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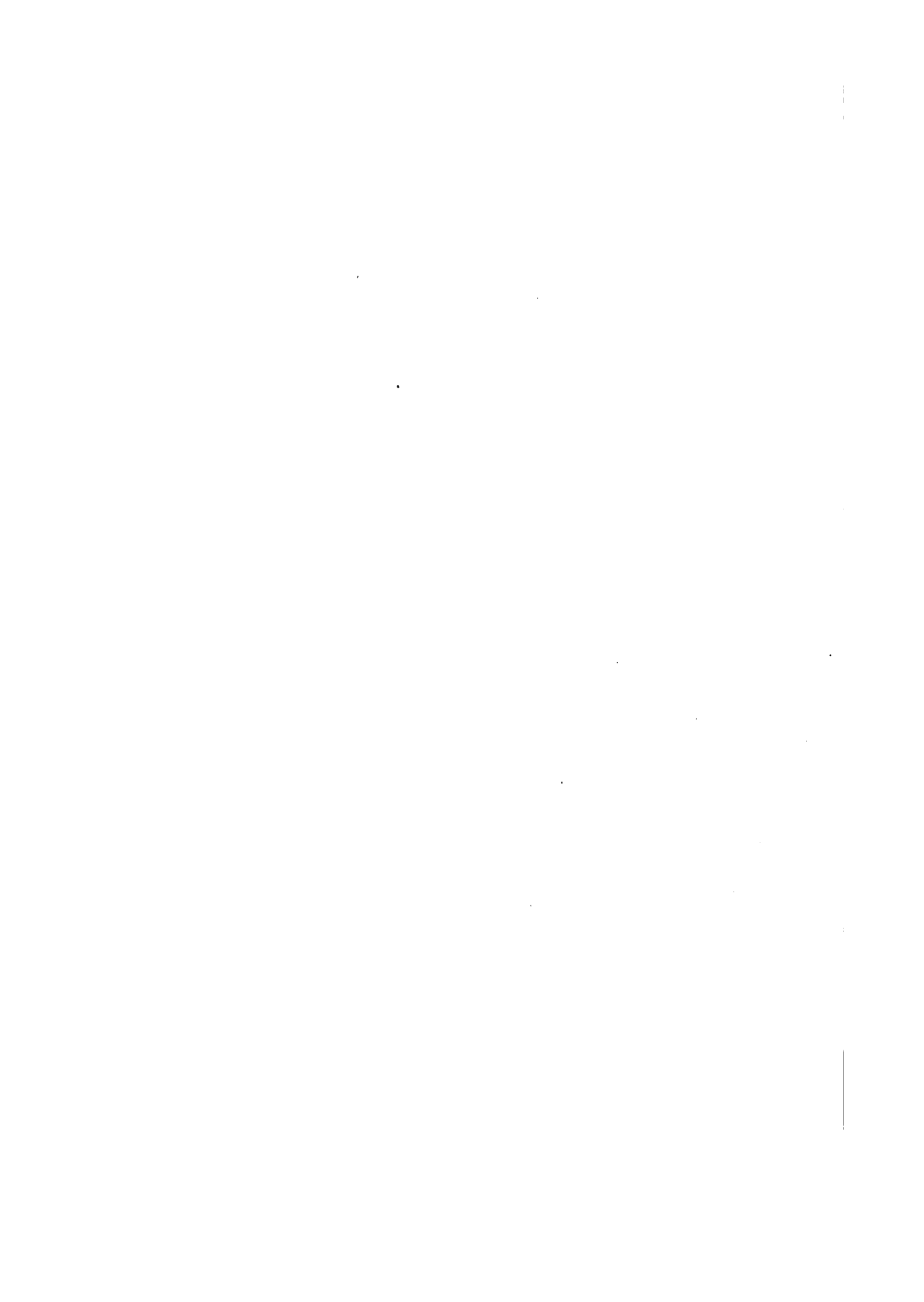
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The University of Chicago



# STUDIES

IN

# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY A COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENTS  
OF GREEK, LATIN, ARCHÆOLOGY, AND  
COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

VOLUME III

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THE Departments of Greek, Latin, Archæology, and Comparative Philology in the University of Chicago publish, at irregular intervals, papers written by instructors and graduate students of the University upon subjects within the general domain of classical philology. The papers are collected in volumes, but are also sold separately.

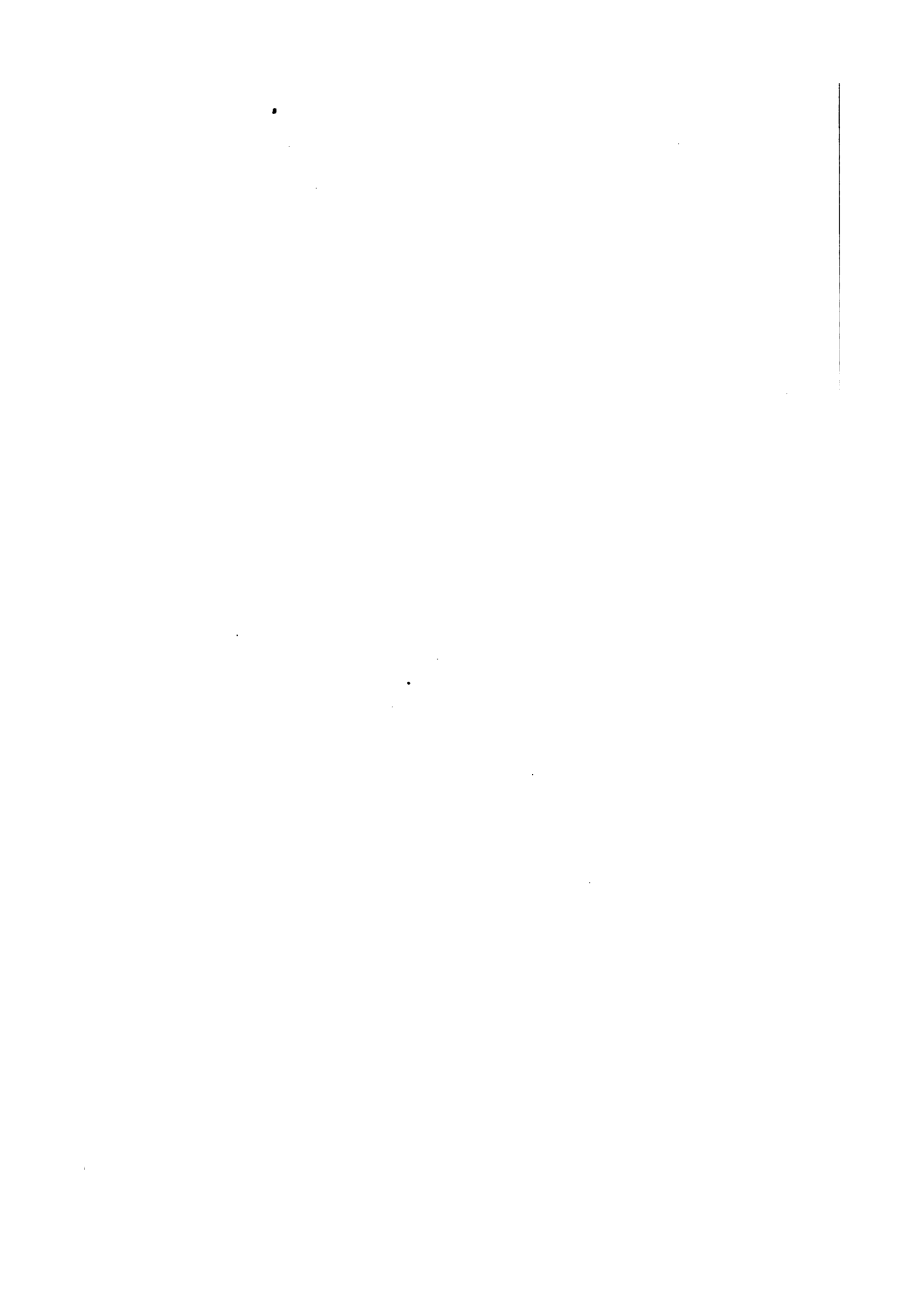
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Specimens of Grain Receipts from Karamis.

## KARANIS PAPYRI.

### I. Grain Receipts.

WHEN in 1895 Messrs. Hogarth and Grenfell excavated the mound in the Faiyûm, called Kûm Ushîm, and identified it with the ancient Karanis, they found only a limited number of papyri, the site having been previously well-nigh 'exhausted by native diggers.' I am so fortunate as to be able to publish some papyri taken from this mound, doubtless by these earlier excavators.

In October, 1897, through the efforts of Dr. James Henry Breasted, I succeeded in purchasing from a dealer in Upper Egypt a considerable number of Greek papyri. The pieces, some of them of course mere fragments, numbered upwards of two hundred, and came, my Egyptian correspondent assured me, from the house ruins of a single site, Washîm. The frequent occurrence of the name Karanis in the papyri, especially in such contexts as in the pieces here presented, pointed to the identification of Washîm with the ancient Karanis, an identification which proves to have been already established by Messrs. Hogarth and Grenfell, Washîm being, as Mr. Grenfell kindly assures me, only another way of spelling Ushîm. It is decidedly fortunate that so exact and positive a determination as to *provenance* can be made in the case of papyri secured through the hands of natives. Except for one literary piece, a fragment of Iliad Θ,<sup>2</sup> the papyri deal principally with business matters, private and official. There are two rolls of accounts, one forty-seven columns in length, and a number of letters and official communications. Grain receipts of the sort given by the public farmers to the *σιτολόγοι*, or grain collectors of the village, for the autumnal advances of seed-corn,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Egypt Exploration Fund, *Archæological Report, 1895-1896*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Published, with a facsimile, in the *American Journal of Archæology*, 1898, pp. 347 ff.

constitute a considerable element in the collection. There are ninety-one of these, in general quite complete and plainly legible. These documents ally themselves unmistakably with the grain receipts in the Berlin Museum, forty-three of which have been published by Wilcken, Krebs, and Viereck,<sup>1</sup> and on which Viereck has commented.<sup>2</sup> As the Berlin receipts connect themselves so closely with the similar pieces in my collection, they are, with the kind permission of Professor Erman, the director of the Egyptian division of the Royal Museum, reprinted here, and the material of all the receipts has been treated in the notes and the indices. The Berlin receipts, being here presented in a new order, that of their cleruchy numbers, have been renumbered, and in these pages the numbers in italics refer to them.

The usual date on the pieces is the twenty-second year of Antoninus, *i. e.*, 158-9 A. D. Out of 134 receipts, 127 bear this date. Five are from earlier years of the same emperor. No. 46. is from the fifteenth year of Antoninus, 151-2 A. D., 43. from the seventeenth, 6. from the eighteenth, 36. and 42. from the twentieth. From 10. 42. and 5. the date has disappeared. Of my papyri, 91 in all, 88 are dated in Antoninus' twenty-second year, and one in his fifteenth. The combined collections thus come from within a period of eight years, and nearly all of them from a single year; indeed, probably from a single season of that year, since the farmers would apply for their seed at about the same time. This time was the autumn; *cf.* 36:7 (B. U. 171), where the date is Λκ 'Αθὺρ κς, *i. e.*, the twentieth year (of Antoninus), the twenty-sixth of Athur, or November 22, 156 A. D.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1. PALÆOGRAPHICAL.

The papyrus on which these receipts are written is of various qualities. Some pieces are very smooth and thin; others are

<sup>1</sup> *Griechische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I-III, Nos. 31-721, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> P. Viereck, "Quittungen aus dem Dorfe Karanis über Lieferung von Saatkorn," *Hermes*, XXX, pp. 107-23.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 121.

rough and coarse, and evidently were already in very bad condition when they were used, *e. g.*, 37. 78. 22. In the sizes and shapes of the receipts, too, there is much diversity, even among the pieces which seem to have suffered little, if at all, from the vicissitudes of seventeen centuries. The line is usually parallel with the longer side of the papyrus, especially in receipts written in what I have ventured to call the official hand. Of course it is the recto that is chosen for the writing, as far as can be judged from the smoothness of the written side, and from the occasional traces of the overlapping of two pieces, where the fibers of the recto, being at right angles to the line of juncture, afford an additional clew. The pieces were, many of them, probably mere scraps, there being no requirement as to uniformity. It is noteworthy that hardly one of them has any writing on the verso, at a time when so many papyri were used twice, and often for purposes quite independent.

When the receipts came into my hands, they were for the most part rolled together in packets. In one case the pieces had been held together by a string running through the center of each one, as though for filing, and the bit of brown thread still held twelve of them insecurely together. The receipts thus filed together were the following—I begin at the top of the pile: 72. 25. 40. 47. 10. 53. 82. 70. 77. 45. 18. 39.

The great palæographical interest of these papyri lies in the variety of hands which appear, and which it is thus possible to assign with absolute certainty to so particular a time, *viz.*, in most cases, the autumn of 158 A. D. The writing presents a surprising number of cursive and uncial types, with many hands intermediate between the two. The different forms of letters which the papyri thus prove to have been in use in the same district at the same time are sufficiently shown in the facsimiles. Some of the documents were evidently written with care and without haste; *e. g.*, No. 11., in which alone the year is fully written, *δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστού* L; but the receipts were in most cases hastily written and much abbreviated, *e. g.*, those beginning *σιτοῦ κρᾶνιῶ εὐχ προ)* *χειρογράφ*, etc. Such receipts begin, in almost every case, in a

certain hand, which may be called the official hand. The official hand appears in Nos. 1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 21. 23. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 33. 34. 35. 36. 39. 41. 42. 43. 44. 47. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 58. 62. 63. 64. 68. 71. 72. 74. 75. 79. 80. 82. 83. 85. 86. 88. 89. of my collection; *i. e.*, in 55 out of 91. To this hand the Berlin editors have assigned 13 of their receipts,<sup>1</sup> viz., those numbered 1. 3. 4. 17. 18. 25. 31. 32. 33. 34. 39. 40. 41. in this edition. Thus out of 134 receipts 68 are, at least in part, by this hand.

In 66 of the Chicago receipts the writing is across the fibers. Fifty-four of these are in the official hand. But the collection contains but 55 in this hand; so that all but one show the writing across the fibers. Of the Berlin receipts 27 have the writing across the fibers, seven of which are in the official hand. Thirteen Berlin receipts in all are in this hand. Altogether, out of 68 receipts begun in this hand, 61 have the writing across the fibers. The determining element with this scribe was probably not so much the fiber relation, however, as the shape of his papyrus, for everywhere, except perhaps in 17., he prefers to make his line parallel with the longer side of his papyrus. It is still a singular thing that more than three-fifths of the whole number of receipts have the writing across the fibers.

The official hand seldom runs through the receipt; in general it ends with *κυρίου*, and a less difficult hand fills out the receipt. The exceptions, *e. g.*, 5. 30. 42. 52. 55. 72. 74.,<sup>2</sup> may have been cases where the farmer was illiterate—*ἀγράμματος*, *cf.* 60. 22. 36. 37.,—and had no one at hand to receipt for him, as Didymus, son of Sarapion, for example, receipted for his neighbor Sambas, son of Ptolemæus. It will be observed that these men farmed in the same cleruchy, *cf.* 60. 61. But with this interesting instance we are introduced to the other class of receipts, where the official hand and formula are lacking, and the document usually displays

<sup>1</sup> B. U. II, p. 97. None of the Berlin receipts published since are in this hand.

<sup>2</sup> Viereck, however, finds two hands in all Berlin receipts begun in the official hand.

a single hand throughout. This hand must in general be that of the farmer, who would naturally receipt for the advance of seed-grain in his own hand, if he could write. Thus 60. and 61. taken together show conclusively that Didymus made out his receipt with his own hand. Expressions like *Οννωφρις ἔγραψα* 59:6, and *Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπίωνος ἔγραψα* 65:7, and *Σωκράτης ἔγραψα τὰ ὅλα* 78:5 probably state explicitly only what was generally assumed, viz., that the farmer who received the grain would receipt for it in his own hand. Thus the diversity of hands and the rudeness of some of them are entirely natural. The hands are not all rude, however. That of Onnophris, 59., is a small and neatly formed uncial. The second hand of 10. 16. 64. and probably 36. is a fine, rapid, but very regular cursive. The second hand of 19. 26. and 28. (also 27.?) is a running hand, and may easily have belonged to one accustomed to the constant use of the pen. But these identifications cannot safely be carried far, nor largely built upon. The explanation of them may be in the employment of official scribes; in which case we have two scribal hands often in the same receipt. The services, too, of a neighbor like Didymus, present at the *θησαυρός* on a similar errand, are doubtless to be assumed in some cases where the fact is not explicitly stated.

There is a great amount of abbreviation in these receipts. Not only the official hand, but almost all the writers, reduced the length of the documents to the minimum. The only element that generally escapes abbreviation is the emperor's name, and even this is sometimes reduced. Aside from those in the opening formulas, the most common abbreviations are those of place names. *πατ* for *Πατσώντεως* occurs 33 times. Indeed, this name is written fully but once in these papyri (69:5), and appears abbreviated 37 times. *κερκ* for *Κερκεσούχων* occurs 25 times. This name is fully written but twice (37:4, 73:3) out of a total of 32 occurrences. *ψεν* for *Ψεναρψενήσεως* occurs 25 times, while the full writing appears in but 4 out of 39 cases. The indices have been so prepared, however, as to make these and similar facts clear. It has been possible to expand one abbreviation left unexplained





15:2, for *καμηλιανῆς* 70:5; *πτολεμαειτος* 70:5, doubtless for *Πτολεμαίδος*; *τρεις* 46:8, for *τρεῖς*; *κληρουχειας* 11:3, for *κληρουχίας*; *προκιται* 45:5, for *πρόκειται*; *αυνειους* 15:2, for *αυνιους* 59:5; *δανιον* 36:2, 42:4, for *δάνειον*; *δνω* for *δύο*; *ορσενουφειως* 31:5, for *Ορσενουφειως*; *ειρας* 47:3, for *ιρᾶς* (*ιερᾶς*), are from various hands. 59., which, despite its clearness, presents so much of difficulty, has *σεπερματων* and *κεσαρος*. *εκραψε* 8.8 presents a change quite analogous to the second in *πτολεμαειτος*—the surd mute displacing the sonant. *ειδως* 37:7, for *ειδότης*, seems capable of no explanation and is probably a simple error; cf. *ει[δ]ος* 8:9, which is a step nearer *ειδότης*.

## 2. HISTORICAL.

The receipts are of three general types. Of the 134 pieces rather more than half belong to the group beginning *σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος)*. *ἔσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρόγρ(α)φ(ον) σπερμάτ(ων) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου*. This group may be further divided, as 18 of the 72 receipts in it omit *χειρόγρ(α)φ(ον)*. The receipts with *χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)* are those numbered 1. 2. 5. 6. 8. 9. 10. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 21. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 33. 34. 35. 36 (*καισαρος bis*). 39. 41. 44. 47. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 58. 63. 64. 68. 71. 72. 74. 79. 82. 83. 85. 86. 88. 89., making forty-seven belonging to my collection; and 3. 18. 25. 32. 33. 40., making six in the Berlin collection; in all, fifty-three. Those without *χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)* are 3. 19. 23. 42. 43. 62. 75. 80. 87 (add *κωμης* after *σιτολ(όγοις)*), making nine in my collection; and 1. 4. 11 (*προσφω(νησις) ?*) for *προ(χρειαν)*. 17. 19 (*προσφω( )* for *προ(χρειαν)*). 23. 31. 34. 39. 41., making ten in the Berlin collection; in all, nineteen. To this group 27. should probably be added; though the loss of its first line makes the assignment somewhat uncertain. No. 1., a bill of this type, may be rendered thus:

To the grain collectors of Karanis: I, Kanis, son of Acchophis, have received an advance of seed-corn, hereby acknowledged, of the twenty-second year of Antoninus Cæsar the lord, for 7 arouras of royal land of Patsontis, belonging to the third cleruchy.

The words *προ(χρείαν)* and *χειρόγρ(α)φ(ον)* (rendered by Viereck "gegen Ausstellung dieses Schuldscheines") are doubtful and difficult. Some such word as the latter is made probable here by the requirement in the authorization given below,<sup>1</sup> that the *σιτολόγος* turn over the seed-corn to the farmers only upon receiving from them the proper acknowledgment, *λαβων παρ' αυτων την [καθ]ηκουσαν χ[ι]ρ[ο]γραφια*], though here something more than a mere receipt seems to be required, for the papyrus goes on with specifications as to *περι του παντα τα περι την [γην] δ . . . . . αλλα . . . . . καταν . . . . [τ]ωι δεοντι καιρω πυρωι και τοις αρμοζουσι [κατα καιρον σπερ]μασι και μηδεμιαν αρουραν εσαι ερ[ημον] η αβροχον η ευβροχον κτλ*, from which Kenyon understands the *χιρογράφιαι* to have been "undertakings for the proper use of the seed and cultivation of the ground" (II, p. 96). *προ(χρείαν)* is Wilcken's expansion of *προ*), on the basis of B. U. 298 and 308.<sup>2</sup>

*but how*  
*of*

The second group, of three receipts, from the years 15 and 20 of Antoninus, has a still more exact formula. No. 46. begins thus: *σιτολ(όγοις) κώμης Καρανίδος. Ουετούριος Μάξιμος γεωργ(ός) με κλη(ρουχίας) ἔσχο(ν) παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς δά(νειον) σπέρ(ματα) τοῦ ἐνεστῶ(τος) ιε ἔτους ἀπὸ γ(ενημάτων) τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) ιδ ἔτους κτλ.* 36. and 42., the Berlin representatives of this type, have *χαίρειν* after *Καρανίδος*, postponing the farmer's name, and relate to the twentieth year of Antoninus.

The third class reduces the formula to its simplest terms: *σπερμάτων κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.* Thirty-four receipts of this sort are in the Chicago collection, viz.: 4. 7 (om. τοῦ κυρίου). 11 (δευτερου και εικοστου for κβ). 12. 20. 22. 24. 31. 32. 37. 38. 40. 45. 48. 49. 50. 51. 57. 59 (σεπερματων, κεσαρος). 60 (om. τοῦ). 61. 65. 66. 67. 69. 70. 73 (om. Καίσαρος). 76. 77. 78. 81. 84. 90. 91 (om. τοῦ). The Berlin collection contains twenty-four: Nos. 2. 5. 6 (ιης). 7. 8. 9. 10. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 21. 22. 23. 25. 26. 28. 29. 30. 35. 37. 38. 43 (ιςς)., making a total of fifty-eight receipts of this type.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, pp. 96, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Viereck, *Hermes*, XXX, p. 111; A. S. Hunt, *Classical Review*, X, p. 333. Hunt suggests *προ(φώνησιν)* for *προ(χρείαν)* throughout.

Viereck has shown that these documents were receipts given to the *σιτολόγοι*, officials having charge, under the *κωμογραμματεῖς*, of the government granaries, by the farmers for seed-corn issued to them to enable them to sow the public, royal, sacred, or other lands assigned them. The distribution was made in the late autumn, and probably usually at the rate of one artaba of grain for each aroura of land.<sup>1</sup> Kenyon has shown that these advances of grain were repaid by the farmers, after the harvest, usually in the month Pauni (May 26–June 24), less often in the preceding month, Pachon, or the following, Epeiph, together with about 23 per cent. of the original advance as interest and to cover expenses of collection.<sup>2</sup> Such repayments are recorded in documents like the following, of A. D. 150 (Papyrus CCCXLV),<sup>3</sup> in which, with the aid of Kenyon's notes, I have made the probable expansions :

Πετεσουχος Νεφερωτος κ(αι)  
 μ[ετο]χ(οι) σιτολ(ογοι) Βακχιαδος  
 [επ Αρσ]ι μεμετρη(μεθα) τη κ̄η του  
 [Παυν]ι μηνος του ενεστωτος  
 γL Αντωνινου Καισαρος του κυριου  
 [απο] γενη(ματων) του αυτου ε[του]ς εν θη  
 [σαυρ]ωι Βακχιαδος εις Ονωφρι[ν]  
 [Π]ανεφρεμμεως Βακχ(ιαδος) δη(μοσιον γεωργον) δι(α)  
 [ . . ]ωρ . Σοκνο(παιου) Νησου πυρου  
 [α]ρτ[α]βας τριακοντα κτλ

l. 3, For [επ Αρσ]ι l. [Ἡφαιστ]ι(αδος), Grenfell and Hunt, *Classical Review*, 1898, p. 434.

l. 7, εις "to the credit of" (Kenyon).

l. 9, l. [κω]μαρχ(ων), Grenfell and Hunt, *ibid.*

The recently published second volume of *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* contains eleven documents of this sort,<sup>4</sup> the dates

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 88, and Viereck, "Quittungen aus dem Dorfe Karanis über Lieferung von Saatkorn," *Hermes*, XXX, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kenyon, *ibid.*, II, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kenyon, *ibid.*, II, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 89–94. Cf. also B. U. 188 and 336.

ranging from the 5th of Pauni to the 26th of Epeiph. But Papyrus CLXXX, a register of grain received by the *σιτολόγοι*, apparently of Neilopolis, in A. D. 228, shows receipts as early as the 9th of Pachon, and probably the 2d and even earlier.

Kenyon has published two other documents relating to the distribution of seed-corn, which are of great interest. They are of the nature of requisitions upon the *σιτολόγοι* for the annual advances of grain to the public farmers. They are from the forty-first year of Augustus, and pertain to the Arsinoite nome. In the first of these Faustus son of Priscus, an imperial slave, directs Acusilaus, the *σιτολόγος* of *Λυσιμαχίδες δύο*, to distribute corn to the *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*, for the cultivation of the royal, sacred, and other land which they till, in accordance with the commands of the *στρατηγός* and *βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς* of the division, "and with the authorization of the toparch, the *κωμογραμματεὺς*, and the other local officials, on receipt of the usual undertakings for the proper use of the seed and cultivation of the ground."<sup>1</sup>

The second document<sup>2</sup> contains precisely the authorization prescribed in the first. It is addressed to the same Acusilaus, by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 96. The date is November 19, A. D. 11 :

Φανστος Πρισκου Καισαρος Ακουσιλα[ω]ι σιτολογωι Λυσιμαχιδων δυο χα[ιρ]ειν μετρησον  
 απ[ο τ]ων γενηματω[ν του μ] L Καισαρος δημοσιοις γεωργοις  
 εις ην γεωργοισι βασιλικη[ν] και ιεραν και ετε[ρ]αν γην πυρου ακολο[υθ]ως τοις υπο  
 Οιακος στρ[ατ]ηγου [τ]ης μεριδος [και] Ασκληπιαδου βα[σι]λικου γραμμ[α]τεως]  
 επ[ε]σ[ταλ]μενοις και επεσφραγι[σμε]νοις διγμασι συνεπακολουθουντων του τοπα[ρχ]ου  
 κα[ι] του κωμογρ[αμ]ματεως της κω[μ]ης και των αλ[λων των πα]  
 ρ[α]γενομενων εις δανεια [τη]ς εις το [μα] L [Κα]ισαρος κατασπορας λαβων παρ  
 αυτων την [καθ]ηκουσαν χ[ι]ρ[ο]γραφ[ι]αν περι του παντα τα περι την [γην] κτλ

It is known that the *σιτολόγοι* made monthly reports to the *στρατηγός*. Cf. Kenyon, *ibid.*, II, p. 119. B. U. 529, 534.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 98. Probably about the last of Athur, A. D. 11 :

Πνεφερωσ Θεμισωνος ηγουμε[νο]σ ιερων]  
 κ(αι) Πτολεμαιοσ τοπαρχησ και Αρτεμ[ιδω]ροσ]  
 κωμογραμματεωσ και Ισιων γραμ[μα]τεωσ]  
 γεωργων οι δ̄ των απο Κυνων π[ο]λεωσ]  
 5 Ακουσιλαου δημοσιω σιτολογω τω παρ[α]

the *ἡγούμενος*, the toparch, the *κωμογραμματεὺς*, and the *γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν*, and distinctly refers to the first document. A list is appended giving the names of the farmers to whom the corn is to be delivered, and the amount to be turned over to each man. The two documents are doubly interesting and valuable as supplementing and explaining each other.

Assuming that the methods of Bacchias and Lysimachides Duo were also those of Karanis—not a violent assumption, since all were in the Arsinoite nome—the whole procedure thus becomes clear. In the late autumn, about November, the officials of the nome authorized the *σιτολόγοι* to make the usual distributions of grain to the public farmers, upon receiving a further authorization from the local officials, the *ἡγούμενος*, the *τοπάρχης*, the *κωμογραμματεὺς*, and the *γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν*, together with a schedule of the persons and amounts to be paid. Apparently, upon this twofold requisition, the *σιτολόγοι* made to the *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* the transfers prescribed, usually at the rate of one artaba of grain for one aroura of land, the farmers receipting for the grain in the manner so fully illustrated by the Berlin and Chicago receipts. After the harvest, these amounts of grain were paid back into the public granaries, plus between one-fourth and one-fifth of the original advance; whereupon the *σιτολόγοι*, usually in the month of June, issued the acknowledgments of the form *μεμετρήμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων κτλ.* Or the farmers in some

Πρισκου Kaisaros χαιρειν μετρησον το[is]  
 [v]πογεγραμμενοις δημοσιοις γεωργοι[s]  
 κλεινα σπερματα της εις το μα ε[τος]  
 κατασπορας τας κεχηματισμενας α[υτοις]  
 10 κατα χρηματισμους Ασκληπιαδ[ου]  
 [βασ]ιλικου γραμματεως και Οιακος στρα[τηγου]  
 [δια] Φαυστου Πρισκο[υ] Kaisaros πυρου Σ[υριου]  
 [δε]υτερου αρταβας χιζ\ και εις  
 / ε Συρ̄ β̄ ο ωζ\

15 το κατ̄ ανδρα υποκιται  
 [Αν]ουβιων Πετεσουχου . ε̄ ο̄ κε β'  
 [Αν]ουβιων Αφροδισιου ε̄ ο̄ λα . .  
 κτλ

cases made the repayment, not in kind, but in money, which went into the hands, not of the *σιτολόγοι*, but of the *πράκτορες σιτικῶν*.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally understood that these assignments of seed-corn were made at the uniform rate of one artaba of grain to one aroura of land.<sup>2</sup> The first evidence of this seems to have been found in 36:4 (B. U. 171), where the correspondence is unmistakable, eight arouras, eight artabas.<sup>3</sup> The fact that usually only the number of arouras is given in the receipts speaks strongly for the existence of a uniform and well-understood rate of distribution, in which the amount of land was the determining element. The word or sign *ἀράβη* occurs in five of the Chicago receipts, 24. 38. 46. 65. and 91. In 46. the ratio is one to one, as in 36. In 65., however, the totals are  $14\frac{3}{8}$  arouras to  $15\frac{1}{2}$  artabas; in 24.,  $3\frac{5}{8}$  arouras to  $2\frac{7}{4}$  artabas; in 91., perhaps  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , but probably  $4\frac{1}{2}$  arouras to 3 artabas; while in 38.,  $11\frac{1}{4}$  arouras stand over against  $7\frac{1}{2}$  artabas.<sup>4</sup> These figures seem fatal to the theory of the exact equivalence of aroura and artaba; and the last ones suggest that the ratio was very far from being on all occasions uniform. The modifying element lay, perhaps, in the nature of the land involved.

The land areas represented by the receipts are generally small, and the fractional parts are calculated, in one at least, to  $\frac{1}{128}$  ( $19:5$ ) of an aroura. Fractions thus occur in more than half the receipts. Nearly one-half the receipts are for areas of less than five arouras. There are many single items of less than one aroura; and one receipt represents but  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an aroura (22.). Only five represent holdings of 15 arouras or more, and the largest of these, 71., covers  $27\frac{3}{4}$ . An interesting point is the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Viereck, *Hermes*, XXX, p. 110; Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, pp. 88, 119.

<sup>3</sup> Viereck also cites, but somewhat vaguely, a papyrus in the Archduke Rainer collection at Vienna, apparently unpublished, which he considers illuminating for the whole matter of the *σιτολόγοι* and their functions. (*Hermes*, XXX, p. 110, footnote 1.) I was myself able to find at Vienna nothing more decisive for the one to one rate than an additional instance of it.

<sup>4</sup> The fraction  $\frac{3}{8}$  in 2:5 (B. U. 262) certainly suggests that artabas are meant, though the usual symbol does not appear. This would give in that receipt  $4\frac{3}{8}$  artabas for  $5\frac{3}{8}$  arouras.

composite character of many of these larger holdings. Thus 41., with four items, represents lands in Patsontis, Ptolemais, and Psenarpsenesis; 40., with three, lands in Patsontis, Kerkesoucha, and Psenarpsenesis; and 65., with six items, lands in Patsontis, Ptolemais, and Kerkesoucha.

Ninety-four cleruchies are implied by our receipts, though but seventy-one are actually represented. Three receipts, 57. 70. 29., refer to two cleruchies each, No. 65. to three. On the other hand, some cleruchies are referred to by three, four, or even five receipts; cf. Table I. Thirteen are mentioned in three, one or perhaps two in four, and two, 57 and 83, in five. Of those dealing with 57, two (26. 27.) are further interesting as being in the same name, Didymus, son of Sarapion, in the same hand, probably his, and about the same kind of land, royal land of Patsontis. Further, the hand and name seem to identify the writer with the Didymus of Nos. 60. 61., which deal with cleruchy 62. In one of these Didymus is writing in another's name, but in his own receipt, 61., one of the two items is for royal land of Patsontis.

The interrelations of the villages, the estates, and the cleruchies seem intricate and confused. Karanis we know to have been a village in the division of Herakleides, in the Arsinoïte nome. Ptolemais, Kerkesoucha, Psenarpsenesis, and Patsontis were probably smaller villages near it, though Kenyon has suggested that Psenarpsenesis is the *Ψεναρσενήσεως πεδίου* of a British Museum papyrus;<sup>1</sup> while Viereck thinks the plain was simply named after the estate,—for to Psenarpsenesis, as also to Patsontis, he denies the dignity of a village; and Patsontis does not stand on quite the same level as the others in two or three respects. For example, we read in 19:3 [Κ]α<sup>ρα</sup>νίδ(ος) Πα[τρ(ώντιος)], which suggests that Patsontis was distinctly a dependency of Karanis, though it is of course possible that *Κα<sup>ρα</sup>νίδος* goes with what precedes. But there are certainly many cases in which *Πατσώντειος* stands alone in descriptions of land, without *βασιλικῆς*, *δημοσίας*, or any of the usual limitations. It is so used in

<sup>1</sup> *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 153, l. 30; cf. l. 26. Cf. also B. U. 291, 292.



relation to cleruchies 2, 30, 68, 75, 79, 87, 90, 91. Again, almost every other allusion to Patsontis relates to the royal land of it. This is twenty-five times referred to, out of thirty instances where Πατσώντεις is accompanied by a further specification.

Karanis, as the most important of this group of villages, was naturally the grain depot; and its *σιτολόγοι* distributed seed not only to the farmers of its estates and royal and public lands, but also to those of the estates and royal and public lands of Psenarpsenesis, of the estates and royal and revenue (*προσόδου, προσόδων*) land<sup>1</sup> of Kerkesoucha, of the Germanic estate, *οὐσία Γερμανική*, and revenue land of Ptolemais, and of the royal and public lands of Patsontis, as well as of lands of Patsontis not further described; perhaps also of land called *καμηλιανή* (*cf.* No. 30.) and of revenue land of Patsontis (*cf.* No. 91.). More particularly, our receipts show that there was royal land pertaining to Patsontis in twenty-three cleruchies, to Karanis in twenty, to Psenarpsenesis in fifteen (but *cf.* also 7:3), and to Kerkesoucha in three; again, that there was public land pertaining to Karanis in six cleruchies, to Patsontis in three, and to Psenarpsenesis in one. Again, that there was revenue land (*(γῆ) προσόδου* or *προσόδων*—I know no better term) pertaining to Kerkesoucha in sixteen cleruchies, and to Ptolemais in ten.

The papyri distinctly refer to the *Ἀντωνιανή οὐσία, Μαικιανή οὐσία, Φιλοδ(άμου?) οὐσία, Λουρια οὐσία, Γερμανικ(ή) οὐσία*, and *Σεουηριανή οὐσία*. With the first of these we may, perhaps, identify *Ἀντωνία (οὐσία)*, and with the last, *Σεουήρου (οὐσία)*. The forms of *καμηλιανή* and *Σενεκιανή*, too, readily suggest that *οὐσία* is understood with them, but it is even easier to understand simply *γῆ*. Of *Καρανίδ(ος) δορυφο( )*, 52:6, I can say nothing. Possibly *δορυφο(ρου)* may be the expansion, and we have here the designation of the land by a tax which it paid. But such a tax is unknown. It seems safe, however, to recognize six *οὐσῆαι* or estates, beside the *γῆ καμηλιανή* and *Σενεκιανή*. *Γῆ καμηλιανή*

<sup>1</sup> Kenyon has identified with *γῆ προσόδου* the *γῆ ἐτέρα* of British Museum Papyrus CCLVI, *d*, and the *γῆ ιδιωτικῆ* of Papyrus DCIV, *A*, and interprets it as meaning private land which paid a tax to the state.

in nine different cleruchies pertains to Psenarpsenesis; in four cleruchies, two of which belong also to the nine just mentioned, to Karanis; in one cleruchy, to Patsontis. There were thus lands of this sort in at least twelve cleruchies. Γῆ Σενεκιανή in eight cleruchies pertains to Karanis; and in two, to Kerkesoucha. Lands of the Λουρια οὐσία of seven cleruchies pertain to Psenarpsenesis, and of two to Karanis. There are lands pertaining to Psenarpsenesis in the οὐσία Φιλοδ( )<sup>1</sup> of four cleruchies; and pertaining to Karanis, of two. Lands of the Γερμανική of four cleruchies pertain to Ptolemais, and of two, to Kerkesoucha. Only Kerkesoucha is credited with lands of the οὐσία Σεουήρου or Σεουηριανή, which appears in four cleruchies. To Kerkesoucha should probably be assigned also the undesignated *ειρας* (= *ιέρās*) Σεουήρου<sup>2</sup> of 47:3. There are lands in the Μαικιανή of cleruchy 24 which pertain to Kerkesoucha, and of cleruchy 83 which pertain to Karanis. Ἀντωνιανή and Ἀντωνία are both named in connection with cleruchy 11, the (γῆ) Ἀντωνία pertaining to Karanis, while the land of Ἀντωνιανή οὐσία is not assigned to a village. Probably it, too, belonged to Karanis.

A single instance may be cited as illustrating the variety of kinds of land which might be found in one cleruchy. We have five receipts dealing with cleruchy 83. It seems to have contained royal land belonging to Patsontis (37.), Karanis (80. 81.), Psenarpsenesis (80.), and Kerkesoucha (36.); and land of the Γερμανική οὐσία belonging to Ptolemais (70. 81.), and the Μαικιανή, belonging to Karanis (81.), as well as (γῆ) καμηλιανή, belonging to Psenarpsenesis (70.). Cases like this make it seem at least possible that a cleruchy was not always a single particular section of land,<sup>3</sup> but might include several pieces, in different localities.

<sup>1</sup> Φιλοδαμο[ ] occurs in 63:4, without either Ψεναρψενήσεως or Καρανίδος, as though it were alone a sufficiently exact description. To connect it with the preceding abbreviation and read Πτολ(εμαίδος) Φιλοδαμο[ ] seems on every account unjustifiable.

<sup>2</sup> *ιέρὰ Σεουήρου*, sacred land of the estate of Severus, recalls the Ψεναρψ(ενήσεως) Φιλοδ( ) βασιλικῆς of 7:3, royal land of the estate of Philodamus(?), etc.

<sup>3</sup> "Das beweist, dass die Eintheilung des Landes nach Kleruchien nicht zusammenhing mit der Bestimmung nach Ortschaften. Man muss wohl

The ordinary fractional series in these papyri is  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{16}$   $\frac{1}{32}$   $\frac{1}{64}$   $\frac{1}{128}$ . All fractions of arouras are expressed in terms of this series. In two or three cases where artabas are dealt with, other fractions occur:  $\frac{1}{24}$  (24:3) and  $\frac{2}{5}$  (2:5), though it is not certain that artabas are meant in the latter case. In some receipts two or even more farmers are associated as partners. The partners are usually brothers (32. 50. 43.), or father and son (49.).<sup>1</sup> In 43. Viereck understands *οἱ ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος* to be the *σιτολόγοι* probably of that place, for some reason exercising functions at Karanis, in that particular year, 153 A. D.

The preparation of these receipts for publication has been completed at Berlin, where the similar documents in the New Museum have, through the kindness of Dr. Krebs, been freely accessible to me. I am further indebted to Dr. Krebs for many helpful suggestions in the decipherment of the more difficult parts of the papyri. I am indebted to Mr. Kenyon for kindly sending me proofs of those papyri in his new volume which deal with the *σιτολόγοι* and their functions, in advance of the appearance of the volume. The Berlin receipts, which I am permitted to reprint, are presented as published in the *Griechische Urkunden*, with only such changes as the editors have themselves proposed in later parts of the same work. The principal notes are given with each receipt, occasional suggestions of my own being separated from these, or from the receipt, by a line. I should print *κ(α)ρανιδ(ος)* and *κ(υ)ριου*, rather than *Καρανίδ(ος)* and *κυρίου* in the first lines of bills of the official hand; the usage of the Berlin editors is not uniform in this respect, and the matter is one of policy rather than of interpretation. I can also see nothing to commend *Πατ(σώντιος)* as against *Πατ(σώντεως)*. The genitive appears fully written but twice, to my knowledge,

vermuthen, dass eine regelrechte Eintheilung des Landes mit dem Messstabe vorgenommen war, und dass die einzelnen auf diese Weise abgetheilten Grundstücke nummerirt und *κληρουχίαι* genannt wurden, so dass man also den Ausdruck *κληρουχία*, der ja eigentlich die Genossenschaft der *κληρούχοι* bezeichnet, synonym gebrauchte mit *κλήρος*." (Viereck, *Hermes*, XXX, p. 122.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also 51. 78.

in papyri of this period, viz., in B. U. 108:1 and in No. 69. of my receipts. In both cases *πασιωντεως* is written.

The arrangement of the receipts in the following pages is that suggested by the cleruchy numbers. The Berlin receipts, in the lower margin, are presented in the same order, and in as close proximity as possible to the corresponding Chicago receipts. When several receipts concern the same cleruchy, the order within the group is in general the alphabetical one. In printing without accents, capitals, and punctuation, I have simply followed the papyri, trying to represent their evidence with the least possible distortion. My only departure from strict adherence to them has been in the matter of expanding abbreviations, and the element actually supplied by the papyrus has in all these cases been carefully distinguished from the expansion. The possible need of capitals, accents, and points, as practical aids to interpretation, however, is sufficiently met by the Berlin receipts in the footnotes.

In the indices, nominatives are given only when they occur; and in general the effort has been to indicate exactly how the forms occur, *e. g.*, whether fully written or abbreviated. The exceptions to this rule are in the use of capitals, accents, and breathings, and the occasional failure to indicate minor restorations. In leaving less-known Egyptian proper names unaccented, I have followed the example of Kenyon, in a course which seems preferable to the general imposition of arbitrary accents. Square brackets [ ] indicate restorations, parentheses ( ) expansions, and single-angled brackets < > erasures. In connection with the Berlin receipts, the measurements have been given as published in the *Griechische Urkunden*, and are evidently meant to be only approximate. The measurements of the Chicago receipts represent, not the extreme dimensions of the pieces, but the greatest actual width and height. The numbers under which the Berlin receipts appear in the *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin; Griechische Urkunden* (B. U.) are given immediately after the cleruchy numbers, and are followed by the Museum numbers of the documents.

η προσφώνησιν χρησιμοποιήσων "ὡς ἔστιν ἐπισημασμένη"  
P. U. 2; Palaeogr. 49.

1. CLER. 3.<sup>1</sup>—H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 8.2.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος  
του κ(υ)ριου γ κληρουχ(ιας)  
καις αγχωφεω[ς] πατ(σωντewς)  
βασιλικ(ης) τ ζ

3 Second hand begins with γ̄; all that precedes is in the official hand.

Cler. 2 is dealt with in 1. in the lower margin.

## 1. CLER. 2.—B. U. 263. P. 7035. H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 7.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος). \*Εσχ(ον) προ(χρείαν)  
σπερμάτ(ων) κβ § 'Αντωνείνου  
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου β̄ κληρουχ(ίας)  
Φανομγ(εὺς) —το) Φαμ . . ( )  
Πατ(σώντιος) τ γ

1 Cf. B. U. 279:1, 2.

2 Second hand begins with β̄.

4 Third hand.

## 2. CLER. 3.—B. U. 262. P. 7050. H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 12.5.

Σπερμάτων κβ § 'Αντωνείνου  
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου γ κληρουχίας  
Παπείς Πεμγέως Καρ(ανίδος) Φιλοδ( ) σεσ(ημείωμαι?) τ γ δ ιζ  
βασιλ(ικῆς) τ βδ ιζ

δβ<sup>3</sup>

5 δβ<sup>3</sup> in a second hand. β<sup>3</sup> = ⅔.

2. CLER. 5.<sup>2</sup>—H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 7.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριο(υ) ε̄  
 ουνωφρις πεθεως ψευ(αρψευησεως)  
 βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ θ δ ις̄ ξο̄

3 Second hand begins with ε̄; all that precedes is in the official hand. Sc. κληρουχιας.

5 αρουρων 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>.

## 3. CLER. 7.—H., cm. 6.1; W., cm. 7.2.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου ξ̄  
 κληρουχ(ιας)  
 εσουρις σισοῖτος  
 κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) δημοσι(ου)  
 τ̄ β ις̄ ξδ̄

3 Second hand begins with ξ̄; all that precedes is in the official hand.

5 Cf. Ἐσοῦρι Σισοῖτος B. U. 237:1 (A. D. 164-5).

7 αρουρων 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>.

## 23. CLER. 5.—B. U. 104. P. 7014. H., cm. 7.5; W., cm. 11.5.

Σιτολ(ογοις) Καραυιδ(ος). Ἐσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρόγρ(αφον) σπερμάτ(ων)  
 κβ § Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ε̄  
 κληρουχ(ιας) Ψενοβάστις Ὀρου Καραυιδ(ος)  
 βασιλ(ικῆς) τ̄ ιη̄ ις̄ λῶ Καραυιδ(ος) Σενεκ(ιανῆς?) τ̄ β ις̄ λῶ ξο̄,  
 καμηλιανῆς τ̄ γ L δ η ξο̄

2 With ε̄ a second hand begins (Viereck).

4 Papyrus <sup>ηλο'</sup> ις̄.

1 The text as published had χειρογρ(αφον?), B. U., I, p. 123, which Wilcken emended to χειρογραπ(τον) in the supplement, p. 356. This reading again has given way to χειρογραφον, i. e., χειρογρ(α)φ(ον?) in the final corrections, I, p. 397. Viereck in *Hermes*, XXX, p. 110, prints χειρόγραπ(τον), but in B. U., II, Nos. 440, 441, 443, reads χειρογρ(α)φ(ον) in papyri by the same hand.

## 4. CLER. 8.—H., cm. 3.4; W., cm. 9.3.

σπερ(ματων) κβ § αντωνινου καισαρος του κυριου  
 Ἢ κληρουχ(ιας) σωτας ωριωνο(ς) καρ(ανιδος) δημοσι(ου?)  
 ὅ δ L

3 αρουρων 4½.

## 5. CLER. 9.—H., cm. 6.1; W., cm. 7.7.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου Ἰ κληρουχ(ιας)  
 πτολ(εμαιος) διογενους κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) σενεκ(ιανης)  
 ὅ α L δ ις

1 The hand is the official one, and seems to run through the receipt.

2 θ is written over an erasure, perhaps of ις or ιγ.

5 αρουρων 1½ ¼ 1½.

## 6. CLER. 11.—H., cm. 6.8; W., cm. 8.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου ια πεθευς πασοκ(νοπαιου)  
 πτολ(εμαιδος) γερμ(ανικ ) ὅ ε

1 Probably in the official hand throughout.

3 Sc. κληρουχιας.

4 Cf. πτολ(εμαιδος).γερμανικ( ) 81:5; and 70:5.

5 αρουρων 5.

7. CLER. 11.<sup>3</sup>—H., cm. 5.4; W., cm. 8.9.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ L αντωνιου  
 καισαρος ια κληρουχ(ιας)  
 αντωνιαν(ης) ουσ(ιας) σαραπι[ων  
 πνεφερωτος β θ η [ . . .

2 Cf. 24.

3 Cf. Ἀντωνιανῆς οὐσ(ιας) B. U. 212:5 (A. D. 158) and B. U. 277:I, 7.

4 αρουρων 9½.

## 8. CLER. 12.—H., cm. 5.7; W., cm. 7.3.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν)  
 χειρογρ(α)φ(ον) σπερμ[α]τ(ων) κβ §  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ρι(ο)υ  
 ιβ̄ ωρος ατρειο(υς) καρ(ανιδος) βασιλ(ικης)  
 β ε L η ις

4 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\iota\beta}$ ; all that precedes is in the official hand. Sc. κληρουχιας.

6 αρουρων 5½ ½ 16.

<sup>3</sup>f. CLER. 11.—B. U. 280. P. 6822. H., cm. 5; W., cm. 8.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος). Ἐσχον προ(χρειάν)  
 σπερμάτ(ων) κβ § Ἀντωνείνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ια κληρουχ(ίας)  
 Πτολ(λ)ᾶς Πάπου Καρανίδ(ος) Ἀνω-  
 νίας β δ δ Πατ(σώντιος) βασιλ(ικῆς) β ε

1 Cf. B. U. 279:1, 2.

3 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\iota\alpha}$ .

1 Rather, εσχ(ον); papyrus εσχ.



## 9. CLER. 13.—H., cm. 3.9; W., cm. 7.3.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπε]ρματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου ιγ κλη(ρουχιας)  
 σαραπιων πτολεμαιου  
 . . . . . βα]σιλ(ικης)[. .

3 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\iota\gamma}$ ; all that precedes is in the official hand.

5 Slight traces suggest  $\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\iota\delta(\omicron\varsigma)$  before  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda(\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma)$ . The papyrus breaks off in this line.

## 10. CLER. 13.—H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 10.5.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερμ[ατ(ων) κβ ζ  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου ιγ κλ[ηρ(ουχιας)  
 χαιρημων πεθεως καρ(ανιδος) βασιλ(ικης) τ γ ις  
 κερκ(εσουχων) γερμ(ανικ ) τ a ις

1 In view of the date on the receipts among which this was filed (cf. p. 3), it seems certain that κβ ζ is to be supplied after σπερμ[ατ(ων); this is the usual date in receipts of the official hand; cf. also the same second hand in 16, which is dated κβ ζ.

2 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\iota\gamma}$ ; all that precedes is in the official hand.

3  $\alpha\rho\upsilon\rho\omega\nu$  3 $\overline{\Gamma\delta}$ .

4  $\alpha\rho\upsilon\rho\omega\nu$  1 $\overline{\Gamma\delta}$ .

## 11. CLER. 13.—H., cm. 8; W., cm. 16.6.

σπε[ρ]ματων δευτερου και εικοστου L  
 αντων[ι]νου καισαρος του κυριου ιγ  
 κληρουχιας ιουλιος σατο[ρ]νιλος  
 πτολεμαιδος προσοδο[υ] αρου  
 ρων τριων

3 Cf. Γάιος Ίούλιος Σατορνείλος B. U. 18:25, and Γάιος Ίούλ[ι]ος Σατορνίλος B. U. 300:13.

## 12. CLER. 14.—H., cm. 5; W., cm. 9.8.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ ζ αντωνινου καισαρος του  
 κυριου ιδ κληρο(υ)χ[ι]ας παπειρις ονν  
 ωφρεως πατ(σωντεως) βασιλ(ικης) τ L η ις ξδ

3 αρουρας  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{16}$   $\frac{1}{64}$ .

## 13. CLER. 15.—H., cm. 6.6; W., cm. 8.2.

σιτολο(γοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν)  
 χειρογρ(α)φ(ον) σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνειν(ο)υ  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου ιε κληρουχ(ιας)  
 ορσενουφισ πεθεως ψεν(αρψευησεως)  
 φιλοδ[.]λ( ) τ ιε ις

3 Second hand begins with ιε; all that precedes is in the official hand.

5 αρουρων 15 $\frac{1}{64}$ .

## 14. CLER. 15.—H., cm. 5.8; W., cm. 7.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου ιε κληρουχ(ιας)  
 ωρος μενανδρου πατ(σωντεως)  
 βασιλ(ικης) τ ε

2 Sc. ζ after κβ.

3 Second hand begins with ιε; all that precedes is in the official hand. The same second hand as in 13. 75. 79. 80. and 36. (B. U. 284), and as the third hand in 36.

5 αρουρων 5.

15. CLER. 16.—H., cm. 6.1; W., cm. 8.8.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
σπερματ(ων)

κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου

ις̄ κερας κανιος πατ(σωντεως) βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ L d ις̄ ξο

3 Second hand begins with ις̄; it resembles that of 8. All that precedes is in the official hand. Sc: κληρουχιας.—αρουρας  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$  γ̄ε̄ δ̄ε̄.

16. CLER. 16.<sup>4</sup>—H., cm. 6.6; W., cm. 8.1.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος

του κ(υ)ριου ις̄ κληρουχ(ιας) μυσθαρων

πεθεως κερκ(εσουχων) προσοδ(ου) τ̄ δ d

λ ις̄ καρ(ανιδος) σενεκ(ιανης) τ̄ δ λ̄ο̄ ψεν(αρψενησεως) βασιλ(ικης)  
τ̄ δ L d η

3 Second hand begins with ις̄, and is identical with the second hand of 10; all that precedes is in the official hand.

4 αρουρων  $4\frac{1}{4}$ .

5 αρουρων  $4\frac{1}{2}$ .—αρουρων  $4\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{8}$ .

<sup>4</sup> 5. CLER. 16.—B. U. 517. P. 7253. H., cm. 5; W., cm. 12.

[Σπερμ(άτων) κβ ζ?] Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ις̄  
κλη(ρουχίας) Ἡρακ[λῆς]

Ψενοβάστειως Ψεν(αρψενήσεως) βασιλ(ικῆς) τ̄ | .

Πε . ( . . . . ) ἔγρ(αψα).

1 Cf. B. U. 166:1, 5.

17. CLER. 17.<sup>5</sup>—H., cm. 4.7; W., cm. 10.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ  
 αντων[ει]νου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου ιζ̄ κλη(ρουχιας)  
 τουρβ[ων] εριεως πατ(σωντεως) βασιλ(ικης) τ η

- 2 Second hand begins with ιζ̄; all that precedes is in the official hand.  
 3 αρουρων 8.

18. CLER. 19.<sup>6</sup>—H., cm. 4.4; W., cm. 10.3.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου ιθ̄ κληρουχ(ιας)  
 απολλιναρ(ι)ο(ς) απατωρ μητ(ρος) σοθωτ(ος)  
 κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) δημοσι[ου] τ ζ L κ(ε)ρκ(εσουχων)  
 σενεικ(ιανης) τ a L

- 2 A second hand seems to begin with ιθ̄; all that precedes is in the official hand.  
 3 Possibly απολλωρο(ς) ?  
 4 αρουρων 7½.  
 5 αρουρων 1½.

<sup>5</sup> 6. CLER. 17.—B. U. 202. P. 7234. H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 7.5.

Σπερμ(άτων) ιη ζ Ἀντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ιζ̄ κληρουχ(ίας)  
 Ἀπολλώνιος Λιμναίου  
 Καρ(α)ίδος Σενεκ(ιανῆς) τ ε γ η

1 154-5 A. D.

<sup>6</sup> 7. CLER. 19.—B. U. 210. P. 7232. H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 10.5.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ L Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου ιθ̄ κληρο(υχίας) Πολλᾶς Ζωίλ(ου)  
 καὶ μέτοχ(οι) Ψεναρψ(ενησεως) Φιλοδ( )  
 βασιλ(ικῆς) L η ις.

4 L = τ.

## 19. CLER. 21.—H., cm. 6.6; W., cm. 7.7.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) σπερματ(ων)  
 κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου κα ηρακλειδης  
 αβυκεως κερκ(εσουχων) βασιλ(ικης) τ γ δ ις λο  
 ρκη ο(μοιως) σεουηρου τ β δ η λο ρκη

3 Second hand begins with κα; all that precedes is in the official hand. *Sc.* κληρουχιας.

4, 5 αρουρων 3½ 1½ 3½ 1½. ο(μοιως) written ο. αρουρων 2½ ½ 3½ 1½.

## 20. CLER. 21.—H., cm. 7; W., cm. 8.9.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ ζ αντων[ιου]  
 καισαρος [τ]ου κυριου κα  
 κλη(ρου)χ(ιας) πατ(σωντεως) βασι(λικης) πετε(σουχος)  
 αρπαγαθου τ γ L . .

4 αρουρων 3½ . .

## 21. CLER. 22.—H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 7.9.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου κβ κληρουχ(ιας) αυνης  
 χαριδημ[ου] καραυιδ(ος)  
 βασιλ(ικης) τ δ δ πτολ(εμαιδος) προσοδ(ου) τ L d

3 Second hand begins with κβ; it closely resembles that of 13. and 14. All that precedes is in the official hand.

5 αρουρων 4½. αρουρας ½ ½.

## 22. CLER. 23.—H., cm. 5; W., cm. 7.3.

σπερ(ματων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρο[ς] του κυριου  
 κγ κλη(ρουχιας) αρπεκυσις  
 πτολλιδος πατσω(ντεως)  
 βασιλ(ικης) τ L η

5 αρουρας ½ ½.—Below stands what is probably the αρταβη sign.

23. CLER. 24.—H., cm. 5.1; W., cm. 9.3.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ] (α) ραιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) σπερματ(ων)  
 κβ Ϛ αντωνεινου  
 καισα] ρος του κ(υ) ριου κδ̄ μυσθαρτων κερα  
 κερκ(εσουχων) μαικ(ιανης) β̄ α δ ις̄

2 Second hand begins with κδ̄; all that precedes is in the official hand. *Sc.* κληρουχιας.

3 αρουρων 1¼ 18.

24. CLER. 25.<sup>1</sup>—H., cm. 4.7; W., cm. 7.2.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ Ϛ αντωνινου καισαρος του κυριου  
 κε̄ σαταβους παकुσ(εως)  
 ψεν(αρψευησεως) βασιλ(ικης) β̄ γ λ η̄ Ϛ β δ κο̄

1 αντωνινου is suggested rather than fully written; perhaps αν(τωνι)νου should be read.

2 After κε̄ *sc.* κληρουχιας.—*Cf.* Σαταβούς Πακύσεως B. U. 270:4 and 158:8, both second century papyri.

3 αρουρων 3½ 18. πυρου αρταβας 2¼ 28.

<sup>1</sup>8. CLER. 25.—B. U. 31. P. 6821. H., cm. 8.5; W., cm. 5.5.

Σπερμάτων κβ λ  
 Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου κε̄ κληρο(υ)  
 χ(ί)ας Σωκράδης Σωκρά(δους)  
 Κερκεσούχ(ων) Σεουήρου  
 β̄ δ η̄  
 Χαίρημων Πνεφερῶ(τος)  
 ἔκραψε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 μὴ εἰ[δ]ὸς γράματα

8 Read ἔγραψε.

9 Read εἰδὸτος γράματα.

## 25. CLER. 26.—H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 7.5.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου κς κλη(ρουχιας) πετερμου  
 θις καστορο(ς) κερκ(εσουχων) προ(σο)δ(ου) τ̄ γ δ λ̄  
 καρ(ανιδος) βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ β L δ

3 Second hand begins with κς; all that precedes is in the official hand.

4 αρουρων 3¼ 3½.

5 αρουρων 2½ ¼.

## 26. CLER. 27.—H., cm. 5.3; W., cm. 10.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου  
 κζ κλη(ρουχιας) σαραπιω(ν) σαραπιω(νος) κερκ(εσουχων) βασι-  
 λ(ικης)  
 τ̄ β L δ ις λ̄ο ξ̄ο ο(μοιως) σενεκ(ιανης) τ̄ α

3 Second hand begins with κζ; it is the second hand of 19.; all that precedes is in the official hand.

4 αρουρων 2½ ¼ 1̄ 1̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄. ο(μοιως) written ο̄. αρουρας 1.

## 27. CLER. 28.—H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 7.2.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου κη κλη(ρουχιας)  
 ορσενουφισ πεθεως κερκ(εσουχων) προ(σο)δ(ου)  
 τ̄ γ η λ̄ο ξ̄ο καρ(ανιδος) φιλοδ( ) τ̄ γ L  
 ο(μοιως) καμηλ(ιανης) τ̄ L η̄

3 Second hand begins with κη; all that precedes is in the official hand.

5 αρουρων 3¼ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄ 3̄. αρουρων 3½.

6 ο(μοιως) written ο̄. αρουρας ½ ½.

28. CLER. 28.<sup>8</sup>—H., cm. 4.1; W., cm. 10.8.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου κη κλη(ρουχιας)  
 σαραπιω(ν) απολ( ) ψεν(αρψενησεως) βασιλ(ικης) τ β η ις  
 ο(μοιως)  
 καμηλ(ιανης) τ β L ις ξο  
 τ γ ρ

2 Second hand begins with κη; it is identical with the second hand of 19. and 26., and closely resembles that of 27. All that precedes is in the official hand.

3 αρουρων 2½ 1½.

4 αρουρων 2½ 1½ 1/4.

5 πυρου αρταβας 3½.

Cler. 29 is dealt with in 10. in the lower margin of p. 30.

29. CLER. 30.—H., cm. 5.9; W., cm. 7.5.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου λ κληρουχ(ιας)  
 πτολ(εμαιος) πεθ(εως) πατ(σωντεως) τ η η πτολ(εμαιδος)  
 προ(σο)δ(ου) τ α L η ις

1 Or perhaps χειρογρα(φον).

3 Second hand begins with λ; all that precedes is in the official hand.

4 αρουρων 8½.

5 αρουρων 1½ 1/8 1/4.

<sup>8</sup> 9. CLER. 28.—B. U. 626. P. 7313. H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 6.

Σπερμάτων κβ Ἀντωνίου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κη κλη-  
 [ρ(ου)χ(ιας)] Αἰλουρᾶς Διμναίου  
 Ψεν(αρψενήσεως) βασιλ(ικῆς) τ β L η ις λβ



30. CLER. 30.—H., cm. 6.2; W., cm. 8.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρ[ος  
 του κυριου λ κληρουχ(ιας)  
 φασις πεθεως κ(α)ραυιδ(ος)  
 δημοσιου τ η

1 The official hand, apparently, throughout. Cf. 5. 6. 42. 54. 55. 72. 74. and possibly 18.—5 αρουρων 8.

31. CLER. 30.<sup>9</sup>—H., cm. 11.2; W., cm. 5.1.

σπερ(ματων) κβ L—  
 αντωνινου καισαρος  
 του κυριου  
 λ κληρουχ(ιας)  
 ηρας ορσεινου  
 φειως κερκ(εσουχων)  
 γερμ(ανικ) ουσ(ιας) τ ιγ λο

2 Papyrus has καισαρ<sup>ος</sup>

7 αρουρων 13½.

10. CLER. 29.—B. U. 203. P. 7227. H., cm. 9; W., cm. 6.5.

Σπερ(μάτων) κβ ζ 'Αντων[ίνου]  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρί[ου]  
 κθ κληρουχίας  
 Κόμων 'Οννώφρεως  
 Καρ(ανίδος) βασιλ(ικῆς) τ β ις ξο ρς

<sup>9</sup> 11. CLER. 30.—B. U. 279. P. 7029. H., cm. 5; W., cm. 7.

Σι[τολ(όγοις) Καρ]ανίδ(ος) [\*E]σ[χ]ον προσ-  
 φώ(νησιν?) σπερ(μάτων) κβ ζ 'Αντωνείνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου λ  
 κληρουχ(ίας) Πτολεμαῖος  
 Πεθίως Καρανίδ(ος) βασιλ(ικῆς)  
 τ

1, 2 Read προσφω(ρὰν) (= προσφορὰν)? (Wilcken).

3 Second hand begins with λ.

32. CLER. 31.—H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 10.2.

σπερματων κβ L αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου—λα κλ[η(ρουχιας)  
 πεταλος σισοιτος και σαταβους αδελ(φος)  
 καρανιδος λουρ(ιας) ουσ(ιας) τ̄ ια η̄

4 On λουρ(ιας) cf. 43:5, 48:4. αρουρων 11½.

Cler. 32 is dealt with in 12. in the lower margin of p. 32.

33. CLER. 34.—H., cm. 8.1; W., cm. 7.9.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κυριου λδ ωρος σαταβο(υτος)  
 καρ(αυιδος) βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ κγ d ξο̄

3 Second hand, identical with second hand of 44., begins with λδ; all that precedes is in the official hand. Sc. κληρουχιας.

4 αρουρων 23¼ ¼.

34. CLER. 35.—H., cm. 4.4; W., cm. 10.7.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου λ̄ε κληρουχ(ιας)  
 πνεφερωσ χαριδημου του ηρακ( ) προσ[ο  
 δ(ου) κερκ(εσουχων) τ̄ γ

2 Second hand begins with λ̄ε; all that precedes is in the official hand.

3 ηρακ(λα), ηρακ(λειδου)?

4 αρουρων 3.

35. CLER. 35.—H., cm. 5.4; W., cm. 9.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρ]ανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερμ[ατ(ων)  
 κβ ζ α[ντ]ωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου  
 λ̄ε κλη(ρουχιας) [σ]αραπιων περιγενοους κ(α)ρ(ανιδος?) . . .  
 . . ο(μοιως) [σε]νεκ(ιανης) τ̄ γ L d

3 Second hand begins with λ̄ε, and bears some resemblance to the second hand of 25. All that precedes is in the official hand.

4 ο(μοιως) written ο̄. αρουρων 3½ ¼.

The surface of the papyrus is in bad condition.

36. CLER. 37.—H., cm. 6.6; W., cm. 8.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου λ̄ζ κλη(ρουχιας) ηρακ( )  
 ερμειου ψεν(αρψενησεως) λουρ(ιας) τ̄ ς

3 καισαρος repeated doubtless by mistake. Second hand begins with λ̄ζ; probably the second hand of 10. and 16. All that precedes is in the official hand. ηρακ(λας?)

4 ψεν( ) λουρ( ) τ̄ ς in a third hand, like the second of 14. 75. 79. 80. and 36 (B. U. 284). For λουρ(ιας) cf. 43:5, 48:4. αρουρων 6.

12. CLER. 32.—B. U. 207. P. 7235. H., cm. 5; W., cm. 11.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ ζ Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρ[ος]  
 τοῦ κυρίου λ̄β κληρουχ(ίας) Πρόκλ(ος)  
 μητρὸς Οὐαλερίας Πατσώντ(ιος) βασι[λ(ικῆς)]  
 τ̄ β

37. CLER. 38.<sup>9</sup>—H., cm. 7.4; W., cm. 9.

σπερματων κβ L  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κυριου  
 λη κληρουχιας αφροδισιο[ς  
 πτολεμαιου κερκε  
 σουχων προ[σ]οδων  
 τ γ ηρων εγρ(αψα) υπερ αυ  
 του μη ειδως γρ(αμματα)

6 αρουρων 3. Another ink and pen begins with ηρων; but the hand is probably the same.

7 ειδως for ειδωτος.—The papyrus was in very bad condition when the receipt was written, many fibers of the upper layer having already disappeared.

38. CLER. 41.<sup>10</sup>—H., cm. 5.1; W., cm. 9.2.

σπερ(ματων) κβ ζ αντωνινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου μα  
 κληρουχ(ιας) ηρων εκυσιος δι(α)  
 πτολεμαιου μυσθου  
 καρ(ανιδος) βασιλ(ικης) τ ια δ ς ζ L

1 The hand throughout is that of 21 (B. U. 167).

4 Cf. Πτολεμ[α]ιον Μισ[θου] B. U. 109:21.

5 αρουρων 11½. πυρου αρταβας 7½.

<sup>9</sup> 13. CLER. 38.—B. U. 721. P. 8455. H., cm. 6; W., cm. 10.5.

Σπερ(μάτων) κβ ζ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ  
 κυρίου Ψεν(αρψενήσεως) βασι(λικῆς) τ δ L [ . . . . . ]  
 τ α δ λη κ[λ]ηρουχ(ίας) Πρ[ . . . . . ]  
 Ὀρσενούφως . . . . ο.

<sup>10</sup> 14. CLER. 41.—B. U. 107. P. 6929. H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 6.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ L Ἀντωνείνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μα  
 κλη(ρου)χ(ίας) Κόμων  
 ἀπάτωρ Πατ(σώντεως) βασι(λικῆς)  
 τ L

39. CLER. 42.—H., cm. 4.4; W., cm. 10.7.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου μβ κλη(ρουχιας)  
 ορσενουφισ φαησεως ψεν(αρψενησεως) λουρ(ιας) τ̄ ιδ δ ξ̄<sup>ε</sup>

2 Second hand begins with μβ; all that precedes is in the official hand.

3 On λουρ(ιας) cf. 43:5, 48:4. αρουρων 14½ ¼.

40. CLER. 42.<sup>11</sup>—H., cm. 5.2; W., cm. 6.6.

(Reproduced in frontispiece.)

