



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

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**Commentary on the Pseudonymous Letters of Aeschines
(excluding Letter 10)**

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PhD Thesis

Classics

University of Edinburgh

2017

To the memory of D.D.

Declaration

The candidate declares that this thesis was composed by himself, that the work contained herein is his own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Abstract

The aim of the thesis is to study the pseudonymous letters of Aeschines, all of which purport to give an account of his sojourn in exile. There is a strong consensus among scholars that all the letters are forgeries, and their date of composition tends to be located in the first few centuries CE on linguistic grounds. Embracing a variety of literary forms, these letters were probably composed by multiple hands and may for convenience be divided into three categories: Letters 2, 3, 7, 11, 12 imitate the ‘Demosthenic’ letters in a manner similar to the Hellenistic (and beyond) historical declamations and *progymnasmata*; Letters 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 come to us with features reminiscent of what German scholars would call *Briefromane*, or ‘epistolary novels’, and are normally deemed typical of the so-called Second Sophistic; and Letter 4 is a showpiece assuming the form of a Pindaric exegesis.

The thesis consists of two parts. The first gives an extensive account of the letters, including their background, history of scholarship, and basic features, to seek to present the ‘forger’ and the text in their proper historical and cultural contexts. The second part, which constitutes the basis for the reflections developed in the first, provides a detailed commentary in thematic sequence. It begins with the ‘Demosthenic’ counterparts (*Epp.* 2, 3, 7, 11, 12), and stylistic comparisons are made throughout. The analysis of the fictional letters (*Epp.* 1, 5, 6, 8, 9) pays particular attention to their consistency of narrative and engagement with other literary genres. The commentary on Letter 4 foregrounds the Pindaric elements and completes the thesis. Letter 10 is discussed at sporadic points: it is a later attachment to the *corpus* and the erotic content is inconsistent with the ‘original’ forgeries.

The overall focus of the thesis is on two overlapping aspects of Aeschines’ early reception in antiquity – as ‘the other orator’ beside Demosthenes and as inspiration for later rhetorical education. Existing studies, however, are more concerned with

textual criticism and linguistic analysis and have left the letters almost unproductive in these respects: so Drerup (1904), Schwegler (1914), and, most recently, García Ruiz and Hernández Muñoz (2012). In his classic work Goldstein (1968) took the parallel passages in the pseudonymous letters as evidence for authenticating Demosthenes' letters, and scholars are now able to take advantage of a more reliable reference when studying Ps.-Aeschines. Holzberg (1994), on the other hand, established a set of generic criteria for the *Briefromane* and has substantially changed the way we read Ps.-Aeschines: it is now possible to appreciate the literary value of the letters without scrutinising their authenticity. Yet both these studies tell us only half the story: while Goldstein left more remarks on the imitative counterparts of Demosthenes' letters, Holzberg focused on the way the letters reflect the epistolary narrative. Following Rohde (1876/1960), moreover, it seems common sense to characterise the pseudo-historical tale as seen through the letters as a product of the 'Second Sophistic', though discoveries of new papyri, e.g. the *Ninus* romance c. first century BCE, undermined this assumption.

My study is built on these investigations in an attempt to form the most extended analysis. The study of the 'Demosthenic' counterparts will contribute to a better understanding of Ps.-Aeschines' intertextual engagement with Demosthenes and his successors, e.g. Ps.-Leosthenes (*FGrH* 105 F 6 = *MP*³ 2496). It shows that Ps.-Aeschines owes a great deal to the culture of rhetoric and highlights his significance in the *Nachleben* of Attic oratory. As for the other letters, this thesis argues that they deserve some space in our accounts of the history of exilic, periegetic, and epinician literatures for contextualising a wide range of preexisting literary forms such as the Homeric *Odyssey* (*Ep.* 1) and Pindar's victory odes (*Ep.* 4). As contingent by-products of the 'Demosthenic' counterparts, however, they seem to allow no confident judgement about generic consciousness, esp. the very notion of 'novel', and need to be approached as antedating the Imperial exponents. Contrary to the *communis opinio*, therefore, I attempt to move the date of composition forward to

the late Hellenistic period, in which there was already ample encouragement for a sophist, as well as for his students, to write pseudonymous letters. The ‘traitors’ blacklist’ (*Ep.* 12.8–9) and the term for the Rhodian family of Diagoreans (*Ep.* 4.4) entertain this possibility inasmuch as both show marked affinities with the Hellenistic sources. Last but not least, the two coexisting, radically opposed interpretations of one’s civic orientation in exile will help us tackle the stability and change in the political cultures of the post-Classical era.

My conclusion is that these letters hold a unique position as very early – and very illuminating – examples of how different literary, political trends were interwoven to make, and to remould, a Classic. It is hoped that this study may have done something to reappraise Ps.-Aeschines, who is, in all likelihood, a pre-sophisticated forerunner at a crossroads in the history of Greek literature.

Lay Summary

As the adversary of Demosthenes, the Athenian statesman Aeschines is a key figure in the history and literature in the fourth century BCE, and the three speeches passed down under his name were avidly read and studied in antiquity for their literary excellence. Attached to these speeches are twelve letters that purport to give an account of his sojourn in exile after he was defeated by Demosthenes in a public trial. Because of their questionable authenticity, however, these letters have often been deemed ‘pseudonymous’ and have not received much attention in modern scholarship.

The aim of the thesis is to reappraise, through an extensive introduction and a detailed commentary, the letters attributed to Aeschines. The thesis argues that they deserve some space in our accounts of Greek literature for bringing together a wide range of pre-existing literary forms: Letters 2, 3, 7, 11, 12 imitate the letters of Demosthenes in a manner similar to rhetorical exercises; Letters 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 exhibit features reminiscent of ‘epistolary fictions’, the heyday of which is located in the first centuries CE; and Letter 4 is a prose paraphrase of Pindar’s victory odes discussing an athletic family from Rhodes. In the letters two radically opposed interpretations of one’s civic orientation in exile coexist, providing invaluable information about stability and change in the political cultures of the post-Classical era. Like other literary forgeries, these letters are problematic and fascinating at the same time. They are likely to be contingent by-products of rhetorical culture, yet hold a unique position as very early – and very successful – examples of how different literary and political trends were interwoven to make, and to remould, a Classic.

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I owe the greatest thanks to Mirko Canevaro, my primary PhD supervisor. I have benefited enormously over the past few years from his insightful scholarship, thought-provoking guidance and unfailing kindness, all of which will, of course, serve as an invaluable asset to my future research. I am also very much obliged to Calum Maciver, my second PhD supervisor. He generously undertook to examine my literary and grammatical commentaries, and the resultant marginal comments on the drafts of the thesis have been a source of both instruction and entertainment. Benjamin Gray deserves special thanks for reading through several chapters of the thesis, and his advice greatly helped me reconcile the two opposed interpretations of exile in the pseudonymous letters.

Thanks are also due to Matteo Barbato and Owen Hodkinson for kindly sending me their articles for reference, and to Alberto Esu and Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen for discussing with me the Athenian legal procedure for immunity and the land management in Hellenistic Rhodes. I also would like to extend my warm thanks to Eleanor Dickey, Juan Pablo Sánchez Hernández and, above all, Qiang Zhang, for their support and recommendations at the early stage of my PhD application. Shufen Jiang, who taught me English when I was a little boy, will be greatly missed.

The Meadow Park of Edinburgh will be wholeheartedly remembered as a source of inspiration in the development of the thesis. Καὶ αἱ μὲν εἰσι φυγάδες, ὁ δὲ οἶκος αὐτῶν χηρὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ ἄνθη τὰ ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι περὶ αὐτὰ γηρᾶ.

Needless to say, the biggest debt is to my family, without whom life would lose a lot of its shine.

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Notes on abbreviations and translations

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works can be discovered from the LSJ, *OLD*. Journal names are abbreviated according to the usage of *L'Année Philologique*. The following are the other abbreviations found in this thesis.

APF J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971)

BDAG F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (Leiden 2015)

BNJ *Brill's New Jacoby*, online

<<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby>>

BNP *Brill's New Pauly* (Leiden 2002–2014)

CAGN B.P. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, with a new foreword by J.R. Morgan (Berkeley and Los Angeles 2008)

CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*² (Cambridge 1970–2005)

CEG P.A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (Berlin 1983–1989)

EAGLL G.K. Giannakis, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* (Leiden 2014)

FGrH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin 1923–1958)

GG H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*² (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1956)

GP J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*² (Oxford 1954)

HE A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams. Vol. II, Commentary and Indexes* (Cambridge 1965)

IACP M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation* (Oxford 2004)

IC M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* (Rome 1935–1950)

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873–)

- I.Lindos* C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914. Vol. II, Inscriptions* (Copenhagen and Berlin 1941)
- ILLRP* A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* (Florence 1957–1963)
- IMT* M. Barth and J. Stauber, *Inschriften Mysia & Troas* (Munich 1993)
- I.Oropos* B.C. Petralos, *Oi ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ* (Athens 1997)
- IPArk* G. Thür and H. Taeuber, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis. Arkadien* (Vienna 1994)
- I.Peraia* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia* (Bonn 1991)
- I.Priene*² W. Blümel and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Priene* (Bonn 2014)
- IvO* W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung. Die Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin 1896)
- Lex.Pind.* W.J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969)
- LGPN* *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987–)
- Lindiaka VI* C. Blinkenberg, *Les Prêtres de Poseidon Hippios. Étude sur une inscription lindienne* (Copenhagen 1937)
- L&S* C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1879)
- LSJ* H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁹, revised and augmented by H.S. Jones (Oxford 1996)
- Milet* *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899* (Berlin 1906–)
- MP*³ Mertens–Pack 3 Online Database, online
< http://cip193.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/dbsearch_en.aspx >
- OLD* P. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*² (Oxford 2012)
- OR* R.G. Osborne and P.J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 478-404 BC* (Oxford 2017)
- PA* J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901–1903)

- PAA* J.S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Toronto 1994–2012)
- PCG* R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin 1983–2001)
- PG* A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge 1968)
- PMG* D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962)
- POG* G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (London 1965, with *Supplement* in 1972)
- Priene* D.F. McCabe, B.D. Ehrman and R. Neil Elliott, *Priene Inscriptions: Texts and List* (Princeton 1987)
- RE* *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894–1980)
- RO* P.J. Rhodes and R.G. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC* (Oxford 2003)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Gieben 1923–)
- SGDI* H. Collitz *et al.*, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen 1884–1915)
- SIG* W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³ (Leipzig 1915–1924)
- TGF* B. Snell, S. Radt and R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1986–2004)
- TLG* *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, online <<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>>

The translation of the pseudonymous letters of Aeschines, which can be found in the appendix, is my own. All other translations are adapted from the appropriate volumes of the Loeb Classical Library, with forays into the University of Texas Press series *Oratory of Classical Greece*.

