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DEMOSTHENES THE ORATOR

Douglas M. MacDowell

OXFORD

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DOUGLAS M. MACDOWELL

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Preface

Two excellent books on Demosthenes were written in German in the nineteenth century, by Arnold Schaefer and Friedrich Blass. The twentieth century did less for Demosthenes as an orator and directed more attention to his foreign policies and his successful opponents, Philip and Alexander of Macedonia. Indeed, the best general work on him written in the last hundred years bears the discouraging title *Demosthenes and His Time: A Study in Defeat*. But if we regard him as one of the supreme writers of antiquity (as the ancients themselves did), it is for his speeches, not for the battle of Khaironeia; and so in this book I try to assess not his policies but his texts.

A major difficulty is that, of the sixty-one 'orations' preserved in the manuscripts, some have undoubtedly and others possibly been ascribed to Demosthenes wrongly. Since opinions differ about the authenticity of individual texts, I have thought it useful to include some discussion of all of them, while paying on the whole less attention to those which I think less likely to be genuinely Demosthenic. In some cases the dates of speeches are unknown; I have adopted an approximately chronological order, but have departed from it to group together speeches which are on similar subjects.

Not every aspect of Demosthenes can be covered in one book of moderate size. One weakness of which I am particularly conscious is that the account of his prose style in Chapter 15 is superficial, even though Greek type (elsewhere confined to the footnotes) has in that chapter been admitted into the text. A full study of his style in all the speeches would be a labour of many years which no one has yet undertaken. Meanwhile I offer here my own view of Demosthenes so far.

D.M.M.

Glasgow

December 2008

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Abbreviations

Figures without an author's name, e.g. 18.123, refer to orations in the Demosthenic corpus. *Pr.* and *Ep.* mean the prooemia and the epistles ascribed to Demosthenes.

<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	[Aristotle] <i>Athenaion Politeia</i>
<i>CAH 6²</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> volume 6 (second edition)
<i>Diod. Sic.</i>	Diodoros of Sicily
<i>Dion. Hal. Amm.</i>	Dionysios of Halikarnassos <i>Letters to Ammaios</i>
<i>F. Gr. Hist.</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechische Historiker</i> ed. F. Jacoby
<i>Hist. Mac. 2</i>	<i>A History of Macedonia</i> volume 2 by N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith
<i>IG 2²</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> volume 2 (editio minor)
<i>Plu. Dem.</i>	Plutarch <i>Demosthenes</i>
<i>RO</i>	<i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> edited by P. J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne
<i>Ten Orators</i>	[Plutarch] <i>Lives of the Ten Orators (Ethika 832–52)</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Details of other modern works for which I use abbreviated references may be found in the bibliography on pp. 427–40.

1

Speeches and texts

ORATORY IN ATHENS

Why was oratory of such importance in ancient Athens? In recent times (after the days of Hitler and Churchill) it has become a very minor genre. But Athens in the time of Demosthenes was a largely oral community. Its population was small (by the standards of modern states), and in the absence of printing and later methods of communication speeches were the principal means of influencing opinion and reaching decisions.

Above all, Athens was a democracy, in which all citizens (free adult males of Athenian parentage) could vote on every important issue. They took turns, five hundred of them each year, to be members of the Boule, the council dealing with business from day to day; and all citizens who wished could attend the Ekklesia, the assembly which met forty or more times a year, and could vote on all matters of high importance. To get anything done in public affairs it was necessary to make a speech to one or both of those bodies. Disputes were settled in the lawcourts by large juries, often five hundred strong and sometimes more, and one could not expect to win a case without making a good speech. There were also various public occasions on which a man might be selected to make a keynote speech. The most important of these was the funeral ceremony, usually annual, for men killed in war; the speaker was expected to praise the dead and glorify the Athens for which they had died.

So oratory pervaded Athenian life. Demosthenes, who lived from 384 to 322,¹ made speeches of all these kinds, and was afterwards regarded as the greatest orator of antiquity.² It therefore behoves us to try to understand and appreciate his achievement.

¹ In this book all three-figure dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

² E.g. Cicero *Orator* 104 'unus eminent inter omnis in omni genere dicendi', Dion. Hal. *Isaios* 20 τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος, ἣν οὐθεὶς ἐστὼν ὄς οὐ τελειοτάτην ἀπασῶν οἴεται γενέσθαι, Pliny *Epistles* 9.26.8 'Demosthenes ipse, ille norma oratoris et regula'.

SPEECHES IN THE LAW COURTS

The largest part of the surviving body of texts attributed to Demosthenes (the Demosthenic corpus) consists of speeches for trials in the lawcourts, either for the prosecution or for the defence. Orations 18–26 and 59 are for *graphai*, the most usual type of public cases (*dikai demosiai*, prosecutions on behalf of the community), and Orations 27–58 are for private cases (*dikai idiai*, in which the prosecutor is seeking some remedy or compensation for himself).

Speeches in the lawcourts had to be delivered within a time-limit, measured by the water-clock (*klepsydra*). The length of time allowed varied according to the seriousness of the case.³ In most private cases each litigant spoke twice (in the order prosecutor, defendant, prosecutor, defendant), with less time allowed for his second speech than for his first. In a public case, such as a prosecution for proposing a decree illegally (*graphe paranomon*), the prosecutor and the defendant each made only one speech but was allowed one-third of the court's day for it.⁴ If the jury's verdict went against the defendant, in a case for which the penalty was not fixed by law, the prosecutor and the defendant had each to make another speech proposing an appropriate penalty; for this each was, it seems, allowed half as much time as for his earlier speech or speeches.⁵ Within his allowance of time, a litigant could call up one or more friends as advocates (*synegoroi*) to speak in his support.⁶ An extreme example of this occurs in the speech *For Phormion* (Oration 36): Phormion, an elderly ex-slave who spoke Greek badly, apparently uttered only a few words before calling on a friend (probably Demosthenes himself) to deliver the main speech in his defence.

In early times no doubt all speeches were extempore. Perikles is said to have been the first man to prepare a court speech in writing beforehand.⁷ By the time of Demosthenes this had become common practice, but there is no reason to think it was invariable. Probably many speakers continued to speak without written preparation. Indeed, there was a view that only an impromptu speech was sincere, and in one place Demosthenes thinks it necessary to defend himself against the charge of preparing his speech.

³ Figures for the amounts of water allowed are given in *Ath. Pol.* 67, but they are not easy to translate into lengths of time. See Rhodes *Comm. on Ath. Pol.* 719–28.

⁴ MacDowell in Flensted-Jensen, Nielsen, and Rubinstein (eds) *Polis and Politics* 563–8. For the alternative view that a public case could last more than one day see Worthington *Hermes* 131 (2003) 364–71.

⁵ MacDowell *CQ* 35 (1985) 525–6.

⁶ The use of advocates is fully discussed by Rubinstein *Litigation and Cooperation*.

⁷ *Souda* π 1180.

Then perhaps he'll also say something like this, that the whole of this speech that I'm making has been thought out and prepared. That I've thought it out, men of Athens, I admit, I can't deny it—and indeed that I've rehearsed it, as far as was possible for me. I should in fact have been foolish, when I have been and am subjected to such treatment, if I hadn't taken trouble over what I intended to say to you about it.

(21.191)

In several places Demosthenes' written texts include phrases inserted to make it seem that he is speaking impromptu.

Now, let me speak about the dining and the decree (I nearly forgot what I particularly needed to mention to you) . . .

(19.234)

For the events in Euboea (I nearly forgot to mention this) . . .

(21.110)

Even when a man did write out a speech in advance, it is unlikely that he delivered it exactly as written. Custom did not allow him to read it from a text brought into court.⁸ He would try to memorize it beforehand and then deliver as much of it as he could remember. But he may have departed from it quite considerably, either because he forgot some of it, or because he ran out of time, or because he needed to answer points made by his opponent in the preceding speech, or because he was harassed by heckling. The text that we have, then, is what the speaker planned to say, and could have said, but we cannot know for sure that he did say it. In trials in which each litigant spoke twice, it will have been usual to use the second speech to reply to the opponent's first speech, so that it was difficult to prepare it before the trial and most second speeches will have been extempore. No doubt that is why we have the texts of comparatively few second speeches.

A man who had little experience of litigation and lacked confidence in his ability to compose a speech could persuade or pay someone else to write a speech for him to deliver.⁹ This practice was already current at the time of the Peloponnesian War, when Antiphon was accused of making money by writing speeches for other men.¹⁰ Many of the speeches attributed to Demosthenes and other fourth-century authors are clearly intended for delivery by other speakers. It has been argued by Dover in his study of Lysias that in such cases the surviving text may have been a collaborative effort, written by the prospective speaker using suggestions and advice from the expert; but that view

⁸ Lavency *Logographie* 183–9.

⁹ For detailed discussion of this topic see Lavency *Logographie*.

¹⁰ Antiphon fr. 1a *ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ λέγουσιν οἱ κατηγοροὶ ὡς συνέγραφόν τε δίκας ἄλλοις καὶ ὡς ἐκέρδαινον ἀπὸ τούτου.*

has not found general acceptance.¹¹ Several passages point in the opposite direction. One from the fourth century is part of Theophrastos' description of the Ungrateful Grumbler.

After winning a case and getting every vote, he criticizes the writer of his speech for omitting many sound points.

(Theophrastos *Characters* 17.8)

Two anecdotes of later date both concern Lysias.

When Lysias, a very skilful orator, brought him [Socrates] a written speech for him to learn off, if he thought fit, and use in court in his defence, he willingly read it and said it was well written, 'but,' he said, 'just as, if you brought me Sikyonian slippers, however suitable and fitting for the foot, I wouldn't wear them because they were not manly,' likewise that speech seemed to him skilful and eloquent but not manly and robust.

(Cicero *De oratore* 1.231)

Lysias wrote a speech for a litigant and gave it to him. After reading it repeatedly he came to Lysias in despair and said that when he went through it the first time the speech seemed marvellous, but when he read it a second and a third time it seemed dull and ineffective. Lysias laughed and said, 'What? You're only going to deliver it once in court, aren't you?'

