἀργύριόν τε ὅσον οὐδείς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὥς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι.

923. εὐπόρησε δ' ἱκανῶς οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους κτλ.

924. See pp. 63–4.

will be reserved until then. As for Isocrates' education, the tradition is consistent as to his teachers. Four names are generally given, Prodicus of Ceos, Gorgias of Leontini, Teisias of Syracuse and Theramenes, the *rhetor*.<sup>925</sup> A community of source is readily apparent in the various biographies. There are minor differences to be sure, such as the absence of a name or two, and the addition of another, but nothing significant.<sup>926</sup> So for instance Zosimus names Socrates in place of Prodicus, but follows Ps.-Plutarch in describing Isocrates' attempt to save Theramenes from the "Thirty".<sup>927</sup> In most cases our various sources imply that Isocrates had heard all these rhetoricians personally, but Zosimus, who perhaps comes closest to what Hermippus wrote, presents a succession of teacher-pupils, from Teisias through Gorgias and Theramenes to Isocrates. Such a *diadochē* would be in keeping with his method of presentation, seeing that Hermippus had conceived of a whole Isocratean school, to which all the great 4th-century orators and rhetoricians belonged. Orators like Demosthenes could be considered a member of the school by virtue of studying under Isaeus. He presented Isocrates, then, as the heir of a succession of great 5th-century rhetoricians; his immediate teacher was, however, Theramenes, student of Gorgias.

Several things point to Hermippus as the author of this tradition. In Zosimus,

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925. Ps.-Pl. 836f; D.H. *Isoc.* 1; *POxy* 3543; Zos. 256. 83; P. Cairo Masp. 67175. For the texts see above, n. 191; cf. n. 216.

926. Cf. Suda 259. 7: διδάσκαλος δὲ Γοργίας, οἱ δὲ Τισίαν φασίν, οἱ δ' Ἐργίνον, οἱ δὲ Πρόδικον ἔφασαν, οἱ δὲ Θηραμένην. οἱ δὲ λόγοι αὐτοῦ πλεῖστοι.

927. 254. 7: μαθητῆς δ' ἐγένετο φιλοσόφου μὲν Σωκράτους, ῥήτορος δὲ Θηραμένου, τοῦ μαθητοῦ Γοργίου (ὁ δὲ Γοργίας μαθητῆς Τισίου), τοῦ καὶ κοθόρνου.

Ps.-Plutarch in the "auctaria" (838f) tells the story how Isocrates, greatly grieved at the death of Socrates, dressed in black. In the same context he notes his definition of rhetoric, τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα τὰ δὲ μεγάλα μικρὰ ποιεῖν, which is simply a variation on the charge brought against Socrates. Perhaps from this it was inferred that Socrates was indeed Isocrates' teacher.



as in Ps.-Plutarch, Dionysius and *POxy* 3543, Theramenes bears the designation ῥήτωρ. This suggests a source that was interested in him, not as a politician but primarily as a rhetorician, particularly as the teacher of Isocrates. Nor is it surprising, then, that anecdotal material illustrating Theramenes' rhetorical skill and describing his relationship to Isocrates is found in the βίοι of Isocrates.<sup>928</sup> Since Hermippus had written on Isocrates, he seems the most likely candidate.

After naming Theramenes as a teacher, both Ps.-Plutarch and Zosimus go on to tell similar stories about Isocrates' attempt to rescue the rhetor from the Thirty tyrants. Ps.-Plutarch mentions Theramenes' flight from the Thirty to the temple of Hestia, Isocrates' lone defence of the fugitive, Theramenes' urging of him to keep silent, because his own misfortune would be compounded by having his friends suffer, and finally Isocrates' use of certain rhetorical works of Theramenes, which passed under the name of Boton.<sup>929</sup> The source of this last detail is anonymous (φασι), but in fact it goes back to Hermippus, who reported something very similar of Demosthenes.

According to Plutarch, Hermippus had found recorded in anonymous memoirs that Demosthenes had derived much help in his rhetorical studies from Plato and quoted a certain Ctesibius as saying that the orator had secretly acquired through Callias and others the τέχναι of Isocrates and Alcidas.<sup>930</sup> In both cases there is the

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928. This point is made by Pesely, "The Origin and Value of the Theramenes Papyrus," *AHB* 3 (1989) 29–35, in his discussion of the Theramenes Papyrus, whose author he suggests was Hermippus.

929. Ps.-Pl. 836f–837a: οὗ (Θηραμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος) καὶ συλλαμβανομένου ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ φυγόντος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν, ὁπάντων καταπεπληγμένων, μόνος ἀνέστη βοηθήσων καὶ πολὺν χρόνον εἰσήγησε κατ' ἀρχάς, ἔπειτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρητήθη, εἰπόντος ὀδυνηρότερον αὐτῷ συμβῆσεσθαι, εἴ τις τῶν φίλων ἀπολαύσει τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ ἐκείνου τινας οὕσας τέχνας αὐτῷ φασι συμπραγματεύεσθαι ἥνικα ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο, αἳ εἰσιν ἐπιγεγραμμένοι Βότωνος.

same emphasis on secret τέχνη, which assisted the respective orator: Demosthenes in his rhetoric, and Isocrates, when he was prosecuted by sycophants. There is the same use of obscure sources, which points to the erudition of Hermippus. In fact the notice that the τέχνη of Theramenes were registered under the name of Boton,<sup>931</sup> suggests the use of the *Pinakes* of Callimachus.<sup>932</sup> It recalls what Hermippus said about Euthias' speech against Phryne, which he noted was actually written by the rhetorician Anaximenes (fr. 67).

Zosimus' (254 8-30) account differs somewhat, but still elements suggest a Hermippan origin. Theramenes is called *rhetor*, and made the student of Gorgias and the teacher of Isocrates. Before recounting his arrest and execution by the "Thirty", Zosimus provides a long digression on the meaning of Theramenes' nickname Κόθορνος.<sup>933</sup> The κόθορνος could be worn by both men and women, on either the

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930. Fr. 71: Plut. *Dem.* 5. 7. For text see above, n. 724.

931. Pesely ("Socrates' Attempt to Save Theramenes," *AHB* 2 [1988] 32 n. 8) suggests that Boton may be a play on Theramenes' name, βοτόν being the counterpart of θήρ/ θηρίον. The same source, as that used by Ps.-Plutarch, must be behind the last entry in the *Suda* which notes that the majority of Isocrates' speeches were Theramenes': οἱ δὲ λόγοι αὐτοῦ πλεῖστοι.

