The Ten Attic Orators
Edited by Steven Weiss
Introduction

Attic orators

The ten Attic orators were considered the greatest orators and logographers of the classical era (5th–4th century BCE). They are included in the "Alexandrian Canon" (sometimes called the "Canon of Ten") compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace.

The Alexandrian "Canon of Ten"

- Aeschines
- Andocides
- Antiphon
- Demosthenes
- Dinarchus
- Hypereides
- Isaeus
- Isocrates
- Lycurgus
- Lysias

Going back at least as far as Homer (8th or 9th century BCE), the art of effective speaking was of considerable value in Greece. In Homer's epic, the Iliad, the warrior, Achilles, was described as "a speaker of words" and "a doer of deeds."

Until the 5th century BCE, however, oratory was not formally taught. In fact, it is not until the middle of that century that the Sicilian orator, Corax, along with his pupil, Tisias, began a formal study of rhetoric. In 427 BCE, another Sicilian named Gorgias of Leontini visited Athens and gave a speech which apparently dazzled the citizens. Gorgias’s "intellectual" approach to oratory—which included new ideas, forms of expression, and methods of argument—was continued by Isocrates, a 4th century BCE educator and rhetorician. Oratory eventually became a central subject of study in the formalized Greek education system.

The work of the Attic orators inspired the later rhetorical movement of Atticism, an approach to speech composition emphasizing a simple rather than ornate style.
References


External links

- *Lives of the Ten Orators* [2]

References

Ten Attic Orators

Aeschines

Aeschines (Greek: Αἰσχίνης, Aischínēs; 389 – 314 BC) was a Greek statesman and one of the ten Attic orators.

Life

Although it is known he was born in Athens, the records regarding his parentage and early life are conflicting; but it seems probable that his parents, though poor, were respectable. Aeschines' father was Atrometus, an elementary school teacher of letters. His mother Glaukothea assisted in the religious rites of initiation for the poor. After assisting his father in his school, he tried his hand at acting with indifferent success, served with distinction in the army, and held several clerkships, amongst them the office of clerk to the Boule. Among the campaigns that Aeschines participated in were Phlius in the Peloponnese (368 BC), Battle of Mantinea (362 BC), and Phokion's campaign in Euboea (349 BC). The fall of Olynthus (348 BC) brought Aeschines into the political arena, and he was sent on an embassy to rouse the Peloponnese against Philip II of Macedon.

In spring of 347 BC, Aeschines addressed the assembly of Ten Thousand in Megalopolis, Arcadia urging them to unite and defend their independence against Philip. In the summer 347 BC, he was a member of the peace embassy to Philip, who seems to have won him over entirely to his side. His dilatoriness during the second embassy (346 BC) sent to ratify the terms of peace led to him being accused by Demosthenes and Timarchus on a charge of high treason. Aeschines counterattacked by claiming that Timarchus had forfeited the right to speak before the people as a consequence of youthful debauches which had left him with the reputation of being a whore and prostituting himself to many men in the port city of Piraeus. The suit succeeded and Timarchus was sentenced to atimia and politically
destroyed, according to Demosthenes. This comment was later interpreted by Pseudo-Plutarch in his *Lives of the Ten Orators* as meaning that Timarchos hanged himself upon leaving the assembly, a suggestion contested by some modern historians.[1]

This oration, *Against Timarchus*, is considered important because of the bulk of Athenian laws it cites. As a consequence of his successful attack on Timarchus, Aeschines was cleared of the charge of treason.[2]

In 343 BC the attack on Aeschines was renewed by Demosthenes in his speech *On the False Embassy*. Aeschines replied in a speech with the same title and was again acquitted. In 339 BC, as one of the Athenian deputies (pylagorae) in the Amphictyonic Council, he made a speech which brought about the Fourth Sacred War.

By way of revenge, Aeschines endeavoured to fix the blame for these disasters upon Demosthenes. In 336 BC, when Ctesiphon proposed that his friend Demosthenes should be rewarded with a golden crown for his distinguished services to the state, Aeschines accused him of having violated the law in bringing forward the motion. The matter remained in abeyance till 330 BC, when the two rivals delivered their speeches *Against Ctesiphon* and *On the Crown*. The result was a complete victory for Demosthenes.

Aeschines went into voluntary exile at Rhodes, where he opened a school of rhetoric. He afterwards removed to Samos, where he died aged seventy-five. His three speeches, called by the ancients "the Three Graces," rank next to those of Demosthenes. Photius knew of nine letters by him which he called the Nine Muses; the twelve published under his name (Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*) are not genuine.

**Ancient Authorities**

Demosthenes, *De Corona* and *De Falsa Legatione*; Aeschines, *De Falsa Legations* and *In Ctesiphentem*; Lives by Plutarch, Philostratus and Libanius; the *Exegesis* of Apollonius.

**Editions**

- Gustav Eduard Benseler (1855–1860) (trans. and notes)
- Andreas Weidner (1872)
- Friedrich Blass (Teubner, 1896)
- Thomas Leland (1722–1785), Weidner (1872), (1878), G. A. Simcox and W. H. Simcox (1866), Drake (1872), Richardson (1889), G. Watkin and Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (1890).

**Notes**


**External links**

Sources
• This article incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Chisholm, Hugh, ed. (1911). *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Andocides

**Andocides or Andokides** (Ancient Greek: Ἀνδοκίδης, 440–390 BC) was a logographer (speech writer) in Ancient Greece. He was one of the ten Attic orators included in the "Alexandrian Canon" compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace in the third century BC.

He was implicated during the Peloponnesian War in the mutilation of the Herms on the eve of the departure of the Athenian expedition against Sicily in 415 BC. Although he saved his life by turning informer, he was condemned to partial loss of civil rights and forced to leave Athens. He engaged in commercial pursuits, and returned to Athens under the general amnesty that followed the restoration of the democracy (403 BC), and filled some important offices. In 391 BC he was one of the ambassadors sent to Sparta to discuss peace terms, but the negotiations failed. Oligarchical in his sympathies, he offended his own party and was distrusted by the democrats. Andocides was no professional orator; his style is simple and lively, natural but inartistic.

List of extant speeches


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• This article incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Chisholm, Hugh, ed. (1911). *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.). Cambridge University Press.
• Andocides. (Speeches[^5] at the Perseus Project.)

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[^1]: [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+1+1](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+1+1)
[^2]: [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+2+1](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+2+1)
[^3]: [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+3+1](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+3+1)
[^4]: [http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+4+1](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?lookup=Andoc.+4+1)
Antiphon (person)

Antiphon the Sophist lived in Athens probably in the last two decades of the 5th century BC. There is an ongoing controversy over whether he is one and the same with Antiphon (Ἀντιφῶν) of the Athenian deme Rhamnus in Attica (480–411 BC), the earliest of the ten Attic orators. For the purposes of this article, they will be treated as distinct persons.

Antiphon of Rhamnus

Antiphon of Rhamnus was a statesman who took up rhetoric as a profession. He was active in political affairs in Athens, and, as a zealous supporter of the oligarchical party, was largely responsible for the establishment of the Four Hundred in 411 (see Theramenes); upon restoration of the democracy shortly afterwards, he was accused of treason and condemned to death. Thucydides famously characterized Antiphon’s skills, influence, and reputation:

...He who concerted the whole affair [of the 411 coup], and prepared the way for the catastrophe, and who had given the greatest thought to the matter, was Antiphon, one of the best men of his day in Athens; who, with a head to contrive measures and a tongue to recommend them, did not willingly come forward in the assembly or upon any public scene, being ill-looked upon by the multitude owing to his reputation for cleverness; and who yet was the one man best able to aid in the courts, or before the assembly, the suitors who required his opinion. Indeed, when he was afterwards himself tried for his life on the charge of having been concerned in setting up this very government, when the Four Hundred were overthrown and hardly dealt with by the commons, he made what would seem to be the best defence of any known up to my time.

—Thucydides, Histories 8.68[1]

Antiphon may be regarded as the founder of political oratory, but he never addressed the people himself except on the occasion of his trial. Fragments of his speech then, delivered in defense of his policy (called Περὶ μεταστάσεως) have been edited by J. Nicole (1907) from an Egyptian papyrus.

His chief business was that of a logographer (λογογράφος), that is a professional speech-writer. He wrote for those who felt incompetent to conduct their own cases—all disputants were obliged to do so—without expert assistance. Fifteen of Antiphon’s speeches are extant: twelve are mere school exercises on fictitious cases, divided into tetralogies, each comprising two speeches for prosecution and defence—accusation, fence, reply, counter-reply; three refer to actual legal processes. All deal with cases of homicide (φονικά δίκαι). Antiphon is also said to have composed a Τέχνη or art of Rhetoric.
Antiphon the Sophist

A treatise known as *On Truth*, of which only fragments survive, is attributed to Antiphon the Sophist. It is of great value to political theory, as it appears to be a precursor to natural rights theory. The views expressed in it suggest its author could not be the same person as Antiphon of Rhamnus, since it was interpreted as affirming strong egalitarian and libertarian principles appropriate to a democracy - but antithetical to the oligarchical views of one who was instrumental in the anti-democratic coup of 411 like Antiphon of Rhamnus.\(^2\) It's been argued that that interpretation has become obsolete in light of a new fragment of text from *On Truth* discovered in 1984. New evidence supposedly rules out an egalitarian interpretation of the text.\(^3\) However, that argument cannot withstand the actual text of the surviving fragments of *On Truth*, which specifically attacks class and national distinctions as being based, not on nature, but on conventional prejudice.

Those born of illustrious fathers we respect and honour, whereas those who come from an undistinguished house we neither respect nor honour. In this we behave like barbarians towards one another. For by nature we all equally, both barbarians and Greeks, have an entirely similar origin: for it is fitting to fulfil the natural satisfactions which are necessary to all men: all have the ability to fulfil these in the same way, and in all this none of us is different either as barbarian or as Greek; for we all breathe into the air with mouth and nostrils and we all eat with the hands.\(^4\)

The egalitarian thrust of this statement is unmistakable and is in harmony with the Greek tendency to view liberty as requiring equality. Aristotle for one, mentions this as the consensus concerning democracy, that it champions equality as a form of liberty. This conjunction of equality with liberty would apply both to supporters of democracy like Pericles or opponents, like Plato. The following passages confirm the strongly libertarian commitments of Antiphon the Sophist.

"Nature" requires liberty

*On Truth* juxtaposes the repressive nature of convention and law (νόμος) with "nature" (φύσις), especially human nature. Nature is envisaged as requiring spontaneity and freedom, in contrast to the often gratuitous restrictions imposed by institutions:

Most of the things which are legally just are [none the less] ... inimical to nature. By law it has been laid down for the eyes what they should see and what they should not see; for the ears what they should hear and they should not hear; for the tongue what it should speak, and what it should not speak; for the hands what they should do and what they should not do ... and for the mind what it should desire, and what it should not desire.\(^5\)

Repression means pain, whereas it is nature (human nature) to shun pain.

Elsewhere, Antiphon wrote: "Life is like a brief vigil, and the duration of life like a single day, as it were, in which having lifted our eyes to the light we give place to other who succeed us."\(^6\) Mario Untersteiner comments: "If death follows according to nature, why torment its opposite, life, which is equally according to nature? By appealing to this tragic law of existence, Antiphon, speaking with the voice of humanity, wishes to shake off everything that can do violence to the individuality of the person."\(^7\)
In his championship of the natural liberty and equality of all men, Antiphon anticipates the natural rights doctrine of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and the Declaration of Independence.

Mathematics
Further information: Bryson of Heraclea, Pi, and squaring the circle
Antiphon was also a capable mathematician. Antiphon, alongside his companion Bryson of Heraclea, was the first to give an upper and lower bound for the value of pi by inscribing and then circumscribing a polygon around a circle and finally proceeding to calculate the polygons’ areas. This method was applied to the problem of squaring the circle.

List of Extant Speeches (available at the Perseus Digital Library [8])
1. Prosecution Of The Stepmother For Poisoning [9] (Φαρμακείας κατὰ τῆς μητρυίας)
2. The First Tetralogy: Anonymous Prosecution For Murder [10] (Κατηγορία φόνου ἄπαρασημος)
6. On the Choreutes [14] (Περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ)

Notes
[6] Fr. 50 DK, quoted at Stobaeus 4.34.63.
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- Philostratus, Vit. Sophistarum, i. 15
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- Antiphon (http://www.swan.ac.uk/classics/staff/ter/grst/People/Antiphon.htm)

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- The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy article on "Callicles and Thrasymachus" (http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/callicles-thrasymachus/) discusses the views of Antiphon the Sophist.

Further reading


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Demosthenes

Demosthenes
Born 384 BC
Athens
Died 322 BC
Island of Kalaureia (present-day Poros)

Demosthenes (English pronunciation: /dəˈmɔːθəniːz/, Greek: Δημοσθένης, Dēmosthénēs Greek pronunciation: [dɛː.mɒstʰenɛːs]; 384–322 BC) was a prominent Greek statesman and orator of ancient Athens. His orations constitute a significant expression of contemporary Athenian intellectual prowess and provide an insight into the politics and culture of ancient Greece during the 4th century BC. Demosthenes learned rhetoric by studying the speeches of previous great orators. He delivered his first judicial speeches at the age of 20, in which he argued effectively to gain from his guardians what was left of his inheritance. For a time, Demosthenes made his living as a professional speech-writer (logographer) and a lawyer, writing speeches for use in private legal suits.

Demosthenes grew interested in politics during his time as a logographer, and in 354 BC he gave his first public political speeches. He went on to devote his most productive years to opposing Macedon's expansion. He idealized his city and strove throughout his life to restore Athens' supremacy and motivate his compatriots against Philip II of Macedon. He sought to preserve his city's freedom and to establish an alliance against Macedon, in an unsuccessful attempt to impede Philip's plans to expand his influence southwards by conquering all the other Greek states. After Philip's death, Demosthenes played a leading part in his city's uprising against the new King of Macedonia, Alexander the Great. However, his efforts failed and the revolt was met with a harsh Macedonian reaction. To prevent a similar revolt against his own rule, Alexander's successor in this region, Antipater, sent his men to track Demosthenes down. Demosthenes took his own life, in order to avoid being arrested by Archias, Antipater's confidant.

