The 'Nachleben' of Hyperides

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by

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Abstract of thesis

The thesis begins with the examination of extant evidence from the medieval textual tradition, the latest reference in which relates to 16th century Hungary.

The thesis focuses on the question of the dramatic changes in Hyperides' popularity between the second centuries B.C. and A.D. First, the problem of the origin of the rhetorical canon is dealt with. Hyperides' unquestionable place in it reflects the favour of the Hellenistic rhetorical schools. The fact that in lexicographical works, from the beginning of Atticising tendencies up to the Byzantine period, Hyperides' vocabulary is quite frequently referred to, is partly due to the *paradoxon* that the orator belongs to the accepted Ten, despite the fact that he uses an 'impure' language and therefore he stays in the crossfire of lexicographers.

The decisive factor in Hyperides' 'Nachleben' is the Rhodian school of rhetoric. In Molo's rhetorical system the actual delivery ('actio') was the most important element. Logically, his Attic models became the ex-actor Aeschines and the witty and facetious Hyperides. Molo smoothly melted together the inherited Asian and the adopted Attic rhetorical tradition to create something new, which had far reaching influence in first century Rome. The majority of Romans, who seem to respect Hyperides, can also be related to Rhodes in one way or other.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Caecilius on the other hand are the first representatives of the later dominating school-demand for orators, with a perspicuous 'lektikos topos', which can be easily imitated by students. Hyperides' skill in arrangement determined the decline of his popularity. The reason for the unique and exceptional late appraisal of Hyperides in Ps.Longinus originates from the hatred of the author for Caecilius.

In the rhetorical handbooks of the following centuries only the fictitious *alter ego* of Hyperides appears, apart from some works, where traces of the Hellenistic/Rhodian rhetorical tradition can be detected.

Appendices: 1, Brassicanus' report; 2, List of lexicographical entries; 3, List of peculiar words; 4, The origin of Hyperides' most famous speech, the *Deliacus.*

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II. Introduction

Lectori salutem plurimam

> Ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἀχθεὶς ἐν Κορίνθῳ διατρίβοντα, καὶ βασανιζόμενος ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς πόλεως ἐξειπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἠνδρίσατο μηδὲν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος εἰπεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν διαφαγών, ἵνα μὴ ἄκων τι παραφθέγξηται, μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον.
>
> 'From there he was transferred to Antipatrus who happened to be in Corinth. And after being tortured so that he would reveal the secrets of the city and showing great courage by not uttering anything against his fatherland and biting his tongue off just to avoid telling anything unwillingly, he died.'[1]

Hyperides, the orator, fell silent in 322 B.C. He was not only a major political character in the second half of the fourth century in Athens, but also one of the last representatives of Attic eloquence. This is the point, more or less, where this thesis starts. The 'Nachleben' of his oeuvre shows similar vicissitudes to those of his life. We witness a famous, celebrated orator, a successful politician and a sweetheart of women, whose body, because of the decision of the Athenians, had to be smuggled back to Attica by his son in order to be buried somewhere known only to the family.

If the sand of Egypt had not covered pieces of papyrus scrolls, which contain the fragments of Hyperides' six speeches, our knowledge of his style would scarcely exceed the content of lexicographic entries. On the one hand, Hyperides' popularity is almost equal to that of Demosthenes in the two hundred years before and after the birth of Jesus - which is also reflected in the dating of the papyri; on the other hand, by the end of the third century A.D. he had become merely an interesting curiosity for intellectuals. At the end of the day he is the only orator, who underwent a complete 'damnatio memoriae' in the medieval textual tradition, despite having always been a member of the Ten canonised Attic orators.

[1] Phot. *Bibl.* 266,496a: the scene of biting off one's own tongue or cutting out somebody else's seems to be an old historical *topos*.

Why this happened, that is the question. The present thesis attempts not merely to collect the Hyperidean *testimonia*, but rather tries to evaluate them and decipher the background of their origin. The study's genre itself follows the pattern of similar studies on Demosthenes', Aeschines' and Plato's stylistic evaluation, written by Anastasiou, Kindstrand and Walsdorff. Although since the publication of the papyri there has been an almost unbroken interest in Hyperides' works, as far as the author of this study knows, until now there has been not made a similar attempt to draw a coherent picture of Hyperides' 'Nachleben'. The reader will decide, if it was worth trying.

London, 30 June 1997

III. Prelude: the lost medieval manuscript of Hyperides

All that we have of the Hyperidean corpus is preserved on papyri. The medieval tradition is completely missing except for two dubious and very questionable references. Both of them relate to the 16th century and to Hungary. In this chapter I would like to investigate this matter.

Alexander Brassicanus was a 16th century humanist and professor at the university of Vienna; among his works was an edition of Salvianus in 1530.[2] In the introduction he emphasizes the importance of great libraries and their influence on general educational and cultural standards. This is the starting point for him to remember and deplore the loss of the famous library of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary: a magnificent library, in which he had been able to see in 1525 a manuscript of Hyperides:

> ... et oculata fide vidimus integrum Hyperidem cum locupletissimis scholiis, librum multis etiam censibus redimendum.[3]
>
> '... and we have seen with a confidence beyond belief a complete Hyperides with numerous marginal notes, which had to be bought at great expense.'

His account became a commonplace and until recently was regarded as trustworthy.[4]However, among modern scholars serious doubts have arisen concerning Brassicanus' accuracy, not only in this specific case, but also in general.

[2]*D. Salviani Massyliensis episcopi De Vero Iudicio et Providentia Dei, ad S. Salonium Episcopum Vienensem Libri VIII,* cura Io. Alexandri Brassicani Iureconsulti editi, ac eruditis et cum primis utilibus Scholiis illustrati (Basel, 1530).
[3]Quoted in this form by Martin Hose, 'Brassicanus und der Hyperides-Codex der Bibliothek des Matthias Corvinus' *Prometheus* 16 (1990) 186-8.
[4]Cf. Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1750) II, 1798, s.v. Hyperides, J.E.Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1908) II, 275.

First, Wilson[5] has questioned the possibility of an extant and complete Hyperidean manuscript. Though theoretically one single codex could contain all his known speeches, - according to Wilson's opinion - it seems very unlikely that there would not be any trace of its existence in Byzantium.

Secondly, it is very odd that Brassicanus speaks about *scholia*, since Hyperides was never a school-author, whose text would have been enriched by marginal comments to facilitate the work of students.

Moreover, Wilson's scepticism over Brassicanus' report is strengthened by the belief that Hyperides was already missing when Photius composed his *Bibliotheke* and that the patriarch's information does not rely on direct acquaintance with the corpus.[6]

Hose basically agrees with Wilson's scepticism.[7] However, he refers to the fact that Didymus composed *Hypomnemata* to Hyperides, which in later, Byzantine times could have been joined to the main text. Nevertheless, he puts forward a splendid hypothesis. The commented copy of 'Hyperides' could really be a manuscript of Himerius, whose first declamation begins: Ὑπὲρ Δημοσθένους Ὑπερίδου and could easily be identified by a superficial observer as the Hyperidean corpus. Brassicanus had not had enough time for a real look and his claim to have seen all the books - *inspexi libros omnes* - in the library discredits him totally.[8] On the other hand, as the tradition shows, Himerius manuscripts contain inserted *glossae*, which at a certain stage could have entered the margin as *scholia*. Hose admits that the library of Corvinus did not as far as we know possess a Himerius codex.

With respect to these judgments I would like to mention only a few points in defense of the discredited Brassicanus, which may not shake a general scepticism; but which may represent the other side of the coin. The weaknesses of some less

[5]Nigel Wilson, 'Some Lost Greek Authors II' *GRBS* 16 (1975) 100.
[6]N. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983) 95.
[7]See n.3.
[8]„Brassicanus hat, so berichtet er jedenfalls, *alle* Bücher der Bibliothek eingesehen" (187).

convincing arguments are indicated by Hose himself. Here I will only focus on the text of Brassicanus' account (Appendix I).

Generally - we might say - the introduction is intended to be a rhetorical masterpiece in Ciceronian style, with a full arsenal of rhetorical techniques; *anaphora*, *accusativus exclamationis*, etc., and this approach sometimes makes the form take precedence over the content.

1. *Lines 9-18*: Brassicanus was the companion of Wilhelm Eberstein, legate of the Habsburg emperor. While *Eberstein* was dealing with diplomatic questions - i.e. during the hours of the actual audience at the palace of the king, Lajos - the court in the name of Queen Mária proposed for his associate a suitable programme, a visit to the Corvinus library.

2. *Lines 19-31:* the narrative underlines the impression that Brassicanus was guided by someone, presumably a librarian, who did not miss the opportunity to explain to him the sources of the Greek manuscripts (the fall of Constantinople and its consequences), the king's enormous financial efforts, and nonetheless the interesting detail that Matthias had hired four scribes in Florence to supply him with copies.

3. *Lines 32-39:* in the same spirit Brassicanus begins to enumerate some rare specimens. First in the sequence is Hyperides! It is very remarkable that he refers to the entries of his note-book. The citation of this *syllabus* speaks against an offhand, negligent observation.

4. *Lines 37-38:* Brassicanus goes on: 'Not to mention poets, orators, philosophers and historians whose countless works it would have been possible to look at here <for me>[9]'. This formulation (*inspicere*) makes it clear that in line 19. *inspexi libros omnes* is not a phrase with very precise content. Moreover, *Vidimus* (*32-38*) - which is mainly used in referring to specific works, among them Hyperides - seems to represent a different, more serious activity and cannot be interpreted in the

[9]If I am right and in Brassicanus the meaning is not equivalent with *immensam vim inspici licuisset*, which would rather formally correspond to rules of classical Latin grammar to give a meaning of „would have been possible <for you/everybody> to have a look".

same vague way as the verb *inspicere*.[10] If so, the argument about for a superficial observer falls.

5. Moreover, with the expression *oculata fide vidimus* Brassicanus on the one hand reveals his own initial scepticism; on the other hand in doing so, he provides his account with more credibility. We have seen it with our own eyes - with the meaning of 'Though I was surprised, I am certainly aware of what I am saying and I was not misled'.[11]

Finally, he knows that it was a rarity, a fortune to acquire! All this in my opinion points to a situation where a manuscript was presented to him as the manuscript of Hyperides, rather than he picked it off the shelves or out of the catalogue. The librarians were quite clear about Hyperides' authorship, and they were proud of having a manuscript.

If this is right, there are still two possibilities:

a, It was in reality a manuscript of Hyperides, which was bought at great expense and became an item which had to be shown to visitors.

b, The librarian(s) did not realise that the manuscript in question was that of another little known author, namely Himerius.

In both cases however, Brassicanus has to be acquitted - to a certain extent - of the charge of amateur enthusiasm and inaccuracy. But Brassicanus' integrity is a marginal question by comparison with the alleged survival of Hyperides in the Renaissance. It is much more important that another reference occurs in the 16th century to some Hyperidean fragments and that they are related to the same area, namely the Kingdom of Hungary.

In 1545 Konrad Gesner published his *Bibliotheca Universalis*, an enormous

[10]Brassicanus was invited/permitted to look at the library *inspiciendae ...Bibliothecae* (16-17).
[11]Cf. *Inst.Iust.*3,6,9 *magis veritas oculata fide quam per aures animis infigitur*, in Greek τῇ ἐν ὄψει πίστει, TLL s.v. *oculatus* 2.b.

undertaking, in which he tried to present all the Greek, Latin and Hebrew works ever written, printed or not, from the beginnings until his own time, - a massive single volume, which was intended to become a useful reference work not merely for newly established libraries but also for private individuals.[12] His work is the first representative of a new genre, the Bibliography, which was naturally born some hundred years after Gutenberg.

In accordance with Gesner's editorial intention, there figure some famous 'shadow' authors, whose works were not extant any more. Among them Hyperides is prominent. Gesner's article follows the traditional presentation of information, in the manner of the Suda, while using old accessible ancient sources.[13]

In 1555 Gesner added a further 2000 entries to the 3000 names of the first edition. This supplementary volume is the *Appendix*.[14]The text of the Hyperides article is unchanged except for new reference to Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes.

Later, to improve the material and increase the number of authors, Josias Simler prepared a new edition under the title *Epitome*. The second edition of this work was published in 1574.[15] Later Johann Jakob Fries took over the task and published the most elaborate version of the *Bibliotheca-Epitome*, which was three times bigger than Gesner's initial work (1583).

In Simler's edition (1574 and 1583) under the mainly unchanged Hyperides article there is a remarkable addition:

> Hyperidis fragmenta quaedam orationum extant apud Paulum Bornemiza episcopum in Hungaria.[16]

[12]Konrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Appendix* mit Nachwort von Prof.Dr.Hans Widman (repr. Osnabrück, 1966).

[13]In the article lines 1-5. derive their origin from the Suda, lines 8-9. refer to Libanius' *Hypothesis* to Demosthenes 18; in lines 10-11. the reference to Athenaeus is not quite clear, since the *Deipnosophistai* mentions many other works also; and finally the last reference evidently is to Stobaeus' *Florilegium.*

[14]Cf: Widman, (Gesner) V.

[15]This edition was inaccessible to me.

[16]This information was for a long time completely unnoticed. Churchill Babington was the first to realise its existence and importance. 'Fragments of Hyperides existing in Hungary in the XVIth century' *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* 1 (1854) 408: „Now I should be greatly obliged to any one who can give me such information about this Bornemiza as may help to lead me to discover what has become of his library: for there seems to be a reasonable hope of recovering these fragments, if some little pains be taken to investigate the matter." Later H.Hager, *Quaestionum*

'There exist some fragments of Hyperides at the Bishop Paul Bornemiza in Hungary.'

There are three questions to be raised:

1. As Churchill Babington has already asked, who was Bornemiza or rather Bornemissza Pál and what can we know about his library?
2. How did Simler acquire his information about these fragments?
3. Could any connection be traced between the Corvinus 'Hyperides' and these fragments? How should we interpret *fragmenta*, and where are they?

1. There were different branches of the noble family Bornemissza in 15th and 16th century Hungary. The first known personality is Berzencei Bornemissza János, treasurer of Matthias Corvinus, later captain of Buda and tutor of Lajos II, King of Hungary.

However, there is no evidence for any connection between this Bornemissza and our bishop Bornemissza Abstemius Pál (1499-1579).[17] Like his namesake, he did not have a noble origin, but was *ex infima plebe natus* and being a consistent partisan of the Habsburg emperors, he was nominated bishop of Veszprém by Ferdinand I in 1548.[18] The advance of the Turks, however, forced him to leave this place and in 1553 he became bishop of Transylvania. But after about three years he had to evacuate Gyulafehérvár, giving way to the adherents of the Hungarian king. In 1557 he was compensated with the diocese of Nyitra (Northern Hungary, now Nitra, Slovakia),where he lived until his death in 1579.

Hyperidearum capita duo Diss. (Lipsiae, 1870) 1,n.3, had tried to identify the bishop with some success, namely he mentions the right Bornemissza and his previous place, Gyulafehérvár: „Episcopum huius nominis commemorat Fr.Forgachius de Ghymes, rerum Hungaricarum sui temporis commentator Poson. et Cassov.1788, p.138 Paulus Bornemiszsza episcopus Albae Iuliae. Alba Transilvaniae, quae fertur Iulia esse nominata a Iulia Domina, Severi conjuge, M.Aurelii Antonini Caracallae matre, etiam hoc tempore episcopatus est Weissenbergis. Carlsburg nominata cf. Fr.H. Th.Bischoffi et J.H.Moelleri onomast. compar. geograph. veteris mediae novae aet., Goth. 1829 Floruit hic Paulus Bornemiszsza, quum Solymannus bellum gereret cum Hungaris."

[17]Nagy Iván, *Magyarország Családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* (Pest, 1857) 179.

[18]Viczián János, 'Bornemissza Pál' *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* (Budapest, 1993) I, 937.

Bornemissza Pál was not only a conscientious cleric in handling the affairs of his diocese, but also a literate man, who possessed a great library.[19]In his testament, which is dated 2 September 1577 he left this library to the church in Nyitra:

> Bibliothecam magnam librorum veterum et grovissimorum (sic!) authorum, maiori ex parte Viennae per me a Georgio Syller bibliopola emptam Ecclesiae Catholicae Nitriensi in perpetuam hereditatem lego.[20]
>
> 'A great library of old and important authors, which I have bought mainly in Vienna from the bookseller George Syller I bequeath to the Catholic Church in Nyitra as eternal possession.'

The most famous specimen of this collection is a Missal with the bishop's manuscript note of ownership. It had been published in Venice in 1480 and still lies in the safe of the catholic seminar in Nyitra.

2. In the *Epistula Nuncupatoria* of the *Bibliotheca* Simler,[21] in arguing for the importance of his work, stresses his aim to incorporate information about manuscripts or once printed and later neglected authors. In the age of printing the idea of great libraries, where rare books can be found, retained all its importance, since publishers have mainly financial concerns and focus only on profitable editions. On the other hand it is very important to inform potential publishers about famous authors' manuscripts and in a way to advertise where they are available. This is the editorial background which explains why a new entry appeared with the location of some Hyperidean fragments

Simler and Fries in the second *Epistula* inform the reader that very important additions in the new edition are due to the help of some people who had shared their

[19]Cserenyei István, 'Nyitra püspökei' *Religio* 69 (1910) no.20, 311; Takáts Sándor, '(Abstemius) Bornemissza Pál püspök végrendelete' *Archeológiai Értesítõ* 22 (1902) 202. As an example of his own editorial activity can be mentioned *Statuta synodalia ecclesiae Nitriensis anni 1494*, which was published in Vienna in 1560: cf. Szinnyei József, *Magyar Írók élete és munkái* (Budapest, 1891) s.v.

[20]Cf. Takáts, 207.

[21]Jos.Simler, Joh.Fries, *Bibliotheca Instituta et Collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero: Deinde in Epitomen redacta et novorum librorum accessione locupletata* (Zürich, 1583).

knowledge with the editors in order to enhance the 'bibliography'.

> Postremo complures viri docti alii quidem Gesnero nostro, alii etiam nobis ipsis, partim ad prioris, partim ad huius secundae editionis auctarium, transmiserunt catalogos scriptorum variorum quorum in Bibliotheca nulla mentio facta fuerat, inter quos honoris causa merito a nobis nominandi sunt clarissimi et doctissimi viri, Georgius Fabricius Kemnicensis, Gilbertus Cognatus Nazerenus, Conradus Lycosthenes, Guilielmus Postellus, deinde Ioannes Sambucus, Ioannes Balaeus Anglus, Matthaeus Dresserus, Gasparus Vuolfius, a quibus non parum in hac postrema editione adiuti sumus. Etenim CL.V. Ioannes Sambucus cum propriorum lucubrationum catalogum Gesnero nostro transmittit, tum etiam indicem veterum auctorum, quos plurimos atque optimos in bibliotheca sua possidet, atque complures iam in publicum edidit.
>
> 'And finally there are many learned men, who have sent catalogues of different writers, who were not mentioned in the *Bibliotheca*. Some of them sent their contribution to our colleague Gesner, some to us, to enlarge either the first or this second edition. With due reverence we have to name the most and illustrious: Georgius Fabricius Kemnicensis, Gilbertus Cognatus Nazerenus, Conradus Lycosthenes, Guilielmus Postellus, and Ioannes Sambucus, Ioannes Balaeus Anglus, Matthaeus Dresserus, Gasparus Vuolfius, who gave us much help in making this last edition. The illustrious Ioannes Sambucus had not only sent to our colleague Gesner the catalogue of the results of his own laborious work, but also provided an index of early authors, whom he has in his own library in great numbers and which are of the first rank. The index contains also numerous books which have already been published by him.'

Obviously one of the most remarkable - not to say the most important - contributors is the humanist Ioannes Sambucus, or, in his mother tongue, Zsámboky János.

Zsámboky, as an excellent humanist of his age (born in 1531 in Nagyszombat, Northern Hungary), had visited the most famous universities and finally became the court historian and doctor of the Habsburg emperor in Vienna. Being a bibliophile he

spent a fortune on buying books and manuscripts throughout his life and established a magnificent library, where Simler visited him once.[22]Zsámboky was a real bookhunter, who often made excursions in Italy during his studies to buy rare manuscripts, which he later in his life lent to different people just to promote publishing. He had very similar ideas in this respect to those of Simler. There is no information that he had personally discovered the treasures of Bornemissza's library, but he had good connections with one of the bishop's closest friends, Mossóczy Zakariás.

Mossóczy Zakariás, who, after the death of Bornemissza, was nominated bishop in his place, in his predecessor's lifetime was his faithful helper. Bornemissza left to his secretary in his testament a silver cup and some other things, and in return Zakariás erected a memorial in the St. Emrám Cathedral in Nyitra:

posuit decessori suo Zacharias Mossochius successor[23]

'Zacharias Mossochius, the successor erected for his predecessor'

At the end of his life Mossóczy had a very impressive library containing more than 900 volumes. As a jurist, he realised the need of a *Corpus Iuris* of Hungarian laws and therefore started to collect them from the beginnings down to his own time. This is a moment when a concrete connection with Zsámboky is attested. The preface to the appendix in Zsámboky's edition of Bonfini tells us that it was Mossóczy who collected the *decreta* to clarify the background of the events in the history:

> ... inprimis erudito antistiti Vaciensi, Zachariae Mossovio, consiliario Caesaris, auctori at cohortatori acceptum feras, cuius monitis ac subsiduo huius argumenti reliqua brevi separatim, suoque loco prodibunt. Viennae, Kalendas Decembris 1580.[24]
>
> '... be especially grateful to the erudite Zacharias Mossovius, diocesan of Vác, counsellor of the emperor, who initiated and encouraged this work. Thanks to his instigation and help, the rest of this augmentation soon is going

[22]Gulyás Pál, *Zsámboky János könyvtára* (Budapest, 1941) 24.
[23]Iványi Béla, *Mossóczy Zakariás és a Magyar Corpus Iuris keletkezése* (Budapest, 1926) 36.
[24]Cf. Iványi, 62,n.103.

to be published in a separate, unattached volume. Vienna, first of December 1580.'

Moreover, in the catalogue of the new bishop's library both in number 543 and 799 Gesner's Bibliotheca is indicated, which means that Zakariás definitely had two copies. It is also possible that one of them was the second edition, with the recent addition about the Hyperidean fragments.

3. As mentioned above, there is no trace of a connection between the different branches of the Bornemisszas, though it would be pleasant to suppose that the first known Bornemissza, treasurer of Matthias and captain of Buda played a role in the story of the Hyperides manuscript. What remains is mere hypothesis. After the sack of Buda by the Turks many Greek manuscripts found their way to Vienna and sometimes to Hungarian noble families.[25]But if this had happened the word *fragmenta* would mean that only a part of the complete codex reached the bishop's library. It would, however, have had to have the author's name, otherwise it would have been unidentified.

In any case such men as Bornemissza, Zsámboky or Mossóczy cannot be discredited in the same way as Brassicanus with regard to his account. Some Hyperidean fragments were certainly available in Nyitra. Another possibility is to suppose that they were part of a Greek rhetorical manual in a similar form to that in which they are extant in Walz's monumental edition *Rhetores Graeci*. Examples are introduced with their author's name in a relatively fragmentary form, since the complete speech is not quoted. Mossóczy possessed some *Rhetorica Graeca* under the numbers 512, 513.[26]Such manuals, however, were known not only in Hungary, and this fact would not explain why one should mention specifically Bornemissza's library.

[25]Thallóczy Lajos, 'Egy XVII. századbeli adat Corvin-codexekről' *Magyar Könyvszemle* 3 (1877) 352. In a letter dated 26 Sept. 1637 Hadritius György describes the possessions of the family Révay, where he mentions books, which were taken by the ancestors of the family from the library in Buda.
[26]Cf. Iványi's appendix.

In the 17th century Nyitra was besieged three times. Each time the archive was brought to safety, but the library suffered serious damage.[27]Many books vanished and were stolen. The library in its present form was founded by Roskoványi Ágoston, bishop of Nyitra in 1879 on the basis of the old, remaining stock and the bishop's private library. It was opened to the public in 1884 in a splendid hall of the old seminar building at enormous expense.[28]In the catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books composed by Vágner, the first director, the editor clearly indicates that there are no codices or manuscripts on parchment in the possession of the library.[29] Nevertheless, I visited in the spring of 1993 the library, which - since 1920 when Nyitra with the rest of Northern Hungary was awarded to Czechoslovakia - has slept its sleeping beauty dream. The interior, the colours look exactly as they were described one hundred years ago on the eve of opening. The majority of the books are rarely used, but keep their old, well defined place on the shelves. With the kind permission of the librarian it was possible to have a look at the manuscripts and after Brassicanus I could say *inspexi libros omnes* - however, less successfully. Only in the case of parchment bound manuscripts (17-18th centuries) would there have been a tiny chance to find something important and therefore the focus of my interest was on these 'secondhand' codex pages. Though among them there were not any Hyperides fragments, certainly I will not repeat Brassicanus' laments and hope to have a closer look at the treasures of Nyitra.

For the time being, however, we have to limit the study of Hyperides' 'Nachleben' to certain periods of antiquity.

[27]Vágner József, *A Nyitrai egyházmegyei könyvtár kéziratai és régi nyomtatványai* (Nyitra, 1886) IV.
[28]*Magyar Minerva, A Magyarországi Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Címkönyve* I (Budapest, 1900) 260-261; Dezsõ Adolf, 'A nyitrai egyházmegyei könyvtár' *Magyar Könyvszemle* 10 (1884) 60.
[29]Vágner, 1,n.1.

IV. Hyperides and the Canon of the Ten Attic Orators, Theophrastus on Hyperides?

In his recent article on the canon of the Ten Attic Orators Ian Worthington in the first sentence emphasises that „the so-called 'Canon' .... has had a dominating effect on the survival of the orators whose works we have today".[30] Apart from some scattered fragments or small groups of complete speeches - e.g. the speeches of Ps. Demosthenes, Apollodorus - those nine (ten) authors represent the achievements of fifth and fourth century B.C. Greek oratory for us. I have put ten in brackets, because, if we look at the final results of the determining influence of the Canon on ancient and medieval textual transmission, Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lycurgus and Dinarchus have at least one (Lycurgus) or more complete specimen of their activity. This, however, is not true for Hyperides, who represents the only exception to the otherwise clear correlation between having been a member of the Canon and being extant.

If, on the other hand, we narrow the time limits of the effects of the Canon down to the period of its appearance and influence, that is between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D., this period coincides with the most popular period for Hyperides in antiquity. So, looking from a narrow Hyperidean point of view - i.e. restricting the scope of research on the Canon of Ten to its tenth member - being part of the Canon seems rather to mirror than to influence any favour towards him. In any case, in searching for possible reasons for Hyperides' peculiar 'Nachleben', and especially why he was so popular in the mentioned period, it seems to be unavoidable to raise the question of Hyperides' inclusion in any group of important orators.

I follow chronological order and examine the works of those ancient rhetoricians and scholars, who could in some way or another be connected with such a selection. At the end of the fourth century B.C., more or less immediately after the death of Hyperides, a remarkable new development starts in rhetoric and rhetorical manuals because of the

[30] Ian Worthington, 'The Canon of the Ten Attic Orators' in *Persuasion: Greek Rhetoric in Action*, ed. Ian Worthington (London, New York, 1994) 244-63.

contribution of Theophrastus.

Although Aristotle had rhetoric decisively inaugurated as an art[31] and the essence of his system remained the standard for posterity, as is apparent from his esoteric work, he was not too concerned with factors influencing and determining style (λέξις). Although the third book of his Rhetoric is devoted to an inquiry on style, basically he regarded it as secondary in comparison with the presentation of facts, however, unavoidable because of the wickedness of the audience.[32] In consequence of his philosophical principles, λέξις has only one virtue, or duty:

[31] Simultaneously with the appearance of Attic oratory, it must have became obvious that it is different from everyday communication and that its effect is gained by this very difference. The inquiry into this specialism and the conscious teaching of it is a natural concomitant of oratory, which was dramatically developing in the fertile soil of democracy. Isocrates, according to tradition the teacher of Hyperides, was presumably the first to arrange the material, which had been gradually collected in the form of different τέχναι since the first sophists, into a coherent system and to develop and adopt it for teaching purposes. (Cf. Blass, *Att. Bered.* II, 117). Furthermore he was undoubtedly the first, who formulated a concept according to which rhetoric (in his interpretation it is philosophy) is the art, which is destined for educating human mind. (Cf. Isocr.*Antid.*181; Blass *Att. Bered.* II,107). Later, in practice, the intermediate level in the educational system was built upon this, which transformed rhetoric into one of the most important pillars of Graeco-Roman culture.

The works of Isocrates and his other student, Anaximenes, already show the structural characteristics of later manuals. However, they are also interesting here for the fact that besides practical requirements (i.e. the essential types, parts and structure of speech - πραγματικὸς τόπος -) they represent an increasing importance laid on style, *concrete formulation* (λέξις - λεκτικὸς τόπος).

Thus the stylistic interest represented by the Peripatetic School had presumably its parallel to a certain extent in the practical teaching of the age, for which later, perhaps more developed evidence, is unfortunately lost. Nevertheless even from these early examples it is worth while emphasizing that one of the few stylistic pieces of advice by Isocrates is: ὀνόματι δὲ χρῆσθαι ἢ μεταφορᾷ μὴ σκληρᾷ ἢ τῷ καλλίστῳ ἢ τῷ ἥκιστα πεποιημένῳ ἢ τῷ φρονιμωτάτῳ (Fg.12). On the other hand he represents the following as a commonly accepted virtue of speech: τὴν λέξιν ... ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἔχουσαν. He regarded himself as a follower of a certain middle style: νεώτερος μὲν ὢν προηρούμην γράφειν τῶν λόγων οὐ τοὺς μυθώδεις ... οὐδ' αὖ τοὺς ἁπλῶς εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντας καὶ μηδεμίας κομψότητος μετέχοντας, οὓς οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παραινοῦσι τοῖς νεωτέροις μελετᾶν (*Panath.*1; cf. J.Stroux, *De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi* (Leipzig, 1912) 42).

Similarly although the τέχνη of Anaximenes of Lampsacus, a contemporary of Hyperides, is extant, entitled *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* - there is a long modern debate, whether it is really his work - it reveals that the author's main interest was rather focused on the clear presentation of the parts of a speech; and the rare stylistic remarks are subordinated to this. Nevertheless there occur ideas such as: ἀστειολογία, μετριότης μήκους, βραχυλογία and the later Aristotelian distinction between the three groups of words: ἁπλοῦς σύνθετος μεταφέρων. Similarly the main virtue is: σαφήνεια.

[32] δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥστε τἆλλα ἔξω τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι περίεργα ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ὅμως μέγα δύναται, καθάπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν (*Rhet.*1404a.5).

ὡρίσθω λέξεως ἀρετὴ σαφῆ εἶναι (σημεῖον γάρ τι ὁ λόγος ὤν, ἐὰν μὴ δηλοῖ, οὐ ποιήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον)

'let the virtue of style be defined as „to be clear" (speech is a kind of sign, so if it does not make clear it will not perform its function)'[33]

On the other hand the starting point (ἀρχή) of all this is τὸ ἑλληνίζειν - the proper use of words etc.[34] Moreover, similarly there are other stylistic requirements in the shadow of σαφήνεια[35], whose detailed explication and systematisation the author did not regard as necessary. In contrast with the manuals of practising teachers of rhetoric, in which quite understandably the majority of examples come from their own practice or imagination (so Anaximenes and perhaps Isocrates), in many cases Aristotle supports his remarks by referring to Attic orators. He draws by name on Antiphon, Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes and even Demades from the later 'canonised' Ten. The fact that Hyperides does not appear among them is perhaps due not only to the simple answer that Aristotle did not like his rhetorical technique, or that his political and rhetorical ἀκμή falls in a later period than the finishing of the Rhetorica. Hyperides' anti-Macedon extremism could also have played a role, by making him even more unacceptable than Demosthenes in the eyes of Aristotle.[36]

Theophrastus, as mentioned above, continued Aristotle's rhetorical inquiries. It is remarkable, however, that although he wrote many other greater or smaller treatises about rhetorical questions, his most influential work was that in which he dealt with the virtues of style.[37] In all probability this was not only because of the fact that the master did not deepen his study in this field as far as would have been appropriate, and there were questions left unanswered, but was rather due to the changed external circumstances of the late fourth and early third century B.C.

[33] *Rhet.* 1404b.2, translated by G.A.Kennedy.
[34] *Rhet.* 1407a.20.
[35] *Rhet.* 1404b.4: πρέπουσα - appropriate.
[36] After the death of Alexander, when Hyperides was the first political leader in Athens, Aristotle had to escape Demophilus' ἀσέβεια accusation.
[37] Cf. O.Regenbogen, 'Theophrastos' *RE* VII. Supp.2 (1940) cols. 1526-27.

Before Theophrastus' own eyes political storms literally swept away a generation of orators. First Aeschines, Lycurgus and Dinarchus, then in tragic circumstances Demosthenes and Hyperides left Attica and died. And, finally, soon after the career of Demades was finished. Furthermore, the traditional audience for rhetoric, the Athenian people, was not any more the same as it was in the age of Demosthenes, not to mention the Periclean epoch. With changes in the general standard of values, whose reasons are not to be presented here, rhetorical values underwent changes as well. This was an ideal background for the developing of new styles of speaking, which were far from meeting the requirements of the partly existing former 'general taste'. The weakening of democratic institutions must have made this even worse in the eyes of traditionalists, since along with them a certain stimulating capacity was disappearing and at the same time a natural check on rhetoricians was disappearing. The impression, that we have to imagine obvious changes within one or two generations, is supported by Cicero:

> posteaquam extinctis his omnis eorum memoria obscurata est et evanuit, alia quaedam dicendi molliora ac remissiora genera viguerunt. Inde Democharis, quem aiunt sororis filium fuisse Demostheni; tum Phalereus ille Demetrius omnium istorum mea sententia politissimus, aliique horum similes extiterunt.
>
> 'Afterwards, when these men were dead and all remembrance of them gradually grew dim and then vanished away, certain other softer and more licentious styles of speaking flourished. There was Democharis, said to have been the son of Demosthenes' sister, then Demetrius Phalereus, the most elegant to my thinking, of all of them, and others like them'.[38]

However, it would be a mistake to speak about an immediate Asian intrusion. Contemporaries were perhaps only witnesses of a certain carelessness, which was bit-by-bit gaining ground in language, in composition, etc., and whose signs are detectable already - among others - in Hyperides' rhetorical usage.

This certainly made an impact on Theophrastus' rhetorical interest. In accordance with it, the direction of his inquiry must have turned to the essence of speech, to the

[38] Cic.*de Or.* 2,95; cf. E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898) I, 127.

components of λέξις.[39] What kind of direct influence his work had on the general teaching of rhetoric in his own age, is unknown; and it must not be forgotten that it was born within the circle of a philosophical school.[40] Nonetheless, although his influence, even in this period (i.e. until the middle of the second century B.C.), is in danger of being overestimated, Theophrastus could have played a certain role in the process of canonising individual orators, and among them Hyperides. The question is, however, whether Hyperides appeared at all in the book, probably entitled περὶ λέξεως - 'On Style'. There are only very few fragments extant from the original work, moreover they are widely scattered among later authors (Dionysius, Cicero, Quintilian etc.). Accordingly there are different hypotheses in modern literature.[41]

The edition of August Meyer is basically built upon a hypothesis as well.[42] According to him the original work of Theophrastus was divided into four smaller treatises: a. περὶ τρίων λόγου χαρακτήρων b. περὶ ἐκλογῆς ὀνομάτων c. περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων d. περὶ ἰδέων. Meyer tried to reconstruct the content of the original work by using information from all potential sources, and so he rejects the traditional methods, i.e. to rely on 'hard evidence', fragments referred to Theophrastus by name. The result according to contemporary critics is disastrous. Adjectives like „infolge ihres Unkritik unbrauchbar"[43] and „verfehlt"[44] seem to be relatively mild, if we consider that the editor has been equated with Procrustes,[45] since he has tortured Cicero and other authors quite drastically to fit his theory.

However, there is still a definite uncertainty about the truth of his basic hypothesis, that is, whether Dionysius in mentioning the three types of speech drew directly on Theophrastus or not. All this despite the convincing and well argued refutation of Stroux.

[39]William W.Fortenbaugh, Pamela M.Huby, Robert W.Sharples (Greek and Latin) and Dimitri Gutas (Arabic), *Theophrastus of Eresus. Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1992) II, 508.
[40]According to Cicero (*Brut.*36; cf. Norden, I, 127), Demetrius Phalereus 'processerat in solem et pulverem, non ut e militari tabernaculo sed ut e Theophrasti doctissimi hominis umbraculis'. However, he belonged to the same peripatetic circles.
[41] Regenbogen, (Theophrastos) col. 1527.
[42] *Theophrasti περὶ λέξεως libri fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1910).
[43] Regenbogen, (Theophrastos) col. 1527.
[44] Th.Wolbergs, 'Theophrastos' *Der Kleine Pauly* (1975) col. 725.
[45] Stroux, 42.

Going to the other extreme, if we accept the standpoint represented by Meyer, then the beginnings of a rhetorical canon (including Hyperides) should be traced back as early as Theophrastus.

It is a matter of fact that Theophrastus differentiated between at least four stylistic virtues:[46] a. ἑλληνισμός, b. σαφήνεια, c. πρέπον and d. κατασκευή (μεγαλοπρεπεία καὶ τὸ ἡδύ), which later, increased in number, became the touchstones of ancient rhetorical literary criticism. However, their original real value, i.e. what was his intention in using them, is ambiguous and, especially in the case of the first three, almost completely unclear.[47]

The components of κατασκευή (Latin *ornatus*) are ἐκλογή and ἁρμονία (sc. ὀνομάτων) and the σχήματα, of which only the third is in a strict sense a part of ornamentation. How detailed this explanation was, is questionable. Meyer attributes three separate chapters to the three components in the structure of the περὶ λέξεως. It is true that after centuries *ornatus* and its parts became the most influential parts of style, as is proved by later manuals, since often entire monographs are devoted to scrutinising their characteristics. On the other hand, according to Stroux' assumption it was still the πρέπον that formed the most elaborated chapter, the central importance of which was originally inherited from Aristotle.[48] Although Cicero himself, in connection with this stylistic virtue, refers to the three types of speech,[49] the Peripatetic philosopher - according to Stroux' basic argument - could hardly have done the same, since this typology is completely alien to the spirit of his era. It was rather used by an educational and intellectual system based on rigorous imitation (that of Augustan Rome).[50]

As mentioned above, the presence of types and categories in Theophrastus' work is of considerable interest from a Hyperidean point of view. Moreover, although Stroux'

[46] Cic.*Or.*75; cf. Stroux, 10.
[47] An anecdote preserved in Quintilian (*Inst.Or.*8,1,2) could shed some light on his interpretation of ἑλληνισμός: 'et illa Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem alioqui disertissimum, adnotata unius adfectatione verbi hospitem dixit, nec alio se id deprendisse interrogata respondit quam quod nimium Attice loqueretur.' It is not an unknown phenomenon for us, that a foreigner, although speaking correctly, is still using a somehow artificial, 'academic' language.
[48] Cf. Stroux, 70.
[49] Cic.*Or.*3,212.
[50] Originally it was developed by the systematizing efforts of grammarians: cf. Stroux, 81.

argumentation is very strong, the possibility of reference to Hyperides cannot be excluded because of the shortage of ancient evidence.[51] Therefore it is necessary to deal with this question more precisely.

Meyer's editorial principle is basically very simple; if we take Theophrastus' authorship of the three types of speech for granted, in the reconstruction of the structure and content of the περὶ λέξεως every piece of evidence can be used which is in some way or other way relevant to the subject. Even if we accept the vague suggestion supported by the text of the main witness, Dionysius[52] - i.e. Theophrastus knew the three types - such a direct way of collecting evidence is completely unjustified.

The reason why the evidence of Trypho Alexandrinus for example, which contains a reference to Hyperides, is quoted among the fragments and ideas related to Theophrastus, seems to be unclear.[53] Nor is Meyer's explanation of the unusual list of personal representatives of styles satisfactory. It is hardly possible that for this 'chaos' merely a Byzantine epitomator could be blamed and that the 'original' Tryphonian sequence could be restored by some simple reordering.

Following Cicero's description[54] the editor reconstructs a chapter entitled περὶ αἰτίας χαρακτήρων. According to him Theophrastus must have explained in this that the reason for having different types of speech originates from the different characters of orators (προαιρέσεις καὶ φύσεις). Hyperides' peculiarity is acumen.

The following chapter is given the title περὶ γενέσεως χαρακτήρων. Attested

[51] Although on the one hand later references are more or less unreliable, on the other hand it is worth mentioning - as A. Körte 'Χαρακτήρ' *Hermes* 64 (1929) 80, emphasized - that Theophrastus must have been aware of different meanings of the word χαρακτήρ, as it is revealed by the title of his extant work: ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες.

[52] D.H.*Dem.*3. A convincing refutation of such a direct reference from Dionysius to an alleged simplified categorization in Theophrastus is convincingly refuted by G.M.A.Grube, 'Thrasymachus, Theophrastus, and Dionysius' *AJP* 73 (1952) 251-67; G.L.Hendrickson, 'The Peripatetic Mean of Style and The Three Stylistic Characters' *AJP* 25 (1904) 125-46, who suspects a misunderstanding of Theophrastus on Dionysius' side.

[53] Χαρακτῆρες ῥητορικοὶ τρεῖς τουτέστιν εἴδη φράσεων· αὐστηρόν, μέσον, ἰσχνόν. Καὶ τὸν μὲν αὐστηρὸν ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἐπετήδευσε χαρακτῆρα καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος, τὸν δὲ μέσον Δημοσθένης, Ὑπερείδης, Δείναρχος, Λυκοῦργος, τὸν δὲ ἰσχνὸν Αἰσχίνης, Ἰσοκράτης, Λυσίας, Ἀνδοκίδης, Ἰσαῖος, Christianus Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* I-IX (Stuttgart, Tübingen, London, Paris, 1832-1836; rpr. Osnabrück, 1968) VII,26.

[54] Cic.*Or.*36;52; and *de Or.*3,25-6.

again by Cicero,[55] according to the editor, Theophrastus in this chapter must have surveyed the history of rhetoric, which was born as γραφικὴ λέξις, while as ἀγωνιστικὴ λέξις in due course it became dominant.[56] Theophrastus is supposed to have demonstrated here the three types of speech and their εὑρεταί and τελειωταί.[57]

It is almost certain from Dionysius,[58] that Theophrastus introduced Gorgias and Thucydides as the representatives of ὕψος; as those of the *medium*, Thrasymachus and Isocrates; and finally Lysias as one belonging to the *genus humile*. On the other hand, of the forensic orators, Meyer says: „Attamen constare nobis videtur eum Hyperidem ἰσχνότητος posuisse exemplum, ὕψους autem, Demosthenem, Aeschinem, Demadem ... Demetrium Phalereum ... μεσότητος illius Peripateticae „canona" posuit perfectissimum"[59] But unfortunately as in the case of previous ones, these statements too are not based upon solid arguments. Even if we accept that Cicero[60]and Demetrius Magnes[61] are praising Hyperides' χάρις, it hardly supports the conclusions mentioned above.[62] The same is true for Cicero Orator 90; in which Hyperides, along with Lysias, is presented as the representative of ἰσχνοτής.

The next remarkable stage, where an exclusive influential list of rhetoricians might have been composed is Alexandria and the erudite circle of the first philologists.

Callimachus in his book entitled Πίνακες composed the catalogue or register of the literature collected in the Alexandrian library. All the works he classified into different categories according to their genre, so the rhetorical speeches were listed under the title ῥητορικά.[63] In each class he put the authors in alphabetical order and enclosed a short

[55] Cic.*Or.*37-42; *de Or.*2,93-5; *Brut.*27-38.
[56] The hypothetical Theophrastean doctrine is underlined by the similarity between Cicero's account and other Peripatetic sources: cf. Meyer, 31.
[57]Cf. Meyer, 26.
[58] In the first three chapters of the treatise entitled *De Demosthene,* Dionysius, in contrast with - presumably - his own judgement in *De antiquis oratoribus*, uses a different scheme, that is: Gorgias and Thucydides are the representatives of the *genus subtile*, Isocrates of the *genus medium* and Lysias of the *humile.*
[59] Meyer, 35.
[60] Cic. *de Or.*3,28.
[61] Cf. D.H.*Din.*1.
[62] Cf. Meyer, 35,n.1.
[63] Fg. 430-432; cf. R.Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship, From the beginnings to the end of the Hellenistic age* (Oxford, 1968, english translation) 125.

curriculum vitae. On a second level of classification the rhetorical works were divided into forensic and private speeches and here again they were listed in an alphabetical sequence according to the first letter of their opening sentences.[64] This system is well attested not only by the surviving fragments, but it can be derived from the works of those scholars who followed him on a similar path. The extant 'Pinax' of Demosthenes' 'oeuvre', which is contained in the codex Marcianus (416,F) imitates the same method in its organisation and goes back to Callimachus according to H. Sauppe.[65] The same plan is mirrored in the 'Lives of Ten Orators' from Ps. Plutarch and the Suda Lexicon.

But the best picture of the real Callimachean 'Pinakes' could according to Regenbogen be perceived in the fragmentary work of Dionysius *De Dinarcho*.[66] But in all probability it already relies on an advanced tradition in which the 'oeuvre' was described in a more elaborate form and with more details. Dionysius himself refers to his predecessors by declaring that he was compelled by the misjudgements of Callimachus and Demetrius Magnes to discuss the 'oeuvre' of Dinarchus which would not deserve it otherwise.[67] In the following chapters he provides us first with a curriculum vitae and then adds some serious stylistic remarks of his own. He then examines chronological questions and finally enumerates the speeches under the classifications of δημόσιοι and ἰδιωτικοί. It is most probable that the register of the speeches of Hyperides was arranged by an analogous process and in a similar scheme. Despite the fact that we do not have any concrete evidence, the existence of this study by Dionysius seems to strengthen the assumption of the existence of a Hyperidean 'Pinax'. According to him besides the great six: Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hyperides - about whom he already has written on another occasion - 'many people value even this man' i.e. Dinarchus. (καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἠξιωμένον). They do so by praising his style, like Demetrius Magnes, or by attributing to him high quality speeches which he does not merit at all,

ἅμα δὲ ὁρῶν οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς οὔτε Καλλίμαχον οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ Περγάμου

[64] Pfeiffer, 131.
[65] Regenbogen, 'Πίναξ' *RE* XL (1950) col. 1429. The same is true for another codex, codex Y (Paris 2935) and the work of Harpocration.
[66] Regenbogen (Pinax) col. 1429.
[67] D.H. *Din.*1.

γραμματικοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ γράψαντας, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξετάσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀκριβεστέρων ἡμαρτηκότας, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐψεῦσθαι πολλὰ ...

'At the same time, however, I saw that neither Callimachus, nor the grammarians from Pergamum had written any detailed study of him, and that through this failure to examine him in greater detail they had committed errors, which have resulted not only in many errors ...'[68]

So if this remarkably less talented orator was on the list of Callimachus' *Pinakes*, because Dionysius hardly refers to anything else, then the Six and among them Hyperides most probably were honoured by the same privilege, which means being in a detailed catalogue.

But it is almost unnecessary to go into details about this, since an orator like Hyperides whose speeches were continuously copied throughout the centuries - as the papyri attest - and for whom after his death the Athenians erected a statue,[69] could hardly have escaped the great library. Nevertheless the reference is important because it shows the origins of the canonising stage in the 'Nachleben' of Hyperides might go back to the time of developing Alexandrian scholarship.

In contrast to the relatively well traceable canon of Three Tragedians and Lyric Poets the canon of Ten - even if they were ten at the very beginning - Attic orators[70] has become the subject of a long debate.[71] Research was focused on the Alexandrian grammarians, who, however, in accordance with their keen interest especially dealt with

[68] D.H. *Din.*1,15. translated by Stephen Usher in Loeb edition (1985).
[69] J. Engels, *Die politische Biographie des Hypereides* (Hildesheim, 1989) 388.
[70] The word canon was coined by D. Ruhnken in the 18th century in the meaning of the list of the best authors in each literary genre: cf. Pfeiffer, 207; Worthington, 259, n.1. See further P.E. Easterling, 'Canon' in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] edd. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford, New York, 1996) 286-7. A. E. Douglas, 'Cicero, Quintilian and the Canon of Ten Attic Orators' *Mnemosyne* 9 (1956) 30-40, notes that a strict canon for the "rhetores" never existed, in the sense that "when someone referred e.g. to the Ten Orators, all educated people knew who were meant" (31). Cicero would not have failed to mention it in the fever of the Attic-Asianic controversy and even if he had missed it Quintilian would not (37). Worthington (see n.1), argues for Caecilius' authorship, whose selection was motivated by a 'pure Attic' point of view. But why exactly those Ten, remains an unsolved problem: „he (Caecilius) must have been guided by some personal concerns, and this raises the question of the universal favour of his list" (259). To circumvent the problem of a fixed canonised list, I will understand under the label of canon of the orators generally the flexible selection which may occur in a different form in different authors.
[71] Cf. L. Radermacher, 'Kanon' *RE* X (1919) cols. 1873-8.

Lyric Poets.[72] For a selective list made by Aristarchus there is evidence only in the case of the poets.[73]

The two most important sources from antiquity which include quasi canonical lists of rhetoricians are much later: Dionysius, περὶ μιμήσεως 6.5. and Quintilian, *Institutio* 10,1,16. According to Radermacher both of them drew on the same source, who might himself have been an orator and who perhaps composed his list with educational aims in mind.[74]Quintilian, for whatever reason, rejected Lycurgus from the circle of the best orators, but otherwise follows Dionysius' choice. Thus the Six are: Lysias, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides.[75] Radermacher assumes that the composer, the teacher of rhetoric who subsequently played the role of the source, could not have flourished far removed in time from Aristarchus and Aristophanes of Byzantium. Indeed he might have been their contemporary. More specific is Worthington's final result, who on the basis of arguments *ex silentio* points at Caecilius as the ultimate author of the canon of the Ten. The more so, since the title of Caecilius' work Περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων clearly indicates that he had accepted or even coined a selection of ten. To show on the other hand how changeable any list was - still in Caecilius' time - it only needs to be recognised that, even within the works of a single author, the canon appears in different versions. In the Περὶ ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων of Dionysius the list is changed and in place of Lycurgus we find Isaeus.[76] This latter is not very important from the point of view of Hyperides, because he always enjoyed a secure position from the first attested appearance of similar selections. However, the fact might represent vividly the origins of any selection of speeches and so of the orators.

So, why necessarily point to one author? Selective lists were presumably stimulated by the distinctive position which was occupied by oratory in general education.[77] It is quite reasonable to assume with Radermacher and Pfeiffer that through the assistance of teachers of rhetoric - e.g. Molo, the Rhodian, or Dionysius - plenty of

[72] Pfeiffer, 205.
[73] L. Cohn, 'Aristophanes' *RE* III (1895) col. 1000.
[74] L. Radermacher, 'Zur siebenten Satire Juvenals' *Rh. Mus.* 59 (1904) 529-30.
[75] Radermacher (Kanon) col. 1877.
[76] D.H. *Orat.Vett.*4,30.
[77] Radermacher (Kanon) col. 1875.

smaller or larger reading lists appeared very early as a kind of selection.[78]Caecilius could play the role of a redactor, who made a more or less arbitrary selection from these reading lists for his own purposes. He might even have decided for an extra four-five orators, who were less uniformly accepted by the supposed common opinion of Attic teachers. In any case by writing a formal treatise on the most frequent ten, he left a more influential and far-reaching heritage than any other school-teacher before him.

Ultimately, I think in the case of Hyperides, the origin of his canonisation lies in a school-oriented interest and evaluation of his 'oeuvre', rather than from an arbitrary decision made by a single person.

[78] Norden, I,149.

V. οὐ μόνον ὡς ἡ συνήθεια κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι - Words of Hyperides in Greek lexicography

A complete dissertation was devoted to Hyperidean language by Ulrich Pohle, whose aim was to present the relationship between the orator's language and the *Koine*. In two chapters, he touches upon the question of the 'Nachleben' of the orator's *thesaurus* by referring to later authors.[79] His focus, however, is on linguistic questions and when he collects Hyperides' peculiar expressions it is a descriptive presentation of earlier and later *testimonia*. His catalogue could only in a couple of cases be enriched with the help of modern methods, e.g. the TLG's word-searching programme.

The background and the motivation of references to Hyperides on the other hand would deserve special attention. Before the discovery of the papyri, Hyperides' heritage was limited to these expressions, a category of evidence which now seems to have become a less interesting chapter in the history of classical scholarship and not to demand a special inquiry. Nevertheless, from the point of view of Hyperides' 'Nachleben' in antiquity it is quite interesting, since after the fourth century A.D. this material gradually came to stand for the name of this orator for a wider public.

There is, however, also another peculiarity of this collection of separate words and expressions, namely its size, which is surprisingly great compared with the rest of the Ten. The number of specific or anonymous references ranks Hyperides sometimes in the second, sometimes in the third place after Demosthenes and Lysias. Why this happened, is the question, which I try to look at here on the basis of a complete catalogue of Hyperidean quotations in their context (Appendix II) and a chronological examination of these *testimonia*.

The majority of Hyperidean fragments, which are usually listed after the six

[79]U. Pohle, 'Die Sprache des Redners Hypereides in ihren Beziehungen zur Koine' *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* 2 (Leipzig, 1928) 34-8; 63-5.

preserved speeches in the editions, owe their existence to the use of peculiar expressions. Often there is just one word picked out from a speech, sometimes its original environment is quoted with it as well, and in some fortunate cases we get the title of the speech. The more or less 240 words, expressions and proper names are quoted by 19 authors almost all of whom with a few exceptions contribute more or less to the content of an article. The material is considerable, even if the majority of authors drew on each other and not directly on Hyperides as a source, so that they grow not from a new but a dying branch of the (not always easily drawn) family tree. The authors in a chronological sequence are as follows: Didymus Chalkenteros, Pollux, Phrynichus, Antiatticista, Harpocration, Athenaeus, Galen, Ammonius, Orus, (Bekker and Bachmann) Synagoge, Lexicon Cantabrigiense, Porphyry, Hesychius, Etymologicum Genuinum, Etymologicum Magnum, Photius, the Suda, Zonaras, Eustathius. The quoted words vary according to the different aims of the compilers. With plenty of overlap - that is, none of the authors could be confined to any one category - nevertheless we can discern the following groups or types among the expressions:

a, Peculiar expressions used in a different meaning from the normal usage, metonymic phrases, newly created verbs and nouns, unique grammatical forms borrowed from everyday language. They are sometimes even highlighted with the classification: ἰδίως, 'in a peculiar sense or usage', etc.[80]

b, Historical, political and legal terms, proper names, expressions such as the names of months and festivals.

(c, Words and compounds explained by etymological dictionaries. According to the genre of extant etymologica, these expressions usually simultaneously belong to the first two groups.)

The three groups in a way mirror the three main forms of ancient lexicography, which at the birth of this special scholarship still followed different and independent ways, but in the long run - with some exceptions - became completely interwoven, as their extant examples demonstrate for us. Nevertheless, in a short historical survey, in which we begin to follow the Hyperidean words, they come up to the surface like hidden brooks,

[80] See especially Appendix III.

Glossographers, Compilers of 'Onomastica', and Composers of 'Etymologica'.

A. The Beginnings

The examination and explanation of words is almost as old as literature itself. Epic authors already seem to have interpreted themselves by using synonyms and descriptions.[81] Beyond the simple recitations of the rhapsodists, there arose the need for having the words and 'glosses' of Homer interpreted, since Homer formed the basis of all science and scholarship, the need for understanding archaic, dialectical and barbaric expressions.[82] There were born one after the other the several 'glossa' interpretations, based on dialects which later melt into the observations of the Homeric scholia.[83] This anonymously developing scholarship underwent a fresh impulse from the appearance of Sophists and Philosophers in the scientific field. The masters of speeches had evidently to become the masters of words as well and the proper choice was a key issue for them.[84] It is not by accident that Prodicus was the first who dealt with synonyms.[85] His phrase ὀρθοέπεια, 'correctness of diction', returns in the title of Democritus' work Περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων, 'On Homer or the correctness of words and glosses'. Moreover, even the basis of etymology, inquiry into the origin of the words, was formed in the circles the of Sophists, as a result of putting forward the question νόμῳ or φύσει: whether language and its parts, words as one component of the human world, have to be considered as originating 'by nature', φύσει, or 'by convention', νόμῳ .[86] The first 'Onomasticon', expressions arranged in thematic groups, is also connected with the name of a sophist, Gorgias, as Pollux reveals.[87] Thus until the age of Hyperides, from a general scientific interest, the basis was established upon which the Hellenistic age built up a new

[81] Pfeiffer, 4.
[82] J.Tolkiehn, 'Lexicographie' *RE*, XXIV (1925) col. 2434.
[83] K.Latte, 'Glossographika' *Philologus* 80 (1925) 148.
[84] Pfeiffer, 16-7.
[85] L.Cohn, (Griech. Lex.) 682.
[86] Pfeiffer, 53. It is very likely that one of Plato's pupils was the first who devoted a whole study to etymological investigations: cf. Tolkiehn, col. 2435.
[87] Poll. Praef. IX; cf. Tolkiehn, col. 2435.

specific scholarship, stimulated by the challenge of new questions. However, the start of it is only interesting here insofar as it is relevant to Hyperides.

B. The Hellenistic age

Philetas - he was 18 in the year of Hyperides' death[88] - as the standard-bearer of Alexandrian literature, marked with his poetry the direction which later was labelled with the maxim of Callimachus μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν, 'big book big evil'. The goal was to break with the traditional genres and to achieve perfection in forms. His attention - like that of the Sophists who undertook the polishing of prose - turned accordingly to the choice of words. The glossaries helped him not only in the understanding of poets from previous ages, but also in choosing words carefully for his λεπτῶς, 'gracefully' written verse.[89] In all probability, he was led by such intentions in the compilation of his Homeric ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι.[90] His pupil Zenodotus, who gave up his poetic ambitions, ordered his glosses in alphabetical sequence,[91] in which not only 'the' Poet Homer, but several others appear as well.[92]

Nevertheless it would be a mistake to imagine a linear development from generation to generation of a more advanced scholarship, which from the time of Philetas within one hundred years reached the level presented in the Λέξεις, 'Expressions' of Aristophanes of Byzantium. For the genesis of this new genre of lexicography, which refers to a wider range of material - in which gradually the Hyperidean words began to become involved - perhaps this interest on the part of scholar-poets would not have been enough in itself. Another question raised by the age played at least a similarly important part.

With a newly expanded world, language inevitably began to change. What could be regarded as real, 'Ελληνισμός in contrast to common usage, and what could be

[88] Tolkiehn, col. 2436.
[89] Pfeiffer, 90.
[90] Its meaning is doubtful: cf. A. von Blumenthal 'Philetas' *RE* XIX (1938) col. 2169
[91] Pfeiffer, 115; K.Nickau, *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotos von Ephesos* (Berlin, New York, 1977) 44.
[92] Tolkiehn, col. 2436.

considered as real literature?[93] Moreover - a fact that is more relevant to the 'oeuvre' of Hyperides - which rhetorical style is preferable for imitation, the Asianic by which the rules of formal rhetoric were completely disregarded, or something else?[94] When and by whom these questions were formulated is unimportant here. In any case the works of Aristophanes of Byzantium entitled Περὶ τῶν ὑποπτευομένων μὴ εἰρῆσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, 'On expressions which presumably were not used by the ancients' and Περὶ καινοτέρων λέξεων, 'On more recent phrases' were perhaps already stimulated by this debate.[95] Whether this inquiry should be regarded as being responsible for the emergence of Λέξεις literature generally, - which finally led into classicism and Atticism - or whether the special 'Αττικαὶ λέξεις, 'Attic expressions', go back to dialect glosses which flourished for a long time remains an open question.[96]

For, step by step, the title 'Glosses' was replaced by the more general 'Expressions' whose aim was not restricted to the explanation of unusual and dialectical words; rather, as the title itself indicates, a wider range of material was worked on.[97] Eratosthenes, not yet under this title, but in the same spirit, composed his study entitled Περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, 'On Old Comedy', in which he collected plenty of everyday expressions, rare and new words, jokes, Attic particularities.[98] In all probability Didymus Chalkenteros relied on this compendium in explaining the phrase of Hyperides ἐπὶ κόρρης τύπτειν, on which occasion he refers to him by name. It occurs in Pherecrates the comedian[99] and therefore got its deserved place in the dictionary of Eratosthenes. Didymus supports on the one hand his interpretation with other evidence, such as that of Plato and Demosthenes, that is, the phrase should be understood as 'to smack in the face', but on the other hand he refers to the Hyperidean context in which according to him it

[93] K.Latte, 'Zur Zeitbestimmung des Antiatticista' *Hermes* 50 (1915) 385.
[94] Norden, I, 131-2.
[95] R.Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der Griechischen Etymologika* (Leipzig, 1897) 378; cf. C.K.Callanan, *Die Sprachbeschreibung bei Aristophanes von Byzanz* (Göttingen, 1987) 75-89.
[96] On the possible content and structure of the works of Aristophanes of Byzantium cf. R.Tosi, 'La lessicografia e la paremiografia in eta' Alessandrina e il loro sviluppo successivo' (*unpublished*) 10. According to Tosi they were not rigorously organised alphabetical compendia.
[97] Pfeiffer, 198.
[98] Tolkiehn, col. 2438.
[99] Fg. 155b. Kock.

means 'to smack on the jaw'.[100] The divergent example seems to be collected by him and not by his predecessor.

The achievements of centuries in this field were summarised in the scholarly activities of Aristophanes of Byzantium at the beginning of the second century B.C.[101] In his Λέξεις the expressions were categorised partly by themes, imitating the first occurrence, the 'Onomasticon' of Callimachus, and partly by dialects.[102] The Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις and Λακωνικαὶ γλῶσσαι provide an example for the latter. The Onomasticon system is attested by titles like - beside the above mentioned work - Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικίων, Περὶ συγγενικῶν ὀνομάτων and πολιτικὰ ὀνόματα. Aristophanes' interpretations were illustrated by literary parallels as set out in Appendix II below.[103] Although among the fragments edited by August Nauck we search in vain for Hyperidean evidence, the thematic titles mentioned show a considerable similarity with some material quoted in Appendix II. In the works of Aristophanes, there has been a solid basis established for the compilers of later centuries; though in the case of Hyperides it cannot be proved,[104] in several other instances it is manifest that Didymus, Hesychius, Pollux and Athenaeus, even Eustathius in the twelfth century, drew on him as an important source.

Before the blossoming of the Atticising movement by which the later compilers of dictionaries were stimulated to quarry more deeply the speeches of Attic Orators, there is no evidence that the words of Hyperides aroused the special interest of grammarians in Alexandria. In contrast with Isocrates and Demosthenes,[105] who already appear among

[100] Cf. Appendix II, s,v.

[101] For a recent study on the subject: W.J.Salter, 'Aristophanes of Byzantium and Problem-solving in the Museum' *CQ* 32 (1982) 336-49.

[102] The title of the first chapter of the Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομασίαι was presumably μηνῶν προσηγορίαι κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις, 'The names of months in different nations and states'.

[103] Cohn, (Griech. Lex.) 683.

[104] In the case of κάθη the Lexicon of Orus and the Antiatticista also refer to Hyperides and Cratinus or to Hyperides' *Cratinus*. W.Luppe, 'Zu einigen Kratinosfragmenten' *Wiss.Zeitschr. d. Univ. Halle* 16 (1967) 406; has proposed a conjecture and argues for a copulative connection of the two names instead of a reference to Hyperides' Cratinus speech. According to K.Alpers, *Das attizistische Lexicon des Oros* (Berlin, New York, 1981) 108,n.37, Luppe's suggestion is questionable. On the other hand the example seems be a common borrowing from Aristophanes' work (Alpers, (Oros) 108; 178).

[105] The assumption died very hard in the literature that Aristophanes was in fact the one who classified the best of each genre into canons. Moreover the assortment of quotations from different authors in his works is already influenced by this: cf. L.Cohn, 'Aristophanes' *RE* II (1896) col. 1000; F.Montanari,

the quotations of Aristophanes, the composers of 'Αττικαὶ λέξεις did not - to judge at least by the 'ex silentio' evidence of the fragments - regard the Hyperidean 'lexis' as significant.

C. *The era of spreading Atticism*

Inquiry into a standard language, 'Ελληνισμός, as mentioned above, is first to be found in the works of Aristophanes of Byzantium. However, after just two generations, it developed into a carefully formulated programme through the scholarly activities of Aristarchus' pupil Pindarion.[106] Even if the inclinations of the Alexandrian grammarians to sterilise literature are exaggerated by the characterisation of Sextus Empiricus, nevertheless he hits the nail on the head.[107] In the opinion of the grammarians, out of the different συνήθεια, 'customary usage of language' (like Lacedaemonian, Old Attic, New Attic), one should be chosen for further development by means of analogy to fulfil its function as the standard. Hence, following the path made by Aristophanes, in the theory of Philoxenus, analogy and not anomaly plays the more influential part in grammar. Language and words, in contrast with the postulate of the Stoics, did not originate by themselves φύσει - but by human decision - θέσει. Everything could be derived from a limited number of ancient roots - ἀρχαί. The opposing party, the Stoics and the School in Pergamum, assumed a wider sovereign established linguistic basis (φύσει), which was later enriched by newly created forms. And this cannot be restricted by the barriers of linguistic rules.[108] The followers of anomaly of course cannot accept the lead of Attic or any other dialect against the συνήθεια.

On the Alexandrian side on the other hand, Attic has a claim to be accepted as the measure of 'Ελληνισμός, not, however, without some sifting. According to Pindarion there should be found a common linguistic base among the dialects, for which Homer should be the touchstone and this principle would be valid for Attic as well. Philoxenus in his Περὶ

'Aristophanes' *Der Neue Pauly* I (1996) col. 1132.
[106] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 380.
[107] Sext. Emp. 98; cf. Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 378.
[108] R.Reitzenstein, 'Etymologika' *RE* VI (1909) cols. 808-9.

Ἑλληνίσμου identified etymology as such a criterion to separate out common usage. If Attic Orators can be proved as real Greeks, they will get into the lexicon of 'Hellenismus'.[109] On the other hand words formulated by an inadequate etymological method have to be banished. However, the scepticism of Sextus Empiricus towards this procedure is in some ways right, since not all words can be verified satisfactorily as 'Hellenic' or not, and finally it is inevitable, that one should rely on συνήθεια.[110]

The theoretical discussion initiated in the first century B.C. was waged across a long period of time, but eventually a compromise was reached that unified the opposing camps, that is, the real should be defined by the simultaneous adaptation of methods and aspects like etymology, analogy, συνήθεια and history.[111]

In practice, nevertheless, from the middle of the first century B.C., Didymus Chalkenteros ('man of brazen guts'), who owes this name to his indefatigable working capacity, made the crucial steps in the transformation of lexicography. He was the first to break with formal Alexandrian traditions, that is, he dealt not only with poets, but also with prose-writers and among them orators, and composed commentaries on their speeches.[112] Some fragments on papyri from his Demosthenes commentary have survived and give an example of his method.[113] To his interpretations of Hyperides' fate was far from generous. However, their existence can be taken for granted by reason of Harpocration's reference. Didymus compiled with the title τροπικὴ λέξις a rhetorical lexicon as well and wrote a seven volume book on words with a doubtful meaning, Περὶ ἀπορουμένης λέξεως,[114] which forms in all probability the immediate precedents of Harpocration's work and later rhetorical-lexicon literature. The Hyperides articles ὀξυθυμία, Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς, Πυθαέα and ὅσιον in Harpocration are partly from this, partly from the commentaries.

[109] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 380-2.
[110] Sext.Emp. *Adv.Math*; cf. Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 381.
[111] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 384-7.
[112] L.Cohn, 'Didymos' *RE* V (1905) col. 458.
[113] *Didymus, In Demosthenem Commenta*, ed. L.Pearson, S.Stephens (Stuttgart, 1983). According to G.Arrighetti, 'Hypomnemata e *Scholia*: Alcuni problemi' *Museum Philol.Lond.* 2 (1977) 65-67, such *hypomnemata* might have accelerated the development of rhetorical *lexica* of the kind of Harpocration.
[114] Cohn, (Did.) col. 464.

The article ὀξυθυμία is especially interesting. Harpocration cites the whole sentence from the speech against Demades, whose main point is that someone or something far more deserves a monument on the rubbish tip than one in the temple. But the precise meaning of ὀξυθυμία became an issue of investigation. There are three standpoints, two of them from the pen of Didymus, moreover the last obviously from the commentary on Hyperides because Harpocration refers to it 'expressis verbis'. According to it, we should understand the statues of Hecate erected at the meeting of three roads, where rubbish used to be deposited after cleaning a house. Perhaps this was the favourite in the judgement of Didymus' later disciple. Nevertheless he was not completely satisfied and looked it up in one of the dictionaries of his predecessor as well. The expression λέξιν παραγράψας, 'copying the phrase' doubtless indicates a compilatory work on the part of Didymus as well, since it is clearly separated from the mention of his own commentary. Yet in this book he did not add anything more and was probably content with just referring to the rubbish without combining it with Hecate. We could infer that he did not yet deal with that particular passage of the Hyperidean speech against Demades at the time of composing his Λέξεις or perhaps he simply forgot about it, since according to some gossip-mongers, he could not even remember the titles of his own books.[115] In any case he was not embarrassed to reveal his source, the work of the historian and antiquarian Anticleides, which seems to have been on the table of quite a few lexicographers.[116]

The odd thing about the article 'Ελευθέριος Ζεύς, 'Zeus the Liberator' is that Hyperides himself interpreted the phase but without winning Didymus' approval. Hyperides was content with a popular explanation which, however, does not throw doubt on his historical knowledge, since for an orator it is just one form of persuasion. On the other hand it is more significant for the future of Hyperidean lexicography that Didymus - perhaps from his collection of comic words Λέξις κωμική - supports his view by reference to Menander which is the first example of the Hyperides - Comedy linguistic parallel.

It is reasonable to assume that the article Πυθαέα, 'Pythian Games' is a loan from

[115] Pfeiffer, 275.
[116] E. Swartz, 'Antikleides' *RE* I (1894) col. 2425.

a dictionary, since with a full knowledge of the text Didymus could hardly have confused the name of the celebration with the epithet of Apollo.[117] The word ὅσιον, 'secular' points also back to the Λέξεις of Didymus.

The second of the ἐπὶ κόρρης articles in Appendix II. comes from a work entitled Περὶ ἀπορουμένων παρὰ Πλάτωνι λέξεων, 'On doubtful expressions in Plato' and it is ascribed to Didymus in the manuscript discovered by Miller on Mount Athos.[118] The authorship of 'the man of brazen guts' was questioned first by Leopold Cohn[119] and after him by Schwartz, since in other articles it can be proved that the composer exploited the similar Λέξεις of Boethus. But it does not preclude the possibility in my opinion that the work basically still goes back to Didymus in which case we would have a beautiful sample of the actual level of lexicography presented by him. While relying on his predecessors' general 'Αττικαὶ Λέξεις and special studies like Eratosthenes' Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, transformed contemporary scholarship by composing special dictionaries for a single author and providing scholars and writers, who were searching for Attic norms, with the vocabularies of playwrights.

Didymus' 'oeuvre' can be compared with that of Aristophanes, on whom he drew as a source himself and which he indeed overshadowed. He had to meet the same fate.

D. The period of Atticism as the norm

In considering the list of authors, it is apparent that Hyperidean references at the end of the first and at the beginning of the second century A.D. are growing in number. Practically they coincide with the high point of Atticism. The *thesaurus* of Hyperides is a basis to be referred to. After all, its author is one of the canon which nevertheless does not mean that he automatically escaped the crossfire of extremists and moderates. In fact quite the opposite. Lexicography, in confronting the demands of an Atticism which is becoming rigid, modified its purposes first of all to supply the adherents of Attic style with adequate

[117] *Harpocrationis Lexicon in X Oratores Atticos,* ed. G. Dindorff (Oxford, 1853; rpr. Groningen, 1969) I, 266.
[118] E.Miller, *Mélanges de litterature grecque* (Paris, 1868) 399-406.
[119] Cohn, (Did.) cols. 464-5.

dictionaries. Therefore while recalling the traditional forms of 'Lexis' and 'Onomasticon', the compilation of dictionaries, which in the Byzantine era are usually referred to under the name Λεξικὰ Ῥητορικά, develops to a remarkable existent.[120] On the other hand, following what Didymus had done for the most splendid literary products of classical Athens, i.e. Tragedy and Comedy, the Orators were the next to have special dictionaries.

One of the most characteristic figures of the battle between Atticism and Asianism is Caecilius, who like his contemporary Aelius Dionysius not merely dealt with syntactic-stylistic questions, but also composed practical handbooks for his pupils to facilitate their efforts in a proper Attic style. The time and place of his activity is not an accident, since he was teaching in Republican Rome as a younger contemporary of Cicero at a time when rhetoric was flourishing. If we can trust the information of the Suda, which has given scholars plenty to think about, then he wrote a rhetorical lexicon organised in alphabetical order and a work in which he commented upon the speeches of the orators as well.[121] The former Καλλιρημοσύνη, or Ἐκλογὴ λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον, was in its genre a unique scholarly work which was intentionally composed as a handbook of Atticism.[122]

The Caecilius fragments in the Ofenloch edition[123] which contain Hyperidean words come all without exception from the Suda.[124] But Caecilius' authorship could be disputed since the Suda never refers to him by name, not even with an allusion. It is on the one hand evident from the text of the articles that there is in some cases an easily distinguishable borrowing from the inventions of the Suda like ἀκμή and ἀντέχει, but on the other hand although there is no such indication, yet the whole article is ascribed to Caecilius, like ἄνετον and αὐλοία.[125] Although the works of Caecilius formed an

[120] Cohn, (Griech. Lex.) 695.
[121] H.G. Brzoska, 'Caecilius' *RE* III (1899) col. 1184.
[122] Brzoska, (Caec.) col. 1185.
[123] *Caecilii Calactini Fragmenta,* collegit E. Ofenloch (Leipzig, 1907; repr. Stuttgart, 1967).
[124] ἀκμή, ἄνετον, ἀντέχει, αὐλοία, θορρολέον, νέμειν προστάτην, ῥόθιον, φρονηματισθῆναι. In the article ἀκμή, the Suda quotes Isocrates' sentence in the following form: τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν καιρῶν τυγχάνειν (*Suidae Lexicon,* ed. Ada Adler I, 84), without indicating any textual variation. In the edition Boysen-Ofenloch the particle τό was changed into κράτιστον with every reason because of the Isocratean original (II,33). The Suda nevertheless would have deserved at least a note in the 'apparatus criticus' if it has to be blamed for the deterioration.
[125] If the articles θορρολέον, νέμειν προστάτην, ῥόθιον, φρονηματισθῆναι should be regarded as Caecilian, indeed then the Hyperidean quotations should not have been detached from the preceding interpretations, because they form an organic part of them. However, in the article ἄνετον, the new addition beginning with λέγεται seems to be alien in comparison with the previous, well-turned sentence. Ofenloch, despite

important source for the Suda, nevertheless we cannot be entitled by this fact to derive such far-reaching conclusions.[126]

In any case it is almost certain that Caecilius had to comment upon the speeches of Hyperides as one of the Ten. Therefore he must have been dealing with his words as well. But, on the basis of the other fragments, he seems to have been more interested in Antiphon, Lysias, Demosthenes and Aeschines.[127]

In the first century A.D., the fight flared up with new strength between Atticists, followers of the 'classical' style, and the adherents of a less rigorous, Asianic style. Under the conditions provided by the imperial peace, which allowed the renewal of intellectual movements, the Second Sophistic made Asian rhetoric awake from its seemingly dead passiveness. Extemporising orators went round the cities imitating in their speeches the ornamented style of the classical Sophists. Through lack of real cases, the themes became more and more sophisticated fictions, just to present the skills of the orator who was often performing in front of an audience as in a theatrical play. The Asian style nevertheless

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the philological disputes - by making some excuse - took all the lexicographical fragments over from the previous edition of Boysen: cf. Ofenloch, XL.

[126] The article ἀντέχει could serve to determine whether the Suda's text is superior or whether the other branch of the textual tradition is more reliable. If the Suda presentation could be proved as better, the possibility of an immediate borrowing from the Caecilian text would be increased.

There are on both sides three meanings of the verb mentioned.

Suda:	Photius and Bekk. Synagoge:
1. = ἐξάρκει [common usage?]	1. ἐξάρκει Dinarchus
2. = σῴζεται Dinarchus	2. σῴζεται Demosthenes
3. = ἀναλαμβάνεται Demosthenes and Hyperides	3. ἀναλαμβάνεται Hyperides

The two variations cannot be brought closer to each other by changing the punctuation marks since the position of δέ is different and so unambiguous. The truth could be revealed just from the concrete speeches. The Hyperidean meaning is irrelevant since it is in both cases the same. Dinarchus' speech is lost and this quotation appears just as a fragment in the edition of N.C. Conomis (*Dinarchi orationes cum fragmentis* (Leipzig, 1975) 147, fr.7), where, however, the editor prefers the Photius - Bekk. *Synagoge* alternative. The touchstone remains Demosthenes, that is to say, whether he used the expression in a meaning of ἀναλαμβάνεται or σῴζεται. In his 'oeuvre' ἀντέχει occurs several times and nevertheless just in two cases comes near to one of these meanings: 1,25, ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ἀντέχῃ τὰ τῶν Ολυνθίων, 'if the state of Olynthians resist (or endure)' perhaps is more close 'mutatis mutandis' to ἀναλαμβάνεται, i.e. holds back the approaching Philip from an Athenian point of view; in the other case 2,25, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἴη μὲν ὅπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, is about powers built up on lies which can endure just for a short while or if one likes keep living (σῴζεται). This meaning is suggested by the author of a scholion also: ἀντέχει = ἰσχύει (Conomis, 147). The result is a draw. Nevertheless hopefully it gives an impression of the uncertainty of the Caecilian fragments.

[127] Brzoska, (Caec.) col. 1185.

found its adherents in more educated circles as well.[128]

Iulius Pollux was a pupil of Herodes Atticus, teacher of rhetoric in Athens.[129] Herodes Atticus was the man who under the aegis of the Second Sophistic movement, tamed the unrestrained, raging, Asian rhetoric and tried to set it on a new course by emphasising the importance of a solid education and the imitation of classical standards. He represented a kind of mediating standpoint between the extremists on both sides, Asianists and Atticists. Pollux was deeply influenced by him. As an heir to this school, which was in the opinion of extreme Atticists flirting with Asianism, he compiled his 'Onomasticon' in which the ὀνόματα Ἀττικά were arranged in accordance with their different meanings. The chapters reveal great familiarity with the works of his predecessors as well as with those of Aristophanes of Byzantium.[130]

That Pollux regarded the speeches of Hyperides as a goldmine for enriching the Attic lexicon is proved by the fact that in the surviving epitome of the Onomasticon, Hyperides is the second most quoted orator behind Demosthenes. He is referred to 76 times and 20 times with the titles of speeches.[131] Moreover, in the wide range of expressions which differ in accordance with the miscellaneous subjects and mostly are quoted because of their peculiarity,[132] there are just a few to be rejected, while the majority seem to have been recommended or regarded as a kind of curiosity worth considering. Besides the fact that Pollux borrowed plenty of material openly from his predecessors[133] as mentioned above, it can almost be taken for granted that he could produce this impressive number of quotations from his own reading. His attitude towards Hyperides' vocabulary is well summarised in his phrase in the article αὐλαία, i.e. ἔξεστι, 'it is allowed, it is possible', since we are entitled to use it by the authority of the orator.

However, the name Hyperides was not for him a guarantee beyond question, as revealed by his interesting critical comments. In a specific chapter of the collection where

[128] Norden, I, 367 sqq. About Greek declamation see D.A.Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge, 1983).
[129] E.Bethe, 'Pollux' *RE* XIX (1917) col. 774.
[130] Bethe, (Poll.) col. 777.
[131] Dem.94(11), Is. 42(8), Isocr.18(0), Lys. 50(23), Aesch. 14(3), Lycurg.3(1) Din.24(2).
[132] However, sometimes as a kind of exception, the content or meaning of a saying was more interesting for Pollux than its form: cf. εἰσαγγελία, κολωνίτας.
[133] Signs of this in a Hyperidean context: the ἔνιοι in the article ὁμόδουλος, and in the περδικοτροφεῖον the εἰ δὲ μὴ ψευδής which goes back perhaps to previous results of classical scholarship.

adverbs and nouns with different meanings but with the same formation are listed Pollux mentions δεῖγμα, 'sample', (6,175-84) and its analogous forms. At the end of the chapter his pen started to write boldly and condemned the words κῶμα, 'deep sleep', δρόμημα, 'course', κώκυμα, 'shriek' and the Hyperidean ἀναισχύντημα, 'impudent act or speech' as expressions to be weeded out. It does Hyperides credit that in the company of such people as Aeschylus and Euripides he committed his mistake against the correct Attic of Pollux.[134] Nevertheless Galen was not disturbed by this at all and it did not prevent him using the word,[135] since anyway he did not regard highly philosophical reasoning of this unpractical kind.[136] Likewise by the remark οὐ πάνυ ἐπαινῶ, 'I hardly recommend' the verb νωθρεύεσθαι, 'to be sluggish or torpid' got on the blacklist, which in the topic of deferring and hesitating is an example of wrong verbal formulation. The ἀκρατοκώθωνος, 'hard toper' was similarly too bold for the taste of Pollux, but not so for Athenaeus who was looking for such curiosities.[137] Likewise for the case of δεῖραι, i.e. the metonymic expression. Because the orator as is clear from the relevant part of the 'Onomasticon'[138] used the verb ἐξέδειρε, literally 'stripped of skin', to mean hitting and flogging. Someone must have been so badly lashed, that on his back bleeding welts were running across as if he had been flayed. It is remarkable as well, that although it occurs in a similar meaning ('cudgel soundly') in Aristophanes[139] and Plato,[140] nevertheless Hyperides was the one to be referred to. And finally Pollux categorically rejected the form δουλίς as the female pair of δοῦλος, 'slave', since the proper δούλη does not have such a parallel. Hyperides was not even here afraid of using a word characteristic of common usage, as other evidence attests.[141]

But these few examples of disapproval did not shake in Pollux' mind's eye Hyperides from his illustrious imaginary throne. It did however shake his own, which was more palpable: in the year 178 A.D. he was appointed by the emperor Commodus as

[134] δρόμημα both, κώκυμα Aeschylus.
[135] Gal. *Up.* 10,9.
[136] Similarly the κῶμα, passim.
[137] Ath.*Deipn.* 483e.
[138] 3,79.
[139] *Vesp.*450.
[140] *Resp.* 616a.
[141] See Appendix III.

professor and head of the Atticising citadel, the rhetorical school of Athens.[142] However, this did not meet with an unanimous approval among high principled Atticists which is understandable especially if personal rivalry lay in the background as well. Lucian in the Ῥητόρων διδάσκαλος dealt the rhetor 'with honey-sweet voice' a heavy blow.[143] The self-appointed candidate for the professorial chair, Phrynichus, on the other hand, attacked him from the professional point of view, in so far as he, as a pupil of Aristeides, the apostle of classicism, represented a much more extreme standpoint. As we are informed by Photius' notes,[144] according to him only a limited list of authors was acceptable in acquiring the immaculate Attic style and word-stock. Out of the Ten Orators, Demosthenes is the protagonist and to the others, among them Hyperides, there falls just the honourable, but far less important role of performing a chorus, Δημοσθένης μετὰ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ τῶν ἐννέα χοροῦ, 'Demosthenes with the rhetorical chorus of nine'. In the opinion of Phrynichus a stumbling-block existed in that Pollux was much more liberal from the point of view of sources. His attack was perhaps already manifested in the work entitled Ἐκλογὴ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν, 'Selection of Attic verbs and nouns',[145] and is visible in the formulation of the tenth book of Pollux's 'Onomasticon'.[146] That is to say, Pollux presumably even more relies on those authors, which in his consideration are worth quoting, - as a kind of justification. Hyperides has a solid place which is appropriate to his previously held position. All this despite the fact that he did not get much praise in Phrynichus' Ecloge.