Introduction

Λέγεται δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος ἐκεῖσε σχολάζων τὰ
πλάσματα καὶ τὰς λεγομένας μελέτας συνθεῖναι.

Photius *Bibliotheca* 61.20a

Pseudonymous letters are fabricated series of letters that were ostensibly composed by historical characters, but are in fact later constructs. They constitute a large proportion of Greek epistolary writings, and are also called pseudepigraphic or pseudo-historical letters.¹ Into this category fall the letters attributed to Chion of Heraclea, Euripides, Hippocrates, Phalaris, Philip II, the Seven Sages, Themistocles, Xenophon and some others.² The majority of such letters had its origin in a culture of rhetoric, and the extant collections might be the ultimate outcome of centuries of composition and circulation in the post-Classical era, most notably in the so-called Second Sophistic.³ Due to their questionable authenticity and uncertain genre, these letters are often marginalised in modern scholarship.

¹ In this thesis, ‘pseudonymous’ is neutral and is used with no emphasis on an intention to deceive (*dolus malus*). It refers to the works that, either as fictions or as forgeries, were written in the persona of historical figures: cf. Rosenmeyer 2001: 195–6. For discussions of other literary pseudepigraphy, see e.g. Gudeman 1894, esp. pp. 64–5; Speyer 1971: 13; Syme 1971; Grafton 1990: 3–7; Aune 2009; Martínez 2014: vii–viii; Higbie 2017: 11–20; see Canevaro 2013: 35–6 for the spurious documents in the Attic orators. Also, there is no semantic distinction between ‘letter’ (derived from Old French *lettre*) and ‘epistle’ (derived from *ἐπιστολή*), though Deissmann (1910: 230) presupposed the latter as a document for literary effect: cf. Stirewalt 1993: 87; Rosenmeyer 2001: 19–20; Gibson and Morrison 2007: 1–4; Ceccarelli 2013b: 13–9; Reinard 2016: 57–66; Sarri 2018: 16–27. For general introductions to the pseudonymous letters, see Costa 2001: xii–xv; Rosenmeyer 2001: 193–233, 2006: 97–103; Trapp 2003: 27–31.

² In some cases they probably survive with individual authentic letters, e.g. the twenty-eighth letter (Speusippus to Philip II) of the Socratics and the seventh letter of Plato; see Gulley 1971; Malherbe 1977: 27–9; Wohl 1998; Natoli 2004: 23–31. While Burnyeat and Frede (2015: 3–40) suggested that such philosophical letter-collections as these are entirely spurious, Sarri (2018: 25) noted that the recent publication of a third century BCE papyrus, P.Lugd.Bat. 33.1, may validate the authenticity of some Platonic letters for it contains Pl. *Ep.* 8 356a.

³ It is very likely that they are of multiple authorship. The formation of the epistolographic *corpus* of Phalaris, for example, seemed to stretch from the second century CE to the Byzantine period: see Russell 1988: 96–7; Trapp 2003: 27–8. The dates of these collections are roughly between the first and the second centuries CE, but that attributed to Anacharsis, a Scythian prince and philosopher, is dated to the Hellenistic period (Section 4.4); for overviews, see *BNP* 4: s.v. ‘Epistolary novel’; Trapp 2003: 27–8. See Section 5 for discussion of the Second Sophistic.

At the end of the *Corpus Aeschineum* we find a collection of twelve letters. Varying in length from dozens to hundreds of words, they purport to give an account of Aeschines' sojourn in exile. Their presence in the *Corpus*, however, is no guarantee of their authenticity and reliability. There is a strong consensus among scholars that all the letters are 'forgeries', and some indeed are obvious imitations of the letters attributed to Demosthenes.⁴ These letters were probably composed by multiple hands, and most of them have been dated, mainly on linguistic grounds, to the second century CE. They were, moreover, anthologised in various orders, as well as in selections, by ancient and medieval compilers.⁵ Based on the identity of the recipients, they can best be categorised in two groups: open letters and private letters. Four of them (*Epp.* 3, 7, 11, 12) are addressed to the Athenian Council and Assembly, and deal mainly with Aeschines' political action from exile. The remaining eight letters are to historical figures or anonymous addressees, and relate to Aeschines' wanderings abroad, in particular to his visit to Rhodes and its coastal territory. Other criteria of categorisation are also possible inasmuch as these letters embrace diverse literary or scholarly genres. In general, Letters 2, 3, 7, 11 and 12 imitate the letters of Demosthenes, and are in some respects comparable to Ps.-Leptines (P.Berl. 9781 = MP³ 2511) and Ps.-Leosthenes (*FGrH* 105 F 6 = MP³ 2496), two Hellenistic papyri preserving *meletai* written in the style of Demosthenes, as well as to later declamations, since both letters and *meletai* were standards in the ancient rhetorical education curriculum;⁶ Letters 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10 are similar to full epistolary

⁴ The authenticity of Letters 1–4 of Demosthenes was demonstrated by Goldstein on the grounds that they perfectly fit the historical backgrounds and do not conflict with the stylistic features of the orator; the imitativeness of Ps.-Aeschines, on the other hand, has been occasionally used by scholars as external evidence for the authenticity: see Goldstein 1968, esp. pp. 3–34, 64–94, 265–6. See also Section 2.3.

⁵ Modern anthologists of Greek epistolary literature have various principles of grouping. The categorisation can, thematically, be real/fictitious or public/private; physically, embedded/free-standing; and chronologically, Classical/Imperial/Christian. Of course there are overlaps, and the most recent selection by Rosenmeyer, for example, was organised chronologically with specific thematic chapters: see e.g. Costa 2001: xiv–xv; Trapp 2003: 6–34; Rosenmeyer 2006: 1–9. Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci*, which was arranged alphabetically, is the only complete collection of Greek epistolary texts. Cf. also Gibson 2012, 2013: 390–2.

⁶ See Sections 4.1, 4.4.

fictions, which are normally deemed typical of the Second Sophistic;⁷ and Letter 4 is a Pindaric exegesis of Letter 5 and looks more like a literary showpiece.

Given the above, the epistolographic *corpus* of Ps.-Aeschines is a bewildering literary collection to pin down, yet provides evidence for, and contextual information about, the development of oratorical, exilic and epinician literatures. In particular, they reveal two overlapping aspects of Aeschines' early reception: as 'the other orator' beside Demosthenes and as inspiration for later rhetorical education, thus having shaped an outline of the orator's afterlife in antiquity.⁸ Because of these considerations, the pseudonymous letters deserve more study than they have so far received, and the fruits of such a study promise to be important. Existing studies, however, have left them almost unproductive and are more concerned with textual criticism and linguistic analysis and comparison. The text of Ps.-Aeschines has been re-edited four times since Rudolf Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci* in 1873.⁹ In the style of the German doctoral dissertations of the time, Karl Schwegler compiled the lexical items of Ps.-Aeschines with a grammatical exposition. His morphological/syntactic remarks, upon which my linguistic analysis is based, can be tested and to a large extent superseded via new toolkits such as the *TLG*. Some of his arguments, moreover, are unconvincing and incomplete.¹⁰ It is time for a reexamination and a reappraisal of the letters. Before giving an account of their roles in the history of ancient Greek literature, this introduction first discusses:

⁷ In view of the generic ambiguity, I will follow Costa and Rosenmeyer in retaining the name 'epistolary fictions' or 'fictional letters' instead of *Briefromane* or 'epistolary novels', for the latter allege an ideal form of genre that cannot cover all pseudonymous letters: see Sections 2.4, 4.2.

⁸ In his standard discussion, Harris (1995) focused on the life of Aeschines and the political history of his age but left his reception history almost untouched. While Kindstrand's laudable work in 1982 is the only one that can be compared with those for Demosthenes, such as Drerup 1923; Adams 1927; Lossau 1964; Gibson 2002 and Pernot 2006, it has merely scratched the surface of the letters on pp. 27, 56–7, 76 n. 30 and failed to apply ancient criticism to the actual text of Aeschines: see Edwards 1984: 210.

⁹ Blass 1908: 288–314 (a posthumous, second edition, with some supplementary notes by Drerup, Paul Wendland and – in the revised edition in 1978 – Ulrich Schindel); Drerup 1904; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, pp. 123–43; García Ruiz and Hernández Muñoz 2012. The pseudonymous letters of Themistocles, too, draw more philological and linguistic attention: see Sánchez 2006b; Hanink 2009.

¹⁰ Schwegler 1913, esp. pp. 20–73. Cf. also the pseudonymous letters of Chion of Heraclea with Düring 1951: 7–9.

1. the background; that is, why the letters were believed to be authentic, and were canonised, in antiquity.
2. the history of research; that is, how the letters are challenged, and rejuvenated, by modern scholarship.
3. the spuriousness and the imitativeness; that is, the basic qualities of the letters.

Secondly, by illuminating the context from which the letters sprang, it will investigate:

4. the potential author(s), and the date(s) of the production of the letters.

1. The letters of Aeschines? A background

The detection of the (in)authenticity of works attributed to Aeschines goes back to the time of Augustus, when Caecilius of Calacte, a Sicilian rhetorician, rejected the genuineness of the *Delian Speech*.¹¹ Although Philostratus and Photius accepted this assessment, they considered the letters unequivocally authentic. It would therefore be rash to discuss at the outset the spuriousness of the letters without looking retrospectively at their testimony, to find out what intellectual milieu may have offered fertile ground for the production of the pseudepigraphic writings on the one hand, and on the other have made the critics believe in their authenticity.¹² Four

¹¹ According to Demosthenes (18.134–136), Aeschines was initially elected as the state-advocate to defend the Athenian administration on Delos, but was replaced by Hyperides (fr. 67–75 Jensen) because of suspicions of treason. Yet he may still have written a speech (undelivered and not preserved). The speech in question was perhaps wrongly attributed to Aeschines, or, as Caecilius argued, to a namesake: see Constantakopoulou 2010. Ps.-Plutarch (*Mor.* 840e = Caecilius fr. 127a Ofenloch) named Caecilius as his source when discussing the teachers of Aeschines, and we can conclude that Caecilius is the first known scholar specialised in Aeschines: cf. also *Vita Aeschin.* 3.6–7 Dilts (= Caecilius fr. 126a Ofenloch) with Kindstrand 1982: 39–44. In this respect, however, only Photius (*Bibl.* 61.20a = Caecilius fr. 127 Ofenloch) referred directly to Caecilius: cf. Philostr. *VS.* 1.510; *Vita Aeschin.* 2.5 Dilts (= Caecilius fr. 126b Ofenloch); see also Section 1.3.2.