The Alexandrian Canon compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace recognized Demosthenes as one of the ten greatest Attic orators and logographers. Longinus likened Demosthenes to a blazing thunderbolt, and argued that he "perfected to the utmost the tone of lofty speech, living passions, copiousness, readiness, speed".[1] Quintilian extolled him as lex orandi ("the standard of oratory"), and Cicero said about him that inter omnis unus usus excellat ("he stands alone among all the orators"), and he also acclaimed him as "the perfect orator" who lacked nothing.[2]
Early years and personal life

Family and personal life

Demosthenes was born in 384 BC, during the last year of the 98th Olympiad or the first year of the 99th Olympiad.[3] His father—also named Demosthenes—who belonged to the local tribe, Pandionis, and lived in the deme of Paeania[4] in the Athenian countryside, was a wealthy sword-maker.[5] Aeschines, Demosthenes' greatest political rival, maintained that his mother Kleoboule was a Scythian by blood[6]—an allegation disputed by some modern scholars.[3] Demosthenes was orphaned at the age of seven. Although his father provided well for him, his legal guardians, Aphobus, Demophon and Therippides, mishandled his inheritance.[7]

As soon as Demosthenes came of age in 366 BC, he demanded they render an account of their management. According to Demosthenes, the account revealed the misappropriation of his property. Although his father left an estate of nearly fourteen talents, (equivalent to about 220 years of a laborer's income at standard wages, or 11 million dollars in terms of median US annual incomes)[8] Demosthenes asserted his guardians had left nothing "except the house, and fourteen slaves and thirty silver minae" (30 minae = ½ talent).[9] At the age of 20 Demosthenes sued his trustees in order to recover his patrimony and delivered five orations: three Against Aphobus during 363 and 362 BC and two Against Ontenor during 362 and 361 BC. The courts fixed Demosthenes' damages at ten talents.[10] When all the trials came to an end,[b] he only succeeded in retrieving a portion of his inheritance.[11]

According to Pseudo-Plutarch, Demosthenes was married once. The only information about his wife, whose name is unknown, is that she was the daughter of Heliodorus, a prominent citizen.[12] Demosthenes also had a daughter, "the only one who ever called him father", according to Aeschines' in a trenchant remark.[13] His daughter died young and unmarried a few days before Philip II's death.[13]

In his speeches, Aeschines uses pederastic relations of Demosthenes as a means to attack him. In the case of Aristion, a youth from Plataea who lived for a long time in Demosthenes' house, Aeschines mocks the "scandalous" and "improper" relation.[14] In another speech, Aeschines brings up the pederastic relation of his opponent with a boy called Cnosion. The slander that Demosthenes' wife also slept with the boy suggests that the relationship was contemporary with his marriage.[15] Aeschines claims that Demosthenes made money out of young rich men, such as Aristarchus, the son of Moschus, whom he allegedly deceived with the pretence that he could make him a great orator. Apparently, while still under Demosthenes' tutelage, Aristarchus killed and mutilated a certain Nicodemus of Aphidna. Aeschines accused Demosthenes of complicity in the murder, pointing out that Nicodemus had once pressed a lawsuit accusing Demosthenes of desertion. He also accused Demosthenes of having been such a bad erastes to Aristarchus so as not even to deserve the name. His crime, according to Aeschines, was to have betrayed his eromenos by pillaging his estate, allegedly pretending to be in love with the youth so as to get his hands on the boy's inheritance. Nevertheless, the story of Demosthenes' relations with Aristarchus is still regarded as more than doubtful, and no other pupil of Demosthenes is known by name.[16]
Education

Between his coming of age in 366 BC and the trials that took place in 364 BC, Demosthenes and his guardians negotiated acrimoniously but were unable to reach an agreement, for neither side was willing to make concessions.¹⁸ At the same time, Demosthenes prepared himself for the trials and improved his oratory skill. As an adolescent, his curiosity had been noticed by the orator Callicrates, who was then at the height of his reputation, having just won a case of considerable importance.¹⁹ According to Friedrich Nietzsche, a German philologist and philosopher, and Constantine Paparrigopoulos, a major Greek historian, Demosthenes was a student of Isocrates,²⁰ according to Cicero, Quintillian and the Roman biographer Hermippus, he was a student of Plato.²¹ Lucian, a Roman-Syrian rhetorician and satirist, lists the philosophers Aristotle, Theophrastus and Xenocrates among his teachers.²² These claims are nowadays disputed.²³ According to Plutarch, Demosthenes employed Isaeus as his master in Rhetoric, even though Isocrates was then teaching this subject, either because he could not pay Isocrates the prescribed fee or because Demosthenes believed Isaues' style better suited a vigorous and astute orator such as himself.²⁴ Curtius, a German archaeologist and historian, likened the relation between Isaeus and Demosthenes to "an intellectual armed alliance".²⁵ It has also been said that Demosthenes paid Isaeus 10,000 drachmae (somewhat over 1.5 talents) on the condition that Isaeus should withdraw from a school of Rhetoric which he had opened, and should devote himself wholly to Demosthenes, his new pupil.²⁶ Another version credits Isaeus with having taught Demosthenes without charge.²⁷ According to Sir Richard C. Jebb, a British classical scholar, "the intercourse between Isaeus and Demosthenes as teacher and learner can scarcely have been either very intimate or of very long duration".²⁸ Konstantinos Tsatsos, a Greek professor and academician, believes that Isaeus helped Demosthenes edit his initial judicial orations against his guardians.²⁹ Demosthenes is also said to have admired the historian Thucydides. In the Iliterate Book-Fancier, Lucian mentions eight beautiful copies of Thucydides made by Demosthenes, all in Demosthenes’ own handwriting.³⁰ These references hint at his respect for a historian he must have assiduously studied.³¹

Speech training

According to Plutarch, when Demosthenes first addressed himself to the people, he was derided for his strange and uncouth style, "which was cumbered with long sentences and tortured with formal arguments to a most harsh and disagreeable excess".³² Some citizens however discerned his talent. When he first left the ecclesia (the Athenian Assembly) disheartened, an old man named Eunomus encouraged him, saying his diction was very much like that of Pericles.³³ Another time, after the ecclesia had refused to hear him and he was going home dejected, an actor named Satyrus followed him and entered into a friendly conversation with him.³⁴

As a boy Demosthenes had a speech impediment: Plutarch refers to a weakness in his voice of "a perplexed and indistinct utterance and a shortness of breath, which, by breaking and disjointing his sentences much obscured the sense and meaning of what he spoke."³⁵ There are problems in Plutarch's account, however, and it is probable that Demosthenes actually suffered rhotacism, mispronouncing ρ (r) as ι (l).³⁶ Aeschines taunted him and referred to him in his speeches by the nickname "Batalus", [d] apparently invented by Demosthenes' pedagogues or by the little boys with whom he was playing.³⁷ Demosthenes undertook a disciplined program to overcome his weaknesses and
Demosthenes improved his delivery, including diction, voice and gestures.\[^{34}\] According to one story, when he was asked to name the three most important elements in oratory, he replied "Delivery, delivery and delivery!"\[^{35}\] It is unknown whether such vignettes are factual accounts of events in Demosthenes' life or merely anecdotes used to illustrate his perseverance and determination.\[^{36}\]

**Career**

**Legal career**

To make his living, Demosthenes became a professional litigant, both as a "logographer", writing speeches for use in private legal suits, and advocate ("synegoros") speaking on another's behalf. He seems to have been able to manage any kind of case, adapting his skills to almost any client, including wealthy and powerful men. It is not unlikely that he became a teacher of rhetoric and that he brought pupils into court with him. However, though he probably continued writing speeches throughout his career,\[^{[e]}\] he stopped working as an advocate once he entered the political arena.\[^{37}\]

> "If you feel bound to act in the spirit of that dignity, whenever you come into court to give judgement on public causes, you must bethink yourselves that with his staff and his badge every one of you receives in trust the ancient pride of Athens."

Demosthenes (On the Crown, 210)—The orator's defense of the honor of the courts was in contrast to the improper actions of which Aeschines accused him.

Judicial oratory had become a significant literary genre by the second half of the fifth century, as represented in the speeches of Demosthenes' predecessors, Antiphon and Andocides. Logographers were a unique aspect of the Athenian justice system: evidence for a case was compiled by a magistrate in a preliminary hearing and litigants could present it as they pleased within set speeches; however, witnesses and documents were popularly mistrusted (since they could be secured by force or bribery), there was little cross-examination during the trial, there were no instructions to the jury from a judge, no conferencing between jurists before voting, the juries were huge (typically between 201 and 501 members), cases depended largely on questions of probable motive, and notions of natural justice were felt to take precedence over written law—conditions that favoured artfully constructed speeches.\[^{38}\]

Since Athenian politicians were often indicted by their opponents, there wasn't always a clear distinction between "private" and "public" cases, and thus a career as a logographer opened the way for Demosthenes to embark on his political career.\[^{39}\] An Athenian logographer could remain anonymous, which enabled him to serve personal interests, even if it prejudiced the client. It also left him open to allegations of malpractice. Thus for example Aeschines accused Demosthenes of unethically disclosing his clients' arguments to their opponents; in particular, that he wrote a speech for Phormion (350 BC), a wealthy banker, and then communicated it to Apollodorus, who was bringing a capital charge against Phormion.\[^{40}\] Plutarch much later supported this accusation, stating that Demosthenes "was thought to have acted dishonorably"\[^{41}\] and he also accused Demosthenes of writing speeches for both sides. It has often been argued that the deception, if there was one, involved a political *quid pro quo*, whereby Apollodorus secretly pledged support for unpopular reforms that Demosthenes was pursuing in the greater, public interest\[^{42}\] (i.e. the diversion of Theoric Funds to military purposes).

**Early political activity**

Demosthenes was admitted to his deme as a citizen with full rights probably in 366 BC, and he soon demonstrated an interest in politics.\[^{36}\] In 363 and 359 BC, he assumed the office of the trierarch, being responsible for the outfitting and maintenance of a trireme.\[^{43}\] He was among the first ever volunteer trierarchs in 357 BC, sharing the expenses of a ship called *Dawn*, for which the public inscription still survives.\[^{44}\] In 348 BC, he became a choregos, paying the expenses of a theatrical production.\[^{45}\]
“While the vessel is safe, whether it be a large or a small one, then is the time for sailor and helmsman and everyone in his turn to show his zeal and to take care that it is not capsized by anyone’s malice or inadvertence; but when the sea has overwhelmed it, zeal is useless.”

Demosthenes (Third Philippic, 69) — The orator warned his countrymen of the disasters Athens would suffer, if they continued to remain idle and indifferent to the challenges of their times.

Between 355–351 BC, Demosthenes continued practicing law privately while he was becoming increasingly interested in public affairs. During this period, he wrote Against Androtion and Against Leptines, two fierce attacks on individuals who attempted to repeal certain tax exemptions. In Against Timocrates and Against Aristocrates, he advocated eliminating corruption. All these speeches, which offer early glimpses of his general principles on foreign policy, such as the importance of the navy, of alliances and of national honor, are prosecutions (graphē paranómōn) against individuals accused of illegally proposing legislative texts.

In Demosthenes’ time different political goals developed around personalities. Instead of electioneering, Athenian politicians used litigation and defamation to remove rivals from government processes. Often they indicted each other for breaches of the statute laws (graphē paranómōn), but accusations of bribery and corruption were ubiquitous in all cases, being part of the political dialogue. The orators often resorted to ”character assassination” (diabolē, loidoria) tactics, both in the courts and in the Assembly. The rancorous and often hilariously exaggerated accusations, satirized by Old Comedy, were sustained by innuendo, inferences about motives, and a complete absence of proof; as J.H. Vince states ”there was no room for chivalry in Athenian political life.” Such rivalry enabled the ”demos” or citizen-body to reign supreme as judge, jury and executioner. Demosthenes was to become fully engaged in this kind of litigation and he was also to be instrumental in developing the power of the Areopagus to indict individuals for treason, invoked in the ecclesia by a process called ”ἱπποῖται.”

In 354 BC, Demosthenes delivered his first political oration, On the Navy, in which he espoused moderation and proposed the reform of ”symmories” (boards) as a source of funding for the Athenian fleet. In 352 BC, he delivered For the Megalopolitans and, in 351 BC, On the Liberty of the Rhodians. In both speeches he opposed Eubulus, the most powerful Athenian statesman of the period 355 to 342 BC. The latter was no pacifist but came to eschew a policy of aggressive interventionism in the internal affairs of the other Greek cities. Contrary to Eubulus’ policy, Demosthenes called for an alliance with Megalopolis against Sparta or Thebes, and for supporting the democratic faction of the Rhodians in their internal strife. His arguments revealed his desire to articulate Athens’ needs and interests through a more activist foreign policy, wherever opportunity might provide.

Although his early orations were unsuccessful and reveal a lack of real conviction and of coherent strategic and political prioritization, Demosthenes established himself as an important political personality and broke with Eubulus’ faction, a prominent member of which was Aeschines. He thus laid the foundations for his future political successes and for becoming the leader of his own ”party” (the issue of whether the modern concept of political parties can be applied in the Athenian democracy is hotly disputed among modern scholars).
Confrontation with Philip II

First Philippic and the Olynthiacs (351–349 BC)

Most of Demosthenes’ major orations were directed against the growing power of King Philip II of Macedon. Since 357 BC, when Philip seized Amphipolis and Pydna, Athens had been formally at war with the Macedonians. In 352 BC, Demosthenes characterized Philip as the very worst enemy of his city; his speech presaged the fierce attacks that Demosthenes would launch against the Macedonian king over the ensuing years. A year later he criticized those dismissing Philip as a person of no account and warned that he was as dangerous as the King of Persia.

In 352 BC, Athenian troops successfully opposed Philip at Thermopylae, but the Macedonian victory over the Phocians at the Battle of Crocus Field shook Demosthenes. In 351 BC, Demosthenes felt strong enough to express his view concerning the most important foreign policy issue facing Athens at that time: the stance his city should take towards Philip. According to Jacqueline de Romilly, a French philologist and member of the Académie française, the threat of Philip would give Demosthenes’ stances a focus and a raison d'être (reason for existence). Demosthenes saw the King of Macedon as a menace to the autonomy of all Greek cities and yet he presented him as a monster of Athens’ own creation; in the First Philippic he reprimanded his fellow citizens as follows: “Even if something happens to him, you will soon raise up a second Philip [...].”