(Plutarch *Ethika* 504c)

These passages clearly imply that the normal procedure was for the expert orator to write the speech, which the litigant then learned off¹² and recited in court. There may have been exceptions. We need not exclude the possibility that in some cases a litigant suggested points for the writer to include in the speech. Often the litigant must have had to supply most of the factual information needed. But as a general rule we can accept the usual view that, for example, *Against Konon* (Oration 54) was written by Demosthenes for delivery by Ariston, not written by Ariston with help from Demosthenes.

By the time of Demosthenes the rhetoric of lawcourt speeches had become a subject of study and teaching. Such instruction had begun in the fifth century; it is satirized by Aristophanes in *Clouds* and attacked by Plato in *Gorgias*. But the earliest surviving detailed expositions of rhetorical principles and practice belong to the second half of the fourth century: Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, written around 335, and the *Rhetoric to Alexander* generally ascribed to Anaximenes of Lampsakos, written probably not much earlier. Those

¹¹ Dover *Lysias* 148–74, opposed by Usher *GRBS* 17 (1976) 31–40, Todd *G&R* 37 (1990) 165–6, Worthington *CQ* 43 (1993) 67–72.

¹² Cicero's word is *edisceret*.

works are too late to have had a significant influence on Demosthenes. The content of earlier instruction is doubtful. It seems most likely that early teachers recommended division of a lawcourt speech into four parts: prologue (or prooemium), narrative, proof (or argument), and epilogue. Some of Demosthenes' speeches do adopt this arrangement, but not all; it is clear that he did not regard it as a requirement. Rhetorical teaching may well have included also classification of types of argument, such as arguments from probability and rhetorical questions. But in general it is hardly practical to say which bits of a Demosthenic speech are owed to tradition and which to his own perception of what would be effective in a particular case, and I do not try systematically to do so.¹³

SPEECHES IN THE EKKLESIA

Orations 1–11 and 13–17 in the Demosthenic corpus are political speeches addressed to the Athenians in the Ekklesia. (Item no. 12 is the *Letter of Philip* to which no. 11 is the purported response.)

Any adult male Athenian citizen (unless disfranchised) was formally entitled to speak in the Ekklesia, and the old law giving priority to those over fifty years of age no longer prevailed in Demosthenes' time.¹⁴ However, it must have needed considerable self-confidence, as well as a strong voice, to stand up and address an audience which could number several thousands, at least on the more important occasions,¹⁵ and could be inattentive and noisy. In practice, therefore, speakers tended to come from a limited number of regular orators (*rhetores*).¹⁶

A man who intended to speak in the Ekklesia could not usually know in advance who would speak before him and what would already have been said before his turn came. Consequently most speakers must have found it impracticable to write their speeches beforehand, and Demosthenes was exceptional in sometimes doing so. The texts of Ekklesia speeches which we have belong mostly to the earlier part of his career, when he had less confidence in his ability to extemporize. He therefore did as much as he could to prepare his speeches, but the circumstances of the debate must often have made it necessary to depart considerably from his written text. On some occasions

¹³ The best attempt at this is Usher's book *Greek Oratory: Tradition and Originality*.

¹⁴ Aiskhines 3.4; cf. Kapparis *Rh. Mus.* 141 (1998) 255–9.

¹⁵ On the number of citizens attending meetings of the Ekklesia see Hansen *The Athenian Ecclesia* (1983) 1–23.

¹⁶ On the definition of 'politicians' see Hansen *The Athenian Ecclesia* 2 (1989) 1–24. On delivery of speeches in the Ekklesia see Cooper in Mackie (ed.) *Oral Performance and its Context* 145–61.

he may have had no chance to speak at all. The surviving texts tell us what he hoped to say, rather than what he actually said.

One aspect of Demosthenes' attempts to prepare his Ekklesia speeches is illuminated by the collection of *Prooemia*. This consists of some fifty-six opening passages.¹⁷ Four of these are (with a few small variations, some of which may be merely scribes' errors in the manuscripts) the openings of speeches which have also survived in full: *Pr. 3* is the opening of the *First Olynthiac*, *Pr. 7* of *On the Symmories*, *Pr. 8* of *For the Megalopolitans*, and *Pr. 27* of *On the Freedom of the Rhodians*. One might wonder whether all the other *Prooemia* are the openings of speeches which Demosthenes wrote in full but which have not otherwise survived; a teacher of rhetoric at a later time could have compiled a collection of Demosthenes' introductions for study by pupils. But, if so, why are the openings of the other extant Ekklesia speeches not included? It seems more likely that, with the four exceptions noted, the *Prooemia* are openings of speeches of which the rest was never written. At meetings of the Ekklesia speeches must have been mainly extempore. Whereas in a lawcourt the prosecutor knew that he would be speaking first and the defendant knew that he would be preceded only by the prosecutor, who would for the most part be using evidence and arguments which the defendant had already heard at the preliminary hearing (*anakrisis*), an intending speaker at the Ekklesia did not know who would be called up to speak before him and what they would say. Demosthenes therefore could not rely on being able to recite without change a text which he had written in advance. But he was a nervous speaker. That is shown not only by the stories of his efforts to train himself to face an audience (see p. 21), but by Aiskhines' account of his attempt to speak on the embassy to Philip in 346.

It now came to Demosthenes' turn in the embassy, and everyone paid attention, expecting to hear some extremely powerful speaking... But when everyone was so intent on listening, this creature uttered an obscure prooemium, dead with nervousness, and after a short account of the previous events he suddenly fell silent and was quite at a loss, and finally he abandoned his speech.

(Aiskhines 2.34)

To give himself confidence, Demosthenes might prepare beforehand the first few sentences of a speech, even if he had then to extemporize the rest to suit what others had said before him in the debate. Once he had begun, he would probably have more confidence to continue.

¹⁷ The precise number is uncertain because in a few cases there is doubt whether the manuscripts wrongly combine two prooemia into one or divide one into two.

Some of the *Prooemia* are clearly composed for specific occasions.¹⁸ *Pr.* 24, for example, with references to the people of Rhodes and to ambassadors making accusations against Athens, is intended for use at a meeting soon after the one for which the oration *On the Freedom of the Rhodians* was written, and *Pr.* 37, urging support for the people of Mytilene, may well belong at about the same time (cf. 15.19). *Pr.* 46 also refers to some ambassadors who have criticized Athens, *Pr.* 40 to certain generals, and *Pr.* 48 to some men who have ignored Athenian decrees in order to secure profits for themselves, while *Pr.* 34 begins with a mention of what happened at the last meeting of the *Ekklesia*. But many of them are much more general requests for the citizens' attention, which could have been used at the beginning of almost any speech. Perhaps Demosthenes composed (and learned off) a stock of such passages, so that he would always have one ready when he stood up to speak. There is one (*Pr.* 39) mentioning a recent disaster, which could be the battle of Khaironeia in 338,¹⁹ but otherwise those which can be dated seem all to belong to the earlier part of Demosthenes' political career, between 354 and 348. Probably his self-confidence gradually increased, so that after 348 he no longer found it essential to prepare the beginnings of his speeches in writing.²⁰

REVISION, PUBLICATION, AND MISATTRIBUTION

Some scholars hold that the texts which we have, though basically written before delivery, have afterwards been revised for publication.²¹ This raises the question of what 'publication' means in the time of Demosthenes. There are said to have been booksellers who sold copies of Isokrates' lawcourt speeches.²² There is no evidence that copies of Demosthenes' speeches were sold in his lifetime; that he distributed them in order to disseminate his ideas

¹⁸ For discussion of the probable dates and circumstances see Rupprecht *Philologus* 82 (1927) 372–400, Clavaud *Prologues* 13–25. The *Prooemia* are discussed also by Yunis *Taming Democracy* 247–57; he argues that each one has a specific kind of deliberative situation in view, but goes too far in suggesting that they are intended to give instruction to the *Ekklesia*.

¹⁹ This identification of the defeat is rejected by Blass *Beredsamkeit* 3.1.323, but accepted by Clavaud *Prologues* 20, while Rupprecht *Philologus* 82 (1927) 381 leaves the question open.

²⁰ Worthington in Mackie (ed.) *Oral Performance and its Context* 129–43 discusses the *Prooemia* with particular reference to the relationship between speakers and citizens in the *Ekklesia*.

²¹ Trevett *Hermes* 124 (1996) 425–41 considers earlier discussions and rejects the view that Demosthenes published his deliberative speeches.

²² Aristotle fr. 140 (in Dion. Hal. *Isokrates* 18).

or enhance his rhetorical reputation is merely a possibility. The view that all the oratorical texts we have were revised and published after oral delivery has been strongly urged by Worthington.²³ His main argument is that they display ring composition, a symmetrical arrangement of themes on both a large and a small scale, and this is too intricate and elaborate to have been included in a speech to an unsophisticated and inattentive audience. As an example he analyses the text of Deinarkhos' speech *Against Demosthenes* in detail. In my opinion, he places more weight on this argument than it will bear. To examine Deinarkhos' speech fully would be out of place here; so I simply make the rather dogmatic statement that I do not find ring composition to be as prominent in this and other texts as Worthington does. If it is a feature of some of them, it may have been present already in the text as written before oral delivery. Whether there are other grounds for postulating revision after delivery—for example, references to what the opponent has just said in his speech—is a question which needs to be considered for each speech individually; we should not make one sweeping statement about all the speeches. One Demosthenic text in which I think revision after delivery is likely is *On the Crown* (Oration 18); this will be considered further in Chapter 14. In the majority of cases I think it likely that Demosthenes did not revise or distribute the texts of his speeches but simply kept them at home,²⁴ and they were collected and copied by his heirs after his death. The corpus of Demosthenes' work, more or less as we now have it, may have been compiled by Kallimakhos in the library at Alexandria in the third century. However, several texts attributed to Demosthenes are not included in the corpus and yet existed in later antiquity, though they are now lost: *Against Demades*,²⁵ *Against Kritias*,²⁶ *Against Medon*,²⁷ *Against Polyeuktos*,²⁸ and *For the Orators*.²⁹

Even in later antiquity it was already suspected that some of the speeches preserved in the Demosthenic corpus were not in fact by Demosthenes. It is not difficult to imagine ways in which texts may have been included in it wrongly. A papyrus roll would not necessarily bear the writer's name.