Indeed he is cited as a warning example. But what of the contrary examples, in a dictionary supposed to be aiming at providing readers with a proper Attic vocabulary? Pollux's critical remarks in his 'Onomasticon' are appropriate, since in the course of a presentation of expressions arranged by thematic groups or an investigation of word-formation, such questions naturally arise. It is different in the case of a vocabulary

[142] Bethe, (Poll.) col. 774.
[143] Luc. *Mag.Rhet.*11; cf. Bethe (Poll.) col. 775.
[144] Phot. *Bibl.*158.
[145] *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos,* ed. Eitel Fischer (Berlin, New York, 1974); M. Naechster, *De Pollucis et Phrynichi Controversiis* (Leipzig, 1908) 28, Phrynichus in 49 cases rejects Pollux's approval of a specific expression.
[146] Bethe, (Poll.) col. 774.

organised in alphabetical order, κατὰ στοιχεῖον. This can only happen intentionally.[147] Indeed, in the convincing arguments of Kurt Latte[148] the assumed double polemic is expanded to a triangular one in which the Phrynichus - Antiatticista controversy can easily be observed from a Hyperidean point of view as well.

In the tenth century Codex *Coislinianus* 345 - which also contains Phrynichus' other work the σοφιστικὴ παρασκευή, 'Sophistic preparation' - there survived among other very precious texts a vocabulary of a compiler who in his view does not follow Phrynichus' approach, but quite the opposite. The Antiatticista nevertheless is not - in contrast with its name - a kind of Asian word-stock, but a more moderate Attic one.[149] It can be dated after the edition of the first volume of Phrynichus' Ecloge because of its reactions to some passages there. On the other hand, its critical remarks were answered in the second volume of the Ecloge, and thus it is wedged in between the two and played a similar role to that of the Ecloge's influence in the Onomasticon.[150]

According to Phrynichus, the expression ἀκμήν[151] in the meaning of ἔτι, 'still', only occurs in Xenophon and therefore it should be avoided, and we should persist in using ἔτι. In contrast with this, the Antiatticista calls Hyperides as a further witness for the Attic usage while indicating the title of his speech. He likewise found proper - after all they are from Hyperides - the forms ἐγκάθετος and ἐμπυρισμός. With this, however, he already provoked the disapproval of Phrynichus as is manifested in the second volume of his work. The severe Atticist refers to Demosthenes who is practically the only acceptable orator who could be held up as a model for him and so he prefers the εἰσποιητός, 'adopted child' as an example. For backing his replacement of ἐμπυρισμός, 'burning' by ἐμπρησμός he could not rely on anyone, so he was content with his own linguistic sense.[152] These are all the Hyperidean references in Phrynichus. However, Lysias came to

[147] ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὰ διημαρτημένα ἀφορῶμεν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ δοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀρχαίων, 'we look at the excellent usage of the ancients not at their mistakes', Phrynichus in the introduction of his *Ecloge*, cf. N.Wilson, R.Browing, P.B.R.Forbes *OCD*[3] col. 1178.

[148] K.Latte 'Zur Zeitbestimmung des Antiatticista' Hermes 50 (1915) passim; cf. W.G.Arnott, 'A note on the Antiatticist (98.17 Bekker)' Hermes 117 (1989) 380.

[149] See: I.Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* (Berlin, 1814-1823) I, 77-116.

[150] Latte, (Antiatt.) 381.

[151] Fischer, 93.

[152] If subtly, Pollux also disapproves of the Hyperidean form and regards the other as βέλτιον, 'better', similarly he does not reject the almost poetic but certainly euphemistic phrase διειλεγμένος εἰμί , 'I have

grief even one more time than he. The other orators were not even mentioned.

The author of the Antiatticista produced a mostly independent work and, although as in the case of Phrynichus it survived in a badly mutilated form, its influence does not lie behind any of them, as can be proved directly or indirectly from the Byzantine lexicography.

The existence of another vocabulary is owed also to the second century A.D. As in the case of the Antiatticista, it was copied into the *Coislinianus* 345. The work, however, under the name of Moeris Antiatticista, is fairly dependent on others and its articles presumably go back to three main sources, the works of Aelius Dionysius, Phrynichus and a collection of synonyms, which carries the name of Herennius Philo.[153] In order to facilitate its practical use, the content of the articles was considerably reduced. The recommended Attic form usually occupies the first place in the articles organised in alphabetical order; after this come, with the terms Ἕλληνες, 'non Attic writers' and κοινόν, 'common usage', parallels which have to be avoided. The authors supplying the examples are rarely quoted by name for the sake of brevity. Hyperides, however, with his euphemistic expression διειλεγμένος εἰμί, 'I have been chatting' secured for himself the privilege of being mentioned by name.[154] And on the other hand his lexicon is still there although anonymous.[155]

The question whether one of Moeris' sources, namely the work of Herennius Philo, who following in the Sophists' footsteps composed a dictionary of synonyms, should be dated back to the first or second century A.D., has given scholars plenty to think about.[156] The work nevertheless, bearing the effects of Byzantine hands and other excerptors, survived under the name of a completely obscure figure, Ammonius.[157] The dictionary entitled Περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων σημαινομένων, 'On words with similar and different meanings', however, provided even Eustathius with a great deal of help in

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been chatting' instead of 'I have had intercourse' but mentions that there are 'more Attic' (ἀττικώτερον) solutions.

[153] C.Wendel, 'Moiris' *RE* XV (1932) col. 2501-12.

[154] Antiphon and Isaeus once, the other orators are nowhere referred to by name.

[155] Cf. μηφυιόν.

[156] A.Gudeman, 'Herennios' *RE* VIII (1913) col. 650-61.

[157] L.Cohn, 'Ammonios' *RE* I (1894) col. 1866.

composing his commentary on Homer in the twelfth century A.D.[158] The article ἱερά, which contains the only reference to Hyperides, belongs perhaps to a category of words with the same form but different meaning. Because of its high poetic value it deserves rightly to be mentioned since Hyperides did not use it as a medical term, i.e. ἱερὸν ὀστέον, 'the last bone of the spine',[159] or in the meaning of 'offerings', but rather for the sacred bones of the fallen, presumably soldiers who have been fighting for their fatherland.[160]

This rigid classicism did not evoke aversion just from the moderate Atticists, but also stung the specialists in the sciences to the quick. The artificial revival and enforcement of outdated archaic expressions could threaten medicine at its roots if the uniformity of terms were to be abolished and so the exact content of medical texts would become questionable. Realising this danger, Galen of Pergamum in the second century A.D. turned his pen against the Atticism spreading in medicine. From his numerous lexicographical works unfortunately no fragments remain.[161] His main purpose - as he defined it - was to interpret properly the Attic expressions misinterpreted by philosophers and doctors.[162] He composed also a commentary on the 'master's' works in alphabetical sequence in which he interpreted the peculiar words of Hippocrates.[163] Similar efforts are manifested in some other works as well. In his commentary on the Hippocratean κατ' ἰητρεῖον βίβλιον - De officina medici - there arises the question about the real meaning of γνῶμα.[164] Galen is dwelling at length on one of Hippocrates' sentences, that is what he could mean by the following: ἃ καὶ τῇ ὄψει καὶ τῇ ἁφῇ καὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ καὶ τῇ ῥινὶ καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐστὶν αἰσθεσθαι, 'whatever is perceptible even with eye hand ear nose tongue and 'gnome". He presents different interpretations and finally leaves the choice to the reader. Basically the question is what should we understand by γνῶμα, as a kind of perception like the other senses (διάνοια) or as consideration and intelligence itself (ἐννόησις). Galen prefers the latter to the former, although both of them are acceptable as

[158] F.Münzer, 'Eustathios' *RE* VI (1909) col. 1481.
[159] Galen. *U.P.*5,8.
[160] From the orators Dem.10, Aesch.3, Ant.2, Din.2 times are quoted, the others do not occur.
[161] For example: Περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ὀνομάτων, 'On expressions in Attic prose-writers'.
[162] Tolkiehn, col. 2460.
[163] Tolkiehn, col. 2463.
[164] *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia,* ed. C.G.Kühn (Leipzig, 1833; rpr. Hildesheim, 1965) 18,b, 649-57.

far as the ancients (παλαιοί) and among them Hyperides are concerned.

Galen is also one of the guests at that fictitious dinner which is given by Athenaeus just to create an opportunity for putting into their mouths the results of his antiquarian, historical and lexicographical collection. In the Δειπνοσοφιστά the subjects follow each other, sometimes closely, sometimes loosely. However, it is always about things connected in some or another with dinner. As regards the number of quotations, Hyperides is again in honourable second place among the orators, which is on the one hand due to his bold selection of words, but on the other hand to that fact that he himself was not above such pleasures. Here, however, only Athenaeus' lexicographical comments are relevant, to which he always returns in the whirl of his fifteen volume book.

From his remarks it is evident that he did not respect the Atticists highly.[165] In the tenth book the opportunity arises, from the serving of the wine, to speak about different drinking customs, the rate of mixing, even from a lexicographical point of view. One of the guests shouts from Homer ζωρότερον κέραιε, 'mix the wine more pure'. At this point Athenaeus quickly steps out from the frame narration and proves the legitimacy not only of these words but also of the expression ἀκρατέστερον, 'more unmixed'. The later comes from Hyperides' usage and attracted the attention of Pollux as well. He coined it in the speech against Demosthenes, but the place of the fragment cannot be identified. Perhaps the rhetor made a kind of comparison while expressing his indignation at the behaviour of Demosthenes and at the same time exaggerating his crime, that is as if he had said 'you (Demosthenes) have here committed a capital crime and you regard it as nothing (i.e. deny), but on the other hand if someone got a bit squiffy, (mixed more pure), you regarded it as an offence.'[166] However, when mentioning the comparative adverb which is not regularly formed, Athenaeus stirred up a hornet's nest. From the forms of the adjectives with a 'σ' root, the 'εστερος' suffix spread over to those with an 'ο' root as well. To accept or refuse the forms created by this analogy depended on the linguistic sense of individuals. By detaching himself from the subject of wines he yields to the

[165] 3,55; cf. G.Wentzel, 'Athenaios' *RE* II (1896) col. 2029.

[166] According to Plutarch, Demosthenes never drank wine. Hence might have judged bohemian behaviour more seriously. If we consider the importance of the presumable crime of Demosthenes, then Hyperides could have even hinted at the *hybris* of Meidias who punched Demosthenes in the face having been drinking in the daytime.

temptation of lexicographical questions and reveals his standpoint by referring to the Hyperidean example ῥαδιέστερον which completely differs from the expected comparative form ῥᾷον, to say nothing of the Hyperidean alternative ῥαδιώτερος. It is evident that by commenting upon the same question in the Iliad, Eustathius relies on the material collected by Athenaeus.

Two further quotations are also due to the same drinking subject: on the one hand the parallel form of κεράννυμι as a thematic verb, κεραννύω, on the other hand the ἀκρατοκώθωνας, 'hard toper', which was rejected by Pollux. The concord between Athenaeus' examples and Pollux' work is remarkable even in this case. It seems quite reasonable to assume that Athenaeus in his method of investigation or collecting first looked in the 'Onomasticon' and perhaps afterwards completed the quotations by a fresh look at the original speeches, as in the latter case.

By the end of the dinner in the thirteenth book the love stories are served up and among them tales of the courtesans whose legendary lawyer Hyperides was himself.[167] There are three by name: Ἀφύαι, 'Small fries', Γλυκέρα and Νάννιον. Their curiosity was not limited only to their job, but it covered the names as well at least in Athenaeus' opinion. The middle is a common name well known from New Comedy, but the first is more witty since the girls have got this from their similarity to small fry. And not even just because they had a thin shape and whitened skin, but big eyes as well. Nannion in all probability received this nickname from her small stature. However her other name which played a significant role in the lexicography later was Αἴξ, 'goat' because she ate up the fortune of a certain innkeeper Θαλλός, 'young shoot'.

E. Lexicon to the orators

All the above listed composers of dictionaries compiled their works during the great revival of rhetoric in the fever of the Atticist-Asianist controversy. The canon of the

[167]Cf. The speech for Phryne and the letters of Alciphro.

Ten Orators was more or less regarded as an authentic Attic source. However, there seems to have been a lack of demand for a special lexicon to the orators, like that of Didymus in the case of tragedians and comedians, for quite a long time. Harpocration finally undertook this piece of work, whose aim was not just to compose a proper list of words for Attic composition.[168] Rather he tried to provide a handbook for understanding them by recalling the long forgotten thread of Didymus' commentaries. This is apparent not only from his form of composition but also from his style, which is free from polemic. It is in the nature of the case that his work contains most Hyperidean evidence in connection with words. Apart from peculiar words (26), there are plenty of expressions characteristic of ancient civilisation like names of months and feasts (42), proper names (13), *phylai* (13) and geographical names (5), historical phrases (13), and legal terms (21). Whatever could be enigmatic and at the same time fascinating for his age, which lay so far from the Athenian democracy, not only in time but in mentality: οὐχ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν, 'not all the population as in our time'.[169] That Hyperides is third on the list of quotations after Demosthenes and Lysias, is probably due to his career in both private and forensic speeches, not to mention his funeral speech. Many of the legal and historical terms are based on Demosthenes' and his testimony. Of course the rule of numbers - the more speeches, the more quotations - might have played an important role. Perhaps this is the reason why four of the names of the Athenian months are quoted from Hyperides' speeches. However, in the case of Aeschines this does not apply.

Harpocration made a great effort to compose his interpretations accurately and his work gives the impression that he tried to support every statement by referring to proper evidence. To interpret an author from his own work would be the best modern solution, and sometimes Harpocration does not miss the opportunity, for example in the article διάγραμμα, 'register', by taking other speeches as a basis for interpretation. If it was not sufficient the circle was extended to other orators' testimony,[170] as in the case of ἀμφισβητεῖν, 'to dispute', where Demosthenes is referred to, or in κακώσεως, 'ill usage',

[168] *Harpocration, Lexeis of the Ten Orators,* ed. J.J. Keaney (Amsterdam, 1991) IX-X.
[169] See in Appendix II, s.v. συμμορία, 'taxation group'.
[170] I do not think that there was a rigorous system of composition, that is he was first looking for similar cases in the same oeuvre and after being unsuccessful in this went over to others.

where Demosthenes and Lysias are referred to.[171] Similarly sometimes he went even further and referred to other literary evidence, especially to comedians but to Plato and Thucydides as well.[172] And finally if the subject required it, he did not hesitate to use special handbooks, for instance for the historical terms, the different *Politeiai* of Aristotle or the work of Theopompus, or for the names of months, Lysimachides or for the *phyle* names, Diodorus Periegetes and many other authors. Nevertheless if in spite of his efforts he could not give an adequate interpretation he was not ashamed to admit it and to leave the decision to the reader.[173]

Harpocration's lexicon to the orators was very popular in later centuries. It was not just copied and epitomised from time to time, but sometimes even supplied with additions.[174] For these latter we might take as an example the article Νάννιον which is a clumsy compilation from Athenaeus' chapter about the courtesans. It has been proved that it is not an immediate loan, but a later interpolation based on the text of the Δειπνοσοφιστοί.[175]

F. On the way to Byzantium

After the second century, however, the lexicographical evidence becomes very rare from the point of view of Hyperides and loses a great deal of its originality. For a new upswing, although not in the field of fresh excerpting, but at least in the number of reused old references, we have to wait until the Byzantine period. From the second half of the third century A.D. onwards, with the exception of pagan intellectuals, the number of compilations which already take into consideration Christian viewpoints in the selection of

[171] Of course in many cases it is not the Hyperidean passage which has to be explained. He often provides us with a further example. An eloquent testimony exists for this in the article Ἱεροφάντης, 'one who teaches rites of sacrifice and worship' to which Harpocration's attention was attracted by one of Dinarchus' speeches he could not exactly remember the Hyperidean parallel, Ὑπερείδης φησί που, 'Hyperides says somewhere'. (We assume that this does not reflect the influence of another, shorter, dictionary).

[172] Cf. Appendix II, s.v. νοθεῖα and Ἑρμοῦ.

[173] In the article κεστρῖνοι, a kind of fish he says that it is ἐπισκεπτέον, 'has to be investigated', whether it differs from the κεστρεύς, 'mullet'. Or his statements are introduced with a modest ἔουκεν, 'it seems to be', as in μαστῆρες and κωμαστικὰ πλοῖα.

[174] See below on the Lexicon Cantabrigiense.

[175] H.Schultz, 'Harpocration' *RE* VII (1912) cols. 2415-16.

words is increasing.

A prominent representative of the old pagan intellectuals was Porphyry, the adherent and later the leader of the Neoplatonic school at Rome. He was especially interested in philosophical questions. However, he did not ignore philological studies and besides editing a commentary on Aristotle's 'Categories', wrote on 'the philosophy of Homer'.[176] Another work of his entitled Ὁμηρικὰ Ζητήματα, 'Homeric Questions' is relevant to this. In his commentary to the verse of the Odyssey: ἡ δὲ Φεὰς ἐπέβαλλεν ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ[177] he explains the expression ἐπήβολος, 'having reached, achieved' with some other literary testimony, including Hyperides, of whom this is the only occurrence. The original quotation is in all probability the form preserved in Eustathius and in the Etymologicum Magnum (here with a grammatical error): μή τε πόλεως μήτε πολιτείας ἐπηβόλους γενέσθαι, 'having no part either in citizen rights or in public magistrates', and presumably goes back to the Neoplatonist's work. However, in the only extant manuscript of Porphyry,[178] perhaps because of the letter-forms or by failure in syllabification, the scribe changed μή τε πόλεως into the meaningless alternative; μηδέποτε πολέμου. Nevertheless even if the medieval scribe is to be blamed for this silly mistake, the whole reference does not suggest Porphyry's familiarity with the original speech. This is suggested by his final remark: ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ ποιητικὴ λέξις ἀλλ' Ἀττική, 'the expression is not poetic but Attic', which probably comes from an Attic dictionary. And it was carefully copied into Eustathius' work and the Etymologicum Magnum as well. Moreover this expression of Hyperides was already disapproved by Hermogenes. It would thus not be surprising if the expression had already found its place in a pro- or anti-Atticist dictionary before Porphyry, since plenty of them are completely lost.[179]

The type of the Hyperidean quotation in Porphyry already foreshadows the

[176]Sandys, I, 344.
[177] *Od.* 15,297.
[178]The Vaticanus ms. approximately from the year 1314: cf. *Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum Liber I*, ed A.R. Sodano (Neaples, 1970) IX.
[179] It is worth mentioning that the first occurrence of the expression in question is in the Homeric poems and in spite of this it is regarded as Attic, not poetic. This reflects a tendency in searching for the norms of proper Greek, attested already in Pindarion, namely that many of the Homeric expressions lost their special Ionic character because they were widely used by Attic writers or had an old charm and became parts of the Attic lexicon. The term ἀττικῶς is used in a remarkably extended sense: cf. Gertrud Bohlig, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner* (Berlin, 1956) 4-5.

attitude of long centuries to the vocabulary of the rhetor. The compilers of later ages mainly borrowed their material from the lexicographical fruits of previous centuries.

The above mentioned Codex Coislinianus - in which besides the other lexicographical work of Phrynichus the σοφιστικὴ παρασκευή, 'Sophistic preparation', the Antiatticista and Moeris' dictionary survived - preserved a Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων ἐκ διαφόρων σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν, 'Compendium of useful expressions from different philosophers and many orators' with plenty of Hyperidean references in it. Because of different circumstances in copying, the compendium is divided into two easily separable parts; on one hand into the richer letter 'A' and on the other hand into all other letters. The latter was not even published by Bekker because of its low scholarly value who limited his edition to the letter 'A'.[180] The whole was published by Bachmann.[181] The search for the sources of the compendium was promoted by another scholarly exploration, that is, in the Codex Coislinianus 347 there appeared a previous, primitive variant of the 'A' letter.[182] Hartmut Erbse in his study based on the Homeric commentaries of Eustathius - who gives more details from his sources so that sometimes the same loans can be identified in others as well - constructed the following stemma for cutting a path - using H.S. Jones' graphic expression[183] - through the jungle of the lexicographers.[184]

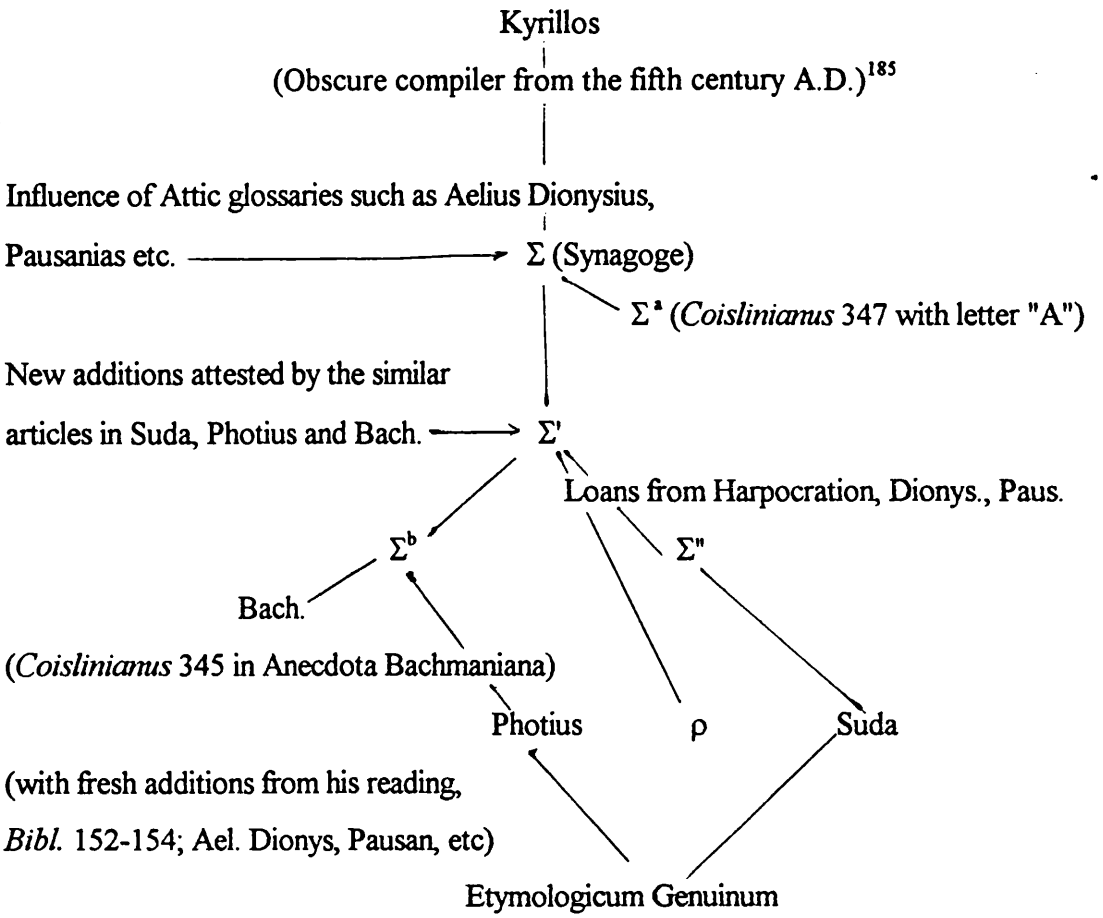
[180] Bekker, I, 319-476.

[181] L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* (Leipzig, 1828) I, 1-422. In Appendix II, the mark: 'Bach. Syn.' refers to the Coisil. 345 β-ω letters. Despite the fact that Krumbacher regarded him as a dilettante (cf. K.Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* (Munich, 1897) 572), he found it important to indicate the variations of the codices which in the name of Hyperides often reflects the form used before itacism (Ὑπερίδης-Ὑπερείδης). This could hardly be negligible in an investigation of the articles' origin.

[182] C.Boysen, *Lexici Segueriani Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων inscripti pars prima (A)* (Marburg, 1891). In Appendix II it is referred to as Syn.Coisl.347.

[183] H.S.Jones, 'The making of a Lexicon' *CR* 55 (1941) 1.

[184] H.Erbse, 'Untersuchungen zu den Atticistischen Lexica' *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin Philologisch-historische Klasse Jahrg. 1949, N.2* (Berlin, 1950) 34.



Erbse is more interested in the Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias fragments. Therefore he did not emphasise the influence of Harpocration's work in the compilation of the Synagoge known to us. But it can hardly be limited to the marginal place it has in the stemma. The Hyperidean articles indicate this in the *Coisliniamus* 345 (Synagoge).

In nine articles there is an apparent loan in the Synagoge from Harpocration.[186] In the case of ἀγορός the Synagoge or the composer of his source went far from the original form, proving by this that he hardly looked up the speeches: Harpocration, ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου περὶ τοῦ διαγράμματος, 'in the speech against Polyeuctus on the register', in the Synagoge, ἐν τῷ περὶ Πολυεύκτου, 'in the speech on Polyeuctus'. In this abbreviating spirit, he cut down the titles and just borrowed the meat in other cases as well. However,

[185] Cf: K.Krumbacher, 570.
[186] ἀγορός, ἀκμάζεις, Ἀλκίμαχος, ἀνεπόπτευτος, ἄνετον, Ἀριστοδίων, Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἀφοίρεσις, Ἀφύαι.

in the case of 'Αρτεμίσιον, he formulated more precisely, but instead of referring to the Delos speech he was satisfied with a neutral πολλάκις, 'often', which is not at all surprising since he worked with the aim of composing a list of words as a useful handbook for composition and he was far removed from Harpocration's special interest. Accordingly the legal terms are very rare (ἀφαίρεσις) and there are other peculiarities apart from that in Harpocration's work. For example the verb ἄγειν which is supposed to be used by Hyperides in the meaning of ὑποκρίνεσθαι, 'to reply', can be found only in the Synagoge and, according to Erbse, goes back to Pausanias.[187] There are parallels with Photius and the Suda: ὀρθὴν, ὀρθῆς, ἀντέχει and on the other hand a quotation in common with Pollux, χεῖρα.

The distinguished place of Hyperides demonstrates the fact that even in such a soulless and primitive compilation like the *Coislinianus* 347 (the shorter one) his peculiar expression αὐλαία, 'curtain', appears under his name in contrast to all other authors.

The Lexicon Cantabrigiense is itself a result of compilations, which provides Harpocration's lexicon with precious additions. The list of words was copied into the margin of a Harpocration manuscript in Cambridge.[188] However these are not additions from a newly discovered, more complete exemplar of the Lexicon Rhetoricum, but presumably come from a similar one, as its different style reveals, at least according to Otto Houtsma.[189] Its real origin and sources can hardly be identified since it was compiled from several lists of words, as the editor says. The roots could go as far back as the dictionaries of Dionysius and Pausanias, which are often referred to in Eustathius' commentary, but on the other hand even the possibility that it was originally copied from another unknown Lexicon Rhetoricum cannot be ruled out.

Nevertheless the list of experts quoted by the Lexicon Cantabrigiense is very similar to that of Harpocration's, such as Aristotle, Philochorus, Demetrius Phalereus, Theopompus, Theophrastus, writers of Atthis etc. Therefore the first conclusion of the previous editors was not completely lacking in sense.[190] In any case, in the printed edition,

[187] Erbse, (Att.) 153.
[188] Due to a misprint in Tolkiehn's survey instead of Harpocration's name Hippocrates' is referred to, col. 2478.
[189] *Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*, ed. E.O. Houtsma (Leiden, 1870) 2.
[190] Houtsma, 1; i.e. it was copied from a more complete variation of Harpocration's work.

the short lexicon of just 18 pages four times refers to Hyperides,[191] and three times in the case of a legal term for describing a particular lawsuit; κακηγορίας δίκη, ἀγορά, ἀγοραία δίκη, ῥητορικὴ (γραφή). Although there is a remarkably large overlap with Harpocration's text in the article ἀγορά, the mentioning of the δικαιολογία still represents something new, but in the case of ναύκληρος, it is a word-by-word loan even in an abridged form. Hence the possibility cannot be precluded that among its sources there was Harpocration himself. The reason for which the scribe copied a shorter version of the article in question into the margin of the lexicon, from which it originally came, remains an enigma.

In a similar way, as the end-product of several interpolations and abridgements, the work of Hesychius has come through to us. In its present form - in spite of the fact that its author as a diligent compiler in the fifth century even supplemented the works of his predecessors - it falls far behind his sources in size. With a unique honesty Hesychius reveals that his main source was the Περιεργοπένητες, the work written by Diogenianus as a handbook for 'Poor scholars' and that he just supplied this with the names of the quoted authors.[192] However, Diogenianus' work itself is based on the monumental dictionary of Pamphilus who in 95 books summarised the results of Alexandrian lexicography.[193] But this work was especially - as H.S. Jones wittily noted - 'too heavy a freight for the stream of time to carry'.[194] But unfortunately Hesychius' original work with the names of the authors was lost as well, so in following the fate of the Hyperidean thesaurus we have here to be content with more or less certain parallels. M. Schmidt in his edition[195] indicated the quotations which in his opinion were borrowed from Hyperides and were presumably attributed to the orator in the unabridged version. These are included in Appendix II. However, out of the 16 expressions, I am only in four cases convinced that they are from Hyperides' speeches; ἄνδηρον, αὐλοία, θριπήδεστον, μαστῆρες, and ὀψαρτυτής. For these are the expressions of which antiquity categorically regarded Hyperides as the πρῶτος εὑρετής. In the other cases his authorship is either doubtful

[191] Dem.4, Aesch.3, Din.1, Is.3, Lys.3.
[192] Prolog. of Hesychius (Latte); cf. H.Schultz, 'Hesychios' col. 1318.
[193] Cohn, (Griech. Lex.) 689-90. On the other hand Schultz, 'Hesychios' *RE* VIII (1913) is more cautious about what this linear development concerns: cf. col. 1320.
[194] Jones, 3.
[195] *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* I-V, ed. M.Schmidt (Jena, 1867).

(ἀπροστασίου, Ἡφαιστία, μώλωψ, πελαγίζειν etc.) or completely lacks any foundation (Κυδαντίδαι, Ἰσοδαίτης). However, Hesychius' dictionary reflects the smooth infiltration of the Hyperidean lexicon, first in the works of lexicographers, and then literature.

G. The Byzantine era

The lexicon bearing the name of Photius does not reveal greater originality, than the previous examples, although at its birth there was no smaller scholarly authority present than the Patriarch of Constantinople. As he says,[196] before even making abstracts from the gradually vanishing treasures of ancient literature, he had already composed a lexicon for his own use in which he collected words with different meanings; οἷα δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπράχθη τὴν τῶν μειρακίων ἡλικίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα ... In the progress of writing his 'Bibliotheke', he became even more convinced of the usefulness of a proper dictionary for the understanding of the authors, since he himself used to turn the pages of the handbooks of Dionysius and Pausanias.

> εἰ δέ τις ἐκείναις ταῖς δυσὶν ἐκδόσεσιν καὶ τὴν Παυσανίου ἐγκατατάξας ἓν ἀπεργάσαιτο σύνταγμα (ῥᾷστον δὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ), οὗτος ἂν εἴη τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ χρησιμώτατον τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τὰς Ἀττικὰς βίβλους σπούδασμα εἰσενηνεγμένος[197]
>
> 'If someone would combine these two editions with the one of Pausanias in one book (which actually would be an easy undertaking for anyone who wants to) he would offer the most precious and useful pursuit for people who read Attic books'.

He did thus not have the aim of a further polishing of Attic at all, the more so since in the structure of his sentences and even in the selection of words, he was much more liberal than the rigorous Atticists, although he naturally distinguished his style from the common usage of the age.[198]

[196] *Quaestio Amphilochia* 21: cf. Münzer, 'Photios' *RE* XXXIX (1941) col. 732.
[197] Phot. *Bibl.* 153.8-12: cf. Münzer, (Phot.) col. 733.
[198] Münzer, (Phot.) col. 724.

However, as soon the conditions were favourable he put into practice his cherished plan. It is nevertheless more rational to assume that he did not himself carry out this long, monotonous and exhausting work but, as in the case of the Etymologicum Magnum rather left it to one of his devoted pupils.[199] But the introductory letter to his lexicon is certainly written by him in which he even more precisely explains the peculiarity of his dictionary.[200]

Although Photius read and even excerpted many of the works quoted on the pages of the lexicon, as is apparent from his 'Bibliotheke', and among them the speeches of Hyperides,[201] nevertheless the content and the structure of the articles do not suggest an original work but rather a compilation. In the literature there has been a long discussion about his sources, if indeed they can be discovered.[202] However, it is beyond question as is indicated in the stemma drawn by Erbse that he drew on the sources mentioned in his 'Bibliotheke'.[203] On the other hand, since the researches of Richard Reitzenstein,[204] it is proven that a more complete Synagoge than the one published by Bekker and Bachmann must have been another very important source, but how big it actually was and whether it contained a Harpocration epitome or not, still remains a question which divides scholars into two groups.[205]

In any case, it is obvious in considering the Hyperidean articles that the Photius Lexicon and the Suda reveal plenty of parallels, often even verbatim, with Harpocration's text, although in an abridged form. The temptation to ascribe them to Harpocration is great, but perhaps the common mistakes between Photius and the Suda rather suggest an

[199] K. Krumbacher, 519. Münzer rejects this assumption by emphasising the importance of the dictionary of the young Photius (col. 733).

[200] ὅσοι δὲ ῥητόρων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀττικίζουσι γλῶσσαν καὶ ἁπλῶς εἴη τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα λόγον ἐπόχεισθαι μέτρῳ συντέλειν εἰσὶν εὖ πεφυκυῖα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσοφίας ὅσοα δέονται σαφηνείας, τούτους δὲ ἄρα εἰ καὶ μὴ πάσους, οὔτε γὰρ ῥᾴδιον οὔτε ἀλαζονείας ἡ ὑπόσχεσις πόρρω, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς σχολῆς, ἀλλ' οὖν ἅς μάλιστά γε εἰδέναι προσήκει καὶ ἀναγκαῖον κεχρῆσθαι συναγαγὼν τὴν ἀναγραφήν σοι κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐποιησόμην, οὔδε τῶν ποιητικῶν παντελῶς ἀποστάς. Photius' introductory dedication to his Lexicon; Chr. Theodoridis, *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon* (Berlin, New York, 1982) I, 3.

[201] Phot.*Bibl.* 265, 495a.

[202] R.Laqueur, 'Suidas' *RE* IV (1932) cols. 687-8.

[203] Phot. *Bibl.* 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.

[204] R.Reitzenstein, *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photius* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1907) XXXI.

[205] According to Laqueur the loans came indirectly from Harpocration's work (cols. 688-9), on the other hand Wentzel and Erbse (see above) regard the Harpocration quotations as a second loan through the medium of the *Synagoge.*

intermediary source.[206]

Instead of giving a long list of the evident loans from the main source, whatever it wa, sI think it is more interesting to see a couple of examples of mistakes, which are characteristic of the process of copying and reveal at the same time the gap between the original literary works and the dictionaries. I have mentioned already above the disturbing abridgement of the Synagoge in the article ἀγοράς, namely that the title of the speech underwent a change. Photius and the Suda did not follow the wrong version, but remained with the more complete one. Suda in the case of θέσθαι, 'to make laws', was deceived since the scribe of the Suda's source copied Harpocration's text without understanding it and the original νόμον became μόνον.

The rebirth of the Etymological dictionaries is also due to the renewed interest of ninth century Byzantium in classical literature. Moreover the first of them - according to certain assumptions - was initiated by Photius the Patriarch. By losing its original designation, etymology as time went on sank to the level of a fashionable game. From the fifth century A.D. onwards, although their title might suggest something else, etymological dictionaries became the reservoirs of lexicographical material of every kind.[207] The more literature they worked on the better handbooks they were. Photius had the same aim in the compilation of his Lexicon. Therefore it should not be surprising if his name arose in connection with the first Etymologicum, the Etymologicum Genuinum from the ninth century.[208] Moreover there are some additional remarks inserted in the text or the margin of the manuscript which refer to him, for example as is suggested by the ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης or more concretely οὗτος ἐγώ, Φώτιος ὁ πατριάρχης, 'It is me, Photius the patriarch'.[209] On the other hand, there are plenty of parallels with the text of

[206] Not to say about the possibility that the compiler of Suda borrowed from Photius which is not trustworthy according to Laqueur, (Suda) col. 687. Other expressions borrowed from unknown sources: ἀγαθέστατε, ἀγοραῖος νοῦς, ἀδούλευτος, ἄανδρος, ἀνοισθησόμεθα, ἀνωκόπτεν, καττύεσθαι, λόγου χάριν, παραχειμάζοντι. The ἀνδραγαθία comes from Dionysius' work according to Erbse, (Att.) 106. Common loans with Suda from the Synagoge ἀκμή, Ἀλκίμαχος, ἀλφιτεῖς, ἄνετον, ὀρθήν, ἀντέχει (with a crucial difference see above). Loans from an unknown source in a similar form with Suda: εὐημερήσαντος, ζυγομάχειν, κεραννύουσιν, ὀρθῆς.

[207] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 811.

[208] Its first edition is by E. Miller, (Melanges), under the title Etymologicum Magnum Florentinum. Its new name was coined by Reitzenstein.

[209] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 59-60.

the Lexicon.[210] Some of the additions, however, create the impression that in contrast with the Lexicon, they were derived from Photius' own readings.[211]

In any case the Etymologicum Genuinum from the ninth century, which later on became the main source of the Etymologicum Magnum, contains two references to Hyperides.[212] The first one, a real headache for the compilers, is the phrase ἐπὶ κόρρης τύπτειν, 'smack on the head or jaw'. According to the description of Miller,[213] the 'manuscript' added to the end of the first interpretation, which seems to be already complete, a Hyperidean quotation. It is classified by Jensen[214] as a fragment from the speech against Dorotheus. Whether it is Photius' or the compiler's addition cannot be decided just from the manuscript itself. It could, however hardly be denied that it goes back to some kind of original research, i.e. reading. That is implied by the size of the quotation and its accurate, faultless formation, and on the other hand it does not overlap with the same articles of two other earlier composers, namely Didymus and Harpocration. It repeats just the last sentence of Didymus' quotation since this provides the key to his interpretation. Thus by a unique accident at the point where the Etymologicum Genuinum (E.G.) leaves it, Didymus picks up the thread of quotation and later in the same way hands it over to Harpocration. Although presumably all three of them regarded their own quotation as sufficient, if we did not know the rest, Harpocration's sentence would not say much on its own. Nevertheless the lawsuit can be reconstructed by putting the pieces together. A certain Hipponicus in the heat of a debate over a piece of land gave Autocles, the rhetor, a smack ἐπὶ κόρρης, but the response followed immediately and Autocles hit him back on his jaw κατὰ γνάθον.

What the expression ἐπὶ κόρρης τύπτειν really means, either to smack someone on the head or on the jaw, can hardly be decided even on the basis of Hyperides' testimony. For we could interpret it as 'some', οἱ δέ, did, according to Didymus, namely that Hyperides meant with the two expressions (ἐπὶ κόρρης and κατὰ γνάθον) practically the

[210] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 813, by revising his previous standpoint does not think it likely any more that there was an immediate use of the Lexicon but rather trough an intermediate work.
[211] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 813.
[212] Andoc.1; Dem.5; Lys.3; Lycurg.2.
[213] Miller, (Melanges) 121.
[214] Jensen, Fr.97.

same and he just used a synonym for stylistic reasons. And therefore the key to the mysterious ἐπὶ κόρρης is given by the second entry in the sequence of Appendix II. Harpocration categorically prefers this interpretation.

The other alternative is that here are mentioned two different parts of the body and one of them hit somewhere, but his enemy smacked him on another part, just as we would say to give someone a clout round the ear or to slap someone's face. In this case thus the expression ἐπὶ κόρρης cannot be equated with κατὰ γνάθον but rather it specifically signifies the slap on the face. So the E.G. and its source perhaps Photius.

In any case the articles give the answer as to why Hyperides mentioned all this. If we regard the 'original' first sentence of the E.G. as a quotation[215] (and why not since the φησί indicates it clearly) and add the last sentence of Harpocration, the picture is complete. The speaker expresses his indignation at the apparent injustice, that is, his enemy can go unpunished in spite of the presumably exemplary punishment in the case of Autocles and Hipponicus. However, they have just been hitting each other and both of them were involved. But the speaker's opponent (from here Harpocration) has been tearing at his hair and hitting several times. Although in the first sentence of the E.G., only one enemy is mentioned by the plaintiff and in Harpocration's account there are already more, this is only a seeming contradiction since he could sue just the leader on the first occasion and moreover we can suppose that among the assistants there were slaves.[216]

The other Hyperides reference in the E.G. is in the article συμμορία, 'taxation group'. In this case the compiler avoided the silly mistakes occurring in Photius' Lexicon and the Suda with his abridgement and managed to find enough space for a short etymological remark.

The Etymologicum Genuinum was also one of the main sources of the Etymologicum Magnum which was compiled in the twelfth century.[217] The dictionary, according to the aims described above, combines different lexicographical works and so increases the number of its articles. The article 'Ελευθέριος Ζεύς provides us with a significant example of its method of contamination, in which the nub of the interpretation

[215] Jensen did not.
[216] Jensen includes in this speech the fragment ἀναιδέστατον θεράπαινον, 'most shameless slave', Fr.95.
[217] Reitzenstein, (Etym.) 816.

goes back to Harpocration. However, he added a short etymological explanation.[218] In the article ἐπίβολος the E.M. follows Porphyry or an intermediate source. This is clear from the fact that the scribe altered the Porphyrian ἀπὸ τῶν πόρρω τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ποιουμένων by a characteristic copying mistake into ἀπὸ τῶν πόρρωθεν. However, the quotation is better preserved apart from a grammatical error.

The most remarkable product of the Byzantine summarising tendencies is the Suda Lexicon from the tenth century. Despite the fact that in its lexicographical articles there are numerous parallels with the Photius Lexicon, it did not immediately draw on this as a source, but rather on a common one, perhaps a more complete version of the Synagoge and almost all the works mentioned above.[219] The majority of the Hyperidean articles here relevant also just repeats the material of previous dictionaries with more or less success.[220]

There is a significant copying mistake in the article κομιστικὰ πλοῖα, 'cargo boat', which presumably originally aroused Harpocration's curiosity. Until it eventually reached the compiler of Suda Lexicon, the title of Hyperides' speech had already been lost from the beginning of the article and threw a shadow of oblivion on the Etruscans or perhaps on the ephemeral western anti-Macedonian alliance about which the speech could have proposed an initiative; Περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν Τυῤῥηνῶν, 'On the defence of the Etruscans'. The word Τυῤῥηνοί left in the main text of the article did not say anything to the later compilers. Tyrants however could easily be supposed to carry away booty on such ships; τύραννοι. It may be that the compilers racked their brains a short while as to why Hyperides should have mentioned tyrants in this context, but the final result remained the same.

[218] Similarly in συμμορία, σύνταξις, φρονεῖν. and ζυγομάχειν in which case it borrowed mainly from Photius' Lexicon. In the article θέσθαι is a certain Ῥητορικὸν Λεξικόν referred to which was preferred by it to the Lexicon of Photius since the *lectio difficillior* is attested in the title of the Stephanus speech.

[219] Laqueur, (Suda) cols. 688-70.

[220] However, in the case of four words or expressions the Suda Lexicon is the only known source: παιδάριον in the meaning of little girl, θορραλέον, νέμειν προστάτην, and ἀπεψηφίσατο. In all cases he quotes at relative length from the orator. In the case of the first three he was even content with just the Hyperidean examples. For word by word loans a few example are: παρόβυστον = Phot. Lex., Φορβαντεῖον =Phot. Lex., αὐλοίσι= Syn., ἀγοράσοα=Phot. Lex., ἀγορᾶς=Phot. Lex.etc.

There is another remarkable group of articles in which the Suda completed interpretations with later parallels.[221] He seems to have preferred the works of later historians. However, this information is second-hand as well.[222] So in the article ὀρθῆς δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης, 'the city being excited' Polybius, in the ῥόθιον, 'dashing of waves', Arrian, in the ἀντέχει, someone anonymous plays the role of our later witness, which on the other hand already represents the 'Nachleben' of the particular Hyperidean word.

In my opinion, however, the compiler sometimes added something from his own knowledge like in the cases of φιλοτησία, 'the cup sacred to friendship' and θριπηδέστατον, 'worm eaten', which goes back to Pausanias. This seems to be indicated by his relatively informal way of setting forth the information and the almost pedantic description of the termite beetle.

The lexicon which its first editor described as the work of Johannes Zonaras remains on the top of the lexicon-pyramid, which is growing narrower step by step.[223] In this Lexicon, which was presumably composed in the eleventh century, there are already appreciable Christian and theological points of view. Moreover the compiler could even have been a monk.[224] In spite of this it preserved four Hyperidean references. The ἀκμάζει, 'flourishes' and the ἀνασυντάξας, 'reassessing war tax', are verbatim loans from Suda. In the case of συμμορία, however, there are some differences because of the fact that common usage intrudes even more. For instance as a part of explanation we find: ἡ πληθὺς ἢ ἡ συνέλευσις, perhaps even the meaning of co-operative community of monks influenced the compiler.[225] The article κάθου in which the irregular forms of κάθημαι are collected probably goes back to Orus and the Lexicon Cantabrigiense.[226]

Finally, finishing the long list of dictionary-compilers and commentary-writers in the twelfth century, Eustathius, the Patriarch of Thessalonike, composed besides many

[221] Sometimes even with quotations: cf. ῥόθιον, φρονηματισθῆναι, ἀντέχει, or ἀκμή.
[222] Presumably he borrowed this from the epitome of Constantine Porphyrogennetus: cf. Laqueur, (Suda) col. 700.
[223] K. Alpers, 'Zonaras' *RE* XIX (1972) col. 737.
[224] Alpers, (Zon.) 739.
[225] P.Masp. 96,32.
[226] An eventual Alexandrian origin is supported by the possible meaning of the term Ἑλληνικά. It seems that he returned to the meaning of 'real literary Greek' as it was used in the circles of Alexandrian grammarians.

other scholarly works a commentary to Homer in which Hyperidean words also occur as part of the explanation. Like his ninth century colleague Photius, he regarded as the most urgent mission of his own age to save the classical literary texts.[227] In his voluminous Homer commentary he could still use precious lexicographical works which later on got lost, such as the work of Aristophanes of Byzantium, Suetonius,[228] Pausanias, and Aelius Dionysius. However, he borrowed plenty from previous Homer commentaries as is well attested in the case of ἐπήβολος, 'having achieved something'. His Hyperidean quotation from the speech against Demades presumably goes back to Porphyry, who composed his references in the same order. But his interest could have been aroused also by the E.M. or even by their common Attic source. His philological accuracy is indicated by a conjecture, suggesting that he was content neither with the meaningless form of Porphyry's manuscript nor with the grammatical mistake of the E.M. and restored the presumably original form of the Hyperidean sentence; μή τε πόλεως μήτε πολιτείας.

The irregular Hyperidean form ῥᾳδιεστέρων πόλιν on the other hand comes certainly from his favourite antiquarian treasury, the work of Athenaeus, who himself refers to Hyperides in the context of a seemingly extravagant Homeric phrase.

[227] K.Krumbacher, 537.
[228] L.Cohn, 'De Aristophane Byzantio et Suetonio Tranquillo Eustathi Auctoribus' *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* Supp. 12 (Leipzig, 1881) passim.

H. Summary

To summarise; the reason for such an honourable place of Hyperides in the imaginary ranking list of the dictionary-compilers seems to be multiple. His extensive rhetorical activity might be one of the factors, which had contributed to this final result. In Hyperides 'oeuvre' we can find all the three genres of rhetorical speeches συμβουλευτικός, 'deliberative', δικανικός, 'forensic' and ἐπιδεικτικός, 'declamatory' and it falls into one of the most critical periods of Athenian history; hence perhaps the numerous legal, historical terms and cultural, geographical expressions and even personal names collected mainly by Harpocration. They could be more easily found in such fruitful and representative authors of their own time, like Hyperides and Demosthenes. But this alone would not explain the frequent quotations, since, for example, Aeschines' or Dinarchus' 'oeuvre' also fulfils this latter criterion.

The crucial factor which might have turned the scale in his favour,[229] is the unadulterated Hyperides himself, appearing as an 'enfant terrible' also in the selection of words and expressions. Hermogenes, who was honoured in his youth as a brilliant Asianist, writes about him in his later works with a mock severity:

> ἴδιον δὲ Ὑπερίδου τὸ καὶ ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀφειδέστερόν πως καὶ ἀμελέστερον χρῆσθαι, ὥσπερ ὅταν "μονώτατος" λέγῃ καὶ "γαλεάγρα" καὶ "ἐκκοκκύζειν" καὶ "ἐστηλοκόπηται" καὶ "ἐπήβολος" καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. [230]

In the opinion of rigorous Atticists he had tried in reality to overstep the limits of 'real Greek'. Logically, he should not have been taken into account when composing a reliable, 'pure', 'Attic' vocabulary. The obstacle was, however, the fact that he was a member of the Ten. What a part this simple fact might have played is clear from Phrynichus' and Pollux's controversy. Indeed, the seeming contradiction of a canonised Attic orator and his non-Attic expressions might have forced and spurred on lexicographers to a more intense discussion of Hyperides' lexicon. As is apparent from the groups of his 'original'

[229] The favour of lexicographers of the period of spreading Atticism.
[230] Herm. *Id.* 2,11,43.

words listed in Appendix III, a big part of them come from common usage and from the language of Comedy which he seemed to legitimise.

VI. The Rhodian school of rhetoric and Hyperides as a model for imitation

In this chapter I focus on the history and special characteristics of Rhodian rhetoric, since, in my opinion the Rhodian school of rhetoric played the most influential role in shaping the later 'Nachleben' of Hyperides in antiquity.

Rhodes, in the vacuum which was established between a certain political and cultural decline at Athens and the rise of Rome, was an island not only in a geographical but also in a more general sense. In the middle of a circle of monarchies she lived with a constitution which was praised by contemporaries as a perfect democracy. The city had found here a place not only for a unique kind of survival, but also for further free development, being independent of the directives of enlightened monarchs. So Rome, which was determined gradually to take over the classical Greek heritage, could still be introduced to its vigorous liveliness. Almost every branch of science and the arts found a home here and produced world famous representatives. Moreover, as most concerns us here, she remained almost the last fortress for eloquence in the Tacitean sense, which in the *Dialogus* he was so bitterly to relate to states with democratic constitutions. From the second century onwards the youth of Rome, many of them, who had serious hopes of a legal or political career, came here to attend lectures by the Rhodian rhetoricians. Some of these, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus reveals, were followers of Hyperides, or at least they tried to be. A critical moment in Hyperides' Nachleben is highlighted by his brief remark, and this is what I would like to argue for in reviewing the history and cultural policy of Rhodes in the period of the third - first century B.C.

A. The concrete evidence

The new rhetorical principles of Augustan Rome are explained by Dionysius of Halicarnassus mainly in his book entitled περὶ μιμήσεως, 'On Imitation',

according to which the only possibility is the imitation of the unbeatable Attic predecessors. However, this had already been the situation for one of their younger contemporaries, Dinarchus, that is to follow them as far as his talent allowed. His favourites were especially Lysias, Demosthenes and Hyperides, and his speeches are therefore often presented under the name of one of these. Nevertheless, his authentic works can be easily detected if we compare them with the coherent style of the others in their speeches, since not even the otherwise skillful Dinarchus could achieve a perfect level of imitation and consistently adopt the character of the one he imitated. After all there are two distinct kinds of imitation in Dionysius' view, one is the properly understood form of it, i.e. which tries to perceive the whole individuality of the model by intensive learning and familiarity, and the other, the unsuccessful variant, which by slavishly copying some details fails to hit the main target.[231] This latter happened to those by whom Plato and Thucydides were chosen, and it happened too, in the case of those rhetoricians who tried to imitate Hyperides, Isocrates and Demosthenes. Dionysius was obviously more concerned with rhetoricians; consequently, the unsuccessful epigonoi are introduced by name. There are four Hyperideans, three Isocrateans and only one from the flock of Demosthenes, that is Dinarchus. Hyperides has a remarkably honourable position in the triumvirate, which had been praised by an - in the eye of Dionysius - profane public; he is mentioned as the first and most obvious example by Dionysius and even the country of his epigonoi is indicated, not to mention the reference to his general characteristics, which are missing in their work:[232]

> οἱ μὲν Ὑπερείδην μιμούμενοι διαμαρτόντες τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως αὐχμηροί τινες ἐγένοντο, οἷοι γεγόνασι Ῥοδιακοὶ ῥήτορες, οἱ περὶ Ἀρταμένην καὶ Ἀριστοκλέα καὶ Φιλάγριον καὶ Μόλωνα.

'the imitators of Hyperides, having failed to capture that special charm of

[231]D.H. *Din.*7.

[232]Although in the case of the Isocrateans on the one hand we are not told about their origin and the essence of Isocrates' style, on the other hand there are some adjectives describing their mistakes. Logically, Dinarchus is referred to, since the whole excursus originates from the remark on his method.

his, and the rest of his oratorical power, tended to become arid, as have those orators who formed the Rhodian school, Artamenes, Aristocles, Philagrios, Molo and their followers.' [233]

Although this is in effect the only source in which Hyperides' name is related to Rhodian rhetoricians, the phrasing of the text certainly implies that it is not an accident, but that Dionysius was deeply aware of this Rhodian peculiarity and did in fact know their speeches.[234]

Before analysing sources, which refer generally to Rhodian eloquence or more concretely to names involved, it seems to be worth while having a look briefly at the political circumstances and the cultural policy of the island-state in the Hellenistic period. The more so, since especially the latter has not been approached with an appropriate interest in recent literature,[235] and it could perhaps contribute something to the understanding of the significance and importance of the rhetorical school of Rhodes.[236]

[233]D.H. *Din.* 8,10; translated by St.Usher.

[234]Though it is obviously ironical, Dionysius' formulation could shed light on the extent of Hyperides imitation. *Din.*6, τοὺς δ' Ὑπερείδου δόξαντας εἶναί τισι Δεινάρχου λέγοι μακρὰ ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς τῶν βυβλίων χαίρειν εἰπών (... 'that those which are thought by some to be by Hyperides are by Dinarchus, paying no attention whatsoever to the titles on the scrolls' tr.by St.Usher).

[235]F.Portalupi, 'Sulla Corrente Rhodiese' *Universiti di Torino, Pubblicazioni della Facolti di Magistero, 7* (Turin, 1957) 5-28, is an exception. The author argues along the lines of the present discussion especially with regard to the Aeschinean origin and Hyperidean favour of the school (however, without proving continuity) and the effect on the Rhodian concern with natural abilities, here rather 'actio' - delivery. The focus of the article is on the anti-philosophical attitude of the Rhodians. Similarly J. F. Kindstrand, *The stylistic evaluation of Aeschines in antiquity* (Uppsala, 1982) 75-84 touches upon the question of the relation of Aeschines to Rhodes.

[236]The most important monographs on the subject, H.van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (Hague, 1900); M.Rostovzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* I-II (Oxford, 1974); P. Green, *From Alexander to Actium, The Hellenistic Age* (London, 1990); Richard M.Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca, 1984); Hatto H.Schmitt, 'Rom und Rhodos: Geschichte ihrer politischen Beziehungen seit der ersten Berührung bis zum Aufgehen des Inselstaates im Römischen Weltreich' *Münchener Beitrge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* (Munich, 1957); Hiller von Gaertringen, 'Rhodos' *RE* V Supp. (1931) cols. 731-840.

B. The importance of rhetoric in Rhodes

Like many other small countries living on the border and so in the shadows of great powers, Rhodes had to wait for a long time until the unique historical moment arose when the inevitable decline of great empires allowed her to gain back her independence. Until the very end of the fourth century B.C., Rhodian home and foreign affairs were controlled in turn by Athens, Sparta, the Persian Empire and finally the Macedonians. After the death of Alexander the Great, however, Rhodes did not find herself any longer inside an empire, nor wedged in between two traditional powers, but rather in the middle of a roughly triangular formation, which was created by the Macedonians, Ptolemies and Seleucids. This geographical position in itself could secure a certain kind of opportunity to escape conflicts and maintain independence, especially if it was accompanied by appropriate and skillful political manoeuvres.

The political golden age of Rhodes took its start formally from the successful defence of the city against Demetrius Poliorcetes in 305/4 B.C. But home affairs were a similarly important, although not so dramatic factor. The key to economic welfare, and so indirectly to political independence as well, was in commerce. Success in this must have been increased by the political unity created by Alexander, which secured and opened eastern connections. Rhodes, exploiting the opportunities given to her by her geographical position, in the third century B.C. gradually became the 'clearing house' and banking centre of the Aegean. Egyptian corn and many other Phoenician and eastern goods changed their owners in Rhodian ports,[237] and Rhodian amphorae from this period have been found almost everywhere in the eastern Mediterranean.

The state had a very high income of one million drachmas from the port duties alone, ἐλλιμένον, which at a general rate of 2% must mean a traffic worth 50 million.[238] The city must have reached at least the same level of welfare as Athens had in the fifth century, if we add the tribute of occupied Asian territories as well and

[237]Rostovzeff, I, 228.
[238]Polyb. 30,31; cf. Rostovzeff, I, 680.

make a guess at general private profit from outside the island.

Accordingly Rhodes was primarily concerned with guarding the source of her wealth, that is security of commerce, by issuing a highly appreciated naval code[239], occasionally by suppressing piracy and very remarkably by supporting the autonomy of the islands by means of diplomacy and war as well.[240]

Nevertheless, against great powers not even the well equipped Rhodian fleet could have a chance, therefore it had always been a matter of survival to prevent major military conflicts, not only in those cases when the island herself was threatened, but also whenever the balance of power seemed to be overthrown by one of the sides. Given the lack of a deterrent force, diplomacy turned out to be the only successful method to save this fragile independence, which basically grew out of Rhodian influence since it was a result of unique circumstances.

An important part of the material in the historical work of Polybius goes back to reports of embassies, irrespective of whether he had heard or read them himself[241]or drew on another historical work and simply took them over. The detailed and sometimes colourful descriptions of embassies had already awoken the interest of Constantine of Porphyrogenitus, who, in the tenth century, ordered two separate collections. In one volume were collected those sent to Rome, and in the other those negotiating on behalf of the Romans.[242] In the books on Greek history IV-XXXI comparatively many Rhodian embassies are mentioned. This phenomenon could be explained by a plausible assumption that, especially in this part of his work, Polybius relied on Rhodian historians like Antisthenes and Zenon.[243] Nevertheless, our impression of Rhodian diplomatic activity should not be undermined by this supposedly unequal influence of the Rhodian point of view in Polybius' presentation

[239]Rostovzeff, II, 680.
[240]Cf. Polyb. 4,47,1: The islanders ask Rhodes for help against Byzantium, who unlawfully levied duties on transit commerce in the Hellespont: καὶ πάντες ἐνεκάλουν οἱ πλοϊζόμενοι τοῖς Ῥοδίοις διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τούτους προεστάναι τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν, and again in 27,4,7: διατελοῦσι προστατοῦντες οὐ μόνον τῆς αὑτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.
[241]During his visit in Rhodes he read a report of a *nauarch* in the prytaneum, 16,15,8.
[242]Polybius Vol.IV, ed. Th.Buettner-Wobst, Praef. III.
[243]Polyb. 16,14; cf. H.Ullrich, *De Polybii fontibus Rhodiis* (Leipzig, 1898) passim.

of world history. Irrespective of the real role and influence of Rhodian diplomats in international policy, the sheer number of the embassies mentioned, even if all of them were insignificant, implies a solid diplomatic base, that is, not only a supply of educated diplomats, but also the essential elements of a literary education, especially in the field of rhetorical education, since the decisive element in an embassy in this period is still a speech produced by an ambassador.[244] As is well shown by Molo's

[244] The 26 Rhodian embassies mentioned in Polybius or other literary sources are arranged into different groups, according to their primary purposes. Besides indicating the actual matter, sometimes I quote passages revealing either general appreciation of Rhodes' diplomatic role, or the validity of the orator - ambassador concept.

A, Peace negotiations:

1, Between Ptolemy IV and Antiochus, Polyb. 4,51,1.

2, Polyb. 24,11; (28,1).

3, Between Philip and the Aetolians, Polyb. 5,63,5: ἅμα δὲ διαπεμψάμενοι πρός τε Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυζικηνούς, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Αἰτωλούς, ἐπεσπάσαντο πρεσβείας ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις.

4, Between Philip and the Aetolians, Polyb. 5,100,9.

5, Between Philip and the Aetolians, at another time Polyb. 11,4,6; with an 'extant' speech of the ambassador.

6, Polyb. 18,52,1; Philip prefers them to the Romans, their authority as peace negotiators: Παῦσαι - φησὶ - τῶν πολλῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥοδίων ὑμῖν εὐδοκῶ διακριθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων.

7, In the Aetolian interest: καὶ διηπόρουν πῶς δεῖ χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις πράγμασιν ... ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς πρός τε Ῥοδίους πέμπειν καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἀξιοῦντας καὶ παρακαλοῦντας πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. Polyb. 21,25,10; the legates, Λαμβάνοντες εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ποικίλως ὁμιλοῦντες, πραύνειν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ, Polyb. 21,29,9.

8, Agepolis as peace negotiator between Antiochus and Ptolemy on the request of the Romans, Polyb. 28,17,4; before Antiochus: γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐντεύξεως, πολλοὺς διετίθεντο λόγους, τήν τε τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος εὔνοιαν προσφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς βασιλείας ... ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔτι λέγοντα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἐπιτεμὼν οὐκ ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι πολλῶν λόγων ...

9, Embassies to the senate, the Roman generals, and Perseus; Polyb. 29,10,4; and Agepolis in the senate after the Roman victory, Polyb. 29,19,1.

B, Negotiations for war:

10, They persuade the Athenians to declare war against Philip: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἐπεισελθόντων καὶ πολλοὺς πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν διαθεμένων λόγους, ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκφέρειν τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὸν πόλεμον, Polyb. 16,26,8.

C, Negotiations on matters of Rhodian interest:

11, For rights concerning Lycia, before a Roman committee, Polyb. 22,5,1.

12, The same before the senate, Polyb. 25,5; ἡ σύγκλητος ... διακούσασα τῶν λόγων ὑπερέθετο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ...

13, Embassy to Rome concerning the corn supply. They defend themselves against false accusations, and in a different embassy ask for allied status, Polyb. 28,2; and 26,16. For the same reasons Agepolis visits the proconsul, Polyb. 28,17.

14, In Crete to establish friendly relations, Polyb. 29,10,6.

15, Agepolis and in another delegation Astymedes ask the senate for forgiveness for Rhodian

case, Rhodians, as was in the state's interest, tried to send men with good persuasive abilities, or even rhetoricians.[245]

The same conclusion about the key importance of rhetoric in Rhodes can be derived from another historical phenomenon, namely the constitution of the state;

ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων πολιτευομένη κάλλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων[246]...

'the Rhodians have the best political constitution among the Greeks ...'

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neutrality in the war against Perseus, Polyb. 30,4.
16, Theodetus and Rodophon with a golden crown in Rome, Polyb. 30,5,2.
17, Aristocles for the same reason, i.e. for allied status, before the senate: εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ παραυτίκα περὶ τοῦ πεπειθαρχηκέναι τὸν δῆμον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις καὶ παρεκαλοῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους δια(τι)θέμενοι λόγους.
18, Astymedes a second time before the senate, Polyb. 30,31,1; with an 'extant' speech.
19, Under the leadership of Cleagoras for securing Rhodian interests in Caria and Lycia, Polyb. 31,4,1.
20, In opposition to the Cretan ambassadors, Theophanes tries to win the Aetolians' favour for his country. It is an interesting case, since Polybius reveals that there had been a certain kind of Cretan rhetorical style, which implies to some extent the same about the Rhodians. The Cretan in his second speech: ἐχρήσατο λόγοις βαρυτέροις ἢ κατὰ Κρῆτα καὶ σπουδαιοτέροις· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος οὐδαμῶς Κρητικός, ἀλλὰ πεφευγὼς τὴν Κρητικὴν ἀναγωγίαν, Polyb. 33,16,2.
21, Apollonius Molo the most remarkable orator of the time, as ambassador of his country in Rome, Cic.*Brut.*312; dictatore enim Sulla legatus ad senatum de Rhodiorum praemiis venerat, i.e. in 81 B.C.
(21.b), (perhaps at the same time, since the account in Cicero is fairly vague, cf. in favour, Gelder, 165; against, Susemihl, 491; and von Gaertingen, 804); Molo delivered a speech entitled κατὰ Καυνίων, Strab. 652.
22, Poseidonius in Rome as a legate, presumably for the same reasons as Molo in no.21, in the year 87 B.C. (Plut. *Marius* 45).

D, In Peace Conferences:
23, They are present in the peace conference between Philip and Flamininus, Polyb. 18,4.
24, Along with many other representatives, Rhodian ambassadors intervene for their own interest in Rome after the war against Antiochus, all this in a difficult situation, Polyb. 21,17,12; with an 'extant' speech, see below.
25, Same place, same time, for tax-free status of the citizens of Soloi, Polyb. 21,24,10.

E, Others:
26, Representing the interests of the Sinopeians before the senate, Polyb. 23,9,2.

On the credibility of 'extant' speeches, see below 82-3; further E.Olshausen, *Prosopographie der hellenistischen Königsgesandten I* (Louvain, 1974).
[245]See recently: Sheila L. Ager, 'Rhodes: The rise and fall of a neutral diplomat' *Historia* 40/1 (1991) 10-41; the author by working on all available evidence analyses Rhodes' history of mediation in a historical context until 168 B.C.
[246]Diod. 20,81; cf. Gelder, 179.

According to Strabo it was a perfect, balanced form of constitution, and not an extreme democracy.[247] However, the main decisions were in the hands of the people, i.e. the assembly, as is confirmed by Polybius and the other evidence.[248] The description of a meeting, where Roman and Macedonian orientation was clashing in the proposals of their prominent adherents and all these in a fatal historical moment, recalls the atmosphere of Athenian debates. Here also, orator-politicians influence the people and the resolution depends on their eventual success.[249]

Rhodes' inner and external political character could not have been better described than by a literary 'topos' of Polybius, which is put this time into Perseus' mouth. On the eve of his inevitable conflict with the Romans, he tried to secure through his delegates the diplomatic support of the Rhodians, and therefore not without any intention of flattery he alluded to the source of their well-known pride:

> ὅσῳ γὰρ πλεῖον ὀρέγονται τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας, καὶ διατελοῦσι προστατοῦντες οὐ μόνον τῆς αὑτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, τοσούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν προαίρεσιν μάλιστα δεῖν αὐτοὺς προορᾶσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν
>
> 'For the more they were the champions of equality and freedom of speech, and the constant protectors not only of their own liberty, but of that of the rest of Greece, the more they should do all in their power to provide and guard against the victory of principles contrary to these.'[250]

The ἰσηγορία and παρρησία are those claimed by the Athenians as their privilege,[251] freedom and equal right of speech.

C. The 'Pre-Molonian' period of Rhodian rhetoric

[247]Strab. 653.
[248]cf. Inscriptions from Rhodes in Gelder's Appendix.
[249]Polyb. 29,4-5.
[250]Polyb. 27,4,6; translated by W.R.Paton.
[251]Dem 21,124; Eur. *Hipp.* 422.

1. Hyperides on Rhodes

According to Ps. Plutarch's evidence, Hyperides himself visited Rhodes once as the leader of an embassy: ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ῥοδίους, 'he led an embassy also to the Rhodians'.[252] The short sentence does not reveal anything about time or circumstances, and the whole context is very dense, since in the previous statement we are told about his Delian mission and the next is already about Antipater's legates. Consequently among modern scholars there have been two different theories regarding the date of the Rhodian embassy. One of them argues for an early date for Hyperides' visit, that is 341 B.C., when the Rhodians finally joined Athens in an expedition for the relief of Byzantium.[253] On the other hand, as is - in my opinion - rather suggested by the context of the *vita*, it could have happened in 323/322 B.C., in the year when the Athenian politician desperately tried to establish an anti-Macedonian coalition, and therefore decided to undertake a recruiting tour all over Hellas.[254] However, he must have found enough time before the end to publish his speech, and this would suggest success in the mission (i.e. an earlier date). In any case the speech was probably published with the title of Ῥοδιακός, since the author of the *Antiatticista* refers to it by this title.[255]

It would be a mistake to overemphasize Hyperides' appearance in Rhodes from the point of view of the later development of Rhodian eloquence, nevertheless he was the first (or second) among the great Attic orators, who certainly visited the city and delivered a speech. Moreover, even if we rejected the Aeschines story, it could reflect a memory of Rhodian rhetoric, especially, if we bear in mind that the speech was published and circulated among Greeks of later periods as well.[256]

[252]Ps. Plut. *Vita X.or.* 850A.
[253]Blass, *Att. Bered.* III/2[2], 9, and cf. Berthold, 32.
[254]Gelder, 101; Berthold, 59. The Rhodians did not participate in the coalition.
[255]He had read in this the expression: προπεσεῖν = προπετῶς τι ποιῆσαι which he decided to incorporate into his less rigorous Attic lexicon. cf. Bekk. *Antiatt.* 112,10.
[256]Here has to be mentioned that also Demosthenes delivered a speech in the interest of the Rhodians, *De Rhodiorum Libertate* (15). So Demosthenes is also personally linked to Rhodian rhetorical tradition, the theoretical foundation of which is - on one side - built on Attic tradition represented by Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hyperides.

2. Aeschines, the founder of the school

Aeschines has always been the one who was presented in the ancient tradition as the founder of the Rhodian school of rhetoric. According to Ps.Plutarch's detailed description, after his unlucky suit against Ctesiphon he settled down in Rhodes as an exile and founded a school, in which he taught: ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν, 'after having there founded a school, he started to teach', later he left the island σχολήν τ' ἐκεῖ προσκατέλιπε, τὸ Ῥοδιακὸν διδασκαλεῖον κληθέν, 'he left there a school, the so called Rhodian school'.[257] The authenticity of the story, however, has been questioned by many scholars and it is commonly regarded as a fiction of the Second Sophistic.[258] This assumption is certainly backed by the colourful anecdote according to which Aeschines read his speech on the crown aloud to the Rhodians, who listened to him almost with open mouths. And when he was asked by them how could he lose the trial with such a speech, his generously simple answer was that they would not be surprised if they had heard his opponent. The theme certainly moved the imagination of many people and it became a topic for sophistic play, since it became increasingly more elaborated with time. Although there could be serious doubts as to the truth of the anecdote, it would be unjust to question the rest of the legend, that is, that Aeschines went to Rhodes and lived there from teaching.[259] Philostratus, being absolutely certain about his wanderings and final presence on the island, saw him as the founder of the whole Second Sophistic movement.[260] In accordance with this, he writes:

> Ῥόδου εἴχετο, ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἀγαθὴ ἐνσπουδάσαι, καὶ <u>σοφιστῶν φροντιστήριον</u> ἀποφήνας τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοῦ διητᾶτο θύων ἡσυχίᾳ τε καὶ Μούσαις καὶ Δωρίοις ἤθεσιν ἐγκαταμιγνὺς Ἀττικά.
>
> 'So he took up his abode at Rhodes, for the island is well adapted to

[257]Ps.Plut. *Vit.X or.*840D.
[258]cf. A.Dihle, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1967) introduces as his main argument the silence of the spurious Aeschines letters.
[259]Despite the fact that some of the *vitae* do not mention this episode, but rather say, that he returned to Athens and taught there as his father did: cf. A.Westermann, *Vitarum scriptores Graeci* (Braunschweig, 1845) 265-8; cf. Kindstrand, 76-7.
[260]*VS.*1,481.

literary pursuits, and having transformed Rhodes into a school for sophists, he continued to live there, sacrificing to peace and the Muses, and introducing Attic customs into the Dorian mode of life.'[261]

Rhodes, which in this period started to grow politically and economically could have appeared a secure place for the politically shipwrecked.

Thus Aeschines would represent in the history of Rhodian eloquence an Attic origin similar to that of Rhodian fine arts. As it is very dramatically expressed by Quintilian:

Aeschines...intulit eo studia Athenarum, quae velut sata quaedam coelo terraque degenerant, saporem illum Atticum peregrino miscuerunt.

'it was Aeschines who introduced the culture of Athens at Rhodes, ... and just as certain plants degenerate as a result of change of soil and climate, so the Attic flavour was marred by the admixture of foreign ingredients.'[262]

Or is it only the usual invention of newcomers, part of a well defined cultural policy, the desire to have world famous founders and predecessors?[263] Or are all these stories generated by the high renown of the later schools, so that their foundation should be attributed to the best, and in our case to one of the greatest orators? Although there cannot be an exact answer, perhaps the rhetorical remains of the lost Rhodian centuries could provide some help.

3. Remains of 'Pre-Molonian' speeches

[261] *VS.*1,509; translated by W.C. Wright.
[262] *Inst.Or.*12,10,18; translated by H.E.Butler.
[263] The same effort is obvious in the false story about the foundation of the city by the most famous architect, Hippodamus of Miletus: Strab.645; cf. Rostovzeff, I,681.

Unfortunately, apart from some late and general remarks we do not know anything about the characteristics of Rhodian eloquence. However, this lack of first-hand evidence could be filled in to a certain extent, if those speeches by ambassadors, which are incorporated into Polybius' historical work, were scrutinized. Though from rhetorical pieces which are usually quoted or rather produced for stylistic reasons one could never demand absolute historical reliability, there are big differences between authors, and Polybius belongs to those who certainly deserve more trust. This is obvious from his often confessed ideas on writing history,[264]and it is supported by the solid assumption that, in presenting Rhodian history, he had relied on first-class sources.

The bulk of the information in books IV-XXI presumably comes from Antisthenes' and Zenon's works.[265]These Rhodian historians were highly appreciated by Polybius, partly because they were contemporaries of the events: τούτους δ' ἀξίους εἶναι κρίνω διὰ πλείους αἰτίας· καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς γεγόνασι.[266] Nevertheless, they committed two serious and for an historian inadmissible mistakes. First, they tried to present history in favour of their fatherland, even by altering reality.[267] Polybius does not refer to it, but the apologetic description of the behaviour of Rhodian people before the fatal peace negotiations between Rome and Perseus is very remarkable. Second, Zenon had overstylised his work: περὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς λέξεως κατασκευὴν δῆλός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσπουδακὼς ὡς ὑπερβολὴν τερατείας μὴ καταλιπεῖν τοῖς τὰς ἐπιδεικτικὰς καὶ πρὸς ἔκπληξιν τῶν πολλῶν συντάξεις ποιουμένοις.[268]Should these statements refer to the speeches or to a general impression of the entire work, or moreover could jealousy

[264]Especially in 12,25b: ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους μεταφερομένων καιροὺς ἀφορμαὶ γίνονται καὶ προλήψεις εἰς τὸ προιδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εὐλαβηθῆναι, ποτὲ δὲ μιμούμενον τὰ προγεγονότα θαρραλεώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ῥηθέντας λόγους καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν παρασιωπῶν, ψευδῆ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπιχειρήματα καὶ διεξοδικοὺς λέγων λόγους, ἀναιρεῖ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἴδιον; cf. Ullrich, 15; K.Ziegler, 'Polybios' *RE* XXI (1951) col. 1524.
[265]cf. Ullrich passim.
[266]Polyb.14,15.
[267]Polyb.14,15,8.
[268]Polyb.16,18,2.

play a role?[269] In any case, from our point of view, even if Zenon had invented and composed everything, we could have a general impression of contemporary Rhodian rhetorical values.

But Polybius' Rhodian sources are not limited to Zenon's history. As he reveals in the detailed polemic with the Rhodian, he visited the island at least once and studied an official document in the *prytaneum.*[270] He could do the same with the so called *apangelia*, i.e. reports of embassies.[271]Moreover he could read published versions of speeches, since we are told by him, that at least once a legate (Astymedes) had published his speech later: ἐξέβαλε γὰρ ἔγγραπτον μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς δικαιολογίας.[272]It should not be necessarily a commentary or a summary,[273]since the expression ἔγγραπτον ποιέω could rather mean to work out something in writing. Astymedes' second speech in Polybius gives also a strong impression of originality[274]and the major speeches in book XI and XXI bear a certain stylistic discrepancy from the usual Polybian narrative.[275]

Publishing speeches must have been a widespread activity among former ambassadors, especially in the case of success. This is supported indirectly by Münzer's magnificent article,[276]in which he successfully proved, that one of the short examples in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* comes from the speech of a Rhodian legate speaking before Athenians in the early 90's of the second century B.C. Since it was incorporated into a rhetorical manual approximately one hundred years later than its actual delivery, it must have been available in a published form.

Gelzer's general scepticism on publishing goes perhaps too far. Polybius does mention Astymedes' edition of his speech, not because this was highly exceptional[277]

[269]On the latter: cf. Ullrich, 15.
[270]Polyb.14,15,8.
[271]On the other hand, Gelzer, 'Über die Arbeitsweise des Polybios' *KSch.*(Wiesbaden, 1964) 182-3, denies the existence of an Archive.
[272]Polyb.30,4,11.
[273]cf. Ullrich, 71.
[274]Polyb.30,31,5.
[275]Cf. Ullrich, 55.
[276]'Eine Probe rhodischer Beredsamkeit in lateinischer Fassung' *Philologus* (1934) 215-25, see below.
[277]Gelzer, 182-3.

but because his emphasis is rather on the general disapproval of other Greeks, and he is surprised by the fact that despite its failure Astymedes dared to publish it.

Summa summarum, in my opinion the extant speeches of Rhodian legates in Polybius' history could be used as auxiliary material in tracing remaining elements of early Rhodian eloquence. However, the examination should not involve stylistic details on the level of rhetorical figures, but it should mainly be focused on general stylistic features in structure etc.

Chronologically the first extant Rhodian speech by an ambassador was delivered before the assembly of the Aetolians, when Rhodes as the arbitrator of all Greek interests summoned the opposite parties, i.e. Philip and the Aetolian allies, to end their self-devastating war.[278] Supposedly this is the most stylised one of all, since the historian could find in this the opportunity to foreshadow the future by referring to the coming reality, that is the danger of Roman intervention and the final loss of Greek freedom.[279] In any case it starts with a strong reminiscence of Demosthenes: ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνω τοῦτ' εἶναι συμφανές, 'I suppose that this is obvious from the facts themselves', which is not very surprising, since his style was very appropriate for this historical occasion. The whole speech is almost entirely built upon contrasts, apart from a major simile, in which the Aetolians are compared with a man who cannot control any more the fire initiated by himself, and finally it destroys him and all the others in the forest.[280] No less peculiar is another metaphor (11,5,8), in which a personified Tyche makes obvious the foolishness of the Aetolians by placing it, so that everyone could see it, on a theatrical instrument (*exostra*).[281] Its very real Rhodian origin is attested by Polybius' lack of familiarity with the phrase, since on another occasion, though he repeats the same text almost word for word, instead of using the odd ἐξώστρα which perhaps he had never heard, he changes it

[278]Polyb.11,4,1.-6,8.
[279]Cf. Ullrich, 52.
[280]Ullrich, 53, regards this picture as completely alien to Polybius. However, there are some phraseological links with previous descriptions of fire.
[281] τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξώστραν ἀναβιβαζούσης τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν 11,5,8.

into the more neutral σκηνή.[282] This latter description is presumably also taken over from a Rhodian source, but it certainly was not said by the legates about themselves and therefore it must have stood in the work of Zenon.[283] In this latter case, Polybius, being free of the rules of quotation in a speech, simply banished the strange form.[284] Generally, it could be said that although the speech lacks Demosthenic energy, which would be appropriate on this occasion, it certainly has a convincing and balanced strength.

In the case of the second speech, which was delivered before the senate in Rome,[285] the Rhodian legate faced a very critical situation. After the war against Antiochus in the atmosphere of a peace conference, Eumenes was offered the opportunity to speak as the first of the allies before the 'patres', and he did not hesitate to undermine Rhodian interests, by distorting their requests. The skillfulness of the Rhodian speech is remarkable. It must have made a sharp contrast with the extensive self-praise of the Smyrneians,[286] who spoke second, since after a short *exordium,* βραχέα προσενεγκάμενοι, quickly, ταχέως, they turned over to their main point (21,22,5).[287]In a very polite but determined way the orator refuses Eumenes' standpoint: after all he is still a king, and everyone knows that monarchs are only interested in gaining power.[288] The thought at the same time forms an

[282] τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβαζούσης ἐπὶ σκηνὴν τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων ἄγνοιαν, εἰ χρὴ Ῥοδίων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἐπιπολασάντων ἀνθρώπων τότε κατὰ τὴν Ῥόδον, 29,19,2.

[283]This assumption is supported by the following sentence, in which is again present the apologetic allusion to avoid collective punishment.

[284] We cannot know, whether it is a phrase of Zenon and he borrowed from everyday Rhodian life (obviously it comes from New Comedy, and old theatrical traditions are attested in Rhodes) or it is an ambassador's invention. The female noun's formally identical neutral plural form occurs only on a Delian inscription of the third century B.C. (IG XI^2.199A95), apart from the controversial accounts of late lexicographers (cf.LSJ).

[285]Polyb.21,22.-23,13.

[286] πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπολογισμοὺς εἰσήνεγκαν περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας...

[287]The very peculiar delay, or disappearance of a Rhodian legate (21,22,2), that they could not be called into the senate immediately after Eumenes' speech. The inorganic short statement in Polybius perhaps fitted better in Zenon, since it supposedly was a part of Rhodian tactics.

[288]R.v Scala, *Studien des Polybios* (Stuttgart, 1890) 220-1. On the basis of characteristic phrases, Scala assumes that the author must have had to a certain extent a Stoic education. Moreover, perhaps Panaetius, the most prominent Stoic philosopher of the age, gave a hand to his countrymen in composing a persuasive speech. F.W.Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1972) 136-7, disagrees, and emphasises the generality of the expressions.

excellent transition to the main trick of the speech. Republican Rome, being quite the opposite, as the living guarantee of world security and freedom, cannot allow any violation of these sublime ideas, especially not by a king, and neglect the autonomy of the Asian communities. The speech is well structured and free from anything superfluous.