σπερματων κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου μβ κλη(ρουχιας)  
 ατρης αγχωφews  
 πατ(σωντewς) βασιλ(ικης) γης τ̄ ε  
 κερκ(εσουχων) προσοδ(ου) τ̄ γ  
 ψεναρ(ψενησεως) βασιλ(ικης) γης τ̄ δ η̄

4 αρουρων 5.

5 αρουρων 3.

6 αρουρας ¼ ¼.

41. CLER. 43.—H., cm. 6.1; W., cm. 7.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου μγ κληρουχ(ιας) ἱμου  
 θης κερα πατ(σωντewς) βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ γ δ̄ η̄ πτο  
 λε(μαιδος) προσοδ(ου) τ̄ α L ψεν(αρψενησεως) τ̄ β L  
 λουρ(ιας) τ̄ ε η̄ ξ̄<sup>ο</sup>

3 Second hand begins with μγ; it may be the second of 13. and 14., and the third of 36. All that precedes is in the official hand.

4 αρουρων 3½ ¼. 5 αρουρων 1½. — αρουρων 2½. 6 αρουρων 5½ ¼.

<sup>11</sup> 15. CLER. 42.—B. U. 204. P. 7228. H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 12.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ ζ Ἀν[τ]ωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 μβ Ψεναρ(ψενήσεως) καμηλ(ειανής) Ἀνής Ἀνείους τ̄ ζ L δ

## 42. CLER. 43.—H., cm., 5; W., cm. 10.1.

(Reproduced in frontispiece.)

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ου) προ(χρειαν) σπερμ[ατ(ων)]  
 κβ ζ

αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου

μγ κληρουχ(ιας) ονωφρις ττο

πεθεως βασι(λι)κ(ης) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) τ a

1 Official hand, apparently, throughout. The date restored is the usual one in receipts of this hand.

3 On ττο cf. 54:3 and 1:4 (B. U. 263); perhaps υιος should be read, or possibly (με)το(χος).

4 αρουρας 1.

## 43. CLER. 43.—H., cm. 4.9; W., cm. 7.6.

σιτο[λ(ογοις)] κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) [εσχ(ου)] προ(χρειαν)

σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου

καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου μγ κληρουχ(ιας)

πετεκας μητ(ρος) ταμυσθ(α) ψεναρψε(νησεως)

λουριας τ ε δ λβ

3 Second hand begins with μγ; all that precedes is in the official hand.

5 But possibly we should read λουρ) ουσ(ιας) even here. αρουρων 6¼ ¾.

## 44. CLER. 44.—H., cm. 4.9; W., cm. 9.1.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ου) προ(χρειαν) χειροργ(α)φ(ου)

σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος

του κ(υ)ριου μδ κλη(ρου)χ(ιας) ωροσ αροκρωους

καρ(αιδος) δη(μοσιου) τ ε λ

3 Second hand begins with μδ; it is identical with second hand of 33. All that precedes is in the official hand. Cf. Αροκρωους, Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, etc., II, pp. 133, 140. Or should we read Αροβρωους?

4 αρουρων 5¼.

45. CLER. 44.<sup>12</sup>—H., cm. 6.7; W., cm. 10.7.

(Reproduced in frontispiece.)

σπερμ(ατων) κβ L αντωνεινου καισαρος του  
 κυριου ευημερος πασιωνος γεωργος  
 μδ κληρουχ(ιας) καραιδος βασιλ(ικης) τ ε δ  
 και πτολεμ(αιδος) προσοδων τ δ ευημερος  
 επιδεδωκα καθως προκιται

3 αρουρων 54.

4 αρουρων 4.

46. CLER. 45.—H., cm. 11.1; W., cm. 5.5.

σιτολ(ογοις) κω(μη)ς καρ(αιδος) ουετου(ριος)  
 μαξιμος γεωργ(ος)  
 με κλη(ρουχιας) εσχο(ν) παρ(α) υ(μων)  
 εις δα(νειον) σπερ(ματα) του  
 ευεστω(τος) ιε ζ απο γ(ενηματων)  
 του διελ(ηλυθοτος) ιδ ζ καρ(αιδος)  
 βασιλ(ικης) ρ τ γ πυρου  
 αρταβας τρις τ γ

7 αρουρων 3; the sign preceding seems to be a mere dash, prefacing a symbol and number.

For contents cf. 33 (B. U. 171).

Cler. 46 is dealt with in 17. in the lower margin of p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> 16. CLER. 44.—B. U. 331. P. 7102. H., cm. 8; W., cm. 9.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ ζ Αντωνείνου  
 Καίσαρος του κυρίου  
 μδ κληρουχ(ίας) Πατ(σώντιος) δημ(οσί. )  
 Σαράπων Πετέους  
 τ β L δ η

3 The expansion δημ(οσίας) is implied in B. U., I, p. 384, col. I, l. 4, where this line is cited under δημοσία γη.

47. CLER. 47.—H., cm. 5.7; W., cm. 9.5.

σιτολ(όγοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων)  
 κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου  
 μζ̄ δειος ωρου ειρας σεουηρου—  
 ι ι

3 Second hand begins with μζ̄; all that precedes is in the official hand. *Sc.* κληρουχιας. ειρας for ιρας = ιερας.

4 αρουρων 10.

48. CLER. 47.<sup>13</sup>—H., cm. 4.4; W., cm. 7.3.

σπερ(ματων) κβ § αντω(υινου) καισαρος  
 του κυριου μζ̄ κλη(ρουχιας)  
 πνεφερωσ ακουσιλ(αου) ψεναρ(ψευησεως)  
 λουριας ι ε

4 But possibly we should read λουρ) ουσ(ιας) even here. αρουρων 5.

17. CLER. 46.—B. U. 169. P. 7038. H., cm. 7; W., cm. 7.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος). \*Εσχ(ον)  
 προ(χρείαν) σπερμάτ(ων) κβ §  
 \*Αντωνείνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου μς κληρ(ουχίας) Πτολεμ(αῖος)  
 Π[ν]ε[φ]ερωτος Πατ(σώντιος) βασιλ(ικῆς)  
 ι ια

4 Second hand begins with μς̄.

<sup>13</sup> 18. CLER. 47.—B. U. 105. P. 7015. H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 7.5.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος) \*Εσχ(ομεν) προ(χρείαν) χειρόγρ(α)φ(ον) σπερμάτ(ων)  
 κβ § \*Αντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 μζ̄ Πτολεμαῖος Πνεφερωτος  
 καὶ Ἄρφαῆσις Μύσθου  
 Ψεν(αρψενήσεως) Λουρ( ) ι γ δ λο ρκη  
 Κερκ(εσούχων) προσόδ(ου) ι γ

3 Second hand (Viereck).

4 Third hand.



49. CLER. 48.<sup>14</sup>—H., cm. 6.9; W., cm. 8.

σ]περματων κβ L αντωνεινου  
 και]σαρος του κυριου μη κλη(ρουχιας) αγχωφισ πεθεως  
 και αφροδισιος υιος ψεναρ(ψενησεως) λουρ(ιας) ουσ(ιας) τ θ L  
 κερκ(εσουχων) προσ(ο)δ(ου) τ γ L η

3 Cf. λουριας 43:5, 48:4. αρουρων 9½. 4 αρουρων 3½ ½.

50. CLER. 49.<sup>15</sup>—H., cm. 11.2; W., cm. 5.4.

σπερ(ματων) κβ L αντωνινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου  
 μη κλη(ρουχιας) ακωτας  
 ατρειους [και]  
 πτ]ολλας αδελ(φος)  
 ψεν(αρψενησεως) βασιλ(ικης) τ ς  
 λουρ(ιας) τ ιγ δ η ις λο  
 κερκ(εσουχων) προσ(οδου) τ γ

6 αρουρων 6. 7 αρουρων 13¼ ½ 1½ ¾. 8 αρουρων 3.

<sup>14</sup> 19. CLER. 48.—B. U. 720. P. 8454. H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 10.5.

Σιτολ(όγοις) K[α]ρανιδ(ος). Ἐσχον προσφω(. . .) . . . [.] . [.] . ς  
 κβ § Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 μη Μυσθαρίων [Ι]σχυρίωνος [K]α-  
 ρανιδ(ος) Πα[τ(σώντιος) τ . .

1 προσφ<sup>ω</sup>; cf. on B. U. 279:1, 2. The reading προσ is certain.

3 Second hand begins with μη.

<sup>15</sup> 20. CLER. 49.—B. U. 208. P. 7236. H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 9.

Σπερμάτων κβ L Ἄντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μη κληρουχ(ίας)  
 Χαιρήμων Ἀπολλωνίου Ψεναρ-  
 ψενήσεως βασιλικῆς τ δύο

51. CLER. 50.<sup>16</sup>—H., cm. 4.9; W., cm. 13.2.

σπερ(ματων) κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος του κυριου ν̄ κλη(ρουχιας)  
 αγχωφισ [μ]υσθου κ[αι] ωρος πεθεως πατ(σωντεως) βασιλ(ικης)  
 τ̄ ι L d

2 αρουρων 10½ ¼.

Cler. 51 is dealt with in 22. in the lower margin of p. 40.

52. CLER. 52.—H., cm. 5.9; W., cm. 8.2.

σιτο[λ(ογοις)] κ(α)ρ[α]νιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)-  
 φ(ον)

σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος

του κ[(υ)ρ]ιου ν̄β̄ κληρουχ(ιας)

απολ[λ]ωμιο(ς) πετεχ(ωνσιος) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος)

δ[η]μο[σιου] τ̄ δ̄ L κ(α)ρανιδ(ος)

δορυφο( ) τ̄ γ̄ d ις ξδ̄

1 In the official hand, apparently, throughout.

5 αρουρων 4½.

6 αρουρων 3¼ 1⁄8 8¼.

<sup>16</sup> 21. CLER. 50.—B. U. 167. P. 7101. H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 9.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ § Ἀντωνείνου

Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ν̄ κλη(ρουχίας)

Ἔωρος Μενάνδρου καὶ Ἀγ-

χωφίς Μύσθου Καρ(ανίδος) βασιλ(ικῆς) τ̄ δ̄ § .

Πτολεμαῖος ἔγραψα .

The hand is that of 38, *i. e.*, the hand of Ptolemaeus son of Mysthes.

53. CLER. 53.<sup>17</sup>—H., cm. 5.2; W., cm. 7.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου νγ κλη(ρουχ(ιας))  
 ηρακλειδ(ης) πε(θε)ως καρ(αιδος) σενεκ(ιανης)  
 τ a L δ ηρακλειδης ε[σ]χον

3 Second hand begins with νγ; all that precedes is in the official hand.

5 αρουρων 1½ ¼. The last two words are in a third hand, doubtless that of Heraclides himself.

22. CLER. 51.—B. U. 152. P. 7051. H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 5.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ L  
 Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου να κλη(ρου)χ(ίας)  
 Φᾶσις Πακύσεως  
 Ψεναρ(ψενήσεως) βασι(λικῆς) τ ιβ  
 Μύσθης ἔγρ(αψα) ὑπ(έρ) αὐ(τοῦ)  
 ἀγραμμάτου

Some fibers of the upper layer were gone when the receipt was written.

<sup>17</sup> 23. CLER. 53.—B. U. 438. P. 7219. H., cm. 6; W., cm. 9.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρ(αιδός). Ἐσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) σπερ(μάτων) κβ ζ Ἀν(τωνείνου)  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου νγ Παπίς  
 Πτολεμαίου Παγδ( ) τ ζ, Ψεν(αρψενήσεως)  
 καμηλ(ειανῆς) τ ς η λο Πτολ(εμαίδος) προσόδ(ου) τ β ις λβ ξδ

24. CLER. 53.—B. U. 211. P. 7233. H., cm. 4; W., cm. 13.

Σπερμ(άτων) L κβ Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 νγ κληρουχ(ίας) Σαβίνος Σισόιτος Ψεναρψενήσεως  
 καμηλειανῆς τ ς δ, Πτολεμ(αίδος) προσόδου τ β ις ξο  
 Πτολεμ(αίος) Καράνου ἔγραψα.

54. CLER. 54.<sup>18</sup>—H., cm. 4.7; W., cm. 10.3.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
σπερματ(ων)

κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου

νδ κληρουχ(ιας) ονωφρις -το) σαμβα

ψεναρψ(ενησεως) δημοσιο(υ) τ ς λ'

3 Apparently in the official hand throughout. -το) perhaps υιοσ should be read, or possibly (με)το(χοσ); cf. 42:3 and B. U. 263:4. On the gen. σαμβα cf. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, I, 217.

4 αρουρων 6½.

55. CLER. 56.—H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 11.2.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσ[χ(ον)] προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)-  
φ(ον) σπερματ(ων) κβ §

αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου νς κληρουχ(ιας)

ηρας ονωφρεωσ κ(ε)ρκ(εσουχων) σεουηρο(υ) \_\_\_\_\_

τ ιβ L η λο

1 In the official hand apparently throughout. Cf. 6. 30. 42. 54. 72. 74.

4 αρουρων 12½ ⅓ ⅓½.

Cler. 57 is dealt with in 26. 27. 28. in the lower margin; cf. also 65. and 30.

<sup>18</sup> 25. CLER. 54.—B. U. 443. P. 7223. H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 7.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος). \*Εσχ(ον) προ(χρειάν) χειρόγρ(α)φ(ον)

σπερμάτ(ων) κβ § \*Αντωνείνου Καίσαρος

του κ(υ)ρίου νδ κληρουχ(ίας)

\*Αφροδ(ίσιος) Σισάιτ(ος) Ψεν(αρψενήσεως) βασιλ(ικῆς)

τ ς L d, Κερκ(εσουχων) προσοδ(ου) τ α L.

3 Second hand begins with νδ.

4, 5 ψεν βασιλ and -σοδ seem to be written over erased words.

56. CLER. 58.—H., cm. 6.2; W., cm. 8.2.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αυτωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου νη̄ εσουρις  
 πε(θε)ως ψεν(αρψευησεως) φιλοδ( ) τ̄ ιξ η̄ ις λο̄  
 ο(μοιως) βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ β d η̄ ις λο̄

3 Second hand begins with νη̄; all that precedes is in the official hand. Sc. κληρουχιας.

4 αρουρων 17½ γ̄ε̄ ζ̄ε̄.

5 ο(μοιως) written ο̄. αρουρων 2¼ ½ γ̄ε̄ ζ̄ε̄.

26. CLER. 57.—B. U. 278. P. 7028. H., cm. 5; W., cm. 10.5.

Σπερ(μάτων) κβ ζ 'Ανω(νίνου) Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου νξ̄ κλη(ρουχίας) Δίδυμος  
 Πατ(σώντιος) βασιλ(ικῆς)  
 Σαραπίων(ος) τ̄ γ̄ [.]

2 Πατ βασι<sup>λ</sup> written in above, afterward.

2 πατ βασι<sup>λ</sup> in a different ink.—The hand of 26. is that of 27.

27. CLER. 57.—B. U. 516. P. 7252. H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 10.5.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ ζ 'Ανω(νίνου) Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου νξ̄ κληρο(υχίας)  
 Δίδυμος Σαραπίωνος Πατ(σώντεις) βασ(ιλικῆς) τ̄ δ . . .

A preliminary line is lost.

2 Cf. B. U. 205:3.

2 τ̄ δ d.—The hand of 27. is that of 26.

28. CLER. 57.—B. U. 285. P. 6823. H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 9.5.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ L 'Ανω(νίνου) Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου νξ̄ κληρο(υχίας) Πύρρος  
 Διδύμου Πατ(σώντιος) δημοσίου τ̄ β L  
 Πατ(σώντιος?) βασιλ(ικῆς) τ̄ δ L η̄ ις

3 Papyrus δημ(ο)σι(ο)υ. But l. 3 is cited under δημοσία γῆ B. U. I. p. 384, col. 1, l. 4.

57. CLERR. 58 AND 74.—H., cm. 5.6; W., cm. 6.1.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ ζ αντων(ινο)υ καισαρος  
 του κυ(ριου)υ νη̄ κεφαλ(α)ς αχιλλα  
 ψεν(αρψευησεως) βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ η L d πτολ(εμαιδος) προ(σο)δ(ου)  
 τ̄ λ ο̄ οδ̄ ο αυ(τος) καρ(ανιδος) βασιλ(ικης)  
 τ̄ α L d η̄ λ ο̄ ομ(οιως) καμηλ(ιανης)  
 τ̄ δ L

2 νη̄ sc. κληρουχιας. 3 αρουρων 8½ ¼.  
 4 αρουρας ¾. οδ̄ sc. κληρουχιας.  
 5 αρουρων 1½ ¼ ¼ ¾. ομ(οιως) written σ.  
 6 αρουρων 4½.

58. CLER. 60.—H., cm. 4.3; W., cm. 11.1.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων)  
 κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου ξ<.>  
 κληρουχ(ιας) συρος ορσενουφως . . .  
 βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ δ

2 Second hand begins with ξ; all that precedes is in the official hand.  
 3 Perhaps πατ(σωντεως). 4 αρουρων 4.

59. CLER. 61.—H., cm. 4.1; W., cm. 8.1.

(Reproduced in frontispiece.)

σεπερματων L κβ  
 αντωνιου κεσαρος του κυριου  
<sup>καρανιδος</sup>  
 πατιων ·δος βασιλικης κληρ(ουχιας)  
 ξ̄ᾱ ονωφρις αυνιους τ̄ δ  
 ονωφρις εγραψα

3 καρανιδος is an afterthought, written in between the finished lines; it is perhaps meant to correct and displace πατιων ·δος.

4 The sense is difficult; possibly οδος is meant.

5 Cf. Ὀνωφρις Αἰνείους B. U. 283:8.—αρουρων 4.

60. CLER. 62.—H., cm. 4.5; W., cm. 7.2.

σπερ(ματων) κβ § αντωνει(νου) καισαρος κυριου  
 ξβ κλη(ρουχιας) σαμβας πτολε(μαιου) ψεν(αρψενησεως) βασι-  
 λ(ικης)  
 τ̄ a L d η̄ φιλ( ) ουσ(ιας) τ̄ δ L ις̄  
 κερκ(εσουχων) προσ(οδου) τ̄ β L <π> διδυμος  
 σαρα[πι]ω[νος] εγρ(αψα) υπερ αυτ(ου) αγρ(αμματου)

1 του omitted before κυριου; cf. 91:1. Or should we read του κυ(ριου)?

3 αρουρων 1½ ¼ ¼.—αρουρων 4½ ¼ ¼.

4 αρουρων 2½.

The hand throughout is that of 61., and probably also of 26. 27.

61. CLER. 62.<sup>19</sup>—H., cm. 4.6; W., cm. 7.3.

σπερ(ματων) κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος του κυρι(ου)  
 ξβ κλη(ρουχιας) διδυμος σαραπιωνος κερκ(εσουχων) προχ(ρειαν)  
 μαικ(ιανης) τ̄ a L d η̄ λο ξο πατ(σωντεως) βασ(ι)λ(ικης) τ̄ δ

1 του is not quite certain.

2 προχ is written with no sign of abbreviation; cf. B. U. 636 προ-  
 χ(ρειαν). Perhaps we should read προσχ( ). But possibly the last  
 letters of this line should be read κερκεσουχ(ων), which is much more  
 consonant with the context.

3 μαικ is written with no sign of abbreviation. αρουρων 1½ ¼ ¼ ¼ ¼.  
 αρουρων 4.

The hand is that of 60., and probably also of 26. 27.

<sup>19</sup> 29. CLER. 62.—B. U. 205. P. 7229. H., cm. 7.5; W., cm. 6.

Σπερ(μάτων) κβ § Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρ[ος]

τοῦ κυρίου ξβ κληρ[ουχ(ίας)]

Δίδυμος Σαραπίωνος Πτολε(μαίδος)

προ(σόδου) τ̄ δ d Πατ(σώντιος) δη(μοσίας) τ̄ a [ ]

## 62. CLER. 67.—H., cm. 5.8; W., cm. 7.2.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) σπερματ(ων)  
 κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου ξξ κληρουχ(ιας) αμηνι[  
 ηρ[α]ς καραυιδος σενεκα  
 β γ δ ιζ

3 Second hand begins with ξξ; all that precedes is in the official hand.—Possibly αβηνι[ ]. But cf. Pape, *Wörterbuch der Gr. Eigenamen*, Ἀμήνιτος.

5 αρουρων 3½ 1τ.

## 63. CLER. 68.—H., cm. 5.8; W., cm. 7.8.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου [κα]ισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου ξη κληρουχ(ιας)  
 απιων πτολ(εμαιου) φιλοδαμο( )  
 β γ λβ

3 Second hand begins with ξη; all that precedes is in the official hand.  
 5 αρουρων 3½ 2.

64. CLER. 68.<sup>20</sup>—H., cm. 6.1; W., cm. 5.7.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν)  
 χειρογρ(α)φ(ον) σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντων[εινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριο(υ) ξη κληρ(ουχιας)  
 πτολεμαιος χαιρα του χαιρα  
 ψεν(αρψευησεως) καμηλ(ιανης) β ε λ ιζ λο ξο  
 κερκ(εσουχων) προσοδ(ου) β α δ ιζ

3 Second hand begins with ξη, and is identical with that of 10. and 16.; cf. 36. All that precedes is in the official hand.

5 αρουρων 5½ 1τ 3½ 1τ.

6 αρουρων 1½ 1τ.

<sup>20</sup> See lower margin of p. 46.



65. CLERR. 69, 32, AND 57.—H., cm. 5.3; W., cm. 9.9.

σπερμα(ων) κβ ζ αντωνινου καισαρος του κυριου  
 ξθ κλη(ρου)χ(ιας) αμμωνι[ο]ς απιωνος καρ(ανιδος) σενεκ(ιανης)  
 τ δ L δ λο ξο τ δ[.] πτολε(μαιδος) προ(σο)δ(ου) τ L ξο  
 και λβ  
 κερκ(εσουχων) μαικ(ιανης) τ δ η νξ κλη(ρου)χ(ιας) πτολε(μαι-  
 δος) . . . .  
 . . ] . τ δ κερκ(εσουχων) πρ[οσ]οδ(ου) τ β L  
 . ] . αμμω(νιος) απιωνο(ς) πα(τσωντεως?) τ β τ β—  
 αμμωνιος απιωνος εγραψα . . .  
 τ ιε L

3 αρουρων 4½ τ 3½ δ ι πυρου αρταβας 4 . . αρουρας ½ δ ι. λβ sc. κληρουχιας.  
 4 αρουρας ¼ τ.  
 5 αρουρων 4. αρουρων 2½.  
 6 αρουρων 2 πυρου αρταβας 2.  
 8 πυρου αρταβας 15½.

66. CLER. 69.—H., cm. 7.9; W., cm. 10.9.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ ζ αντω(νιου) καισαρος του κυρ(ιου)  
 ξθ κλη(ρουχιας) παιων σαμβα του φαησεως  
 πατ(σωντεως) βα(σι)λ(ικης) τ θ  
 3 αρουρων 9.

<sup>20</sup> 30. CLERR. 68 AND 57.—B. U. 206. P. 7230. H., cm. 3; W., cm. 10.5.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ ζ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ξη κλη(ρουχίας)  
 Πανούφης Πύρρου Πατ(σώντιος) τ L η. νξ κλη(ρουχίας) Ἀθηνίων—  
 Ὄρου καμ(ηλειανῆς) τ L

2 Papyrus αθηνων—

67. CLER. 7 . .—H., cm. 5.7; W., cm. 5.5.

σπερματων [κβ L αντωνιου καισαρος  
του κυριου ο[. κληρουχιας  
σενεκα σαταβ[ουτος . .  
σεουηρ[ο]υ τ δ [ . . .

1 The date restored is probable, though not entirely certain.

3 σενεκα is clear; but Pape gives only Σενέκας and Σενεκᾶς (*Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen*, 3d ed.). Probably κερκεσουχων should be supplied before σεουηρ[ο]υ; cf. 19:5, 55:3.

4 αρουρων 4 . . .

68. CLER. 71.<sup>21</sup>—H., cm. 5.9; W., cm. 10.3.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ  
αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου οα κλη(ρουχιας)  
πεθευς ισχυρα πτολ(εμαιδος) προσοδ(ου) τ β L ψευ(αρψευησεως)  
καμηλ(ιανης)  
τ ς ις λο

2 Second hand begins with οα; it resembles the second hand of 26. 27. 28. All that precedes is in the official hand.

3 αρουρων 2½.

4 αρουρων 6 1/8 3/8.

<sup>21</sup> 31. CLER. 71.—B. U. 442. P. 7224. H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 7.5.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος). \*Εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν)  
σπερμάτ(ων) κβ ζ Ἄντωνείνου  
Καίσαρος τοῦ κ(υ)ρίου οα κληρ(ου)χ(ίας)—  
Ἰμοίθου Φασίτος Πατ(σώντιος) βασιλ(ικῆς)  
τ ς

3 Second hand begins with οα.

69. CLER. 72 (71).—H., cm. 7.4; W., cm. 7.3.

σπερματων κβ L αντωνινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου ο<a>β κληρ(ου)χ(ιας)  
 ηρακλας ηρακλειδιωνος  
 κερκ(εσουχων) προσοδ(ου) τ ι L d  
 πατσωντεως βασι(λικης)  
 τ δ L

2 οα corrected in another hand and ink to οβ.

4 αρουρων 10½ †.

6 αρουρων 4½.

70. CLERR. 72 AND 83.—H., cm. 5.3; W., cm. 10.8.

σπερματ(ων) κβ L αντωνινου καισαρος  
 του κυριου οβ κληρουχιας σισοις καρανου  
 καρανιδος βασιλικης τ ιγ L ξδ  
 πγ κληρουχιας ω[ρ]ος καρανου ψεναρψευησ[εως  
 καμηλιανης τ ιβ πτολεμαειτος γερμαν[ικ . .  
 τ β

3 αρουρων 13½ †.

5 αρουρων 12. Cf. B. U. 160:5, Πτολεμ(αῖδος) (Wilcken-Viereck) γερμαν( ) τ δ L; and 81:5.

6 αρουρων 2.



73. CLER. 75.—H., cm. 6; W., cm. 8.5.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ̄ αντωνινου του κυ

ριου οε̄ πτολεμαιο̄ στωτου

κερκεσουχων προσοδων

τ̄ α

⋮ η̄

1 *Sc.* L after κβ̄.

2 *Sc.* κληρουχιας after οε̄.

4 *αρουρας* 1. The signs at the right are difficult; † † † ?

74. CLER. 77.<sup>23</sup>—H., cm. 7.4; W., cm. 7.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)

σπερματ(ων) κβ̄ ζ̄ αντωνεινου

καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου οζ̄

πτολεμαιο(ς) πεθ(εως) κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) β̄[ασιλ(ικης)

τ̄ δ̄ λ̄ d η̄

1 Apparently in the official hand throughout.

3 *Sc.* κληρουχιας.

5 *αρουρων* 4½ † † †.

<sup>23</sup> 33. CLER. 77.—B. U. 172. P. 7036. H., cm. 8; W., cm. 8.5.

Σ[ιτολ(όγοις)] Καρανίδος. Ἐσχον προ(χρείαν)

χειρόγρ(α)φ(ον) σπερμάτ(ων) κβ̄ ζ̄ Ἀντωνείνου

Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου οζ̄ κληρουχ(ίας)

Κόμον Μενηρεῦς Καρανίδ(ος)

Σενεκ(ιανῆς) τ̄ β̄ ζ̄ η̄ λ̄β̄, Κερκ(εσούχων) προσόδ(ων)

τ̄ L η̄

4 Κόμον; μο corr.—Μενηρεῦς; η corr.

1 Rather κ(α)ρανιδ(ος) εσχ(ον): papyrus κρανι<sup>δ</sup> εσχ̄.

75. CLER. 78.—H., cm. 6; W., cm. 7.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) σπερματ(ων)  
 κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου οη κληρουχ(ιας)  
 εσουρις πασκοκνοπαιου  
 πατ(σωντεως) βασιλ(ικης) τ ς L η̄  
 κερκ(εσουχων) προσοδ(ου) τ β L d ψε[ν(αρψευησεως)]  
 καμηλ(ιανης) τ α η̄ ις

3 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\sigma\eta}$ , and is identical with the second of 14. 79. 80. and 36. (B. U. 284), and the third of 36. All that precedes is in the official hand.

5 αρουρων 6½ ¼.

6 αρουρων 2½ ¼.

7 αρουρων 1½ ⅙.

76. CLER. 78.—H., cm. 5.7; W., cm. 8.4.

σπερ(ματων) κβ L αντ[ων]ιου —  
 κα[ι]σαρος του κυ[ρ]ιου οη κλ(ηρου)χ(ιας)  
 κερ(κεσουχων) σεουηρια[ν]ης ουσ[ιας]  
 πασιων πεθ[εω]ς τ α L d ις

3, 4 The order is unusual.

4 αρουρων 1½ ¼ ⅙.—The papyrus was plainly in bad condition when used: witness the hole between π and α of πασιων. Cf. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ccclxvii a, l. 6, note.

<sup>23</sup> 34. CLER. 77.—B. U. 439. P. 7220. H., cm. 6; W., cm. 8.

Σ[ιτο]λόγοις Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος). \*Εσχ(ον) προ(χρειάν) σπερμάτ(ων)  
 κβ § Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κ(υ)ρίου  
 οἷ κληρουχ(ιας) Ὀρεῖς  
 Κέλλερος Κερκ(εσουχων)  
 προσόδ(ου) τ α d

3 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\sigma\zeta}$ .

77. CLER. 78.—H., cm. 9.3; W., cm. 8.1.

o

σπερματων κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου οη κληρουχ(ιας)  
 μαμερτεινος πετεσουχου  
 καρ(ανιδος) βασιλ(ικης) τ γ ξδ ψεναρψενησεως  
 βασιλ(ικης) γης τ L ις λο καμηλ(ιανης) τ α ις  
 κερκεσουχ(ων) σεουη(ριανης) τ α L δ λβ  
 <a>

4 αρουρων 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.

5 αρουρας 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. αρουρων 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>.

6 αρουρων 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.

7 Perhaps <θ>; but possibly no erasure was intended.

Cler. 79 is dealt with in 35. in the lower margin.

78. CLER. 80.—H., cm. 4.7; W., cm. 6.

σπερ(ματων) κβ ζ αντων(ινο)υ  
 καισαρος του κυ(ρι)ου π κλη(ρουχιας)  
 σωκρα(ατης)·σαραπ(ι)ω(νος) και σερη(νος)  
 ωρου καρ(ανιδος) λουρ(ιας) τ γ L  
 σωκρατ(ης) εγραψα  
 τα ολα

4 αρουρων 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.

35. CLER. 79.—B. U. 170. P. 7039. H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 6.5.

Σπερμάτων κβ L  
 Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου οἰθ  
 κληρουχ(ιας)  
 Πτολεμαῖο(ς) Κάστορο(ς)  
 Πατ(σώντιος) τ ζ L.

79. CLER. 81.—H., cm. 6.2; W., cm. 7.5.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου  $\overline{\pi\alpha}$  κληρουχ(ιας)  
 σεργνος ωρου πατ(σωντεως) βασιλ(ικης)  
 $\bar{\nu}$  δ η λο ξο πτολε(μαιδος) προσ(οδων)  
 $\bar{\nu}$  δ ις ξο

3 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\pi\alpha}$ ; it is identical with the second of 14. 75. 80. 36. (B. U. 284), and the third of 36. All that precedes is in the official hand.

4 Cf. σεργνος ωρου, 77:3, 4.

5 αρουρων  $4\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$ .

6 αρουρων  $4\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{4}$ .

80. CLER. 83.—H., cm. 6.6; W., cm. 7.2.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ § αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου  $\overline{\pi\gamma}$   
 κληρουχ(ιας) πεθεως  
 πετεσουχου ψεν(αρψενησεως)  
 βασιλ(ικης)  $\bar{\nu}$  α, λ δ καραυιδ(ος)  
 βασιλ(ικης)  $\bar{\nu}$  δ

3 Second hand begins with  $\overline{\pi\gamma}$ ; it is identical with the second hand of 14. 75. 79. and 36. (B. U. 284), and with the third of 36. All that precedes is in the official hand.

4 πεθεως for πεθευς.

6 αρουρων  $1\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$ .

7 αρουρων 4.



81. CLER. 83.<sup>24</sup>—H., cm. 7.1; W., cm. 7.2.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ L αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου πγ κληρ(ου)χ(ιας)  
 μαρων λιμναιου καρ(ανιδος)  
 βασιλ(ικης) τ γ μαικ(ιανης) ουσιας  
 τ η πτολ(εμαιδος) γερμανι(κ )  
 τ β δ λο

3 Cf. διὰ Μάρωνος Λιμναίου B. U. 43:9.

4 αρουρων 3.

5 αρουρων 8.

6 αρουρων 2½ ¾.

Cler. 83 is also dealt with in 70.

<sup>24</sup> 36. CLER. 83.—B. U. 171. P. 7037. H., cm. 9.5; W., cm. 14.

Σιτολ(όγοις) κόμης Καρ(ανίδος) χείρειν. Ἔσχον παρ' ἑμῶν  
 εἰς δάνιον σπερ(μάτων) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κ ζ<sup>ε</sup>  
 ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(ηλυθότος) ιθ ζ<sup>ε</sup> πγ κλη(ρουχίας) Ἀφροδείσι-  
 ος Ἡρακλείδου Κερκ(εσούχων) βασιλ(ικῆς) τ η — η  
 < . δει . . . > Ἀφροδείσιος ἔσχον τὰ σπέρ(ματα) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).  
 Ωρίων ὁ καὶ Χαιρή(μων) ἔγρα(ψα) ὑ(πὲρ) α(ὐτοῦ) ἀγρ(αμμάτου)  
 L κ<sup>ε</sup> Ἀθῦρ κς  
 Ωριγ(ένης) σεσ(ημείωμα) πυροῦ ἀρτ(άβας) ὀκτώ.

2 ι of εἰς corr. from ζ.

7 22 November, 156 A. D.

8 The last line in another hand.

2 Rather σπερ(ματα); cf. 42:4.

37. CLER. 83.—B. U. 209. P. 7231. H., cm. 4; W., cm. 6.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ L Ἀντωνείνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 πγ κληρουχίας Πατσώντ(ιος)  
 βασιλ(ικῆς) Ὀρίων Λιμναίου  
 τ ζ Λογγεῖος ἔγραψα  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου.

6 ἀγραμμάτου: the second μ is doubtful.

## 82. CLER. 84.—H., cm. 5.2; W., cm. 10.8.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων)  
 κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου πδ̄  
 κληρουχ(ιας) παυσατ(ις) πτολλατ(ος) ψευαρ(ψευησεως) βασι-  
 λ(ικης)  
 τ δ καραυιδ(ος) καμηλ(ιανης) τ. 14 d

2 A second hand seems to begin with πδ̄; all that precedes is in the official hand. But it is possible that the whole receipt is from the official hand.

4 αρουρων 4. αρουρας. ½ ½.

## 83. CLER. 87.—H., cm. 6; W., cm. 7.4.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α) ρ[α]υιδ(ος) [ε]σχ(ον) προ(χρειαν)  
 χ]ειρογρ(α)φ(ον) σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ  
 αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου  
 πξ̄ κληρουχ(ιας) πετεσουχ(ος)  
 πατ(σωντεως) τ a

4 Second hand begins with πξ̄ (possibly νξ̄?); all that precedes is in the official hand.

5 Above stood a few letters, now illegible, written between the lines. αρουρας 1.

## 84. CLER. 89.—H., cm. 4.8; W., cm. 6.8.

σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου  
 καισαρος του κυριου πθ̄ κληρουχ(ιας)  
 πτολλας κομωνος ψευαρψεν(ησεως)  
 καμηλιανης τ ιβ η<sup>1</sup>

4 αρουρων 12½.

85. CLER. 90.—H., cm. 6.9; W., cm. 7.

σ]ιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου ε κληρουχ(ιας)  
 ωριων πτολμου πατ(σωντεως)  
 τ ς

3 Second hand begins with ε; all that precedes is in the official hand.  
 5 αρουρων 6.

86. CLER. 91.—H., cm. 5.9; W., cm. 7.3.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
 σπερματ(ων) κβ ζ αντωνεινου καισαρος  
 του κ(υ)ριου εα φασις απατω(ρ)  
 μη(τρος) θατρειο(υς) πατ(σωντεως) τ ε L

3 Second hand begins with εα; all that precedes is in the official hand. Sc. κληρουχιας.

4 αρουρων 5½.

Cler. 92 is dealt with in 38. in the lower margin.

38. CLER. 92.—B. U. 160. P. 6964. H., cm. 6; W., cm. 9.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ L 'Αντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου εβ  
 κληρουχίας 'Οννώφρις  
 Πεθεὺς καὶ Σαταβούς Πεταν  
 Ψεν(αρψενήσεως) καμ(ηλιανῆς) τ ζ η¹, Πτολεμ(αίδος) γερμ( )  
 τ δ L

87. CLER. 94.<sup>25</sup>—H., cm. 5.4; W., cm. 9.3.

σιτολ(όγοις) κωμης καραιδο(ς) εσχον προ(χρειαν)  
σπερ(ματων) κβ § αυτω(νινου) καισαρος του κυριου  
ϕδ̄ φανομγευς πνεφερωτος

ψεν(αρψενησεως) λουρ(ιας) τ̄ δ̄ ξο̄

1 προ(χρειαν) written προ with no sign of abbreviation.

3 Sc. κληρουχιας after ϕδ̄.

4 αρουρων 4δ̄ι.

88. CLER. . . —H., cm. 5.4; W., cm. 11.

σιτολ(όγοις) κ(α)ρ[αιδ(ος)] ε[σ]χ(ον) π[ρ]ο(χρειαν) χειρο-  
γρ(α)φ(ον) σπερματ(ων) κβ §  
αυτωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου . . . κληρουχ(ιας)  
δ . δ[. . .]ς πεθεω̄ς πατ(σωντεω̄ς) βασιλ(ικης) τ̄ [. . .] η̄

2 The official hand ends with κυριου.

3 Perhaps δ[ι]δ[υμο]ς. αρουρων . . . §.

<sup>25</sup> 39. CLER. 94.—B. U. 284. P. 7009. H., cm. 6; W., cm. 7.5.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος). Ἐσχ(ον) προ(χρείαν) σπερμάτ(ων)  
κβ § Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος  
τοῦ κυρίου ϕδ̄ κληρουχ(ιας)  
Ἀγχῶφισ Ὄρου Ψεν(αρψενήσεως)  
Λουρ( ) τ̄ β L

3 Second hand begins with ϕδ̄.

40. CLER. 94.—B. U. 440. P. 7221. H., cm. 6.5; W., cm. 8.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος). Ἐσχ(ον) προ(χρείαν) χειρόγρ(α)φ(ον)  
σπερμάτ(ων) κβ § Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κ(υ)ρίω(υ)  
ϕδ̄ Πεταοῦς Ὄρου Πατ(σώντιος)  
βασιλ(ικῆς) τ̄ γ L

3 Second hand begins with ϕδ̄.

## 89. CLER. . .—H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 7.9.

σιτολ(ογοις) κ(α)ραυιδ(ος) εσχ(ον) προ(χρειαν) χειρογρ(α)φ(ον)  
σπερματ(ων)

κ]β Ϛ αντωνεινου καισαρος του κ(υ)ριου

. .] . . μυσθης νααραυτο(ς) κερκ(εσουχων) προ(σο)δ(ου)

τ γ d η

2 The official hand ends with κυριου.

3 νααραυτο(ς); cf. Naaravus nom., Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 157, l. 63.

4 αρουρων Ϛ $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ .

## 90. CLER. . .—H., cm. 7; W., cm. 5.8.

σπερμ(ατων) κβ L αν[τωνιου

καισαρος του κυριου . . .

κληρουχ(ιας) πτολεμ[αιος

νεωτ(ερος) πεταλου κ[ . . .

βασι(λικης) τ β d

4 κ[αρ(ανιδος)? ορ κ[ερκ(εσουχων)?

5 αρουρων 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

## 41. CLER. . .—B. U. 294. P. 7296. H., cm. 5; W., cm. 7.5.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καραυιδ(ος). \*Εσχον προ(χρειαν) σπερμάτ(ων) κ[β Ϛ]

Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

[.] . [κ]ληρουχ(ιας) Σαραπίων

[. . . ο]υ Πατ(σώντιος) βασιλ(ικῆς) τ ε

3 Second hand begins with the line.

1 Rather εσχ(ον): Papyrus εσχ.

## 91. CLER. . .—H., cm. 6.8; W., cm. 9.3.

σπε]ρ(ματων) κβ L αντωνινου καισαρος κυριου  
 . . . κ]ληρουχ(ιας) χαιρημων πεθεως πατ(σώντεως)  
 . . . ] τ γ L προσοδ(ου) α λο

τ γ

- 1 του omitted before κυριου; cf. 60:1.  
 3 αρουρων 3½.—1½. Sc. τ? After προσοδ(ου), above the line, is written what may be καρ(ανιδος); or perhaps κδ.  
 4 πυρου αρταβας 3?

## 42. CLER. ?—B. U. 701. P. 8667. H., cm. 5.5; W., cm. 7.

Σιτολόγοι(ς) κώ(μης) Καρ(ανιδος)  
 χαίρειν.

\*Εσχον παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς  
 δάνιον σπέρματα τοῦ  
 ἐνεστῶτος κ ζ = α . . .  
 τοῦ διεληλη(υθότος) ιθ ζ.

Here the papyrus breaks off.

4 Read δάνειον.—5 κ ζ probably of Antoninus, 156–7 A. D.

Cf. 46. and 36.—3 Probably ἀ[πὸ γενημάτων]; cf. 46:5 and 36:3.

## 43. CLER. ?—B. U. 201. P. 7226. H., cm. 7.5; W., cm. 6.5.

Σπερμ(άτων) ιξ ζ Ἀντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Καρ(ανιδος)  
 δημοσίων διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ  
 Φιλοπ(άτορος) Ἀπῦγχις Πασοκνοπ(αίου) καὶ  
 Ὀννώφρις ἀδελφὸς καὶ οἱ μ(έτοχοι)  
 διὰ Ἡρωνος ἀπάτω(ρος) μη(τρὸς)  
 Παπετείρεως Καρανίδος  
 βασιλ(ικῆς) τ ς ιξ̄ ο. Σύρος  
 Ὀννώφρεως ἔγραψα

1 153–4 A. D.—4 Φιλοπ( )ι corr.—9 ἔγραψα is first abbreviated, and then completed.

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31:4, 35:6, 40:3, 41:4; Πατσώντ(εις),  
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Σενεκ(ιανῆς) (γῆς), 18:5; Σενεκ(ιανῆς),  
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(50:2, 2:3, 7:3; Φιλοδ[ι]λ( ), 13:5;  
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28:3, 36:4, 39:3, 41:5, 50:6, 56:4,  
57:3, 60:2, 64:5, 68:3, 75:6, 80:5,  
87:4, 5:2, 9:4, 13:2, 18:5, 23:3,  
25:4, 38:5, 39:4; Ψεναρ(ψενήσεως),  
40:6, 48:3, 49:3, 82:3, 15:2, 22:5;  
Ψεναρψ(ενήσεως), 43:4; Ψεναρψ(ενή-  
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70:4, 77:4, 20:3, 22:2; Ψεναρψε-  
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 αὐτ(οῦ), 60:5; αὐ(τοῦ), 22:6; α(ὐτοῦ),  
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 etc.; βασιλικῆς, 59:4, 20:4; β(α)σι-  
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 10:2; κληρο(υ)χ[ί]αι, 12:2; κλη(ρου)-  
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 ὀ(μοίως), 19:5, 26:4, 27:6, 28:3, 35:4,  
 56:5, 71:4; ὀμ(οίως), 57:5.  
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 παρ', 36:1, 42:3; παρ(ά), 46:3.  
 πρόκ(εῖται), 36:5; πρόκειται, 45:5.  
 προσόδο[υ], 11:4, 24:3; προσόδ(ου), 16:4,  
 21:5, 40:5, 41:5, 64:6, 65:5, 68:3,  
 69:4, 72:5, 75:6, 91:3, 18:6, 23:4,  
 34:5; προ(σ)δί(ου), 25:4, 27:4, 29:5,  
 34:3, 49:4, 57:3, 65:3, 89:3; προ-  
 σ(όδου), 50:8, 60:4, 79:5; προ(σόδου),  
 29:4; προ[σ]όδων, 37:5, 73:3; προ-  
 σόδ(ων), 33:5.  
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 σιτολόγοι(s), 42:1. 22:6; ὑ(πέρ), 36:6.  
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 σπερμάτ(ων), 1:2, etc.; σπερ(μάτων), χειρῶν(α)φ(ον) (χειρογρα(πτον)?)<sup>1</sup>, 1:1,  
 4:1, etc.; σπερμάτων, 11:1, 32:1, etc.  
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 σεπερμάτων, 59:1. ὡς, 36:5.

IV. Tables.

I. THE REPRESENTATION OF CLERUCHIES BY RECEIPTS.

Cleruchy.	Receipt.	Cleruchy.	Receipt.	Cleruchy.	Receipt.
1.....		33.....		64.....	
2.....	1.	34.....	33.	65.....	
3.....	1. 2.	35.....	34. 35.	66.....	
4.....		36.....		67.....	62.
5.....	2. 3.	37.....	36.	68.....	63. 64. 30.
6.....		38.....	37. 13.	69.....	65. 66.
7.....	3.	39.....		70.....	
8.....	4.	40.....		71.....	(67?). 68. 31.
9.....	5.	41.....	38. 14.	72.....	69. 70.
10.....		42.....	39. 40. 15.	73.....	71. 32.
11.....	6. 7. 4.	43.....	41. 42. 43.	74.....	Cf. 57.
12.....	8.	44.....	44. 45. 16.	75.....	72. 73.
13.....	9. 10. 11.	45.....	46.	76.....	
14.....	12.	46.....	17.	77.....	74. 33. 34.
15.....	13. 14.	47.....	47. 48. 18.	78.....	75. 76. 77.
16.....	15. 16. 5.	48.....	49. 19.	79.....	35.
17.....	17. 6.	49.....	50. 20.	80.....	78.
18.....		50.....	51. 21.	81.....	79.
19.....	18. 7.	51.....	22.	82.....	
20.....		52.....	52.	83.....	80. 81. 36. 37.
21.....	19. 20.	53.....	53. 23. 24.		Cf. 70.
22.....	21.	54.....	54. 25.	84.....	82.
23.....	22.	55.....		85.....	
24.....	23.	56.....	55.	86.....	
25.....	24. 8.	57.....	26. 27. 28.	87.....	83.
26.....	25.		Cf. 65. 30.	88.....	
27.....	26.	58.....	56. 57.	89.....	84.
28.....	27. 28. 9.	59.....		90.....	85.
29.....	10.	60.....	58.	91.....	86.
30.....	29. 30. 31. 11.	61.....	59.	92.....	38.
31.....	32.	62.....	60. 61. 29.	93.....	
32.....	12. Cf. 65.	63.....		94.....	87. 39. 40.

88-91 and 41-43 cannot be assigned.

<sup>1</sup>In the face of the expressed opinion of eminent papyrographers, what seems the unmistakable φ of the manuscripts has constrained me to print χειρογρα(α)φ(ον). At the same time it is possible that this character is really a half-formed α combined with a mark of abbreviation, in which case χειρογρα(πτον) should be read

II. THE NUMBERS OF THE BERLIN RECEIPTS IN THE GRIECHISCHE URKUNDEN,  
IN THIS EDITION, AND IN THE ROYAL MUSEUM.

B. U.		Royal Museum.	B. U.		Royal Museum.	B. U.		Royal Museum.
31	8	P. 6821	205	29	P. 7229	294	41	P. 7296
104	3	7014	206	30	7230	331	16	7102
105	18	7015	207	12	7235	438	23	7219
107	14	6929	208	20	7236	439	34	7220
152	22	7051	209	37	7231	440	40	7221
160	38	6964	210	7	7232	441	32	7222
167	21	7101	211	24	7233	442	31	7224
169	17	7038	262	2	7050	443	25	7223
170	35	7039	263	1	7035	516	27	7252
171	36	7037	278	26	7028	517	5	7253
172	33	7036	279	11	7029	626	9	7313
201	43	7226	280	4	6822	701	42	8667
202	6	7234	284	39	7009	720	19	8454
203	10	7227	285	28	6823	721	13	8455
204	15	7228						

NOTE.—This Study was already in type when Professor Ulrich Wilcken's elaborate work, *Griechische Ostraka*, appeared. Professor Wilcken devotes pp. 655-63 of Vol. I to the matter of the *σιτολόγοι*. He is sure they were "Magazinbeamte" rather than "Naturalsteuererheber," I, p. 658, and holds that *γη προσόδου* was not private but public land, perhaps a particular part of the royal domain, I, p. 651.

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THE USE OF REPETITION IN LATIN TO SECURE  
EMPHASIS, INTENSITY, AND DISTINCTNESS  
OF IMPRESSION.

BY FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

It is a well-recognized fact that repetition aids in gaining the attention, in placing the full force of a statement within the grasp of a reader or hearer, and in fixing an idea in the memory. In this paper certain forms are considered which repetition took when it was used in Latin for the purposes just mentioned. Some of the phenomena coming within the range of discussion have been treated by various scholars, and the results which they have reached are stated at the proper points in the following pages. It is the main purpose of the paper to bring together this material, and other material collected by the writer, to trace the development of the several forms of repetition which this material illustrates, and to show that they had a common origin in the speech of everyday life. The instances cited under each head are illustrative only. To make a complete list would burden the argument, without adding to the value of the results.

Since the forms of repetition under consideration are all manifestations of the same tendency, and shade off into one another, a distinct classification is somewhat difficult, but for convenience' sake they may be classified under three heads: Reinforcement of an idea by 1) Gemination, 2) The addition of a word or of words identical in meaning with, or similar in meaning to, the words already conveying the idea, 3) The repetition of a grammatical device, or the combination of two devices, differing in form, but not in meaning. The cases which do not come under consideration are those in which there is a distinct addition to the thought or a modification of it. By the addition of *valet* in the double expression *vivit et valet* there is

a distinct addition made to the idea contained in *vivit*, while by the gemination of *unde* in *unde unde*, Pl. *Ps.* 106, the meaning is essentially modified, and becomes distributive. On the other hand, *nos nos*, *consules*, *desumus* contains no addition to the thought conveyed by *nos*, *consules*, *desumus*, nor any modification of it.

### I. Gemination.

The simplest form of repetition to secure emphasis is that illustrated by the sentence just quoted. This phase of the subject has been so fully discussed in an admirable paper by Wölfflin (*Die Gemination im Lateinischen*) that it is unnecessary to consider it at length. Wölfflin finds that gemination was used in Latin for three distinct purposes—to emphasize, to give a distributive force, or to intensify. Gemination for emphasis is employed in a great variety of cases, especially with vocatives, as in *O pater pater*, Plaut. *Trin.* 1180; *Palinure Palinure*, Plaut. *Curc.* 166; with imperatives, as *tace tace*, *perge perge*; with temporal adverbs and interjections, as *nunc nunc* or *euge euge*; or in general with words expressive of emotion, as *parce precor precor*, Hor. *Carm.* 4. 1. 2. Gemination to suggest the possession of a quality to a high degree is somewhat rare in Latin, and is confined to the adjective or adverb, as a *volgo longe longeque* *remotos*, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 18; ‘*Iane pater*’ *clare clare cum dixit Apollo*, Hor. *Epp.* 1. 16. 59; *multo enim multoque . . . operosius*, Val. Max. 4. 1. 2. It is rather remarkable that this method of intensification, which seems at the same time natural and effective, and which is used so freely in Italian, as un *piccolo piccolo* *fanciullo*, was employed so sparingly in Latin. Even in colloquial Latin and in the later Latin writers it occurs very rarely, and it would be of interest to know the genesis and history of its use in Italian.<sup>1</sup> With distributive gemination as illustrated in *quamquam, ut ut*, or *unde unde*, we are not concerned here.

<sup>1</sup>A very interesting case of the use of gemination as a means of intensifying an idea, which has come to light since Wölfflin’s monograph appeared, may be found in the *Peregrinatio* of Sancta Silvia, ed. Geyer, 84. 9, et sic *lente et lente . . . pervenitur ad Anastase*; cf. also 39. 11; 86. 30; 95. 4, 9.

Before leaving the subject of gemination, it may be noted that in this form of repetition the word in question is repeated without change, and that the repeated form either immediately follows or is separated from the word in its first occurrence only by *et*, *que*, *atque*, *ac*, or an interjection, a vocative or inquit.

Anaphora and antistrophe are forms of repetition similar in their character and purpose to gemination. They involve no new principle, but result from a modification and development by the rhetorician of the principle of gemination, so that no particular discussion or illustration of them is necessary here.

## II. Imperfect Gemination, Double Expressions, and Etymological Figures.

Emphasis secured by the addition of words identical, not in form but in meaning, may be considered under the head of *imperfect gemination*, *double expressions*, and *etymological figures*.

### a. IMPERFECT GEMINATION.

The term *imperfect gemination* is here used for convenience' sake to cover the simple addition to the first word of a second which repeats entirely or in part the meaning of the first one. The two words thus used are the same parts of speech, and stand without connective. This phenomenon is similar to perfect gemination, but differs from it in the fact that, while the added word is identical in meaning, it is not identical in form, with the word whose meaning it repeats. It is commonest in the case of the adverbs and conjunctions. Instances in point are: *tum deinde*, *deinceps deinde*, *deinde postea*, *denique tandem*, *ita sic*, *quoque etiam*, *etiam quoque*, *nec non . . . quoque*, *verum vero*, *itaque ergo*, *nisi si*, *ergo igitur*, *sed autem*, *quasi velut*, and while in Latin of the early periods it may be possible in some of the combinations noted to distinguish between the primary meanings of the words thus joined, the appearance of these combinations in colloquial Latin of all periods, and the almost total exclusion of them from the serious composition of the classical period, show



that they belong to colloquial speech, and make it almost certain that the second word is used merely to reinforce the first one. In the illiterate compositions of a late period the repetitions of this sort are often remarkable. Thus in the *Peregrinatio* of Sancta Silvia of the fourth century A. D., which presents one of the best specimens of the *sermo vulgaris* in existence, one finds such combinations as *nec non etiam et* (40. 2; 42. 27; 45. 9, etc., ed. Geyer), *itaque ergo* (38. 7; 43. 7; 51. 2), *at ubi autem* (74. 27; 81. 25, etc.), and *ac sic ergo* (42. 16; 43. 1; 44. 11, etc.). Imperfect gemination in the case of adverbs is especially common in Plautus; cf. *repente . . . subito*, *Mil.* 177; *propere celeriter*, *Rud.* 1323; *subito propere et celere*, *Curc.* 283; *illic ibi*, *Capt.* 1000; *exinde ilico* and *una simul* elsewhere. A somewhat similar repetition is found now and then in the use of the pronouns; cf., e. g.,

- Mil.* 431-2, ne clam quispiam  
 Nos vicinorum inprudētis *aliquis* immutaverit.  
*Asin.* 785, Post, si lucerna extincta sit, *nequid sui*  
*Membri* commoveat *quicquam* in tenebris.  
*Aul.* 810, *Quis* me Athenis nunc magis *quisquamst* homo quoi di sint  
 propitii?

To the same category belong *nil quicquam*, *Trin.* 369, *Bacch.* 1036, *Most.* 750, *Ter. Phorm.* 80, 250; *nemo homo*, *Plaut. Pers.* 211; *Cic. fam.* 13. 55. 1, and *N. D.* 2. 96; and *nemo quisquam*, *Plaut. Pseud.* 808, *Cas.* 1008.<sup>1</sup>

A most interesting instance of this form of repetition is offered by the use in colloquial Latin of *meus mihi*, *tuus tibi*, and *suus sibi* to emphasize the idea of possession; cf. *Plaut.*,

- Aul.* 433, Utinam *mea mihi* modo auferam, quae ad te tuli salva.  
*Truc.* 698, Male accipiar *mea mihi* pecunia.

<sup>1</sup> In some cases the added words make an apparent, but hardly a real, addition to the thought, as in *Plaut. Mil.* 405, Nunc demum experior *mi ob oculos* caliginem opstitisse; or in *Cic. fil. apud Cic. ad fam.* 16. 21. 7, ego *mihi* nunc *ante oculos* tuum iucundissimum conspectum propono; cf. also *Serv. apud Cic. ad fam.* 4. 5. 4. Cicero himself drops into the same pleonasm once in a letter written in exile, viz., *Cic. fam.* 14. 2. 3. The addition of *ex aedibus* to *foras* in *Plautus* (cf. *Capt.* 533, *Trin.* 276) is perhaps not a case in point.

- Capt.* 80, Quasi, quom caletur, cocleae in occulto latent,  
*Suo sibi* suco vivont, ros si non cadit.  
*Poen.* 57, Locus argumentost *suom sibi* proscaenium.  
*Capt.* 5, Sed is quo pacto serviat *suo sibi* patri.  
*Capt.* 50, Ita nunc ignorans *suo sibi* servit patri.

Similar cases in Latin of a later date are: panem autopyrum de *suo sibi*, Petronius, 66; in *suo sibi* canalis excidatur, Vitruvius, p. 207, 18, ed. R.; magister eloquentiae inclutus *suo sibi* argumento confutatus est, Gellius 5. 10. 16; oravit ut . . . induere permetterent *sua sibi* omnia indumenta, ibid. 16. 19. 12; inperitus vites *suas sibi* omnis et oleas detruncat, ibid. 19. 12. 9.

In all these cases, disregarding alliteration for the moment, which probably played some part in the formation of the expression, the dative was added to the possessive pronoun to strengthen the latter, so that *meus mihi*, *tuus tibi*, and *suus sibi* mean respectively *my very own*, *your very own*, *his very own*.

It might be thought that the dative in these cases found a sufficient explanation in the loose relation which it bore to the verb, but, while this consideration may be urged in partial explanation of the syntactical construction, it does not suggest the real explanation of the combination, and cannot be applied at all to one passage in Terence, viz., *Ad.* 958, *Suo sibi* gladio hunc iugulo, for in this passage, as Ziemer, *Jung. Streifz.*, p. 151, points out, 'the case form *sibi* has lost its meaning entirely.' It serves no other purpose than to strengthen the possessive, *suo*. This is true also of two of the passages cited above from Aulus Gellius, viz., 5. 10. 16 and 19. 12. 9. Cicero himself did not entirely avoid this method of securing emphasis; cf., e. g., *Phil.* 2. 96, priusquam tu *suum sibi* venderes ipse possedit.

The genesis of this form of repetition would seem to have been as follows: a fondness for alliteration led to the bringing together of *meus* and *mihi*, and *tuus* and *tibi*, just as *tu te*, *hic hoc*, and similar combinations are formed. So, for instance, Plautus *Bacch.* 994 reads,

Iustumst ut *tuos tibi* servos tuo arbitrato serviat.

Out of this syntactically and logically correct expression, in which the dative depended distinctly on the verb, and preserved its ordinary force in the sentence, developed by analogy the duplicative expression in which the primary purpose of the dative, which was but loosely joined to the verb, was to strengthen the possessive pronoun, as in the passage cited above from the *Aul.* 433, *Utinam mea mihi modo auferam quae ad te tuli salva*. The history of the *suus sibi* expression would seem to have been slightly different. As Ziemer points out, the parallelism between *meus mihi* and *suus sibi* is not perfect, inasmuch as *sibi* cannot properly stand in the same sentence as *suus*. We do not have then with *suus sibi* two classes of cases, the one syntactically and logically defensible, the other analogical, but all the instances of this usage are analogical. Thus, in Plaut. *Trin.* 156, *reddam suom sibi* should be properly *reddam suom ei*, if a dative is added at all. *Suom sibi* is parallel here, however, with *tuus tibi* in the sentence, *Iustumst ut tuos tibi servos tuo arbitrato serviat*, in so far as the meaning of the *dative case form* is concerned. One step farther was taken, as noted above, by the analogical use of *suus sibi* in expressions where the meaning of the case form is lost altogether, as in the passage cited above from the *Adelphoe*, *suo sibi gladio hunc iugulo*.

Repetition of the kind under consideration takes place frequently in the case of comparative conjunctions and adverbs. Brix on *Mil.* 22 cites Cic. *Verr.* 4. 77, *quid hoc est clarius quam omnes Segestae matronas et virgines convenisse*; Cic. *de Or.* 1. 169, *quid ergo hoc fieri turpius aut dici potest quam*, etc.

Sometimes the duplicated word is a verb, as in Plaut. *Mil.* *Arg.* I, 5-7,

*Suom arcessit erum \*Athenis et forat*  
*Geminis communem clam parietem in aedibus,*  
*Licere ut quiret convenire amantibus;*

Cic. *Verr.* 2. 45, *neque enim permissum est ut inpune nobis liceat . . . alteri tradere*.

The illustrations which have been given thus far of the freedom with which colloquial Latin in particular used repetition for

the purpose of securing emphasis or clearness would seem to offer a ready explanation of the otherwise puzzling use of the double negative which occurs six or seven times in Plautus, once in Terence, three times in Petronius, and here and there in certain other authors. Cases in point are: *Pseud.* 136, *Neque* ego hominis magis asinos *numquam* vidi; *Bacch.* 1037, *Neque* ego *haud* committam ut, etc.;<sup>1</sup> *Mil.* 1411, Iura te *non* nociturum esse homini de hac re *nemini*, etc.; Ennius, *Erectheus*, lapides sunt corde multi, quos *non* miseret *neminis*; Varro, *Bimarcus*, *τρόπων τρόπων* qui non modo ignorasse me clamat sed omnino omnis heroas *negat nescisse*; Petronius, 42, *neminem nihil* boni facere oportet; *ibid.*, 76, *nemini* tamen *nihil* satis est; *ibid.*, ut *nemo non* me virum fortem diceret. Brix on *Men.* 371 holds that the negative force of *neque* has been lost in its connective force, and that, therefore, another negative is felt to be necessary; but this explanation does not account for *Mil.* 1411, where we have *non . . . nemo*, nor for the passages from Petronius with *nemo nihil*. The comment of Spengel, on *Andria* 205, that a second negative is felt to be necessary because of the intervening emphatic word or words seems to apply to the passages from Plautus and Terence, but is not applicable to the citations from Petronius, where the two negative words stand together.<sup>2</sup> The speaker is in each case expressing himself very positively, and the usage is merely another case of emphasis by means of repetition. The case of *ne . . . pas*, *ne . . . point*, etc., in French, which is sometimes mentioned as a survival of this colloquial usage, is not in point, since the second word is not a negative.

<sup>1</sup> Fowler (*The Negatives of the Indo-European Languages*, pp. 27 f.) thinks that *haud* was originally an intensive, and not a negative. If this view is correct, such cases as *Bacch.* 1037 will be explained like those of *ne . . . pas* and *ne . . . point* mentioned below.

<sup>2</sup> Although the comments of Brix and Spengel do not suggest the true explanation of the use of the double negative, it is undoubtedly a fact that the need which the writer or speaker feels for a second negative becomes greater if the first negative is combined with a word which has another function to perform, or if this negative is separated by a considerable interval from a word with which it is important that the negative idea should be closely connected.

Two of the most interesting instances of this kind of repetition are offered by the addition of an adverb indicating frequency to a frequentative, and of an adjective indicating smallness to a diminutive, e. g., *crebro ventitare*, *parva fabella*, but both of these classes of cases will be considered in another connection. Another form of repetition, which is especially common in colloquial Latin, should be considered under the head of imperfect gemination, although it is not similar in all respects to the instances of that phenomenon mentioned above. It consists in the repetition by means of an adverb of an idea already contained in the verb. Cases in point are *redire rusum*, Plaut. *Mil.* 592; *redimere russum*, *Trin.* 182; *redire denuo*, *Capt.* 411; *praescire ante*, Ter. *Andr.* 239; *reverti rursus denuo*, Plaut. *Poen.* 79; *istic adesse*, Servius apud Cic. *ad fam.* 4. 5. 1.

#### b. DOUBLE EXPRESSIONS.

The second class of cases in which emphasis is secured by the addition of a word or words identical, not in form but in meaning, with words already conveying the idea to be stated, is made up of double expressions.

Two or more single words or clauses may be joined together, properly by a coördinate conjunction or by alliteration, not to suggest two ideas, nor to convey a thought, first in its general, then in its specific form, or vice versa, but to present a single idea in an emphatic manner. Two or more nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, or adverbs may be linked together for this purpose.

In considering the use of synonymous expressions under this head a distinction should be made on the one hand between the *sermo perpolitus* and the *sermo cotidianus*, on the other hand between the formal style of a man of taste and that of an extravagant rhetorician. The devotee of Cicero or of Horace who should apply in this matter to Plautus on the one hand, or to Apuleius on the other, the principles of interpretation which would hold good for his favorite author would make a serious mistake. In Cicero and in Horace it is doubtless true that in most cases the second part of a double expression materially modifies the meaning

of the first part. Yet in many cases in the everyday Latin of Plautus and Terence, and in the language of their rhetorical imitators, Apuleius and Gellius, the second part of a double expression serves merely to reinforce the idea of the first part. Thus *metuoque et timeo*, Plaut. *Mil.* 1348, means simply *I am very much afraid*; *turbant miscent mores mali, rapax avarus invidus*, Trin. 285, means *they confuse utterly the principles of morality*. As Lorenz on *Mil.* 449 remarks, 'die Umgangssprache, welche stets nach scharfer Bezeichnung hervorgehobener Begriffe strebt, liebt es sehr sie durch zwei unmittelbar nebeneinander gestellte Synonyme bemerkbar zu machen;' and on *Most.* 1163, 'die Umgangssprache liebt in ihrem Streben nach Emphase gerade solche erschöpfende, an Tautologie grenzende Bezeichnungen eines Gedankens; eine Versicherung und eine Behauptung genügt selten, sie muss in anderer Form wiederholt werden.' The two or more words in question may be connected by a conjunction, or by alliteration or rhyme, or may stand without connection. Illustrations of the first class from Plautus are: *satin tu sanis mentis aut animi tui*, Trin. 454; *male atque malitiöse*, *Mil.* 887; *minae viginti sanae et salvae sunt tibi* ('safe and sound,' as we say), *Pseud.* 1068; Charmides. *Qualine amico mea commendavi bona! Callicles. Probo et fideli et fido et cum magna fide*, Trin. 1096.

Instances of double expressions where the parts are connected by alliteration or rhyme are: *spernit, segregat*, *Mil.* 1232; *perdidit pessum dedit*, *Bacch.* 407; *curans cogitans*, *Mil.* 201; *vi violentia*, *Rud.* 839; *nunc nostri amores mores consuetudines*, *Pseud.* 64. Similar cases without connection are: *repente subito*, *Mil.* 177; *olim . . . quondam*, Ter. *Eun.* 246; *imperiiis praeceptis*, Trin. 302. It will be noticed that when the conjunction is omitted this form of repetition is identical with a form already considered, and perfect gemination as in *iam iam*, imperfect gemination as in *itaque ergo*, and double expressions as in *vi violentia* become almost identical expressions of the same tendency. In the archaizing writers, Fronto, Apuleius, and Gellius, the use of double expressions to secure emphasis was carried to

an absurd extreme (cf. Gorges, *De quibusdam sermonis Gelliani proprietatibus observationes*, pp. 58-61; Koziol, *Der Stil des L. Apuleius*, pp. 3-163).

It is proper to note, especially with reference to the writers just mentioned, that, even where only one idea is presented, sometimes double expressions are used for rhetorical reasons, and not for emphasis, as, for instance, to continue in an artificial way a parallelism which in the earlier part of the sentence was natural. In some cases in all periods such euphonic considerations as alliteration or rhyme must be recognized as secondary factors in the formation of double expressions, while in exceptional cases these considerations become the primary factors, and no emphasis is intended.