¹² Another reason is that epistolary writings did not much engage the attention of ancient critics such as Didymus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Harpocration and Libanius. Some speeches of Demosthenes, for example, were often deemed inauthentic by them, but no one suspected his letters; cf. Blass 1887–98: I, pp. 56–63; Goldstein 1968: 7–8.

historical-literary factors are chiefly responsible for this. First, the letter is a versatile medium of writing. Epistolary writing was widespread through private life and public affairs in Classical Athens, and it sometimes replaced oratory. It is therefore very likely that Aeschines did in fact write letters. Equally important is the impact of the biographical tradition, which, real or fictitious, establishes a strong connection between his legend in exile and the rise of the ‘Rhodian oratory’, a rhetorical style somewhat in between Asianism and Atticism.¹³ Thus, it is close to certain that Aeschines had been active in displaying his eloquence in his final years. Progressively, and as a result, in the eyes of the ancient critics such as Philostratus and Photius, Aeschines’ later work came to be represented by the epistolographic *corpus*. Notwithstanding a hiatus of several centuries between Philostratus and Photius, moreover, the presence of these letters in the manuscript tradition of the *Corpus Aeschineum* indicates that they affirmed themselves as authentic in the *Nachleben* of Aeschines.

1.1. Epistolary writing in Classical Athens

In Demosthenes’ *On the False Embassy*, Aeschines was alleged to have ghost-written the letter by Philip that was brought back by the Second Embassy. This was a serious accusation and was vigorously denied by Aeschines. He claimed that at the relevant time the ambassadors were with Philip in Thessaly, whereas Demosthenes implied that he had sailed down the river Lydias, which is in Macedonia, to meet Philip.¹⁴ In the ‘crown trial’, he was again accused of having assisted Philip in writing a letter that gave a pretext for Macedonia’s intervention in the Sacred War against Amphissa.¹⁵ These allegations reflect the importance of

¹³ See Sections 1.2.2, 4.4.

¹⁴ Dem. 19.36–40, 45; Aeschin. 2.124–7, and see MacDowell 2000a: 222. The detail of Philip’s letter is uncertain, but ‘tactful’ (ἐπιδέξιος; Aeschin. 2.124) might suggest that Athens was told to pursue its own interest at the expense of other Greek cities: see Carey 2000: 109 n. 67.

¹⁵ Dem. 18.155–157 with Usher 1993: 227. Notice, however, that the two orators are portrayed by historians as ‘a couple of liars’, and hence their allusions to historical facts should be used with

epistolary writing on the Athenian political scene.¹⁶ First, epistolary writing is a vital medium of everyday documentation in the Greek world. The Athenians kept archival letters in the Metroon as public documents. When arguing their legal cases, litigants were used to citing letters as auxiliary evidence. The letter is also a regular format of public communication, and has become a routine type of official decision in the Hellenistic monarchies.¹⁷ Second, in Classical Athens, open letters were commonly read to the people and were linked to ability in public speaking.¹⁸ For example, in the *First Philippic* Demosthenes used the expression ‘epistolary forces’ (τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις) to derogate ‘paper armies’, i.e. the military force promised by letter but never sent;¹⁹ while when he was exiled, he used δι’ ἐπιστολῆς (Dem. *Ep.* 4.2) to indicate that epistolography is an appropriate way to express public opinion.²⁰ The latter epithet is exploited in the same context by Ps.-Aeschines:

Ἀκούω δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ παρόντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι’ ἐπιστολῶν κινεῖν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων, ἔτοιμος ἤδη τὰ δοκοῦντα τῇ πόλει συμφέρειν, ὡς μόνον ἔξεστίν μοι, δι’ ἐπιστολῶν λέγειν.

caution; see Cawkwell 1978: 92.

¹⁶ Ceccarelli 2013a: 94, 2013b: 278.

¹⁷ For the practical aspects of epistolary writing, see *SEG* 42.1750; Stirewalt 1993: 4–15; Sickinger 1999: 121, 135–8, 166–9, 2013; Rosenmeyer 2001: 19–24; Jordan 2003: 30–5; Bearzot 2003: 302–3, 2014: 100–2; Chs. 8–9 of Bagnall and Cribiore 2006; Muir 2009; Eidinow and Taylor 2010; Ceccarelli 2013a, 2013b: 101–79, 265–330, 335–56; Harris 2013b; Reinard 2016: 78–98; Sarri 2018. Letter 6, for example, assumes the form of recommendation letter, and see the prefatory note on it; see also *Ep.* 6.1 n. 4; *Ep.* 7.Tit. n.

¹⁸ Cf. [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 223, ‘Artemon, the editor of Aristotle’s *Letters*, says that it is necessary to write in the same manner both a dialogue and a letter; a letter is like one of the two sides of a dialogue’ (Ἀρτέμων μὲν οὖν, ὁ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους ἀναγράψας ἐπιστολάς φησιν, ὅτι δεῖ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διάλογόν τε γράφειν καὶ ἐπιστολάς: εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν οἷον τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ διαλόγου); see also Malherbe 1988: 12; Trapp 2003: 317–8; Kennedy 1994: 89–90; Ceccarelli 2013b: 281; Hodkinson 2013: 330. Indeed, Letters 3, 7, 11 and 12 are to some extent written in accordance with the precepts of *demegoriae*: see Section 4.1.

¹⁹ Dem. 4.19; LSJ: *s.v.* ἐπιστολιμαῖος; cf. Ceccarelli 2013a: 94, 2013b: 276–7.

²⁰ Cf. ‘he (*sc.* the exiled Themistocles) was not present, but he defended himself by writing’ (οὐ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμῶν ἀπολογουμένου) at Plut. *Them.* 23.4. In general, however, the orator would prefer to delivering a formal speech in person because the letter, as a written discourse, may lack vividness, e.g. Dem. *Ep.* 1.3–4; Isoc. *Ep.* 1.1–3 with DeWitt and DeWitt 1949: 201 n. 1; Papillon 2004: 248 n. 2; Garnjobst 2006: 26; Ceccarelli 2013b: 290.

Since I learn that some in person in the city, and some by letter are disrupting the affairs of the state, I am now ready to contribute what is appropriate to the city and to speak in the only way I can, by letter. (*Ep.* 11.2)

The evidence above shows the significance and popularity of epistolography in Classical Athens. Isocrates and Demosthenes engaged in this form of writing and discussed in it issues akin to those addressed in their deliberative speeches. Isocrates wrote a letter to the Mytileneans requesting the safe return of his grandchildren's teacher, and Demosthenes was reported to be writing a letter before suicide.²¹ In fact, nine letters of Isocrates and six of Demosthenes survive to our time and virtually all are authentic.²² According to ancient critics, another canonical orator, Lysias, wrote some erotic letters for amusement.²³

Last but not least, while he was not a professional speechwriter, Aeschines may have written some unpublished works.²⁴ Later biographers have given different descriptions of his sojourn in exile, but maintained that he did give lectures for a fee.²⁵ By Aeschines' own account, he wrote several homoerotic poems.²⁶ His

²¹ Isoc. *Ep.* 8.1. Demosthenes is said to drink the poison from a reed-pen when he pretended to write a letter home; another story goes that he was writing a letter to Antipater, and see Plut. *Dem.* 29.3–4, 30.1; [Plut.] *Mor.* 847a.

²² Letter 5 of Demosthenes is highly suspected because it implied an influence of Plato on the young Demosthenes. Scholars, however, argued that the student-teacher relationship is possible: see Plut. *Dem.* 5.7 (= Hermippus of Smyrna *FGrH* 1026 F 49) with Pernot 2006: 21–60; MacDowell 2009: 21–2; see also Allen 2010: 90–160; Hunter 2012: 24–37 for the Platonic influence on Attic oratory. By and large, there is no firm evidence for its spuriousness or authenticity. For the letters of Demosthenes, see Blass 1887–98: III/1, pp. 439–55; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1898: 496–8; DeWitt and DeWitt 1949: 196–269; Goldstein 1968; Clavaud 1987; Worthington 2003, 2006: 99–134; MacDowell 2009: 408–23; Giaquinta 2014; Westwood 2016. For those of Isocrates, see Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1898: 492–6; Smith 1940; Signes Codoñer 2002; Nicolai 2004: 120–7; Papillon 2004: 245–81; Sullivan 2004; Garnjost 2006; Ceccarelli 2013b: 286–92. See also Jones 2017: 43–4 for a brief summary.

²³ Lys. fr. 451–463 Carey. The authenticity of the extant letters is disputed: see D.H. *Lys.* 1, 3; [Plut.] *Mor.* 836b; *Suda*: Λ 858, O 292. See, too, Baiter and Sauppe 1839–50: II, pp. 209–10; Jebb 1883–93: I, pp. 311–2; Blass 1887–98: I, p. 374; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 133. Similar to the erotic letters is the Lysianic speech quoted, or forged, by Plato (*Phdr.* 230e–234c): see Benner and Fobes 1949: 4; Dover 1968: 69–71; Döpp 1983; Floristán Imízcoz 2000: 187–205, 216, 353–6; Nails 2002: 193; Yunis 2011: 97–104.

²⁴ Cf. Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 185. Carey (2000: 12) suggested that his total published works are the three surviving speeches.

²⁵ See Section 1.2.2.

²⁶ Aeschin. 1.135–136: '[Diopieithes of Sounium] says he will display all the erotic poems I have written to individuals...as to the poems which they say I have written, some I acknowledge' (φησὶν

interest in short pieces is also attested by his adaptation of poetry, and by two epigrams attributed to him. In the *Against Timarchus*, he quoted and paraphrased at length the works of Homer, Hesiod and Euripides.²⁷ Of the two epigrams, one is dedicated to Asclepius concerning Aeschines' recovering from disease, and the lettering of the preserved fragment can be dated to the third century BCE or later.²⁸ The other contains four hexametres and is inscribed on a fourth century BCE grave stele of Cleobulus, Aeschines' maternal uncle.²⁹ Above all, if we consider the pervasiveness of epistolography in his time, it is not impossible that Aeschines may have written letters of some sort. And, because ancient commentators must have found it quite likely that Aeschines composed letters, there was no *a priori* reason to mistrust the letters found in his *Corpus*.