A sober simplicity characterized the appearance of Agepolis and his fellow countrymen in the senate on an extremely painful occasion. Namely the Rhodian legates, who originally came to negotiate between the Romans and Perseus, found themselves in a victorious and arrogant atmosphere. They simply offered congratulations and βραχέως ἐπανῆλθον, 'quickly returned'.[289]

Shortly after, but in the same historical situation, there arrived the embassy under the leadership of Philophron and Astymedes to mitigate the senate's anger.[290] Initially, they put on mourning dress and later having access to the senate τὸ κύκνειον ἐξηχήσαντες, 'having sung a swan song', they left. However, having avoided the imminent danger of war, Astymedes delivered his later published speech, in which he tried to deny the accusations against his country, with a displeasing strategy. The speech is condemned by Polybius, and in his opinion it was completely unworthy of an ἀνὴρ πολιτικός, 'politician', since the legate tried to enlarge the Rhodian merits mainly by accusing πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενικῶς, 'in a sharp and intolerable way', all the other Greeks. It must have been so aggressive, that it provoked general disapproval, and it seems that Polybius was disgusted: ἄτοπος ἐφαίνετο καὶ τελέως ἀπίθανος, 'it appeared disgusting and completely unconvincing' (30,4,12). Nevertheless Astymedes' closest friends seem to have approved the form, and, in my opinion, perhaps even helped him in the composition.

Astymedes' second embassy on the other hand turned out to be more successful, as Polybius says: 'Αστυμήδης ἐδόκει πρεπόντως τοῖς καιροῖς

[289]Polyb.29,19,3-5.
[290]Polyb.30,4,7.-17.

πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους, 'Astymedes seemed to have composed his speech adequately to the occasion'[291] and it finally made an impression, not to mention the healing effect of time and influential Roman friends. Polybius judges the speech worthy of being partly quoted.[292] The method of the orator is to point to the obvious disproportion between offence and punishment by enumerating κεφαλαιωδῶς διεξιών, 'presenting in headings', the undeserved calamities, by which Rhodes was hit because of Rome. The dense, almost dry, style of narration is well chosen, since it even more forcefully stresses the extent of the losses.[293] In addition to these, Astymedes warms up the old argument against collective punishment, namely that the anti-Roman policy was a mistake of few, who had already expiated it, and the common people were innocent.

These few and very general characteristics of Rhodian speeches are obviously at least as close to the Attic idea of rhetoric as to the Asian forms. This rhetorical attitude in the 'pre-Molonian' period is well represented by an originally Demosthenic example, which in a Rhodian form was incorporated into the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[294] A sentence of a speech is chosen to exemplify what should be understood by *brevitas*, 'brevity'. In its Latin form it is as follows:

> Lemnum praeteriens cepit, inde Thasi praesidium reliquit, post urbem Bithyniam Cium sustulit, inde pulsus in Hellespontum statim potitur Abydi.
>
> 'On his way he took Lemnus, then left a garrison at Thasus, after that destroyed the Bithynian city, Cius; next returning to the Hellespont, he forthwith occupies Abydus'.[295]

[291]Polyb.30,31,19.
[292]According to Walbank: 'P. has a good, but unidentified source for his speech, but this was not a published version, for it was apparently only his earlier speech which he published.' It is not right to exclude the possibility of a published version only on the basis of Polybius' silence, especially if Astymedes dared to publish even his previous unsuccessful one.
[293]Ullrich's ingenious remark is only partly correct: 'Astymedes, qui fortasse mercator dives putandus est, numeris sobrie at sicce computat, quot detrimentis Rhodus simultate Romae affecta sit, quin quo virum illum optime depingi puto, legatus magis dolet, quod Rhodii reditus amiserint quam quod libertatem' (71).
[294]4,68, see above n.276.
[295]Translated by H.Caplan.

Its Demosthenic original is in the Third Philippic.[296] The Rhodian orator speaking in 200 B.C. before the Athenian assembly in favour of a war against Philip V of Macedon[297] could not have found a better model than the speeches of the famous protagonist of Athenian freedom.[298]

Moreover, especially the last two speeches from the Polybian work, which represent Astymedes' technique, bear strong similarities to some valuation of Aeschines' rhetorical attitude, if we compare them with ancient critical statements on his style:

> (φασὶ γὰρ ὡς ὅτι οὐδὲν τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ σῴζει, οὔτε τὸ ἀκριβὲς καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀπέριττον καὶ εὔρυθμον, ἀλλὰ κεχηνυῖα πῶς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ) ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἄτεχνος μὲν καὶ προπετὴς καὶ εὐχερῶς ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀπρεπῶς ῥήτορι ἐξαγομένη, ἔχουσα δέ τι εὐφυὲς καὶ εὐάγωγον καὶ οἷον ἂν γένοιτό τινι ἐκ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης ἀφανοῦς.
>
> '... on the one hand his (Aeschines') rhetorical style is artless and recklessly unscrupulous in abusing, which makes it shameful for an orator, on the other there is some elegance and easiness as if rather caused by nature and invisible training.'[299]

[296]Dem.*Phil.*3,27. ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον ἧκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἧλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσεν πρώην.

[297]see above n.244,10; and n.276.

[298] Kindstrand (80) offers another argument for the early importance of rhetoric on Rhodes. A fragment of Bion of Borysthenes (in Diog.Laert.4,49, fr.4 Kindstrand) implies a high valuation of Rhodian rhetoric in early Hellenistic age. Kindstrand also argues for some influential remains of Aeschines' teachings in Rhodes (80-4).

[299]*Schol. to Apoll.Vita* and *or.*2,1.ὁ δ' Αἰσχίνειος (λόγος) ἀτονώτερος μὲν τοῦ Δημοσθενικοῦ, ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν λέξεων ἐκλογῇ πομπικὸς ἅμα καὶ δεινός· καὶ οὐ πάνυ μὲν ἔντεχνος, τῇ δὲ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εὐχερείᾳ κεχορηγημένος· καὶ σφόδρα ἐνεργὴς καὶ βαρὺς καὶ αὐξητικὸς καὶ πικρός, καὶ ἡδὺς μὲν αὐτόθεν ἐντυχόντι, σφοδρὸς δ' ἐξετασθείς (D.H.*On Im.*5,5). Further: σχήματι δὲ κέχρηται διανοίας τε καὶ λέξεως οὐ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν τι σὺν τέχνῃ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν (Phot.*Bibl.*61,15). There are of course also divergent characterisations in the tradition, but these three seem to represent a fairly good average: cf. Blass, *Att.Bered.* III/2^2, 189-90.

Or more cautiously we can say that the Polybian speeches are basically not different from the picture of post-Molonian Rhodian eloquence, which is presented by Cicero and Quintilian.

> Itaque Caria et Phrygia et Mysia, quod minime politae minimeque elegantes sunt, asciverunt aptum suis auribus opimum quoddam et tamquam adipatae dictionis genus, quod eorum vicini non ita lato interiecto mari Rhodii numquam probaverunt, Graeci autem multo minus, Athenienses vero funditus repudiaverunt.
>
> 'Accordingly, Caria, Phrygia and Mysia, since there is the least refinement of taste, have adopted a rich and unctuous diction which appeals to their ears. But their neighbours, the Rhodians, though separated only by a narrow strait, never approved this style, Greece even showed less favour, and the Athenians utterly repudiated it.'[300]

The Rhodian style is usually defined by them as a middle form between two extremes:

> Tertium mox qui haec dividebant adiecerunt genus Rhodium, quod velut medium esse atque ex utroque mixtum volunt, neque enim Attice pressi neque Asianae sunt abundantes, ut aliquid habere videantur gentis, aliquid auctoris. Aeschines enim, qui hunc exilio delegerat locum, intulit eo studia Athenarum, quae velut sata quaedam coelo terraque degenerant, saporem illum Atticum peregrino miscuerunt. Lenti ergo quidam ac remissi non sine pondere tamen neque fontibus puris neque torrentibus turbidis sed lenibus stagnis similes habentur.
>
> 'At a later period, the critics, to whom we owe this classification, added a third style, the Rhodian, which they asserted to lie midway between the two and to be a blend of both, since the orators of this school are neither so concise as the Attic nor redundant like the Asian school, but appear to derive their style in part from their national characteristics, in part from those of the founder. For it was Aeschines who introduced the culture of Athens at Rhodes, which he had chosen as his place of exile: and just as certain plants degenerate as a result of

[300]Cic.*Or.*25; translated H.M.Hubbel.

change of soil and climate, so the Attic flavour was marred by the admixture of foreign ingredients. Consequently certain of the orators of this school are regarded as somewhat slow and lacking in energy, though not devoid of a certain weight, and as resembling placid pools rather than the limpid springs of Athens or the turbid torrents of Asia.'[301]

So, there must have been a strong rhetorical tradition generated by state needs in Rhodes, which at least from the beginning of the second century B.C. seems to be related to the Attic style. We do not know anything about third-century Rhodian rhetorical principles, but the school had been present before Apollonius and Molo arrived. Very similarly perhaps to the schools of fine arts, traditions marked with their founder's, Aeschines' name and style were passed down from generation to generation, as Quintilian implies.[302] To look back from a later (late first century B.C. onwards) Roman point of view, i.e. from a period when not only Rhodian influence but even the more significant Asian style had almost vanished, and deny this Rhodian peculiarity and its significance would be a mistake.

D. New features in Rhodian eloquence

[301] Quint. *Inst.* 12,10,18; translated by H.E.Butler. In a similar sense Cicero: (*Brut.*51.) nam ut semel e Piraeo eloquentia evecta est, omnis peragravit insulas atque ita peregrinata tota Asia est, ut se externis oblineret moribus omnemque illam salubritatem Atticae dictionis et quasi sanitatem perderet ac loqui paene dedisceret. hinc Asiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate nec copia, sed parum pressi et nimis abundantes, Rhodii saniores et Atticorum similiores; cf. A.E.Douglas, *Commentary on M. Tulli Ciceronis Brutus* (Oxford, 1966) 41-2.

[302] See below.

The high renown of rhetoric on the island and its special characteristics certainly attracted in the last quarter of the second century B.C. the two Apollonii, Apollonius ὁ μαλακός, 'the soft', and Apollonius Molo, who became later the most significant figure of Rhodian eloquence. They came from neighbouring Alabanda in Caria,[303] which had long had connections with Rhodes, in order to get in touch with her famous school of rhetoric.[304] The welcome was corresponding to Rhodian cultural policy, as is confirmed by Apollonius' given name Ῥόδιος. He received Rhodian citizenship, or at least a status of rights preserved for respected foreigners.[305]

1. Stylistic roots

As it is made clear by Strabo's account, the two were students of the orator Menecles:

> καθάπερ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ μαλακὸς καὶ Μόλων, ἦσαν δὲ Ἀλαβανδεῖς, Μενεκλέους μαθηταὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος
>
> 'as was also the case with Apollonius Malacus and Molo, for they were Alabandians, pupils of Menecles the orator.'[306]

He and his brother Hierocles were the most famous representatives of their own age, fratres illi Asiaticorum rhetorum principes Hierocles et Menecles minime mea sententia contemnendi ('those brothers Hierocles and Menecles, leaders of Asian

[303]Strab.660.

[304]Although Polybius' evidence (31,25a) probably refers to Rhodian schools, perhaps more generally the high reputation of Rhodian education is proved by Eumenes' generous present of 280 000 *medimni* of corn, since Eumenes in a critical historical moment, when he seemed to have lost Rome's favour, tried to reconcile the previously alienated Rhodians by magnificent gifts and promises (cf. Diod.31,10, a marble theatre). Polybius' reproach is not correct, since Eumenes' presents would have targeted precisely objects of Rhodian pride, to achieve a better result. It is hardly imaginable that the Rhodians would have allowed themselves to be humiliated by their traditional rival, if they really had neglected their schools. Moreover, theatrical performances already had long traditions in Rhodes. Therefore Eumenes' gifts should perhaps be interpreted as not essential, but luxurious additions to already existing Rhodian resources.

[305]Theon *Progymn.* (Sp.II,61): cf. H.G.Brzoska, 'Apollonios' (84) *RE* II (1895) col. 140. In the case of Molo, Cicero refers to him (*Brut.*307) as 'Molo Rhodius', though the adjective could be simply to identify Molo. Of course it is most unlikely that an ambassador of a state would not have citizenship (see above n.244,21).

[306]Strab.655.

rhetoricians, who - according to my opinion - are in no way to be despised').[307] Cicero, who was still a child at the time of their greatest prestige, gives a relatively detailed analysis of their style when he tries to find reasons for the obvious rhetorical decline of the late Hortensius. This description is our most important information on Asian style:[308]

> genera autem Asiaticae dictionis duo sunt; unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis, qualis in historia Timaeus, in dicendo autem pueris nobis Hierocles Alabandeus, magis etiam Menecles frater eius fuit, quorum utriusque orationes sunt in primis ut Asiatico genere laudabiles ...
>
> 'Of the Asiatic style there are two types, the one sententious and studied, less characterized by weight of thought than by the charm of balance and symmetry. Such was Timaeus the historian; in oratory Hierocles of Alabanda in my boyhood, and even more so his brother Menecles, both of whose speeches are masterpieces in this Asiatic style.'[309]

And Hortensius

> habebat enim et Meneclium illud studium crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum, in quibus, ut in illo Graeco, sic in hoc erant quaedam magis venustae dulcesque sententiae quam aut necessariae aut interdum utiles.
>
> 'for he (Hortensius), skilled in both manners, won great applause as a young man, for he made a cult of those gracefully pointed phrases in the manner of Menecles and used them often; but as with the Greek, so with him, they were often merely graceful and of pleasant sound, not necessary nor always useful.'[310]

The apple never falls far from the tree, so Menecles' pupil Apollonius had a

[307]Cic.*Or.*231.
[308]Cf. Blass, *Griech. Bered.* 63; Norden, I, 139.
[309]Translated by G.L. Hendrickson 'aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre atque incitatum, quali est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis sed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum ...' (*Brut.*325).
[310]Cic. *Brut.*326; translated by G.L. Hendrickson.

similar idea of style. Scaevola's (Cicero) short, seemingly casual remark reveals this:

> Cum ego praetor Rhodum venissem et cum illo summo doctore istius disciplinae Apollonio ea, quae a Panaetio acceperam contulissem, inrisit ille quidem, ut solebat philosophiam atque contempsit multaque non tam graviter dixit, quam facete.
>
> 'when on my arrival on Rhodes as praetor I discussed with Apollonius, that supreme master of this science of rhetoric, the things that I had learned from Panaetius, he as usual jeered at philosophy and expressed contempt for it and talked at large in a vein more graceful than serious.'[311]

Two examples of his ingeniously striking style are preserved in Strabo.[312] Despite the likely assumption, that Cicero's remarks refer to Apollonius, his fellow student Molo, in all probability had very similar ideas.[313]

2. Rhetorical ideas of Molo and the Hyperidean style

[311]Cic. *de Or.*1,75; translated by E.W.Sutton.

[312]Strab.655: ἐπεδήμησε δὲ πρότερον 'Απολλώνιος, ὀψὲ δ' ἦκεν ὁ Μόλων, καὶ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος "ὀψὲ μολών" ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθών; and in 660: ὁ μαλακὸς 'Απολλώνιος σκώπτων τὴν πόλιν εἴς τε ταῦτα (sc. ὑπόκειται λόφοις δυσὶ συγκειμένοις ...) καὶ εἰς τὸ τῶν σκορπίων πλῆθος, ἔφη αὐτὴν εἶναι σκορπίων κανθήλιον κατεστρωμένον ... cf. Brzoska, (Apollonios) col. 140.

[313]Cf. Brzoska, (Apollonios) col. 142. Not to mention, that the separation of the two persons is not at all obvious. Recently: M.Weissenberger, 'Apollonios Malakos' *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* edd. Hubert Cancik, Helmut Schneider (Stuttgart, Weimar, 1996) cols. 879-80.

Molo, as I mentioned above, has the most prominent name among Hyperides' followers in Dionysius' list. Some principles of his rhetorical system and the place of Hyperides in it are probably best described by Cicero. Though there are certain signs of interest in humour in the Roman rhetorical tradition, Cicero devotes a chapter to the analysis of it. The main reason for Cicero's theoretical innovation is perhaps a kind of justification of his own rhetorical method for the Roman public.[314] Molo's former enthusiastic student in his relatively late work on rhetoric, entitled *De Oratore*,[315] in dealing with *facete loqui*, 'to speak witty', probably the key issue in the general rhetorical attitude of the two Asians, characterizes it as follows.[316]

> Suavis autem est et vehementer saepe utilis iocus et facetiae (sc. in oratione)
>
> 'jokes and witticism are attractive and often extremely useful'[317]

Later he defines two genres, which he works out later in details:

> Duo sunt enim genera facetiarum, quorum alterum re tractatur alterum dicto
>
> 'there are two kinds of witticism, one of them is realised in content, the other in formulation'.[318]

[314]E. Rabbie, *Cicero über den Witz Kommentar zu De Oratore II, 216-290* (manuscript te Amsterdam); and *M. Tullius Cicero De Oratore Libri III Kommentar,* Anton D. Leeman, Harm Pinkster, Edwin Rabbie (Heidelberg, 1989) III, 173.

[315]For the origins of Ciceronian joke-theory see: Rabbie, 190-206, *de Or.* 2,217-289, the so called *de ridiculis* chapter, does not seem to rely on Peripatetic sources as was suggested earlier: cf. Volkmann, *Rhetorik.* 289-90. The tone of the whole book bears a certain kind of calm and settled valuation of the master's, i.e. Molo's, doctrines, as is suggested by Scaevola's respect in the first book, and some other signs (see below). Moreover as was the case with the Aristotelian examples from his Rhetoric (see below), so the relevant thoughts from the lost second book of his *Poetica* and Theophrastus' ideas could have found their way to Cicero by the mediation of Rhodian rhetores, such as Molo. For example Caesar in 2,217 says that Greek sources are unreliable, and on the other hand at the very end he seems to depend with his theory on Greek sources, 2,288 „colliguntur a Graecis alia nonnulla, execrationes, admirationes, minationes". These three types are not attested in Peripatetic sources, but well known as stylistic figures. For 2,288 of the *De Oratore* it seems to be certain that Cicero had used a rhetorical manual: „Cicero eine Quelle benutzt hat, die die Arten des Witzes nach den Wort- und Sachfiguren ordnete." (Rabbie, 196). It must have been a rhetorical manual rather than a poetical one like that of Aristotle's second book on Comedy. According to Rabbie the anonymous Greek rhetorician did not know yet how to differentiate between *schemata lexeos* and *schemata dianoias.*

[316]Phraseological inconsistency in Cicero is out of the question, since in this very same book Apollonius' style is described with the idea of 'facetiae' (see 1,75).

[317]2,216.

[318]2,240. For a detailed analysis of the structure of the Ciceronian treatise see: Rabbie, 177-83. Here it suffices to refer to the final result of Rabbie's analysis: facetiae: (218) I, cavillatio == 239 re tractatur a, fabella/narratio (240-241), b, imitatio depravata (242), II. dicacitas == 239 dicto tractatur a, in verbo (244;248;252), dealt with in 253-263, b, (244;248;252) in re = sententia, dealt

A. By changing the order, the definition of this latter is the following: In dicto autem ridiculum[319]est id, quod verbi aut sententiae quodam acumine movetur .... in hoc scurrilis dicacitas magno opere fugienda est ('humour in speech [formulation] is achieved by the wit of a verb or sentence... in doing so clown-like verbosity must be carefully avoided').[320] The defect is very close to the description of the contemporary Asian style, which is characterized as the counterpart of Menecles' technique. On the other hand 'acumen' is exclusively Hyperides' peculiarity among Attic orators. Cicero himself in this very same work, in portraying the best orators with only one word, grasps Hyperidean uniqueness thus:

> suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit.
>
> 'Isocrates had grace of style, Lysias precision, Hyperides penetration, Aeschines sonorousness, Demosthenes force.'[321]

Moreover, similar characteristics are mentioned elsewhere: *argutiae,* 'clever pun',[322] even *facetus,* 'witty': e quibus tamen non omnes faceti; Lysias satis et Hyperides ('of them, however, not all are witty, Lysias and Hyperides on the other hand are quite witty').[323] Thus it is clear why Menecles' pupil, Molo became one of the four Rhodians, who favoured Hyperides' witty style and who had chosen the orator as one of their Attic models and who in Dionysius' consideration failed to imitate the authentic Hyperidean style. But what are the reasons for his devastating judgement?

Although irrespective of their real ideas on rhetorical technique, it had always been a matter of self-justification even among the most extreme Asian rhetores to emphasize their Attic predecessors,[324] the case of Molo is not that black and white.

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with in 264-87, the differentiation between word - and sentence jokes; 'quae sunt in re ipsa sententia'. The quality of 'acumen' is restricted to these latter two cathegories.

[319]'ridiculum' and 'facetiae' are used as close synonyms.

[320]244.

[321]Cic. *de Or.*3,28; translated by H.Rackham.

[322]Cic.*Or.*110.

[323]Cic.*Or.*90: cf. Brzoska, (Apollonios) col. 142.

[324]Norden, I, 132 sqq; Cic.*Or.* 67; 226.

Elements of his stylistic ideas, so far as our very scanty evidence above attests, seem to be genuinely related to the Attic and in particular to the Hyperidean manner. But, of course, this more genuine kind of imitation still lies far away from the ideal kind - in Dionysius' conception - , which should absorb the example in its entire complexity. Rhodian style, despite its more sober attitude in comparison to Asian fashion, still remained irritating for a purist exponent of Atticism, as Dionysius was. Rhodian eloquence practically did not exist for him at all, it was only important from the point of view of imitation, and in this respect the Rhodians failed. Whether they really wanted to imitate in the Dionysian sense, or merely to combine traditional and fresh elements and in doing so to create something new, was a matter of complete indifference to the Romanized Greek.

Certainly there must have been many rhetoricians in Rhodes, and although we can regard Dionysius' judgement in Molo's case as scholastic and lacking in insight (especially compared with Cicero's appreciation), Dionysius could be right about some imitators, who, in making a big effort, αὔχμηροί τινες ἐγένοντο, 'became somehow dry and bitter'.[325] Perhaps we could compare Cicero's description:

> cum quosdam Graecos inscriptos libros esse vidissem 'de ridiculis' (*he was looking with an interest of an orator*) nonnullam in spem veneram posse ex iis aliquid discere. inveni autem ridicula et salsa multa Graecorum, nam et Siculi in eo genere et Rhodii et Byzantini et praeter ceteros Attici excellunt, sed qui eius rei rationem quandam conati sunt artemque tradere, sic insulsi extiterunt, ut nihil aliud eorum nisi ipsa insulsitas rideatur.
>
> 'Thus, on seeing sundry Greek books entitled *Concerning the Laughable*, I entertained the hope of being able to learn something from them, and did indeed find much in Greek life that was laughable and pungent, the inhabitants of Sicily, Rhodes, Byzantium, and particularly Athens having distinguished themselves in this kind of thing; all however, who tried to teach anything like

[325]They missed the main point διαμαρτόντες τῆς χάριτος ἐκείνης, which is nothing other than his characteristic wit. πάσας ἔχουσα τὰς ἀρετὰς ἡ Δημοσθένους λέξις λείπεται εὐτραπελίας, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσι χάριν (D.H.*Dem.*54: cf. Blass.*Griech.Bered.* 94,n1).

the theory or art of this matter proved themselves so conspicuously silly that their very silliness is the only laughable thing about them.'[326]

We will presumably never know what books are meant by Cicero; however, the second part of this passage rather suggests that he did not only come across Rhodian and other Greek ingenuity in the books entitled 'de ridiculis', but experienced it in other ways as well. Moreover, his last sentence seems to refer more generally to different efforts, not necessarily only to the books mentioned above. It would go, however, too far to try to emphasize even more the parallelism between the Dionysian dryness and what Cicero calls 'insulsitas' and to trace Rhodian manuals behind some of those books in Cicero's account.[327]

B. To return to the other genre of 'facetiae' (without having included 'acumen'), Cicero explains, that the wit in the 'res' or 'cavillatio', 'joke', is based either on the actual story: *re narrata aliqua* or on imitation: *imitatione breviter iniecta.*[328] This, however, should not be mimicry:

Atque ita est totum hoc ipso genere ridiculum ut cautissime tractandum sit. mimorum est enim et ethologorum, si nimia est imitatio, sicut obscenitas. orator surripiat oportet imitationem ut is qui audiet cogitet plura quam videat.

'However this particular kind of laughing-matter is all such as to need extreme circumspection in the handling of it. For if the caricature is too extravagant, it becomes the work of buffoons in pantomime, as also does grossness. It behooves the orator to borrow merely a suspicion of mimicry, so that his hearer may imagine more than meets his eye.'[329]

It is obvious that without being explicit, this is strongly connected with the manner of actual delivery, that is the 'actio'.[330] Among Attic orators there is one who certainly

[326]*De Or.*2,217; translated by E.W.Sutton.
[327](Molo) multa scripsit de rhetorice ('he wrote plenty on rhetoric'), Quint.3,1,16; Aristocles also wrote a book entitled: περὶ ποιητικῆς (cf. G.Wentzel, *RE* II (1896) col. 936).
[328]*De Or.*242.
[329]Translated by E.W.Sutton
[330]Portalupi in investigating the character of the Rhodian school of rhetoric follows a similar pattern to that presented here.

could be the best example of this requirement, namely Aeschines,[331] the traditional founder of Rhodian rhetoric. One of the best examples is when he uses both methods, i.e. 're aliqua narrata' and 'imitatio' to ridicule his opponent on a serious occasion, in the speech on the crown:

> ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν (sc. Demosthenes) "ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορραφούμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ, τινὲς πρῶτον ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι." ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστιν, ὦ κίναιδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινῶν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔλεγες....
>
> 'When he came forward and said, „Certain men are pruning the city, certain men have trimmed off the tendrils of the people, the sinews of the state have been cut, we are being matted and sewed up, certain men are first drawing us like needles into tight places". What are these things, you beast? Are they words or monstrosities? And again when you whirled around in a circle on the platform and said ...' [332]

Of course, Demosthenes in his reply tries to take the edge off and to give the impression that Aeschines is delivering his speech like an actor:

> τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα).
>
> '... mimicking my diction and gestures. ... The fate of the Greeks depended on whether I used this word or that, or moved my hand this way or that way! No!'[333]

Similarly: τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν εἶπε τοῖς δικασταῖς καὶ ἐμιμήσατο.[334]

In one of his enthusiastic memories of his former teacher, Cicero tells us in the

[331]Similarly emphasizes Portalupi (10) and Kindstrand (78) Aeschines' natural talent and his emphasis on 'actio'.
[332] Aesch. 3, 166; translated by Ch.Darwin Adams.
[333]Dem.18, 232; translated by C.A.Vince and J.H.Vince.
[334]Dem.19,252. About these Aeschinean features: cf. τὸ ῥῆμα μέμνημαι ὡς εἶπε, διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος (Aesch. 3,72), and 210, 211; 1,25-26.

very first place that he was an excellent actor (in a rhetorical sense) cum actorem in veris causis scriptoremque praestantem ... ('he was distinguished, not merely as a practical advocate and composer of speeches for others....') [335] Moreover, at the end of this passage he confesses that the most significant part of his rhetorical progress in Rhodes was related to delivery:

> ita recepi me biennio post non modo exercitatior sed prope mutatus. nam et contentio nimia vocis resederat et quasi deferverat oratio ...
>
> 'Thus I came back after two years' absence not only better trained, but almost transformed. My voice was no longer over-strained, my language had lost its froth.'[336]

Nonetheless a prescription of Apollonius or Molo[337] can be brought into connection with 'actio' and skillful 'brevitas', namely: 'lacrima nihil citius arescit', 'nothing dries quicker than tears'.[338] That means a moving and even tears drawing epilogue should not be too long and the emotional impression should not be exaggerated, otherwise it will cause displeasure. Cicero, after his Aeschines anecdote, quotes a passage from one of Gracchus' speeches, in which he successfully had drawn tears from the eyes of the audience not only with his formulation, i.e. verbal means, but also with his actual delivery: 'quae sic ab eo esse acta constabat oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrimas tenere non possent.'

Thus in all probability Molo tried to satisfy even in this latter case the two major requirements of 'facete loqui' and so to fulfill the Ciceronian idea of 'facetiae'.

[335]Cic.*Brut.*316; translated by G.L. Hendrickson; similarly at 307; Eodem anno etiam Moloni Rhodio Romae dedimus operam et actori summo et magistro.

[336]Translated by G.L. Hendrickson. Cicero's decision to go abroad originated (apart from supposed political reasons) his bodily weakness and imperfect delivery: Sed cum censerem remissione et moderatione vocis et commutato genere dicendi me et periculum (sc. vitae) vitare posse et temperantius dicere, ut consuetudinem dicendi mutarem ea causa mihi in Asiam proficiscendi fuit. (*Brut.*314). However, he could not find salvation in Asia, but only in Rhodes: Is (Molo) dedit operam, si modo id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos et superfluentes iuvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret ... (*Brut.* 316, see above for the rest of the passage)

[337]Brzoska, (Apollonios) col. 140.

[338]Cic.*de Inv.*1,109.

Or, putting it in the right way, he was perhaps the one who, also using peripatetic sources, defined his own rhetorical system, which is basically still preserved by his student Cicero.[339] Moreover, it must have played a crucial role in the attraction of Molo to Rhodes that the Aeschinean rhetorical conception in a way was still present in the relatively sober, Doric Rhodes and it was very similar to his own, though not completely.

3. Molo and the rhetorical traditions of Rhodes

Therefore it cannot be an accident that before starting the actual treatise on the 'actio',[340] Cicero, to legitimise his crucial interest in the subject,[341] almost immediately, (that is in the second section), recalls an anecdote about Aeschines, which is related to Rhodes:[342]

[339]There are many similarities in dealing with the same figures between the *Rhet. ad Her.* and Cicero's treatise. They must have had the same source: cf. Rabbie, 199. Names of categories are similar. The 'cavillatio' stands in the beginning in both, whose parts are: 'apologus, fabula veri similis, imitatio depravata'.
„Cic. hat für seine Theorie des Lächerlichen zumindest zwei Quellen benutzt, eine griechische (2,217; 288), welche die Kategorien des Witzes nach den Figuren ordnete, und eine lateinische, welche entweder mündlich oder schriftlich war. Erstere Quelle stand unter dem Einfluss derjenigen hellenistischen Figurenlehre, deren weitere Entwicklung wir aus der von Ballaria rekonstruirten Theorie des Apollodoros von Pergamon kennen. Die lateinische Quelle ging auf die im Peripatos entwickelte Lehre der Komödie zurück, und kannte wohl den uns aus dem Tract. Coisl. bekannten Unterschied zwischen 'bühnenmässigen' Scherz und auf der Sprache beruhenden Witz. Irgendein uns unbekannter rhetor hat dann versucht, diese Lehre für den Rhetorikunterricht fruchtbar zu machen, und hat einen allerdings dürftigen Auszug in sein System aufgenommen, dazu noch an recht ungeeigneter Stelle (bei der Lehre des Prologs)", Rabbie, 200.
[340]*De Or.*213.
[341]Et M. Cicero unam in dicendo actionem dominari putat (Quint.11,3,7).
[342]See above n.315, *de ridiculis* chapter.

actio, inquam, in dicendo una dominatur. sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest, mediocris hac instructus summos saepe superare. huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum, huic secundas huic tertias. quo mihi melius etiam illud ab Aeschine dictum videri solet; qui cum propter ignominiam iudicii cessisset Athenis et se Rhodum contulisset, rogatus a Rhodiis legisse fertur orationem illam egregiam, quam in Ctesiphontem contra Demosthenen dixerat; qua perlecta petitum ab eo postridie, ut legeret illam etiam, quae erat contra ab Demosthene pro Ctesiphonte edita; quam cum suavissima et maxima voce legisset, admirantibus omnibus: „quanto" inquit „magis miraremini, si audissetis ipsum!" ex quo satis significavit quantum esset in actione, qui orationem eandem aliam fore putarit actore mutato.

'Delivery, I assert, is the dominant factor in oratory; without delivery the best speaker cannot be of any account at all, and a moderate speaker with a trained delivery can often outdo the best of them. The story goes that when Demosthenes was asked what is the first thing in speaking, he assigned the first role to delivery, and also the second, and also the third; and I constantly feel that this answer was actually outdone by the remark of Aeschines. That orator, having had a discreditable defeat in a lawsuit, had left Athens and betaken himself to Rhodes; there it is said that at the request of the citizens he read the splendid speech that he had delivered against Ctesiphon, when Demosthenes was for the defense; after having read it he was asked on the following day to read also that of Demosthenes for Ctesiphon, which was made as a reply. This he did, in a very attractive and loud voice; and when everybody expressed admiration he said, 'how much more you would be amazed if you had heard himself!' thereby clearly indicating how much depends on delivery, as he thought that the same speech with a change of speaker would be different.'[343]

Cicero presents a unique version of the story, never attested in such a form

[343]Cic. *De Or.* 3,213; translated by E.W.Sutton.

before him. The main characteristics of his variant are that Aeschines not only reads aloud Demosthenes' speech but also in a very polite way expresses his appreciation.[344]

In the sources there are four different alternatives: 1. Only Aeschines' speech was read, without a final sharp remark. e.g.: Ps. Plutarch, where as a response to the Rhodian surprise, as to how Aeschines could have lost the case, he merely referred to Demosthenes' abilities: "οὐκ ἂν" ἔφη "ἐθαυμάζετε, Ῥόδιοι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντος ἠκούσατε".

Philostratus obviously follows this scheme, but, by expressing a naive admiration for Aeschines' morality, he clearly reveals his astonishment at the orator's extremely gentlemanly behaviour towards both Demosthenes and the Athenians.[345]

2. Only Aeschines' speech was read, with a sharp remark on Demosthenes, the 'therion'. This group is represented by the anonymous scholiast of Aeschines' speeches:[346] τί δέ, εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θηρίου ἠκούσατε;, 'Suppose you had heard the beast himself!'.[347]

[344]For a full list of the different versions: cf. C.Kunst, 'De Aeschine Rhodi exsulante' *WS* 39 (1917) 167-70; „postremo non possum non mirari, quod et a Graecis in relata hac narratiuncula Romani, quos novimus, satis discrepant scriptores neque aut horum fons Graecus (velut unde Plinius minor ipsa verba Graeca adhibens pendeat) reperiri iam potest aut Graecam memoriam nobis servatam ullus, quantum video, secutus est scriptor Latinus" (170).

[345]Phil. *VS*.1,510: ἔστι δὲ καὶ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ φρόντισμα, ἐπιστολαί, οὐ πολλαὶ μέν, εὐπαιδευσίας δὲ μεσταὶ καὶ ἤθους. τοῦ δὲ ἠθικοῦ καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιήσατο· ἀναγνοὺς γάρ ποτε δημοσίᾳ τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅπως ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ ἡττήθη καὶ καθήπτοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς παρανοούντων, ὁ δὲ "οὐκ ἂν" ἔφη "ἐθαυμάζετε, εἰ Δημοσθένους λέγοντος πρὸς ταῦτα ἠκούσατε", οὐ μόνον ἐς ἔπαινον ἐχθροῦ καθιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀφιεὶς αἰτίας. Philostratus in the beginning of the third century A.D. gives the most developed and colourful version of the story, which seems to be inspired by the Ciceronian version.

[346]*Aeschinis Orationes. Scholia ex parte inedita*, ed. F.Schultz (Leipzig, 1865) 5: „Hoc argumentum habent ... F.Laur.1 et Ald. ante or. Ctesiph., I Bern. in initio sec. or.", although Dilts in his recent edition of Aeschines' scholia does not indicates it; cf. Kunst, 169.

[347]Kunst suspects that the addition of the abusive remark is originated somewhere from Idomeneus, Hermippus or even Caecilius, who had devoted a whole study to the comparison of Demosthenes and Aeschines. Since in 840B and 6.1sqq. (Schulz) the scholiast speaks about Aeschines' inclination for abusing his opponents on the basis of sources named above: cf. Kunst, 169. It seems to me more plausible that this remark ultimately originates from Aeschines' own testified utterances, especially: 3,182: ... ἡγοῦμαι μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ θηρίου τούτου κἀκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν; and 2,34; (once of Philocrates 2,20).

3. Both, Aeschines' and Demosthenes' speeches were read, without a final sharp remark. The earliest example is Cicero's presentation. Cicero has a certain point with the emphasis on the delivery, i.e. the 'actio'. The discrepancy with the previous two versions is very significant. But it goes perhaps a little beyond the limits of credibility. It is very hard to imagine the flesh and blood Aeschines, even in his deepest resignation, saying what is said by him in the Ciceronian anecdote. It was he, who so bitterly contemned Demosthenes' customs of delivery: καὶ τερατευσάμενος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, τῷ σχήματι καὶ τρίψας τὴν κεφαλήν, 'and gesticulating in a strange way as he usually did and rubbing his forehead'.[348]Could he have uttered a sentence full of appreciation and almost admiration: quanto inquit miraremini, si audissetis ipsum (sc. Demosthenem)? Hardly.

It is extraordinary that Cicero, who made a conscious effort to adapt his work for a Roman public and therefore mostly uses examples from Latin literature, prefers a Greek one in this case. It must have been deeply rooted in his mind. Where else could he have heard it other than in his youth in Rhodes from the Rhodians, who so highly respected Aeschines? Moreover, why not from his teacher Molo, as an expressive proof of his rhetorical ideas on the importance of 'actio'? It is not too difficult to imagine the master as he is deriving the final conclusion: 'ex quo satis significavit quantum esset in actione, qui (sc. Aeschines) orationem eandem aliam fore putarit actore mutato'.[349]Molo is much more likely to have been responsible for this. Nevertheless, to provide it with more credibility, true and false are mixed from the tradition. Therefore, the emphasis is on the well-known characteristic of

[348]Aeschin 2,49. Numerous examples of the same type are listed in Blass. *Att.Bered.* III/2^2, 201,n.4. Aeschines not only expresses his criticism, but sometimes also imitates Demosthenes' way of expression, see: 2,49 sqq. and 3,84. Blass, on the other hand, argues for Aeschines' jealousy as the main motivation for his criticism and speaks of Aeschinean efforts to achieve Demoethenes' rhetorical standard (201). In this context it is even more striking, when Aeschines describes Demosthenes' voice (2,157): ταῦθ' ὑποθεὶς ἐπεῖπεν ἐντεινάμενος ταύτην τὴν ὀξεῖαν καὶ ἀνόσιον φωνήν ('he lifted up that shrill and abominable voice of his and cried out') and his gesticulation (Dem.18,252).
[349]*De Or.*213.

Aeschines: 'cum suavissima et maxima voce legisset'.[350] It is not an accident that in Cicero's assignation of one characteristic to one orator, he is portrayed as follows: 'acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines ..habuit'.[351]On the other hand in the anecdote Aeschines is reading, not properly delivering. In an implicit way in Cicero's version there is an almost equally strong emphasis on reading aloud, which was one of the crucial teachings of Apollonius: ἡ δ' ἀνάγνωσις, ὡς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις ἔφη, 'Απολλώνιος δοκεῖ μοι ὁ 'Ρόδιος, τροφὴ λέξεώς ἐστι, 'to read aloud, as one of the ancients said, I think it was Apollonius of Rhodes, is nourishment of style'.[352] Moreover, to present a situation where the two famous speeches were contrasted with each other points to a school-rhetorical origin. These speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes were very often the subjects of comparative studies.[353]

Cicero's or rather Molo's changes in the story in favour of the importance of 'actio' was so obvious for classical authors that Pliny the Elder,[354]Quintilian,[355]and especially Valerius Maximus in taking over the Ciceronian variant had more and more elaborated this conclusion of the anecdote.[356]However, the fourth Latin author - representing at the same time the fourth group - Pliny the Younger shows interesting changes.[357] On the one hand he is obviously reluctant to accept the story as

[350]Demosthenes several times acknowledges Aeschines' ability. Especially 19,206, where Aeschines is mentioned as the most talented orator in the city from this point of view (examples are listed in Blass. *Att.Bered.* III/2^2, 222, n.4). Cf. also λαμπροφωνότατος, Plin.2,3,10.
[351]Cic. *de Or.*3,28.
[352]Theon 1,61.
[353]Cf: Alfons Weische, *Ciceros Nachahmung der attischen Redner* (Heidelberg, 1972) 136-7. For a similar case in Roman oratory see, Quint.*Inst.Or.*10,1,22; where Sulpicius' and Messala's speeches are mentioned.
[354]*Nat.Hist.*7,110.
[355]*Inst.Or.*11,3,7.
[356]8,10; respondit (sc. Demosthenes) „hypokrisis". iterum deinde et tertio interpellatus idem dixit, paene totum se illi debere confitendo. recte itaque Aeschines, cum propter iudicialem ignominiam relictis Athenis Rhodum petisset atque ibi rogatu civitatis suam prius in Ctesiphontem, deinde Demosthenis pro eodem orationem clarissima et suavissima voce recitasset, admirantibus cunctis utriusque voluminis eloquentiam, sed aliquanto magis Demosthenis, 'quid, si' inquit 'ipsum audissetis?' tantus orator et modo tam infestus adversarius sic inimici vim ardoremque dicendi suspexit, ut se scriptorum eius parum idoneum lectorem esse praedicaret, expertus acerrimum vigorem oculorum, terribile vultus pondus, adconmodatum singulis verbis sonum vocis, efficacissimos corporis motus. ergo etsi operi illius adici nihil potest, tamen in Demosthene magna pars Demosthenis abest, quod legitur potius quam auditur.
[357]*Ep.*2,3,10; and 4,5,1.

trustworthy: nisi vero falsum putamus illud Aeschinis, 'if we accept that story about Aeschines as trustworthy', on the other, perhaps in trying to bridge over the discrepancy between the historical Aeschines and the one presented in the legend, he takes on the other line of tradition and puts in Aeschines' mouth much harder words in mentioning Demosthenes' talent, τί δέ, εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θηρίου ἠκούσατε;

If this assumption is right and Molo had indeed inaugurated this anecdote as a kind of motto of his Rhodian school of rhetoric, then it suggests only a very reasonable intention of his, not explicitly mentioned in the sources namely to try to conform to Rhodian rhetorical traditions, and perhaps to remodel them. Presumably Aeschines had at this time not only a vague traditional presence in Rhodes, but already a more palpable one, in the form of a statue.[358] Thus the immigrant foreigner did his best even though his rhetorical concept must have been different from that of the founder. So if I am right, Molo picked out, emphasized and even over-emphasized a point which could be incorporated into his rhetorical system and on the other hand he found in it an appropriate link to connect his slightly different Asian rhetorical conception with Attic and earlier Rhodian tradition.[359] More or less the same may have happened to the Rhodians in fulfilling the other requirement of 'facete loqui', that is in imitating the 'acumen' of Hyperides.[360]

So Aeschinean - Demosthenic and Hyperidean traditions in a unique Rhodian interpretation seem to have been combined by the late Rhodian School of rhetoric. This could happen the more easily, since their actual style was sometimes considered in antiquity as more or less similar, or at least not completely different:

Πλὴν οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ σοι συμβουλεύσαιμι τὰ πολλὰ τούτοις

[358]W.Klein, *Geschichte der Griechischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1907) III, 46. Cf. Clara Rhodos: Studi e Materiali Pubblicati a Cura dell' Instituto Storico Archeologico di Rodi, IX (1938).
[359]There is an life of Aeschines Westermann's collection (266) under the name of an Apollonius. It is certainly not by the Rhodian; however, the possibility cannot be excluded that in antiquity, for obvious reasons, it was attributed to him.
[360]Th.B.Curtis, *The Juridical Oratory of Hyperides* (Diss, Chapell Hill, 1970) MF ref.no: 71 11689 argues also that the striking element in Hyperides' style might be his witticism, which represented a unique exception of the general abusiveness of forensic oratory.

ἐντυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' Ὑπερείδῃ τε μᾶλλον καὶ Αἰσχίνῃ· τούτων γὰρ ἁπλούστεραι τε αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ εὐληπτότεραι αἱ κατασκευαί, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἐκείνων λειπόμενον.

'I should not advise you to read these two chiefly, but Hyperides rather and Aeschines; for the faculties in which they excel are simpler, their rhetorical embellishments are easier to grasp, and the beauty of their diction is not one which is inferior to that of the two who are ranked first.'[361]

Here belongs also another critical remark in Ps. Plutarch's life of the Ten Orators, where the author emphasizes that Hyperides was not an actor in the 'dramatic' sense:

λέγεται δ' ἄνευ ὑποκρίσεως δημηγορῆσαι καὶ μόνον διηγεῖσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖν τοὺς δικαστάς.[362]

'it is said about him that he was not acting as an actor and only recounted the events and in doing so he did not distress the members of the jury'

E. Other followers of Hyperides

Unfortunately, ancient sources are very sparse in the case of the other three imitators of Hyperides. In particular we practically know nothing about Artamenes and Philagrius. On the basis of the activity of their fellow Rhodian orators, who are mentioned at the same place in Dionysius, researchers mostly date their rhetorical zenith to the end of the second century B.C. but certainly not to the pre-Molonian period.[363] This assumption can be supported by the above hypothesis that essentially the Rhodian 'imitation' of Hyperides took its origin from the Asian immigrants.

The situation is slightly better in the case of the fourth orator, Aristocles. He was a contemporary of Strabo, as he indicates in his list of prominent Rhodians.[364] Moreover his formulation: καὶ Σιμμίας ὁ γραμματικὸς καὶ 'Αριστοκλῆς ὁ καθ'

[361]Dio Chrysost. 18,11; translated by J.W.Cohoon.
[362]Plut. *Mor.*850B.
[363]Blass. *Griech.Bered.* 89; Solmsen, 'Philagrios' *RE* XIX (1938) col. 2102.
[364]Strab.655.

ἡμᾶς gives the impression that he also was a grammarian. So perhaps we are entitled to refer to him every item of information about Aristocles, the grammarian who seems to be identical with him.[365] According to these, he compiled a lexicon to Hippocrates before Didymus, wrote a work entitled: περὶ ποιητικῆς and compiled again a philological commentary to Plato. On the other hand, if Herodian's evidence is really about him,[366] he had a treatise on dialects: περὶ διαλέκτων. In this he must have dealt quite seriously with Attic as well, since his remark on an Attic norm is the concrete reason for mentioning him. His lexicographic interest is attested also in Varro, who quotes from his work, entitled 'On the similarity of words'.[367] So maybe, in a way following the traditions of the school, he was even more attracted by Hyperides' phraseological extravagance. It might have formed a characteristic part of the orator's admired witticism. His expressions, however, as I have argued, seemed almost to overstep the limits of the later established real Attic, the limits of that rigorous Atticism, which was inaugurated by Dionysius.

Aristocles' colourful personality on the other hand is a characteristic example of Rhodian education, in which grammatical and rhetorical studies were strongly combined. This phenomenon played a crucial role in that the island became the favourite place of studying for young Romans.

[365]Wanzel, (Aristocles) col. 935.
[366]περὶ διχρόνων 3,2,18.
[367]*de L.L.* 10,75.

VII. *Ex Rhodia disciplina Molonis*, Hyperides' popularity in first century Rome

The list of Romans who paid homage to Greek culture especially in rhetoric and philosophy via Rhodian mediation contains some very famous names:[368] Scipio Aemilianus (Cic.*de rep.*3,48), Quintus Scaevola (Cic.*de Or.*1,75), Q.Metellus Numidicus (Liv.*Per.*68), Servius Sulpicius (Cic.*Brut.*150), Marcus Antonius (Cic.*de Or.*2,3), Cicero (Cic.*Brut.*316), Caius Cassius (Cass.Dio 47,33.), Gnaeus Pompeius (Plut.*Pomp.*42), C.Iulius Caesar (Suet.*Iul.*4), T.Torquatus (Cic.*Brut.*245), M.Favonius (Cic.*ad Att.*2,1,9), and according to an inscription T.Lucretius Carus.[369] Without going there for purposes of study once even Tiberius Gracchus delivered there an 'oratio Graeca'.[370]

A. *Indirect Rhodian rhetorical influence in first century B.C. Rome*

Though some results of Friedrich Marx's researches are outdated and have to be questioned, it seems very probable that the first two Latin rhetorical manuals, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De Inventione*, drew on Rhodian sources.[371]

[368]Cf. *Incerti Auctoris De ratione dicendi ad C.Herennium libri IV,* ed. F.Marx (Leipzig, 1894), Prolegomena, 215.

[369]R.Heberdey, E.Kalinka *BCH* 21 (1897) 443, the Oenoanda inscription, see: M.F. Smith (1993), cf. D.Clay, 'The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda. New Discoveries 1969-1983' *ANRW* 36.4, (Berlin, New York, 1990) 2446-2559. On the importance of Rhodian influence: W.Schmid, *Über die Kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang und die Bedeutung der Griechischen Renaissance in der Römerzeit* (Leipzig, 1898); F.Marx, 'Georg Thiele: *Questiones Cornificii et Ciceronis artibus rhetoricis,* Greifswald 1889' rec. *Berl.Phil.Wochensch.* (1890) 999-1009; G.Thiele, *Hermagoras* (Strassburg, 1893); *Rhétorique à Herennius,* ed. G.Achard (Paris, 1989); *Cicéron, De L'Invention,* ed. G. Achard (Paris, 1994).

[370]Cic.*Brut.*78.

[371]Cf. D. Matthes, 'Hermagoras von Temnos 1904-1955' *Lustrum* 3 (1958) 58-214. Hermagoras, who flourished presumably a generation earlier than Molo, seems to be one of the most influential theoreticians in Rhodes. Elements of his rhetorical system, which were reconstructed by Matthes, might have based an important part of Molo's teaching. Further: cf. Achard, (Rhét.Her.) LI; Susemihl, II, 494; A.Krumbacher, 'Die Stimmbildung der Redner im Altertum bis auf die Zeit Quintilians' *Rhetorische Studien* 10 (Padeborn, 1920) 38-47; H.Caplan, *Ad C.Herennium Libri IV. De Ratione Dicendi* (London, Cambridge Mss., 1954) XV;

Latin phraseological parallels reveal that they seem to have had a common Latin source as well, which was similarly based on a Rhodian rhetorical system. It could be Antonius' work. On the other hand they followed two different Rhodian Greek τέχναι, probably according to their teacher's interpretation.[372] Both in Cicero's work and in the anonymous *ad Herennium* there are striking indications of Rhodian origin. Aristotelian examples turn up in a form modified by Rhodian mediation.[373] Similarly in the *Rhet. ad Her.* the author gives a parallel taken from Rhodian fine art, namely that rhetoricians should create their own examples and not refer to others:

> Chares ab Lysippo statuas facere non isto modo didicit, ut Lysippus caput ostenderet Myronium, bracchia Praxitelae, pectus Polycletium, sed omnia coram magistrum facientem videbat.
>
> 'Not thus did Chares learn from Lysippus how to make statues. Lysippus did not show him a head by Myron, arms by Praxiteles, a chest by Polycleitus. Rather with his own eyes would Chares see the master fashioning all the parts.'[374]

One of the teachers mediating Rhodian influence in Rome might have been

[372]Cf. Marx, (rec.) 1006; and in Proleg. 160 sqq. Molo in 87 B.C. visited Rome, where Cicero attended his lectures. On the basis of Apollonius' malicious remark about Molo's late arrival on Rhodes, Marx derives the conclusion that the relationship between them must have been very similar to that of Athenaeus and Hermagoras, who had written the original Greek manuals for the Latin masters. Marx implicitly suggests that the two Molo were the two different authors. However, in differentiating between Apollonius' and Molo's rhetorical ideas he goes perhaps too far. Cf. Achard's argument, who as the two most influential sources identifies the 'Plotian group' and Hermagoras' lost handbook: cf. Achard, (L'Invent.) XXIII, and Matthes, (Hermag.) 70.

[373]For rhetorical examples transformed by Rhodian mediation in Cicero's and the anonymous work, see Marx, (Proleg.) 150 sqq.

[374]*Rhet.ad Her.*4,6, translated by H. Caplan; cf. Achard, (Rhét.Her.) XXXV-LIII, who also refers to this anecdote and argues for a Rhodian (Apollonius) origin; Marx, 1007. At first sight the theory exemplified in the anecdote seems to correspond with Dionysius' criticism toward an artless and failed imitation and adaptation of different particularities of several authors. This passage, however, does not imply a refusal of the imitation of particularities in each model-author, but rather emphasizes that the adaptation should result in a smooth and coherent achievement. There is no certain evidence that this passage originates definitely from Rhodes, but Chares was a Rhodian sculptor and so the paradigm might reflect a Rhodian concept of art, tradition and innovation, which underlines the dominant rhetorical theory on Rhodes: to use every valuable element from tradition and to create something new, if not original.

Aelius Stilo, who studied in Rhodes around 100 B.C.[375] His prohibition of the use of 'novissimus' as a too daring innovation: *novum verbum* might in some way already exemplify the later development, that the only relatively sober Rhodian rhetoric, which represented the 'meson' between extravagant Asian and rigorous Attic style, was finally shipwrecked on the rocks of Roman puritanism. Rhodian stylistic influence and with it Hyperides' high renown, whose peculiar style is manifested also in a more liberal choice of words, in Rome soon after Cicero began to decline.

Thus Hyperides' temporary popularity in Rome - in my opinion - is probably due to strong Rhodian influence at the beginning of the first century B.C. Unfortunately, real evidence of this in the early rhetorical manuals cannot be traced. In two treatises none of the identified examples come from Hyperides, only a few from Demosthenes and Aeschines. However - and here arises the problem of Hyperidean transmission - this could be mainly caused by our lack of Hyperidean speeches.

Though I would not like to insist on a preconception and create an unquestionable model, there are two striking phenomena: First, this short-lived popularity of Hyperides coincides with a period of two or three generations, in which Rhodian eloquence flourished. Second, the majority of Romans, who seem to be familiar with Hyperides, or appreciate his rhetorical style, can also be related to Rhodes in some way or other. Certainly it does not mean that these people became followers and Latin imitators of Hyperides. Sometimes it simply means that among other Greek models they also acknowledged Hyperides thanks to the influence of the Rhodian school, which determined in a way the rhetorical spirit of the Hellenistic age

[375]According to Suet. *de gramm.*3, Stilo followed Q. Metellus Numidicus into exile, who in 100 B.C. [Liv.*per.*68] 'in exsilium voluntarium Rhodum profectus est ibique legendo et audiendo magnos viros avocabatur'. Certainly Stilo had taken also the opportunity to study. Later he became an orator in Rome. Because he was composing speeches for others his cognomen was generated from his 'stilus'. Cicero in *Brut.*(56)207. reveals that he was present at his literary studies and exercises: 'his enim scriptis etiam ipse interfui, cum essem apud Aelium adulescens eumque audire perstudiose solerem'. On the other hand it is very probable that the *Rhet. ad Herennium* originated from the school of a orator belonging to the Plotian group of Latin Rhetores, see n.372.

for two or three generations. Their attitude towards the Hyperidean style would not be so exceptional, if we had any proof of continuity, but Hyperides' name almost completely vanishes from the later Roman rhetorical stage along with them.

B. Marcus Antonius

Marcus Antonius and Lucius Licinius Crassus were chosen by Cicero as the main protagonists in the *De Oratore* for representing his rhetorical ideas.[376] Obviously the choice was carefully planned. Though - as modern scholarship has proved - the literary figures are highly coloured by Cicero, the testimonies make it evident that the historical Crassus and Antonius had in reality some rhetorical principles similar to those of Cicero. In the *De Oratore* both of them have to speak primarily about their strong points, i.e. Antonius on 'inventio' and Crassus on 'actio', however, the fact that they were regarded in antiquity as masters of delivery reinforces Cicero's focus and main emphasis on this subject. Nevertheless, what concerns us here is that Antonius had visited Rhodes and in his rhetorical career signs of Rhodian influence are manifest. There is also a possible link between him and Hyperides. The case of Crassus is less clear, there is no explicit testimony about a connection with the early Rhodian school or Hyperides, only some aspects of his rhetorical practice bear similarities to Hyperidean wit.[377]

[376]M. Antonius (143-87 B.C.) and L. Crassus (140-91) belong to the first generation of Roman orators after the Gracchi. The first known rhetorical manual is Antonius' short book, which had drawn on Greek, probably Rhodian, material and might have formed one of the sources of the *Rhet. ad Her.* and Cicero's *de Inventione*. It is also very probable that Cicero had followed the educational lead of these prominent people, as can be presumed from his statements: cf. Quint.2,4,42; Cic.*De Or.*2,2: cumque nos (sc. Marcus et Quintus Cicero) consobrinis nostris, Aculeonis filiis, et ea disceremus quae Crasso placerent et ab iis saepe intelleximus, cum essemus eius domi, quod vel pueri sentire poteramus, illum et Graece sic loqui, nullam ut nosse aliam linguam videretur, et doctoribus nostris ea ponere in percontando eaque ipsum omni in sermone tractare, ut nihil esse ei novum, nihil inauditum esse videretur".

[377]Erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate iunctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis lepos, latine loquendi accurata et sine molestia diligens elegantia, in disserendo mira explicatio; cum de iure civili, cum de aequo et bono disputaretur, argumentorum et similitudinum copia. Cic.*Brut.*143. Paratus veniebat Crassus, exspectabatur, audiebatur; a principio statim, quod erat apud eum semper accuratum, exspectatione dignus videbatur. non multa iactatio corporis, non inclinatio vocis, nulla inambulatio, non crebra suppolsio pedis; vehemens et interdum irata et plena

In Cicero's presentation - presumably to bridge the gap between the historical and literary figures[378]- in different ways both Crassus and Antonius try to give an impression of being free of Greek influence:

> fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam illa despicere et nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Graecis anteferre; Antonius autem probabiliorem hoc populo orationem fore censebat suam, si omnino didicisse numquam putaretur;
>
> 'There was nevertheless this point of difference between the two men, that Crassus did not so much wish to be thought to have learned nothing, as to have the reputation of looking down upon learning, and of placing the wisdom of our fellow-countrymen above that of the Greeks in all departments; while Antonius held that his speeches would be the more acceptable to a nation like ours, if it were thought that he had never even learned.'[379]

Nevertheless:

> de Antonio vero quamquam saepe ex humanissimo homine patruo nostro acceperamus quem ad modum ille vel Athenis vel Rhodi se doctissimorum hominum sermonibus dedisset .....
>
> 'as for Antonius, although we had frequently understood from our highly accomplished paternal uncle how, at Athens and at Rhodes alike, that orator had devoted himself to conversation with the most learned men...[380]

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iusti doloris oratio, multae et cum gravitate facetiae; quodque difficile est, idem et perornatus et perbrevis; iam in altercando invenit parem neminem. versatus est in omni fere genere causarum. Cic.*Brut.*158. In his omnibus (orationibus) inest quidam sine ullo fuco veritatis color; quin etiam comprehensio et ambitus ille verborum, si sic περίοδον appellari placet, erat apud illum contractus et brevis, et in membra quaedam, quae κῶλα Graeci vocant, dispertiebat orationem lubentius. Cic.*Brut.*162.

[378]Cic.*de Or.*1,155. Modern research has proved (cf. R.D.Meyer, *Literarische Fiktion und historische Gestalt in Ciceros De oratore, Crassus, Antonius und ihre Gesprächspartner* (Diss. Freiburg, 1970); and A. Leeman, etc. I, 92) that the historical Crassus had a strong knowledge of Greek rhetoric but a much less impressive one of philosophy. Cicero seems to present his own education, namely the person of Crassus is a projection of himself: cf. Th. N. Mitchell, *Cicero, the Ascending Years* (New Haven - London, 1979) 42-3.

[379]Cic.*de Or.*2,4; translated by E.W.Sutton.

[380]Cic.*de Or.*2,3; translated by E.W.Sutton. Cicero is less explicit about Crassus (*de Or.*1,155): postèa mihi (sc. Crasso) placuit eoque sum usus adulescens, ut summorum oratorum Graecas

Though Antonius' person may also be coloured by Cicero to reflect his own education, it cannot be denied that he had a solid knowledge of Greek school-rhetoric and he had composed a manual.

His strength lay especially in delivery, the capacity of his passionate performance to move the listeners:[381]

reperiebat quid dici opus esset et quo modo praeparari et quo loco locari, memoriaque ea comprehendebat Antonius, excellebat autem actione.

'Antonius found readily what needed to be said, how to preface and arrange it, and all his plan he retained with a sure memory: but his excellence was in delivery'[382]

videtisne, genus hoc quod sit Antonii? forte, vehemens, commotum in agendo, praemunitum et ex omni parte causae saeptum, acre acutum, enucleatum, in una quaque re commorans, honeste cedens, acriter insequens, terrens, supplicans, summa orationis varietate, nulla nostrarum aurium satietate.

'do you not see what this style of Antonius's is? it is bold, vehement, vigorous in delivery, carefully prepared and safeguarded in respect of every aspect of the case, keen, penetrating, precise, dwelling upon each separate point, making courteous concessions and gallant onsets, intimidating, imploring, employing a vast variety of styles without ever exhausting the appetite of the audience'.[383]

cum haec (sc.'schemata dianoias') magna in Antonio tum actio singularis; quae si partienda est in gestum atque vocem, gestus erat non verba exprimens, sed cum sententiis congruens: manus humeri latera supplosio pedis status incessus omnisque motus cum verbis sententiisque consentiens; vox permanens,

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orationes explicarem. quibus lectis hoc adsequebar, ut cum ea quae legeram Graece, Latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer et tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quaedam verba imitando.

[381]Cic.*Tusc.Disp.*2,57: genu mehercule M. Antonium vidi, cum contente pro se ipse lege Varia diceret, terram tangere. ut enim ballistae lapidum et reliqua tormenta telorum eo graviores emissiones habent, quo sunt contenta atque adducta vehementius, sic vox, sic cursus, sic plaga hoc gravior, quo est missa contentius.

[382]Cic.*Brut.*215; translated by G.L.Hendrickson.

[383]Cic.*de Or.*3,32.

verum subrauca natura...

'In all these respects Antonius was great, and combined with them a delivery of peculiar excellence. If we divide delivery into gesture and voice, his gesture did not seek to reflect words, but agreed with the course of his thought - hands, shoulders, chest, stamp of the foot, posture in repose and in movement, all harmonizing with his words and thoughts; voice sustained, but with a touch of huskiness.'[384]

Though these characteristics are certainly coloured to a certain extent by Cicero to portray one of the most respected Roman orators as representing his own rhetorical principles, signs of strong resemblance to the Rhodian rhetorical concept and Hyperides' style are unmistakable. Emphasis is laid on Antonius' excellence in figures of speech and thought and delivery. But the most decisive element in Cicero's portrayal of Antonius is the following:

ut verum videretur in hoc illud, quod Demosthenem ferunt ei, qui quaesivisset quid primum esset in dicendo, actionem, quid secundum, idem et idem tertium respondisse. nulla res magis penetrat in animos eosque fingit format flectit, talesque oratores videri facit, quales ipsi se videri volunt.

'you can see by his example how all this bears out the truth of the dictum attributed to Demosthenes; who when asked what was first in oratory replied to his questioner, 'delivery' Nothing else so penetrates the mind, shapes, turns it, and causes the orator to seem such a man as he wills to seem.'[385]

Here Cicero refers to the introductory sentences of the Rhodian anecdote in *the De Oratore*. The correlation between Antonius and the Rhodian context is very close, Antonius appears to be the first Roman orator, who had fulfilled the Rhodians' stylistic directive.

Moreover, - there is another isolated rhetorical trick, which might seem to speak

[384]Cic.*Brut.* 141-2; translated by G.L. Hendrickson.
[385]Cic.*Brut.* 142; translated by G.L.Hendrickson.

for a certain familiarity with Hyperides' Phryne speech on the part of Antonius' side. Quintilian in defining the idea of 'Rhetoric' rejects 'persuasion' as a possible answer and gives the reasons for his view as follows:

> verum et pecunia persuadet et gratia et auctoritas dicentis et dignitas. postremo aspectus etiam ipse sine voce, quo vel recordatio meritorum cuiusque vel facies aliqua miserabilis vel formae pulchritudo sententiam dictat. nam et Manium Aquilium defendens Antonius, cum scissa veste cicatrices, quas is pro patria pectore adverso suscepisset, ostendit, non orationis habuit fiduciam, sed oculis populi Romani vim attulit: quem illo ipso aspectu maxime motum in hoc, ut absolveret reum, creditum est. Servium quidem Galbam miseratione sola, qua non suos modo liberos parvulos in contione produxerat, sed Galli etiam Sulpici filium suis ipse manibus circumtulerat, elapsum esse cum aliorum monumentis, tum Catonis oratione testatum est. et Phrynen non Hyperidis actione quamquam admirabili, sed conspectu corporis, quod illa speciosissimum alioqui diducta nudaverit tunica, putant periculo liberatam....
>
> 'but many other things have the power of persuasion, such as money, influence, the authority and rank of the speaker, or even some sight unsupported by language, when for instance the place of words is supplied by the memory of some individual's great deeds, by his lamentable appearance or the beauty of his person. Thus when Antonius in the course of his defense of Manius Aquilius tore open his client's robe and revealed the honourable scars which he had acquired while facing his country's foes, he relied no longer on the power of his eloquence, but appealed directly to the eyes of the Roman people. And it is believed that they were so profoundly moved by the sight as to acquit the accused. ... So according to general opinion Phryne was saved not by the eloquence of Hyperides, admirable as it was, but by the sight of her exquisite body, which she further revealed by drawing aside her tunic.'[386]

For the crucial element of tearing off the defendant's clothes in Antonius' speech, Cicero gives a slightly more elaborate account:

[386]Quint.*Inst.Or.*2,15,6-9; translated by H.E.Butler.

quod enim ornamentum, quae vis, qui animus, quae dignitas illi oratori defuit, qui in causa peroranda non dubitavit excitare reum consularem et eius diloricare tunicam et iudicibus cicatrices adversas senis imperatoris ostendere?

'For what did that advocate lack, in the way of resource, passion, energy or greatness, who in closing his case did not hesitate to call forward the defendant of consular rank, and tear open his tunic, and display to the tribunal the scars on the old general's breast?'[387]

To provoke emotions from the audience, which had a key importance in 'actio' - as Antonius/Cicero says - one has to perform honestly by having real emotions.[388]

Quintilian's evidence is the only case where Hyperides' trick in the peroration is likened to that of Antonius. Though in this case the close *mimesis* is less clear, since Quintilian does not speak about Hyperides' active involvement in the undressing, there is another strong branch of tradition, according to which the orator, not the 'hetaira', took this desperate final decision.[389]Phryne was charged with impiety, since she had taken a bath naked during the Eleusinian mysteries. Hyperides in his speech on behalf of the defendant is said to have convinced the jury by revealing her beauty, and in doing so frightened the Athenians into seeing her as an incarnation of Aphrodite, and she was acquitted.

G. Kowalski convincingly argues that the whole story must be a late invention, based on a rhetorical effort to create and demonstrate a nice example of 'schema dianoias': „Pectus mulieris de illicita nudatione accusatae etiam in iudicio nudatum eaque ipsa re, propter quam peritura erat, servatae Achillis hastam, quae vulnus quod fecerat sanavisse tradebatur, in memoriam revocat. Ut pleraque grammaticorum figmenta etiam hoc ingeniosius est quam ut verum esse possit.

[387]Cic.*de Or.*2,124; translated by E.W.Sutton.
[388]non prius sum conatus misericordiam aliis commovere quam misericordiam sum ipse captus, sensi equidem tum magno opere moveri iudices, cum excitavi maestum ac sordidatum senem et cum ista feci, quae tu, Crasse, laudas, non arte de qua quid loquar nescio sed motu magno animi ac dolore, ut descinderem tunicam, ut cicatrices ostenderem.
[389]Athen.*Deipn.*23,591e.

Schema dico dianoeas, non corporis figuram".[390] In reality it must have happened differently. It is more likely that Phryne herself had torn her hair and clothes following traditional customs (and perhaps Hyperides' advice) to give rise to a feeling of pity.

Quintilian's interpretation seems to be somewhere in the middle. He is quite neutral in describing the actual event, Phryne 'alioqui', 'somehow', became naked, and it was rather her beauty than a pitiful appearance, which impressed the jury. So, in all probability Quintilian was already aware of the colourful anecdote, which originated presumably not long after Hyperides' death.

Quintilian's short collection of means of artless persuasion, in which Antonius and Hyperides are mentioned together, is only a casual result of his systematizing method, so it would not support too much an assumption of Hyperidean influence on Antonius. Antonius in this latter case probably relays on earlier Roman tradition.

C. *Marcus Tullius Cicero*

Alfons Weische's book on the subject provides us not only with a full collection of Ciceronian references to Attic orators including Hyperides but also with some very useful analysis.[391]Here I would like only to emphasize Hyperides' exceptional place in the Ciceronian tableau.[392]

[390]G. Kowalski, 'De Phrynes pectore nudato' *Eos* 42 (1948) 55.
[391]See n.353.
[392]For comparison a few sentences about the other Attic orators in Cicero, on the basis of Weische's results. Andocides and Isaeus are not mentioned at all in Cicero's rhetorical works, and also Antiphon only once in the almost neutral historical overview of orators at the beginning of the *Brutus*. The same is true for Lycurgus and Dinarchus. Cicero was hardly familiar with these Greek orators. A high regard for Lysias is missing from Cicero's early works and his case is similar to that of Demosthenes, namely a renewed appraisal of Lysias is probably due to the Atticists' attack. In all probability Cicero's high regard for Isocrates originates from his general rhetorical theory, rather than from his usefulness as a practical model. Cicero had many times followed Aeschines, especially in his early speeches, however, as in other cases Aeschines always stands in the shadow of Demosthenes and so the impression about his less prominent place in Cicero's tableau is deceiving: cf. Weische, 136.

There are statements, which indicate Cicero's high respect for Hyperides and suggest that especially in his early works he placed him on the same level as Demosthenes: in *De oratore* 1,58 Crassus speaks about essential knowledge for orators in state economy, law and history. Though they do not have to be experts on each particular subject they should be able to speak „de omnibus rebus ... copiose varieque ..." Certainly Lycurgus and Solon were more expert than Hyperides and Demosthenes, who represent in such a context the case of perfect Greek oratory: „scisse melius quam Hyperidem aut Demosthenem, perfectos iam homines in dicendo et perpolitos ..." but still the Greek orators - like their Roman counterparts, Ser. Galba and C. Laelius - were not ignorant at all.

In *De Or.* 3,28, Hyperides is placed among others who are characterized with one major speciality: 'suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit. quis eorum non egregius? tamen <quis> cuiusquam nisi sui similis?'

In the *Brutus* however, a shift is manifest in favour of Demosthenes: cf. 36. Cicero presumably had to defend his 'liberal' rhetorical values against the Atticist attack and therefore more often pointed at Demosthenes as an example, not to speak about the possibility of Cicero's rhetorical development and a natural change in preferences.[393] Nevertheless Cicero's preference for Hyperides in condemning the short-sighted Atticist is still clear:

> atque utinam imitarentur nec ossa solum, sed etiam sanguinem! gratum tamen, quod volunt. cur igitur Lysias et Hyperides amatur, cum penitus ignoretur Cato?
>
> 'but I would that they might imitate not its bones only, but its flesh and blood as well. Still their aim is good; but why then are Lysias and Hyperides loved, while Cato is wholly unknown?' [394]

In 138 Hyperides is again presented as the summit of Greek eloquence along

[393]The influence of Rhodian rhetoric probably started to diminish in time. Cicero slowly began to get closer to the Demosthenic style. Cicero consciously compared himself with Demosthenes in the rise from an advocate orator to a political orator-leader: cf. Weische, 190.
[394]Cic.*Brut.*68: cf. 67;285.

with Demosthenes. After a long discussion - as Cicero says - they have finally reached the most flourishing period of Latin oratory, i.e. Antonius and Crassus as the analogy of the historical development of Greek eloquence:

> quam multi enim iam oratores commemorati sunt et quam diu in eorum enumeratione versamur, cum tamen spisse atque vix, ut dudum ad Demosthenen et Hyperiden, sic nunc ad Antonium Crassumque pervenimus. nam ego sic existimo, hos oratores fuisse maximos et in his primum cum Graecorum gloria Latine dicendi copiam aequatam.
>
> 'How many orators have already been named and how long I have been occupied in enumeration of them ! And yet in spite of this slow and laborious progress we have only come, as before to Demosthenes and Hyperides, so now to Antonius and Crassus. I suggest the comparison because in my judgement these two men were orators of the first rank, and in them for the first time Latin eloquence attained a level comparable to the glory of Greece.'[395]

Similarly in 290, which is a particularly interesting passage because of connotations for the importance of 'actio' in Cicero's rhetorical ideas. Its colourful description makes it worth quoting in full:

> volo hoc oratori contingat, ut cum auditum sit eum esse dicturum, locus in subsellis occupetur, compleatur tribunal, gratiosi scribae sint dando et cedendo loco, corona multiplex, iudex erectus; cum surgat is qui dicturus sit, significetur a corona silentium, deinde crebrae adsensiones, multae admirationes; risus, cum velit, cum velit, fletus: ut, qui haec procul videat, etiam si quid agatur nesciat, at placere tamen et in scaena esse Roscium intellegat. haec cui contingant, eum scito Attice dicere, ut de Pericle audimus, ut de Hyperide, ut de Aeschine, de ipso quidem Demosthene maxume.
>
> 'This is what I wish for my orator: when it is reported that he is going to speak let every place on the benches be taken, the judges' tribunal full, the clerks busy and obliging in assigning or giving up places, a listening crowd thronging about, the presiding judge erect and attentive; when the speaker rises

[395]Translated by G.L.Hendrickson.

the whole throng will give a sign for silence, then expressions of assent , frequent applause; laughter when he wills it, or if he wills, tears; so that a mere passer-by observing from a distance, though quite ignorant of the case in question, will recognize that he is succeeding and that a Roscius is on the stage. If this is what happens be assured that he is speaking like an Attic orator, that he is faring as we read of Pericles, of Hyperides, of Aeschines, of Demosthenes most of all.'

Orator 90 and 110 rather mirror already an established supremacy of Demosthenes in Cicero's judgement about Greek oratory and Hyperides only plays a role for comparative purposes.

In *Academica* 1,3 Cicero encourages Varro not to give up with his Latin philosophical efforts, since it is not true that there would not be any interest. It is only a matter of proper imitation of Greek models as is the case in poetry and rhetoric:

oratores quidem laudari video si qui e nostris Hyperidem sint aut Demosthenem imitati.

'At all events I see that any of our orators who imitated Hyperides or Demosthenes are praised.'[396]

Calvus was long dead, the 'neo-Atticists' had disappeared and Atticism was temporarily defeated. Two years before his own death as an old man in a resigned tone Cicero here seems to summarize in one dense sentence one of the main reasons for his rhetorical success. In all probability he speaks about himself from the heart.

On the basis of the very few surviving speeches of Hyperides Weische following W. Stroh discovered in Cicero's oeuvre that the latter's speech Pro Cluentio in one part of its structure follows the method of argumentation in Hyperides' 'Υπὲρ Εὐξενίππου.[397] In this speech the Greek orator based the defense on the

[396]Translated by H.Rackham.
[397]Cf. Weische, 59-62.

interpretation of the law about εἰσαγγελία, which did not include Euxenippus' particular case and for which he was brought to court. Euxenippus was accused of not telling the truth about his dream, in which Amphiaraus revealed to him that a particular part of the Oropus region should not be distributed among the *demes* but rather remain sacred to him.

Similarly Cicero in his speech, which was delivered in 66 B.C., in a not decisive excursus in his defense argues, that, though the defendant does not want to use this plea, the 'Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis' is not in force for all people in Rome but only for senators. Cicero states that he refers to the matter merely out of general interest, since his client refuses to build on it his disproof of the accusation. Cluentius was charged with murder, i.e. poisoning his stepfather.

According to Weische the hypothesis of Hyperidean imitation - apart from the element of attacking the relevance of the law, on which the charge is built - can be backed by three minor points. Both speeches demand the exact interpretation of the law in the interest of the state (4-5;40 and 146-148;155). Both of them analyze the text of the law sentence by sentence to make clear its irrelevance (7-8; and 148). Finally both of them welcome the fact that political leaders can not only benefit from their activity but also be punished for cases of negligence or malevolence. (9; and 150-155).[398]

Further phraseological parallelism can be assumed between Cicero *Pro Milone* 18: 'nunc eiusdem Appiae nomen quantas tragoedias excitat!' and two places of Demosthenes and Hyperides: ἔπειτα ἐξῆ σοι τραγωδίας γράψαι (*Lycophr.*12, similarly in *Eux.*26).[399]

Cicero's *Philippic* 14,33: 'ita pro mortali condicione vitae immortalitatem estis consecuti', derives its model from Hyperides' *Epitaphios* 24: οἵτινες θνητοῦ

[398]Cf. Weische, 62.

[399]Cf. Weische, 91; cf. Dem.18,189; 19,13. Cicero's formulation in *Phil.*14,41, magna atque incredibilia sunt in rem publicam huius merita legionis, can take its model from Hyperides 6,9. Other possibilities are Lysias 2,70. and Isocr.4,75. However, the idea is too general to ascribe to any particular author.

σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο or from Lysias.[400]The following passage (34) gives the same impression: 'quos laudare quam lugere praestabit'. Its parallel can be found either in Plato *Men.* 248c, or in Hyperides' *Epitaphios* 42: εἰ γὰρ θρήνων ἄξια πεπόνθασιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων πεποιήκασιν.

D. *Rutilius Lupus, Gorgias 'sui temporis' in the context of Rhodian rhetorical influence*

As Quint. in 9,2,102 reveals:

> multa alia (lumina sententiarum posuit) Rutilius Gorgian secutus, non illum Leontinum sed alium sui temporis, cuius quattuor libros in usum suum transtulit.
>
> 'Rutilius found many other figures of thought following the views of Gorgias, a contemporary, whose four books he transferred to his own work, and who is not to be confused with Gorgias of Leontini ...'[401]

The extant work of Rutilius: 'De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis'[402] is divided into two books, containing 21-20 figures. However, Blass' suggestion seems to be plausible, that it must have lost a lot of material and we have only a dramatically reduced epitome.[403]In all probability Rutilius' original work contained also another two books on the σχήματα διανοίας not only the σχήματα λέξεως, which we now have. This is strongly underlined by Quintilian's references to Rutilian examples of this kind.[404]

[400]Lys.2,24; cf. J. Mesk, 'Ciceros Nachruf an die legio Martia (Phil.XIV, 30-35)' *WS* 26 (1904) 228-34, where all the relevant Attic examples are collected.
[401]Adapted translation of H.E.Butler. The correction 'usum' instead of 'unum' is by Ahrens.
[402]The last edition is by Edward Brooks (Leiden, 1970) with prolegomena and commentary, *Mnemosyne* Supp. 11 (1970)
[403]Blass, *Griech. Bered.* 97n.5. It is indicated by the title given by Pithoeus: ex P.Rutilii Lupi de figuris sententiarum et elocutionis libro. Not the size of particular articles, but rather their number was reduced, or perhaps a whole, independent part of the book is missing. Münscher's ('Gorgias' *RE* VII (1912) col. 1606) observation that Quintilian (9,3,99) refers in the same sequence to the Rutilian figures as we have it in the extant work speaks for the latter.
[404]Cf. Münscher, (Gorgias) cols. 1607-8.

But still within this mutilated form there is a relatively high number of Hyperidean quotations. The author cites for every rhetorical figure an example from Greek rhetorical literature in a precise Latin translation. Among the Attic orators - those who later formed the Canon of Ten - Demosthenes is quoted nine times, Lysias eight times, Hyperides seven times, Lycurgus six times, Dinarchus four times.[405]What is the reason for it, and where does this relatively high appreciation of the Hyperidean style have its origin?.

As is clear from Quintilian's evidence and the general impression of his treatment,[406] Rutilius' work is a mere translation, so for answering these questions Gorgias' rhetorical theory and background should be scrutinized. Unfortunately there is not much evidence about him. It is certain that he was practising as a rhetorical teacher in Athens in the middle of the first century B.C., since Cicero had forbidden his son to attend his lectures any longer, because of his indecent behaviour, i.e. seeking pleasure and drinking.[407] Later, he had visited Rome, where Seneca may have heard him declaiming presumably during one of his visits.[408]

This is all that we know about his person. On the basis of his wide ranging choice of models Gorgias was described by some modern scholars as an Asianist[409] or as an Atticist.[410]But perhaps Blass is more right, when he characterizes him as a milder Atticist and introduces him as a representative of an intermediate rhetorical

[405]Cf. Blass, *Griech.Bered.* 98n.1. There are also many other orators quoted: twice: Democharés, Demetrius, Pytheas, Stratocles, Cleochares, Sosicrates, Myron; three times: Charisius; four times: Hegesias; once: Daphnis, Isidorus, Lycon.
[406]Münscher, (Gorgias) col. 1609.
[407]Cic.*Ep.*16,21,6, (in 44 B.C): cf. Münscher (Gorgias) col. 1604.
[408]Sen. *contr.*1,praef.11; omnes autem magni in eloquentia nominis excepto Cicerone videor audisse. The only reference to one of his declamations is at *contr.*1,4,7: 'vir fortis in bello manus perdidit. Deprendit adulterum cum uxore, ex qua filium adulescentem habebat. Imperavit filio ut occideret; non occidit; adulter effugit. Abdicat filium'; Gorgias in defence of the son describes his surprise and a consequent sudden weakness: 'inepto colore, sed dulciter ... Gorgias egregie dixit ...'
[409]Münscher passim, following Wilamowitz' opinion not least on the basis of Seneca's evidence, since his quotation automatically means that he considered Gorgias as an Asianist (col. 1610). From the point of view of strict Roman Atticism he must really belong to Asianism, however, if we leave this basically negative terminology there can be described different 'levels' of Asianism.
[410]Susemihl, II, 501.

conception between Asianism and Atticism.[411]

Rutilius Lupus' translation, as a representation of an alternative rhetorical manual to the strict Attic ones (Caecilius' and Dionysius', both lost, but heavily used in later times), vanished completely without leaving any trace in the later tradition, i.e. without having influenced any later Latin rhetorical handbook. This was also the case for the Gorgian manual in the Greek tradition.[412] Nobody continued to be interested in this manual, which (from a Roman point of view) represented an incomplete stage in the cleaning process from an Asian towards an Attic style. Exactly as was the case for the rhetorical approach characteristic of Rhodes. This parallel is scarcely a mere accident, but as similarities between contemporary rhetorical handbooks and the Rutilian one show, the Rhodian school of rhetoric and Gorgias are close to each other with regard to their theoretical backgrounds.

First - although it does not necessarily prove a real Rhodian origin for Gorgias' rhetorical disposition[413] - the differentiation between 'lexis' and 'dianoia' itself takes its origin from grammarians, namely from Dionysius Thrax[414], who lived and worked on Rhodes. But it is much more significant that the *Rhet. ad Herennium* and Cicero's *'De Oratore'* and *'Orator'* in several points strictly follow Gorgias/Rutilius' terminology and basic concept, which - especially in the case of the *Rhet. ad Herennium* - presumably derive their ultimate origin from the Rhodian school of rhetoric.