An idea may be emphasized, or made more distinct, by its repetition in a clause, or even in a passage of considerable length. Illustrations in point occur in the *Peregrinatio* of Sanct. Silv. 87. 15 (ed. Geyer), *omnia quaecumque scripta sunt . . . totum legitur*, and in Plaut. *Aul.* 105, *Discrucior animi, quia ab domo abeundumst mihi, Nimis hercle invitus abeo.*<sup>1</sup>

### c. ETYMOLOGICAL FIGURES.

At this point it is proper to discuss etymological figures which Landgraf in his monograph *Über die figura etymologica* defines as 'die Zusammenstellungen zweier stammverwandter Wörter, die auch grammatisch genau verbunden sind und einen emphatisch hervorgehobenen, volltönenden Begriff bilden.' That the essential purpose of the figure was to secure emphasis, or distinctness

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that the recognition of this tendency of Plautus to emphasize by repetition would lead to the retention of many lines which critics are apt to strike out as marginal paraphrases that have crept into the text. Thus, for instance, in the prol. to the *Trin.*, vv. 4-7,

Nunc, nequis erret vestrum, paucis *in viam*  
*Deducam, si quidem operam dare promittitis.*  
 Nunc igitur primum quae ego sim et quae illaec siet  
 Huc quae abiit intro, *dicam si animum advortitis.*

Ritschl wished to omit vv. 6, 7 because they merely repeat what is said in vv. 4, 5, and for the same reason Morris (*The Captives and Trinummus of Plautus*, Boston, 1898) suggests that they may be a 'later interpolation,' but in view of

of impression, is clear, not only from the character of these expressions, but also from a passage in Quint. (7. 3. 26) quoted by Landgraf, *qui in servitute est eo iure quo servus aut ut antiqui dixerunt, 'qui servitutem servit.'*

Plautus surpasses all other Latin writers in the boldness and frequency with which he employs this figure; *volgo volgare, Mil.* 1035; *sapienter sapere, Poen.* 606; *iterum iterare, Rud.* 1265; *audere audacissime, Men.* 1003; and *dum ego vivos vivam* ('as long as I have a breath of life left'), *Pseud.* 339, may serve as illustrations of its use. The figure belongs especially to the language of the people, and, as Landgraf shows, was employed freely in popular and proverbial expressions, and in religious and legal formulæ. Alliteration gave to these expressions an additional charm.

Writers subsequent to Plautus employed the figure in its original form somewhat sparingly, preferring to use two words synonymous in meaning, but derived from different stems, e. g., *cautius vitare* instead of *cautius cavere*. The proper *figura etymologica* came into vogue again with the archaizing writers; cf. Gorges, *De quibusdam Sermonis Gelliani propr.*, pp. 65-7; Koziol, *Apuleius*, p. 36.

### III. Repetition of a Grammatical Device.

Under the third general head it is proposed to consider the repetition of a grammatical device to secure emphasis or the combination for the same purpose of two devices differing in form but not in meaning. The phenomena which are of most interest

the frequency with which Plautus repeats an idea without essential modification, merely to secure emphasis, the verses seem unimpeachable. So in a passage of twelve lines in the *Mostellaria*, vv. 87-98, Lorenz strikes out five lines with the comment, '87 und 88 als schlechtere Dittographien zu 85 u. 86 aus dem Texte entfernt;' 'de-gleichen 93-5 = 96-8,' but it seems to me that no exception need be taken to the verses in question on the ground mentioned. Brix in his critical note on *Capt.* 401 mentions this tendency in Plautus as an element to be considered in textual criticism, but it has not received from many critics and commentators of Plautus the recognition which it deserves, perhaps because the influence of Ritschl is still felt, whose critical judgment was offended in many passages by the redundancy of the Plautine style.



in this connection are *double frequentatives*, *double diminutives*, and *the double gradation of adjectives and adverbs*.

#### a. DOUBLE FREQUENTATIVES.

The explanation which one gives to the double frequentative will depend upon the view which one takes of the relation existing in colloquial Latin between the frequentative and the simple verb. It will be convenient, therefore, to consider together four different kinds of phenomena :

1. The use of the frequentative for the simple verb, as in Plaut. *Pseud.* 7,

Nunc quoniam id fieri non potest, necessitas  
Me subigit ut te *rogitem*,

where, as Lorenz remarks, the inquiry is made once, and once only, so that apparently *rogitem* stands for *rogem*;

2. The displacement of the simple verb in many cases in the Romance languages by the frequentative, as happens in the case of *gettare* = *iactare*;

3. The use of an adverb denoting frequency with the frequentative, as, e. g., *semper dictitare*, Ter. *Phorm.* 743; *ostentare crebro*, Dolabel. apud Cic. *ad fam.* 9. 9. 2;

4. The use of double frequentatives like *factito*, Ter. *Eun.* 43; *ventito*, Tac. *Ann.* 12. 3.

Further illustrations of these four classes of phenomena are: *mantare* for *manere*, Plaut. *Pseud.* 255; *quaeritare* for *quaerere*, *Pseud.* 963; *saepe visitari*, *Pseud.* 727; *semper clamitare*, Cic. *pro Quinctio*, 68; *perpetuo gestare*, Suet. *Iul.* 45; *scriptitare*, Cic. *Att.* 7. 12. 6; *dictitare solent*, Liv. 9. 18. 6; *saepius sumptitare*, Plin. *N. H.* 25. 21 (51); *saepius lectitare*, Gell. 11. 13. 5.

It is commonly said in explanation of these facts that the frequentative has lost its characteristic force, and may therefore be used indifferently for the simple verb, and needs to have an adverb like *crebro* or *semper* added to it to convey the idea of frequency. Lorenz (*Pseud.*, p. 58, n.) remarks: 'dasselbe

Sinken der Bedeutung zeigt sich in einer anderen der Umgangssprache eigenthümlichen Gattung von Bildungen: in den Frequentativa und Intensiva; es ist ersichtlich aus secundären Bildungen (venio, vento, ventito), aus der Hinzufügung von saepe, vehementer, etiam atque etiam und Aehnl., aus den romanischen Sprachen (adiutare = aiutare, etc.).'

With reference to Lorenz' explanation it should be noted first of all that, while the appearance of the Latin frequentative rather than the simple verb, in many cases in the Romance languages, points back to the displacement of the simple verb by the frequentative at some period in colloquial Latin, this loss of its characteristic meaning by the frequentative, and the substitution of the frequentative for the simple verb, may have taken place during the so-called period of decay of the Latin language, and not at the early period assumed by him. We believe this to have been the case in point of fact.

The theory in general, however, seems indefensible, because these very frequentatives, which seem to take the place of a simple verb, and those which admit a second frequentative ending or an adverb of frequency, are commonly used with their characteristic significance in the very authors in which the phenomena noted above occur. We cannot believe then, in comedy for instance, either in a loss of force by frequentatives in general or even in such a loss in particular cases. As Wölfflin shows in the *Archiv*, IV, p. 219, the only sure proof that a frequentative has lost its peculiar meaning in a particular author is offered when the simple verb does not appear in his writings. Wölfflin believes that the general confusion of the frequentative and simple verb took place in the fourth century A. D., for, although grammarians of an earlier date defined frequentatives by using the simple verb with some such adverb as saepe, Nonius recognizes no such distinction between the two, but writes *captare = capere, commetare = commeare*. Since, therefore, such expressions as *ostentare crebro, scriptitare, and solent dictitare* are found at a period when the difference between the simple verb and the frequentative was still observed, we must seek some other explanation than the one

offered by Lorenz. It is believed that the evidence which has been offered in this paper of the fondness which Latin showed, especially in its colloquial form, for emphasizing by repetition, will suggest the true explanation. The addition of *saepe*, of *crebro*, or of a second frequentative ending to a frequentative verb no more proves that the latter had lost its characteristic force than the addition of *numquam* to *neque* or *nemo* to *non* in the illustrations cited in an earlier part of this paper proves that *neque* and *non* had lost their characteristic force. The frequentative verb has not lost its peculiar force, but the second ending or the adverb is added to it with a desire to secure greater emphasis or clearness. A discussion of the influences which led to the displacement of the simple verb in many cases by the frequentative does not fall within the scope of this paper, but it may be questioned if, in urging metrical considerations and considerations of euphony and convenience in explanation of this change, Wölfflin in the article mentioned has not left out of account the most important factor, viz., the tendency to overstatement or exaggeration, which is so pronounced a characteristic of colloquial speech, and which would in time bring the frequentative down to the level of the simple verb.

#### b. DOUBLE DIMINUTIVES.

An examination of double diminutives leads us to a consideration of phenomena similar to the phenomena discussed in connection with the double frequentative, and here again, as in the former cases, the explanation which we give to the double diminutive will depend upon the view which we take of the relation existing between the derivative and the primitive word. There are here also four classes of cases to consider: (1) the apparent use of the diminutive for the simple word. For instance, *versiculus* in Cic. *Att.* 5. 1. 3 (*ille transversus extremæ epistulae tuae versiculus*) may be mentioned as a case in which the diminutive has completely lost its characteristic force; (2) the displacement of the simple word, in many cases in the Romance languages, by the diminutive, e. g., *fratello* (from the Latin

diminutive rather than from the primitive); (3) the use of an adjective denoting smallness with a diminutive noun, e. g., *parva fabella*, Phaedr. I. 15. 3; (4) the appearance of double diminutives, e. g., *pauillulus*, Ter. *Phorm.* 37. A diminutive form may be used for any one of three different purposes: (1) it may indicate that the person or thing in question is smaller than the average representative of its kind; (2) it may express a certain feeling of the writer or speaker toward the object mentioned; or (3) it may apparently differ in meaning in no wise from the primitive word. The first use is common enough. Under the second head the feelings which are commonly expressed are tenderness, e. g., *Tulliola* (Cic. *Att.* 1. 3. 3); sympathy, e. g., *muliercula* = *poor woman* (Serv. apud Cic. *ad fam.* 4. 5. 4); contempt, e. g., *plebecula urbana* = '*the starveling mob of the city*' (Cic. *Att.* 16. 8. 2), etc. The passage of the diminutive from its primitive meaning to the one noted here is easy to understand. That which is diminutive commonly excites one or the other of the feelings indicated, according to the point of view from which one regards the individual in question. The third use springs perhaps from the second. In real life the persons or things closely connected with us—and this is especially true of the volatile peoples of southern Europe—and in particular those persons or things upon which our welfare depends, excite some emotion, which naturally finds expression in terms applied to the objects in question. Now the diminutive suggests emotion, indirectly it is true, but it still suggests it, and may therefore quite naturally be used to indicate directly, for instance, the affection or contempt of the speaker where no indication of the size is intended, and where there is nothing to call for an expression of emotion, if the matter be regarded from the point of view of the less impressionable Anglo-Saxon or Teuton.

Lorenz in his edition of the *Pseudolus* (pp. 58–64) has made a valuable collection of diminutives, many of which seem neither to indicate smallness nor to suggest emotion. It is interesting to notice that these diminutives are found almost exclusively in Plautus, Terence, Catullus, and in the familiar letters of Cicero,

and that with very few exceptions they are applied to objects belonging to one of the following classes: (1) the family relations, (2) the parts of the body, (3) domestic animals, and (4) articles closely connected with daily life. This state of things seems to offer a strong proof of the theory which has been advanced in explanation of the third class of diminutives. Thus *cenula* and *lecticula* are used without regard to size, and the objects to which they are applied would not ordinarily excite any emotion in the breast of the Northerner, but there can be little doubt that it is emotion which finds expression in the Latin diminutive forms. To take another illustration, the close ties which bound a maidservant to the family in which she served would inspire an affection for her, which—joined perhaps to a recognition of her inferior social position—found expression in the diminutive applied to her, *ancilla* or *ancillula*.<sup>1</sup>

In this way it would seem probable that many diminutives, especially those used to designate persons and things with which one is brought into contact in everyday life, while *apparently* without their characteristic force, *in reality* suggested the speaker's feeling, and that in general up to the late imperial period, when, as J. N. Ott shows in the *Jahrbücher*, Bd. 109–110 (1874), p. 789, the diminutive ending had lost its characteristic force, the diminutive either indicates smallness of size or expresses the writer's feeling, if those diminutives are excepted which took on a technical meaning, e. g., *codicillus* or *bacillum*, and those which had practically supplanted the simple word. If this conclusion is correct, the addition of such an adjective as *parvus* or of a second diminutive ending to a diminutive substantive is another instance of emphasis by repetition.

<sup>1</sup> An interesting parallel to the use of the diminutive ending in this third class of cases is afforded by the Homeric use of *φίλος*, which is a standing epithet with words like *πατήρ*, *παῖς*, *τέκνον*, *ἐταῖρος*, and *ξείνος*, denoting relationship, and with words like *γυῖα*, *χεῖρ*, and *κεφαλή*, which indicate a part of the body. It seems strange to us that any emotion should be felt in many of these cases, but it evidently was felt by the Greek as well as by the Roman, being excited by the close relation which persons or things of the character mentioned bear to the person immediately concerned. In the one case this emotion finds expression in the use of *φίλος*, in the other in the use of the diminutive ending.

## c. DOUBLE GRADATION OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS.

One of the most interesting instances of the tendency we are considering is found in the double gradation of adjectives and adverbs. This subject has been fully discussed by J. N. Ott in the *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.*, 1875 (pp. 787-800), and by Wölfflin in his *Lat. u. rom. Comp.*, pp. 42 ff., and the following illustrations are taken mainly from these two sources.

The first point to deserve notice is the use of two intensifying adverbs with the positive, of which there are two or three examples in ante-Ciceronian and Ciceronian Latin, e. g., *nimum mirimodis mirabilis*, Plaut. *Trin.* 931; *bene et naviter . . impudentem*, Cic. *fam.* 5. 12. 3 (cf. Liv. 43. 7. 3); *bene plane magnus*, Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 2. 44. These instances illustrate the fact that this form of repetition belongs to familiar Latin.

The least noticeable form of double gradation in the case of the comparative degree consists in the use of *potius* or *magis* with a verb already containing the idea of comparison. This form of double comparison is found even in Cicero's orations, e. g., *qui se ab omnibus desertos potius quam abs te defensos esse malunt*, *Div. in Q. Caecil.* 21; *huic enim populo ita fuerat ante vos consules libertas insita, ut ei mori potius quam servire praestaret*, *in Pison.* 15. Somewhat more noticeable is the use of *potius* and *magis* in making a single comparison, as in Plaut. *Trin.* 274, *Eo mihi magis lubet cum probis potius quam cum improbis vivere vanidicis* (cf. also *Asin.* 689, 690), where the two parts of the comparison are expressed somewhat fully and given an individual force, or as in Val. Max. 3. 7. 1 d ed. K, *uterque nostrum invidia magis quam pecunia locupletior est*, and Liv. 9. 7. 6, *tristior deinde ignominiosae pacis magis quam periculi nuntius fuit*. A far more obvious type of double comparison, and one which accordingly, until a late period, was confined to colloquial Latin, consists in the use of a comparative adverb, usually *magis*, with the comparative of the adjective. The instances in Latin up to a late period are as follows:

*Capt.* 644, *Magis hoc certo certius.*

*Amph.* 301, *Igitur magis modum \*maiorem in sese concipiet metum.*

- Bacch.* 500, *Inimiciorem* nunc utrum credam *magis*,  
Sodalemne esse an Bacchidem, incertum admodumst.
- Men.* 979, *Magis* multo patior *facilius* verba, verbera ego odi.
- Pseud.* 220, Aut num ipse ego pulmento utor *magis*  
*Unctiusculo* ?
- Aul.* 422, Ita fustibus sum *mollior magis* quam ullus cinaedus.
- Men.* 55, Qui dederit, *magis maiores* nugas egerit.
- Poen.* 212, Nam nullae *magis res* duae *plus* negoti  
Habent.

Cf. also *Poen.* 82, 461, and Ter. *Hec.* 738.

An interesting illustration of the reserve of Terence as compared with Plautus is offered by the fact that Plautus uses *magis* with the comparative twelve times, and in several cases where the two words are consecutive, as *mollior magis*, *Aul.* 422; *magis maiores*, *Men.* 55; whereas the combination occurs in Terence but once, and in that case with a considerable interval between the two words concerned.

Double gradation is commoner in the case of the comparative than in that of the superlative, the reason for which, as Wölfflin observes in his *Lat. u. rom. Comp.*, probably lies in the fact that the comparative ending is shorter than the superlative ending, and, therefore, does not express the difference in degree intended with distinctness enough to satisfy the speaker. The length of the ending in *certissimus*, e. g., would probably be satisfactory to the speaker in the *Captivi* in indicating the superlative degree, but *certior* was not far enough removed from *certus* to satisfy him for the comparative degree.

In the case of the superlative double gradation in a definite form is apparently not found until we reach post-classical Latin. One of Cicero's expressions in a letter from exile is, however, a close approach to it, ego autem hoc *miserior* sum quam tu, quae es *miserruma* (*ad fam.* 14. 3. 1). More noticeable is the intensification of a superlative by *per* or by an adverb, as in one or two passages from Cicero's letters quoted by Ott (*Jahrb.*, 1875, pp. 787 ff.), quae *maxime liberalissima*<sup>1</sup> doctoque homine *dignissima* (*Att.* 12. 38b. 1). Boot upon this passage suggests that the

<sup>1</sup> Ursinus *liberalis sit*.

superlative form *liberalissima* is used to correspond to *dignissima*, while Cicero does not think of the fact that *maxime* has already been used; but this explanation will not apply to *Fam.* 3. 10. 10; quibus ille me rebus non *ornatissimum* voluit *amplissime*? Gellius adds to the superlative such expressions as *omnium rerum* and *praeter alios* (cf. Gorges, p. 39). The addition of a comparative or a superlative ending to a superlative, as in *minimissimus*, is found in one or two cases only, if at all, outside of the archaizing writers (as Apuleius; cf. Koziol, p. 304) and patristic Latin (cf. Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 280). The superlatives that first admit of the addition of a superlative ending are the irregular ones, in whose case the relation of the superlative to the positive form of the adjective was not distinct enough in the mind of the speaker or writer to make him feel that the form already indicated the superlative degree, while the use of extravagant superlatives in the titles applied to the later emperors, as for instance *invictissimus*, fostered, as both Ott and Wölflin remark, the tendency to displace the positive by the superlative.

In this connection such forms as *exclusissimus*, *Men.* 698; *parissimus*, *Curc.* 506; *geminissimus*, *Pers.* 830; *patruissimus*, *Poen.* 1197; *ipsissimus*, *Trin.* 988, may be mentioned, although they are extravagances of the moment only. One form allied to those just mentioned deserves more notice perhaps. As early as the time of Plautus the pronoun *ipse* (or *ipsa*) standing alone seems to have been used by the slave in speaking of his master or mistress. So the slave in the *Cas.* (790) says ego eo quo me *ipsa* misit. The same usage appears again in Catullus. In Petronius in three different passages (63; 69; 75) appears a still more colloquial form *ipsimus*, used likewise by the slave of his master. This form would seem to be a superlative of *ipse*, and was not the creation of the moment.

## SUMMARY.

All the forms of expression discussed in this paper have a common origin, and are manifestations of a single tendency. A



speaker or writer wishes to emphasize an idea, or make it especially clear. A natural and an effective way of accomplishing this object is to repeat the idea, by repeating the word or words which express it, or by adding other words which bring out the same notion a second time. This is a method which belongs to the speech of everyday life, and it is a mistake to suppose that it originated with the rhetorician. The rhetorician merely adopted effective forms of expression which he found in common use among the people. This point may be made clear, perhaps, by contrasting the origin of the Latin period with the genesis of repetition for emphasis. The periodic form is not one in which a Roman naturally gave expression to his thoughts. One needs only to read such colloquial literature as Plautus or Terence, the dialogue portions of Petronius, or the *Peregrinatio* of Sancta Silvia to be convinced of this fact. It presupposes deliberation and a careful consideration of the idea or the situation to be presented. This mastery of a subject finds expression in the construction of the period, in which the various facts are combined into an artistic unit. But the common man has neither the ability to see the logical relation of the parts, nor the wit, time, or patience to combine them in his everyday speech. The periodic form of expression, therefore, had its origin in literature, and found its way into conversational usage only in the case of men with a literary training, and only as a result of that training.

The history of the use of repetition for emphasis and distinctness was exactly the reverse of this. Repetition, for the purpose noted, is a natural thing among all people and in all languages. It secures clearness and conveys the impression of sincerity and earnestness. The rhetorician, the orator, and the poet appreciate this fact, and employ it sometimes unconsciously, but often consciously, as a rhetorical device, although naturally the ungrammatical character of some of these forms of expression has prevented their use in serious composition.

The simplest illustration of the use of this method of securing emphasis, as noted at the outset, is afforded by the case of gemination. The speaker is so anxious to make sure that the hearer

understands that he means, for instance, '*in a moment,*' that he does not content himself with saying *iam*, but says *iam iam*, and the hearer appreciates the earnestness of the speaker from the repetition of the word, or the idea may be repeated by a word slightly different in form, as in the expressions *deinde postea*, *neque haud*, or the repetition may take some one of the other forms noted above. In each case, however, it is employed for the same purpose, namely, to secure emphasis.



## EPIDEICTIC LITERATURE.

BY THEODORE C. BURGESS.

WHILE the following pages attempt to give a general survey of epideictic literature, it is with certain necessary limitations. A full discussion of this important and extensive branch in all its phases and relations is far too large a theme for a single paper. I have found myself compelled to treat the subject in many parts in a cursory manner and to make what may be regarded as a somewhat arbitrary choice among the topics which it presents: to develop some of its features in considerable detail and merely to touch upon others in themselves of interest and importance. The existence of monographs on some phases of the subject has caused these to be passed over more lightly. It has seemed unnecessary, for instance, to treat anew the *πολιτικός λόγος*, consolations, the *προτρεπτικός λόγος*, and some other single features which have been amply discussed by others. The absence of a special presentation of the Sophists and the *προγυμνάσματα* (see p. 108, n. 1) may seem the most considerable omission. These influential factors in epideictic history are not discussed in a separate chapter, because the most important names naturally enter here and there as individuals, and because the history of these movements as a whole has been amply treated. The early Sophists have suffered the extremes of praise and blame. In place of the disrespect in which they were held as a class has come at the present day a tendency to magnify their influence. The modern discussion starts with Grote's notable chapter and the extended argumentation which has grown from it.<sup>1</sup> Discussions of the important Sophistic revival which began in the

<sup>1</sup> See Sidgwick, *Journal of Philology*, IV (1873), 288, and V (1874), 66; he continues Grote's defense and cites other writers. Cf. also statements and references in the histories of Greek literature, notably Christ (3d ed.), Croiset, Bernhardt; Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*; Dümmler, *Prolegomena zu Platon's Staat*.

first and second century A. D., and is called the New Sophistic, are very numerous.<sup>1</sup>

Among the most interesting features of the subject are the extent of the epideictic influence and the relations of other branches of literature to this form of oratory. The chapters on Poetry, History, and Philosophy are written from this point of view, but are necessarily mere sketches, which may be made more complete at some future time in separate papers.

I have adopted the following order of topics: an introductory statement; epideictic literature and its general characteristics; the uses of the word *ἐπιδεικνυμι* in Isocrates and Plato; Isocrates' conception of oratory; a brief sketch of epideictic oratory; the general rhetorical treatment of this department of oratory, especially in Menander and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with the main characteristics of each of the separate forms of epideictic speech recognized by these rhetoricians; a few of these forms—the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* as a special development of the *ἐγκώμιον* of a person, the *γενεθλιακὸς λόγος*, the *ἐπιτάφιος*, and *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*—are chosen for more detailed consideration in separate chapters. These are selected because of their individual importance and because they well illustrate the range of epideictic literature. Although much has been written on the subject of the *ἐπιτάφιος*, it is difficult to find even the familiar facts about this important form in a single paper, and

<sup>1</sup> The literature of the subject may be found in Christ, see index; Croiset, V (1900), 547 ff.; Bernhardt, I, 509, *et passim*. Compare also W. Schmid, *Ueber den kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang und die Bedeutung der griechischen Renaissance in der Römerzeit* (Leipzig, 1898); H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa* (Berlin, 1898); E. Rhode, "Griechische Sophistik der Kaiserzeit," in *Der griechische Roman*, 310 (2d ed., Leipzig, 1900); E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), see index; W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern* (Stuttgart, 1887); Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, see index; Baumgart, *Aelius Aristides als Repräsentant der sophistischen Rhetorik d. zweiten Jahrh. der Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1874); Kaibel, "Dionysius v. Halicarnassus u. die Sophistik," *Hermes*, XX (1885), 497-513; Wilamowitz, "Asianismus u. Atticismus," *Hermes*, XXXV (1900), 16. Cf. also numerous treatises on individual Sophists, *e. g.*, for Philostratus, Kayser's *Introduction*; Cobet, "Ad Philostrati Vitas Sophistarum et Heroica," *Mnemosyne*, I (1873), 209-32; Volkmann, "Philistratea," *Jahrb. f. Phil.*, LXXXI (1860), 702.

also something remained to be done in the way of illustrating by parallel passages its stereotyped character and of bringing the extant orations into direct connection with the requirements of Menander and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A separate chapter is given in each case to the relations of epideictic literature to (1) poetry, (2) history, (3) philosophy.

The closing chapter gives a list of the more prominent epideictic orators with dates and representative works. The names of some writers whose literary product as a whole would class them elsewhere are introduced here on account of some single epideictic composition. No attempt is made to include all of the Christian writers or those of the Byzantine period. Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* may be conveniently consulted for this period, which was one with very considerable epideictic production.

I take this opportunity also to express my great indebtedness to Professor Paul Shorey, of the University of Chicago, at whose prompting this work was undertaken, and to whose inspiration and kindly criticism any value it contains may be largely assigned. Professor G. L. Hendrickson, of the University of Chicago, has also made most helpful suggestions and has placed me under obligations by his discriminating criticism.

#### Introduction.

Since the time of Aristotle a large body of Greek oratory has been classified under the title "epideictic." The term, as we shall see (pp. 97 f.), was used to some extent before his day, but not with the definiteness of application which Aristotle's *Rhetoric* gave to it.

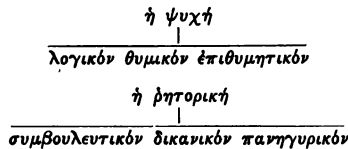
Like many other rhetorical terms among the Greeks, the word ἐπιδεικτικός<sup>1</sup> held at different times or at the same time quite

<sup>1</sup> I use the word "epideictic" in referring to this branch of literature, although the terms "panegyric" and "encomiastic" were also used by the Greek rhetors; cf. Philodemus, I, cols. 30, 32, pp. 212, 213, Sudhaus; Hermogenes, Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 405, *et passim*; Diog. Laert., VII, 42; Aristides, Sp. II, 502, 17; Alexander, son of Numenius, Sp. III, 1, 10; Menander, Sp. III, 331, 8; Theon, Sp. II, 61, 22; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 449, 13, l. 20. Cf. also the Latin *genus laudativum*, *genus demonstrativum*.

different meanings; to generalize, it had its stricter and its loose and more inclusive application. Aristotle is the earliest and most important authority for the former. His triple division of oratory<sup>1</sup> (*Rhet.*, I, 3, 1 and 3) is based upon the attitude of the hearer. He is necessarily either a *θεωρός* or a *κριτής*. The *κριτής* has some real interest at stake and is expected to make a decision, as in the case of one who listens to a legal argument or a speech in the assembly. The *θεωρός* is so named from the analogy of the theater, where the audience are mere spectators and entertainment is the chief purpose. He looks upon an oration chiefly as a display of intellectual ability, and this attitude of mind on the part of the auditor distinguishes the epideictic branch of oratory from the others. Aristotle's definition was adopted by other writers and was long employed.<sup>2</sup>

A more inclusive use of the term "epideictic" may be found even before Aristotle in the works of Isocrates,<sup>3</sup> who placed under it symbouleutic oratory as well.<sup>4</sup> Cicero does not confine the epideictic class to oratory. History also belongs here.<sup>5</sup> Quintilian's references to history and poetry (X, 1, 28, 31, 33) seem to associate them with this division.

<sup>1</sup> Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 90 ff., gives three explanations of the triple division of oratory: one mythical, Hermes in bestowing the oratorical gift made the division; one from the poets, who used the three forms in writing of gods and men; one historical, by which the present division may be traced back to the beginnings of rhetorical study in Sicily. The three branches correspond to the divisions of man's nature, thus:



See Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 73, 80, 121, 139.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Philodemus, I, p. 32 = Suppl., p. 18, Sudhaus; Alexander, Sp. III, 1; Menander, Sp. III, 331; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 483, 13; 450, 2; Quintil., III, 4, 6; III, 7, 1; III, 8, 7, 63; *Auctor ad Heren.*, I, 2, 2; Cic., *De Inv.*, I, 6, 7; *De Orat.*, I, 31, 141.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the word *ἐπιδεικνυμι* in Isocrates and his ideal of oratory are discussed in some detail on pp. 97 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 484, 2 ff.    <sup>5</sup> See *Orat.*, 37 and 207.

Hermogenes includes all literature except distinctively legal and deliberative oratory. After claiming Plato as the perfect example of an epideictic writer in prose, he adds that Homer, though a poet, is equally to be classed as epideictic, and that poetry, as a whole, should be placed under this division (Sp. II, 405, 7 and 21; 408, 15 ff.).<sup>1</sup> Menander in his treatise *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* recognizes this larger definition of the word, since he illustrates the word *ῥυμος* from poetry or prose indifferently. He closes his discussion of this epideictic form with the statement that his rules are such as the *ποιητής*, the *συγγραφεύς*, and the *ρήτωρ* employ in composing hymns to the gods (Sp. III, 344, 6). Among the hymns some forms are more appropriate for prose and some for poetry (343, 29).

An epideictic speech in its more technical sense was regarded among earlier rhetoricians as one whose sole or chief purpose

<sup>1</sup> A like application of the term "epideictic" to poetic compositions is found in the *Anthologia Palatina*, where the term is used in its most vague and general meaning. The epigrams classed under this title comprise Book IX (cf. also *App.*, chap. 3, ed. Didot, which, though of much more recent date, bears the same title). They are very miscellaneous and inclusive. The majority are real or imaginary incidents put in poetic form. A few are purely epideictic in motive, e. g., IX, 524, a hymn to Dionysus; 525, to Apollo; 363, on Spring, containing the same *τόποι* as Choricus; *App.*, 158, *λότρου ἔπαινος*; cf. also IX, 412, and others. Some are descriptive, and many are imaginary speeches of celebrated persons; many personify animals or inanimate objects.

It seems impossible to trace the title historically. The scholiast to *Anth. Pal.*, IV, 1, indicates that Meleager's *Anthology* was alphabetical. Topical arrangement first appears in Agathias' collection. The title *ἐπιδεικτικά* is not among his seven headings, but apparently there was material of this nature placed under different titles, as: I, Dedications; II, On Statues; IV, Hortatory. Cephalas (*Anth. Pal.*, IV, 1) seems to have begun the work of classification entirely anew, furnishing the basis for that of Maximus Planudes. The scholiast (at the beginning of *Anth. Pal.*, IX) seems to interpret the title "epideictic" in a strict sense and to connect with it narrative epigrams. He says: *οὐδὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἠμέληται τὸ ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐρμηνείας ἐπιδειξιν καὶ πραγμάτων γενομένων ὅπως ἢ ὡς γενομένων ἀφήγησιν*. This would agree with the natural supposition that the term *ἐπιδεικτικά* was suggested by the many epigrams which would come strictly under that head, and that it then became a convenient title under which to place all those not readily classed elsewhere, and this the more easily because of the great liberty in the use of this word in its application to prose.



was display, thus agreeing with the derivation of the word "epideictic."<sup>1</sup> The hearer is to gain pleasure, at least, if not information.<sup>2</sup> The style is the most distinctive feature.<sup>3</sup> This general characteristic marks out the limits of the territory naturally occupied by this division of oratory in its narrower conception. Its tendency is to exclude topics of a practical nature where the thought of the auditor centers chiefly on the subject discussed or in the argument, or where his interests are to any extent affected by the conclusions reached or implied.<sup>4</sup> Since the appeal is to the emotions more than to the intellect, form is of greater importance than subject-matter. A tendency to ornament of every kind is fostered, and there is too little regard as to whether it be legitimate or not. Even truth may be disregarded in the interests of eloquence.<sup>5</sup> "A pomp and prodigality of words," well-balanced periods, a style half poetic, half oratorical, are the qualities most desired. The orations which emphasize the qualities which come under this conception of the word "epideictic" are happily but a fragment of the large body of epideictic literature; yet this lower usage has stood, in the minds

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Anaximenes, chap. 35, init., *οὐκ ἀγῶνος ἀλλ' ἐπιδείξεως ἕνεκα*.

<sup>2</sup> Quintil., II, 10, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *Orat.*, 61, 207; Quintil., III, 8, 7, and 63.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Philodemus, I, p. 32 (Sudhaus) = Suppl., p. 18, where he approves the criticism of Epicurus that those who listen to displays and panegyrics, and the like, are not under any oath or in any hazard, and do not consider their truth or falsehood, but are charmed by the *ἡχος* and beauty of style; such things would not be endured in court or assembly.

<sup>5</sup> Isocrates, *Busiris*, 4, presents, as a general principle, the fact that one composing a eulogy may *invent* good qualities, and *vice versa* with one who makes a speech of detraction. Aristides (Sp. II, 505) says the encomiastic division among other things makes use of *παράλειψις* and *εὐφημία*. By the former only the praiseworthy is brought forward. *Εὐφημία* is a euphemistic way of stating facts which are in reality unfavorable to the one praised. So in the *ψόγος*, unfavorable facts are presented in a light worse than the truth (*δυσφημία*). Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 481) tells the orator to call *δειλιαν εὐλάβειαν καὶ προμήθειαν, τὸ δὲ θράσος ἀνδρείαν καὶ εὐθυχίαν, καὶ δλωσ ἀεὶ πάντα ἐπὶ τὸ κάλλιον ἐργαζόμενοι*; cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 9, 29; Quintil., III, 7, 25; Anaximenes, Sp. I, 186, 10-13; 188, 1-10; Plato, *Phaedr.*, 267 B, 273 D, E; Isoc., *Pan.*, 8. Compare the Sophistic view of rhetoric as an "art of perversion." According to Anaximenes, this perversion of the truth belongs to all rhetoric; cf. chaps. 29 and 30.

of many, as representative. This fact has tended, both in ancient and modern times, to bring the epideictic branch as a whole under adverse criticism.

Quintilian defends a higher interpretation of the term under discussion. Speaking of the scope of this branch of literature, he objects (III, 4, 12, 13) to its title as one suggestive of mere ostentation. In III, 7, 1 he directly states that Aristotle and Theophrastus did not recognize fully enough the practical value of the epideictic branch. "Would anyone deny that panegyric speeches are of the epideictic order, yet these have a suatory form and generally relate to the interests of Greece. Though there are three kinds of oratory, in each of these a part is devoted to subject-matter and a part to display" (III, 4, 14).<sup>1</sup>

The propriety of introducing epideictic features in other forms was generally recognized. Anaximenes classed all oratory as belonging either to the assembly or the court. Though he discusses epideictic material in detail, it is always as an element to be employed in either the dicastic or the deliberative form. The point involved is discussed in some detail by Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 478, 10 ff. He says one may take the encomium as a thing complete in itself, or as an element in some other form. In the former case we set ourselves the task of praising something; in the latter we make use of it incidentally in an oration whose purpose is deliberative or legal. The *Panegyricus* of Isocrates, for example, has the *συμβουλευτικὸν εἶδος*, but employs encomiastic material; so, too, Demosthenes' oration *On the Crown* comes plainly under the *δικανικὸν εἶδος*, but praise and blame are its chief elements.<sup>2</sup> It agrees with this that Menander (Sp. III, 331-446) includes (*passim*) as epideictic passages from literature of almost every kind and purpose, both prose and poetry. One may note, for example, pp. 334, 336, 338, 343, 360, 430, 437; Alexander, Sp. III, 4, 19; Hermogenes, Sp. II, 405; Quintilian, III, 4, 30 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philodemus, col. 32, 7, Vol. I, p. 213, Sudhaus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Sp. III, 484, 14; Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 410 (Doxopater); *Auctor ad Heren.*, III, 8, 15. This passage is as follows: "At in iudicialibus et in deliberativis causis saepe magnae partes versantur laudis aut vituperationis."

The rhetors who treat the various forms of school exercises (*προγυμνάσματα*, see p. 108, n. 1) show a like freedom in citing examples.<sup>1</sup>

The epideictic division had always closer connection with deliberative than with legal oratory.<sup>2</sup> The element of persuasion or advice, which Quintilian so clearly recognizes (III, 4, 14), was common in epideictic compositions. It entered early. It is a prominent feature of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, and also of his *Panathenaicus*. Lysias, also, in the third section of the *Olympiacus*, says that he does not intend to trifle with words, like a mere sophist, but to offer serious counsel on the dangers of Greece. To take a modern judgment: "The great epideictic λόγοι deserve a better name. They express the drift of the pan-Hellenic sentiment of the time, and are only unpractical in the sense that internationalism has no executive power." (Murray, *Gk. Lit.*, p. 333.)

Thus epideictic oratory varies greatly in the themes which it may treat. According to one conception, it had a comparatively narrow field into which praise and blame entered as a definite and easily distinguishable, usually far the most prominent, element. This was especially true of its earlier theoretical treatment. Its practice was always wider than its theory. There was also the more comprehensive view by which it came to include the "occasional speech" of almost endless variety in theme and treatment. This is illustrated to some extent in the time of Socrates, but more especially in the period known as the second Sophistic.<sup>3</sup>

The remains of epideictic literature, taken in a rough way, fall into three classes: First, that characterized by elevation of subject and a certain practical application usually arising from the admixture of the deliberative element. Here belong Isocrates and his immediate followers. Second, the treatment of a paradoxical theme, a mere *jeu d'esprit*. Third, the vast mass of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 479, 20; 455, 22, 27; Aphthonius, Sp. II, pp. 23, 44, 45, 46; Theon, Sp. II, 66; Hermogenes, Sp. II, pp. 5, 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Arist., *Rhet.*, I, 9, 35; Quintil., III, 7, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Sears, *The Occasional Address*, p. 110, *et passim*.

epideictic literature lying between these extremes, presenting mixed motives and treatment—speeches such as the circumstances of common life call for in any age of high cultivation, in many cases of no permanent value, yet serving a worthy purpose at the time. The situation arises constantly where an oration is appropriate.<sup>1</sup> The epideictic orator is ever ready to meet this opportunity. Speechmaking of this character—the “occasional address”—was much cultivated by the Greeks and has formed a large body of honorable literature from that day to this. It includes the widest possible range of treatment—the poetic style of Himerius, the philosophical tendency of Themistius and Dion Chrysostomus, the more purely rhetorical form of Choricus, or the sober treatment of political themes in Isocrates. Here may be found speeches which serve chiefly to dazzle an audience, to flatter a prince, and those which gain these ends to some extent, but combine with this purely ephemeral interest a more permanent value, and thus approach orations of the first class mentioned above and the ideal of Isocrates.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Use of ἐπιδείκνυμι in Isocrates and His Conception of Oratory.

This general statement of the scope and meaning of the epideictic branch of Greek literature may be supplemented by a more particular inquiry into Isocrates as an early and distinguished exponent. Isocrates' references to oratory indicate the triple division made so distinct and permanent by Aristotle.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Croiset, *Lit. grecque*, V, 549 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates presents specimens of each of these classes of epideictic speech. The *Busiris* (cf. Sp. III, 482) was written to show what might be done with a paradoxical theme. His *Helen* and *Euagoras*, and many passages in other orations, are excellent examples of the epideictic speech in its more restricted sense, but the great mass of his writings belong to a class which makes an elevated theme, and one of practical and lasting importance, a prime necessity. The whole weight of his influence lies in this direction. The *Panegyricus* is the best example. Isocrates was the “completer of Thrasymachus of Chalcedon and Gorgias in elevating the style of prose.” The errors of his predecessors were corrected, and the possibilities for eloquence which prose contained within itself, but which had been sought outside, were developed to a high degree of perfection. Croiset justly styles him “an artist in speech, addressing himself to lovers of beautiful language.” Though but a

Incidental mention is made of each in terms which, if not already technical, amply prepare the way for Aristotle's terminology. In *Contra Sophistas*, 9, we find the term *πολιτικούς λόγους*.<sup>1</sup> Section 20 repeats these words and includes *δικαιτικούς λόγους*, elsewhere termed *πρὸς ἀγῶνας* (*Antid.*, 1; *Panath.*, 271) and *οἱ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων* (*Pan.*, 11). The expression *συμβουλευόντα λόγον* (*Phil.*, 18) suggests the later technical phrase *συμβουλευτικός λόγος*. Both are referred to with some disdain as compared with the higher type which forms Isocrates' ideal.<sup>2</sup> He maintains that these call for an inferior order of talent and less preparation, and possess less permanent value.

Isocrates uses the word *ἐπιδείκνυμι* 39 times; of these six examples—*Ad Nic.*, 7; *Pan.*, 4; *Phil.*, 27; *Panath.*, 272; *Helen*, 15;

small proportion of his speeches are epideictic in title or technically such in theme, all are of this class in reality. For a favorable view of his style from an enemy of rhetoric compare Philodemus, I, 127, 153, and elsewhere; see Sudhaus, index. For appreciative references to epideictic oratory in Cicero see *Orator*, chaps. 11, 12, and 13.

<sup>1</sup> Brandstätter, "De Notionum *πολιτικός* et *σοφιστής* usu rhetorico," *Leipziger Studien*, XV (1893), pp. 129 ff., reaches the following conclusions in regard to the *πολιτικός λόγος*: Isocrates in general uses the term *πολιτικός λόγος* to mean an oration looking to the interests of the entire state or of all Greece. Plato does not use the term with any technical force. It is not found in Aristotle. In the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* the term is first used to include speeches before the assembly or court, and this use prevailed until the time of Aristides. With Epicurus arose a use opposed to *σοφιστικός λόγος*. Hermagoras added still a new meaning. He includes under *πολιτικόν* id "quod in omnium cadit intellectum." This conception of the term is found especially among rhetoricians. Aristides still further enlarged its scope until the *πολιτικός λόγος* included all three divisions of oratory and *πολιτικός* came to be equal to *ρήτωρ*.

To state the conclusions still more concisely, the *πολιτικός λόγος* included at different times in different authors the deliberative speech, or the deliberative and judicial, or all three kinds of oratory, or these with philosophical and historical treatises added, and sometimes even poetry. The question is also discussed by Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, II, 107 ff., 208, 475; Volkmann, *Rhet. der Griechen u. Römer* (1885), and Iw. Müller's *Handbücher*, II, 455 ff.; Baumgart, *Ael. Aristides als Repr. d. soph. Rhet. des II. Jahrh. d. Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1874). Cf. also Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, III, 366-80, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> See *Panath.*, 11; *Pan.*, 11, 12; *Antid.*, 3, 48, 49, 216, 227, 228.

*Busiris*, 9—refer to the public delivery of an oration.<sup>1</sup> The noun *ἐπίδειξις* is used 12 times; in seven cases in the combination *ἐπίδειξιν ποιῆσθαι*, showing a well-established phrase. The passages are as follows: *Pan.*, 17; *Phil.*, 17, 93; *Helen*, 9; *Antid.*, 55, 147; *Ep.*, VI, 4. In four cases it is with the article—*Panath.*, 271; *Antid.*, 1; *Helen*, 9; *Ep.*, I, 5. The noun occurs also in *Phil.*, 25, and *Ep.*, I, 6. The adverb *ἐπίδεικτικῶς* occurs but once—*Pan.*, 11—where it means “in ostentatious style.” The simple verb *δείκνυμι* is used twice with virtually the meaning of *ἐπίδεικνυμι*—*Phil.*, 22, 23.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>One of the earliest instances of the use of *ἐπίδεικνυμι* to indicate rhetorical display may be found in *Arist.*, *Eq.*, 349:

εἴ που δικίδιον εἶπας εἰ κατὰ ζένον μετοίκου,

ἴδωρ τε πίνων, κάπιδεικνύς τοὺς φίλους τ' ἀνῶν,  
ῥου δυνατὸς εἶναι λέγειν.

*Cf. Ran.*, 771.

<sup>2</sup>The use of this word in Plato may be introduced at this point for convenience of comparison. Plato uses the verb *ἐπίδεικνυμι* 90 times, the noun *ἐπίδειξις* 13 times, and the adverb *ἐπίδεικτικῶς* once; a total of 104 instances. In 41 cases the word has its original and common force—“to show, point out, prove,” etc. In 17 cases there is the idea of public display more or less prominent, but with no special reference to literature. In 46 instances it involves the display of some literary product, sometimes in the strictly technical sense, in other cases with various degrees of approach to this.

Plato uses the word (verb, 26 times; noun, 11; adjective, 1) in a technical sense in the following passages: *Gorgias*, 447 A, B (twice), C (twice); 458 B; *Hip. Min.*, 363 A, C, D; 364 B (twice); *Hip. Maj.*, 282 B, C (twice); 285 C; 286 B (twice); 287 B; *Soph.*, 217 E; 224 B; *Sympos.*, 194 B; *Phaedr.*, 235 A; *Axiochus*, 366 C; *Sisyphus*, 387 A; *Protag.*, 323 D; 347 B; *Ion.*, 530 D; 542 A (twice). He uses the word also in a less formal way of sophists setting forth their views in discussion with others: *Lysis.*, 204 E (twice); *Euthyd.*, 274 D (three times); 275 A (twice); 278 C; 282 D; *Eryx.*, 398 E. Prodicus' lecture course is called an *ἐπίδειξις* in *Crat.*, 334 B. *ἐπίδεικνυμι* is employed in referring to the presentation of plays by poets: *Laches*, 183 B (twice); *Rep.*, 398 A; *Laws*, 658 B; 817 D; 936 A; *Sympos.*, 195 D. *Ion* interprets Homer, *Ion*, 542 A (twice); *cf.* also 530 D. In the *Theaet.*, 143 A, and *Phaedr.*, 236 E, it seems to mean “repeat.” The passages cited indicate that the use of *ἐπίδειξις* in the sense of an oration for display was fairly established in the time of Plato. Exactly half of the passages cited come from the two dialogues—*Hip. Maj.* and *Hip. Min.* It is noticeable in this connection that the genuineness of the *Hip. Maj.* and the *Hip. Min.* has been much called in question. The results of discussion have been much more favorable

We may gather still further from Isocrates' use of the word *ἐπιδείκνυμι* that he recognizes the pure epideictic speech as legitimate and worthy, though inferior to the style of speech which he employs (*e. g.*, *Panath.*, 271 f.). The word in several instances is introduced for the express purpose of disclaiming any intention of making a display in the speech in question. By an epideictic speech he seems to mean primarily one prepared for a *πανήγυρις* (*cf. Antid.*, 147, and *Ep.*, 1, 5, 6). But he also includes here any speech whose purpose is display or whose style is polished with especial care. Oratory is of two kinds as regards its style, simple and for display—*τοὺς μὲν ἀφελῶς · τοὺς δὲ ἐπιδεικτικῶς* (*Pan.*, 11; *cf. also Ep.*, 6, 5); the former is appropriate for the court-room. Orations of these two varieties maintain just limits, and he who can speak epideictically—which, he explains, means with nice finish (*ἀκριβῶς*)—can also speak simply (*ἀπλῶς*), with the implication that the epideictic style is higher and more inclusive. The master of this style is able to employ any other at will, but the same cannot be said for the orator who cultivates any other style. His defense of his own elaborate style, at the beginning of the *Panegyricus*, carries with it a rebuke to those who despise orations which are carefully worked out. His

to the authenticity of the *Hip. Min.*, though many regard both as the work of Plato. The conclusion which we draw is not affected by the decision on this question, as the instances outside these dialogues amply establish the usage. The lines of discussion may be seen in the *Prolegomena* of Stallbaum and other editors; Zeller's *Plato* and the *Older Acad.*, p. 86; *Platonische Studien*, pp. 150 f.; Grote, *Plato* (Murray, London, 1888), I, 308, II, 33; Christ (3d ed.), pp. 435, 450; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, see index; Horneffer, *De Hippia Maiore, qui fertur Platonis* (Diss., Gött., 1895); Röllig, *Wiener Studien*, XXII. Jahrgang, 1. Heft (1900), pp. 18-24.

That its technical use is not more frequent in Plato, although so many of his dialogues make the sophists a chief theme, may be accounted for, if in no other way, by the fact that Plato deals with the teachings of the sophists, their influence as professors of omniscient pretensions, rather than with their oratory. The fact that the word is used ten times to indicate the informal dialogue-presentation of the sophists' views on some question under discussion, and eight times for the public recitation of poetry, original or another's, indicates a wider usage than the word usually had at a later time; the authority of Aristotle restricted it. Gorgias turns at the entrance of Socrates from an *ἐπίδειξις* of the technical kind to one of this less formal order.

approval of the epideictic style may be learned from this passage, and also from such statements as *Phil.*, 27, where, after referring to the fact that his speech will not have the charm and persuasiveness which come from good delivery, he adds: "It has not the rhythm and variety of style which I used in my youth and taught to others, through which they made speech more agreeable and also more persuasive."<sup>1</sup>

Originality is not, in his view, an essential feature of the highest type of speech.<sup>2</sup> To treat a topic better than others is the form of novelty to be approved (*Pan.*, 9, 10). Yet speeches only for display require it.<sup>3</sup>

Isocrates' own ideal is plainly indicated. It is defined in *Panegyricus*, 4: "I regard as the best speeches those which are on the greatest topics and which best display the speakers and profit the hearers." He offers the *Panegyricus* as an example of this class. In technical terms, his ideal is a mixture of the *συμβουλευτικός λόγος* and the *ἐπιδεικτικός*. It is an oration on some theme of general interest, elevated in style and of real importance, preferably a speech of advice, to be treated in epideictic style. His theory of topic and style is stated in *Panathenaicus*, 2. He says that he did not adopt the simple style which some advise the youth to practice, nor did he write on mythical themes, but "omitting these, I treated such as profited the city and all Greece — full of argument and antithesis and balancing of clauses and other figures which shine in an oration and which compel hearers to applaud."<sup>4</sup> While approving epideictic compositions as a whole, for those who desire, he strongly disapproves of some of the developments of this class, *e. g.*, in *Panathenaicus*, 1, he says that even when young he did not write on myths and topics full of the marvelous or false, as many did. His protests are

<sup>1</sup> Compare also *Phil.*, 28; *Sophist.*, 16; *Ep.*, 6, 6; *Antid.*, 45 ff.; *Nic.*, 1 ff.; *Phil.*, 17, 18, 109, 110. Compare also his praise of *λόγος*, *Nic.*, 1-10; *Sophist.*, 17-19; *Pan.*, 48-50; *Antid.*, 177, 181, 183, 190, 278, 279, 291-5, 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Nic.*, 41; *Phil.*, 84; *Antid.*, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. Phil.*, 93; *Panath.*, 84, 85; *Antid.*, 82, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Note also *Panath.*, 271; *Peace*, 1-5; *Nic.*, 10, 17; *Phil.*, 9, 15; *Antid.*, 3, 45-50, 67, 70, 84, 276, 277, 278; *Pan.*, 188, 189; *Ad Nic.*, 1, 2, 53, 54.



especially directed against *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*. In *Phil.*, 17, 18, speaking of the alarm felt by his friends over his purpose to send an oration of advice to Philip, instead of an encomiastic display, he shows incidentally the frequency and honorable position of such speeches.

Isocrates has often been underrated as an orator, both as regards style and theme. Many have regarded as a pretense his assumption of a lofty aim and permanent purpose—a mere epideictic subterfuge. Recent years have brought a sounder and more appreciative judgment.

Isocrates worked in each of the three great departments of oratory. His court orations are his earliest compositions; they are few and brief. In later years he speaks in contempt of those who write for the law courts. He wrote pure epideictic orations, and those which he studiously proclaimed as deliberative; but even these are so thoroughly imbued with the epideictic spirit, not to speak of the long passages which are technically such, that it is hardly a stretch of terms to call him an epideictic orator throughout.

#### General Sketch of Epideictic Literature.

Oratory as a recognized branch of Greek prose began not far from the middle of the fifth century B. C. The epideictic form attained a very rapid and high degree of development. Gorgias,<sup>1</sup> the “founder of artistic prose,” adopted this style. He trained Isocrates, the epideictic orator *par excellence*, and the two furnish the model for later literature of this class. The epitaphius,

<sup>1</sup>Epideictic literature as a distinctive division of oratory may for all practical purposes be said to begin with Gorgias. The ornaments of language known as the Gorgian figures belong to the epideictic branch far more fully than any other. The rhetorical devices attributed to him are as follows: (1) *μακρολογία*, amplification (*cf.* Quintil., VIII, 3, 53); (2) *συνημία*, brevity; (3) an answering of jest with earnest and earnest with jest (*cf.* Horace, *Sat.*, I, 10, 14; Cic., *De Orat.*, II, 58, 236); (4) teaching by example rather than by precept; (5) a style characterized by flowing expression, and rhythmic arrangement, startling figures of language, bold metaphor, poetic epithets. His name is especially identified with six figures of language: (1) antithesis (*ἀντιθεσις*); (2) paronomasia (*παρονομασία*); (3) repetition of sound, alliteration (*καρήχησις*); (4) repetition of words (*ἀναδιπλωσις*); (5) likeness of sound in final

panegyric, encomium, and other leading types of epideictic speech are found in this early period. Thus the epideictic division of oratory reached great prominence very early in the development of prose literature. It continued, assuming always an important, often a commanding, place, until the Greeks ceased to produce literature. Taking the most comprehensive possible view of the course of epideictic oratory—covering as it does some eighteen centuries, if one includes the oratory of the church on to the end of the eastern empire—there are three periods which stand out with remarkable prominence when compared with other centuries. These are: the first century of its development, the fourth B. C., to which the last years of the fifth should be added, including such names as Gorgias, Hippias, Isocrates, Alcidas, Polycrates; the fourth century A. D., with a thoroughly epideictic spirit and a large production; such orators as Libanius, Themistius, Himerius, Choricus, are representative of the period; the second century A. D., with a large literature, and such orators as Aristides, Dion Chrysostomus, Polemon. There is ample evidence of abundant activity in this branch of oratory during other centuries, though comparatively little has been preserved. It is difficult to judge how completely the orators, with the titles and character of their orations, have been reported to us, and any attempt to generalize about epideictic literature must, of course, take this into consideration as a modifying feature. Epideictic oratory, from the ephemeral nature of many of its themes and its general light and occasional character, would seem least likely to be preserved.<sup>1</sup>

syllables of successive words or clauses (*ἰσομετέλευτον*); (6) arrangement of words in nearly equal periods (*καρπύωσις*, or *ισοκῶλα*). These Gorgian figures had great effect upon Greek prose style, especially oratory, but are nowhere so prominent as in the epideictic branch. Compare Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque* (pp. 92 ff.).

<sup>1</sup>Such references as Plato, *Sympos.*, 177 A ff., and Isocrates, *Phil.*, 109, and in the *Helen* and the *Busiris*, to the frequency of hymns in honor of the gods and prose praises of heroes must imply a large body of literature of this class before Plato or contemporaneous with him. Cf. Philodemus, col. 34, I, 215, Sudhaus, probably for a later period. He derides the practice of addressing words of praise to a deity.

### The Theory.

Several Greek writers deal with the theory of epideictic literature. The earliest extant treatise on rhetoric is that of Anaximenes.<sup>1</sup> But this precedes Aristotle's by but very few years. Both come so early in the history of rhetoric as in itself to render it improbable that oratory received any important general treatment before their day.<sup>2</sup> Anaximenes divides oratory into two classes—*δημηγορικόν* and *δικανικόν*.<sup>3</sup> These, however, cover the same field which Aristotle and later writers divide into three parts. Of these two classes Anaximenes makes seven forms: *προτρεπτικόν* and *ἀποτρεπτικόν*, which are political; *ἐγκωμιστικόν* and *ψεκτικόν*, which are epideictic; and *καταγορικόν* and *ἀπολογητικόν*, which are judicial.<sup>4</sup> To these he adds *ἐξεταστικόν*, which may be used by itself or in connection with one of the other forms. His analysis of the materials for encomia follows much the same lines as are found later. He indicates the *τόποι* much more fully than Aristotle. His treatment shows how early they

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the question of authenticity see Cope's *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric*, pp. 401 ff.; Spengel, "Die 'Ρητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ein Werk des Anaximenes," *Zeitschr. f. d. Alterth.*, 1840, 1847; *idem*, *Artium Scriptores*, 183 ff.; Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Lit.*, II, 452; *idem*, *Jahresber. üb. die Fortsch. d. class. Alterth.* (1885), XIII, p. 1 ff.; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, II, 353; III, 353 f.; Ipfelhofer, *Die Rhet. des Anaximenes unter den Werken des Aristoteles* (Diss., Würzburg, 1889); Maas, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 4 (1896), pp. 103 ff.; Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque* (1900), 336; Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire in the introduction to his translation of the *Rhet. ad Alexand.* The date of the treatise in question, whether immediately before or after Aristotle, is regarded by some as open to debate.

<sup>2</sup> However, the great rhetorical activity of this period is clearly shown from literary sources practically contemporaneous, notably Plato, *Phaedr.*, 266 E ff., where special mention is made of Theodorus of Byzantium, Evenus of Paros, Thrasymachus, Polus, Prodicus, Hippias, Protagoras, Lycimnias, with the implication that others might be named. Compare *Sp. Artt. Script.*; Dionys. of Hal., *De Isaei Iud.*, chaps. xix ff.; Arist., *Rhet.*, III, 13, 5; Quintil., III, 1, 7 ff.; Plato, *Sympos.*, 177 A; Cope on Arist., *Rhet.*, III, 1, 7; Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque* (1900); Cic., *Orat.*, chap. 12; Suidas.

<sup>3</sup> See Volkmann in Iwan Müller's *Handbücher der klass. Alt.-Wis.*, II, 3 (1891), p. 640; for a different view cf. Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque*, pp. 335 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Compare a similar division in Diog. Laert., III, 95.

became stereotyped, and the presence of the same in Menander and in extant epideictic literature indicates their persistence.

The considerable volume of epideictic writing which had preceded Aristotle's time had, so far as rhetorical treatment was concerned, apparently been connected with either political or judicial oratory. Aristotle, with his instinct for classification, as so often in his *Rhetoric*, takes here a word which had been used in a somewhat loose and general way by Plato, and with much greater definiteness by Isocrates (see pp. 97 ff.), and makes it a full technical term, with distinct outlines and well-defined field. His division of oratory (*Rhet.*, I, 3, 2 and 3) is based on the attitude of the hearer, who must be either a *κρίτης* or a *θεωρός* (see p. 92). The task of the epideictic orator is partly praise and partly blame.<sup>1</sup> He deals chiefly with the present time.<sup>2</sup> All of Book I, chap. 9, of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is devoted to this topic. It is an analysis of virtue and vice, the sources of praise and blame—the material of the epideictic orator. In section 38 and following he calls attention to the appropriateness and importance of amplification and comparison. The former, though a feature of all oratory, is a chief characteristic of epideictic speech.<sup>3</sup>

The frequency with which Aristotle refers to epideictic orators or quotes from them is noticeable. The most numerous references are to the *ἐπιτάφιος*, *πανηγυρικός*, *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*, and *ἐγκώμια* of persons—the four types of pure epideictic speech best developed at that period.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arist., *Rhet.*, I, 3, 5; Nicolaus, Sp. III, 449, 20; Alexander, Sp. III, 1, 20; Quintil., III, 7, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Arist., *Rhet.*, I, 3, 4; Alexander, Sp. III, 1, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Anaximenes, chap. 3 = Sp. I, 186, 11 ff.; Arist., *Rhet.*, II, 18, 3-5; III, 17, *init.*; Quintil., III, 7, 6; Aristides, Sp. II, 505, 11; Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, III, 422; VII, 12, 74.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I, 7, 34 (Pericles' *ἐπιτάφιος*); III, 10, 7 (same); III, 17, 10 and 11 (Gorgias, Isocrates); III, 14, 1, 2 (the same); III, 14, 11 (the *Menexenus*); I, 9, 30 (the same); III, 14, 11 (Gorgias). In II, 22, 6, he recognizes the familiar topics of the epitaphius (and other panegyric forms). "How eulogize the Athenians unless we are informed of the sea-fight at Salamis, the battle of Marathon, or the exploits achieved by them in behalf of the Heraclidae and other like matters? For it is on the real or apparently honorable traits attaching to each object that all orators found their panegyrics." Note also

Aristotle (*Rhet.*, I, 5, 4 and 5) shows his general familiarity with the chief *τόποι* of epideictic discourse — *εὐγένεια, πολυφιλία, χρηστοφιλία, εὐτεκνία, πλοῦτος, πολυτεκνία, εὐεργία, ὑγιεία, κάλλος, ἰσχυς, μέγεθος, δύναμις ἀγωνιστική, δόξα, τιμή, εὐτυχία, ἀρετή*, etc. In III, 12, 5 and 6, Aristotle states that the epideictic style is the best adapted for writing, for its purpose is to be read,<sup>1</sup> and adds (III, 1, 7): “Written speeches (*γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν*) owe their power more to the style than to the thought.”

During the comparatively barren period from the close of the fourth century B. C. to the beginning of the second A. D. there is abundant epideictic product and many rhetorical treatises were written.<sup>2</sup> There is no extant treatise of importance from the time of Aristotle (350 B. C.) to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, late in the first century B. C.<sup>3,4</sup> There is a wide gap, not only

Isocrates (*Phil.*, 146-8), where he says that no one praises the city (Athens) for anything so much as for Marathon and Salamis and Sparta for Thermopylae.

Though more closely identified with the epitaphius than with any other single form, Marathon, Salamis, and earlier mythical contests, as Aristotle here suggests, are among the standard topics of epideictic literature as a whole. Cf. Xenophon, *Mem.*, III, 5, 7-14, where Socrates discusses with Pericles the younger the remedies for the decline of Athens. The record of their ancestors should stimulate them — the contest between Athena and Poseidon; the birth and rearing of Erechtheus and the wars waged by him; the defense of the Heraclidae; the wars carried on in the time of Theseus against the Amazons, the Thracians, and Crete; how they fought against the Persians, who were masters of Asia and Europe and did *μέγιστα ἔργα* (canal through Athos, bridge over the Hellespont); alone of the Greeks they are *ἀτόχθορες*; Athens has been the defender of justice, an asylum for the oppressed.

The earliest grouping of epideictic themes taken from Athenian history is to be found in Hdt., IX, 27, where the Athenians employ the familiar topics in presenting their case — the Heraclidae and Eurystheus' insolence; the renown of those who died at Thebes; the wars with the Amazons; the part of Athens in the Trojan war; her deeds at Marathon, and in general her distinguished services in the Persian wars. Cf. also Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.*, 18.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quintil., III, 8, 63, though he perhaps puts a different meaning into Aristotle.

<sup>2</sup> Susemihl, *Griech. Litt. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, treats of this period.

<sup>3</sup> Upon the much discussed question of the genuineness of the rhetoric under the name of Dionysius of Halicarnassus see C. Brandstätter, *Leipz. Stud.*, XV (1893), p. 263; Blass, *De Dionys. Hal. Scriptis Rhet.*, Bonn (1863); Rossler, *Dionys. Hal. Librorum de Init. Reliquiis* (Lips., 1873); Sadée, *De*

in time, but in treatment. Anaximenes, and still more noticeably Aristotle, treat epideictic oratory from a general point of view, almost entirely disregarding such special forms (*e. g.*, *ἐπιτάφιος*, *προτροπτικός*, *πανηγυρικός*, etc.) as had already become established. The purpose of the earlier treatises by Anaximenes and Aristotle was to give the general characteristics and theory of this branch of oratory. Their rhetoric is not a series of rules designed to be used by students in actual composition. It is rather the foundation upon which such rules might be based.

Menander, and still more conspicuously Dionysius, present little or no general view of their subject.<sup>1</sup> They occupy themselves

*Script. Rhet. Questiones Crit.* (Argentor, 1878); Croiset, *Lit. grecque*, V, 333 ff.; Usener, *Dionysii Hal. quae fertur Ars Rhet.* (1895). Usener thinks there are two parts. The first seven chapters are abridgments from works of the time of Aristides. Of the second part the fourth chapter is a work of the first century; chaps. 1 and 2 are from different schools, and the last two are the work of Dionysius. Cf. also Christ, *Gk. Lit.* (3d ed., 1898), p. 642; *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.*, 115 (1877), 809; *Acta Societ. Phil. Leips.*, V (1875), 269.

<sup>4</sup> Among the lost works of Philodemus there is a *περὶ ἐπαιτων*; see Sudhaus, I 219, col. 38.

<sup>1</sup> The two treatises *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* under the name of Menander may be found in Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, Vol. IX, 127-330, or in Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, 331-446. Certain difficulties presented by the title, arrangement, and contents have been noted by scholars and discussed to some extent. The text of the title is as follows: *Μενάνδρου ῥήτορος Γενεθλίων διαίρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν*. The word *Γενεθλίων* is unmanageable. Walz and Spengel approve Valesius' suggestion of *πρὸς Γενέθλιον*, taking the words as a dedication; Walz sees a lacuna between the two treatises. More extended discussion of the questions involved may be found in Nitsche's *Der Rhetor Menandros und die Scholien zu Demosthenes* (Berlin, 1883). He quotes the views of Bursian that the first part is by Menander, the second by an unknown author; but himself holds that Menander is the author of the second half, written perhaps in 273 A. D., and that the first part is by his contemporary Genethlius. This view is based largely upon similarities between the second part of the treatise and the Demosthenes scholia by Menander. The two treatises became joined in a corpus on epideictic oratory, and through error the name of Menander was placed before the first. There is an error, too, in the order of the second part. Nitsche would rearrange: (1) βασιλικὸς λόγος, (2) στεφανικός, (3) πρεσβευτικός, (4) Σμυνθιακός, (5) κλητικός, (6) προσφωνητικός, (7) ἐπιβατήριος, (8) συντακτικός, (9) λαλιά, (10) προτροπικὴ λαλιά, (11) ἐπιθαλάμιον, (12) κατευναστικός, (13) γενεθλιακός, (14) μονωδία, (15) παραμυθητικός, (16) ἐπιτάφιος.

In this order 1-4 inclusive treat of the half-deified rulers of the state and of Apollo; 5-8 inclusive might be addressed to Roman governors; 9, the

with differentiation of forms and special directions to students. Menander in his *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* gives rules in minute detail for the composition of twenty-three varieties which the praise of men and of things might assume, and even then leaves a considerable part of the field untouched. Dionysius treats only six. Three of these (the *πανηγυρικός*, *γαμικός*, and *προτρεπτικός ἀθληταῖς*) are not found in Menander; the other three are treated by him with practically the same directions. Menander's failure to include the *πανηγυρικός* may perhaps be accounted for by the changed status of the *πανήγυρις* and the degeneration of the speech attending it to a mere personal encomium.

Other extant rhetors add little or nothing to the treatment of the epideictic branch of oratory. Several confine themselves to the practice exercises of the rhetorical schools (*προγυμνάσματα*).<sup>1</sup> Alexander, son of Numenius (second century A. D.), uses *λαλιά*, is a form which may apply stylistically to all; 10-16 are speeches appropriate to private life. Cf. also Volkman, *Rhet. Griech. u. Römer*, p. 119, n., and *Phil. Rundschau* (1884), 643 ff.

<sup>1</sup>The epideictic department of oratory had an important position in the rhetorical training of the Greek youth. There is ample evidence of this in the theoretical treatment and the topics of the *προγυμνάσματα* or rhetorical practice exercises. The chief treatises are as follows: Hermogenes (second century A. D.), Sp. II, 3; Aphthonius (400 A. D.), Sp. II, 21; Theon (date uncertain), Sp. II, 59; Nicolaus Sophista (fifth century A. D.), Sp. III, 449. Compare Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, Vols. I, II, for scholia, and Quintil., II, chap. 4.

Each of the extant works on the *προγυμνάσματα* discusses to some extent the usefulness of the various divisions of the *προγυμνάσματα* for each of the three branches of oratory. Each had its value for oratory in general, but some forms were recognized as more helpful to the judicial, others to the deliberative, and still others to the epideictic forms; others contributed almost equally to each of the three. Cf. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 449, where he says, in effect, their purpose is oratory; their material everything; their training must prepare for each division of oratory. Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 569, 4: "*προγυμνάσματα* are good for each part of the rhetorical art." Walz, II, 5 (Anon. Scholia to Aphthon.): "useful for all, but not all equally for all parts." The judgment of the different writers agrees quite closely. The fullest discussion from this point of view is found in Nicolaus Sophista.