1.2. Aeschines as seen through the biographical tradition

Often the ancient biographical tradition was concerned with the prime of life of famous people, and our knowledge of their young and old ages comes overwhelmingly from anecdotes. Similarly, the biographical tradition of Aeschines contains a mixture of fact and fiction, and thus is the product of literary cross-fertilisation.³⁰ But we can isolate two main stages in the tradition. It could be argued that, in the first instance, accounts of Aeschines' political career in Athens have always been under the shadow of Demosthenes. As for his sojourn in exile, on the other hand, Aeschines is described as a figure with more independent – and admirable – features. Both of these aspects find echoes in the pseudonymous letters.

ὅσα πεποίηκα ἐρωτικά εἰς τινὰς ποιήματα...περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν φασὶν οὕτοί με πεποηκέναι, τὰ μὲν ὁμολογῶ); see Fisher 2001 *ad loc.*

²⁷ Aeschin. 1.128–129, 144, 147–152. See also North 1952: 24–7; Perlman 1964: 162–3; Ober and Strauss 1990: 251–2; Wilson 1996: 314–5; Ford 1999 *passim*; Fisher 2001 *ad loc.*; Koning 2010: 76–7, 149–150; Petrovic 2013: 200; Hanink 2014: 133–43; Efstathiou 2016 *passim*.

²⁸ *Anthologia Graeca* 6.330 (= *CEG* 2.776), and see *Ep.* 1.4 n. 7.

²⁹ *SEG* 16.193 (= *CEG* 2.519), and cf. Aeschin. 2.78. See also Harris 1995: 23–7; de Dios 2002: 69, 129; Fowler 2008: 95–8.

³⁰ See Kindstrand 1982: 67; Harris 1995: 17.

1.2.1. The other orator: activities before the defeat in court

Given the great influence of Demosthenes, Plutarch relegated Aeschines to the realm of ‘the orators who opposed Demosthenes’ (ρήτορες ἐπεμβαίνοντες τῷ Δημοσθένει).³¹ In the same vein the biographical tradition of Aeschines, especially when it deals with his personal life, is based on the speeches of Demosthenes.³² This is notable in the most informative biography by Ps.-Plutarch, which paraphrased much of Demosthenes’ speeches but cited Aeschines’ speeches only once.³³ Furthermore, in the speech *On the Crown*, Demosthenes used pairs of antithetical clauses to sketch the stages of Aeschines’ life including when he was a teaching assistant, a public clerk, an actor and a politician, and this invective has assumed the shape of the narrative of Aeschines’ early life.³⁴

A certain Apollonius is the extreme case in this regard. He reiterated the slanders by Demosthenes, such as ὑπογραμματεύειν (‘to serve as the under-secretary’) and τριταγωνιστής (‘bit-part actor’).³⁵ Demosthenes mocked the parents of Aeschines, and deliberately called his father Τρόμηξ (‘Trembler’) instead of the real name Ἀτρομήτος. In order to imitate this abuse, Apollonius transformed Glaucos’ godlike name to Γλαῦκος.³⁶ Aeschines’ own accounts, however, were routinely

³¹ I.e., Aeschines, Demades, Sosicles, Philocrates, Diondas and Melantus; see Plut. *Dem.* 21.1 with Lintott 2013: 67–8. Cf. also [Plut.] *Mor.* 840b: καὶ πολιτευόμενος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας μερίδος τοῖς περὶ Δημοσθένει.

³² See Harris 1995: 7–16; Carey 2000: 8–9; Worman 2004, 2008: 213–74.

³³ Cf. [Plut.] *Mor.* 840e: ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τε ὧν φησι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δημοχάρους λόγου; 840f: ὡς φησι Δημοσθένει; 841a: ὡς ποῦ φησι Δημοσθένει; 840f: ὡς φησιν αὐτός [*sc.* Aeschines].

³⁴ *Dem.* 18.257–62 with Goodwin 1901: 164; cf. *Ep.* 12.1.

³⁵ Cf. *Dem.* 18.180, 258, 261, 19.129, 237, 246–248.

³⁶ *Vita Aeschin.* 2.1–2 Dilts: ‘Atrometus, whom, some people say, was called *Tromes* before and later adding a syllable, called by the name of Atrometus instead of *Tromēs*, but he born to be a slave...Aeschines’ mother was Glaucos, or according to some people, *Glaukis*, whom, some people say, at her early age acted as a courtesan sitting in the brothel near the house of the hero Aristomachus’ (Ἀτρομήτου, ὃν φασὶ πρότερον Τρόμητα καλούμενον ὕστερον συλλαβῆς προσθέσει ἀντὶ Τρόμητος Ἀτρομήτου προσαγορευθῆναι, γεγονέναι δὲ τὸ κατ’ ἀρχὰς δοῦλον...μητρὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ Αἰσχίνης Γλαυκοθέας ἢ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Γλαυκίδος, ἣν φασὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν ἡταιρηκέναι καθεζομένην ἐν οἰκίᾳ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Καλαμίτου ἡρώῳ); cf. *Dem.* 18.129–130; *Aeschin.* 2.78. All biographical elements are suspicious, including Aeschines’ death (see below); see also Harris 1988: 211–2.

adapted, or copied *verbatim*,³⁷ of these accounts, Apollonius made a special mention of ‘erotic passion’ (ἐρωτικός) and hinted at Aeschines’ homoerotic pursuits in the *gymnasia*, while, in fact, Aeschines used this term to impose a distinction between noble homosexuality and lasciviousness in Athenian culture.³⁸ This case indicates that some biographers, despite citing the speeches of Aeschines, explained them by approaching the rather negative attitude of Demosthenes.

As we can see, although often twisted, distorted and even lost under the political and oratorical supremacy of Demosthenes, the image of ‘the other orator’ remains fixed in the later biographical tradition.³⁹ In 330 BCE, Aeschines was overwhelmingly defeated by Demosthenes and failed to secure the essential one-fifth share of the dicasts’ votes. Facing both humiliation and partial disenfranchisement, he chose to leave Athens via voluntary exile.⁴⁰ There is no extant account of these events by Demosthenes; the question arises: can a tradition on Aeschines’ remaining years develop independently from Demosthenes? To some extent, the answer is no. For example, a commonplace about Aeschines’ exile is that he read the *Against Ctesiphon* in Rhodes and praised Demosthenes’ defence speech.⁴¹ Speaking about the death of Aeschines, moreover, Apollonius still managed to mention Demosthenes by remarking that ‘Aeschines died during Antipater’s purge of democracy – when those opposed to Demosthenes submitted – he had lived for seventy-five years’ (ἐτελεύτησε δ’ Αἰσχίνης ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου καταλυθείσης τῆς πολιτείας, ὅτε καὶ οἱ περὶ Δημοσθένην ἐξεδόθησαν, βεβιωκῶς ἔτη οε’).⁴² That said, the biographical tradition was interspersed with several imaginary stories of dubious

³⁷ E.g. Aeschin. 2.78, 147–149, 167–169; see also Dilts 1992: 4–5.

³⁸ *Vita Aeschin.* 2.9 Dilts: ...λέγεται δέ ὁ Αἰσχίνης ἐρωτικός γεγονέναι; cf. Aeschin. 1.135–7 with Fisher 2001 *ad loc.*

³⁹ For a parallel in the tradition of literary criticism, cf. e.g. Caecilius fr. 126a (= *Vita Aeschin.* 3.7 Dilts), 128 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20b) Ofenloch with Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 189; Kindstrand 1982: 39–44, 59–64; Innes 2002: 180; Porter 2016: 188–9.

⁴⁰ See Section 3.1.

⁴¹ E.g. Cic. *de Or.* 3.56.213; Val.Max. 8.10.3, ext. 1; Plin. *Nat.* 7.30.110; Quint. 11.3.7; Plin. *Epp.* 2.3.10, 4.5.1; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840d–840e; Philostr. *VS.* 1.510; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, 264.490b; *Vita Aeschin.* 3.3–4 Dilts; Jer. *Ep.* 53.2. See also Section 1.2.2.

⁴² *Vita Aeschin.* 2.12 Dilts.

reliability;⁴³ in particular, by giving different accounts of his wanderings, later biographers presented a non-political aspect of Aeschines.

1.2.2. The master of oratory: sojourn in exile

The theme of displacement recurs in a wide variety of literary sources, particularly in the biographical tradition.⁴⁴ In the case of Aeschines, remarkable parallels are that of Gorgias of Leontini, who left Sicily and renovated Athenian oratorical education and practice, and that of Apollonius Rhodius, who left Alexandria for Rhodes to take up teaching: all these figures are credited with introducing certain literary trends.⁴⁵ The most widespread story about Aeschines' exile is its connection with the ensuing popularity of Rhodes as a destination for Republican rhetoricians. Specifically, ancient authors related the following scenarios:

- i) Aeschines fled Athens in the late summer of 330 BCE.⁴⁶ According to Ps.-Plutarch and Philostratus, he retired to Ephesus, a pro-Macedonian city on the coast of Ionia, waiting for the return of Alexander, who was then campaigning in Asia. Yet he failed to meet the king before the latter's death in 323 BCE. No accounts of the seven-year intervening period are given in the extant sources, but there is good reason to believe that the exile was spent in Asia Minor. Philostratus reported that Aeschines settled down in Rhodes and the Rhodian *Peraea* in Caria (Καρία δὲ ἐνομιλήσας καὶ Ῥόδῳ), where he was

⁴³ Cf. *Vita Aeschin.* 2.7 Dilts (= Caecilius fr. 127c Ofenloch): 'Some people say that Aeschines has been a disciple of Plato and Socrates, they are wrong' (φασὶ μέντοι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἀκουστὴν γενέσθαι Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Σωκράτους, ψευδόμενοι). For Aeschines and his teachers, see Kindstrand 1982: 68–75. But this aspect provides little information about the pseudonymous letters.

⁴⁴ See Gaertner 2007a and Section 5.

⁴⁵ *Vitae Ap. Rhod.* A and B Wendel; Quint. 3.1.12. See also Kindstrand 1982: 75; Enos 2004: 190–2, and cf. Philostr. *VS.* 1.481: ἤρξε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχαιοτέρας Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος ἐν Θετταλοῖς, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἄτρομήτου τῶν μὲν Ἀθήνησι πολιτικῶν ἐκπεσῶν, Καρία δὲ ἐνομιλήσας καὶ Ῥόδῳ, which contrasted Aeschines with Gorgias.