932. Hermippus would have used the *Pinakes* as a guide for locating such obscure writings. In fact the language of Ps.-Plutarch (αἱ εἰσιν ἐπιγεγραμμένοι Βότωνος) suggests a pinacographical entry. Cf. fr. 432 Pf: ἦν ἐπιγράφουσιν οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες "περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν"; fr. 440: Δίφιλος Αἰρησιτεῖχει- τὸ δὲ δρῶμα τοῦτο Καλλίμαχος ἐπιγράφει Εὐνοῦχον- λέγει; fr. 443: ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς παρὰ Φιλίππου ῥηθεὶς λόγος, ὃν ἐπιγράφει Καλλίμαχος ὑπὲρ Ἀλοννήσου, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε...; fr. 448: ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Λυσίᾳ τις ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ξένου δίκην φεύγοντος περὶ κλήρου ποιοῦμενος τὴν ἀπολογίαν τοῦτον ἐπιγράφει τὸν λόγον Καλλίμαχος "περὶ Φερενίκου ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλείδου κλήρου"...; fr. 445: ἔστι δὲ καὶ λόγος τις ἐπιγραφόμενος "Δημοσθένους πρὸς Κριτίαν περὶ τοῦ ἐνεπισκήμματος", ὃν Καλλίμαχος μὲν ἀναγράφει ὡς γνήσιον, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ὡς ψευδεπίγραφον. In fragment 445 a clear distinction is drawn between ἐπιγράφω and ἀναγράφω, the former being the term used when naming the title of a work, the latter for the actual registration within the index.

933. Zos. 254. 9: ἐκλήθη δ' οὗτος κόθορνος διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. κόθορνος ὑπόδημά ἐστιν ἀρμόζον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἢ ἀρμόζον κατὰ δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστεροῦ ποδός· εἴτ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο, εἴτε δι' ἐκεῖνο, ἀπλῶς κόθορνος ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ εὐχερὲς τῶν τρόπων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ

right or the left foot. Theramenes was so nicknamed because he was equally versatile, willing to shift from one political side to the next, honouring whatever was the existing constitution at the time. Zosimus' source also quoted Aristophanes as evidence. This at once recalls what Hermippus had to say about Demosthenes' nicknames, where he linked the name Batalus with the Ephesian flute-player of that name, who had been ridiculed by the comic poet Antiphanes. Hermippus seems the most likely source here, both for the digression on Theramenes' nickname and for the account of his death.

In his version Zosimus makes no mention of Theramenes fleeing to the altar of Hestia or of Isocrates delivering any speech in his defence. Rather, he picks up the story with Theramenes being led off to his death and Isocrates following along, in hopes of honouring his master by sharing in his death. Theramenes dissuaded his student from his course by arguing that his teaching would only perish, if Isocrates were to die with him; greater honour, he said, would be done, by remaining alive and sharing his teaching with others.<sup>934</sup> Thus persuaded, Isocrates departed and took up teaching. With this conclusion, Theramenes' death has become the motivating

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κόθορνος εὐμετάβλητός ἐστι περί τε δεξιὸν πόδα καὶ ἄριστερόν, ἥγουν πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ γυναικας, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ποτε μόνῳ ἰστόμενος. μέμνηται καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης τοῦ κοθόρνου ἐν τοῖς Βατράχοις "τὶ κόθορνος καὶ ρόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην;" αἶν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας μετεβάλετο, καὶ τιμῶν τὴν παροῦσαν πολιτείαν καταλυθείσης ταύτης ποτὲ ὕστερον κατήγορος ἐγένετο, ἥς καὶ μετεῖχε πρώην.

934. Zos. 254. 20: καὶ δὴ τοῦτο συνειδότες οἱ λ' πρὸ τῆς καταλύσεως αὐτῶν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ ὕστερον διαβάλλῃ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ τοὺς υ', ὥς σὺν θεῷ μαθησόμεθα. ἄπιόντος δὲ τούτου πρὸς θάνατον συνηκολούθει ὁ Ἰσοκράτης μετασχεῖν βουλόμενος τοῦ θανάτου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐνδεικνύμενος. ὥς δ' ἐκώλυσε καὶ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὕστερόν τι εἰπὼν ἔπεισεν ἔφησε γὰρ "ἐὰν μὴ σὺ παρалаιφθῇς, συναπόλλυταί σοι καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ διδασκαλία, ὥστε ζῶν πλεον ἔτι τιμᾶς, ἐνδεικνύμενος τὴν ἐμὴν διδασκαλίαν." καὶ οὕτω πεισθεὶς ἀπελθὼν ἐδίδασκεν.

incident which determined Isocrates' career in rhetoric: καὶ οὕτω πεισθεὶς ἀπελθὼν ἐδίδασκεν.

Interpreted in this way the anecdote resembles closely the episode of Demosthenes' life in which Hermippus told how that orator was persuaded to abandoned the study of philosophy for rhetoric after hearing the famous orator Callistratus.<sup>935</sup> As in the case of Demosthenes, the rhetoric of Theramenes succeeds in persuading Isocrates to dedicate his life to the art. Between Zosimus' version of the story and Ps.-Plutarch's there are no real contradictions. Indeed there are similarities which suggest a common genesis. Each version of the story presents Theramenes as the teacher of Isocrates; concerns his arrest and execution by the Thirty; notes how Theramenes persuaded Isocrates from a course of action which would have involved his death; emphasises the teaching of Theramenes, the *rhetor*; and is presented as the first episode in Isocrates' career. The specific connection with Isocrates strongly suggests that the author of the περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰσοκράτους invented the story. But not only that, Hermippus is likely the source of the common tradition, which presented Theramenes, along with Teisias, Prodicus and Gorgias, as the teachers of Isocrates.

### III. 3. The School of Isocrates

After describing his education, both Ps.-Plutarch and Zosimus proceed to Isocrates' career as a teacher of rhetoric. Both authors begin by noting that he kept

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935. Fr. 72 :Gellius NA III 13.

away from politics<sup>936</sup> and from the courts<sup>937</sup> because he had a weak voice and a timid disposition. Dionysius of Halicarnassus made the same point.<sup>938</sup> The two reasons given by all three sources ultimately came from Isocrates himself,<sup>939</sup> but by the time Dionysius wrote they had already become part of the common history. There is a neat parallel with Demosthenes, who suffered from much the same problems, from a weak voice, shortness of breath, and timidity, which prevented him from addressing the assembly effectively.<sup>940</sup> The Isocrates of Zosimus' biography, because of his timidity, could not speak to crowds and once even fell silent when they came to hear him. Ps.-Plutarch in the "auctaria" records a similar anecdote on this theme.<sup>941</sup> We are told that Isocrates was so averse to declamation that, when three individuals came to hear him, he let one go and retained only two, saying that the lecture theatre was

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936. Ps.-Pl. 837a: ἐπεὶ δ' ἠνδρώθη, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέσχετο ἰσχνόφωνός τ' ὢν καὶ εὐλαβὴς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρῶα ἀποβεβληκῶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ ἄλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκῶς φαίνεται, ἕνα δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως.