²³ Worthington *Cl. et Med.* 42 (1991) 55–74; cf. also Tuplin *Historia* 47 (1998) 291–319, Milns in Worthington (ed.) *Demosthenes* 207–9.

²⁴ Wooten *Philippic I* 170 n. 6, rejecting this possibility, asks why Demosthenes would have kept copies after the speeches had been delivered. For myself, I still have in drawers or cupboards documents which I wrote long ago and have never discarded, and I find no difficulty in imagining that Demosthenes did likewise.

²⁵ *Synagoge Lexeon Khresimon*, in Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* 1.335.27–31 and Cunningham *Synagoge B* a 252.

²⁶ Harpokration ε 51.

²⁷ Harpokration δ 16, Polydeukes 8.53.

²⁸ Antiattikistes, in Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* 1.90.28.

²⁹ *Souda* α 1458.

Demosthenes may have been given a copy of someone else's speech which, when found among his possessions after his death, was assumed to be his own. Or a bookseller may have thought he could get a higher price for a copy of a speech if he attached Demosthenes' name to it. But how are we then to discover the truth? There is rarely anything in the subject-matter of a speech to show that Demosthenes is not the author, though *Against Theokrines* (Oration 58) may be one such case (see p. 293). More often the only available criterion is the style of writing, but that is a very subjective matter. Many modern scholars have declared that this or that speech is not in Demosthenes' style. In the nineteenth century some of the most acute comments were made by Blass in his great work *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, and in the late twentieth century McCabe was able to use a computer to compile statistics, presented in his book *The Prose-rhythm of Demosthenes*, which in some cases support Blass's judgements. In particular, these studies suggest that Demosthenes prefers to avoid two things: a succession of more than two short syllables, and hiatus (a word beginning with a vowel following a word ending with a vowel that cannot be elided). Yet these features can never be decisive. Demosthenes' style may have varied from time to time.³⁰ On some days, perhaps because he was writing in a hurry, he may have taken less trouble over his style than on other days. When writing a speech for another man to deliver, he may have adapted his style to suit the speaker; for example, if the prospective speaker was a naive countryman, he may have thought that a polished style would be inappropriate and would betray the fact that the speaker had not composed the speech for himself.

One group of the lawcourt speeches seems especially likely not to have been written by Demosthenes: the speeches for delivery by Apollodoros, which most scholars now agree were probably written by Apollodoros himself. They will be discussed in Chapter 5. Other doubtful cases will be considered individually as we come to them in the course of the book.

EXTERNAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION

To conclude this introductory chapter, it may be helpful to list the most useful sources of information about Demosthenes' oratory and life apart from the texts of the Demosthenic corpus itself. In the first place, there are the texts of

³⁰ This point is made as early as the ninth century by Photios *Bibliothēke* cod. 265 (491a 12–21). He refuses to decide on grounds of style whether Demosthenes or Hegesippos is the author of *On Halonnesos* (Oration 7). Although most of the material in Photios' account is derived from *Ten Orators* or from Libanios, this sentence (beginning with an emphatic ἐγὼ δὲ...) evidently expresses his own view. More recently, cf. Dover *Greek Prose Style* 176–7.

other fourth-century orators. The three speeches of Aiskhines and the speeches of Hypereides and Deinarkhos against Demosthenes are hostile to him, and their statements have to be treated with caution. Relevant facts about Athenian legal and constitutional matters are obtainable from all the Attic orators and from the *Athenaion Politeia* attributed to Aristotle.

Narrative histories of the period written by contemporaries, such as Ephoros and Theopompos, have not survived except for fragments; nor have other relevant works written in the third and second centuries. However, from the first century BC onwards we have authors who were able to draw information from those books. For narrative history we have Diodoros of Sicily, whose work for Demosthenes' period is largely based on Ephoros. Didymos wrote in the second half of the first century BC a work *On Demosthenes* of which large papyrus fragments have been found. They contain comments on about sixteen passages ranging from the end of the *Third Philippic* (Oration 9) through the *Fourth Philippic* and the *Response to Philip's Letter* (Orations 10 and 11) to *On Organization* (Oration 13). Modern opinions differ on the question whether the work was a commentary (and, if so, why so many points of interest are passed over in silence) or a monograph.³¹ But anyway the fragment is of value to us in preserving quotations from earlier books now lost.³²

Contemporary with Didymos was Dionysios of Halikarnassos. His surviving work *Demosthenes* is an appraisal of the orator's literary style: he maintains that it combines the best elements of earlier styles, surpassing those of Thucydides, Lysias, Isokrates, and Plato, and is notable especially for its variety and energy. At the end Dionysios promises a further work on Demosthenes' treatment of his subjects, but that work, if it was ever written, is not extant. His other surviving work on Demosthenes is his *First Letter to Ammaios*: someone had suggested that Demosthenes had learned the art of rhetoric from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and Dionysios refutes that suggestion by pointing out that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was written later than most of Demosthenes' speeches. For this purpose he gives dates (by the name of the arkhon of each year) for Demosthenes' birth and for twenty-two of the speeches. However, he does not say how he arrived at these dates, and since some of them are known from Demosthenes' own evidence to be wrong,³³ we should hesitate before accepting the others.³⁴

³¹ Gibson *Interpreting a Classic* 51–69, Harding *Didymos* 13–20.

³² On Didymos' sources and his use of them see Lossau *Demosthenesexegese* 66–128, Gibson *Interpreting a Classic* 26–38, Harding *Didymos* 20–39.

³³ For example, Dionysios puts Demosthenes' birth in 381/0, but it was actually in 384; cf. MacDowell *Meidias* 370–1. He puts *Against Meidias* in 349/8, but it was actually written in 347/6; cf. MacDowell *Meidias* 10 n. 4.

³⁴ D. M. Lewis *Selected Papers* 230–51, Sealey *Demosthenes* 225–7, Lane Fox *Cl. et Med.* 48 (1997) 167–203.

In the late first and early second centuries AD Plutarch wrote his great series of Parallel Lives, in which Demosthenes and Cicero are paired as the greatest orators of Greece and Rome. His purpose is moral rather than historical; he compares the achievements and assesses the characters of the two men.³⁵ In doing so he records some facts which are not preserved for us by any earlier text. Besides the extant speeches which we can read for ourselves, Plutarch mentions more than a dozen writers whose works are now lost (apart from fragments) as authorities for particular points in his *Life of Demosthenes*.³⁶ Some of them lived and wrote in Demosthenes' own time, or soon after it. They include: Theopompos, who wrote his history of Philip of Macedonia in the late fourth century; Theophrastos, the follower of Aristotle; Demetrios of Phaleron, who ruled Athens between 317 and 307; Demokhares, who was Demosthenes' nephew; Idomeneus and Douris, who both wrote in the late fourth or early third century; Phylarkhos, Hermippos, and Eratosthenes, who all wrote in the third century. These writers may well have preserved correct information about Demosthenes, some of which has been passed down to us by Plutarch. But we need to exercise some caution: we cannot be sure that he has always reproduced their statements accurately, and in any case most of what he writes is not explicitly attributed to any particular source. He concludes by saying that he has written the *Life of Demosthenes* 'from what we have read or heard'.³⁷ Some of it, then, may be based merely on hearsay or legend.

There is also a shorter biography of Demosthenes within the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, a work which is preserved among the writings of Plutarch but is generally agreed not to have been written by him. (I refer to it as *Ten Orators*.) Its date is uncertain; it is probably later than Plutarch, and certainly lacks his literary elegance. Yet it does offer some information not mentioned by Plutarch, and it cites some other authors as early as the third century BC, including Philokhoros, Satyros, and Hegesias of Magnesia. So its statements too may be acceptable, with caution, as being probably or possibly based on good evidence.³⁸

Still later, in the fourth century AD, the rhetorician Libanios wrote a summary of Demosthenes' life (part of which is lost) and a *hypothesis* or introduction to each of the surviving speeches (except Orations 60 and 61).³⁹

³⁵ On Plutarch's view of Demosthenes' character see Pernot *L'Ombre du Tigre* 68–81.

³⁶ For a detailed account of these writers see Holden's introduction to his edition of the *Life of Demosthenes* (pp. xi–xxii).

³⁷ Plu. *Dem.* 31.7.

³⁸ For recent discussion of the character of *Ten Orators* see Pitcher *CQ* 55 (2005) 217–34.

³⁹ The *hypotheses* are conveniently printed before each speech in the old Oxford Classical Text of Demosthenes (edited by Butcher and Rennie) but are not reproduced in the new Oxford Classical Text (edited by Dilts). For an excellent recent discussion of them, with references to earlier work, see Gibson *GRBS* 40 (1999) 171–202.