⁴⁶ I.e. after the 'crown trial'. As we read at *Aeschin.* 3.254, the trial took place a few days before the Pythian festival (ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίνεσθαι), which was celebrated some time in September; see also Gwatkin and Shuckburgh 1890: 245; Wankel 1976: 25–37; MacDowell 2009: 383.

known to have delighted the satrap Mausolus (d. 353/2 BCE) by an improvised speech at an earlier date. He lived as a sophist (i.e. a professional rhetorician) in Rhodes and Ionia (περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφοστεύων), as Plutarch said;⁴⁷ here ‘Ionia’ might be a rough reference to the insular cities in Asia Minor.⁴⁸

- ii) After the death of Alexander, Aeschines went to Rhodes and was active in rhetorical education. We find numerous sources for this story, with the earliest being Cicero. Other Roman authors who provided evidence for this story include Valerius Maximus, the Plinies and Quintilian. Curiously, they all mentioned Aeschines’ display of the *Crown* speeches and his praise of Demosthenes. Although Pliny the Younger called it an anecdote (*vero falsum putamus illud Aeschinis*), it was repeated by many Greek authors, and the plot was developed as they retold the story. Three sayings make it plain that Aeschines established a rhetorical school: Ps.-Plutarch arrived deductively at the conclusion that Aeschines ‘founded the Rhodian school’ (τὸ Ῥοδιακὸν διδασκαλεῖον κληθέν), which is echoed in *Vita* 3 by the expression Ῥοδιακὸν διδασκαλεῖον συνέστησε; the second is Philostratus, and he recounted that Aeschines ‘transformed Rhodes into a sophists’ thinking-shop’ (σοφιστῶν φροντιστήριον ἀποφήνας τὴν Ῥόδον); and the third is an anonymous biography preserved on a papyrus (second to third century CE) reporting ‘what happened next is his establishing a school in Rhodes’ (γενό[μενος δὲ ἐν] Ῥ[όδω] σχολήν...), and this finds a parallel in Photius as ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥόδω σχολήν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Plut. *Dem.* 24.3; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840c–840d; Philostr. *VS.* 1.481–482, 509; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a. Cf. Gwatkin and Shuckburgh 1890: xlvi; Kindstrand 1982: 75; Hornblower 1982: 337; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 184–5, 280 n. 9.

⁴⁸ One comparable case: according to the geographical organisation of the Athenian Tribute List, the Ionian and Carian districts were combined into one called ‘the Ionian’ (Ἰωνικὸς Φόρος) in 438/7 BCE: cf. Thuc. 2.9.3–5 with Meiggs 1972: 306–7; Constantakopoulou 2007: 80 n. 74. See also Section 1.3.1; *Ep.* 12.11 n. 2.

⁴⁹ Cic. *de Or.* 3.56.213; Val. Max. 8.10.3, ext. 1; Plin. *Nat.* 7.30.110; Quint. 11.3.7; Plin. *Epp.* 2.3.10, 4.5.1; Plut. *Dem.* 24.3; [Plut.] *Mor.* 343d, 840d–840e; Philostr. *VS.* 1.509, 510; Jer. *Ep.* 53.2; *Vitae Aeschin.* 1.4–6, 3.3–4 Dilts; P. Oxy. 15.1800; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, 264.490b; *Suda*: AI 347, 348. See also

iii) We are then told that Aeschines left Rhodes for Samos and died soon afterwards. Apart from Apollonius' account, two brief notes in the *Suda* stated that he was imprisoned in Athens for corrupting the dicasts and died of drinking hemlock. This, however, warrants no further investigation.⁵⁰

We can clearly observe that, whether real or fictitious, the story of Aeschines' visit to Rhodes remains relatively fixed. It also marks a turn in the biographical tradition for building an image very different from the negative one derived from Demosthenes' speeches. In other words, ancient biographers offered us an image of a master of oratory, who specialised in giving lectures about rhetoric, had an open mind and respected his archenemy, and thus exercised ethical influence over his audience.⁵¹ He was rather a mentor and educator like Isocrates and Plato.

Yet Aeschines was not a schoolteacher in the conventional sense – namely a teacher with students in a proper school. In fact, the schoolteacher was a rather humble occupation for such an important public figure.⁵² In his childhood, Aeschines may have himself worked at a school to assist his father.⁵³ However, early accounts by the Roman authors indicated that Aeschines, during his exile from Athens, may have never taught any individual student, and his activity in Rhodes resembled public presentation, not classroom-instruction. Also, they did not suggest that he established a real school, as some later Greek biographers did. It could be argued that Aeschines' legacy in Rhodes contains both truth and fiction: although he

Thalheim 1894: 1059; Schäfer 1885–7: III, p. 292 n. 2; Kindstrand 1982: 75–84, esp. p. 76; Glaser 2009a: 79–83.

⁵⁰ [Plut.] *Mor.* 840e; *Vita Aeschin.* 2.12 Dilts; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, 264.490b; *Suda*: AI 347, E 226. See also Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015 *ad hoc*.

⁵¹ It would be tempting to compare another anecdote in the biographical tradition, that Demosthenes forgave the enmity with Aeschines after the 'crown trial' and offered him a talent of silver for exile. Photius commented as follows: 'Demosthenes, as one might have expected, unlike an orator, behaved towards Aeschines in a manner befitting a philosopher' (ὁ δέ, καθάπερ ἔφημεν, οὐ ρήτορι μᾶλλον ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ πρέπον φιλοσόφῳ ἔργον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπεδείξατο); cf. [Plut.] *Mor.* 845e–845f; Phot. *Bibl.* 265.493b–494a.

⁵² Cf. Mygind 1999: 259. For the status of the schoolteachers such as *paidotribes*, *grammatistes* and *grammatikos*, see Marrou 1956: 145–7, 274–5; cf. also *id.* 1981: 187–92; Criore 2001: 50–6; *Ep.* 4.2 n. 5.

⁵³ Dem. 18.129, 258, 265, 19.249, 281; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840b; *Vitae Aeschin.* 1.2, 6, 2.1 Dilts; Phot. *Bibl.* 264.490b. See also Harris 1995: 21–9.

did visit this place and was regarded as a master of oratory, his participation in the establishment of a school is groundless.

To reach this conclusion, it is necessary to revisit the narrative of Aeschines' performance of the *Crown* speeches and his praise of Demosthenes in Rhodes. So strong is this tradition that it gives us the impression that Aeschines did indeed visit Rhodes and give some lectures about rhetoric. Since it would imply a more doubtful connection between Aeschines and the rise of the 'Rhodian oratory', scholars have hesitated to accept it.⁵⁴ However, there is no point in emphasising the fictitious aspect of this tradition. First of all, we should probably accept the core of this tradition that Aeschines did give lectures in Rhodes and was posthumously characterised as a pioneer of an alternative form of Greek rhetoric, just like the role that the Second Sophistic later ascribed to him.⁵⁵ Second, we should exercise caution in using later Greek biographies. All Roman authors endeavoured not to stress a certain type of schooling or the actual establishment of a school, but the significance of performance (*actio/pronuntiatio/ὑπόκρισις*) by which Demosthenes won a big victory.⁵⁶ This is particularly true in Cicero and Quintilian, who, before recounting Aeschines' performance, quoted Demosthenes in telling their reader that the three utmost aspects of oratory were all 'delivery'.⁵⁷ If we consider the very fact that Cicero once sailed to Rhodes and got trained under Apollonius Molon, presumably his account stemmed from a teaching model in the local rhetorical classrooms and is

⁵⁴ See Kindstrand 1982: 75–84.

⁵⁵ Cf. Philostr. *VS.* 1. 481; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a. The statement that Aeschines introduced the formal study of rhetoric to Rhodes is highly hypothetical, and cf. Kindstrand 1982: 82; Enos 2004: 190–2.

⁵⁶ See Wisse, Winterbottom and Fantham 2008: 342–50; Mankin 2011: 304–6; Whitton 2013: 100–1; Tempest 2017: 178, and cf. Kennedy 1963: 10–2. Even the pro-Demosthenes Ps.-Plutarch had to add Aeschines' praise of his opponent. Thus, it is better to translate ἐπιδεικνύουσι at [Plut.] *Mor.* 840d as 'to exhibit as a specimen' rather than 'to display his wares'. Pace Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 185: '[Plut.] makes Aeschines a peddler of his own goods on Rhodes, his goods being his speech-writing skills'; cf. also the Loeb and the Budé translations, 'an exhibition of his powers'/*donner un échantillon de son talent*. Plin. *Nat.* 7.30.110 mentioned that Isocrates sold one speech for twenty talents, but probably this has nothing to do with the case of Aeschines: cf. [Plut.] *Mor.* 838a; *Epistulae Socraticorum* 28.13. See, among others, Hall 1995; Cooper 2004; Worthington 2004; Edwards 2012, 2013; Serafim 2017a; Ch. 5 of Vatri 2017 for investigations into the performative aspect of Attic oratory.

⁵⁷ Cic. *de Or.* 3.56.213; Quint. 11.3.6–7, and cf. Cic. *Brut.* 38.142, *Orat.* 17.56; [Plut.] *Mor.* 845a–845b; Phot. *Bibl.* 265.493b. See also Fantham 1982: 255–6.

more concerned with the performative aspect of oratory.⁵⁸ The *Suda*, too, praised his extemporaneous speech ‘as if inspired by the divine power’ (ὡς ἐνθουσιῶν) and noted in passing the teaching activities.⁵⁹ Because biographers often distorted the facts to serve their own aims, later accounts by Greek authors that Aeschines established a school, despite building on the early tradition as presented by the Roman authors, seemed to rely significantly on sheer imagination. A comparable case is the localised biographical tradition of Homer, which might have been invented by the school of rhapsodes (or the guild of reciters) in Chios, namely the Homerids.⁶⁰ Obviously, ‘Homer’ did not engage in establishing the school, and neither did Aeschines. Both of their legacies are to some extent idealisations by later admirers.

By and large, the accounts of Aeschines’ sojourn in exile have offered a new path to interpret a Classic that is quite different from the image of the Athenian politician under the shadow of Demosthenes. They not only serve as a memorial to the orator, but also justify Rhodes’ later prominence as a centre of rhetorical education. In particular, the portrait of the wandering master of oratory has provided a rich source for later interpretations, as well as a declamatory theme for Ps.-Aeschines.