Gorgias seems to have been aware of the difference between 'schema' and 'tropos'[415], since among the examples collected in the extant translation of Rutilius there aren't any other rhetorical features but 'schemata'.[416] The *Rhet. ad Herennium*

[411]Blass, *Griech.Bered.* 98.
[412]Münscher, (Gorgias) col. 1612, on the basis of Krieg's research.
[413]Münscher's implicit but cautious suggestions about Rhodian roots are repeated with more certainty in: Giuseppina Barabino, *P. Rutilii Lupi: Schemata Dianoias et Lexeos. Saggio introduttivo, testo e traduzione* (Genova, 1967) passim.
[414]633B; cf. Cic *Orat.*93.
[415]The clearest Latin evidence of the partition is in Cicero *Brut.*69: 'ornari orationem Graeci putant, si verborum immutationibus utantur quos appellant τρόπους, et sententiarum orationisque formis, quae vocant σχήματα.
[416]Münscher, (Gorgias) col. 1613.

on the other hand reveals that at the time when it was written the definition of different components of rhetorical ornamentation was already clearly formulated.[417]

A brief look at Appendix II in Brokks' edition of Rutilius, where the register of the Rutilian figures and their designations in other rhetorical treatises is printed, is enough to show that the *Rhet. ad Herennium* and Cicero in both *De Oratore* III and *Orator*, drew upon the same manual as Gorgias. Moreover in Cicero's works also the sequence of the analysed figures follows the pattern of Rutilius' collection.[418]The *Rhet. ad Herennium,* apart from five figures, presents the same choice and the same terminology.[419]The strongest indication of their common origin is - as Münscher's detailed analysis has proved - that all these three (or four) treatises have the same differences from later divisions of figures: in some cases they introduce a figure in the group of 'schemata lexeos', which later was ascribed to the 'schemata dianoias'.[420]

On the one hand, as mentioned above, Gorgias' 'impure Atticism' determined the fate of his work and excluded the possibility of any usage of his book by later theoreticians of rhetoric, either in original Greek, or in Latin.[421] On the other hand we still have two extant books of Rutilius, which contain - hardly by accident - only figures of diction, 'schemata lexeos'. Behind this very fascinating development in tradition is presumably the invisible but extremely powerful effect of a wide ranging demand for rhetorical manuals for schools. Practising school-teachers, such as Dionysius or Caecilius, were well conscious of what their pupils would need in their curriculum. In the beginning years - that is on the first and therefore more popular level of rhetorical education - they had to become familiar with elementary skills in

[417]Contrary to Münscher's scepticism, the author of the *Rhet. ad Her.* is already clear about the matter in 4,13,18: 'Dignitas est, quae reddit ornatam orationem varietate distinguens. Haec in verborum et in sententiarum exornatione<s> dividitur. Verborum exornatio est, quae ipsius sermonis insignita continetur perpolitione. Sententiarum exornatio est, quae non in verbis, sed in ipsis rebus quandam habet dignitatem' and not only later in 31,42 - 34,46.
[418]Cf. Münscher, (Gorgias) col. 1613.
[419]In the case of Quintilian it is more probable that he was relying on Cicero.
[420]Münscher, (Gorgias) col. 1615. There are also differences within this homogeneous group, which indicate that they did not necessarily follow their common source in the same way.
[421]The only exceptions are Quintilian, who had a more liberal rhetorical approach and is similar to Cicero, his model; and an anonymous, presumably late fourth century author: 'Carmen Incerti de Figuris vel Schematibus', in: K. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Frankfurt, 1964) 63-70.

eloquence. It means especially the study of the components of 'lexis', i.e. 'lexikos topos', 'schemata lexeos'. The analysis of structural and compositional questions was reserved for higher degrees of education. So there would have been less demand for the 'schemata dianoias' or 'pragmatikos topos' in accordance with the diminishing number of students.

Summa summarum, in all probability the uniquely high number of Hyperidean quotations in a Latin rhetorical manual from the Augustan age is due to the influence originating from one of the most influential Hellenistic rhetorical schools, namely the Rhodian school of rhetoric, whose prominent representatives had chosen Hyperides as one of their rhetorical models.

The first Hyperidean quotation is used for exemplifying 'paradiastole': 'nam cum ceterorum opinionem fallere conaris, tu tete frustraris. Non enim probas te pro astuto sapientem intelligenti, pro confidente fortem, pro inliberali diligentem rei familiaris, pro malivolo severum. nullum est enim vitium, quo ut virtutis laude gloriari possis'. Very remarkably it is quoted again by Quintilian, however, without indicating Hyperides' name and changing the original form into: 'cum te pro astuto sapientem appelles, pro confidente fortem, pro inliberali diligentem',[422]and much later by Isidorus, who presumably without even knowing its real origin had simply taken it over from Quintilian.[423]

The same happened in the case of 'synoikeiosis': the Hyperidean quotation, 'Nam hominis avari atque asoti unum atque idem vitium est. Uterque enim nescit uti, atque utrique pecunia dedecori est. Quare merito utrique pari poena afficiuntur, quos pariter non decet habere', is compressed by Quintilian, and presented without the name of Hyperides as anonymous: 'tam deest avaro quod habet, quam quod non habet'.[424]

About 'permissio', in Rutilius 'epitrope', Quintilian only remarks that it can be

[422]Quint.*Inst.Or.*9,65.
[423]Isidor.*De Rhet.*21,9; cf. Halm in the apparatus.
[424]Quint,*Inst.Or.*9,3,64.

also used,[425] when the orator seemingly hands over the decision to the judges: 'cum aliqua ipsis iudicibus relinquimus aestimanda'. In all probability he had Hyperides' example in his mind, since this was quoted as the only one in Rutilius and was related to the same situation.

Similarly in the case of 'paromologia' Rutilius refers only to Hyperidean examples, namely two. The latter is his famous defense for his unlawful proposal. Later it became very popular in rhetorical manuals, deprived however of its wider context, which exemplifies also the figure of thought 'eperotesis' also.[426]

The last reference is particularly interesting, since it is in 'prosopopoia' (in Cicero's terminology: 'personarum ficta inductio'[427]), which - according to Cicero - is one of the possible elements of 'facete loqui', a prescription for effective delivery, i.e. 'actio'. And these latter - if I am right (see above) - represent two of the most crucial and distinguishing characteristics of the Rhodian school of rhetoric.

E. M. Valerius Messala Corvinus

[425]Quint.*Inst.Or.*9,2,25.
[426]Rutil.L.1,19.
[427]Cic.*de Or.*3,205.

M. Valerius Messala Corvinus was not only an impressive and influential political character of late republican and early Augustan Rome, but also a splendid orator of his time, whose talent is equally highly regarded by all our *testimonia*. There are only nine titles and some fragments left of his extensive rhetorical activity. However, among them there is a translation of Hyperides' most popular speech, which was delivered in defense of the beautiful 'hetaira' Phryne.[428]Quintilian mentions it as a fine example of a very useful rhetorical exercise for Romans, namely the translating of Greek speeches, by which many figures and innovations of Greek authors can be learned. The way Quintilian speaks about Messala's translation makes it clear that it was a unique attempt, since it must have been considered too difficult, and presumably nobody had tried it before him:

> id (sc. vertere Graeca in Latinum) Messalae placuit, multaeque sunt ab eo scriptae ad hunc modum orationes, adeo ut etiam cum illa Hyperidis pro Phryne difficillima Romanis subtilitate contenderet.
>
> 'Messala likewise gave it his approval, and we have a number of translations of speeches from his hand; he even succeeded in coping with the delicacy of Hyperides' speech in defense of Phryne, a task of exceeding difficulty for a Roman.'[429]

It is also almost certain that it was published by him, since it is unlikely that Quintilian would refer to it in such a manner if he had only heard of it. This assumption is supported by one of the previous sentences, where Cicero's similar activity is mentioned:

> quin etiam libros Platonis atque Xenophontis edidit hoc genere tralatos.
>
> 'nay, he actually published translations of Xenophon and Plato'

This unique interest for and 'aemulatio' of Messala with Hyperides is unparalleled in the Augustan period and might have been generated not least by Rhodian rhetorical influence; this is suggested by the following considerations.

[428]*Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta Liberae Rei Publicae,* iteratis curis recensuit collegit Henrica Malcovati (Turin 1957) 533.
[429]Quint.*Inst.Or.*10,5,2; translated by H.E.Butler.

Messala, whose father was also a practising orator[430]and an admirer of Cicero, had presumably followed the usual republican curriculum in rhetorical education, laid down by his father. According to Tacitus,[431]the father of a young man introduces his son to one of the best orators of their time and from then onwards he follows and observes his master in his everyday forensic activity. This practical way of learning is described as the most fruitful method. In all probability, Cicero was chosen as a model and teacher for Messala. This is attested not only by Velleius Paterculus' clear statement about their rhetorical relationship:

> et proximum Ciceroni Caesarem eorumque velut alumnos Corvinum ac Pollionem Asinium,
>
> '... and Caesar, who ranks next to Cicero; next to them, and, as it were, their pupils, come Corvinus and Pollio Asinius'[432]

but also by the enthusiastic remarks of Cicero about the young man in his letters:

> „...quamquam in hac ipsa (sc. eloquentia) sapientiae plus apparet: ita gravi iudicio multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio, quod in eo summum est, gratia habenda videatur. Sed provehor amore. Non enim id propositum est huic epistolae, Messalam ut laudem, praesertim ad Brutum, cui et virtus illius non minus quam mihi nota est et haec ipsa studia, quae laudo, notiora...
>
> 'and yet his merit stands out all the more in this very expertness of knowledge: so severe as the judgement, so exacting the technique, with which he has trained himself in the soundest style of oratory. And his application is so

[430]M. Valerius Messala Niger (consul in 61 B.C.) handed on the defence of Sextus Roscius Amerinus to Cicero because of his young age: Cic.*Pro.Rosc.*149: cf. J. Hammer, *Prolegomena to an edition of the Panegerycus Messalae* (New York, 1925) 4. For further connections: 'neque huius M. Messalae, hominis necessarii, preces sustinere potui', Cic. *Sulla* 20; 'et in me perhonorificus et partium studiosus ac defensor bonarum' (*Att.*1,3,12); 'Messala consul est egregius, fortis, constans, diligens, nostri laudator, amator, imitator' (*Att.*1,14,6), Messala also played a role in the restoration of Cicero's losses during his exile.

[431]Tac.*Dial.*34: 'Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille, qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem, qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat'; cf. Hammer, 12.

[432]Vell.Pat.2,36,2.

great, he spends so many hours of the night in study, that most of the credit does not go to his natural endowment, which in his case is consummate! But my affection is carrying me away; for it is not the purpose of this letter to sing Messala's praises, especially not to Brutus, who knows his merits as well as I, and knows even better these particular accomplishments which I am extolling.'[433]

If Cicero had considered his rhetorical style as *verissimum genus*, it could hardly differ from his own.[434]

So, all this could speak for an indirect influence of the Rhodian model, i.e. Hyperides, on Messala by the mediation of Cicero, who could have awakened his student's interest in this particular Greek orator.

The hypothesis can be backed by other evidence. It is known from Cicero's letters that Messala - by completing the usual Roman curriculum - visited Athens to study Rhetoric. Moreover, it is clear that he was there at the same time as Cicero's own son, the younger Cicero, and so he could bring news to the worried father about his progress: de quo (sc. Ciceroni suo) mirabilia Messala, qui Lanuvio rediens ab illis venit ad me...[435]On the other hand we know that the younger Cicero had attended Gorgias' lectures until his father stopped him.[436]

The reason why Cicero the elder withdrew his son back from the company of Gorgias must lie rather in the latter's behaviour, than in his rhetorical principles. Otherwise the first orator in Rome would hardly have recommended Gorgias as a master for his son. So it seems quite possible that the well-informed friend of the younger Cicero, Messala, attended Gorgias' exercises or at least might have known about his school in Athens. Gorgias' rhetorical approach, however, as was

[433]Cic.*ad Brut.*1,15; translated by M.Cary.
[434]Cf. R.Hanslik, 'Valerius' *RE* XV (1955) col. 155.
[435]Cic.*adAtt.*15,17.
[436]'De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in cotidiana declamatione utilis, sed omnia postposui, dum modo praeceptis patris parerem: 'diarreden' enim scripserat, ut eum dimitterem statim ...' Cic.*ad Fam.* 16,21,6.

demonstrated above, was very much in debt to the Rhodian school of rhetoric, and so his preference for Hyperides was presumably generated by it.

Messala's particular interest in Hyperides could have come from both directions and so - though indirectly - he would still represent the effect of the Hellenistic rhetoric of Rhodes. But certainly he must have been more amused at Hyperides' subtle rhetorical style, his 'difficillima subtilitas',[437]than at his phraseological extravagance. He was milder and sweeter and more accurate than Cicero: 'Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus',[438]and on the other hand - in Quintilian's judgement - 'nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor'., 'Messala, on the other hand, is polished and transparent and displays his nobility in his utterance, but he fails to do his powers full justice'.[439]Although his major characteristic is 'dignitas',[440]this comparison with Cicero and the characterization reminds us of the differences between the forceful Demosthenes and the subtle Hyperides in Ps. Longinus' presentation.[441]In any case it is certainly not a surprise that Messala was fascinated by Hyperidean charm. With regard, however, to phraseology, Messala was very keen on purity of language and on avoiding novelties:

> fuit autem Messala exactissimi ingenii quidem in omni studiorum parte, sed Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus
>
> 'Messala was of the nicest judgement in every branch of study, but above all he was the most careful precisian in the Latin language'[442]

In this respect Messala Corvinus would represent a characteristic of later Roman rhetoric, namely a rigorous 'Attic' linguistic puritanism. One of its early

[437]Quint.*Inst.*10,5,2.
[438]Tac.*Dial.*18.
[439]Quint.*Inst.*10,1,113.
[440]Hyperidean 'acumen' is reserved for Sulpicius in Quint.*Inst.*12,10,11.
[441]See below chapter IX.
[442]Sen.*Contr.*2,4,8; translated by M.Winterbottom; there follows: 'itaque cum audisset Latronem declamantem, dixit: sua lingua disertus est. Ingenium illi concessit, sermonem objecit'.

representatives was Caesar, whose motto was: 'fugias inauditum verbum quam scopulum', who on the other hand also had visited the more liberal Rhodes for study purposes.

F. Servius Sulpicius Rufus

Servius Sulpicius Rufus was a close contemporary and friend of Cicero,[443] who had followed almost the same educational curriculum as his famous friend.

> nam et in isdem exercitationibus ineunte aetate fuimus et postea una Rhodum ille (sc. Sulpicius) etiam profectus est, quo melior esset et doctior; et inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse quam in prima (sc.: eloquentia) secundus ...
>
> 'As young men we pursued the same rhetorical studies here, and afterwards he went with me to Rhodes to acquire a more perfect technical training. Returning from there he gave the impression of having chosen to be first in the second art rather than second in the first..' [444]

That is, he rather specialized on law and became a jurist. However, he did not give up completely on his rhetorical ambitions and besides a reputation for juridical expertness he gained a good reputation as an orator as well:

> Servius Sulpicius insignem non inmerito famam tribus orationibus meruit.
>
> 'Servius Sulpicius acquired a great and well-deserved reputation by his three speeches.[445]

Unfortunately we know next to nothing about his rhetorical approach, but it could not have been very different from that of Cicero:

> simul illud gaudeo (sc. Brutus) quod et aequalitas vestra et pares honorum gradus et artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas tantum abest ab obtrectatione <et> invidia, quae solet lacerare plerosque, uti ea non modo non

[443]Cic.*Brut.*150: 'aetatesque vestrae (sc. Sulpicius et Cicero) ut illorum (sc. Crassus et Scaevola) nihil aut non fere multum differunt'.
[444]Cic.*Brut.*151; translated by G.L.Hendrickson.
[445]Quint.*Inst.Or.*10,1,116; translated by H.E.Butler.

exulceare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur.

'It is a pleasure too to note that, as peers in official honours and as neighbours so to speak in arts and studies, such vicinity, far from the detraction and envy which commonly poisons the relations of rivals, has with you promoted mutual regard rather than disturbed it.[446]

The only extant evidence, on the other hand, which describes his style, shows it - by accident or not - to be closely related to Hyperidean style.

tum deinde efflorescat non multum inter se distantium tempore oratorum ingens proventus. hic vim Caesaris, indolem Caeli, suptilitatem Calidi, diligentiam Pollionis, dignitatem Messalae, sanctitatem Calvi, gravitatem Bruti, acumen Sulpici, acerbitatem Cassi reperiemus.

'Then let us turn to a vast harvest of orators who flourished much about the same period. It is there that we find the vigour of Caesar, the natural talent of Caelius, the subtlety of Calidius, the accuracy of Pollio, the dignity of Messala, the austerity of Calvus, the gravity of Brutus, the acumen of Sulpicius and the bitterness of Cassius.[447]

Sulpicius' main characteristic in a 'one word-one orator' summary is the same as was Hyperides' in Ciceronian terminology.

Moreover, the only fragment from his famous speech against Aufidia, which was judged by Quintilian as being worth quoting, is a fine example of 'prósopopoia', a rhetorical figure, whose well-known exponent was Hyperides. At least, in Rutilius Lupus' manual an extensive Hyperidean example is used - besides one of Charisius in the second place - to illustrate this particular figure. Quintilian's way of putting it gives the impression that it was regarded as a peculiar quality of Sulpicius' style:

qua de re (sc. excursione) idem, quod in prooemio dixeram, sentio, sicut de prosopopoeia quoque, qua tamen non Servius modo Sulpicius utitur pro Aufidia 'somnone te languidum an gravi lethargo putem pressum?', sed M. quoque Tullius circa nauarchos ...

[446]Cic.*Brut.* 156; translated by G.L.Hendrickson.
[447]Quint.*Inst.Or.* 12,10,11; translated by H.E.Butler.

'On this subject I hold the same view that I expressed in dealing with the *exordium*, as I do on the subject of impersonation. This artifice however is employed not only by Servius Sulpicius in his speech on behalf of Aufidia, when he cries 'Am I to suppose that you were drowsy with sleep or weighed down by some heavy lethargy?', but by Cicero as well...[448]

On the basis of these very few similarities it would be too daring to speak about a Hyperidean influence on Sulpicius' style. However, are these parallels merely accidental?

G. *Excursus: M. Licinius Calvus*

With the name of M. Licinius Calvus, a younger contemporary of Cicero, the origin of so-called 'neo-Atticism' is associated.[449]According to the sources he was apparently the first to call himself 'Atticus'. His character and rhetorical position have been an intriguing question for modern scholars, since in antiquity he and Brutus seem to have been seen as the 'par excellence' opposition to Ciceronian stylistic norms. [450]As a 'neoteric' poet from the circle of Catullus, he consciously refused current trends in rhetoric and found his models in earlier Greek tradition.[451]His fundamental ideas on style can be derived from the correspondence of Cicero. However, his elder antagonist, in *Brutus* 283-6, seems to reveal something more about his interest in particular orators. For a better understanding of the context it is worth while quoting the whole passage:

Sed ad Calvum, is enim nobis erat propositus, revertamur: qui orator fuit cum litteris eruditior quam Curio, tum etiam accuratius quoddam dicendi et

[448]Quint.*Inst.Or.*4,2.106; translated by H.E.Butler.
[449]Cic.*Or.*89,6 'isti novi Attici'.
[450]Cf. Sen.*Contr.*7,4,6: 'Calvus, qui diu cum Cicerone iniquissimam litem de principatu eloquentiae habuit ...'; and Tac.*Dial.*18,5: 'Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed super modum exultans et superfluens et parum antiquus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas ...'.
[451]Cf. Kennedy, (Rhet.Rom.) 242-6.

exquisitius afferebat genus; quod quamquam scienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se atque ipse sese observans metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque eius oratio nimia religione attenuata doctis et attente audientibus erat illustris, a multitudine autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur.

Tum Brutus, Atticum se, inquit, Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat: inde erat ista exilitas quam ille de industria consequebatur. Dicebat, inquam, ita; sed ipse errabat et alios etiam errare cogebat. nam si quis eos, qui **nec inepte dicunt nec odiose nec putide**, Attice putat dicere, is recte nisi Atticum probat neminem (*this is an intermediate concepion of Atticism and moderate rhetorical style, if you mean under Atticism this then it is all right with me and in this way everybody should be an Atticist*). insulsitatem enim et insolentiam tamquam insaniam quandam orationis odit, sanitatem autem et integritatem quasi religionem et verecundiam oratoris probat. **haec omnium debet oratorum eadem esse sententia**. sin autem ieiunitatem et siccitatem et inopiam, dummodo sit polita, dum urbana, dum elegans, in Attico genere ponit, hoc recte dumtaxat; sed quia sunt in Atticis <aliis>[452]alia meliora, videat ne ignoret et gradus et dissimilitudines et vim et varietatem Atticorum. 'Atticos' inquit, 'volo imitari.' quos? nec enim est unum genus. nam quis est tam dissimile quam Demosthenes et Lysias, quam idem et Hyperides, quam horum omnium Aeschines? quem igitur imitaris? si aliquem: ceteri ergo Attice non dicebant? si omnis: qui potes, cum sint ipsi dissimillumi inter se? in quo illud etiam quaero, Phalereus ille Demetrius Atticene dixerit. mihi quidem ex illius orationibus redolere ipsae Athenae videntur. at est floridior, ut ita dicam, quam Hyperides, quam Lysias: natura quaedam aut voluntas ita dicendi fuit.

'But now let me come back to Calvus as I proposed. He was an orator of much more thorough theoretical training than Curio, and presented a style of speaking more carefully elaborated and more original. Though he handled it

[452]H.Malcovati in her Brutus edition (Leipzig, 1965), accepts Friedrich's correction and interpolates 'aliis' after 'Atticis' and for prose-metrical reasons rejects Bake's suggestion, who would place the same after 'alia'.

with a scholar's knowledge and discrimination, yet from excessive self-examination and fear of admitting error he lost true vitality. His language thus through overscrupulousness seemed attenuated, and while scholars and careful listeners recognized its quality, the multitude and the forum, for whom eloquence exists, missing its finer flavour gulped it down whole.

Here Brutus interposed: 'Our good friend Calvus liked to think of himself as Attic. That was the reason for that meagerness of style which he cultivated deliberately'.

'Yes, I know', I replied; 'so he said; but he was in error and caused others to err with him. If one holds that those who do not rant, nor speak pedantically nor with affectation, are Attic, he will be quite right in admiring no one who is not Attic. Tasteless bombast and preciosity he will abominate as a form of madness; sanity and wholesomeness of style he will look upon as a decent and almost religious obligation in an orator. This should be the common judgement of all orators. But if meagerness and dryness and general poverty are put down as Attic, with of course the proviso that it must have finish and urbanity and precision, that is good so far as it goes. But because there are in the category of Attic other qualities better than these, one must beware not to overlook the gradations and dissimilarities, the force and variety of Attic orators. 'My aim is,' you say, 'to imitate Attic models.' Which, pray? for they are not of one type. Who, for example, are more unlike than Demosthenes and Lysias? Than either of them and Hyperides, than all of these and Aeschines? Whom then are you going to imitate? If one only, do you mean that all the others did not speak pure Attic? If all, how can you imitate them when they are so unlike each other? And here I venture to put this question: did Demetrius of Phaleron speak pure Attic? To me at least his orations exhale the very fragrance of Athens. But, you say, he is more florid (if I may use the term) than Hyperides or Lysias. That was, I presume, his natural bent or perhaps his deliberate choice"[453]

[453]Translated by G.L.Hendrickson.

Cicero in all probability here exaggerates Calvus' 'uncertainty' regarding Attic models and - for the sake of clarity in definition - pretends not to understand what Calvus means by them. By mentioning a wide-ranging selection of 'Attic' orators he can better point out the terminological negligence, which can be used as a proof of an immature rhetorical disposition. But the emphasis in the passage - especially in the last sentence - is still clearly on the representatives of the plain style, namely Lysias and Hyperides, and they speak for Cicero's consciousness of Calvus' well-defined stylistic preferences and 'Attic' models.

This is supported by other evidence in Cicero, which can hardly refer to anybody else than to Calvus' followers:

> Sed ea in nostris inscitia est, quod hi ipsi, qui in Graecis antiquitate delectantur eaque subtilitate, quam Atticam appellant, hanc in Catone non noverunt. Quid enim? Hyperidae volunt esse et Lysiae. Laudo; sed cur nolunt Catones? Attico genere dicendi se gaudere dicunt. Sapienter id quidem; atque utinam imitarentur, nec ossa solum, sed etiam sanguinem! Gratum est tamen, quod volunt: cur igitur Lysias et Hyperides amatur, cum penitus ignoretur Cato?
>
> 'But observe the ignorance of our Romans! The very men who find such pleasure in the early period of Greek letters, and in that simplicity which they call Attic, have no knowledge of the same quality in Cato. Their aim is to be like Hyperides and Lysias; laudable certainly, but why not like Cato?' [454]

But who was Calvus' real favourite, do we have to reduce the circle further, which would lead us to suppose that only one of them is mentioned by Cicero to highlight differences among 'Attic' orators ? Or could both, Lysias and Hyperides, simultaneously have been models of Calvus' plain style?

Calvus' speeches are lost, so information about his rhetorical style can only be

[454]Cic.*Brut.*67-68; translated by G.L.Hendrickson.

derived from secondary sources, however, as mentioned above, Cicero's correspondence seems to provide such information.[455]An account of Tacitus summarizes their mutual opinion about each other:

> Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et aridum ... rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem..
>
> 'Cicero thought him (Calvus) bloodless and attenuated, ... Cicero was in turn criticized by Calvus as flabby and languid ...[456]

He, presumably along with Brutus, refused all kind of prose-rhythmical figures on the basis of a sober, Stoic simplicity. As quoted above, he was very keen on polishing his speeches only to avoid any failures, as is expected from a true neoteric poet.[457] He must have laid great emphasis also on purity of language as is attested about the rhetorical trend, whose protagonist he was.[458] All this would point to Lysias rather than to Hyperides, since the latter could scarcely be regarded as a purist of Attic forms.

On the other hand, according to contemporary and later evidence Calvus' other striking characteristic was his incredible passion and outbreaks of emotions during delivery. A fine example are the following two anecdotes:

> Calvus ...usque eo violentus actor et concitatus fuit, ut in media eius actione surgeret Vatinius reus et exclamaret: Rogo vos, iudices, si iste disertus est, ideo me damnari oportet?", „solebat praeterea excedere subsellia sua et inpetu latus usque in adversariorum partem transcurrere...."; „compositio quoque eius in actionibus ad exemplum Demosthenis riget: nihil in illa placidum, nihil lene est, omnia excitata et fluctuantia

[455]For a full analysis of the subject see: G. L. Hendrickson, 'Cicero's correspondence with Brutus and Calvus on oratorical style' *CQ* 47 (1926) 234-58. For Calvus' and Cicero's political position: cf. Erich S. Gruen, 'Cicero and Licinius Calvus' *Harvard Studies* (1966) 215-33.
[456]Tac.*Dial.*18; translated by W.Peterson.
[457]On Calvus, the poet, cf. F.Münzer, 'Licinius Macer' *RE* XIII (1927) col.435.
[458]Cf. Caesar's maxim about phraseological novelties (fugias ...) and his grammatical interest (*De Analogia*). A.E. Douglas refuses to accept that this 'coterie' around Calvus would have been interested in purity and not merely in simplicity of style ('M.Calidius and the Atticists' *CQ* 5 (1955) 241-47) and questions Caesar's place among them.

'Calvus .. was so violent and passionate a pleader that in the middle of a speech of his the defendant Vatinius got up and exclaimed: 'I ask you, judges- just because he is eloquent, must I be convicted?', Calvus used to leave his own benches, and carried by the impulse of the moment would rush right to his opponents' side of the court.... Further, his forensic style is vigorous on the model of Demosthenes, with nothing sedate or gentle about it - everything exited and stormy.' [459]

Very remarkable is also the context in which Pliny the Younger mentions Calvus' speeches:

temptavi imitari Demosthenen semper tuum, Calvum nuper meum, dumtaxat figuris orationis: nam vim tantorum virorum 'pauci, quos aequos....' adsequi possunt.

'I have tried to model myself on Demosthenes, as you always do, and lately on my favourite Calvus, though only in figures of speech; for the fire of great men like these can only be caught by 'the favoured men' [460]

The impression is very confusing. On the basis of these *testimonia* he must have enjoyed not only Lysias' and Hyperides' but also Demosthenes' speeches.

So, Cicero's criticism and characterization is very subjective and relative, it represents the views of a 'liberal' orator regarding rhetorical ornaments, and this should be borne in mind while formulating a judgement about Calvus' 'extremism'.[461] About Dionysius or rather his Roman pupils, Cicero would have said even worse. So the questions cannot be answered. It would certainly be a mistake to regard Calvus as an imitator of only one Attic orator; if he wrote according to the rules of plain style,

[459]Sen.*Contr.*7,4,6;7,8; translated by M.Winterbottom.
[460]Plin.*Ep.*1,2,2; translated by B.Radice. Besides Münzer's view (that is Calvus basically tried to mitigate his natural passion by imitating Attic orators, col. 434), especially these latter two *testimonia*, about 'vis' etc. in composition, cannot be simply explained by a possible discrepancy between Calvus' natural character and his carefully chosen rhetorical style, as would be a plausible explanation for passionate outbreaks.
[461]Cf. Kennedy, (Rhet.Rom.) 245: „from Cicero's point of view his speech was thin; it lacked the amplification characteristic of Cicero".

then he must have followed Lysias.[462] Perhaps his classification of himself as an 'Atticus' covers a true eclecticism, fundamentally different from Cicero's conception. It is an 'eclecticism' within a narrow group of Attic orators, which is even more limited then those canonized and later favoured by Augustan writers.

[462]Cf. Douglas, (Atticists) 242.

VIII. Hyperides on the margin of school-interest, Dionysius of Halicarnassus

From the Augustan age and the first century A.D., when a major shift in aesthetic values occurs almost universally, we have only the works of two significant critics on current rhetorical standards and so on previous rhetoricians including Hyperides: the rhetorical treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the work of Ps. Longinus entitled 'On the sublime'. As I have argued in the previous chapters, Hyperides' renown was continuously high among later Greek, especially Rhodian rhetoricians, whose influence seems to explain his 'popularity' in first century Rome, both B.C. and A.D. However, the model represented by him from the second century onwards gradually loses its attractiveness and eventually becomes a mere curiosity. The roots of this later development can be observed even in the changing evaluation in Cicero, but ultimately they have to be traced back to the rising classicism of the Augustan age, with its primary interests in Demosthenes as 'the orator'. Traditionally Dionysius is regarded as the father and *inaugurator* of this 'new' Augustan rhetorical classicism, i.e. Atticism. Moreover, he seems to be responsible for the rising and eventually overwhelming cult of Demosthenes.

In this chapter I focus on Hyperides' place in the Dionysian system, which seems to represent the negative turning point in his 'Nachleben'. I shall address basically two questions: 1. Did Dionysius write an independent treatise on Hyperides' style or not? 2. Which are the main characteristics attributed by him to the Hyperidean style and what is their relative importance in comparison with other orators? Some aspects of the answer to this latter question will perhaps help to solve the previous one too.[463]

[463]For further general surveys of Dionysius' literary criticism, which are not referred to below cf. Kinsdtrand 30, n.52.

A. *Essay on Hyperides?*

Dionysius as a teacher realised the urgent need of practical advice for students and therefore instead of vague exultation over the long desired change in rhetorical values (i.e. from Asianism - to (Roman) Atticism cf. D.H.*Orat.Vett.*4) decided to present all the valuable models for imitation, since this was the only way of achieving skills in rhetoric in his consideration:

> τίνες εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο προαιρέσεις τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τί παρ' ἑκάστου δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἢ φυλάττεσθαι, καλὰ θεωρήματα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τε βίου καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τί παρ' ἑκάστου δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἢ φυλάττεσθαι, καλὰ θεωρήματα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὴν πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ οὐ δήπου μὰ Δία κοινὰ οὐδὲ κατημαξευμένα τοῖς πρότερον.
>
> 'Who are the most important of the ancient orators and historians? What manner of life and style of writing did they adopt? Which characteristics of each of them should we imitate, and which should we avoid? These are worthy subjects, which students of political thought must examine, yet they have certainly not become commonplace or hackneyed through the attentions of earlier writers.'[464]

The space is limited and therefore he promises to speak only about the most elegant orators (χαριεστάτους) in a chronological sequence (κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας)[465]and afterwards perhaps (ἐὰν δὲ ἐγχωρῇ) about historians too. And here we have his first concrete promise about a Hyperidean treatise:

> ἔσονται δὲ οἱ παραλαμβανόμενοι ῥήτορες τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Λυσίας Ἰσοκράτης Ἰσαῖος, τρεῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπακμασάντων τούτοις, Δημοσθένης Ὑπερείδης Αἰσχίνης, οὓς ἐγὼ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγοῦμαι κρατίστους, καὶ διαιρεθήσεται μὲν εἰς δύο συντάξεις ἡ πραγματεία, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης λήψεται τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γραφείσης.
>
> 'The orators to be compared will be three from the earlier generation, Lysias,

[464]Translated by St. Usher (as is any other quotation from Dionysius).
[465]There is no implication about inventors and perfectors!

Isocrates and Isaeus, and three from those who flourished after these, Demosthenes, Hyperides and Aeschines. These I consider to be the best orators. My work will be divided into two sections, the first dealing with the older orators.'[466]

His promise is repeated at the very end of the first book:

ἑτέραν δὲ ἀρχὴν ποιήσομαι τοῦ λόγου περί τε Δημοσθένους καὶ Ὑπερείδου καὶ τρίτου λέγων Αἰσχίνου. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τελειοτάτη ῥητορικὴ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῶν ἐναγωνίων λόγων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔοικεν εἶναι.

'I shall make a fresh start to my treatise, dealing with Demosthenes and Hyperides, and thirdly with Aeschines: for it was probably in these men that oratory reached its highest point of perfection, and forensic eloquence found its best exponents'.[467]

However, the second book of the 'De antiquis oratoribus' in the Usener-Radermacher edition contains only a treatise on Demosthenes and some fragments about the Aeschinean style collected from scholia. The shadow of an early Hyperidean 'damnatio memoriae' has robbed us completely of the Dionysian essay, but did it really undergo the same fate as the Hyperidean oeuvre itself or was it never written? Did he really become so insignificant in Dionysius' eye in comparison with Lysias and Demosthenes that he simply neglected him, so that Wilamowitz' more or less *ex cathedra* statement is right: "Who reads through Dionysius' work will obviously understand that he never wrote about Hyperides ..."[468]

A long debate has developed about the question and scholars interpret the same evidence differently. A detailed presentation of the history of research is given by van Wyk Cronjé.[469] Without explaining in detail each proposed alternative, I will only refer on

[466]D.H. *Orat.Vett.*4.
[467]D.H.*Is.*20; this expression - in my opinion - does not necessarily imply that Dionysius considered them the perfectors of the three particular styles and therefore decided to comment on them. In the early essays he never expresses such an aim. He might simply have followed his own 'canon' of orators.
[468]U.von Wilamowitz Möllendorff, 'Lesefrüchte' *Hermes* 34 (1886) 626.
[469]J. van Wyk Cronjé, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: De Demosthene: A Critical Appraisal of the Status Quaestionis* (Hildesheim, 1986) 63-92; and A.Hurst, 'Un critique grec dans la Rome d'Auguste: Denys d'Halicarnasse' *ANRW* 30.1 (1982) 839-65.

particular points to the important.

Still within Dionysius' oeuvre there is another crucial remark. In his essay on Dinarchus, ch. 1, he explains why he had not written about this minor orator in his previous books:

> Περὶ Δεινάρχου τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἰρηκὼς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφεῖσιν διὰ τὸ μήτε εὑρετὴν ἰδίου γεγονέναι χαρακτῆρος τὸν ἄνδρα, ὥσπερ τὸν Λυσίαν καὶ τὸν' Ισοκράτην καὶ τὸν' Ισαῖον, μήτε τῶν εὑρημένων ἑτέροις τελειωτήν, ὥσπερ τὸν Δημοσθένη καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνη καὶ <τὸν>' Υπερείδην ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν,
>
> 'I said nothing about the orator Dinarchus in my writings on the ancient orators because he was neither the inventor of an individual style, as were Lysias, Isocrates and Isaeus, nor the perfector of styles which others had invented, as I judge Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hyperides to have been.'

At first glance this statement implies that - as opposed to Dinarchus - he did write about all the others.[470] However, there arose some considerable doubts following the suggestions of Kalinka[471] and the scepticism of other scholars.[472] Kalinka rather vaguely suggests that the aorist participle γραφεῖσιν refers only to the completed treatises on the first three orators, as if - as I understand it - the περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων only covered the first generation and not all his Attic predecessors in Dionysius' terminology. So, the work on the first three was done, but on the other hand the κρίνομεν with its present tense means that the second book was only a plan. Moreover, the altered sequence in the mention of the three later rhetoricians (Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, instead of the original: Dem.,Hyp.,Aesch.) shows that Dionysius did not have them in a fixed and completed form.[473] This latter suggestion might be thought to have a certain strength, but if we

[470]Cf. R.H.Tukey, 'The composition of the De Oratoribus Antiquis of Dionysius' *CPh* 4 (1909) 391.
[471]E.Kalinka, 'Die Arbeitsweise des Rhetors Dionys' *WS* 43 (1924) 159.
[472]L.Radermacher, 'Dionysios' *RE* V (1903) col. 965; S.F.Bonner, *The literary treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Study in the Development of Critical Method* (Cambridge, 1939) 30.
[473]Kalinka, 160: cf. A.Gudeman, *P.Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de oratoribus, 2. ed* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1914) 382.

consider the generality of the context these arguments lose their power.[474]

On the other hand, another piece of evidence in favour of a completed Hyperidean essay was discovered by Blass. In Syrianus' commentary on Hermogenes he found the following sentence:

> Διονύσιον, ὃς περὶ χαρακτῆρος διέλαβε Λυσίου Δημοσθένους Ἰσοκράτους Ὑπερείδου Θουκυδίδου.[475]
>
> 'Dionysius, who dealt with the styles of Lysias, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Hyperides and Thucydides.'

Its value was questioned by Wilamowitz and Kalinka because of the author's obscurity.[476]

And finally Dionysius' critical remarks on Hyperides' style (see below) give a strong impression that he must have dealt with the orator. However, to what extent is questionable. The general characteristics of these comments in the 'De Dinarcho' could certainly correspond to those about Lysias and Isocrates in the 'De Demosthene'[477] and so they too could be the echo of a more detailed and independent work, in this case devoted to Hyperides. Of course there is no objective evidence.[478] To try to reconstruct from these remarks the structure of the lost Hyperidean essay is merely a vain and unnecessary speculation.[479]

At this point, after counting the pro- and contra-arguments, it would be fruitless to go further, since any attempt to give a decisive answer would not surpass the level of a subjective hypothesis. Nevertheless, in considering the general characteristics of Dinonysius' stylistic remarks on Hyperides, there could be a further argument, a kind of

[474]Cf. van Wyk Cronjé, 67.
[475]Walz, VII, 1048.
[476]Kalinka, 159, (F.Blass, *De Dionysii Halicarnassensis scriptis rhetoricis* (1863) 11). Another recurrent argument against the existence of the treatises is the hurry and lack of time to which Dionysius often refers. This point certainly does not have any convincing force in itself. Nor is this valid in the case of the final sentence of the 'De Demosthene' (the opening essay of the second book) where Dionysius promises to write about the πραγματικὸς τόπος on a later occasion, namely: ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς γραφησομένοις ἀποδώσομεν σοι τὸν λόγον. To conclude from this statement that he had planned but never fulfilled the Hyperidean and Aeschinean treatises, since not even the second Demosthenic work was completed in time, is not justified: cf. Kalinka, 160.
[477]They are very often repeated without mentioning their previous occurrence. See *De Demosthene* passim.
[478]Cf. Kalinka, 158.
[479]Cf. Tukey, 393.

indirect evidence, which would perhaps bring some contribution to the dead-locked debate.

In Dionysius' estimation Hyperides represented without any doubt the so-called plain style, which was introduced and basically developed by Lysias. In accordance with this principle the majority of the stylistic observations on Hyperides - wherever the opportunity arises - are paralleled with the similar qualities of Lysias. From all these comparisons it is generally apparent that Dionysius on the one hand considered Lysias better than Hyperides - not to say the best - in the strict sense of stylistic technique (λεκτικὸς τόπος) within the bounds of the plain style. On the other hand, however, the main virtue of the Hyperidean style lay in arrangement of the subject matter (πραγματικὸς τόπος) and from Hyperides this was the element worthy of imitation. All the three 'lengthy' Dionysian statements give this same impression: *De Dinarcho* 6 and 7 and *De Imitatione* 6, 31.

Lysias' weakness in arrangement is of course especially discussed in its place, i.e. in the essay on him.[480] However, in a third, 'neutral' field the two representatives of the plain style are placed after each other with the emphasis on their virtues. Each - by accident or on purpose - seems to supplement the shortcomings of his counterpart and so create an ideal 'joint-model' for the plain style. In any case, in the *De Din.* 6, Dionysius suggests as the only appropriate method for separating the real and spurious speeches of Dinarchus a clarification of the main characteristics of his three models, Demosthenes, Lysias and Hyperides:

> ἄλλων ῥητόρων, οὓς μεμίμηται, μεγίστη γνῶσις ἡ ὁμοείδεια τῶν λόγων. αὐτίκα ὁ μὲν Λυσίας ἔν τε τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγῶσιν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὁμολογούμενός ἐστιν ..... εἰς δὲ τὸν λεκτικὸν τόπον κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων σαφήνειαν καὶ σύνθεσιν αὐτοφυῆ μὲν καὶ λείαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, παντὸς δὲ λόγου κατὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν διαφέρουσαν. ὁ δ'Ὑπερείδης κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡττᾶται Λυσίου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν πραγματικὸν τόπον διαφέρει. διηγεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς, ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πορευόμενος. πιστοῦταί <τε> οὐ κατ' ἐνθύμημα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ'

[480]D.H. *Lys.* 15.

ἐπιχείρημα πλατύνων.

'For example, Lysias shows self-consistency in both his private and his public speeches ... and in respect of diction, the lucidity of his language, the apparent naturalness and smoothness of his composition, which, however is pleasing beyond all description. Hyperides on the other hand, is inferior to Lysias in his choice of words, but superior in his treatment of subject-matter. He composes his narrative in a variety of ways, proceeding sometimes according to the natural order of events, at other times from the end to the beginning. In his proofs he not only uses the enthymeme (*as does Lysias cf. Lys.15*), but also expatiates by means of the epichireme.'

Similarly in chapter 7 of the same treatise Dionysius emphasises Hyperides' skills in the arrangement of the subject matter:

τῆς μὲν λέξεως τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τῆς δὲ συνθέσεως τὸ ἁπλοῦν, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων τὸ εὔκαιρον, τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τὸ μὴ τραγικὸν μηδὲ ὀγκῶδες

'they contain his forcefulness of diction, his simplicity of composition and his effective timing in the treatment of subject-matter, and there is no melodramatic or bombastic artificiality'[481]

It is remarkable, however, that even in the case of his favourite orator, Demosthenes, Dionysius did not fulfil his promise and write on the orator's πραγματικὸς τόπος:

ἐὰν δὲ σώζῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡμᾶς, καὶ περὶ τῆς πραγματικῆς αὐτοῦ δεινότητος, ἔτι μείζονος ἢ τοῦδε καὶ θαυμαστοτέρου θεωρήματος, ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς γραφησομένοις ἀποδώσομέν σοι τὸν λόγον.

'If god preserves me, I shall present you in a subsequent treatise with an even longer and more remarkable account than this of his genius in the treatment of the subject-matter.'

[481] And even more explicit is the *De Imitatione* 6, 31: Ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης εὔστοχος (cf. *V.C.*.209) μέν, σπάνιον δ' αὐξητικός· καὶ τῇ μὲν τῆς φράσεως κατασκευῇ Λυσίαν ὑπερηρκώς, τῇ δὲ τῆς εὑρέσεως παιουργίᾳ πάντας. ἔτι δὲ τοῦ κρινομένου διὰ παντὸς ἔχεται, καὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τοῦ πράγματος προσπέφυκεν, καὶ συνέσει πολλῇ κεχορήγηται, καὶ χάριτος (cf. *Lys.*10;11;12; *Isocr.*3) μεστός ἐστι· καὶ δοκῶν ἁπλοῦς οὐκ ἀπήλλακται δεινότητος. τούτου ζηλωτέον μάλιστα τῶν διηγήσεων τὸ λεπτὸν καὶ σύμμετρον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους, <ὡς> ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα βαδίζει.

A similar inequality is present between the chapters dealing with λεκτικός and πραγματικὸς τόπος in the first three essays. For example in the treatise on Lysias the rate is thirty-three to one. This, however, corresponds to Dionysius' declared teaching program, which is presented in the opening chapter of the *De compositione*.

The introduction is addressed to the son of his friend, who at the same time happened to be his pupil as is revealed by a casual remark: ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν γυμνασίαις ('in the daily exercises').[482] The boy probably represents the same age-group, which Dionysius supposedly had been teaching in his school, or at least some of those who were targeted by his rhetorical education. So, the programme outlined in the introduction could in my opinion very possibly be valid - it cannot be proved - both for the main aims of his rhetorical teaching and for his critical efforts, which walked hand in hand with this practical purpose.

Metilius Rufus is presented with this work on his birthday on the threshold of his maturity. He must have been about seventeen. Dionysius considers his essay useful for everyone:

> μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μειρακίοις τε καὶ νεωστὶ τοῦ μαθήματος ἁπτομένοις ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥοῦφε Μετίλιε πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ κάμοὶ τιμιωτάτου φίλων. Διττῆς γὰρ οὔσης ἀσκήσεως περὶ πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν τοὺς λόγους, τῆς περὶ τὰ νοήματα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ὧν ἡ μὲν τοῦ πραγματικοῦ τόπου μᾶλλον ἐφάπτεσθαι δόξειεν ἄν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λεκτικοῦ, καὶ πάντων ὅσοι τοῦ λέγειν εὖ στοχάζονται περὶ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς θεωρίας τοῦ λόγου ταύτας σπουδαζόντων ἐξ ἴσου, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις φρόνησιν ἄγουσα ἡμᾶς ἐπιστήμη βραδεῖά ἐστι καὶ χαλεπὴ νέοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατος εἰς ἀγενείων καὶ μειρακίων πεσεῖν ἡλικίαν· ἀκμαζούσης γὰρ ἤδη συνέσεώς ἐστι καὶ πολιαῖς κατηρτυμένης ἡλικίας [ἡ τούτων κατάληψις] οἰκειοτέρα, πολλῇ μὲν ἱστορίᾳ λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων, πολλῇ δὲ πείρᾳ καὶ συμφορᾷ παθῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ ἀλλοτρίων συν-αυξομένη· τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς λέξεις φιλόκαλον καὶ ταῖς νεαραῖς πέφυκε συναυθεῖν ἡλικίαις. ἐπτόηται γὰρ ἅπασα νέου ψυχὴ περὶ τὸν τῆς ἑρμηνείας ὡραϊσμόν, ἀλόγους τινὰς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιώδεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο

[482] 20.

λαμβάνουσα τὰς ὁρμάς· ... εἰς δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ὃ δεῖ πρῶτον νέοις ἀσκεῖσθαι, "συμβάλλομαί σοι μέλος εἰς ἔρωτα" ... ἐὰν δ' ἐγγένηταί μοι σχολή, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑτέραν ἐξοίσω σοι γραφήν, ἵνα τὸν λεκτικὸν τόπον τελείως ἐξειργασμένον ἔχῃς.

'but particularly necessary to young men who are just beginning to take up the study, like yourself, Rufus Metilius, whose father is my most esteemed friend. In virtually all kinds of discourse two things require study: the ideas and the words. We may regard the first of these as concerned chiefly with subject-matter, and the latter with expression; and all those who aim to become good orators pay close attention to both these aspects of discourse equally. But the knowledge which guides us towards the selection and judicious management of our material is attained slowly and with difficulty by the young: indeed, it cannot be acquired by beardless boys. Understanding of these things belongs rather to a mature intelligence and to an age disciplined by grey hairs - an age whose powers are constantly being augmented by examination of discourses and of actions, and by many experiences of its own and of sharing in the fortunes of others. But the love of fine literature flowers no less naturally in the days of youth than in later life, for all young minds are exited by fresh beauty of expression, and are attracted towards it by feelings which are instinctive and akin to inspiration ... So it is to supply this latter faculty, the first to which the young should apply themselves, that ... 'for the sake of love I offer you a song'... If I am granted the time, I shall produce another book for you, on the choice of words, in order that you may have a complete treatment of the subject of style.'

Given our knowledge of Dionysius' preferences it would not be very surprising if he had simply delayed temporarily the plan of a Hyperidean treatise. Hyperides did not reveal any particular virtue in the field of the λεκτικὸς τόπος of the plain style, by comparison with Lysias. Why should he have mentioned Hyperides' inferior skills if he could introduce a better representative? The time to speak on the other hand about the πραγματικὸς τόπος and so about one of its masters, Hyperides, had not yet come, at least

not before finishing the first task and introducing his not yet mature audience, the pupils, to the analysis of the λεκτικὸς τόπος. Or perhaps - considering the question from a malicious point of view - he was simply not interested so much in arrangement and questions regarding subject matter and accordingly developed a good excuse. Why should not boys aged 17-18, even beginners be able to understand all this? Could it have formed a factor that in this field in contrast to the λεκτικὸς τόπος the inherited methodological and phraseological material was too poor? In reality, despite all his efforts, Dionysius always remained a historian rather than an original critic and his observations very often give the impression of amateurism.[483] Among his critical expressions, those describing skills or shortcomings in the πραγματικὸς τόπος are sometimes improvised and unparalleled or somehow hanging in the air. On the other hand the criticism of the λεκτικὸς τόπος has a relatively solid terminology. It remains a question whether Dionysius would or could have defined his vague remarks if he had written more from the aspect of πραγματικὸς τόπος.[484]

B. *Some characteristics of Hyperides' style in Dionysius' view*

He is inferior to Lysias in choice of words: κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡττᾶται Λυσίου.[485] It is very uncertain what he meant by this exactly. Dionysius praises Lysias (3) for using everyday language, he is a

> ποιητὴς κράτιστος λόγων, λελυμένης ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου λέξεως ἰδίαν τινὰ [λόγων] εὑρηκὼς ἁρμονίαν, ᾗ τὰ ὀνόματα κοσμεῖ τε καὶ ἡδύνει μηδὲν ἔχοντα ὀγκῶδες μηδὲ φορτικόν.
>
> 'He is the most accomplished literary artist who has invented a uniquely melodious style that is yet free from metre, in which he makes his language beautiful

[483]Bonner, passim.
[484]It is very remarkable that compared with the rhetoricians in the case of historians a genuine interest is apparent in questions of arrangement: cf. Malcolm Heath, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus 'On Imitation'' *Hermes* 117 (1989) 370-3. It might reflect, I think, the authentic field of scholarly interest of Dionysius. He scrutinizes these questions because of his own practice of writing history.
[485]*Din.*6.

and attractive without bombast or vulgarity.'

No other orator could ever surpass him in 'force and power while using only standard and ordinary words' (ἐν ὀνόμασι κυρίοις καὶ κοινοῖς). Irrespective of Lysias' special capacity to bring harmony into a seemingly ordinary conversation the point from the Hyperidean point of view is perhaps that his words were neither 'puffed up, bombastic' nor 'vulgar, low'. Hyperides belongs to the same category as Lysias, but he was inferior to him so he must have failed in one of these two aspects. Scarcely, however, by being bombastic, as a general remark on his artistic treatment also suggests: τῆς κατασκευῆς τὸ μὴ τραγικὸν μήδε ὀγκῶδες. But perhaps by his inclination to a kind of phraseological extravagance or vulgarity, which caused so much trouble for lexicographers of 'real Attic'.

Vigour or forcefulness of diction or style in a more general sense - τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἰσχυρόν characterises Hyperides. In *Dem.* 23 Dionysius refuses to allow that Plato should be regarded as a 'definitive norm' of clear, or simple yet forceful speeches (καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ ἰσχυρῶν λόγων)[486]. Does it mean that there is a danger in being clear, or clean and at the same time losing vigour and effectiveness? If 'clear writing' implies a kind of simplicity, then there is a certain validity of this question for the plain style also. In any case Lysias could not achieve a proper kind of forcefulness in the same way as he could describe characters and so provoke feelings:

> οὐδὲ ἁφὰς ἔχει καὶ τόνους ἰσχυροὺς οὐδὲ θυμοῦ καὶ πνεύματός ἐστι μεστὴ οὐδ', ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσίν ἐστι πιθανή, οὕτως ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἰσχυρὰ οὐδ' ὡς ἡδῦναι καὶ πεῖσαι καὶ χαριεντίσασθαι δύναται, οὕτω βιάσασθαί τε καὶ προσαναγκάσαι
>
> 'nor again does it have the power to grip the listener's attention, and to keep it in rapt suspense; nor is it full of energy and feeling, or able to match its moral persuasiveness with an equal power to portray emotion, and its capacity to entertain, persuade and charm with an ability to force and compel his audience.'[487]

[486]In Usher's translation: 'for both plain and forceful writing', which misses in my opinion the adversative meaning of the ἅμα καί. In referring to other Dionysian parallels, I mainly rely on P. Geigenmüller's collection, entitled: *Quaestiones Dionysianae de vocabulis artis criticae* (Leipzig, 1908).
[487]*Lys.*13.

Moreover, in comparison with Demosthenes:

> ὅταν δ' εἰς τοὺς ἀποδεικτικοὺς ἔλθῃ λόγους, ἀμυδρά τις γίνεται καὶ ἀσθενής, ... τόνος γὰρ οὐ πολὺς αὐτῇ πρόσεστιν οὐδ' ἰσχύς.
>
> 'but when he comes to the proof section it becomes fitful and feeble ... for it has little reserve of energy and power.'[488]

Demosthenes' style of course shows all the advantages of Lysias καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῆ and yet it is forceful and so he is the real master in combining the two and not Plato. Hyperides is perhaps somewhere in the middle between Lysias and Demosthenes: he is certainly forceful, whereas not so pure as Lysias.

Presumably a similar kind of vigour or effectiveness is referred to in the 'De Imitatione' by the word δεινότης, which is present despite the fact that Hyperides' style is seemingly simple, ἁπλοῦς.

For one of Hyperides' other virtues is simplicity of composition - τῆς συνθέσεως ἁπλότην. The mentioning of ἁπλότης is unparalleled in other orators, however, it certainly refers to the general characteristics of the plain style. Does Dionysius mean by this that Hyperides was content to use simple words and expressions or colloquial forms for his descriptions, without relying too much on metaphors and other means? And by praising his κατασκευή, is Dionysius referring to special skills to elevate and elaborate this level of simple composition with wit and manipulation of the actual choice and arrangement of the phrases? Perhaps it is erroneous to try to find a phraseological coherence in different parts of Dionysius' oeuvre and perhaps these critical expressions can easily overlap.[489]

In any case Dionysius has two (three) points to mention about Hyperides'

[488]*De Dem.*13; Cecil W.Wooten, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Hermogenes' *AJP* 110 (1989) 586, identifies the slightly vague idea of 'energy and power' with Hermogenes' notion of rapidity, which makes Demosthenes' style on the one hand clear, on the other forceful, energetic and emphatic. Eventually Hermogenes extends the number of stylistic ideas to twenty instead of three, mainly on the basis of Dionysius' virtues of style.

[489]Cf. D.M.Schenkeveld, 'Theories of evaluation in the rhetorical works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *MphL* 1 (1975) 107; „He may seem to operate within a coherent system, but in reality he discusses isolated aspects of a rather vaguely defined whole: he appears to lack a consistent view of the foundation of his literary criticism." In contrast Cynthia Damon, 'Aesthetic response and technical analysis in the rhetorical writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *MH* 48 (1991) 58, argues on the basis of a research into Dionysius' critical approaches that „Dionysius' critical system is not inconsistent, only incomplete".

κατασκευή - his technique for the elaboration of a special form of speech: τὸ μὴ τραγικὸν μήδε ὀγκῶδες, γενναιότερος τῶν Λυσιακῶν and τῇ μὲν τῆς φράσεως κατασκευῇ Λυσίαν ὑπερκώς. About the first there is not much more to say, except that in Dionysius' terminology ὄγκος is certainly always a negative phenomenon ('bombast') in contrary to earlier rhetorical usage, when it was considered as belonging to the sublime style ('majesty').[490] However, more interesting is his adjective γενναῖος, which is again a unique critical remark. In *V.C.*13 Dionysius explains that καλὴ ἁρμονία - superb arrangement in speeches - can be achieved from the very same elements as ἡδεῖα - attractive. Only these same elements, melody, rhythm, variation must be accordingly applied, 'for just as there is to be found one style that is pleasant (ἡδεῖα ... λέξις), so there is another that is noble (γενναῖα)'. So, if I am right, καλή and γενναῖα are close synonyms in Dionysius' terminology. On the other hand, however, as Geigenmüller said: "luce est clarius Dionysium adiectivo καλός eodem fere sensu uti atque vocabulis "μεγαλοπρεπής, σεμνός, ἀξιωματικός, αὐστηρός", similibus",[491] thus it belongs to the group of expressions describing the sublime style. So, Hyperides in Dionysius' judgement seems to have slightly left behind the bounds of a plain style in respect to κατασκευή.

Hyperides shows a proper sense of timing in subject-matter - τῶν πραγμάτων τε εὔκαιρον. Dionysius mostly uses the expression for a virtue with the general meaning of changes for necessary variety, which is an essential component of good prose,[492] and once for Lysias' well placed, 'apt sayings' γνῶμαι εὔκαιροι.[493] However, in the case of Hyperides' style it is introduced to describe a strategic quality, i.e. the placing of ideas and actual parts of the speech effectively, which incorporates variety too. This meaning is obvious from the form εὐκαιρία, in *Dem.*42. Dionysius excuses himself for not scrutinising more a certain subject, but he cannot delay any more and in his essay he has to avoid 'the charge of lacking a sense of proportion' - δόξαν ὑφορώμενος ἀκαιρίας.

This latter virtue is complemented by another, which is described as ταῖς οἰκονομίαις ἀκριβέστερος (sc. than Lysias). Οἰκονομία could mean the proper balance

[490]Cf. Geigenmüller, 109.
[491]36.
[492]*C.V.*11;12,19.
[493]*Lys.*17.

between particular parts within the whole speech and imply that he was more conscious in preserving it and did not forget their sequence or importance. Lysias was somehow liberal and not taking pains (easy-going) in his arrangement ἀπέριττός τις ἐλευθέριός τε καὶ ἀπόνηρος οἰκονομῆσαι,[494] and this is one of the points which Dionysius cannot approve and recommend for imitation: 'they should draw these elements from certain other orators who were his superiors (οἱ κρείττους οἰκονομῆσαι _ ἐγένοντο) in the arrangement of the material they have invented. I shall speak of these later'[495]. It cannot be excluded that he was thinking of Hyperides too at this point. In any case ἀκρίβεια is attributed to the less effective though well balanced orators by Aristotle,[496] it does not, however, apply completely to Hyperides' case, but defines further the rhetorical meaning of the word.

As mentioned above, the type of comments in his presumed first book 'On Imitation' seems to reflect rather a general impression generated by the Hyperidean style on Dionysius - in his early steps almost a layman - than a developed critical system, which was adopted to analyse an orator. The remarks are even more individual than in the previous cases about πραγματικὸς τόπος and they seem to point to one major characteristic, that is an intense concentration on the aims of the argument, combined with a very intelligent, almost sly wit.

Hyperides is εὔστοχος aiming well or hitting the nail on the head, although sometimes failing the target by amplification, αὐξητικός. He has a certain knavery in his invention, πανουργία, which surpasses all the others, including Lysias, who at a later stage of Dionysius' rhetorical studies turned out to be one of the best in this respect.[497] He concentrates always (διὰ παντός) on the matter under judgement and he is attached to, προσπέφυκεν, the essence of the matter. He is provided with a great insight or intelligence, συνέσει πολλῇ.

Most vaguely, he is full of charm (χάριτος μεστός), which must mean more than

[494]*Lys.*15. According to G.M.A.Grube, 'Thrasymachus, Theophrastus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *AJP* 73 (1952) 260, n.13, 'oikonomia' here rather refers to the less effective elaboration of ideas and the limited use of figures, contrary to the earlier expressed view in chapter 6 of the same treatise.
[495]Transl.Usher, *Lys.*15.
[496]Geigenmüller, 21.
[497]*Lys.*15.

simply that he had an unmistakable character of style, because not all excellent orators do so. Dionysius made a great effort in the case of Lysias to try to specify the essence of χάρις, however, he had to confess that it cannot be described:

> ῥᾷστον μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθῆναι καὶ παντὶ ὁμοίως ἰδιώτῃ τε καὶ τεχνίτῃ φανερόν, χαλεπώτατον δὲ λόγῳ δηλωθῆναι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς κράτιστα εἰπεῖν δυναμένοις εὔπορον.
>
> 'It is very easy and plain for layman and expert alike to see, but to express it in words is very difficult, nor is it easy even for those with exceptional descriptive powers.' [498]

But Dionysius certainly had something concrete in his mind, since this was also the point where Hyperides' Rhodian imitators eventually failed in his consideration. It must have been also a kind of 'dunamis'.

What it really was can never be answered, but perhaps - not without all danger of overestimation - Dionysius' final summarising sentence gives a hint of it. He recommends especially (μάλιστα) the subtlety of Hyperides' narrative, τῶν διηγήσεων τὸ λεπτόν. It is completely unparalleled both in earlier rhetorical usage and Dionysius' terminology. However, it is the key-term of Alexandrian poetry and in a way represents the poetical and intellectual spirit of the Hellenistic age: to write less, however, more polished in details and sophisticated tricks, which are the most enjoyable. It certainly does not fall short of the standards of the Rhodian school of rhetoric: 'facete loqui' and the emphasis on 'acumen'. Its pair σύμμετρον, with the meaning of 'in accordance with the metre' or rather 'in the right measure', corresponds also to these Hellenistic criteria of carefully chosen and balanced forms.

Finally Dionysius has also a few words to highlight Hyperides' abilities in the variety of his narrative and proofs, διηγεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς. Sometimes he proceeds according to the natural order of events, sometimes inversely, and in his proofs he not only uses the enthymeme, but also expatiates by means of the epichireme (*de Din.* 6,15), whereas Lysias rather relies on the latter one (15). But most remarkable is the building up

[498] *Lys.*10.

of the subject matter, which reflects his above mentioned qualities of concentration: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐφόδους <ὡς> ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα βαδίζει.

So, Dionysius' relative silence about Hyperides seems to indicate the real beginning of the gradual set-back in Hyperides later 'Nachleben', although the lack of interest could be explained - to a certain extent - by Dionysius' individual priorities in favour of the λεκτικὸς τόπος.

IX. Ps.Longinus' unique appraisal of Hyperides

In this chapter my purpose is to explain the background of the most favourable evaluation of Hyperides in antiquity, which is all the more peculiar since it is completely isolated in ancient literary criticism of the first century and later periods. Its roots - as in many instances in Ps. Longinus[499] - presumably go back to Caecilius' rhetorical writings and to the particular place, which the Augustan critic assigned to Hyperides in ancient rhetoric. It is therefore inevitable that traces of Caecilius' judgement on Hyperides should be collected and evaluated, though almost nothing remains.

A. Caecilius of 'Caleacte'

There are obvious similarities between Dionysius' and Caecilius' career, since both of them were teachers of rhetoric; Dionysius was more dedicated to historiography,[500] Caecilius more to literary criticism (rhetorical theories), which was applied especially for teaching purposes by both of them. Contrary to Ofenloch's opinion,[501] Caecilius' critical ideas were far from Dionysius' point of view. Concrete disagreement is limited to philological decisions about genuine and spurious speeches of a particular author, but it does not affect their stylistic conceptions.[502] Moreover, quite

[499]The anonymous author in the very first sentence declares that the initiative to write on the subject was given by the insufficient treatment of the subject, Caecilius had not written on the sublime with proper insight. His essay's quality is 'lower' than the subject would deserve; cf. D.A.Russell, *'Longinus' On the Sublime* (Oxford, 1964) 58.

[500]According to Suda, Caecilius is supposed to have written a historical treatise on the slave wars in Sicily.

[501]*Caecilii Calactini Fragmenta,* ed. E. Ofenloch (Leipzig, 1907) XIII.

[502]This is the case in fragments no.136; 137; 142; all of them relate to Demosthenic problems and are presumably from the treatise specially devoted to textual questions in the Demosthenes corpus: Περὶ Δημοσθένους, ποῖοι αὐτοῦ γνήσιοι λόγοι καὶ ποῖοι νόθοι (Suda kappa 1165). Russell, 58, argues for the essential similarity of their rhetorical standpoint. Titles like κατὰ Φρυγῶν, τίνι διαφέρει ὁ Ἀττικὸς ζῆλος τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ reveal Caecilius' Atticism. Though there are opinions to the contrary (K. Muenscher *Phil.* 58 (1899) 109 and U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Die Textgeschichte der Griechischen Lyriker' *Abh.d.k. Gesellsch. d.Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. NF IV,*3 (Göttingen, 1900) 70; Dionysius' reference (*Ep.ad Pomp.*3,777) to Caecilius seems to be a genuine expression of friendship: cf. Russell 58; Anastasiou, 37.

remarkably among the very few statements, which are explicitly marked with Caecilius' name in the tradition,[503] fragment no.110 reveals that he had the same opinion about Lysias' stylistic faults as Dionysius (cf. *Lys.*15): that is to say, Lysias was quite good in invention, he was not skillful in arrangement.[504]

Like Dionysius, Caecilius' main purpose is to facilitate the imitation of Attic models for his pupils. This didactic purpose presumably led him to compose the lexicon, ἐκλογὴ λέξεων κατὰ στοῖχειον, and suggested to him the initiative to write a collection of figures, entitled περὶ σχημάτων. This intention of his explains perhaps the painful precision, which is also manifested in the fragments of his τέχνη.[505] Similar characteristics may have dominated his comparative essays on Aeschines-Cicero and Demosthenes-Cicero, if we can interpret Plutarch's devastating judgement on Caecilius' analysis in this way:[506]

> ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἴων "δελφῖνος ἐν χέρσῳ βία", *** ἦν ὁ περιττὸς ἐν ἅπασι Καικίλιος ἀγνοήσας, ἐνεανιεύσατο σύγκρισιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγου καὶ Κικέρωνος ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ παντὸς ἦν τὸ "γνῶθι σαυτὸν" ἔχειν πρόχειρον, οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκει τὸ πρόσταγμα θεῖον εἶναι
>
> 'as Ion says: „a dolphin's strength on land", *** which maxim Caecilius disregarded, though he was extraordinary in everything, and so he acted as a hot-headed youth when he published a comparative analysis of Demosthenes' and Cicero's style. Well, perhaps if the 'know yourself' had been completely obvious, it would not have appeared as a divine saying'

[503]Ofenloch's edition is generally condemned as uncritical, nevertheless, in his defence it must be mentioned that all the indirect evidence is printed in smaller letters and only passages mentioned *expressis verbis* under Caecilius' name are printed in normal characters.
[504]Καικίλιος δὲ ἁμαρτάνει εὑρετικὸν μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα, εἴπερ ἄλλον τινά, συνομολογῶν, οἰκονομῆσαι δὲ τὰ εὑρεθέντα οὐχ οὕτως ἱκανόν. It is not clear from the context who is (are) the critic(s), whose opinion seems to contradict to that of Caecilius in Photius' presentation (Phot.*Bibl.*262). Ofenloch's suggestion about Dionysius is unjustified, it might even be Photius himself.
[505]M.Fuhrman, 'Caecilius' *KP* I (1979) cols. 988-9; Brzoska, (Caec.) col. 1177.
[506]Plut.*Dem.*3.

The expression νεανιεύομαι mostly refers to a rash, unwise way of acting or in a slightly more positive interpretation to a brave, daring act.[507]There is no significant difference in the various meanings of the word, nevertheless, the choice of Plutarch might suggest a child-like presentation of the subject. In any case, Caecilius' other lost treatise περὶ ὕψους provoked not only Ps.Longinus' bitter rejection of the whole treatment of the subject, but also his indignation that Caecilius had overloaded his essay with numerous examples, thus seemingly presupposing that he targets an ignorant audience.[508] Longinus' objection to the redundant examples exposes Caecilius' intention as aiming at an audience made up of pupils instead of an expert, literate public. Caecilius might only have intended to collect an extensive store of examples to rely on in teaching activities.

Caecilius obviously highly appreciated the style of Demosthenes, as indicated by the existence of his comparative studies.[509]Caecilius' favourite was, however, Lysias as attested by a separate treatise συγγράμματα ὑπὲρ Λυσίου (perhaps several books), devoted in all probability to the analysis of Lysias' style.[510]Ps.Longinus' description is highly sarcastic, regarding Caecilius' preference:

> ὁ Καικίλιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Λυσίου συγγράμμασιν ἀπεθάρρησε τῷ παντὶ Λυσίαν ἀμείνω Πλάτωνος ἀποφήνασθαι, δυσὶ πάθεσι χρησάμενος ἀκρίτοις· φιλῶν γὰρ τὸν Λυσίαν ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς αὑτόν, ὅμως μᾶλλον μισεῖ [τῷ παντὶ] Πλάτωνα ἢ Λυσίαν φιλεῖ.
>
> 'Caecilius in his writings on Lysias has dared to demonstrate that Lysias in all respects is superior to Plato, he did so because he was suffering from two confused passions: he loved Lysias more than he did himself, and at the same time he despises more Plato than he likes Lysias.'

[507]The latter certainly does not apply to the meaning of Plutarch, though LSJ translates the passage with: „undertake with youthful spirit".
[508]τὸ ὑψηλὸν διὰ μυρίων ὅσων ὡς ἀγνοοῦσι πειρᾶται δεικνύναι (Longin.1), where the expression can either mean 'at enormous length' or 'by means of innumerable examples', Russell 60.
[509]Cf. Anastasiou 35.
[510]Longin.32,8.

What Caecilius might have favoured in Lysias' style is perhaps his pure and exact language (ἀκριβής, καθαρός). This can at least hypothetically be inferred from Caecilius' criticism of Aeschines.[511] Apart from the above mentioned remark on Lysias' weakness in arrangement, which is also very close to Dionysius' judgement, everything is a mere guess. But still, on the basis of these insufficient proofs, and keeping in mind the similarity in critical approach between Dionysius and the more strict Attic, scholarly standards of Caecilius, it is very likely that Caecilius did not particularly favour Hyperides as a representative of plain style, the main criterion of which was purity of language. This point of view provided sufficient reason for Dionysius to postpone and finally abandon any treatment of the orator's style, when he targeted an audience consisting of pupils. Even worse may have happened in the case of Caecilius if he regarded Hyperides' predecessor, Lysias as the best of orators. It would not be surprising if - in a slightly similar way to Dionysius' preferences - Hyperides had became a kind of stepson on the list of Attic orators for Caecilius.

However, he must have dealt with him in his famous, yet obscure essay 'On the character of the Ten Orators', but to what extent is questionable. There is no explicit evidence of that particular chapter of the essay.[512] In this respect Hyperides shares the same fate as Andocides, Lycurgus, Isaeus and Dinarchus. Although Brzoska may not be entirely right in his hypothesis about the Pergamene origin of the rhetorical canon,[513] as argued above, his argument is certainly valid in so far as the canon was not Caecilius' invention, but rather certain preferences in the choice of models were inherited from earlier times. As I have argued above, even if we look at Dionysius' choice, extant school-lists must have had their effect on Caecilius' 'Ten'. Brzoska argues that under the pressure of an extant canon, Caecilius was forced to include and write about authors, who otherwise fell short of the standards set by him.

[511]Ofenloch, 126a; Kindstrand, 42.
[512]H.Keil, *Hermes* 30 (1895) 220, assigned a paragraph in Ps.Plut. *Vita X.Or.*849c to Caecilius and similarly there is a possibility that a passage, in which the orator's passion to 'hetairai' is castigated (849d), might be a loan from Idomeneus, Athenaeus and finally Caecilius: cf. fr. 148, Ofenloch.
[513]Brzoska, *De canone decem oratorum Atticorum quaestiones* (Diss. Vratislavae, 1888) 26-7.

It may certainly be true for Andocides, whose Attic language was strongly condemned and had no chance of becoming a model.[514] So, was the chapter on Hyperides' style a simple *pensum* to make the picture complete for his students?

On the other hand it is not contradictory to the above-mentioned hypothesis that scholars have more or less plausibly claimed to identify some real Hyperidean quotations - apart from the very questionable lexicographic references - in Caecilius' oeuvre. Hyperides' exemplary presentation of the Leto-myth in his Delian speech was probably mentioned by Caecilius and was taken over by Alexander Numeniu, Quintilian and along another line perhaps by Ps. Longinus.[515] As in the case of Plato, Caecilius' main criticism may have condemned Hyperides' poetical style. This characterization of Plato's style recurs in Ps.Longinus' reference to the Delian speech with a positive valuation notwithstanding.[516]Two other Hyperidean examples may have been incorporated into the περὶ σχημάτων. One of them is supposed to have illustrated the figure of thought ἐρώτησις- ἀπόκρισις,[517]where the part of the orator's famous response to Aristogeiton's accusation is referred to as follows:

> ἐκείνου δὲ ἐρωτήσαντος, εἰ ἔγραψε τοὺς δούλους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, αὐτὸς ἀποκρίνεται - ἵνα μὴ ἡμεῖς δουλεύσωμεν.
>
> 'after he had asked him, if he had proposed that the slaves should be freed, he answers - in order that we do not become slaves.'

It is, however, highly dubious why the reference in an anonymous author's περὶ ἀποκρίσεως would be taken from Caecilius' work.[518] Given the possibility, however, it is noteworthy that the figure belongs to those of thought. This latter alone could

[514]Brzoska, (de Can.) 27; Caecilius differentiated among the Attic Ten see U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, (Textgeschichte) 66.
[515]K.Morawski, 'De Dionysii et Caecilii studiis rhetoricis' *RhM* 34 (1879) 375-6; and Coblentz, *De libelli peri hypsous auctore* Diss. (Strasbourg, 1888) 67;
[516]The only reference of Hermogenes to Hyperides might be a heritage of this Caecilian evaluation and the later controversy.
[517]Ofenloch, 59b; a slightly different version of the same example is placed by Ofenloch among the alleged fragments of Caecilius' τέχνη (fr. 49).
[518]Fr. 49, Ofenloch, which is in Sp.-H.1-7, (also *Anonymi et Stephani in Artem Rhetoricam Commentaria*, ed. H.Rabe (Berlin, 1896) XXI,2 330-334).

explain Caecilius' unexpected interest in Hyperides, while he was searching for examples to fill up one of his usually extensive collections, he may have made use of every available material. Nevertheless, there is no need for such an explanation, since the particular example was already at his disposal in Gorgias/Rutilius' handbook on figures.[519]

Caecilius' rather hostile attitude towards Hyperides could be dramatically demonstrated if the text of fr. 164 *incertae sedis* in Ofenloch, or the idea concealed in it could be somehow ascribed to Caecilius. Unfortunately, however, apart from the opening sentence (differently typed in Ofenloch) there is no explicit proof that one of Porphyry's *personae* speaking in the following paragraphs taken over by Eusebius, reflect Caecilius' biased condemnation of Hyperides:

> Κεκίλιος δέ, ὥς τι μέγα πεφωρακώς, ὅλον δρᾶμα ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος Ἀντιφάνους, τὸν Οἰωνιστήν, μεταγράψαι φησὶ τὸν Μένανδρον εἰς τὸν Δεισιδαίμονα." Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς κλέπτας ἔδοξεν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑμῖν", φησίν, "εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀγαγεῖν, μηνύω καὐτὸς Ὑπερείδην τὸν καλὸν πολλὰ παρὰ Δημοσθένους κεκλοφότα ἔν τε τῷ Πρὸς Διώνδαν λόγῳ κἀν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁ ἕτερος παρὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μετέθηκε πρόδηλον· συγχρονούντων δ' αὐτῶν, ὑμῶν μὲν ἂν εἴη ἔργον", φησίν, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, ἐκ τῶν χρόνων ἀνιχνεῦσαι τὸν κλέπτην. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑποπτεύω μὲν τὸν ὑφηρημένον εἶναι τὸν Ὑπερείδην· ἀδήλου δὲ ὄντος ὁπότερος, ἄγαμαι μὲν Δημοσθένην, εἰ λαβὼν παρὰ Ὑπερείδου πρὸς δέον διώρθωσε· μέμφομαι δὲ τὸν Ὑπερείδην, εἰ λαβὼν παρὰ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον διέστρεψε."[520]
>
> 'Caecilius, as if he had discovered something great, states that Menander in his Deisidaimon has transcribed from the beginning until the end the whole

[519] Two other highly dubious 'Caecilian' fragments of Hyperides can be related if not to the category of a figure of thought, then to methods of arguing (arrangement). Fr. 165 *incertae sedis* Ofenloch, which is in Clement *Stromata* 6,2,16: ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἀφανῆ, ἀνάγκη τοὺς διδάσκοντας τεκμηρίοις καὶ τοῖς εἰκόσι ζητεῖν (fr. 195, Jensen), and χαρακτὴρ οὐδεὶς ἔπεστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς διανοίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (fr. 196, Jensen).

[520] *Praep.Evang.* 10,3,13.

drama of Antiphanes, the Oionistes. Since you have decided - I do not see why, he said - to come forward with thieves, I myself mention Hyperides, the nice one, who had stolen plenty from Demosthenes both in his speech against Diondas and on Eubulus' bribes. At least it is obvious that one has taken from the other; since, however, they were contemporaries it would be our task, he said, Apollonius, from such a distance in time to track the thief. I myself suspect that it was Hyperides, who has stolen, but even if it is not clear who was the one, I admire Demosthenes, if he after taking over from Hyperides improved it and I blame Hyperides if he after taking over from Demosthenes worsened it.'

Though in the case of Caecilius it cannot be anything but weak reasoning based on *ex silentio* arguments, Caecilius' attitude to Hyperides strengthens the conclusion, which could be formulated on the basis of Dionysius' - his contemporary's and fellow teacher's - writings, that Hyperides was decisively excluded from the rhetorical curriculum at the lower levels. Besides a presumably hostile general valuation, Caecilius only concentrated on separate examples useful for his rhetorical writing. This latter is the first remarkable specimen of the later handling of the Hyperidean corpus, that is to select excellent examples and incorporate them into rhetorical manuals, while the oeuvre itself begins to lose its attractiveness.

B. Ps.Longinus

Ps. Longinus' work 'On the sublime' is almost entirely built on the idea of giving a proper answer to Caecilius' essay under the same title (cf. prooemium and several references passim).[521] To some extent this provides a key to the understanding of different questions raised by the essay and among them the unique appraisal of Hyperides. Coblentz may be right about the deep influence exercised on Ps. Longinus by Caecilius' work even with regard to comparisons as a general method of stylistic analysis.[522]However, in the case of the Hyperides-Demosthenes parallel (34-5), it is very unlikely that he would simply have taken over the same protagonists and shown them in a different light. Nor is Maldini right in depriving Ps. Longinus of originality, since the parallel mention in Theon's work does not mean that it was a commonplace in literary criticism. On the contrary, Ps. Longinus' unique comparison could have been a starting point.[523]

The presentation of Hyperides' style forms a part of a comparison with Demosthenes and in its wider context belongs to the famous passage 33 - 36, which is a digression on the contrast between genius and mere faultlessness.[524]The starting point for the digression is in 32,7 where, as stated above, Ps.Longinus - not without indignation - refers to Caecilius' standpoint that Plato is completely inferior to Lysias. Ps.Longinus' obvious astonishment dominates the whole passage and motivates Ps.Longinus to build up a detailed argumentation to refute this nonsense propounded by Caecilius.

[521]A presentation of the *status quaestionis* is given by Giuseppe Martano, 'Il 'Saggio sul Sublime'. Una interessante pagina di retorica e di estetica dell'antichita' *ANRW* 32.1 (1984) 364-403. For recent bibliography see: G.A. Kennedy, *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism I, Classical Criticism* (Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney, 1989).

[522]Brzoska, (Caec.) passim. He considers it as a Theodorean heritage in Caecilius' theory. Russell, 59, however, warns of a preconception: „There is no reason to believe that L's arrangement of his material or any large tract of argument comes from him (Caecilius)". Ps.Longinus' work - I think - reflects Caecilius' treatment of the subject only as far as building up a well-defined, independent presentation, which as a whole becomes a refutation of Caecilius.

[523]Not to mention Italo Lana's yet unproved identification of Ps.Longinus with Theon; see n.553.

[524]Cf. Russell, 157; U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechisches Lesebuch* (Berlin, 1902) II, 2, 377-381 (Regel und Genie, aus der Schrift περὶ ὕψους).

οὐδὲ τὰ θέματα ὁμολογούμενα, καθάπερ ᾠήθη. ὡς γὰρ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ καθαρὸν τὸν ῥήτορα προφέρει πολλαχῇ διημαρτημένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος[525]· τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ ὀλίγου δεῖ.

'Not even his starting points can be accepted, as he took them for granted. For he introduces the orator (Lysias) as faultless and pure and prefers him to Plato, who has failed in many places, which was not the case and is far from being true.'

The argumentation addresses two fundamental issues related to the notion of the sublime. On the one hand whether we should prefer grandeur even with some minor faults to perfection in details and to overall mediocrity; and on the other whether we should prefer in a speech the higher number of virtues to the less, yet of extraordinary quality?