Table 1 Chronology of speeches

Birth of Demosthenes	384
Death of Demosthenes senior	376
Death of Pasion	370/69
<i>Against Kallippos</i> (Oration 52)	369/8
Demosthenes came of age	366
<i>Against Aphobos</i> (Orations 27 and 28)	364/3
<i>Against Aphobos for Phanos</i> (Oration 29)	362/1
<i>Against Onetor</i> (Orations 30 and 31)	362/1
<i>On the Trierarchic Crown</i> (Oration 51)	360/59
<i>Against Polykles</i> (Oration 50)	359
<i>Against Euergos and Mnesiboulos</i> (Oration 47)	356/5
<i>Against Androtion</i> (Oration 22)	355/4
<i>Against Leptines</i> (Oration 20)	355/4
<i>On the Symmories</i> (Oration 14)	354/3
<i>For the Megalopolitans</i> (Oration 16)	353/2
<i>Against Timokrates</i> (Oration 24)	353/2
<i>Against Aristokrates</i> (Oration 23)	352/1
<i>First Philippic</i> (Oration 4)	351
<i>On the Freedom of the Rhodians</i> (Oration 15)	351/0
<i>On Organization</i> (Oration 13)	350
<i>For Phormion</i> (Oration 36)	350/49
<i>Against Stephanos</i> (Orations 45 and 46)	350/49
<i>First, Second, and Third Olynthiacs</i> (Orations 1–3)	349/8
<i>Against Boiotos I</i> (Oration 39)	348/7
<i>Against Boiotos II</i> (Oration 40)	347
<i>Against Pantainetos</i> (Oration 37)	347/6
<i>Against Meidias</i> (Oration 21)	347/6
Peace of Philokrates	346
<i>On the Peace</i> (Oration 5)	346
<i>Against Euboulides</i> (Oration 57)	346/5
<i>Second Philippic</i> (Oration 6)	344/3
<i>On the False Embassy</i> (Oration 19)	343/2
<i>On Halonnesos</i> (Oration 7)	343/2
<i>Against Olympiodoros</i> (Oration 48)	342
<i>On Affairs in the Chersonese</i> (Oration 8)	341
<i>Third Philippic</i> (Oration 9)	341
<i>Fourth Philippic</i> (Oration 10)	341
<i>Response to Philip's Letter</i> (Oration 11)	340/39
Resumption of war with Philip	340/39
Battle of Khaironeia	338
<i>Funeral Speech</i> (Oration 60)	338
Death of Philip and accession of Alexander	336
<i>On the Crown</i> (Oration 18)	330
<i>Against Phainippos</i> (Oration 42)	328/7
<i>Against Aristogeiton</i> (Orations 25 and 26)	325 or 324
Exile and recall of Demosthenes	323
<i>Epistles 1–4 and 6</i>	323
<i>Against Dionysodoros</i> (Oration 56)	323/2
Death of Demosthenes	322

Other speeches are omitted from this list because their dates are uncertain.

Nearly all the information in them comes from the speeches or from other extant texts which we can read for ourselves, but occasionally Libanios provides some additional facts which he has evidently found elsewhere. For example, in his *hypothesis* to the *Second Philippic* (Oration 6) he refers to 'the Philippic histories', which may mean Theopompos' *Philippika*; and much of the information in his *hypothesis* to *Against Aristogeiton* (Orations 25 and 26) must come from Lykourgos' lost speech *Against Aristogeiton*. Orations 18–24 each have also one or more further *hypotheses* by anonymous writers offering facts from unknown sources. Other writers of this period and later, including the authors of the scholia which have been copied into the margins of our medieval manuscripts of Demosthenes, are mainly concerned to analyse the speeches in terms of the rhetorical theories of their own time, and only occasionally give any historical information.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Heath *Menander* 132–83 argues that a substantial amount of the scholia is derived from the lost commentary on Demosthenes written by Menander, the rhetorician of the late third century AD.

Demosthenes' family and personal life

THE FAMILY

Demosthenes was the son of Demosthenes of the deme Paiania.¹ Paiania is a village east of mount Hymettos, some ten miles from Athens; its modern name is Liopesi, but in recent times it has officially readopted the name Paiania in Demosthenes' honour. His deme-affiliation means that his ancestors resided there in 507 when the demes were allocated. No evidence proves that the family still lived there in the fourth century, but there is no reason why it should not have done so.

As in many Athenian families, names with the same beginning, in this case Demo-, were favoured.² Demosthenes' grandfather was Demomeles,³ whose two sons were Demosthenes senior and Demon. Demon in turn had two sons, named Demophon and Demomeles; another relative named Demon was probably the son of this Demomeles. Demosthenes senior and Demon also had a sister (name unknown) who married a man named probably Mnesiboulos of the deme Sphettos; their two sons were Aphobos and Aisios. These relationships are shown in Table 2.⁴

Demosthenes senior married a daughter of Gylon of the deme Kerameis. Her name is never told us by Demosthenes himself, for it was considered impolite to

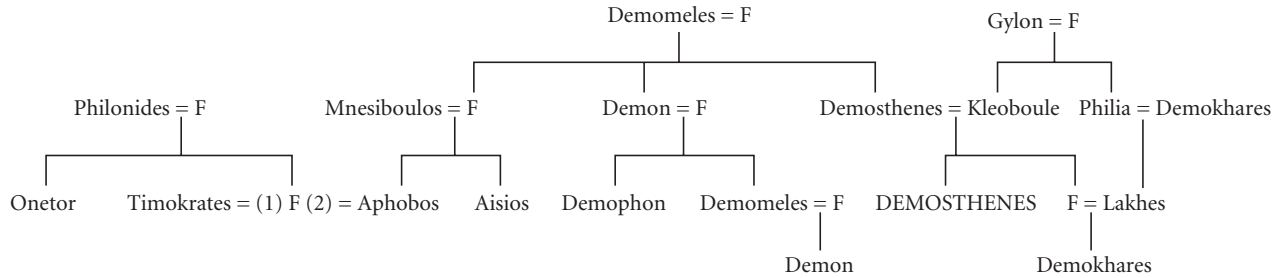
¹ His official name, as it appeared at the beginning of his decrees, is said to have been mocked for its rhythm by Philip after the battle of Khaironeia: Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς τὰδ' ἔειπεν (Plu. *Dem.* 20.3). It forms an iambic tetrameter catalectic.

² But Demo- was a popular prefix, because of its association with democracy, and Davies *Families* 114 rightly warns against the assumption that every Demo- from Paiania was a relative of Demosthenes.

³ It has been suggested that Demosthenes' grandfather was the Demomeles who was the architect of a bridge at Eleusis mentioned in an inscription (*IG* 1³ 79.16), but the identification is uncertain. Cf. Davies *Families* 114.

⁴ For detailed discussion of the relationships see Davies *Families* 113–39 (no. 3597) with an extensive stemma in his Table III.

Table 2 The family of Demosthenes



Notes:

1. F denotes a woman whose name is unknown.
2. = denotes marriage.
3. In the case of brothers and sisters, the order of names from left to right does not necessarily indicate the order of age, which is generally not known.
4. Because of uncertainty about Demosthenes' own wife and children they are omitted from this table.

refer in public to respectable ladies by their personal names; but later writers call her Kleoboule.⁵ Long afterwards, in 330, Aiskhines to denigrate Demosthenes gives an opprobrious account of Gylon and his daughters.

Gylon was from Kerameis. This man betrayed to the enemy Nymphaion in the Pontos, a place held by Athens at that time.⁶ After *eisangelia*⁷ he became an exile from the city, being condemned to death but not staying for the trial. He arrived in Bosporos, and there received as a gift from the rulers the place named Kepoi. He married a wife who was certainly rich and brought plenty of gold with her, but was a Skythian by birth. By her he had two daughters, whom he sent to Athens with a large amount of money. He settled one with—whoever it was (I don't want to give offence to a lot of people), while Demosthenes of Paiania, ignoring the laws of the city, married the other, from whom was born your meddlesome sycophant Demosthenes. So from his grandfather he'll be an enemy of the people (for you condemned his ancestors to death), while from his mother he's a Skythian barbarian, though he speaks in Greek; thus even his villainy is not native to Athens!

(Aiskhines 3.171–2)

The surrender of Nymphaion (around 405) was evidently regarded as an act of treason, 'though Gylon probably had little choice, given Athens' situation at the end of the Peloponnesian War'.⁸ After being condemned to death in his absence, and being welcomed back to Bosporos by those who had benefited from his action, Gylon probably lived the rest of his life comfortably at Kepoi (the name of which means 'gardens'). It is not known that he ever returned to Athens. He incurred a debt to the Athenian treasury at some time, but that may have been earlier; anyway Demosthenes maintains that the debt was paid off (28.1–4).⁹ Of greater interest to us is the status of his daughters. Aiskhines declares that Gylon married a Skythian woman, so that Kleoboule and her sister had one Athenian and one foreign parent. Under Perikles' law about citizenship a man could not be registered as an Athenian citizen unless both his parents were Athenian. However, that law was not enforced in the later years of the Peloponnesian War, and when it was reaffirmed in 403/2 it was not enforced against persons born before that date. Gylon's daughters were probably born before then; even if they were slightly younger, by the time

⁵ *Ten Orators* 844a and the *hypothesis* to Demosthenes 27.

⁶ On the north side of the Pontos (the Black Sea) was the kingdom of Bosporos, occupying part of the Crimea and the Taman peninsula. Nymphaion was in the Crimea to the south of the capital, Pantikapaion, and was under Athenian control in the fifth century. Kepoi was in the Taman peninsula.

⁷ A form of prosecution used for various serious offences.

⁸ Hind *CAH* 6² 492.

⁹ There is no evidence that the death sentence was later commuted to a fine, as assumed by Davies *Families* 121, Carlier *Démosthène* 36.

Gylon sent them to Athens with plenty of money, perhaps in the early 380s, it would hardly have been possible to check the fact, for women underwent no formal registration. So there may have been no lack of suitors. Kleoboule was married to Demosthenes senior, and her sister Philia to Demokhares of the deme Leukonoion.¹⁰

These people were among the more prominent members of Athenian society. Indeed it has been suggested that Demosthenes' family was related to the aristocratic family of the Bouzygai.¹¹ That is quite uncertain, but at any rate they were affluent. That is shown not only by the details of Demosthenes senior's estate (to be discussed in Chapter 3) but also by the fact that some of them are known to have performed liturgies. A liturgy was a public service involving some expense. In earlier times it was voluntary: a rich man would undertake some service in order to make a contribution to the community and earn a good reputation for himself. By the fourth century it was usually compulsory: at the beginning of each year liturgists were officially appointed from among the richest men. The most arduous liturgy was the trierarchy, which involved maintaining and commanding a trireme in the Athenian navy, or paying someone else to do so. Other liturgies were concerned with festivals; in particular a chorus-producer (*khoregos*) made arrangements for a chorus at one of the choral (including dramatic) festivals and paid for its costumes and other expenses.

We shall return to the subject of liturgies in Chapter 6, but at the moment it is worth noting simply that some were performed by Demosthenes' relatives. There is evidence that his uncle Demon served as a trierarch,¹² his cousin Aphobos as a trierarch (27.14), and his cousin Aisios as a chorus-producer.¹³ Demokhares, his uncle by marriage, was a chorus-producer and a trierarch, and performed other liturgies as well (28.3). Demosthenes himself was landed with a trierarchy very soon after coming of age (see pp. 38–40). It is therefore very remarkable that his father, though owning substantial assets, is not said to have performed many liturgies.¹⁴ If he had, surely Demosthenes would

¹⁰ The family of Demokhares is recorded on a surviving grave monument, *IG 2² 6737a* (p. 891), and discussed by Davies *Families* 141–2 (no. 3716). One of the children of Demokhares and Philia was Lakhes, who eventually married Demosthenes' sister. Later still, a son of Lakhes and Demosthenes' sister was Demokhares, the orator and politician of the late fourth and early third centuries.