The usual topics of the *προγυμνάσματα* (see Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, I, 127; II, 567) were the *μῦθος*, or myth; the *διήγημα*, or narrative; the *χρεια*, a maxim made the basis of a disquisition. It is defined by Hermogenes, Sp. II, 5; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 23, and Theon, Sp. II, 96. The *γνώμη* (*sententia*) is a general proposition treated in like manner. Aristotle (*Rhet.*, II, 21, 2 and 15) defines

both terms, *ἐγκωμιστικόν* and *ἐπιδεικτικόν* (Sp. III, 1 ff.). He goes back to Aristotle's division of the audience as deliberators, judges, or mere listeners—hence the term “epideictic.” He also gives a brief treatment to hymns. Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 449) uses the term *πανηγυρικόν γένος* exclusively. He recognizes that other material besides praise and blame may be properly introduced into this class of oratory, which was always more inclusive in practice than in theory. Speaking of *ἐγκώμια* (p. 477, 20), he says the encomium is no longer a simple thing, but much subdivided. He perhaps means to have it understood that this extreme minuteness of subdivision is of comparatively recent date. The origin of the word *ἐγκώμιον* is discussed by several rhetors. Hermogenes gives as an explanation (Sp. II, 11 ff.): “They say it is called *ἐγκώμιον* because the poets sang the hymns of the gods anciently in villages (*ἐν κώμαις*).” The more probable derivation is given by Theon (Sp. II, 109, 27): *ἐγκώμιον δὲ λέγεται τῷ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἐν κώμῳ τινὶ καὶ παιδιᾷ τὰς εἰς θεοὺς εὐλογίας ποιεῖν*.<sup>1</sup>

The extent and variety of epideictic literature are readily learned from the monuments and the reference to such oratory in Greek literature. But our conceptions gain in scope and clearness, especially for the period preceding and following the beginning of the third century A. D., from the notable treatise by Menander, *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, to which reference has already been made. Menander (Sp. III, 331 ff.) begins with an extremely brief statement about epideictic oratory in general—two pages it: the *ἀνασκευή* and *κατασκευή*, confirmation and the opposite; the *κοινὸς τόπος*, *locus communis*; the *ἐγκώμιον*, a laudation; the *ψόγος*, the opposite of *ἐγκώμιον*; the *σύγκρισις*, a comparison; the *ἠθοποιία*, an impersonation or delineation of character; the *ἐκφρασις*, a description; the *θέσις*, an argument for or against an assumed question; the *νόμον εἰσφορά*, discussion of a law. The rhetors cite as of special value to the epideictic orator the *ἐγκώμιον*, *ψόγος*, *κοινὸς τόπος*, *σύγκρισις*, *ἠθοποιία*, *γνώμη*, *θέσις*. Helpful in training for the assembly: *μῦθος*, *χρεῖα*, *προτροπή*, *ἀποτροπή*, *ἀνασκευή*, *παρασκευή*; for the court orator: *θέσις*, *κοινὸς τόπος*, *ἀνασκευή*, *παρασκευή*, *ἠθοποιία*, *σύγκρισις*, *νόμον εἰσφορά*. Quintil., II, 4, makes a similar distinction in the helpfulness of the *προγυμνάσματα*. The preparation of model exercises of this character formed a part of the work of several epideictic speakers, who were teachers as well as orators, notably Libanius and Choricus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 479, 4; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 35, 26.



in a total of 116. He adopts Aristotle's triple division of oratory: *ἐν δικαστηρίοις, ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἢ βουλαῖς*, and *εἰς τρίτους τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικούς*. Epideictic speech deals with praise and blame (331, 15). In l. 18 he dismisses the latter, *τὸ μὲν τοῦ ψόγου μέρος ἄτμητον*. His treatise involves praise only. He then makes the general division of praise (331, 19) into that directed toward the gods and that which concerns men only. He states in a few words the general characteristics of hymns and indicates the many subdivisions which might be made in the praise of mortals. *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια* are recognized (332, 26), but left for others to discuss. Following this is his treatment of the forms of prose hymns to the gods. He then gives detailed rules for the composition of the twenty-three different kinds of epideictic speech, including the *Σμυθιακὸς λόγος*, an elaborate oration in honor of Apollo, which, though classed as a *λόγος*, would seem more properly a *ῥυμος* and should certainly be connected with the *ἐπιθαλάμιον, κατευναστικός*, and *γαμικός* as one of the substitutions of prose for poetry.

His *λόγοι* are as follows: (1) Praise of a country, its situation, its advantages of climate, products, etc.; its race, founders, government, history; its advancement in science, literature, etc.; its festivals, fine buildings, and any other special attractions. (2) Praise of a city, with *τόποι* almost identical with those employed in the praise of a country. (3) Praise of a harbor—very brief. (4) Praise of a bay—very brief. (5) Praise of an acropolis—very brief. (6) Praise of a city from its *γένος*, and (7) from its characteristics or pursuits (*ἐπιτηδευσέων*). The *τόποι* here are naturally like those in the general praise of a city, except for the emphasis at special points. (8) The *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, a speech of praise addressed to the ruler (see pp. 113 ff. for detailed presentation). (9) *ἐπιβατήριος λόγος*, a speech on disembarking. It may be addressed to one's state on returning from a journey, or it may be a greeting to a town or to its newly arrived ruler. After an expression of joy over the arrival, the speech follows the lines of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, passing at its close into a praise of the city or country involved. These main themes vary in

prominence according to the circumstances of delivery. When addressed to one's native land the speech may be termed a *πάτριος λόγος*. (10) *λαλιά*. This was the name given to a style rather than to a topic. It is noticeable for the absence of fixed rules. Several topics of the epideictic circle might be treated in the style of the *λαλιά*, which was more free and easy, sometimes conversational, yet abounding in sweetness, spirited narrative, pictures, skilful turns, proverbs, quotations. There are two *εἶδη*; one is a *συμβουλευτικὸν εἶδος*, the other more purely epideictic. It may be used to praise kings or states, or to advise and exhort, or to announce some fact pleasant or grievous; it may be sportive in character, praising or censuring something. Brief speeches serving as introductions were termed *προλαλιά*. Menander says (389, 27) that the history of Herodotus is full of materials and suggestions for sweet speeches of this sort and that *λαλιά* should be characterized by the simplicity and smoothness of Xenophon. (11) *προπεμπτικὸς λόγος*, a speech to one departing; it is of three kinds: if between equals, it is of a lover-like character; if to a superior, laudatory; a superior may address an inferior, then advice is prominent; when addressed to a ruler it resembles the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. (12) The *ἐπιθαλάμιον*, a marriage hymn. (13) *κατευναστικός*, allied to the preceding. (14) *γενεθλιακός*, on a birthday. (15) *παραμυθητικὸς λόγος*, a consolation. It begins with a lament. It speaks of the *γένος*, *φύσις*, *ἀνατροφή*, *παιδεία*, *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, *πράξεις*, etc., of the deceased. He is in Elysium: no reason to mourn. It is similar in many ways to the *μονωδία*, and has its close relations also with the *ἐπιτάφιος*.<sup>1</sup> (16) *προσφωνητικός*, an address of welcome to a ruler, closely allied to the *βασιλικός*. (17) *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος*, a funeral oration. (18) *στεφανωτικός (στεφανικός) λόγος*,

<sup>1</sup>The large literature falling under this general head is treated by Buresch in *Leipziger Studien*, IX (1871), 1-164, under the title, "Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica." He discusses the feeling of antiquity in regard to pain and sorrow, and enumerates with more or less fulness of detail all the compositions of this character among Greek and Roman writers. A supplement is added on Philodemus' *περὶ θανάτου*. Cf. also for Latin literature, *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.*, Suppl., N. F. (1892), XVIII, 445, and XIX, 319 (cf. also p. 70).

a *gratiarum actio*, at the presentation of a crown or in recognition of some honor bestowed. It is a pure encomium. (19) *πρεσβευτικός λόγος*, an ambassador's speech, closely allied to the preceding and, like it, often becoming a *βασιλικός*. In addition to the praise of the ruler, it states the special cause for the embassy and pictures the conditions which occasioned it. The speech admits of great variety. (20) *κλητικός λόγος*, a speech of invitation addressed to a ruler. It contains praise of the prince and of the city, of the event to which he is invited. It is therefore largely a *βασιλικός λόγος*. (21) *συντακτικός λόγος*, a farewell speech. It laments the necessary parting, praises the people left and that to which one is going. Homer (*Od.*, XIII, 38 ff.) presents a model and a text. (22) *μουφδία*, a plaint. Its *τόποι* are in part those of the *ἐπιτάφιος* and the *παραμυθητικός*. Its style more closely resembles that of poetry. It is brief, and may be occasioned by other circumstances besides the death of a relative or friend. An example may be found in Aristides' oration (Or. XX) on the destruction of Smyrna by an earthquake; or Libanius (Or. LXI) on the burning of Apollo's temple. (23) *Σμινθιακός λόγος*, in honor of Apollo. It is a hymn. Menander was himself the author of one (Sp. III, 335, 24).

To these may be added from the *Rhetoric* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus: (24) *γαμικός λόγος*, similar to the *ἐπιθαλάμιον* (25) *πανηγυρικός λόγος*, delivered at a *πανήγυρις*.<sup>1</sup> Its composition is such as might easily lead to its disintegration into several speeches. The name, however, was retained for its most distinctive feature—praise of a person, at first a king, later any laudatory speech, delivered at a *πανήγυρις*; or, still more frequently, no such general gathering was required. The *παναθηναϊκός λόγος*, which has no rhetorical treatment, is a special type of the *πανηγυρικός*. (26) *προτρεπτικός λόγος*, a union of the *συμβουλευτικόν*, and the *ἐπιδεικτικόν*, *εἶδος*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus treats one form of it in his *Ars Rhetorica*—*προτρεπτικός*

<sup>1</sup> Von Leutsch, *Philol.*, 17, 357, presents the arguments which indicate that there were prose panegyrics at Syracuse and in Ægina before Corax. Cf. Spengel, *Artium Script.*, 63. Cf. also *Jahrb. f. Phil.*, XIII (1884), 447 ff.

ἀθληταῖς. The προτρεπτικός λόγος was much used by philosophers as well as orators, and the element of display varies. It has close relations also with the περί βασιλείας. It is sometimes called παραινετικός λόγος.<sup>1</sup> Menander has a bare reference to (27) παράδοξα ἐγκώμια.

#### Ὁ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

No single term represents the aim and scope of epideictic literature so completely as the word ἐγκώμιον.<sup>2</sup> That the encomiastic feature is the most distinctive characteristic of this branch of literature is clear from the fact that the title ἐγκωμιστικόν is frequently used to designate the εἶδος, from the discussion of its theory by the rhetors, as well as from the examination of its literature.

The word "encomium" is used sometimes in a loose way, with merely the general idea of laudatory style. It stands here for a point of view and a method of treatment. It is also used for a distinct division of literature, a laudatory composition on some assigned theme and following conventional rules. It is a presentation, with more or less extravagant praise, of the good qualities of a person or thing.<sup>3</sup> Encomia in the latter sense are of

<sup>1</sup> For a comparison of these two titles see chapter on philosophy.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque avant Aristote* (Paris, 1900), p. 84, where he ends his discussion of a definition for the epideictic branch: "Au total on définirait donc fort exactement les diverses variétés de l'éloquence épideictique en les appelant des encômias en prose."

<sup>3</sup> Theon (Sp. II, 109, 20) defines ἐγκώμιον thus: ἐγκώμιόν ἐστι λόγος ἐμφανίζων μέγεθος τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν πράξεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν περὶ ὠρισμένον πρόσωπον. For similar definitions see Hermogenes, Sp. II, 11, 17; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 35, 25; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 478, 25; Anaximenes, Sp. I, 186, 11.

The encomium deals with ὁμολογουμένων ἀγαθῶν: Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 481, 29, δεῖ ὁμολογουμένων ἀγαθῶν βάσανον γίνεσθαι; Theon, Sp. II, 109, 28, τὰ ἀγαθὰ μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖται; cf. also Menander, Sp. III, 346, 9 ff.; Arist., *Rhet.*, II, 22, 6.

The aim of the encomium is to set forth in the best possible light the character and virtues of its subject. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 479, 17: τὸ δὲ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἐγκώμιον ὀνομαζόμενον ὃ ἐκπονοῦμεν εἰς ἔπαινον τυγχόν ἀνδρὸς βεβωκότος πρὸς ἀρετὴν. Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 5: τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον ψιλλὴν ἀρετῆς ἔχει μαρτυρίαν. Alexander Rhetor, Sp. III, 2, 17: ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι . . . τὸν πολλαῖς ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμημένον; cf. Julian, *Or.*, I, *inil.* Isocrates, *Rapath.*, 123: δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τινὰς ἐπαινεῖν μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιδεικνύειν, μὴ

the greatest possible variety in theme—gods, men, cities, lands animals, plants, pursuits, qualities, paradoxical themes. The encomium of a god was early made a distinct type and called a hymn. An encomium of the dead was called an *ἐπιτάφιος* (Theon, II, 109, 24). Of the remaining themes the praise of a person was naturally the most prominent, and practically all rhetorical discussion agrees with this conception of relative importance.<sup>1</sup>

The encomium appears first in poetry. It was a late specialization in Melic Song. The earliest is said to have been composed by Simonides in honor of those who died at Thermopylae. Encomia were composed also by Pindar, Bacchylides, and other poets. As later in prose, the word had a general application and a more restricted one. In the latter sense it was carefully

*πονηροὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τῶν τότε καὶ τῶν νῦν διήνεγκαν.* This element of extravagant praise in the encomium is seen in Plato, *Symposium*, 198 E: τὸ καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν ὀτιοῦν means τὸ ὡς μέγιστα ἀνατι θέναι τῷ πράγματι καὶ ὡς κάλλιστα ἐάν τε ἢ οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἐάν τε μή.

The word "encomium" may be used to include the speech of censure as well as that of praise: Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 482, 14. This is explained and defended by Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 461, 9 ff.

The word *ἐπαινος* is used freely as a substitute for *ἐγκώμιον* without difference of meaning, although a theoretical distinction is made, e. g., Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 9, 33: *ἔστι δ' ἐπαινος λόγος ἐμφανίζων μέγεθος ἀρετῆς . . . τὸ δ' ἐγκώμιον τῶν ἔργων ἐστίν.* In practice, however, he makes no such distinction, as the next section shows. The writers on the *προγυμνάσματα* speak of the *ἐπαινος* as brief, dealing with a single virtue. The *ἐγκώμιον* is detailed and includes all. But this distinction is not observed in practice. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 478, 30; Hermogenes, Sp. II, 25; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 35, 29; Aristides Rhetor, Sp. II, 505, 6. The most extended discussion is given by Alexander, Sp. III, 2, *Διάφορα ἐπαινοῦ καὶ ἐγκωμίου*, where four distinctions are given, but the treatise is prefaced by the remark: *τινὲς μὲν οὖν οἰοῦνται ἀδιάφορον εἶναι ἐπαινον ἢ ἐγκώμιον εἰπεῖν.*

<sup>1</sup> In theoretical treatment the *κεφάλαια* and rules for presentation are always (Menander excepted) for a person. At the close of the discussion a direct statement is usually added to cover all other encomiastic themes, stating that these are to be treated with the same heads and after the analogy of the encomium of a person. Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 424 ff., tells in detail how to apply the topics of the encomium of a person when one is addressing a city or praising a thing. Cf. *Scholía ad Aphthonium*, Walz, II, 45, 9 ff.; Anaximenes, Sp. I, 188, 2 ff.; Menander, Sp. III, 332, 20-30; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 484, 30 ff.; Theon, Sp. II, 112, 15; Hermogenes, Sp., II, 13, 6; Quintil., III, 7, 26.

distinguished from closely related forms, especially the *ἐπιώκειον*. Smyth (*Melic Poets*, LXXVI) gives the most recent and complete discussion of the poetic encomium: "In its limited and specific application the encomium denotes a panegyric of living personages illustrious for their station or deeds—kings, princes, warriors, victors at the national games, magistrates, and, in the latest times, the emperors of Rome."

Like so many other forms of composition, the encomium was transferred from poetry to prose. The rhetors, in discussing the origin of the word, imply their belief in the poetic source of the encomium.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest prose encomia were of mythical characters—Achilles, Busiris, and the like. Isocrates dealt with these themes, but in the way of literary criticism rather than as topics of his choice. The fashion of his day does not meet his approval.<sup>2</sup> In the *Euagoras* (*init.*) he declares himself an innovator. Many learned men had spoken on other themes, but no one heretofore had ventured *ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν διὰ λόγων ἐγκωμιάζειν*. His innovation appears to have been in the use of prose for an encomium of this character, in the choice of a contemporary as the subject, and in the method of treatment. Many of the permanent features of the encomium were fixed before Isocrates' time. They are seen in the extant literature and in literary references, notably in Aristotle's analysis of Gorgias' praise of Achilles (*Rhet.*, III, 17, 11), but the most distinctive feature remained for Isocrates to add. He is the first to make portrayal of character the real theme. That this is his purpose in an encomium appears from a general perusal of the *Euagoras* and from special passages: Sec. 4: *ὁ λόγος . . . ἀείμνηστον τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειεν*. Cf. 8, 23, 29, 33, 51, 58, 65, 73. Sec. 76: *ἀθροίσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τὰς ἐκείνου καὶ τῷ λόγῳ κοσμήσας παραδοίη θεωρεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ συνδιατρίβειν αὐταῖς*. Moral qualities

<sup>1</sup> Hermogenes, Sp. II, 11, 23; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 35, 26; Theon, Sp. II, 109, 27; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 479, 4. The indebtedness of the encomium to poetry, in particular that of Isocrates to Pindar, is presented in detail by E. Conrotte in *Musée belge*, II (1898), p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Euag.*, 6; *Panath.*, 1 and 2.

had found a place in encomia in Pindar, but only in single sentences as a general characterization. There is no analysis of character. To introduce the deeds as an evidence of virtues, to bring out the character of the one praised, was a new point of view. Isocrates does this for the first time in the *Euagoras*. This exaltation of character and the choice of the traditional four virtues, appearing just at this period for the first time, are in keeping with the more elevated view which Isocrates took of the epideictic class of literature, and must also be due in large measure to the influence of the Socratic teachings. The encomium in the form which Isocrates gave it, and which it maintained ever after, could hardly have come into being apart from this influence.

The encomium, although closely related to it, should be carefully distinguished from history, both in aim and method. History has for its purpose the narration of events, the presentation of facts, usually in chronological order, and an impartial interpretation of their relation to one another. It is not concerned with praise or blame, and is far from having a theory to maintain for which facts must be chosen, some emphasized and some ignored, or even the truth sacrificed. It lacks all personal bias. The encomium does not necessarily narrate, but in most cases assumes a knowledge of the facts. It presents them only so far as its chief aim—the glorification of the individual—may be best served. To this end facts may be selected at will, grouped in any order, exaggerated, idealized, understated, if detrimental points must be touched upon. Although both rhetors and orators make frequent protestation of adherence to truth, facts may be invented in some cases. The special aim and the personal element are strong and open. The difference both in treatment and style was recognized by ancient rhetors. Cf. Arist., *Rhet.*, III, 16, *in it.*: διήγησις δ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρος . . . . διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἐφεξῆς δεῖ διηγείσθαι, οἷον εἰ θέλεις Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐπαινεῖν· ἴσασι γὰρ πάντες τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς δεῖ. ἐὰν δὲ Κριτίαν, δεῖ· οὐ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἴσασι. Theon, Sp. II, 112, 2: πράξεις . . . . οὐκ ἐφεξῆς διηγούμενοι.

Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 413, 13: *ἱστορία τὰ προσόντα τισὶν ἀγαθὰ ἐκτίθεται, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον μετὰ αὐξήσεως καὶ κατασκευῆς προάγεσθαι δεῖ*, and 412, 25: *τὸ μὲν γὰρ διήγημα λόγος ἐστὶν ἐκθετικὸς πραγμάτων ἀπλῶς, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον καλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ μὲν διήγηματος, ἀλλ' ὁ σκοπὸς τὸ διδάξει δηλαδὴ τὸν ἀκροατὴν τὴν πραγματείαν, τοῦ δὲ ἐγκωμίου τὸ θαυμασθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις τὸ ἐγκωμιαζόμενον· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ διηγήματι κἂν τὰ προσόντα τινὲ διερχόμεθα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν πράξαντα θαυμάζομεν ἐπ' ἐκείνους· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐγκωμίῳ οὐ μόνον τὰ προσόντα τινὲ καλὰ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους θαυμάζομεν.* The *ἐπιτάφιος*, which is the oldest form of prose encomium extant, shows these characteristic differences from history. They may be seen also in Isocrates' *Euagoras*, and are directly stated a few years later in the *Philippus* (sec. 109), where he refers to the usual rehearsal of Heracles' exploits in encomia as historical; they merely enumerate his deeds. He sees the opportunity to treat the subject anew in the form of a true encomium which makes virtues—character, the determining feature.

The connection between the encomium and biography is still more intimate. Biography is an essential part of history, but when made a separate composition it partakes of the nature of both history and the encomium. A portrayal of character is the main aim in each, so events may be treated in summary fashion; but the encomium gives more room for choice, idealization, omission. The encomium may be more or less fully biographical as the subject is well known or not. Achilles does not require that the facts of his life be presented, but in praising Critias, whose deeds are not familiar, the orator must narrate. Polybius (X, 21 (24), 8) contrasts the method appropriate for his life of Philopoemen with that to be employed in history: *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνος ὁ τόπος, ὑπάρχων ἐγκωμιαστικός, ἀπῆτει τὸν κεφαλαιώδη καὶ μετ' αὐξήσεως τῶν πράξεων ἀπολογισμὸν· οὕτως ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας, κοινὸς ἂν ἐπαίνου καὶ ψόγου, ζητεῖ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ τὸν μετ' ἀποδείξεως καὶ τῶν ἐκάστοις παρεπομένων συλλογισμῶν.* Compare also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. de Platone*, 751, 8 (Reiske). The point in discussion is the difference between an encomium and a



complete investigation: ὅταν μὲν ἔπαινον προέλῃται γράφειν τις πράγματος, εἴτε σώματος ὁποιουγένετος, τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἀτυχήματα, εἴ τι πρόσσεστι τῷ πράγματι, ἢ τῷ σώματι, δεῖν προφέρειν· ὅταν δὲ βουλευθῆ διαγνῶναι, τί τὸ κράτιστον ἐν ὁφθῆποτε βίῳ, καὶ τί τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν ὑπὸ ταῦτὸ γένος ἔργων, τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐξέτασιν προφέρειν, καὶ μηδὲν παραλείπειν τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς, εἴτε κακῶν, εἴτε ἀγαθῶν.

The encomium is not to be made an apology. Isocrates is our authority for this. It is no true encomium which assumes an apologetic tone. He says (*Helen*, 14): ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ προσήκει περὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν ἔχόντων, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῇ τινι διαφέροντας. This is quoted by Theon, *Sp. II*, 112, 11, in support of his opinion that faults should be concealed as much as possible, μὴ λάθωμεν ἀπολογίαν ἀντ' ἐγκωμίου ποιήσαντες.<sup>1</sup> Compare also Nicolaus Sophista, *Sp. III*, 481, 28, where he says that the question often arises whether the encomium admits of ἀντιθέσις (opposition, criticism, disputable material). The answer is: No; but if the case absolutely requires it, explain away artfully. Quintilian (*III*, 7, 6) provides for occasional apology and defense.

Rhetorical treatment of the encomium in the abstract, *i. e.*, apart from some person or thing, is not separated from that of encomiastic literature as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Rhetorical discussion of the encomium in its more restricted sense is abundant.<sup>3</sup>

The rhetors who deal with the προγυμνάσματα make the ἐγκώμιον<sup>4</sup> one of its forms and add rules for its composition. With them the term has at least three distinct significations: (1) It

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Busiris*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Anaximenes, chaps. 3 and 35; Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 9.

<sup>3</sup> One would consult here Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars Rhet.*; Menander, *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*; the writers on progymnasmata — Hermogenes, Aphthonius, Theon, Nicolaus Sophista, Aristides, together with the scholia to Aphthonius, and Doxopater, *Ad Aphthonium*.

<sup>4</sup> The ἐγκώμιον and ψόγος are treated with much minuteness of detail by writers on the προγυμνάσματα. *Sp. III*, 477; *II*, 11-14, 35, 36, 109-12. As in Dionys. of Hal. and Menander, the ἐγκώμιον is the theme of real importance. Its τόποι are those found in the encomiastic λόγοι of Menander. The προγυμνάσματα as a whole are essentially stylistic. Even when their primary purpose is to prepare for other divisions of oratory they are characterized by epideictic

is employed for the epideictic class as a whole, *e. g.*, Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 477, 20, where he includes πάντες ἀπλῶς οἱ εὐφημίαν ἔχοντες λόγοι under the title ἐγκώμιον and calls it an εἶδος. Doxorater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 415, 13: ἰστέον δὲ, ὅτι τὸ ἐγκώμιον γενικὸν ἐστὶν ὄνομα· δαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς τε ἐπιβατηρίους . . . . καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰς πάντας τοὺς εὐφημίαν περιέχοντας λόγους. Cf. *Scholia ad Aphthon.*, Walz, II, 618, 10, and Theon, Sp. II, 61, 20. (2) It is used in the ordinary sense of a speech in praise of a person or thing. Their rules for its composition illustrate this meaning, and Aphthonius gives examples in his ἐγκώμιον Θεουκυδίδου and the σοφίας ἐγκώμιον. (3) The encomium is an element which may be introduced as a subordinate feature in other forms. This use is discussed by Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 478 (see p. 95).

From the specific statements given by these rhetors and Menander, together with the more general treatment of the subject given by Anaximenes and Aristotle, we can readily discover the method and the topics which by theory should enter into the encomium. The ideal for the encomium of a person, both in theory and practice, was remarkably uniform.<sup>1</sup> It agrees in general conception,

qualities. The most prominent among them is the use of encomiastic τόπος in other and apparently unrelated προγυμνάσματα, *e. g.*, those classified below as especially helpful for symbouleutic and forensic oratory.

In the *χρεῖα* praise of the author, his country, etc., are important τόποι. Cf. Sp. III, 461-3; II, 6. Aphthonius, Sp. II, 23, gives a sample *χρεῖα* in which the "ἐγκωμιαστικόν" is made a prominent division. So also in the example of the γνῶμη; Sp. II, 26. For *ἐπαινος* in the κοινὸς τόπος see III, 470, 471; II, 106, 107; in the σύγκρισις, II, 14, 42, 113-15; in the ἠθοποιία, II, 115; III, 490. The *θέσις* (*cf.* also the *ὑπόθεσις*) is defined as symbouleutic in form, but panegyric in material; Sp. III, 494, 495; II, 120, 121. The composition of the *θέσις*, a fictitious address before an imaginary tribunal, based upon laws existing only in the mind of the speaker, and its τόποι, directly transferred from the ἐγκώμιον, favored the epideictic style. Cf. Choricus, p. 205, Boiss.; Libanius, Vol. IV, R; Seneca's *Controversiae*. Much the same could be said of several other forms. Thus the prominence of the ἐγκώμιον as a separate προγύμμασμα, together with its entrance as an element into many others, helps to prove the epideictic character of the προγυμνάσματα as a whole and accounts in large measure for the strong influence of Greek rhetorical training in continuing and extending the epideictic style.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Theon (*cf.* also Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 21) reproduces (Sp. II, 110) much of the detail of Anaximenes (Sp. I, 186, 187). Much the same may be found also in Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 9, 16, 18, 19, 31, 38, and Quintil., III, 7, 12, 16.

and even largely in details, from almost the earliest to the latest period of Greek literature.

The main topics or divisions<sup>1</sup> are given in the most thoroughly tabulated form by Aphthonius<sup>2</sup> (date variously given, 315, 400 A. D.) in his brief treatment of *ἐγκώμιον*. Cf. also Sp. II, 35 and 36; Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 617, 20 ff. (*Scholia ad Aphthon.*); Doxopater, Walz, II, 423 ff.; 434, 30; 464, 20. His scheme is as follows:

- |      |  |                                 |
|------|--|---------------------------------|
| I.   | <i>προσίμιον</i>                             |                                 |
| II.  | <i>γένος</i>                                 | {                               |
|      |  | 1. ἔθνος                        |
|      |  | 2. πατρίς                       |
|      |  | 3. πρόγονοι                     |
|      |  | 4. πατέρες.                     |
| III. | <i>ἀνατροφή</i>                              | {                               |
|      |  | 1. ἐπιτηδεύματα                 |
|      |  | 2. τέχνη                        |
|      |  | 3. νόμοι                        |
| IV.  | <i>πράξεις</i><br>(τὸ μέγιστον<br>κεφάλαιον) | {                               |
|      | 1. κατὰ ψυχὴν                                | { ἀνδρεία<br>φρόνησις           |
|      | 2. κατὰ σῶμα                                 | { κάλλος<br>τάχος<br>βίωμα      |
|      | 3. κατὰ τυχὴν                                | { δυναστεία<br>πλοῦτος<br>φίλοι |
| V.   | <i>σύγκρισις</i>                             |                                 |
| VI.  | <i>ἐπίλογος</i>                              |                                 |

Although Menander gives no separate chapter to the encomium, he recites its *τόποι*, e. g., III, 420, 11. The *ἐπιτάφιος*

<sup>1</sup> *κεφάλαια*, *τόποι* are used, though the latter more frequently. *μέρη* occurs sometimes. Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 412, discusses the use of these terms. He regards *τόποι* as more appropriate for the encomium, but in II, 434, 30, and elsewhere, he uses *κεφάλαια* for the main heads and *μέρη* for subordinate.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to represent what Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 479, 28) of a century later calls the prevailing view in distinction from that of the ancients, especially Plato, and represented apparently by Theon.

employs them: *γένος, γέσεις, φύσις, ανατροφή, παιδεία, επιτηδεύματα, πράξεις* (l. 25), *τύχη* (l. 28), *σύγκρισις* (l. 31). Cf. 413, 11 and the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says (VI, 2) that the *τόποι* of the *ἐπιτάφιος* are the same as those of the *ἐγκώμιον*: *πατρίς (ἡ πρόγονοι), φύσις, ἀγωγή (παιδεία, επιτηδεύματα), πράξεις*. With these compare Anaximenes, Sp. I, 225, 6: (1) *προοίμιον*, (2) *γενεαλογία*, (3) *ανατροφή (ἔργα, τρέφος, επιτηδεύματα)*, (4) *σύγκρισις*. All discussion is from the point of view of *ἀρεταί*. The *ἐνθύμημα* and *γνώμη* of the person praised are to be brought out prominently.<sup>1</sup>

The continuity in the ideal for the encomium is best seen in Theon.<sup>2</sup> There are three sources of praise (II, 109, 29), since *ἀγαθά* are of three classes: *τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἦθος, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν*. This division, Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 479, 20) says, is that of the ancients, especially Plato. Theon presents them in chiasmic order:

*τὰ ἔξωθεν* are *ἐνγένεια, πόλις, ἔθνος, πολιτεία, γονεῖς, παιδεία, φιλία, δόξα, ἀρχή, πλοῦτος, εὐτεκνία, εὐθανασία*.

*τὰ περὶ σῶμα* are *ὑγεία ἰσχύς, κάλλος, εὐαισθησία*.

*τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν* are *τὰ σπουδαῖα ἠθικὰ καὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθοῦσαι πράξεις*; say that one is *φρόνιμος, σώφρων, ἀνδρείος, δίκαιος, ὀσιος, ἐλευθέριος, μεγαλόφρων*, and the like.

One notes especially the similarity to Anaximenes (Sp. I, chap. 35, especially, p. 225, 24 ff.). There *ἀγαθά* are: (1) *τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἀρετῆς*, (2) *τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀρετῇ*. The former are *ἐνγένεια, ῥώμη, κάλλος, πλοῦτος*; the latter, *σοφία, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, ἔνδοξα επιτηδεύματα*. These are to be made more prominent. Compare also *Auctor ad Heren.*, III, 6, 10 ff., for an analysis similar to that of Theon.

Almost all writers upon the encomium and other epideictic forms speak directly or indirectly of the great freedom allowed in applying rhetorical precepts. The subject and the circumstances must determine the prominence of the various *τόποι*. The situation may even demand that some be omitted altogether. One

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 227, 2 and 22; 228, 1.

<sup>2</sup> In discussion of *τόποι* he sometimes almost translates Anaximenes and Aristotle (see p. 119, n. 1).

frequently meets such statements as that of Menander (Sp. III, 370, 9): *ἐὰν δὲ μήτε ἡ πατρὶς μήτε τὸ ἔθνος τυγχάνῃ περιβλεπτον, ἀφήσεις μὲν τοῦτο*, etc. Cf. Quintil., II, 13.

The essential features of an ordinary encomium of a person seem to have been :

1. *προσίμιον*. Great freedom is allowed here ; anything which the subject suggests.<sup>1</sup> One of the most common features was a profession of inadequacy before a subject so vast. Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 449, 33) says : "It is the law of encomiasts to agree always that the subject is greater than words can match."

2. *γένος*—the ancestry immediate and remote. Here belongs also reference to the city, the country, or the nation of the one praised. Any one of the four subdivisions given by Aphthonius may be taken to the exclusion of the others.

3. *γένεσις*. This refers especially to any noteworthy fact preceding or attending the birth—an omen or a dream. Pericles, Romulus, and Cyrus are the stock examples.<sup>2</sup>

4. *ἀνατροφή*—the circumstances of his youth.<sup>3</sup> A stock reference here is to Achilles, who fed on lions' marrow and was trained by Chiron. Under this head one may refer also to early indications of character (*φύσις τῆς ψυχῆς*), love of learning, natural ability, special aptitudes.<sup>4</sup> Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 429, 27) defines *ἀνατροφή*: *ἡ δὲ ἀνατροφή τὴν παιδευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἄνδρας δηλοῖ πρόδον*. He says one must not call it *τροφή* (I. 25), but Hermogenes does so (Sp. II, 12, 10).

5. *ἐπιτηδεύματα*. There is considerable variety in its definition and also in its use. The highest interpretation is that given by Menander, who means by *ἐπιτηδεύματα* deeds implying choice and so revealing character apart from *πράξεις ἀγωνιστικάι*. Compare also *ἐπιτηδεύματα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἔνδειξις τοῦ ἤθους καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνευ πράξεων ἀγωνιστικῶν* (Sp. III, 384,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 479, 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 480, 31 ff.; Menander, Sp. III, 371, 3; Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 8; Quintil., III, 7, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Menander, Sp. III, 371, 18 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Menander, Sp. III, 371, 25 ff.

20, *ἐπιβατήριος*). His reference to it in the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* agrees with this (372, 4): *ἐπιτήδευματα δ' ἐστὶν ἄνευ ἀγώνων πράξεις ἠθικαί*. (this is Walz' reading, IX, 220, 10) *καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἥθους ἔμφασιν περιέχει, οἷον ὅτι δίκαιος ἐγένετο ἢ σώφρων ἐν τῇ νεότητι*.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation of the term requires that in practice the *πράξεις* should be more or less intermingled with the *ἐπιτηδεύματα*. The *ἐπιτηδεύματα* determine the *πράξεις* and also are seen in them. Doxopater, in explaining why *ἐπιτηδεύματα* have no place in the praise of a city, adds as the reason (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 431, 32): *ἐπιτηδεύματα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ κρίσις ψυχῆς μετὰ λόγου καὶ αἴρεσις*. A careful distinction is then made between *ἐπιτηδεύματα* and *τέχνη*. With this compare *Anon. ad Aphthon.*, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 43, 23: *ἐπιτήδευμα μὲν ἢ τοῦ βίου αἴρεσις, οἷον ὅτι εἴλετο στρατεῦσθαι· τέχνη δὲ τὸ εἰς ἕξιν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος. ἕτεροι δὲ φασι τέχνην μὲν τὸ διὰ μαθήσεως μόνης προσγιγνόμενον, ἐπιτήδευμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἦκειν εἰς μεταχείρισιν. ὡς ὁ Ἀριστοτελεὺς τυχὸν ἔμαθε μὲν καὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ἐπετήδευσε δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, πᾶν τὸ φιλότιμον εἰς αὐτὴν τρέψας*.<sup>2</sup>

This leads to the other important meaning. One learns many things, but some with greater zeal and by choice. This element of personal choice usually decides the vocation. So in the treatises on the *προγυμνάσματα* especially *ἐπιτήδευμα* comes to mean one's profession. *ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οἷον ποῖον ἐπετήδευσε βίον, φιλόσοφον ἢ ῥητορικὸν ἢ στρατιωτικόν; τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον αἰ πράξεις. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αἰ πράξεις, οἷον στρατιωτικὸν βίον ἐλόμενος τί ἐν τούτῳ κατέπραξε*;<sup>3</sup> Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 16 ff.

6. *πράξεις*. It is universally agreed that this is the chief topic: *τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον αἰ πράξεις*, Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 18; *τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἐγκωμίων κεφάλαιον*, Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 432, 14. The *πράξεις* are treated in two great divisions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Theon, Sp. II, 110, 7; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 481, 10; Quintil., III, 7, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also II, 430, 14; 429, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also L. and S.; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 36, 11; Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 429, 31; Menander, Sp. III, 332, 21.

—those of war and those of peace. They are not presented in full or in chronological order. Selection is made, and they are grouped to illustrate the Socratic virtues: *ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις*. *φιλανθρωπία* is often added as a separate or a more comprehensive virtue.

Theon, Sp. II, 112, 2: *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα παραληψόμεθα οὐκ ἐφεξῆς διηγούμενοι· λέγοντες γὰρ ἄλλα προστίθεμεν κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην ἀρετὴν, ἔπειτα τὰ ἔργα διεξιόντες, οἷον ὅτι ἦν σώφρων, προλέγειν καὶ ἐπιφέρειν εὐθύς, τί αὐτῷ σωφρονητικὸν ἔργον πέπρακται, ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν.*

Menander, Sp. III, 373, 5: *διαίρει γὰρ ἀπανταχοῦ τὰς πράξεις ὧν ἂν μελλῆς ἐγκωμιάζειν, εἰς τὰς ἀρετὰς . . . καὶ ὅρα, τίνων ἀρετῶν εἰσὶν αἱ πράξεις.*

Aristotle (*Rhet.*, III, 16, 2), speaking of the form of narration appropriate for epideictic oratory, adds: *διὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἐφεξῆς δεῖ διηγέσθαι πάντα, . . . ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνδρείος, ἐκ δὲ τῶνδε σοφὸς ἢ δίκαιος.*

Julian (*Or.*, I, p. 4 c, R): the *πράξεις* are to be introduced as *γνωρίσματα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν*.

Since the object of an encomium is to portray the character of the person praised, one must inquire into the principles actuating the *πράξεις* and show an underlying moral purpose (*προαίρεσις*). Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 9, 32: *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ὁ ἔπαινος, ἴδιον δὲ τοῦ σπουδαίου τὸ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, πειρατέον δεικνύναι πράττοντα κατὰ προαίρεσιν . . . τὰ δ' ἔργα σημεῖα τῆς ἕξεως ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν ἂν καὶ μὴ πεπραγότα, εἰ πιστεύοιμεν εἶναι τοιοῦτον.*

*Anon. ad Aphthon.*, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 44, 5: *τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φύσεως ἢ τύχης ἢ τῶν πατέρων ἐστὶ δωρήματα, αὐταὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γνώμης καὶ προαιρέσεως.*

Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 433, 10 ff., in answering the question how one can call *τὰς ἀρετὰς* 'πράξεις' when the latter are more properly *ἕξεις*, says: *πράξεις τῆς προαιρέσεώς εἰσι*, while *κάλλος* and other physical qualities are *ἀπροαίρετα* . . . *οὐ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ τοῦ σώματος ἐνταῦθα ἀρετὰς λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν τούτων πράξεις· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πράξεων αἱ μὲν κατὰ*

δικαιοσύνην, αἱ δὲ κατὰ ἀνδρῶν, αἱ δὲ καθ' ἑτέραν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν γίνονται.<sup>1</sup>

Even when speaking of external and physical matters, qualities of character are to be made prominent. Theon, Sp. II, 111, 12 ff., when discussing other goods, ἐκτὸς καὶ περὶ σῶμα, like εὐγένεια, one should speak of them οὐκ ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχε τὸν λόγον διατιθέμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑκάστου δεικνύντες, ὅτι μὴ ἀνοήτως, ἀλλὰ φρονίμως καὶ ὡς ἔδει αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο (ἤκιστα γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσι μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀλλ' ἐκ τύχης ἃ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὰ) οἶον ὅτι εὐτυχῶν ἦν μέτριος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ δίκαιος, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος πλεονεκτήμασι σωφρόνως προσηνέχθη. Compare also 112, 1: μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι ἐκλάμπει ἡ ἀρετή.

7. *σύγκρισις*. This is regarded as a most important division, but in application it is left to circumstances and the judgment of the writer. Hermogenes states both facts in a single sentence (Sp. II, 13, 3): *μεγίστη δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἀφορμὴ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν συγκρίσεων ἢ τάξεις ὡς ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ὑφηγηται*. *σύγκρισις* is a notable reliance in all epideictic writing. It is enjoined in Aristotle.<sup>2</sup>

The rhetoricians indicate two distinct kinds of comparison. There is the minor or incidental *σύγκρισις* (*μερική*, Sp. III, 377, 5), where some one phase of a subject or a single quality is likened to some other, and the final or general *σύγκρισις* (*τελειοτάτη*, or *περὶ ὅλης τῆς ὑποθέσεως*, 376, 31), where a more comprehensive comparison is made.<sup>3</sup>

All the rhetors make *σύγκρισις* a separate *προγύμνασμα* as well as a topic in the encomium.<sup>4</sup> The *σύγκρισις* is a feature

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 481, 17; Plato, *Menex.*, 237 A; Anaximenes, Sp. I, 225, 24 ("pass over τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἀρετῆς briefly"); Quintil., III, 7, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rhet.*, I, 9, 38, 39; Anaximenes, Sp. I, 187, 7 and 12; 227, 9; Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 446, 13; 483, 25; *Scholía ad Aphth.*, Walz, II, 79, 20; *Auctor ad Heren.*, IV, 33.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to Menander one may note Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 481, 18 and 25; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 42, 20; *Anon. Scholía ad Aphth.*, Walz., *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 45, 3; Doxopater, Walz, II, 446, 21; 479; 480; *Scholía ad Aphth.*, Walz, II, 637, 14; Quintil., VII, 2, 22.

Compare also Quintil., II, 4, 21.



of other kinds of composition.<sup>1</sup> The *διήγημα* may take this form.<sup>2</sup>

8. *ἐπίλογος*. Like the *προσίμιον* its form depends upon what the subject or the circumstances suggest. It is often a brief summing up of the results of the life under discussion and an appeal to others to imitate his virtues. It ends most appropriately with a prayer.<sup>3,4</sup>

Menander (*περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, Sp. III, 329 ff.) and other writers indicate the minuteness with which the encomium of a person became subdivided. The division is artificial in the extreme. The titles indicate a wide range, but all the various forms rest upon these *τόποι* as the basis. By varying the emphasis and

Quintil., III, 8, 34; IX, 2, 100; *Auctor ad Heren.*, II, 14, 21; 29, 46; 33, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Hermogenes, Sp. II, 5, 3, and 16; Theon, Sp. II, 88, 17; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 457, 14 and 22.

<sup>3</sup> Doxopater, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 434, 13; Aphthous, Sp. II, 36, 18; Menander, Sp. III, 377, 28 (*βασιλικὸς λόγος*); 422, 3 (*ἐπιτόμιος*).

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note how distinctly these *τόποι* may be seen in the *Euagoras* of Isocrates — the earliest instance of an encomium in its permanent form: *e. g.*, (1) *προσίμιον* (secs. 1-11); (2) *γένος* (*ἀπόγονος* (12), *πρόγονοι* (19)) (12-18); (3) *γένεσις* (19); (4) *ἀνατροφή* (22), *ἐπιτηδεύματα* (22), *φύσις* (23, 29). These are not given in detail or confined to the sections named. (5) *πράξεις* in war and peace. These are introduced with the preceding, but are found especially from sec. 34 on. The virtues — *ἀνδρεία* (23, 65), *σοφία* (23), *δικαιοσύνη* (23), *φρόνησις* (41, 65), *σωφροσύνη* (22), *φιλανθρωπία* (43), *πραΐτης* (49), *μετρίτης* (49), *δυσίτης* (51) — are made the occasion for introducing the *πράξεις*. Note especially sec. 34, where he says that it is impossible to present the *πράξεις* in detail. If we select the most distinguished, we shall get at his character (*ἐξετάωμεν*) as effectively and more briefly. At sec. 46, after enumerating various qualities, he adds: "The evidence for these may be seen in his deeds;" and 65, "How could one display his *ἀνδρείαν*, *φρόνησιν* ἢ *σύμπασαν τὴν ἀρετὴν* better than *διὰ τοιοῦτων ἔργων καὶ κινδύνων*?" An oration is better than a statue for a portrayal of character, inciting to imitation; 73, *cf.* 75. Other references to the portrayal of *ἀρετή* as the main purpose of an oration of this character may be found in 4, 5, 8, 23, 33, 41, 65. (6) *τύχη* (25, 59); (7) *σύγκρισις*. An extended comparison, 37, 38; minor ones, 23, 27, 35, 60, 64, 65. (8) *ἐπίλογος* (73-80).

In 19 we meet the phrase so familiar in all forms of epideictic speech: *ἀρξομαι δ' ἐκ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ*. The word *ἐπιτηδεύματα* occurs twice, 2, 77. In the former case it is nearly equivalent to *πράξεις*; in 77 *ἀρεταί* might be a fair substitute.

A similar analysis of the *Agesilaus* of Xenophon could be made, though it agrees far less fully with the type.

by the addition of the local coloring and circumstances which the type or the special occasion suggests, almost any epideictic speech can be made to result.

Among personal encomia the most frequent, the most distinctive and extravagant in praise, would naturally be that addressed to a person in high authority—a king, emperor, or governor of a province. Quintilian recognizes this by a direct statement: "Fortune, too, gives dignity, as in kings and princes; for here there is an ampler field for displaying merit" (III, 7, 13). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ep. ad Pomp.*, 783 R) speaks of the advantage Theopompus had in topic: *βασιλέων τε βίους καὶ τρόπων ιδιώματα δεδήλωκε*.<sup>1</sup>

Rules for the composition of such an encomium are found in Menander's treatise (III, 368 ff.). His title is *ὁ βασιλικὸς λόγος*, and he apparently intends it as primarily, at least, a series of directions for an address to the Roman emperor. It stands as the representative rhetorical treatment for this type of speech. Although the encomiastic address to one in high authority is frequent and belongs to all periods, Menander's title does not seem to have been extensively employed.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, the most convenient term by which to refer to a large and important branch of epideictic literature, and as such we shall employ it in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isocrates, *Euag.*, 40: *νῦν δ' ἅπαντες ἐν ὁμολογήσειαν τυραννίδα καὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέγιστον καὶ σεμνότερον καὶ περιμαχητότατον εἶναι*, "What orator could do justice to the praises of a king?"

<sup>2</sup> It would appear that the title which Menander employed, appropriate though it was, did not obtain currency. Even epideictic orators near Menander's time did not use it. Libanius (Or. 60) has the title *εἰς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας Κωνσταντα καὶ Κωνσταντίου, βασιλικὸς λόγος*. The four orations on royalty addressed to Trajan by Dion Chrysostomus, which possess many features of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* as outlined by Menander, are entitled *περὶ βασιλείας ἢ λόγοι βασιλικοί*. But in the majority of cases the encomium to a king is merely *εἰς βασιλέα*, e. g., Aristides, Or. 9; Libanius, Or. 5; Themistius, Or. 4 (*εἰς αὐτοκράτορα*); or with the word *ἐγκώμιον*, e. g., Julian (Or. I), Nicostratus, Orion. Menander himself does not employ the title in the reference which he makes to the difference between the *προσφωνητικὸς* and the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* (III, 415, *ipit.*, especially ll. 6, 9). Strangely enough the reference which he makes to the *μέγας βασιλικὸς* of Callinicus (III, 370, 14) cannot be verified. Suidas speaks in particular only of a *προσφωνητικὸς Γαλιήνη*.

this chapter and elsewhere for the encomium of one in high authority, without special regard to the period when it was written.

The *βασιλικὸς λόγος* is a form of oration which is less likely to be found under freedom and democratic forms of government. More than any other type of epideictic speech it belongs most naturally to a subject people. It exactly befits the Greece of the period of Macedonian, or still better of Roman, supremacy, and there it is most frequent. In the form in which Menander outlines it, it is hardly conceivable for the Greece of the time of the Persian wars.

The existing and reported *βασιλικοὶ λόγοι* are numerous and extend from the time of Isocrates to the end of the fourth century A. D., or to the fall of Constantinople, if we include orations by the Christian writers. The latter usually take the simple title "encomium," imitating the composition of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* somewhat, but choosing the deity or some saint to take the place of the *βασιλεύς*. There are numerous examples also in mediæval and modern times. It would appear that many such orations were composed in honor of Philip and Alexander, notably that by Theopompus;<sup>1</sup> that there was less activity in this as in practically all forms of literary composition from that period until the second century A. D., when there was a marked renewal continuing for some centuries. Its history is in a very general way that of

<sup>1</sup> Polybius (VIII, 10) speaks of historians who through fear or hate laud Philip, and "as a result their compositions have the appearance of a panegyric rather than of a history." Writers of the *βασιλικὸς* make constant reference to Alexander as the model king. Cf. Julian, Themistius, and Libanius. Isocrates (*Phil.*, 17), implies the frequency and naturalness of a speech praising the wars of Philip; cf. secs. 18, 19, 20. The whole speech has many of the elements of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. Occasional references in the extant histories and biographical notices of Alexander clearly indicate the eulogistic attitude of those who surrounded him, e. g., Plut., *V. Alex.*, 53, *init.*; Cic., *De Orat.*, II, 84, 341; *De Fin.*, II, 35, 116 (Alexander is the example of a much-lauded king). Anaxarchus, who made a laudatory address to cheer him after the death of Clitus, was one of many sophists and flatterers who followed in his train. Arrian and Plutarch make little direct reference to this feature of Alexander's life, but we frequently meet such sentences as: "On his return to Babylon delegations from many Greek states awaited him with testimonials and addresses of felicitation" (Arrian). "His

epideictic speech as a whole. There is no extant rhetorical treatment before Menander, although Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise on the *panegyricus* enjoins, as a last topic, praise of the king, "the crown of the whole."<sup>1</sup>

The germ of the βασιλικὸς λόγος may be found in poetic praises of Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς and other deities seen in Homer, the Homeric hymns, Pindar, and the dramatists, and continued by such poets as Callimachus. With allowance for the poetic form and the unfettered strain of the lyric master's genius, many of the odes of Pindar are βασιλικοὶ λόγοι. The very composition,<sup>2</sup>

march through Pamphilia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous description, as if it were by some divine fortune that the sea yielded to Alexander, though always before rough" (Plutarch, *V. Alex.*, XVII, 3).

Aristotle's *περὶ βασιλείας* is supposed to have been addressed to Alexander. Plutarch's *περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης* is an extravagant eulogy with many features of the βασιλικὸς λόγος. The multitude of histories, presumably eulogistic, which had Alexander, less often Philip or Macedonia, as their topic, is remarkable and significant. Cf. Susemihl, *Griech. Litt. in der Alexandrinerzeit, passim*; see index under Alexander, especially i, 537 ff., ii 378, 390 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Stud. der alt. Gesch.*, 567; cf. also the collection of fragments (thirty-three historians) in the Didot edition of Arrian or in the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Müller). The *Roman d'Alexandre*, which had so important an influence on early French literature, has its origin in this period. The presence of a model ψόγος Φιλίππου in Aphthonius (Sp. II, p. 40, 19) shows that this theme had taken a place in the προγυμνάσματα.

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted in passing that the *panegyricus* as sketched by Dionysius contains the suggestions for the chief types of epideictic orations: the βασιλικὸς λόγος (which stands for a large section of epideictic literature) in paragraph 7; the praise of cities in 3; the prose hymn in honor of a god in 2; the στεφανικὸς λόγος in 6; such trifles as Choricus' praise of Spring might easily come from the suggestions of sec. 4, which calls for praise of the season at which the πανήγυρις is held. Compare a like τύπος in the rules for the γενεθλιακὸς λόγος (see p. 143). Although at least two of these forms exist parallel with the *panegyricus* itself, this fact would not preclude their being specializations of τύποι appearing originally in the *panegyricus* and developed contemporaneously. Others seem to have become separate speeches at a much later date. It agrees with this thought in regard to the βασιλικὸς λόγος that so many of the extant speeches bear internal evidence of having been delivered at a πανήγυρις.

<sup>2</sup> Croiset, *Littérature grecque*, II, 405-10, formulates the main elements of a Pindaric ode: (1) the occasion; (2) the purpose of the writing; (3) the myth; (4) praise of ancestors and land; (5) personal praise of the hero; (6) exhortation.

as well as the purpose of a Pindaric ode, involves some of the most essential features of a βασιλικὸς λόγος. As a rule, the introduction names and praises the hero, frequently including his native city. The myth is apt to owe its presence to its direct or implied praise of the hero's ancestry. The conclusion comes back to the hero, often with an enumeration of his qualities and deeds, ending with a prayer. The odes addressed to Hiero are notable from this point of view. The second Pythian is a fair example. It begins with an address to ἡ πατρίς, Syracuse. Then follows a proclamation of Hiero's glory and a comparison of his worth and praises with those of other heroes. His wealth, kindness, honor; his great deeds in war and his wisdom in council; he merits all praise; admonition; prayer. The myth in this case has no special connection with Hiero's ancestry. Compare also O. I, VI, VII, XIII. The second Olympian, like most of the odes, begins and ends with the praise of the hero. He is the flower of noble forefathers. This suggests the myth. This ode, like many others, contains the distinctly epideictic plea of inadequacy.<sup>1</sup>

Ode XVII of Theocritus is distinctly a βασιλικὸς λόγος in poetry. Like Aristides and Callimachus, he begins and ends with Zeus, but among mortals Ptolemy holds the highest position. Then follow the customary commonplaces: the abundance of material, inadequacy; εὐγένεια, his parents are both divine; the circumstances attending his birth, its omens; he is the recipient of Zeus' favor; the extent and magnificence of his kingdom; his rule gives peace and quietness; his noble deeds; his piety; praise of the queen; he is a god.

Traces of the βασιλικὸς λόγος are found in Isocrates. Where an ἐπιτάφιος is spoken over the body of a king, it differs from a βασιλικὸς λόγος only by the addition of the θρήνος and παραμυθία, and these are in many cases quite subordinate or much modified. Thus the *Euaforas* of Isocrates is practically a βασιλικὸς λόγος. The relations of the *Helen* to this type of oration are referred to elsewhere (p. 133, n. 1). In addition to these we may note that Epistle IX (addressed to Archidamus), secs. 1-7, contains a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. III; XI; N. X.

*βασιλικὸς λόγος* in outline. He begins with the familiar topics: the abundance of material, the orator's inadequacy. Yet it is easy to praise your virtues and those of your family; your deeds furnish the theme. Then follow *εὐγένεια*, *ἀνδρεία*, *σωφροσύνη*, *φρόνησις*, *πράξεις*.

Like so many other epideictic types, it is well defined in Plato. The speech of Agathon in the *Symposium* (194–8) is a pure epideictic speech. Since the subject is a deity, it might technically be classed as a hymn. Plato, however, calls it an encomium, and its *τόποι* are those of this form. The importance and power of the one praised connect the encomium most fittingly with the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. The main features of this type of oration, according to Menander, are those of the encomium (see pp. 122 ff.): (1) *προοίμιον*, the magnitude of the topic; the inadequacy of the orator. (2) *πατρίς*, *ἔθνος*, *γένος*. (3) *γένεσις*, and any fact connected with it which might be interpreted as an augury, *e. g.*, in the case of Romulus and Cyrus; invent if necessary. Next in order comes the (4) *ἀνατροφή*: speak of his *φύσις*, *παιδεία*, his natural ability, love of learning, his particular excellence in oratory, philosophy, use of arms. (5) *ἐπιτηδεύματα*. (6) *πράξεις* divided *εἰς ἀρετάς*—*ἀνδρεία*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *σωφροσύνη*, *φρόνησις*. Speak of his (7) *τύχη*; of the queen. (8) *σύγκρισις*: compare him and his government with others. (9) *ἐπίλογος*: state the advantages resulting from his reign; pray for his long life. There is marked similarity in Plato. He criticises the lack of the true spirit of encomium in those who have preceded. They have missed the real point. Every *ἔπαινος* must state the nature of the person praised, his character, then his deeds, which in this case are his gifts and benefits. The following words indicate the lines along which he praises the person: *κάλλιστος*, *νεώτατος*, *ἀπαλός*, *σύμμετρος καὶ ὑγρὰ ἰδέα*, *εὐσχημοσύνη*, *χρόας κάλλος*. He speaks of his parentage, his *ἀρετή*; all are willing subjects, *δικαιοσύνη*, *σωφροσύνη*, *ἀνδρεία*, *σοφία*; his effect on poets and others in all walks of life. He is the source of inventions. The Muses, Apollo, Hephaestus, Athene, even Zeus—all are indebted to him. All must hymn him and join in the ode. The similarity between

the *τόποι* of this speech and those of extant *βασιλικοί λόγοι*, and the directions of Menander representing the ideal for a speech of this character at the close of the third century A. D., indicate the indebtedness of this type of oration to Plato.

A *βασιλικὸς λόγος* also usually attempted to show that the ruler addressed was like Plato's ideal king.<sup>1</sup> Frequent reference is also made to Homer's picture of a king.<sup>2</sup>

Among the most notable extant speeches of this class are Oration IX of Aristides and the masterpiece of Julian (Or. I) delivered in 356-55 A. D. in honor of Constantius. These may be taken as models. They follow Menander's outline very closely. Both make inadequacy to do justice to so magnificent a theme a main feature of the *προσίμῳ*. Menander recommends reference to the need of a Homer, an Orpheus, or the Muses for so vast a subject. Both follow this suggestion, though in different ways. Julian refers to the advantages the poet has in the inspiration of the Muses. Aristides deals with the matter in a manner which strongly reminds one of Isocrates' introduction to the *Panegyricus*. He says that he sets aside the matters usually spoken of in the *προσίμῳ*: the greatness of the undertaking, the brief time for preparation. He will not even call upon the Muses for aid, as the poets do. This is, of course, to add to the impression of speaking impromptu and thus gain greater credit for cleverness. He then falls into the usual formula: "though no person nor any length of time could prepare a speech worthy of the king, yet one must not shrink from speaking according to his power." Julian includes in his introduction an outline of his speech. Aristides names each point as he brings it up, often with a prefatory sentence, as Menander directs. Both are simple and clear in their divisions and follow as a rule the natural *τόποι* and largely the order of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, if we may accept Menander as a standard. Their similarity to one another is rather in general outline and impression than in turn of sentence or treatment of any particular

<sup>1</sup> Julian, 10 c, and many instances in Themistius, *e. g.*, p. 126, ed. Dind.

<sup>2</sup> Dion Chrysostomus, Or. I, II, III, IV, XXXVI, especially I and II. Cf. also Philodemus of Gadera, *περὶ καθ' Ὁμηρον ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως*.

τόπος outside of the *προίμιον*. Julian employs the standard topics: native land, ancestors, early training, deeds in war and peace (the main theme), with application of the four virtues. Comparisons are made throughout. He begins with the desire to hymn the *ἀρετή* and *πράξεις* of the king, and returns to this thought at the end. It is interesting to note the similarity of treatment in Julian's praise of Eusebia.<sup>1</sup> He begins with an extended defense of the praise of a woman. He compares Homer's praise of Penelope. He then falls into the regular course of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*: her ancestors are pure Greek, she is daughter of a consul, wife of a noble king. He speaks of her *παιδεία, σύνεσις, κάλλος*; the brilliant ceremonies attending her marriage. The profession of inadequacy usually found in the *προίμιον* is reserved as an introduction to her deeds: "Were I exceedingly ready to speak or compose long books, her deeds surpass my power to describe" (p. 142). They bear evidence to her *φρόνησις, πραότης, σωφροσύνη, φιλανθρωπία, ἐπιείκεια, ἐλευθεριώτης*, and other virtues more brilliant than words could match. He makes frequent comparisons with the women of Homer, with Evadne, Laomedea, and with the Persian queens. Cf. Claudian, *Laus Serenae*.

Aristides makes the description of his hero's entrance into power do service in place of the *τόποι, πατρίς* and *εὐγένεια*. He then speaks of his education and his deeds in war, but those of peace form the main theme. His purpose is to present a picture of a king thoroughly imbued with the four virtues and the crown and summation of all, *φιλανθρωπία*. It is from the point of view of his virtues that his deeds in war are treated. As a result of his noble rule all harbors are clear, mountains are safe like cities, tolls are removed, all fear is banished, the *πανήγυρις* is free and

<sup>1</sup>The *Helen* of Isocrates conforms to this type. After a long introduction, loosely connected with the main subject, he begins at sec. 16 with her *γένος*. She is a daughter of Zeus, possessor of divine beauty; its conquest over Theseus. A praise of Theseus is introduced here in much the same way that a praise of the queen might be in the ordinary speech. He then returns to Helen. The triumphs of her charms over gods and men form the *πράξεις*.



joyous. Cf. Horace, IV, 5, 14 and 15. He ends with an apostrophe and a prayer.

In Themistius and Libanius we find a somewhat different type of βασιλικὸς λόγος. They are as purely epideictic, but follow the directions of the rhetoricians far less closely. The general outline of Menander's speech is there, but the divisions and transitions are not sharply defined. More liberty is taken; topics are omitted or new ones introduced, and the order and prominence changed with great freedom. The flattery, too, is as a rule less direct, and they are not so scrupulous to render the speech purely laudatory. Themistius is the βασιλικὸς orator *par excellence*. The Dindorf edition of his works contains thirty-four orations, and a large proportion of these are addressed to the emperor or contain praise of an emperor as a principal feature, such as his *πρεσβευτικοί, χαριστήριοι*, and speeches celebrating an anniversary. Or. V, *ὑπατικὸς εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰοβιανόν*, is a fair sample. The usual topics of the *προοίμιον* are omitted; *εὐγένεια* is introduced to show the added responsibility resting on the successor of such a virtuous man. This leads to a presentation of the noble qualities displayed by Jovian, followed by a discussion of his reign in peace and war, chiefly the former. This is treated in general terms rather than by reference to specific instances, as illustrations. Comparisons are made with Alexander, Nestor, Diomedes, Epaminondas. He closes with a reference to the *πανήγυρις*; all nature joins in the joy; spring appears before its time. Like Aristides he gives prominence to *φιλανθρωπία* as the chief of the virtues, implying all the others.<sup>1</sup> *φιλανθρωπία* is lauded as applied in various relations of life. It is the highest virtue of the supreme god. The oration is largely impersonal, but implies that the king addressed is the impersonation of these qualities. Note especially the last paragraph. Or. 19, *ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου*, unites praise of *φιλανθρωπία* with the ordinary

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Themistius, Or. I, *περὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἢ Κωνσταντίας*, ed. Dind., p. 4, l. 18-p. 5, l. 5, ending with the words: *ὁρᾶτε οὖν ὅτι τὸ σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνο ῥῆμα διακροῦσθαι μοι ἅπας ὁ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔσμός ὑποφθέγγεται*. Cf. p. 8, l. 13: *ἔτι τοίνυν ὅτι μᾶλλον βασιλικωτέρα φιλανθρωπία τοῦ λοιποῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀρετῶν*.

topics of a βασιλικὸς λόγος. Or. 7 is a similar combination. Compare also Or. 6, φιλάδελφοι ἢ περὶ φιλανθρωπίας, which unites praise of the king, of his clemency, and of the city; and also Or. 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, which, though not βασιλικοὶ λόγοι, show praise of a king as a chief feature and are of the same general character.

Libanius in Or. 12 and 60 adheres more closely to the type of Menander, in minor points as well as in the general outline. Oration 60 (Vol. III, 272, Reiske) presents the peculiar feature of praising two kings in the same speech.<sup>1</sup> The oration unites the two, except when speaking of their deeds. In the προοίμιον he reminds one of Aristides, as cited above (p. 132); cf. III, 274, 12: ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἔθος τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν καταμέμφεσθαι δύναμιν, ὡς πολὺ λειπομένην τῶν πραγμάτων· τὴν δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποθανυμάζειν ὑπερβολήν, ὡς πολὺ νικῶσαν τοὺς λόγους. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦτο ὑπῆρχεν εἰρημένου πάντως ἂν τὴν παρούσαν χρεῖαν εὐρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι τὸν λόγον, etc. He treats of εὐγένεια; in III, 281, 7, discussing γένεσις, he says: The birth of our king needs no myth or dreams to glorify it—ὁ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλέων τόκος, οὐ μύθων οὐδὲ ἐνυπνίων πρὸς κόσμον ἐδεήθη. Cf. Julian, p. 11, 23 ff. (Hertlein), where he speaks with some disdain of such sources of praise. Their early training is compared with that of Achilles, as Menander directs, Sp. III, 371, 23. Their τροφή did not come through beasts, as that of Romulus did; cf. Menander, Sp. III, 371, 5 ff. Then follow παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις, according to the four virtues, with πραότης and φιλανθρωπία. Through them mainland and sea are safe, harbors and city gates are open, islands protected, commerce moves, the πανήγυρις is held.<sup>2</sup> Or. 12 gives a definite outline in the προοίμιον as does Julian. It is more like Themistius in being somewhat general and impersonal. It discusses the power and responsibility of a king and his need of philosophy. This feature is made prominent, though the deeds in war are not omitted. He closes with a prayer, in imitation of

<sup>1</sup> This occurs in several of the orations of the *XII Panegyrici Latini*. Cf. Baehrens ed., Nos. III, VI; cf. also Choricus, *Λόγος εἰς Ἀράτιον δοῦκα καὶ Στέφανον ἀρχοντα*, and Boissonade's note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. like claims for his hero by Aristides, Or. IX, p. 112, Dind. (see p. 133).

Sappho, that the king may live longer than Solon. The oration is addressed to Julian, who was devoted to philosophy, and this fact, taken with Menander's injunction, Sp. III, 371, 29, *κὰν μὲν ἐν λόγοις ἢ καὶ φιλοσοφία καὶ λόγων γνῶσει, τοῦτο ἐπαινέσεις*, accounts for the differences between this and Or. 60.

A part of this oration and several of those by Themistius are so general and so largely impersonal in character that they approach the form of a general treatise on the duties and responsibilities of a king. A large class of Greek orations under the title *περὶ βασιλείας*<sup>1</sup> has this as the avowed purpose—to picture the ideal prince, to lay down the principles upon which he must base his rule, to present a code of morals and offer precepts appropriate for his guidance under any circumstances likely to arise under his administration of the sovereignty. As is noted later (in the chapter on philosophy), it has its connections with the *προτρεπτικός*. Though cast in the form of orations and given that title, they differ little from the style of the modern essay. They largely lack the personal element. But this is almost wholly omitted from some orations which would receive the title *βασιλικόι*, so that the lines of distinction become practically obliterated; cf. the four orations *περὶ βασιλείας* by Dion Chrysostomus, addressed to Trajan. This form in substance, if not in title, seems to have come from an epideictic source. The *Ad Nicoclem* of Isocrates is an excellent example of this *λόγος*.<sup>2</sup> Four orations under the title *περὶ βασιλείας* are found in Diog. Laertius' list of the writings of Antisthenes, a philosopher notably epideictic, contemporary with Isocrates, though younger. From this time on no single theme in the history of moralizing philosophy is more popular or persistent than this. It is also a favorite with purely epideictic orators.<sup>3</sup> In many cases the prince

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus*, 175 C, *βασιλείας περὶ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ad Demon.* and *Nic.* Among his lost works there is a *περὶ ἀδρονουλάς*; see Blass, *Att. Bered.*, II, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Treatises of this character are very numerous. Diog. Laert. refers to many. Others may be noted in the list of epideictic orators in the closing chapter. The impression of frequency is heightened by the many fragments in Stobaeus and by such references as Plutarch's *Regum et Imper. Apoth.*,

to whom the *περὶ βασιλείας* is addressed is named in the title; in others it may be learned from internal or external evidence, and we may infer that nearly all were directly connected with some individual, and thus from this point of view presented a temptation to epideictic display similar to that offered by the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* itself.

Or. III by Dion Chrysostomus is a good example of the introduction of personal references in a speech of this character. It closely resembles the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. Indeed, the full title is *περὶ βασιλείας ἢ λόγος βασιλικός*. It speaks of the king addressed as rejoicing in truth and sincerity, despising unlawful pleasures, fond of toil, patron of arts, good in war, savior and protector of all men, surpassing all ancients, next to the gods. He is eulogized under the four virtues in detail, and for the effects of his rule. The orator then passes to more general and impersonal topics. Compare also the strong personal element in the parenetic epistles of Isocrates, Or. I, II, III. As is common in writers of the *βασιλικός*, he sets forth Alexander (*cf.* p. 128) as the model king and therefore claiming an important place in a *περὶ βασιλείας*.

Pliny, III, 18, makes a direct connection between the *περὶ βασιλείας* and the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. His famous panegyric on Trajan, in which he represents him as the model prince, is made to serve as the basis of a *περὶ βασιλείας*. The *Panegyricus* was delivered as part of his consular duties. He then enlarged the general heads with the object of "setting forth the emperor's virtues in their proper light by praising them as they deserved and of directing future princes, not as if by a teacher, but by his example, to the paths to be pursued to gain the same glory. To instruct princes how they ought to conduct themselves is a noble

II, 43 (Teubner, 189 D), where Demetrius of Phalerum is quoted: *παρήνει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν· ἃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι οὐ θαρροῦσι παραινεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται*. The speech of Maecenas (*D. Cass.*, Book 52, 2 ff.) is a good example of this type. Cicero, *Ad Att.*, XII, 40, 2, indicates a *περὶ βασιλείας* to Alexander by Theopompus as well as by Aristotle, and that Cicero himself started to write one addressed to Caesar. *Cf.* also *Ad Att.*, XIII, 28, 1.

task, but difficult and almost presumptuous; but to praise the character of an accomplished emperor and to hold him before posterity as a light to guide succeeding monarchs is a method equally useful and much more modest." He styles this enlarged oration a panegyric.