937. Zos. 254. 31: ἔγραφε δὲ λόγους πανηγυρικοὺς καὶ συμβουλευτικούς τῶν γὰρ δικανικῶν ἀπείχετο πλεονάκις διὰ τὸ δύο πάθη ἔχειν σωματικά, ὅτι τε δειλὸς ἦν καὶ ἀσθενὴς τῇ φωνῇ. καὶ οὕτως ἦν δειλὸς καὶ αἰδήμων καὶ μὴ φέρων λέγειν ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσι διὰ τὸ ἀπαρηρησίαστον, ὥστε λέγεται ποτε ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐξηγουμένου ἐπεισῆλθόν τινες αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὁ δ' αἰδούμενος ἐσιώπησεν. ἐλάμβανε δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλα ὑπὲρ τῆς διδασκαλίας παρὰ μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδέν, ὥσπερ γέρας τοῦτο κατατιθέμενος καὶ τροφῆα καταβάλλων τῇ πατρίδι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ξένων αὐτῷ δραχμάς ... πλούσιος δὲ γενόμενος ἐμερίσατο τὸν πλοῦτον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς εὐνοίας, τριηραρχίας καὶ πολλὰς λειτουργίας συντελῶν.

938. Isoc. 1: σπουδὴν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο πράττειν τε καὶ λέγειν τὰ πολιτικά, ὡς δὲ ἡ φύσις ἠναντιοῦτο, τὰ πρῶτα καὶ κυριώτατα τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀφελομένη, τὸλμαν τε καὶ φωνῆς μέγεθος, ὧν χωρὶς οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐν ὄχλῳ λέγειν, ταύτης μὲν ἀπέστη τῆς προαιρέσεως.

939. *Panathenaicus* XII 10.

940. Plut. *Dem.* 6. 4.

941. Ps.-Pl. 838e: εἶχε δ' ἄλλοτρίως πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, ὡς ἀφικόμενων ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τριῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοὺς μὲν δύο κατασχεῖν τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπολῦσαι, φόμενος εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἥξειν νῦν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θέατρον εἶναι ἐν ἀκροατηρίῳ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν δέκα μνῶν διδάσκει, τῷ δ' αὐτὸν διδάξοντι τόλμαν καὶ εὐφωνίαν δώσειν δεκακισχιλίας. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐρόμενον διὰ τί οὐκ ὦν αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς ἄλλους ποιεῖ, εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ αἱ ἀκόναυ αὐταὶ μὲν τέμειν οὐ δύνανται τὸν δὲ σίδηρον τιμικὸν ποιοῦσιν.

now full. In the same context Ps.-Plutarch also notes how Isocrates used to claim that he would give 10,000 minae to anyone who could teach him courage and a pleasant voice, or how he compared himself to a whetstone, who could make others good speakers, when he was not one himself. There is no specific evidence to suggest that Hermippus was the author of these anecdotes, though we have seen that a number of such notices in the "auctaria" are indeed derived from him. The parallel with Demosthenes, whose speech problems he did deal with, suggests that Hermippus mentioned how Isocrates suffered from similar problems, perhaps even noting, as the later biographers do, how they prevented him from taking up a political career.

In his discussion of Isocrates' rhetorical career (837a-e), Ps.-Plutarch had added certain anecdotal material of Hermippan origin to the common history on which both he and Dionysius drew for their accounts.<sup>942</sup> This included a reference to establishing a school in Chios (837a-c), to composing letters for Timotheus (837c) and to refusing Demosthenes instruction (837de). Running through all these anecdotes is a common theme: Isocrates' wealth from teaching. As was shown in Chapter 1, all the additions to the first passage (837a-c) made by Ps.-Plutarch over and above Dionysius' account are derived from a single source. This source began by first noting that because Isocrates lost his family estate during the Peloponnesian war, he had to try his hand at logography to recover his lost fortune. Though he wrote for others, we are told, he only appeared in court once, to deliver the *Antidosis*. Next it was noted that after failing as a logographer, Isocrates turned to philosophy and to writing speeches, which

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942. See Chapter 1 pp. 70–72.

were of two types, panegyric and deliberative. Initially he set up a school in Chios with nine students. The same source told the story of how Isocrates berated himself for selling his soul, the very first time he saw his fees counted. It also noted that he had instituted at Chios a constitution on the model of Athens. The whole passage in Ps.-Plutarch was then rounded off by a note of Hermippan origin that Isocrates made more money than any other sophist, so much so that he even served as trierarch.<sup>943</sup> Zosimus' brief account of Isocrates' career follows along the same lines as Ps.-Plutarch 837a-c.<sup>944</sup> He begins by noting that the orator wrote λόγους πανηγυρικούς καὶ συμβουλευτικούς. He then proceeds to mention that the orator on most occasions (πλεονάκις), and by implication not always, kept away from judicial cases. This must be an allusion to the *Antidosis*, which he supposedly delivered in court. He concludes as Ps.-Plutarch does by mentioning the great wealth that Isocrates made from teaching and the trierarchies that he performed for the state.<sup>945</sup> Not only these last two details but perhaps also the general outline of Zosimus' account should be considered Hermippan in origin. Certainly it follows closely the source that provided Ps.-Plutarch

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943. 837 a-c: ἐπεὶ δ' ἡνδρώθη, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέσχετο ἰσχνόφωνός τ' ὢν καὶ εὐλαβὴς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρῶα ἀποβεβληκῶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ· ἄλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκῶς φαίνεται, ἓνα δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως. διατριβὴν δὲ συστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ γράφειν διανοηθεὶς ἐτρόπετο, καὶ τὸν τε Πανηγυρικὸν λόγον καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν ... σχολῆς δ' ἡγεῖτο, ὥς τινὲς φασι, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Χίου, μαθητὰς ἔχων ἑννέα· ὅτε καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν μισθὸν ἀριθμούμενον εἶπε δοκρύσας ὡς "ἐπέγνω ἑμαυτὸν νῦν τούτοις πεπραμένον." ... καὶ ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Χίον κατέστησε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ πατρίδι πολιτείαν ἀργυρίον τε ὅσον οὐδεὶς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὡς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι.

944. Zos. 254. 31. For text see above, n. 934

945. This point is illustrated by Zosimus by an anecdote on Ephorus the Diphorus: ἀμέλει Ἐφόρου τινὸς αὐτοῦ μαθητοῦ ἀπελθόντος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐλθόντος πάλιν πρὸς τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ δόντος τὰς αἰσκάδας τοῦτο Δισέφορον. πλούσιος δὲ γενόμενος ἐμείριστο τὸν πλοῦτον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς εὐνοίας, τριηραρχίας καὶ πολλὰς λειτουργίας συντελῶν. The same anecdote is found in the "auctaria" of Ps.-Pl. 839a.

with the additional material found at 837a-c.