¹¹ Badian *JHS* 81 (1961) 34 n. 134 and in Worthington (ed.) *Demosthenes* 12, MacKendrick *The Athenian Aristocracy* 69 n. 33.

¹² *IG 2² 1607.26, 1609.13*; cf. Davies *Families* 115.

¹³ *IG 2² 3065*; cf. Davies *Families* 120.

¹⁴ The curious statement that Demosthenes' estate (*oikos*) has been accustomed to perform trierarchies (27.64) seems to avoid saying that those trierarchies were performed by Demosthenes senior. Possibly it was his father, Demomeles, who had performed them. However, Demosthenes does go on to say that he will be the successor of his father, not merely of his grandfather, in liturgy-performance (28.19); that must mean that Demosthenes senior had performed at least one.

have boasted of the fact, especially in the context in which he mentions the liturgies of Demokhares alongside his father's estate (28.3). If Demosthenes senior was seldom a liturgist, how did he avoid it? I can only suggest that he got away with it because his property did not include land.¹⁵ Land was the traditional form of wealth, and most liturgists owned some land, plain for everyone to see. But Demosthenes senior's wealth consisted mainly of cash on loan or on deposit at banks, and in jewellery, slaves, and other possessions which were in his house and out of sight. If he deliberately kept most of his wealth hidden, it may simply have escaped the attention of the officials who appointed liturgists, and of the men who were appointed and might have challenged him to exchange.¹⁶

DEMOSTHENES' YOUTH

The date of Demosthenes' birth is not directly attested, but it was apparently 384. He says that his *dokimasia*, the occasion when he came of age and was accepted for registration as a member of his deme, was in the summer of 366 (30.15). Scholars dispute whether a man's *dokimasia* occurred in his eighteenth year or after his eighteenth birthday was past, but probably it could be either; the Athenians did not reckon young men's ages by written certificates but, at least in some cases, by physical development, and it is likely that a man would pass through his *dokimasia* as soon as he looked adult, regardless of whether the precise date of his eighteenth birthday had been reached.¹⁷ Demosthenes also says that he was seven years old when his father died (27.4) and was under the charge of his guardians for ten years (27.6, etc.). This may mean that he was born in 384/3 and passed through his *dokimasia* at the age of seventeen, shortly before his eighteenth birthday. However, the writer of *Ten Orators* (845d) places his birth in 385/4, and that may be correct if we suppose that he was nearly eight when his father died (but calls it 'seven' to increase the effect of pathos) and the guardianship lasted ten years and a

¹⁵ This is clear from the fact that Demosthenes in his speeches against Aphobos (especially 27.9–11) does not claim restoration of, or compensation for, any land owned by his father. Thus the allegation made long afterwards by Deinarkhos (1.71) that Demosthenes sold his 'ancestral land' must be misleading or false; cf. Davies *Families* 135.

¹⁶ On the system of challenge to exchange (*antidosis*) see p. 38.

¹⁷ Demosthenes' date of birth and the age at which young citizens underwent *dokimasia* have been much discussed. For recent views see especially Sealey *CR* 7 (1957) 195–7, Davies *Families* 123–6, Golden *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 25–38, Rhodes *Comm. on Ath. Pol.* 497–8. My remarks here are abridged from MacDowell *Meidias* 370–1.

few months. So we may date his birth in 384, leaving open the question whether it was in the second half of 385/4 or in the first half of 384/3.¹⁸ Demosthenes senior's death must have been in 376, on a date before Demosthenes' eighth birthday.

Their father's death must have been an upsetting event for the boy and his little sister. Their relationship with their guardians will be considered in Chapter 3. When one of the guardians, Aphobos, took over Demosthenes senior's house, it is likely that their mother left it, taking the children with her, and moved in with her sister and brother-in-law, Demokhares (see p. 33). Besides, Demosthenes was not a robust child. Plutarch says that he missed out on education because of poor health.¹⁹

In this connection his nickname Batalos or Battalos (the spelling varies in manuscripts) might be significant, if only we knew what it meant. But its meaning was questionable even in his own time. Years later he himself said that it was a pet-name given to him by his nurse (Aiskhines 1.126), but Aiskhines (1.131, 2.99) asserted that it meant he was cowardly, effeminate, and homosexual. There is said to have been an effeminate piper or poet named Batalos, whose name became a nickname for other such men.²⁰ But Aiskhines' invective could be just invention. It is reported on the authority of Demetrios of Phaleron, who had actually known him personally, that Demosthenes in his youth was unable to pronounce the letter *rho*,²¹ and modern scholars have suggested that the name Batalos is derived from a verb meaning 'stammer' or 'lisp' and indicates that Demosthenes as a child had a speech impediment.²² That interpretation receives some faint support from a passage in his speech *On the Crown* in which he contrasts himself, 'the Paianian Battalos', with Aiskhines, who played heroic parts in the theatre: the irony is that in a time of crisis he could speak and Aiskhines was useless (18.180). The boast may have more point if the name refers to a speech defect. But the interpretation remains uncertain.²³

¹⁸ There seems to be a corruption in the text of 21.154 (quoted on p. 128), where the manuscripts give thirty-two as Demosthenes' age in 347/6; see MacDowell *Meidias* 370–1.

¹⁹ Plu. *Dem.* 4.4.

²⁰ Plu. *Dem.* 4.6, adducing the comic dramatist Antiphanes. Cf. also *IG* 12 Supp. 400e and Lucian 31 (*Against the Uneducated Man*) 23. However, another comic fragment, Eupolis 92, implies that an obscene sense of *batalos* predates the piper.

²¹ Cicero *De divinatione* 2.96.

²² For this view see especially Holst *Symb. Osl.* 4 (1926) 11–25. Among many other discussions of the name the most important are Masson REG (1970) 356–61, Wankel *Kranz* 888–91, and Lambin *Rev. Phil.* 56 (1982) 249–63.

²³ Demosthenes also had another nickname, Argas (Aiskhines 2.99). Plutarch's explanation is: 'It was given either with reference to his character as being beastly and harsh, for some of the poets call the snake *argos*; or with reference to his speech as irritating his listeners, for a composer of bad and annoying tunes was also named Argas' (Plu. *Dem.* 4.8). It does not look as if Plutarch really knew.

However, he certainly had some schooling, for he later complains that Aphobos, as his guardian, failed to pay his teachers the fees due to them (27.46). Long afterwards he prided himself on the fact that he had been a pupil while Aiskhines had merely been a teacher or a teacher's assistant (18.265, cf. 18.258); it was a matter for pride that a family could afford to have a son educated, whereas teaching was a menial activity. But this schooling may not have been extensive. Much of his knowledge of poetry and history could have been acquired by reading as an adult.

At some time the boy's interest in oratory was aroused. Plutarch gives the following account.

They say that the origin of his enthusiasm for speeches was as follows. When Kallistratos the orator was to face his trial in court concerning Oropos, the case was eagerly awaited both because of the ability of the orator, whose reputation was then at its peak, and because the affair was much talked about. Demosthenes, hearing the teachers and tutors²⁴ arranging together to attend the trial, persuaded his own tutor by earnest entreaties to take him to the hearing. The tutor, who was friendly with the public janitors of the courts, procured a place for the boy to sit inconspicuously and listen to the speakers. After Kallistratos won the case and was tremendously admired, the boy envied his renown, seeing him being escorted and congratulated by crowds, but he admired his speech still more and perceived its power to master and subdue everything.

(Plutarch *Demosthenes* 5.1–4)

There is something wrong with this anecdote, because the trial of Kallistratos concerning the loss of Oropos was in 366/5 BC, when Demosthenes had already come of age and did not need the assistance of a tutor to attend a court as a spectator. Probably the trial for which he was smuggled into the court was an earlier one and Plutarch has mistakenly attached the anecdote to Kallistratos' most famous case. But anyway we can believe that he was inspired by hearing Kallistratos and other leading orators of the time. We can also believe that he soon came to appreciate the power of oratory to influence people in a largely oral society which had no other means of mass communication. This was already widely understood in Athens and had led to an explosion in the study and teaching of rhetoric under the influence of Gorgias and others in the late fifth century. The most famous teacher of rhetoric in Demosthenes' time was Isokrates, but Plutarch reports that Demosthenes went instead to Isaios for instruction, either because the fees demanded by Isokrates were more than he could afford, or because Isaios' oratory was more practical and more crafty.²⁵

²⁴ *Paidagogoi*, slaves who looked after children.

²⁵ Plu. *Dem.* 5.6.

His first effort at public speaking was his prosecution of his guardians, which will be discussed in the next chapter. It is plausible enough that in preparation for this he consulted Isaios, for Isaios was an expert on inheritance disputes. (All Isaios' surviving speeches, apart from the incomplete twelfth, concern inheritance.) It was some time after his success against his guardians that he resolved to take up politics, which meant making speeches in the Ekklesia as well as in the courts. His eventual success in public speaking was by no means a matter of effortless superiority. On the contrary, he had to overcome physical weakness, quietness of voice, awkwardness of gestures, and timidity in front of an audience. He became renowned for the trouble he took over practice and preparation. There are many anecdotes about how he trained himself, probably not all true. Perhaps most worthy of credence are those which Demetrios of Phaleron recorded that he was told by Demosthenes himself in his old age: to cure a lack of clarity in his articulation he practised delivering speeches with pebbles in his mouth; he exercised his voice by speaking while running uphill; he rehearsed his speeches standing in front of a large mirror.²⁶ Plutarch relates other stories, and says he knows yet more which he does not relate.²⁷ It is clear that in later centuries Demosthenes' self-training became the stuff of legend.