The theme of the First Philippic (351–350 BC) was preparedness and the reform of the theoric fund, a mainstay of Eubulus’ policy. In his rousing call for resistance, Demosthenes asked his countrymen to take the necessary action and asserted that “for a free people there can be no greater compulsion than shame for their position”. He thus provided for the first time a plan and specific recommendations for the strategy to be adopted against Philip in the north. Among other things, the plan called for the creation of a rapid-response force, to be created cheaply with each hoplite to be paid only ten drachmas (two obols) per day, which was less than the average pay for unskilled labourers in Athens – implying that the hoplite was expected to make up the deficiency in pay by looting.

“We need money, for sure, Athenians, and without money nothing can be done that ought to be done.”

Demosthenes (First Olynthiac, 20)—The orator took great pains to convince his countrymen that the reform of the theoric fund was necessary to finance the city's military preparations.

From this moment until 341 BC, all of Demosthenes’ speeches referred to the same issue, the struggle against Philip. In 349 BC, Philip attacked Olynthus, an ally of Athens. In the three Olynthiacs, Demosthenes criticized his compatriots for being idle and urged Athens to help Olynthus. He also insulted Philip by calling him a “barbarian.” Despite Demosthenes' strong advocacy, the Athenians would not manage to prevent the falling of the city to the Macedonians. Almost simultaneously, probably on Eubulus' recommendation, they engaged in a war in Euboea against Philip, which ended in stalemate.
**Case of Meidias (348 BC)**

In 348 BC a peculiar event occurred: Meidias, a wealthy Athenian, publicly slapped Demosthenes, who was at the time a choregos at the Greater Dionysia, a large religious festival in honour of the god Dionysus. Meidias was a friend of Eubulus and supporter of the unsuccessful excursion in Euboea. He also was an old enemy of Demosthenes; in 361 BC he had broken violently into his house, with his brother Thrasylochus, to take possession of it.

"Just think. The instant this court rises, each of you will walk home, one quicker, another more leisurely, not anxious, not glancing behind him, not fearing whether he is going to run up against a friend or an enemy, a big man or a little one, a strong man or a weak one, or anything of that sort. And why? Because in his heart he knows, and is confident, and has learned to trust the State, that no one shall seize or insult or strike him."

Demosthenes (Against Meidias, 221)—The orator asked the Athenians to defend their legal system, by making an example of the defendant for the instruction of others.

Demosthenes decided to prosecute his wealthy opponent and wrote the judicial oration Against Meidias. This speech gives valuable information about Athenian law at the time and especially about the Greek concept of hybris (aggravated assault), which was regarded as a crime not only against the city but against society as a whole. He stated that a democratic state perishes if the rule of law is undermined by wealthy and unscrupulous men, and that the citizens acquire power and authority in all state affairs due "to the strength of the laws". There is no consensus among scholars either on whether Demosthenes finally delivered Against Meidias either on the veracity of Aeschines' accusation that Demosthenes was bribed to drop the charges.

**Peace of Philocrates (347–345 BC)**

In 348 BC, Philip conquered Olynthus and razed it to the ground; then conquered the entire Chalcidice and all the states of the Chalcidic federation that Olynthus had once led. After these Macedonian victories, Athens sued for peace with Macedon. Demosthenes was among those who favored compromise. In 347 BC, an Athenian delegation, comprising Demosthenes, Aeschines and Philocrates, was officially sent to Pella to negotiate a peace treaty. In his first encounter with Philip, Demosthenes is said to have collapsed from fright.

The ecclesia officially accepted Philip's harsh terms, including the renouncement of their claim to Amphipolis. However, when an Athenian delegation arrived at Pella to put Philip under oath, which was required to conclude the treaty, he was campaigning abroad. He expected that he would hold safely any Athenian possessions which he might seize before the ratification. Being very anxious about the delay, Demosthenes insisted that the embassy should travel to the place where they would find Philip and swear him in without delay. Despite his suggestions, the Athenian envoys, including himself and Aeschines, remained in Pella, until Philip successfully concluded his campaign in Thrace.

Philip swore to the treaty, but he delayed the departure of the Athenian envoys, who had yet to receive the oats from Macedon's allies in Thessaly and elsewhere. Finally, peace was sworn at Pherae, where Philip accompanied the Athenian delegation, after he had completed his military preparations to move south. Demosthenes accused the other envoys of venality and of facilitating Philip's plans with their stance. Just after the conclusion of the Peace of Philocrates, Philip passed Thermopylae, and subdued Phoci; Athens made no move to support the Phocians. Supported by Thebes and Thessaly, Macedon took control of Phocians' votes in the Amphictyonic League, a Greek religious organization formed to support the greater temples of Apollo and Demeter. Despite some reluctance on the part of the Athenian leaders, Athens finally accepted Philip's entry into the Council of the League. Demosthenes was among those who adopted a pragmatic approach, and recommended this stance in his oration On the Peace. For Edmund M. Burke, this speech landmarks a moment of maturation in Demosthenes' career: after Philip's successful campaign in 346 BC, the Athenian statesman realized that, if he was to lead his city against the Macedonians, he had "to adjust his voice, to become less partisan in tone."
Second and Third Philippics (344–341 BC)

For more details on this topic, see Second Philippic, On the Chersonese, Third Philippic

In 344 BC Demosthenes travelled to the Peloponnese, in order to detach as many cities as possible from Macedon's influence, but his efforts were generally unsuccessful. Most of the Peloponnians saw Philip as the guarantor of their freedom and sent a joint embassy to Athens to express their grievances against Demosthenes' activities. In response, Demosthenes delivered the Second Philippic, a vehement attack against Philip. In 343 BC Demosthenes delivered On the False Embassy against Aeschines, who was facing a charge of high treason. Nonetheless, Aeschines was acquitted by the narrow margin of thirty votes by a jury which may have numbered as many as 1,501.

In 343 BC, Macedonian forces were conducting campaigns in Epirus and, in 342 BC, Philip campaigned in Thrace. He also negotiated with the Athenians an amendment to the Peace of Philocrates. When the Macedonian army approached Chersonese (now known as the Gallipoli Peninsula), an Athenian general named Diopeithes ravaged the maritime district of Thrace, thereby inciting Philip's rage. Because of this turbulence, the Athenian Assembly convened. Demosthenes delivered On the Chersonese and convinced the Athenians not to recall Diopeithes. Also in 342 BC, he delivered the Third Philippic, which is considered to be the best of his political orations. Using all the power of his eloquence, he demanded resolute action against Philip and called for a burst of energy from the Athenian people. He told them that it would be "better to die a thousand times than pay court to Philip".

Demosthenes now dominated Athenian politics and was able to considerably weaken the pro-Macedonian faction of Aeschines.

Battle of Chaeronea (338 BC)

In 341 BC Demosthenes was sent to Byzantium, where he sought to renew its alliance with Athens. Thanks to Demosthenes' diplomatic manoeuvres, Abydos also entered into an alliance with Athens. These developments worried Philip and increased his anger at Demosthenes. The Assembly, however, laid aside Philip's grievances against Demosthenes' conduct and denounced the peace treaty; so doing, in effect, amounted to an official declaration of war. In 339 BC Philip made his last and most effective bid to conquer southern Greece, assisted by Aeschines' stance in the Amphictyonic Council. During a meeting of the Council, Philip accused the Amfissian Locrians of intruding on consecrated ground. The presiding officer of the Council, a Thessalian named Cottyphus, proposed the convocation of an Amphictyonic Congress to inflict a harsh punishment upon the Locrians. Aeschines agreed with this proposition and maintained that the Athenians should participate in the Congress. Demosthenes however reversed Aeschines' initiatives and Athens finally abstained. After the failure of a first military excursion against the Locrians, the summer session of the Amphictyonic Council gave command of the league's forces to Philip and asked him to lead a second excursion. Philip decided to act at once; in the winter of 339–338 BC, he passed through Thermopylae, entered Amfissa and defeated the Locrians. After this significant victory, Philip swiftly entered Phocis in 338 BC. He then turned south-east down the Cephissus valley, seized Elateia, and restored the fortifications of the city.
At the same time, Athens orchestrated the creation of an alliance with Euboea, Megara, Achaea, Corinth, Acarnania and other states in the Peloponnese. However the most desirable ally for Athens was Thebes. To secure their allegiance, Demosthenes was sent, by Athens, to the Boeotian city; Philip also sent a deputation, but Demosthenes succeeded in securing Thebes' allegiance. Demosthenes' oration before the Theban people is not extant and, therefore, the arguments he used to convince the Thebans remain unknown. In any case, the alliance came at a price: Thebes' control of Boeotia was recognized, Thebes was to command solely on land and jointly at sea, and Athens was to pay two thirds of the campaign's cost. While the Athenians and the Thebans were preparing themselves for war, Philip made a final attempt to appease his enemies, proposing in vain a new peace treaty. After a few trivial encounters between the two sides, which resulted in minor Athenian victories, Philip drew the phalanx of the Athenian and Theban confederates into a plain near Chaeronea, where he defeated them. Demosthenes fought as a mere hoplite. Such was Philip's hatred for Demosthenes that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the King after his victory sneered at the misfortunes of the Athenian statesman. However, the Athenian orator and statesman Demades is said to have remarked: "O King, when Fortune has cast you in the role of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act the part of Thersites? [an obscene soldier of the Greek army during the Trojan War]" Stung by these words, Philip immediately altered his demeanour.

Last political initiatives and death

Confrontation with Alexander

After Chaeronea, Philip inflicted a harsh punishment upon Thebes, but made peace with Athens on very lenient terms. Demosthenes encouraged the fortification of Athens and was chosen by the ecclesia to deliver the Funeral Oration. In 337 BC, Philip created the League of Corinth, a confederation of Greek states under his leadership, and returned to Pella. In 336 BC, Philip was assassinated at the wedding of his daughter, Cleopatra of Macedon, to King Alexander of Epirus. The Macedonian army swiftly proclaimed Alexander III of Macedon, then twenty years old, as the new King of Macedon. Greek cities like Athens and Thebes saw in this change of leadership an opportunity to regain their full independence. Demosthenes celebrated Philip's assassination and played a leading part in his city's uprising. According to Aeschines, "it was but the seventh day after the death of his daughter, and though the ceremonies of mourning were not yet completed, he put a garland on his head and white raiment on his body, and there he stood making thank-offerings, violating all decency." Demosthenes also sent envoys to Attalus, whom he considered to be an internal opponent of Alexander. Nonetheless, Alexander moved swiftly to Thebes, which submitted shortly after his appearance at its gates. When the Athenians learned that Alexander had moved quickly to Boeotia, they panicked and begged the new King of Macedon for mercy. Alexander admonished them but imposed no punishment.

In 335 BC Alexander felt free to engage the Thracians and the Illyrians, but, while he was campaigning in the north, Demosthenes spread a rumor—even producing a bloodstained messenger—that Alexander and all of his expeditionary force had been slaughtered by the Triballians. The Thebans and the Athenians rebelled once again, financed by Darius III of Persia, and Demosthenes is said to have received about 300 talents on behalf of Athens and to have faced accusations of embezzlement. Alexander reacted immediately and razed Thebes to the ground. He did not attack Athens, but demanded the exile of all anti-Macedonian politicians, Demosthenes first of all. According to Plutarch, a special Athenian embassy led by Phocion, an opponent of the anti-Macedonian faction, was able to persuade Alexander to relent.
Delivery of On the Crown

"You stand revealed in your life and conduct, in your public performances and also in your public abstinations. A project approved by the people is going forward. Aeschines is speechless. A regrettable incident is reported. Aeschines is in evidence. He reminds one of an old sprain or fracture: the moment you are out of health it begins to be active."

Demosthenes (On the Crown, 198)—In On the Crown Demosthenes fiercely assaulted and finally neutralized Aeschines, his formidable political opponent.

Despite the unsuccessful ventures against Philip and Alexander, the Athenians still respected Demosthenes. In 336 BC, the orator Ctesiphon proposed that Athens honor Demosthenes for his services to the city by presenting him, according to custom, with a golden crown. This proposal became a political issue and, in 330 BC, Aeschines prosecuted Ctesiphon on charges of legal irregularities. In his most brilliant speech, On the Crown, Demosthenes effectively defended Ctesiphon and vehemently attacked those who would have preferred peace with Macedon. He was unrepentant about his past actions and policies and insisted that, when in power, the constant aim of his policies was the honor and the ascendency of his country; and on every occasion and in all business he preserved his loyalty to Athens. He finally defeated Aeschines, although his enemy's objections to the crowning were arguably valid from a legal point of view.

Case of Harpalus and death

In 324 BC Harpalus, to whom Alexander had entrusted huge treasures, absconded and sought refuge in Athens. The Assembly had initially refused to accept him, following Demosthenes' advice, but finally Harpalus entered Athens. He was imprisoned after a proposal of Demosthenes and Phocion, despite the dissent of Hypereides, an anti-Macedonian statesman and former ally of Demosthenes. Additionally, the ecclesia decided to take control of Harpalus' money, which was entrusted to a committee presided over by Demosthenes. When the committee counted the treasure, they found they only had half the money Harpalus had declared he possessed. Nevertheless, they decided not to disclose the deficit. When Harpalus escaped, the Areopagus conducted an inquiry and charged Demosthenes with mishandling twenty talents. During the trial, Hypereides argued that Demosthenes did not disclose the huge deficit, because he was bribed by Harpalus. Demosthenes was fined and imprisoned, but he soon escaped. It remains unclear whether the accusations against him were just or not. In any case, the Athenians soon repealed the sentence.

"For a house, I take it, or a ship or anything of that sort must have its chief strength in its substructure; and so too in affairs of state the principles and the foundations must be truth and justice."

Demosthenes (Second Olynthiac, 10)—The orator faced serious accusations more than once, but he never admitted to any improper actions and insisted that it is impossible "to gain permanent power by injustice, perjury, and falsehood".