Chapter 33 gives an answer to the first question by favouring magnificence compared with a painfully achieved faultless style. All of the parallel examples are poets introduced by genres. Remarkably the first prose-writer comparison between Hyperides and Demosthenes is applied in order to demonstrate Ps.Longinus' answer to the second question. It is implied from the previous comparisons of poets (the inferior one is also a generally acknowledged poet; Apollonius-Homer etc.) that Hyperides is introduced as the very best model to illustrate those writers, who finally turn out to be inferior from the point of view of the second question. So, when Ps.Longinus turns to give a specific refutation of Caecilius' inadequate treatment of the sublime, which is limited to the scrutiny of prose-writers in the work of Caecilius, he refers to Hyperides, as a prose-writer, who is a proper example for comparison. Following the logic of the treatment, the sentence at the beginning of chapter 33 in

[525]The main fault of Plato's style in Caecilius' criticism is his extensive use of metaphors, which he might have even collected in a separate collection to demonstrate their abundance and stylistic usage in Plato's writings, ἡ χρῆσις τῶν τρόπων ... ἀκράτους καὶ ἀπηνεῖς μεταφορᾶς (Longin.32,7): cf. F.Walsdorff, 'Die antiken Urteile über Platons Stil' *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* hrsg. v. Chr. Jensen I (Bonn, 1927) 28-9. This observation is summarized in the characterization that these peculiarities are signs of a not quite sober poet: ποιητοῦ τινος τῷ ὄντι οὐχὶ νήφοντός ἐστι. (Longin.32,7). Plato is basically excluded from the circle of authors, who are worth to imitate because of the poetical treatment of his subjects.

which Ps.Longinus announces that instead of a failed starting point, as was the case with Lysias, we shall find a really pure, blameless writer: Φέρε δή, λάβωμεν τῷ ὄντι[526] καθαρόν τινα συγγραφέα καὶ ἀνέγκλητον, seems to refer to Hyperides. The text of the comparison is the following:

> Εἰ δ' ἀριθμῷ, μὴ τῷ ἀληθεῖ κρίνοιτο τὰ κατορθώματα, οὕτως ἂν καὶ Ὑπερείδης τῷ παντὶ προέχοι Δημοσθένους. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πολυφωνότερος καὶ πλείους ἀρετὰς ἔχων, καὶ σχεδὸν ὕπακρος ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς ὁ πένταθλος, ὥστε τῶν μὲν πρωτείων ἐν ἅπασι τῶν ἄλλων ἀγωνιστῶν λείπεσθαι, πρωτεύειν δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. ὁ μέν γε Ὑπερείδης πρὸς τῷ πάντα, ἔξω γε τῆς συνθέσεως, μιμεῖσθαι τὰ Δημοσθένεια κατορθώματα καὶ τὰς Λυσιακὰς ἐκ περιττοῦ περιείληφεν ἀρετάς τε καὶ χάριτας. καὶ γὰρ λαλεῖ μετὰ ἀφελείας ἔνθα χρή, καὶ οὐ πάντα ἐξῆς [καὶ] μονοτόνως ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει· τό τε ἠθικὸν ἔχει μετὰ γλυκύτητος [ἡδύ,] λιτῶς ἐφηδυνόμενον· ἄφατοί τε περὶ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἀστεϊσμοί, μυκτὴρ πολιτικώατος, εὐγένεια, τὸ κατὰ τὰς εἰρωνείας εὐπάλαιστρον, σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουσα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἅλας ἐπικείμενα, διασυρμός τε ἐπιδέξιος καὶ πολὺ τὸ κωμικὸν <ἔχων> καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εὐστόχου κέντρον, ἀμίμητον δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπαφρόδιτον· οἰκτίσασθαί τε προσφυέστατος, ἔτι δὲ μυθολογῆσαι κεχυμένως καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ πνεύματι διεξοδεῦσαι [ἔτι] εὐκαμπὴς ἄκρως, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Λητὼ ποιητικώτερα, τὸν δ'' Επιτάφιον ἐπιδεικτικῶς, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος, διέθετο. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀνηθοποίητος, ἀδιάχυτος, ἥκιστα ὑγρὸς ἢ ἐπιδεικτικός, ἁπάντων ἐξῆς τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ τὸ πλέον ἄμοιρος· ἔνθα μέντοι γελοῖος εἶναι βιάζεται καὶ ἀστεῖος οὐ γέλωτα κινεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ καταγελᾶται, ὅταν δὲ ἐγγίζειν θέλῃ τῷ ἐπίχαρις εἶναι, τότε πλέον ἀφίσταται. τό γέ τοι περὶ Φρύνης ἢ Ἀθηνογένους λογίδιον ἐπιχειρήσας γράφειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἂν Ὑπερείδην συνέστησεν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ μὲν θατέρου καλά, καὶ εἰ πολλὰ ὅμως ἀμεγέθη, "καρδίῃ νήφοντος ἀργὰ" καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἠρεμεῖν ἐῶντα (οὐδεὶς γοῦν Ὑπερείδην ἀναγινώσκων φοβεῖται) , ὁ δὲ ἔνθεν ἐλὼν τοῦ μεγαλοφυεστάτου καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρον ἀρετὰς συντετελεσμένας, ὑψηγορίας τόνον,

[526]Cf. Russell, 157: 'i.e. not a false claimant to faultlessness, like Lysias.'

ἔμψυχα πάθη, περιουσίαν ἀγχίνοιαν τάχος, ἔνθα δὴ κύριον, τὴν ἅπασιν ἀπρόσιτον δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν-ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα, φημί, ὡς θεόπεμπτά τινα δωρήματα (οὐ γὰρ εἰπεῖν θεμιτὸν ἀνθρώπινα) ἀθρόα εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔσπασε, διὰ τοῦτο οἷς ἔχει καλοῖς ἅπαντας ἀεὶ νικᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ὡσπερεὶ καταβροντᾷ καὶ καταφέγγει τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας· καὶ θᾶττον ἄν τις κεραυνοῖς φερομένοις ἀντανοῖξαι τὰ ὄμματα δύναιτο ἢ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι τοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις ἐκείνου πάθεσιν.

'If achievements were to be judged by the number of excellences and not by greatness, Hyperides would then be altogether superior to Demosthenes. He has greater variety of voice and his excellences are more numerous. He may almost be said to come a good second in every competition, like the winner of the Pentathlon. In each contest he loses to the professional champion, but comes first of the amateurs. Besides reproducing all the virtues of Demosthenes, except his skill in word arrangement, Hyperides has embraced all excellences and graces of Lysias. He talks plainly, where necessary, does not speak always in the same tone, as Demosthenes is said to do, and has the power of characterization, seasoned moreover by simplicity and charm. Then he has an untold store of polished wit, urbane sarcasm, well-bred elegance, supple turns of irony, jests neither tasteless nor ill-bred, well-dressed wit like the Attic masters, clever satire, plenty of pointed ridicule and well-directed fun, and in all this a quite indescribable charm. Nature endowed him fully with the power of evoking pity and also with a superb flexibility in narrating myths copiously, and pursuing a theme with fluency. His story of Leto, for instance, is in more poetical vein, while his Funeral Oration is as good a piece of epideictic composition as anyone could produce. Demosthenes, on the other hand, has no gift of characterization or of fluency, is far from facile and no epideictic orator. In fact he has no part in any one of the qualities we have just mentioned. When he is forced into attempting a jest or a witty passage, he rather raises the laugh against himself; and when he tries to approximate charm, he is farther from it than ever. If he had tried to write the little speech on Phryne or Athenogenes,

he would have been an even better advertisement for Hyperides. But nevertheless I feel that the beauties of Hyperides, many as they are, yet lack grandeur; „inert in the heart of a sober man," they do not trouble the peace of the audience. No one feels frightened while reading Hyperides. But Demosthenes no sooner 'takes up the tale' than he shows the merits of great genius in their most consummate form, sublime intensity, living emotion, redundance, readiness, speed - where speed is in season - and his own unapproachable vehemence and power: concentrating in himself all these heaven-sent gifts - it would be impious to call them human - he thus uses the beauties he possesses to win a victory over all others that even compensates for his weakness, and out-thunders, as it were, and outshines orators of every age. You could sooner open your eyes to the descent of a thunderbolt than face his repeated outbursts of emotion without blinking.'[527]

The sentence 'Hyperides has, moreover, embraced all the merits and graces of Lysias' enhances a conscious response on the part of Ps.Longinus. He emphasizes herein that he is going to compare an orator, who is not only equivalent to Lysias but surpasses him. A witty response is built up by Ps.Longinus within the framework of the comparative methods, which were certainly adopted and used by Caecilius, because the references above presuppose not only an explicitly mentioned treatise on Lysias, but also an analytical comparison of his virtues with the alleged failures of Plato. The Hyperides - Demosthenes comparison is used to be paralleled to that of Caecilius' Plato - Lysias comparison,[528] as implicitly attested by the final sentence of the Hyperides-Demosthenes comparison of Ps.Longinus:

ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν, ὡς ἔφην, διαφορά· οὐ γὰρ μεγέθει τῶν ἀρετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πλήθει πολὺ λειπόμενος ὁ Λυσίας ὅμως πλεῖον ἔτι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι περιττεύει ἢ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς λείπεται.

[527]Translation by W.H. Fyfe, revised by D. Russell, *Longinus On the Sublime* (Cambridge Mass., London, 1995).
[528]Cf. Russell, 165.

'There is, as I said, a further point of difference in the case of Plato. Lysias is far inferior both in the greatness and the number of his merits; and yet the excess of his faults is still greater than the defect of his merits.'

The tableau is fully drawn, if we remember on the one hand that Caecilius composed a treatise wholly devoted to the comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero; and that Dionysius compared certain elements in Plato's style with that of Demosthenes in favour of the latter. On the other hand, Ps.Longinus analyses Plato, Demosthenes and Cicero in 12,2 - 13,1. Though the three differ concerning ὕψος and αὔξησις (Plato), they are more or less equally appreciated in Ps.Longinus.[529] This being so, the reader can logically infer that if even Hyperides, who surpasses Lysias in the number of virtues, is inferior to Demosthenes, how inferior Lysias, Caecilius' inadequate choice, must be compared to the level represented by Plato / Demosthenes. So, I think on the one hand, there is no need to suppose a detailed attack (perhaps by way of comparison) on Hyperides' style on behalf of Caecilius to which Ps.Longinus' characterization would be a systematic response. Ps.Longinus' subtle and witty way of rejecting of Caecilius' judgement gives a special background to Hyperides' appraisal, and probably implies a rather hostile negligence and a general condemnation of the orator in Caecilius' writings. On the other hand the scheme would explain this exceptional and unique evaluation of Hyperides in antiquity.

[529]There are arguments that the pattern of this comparison was built up similarly to that of Hyperides and Demosthenes in the lacuna; cf. Walsdorff, 47.

1. Elements of evaluation in Ps.Longinus

To illustrate this unique appraisal of Hyperides in Ps. Longinus' characterization, the meaning of a comparison with a 'pentathlos' has to be demonstrated.[530] At first sight, to be the first of amateurs is critical, whereas in each competition to come second is not flattering at all. If we consider, however that the rules of the pentathlon prescribe that in each particular competition, only a few of the best could progress further and take part in the next round, the comparison appears in a different light. Moreover, as Herman Hager pointed out,[531] to win the whole competition it was not enough to be always even the second or the third, but finally the 'pentathlos' had to win the very last round, the wrestling, in which he had to face a single man, who like the ultimate winner had ended up in one of the first two places in the competition. Usually, as Hager emphasized, with this characterization ancient critics on the one hand target mediocrity and on the other many-sideness. 'Idiotai', are not completely laymen, but rather an opposition to the professional. Nevertheless it is remarkable that even within such conditions the final victory presupposes a place in the last round, though a professional wrestler might have beaten the 'pentathlos'.[532]

The stylistic characterization of Hyperides does not differ at all from previous critical judgements. In agreement with Dionysius' view the orator's arrangement is praised in comparison with that of Lysias, which, however, does not equal the level of Demosthenes. Apart from generally known characteristics of a good plain style, noteworthy is the highlighted recognition of witticism and delivery, both of which formed the bases of Hyperides' high renown in Rhodes. Beside the numerous aspects

[530]Cf. U.von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, (Lesebuch) II,239: „Diese Vergleichung ist natürlich zu der Zeit gefunden, als die ganze gute Gesellschaft sich an solchem Spiele beteiligte, nachweisbar zuerst im 4. Jhdt."

[531]Herman Hager, 'On Hyperides' *JPh* 5 (1874) 45-6.

[532]Russell, 160, refers to Sir Joshua Reynolds (Discourse V); the author uses this chapter to compare Michelangelo with Raphael: „If (the first rank) is to be given to him who possessed a greater combination of the higher qualities of the art than other men, there is no doubt that Rafaelle is the first. But if, as Longinus thinks, the sublime abundantly compensates the absence of every other beauty - then Michael Angelo demands the preference".

of Hyperides' wit,[533] Ps.Longinus emphasizes the orator's presumably striking uniqueness among other Attic writers. There are good reasons to accept the alternative reading of the dubious passage (οὐκ ἄμουσα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα, κατὰ τοὺς 'Αττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἄλας ἐπικείμενα): οὐκ ἄμουσα οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα κατὰ τοὺς 'Αττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἀλλ' ἐπικεκριμένα - 'not tasteless or rude as in the case of those Attic writers, but well chosen'.[534] This characterization and the emphasis on Hyperides' abilities in provoking pity (epilogue) and narration underline the reasonableness of the Rhodians' choice for Hyperides. This parallel to Rhodian rhetorical values might be strengthened by G. Martano's observation that Ps.Longinus' views on technical rules in rhetoric represent an intermediate standpoint between the strict prescriptions of the followers of Apollodorus and the easiness of Theodorus, which he equates to the Rhodians' intermediate attitude in general.[535]

As Doreen Innes has pointed out, Hyperides' main quality, however, that is *ethos* (charm, wit, laughter) as a standard and permanent disposition is contrasted to the vehement and inspired emotion (πάθος), which is the decisive element in sublimity and can be found in Demosthenes' style. On the other hand such 'low emotions' as grief, fear and pity, at which latter Hyperides excels, slightly confuse the clear antithesis between sublimity (πάθος) and pleasure-pointing *ethos*. Evoking pity is contrasted by Ps.Longinus, however, with indignation and anger and is generally characteristic of the plain style. Although it represents emotion, it is a 'low emotion' not suitable to achieving sublimity. Similarly, in connection with the considerations in Ps.Longinus, a sign of lacking sublimity is that no one feels fear, which is the case in reading Hyperides.[536]Meanwhile the emphasis laid on Hyperides' stylistic virtues might reflect a deliberate contrast between the rejected Hellenistic value of subtlety, intimate witticism and the grandeur, or 'greatness', which is favoured by

[533]For ἀστεϊσμοί as 'urbanities, smart and clever' see A. M. Finoli, 'χαριεντισμός festiva dictio, ἀστεϊσμός urbana dictio' *Inst.Lomb. (Rend.Lett.)* 92 (1958) 569-80;
[534]Wilamowitz, (Lesebuch) II, 380; differently Russell, 161: „this is in itself not impossible, though it does not seem relevant or consistent with L's general attitude".
[535]Martano, 371.
[536]Doreen Innes, 'Longinus, Sublimity, and the Low Emotions' *Ethics and Rhetoric, Classical Essays for Donald Russell on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday,* ed. Doreen Innes, Harry Hine and Christopher Pelling (Oxford, 1995) 327-31.

Ps.Longinus.[537]

Ps. Longinus certainly does not address his work to students of rhetoric, but to a wider audience, and therefore not only are didactic characteristics missing from his method and form of presentation, but also the whole conception is different. Instead of thinking about correct models for imitation by students, he is searching for different - in his consideration real - representatives of the sublime, and so his scope is not so limited as that of Caecilius. This is the turning point for the revival of Hyperides also, since with his elementary stylistic shortcomings ('lektikos topos') there is no scope for him in the conception of a Dionysius[538] or a Caecilius. Ps. Longinus' appreciation in a way represents the favouring attitude of *extra scholam* intellectuals, like later that of Libanius, or Himerius, who on their own initiative discovered for themselves the magnificence of Hyperides.

[537]Manfred Fuhrman, *Dichtungstheorie der Antike, Aristoteles, Horaz, 'Longin'* (Darmstadt, 1992) 201.
[538]Differently D.Marin, 'La paternita del 'Saggio sul Sublime' *Studi Urbinati* 29 (1955) 226, who argues for Ps.Longinus' identity with Dionysius.

X. Hyperides in rhetorical handbooks of the imperial period

In this chapter I enumerate and eventually evaluate the evidence for the traces of Hyperides in rhetorical treatises and practical handbooks, from the first century A.D. up to Byzantium. Works not mentioned do not have any explicit Hyperidean reference and need further scrutiny for signs of a surviving Hyperidean heritage.

Compared with the long period in time, the evidence is limited and mainly related to the Corpus Hermogenianum, which became the standardised rhetorical handbook, referred to in general school practice from the middle of the third century onwards. Therefore innumerable commentaries were composed to clarify or comment on the content. An almost complete *florilegium* of the later rhetorical treatises (in most of the cases using earlier material) is presented in Walz's nine and Spengel's three volume collections.[539]

However, as was the case with *progymnasmata*, it was not always the relevant Hermogenian treatise that became the ultimate reference-point in each particular field of rhetoric. So, besides dealing with the 'staseis'-commentaries and any on the περὶ ἰδεῶν the last group of rhetoricians to look at should be those writing on figures or any other particular branch of the rhetorical art.

The point of this investigation is to try to draw a more detailed picture of what remained of the work of a celebrated orator in the schools, after the beginnings of the 'Demosthenes-era' in rhetoric, which pushed the works of many 'minor' Attic orators to the margin of interest and near to final extinction.

[539] Walz, (Rhetores Graeci) and L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* II (Leipzig, 1854), III (Leipzig, 1856); L.Spengel, A.Roemer, *Rhetores Graeci* I,1 (Leipzig, 1894); L.Spengel, C.Hammer, *Rhetores Graeci* I,2 (Leipzig, 1894).

A. *Non-Hermogenian manuals*

1. Aelius Theon

Every school-boy completing his learning in a grammarian's school had to confront the first step in rhetorical studies, that is introductory exercises - *progymnasmata*. Elements of this training are present in modern schools, when pupils have to write ἐκφράσεις - descriptions of countryside etc. Naturally, collections of the most important *progymnasmata* enriched with examples were written early, to meet the demand from the schools. However, as usually happens, early treatises such as Theon's or Hermogenes' were replaced by other more useful and updated versions such as Aphthonius' or Nicolaus' works. Apart from the earliest extant collection, Theon's *progymnasmata*, Hyperidean references are entirely missing in this branch of rhetorical school practice. It is perhaps partly for the same reason, that Dionysius neglected the orator, i.e. Hyperides' virtues are apparent mostly on the level of the arrangement of an entire speech, not in careful precision in elementary components, partly because this genre of rhetorical writings also underwent the decisive influence of Demosthenes-imitation and the few Hyperidean examples were wiped out by the overwhelming number of possible Demosthenic references.

Aelius Theon of Alexandria, who was presumably an older contemporary of Quintilian, reveals a greater interest in Demosthenes, Isocrates and Xenophon.[540]Nevertheless, he has three references to Hyperides' rhetorical activity.[541]

> προσωποποιΐας δὲ τί ἂν εἴη παράδειγμα κάλλιον τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως καὶ τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων καὶ τῶν Μενάνδρου δραμάτων; ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ Ἰσοκράτους μὲν τὰ ἐγκώμια, Πλάτωνος δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ὑπερίδου καὶ Λυσίου τοὺς ἐπιταφίους, καὶ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐγκώμιον....

[540]Suda Lexicon s.v. mentions his commentaries: cf. G.Reichel, *Quaestiones Progymnasmaticae* (Diss. Leipzig, 1909), 23; O.Ph.Hoppichler, *De Theone Hermogene Aphthonioque Progymnasmatum scriptoribus* (Vircenburg, 1884); Kennedy, (Rhet.Rom), 616.
[541]With regard to the orators, plenty from Demosthenes, 6/Lysias, 3/Aeschines, 3/Hyperides, 1/Isaeus, 3/Isocrates, 2/Lycurgus. Cf. Reichel, 41.

'What could be a better example of dramatisation then the poetry of Homer and the dialogues of Plato and the other Socratic dialogues and the plays of Menander? There we have also the panegyrics of Isocrates, the funeral speeches of Plato, Thucydides, and Hyperides and Lysias, and Theopompus' panegyric of Philip ...'

ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς παραφράσεως ἠμέλουν οἱ παλαιοί, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων. πολλὰ δέ ἐστι καὶ ἐξειργασμένα μᾶλλον παρὰ ἑτέροις αὐτῶν· τὸ γοῦν Κυλώνειον ἄγος μᾶλλον [δὲ] Ἡροδότου καὶ Ἐφόρου ἐξείργασται Θουκυδίδῃ, καὶ Δημοσθένης δὲ μᾶλλον Ὑπερίδου τὴν γεγενημένην Ἀθηναίοις ταραχήν, ὅτε ἦκεν ἑσπέρας ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις, ὡς ἡ Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται... ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ ὅλους λόγους ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπαραβάλλειν σκοποῦντα τὸ ἄμεινον ἐξειργασμένον, οἷον Δημοσθένους μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ὑπερίδου, Θεοπόμπου δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἱστορίας πρὸς τὰς Ξενοφῶντος ...

'That the ancients did not neglect transcription either is obvious from what I have just said. There are many examples of themes which are better worked on in different authors. For example there is a superior description of the guilt of Kylon in Thucydides than in Herodotus and Ephorus, Demosthenes depicts better than Hyperides the confusion of the Athenians, when someone came in the evening to announce to the *prytaneis* that Elateia had been captured. It is possible to compare historical works and entire speeches to see which one is superior as in the case of Demosthenes' and Hyperides' speeches and Theopompus' and Xenophon's histories...'

ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν καλούμενον τόπον παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐστιν εὑρεῖν, καθάπερ τὸ Δημοσθενικόν ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Λυκόφρονος, καὶ Ὑπερίδου κατὰ τῶν ἑταιρῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας· ...

'Similarly you can find the so called common-place in the ancient authors,

like that of Demosthenes in the 'On the crown': among the Greeks, not for some, but among all of them, the payment of betrayers, corrupted and sacrilegious men happens to be such, and so on. And the speech of Lycophron and Hyperides against the 'associates' in the speech against Aristagoras...'

All the three references[542] belong to the second part of Theon's work, where he proposes which particular author would be useful to look at and even learn by heart[543] for performing an exercise. Though the first *progymnasma* with a Hyperidean connection was later transformed and analysed as ἠθοποιΐα, it was preserved by later theoreticians. The same is true for the third. The category, however, of παράφρασις with the last four others in the list of Theon's *progymnasmata*: ἀνάγνωσις, ἀκρόασις, ἐξεργασία, ἀντίῤῥησις disappear from later tradition. The origin of these extra five categories is closely connected to the question about the value of Hyperidean references, since the most concrete - though negative - recommendation to look at a Hyperidean speech is in one of them. Theon tells us that he made some innovations and invented new *progymnasmata*, but he does not specify which particular ones.[544]It does not sound very convincing, if on the other hand he praises himself for new analysis as well, though he drew on earlier sources sometimes word for word.[545]

Theon in the introduction and the first list of *progymnasmata*, in mentioning the first of the five categories in question, refers to the authority of Apollonius:

ἡ δὲ ἀνάγνωσις, ὡς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις ἔφη, Ἀπολλώνιος δοκεῖ μοι ὁ Ῥόδιος, τροφὴ λέξεώς ἐστι.[546]

'reading (aloud) as one of the ancients said (I think it was Apollonius the Rhodian), is nourishment of style'

His hesitation about the person is surprising in the light of a constant tendency of the

[542]Sp.II,67-69.
[543]Sp.II,66;74.
[544]Sp.II,59.
[545]Reichel, 37.
[546]Sp.II,61.

work to suppress predecessors and highlight alleged inventions of his own. Molo's name in front of the five cannot be a strange coincidence, but presumably points to the ultimate origin of the group. This assumption could be perhaps underlined by another reference to similar *progymnasmata*.

ἀνάγνωσις and ἀκρόασις, despite the promises, are missing from Theon's work, which is probably due a later reorganisation of the material, which was conducted on the basis of the Hermogenian and Aphthonian collections.[547]Cicero, however (and following him Quintilian) recommends the exercise in *De Oratore*, where we have tried earlier to show signs of his Rhodian teacher's influence. 'omnium bonarum artium doctores atque scriptores ...exercitationis causa laudandi, interpretandi, corrigendi, vituperandi, refellendi sunt'.[548]Moreover, Cicero mentions παράφρασις as the first *progymnasma*,[549]which could be performed in different ways, either by transcribing a text (verse or prose) with other words or translating Greek into Latin. The first is condemned by him, because the best words are always given by Ennius or Gracchus, but the latter is very strongly recommended.[550] Though the Hyperidean example in Theon is related to the first type, Cicero's refusal does not mean the rejection of the entire doctrine. Obviously he cannot recommend transcription of Greek texts, he only mentions that Latin is different.

The last author to mention this *progymnasma* is Quintilian. In contrast to Cicero, he can imagine the usefulness of the type rejected by the Latin orator,[551]and emphasizes the wide ranging possibilities in transcription of a text of unaltered content, that is, what Theon originally exemplifies with the Demosthenes-Hyperides parallel. For Pliny is only interested in translation, transcription has lost its attractiveness.[552]

Though the two earlier Latin treatises, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De*

[547]Hoppichler, 48; Reichel quite convincingly argues that in these cases the author could not refer to any examples and consequently they were not analysed by Theon.
[548]Cic.*de Or.*1,34;158; cf. Reichel, 18.
[549]Cic.*de Or.*1,34;154; cf. Reichel, 18.
[550]Messala's translation of the Phryne-speech might take its origin from the Rhodes-related doctrine of 'παράφρασις'.
[551]Quint.10,5,4; cf. Reichel, 125.
[552]Plin.*Ep.*7,9,2; cf. Reichel, 126.

Inventione, which both stay in close connection with Rhodian sources, do not analyse the particular *progymnasmata* (but these are not the only things to be neglected, not to mention the profile of the works), on the basis of the *De Oratore*'s account and Theon's significant reference at the beginning of his analysis to Molo, it seems to be likely that the Demosthenes-Hyperides example of παράφρασις as a special exercise in Theon, might be traced back to the influence of Rhodian rhetorical doctrine. The strong emphasis on a comparative analysis of these two orators points also to a school where these two were analysed.[553]

2. The Anonymous Seguerianus[554]

A manuscript discovered by Seguiér in Paris entitled Τέχνη τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου focuses on the analytical presentation of the four parts of a speech. The author deals with each part as an almost independent unit, to which rules of invention, arrangement and style can be equally applied. In the second part of the treatise, on narration, the author, in recommending that the διήγησις should be made delightful, refers to one of the most popular Hyperidean speeches[555]:

> ἡδεῖαν δὲ ποιήσεις τὴν διήγησιν, ἐὰν τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτὴν ἤθεσι διαποικίλλῃς καὶ γνώμας ἀναμίξῃς· ποιεῖ τε ἡδονὴν ἐνίοτε καὶ ἀρχαιολογία παραληφθεῖσα εὐκαίρως, ὡς παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ ὁ τῆς Λητοῦς μῦθος. ποιεῖ τε ἡδονὴν καὶ ἀστεϊσμός.[556]

[553]Italo Lana, *Quintiliano, il „Sublime" e gli „Esercizi preparatori" di Elio Teone. Ricerca sulla fonti greche di Quintiliano e sull'autore „Del sublime"* (Torino, 1951) 175, suggested a possible identification of the anonymous author of the 'On the sublime' with Theon. If it could be proved it would explain Theon's special interest in comparing Demosthenes with Hyperides. In 1959 Italo Lana made further promises to make a detailed linquistic comparision between Theon's and the anonymous author's language; Italo Lana, *I Progimnasmi di Elio Teone. volume primo, La storia del testo* (Torino, 1959) 3.

[554]Published after Spengel in Ioannes Graeven, *Cornuti Artis Rhetoricae Epitome* (Berlin, 1891), Graeven's suggestion about the authorship of Cornutus is rejected by scholars because of the lack of convincing evidence: cf. F.Blass, *Jahresberichte* 21 (1880) 213; Kennedy, (Rhet.Rom.) 616-9.

[555]8/Dem.Meid., 1/Isocrates, 2/Lysias, 3/Lycurgus, 1/Thucydides, 1/Plato, 1/Hyperides.

[556]Sp-H, 369, c.99.

'You can make narration delightful, if you adorn it with characteristic manners, which are appropriate to it and mix in maxims; sometimes also ancient legends can provide delight, if used at the proper time, as in Hyperides the myth of Leto. Urbanity causes delight as well.'

The author reveals himself that his sources were Alexander Numeniu,[557]Neocles[558]and Harpocration,[559]moreover all the three are mentioned also in the second part on narration. The latest of the three, Harpocration, furnishes a *terminus post quem*, which is late second or early third century A.D. As the manner of quotation reveals the particular work of Alexander Numeniu used as a source must be his lost τέχνη. Nevertheless, it is more likely that the Hyperidean reference originates somewhere else.

A prime suspect could be Harpocration. Though his definition of narration is not referred to, not far from the Hyperidean quotation in 104, his demand for σαφήνεια as the most important virtue of narration is cited. In the Suda there are four Harpocrations listed. The first, being a philosopher, and the last, being the lexicographer, are out of question. Harpocration No. 4013, called Aelius, has a work enlisted περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς, and not only this, but he is supposed to have written ὑποθέσεις to Hyperides, which would explain a close familiarity with the text. Radermacher dates him to the time of Hadrian on the basis of his interest in Xenophon and his hostility towards Herodotus.[560]His polemic against Hermogenes is remarkable - he had altered the number of the 'staseis' (14), changed their order, which was so painfully defined by Hermogenes[561]- especially having in mind Hermogenes' slight reluctance to mention Hyperides' Delian speech. Nevertheless, the identification is very dubious, since as Radermacher pointed out there is a likely confusion in the Suda between this latter and another Harpocration, no.4012, since

[557]First time: 352,15, c.3.
[558]First time: 362,13, c.46, in the starting passages on narration, in all 12.
[559]First time: 354,4, c.8, in all 3.
[560]Radermacher, 'Harpokration' *RE* VII (1912) col. 2411.
[561]Walz,VII,349: 'Αντιλέγουσι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦτο, καὶ μάλιστά γε 'Αρποκρατίων, εὐθὺς ἐναντία φάσκοντες εἰρηκέναι τὸν τεχνικὸν ἑαυτῷ.

Gaius Harpocration - according to the Suda - was similarly a sophist and also had written on Hyperides.[562]

Neocles, who is twelve times referred to in the treatise, is evidently the most important contributor to the part on narration. He presumably wrote a treatise along the same pattern known from the Anonymous and might have flourished from the first part of the first century A.D. up to the time of Hermogenes.[563]But it is more likely that he belongs to the first century, since Quintilian seems to draw on him.[564]

It is not possible to arrive at any conclusion on the basis of the structure of the passage in question. The Anonymous Seguerianus in chs. 63-100 enumerates the three acknowledged[565]virtues of διήγησις, συντομία (63-78), σαφηνεία-ἀσάφεια (79-88), πιθανότης (89-100). Within this latter, however, the author mentions in passing two other less accepted ones in 99 ἡδονή and in 100 μεγαλοπρέπεια, making an addition to the standardised three. In closing his account about the three virtues the author mentions a divergent opinion - that of the οἱ δὲ, who extended the number and from which he was eager to mention two in 99 and 100.[566]Further, he underlines the importance of the three by referring in each case to an authority, who regarded the particular virtue in question as the most important.[567]The origin of the

[562]The text in Adler's edition is:

no.4012: ὁ Γάϊος χρηματίσας, σοφιστής. ἔγραψε Περὶ τῶν Ἀντιφῶντος σχημάτων, Περὶ τῶν Ὑπερίδου καὶ Λυσίου λόγων, καὶ ἕτερα.

no.4013: ὁ Αἴλιος χρηματίσας, σοφιστής. ἔφραψε Περὶ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἠγνοῆσθαι, καὶ Ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων Ὑπερδίου, Περὶ τοῦ κατεψεῦσθαι τὴν Ἡροδότου ἱστορίαν, Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι τάξεων, Περὶ τέχνης ῥητορικῆς, Περὶ ἰδεῶν.

Radermacher draws attention to the inconsistency in the list of titles (no.4013) at the point of introducing καί. (He proposes also a conjecture for τάξεων/λέξεως cf. another solution in Schmid-Stählin <συν>τάξεων). Nevertheless, even transferred into the text of no.4012, the list would not correspond to the other references introduced by περί. A hazardous solution would be to connect the two first 'titles' (in 4013) into one: On things, which the rhetoricians do not seem to recognize (and) the subject of Hyperides' speeches; implying in a way a kind of general ignorance regarding the latter.

[563]Willy Stegeman, 'Neokles' *RE* XVI (1935) cols. 2416-22.

[564]Graeven, 47, and K.Aulitzky, 'Apsines: „περὶ ἐλέου"' *WS* 39 (1916) 45; Graeven, 70, attributes chapter 99 among many others to Neocles.

[565]φάμεν, c.63.

[566]Ch.101: περὶ μὲν οὖν ἡδονῆς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας ἔφθημεν εἰπόντες, αὔξησιν δὲ καὶ ἐπιείκειαν τί ἐστι πολλαχοῦ ἀκηκόαμεν.

[567]Aristotle for συντομία, Theodorus for πιθανότης and Harpocration for σαφήνεια - ἀσάφεια, which latter is a new invention its incorporation reveals the Anonymous' close familiarity with

accessory virtues on the other hand goes back as far as Theodectes[568], and was extensively used by Dionysius.

Nevertheless, on the basis of a very close similarity in content and phraseology to Hermogenes' account of the Delian speech, where the author reluctantly follows Ps.Longinus' appreciation, and draws attention to the poetic presentation of the myth and the links between poetry and delight, it seems to be also very likely that the whole idea takes its ultimate origin from Hermogenes' comments on the speech in the περὶ ἰδεῶν.

The traditional idea of introducing tale - μῦθος, story - διήγημα' pregnant saying, anecdote - χρεία and maxims - γνῶμαι, and in doing so transforming the speech (narration) into something more pleasant, was a key issue in rhetoric and its importance is shown by their first place among *progymnasmata.*[569] The strong recommendation for inserting them is echoed in Quintilian 4,2,121; Hermogenes Sp.II,357,5; Pseudo-Dionysius 28,2; but none of them mentions the name of Hyperides.[570]

It is not so surprising, since the use of the myth of Apollo in the Delian speech does not fit formally into any of these categories, which is shown also by the specifically invented concept of rhetorical ἀρχαιολογία[571] in the Anonymous Seguerianus. The extensive presentation of a made up myth as part of the concrete argumentation in a speech, instead of using it as a general parallel, does not fit into

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Harpocration's analysis.

[568]Quint.4,2,63.

[569]The same sequence is kept in all known *progymnasmata*, partly because of pedagogical reasons.

[570]Quintilian shows a tendency to use only Latin examples.

[571]The exceptional reference (i.e. there is not any other mention of the speech among rhetoricians from this point of view) loses its uniqueness, if in the Anonymous' text one could assume a simple mistake, a mix up of real content: that is - without having read the speech - the compiler thought about the μῦθος of Leto as if was a real historical διήγημα. There is another long fragment extant from the speech, in which the orator explains the Delians' sin known from Thucydides' ἀρχαιολογία (5,1). Maybe the source of Anonymous only referred to this latter and our compilator mistook it for the otherwise famous myth. An example of such a possibility is the reference in Walz,VII,26,25. In an anonymous *prolegomenon* to Hermogenes' 'staseis' the author draws on the Anonymous Seguerianus (cf. Graeven, 11), but distorts the original passage: Ὅτι ἑπτὰ τρόποι διηγήσεων· αὔξησις, μείωσις, παράλειψις, ἐπανάμνησις, ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον φράσις, ἐνάργεια. γίνεται δὲ ἡδυτάτη, ἐὰν γνώμας ἀναμίξῃς, καὶ ἀρχαιολογίαν εἴπῃς εὐκαίρως, ὡς ἡ παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ καὶ ἤθεσι καὶ πάθεσι ποικίλλεται.

the scope of the *progymnasma* in question, which should elevate the narration. Hyperides, in his effort to justify Athenian rights to the Delian Apollo-sanctuary before the Amphictyony relied on etymological links between the belt that Leto left behind and a cape in west Attica called ζωστήρ.[572] The myth was presented *in extenso*, so far is possible to judge from later references, and formed the main line of defence. Its uniqueness on the other hand is justified by the special occasion, namely to speak on a religious issue before a religious court. It is closest to the category of μυθικὰ διηγήματα, which like all διηγήματα can be used especially ἐν ταῖς παραδειγματικαῖς πίστεσι and epilogues.[573]

Maybe this is a reason why - though it was Hyperides' most famous speech owing to its success under extreme difficulties - it could not be categorized for imitative school-purposes and was neglected even by those theoreticians who were familiar with the corpus. Hyperides' masterstroke was probably manifested in his ability to combine, in recounting a myth, the traditional entertaining and exemplifying purposes with a serious method of convincing and providing evidence. One element of Ps.Longinus' above analysed admiration could be perhaps interpreted in this way:

> οἰκτίσασθαί τε προσφυέστατος, ἔτι δὲ μυθολογῆσαι κεχυμένος καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ πνεύματι διεξοδεῦσαι ἔτι εὐκαμπὴς ἄκρος, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὰ περὶ τὴν Λητὼ ποιητικώτερα, τὸν δ' Ἐπιτάφιον ἐπιδεικτικῶς, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος, διέθετο.[574]
>
> '(Hyperides was provided) with the greatest natural talent in exciting pity, furthermore in narrating mythical tales in a flowing manner and was still the most flexible[575] in leading the argument throughout in a breezy style, as he easily masters the more poetical elements in the myth of Leto, on the other hand he composed in an epideictic manner the Funeral speech, as did nobody

[572]See Appendix IV.

[573]Though late, 5th century A.D., one of the clearest *compendia* on the subject: *Nicolaus Progymnasmata* 15,18-19, ed Jos.Felten (Leipzig, 1913), uses as the actual example for the *progymnasma* in question the story of Phaethon and Helios.

[574]Ps.Longinus 34,2: the original reading of Parisinus 2036, the earliest manuscript from the tenth century.

[575]ἄκρος, used with nouns can mean the best: Her.5,112; 6,122; τοξότης ἄκρος, ἄκρος ὀργήν, 'quick to anger, passionate' 1,73: cf.LSJ s.v., though never with an adjective.

else as far as I know.'[576]

In any case, in searching for the Anonymous Seguerianus' source, it is less likely that we have to think of someone who lived in the early first century A.D., a period more or less still favouring Hyperides. It is either a rather rare rhetorician in the second century A.D., who was inspired by his experience of reading Hyperides, or someone who came across (Ps.Longinus') Hermogenes' comments on the speech. The two possibilities do not exclude each other, moreover in Harpocration there is someone, who knew both well, the primary and secondary source.

[576]οἰκτίσασθαί τε προσφυέστατος, ἔτι δὲ μυθολογῆσαι κεχυμένως καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ πνεύματι διεξοδεῦσαι [ἔτι] εὐκαμπὴς ἄκρως, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὰ περὶ τὴν Λητὼ ποιητικώτερα, τὸν δ' Ἐπιτάφιον ἐπιδεικτικῶς, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος, διέθετο is the version given by D.A.Russell. F.Blass altered κεχυμένος into its adverbial derivative. This decision is backed by Russell, who adopts the reading of the *editio princeps* (based on a later, Parisinus-dependent manuscript) in the case of ἄκρος/ἄκρως; moreover, in 163: „The second ἔτι is not needed and indeed spoils the sense; despite the resulting harsh hiatus, it seems best on balance to omit it as an accidental duplication of the first. Buecheler's τι deserves serious consideration." Consequently Russell's translation in 162: „with great natural talent for exciting pity, he is also remarkably facile in narrating myths in a copious style and pursuing a topic with fluency." In the apparatus criticus Russell refers to Richards' suggestion, who „ante ἔτι interpunxit", which is not necessary. Hyperides' special skills are exemplified - I think - both within and between the two speeches.

3. Apsines

Valerius Apsines was born in Gadara and became a teacher of rhetoric in Athens, as Philostratus' reference reveals, in the first half of the third century A.D.[577] Of his numerous works, which included a treatise περὶ σχημάτων,[578] only a τέχνη is extant, entitled in the manuscripts: τέχνη ῥητορικὴ περὶ προοιμίων. The latter part of the title is already the title of the first chapter, so probably the original was: ἡ περὶ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου τέχνη, since it presents an analysis structured according to the main parts of the speech.[579]Apsines seems consciously to avoid speaking about stasis-theory, probably due to the existence of Hermogenes' work, whom he sometimes criticises. In the same spirit of his more practical approach, at the end of his main work there is a short essay on figured speeches, that is how to treat the subject in particular contexts.

It is obvious that Apsines belonged to an age that admired Demosthenes; his teachers, Heracleides and Basiliscus are known for their interest in this orator and Apsines himself composed *hypomnemata* to Demosthenes' speeches, not to mention the examples in his lost treatise 'On Figures'.[580]Behind the favoured examples of the pair of Demosthenes and Aeschines, however, the third most frequently mentioned orator is Hyperides.[581]This particular attention - first of all - could be due to the author's interest in subject matter and arrangement in each particular part of the speech, in which not only the historical Hyperides, but also his fictitious *alter ego* in the exercises seemed to be skillful. Another reason can be this latter practice, namely fictitious *hypotheseis*, in which genre Hyperides achieved considerable popularity. And finally, might we suspect again a slight influence of the Rhodian school?

[577]Philostr.2,597-598, cf. Kennedy, (Rhet.Rom.) 633-4.
[578]Heavily used by later rhetoricians, e.g. Tiberius. Apsines in this work must have used Alexander Numeniu: cf. Brzoska, 'Apsines' *RE* II (1896) col. 282.
[579]Walz,IX,467-542; J.Bake, *Apsinis et Longini Rhetorica* (Oxford, 1849); Sp.-H.217-339; Brzoska, (Apsines) col. 282; Apsines' work was separated from Longinus' 'techne' (confused in the manuscripts) by Bake and later with the same result by Spengel on the basis of a newly discovered manuscript (Parisinus 1874).
[580]Walz,V,517 (Max.Plan.); Brzoska, (Apsines) col. 282.
[581]Demosthenes, Aeschines/13, Hyperides/7, Lysias/3, Isocrates/2, Demades/1, Dinarchus/1.

a) *On the* prooemium

There are different ways of making a *prooemium* and one of them is to praise the audience, when they had accepted a proposal. The speaker could flatter them to make them accept another closely connected proposal.[582] This salami-tactic is exemplified in the third place by a Hyperidean solution, which lacks, however, any historical background, since the decrees mentioned here are too alien to Athenian customs and therefore „in rhetorum ineptiis sint numeranda"[583] The hypothesis on the one hand was generated probably by Hyperides' famous proposal to grant citizen rights to those willing to fight against Philip in the aftermath of Chaeronea and a real speech in a similar situation, which is referred to by Apsines, and on the other hand by the common *tyrannostheme*.

> Ὑπερείδης γράψας ἔπεισε μόνῳ χρῆσθαι συμβούλῳ Δημοσθένει, ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντος Φιλίππου, εἶτα γράφει καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτῷ διδόναι. Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία τοιαῦτα προβλήματα ὁμοιογενῆ τῷ προειρημένῳ θεωρήματι ὑποπίπτει.
>
> 'Hyperides after having persuaded (the people) with his proposal to employ Demosthenes as the only adviser, since Philip was in Elateia, next proposes that they should also provide him with a bodyguard. These and other innumerable similar proposals belong to the scheme mentioned above ...'

Another successful declamation on the closely-related historical unlawful proposal exemplifies the type of 'I wish I did not have to say this' introduction.[584]

> ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς προβλήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἀτόπου συμβάντος τινὸς εἰσηγούμεθά τι, ἁρμόσει τὰ ἐξ ἀπευχῆς θεωρήματα, οἷον εἰ λέγοις, ηὐξάμην μὲν ἂν μήτε τινὰ τούτων συμβῆναι, μήτε ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς

[582]Bake,2.
[583]Bake,174: „solus quidem exstitit Demosthenes qui in concione verba faceret, eiusque psephismatis tum omnia gerebantur, ita ut Aeschines, illa tempora intelligens, eum sibi δυναστείαν κατασκευάσαι dicat, Ctes. 535, cf. Dem. De Cor. 285, sed Hyperidis nullum ex illis temporibus psephisma memoratur".
[584]Bake,18; Walz,IX,481.

προγεγενημένοις ὡς σύμβουλον παριέναι, ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνου· μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν γράφει Ὑπερίδης τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους πείσας ποιεῖν.[585]

'In the case of such a *hypothesis*, when something unusual happens and (consequently) we want to propose something, schemes based on deprecation will be suitable. For example if you said, I should have wished that none of these things would happen and that I should not be here as an adviser following what happened. As in that *hypothesis*: after Chaeronea Hyperides persuasively proposes to provide with citizen rights those, who do not have them.'

b) On the epilogue

These references to fictitious declamations are the only two examples recalling to a limited extent the memory of Hyperides throughout the whole treatise of Apsines up to the chapter on the epilogue. In this last part of the τέχνη, however, there are three different mentions, all of them referring to a real speech of the orator.

Apsines ascribes three functions to the epilogue and analyses them in the following order: ἀνάμνησις, in which the particular method of ἀνακεφαλαίωσις[586] - despite the pathetic characteristics of the introduction and epilogue - belongs to the category of πραγματικὸς τόπος, because it involves a recapitulation of the statements.[587] In the second place: ἔλεον - provoking pity; and, finally, δείνωσις - exaggeration, usually achieved by amplification.

First of all, in the context of a brief introduction, Apsines deals with the question of the possible place of ἀνακεφαλαίωσις in a speech, reflecting in a way the controversy of Apollodoreans and Theodoreans. The first group of orators, exemplifying the strict Apollodorean standpoint about the place of the epilogue, employs it at the end of the speech:[588]

[585]Later unfamiliarity with Hyperides is indicated in cod. Parisinus A (1874) in Bake, where the reading is: Χαιρώνειαν ἤδη (corrupto nomine Hyperidis) γράφει.
[586]Sp.-H,296-7.
[587]Apsines in simple terms divides the parts of forensic speech into two main categories; on the one hand the pathetically conceived parts are introduction and epilogue, on the other hand, parts concentrated on practical matters, are narration and proof: Sp.-H,297.
[588]Bake,82; Walz,IX,532.

ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν ἐπὶ τέλους αὐτῇ κεχρημένοι, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ Δημάδου Ὑπερείδης, καὶ Δημοσθένης, ὡς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Τιμοκράτους.

'Some used (recapitulation) at the end, like Hyperides in his accusation against Demades and similarly Demosthenes in the speech against Aristocrates and Timocrates.'

Apsines proceeds to catalogue other means of reminding and among them returns to a method of recapitulation, which was employed by Hyperides. It represents the method of introducing or rather reinterpreting a law, or decree and in doing so offering recapitulation, which is entirely different from introducing a new decree. The former could be exemplified by the same speech against Demades, the latter only by an anonymous declamation:[589]

ἔτι ἀναμνήσομεν διὰ ψηφίσματος εἰσφορᾶς, ὡς ὁ Ὑπερείδης κατηγορῶν ψηφίσματος ὑπὸ Δημάδου γραφέντος, πρόξενον Εὐθυκράτη εἶναι γράψαντος ἀντεισφέρει ψήφισμα δι' οὗ ποιεῖται τὴν ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν τῶν εἰρημένων· ἃ μὲν γὰρ οὗτος, φησίν, εἰσκεκόμικεν, οὐκ ἔχει τὰς ἀληθεῖς αἰτίας τῆς προξενίας, ἐγὼ δ' εἰ δεῖ πρόξενον ὑμῖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, δι' ἃ τούτου τεύξεται γράψας εἰσφέρω· ἔπειτα τὸ ψήφισμα εἰσφέρει· δεδόχθαι γάρ φησι πρόξενον αὐτὸν εἶναι, διότι τὰ Φιλίππῳ συμφέροντα καὶ πράττει καὶ λέγει, ὅτι γενόμενος ἵππαρχος τοὺς Ὀλυνθίων ἱππέας προὔδωκε Φιλίππῳ, ὅτι τοῦτο πράξας αἴτιος τοῦ Χαλκιδέων ὑπῆρξεν ὀλέθρου, ὅτι ἁλούσης Ὀλύνθου τιμητὴς ἐγένετο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ὅτι ἀντέπραξε τῇ πόλει ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Δηλίων, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἡττηθείσης οὔτε ἔθαψε τῶν τεθνεώτων τινάς, οὔτε τῶν ἁλόντων οὐδένα ἐλύσατο· διὰ τούτων κεφαλαιωδῶς ἀναμιμνήσκει τῶν παρ' ὅλην τὴν κατηγορίαν εἰρημένων κατ' αὐτοῦ.

'moreover, we can remind by introducing a decree, as Hyperides does while attacking a decree about Euthycrates becoming a *proxenus*, which was proposed by Demades, when he proposes another decree by which he performs

[589]Sp.-H.303; the latter Sp.-H.304.

the recapitulation of what was said before. „The arguments which Demades has brought forward do not give the real reason for the appointment. If Euthycrates is to be your proxenus, let me submit to you a statement of the services for which this will be his reward. It has been resolved that he shall be proxenus, because he speaks and acts in the interests of Philip; because, as cavalry commander, he betrayed the Olynthian cavalry to Philip and through this act was responsible for the destruction of the Chalcidians; because, on the capture of Olynthus, he assessed the prices of the prisoners; because he opposed the city's interests concerning the temple at Delos, and, when the city was defeated at Chaeronea, neither buried any dead nor ransomed any prisoners;"[590] in doing so he recalls one by one the things which were said against him throughout the whole accusation.'

For the use of *ethopoia* as another means of recalling, what has been said, an example is taken from an anonymous speech about Miltiades, then Hyperides, Sophocles (Electra) and Plato (Apologia):[591]

ἔτι ἀναμιμνήσκειν ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς καλουμένης ἠθοποιΐας. ἔστι δὲ ἠθοποιΐα λόγος περιτιθέμενος προσώποις ὑποῦσιν ... Κέχρηται τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καὶ Ὑπερείδης ὑπὲρ Λυκούργου λέγων· τίνα φήσουσιν οἱ παριόντες αὐτοῦ τὸν τάφον; οὗτος ἐβίω μὲν σωφρόνως, ταχθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τῶν χρημάτων εὗρε πόρους, ᾠκοδόμησε δὲ τὸ θέατρον, τὸ ᾠδεῖον, τὰ νεώρια, τριήρεις ἐποιήσατο, λιμένας· τοῦτον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἠτίμησε, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔδησεν αὐτοῦ.[592]

'It is possible to make mention (of something) by so-called delineation of character, that is a speech put in the mouth of suitable persons .... Also Hyperides employed this method speaking of Lycurgus: „How will they speak who pass his grave? „This man led a virtuous life. When appointed to administer the treasure he found means of revenue, and built the theatre, the

[590]Adapted translation of J.O.Burtt.
[591]Sp.-H,301.
[592]Again the Parisinus A: 'ὑπὲρ εὐβούλου πουλέγων', Bake,86.

Odeum and the docks. He constructed triremes and harbours. This was the man whom our city degraded and whose children she imprisoned.'[593]

A final reference is made in the second part on provoking pity, again to a less famous, but real speech of the orator[594]:

Κινήσομεν δ' ἔλεον κἂν ὑποδεικνύωμεν τὸ πάθος τὸ συμβεβηκὸς περί τινας τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ κρινομένου ἢ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος, ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρχεστράτου· ἐπέξεισι γὰρ τὰ συμβεβηκότα τῇ τοῦ Ὀνείδου μητρί, καὶ Λυσίας

'We can also provoke pity, if we show the feelings which surround some of the relatives of the defendant or the deceased, as Hyperides in the speech against Archestratus enumerates the sufferings of Oneidus' mother, as does Lysias.'

This is a unique tableau of knowledge about Hyperides, if we compare it with other manuals from the age. It even concentrates only on concrete, real cases. Most remarkably even the often mentioned, *'extraorationem'* and bombastic example of Phryne's defence is missing. But the whole treatment of the epilogue is unique, as K. Aulitzky has pointed out.[595] This threefold partition within the epilogue is rare. The only parallels are in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De Inventione*.[596]Moreover the methods used to awake compassion are the same in these three authors. The signs - especially in the case of this latter - might lead back to Rhodes, where Apollonius Molo emphasized the above mentioned maxim, in which he cautions against too lengthy commiseration. As mentioned above, the two early Latin treatises drew on a Greek source, which must have had a great interest in dealing with this topic. The connection with Molo is underlined by Seneca's statement, which refers to a wider interest of the Rhodian: 'epilogis vehemens fuit

[593]Adapted translation of J.O.Burtt.
[594]Sp.-H,324.
[595]Aulitzky, 26-49.
[596]2,30,47; and 1,52,98.

Apollonius Graecus'.[597]On the other hand, the differences in the number of examples in favour of Apsines can be explained by the intention of enriching the material by any available examples. Some of them were taken from Alexander Numeniu.[598]

So, Apsines' interest, which is attested in the chapter on the epilogue, in a rather neglected Hyperides could have been awakened by some late Hellenistic rhetorical manual, written in a spirit still influenced by the Rhodian School representing Hellenistic rhetoric.

c) *Figured speeches*

The school-tradition of figured speeches starts in effect with Quintilian, who - though not in the category of traditional figures - deals extensively with the question of figures used for a whole speech.[599] These are the so called *controversiae figuratae*, which reflect hidden purposes within a speech.[600]For a long time the question of the real existence of such figures, as was the case with any figure, formed an important part of the controversy between Apollodoreans and Theodoreans,[601]until they were dealt with in the fourth book of the Ps.Hermogenian περὶ εὑρέσεως where the author speaks about λόγου σχήματα and devotes a separate chapter to figured speeches, entitled περὶ τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων προβλημάτων.[602]

Hermogenes distinguishes between three kinds: τὰ μέν ἐστι ἐναντία - the orator wants to achieve the contrary of what he has actually said; τὰ δὲ πλάγια - when using the previous method something else is achieved also;[603] τὰ δὲ κατὰ

[597]Sen.*Contr.*7,4,5.
[598]Cf. Graeven, 62; and Aulitzky, 44.
[599]Quint.9,1,17, and 1,1,81.
[600]A historical survey of the subject and rhetoricians is given by J.Penndorf, 'De sermone figurato quaestio rhetorica' *Leipziger Studien* 20 (1902) 167 sqq.
[601]K.Schöpsdau, 'Untersuchungen zur Anlage und Entstehung der beiden Pseudodionysianischen Traktate περὶ ἐσχηματισμέμων' *RhM* 118 (1975) 83 sqq.
[602]*Hermogenis Opera,* ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, 1913; rpr. 1969) 204-10; Sp.II,258.
[603]The rich man promises to save the city from famine if he can kill a poor man . The city refuses the deal, and - here the figured speech starts - the poor man wants to sacrifice himself. In doing so of course he does not want to be killed (first type) and at the same time he tries to show that the rich man does not have the grain, and if he did it would be easy to get.

ἔμφασιν - the orator cannot speak openly without danger, but speaks in a manner that the audience would understand.

Apsines follows the Hermogenian pattern, in his work attached to the τέχνη: περὶ τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων προβλημάτων.[604]The treatise begins with an excerpt from Hermogenes, which is excluded by the editors.[605]This confusion exemplifies the close relation of the two authors. Apsines does not give an original account, but adds some new types to his inherited material and tries to enrich the reservoir of examples in order to fulfill his main intention to facilitate the work of students. In making the subject vivid, he brings more historical factors into the rather flat examples of Hermogenes.

As the classical example of the first type the Harpalus affair is introduced, with Demosthenes' daring defence.[606]At the same time this reference to a rare, but real, *hypothesis* represents the starting point for any further speculations about Hyperides' role as a severe prosecutor and the never ending antagonism between him and Demosthenes, which was developed in 'Sophistopolis'.[607]The second example is a very popular product of this practice, which even inspired Libanius.[608]

> ὅταν ὑποτιμώμενος αὐτῷ μείζονος διὰ τούτου ταῦτα καθαιρῇ, ἐφ' οἷς ἑάλωκε· καὶ ἔστιν οἱονεὶ λύοντος τὰ κεκριμένα. Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἁρπαλείοις χρήμασιν ἑάλω, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὑπερείδης αὐτῷ τιμᾶται φυγῆς, ὁ δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν αἱρεῖται.
>
> '... if someone proposes against himself a more severe (punishment) and by this clears the charges he was condemned for. It is as if someone would reverse the judgement. Demosthenes was found guilty in the Harpalus affair and Hyperides proposes the sentence of exile; he, however, chooses the death penalty.'

[604]Sp.-H.330-9
[605]Sp.-H.330-1.
[606]Sp.-H.331; Bake,117; Walz,IX,535.
[607]Russell's Aristophanes-inspired invention: cf. (Decl.) 22.
[608]Lib.18.

The main weapon of the defence must be amplification, which combined with acerbity is also relevant in another category of figured speeches:[609]

> μετέλθωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ εἶδος, ὅπου τις λύει τὰ δόξαντα, ἢ νόμον, οἷον Ὑπερείδης ἀξιῶν τὸν Δημοσθένην δημόσιον εἶναι δοῦλον, ἐπειδὴ ξενίας ἑάλω. ἐνταῦθα εἰσάξεις τὰ ὑπὲρ Δημοσθένους, καὶ ἐπιδείξεις ἄξιον ὄντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλευθερίας, οὐ μόνον τοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάχθαι. ἠγνόητο δ' ἄν σοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἴσοδος τοῦ λόγου ὑπὲρ Δημοσθένους, „ὅτι ὑμεῖς προσδοκᾶτε ἐρεῖν·
>
> 'Let us consider that type also, in which someone abolishes (the force of) a decree or law, as when Hyperides requires that Demosthenes becomes a public slave, after he was condemned for usurping citizen rights. In this case you bring in everything relevant to Demosthenes and show that he even deserves freedom, not only to be free of slavery. Perhaps you do not know that the introduction of the speech for Demosthenes is composed in this manner: „what you expect I am going to say ..."

B. Hermogenes on Hyperides

A real milestone in Hyperides' 'Nachleben' is undoubtedly Hermogenes of Tarsus. His judgement represents a nail in the coffin of oblivion regarding the oeuvre of some 'minor' Attic orators and among them Hyperides. The wonder-child of the mid-second century A.D. had an enormous influence on later, especially Byzantine, schools and his works became the standardised manual for teaching rhetoric.[610]

In the edition of Rabe, the main treatises follow each other in a sequence known from Quintilian's *Institutio*: περὶ τῶν στάσεων, περὶ εὑρέσεως, περὶ ἰδεῶν.[611]However, only the last shows any sign of interest in Hyperides. It is hardly surprising, since at the end of the day even in Dionysius' eyes Demosthenes turned out to be the unique model to imitate, who had represented all the best qualities of

[609]Sp.-H.336; Bake 122; Walz,9,540.
[610]Kennedy (Chr.Emp.) 96.
[611]L.Radermacher, 'Hermogenes' *RE* XV (1912) col. 870.

the three oratorical genres. This was the starting point for Hermogenes for any consideration of the Attic orators and generally Greek rhetoric.

The system of the περὶ ἰδεῶν is built entirely upon features in Demosthenic style.[612] Though Hermogenes' scheme of ideas is ultimately derived from Dionysius' tableau of rhetoric,[613] the later critic developed a more subtle method of analyzing the different ideas of style by separating seven main and thirteen sub-categories.[614]Their characteristics are introduced by a firm scholastic method: namely the author repeatedly presents his observations according to aspects of content, approach (figures of thought) and style, i.e. choice of diction, figures of speech, word order etc. Since Demosthenes was a master of all ideas, both separately and simultaneously, or as Hermogenes describes him, was the κορυφαῖος - leader of all the others - references to his speeches dominate the analytical sections on each type of idea.

The comparatively few exceptions are all the more interesting where another member of the canonized Ten, as acknowledged by Hermogenes, is referred to. The frequency and characteristics of these references could shed some light on the kind of surviving school-usage of these 'extra Demosthenem' rhetoricians, especially if we compared them with a general characterisation elsewhere in the Hermogenes corpus. For - in the last sections of the περὶ ἰδεῶν - we have an independent survey of literary genres and their main protagonists, which is attached to the main treatise. It seems that in the chapter on practical or civil oratory rhetoricians are introduced in a hierarchical sequence: Lysias, Isaeus, Hyperides, Isocrates, Dinarchus, Aeschines, the two Antiphons, Critias, Lycurgus, Andocides.[615]The first three are collected in one group more or less equivalent to the plain style within the traditional threefold system

[612]*Hermogenes' On Types of Style* translated by Cecil W.Wooten (Chapell Hill and London, 1987) Appendix I, 131.
[613]D. Hagedorn, 'Zur Ideenlehre des Hermogenes' *Hypomnemata* 8 (Göttingen, 1964) passim.
[614]These are in the translation of Wooten: clarity, purity, distinctness, grandeur, solemnity, asperity, vehemence, brilliance, florescence, abundance, beauty, rapidity, character, simplicity, sweetness, subtlety, modesty, sincerity, indignation.
[615]The different branches of prose are divided into two main groups, ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος and ὁ πανηγυρικὸς λόγος. Within the first ὁ ἁπλῶς πολιτικὸς covers practical or civil oratory: cf. Ian Rutherford, 'Inverting the canon: Hermogenes on literature' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1992 (94) 355 sqq.

of eloquence.[616] To see, however, how poorly the representatives of plain style in the potentially relevant categories of 'style' are dealt with in the main treatise of Hermogenes, is worth mentioning the Hyperidean references and those to Lysias and Isaeus. It indicates Hermogenes' really low appreciation of these orators, despite his general characterisation in the last part of his work.

Lysias is mentioned only in the idea of ἀφελεία - simplicity. To give a specimen of thoughts, ἔννοιαι, characteristic of this idea some Demosthenic examples are cited, but Lysias in general terms (324).

Under ἐπιεικεία, modesty, Lysias and Hyperides are placed on the same level, again from the point of view figures of thought.

> πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ἰδιωτικοῖς τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ πλείονά γε παρὰ τῷ Λυσίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ὑπερίδῃ· φύσει γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες ἠθικώτεροι, ταῖς δὲ μεθόδοις καὶ μᾶλλον (331; 347).
>
> ' ... There are many examples of such techniques in the private speeches of Demosthenes and even more in Lysias and Hyperides. For these orators were naturally more concerned with character portrayal, especially in the approaches that they use.'[617]

In producing unnoticed force, δεινότης, Lysias is excellent. However, the most important aspect is the use of simple elements of diction, word order and colloquial language by which he achieves this kind of force (376).

[616]Hyperides is introduced as one of the most successful practising advocates (*Id.*2,11): Περὶ τοῦ ἁπλῶς πολιτικοῦ.

Ὁ τοίνυν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν λόγος πολιτικὸς γίνεται μὲν διά τε τῶν τὴν σαφήνειαν ποιουσῶν κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἰδεῶν καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἐπιείκειαν καὶ ἀφέλειαν ἤθους καὶ ἔτι τῆς τὸν ἀληθινὸν ποιούσης λόγον ἰδέας, ὃ δή ἐστι τοῦ πιθανοῦ. δεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἓν ἀκούειν πάντα· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς μίξεως τούτων καὶ οἷον ἑνώσεως ὁ ἁπλῶς πολιτικὸς γίνεται λόγος, οὗ δὴ καὶ πάντες μετέχουσιν, οὓς ὀνομάζομεν πολιτικούς, πλὴν ἴσως τοῦ Ισοκράτους κατά τι· πλεῖστόν γε μὴν αὐτοῦ μέτεστι Λυσίᾳ τε καὶ Ισαίῳ καὶ Ὑπερίδῃ, διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστά εἰσι πιθανοί.

'The style that could be described as being purely practical is one that is produced by those types that reveal a modest and simple character and that makes the style unaffected, because this is conductive to persuasion. All these styles should be understood as a unity: the purely practical style is created out of their mixture and combination into one. All the speakers whom we call practical orators use this style, except perhaps Isocrates to a certain extent. Lysias and Isaeus and Hyperides use it extensively, which is why they are so persuasive.'

[617]Translated by C. W. Wooten: see n.612.

Finally Lysias is mentioned as a fine example of ἐπιμελεία, lightly wrought style, however, not as a perfect representative, since there is a lack of harmony in his speech delivered in Plato's *Symposium*. Thought, diction, use of language are praised by Socrates and so by Hermogenes (297). Notably it is not a real speech of Lysias delivered in practice.

Isaeus' style can in no particular virtue of style reach the level of Demosthenes and so become a kind of parallel referencepoint.

Hyperides, apart from the acknowledgment of his skill in creating an impression of modesty is only once mentioned, however in a prominent place. The Delian speech is - though far from being perfect - almost a unique example of the first category of thoughts producing solemnity, σεμνότης.

> ἔννοιαι τοίνυν εἰσὶ σεμναὶ μὲν αἱ περὶ θεῶν ὡς περὶ θεῶν λεγόμεναι· ἐπεὶ τὸ - ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀγκὰς ἔμαρπτε Κρόνου παῖς ἣν παράκοιτιν - καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα οὐχ ὡς περὶ θεῶν εἴρηται, διὸ πόρρω μοι δοκεῖ σεμνότητος εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν, πλέον δὲ μετέχειν ἡδονῆς καὶ γλυκύτητος· ἀνθρωποπαθῶς γὰρ καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν ποιητικῶς λέλεκται, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ ἡδονῆς ἡ ποίησις οἶμαι στοχάζεται. περὶ θεῶν δὲ ὡς περὶ θεῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγεσθαί φημι, οἷον - ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἐγγίνεται φθόνος- καὶ πάλιν - βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φλαῦρον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν - καὶ πάλιν - παραλαβὼν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς πᾶν, ὅσον ἦν ὁρατόν, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον, ἀλλὰ κινούμενον πλημμελῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως -. καὶ ὅλως πολλὰς ἂν εὕροις τοιαύτας ἐννοίας παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι, καὶ γὰρ αὗταί εἰσιν ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαίου· παρὰ μέντοι τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἥκιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δηλιακῷ Ὑπερίδου ποιητικῶς μᾶλλον καὶ μυθικῶς εἴρηται· τὸ δὲ αἴτιον οὐχὶ νῦν ἀνάγκη λέγειν.
>
> 'Solemn thoughts are those concerning the gods, at least when they are spoken of as gods. Things like „The son of Cronos grasped his wife in his arms" are not expressed speaking of the gods as gods, since they seem to me to

be far from solemn and as far as the thought is concerned are charming and sweet rather than solemn. They are poetical expressions of human feelings, and generally, I think, the main aim of poetry is pleasure. But the following have been said, I think, of gods as gods: „He was good, and a good being does not feel envy of anything" or „God wanted all things to be good and nothing to be bad as far as was in his power" or „God took everything that was visible, when it was not at rest but moving in disharmony and disorder." In general you could find many such thoughts in Plato, and these, in fact, come from the Timaeus. But there are not many examples in the orators, since even Hyperides' Deliacus is really poetical and mythical rather than oratorical; why that is so, I do not need to explain here.'

In the general judgements about the members of the Ten canonized orators, in the case of Lysias there is no discrepancy between the references, comments made in the main text and the general characterisation. However, none of his real speeches is mentioned in the main text. Isaeus, whose style is mostly praised and almost equated with that of Demosthenes does not appear as a model. Hyperides, on the other hand, has almost only negative comments on his style. The whole passage is rather hostile towards him, which may be caused by his scandalous diction, whose castigation occupies more then one quarter of the whole introduction to the reader. Therefore it is even more surprising that any speech of Hyperides should be referred to in the main treatise. Hermogenes' way of speech about the Delian speech creates the impression that his reference reflects the fact that the speech was a traditional example in earlier rhetorical treatises. Probably Ps.Longinus' high esteem could play a role.[618]

So if we can regard - from a later point of view - the main text of the περὶ ἰδεῶν as a practical manual with concrete references to facilitate the school-practice of imitating different styles, then Hermogenes represents the almost ultimate exclusion of Hyperides from the standard rhetorical curriculum. His Delian speech is only reluctantly mentioned and is far from being a proper example.

[618]On Hermogenes' refusal of further explanation see 213-4.

The general characterisation and stylistic judgements, which were attached to the end of the treatise, give on the other hand the impression of being designed to meet a general demand, in the traditional genre of rhetorical handbooks. Hyperides is obviously on the margin of Hermogenes' appreciation because of the impurity of his diction. All this is hardly surprising if we consider the attitude, which is manifested in the scholastic precision of his whole rhetorical system, which could not favour such an 'extravagant' rhetorician as Hyperides.

Ὁ δ' Ὑπερίδης τὸ μὲν ἐπιμελὲς ἥκιστα ἔχει, διὸ καὶ ἧττον δυνατὸς εἶναί πως δοκεῖ· μέγεθος δὲ αὐτῷ ἐστιν ὑπέρογκον, σκληρὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οὐ κεκραμένον, ὥστε μὴ σφόδρα εὖ τῷ ἠθικῷ τε καὶ καθαρῷ κεκρᾶσθαι. κίνησις δὲ καὶ γοργότης σχημάτων πάνυ ὀλίγη παρὰ τούτῳ. δεινότης δὲ ἡ κατὰ μέθοδον ἔστι μὲν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσι καὶ παρὰ τούτῳ, ἔλαττον δὲ ἢ κατὰ τὴν παρὰ τῷ Λυσίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσαίῳ καὶ ἔτι τῷ κορυφαίῳ αὐτῶν, λέγω τῷ Δημοσθένει. παρὰ δὲ Ὑπερίδῃ κἀκείνην εὕροι τις ἂν τὴν δεινότητα, ἣ καὶ φαίνεται καὶ ἔστιν, οὐχὶ τὴν κατὰ μέθοδον μόνην, σπανίως μέντοι, ὅπου γε καὶ παρὰ τῷ Δημοσθένει σπάνιον τοῦτο. ἴδιον δὲ Ὑπερίδου τὸ καὶ ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀφειδέστερόν πως καὶ ἀμελέστερον χρῆσθαι, ὥσπερ ὅταν - μονώτατος- λέγῃ καὶ - γαλεάγρα - καὶ - ἐκκοκκύζειν - καὶ - ἐστηλοκόπηται - καὶ - ἐπήβολος - καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα (381; 395-396).

'The style of Hyperides is hardly carefully wrought, which is why in some ways it does not seem to be very powerful. But there is swollen Grandeur in his speeches, and the grand passages are stiff and not well integrated into the rest of the speech. They are not, in other words, well blended with the style that reveals Character and with Purity. His style is not quick-paced, and there is very little of the sort of Rapidity that is created by figures of speech. his style does exhibit the sort of Force that involves approach, as does the style of all the other orators. But there is less of this sort of Force in Hyperides than in Lysias and Isaeus and, of course, much less than in Demosthenes, who surpasses both Lysias and Isaeus in this respect. In the speeches of Hyperides you would also find that kind of Force that both is and appears to be forceful, in addition to the

kind that depends on the approach. But you would find it rarely, since it is rarely found even in Demosthenes. And it is typical of Hyperides to use words freely and carelessly, as when he says „onliest" and „weasel-trap" and „to cry cuckoo" and „to stele-inscribe" and a 'partner in" instead of „acquainted with". There are other examples.'

Hermogenes' criticism with regard to the uneven style of Hyperides, that is, he cannot mix smoothly grandeur with the plain style, could be exemplified and explained by Hermogenes' system of components of 'ethos'. In some cases the very same components used in a specific manner can provide a speech with grandeur or on the contrary with simplicity.

C. *Commentaries on the* Corpus Hermogenianum

1. The Three-man commentaries on the 'staseis'[619]

The Hermogenian corpus as mentioned above, is composed of *Progymnasmata*, and the books περὶ στάσεων, περὶ εὑρέσεως, περὶ ἰδεῶν, περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, all of them irrespective of their real origin ascribed to the authority of Hermogenes. Though the first work was replaced by Aphthonius' clearer presentation of the subject, in the course of the fifth or sixth century the treatises started to form a standardised manual for school-purposes. Syrianus knew only the three major, middle treatises in the fifth century, but soon after him all the five became part of the rhetorical canon.[620]Reflecting Suda's τέχνην ῥητορικήν, ἣν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχουσιν ἅπαντες,[621]the number of commentaries was so high that later users made up a so called 'chain-commentary'. In this compilers quoted different excerpts relevant to each particular problem, with the authors' names and quite often additional notes on the margin of manuscripts forming a frame around the main text.[622]H.Hunger's simile describes vividly the background of the present situation, when he compares the work of later compilers with that of a film-cutter.[623] In the following paragraphs I would like to have a look at the references, which were offered as explanations by the commentators to the text of Hermogenes and to see what remained from the Hyperidean corpus by that time.

The origin of the στάσεις commentaries is surrounded with philosophical controversies. On the one hand a strong tradition of anti-Hermogenian attitude is characteristic of Porphyry and his followers and on the other hand Syrianus reveals a pro-Hermogenian standpoint. The consequence of this is that commentaries bear the signs of the formal rather than the rhetorical concerns of the authors.[624]The specific

[619]Cf. H.Rabe, 'Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften' *RhM* 64 (1909) 578-89.
[620]Hunger, II,77-8.
[621]Suda s.v. Ἑρμογένης.
[622]P.H.Richter, 'Byzantinische Kommentar zu Hermogenes' *Byz* 3 (1926) 160.
[623]Hunger, II,80; see also Rabe, (Rhet.Hand.) 578-89.
[624]Richter, 165, Porphyry follows the authority of Minucianus, a rival rhetorician, who paid more attention to logical matters, since Hermogenes was too easy in his definitions, partitions etc. The followers of Hermogenes in general terms worked to make the treatise more scientific, i.e.

subject itself, the divisions of political questions[625]and legal cases into 'staseis', that is effective starting points for building up an argumentation and the method for it, is a fundamental question in rhetoric and much in need of logical considerations. A clear understanding is essential for students of rhetoric, hence the extensive commentaries especially in the case of this particular treatise. In Walz's fourth volume, where the scholia are printed, the collection is entitled under the name of three men, Syrianus, Sopatros and Marcellinus.

a) Syrianus

(1) Comments on the περὶ στάσεων

Syrianus' commentary[626] gives only two real and one fictitious[627] Hyperidean examples to clarify Hermogenes' dense presentation. In both cases the reference is to the speech for Phryne.

1. In the opening chapters of his work Hermogenes explains that a legal dispute is always concerned with persons and acts, therefore a proper use of the different varieties among them can provide some help in building up the argument or eventually in finding the most effective heading. Some of the persons involved, however, do not provide any basis for argument, if they are identified as 'someone', or they are completely equal without any special characteristics compared with the adversary.[628] For the latter, his example is when two rich young men accuse each other, so the orator cannot make any use of the general characteristics of a rich young man, since the same is true for the opponent.[629]

Aristotelian.

[625]Malcolm Heath, *Hermogenes. On Issues Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1995).

[626]There is a separate critical edition by H.Rabe, *Syriani in Hermogenem Commentaria Vol. II* (Leipzig, 1893); the commentary is probably a genuine work of Syrianus: cf. K.Praechter, 'Syrianos' *RE* IV (1932) col. 1732.

[627]Walz,IV,4,708: πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους βασιλεὺς καὶ Φίλιππος ... ἀποφαινομένων περὶ συμμαχίας ἑκατέρων γνώμας Ὑπερίδης γράφει μηδ' ἑτέρῳ συμμαχεῖν.

[628]Rabe, (Herm.)30,13: τὸ τίς, καὶ τὰ ἰσάζοντα διόλου.

[629]In transcribing Hermogenes' text I rely on M.Heath's terminology in his translation.

First of all Syrianus makes it clear[630] that the first case can only be fictitious and the second is also very rare. Moreover, even a completely unknown person can be circumscribed, as examples from Demosthenes and Plato testify. There is a method also for avoiding the seeming equality, one needs to find only the tiniest difference between the persons.[631] As two classical examples, there are given the Demosthenes-Aeschines controversy about their own alleged roles in politics and in addition the Hyperidean reference:

Ὑπερίδης δὲ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Φρύνης, ἐξισάζοντος <τοῦ>, ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ Εὐθίας ὡμιληκότες ἦσαν τῇ Φρύνῃ· - ἑταίρα δὲ ἦν αὕτη, ἐκ Θεσπιῶν, διαφθείρουσα τῷ κάλλει, καὶ ἐπακμάσασα Λαΐδι· ἀναθέντων Ἑλλήνων ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῆς εἰκόνα, καὶ ἐπιγραψάντων, Φρύνη Ἐπικλέους Θεσπικὴ, Κράτης ὁ κύων ὑπέγραψεν, ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρασίας· - Ὑπερίδης γοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγῳ, εὑρών τινα διαφοράν, ἐξέφυγε τὸ ἐξισάζον, φήσας· οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιόν ἐστιν, τὸν μὲν ὅπως σωθήσεται ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν, τὸν δὲ ὅπως ἀπολέσει..

Ὑπερίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης τῆς ἑταίρας ἐξισάζοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ, ὅτι καὶ Εὐθίας ὁ κατήγορος αὐτῆς ἔγνω αὐτήν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ συνηγορῶν Ὑπερίδης, εὗρε μικρὰν διαφοράν· τὸν μὲν ὅπως σωθήσεται ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν, τὸν δὲ ὅπως ἀπολέσειεν.

Rabe's edition (on the left) is based on the codex Veneticus, which between the dashes shows a clear interpolation from Athenaeus *Deipn.*591b. Nor is the text after the interpolation certain, considering the repetition in order to pick up the line of thought and the extra ascription with Hyperides' name, ὁ ῥήτωρ. It is more probably the work of a compiler, or rather two, since the interpolation of Athenaeus and the adjustment of the main text are likely to have taken place in two phases, not to mention the sudden unfamiliarity with Hyperides as an orator. The rest of the codices of the joint commentary give the reading on the right, which is Walz's main text. The alterations show a possible Christian influence in interpreting the original ὁμιλέω as γιγνώσκω.

[630]Rabe, (Syr.) 29-31.

[631]ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ τὴν βραχυτάτην διαφορὰν εὕρωμεν ἐν τῷ ἐξισάζοντι, φευξόμεθα τὸ δοκεῖν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ περιπίπτειν ... (31).

So it is certain that in the case of the later compilers the information about the Hyperidean solution could not be more than part of an inherited anecdote. Syrianus, however, seems to give a genuine reference and moreover the only one based on the actual content of the Phryne-speech and not merely on the famous ending.

2. Hermogenes in analysing the first stasis, that is conjecture, στοχασμός, in which case on the basis of one clear act another is in dispute, whether it happened or not,[632] lists some methods of argumentation with general force for other 'staseis' as well. Therefore the presentation of the first stasis is much longer than the others. The closing division of argumentation (in the case of conjecture and generally) is κοινὴ ποιότης, common quality, whose parts are the epilogues and the second speeches.

Syrianus, in the relevant part of his commentary,[633]gives a more distinctive division of the subject and differentiates between practical and emotional epilogues. The former can be performed with the method of ἀνακεφαλαιώσις, repeating the arguments from the beginning one by one, or with ἐπάνοδος, starting with the last and marching backwards. Examples are taken again from Demosthenes and Plato. In the case of the emotional epilogue the intentions of the accuser and the defendant are different, the latter wants to provoke pity; a fine example of its crucial and eventually decisive importance is provided by the Hyperidean story:[634]

> ἔνθα δὴ καὶ παραγωγαὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων χρήσιμοι καὶ φίλων· πολλοὶ γοῦν ἡττώμενοι ταῖς δικαιολογίαις, τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἐλέου διεξόδῳ κεκινήκασι πάθος τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις ὡς τὴν νικῶσαν ἀπενέγκασθαι· καὶ τούτου μαρτύριον Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης τῆς ἑταίρας λόγῳ ἐλεεινολογίας τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ περιῤῥήξει τῆς ἐσθῆτος διασώσας ἐκ τῆς Εὐθίου κατηγορίας τὴν ἄνθρωπον...

[632]'A man is apprehended burying a recently slain corpse in a remote place, he is charged with homicide. On the basis of the burial, which is clear, we investigate an act that is unclear, i.e. who committed the homicide?' Rabe, (Herm.)36,12, translated by Heath, 32.
[633]Rabe, (Syr.)89,10-92,4.
[634]Walz,IV,414. Repeated under the name of both Syrianus and Sopatros in Walz,V,285: οὐ γὰρ μιᾷ μόνῃ τῇ διὰ τῶν ὤτων αἰσθήσει, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῇ θέᾳ τὰς τῶν δικαστῶν διανοίας ἐπισπώμενος, οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκπλήττει τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν σχημάτων φαινόμεθα. ὡς Ὑπερίδης γυμνὴν τὴν Φρύνην τὰ στήθη εἰσήγαγε καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ οἰκτειρήσαντες ἀπεψησίσαντο.

'The production of women, children and friends will be useful. Many, who were defeated in the speeches, could arouse such emotions in the audience by provoking pity that they were acquitted. It is proved by Hyperides' speech for Phryne, the mistress, who by a long piteous appeal and by tearing off her clothes saved her from Euthias' accusation.'

Syrianus in his analysis presumably relies on earlier detailed presentations of the topic, as in Quintilian 6,1. The Hyperidean example, which is a story rather than a reference to the speech, is a commonplace from earlier times. The only additions seem to be the Platonic examples, which is not surprising from the head of the Neoplatonic school. Syrianus, in fact, in using Hermogenes and other rhetorical commentaries and treatises including the later neglected Minucianus, composed a work interwoven with Neoplatonic influence, which does not adhere too closely to Hermogenes. It is very likely that even his main source was itself a compilation.[635]

(2) Comments on the περὶ ἰδεῶν

What emerges from Syrianus' works until now seems to point to a relatively high familiarity with the *oeuvre* of Hyperides. The references, though concentrated on a single, well known speech, unlike other *testimonia,* are not limited to the story. The impression of such a lively interest is reinforced by Syrianus' commentary on the περὶ ἰδεῶν. The latter is more important, since Syrianus claims to be the first to have written a commentary on this particular treatise: 'Since, however, much of the contents is not easy for everyone to understand and since up to now I have not met with a commentary on it, I thought it necessary, my dearest child Alexander, to put together some brief notes to the best of my ability for the more accurate reading of the book.'[636] The Hyperidean reference is generated by Hermogenes, who rejects the

[635]St.Gloeckner, 'Quaestiones Rhetoricae Historiae Artis Rhetoricae qualis fuerit aevo imperatorio capita selecta' *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* VIII, 2 (Breslau, 1901) 64.
[636]Rabe, (Syr.*Id.*) translated by G.A.Kennedy, (Chr.Emp.) 111.

presumably well-known Delian speech as a possible example of the first category of σεμνοτής. The manner of his quotation implies that Syrianus had read it and is quoting directly from the speech.[637]

b) Ps.Sopatros

Chronologically the first commentator on the περὶ στάσεων among the authors of the combined *scholia* would be Sopatros, who lived in the fourth century A.D. However, the passages ascribed to his name in Walz's fourth and fifth volumes show a different stylistic character compared with the genuine works of the author.[638]In the genuine extant work entitled Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων Sopatros collected 82 difficult declamation-themes and wrote analytical introductions according to their 'staseis'. The emphasis is on fictitious themes, since for sterilized, effective school-exercises the heritage of ancient rhetoricians, as had been obvious for a long time, was not sufficient.[639] Themes to cover sophisticated 'staseis' could not be produced from life, but must be invented.

It is unlikely that Hermogenes had any real classical trial in his mind, when he referred to one of the subcategories of the first 'stasis', the double conjecture. 'A complete double case arises when there are two persons and two acts which provide grounds for judgement' and accuse each other as in the made up case of Aeschines contra Demosthenes. 'Aeschines and Demosthenes, on returning from the embassy to Philip, bring reciprocal charges of receiving bribes against each other, since the one is found burying gold, the other is found to have composed a defence on a charge of ambassadorial corruption.'[640]Ps.Sopatros, in commenting on this, gives other fictitious examples as well as the one mentioned by Hermogenes and with significant satisfaction finds a real Hyperidean example, which he almost triumphantly produces

[637]Rabe (Syr.*Id.*) 37,16-38,3: cf. Appendix IV.
[638]Doreen Innes and Michael Winterbottom, 'Sopatros the Rhetor. Studies in the text of the Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων' *ICS Bulletin* Supp.48 (1988) 1. Heath is of the same opinion (245); Gloeckner argues for a mutilated version of the original (75).
[639]According to M.Winterbottom, 6, the first attempt to make use of such fictitious cases in teaching goes back as far as Gorgias' Palamedes speech.
[640]Heath, 41.

as a justification of the Ars Rhetorica, which he must have regarded as becoming completely alienated from real life.