The *προσφωνητικὸς λόγος*, as defined by Menander, is a kindly address to a ruler (*ὁ προσφωνητικὸς λόγος ἐστὶν εὐφημος εἰς ἄρχοντας*, Sp. III, 414, 31), and becomes almost a variant of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. It is closely allied in theory, and in practice becomes nearly identical. The fact that it receives full theoretical treatment in Dionysius of Halicarnassus on lines of so great similarity to those of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* may unite with the prominence he gives to this element in the *πανηγυρικὸς* to account for his failure to give the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* separate recognition. The *τόποι* found in Menander and Dionysius are too similar to those of the *βασιλικὸς* to admit of repetition. The thought of welcome is made more prominent in Dionysius, and he also lays more stress on the praise of the city. The most prominent *προσφωνητικοὶ λόγοι* are: Aristides, Or. 22 (I, p. 439, Dind.); Libanius, Or. 13 (I, p. 405, Reiske); and several by Dion Chrysostomus and Himerius. The speech by Libanius approaches most nearly to the model. It was spoken outside the walls of Antioch on the arrival of Julian. After a few sentences of welcome, in which he employs some lines of Alcaeus, he follows the regular topics of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*: *εὐγένεια*, "noble ancestry produced a nobler son and met a sweet defeat" (*cf.* Plato, *Menex.*, 247 A); his birth, education, youthful pursuits; his eloquence and philosophical studies; his noble entrance upon sovereignty; his benefits to the state; his deeds in war and peace, in letters; the resultant peace and happiness;<sup>1</sup> God grant the old age of Nestor. The oration of Aristides is a good example of the extent to which circumstances were allowed to affect the character of an epideictic speech. It departs widely from the rhetorical outline. It was delivered before Commodus upon his visit to Smyrna after its destruction by earthquake, and is

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Liban., Or. I, p. 9, and Aristides, Or. IX, p. 112.

influenced by that fact. It is, as he says, a speech suitable to the occasion, but it has little in common with the ordinary *προσφωνητικός*. After a brief reference to the situation he recalls the great names connected with the founding and early history of the city, its beauties of nature and art; these are all destroyed; vicissitude and change belong to all that is mortal; the part of the king in its rebuilding. Like Athens after the Persian wars, the city will rise more beautiful. The king's visit is a good omen. May good fortune prevail.

Himerius has several *προσφωνητικοὶ λόγοι*. Or. 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14 are so classified. Or. 3 and 14 contain many features of this form of epideictic speech. Or. 10 is a welcome extended, not to a prince, but to certain Ionian guests. Or. 11 continues this topic. All are characterized by his poetic style. Compare also Dion Chrysostomus and orations of like character among the Christian fathers.

At several different periods in later history there have been notable revivals of epideictic activity—conspicuous among them the early Renaissance in Italy, and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England. Symonds' *Italian Renaissance*, especially the volume entitled "The Revival of Learning," gives a clear and complete picture of the general impulse of the time to reproduce Latin and Greek models. The address to a king, whether in the form of a *βασιλικὸς λόγος* or a *προσφωνητικός* or a *περὶ βασιλείας*, forms one of the most notable characteristics of both periods; cf. Vol. II, p. 372: "Our ears are deafened with eulogies of petty patrons transformed into Maecenases, of carpet knights compared with Leonidas, of tyrants made equal with Augustus, of generals who never looked on bloodshed tricked out as Hannibals or Scipios."

Numerous instances are cited by Symonds, *e. g.*, "Revival of Learning," pp. 189 ff., Manetti's extemporaneous speech on the coronation of Frederick III. at Florence, which won unbounded admiration. It consisted of "commonplaces interspersed with quotations and historical examples." Vol. I, p. 407, speaks of a panegyric of Pope Alexander VI. by Michael Fernus and Jason

Maines quite in the style of the ancient forms; *cf.* also Vol. I, p. 422, *et passim*.

*Romola* (George Eliot, chap. 21) describes the reception of a new ruler at Florence, November, 1494. There were excited preparations, a platform was erected near the gate. Luca Corsine, doctor of laws, was to deliver a formal oration in Latin in honor of Charles VIII. of France. As the rain interfered with their plans, Tito improvised a few graceful sentences with an "air of profound deference."

Nichols' *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (3 vols., 1823) describes the preparations for entertaining the queen (preface, p. 24): Dramas, masques, and speeches in prose and verse were presented. The entertainment at Kenilworth introduced the deities of the waters—"an artful panegyric on the naval glory of her reign." It was quite common in Elizabeth's progresses to present a child to speak an oration prepared for him, or a short poem. *Cf.* Nichols, *passim*, and Arber's *English Garner*, Vol. IV, and *passim*. Nichols, Vol. I, p. 26: "Speeches of academic students were a jumble of profane history blended into compliment of their patroness." Vol. I, p. 161: At the queen's reception at Cambridge, 1564, William Master, of King's College, orator, spoke for half an hour. He first "praised and commended the many and singular virtues set and planted in her majesty;" he showed what "joy the university had in her presence," etc. Vol. I, p. 549: Mr. Bell, at Worcester, spoke of "her majesty's noble ancestors" and their benefits to the city. It owes its origin to them. There has been distress, but now prosperity through her. He ends with a prayer for her long life and happiness. Another says there was "joy in heaven at the prospect of your coming, in hell at your departure. You think this is rain; it is the tears of the gods at your hasty departure." Vol. II, p. 157: Stephen Lambert, at Norwich, 1578, speaks an oration in full epideictic style with many classical allusions: "Egypt is watered by the Nile, Lydia by the Pactolus, your goodness is the source of our fertility and happiness." Her noble deeds are then detailed. Elizabeth called it the best speech she

had ever heard. The two volumes contain a multitude of such records. Mullinger's *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 76: "When Wolsey visited Cambridge in 1520, the language with which they approached him might compare for adulation and self-abasement with that customary in addressing an oriental despot." Publications like those of the Spenser Society, Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Arber's *English Garner*, Sears' *The Occasional Address*, pp. 210 ff., etc., abound in examples. Cf. *English Garner*, Vol. VIII, p. 501, speaking of a progress of James I. (1603): "When he came near Dunham the magistrates of the city met him, and behaving themselves like others before them . . . there was an excellent oration made to him, containing in effect the universal joy conceived by his subjects at his approach." P. 496, the recorder of Berwick made a brief speech to his majesty, acknowledging him as sovereign; cf. also p. 524. *Spenser Soc. Pub.*, I, 28, tells of the speeches made to Charles II.; cf. Vol. XXI, Tract 74. These laudations often took poetic form; cf. *Spenser Soc. Pub.* (John Taylor, 1647): "The King's Most Excellent Majesty's Welcome to his own House," a poetic *προσφωνητικός*. It contains many of the familiar *τόποι*: the author's inadequacy, the king's qualities, his coming is like sun or shower—it makes all glad. Cf. Vol. II, Samuel Daniel's congratulatory poem delivered at Burleigh Harrington. It has the *τόποι* of the *βασιλικός*. Compare also, in Vol. I of his works, his "Panegyrike Congratulatory delivered to the King's Most Excellent Majesty" at Burleigh Harrington. See Arber's *English Garner*, Vol. V, p. 633, for a salutatory poem by James Savage addressed to King James I.; cf. also p. 651. Erasmus in the *Encomium Moriae* follows somewhat the order of the *βασιλικός λόγος*. In the preface he shows the frequency of epideictic compositions: "One in a long-winded oration descants in commendation of rhetoric or philosophy. Another in a fulsome harangue sets forth the praise of his nation."

The *περὶ βασιλείας* was also a favorite topic, and presents a large literature. Among others we may note Bacon's *Of a King*; Machiavelli, *Principe: The Prince. Praise of a Monarch and*



*Picture of What a Prince Should Be*; Dr. John Poynt, *A Short Treatise on Political Powers and True Obedience Which Subjects Owe to Kings*. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely from any full history of the period, or such books as Blakey's *History of Political Literature*.

Ὁ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ὁ γενεθλιακὸς λόγος is an encomiastic speech addressed to a person upon his birthday. The fact that such a speech receives theoretical treatment, from Dionysius as well as Menander, might in itself indicate its prominence, wide diffusion, and persistence. This presumption is enforced by the importance attached to this anniversary at all periods of Greek history and the frequent reference to features more or less literary connected with it. That the birthday was honored during life and after death, from the early days of Greek history, is a familiar fact. Pindar speaks of θεοὶ γενέθλιοι.<sup>1</sup> One is assigned to every man. τὰ γενέθλια became the regular word for a birthday feast for one living, as τὰ γενέσια to distinguish the day kept in memory of the dead.<sup>2</sup> Celebration of the day was not confined to members of the family. Birthdays of noted men were kept by their followers or admirers. Reference is made to such honors paid to Homer (*e. g.*, Lucian, *Enc. Demosth., init.*).<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales*, VIII,<sup>3</sup> I, 1 ff., says that on the sixth of Thargelion they celebrated Socrates' birthday, and Plato's on the day following. Then follows a report of a conversation, suggested by the occasion, in regard to the days on which celebrated men were born and other noteworthy events connected with the same days. For example, Euripides was born on the very day of the victory at Salamis. Attalus and Pompey died upon the anniversary of their birth. Florus was unwilling to disregard Carneades that he might honor

<sup>1</sup> O. 8, 16; 13, 105; P. 4, 167; Aesch., *Septem*, 639 (626).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hdt., 4, 26; Stalb., *Note to Plato, Alc.*, I, 121 C.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pliny, III, Ep. 7, for Vergil; Juvenal, *Sat.*, V, 38, for Brutus and Cassius; Sen., Ep. 64, 8; Mart., XII, 67, 3; VIII, 38, 9; Ovid, *Tristia*, III, 13, 17; IV, 10, 11; Stat., II, 7; Diog. Laert., X, 18; Cic., *De Fin.*, II, 101; Suet., *Dom.*, 10. Much was made also of the birthday of Epicurus.

Plato; both were born on the same day. This discussion gains peculiar interest in connection with the importance attached by Menander to the day itself, and any thought, even such as we might term fanciful, connected with it. This chapter in Plutarch shows still another feature made prominent in Menander's rules for the *γενεθλιακός*—the mention of any omen connected with the birth. Plutarch says that prophets and priests made Apollo's birthday the same as Plato's, and so the belief had grown up that Plato was Apollo's son.

Aside from the common birthday speech of the orator, frequently some literary composition was connected with the birthday celebration, especially of such as were themselves literary men or patrons of learning. A poet regards the birthday of Homer as a natural occasion for a poem, and expects especial inspiration upon that day.<sup>1</sup> Literary work of various kinds might be offered as a birthday gift. Such was the *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Lucian dedicated his *μακρόβιοι* as a birthday gift to Quintillus.<sup>2</sup>

In writing a *γενεθλιακὸς λόγος* both Dionysius and Menander agree that it is of prime importance to praise the day and the season of the year in which it occurs; note any happy omen, festival, or event of importance connected with the day or season; praise the family, the city, the person's physical and mental qualities, his virtues, his special pursuits; pray for his future and for long life.

There are but two extant speeches of this character: Aristides, Or. X, and Himerius, Or. VIII. Himerius follows very closely the *τόποι* given above. He begins, however, with a comparison of the present situation to that of Odysseus about to leave the court of Alcinous. Though longing to depart, Odysseus remained to take part in the public contests: so I remain to sing τὸν *γενεθλιακόν*. He then enters upon an elaborate praise of the season in which the birthday falls as the most beautiful and honored of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lucian, *Enc. Demosth.*, *init.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. collections dedicated to Gildersleeve, Mommsen, Weil, and others in our day.

year: the time when Ceres and Liber fill granaries and wine jars. His birth associates his name with these great deities. He then passes to personal characteristics. He is distinguished for virtues and intellect, rather than marked by some mere physical peculiarity, as the crobylus of the Cecropidae or the ivory shoulder of Pelops. There is praise of Egypt, the land of his nativity:<sup>1</sup> Circumstances honor you and your birthday; add our humble muse, which delights to honor you pre-eminently. Impute my feeble praise to lack of time; these are few of the many words in our heart; may we speak some day more fully. He calls his oration a μέλος.

The oration by Aristides honoring the birthday of Apollo (Or. X, Vol. I, p. 113, Dind.), though meeting in the main the requirements of the theory, is of far more complex a character. He connects with the γενεθλιακός proper extended reference to the games celebrated in honor of Aesculapius, and to the god himself. This material is introduced as honoring the hero who presides and adding to the glory of the day. In the line of ancestry several have the name Apelles; the most youthful, fourteen years of age, is the pupil of Aristides. His line goes back to Codratus. Elaborate praise is given to this ancestry. His other topics are the personality of his hero, his virtues, moral and mental, his training, the city's relations to him, and his benefits to it. He is the care of the gods. There is only the briefest possible reference to the day itself and the time of the year in which it falls. He ends with a prayer for the continuance of his life and honors.

The fact that Latin poets, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius, have poems composed somewhat in the style of the γενεθλιακός λόγος, together with the fact that Dionysius treats it as a well-established prose form as early as the first century B. C., may well imply a Greek poetic model preceding, though none is reported.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the author is here a little uncertain. It may be that the celebration of the birthday is in Egypt. In that case it would be evidence that Himerius visited Egypt in his travels

<sup>2</sup> The *Anth. Pal.* (VI, 227, 261, 345, and elsewhere) contains many birthday poems. The oldest is by Crinagoras, 31 B. C.-9 A. D.

Marx (*Neue Jahrbücher*, January, 1898) presents an interesting and seemingly conclusive argument to prove that the famous fourth eclogue of Vergil is composed quite strictly along the lines of the *γενεθλιακός λόγος*. Tibullus, I, 7, is a *γενεθλιακός* addressed to Messala. He speaks of the glory of the day. His hero was destined at birth to be a great warrior. He enumerates his exploits, calls on his genius to come and receive the honors due; may he have offspring, wealth, glory; may this day be celebrated many years, more and more joyous. Much is made of the day and predictions attending the birth in his other birthday poems—II, 2, and IV, 5. So in Propertius, IV, 10, and Statius, *Carmen*, II, 7 (Vol. I, p. 60, Bährens).<sup>1</sup>

Several poems in English follow lines similar to those chosen by the Latin poets in honoring a birthday. One may note James Hammond's "On Delia's Birthday" (Vol. IV of *Brit. Poets*, cabinet ed.) and compare it with Tibullus, IV, 5. It celebrates especially the day and the season.<sup>2</sup>

The oration of Claudius Mamertius (*XII Pan. Latini*, ed. Teubner, p. 101, Or. III), delivered to Maximianus Augustus, bears the title *Panegyricus Genethliacus* and, as the name indicates, is a union of the *βασιλικός λόγος* and the *γενεθλιακός*. The former is the real purpose of the speech, but it is shaped and influenced throughout by the *γενεθλιακός*. The latter appears in the title and the body of the speech because it was delivered on a birthday anniversary. While the oration is as a whole a panegyric, the regular *τόποι* of the *γενεθλιακός* are not neglected. Chapter II is devoted to the day itself. Chapter III connects Diocletian with Jove and Maximianus with Hercules. This gives the opportunity to rehearse the great deeds of the god and the hero. He honors the deeds of the emperor by the use of *praeteritio* and passes to what is most appropriate to the *γενεθλιακός*, an elaborate presentation of "*pietas vestra et felicitas*." Other virtues are enumerated: *fortitudo, continentia,*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Horace, *Odes*, IV, 11; Martial, 4, 1; 12, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Ruskin, "May, A Birthday Address to His Father;" Dryden, "Britannia Rediviva."

*iustitia, sapientia*. The four virtues of the Greeks may be seen in his character, but these are acquired; *pietas* and *felicitas* come with birth. "Good and friendly stars looked upon you at your nativity."

Such orations as Themistius VIII and XI, delivered at the quinquennial and decennial respectively of Valens' rule, represent a large class of speeches which may easily have gained their suggestion from the earlier *γενεθλιακὸς λόγος*.

One may note also in more recent times such orations as may be found in Nichols' *Progresses and Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, *e. g.*, II, 480, an oration delivered in the presence of Queen Elizabeth on her birthday (1586) by Edward Hahe, mayor of New Windsor.

#### Ὁ ἘΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Ὁ ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, or, more frequently, "ὁ ἐπιτάφιος,"<sup>1</sup> indicated at Athens the public oration delivered as a state ceremony over those fallen in battle. It expressed in the most formal manner, and with scrupulous attention to literary features, the public (and to some extent the individual) appreciation of the services of those who had died, and lamented their loss. The *θρήνος* of Homer (*e. g.*, *Il.*, XXIV, 725 ff., *et passim*) and the later poets (*e. g.*, Pindar, pp. 409 f., Christ; Eurip., *Suppl.*, 780, 960, 857 ff.) represented the same qualities of human nature, but expressed in a far more natural and spontaneous manner. No one can doubt

<sup>1</sup> The ἐπιτάφιοι form the subject of an extensive literature. The following are among the more important treatises: Blass, *Att. Bered.*, *passim*; Volkmann, *Gr. u. röm. Rhet.*, 314 ff., and other handbooks (*cf.* also footnote on Lysias' ἐπιτάφιος, p. 147); Villemain, *Essai sur l'oraison funèbre*; Calliaux, *De l'oraison funèbre dans la Grèce païenne*; Girard, *Études sur l'éloquence attique*; Westermann, *Quest. Demosth.*, Part II; Sauppe, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 369, 372, 752; Sauppe, *Die Epitaphia in der spätern Zeit Athens*; Mommson, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (1898); Martin, "Notes sur l'héortologie," in *Rev. de Phil.*, X (1886), pp. 17-37; Nüsslin, *Epitaphische Lobreden von Pericles, Lysias, Plato, übersetzt und erklärt*. Hauvette, "Les Eleusiniens d'Eschyle," in *Mélanges Henri Weil* (1898); Vollmer, "Laudationum Funebrium, Romanorum Historia et Reliquiarum, Editio," *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, 18, 445; 19, 319, gives a full discussion of the funeral oration among the Romans; Buresch, "Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica," *Leipziger Studien*, IX (1887), 1-164; *cf.* p. 111, n. 1.

the direct connection between the poetic and the later prose lament as it appears in the public and private *ἐπιτάφιοι*. But the transition lies in the misty period preceding the sixth century, and cannot be observed. Snell (ed. *Lysias' Epitaphios*, p. 9) says: "The cause of the transformation of the *threnos* into the *epitaphios* must be sought in the altered state of society at Athens toward the close of the sixth century." He mentions the growth of oratory and the general state of enthusiasm so prominent after the Persian wars as main factors. The *ἐπιτάφιος* as an annual solemnity seems to have arisen not long after the victory over Persia.<sup>1</sup>

This custom was peculiar to Athens; *cf.* Demosth., *Lept.*, 449, 21; Aristides, *Panath.*, p. 310 (Dind.); Diod. Sic., XI, 33, 3; Dion. of Hal., *A. R.*, V, 17; Polyb., VI, 53, 54; Cic., *Leg.*, II, 25, 26; *Brut.*, 16, 61. The state chooses the orator: Plato *Menex.*, 234 B; Demosth., *De Corona*, p. 320, etc. The custom was annual: Arist., *Panath.*, 310 (Dind.); Plato, *Menex.*, 249 B; Menander, Sp. III, 418; Arist., *Panath.*, 310.

The following are the extant *ἐπιτάφιοι*, together with some others prominently mentioned in antiquity:

1. The Samian oration of Pericles, delivered in the Ceramicus at the close of the Samian war, 440 B. C.; *cf.* Plut., *Life of Per.*, p. 156, 18; Arist., *Rhet.*, I, 7, 34.

2. A speech by Pericles found in Thuc., II, 35, 46, delivered in 431 B. C. over those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

3. The oration composed by Gorgias, 426-420 B. C.; *cf.* Philost., *V. S.*, I., chap. 9, 3, p. 493. For fragments see *Frag. Phil. Gr.*, II, 143 (Didot).

4. The oration by Lysias (probably spurious) in praise of those who fell in the expedition to aid the Corinthians, 394-387.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hauvette, "Les Eleusiniens d'Eschyle et l'institution du discours funèbre à Athènes," in *Mélanges Henri Weil* (1898), pp. 139 ff., argues in favor of Cimon as the originator of the law requiring this celebration and the removal of Theseus' bones as the occasion of its establishment.

<sup>2</sup>The genuineness of the *ἐπιτάφιος* of Lysias has been the occasion of much discussion. The subject may be investigated by reference to the following: L. Le Beau, *Lysias' Epitaphios als echt erwiesen* (Stuttgart, 1863); *cf.* also

5. Reference is made (Plato, *Menex.*, 234 B–236 A) to orations by Archinus and Dion; cf. Photius (Bekk.), p. 484. Date 380 or a little earlier.

6. The *Menexenus* of Plato.<sup>1</sup>

7. The oration, falsely attributed to Demosthenes, in honor of those who died in the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B. C.

8. Hyperides' oration over those who died in the Lamian war, 323–2 B. C.

9. Menander (Sp. III, 418) speaks of three orations by Aristides, second century A. D.

The extant *ἐπιτάφιοι* conform to the same general model. The material falls chiefly under three heads: (1) *ἔπαινος*, about four-fifths of each oration; *θρήνος*; *παραμυθία*. Plato, *Menex.*, 236 E, shows this triple division. Under these there may be many minor subdivisions; compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *A. R.*, chap. 6, and Menander, *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, Sp. III, 418, whose formal treatment of the *ἐπιτάφιος* is the chief source of our theoretical knowledge. The treatise of Menander applies more especially to a private funeral. Both agree that the *τόποι* are those of the *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, 93 (1866), 808–20, and 87 (1863), 366 ff.; Eckert, *De Epitaphio Lysiae Oratori falso tributo* (Berlin, 1868); Thomaschik, *De Lysiae Epitaphii Authentia Verisimili* (Diss., 1887); Richter, *De Epitaphii qui sub Lysiae nomine fertur genere dicendi* (Greifswald, 1881); Sauppe, *Göttinger Gel. Anz.*, 1864, pp. 824 ff.; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, I, 436 ff.; Christ, *Griechische Lit.* (3d ed.), p. 375; Reuss, *Rh. Mus.*, 38, 149; Wolf, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Lysiae epitaphium et Isocratis panegyricum* (Diss., Berlin, 1896); Krüger, "Hat Platons Menexenos eine Beziehung auf den Epitaphios des Lysias?" *Hist.-phil., Studien*, I, 238 ff.; P. Knöll, *Sind Beziehungen dem Epitaphios in Menexenos und dem sogen. Lysianischen nachzuweisen?* (Krems, 1873).

<sup>1</sup> The genuineness of the *Menexenus* has been much debated. Where the decision has been against it, it has been through yielding to literary feeling against the weight of external argument, which favors its genuineness. The question is discussed often in connection with the *Hippias Major* and *Minor*. Cf. the *Prolegomena* of Stallbaum and others; Zeller, *Plato and Older Acad.*, p. 86; *Platonische Studien*, pp. 144 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles u. Athen*, I, p. 99, n. 35; Bonitz, *Index to Aristotle*; Christ, *Gk. Lit.*, 3d ed., 451; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, II, 431 ff.; III, B, 346; Grote, *Gk. History* (Harper, 1861), I, 308; II, 33; *Plato* (Murray, London, 1888), III, 401 ff.; Wendland, "Die Tendenz des Platonischen Menex.", *Hermes*, XXV (1890), p. 171; Sauppe, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* (1864), p. 201.

*ἐγκώμιον*—*πατρίς, γένος, φύσις, παιδεία, πράξις*. For the topics compare Plato, *Menex.*, 234 C, 235 A-B. The topics vary in prominence according to the situation and purpose. Dionysius says that *ἔπαινος* means primarily praise of country. One should refer to its size, age, glory, any happy event in its history, etc. Compare the directions for composing a *πανηγυρικός*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars Rhet.*, V, p. 225 (Steph.). Comparisons may be made between the panegyric and the funeral oration. Praise of Athens forms the main theme in each. The panegyric lacks only the *θρήνος* and the *παραμυθητικός*, both subordinate topics, to make it an *ἐπιτάφιος* if delivered under appropriate circumstances. Notable similarity exists between Isocrates' *Panegyricus* and the *Epitaphios* which passes under the name of Lysias. The impression grows, as one reads the two in comparison, that the oration which is assigned to Lysias was written by someone thoroughly familiar with the *Panegyricus*, or perhaps in conscious imitation of it (*cf.* p. 147, n. 2).

Neither Dionysius nor Menander makes theoretical provision for a formal introduction, but each of the extant *ἐπιτάφιοι* has something which answers to this. It is technically included in the *ἔπαινος*. A commonplace of the introduction is the general inadequacy of any human tongue to do justice to the immortal deeds of those whose death is thus publicly honored, and in this particular case the lack of time for preparation, which is a commonplace of all epideictic orators. *Cf.* Demosth., 1389, 1-4, 7-10; Lysias, 1, 2; Hyperides, 6-10 (ed. Cobet); Pericles, Thuc., II, 35, 1; Gorgias, *Frag. Phil. Gr.*, II; *cf.* also Isoc., *Pan.*, 13, in ridicule of this practice; *cf.* also Isoc., II, 7; III, 27, 35; V, 10; XII, 36, 187; XV, 11; Jebb, *Att. Or.*, II, 64. This profession of inadequacy is often again referred to later on, *e. g.*, Demosth., 1390, 20 ff.; Hyperides, l. 132 (Cobet); Lysias, 54; Plato, *Menex.*, 235 C-D. Similar is the reference to the abundance of material and the inspiration which the theme supplies: Demosth., 1392, 14-19; 1393, 18; Plato, *Menex.*, 246 A-B; Lysias, 2; Isoc., *Pan.*, 186.



In the same line of thought is the reference to what others have said: Lys., 2; Demosth., 1389, 8. Another commonplace of the introduction is a reference to the law establishing this public celebration in honor of those dying in battle; cf. Pericles, Thuc., II, 35; Demosth., 1389, 10; Plato, *Menex.*, 236 D. In Demosth., 1389, 23, and Plato, *Menex.*, 237 A, an outline to be followed in the speech is given.

The *ἔπαινος* has two chief themes, *εὐγένεια* and *πράξεις*. *Εὐγένεια* is interpreted by all orators in accordance with the definition in Aristotle's *Rhet.*, 1390b, 19: *ἡ δ' εὐγένεια ἐντιμότης προγόνων ἐστίν*. With this understanding of the term it is easy to see how an idealized record of the remote and recent achievements of Athens came to be the most important part of the *epitaphios*. The Amazons; the rescue of the bodies of the dead at Thebes; the Heraclidae and Eumolpus; the Persian wars and later military triumphs, formed the staple topics; cf. Arist., *Rhet.*, 1396a, 12; 1360b, 31; cf. ridicule of these themes, Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.*, end. Lysias gives most space to the legendary topics, see 4-17. Others dismiss them lightly and pass to historic glories. There is marked similarity in the treatment. In the case of legendary history the following may be noted:

- I. The Amazons: Lys., 4; Isoc., *Pan.*, 68; Himerius, II, 10, 11; Aristides, I, p. 89. Their signal defeat: Lys., 6; Demosth., 1391, 4, 5; Isoc., *Pan.*, 69.
- II. There is brief reference to Eumolpus in Plato: 239 B; Demosth., 1391, 4; Isoc., *Pan.*, 68; *Panath.*, 193; Lycophron, *Leoc.*, 98, 99; Aristides, *Panath.*, p. 191.
- III. The recovery of the bodies of those who died at Thebes: Demosth., 1391, 13; Lys., 7 and 9; Isoc., *Pan.*, 55; *Panath.*, 169; Aristides, *Panath.*, 188; Himer., Or. II, 11, 12; Eur., *Suppl.*, 670 ff.
- IV. The Heraclidae: Demosth., 1391, 9 and 11; Lys., 11; Isoc., *Pan.*, 56; Aristides, 195.

*Αθηναίων δυσβουλία*<sup>1</sup>: Lys., 12; Isoc., *Pan.*, 53; Lys., 15, 16; Isoc., *Pan.*, 54–60; Aristides, *Panath.*, 195; Eur., *Suppl.*, 321; Plato, *Menex.*, 244 E. The victory for the Heraclidae: Lys., 15; Isoc., *Pan.*, 58; *Phil.*, 33, 34; *cf.* Eur., *Heraclidae*.

- V. The Persian wars treated most fully by Lysias and Plato. Both employ the historical order. Plato regards this as the order of importance also:
- A. The rapidity of victory: Lys., 25, 26; Isoc., *Pan.*, 85–8; *Panath.*, 175, 189, *et passim*; Aristides, *Panath.*, 205.
  - B. Their training the source of noble deeds: Lys., 20; Plato, *Menex.*, 239 A; Hyp., l. 127 (Cobet).
  - C. Few against many: Lys., 20; Plato, *Menex.*, 241 B; Isoc., *Pan.*, 86; Hyp., l. 103; Isoc., *Phil.*, 111; Demosth., 1391, 24.
  - D. Athenians strive to die honorably: Lys., 23; Isoc., *Pan.*, 77, 84, 186; *ad Nic.*, 36; Areop., 93, 94.
  - E. Numbers yield to valor: Plato, *Menex.*, 240 D; Isoc., *Pan.*, 91, 10; Demosth., *Ol.*, III, 23, 26.
  - F. The high expectations of the enemy: Lys., 21; Isoc., *Pan.*, 68 (Amazons).
  - G. Greater than those who fought at Troy: Demosth., 1392, 2; Isoc., *Pan.*, 83; Hyp., 185; Himer., II, 28; Isoc., *Phil.*, 111; *Euag.*, 65.
  - H. Their lives not their own: Lys., 24; Isoc., *Pan.*, 86, 84; Plato, *Menex.*, 244; Pericles, Thuc., I, 70.
- VI. The battle of Salamis.
- A. The number of the enemy: Lys., 57; Isoc., *Pan.*, 88.
  - B. The manner of Xerxes' march: Lys., 29; Isoc., *Pan.*, 89; Himer., *Ecl.*, 5, 3, 4; *Ecl.*, 1, 7; *Ecl.*, 2, 7; Or. II, 35; Dion Chrys., 44, 10 (Dind.); Cic., *De Fin.*,

<sup>1</sup>This term was used in referring to the proverbial folly of the Athenians in concerning themselves over others' wrongs, and always taking the side of the weaker.

- 34, 112. A proverbial *ἀδύνατον*, Max. Tyr., 208; Lucian ridicules it, *Rhet. Praec.*, 18.
- C. Those who die in the ranks are not conquered: Demosth., 1394, 25; Lys., 31; Lyc., *Leocr.*, 48; Isoc., *Pan.*, 92.
- D. The abandonment of Athens: Lys., 33; Isoc., *Pan.*, 96.
- E. The horrors of war: Lys., 37-8; Isoc., *Pan.*, 96, 97.
- F. Athens most prominent: Isoc., *Pan.*, 21, 98; Lys., 37, 42, 43; Hyp., l. 1252 (Cobet).
- G. Athens the schoolmaster of Greece: Pericles, Thuc., II, 41, 1; Plato, *Menex.*, 241 B, C; Isoc., *Panath.*, 44; Isoc., *Pan.*, 50; Plut., *De gloria*, 2. In general compare Isoc., *Phil.*, 1, 47; *Panath.*, 195; *De pace*, 37; Aesch., c. *Ctesiphon*, 259; Pseudo-Demosthenes, *περὶ συντάξεως*, 22; Aristides, *Panath.*, 197 ff., Himer., 14 ff.

#### VII. Wars after Salamis.

- A. Jealousy of the Athenians: Lys., 48; Plato, *Menex.*, 242 A.
- B. Athens' treatment of others: Lys., 55, 56; Hyp., ll. 26 ff. (Cobet); Gorgias (*Greek Phil.*); Isoc., *Pan.*, 100, 104-6.
- C. Results of the Persian wars: Lys., 56; Plato, *Menex.*, 241 E.
- D. Defeat of the Greeks at Aegospotami: Lys., 59; Isoc., *Pan.*, 119.
- E. All Greece mourns: Demosth., 1399, 25; 1396, 10-20; Lys., 60; Aristotle, *Rhet.*, III, 10; Plato, *Menex.*, 245 E—246 A.

Demosthenes gives but eighteen lines to the Persian wars. Pericles passes these as topics too familiar to rehearse, and substitutes for history, both legendary and more recent, a discussion of Athenian government—its advantages and glory. Hyperides omits all historical element. He mentions Miltiades and Themistocles, but only incidentally.

- VIII. Substitutes for the *τόπος*, legendary and Persian wars. The most conspicuous is that employed by Pericles. The main body of his oration is praise of the city, its form of government, its public spirit, its internal affairs—Athens the grandest city of Greece. Cf. Lys., 18, 19; Plato, *Menex.*, 238 B—239 A; Demosth., 1396, 20—1397, 9.
- A. The superior form of government at Athens: Lys., 18; Demosth., 1396, 29; Isoc., *Pan.*, 104; Pericles, Thuc., II, 37, 1; Plato, *Menex.*, 238 D; Isoc., *Pan.* and *Panath.*, *passim*.
- B. Athens does not favor enslaving many to few: Lys., 56; Pericles, Thuc., II, 40, 4.
- C. Athens engages in war on the side of right: Lys., 14, 22, 24, 61; Plato, *Menex.*, 246 D; Demosth., 1390, 27; Plato, *Menex.*, 246 D; Hyp., l. 148 (Cobet); Isoc., *Pan.*, 72, 53; Sal., *Cat.*, 29; Tac., *An.*, 3, 22; *Germ.*, 19.
- D. Athenians die for principle: Lys., 14; Hyp., ll. 84, 138 (Cobet); Isoc., *Pan.*, 52.
- E. Worthy the leadership: Lys., 47; Isoc., *Pan.*, 100, *et passim*.
- F. Athens acts in the interests of all Greece: Lys., 42, 58; Hyp., ll. 108, 206 (Cobet); Isoc., *Pan.*, 98, 26; Demosth., 1395, 1; 1396, 6; Plato, *Menex.*, 242 A; Aristides, *Panath.*, 153; Philost., *Apoll. T.*, VII, 37, 1.

One of the most conspicuous minor motives in the *epitaphios* is the autochthonic origin of the Athenians. It is found in each of the *ἐπιτάφιοι*, though Pericles does not use the word *αὐτόχθονες*. Cf. Lysias, 17; Demosth., 1390, 14; Hyp., l. 39 (Cobet); Pericles, Thuc., II, 36, 1; Plato, *Menex.*, 237 B; Isoc., *Pan.*, 45, 24; *Panath.*, 125.

This topic is a commonplace among orators and poets; cf. Dion Chrys., Vol. II (Dind.), p. 209, l. 23; Demosth., *False Leg.*, 296; Himer., II, 2; I, 9, 13; VIII, 4; Plato, *Timaeus*, 23, D and E; Strabo, p. 286, 22 (Didot); Pseudo-Heraclitus, *Epist.*,

VIII, 4; Thuc., I, 6; Pausan., II, 14, 4; Hdt., 1, 171; Eur., *Frag.*, 360 (*Erechtheus*); Eur., *Ion.*, 29, 589, 737; Aristoph., *Wasps*, 1076; Soph., *Ajax*, 201; Homer, *Il.*, II, 546 ff.; Quintil., III, 7, 26; Aelian, *Variae Hist.*, XXII. Ridiculed by Antisthenes; cf. Diog. Laert., VI, 1, 1; Dion Chrys., Or. 64, 209, 23, Dind. Cf. also Swinburne, *Erechtheus*, 1160–80. Plato and Demosthenes add as evidence of her motherhood that Attica was the first country to produce the necessities of life: Plato, *Menex.*, 237 E; Demosth., 1390, 11; Isoc., *Pan.*, 25. Athens gives physical blessings and also those of a higher character: Isoc., *Pan.*, 28, 38; Menander, Sp. III, 384, 16; 440, 10–15; Diod. Sic., XI, 2, 4; Dion Chrys., II, p. 209, l. 29; Himer., *Ecl.*, 2, 7; Or. II, 4, 5, 6; Themistius, 336 D; Callim., *Hymn to Demeter*, 21; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 62; Lucr., VI, 1 ff. General praise of Athens: Isoc., *Areop.*, 74; Himer., Or. X; Isoc., *Phil.*, 147; Plut., *V. Aristides*, XXVII, 9: ἡς [Athens] φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἢ πόλις ἐκφέρουσα δείγματα θαυμάζεται καὶ δηλοῦται δικαίως.

Praise of Athens is a favorite theme of poets; cf. Eur., *Herac.*, 197, 329, 314 ff.; *Medea*, 824; Rhesus, 941; Aesch., *Eum.*, 916 ff.; *Suppl.*, 378; Soph., *O. C.*, 107, 260, 668, 1003; Pindar, *Frag.*, 77 (196); *Nem.*, 2, 8; 4, 18; *Frag.*, 76 (46), and the parody, Arist., *Kn.*, 1327; Arist., *Clouds*, 300–313; *Acharn.*, 181; *Clouds*, 986. Anon comic poet, Kock, p. 407, 44, and p. 471, 340, and others; Soph., *O. C.*, 668–720; Libanius, 13, 410 (Reiske); Horace, *Odes*, I, 7, 5–7; cf. also Milton, *Paradise Regained*, Book IV, 236–80.

The Atlantis story in Plato, *Timaeus*, 24 D ff., is merely a praise of Athens. It has the τόποι—Athens, leader of the Greeks, stood against the enemy alone, vanquished them, preserved the rest of Greece, etc. Compare also Lucian, *Nigr.*, 12–14, and Plut., *Life of Aristides*, near the end.

The sacred olive forms a favorite theme for praise, though it is not introduced in any extant ἐπιτάφιος, Hdt., 8, 55, 82; Soph., *O. C.*, 701 ff.; *Apollodorus*, 3, 14; Arist., *Clouds*, 1005; Athen., IX, p. 372 B; Dion Chrys., p. 311, 29 (Dind.); Himer., X, 3.

The adjectives used by the poets in connection with the word "Athens" correspond with the general tendency to praise. The favorite words are:

1. *λιπαραί*—*cf.* Arist., *Acharn.*, 639; Pindar, *N.*, 4, 18; *Frag.*, 46; *O.*, 2, 20; Eur., *I. T.*, 1130; *Alc.*, 452; *Troades*, 803; Arist., *Kn.*, 329; *Cl.*, 300; *Birds*, 826; *Frag.*, 162; *Frag.*, VII, p. 469 (Didot).
2. *κλείναι*—*cf.* Soph., *Frag.*, 300; Eur., *Frag.*, 224; Aesch., *Pers.*, 474; Eur., *Ion.*, 30; *Hippol.*, 423; *Herac.*, 38; Soph., *Frag.*, 634; *Ajax*, 861; Arist., *Kn.*, 1319.
3. *εὐδαίμωνες*—*cf.* Soph., *O. C.*, 282, 260; Eur., *El.*, 1289; *I. T.*, 1088; Hdt., 8, 3.
4. *ιεραί*—Pindar, *Frag.*, 75; Soph., *Ajax*, 1221; Arist., *Kn.*, 1319.
5. *θεόδμητοι*—Soph., *El.*, 707; Eur., *Hippol.*, 974.
6. *μεγαλοπόδες*—Pindar, *P.*, 7, 1.
7. *θεοσεβέσταται*—Soph., *O. C.*, 260.
8. *τιμώταται*—Soph., *O. C.*, 107.
9. *ὄλβιαι*—Eur., *Alc.*, 452.
10. *μεγάλαι*—Eur., *Herac.*, 359.
11. *καλλίχοροι*—Eur., *Herac.*, 359.
12. *ιστέφανοι*—Pind., *Frag.*, 76; Arist., *Kn.*, 1329, 1323
13. *ἀρχαίαι*—Arist., *Kn.*, 1323, 1327.
14. *θαυμασταί*—Arist., *Kn.*, 1328.
15. *πολύμναι*—Arist., *Kn.*, 1328.

*Cf.* Libanius, Or. 13, p. 410, Reiske: ἀρχαιοτότην καὶ σοφωτάτην καὶ θεοφιλεστάτην καὶ κοινὴν ἐρωμένην ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θεῶν — τὰς Ἀθήνας.

The second main division of ἔπαινος is praise of the men over whose graves the oration is spoken. Pericles, Thuc., II, 42; Demosth., 1392, 27—1399, 10, his main theme; Lys., 67, 68; Hyp., almost the entire fragment, and it contains the unusual feature of reference to the dead by name.

The second head in the model ἐπιτάφιος is the θρήνος or lamentation. Menander, Sp. III, 418, says that Pericles guarded against causing those whom he was trying to inspire to war to

weep overmuch. He therefore dwells rather upon the *παραμυθία*. The quotation from Pericles' Samian oration, Arist., *Rhet.*, 1365a, 32, is evidently from the *θρήνος*.

Lysias gives the copy-book form of the *θρήνος*—sorrow is appropriate: Lys., 71; Demosth., 1399, 10. They died as became good men: Lys., 70, 1; Per., Thuc., II, 431. The greatness of the loss: Lys., 72, 73; Demosth., 1400, 16. The state cares for the families: Lys., 75; Plato, 248 D; Demosth., 1399, 16; Per., Thuc., II, 46, 1; Hyp., l. 148 (Cobet), and the *ἐπίλογος*.

The third topic of the *epitaphios* is the *παραμυθία*, consolation. Lysias, 77—end, gives the commonplaces of this topic: (1) Death is common to all. (2) It is fortunate to die honorably. (3) Such gain the glory of a public funeral and the honor of games. (4) They are to be envied. (5) Their bodies are mortal, but immortal their fame. (6) Not an occasion for mourning; cf. Pericles, Thuc., II, 44, 45; Demosth., 1399, 13—1400, 26; Plato, *Menex.*, 247 C—248 D; Lys., 77—end; Hyp., end. (7) Reference to a future life may be found in Hyp., ll. 155 ff., 182 ff., and end (Cobet); Plato, *Menex.*, 247 C, 246 D; Demosth., 1399, 28 ff. On life after death in the Attic orators, see Meuss, "Die Vorstellungen vom Dasein nach dem Tode bei den attischen Rednern," *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.*, CXXXIX (1889), pp. 801 ff. He refers also to Nägelsbach, *Nachhomerische Theologie*, pp. 392—423; Teuffel in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*, IV, 154—67; Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze*, 302—62; E. Curtius, *Alterthum und Gegenwart*, I, 219—36; Leopold Schmidt, *Ethik der alten Griechen*, I, 97—118. The injunction to imitate one's ancestors is an important topic. Plato makes notable use of this, *Menex.*, 246 C, 247 C; cf. Lysias, 69—77; Demosth., 1399, 10; Pericles, Thuc., II, 43.

Hyperides makes an elaborate series of comparisons between his hero and other worthies of Greek history—Miltiades, Themistocles, Harmodius, and Aristogiton. Menander makes comparisons, both general and particular, an important feature of all epideictic discourses.

The closing words in Plato, *Menex.*, 249 C; Demosth., 1400, 27; and Pericles, Thuc., II, 46, end, seem to indicate a well-settled formula; cf. also Himer., II, sec. 23; Soph., *O. C.*, end.

Aside from the copious use of the Gorgian figures in general, one may note certain popular word-antitheses; e. g., that between *κοινός* (or *δημόσιος*) and *ἴδιος*, which may be found at least forty-six times in the extant *ἐπιτάφιοι*. Only second in frequency is *λόγος*—*ἔργον*, twenty-five times; cf. also *ἀδίκως*—*δικαίως*; *θνήτος*—*ἀθάνατος*; *ὀλίγοι*—*πολλοί*; *ἀρετή*—*κακία*; *ζῶντες*—*θνήσκοντες*. There are also favorite words, e. g., *ἄξιόν ἐστι*, in Hyp., ll. 11, 109, 181, 191; Plato, 237 C, 241 B; Isoc., *Pan.*, 115, 122, 132, 156, 167, 170, 175, 181; Lys., 60, 61, 66, 71, 78; cf. also *ἐλευθερία*, used forty times; *δικαίος*, *ζηλώω* are much used.

#### ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΑ ἘΥΚΩΜΙΑ.

Aristotle (*Rhet.*, I, 9, 2 = 1366a, 29) makes a general division in compositions of an epideictic character into those with a serious purpose (*μετὰ σπουδῆς*) and those which lack this element (*χωρὶς σπουδῆς*). Menander (Sp. III, 346, 9-25) divides *ἐγκώμια* into *ἔνδοξα*, which deal with gods and evident blessings; *ἄδοξα*, which treat of demons and manifest evils; *ἀμφίδοξα*, which mingle praise and blame. As examples of the latter he names the *Panathenaicus* of Isocrates and that of Aristides. His last division is *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*, which treat of paradoxical themes. Alcidas' *Praise of Death* and an *Encomium on Poverty*, presumably by the same author, are among those cited as typical examples. Menander, as we have seen, discusses in detail only the first of these forms; *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια* are passed over as unworthy of extended discussion. Indeed, in general, this form of encomium is least likely to be preserved or even to be discussed in serious literature.

The *παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον* is a mere display of ingenuity, a *jeu de langage*. The Athenians had a native keenness in detecting the ridiculous and a great fondness for representing it. It is in large part the element of comedy entering into prose which inspires this form of composition. The other chief motive is the desire



to startle, to win admiration and applause by a mere exhibition of smartness. It is a mild way of displaying the sophistic ability to make the worse appear the better reason.

The tendency to employ the paradoxical, which appears in an extravagant form in the *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*, is a permanent one. Aristotle (*Rhet.*, III, 11, 6) speaks in approval of the paradoxical and unexpected as an element of style. The use of paradox by the Sophists, both in the titles of their compositions and in argumentation, is familiar; still more notable is its adoption by the schools of philosophy. In comedy it was a chief reliance in securing humorous effects. In the general rhetorical treatment of the encomium there is prominent mention of some features which lie along the line of the *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*. For instance, Doxopater (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 432, 14) speaks of the fact that one often praises in an unexpected way, for the very opposite of those qualities which ordinarily receive praise, for obscurity of birth, for poverty, and even for lack of strength. Aristides (Sp. II, 505) says that the encomiastic division among other things makes use of *εὐφημία*—a euphemistic way of stating facts which are in reality unfavorable.<sup>1</sup> The *παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον* is based upon the same principle.

One might expect to find such compositions only, or at least chiefly, among later orators when more serious topics had been long worked over and in a sense exhausted; or in an age of degeneracy when the lack of strong impulses, either state or private, leaves the mind idle to dwell on mere trifles or extravaganzas. As a matter of fact, however, Alcidas and Polycrates, the two greatest exponents of this style reported to us, belong to the fifth century. They are thus among the very earliest Greek orators, and also belonged to an age of great national and individual activity.

*Παράδοξα ἐγκώμια* are by no means numerous, so far as extant or reported, when compared with the whole body of epideictic literature, yet such topics seem to have been common and more or less popular at different periods. Even writers of eminent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 481).

ability, like Dion Chrysostomus and Synesius, turned their talents to these insignificant topics. In the case of Synesius, at least, we know that he took special pride in the paradoxical composition (*Encomium on Baldness*), which he elaborated with all the skill and eloquence for which he was noted.

The chief references to *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*, in addition to the bare mention by Aristotle and Menander in making a general division of epideictic literature, are to be found in Isocrates, Plato, Polybius, Philodemus, and Quintilian.

Isocrates makes frequent reference to this class of literature, both direct and indirect, and in each case assumes an attitude of strong hostility. He speaks with more vehemence upon this than upon any other topic. The most notable passage is *Helen*, 1-13. Here Isocrates does not sharply distinguish between the paradox in general (as a literary device) and the more special usage, applicable to the works of Alcidamas and Polycrates, who were his older contemporaries and, to some extent at least, his rivals. It is the former meaning, chiefly, which he has in mind when he says (secs. 2, 3) that this branch of literature began with Gorgias and had been presented in its best form by Protagoras and his contemporaries, and continued by Zeno and Melissus. Farther on he makes direct reference to *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*. Tried by Isocrates' standard, writers of such compositions are found wanting. Their topics are not such as concern the state, and they do not profit life. They must let their juggling go—this hollow pretense of words refuted by the facts. Cling to the truth. It is better to have a moderate knowledge of useful things than an accurate knowledge of useless things; to differ a little in matters of importance rather than enter into nice distinctions upon topics which do not advantage life.<sup>1</sup> One might pardon such a course in youths, for excess is their characteristic; but in those who pretend to train others it is as reprehensible to cheat in words as in a bargain. Good talents should not be wasted on such themes.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the like sentiment in Lucian, *Charidemus*, 14: many pass over subjects of real importance and profit, and take up those from which they think they will gain reputation, though of no value to the hearers.

The love of applause and gain is the real secret. They make these false speeches so profitable that some, seeing the gain from such speeches, venture even to maintain in writing that the life of beggars and exiles is enviable above that of other men. When they display such ability on mean topics, it merely proves how well they could speak on the good and honorable. How ridiculous to base a claim to influence and leadership on such productions! It is weakness of intellect. It is as though an athlete were to enter a combat in which it was disgraceful for anyone, even untrained, to take a part. They would not lack words in praising bees, salt, and the like, but in attempting to speak about acknowledged goods they would fall far below existing speeches. It is easy to exalt trifles, but difficult to rise to great topics.

Similar sentiments are to be found elsewhere in Isocrates' orations, *e. g.*, *Panathenaicus*, 36: "It is easy to amplify a trifling subject, but difficult to equal the greatness and beauty of an important one like this." In *Panathenaicus*, 272, he chides speeches which aim at cheating the thought of the hearers. In speeches it is not necessary to seek novelty, nothing paradoxical (*Ad Nic.*, 41). One who wishes to write speeches worthy of praise and honor cannot treat topics which are unjust or mean (*Antidosis*, 276). It is not fit for men of great professions to be busied with petty themes (*Panegyricus*, 187). His *Busiris* was written to show what could be done with a paradoxical topic, but falls into the lines of the ordinary encomium.

The abundance and well-established position of *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια* in the time of Plato is clear from his reference to such compositions in the *Symposium*, 177 B, where he says: "Many Sophists, for example Prodicus, have discanted in prose on the virtues of Heracles and other heroes; and, what is still more extraordinary, I have met with a philosophical work in which the utility of salt has been made the theme of an eloquent discourse; and many other like things have had like honor bestowed upon them. There has been eager interest about them, but no

hymn for Eros." This passage is notable for lack of the tone of censure which characterizes Isocrates.

The tendency toward such displays was still an evil in Polybius' time, as we learn from his incidental reference to such compositions in Book XII, 26, *b*. As one would expect, they meet his severe censure. He cites encomiums of Thersites and such paradoxes as that Penelope was a bad wife, as examples of a theme and a style far too frequently employed by the school of declaimers. In XII, 26, *c*, he refers to the paradoxical element in argumentation and the training of youth in general, and the common tendency of the times to dissipate one's energies on worthless themes. The paradoxical disputatious spirit has brought certain schools of philosophy into disrepute. It inspires the youth with a dislike for serious things like ethics and politics, so that they spend their time in the pursuit of empty reputation and useless paradoxical verbiage.

Philodemus (Col. 35, Vol. I, p. 216, Sudhaus; *cf.* also p. 39 of Introduction) disapproves of sophistic orators who praise such men as Busiris and Polyphemus, making common to all the rewards of the good and inciting many to be base. By such comparisons as that of Clytemnestra and Penelope, Paris and Hector, they obliterate the virtues of the good, as far as in them lies, and this not from any desire to honor the good and rebuke the base, but from mere love of gain or to display their genius. He denounces those who choose topics of no inherent value. They weaken our minds by amplifying that which is mediocre.

Quintilian closes his chapter on the encomium by a rapid enumeration indicating its variety: "There are eulogies of places, of honorable sayings and actions. There is, indeed, praise for things of every kind; for eulogies have been written on sleep and death, and by physicians on certain kinds of food." The *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια* thus incur no censure from him.

Like so many other divisions of epideictic literature, the *παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον* has had its renewed life in mediæval and modern times. A single notable example may be mentioned.

Erasmus in the preface to his *Encomium Moriae* justifies his yielding to this diversion by citing those who have taken up paradoxical themes in antiquity: "Homer wrote on the war between frogs and mice; Vergil, of a gnat and pudding-cake; Ovid, of a nut; Polycrates commended the cruelty of Busiris; Isocrates who corrected him did as much for the injustice of Glaucus. Favorinus extolled Thersites and wrote in praise of a quartan ague. Synesius pleaded in behalf of baldness; and Lucian defended a sipping fly. Seneca drollingly related the deifying of Claudius; Plutarch, the dialogue betwixt Gryllus and Ulysses; Lucian and Apuleius, the story of an ass. Someone else records the last will of a hog, of which St. Hierom makes mention. . . . Trifles may be a whet to more serious thoughts."

Reference has already been made to the general relationship between comedy and the *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*. A more intimate connection may be shown. The typical plan of a comedy of Aristophanes has been thus outlined: "The protagonist undertakes in all apparent seriousness to give a local habitation and a body to some ingenious, airy speculation or bold metaphor." Thus the comedy is a paradox in its very foundation, not to speak of the ingenious play of paradoxical fancy which enlivens it throughout. Frequently in Aristophanes and the fragments there are actual examples of *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*. One of the characters in the play starts in to "praise something as hard as ever he can," and the fun lies in the burlesque. Examples of this playful deliberate praise or blame may be found in any play of Aristophanes.

The *Wasps*, for example, is a satire upon the litigious spirit so prevalent at Athens. Philocleon is the dicast-praiser; Bdelycleon opposes. Lines 85-135 state the trouble with the lover of dicasts. After various brief references of like character, *e. g.*, 508-11, a burlesque encomium of the dicast and the dicast's life begins at 548, ending with 630. This is answered (654). There is a clever parody of the familiar laudation of Athens and Athenians at 1070 ff. The mocking tone of praise is discernible elsewhere, *e. g.*, 1292 ff.; 1450 ff. Excellent examples of

brief *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια* may also be found in the *Plutus*. The self-praise of Poverty (507–610) is a notable instance.<sup>1</sup>

Quotations from two representative *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια* will indicate the probable character of all writings of this class.

Lucian's *Μύσας Ἐγκώμιον* begins with a description of the appearance and habits of the fly, intended to be humorous by reason of its very elaborateness. He then continues :

I may say that the fly possesses no slight intellectual ability, since he escapes from his insidious enemy, the spider. For he is on guard and detects his plots and avoids being caught in his net or falling into the toils of the monster. Of his spirit and boldness I need say nothing. Homer, the most grandiloquent of poets, shall speak of these qualities. For, wishing to glorify the most distinguished of his heroes, he does not liken his prowess to that of the lion or the leopard or the wild boar, but to the boldness of the fly and to the fearlessness and brilliance of his attacks. Nay, indeed, the fly possesses not mere reckless daring, but true manly courage. Drive him away, says Homer, even then he does not retire from the combat, but returns to bite again. [Lucian cites several other instances to prove the importance attached to the fly in this greatest of poems.]

The fly is so strong that it wounds with its sting not merely the skin of men, but of cattle and horses. Nay, indeed, it afflicts the elephant with pain when it creeps beneath its wrinkles and inflicts a wound with its proboscis proportionate to its size. . . .

This one point Plato seems to have overlooked in his treatise on the immortality of the soul: that a dead fly, covered with ashes, rises again, as if newborn, and begins life anew, which is ample proof that the soul of the fly is immortal, since it comes back to its abandoned body and recognizes it, revives it and makes it a fly again. . . .

Though in constant idleness and free from all labor, the fly reaps the fruits of others' toils, and everywhere finds a table luxuriously spread for him. For him the goats are milked; the bee toils no less for him than for mankind; for him the cook prepares the daintiest viands. As the guest of kings he tastes first of every dish; he marches about the table and enjoys a part of each delicacy. . . .

The fable tells us there was once a beautiful maiden by the name of Muia, an irrepressible chatterer and fond of singing. She was a rival of

<sup>1</sup> One may note also the playful laudation of women in the *Thesmophoriazassae* (785 ff.; cf. *Eccl.*, 214 ff.); the mock eulogy of the knights (*Kn.*, 595 ff.; 1263 ff.).

Luna for the love of Endymion, but she kept rousing him from his sleep by her singing and her wanton pranks until he became angered, and Luna, angered also, changed her into the animal which still bears her name, and for this reason the fly is the enemy of all sleepers, especially the young and tender, since she ever thinks about Endymion. So her bite and her thirst for blood are not an evidence of ferocity, but rather of love and fellow-feeling for humanity. [The position of the fly in comedy and tragedy is then referred to, and he closes by saying:]

I have a great deal more to say on such a subject, but I shall cease, that I may not seem, as the proverb says, to make an elephant out of a fly.

The following selections from Synesius' *Encomium on Baldness* are taken from Smith's *Dictionary of Religious Biography*:

Dion has written such an eloquent encomium on long hair that a man is quite ashamed of being bald. When my hair began to fall, I was quite smitten with grief. To whom of the gods, to whom of the demons, did I not pray for help? When that did no good, I began to distrust the existence of a providence. But now I think the treatise was so eloquent simply because he was such a clever man. He could easily have written a much better encomium on baldness. For if we look at the matter fairly, there is an antagonism between hair and wisdom; when the one flourishes, the other does not. The most hairy of all animals is the sheep, and everybody allows that of all animals the sheep is the most stupid. The least hairy of animals is man, and by common consent man is of all animals the wisest.

Then consider the different classes of men. If you go into a museum and look at the statues of the philosophers, you will see that they are all bald. It is true Apollonius of Tyana has long hair; but then I fear that shows that he was only a conjurer and a dealer in magic arts. . . .

Besides, our hair grows most freely when we are children, that is to say, when we are least wise. As we grow older and wiser our hair gradually falls off. It is true some people fail to become bald even in old age, but some people also fail to become wise. . . .

Then Dion says that Achilles had long hair. "The goddess seized him by his flaxen locks." Well, suppose Achilles had long hair. He was then young and passionate. When a man is young it is natural that, as his heart swarms with passions, so his head should swarm with hairs. Had Achilles lived longer, he would have become wise and bald. But the truth is, Dion has left out the most important part of Homer's lines: "She stood behind him and seized him by his flaxen locks."

Stood behind him! of course, because there was no hair in front to take hold of. Why, even with me anybody might take hold of the hair at the back of my head. So I conjecture Achilles was already partly bald. . . .

The following are the most noted names in this branch of epideictic composition :

Alcidamas. End of the fifth century B. C. *Encomium on Death, Accusation of Palamedes, Encomium of Thais, of Poverty, of Nais*. Some would assign to him the encomium on outlaws and beggars referred to in Isocrates, *Helen*, 8. Cf. also Cicero, *Tusc.*, I, 116, and Muenscher, *Rh. Mus.*, 54 (1899), 248.

Antisthenes: See Muenscher, *Rh. Mus.*, 54 (1899), 248, in support of the theory that Antisthenes was the author of *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*, and that many such compositions come from a cynic source.

Dion Chrysostomus. First century A. D. Wrote in praise of the gnat, the parrot, and of hair.

Favorinus. Second century A. D. *Praise of Thersites, of Quartan Fever*.

Fronto. Second century A. D. Attempted to introduce this kind of literature at Rome. *Laudes Punis et Pulveris, Laus Negligentiae*.

Heraclides of Lycia. Second century A. D. *Ἐγκώμιον πόνου*.

Libanius. Fourth century A. D. *Ψόγος πλούτου*.

Lucian. Second century A. D. *Encomium on the Fly, De Parasito*.

Lycophron, a sophist, mentioned by Alexander Aphrodiensis in his commentary on *Soph. El.*, 15, 174b, 30. Wrote an *Encomium on the Lyre*. Cf. Cope's notes on *Arist., Rhet.*, III, p. 205.

Plato. The oration assigned to Lysias in Plato's *Phaedrus* (231-34 B) may be classed as a *παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον*. Its purpose is of this order: to prove by ingenuity and in rhetorical fashion that the non-lover should be sought rather than the lover. The comments which follow it recognize its epideictic character,



*e. g.*, 234 C, D, E; 235 A; 243 A. This is followed by Socrates' first speech, whose aim is to surpass the rhetorician in his own line.

Polycrates. Close of the fifth century B. C. Encomia on mice, pots, counters, salt, bumblebees. All or part of these have been assigned to him by different authorities. His exact writings are much in dispute. Spengel thinks that he was the author of an encomium on Helen, sometimes assigned to Gorgias. Among the other themes assigned to him are: an encomium of Clytemnestra, a defense of Polyphemus, one of Busiris (suggesting the *Busiris* of Isocrates), accusation of Socrates, encomium of Thrasylulus, of Paris, of Agamemnon, and an accusation of the Lacedaemonians. Compare Arist., *Rhet.*, II, 24, 6, and Cope's note; Spengel, *Artium Scriptores*, p. 75; Westermann, *Geschichte der Beredsamkeit*, sec. 50, 22; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, II, 341, 342; Sauppe, *Frag. Orat. Gk.* (Polycrates) and *Orat. Att.*, III, 220; *Cambr. Jour. Class. and Sacr. Philol.*, No. 9, Vol. III, p. 281; No. 5, Vol. II, p. 158.

Synesius. Fourth century A. D. *Encomium on Baldness*.

Zoilus. Fourth century B. C. A pupil of Polycrates: A speech in censure of Homer, a praise of Polyphemus, an encomium of Tenedos.

### Epideictic Literature and Poetry.

That early Greek prose had close relations with poetry, already highly developed, was well recognized by the Greeks themselves. Strabo, for instance, says of Cadmus (I, 2, 6), Pherecydes, and Hecataeus: *λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τὰλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικά*—intending this as a rough characterization of early prose as a whole.<sup>1</sup> Oratory, with its rapid development in the early years of the fifth century, assumed prominence at a period a little later, when, as Strabo puts it, prose had withdrawn little by little from poetic form and influence. But in the department of epideictic oratory especially there was a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, 36. This chapter was in its present form before the publication of Norden's work, and I leave it unchanged.

strong tendency toward the preservation of poetic qualities or their renewed imitation. The most prominent name connected with this movement is that of Gorgias, who must have begun his oratorical career not later than 450 B. C., thus placing him among the earliest workers in prose. He is characterized as the first to employ artistic prose.<sup>1</sup> He made definite selection of those features of poetry best adapted for employment in prose, and formulated these into a simple and practical system (*cf.* p. 102, n. 1). Gorgias was the teacher of Isocrates, and Isocrates was the epideictic orator *par excellence*—the founder of a school both in style and theme. Thus epideictic oratory was, in its earliest stages, more intimately connected with poetry than were the other two branches—the judicial and the deliberative.<sup>2</sup> Poetry, too, is by its very nature and scope more closely connected with epideictic oratory than with that of the court or the assembly, whose chief function it is to marshal facts and work out definite conclusions by argument and close logical reasoning. Poetry has a wide domain. It teaches and inspires; it is profound, sublime, pathetic; it exerts a most powerful influence upon the noblest qualities of man's heart and mind. But to give pleasure is also its legitimate function and in many forms certainly its chief aim. Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> Eratosthenes (as quoted by Strabo, I, 2, 3), and others regarded it as the chief mission of poetry to give gratification, though there existed earlier than this and persisting along with it the theory that the poet is primarily a teacher.<sup>4</sup> Poetry stirs the depths of human emotions, but it also has its lighter forms which move only the surface. Under its delicate transforming touch trite or commonplace

<sup>1</sup> His debt to Empedocles and Heraclitus is referred to on p. 214, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For the general dependence of oratory on poetry, *cf.* Cic., *Orat.*, 20, 66 ff.; *De Or.*, I, 16, 70; III, 7, 27; Hor., *Sat.*, I, 4, 45 ff.; Tac., *Dial.*, 20; Quintil., X, 2, 21; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, II, 5, 65 ff.; Dion. of Hal., *De Comp. Verb.*, 25 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetics*, XXVI, 7; XIV, 2; *Met.*, I, 1, 918b, 17 ff.; *Pol.*, V, 5, 1339b, 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, chaps. 4 and 5; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 338-44, esp. 343-4:

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,  
Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.

thoughts may assume attractiveness and æsthetic value through the charm of poetic clothing and imaginative treatment. Epideictic oratory seems far removed from poetry. The two are, indeed, not comparable in power or value to humanity, and yet these latter characteristics of poetry belong also to a certain extent to some branches of epideictic literature. An examination of this department of oratory indicates that poetry, especially in its lighter forms, has by its very nature and aim far more in common with it than with any other branch of prose, if indeed one be permitted to compare the well-founded and enduring with that which was to a large extent hollow and artificial, possessing only occasional elements of permanent value. A consciousness of a special connection between epideictic oratory and poetry in theme and diction runs throughout the course of this branch of literature, but is particularly noticeable at its beginning and near its close—the end of the fifth century B. C. and the fourth A. D. The epideictic orator seems constantly to have the poet in mind as he speaks. Isocrates in the early stages of this style of oratory employs what becomes a commonplace. Near the beginning of the *Euagoras* he laments that orators have not the license of poets to employ myths, meter, rhythm, figurative language, ornamentation of every form.<sup>1</sup> However, he will attempt “to praise a good man in prose not less effectively than poets have done in song.” In *Antidosis*, 45 ff., he speaks of the prose styles as not less in variety than those of poetry. The expression τῶν μετὰ μέτρου ποιημάτων is used here and elsewhere as though the addition of μετὰ μέτρου were necessary to mark the distinction between this and a prose which might claim the term ποίημα with almost equal justice.<sup>2</sup> He compares his own speech to poetry—“all would call them more like those made μετὰ μουσικῆς καὶ ῥυθμῶν than those spoken in the dicastery, for they present

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mayor, “Licentia Poetica,” *Jour. of Phil.*, X (1879), 260 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dion Chrysostomus, XII (I, 214, Dind.), συγγραφῆας ἡδίστους ἐμμέτρων καὶ ἀμέτρων λόγων; Libanius, Or. V (I, 225, 10 R), ποιητῆς ὕμνον ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ῥητορικὸς ὕμνον ἀνευ μέτρου; Isoc., *Ad. Nic.*, 7; Strabo, I, 2, 6; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 234 E, 236 D—both refer to the author of the first oration of the *Phaedrus* as ποιητῆς; Pindar, *Pyth.*, I, 94, καὶ λογίοις καὶ δαιδοῖς; *Nem.*, VI, 33.

deeds in a more poetic and varied style, more elevated and fresh, and adorned with more and brighter figures. The hearers are not less pleased than with those made in meter . . . ." (*Antid.*, 46, 47; Cic., *Orat.*, 52, 175). Isocrates, when he saw that poets had the advantage over orators, used poetic qualities for variety and pleasure. Compare with this Himerius of the fourth century A. D.: Or. III, 1: "Gladly would I adapt these words to the lyre and make them poetry, that I might sportively praise thee as Simonides and Pindar do Dionysus and Apollo." Or. 14, 10: "I shall not address you in Lesbian strains, for I am not a poet, but shall speak without meter." Or. 14, 5: "The art of oratory to my injury does not grant me the lyre and barbiton, but a prose muse." *Ecl.*, 13, 32: "Would that I could invoke the winds as a poet, but alas I have not poetic strains to utter." *Ecl.*, 12, 7: "Had I the poet's power, I would show, etc."<sup>1</sup> This affectation of the orator's inferiority is a special characteristic of Himerius; cf. Choricus, p. 48, l. 7 (Bois.): "A poet would have honored thy grave with poetic offerings, but I without meter, for I am not a poet."<sup>2</sup> Procopius, *Epistolographi*, p. 568, 37, exclaims: "Would that I were a poet; of a truth I would call on Apollo and the muses too, saying, give me power to speak (*εἰπεῖν*)." The epistolographers abound in similar passages.