After Alexander's death in 323 BC, Demosthenes again urged the Athenians to seek independence from Macedon in what became known as the Lamian War. However, Antipater, Alexander's successor, quelled all opposition and demanded that the Athenians turn over Demosthenes and Hypereides, among others. Following his request, the ecclesia adopted a decree condemning the most prominent anti-Macedonian agitators to death. Demosthenes escaped to a sanctuary on the island of Kalaureia (modern-day Poros), where he was later discovered by Archias, a confidant of Antipater. He committed suicide before his capture by taking poison out of a reed, pretending he wanted to write a letter to his family. When Demosthenes felt that the poison was working on his body, he said to Archias: "Now, as soon as you please you may commence the part of Creon in the tragedy, and cast out this body of mine unburied.
But, O gracious Neptune, I, for my part, while I am yet alive, arise up and depart out of this sacred place; though Antipater and the Macedonians have not left so much as the temple unpolluted.” After saying these words, he passed by the altar, fell down and died.\textsuperscript{[109]} Years after Demosthenes' suicide, the Athenians erected a statue to honor him and decreed that the state should provide meals to his descendants in the Prytaneum.\textsuperscript{[110]}

### Assessments

#### Political career

Plutarch lauds Demosthenes for not being of a fickle disposition. Rebutting historian Theopompus, the biographer insists that for “the same party and post in politics which he held from the beginning, to these he kept constant to the end; and was so far from leaving them while he lived, that he chose rather to forsake his life than his purpose”.\textsuperscript{[111]}

On the other hand, Polybius, a Greek historian of the Mediterranean world, was highly critical of Demosthenes' policies. Polybius accused him of having launched unjustified verbal attacks on great men of other cities, branding them unjustly as traitors to the Greeks. The historian maintains that Demosthenes measured everything by the interests of his own city, imagining that all the Greeks ought to have their eyes fixed upon Athens. According to Polybius, the only thing the Athenians eventually got by their opposition to Philip was the defeat at Chaeronea. "And had it not been for the king's magnanimity and regard for his own reputation, their misfortunes would have gone even further, thanks to the policy of Demosthenes".\textsuperscript{[112]}

Paparrigopoulos extols Demosthenes' patriotism, but criticizes him as being short-sighted. According to this critique, Demosthenes should have understood that the ancient Greek states could only survive unified under the leadership of Macedon.\textsuperscript{[113]} Therefore, Demosthenes is accused of misjudging events, opponents and opportunities and of being unable to foresee Philip's inevitable triumph.\textsuperscript{[114]} He is criticized for having overrated Athens' capacity to revive and challenge Macedon.\textsuperscript{[115]} His city had lost most of its Aegean allies, whereas Philip had consolidated his hold over Macedonia and was master of enormous mineral wealth. Chris Carey, a professor of Greek in UCL, concludes that Demosthenes was a better orator and political operator than strategist.\textsuperscript{[114]} Nevertheless, the same scholar underscores that "pragmatists" like Aeschines or Phocion had no inspiring vision to rival that of Demosthenes. The orator asked the Athenians to choose that which is just and honorable, before their own safety and preservation.\textsuperscript{[111]}

The people preferred Demosthenes' activism and even the bitter defeat at Chaeronea was regarded as a price worth paying in the attempt to retain freedom and influence.\textsuperscript{[114]} According to Professor of Greek Arthur Wallace Pickarde, success may be a poor criterion for judging the actions of people like Demosthenes, who were motivated by the ideal of political liberty.\textsuperscript{[116]} Athens was asked by Philip to sacrifice its freedom and its democracy, while Demosthenes longed for the city's brilliance.\textsuperscript{[115]} He endeavored to revive its imperilled values and, thus, he became an "educator of the people" (in the words of Werner Jaeger).\textsuperscript{[117]}

The fact that Demosthenes fought at the battle of Chaeronea as a hoplite indicates that he lacked any military skills. According to historian Thomas Babington Macaulay, in his time the division between political and military offices was beginning to be strongly marked.\textsuperscript{[118]} Almost no politician, with the exception of Phocion, was at the same time an apt orator and a competent general. Demosthenes dealt in policies and ideas, and war was not his business.\textsuperscript{[118]} This contrast between Demosthenes' intellectual prowess and his deficiencies in terms of vigor, stamina, military skill and strategic vision is illustrated by the inscription his countrymen engraved on the base of his statue.\textsuperscript{[119]}
Oratorical skill

In Demosthenes' initial judicial orations, the influence of both Lysias and Isaeus is obvious, but his marked, original style is already revealed.[24] Most of his extant speeches for private cases—written early in his career—show glimpses of talent: a powerful intellectual drive, masterly selection (and omission) of facts, and a confident assertion of the justice of his case, all ensuring the dominance of his viewpoint over his rival. However, at this early stage of his career, his writing was not yet remarkable for its subtlety, verbal precision and variety of effects.[120] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek historian and teacher of rhetoric, Demosthenes represented the final stage in the development of Attic prose. Both Dionysius and Cicero assert that Demosthenes brought together the best features of the basic types of style; he used the middle or normal type style ordinarily and applied the archaic type and the type of plain elegance where they were fitting. In each one of the three types he was better than its special masters.[121] He is, therefore, regarded as a consummate orator, adept in the techniques of oratory, which are brought together in his work.[117]

According to the classical scholar Harry Thurston Peck, Demosthenes "affects no learning; he aims at no elegance; he seeks no glaring ornaments; he rarely touches the heart with a soft or melting appeal, and when he does, it is only with an effect in which a third-rate speaker would have surpassed him. He had no wit, no humour, no vivacity, in our acceptance of these terms. The secret of his power is simple, for it lies essentially in the fact that his political principles were interwoven with his very spirit."[122] In this judgement, Peck agrees with Jaeger, who said that the imminent political decision imbued the Demosthenes' speech with a fascinating artistic power.[123] From his part, George A. Kennedy believes that his political speeches in the ecclesia were to become "the artistic exposition of reasoned views".[124]

Demosthenes was apt at combining abruptness with the extended period, brevity with breadth. Hence, his style harmonizes with his fervent commitment.[117] His language is simple and natural, never far-fetched or artificial. According to Jebb, Demosthenes was a true artist who could make his art obey him.[24] For his part, Aeschines stigmatized his intensity, attributing to his rival strings of absurd and incoherent images.[125] Dionysius stated that Demosthenes' only shortcoming is the lack of humor, although Quintilian regards this deficiency as a virtue.[126] In a now lost letter of his, Cicero, though an admirer of the Athenian orator, he claimed that occasionally Demosthenes "nods", and elsewhere Cicero also argued that, although he is pre-eminent, Demosthenes sometimes fails to satisfy his ears.[127] The main criticism of Demosthenes' art, however, seems to have rested chiefly on his known reluctance to speak extempore;[128] he often declined to comment on subjects he had not studied beforehand.[122] However, he gave the most elaborate preparation to all his speeches and, therefore, his arguments were the products of careful study. He was also famous for his caustic wit.[129]
Besides his style, Cicero also admired other aspects of Demosthenes's works, such as the good prose rhythm, and the way he structured and arranged the material in his orations. According to the Roman statesman, Demosthenes regarded "delivery" (gestures, voice etc.) as more important than style. Although he lacked Aeschines' charming voice and Demades's skill at improvisation, he made efficient use of his body to accentuate his words. Thus he managed to project his ideas and arguments much more forcefully. However, the use of physical gestures wasn't an integral or developed part of rhetorical training in his day. Moreover, his delivery was not accepted by everybody in antiquity: Demetrius Phalereus and the comedians ridiculed Demosthenes' "theatricality", whilst Aeschines regarded Leodamas of Acharnae as superior to him.

Rhetorical legacy

Demosthenes' fame has continued down the ages. Authors and scholars who flourished at Rome, such as Longinus and Caecilius, regarded his oratory as sublime. Juvenal acclaimed him as "largus et exundans ingenii fons" (a large and overflowing fountain of genius), and he inspired Cicero's speeches against Mark Antony, also called the Philippics. According to Professor of Classics Cecil Wooten, Cicero ended his career by trying to imitate Demosthenes' political role. Plutarch drew attention in his Life of Demosthenes to the strong similarities between the personalities and careers of Demosthenes and Marcus Tullius Cicero.

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Demosthenes had a reputation for eloquence. He was read more than any other ancient orator; only Cicero offered any real competition. French author and lawyer Guillaume du Vair praised his speeches for their artful arrangement and elegant style; John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, and Jacques Amyot, a French Renaissance writer and translator, regarded Demosthenes as a great or even the "supreme" orator. For Thomas Wilson, who first published translation of his speeches into English, Demosthenes was not only an eloquent orator, but, mainly, an authoritative statesman, "a source of wisdom".

In modern history, orators such as Henry Clay would mimic Demosthenes' technique. His ideas and principles survived, influencing prominent politicians and movements of our times. Hence, he constituted a source of inspiration for the authors of the Federalist Papers (series of 85 articles arguing for the ratification of the United States Constitution) and for the major orators of the French Revolution. French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau was among those who idealized Demosthenes and wrote a book about him. For his part, Friedrich Nietzsche often composed his sentences according to the paradigms of Demosthenes, whose style he admired.
Demosthenes

Works and transmission

The "publication" and distribution of prose texts was common practice in Athens by the latter half of the fourth century BC and Demosthenes was among the Athenian politicians who set the trend, publishing many or even all of his orations.[146] After his death, texts of his speeches survived in Athens (possibly forming part of the library of Cicero's friend, Atticus, though their fate is otherwise unknown), and in the Library of Alexandria. However, the speeches that Demosthenes "published" might have differed from the original speeches that were actually delivered (there are indications that he rewrote them with readers in mind) and therefore it is possible also that he "published" different versions of any one speech, differences that could have impacted on the Alexandrian edition of his works and thus on all subsequent editions down to the present day.[147]

The Alexandrian texts were incorporated into the body of classical Greek literature that was preserved, catalogued and studied by scholars of the Hellenistic period. From then until the fourth century AD, copies of his orations multiplied and they were in a relatively good position to survive the tense period from the sixth until the ninth century AD.[148] In the end, sixty-one orations attributed to Demosthenes' survived till the present day (some however are pseudonymous). Friedrich Blass, a German classical scholar, believes that nine more speeches were recorded by the orator, but they are not extant.[149] Modern editions of these speeches are based on four manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries AD.[150]

Some of the speeches that comprise the "Demosthenic corpus" are known to have been written by other authors, though scholars differ over which speeches these are.[m] Irrespective of their status, the speeches attributed to Demosthenes are often grouped in three genres first defined by Aristotle:[151]

- **Symbouleutic or political**, considering the expediency of future actions—sixteen such speeches are included in the Demosthenic corpus;[m]
- **Dicanic or judicial**, assessing the justice of past actions—only about ten of these are cases in which Demosthenes was personally involved, the rest were written for other speakers,[152]
- **Epideictic or sophistic display**, attributing praise or blame, often delivered at public ceremonies—one only two speeches have been included in the Demosthenic corpus, one a funeral speech that has been dismissed as a "rather poor" example of his work, and the other probably spurious.[153]

In addition to the speeches, there are fifty-six prologues (openings of speeches). They were collected for the Library of Alexandria by Callimachus, who believed them genuine.[154] Modern scholars are divided: some reject them, while others, such as Blass, believe they are authentic.[155] Finally, six letters also survive under Demosthenes' name and their authorship too is hotly debated.[n]

Notes

a. According to Edward Cohen, professor of Classics at the University of Pennsylvania, Cleoboule was the daughter of a Scythian woman and of an Athenian father, Gylon, although other scholars insist on the genealogical purity of Demosthenes.[156] There is an agreement among scholars that Cleoboule was a Crimean and not an Athenian citizen.[157] Gylon had suffered banishment at the end of the Peloponnesian War for allegedly betraying Nymphaeum in Crimaea.[158] According to Aeschines, Gylon received as a gift from the Bosporan rulers a place called "the Gardens" in the colony of Kepoi in present-day Russia (located within two miles (3 km) from Phanagoria).[4] Nevertheless, the accuracy of these allegations is disputed, since more than seventy years had elapsed between Gylon's possible treachery and Aeschines speech, and, therefore, the orator could be confident that his audience would have no direct knowledge of events at Nymphaeum.[159]

b. According to Tsatsos, the trials against the guardians lasted until Demosthenes was twenty four.[160] Nietzsche reduces the time of the judicial disputes to five years.[161]

c. According to the tenth century encyclopedia Suda, Demosthenes studied with Eubulides and Plato.[162] Cicero and Quintilian argue that Demosthenes was Plato's disciple.[163] Tsatsos and the philologist Henri Weil believe that
there is no indication that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato or Isocrates. As far as Isaeus is concerned, according to Jebb "the school of Isaeus is nowhere else mentioned, nor is the name of any other pupil recorded". Peck believes that Demosthenes continued to study under Isaeus for the space of four years after he had reached his majority.

d. "Batalus" or "Batalos" meant "stammerer" in ancient Greek, but it was also the name of a flute-player (in ridicule of whom Antiphanes wrote a play) and of a song-writer. The word "batalus" was also used by the Athenians to describe the anus. In fact the word actually defining his speech defect was "Batalos", signifying someone with rhotacism, but it was crudely misrepresented as "Batalos" by the enemies of Demosthenes and by Plutarch's time the original word had already lost currency. Another nickname of Demosthenes was "Argas." According to Plutarch, this name was given him either for his savage and spiteful behavior or for his disagreeable way of speaking. "Argas" was a poetic word for a snake, but also the name of a poet.

e. Both Tsatsos and Weil maintain that Demosthenes never abandoned the profession of the logographer, but, after delivering his first political orations, he wanted to be regarded as a statesman. According to James J. Murphy, Professor emeritus of Rhetoric and Communication at the University of California, Davis, his lifelong career as a logographer continued even during his most intense involvement in the political struggle against Philip.