In later times there was a persistent tradition that Demosthenes was a student of Plato. This tradition can be traced back as far as Hermippos, who wrote in the third century BC—or rather to an anonymous predecessor of Hermippos.²⁸

Hermippos says that he came across some anonymous notes in which it was written that Demosthenes had studied with Plato and had got very much assistance for his speeches.

(Plutarch *Demosthenes* 5.7)

Hermippos recorded that Demosthenes, when quite young, was accustomed to attend the Academy and hear Plato. 'And Demosthenes,' he says, 'after leaving home as usual to go to Plato, seeing a lot of people gathering, enquired the reason and learned that they were hurrying to hear Kallistratos.' (This Kallistratos was a political orator in Athens, one of those they call 'demagogues'.) 'He decided to go a little out of his way and see whether hearing him would justify such popular enthusiasm. He went,' says Hermippos, 'and heard Kallistratos deliver that fine *Plea on Oropos*; and he was so moved, entranced, and captivated that thenceforth he began to follow Kallistratos, and abandoned the Academy and Plato.'

(Gellius *Attic Nights* 3.13)

²⁶ Demetrios of Phaleron *F. Gr. Hist.* 228 F17, preserved in Plu. *Dem.* 11.1.

²⁷ Plu. *Dem.* 11.7. Fredal *Rhetorical Action* 157–81 argues that the aim of this training was 'acting like a real man'.

²⁸ These quotations from Hermippos are *F. Gr. Hist.* 1026 F49–50. For discussion of Hermippos' sources see Bollansée *Hermippos* 154–63.

Even though no evidence from Demosthenes' own lifetime confirms it, it is quite credible that he attended some of Plato's lectures or discussions when he was young. But clearly Hermippos believed that he gave up such attendance once he became keen on oratory, and we need not expect to find signs of Plato's influence on the content or style of his orations.²⁹

MARRIAGE

The facts about Demosthenes' marriage are not very clear. The author of *Ten Orators* says, 'He left two sons by a distinguished Samian lady, daughter of a certain Heliodoros; and he had one daughter, who died before marriage while still a child.'³⁰ What was the status of this lady? Timotheos captured Samos from the Persians in 365;³¹ Athenian settlers (*kleroukhoi*) were then sent to the island and expelled all the previous inhabitants.³² If Heliodoros and his daughter were among the expelled Samians, Demosthenes would not have been able to marry her formally because of the law forbidding marriage between an Athenian and a foreigner, but could have lived with her (in the same way as, in the previous century, Perikles lived with Aspasia of Miletos). Then his children would not have been legitimate, and that might explain why after his death the proposal to honour him was made not by his sons but by his nephew Demokhares (the son of his sister and her husband Lakhes), acting as his heir.³³ But if Heliodoros was one of the new settlers in Samos, he will have been an Athenian citizen. Then Demosthenes could have married the daughter, and his sons would have been legitimate; in that case the reason why the sons are not heard of later may be that they died young or simply that they were undistinguished.

No date for the marriage is recorded, but none of Demosthenes' children was born before 346 (21.187). His daughter was his first and only child when she died in 336; Aiskhines criticizes him for publicly rejoicing at the news of the death of Philip of Macedonia instead of mourning for his daughter who had died only six days earlier.³⁴ The two sons were evidently born after 336. But

²⁹ For a detailed discussion of the question whether there is any connection between Demosthenes and Plato see Pernot *L'Ombre du Tigre* 21–60.

³⁰ *Ten Orators* 847c, cf. Plu. *Dem.*15.4.

³¹ 15.9, Isokrates 15.111.

³² Aristotle fr. 611.35, *Rhetoric* 1384b 32–5, Diogenes Laertios 10.1.

³³ *Ten Orators* 847d, 850f; see pp. 424–6.

³⁴ Aiskhines 3.77. However, Plutarch expresses the opinion that Demosthenes was right to give the good fortune of Athens priority over private grief (*Dem.* 22.5).

there was also gossip about homosexual affairs. Aiskhines repeatedly calls Demosthenes ‘a queer’.³⁵ He is said to have taken a youth named Knosion into his house; his wife was so indignant that she went to bed with Knosion herself!³⁶ He also loved, or pretended to love, a young man named Aristarkhos, who ended up as a murderer.³⁷ Later a handsome young Plataian named Aristion is said to have lived in Demosthenes’ house for a long time; ‘there are various allegations about what he did or had done to him’.³⁸ Of course Aiskhines is attacking Demosthenes and may be distorting the facts, but we must not dismiss his comments as merely a scurrilous routine of ancient oratory having no factual basis at all. It is not the case that all Athenian politicians are alleged by their opponents to be queers. Aiskhines must have thought that this abuse was likely to be believed by juries when it was directed against Demosthenes. Perhaps Demosthenes really was bisexual. Alternatively he may have had an epicene appearance or an effeminate manner, which made the accusations seem plausible even if they were untrue. On the available evidence we cannot decide between these possibilities.

EROTIC SPEECH (ORATION 61)

Possibly relevant to the subject of Demosthenes’ sexuality is the *Erotic Speech*—if he is in fact the author. This speech is apparently addressed by an adult male lover to his beloved youth. Greek homosexuality was a topic largely avoided by scholars until the 1970s; since then it has received much more attention, and it is now well understood that in ancient Athens association of a grown-up man with an adolescent boy was regarded as acceptable, perhaps even normal.³⁹ Literary speeches or essays on homosexual themes began to be written in prose (following on from an earlier poetic tradition) before the end of the fifth century.⁴⁰ They developed into two distinct

³⁵ Aiskhines 1.181, 2.88, 2.151. The Greek word is *κίναδος*: on its meaning see Davidson *The Greeks and Greek Love* 55–60. See also Fisher *Timarchos* 272–3, Worman *Abusive Mouths* 255–60.

³⁶ Aiskhines 2.149, Athenaios 593a.

³⁷ Aiskhines 1.171, 2.166. On Aristarkhos and the murder of Nikodemos see MacDowell *Meidias* 328–30.

³⁸ Aiskhines 3.162.

³⁹ Dover’s *Greek Homosexuality*, published in 1978, opened up the subject. More recent brief surveys, with references to fuller discussions, include D. M. Halperin’s article ‘Homosexuality’ in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third edition, 1996) and Fisher *Timarchos* 25–36. Some scholars maintain that such relationships were common only among the aristocracy or upper class, but the evidence for that is inconclusive. For an interpretation of *Oration 61* as an elitist document see Roisman *Manhood* 85–7.

⁴⁰ For a survey of the genre see Lasserre *Mus. Helv.* 1 (1944) 169–78.

categories: the address by a lover to his boy-friend, seeking his favour, and the descriptive or philosophical discussion of the nature of love. The latter type is exemplified for us by the speeches in Plato's *Symposium*. The speech attributed to Lysias in Plato's *Phaidros* is a paradoxical, not a normal instance of the former type, for the 'lover' there tells the youth that he is not actually in love with him. Other fourth-century pieces with the title *Erotikos*, including ones by Aristotle, Theophrastos, Herakleides of Pontos, Demetrios of Phaleron, and Klearkhos of Soloi, have not survived, and it is not known which form they took.⁴¹ Thus the text ascribed to Demosthenes is virtually unique in being a surviving work of this period addressed by a lover to his boy-friend.

The setting is curious. As we have it, the text begins with an introduction purporting to be spoken by a different person from the writer of the speech, already in the middle of a conversation with someone else.

But since you want to hear the speech, I will show it and read it to you. First you must understand its purpose. The composer of the speech wants to praise Epikrates, whom, though there are many fine and good youths in the city, he considered to be the most charming and to excel his contemporaries even more in intelligence than in beauty. Seeing that, broadly speaking, most erotic compositions bring disgrace rather than honour to those about whom they are written, he has taken care that this shall not happen to him, and he has written what he says he is convinced of—that a just lover would neither do nor request anything disgraceful. That is the subject of what you may take to be the most erotic part of the speech. The rest of it partly praises the lad himself and partly advises him about his education and course of life. All this is written in the manner in which one might put it into a book. Whereas it is suitable for oral speeches to be written simply and in the same way as one would speak extempore, it is fitting for those which are going to be kept for a longer time to be composed artistically and copiously; for the former should be convincing, the latter impressive. But I do not want to paraphrase the speech or recount my own opinions about this; so be ready now to hear the actual speech—for here comes the very person he wanted⁴² to hear it, Epikrates.

(61.1–2)

As in *Phaidros*, though without the vivid dialogue which Plato provides there, a speech is read aloud by someone other than its writer to someone else who wishes to hear it. Neither the writer nor the speaker nor the listener is named. The youth for whom the speech is written is named Epikrates, but nothing shows us definitely whether he is a real or a fictional person. The writer of the speech remarks at one point that he himself has chosen to be

⁴¹ Athenaios 255b, 562e, 674b, Diogenes Laertios 5.43, 81, 87.

⁴² I accept the reading of manuscript Q, ἠβουλήθη, in preference to the reading of most of the manuscripts, ἠβουλήθη, 'I wanted'.

‘a contender in politics rather than a teacher of others’ (61.48). That description would fit Demosthenes, and so we may guess that the real Demosthenes has written the speech for a real Epikrates; but that remains a guess. Presumably Demosthenes, if he is the writer, has also written the introduction as a piece of fictional conversation. According to it, the speech has been prepared in writing before delivery, and has been given to at least one other person (the speaker of the introduction) before being given or read to Epikrates; indeed it appears that Epikrates would not have heard it even now if he had not happened to turn up at the right moment. The writer expects it not just to be spoken once but to be kept for ‘a longer time’; ‘those who read this speech’ are mentioned in the plural (61.10). So the purpose is not just to win over Epikrates, but to make a display which will impress a wider public, including readers in the future.

Another important point which emerges from the introduction is that ‘most erotic compositions bring disgrace rather than honour to those about whom they are written’, but this speech is to be different. This indicates to us that written speeches addressed to youths were fairly common, and that they usually concerned physical sexual intercourse. It was generally considered discreditable for a youth to submit to physical sex, even though it was not discreditable for his adult lover to seek it.⁴³ Demosthenes’ speech, however, unlike other erotic speeches, is not going to request or suggest sexual intercourse, because ‘a just lover would neither do nor request anything disgraceful’.