It was probably that same source that provided Ps.-Plutarch with the anecdotes on Timotheus (837c) and Demosthenes (837de). Like the Chian one regarding Isocrates' fees they also illustrate the wealth that Isocrates earned from his teaching, and perhaps formed part of an extended discussion in that source on that topic. In the context of his own discussion of Isocrates' students Ps.-Plutarch tells how Isocrates composed letters for Timotheus, for which he was awarded a talent from the booty taken at the siege of Samos,<sup>946</sup> and again how he refused to teach Demosthenes, when the latter could only pay one-fifth of his fee, explaining that he sold his instruction whole, just as people sell fine fish whole.<sup>947</sup> There are indications that the source of all this additional material in Ps.-Plutarch was Hermippus himself.

That he showed such an interest in Isocrates' wealth is confirmed from fr. 64.<sup>948</sup> The biographer had learned from an otherwise unknown Evander, who had written a κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν, that Isocrates had received 20 talents from Nicocles for his Eulogy of Evagoras.<sup>949</sup> To this must be compared a fragment of Philodemus, where

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946. 837c: ἀκροαταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο εἰς ἑκατόν, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος, σὺν ᾧ καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπῆλθε, συντιθεὶς τὰς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου πεμπομένας ἐπιστολάς ὅθεν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ τάλαντον τῶν ἀπὸ Σάμου περιγενομένων.

947. 837de: καὶ Δημοσθένη δ' ἔτι ῥητορεύοντί φασι μετὰ σπουδῆς προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ χιλίας μὲν ὥς [μόνας] εἰσεπράττετο οὐκ ἔχειν φάναι παρασχεῖν, διακοσίας δὲ ᾤονας δώσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἐκμαθεῖν τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς "οὐ τεμαχίζομεν, ᾧ Δημοσθένης, τὴν πραγματείαν ὥσπερ δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅλους πωλοῦμεν, οὕτω καὶ γὰρ σοι, εἰ βούλοιο μαθητεῦν, ὁλόκληρον ἀποδώσομαι τὴν τέχνην.

948. Hypothesis Isocrates II ad Nicoclem: Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους, παρατιθέμενος Εὐανδρόν τινα κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν εἰρηκότα, ὡς ὅτι λαβὼν εἴκοσι τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ Νικοκλέους αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰσοκράτης, ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Εὐαγόρου, ὥσπερ καὶ τούτῳ βουλόμενος χρήσιμος γενέσθαι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν.

949. The Evander in question is perhaps to be identified with the Academic, who was a contemporary of Hermippus (DL IV 60); see Wehrli Suppl. I 83, who also thinks that Evander belongs to



the donation of Nicocles mentioned by Hermippus is connected with that of Timotheus.<sup>950</sup> In philosophical circles at least the two notices were presented together as evidence of the wealth which Isocrates made from rhetoric. It can be certain that if Evander made the connection, so did Hermippus, who drew upon him as a source. The only difference is the size of Timotheus' gift, which Ps.-Plutarch valued at a talent. This is likely what Caecilius gave,<sup>951</sup> who drew on Hermippus.

Another passage from Ps.-Plutarch, 838a, should be brought in at this juncture.<sup>952</sup> The mention of the donative of 20 talents from Nicocles assures us that what we have here is an excerpt from Hermippus. The passage begins by noting that Isocrates acquired considerable wealth from teaching (εὐπόρησε δ' ἱκανῶς οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων γνωρίμους) and concludes by noting that it was because of this wealth that he was brought up on trial and eventually forced to perform a trierarchy. This is essentially the thought of 837c, where exactly the same thing, in virtually the same language, is stated at the conclusion of the account on the school on Chios: ἀργυρίον τε ὅσον οὐδείς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὥς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι. The same source must be assumed for both notices. But, as we have shown,<sup>953</sup> the last notice came from the

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the πνεες, who according to the Hypothesis to Isocrates' *Evagoras* asserted that the orator received 30 talents: λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι καὶ τριάκοντα τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐδέξατο. But this would contradict the statement of the other Hypothesis.

950. *Rhet.* II 178. 166–9: [Ἰσοκράτης παρὰ] τοῦ Κυπρίου τάλαντα ἔλαβεν εἴκοσι καὶ παρὰ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Κόλωνος οὗτος ἔλαβεν ἄλλα δέκα κ.

951. Hubell, "Isocrates and the Epicureans," *CP* 11 (1916) 407; cf. Fuhr, "Zu Philodems rhetorischen Schriften," *RhM* 57 (1902) 430.

952. 838a: εὐπόρησε <δ> ἱκανῶς οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίου βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Εὐαγόρου, εἴκοσι τάλαντα λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου· ἐφ' οἷς φθονηθεὶς τρίς προεβλήθη τριηραρχεῖν, καίτοι δις μὲν ἀσθένειαν σκηπόμενος διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς παρητήσατο, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑποστάς ἀνήλωσεν οὐκ ὀλίγα.

953. pp. 63–4

κοινὴ ἱστορία, for nearly the same idea is expressed by Dionysius, who drew his biographical material from that source.<sup>954</sup> In Zosimus' biography the same connection is made between Isocrates' wealth from teaching and his service as a trierarch.<sup>955</sup> It seems that Hermippus was also the source of the common history, which in the later biographies briefly noted how Isocrates made more money than any other sophist from his teaching. In his own biography, however, Hermippus went into much greater detail on this point, detailing the precise source of this wealth, such as his friendship with Timotheus and the composition of the Eulogy of Evagoras, and even describing how that wealth led to Isocrates' prosecution in court on three separate occasions on charges of evading trierarchic service. Twice his adopted son Aphareus successfully defended him, alleging the illness of his father. But on the third occasion he was convicted and forced to perform a trierarchy. It is in this context that Ps.-Plutarch's earlier statement makes sense (837a), that as a logographer Isocrates may have written speeches for others but delivered only one himself, the *Antidosis*: ἄλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκῶς φαίνεται, ἓνα δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως. Both that detail and the account of his trial here are all derived from Hermippus.

In that account he noted the fact that Aphareus had twice defended Isocrates in court. This must mean that he also mentioned Isocrates' marriage to Plathanē and the subsequent adoption of her son Aphareus. The question is: in what context? Zosimus

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954. *Isoc.* 1: πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας χρηματοποιούντων.

955. Zosimus, however, presents a more favourable tradition, according to which Isocrates never charged his fellow citizens but only foreign students, and never begrudged his liturgies to the state. Ps.-Plutarch knows of this tradition but only in the "auctaria" (838f): πολίτην δ' οὐδέποτε εἰσέπραξε μισθόν.

refers to it at the end of his section on the orator's *genos*, which, however, seems out of place. Ps.-Plutarch, by contrast, at 838a introduces it just before going into his account of Isocrates' wealth, which included the notices on the donative of Nicocles and subsequent trials of the orator. In Ps.-Plutarch's account this is appropriate, since it informs the reader about Aphareus, who was to defend Isocrates in court on the two occasions.<sup>956</sup> This may be the precise context where he introduced the notice.