1.2.3. Echoes in the epistolographic *corpus*

Written in the persona of the orator, the pseudonymous letters of Aeschines reveal elements that show many overlaps with the biographical tradition.⁶¹ On the one hand, their references to Aeschines’ career in politics rest almost entirely on the speeches of

⁵⁸ Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 89.307, 90.312, 314–316; Quint. 12.6.7; Plut. *Cic.* 4.5–7; see also Section 4.4. Indeed, the speech was mostly performed in ancient school classes, according to Theo. *Progym.* 13 (pp. 103–5 Patillon–Bolognesi); Quint. 2.5.6, and see Webb 2001: 307–10; Canevaro 2013: 335.

⁵⁹ *Suda*: AI 347; cf. Philostr. *VS.* 1.510; [Longin.] *Subl.* 13.2.

⁶⁰ Lefkowitz 2011; see also Pind. *Nem.* 2.1–3; Isoc. 10.67; Harpocr. s.v. Ὀμηρίδα; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1c (ed. A.B. Drachmann, III, 29 = *FGrH* 568 F 5). For investigations into the Homerids see e.g. West 1999: 366–76 (= *id.* 2011–3: I, pp. 411–26); Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 201–3.

⁶¹ For epistolography in relation to the biographical tradition, see Trapp 2006; Gibson 2013; Hodkinson and Rosenmeyer 2013: 5–10; Morrison 2013: 296–300; Christy 2016; Knöbl 2016.

the two orators, and hence run parallel to the biographical tradition. We can find some legal terms, such as *παρὰ νόμων ἐγγραψάμην* (*Ep.* 12.3), the wording of which can be found in both the oratorical tradition, such as *Dem.* 18.13 (*γράφοντα παρὰ νόμα*) and *Aeschin.* 3.197 (*γραφὴ παρὰ νόμων*), and in the biographical tradition, such as [Plut.] *Mor.* 840c (*ἐγράψατο Κτησιφῶντα παρὰ νόμων ἐπὶ ταῖς Δημοσθένους τιμαῖς*) and *Vita Aeschin.* 3.2 Dilts (*διὰ τὸ κατηγορῆσαι τοῦ ψηφίσματος τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ὡς παρὰ νόμου*). Other repetitive echoes include *τριταγωνιστεῖν* (*Ep.* 12.1), a gibe by Demosthenes, and the political figures mentioned in the *On the Crown*, i.e. Demades, Hegemon and Callimedon (*Ep.* 12.8).⁶²

On the other hand, the letters have a tendency to (re)construct a novelistic narrative of Aeschines' exile.⁶³ Although the 'forger' does not mention Aeschines' role as a teacher, he expands the story of the sojourn in exile. The journey of the protagonist begins in Letter 1 with the notification that he had departed for Rhodes. Along the way he suffered unfavourable weather and illness, but always conserved a good attitude, as we read in the biographical tradition. After the arrival, we are told in Letters 5, 6 and 8 that Aeschines received a warm welcome and asked friends to pay a visit. Later in Letter 9 he left Rhodes for Caria, purchased a piece of land, and settled down.

As we can see, while the portrait of 'the other orator' was transmitted in a fixed form and based on Demosthenes' account, that of Aeschines in exile was altered through literary representations. Nevertheless, the narrative of the letters has to a large extent developed alongside the biographical tradition, especially that of his magnanimity and that of his sojourn around Asia Minor. My discussion of the ancient *testimonia* will show that later commentators were misguided by the recurrent

⁶² For *τριταγωνιστεῖν*, cf. *Dem.* 18.129, 261–2 and 19.246–7; see also Section 1.2.1. For Demades, Hegemon and Callimedon, cf. *Dem.* 18.285, where the former two figures appeared as the pro-Macedonian faction, and *Plut. Phoc.* 35.3, which reported that the latter two were condemned to death in the democratic revolution under Polyperchon.

⁶³ See also Section 2.4.

biographical elements in the letters, and that their assessments were therefore confined to mere admiration. Philostratus accepted the letters because they match the ethical characterisation of the master of oratory as presented in the biographical tradition. Photius too considered them ‘masterpieces’, and despite having read Demosthenes’ letters, he did not figure out the imitative commitment of Ps.-Aeschines.

1.3. *Testimonia*

Unlike for the letters of Demosthenes, there are neither papyrus fragments nor ancient quotations of Ps.-Aeschines before the third century CE.⁶⁴ The two ancient, if controversial, witnesses are preserved in the works of Philostratus and Photius, and both approach the letters and the speeches as a whole.⁶⁵ But there is a shift of emphasis: Philostratus focused on the way the letters reflect the orator’s psyche, while Photius left more remarks on their textual qualities.

1.3.1. Philostratus

The earliest *testimonium* is in Philostratus’ *Lives of the Sophists*. The essayist dedicated his work to a Gordian, either Gordian I, who was the proconsul of Africa in 237/8 CE, or Gordian III, who died before 244 CE.⁶⁶ Thus the date of the *testimonium* is roughly between the 230s and 240s CE:

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ φρόντισμα, ἐπιστολαί, οὐ πολλαὶ μὲν, εὐπαιδευσίας δὲ μεστὰ καὶ ἥθους. τοῦ δὲ ἠθικοῦ καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιήσατο ἀναγνοὺς γὰρ ποτε

⁶⁴ Cf. Clavaud 1987: 69–70 for quotations of Demosthenes’ letters. See also Section 3.2.

⁶⁵ For a probable readership in Late Antiquity see the note on the embedded Nonnian epigram attached to Letter 3. Letters 5 and 53 of Synesius (c. 370 – c. 413 CE), moreover, were modelled on Letter 1, and see Drerup 1904: 53.

⁶⁶ Philostr. *VS*. Pref. 480. See Bowie 2009a: 29; Kemezis 2014: 294–7.

δημοσία τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅπως ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ ἠττήθη καὶ καθήπτοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς παρανοούντων, ὁ δὲ ‘οὐκ ἂν’ ἔφη ‘ἐθαυμάζετε, εἰ Δημοσθένους λέγοντος πρὸς ταῦτα ἠκούσατε,’ οὐ μόνον ἐς ἔπαινον ἐχθροῦ καθιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀφίεις αἰτίας.

And there is his fourth work, the *Letters*. Though not many, they are full of forethought and character, and what that character was he displayed to the Rhodians. For when he read in public the *Against Ctesiphon*, they were astonished of how after such a speech he had been defeated, and criticised the Athenians for their being out of their minds. ‘You would not be astonished,’ he said, ‘if you had heard Demosthenes’ reply to these arguments.’ He not only expressed approval for his enemy, but also released the dicasts from blame. (Philostr. *VS*. 1.510)

Here Aeschines is portrayed as magnanimous towards his longstanding enemy, and this matches the descriptions in the biographical tradition.⁶⁷ Taking ἦθος as a criterion, Philostratus believed the letters authentic and combined them with Aeschines’ speeches. In his opinion, a reader can discern Aeschines’ own character through both the letters and the speeches; such use is echoed by Ps.-Demetrius, an ancient epistolary theorist who believed that ‘like a dialogue...everyone reveals his own spirit in his letters’ (ὥσπερ καὶ διάλογος...ἕκαστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν).⁶⁸ Jan Kindstrand argued that εὐπαιδευσία could be compared with *doctus*, which Cicero used to evaluate Aeschines’ philosophical background.⁶⁹ Indeed, we find many philosophical expressions in the pseudonymous letters, such as ἵνα μάθωμεν μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν (*Ep*. 1.4), ἔγωγε καὶ λαμπρὸν εἰκότως μοι νομίσομαι ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, τὸ μετ’ ἐκείνων (*sc.* Themistocles and Miltiades) ἐν ἀδοξία (*Ep*. 3.3) and καὶ σφόδρα ἀσμενίζω τῇ συμφορᾷ, καὶ ἀρχὴ δοκεῖ μοι τοῦ βίου ἢ ἀπαλλαγῆ

⁶⁷ See Section 1.2.2.

⁶⁸ [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 227. See also Kindstrand 1982: 56–7; Malherbe 1988: 19; Trapp 2003: 317–8.

⁶⁹ Cic. *Opt.gen.* 6.17; see Kindstrand 1982: 27, 57.

τῆς αὐτόθι πολιτείας (*Ep.* 5.5). By contextualising the ‘character’ in the biographical-epistolary tradition, we can assume with certainty that Philostratus was referring to some extant letters. Furthermore, he left a note that Aeschines took up his abode in Caria, and, interestingly, in the letters Aeschines is said to settle down in the ‘Sandy Ground’ (Ἄμμον), a town of the Rhodian *Peraea* in Caria;⁷⁰ it is likely that Philostratus retailed the geographical narrative in the letters, since other sources, in ignorance of Caria, mentioned only Ephesus, Samos and Ionia.⁷¹ The imperative form of ῥαψωδεῖν, which is used in Letter 11 to denote artistic twaddle, is attested nowhere else except for his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*;⁷² this, too, may show certain stylistic influence.

Still, Philostratus’ psychological – or ‘ethical’ – analysis is tenuous. The two adjectives above are to a great extent employed to depict Aeschines’ magnanimity, not his style. With an emphasis on the stylistic evaluation, however, Kindstrand over-estimated Philostratus’ role as an epistolary theorist: because the so-called *Dialexis I*, a Philostratean treatise about epistolography, underlines the oratorical style in writing letters, the assessment of the pseudonymous letters in question is probably stressing their stylistic connection with Aeschines’ speeches.⁷³ In fact, Kindstrand may have identified this Philostratus (i.e. Lucius Flavius Philostratus) mistakenly with his homonymous nephew, Philostratus of Lemnos, and thus the latter’s work cannot concur to form the *testimonium* we are discussing.⁷⁴ Besides, the presentation of ἠθοσ (ethopoeia) is common in ancient rhetorical exercises including those that assume the form of epistolary writing, but Philostratus failed to detect it.⁷⁵ This is because ancient critics often extolled uncritically the merits of

⁷⁰ Philostr. *VS.* 1.481; *Epp.* 9.1, 12.11.

⁷¹ See 1.2.2 (i), (iii). Cf. also Reiske 1771: 678 n. 81.

⁷² Cf. *Ep.* 11.8; Philostr. *VA.* 7.26.