f. "Theorika" were allowances paid by the state to poor Athenians to enable them to watch dramatic festivals. According to Libanius, Eubulus passed a law making it difficult to divert public funds, including "theorika," for minor military operations. E.M. Burke argues that, if this was indeed a law of Eubulus, it would have served "as a means to check a too-aggressive and expensive interventionism [...] allowing for the controlled expenditures on other items, including construction for defense". Thus Burke believes that in the Eubulan period, the Theoric Fund was used not only as allowances for public entertainment but also for a variety of projects, including public works. As Burke also points out, in his later and more "mature" political career, Demosthenes no longer criticized "theorika"; in fact, in his Fourth Philippic (341–340 BC), he defended theoric spending.

g. In the Third Olynthiac and in the Third Philippic, Demosthenes characterized Philip as a "barbarian", one of the various abusive terms applied by the orator to the King of Macedon. According to Konstantinos Tsatsos and Douglas M. MacDowell, Demosthenes regarded as Greeks only those who had reached the cultural standards of south Greece and he did not take into consideration ethnological criteria. His contempt for Philip is forcefully expressed in the Third Philippic 31 in these terms: "...he is not only no Greek, nor related to the Greeks, but not even a barbarian from any place that can be named with honour, but a pestilent knave from Macedonia, whence it was never yet possible to buy a decent slave." The wording is even more telling in Greek, ending with an accumulation of plosive pi sounds: οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν δθεν καλων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, δθεν οὐδ᾽ ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἤν πρότερον πρίασθαι.

h. Aeschines maintained that Demosthenes was bribed to drop his charges against Meidias in return for a payment of thirty mnai. Plutarch argued the Demosthenes accepted the bribe out of fear of Meidias' power. Philipp August Böckh also accepted Aeschines account for an out-of-court settlement, and concluded that the speech was never delivered. Böckh's position was soon endorsed by Arnold Schaefer and Blass. Weil agreed that Demosthenes never delivered Against Meidias, but believed that he dropped the charges for political reasons. In 1956, Hartmut Erbbe partly challenged Böckh's conclusions, when he argued that Against Meidias was a finished speech that could have been delivered in court, but Erbbe then sided with George Grote, by accepting that, after Demosthenes secured a judgment in his favor, he reached some kind of settlement with Meidias. Kenneth Dover also endorsed Aeschines' account, and argued that, although the speech was never delivered in court, Demosthenes put into circulation an attack on Meidias. Dover's arguments were refuted by Edward M. Harris, who concluded that, although we cannot be sure about the outcome of the trial, the speech was delivered in court, and that Aeschines story was a lie.

i. According to Plutarch, Demosthenes deserted his colors and "did nothing honorable, nor was his performance answerable to his speeches".
j. Aeschines reproached Demosthenes for being silent as to the seventy talents of the king's gold which he allegedly seized and embezzled. Aeschines and Dinarchus also maintained that when the Arcadians offered their services for ten talents, Demosthenes refused to furnish the money to the Thebans, who were conducting the negotiations, and so the Arcadians sold out to the Macedonians.\[178\]

k. The exact chronology of Harpalus' entrance in Athens and of all the related events remains a debated topic among modern scholars, who have proposed different, and sometimes conflicting, chronological schemes.\[179\]

l. According to Pausanias, Demosthenes himself and others had declared that the orator had taken no part of the money that Harpalus brought from Asia. He also narrates the following story: Shortly after Harpalus ran away from Athens, he was put to death by the servants who were attending him, though some assert that he was assassinated. The steward of his money fled to Rhodes, and was arrested by a Macedonian officer, Philoxenus. Philoxenus proceeded to examine the slave, "until he learned everything about such as had allowed themselves to accept a bribe from Harpalus." He then sent a dispatch to Athens, in which he gave a list of the persons who had taken a bribe from Harpalus. "Demosthenes, however, he never mentioned at all, although Alexander held him in bitter hatred, and he himself had a private quarrel with him."\[180\] On the other hand, Plutarch believes that Harpalus sent Demosthenes a cup with twenty talents and that "Demosthenes could not resist the temptation, but admitting the present, ... he surrendered himself up to the interest of Harpalus."\[181\] Tsatsos defends Demosthenes' innocence, but Irkos Apostolidis underlines the problematic character of the primary sources on this issue—Hyperides and Dinarchus were at the time Demosthenes' political opponents and accusers—and states that, despite the rich bibliography on Harpalus' case, modern scholarship has not yet managed to reach a safe conclusion on whether Demosthenes was bribed or not.\[182\]

m. Blass disputes the authorship of the following speeches: Fourth Philippic, Funeral Oration, Erotic Essay, Against Stephanus 2 and Against Everges and Mnesibulus;\[183\] while Schaefer recognizes as genuine only twenty-nine orations.\[184\] Of Demosthenes' corpus political speeches, J.H. Vince singles out five as spurious: \* On Halonnesus, Fourth Philippic, Answer to Philip's Letter, On Organization and On the Treaty with Alexander.\[185\]

n. In this discussion the work of Jonathan A. Goldstein, Professor of History and Classics at the University of Iowa, is regarded as paramount.\[186\] Goldstein regards Demosthenes' letters as authentic apologetic letters that were addressed to the Athenian Assembly.\[187\]

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[22] Lucian, *Demosthenes, An Encomium*, 12
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[58] E.M. Burke, "The Early Political Speeches of Demosthenes", 181–182
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[90] Demosthenes, Third Philippic, 65
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**Miscellaneous**
Dinarchus

Dinarchus or Dinarch (Corinth, c. 361 – c. 291 BC) was a logographer (speech writer) in Ancient Greece. He was the last of the ten Attic orators included in the "Alexandrian Canon" compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace in the third century BC.

A son of Sostratus (or, according to the Suda, Socrates), Dinarchus settled at Athens early in life, and when not more than twenty-five was already active as a logographer—a writer of speeches for the law courts. As a metic, he was unable to take part in the debates. He had been the pupil both of Theophrastus and of Demetrius Phalereus, and had early acquired a certain fluency and versatility of style.

In 324 the Areopagus, after inquiry, reported that nine men had taken bribes from Harpalus, the fugitive treasurer of Alexander. Ten public prosecutors were appointed. Dinarchus wrote, for one or more of these prosecutors, the three speeches which are still extant: Against Demosthenes, Against Aristogeiton, and Against Philocles.

The sympathies of Dinarchus were in favor of an Athenian oligarchy under Macedonian control; but it should be remembered that he was not an Athenian citizen. Aeschines and Demades had no such excuse. In the Harpalus affair, Demosthenes as well as the others accused, were probably innocent. Yet Hypereides, the most fiery of the patriots, was on the same side as Dinarchus.

Under the regency of his old master, Demetrius Phalereus, Dinarchus exercised much political influence. The years 317–307 were the most prosperous of his life. On the fall of Demetrius Phalereus and the restoration of the democracy by Demetrius Poliorcetes, Dinarchus was condemned to death and withdrew into exile at Chalcis in Euboea.

About 292, thanks to his friend Theophrastus, he was able to return to Attica, and took up his abode in the country with a former associate, Proxenus. He afterwards brought an action against Proxenus on the ground that he had robbed him of some money and plate. Dinarchus died at Athens about 291.

Surviving Speeches

- Against Demosthenes [1]
- Against Aristogeiton [2]
- Against Philocles [3]

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Hypereides

Hypereides or Hyperides (Ancient Greek: Ὑπερείδης, Hypereidēs; c. 390 BCE – 322 BCE; English pronunciation with the stress variably on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable) was a logographer (speech writer) in Ancient Greece. He was one of the ten Attic orators included in the "Alexandrian Canon" compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace in the third century BCE.

Rise to power

Little is known about his early life except that he was the son of Glaucippus, of the deme of Collytus and that he studied logography under Isocrates. In 360 BCE he prosecuted Autocles for treason. During the Social War (358–355 BCE) he accused Aristophon, then one of the most influential men at Athens, of malpractices, and impeached Philocrates (343 BCE) for high treason. Although Hypereides supported Demosthenes in the struggle against Phillip II of Macedon; that support was withdrawn after the Harpalus affair. After Demosthenes' exile Hypereides became the head of the patriotic party (324 BCE).

Downfall

After the death of Alexander the Great, Hypereides was one of the chief promoters of war against Macedonian rule. His speeches are believed to have led to the outbreak of the Lamian War (323–322 BCE) in which Athens, Aetolia, and Thessaly revolted against Macedonian rule. After the decisive defeat at Crannon (322 BCE) in which Athens and her allies lost their independence, Hypereides and the other orators, were condemned to death by the Athenian supporters of Macedon.

Hypereides fled to Aegina only to be captured at the temple of Poseidon. After being put to death, his body (according to others) was taken to Cleonae and shown to the Macedonian general Antipater before being returned to Athens for burial.

Personality and oratorical style

Hypereides was an ardent pursuer of "the beautiful," which in his time generally meant pleasure and luxury. His temper was easy-going and humorous. Though in his development of the periodic sentence he followed Isocrates, the essential tendencies of his style are those of Lysias. His diction was plain, though he occasionally indulged in long compound words probably borrowed from Middle Comedy. His composition was simple. He was especially distinguished for subtlety of expression, grace and wit.
Surviving speeches

Seventy-seven speeches have been attributed to Hypereides, of which seventy-five were regarded as spurious by his contemporaries. It is said that a manuscript of most of the speeches survived as late as the 15th century in the library of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, but was later destroyed after the capture of Buda by the Turks in the 16th century. Only a few fragments were known until relatively recent times. In 1847 large fragments of his speeches, Against Demosthenes and For Lycophron (incidentally interesting for clarifying the order of marriage processions and other details of Athenian life, and the Athenian government of Lemnos) and the whole of For Euxenippus (c. 330 BCE, a locus classicus on eisangeliai or state prosecutions), were found in a tomb at Thebes in Egypt. In 1856 a considerable portion of a logos epitaphios, a Funeral Oration over Leosthenes and his comrades who had fallen in the Lamian war was discovered. Currently this is the best surviving example of epideictic oratory.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century further discoveries were made including the conclusion of the speech Against Philippides (dealing with an indictment for the proposal of unconstitutional measure, arising out of the disputes of the Macedonian and anti-Macedonian parties at Athens), and of the whole of Against Athenogenes (a perfumer accused of fraud in the sale of his business).

New discoveries

In 2002 Natalie Tchernetska of Trinity College, Cambridge discovered fragments of two speeches of Hypereides, which had been considered lost, in the Archimedes Palimpsest. These were from the Against Timandros and Against Diondas. Tchernetska's discovery led to a publication on the subject in the Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik. This prompted the establishment of a working group under the auspices of the British Academy, which includes scholars from the UK, Hungary and the US.

In 2006, the Archimedes Palimpsest project together with imagers at Stanford University used powerful X-ray fluorescence imaging to read the final pages of the Palimpsest, which contained the material by Hypereides. These were interpreted, transcribed and translated by the working group. The new Hypereides revelations include two previously unknown speeches, effectively increasing the quantity of material known by this author by 20 percent. Previously, most scholars believed only fragments of Hypereides had survived beyond the Classical period.
Hypereides

Lost speeches

Among the speeches not yet recovered is the *Deliacus*[^8] in which the presidency of the Delian temple claimed by both Athens and Cos, which was adjudged by the Amphictyonic League to Athens. Also missing is the speech in which he defended the illustrious courtesan Phryne (said to have been his mistress) on a capital charge: according to Plutarch and Athenaeus the speech climaxed with Hypereides stripping off her clothing to reveal her naked breasts; in the face of which the judges found it impossible to condemn her.[^9]

Assessment

William Noel, the curator of manuscripts and rare books at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland and the director of the *Archimedes Palimpsest* project, called Hypereides "one of the great foundational figures of Greek democracy and the golden age of Athenian democracy, the foundational democracy of all democracy."[^7]

Notes

[^1]: Mackey and Mackey, *The Pronunciation of 10,000 Proper Names*, New York, 1922, p. 138 (http://books.google.com/books?id=4rp8kMDkizkC&vq=Hyperides&page=PA138&source=snippet&text=Hyperides&feature=redir&sourcepos=nosnippet&hl=en&ei=AsIgTb7fNyug7QG68cGg&cd=1&sqi=2& client=firefox-a&ved=0ahUKEwi86K3yP5J9AhWC1FMKHf10Dn8Q6A&usg=AFQjCNGjG7kz8dscYI26xNvYz8l9bCw5A)
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[^9]: (frags. 40–44, Blass)
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[^11]: (De sublimitate, 34) in the phrase "Hypereides was the Sheridan of Athens"
[^12]: (frags. 67–75, Blass)
[^13]: (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII.590)

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Isaeus

Isaeus (Latin; Greek Ἰσαῖος Isaios), fl. early 4th century BC. One of the ten Attic Orators according to the Alexandrian canon. He was a student of Isocrates in Athens, and later taught Demosthenes while working as a metic speechwriter for others. Only eleven of his speeches survive, with fragments of a twelfth. They are mostly concerned with inheritance, with one on civil rights. Dionysius of Halicarnassus compared his style to Lysias, although Isaeus was more given to employing sophistry.

Life

The time of his birth and death is unknown, but all accounts agree in the statement that he flourished (ἤκμασε) during the period between the Peloponnesian War and the accession of Philip II of Macedon, so that he lived between 420 and 348 BCE.[1] He was a son of Diagoras, and was born at Chalcis in Euboea; some sources say he was born in Athens, probably only because he came there at an early age and spent the greater part of his life there.

He was instructed in oratory by Lysias and Isocrates.[2] He was afterwards engaged in writing judicial orations for others, and established a rhetorical school at Athens, in which Demosthenes is said to have been his pupil. The Suda states that Isaeus instructed him free of charge, whereas Plutarch relates that he received 10,000 drachmas;[3] and it is further said that Isaeus composed for Demosthenes the speeches against his guardians, or at least assisted him in the composition. All particulars about his life are unknown, and were so even in the time of Dionysius, since Hermippus, who had written an account of the disciples of Isocrates, did not mention Isaeus at all.

Works

In antiquity there were 64 orations which bore the name of Isaeus, but only fifty were recognised as genuine by the ancient critics.[4] Of these, only eleven have come down to us; but we possess fragments and the titles of 56 speeches ascribed to him. The eleven extant are all on subjects connected with disputed inheritances; and Isaeus appears to have been particularly well acquainted with the laws relating to inheritance.