### III. 4. The Sexual Mores: The Idomenean Element

However, there is another possibility. Ps.-Plutarch notes that Isocrates adopted Aphareus when he was an old man. This points to another incident which Hermippus had placed in the orator's old age, his alleged affair with the *hetaira* Lagiscē.<sup>957</sup> According to Athenaeus, Hermippus reported that Isocrates took up with Lagiscē when he was advanced in years, and that their liaison produced a daughter. As

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956. 838a: ἐγένετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς Ἀφαρεὺς πρεσβύτη ὄντι ἐκ Πλαθάνης τῆς Ἰππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ποιητός, τῶν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τριῶν παίδων ὁ νεώτατος. εὐπόρησε δ' ἱκανῶς κτλ.

957. Fr. 65: Athen. XIII 592d: Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσοκράτους προβαίνοντά φησι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Ἰσοκράτη ἀναλαβεῖν Λαγίσκην τὴν ἑταίραν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ θυγάτριον. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Στράτις ἐν τούτοις

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκην τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν  
 ἰδεῖν με συκάζουσιν εὐνοίαν ἔτι  
 τὸν τ' αὐλοτρύπην αὐτὸν...

καὶ Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λαίδος, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος μνημονεύει αὐτῆς, καταλέγων καὶ ἄλλας ἑταίρας ἐν τούτοις κτλ.

Cf. Harpocr. Λαγίσκα: Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λαίδα, εἰ γνήσιος. Λαγίσκας τῆς ἑταίρας μνημονεύει καὶ Στράτις ὁ κωμικὸς οὕτω

Λαγίσκην τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν  
 ἰδεῖν με συκάζουσιν εὐνοίαν ἔτι  
 τὸν τ' αὐλοτρύπην αὐτὸν.

Harpocraton gives the exact same text as Athenaeus, even including, as does the latter, a reference to Lysias' speech against Lais, right down to the question of the authenticity of that speech. Obviously the two authors drew on the same source.

evidence, he quoted from the comic poet Strattis. Zosimus adds the important detail, which we assume was in Hermippus' own account, that the citation came from the *Atalante*.<sup>958</sup> The same account is found excerpted in a section of the "auctaria" of Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>959</sup> The compiler of this excerpt has followed our biographer closely, noting, as he did, that the affair with Lagiscē occurred in Isocrates' old age and from their liaison was born a daughter. He only adds that she died prematurely at the age of 12. The same passage is prefaced by a description of the orator as πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής, precisely how Idomeneus, followed by Hermippus, had characterized Hypereides and Demosthenes.<sup>960</sup> As with their biographies, so in his βίος of Isocrates, Hermippus included a section on the orator's sexual propensities, which among other things described his illicit affair with Lagiscē.

Among the other things noted on this subject, if the passage at 839ab is any

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958. 255. 44: ἔσκωπτον δὲ τοῦτον οἱ κωμικοὶ ὡς κεχρημένον τινὶ πόρνῃ Λαγίσκῃ ὀνόματι....  
 256. 77: σκώπτουσι δ' αὐτὸν, ὡς εἶπον καὶ ἄνω, οἱ κωμικοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Λαγίσκῃ, ὣν εἷς ἐστὶ καὶ Στράτις, λέγων ταῦτα ἐν Ἀταλάντῃ

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκην τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν  
 εὗρεῖν μὲν συκάζουσιν, εἶθ' ἦκειν ταχὺ  
 τὸν αὐλοτρύπην αὐτόν.

959. 839ab: ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής, ὡς ὑποπλάσσω παρειλκυσμένῳ ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ χρῆσθαι, κρόκῳ διάβροχον ἔχοντα τὸ προσκεφάλαιον. καὶ νέον μὲν ὄντα μὴ γῆμοι, γηράσαντα δ' ἐταίρᾳ συνεῖναι ἧ ὄνομα ἦν Λαγίσκη, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε θυγάτριον ὃ γενόμενον ἐτῶν δώδεκα πρὸ γάμων ἐτελεύτησεν. ἔπειτα Πλαθάνην τὴν Ἰππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος γυναικῶς ἡγάγετο τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχουσιν, ὧν τὸν Ἀφαρέα ὡς προείρηται (838a) ἐποίησατο, ὃς καὶ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χαλκῇ ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐπὶ κίονος καὶ ἐπέγραψεν

Ἰσοκράτους Ἀφαρεὺς πατὴρ εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε  
 Ζηνί, θεοῦ τε σέβων καὶ γονέων ἀρετήν.

960. In fr. 68a1 (Athen. XIII 590c) Hermippus on the evidence of Idomeneus alleges that Hypereides kept several *hetairai* and in the parallel passage of Ps.-Plutarch 849d, Hypereides is characterized as πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής. According to Athenaeus (XIII 529f) Idomeneus noted that Demosthenes was ἀκόλαστος περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια and had children by a *hetaira*. Similarly Hermippus reported of the orator that he was πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος (fr. 75: Suda Δημοσθένης 454).

indication, were his effeminate sleeping habits: his use of underpadding and saffron-dripping pillows. This was certainly clear evidence of lewd behaviour. But apparently in the same section, again if Ps.-Plutarch is any indication, Hermippus mentioned his marriage to Plathanē, the wife of Hippias. There is some confusion in our sources as to whether she was the daughter or wife of Hippias. At 838a, the passage alluded to in the "auctaria", Ps.-Plutarch seems to make her his daughter, though the language of the Greek does not necessarily have to imply this: ἐγένετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς Ἀφαρεὺς πρεσβύτερ ὄντι ἐκ Πλαθάνης τῆς Ἰππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ποιητός, τῶν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τριῶν παίδων ὁ νεώτατος. Certainly the fact that the marriage is placed in Isocrates' old age suggests a Hermippan origin and it is clear from the passage in the "auctaria" (839ab), which was derived from Hermippus, that Plathanē was the wife of Hippias. Zosimus, however, indicates that she was his daughter,<sup>961</sup> but he may have misunderstood his source, particularly if the language was as ambiguous as that of Ps.-Plutarch 838a. Both Harpocration<sup>962</sup> and the Suda,<sup>963</sup> on the other hand, speak of Aphareus as Hippias' son, and so must have used a source that had Plathanē as the wife. The balance of our sources then follow this version, which, as we have argued, was derived from Hermippus. In its original context it must have alluded to some illicit behaviour on Isocrates' part, such as we find in the references to Pericles' marriage to the wife of Hipponicus.<sup>964</sup>

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961. 253. 4: γυναικα δ' ἡγάγετο Πλαθάνην υἱά, Ἰππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀπογεννωμένην.