⁷³ *Pace* Kindstrand 1982: 57, and cf. *Dial.* 1: ‘For the form of letters must be more Attic than the everyday style...and be composed in accordance with common usage, yet not depart from a graceful style...a good guide to every style is clarity, and especially for a letter’ (δεῖ γὰρ φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὴν ἰδέαν ἀττικωτέραν μὲν συνηθείας...καὶ συγκεῖσθαι μὲν πολιτικῶς, τοῦ δὲ ἄβροῦ μὴ ἀπάδειν...σαφήνεια δὲ ἀγαθὴ μὲν ἡγεμῶν ἅπαντος λόγου, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπιστολῆς).

⁷⁴ For the authenticity of *Dialexis I*, see Rusten and König 2014: 500 with Miles’ (2014) review.

⁷⁵ E.g. the letters of Alciphron; see Section 5.

Classical authors. A similar description occurs in the *Suda* for the letters attributed to Themistocles as ‘he has written letters full of spirit’ (ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς φρονήματος γεμούσας).⁷⁶ More could be added: for instance, Quintilian considered Demosthenes’ letters unsurpassed merely based on their interest in public matters and the praise of Plato;⁷⁷ compare, too, *Suda* Φ 43: ‘[Phalaris] wrote very striking letters’ (ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς πάνυ θαυμασίας), and the judgement by Sir William Temple in 1692 that ‘I think the epistles of Phalaris to have more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius than any other I have seen, either ancient or modern.’⁷⁸ A commonplace of the biographical tradition of Aeschines, Themistocles and other historical figures is clearly their psychological development in adversity.⁷⁹ And given this commonplace, one may argue, the sentimental expressions in the letters must have caused the admiration of many later authors. Such a psychological but cursory approach was to be exhaustively criticised in Richard Bentley’s *Dissertation*.⁸⁰

To summarise, Philostratus’ *tesimonium* is the first safe attestation of the letters and may provide the latest possible date of composition;⁸¹ yet the ‘ethical’ approach prevented him from detecting their spuriousness. We should exercise caution in using it to assess any extant letter. Some scholars, for example, exclude Letter 10 from this *testimonium* inasmuch as its narration of an ‘adulterous affair’ (μοιχεία: *Ep.* 10.10) may be deemed so salacious that Philostratus would not praise its ‘forethought and character’.⁸² Conversely, Philostratus might have read this letter, but he would not underestimate the whole *corpus* for one ‘flaw’. Was he, moreover, as concerned with virtue and chastity as some of twentieth-century commentators? The answer is no. The *Erotic Letters* under his name, addressed to anonymous boys and women,

⁷⁶ *Suda*: Θ 124. For the letters of Themistocles, see Section 5.

⁷⁷ Quint. 10.1.107, and see DeWitt and DeWitt 1949: 196. The praise of Plato, moreover, is the most questionable feature for the authenticity.

⁷⁸ Pfeiffer 1976: 150.

⁷⁹ Cf. e.g. *Ep.* 5.5: οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως ἄλλης οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμῶ and *Ep.* 9.2: μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἡδέως στερόμενος τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ πόλεως...; see also Reiske 1771: 679 n. 83

⁸⁰ See Sections 2.1, 3.2.

⁸¹ See also Holzberg 1994: 17 n. 39.

⁸² Radermacher 1904: 1432; Schwegler 1913: 8–9, 76. See also Section 2.2.

suggest that he would not have found Letter 10 contemptible.⁸³ And Aeschines, also in his speeches, sometimes argued his legal cases through sexual defamation. In considering the sexual passivity of Timarchus, for instance, he remarked that the defendant acted against his very nature and resembled a woman.⁸⁴ A ‘forger’ is likely to recall a literary *topos* as such: after all, both Odysseus and Jason had sexual adventures in their voyages.⁸⁵

1.3.2. Photius

Philostratus’ *testimonium* is partially substantiated by Photius (c. 810–c. 893), and in the *Bibliotheca* we find two entries referring to the letters. Photius too believed in the authenticity of the letters and combined them with the speeches, but he was more concerned with their textual qualities such as style, number and authorship, rather than with their ‘character’, as Philostratus was.⁸⁶ In regard to the authenticity of the letters, Photius was even less critical. Despite endorsing Caecilius’ rejection of the *Delian Speech*, he considered the authenticity of the letters a *fait accompli* and left no further remarks on it. Like Philostratus, therefore, he attested the presence of the letters whilst scratching their surface. Of the two entries, Codex 61 is the more extensive one:

Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνους αὐτοῦ φασὶ γνησίους εἶναι, καὶ ἑννέα ἐπιστολάς· διὸ τοὺς μὲν λόγους αὐτοῦ τινες χάριτας ὠνόμασαν διὰ τε τὸ χαρίεν τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν Χαρίτων, Μούσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολάς διὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἑννεα Μουσῶν.

⁸³ See also Glaser 2009a: 64–5. The fifty-five letters are generally attributed to Flavius Philostratus: see Benner and Fobes 1949: 391; Costa 2001: xvi; Trapp 2003: 33; see also Rosenmeyer 2001: 322–38; Goldhill 2009; Gallé Cejudo 2013. For the ‘modern’ and ‘post-modern’ reception of the so-called low-brow content in the Classics see e.g. *CAGN*: 12–3; Fusillo 2008.

⁸⁴ E.g. Aeschin. 1.42: ἐκεῖνος μὲν πράττειν, οὗτος δὲ πάσχειν; 1.110: ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή; 1.185: παρὰ φύσιν. For general treatments of the orators’ use of obscenity, see Worman 2004, 2008; Miner 2015.

⁸⁵ E.g. *Od.* 7.245–260 (Calypso); *Ap.Rhod. Arg.* 1.609–909 (Hypsipyle) with Knight 1995: 122.

⁸⁶ Perhaps this indicates that his pivotal influence on the Hellenistic/Imperial literature has faded by the time of Photius, and can, to some extent, answer why the *Suda* excluded Aeschines from the canon of the Attic orators.

Φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος, ὁ δηλιακὸς νόμος· οὐκ ἐγκρίνει δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Καϊκίλιος, ἀλλ' Αἰσχίνην ἄλλον σύγχρονον τοῦδε Ἀθηναῖον τὸν πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ λόγου φησίν.

The three speeches are said to be his only genuine works, and nine letters; for which reason his speeches, for their graceful style and number, were called the Graces; his letters ‘Muses’, because of the number of the nine Muses. His another speech is extant, *The Delian Law* [*sc.* the *Delian Speech*]; but Caecilius does not include it, saying that another Aeschines, an Athenian contemporary of our Aeschines, is its author. (Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a)

The short note in Codex 264 seems to summarise the previous codex.⁸⁷ It does not contradict Codex 61 and almost repeats it:

Ἀνεγνώσθη Αἰσχίνου λόγοι, ὧν τὸ πλῆθος ὁ τρεῖς ἀριθμὸς περιορίζει, καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ θ’.

Read Aeschines’ speeches, of which the number is reduced [*sc.* by Caecilius] to three, and nine letters [*sc.* ‘Muses’]. (Phot. *Bibl.* 264.490a)

The duplication in the two entries shows that the number of the letters, namely the ‘Nine Muses’, is the core of Photius’ assessment and holds a special place in the history of the attestations of Ps.-Aeschines. An investigation into its provenance is necessary. On the one hand, there are biographical overlaps between the accounts of the Attic orators in the *Bibliotheca* (including Codices 61 and 264) and those in Ps.-Plutarch’s *Lives of the Ten Orators*. Photius admitted that he consulted an anonymous treatise and called it *ἱστορία*, but he never mentioned the (false)

⁸⁷ McComb 1991: 224–33; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 279 n. 2

ascription to Plutarch.⁸⁸ It could be argued that, when composing the *Bibliotheca*, Photius seemed to be referring to a parallel life (i.e. the now lost *ιστορία*) that is related somehow to Ps.-Plutarch's *Lives*. Thus, in terms of the biographical accounts of the Attic orators, there is a connection between the *Bibliotheca* and Ps.-Plutarch's *Lives*, despite the fact that Photius may not have consulted Ps.-Plutarch.⁸⁹

Of some other subject-matters, on the other hand, we find no verbal parallels between the two treatises. This is especially apparent when we read Photius' stylistic evaluations of the Attic orators. Some scholars have pointed out that the variety is due to the copying and altering of the same source, i.e. the precursor of both the so-called *ιστορία* and Ps.-Plutarch's *Lives*, over centuries.⁹⁰ In the case of the discussion of (Ps.-)Aeschines, however, the alteration is rather an insertion, and can best be described as 'active editing'.⁹¹ Although Photius more often than not adapted the material of the parallel life, he might have inserted information from a separate source to meet his own interest in style. Codices 61 and 264 confirm this working method, because in contrast with the biographical overlap, the stylistic evaluation, particularly the description of Aeschines' works, i.e. Caecilius' rejection of the *Delian Speech* (= Caecilius fr. 127 Ofenloch) and the 'Nine Muses', finds no echoes in Ps.-Plutarch. A comparable case in the *Bibliotheca* is the two entries devoted to Isocrates: although Codex 260 shows a keen interest in his life and in many places matches the information in Ps.-Plutarch's *Lives*, Codex 159 deals chiefly with his works. And notably, the *ad hoc* stylistic evaluation finds rare echoes in Ps.-Plutarch.⁹²

⁸⁸ Phot. *Bibl.* 286.496b; see Schamp 2000: 79–80, 122; Martin 2014: 332; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 12.

⁸⁹ Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 259.485b–268.497b; [Plut.] *Mor.* 832b–852c. For discussions of Aeschines, cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 264.490a; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840a–841a; for source criticisms, see Kindstrand 1982: 57, 63–4; Schamp 2000: 145–73; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 29–32, 279–82.

⁹⁰ Martin 2014: 332.

⁹¹ Cf. Smith 1992: 165, 184–5.

⁹² Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 159.101b–102b, 260.486b–488a; see also McComb 1991: 111–3; Schamp 2000: 175–9; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 284 n. 1, 287 n. 1. The difference is: Isocrates is so prolific that Photius can add a complete entry discussing his style, while in the case of (Ps.-)Aeschines, Codex 264 is a mere summary of Codex 61.