ἔχεις δὲ διπλοῦν στοχασμὸν παρὰ Ὑπερίδῃ ἐν τῷ Δηλιακῷ· ἐκθησόμεθα δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὲρ τοῦ γενέσθαι σαφὲς τὸ λεγόμενον· ἀφίκοντό τινες εἰς Δῆλον ἄνθρωποι Αἰολεῖς πλούσιοι χρυσίον ἔχοντες πολὺ κατὰ θεωρίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀποδημοῦντες ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οὗτοι ἐφάνησαν ἐν Ῥηνείᾳ ἐκβεβλημένοι τετελευτηκότες· τοῦ δὲ πράγματος περιβοήτου ὄντος, ἐπιφέρουσι Δήλιοι τοῖς Ῥηνεῦσιν αἰτίαν ὡς αὐτῶν ταῦτα πεποιηκότων, καὶ γράφονται τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀσεβείας, οἱ δὲ Ῥηνεῖς ἠγανάκτηνταί τε τῷ πράγματι καὶ προσκαλοῦνται Δηλίους τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην· οὔσης δὲ τῆς δικασίας, ὁπότεροί εἰσιν οἱ τὸ ἔργον πεποιηκότες, ἠρώτων οἱ Ῥηνεῖς τοὺς Δηλίους δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοντο· οὔτε γὰρ λιμένας εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἐμπόριον, οὔτε ἄλλην διατριβὴν οὐδεμίαν· πάντας τε ἄνθρώπους ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν Δῆλον ἔλεγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν Δήλῳ διατρίβειν· τῶν δὲ Δηλίων ἀποκρινομένων αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἱερεῖα ἀγοράσαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι διέβησαν εἰς τὴν Ῥήνειαν· διὰ τί οὖν, ἔφασαν οἱ Ῥηνεῖς, εἰ ἱερεῖα ἦκον ὠνησάμενοι, ὡς φατὲ, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἀκολούθους οὐκ ἤγαγον τοὺς ἄξοντας τὰ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν Δήλῳ κατέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ μόνοι διέβησαν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τριάκοντα σταδίων ὄντων ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ῥηναέων τραχείας οὔσης ὁδοῦ, δι' ἧς ἔδει αὐτοὺς πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορασίαν, ἄνευ ὑποδημάτων διέβησαν· ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ ὑποδεδεμένοι περιεπάτουν· ἐκ τοίνυν τούτων ἔστι γνώριμον ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡ τέχνη καὶ αἱ στάσεις εἰλημμέναι εἰσίν·

'You have a double conjecture in Hyperides in the Delian speech: we will quote what was said in order to make clear the case. „Some Aeolians arrived at Delos. They were rich, carried a lot of gold, and were away from their country making a tour of Greece. These men were discovered cast up on Rhenea dead. The news was noised abroad, and the Delians accused the people of Rhenea of the crime and indicted their city for impiety. The Rheneans, who resented the action, brought the same charge against the Delians. When the debate to

discover the guilty party took place, the Rheneans asked the Delians why the men had come to them, since they had no harbours or market or anything else worth visit. Everyone, they argued, went to Delos and they themselves often stayed there. When the Delians answered that the men crossed to Rhenea to buy sacred victims, the Rheneans said: If as you say, they came to buy victims, then why did they not bring the slaves, who attended them, to take back the victims, instead of leaving them in Delos and crossing alone? Besides, it is thirty *stadia* from the landing-place to the city of Rhenea; and, although it is a rough road along which they would have had to go to make the purchase, did they cross with nothing on their feet, whereas in Delos, in the temple, they used to walk about with shoes on?"[641]

Well then, from these it is possible to know that the art and the staseis are inherited from the ancients.'

Ps.Sopatros was happy to find a real example for this very rare case, even though it was only a reference incorporated in the Hyperidean argumentation. In this case, as with Syrianus' first reference to the Phryne-speech, the quotation is different from those characteristic of other branches of the commentary-literature, where the Delian speech is equivalent to the Leto myth. He had certainly read the speech, but how this isolated sign of interest was generated and what was its significance is another question. Of course the Delian speech was presumably more accessible than any other Hyperidean speech, because of Hermogenes' decisive reference, and therefore Ps.Sopatros could have had anyway the chance to read it. It is even possible that he made use of a potential 'stasis'-oriented *hypothesis* - having in mind Harpocration's work - since such extracts are attested on papyri for Demosthenes of an early date.[642]But these possibilities were open to everyone.

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[641]Translated by J.O.Burtt, 565.

[642]Manfred Lossau, 'Untersuchungen zur Antiken Demosthenesexegese' *Palingenesia* II (Bad Homburg, Berlin, Zürich, 1964) 113 and Winterbottom, 15. The hypothesis in question is for the speech against Meidias, which was more or less the third most popular reference from the Demosthenic corpus among later rhetoricians.

Moreover, in continuing the collection of examples, Ps.Sopatros brings an extra subcategory (immediately after the previous example) to the complete double case, the Demosthenes-Aeschines theme in Hermogenes, and extends the number of 'dramatis personae' to three by putting Hyperides on the stage as their common prosecutor.

> ἔστι καὶ ἕτερον εἶδος διπλῶν, ὃ παρά τισι μὲν εὕρηται τῶν τεχνικῶν, Ἑρμογένει δὲ οὐκ εἴρηται· ὃν καλοῦσί τινες διπλοῦν μονομερῆ· ἐν ᾧ δύο μὲν πράγματά εἰσι καὶ πρόσωπα κρινόμενα, ἕν δὲ τὸ κατηγοροῦν· οἷον Αἰσχίνης καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐκ τῆς κατὰ Φίλιππον ἐπανήκοντες πρεσβείας, ὁ μὲν χρυσίον εὕρεται κατορύττων, ὁ δὲ παραπρεσβείας ἀπολογίαν γράφων καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἀμφοτέρων κατήγορος.[643]
>
> 'There is another class of double conjectures, which is indicated in some theoreticians, but Hermogenes does not speak about; some call it a double, one-sided case, in which on the one hand there are two acts and two persons to be tried, on the other one prosecutor. Such as: Aeschines and Demosthenes after having returned from the embassy to Philip, the former is caught burying gold, the latter writing an apology and Hyperides is the prosecutor of both.'

Another variant exists for a formal double conjecture in the historical Sopatros, when gold is stolen from the Acropolis, and the rest is more or less the same, but there is not any trace of the type presented in Ps.Sopatros, not to mention Hyperides' involvement.[644]The extension into the one-sided double conjecture is only attested in the Ps.Sopatros commentaries and in an anonymous one.[645]The tradition represented

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[643]Walz,IV,446.

[644]Walz,VII,204. In Rabe, (Herm.) 56,5-8 there are only two anonymous orators: cf. Heath, 94.

[645]Anonymous, *scholia to Herm. Staseis*, Walz,VII,353-54: εὕρηται δὲ ὁ καλούμενος μονομερὴς (στοχασμός), ὅταν δύο μὲν ἔχῃ τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἕνα δὲ τὸν κατήγορον, οἷον Αἰσχίνης καὶ Δημοθένης ἥκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ τὸν Φίλιππον πρεσβείας, εὕρηται ὁ μὲν χρυσίον κατορύττων, ὁ δὲ παραπρεσβείας ἀπολογίαν γεγραφὼς, καὶ κρίνει αὐτοὺς Ὑπερίδης προδοσίας; and again in a more detailed form in 359-60. Ps.Sopatros uses the same hypothesis for highlighting the difference between παραγραφή - exception based on law, which rejects the case in principle - and παραγραφικόν - procedural exception, which rejects the primary case on circumstantial grounds; Walz,IV,317: διαφέρει δὲ τὸ παραγραφικὸν τῆς παραγραφῆς, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ, τῷδε, τῷ τὴν μὲν παραγραφὴν ἀπὸ νόμου τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαν τὴν εὐθυδικίαν

mainly by Ps.Sopatros seems to indicate a certain line of school-oriented interest in the character of a fictitious Hyperides,[646] which might have been generated by a closer familiarity with late Hellenistic biographical literature. The picture of a bitter enemy of Demosthenes based on the Harpalus affair had a far-reaching tradition. A further indication of such an influence is given in Ps.Sopatros' *prolegomenon*, where the author - according to the rules of the genre - gives a brief summary of the history of eloquence:[647]It is noteworthy that the evidence for a Hyperidean interest, which appears in Ps.Sopatros' introduction, is again isolated among representatives of the same genre. In the very limited space of a short history of eloquence it is significant that while Demosthenes 'simply' dies, Hyperides' dramatic execution becomes the focus of interest, and is used as a kind of metaphor of extinguished eloquence.

> Ἤκμασε δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐν τῇ δημαγωγίᾳ κατὰ τὸν Δημοσθένους καιρὸν ἡ ῥητορική, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου βασιλείας, ἡνίκα Ὑπερίδης μὲν ἐγλωσσοτομήθη, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀπέθανεν· ἐνενήκοντα δὲ καὶ ὀκτὼ λέγονται ἐκδοθῆναι ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ῥήτορες· πάμπολλοι δὲ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
>
> 'Eloquence flourished extremely in politics at the time of Demosthenes and thereafter when Antipater was reigning, when Hyperides' tongue was cut off and Demosthenes died. Ninety-eight orators are said to have been handed over and a lot from all over Hellas.'

ἐκβάλλειν· τὸ μέντοι παραγραφικὸν ἐκ τῶν περιστατικῶν λαμβάνεται· ... ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου χώραν ἔξει· οἷον Αἰσχίνης καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐκ τῆς παρὰ Φιλίππου ἐπανήκοντες παραπρεσβείας, εὕρηται ὁ μὲν χρυσίον κατορύττων, ὁ δὲ παραπρεσβείας ἀπολογίαν γράφων, καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἀμφοτέρων κατηγορεῖ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ διάφορος οὖσα τῶν προσώπων ἡ ποιότης χώραν ἔχει λέγειν, ὅτι ἰδίᾳ θέλω κρίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ἐκείνου ποιότητος - so, the actual case belongs to the category of exception; see further Ps.Sopatros, Walz, V,124; 141.

[646]Further example of Hyperides as a historical character appropriate for declamation: Walz,V,55, where he is accused of treason. Only the names of Hyperides, Pericles and Demosthenes are changed but the theme is the same, namely for one of the most prominent fighters for Athenian freedom the enemy erects a statue: cf. R.Kohl, 'De scholasticarum declamationum argumentis ex historia petitis' *Rhetorische Studien* 4 (Padeborn 1915) 64-5. Another Hyperides-related theme again in Ps.Sopatros is no.255 in Kohl.

[647]Walz,V,8.

The sources of Ps.Sopatros' commentaries and so the background of his Hyperidean interest are obscure; Gloeckner tries to identify one of his main sources with Porphyry's commentary on Minucianus' *ars*.[648]The history and origin of the one sided, double conjecture could shed some light on this question. And indeed in 71,15-17 Hermogenes expresses his doubts on multiplying a counterplea into other different subcategories, which can be understood as a general standpoint for other classes as well. Some evidence on the other hand indicates that a more detailed system was favoured by Minucianus; the paradoxical conjecture was certainly analyzed by him and rejected by the historical Sopatros.[649]Moreover, Syrianus, who also shows genuine familiarity with the Hyperidean corpus, can also be linked to a very limited extent to this other tradition of 'staseis'-systems.[650]Minucianus, attacked by Hermogenes for lack of structure and perspicuity in his work, represents a more liberal concept of rhetorical teaching, which is more closely linked to Hermagoras and so to the Hellenistic/Rhodian rhetorical tradition.

Marcellinus

About the third commentator, Marcellinus, we know practically nothing.[651]The character of the commentary attributed to his name has much in common with the two mentioned above with regard to its Neoplatonic inspiration. What remained from its single Hyperidean reference - because of the mutilation of a compiler or the unfamiliarity of the author - is only an obscure hint. In the passage Marcellinus speaks about the epilogue, and the functions ascribed to it by Aristotle.[652] One of the four aims is to make the audience remember what had been said:

> Μαρκελλίνου· Διάφοροι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀνακεφαλαιωσέων μέθοδοι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· καὶ γὰρ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάσματος κέχρηνται, ὡς Ὑπερίδης·

[648]In fact many passages in *prolegomenon* refer to Porphyry: cf. Gloeckner, 76.
[649]Walz,IV,472,6 - 473,10, and 78,6-20: cf. Heath, 101.
[650]On the fact of differencies between Hermagoras' lost 'staseis' system and the extant 'ars' of Hermogenes, see Matthes, (Hermag.) 104.
[651]Cf. Kennedy (Chr.Emp.) 112-5, and O.Schissel, 'Minucianus' *RE* XIV (1930) cols. 1487-88.
[652]Walz,IV,425.

βουλόμενος γὰρ τὰ λεχθέντα ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ἐν πλάσματι εἰσήγαγεν ...

'There are different ways of summarising in the ancients. They have employed fiction, like Hyperides; when he wanted to summarise what had been said he did it in a fictitious way.'

The actual speech, which the author probably had in mind, is the speech against Demades, and the place is an unfortunate echo of Apsines' reference to Hyperides unusual method of recapitulation, namely the introducing of a fictitious (πλάσμα) decree.

Further anonymous commentaries include a similar treatment of the emotional epilogue. The two references follow the pattern of presentation in Syrianus, with some dramatic changes.[653]

[653]Walz,VII,335: τὸν γοῦν Ὑπερίδην φασὶν οὕτω τὸν ὑπὲρ Φρύνης νικῆσαι λόγον, ὡς γὰρ ἡττᾶτο, φησὶν εἰσήγαγε τὴν ἑταίραν ἐπί τινος ἐλεεινοῦ σχήματος, παιομένην τὰ στήθη γυμνὰ, καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα περιῤῥήξασαν, καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ πρὸς οἶκτον ἰδόντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο ... and again in the very same commentary 338: καὶ τούτου μαρτύριον Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης τῆς ἑταίρας λόγῳ ἐλεεινολογίας τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ περιῤῥήξει τῆς ἐσθῆτος διασώσας ἐκ τῆς Εὐθύνου κατηγορίας τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

Anonymous commentary to the περὶ εὑρέσεως

Hermogenes after having written his most important treatise on the division of 'staseis', in the third book of the περὶ εὑρέσεως wants to introduce the students of rhetoric to how to use and build up a heading which is relevant to a previously identified 'stasis' of a case. Naturally one heading can be used in different staseis.[654]In analysing the heading of τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους,[655]'the events on which the case is based are subjected to step-by-step analysis and/or amplification',[656]Hermogenes admits the difficulty in refuting a practical 'stasis' (i.e. the case is built upon a fact, concerning the future), using the heading in question.[657]He promises, however, to give a solid method to use, but obviously the problem is so artificial and rare that he cannot provide his explanation with a proper example as he did in previous cases.

Here comes the anonymous commentator:

> ἄνευ δὲ παραδείγματος θεὶς ἀσάφειαν τῷ λόγῳ πεποίηκεν· τὰ δὲ παραδείγματα σαφεστέραν ποιεῖ τὴν τέχνην. ἔστω οὖν παράδειγμα τοῦ προκειμένου προβλήματος τόδε· πολλῶν πολεμίων τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλει ἐπισκηψάντων καὶ συμφορῶν προκειμένων οὐ μικρῶν, ἔγραφεν Ὑπερείδης, τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους εἶναι, καὶ γράφεται τοῦτον παρανομίας Ἀριστογείτων. ἐνταῦθα ἡ μὲν ζήτησίς ἐστι πραγματικὴ, περὶ γὰρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔχει τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν, εἰ χρὴ δίκαιον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ὑπερίδου δέξασθαι ψήφισμα· ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν καὶ τὸν τοῦ τεχνικοῦ, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, σκοπόν· φησὶ γὰρ, ἐὰν μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα παρ' ἡμῖν εἴη γεγονὸς, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν βλάβην εἰσαγόμενον, οὕτως αὐτὸ λύσομεν, ζητοῦντες τῶν ἀντιθετικῶν στάσεων τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα ἡμῖν θήσομεν, ὥσπερ ποιοῦμεν ἐν τῇ ἀντιλήψει· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ὑπερίδου τὸ ψήφισμα γεγονὸς, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος κατηγορούμενον ὡς παράνομον, δίκαιον Ὑπερίδης τὸ ψήφισμα δεῖξαι πειρώμενος ζητήσει

[654]Rabe, (Herm.)132.
[655]Rabe, (Herm.) 154-62.
[656]Heath, 259.
[657]Rabe, (Herm.) 161; obviously every heading is either invented by us and needs constructive reasoning or brought against us and needs refutation: cf. Rabe, (Herm.)132.

τῶν ἀντιστατικῶν στάσεων τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα, ἤγουν τὴν ἀντίστασιν, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνην μελετήσει λέγων, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινῇ λυσιτελοῦντος τοῦτο πεποίηκα, ἵνα εἰδότες οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐντίμους αὐτοὺς γεγονότας κατατολμήσωσι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως.[658]

'since he did not give any example he made the explanation unclear. Examples, however, make the art more understandable. Let the following example of the problem before us suffice: when many enemies had fallen upon the Athenians and no few calamities were expected, Hyperides proposed that those, who do not have citizen rights, should be granted them, and Aristogeiton accuses him of unlawful proposal. Here the inquiry is practical, because the dispute is concerned with the future, whether Hyperides' proposal has to be accepted as just: but let's see also whether the master's consideration is the same, since he says: „if the thing was done by us and is brought up by the enemy against us, we can refute the charge in the following way: we have to search for what is profitable for us from the 'stasis' based on counterposition and use it, as we do in case of counterplea." Since the proposal was made by Hyperides and Aristogeiton happened to be the one who claimed it as unlawful, in trying to prove that the proposal was right, Hyperides will look for the profitable from the 'stasis' based on counterposition, or rather for counterposition itself, and by means of that will proceed, saying 'I acted in the public interest in order that those who do not have citizen rights should know that they have them, and so would willingly fight for the country.'

Hyperides' defence presented in the commentary is built on a solid use of some headings of counterposition, that is justification of the act by referring to extreme circumstances and innocent intention. On the other hand Hermogenes' short references to key sentences, which would form the basis of an eventual defence closely resemble the same rhetorical basis of Hyperides' alleged historical defence: 'It was not me, but the weapons of Macedon' - ἐὰν ἐκ φύσεως ᾖ τι γενόμενον καὶ

[658]Walz,VII,781.

διὰ τοῦτο ἀξιῶμεν τι γενέσθαι ... ἀπαντήσομεν οὖν οὕτως· οὐ δι' ἡμᾶς ῥεῖ τὸ πῦρ ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν.[659]

Commentaries on the περὶ ἰδεῶν

Commentators on the περὶ ἰδεῶν apart from Syrianus include Ioh. Siceliotes, Maximos Planudes and an anonymous compiler. All of them comment on the single reference in Hermogenes' work, namely the Delian speech as an insufficient example of 'σεμνοτής'. Maximus Planudes, in quoting the fragment and the introductory sentences word by word, drew on Syrianus or an intervening source; but the addition, in which he explains why is the Hyperidean example rejected by Hermogenes, is not attested before him.

> *Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον·* οὐ γὰρ θεωρεῖν τὸν Δηλιακὸν νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ σκοπός· ἡ μέντοι αἰτία ἐστὶν, ὅτι περὶ τῶν πατρίων τοῦ ἱεροῦ διαλαμβάνει καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν θεῶν· τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἀθρωποπαθῶς ἔρηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὡς τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ ἡ θεογονία· ἠναγκάσθη οὖν ὁ Ὑπερίδης τῇ ὕλῃ τῶν πραγμάτων χρήσασθαι, καὶ παραβῆναι τὴν τέχνην διὰ τὴν ὕλην τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καὶ ὁ Αἰσχίνου Δηλιακὸς ὁμοίως ἔχει καὶ εἰ νοθεύεται.[660]
>
> *'the reason (why we do not explain)* is that our aim is not to deal with the Delian speech; nevertheless, the reason (why the speech does not belong to the category of σεμνοτής) is that (Hyperides) is concerned with the ancient story of the temple and the birth of the gods; and these are spoken of with human feelings by the ancients, as by Hesiod in the Theogony. Thus Hyperides was forced to use the available material and to step over the limits of the art because of the subject of the speech. Moreover, Aeschines' Delian speech is similar, though it is considered to be spurious.'

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[659]Rabe, (Herm.)162.
[660]Walz,V,481.

The passage seems to mirror a certain knowledge about the content of the speech, which could not be invented on the basis of extant commentaries. Considering, however, Planudes' general method of writing, it can be hardly credited to him.

Ioh. Siceliotes, who was a teacher of rhetoric in Constantinople in the eleventh century reveals a limited originality in handling the subject, he is even less indebted to Syrianus' account. A confusion with regard to Hyperides' audience is revealing;

Planudes: βουλόμενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐξ ἀρχαίου δεῖξαι τοῖς Αθηναίοις τὰ ἐν Δήλῳ ἱερὰ προσήκοντα.	Siceliotes: βουλόμενος Αθηναίοις δεῖξαι, ὡς τὰ ἐν Δήλῳ ἱερὰ προσήκει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπορῶν γνησίας γενέσεως .... οὐ μὴν ὁ θεολόγος οὕτως.[661]

Probably because of a rather negligent copying of an intermediate source (between Syrianus and Planudes) the delivery of the speech was transplanted from Delos to Athens.

In a further branch of the Byzantine commentaries, there is a Parisian manuscript of an anonymous work. As in Chinese whispers, the mysterious message about a Delian speech coming from somewhere does not make sense. In interpreting the words of Ioh. Siceliotes, the author assumes that Hyperides wanted to produce the complete (presumably the well-known) account of the myth, but he failed and was content to start with the Delian events: καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς θεολογῆσαι τοῦ μύθου ἀπήρξατο τοῦ περὶ τὴν Λητὼ γεγενημένου ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ.[662]

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[661] Walz,VI,210-1.

[662] Walz,VII,956. If someone does not know the speech it is difficult to understand from the words of Siceliotes that there was not any genesis related to Athens and everything must have been invented by Hyperides. The anonymous, however, was not the last in the line. The dense text of his compilation has tricked the sharp eyes of Fr.Blass, who in the transgression to a Christian example of Gregory of Nazianzus: οὐ μὴν θεολόγος οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐγκώμιον γράφων θεοῦ ἐξ ὁμολογουμένων πραγμάτων ἤρξατο, ἀναλογούντων τῷ γένει, λέγων, θεὸς μὲν ἦν ἀεὶ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς... the word 'θεολόγος' interpreted as an attributum praedicativum and accepted the quotation as a Hyperidean fragment (no.70). His mistake was castigated by Karl Fuhr, 'Zu Hyperides' *RhM* 41 (1886) 307.

Prolegomena

Parallel to the composition of commentaries on the canonized works of Hermogenes and Aphthonius, a specific genre was born to introduce these compilations to the readers, especially to students of rhetoric.[663] Lecturers with philosophical motivation usually attached a *prolegomenon* to their work in which, along with other considerations, they attempted to find a definition of rhetoric, to give a brief history of eloquence etc. A massive collection of 33 such *prolegomena* is collected and edited by Hugo Rabe.[664]In the extensive, philosophical version of *prolegomena* there are ten questions to be addressed:[665]The first four are about the origins of rhetoric and its history, in which a specific question occurs about the Athenian period, where we could expect Hyperidean references. After a definition, the sixth deals with the forms of rhetoric. Then: how many types of rhetoric are there and what are they (the third is dialectic, mainly modeled by fourth century orators), then kinds of delivery, kinds of constitution, and finally in which ways rhetoric should be taught.

The interest in Hyperides attested by these *prolegomena* is very limited.[666] The only two points of considerable attention are again represented by a very vague reference to the Delian speech[667] and a more detailed account of the Phryne story. This latter is also entirely separated from the speech itself and is reused in an interesting way for supporting different definitions of rhetoric. It plays the role of a mere anecdote and Hyperides' authorship is at the end of the day of no significance.

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[663]As is the case with the commentaries and other compilations, though a high percentage of the *prolegomena* date from Byzantine period, the material in them is mainly inherited from the blossoming time of the genre, that is the fifth and sixth centuries: cf. Kennedy (Chr.Emp.) 117.

[664]Hugo Rabe, *Prolegomenon Sylloge* (Leipzig, 1931). Rabe pointed out that there are two major types of *prolegomena*; one of them follows a pattern known from Arist. *An.Post.* 2,1,89b23 and raises four questions. does rhetoric exists? what is its definition? what are its qualities? what is its end and utility? Cf. Kennedy (Chr.Emp.) 117.

[665]Rabe, (Prol.) 18.

[666]In number of references after Demosthenes comes Aeschines, Isocrates, Lysias, Hyperides, Lycurgus (because of a unique reference where he and Demosthenes are presented as the main characters of political oratory Rabe, (Prol.) 38), Dinarchus, Demades, Andocides.

[667]Walz,VII,26, Rabe, (Prol.) 214.

In an anonymous *prolegomenon,*[668] the author adopts the Platonic view that the persuasive force of rhetoric (irrespective now of whether it is an art or not) is distinctively manifested in verbal communication διὰ λόγων.[669] This restriction is significant, since there are other different ways also open to persuasion, for which the author produces a Homeric example, where the beauty of Helena plays the decisive role and then he cites the Phryne story.

> Πάλιν ἡ Φρύνη περὶ ἀσεβείας ἐκρίνετο, καὶ Ὑπερίδης πολλὰ λέγων οὐκ ἐδυνήθη πεῖσαι· ὁρῶσα γοῦν αὕτη τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀπερρίμμένας, καὶ κινδυνεύουσα, διαῤῥηξαμένη τὸν χιτωνίσκον, οὕτως ἔπεισε τοὺς δικαστὰς ἐνδοῦναι, ὥστε διὰ θέας γενέσθαι.. Πάλιν Μιλτιάδης περὶ προδοσίας κρινόμενος, οὐδὲν εἰπὼν τὸ πάθος ὑπεδειξε, καὶ ἤρκεσεν ἀντὶ ῥητορείας ἡ θέα.
>
> 'and again, Phryne was put on trial for impiety and though Hyperides spoke a lot he could not persuade (the jury), so when she realized that her hopes were gone and she was in real trouble, she tore her blouse apart and so convinced the jurymen to give in, so (the persuasion) happened thanks to the spectacle. Again, when Miltiades was charged with treason he did not say anything, only revealed his wounds and the sight, instead of speech, was sufficient.'

Notable is the author's lively description and the emphasis on Phryne's own activity, the impact of beauty instead of a miserable view.

The very same story with a very different flavour is mentioned by the famous orthodox rhetorician in the fourth century, Athanasius of Alexandria. In the *prolegomenon* he adheres to an Aristotelian definition.[670] Aristotle put the emphasis partly on the possibility - τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον - of a result of persuasive means, since the

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[668] Rabe, (Prol.) No.13; 183-228; Walz,VII,7.

[669] ὁρίζεται δὲ τὴν ῥητορικὴν Πλάτων καὶ ἐν τῷ Γοργίᾳ πειθοῦς δημιουργὸν διὰ λόγων ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις τὸ κῦρος ἔχουσαν πειστικῆς, οὐ διδασκαλικῆς ... Pl.*Gorg.*453A; Cf. Rabe, (Prol.) 190.

[670] Rabe, (Prol.) no.12; 172: δύναμις τεχνικὴ τοῦ περὶ ἕκαστον ἐνδεχομένου πιθανοῦ - 'Let rhetoric be [defined as] an ability, in each [particular] case, to see the available means of [persuasion]', tr. by G.A.Kennedy.

ultimate key of πειθώ lay with the audience. But still an orator, being different from a layman, who counts on sheer luck, must do his job and consciously, i.e. using the *ars,* build up every part of the speech in order to achieve his final aim:

> καὶ Ὑπερίδης οὐκ ἔπεισεν ὑπὲρ Φρύνης, ἕως αὐτὴ τῶν ἐλεεινῶν μαστῶν μέρη παραδείξασα ἔπεισε.
>
> 'nor could Hyperides persuade (the jury) on behalf of Phryne until she did persuade (them) by showing parts of her pity-provoking breasts.'

The difference between the two is not only visible in the choreography of Phryne's behaviour but also between a silent disregard and an acquittal of Hyperides failing with his rhetorical skills.

What remained from all this for a late student of Byzantine rhetoric, who could have used the *prolegomenon* of Maximos Planudes, is more or less only the key point of Phryne's action. Planudes in recapitulating and refusing the different definitions offered by earlier rhetoricians, simply rejects the incomplete Platonic one by referring to extra-verbal examples of persuasion, to the very same, which were referred to by the Anonymous, in support of a complete definition.[671]He clearly drew on the Anonymous or a common source, but recklessly distorted the text.

Apart from the reference in Ps.Sopatros' *prolegomenon* above, in the specific subject of Athenian eloquence among the usual themes of the genre, Hyperides' name is presented in a neutral manner as one of the ten.[672] Signs of confusion are present in a spurious compilation, where history and the main types of style are jointly presented.[673]

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[671]Πλάτων μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν αὐτὴν πειθοῦς δημιουργόν. οὐκ ἀποδεκτὸς δὲ οὗτος ὁ ὅρος· καὶ γὰρ καὶ κάλλος πείθει, ὥσπερ τὴν Ἑλένην ... καὶ Φρύνη δὲ ἀσεβείας κρινομένη διαρρήξασα τὸν χιτωνίσκον οὕτως ἔπεισε τοὺς δικαστὰς ἐνδοῦναι. ... Rabe, (Prol.) no.7; 64.

[672]Marcellinus' *prolegomenon* Rabe, (Prol.) 273, and the same in an anonymous Rabe, (Prol.) no. 28; 4-43.

[673]It is difficult to find the origin of a characterisation, where Demosthenes, Hyperides, Dinarchus, Lycurgus are introduced as the representatives of middle style, and Aeschines, Isocrates, Lysias and Andocides, Isaeus as those of plain style: Walz,VII,26.

Gregory of Corinth on the περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος

The last part of the Corpus Hermogenianum περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος - 'on method of forcefulness'[674]was less favoured by commentators. The only complete commentary in a shorter and a longer redaction survives from Gregory of Corinth, who was member of the faculty of the Patriarchal School at Constantinople and later became metropolitan of Corinth in the twelfth century A.D.[675]On the basis of the two redactions Th. Gerber was able to identify the majority of places where Gregory relies on earlier sources.[676]It seems that the material was enriched in two phases, once by marginal comments from the hand of the author and later the whole was revised by a student.[677]Different sources are in the background and among them long forgotten commentaries.

The major amplification is due to earlier scholia which - revealing their origin - appear in the margin of codex Parisinus 2977 and 1983, and which were inserted into the commentary of Gregory.[678]The date and origin of the scholia cannot be identified. Among them is one of the three Hyperidean references. In chapter two Hermogenes makes it clear that any difficulty in understanding a prose text can only occur in three forms: Either the expression may be foreign, or technical, or idiomatic. The example for the latter is πομπεύειν in a meaning of abuse with ribald jests, because the Athenians used to do so in processions.[679] The scholiast did not have much to add. He probably looked up the expression in a Harpocration-like lexicon and recorded what he had read. Even irrespective of Hermogenes' genuine reference to Demosthenes, he accused the master of having done more or less the same.[680]

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[674]Rabe, (Herm.)417-56.
[675]Kennedy, (Chr.Emp.) 315.
[676]Th.Gerber, *Quae in Commentariis a Gregorio Corinthio in Hermogenem Scriptis vetustiorum commentariorum vestigia deprehendi possint* (Diss. Kiel, 1891).
[677]Gerber, 7.
[678]Gerber, 11; some of them were even taken into Maximus Planudes from the margin of the same codex.
[679]Rabe, (Herm.)415.
[680]Walz,VII,1118, 24-27.

... τὴν πομπείαν αὐτὸς ὁ τεχνικὸς ἡρμήνευσε, καὶ μάλα σαφῶς· εἴληπται δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ τοιόνδε ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων Λυσίου καὶ Ὑπερίδου καὶ Δεινάρχου, πολὺ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομα[681]

'... The master (Hermogenes) himself explained the meaning of procession and indeed very clearly; this unique expression was taken by him from the speeches of Lysias, Hyperides and Dinarchus, since the expression occurs many times in their works.'

The second and third Hyperidean references are indebted to a commentary called P. by Gerber, whose author was an educated man knowing the Bible well and influential, old treatises on the subject, such as Demetrius' and Apsines'.[682]Gregory in providing an explanation for ἐπενθύμησις, insertion of corroborative argument as a form of redundancy in thought, makes it clear that the addition of a further argument introduced by 'and also', καί, has to be distinguished from the formally identical 'parallel example'.[683] After a proof from the *De Corona* comes the additional Hyperidean reference, which is probably taken from Apsines, like the surrounding passages:

παράδειγμα γάρ ἐστι τὸ πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ζητουμένου παραλαμβανόμενον ... καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Αὐτοκλέους εἰπών, ὅτι τοῦτον ἐπὶ λόγοις δεῖ κολάσαι, τίθησιν ὅμοιον, ὅτι καὶ Σωκράτην οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἐκόλαζον

'because example is something which is used in order to parallel the thing in question ... Hyperides also, when he says in the speech against Autocles, that he must be punished for what he said, draws a parallel: Our forefathers have punished Socrates also because of words'.

[681]The beginning clearly indicates that it was inserted into the text.
[682]Gerber, 13.
[683]Walz, VII, 1148,7 sqq.

In the commentary to the chapter on recapitulation the reference to the Hyperidean Ethopoia is clearly a deteriorated version of Apsines' text.[684]

Collections of σχήματα

Hermogenes himself regarded as a very important and distinctive component of each particular idea of style the figures of thought and actual style, σχήματα διανοίας and σχήματα λέξεως. His system of differentiating and introducing the characteristics of different stylistic ideas is built upon the analysis of the usage or negligence of figures in a speech. Though he was aware of the very existence and importance of rhetorical figures, he did not devote an entire work to collecting and introducing them one by one, since he could rely on an old tradition in this field. Most of all this tradition is represented by the lost work of Caecilius, entitled περὶ σχημάτων, which, being a basic collection designed for school-practice, became a very influential source, which many later theoreticians drew on, suppressing or confessing their actual source.

The whole theoretical foundation of this particular genre of rhetoric - systematising and analysing figures - is bound to the famous controversy of Apollodoreans and Theodoreans, which is attested in Quint.9,1,10, who also refers to Caecilius as the main authority.[685]

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[684]Rabe, (Herm.)427-8 and Walz,VII,1226.

[685]Est non mediocris inter auctores dissensio, et quae vis nominis eius et quot genera et quae quam multae sint species. Quare primum intuendum est, quid accipere debeamus figuram. nam duobus modis dicitur: uno qualiscumque forma sententiae, sicut in corporibus, quibus, quoquo modo sunt composita, utique habitus est aliquis: altero, quo proprie schema dicitur, in sensu vel sermone aliqua a vulgari et simplici specie cum ratione mutatio .. .... quare illo intellectu priore et communi nihil non figuratum est. quo si contenti sumus, non inmerito Apollodorus, si tradenti Caecilio credimus, incomprehensibilia partis huius praecepta existimavit.
So, the followers of Apollodorus denied the possibility of such a rhetorical 'subdiscipline' and the Theodoreans quite the opposite: cf. M. Schanz, 'Die Apolllodoreer und die Theodoreer' *Hermes* 25 (1890) 36 sqq. Though Morawski's article (K.Morawski, 'De Dionysii et Caecilii studiis rhetoricis' *RhM* 34 (1879) 370 sqq) is far from being convincing, since he equates the rhetorical theories of the Apollodoreans and Theodoreans (cf. Schanz, 49) he is certainly right that Alexander Numeniu, the first author, whose work on the subject is extant, in accepting the Theodorean standpoint presumably follows the Dionysius-Caecilius line.

As I have argued in a previous chapter, Caecilius had even surpassed his contemporary's, Dionysius', special attitude towards the Hyperidean corpus. All this from a negative point of view. Nevertheless, in putting Hyperides on the margin of recommended ancient authors for school-practice, Caecilius extracted everything which seemed to be useful for his demonstrative purposes even from this corpus. It is therefore not a contradiction that he should quote quite a few examples from Hyperides' speeches in order to fill up his collection of figures with the best material.

The group of rhetoricians, who tried to refresh this very important basic field of rhetorical figures for school-purposes and used or reused in the store of examples some Hyperidean references is the following: Alexander Numeniu, (Natalis de Comitibus), Ps.Herodian, (Apsines).

Alexander Numeniu

Alexander, who presumably flourished in the early second century,[686] composed a work entitled περὶ τῶν τῆς διανοίας σχημάτων καὶ περὶ τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων, which is printed in Walz, VIII,419-86. For long time it was regarded as an epitome, until E. Drerup convinced modern scholars that the extant treatise cannot be anything else than the original, complete version.[687] The inner division of the work shows a distinct pattern: after making clear in simple terms the difference between σχῆμα and τροπός - parallel to that between solecism and barbarism - and that between σχήματα διανοίας and σχήματα λέξεως,[688]a carefully formulated definition of σχῆμα and its two types is presented. Nevertheless, before starting to enumerate the 25 types of σχήματα διανοίας, the author in justifying his work targets Apollodorean negativism in a relatively long argument about the real existence of figures, and finally explains the advantage of using them.[689]The second book is designed to catalogue the 27 types of σχήματα λέξεως. Short definitions and illustrated explanations of περίοδος, κῶλον, κόμμα as the most important components of λέξις start the book. The work is clearly a dense but not obscure handbook for school usage. Its effectiveness is proved by its later popularity. The list of examples is not limited to Demosthenes, but includes other authors, and among them in one case also Hyperides.[690]

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[686]Brzoska, 'Alexandros' (no.96) *RE* I (1894) col. 1456.

[687]E. Drerup, 'Eine alte Blattversetzung bei Alexander Numeniu' *Phil.* 71 (1912) 390-413. There is an obvious misplacement of a couple of pages, perhaps a quaternio in the text of Alexander Numeniu. The same pattern was taken over by later users. This speaks for an early misplacement in the complete version.

[688]Sp.III,9-10.

[689]The τινές in Alexander Numeniu 11, probably the Apollodoreans, by declaring all kinds of speech as figured (σχῆμα διανοίας) and having only one figure - that of the imitated ψυχή - denied the possibility of analysing and differentiating among any types of figures. But according to Alexander Numeniu a speech can be figured not only because of its nature but also artificial means (12). A speech imitating a real, natural speech - not regarded as figured - must be regarded as figured. And so the aim of the treatise is to speak of imitative speeches and not of all kinds of speeches (13).

[690]In fact apart from Demosthenes, references and examples by name are: 20/Homer, 19/Aeschines, 4/Isocrates, 1/Hyperides, 1/Menander, 2/Sophocles, 4/Euripides, 1/Herodotus, 7/Thucydides, 3/Xenophon.

The particular figure belongs to the group of figures of thought, διασυρμός, disparagement:

> Περὶ διασυρμοῦ· Διασυρμὸς δ' ἐστὶν ἐπειδὰν λέγωμεν ἀξιοπίστως διασύροντες, ὡς Ὑπερείδης ἐπὶ Δημοσθένους· καὶ συκοφαντεῖς τὴν βουλὴν, προκλήσεις προτιθεὶς καὶ ἐρωτῶν ἐν ταῖς προκλήσεσιν, - πόθεν ἔλαβες τὸ χρυσίον, καὶ τίς ἦν σοι ὁ δοὺς, καὶ πῶς; - τελευταῖον δ' ἴσως ἐρωτήσεις καὶ εἰ ἐχρήσω τῷ χρυσίῳ ὥσπερ τραπεζιτικὸν λόγον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπαιτῶν· - καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Φρύνης· - τίς γάρ ἐστιν αἰτία αὕτη, εἰ Ταντάλῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς λίθος κρέμαται.
>
> 'On disparagement: disparagement occurs whenever we speak in a believable disparaging manner, as Hyperides does against Demosthenes: „and you malign the Areopagus and publish challenges, in which you ask how you came by the gold, who gave it to you, and how. Perhaps you will end by asking what you used it for after you obtained it, as though you were demanding a banker's statement from the Areopagus";[691] and again in defence of Phryne: „what actually is this accusation, if there is a stone hanging above Tantalus' head?'

There follow two more examples, both from the 'De Corona' trial, one from Aeschines and another from Demosthenes.

Alexander in the introduction of his work reveals that he is going to take over everything that he can from his predecessors. But only in one case does he mention one of his sources: τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα ὁ μὲν Καικίλιος παλιλλογίαν καλεῖ, ἔνιοι δὲ ἀναδίπλωσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπανάληψιν.[692] How far he is relying on Caecilius and whether the particular Hyperidean quotation is simply inherited or can be regarded as

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[691] Adapted translation of J.O.Burtt.

[692] Sp.III,29,5: cf. Theodor Schwab, 'Alexander Numeniu. „περὶ σχημάτων" in seinem Verhältniss zu Kaikilios, Tiberios und seinen spiteren Benutzern' *Rhetorische Studien* 5 (Padeborn, 1916) 4; the monograph is of the greatest importance in searching for the origin of the Hyperidean quotations. In doing so I follow in many points Schwab's argumentation.

a new invention, is not possible to establish.[693]However with the help of an external, third sources some light can be shed on this question.

The source, which also belongs to this narrow circle of rhetorical writings on figures, is the work of a Tiberius entitled περὶ Δημοσθένους σχημάτων.[694]Tiberius presumably lived in the third century A.D. and was not afraid to confess that the handbook, which he was using in composing his work, was Apsines' περὶ σχημάτων. And this must have happened to such an extent that he felt obliged to mention it whenever he incorporated different material. Luckily this has happened in the particular case of the figures διατύπωσις[695] and διασυρμός: τὸ δὲ διασυρμοῦ σχῆμα παρῆκεν Ἀψίνης, Καικίλιος δὲ αὐτὸ ἐνέθηκε,[696]which with some others were clearly attached to the end of the collection as a kind of addition not to be found in Apsines.

Tiberius' explanation is more definition-like than that of Alexander, who simply transcribes the idea with the same words. The examples are remarkably limited to two from the Demosthenic 'De corona',[697]of which the latter one is identical with the one quoted in the last place in Alexander. Schwab in comparing the original with the two quotations concludes that the level of corruption in Alexander does not support the assumption of an immediate usage of Caecilius by Alexander in this particular case. Being a definite user of Caecilius' text, Tiberius presents a much better reading.[698] The absence of the other examples from the Tiberius/Caecilius version also would speak for new illustrations invented by Alexander in the case of

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[693]F.Solmsen, 'Tiberius' *RE* VI (1937) col. 805.
[694]Walz,VIII,520-77, and Sp.III,59-82.
[695]τὴν δὲ διατύπωσιν παρῆκεν Ἀψίνης, Καικίλιος δὲ ἔθηκεν ἐν τοῖς τῆς διανοίας σχήμασιν, fig. 43, Walz,VIII,571, which is placed after figures of style (λέξις) but presumably only because of its different origin.
[696]Fig.44; Walz,VIII,572.
[697]This is hardly surprising since Tiberius' confessed aim is to focus merely on Demosthenic figures. Nevertheless, there are two examples from Aeschines, 1/Isocrates, 5/Homer, 2/Herodotus, 5/Thucydides, 2/Plato, 1/Sophocles, 2/Euripides, 1/Eupolis. On the other hand there is an obvious correlation between passages taken over from Caecilius and the variety of examples. In the case of figs. no.45,46,48, Demosthenic references are missing. So, it is very likely that even Apsines, Tiberius' main source, had mostly analysed the Demosthenic oeuvre and whenever Tiberius used Caecilius the author was exposed to an influence carrying other, and among them many Thucydidean examples; cf: Solmsen, (Tib.) col. 806.
[698]Solmsen also questions the immediate use of Caecilius in Alexander's text (col. 806).

διασυρμός. On the other hand, on the basis of further comparisons, it is also evident that one of Alexander's main sources was Caecilius and that he extended the articles on his own initiative. He tries to improve and change the examples, however the explanations deteriorate.[699] Probably Hyperides does not fall into the circle of new additions.

It is still not possible to judge whether the Hyperidean example formed a part of the Caecilian tradition. To exclude this possibility on the basis of divergence in the Demosthenic reading is not sufficient. Obviously Tiberius was more keen on the Demosthenic examples, which could explain also the omission of Hyperidean examples in a case where sufficient quotations were to hand from the main author. So, extra-Demosthenic quotations in such a case - still present in Caecilius (a secondary source compared with Apsines) - could simply be omitted. Nonetheless, the presentation of the first Hyperidean quotation is similar to that of the great majority of the Aeschinean examples - especially those from his 'De corona' - in the school tradition. The textual connection with Demosthenes may have played a part from the beginning in the survival and popularity in a wider sense of the Hyperidean quotation.

Excursus on an alleged Hyperidean quotation

The gradual disappearance of the Hyperidean examples and the increase in the Demosthenic ones could be also dramatically demonstrated by another reference in Alexander, which was taken over and reused by four later composers of manuals. In the case of ἀντίθεσις[700] there is the following arsenal of examples:

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[699] Schwab, 19. On the other hand Tiberius' emphasis in the preceding figure (no.43) on the point that it was presented by Caecilus as a figure of thought speaks also for a closer connection between Alexander - who does the same - and Caecilius.

[700] It is most remarkable that Hermagoras is supposed to have dealt with this particular figure: cf. Matthes, (Hermag.) 153. Matthes argues that although Hermagoras' 'ars' as a whole was replaced and rejected by the Hermogenian tradition, examples survived and were reused as demostrative material.

Alexander in Walz,VIII,477-9: 'Αντίθεσις δὲ γίνεται κατὰ τρόπους πλείονας, καθ' ἕνα μέν, ὅταν τὰ ἀντικείμενα ὀνόματα ἀναλαμβάνωμεν, ὡς ἔχει τὸ τοιοῦτον, μᾶλλον γὰρ τιμῶσιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν ἀδίκως πλουτούντων τοὺς δικαίους πενομένους, καὶ ἐπιλούουσιν ἐν θερμοῖς ὕδασι ψυχροὺς ἄνδρας. καθ' ἕτερον δέ, ὅταν αὐτὰ στρέφηται τὰ ὀνόματα, <u>σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἔλαβες, ὦ Δημάδη, δῶρα παρὰ Φιλίππου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον, καὶ προέπινες αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εὐωχούμενος, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ συνέπινον.</u> καθ'

Par.2.in Walz,VIII, 477-9: 'Αντίθετον δὲ γίνεται κατὰ τρόπους πλείονας, καθ' ἕνα μέν, ὅταν τὰ ἀντικείμενα ὀνόματα λαμβάνηται, ὡς ἔχει τὸ τοιοῦτον, μᾶλλον γὰρ τιμῶσιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν ἀδίκως πλουτούντων τοὺς δικαίους πενομένους, καὶ τιμωρία γὰρ ἐπιτίμιον κακίας, οὐκ ἀρετῆς καὶ πολέμῳ δὲ ἰσχὺν χορηγεῖ πλοῦτος, οὐ πενία, καθ' ἕτερον δέ, ὅταν ἀντιδιαστείλληται κατάφασιν ἀποφάσεως οἷον, <u>σὺ μὲν ἔλαβες δῶρα, ὦ [cod. μὰ] Δημάδη, παρὰ Φιλίππου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον, καὶ</u>

Sp.III,99: Ps.Herodian: περὶ σχημάτων: 'Αντίθεσις δὲ γίνεται κατὰ τρόπους πλείους· εἰς μὲν ὅταν ἀντικείμενα λαμβάνηται· τιμωρία γὰρ ἐπιτίμιον κακίας, οὐκ ἀρετῆς καὶ πολέμῳ δὲ ἰσχὺν χορηγεῖ πλοῦτος, οὐ πενία. καὶ κατὰ διέξοδον προτιμῶσιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν ἀδίκως πλουτούντων τοὺς δικαίως πενομένους, καὶ τῶν παρανόμως νικώντων τοὺς ἐννόμως ἡττωμένους, καὶ τῶν κακῶς ζώντων τοὺς καλῶς ἀποθνήσκοντας. ἑτέρα δὲ ἀντίθεσις ὅταν ἀντιστέλληται κατάφασις ἀποφάσει· σὺ

Sp.III,169: Zonaeus: περὶ σχημάτων: 'Αντ'θετον γίνεται κατὰ δύο τρόπους, καθ' ἕνα μέν, ὅταν τὰ ἀντικείμενα ὀνόματα λαμβάνωνται, οἷον μᾶλλον τιμῶσιν αἱ πόλεις τοὺς ἀδίκως πλουτοῦντας, ἢ τοὺς δικαίως πενομένους· καθ' ἕτερον δέ, ὅταν ἀντιδιαστέλ-ληται κατάφρασις ἀποφάσει, ὡς τὸ σὺ μὲν ἔλαβες δῶρα, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον.

Sp.III,186: Anonymous: περὶ σχημάτων: Τὸ ἀντίθετον κατὰ πλείονας γίνεται τρόπους, ἕνα μέν, ὅτε τὰ ἀντικείμενα ὀνόματα λαμβάνεται, οἷον τὸ τιμῶσιν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀδίκους πλουτοῦντας ἢ τοὺς δικαίους πενομένους. καθ' ἕτερον δέ τρόπον, ὅτε ἀντιδιαστέλ-λεται κατάφασις ἀποφάσει οἷον, σὺ μὲν ἔλαβες, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον ...

ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ἡ ἀντίθεσις γίνεται, ὅταν μὴ πάντως τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις ὀνόμασιν φράζωμεν, ἀντικείμενα μέντοι ἢ διαφέροντα πράγματα λαμβάνωμεν, ὡς παρὰ Δημοσθένει, ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφοίτων· ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτελούμην· ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθεώρουν· ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐκκλησίαζον· ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐσύριττον.

προύπινες αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εὐωχούμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ συνέπινον. γίνεται, δὲ καὶ ὅταν διάφορα πράγματα ἀντιτιθῶμεν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν σὺ μὲν ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφοίτων· ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτελούμην· ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθεώρουν· ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐκκλησίαζον· ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐσύριττον.

μὲν γὰρ ἔλαβες, Δημάδη, δῶρα παρὰ Φιλίππου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον· καὶ σὺ μὲν συνέπινες αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εὐωχουμένῳ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνέπινον· καὶ σὺ μὲν συνέχθης τοῖς ἐκείνου πρέσβεσι συνομνύμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνηνέχθην.

After two identifiable Isocratean references,[701] the quotation underlined could be related to Hyperides.[702] Jensen, however is more cautious and does not mention it among the fragments from the speech κατὰ Δημάδου παρανόμων.[703] The speech was delivered when Demades after Chaeronea being in favour of Philip proposed the

[701] Isocr. 1,38, and 8,93. In 12.2. Isocrates tells us himself that he was very fond of using every kind of rhetorical figure and among them ἀντίθεσις in a certain period of his life: οὐκ ὀλίγων δ' ἀντιθέσεων καὶ παρισώσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδεῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ῥητορείας διαλαμπουσῶν ... (γέμοντας λόγους ἐπραγματευόμην).
[702] Cf. Spengel's (III) Indices.
[703] Jensen Hyp.fg. XIV, 127-9.

grant of προξενία to Euthycrates, who was considered as an Olynthian traitor. The passage, which refers in general terms to δωροδοκία, can easily fit into this historical context.

On the other hand Demades was accused more concretely with the same accusation in the Harpalus trial.[704] The reference to a concrete sum of money and the amount of it, seems to point rather to the context of the Harpalus trial. Who the actual prosecutor was, is uncertain. Apart from Hyperides, Dinarchus - being also an elected member of the board of prosecutors - could claim authorship, but there is no explicit evidence.

Though in this latter historical context Demosthenes certainly falls out, in the Συναγωγή a speech κατὰ Δημάδου is named in an ambiguous context.[705] It could be understood that the speech mentioned is one of Demosthenes' - this would be the only reference - but also as one of someone else's, whose name has fallen out.[706] On the other hand it has to be noticed that from a phraseological point of view the quotation is very close to Demosthenes' *De falsa legatione* chapter 128.[707]One could however, say that it is merely a *topos*.

The second column is an anonymous compilation, described as Parisinus 2, printed and used in the apparatus of Alexander Numeniu's text in Walz, since it has significantly different readings in many places. Though it was regarded as an epitome made from the original text of Alexander, Schwab's researches revealed that the author drew also on an intervening source, presumably an extensive compilation of

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[704]Din.1,89; 2,15.

[705]Bekker An. 335 under ἄγειν, cf. Appenndix III, s.v.; Hyperides and Demosthenes are referred to in the same context. Immediately after the Demosthenic example there follows all of a sudden: κατὰ Δημάδου· ἦγε δὲ πέντε μνᾶς, in a meaning of ἄγειν - ἔχειν.

[706]Blass, *Att.Bered.* III,1^2, 60,n.3: „Hier ist vor „κατὰ Δημάδου" sicherlich etwas ausgefallen, und warum nicht damit der Name des Lykurgos oder Hypereides? Dass die Rede von Demosthenes sei, ist gar nicht einmal gesagt." On Lycurgus: cf. K.Kunst, 'Lykurgos' *RE* XXIVA (1927) col. 2457.

[707]About Aeschines: εἰστιᾶτ' ἐλθὼν καὶ σπονδῶν μετεῖχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν ηὔχετ' ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνιζεν Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοτησίας προὔπινεν.
Note on the other hand that in the case of Hyperides comparative evidence is missing. A parallel in Hyp. *contra Dem.* 25,12-28: καὶ Δημοσθένη καὶ Δημάδην ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ψηφισμάτων καὶ προξενιῶν οἶμαι πλείω ἢ ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα ἑκάτερον εἰληφέναι, ἔξω τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' Αλεξάνδρου. οἷς δὲ μήτε ταῦτα ἱκανά ἐστιν μήτ' ἐκεῖνα, ἀλλ' ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτῶι τῶι σώματι τῆς πόλεως δῶρα εἰλήφασι, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον τούτους κολάζειν ἐστίν;

figure-theories - including those of Tiberius, Phoibammon, Ps.Herodian - and took over examples and from time to time used the Alexandrian text.[708] It is transformed and edited according to school demands. One of the most striking phenomena is that the author in leaving aside ancient examples replaces them by some from Gregory of Nazianzus.[709] Because of this tendency, in the case of διασυρμός the Hyperidean example vanished and only one Aeschinean example represents ancient authors apart from Christian references.

On the basis of conclusions emerging from other comparisons, Schwab could specify the relation of the five treatises in the case of ἀντίθεσις. Ps.Herodian's version is much closer to that of Par.2 also in the formulation of the beginning definition. He has the two examples which are only present in Par.2. and missing from Alexander, then the example about the cities, which is, however, in Ps.Herodian further quoted with a transgression of καὶ κατὰ διέξοδον. After that it follows precisely the text of Par.2. On the other hand the last example to be found in both Alexander and that in Par.2 is missing from Ps.Herodian. Alexander and Ps.Herodian must have used the same source perhaps indirectly. Alexander dismissed the subdivision κατὰ διέξοδον and so simplified his teachings. And similarly he did not need the explanation for the second main type in his new system because he simply explains the figure as a contraposition of nouns and verbs. The version of Par.2 is a compilation of Alexander and Ps.Herodian.

Regarding the similarities between the later user of the material, Ps.Zonaios,[710] Anonymous and the Par.2, the misspelling of the Isocratean example in both ways is revealing. It shows that the original version was rather kept by Alexander and Ps.Herodian and on the other hand Par.2 and the Anonymous present

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[708]Schwab, 111.

[709]Schwab, 61.

[710]The author of the treatise under the name of Zonaios can hardly be identical with the sophist who lived in the 5/6th century A.D. The text in all but one manuscript is anonymous. The only one used by Walz in his edition is attributed to him by a simple forgery of Constantine Paleokappa, who flourished between 1539-1551 and made several copies of different manuscripts in Paris on royal request. Sometimes in trying to provide his invention with more credibility he suppressed biblical examples in order to replace them with ancient ones. See L.Cohn, 'Konstantin Paleokappa und Jacob Diassorinos' in *Philologische Abhandlungen. Martin Hertz zum siebzigsten Geburtstage* (Berlin 1888) 129. So, in this case, we have a similarly anonymos school-compilation.

second-hand, deteriorated versions.[711]Ps.Zonaios and Anonymous have transformed the material according to Christian school demands. Almost all the 'pagan' examples are dismissed and replaced by Gregory of Nazianzus. Both could have been composed on the basis of the model of Par.2. A difference is present, however, in so far as Anonymous transforms the definitions of his source into empty and extensive circumscription and the examples are provided with pedantic notes of school-master type.[712]

Ps.Herodian

In fact in looking at the alleged Hyperidean quotation we have already come across the name of Herodian or rather Ps.Herodian. The treatise entitled Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ σχημάτων in Walz, VIII,578-610 cannot be a work of the famous grammarian, since - not to mention other problems - ideas expressed in it contradict genuine passages in other works of Herodian.[713]The date of this pseudo-work is probably the late first, early second century A.D.[714]

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[711]Schwab, 74-6.

[712]Schwab, 115.

[713]Cf. H.Schultz, 'Herodianus' *RE* XVA (1912) col. 970; K.Lehrs, (Herodianus) *RhM* 2 (1843) 125, Ed.Hiller, *Quaestiones Herodianae* (Diss. Leipzig, 1866) 52 who in accepting Foltz's (*Quaestiones Herodianae* (Leipzig, 1841) argues against the authenticity of the treatise and refuses to identify the author with Herodianus Peripateticus, the brother of Apollonius Dyscolus.

[714]The first part of the treatise was evidently a separate work. As the treatment of ἀλλοίωσις proves, this part of the work definitely follows the Caecilian tradition. Tiberius (Walz,VIII,573), makes it clear that the concept of this particular figure unifying some other grammar-related figures; κατ' ὄνομα, πτώσεις κτλ. is introduced by Caecilius; cf. R.Müller, 'Zu „Ἡρωδιάνου περὶ σχημάτων"' *Hermes* 39 (1904) 447. According to Müller, although the first part was later attached to the rest, all the three 'opuscula' - in contrast to Foltz's opinion - must be from the same author and they must have been written not long after Quintilian's age, since the latter does not seem to know of a threefold division of figures, which is present in Herodian's work. It is true that Quintilian in the famous chapter on *schemata*, 9,1,17, does not name *expressis verbis* more than two groups of figures - in 9,3,2, in speaking on the figures of λέξις, he differentiates between two subtypes: *verum schemata λέξεως duorum sunt generum: alterum loquendi rationem novat, alterum maxime collocatione exquisitum est;* cf. J.Martin, *Ant. Rhet.* 295. The first type corresponds to the group dealt with in the first part in Ps.Herodian (Walz,VIII,579 - originally grammatical mistakes, but authorized by poetical and common usage), the second to the third in Ps.Herodian: Σχῆμά ἐστι λόγου ἢ λέξεως οἰκονομία μετ' εὐκοσμίας ἐκπεφευγυῖα τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς ἀπαγγελίας (Walz,VIII,594). So Ps.Herodian in the partition of the figures does not necessarily

The treatise is almost entirely devoted to the analysis of Homeric examples as their overwhelming number indicates.[715] It falls into three parts:

The first two are the two categories known from Alexander: 1. σχήματα ἐν λέξει, which are basically grammatical mistakes, deeply rooted however in everyday dialects or poetical language; 2. σχήματα διανοίας, among which the most prominent are, εἰρωνεία and καταβολή. The last group, σχήματα ἐν λόγῳ, contains 33 types and finally there is a short list of κατασκευαὶ τοῦ λόγου.

In the first part, on the figures of λέξις, the author drew on the so called four-men scholia to Homer and in the second he shows much common with Alexander.[716]

Apart from that mentioned above, the only Hyperidean example referred to by name and another alleged one are listed in the third group:

> Ἐρώτησις δέ ἐστι λόγος ἐν ὑποκρίσει λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ σαφέστερον γνῶναί τι τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων, ὡς παρὰ Ὑπερίδῃ· - δοκεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν;[717]
>
> 'questioning is a certain manner of speaking in order to know more securely something of which we inquire, as in Hyperides: „is it correct that you say him?"'

> Ὁρισμὸς δέ ἐστιν ὅταν προθέντες ὄνομά τι ἢ ῥῆμα, οἷόν ἐστιν, ὁριζώμεθα· παραπέμπει δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐλπίς· αὕτη δὲ ἀτυχούντων ἐστὶν ἐφόδιον.[718]

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follow a later tradition than Quintilian's age.

[715]Altogether 65/Homer and on the other hand only 5/Demosthenes (4/*De corona*), 4/Aeschines (3/*De corona*) 3/Euripides, and single examples from Hippocrates, Sophocles, Isocrates, Eupolis, Hyperides. This Homeric orientation and the effort to find and prove all kind of figures in the Poet's works correspond to the tendency of another rhetorical work on the subject approximately from the same period, namely the second treatise in the Ps.Dionysian τέχνη: cf. Hermann Schrader, 'Telephos der Pergamener περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον ῥητορικῆς' *Hermes* 37 (1902) 530-81.

[716]Müller, (Herod.) 460.

[717]Walz,VIII,597. It is significant that the later codices give a reading of Euripides instead of Hyperides in this place. Obviously the mistake occurred because of the name of Hyperides being less well known among scribes, who up to this point already had twice read the name of Euripides in the treatise (Walz,VIII,584,3; 590,7). In any case it is easy to misread an upsilon joined with the rough breathing spiritus asper for an ευ diphthong the beginning of the name, which makes the further misspelling easier.

[718]Walz,VIII,601. Especially on basis of the metaphorical use of ἐφόδιον and its parallels elsewhere in Hyperides, Blass, (Hyp.) 132, considered the sentence as a Hyperidean fragment. Cf. Jensen, fr.

'definition is a figure whenever having placed first a noun or a verb we define how we mean it: „the hope escorts us, she is the nurture for the journey of the unfortunate."'

As the quotations from Demosthenes and Aeschines clearly indicate, the author has limited his choice to the most famous and frequently used rhetorical examples, which form almost certainly a part of the inherited material. Notably, none of the Hyperidean references belong to the category of simple grammatical figures of λέξις, but rather to those related to the διανοία or arrangement. Moreover especially in the case of 'questioning' they might go back to the Caecilius - Rutilius Lupus - Gorgias line.

Conclusion

What remained from Hyperides in the rhetorical schools of the 'Demosthenes-era'? If we had to summarize the answer in one sentence, the sentence would not be too long.

The deadly silence of Hermogenes was only once broken in order to refer hesitantly to an extraordinary speech in antiquity, in which a myth was used as a primary source of argumentation and not only as a parallel or source of delight. The reference had far reaching consequences not only within the narrow circle of commentaries to the περὶ ἰδεῶν, but also in other parts of the Corpus Hermogenianum and its satellites. Thanks to this limited interest of the 'master' the speech was probably kept alive, i.e. people read it, and Ps.Sopatros was proud to find in it a real example of rare counter-accusations. Syrianus almost certainly had read the Delian speech in the fourth century A.D. Probably in composing his very accurate commentaries he had access to the treasures of the Alexandrian library. His detailed account overshadowed the speech's further use by teachers and commentators, since

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on the other hand the bare existence of a commentary may exclude a close familiarity with the subject on the level of students.

The inspiration of Ps.Sopatros, however, along with Harpocration's interest, who was a severe critic of Hermogenes, seem to represent signs of an alternative curriculum. It was suppressed by Hermogenes and might have had more connections with late Hellenistic rhetorical theories.

The other peak of interest in Hyperides is manifested in references to the colourful or rather scandalous defence after the speech for Phryne. The type of the point from the *oeuvre* is, however, revealing. It is an *extraorationem* method, detached from the speech, which latter, with the exception of Syrianus, had hardly ever been carefully studied. After all it had failed, even if its author might be acquitted by some philosopher. The reference to the beautiful/miserable, in any case pity-provoking Phryne, unveils the characteristics of a major group of references, which were generated by late-Hellenistic biographical material. Among them there are memories of historical speeches, which could be fitted into schemes of 'stasis'-theory more or less irrespective of their original content, e.g. against Demosthenes in the Harpalus affair, or the unlawful proposal.

With a further step we are already in 'Sophistopolis', the empire of fictitious declamation themes and sophisticated 'staseis' disconnected from life, where on the basis of the deeds of his historical counterpart Hyperides' *alter ego* becomes a pure, unselfish friend of Demosthenes or, if a particular 'stasis' demands, a bitter enemy of the same. The shadow of the great freedom-fighter is a product of mutual inspiration between biography and declamation.

The scattered remains of the late Hellenistic/Rhodian high esteem are, on the other hand, still present. Clear signs of them are in Theon's first century *progymnasmata* and more interestingly in Apsines' third-century-references to real Hyperidean speeches, which are all related to the epilogue. Apart from the presentation of this particular part of the speech, which was favoured by Molo, Apsines does not show much difference from his contemporaries.

This influence, however, sooner or later dies out. What remains apart from the subjects in Sophistopolis, which will generate their own further fictitious images (such as Libanius', Himerius' declamations, the epistles of Alciphro, etc.) are only the figures (in obvious or semi-covered forms) approved by the Hyperides-hostile authority of Caecilius. Naturally, most of them belong to the category of figures of thought or arrangement.

Appendices

Brassicanus' introduction in his edition of Salvianus

Nam Asinius Pollio primus Romae Bibliothecam in Herculis fano dedicavit. Hanc laudem patrum nostrorum memoria, si non superavit, aequavit tamen inclytus ille ac nunquam satis laudatus Pannoniae rex Mathias, qui Bibliothecam suam ex omni scriptorum genere confertissimam instruxerat, in amoenissimo etiam templo consecravit. Haec mihi Bibliotheca manum hic injicit, oratque supplex, ut tibi quae iam nihil nisi vanum nomen obtinuit, pristinam illam dignitatem atque celebritatem suam, qua nulli concedebat exponam. Quamobrem optime princeps, id quod magnopere ad te pertinet, libenter haec ad te scripta leges: atque hanc meam expromtam in te colendo ac observando voluntatem, aequi bonique facies.

Superioribus annis cum *Vuilielmus ex Eberstein*, Caesareus legatus me sibi comitem adiunxisset, ut una secum ad innocentissimum illum Pannoniae ac Boemiae regem Ludovicum, proxima impressione Turcica miserrime sublatum accederem, hoc ego patrocinio ac benignitate magnorum hominum illi de meliore nota commendatus, libenter et ex animo feci, ac nulla certe maiore quam cognoscendae adhuc minime vastatae Pannoniae, ac ornandae Reipublicae literariae causa feci.

Recta Vienna Budam, quae regni caput, atque adeo Pannoniae regum definita ac summa sedes est, descendimus, regnum hoc adhuc sartum tectum vidimus: legatus ibi negotiorum suorum rationem summa cura habuit: mihi vero, ne succisivis horis plane nihil agerem, inspiciendae isthic Bibliothecae beneficio serenissimae ac inculpatissimae reginae Mariae potestas facta est.

Quid multis? Inspexi libros omnes. Sed quid libros dico, quot libros tot etiam thesauros isthic inspexi, Dii immortales, quam iucundum hoc spectaculum fuisse quis credat? Tunc certe non in Bibliotheca, sed in Iovis gremio, quod aiunt, mihi esse videbar. Tantum erat hic antiquorum, Graecorum simul et Hebraicorum voluminum, quae Mathias ille rex, capta iam Constantinopoli, eversisque multis aliis amplissimis Graeciae urbibus, ex media Graecia inaestimandis sumptibus coemerat, ac tanquam mancipia ex barbarorum catastis atque compedibus receperat. Tantum erat hic latinorum librorum, et veterum et recentiorum, procul tamen ablegatis omnibus sophisticis, ut nusquam alibi, quod ego quidem sciam. Siquidem Mathias rex (quem recte librorum helluonem appellaveris) quatuor insignes librarios Florentiae magnis impendiis alebat, quorum is unus et unicus labor erat, ut omnes melioris notae autores et Graecos et Latinos, quos commodum ex Graecia habere non poterat, exscriberent. Nam ipsa typographice, ut exigua sunt omnium rerum principia, nondum tam late patebat: nec tam alte radices egerat, ut ardentissimis illis et vere regiis votis regis omnium excellentissimi satisfacere posset.

Vidimus isthic (id quod ex syllabo nostro recensere possumus) et oculata fide vidimus integrum Hyperidem cum locupletissimis scholiis, librum multis etiam censibus redimendum. Vidimus grandem librum apostolicorum canonum, opus incomparabile. Vidimus Theodoretum Cyrensem in Psalterium integrum. Vidimus Chrysosthomi, Athanasii, Cyrilli, Nazianzeni, Basilii magni, Georgii Nysseni, Theophanis, Dorothei infinita opera. Vidimus Marcum monachum, cognomento Anachoritam. Obmitto Poetas, Oratores, Philosophos, atque Historicos, quorum hic immensam vim inspicere licuisset. Vidimus autores Graecos innumerabiles, infinitaque in Poetas fere omnes commentaria nemini doctorum, aut paucis omnino antea visa. Sed quod Cicero de coniuratis dixit, vixerunt, quos iam sublatos esse significare voluit. Ita recte diximus nos vidisse, quippe quae verear ne possimus ullo unquam tempore videre aut consequi. O Turcorum immanitatem, o barbarorum efferatam insaniam, o bonorum studiorum πανολεθρίαν. Adeo cum universa Pannonia (quae cum adhuc esset inoffensa, poterat omnibus bonarum rerum dotibus nullum non quantumvis celebre regnum in contentionem provocare) miseris etiam modis haec vere aurea Bibliotheca periit, interiit, ita ut quoties illius mihi in mentem venit (venit autem saepissime) toties etiam Vergilianum hoc occurrat, Quis talia fando Temperet a lachrymis ...

List of lexicographical entries

ἀγαθέστατε	Ὑπερείδης εἶπεν. Phot.A.(R).
Ἀγασικλῆς	περὶ Ἀγασικλέους Ὑπερείδης λέγει. γέγραπται καὶ Δεινάρχῳ λόγος κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ δεδήλωται ὅτι Ἀλιμουσίους συνεδέκασε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξένος ὢν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐνεγράφη. Harp. 3,7-4,2.
ἄγειν	μεγαλύνειν. Ὅμηρος· καί μευ κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί. καὶ ἄγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔχειν. Ὑπερίδης. καὶ ἄγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποκρίνασθαι. καί ἄγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμᾶν. καί ἄγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ πίνειν, ὅπερ ἐπάγειν ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀττικοί. Δημοσθένης δὲ τὸ ἄγειν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους τὸ τίμημα λέγει ἢ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς ὁλκῆς, φάσκων καὶ τὸν ἀκινάκην τὸν Μαρδονίου, ὃς ἦγε τριακοσίους δαρεικούς, κατὰ Δημάδου. ἦγε δὲ πέντε μνᾶς. Bekk.I, Syn. 335,24.
ἄγειν	ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγαλύνειν Ὅμηρος· καί μευ κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί, Ὑπερείδης δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔχειν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμᾶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πίνειν, ὅπερ καὶ ἀπάγειν ἔλεγον Ἀττικοί. Phot.A.(R).
ἀγήρατος χρόνος	Ὑπερίδης δὲ τὸν ἀγήρατον χρόνον. Pollux 2,14.
ἀγορά	ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ συνάθροισις, ὅθεν Νέστωρ ἀγορητής. ἀγορὰς Ὑπερείδης καὶ τὰς συνόδους· οὗτοι πολλάκις ἀγορὰς ποιοῦνται. καὶ ἀγοραία δίκη, ἡ δικαιολογία. Lex. Cantabr.
ἀγοραῖος	νοῦς· ὁ πάνυ εὐτελὴς καὶ συρφετώδης καὶ οὐκ ἀπόρρητος οὐδὲ πεφροντισμένος. οἱ γὰρ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀπαίδευτοί εἰσιν. οὕτως Ὑπερείδης. Phot.A.(R).
ἀγορός	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου περὶ τοῦ διαγράμματος· οὗτοι πολλάκις ἀγορὰς ποιοῦνται. μήποτε ἀντὶ τοῦ συνόδους νῦν. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τοὔνομα. Harp. 6,5-7.
ἀγορός	Ὑπερίδης ἀντὶ τοῦ συνόδους. λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πολυεύκτου οἷον· οὗτοι πολλάκις ἀγορὰς ποιοῦνται. Bekk.I, Syn. 330,10.
ἀγορός	Ὑπερείδης ἀντὶ τοῦ συνόδους. λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου· οὗτοι πολλάκις ἀγορὰς ποιοῦνται. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοὔνομα. Phot.A.(R).
ἀγορός	Ὑπερίδης ἀντὶ τοῦ συνόδους. λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου· οὗτοι πολλάκις ἀγορὰς ποιοῦνται. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοὔνομα. Suda
Ἀγοράσσα	ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠνήσασθαι Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ Δηλιακῷ. Harp. 6,11
Ἀγοράσσα	(Ὑπερείδης) τὸ ὠνήσασθαι. Phot.A.(R).
Ἀγοράσσα	Ὑπερίδης τὸ ὠνήσασθαι. Suda

'Αδούλευτος — οἰκέτης· ὁ ἐνὶ δεδουλευκὼς καὶ μὴ παλίμπρατος. Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Παπροκλέους· ἀδούλευτον ἢ βάρβαρον πριάσθαι. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὴν νυμφίον ὁ Μένανδρος. Phot.A.(R).

ἀδούλευτος — ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδούλευτος ὡς Ὑπερείδης. Phot.A.(R).

ἀθυμῆσαι — καὶ κλίνη τις ὠνομάζετο γαμικὴ, καὶ ἑτέρα παράβυστος, ἣ καὶ αὐτὴ στρώννυται ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν παῖδα μὴ ἀθυμῆσαι, ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἔφη. Pollux 3,43.

Αἰγιλιεύς — Ὑπερείδης. Αἰγιλία δῆμός ἐστι φυλῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ἔνθεν ὁ δημότης Αἰγιλιεύς. Harp.16,5-6.

Αἰγιλιῶς — ἀντὶ τοῦ Αἰγιλίεως. Ἀττικῶς. Hes.

αἰσχροκερδεῖν — καὶ ὡς Ὑπερίδης αἰσχροκερδεῖν. Pollux 3, 113.

ἀκμάζει — νεάζει, τὰ νέων πράττει (οὕτως Ὑπερίδης καὶ Λυσίας) Zonaras.

ἀκμάζεις — τὰ νέων πράττεις. οὕτως Ὑπερείδης καὶ Λυσίας. Phot.A.(R) 61,9.

ἀκμάζεις — τὰ νέων πράττεις. οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. Bekk.I, Syn. 365,9.

ἀκμάζεις — ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰ τῶν νέων πράττεις. Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μανιθέου, Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸ Νίκαρχον τὸν αὐλητὴν, εἰ γνήσιος. Harp. 19,6-8.

ἀκμάζει — νεάζει. Ἀκμάζεις, τὰ νέων πράττεις, οὕτως Ὑπερίδης καὶ Λυσίας. Suda

ἀκμή — ὀξύτης, αὐτὴ ἡ ῥοπὴ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιτάσεως, καὶ ἡ νεότης. ἀκμὴ δὲ καιροῦ ἡ εὐτυχία. οὕτω καὶ Ἰσοκράτης· τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν καιρῶν τυγχάνειν. λαμβάνεται δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι· οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. Bekk.I,Syn. 365,14.

ἀκμή — ὀξύτης, αὐτὴ ἡ ῥοπὴ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιτάσεως, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ νεότης. Ἀκμὴ δὲ καιροῦ· ἡ εὐτυχία. οὕτω καὶ Ἰσοκράτης· τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν καιρῶν τυγχάνειν. λαμβάνεται δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι. οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. Phot.A.(R).

ἀκμή — ὀξύτης, αὐτὴ ἡ ῥοπὴ τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιτάσεως, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ νεότης. Ἀκμὴ δὲ καιροῦ ἡ εὐτυχία. οὕτως Ἰσοκράτης· κράτιστον μὲν τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν καιρῶν τυγχάνειν. λαμβάνεται δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι οὕτως Ὑπερίδης καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. (Caec. XII, Ofenloch 140.) ἀκμὴ γὰρ οὐ μακρῶν ἡμῖν λόγων μὴ καὶ μόθῃ μ' ἥκοντα, κἀσχέω τὸ πᾶν σόφισμα. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι. καὶ ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι· στρούθιον ἁρπυιάδωτον, ἰσόχνοον ἀρταγόνοισιν, ἀκμὴν εὐπετάλοις συμφυὲς ἀκρέμοσι. καὶ αὖθις· ὅσσος ἐν ἠράσσι πότ' ἦν χόλος, οὗ μέρος ἀκμὴν ἐχθρὸν ἐν ἀψύχοις σῴζεται ἀκρέμοσιν. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι. Suda

ἀκμὴν — ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι· Ὑπερίδης ὑπὲρ Κρατίνου. Bekk. Antiatt.77,27.

ἀκμὴν — οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἢ μόνος Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀναβάσει, Ἕλληνες δὲ χρῶνται. Phrynichus.

ἀκρατέστερον — τῷ δὲ ἀκρατέστερον Ὑπερείδης κέχρηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους γράφων οὕτως· εἰ μέν τις ἀκρατέστερον ἔπιεν, ἐλύπει σε. τούτῳ ὅμοιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀνιηρέστερον καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἠλιάσιν Αἰσχύλου ἀφθονέστερον λίβα. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἐν Πύρρᾳ εὐανέστερον ἔφη. Ath. *Deipn.* 424d.

ἀκρατέστερος — καὶ ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἀκρατέστερος. Pollux 6,24.

ἀκρατοκώθωνος — καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἀκρατοποτὴς ἀκρατοκώθωνος Ὑπερίδης εἶπεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ δόκιμον [οὐ μὴν ἐπαινῶ τοὔνομα]. Pollux 6,25.

ἀκρατοκώθωνος — Ἄλεξις Ἐρίθοις εἶτα τετρακότυλον ἐπεσόβει κώθωνά μοι, πολιοὺν οἴκων κτῆμα ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ποτηρίου τούτου ἀκρατοκώθωνας καλοῦσι τοὺς πλέονα ἄκρατον σπῶντας, ὡς Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους. Ath. *Deipn.*483e.

Ἀκτὴ — ἰδίως ἐπιθαλαττίδιός τις μοῖρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ταρίχους· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἀκτίτης λίθος. ἐκάλουν δὲ οὕτω καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μὲν ἀπό τινος Ἀκταίωνος βασιλέως, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ τὴν πλείω τῆς χώρας ἐπιθαλάττιον εἶναι. Harp.19,12- 20,1.

ἄκτια — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Πολύευκτον στρατηγεῖν. Ἄκτια ἀγὼν πολιαὸς ἦν. ὡς δῆλον ποιεῖ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀγώνων. Harp. 20,2.

ἀλιμενία — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Πολύευκτον στρατηγεῖν. Bekk. Antiatt. 78,18.

ἀλίμενος — Ὑπερίδης δὲ καὶ ὄνομα ἐποίησε τοῦ τόπου, τὴν ἀλιμενίαν. Pollux 1,101.

Ἀλκίμαχος — Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Εὐέργου καὶ Μνησιβούλου. στρατηγός οὗτός ἐστιν, Ἀναγυράσιος τῶν δήμων, στρατηγήσας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμῳ. ἕτερος δέ ἐστιν Ἀλκίμαχος Μακεδών, οὗ μνημονεύει Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου οὕτως· Ἀλκίμαχον καὶ Ἀντίπατρον Ἀθηναίους καὶ προξένους ἐποιησάμεθα. Ἀνοξιμένης δὲ ἐν τῇ β' τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοῦ δημηγορίαν, πρὸς ἣν ἀντειπεῖν φησὶ Δημοσθένην. Harp. 23,1-23,7.

Ἀλκίμαχος — στρατηγός ἐστιν οὗτος Ἀναγυράσιος τὸν δῆμον. ἕτερος δέ ἐστιν ὁ Μακεδών, οὗ μνημονεύει Ὑπερείδης. Phot.A.(R).

Ἀλκίμαχος — στρατηγός ἐστιν οὗτος Ἀναγυράσιος τῶν δήμων. ἕτερος δέ ἐστιν ὁ Μακεδών, οὗ μνημονεύει Ὑπερίδης. Suda

Ἀλκίμαχος — στρατηγός ἐστιν οὗτος Ἀναγυράσιος τὸν δῆμον. ἕτερος δέ ἐστιν ὁ Μακεδών, οὗ μνημονεύει Ὑπερίδης. Bekk.I, Syn. 378,25.

Ἀλφιστεῖς — οἱ τὰ ἄλφιτα ποιοῦντες. Ὑπερίδης. Bek.I, Syn. 381,7.

(Ἀ)λφιτεῖς — οἱ τὰ ἄλφιτα ποιοῦντες Ὑπερείδης. Phot.A.(R).

Ἀλφιτεῖς	οἱ τὰ ἄλφιτα ποιοῦντες. Ὑπερίδης. Suda
ἀλφίτια	ἀπὸ μὲν ἀλφίτων ἀλφιτοσιτεῖν, ἀλφιτοποιία, ἀλφίτια, ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 6, 37.
ἀμφισβητεῖν	καὶ παροκαταβάλλειν· οἱ τῶν κλήρων ἐπιδικαζόμενοι ἀμφισβητεῖν ἢ παροκαταβάλλειν λέγονται. οἱ μέν οὐ φάσκοντες ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸν κλῆρον ὡς ὄντος παιδὸς τῷ τετελευτηκότι ἢ γόνῳ ἢ ποιήσει, οἱ δέ ὡς ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος δικαιότερον λέγοντες ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ λαχόντος, ἢ συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἢ κατὰ διαθήκας κληρονόμοι. οὕτω Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερείδης περὶ τοῦ παροκαταβάλλειν διεσάφησαν. Harp.28,12-29,2.
ἀμφισβητεῖν	καὶ παροκαταβάλλειν· οἱ τὸν κλῆρον ἐπιδικαζόμενοι ἀμφισβητεῖν ἢ παροκαταβάλλειν λέγονται. οἱ μέν φάσκοντες ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸν κλῆρον, ὡς ὄντος παιδὸς τῷ τετελευτηκότι ἢ γόνῳ ἢ ποιήσει, οἱ δέ ὡς ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος δικαιότερον λέγοντες ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ λαβόντος, ἢ συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἢ κατὰ διαθήκας κληρονόμοι. οὕτω Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερίδης περὶ τοῦ παροκαταβάλλειν διεσάφησαν. Suda.
ἀναισχύντημα	τὸ γὰρ κῶμα, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς καρηβαρίας λέγουσι τῆς ῥεπούσης εἰς ὕπνον. οὐ πάνυ ἐπαινῶ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ δράμημα, οὐδὲ τὸ κάκυμα, οὐδὲ τὸ παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ ἀναισχύντημα. Pollux 6, 183.
ἄνανδρος	Ἰσοκράτης Εὐαγόρᾳ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους· τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρηστῶν τὸ δὲ ἀνάνδρων ἀνθρώπων ἔργον ἐστί. καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους. Phot.A.(R).
ἀναισυντάξας	(ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνωθεν συντάξας οὕτως Ὑπερίδης) Zonaras.
ἀναισυντάξας	ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνωθεν συντάξας Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. Harp. 39,10-11.
ἀναισυντάξας	ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνωθεν συντάξας. Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. Suda
ἀναισυντάξας	ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνωθεν συντάξας. Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. Phot.A.(R).
ἄνδηρα	τὰ χείλη τῶν ποταμῶν, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἔνικμα καὶ διερὰ εἶναι. Ὑπερείδης δὲ τὰ ἀναχώματα λέγει, διὰ τὸ ὑπεράνω εἶναι τῶν διερῶν. Phot.A.(R).
ἄνδηρα	τὰ χείλη τῶν ποταμῶν ἄνδηρα λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἔνικμα καὶ διερά. Ὑπερίδης δὲ τὰ ἀναχώματα λέγει, διὰ τὸ ὑπεράνω εἶναι τῶν διερῶν. Suda
ἄνδηρα	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κόνωνος. τὰ χείλη τῶν ποταμῶν ἄνδηρα λέγουσι διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἔνικμα καὶ διερὰ εἶναι. οἱ δὲ τὰ χώματα διὰ τὸ ἄνω καὶ καθύπερθε τῶν διερῶν εἶναι· ὧν καὶ Ὑπερείδης. Harp.34,1-4.
ἄνδηρον	ἄκρον, ἢ τὰ χείλη τῶν ποταμῶν. Hes.
Ἀνδραγαθία	Ὑπερείδης· ἐστεφάνωμαι δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱππέων ἁπάντων ἀνδραγαθίας ἕνεκα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεται καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. Phot.A.(R).