The epideictic orators, especially those living after the beginning of the Christian era, are more inclined to employ quotations from the poets. They are frequently quoted in the ordinary sense of that term; more often the quotation is worked in without indication of its author or of the fact that it is a quotation.<sup>3</sup> Frequently a passage from a poet or an entire poem forms the theme of an epideictic discourse. Dionysius of Halicarnassus enjoins upon those who compose *ἐπιθαλάμια* in prose the use of *Od.*, VI, 183, as a text. It is, perhaps, not fanciful to compare

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also like expressions in *Ecl.*, 13, 25; 21, 3; Or. 1, 20; IV, 3; IV, 9; XIV, 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristides' hymn to Serapis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hermogenes *περὶ γλυκύτητος*, Sp. II, 362-4, and *περὶ χρήσεως ἔπων ἐν πᾶσι λόγοις*; Quintil., I, 8, 1.

the vagrant and promiscuous delivery of speeches, as in the cases of Dion Chrysostomus and Himerius, with the wandering life of the early bards.<sup>1</sup> Epideictic oratory is also directly and intimately connected with poetry in its theme. Menander in his treatise *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* recognizes nearly thirty varieties of epideictic speech, differing enough in theme and treatment to merit separate mention. A large proportion of these—all the leading divisions—are more or less direct continuations of forms long before firmly established in poetry. The subordinate themes are largely subdivisions or are easily derivable from these, thus making epideictic literature in a broad sense dependent upon poetry. The *ὑμνοι*, the *ἐπιθαλάμιος*, and some other themes especially allied to the poetic, are treated in some detail elsewhere (see pp. 174 ff. and 179 f.). The *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* is probably the earliest form of epideictic oratory and one of the earliest uses of prose. This certainly has its analogue, if not its direct antecedent, in such poetic compositions as the Linus song, the lament of Hecuba, of Andromache or Helen over Hector, or of Briseis over Patroclus, and the *θρήνοι* of the intermediate period. The *μονωδία* is of the same nature as the *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος*. It corresponds much more closely to poetic models. Menander (Sp. III, 434, 11) calls the laments in Homer *μονωδαίαι*, and says they may teach us, who are not experienced, how to form such speeches.<sup>2</sup>

The *ἐγκώμιον* in general is but a continuation of the same thing in poetry; Hermogenes (Sp. II, 11, 23, *περὶ ἐγκωμίου*) explains the origin and application of the term from the fact that the poets sang (*ᾄδειν*) their hymns in honor of the gods anciently in villages, *ἐν κώμαις*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Himer., VI, 4. The troubadours have often been compared to the early bards.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sappho (Hiller, 63, 105); Simonides' epitaph over those who died at Thermopylae; Eur., *Suppl.*, 857 ff.; *Alc.*, 435 ff.; *Phen.*, 1485 ff.; Bion, *Lament for Adonis*; Moschus, *Lament for Bion*; Hor., *Odes*, I, 24; II, 9; Propert., IV, 7, 18; V, 11; and in later times "Astrophel on the Death of Sidney," Arber, *Eng. Reprints*, V, 1; *Spenser Soc. Pub.*, Daniel's "Funeral Poem on the Death of the Earl of Devonshire;" Tenn., *In Memoriam*, etc., *ad infinitum*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aphthonius, Sp. II, 35, 26; Theon, Sp. II, 109, 27; (*ἐν κώμῳ*), Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 479, 4; Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. lxxvi (see p. 115, n. 1).

The praise of a city or country is one of the most frequent topics, but Sophocles had prepared the way for such compositions by his celebrated praise of Attica., *O. C.*, 668-720; compare also Eur., *Hec.*, 905 ff. (Troy); *Medea*, 824 ff. (Athens); *Odes* of Pindar; Anon. Comic Poet, Kock, III, *Adespota*, 340; Horace, *Odes*, I, 7 (Tibur); II, 6; Ausonius, ed. Peiper, pp. 144-54; Catul., 17; *Poet. Lat. Minores*, Baehrens, *passim*.

Praise of a person enters into many forms of epideictic speech besides its special development in the βασιλικὸς λόγος. Such poetry as the odes of Pindar, besides supplying the prototype for the occasional address in general, and perhaps for the πανηγυρικός,<sup>1</sup> may easily have suggested the idea (or encouraged it, if already formed) of making an individual, his ancestry, deeds, virtues, and the myths suggested by the theme, the subject of a brief discourse. For its connection with the βασιλικὸς λόγος, see pp. 129 f. Isocrates' expression in the *Euagoras* (see p. 168) implies that he had in mind some such poetic compositions; compare also the κλέα ἀνδρῶν of Achilles. Euripides (*Troades*, 800 ff.) has a praise of Telamon. There are also set speeches of this character found in the *Seven Against Thebes*, and in Eur., *Suppl.* Idyl 17 of Theocritus is a praise of Ptolemy, an excellent example of a βασιλικὸς λόγος.<sup>2</sup>

The κλητικὸς λόγος<sup>3</sup> must be referred to the same origin as the κλητικὸς ὕμνος, *q. v.*, pp. 174 f. The herald's speech in the

<sup>1</sup> Peacock in his *Essay on the Four Ages of Poetry* (in Shelley's *Defense of Poetry*, ed. Cook, Ginn & Co., 1891, p. 47) speaks of the panegyric origin of poetry: "The first or iron age of poetry is that in which rude bards celebrate in rough numbers the exploits of ruder chiefs. Poetry is thus in its origin panegyric."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Idyl 16; Pindar, see pp. 129 f.; Claudian, *Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti*, and several others; *Laus Pisonis*; *Poet. Lat. Min.* (Baehrens), I, 225 *et passim*; Tibullus, IV, 1; Propertius, IV, 11; V, 6; Hor., II, 1; IV, 2, 4, 6, 14, 15; cf. also Southey, "Βασιλικὸς to the Prince Regent;" and innumerable other mediæval and modern instances.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hor., I, 17, 20; III, 29; IV, 5; Catullus, 35; Propert., IV, 22; Juvenal, XI, 182 ff.; Ausonius (Peiper), *ad Paulum*, p. 228; and in modern times such poems as Tennyson, "Invitation to the Isle of Wight," addressed to Rev. F. D. Maurice.

*Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, 503 ff., furnishes a good model for the address of welcome—*ἐπιβατήριος λόγος*; compare also the chorus in the *Agamemnon*, 783 ff.; Agamemnon's speech, 810; Clytemnestra's words, 855 ff.; Eur., *Herac.*, 297 ff.; Hor., *Odes*, I, 36; II, 7; III, 14; and such modern poems as Dryden on the "Restoration of Charles the Second;" Maxwell on "Cromwell's Return from Ireland," etc.

The words of Odysseus on taking leave of the Phaeacians are cited by Menander as an instance of a *συντακτικὸς λόγος*; compare also Euripides, *Herac.*, 558 ff.; *Hec.*, 444 ff.; Catul., 46; Propert., IV, 21.

For the *προπεμπτικὸς λόγος* compare Callimachus, *Frag.*, 114; Theoc., VII, 52; Ennius, pp. xci and 165 (ed. Vahlen); Tibul., I, 3; III, 3; Propert., I, 17; Statius, *Silvae*, III, 2; Ausonius, 4th idyl; Hor., *Odes*, I, 3; III, 27; *Epode* I; *Epode* X is an *ἀντιπροπεμπτικὸς*; *Poet. Lat. Min.* (Baehrens), VI, p. 323, *Propempticon Pollionis*; Ovid, *Am.*, 2, 11; compare also Falconer, "Ode on the Departure of the Duke of York;" Dryden, "To Her Royal Highness the Duchess on a Victory and a Journey;" Richardson, "To a Friend Embarking on a Voyage," etc.

For the *γενεθλιακὸς λόγος* see pp. 142 ff.

The *πανηγυρικὸς λόγος* and the *παναθηναϊκός*, though they differ much in theme from the grand poems, like those of Pindar and Bacchylides, which these or similar occasions called forth, so far as we can judge, cannot be separated in thought. There are even many similarities in contents. The directions given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus approach more nearly poetic treatment (*e. g.*, Pindar's *Odes*) than existing prose specimens. Hermogenes (Sp. II, 405, 7) lauds Plato as the model for panegyric writing in prose, as Homer is the poet panegyrist. He introduces panegyric in poetry with the remark: *πανηγυρικὸν γὰρ πρᾶγμα δῆπουθέν ἐστι ποιήσις ἅπαντα καὶ πάντων τε λόγων πανηγυρικώτατον*. Rohde (*Griechische Roman*, 335) has good foundation for his belief that the *εἰκόνες* of Philostratus, Choricus, and others are prose continuations of such poetic compositions as

Homer's description of Achilles' shield and the *Heraclēs' Shield* of Hesiod.<sup>1</sup>

Euripides has examples of the *πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος*, e. g., *Heraclidae*, 134 ff. The *προτρεπτικὸς λόγος* is a continuation of the parenetic and moralizing element in Homer, Pindar, and especially the gnomic poets; compare Cic., *Hortensius* or *De Philosophia*; Ausonius (Peiper), 259, *προτρεπτικὸς ad Nepotem*.

With Menander's rules for praise of a country compare Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*.

Besides this general relation to the themes of poetry, there is also in some cases a much closer relationship. Several special forms of epideictic oratory do not merely find their germ in poetry, as in the cases just mentioned, but come by direct transference. The early centuries of the Christian era witnessed a most remarkable development of epideictic literature, reaching its culmination in the fourth century A. D. One of its most notable features was its attitude toward poetry. We find here the antithesis to the earliest days of Greek prose. Then all expression tended to employ poetic forms. Prose had to win its way against opposition. The fourth century A. D. presents a situation in many respects the reverse.<sup>2</sup> Poetry was now in a position of insignificance, almost extinction, and prose was held in high esteem. Not content with poetic features which had always characterized epideictic speech, orators not only employed these with much greater freedom and frequency in highly colored forms, using "poetic properties not as spice but as food," but also made conscious imitation and transference of themes popularly regarded as poetic only.<sup>3</sup> Prose poems of three classes were composed and declaimed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Anacreontea*, 52 (35); 55 (50); *Anth. Pal.*, Book II; Ausonius (Peiper), 331 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For comments upon a similar relative decline of poetry, as compared with prose, in the first half of the fourth century B. C., cf. Holm, *History of Greece*, III, 153. Cf. also Norden, *Ant. Kunstprosa*, I, 78.

<sup>3</sup> We may compare here similar compositions in modern times. Notable examples may be found in Tourguéneff's *Poems in Prose*, translated and published by Cupples, Upham & Co., 1883, and *Pastels in Prose*, from the French, translated by Merrill, with an introduction by W. D. Howells (Harper's), 1890. Howells makes the error of claiming the prose poem as peculiarly a modern



by epideictic orators—epithalamia (which existed in prose as early as the first century B. C.), hymns to the gods, poems on trifling or occasional topics, *e. g.*, spring, the rose, the nightingale, and the like. Menander (*cf.* pp. 110 ff.) in his *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (Sp. III, 333)<sup>1</sup> makes a general division of this branch of oratory into two classes according to theme: orations which deal with gods, and those which deal with men. The former are called *ῥυμοί*. He defines nine varieties: *κλητικός*, where the presence of a deity is invoked; *ἀποπεμπτικός*, addressed to a departing god; this is purely poetic; for explanation of this fact see Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, II, 336; *φυσικός*, a statement of the physical qualities of a god; *μυθικός* (for title *cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 265c), relating some myth; *γενεαλογικός*, referring to the ancestry and descendants; *πεπλασμένος*, fictions based on myths; *εὐκτικός* and *ἀπευκτικός*, precative and deprecatory hymns; *μικτός*, a combination of two or more of the preceding.<sup>2</sup> In another part of his treatise (Sp. III, 437) he gives most elaborate directions for the composition of a *σμιμβιακὸς λόγος*, which is addressed to Apollo and is in reality a prose hymn of elaborate character.<sup>3</sup> Menander composed one (Sp. III, 335, 24).

invention. *Cf.* also *Prose Fancies*, Richard Le Gallienne (1894); *Prose Idylls*, John Albee (1892); *Prose Idylls*, C. Kingsley (1873); *Prose Pastorals*, H. Sylvester (1887); *Prose by a Poet*, J. Montgomery (1824).

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* also Sp. II, 13, 22; 109, 24; 505, 5; III, 4, 14; Quintil., III, 7, 7; Philodemus, I, 219 (Sudhaus).

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note the even more minute subdivisions shown in the Greek descriptive titles prefixed to the odes of Horace in various manuscripts. They are discussed by Zarncke, *De Vocabulis Graecanicis quae traduntur in Inscriptionibus Carminum Horatianorum*, Diss. Phil. Argent., III, 215 ff. The following is a summary: *apotelestice*, III, 30; *dicanice*, II, 2; *diastolice*, III, 19; *encomiastice*, II, 2; IV, 2, 4, 8, 14; *enthusiastice*, II, 19; *erotice*, I, 8, 13, 19; IV, 1, 10, 11; *eucharistice*, I, 36; II, 19; *euctice*, I, 30, 41; II, 5; IV, 1; *hymnus*, I, 10, 12, 21; III, 22, 25; *hypothetice*, I, 6, 15; II, 16, 18; III, 16, 27; *lerke*, I, 23; *mentice*, III, 15; *paean*, IV, 5; *palinodia*, I, 16; *paraenetic*, I, 4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 18, 33; II, 3, 9, 17, 18, 20; III, 12, 14, 17, 21, 28, 29; IV, 7, 12, 13; *pragmatic*, I, 1, 11; II, 1, 7; III, 1; *prosagoreutice*, II, 8; *proseuctice*, I, 2, 35; III, 13, 13, 23; IV, 3, 5, 6; *carmen saeculare*; *prospphonetic*, I, 3, 5, 12, 20, 32, 37, 38; II, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12, 14; III, 11, 23, 27, 29; IV, 4; *protreptic*, I, 27; II, 4; *sylogistic*, III, 23; *symboleutice*, II, 3, 17; *threnus*, I, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* has much in common with the outline given in Menander. After a brief prelude he refers to the need of praise on

Menander mentions models for many of the types, and in some cases quotes. Here, as in his detailed treatment of the more distinctively prose forms, he claims for the epideictic branch everything which he regards as of an epideictic character, however fragmentary or brief it may be—even a single sentence—and regardless of the general literary character of the production in which it is imbedded (see p. 93), *e. g.*, Plato (many hymns), Sappho, Empedocles, Anacreon, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Sophocles, etc. Hymns to the gods form one of the earliest poetic themes, and they are also the most continuous. Menander cites Sappho, Anacreon, and Alcman as authors of *κλητικοὶ ὕμνοι*.<sup>1</sup>

He refers to Bacchylides as author of *ἀποπεμπτικοὶ ὕμνοι*. They were also called *προπεμπτικοί*. *Φυσικοὶ ὕμνοι* are rather poetic than prose, though Julian's hymns may be classed as *φυσικοί*. According to Menander, Plato contains several, *e. g.*, in the *Symposium*, where he refers to *Πόρος* and *Πενία*. He says (Sp. III, 337, 22) that in the *Critias* (passage lost) Plato calls the *Timaeus* a hymn of the All (*τὸ πᾶν*);<sup>2</sup> compare also Empedocles, Parmenides, Orpheus. For the *μυθικὸς ὕμνος* the models were Acusilaus, Hesiod. *Γενεολογικοὶ ὕμνοι* were written by Hesiod, Alcaeus, Orpheus, Plato. The examples of *πεπλασμένοι ὕμνοι* cited are Plato, *Phaedrus*, 242; *Sym.*, 186, 189, 203; Hesiod and Simonides. The *εὐκτικὸς ὕμνος* is found even in orators, when calling on the gods to witness. Menander (Sp. III, 342) quotes Demosth., *De Corona*, 225, 274; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 279 B; *Il.*, II, 412; X, 278; compare also, for other hymns, Soph., *O. T.*, 151; *Electra*, 1376; Orphic hymns: to Helios, p. 61 (Abel); to Zeus, p. 66; to Poseidon, p. 67; to Adonis, p. 88; Pindar, O. 1, 75, Aratus—the beginning of his *φαινόμενα*—is a hymn to Zeus; Catullus,

instrument and in song. He is god of the bow, of healing, of oracles; his benefits to mankind, his titles.

<sup>1</sup> Other examples in poetry are as follows: Homer, *Il.*, I, 37 (cited by Menander, Sp. III, 335, 13); Sappho, 5, 6, 61, 66, 67, 83, ed. Hiller; *Orphic Hymns* (Abel), p. 82; [Eurip.], *Rhes.*, 224; Pindar, fg. 122 (p. 219 Fennell, 87 Christ), *Nemean*, IX; Alcman, 21; Tibul., II, 1; Hor., I, 30; Ausonius, p. 331. Menander cites also Plato, *Phaedrus*, 237.

<sup>2</sup> Grote (*Plato*, Vol. IV, p. 217; London, Murray, 1888) falls into the error of attributing this to Menander.

34 (to Diana); Hor., I, 30, 31; III, 11, 26 (end); Tibullus, IV, 6. The great majority of hymns are naturally *μικτοί*, having as their elements two or more of the preceding forms, *e. g.*, Aesch., *Agamem.*, 160 (to Zeus); Soph., *Antig.*, 781 (to Eros); Eur., *Hip.*, 525; I. T., 1234; *Hel.*, 1300 (to Ceres and Cybele); *Ion*, 1048 (to Hecate); Sappho, 1, 7; Orphic hymns: Proclus, to the Sun; Callimachus, to Zeus, Apollo, Artemis; Homer, to Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, Demeter, etc.; Julian, see pp. 177 ff.; Tibullus, IV, 6; Hor. I, 10 (Mercury), 12 (to several gods), 18 (to Bacchus); II, 19 (to Bacchus); III, 4 (to Calliope), 18 (to Venus), 22 (to Diana), 25 (to Bacchus), 26 (to Venus), etc. Pindar makes a hymn of some form a part of almost every ode. He also wrote *ὑμνοι*, paeans, dithyrambs; compare also [Terpander], *Hymn to Zeus*, Alcman, Arion, Alcaeus, *Poet. Lat. Min.*, IV, 434, Baehrens.

How general was the writing of prose hymns can be judged only from the fact that Menander gives them so important and detailed a place in his treatment, and that this form of epideictic composition had reached such minute subdivision. We possess hymns as separate compositions from but few orators. Aristides is mentioned by Menander (Sp. III, 344) as an excellent model for *μικτοὶ ὑμνοι*. His hymn to Zeus begins with an *εὐκτικὸς ὕμνος*; denies the usual story of his birth and states his own belief; he presents in detail his qualities, his work for man as creator of the earth and source of all blessings. "I begin and end with this [*cf.* Homer, *Il.*, 9, 97, of Agamemnon; Theognis, 1-5, of Apollo; Thuc., XVII, 1; Pindar, N. II, 1; D. Chrys., *περὶ βασιλείας*; Theocr., XVII, 1; Aratus, *Phaen.*, 1; Hor., *Odes*, I, 12, 13; Vergil, *Ecl.*, III, 60], calling him leader and aid in every word and work, being himself alone primal author and completer of all." This hymn might easily take its initiative from such poetic antecedents as Callimachus' hymn to Zeus. They have some points of noticeable similarity. Both start with the question: How shall we best honor him? Both refer to the tradition of his birth in Crete, to deny it and substitute what they believe to be the truth. Both employ the *τόπος* of inadequacy; Zeus is

eternal (Aristides, p. 3, Dind.; Callim., 9), giver of all good (main theme of Arist.; Cal., at end); the gods are his servants through recognition of his superior power (Arist., pp. 9 and 10; Cal., 60–75); accomplishes his will with instantaneous swiftness (Arist., p. 5; Cal., 87 ff.); Aristides begins, Callimachus ends, with a prayer. His hymn to Athene opens with a prayer, stating that his hymn shall be a mingled *εὐχή* and *ῥυμος*. He dwells mainly upon her characteristics and benefactions; ends with a prayer. The hymn to Poseidon was composed for a *πανήγυρις* at the Isthmus. As in many of the hymns, there is an introduction of a purely personal character relating the circumstances of composition or delivery. The hymn follows largely the lines of a panegyric. He praises the place as well as the god. The hymns to Dionysus, Heracles, Asclepius (*cf.* Himerius, 22), the Asclepiadae, and Serapis repeat about the same *τόποι*. Aristides includes in the title of some of his hymns the word *μαντευτοί*, as though implying their inspiration. Aristides has other writings which closely approach the hymn in style and structure, *e. g.*, Or. 21, *παλινοφδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνη καὶ τῷ ταύτης ἀνοικισμῷ*; and 20, *μονοφδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνη*. These present more conscious elements of poetry than his other writings except the hymns. It (Or. 20) begins like a poem with a call of perplexity to Zeus—*ποίαν ἀρμονίαν ἀρμολάμενος*; p. 427, *ἔμελλες ἄρα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἄδασθαι δευτέρων σχετλιωτέρων*. The whole oration is in a style which lacks only meter to make it a poem. In Or. 21, p. 430, when he learned of the calamity, *μονοφδίας τινὰς ἦδον*, . . . *νῦν δὲ ἄρα μοι τὸν Στησίχορον μεμνήσασθαι τῇ παλινοφδία καὶ μὴ τότε ἀβούλητα ἄδοντα τὰκ τῶν εὐχῶν νυνὶ σιωπήσαι*. Compare also p. 322: *τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἄδουσι μὲν πάντες καὶ ἄσσονται*.

The two hymns of Julian—to the sun and to the mother of the gods—are far less worthy of the title “hymns,” if the definition is to be derived from existing specimens in poetry and prose. The two are usually classed as *φυσικοὶ*, though the term applies far more strictly to the hymn to the mother of the gods than to that addressed to the sun. It is, at least, an open question whether the latter should not be called *μικτός*. He follows

largely the same lines of thought as Aristides, except that the philosophical element is prominent. He begins with an introduction stating his interest in the subject, his qualifications, his inadequacy (*cf.* Aristides). Then follow elements of the *εὐκτικός, γενεαλογικός, πεπλασμένος, μυθικός*. A very close parallel might be made between this hymn and a *βασιλικὸς λόγος*. The hymn consistently addresses the sun as *βασιλεὺς*, and employs the familiar *τόποι*—inadequacy, boundless influence, ancestry, deeds, comparisons, the queen (the moon), benefits to subjects, separate praise of each (sun and moon), prayer. Libanius (I, 225, 10 ff., R.) calls Or. 5 a hymn to Artemis. It is offered in gratitude for recovery from illness (*cf.* Aristides' hymn to Asclepius). He speaks of her birth, qualities, etc., following the *τόποι* of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*; compare Callimachus' hymn to Artemis. The *Ὀλυμπιακός* (Or. 12) of Dion Chrysostomus is a hymn and is so recognized by him, though not in the title. He says (I, 219 Dind.): *ἐάν πως ἱκανοὶ γενώμεθα τήν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῆσαι λόγῳ βραχεῖ καὶ ἀποδέοντι τῆς ἀξίας, αὐτὰ που ταῦτα λέγοντες*. The oration deals with the sources of our knowledge of God, his attributes, the blessings received from Zeus. Himerius, Or. 7, 2, is a hymn to the sun; compare also 13, 7; 19, 3. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, has a hymn to Iris. He calls upon her by all her titles, enumerates her powers, and ends with a prayer. Plato has many passages which might be termed hymns.

Epiphanius is said to have written a hymn to Dionysus, see Suidas and Smith's *Class. Dict.*, s. v. Menander (Sp. III, 355) indicates that he was himself the author of a hymn to Apollo and perhaps of a *πεπλασμένος ὕμνος* (Sp. III, 341). Philostratus, *Vit. Apol. of Tyran.*, I, 14, speaks of a hymn to Memory.

The hymns of the early church were largely imitations of pagan originals. Gregorius Nazianzenus composed many based on the odes of Anacreon and his imitators. It is an interesting fact that among these there are two hymns in prose. Four others of about the same period are printed in Chatfield's *Songs and*

*Hymns of the Greek Christian Church* (1876). In the Eastern church from the eighth century on the vast mass of hymn literature was in measured prose.<sup>1</sup> These probably imitated the poetry of the Old Testament and the hymns and spiritual songs of the apostles.<sup>2</sup> Neale cites Eph. 5:14 and Rev. 4:8 as parts of prose hymns. But especially in the case of Gregorius the tendency of the time to employ prose for poetic purposes may well have been an important factor.

The epithalamium and its companion, the *γαμικὸς λόγος* (Dionysius of Halicarnassus) or *γαμήλιος* (Menander), were originally as distinctively poetic as the *ῥυμος* and were, to judge from the monuments, adopted into prose even earlier, though the only extant prose epithalamia are that of Himerius, in the fourth century A. D., and parts of one by Choricus, addressed to Zacharias. Such compositions must have been frequent early, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives detailed directions for the composition of a *γαμικός* to precede and an *ἐπιθαλάμιος* to follow marriage. He recognizes both as being poetic in nature, by using the words *ὑμνεῖν* and *ᾄδειν*. He terms the *γαμικὸς λόγος* a "hymeneal song." Menander says (Sp. III, 405, 19) poets have poetic *κατευναστικοί*, "and we shall not stand aloof, but will start out in rivalry." He uses the words *ὑμνεῖν* and *ᾄδειν* (Sp. III, 399 *et passim*), and, speaking of the guests contributing to the joy of the occasion (p. 400), he adds *ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω καὶ ᾄδω τοὺς γάμους*. Here and elsewhere the dual nature of the hymn and of the epithalamium is recognized. The words *ὑμνεῖν* and *ᾄδειν* are not used in the directions for the other *λόγοι* except in the sense of "sound the praises of," though a more indiscriminate use of those words came in with the next century. It would appear (p. 400) that Menander wishes to establish a precedent in antiquity for the use of prose in place of poetry at a wedding celebration. He says that at the marriage of Megacles and Agariste the best of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Anatolius and Ephraim Syrus; cf. *Philologus*. 44, 228 (Hanssen), and Christ and Parankas, *Anthol. Graeca Carminum Christianorum*; Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*; Neale, *Hymns of the Eastern Church*.

<sup>2</sup> Passages may be cited as follows: Luke 1:68-79; 2:14, 29-32; Eph. 5:19, 20; Col. 3:16, 17; 1 Tim. 6:15, 16; Titus 3:4-7; James 1:17; 2 Tim. 2:11-13.

the Greeks were present. There was no poet there, but prose writers did not fail. The orator spoke and the writer of prose read books, and all joined in hymning (*ἀνύμνον*) the marriage. Dionysius and Menander agree closely in the *τόποι* for this *λόγος*: the origin of marriage, its god, its necessity, its universality, its advantages, noted marriages, encomium of the bride and groom, comparisons, advice, prayer. Himerius follows the *τόποι* more closely than most extant speeches do their respective directions. In his preface he says that the best rule is to follow the diction of the poets, and at sec. 4 he refers to Sappho<sup>1</sup> as the singer of epithalamia *par excellence*, and his own model, though Apollo was the first to sing the marriage hymn. Menander cites Hesiod.<sup>2</sup>

#### Prose Poems on Occasional Topics.

Such compositions must have been numerous in the fourth century A. D. Though unlike the *ὑμνοι* and the *ἐπιθαλάμια*, they are not recognized in the rhetorical treatises, and comparatively few have come down to us. The following are known: Himerius, Spring (Or. III, 1-7; also IX and XXI); Choricus, Spring (p. 173, Boissonade); the Rose (pp. 129, 139, 143, 156, 176, 202, 282, 308; R. Foerster, *Philologus*, 54 (1895), 114; Procopius, Spring (cited in Bekk., *Anec.*, 143, 24); the Rose (Bekk., *Anec.*, 146, 26); compare also Achilles Tatius, the Rose in *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and the reference to Spring in Themistius (Or. 26), to the Nightingale (Or. 25) and to Spring in Libanius (Or. 4). All are brief; most are separate speeches; others, as all of those by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hermes*, 27 (1892), 249, Kaibel, noting the dependence of Theocritus, and incidentally also of Himerius, upon Sappho.

<sup>2</sup> For poetic epithalamia cf. *Iliad*, XVIII, 493, πολλὸς δ' ὑμέβαιος ὀρώρειν; Hesiod, *Shield*, 272 ff.; Sappho, 48, 49, 82, 89-103 (Hiller); Stesichorus; Theoc., XVIII; *Anacreontea*, 60; Catul., 61, 62, 64; Eurip., *Troad.*, 308; Arist., *Pax*, end; *Aves*, end; *Poet. Lat. Min.*, III, 387; Sen., *Medea*, 56 ff.; Statius, *Silvae*, I, 2, *Epithalamium in Stellam et Violentillam*; Claudianus, p. 93 of Teubner text, on the marriage of Honorius and Augusta; *Duodecim Pan. Vet.*, VI; Paulinus of Nola; Sidonius, Apollinaris; Dracontius; Ennodius; Luxorius; Venantius; Fortunatus; Ausonius; Licinius Calvus (p. 84, ed. Luc. Müller); Lemaire, *Lat. Poet.*, III, 337, 404, 406, 407, 397. Cf. also *English Epithalamia*, R. H. Case, editor (London, 1896).

Himerius and some of those by Choricus, are preludes, interludes, or epilogues in other speeches. These receive mention elsewhere; see pp. 187 f. Several of these prose poets reveal no slight native poetic power. Christ (3d ed., p. 808) justly estimates Himerius when he says that in him a good poet was changed from his natural direction to oratory. The same might be said, in a less degree, of Aristides. His hymn to Zeus, which he terms ὕμνος Διὸς ἄνευ μέτρου, and that to Athene are as truly poetic in composition and expression as many of those which take poetic form. The prose poems of Choricus of Gaza also contain traces of poetic power.

In addition to the three forms of direct transfer there are several ways in which the epideictic orator revealed his tendency to assume the poet's task: (1) in applying to his work terms appropriate only to poetry, and (2) in the use of poetic τόποι.

#### I. THE USE OF TERMS APPROPRIATE ONLY TO POETRY.

There is abundant evidence in the writings themselves that these writers felt that their work was poetic in its character. Aristides and Julian employ the word "hymn" to designate the orations addressed to the gods. This is true of Himerius in still more marked degree. Although he occasionally refers to poetry and oratory as two distinct forms of composition, he practically breaks down all division between them except the purely formal one of meter. He is fully as free to employ expressions implying that he is, in his own judgment, engaged in a poetic task when he is addressing a speech to a ruler, or is on an embassy, or lauding a city, or even delivering a *λαλιά* to his students, as when he composes an epithalamium or an ode to spring. He consciously identifies oratory and poetry. He is the servant of the muses; they inspire his oratory; his appeal is to Apollo and the muses; sometimes Hermes is added. Or. III, 9: *μουσικὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς κελεύεις ἐργάζεσθαι, αὐτοῖς ἐνδιδόνς τὸ σύνθημα, ὥσπερ ὁ θεὸς ταῖς Διὸς παρθένοις ταῖς Μούσαις.* Or. 13, 1, speaks of his *ἐρριμμένην καὶ ἄτιμον μουσαν.* Or. 13, 3: *ὅτι ἄρα Μούσαις χορεύειν βούλομαι.* Or. 14, 2: *μελῆ δὲ τὰ Μουσῶν λαβύοντας κελεύεις τοξεύειν Ἑλλησιν.*



Or. 14, 8: ἐδίδαξέ με τούτο πρόφην ἔφηβον ἢ ποιήσις· ὥστε δὴ καὶ παλινοφθίαν ἄσαι βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μουσηγέτου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπολογήσασθαι, τὸν μῦθον ἐκείνον αὐτὸν λαβών. Or. 14, 34: 'Αλλ', ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ὕμνοις ἄξιε καὶ ἔπεσιν ἄδεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ἐμοὶ καὶ λόγοις, οὓς καὶ ἐν σπαργάνοις αὐτοῖς πλαττομένους ἠγάπησας . . . . Ἄγε δὴ μοι πτεροῦσθε τὸ λοιπόν, ὃ λόγοι, καὶ τὸ κάτω μεθέντες πρὸς αἰθέρα τὸ ἐντεῦθεν φέρεσθε. πτεροὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὁ Μουσηγέτης. Or. 14 closes with an εὐκτικὸς ὕμνος to the muses. Or. 22, 6: ταῖς Μούσαις ὑφ' αἷς οἱ λόγοι ποιμαίνονται. Or. 18, 3: his school is addressed as the home of the muses. Julian, p. 170, 19 (Hertlein): ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τούτου παρασταίῃ βοηθὸς ὃ τε λόγιος Ἑρμῆς σὺν ταῖς Μούσαις ὃ τε Μουσηγέτης Ἀπόλλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῶ προσήκει τῶν λόγων, καὶ δοίεν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅποσα τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα λέγεσθαί τε καὶ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Cf. p. 206, where he begins the hymn to the sun with: φάναι . . . . γράφομεν . . . . ἐκλαλήσομεν, and p. 232, 11, where he uses the word ὕμνος. Compare also Dion Chrysostomus, Or. 32 (423, Dind.): πάντες δὴ ἄδουσι καὶ ῥήτορες καὶ σοφισταί, καὶ πάντα περαίνεται δι' ᾧδῆς, ὥστ', εἴ τις παρῖοι δικαστήριον, οὐκ ἂν γνοίῃ ῥαδίως πότερον ἔνδον πίνουσιν ἢ δικάζονται· κἂν σοφιστοῦ δὲ οἴκημα πλησίον ἢ οὐκ ἔσται γινῶναι τὴν διατριβήν. Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, I, 8, 7: ἔθειλγε δ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὃ ἐκείνοι μὲν ᾧδὴν ἐκάλουν, ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐφυμνείται. Themistius, Or. 28 (315c): ἄδειν καὶ προσάδειν. Compare also Or. 28 (341c); Or. 24 (301b); Libanius, Or. 13, p. 405. Such references in Himerius, Themistius, Aristides, and other orators might be multiplied indefinitely. Himerius compares himself with Sappho, Homer, Simonides; see *Ecl.*, XVII, 1; Or. I, 16; I, 4; V, 2; cf. Dion Chrysostomus, Or. I, p. 3, 8: Apollo, Persuasion, and the Muses must assist the speaker. Strabo (I, 12, 6), arguing that prose arose as an imitation of poetry, refers to the fact that in ancient times ἀεῖδειν was used for φράζειν. Himerius and other Sophists also use ἄδειν and its compounds in reference to their orations. If this word alone were used, it might be regarded as a mere affectation, but taken in connection with other evidence it appears that there was some effort to present their art as incorpo-

rating or supplanting poetry. It might be noted here that Dionysius and Menander observe a fairly consistent usage regarding ὕμνειν and ᾄδειν and the like. These words are used together with λέγειν in the directions for hymns and epithalamia, but in the other λόγοι, λέγειν alone, except in a few easily explicable cases. Himerius at least uses not only ᾄδειν, but the general terminology of poetry—μέλος, ὕμνος, φῶδή.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the references noted above, pp. 181 f., and such as *Ecl.*, XXXVI, 14: συγγνώμην δὲ ἅπας ἐχέτω καὶ γέρον καὶ νέος, εἰ ἔπη φθέγγομαι· οἶδε γὰρ οἶδεν ἔρωσ καὶ λόγον ποιεῖν αὐτόνομον; and Or. I, 6: γάμον ἄσσομεν . . . λόγον ἀναβιβάσαντες; Or. I, 4: ἀπαλὸν μέλος εὐρεῖν; Or. IV, 10: ὁ δὲ δὴ ὕμνος ἔστω τῷ χορῷ, τόνδε ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πλείστον Ἑλλήνων; Or. XI, 1: νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν τὸν ὄρθιον νόμον προσάσωμεν; Or. XV, 2: λόγος ἠγεισθὼ πρὸς Μουσῶν λειμῶνας καὶνάματα, ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς ἀπηνοῦς τὰ ἄσματα; Or. XVII, 1: λόγοι δὲ ἄρα θυσία Μουσῶν. Cf. also *Ecl.*, 13, 36; Or. III, 1; Or. VII, 5; VIII, 2. In Or. V, 3 ff., he compares poets and orators. Note also Choricus, p. 173, 5: not to speak would be dishonorable to the muse; 178, end, ἔαρ ᾄδων, and p. 200, “come, λόγοι, let us seek some other theme for song.”<sup>2</sup> One may note here *Epistolographi* (Julian), p. 342, xv: “we offer our speeches to you as to Hermes, god of eloquence . . . If you dislike them, cast them aside as foreign to the muses.” Compare also pp. 339, 21; 342, 38; 355, 19; 363, 2 and 40; 372, 51; 381, 40; 699, 33; 739, 15. Procopius (555, 63) speaks of a book being brought from Alexandria by the help of Hermes and the muses; Julian (337, 2) urges Libanius to send the λόγον in the name of Hermes and the muses; Procopius (568, 93): “Were I a poet, perhaps I would call on Apollo and the muses, saying, Give me power to speak (εἰπέιν).” Compare also Themistius, XIX, p. 277; Libanius, XIII, p. 405; Menander (Sp. III, 437, 13; 438, 5).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, 428.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Himerius, Or. I, 3; V, 9; IV, 8; VII, 2; IV, 1; IV, 3; X, 10; VI, 5; VII, 3; VII, 11; VIII, 6; IX, 2; XI, 1; XIII, 2; VIII, 3 (twice); XII, 7; XIII, 8; XIII, 12; XIV, 34; XIV, 36; XV, 1; XV, 2 (twice); XIV, 37; XVI, 1 and 2; XVI, 6 and 8; XVII, 2; XIX, 3; XX, 2; XXI, 8; XXII, 1; XXII, 6; XXIII, 19; XXIX, 1; *Ecl.*, XXXVI; *Ecl.*, XIII, 8; *Ecl.*, XII, 6; *Ecl.*, XII, 33; *Ecl.*, XIX, 1; *Ecl.*, XXXII.

II. POETIC *τόποι*.

As already noted, epideictic oratory had always employed many features which were primarily poetic. The early centuries of the Christian era saw this tendency much increased. Frequent use was now made of the *τόποι* and allusions heretofore regarded as the special and almost exclusive property of the poet. Those most common in the higher branches of poetry, especially the lyric and bucolic, were transferred to oratory and next to the direct imitation of poetic themes, like hymns and epithalamia, form the most noteworthy and easily recognizable evidence of the substitution of prose for poetry. Moschus' lament for Bion furnishes incidentally a good catalogue of such poetic "properties" employed by all poets from Sappho on. In his *μονοδία* he makes reference to the rose, hyacinth, nightingale, swan, muses, swallow, flute, rivers, groves, flowers in general, Aphrodite, and Adonis. To this list of commonplaces might be added the narcissus, the cicada, spring, the laurel, the Nile, the sun and stars, birds in general, painting, nature, and the like. Most of these topics deal with nature. The genuine love of nature so conspicuous in Theocritus, and occasionally found in earlier poets, evidently attracted the attention of epideictic orators, engaged as they were in the close study and conscious imitation of poets—especially the lyric poets, Sappho, Simonides, Anacreon, and Pindar. Their theory of the function of the epideictic orator led to the transfer of these from the domain of poetry to prose. While in most cases the imitation is in a high degree perfunctory and artificial—merely the machinery without the art—it would be hard to deny that Himerius presents at least some traces of a real love of nature. How thoroughly this practice of employing the devices of poetry permeated the writings of epideictic orators of that day, as well as their purely perfunctory use in most cases, may be inferred from Procopius (*Epist. Gr.*, p. 558, lxix): "Perhaps you will wonder why I, though I am a sophist and see the spring at hand, when speech should be poured forth in full volume, keep silent, and perhaps you seek in my letters flowers and swallows and the shifting of the sea, and Aphrodite and Adonis, and the rose."

Several of these τόποι admit of more detail. The rose is treated in poetry and in the prose-poetry of the orators: (1) as the special flower of the muses; *cf.* Theoc., *Erig.*, I, τὰ ῥόδα τὰ δρυσόεντα, καὶ ἅ κατὰπυκνος ἐκείνα | ἔρπυλλος κείται ταῖς Ἐλικωιάσι; (2) as connected with Aphrodite and the loves, especially in connection with the judgment of Paris, or the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis; (3) as the loveliest flower of spring.

Sappho is identified with the praise of the rose, though her poems on this topic are not extant; *cf.* Philostratus, *Epist. Gr.*, 481, li.

Were there no other poetic references, Homer had immortalized the rose by his oft-recurring phrase ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως. He refers to it elsewhere only in *Il.*, 23, 186, where the body of Hector is anointed ῥοδόεντι . . . . ἐλαίῳ | ἀμβροσίῳ. The *Anacreontea* pick up Homer's stock phrase and add others from Sappho and elsewhere, *e. g.*, 53 (53), εἰς τὸ ῥόδον.

Στεφανηφόρον μετ' ἦρος  
μέλομαι ῥόδον τέρεινον

ῥοδοδάκτυλος μὲν Ἥως,  
ῥοδοπήχες δὲ Νύμφαι,  
ῥοδόχρους δὲ κάφροδίτα  
παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν καλεῖται.

ῥόδον, ὃ φέριστον ἄνθος [42 (5)],  
ῥόδον εἶαρος μέλημα  
[ῥόδα καὶ θεοῖσι τερπνά].

*Cf.* also 47 (37), 1; 33 (40), 2; 7 (15), 7; 4 (18), 4; 5 (59), 2.

Frequent reference to the rose is found in Theocritus and the lyric poets. Meleager (Headlam), IV, "the rose fairest of flowers;" XXIX, "love's favorer;" XXXVIII, "spring and the rose;" Simonides, Bergk (Hiller), pp. 231, 6; 258, 146; 316, 21. Compare also Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, which

contains a rose song in prose; Bion, *Adonis*, ll. 15, 65; Moschus, II, 40, 63; III, 5; Callimachus, *Bath of Pallas*, 28; Himerius, *passim*; Johannes Secundus, I; *Pervigilium Veneris*; Ausonius, pp. 113, 419, *de rosis nascentibus*, Idyl 14; Horace, II, 11; *Poet. Lat. Min.*, IV, 278; innumerable passages in modern poets. Choricus celebrates the rose in a prose poem *περὶ ῥόδου*, p. 129 (Bois.). This contains the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis. The rose is supposed to gain its color from the blood of Aphrodite, wounded in her hasty search for her slain love. Aphrodite is often connected with the rose in poetry; compare *Anacreontea*, 53 (53). For the myth compare Bion, *Lament for Adonis*, 20, "as she goes, the brambles tear her and pluck her sacred blood;" 34, "flowers redden from grief;" 65, "Adonis pours forth tears and blood . . . the blood begets the rose, the tears the anemone" (cf. Pseudo-Theoc., 30); *Pervigilium Veneris*, "her blood tinges the rose;" compare Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*. This myth is a favorite one with Choricus. It is found in the Bois. ed., pp. 129, 143, 176, 139, 156, 308, and R. Foerster, *Philologus*, 54 (1895) 114; compare also p. 202, *διαλέξεις περὶ ῥόδου*, where the rose is represented as winning the prize of beauty for Aphrodite from Paris. The myth is frequently met in the *Poet. Lat. Min.* It was also a stock topic in the schools; compare a *διήγημα*, given as an example, Aphthonius (Sp. II, 22, 14, and Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 241).

The epideictic activity of the period took in part the form of epistles. The specimens preserved present not only much of a general epideictic character, but also many instances of the introduction of poetic features comparable to that of the orators of the same period. Some of these epistolographers were also epideictic orators. Though their orations are not preserved, the character of their oratory may be fairly inferred from the letters. The general tendency of epistolography to assume artificial, epideictic form may be seen from the statement made by Proclus, *περὶ ἐπιστολεμαίου χαρακτήρος*. He says (Didot ed., p. 6): τῷ γράφειν βουλομένῳ προσήκει μὴ ἀπλῶς μῆδ' ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπιστέλλειν; ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ τέχνῃ; and again (p. 7): τὴν ἐπιστολὴν

κατακοσμεῖν . . . . μὴ μέντοι γε πέρα τοῦ προσήκουτος κομπολογία χρῆσθαι (p. 7). Apollonius of Tyana (p. 113, end) says there are five kinds of speeches; one of these is epistolary. Proclus defines forty-one classes into which letters may be divided according to contents or occasion (p. 7). Demetrius Phalereus(?), writing on the same subject, mentions twenty-one, giving a model for each. The following selections from the titles indicate the epideictic character: *σοστατικός*, commendatory, a letter of introduction containing praise of the person introduced; *μεμπτικός*, reprehensive, and *ὀνειδιστικός*, objugatory, reproaching one who makes no return for benefits received; *παραμυθητικός*, consolatory; *ἐπιτιμητικός*, blaming for a fault; *ἐπαινετικός*, laudatory; *συγχαριστικός*, congratulatory; *ἀπευχαριστικός*, conveying thanks, a *gratiarum actio*; *μικτός*, mixed. With the above compare the list of topics given in Quintilian, III, 4, 3, as suitable for epideictic oratory. The poetic commonplaces above referred to are found also among the epistolographers, *e. g.*, the rose is one of the stock references; compare p. 468, 1, Philostratus: "roses with leaves as though wings have hastened to come to thee. Receive them as memorials of Adonis or of Aphrodite's loss of blood [*cf.* Choricus, etc.; see p. 186] or as the eyes of the earth."<sup>1</sup>

Spring is the rival of the rose and often connected with it. The epideictic prose poems on this theme may easily be a continuation of such lyric trifles as Bion, III (VI); *cf.* also *Anacreontea*, 44 (37), 62. References to spring and its joys are frequent in poets from Homer down. Prose poems on spring are extant in the works of Himerius, and there is evidence that Procopius wrote one (Bekk., *Anec.*, 143, 24); compare also Themistius, Or. 26, and Libanius, Or. 4.

Himerius says (Or. III, 1-7) that he would praise spring as Simonides and Pindar do Dionysus and Apollo. He prays for the power of Anacreon; quotes from him: "Spring has appeared as Homer's breeze to weary sailors, as evening to those awaiting Aphrodite's dance." He details the blessings of spring (secs. 3-7).

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* also the other letters of p. 468; *cf.* 474 top (Philostratus); also 473, xvii; 474, i; 480, xxi; 470, xx; 482, lv; 482, x; 485, lxiii; 568, xlix; 535, lxxvi; 535, clxi; 468, xxxiv; 468, lvii, sec. 5; Libanius, *Ep.*, 1587.

The whole forms a prelude to an address to Basileius delivered at the Panathenaic festival at the beginning of spring. Oration 9 begins with a hymn to spring. Oration 21 contains a praise of spring. More notable is the prose poem *περὶ ἔαρος* by Choricus (p. 173, Bois.). He begins with the commonplace about the passing of gloomy winter and silence; song comes with the spring. For the thought compare Theocritus, XII, 3, "spring is sweeter than winter;" XVII, 52, "the evils of winter;" Horace, I, 4; IV, 7; compare *Epistolographi*, p. 738, Synesius: "In winter, silence; when spring comes we write;" p. 550, end, Procopius: "Winter is over, sing the sweetness of spring;" 535: "We break silence with the winter" (*cf.* p. 534); *cf.* Homer, *Od.*, IV, 566, Elysium has short winter; and VI, 44, on Olympus snow does not fall; compare also Lucretius, III, 20 ff. Choricus, pp. 173 ff., speaks of the joy of birds, music, flowers, and calm seas, the farmer's joy, and is led into the myth of Hyacinthus and that of Aphrodite and Adonis. He ends with a prayer. There is a likeness between his oration and *Anacreontea*, 44 (37). On the same topic and of like nature is his *ἡθοποιία ποιμένος*, p. 134: such a speech as a shepherd would make as the spring shines forth after a hard winter. Its *τόποι* are similar—the calm sea, dance of the muses, flowers, birds, peace everywhere, the ills of winter, narcissus, hyacinthus, may I behold the spring again; compare also his *ἡθοποιία ἐμπόρου*, a speech which a merchant would make at the appearance of spring. It runs over the same *τόποι*, ending with Aphrodite and the rose. See also frag. β', p. 281 (Bois.), and ρκζ', p. 304, which seem to come from orations on spring. Menander calls for a praise of spring in his rules for the *γενεθλιακὸς λόγος*, and also in speaking of the climate of a city.<sup>1</sup>

The nightingale is the companion of the rose and spring. There is reference in Themistius to orations on the nightingale. In Greek verse its praises were sung by Sappho, 37 (36), *ἦρος*

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Aphthonius, Sp. II, 36, 3; *cf.* Sappho, 124; Meleager, 38, celebrates spring and the rose; Theoc., 9, 34; 8, 45; 13, 45; *Anacreontea*, 4 (18), 53 (53); Themistius, 336c; 330; Hor., *Od.*, I, 4; II, 6, end; IV, 7, 1-4, 12; *Pervigilium Veneris, in it.*; Ausonius, *de Veri Primo*, p. 164; *Poet. Lat. Min.*, IV, 132; *cf.* also *Epistolog.*, 738, 763, 1; 783, 71; 546, 36; 372, 44; 780, 61.

ἄγγελος ἰμερόφωνος ἀηδῶν. Simonides, 56 (120), εἴτ' ἀηδόνες πολυκώτιλοι χλωραύχενες, εἰαριναί. Hermogenes (Sp. II, 3, 4), discussing the μῦθος as a part of the προγυμνάσματα, says that the ancients used myths: Ἡσίοδος μὲν τὸν τῆς ἀηδόνος (μῦθον) εἰπῶν. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 203; Soph., *Electra*, 149, calls the nightingale Zeus' messenger, because, adds the scholiast, it is the sign of spring.<sup>1</sup>

Associated with the three preceding is the τόπος the swallow. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 568: "After winter the swallow comes with its plaint at dawn to the sight of men, when spring is fresh." Simonides, 57 (21):

ἄγγελε κλυτὰ ἔαρος ἀδυόδμου,  
κνανέα χελιδοί. [Cf. Sappho, 86 (52).]

"The Spring Song," Hiller, p. 318:

ἦλθ', ἦλθε χελιδῶν,  
καλὰς ὥρας ἄγουσα  
καὶ καλοὺς ἐμμαντοὺς, etc.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Theoc., I, 136; V, 136; VIII, 38; XII, 7; XV, 121; *Epig.*, IV, 11; Moschus, III, 9, 38; Callim., *Bath of Pallas*; Arist., *Birds*, 676; Theognis, 934 (939); Meleager, 38, "poets are nightingales." The same thought is in *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 414; Aesch., *Ag.*, 1144, 1146; Themistius, 336c, 330; Aristides, XX (428, Dind.); Philost., *V. S.*, 4; Soph., *O. C.*, 672, makes the nightingale one of the charms of Colonus; Eur., *Ion*, 1482; *Hel.*, 1110; *Hec.*, 337; *Poet. Lat. Min.*, V, 363, 368; Choricus, p. 137, speaks of spring and the nightingale; cf. p. 280, myth of Procne and Philomela; Aristides, I, 428; Themistius, 64, 32 (54a), 405, 24 (336b); Himerius, Or. III, 3 (twice); I, 5; V, 14; XIV, 11; XVIII, 4; XXII, 6; *Ecl.*, 12, 5; 13, 8, 35; 23, 1. *Ecl.*, 12, 5, the poet is compared with the nightingale and the cicada; cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 85a; *Epistolog.*, p. 96, sec. 9; 136, top; 580, 120; Libanius, *Ep.*, 532: "enough for me to sing (ἔδειν) like the nightingale." Dion Chrysostomus was called ἀηδῶν σοφιστῶν; Euripides called Socrates πάνσοφον ἀηδόνα μουσῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Themistius, 336c, 330; *Anacreontea*, 9 (12), 25 (33); Moschus, III, 38; *Anth. Pal.*, X, 1: "Happy sailors, for the swallow now flies and storms are o'er;" Aelian, *de Natura An.*, X, 34; Choricus, 172, 3; 136, 4, 14; 291, 10; Himerius, Or. III, 3; VI, 3; IX, 1; XIV, 8; XIV, 35; XXXIV, 7; *Ecl.*, XXIII, 1; Plato, *Phaedo*, 85b; *Epistolographi*, 535, 24; 534, 39; 372, 44: "the swallow announces the spring;" 546, 36; 550, end; 557, 35: "one swallow does not make the spring" (cf. Arist., *Eth. N.*, I, 7, 15); Liban., *Ep.*, p. 777a; Hor., IV, 12; *Epist.*, I, 7, 12-43; Vergil, *Georg.*, IV, 305; Liban. speaks of letters as



Synesius (*Epist. Gk.*, 7631) makes an elaborate comparison between orators and the cicada. He says it begins its song on the first appearance of spring; it is more tuneful at mid-day, as though drunk with the sun's rays; makes the tree its bema and the field its theater, and offers music to passers-by. We gird ourselves to sing your virtues. Poets are compared to cicadas (486 mid., 556, 40; 4, 36; 135, end; 339, 2); Libanius, *Ep.*, 1219, compares eloquence to the cicada, and in 304 compares poets and Sophists; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 259a-e; Libanius (Wolf ed. of *Ep.*), p. 34; Sophists are called cicadas, Liban. (Wolf), p. 290; Arist., *Birds*, 1095, "divine cicada maddened by sunlight;" 783, 69; 377, 16; 780, 61; 534, 61.<sup>1</sup>

The swan is the bird of Apollo, prophetic, the type of the poet. Plato, *Phaedo*, 85b; Oppian, *Cyneg.*, II, 548, *κύκνοι μαντιπόλοι*; Lycophron, 426—the souls of poets become swans; Plato, *Rep.*, 620a; Horace, II, 20; *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 19; Themistius, 405, 24 (336b); Pratinus, Hiller, p. 268, 5; Diogenes Laertius, III, 7, refers to Plato's being like a swan. Socrates dreamed of a swan and next day heard of the birth of Plato. Menander (Sp. III, 436, 27, *μονοδία*) refers to the grief of the swan on the death of its mate. Callimachus, hymn to Apollo, 5; to Delos, 249—minstrels of the gods . . . . birds of the muses . . . . most tuneful of winged creatures.<sup>2</sup>

swallows (Wolf, p. 50); cf. Julian, *Letters*, p. 53, 536, 5; Homer, *Od.*, XXI, 411. Menander (Sp. III, 436, 27) refers in his *μονοδία* to the sorrow of the swallows. In Greece still on the first of March children sing on the streets and carry a wooden swallow; cf. *Class. Rev.*, Feb., '91, Vol. V, p. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Other references to the cicada may be noted: Homer, *Il.*, III, 151; Hesiod, *W. and D.*, 585; *Shield of H.*, 390; Simonides, 164 (231); 166 (224); Pratinus, 2; Theoc., I, 148; IV, 16; V, 29, 110; VII, 139; IX, 31; *Anacreontea*, 32 (43); *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 372, 373, *et passim*; Alcaeus, 43 (28); Choricus, p. 140 *et passim*, to p. 141, end; Themistius, 299, 15 (246a), 405, 24 (336b); Himerius, *Ecl.*, 10, 5; 12, 5; 13, 30, 35; 23, 1; Or. VI, 3; IX, 1; X, 1; XIV, 11; XVII, 3; XIX, 2; XXII, 6; VII, 4; XI, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Arist., *Birds*, 870; Eur., *I. T.*, 1104; *El.*, 151; Aesch., *Ag.*, 1444; Theoc., V, 137; XXV, 130; Moschus, 3, 14; *Anacreontea*, 58 (fg. 1); Johannes Secundus, 1; Julian, 236a (306, Hertlein), refers to the swan as a commonplace. Aristides, Or. XX (428, Dind.); Choricus, 173, 6; Himerius, Or. III, 4; VI, 1; VI, 2; XII, 7; XIII, 12; XIV, 7, 20, 36; XVII, 3; XVIII, 4;

The germs or fully developed antecedents of the most important *λόγοι ἐπιδεικτικοί* may be clearly discerned, as we have seen, in Greek poetry preceding or contemporaneous with the birth of epideictic oratory. When with the development of poetic features the effort was made to supplant poetry by prose, upon *a priori* grounds one would expect that in whatever struggle arose the most stubborn resistance would be made over the hymns to the deity. The hymn would be defended as involving a religious propriety as well as through literary feeling. The strife between prose and poetry as to the proper confines of each, if there was one, passed almost in silence for us. The monuments show but little trace of it, but there are indications of discussion, especially upon the propriety of using prose for the hymns to the gods. Strabo, of the first century A. D., discusses the relations of prose and poetry for a different purpose—defending the poet against the dictum of Eratosthenes, that the aim of the poet is gratification, not teaching. He adds: "Men of our day even say that the poet only is wise" (I, 2, 4). This was quite in harmony with the prevailing Greek view of the poet as a teacher. The most important utterance is that by Aristides (second century A. D.). He is the earliest writer of prose hymns as a separate composition, and his extended defensive discussion of the subject seems conclusive evidence that the propriety of employing prose for the heretofore exclusively poetic theme was one of the burning questions of the day. As to how much wider the discussion was, or how general, it is unsafe to attempt an inference. But it is indicative of its importance that Aristides should give up nearly one-half of his hymn to Serapis to a comparison of the relative merits of prose and poetry, and the defense of the former for any purpose, even a hymn to a deity. The following is his line of thought. He begins in a somewhat ironical tone. Happy the race of poets (see p. 168). They can take any topic they choose—incredible, untrue, non-existent—and deal with it as they please.

XXIV, 5; *Ecl.*, 13, 8; 13, 35; 14, 5; 21, 1; 23, 1; Libanius, *Ep.*, 441, 40; *Epist. Gr.*, 260, 2; *Hor.*, II, 20; IV, 2, 25; 3, 19; Aelian, *De Nat. An.*, Book II, 32; XIV, 12.

Take away the accessories and their work is nothing. They live at ease, like Homer's gods, and make hymns and pæans. They assume supremacy, and we hold them sacred and give up hymns to them as though they were actually prophets of the gods. We use prose for every other purpose—in business, in courts, panegyrics, myths; we have a *λόγος* for everything. It is absurd not to deem it fit for use in hymning the gods who gave it to us. We use prose in sacrifice; why not in hymns? Do poets have need of the gods which other men do not share? Even poets say that all men need the gods. Then all should honor them, as they have power. Are poets their only lovers? Why not, then, their only priests? Oracles, the voice of god, use prose. Prose is more natural, as to walk is more natural than to ride. Poets did not create language. Prose was first, and poetry arose for pleasure. If we honor nature and the ordering of the gods, we shall honor prose, the older, the original gift. Be not ashamed to address the gods as we address one another, without meter. I mean no dishonor to poets, but merely that prose is as worthy. If to follow nature pleases the gods, they will honor us. Meter gives poets their reputation. We have something better—inflection, delivery. Poetic meter is no great advantage. We have meter, too. A good physician is more accurate without weights and measures than an inexperienced man with them. It is true the poet's ode has advantages over prose—greater license in form, phraseology, treatment. But we, abiding in rank, like a well-trained soldier, will attempt an address to Serapis.

So elaborate an apology for the prose hymn seems to imply either a defense against attacks or, if the Serapis be his first hymn, a preparation for the reception of an innovation.

The two chief sources of our knowledge of the theory of epideictic oratory are, of course, Dionysius and Menander. Both provide for the use of prose in distinctively poetic themes—Dionysius in the epithalamium and its subordinate, the *γαμικός*; Menander in these, and also in the far wider and more technically poetic field, the hymn. A difference of attitude is discernible

between the work of the rhetor at the close of the third century A. D. and the earlier worker in the same field. The *ἐπιθαλάμιος* and the *γαμικός* admit of direct comparison, as they are treated by both. The *τόποι* and their order agree closely. Dionysius gives more prominence to the *γαμικός*, while Menander makes this a mere variant of the *ἐπιθαλάμιος*, not requiring separate treatment, and enters much more into detail with the *ἐπιθαλάμιος*. As might be expected, the poetic character of the epithalamium, and direct relationship between it and its poetic predecessors and contemporaries, is more clearly discernible in Dionysius. Menander in his much more detailed treatise employs the word *ὑμνεῖν* but three times, and two of these are in a mere conventional way. Dionysius uses *ὑμνεῖν*, *ἀνυμνεῖν*, *ᾄδειν*, and *ἐπάδειν*, and apparently in a more strict sense. He makes a direct reference to Sappho as a model for the form of composition: *ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ παρὰ Σαπφοῦ τῆς ἰδίας ταύτης παραδείγματα ἐπιθαλαμίοις οὕτως ἐπιγραφομέναις ταῖς ῥαδαῖς* (sec. 1). He recommends that the orator use Homer, *Od.*, VI, 183, as a text. He also assumes a distinctly apologetic tone on the question of the propriety of using prose for this form of composition. He says it might be well for the orator to state at the very outset *ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸν Ὑμέναιον ᾄδουσιν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὑμεναίου τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ὑπ' αὐλοῖς ἢ πηκτίσι, ἢ νῆ Δία καλλιφωνία τινὶ τοιαύτῃ ἀλλ' ἐπαίνοις καὶ ὕμνοις τῶν γεγαμηκότων* (sec. 1, end). In the lines just preceding he uses the perfect, *διενήνοχε*, perhaps showing that he is not speaking of an innovation, but of a practice not so fully established as not to suggest apology and justification of somewhat the same character as Aristides makes for his hymns nearly two centuries later. The treatise of Menander, however, belongs to a period when the use of prose in epithalamia is thoroughly familiar and meets with no opposition. He not only treats the marriage speeches without reference to their poetic origin or a possible present rivalry between the orator and the poet, but his treatise on hymns shows a similar advance over the feeling of the second century as revealed by Aristides. Dionysius makes no mention of hymns, but thinks even the epithalamium

worthy of explanation and excuse. Aristides, probably of a later date, makes an elaborate defense of the prose hymn; Menander, coming still later, feels no such defense necessary. He is quite the opposite of apologetic. He writes evidently at a period when the rights of prose are too firmly established to require discussion. Examples of its use in antiquity are cited; see p. 179. There remains only a question of taste as to whether in the matter of hymns the function of the prose writer and the poet is coextensive or not. The nature of the hymns will dictate sometimes prose and sometimes poetry as the more appropriate. This, he says, is a question worth investigation, and thinks this general principle may perhaps prevail that such hymns as relate primarily to the divine side of the deity may well be given poetic treatment; for that which relates chiefly to the human side one may use prose. But in the next sentence he adds: *χρηστέον γε μὴν καὶ τῷ συγγραφεῖ καὶ τῷ λογογράφῳ καὶ τούτων ἑκάστῳ εἶδει καὶ ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ὄπη καὶ Πλάτωνα περὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἄκρον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι πεπιστεύκαμεν* (Sp. III, 334, 5). When he comes to the detailed treatment of the nine classes of hymns, he excludes the prose writer from but one, and this, as Heeren explains, had gone out of use even in poetry. The *φυσικός*, he says, is more suited to poetry than to prose. This agrees with the principle cited above. Models for the others are quoted freely from poets and prose writers. He closes with the remark: "We have given the rules by which poets and prose writers and orators may hymn the gods in a fitting manner." The hymn to the gods as a function of prose plainly arose later than the same use of the epithalamium, and very likely was assisted by it not only in a general way, as a precedent, but also in that the marriage speech, when constructed by rule, contained within itself a prose hymn which might serve as a model. Menander (Sp. III, 400, 31) says: *τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὰ προίμια ἔστω περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ γάμου λόγος*; and Sp. III, 402, 21: *μετὰ τὸν περὶ γάμου λόγον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν θεὸν ὕμνησας*. Menander's epideictic orator is at the same time orator and poet; he deals with a great variety of themes; he may pass quickly from prose to poetry in the same oration—he is an Himerius.

### The Epideictic Element in History.

The earliest form of prose was historical. It had much in common with poetry, with which epideictic literature more or less consciously claimed a relationship throughout its course. Later evidence of the direct influence of the epideictic style upon history appears in the careful attention to rhetorical beauties which characterizes many writers, and its more restricted and technical side is seen in the speeches which form so distinctive a feature of Greek historians.

The epideictic tendency in history is conspicuous from the time of Isocrates. It is apparent in the general ornateness of historians, and their frequent use of devices purely epideictic in narrative passages as well as in their more natural domain—the speech. There is negative evidence also in the violence of Polybius' attacks upon the historians who make fine writing an aim. He represents himself as almost the solitary exception amid the multitude who devote themselves to false practices. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, 81 ff., and Croiset, *Litt. grecque*, V, 283 ff., present the prevailing conception of history and the style appropriate for it, which Polybius so severely condemns.<sup>1</sup> History is represented as becoming a panegyric on

<sup>1</sup>The Greeks created the two chief types of history—the pure narrative, in Herodotus, and philosophical history, brought to its highest development in Thucydides. Their conception of what history should be is seen rather through its exemplification in the works of these and other historians than through any discussion of its ideals. A historical sense arose among the Greeks along with the development of prose itself. The content and style of history, however, are left with mere incidental reference until the time of Polybius, who gives his views at length in positive form and in negative, through his criticism of others; cf. especially I, 1, 14, 35; II, 35, 56; III, 31, 57, 58; V, 75; X, 21; XII, 7, 12, 25. He is particularly severe upon Timaeus, see XII, 3-15, 23 8. The chief other presentations of theory are by Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.*, and Dionys. of Hal., chiefly in *De Princ. Hist.* and in *De Thuc. Iud.* Cic., *De Orat.*, II, 15, 62-4, notes the fact that the writing of history had never received rhetorical treatment as had poetry and oratory. For traces of a *γένος ιστορικόν* cf. Syrianus' scholia to Hermogenes' *Rhet.*; Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, IV, 60; Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 4, 8 (but cf. Cope's note); Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 483, 19; Rufus, Sp. I, 463; Sp., *Artium Scriptores*, p. 185.

The modern conception of history may be gathered from discussions such as that by Macaulay in his essay on *History*, or by Thiers in the preface to

a grand scale or the opposite, according to the bias of the writer. The aim is to praise or to blame, not to state facts in a natural and unprejudiced manner; compare Polyb., XII, 25, 3, *et passim*, *e. g.*,

*The History of the Consulate and Empire of France.* Rhodes (*Atlantic*, February, 1900) gives the most recent summary of the qualities required for the ideal historian—natural ability, diligence, accuracy, love of truth, impartiality, digestion of material, compression of narrative, power of expression. He finds all these qualities in Thucydides and Tacitus, and most of them in Herodotus. The similarity between this latest statement of essential qualities and the early ideal of the Greeks is noticeable; *e. g.*, taking Rhodes' order: natural ability is implied in Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.*, 4, 5, 34; diligence in 4; accuracy in 47; love of truth in 39; Dionys. of Hal., *De Thuc. Iud.*, 8; *cf.* Hecataeus, *init.*; Cic., *De Leg.*, I, 1, 5; impartiality in Luc., 39, 41, 49; digestion of material in Luc., 47; compression of narrative in Luc., 56; power of expression in Luc., 6, 9, 34, 44, 45, 49, 51, 59; Quintil., X, 1, 31; Dionys. of Hal., pp. 941, 942, 772, 774, 776 R. To these we add utility, found in Luc., 9; no over-laudation, in Luc., 11, 12, 13, 19, 57; discernment as to what is important and what may be passed over, Luc., 25, 27; Dionys. of Hal., p. 771 R; incorruptibility and freedom from fear, Luc., 37, 39, 41; perspicuity, Luc., 55; political sagacity, Luc., 34; must write for the future, Luc., 39, 61; variety, Dionys. of Hal., 772 R. Compare Cicero's canon for the writing of history, *De Orat.*, II, 15, 62 f.: The first law is that history must not dare to tell falsehoods; second, the historian must be bold enough to tell the whole truth; third, there must be no suspicion of partiality or personal animosity; the facts must be orderly and show cause and effect; there must be careful attention to style. With this high ideal compare his request that Luceius write a panegyric history of his deeds, *ad Fam.*, V, 12, 3. The references to history in Greek and Roman writers most often allude to its likeness or unlikeness to poetry or oratory. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, 91, cites for its relation to poetry Quintil., X, 1, 31: "History may nourish the orator with a certain rich and pleasing food, but it must be read with the conviction that the orator must avoid most of its very excellences. History borders closely upon poetry. It is a poem unfettered by the restraint of meter." *Cf.* Polyb., II, 56, 11, where he argues that the end of history and tragedy are not the same. Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.*, 8: "history and poetry are not alike." Aristides, 49 (II, 513, Dind.), speaks of the historian as being between the poet and the orator. Demetrius, *De Eloc.*, 215, says that Ctesias might rightly be called a poet. Marcellinus, *Vit. Thuc.*, 41: "some say history is not rhetorical, but poetic;" *cf.* Himerius, Or. XIV, 27. Agathias in the preface to his history (p. 135, Dind.): "history and poetry are sister arts." To these we may add Aristotle, *Poetics*, IX: Verse is not the difference between the historian and the poet. The one speaks of events, the other of what might have happened. He concludes that poetry is more deserving of attention than history. Quintil., X, 2, 21: This must be avoided—an imitation of poets or historians in oratory, or in history of orators or

X, 21: "My present work is a history, and therefore absolutely uncommitted to praise or blame. It requires only a true statement, a clear and truthful putting of facts in proper sequence."<sup>1</sup>

declaimers. There is its own law and propriety established for each. Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.*, 45: History may well have some poetic qualities, especially in choice of noble and eloquent words . . . there is need of a certain ποιητικὸς ἄνεμος to deal with war, to fill the sails and bear ship over the waves; yet the diction walks upon the ground, is moderate and well restrained. There is danger of getting into a poetic passion, and therefore the need of reins. Shelley, *Defense of Poetry*, ed. Cook, p. 11: "All the great historians, Herodotus, Plutarch, Livy, were poets, and though the plan of these writers, especially Livy, restrained them from developing this faculty in the highest degree, they made copious and ample amends for their subjugation by filling all the interstices of their subjects with living images." Compare Rhodes (*Atlantic*, February, 1900): "History requires fine constructive imagination. Therefore the canon requires the qualities of a great poet." Dionys. of Hal. approves of the poetic style in history to a certain extent: ἐγὼ δ' οὐτ' ἀρχμηρῶν καὶ ἀκόσμητον καὶ ἰδιωτικὴν τὴν ἱστορικὴν εἶναι πραγματεῖαν ἀξιώσομαι' ἂν, ἀλλ' ἔχουσάν τι καὶ ποιητικόν· οὐτε παντάπασι ποιητικὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐκβεβηκυῖαν τῆς ἐν ξέθαι (*De Thuc. Iud.*, 51). Compare also chap. 24. Nicolaus (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, I, 287) doubts whether to class Herodotus among writers of history or poetry. He concludes that he does not differ essentially from a poet. Strabo, I, 2, 9: the end of the poet and the historian is the same, to relate nothing but facts. Cic., *De Leg.*, I, 1, 4: *alias in historia leges observandas . . . alias in poemate.* *De Or.*, I, 16, 70: the poet is nearly allied to the orator. Cicero (*De Opt. Gen. Or.*, chaps. 5 and 6) disparages the oratorical style for history; *cf. Orat.*, 8, 30 ff.: nothing can be borrowed from Thucydides for the forensic orator. *De Leg.*, I, 2, 5: Cicero is urged to take up history, as he has always held that it most of all demands oratorical qualities.