Ten of these orations had been known ever since the revival of letters in the Renaissance, and were printed in the collections of Greek orators; but the eleventh, On Menecles' legacy (περὶ τοῦ Μενεκλέους κλήρου), was first published in 1785 from a Florentine manuscript by Tyrwhitt, and later by Orelli in 1814. Also, in 1815 Mai discovered and published the greater half of Isaeus' oration On Cleonymus' legacy (περὶ τοῦ Κλεωνύμου κλήρου).

Isaeus is also known to have written a manual on speechwriting entitled the Technē or Idiai technai (ἰδίαι τέχναι, "Personal skills"), which, however, is lost.[5]

List of extant speeches (available at the Perseus Digital Library [8])

2. On the Estate of Menecles [7]
3. On The Estate Of Pyrrhus [8]
4. On the Estate of Nicostratus [9]
5. On the Estate of Dicaeogenes [10]
7. On The Estate of Apollodorus [12]
8. On The Estate of Ciron [13]
11. On the Estate of Hagnias [16]
12. On Behalf of Euphiletus [17]
Oratorical style

Although his orations were placed fifth in the Alexandrian canon, still we do not hear of any of the grammarians having written commentaries on him, except Didymus of Alexandria.[18] But we still possess the criticism upon Isaeus written by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; and by a comparison of the orations still extant with the opinions of Dionysius, we come to the following conclusion.

The oratory of Isaeus resembles in many points that of his teacher, Lysias: the style of both is pure, clear, and concise; but while Lysias is at the same time simple and graceful, Isaeus evidently strives to attain a higher degree of polish and refinement, without, however, in the least injuring the powerful and impressive character of his oratory. The same spirit is visible in the manner in which he handles his subjects, especially in their skilful division, and in the artful manner in which he interweaves his arguments with various parts of the exposition, whereby his orations become like a painting in which light and shade are distributed with a distinct view to produce certain effects. It was mainly owing to this mode of management that he was envied and censured by his contemporaries, as if he had tried to deceive and misguide his hearers. He was one of the first who turned their attention to a scientific cultivation of political oratory; but excellence in this department of the art was not attained until the time of Demosthenes.

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[18] Harpocrates, s.vv. γαμηλία, πανδαισία.
Isocrates

Isocrates (English: /ɪˈsɒkrətəs/; Ancient Greek: Ἰσοκράτης; 436–338 BC), an ancient Greek rhetorician, was one of the ten Attic orators. In his time, he was probably the most influential rhetorician in Greece and made many contributions to rhetoric and education through his teaching and written works.

Greek rhetoric is commonly traced to Corax of Syracuse, who first formulated a set of rhetorical rules in the fifth century BC. His pupil, Tisias, was influential in the development of the rhetoric of the courtroom, and by some accounts was the teacher of Isocrates. Within two generations, rhetoric had become an important art, its growth driven by the social and political changes, such as democracy and the courts of law.

Career

Unlike most rhetoric schools of the time, which were taught by itinerant sophists, Isocrates defined himself with his treatise Against the Sophists.¹ This polemic was written to explain and advertise the reasoning and educational principles behind his newly-opened school. He promoted his broad-based education by speaking against two types of teachers: the Eristics, who disputed about theoretical and ethical matters, and the Sophists, who taught political debate techniques.²

Isocrates was born to a wealthy family in Athens and received a first-rate education. He was greatly influenced by his sophist teachers, Prodicus and Gorgias, and was also closely acquainted with Socrates.² After the Peloponnesian War, Isocrates' family lost its wealth, and Isocrates was forced to earn a living.

Isocrates' professional career is said to have begun as a logographer, or a hired courtroom speech writer. Athenian citizens would not hire lawyers because legal procedure required self-representation. Instead, they would speak for themselves and hire people like Isocrates to write speeches for them in exchange for a fee. Isocrates had a great talent for this since he lacked confidence in public speaking. His weak voice motivated him to publish pamphlets and although he played no direct part in state affairs, his written speech influenced the public and provided significant insight on large political issues of the fourth century BC.³ Around 392 BC he set up his own school of rhetoric, because at the time Athens had no set curriculum for higher education (sophist teachers often travelled), and proved to be not only an influential teacher, but a shrewd businessman. His fees were unusually high, and he accepted no more than nine pupils at a time. Many of them went on to be philosophers, legislators and historians.² As a consequence, he amassed a considerable fortune. According to Pliny the Elder (NH VII.30) he could sell a single
oration for twenty talents.

**Program of rhetoric**

Isocrates' program of rhetorical education stressed the ability to use language to address practical problems, and he referred to his teachings as more of a philosophy as opposed to rhetoric. He emphasized that students needed three things to learn: a natural aptitude which was inborn, knowledge training granted by teachers and textbooks and applied practices designed by educators. He also stressed civic education, training students to serve the state. Students would practice composing and delivering speeches on various subjects. He considered natural ability and practice to be more important than rules or principles of rhetoric. Rather than delineating static rules, Isocrates stressed "fitness for the occasion," or kairos (the rhetor's ability to adapt to changing circumstances and situations). His school lasted for over fifty years and taught the basis of liberal arts education as we know it today, including oratory, composition, history, citizenship, culture and morality.

Because of Plato's attacks on the sophists, Isocrates' school of rhetoric and philosophy came to be viewed as unethical and deceitful. Yet many of Plato's criticisms are hard to substantiate in the work of Isocrates, and at the end of his *Phaedrus* Plato even has Socrates praising Isocrates, though some scholars take this to be sarcastic. Isocrates saw the ideal orator as someone who must not only possess rhetorical gifts, but possess also a wide knowledge of philosophy, science, and the arts. The orator should also represent Greek ideals of freedom, self-control, and virtue. In this, he influenced several Roman rhetoricians, such as Cicero and Quintilian, and also had an influence on the idea of liberal education.

On the art of rhetoric, he was also an innovator. He paid closer attention to expression and rhythm far more than any other Greek writer, but because his sentences were so complex and artistic, he often sacrificed clarity to demonstrate his messages.

Of the 60 orations in his name available in Roman times, 21 were transmitted by ancient and medieval scribes. Another three orations were found in a single codex during a 1988 excavation at Kellis, a site in the Dakhla Oasis of Egypt. We have nine letters in his name, but the authenticity of four has been questioned. He is said to have compiled a treatise, the *Art of Rhetoric*, but it has not survived. In addition to the orations, other works include his autobiographical *Antidosis* and educational texts, such as *Against the Sophists*.

**Panathenaicus and Famous Quotation**

In *Panathenaicus*, Isocrates argues with a student about the literacy of the Spartans. In section 250, the student claims that the most intelligent of the Spartans owned copies of and admired some of Isocrates' speeches. The implication is that some Spartans had books, were able to read them and were eager to do so. The Spartans, however, needed an interpreter to clear up any misunderstandings of double meanings which might lie concealed beneath the surface of complicated words. This text indicates that some Spartans were not illiterate. If this speech is taken literally, it would suggest that Spartans could conduct political affairs and that they collected and made use of written works such as speeches. This text is important to scholars' understanding of literacy in Sparta because it indicates that Spartans were able to read and that they often put written documents to use in their public affairs.

"Ἰσοκράτης τῆς παιδείας τὴν ῥίζαν πικρὰν ἔφη, γλυκεῖς δὲ τοῖς καρποῖς."[6]

"Isocrates said that the root of education is bitter, but the fruits are sweet."

*Progymnasmata* of Aphthonios. A similar sentence is found in the *Progymnasmata* of Libanius.
Panegyricus 50 and the True Hellene debate

In modern Greece there has been, due to the rise of immigration, debate between nationalists and anti-nationalists on what the passage in Panegyricus 50 actually entails. The proposition by anti-nationalists is that Isocrates said that "A Greek is he who shares our common culture" (meaning Greek culture) and understand from that that he was an early proponent of multiculturalism who wanted barbarians as well as Greeks becoming a part of the Greek ethnic group. On the other hand nationalists refute that, with some of them claiming that he in fact meant that "It is a shame that a Greek is considered by some one who shares our culture rather than our common kinship" and paint him as a proto-racist.

Some claim that Isocrates was merely making an appeal to unite all Hellenes under the hegemony of Athens (whose culture is implied under the words "our common culture") in a crusade against the Persians rather than their customary fighting against each other. That is, Isocrates was referring to Athenian not Greek culture when he said that. In any case, on this theory, Isocrates was not extending the appellation Hellene to non-Greeks.[7]

However, he was also not an early proponent of racism either since he did specifically, in Panegyricus, make an appeal to define the Hellenes as a people sharing a common culture, albeit the Athenian one.[8] This was done in order to boost Athens whose present military weakness meant that its only claim to leadership of the Greeks was its cultural ascendancy.[9][10]

Nonetheless, the misinterpretation of Isocrates is not wholly new. Second Sophistic Greeks, living in a multi-cultural environment, had a fresh impetus to re-interpret him and apply his words, if not spirit, to their time.[11]

Quotation of Panegyricus 50

Greek text
[50] τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν περὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ὥσθ' οἱ ταύτης μαθηταὶ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκε μηκέτι τοῦ γένους ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον "Ἐλληνας καλείσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδεύσεως τῆς ἤμετέρας ή τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας.[12]

English text
"Our city of Athens has so far surpassed other men in its wisdom and its power of expression that its pupils have become the teachers of the world. It has caused the name of Hellene to be regarded as no longer a mark of racial origin but of intelligence, so that men are called Hellenes because they have shared our common education rather than that they share in our common ethnic origin."[13]

Notes
[7] Greeks and Barbarians (Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World, Edinburgh University Press (25 Oct 2001), ISBN 978-0-7486-1270-3, σελ.139-140 "It has been widely assumed in the past that the word Hellenic began by having a ‘national’ sense and later, especially in Hellenistic times, came to mean ‘possessing Greek culture’. For instance, in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt the Hellenes were also known as of
Isocrates

...οδον τό γυλουαίου, 'those from the gymnasium') and frequently had non-Greek names. From Tebtunis we have a list of five Ἐλληνες φυγές, 'Greek farmers', of whom only one has a Greek name.' And it has been thought that the beginning of this extension in the meaning of the word can be traced to the fourth century, when Isocrates wrote,"Athens has become the teacher of the other cities, and has made the name of Greek (τῷ εἰσερχόμενῳ ὄντα) no longer a mark of race (γένους) but of Intellect (συναίσθησιν), so that it is those who share our upbringing (τίς ἴδιας υπολογίας) rather than our common nature (τίς κοινωνίας πιούς) who are called Hellenes.' This passage has attracted great attention, Jaeger goes so far as to claim it as "'a higher justification for the new national imperialism, in that it identifies what is specifically Greek with what is universally human'. Without the idea which [Isocrates] here expresses for the first time', he continues, '... there would have been no Macedonian Greek world-empire, and the universal culture which we call Hellenistic would never have existed.' Unfortunately for this claim, it has been shown that in this passage Isocrates is not extending the term Hele to non-Greeks, but restricting its application; he is in effect saying, 'Hellenes are no longer all who share in the γένος and common qnai of the Greek people, as hitherto, but only those who have gone to school to Athens; henceforth Greece' is equivalent to Athens and her cultural following.' Thus Isocrates gives the term a cultural value; but he cannot be regarded as initiating a wider concept of Hellass."

[8] Jeffrey Walker, Rhetoric and poetics in antiquity, Oxford University Press US, 2000, 0195130359, 9780195130355, p.178, "And so far has our city outpaced all others in thought and speech that her students have become the teachers of the rest, so that the word "Hellenes" suggests no longer A race but a way of thought, and the tide "Hellenes" applies to those who share our culture rather than those who share a common blood. (48-50; my emphasis) In this enthymeme of great persuasive force and enormous cultural power, Isocrates presents the vision that will define the Greek ideal of paideia for centuries to come. This enthymeme's power derives not only from a quasi-syllogistic marshalling of evidence to justify a conclusion: the claim that Athens has become the "school" of all Greece because it has most honoured eloquence is, in truth, weakly supported here, though earlier passages do give it some evidential ground. Rather, much of this enthymeme's power lies in its use of emotively significant oppositions human/animal, wise/foolish, cultured/ignorant, achievement/luck, and so forth), defining eloquence as world:

The Athenian paideia as Isocrates defines it is a good thing, and should define Hellenic identity, for the reasons embodied in the network of emotively significant, evaluative oppositions that his argument has mobilized. This enthymem, in turn, is meant to motivate audience adherence with his larger theme,"'..."[9] James I. Porter, Classical pasts: the classical traditions of Greece and Rome Classical pasts, Princeton University Press, 2006, 0691089426, 9780691089423, p.383-384, "The telos towards which the whole encomium is directed is neither military nor material, but cultural, and in particular linguistic: "τοῖοι οὖν ἦν (in Isocrates', not in Plato's sense) is Athens's gift to the world, and eloquence, which distinguishes men from animals and liberally educated men (τοὺς εὐθύς ἐξαρχής ἐπιθέραις τεθρομμένοις) from uncultured ones, is honoured in that city more than in any other.3' Thus Isocrates can claim that it is above all in the domain of language that Athens has become the school for the rest of the world: "And so far has our city distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world; and she has brought about them the name 'Hellenes' suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and thin the title 'Hellenes' is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood.'3' Like Pericles' funeral oration in Thucydides, upon which this section of the Panegyricus is closely modelled,32 Isocrates' panegyric emphasizes abstract cultural values but its ultimate goal is in fact more concretely military; the speech as a whole aims at convincing the other Greek cities to grant Athens hegemony and leadership in an expedition against the Persians, which will reunite the Greeks by distracting them from their interminable warfare.