962. Harpocr. Ἀφαρεὺς: οὗτος Ἰππίου μὲν ἦν υἱός, ἐνομίζετο δὲ Ἰσοκράτους

963. Suda Ἀφαρεὺς 4556: Ἀθηναῖος ῥήτωρ, υἱὸς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Ἰππίου καὶ Πλαθάνης, πρόγονος δὲ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος.

964. Plut. *Per.* 24. 8

### III. 5. Death

In the section in which Hermippus dealt with Isocrates' illicit behaviour, the biographer made mention of the orator's affair with Lagiscē, the birth of a daughter of that liaison, the marriage to Plathanē, the wife of Hippias, and the adoption of Aphareus, all of which, he noted, occurred in his old age. This last detail obviously formed a natural transition to an account of the orator's death.<sup>965</sup> At some point in that final section of the biography, Hermippus noted that as an old man, a little before his death and that of Philip, Isocrates had composed his *Philippos*.<sup>966</sup> Precisely the same thing is stated by Ps.-Plutarch in the context of a larger passage, which included references to other speeches composed in his old age and an account of the orator's death.<sup>967</sup> Hermippus may have rounded off his own account of the orator's

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965. After mentioning that the comic poets ridiculed Isocrates for his affair with Lagiscē (255. 44) but before actually quoting Strattis (256. 77), Zosimus digresses, first attempting a refutation of the comic charges (255. 45–51) and then providing a detailed catalogue and discussion of Isocrates' speeches (51–77). The first part of the digression is Zosimus' own, the second was taken from a hypomnematic source of some kind. At 256. 77 he returns to his biographical source, quoting from Strattis, but goes no further. At 256. 83 he changes sources and begins again with the orator's birth.

966. Fr. 66: Hypothesis Isocrates V Philippus: ἔγραψε δὲ ὁ Ἰσοκράτης τὸν λόγον γέρων ὢν, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Φιλίππου τελευτῆς, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἑρμιππος.

967. 837ef: ἐτελεύτα δ' ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἀπαγγελθέντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν τῇ Ἰπποκράτους παλαιστρᾷ πυθόμενος, ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου τέτταρσιν ἡμέραις διὰ τοῦ σιτίων ἀποσχέσθαι, προειπὼν τρεῖς ἀρχαῖς δρομάτων Εὐριπίδου

Δαναὸς ὁ πενήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ·

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πῖσαν μολῶν

Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἄστὺ Κάδμος ἐκλιπών

ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βιοῦς ἢ ὥς τινες ἑκατόν, οὐχ ὑπομείνας τετράκις ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλουμένην πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ ὥς τινες πρὸ τεσσάρων τῶν τῆς τελευτῆς συγγράμματος τὸν Παναθηναϊκόν. τὸν δὲ Παναθηναϊκὸν ἔτεσι δέκα συνέθηκεν, οἱ δὲ δεκαπέντε λέγουσιν, ὃν μετενηνοχένοι ἐκ τοῦ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίου καὶ Λυσίου· τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ὀλίγω πρότερον τοῦ θανάτου.

death with a similar catalogue; indeed the idea that the *Panegyricus* was based on the speeches of Gorgias and Lysias has a familiar Hermippan sound.<sup>968</sup>

As was shown in Chapter 1, those details in Ps.-Plutarch's account of Isocrates' death in common with Dionysius, namely that he died at age 98, in the archonship of Chaerondas, at the time of the battle of Chaeronea, were derived from the common history. But the other details, particularly of an anecdotal kind, not found in Dionysius were derived from another source, probably Hermippus. These included a second tradition, according to which Isocrates died at 100, the news of Chaeronea reaching Isocrates in the palaestra of Hippocrates, his death after four days of starvation and his recitation of the opening lines of Euripides' plays to justify his suicide.<sup>969</sup> All this must come from a source similar to the one used by Zosimus, who provides exactly the same details as Ps.-Plutarch.<sup>970</sup> Like Ps.-Plutarch, he also includes the second tradition of 100 for Isocrates' age, notes that the orator died of starvation and quotes the same verses from Euripides. That Zosimus used a common source rather than Ps.-Plutarch is clear from the fact that his account is much more detailed.

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968. Elsewhere Hermippus had noted that Euthias' speech was actually composed by Anaximenes or that Demosthenes had secretly acquired and mastered the speeches of Isocrates and others.

969. See pp. 79–82

970. 258. 141: ἐβίωσε δ' οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὡς ὅτι ρ' ἔτη, οἱ δ' 98. ἀπέθανε δ' ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην, λυπηθεὶς διὰ τὴν ἥτταν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν γενομένην ἐκεῖσε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παρὰ Φιλίππου. ἀποκαρτερήσας δ' ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριός φησιν θ' ἡμέρας, ὡς δ' Ἀφορεὺς 100 (δέκα ὡς δὲ οἱ τέσσαρες Saurpe). προαναγνοὺς δὲ τούτους τοὺς στίχους ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκ γ' δρομιάτων Εὐριπίδου

Δαναὸς ὁ πενήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ

Σιδώνιον ποτ' ἄστει Κάδμος ἐκλιπών

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταναλαΐος εἰς Πῖσαν μολών

δηλῶν ἐκ τούτων ὡς ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι βάρβαροι ὄντες ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατέσχον αὐτῆς, οὕτω καὶ τέταρτός τις οὗτος ἀνεφύη δεσπότης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Φίλιππος.

A brief synopsis follows on the myths of Danaus, Cadmus and Pelops.

It gives two, possibly even three, versions of the number of days that Isocrates took to starve himself to death, even noting sources, and it concludes with a synopsis on the myths of Danaus, Cadmus and Pelops. It even provides a fuller interpretation of Euripides' verses that helps clarify Ps.-Plutarch's succinct and rather obscure explanation. Yet they are essentially identical. According to Zosimus, Philip represented the fourth (τέταρτος) barbarian master after Danaus, Cadmus and Pelops. According to Ps.-Plutarch, Isocrates ended his life because he could no longer endure seeing Greece enslaved four times (τετράκις). Behind the two authors must stand a common source, which was more fully excerpted by Zosimus. That source was likely Caecilius, who used Hermippus to supplement the κοινὴ ἱστορία.