The early ideals of historical writing were always maintained as the standard, but by the time of Polybius the excessive use of rhetorical ornament and the tendency to turn history into a mere laudation, especially where it dealt with the state or persons in power, had become offensively prominent.

On this general topic the conception of history, in addition to references cited by Norden, we may add Varro, *ad Ant. Imp.*, II, 6; Demetrius, *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* (Sp. III, 265, 3 ff., sec. 19), on the character of the historical period; Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.*, 45; Cicero, *De Orat.*, II, 12, 51-64; Sen., *N. Q.*, VII, 16, 1 and 2. In this passage Seneca impeaches the authority of Ephorus, and then charges historians in general with being inaccurate and careless. Some are credulous, some negligent. With some, falsehoods creep in unawares, to others the false is pleasing; the former do not avoid them, the latter seek them.

<sup>1</sup>Norden quotes Cic., *Brutus*, 42, and *Orat.*, 66; *De Leg.*, I, 5; Quintil., X, 2, 21; Pliny, *Ep.*, V, 8, 9; Lucian, *De Hist. Conscr.*, 7; L. Verus, *ad*



Of extant historians only Herodotus<sup>1</sup> precedes the school of Isocrates. He may be considered as occupying a place by himself among historians. He represents the natural, unaffected, unhampered style of the pure story-teller.<sup>2</sup> His history is comparatively free from set speeches, and such as occur are usually simple in style, *e. g.*, the speech of the Spartans, V, 91 ff.; of Xerxes, Mardonius, and Artabazus, VII, 8 ff. The battles of Marathon and Salamis, so fruitful a theme for all subsequent epideictic treatment, call forth no rhetorical speeches from Herodotus. The speech of the Tegeans and the Athenian reply before the battle of Platea, where each claims the right to a choice of position in battle by tracing glorious deeds of their ancestors, show that Herodotus is familiar with the usual epideictic topics, which had become stereotyped before his day; compare also IX, 27, where epideictic topics are enumerated (see p. 105, n. 4).

The political changes of the early fifth century and the pre-eminence of Athens as a literary center, the transfer of historical *Frontonem*, II, 3, p. 131; Fronto, *ad Ant. Pium*, II, 6, p. 107; Philostorgius, *H. Eccl.*, 1; Photius, *Bibl. Cod.*, 77; Hermogenes, *De Ideis*, p. 417, 28, etc. The substance of the passages cited is that history and oratory naturally differ in style, but that history has become a panegyric.

<sup>1</sup>Thucydides, of course, composed history before the time of Isocrates' rhetorical school, but he was to some extent under the same stylistic influences which Isocrates later represented.

<sup>2</sup>Compare Jebb, in *Hellenica*, pp. 269 ff., where he refers to V, 49 and 92 as evidence that even the "longer speeches in Herodotus have usually the conversational tone rather than the rhetorical." However, some evidence of elaboration of style of a purely rhetorical character may be detected even in Herodotus. Jebb sees traces of rhetorical dialectic in the conversation between Solon and Croesus, I, 32; *cf.* also III, 80-82; III, 36. *Cf.* Diels, *Hermes*, XXII (1887), 424.

On Herodotus' style see Blass, *Attische Bered.*, II, 408, 417, 476, and *Rh. Mus.*, XXIV (1869), 524; Hauvette, *Hérodote* (1894), 65-158; Creuzer, *Herodot u. Thucydides* (Leipzig, 1803) and his diss., *Hist. Kunst der Griechen*; Hofer, *Ueber die Verwandtschaft des Herodotischen Stiles mit dem Homerischen* (Merau, 1878); Rudiger, *De Orationibus, quae in Rerum Scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis reperiuntur, imprimis Herodoti et Sallustii Ratione habita* (Schleiz, 1875); Schweidop, *Zur Moduslehre im Sprachgebrauche des Hdt.* (Königsberg, 1876); Tonder, *Hdt. u. die älteste Poësie der Griechen* (1875); Bergk, "Thuc. u. Hdt.," *Jahrb. f. Phil.*, CXVII (1878), 177-80; and the handbooks, especially Croiset, II, 616 ff.

authorship from Asia to Attica, produced a radical change in conditions, and hence in style. Here rhetoric became an element in historical writing, and the great majority of historians from this time on are under its influence. Many, like Tacitus among the Romans, were at the same time orators and historians. Corax, Tisias, and Gorgias were founders of the Sicilian school of history as well as of oratory. Isocrates trained men for both professions. Theopompus conspicuously united in himself the two pursuits. From an epideictic point of view it is noticeable that among the rhetoricians it was Isocrates who founded a school of history,<sup>1</sup> and many who regarded Herodotus or Thucydides as the model historian, in matters of style openly professed their imitation of Isocrates. The fact that so many historians were rhetors before or at the same time with their historical activity would make it reasonable to expect epideictic qualities in all their writings.

Far more notable than the general ornate tendency of the Greek historians is the employment of special epideictic *τόποι* and devices. The most specific instances of a direct relation between epideictic writing and history may be found in the frequent introduction of set speeches and in the formal descriptions so often introduced into history. We may consider these two features briefly, taking them in reverse order. The *προγραμματισμοί* (see p. 108, n. 1, for definition and references) as a whole had an important bearing upon history, and the fact is frequently referred to by rhetors. There is a notable tendency in many of its divisions to choose some historical character or

<sup>1</sup> On the indebtedness of Ephorus and Theopompus to Isocrates see Scala, *Vortrag gehalten zu München am 23. Mai 1891 in der vierten allgemeinen Sitzung der 41. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner* (1892), where he holds that Isocrates had a strong influence upon the style of history; Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, p. 505. He says, in substance: As a pupil of Isocrates he (Ephorus) made stylistic beauty his aim. History presented opportunities to display this—panegyrics, battle descriptions, general's speeches, etc. The fragments also prove that he could write political speeches like another Isocrates. Cf. also Volquardson, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen der griechischen und sicilischen Geschichten bei Diodor* (Kiel, 1868); Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, II, p. 16; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, II, 369 ff.

situation as the theme to be developed rhetorically. This would be in harmony with the epideictic coloring of most history at that time, and would also assist in making the rhetorical features of history prominent. The forms most frequently mentioned by rhetors as valuable for the writer of history are the *διήγησις* (*διήγημα*), *μῦθος*, *κοινὸς τόπος* and *ἰθοποιία*.<sup>1</sup> But the most important division of the *προγυμνάσματα* for our present purpose, the one most likely to be characterized by epideictic qualities, was the *ἔκφρασις* (*descriptio*). It is given more or less detailed discussion by Hermogenes (Sp. II, 16 ff.); Aphthonius (Sp. II, 46 ff.); Theon (Sp. II, 118 ff.); Georgius Choeroboscus (Sp. III, 251 ff.); Nicolaus (Sp. III, 491 ff.); *Ernesti Lex.*; one may compare also Lucian (*De Hist. Conscr.*, 20), who ridicules its abuse—most historians run wild in descriptions of landscapes and great events; they are like slaves newly rich. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 15 ff., is interesting in this connection, although he does not refer directly to history. He notes the tendency to employ *descriptio* for the purpose of pompous show. The *ἔκφρασις* is a description of persons, things, places, seasons, events, strange living objects, etc. It is conceded by all that *ἔκφρασις* is involved to some extent in all of the other forms of *προγυμνάσματα*, especially in the *σύγκρισις* and *ἐγκώμιον*, yet its claim to a separate place is maintained; compare Hermogenes, Georgius, Nicolaus. That the *ἔκφρασις* is useful in all forms of oratory, but is especially adapted to history (Theon, II, 60, 20) and poetry, is distinctly stated by the rhetoricians. Their citations of examples are largely from these two divisions of literature, *e. g.*, Homer's description of Thersites, of the shield of Achilles; Thucydides' *νυκτιμαχία*, or his description of the harbor of the Thesprotians. The description of the acropolis of Alexandria is made a model theme by Aphthonius (Sp. II, 47); Herodotus' description of the animals in Egypt, of Babylon, etc., are mentioned with praise.

Its special qualities of style are clearness (Sp. II, 16) and vividness (Sp. II, 16; III, 251; Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 56). The

<sup>1</sup>Sp. II, 4; 22, 5; 60; 80-81; III, 455, 30; 456, 3; 485, 27.

natural connection of the *ἔκφρασις* with the epideictic features of history is also recognized (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 55). It is stated here that *ἔκφρασις* is appropriate for the elaborate style of narrative; compare also II, 509.

Its epideictic character is still further emphasized by the prominent use of the *ἔκφρασις* in purely epideictic oratory. According to Menander, it is involved in almost all of the various forms. The *βασιλικὸς λόγος* has description of the person of the king and the places where his wars were waged; compare Sp. III, 373, 17, 20, 26; 374, 1, 3, 6. The *ἐπιβατήριος* describes the country and especially the city; compare also the epithalamium, *προπεμπτικὴ λαλιά, προσφωνητικός, πρεσβευτικός, κλητικός, συντακτικός, μονοδία, σμυθιακός*. A great part of the speeches in praise of countries, cities, harbors, etc., is pure *ἔκφρασις*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his rules for the panegyric and the epithalamium, makes much of a description of the gathering, the places and persons involved.

*Ἐκφρασις*, as a special form, was much developed by epideictic orators; compare Choricus, *ἔκφρασις ὠρολογίου, ἔκφρασις εἰκόνης*; the *εἰκόνας* of the Philostrati and *ἔκφράσεις* by Callistratus and Libanius, IV, 1046-90, R. It is found also in the *Anthologia Palatina* and other poetry. It became a feature of Christian literature also. Examples of the legitimate and effective use of *ἔκφρασις* in Greek historians are numerous. The charm and variety of description found in Herodotus form one of the chief features of his style, *e. g.*, IV, 71, 2; I, 24; VI, 125; VII, 210-12, 223-5. So in Thucydides, VII, 43, 44; I, 70; II, 47; the Sicilian expedition. Polybius assumes his best style in battle scenes, *e. g.*, the revolt of the Corinthian mercenaries, in Book I, or the capture and death of the Achaeans, in VIII, or the battle of Cannae, III, 107-17; compare also Livy, XXII, 40-50; Appian, *Hannibal*, 17-25; Plutarch, *Fab. Max.*, chap. 16; W. Tell, *Philologus*, XI (1856), 101. Cicero (*De Orat.*, II, 15, 63) calls *regionum descriptionem* an important feature of history (*cf. De Fin.*, II, 107; *Orat.*, 20, 66). A notable instance of *ἔκφρασις* actuated almost wholly by epideictic

motives may be found in the descriptions of the vale of Tempe.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of speeches in the works of the Greek historians is not due especially to epideictic influence, though the general tendency of rhetorical writing would be to adopt this form as frequently as possible.<sup>2</sup> The speech often sums up a situation, or it presents the arguments on both sides of a question where now there would be reference to documents or other direct forms of evidence. It has a political, an ethical, or a mere dramatic purpose, according to the character of the writer. The speech in Greek history is natural, and even required by the exceeding prominence given to speech-making in Athenian life. It was an almost inevitable part of any record of events. The fact that in its early period history, like other forms of prose, reached the public through oral delivery rather than by reading is in harmony with the prominence of the speech in historians. But in many cases the suspicion is difficult to remove that the speech is introduced primarily as the most effective means of displaying the epideictic expertness of the author. The historian of epideictic tendency is hampered by the fact that his speeches must arise naturally from the narrative and deal with some question of abiding interest. This limitation partially excludes epideictic themes, while it does not place any check upon epideictic treatment in such speeches as can be introduced.

Cicero, gaining his conception of history from Greek models, and contrasting them with the dry and purely annalistic style of Roman writers, exclaims (*De Orat.*, II, 12, 57): "What sort of an orator, how great a master of language, do you think it requires to write history? To write as the Greeks, a man of the greatest power; as the Romans, no orator." He then refers to the oratorical element in representative Greek historians. He is urged (*De Leg.*, I, 2, 5) to undertake history himself, as "no one is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aelian, *V. H.*, III, chap. 1; Polyb., XVIII, 10, 16, 19, 31; XXIII, 4; Necander, *Alexipharmica* (the laurel first found there; cf. Pausanias, X, 5, 9); Catullus, LXIV, 285; Ovid, *Met.*, I, 568; Vergil, *Georgics*, II, 469; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV, 8, 15; Ovid, *Fast.*, IV, 477; *Am.*, I, 1, 15; Cic., *ad Att.*, IV, 15; *Epist. Gr.*, 352, 1 (Julian, XXVI, 3), 390, 18 (Julian, Fg. IV).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hellenica*, pp. 266 ff., esp. 277, 278.

more likely to give satisfaction, since you claim that this kind of composition most of all demands oratorical powers."

The Greek historians differ very greatly in the employment of speeches both as regards the frequency and the character of the speech. Polybius, although his history contains a number of speeches, proclaims it as his conscientious purpose to abstain from them, as an element of weakness, if not of danger. Quite the opposite is Thucydides, who makes the speech his most powerful instrument. He demonstrates the wonderful effectiveness of speeches whose material is truthful and of vital importance. Dionysius of Halicarnassus represents still another class, which employs speeches with great frequency, as does Thucydides, but chiefly for rhetorical (*i. e.*, epideictic) ends. He shows the danger in the use of the same instrument in the hands of a writer of inferior vigor and judgment.

The speeches of Thucydides—their frequency, their vivid truthfulness in facts, their rhetorical formalism of style—need but bare mention.<sup>1</sup> All contain special purely epideictic devices, but they are not to any great extent epideictic in *τόποι*. As exceptions to this statement compare the funeral oration of Pericles, and III, 53 ff.; IV, 95; see also VI, 82 ff., where Euphemus gives a general laudation of Athens.

The position of Herodotus from this point of view is stated on p. 198.

Xenophon<sup>2</sup> makes use of speeches to some extent in the *Cyropaedeia*, but they are mostly of a non-epideictic character. The

<sup>1</sup> Much has been written on the style of Thucydides. The most notable treatise, from our point of view, is that on the speeches of Thuc., by Jebb, in *Hellenica*, 310 ff. Compare also in addition to the literatures Blass, *Attische Bered.*; Wilkins, *Introduction to the Speeches of Thuc.* (1873); Sellar, *Characteristics of Thuc.* (1857); Forbes, *Greek Prose Literature Previous to or Contemporary with Thuc.*, in his ed. of Thuc., Book I (1894); Jebb, *Att. Or.*, I, 33; Classen-Steup, *Einleitung* (1897); Gast, *De Thuc. Oratione* (1870); Junghahn, "Die Reden bei Thuc.," *Jahrb. f. Phil.*, CXVIII (1878), 691; Sörgel, "Die Reden bei Thuc.," *Jahrb. f. Phil.* (1878); Bekker, *De Sophisticarum Artium Vestigiis apud Thuc.* (Berlin, 1864); Holm, *History of Greece*, II, 435 ff. For further references see the ed. of Poppo et Stahl, Vol. I (1886), 43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dakyn's "Xenophon," in *Hellenica*, 324-86.

speech of Cyrus to his army, VI, 4, 12, follows the fixed usage. Procles' speech (*Hellen.*, VI, 5, 38 ff.) in praise of Athens shows familiarity with the legendary τόποι—the bodies at Thebes, Euristheus, Heracles' children, Athens a refuge for all oppressed.<sup>1</sup>

The speeches of the *Anabasis* form an important and attractive feature. Many are formal, in ornate style, but free from cheap epideictic devices. The celebrated speech of Xenophon to the Greek army (III, chap. 2) is further referred to on p. 211 and n. 1.

Although but few fragments of the actual writings of Ephorus remain, and still less in the case of Theopompus, the style and contents of their works are quite well known from frequent references in the writers of antiquity, chiefly Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, and Quintilian. We have referred to the fact (p. 199) that they were the pupils of Isocrates and apparently carried his stylistic ideas into history. The fragments seem to bear this out. Compare Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graecorum*, 64 (Ephorus), a general description and laudation of the Cretans; compare also 279 (Theopompus). Croiset (IV, 653) calls him the creator of a new kind of history. Among the many references to their qualities as historians compare, for Ephorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Comp. Verb.*, 23, where he speaks of Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon, and Simonides as excelling in γλαφυρά καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις, and adds that the historians most conspicuous for this style are Ephorus and Theopompus, and among orators Isocrates.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Mem.*, III, 5, 7, ff., and Procles' speech, *Hellen.*, VII, chap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for Ephorus, Quintil., IX, 4, 87; Polybius, V, 33; VI, 45; XII, 4a, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28; Cic., *Orat.*, 57, 191; *Brut.*, 204; Hortensius, fg. 12; Strabo, IX, 3, 11, praises his carefulness; Theon, Sp. II, 71; Dion Chrys., XVIII, p. 283 D; Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, 537-43, esp. 533, 539; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, II, 430 ff.; Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, 16; *Rh. Mus.*, XLII, 187, 562; Ed. Mayer, *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, I, p. 19; Kluegmann, *De Ephoro Historico Graeco* (Diss., Göttingen, 1860); Loeschke, "Ephoros-Studien," *Jahrb. f. Phil.*, CXV (1877), 25-32; Dressler, *Das Geschichtswerk des Ephoros nach seinen Fragm. und seiner Benutzung durch Diodoros* (Bautzen, 1873); Holm, *Hist. Gr.*, 425, 426.

Note for Theopompus, Dionys. of Hal., *Ad. Cn. Pomp.*, chap. vi, and elsewhere. He highly approves his style, which he calls most like that of

In spite of his general attitude of hostility, Polybius<sup>1</sup> recognizes oratory as having a possible place in history, especially at some critical moment when an argument is to be put vividly. An example of his happy use of the speech is seen in his skilful balancing of the orations of Aemilius and Hannibal, III, 108-11; I, 27, 1, shows how Polybius often deals with the temptation to introduce an epideictic speech. He says: The Carthaginian generals addressed their men saying that victory would determine the future character of the war; defeat meant that they must fight for the very preservation of the state. Therewith with mutual words of exhortation they engaged in battle. For like avoidance of a speech, *cf.* III, 44, 63, 64, 108, 111; XV, 11; XVIII, 11.

Diodorus Siculus has comparatively few speeches, but several are thoroughly epideictic in treatment, notably the oration of Nicolaus (XIII, 20-26) to the Syracusans on their attitude toward the Athenians. It is in general expansive and exuberant in style, full of antithesis, rhetorical question, asyndeton, extravagant statement. In parts it has the moralizing tone which many historians assume (see p. 206, n. 2). The latter half is a

Isocrates, *ὀψηλή τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς καὶ πομπικὸν ἔχουσα πολὺ, . . . ἡδέως καὶ μαλακῶς ῥέουσα*. *Cf.* also Quintil., X, 1, 74; Polyb., VIII, 10-13; XII, 25; XVII, 12; Cic., *De Leg.*, I, 1; *Brut.*, 66; *De Orat.*, II, 57; Hortensius, *fg.* 12; Aelian, *V. H.*, III, 18; Wachsmuth, *l. c.*, 537-43, esp. 533, 539; Blass, *Attische Bered.*, II, 400 ff.; Riese, "Der Historiker Theop.," *Jahrb. f. Phil.*, CL (1870), 673; Hachtmann, *De Theop. Vita et Script.* (Detmold, 1872); Dellios, *Zur Kritik des Geschichtschr. Theopomp.* (Diss., Jena, 1880); Hirzel, "Zur Charakteristik Theopomp.," *Rh. Mus.*, XLVII, 357; Rohde, *ibid.*, XLVIII, 110; Holm, *Hist. Greece*, III, 425, 426.

<sup>1</sup>On the style of Polybius, in addition to the histories of lit., note Holm, *Hist. Greece*, IV, 514 ff.; Droysen, *Die Polybianische Lagerbeschreibung*, in "Commentationes Phil. in hon. Theod. Mommseni" (1877), 35-40; *cf.* also same author, *Rh. Mus.*, XXX (1875), 752; La Roche, *Charakteristik des Polybius* (Leipzig, 1857); Lindemann, *Ueber Polybius den pragmatischen Geschichtschreiber* (Conitz, 1850); Lüttge, *Polybii Orationes* (Nordhausen, 1863); Tell, *Die Schlacht bei Cannä*; Stich, *De Polybii Dicendi Genere*, Acta Sem. Phil. Erlangensis, II (1881), 141-212; Scala (see p. 199, n. 1) attempts to prove that Isocrates had some influence even upon the political views and language of Polybius; *cf.* also p. 203, and references to Norden and Croiset, and Polybius' ideal of history (p. 195, text and note).



praise of Athens as first in *φιλανθρωπία*; the first to give means of living and laws to the Greeks; mother of eloquence; source of the mysteries, of learning; the schoolmaster of Greece. The reply of Gylippus is epideictic in style, though not in *τόποι*. It ridicules the claims of Athens, XIV, 65 ff. Theodorus of Syracuse (XIV, 65 ff.) makes epideictic reference to deeds of the ancestors of the people of Syracuse.

The speeches in Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup> are more numerous than in any other extant historian. Some are almost devoid of epideictic features; some have only an epideictic reason for existence; the average of his speeches as well as his narrative is characterized by the coarser epideictic features and shows little appreciation of what is appropriate. The oration which he puts into the mouth of Romulus is a weak imitation of that part of Pericles' funeral oration in which he discusses the forms of government. Throughout he makes Romulus speak with all the rhetorical devices of the sophistic age: periodic sentences, well-balanced clauses, antithesis, isocola, homeoteleuton, parechesis, etc. There is an element of the preacher in this as in many of his speeches; compare Tullius' (IV, 9 ff.) oration after the death of Tarquin, where he toys with the terms "justice," "gratitude," "right," "common freedom," etc.<sup>2</sup> The speech is a laudation of Tarquin along the lines of the *epitaphius*. There is often a total disregard of harmony and proportion, like the speech of C.

<sup>1</sup> The dominant quality in Dionysius of Hal. is oratory. It is his instinctive form of expression. The similarity of his speeches to those of Livy both in thought and occasion has been much discussed. Upon Livy as primarily an orator see Taine, *Tite Live*.

<sup>2</sup> This philosophical or moralizing tendency is common in the speeches of historians, e. g., Dionys. of Hal., *Rom. Antiq.*, IV, 11; Dion Cas., I, fg. 33 (p. 91); I, fg. 40, secs. 30-34; Book XXXVIII, chaps. 20 ff., a *παραινετικός*; Book LII, chap. 2; and especially chaps. 14 ff., where the speech of Maecenas urging Augustus to assume the monarchy is a pure treatise *περί βασιλείας*; cf. Isoc., *ad Nicoclem*. In LIII, chaps. 3 ff., Caesar outlines his policy; cf. Isoc., *Nicocles*; cf. also Dionys. of Hal., II, 3 ff.; IV, 9 ff., 31, 32; VI, 19 ff.; Diod. Sic., XIII, 20, 21; Theophylactus, I, 1, 14-21, a *περί βασιλείας* to Mauritius; Thuc., II, 35 ff. (Pericles). See Dionys. of Hal., *Ad Cn. Pomp.*, chap. vi, where he says that Theopompus introduced many beautiful speeches about justice, piety, and other virtues.

Claudius (XI, 7 ff.) on the status of the plebs. It is purely argumentative in topic, but absurdly rhetorical in style. His general's speeches are referred to elsewhere. Other speeches marked by epideictic qualities are VI, 72-80; VII, 40-46, 48-53; VIII, 29-35; IX, 9; X, 36; XI, 7, 26.

Dio Cassius has many long speeches, all in general epideictic style; *e. g.*, the speech of Pompey (XXXVI, 25, 26) recounting his glorious deeds in behalf of Rome, in boastful, antithetic sentences, with frequent paronomasia and homoeoteleuton. Gabinius' reply is an encomium of Pompey (XXXVI, 27-9). The speech of Philistus (XXXVIII, 20 ff.) is an encomium of Cicero. His character is discussed from the point of view of the four virtues. He is *φρονιμώτατος, δικαιοτάτος, ἀνδραϊώτατος*, notable for *σωφροσύνη*. The orator starts in a moralizing tone, which is continued in the next oration where he consoles Cicero upon the eve of exile. This oration soon becomes purely parenetic. It is a moralizing discourse on one's proper bearing in adversity. Other speeches in ornate style are: Catulus, XXXVI, 31-7; Caesar, XLI, 27 ff.; the speeches of Antony and Augustus to their armies before the battle of Actium, I, 16 ff. Caesar's speech before the battle with Ariovistus (XXXVIII, 36 ff.), though containing much that is not usually found in such orations, is an excellent example of the general's speech, full of epideictic devices (see p. 212). The funeral oration pronounced by Antony (XLIV, 36-49) over the body of Julius Caesar follows the *τόποι* of this type of oration. The powerlessness of the orator to do justice to the topic is referred to three times; words cannot equal his deeds (twice); *εὐγένεια, τροφή, παιδεία*; Caesar's character, private and public, and his deeds as a soldier and statesman, his *φιλανθρωπία, ἀνδρεία, χρηστότης*. The whole speech is in the highest degree epideictic. The same may be said of Tiberius' oration on the death of Augustus Caesar (LVI, 35 ff.). The speeches of Maecenas and Augustus on state policy, especially the former (Dio Cas., Book 52, 2 ff.), are examples of the *περὶ βασιλείας* in history; see p. 206, n. 2.

The set orations of Arrian are not very numerous, though a number of speeches are introduced in substance. They are

characterized by the same easy and unaffected but vigorous style which belongs to his narrative as a whole. Few formal devices are introduced. The address of Alexander (II, 7, 3 ff.) to the army before Issus, given in indirect discourse, agrees with the average general's speech. His speech at the Hyphasis, as well as Coenus' reply, are slightly epideictic. The farewell words of Alexander (VII, 8 ff.), addressed to soldiers who were about to return to Macedonia, is a eulogy of his father and himself. It recounts their deeds of devotion and sacrifice to the fatherland, their success in war, and the rewards it has brought to the state, closing with the *ἀπικε*, the formula of the *ἐπιτάφιος*, with which it has throughout many points in common. It is notable for isocola and antithesis, and is distinctly ornate.

Appian's narrative is too rapid to admit much speech-making. The *De Rebus Punicis* contains a few, but all are very brief. The nearest approach to an epideictic speech is found in the *De Bellis Civilibus*, Book II, where speeches are assigned to Pompey, Caesar, and Antony, characterized by slight epideictic touches. Pseudo-Callisthenes has many short speeches devoid of epideictic character.

Later historians, such as Herodianus, Theophylactus, and Zosimus, present nothing worthy of comment in this connection further than is noted under the topic "generals' speeches."

The special epideictic devices used so freely in the funeral orations and other more technically epideictic forms run throughout the speeches as found in the historians. As in the *ἐπιτάφιοι* the antithesis *κοινός-ἴδιος* is the most frequent. This is especially true of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In order of frequency follow: *λόγος-ἔργον*, *πολύς-ὀλίγος*, *δίκαιος-ἀδίκαιος*, *θάνατος-ἀθάνατος* (this antithesis is also expressed in many other ways); *ἐλευθερία* is a common word and theme. Such stereotyped antitheses are most numerous in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but are common in Thucydides and others.

The speeches found in the works of Greek historians naturally deal with a great variety of themes. They grow from the situation arising in the narrative and throw light upon this situation,

or argue some question connected with the state or the individuals involved. The conditions of historical writing preclude, as a rule, the repeated intrusion of the same topic, or the presence of the same speech in many different authors. The speeches connected with the appeal to Coriolanus,<sup>1</sup> and that spoken by Nicias in the Syracuse campaign, and orations before battle by Scipio and Hannibal, are among the few instances of speeches represented as given by the same person under the same circumstances by different historians. Warfare, however, furnishes a theme for speeches common to almost all writers of history. The most distinctive, fully developed, and persistent single type of speech among historians is the general's oration before battle, urging his army to deeds of valor. Over forty such speeches are extant in Greek literature alone. The theme and the situation present the greatest temptation to epideictic treatment, and such a style is universally employed even by writers who elsewhere present little or no tendency to epideictic forms. While it is true that the general's speech is not one of the recognized divisions of epideictic oratory in Menander or Dionysius of Halicarnassus, its importance and frequency are greater, and it preserves its identity even more thoroughly, than many of those which have unquestioned recognition and detailed rhetorical presentation. We may note, however, in addition to the fact that in secs. 2 and 3 it has a direct reference to the general's speech, that the *προτρεπτικὸς ἀθληταῖς* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>2</sup> comes nearer than anything else in rhetoric to containing a theoretical outline of this well-defined form. The conditions under which this speech is supposed to be delivered are those of an army at the moment of conflict, and the speech of exhortation follows a similar outline. The *προτρεπτικὸς ἀθληταῖς* is a speech at a *πανήγυρις*, but it praises the contestants who are present to compete for prizes rather than

<sup>1</sup> Dio Cas., I, fg. 17, 7, 8, 9, p. 52; Dionys. of Hal., VIII, 39-42; Plut., V, *Coriol.*; Livy, II, 40; cf. for Nicias, Thuc., VII, 61; D. Sic., XIII, 15; for Scipio and Hannibal, Appian, *De Rebus Punicis*; Polybius, III, 63, 64; Livy, XXI, 40-44.

<sup>2</sup> The fact is noted on p. 232 that the *προτρεπτικὸς* of Lesbos is a general's speech; see Didot ed. of *Att. Or.*, Vol. II.

the *πανήγυρις*. It is sometimes made by the agonothete himself. It considers the character of the contest. An oration is needed, as in war (sec. 2): *λόγος γὰρ εἰς πάντα ἐπιτήδειος, καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἐπιρρώνυσιν· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ πολέμου καὶ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως δέονται στρατιῶται τοῦ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγου καὶ τῆς προτροπῆς,<sup>1</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγένοντο.* Again, in sec. 3: Oratory is of value to spur on athletes to noble deeds, and it is compared to that addressed to soldiers by their generals: *ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ οἱ γησιώτατοι, παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγους ἀκούσαντες, μάλιστα φιλοτιμοῦνται περὶ τὴν νίκην, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσι προτρεπτικούς λόγους οἰκειῶς ἀναδεξάμενοι· μάλιστα γὰρ ὀρέγοντο τοῦ παραγενέσθαι.* This section sets forth the glory of the contest and of the victory. Sections 4 and 5 contain topics appropriate to the *πανηγυρικὸς λόγος*, as is directly stated, sec. 5, *init.* Section 6 refers, as in the case of the general's speech, to their past achievements as an encouragement to victory. Section 7 makes reference to their ancestors who have conquered in like circumstances. Note in connection with this the staple *τόποι* of the general's speech; see pp. 212 f.

There is also occasionally in the introduction of extant orations a reference to the appropriateness or universality of such a speech. In discussing the necessary qualifications for a general, Socrates says that the general will, of course, know what words he should speak *στρατιώταις παραινῶντι* better than the rhapsodist (Plato, *Ion*, 540 D.). Plutarch (*Praec. Ger. Reip.*, VI, 7, 803 B), after approving a moderate epideictic element in political speech, since it admits of sententious style, historical references, fables, and metaphors, more than the juridical, recognizes the purely artificial character of the general's speech by adding: "but as for the rhetorical orations and periods of Ephorus, Theopompus, and Anaximenes, which they made after they had armed and arranged their armies, one may say: 'None talk so foolishly so near the sword'" (Eurip., *Autolykus*, fg. 284, 22). Compare also Polybius, XII, 25, who criticises Timaeus' disregard of truth in "public

<sup>1</sup> For *παραινέσις* as the technical term for the general's speech see p. 229, footnote 1.

speeches, *military harangues*, ambassadors' orations, and all compositions of that class." Theon (Sp. II, 115) refers to the general's speech under the *προγυμνάσματα*. Speaking of the proper uses of the *προσωποποιία* he says: *στρατηγὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τοῖς κινδύνους*. Compare also Theophylactus, III, 14, 1: *συνδιετίθεντο γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς ταῖς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραινέσεσιν*. Cicero (*Orat.*, 21, 66) refers to exhortations (*hortationes*) as a characteristic feature of history. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 87, refers to the fact that generals *ἱκανοὶ λέγειν* were in demand; compare S. Dehner, *Hadriani Reliquiae* (Bonn, 1883), 10. Speeches after battle were of frequent occurrence. Hermogenes, Sp. II, 15, 27, gives as a sample topic for the *ἠθοποιία* words which a general might speak after a victory.

All speeches of this character follow with varying exactness a well-defined series of *τόποι* and are artificial in the extreme. This type appears very early and continues almost unmodified to the time of the Byzantine historians. Like almost all other types, it may be said to have its beginning in Homer in the words of encouragement uttered by leaders before battle. We see evidence of it in other poetry, *e. g.*, Aesch., *Persae*, 400 ff.; Eurip., *Suppl.*, 700 ff.; *Heracleidae*, 820 ff.

Herodotus shows the general's speech in rudimentary form. In the famous speech by Xenophon (*Anab.*, III, 2) it becomes well developed.<sup>1</sup> The same *τόποι* are found in Herodianus and Theophylactus, showing its persistence.<sup>2</sup> The general's speech is

<sup>1</sup> His speech is a model of its kind, if a few neighboring sections are included with the main oration, *e. g.*, *Anab.*, III, 2, 8-32, and III, 1, 20-24, 42, 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> The formal and epideictic character of this type is equally noticeable in Latin literature. The numerous and prominent examples in Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Quinctius Curtius are familiar. In imitation of the ancients Tasso causes his leaders to deliver harangues quite in the style of the general's speech as outlined here; *cf.* XX, 14 ff.; IX, 17 ff.; IV, 9 ff.; *cf.* also the brief addresses on either side in Milton's *P. L.*, Book VI. In the time of the crusades and later mediæval history similar speeches may be found, but it does not agree with modern taste to ascribe long speeches to generals in impossible conditions. With the passing of the speech as a feature of history this, the most purely rhetorical of them all, has also gone. The most notable instance in a comparatively recent period is that of Napoleon I., who addressed his armies in a style comparable to that ascribed to generals by

a compound of commonplaces calculated to belittle the enemy's power and the danger of battle, and to make the most of any real or fancied superiority on the side of the army addressed. The characteristic *τόποι* may be established by comparison of the typical speeches of this class. I have chosen the following, representing a considerable range both in the character and the period of the historians: Phormio, Thuc., II, 89; Cyrus, Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, I, 4; Hannibal and Scipio, Polyb., III, 63; Postumius on the eve of a battle with the Latins, Dionys. of Hal., VI, 6; Nicias at Syracuse, Diod. Sic., 18, 15; Alexander to the army before the battle of Issus, Arrian, *De Ex. Alex.*, II, 83; Caesar before the battle with Ariovistus, Dio Cas., 38, chaps. 36-46; Antony before Actium, Dio Cas., 50, 16-24; Augustus Caesar before Actium, Dio Cas., 50, 24-30; Severus to his army, Herodianus, III, 6. The following are the usual *τόποι*:

1. The ancestry—their glorious deeds, how they dared zealously for the state, regarding the public interests as personal and personal interests as public. They were few against many, but conquered. They toiled joyously, kept the old possessions, and acquired new. Especial reference is made to their achievements against the very enemy with whom battle is now impending. This *τόπος* is used by Postumius, Augustus, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Nicias, Cyrus, Xenophon (*Anab.*, III, 2), Scipio.

2. With such ancestry do not disgrace your heritage; Julius Caesar, Nicias, Xenophon.

3. A comparison of forces; Julius Caesar, Antony, Augustus Caesar, Alexander, Postumius, Severus, Cyrus, Phormio, Hannibal, Scipio.

4. In war valor, not numbers, prevails; Julius Caesar, Antony, Postumius, Severus, Phormio, Xenophon, Alexander, Fabius.

5. The most magnificent prizes await the victors; Julius Caesar, Antony, Postumius, Xenophon, Alexander, Augustus, Hannibal.

the ancient Greek historians; *cf.* his proclamation before Austerlitz and that on the first anniversary of that battle, or that on the morning of the battle of Moscow, etc.

6. The auspices are favorable, the gods are our allies; Postumius, Severus, Xenophon, Alexander, Cyrus.

7. Death is glorious to the brave; Postumius, Hannibal.

8. The disgrace of defeat; Julius Caesar, Augustus, Postumius, Nicias, Hannibal.

9. We have conquered this enemy before; Severus, Xenophon, Alexander, Fabius, Postumius, Severus, Phormio, Scipio.

10. The wrongs suffered from this enemy; the war is just; Julius Caesar, Antony, Severus, Xenophon, Augustus.

11. An appeal to patriotism; Postumius, Alexander, Augustus.

12. Our commander is superior to that of the enemy; Alexander, Antony, Augustus, Scipio.

Other speeches of this character are found as follows:

Dio Cassius, Book XLI, chap. 27, Caesar to discontented army; L, 16, Antony to his army; LXII, 9, 10, 11, three brief general's speeches.

Appian, Book II, chap. 73 (*De Bel. Civ.*), Caesar to his army; IV, 90 (*ibid.*), Cassius to his army; IV, 117 (*ibid.*), Brutus to his army; IV, 119 (*ibid.*), Antony to his army; VIII, 19 (*De Bel. Pun.*), Scipio to his army; VIII, 116 (*ibid.*), Scipio to his army.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book IX, chap. 9, Fabius to his army.

Diodorus Siculus, Book XIII, chap. 15, Nicias to army; XIII, 98, Callicratides to his army.

Herodianus, Book VIII, chap. 3; II, 10.

Theophylactus, Book II, chap. 13; *cf.* also 14, and III, 13, for short speeches.

Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, VI, 4, 12, Cyrus to his army.

Thucydides, Book II, chap. 87, a general to his army; II, 89, Phormio to the sailors; IV, 10, Demosthenes to his army; IV, 95, Hippocrates to his army; IV, 126, Brasidas to his army; VI, 68, Meias to his army; VII, 61, Nicias to the navy; VII, 66, Gylippus to the navy.

Polybius, Book I, chap. 27, a general to the army; III, 44, Hannibal to the army; III, 63, Hannibal to his army; III, 64, Scipio to his army; III, 108, Aemilius to his army; III, 111,



Hannibal to his army; XI, 28, Scipio to his army; XI, 31, Scipio to his army; XX, 10, Hannibal to his army; XV, 10, Scipio to his army; XV, 11, Hannibal to his army.

Arrian, Book II, chap. 7, Alexander before the battle of Issus; V, 25, Alexander at the Hyphasis; VII, 9, Alexander to soldiers proposing to return.

Josephus, *Hist. Jews*, XV, 5, Herod to his army.

### The Epideictic Element in Philosophy.

The investigations of the pre-Socratics were almost wholly devoted to an inquiry into the origin and constitution of the universe. Studies of this character have seldom found expression in epideictic style.<sup>1</sup> Some left no written works; some employed poetry as the vehicle of communication; those who made use of prose present little which can rightly be considered epideictic in theme or style.<sup>2</sup> The Sophists form an exception. With them the case is quite reversed. The rhetorical side becomes as strong as the philosophical is weak. The interest in artistic speech which followed the Persian wars was nowhere greater than among the Sophists. Their self-imposed task as general educators in matters public and private tended to increase the importance which they assigned to charm and impressiveness in presentation. The

A notable instance of the employment of stylistic charm even in cosmological studies may be seen in Plato; cf. Shorey, "The Interpretation of the *Timaeus*," *Amer. Jour of Phil.*, IX, pp. 401 ff.; 408 ff. On the general topic of the rhetorical influence upon philosophy see the handbooks, especially Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (1898), 104 ff., 154, n. 1, and elsewhere; Rohde, *Griechische Román* (1900), pp. 344 ff.

<sup>1</sup>It is true that some of the most permanent features of fine writing appear already in Heraclitus and Empedocles. The former, the first *great* prose writer, is justly styled the "source of a current in literature." His prose was rhythmical. Heraclitus and, perhaps in imitation of him, Empedocles made frequent use of the great antinomies of thought which gave rise later to mere rhetorical antithesis. It is thought that Gorgias was a pupil of Empedocles (cf. Quintil., III, 2), and gained from him some features later made so prominent in his style. Diels ("Gorgias u. Empedocles," in *Sitzungsber d. Berl. Ak.*, 1884, 343) presents evidence in regard to Empedocles' influence on Gorgias, both in philosophy and rhetoric; cf. Dümmler, *Academica*, 36, 1; cf. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 16f.

newly formed rhetoric of Sicily was turned to their uses. The intermingling of rhetoric and philosophy was a necessary result of the new themes which philosophy discussed and the fact that discussion became so general. The great Sophists, Protagoras, Gorgias, Hippias, Prodicus, though classed as philosophers as well, stand for nothing so much as brilliance of oratorical display. So, too, with those of lesser renown—notably Alcidas, Polus, Protagoras, and Thrasymachus of Chalcedon. Among the early philosophers we may note here Democritus (fifth century B. C.), who is characterized as a writer remarkable for eloquence, impetuosity, and brilliance, with use of poetic illustrations.<sup>1</sup>

Among the followers of Socrates, not to speak of Xenophon (see pp. 203 f.), Aeschines was well versed in the rhetorical art, and as an orator wrote in special imitation of Gorgias.<sup>2</sup>

The Megarians are said to have devoted themselves to idle and trivial disputations.

Taking the term "epideictic" in its widest application—a style of prose in which ornateness is introduced in a conscious effort to please, Plato is a most conspicuous example of its use. Aristotle, though no stylist in his extant works, is praised by Cicero and others for eloquence and beauty of style (see also p. 218, n. 1). The attitude of the immediate followers of Plato toward rhetoric and the niceties of style was determined largely by his supposed hostility. His attacks upon the Sophists, his denunciation of that prostitution of the rhetorical art which would employ it for empty display or to secure an unworthy end, were interpreted as directed against oratory in itself. Little attention was paid to rhetoric or style until the time of Carneades (second century B. C.); yet this period, marked by indifference or open hostility on the part of the schools as a whole, presents several names associated with fine diction. For a favorable view of the Academy see Cicero, *Or.* 3, 12: "I confess that I have been made an orator such as I am, not by the workshop of the rhetoricians, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *De Orat.*, I, 10, 42 and 49; *Or.* 20, 67; *De Div.*, II, 64, 133; Diog. Laert., IX, 40; Plut., *Qu. Conv.*, V, 7, 6, 2; Dion. of Hal., *De Comp. Verb.*, c. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert., II, 63; cf. also Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, IX, 559 (Longinus).

by the walks of the Academy. For that is the school of manifold and various discourse in which first of all are imprinted the footsteps of Plato, . . . for all that copiousness and abounding source of eloquence is derived from these men." Compare *Brut.*, 31, 121; 97, 333; *De Orat.*, I, 13, 55 and 56; Reid's ed., *Acad.*, Introd., p. 13: "Cicero calls eloquence the child of the Academy." He cites *Parad.*, sec. 2; *De Fat.*, 3; *Tusc.*, I, 7; *De Off.*, I, 3; *De Fin.*, IV, 5. We may note also Tac., *Dial.*, 31.

In the fourth century Xenocrates was of sufficient eminence as an orator to be employed on an embassy. Crantor was a writer of choice diction and pleasing fulness. Diog. Laert., IV, 27; Cic., *Acad. Q.*, II, 44, 135; for a fragment see Sext. Emp., XI, 51-8; Zeller (*Plato and the Academy*, 553). Polemo thought philosophy should concern itself with matters of practical import only; Diog. Laert., IV, 18. He wrote on literary topics, but was in general averse to popular display; Diog. Laert., *l. c.* Arcesilaus (Arcesilas) belongs to the third century. Cicero, *De Orat.*, III, 18, 67, says: "Arcesilas employed an eminently graceful manner of speaking, . . . He was the first to adopt the practice of not declaring what he himself thought, but disputing what any other person said that he [Arcesilaus] thought." Diogenes Laertius says (IV, 28, speaking of the Academy) that he began the custom of disputing both sides of a question. Elsewhere (IX, 51) he represents this idea as originating with Protagoras. Cicero (*Tusc.*, II, 3, 9) likes this custom as giving scope for eloquence, and says that Aristotle first made use of it, and later all the Aristotelians as well as the Academy.<sup>1</sup> Quintilian (XII, 2, 25) makes the practice peculiar to the Academy and adds that it is likely to prove serviceable to eloquence.<sup>2</sup> The custom, wherever practiced, has naturally a strong epideictic tendency. Carneades is a notable example. Arcesilaus is compared with him, Cic., *De Orat.*, III, 21, 80. Crates (third century B. C.) left orations delivered to assemblies and speeches as ambassador; Diog. Laert., IV, 23.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *De Orat.*, I, 8, 84; III, 27, 107, 108.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. XII, 1, 35; Diog. Laert., VII, 184.

The second century B. C. is rendered notable by Carneades, whose epideictic displays at Rome and elsewhere occasioned so much discussion. He marks the entrance of a new spirit into the Academy, a reversal of its traditional attitude. His striking eloquence is often referred to.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus of Adramyttium (second century B. C.) united philosophy and rhetoric (Strabo, XIII, 1, 66). As in the first period when the school avoided rhetorical display, so after Carneades there were some who stood out in opposition to the general trend, adhering to hereditary teachings. Clitomachus of Carthage (second century B. C.) was a pupil of Carneades, but a professed enemy of rhetoric, though his *consolatio* on the fall of Carthage would seem to have been of an epideictic character (Cicero., *Tusc.*, III, 22, 54). Cicero (*Tusc.*, II, 3, 9) shows that Philo of Larissa (first century B. C.) was enthusiastically devoted to rhetoric as well as philosophy. He is classed (*Tusc.*, II, 11, 26) among those not only very eloquent, but also fond of introducing appropriate lines from the poets. Charmides (Charmadas in Cicero), also of the first century, was as remarkable for eloquence as was Clitomachus for genius (Cic., *Acad. P.*, II, 6, 16). He held that philosophy was the only source of eloquence (Cic., *De Orat.*, I, 18, 84 ff.), denying that rhetoric was of any value in gaining it. He is classed among those who would relegate oratory to the court and petty-assembly *tamquam in aliquod pistrinum* (Cic., *De Orat.*, I, 11, 46); compare also Or. 16, 51, where Carneades compares the diction of Charmides and that of Clitomachus. Charmides seems a fair representative of a class of philosophers who, though employing the arts of eloquence themselves, affect to despise rhetoric and deny its influence upon oratory.<sup>2</sup>

The Peripatetics had always an appreciation of the beauties of language, and seemed to pride themselves upon their devotion both to the theory and the practice. The Academy justified its hostility by a one-sided interpretation of Plato, and the Peripatetics in their opposite position made appeal also to the founder

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *De Orat.*, I, 45, 49; II, 38, 161; III, 18, 68; *Acad.*, I, 12, 46; II, 18, 60; *De Rep.*, III, 8; *De Fin.*, III, 12, 41; and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sext. Empiricus, p. 678 (Bekk.).

of their school and his immediate successors. Cicero (*De Orat.*, I, 10, 43) says: The Peripatetics hold that the very aids and ornaments of speech which you consider the peculiar property of orators must be sought from *them*. (They say) that Aristotle and Theophrastus wrote more copiously and better than all the masters of the art of speech.<sup>1</sup>

Cicero probably refers to the general course of Peripatetic philosophy, but in the case of the Academy chiefly to his own or the immediately preceding period, when he speaks of the "delicate and flowing style of the Peripatetics and the Academy," and adds that their language is "too diffuse and luxuriant for a spirited contest in the forum or a pleading at the bar" (*Brut.*, 31, 121).<sup>2</sup>

In harmony with the general favor in which the Peripatetics held graceful writing is the fact that more than the other schools they seem to have taken up literary and historical studies.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Orat.*, I, 5, and *Tusc.*, I, 4, 7: "joined eloquence with philosophy" (cf. Heine's note), and *Brut.*, 31, 119 and 120, where he indicates that he regards the Peripatetic philosophy as the most proper to form the ideal orator's style upon; cf. *De Orat.*, III, 35, 141; *Orat.* 19, 62; *Quintil.*, III, 1, 15; XII, 2, 25; *Tac., Dial.*, 31. For general appreciative reference to Aristotle's style see note, Wilkins' *De Orat.*, I, 11, 49. To the references there Grote adds (*Aristotle*, I, 43), *Ad Att.*, II, 1; *Dion. of Hal., De Comp. Verb.*, chap. xxiv; *Demetrius* (Spengel, III, 290, 27). We may add still further *Cic., Tusc.*, I, 4, 7; *De Orat.*, III, 18, 67; III, 35, 140-44.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero is not careful to distinguish between the Platonists and Aristotelians in his references to the rhetorical qualities of philosophical schools; cf. Teuffel and Schwabe, *Lat. Lit.*, sec. 183; *Cic., Brut.*, chap. 31. *et passim*. The Academy and the Peripatetics are referred to separately as contributing much to oratory, but in several of the more notable passages the two schools are joined; e. g., *De Fin.*, IV, 3, 6, where he grows enthusiastic over their "instances of good speaking in orations," their "polish and fitness," and their "brilliance of language." "With what splendid language have they adorned that part of the subject which requires ornate and impressive eloquence, discussing justice . . . not like men picking out thorns—the Stoics . . . but like men who knew how to handle great subjects elegantly. What therefore are their consolations? what their exhortations?" Cf. also *De Orat.*, III, 27, 107, 108, 109: "omnem civilem orationem in horum alterutro genere versari." Cicero's ideal orator is a combination of the orator and the philosopher: cf. *De Orat.*, I, 15, 68; *Tusc.*, I, 26, 64, 65; V, 2, 5, 6; *De Orat.*, I, 3, 9; I, 10, 43; II, 16, 60, 61; III, 143; *Orat.* 3, 12, 13. His own power as an orator is due to philosophy: *Tusc.*, I, 3, 6; *Ora.*, 3, 12, 13; *De Or.*, I, 20, 91; *P. Arch.*, VI, 12, 13.

Zeller (*Aristotle*, II, 451) says that no philosopher after Strato merits the name of an independent thinker. The school cultivated history, literature, and grammar, and devoted itself zealously to rhetoric and ethics. This last statement must apply, though in a lesser degree, to the period preceding Strato.

The successor of Aristotle was given the name Theophrastus in recognition of the "divine character of his eloquence."<sup>1</sup> Strabo (XIII, 2, 4) says "Aristotle made all his disciples eloquent, but Theophrastus most eloquent of all." Heraclides of Pontus (fourth century B. C.) was a versatile writer in general literature and rhetoric and philosophy. He wrote histories, some in the style of comedy and some in that of tragedy. His writings are *κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα*, Diog. Laert., V, 86-90.

Of Callisthenes of Olynthus (fourth century B. C.) Cicero says (*De Orat.*, II, 14, 58) that his style was appropriate for rhetorical declamation rather than history; cf. *Ad Quint.*, XI (XIII), 4; Plutarch (*Alex.*, 53 and 54) shows his dexterity in arguing both sides of a question epideictically.

Clearchus of Soli (fourth century B. C.) is styled by Zeller (*Aristotle*, II, 443) a man of literature rather than a philosopher. Lynceus and Praxiphanes (fourth century B. C.) are cited by the same authority as among those who turned from philosophy "to history, history of literature, politics, ethics, and rhetoric."<sup>2</sup> Demetrius of Phalerum, at the very close of this century, presents the style of the philosopher combined with the orator's strength and impressiveness; Diog. Laert., V, 82. A versatile writer: "the most polished of all these orators;" Cicero, *De Orat.*, II, 23, 95; *Orat.* 27, 92, 94; *Brut.*, IX, 37; *De Off.*, I, 1, 3, speaks of his pre-eminence as a philosopher and orator. Strato, of the third century, was chiefly noted as a natural scientist.<sup>3</sup> Ritter, *Hist.*

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert., V, 38; Strabo, XIII, 2, 4; Cic., *Orat.* 19, 62; Quintil., X, 1, 83; Cic., *Tusc.*, V, 9, 24; *De Orat.*, I, 11, 49; III, 48, 184; and *Brut.*, 9, 38; 31, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, "Asianismus und Atticismus," *Hermes*, XXXV (1900), 16, refers to the epideictic tendency of Aristotle's immediate friends and pupils.

<sup>3</sup> Gross' statement (*Philodemus*, LV) seems to be based upon a misinterpretation of Diog. Laert., V, 58.

of *Phil.*, III, 370, says that after him came the period of affected ornament. Lyco of Troas (third century B. C.) is classed by Ritter, *l. c.*, with Aristo of Ceos and Critolaus as one of those who helped clothe philosophy in the mantle of oratory (Strabo, X, 5, 6). Cicero (*De Fin.*, V, 5, 13) speaks of him as a man rich in eloquence. Diog. Laert. (V, 66) terms him a surpassingly sweet speaker, and as evidence of his reputation in this regard adds a current play upon his name.

Aristo of Ceos is fixed for us as a philosopher of strong epideictic tendency by Strabo's (X, 5, 6) characterization: "The oldest imitator of Bion." Cicero (*De Fin.*, V, 5, 13) says he was a "neat and elegant writer" of "polished style," but lacking in dignity.

In the second century B. C. Critolaus was one of the embassy to Rome (155 B. C.), where he gained great favor as an orator. His style was *scita et teretia* (Gell., VI, I4, 10). Cicero (*De Fin.*, V, 5, 14) refers to his eloquence.<sup>1</sup> Quintilian (II, 17, 15) shows that he wrote also on rhetoric. Sextus Empiricus (p. 677, 10, Bekk.) says that Critolaus and his followers, noticing the ease with which rhetoric was prostituted, spoke ill of it and called it *κακοτεχνία*.

Agatharchides (second century B. C.) wrote on grammar, history, and geography. Photius says his style was dignified, clear, full of sententious passages. In his speeches he imitated Thucydides. Apellicon of Teos (first century B. C.) was employed as an ambassador in the war against Mithridates. Athenaeus of Seleucia (first century B. C.) was among those who styled rhetoric the art of deceiving.

The Stoics, like the Peripatetics, regarded rhetoric as of great importance. But their interest was in its formal side rather than in rhetoric as a means of securing the more pleasing qualities of style. Diogenes Laertius says (VII, 42) that the Stoics adopted the common definition of rhetoric as the art of speaking well *περὶ τῶν ἐν διεξόδῳ λόγων*; but with them speaking well was speaking the exact truth (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, VII, 8, 20).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *De Orat.*, II, 38, 160.

In spite of individuals of marked epideictic characteristics, it is a just representation of the school as a whole which Quintilian gives (X, 1, 84): "The old Stoics paid but little attention to elocution. They had great power of reasoning and in enforcing what they taught. They were rather acute in discussing their subjects than lofty in style—an excellence at which they certainly do not aim." So also Cicero, *Brut.*, 31, 119 ff.: "They [the Stoics] devote their whole time to the study of logic and never trouble to acquire the free, fluent, varied style. Your uncle [Cato] gained what the Stoics could give—the art of reasoning, but for the art of speaking went to the masters of rhetoric."<sup>1</sup> The Stoics use "language which is not clear, smooth, and flowing; but meager and dry, broken and disjointed; and if anyone shall approve such a style, he will do so with this limitation, that it is not suited for the orator" (*De Orat.*, II, 38, 159).<sup>2</sup>

Aristo of Chios is styled by Diog. Laert. (VII, 161) a man of persuasive eloquence and of great popularity with the masses. He was popularly called the "siren." Zeller (*Epicureans and Stoics*, 60) says he was fluent and wordy, and adds that he condemned logic.

Diogenes the Stoic was one of the embassy to Rome (155 B. C.), and there made epideictic speeches. His style was *modesta et sobria* (Gell., VI, 14, 10).

Mnesarchus (second century B. C.) is classed (Cic., *De Orat.*, I, 11, 45, 46) among those who would relegate oratory to the court and petty-assembly *tamquam in aliquod pistrinum*. In *De Orat.*, I, 18, 83, he is represented as saying: "Those whom we call orators are nothing but a set of mechanics, with glib and well-practiced tongues. No one can be an orator but the man of true wisdom—the philosopher." Panaetius of Rhodes (second century B. C.) is said to have aimed at a more brilliant rhetorical style. Cicero (*De Fin.*, IV, 28, 79) shows that he was fond of quoting Plato, Xenophon, and Theophrastus. His belief that a lawyer is justified in supporting the probable, even

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Brut.*, 31, 118.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Brut.*, 31, 118, end; *De Orat.*, III, 18, 65 and 66.



though it be not altogether true (*De Off.*, II, 14, 51), may throw some light on the character of his style. Strabo (III, 2, 9) speaks of an exaggerated rhetorical style as characteristic of Posidonius (first century B. C.). He was a versatile writer, an ambassador to Rome in 86 B. C. He discoursed with dignity and fluency on the value of pain, while being tortured by the gout (Cic., *Tusc.*, II, 25, 61). His style was far removed from the ungraceful stiffness which frequently characterized the Stoics. Athenodorus of Tarsus (first century B. C.) won great influence through his capacity for discoursing at great length without preparation on any given subject. Among the Romans Seneca (first century B. C.) presents the epideictic qualities in great prominence. Quintilian (X, 1, 125) does not approve his style; cf. Aul. Gell., XII, 12. The views of the Stoics of the second century A. D. may be gathered from the writings of Epictetus, who, while professing approval of skill in argument, urges those who would follow real philosophy to make eloquence purely subordinate.<sup>1</sup> In III, 23, he chides those who are fond of ostentation. Philosophy must attract by its teachings, not through display. Hearers should leave the school with pain rather than with pleasure. It is a school of surgery. He quotes Rufus as saying that, if one had leisure to praise him, he was speaking to no purpose. His *Enchiridion*, 33, 11, advises against attending private display-recitations; cf. also 1, 26. He does not entirely reject care about speaking, but men must not be captivated by it as by a siren (1, 23, end). Plato's eloquence was no aid to his philosophy (1, 8).<sup>2</sup>

The attitude of the Epicureans upon the question of fine writing is quite similar to that of the Stoics, and their theories were fully observed in practice. Epicurus cared nothing for logic or literature. He thought rhetoric of value only to give clearness (Diog. Laert., X, 13). His writings, however, are not characterized by this quality, and are not free from ostentation. Diogenes Laertius, X, 2, says he was led to the study of philosophy

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, 8; I, 7; I, 17; II, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Simplicius on Epictetus, chaps. 49, 33, 11; 44 and 45.

by a contempt for the grammarians who could not explain certain points in Hesiod. His advice is: "Avoid all kinds of education."<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes the grammarian (Diog. Laert., X, 13) censures his choice of words; Cicero (*Tusc.*, II, 3, 8) speaks, as though voicing the general sentiment, in derision of Epicurus and the whole school as taking no pains to express themselves well and therefore unfit to be read. This agrees with other evidence that the hostility of Epicurus had become hereditary in the school.

Hermarchus of Mitylene (270 B. C.) was his successor. Diogenes Laertius (X, 24) says that he was devoted to rhetoric, and that his writings were "*κάλλιστα*." Cicero classes Metrodorus (fourth century B. C.) with Epicurus in his censure (*Tusc.*, II, 3, 4). Lucretius seems checked in his natural tendency to eloquent style by his adherence to Epicureanism.<sup>2</sup> A bitter opponent of rhetoric appears in the first century B. C. in the person of Philodemus. He follows and enlarges upon the teachings of Epicurus. His views are set forth in his rhetoric. He is especially opposed to the claim that rhetoric can fit youth for public life. He compares rhetoric and philosophy, to the disadvantage of the former. Rhetoric contributes nothing to human welfare. Rhetors are sycophants; they get money falsely; they destroy the people. Philosophy is the benefactor of the race; it is the only source of right living, the true basis for oratory. His position on the question, is

<sup>1</sup> Diog. L., X, 6; cf. also Quintil., XII, 2, 24; II, 17, 15; Cic., *De Fin.*, I, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Lucretius, speaking of the inspiration of his theme (I, 921 ff.) and the pleasures of poetry, assumes a distinctly apologetic tone. He makes haste to give his didactic and scientific purpose the chief prominence. He excuses for the use of verse and for poetic beauty, and shows the estimate he would place upon it by comparing it to the honey with which physicians smear the cup that contains a bitter potion. The same comparison is made, Book IV, 1-25, and for the same purpose. In I, 143 ff. and elsewhere, the subordination of literary beauty is made clear; cf. I, 415. He puts forth lucidity as his great aim, I, 143, 144, 415, 933. He speaks in scorn (I, 643, 644) of those who

veraque constituunt, quae belle tangere possunt  
auris et lepido quae sunt fucata sonore.

The exceeding difficulty of his task is referred to I, 136-9, 920-50; III, 258-61.

rhetoric an art? is somewhat inconsistent. At one time he makes full denial (see p. 225, end); at another he seems to hold, against other Epicureans, that Sophistic rhetoric is an art. There is no art of forensic or judicial oratory. Every man's general knowledge will answer for that. The question is discussed, *e. g.*, Vol. I, pp. 68, 69 (*Suppl.*; p. 34, Sudhaus); *Suppl.*, 38, 45, 47, 61, 22, Vol. II, p. 235.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The conflict between rhetoric and philosophy was long and memorable. Their rivalry had a basis in differing views in regard to the theory and method of intellectual and moral training. There was added to this in many cases bitter personal animosity. The periods of most heated strife were the fifth and second centuries B. C. and the second and fourth A. D. Between these the conflict lulled. Sometimes one side or the other seemed almost conquered, only to revive and renew the struggle on slightly different grounds. With such fluctuations it continued for more than eight centuries. The Greeks traced both their rhetoric and their philosophy back to Homer. But previous to the close of the fifth century neither had received formal study; they were not reduced to a system, and no rivalry existed. The philosophical studies of the pre-Socratics were not of such a nature as to come into special conflict with oratory. The two did not occupy common territory. Then came the conscious effort to formulate the laws of language and argumentation, and to teach men to speak well. Oratory also claimed to give ethical and political culture. At almost the same time Socrates created a new meaning for philosophy—the study of men rather than of the physical universe. His successors followed him in this, though with less rigid adherence to his limitations. From this time on philosophy in its highest sense meant the pursuit of truth. While this conception of philosophy was in process of formation the Sophists precipitated conflict by the extent and character of their pretensions. They claimed to be the exponents of culture, to unite in themselves philosophy and rhetoric. The task of educating the youth should fall to them. In a sense their claims were well founded, but neither their rhetoric nor their philosophy was of the higher type. Truth was not the only or the chief aim in their investigations. The beautiful in form and the specious in argument were in many cases the limit of their search. Their educational aim was to produce the subtle man, the successful politician, rather than breadth of view and nobility of character. A quibble was as important a topic for discussion as a serious moral question. Rhetorical training sufficed for all the needs of life.

The strong grounds taken by Plato in opposition to these defects in sophistic ideals is familiar. The lines on which the conflict was to be waged are already visible. It was carried on with vigor by the philosophers and the rhetors, who in a sense were the successors of the Sophists. It does not seem probable that this strife affected the mass of the people to any extent. Arnim supposes that, in spite of the radical differences between them, philosophy and rhetoric were looked upon only as two means of education

The Cynics were followers of Antisthenes (fourth century B. C.), so noted as an epideictic orator. He was a pupil of Gorgias, and retained, in some of his writings at least, the style peculiar to that school after he had turned to philosophical studies; Diog. Laert., VI, 2; *cf.* also, for his epideictic qualities, Diog. Laert., VI, 14. He was fond of playing on words. Antisthenes is the earliest writer in whose works a *διατριβή* is cited.<sup>1</sup> The Cynics and the Stoics were especially inclined to the adoption of this form, and some of its peculiar qualities are seen already in Antisthenes. Diogenes Laertius, VI, 9, may

differing chiefly in method. Socrates and Protagoras were to them men of the same calling. With modifications, it was the present-day question of the "practical" education *versus* general mental training. At the close of the fourth century B. C. rhetoric had taken a subordinate place. It was one of the culture topics, the *ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα*. The introduction of Greek civilization to Rome was simultaneous with the renewal of the slumbering rivalry. Should rhetoric or philosophy gain the greater influence? Philodemus, Sextus Empiricus, Quintilian, Cicero, and Lucian are the chief sources of information, and the points of attack were plainly much the same as in earlier centuries. The differences were still based on opposing conceptions of culture. Specific charges were brought against rhetoric:

1. It is not an art. It fails when tried by the Stoic definition of a *τέχνη*; *cf.*, *e. g.*, Sext. Emp., 10, 78, 26; Quintil., II, 17, 18, 27; II, 16, 1; II, 16, 11; Philod., I, 22; II, 107. A true art is the same regardless of time and place; rhetoric is not, so is not an art. A true art deals with the truth; rhetoric makes use of falsehoods, therefore is not an art; *cf.* Philod., 1, 22. All true arts have a definite end (*τέλος*) which they attain; rhetoric has not, therefore is not an art; Sext. Emp., 13; Quintil., II, 17, 22; Philod., II, 105, 125. The three kinds of oratory (*συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν*) each have a separate purpose and each fails.

2. Rhetoric lacks practical utility. Cities have expelled rhetoricians, notably Sparta, Athens, Crete, and Rome. There were orators before rhetoric existed and there are now, outside of the schools of rhetoric.

3. Rhetoric lacks a *ἴλη ἴδια* — a *materia propria*.

4. There were also attacks on the hollowness and pretension of rhetoric. It was a mere trick of persuasion. Facility in speaking must be viewed with suspicion. Sudhaus holds (ed. Philod.) that all these arguments were formulated by one person, Critolaus. In general on this question consult Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, p. 250, n. 2; p. 8, n. 2; Sudhaus, *Philodemus*, Suppl.; Arnim, *Dio von Prusa*, pp. 4-114 (1898).

<sup>1</sup> The *διατριβή* was a short discourse on some philosophical theme, with a slight dialogue between the speaker and an imagined opponent. For further discussion see pp. 234 ff.

perhaps imply his employment of inanimate objects as speakers. The passage represents a statue as speaking. Anaximenes of Lampsacus, 330 B. C., was a noted rhetorician. His history is blamed (Plut., *Praec. Pol.*, VI, 7) because of its many rhetorical speeches. Menippus of Gadara was a pure satirist. Monimus (fourth century B. C.) mingled jest with serious themes; Diog. Laert., VI, 83. Diogenes Laertius (IX, 110) says of Timon the Sceptic (third century B. C.) that he occupied himself with works quite inconsistent with philosophy—comedy, tragedy, lyric and epic poetry. He was witty and a satirist. Sextus Empiricus (beginning of third century A. D.) was strongly opposed to all forms of rhetoric.

The vast increase in the circle of interests embraced under the term "philosophy" not only favored the retention and rapid increase of epideictic features, but would have rendered their exclusion difficult. After Aristotle (the pre-Socratics and Sophists are referred to on p. 214; *cf.* p. 224) there were few who devoted themselves exclusively to philosophy in the stricter meaning. Isocrates had used the term in a very comprehensive sense. It became more and more inclusive. Aristotle's wider definition of philosophy, as including all scientific knowledge and research, became still further extended until Chrysippus styles it "the science of things divine and human." (This is repeated by Max. Tyr., 32, 1; see p. 239.) Cicero, *De Orat.*, I, 3, 6-12, calls philosophy "the originator and parent of all the arts which merit praise;" III, 35, 142, 143 "a union of wisdom and eloquence;" *cf.* also *Tusc.*, I, 26, 64, 65; V, 2, 5, 6. Plut., *Script. M. de Ed. Puerorum*, 10, says: The chief advantages gained from philosophy are "to honor parents, worship the gods, obey the laws, treat others well, restrain passion," etc., through a long list of moral and civic virtues, at whose basis, he claims, lies the study of philosophy. Philosophy thus becomes almost coextensive with all useful knowledge. The relations between this expanded and popularized philosophy and rhetoric were, from the very nature of the case, intimate. There was an instinctive feeling of kinship. They worked reciprocally. Philosophy had need of rhetoric to present

its principles and teachings in clear and, what was equally important, in pleasing and impressive manner, while the orator, who had already received a great part of his training in the schools of philosophy—the chief educational institutions of the time—naturally turned to it as furnishing popular material for the exercise of his oratorical powers. It agrees with this that so many were at the same time, or at different periods of their lives, philosophers and rhetors, or joined with philosophy studies in poetry, history, and general literature. Quintilian, III, 1, 15, says: “Philosophers have paid even more attention to rhetoric than the rhetors since Theophrastus.” Cicero (*Orat.* 3, 12, 13) says that he owed less to the schools of rhetoric than to the Academy.<sup>1</sup> In the latter passage the oratorical power of Pericles and of Demosthenes is ascribed to their philosophical studies. Plato (*Phaedrus*, 270 A) says that Pericles owes his great oratorical power to the philosophical training he received from intercourse with Anaxagoras; *cf.* *Plut., V. Pericles*. This is in proof of the general proposition that philosophical training is necessary for the highest excellence as a speaker. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ad Ammaeum de Demosth. et Aristot.*, chaps. 1–3, protests against the idea that Demosthenes gained his perfection of style from Aristotle. Isocrates, Cicero, and Themistius (each living in an age of sharp discussion between rhetoric and philosophy) are conspicuous among those who regarded themselves as embodying and reconciling rhetoric and philosophy.