ἀνδροαπόδια — ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀνδροαπόδια παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ, Pollux 3, 77.

ἀνδροῦσθαι — καὶ ἀνδριζόμενοι Ὑπερείδης.Pollux 2,20.

ἀνεπόπτευτον — Ὑπερίδης φησίν.Pollux 2,58.

ἀνεπόπτευτον — τὸ μὴ ἐποπτεῦτον. οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. τὸ δὲ ἐποπτεῦσαι δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος, λέγων· ἀδικεῖ πάντα τά τε μυστικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐποπτικὰ καὶ πάλιν· Δημητρίῳ μὲν οὖν ἴδιόν τι γέγονε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, τὸ μόνον μυηθῆναί τε ἅμα καὶ ἐποπτεῦσαι, καὶ τοὺς πατρίους χόρους τῆς τελετῆς μετακινηθῆναι. Bekk.I, Syn.398,11.

ἀνεπόπτευτον — τὸ μὴ ὑποπτεῦον οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. τὸ δὲ ἐποπτεῦσαι καὶ ἐποπτικάι, ὡς Φιλοχόρος δηλοῖ πρὸς Δημητρίον. Phot.A.(R).

ἀνεπόπτευτον — τὸ μὴ ὑποπτεῦον οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. τὸ δὲ ἐποπτεῦσαι δηλοῖ Φιλοχόρος λέγων· ἀδικεῖ πάντα τά τε μυστικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐποπτικά καὶ πάλιν· Δημητρίῳ μὲν οὖν ἴδιόν τι γέγονε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, τὸ μόνον μυηθῆναί τε ἅμα καὶ ἐποπτεῦσαι, καὶ τοὺς πατρίους χρόνους τῆς τελετῆς μετακινηθῆναι. Suda.

ἀνεπόπτευτος — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης, ὁ μὴ ἐποπτεύσας, τά δὲ τὸ ἐποπτεῦσαι, δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ι· τὰ ἱερὰ οὕτως ἀδικεῖ πάντα τά τε μυστικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐποπτικά καὶ πάλιν· Δημητρίῳ μὲν οὖν ἴδιόν τι ἐγένετο παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ μόνον μυηθῆναί τε ἅμα καὶ ἐποπτεῦσαι, καὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς τελετῆς πατρίους μετακινηθῆναι. Harp.36,7-12.

ἄνετον — Ὑπερείδης τὸ ἀνειμένον θεῷ ἱερόν. Phot.A.(R)..

ἄνετον — Ὑπερίδης τὸ ἀνειμένον θεῷ ἱερόν. Bekk.I, Syn.399,12.

ἄνετον — ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀνειμένον θεῷ τινὶ Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ. Harp.36,15-16.

ἄνετον — Ὑπερίδης τὸ ἀνειμένον θεῷ ἱερόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄνετος βίος, ὁ ἀνειμένος καὶ μαλακός. Suda, Caec. XII, Ofenloch 144.

ἀνοισθησόμεθα — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους· τὰ χρήματ' ἀνοισθησόμεθ' εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. Phot.A.(R).

ἀντέχει — ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξαρκεῖ Δείναρχος. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ σῴζεται Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν. Bekk.I, Syn. 408,1.

ἀντέχει — δοτικῇ. (Suda) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξαρκεῖ. Δείναρχος δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ σῴζεται. Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνεται.(Caec. XII, Ofenloch 144) καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ ἔτι ἀντέχειν. καὶ αὖθις· ἀμελετήτους ὄντας κρύει ἀντέχειν. ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπομονητικῶς ἔχειν. καὶ αὖθις· ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντέχων. καὶ αὖθις· ἡ σύγκλητος ὑπολαβοῦσα τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀντέχειν ταῖς κατὰ Ἀντίοχον ἐλπίσιν, ἀπράκτους ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ Ἀντεχόμενος γενικῇ ἀναλαμβανόμενος. Suda.

ἀντέχει

ἐξαρκεῖ. Δείναρχος, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ σῴζεται Δημοσθένης, καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἀντιλαμβάνει. Phot.A.(R).

ἀναγραφή

ἰδίως μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν κλήρων διαδικασίαις ἀναγραφὴ καλεῖται, ὅταν τις ὢν παιδὸς ὄντος τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἑαυτῷ φάσκῃ προσήκειν τὸν κλῆρον κατὰ γένος ἢ δόσιν. κοινῶς δ' ἐν ταῖς δίκαις ταῖς δημοσίαις καὶ ἰδίαις τὰ τῶν δικαζομένων γράμματα, ἃ ἐδίδοσαν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τὰ τοῦ διώκοντος καὶ τὰ τοῦ φεύγοντος, ἀναγραφή, καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια· Δημοσθένης κατὰ Στεφάνου καὶ Ὑπερείδης. Πλάτων δὲ ἐν τῇ Σωκράτους ἀπολογίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ καλεῖ ἀνταμοσίαν καὶ ἀναγραφήν. Harp. 39,10-40,2.

ἀντικόπτειν

Ὑπερίδης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνίστασθαι. Phot.A.(R).

ἀπεψηφίσατο

τουτέστι κατεδίκασεν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιουμένη τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπεψηφίσατο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐπελθόντος ἀλλ' ἀμυνομένου τὸ μίασμα γέγονε. καὶ αὖθις· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν δύο μὲν ἔφυγον πρὸ κρίσεως, Κόνωνος δὲ ἀπεψηφίσαντο ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπεδοκίμασαν. καὶ Ἀπεψηφισμένοι· ἐπὶ τοῖς δήμοις ἀποψηφίσεις ἐγίνοντο τῶν γεγραμμένων μὲν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ἀστῶν, ἀλλὰ παρεγγεγραμμένων εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν· καὶ οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο ἀπεψηφισμένοι, ἐπειδὴ ψήφου περὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπαχθείσης οὐκέτι μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας. Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα· ὅπως πρῶτον μὲν μυρίαδας πλείους ἢ ιε', τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν ἔπειτα τοὺς ὀφείλοντας τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ τοὺς ἀπεψηφισμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀποίκους. Suda.

ἀποδόμενος

Ὑπερίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Χάρητα ἔφη ἀποδόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποθείς. Pollux 8,142.

ἀποικία

ἰδίως τὰ γράμματα καθ' ἃ ἀποικοῦσί τινες οὕτως ὠνόμασαν Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ. Harp.46,15-16.

ἀποκεκραμένος

ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 2,33.

ἀποστασίου

δίκη τίς ἐστι κατὰ τῶν ἀπελευθερωθέντων δεδομένη τοῖς ἀπελευθερώσασιν, ἐὰν ἀφιστῶνταί τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἕτερον ἐπιγράψωνται προστάτην, καὶ ἃ κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι μὴ ποιῶσιν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁλόντας δεῖ δούλους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ νικήσαντας τελέως ἤδη ἐλευθέρους. πολλάκις δ' ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι, παρὰ τῷ Λυσίᾳ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον καὶ Ὑπερείδῃ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημητρίας ἀποστασίου. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ περὶ τοῦ πολεμάρχου γράφει ταυτί· οὗτος δὲ εἰσάγει δίκας τάς τε τοῦ ἀποστασίου καὶ ἀπροστασίου καὶ κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων. Harp.50,10-51,2.

ἀπρόγραφα

τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπρόγραφα· Ὑπερίδης μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἄλλου κέχρηται, εἰπὼν ἀπροβούλευτα καὶ ἀπρόγραφα, ἔχοι δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα χώραν. Pollux 6,144.

ἀπρόσκλητον

τὴν οὐ προσκεκλημένην Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀθηνογένους β'. Harp.53,10-11.

ἀπροστασίου

εἶδος δίκης κατὰ τῶν προστάτην μὴ νεμόντων μετοίκων· ἦρεῖτο γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν τινὰ προστησόμενον περὶ πάντων τῶν

ἰδίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν. Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογόρας ἀπροστασίου β'. Harp. 53,12-53,15.

ἀπροστασίου — δίκη κατὰ τῶν προστάτην μὴ ἀπογραψαμένων μετοίκων. Hes.

'Αριστοίων — ὄνομα κύριον. ἔστι δὲ Σάμιος μὲν ἡ Πλαταιεύς, ἐκ μειρακυλλίου δὲ ἑταῖρος Δημοσθένους. ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἕνεκα διαλλαγῶν. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους. Bekk.I, Syn. 444,22

'Αριστίων — Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Δημοσθένους. οὗτος Σάμιος μέν ἐστιν ἡ Πλαταιεύς, ὡς Δίυλλός φησιν, ἐκ μειρακυλλίου δ' ἑταῖρος Δημοσθένους, ἐπέμφθη δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἕνεκα διαλλαγῶν, ὥς φησι Μαρσύας ἐν ε' τῶν περὶ 'Αλέξανδρον. Harp.57,13-58,3.

'Αριστίων — ἔστι δὲ Σάμιος μὲν ἡ Πλαταιεύς, ἐκ μειρακυλλίου δὲ ἑταῖρος Δημοσθένους· ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἕνεκα διαλλαγῶν. μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους _ Suda.

'Αρτεμίσιον — ἰδίως μὲν Ὑπερίδης ὠνόμασε πολλάκις τὸ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀκρωτήριόν τι τῆς Εὐβοίας, οὗ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος μνημονεύει. Bekk.I, Syn.448,12.

'Αρτεμίσιον — ἰδίως τὸ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀκρωτήριόν τι Εὐβοίας, ὡς Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. Harp. 59,13-15.

'Αρτεμίσιον — ἰδίως μὲν Ὑπερίδης πολλάκις ὠνόμασε τὸ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Εὐβοίας, οὗ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος μνημονεύει. Suda.

ἀσήμαντα — τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα ἀσφράγιστα· σημεῖα γὰρ ἔλεγον τὰς σφραγῖδας· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀντίου. Harp.61,11-12.

(ἀ)σήμαντα — ἀφύλακτα. Hes.

αὐλοίαν — τὸ παραπέτασμα. Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Πατροκλέους. Bekk. Antiatt.83,7.

αὐλοία — ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τὸ παραπέτασμα αὐλοίαν καλεῖν. Ὑπερίδου εἰπόντος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες εἱστιῶντο ἐν τῇ Στοᾷ, περιφροξόμενοί τι μέρος αὐτῆς αὐλοίαις. Pollux 4,122.

αὐλοία — τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς παραπέτασμα. κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῷ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. Bekk.I, Syn.463,15.

αὐλοία — τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς παραπέτασμα. κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῷ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. (Caec. XII, Ofenloch 150) Πολύβιος· ἀκούων ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τῆς αὐλοίας ἐγέλα ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ αὖθις· ὁ δὲ λοβὸν ἐκ τῆς παραπεπετασμένης αὐλοίας καλῴδιον ἑαυτὸν ἀπεκρέμασεν. Suda.

αὐλοία — τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς παραπέτασμα. κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῷ Ὑπερίδης. Syn. Coislin. No. 347.(Bach. Syn).

αὐλοάια — ἐν αὐλῇ διατρίβουσα. ἢ τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς παραπέτασμα. Hes.

ἀφοίρεμα — ἀνάθημα, δῶρον, ἢ ξένιον. καὶ ἀφοίρεσις Ὑπερίδης ἰδίως τὴν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν λέγει. Suda.

ἀφοίρεσις — Ὑπερίδης ἰδίως τὴν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν λέγει. Bekk.I, Syn. 468,18.

ἀφοίρεσις — Ὑπερίδης ἰδίως τὴν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν λέγει. (Bach. Syn); Συναγωγὴ χρησίμων λέξεων Cod. Paris. Coisilin. 345 (β-ω), cod: Ὑπερείδης.

ἀφοίρεσις — ἰδίως λέγεται ἡ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογόρας. Harp.68,16-17.

Ἄφυοι — Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογόρας φησί· καὶ πάλιν τὰς Ἄφυας καλουμένας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκαλέσατε. ἑταιρῶν ἐπωνυμίαι αἱ Ἄφυαι, περὶ ὧν ὁ προειρημένος Ἀπολλόδωρός φησι· Σταγόνιον καὶ Ἄνθις ἀδελφαί· αὗται Ἄφυαι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὅτι λευκαὶ καὶ λεπταὶ οὖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μεγάλους εἶχον. Ἀναφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν Νικοστρατίδα φησὶν Ἀφύην κληθῆναι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. Ath. *Deipn.*586e.

Ἄφυας — ὄνομα ἑταιρῶν ἀδελφῶν δύο παρὰ Ὑπερίδῃ, Bach. Syn. cod: Ὑπερείδῃ.

Ἄφυας — ὄνομα ἑταιρῶν ἀδελφῶν δύο παρὰ Ὑπερίδῃ, Bekk.I, Syn. 473,1.

Ἄφυας — Ὑπερείδης κατ' Ἀριστογόρας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὄνομα ἑταιρῶν γυναικῶν ἀδελφῶν β'. Harp.70,5-6.

Ἄφυος — ὀνόματα ἑταιρῶν ἀδελφῶν δύο παρὰ Ὑπερίδῃ Suda.

ἀψιμαχεῖν — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ὁρίων. καὶ ἀψίμαχον γερόντιον. Bekk. Antiatt.79,12.

βάσανος — Ἀνταφῶν. λίθος οὕτω καλεῖται, ᾗ τὸ χρυσίον παρατριβόμενον δοκιμάζεται. Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀντίου τὰ ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τῶν βασανιζομένων καὶ ἀναγραφέντα βασάνους ὠνόμασε. Harp.71,3-6.

βάσανος — λίθος ἐστὶν ᾗ τὸ χρυσίον παρατριβόμενον δοκιμάζουσα. οὕτως Ἀνταφῶν καὶ Πίνδαρος καὶ Σοφοκλῆς. Ὑπερίδης δὲ τὰ ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τῶν βασανιζομένων καὶ ἀναγραφομένων βασάνους ὠνόμασε .. Suda.

βουλεύσεως — ἐγκλήματος ὄνομα ἐπὶ δυοῖν τατταμένον πραγμάτοιν· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὅταν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τίς τινι κατασκευάσῃ θάνατον, ἐάν τε ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐάν τε μή, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὅταν ἐγγεγραμμένος ἀς ὀφείλων τῷ δημοσίῳ αὐτὸς δικάζηταί τινι ὡς οὐ δικαίως αὐτὸν ἐγγεγραφότι. τοῦ μὲν οὖν προτέρου μάρτυς Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Εὐκλείδην, ἐπὶ Πολλοδίῳ λέγων εἶναι τὰς δίκας, Δείναρχος δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πιστίου ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ τῷ Ἰσαίῳ συμφωνεῖ. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐγκλήματος Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος α'. Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀθηνογένους α' ἐπὶ

ἐνέδρος καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς εἰς χρήματα ἰδίως κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι. Harp.74,14-75,9.

βουλεύσεως

ἐγκλήματος ὄνομα ἐπὶ δυοῖν πραγμάτοιν τατττόμενον· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὅταν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τίς τινι κατασκευάσῃ θάνατον, ἐάν τε ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐάν τε μή, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὅταν τις ἐγγεγραμμένος ὡς ὀφείλων τῷ δημοσίῳ δικάζηταί τινι ὡς οὐ δικαίως αὐτὸν γεγραφότι. καὶ Ἰσαῖος ἐπὶ Πολλοδίῳ λέγει εἰσάγεσθαι τῶν δύο τὸ πρῶτον ἔγκλημα· ὡσαύτως καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. Δείναρχος δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐγκλήματος Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος πρώτῳ λέγει. ὁ μέντοι Ὑπερείδης ἰδίως τὸ τῆς βουλεύσεως ὄνομα ἐπὶ ἐνέδρας καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς εἰς χρήματα λαμβάνει .Suda.

βουφόνια

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου. ἑορτή τις ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. Harp.75,15-16.

γηροβοσκός

Ὑπερίδης δὲ καὶ γηροβοσκὸν εἴρηκε. Pollux 2,14.

γήρως οὐδῷ

λέγοιτο δ' ἂν καθ' Ὑπερίδην καὶ ἐπὶ γήρως οὐδῷ. Pollux 2,15.

Γλυκέρα

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μανιθέου οἰκίας περὶ Γλυκέρας τάδε λέγει· ἄγων Γλυκέραν τε τὴν Θαλασσίδος, ζεῦγος ἔχων. ἄδηλον εἰ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ Ἁρπάλῳ συνοῦσα. Ath. *Deipn.*586b.

γνώμια

καὶ πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ἡ γνώμη τοῦ σώματος ἡγεῖται καὶ εἰς ὑγιείαν καὶ νόσον καὶ τἀ ἄλλα πάντα. καὶ ὡς ὁ Πλάτων πρὸς πρῶτον ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ κατὰ τὸ ε' τῆς πολιτείας. οὐκοῦν τούτου μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς γιγνώσκοντος, γνώμην ἂν ὀρθὰς φαμὲν εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δόξαντος, δόξαν. καὶ Λυσίας κατὰ Πολιούχου· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὅσα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ χρώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου πλήθους ἔπραξε, πανταχοῦ φανήσεται πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος τῇ πόλει γινόμενος, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ ἄχρηστα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργασάμενος. καὶ Αἰσχίνης δὲ κατὰ τοῦσδε ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐν τῷ Μιλτιάδῃ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ σημαινόμενον κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸ Διοκλέους καὶ ἄλλοι ῥήτορές τε καὶ ἰατροὶ καὶ ποιηταί. Galen, *In Hippocratis librum de officina medici.* 18b,656,15-657,9.

Γρύλλος

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἐπικλέα περὶ οἰκίας. Ξενοφῶντος τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ υἱοὶ Γρύλλος καὶ Διόδωρος. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ οὗτος ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μαχόμενος. Harp.82,8-10.

δεῖγμα

ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δεῖγμα τοὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ δείγματα τῶν ἀγωγίμων τοὺς ὠνηταῖσι δίδοσθαι, παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταρίχους. Pollux 9,34.

δειπνοφόρος

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημέου. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δειπνοφόρους καταλέγεσθαι νῦν, ὅτε αἱ τῶν κατακεκλεισμένων παίδων μητέρες εἰσέπεμπον καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς τροφὴν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ διῃτῶντο, καὶ αὐταὶ συνῆεσαν ἀσπασόμενοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. Harp.85,10-14.

δεῖρα

Ὑπερίδης δ' ἔφη κρεμάσας ἐκ τοῦ κίονος ἐξέδειρεν, ὅθεν καὶ μαλάττων ἔτι νῦν τὸ δέρμα μεστὸν ἔχει καίτοι ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἄν τις εἴποι τὸ δεῖρα. Pollux 3,79.

διάγραμμα

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἐπικλέα. τὸ τασσόμενον ἐν ταῖς συμμορίαις ὁπόσον ἕκαστον ἄνδρα εἰσφέρειν δεῖ. ἐτάττετο δὲ οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τίμησιν τῆς οὐσίας. περὶ δὲ τούτων σαφέστατα δεδήλωκεν Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου περὶ διαγράμματος. διαγραφεὺς μέντοι ἐστὶν ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐν ταῖς συμμορίαις ἐπὶ τῷ διακρῖναι πόσον ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ εἰσενεγκεῖν ὀφείλει, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν φανερὸν ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. Harp. 90,15-91,3.

διαθέσθαι

ἀποδόσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ διοικῆσαι. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερίδης καὶ Δημοσθένης ἀντὶ τοῦ συνθέσθαι. Zonaras.

διάθεσις

ἀντὶ τοῦ πρᾶσις Ἰσοκράτης Βουσίριδι. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀποδεδόμεθα διεθέμεθα εἶπεν Ἀνταφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Καλλίου ἔνδειξιν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίκησις ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ὁμονοίας ἀλλὰ εἰδότες τὴν διάθεσιν ἀκούουσιν. Φρύνιχος Τραγῳδοῖς τῇ διαθέσει τῶν ἐπῶν φησί. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ῥῆμα διαθέσθαι λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικῆσαι· Ἀνταφῶν Ἀληθείας α' γυμναθεῖσα δὲ ἀφορμῆς πολλὰ ἂν καὶ καλὰ κακῶς διαθεῖτο. διαθέσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ συνθέσθαι Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Δημοσθένους. Harp.91,18-92,4.

διάθεσις

Ἰσοκράτης ἀντὶ τοῦ πρᾶσις. Ἀνταφῶν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίκησις. καὶ διαθέσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ διοικῆσαι. παραλαμβάνεται δὲ τὸ διαθέσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ συνθέσθαι, ὡς Ὑπερίδης καὶ Δημοσθένης. Suda.

διαμαρτυρία

καὶ διαμαρτυρεῖν τρόπος τις ἦν παραγραφῆς ἡ διαμαρτυρία· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ εἰσαχθῆναι τὴν δίκην εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐξῆν τῷ βουλομένῳ διαμαρτυρῆσαι ὡς εἰσαγώγιμός ἐστιν ἡ δίκη ἢ οὐκ εἰσαγώγιμος. διαφέρει δὲ τῆς παραγραφῆς τῷ τὴν διαμαρτυρίαν γίνεσθαι οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων. καὶ πρότερόν γε τῷ διώκοντι ἦν προβάλλεσθαί τινα μαρτυροῦνται εἰσαγώγιμον εἶναι τὴν δίκην, καὶ περὶ τούτου πρότερον ἐγίνετο ἡ κρίσις πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν διαμαρτυρήσαντα, οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαζόμενον· εἰ δὲ μὴ προβάλοιτο μάρτυρα ὁ διώκων, τότε ἐξῆν τῷ φεύγοντι προσαγαγεῖν τινὰ μαρτυροῦνται μὴ εἰσαγώγιμον εἶναι τὴν δίκην, καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν διαμαρτυρήσαντα ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγίνετο. ἐπεσκήπτοντο δὲ ψευδομαρτυριῶν καὶ ταῖς διαμαρτυρίαις, ὥσπερ ταῖς μαρτυρίαις· Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον διαμαρτυρίᾳ εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος. Ἰσαῖος δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πύθωνα ἀποστασίου φησὶν ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε διαμαρτυρεῖν ξένους· Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογόρας ἀπροστασίου β' φησὶν ὡς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι διαμαρτυρεῖν ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς ταῖς τοῦ ἀπροστασίου τὸν βουλόμενον ὁμοίας τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. μήποτ' οὖν ἐν μὲν ταῖς τοῦ ἀποστασίου δίκαις κεκώλυνται διαμαρτυρεῖν οἱ ξένοι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ ἀπροστασίου οὐ κεκώλυνται. Δείναρχος μέντοι τὸ διαμαρτυρῆσαι τέθεικεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρασχόντος τινὰ διαμαρτυρήσαντα ἐν τῇ διαμαρτυρίᾳ περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὴν Ἀριστοφῶντος θυγατέρα. οὗτος δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἠδύλης καὶ τὸν τρόπον διαγράφει τῆς διαμαρτυρίας. Harp. 94,1-95,9.

διαλέγεσθαι

καὶ τὸ πλησιάζειν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὡς Ὑπερείδης. Moeris Atticista.121.

διειλεγμένος

Ὑπερίδης δὲ διειλεγμένος ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίων Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ διαλέξασθαι ἔφη. Pollux 2, 125.

διειλεγμένος

ἀπὸ μέντοι ὧν σπουδάζων ἄν εἴποι τις τὰ πράγματα μίξις, ἔντευξις, ὁμιλία, κοινωνία, συνουσία. οὐ μὴν ὁ πλησιασμὸς οὐδ' ἡ διάλεξις, ἀλλὰ διελέχθην αὐτῇ καὶ διειλεγμένος εἰμὶ ὡς Ὑπερίδης, καὶ ἀττικώτερον τὸ διεπραξάμην καὶ διέπραξα. Pollux 5,93.

δικογράφος

καὶ δικογράφος ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 8,24.

δουλίς

ἡ δὲ δουλὶς Ὑπερίδῃ εἰρημένον φαῦλον ἐστίν [οὐκ ἐπαινετόν]. Pollux3,74.

Δρακοντίδης

εἷς τῶν λ'· Ὑπερείδης. Harp.99,14.

δωροξενία

Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νικίδου. ἐξηγήσατο τοὔνομα Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογόρας οὕτω γράφων· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς δωροξενίας νόμος ἁρμόττων ἐστι τῷ νῦν ἀγῶνι παραχθῆναι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀποφυγόντας ξενίας εἴρηκεν ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ πάλιν γράψασθαι, ἐὰν μὴ δοκῶσι δικαίως τὸ πρῶτον ἀποπεφευγέναι, πῶς οὐ φανερόν ἐστι κατ' Ἀριστογόρας τὸ δίκαιον; καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ περὶ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν λέγων γράφει ταυτί· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ πρὸς αὐτούς, ὧν παράστασις τίθεται, ξενίας καὶ δωροξενίας, ἄν τις δῶρα δοὺς ἀποφύγῃ τὴν συκοφαντίαν. Harp.101,6- 102,3.

ἐγκάθετος

Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Αὐτοκλέους. Bekk.Antiatt.96,30.

ἐγκάθετος

οὕτως Ὑπερείδης ἀπερριμμένως, δέον δοκιμωτέρῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ θετὸς ἢ εἰσποιητὸς ἢ ὑπόβλητος. Phrynichus.

εἰσαγγελία

ὅτι δὲ ὁ εἰσαγγείλας καὶ οὐχ ἑλὼν ἀζήμιος ἦν, Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονός φησιν. Pollux 8,52.

Ἑκατομβαιών

ὄνομα μηνός. Ὑπερείδης. ὁ γοῦν Ἀμμώνιός φησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλείστας τούτῳ τῷ μηνὶ θύεσθαι ἑκατόμβας κεκλῆσθαι. Harp.106, 4-5.

ἔκδεια

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πασικλέους ἐὰν δέ τις ἔκδεια γένηται, ἤγουν ἐὰν δέ τις ἐνδεήσῃ τοῦ προυπάρχοντος ἀργυρίου. Harp.107,1-2.

Ἐλευθέριος

καλεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. Οὕτως μὲν Ὑπερίδης· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φησίν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῆς Μηδικῆς δουλείας καὶ ἐπικρατείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἱστάναι κρατῆρα τῷ Διΐ, τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπασόμενοι. καὶ Ὅμηρος Ἰλιάδος ζ', κρητῆρα στήσεσθαι ἐλεύθερον. E.M.329.

Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς

Ὑπερείδης· τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Διΐ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ ἐλευθέριον προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμός φησιν ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν σωτὴρ ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος. Harp.110,7-12.

Ἐλευθέριος

ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὕτως μὲν Ὑπερίδης. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος οὐ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῆς Μηδικῆς δουλείας καὶ ἐπικρατείας

ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὸν ἐλευθέριόν τινες εἰς τὸν ἄσωτον μεταλαμβάνουσιν. Suda.

Ἐλευσίνια

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Καλλίππου. τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἐδίδοτο ἆθλον. ἀνομάσθη δὲ ἡ πόλις Ἐλευσὶς ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλας αἰτίας φασὶ καὶ ἑορτὴν εἶναι μόνον τὰ Ἐλευσίνια. Harp.110,13- 111,2.

Ἑλλανοδίκαι

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Καλλίππου πρὸς Ἠλείους. Ἀριστοτέλης Ἠλείων πολιτείᾳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν φησιν ἕνα καταστῆσαι τοὺς Ἠλείους Ἑλλανοδίκην, χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος β', τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον θ'. Ἀριστόδημος δ' ὁ Ἠλεῖός φησι τοὺς τελευταίους τιθέντας τὸν ἀγῶνα Ἑλλανοδίκας εἶναι ι' ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕνα. Harp.111,5-9.

Ἐμμηνοι

δίκαι· αἱ τε ἐμπορικαὶ καὶ ἐροτικαί Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερείδης. Harp.112,3-4.

ἐμπυρισμός

βέλτιον δὲ ἐμπρησμὸς καὶ πυρκαϊά· ἐν μέντοι τῷ Ὑπερίδου ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος εὗρον γεγραμμένον ἢ νεωρίων προδοσίαν ἢ ἀρχείων ἐμπυρισμὸν ἢ κατάληψιν ἄκρας, καὶ οὕτως ἐγέγραπτο ἐν πλείοσι βιβλίοις. Pollux 9,156.

ἐμπυρισμός

Ὑπερείδης ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος. Bekk. Antiatt.97,12.

ἐμπυρισμός

οὕτως Ὑπερείδης. ἐμπυρισμὸς μὴ λέγε, ἀλλὰ ἐμπρησμός. Phrynichus.

Ἐν Διομείοις

Ἡράκλειον· Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Κόνωνος. τῆς ἐν Διομείοις ἀγομένης ἑορτῆς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μνημονεύουσι καὶ οἱ κωμικοί. Harp.112,18-19.

Ἕνη·καὶ νέα

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ὑγιαίνοντα. τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τριακάδα καλουμένην ἕνην καὶ νέαν καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔχειν τοῦ προτέρου μηνὸς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ὑστέρου. Πολέμων δέ φησιν ὅτι ἐκάλεσάν ποτε αὐτὴν Ἀθηναῖοι Δημητριάδα ἐπὶ τιμῇ Δημητρίου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ἕνην δὲ καὶ εἰς ἕνην τὸ εἰς τρίτην λέγουσι. καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ ἕνον δασυνόμενον τὸ πρότερον καὶ παρεληλυθὸς δηλοῖ. Harp. 113,14-114,5.

ἐνδόσιμα

καὶ κατηγόρησεν ἐνδόσιμα ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 8,143.

ἐξαίρεσις

καὶ ὡς Ὑπερίδης φησίν, ἐξαίρεσις, ὅπου τὰ φορτία ἐξαιρεῖται, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δεῖγμα τοὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ .... Pollux 9,34.

ἐξεδιώχθη

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φυγὴ φυγὰς φεύγειν φυγαδευθῆναι, διωχθῆναι Ὑπερείδης δέ που καὶ ἐξεδιώχθη λέγει, καὶ Δείναρχος ἐδίωξεν, ὑπερορισθῆναι, ἐκπεσεῖν. Pollux 8,70.

ἐπίβολος

ἐπίβολος δὲ οὐ ποιητικὴ λέξις, ἀλλὰ Ἀττικὴ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, οἳ καὶ προφέρουσι· Σοφοκλῆς· εἶθ' εὖ φρονήσαντ' εἰσίδοιμι φρενῶν ἐπίβολον καλῶν σε, Πλάτων ἐν πρώτῳ Νόμων· ἐπίβολον γεγονότα ὥστε τυχεῖν τῆς καλλίστης παιδείας. Ξενοφῶν ἐν τετάρτῳ Παιδείας· γίνονται κατὰ νόμον ἐπίβολοι. Ὑπερίδης κατὰ Δημάδου. μή τε πόλεως μήτε πολιτείας ἐπιβήλους γενέσθαι. Ἄρχυτος· ἐγενόμην χρημάτων ἐπίβολος καὶ οὕτω μὲν οἱ παλαιοί, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον ἡ λέξις ἠμέληται. Eustath. *Comm in. Hom. OD.*1,101,1-4.

ἐπίβολον

καὶ (ἡ δὲ) Φερὰς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὖρῳ· μετῆκται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πόρρω τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ποιουμένων ὥστε τυχεῖν· ἡ ναῦς οὖν ἐπιβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο ὥστε τυχεῖν τῶν Φερῶν. οὕτω τῇ λέξει καὶ οἱ μεθ' Ὅμηρον κέχρηνται· Σοφοκλῆς Ἀλκμαίωνι· εἶθ' εὖ φρονήσαντ' εἰσίδοιμί πως φρενῶν ἐπίβολον καλῶν σε, Πλάτων Νόμων πρώτῳ· ἐπίβολοι γεγονότες τῆς καλλίστης ᾠδῆς, Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου· μηδέποτε πολέμου μήτε πολιτείας ἐπιβόλους γενέσθαι, Ἄρχιππος Πλούτῳ· νῦν ὡς ἐγενόμην χρημάτων ἐπίβολος. Porph. *Qaest Hom.*283,14.

ἐπίβολος

Ἐπιτευκτικός, ἐπιτυχής, ἐγκρατής· ἀπὸ τῆς βολῆς καὶ τοῦ βάλλειν· ὃ σημαίνει τὸν τυγχάνοντα τοῦ σκοποῦ. Μετῆκται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πόρρωθεν ἐπιβολὴν ποιουμένων, ὥστε τυχεῖν. Οὕτω τῇ λέξει καὶ οἱ μεθ' Ὅμηρον κέχρηνται. Πλάτων Νόμων πρώτῳ· Ἐπίβολοι γεγόνατε τῆς καλλίστης ᾠδῆς. [Ξενοφῶν] τετάρτῳ Παιδείας γίνονται κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπίβολοι. Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου, μήτε πόλιν μήτε πολιτείας ἐπίβολον γενέσθαι. Ἄρχιππος Πλούτῳ· νῦν ὡς ἐγενόμην χρημάτων ἐπίβολος. ἔστι δὲ οὐ ποιητικὴ ἡ λέξις, ἀλλ' Ἀττική. E.M.357.

ἐπιβασία

καὶ ἐπιβασίαν τῇ δίκῃ Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 2,200.

ἐπιδιετές

ἠβῆσαι· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Στεφάνου. Δίδυμός φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐὰν ις' ἐτῶν γένωνται· τὸ γὰρ ἠβῆσαι μέχρι ιδ' ἔστιν. ἀλλ' οἱ ἔφηβοι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ὀκτωκαιδεκαετεῖς γίνονται, καὶ μένουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἔτη β'. ἔπειτα τῷ ληξιαρχικῷ ἐγγράφονται γραμματείῳ καθά φησιν Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Χάρητα ἐπιτροπικῷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεγράφην ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ νόμος ἀπέδωκε τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν καταλειφθέντων τῇ μητρί, ὃς κελεύει κυρίους εἶναι τῆς ἐπικλήρου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἁπάσης τοὺς παῖδας, ἐπειδὰν ἐπιδιετὲς ἡβῶσιν. Harp.123,9-17.

ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν σπεύδειν

ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 2,42.

ἐπιστάτης

Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἐλπαγόρου καὶ Δημοφάνους. δύο εἰσὶν οἱ καθιστάμενοι ἐπιστάται, ὁ μὲν ἐκ πρυτάνεων κληρούμενος ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν προέδρων, ὧν ἑκάτερός τινα διοίκησιν διοικεῖ δεδήλωκεν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ, ἐλέγετο δ' ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ὁ ἐφεστηκὼς πράγματα ὀπτῶν, ὡς Ὑπερείδης τε ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος φανερὸν ποιοῦσιν. Harp.129,13-18.

ἐπισυκοφαντεῖν

Δημοσθένης γὰρ ἔφη καταψευδομαρτυροῦμαι. Ὑπερίδης δὲ ἐπισυκοφαντεῖν ἔφη. Pollux 8,31.

ἐπιχειροτονία

ἡ τῶν χειροτονητῶν κατάστασις Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Σμίου πρὸς Πυθέαν καὶ Λυκοῦργον. Harp.131,10-11.

ἐποπτευκότων

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης, οἱ μυηθέντες ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μυήσει ἐποπτεύειν λέγονται, ὡς δῆλόν ἐστιν ἔκ τε τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγου καὶ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης Φιλοχόρου. Harp.133, 5-8.

Ἕρκειος Ζεύς

Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοσχίωνος· εἰ φράτορες αὐτῷ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς ἑρκείου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου εἰσίν. ἕρκειος Ζεύς, ᾧ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἕρκους ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἵδρυται· τὸν γὰρ περίβολον ἕρκος ἔλεγον. ὅτι δὲ τούτοις μετῆν τῆς πολιτείας οἷς εἷη Ζεὺς ἕρκειος, δεδήλωκε καὶ

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ δημοποιήτου, εἰ γνήσιος, καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας. Harp.134,9-14.

Ἑρμοῦ

Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν. Μενεκλῆς ἢ Καλλικράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηνῶν γράφει ταυτί· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσίν οἱ Ἑρμοῦ καλούμενοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς κεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφέναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐφ' ἑνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπιγέγραπται γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις· ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης Ἀγαμέμνονα δῆσαν Ἀχαιοί. ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῶν στοά τις ἐλέγετο δεδήλωκε καὶ Ἀνταφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα. ὅτι δὲ ἐκαλοῦντό τινες καὶ Ἱππάρχειοι Ἑρμοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου εἴρηται ἔν τε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ καὶ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἐν τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ. Harp.135,-1-11.

ἐστηλοκοπημένος

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στῆλης - ἐστηλοκοπημένος οὕτω γὰρ Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 8,73.

Εὔβουλος

Ὑπερείδου λόγος ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν, μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, ὅτι δὴ δημαγωγὸς ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος, ἐπιμελής τε καὶ φιλόπονος, ἀργύριόν τε συχνὸν πορίζων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διένειμε, διὸ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου πολιτείας ἀνανδροτάτην καὶ ῥαθυμοτάτην συνέβη γενέσθαι, Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ι' τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, ἕτερος δ' ἐστὰν ὁ κωμικός, οὗ μνημονεύει Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρχεστρατίδου. Harp.139,6-12.

Εὐημερία

ὡς ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ, Ἄλεξις Ὀλυνθίᾳ· εὐημερία δέσποινα καὶ Μοῦσαι Φίλαι. καὶ εὐημερήσαντος Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.

εὐημερήσαντος

Ὑπερίδης. τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν, οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπιφέρειν. Suda.

Εὔηνος

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αὐτοκλέους. δύο ἀνογράφουσιν Εὐήνους ἐλεγείων ποιητὰς ὁμωνύμους ἀλλήλοις, καθάπερ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ χρονογραφιῶν, ἀμφοτέρους λέγων Παρίους εἶναι· γνωρίζεσθαι δὲ φησι τὸν νεώτερον μόνον. μέμνηται δὲ θατέρου αὐτῶν καὶ Πλάτων. Harp. 139,15-19.

Εὐθίας

Ὑπερείδης ὑπὲρ Φρύνης. τῶν ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ διαβεβλημένων ἦν ὁ Εὐθίας. τὸν μέντοι λόγον αὐτῷ τὸν κατὰ Φρύνης Ἀναξιμένην πεποιηκέναι φησὶν Ἕρμιππος. Harp.140,3-5.

εὐρυσάκειον

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα. τέμενός ἐσταν Εὐρυσάκους τοῦ Αἰάντος ἐν Ἀθήναις οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐν Μελίτῃ. Harp.142,4-6.

ζυγομαχεῖ

στασιάζει, ὡς οἱ βόες ἐζευγμένοι, μετῆκται ἡ λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν βοῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχης. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ πολλάκις, ὅταν ἕλκωσι κάμνοντες, ἐπερείδουσι τὸ βάρος πρὸς ἀλλήλους. κέχρηται Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.

ζυγομαχεῖ

στασιάζει, ὡς οἱ βόες ἐζευγμένοι, μετῆκται ἡ λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν βοῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχης. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ πολλάκις, ὅταν ἕλκωσι κάμνοντες, ἐπερείδουσι τὸ βάρος πρὸς ἀλλήλους. κέχρηται Ὑπερίδης. Suda.

ζυγομαχεῖν

στασιάζειν, ὡς οἱ βόες ἐζευγμένοι. Μετῆκται δὲ ἡ λέξις ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν βοῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχης μὴ συμφώνως ἐργαζομένων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ

πολλάκις ὅταν ἕλκωσι κάμνοντες, ἐπερείδουσι τὸ βάρος πρὸς ἀλλήλους· κέχρηται Ὑπερίδης. - ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ἢ βοῶν, ἢ ἵππων, ἤ τινων τοιούτων ὡς Ἡσίοδος· Οὐκ ἂν τώγ' ἐρίσαντες ἐν αὔλακι καμμὲν ἄροτρον ἄξειαν, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐτήσιον αὖθι λίποιμεν. Ὁ δὲ Ἡροδότος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ζυγῶν φησὶν εἶναι τὴν λέξιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν καθεδρῶν διαφέρονται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες. E.M. 412.

ἡγεμὼν συμμορίας

Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, ἡγεμὼν ἐκαλεῖτο συμμορίας ὁ προέχων τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμονεύειν ἐπειλημμένος, ὡς ὑποφαίνει Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. Harp.145,11-15.

Ἡφαιστία

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ἀκαδήμου. ὅτι δύο πόλεις ἦσαν τῆς Λήμνου, Μύρινά τε καὶ Ἡφαιστία, δηλοῖ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν γ' Κτίσεων. Harp.149,4-6.

Ἡφαιστία

Ἀθηνᾶ. καὶ πόλις τῆς Λήμνου. Hes.

Θαργήλια

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. ἑορτή ἐστι τὰ Θαργήλια, ἄγεται δὲ Θαργηλιῶνι μηνί, ὅς ἐστιν ἱερὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. Harp.149,12-13.

θαρραλέον

θάρσος, θρασύς, θαρραλέου διαφέρει, ὅτι ὁ μὲν θρασὺς διαβολὴν ἔχει κακὸς ὤν, ὁ δὲ θαρραλέος ὡς ἀγαθὸς ἐπαινεῖται. Ὑπερίδης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Κυθνιακῷ. (Caec. XII, Ofenloch 167) οἱ μὲν θρασεῖς ἄνευ λογισμοῦ πάντα πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ θαρραλέοι μετὰ λογισμοῦ τοὺς προσπεσόντας κινδύνους ἀνέκπληκτοι ὑπομένουσιν. Suda.

θεράπιον

εἰ δ' ὁ κατὰ Δαροθέου λόγος Ὑπερίδου, φησίν ἐν αὐτῷ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀτιμότατον θεράπιον. Pollux 3,74.

θέσθαι

ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ὑποθήκην λαβεῖν Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ὑγιαίνοντα, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ προσέσθαι καὶ κυρῶσαι νόμον Δημοσθένης· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν νόμων λέγεται ὡς ἔθηκε μὲν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἔθετο δὲ ὁ δῆμος· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν. ἐν μέντοι τῷ κατὰ Στεφάνου φησὶν ἑαυτῷ νόμους ἰδίους θέμενον, μήποτε ἀντὶ τοῦ θέναι. Harp. 152,7-12.

θέσθαι

Τὸ θησαυρίσασθαι, ἐν Ὀδυσσείας ν', καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν Ἀνακρέων θεσμὸν καλεῖ. Εἰς δὲ τὸ Ῥητορικὸν Λεξικόν, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ὑποθήκην λαβεῖν, Ὑπερίδης· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ προέσθαι καὶ κυρῶναι νόμον, Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀτελειῶν. ἐν μέντοι τῷ κατὰ Στεφάνου φησὶν Ἑαυτῷ νόμους ἰδίους θέμενον, ἀντὶ τοῦ θέναι. E.M.448.

θέσθαι

ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ὑποθήκην λαβεῖν, Ὑπερίδης, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ προέσθαι καὶ κυρῶσαι μόνον Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀτελειῶν. ἐν μέντοι τῷ κατὰ στεφάνου φησίν, ἑαυτῷ νόμους ἰδίους θέμενον, ἀντὶ τοῦ θέναι. Suda.

θεωρικά

Δημοσθένης Φιλιππικῷ. Θεωρικὰ ἦν τινά ἐν κοινῷ χρήματα, ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως προσόδων συναγόμενα· ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας ἐφυλάττετο καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο στρατιωτικά, ὕστερον δὲ κατετίθετο εἴς τε τὰς δημοσίας κατασκευὰς καὶ διανομάς, ὧν πρῶτος ἦρξατο Ἀργύρριος ὁ δημαγωγός. Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν τῷ γ' τῆς Ἀτθίδος φησὶ τὸ δὲ Θεωρικὸν ἦν τὸ πρῶτον νομισθὲν δραχμὴ τῆς θέας, ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Φιλῖνος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου εἰκόνος περὶ Εὐβούλου λέγων φησίν ἐκλήθη δὲ θεωρικόν, ὅτι τῶν Διονυσίων ὑπογύων ὄντων διένεμεν Εὔβουλος εἰς τὴν θυσίαν, ἵνα πάντες ἑορτάζωσι καὶ τῆς θεωρίας μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν

ἀπολείπηται δι' ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἰδίων. ἄλλοτε μέντοι ἄλλως ὁρίσθη τὸ διδόμενον εἴς τε τὰς θέας καὶ εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ ἑορτάς, ὡς ἔστι δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ α' Φιλιππικῶν Δημοσθένους. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῖς ἀποδημοῦσι θεωρικὸν λαμβάνειν Ὑπερείδης δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρχεστρατίδου. ἦν δὲ ἀρχή τις ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ, ὡς Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος δεικνύει. Θεαροὶ μέντοι λέγονται οὐ μόνον οἱ θεαταί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ εἰς θεοὺς πεμπόμενοι, καὶ ὅλως τοὺς τὰ θεῖα φυλάττοντας ἢ τῶν θείων φροντίζοντας οὕτως ὠνόμαζον· ἄρην γὰρ ἔλεγον τὴν φροντίδα· ἄρη γὰρ τ' ὀλίγη πέλεται νεικέων τ' ἀγορέων τε. Harp.153,15-155,3.

θριτήδεστον — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου θριτήδεστον τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ διεφθαρμένην, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ θριπῶν κατεδηδεσμένων ξύλων. Harp.157,1-3.

θριτήδεστον — Ὑπερείδης τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ διεφθαρμένην· ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ θριπῶν κατεδηδεσμένων ξύλων. Suda.

θριτηδέστατον — ἀντὶ τοῦ βεβρωμένον καὶ διεφθαρμένον. ἢ ξύλα ἀπὸ θριπῶν βεβρωμένα, οἷς ἐσφράγιζον. θρίπες δὲ εἶδος σκωλήκων. θρὶψ γὰρ ζῷόν ἐστι κατεσθίον ξύλα καὶ κέρατα. μέμνηται Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου. Suda.

θριτήδεστον — ξύλον ὑπὸ θριπῶν βεβρωμένον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ξύλοις σῆτες οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο. Hes.

ἱερά — τὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὀστᾶ. Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Ἀρχεστρατίδου. Bekk.Antiatt.100,18.

ἱερά — τούς τε περιβόλους τῶν ναῶν καὶ τὰ σφάγια καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρχιστρατίδου, καὶ τὰ ξόανα, ὡς Θεοπόμπος ἐν εἰκοστῇ ἕκτῃ, Ammonius *περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων* 241.

ἱεροφάντης — Ὑπερείδης φησί που· ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δαδούχου θυγατέρα ἔχω οὔτε ἱεροφάντου. Δείναρχος ἐν τῇ Κροκωνιδῶν διαδικασίᾳ ἀνομάσθαι φησὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἱεροφάντην τὸν ἀποφήνασθαι ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐπανιόντα τὰ ἱερά. περὶ δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱεροφαντῶν δεδήλωκεν Ἑλλάνικος ἐν β' Ἀτθίδος. Harp.159,12-16.

Ἰθύφαλλοι — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρχεστρατίδου· οἱ τοὺς ἰθυφάλλους ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ὀρχούμενοι. ποιήματά τινα οὕτως ἐλέγετο τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ φαλλῷ ᾀδόμενα, ὡς Λυγκεὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς φησίν· Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κόνωνος ἐπὶ ἐπωνύμου τεθεμένου τισὶ κατὰ παιδιὰν ἔταξεν αὐτῷ. ἐλέγετο δὲ κυρίως ἰθύφαλλος τὸ ἐντεταμένον αἰδοῖον, ὡς Κρατῖνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις. Harp.160,1-6.

Ἰσοδαίτης — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης ξενικός τις δοάμων, ᾧ τὰ δημάδη γύνοια καὶ μὴ πάνυ σπουδαῖα ἐτέλει. Harp.163,3-4.

Ἰσοδαίτης — ὑπ' ἐνίων ὁ Πλούτων· ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλων ὁ Πλούτωνος υἱός. Hes.

κόθῃ — ἀντὶ τοῦ κόθηται. Ὑπερείδης ὑπὲρ Κρατίνου. Bekk. Antiatt.100,32.

κάθου

καὶ κάθησο· ἄμφω Ἑλληνικά. Ἀριστοφάνης οὐχ ὅτι σ' ἐκεῖνο οἰμόζων κάθου. Κρατῖνος· τὴν χεῖρα μὴ ἐπίβαλλε, μὴ κλάων κάθῃ, λέγει γὰρ τὸ ὑποτακτικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κάθημαι καὶ κάθῃ καὶ κάθηται ὁριστικῶς. Ἀριστοφάνης· ἰδοὺ κάθημαι. καὶ Ὑπερίδης· ἀπόκριναί μοι, Ἑρμαία, ὥσπερ κάθῃ, τὸ δὲ κάθισον οὐκ ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ καθίζου. Zonaras.

κακηγορῆσαι

ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 8,80.

κακηγορίας δίκη

ἐάν τις κακῶς εἴπῃ τινὰ τῶν κατοιχομένων, κἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ἀκούσῃ κακῶς, πεντακοσίας καταδικασθεὶς ὤφλε τῷ δημοσίῳ, τριάκοντα δὲ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ, Ὑπερείδης δὲ ἐν κατὰ Δωροθέου χιλίας μὲν ζημιοῦσθαι τοὺς τοὺς κατοιχομένους κακηγορήσαντάς φησι, πεντακοσίαις δὲ τοὺς (τοῖς) τοὺς ζῶντας. Lex. Cantabr.

κακολογεῖν

Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρου. Bekk.Antiatt.102,13.

κακολογία

ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 2,119.

κακοπράγμων

κακοπράγμων ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 6,169.

κακοπράγμων

κακοπράγμων, ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἔφη. Pollux 4,36.

κακώσεως

δίκης ὄνομά ἐστι ταῖς τε ἐπικλήροις κατὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων, καὶ κατὰ τῶν παίδων τοῖς γονεῦσι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐπεξιοῦσι διδομένη· Δημοσθένης κατὰ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Λυσίας ἔν τε τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου κλήρου καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ *** καὶ Ὑπερείδης περὶ τοῦ Πυρρά νδρου κλήρου. ὅτι δὲ ἐξῆν καὶ παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι κακώσεως γονέων καὶ ταῖς ἐπικλήροις βοηθεῖν δηλοῦται ἔν τε τῷ προειρημένῳ λόγῳ Ὑπερείδου καὶ ἐν τῷ Λυσίου κατὰ Φιλωνίδου βιαίων, εἰ γνήσιος. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄνευ ὕδατος. Harp.167,5-13.

κακώσεως

δίκης ἐστὶν ὄνομα ταῖς τε ἐπικλήροις κατὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων, καὶ τῶν παίδων τοῖς γονεῦσι, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν. οὕτω Δημοσθένης καὶ Λυσίας καὶ Ὑπερείδης. Suda.

καρποῦσθαι

αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ καρποῦσθαι καὶ καρπίσασθαι Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λυσίδημον. Pollux 7,149.

καταβέβρωκεν

καὶ Ὑπερίδης· τὰ ὄντα καταβέβρωκέν φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατεδήδοκεν. Pollux 6,39.

κατέλευσαν

ἀντὶ τοῦ λίθοις κατέβαλον Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αὐτοκλέους. Harp.172,9-10.

κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν

ἀψευδεῖν· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀθηνογένους α'· ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νόμος κελεύει ἀψευδεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. ἔοικεν ὁ νόμος περὶ τῶν ὠνίων κεῖσθαι· Θεόφραστος γοῦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ νόμων φησὶ δυοῖν τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν τοὺς ἀγορανόμους, τῆς τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ εὐκοσμίας καὶ τοῦ ἀψευδεῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πιπράσκοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὠνουμένους. Harp. 170,17-22.

κατατομή

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους· καὶ καθήμενος κάτω ὑπὸ τῇ κατατομῇ. Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν ς' οὕτως· Αἰσχραῖος Ἀναγυρσάιος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεάτρου τρίποδα καταργυρώσας, νενικηκὼς τῷ πρότερον ἔτει χορηγῶν παισί, καὶ ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τὴν κατομὴν τῆς πέτρας. Harp.171,1-5.

κατατομή

Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους· καὶ καθήμενος ὑποκάτω ὑπὸ τῇ κατατομῇ. καὶ Φιλόχορος· καὶ ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τὴν κατατομὴν τῆς πέτρας. Suda.

καταχειροτονία

ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ κατὰ τῶν συκοφαντῶν προβολὰς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τίθεσθαι· εἴ τις καταχειρορονηθείη, οὗτος εἰσήγετο εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. ἔστι δὲ πολλάκις τοὔνομα παρά τε Δημοσθένει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου καὶ Ὑπερείδῃ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Χαιρεφίλου περὶ τοῦ ταρίχους. διεξῆλθε δὲ περὶ τῆς καταχειροτονίας καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν δ' Νόμων. Harp.172,1-6.

καταχειροτονίαν

ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ κατὰ τῶν συκοφαντῶν προβολὰς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τίθεσθαι· εἴ τις καταχειρορονηθείη, οὗτος εἰσήγετο εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. οὕτως Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερίδης καὶ Θεόφραστος. Suda.

καττύεσθαι

Ὑπερείδης, τὸ ὑποδεδεῦσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν καττυμάτων. Phot.Lex..

κεκροπίς

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα. μία δ' ἦν τῶν ι' φυλῶν Ἀθήνησι Κεκροπίς, ὁς Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ, εἰ γνήσιος. Harp.173,14-15.

Κεραμεῖς

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ξενοφίλου α'. δῆμός ἐστι φυλῆς τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος Κεραμεῖς, ὥς φησι Διόδωρος. φησὶ δὲ Φιλόχορος ἐν γ' εἰληφέναι τούτους τοὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης καὶ τοῦ θύειν Κεράμῳ τινὶ ἥρωϊ. Harp.174,1-4.

κεραννύειν

τῷ δὲ κεραννύειν κέχρηται Πλάτων μὲν ἐν Φιλήβῳ· τοῖς δὴ θεοῖς, ὦ Πρώταρχε, εὐχόμενοι κεραννύωμεν. καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν Ἱερῷ γάμῳ κεραννύουσιν ἀφανίζουσί τε. Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ· καὶ τὸν κρατῆρα τὸν Πανιώνιον κοινῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες κεραννύουσιν. Ath. *Deipn.*10,24,9-14.

κεραννύασι

κρινᾶσιν Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.

κεραννύουσι

κιρνῶσιν. Ὑπερείδης. Suda.

Κεστρῖνοι

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ταρίχους. κεστρῖνος ἰχθύς. ἐπισκεπτέον δὲ εἰ διαφέρει τι κεστρέως. Harp.175,12-13.

κοκκύζειν

Ὑπερίδης δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐπ' ἀλεκτρυόνων τὸ κοκκύζειν εἶπον. Pollux 5,89.

Κολωνέτας

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον περὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ. τοὺς μισθωτοὺς Κολωνέτας ὠνόμαζον, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῷ Κολωνῷ εἱστήκεσαν, ὅς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔνθα τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον καὶ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειόν ἐστιν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ Κολωνὸς οὗτος

ἀγοραῖος. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Κολωνὸς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν, ὡς Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αὐτοκλέους· οὗτος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ τῶν Ἱππέων. Φερεκράτης Πετάλῃ· οὗτος, πόθεν ἥκεις; ἐς Κολωνὸν ἱέμην, / οὐ τὸν ἀγοραῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἱππέων. Δημοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Κολωνῆθέν φησι. περὶ τῶν Κολωνῶν Διόδωρός τε ὁ περιηγητὴς καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν γ' Ἀτθίδος διεξῆλθεν. Harp.181,14- 182,9.

κολωνέτας

ὡς Ὑπερίδης· δύο γὰρ ὄντων κολωνῶν ὁ μὲν Ἵππιος ἐκαλεῖτο, οὗ Σοφοκλῆς μέμνηται ὡς Οἰδίποδος εἰς αὐτὸν καταφυγόντος, ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειον, οὗ συνήεσαν οἱ μισθαρνοῦντες. Pollux 7,132.

Κομιστικὰ πλοῖα

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν. ἔοικε καλεῖσθαι κομιστικὰ πλοῖα ἐν οἷς ἐκόμιζον οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ τὰ ληφθέντα λάφυρα, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑποσημαίνει ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. Harp.182,10-13.

κονδυλίζειν

Ὑπερίδης δὲ καὶ κονδυλίζειν ἔφη, καὶ τὸ παθεῖν κονδυλίζεσθαι. Pollux 8,76.

κόρη

ἀλλὰ καὶ κόρη νόμισμα παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἦν, ὡς Ὑπερίδης φησίν, τῷ παιδίῳ ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἱερείας τῶν ἀναθημάτων τι λαβόντι παραβληθῆναι λέγων ἐπὶ πείρᾳ συνέσεως κόρην καὶ τετράδραχμον, κἀπειδὴ τὸ τετράδραχμον εἵλετο, δόξαι διακρίνειν ἤδη τὸ κέρδος δύνασθαι. Pollux 9,74.

ἐπὶ κόρρης

Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου. ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλως ἀπέδοσαν, βέλτιον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐπὶ κόρρης λέγεσθαι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γνάθου, ὁ λέγομεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ῥάπισμα. Ὑπερείδης γοῦν ἢ Φιλῖνος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δωροθέου, προειπὼν τὸν ῥαπίσαντα Ἱππόνικον ἐπὶ κόρρης γραφῆναι ὕβρεως, ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ὥσπερ ἐξηγεῖται τοὔνομα λέγων· ἔπειτα Ἱππόνικος ὑπ' Αὐτοκλέους μόνον ἐρραπίσθη τὴν γνάθον, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν τριχῶν εἱλκόμην, κονδύλους ἔλαβον. Harp.25,10-16.

ἐπὶ κόρρης

οἱ μέν, τὸ κατὰ κεφαλὴν τύπτεσθαι· τῶν γὰρ Ἰώνων, ὥς φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης, τὴν κεφαλὴν καλούντων κόρσην, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καθάπερ μυρρίνην τὴν μυρσίνην καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, κόρρην τὴν κεφαλὴν ὠνόμασαν, ὡς Πλάτων ἐν Γοργίᾳ, καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου· οἱ δέ, τὸ ἐπὶ κόρρης ἐξηγοῦνται τὸ εἰς τοὺς γνάθους τύπτεσθαι, ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δωροθέου· ῥαπίζειν αὐτὸν Ἱππόνικον κατὰ κόρρης, ἔπειτα καὶ Ἱππόνικος ὑπ' Αὐτοκλέους ἐρραπίσθη τὸν γνάθον. καὶ Φερεκράτης. *Didyme D'Alexandrie περὶ τῶν ἀπορουμένων παρὰ Πλάτωνι λέξεων,* Miller, (Mélanges) 400.

ἐπὶ κόρρης

τὸν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν φησιν ἔξεστι καὶ ἐπὶ κόρρης τύπτοντα μὴ διδόναι δίκην. ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς, Le ms. ajoute à la fin de l'article: Ὑπερίδης· ἀκούω γὰρ Αὐτοκλέα τὸν ῥήτορα πρὸς Ἱππόνικον τὸν Καλλίου περὶ χωρίου τινὸς ἀναμφισβητήσαντος (f. ἀμφισβητήσαντα), καὶ λοιδορίας αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ῥαπίζειν αὐτὸν Ἱππόνικον ἐπὶ κόρρης. E.M.(Miller) 121.

Κρόνος	μωρός, Ὑπερείδης. Bekk.Antiatt.104,7.
Κρούειν	κατὰ τοῦ ῥαπίσαι ἠρέμα μόνον οἴονται τίθεσθαι αὐτό, ὡς ὅταν εἴπῃ Ὑπερείδης καὶ τῷ σκέλει με ἠρέμα ἔκρουσεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συνηθείας κατὰ τοῦ κόψαι τὴν θύραν τάσσεται. καὶ κατὰ τοῦ κακεμφάτου ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ τὸ κροῦσαι κεῖται, ἀντὶ τοῦ συγγενέσθαι. Bekk. Antiatt.101,22.
Κτησίου Διός	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον. Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμιείοις ἱδρύοντο· Μέναδρος Ψευδηρακλεῖ· νῦν δ' εἰς γυναικωνῖτιν εἰσιόνθ' ὅταν / ἴδω παράσιτον, τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Κτήσιον / ἔχονται τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐ κεκλεισμένον,/ ἀλλ' εἰστρέχοντα πορνίδια. Harp 184,16-185,5.
Κυδαθηναιεύς	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἱππέως κλήρου. Κυδαθήναιον δῆμός ἐστι φυλῆς τῆς Πανδιονίδος, ἀφ' ὗ ὁ δημότης Κυδαθηναιεύς. Harp.185,13-15.
Κυδαντίδης	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πολύευκτον. δῆμός ἐστι τῆς Αἰγηΐδος Κυδαντίδαι. Harp.185,16-17.
Κυδαντίδαι	δῆμος τῆς Πτολεμαίδος φυλῆς. Hes.
κυρία ἐκκλησία	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημέου ξενίας, εἰ γνήσιος. τίνες δὲ αἱ κύριαι ἐκκλησίαι Ἀριστοτέλης δεδήλωκεν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ, λέγων τοὺς πρυτάνεις συνάγειν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ὁσημέραι, πλὴν ἐάν τις ἀφέσιμος ᾖ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον τετράκις τῆς πρυτανείας ἑκάστης. προγράφουσι δέ, φησί, καὶ κυρίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ᾗ δεῖ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποχειροτονεῖν οἳ δοκοῦσι μὴ καλῶς ἄρχειν, καὶ περὶ φυλακῆς δὲ τῆς χώρας. καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς βουλομένους ποιεῖσθαί φησι, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Harp. 188,4-12.
Κώδεια	τὴν τῆς μήκωνος κεφαλὴν οὕτω καλοῦσιν Ὑπερείδης καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Γεωργοῖς· ἀγαθήν γε κώδειαν. Harp.188,16-17.
Κώδεια	εἶδος φυτοῦ, ἡ τῆς μήκωνος κεφαλή. Ὑπερίδης καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Suda.
λείαν περεισύραντο	ὡς Ὑπερείδης. Pollux 1,162.
Λητή	Ὑπερείδης κατὰ Δημάδου. Λητὴ πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας, μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῆς πολλάκις Μαρσύας ὁ νεώτερος ἐν ς' Μακεδονικῶν. Harp.193, 13-15.
Λιτή	τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἧς Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου μνημονεύει. Suda.
λόγου χάριν	φησὶν Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.
Λουσιεύς	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Δημέου γραφήν. δῆμός ἐστι τῆς Οἰνηΐδος Λουσιά, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ δημότης Λουσιεύς, ὡς Διόδωρός φησιν. Harp.195, 15-17.

Λουσιῆς — δῆμος Οἰνηΐδος. Hes.

Μαστῆρες — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πάγκαλον. ἔοικεν ἀρχή τις εἶναι ἀποδεδειγμένη ἐπὶ τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς οἱ ζητηταὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πελλήνῃ μάστροι, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Πελληνέων πολιτείᾳ. Harp.199,13-15.

μαστῆρες — ζητοῦντες, ἐρευνῶντες. Hes.

μεσεγγυήματα — δὲ Ὑπερείδης. Pollux 8,28.

Μεταγειτνιών — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ξενππίου. ὁ δεύτερος μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω καλεῖται. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Μεταγειτνίῳ θύουσιν, ὡς Λυσιμαχίδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι μηνῶν. Harp.203,3.4-6.

Μετοίκιον — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογόρας. μέτοικος μέν ἐστιν ὁ ἐξ ἑτέρας πόλεως μετοικῶν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον ὡς ξένος ἐπιδημῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἴκησιν αὐτόθι καταστησάμενος. ἐδίδοντο δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος δραχμαὶ ιβ', ὅπερ ὠνόμαστο μετοίκιον, ὡς δηλοῖ Εὔβουλος ἐν τῇ Πλαγγόνι. Ἰσαῖος δ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἐλπαγόρου καὶ Δημοφάνους ὑποσημαίνει ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ιβ' δραχμὰς ἐτέλει μετοίκιον, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ς', καὶ ὅτι τοῦ υἱοῦ τελοῦντος ἡ μήτηρ οὐκ ἐτέλει· μὴ τελοῦντος δ' ἐκείνου αὐτὴ τελεῖ. ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι ἀφεθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐτέλουν τὸ μετοίκιον ἄλλοι τε τῶν κωμικῶν δεδηλώκασι καὶ Ἀριστομένης. Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ἀνατιθεμένῃ καὶ ἐν Διδύμαις πρὸς ταῖς ιβ' δραχμαῖς καὶ τριώβολόν φησι τούτους τελεῖν, ἴσως τῷ τελώνῃ. οἱ μέντοι μὴ τιθέντες τὸ μετοίκιον μέτοικοι ἀπήγοντο πρὸς τοὺς πωλητάς, καὶ εἰ ἑάλωσαν ἐπιπράσκοντο, ὥς φησι Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος. ἐνεβίβαζον δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς τοὺς μετοίκους, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ῥήτωρ ἐν Φιλιππικοῖς δηλοῖ. ἐκάλουν δὲ οἱ κωμικοὶ σκαφέας τοὺς μετοίκους, ἐπεὶ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς τὰς σκάφας ἐκόμιζον οὗτοι. Harp.203,14- 204,13.

Μηκύβερνα — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου. πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν Θράκῃ σταδίους κ' ἀπέχουσα τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἡ Μηκύβερνα. Harp.205,6.7-8.

Μηλόβιος — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αὐτοκλέους. ἔστι δὲ εἷς τῶν λ' τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τυραννησάντων. Harp.205,6,9-10.

Μηλόβιος — εἷς τῶν λ' τῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τυραννησάντων. Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Αὐτοκλέους μέμνηται. Suda.

μικρολόγον — δὲ Ὑπερίδης μὲν τὸν εἰς ἀργύριον ἀνελεύθερον. Pollux 2,124.

Μοιχίδιον — τὸ ἐκ μοιχοῦ γεγενημένον. Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστοφῶντος. Bekk.Antiatt.108,1.

μοιχίδιον — τὸν ἐκ μοιχοῦ γεγεννημένον. οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.

μονοπώλιον — ἐφ' ὃ δὲ ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ δοῦλοι πιπράσκονται, τοῦτο τράπεζαν Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ. μονοπώλιον δὲ Ὑπερίδης εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ

κατὰ 'Αριστοφῶντος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λέγουσι μονοπωλίαν. Pollux 7,11.

Μουνυχιών

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ξενοφίλου. ὁ δέκατος μὴν παρ' 'Αθηναίοις οὕτω καλεῖται, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μηνὶ 'Αρτέμιδι θύεται Μουνυχία, Harp.207,3.4-6.

μώλωψ

ὁ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς αἱματώδης τύπος. ἔναιμον ἄλγος θλασθέντος τοῦ σώματος ἐκ τῆς ἀντιτυπίας τοῦ πλήξαντος. Hes.

Νάννιον

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος. 'Απολλόδορος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἑταιρῶν Αἶγα λέγεσθαί φησι ταύτην τὴν ἑταίραν διὰ τὸ Θάλλον τὸν κάπηλον καταφαγεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ θαλλῷ χαίρουσιν αἱ αἶγες καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Ποιμέσιν· ἐωθινὸς γὰρ, πρίν τιν' αὐλιτῶν ὁρᾶν, θαλλὸν χιμαίραις προσφέρων νεοσπάδα, εἶδον στρατὸν στείχοντα παρ' ἁλίαν ἄκραν. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆς μνήμη καὶ ἐν τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ, 'Αντιφάνης δὲ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἑταιρῶν τὴν Νάννιόν φησι Προσκήνιον ἐπονομάζεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν δοκεῖν εὐμορφοτέραν εἶναι. Harp.210,1-10.

Νάννιον

Ναννίου δὲ Ὑπερείδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. αὕτη δὲ ὅτι Αἶξ ἐπεκαλεῖτο προείπομεν, διὰ τὸ Θαλλὸν τὸν κάπηλον ἐξαναλῶσαι. Ath. *Deipn.* 587a.

Ναύκληρος

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ταρίχους οὐ μόνον ὡς ἡ συνήθεια χρῆται τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεμισθωμένου ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ ἐνοίκια ἐκλέγειν ἢ οἰκίας ἢ συνοικίας, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ῥήτωρ δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ πρὸς 'Αριστογείτονα καὶ Σαννυρίων Γέλωτι καὶ Δίφιλος 'Εμπόρῳ. Harp.210,11-214.

Ναύκληρος

Ὑπερίδης οὐ μόνον ὡς ἡ συνήθεια κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεμισθωμένου ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ ἐνοίκια ἐκλέγειν οἰκίας ἢ συνοικίας. Lex.Cantabr.

Ναύκληρος

Ὑπερείδης οὐ μόνον ὡς ἡ συνήθεια κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεμισθωμένου ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ ἐνοίκια ἐκλέγειν ἢ οἰκίας ἢ συνοικίας. Suda.

Νεμέας

αὐλητρίδος μνημονεύει Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους εἰ γνήσιος. ὁ δὲ Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως παρατίθεται ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ ἀπείρητο 'Αθήνησιν ὄνομα πεντετηρίδος τίθεσθαι δούλῃ ἢ ἀπελευθέρᾳ ἢ πόρνῃ ἢ αὐλητρίδι· ἄξιον οὖν ἀπορῆσαι πῶς οὕτως ὠνομάζετο ἡ αὐλητρίς. Harp.213,3-7.

Νεμέας

αὐλητρίδος μνημονεύει Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος. Suda..

νέμειν προστάτην

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔχειν προστάτην. τῶν γὰρ μετοίκων ἕκαστος μετὰ προστάτου τῶν ἀστῶν τινος τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ συνῴκει καὶ τὸ μετοίκιον κατετίθει. καὶ τὸ ἔχειν προστάτην καλεῖται νέμειν προστάτην. Ὑπερίδης· (Caecilius XII, Ofenloch, 175) ὥστε κελευστέον τοὺς μαρτυροῦντας τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοὺς παρεχομένους μάτην ἀπατᾶν ὑμᾶς, μὴ τυγχάνωσι δικαιότερα

λέγοντες· καὶ νόμον ἡμῖν ἀναγκάζετε παρέχεσθαι, τὸν κελεύοντα μὴ νέμειν προστάτην. Suda.

Νικάνωρ

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους. τρεῖς γεγόνασι Νικάνορες, ὁ μὲν υἱὸς Βαλάκρου, ἕτερος δὲ Παρμενίωνος υἱός, ἄλλος δὲ Σταγειρίτης τὸ γένος, οὗ μνημονεύοι ἂν νῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ. Harp. 214,3-5.

Νικάνωρ

τρεῖς γεγόνασι Νικάνορες, ὁ μὲν υἱὸς Βαλάκρου, ἕτερος δὲ Παρμενίωνος, ἄλλος δὲ Σταγειρίτης τὸ γένος, οὗ καὶ Ὑπερίδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθνέους. Suda.

Νοθεῖα

τὰ τοῖς νόθοις ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων διδόμενα οὕτω καλεῖται, ἢν δὲ μέχρι χιλίων δραχμῶν· Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καλλιφάνη ξενίας, εἰ γνήσιος, Ἰσαῖος πρὸς Λυσίβιον περὶ ἐπικλήρου. Ἀριστοφάνης Ὄρνισι· τί δ' ἦν ὁ πατὴρ ἐμοὶ διδῷ τὰ χρήματα τὰ νοθεῖ' ἀποθνήσκων; ὁ νόμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ. τίνων δ' οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῖς νόθοις μετέχειν δεδήλωκεν Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρισταγόρας β'. Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους φησὶν ὡς εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἐτέλουν. Harp.214,10-18.

Νοθεῖα

τὰ τοῖς νόθοις ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων διδόμενα οὕτως καλεῖται. ἢν δὲ μέχρι χιλίων δραχμῶν. οὕτως Λυσίας καὶ Ἰσαῖος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ὑπερίδης, καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους. Suda.

ναθρεύεσθαι

ναθεία δὲ καὶ ναθρότης καὶ ἀμβλύτης, ὧν οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ῥήματα ὅτι μὴ παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ τὸ ναθρεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος, ὅπερ ἔγωγε οὐ πάνυ ἐαινῶ. Pollux 9,137.

ξενοτροφία

ξενοτροφεῖν δὲ παρὰ Δημοσθένει, καὶ ξενοτροφία παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ, Pollux 3,58.

Ξυπεταίονες

Ὑπερείδης κατ' Ἀρχεστρατίδου. δῆμος τῆς Κεκροπίδος Ξυπέτη, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ δημότης Ξυπεταίων, ὡς Διόδωρος. Harp.216,7-8.

ὀβολοστατοῖ

ἀντὶ τοῦ δανείζοι Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νικίδου, εἰ γνήσιος. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς Λακράτην διασαφῶν φησιν· οὐδ' ἄν εἰ πολὺ ἐλάττονα τόκον λογίσαιτό τις ἢ ὅσον οὗτοι οἱ ὀβολοστατοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους πράττονται. ὀβολοστάτας δ' ἐλεγον τοὺς δανειστάς, ὡς παρά τε Ὑπερείδῃ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ, Harp. 217,5-10.

ὀβολοστατεῖ

ἀντὶ τοῦ δανείζει Λυσίας· οὐδ' ἄν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐλάττονα τόκον λογίσαιτό τις ἢ ὅσον οὗτοι οἱ ὀβολοστατοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους πράττονται. ἐλεγον δὲ ὀβολοστάτας τοὺς δανειστάς, ὡς Ὑπερείδης καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία. Suda.

Οἰνῇΐς

Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα. μία τῶν δέκα φυλῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. Harp.218,13-14.

Οἰνόη

καὶ Οἰναῖος Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα· καὶ ἔφασαν ἐν Οἰνόῃ ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι μάχη εἴη γεγονυῖα. Οἰνόη δῆμος τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος πρὸς Ἐλευθέραις, ὁ δὲ τῆς Αἰαντίδος πρὸς

Μαραθῶνι; ἀφ' ἑκατέρου δὲ τῶν δήμων ὁ δημότης Οἰναῖος καλεῖται. μνημονεύοι δ' ἂν νῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευθέραις, οὗ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ β'. Harp. 219,1-6.

ὁμόδουλος — σύνδουλοι δὲ λέγει Λυσίας καὶ Εὐριπίδης, Ὑπερίδης δὲ καὶ [οἱ πλείους] Εὐκλείδης ὁμόδουλον λέγουσιν. Pollux 3,82.

Ὁμόσε ἰέναι — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀθηνογένους φησίν· ἀλλὰ ὁμόσε βούλομαι τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἐλθεῖν. ἀντὶ τοῦ παραβαλέσθαι. λέγεται δὲ ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ ὁμόσε ταῖς λόγχαις ἰέναι. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἐναντίας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ στρέφεσθαι μηδὲ φεύγειν. Harp.222,20-223,2.

Ὀξυθύμια — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου φησί· περὶ οὗ πολλῷ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐν τοῖς ὀξυθυμίοις ἡ στήλη σταθείη ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἱεροῖς. ἔνιοι μέν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος, ὀξυθύμια λέγεσθαί φασι τὰ ξύλα ἀφ' ὧν ἀπάγχονταί τινες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀξέως τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι· ταῦτα δ' ἐκκόπτοντες ἐξορίζουσι καὶ καίουσι. Δίδυμος δὲ Ἀντικλείδου λέξιν παραγράψας ἐκ τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν φησιν· ὀξυθύμια τὰ καθάρματα λέγεται καὶ ἀπολύματα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀποφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰς τριόδους, ὅταν τὰς οἰκίας καθαίρωσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπομνήματι τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου τὰ ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις φησὶν Ἑκαταῖα, ὅπου τὰ καθάρσια ἔφερόν τινες, ἃ ὀξυθύμια καλεῖται. Εὔπολις Δήμοις· ὃν χρὴν ἐν τε ταῖς τριόδοις κἀν τοῖς ὀξυθυμίοις προστρόπαιον τῆς πόλεως κάεσθαι τετριγότα. ἔστι τοὔνομα καὶ παρὰ Πυθέᾳ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀδειμάντου. Harp.223,12-224,9.

Ὀξυθύμια — Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου φησί· περὶ οὗ πολλῷ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐν τοῖς ὀξυθυμίοις ἡ στήλη σταθείη ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἱεροῖς. ἔνιοι μέν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος, ὀξυθύμια λέγεσθαί φασι τὰ ξύλα ἀφ' ὧν ἀπάγχονταί τινες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀξέως τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι· ταῦτα δ' ἐκκόπτοντες ἐξορίζουσι καὶ καίουσι. Δίδυμος δέ φησιν ὀξυθύμια τὰ καθάρματα λέγεσθαι καὶ ἀπολύματα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀποφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰς τριόδους, ὅταν τὴς οἰκίαν καθαίρωσιν. Suda.

Ὀρθήν — δ' ἐντυγχάνει, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθύς. Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.

ὀρθήν — δ' ἐντυγχάνειν· Ὑπερίδης ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθύς. Bach. Syn. 320. cod: Ὑπερείδης.

ὀρθήν — δ' ἐντυγχάνει· Ὑπερίδης ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθύς. Suda.

ὀρθῆς — δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ κεκινημένης καὶ πεφοβημένης. Ὑπερίδης φησίν· ὀρθῆς δ' ἡμῖν τῆς πατρίδος οὔσης. Αἰσχίνης δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ ἀνεκραίου. Phot.Lex.

ὀρθῆς — δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ κεκινημένης καὶ πεφοβημένης. Ὑπερίδης φησίν· ὀρθῆς δ' ἡμῖν τῆς πατρίδος οὔσης. Αἰσχίνης δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ ἀνεκραίου. καὶ Πολύβιος· τούτων δὲ προσαγγελθέντων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, ὀρθὴ καὶ περίφοβος ἦν ἡ πόλις διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα τῶν προσδοκωμένων. Suda.

ὀρθῆς — δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τούτοις· ἀντὶ τοῦ κεκινημένης καὶ πεφοβημένης. Ὑπερίδης φησίν· ὀρθῆς δ' ἡμῖν τῆς πατρίδος οὔσης. Αἰσχίνης ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ ἀνεκραίου. Bach. Syn. 320. cod: Ὑπερείδης.

Ὅσιον — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονά φησι· καὶ τὰ χρήματα τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσια, ὁ τε Ἰσοκράτης Ἀρεοπαγιτικῷ· καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις. ὅτι δὲ τὰ ὅσια τὰ δημόσια δηλοῖ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους σαφῶς διδάσκει περὶ τούτων· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερά, τὰς δεκάτας τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πεντηκοστὰς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν σεσυληκότες, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· τὰ δὲ ὅσια ἃ ἐγίνετο ἡμέτερα κεκλοφότες. Δίδυμος δὲ διχῶς, φησὶν ἔλεγον τὸ ὅσιον, τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ· ἰδιωτικόν. Harp. 226,15-227,4.

Ὅσιον — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονά φησι· καὶ τὰ χρήματα τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσια, καὶ Ἰσοκράτης· τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις. τὰ δημόσια ὅσια λέγοντες. καὶ Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους σαφῶς διδάσκει τοῦτο. Δίδυμος δέ φησιν διχῶς λέγεσθαι τὸ ὅσιον, τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἰδιωτικόν. Suda.

Ὀσχοφόροι — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημέου, εἰ γνήσιος. περὶ τῶν ὀσχοφόρων ἄλλοι τε εἰρήκασι καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ β'. ὁ δὲ Ἴστρος ἐν τῇ ιγ' περὶ Θησέως λέγων γράφει οὕτως, ἕνεκα τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας νομίσαι τοὺς καλουμένους ὀσχοφόρους καταλέγειν δύο τῶν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προὐχόντων. ἡ δὲ ὄσχη κλῆμά ἐστι βότρυς ἐξηρτημένους ἔχον· ταύτην δὲ ὀρεσχάδα ἔνιοι καλοῦσιν. Harp.227,5-10.

ὀχετόκρανα — δ' ἂν εἴποις τὰς τῶν ὀχετῶν ἀρχάς, ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ περὶ ὀχετοῦ. Pollux 10,30.

ὀψαρτυτής — ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 6,37.

ὀψαρτυτής — μάγειρος. Hes.

παιδάριον — οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρρένων κέχρηται τῷ ὀνόματι οἱ ῥήτορες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ παρθένων. Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τιμάνδρον· (Caec. XII, Ofenloch 177.) καταλλαχθέντων γὰρ τούτων δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν καὶ δυαῖν ἀδελφαῖν ὀρφαναῖν καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς καὶ παιδαρίων παίδων. Suda.

παλαμναῖος — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου. τοὺς αὐτοχειρίᾳ τινὰς ἀνελόντας τῇ παλάμῃ παλαμναίους ἐκάλουν, ὡς καὶ Ἀντικλείδης ἐν ἐξηγητικῷ ὑποσημαίνει. Harp.233,3-5.

Παλληνεύς — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Χαιρεφίλου ἀπολογίᾳ, Παλλήνη δῆμος τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τόπου ἐπίρρημα Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Στεφάνου Παλλήνηθέν φησιν, ὁ δὲ δημότης Παλληνεύς. ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Θράκῃ Παλλήνη γνώριμον. Harp.232,18-233,2.

Πάνδημος — Ἀφροδίτη· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν πάνδημόν φησιν Ἀθήνησι

κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδρυθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν διὰ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πάντα τὸν δῆμον συνάγεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἃς ἐκάλουν ἀγοράς. Νίκανδρος ἐν ς' Κολοφωνιακῶν Σόλωνά φησι σώματα ἀγοράσαντα εὐπρεπῆ ἐπὶ στέγης στῆσαι διὰ τοὺς νέους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιγενομένων χρημάτων ἱδρύσασθαι 'Αφροδίτης πανδήμου ἱερόν. ἔστι δὲ τὸ πάνδημον πάνκοινον. Harp.233,12- 234,3.