Zosimus' detailed account of Isocrates' death comes in the second half of his biography. At line 83 Zosimus switches sources (λέγουσι δέ τινες) and begins his biography afresh. As we have seen, up to that point (1-82) he drew on a source dependent on Hermippus. But for the new sections which now follow, on the birth, education and students of Isocrates, Zosimus' text shows a striking similarity to that of Dionysius, Ps.-Plutarch and *POxy* 3543, where they have drawn on the κοινὴ ἱστορία.<sup>971</sup> This extends to line 98. The rest of the notices, however, point to a rhetorician. They include anecdotes about Theopompus and Ephorus (257. 98-108), whose contrasting natures Isocrates readily discerned; to one he was said to have applied the bridle, to the other the spur. There are notes on how Isocrates emulated Gorgias' use of similar-ending words and of balanced clauses (257. 119-20), but how his terse

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971. See pp. 82-3



phrases lacked the grace of Lysias (257. 121-2). Included is also a detailed catalogue of his speeches (258. 129-41). Zosimus' source drew on an author who was, on the one hand, dependent on the κοινὴ ἱστορία for certain biographical information, and, on the other, showed an interest in rhetoric. The points of contact with Ps.-Plutarch may even suggest that Zosimus has preserved an excerpt from Caecilius. Indeed their accounts of the orator's death are so similar that they must be derived from the same source. Caecilius is generally regarded as the author of Ps.-Plutarch.

But, as we have argued in Chapter 1, Caecilius used Hermippus extensively to supplement notices found in the common history. The latter perhaps contained only the chronological information that Isocrates died at the age of 98, in the archonship of Chaerondas, at the time of the battle of Chaeronea, since all these details are to be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who expressly drew on that source.<sup>972</sup> Although the same information is to be found in both Ps.-Plutarch and Zosimus, their expanded accounts were derived from a common source, which supplemented the information of the common history with details from a biographer. If that source was indeed Caecilius, Hermippus was the biographer. Thus we may conclude that the latter described Isocrates' death in much the same way as Ps.-Plutarch and Zosimus had. He had noted then how Isocrates committed suicide by starving himself, after hearing the news of the defeat at Chaeronea. He may have included, as in Zosimus, various versions on the length of time it took Isocrates to starve to death, even naming his

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972. *Isoc.* 1: ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον ἐπὶ Χαιρωνίδου ἄρχοντος ὀλιγίας ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνεῖα μάχης δυεῖν δέοντα βεβιωκώς ἑκατὸν ἔτη κτλ.

sources,<sup>973</sup> but perhaps favouring, as in Ps.-Plutarch, the four-day tradition, which allowed Isocrates' death to coincide appropriately with the funeral of those who died at Chaeronea. Thus on the fourth day, when the funeral was being held for those fallen in the battle, just before he died, Isocrates recited the opening lines of three of Euripides' plays to explain his suicide. In this dramatic fashion Hermippus described Isocrates' death, which came at the age of 100. But as always his account contained a mixture of anecdote and erudition. As in Ps.-Plutarch's account, Hermippus concluded with a brief catalogue of the speeches that Isocrates had composed in his old age, some, like the *Philippos*, just before his death. With this he rounded off his biography.

In the three biographies examined Hermippus followed a regular scheme, which began with the *genos* and concluded with the death of the orator. In between were sections on the education and sexual *mores* of the orator in question. Usually one of those sections was developed more fully. So, for instance, Hermippus discussed at length the early education of Demosthenes, including a detailed discussion of his teachers and the various exercises which he employed to improve his voice and delivery. Every extant biography of the orator included a similar discussion and Hermippus must be considered responsible for the transmitting of the tradition into later antiquity. He was a meticulous writer, always quoting his sources, often

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973. Zosimus includes at least two other versions, one by Demetrius and one by Aphareus. Unlike Zosimus, Ps.-Plutarch does not mention the 9 day tradition, when he gives his full account of the orator's death at 837e, but is only familiar with it in the "auctaria" 838b: ἐξεληθεῖν δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν ἐναταῖον φασὶ σίτων ἀποσχόμενον, οἱ δὲ τετραταῖον ἅμα ταῖς ταφαῖς τῶν ἐν Χαερωνείᾳ πεσόντων. This tradition is attributed to Demetrius (Phalerum?).

including different variations on any given topic, even excerpting earlier works on which he drew. Hence he was a favourite source of reference for later biographers and stands behind a good deal of the biographical tradition, not only of Isocrates, Demosthenes and Hypereides, but of other orators such as Aeschines and Lycurgus, whom, as the evidence suggests, he dealt with in some form or other.

## CONCLUSION

The evidence suggests that Hermippus was a pivotal figure in the development of the biographical tradition on the orators Demosthenes, Hypereides and Isocrates. He was important both in assembling together and in transmitting what came to constitute the common history of these orators. By the early Augustan period, at the time when Dionysius of Halicarnassus was writing essays on the ancient orators, there circulated a collection of biographies, commonly known as the κοινὴ ἱστορία, that could provide the rhetorician with a standard account of an orator's life, that is, his common history (Chap. 1 pp. 40-6).

Hermippus' importance as a source of the common history is confirmed in two ways. First, when Dionysius came to write on Dinarchus he found no existing biographies on which to draw. By the same token, he found only a few details on Isaeus' life in the κοινὴ ἱστορία, the obvious reason being that Hermippus had only mentioned Isaeus briefly in his biography of Demosthenes (Chap. 4 p. 224). Still, what details Dionysius could find mainly were derived from the biographer (Chap. 1 pp. 38-9). What this means is that little or no common history existed on those orators who were treated incidentally, or ignored, by Hermippus. But the exact opposite was the case for the life of Isocrates. His tradition was rich indeed. Dionysius himself gave only a brief summation of what could be found in the common history on that orator. By contrast, Ps.-Plutarch's biography is much fuller and approaches the size of a standard *bios* within that tradition. The comparison of their lives revealed that Ps.-Plutarch not only drew on the same source as Dionysius,

but also a large part of that common history and a good deal of the anecdotal material on Isocrates came from Hermippus (Chap. 1 pp 56-86).

Hermippus was, thus, a valuable source for later compilers. He carefully cited his sources, meticulously gathered together the various traditions on a given topic and incorporated anecdotes by earlier writers. Any existing tradition or treatment of the orators was sure to be picked up by him. Demetrius of Phalerum was the first to speak of Demosthenes' need for exercise to overcome certain natural weaknesses. But this is precisely the characterization of the orator given by Hermippus, when he noted that Demosthenes was ἐπιμελής μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής. Hermippus himself drew on Demetrius, cited him as a source and adopted and expanded his account. Hence he must be regarded as an important intermediary between Demetrius of Phalerum and the later tradition, where we find in every description of Demosthenes' exercises that very characterization of the orator. He also took over from Idomeneus anecdotes on Demosthenes and Hypereides showing them as πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστοι. To illustrate the licentious behaviour of Demosthenes Idomeneus had described in some detail the affair with Aristarchus. In the later tradition this same affair is mentioned in connection with Demosthenes as a teacher of rhetoric. Hermippus, who discussed at length the education and teaching of the orators, was probably the first to make the connection. Certainly he had repeated Idomeneus' stories about Hypereides' erotic affairs. Since no manuscript tradition or late biographies of that orator exist comparable to what we find in the case of Demosthenes, it is difficult to determine whether the Idomenean tradition filtered down into later antiquity through Hermippus. But the fact that the Suda, whose article is an extract from a biography,

notes that Hypereides *γυναικῶν ἥττήθη*, indicates that it had. This must be a clear reference to his erotic affairs, as they were described by Idomeneus and as they were transmitted into the tradition by Hermippus.