With this natural affinity between philosophy and rhetoric we must connect as an auxiliary, also epideictic in its very nature, the relations between philosophy and religion. Philosophy had helped to destroy the old beliefs, and now assumed to supply their place. The entire field of morals was taken under its care. There were those who devoted themselves chiefly to theory, but others must pass about among the masses of the people and publish in popular form the teachings of philosophers, applying them to practical questions of everyday life. Some of these philosophers were men of independent power, but the great

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Quintil., X, 1, 81, and XII, 2, 22.

majority must have contented themselves with elaborating and presenting the thoughts of others. Wilamowitz characterizes the situation in the third century B. C.: The people wanted the teachings of the great leaders. They could not go to them. They must depend upon the "wandering preachers." Therefore their compositions were reproductions, expositions, sermons from a text furnished by some renowned philosopher, moralizing *παραινέσεις*, all popularized by verses from Homer and other familiar poets, witticisms, quotations from historians, and the like (condensed from *Antigonos v. Karystos*, 312).

There was temptation, to which many yielded, to reduce philosophy to idle trifling, to exalt the manner above the thought. Epideictic display is inherent in these conditions. The hollowness and pretense of much popular philosophy are implied in Appian, *Bell. Mith.*, XII, 5, 28.

Thus the enlarged scope of philosophy, its new relations with the masses of the people, its assumption of control over general education, and especially of religious instruction, the application of ethics to practical living, and in particular the relations between philosophy and rhetoric, lead to a prominence of the epideictic spirit in philosophy, governed in degree by the conditions of different periods and by individual character.

From the very earliest times we may discern a certain practical commingling of the epideictic and the philosophical. This is first noticeable in a union of the parenetic and the epideictic elements; *cf.* p. 96. The fact is noted on p. 136 that the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* exists contemporaneously and in close connection with a similar composition termed the *περὶ βασιλείας*, and that the latter in many cases differed chiefly in the more general, impersonal, and essay-like character of its treatment and in the prominence given to the *συμβουλευτικὸς* element. The *περὶ βασιλείας* has a special interest here from this latter point of view. Joined with the *προτρεπτικὸς*, which, in many cases at least, must have differed from it chiefly in being less restricted in its application, it is one of the oldest examples of a combination of the epideictic style and popular philosophy. These two forms have a long history.

The avowed purpose of the *περὶ βασιλείας*—to present the principles upon which a prince should base his rule and to portray the ideal sovereign (see p. 136)—is one which falls in easily with the natural tendency of the philosopher to turn preacher. It presents an honorable and attractive theme, and one, too, in which the display element could hardly be excluded. The origin of this form is epideictic (see p. 136). It is seen in Isocrates (*e. g.*, *Ad Nicoclem*) and in the works of Antisthenes, his contemporary (Diog. Laert., VI, 16). From this time on it has a prominent place in the history of moralizing philosophy. We find one or more treatises under this title credited by Diogenes Laertius to the following philosophers: Aristotle, Antisthenes, Cleanthes, Epicurus, Ocellus Lucanus, Persaeus, Sphaerus, Strato, Theophrastus (*cf.* p. 234).<sup>1</sup>

Previous to this Gorgias and Lysias in their display orations at Olympia had made the feature of advice an important part (*cf.* Isocrates, pp. 95, 96), and thus the introduction of the parenetic element in an *ἐπίδειξις* had received legitimization, if that were needed. The *προτρεπτικός*, *exhortatio*, or *παραινετικός*, as it is sometimes called,<sup>2</sup> has a long and interesting history (*cf.* Hartlich, *Leipziger Studien*, XI, 1889). In a broad way the *προτρεπτικός* is a union of philosophy and rhetoric. The Sophists

<sup>1</sup> For more purely epideictic orators who chose this theme see the list in the closing chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Hartlich, *Leipziger Studien*, XI, 222, *et passim*, discusses the meaning of the terms *παραίνεσις* and *προτρεπτικός λόγος*. He refers to the familiar synonymous use of *προτρεπτικός λόγος*, *πράκλισις*, and *προτροπή*. Here he might have added *ὁρμῶ* and its derivatives, especially *παρόρμησις*; *cf.* Iamblichus, *Protrep.*, ed. Pistelli, p. 24, 18 (*παρόρμησιν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν*), and elsewhere. But the unqualified assertion, "*παραίνεσις non est exhortatio, sed, ut Senecae verbo utar (Ep. 95, 65), praeceptio,*" while stating a true distinction, gives an impression of uniformity in the use of these words which is not warranted by the usage of Greek authors. The lack of separate rhetorical treatment in extant works renders the exact idea contained in these two terms more difficult to determine. The *προτρεπτικός ἀθληταῖς*, for which rules are given in Dionys. of Hal. (*Ars Rhet.*, chap. vii), is of little assistance. It is purely epideictic, and its connections are with the panegyric and the general's speech (*cf.* p. 232, and for further discussion of its relations to the general's speech, see pp. 209 ff.). It is quite a different thing from the *προτρεπτικός λόγος* as a characteristic speech of philosophy and rhetoric. The casual references to protreptic and parenetic



claimed that such a union existed in themselves, and with them doubtless this form originated, as Hirzel argues, *Hermes*, X, 61 ff. Isocrates (*Ad Demon.*, 3) implies a well-settled title.<sup>1</sup> It has no extant rhetorical treatment as a distinctive form of epideictic oratory. Menander recognizes it only as a concomitant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Euthyd.*, 278 D and 307 A, and elsewhere in Plato.

speech in Menander are also of little assistance to a clear idea of the use of these terms. In general we may say: (1) that such technical distinction as Hartlich states can be easily established and instances of its use presented; but (2) it is also true that in many cases the words seem to be used even by technical writers as fully interchangeable; and (3) in the vast majority of instances they are used in a loose, indefinite way, either with almost the same meaning, or more frequently with a more or less noticeable predominance of the precept character in the word *παραινώ* and its derivatives. We may add, at this point, that the lexicons (exc. Hesychius, cf. also Stephanus) fail to give any distinctive use of the words, and the meanings given there require no special notice. In trying to determine more fully their usage, we have consulted especially the following authors: Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Dion Chrysostomus, Iamblichus, Sextus Empiricus, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Andocides, Dinarchus, Lysias, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Herodotus, the rhetors as found in Spengel and Walz.

The narrow technical use of the words *παράνεσις* and *προτρεπτικός λόγος*, and the general scope of each, may be seen in such passages as Isoc., *Ad Demon.*, *init.* (cf. also Dionys. of Hal., *προσφωνητικός*, 1); Stobaeus, *Ecl.*, II, p. 14; Aeschines, *Contra Ctes.*, 154; Or. I, 191; Plato, *Euthyd.*, 274 E; and, in the case of the *προτρεπτικός λόγος*, many others; cf. also Seneca, Ep. 95, 65. It should be observed, however, that Seneca in Epistles 94 and 95 is referring to philosophy only, and that the *παράνεσις* and *προτρεπτικός λόγος* as technical *λόγοι* had other uses as well. Technically the *προτρεπτικός λόγος* is an exhortation to some general course—philosophy, rhetoric, virtue. It gives a comprehensive view, setting forth the advantages and removing the objections (Stobaeus, *Ecl.*, II, 14 ff.). The *παράνεσις* is practically without formal definition. The essentials of its technical use may readily be discovered from Isoc., *Ad Demon.*, *init.*; Plato, *Def.*, 413 C; Seneca, Ep. 95, 65; and other incidental references. Cf. also Stephanus, *Lex.*, s. v. *παράνεσις* and *προτρεπτικός λόγος*. In distinction from the *προτρεπτικός λόγος* the *παράνεσις* presents a series of precepts which will serve as a guide of conduct under fixed conditions; cf. Seneca, Ep. 95, 7, where illustration is taken from the pilot. The *παράνεσις* as a part of philosophy may have a restricted and personal application, e. g., how to manage servants; or it may be more general, e. g., how to live well. Aristotle the Stoic and Cleanthes (Seneca, Ep. 94, 1 ff.; 95, 1) favor the more general view. Isocrates, *De Permut.*, 67, 68, recognizes that a special style is appropriate for the *παράνεσις*. It does not require that continuity of diction which he adopts elsewhere, but each thought is, as it were, a separate head: *ἀπολύσας γὰρ*

of some other form of oration, *e. g.*, an important element in the *λαλιά* (Sp. III, 388) and the *προπεμπτικός λόγος* (Sp. III, 395). In either of these exhortation may, under appropriate conditions, become the controlling motive of the oration; *cf.* also the *παραμυθητικός* and the *ἐπιτάφιος*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus

*ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ χωρὶς ὥσπερ τὰ καλούμενα κεφάλαια ποιήσας.* We may add here the fact that the technical use of *προτρεπτικός* is far more frequent and well defined than is the case with the contrasted word; *e. g.*, Hesychius contains a discussion of *προτροπή*, but none of *παραίνεσις*; so with Ernesti, *Lex.*; Stephanus alone refers to both. This prominence of the parenetic element in the word *παραίνω* and its derivatives agrees with the connection which is sometimes made between gnomic poetry and the *παραίνεσις*; *cf.* Dion. Chrys., Or. II, p. 20, 10 (Dind.); Sext. Emp., 274, 25 (660, 20 ff., Bekk.); 276, 29 (662, 30, Bekk.); Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 78; Photius has a *παραίνεσις διὰ γνωμολογίας*; *cf.* also *Cod. Gr. Sangerm.*, fol., 168 A: *γρῶμαι κατὰ στοιχείων παραίνετικαί*. Yet in Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 592, 2, the *γνώμη* is styled a speech, *ἐπὶ τι προτρέπων, e. g.*, that one ought to entertain strangers; *cf.* also II, 592, 22. In II, 291 and 297, 14 ff., the *γνώμη* is made a chief source of *προτροπή*.

Quite in line with this is an almost technical use of *παραίνεσις* among the rhetors, where it seems to mean the moral or application, Sp. II, 21, 11; Walz, *Rhet.*, 576, 13. A *παραίνεσις* may be derived from a myth; yet in II, 568, 9, it is said that the myth belongs to the *συμβουλευτικὸν γένος*, for by it we *προτρέπομεν ἐπὶ τι*. The *χρεία* (II, 588, 19) is useful for *παραίνεσις*. In II, 574, 15, *Aesop's Fables* give a *βιωφελῆ τὴν παραίνεσιν, ὡς ῥήτωρ διὰ μύθων ποιούμενος*; *cf.* II, 577, 22. Hartlich concludes (*l. c.*) that the *παραίνεσις* belongs to the *γένος συμβουλευτικόν*, and his language seems open to the implication that the *προτρεπτικός λόγος* does not. He quotes Ammonius, 132, to the effect that the *παραίνεσις* is a part of the *συμβουλή*. But this is inconclusive as a distinction, as unlimited evidence might be produced, including the *προτροπή*, under this head; *e. g.*, Syrianus, Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, IV, 763; II, 592, 22; II, 568, 9; Plato, *Def.*, 413 C; *Legg.*, XI, 933 B; *Alc.*, I, 107 B; Dion. Chrys., Or. II, p. 20, 10 (Dind.), and 29, 19; Demosth., *Prooem.*, LVI, *et passim ad lib.* Instances of the interchangeable use of these words may be noted as follows: Demosthenes, Or. LXI, 51, has *προτρέψω σε πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν*, and in the same section uses *παραίνω* as a substitute, *σοὶ τε παραίνω φιλοσοφεῖν*. Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 297, 14 ff., under the chapter-heading *τῆς δὲ γνώμης τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ προτρεπτικόν, τὸ δὲ ἀποτρεπτικόν, παραίνεσις* and *παραינוῦμεν* as well as *προτρεπτικόν* are used in the discussion; II, 598, 19, speaks of the usefulness of the *χρεία* for *παραίνεσις*, and in the next line *προτρέπομεν* is used to refer to the same thing — *τοῖς δὲ ἐπιλόγοις διὰ τῆς παραίνεσεως, ἐν οἷς ζηλοῦν ταῦτα προτρέπομεν*; II, 568, 26, uses *παραίνων* in contrast with *ἀποτρέπων*, where one would require *προτρέπων*; *cf.* also II, 592, 3 and 22; 571, 23, 24; 573, 20; and Menander (Sp. III, 405, 20–23; 410, 10, 17; 453, 13; II, 23, 20).

Menander *περὶ ἐπιταφίου* (Sp. III, 421, 28 ff.), speaking of the hortatory character which the *ἐπιτάφιος* may assume, says: *συμβολὴν καὶ ὑποθήκην πρὸς*

in sec. 3 of his *Μέθοδος ἐπιθαλάμων* says, "with praise mingle advice." He also presents details for a speech entitled *προτρεπτικὸς ἀθληταῖς*; cf. p. 209. This is of pure epideictic character. Its appropriate time is the *παινήγγυρις*. Exhortation is made the first *τόπος*, but forms only a small part of the speech as a whole. He has no treatment of the *προτρεπτικός* except in this specialized

*τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας, εἰ ἄγαν νέοι τυγχάνοιεν ὄντες, τὴν μὲν ζηλοῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας καὶ ἀρίστας τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ἡρώνας, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ζηλοῦν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετάς*, which is parenetic. But Dionys. of Hal. (*μέθοδος ἐπιταφίων*, 4) uses *προτρέπω* in the same situation; cf. also Plato, *Menexenus*, 263 E, where *παραίνεται* and *παρακελεύομαι* are used in the same part of the *ἐπιτάφιος*. In his rules for the *epithalamium* (sec. 3) he uses *προτροπή* for the precept: live in harmony, and like instances could be multiplied indefinitely; cf. Thuc., II, 45; Sopatr., *Διαφρ.*, p. 338; Plato, *Clit.*, 410 D; Euthyd., 282 D, 283 A, B, where *παρακελευστικός λόγος ἐπ' ἀρετῆν* takes the place of the usual phrase *προτρεπτικός λόγος ἐπ' ἀρετῆν*; but *παρακελεύω* is a recognized substitute for *παραίνω*. Hdt. uses *προτρέπω* but once (I, 31, 1), and there it means "admonish by example," for which *παραίνω* might be used. The *cohortatio* to the Greeks assigned to Justin Martyr, though a pure *προτρεπτικός*, has the title *λόγος παρανετικός πρὸς Ἕλληνας*; cf. Isidore. The *προτρεπτικός λόγος* of Iamblichus shows not only the lack of clear distinction between the terms, but also that the *παρανεσις* had a legitimate place within the *προτρεπτικός*. On p. 111, 6 (ed. Pistelli) he has *δύναται παρανεῖν τὰ αὐτά*, etc., though three lines before *προτρέπειν* is used in like conditions. Chap. 21, *in it.*, he treats of the *σύμβολα* as a source of the *τὸ προτρεπτικὸν εἶδος* (105, 7) and the *προτροπή εἰς φιλοσοφίαν* (105, 10), yet in the further discussion he uses *παραίνω* (116, 4) as well as *προτρέπει* (l. c. 16); cf. 123, 6, *ἐκ δὲ τούτου φιλοσοφεῖν παρανεῖ*. Chap. 6, *in it.*, says one must mingle with these *παρακλήσεις*, the *προτροπή* toward political and practical life. Chap. 20, *in it.*: It is proper to use *τὴν διὰ τῶν ὑποθηκῶν προτροπήν* related to the topics, how one ought to live, how one should associate with men, how gain glory, etc. Continuing the same topic on p. 97, 15, he adds *ἢδε ἡ παρανεσις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος φέρει*—that it is needful to use one's powers for good ends. He goes on to state other precepts for whose practice philosophy is needed.

There is a use of *παρανεσις* in the historians, especially Thucydides, which becomes practically technical. *Παρανεσις*, or some form of *παραίνω*, is thus used in direct reference to the general's speech before battle exhorting the soldiers to valor. *Προτρεπτικός λόγος* would have seemed the more natural title and is implied in Dionys. of Hal., *προτρεπτικός ἀθληταῖς*, 2, where he says: in war a *προτροπή* is needed; cf. p. 209 for outline of general's speech in Dionys. of Hal., *προτρεπτικός ἀθληταῖς*; cf. Lesbosax, *προτρεπτικός λόγος εἰς ἀρετῆν* (valor). In sec. 1 he uses *παραίνω*, and in chap. 3 the phrase *προτρεπτικός λόγος*. This oration conforms fully to the type of the general's speech (p. 212). Thucydides uses *παρανεσις* as a title for the general's speech as follows: II, 18, 3, and 60, 4; 88, 1; IV, 93, 1; 95, 1; 126, 1; 127, 1; V, 9, 10; 69, 1 and 2; VI, 68; VII, 63, 3; 69, 3; VIII, 76, 3; Polyb., V, 103, 9; 105, 1; Dion Cas., L, 24; Plut., *Praec.*

form.<sup>1</sup> Anaximenes, *Rhet. ad Alex.*, I, p. 174 (Spengel), includes the *προτρεπτικόν γένος* as one of the seven, but it is used in a very general sense and can be regarded as connected only in a remote way with the distinctive type, the *προτρεπτικός λόγος*. Among Stoic philosophers there was a *τόπος, περί προτροπῶν τε καὶ ἀποτροπῶν* (*D. L.*, VII, 84). Syrianus (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, 763) says *προτροπή* differs from *συμβουλή* as a part from a whole. However, the mere fact of its existence, the prominence of the protreptic element in other forms, and the fact that through the history of epideictic oratory and of philosophy the title *προτρεπτικός* is so frequently met, seems to point to its probable rhetorical treatment in *τέχναι* not now extant. Indeed, the phraseology of Iamblichus' *προτρεπτικός* seems to imply an established protreptic method. It is suggestive of its original epideictic character that this form is first reported to us in the writings of Antisthenes, with the statement that in these especially he used a rhetorical style (*D. L.*, VI, 1). Menander, in his treatment of the *ἐπιτάφιος* (Sp. III, 418 ff.), turns that part of the *ἐπιτάφιος* called the *παραμυθητικός* into parenetic form in case there should be children to address. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (sec. 4) makes exhortation an important theme. Still more noticeable for our purpose is the remark (Sp. III, 414) that in the *παραμυθητικός* it is not out of taste to philosophize on the nature of life. He adds some directions for moralizing upon this subject. The extant *ἐπιτάφιοι* and *Consolations* prove the prominence of this moralizing tendency, and here may begin the long series of treatises—*περὶ πένθους*, on disregard of death, etc. In Pericles' funeral oration (*Thuc.*, II, *Ger. Reip.*, VI, 7; Plato, *Ion*, 540 D, *στρατιωταῖς παραινοῦντι*. Theophylactus, III, 14, 1, uses *παροτρύνονται* and adds *συνδιετίθεντο γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς ταῖς τοῦ στρατηγού παραινέσιν*. In II, 13, 16, he uses *προτρεπόμενος* to introduce a similar speech, which shows that here as elsewhere we sometimes have an interchange of words; cf. also *Diod. Sic.*, XIII, 15, 2, and 98, 3; *Polyb.*, I, 27, 1; 76, 2; III, 44, 11; 64, 1; 108, 1; 109, 13; 111, 1; XV, 10, 1; 11, 4; 11, 6. Still other words are used in *Arrian*, II, 7, 3, and II, 10, 2; *Dionys. of Hal.*, *Rom. Antiq.*, VI, 10; IX, 10, 1.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Arist.*, *Rhet.*, I, 3, 14, where *συμβουλή* is divided into *προτροπή* and *ἀποτροπή*.

43) the *θρήνος* is made an exhortation; cf. also 45.<sup>1</sup> The earliest title preserved to us is in the list of Antisthenes' works. At almost the same time Isocrates wrote his hortatory epistles, the *Ad Nicoclem*, *Nicocles*, and *Ad Demonicum*. There is the outline of a hortatory *ἐπίδειξις* in the *Hippias Major* of Plato. A *προτρεπτικός*<sup>2</sup> is assigned to Aristotle, and from this time on it becomes the property of the philosophical schools. The following authors of *προτρεπτικοὶ λόγοι* are reported by Diogenes Laertius: Antisthenes, Aristotle, Xenocrates (a *παραίσεις*), Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum, Monimus, Persaeus, Aristo of Chios, Cleanthes, Aristippus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Posidonius. From other sources we may add Themistius, Chamelion (*Ath.*, IV, 184 D), Isocrates, Himerius (*Ecl.*, 14, Or. 34), Galen, Iamblichus, Lesbonax, Aristo of Ceus (?); Serapion has a *βουλευτικός Ἀλεξανδρέσιον*. The spurious *Clitophon* of Plato is called a *προτρεπτικός* in the title; the *Euthydemus* implies the frequency of protreptic speeches; Protagoras (Diog. Laert., IX, 55) has a *προστακτικός* (cf. p. 241 for Christ. Fathers). It is noticeable that many in this list are authors also of *περὶ βασιλείας λόγοι*.

One of the commonest forms which the habit of moralizing assumed was the *διατριβή*.<sup>3</sup> The *διατριβή* represents the last in the various degrees of approach between the dialogue and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Menexenus*, 246 A f., 248 D, and the moralizing of 247 D ff., and *Lysias*, *ἐπιτάφιος*, 77 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Aristotle's *Προτρεπτικός* see Hirzel, "Zu dem Προτρεπτικός Aristoteles," *Hermes*, X (1876), 61 ff.; Bywater, "Aristotle's Προτρεπτικός," *Jour. of Phil.*, II (1869), 55 ff.; Diels, "Zu Aristoteles' Protrepticos und Cicero's Hortensius," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, I (1888), 477-97; Bernays' *Dialoge des Arist.*; Heitz, *Verl. Schr. Arist.*; Rose, *Arist. Pseudep.*; Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, XXVIII, 396. These writers speak of the probable style, oratorical or dialogue; an outline of thought (Bernays attempts a reconstruction); its influence upon the *Hortensius* of Cicero, the Προτρεπτικός of Iamblichus, and other writings of this character.

<sup>3</sup> For the character and history of the *διατριβή* cf. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, 128 ff.; Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, I, 369, and note 2; Susemihl, *Greek Lit.*, I, 36, and note 105; Wilamowitz, *Antigonus v. Karystos*, Excursus 3; Ernesti, *Lex.*; Suidas; Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, III, 406; Bion and Teles in Stobaeus; and various handbooks. For its connection with Asianism cf. also Rohde, *Rh. Mus.*, XLI (1886), 179; Zeller, *Epicureans and Stoics*, p. 35; Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, II, 54, 120, et passim.

essay. Norden defines it as a dialogue changed into the form of a declamation—moral philosophy in the mantle of rhetoric. The declaimer takes the place of both persons, usually introducing his supposed opponent with *φησί*. Compare Quintil., IX, 2, 36 and 37, *Est et iactus sine persona sermo*, and the familiar use of “at” in Latin, e. g., Cic., *De Leg. Man.*, 60, *et passim*. Susemihl disregards the dialogue element, appealing to Hermonogenes’ definition (Sp. II, 429, 3 ff.): *διατριβή δ’ ἐστὶ βραχέος διανοήματος ἠθικοῦ ἔκτασις, ἵνα ἐμμείνη τὸ ἦθος τοῦ λέγοντος*. He regards it as a brief, more or less unconstrained, essay on an ethical theme. Hirzel speaks of it as a treatise on a philosophical subject more literary in its character than the ordinary compositions of philosophers, and marking the decline of the dialogue spirit. Yet it is contemporaneous with the best types of the dialogue. The *διατριβή* frequently represents the abstract as personified and taking part in an argument. Bion the Borysthenite is generally named as the originator, and Teles as the type, of this class of writings, though Norden recognizes an example of it in Demetrius of Phalerum (Stobaeus, I, p. 184, Meineke), and sees the free personification of abstracts already in Plato, *Protag.*, 352 E ff., 361 A; *Crito*, 50 A ff., etc., and in Antisthenes as represented in Diog. Laert., VI, 9. Prodicus’ famous “Choice of Heracles” (Xen., *Mem.*, II, 1, 21 ff.), where Virtue and Vice present their claims in human form, goes still farther back; so, too, the personification of the just and unjust causes in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes.

In the allegorical introduction to Parmenides’ poem, where *Δίκη* opens the gates for him and the goddess Wisdom indicates the directions in which the diverging paths of truth and error lead, he presents the basis in which but a single detail need be changed to give us the “Heracles’ Choice” or the argument in the *Clouds*; and so, I think, furnishes the real starting-point for Prodicus, Aristophanes, Antisthenes, Bion, and the long list of imitators. For the personification and vocalizing of inanimate objects compare Aesop’s Fables.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The extensive fable literature of Greece, extending over so many centuries and so thoroughly identified with their life, could hardly be without

Bion<sup>1</sup> the Borysthenite, 270 B. C., may have been the first to see in such compositions as the "Allegory" of Prodicus new possibilities for popular philosophy. Our knowledge of him comes not so much through the direct evidence of his writings as from Teles, Diogenes Laertius, Strabo, and stray items elsewhere. He was one of Teles' ideals, and we infer that he imitated as well as quoted him. The fragments (Stobaeus, I, p. 123, Meineke) show that Bion employed in his dialogues the device of personifying abstracts, *e. g.*, *πράγματα* and *πενία*. The information from Strabo reaches an earlier date. In I, 2, 2, he quotes Eratosthenes as saying that Bion was the first to adorn philosophy with flowers (of rhetoric). Compare for the same Diog. Laert., IV, 52. He justifies this by saying that he used every style of speech. Diogenes Laertius (IV, 47) calls him a man *πολύτροπος καὶ σοφιστῆς ποικίλος*. He gave great opportunity for those who wished to trample down philosophy (IV, 52). He was ostentatious, given to employing the ridiculous, using invidious names for things; was fond of parody. Seneca (*De Ben.*, VII, 7, 1) proves Bion's sophistic diffuseness. Diogenes Laertius, II, 77, is the only evidence for the title *διατριβή* for his writings. Susemihl thinks that *ὑπομνήματα* (Diog. Laert., IV, 47) is synonymous with *διατριβαί*. But the term seems to be used in the colorless sense of "writings;" *cf.* Diog. Laert., VIII, 78, and elsewhere. In VII, 163, he seems to differentiate *διατριβαί* and *ὑπομνήματα*. Strabo, X, 5, 6, says that the oldest imitator of Bion was Aristo of Ceos, of whose oratorical tendency we have further evidence in Cic., *De Fin.*, V, 5.

its influence upon other forms of literature. Its most natural connection is with the *διατριβή* and the *προτρεπτικός*, and one may easily believe that the fable was one of the direct influences in the development of these two branches of literature. We have here animal life, and inanimate objects also, endowed with human speech, and always for the purpose of carrying some moral lesson. It is this moral element which must have influenced Socrates to choose the fables of Aesop when he turned prose into poetry during his last days in prison. Fables were much used in *προγυμνάσματα* (p. 103, n. 1).

<sup>1</sup> On Bion the chief sources are *Teletis Reliquiae*, O. Hense (1889, Prolegom.), and R. Heinze, *De Hor. Bionis imitatore*. Diss., Bonn (1889).

At about the same period lived Teles (*cf.* p. 236, n. 1), whose reputation, as well as the extant fragments, prove him of the same class, and, since Stobaeus has preserved several long fragments, he stands for us as the representative writer of the *διατριβή* for the third century B. C. With Teles a favorite method is to begin by quoting his opponent as a text; then to reply, using the second person singular, as though the opponent were present; compare Stobaeus, III, 200, *init.* In the average case the opponent appears at the beginning, and once farther on, *e. g.*, in this case at l. 2, p. 202.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally a regular dialogue of rapid question and answer is introduced, *e. g.*, IV, p. 53; II, 66. The objector appears more frequently in II, 66 ff., *e. g.*, p. 66, 16 and 29; 67, 26; 68, 3 and 27. In each case he is introduced by *ἀλλά*; compare "at" in Latin.

Musonius Rufus, a Stoic philosopher of the first century A. D., stands in the same relation to Epictetus as Bion, Strato, and Diogenes to Teles. Stobaeus, III, 3 ff., Meineke, is an excellent example of the Bion-Teles *διατριβή*, with the objector furnishing the text and introduced in support of his views several times later. He gradually grows more definite until at the end he is addressed as *νεανισκός*. In II, 70-75, he parallels Teles, in topic as well as in style. He addresses a man who grieves over exile. The opponent reappears at 70, 22, and again at 73, 19. Here and elsewhere we meet a characteristic feature of the *διατριβή*—the introduction of the objection in the form of a question asked rhetorically, *e. g.*, IV, 70, 8; 219; II, 14, 8; III, 148, 27, etc. The argument and the line of thought are similar to those of Teles. The topic and treatment have become stereotyped, as in the case of more purely epideictic forms—IV, 162-164, presents nearly the features of an ordinary dialogue; so II, 336-340, where the opponent is formally introduced 338, 21—*φαίη τις ἀν ἴσως*. Compare for the *διατριβή* also I, 154 ff., and I, 303 ff.

We meet the *διατριβή* again in Dion Chrysostomus, Epictetus, and Maximus Tyrius. Dion turned from rhetoric to philosophy, but retained much of the former in spite of his declaration (Or.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Stobaeus, III, 211, *init.*, and 213, 1, 4; III, pp. 177 and 187.



VIII, pp. 144, 145, Dind.) that he is a physician for the morally sick. Diogenes and Socrates are his ideals in philosophy, Alexander among men of the world, and Homer among poets. A large proportion of his writings assume the dialogue form. Here he has all varieties, from the formal dialogue to the *διατριβή*. Hirzel (*l. c.*, II, p. 117) makes the distinctive feature of his *διατριβαί* lie in their origin. Other *διατριβαί* are historical, in the sense that they go back to actual speeches or conversations; Dion's have only a literary origin and purpose. He also notes their variety—narrative, dramatic, instructive, hortatory. We may observe also that in Dion Chrysostomus the *διατριβή* takes the final step in its departure from the formal dialogue. Oration 27 bears the title *διατριβή*, but presents no suggestion of a dialogue. The same is true of Or. 12, the *Ὀλυμπιακός*, which he refers to (I, 221, 5, Dind.) as a *φιλόσοφος διατριβή*. This is a genuine oration, or, perhaps more properly, a *ῥυμος* (see p. 167). In the more formal dialogues like Or. 21, 25, 30, etc., there is no identification of the opponent. Occasionally, as Or. 15, he begins by saying that he met some men discussing, etc. In 28 it is question and answer with a bystander. As a sample *διατριβή*, both in topic and treatment, one may take Or. 14. The opponent enters with the words *φαίεν ἄν* (I, 253, 9), and his presence is assumed by the use of the verb in the second person singular 254, 11 and 13; 254, 23 has *φήσουσι*. At 255, 6 the objector is introduced by *ἀλλά*; so 255, 12; 257, 29. At 255, 19 there is no introductory word; so at 256, 1; 256, 8; 257, 12. The last half of page 256 is a quick interchange of brief question and monosyllabic answer on the part of the opponent. The speaker's replies are introduced by *τί δὴ* (254, 31), *τί δέ* (255, 14; 256, 3; 259, 8; 257, 15). Of similar style are Or. 16, 66, 71. Oration 74 begins with a brief formal dialogue and then becomes a *διατριβή*. At 257, 26 an imagined opponent enters (*ἐπεὶ τις*); *cf.* also 257, 28; 258, 31; 259, 32; 264, 27. There are weak traces of the *διατριβή* in Or. 18 and 62. The *διατριβαί* of Epictetus are equally free from any characterization of the opponent. But they contain far more dialogue than any extant *διατριβαί* which

precede him. The opponent is apt to put his thought in the form of a question, and in general seems introduced merely as a guide in the line of argument. In some cases he starts, like Teles, with a remark of the opponent as a text, and he reappears later in its defense. I, chaps. 1 and 2, are fair samples of his *διατριβή*; I, 25 has much dialogue; I, 23 has almost none; so II, 23. In III, 7 the objector is defined as an Epicurean governor. Many of his *διατριβαί* begin: "When a person asked him . . . ." The *διατριβή* was also employed among the Romans in poetic form. Compare the *Satires* of Horace and those of Perseus (*e. g.*, Sat. 1).

The dissertations of Maximus Tyrius stand under the title *διалέξεις*, but they present many features of the *διατριβή*. In some, *e. g.*, 37, the speakers are named or characterized. In other cases one dissertation presents an argument on one side of a question, and the succeeding one on the other side, *e. g.*, 21, 22, where the active and the contemplative life plead their causes, Prodicus-like, before a judge. A similar strife-element is found in 36, where he supposes the men to engage in an argument with the discourse acting as arbiter, and ends with a series of questions and answers which form a sort of dialogue. As we shall see, the practice of philosophers to take the words of a master as a text (*cf. Christian Sermons*, p. 241), and discourse upon it, has in it the suggestion of the *διατριβή*. Maximus Tyrius, in 33, seems to take part of a student's essay as his theme. Like Dion, Maximus Tyrius went from rhetoric to philosophy, but he is a far more open supporter of the ornate style. In his poetic qualities, his fondness for quotations from Homer and the lyric and dramatic poets, his pure enthusiasm for *λόγος*, he reminds one of Himerius. Compare *Diss.*, VI, 1; XXVIII, 2, 3; XXXII, *init.* Elegant discourse is like the melody of music at a feast (XXVIII, *init.*). Mere delight is not the sole aim of eloquence; knowledge is its basis; it is formed by philosophical discourse; yet its absence mars, as the omission of a part in a musical harmony (XXXI, 7). Philosophy he defines as the accurate science of divine and human concerns (*cf. Chrysippus*, p. 226), that which supplies

virtue, beautiful reasonings, the harmony of life, beautiful pursuits. Homer, the leader of philosophers, used verse, a style acceptable to all; Plato, prose in a form equally pleasing (XXXII, 1 f.). He identifies poetry and philosophy (X, 1). Like Dion, he makes its aim guidance to right living (VII, 8). He is a combination of the epideictic orator, the poet, and the philosopher.

A connection may be readily seen between Christian sermons and the *προτρεπτικός, διατριβή*, and other epideictic forms

In the years immediately following the crucifixion of Christ his teachings were spread abroad for the most part by uneducated men. But whether untrained, or, like the apostle Paul, fully equipped with the erudition of the Greeks, the preacher's work in these early years lay outside the bounds of Greek rhetoric. Their task was little more than to tell the story of Christ's life. As Christianity spread among all classes it reached many who had been educated in the Greek schools of philosophy and rhetoric. Almost without exception, beginning with the second century, men of any prominence in the church had their training in these schools. The following are among the more noted of those who had special rhetorical training in early life: Augustine, John Chrysostomus, Eusebius, Theodoretus, Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, Ambrose, Sulpitius, Severus, Gregory Nazienzenus, Apion, Cyprian, Ennodius, Paulinus, Joannes Damascenus, George Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Sidonius, Pardus of Corinth, Tatian, Justin Martyr, Athenagorus, Arnobius, Anabolius, Clement.

In the meantime great changes were taking place in the form of preaching. Permanent churches were organized. Something more than the simple narration and exposition of the earlier years was needed. More extended teaching and exhortation were added. Preaching became self-conscious. Such developments are seldom independent of the past. Inevitably the Christian sermonizers acquainted, as all the more prominent among them were, with Greek rhetoric, and many of them actively engaged in it before their conversion, would shape their discourse

in form and method by the analogy of pre-existing models, and these were Greek. "The sermon could not have passed so quickly from simplicity to artificiality without Hellenic learning" (Harnack).

Doubtless most, if not all, of the highly differentiated rhetorical forms had their influence upon Christian compositions, but some far more than others. The sermon assumed, almost at the very beginning, the epideictic character which is still so marked a feature of it. Compare Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures* (1888), p. 114. The Christian sermon was a special manifestation of the moralizing tendency which was not confined to Christian times or any nationality. It characterized, to some extent, every period of Greek literature. It is seen in Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar, and at the same time in the extensive body of fable literature (*cf.* p. 235, n.). After Socrates turned the direction of philosophy from an investigation of the physical universe to that of man and morals, philosophy became the natural form for this tendency to take. It was developed along the line of popular sermonizing until, as Wilamowitz aptly says, we have in Teles and his class the direct forerunners of the Christian preacher.<sup>1</sup> Another direct antecedent of the sermon is the allegorical treatment of myths (*cf.* p. 235, n. 1) and authors. This began with allegorical interpretation of Homer. It became a literary habit. After philosophy ceased to be originally productive, the energy of the philosopher was expended in interpretation of the words of his master. The Christian preacher adopted this method.

Many epideictic forms were adopted and made to serve the purposes of the church. One of the earliest and most conspicuous of the forms transferred from Greek to Christian uses was the *προτροπικὴ exhortatio*. For discussion of this important type see pp. 229 ff.

The hortatory address was an essential of the Christian service, and was naturally affected by the similar address among

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Leipziger Studien*, X, pp. 200 ff., for a like claim for Diogenes of Sinope.

the Greeks. The earliest of the Christian preachers to carry the methods of the school into the church, so far as known, was Origen (born 185 A. D.). Gregory Thaumaturgus in his farewell address to Origen, chap. 13, says that all the pagan poets and philosophers were read in Origen's school, and that he educated his pupils in the Platonic virtues—justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude. Hortatory addresses were delivered by many of those most prominent in church history, *e. g.*, Ambrose, Anianus, Chrysostomus, Clement, Cyprian, Ennodius, Eucherius, Hippolytus, Isidore, Justin Martyr, Origen, Tatian, Tertullian, etc., and, for more modern times, Melanchthon, *Adhortatio ad Christianae Doctrinae per Paulum proditae Studium*.

Other epideictic forms besides the *προτροπικός* reappear in Christian guise. The panegyric address is the most frequent, coming in the form of a *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, or simple encomium. Compare Socrates Ecclesiasticus, *Ch. Hist.*, VII, 22, a *βασιλικὸς λόγος* on Theodosius; Syncellus, *Encomium Sanctorum Dei Archangelorum et Angelorum Omniumque Coelestium Potestatum*; Ennodius, *Panegyric to Theodoric*; Sozomenus' introd. to *Eccl. Hist.* is a *βασιλικὸς λόγος* on Theodosius. Lives of the saints may be classed here, *e. g.*, Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*. This began in true epideictic style with a profession of inadequacy (chap. i, 2, 10); praise of his ancestors (chap. ix, 13, 18); praise of children (*l. c.*, 18); his deeds in war and peace (*l. c.*, 19; chap. iv, 19, 64); his death, his honors, the universal sorrow (chap. iv, 64–71); he surpassed all others (chap. xv, 74); he is compared with Cyrus, Alexander, Moses—the standard epideictic comparisons plus the biblical. Other lives along similar lines are too numerous to mention. The character of the authors and their number may be judged from the following names: Eusebius, Athenasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Sulpitius, Severus. Eulogies were written by almost every church father. Several have a *περὶ βασιλείας*, *e. g.*, Justin Martyr, or Anon. *περὶ μοναρχίας*, or, as the title more properly should read, *περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας*; Synesius; Joannes Argyropolus has a homily, *De Imperio ad Constantinum Palaeologum*.

The *προσφωνητικός* is practically a variant of the *βασιλικὸς λόγος* (see pp. 138 ff.); cf. such orations by Gregory Thaumaturgus, Theodorus Prodromus (in verse), Theophilus.

Panegyric addresses delivered at a *πανήγυρις* were common, e. g., Eusebius on the dedication of a church or the inaugural speech of Gregory of Nyssa. Compare, earlier, the oration of Polemon on the dedication of the temple at Athens, 135 B. C., and, in the sixth century, Procopius' panegyric addresses on the dedication of buildings.

Perhaps the most complete transference is seen in the funeral oration. The *ἐπιτάφιοι* of Gregory Nazianzenus are the most brilliant examples. They closely reproduce the *τόποι* of the ancient Greek; cf. Menander's rules, p. 148. In the funeral oration over Caesarius he professes no display; frequently proclaims his inadequacy to do justice to the subject; refers to the law of the Old Testament in obedience to which the memory of the dead is eulogized; praise of the parents; comparison of father to Moses; praise of mother; pretended omission of physical charms; story of his life.

The *παραμυθητικός* (chap. xviii) has the usual *τόποι*: admonition not to mourn, but to emulate; pictures him in heaven. In the oration at the funeral of his sister Gorgonia he says (sec. 3): Praise of her country and family I leave to another more scrupulous than I in adhering to the rules of eulogy, nor will he lack many fair topics. For my part I will only conform to such rules so far as to allude to our common parents. Compare a like reference to the laws of panegyric in the funeral oration over his father, sec. 5. There are some seventeen other speeches of like character reported. Cf. also Joannes Argyropolus (1453 A. D.), a *Consolatio ad Imperatorem Constantinum in morte fratris Joannis Palaeologi*; also a *monodia*, and one by Joannes Bessarion.

Other forms occur as follows: *συγκτακτικός* by Gregory Thaumaturgus on leaving Origen's school, by Gregory Nazianzenus on leaving Constantinople, by Chrysostomus; *παράδοξα ἐγκώμα*, Synesius' *encomium calvitii*; compare also speeches in praise

of martyrdom, Gregory of Cyprus, *encomium maris*; γενεθλιακὸς λόγος, Nicetas Paphlago, *Oratio in Nativitatem S. Mariae*, and birth-day poems by Paulinus. Sidonius has a *Propempticon ad Libellum*. Ambassador's speeches were delivered by Chrysolorus, Ennodius, Georgius Acropolita, Chumnus, and many others. Κλητικὸς λόγος: Eusebius' inaugural address to Constantine ends with one. In the scholia to Aphthonius (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 606) there is an illustration of the παρασκευή under the title παρασκευὴ χριστιανική, ταῖς ἀλληγορίαις ἐαυτῷ ἀκόλουθος. The homily often took the form of a λαλιά, and like it was susceptible of great variety. Even the tendency to treat prose under poetic names is seen among Christian writers, e. g., Eusebius' inaugural address is called a "thanksgiving hymn," and his *Vicennalia* an εἰκοσαετηρικὸς ὕμνος (pref. to *V. Const.*). Gregory of Nyssa calls his funeral oration over Meletus a funeral dirge. Joannes Damascenus and others have prose ὕμνοι (cf. p. 174). Augustine's *City of God* is sometimes styled a "prose epic." Compare also the hymns of the Eastern church in rhythmical prose, from the time of Anatotolius. Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 556) points out the διατριβή in the writings of St. Paul and in Barnabas' letter. Chrysostomus and other church fathers employ it. The stylistic letter is a form used very extensively by almost all of the church fathers. They fall into much the same oratorical lines as among the Greeks. Even the treatises like Augustine's *De Patientia*, *De Amicitia*, and Apollinaris' *De Fide*, Tertullian's *De Fuga*, Basil's homilies on "Envy," "Anger," etc., have their Greek forerunners in similar topics from Aristotle on (see p. 246), e. g., Clinias, *περὶ ὀσίουτητος καὶ εὐσεβίας*; Hierax, *περὶ δικαιοσύνης*; Metopus, *περὶ ἀρετῆς*, etc.

A great variety of themes lay within the province of epideictic oratory, even in the earliest times. Theory seemed to limit its sphere to mere praise and blame, but in practice Gorgias already in its infancy had gone beyond the ordinary confines of these words. Isocrates still further broadened its scope and made its limitation to oratory in a strict sense a mere fiction. The Sophists helped in other ways to the same result. Thus themes

of general import, such as have formed the occasion for literary activity during the succeeding centuries to the present day, early became a part of epideictic literature. Many forms and themes were then included under the term "oratory" (this comprehensive use existed still in the time of Menander, see p. 93), which we with our more minute differentiation regard as fully co-ordinate. It is in keeping with this that originally all forms of literature, whether oratory, poetry, history, or philosophy, had oral delivery in view as the means of reaching the public. While the characteristics of other divisions are clearly discernible in the epideictic branch, the correlative of this is more conspicuously true. The epideictic division had a very marked and far-reaching influence both in theme and style upon the general character of other forms of oratory, and upon literature as a whole. It is no great exaggeration to say of it in general, what in strict accuracy may be claimed for it stylistically, that it is the parent of modern prose literature, aside from distinctively court or assembly oratory. Isocrates is a proof along both lines. His influence in favor of variety of theme has already been referred to (see p. 100). Stylistically it was even greater. He trained, not only orators, but other literary men and statesmen. "He founded a style of Greek literary prose which from about 350 B. C. became the standard one for general use" (Jebb). Cicero, whose influence over modern prose has been most direct, adopted him as a model, and so Isocrates, the epideictic orator, comes to have a prevailing influence even over prose style in the present day. While not consciously dependent upon Isocrates or inspired by the epideictic spirit of the Greeks, a surprisingly large proportion of mediæval and modern literature may be classed with that department. It represents to a marked degree both the theme and the style. A good idea of the extent and variety of this literature in modern times may be gained from Sears' *The Occasional Address*. On p. 44 and elsewhere he refers to its natural themes. For example, the commemoration of great events; addresses on the installation of great enterprises, the building of new institutions, on inaugural,



memorial, and holiday occasions; expository addresses interpreting the topics of the hour; lectures on literary or social questions; commencement and after-dinner speeches; eulogies upon those in public or private life, or over the dead; and topics like these.

Equally noticeable with the importance and frequency of these themes are the number and the character of the orators who have chosen them. In our own country many of the greatest men have devoted themselves in whole or in part to this branch of public speaking. Among the number no name is more conspicuous than that of Edward Everett, by many regarded as the most perfect orator of the century just ended. This most Hellenic of modern public speakers, throughout his long and noteworthy career as an orator, devoted himself almost wholly to themes which must be classed as epideictic. His oration on Washington presents one of the most perfect compositions in the history of this most conspicuous form—the eulogy. Many others, whose chief activities were in court speeches or in the discussion of state questions, have won even greater distinction in orations clearly belonging to the epideictic branch. Robert Winthrop, Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, are notable names.

Plato was the earliest prose example of a literary man in the modern meaning of the term. His themes came from philosophy, but his style is epideictic in the best and highest sense. It is in connection with topics belonging more or less fully to the domain of philosophy, but treated epideictically, that a line of indebtedness between modern prose and the ancient epideictic forms is most easily traced (see p. 228). In addition to the *περὶ βασιλείας*, the *προτρεπτικός*, the *παραμυθητικός*, and other forms in which the protreptic element early entered in direct combination with the epideictic, there were other treatises upon abstract themes—glory, freedom, sorrow, exile, happiness, truth, the soul, riches, justice, holiness, the honorable, on how to live well, on the fitting, etc., etc.—beginning with Antisthenes and Aristotle, and lasting through the history of

Greek philosophy. These were more or less epideictic according to the character of the philosopher. The astonishing number and variety of these discourses may be seen from Diogenes Laertius or from Susemihl's *Greek Literature*. We may take as examples a few of the themes most frequently chosen, followed by the names of some of the notable philosophers who employed them: Virtue, *περὶ ἀρετῆς*, is a favorite theme. Among others it was formally treated by Aeschines, Aristippus, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Demetrius of Byzantium, Diogenes of Sinope, Dion Chrysostomus, Plato (the *Meno*), Plutarch, Posidonius, Protagoras, Simon, Theophrastus, Xenocrates. Justice, *περὶ δικαιοσύνης*, was treated by Antisthenes, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Demetrius Phalereus, Epicurus, Heraclides, Plato (the *Republic*), Simon, Speusippus, Sphaerus, Strato, Xenocrates; pleasure, *περὶ ἡδονῆς*, by Antisthenes, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Dionysius the Deserter, Heraclides, Sphaerus, Speusippus, Strato, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; friendship, *περὶ φιλίας*, by Aristotle, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Plato (the *Lysis*), Plutarch, Simias, Sphaerus, Speusippus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; the soul, *περὶ ψυχῆς*, by Aristotle, Heraclides, Numenius, Plato (the *Phaedo*), Posidonius, Pythagoras, Simias, Speusippus, Tertullian, Xenocrates; riches, *περὶ πλούτου*, by Aeschines, Aristotle, Dionysius the Deserter, Diogenes of Sinope, Dion Chrysostomus, Libanius, Sphaerus, Speusippus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; piety, *περὶ ὁσιότητος*, Antisthenes (*ἀσεβεία*), Apollinaris of Hierapolis (*εὐσεβεία*), Epicurus, Eusebius, Heraclides, Persaeus (*ἀσεβεία*), Peter of Alexandria, Philodemus (*εὐσεβεία*), Pythagoras, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; love, *περὶ ἔρωτος*, by Aristo of Chios, Cleanthes, Demetrius Phalereus, Diogenes of Sinope, Epicurus, Persaeus, Simias, Simon, Sphaerus, Theophrastus.

The topics as well as the thoughts of the Greek writers were reproduced in Cicero, "the great translator of Greek culture," and through him chiefly to modern times. At the Revival of Learning his influence was the most immediate and powerful in determining the topics and forms of literature. To the study of

Cicero, as the continuer of Greek culture, we are most directly indebted for these and kindred themes, where pure love of literature enters as a chief motive. These, together with those epideictic in its stricter sense, form the antecedents of modern prose literature. This comprehensive indebtedness of later centuries to the epideictic branch of Greek literature helps to establish for it a most honorable history.

## EPIDEICTIC WRITERS.<sup>1</sup>

- Achilles Tattius. Fifth century(?) A.D. *Rhetorician*. The Loves of Leucippe and Clitophon.
- Adrianus. 150 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Funeral Oration over Herodes Atticus.
- Agapetus. 525 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. A *περὶ βασιλείας* to Justinian.
- Alcidamas. 430 B. C. *Rhetorician*. Thoroughly epideictic. Eulogy on Death; *Λόγος Μεσοσηριακός*; several encomia.
- Alciphron. 170 (?) A. D. *Epistolographer*. His letters are character sketches in rhetorical style.
- Alexander the Monk. Before 1120 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric on Saint Barnabas.
- Ambrosias. 380 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Funeral Oration over Valentinian, and one over Theodosius.
- Anaximenes. 330 B. C. *Rhetorical historian* and *orator*. Famous for extemporaneous speeches. *Βασιλέων μεταλλαγαί*.
- Antisthenes. 370 B. C. *Philosopher*. Wrote rhetorical declamations; *Περὶ βασιλείας*.
- Apion. 30 A. D. *Grammarians*. Encomium on Alexander the Great; orations for display.
- Aristaenetus. 350 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Probable author of an Encomium on Panarita; love letters (?).
- Aelius Aristides. Second century A. D. *Orator*. Thoroughly epideictic. Prose hymns; *Βασιλικὸς λόγος*; and other forms of epideictic composition.
- Aristides of Miletus. First century(?) B. C. Author of a romance—*Milesiaca*.
- Aristippus. 400 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Προτρεπτικὸς λόγος*.
- Aristo of Chios. 200 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Προτρεπτικὸς λόγος*.
- Aristotle. 350 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Προτρεπτικὸς λόγος*; *Περὶ βασιλείας*; encomia.
- Basilius of Caesarea. 370 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric orations.
- Callinicus. 260 A. D. *Rhetorician*. *Βασιλικὸς λόγος*; Eulogy on Rome; Encomium on Cleopatra.
- Callisthenes. 330 B. C. *Historian* and *philosopher*. Noted for rhetorical qualities. Encomium on the Macedonians; also a derogatory speech on the same topic (Plut., *Alex.* 53).
- Callistratus. Third century A. D. *Rhetorician*. *Ἐκφράσεις*.

<sup>1</sup> This list of epideictic writers does not claim to be exhaustive. The names are selected from those met here and there in my reading in connection with this theme, and the result is intended to be suggestive rather than comprehensive. Some writers are included here on account of some single epideictic composition, although their writings as a whole are far removed from this class; and, on the other hand, in the case of those who devoted themselves exclusively to this branch of literature, only one or two of their works have been named. Many additional names might be obtained from such sources as Susemihl, *Griechische Litt.*, and Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*. There is also a large class of epideictic performers mentioned in the inscriptions (*e. g.*, in the records of the ἀγῶνες μουσικαί) which I omit *in toto*. See *Inscrip. Graec. Sept.* (Dittenberger), 418, 419, and elsewhere. Cf. also Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. agones*.

- Carneades. 150 B. C. *Philosopher and orator*. Speeches marked by epideictic qualities.
- Caucalus. Fourth century B. C. *Rhetorician*. Eulogy on Heracles.
- Cephalus. 400 B. C. *Orator*. Encomium on Lais.
- Chamaeleon. Fourth century B. C. *Philosopher*. *Προτρεπτικός λόγος*.
- Chariton. Fourth century A. D. Author of a romance—Chaereas and Callirrhoe.
- Choricus of Gaza. 520 A. D. *Rhetorician and sophist*. Funeral orations; panegyrics; and other forms of epideictic composition.
- Chrysippus of Cappadocia. Fifth century A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium Theodori Martyris.
- Chrysolorus of Thessalonica. 1300 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium in S. Demetrium Martyrem.
- Chrysostomus, John. 400 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Laudation of Theodosius and other panegyric orations; occasional addresses.
- Chumnus [Nicephorus]. End of the thirteenth century A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Symbeuluticus de Justitia ad Thessalonicensis, et Urbis Encomium*; funeral orations; panegyrics.
- Cleanthes. 270 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Περὶ βασιλείας*; *Προτρεπτικός λόγος*; *Διατριβαί*.
- Clearchus of Soli. Fourth century B. C. *Philosopher*. Encomium on Plato; *Erotica*.
- Clement. End of first century A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Λόγοι προτρεπτικοί*.
- Damascius. Fifth century A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Funeral Oration over Aedesia.
- Demetrius Phalerius. 300 B. C. *Orator, philosopher*. *Προτρεπτικός λόγος*; speeches as ambassador and on other public occasions.
- Demosthenes. 350 B. C. *Orator*. *Ἐπιτάφιος*; *Ἐρωτικός* (?).
- Diogenes (Antonius). First century? A. D. Author of a romance—*τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπιστά*.
- Dion Chrysostomus. End of first century A. D. *Orator*. *Περὶ βασιλέας*; and other epideictic speeches in great variety.
- Diophantus. 360 A. D. *Sophist*. Funeral Oration over Proaeresius.
- Ephraimius. 550 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric addresses.
- Epicurus. 300 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Περὶ βασιλείας*; *Προτρεπτικός λόγος*.
- Epiphanius of Petra. 365 A. D. *Sophist and rhetorician*. *Λόγοι ἐπιδεικτικοί*; *Μελέται*.
- Eunapius. 400 A. D. *Sophist and historian*. Lives of the Sophists.
- Euphantus. Fourth century B. C. *Philosopher*. *Περὶ βασιλείας*.
- Eusebius. 300 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Παναηγυρικός* addressed to Paulinus of Tyre; one to Constantine.
- Eustathius Macrembolita. Ninth century (?) A. D. *Erotic writer*, Hysminias and Hysmine.
- Evodianus. Second century A. D. *Sophist*. Especially distinguished as a panegyric orator.
- Favorinus. 130 A. D. *Philosopher*. A Roman who wrote in Greek, rival of Polemon, style epideictic. Encomium of Thersites; Praise of Quartan Fever; *Περὶ γήρων*.
- Galen. 160 A. D. *Physician*. *Προτρεπτικός λόγος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας*.
- Genethlius. 270 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Declamations and panegyrics.
- Georgius (Gregorius) of Cyprus. Thirteenth century A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν*; Encomium on St. George of Cappadocia, and other panegyrics.
- Georgius of Laodicea. 325 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium on Eusebius.

- Georgius Pisida. 600 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium in Sanctum Anastasium Martyrum (prose); also several poetic encomia.
- Gorgias. 427 B. C. *Sophist*. Thoroughly epideictic. Ἐπιτάφιος; Olympiacus; Encomium on Helen (?).
- Gorgias of Athens. 50 B. C. *Rhetorician*. Declamations.
- Gregorius Nazianzenus. 370 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric on Caesarius; several funeral orations; occasional addresses.
- Gregorius Nyssenus. 370 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Funeral orations over Meletius and others; panegyric orations.
- Gregorius Thaumaturgus. 250 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric on Origen.
- Gryllus. 360 B. C. *Soldier*. Encomium on Isocrates. Was himself the subject of many panegyrics.
- Hegesias. 250 B. C. *Historian*. Epideictic orations (cf. Susemihl, *Gk. Lit.*, II, 465).
- Heliodorus. 390 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. A romance—Aethiopica.
- Heraclides of Lycia. Second century A. D. *Rhetorician*. Ἐγκώμιον πόνου.
- Hermesianax. Before 170 B. C. *Epideictic orator*. Encomium Athenae (cf. Susemihl, *Gk. Lit.*, II, 469; Blass, *Beredsamkeit Alex. bis auf August.*, p. 36).
- Herodes Atticus. 140 A. D. *Philosopher* and *orator*. Funeral oration over Secundus of Athens; Διαλέξεις; extemporaneous speeches.
- Himerius. 350 A. D. *Orator*. Thoroughly epideictic. Epithalamium ad Severum (prose); Δαλῆαι; Μονοψύδα; Προπεμπτικοί, etc.
- Hippias of Elis. 400 B. C. *Sophist*. Wrote show speeches, especially on antiquarian and mythological themes; Olympiaci (Philost., *V. Soph.*, I, 11; Lucian, *Herod.*, chap. 3).
- Hippolytus. Third century A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Προπεμπτικός πρὸς Σεβήρειαν.
- Hyperides. 350 B. C. *Orator*. Ἐπιτάφιος.
- Iamblichus of Chalcis. 300 A. D. *Philosopher*. Προπεμπτικός λόγος εἰς φιλοσοφίαν.
- Iamblichus (Syrian). Second century A. D. *Rhetorician*. Βαβυλωνικά—a love story.
- Ion. 450 B. C. *Poet* and *prose writer*. Προσβευτικός (authorship questioned). His Ἐπιγράμματα contained praise of great men, e. g., Cimon (Plut., *Life of Cimon*, V, 9, 16).
- Isocrates. 400 B. C. *Orator* and *rhetorician*. Thoroughly epideictic. Encomium on Helen; on Busiris; Panathenaicus; Eua-goras; Panegyricus.
- Isocrates of Apollonia. 330 B. C. *Orator*. Funeral oration in honor of Maussollus.
- Joannes Argyropulus. 1450 A. D. *Teacher*. Consolatio ad Imperatorum Constantinum in morte fratris Joannis Palaeologi; Monodia in obitum Imperatoris Joannis Palaeologi; Homilia de Imperio (περὶ βασιλείας).
- Joannes Bessarion. 1430 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Monodia in obitum Manuelis Palaeologi Imperatoris.
- Joannes Damascenus. 700 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric orations; prose hymns.
- Joannes Laurentius. Sixth century A. D. *Official under Zoticus*. Panegyric on Justinian; Poetic Encomium on Zoticus.
- Julian. 360 A. D. *Emperor* and *author*. Περὶ βασιλείας; Βασιλικοί

- λόγοι; Encomium ad Eusebiam; prose hymns.
- Justin Martyr. 140 A. D. *Ecclesiastic* and *philosopher*. Λόγος παραινετικός (authorship disputed); Περὶ μοναρχίας (authorship disputed).
- Lachares. Fifth century A. D. *Rhetorician*. Διαλέξεις.
- Lamachus Myrrhinaeus. Fourth century B. C. *Historian*. Panegyric on Philip and Alexander (Plut., V. *Demosth.*, chap. 9).
- Lesbonax. First century A. D. *Philosopher* and *sophist*. Προτρεπτικός λόγος; Μελέται ρητορικαί; Ἐρωτικά ἐπιστολά.
- Libanius. 350 A. D. *Sophist* and *rhetorician*. Thoroughly epideictic. Ἐγκώμια; Μελέται; Μονωδία; Προγυμνάσιων παραδείγματα.
- Longus. Third century (?) A. D. *Sophist*. Daphnis and Chloe—a romance.
- Lucian. Second century A. D. *Satirist* and *essay writer*. Encomium on Demosthenes. Πατρὶδος ἐγκώμιον, Ἐγκώμιον μῦθας, Προλαλαί.
- Lysias. 415 B. C. *Orator*. Ὀλυμπιακός; Ἐπιτάφιος (doubtful authenticity); Ἐρωτικοί; many regard the Ἐρωτικός λόγος in Plato's *Phaedrus*; 230 E-234 C, as genuine.
- Manuel II. Palaeologus. 1400 A. D. *Emperor*. Α περὶ βασιλείας to his son.
- Matris of Thebes. Date? *Rhetorician*. Encomium on Heracles (Athen., X, 412, b).
- Matthaeus Camariota. 1440 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium in tres Hierarchas, Basilium, Gregorium, et Chrysostomum.
- Menander. 275 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Prose hymn to Apollo.
- Michael Apostolius. 1430 A. D. *Teacher*. Panegyric on Frederic III.; Funeral Oration over Besarion; Oratio ad Joannem Argypopolum.
- Michael Monachus. 880 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium Ignatii Patriarchae; and other encomia.
- Minucianus. 260 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Προγυμνάσματα; Λόγοι διάφοροι.
- Monimus. Fourth century B. C. *Philosopher*. Προτρεπτικός λόγος (Susemihl, *Gk. Lit.*, I, 31).
- Naucrates. 350 B. C. *Rhetorician*. Funeral Oration over Maussollus; other funeral orations.
- Neanthes. 240 B. C. *Historian*. Panegyric orations; biographies.
- Nicagoras. 240 A. D. *Sophist*. Προσβευτικός λόγος.
- Nicephoras Philosophus. 900 A. D. Oratio panegyrica Antonii Caulei.
- Nicetas Paphlago. 880 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomia and biographies.
- Nicetas Rhetor. 880 A. D. Perhaps the same as the above. Encomium in Magnum Nicholaum Myrobleptem et Thaumaturgum; Diatriba in gloriosum Martyrem Pantieleemonem.
- Nicolaus Damascenus. Close of first century B. C. *Historian*. Eulogistic biography of Augustus.
- Nicolaus Sophista. Fifth century A. D. *Sophist, rhetorician*. Μελέται ρητορικαί; Προγυμνάσματα.
- Nicolaus of Myrae. Fifth century A. D. *Sophist*. Μελέται.
- Nicostratus of Macedonia. 160 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Encomium on M. Antoninus; Εἰκόβες; other encomia.
- Numenius. 120 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Παραμυθητικός λόγος addressed to Hadrian on the death of Antinous.
- Ocellus Lucanus. 400 B. C. (?) *Philosopher*. Περὶ βασιλείας καὶ δαίτητος.
- Onesicritus. 350 B. C. *Historian*. Encomium on Alexander (Diog. Laert., VI, 84).

- Oribasius. 360 A. D. *Medical writer*. *Περὶ βασιλείας*.
- Origen. 230 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Ἐπιμαρτύριον προτρεπτικὸς λόγος*.
- Orion of Alexandria. 120 A. D. *Grammatician*. Panegyric on Hadrian.
- Palamas. Fourteenth century A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. S: Petri Athonitae Encomium.
- Palladius of Methone. 320 A. D. *Sophist*. *Διαλέξεις; Λόγοι διάφοροι—ὀλυμπιακός, πανηγυρικός, δικανικός*.
- Parthenius. 30 B. C. (?) *Poet*. *Περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων* (prose); *Ἀρήτης ἐγκώμιον* (perhaps poetic); *Προπεμπτικός* (perhaps poetic).
- Paulus of Tyre. 120 A. D. *Sophist*. *Μελέται; Προγυμνάσματα*.
- Pepagomenus [Nicolaus]. 1340 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Eulogy on the martyr Isidorus.
- Pericles. 440 B. C. *Statesman*. *Ἐπιτάφιοι*.
- Persaeus Cittieus. 260 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Περὶ βασιλείας; Προτρεπτικοί; Διατριβαί; Χρεῖαι*.
- Philiscus of Miletus. 390 B. C. *Orator*. Encomiastic Life of Lycurgus, the orator.
- Philostorgius. 400 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium on Eunomius.
- Philostratus. 240 A. D. *Sophist*. *Εἰκόνας; Ἡρωικά; biography*.
- Philostratus the Lemnian. Third century A. D. *Rhetorician*. *Εἰκόνας; Παναθηναϊκὸς λόγος; Τρωικὸς λόγος; Μελέται*.
- Plato. 390 B. C. *Philosopher*. Menexenus, a funeral oration; many epideictic passages elsewhere.
- Plutarch. First century A. D. *Biographer*. Biography; essays; his *περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης* is a eulogy.
- Polemon. 130 A. D. *Sophist*. *Λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι*; Oration at the dedication of the temple of Zeus at Athens, 135 A. D.; other epideictic speeches (cf. Menander, Sp. III, 386, 31).
- Pollux. 185 A. D. *Sophist and grammarian*. *Διαλέξεις ἦτοι λαλιαί; Μελέται; Ἐπιθαλάμιος λόγος*; a panegyric on Rome.
- Polus. Fourth century B. C. *Sophist*. Display speeches (Lucian, *Herod*, chap. 3).
- Polycrates. 400 B. C. *Sophist and rhetorician*. *Παράδοξα ἐγκώμια; Ἐγκώμιον Θρασυβούλου*; and other encomia.
- Poseidonius. First century B. C. *Philosopher*. *Προτρεπτικά*.
- Potamon of Mytilene. First century A. D. *Rhetorician*. *Βρότου ἐγκώμιον*.
- Proaeresius. 310 A. D. *Teacher of rhetoric*. Eulogy on Rome.
- Procopius. 540 A. D. *Historian*. *Κτίσματα*—a panegyric on buildings erected during the reign of Justinian.
- Prodicus. Fifth century B. C. *Sophist*. Orations for display (Lucian, *Herod*, chap. 3); Themistius (XXX, 349) implies a panegyric on agriculture; *Ἦραι* (Xen., *Mem.*, II, 1, 21).
- Protagoras. Fifth century B. C. *Sophist*. Speeches for display. Diogenes Laertius (IX, 8, 3) refers to epideictic characteristics.
- Psellus (Michael Constantinus). Eleventh century A. D. *Teacher*. *Πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος; Μονόδια; Encomium in Metaphrastem Dominum Symeonem*.
- Secundus of Athens. 120 A. D. *Sophist*. *Μελέται ῥητορικαί*.
- Serapion of Alexandria. 120 A. D. *Sophist*. *Πανηγυρικός ἐπ' Ἀδριανῆ τῷ βασιλεῖ; Βουλευτικὸς Ἀλεξανδρεῶν*.
- Severus Rhetor. 470 A. D. *Rhetorician*. *Ἡθοποιαί; Διήγηματα* (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, I, 537, 539).



- Speusippus. 380 B. C. *Philosopher*. Panegyric on Plato.
- Sphaerus. 250 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Περὶ βασιλείας; Διατριβαί.*
- Strato. 290 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Περὶ βασιλείας.*
- Syncellus (Michael). 820 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomia Dionysii Areopagitae, and other encomia; *Περὶ βασιλείας.*
- Synesius. 410 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Περὶ βασιλείας; panegyric orations; Encomium on Baldness.*
- Themistius. 340 A. D. *Orator*. Many panegyric orations; *Πρεσβευτικοί*; etc.
- Theodectes. 350 B. C. *Rhetorician*. Funeral Oratio over Maussollus.
- Theodectes, son of the preceding. 320 B. C. *Rhetorician*. Encomium on Alexander the Epirot.
- Theodorus of Cynopolis. Date uncertain. *Rhetorician*. *Ἡθοποιία* (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, I. 540).
- Theodorus Hyrtacenus. 1320 A. D. *Teacher*. Panegyrics; funeral orations; prose hymns.
- Theodorus Studita. 790 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Ἐπιτάφιος; Ἐγκώμια.*
- Theon (Aelius). Date uncertain. *Rhetorician*. *Προγυμνάσματα.*
- Theophilus of Alexandria. 400 A. D. *Ecclesiastic*. *Προσφωνητικός.*
- Theophrastus. 330 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Προρρητικός; Περὶ βασιλείας.*
- Theophylactus. 1050 A. D. *Archbishop of Bulgaria*. *Περὶ βασιλείας* to Constantinus Porphyrogenetus; Panegyric on Comnenus.
- Theopompus. 350 B. C. *Historian and orator*. Encomium on Philip and Alexander; panegyric orations; Funeral Oratio over Mausollus.
- Thomas Magister. 1300 A. D. *Rhetorician*. Encomiastic and occasional addresses; *Περὶ βασιλείας; Πρεσβευτικός λόγος.*
- Thrasymachus. 400 B. C. *Sophist*. *Παίγνια; Ἀφορμαὶ ῥητορικαί; Πυθικός; Ὀλυμπιακός; Ἐπιτάφιος.*
- Xenocrates of Chalcedon. 350 B. C. *Philosopher*. *Ἐπιτάφιος* over Arsinoe; *Παραίτησις.*
- Xenophon. 390 B. C. *Historian*. Agesilaus—a panegyric work.
- Xenophon of Ephesus. Second century A. D. *Writer of romance*—Ephesiaca.
- Zoilus. Date uncertain. *Grammatian*. *Τεσδίων ἐγκώμιον*; Encomium on Polyphemus.

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