But Athens's present military weakness in the wake of the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.E.) deprives Isocrates of the easiest argument, that leadership should be given to the city that has the greatest military strength. Hence he must appeal to past military and cultural glories in order to justify present claims—indeed, his evident reuse of themes from Pericles' funeral oration is part of the same rhetorical strategy, designed as it is to remind fourth-century pan-Hellenic readers of Athens's fifth-century glory. But what passes itself off here as the disinterested praise of a wise words, Isocrates creates the perception of Athens as having been unified which this section of the Panegyricus is closely modelled,32 Isocrates...\\n\\n[10] Takis Poulakos, David J. Depew, Isocrates and civic education, University of Texas Press, 2004, 0292702191, 9780292702196, p.63-64, "He crafts onto his predecessor's analogy Athens as a school of Hellas an enduring bond among the Hellenes and a great divide between them and the Persians: Athens' pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world" and "the title 'Hellenes' is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood" (30). The cultural links Pericles had named as uniting Athenians and their allies lies together are refigured here rhetorically, and in a way that forges a symbolic unification among all the cities of Hellas, including Sparta and its allied states. Relying on and at the same time changing Pericles' wise words, Isocrates creates the perception of Athens as having been unified with all Greek city-states from the very beginning, and thereby makes this perception part and parcel of Athens' glorious history. As a result of this rhetorical engagement of conventional wisdom, current concerns about pan-Hellenism find their way into the city's timelessness traditions. Capitalizing on the propensity of epideictic language to amplify and to augment, Isocrates finesse the stable doxa of the community and
enlarges its boundaries 90 as to accommodate the less stable doxa of the present”.

11 Apologetics in the Roman Empire: pagans, Jews, and Christians, Mark J. Edwards, Martin Goodman, S. R. F. Price, Christopher Rowland, Oxford University Press, 1999, 0198269862, 9780198269861, orii. 185, "I want now to pursue the relation between Apollonius and Hellenism and the East by looking at Apollonius' relations with the sages and some other matters. In the court of the Persian king Vardanes, Apollonius lectures Damis on the difference between Hellenic and barbarian morals. 'To a wise man Hellas is everywhere' (i. 3c). The origin of the tag is Isocrates, Panegyric, 50 ('the name "Hellenes" [is the name of] those who share our culture rather than a common nature'). Isocrates was speaking of Athenian culture in particular; but he was well aware of the power of Hellenic culture to civilize barbarians (such as Cyprians/Phoenicians at Evagoras, 47—SO). Second-sophistic Greeks took the outlook of Isocrates very much to heart. For Philostratus, it is essential to present Hellenism as a universally appreciated ideal. Thus the court of Vardanes is thoroughly philhellenic (i. 29, 32.1 7, etc.), and the statement of Hellenism's appeal follows Apollonius' exposition of Pythagoreanism" (t. 32).

Further reading


Lycurgus of Athens

Lycurgus (Greek: Λυκοῦργος, Lykourgos; 396–323 BC) was a logographer in Ancient Greece. He was one of the ten Attic orators included in the "Alexandrian Canon" compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace in the third century BCE.

Lycurgus was born at Athens about 396 BC, and was the son of Lycophron, who belonged to the noble family of the Eteobutadae.[1] He should not be confused with the quasi-mythological Spartan lawgiver of the same name.

Life

In his early life he devoted himself to the study of philosophy in the school of Plato, but afterwards became one of the disciples of Isocrates, and entered upon public life at a comparatively early age. He was appointed three successive times to the office of manager of the public revenue, and held his office each time for four years, beginning with 337 BC. The conscientiousness with which he discharged the duties of this office enabled him to raise the public revenue to the sum of 1200 talents.

This, as well as the unwearied activity with which he laboured both for increasing the security and splendour of the city of Athens, gained for him the universal confidence of the people to such a degree, that when Alexander the Great demanded, in 335 BC, among the other opponents of the Macedonian interest, the surrender of Lycurgus also, who had, in conjunction with Demosthenes, exerted himself against the intrigues of Macedonia even as early as the reign of Philip, the people of Athens clung to him, and boldly refused to deliver him up.[2]

He was further entrusted with the superintendence (φυλακη) of the city and the keeping of public discipline; and the severity with which he watched over the conduct of the citizens became almost proverbial.[3]

He had a noble taste for every thing that was beautiful and grand, as he showed by the buildings he erected or completed, both for the use of the citizens and the ornament of the city. His integrity was so great, that even private persons deposited with him large sums of money, which they wished to be kept in safety. He was also the author of several legislative enactments, of which he enforced the strictest observance. One of his laws forbade women to ride in chariots at the celebration of the mysteries; and when his own wife transgressed this law, she was fined;[4] another ordained that bronze statues should be erected to Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, that copies of their tragedies should be made and preserved in the public archives.

The Lives of the Ten Orators erroneously ascribed to Plutarch[5] are full of anecdotes and characteristic features of Lycurgus, from which we must infer that he was reputed one of the noblest specimens of old Attic virtue, and a worthy contemporary of Demosthenes. He often appeared as a successful accuser in the Athenian courts, but he himself was as often accused by others, though he always, and even in the last days of his life, succeeded in silencing his enemies.
Thus we know that he was attacked by Philinus\(^6\), Dinarchus\(^7\), Aristogeiton, Menesaechmus, and others. He died while holding the office of director (επιστατης) of the theatre of Dionysus, in 323 BC. A fragment of an inscription, containing the account which he rendered to the state of his administration of the finances, is still extant. At his death he left behind three sons, including one named Abron or Habron,\(^8\) by his wife Callisto, who were severely persecuted by Menesaechmus and Thrasyclus, but were defended by Hypereides and Democles.\(^5\) Among the honours which were conferred upon him, we may mention, that the archon Anaxicrates ordered a bronze statue to be erected to him in the Ceramicus, and that he and his eldest son should be entertained in the prytaneum at the public expense.

The ancients mention fifteen orations of Lycurus as extant in their days\(^2\), but we know the titles of at least twenty. With the exception, however, of one entire oration against Leocrates, and some fragments of others, all the rest are lost, so that our knowledge of his skill and style as an orator is very incomplete. Dionysius and other ancient critics draw particular attention to the ethical tendency of his orations, but they censure the harshness of his metaphors, the inaccuracy in the arrangement of his subject, and his frequent digressions.

His style was said to be noble and grand, but neither elegant nor pleasing.\(^9\) His works seem to have been commented upon by Didymus of Alexandria.\(^10\) Theon\(^11\) mentions two declamations, Encomium of Helen and Deploration of Eurybatus, as the works of Lycurus; but this Lycurus, if the name be correct, must be a different personage from the Attic orator. The oration Against Leocrates, which was delivered in 330 BC\(^12\), was first printed by Aldus Manutius in his edition of the Attic orators.

### References

- Schmitz, Leonhard (1867), "Lycurus"\(^13\), in Smith, William, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, 2, Boston, MA, pp. 858

### Notes

2. Pseudo-Plutarch, ibid. (http://www.attleus.org/old/orators1.html#841); Photius, ibid.
5. Pseudo-Plutarch, p. 842 (http://www.attleus.org/old/orators1.html#842)
6. Harpocratian, Lexicon of the Ten Orators, s.v. "thorika".
7. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dinarchus, 10.
10. Harpocratian, s.vv. "pelanos", "prokivia", "stroter".
11. Theon, Progymnasmata
12. Aeschines, Speeches, "Against Ctesiphon", 93
External links


Sources

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**Lysias**

*Lysias* (Greek: Λυσίας) (ca. 445 BC – ca. 380 BC) was a logographer (speech writer) in Ancient Greece. He was one of the ten Attic orators included in the "Alexandrian Canon" compiled by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace in the third century BC.

**Life**

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the author of the life ascribed to Plutarch, Lysias was born in 459 BC, which would accord with a tradition that Lysias reached, or passed, the age of eighty. This date was evidently obtained by reckoning back from the foundation of Thurii (444 BC), since there was a tradition that Lysias had gone there at the age of fifteen. Modern critics, in general, place his birth later, ca. 445 BC, and place the trip to Thurii around 430 BC.

Cephalus, his father, was a native of Syracuse, and on the invitation of Pericles had settled at Athens. The opening scene of Plato's *Republic* is set at the house of his eldest son, Polemarchus, in Piraeus. The tone of the picture warrants the inference that the Sicilian family were well known to Plato, and that their houses must often have been hospitable to such gatherings. Further, Plato's *Phaedrus* opens with Phaedrus coming from conversation with Lysias at the house of Epicrates of Athens: he meets Socrates, with whom he will read and discuss the speech of Lysias he heard.

At Thurii, the colony newly planted on the Tarentine Gulf, the boy may have seen Herodotus, now a man in middle life, and a friendship may have grown up between them. There, too, Lysias is said to have commenced his studies in rhetoric—doubtless under a master of the Sicilian school possibly, as tradition said, under Tisias, the pupil of Corax, whose name is associated with the first attempt to formulate rhetoric as an art. In 413 BC the Athenian armament in Sicily was annihilated. The desire to link famous names is illustrated by the ancient ascription to Lysias of a rhetorical exercise purporting to be a speech in which the captive general Nicias appealed for mercy to the Sicilians. The terrible blow to Athens quickened the energies of an anti-Athenian faction at Thurii. Lysias and his elder brother Polemarchus, with three hundred other persons, were accused of Atticizing. They were driven from Thurii and settled at Athens (412 BC).

Lysias and Polemarchus were rich men, having inherited property from their father, Cephalus; and Lysias claims that, though merely resident aliens, they discharged public services with a liberality which shamed many of those who enjoyed the franchise (*Against Eratosthenes* xii.20). The fact that they owned house property shows that they
were classed as isoteleis (ἴσοτελεῖς), i.e. foreigners who paid only the same tax as citizens, being exempt from the special tax (μετοίκιον) on resident aliens. Polemarchus occupied a house in Athens itself, Lysias another in the Piraeus, near which was their shield manufactory, employing a hundred and twenty skilled slaves.

In 404 the Thirty Tyrants were established at Athens under the protection of a Spartan garrison. One of their earliest measures was an attack upon the resident aliens, who were represented as disaffected to the new government. Lysias and Polemarchus were on a list of ten singled out to be the first victims. Polemarchus was arrested, and compelled to drink hemlock. Lysias had a narrow escape, with the help of a large bribe. He slipped by a back-door out of the house in which he was a prisoner, and took a boat to Megara. It appears that he had rendered valuable services to the exiles during the reign of the tyrants, and in 403 Thrasybulus proposed that these services should be recognized by the bestowal of the citizenship. The Boule, however, had not yet been reconstituted, and hence the measure could not be introduced to the ecclesia by the requisite preliminary resolution (προβούλευμα). On this ground it was successfully opposed.

The Athenian political climate during Lysias’s life cannot be looked upon in modern terms. Modern politics means constant and open competition between organized rival factions with their own ideologies and memberships. The members of these parties label themselves a certain name which implies that they will vote and pay dues to a certain organization who share the same basic social and political outlooks on society. The terms that best render political opposites at the time were “Oligarch” and “Democratic.” Politics as described by Lysias meant that “no human being is by nature oligarchical or democratic, but whatever constitution brings advantage to an individual is the one he would like to see established.” This passage illustrates that whatever ideology a person chose to support is not based on their core beliefs or principles. Overall, two of the key terms of Athenian politics were popular participation and collective rule. Every male Athenian citizen, irrespective to birth, occupation, and with a few exceptions, economic status, had the right to wield power as an official or Council member and actively participate in the decision-making process at the Assembly whether or not he currently held any official position. Voting was egalitarian—‘one man, one vote’—and because Athens was a direct democracy, voting outcomes remained relatively unpredictable. A Greek person was likely to support one or the other at any given time based on specific economic and social cases.[2][3]

During his later years Lysias—now probably a comparatively poor man owing to the rapacity of the tyrants and his own generosity to the Athenian exiles—appears as a hard-working member of a new profession—that of logographer, writer of speeches to be delivered in the law-courts. The thirty-four extant are but a small fraction. From 403 to about 380 BC his industry must have been incessant. The notices of his personal life in these years are scanty. In 403 he came forward as the accuser of Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty Tyrants. This was his only direct contact with Athenian politics. The story that he wrote a defence for Socrates, which the latter declined to use, probably arose from a confusion. Several years after the death of Socrates the sophist Polycrates composed a declamation against him, to which Lysias replied.[4]

A more authentic tradition represents Lysias as having spoken his own Olympiacus at the Olympic festival of 388 BC, to which Dionysius I of Syracuse had sent a magnificent embassy. Tents embroidered with gold were pitched within the sacred enclosure; and the wealth of Dionysius was vividly shown by the number of chariots which he had entered. Lysias lifted up his voice to denounce Dionysius as, next to Artaxerxes, the worst enemy of Hellas, and to impress upon the assembled Greeks that one of their foremost duties was to deliver Sicily from a hateful oppression. The latest work of Lysias which we can date (a fragment of a speech For Phereicus) belongs to 381 or 380 BC. He probably died in or soon after 380 BC.
Style

Lysias displays literary tact, humour, and attention to character in his extant speeches, and is famous for using his skill to conceal his art. It was obviously desirable that a speech written for delivery by a client should be suitable to his age, station and circumstances. Lysias was the first to make this adaptation really artistic. His language is crafted to flow easily, in contrast to his predecessor Antiphon’s pursuit of majestic emphasis, to his pupil (and close follower in many respects) Isaeus’ more conspicuous display of artistry and more strictly logical manner of argumentation,[5] and later to the forceful oratory of Demosthenes.

Translated into terms of ancient criticism, he became the model of the plain style (ἰσχνὸς χαρακτήρ, ἰσχνὴ/λιτὴ/ἀφελὴς λέξις: genus tenue or subtile). Greek and then Roman critics distinguished three styles of rhetorical composition—the grand (or elaborate), the plain and the middle, the plain being nearest to the language of daily life. Greek rhetoric began in the grand style; then Lysias set an exquisite pattern of the plain; and Demosthenes might be considered as having effected an almost ideal compromise.

The vocabulary of Lysias is relatively simple and would later be regarded as a model of pure diction for Atticists. Most of the rhetorical figures are sparingly used—except such as consist in the parallelism or opposition of clauses. The taste of the day not yet emancipated from the influence of the Sicilian rhetoric probably demanded a large use of antithesis. Lysias excels in vivid description; he has also the knack of marking the speakers character by light touches. The structure of his sentences varies a good deal according to the dignity of the subject. He has equal command over the periodic style (κατεστραμμένη λέξις) and the non-periodic or continuous (εἰρομένη, διαλελυμένη). His disposition of his subject-matter is always simple. The speech has usually four parts: introduction (προοίμιον), narrative of facts (διήγησις), proofs (πίστεις), which may be either external, as from witnesses, or internal, derived from argument on the facts, and, lastly, conclusion (ἐπίλογος).