Hermippus' biographies were schematically arranged under set rubrics. Each of the lives examined began with the *genos* of the orator, included sections on his education and sexual *mores*, and concluded with an account of his death. In the case of Isocrates he provided a catalogue of speeches written in his old age. The evidence is sufficient (Chap. 4 pp. 298-99) to suggest that he cited Diodorus of Athens for a notice on Hypereides' burial place. He undoubtedly included similar information for Demosthenes, perhaps a reference to the distich inscribed on his statue (Chap. 4 p. 280). From this we conclude that Hermippus included sections on the grave monuments and speeches of the orators, such as we find in many of the *genē* of the manuscript tradition, in Ps.-Plutarch and presumably in other grammatical *bioi*.

He also treated Isocrates' career, describing in detail his school and the wealth which he acquired from teaching. The evidence does not permit us to conclude definitively that a corresponding section was to be found in the lives of Hypereides and Demosthenes, but Hermippus did note Hypereides' involvement in the Lamian war (Chap. 4. pp. 295-6) and perhaps described Demosthenes' brief and unsuccessful career as a teacher and logographer (Chap. 3 pp. 183-87). If he mentioned their political careers, he would have done so along the lines of Ps.-Plutarch, who in the lives of both Hypereides (848e-849a) and Demosthenes (845d-846a) includes a section, marked by brief notices, largely derived from their speeches and closely resembling entries from a catalogue. In any case, the evidence indicates that the scheme adopted

by Ps.-Plutarch, one found also in the biographies of the κοινὴ ἱστορία and in other grammatical βίοι, was already used by Hermippus. That is to say, Hermippus followed the scholarly approach to writing biography. With the exception of a section on the sexual *mores* of the orators, both Ps.-Plutarch and Hermippus include sections on the *genos*, education, career, death, grave monument, and speeches of the orators.

If, as we argue, Hermippus was such a pivotal figure in the development of the biographical tradition on at least certain orators, we must consider his reliability. Scholars have often dismissed him as simply a frivolous writer, and at times have even regarded him as mendacious, charging that he invented the stories he told and the sources he cited. But such allegations overlook his reputation, as a careful and diligent writer, among ancient critics as reputable as Dionysius, who could turn to his biographies to find important details of an orator's life, his chronology, his *bios* and political persuasion. The fact is Hermippus was both frivolous and learned, inclined to include a good anecdote and to display his erudition. The only thing we can really fault Hermippus for is his zeal for compiling. Perhaps he did not sift through the material as carefully as modern scholars would like; but he did at least recount various versions, and left it up to his reader to decide which was correct. He may have cited obscure sources, but what scholar does not take pleasure in revealing the breadth of his learning? Perhaps he liked a good story too, but what biographer has not? Anecdote was the stuff of good biography. This strange mixture of erudition and anecdote in Hermippus' writing was in fact evident in a good deal of Alexandrian scholarship. Even a respected scholar like Aristophanes of Byzantium, who was

renowned for his literary scholarship, could write a frivolous collection of stories about the escapades of Athenian prostitutes.

In fact Hermippus was only as good as his sources. As the chapters on Demetrius of Phalerum and Idomeneus of Lampascus demonstrate, many of the anecdotes included in his biographies were inherited. What Hermippus did, was to provide factual details to balance the anecdotes that he found in these earlier writers. He drew on scholarly works like Callimachus' *Pinakes* or periegetical guides, where one would expect to find reliable information on the orators. Alongside anecdote can be found details on speeches, chronology, age, place of death and burial. Indeed this accusation by modern critics of deliberate lying on the part of Hermippus fails to take into account the antiquarian methods of Alexandrian scholarship. Often faced with very little information about many aspects of their subjects' lives, scholars simply had to infer what they could. In many cases modern scholars can do no better in reconstructing the lives of ancient figures, but they are more willing to confess their ignorance. What we have is really only a difference between ancient and modern standards of judgment and of historiography. So for instance, biographers often overlooked the invective of comedy and rhetoric, when including biographical details from these sources, whereas we qualify the information with a note of caution.

Biographical research of the Hermippan kind was largely motivated by an antiquarian interest, and this explains the obscure notices and references that fill his biographies. Indeed much of the scholarship of the period could be defined as antiquarian. As such, biographical evidence was strictly derived from primary texts or other written works. Fairweather identified three major sources of biographical



inference: the texts of the author under consideration, contemporary writers, usually comic poets and finally other scholarly or pseudo-scholarly works.

Many biographical details and even full-blown anecdotes were inferred from the text of the author or from comic poets. Hence the evidence of Demosthenes' theatrical style of delivery was comic travesty and even his stutter was of comic origin (Chap. 2 pp. 138-45). There is no other evidence outside the testimony of Demetrius of Phalerum or the comic poets. The same is true of the nickname of Isocrates' father, αὐλοποιός, unknown outside the biographical tradition, and in fact inferred by Hermippus from a verse of the comic poet Strattis (Chap. 1 pp. 63-4 cf. pp. 301-4). This was a common method, utilized both by biographers and other writers.

Idomeneus, for example, on the basis of the ὑπὲρ Φρύνης wrongly inferred that Hypereides had been intimate with the *hetaira* and conducted himself shamelessly at her trial (Chap. 3 pp. 191-4). This false inference was the basis on which an entirely fictional account was created. A decree was discovered by Idomeneus, reportedly passed after the acquittal of Phryne and purportedly addressing Hypereides' conduct at that trial. Details were added by Hermippus regarding Euthias and the authorship of his speech (Chap. 4 pp. 290-2). The Phryne of his account was now said to have come from Thespieae and reportedly modeled for Apelles and Praxiteles. Out of this grew the tradition reported by later rhetoricians that Phryne's beauty and not Hypereides' eloquence secured her acquittal. Even the disrobing becomes her stratagem.

The details added by Hermippus to Idomeneus' account illustrate clearly the antiquarian nature of biographical research: the use of the epigraphical works and the

*Pinakes* of Callimachus, reference to the *Periegetes* Diodorus for the composition of Euthias' speech by Anaximenes, and to other periegetical guides or treatises on *hetairai* for information on Phryne. Here is the third source of inference identified by Fairweather: scholarly and pseudo-scholarly works. The extent of this antiquarian interest is especially apparent in Hermippus' biographies. We find repeated references to periegetical works, to anonymous memoirs, to writers of obscure treatises, previously unheard of and subsequently unmentioned, excerpts from Eratosthenes *περὶ κωμωδίας*, from Demetrius' *Rhetorica* or from Idomeneus' *περὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν*. In view of this it is no surprise that Hermippus emerges as an important source for later compilers of the lives of the orators. In his biographies could be found all the needed information on which to compile their common history.

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