After the introduction, the speech does in fact begin with this theme. There are two kinds of lovers: ‘those who defile the business’ and ‘those who think it right to approach with self-control’.⁴⁴ In other words, some request physical sex, but others restrain their physical desire and wish for a social and intellectual companionship; Demosthenes of course is in the second category. Some youths fail to appreciate the distinction and repel all lovers indiscriminately. But Epikrates is intelligent enough to discriminate.

In the case of those who are disposed as you are, who are not entirely ignorant of the good effects of love that is without disgrace and have lived the rest of their lives with meticulous caution, it is not reasonable to suspect that they would do anything disgraceful.

(61.5)

In this way Demosthenes hopes to get round Epikrates’ assumption that nice boys should always say ‘no’ to lovers. Of course Epikrates is right to say ‘no’ to *other* lovers, but Demosthenes is different. His love will be good for Epikrates, because he will give good advice.

⁴³ Dover *Greek Homosexuality* 81–109.

⁴⁴ 61.3 τοὺς λυμαινομένους τῷ πράγματι... τοὺς μετὰ σωφροσύνης πλησιάζειν ἀξιοῦντας.

He then proceeds to praise of the young man. Epikrates possesses visible qualities given to him by *tykhe* (fortune) and mental qualities promoted by his own diligence (61.8). First, *kallos* (beauty)—‘its colour, which makes your limbs and your whole body conspicuous’ (61.10). It would have been interesting to us to know just what colour in a young man’s complexion was particularly admired in ancient times, but Demosthenes does not name the colour and professes himself quite unable to define it. He goes on to praise Epikrates’ eyes—not for their colour, size, or shape, but because they reveal his character, ‘gentle and humane, dignified and serious, manly and self-controlled’ (61.13). Other features of his appearance, such as nose, mouth, hair, or general physique, are left unmentioned.

Next Demosthenes turns to Epikrates’ *sophrosyne*. *Sophrosyne* is a word with a range of meanings in the fifth and fourth centuries.⁴⁵ Sometimes it is a fairly vague term for prudence or sound judgement, but more narrowly it refers to self-control and avoidance of self-indulgence in the pleasures of eating, drinking, and sex.⁴⁶ Demosthenes does not give any explicit definition, but it is reasonable to suppose that in Epikrates’ case he has in mind resistance to lovers’ requests for sex. Mainly, however, in this part of the speech he concentrates on Epikrates’ ability to maintain friendly relationships with different kinds of person. Whereas other young men seek a reputation for *sophrosyne* by keeping silent,⁴⁷ Epikrates is able and willing to talk to all men, good and bad, without offending any; ‘for you are ingenuous without error, and clever without malice, and humane with liberality, and altogether you are like a son of Virtue begotten by Love’ (61.21). Here Demosthenes comes close to identifying *sophrosyne* with sociability and friendliness. It is an unusual interpretation of *sophrosyne*, which has not received adequate attention from modern writers on that subject.

Demosthenes then turns to Epikrates’ *andreia*. This word means literally ‘manliness’ and most often refers to bravery in fighting.⁴⁸ Epikrates’ *andreia*, however, has been most conspicuous in athletics, and Demosthenes congratulates him on his choice of athletic activity. This was *apobainein*, ‘dismounting’.

You were aware that slaves and foreigners participate in other athletic activities, but *apobainein* is open only to citizens and the best men make it their aim, and so you took up this competitive activity.

(61.23)

⁴⁵ For full discussion see North *Sophrosyne*, Rademaker *Sophrosyne*.

⁴⁶ Aristotle *Eth. Nik.* 1118a 30–2.

⁴⁷ *Sophrosyne* is often associated with quietness (*ἡσυχία*). Cf. Rademaker *Sophrosyne* 245–7, 262–6, 326–9.

⁴⁸ For recent discussion of various aspects of it see Rosen and Sluiter *Andreia*.

The contest in *apobainein* was held at the Panathenaia festival. The competitors wore full armour and rode on chariots (which helps to explain why slaves could not take part, since they could not pay for expensive equipment). Each competitor jumped off from his moving chariot and afterwards jumped on to it again, but the exact details are obscure.⁴⁹ The contest required fast running and an ability to handle weapons, and it was spectacular to watch (61.24–5). It also required ‘manliness of the soul’,⁵⁰ which Epikrates displayed especially on one occasion when by his quick thinking and speed he avoided a head-on collision with another competitor’s chariot, to the delight of all the spectators (61.27–9).

So the conclusion of the part of the speech devoted to praise of Epikrates is that he possesses all three of the qualities to which any sensible man would aspire: beauty, prudence, and manliness. Many heroic characters were loved by gods for possessing only one of these: Aiakos and Rhadamanthys for prudence, Herakles and the twins Kastor and Polydeukes for manliness, Ganymedes and Adonis for beauty. How much more admirable is Epikrates who has all three (61.30)! That makes it all the more important to put his qualities to good use, and so Demosthenes now goes on to give him advice about his way of life. What is the quality or ability which leads to the greatest success? It is *dianoia*, thought. The word *dianoia* covers both the ability to think and the activity of thinking, and this is what guides all human affairs (61.37). It makes sense, therefore, to aim at *dianoia* rather than at subordinate objects.

It is utterly unreasonable to be ambitious and submit to many hardships for the acquisition of money and strength and that sort of thing, all of which are perishable and are generally controlled by *dianoia*, and yet not to seek the improvement of the thing which supervises the others, lasts as long as its possessors, and guides the whole of life.

(61.38)

By what means may one cultivate *dianoia*? By *philosophia*. This word has a much wider sense than the English word ‘philosophy’. It includes, for instance, geometry (61.44), and the nearest English equivalent is simply ‘study’, the pursuit of knowledge and skill. Study is the way to train thought. It comprises acquisition of information and practice in using it. Among other things it provides experience in speaking and deliberating (61.41); it is implied that that kind of knowledge is what Epikrates needs in order to become a leading citizen.

⁴⁹ Inadequate descriptions are given by Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 7.73 and by lexicographers under ἀποβάτης or ἀποβατῶ (Harpokration *a* 182, *Lex. Rhet.* (Bekker *Anecdota* 1) 198.11–16, Photios *Lex. a* 2449–50). Cf. Clavaud *Discours d'apparat* 135–7, Crowther *JHS* 111 (1991) 174–6.

⁵⁰ 61.26 τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνδρείαν.

All *philosophia* is of great assistance to those who practise it, but knowledge concerning actions and public speaking is the most useful.

(61.44)

Study involves hard work and perseverance, but Epikrates must not be daunted. He should learn from the examples of famous men of the past: Perikles studied under Anaxagoras, and Alkibiades associated with Sokrates; more recently Timotheos learned from Isokrates, and Arkhytas of Taras from Plato (61.45–7). This does not mean that Demosthenes is offering to teach Epikrates himself; he has chosen to be 'a contender in politics rather than a teacher of others', though he acknowledges that Solon succeeded as a soldier, as a legislator, and as a teacher too (61.48–50). But he is advising Epikrates to take up *philosophia* in the belief that that will enable him to excel his contemporaries, to serve his city, and to bring credit to Demosthenes as well (61.51–5).

Thus this speech, so far from being a plea for sexual gratification, is essentially a moral exhortation, urging a young man to devote time to intellectual pursuits. It is not a work of original philosophy; most of the ideas in it can be found in earlier works by Xenophon, Isokrates, or Plato,⁵¹ and were probably familiar in intellectual circles in the time of Demosthenes. But did Demosthenes actually write this work? It has been thought that its genuineness was denied by Dionysios in his *Demosthenes* 44 (quoted on pp. 376–7); it is supposed that the *Erotic Speech* is one of the 'panegyric speeches' rejected there, and it has even been suggested that it is the *Encomium of Pausanias* mentioned there as being 'full of sophistic twaddle', Dionysios having carelessly written 'Pausanias' when he meant 'Epikrates'.⁵² But this is questionable. A panegyric speech is one written for a public assembly (*panegyris*) and a lover's address does not fall into this category; nor is it very probable that Dionysios would confuse Pausanias and Epikrates. Thus we do not know what view he took of this speech. Later writers show awareness that Demosthenes' authorship had been doubted, but do not commit themselves on the question.⁵³ Most modern scholars have rejected it on grounds of style,⁵⁴ but that is a shaky basis for the conclusion. Naturally a lover's plea is different from a political or forensic speech; the writer says himself that it is and ought to be different (61.2, quoted on p. 24). Indeed this fact points rather towards the opposite conclusion: since the text differs so much from Demosthenes' other works, how would it have occurred to anyone to ascribe the text to him if it

⁵¹ For details see Clavaud *Discours d'apparat* 70–7.

⁵² Clavaud *Discours d'apparat* 85 n. 1.

⁵³ Polydeukes 3.144, Photios *Bibl.* 492a.25.

⁵⁴ E.g. Blass *Beredsamkeit* 3.1.406–8.

had not been known that he was the author? I am therefore inclined, though hesitantly, to agree with Brown and Clavaud that Demosthenes may well have written it.⁵⁵ Its date is unknown, but the references to Timotheos and Arkhytas (61.46) seem to imply that both are dead, so that the speech will have been written no earlier than about 350.

⁵⁵ Brown *Das Geschäft mit dem Staat* 280, Clavaud *Discours d'apparat* 85–9.

3

Demosthenes' inheritance

DEMOSTHENES SENIOR'S PROPERTY

Demosthenes' father died in 376. The assets which he had at the time of his death are listed in the first speech *Against Aphobos*.

My father, men of the jury, left two workshops, each engaged in a not unimportant craft: one with thirty-two or thirty-three knife-makers, worth 5 or 6 minas each, or in some cases at least 3 minas, from whom he was getting a net income of 30 minas a year; the other with twenty bed-makers, who were security for a loan of 40 minas and who brought him a net income of 12 minas; also about a talent of silver, lent at a drachma,¹ on which the interest amounted to more than 7 minas every year. Those were the income-producing assets he left, as these men themselves² will agree. Their total capital value amounted to 4 talents 5,000 drachmas, and the income from them to 50 minas a year. Besides those, he left ivory and iron used in the manufacturing and wood for beds worth about 80 minas, and dye and copper purchased for 70 minas; also a house worth 3,000 drachmas, and furniture, cups, gold jewellery, and clothes, my mother's trousseau, all those together worth about 10,000 drachmas, and 80 minas in silver in the house. He left all that at home. In maritime assets he left 70 minas on loan to Xouthos, 2,400 drachmas at Pasion's bank, 600 at Pylades', 1,600 with Demomeles son of Demon, and various loans of 200 or 300 amounting to about a talent. The total sum of this money comes to more than 8 talents 50 minas.³ You'll find if you check it that the grand total is about 14 talents.