It is in the introduction and the narrative that Lysias is seen at his best. In his greatest extant speech—that Against Eratosthenes—and also in the fragmentary Olympiacus, he has pathos and fire; but these were not characteristic qualities of his work. In Cicero’s judgment (De Orat. iii. 7, 28) Demosthenes was peculiarly distinguished by force (vis), Aeschines by resonance (sonitus); Hypereides by acuteness (acumen); Isocrates by sweetness (suavitas); the distinction which he assigns to Lysias is subtilitas, an Attic refinement—which, as he elsewhere says (Brutus, 16, 64) is often joined to an admirable vigour (lacerti). Nor was it oratory alone to which Lysias rendered service; his work had an important effect on all subsequent Greek prose, by showing how perfect elegance could be joined to plainness. Here, in his artistic use of familiar idiom, he might fairly be called the Euripides of Attic prose. His style has attracted interest from modern readers, because it is employed in describing scenes from the everyday life of Athens.

Works

Table of extant speeches

From Lysias we have thirty-four speeches. Three fragmentary ones have come down under the name of Lysias; one hundred and twenty-seven more, now lost, are known from smaller fragments or from titles. In the Augustan age four hundred and twenty-five works bore his name, of which more than two hundred were allowed as genuine by the critics.

The table below shows the name of the speech (in the ordered listed in the Lamb translation), the suggested date of the speech, the primary rhetorical mode, the main point of the speech, and comments. Forensic is synonymous with judicial and denotes speeches made in law courts. Epideictic is ceremonial and involves the praise or, less often, the criticism, of the subject. Deliberative denotes speeches made in legislatures. Notes (e.g., A1, B3, etc.) refer to the list of qualifications below the table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech</th>
<th>Suggested date</th>
<th>Primary rhetorical mode</th>
<th>Main point of speech</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. On the Murder of Eratosthenes</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A6]; in private cases [B4]</td>
<td>Euphiletos tries to prove that the murder he committed was not premeditated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Funeral Oration</td>
<td>ca. 392 BCE ?</td>
<td>epideictic</td>
<td>Praise of fallen soldiers, purported to have been spoken during the Corinthian War.</td>
<td>Authorship uncertain (style and approach are very different from Lysias' other speeches).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Against Simon</td>
<td>393 BCE or later</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A6]</td>
<td>Defendant is on a charge of wounding his friend, with intent to kill.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. For Callias</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A7]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Against Andocides</td>
<td>400/399 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A7]</td>
<td></td>
<td>certainly spurious, but perhaps contemporary; beginning lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Accusation of Calumny</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
<td>forensic, in private cases [B3]</td>
<td></td>
<td>spurious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. For the Soldier</td>
<td>ca. 395-387 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Against Theomn estus 1</td>
<td>ca. 384–383 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in private cases [B1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Against Theomn estus 2</td>
<td>ca. 384–383 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in private cases [B1]</td>
<td></td>
<td>an epitome (abstract) of Lys. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Against Eratosthenes</td>
<td>403 BCE or soon after</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A6]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perhaps a pamphlet meant for circulation (reading).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Against Agoratus</td>
<td>ca. 399 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A6]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Against Alcibiades 2</td>
<td>395 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A5]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. In Defense of Mantitheus</td>
<td>ca. 392-389 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A4]</td>
<td></td>
<td>before the Council (Boule)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. On The Property Of Eraton</td>
<td>ca. 397 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in private cases [A4]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. On The Property Of The Brother Of Nicias: Peroration</td>
<td>ca. 396 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A2]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. On the Property of Aristophanes</td>
<td>ca. 388-387 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A3]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. For Polystratus</td>
<td>ca. 410 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A1]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polystratus is prosecuted for his acts against democracy. Polystratus' son defends him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Against the Corn-Dealers</td>
<td>386 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Against Pancleon</td>
<td>uncertain</td>
<td>forensic, in private cases [B4]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Defense Against a Charge of Subverting the Democracy</td>
<td>ca. 401-399 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A4]</td>
<td>A man defends himself against a charge of treason; he is accused of being a supporter of the Thirty Tyrants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Against Epicrates and his Fellow-Envoys</td>
<td>ca. 390 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Against Ergocles</td>
<td>388 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Against Philocrates</td>
<td>388 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Against Nicomachus</td>
<td>399 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Against Philon</td>
<td>ca. 403–398 BCE</td>
<td>forensic, in public cases [A4]</td>
<td>Philon have been elected to the council by lot. The speaker objects his election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Against Diogeiton</td>
<td>399/8 BCE?</td>
<td>forensic, in private cases [B2]</td>
<td>A guardian is accused of holding out the money belonging to his wards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Olympic Oration</td>
<td>388 BCE</td>
<td>epideictic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Against the Subversion of the Ancestral Constitution</td>
<td>403 BCE</td>
<td>deliberative</td>
<td>Lysias speaks against a proposal that citizenship of Athens should only be confined to land owners.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES "A": FORENSIC, RELATING TO PUBLIC CASES

1. Relating to Offences directly against the State (γραφαὶ δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων); such as treason, malversation in office, embezzlement of public moneys.
2. Cases relating to Unconstitutional Procedure (γραφή παρανόμων)
3. Cases relating to Claims for Money withheld from the State (ἀπογραφαί).
4. Cases relating to a Scrutiny (δοκιμασία); especially the Scrutiny, by the Senate, of Officials Designate
5. Cases relating to Military Offences (γραφαὶ λιποταξίου, ἀστρατείας)
6. Cases relating to Murder or Intent to Murder (γραφαὶ ψόνου, τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας)
7. Cases relating to Impiety (γραφαὶ ἀσεβείας)

NOTES "B": FORENSIC, RELATING TO PRIVATE CASES

1. Action for Libel (δίκη κακηγορίας)
2. Action by a Ward against a Guardian (δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς)
3. Trial of a Claim to Property (διαδικασία)
4. Answer to a Special Plea (πρός παραγραφήν)
Miscellaneous

To his Companions, a Complaint of Slanders, viii. (certainly spurious).

The speech attributed to Lysias in Plato's *Phaedrus* 230e–234. This speech has generally been regarded as Plato's own work; but the certainty of this conclusion will be doubted by those who observe:

- the elaborate preparations made in the dialogue for a recital of the *erōtikos* which shall be verbally exact,
- the closeness of the criticism made upon it.

If the satirist were merely analysing his own composition, such criticism would have little point. Lysias is the earliest writer who is known to have composed *erōtikoi*; it is as representing both rhetoric and a false *erōs* that he is the object of attack in the *Phaedrus*.

Fragments

Three hundred and fifty-five of these are collected by Hermann Sauppe, *Oratores Attici*, ii. 170–216. Two hundred and fifty-two of them represent one hundred and twenty-seven speeches of known title; and of six the fragments are comparatively large. Of these, the fragmentary speech *For Pherenicus* belongs to 381 or 380 BC, and is thus the latest known work of Lysias. In literary and historical interest, the first place among the extant speeches of Lysias belongs to that *Against Eratosthenes* (403 BC), one of the Thirty Tyrants, whom Lysias arraigns as the murderer of his brother Polemarchus. The speech is an eloquent and vivid picture of the reign of terror which the Thirty established at Athens; the concluding appeal, to both parties among the citizens, is specially powerful.

Next in importance is the speech *Against Agoratus* (388 BC), one of our chief authorities for the internal history of Athens during the months which immediately followed; the defeat at Aegospotami. The Olympiaca (388 BC) is a brilliant fragment, expressing the spirit of the festival at Olympia, and exhorting Greeks to unite against their common foes. The *Plea for the Constitution* (403 BC) is interesting for the manner in which it argues that the well-being of Athens—now stripped of empire—is bound up with the maintenance of democratic principles. The speech *For Mantitheus* (392 BC) is a graceful and animated portrait, of a young Athenian *hippeus*, making a spirited defence of his honor against the charge of disloyalty. The defence *For the Invalid* is a humorous character-sketch, *The speech Against Pancleon* illustrates the intimate relations between Athens and Plataea, while it gives us some picturesque glimpses of Athenian town life. The defence of the person who had, been charged with destroying a *mona*, or sacred olive, places us amidst the country life of Attica. And the speech *Against Theomnestus* deserves attention for its curious evidence of the way in which the ordinary vocabulary of Athens had changed between 600 and 400 BC.

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**External links**

- Works by Lysias (http://www.gutenberg.org/author/Lysias) at Project Gutenberg
Logographer (legal)

The title of logographer (from the Ancient Greek λογογράφος, *logographos*, a compound of λόγος, *logos*, 'word', and γράφω, *grapho*, 'write') was applied to professional authors of judicial discourse in Ancient Greece. The modern term speechwriter is roughly equivalent.

In the Athens of antiquity, the law required a litigant to make his case in front of the court with two successive speeches. Lawyers were unknown, and the law permitted only one friend or relative to aid each party. If a litigant did not feel confident to make his own speech, he would seek the service of a logographer (also called a λογοποιός, *logopoios*, from ποιέω, *poieo*, 'to make'), to whom he would describe his case. The logographer would then write a speech which the litigant would learn by heart and recite in front of the court. Antiphon (480 BC–410 BC) was among the first to practice this profession; the orator Demosthenes (384–322) was also a logographer. Practice in defending the targets of politicized prosecutions built the foundations of a later career in politics for many logographers.

Role of the logographer

Logographers played a pivotal role in the larger interactions of the Athenian court system. Athenian courts differ from modern examples of legal systems in several significant ways. In Classical Athens, no class of legal experts existed. The absence of prosecution and defense attorneys meant cases were decided mainly upon the basis of the speeches given by plaintiff and defendant. Litigants were expected to deliver their own speeches in court, but often relied on professional speech writers to craft their words. To support the arguments made in these speeches, the parties involved in litigation often produced several witnesses. In Classical Athens, the social status, wealth, and esteem of a witness determined the strength and potential impact of his (typically a male's) testimony and not necessarily the accuracy of his account. Unlike in modern legal systems, these "character witnesses" wielded considerable influence over juries. The Athenian court system was characterized by a lack of state intervention. Pursuing litigation, collecting evidence, and prosecuting were all functions of the legal process left to the responsibility of the litigant. The juries which decided the outcome of these cases were large assemblies of Athenian citizens, not state-appointed judges.

List of well-known logographers

- Antiphon
- Demosthenes
- Dinarchus
- Hypereides
- Isocrates
- Lysias
Bibliography

List of orators

An orator, or oratist, is a (public) speaker.
An orator may also be called an oratorian – literally, "one who orates".

Etymology
It is recorded in English since c.1374, meaning "one who pleads or argues for a cause", from Anglo-French oratour, Old French orateur (14th century), Latin orator ("speaker"), from orare ("speak before a court or assembly; plead"), derived from a Proto-Indo-European base *or- ("to pronounce a ritual formula").
The modern meaning of the word, "public speaker", is attested from c.1430.

History
In ancient Rome, the art of speaking in public (Ars Oratoria) was a professional competence especially cultivated by politicians and lawyers. As the Greeks were still seen as the masters in this field, as in philosophy and most sciences, the leading Roman families often either sent their sons to study these things under a famous master in Greece (as was the case with the young Julius Caesar), or engaged a Greek teacher (under pay or as a slave).
In the young revolutionary French republic, Orateur (French for "orator", but compare the Anglo-Saxon parliamentary speaker) was the formal title for the delegated members of the Tribunat to the Corps législatif, to motivate their ruling on a presented bill.
In the 19th century, orators and lecturers, such as Mark Twain, Charles Dickens, and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll were major providers of popular entertainment.
The term pulpit orator denotes Christian authors, often clergymen, renowned for their ability to write and/or deliver (from the pulpit in church, hence the word) rhetorically skilled religious sermons.
In some universities, the title 'Orator' is given to the official whose task it is to give speeches on ceremonial occasions, such as the presentation of honorary degrees.

Orators
The following are, by necessity, those who have been noted as famous specifically for their oratory abilities, and/or for a particularly famous speech or speeches. Most religious leaders and politicians (by nature of their office) may perform many speeches, as may those who support or oppose a particular issue. To include them all would be prohibitive.

Classical era
• The ten Attic orators (Greece)
  • Demosthenes, champion of the Philippic
  • Aeschines
  • Andocides
  • Antiphon
  • Dinarchus
  • Hypereides
• Lysias
• Isaeus
• Isocrates
• Lycurgus of Athens
• Aristogeiton
• Claudius Aelianus, *meliglossos*, 'honey-tongued'
• Cicero
• Corax of Syracuse
• Gaius Scribonius Curio
• Gorgias
• Hegesippus, Athenian
• Julius Caesar, Roman dictator
• Licinius Macer Calvus, Roman poet and orator
• Marcus Antonius (orator), Roman
• Nicetas of Smyrna, 1 century AC, Greek sophist and orator
• Pericles, Athenian statesman
• Quintus Hortensius

**Modern era**

• Allied and Axis leaders of World War II noted for their speeches:
  • Winston Churchill (UK PM)
  • Charles de Gaulle (Free French general; President of France)
  • Joseph Goebbels
  • Adolf Hitler (Führer of Nazi Germany)
  • Douglas MacArthur - *Farewell Speech to Congress*
  • Benito Mussolini
  • Franklin D. Roosevelt (US President)
• The Great Triumvirate:
  • Henry Clay
  • John C. Calhoun
  • Daniel Webster
• William Jennings Bryan - *Cross of Gold speech*
• Frederick Douglass - *Self-Made Men*
• Ralph Waldo Emerson - *The American Scholar*
• Patrick Henry - *Give me Liberty, or give me Death!*
• John O’Connor Power, Irish Nationalist
• John F. Kennedy (US President) - *Inaugural Address*
• Martin Luther King, Jr. - *I Have A Dream*
• Abraham Lincoln (US President) - *Gettysburg address*
• Richard M. Nixon (US Vice-President) - *Checkers speech*
• Barack Obama (US President) - *The Audacity of Hope; A More Perfect Union*
• Ronald Reagan (US President) - *First Inaugural Address; Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!*
• Sojourner Truth[1] - *Ain’t I a Woman?*
• Malcolm X - *The Ballot or the Bullet*
Notes


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