Πανδιονίς

Δημοσθένης κατὰ Μειδίου. μία τῶν δέκα φυλῶν παρ' 'Αθηναίοις ἐστί, κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Πανδίονος τοῦ 'Εριχθονίου, ὡς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ λέγουσι καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φορμισίου. Harp.234,8-10.

Παράβυστον

οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτό τι τῶν παρ' 'Αθηναίοις δικαστηρίων, ἐν ᾧ ἐδίκαζον οἱ ἕνδεκα· 'Αντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα περὶ ὅρων. μνημονεύουσι δ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλοι τε τῶν κωμικῶν καὶ Τιμοκλῆς ἐν 'Ορεσταυτοκλείδῃ, ἐκαλεῖτο δέ τις ἐν τοῖς νυμφικοῖς δωματίοις καὶ κλίνη παράβυστος, ἧς μέμνηται Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. λέγεσθαι δ' ἔοικε ταῦτα κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φορτίοις παραβυσμάτων, τουτέστι παραπληρωμάτων. Harp.237,1-7.

ἐν παραβύστῳ

ἀντὶ τοῦ κρύφα καὶ οὐ φανερῶς Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' 'Αρχεστρατίδου. Harp.115,2-3.

Παράβυστον

οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτό τι τῶν παρ' 'Αθηναίοις δικαστηρίων, ἐν ᾧ ἐδίκαζον οἱ ια'. ἐκαλεῖτο δέ τις ἐν τοῖς νυμφικοῖς δωματίοις καὶ κλίνη παράβυστος, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. λέγεσθαι δ' ἔοικε ταῦτα κατὰ μεταφορὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φορτίοις παραβυσμάτων, τουτέστι παραπληρωμάτων. Suda.

παραγραφή

οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ γνωρίμου τίθεται παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν, ἀλλ' ἰδίως 'Ισοκράτης παραγραφῆς εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς, καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' αὐτοῦ· ἀφ' οὗ παρέγραψα. τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη, ἀφ' οὗ παρεθέμην. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους οὐδὲ μέχρι παραγραφῆς φησιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ μέχρι τινὸς ὡρισμένου χρόνου καὶ παραγεγραμμένου, ὅπερ ἐστὶν γεγραμμένου. Suda.

παραγραφή

οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ γνωρίμου τίθεται παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν, ἀλλ' ἰδίως 'Ισοκράτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεώς φησιν· λέγε ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς παραγραφῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς ἣν μέχρι νῦν παράγραφον καλοῦμεν· καὶ ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀφ' οὗ παρέγραψα· τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη, ἀφ' οὗ παρεθέμην. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημοσθένους· οὐδὲ μέχρι παραγραφῆς φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ μέχρι τινὸς ὡρισμένου χρόνου καὶ παραγεγραμμένου, ὅ ἐστι περιγεγραμμένου. Harp.235,9-15.

Παρακαταβολή

καὶ παρακαταβάλλειν· οἱ ἀμφισβητοῦντες χρημάτων τινῶν δεδημευμένων πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οἱ περὶ κλήρων ἢ ἐπικλήρων πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀντιδικοῦντες ἀργύριόν τι κατετίθεσαν· καὶ τούτου ἐχρῆν αὐτοῖς στέρεσθαι, εἰ τὴν δίκην ἡττηθεῖεν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἀμφισβητήσεων δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι τὸ ε'

μέρος τοῦ ἀμφισβητουμένου κατετίθετο. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν δημοσίων πολλαχοῦ εἴρηται τῷ Λυσίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἔν τε τῷ πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην περὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀσωπόδωρον περὶ οἰκίας, περὶ δὲ τῶν κληρικῶν ἄλλοι τε πάλιν εἰρήκασι ῥήτορες καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἱππέως κλήρου δευτέρῳ. Δημοσθένης μέντοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πανταίνετον παραγραφῇ περὶ ἰδίας τινὸς δίκης φησί· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσκαλεῖται μέν με τὴν δίκην πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ θᾶττον ἀνείλετο τὰς παρακαταβολάς. Harp.237,10-22.

Πάραλος

Δημοσθένης Φιλιππικοῖς. μία τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίων πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας χρείας διαπεμπομένων τριήρων, ἀπό τινος ἥρωος τοὔνομα λαβοῦσα Παράλου. οἱ δὲ ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτῆς ἐκαλοῦντο Πάραλοι, οἳ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τέτταράς τε ὀβολοὺς ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ οἴκοι ἔμενον, ἄλλα τέ τινα ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ὥς φησιν Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρχεστρατίδου. μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ Παράλου ἥρωος καὶ Φύλαρχος ἐν κα'. Harp. 236,11- 17.

παραχειμάζοντι

Δημοσθένης, καὶ παρεχείμασεν Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.

παρεῖαι ὄφεις

Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. παρεῖαι ὀνομάζονταί τινες ὄφεις παρὰ τὸ παρειὰς μείζους ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν τῷ Τροφωνίῳ ὑποσημαίνει. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου γράφει ταυτί· εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ῥήτορας ὁμοίους τοῖς ὄφεσι· τούς τε γὰρ ὄφεις μισητοὺς μὲν εἶναι πάντας· τῶν δὲ ὄφεων αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἔχεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ παρείας αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἔχεις κατεσθίειν. Harp.238,9-14.

παρεῖαι ὄφεις

ὀνομάζονταί τινες ὄφεις οὕτως, παρὰ τὸ παρειὰς μείζους ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου φησίν· εἶναι δὲ τοὺς ῥήτορας ὁμοίους τοῖς ὄφεσι· τούς τε γὰρ ὄφεις μισητοὺς μὲν εἶναι πάντας· τῶν δὲ ὄφεων αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἔχεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ παρείας αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἔχεις κατεσθίειν. Suda.

παροδίου τοίχου

μέρη δὲ οἰκοδομημάτων τοῖχοι· Ὑπερίδης δὲ τοῦ παροδίου τοίχου εἴρηκεν. Pollux 7,121.

πελαγίζειν

τὸ διὰ πελάγους πορεύεσθαι. Ὑπερείδης. Bekk.Antiatt. 111,28.

πελαγάζειν

τοὺς ὀδόντας συγκρούειν. καὶ πλεῖν πέλαγος ἄβατον. καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι μεγάλα. Hes.

πελαγίζειν

Ὑπερίδης, τὸ ἀπὸ πελάγους περαιοῦσθαι. Phot.Lex.

πεντηκοστή

καὶ πεντηκοστεύεσθαι, καὶ πεντηκοστολόγοι. πεντηκοστὴ μὲν τὸ τέλος ὁ τελοῦσι, πεντηκοστολόγοι δέ οἱ τοῦτο ἐκλέγοντες, πεντηκοστεύεσθαι δὲ τὸ πράττεσθαι τὴν πεντηκοστήν. ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου, καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Λακρίτου παραγραφήν. Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν. Suda.

πεντηκοστή	καὶ πεντηκοστεύεσθαι, καὶ πεντηκοστολόγοι· πεντηκοστὴ μὲν τέλος τι καὶ πεντηκοστολόγοι οἱ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐκλέγοντες, πεντηκοστεύεσθαι δὲ τὸ πράττεσθαι τὴν πεντηκοστήν. ταῦτα δ' ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν τε τῷ κατὰ Μειδίου, καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Λακρίτου παραγραφὴν Δημοσθένους, καὶ Ὑπερείδου ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν. Harp.245, 4-9.
περδικοτροφεῖον	εἰ δὲ μὴ ψευδὴς ὁ Ὑπερίδου λόγος ὑπὲρ Ἀρπάλου, ἐν αὐτῷ γέγραπται· ἐκπηδήσαντες ἐκ τῶν περδικοτροφείων. Pollux 10,159.
περιδύσαι	καὶ περιλωπίσαι, ὅπερ Ὑπερίδης περιδῦσαι εἴρηκεν. Pollux 7,44.
πιθάκνιον	πίθος ἢ πιθάκνη· Ὑπερίδης δὲ καὶ πιθάκνιον εἴρηκεν. Pollux 6,14.
ποδοστράβη	Ὑπερείδης ἐν τε τῷ κατ' Ἀθηνογένους καὶ ἐν τῷ κατ' Αὐτοκλέους. ποδοτστράβας ἔλεγον μηχανήματά τινα ὑπὸ τῶν κυνηγετῶν κατασκευαζόμενα, εἰς ἃ τὰ θηρία ἐμβαίνοντα ἡλίσκετο. διείλεκται Ξενοφῶν περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ κυνηγετικῶν καὶ τῆς χρήσεως. Harp.251,8-13.
ποδοστράβη	ποδοστράβας ἔλεγον μηχανήματά τινα ὑπὸ τῶν κυνηγετῶν κατασκευαζόμενα, εἰς ἃ τὰ θηρία ἐμβαίνοντα ἡλίσκετο. οὕτως Ὑπερίδης καὶ Ξενοφῶν. Suda.
πολυπληθία	πολυπληθία ὡς Δημοσθένης καὶ Ὑπερείδης. Pollux 4,163.
πολυφίλοις	καὶ πολυφίλοις Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 3,63.
Ποσειδεών	Ὑπερείδη ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μαντιθέου. ὁ ϛ' μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω καλεῖται. Harp.255,5-6.
πράτην	Ὑπερίδης δὲ καὶ πράτην εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Συνηγορικῷ. Pollux 3,125.
πράτην	Ἰσαῖος καὶ Ὑπερίδης τὸν πράτην εἶπον, ἐν δὲ τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ ὁ πώλης ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πρατίας εἴρηται. Pollux 7,8.
προβόλιον	εἶδος δόρατος, ᾧ χρῶνται οἱ κυνηγέται πρὸς τὴν τῶν συῶν θήραν. Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τροπικῶς ἐκ μεταφορᾶς ἐχρήσατο τῷ ὀνόματι. ὅτι δὲ δόρυ τι σημαίνει πολλάκις ἔστι μαθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος Κυνηγετικοῦ. Harp. 256,10-13.
πρόγονος	τοῦτον δὲ Ὑπερίδης Πατροκλέους ἐπὶ προαγωγείᾳ κατηγορῶν μητρυιὸν κέκληκε καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Εἰρήνῃ. Pollux 3,27.
πρόγονος	τοὔνομα μέντοι ὁ πρόγονος ἔστι μὲν καὶ παρὰ Δεινάρχῳ ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Στράττιδι ἡ πρόγονος, καὶ παρ' Ὑπερείδῃ· ἐξέδωκε τὴν πρόγονον τὴν αὑτοῦ, ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον περὶ θησαυροῦ. Pollux 3,27.

προέπεσον — προπετῶς ἐποίησαν. Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.

προηροσία — Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ. ὄνομα θυσίας. Harp.257,7.

προηροσία — τὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρότου θύματα. καὶ ὁ Δῆμος δὲ αὐτὰ προαρκτούρια καλεῖ. Hes.

Προμετρητάς — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ ταρίχους. Δείναρχος κατ' Ἀγασικλέους· Σκύθου τοίνυν τοῦ προμετρητοῦ ἦν υἱὸς καὶ ἐν δημόταις γέγονε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προμετρῶν διατετέλεκεν. Harp.258,4-6.

Προμετρητάς — καὶ προμετρητὰς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 4,166.

προπεσεῖν — προπετῶς τι ποιῆσαι. Ὑπερείδης Ῥοδιακῷ. Bekk. Antiatt.112,10.

πρόσκλησις — ἡ εἰς δικαστήριον κλῆσις, καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι τὸ παραγγέλλειν εἰς δίκην· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἀγνίου κλήρου, Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δάμιππον. Harp.261,1-3.

προστάτης — οἱ τῶν μετοίκων Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότες προστάται ἐκαλοῦντο· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν ἕκαστον τῶν μετοίκων πολίτην τινὰ Ἀθηναῖον νέμειν προστάτην· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρισταγόρας. μέμνηται καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Περινθίας. Harp.261,6-9.

Πυθαέα — Ὑπερείδης πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον. ἄπορον πῶς ἀπὸ τούτου ἐσχημάτισται παρὰ τῷ Διδύμῳ· καὶ γὰρ οὐ δι' ὧν παρέθετο ὁ γραμματικὸς ὠνόμασε τὰ Πύθια ἑορτὴν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Πύθιον Ἀπόλλωνα. Harp.266,1-3.

Πυκνί — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Χαιρεφίλου α' φησί· καὶ τῆς Πνυκὸς τοσοῦτον εὑρισκούσης. ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησία οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. πολλὴ δ' ἡ μνήμη αὐτῆς παρ' Ἀττικοῖς. Κλείδημος δ' ἐν γ' Πρωτογονίας· συνῆεσάν φησιν εἰς τὴν Πνύκα ὀνομασθεῖσαν διὰ τὸ τὴν συνοίκησιν πυκνουμένην εἶναι. Harp.266,3-8.

Πύλαι καὶ Πυλαία — καὶ Πυλαγόρας· Πύλαι μὲν καλοῦνται αἱ Θερμοπύλαι· Δημοσθένης Φιλιππικοῖς. ἐκλήθησαν δ' οὕτω διὰ τὸ στενὴν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν εἴσοδον ἀπὸ Θετταλίας εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα πορευομένοις. Πυλαία δ' ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ εἰς τὰς Πύλας σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων· Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. ὅτι δέ τις ἐγίγνετο σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων εἰς Πύλας Ὑπερείδης τε ἐν ἐπιταφίῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῷ λ' εἰρήκασιν. ἐπέμποντο δ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν μετεχουσῶν τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας τινὲς οἵπερ ἐκαλοῦντο Πυλαγόραι· μνημονεύουσι δὲ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὥσπερ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν δευτέραις Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις. Harp.266,9-267,6.

πωλάς — ἀντὶ τοῦ πράσεις Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον. ἔστι τοὔνομα καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σώφρονος Ἀνδρείοις. Harp.267,19-20.

πωλάς — ἀντὶ τοῦ πρᾶσις· Ὑπερίδης. ἔστι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σώφρονος Ἀνδρείοις. Suda.

πωληταὶ καὶ — πωλητήριον· οἱ μὲν πωληταὶ ἀρχή τίς ἐστιν Ἀθήνησι, ι' τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες, εἷς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης· διοικοῦσι δὲ τὰ πιπρασκόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πάντα, τέλη καὶ μέταλλα καὶ μισθώσεις καὶ τὰ δημευόμενα· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογόρας β'. διείλεκται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ· πωλητήριον δὲ καλεῖται ὁ τόπος ἔνθα συνεδρεύουσιν οἱ πωληταί Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἐλπαγόρου πολλάκις. Harp.267,12-18.

πωλητήριον — τὸ πρατήριον. οὕτως Ὑπερίδης. Phot.Lex.; Suda.

ῥᾳδιεστέραν — Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐνθυμητέον τὸ κρᾶμα. διὸ οὐδὲ εὐπαράληπτον ἦν ἐν σπονδαῖς. ζωρέστερον. Ὁμήρου γὰρ ἀναλόγως εἰπόντος ζωρότερον ἐκ τοῦ ζωρόν, παρὰ τοῖς ὕστερον εὕρηται καὶ ζωρέστερον κατὰ τὸ ἀκρατέστερον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀνιηρέστερον καὶ αἰδοιέστερον ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ καὶ κοινῶς πλησιέστερον, καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἀφθονέστερον, καὶ εὐωνέστερον παρὰ Ἐπιχάρμῳ. Λέγει δὲ καὶ Ὑπερείδης· ῥαδιεστέραν πόλιν. Τινὲς δὲ ζωρότερόν φασι τὸ θερμόν ... Eustath. *Com. ad Hom. Il.* 2,699,4-8.

ῥᾳδιεστέραν — καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημάδου δὲ ὁ Ὑπερείδης εἴρηκε· ῥαδιεστέραν τὴν πόλιν. Ath. *Deipn.*424d.

ῥαδιώτερος — καὶ ὡς Ὑπερίδης ῥαδιώτερος. Pollux 5,107.

Ῥηναία — Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ. ἔστι δὲ νῆσος πλησίον Δήλου. Harp.269, 8.

ῥητορική — Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Εὐκλείδην περὶ χωρίου· τὰς γνώμας ἃς εἰσῆγον εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον μετὰ ψηφίσματος. καὶ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Αὐτοκλέους προδοσίας· ῥητορικῆς ἐκ δήμου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἐκ βουλῆς. οἷον εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ. Lex.Cantabr.

ῥόθιον — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Πολύευκτον στρατηγεῖν. ῥόθιον καλεῖται παρὰ τὸν ῥόθον τὸν ἐκ τῶν κωπῶν ἀκουόμενον, ὅταν σφοδρῶς ἐλαύνωσιν. τοὔνομα παρὰ πολλοῖς καὶ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Ἱππεῦσι καὶ Θουκυδίδῃ ἐν δ'. Harp.270,6-9.

ῥόθιον — τὸ μετὰ ψόφου κῦμα ἢ ῥεῦμα, παρὰ τὸ ταχέως ῥεῖν. σημαίνει καὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν ... Ὑπερίδης τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπ' εἰρεσίας κέχρηται συντονωτάτης. φησὶ οὖν· (Caec. XII, Ofenloch, 184) τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐλαυνόντων πλῆθος, καὶ τὸν τοῦ ῥοθίου ψόφον, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σκάφους ἐκπεπληγμένοι δεινῶς ἦσαν. κτύπος τε ῥοθίου καὶ χρεμετισμὸς ἵππων ἀλλήλοις ἀντεπατάγει, φησὶν Ἀρριανός. καὶ αὖθις ὁ αὐτός· στοῖχον ἕνα ὁπλιτῶν προβεβλημένων τὰς ἀσπίδας, πολλῷ τῷ ῥοθίῳ καὶ ἅμα ξυγκελευομένῳ παντοίῳ ἐν χρῷ τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐμπεποιημένου ζεύγματος παραπλέουσαι. καὶ αὖθις· τῆς εἰρεσίας τὸ ῥόθιον. Suda.

σεσημασμένῳ — ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένῳ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀντίου ὀρφανικῷ. Harp.271,14-15.

σηκώματα — καὶ σηκώματα ὡς Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 4,172.

σιτομέτραι — ὡς Ὑπερίδης, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ σιτομετρεῖν. Pollux 7,18.

σκευποιήματα — δὲ Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δημέαν, καὶ σκευασίαν δὲ Ὑπερείδης. Pollux 10,15.

σκευοποιοῦντα — τὸ πρᾶγμα, Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀντιθέου. ἀντὶ τοῦ σκευωρούμενον καὶ κατασκευάζοντα καὶ πλαττόμενον. Suda.

σκευοποιοῦντα — τὸ πρᾶγμα· Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μαντιθέου ἀντὶ τοῦ σκευωρούμενον καὶ κατασκευάζοντα καὶ πλαττόμενον. Harp.275,12-13.

Στειριεύς — Ὑπερείδης κατ' Ἀρχεστρατίδου. δῆμος φυλῆς τῆς Πανδιονίδος ἡ Στειριά. Harp.279,3-4.

στρατηγοί — Δημοσθένης Φιλιππικοῖς. οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν χειροτονούμενοι στρατηγοὶ ι' ἦσαν, ὡς μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἔκ τε τῶν Ὑπερείδου κατ' Αὐτοκλέους καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας Ἀριστοτέλους. Harp.280,5-7.

συγκαταδουλώσασθαι — παρ' Ὑπερείδῃ καὶ οἱ συνδουλεύοντες παρὰ Δεινάρχῳ. Pollux 3,81.

συμμορία — ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους, ἤγουν οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδος σύνταγμα ἢ φρατρία· Δημοσθένης κατὰ Ἀφοβοῦ. Οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν πῶς ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης φησὶν ἑξήκοντα ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν συμμορίαν, ὁ δὲ Ὑπερίδης, δεκαπέντε· ἐν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Πασικλέους λέγει τὴν αἰτίαν, γράφων· Ἕως μὲν οἱ πλούσιοι, παρακρουόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, σὺν ε' καὶ ἕξ τριηραρχοῦντες μέτρια ἀνήλισκον, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον οὗτοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα κατεῖδε Δημοσθένης, νόμους ἔθηκε τοὺς τριακοσίους τριηραρχεῖν, καὶ βαρεῖαι γεγόνασιν αἱ τριηραρχίαι. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ δημοποίητοι ἐνεγράφοντο εἰς τὰς συμμορίας, δεδήλωκεν Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. Συμμορίται δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτοῖς μετέχοντες συμμορίας, διηρέθησαν δὲ πρῶτον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ συμμορίας ἐπὶ Ναυσικίνου ἄρχοντος, ὡς Φιλόχορος. E.M.734.

συμμορία — ἡ πληθύς, ἢ ἡ συνέλευσις, ἢ ἡ Φατρία, ἢ τὸ σύνταγμα. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἑξήκοντα ἄνδρας ἔχειν λέγει τὴν συμμορίαν. Ὑπερίδης δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα. Zonaras.

συμμορία — σύνταγμα ἢ φατρία (L. φρατρία)· Δημοσθένης· οὐχ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ πλούσιοι, καὶ εἰσφέρειν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι. Συμμορία οὖν λέγεται τὸ πολιτικὸν σύστημα· μόρος γὰρ λεγέται παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μέρος τι καὶ τάγμα τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ λόγου ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μ'· ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ξ' ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν συμμορίαν. Ὑπερίδης ιε'. E.M.(Miller) 274.

συμμορία

Δημοσθένης κατ' Ἀφόβου α'. οὐχ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν, διῄρητο εἰς τὰς συμμορίας Ἀθήνησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εἰσφέρειν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι. ὁ γοῦν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν φησι, περὶ τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ἀνδρῶν λέγων τῶν πλουσιωτάτων, ἐκ τούτων τοίνυν οἶμαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι συμμορίας κ'. ὥσπερ νῦν εἰσί, σώματα ξ' ἑκάστην ἔχουσαν. Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πολύευκτόν φησιν· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ συμμορίᾳ ἑκάστῃ ιε' ἄνδρες. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν πῶς ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης φησὶν ξ' ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν συμμορίαν, ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης ιε'. ἐν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Πασικλέους λέγει τὴν αἰτίαν, γράφων ταυτί· ἕως μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι παρακρουόμενοι τὴν πόλιν σύμπεντε καὶ σύνεξ τριηραρχοῦντες μέτρια ἀνήλισκον, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον οὗτοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα κατιδὼν Δημοσθένης νόμους ἔθηκε τοὺς τ' τριηραρχεῖν καὶ βαρεῖαι γεγόνασιν αἱ τριηραρχίαι, νῦν ὁ Φορμίων αὐτὸν ἐκκλέπτει. ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ δημοποίητοι ἐνεγράφοντο εἰς τὰς συμμορίας δεδήλωκεν ὁ Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου πολλάκις. συμμορῖται δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτοῖς μετέχοντες συμμορίας, ὡς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ Ὑπερείδης δείκνυσι. διῃρέθησαν δὲ πρῶτον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ συμμορίας ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου ἄρχοντος, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ε' Ἀτθίδος. Harp.282-283,15.

συμμορία

Δημοσθένης κατὰ Ἀφόβου. οὐχ ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν, διῄρητο εἰς τὰς συμμορίας Ἀθήνησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εἰσφέρειν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι. ὁ γοῦν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν φησι, περὶ τῶν α' καὶ σ' ἀνδρῶν λέγειν τῶν πλουσιωτάτων· ἐκ τοίνυν τοτύων οἶμαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι συμμορίας κ' ναῦς εἰσὶν ξ' σώματα ἔχουσαν. Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πολύευκτόν φησιν· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ συμμορίᾳ ἑκάστῃ ιε' ἄνδρες. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν πῶς ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης φησὶν ξ' ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν συμμορίαν, ὁ δὲ Ὑπερίδης ιε'. ἐν γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Πασικλέους λέγει τὴν αἰτίαν, γράφων ταυτί· ἕως μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι παρακρουόμενοι τὴν πόλιν σύν ε' καὶ σ' τριηραρχοῦντες μέτρια ἀνήλισκον, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον οὗτοι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα κατεῖδε Δημοσθένης, νόμους ἔθηκε τοὺς τ' τριηραρχεῖν καὶ βαρεῖαι γεγόνασιν αἱ τριηραρχίαι. ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ δημοποίητοι ἐνεγράφοντο εἰς τὰς συμμορίας δεδήλωκεν Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πολυεύκτου. συμμορῖται δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτοῖς μετέχοντες συμμορίας. διῃρέθησαν δὲ πρῶτον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ συμμορίας ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου ἄρχοντος, ὡς Φιλόχορος. Suda.

συμμορία

καὶ τὸ παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ μετοικικῆς συμμορίας ταμίας. Pollux 8,144.

συμμοριάρχας

τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας τῶν συμμοριτῶν καὶ συμμοριάρχας Ὑπερίδης εἴρηκεν, ὡς τῶν φυλῶν φυλάρχους. Pollux 3,53.

σύνταξις

ἀντὶ τοῦ συντεταγμένη διοίκησις· Δημοσθένης Φιλιππικοῖς· καὶ μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τοὺς φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων ὄνομα, Καλλιστράτου οὕτω καλέσαντος, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν ι' Φιλιππικῶν. Ὑπερείδης Δηλιακῷ· σύνταξιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐδενὶ διδόντες, ἡμεῖς δέ ποτε ἠξιώσαμεν λαβεῖν. Harp.285, 8-14.

σύνταξις — ἀντὶ τοῦ συντεταγμένη οἴκησις. Δημοσθένης Φιλιππικοῖς· καὶ μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν, τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. ἔλεγε δὲ ἑκάστους φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν φόρων ὄνομα, Καλλιστράτου οὕτω καλέσαντος. καὶ Ὑπερίδης δέ φησιν· σύνταξιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐδενὶ διδόντες, ἡμεῖς δέ ποτε ἠξιώσαμεν λαβεῖν. Suda.

σύνταξις — Δύο πραγμάτων ἕνωσις, καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα· ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ συντεταγμένη οἴκησις. Δημοσθένης Φιλιππικῶν, καὶ μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. Ἔλεγον δὲ ἑκάστους φόρους συντάξεις, ἐπειδὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τῶν φόρων ὄνομα, Καλλιστράτου οὕτω καλέσαντος. Καὶ Ὑπερίδης· σύνταξιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐδενὶ διδόντες. E.M.736.

τοκίζεται — τοκίζων, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ τοκίζεται αὐτῷ ἀργύριον παρ' Ὑπερίδῃ, Pollux 3,85.

τριακάς — ἡ τριακοστὴ τοῦ μηνός. καὶ σύστημά τι τῶν πολιτῶν. Hes.

τριακάς — τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἤγετο ἡ τριακοστὴ ἡμέρα διὰ θανάτου. καὶ ἐλέγετο τριακάς, ὡς Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἱππέως κλήρου δηλοῖ, ἐνικῶς τε καὶ πληθυντικῶς τριακάδα καὶ τριακάδας τὴν ἡμέραν καλῶν. Harp.292,4-7.

τριακάς — τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἤγετο ἡ τριακοστὴ ἡμέρα διὰ θανάτου, καὶ ἐλέγετο τριακάς. Ὑπερίδης δηλοῖ, ἐνικῶς τε καὶ πληθυντικῶς τριακάδα καὶ τριακάδας τὴν ἡμέραν καλῶν. Suda.

τυλυφάντας — Ὑπερίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Μίκας ἔφη· ἐμισθώσατο τυλυφάντας. Pollux 7,191.

τυλυφάντης — ὧν καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἔοικεν Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Μίκας ὀνομάζειν εἰπών· ἐμισθώσατο τυλυφάντας. Pollux 10,39.

Τυρμεῖδαι — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ξενοφίλου. Δῆμος τῆς Οἰνηΐδος οἱ Τυρμεῖδαι, ὥς φησι Διόδωρος. Harp.295,6-7.

ὑπερῷα — ἔργον δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδόμου καὶ τὸ ὑπερῷα ἐγεῖραι, ὡς Ὑπερίδης ἔφη. Pollux 7,125.

ὑποστήσας — ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποβαλόμενος Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀντίου. Harp.297,6-7.

ὑποστήσας — ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποβαλλόμενος. Ὑπερείδης. Suda.

Ὑσιαί — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Ξενοφίλου. Ὑσιαὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας πόλις, ἧς μνημονεύει καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἀντιόπῃ, Harp. 297,16-17.

Φαλάγγια — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρισταγόρας β' ὅτι τῶν δακετῶν τι ζῷόν ἐστι τὸ φαλάγγιον. δῆλον δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν α' τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων. Harp.297- 298,2.

φιλοτησία — Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰσχίνου· ἡ κύλιξ ἣν κατὰ φιλίαν τοῖς φίλοις προὔπινον φιλοτησία ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς Ὑπερείδης φησὶ καὶ Ἄλεξις. Harp.301,12-14.

φιλοτησία — ἡ φιάλη ἡ διδομένη ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις. ἐν γὰρ τῷ πότῳ φιλοφρονούμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐπεδίδοσαν οἴνου κύλικα. ἣν φιλοτησίαν ἐκάλουν· ὡς Ὑπερίδης φησὶ καὶ Ἄλεξις. καὶ Ὅμηρος· δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους. καὶ αὖθις· ἐγχείτω τις τούτῳ φιλοτησίαν. Suda.

Φορβαντεῖον — Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους ὠνομάσθαι λέγει ἀπὸ Φόρβαντος βασιλεύσαντος Κουρήτων, καὶ ὑπ' Ἐρεχθέως ἀναιρεθέντος. E.M.798.

Φορβαντεῖον — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, ὅτι τὸ Ἀθήνησι Φορβαντεῖον ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ Φόρβαντος βασιλεύσαντος Κουρήτων καὶ ὑπ' Ἐρεχθέως ἀναιρεθέντος δεδήλωκεν Ἀνδρῶν ἐν η' τῶν Συγγενειῶν· ἦν δὲ Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὁ Φόρβας, καθά φησιν Ἑλλάνικος ἐν α' Ἀτθίδος. Harp.302,6-10.

Φορβαντεῖον — Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, ὅτι τὸ Ἀθήνησι Φορβατεῖον ὠνομάσθη ἀπὸ Φόρβαντος βασιλεύσαντος Κουρητῶν, καὶ ὑπ' Ἐρεχθέως ἀναιρεθέντος. ἦν δὲ Ποσειδῶνος υἱὸς ὁ Φόρβας. Suda.

φρονεῖν — Σημαίνει καὶ τὸ νοεῖν, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν· καὶ φρονηματισθῆναι Ὑπερίδης. E.M.800.

φρονηματισθείς — ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ φρονήματι. Hes.

φρονηματισθῆναι — οὕτως Ὑπερίδης ἀντὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ οἰήσεως πληρωθῆναι· (Caec. X2, Ofenloch 192.) οἱ δὲ φρονηματισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν. Suda.

χαλκεῖα — ὑπομνήματα τῆς τῶν τεχνῶν εὑρέσεως. Hes.

Χαλκεῖα — Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Δημέου ξενίας. τὰ Χαλκεῖα ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀγομένη Πυανεψιῶνος ἔνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, χειρώναξι κοινή, μάλιστα δὲ χαλκεῦσιν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς. Φανόδημος δὲ οὐκ Ἀθηνᾷ φησιν ἄγεσθαι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀλλ' Ἡφαίστῳ. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ δρᾶμα Χαλκεῖα. Harp.304,12-305,2

χάριν ἔχειν — ὡς Ὑπερίδης τε καὶ Λυσίας. Pollux 5,142.

χεῖρα — Ὑπερίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὀνομαζόμενον χειρόγραφον χεῖρα ὠνόμασεν, εἰπών· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρα δυνατὸν ἀρνήσασθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναύμαχον ὅπλον χεὶρ σιδηρᾶ. Pollux 2,152.

χεῖρα — τὸ χειρόγραφον, Ὑπερίδης. Bach. Syn. 414. cod: Ὑπερείδης.

χεῖρα — τὸ χειρόγραφον, Ὑπερίδης. Suda.

ὠφθαλμίασε τὸ ἐποφθαλμιᾶν τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν τινος, καὶ ὠφθαλμίασε τὸ ἐπεθύμησεν Ὑπερίδης. Pollux 2,62.

ἰδίως Ὑπερείδης - 'peculiarly Hyperides'

(List of words and phrases, which might have been coined by Hyperides - they are not attested before the orator's oeuvre - and which were used later in literary texts.)

ἀλφιτεῖς - 'barley-millers'; Babr.29,4.

ἀναισχύντημα - 'impudent act or speech'; Galen. *De Usu Partium* 3,801,16; *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 1,6,2,2.

ἀνέκλειπτος - 'incessant'; Strab.3,2,9; 12,2,7; 12,2,8; Diod.1,36,1; Plut.*Mor.*438d; Luc.Ev.12,33; Clem.Alex.*Str.*4,487.

ἀπελπίζειν - 'despair of'; Pol.1,19,12; Diod.17,106,7; Jos.*B.J.*5,9,1; App.2,796,7; Plut.787d; Alciphr.4,16,5; D.Chrys.1,186,25; Luc.Ev.6,35; D.La.8,69; Orig.3,1197a.

διαγραφεύς - 'describer'; Marcell. *Vita Thuc.*51 (Const.Porph. *De virtutibus et vitiis* 2,33).

δουλίς - 'female slave'; Herondas 7,126; Rufin.*Anth.Pal.*5,18; Jo.Mal.86,5; 95,12;

εἰσκομίζειν - 'introduce'; Ael.*V.H.*1,21.

ἐμπυρισμός - 'burning'; Levit.10,6; Numer.11,3; Deut. 9,22; Pol.9,41,5; 14,1,15; 14,4,6; Diod.20,67; Artemid.4,43; Io. Chrys. *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* 56,331; Theodoretus *Com. in Is.*2,329; Euseb.*Com.inPsal.*23,917,5; Olymp. *Com. in Arist.meteora* 143,24; Schol.Ar.*Av.*1242. further references in the Septuaginta and in its commentators.

ἐξελεύθερος - 'freedman'; D.Cass.39,38; Cic.*ad Att.*6,5,1.

ἐπιβασία - 'entry'; D.Cass. 8,34; 34,54; [68,13; 80,3].

ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου - 'to sum up'; Pol.1,65,5.

ἐπισυκοφαντεῖν - 'harass yet more with frivolous accusations'; Plut.*Ant.*21,4; Plut.*Mor.*1096.F.

'Ισοδαίτης - Plut.*Mor.*389a; Luc.*Sat.*32,30.

καταρρητορεύειν - 'overrun by rhetoric'; Plut.*Mor.*801f; Luc.*Gymn.*19; Jo.Chrys. *De virginitate* 95,9; Phot.*epist.*370,35; Schol.Ar.*Plut.*586.

κορδακίζειν - 'dance the korax'; D.Chrys.2,4,34; Alciphr.2,15,2; D,Cass.50,27; Jul.*Mis.*20,16; Synes. *epist.*24; Georg.*Progymn.*1,570,28.

μετοικικός - 'a payment of *metoikoi*'; Plut.*Alc.*5; Luc.*Lex.*25b.

νεοσύλλογος - 'newly collected, incurred'; Pol.1,61,4; 3,70,10; 108,6; Poseid. Frg.141,7; Diod.34,6,2; Appian. 3,7,46; 3,7,47; Polyaen.*Stratag.*3,11,8;

ὠσχοφόρος - 'the young man, who carried the the wine-branches'; Philoch.fr.44; Alciphr.1,11,1;

ὀφθαλμιάω - 'look longingly'; Athan. *Hist.Ar.* 7,2; *deDec.Nic.*35,4; *Ap.Sec.*6,7; Anna Comn. *Alexias* 1,13,6; Pol. 31,21,1; 1,7,2; 2,17,3; Philostr. *V.S.* 26,22.

παρόδιος - 'on the road-way'; Plut.*Mor.*521d; Schol.*Il.*8,435; Basil.*Hom.in pr.prov.*31,388.

περδικοτροφεῖον - 'partridge-coop'; Eusth.*Od.*1,66,46.

περισύρεσθαι - 'carry off'; *BC.*4,9,74; Athan. *Apol.Sec.*30,3; Joh.Chrys. *In pharisaeum* 61,730; *In annuntiationem* 62,765; Romanus Melodus *Cantica* 38; Eusth. *Od.* 1,168.

προιστάναι - 'put before one'; Diod.1,9,5.

προπίπτειν - 'do something hastily'; Diod.3,51; 15,65; 15,87; 18,71; Plut.*Mor.*1122c; Sext.Emp.*Math.*7,2.

προσίστασθαι - 'being tedious for someone'; D.H.*Ant.Rom.*1,8.

ῥαδιεστέραν; - 'easier (unusual comparative)' (Arist.*Probl.*870b.37); Pol.11,1,1; 16,20,4;

σκευοποίημα - 'trick'; Plut.*Crass.*33.

στηλοκοπέω - 'inscribe on a stele'; D.Cass. 43,9.

χείρ - 'artist'; Charit.5,7; Himer.*decl.*48,171.

Although this list contains only expressions, which are first attested in Hyperides, it cannot be proved that the 'Nachleben' of them takes its origin definitely from the text of Hyperides. They are mostly colloquial expressions, which could have been found in all sorts of different sources parallel to Hyperides. Probably this explains the frequent references in Polybius, Diodorus and the historiographers and in the Fathers of the Church.

In one case, however, we can suppose a conscious study and adaptation of Hyperides' vocabulary. Besides the three references above, there are four further reminiscences in Alciphro, the epistolographer's epistles: διαλέγεσθαι, 4,8; καττύεσθαι, 3,22; μαστῆρες, 1,14; πιθάκνιον, 2,12. Alciphro, on the other hand, devotes three letters to Hyperides, in which the 'hetairai' praise the advocate and protector of Phryne (4,3; 4; 5). Moreover, in 4,4,4, Bachis, the fictive author of the letter to Phryne refuses the commonplace that Phryne's desperate exhibition of her beauty was exclusively the turning point for the decision:

> ... μηδὲ τοῖς λέγουσί σοι ὅτι, εἰ μὴ τὸν χιτωνίσκον περιρρηξαμένη τὰ μαστάρια τοῖς δικασταῖς, οὐδὲν <ἂν> ὁ ῥήτωρ ὠφέλει, πείθου. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἵνα ἐν καιρῷ γένηταί σοι ἡ ἐκείνου παρέσχε συνηγορία.
>
> 'and do not believe those, who say that if you had not shown your breasts to the men of the jury after ripping apart your dress, the orator could not have helped you. It was his speech, which provided that even this effect could take place at the right moment'

Alciphro seems to belong to that limited group of intellectuals in the Second Sophistic, who found the personality and oeuvre of Hyperides attractive. In the genre of love letters of courtesans one of the delicate expressions used by Hyperides: διαλέγεσθαι, 'have a nice chat', meaning sexual intercourse, finds its proper place. Although this genre is much indebted to Comedy and Lucian,[719] Alciphro could

[719]Graham Anderson, *The Second Sophistic, A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London, New York, 1993) 191; cf. W.Volkmann, *Studia Alciphronea. 1. De Alciphrone comoediae imitatore* (Diss. Breslau, 1886) 36-44, Tabula I,II.

hardly have despised the orator, like [Lucian] in *Dem.*51. The epistolographer's view is more related to the appreciation of Himerius and Libanius regarding Hyperides, which could have generated a conscious inquiry into his vocabulary.

The origin of Hyperides' most famous speech, the *Deliacus*

In the middle of the fourth century B.C. the myth of the *Deliacus* was not a kind of colouring element in the speech, but represented the main line of argumentation. To use a myth as historical argument in order to underline the rights of a certain state was not a unique phenomenon. Greeks commonly regarded myths as their remote, nevertheless respectable early history. Though it might sound surprising, arguments backed by some myths could play a decisive part and therefore many attempts were made to create favourable variants according to current political interests. This was analysed by M. Nilsson in a monograph, where he illustrates the subject with numerous examples taken from Greek history.[720]I would like to take up this line and add a further case. The historical and mythical background of the *Deliacus* and all the political machinations behind it, which can be observed before and during the actual trial in Delphi, constitute a fine model of such cultural diplomacy.

August Boeckh had already scrutinized the fragments from the speech of Hyperides approximately 160 years ago. He even tried to reconstruct his strategy of argumentation. The starting point for Boeckh's research was an inscription, which had been found recently and described the possessions of the temple of Apollo on Delos. Boeckh, on the basis of the temporal difference between formulation and incision of the text, concluded that a new exhibition of the document must have served political interests. It was intended to underline Athens' supremacy over the island and the temple. It corresponded to many other similar efforts in the fourth century B.C. and among them the 'myth of Hyperides'.[721]

Despite all his insight into this cultural offensive and attempt to collect Athenian arguments against the claims of the Delians, Boeckh could not know that

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[720]Martin P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece, With two Appendices: 1.The Ionian Phylae, 2.The Phratries* (Lund, 1951).

[721]A. Boeckh, 'Erklärung einer Attischen Urkunde über das Vermögen des Apollinischen Heiligthums auf Delos' *Abh. Akad. Berlin* (Berlin, 1834) in *Kleine Schriften V.* (Berlin, 1871, Hg. P.Eichholtz und E. Brautschek) 430-476.

some 90 years later a Greek archaeologist would find the temple of Apollo Zoster. This temple, however, plays a crucial role in the Athenian variant of the Leto myth. K. Kourouniotis published the report of his excavations in 1928.[722] Thanks to this report the actual scene of the diplomatic affair can be described. Though since Kourouniotis' account more or less 70 years have passed, it seems that the background of the propaganda focused on Zoster is still waiting for examination. Nobody could establish historical reality in this matter because of lack of sufficient data. The aim of this chapter therefore is merely to propose a hypothesis, which hopefully will not exceed the limits of a reasonable reconstruction.

[722]K.Kourouniotis, 'Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος Ζωστῆρος' *'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 11 (1927/28) 9-52.

Historical events before the 'Delian trial'

Sixth century B.C.

According to the literary evidence the first historical connection between Athens and the Delian temple was established during the reign of Pisistratus, when the Athenians purified the *temenos* from the dead.[723] In his monograph, Nilsson draws a convincing picture of Pisistratus' Aegean policy, in which to obtain control of the temple of Apollo was of vital importance. Such aspirations of the tyrant are obviously attested not only by historiographers but also by archaeological excavations. The oldest Delian temple, the *Porinos Naos* was rebuilt in the sixth century B.C. by Athenian craftsmen and it was probably the result of Pisistratus' active participation.[724]

Fifth century B.C.

Though these facts do not prove that the famous Delian temple of Apollo was under Athenian control from the sixth century,[725]it is certain that Athens had already tried to bring the island under her influence. On the other hand, the inscription, which was scrutinized by Boeckh, reveals that Athenian supremacy was secured long before the Peloponnesian War. During the war Athenians could without any difficulties thoroughly purify the island and forbid birth and death on it. Later, in 422, the inhabitants themselves were exiled because of some kind of impurity and therefore

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[723]Her. 1,64,9: Πρός τε ἔτι τούτοισι τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις <ἀπὸ> τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου.
Thuc. 3,104,1: Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν' Αθηναῖοι κατὰ χρησμόν δή τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου· τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη

[724]F.Courby, 'Les temples d'Apollon' *Exploration archéologique faite par l'école francaise d'Athénes, Délos* XII (Paris, 1931) 213; Hubert Gallet de Santerre, *Délos Primitive et Archaique* (Paris, 1958) 302.

[725]Boeckh, 434, argues that the Athenians probably in the period of founding the Delian League tried to extend their protectorate over the island, the more so, since the treasury of the League was situated in the Apollo sanctuary in Delos.

their incapacity to maintain the cult.[726] Soon afterwards, however, the Delians were allowed to return home in consequence of an oracle, which urged the Athenians to allow them, if they wanted to change their misfortune in the war.[727]After the final defeat, as a logical consequence of Athenian military weakness, the Delians tried to use the opportunity. The islanders placed all their trust in Sparta's help and raised the dependency of the temple.[728]The result of this debate was probably very similar to that in the fourth century, since Pausanias, the Spartan king, refused the Delian request. In all probability - like Philip - he preferred a conciliated to a humiliated Athenian state.

Such immediate results of weakened military supremacy must have given a very disturbing alarm signal for the political leadership at Athens, if they wanted to sustain their imperial ambitions. This was a historical situation, when 'cultural warfare' came into prominence instead of weapons, which is sometimes much more successful. It is basically what August Boeckh is speaking about in his treatise. He not only dates erection of the inscription to this period (early fourth century B.C.) but also suggests that this must be the breeding ground for mythical inventions, as in Hyperides and the Atthidographers. But perhaps it would be a mistake to narrow the time-limits of these efforts and to trace a fresh, almost panic-stricken attempt to secure especially the financial benefits of the temple. It seems to be more likely that this Delian problem had existed for a long time. Though signs of Athenian cultural efforts were not always so significant, a solid background to this sudden intensified activity is very probable. It operated with traditional strategies. The first initiative in this particular case might be that of Pisistratus, one of the first Athenian politicians with an imperial spirit.[729]

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[726]Thuc.5,1: διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι Δηλίους ἀνέστησαν ἐκ Δήλου, ἡγησάμενοι κατὰ παλαιάν τινα αἰτίαν οὐ καθαροὺς ὄντας ἱερῶσθαι, καὶ ἅμα ἐλλιπὲς σφίσιν εἶναι τοῦτο τῆς καθάρσεως, ἢ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται ὡς ἀνελόντες τὰς θήκας τῶν τεθνεώτων ὀρθῶς ἐνόμισαν.

[727]Thuc.5,32: Δηλίους δὲ κατήγαγον πάλιν ἐς Δῆλον, ἐνθυμούμενοι τάς τε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ξυμφόρας .

[728]Boeckh, 437, follows Dorville's suggestions and draws on an anecdote in Plutarch. Plut.*Apopht.Lac.* 230C: Παυσανίας ὁ Κλεομβρότου, Δηλίων δικαιολογουμένων περὶ τῆς νήσου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ λεγόντων, ὅτι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔθ' αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τίκτουσιν οὔθ' οἱ τελευτήσαντες θάπτονται, "πῶς <ἂν> οὖν" ἔφη "αὕτη πατρὶς ὑμῶν εἴη, ἐν ᾗ οὔτε γέγονέ τις ὑμῶν οὔτ' ἔσται;"

[729]Frank Kolb, 'Bau-, Religions- und Kulturpolitik der Peisistratiden' *Jachrbuch des Deutschen*

Origin of the Deliacus and the Leto myth

Athenian fears were justified. In the middle of the fourth century the Delians regarded circumstances as favourable for renewing the issue and making an effort to regain the temple. After 346 B.C. Philip II established an overwhelming influence over the Delphic Amphictyony, which was acting as an international court in affairs similar to that of Delos and Athens. Having great expectations that the Macedonians would support their claims, the Delian state summoned Athens before the Delphic court in 343 B.C.[730]Euthycrates was delegated to speak on behalf of the Delians, a man who in Athens did not have a good reputation, being the betrayer of Olynthus.[731]Though the Athenian assembly elected Aeschines *synegoros*, the Areopagus invalidated the decision and Hyperides was nominated.[732]Thanks to the speech, or rather to Philip's diplomatic intelligence, the Athenians probably won the case.

The following fragments are extant from the Leto myth, which formed a decisive element in Hyperides' speech.[733]

Archäologischen Instituts 92 (1977) 99-138. The author is highly sceptical with regard to building-activity of Pisistratus in Athens, which could be somehow linked to a determined cultural programme: 'Die Baupolitik des Tyrannen -falls man von einer solchen überhaupt sprechen sollte - kann nicht als Zeugnis für ein bestimmtes politisches und soziales Programm heranzogen werden' (108). Rather Pisistratus' sons were responsible for extensive building projects.

[730]Scholars are of different opinions regarding the exact date: Engels, 75; cf. H.Wankel, *Demosthenes Rede über den Kranz* (Heidelberg, 1976) II, 728.

[731]Dem.8,40; Hyp.fr.76, Jensen; cf. W.Will, 'Callidus emptor Olynthi. Zur politischen Propaganda des Demosthenes und ihrer Nachwirkung' *Klio* 65 (1983) 51-80.

[732]Dem.18,134. On the political background of the decision: cf. Engels, 74-78; Wankel, 727-733. A detailed bibliography for the case and similar international affairs is given by: L. Piccirilli, *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci I: Dalle origini al 338 a.C.* (Pisa, 1973), Nr.57, 215-216.

[733]On myths in international disputes see further: H. Strasburger,'Thukydides und die politische Selbstdarstellung der Athener' *Hermes* 86 (1958) 22 sqq.; E. Bickerman, 'Bemerkungen über das Völkerrecht' in *Zur Griechischen Staatskunde Wege der Forschung* 96 (Darmstadt, 1969; Hg. Gschnitzer) 498-500.

τὴν Λητὼ κύουσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ Διὸς ἐλαύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν· ἤδη δὲ αὐτὴν βαρυνομένην καὶ ἀποροῦσαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ λῦσαι τὴν ζώνην ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ὃς νῦν Ζωστὴρ καλεῖται[734]

'It is said that Leto, who was about to give birth to the children of Zeus, was driven by Hera over land and sea. And when she was already weary and distressed she came to our country and loosened her girdle in the place now called Zoster.'[735]

λυσαμένη τὴν ζώνην ἐν Ζωστῆρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ λιποῦσα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ τόπῳ, βαδίζουσα ἀεὶ εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἕω τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἡγουμένης, ἀπ' ἄκρας τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιβᾶσα τῶν νήσων εἰς Δῆλον καταίρει καὶ τίκτει δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τήν τε Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν πατρῷον Ἀπόλλω τῇ πόλει[736]

'(Leto) after she had solved her girdle at Zoster in Attica and thus she has given name to the place, she kept going always towards the east, while Athena *Pronoia* was guiding her. Then from the cape of Attica she strode over the islands and arrived at Delos and finally gave birth to the gods, Artemis and Apollo, protector of our city.'[737]

τοῦτο καὶ Ὑπερίδης ἐν Δηλιακῷ βουλόμενος δεῖξαι, ὅτι αἱ νῆσοι ἐγγύς εἰσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, εἶπεν ὅτι ἀπ' ἄκρας τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἡ Λητὼ ἐπέβη τῆς νήσου. D. Πρόνοια ἐκλήθη ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ὅτι τῆς Λητοῦς ἐν τῷ τίκτειν προνοησαμένη[738]

'Hyperides also wanted to prove this in the *Deliacus*, that the islands are close to Attica, so he said that Leto from the cape of Attica strode over to the

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[734]Rabe, (Syr.Id.) 37 sqq.
[735]Translated by J.O.Burtt.
[736]Aristid.1, 97.
[737]Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος· ὁ Πύθιος. Προσηγορία τίς ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ, πολλῶν τῶν ἄλλων οὐσῶν. Τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα κοινῶς πατρῷον τιμῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Ἴωνος· τούτου γὰρ οἰκίσαντος τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Ἴωνας κληθῆναι, καὶ Ἀπόλλω πατρῷον αὐτοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι. Harp.48,13.
[738]Schol. *in Aristid.*97.

island. Athena was called *Pronoia*, because she took care of Leto, when she was about to give birth.'

Archeological excavation

On the basis of the descriptions in Pausanias, Stephanos Byzantios and Strabo,[739] and last but not least following a report of a lucky scout team, Kourouniotis identified the ancient Zoster with the area of modern Vouliagmeni.[740] Opposite the island Fleves there is a small peninsula. The remains of the temple of Apollo Zoster were found at its narrowest part. The land is so narrow at this place that the temple almost occupies almost the entire area between the two coastlines. The sanctuary's size is 10.8 x 6.00 metres and it is surrounded by a peristyle of 14 columns. In front of the eastern side of the temple, 6.75 metres from the main entrance there is an external altar. The interior is divided by a wall, which presumably existed when the three bases were built for the three gods, since the location of these is adjusted to the first room at the entrance. There are archaic votive inscriptions on the three bases, which can be dated to the end of the sixth century B.C. The bases were erected by the members of the deme of Halieus. A table before the sculptures must be of the same period, since the inscription on the base in the middle is raised to the upper edge of the front side, in order to be visible above the table. On the front of the table, which faces the entrance, a fourth century inscription was incised, in which members of the

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[739] Ζωστήρ, τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰσθμός, ὅπου φασὶ τὴν Λητὼ λῦσαι τὴν ζώνην [καὶ] καθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ λούσασθαι. ἐνταῦθα θύουσιν Ἀλαεῖς Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ζωστηρίῳ. ὁ τοπίτης Ζωστήριος. τιμᾶται καὶ Ζωστηρία Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ἐπικνημιδίοις. Steph.Byz.298,12.
Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Φαληρεῖς δῆμος ἐν τῇ ἐφεξῆς παραλίᾳ· εἶθ' Ἁλιμούσιοι Αἰξωνεῖς Ἁλαιεῖς οἱ Αἰξωνικοὶ Ἀναγυράσιοι. Str. *Geog* 9,1,21.
Ἁλιμουσίοις <μὲν> Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν Ζωστῆρι <δὲ> ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ βωμὸς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς. τεκεῖν μὲν οὖν Λητὼ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οὐ φασι, λύσασθαι δὲ τὸν ζωστῆρα ὡς τεξομένην, καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. Paus. 1,31.

[740] Kourouniotis, 9; Louisa D. Loukopoulos, *Guides to Greece. Attica. From prehistory to the Roman Period* (Athens, 1973) 14.

local deme honour Polystratus, priest of Apollo Zoster, and his assistants for performing their task properly and enriching the temple.

Archeological finds with few exceptions are related to the above mentioned two centuries. The most important fact is that the building technology reveals that the walls, the floor of the temple and the altar in front of it were built in the sixth century. The peristyle (according to the form of the letters, which were used to indicate the proper joint of the columns) is a result of spectacular additions in the fourth century B.C.

Moreover, all of the numerous inscriptions which were found can be dated to the same two centuries. The prominent place and format of the Polystratus inscription, which stresses the significance of the rebuilding in the fourth century B.C. deserves special interest. Another inscription, in which not members of the local deme, but exceptionally the Athenian council and people itself honour the priest Eucles, belongs to the middle of the same century.[741]How he deserved such an honour from the centre of the state cannot be answered, since the main text of the inscription is lost. One inscription from the sixth century B.C., which was incised on a column, is a *boustrophedon* distichon devoted to the golden-haired Apollo and does not seem to mention the Zoster epithet.[742]

Some ten years later in 1937 renewed archeological excavations approximately 150 metres from the sanctuary brought to the surface remains of a quadrangular building, which was probably also built at the very end of the sixth century. According to reasonable assumptions, it was originally the house of the priest, which was gradually transformed by the end of the fourth century. By this time its function was mainly to provide accommodation for visitors to the temple, the archaological ecidence may indicate that it was converted into a *katagogion* with small rooms.[743]

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[741]...] Ἡ βουλή, ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἱερέα Εὐκλῆν Εὐκλέους Ἀλιέα Ε (Kourouniotis 39).

[742]Χρυσοκόμ' ' Ἀπολ[λον ..... καλὸν τόδ' ἄγαλμα
στήσατο, τοῖ δ' αὐτὸς πολλὰ δ]οίες ἀγαθά. (Kourouniotis 38)

[743]Ph. Stauropoullos, "Ιερατικὴ οἰκία ἐν Ζωστῆρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς' *Arch.Eph.* (1938) 1-31; cf. C.W.J.Eliot, 'Zoster' *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites,* ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton, 1976), cited as *PE.*

At the end of the sixth century and in the second half of the fourth. special interest was directed to the temple of Apollo at Zoster. The sixth century building operations, however, do not represent the beginning of cult at the place. There was definitely some kind of cult in the place of the temple and its surroundings. Kourouniotis has found pieces of a Corinthian *oinochoe* beneath the floor;* excavations, however, could not be continued because of the high ground water-level.

Cult in the sixth century B.C.

As mentioned above, it was a clear intention of Pisistratus and his sons to emphasise their overseas imperial claims with the help of myths. Moreover, all this is attested in the case of Delos as well. It would be too daring to state that the building project at Zoster has an immediate connection with these aims to control Delos. There is no explicit evidence for that. Though the period of Athens' rising interest in Delos and the buildings at Zoster coincide, it could be mere coincidence. Nevertheless, by looking at the main characteristics of the tyrant's cultural politics and the building projects, which are connected with it, our suspicion regarding the aim of the constructions at Zoster might be supported.

It is apparent that the principal object of Pisistratus' religious policy was to strengthen Attica's religious independence of the two panhellenic centres, Delphi and Olympia. This is probably the reason why different local cults or even the cult of Dionysus were affirmed and the cult of Athena became institutionalized in the form of the Panathenaia. Pisistratus began the building of a great Zeus temple, which was not completed. He also devoted a *temenos* in the Acropolis to his local goddess, Artemis Brauronia.[744]

Special interest was paid to the Delphic Apollo, or with his other name, Apollo Pythios, whom the Athenians called also Apollo Patroos. It was probably

[744]F. Schachermeyr, 'Peisistratos' *RE* XXXVIIA (1937) cols. 186-9.

Pisistratus, who devoted a sacred *temenos* to the god and built a sanctuary for him[745] on the south side of the Acropolis, next to the Zeus temple. Pisistratus' son built an altar for Apollo Pythios in the same sacred area.[746]According to Colin, the departing point of the Athenian *theoria* to Delphi may have been here. A priestess of Athena also joined the delegation, since this is attested by an inscription, in which Chrysis is honoured.[747]The connection of the two gods would not be surprising, since the shared cult of Athena and Apollo in Delphi dates back to the 7th century B.C.[748] The temple of Athena Pronaia in Delphi is a kind of foreground to the *temenos* of Apollo as affirmed by the epithet of the goddess. In the Marmaria area, as the results of Demangel's excavations show, a sanctuary of a Mycenean goddess, whose cult later merged with the cult of Athena, was probably built. The altars, which were found near the temple, can be considered as remains of this earlier cult. They were dedicated to Eileithyia, Hygieia, Zeus Polieus, and Athena Ergane, Athena Zosteria. The roles, which are indicated in the epithets, were later ascribed to Athena in the Athenian tradition in a slightly modified form. In accordance with that effort, which resulted in an ingenious change of Athena's epithet - instead of Athena *Pronaia*, Athena *Pronoia* - Athena came to be in the centre of the myths related to Apollo's birth.[749] Pisistratus was the first who tried to emphasise the role of Athena in relation to Apollo. It is not too difficult to imagine that his or his sons' activity is behind the fact that the altar-inscriptions in Delphi were set up the sixth, or early fifth century B.C.[750]

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[745]On the beginnings of the worship of Apollon Pythios in Attica see: G.Colin, *Le Culte D'Apollon Pythien a Athènes* (Paris, 1905) 176-7; τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει † καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ <τοῦ> ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, (Thuc.2,15). Hesych., Suda s.v. Πύθιον state specifically that Pisistratus has built a temple on the place: cf. Colin, 10-11. On Leto's importance in Athens: K.Schnuck, 'Leto im Parthenon-Ostgiebel?' *JdI* 73 (1958) 30-35.

[746]Thuc.6,54; IG I^2 761; Paus.1,19,1.

[747]IG II, 550; cf. Colin, 91.

[748]BCH, 6, 1882, 214, 1,8-9; cf. Colin, 92, n.1.

[749]R. Demangel, 'Topographie de Sanctuaire' *École Francaise D'Athènes, Fouilles de Delphes, Le Sanctuaire D'Athena Pronaia (Marmaria)* (Paris, 1926) 49-51. There is no evidence of their connection (Athena-Leto!) in iconography: cf. I.Krauskopf, 'Leto' *LIMC* VI,1 (1992) 256-67.

[750]Demangel 49, dates them to the fifth century B.C., Vanghelis Pendazos, Maria Sarla, *Delphi* (Athen, 1984) 80, on the other hand, to the sixth century B.C.

The close relation between Athens' goddess and Apollo is proclaimed by almost all known cult-places of Apollo Pythios in Attica. They follow more or less the pattern of Delphi. In the closest neighborhood of Apollo's temple there was also a sanctuary or altar of Athena. Not only the cult places at Prasiai and Zoster, which were mentioned by Colin, belong here, but also the one in Athens. This latter, on basis of its location, could be even considered as a true, however properly transformed reflection of the Delphic district.[751] We could say that from a certain point of view in Athens the *temenos* of Apollo formed the foreground of Athena's sacred area on the Acropolis. Among the cult places of Apollo Pythios in Attica, there is only one, which does not seem to fit into this scheme and so contradicts in a way the joint cult of the two gods. Archaeological evidence, however, is rare in the region and the evidence is insufficient to arrive at solid conclusions. Tetrapolis, the area of Marathon, which is famous for being the departing point of the delegations to Delphi and Delos, must have been a significant centre of the cult of Apollo Pythios. This is evident from the myths which relate to the region.[752]There is only a single scholion, which refers to an altar of Apollo in Marathon. Though the quotation, which was taken from Philochorus, does mention a *Pythion* and a *Delion*, the name of Athena does not occur.[753] Prasiai, on the other hand, is according to mythical tradition that particular harbour, from which the Hyperboreans and Erysichthon sailed to Delos, and to which Erysichthon brought a statue of Eileithyia. (The statue was later transferred to the Athenian temple of the goddess.) The king himself was buried here, because he died on the way back. Pausanias mentions that there was an Apollo-temple in Prasiai.[754]Moreover under the heading of Athena *Pronaia* in the Anec.

[751]To a certain extent this assumption might be confirmed by a parallel between the temple in Delphi and the Pisistratids' Athene Polias temple in Athens, which was emphasized by K. Schefold, 'Kleisthenes, Der Anteil der Kunst an der Gestaltung des jungen attischen Freistaates' *Mus.Helv.* 3 (1946) 63: 'Er ist dem Tempel der Alkmeoniden in Delphi so auffallend verwandt und steht ihm zeitlich so nahe, dass er als Antwort auf die Stiftung der Alkmeoniden erscheint. Der Kampf der Götter und Giganten ist am delphischen Tempel auf der Rückseite, am attischen auf der Vorderseite dargestellt. Der Wetteifer der beiden führenden attischen Geschlechter ist offenkundig'.

[752]Cf. Colin, 62 sqq. and de Santerre, 305, who on the basis of the proximity of Brauron, Pisistratus' home-land, concludes that the tyrant must have paid special attention to the east cost of Attica.

[753]Schol.*ad Soph.Oed.Col.*1047.

[754]Paus.1,31,2.

Bekk. (I,299) there is an entry, which reveals that Athena is also related to Prasiai, since according to this tradition Diomedes erected a statue for Athena *Pronoia* in the same place.[755]

In the case of Prasiai, unfortunately, archeological excavations do not provide any results to conclude when the sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena were constructed.[756] If it could be proved that these buildings have to be dated to the sixth century B.C. they would represent the third example to confirm the above hypothesis that Pisistratus and his descendants systematically built up the centre of the cult of Apollo Pythios in Attica and tried to copy the Delphic pattern, especially with regard to the role of Athena.[757]

On the other hand, outside Attica and most remarkably in Delphi and Delos there is no archeological evidence for a joint cult of Leto, Apollo and Artemis, that is the worship of these three gods unified in one sanctuary. This peculiarity of Zoster could perhaps be explained by the limits of the area. On the other hand a model might have existed, since in the proximity of the Apollo-temple in Delos both Leto and Artemis had sanctuaries. It is, however, not a satisfying explanation, since signs of such united worship are absent in the other Apollo sanctuaries in Attica.[758] A variant of the myth, which is known from the *Deliacus*, is the most likely explanation of this phenomenon, since it suggests the simultaneous worship of the three gods. It can be perhaps underlined by a passage in Aeschines' *De Corona*. From chapter 106, the Athenian rhetorician accuses Demosthenes of impiety (betrayal of Delphi) because as a politician he prevented the Athenians from doing their duty and following their obligation under oath: to intervene and punish the Locrians, who seized the sacred

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[755]Προναία 'Αθηνᾶ· Πρόνοια δ' 'Αθηνᾶ ἐν Πρασίαις τῆς 'Αττικῆς ἵδρυται ὑπὸ Διομήδους; cf. Colin, 93.

[756]Cf. *PE.* s.v. Koroneia.

[757]Here must be mentioned that according to Macrobius there was also a temple of Athena Pronoia on Delos: (*Sat.*1,17,55), Sed divinae providentiae vicit instantia, quae creditur iuvisse partum. Ideo in insula Delo, ad confirmandam fidem fabulae, aedes Providentiae, quam ναὸν Προνοίας 'Αθηνᾶς appellant, apta religione celebratur. The place and date of the temple is uknown.

[758]Outside of Attica, a similar cult is mentioned in Megara (Paus.1,44,2, the three statues were the work of the Athenian Praxiteles), in Tanagra (Paus. 9,22,1), and Cirrha (Paus. 10,37,8, the statues were of Athenian workmanship). Further cf. Paus.5,17,3, Sparta.

land of Cirrha. In building up his accusation, Aeschines recalls the memory of great predecessors, especially that of Solon, who played the most important role in the First Sacred War. Aeschines cites the text of the proposal made by Solon word by word, to which members of the Amphictyony have taken an oath, and quotes in it the following phrase: Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἀρᾷ, "εἴ τις τάδε" φησὶ "παραβαίνοι ἢ πόλις ἢ ἰδιώτης ἢ ἔθνος, ἐναγής" φησὶν "ἔστω τοῦ' Απόλλωνος καὶ τῆς' Αρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ' Αθηνᾶς Προνοίας. If not only the initiative of a military intervention but also the actual formulation of the relevant oath could be ascribed to Solon - which the context allows - then it is even more significant that here we have a list of the three gods and in addition the name of Athena *Pronoia*. The assumption that Solon is the author of the cited text is not only supported by the context of Aeschines' text, but also by a relevant passage of Pausanias.

While there are no traces of such a dedication or invocation in the whole of classical Greek literature or in known Delphic inscriptions,[759] Pausanias (10,37,8) in finishing his account of the Cirrhan conflict mentions that in the district the united sanctuary of Apollo, Artemis and Leto is worth visiting, in which visitors could admire statues of Attic workmanship and of big size.[760] On basis of the scanty archeological evidence, it cannot be decided whether the mentioned sanctuary was standing at the time of the First Sacred War, or not. In the first case an existing temple could explain the unique formulation in the oath to a certain extent. The idea of a later construction, on the other hand, is backed by opinions of different scholars.[761] In this latter case we could, indeed, think of an Athenian effort to commemorate the historical events.

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[759]Inscriptions dedicated to Apollo in Delphi are about 500. On the other hand there are not any dedicated to Apollo-Artemis-Leto, not to mention Apollo-Athena. Inscriptions, which commemorate the three gods together, (apart from some in Ionia) were found mainly in Delos. Here their number exceeds 120: cf. PhI. Inscriptions database

[760]παρέχεται δὲ καὶ ἐς θέαν' Απόλλωνος καὶ 'Αρτέμιδος καὶ Λητοῦς ναόν τε καὶ ἀγάλματα μεγέθει μεγάλα καὶ ἐργασίας' Αττικῆς.

[761]See K.Braun, 'Krisa' *Griechenland, Lexicon der historischen Stäten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. S.Lauffer (Munich, 1989) 353-4; W.Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (London, 1857) s.v. Kirrha.

Beside the invocation of members of the family by name in the text of the oath, the name of Athena *Pronoia* is even more revealing. Editors of the text by conjecture alter the form of the epithet to *Pronaia*, or in giving way to the consensus of the manuscripts speak of a kind of instead of a textual corruption.[762] The scholia, ~~mistake~~, whose text is worth quoting in *extenso*, indeed accuse Aeschines of an innocent mistake.

> Αθηνᾷ Προνοίᾳ] καὶ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος (25,34) ἡμαρτήκασι γράψαντες τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀθηνᾶν Πρόνοιαν. τὸ δὲ ἁμάρτημα διὰ περιήχησιν ἐντόπιον ἱστορίας. τῆς γὰρ Αττικῆς ἐν δήμῳ τινὶ πεποίηται ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Προνοίας, Πυθοῖ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ νεὼ ἱδρῦσθαι ... ταύτης μέμνηται Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ (1,92)· τὸ δὲ Προνοίας Ὑπερίδης ἐν Δηλιακῷ (fr. 71) συνιστορεῖ ὅτι ἐν τῇ Αττικῇ ἐστιν. [763]
>
> Athena Pronoia] Both Aeschines and Demosthenes in the speech against Aristogeiton were wrong, when they write about Athena Pronoia in Delphi. The mistake was caused by the echo of a local story. In one of the demes of Attica namely, there is a sanctuary of Athena Pronoia. In Pytho, however, she was named after being situated in front of the temple... Herodotus commemorates in his first book. The existence of the sanctuary of Pronoia, on the other hand is corroborated by Hyperides, i.e. it is in Attica.

On this basis the possibility of a textual corruption is less probable. Moreover, even the 'mistake' is not a mistake or at least not an innocent one. Behind the sudden appearance of the *Pronoia* epithet in the fourth century B.C. classicists for long suspected a definite political intention, namely to emphasise Athena's role in the myth.[764] The image of Athena, taking care of Leto, however, is not necessarily bound to the fourth century, but it may have been used in the beginning of the sixth century.

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[762]Conjecture: Bekker, Weidner, Marzi (latter with a comment that Aeschines himself made the mistake). The reading of the manuscripts is preserved by Blass, Martin-de Budé (latter: „la confusion peut être antérieure a Eschine").

[763]Vat. Laur. 3,108,8.

[764]F. Dümmler, 'Athena' *RE* IVA (1896) cols. 1941-2020.

Obviously the variant lost importance later and did not have any significance till a fresh interest arose. It could be objected that in the speech we have a conscious forgery by Aeschines, who tried to use the authority of Solon before the Amphictyony, and therefore put his own intentions and words in Solon's mouth. It is, however, less likely, since Aeschines refers *expressis verbis* to an inscription, which could be read by all and he read it aloud. On the other hand it is not difficult at all to imagine Solon employing such a trickery. If we can trust the tradition, for the sake of the island Salamis he was not reluctant to insert two extra lines into the catalogue of ships, which could prove the dependency of the island on Athens.[765] So, let us try to trace Solon's activity behind this peculiar appearance of the *Pronoia* epithet and the first connection of the four gods.

In the background of the constructions at Zoster in the sixth century B.C. the motivating factors in a wider sense were probably the beginnings of imperial politics and more specifically a myth-variant of Leto-Athena *Pronoia*, which was modified or even invented to support protector claims towards the Delian sanctuary. Following the myth-variant a proper cult-place was established and therefore the sanctuary at Zoster was built. Like to the other Apollo Pythios sanctuaries in Attica, Zoster connected the worship of Apollo and Athena. The presence of Leto and Artemis, on the other hand, indicates a further local feature, namely the existence of 'the loosing of the belt' motif.

Constructions at Zoster in the fourth century B.C.

Fourth century B.C. Athenian internal politics and building in Attica are associated with the name of Lycurgus by everybody. It seems that this association is right even in the case of Zoster. Our sources, however, might tell more about who could have taken the initiative to revive the myth and in accordance with it who

[765]Plut.*Solon* 10,2; Str.9,1,10.

launched the spectacular reconstruction of the sanctuary, the erection of the peristyle and the building of the *katagogion* in order to accommodate visitors.

On the first point there are some arguments favouring the Athenian Phanodemus.[766]He is one of those Atthidographers, whose work is lost; some fragments, however, are extant, from which the main topics of his work can be reconstructed. The *Atthis* written by him was a nine-volume work with a political intention, as the genre itself demanded.[767]Mythological references dominated it as far as can be judged from the fragments. He dealt in detail with the Delian question and Athens' mythical connections to the island. This latter is attested in the second fragment, which proves that he wrote on the Erysichthon story.[768]In another fragment *incertae sedis* (fr.29) Phanodemus derives the Hyperboreans directly from a certain Athenian, Hyperboreos by name. According to Jacoby he was unrestrained in generating myths and in doing so he even surpassed the myth-variant, which is known from Hyperides.[769]

Merely on the basis of these indications of a special interest in the Delian problem, it would not be sufficient to consider Phanodemus as the initiator of the Zoster myth. At least not more than to argue for any other determined Atthidographer. Moreover, there are not only writers, but also practising rhetoricians, who show such interest. A. Boeckh, for example, regards Demades as a potential author of the myth, because the Suda among his writings refers to a work, which was written on Delos and Leto's children. On the basis of the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus even Dinarchus could claim authorship. In general in the period before the actual trial in Delphi, many speeches might have been produced and heard in Athens, and among them even the failed one of Aeschines, not to mention the name

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[766]Jacoby, FGrH 396, 172.

[767]F.Jacoby, *Atthis, The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (Oxford, 1949) 71 sqq.

[768]Acccording to Jacoby, Phanodemus made good use of the connection of the Erysichthonidai in Delos and the Erysichthon cult in Prasiai (Attica), to prove that the Delian Apollo cult was implanted from Attica in early times: cf. commentaries of Jacoby, 176.

[769]Semos, 396 F 20 refers to authors, who in surpassing Hyperides brought even the birth of Apollo to Zoster. Jacoby raises the question, whether Phanodemus also tried to do the same: cf. notes to commentaries (158).

of Hyperides.[770] Anyone could play a decisive role among these men, or maybe there was not a single man, but a group of them behind this cultural-political stratagem. For the sake of a common effort, the unquestionable interest of Athens could reconcile politicians of different political ideas.

Nevertheless, Phanodemus seems to be the best candidate. There is not much information on his life. He was member of *boule* in the years 343-342 B.C., because he was honoured at the end of his official duty by a decree of the council, which donated him a golden crown and five hundred drachmas.[771] The decision of the council is quite unusual, because it speaks only in general terms about Phanodemus' merits achieved in the service of the people of Athens. Felix Jacoby analyses many possibilities, but finally he cannot find - as he confesses - a satisfying explanation for the decree. He concludes that the year in question represents a turning point in Athenian politics and Phanodemus probably supported in his own way the winning political line, namely the anti-Macedon politicians. There is, however, another important event in this year. If we can trust the commonly accepted chronology it was the very year, in which the trial between Athens and the island of Delos took place. It would not be very surprising if the people of Athens had honoured the role of Phanodemus in preparing the case. There is a precedent when a literary product serving political interest was honoured by the assembly: Kleidemus, the first Atthidographer was honoured for his work in a similar way on the proposal of Demosthenes.[772] Though the publication of the Atthis of Phanodemus has to be dated to a somewhat later period, preparatory studies must certainly have been in progress in 343 B.C.

Other testimonies are also interesting. On the very same stone, on which the above mentioned decree can be read, there is another proposal incised. In this latter Phanodemus proposes that the praise of the council, which was voted by the assembly, should be recorded. The people honoured the care, which the council had

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[770]Boeckh, 445-7.

[771]IG II, 223; Jacoby, T 2. Unfortunately the work of V.Romano, *Contributi alla ricerca sulla vita e l'opera dello storico Fanodemo* (Firenze, 1935) was not available to me.

[772]Tertull. *De an.*52. According to Jacoby (*Atthis*, 7 and 75) this appreciation was due rather to the political content of the work than to the fact that Kleidemus was the first Atthis-writer in time.

shown in administering the Dionysia and creating proper dignity for the celebrations (*eukosmia peri heortes*), with a crown. It is very probable that Phanodemus as a member of the *boule* took part in the duties related to the organisation.[773]Though many things could be meant by this formulation (*eukosmia*), it can hardly be considered to refer to an average achievement. We could think of a plan to reconstruct the theatre, or even the first stage of the actual building project, which was launched approximately in the forties of the century under the political leadership of Eubulus and was completed finally after Chaeronea by Lycurgus.[774] So, looking at the chronological dates, the reconstruction of the theatre of Dionysus would merely provide a weak, hypothetical and remote parallel example of an assumed Phanodemus-Lycurgus cooperation, a cooperation, which was manifested in my opinion in the case of Zoster and the associated cultural-political operation. There is, however, something more. On one of the stone-seats of the rebuilt theater there is an inscription incised, which records that the place has to be reserved for the priest of Apollo at Zoster.[775]This fact proves the rising importance of the cult at Zoster and indicates in a way the political content of Lycurgus' building projects.

The suggestions made above on the basis of a handful of testimonies could easily be ranked as doubtful hypothesis. The events, however, in connection with Oropus and the sanctuary of Amphiaraus' seem to suggest that there was some kind of cooperation between Phanodemus and Lycurgus also in the establishment of Zoster. The situation and the handling of the problem could be the model of the stratagem at Zoster.

Oropus is a border-region of North-West Attica, *or* South-East Boeotia. From a geographical point of view it belongs to the valley of the Asopus river and so from the beginning it was naturally part of Boiotia. During the Peloponnesian War the Athenians occupied the region and held it till 412, when the Boiotians recaptured

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[773]R.Laqueur, 'Phanodemos' *RE* XXXVIIIA (1938) col. 1779.
[774]W. Will, 'Athen und Alexander. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Stadt von 338 bis 322 v. Chr' *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 77 (Munich, 1983) 79-80.
[775]Cf. Kourouniotis, 48, n.2.

it.[776]In the following seventy years the region of Oropus often changed hands, till finally Philip after the battle of Chaeronea, revealing great diplomatic insight, donated the land of his former ally to the Athenians.[777] The Boiotians of course never gave up trying to regain the territory and the fight continued till Roman times. Here, however, only the events of the fourth century B.C. are relevant.

In the area of Oropus was the famous oracle-place of Amphiaraus. In all probability in order to strengthen Athenian claims for protectorate, great building constructions were started on the initiative of Lycurgus from 334 onwards. The extent of these constructions can only be guessed from inscriptions, because archeological data are lacking.[778] An aqueduct was built and a new theater, the sanctuary was enlarged by a new *pronaos*. Simultaneously with the buildings in 332 B.C., Phanodemus was honoured again with a crown by the people of Athens, because:

> ... Φανόδημος Θυμαιτάδης καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως νενομοτέθηκεν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Αμφιαράου, ὅπως ἂν ἥ τε πεντετηρὶς ὡς καλλίστη γίγνηται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ Αμφιαράου, καὶ πόρους πεπόρικεν εἰς ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ...[779]
>
> 'Phanodemus from the deme of Thymaitadai took care of the sanctuary of Amphiaraus in an excellent way by his proposals, in order to make the five-years celebrations as splendid as possible and in order to carry out the other sacrifices in the most beautiful way for those gods, who are worshipped in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, and because he found incomes for all these and for the reconstruction of the sanctuary.'

In another inscription from three years later, the people of Athens acknowledges the work of those delegates, who were chosen by the assembly to supervise the athletic games at the sanctuary of Amphiaraus. The three in the list are: Phanodemus,

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[776]Thuc.8,60.
[777]Paus.1,34.
[778]Cf. Will, 90, with further bibliography.
[779]IG VII, 4253; cf. FGrH 325 T 3.b; Will, 91, n.277.

Lycurgus and Demades.[780]The cooperation of Phanodemus, Lycurgus and Demades is confirmed also in the cult of Apollo Pythios. On a votive inscription at Delphi from the same period, we find their names among the Athenian *hieropoioi*.[781]

Again, it might not be a coincidence that the Athenians decided in this period on the reconstruction of the Apollo-temple in Athens, which was destroyed during the Persian Wars.[782]

In summary, we could say that the revival of the Apollo cult at Zoster in the fourth century B.C. and, as a consequence, the major building constructions are the result of a planned cultural-political manoeuvre. The Athenians revived the efforts of the sixth century. Phanodemus probably elaborated the myth about Apollo's birth and made an effort to work it out in detail and to emphasise the element, which could be related to Attica. As 'minister of culture' (Jacoby's term) of Lycurgus, Phanodemus might have suggested to the politician the spectacular buildings to show and prove for Hellas the importance of Zoster, and, in connection therewith, to demonstrate that Athens' claims to the protectorate over the island of Apollo were justified. The efforts were not in vain. In Hyperides they found a talented orator, who could structure these arguments in such a persuasive and almost poetic form that he secured for himself the unanimous appreciation of posterity. Not least he 'won' the case for Athens.

The question remains, what kind of motifs of the Attic myth of Apollo-Leto beyond audacious innovations had existed before, which provided the foundation for a new variant. An extensive religious-historical research might provide an answer, but would exceed the limits and scope of the present chapter. I would like only to highlight some elements.

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[780]IG VII, 4254; cf. FGrH 325 T 4.
[781]FGrH 325 T 5; cf. Colin, 20, for further details on the delegation.
[782]Will, 83-4.

In the region of the Hymettos mountains there are traces of a wide-spread Apollo cult. The god was worshipped under different names, one of them was Apollo Kynneios. The origin of the epithet shows similar characteristics to that observed in the tendentious *aetiologia* of nearby Zoster. Photius preserves the etymology, which is typical of the Atthidographers: after Leto had given birth to Apollo, the infant was stolen by dogs, but local shepherds and dog-hunters rescued Apollo and gave him back to his mother.[783] According to the opinion of Toepffer, the *heros eponymos* of the local 'Kynnidai' must lie behind the epithet's origin: the 'Kynnidai' were entrusted to carry out the obligations of the worship. 'Kynnes', a giant, was a son of Apollo, who lived in the mountains of Hymettos. The connection of father and son is probably a later Attic invention, which formed part of the myth-group to prove the wanderings of Leto in Attica.

There are no hints of similar historical circumstances in the sources with regard to Zoster. It would be interesting if a connection of the 'Pyrrhakidai' genus of Delos and the *pyrphoroi* (torch-runners?) at Zoster could be established.[784] According to the *vita*, Euripides was a participant in these celebrations with torches at Zoster.[785] These would underline again how serious the intent of Athens was to connect Attica, specifically Zoster and Delos, in the frame of a myth; but it does not tell much about Zoster itself.

Athena Zosteria, as a goddess assisting Leto at her birth, or generally at any birth, is controversial. Though some scholars are in favour, Wilamowitz regarded it as nonsense.[786] Indeed, for our purpose, it is completely unnecessary to assume that Athena had an active role at Zoster in preparing the birth of Leto. This specific epithet of Athena is not attested in Attica at all. Here, as mentioned above, an Athena

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[783]Cf. Suda, 2706; Iohannes Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889) 304 sqq. Crates explains the etymology of the word differently. In his opinion the epithet is taken from the word *thynneion*. Fishery in the deme of Haliai was leased and incomes were used to carry out the worship at Zoster.
[784]P.Roussel, 'Deux Familles Athéniennes a Délos' *BCH* (1929) 179.
[785]*Vita Eur.* 2,4.
[786]K.Lehman-Hartleben, 'Athena als Geburtsgöttin' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1926) 19 sqq; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II, 162 sqq. According to Wilamowitz the epithet of Athena can only refer to the girdle, which keeps the *chiton* of a warrior-woman together.

Pronaia-Pronoia, who might have nothing to do with the cult at Zoster before the sixth century B.C. may have been introduced. One might speculate that a cult of Apollo, the warrior, equipped with a belt, existed here, which could be backed by the strategic importance of the peninsula. Or, as Kourouniotis thinks, the belt-shaped form of the peninsula gave the name to the gods, who were worshipped in the surrounding area.[787]

[787]Cf. Kourouniotis, 49.

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