(27.9–11)

The house included in the list is evidently the one in which the family lived. Workshops for the two groups of manufacturing slaves are not mentioned separately and must have been regarded as parts of the house; probably the house had a number of rooms opening off a yard, and some of these were used as

¹ This phrase refers to a standard rate of interest on loans: a drachma per mina per month, equivalent to 12 per cent per annum.

² The defendants.

³ The manuscripts say '80 talents 30 minas', but this is generally emended to fit with the other figures in the text.

workshops.⁴ The bed-makers, held as security for a loan, would have to be returned to the borrower when the loan was repaid, but meanwhile could be counted as having a value equal to the amount of the loan. Twenty of them worth a total of 40 minas implies a value of 2 minas each, considerably less than the knife-makers, who must have been more skilled. A few of the knife-makers were worth only 3 minas because of age or inexperience, but from the total capital value of the income-producing assets it appears that Demosthenes counts most of them as being worth 6 minas. (Even that may seem to a modern reader to be a low price for a human being, but we must bear in mind that a Greek slave-owner thought of the value of a man's labour, not of his soul.) The list and valuation of the contents of the house indicate a very richly appointed residence, but it is curious that no household slaves are specified; there certainly were some (cf. 27.46) and their absence from the list is not explained. The non-income-producing assets include various materials used in the manufacturing of knives and beds, and some loans on which interest was not paid; the maritime loans would be expected to produce in due course repayment at a higher figure than the sum lent,⁵ but that is not counted as a regular income.

We can tabulate this information as follows. (At this point readers may like to be reminded that there are 100 drachmas in a mina and 60 minas in a talent, but to facilitate calculation here, and elsewhere in this book, I convert all the sums to drachmas.)

Income-producing assets

Slaves making knives	19,000
Slaves making beds	4,000
Money out on loan	6,000
	<hr/>
	29,000

Annual income from those assets

Manufacture of knives	3,000
Manufacture of beds	1,200
Interest on loans	720
	<hr/>
	4,920

Non-income-producing assets

Ivory, iron, wood	8,000
Dye, copper	7,000
House	3,000
Contents of house	10,000

⁴ The location of the house is not known. There is no evidence that the house was in the town of Athens and the workshops in Peiraieus, although some modern writers say so. Half a century afterwards Demosthenes is said to have owned a house in Peiraieus and a house in the town (Aiskhines 3.209, Deinarkhos 1.69), but either or both of those may have been acquired later.

⁵ On maritime loans see p. 258.

Cash	8,000
Loan to Xouthos	7,000
Deposit at Pasion's bank	2,400
Deposit at Pylades' bank	600
Loan to Demomeles	1,600
Other loans	6,000
	<hr/>
	53,600
<i>Total assets</i>	82,600

No doubt there is some exaggeration in these figures.⁶ Demosthenes says the total is 'about 14 talents' (84,000 drachmas), but even his own figures amount to a little less, and he may well have overestimated the value of some of the individual items. Nevertheless he does give some supporting evidence and arguments in the course of his first speech *Against Aphobos*. It will be best to follow the course of events chronologically, and first to consider the dispositions of his property made by Demosthenes senior before his death.

Demosthenes himself was seven years old, and his sister was five. The first priority therefore was to appoint guardians to take charge of the children and the property until Demosthenes came of age. Demosthenes senior chose three men to be the guardians: his sister's son Aphobos, his brother's son Demophon,⁷ and an old friend named Therippides of the deme Paiania. In his second speech *Against Aphobos* (28.15–16) Demosthenes describes how his father, realizing that he was not going to recover from his illness, called his family around him: his brother Demon, the three men who were to be the guardians, and his young son, who was placed on Aphobos' knees. (The female members of the family are not said to have been present, and it may have been thought inappropriate for them to be.) The specific bequests are detailed in the first speech.

When he was close to death, he took thought for us, and entrusted everything to this man Aphobos and to Demophon son of Demon, both of whom were his nephews, one being the son of his brother and the other of his sister, and also to Therippides of Paiania, who was not a relative but had been his friend since childhood. To the latter he gave the use of 70 minas of my property for the period until I was passed as an adult, so that he might not be induced by desire for money to mismanage any of my affairs; to Demophon he gave my sister and 2 talents for immediate possession; and to Aphobos himself he gave my mother with a dowry of 80 minas, the house for his residence, and the use of my furniture. He believed that, if he made these men even more closely related to me, their guardianship of me would be none the worse for the addition of this relationship.

(27.4–5)

⁶ The figures are discussed in detail by Davies *Families* 126–31.

⁷ A late tradition gives Demeas as an alternative name for this guardian (*Ten Orators* 844d, Photios *Bibliothèque* 492b 34), but that must be simply a mistake.

Thus Demosthenes senior tried to secure the loyal service of the three guardians by allowing each of them to profit from his estate. Therippides was to have in effect an interest-free loan of 7,000 drachmas for ten years. Demophon was probably quite young at this date, perhaps a teenager, but his father Demon was also present to oversee the arrangements; Demophon was to marry the young girl when she was old enough (at the age of fourteen or fifteen, in nine or ten years' time; cf. 29.43) and was to receive the very substantial dowry of 12,000 drachmas immediately. Clearly this was to be a marriage arranged by the fathers; there is no indication that Demophon's preference was considered, let alone the little girl's. An even more striking instance of an attempt to arrange a marriage was that Demosthenes senior gave his own wife to Aphobos. Kleoboule had originally come to him with a dowry of 5,000 drachmas (27.4), but now he bequeathed her to Aphobos with a larger one of 8,000 drachmas. He also left the house and its furniture to Aphobos, together with some household slaves (mentioned in 27.46). Thus his intention was that upon his death his wife and children should stay in the house, and Aphobos should move in and take control until the young Demosthenes came of age.

This may have seemed a good plan at the time, but it did not work out. Although Aphobos did claim the dowry of 8,000 drachmas and did take up residence in the house soon after Demosthenes senior's death (27.13), he never married Kleoboule. Demosthenes in his speeches implies that that was an instance of Aphobos' negligence. Perhaps the truth was less simple. A little later we hear that Kleoboule's brother-in-law Demokhares remonstrated with Aphobos for keeping her dowry (27.14–15). This shows that she was not living with Aphobos, and Demokhares' interest in the matter suggests that she was in fact living in *his* house; if he was paying for her maintenance, he should have been reimbursed by the man who held her dowry.⁸ We may infer that when her husband died she decamped to the house of her sister and brother-in-law, taking her children with her,⁹ because she did not want to be married to Aphobos. Whether that was his fault or hers we cannot tell, but no doubt Aphobos could use it as a pretext for keeping the dowry; he could say that he was quite happy to marry her and maintain her whenever she chose to return to the house. But the marriage never did take place, and eventually he married someone else, the daughter of Philonides of Melite (27.56, cf. 30.15). Nor did Demophon ever marry Demosthenes' sister. She was married in the end to

⁸ On the relevant law see Harrison *Law* 1.57–60.

⁹ Hunter *ECM = CV* 8 (1989) 39–48 discusses Kleoboule's role and emphasizes her independence, but does not consider the possibility that her affairs were looked after by Demokhares until Demosthenes came of age.

her cousin Lakhes, a son of Demokhares;¹⁰ probably she had spent much of her childhood with him in Demokhares' house.

When Demosthenes senior on his deathbed told his relatives about his intentions, the seven-year-old Demosthenes on Aphobos' knees may not have taken in and remembered all the details. But his father also made a written will, listing all his property and what he wished to be done with it. The will subsequently disappeared, and at the trial of Aphobos about twelve years later Demosthenes accused his guardians of deliberately making away with it in order to conceal their failure to carry out all its provisions. He says that he knows what was in the will because his mother told him (27.40). We may wonder whether she really knew. The sums of money bequeathed to the individual guardians seem to have been confirmed by evidence which they gave about one another (27.41–3), but one provision is reported solely on Kleoboule's word: that the guardians were instructed to lease the estate. This refers to a common practice, known from other cases: when an heir was a minor, the guardians, instead of administering the estate themselves, could offer it for lease until the date when the heir would come of age; the rent or interest paid during that period was the heir's income, and at the end of it the whole estate was restored to him.¹¹ Such an arrangement made it unnecessary for the guardians to provide detailed accounts of their stewardship, and, as Demosthenes points out (27.58), if his guardians had adopted it, they could have avoided the dispute which arose between them and him when he grew up. But, whether or not Demosthenes senior instructed them to do this, they in fact did not, probably because they hoped to profit from the estate themselves.

When the three guardians took control of the estate, they seem to have acknowledged that it was a very substantial one. This is indicated by the arrangements which they made for the payment of *eisphora* on it. *Eisphora* was a levy on property paid by the richer Athenians and metics. It was not annual but occasional, imposed only when the Ekklesia so decided, usually to raise money for a specific purpose such as a naval expedition. Many details of the arrangements for collecting it are obscure and disputed among modern scholars,¹² but it is generally agreed that a new system began in 378/7 (22.44), not long before the death of Demosthenes senior, and that the main point of the new system was that the payers were divided into groups called *symmoriai*.¹³ The number of members of each symmory at this time is not known, but it seems

¹⁰ *Ten Orators* 847c.

¹¹ On this procedure see Harrison *Law* 1.105–7.

¹² Among the more recent discussions see Rhodes *AJAH* 7 (1982) 1–19, Brun *Eisphora*, MacDowell *CQ* 36 (1986) 438–49, Christ *CQ* 57 (2007) 53–69.

¹³ At this time symmories were not yet used for naval contributions, on which see pp. 144–5.