Given the above, it is close to certain that Photius did not just refer to the so-called ἱστορία about Aeschines' life, but added a separate source to discuss his style. This poses the question of the latter's provenance. One possibility is that it was adapted from a now lost forerunner that is different from Ps.-Plutarch, say, one from Caecilius through (Ps.-)Longinus. Alternatively, due to Photius' extensive evaluations of ancient texts, it could also be a comment in his own voice.⁹³

Regarding the first possibility, the 'Nine Muses' may be counted as product of later editorial practice and the (de)formation of the *corpus*. From the Hesiodic poems onwards, the Muses became the patrons of rhetoric as well as of poetry.⁹⁴ Later critics seemed to extend their divine domain to editorial activities, and the 'Nine Muses' recurred in the organisation of the works of the Classics. The attachment of the names of the Muses to certain texts became common in the first century BCE, and the most renowned case, the association of Herodotus' books with the 'Nine Muses', may be ascribed to Aristarchus at an earlier date.⁹⁵ Aristarchus possibly divided Sappho's poems into nine 'books' (i.e. papyrus-rolls), and thereby named them after the 'Nine Muses'.⁹⁶ Pliny's letters, too, were traditionally (from c. 109 CE) organised into nine 'books'.⁹⁷ All this indicates that the number had long been favoured by librarians. The cultural importance of Herodotus' 'Nine Muses' was re-attested in the *Bibliotheca*, for in it he appeared prior to other authors and his *Histories* were given the same title: 'Read Herodotus' *Histories* in nine books, in

⁹³ Photius is also called 'the inventor of the book-review' by modern scholars; see Reynolds and Wilson 2013: 63.

⁹⁴ Hes. *Theog.* 81–90. Rather, 'rhetoric' here refers to 'political eloquence', and see Kennedy 1963: 39–40; Clay 2007: 448–9. For the Muses as an analogy to the elevated style see e.g. Pl. *Resp.* 545d–545e with Porter 2016: 559–61.

⁹⁵ At the same time as Aristarchus' *Commentary on Herodotus*, the second century BCE. The earliest attestations are in Lucian (*Hdt.* 1; *de Hist. conscrib.* 42), and see Priestley 2014: 192–3.

⁹⁶ According to Tullius Laurea (fl. 1st cent. BCE), a freedman of Cicero, 'but if you judge me [*the speaker is imagining himself to be the poet*] by the divine Muses, from each of whom I set a flower beside my nine, you will know that I escaped the gloom of Hades, and that no day will ever dawn that does not speak the name of Sappho, the lyric poetess' (ἦ δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσης χάριν, ὧν ἅψ' ἐκάστης δαίμονος ἄνθος ἐμῆ θῆκα παρ' ἐννεάδι, γνώσεαι ὡς Αἰδῶ σκότον ἔκφυγον, οὐδέ τις ἔσται τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφοῦς νόνημος ἠέλιος; *Anthologia Graeca* 7.17), and cf. *Suda*: Σ 107: 'Sappho wrote nine books of lyric poems' (ἔγραψε δὲ μελῶν λυρικῶν βιβλία θ'). See also *HE*: 462; Page 1959: 112–4; Yatromanolakis 1999: 181–4; Dale 2011: 55–6; Prauscello forthcoming.

⁹⁷ See e.g. Helmbold 1949; Whitton 2013: 17–8, 37–8; Murgia 2016; Salzman 2017: 21–3.

number and in name identical with the nine Muses’ (ἀνεγνώσθη Ἡροδότου ἱστοριῶν λόγοι θ’, κατὰ ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν ἐννέα Μουσῶν).⁹⁸ In the following Codices 61 and 68, Ps.-Aeschines’ letters and Cephalion’s *Histories* are named likewise.⁹⁹ We can surmise with some probability that the latter two entries imitate Herodotus’ *Histories* in Codex 60, and the ‘Nine Muses’ is due to the fancy of a later compiler or ‘forger’ – either he had a *corpusculum* that embraces nine letters, or he ‘anthologised’ nine letters to be able to refer them as ‘Nine Muses’;¹⁰⁰ the *Bibliotheca* is just the heir to this editorial model.

Another possibility is that Photius inserted his own comment. We should, in contrast to the case of Philostratus, emphasise Photius’ role as an epistolary theorist, since his brief note on epistolary style might shed some light on his assessment of Ps.-Aeschines. Photius judged that, despite being less sophisticated than the ‘oratorical’ (πολιτικός) works, the ancient letters attributed to Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Phalaris, Brutus and Libanius are of a reasonably good style; when referring to the church fathers, he illustrated Isidore of Pelusium as the second best model beside Basil of Caesarea and characterised him as a Muse: ‘If there is anyone else, the practitioner Gregory [of Nazianzus] and the bright Muse of our courtyard, Isidore’ (εἴ τις ἄλλος, ἐργάτης Γρηγόριος καὶ ἡ ποικίλη καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐλῆς Μοῦσα Ἰσίδωρος).¹⁰¹ In Photius’ opinion, therefore, the ‘Muse’ could stand for a sophisticated style of epistolary writing, and the ‘Nine Muses’ in question could be his own comment.

It is worth remarking upon the misconception, due to Photius’ assessment, that the nine principal letters in the extant *corpus* must necessarily be those referred to with

⁹⁸ Phot. *Bibl.* 60.19b. But he was unlikely to have been a regular author in Byzantine because of his Ionic dialect: so Wilson 1994: 42.

⁹⁹ Phot. *Bibl.* 68.34a: ‘Cephalion’s entire history comprises nine books under the name of the Nine Muses’ (συμπεραίνεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἱστορία ἐν λόγοις θ’ κατ’ ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν θ’ Μουσῶν).

¹⁰⁰ The interpolation of Letter 4 is perhaps a case in point; see Section 3.3.2.

¹⁰¹ Phot. *Ep.* 207. It was addressed to Amphilocheus, metropolitan of Cyzicus: see White 1981: 178–9; Wilson 1983: 112–3; Agachi 2012: 275. Hercher treated this letter as a work on epistolary theory and prefaced it to the main body of his collection: see Hercher 1873: 16; Klauck 2006: 183.

the label ‘Nine Muses’.¹⁰² As a matter of fact, the sequence and number of the letters in the extant *corpus* is not a sufficient criterion to categorise them. Because the (de)formation of the *corpus* can produce various selections of the twelve letters, the extant number cannot reflect any letter’s absence from, or presence in, the process of formation. Manuscript **H**, for example, preserves only four of them (*Epp.* 1, 3, 6, 7), and Manuscript **L** six (*Epp.* 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8). Besides, although dated roughly to the same time as the *Bibliotheca*, Manuscript **f** preserves all twelve letters.¹⁰³ There is no reason to believe that the ‘Nine Muses’ were a consistent group of letters – the nine principal letters in our *corpus*. Engelbert Drerup’s hypothesis that some smaller letters could have been drawn out from a larger unit also seems plausible.¹⁰⁴ Whereas scholars tend to exclude Letters 10–12 from the ‘Nine Muses’, Photius might mention a shortened selection, or a *corpusculum* that includes any nine letters of the extant *corpus*.¹⁰⁵ Still, he did not say that he knew only nine letters, and the ‘Nine Muses’ could be his own selection matching the ‘Three Graces’.¹⁰⁶

To what extent – as I have mentioned at the outset of this section – is Philostratus substantiated by Photius? General opinion favours that some unidentified sources in the *Bibliotheca* concerning the textual qualities of the Attic orators derived from Caecilius, and perhaps they reached Photius via (Ps.-)Longinus.¹⁰⁷ Be that as it may, we find no reference to the letters in the extant fragments attributed to Caecilius and

¹⁰² Radermacher 1904: 1432–3; Schwegler 1913: 8–19; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 122; García Ruiz 2000: 397 n. 38; see also Section 2.2.

¹⁰³ See Drerup 1904: 2, 4, 9, 1914: 1283; Dilts 1997: viii.

¹⁰⁴ Drerup 1914: 1283.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. also Dover 1968: 1–22 for the (de)formation of the *Corpus Lysiacum*. Another case is the letter-collection attributed to Hippocrates (c. 1st cent. BCE to 1st cent. CE), the papyrus tradition of which, as Smith (1990: 19) argued, does ‘exhibit a brief selection from the whole’. Equally illuminating is the fact that some letter-collections grew by accretion, as can be induced from Letter 12, a finale to the epistolographic *corpus*. A comparable case remains the letters of Hippocrates, since the principal two letters, assuming the form of prelude to what follow, show no trace at the early stage of transmission and thus may be later insertions: see Smith 1990: 18–9, 28–9, 43–4; Rosenmeyer 2001: 217–8. Other examples are [Eur.] *Ep.* 2 and [Anach.] *Epp.* 1–9, and cf. Gösswein 1975: 20–22; Holzberg 1994: 16; Knöbl 2008: 234; Poltera 2013: 162–3; Reuter 1963: 3–5; Malhebe 1977: 6–7; Costa 2001: xvii.

¹⁰⁶ See also Glaser 2009a: 64–7. Pindar (*Nem.* 4.1–8, 9.54–55) juxtaposed the Graces with the Muses as goddesses of poetic inspiration, and this might exerted an influence on Photius; cf. Race 1990: 124.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. the evaluation of Lysias; cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 262.488b (= Caecilius fr. 109 Ofenloch); Longin. fr. 50.14 Patillon–Brisson, and see Heath 1998.

(Ps.-)Longinus.¹⁰⁸ A possible intermediary source, I suspect, is Philostratus or another exponent of the Second Sophistic: either he left somewhere the description of the ‘Nine Muses’, or, more probably, his assessment prompted Photius to read the actual nine letters at hand: Photius read Philostratus;¹⁰⁹ thus the latter’s account – in Rhodes Aeschines ‘led a certain course of life and sacrificed to peace and the Muses’ (αὐτοῦ διητᾶτο θύων ἡσυχία τε καὶ Μούσαις) – would be an important source of inspiration.¹¹⁰

1.4. Presence in the manuscript tradition

Coupled with the *testimonia* is the fact that these letters are an integral part of the medieval manuscript tradition of Aeschines. The twelve pseudonymous letters are preserved in **A** (**a** for the ms. tradition of the speeches), **B**, **C** (**f** for the ms. tradition of the speeches), **H**, **L**, **P** (**m** for the ms. tradition of the speeches), **r**, **V et al.**, the oldest of which (**C**) dates from the tenth century CE. Drerup established two families: **H** on the one hand, and the rest of the manuscripts, represented by **ABCVP**, on the other.¹¹¹ This second family is usually grouped under the label **a**.¹¹² Three *recentiores* manuscripts from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries, **Z**, **M** and **a** (the editor’s own acronyms), have been recently collated by Filipe G. Hernández Muñoz, and they are related to both families.¹¹³ The numerous manuscripts have to a certain

¹⁰⁸ Innes (2002: 681) noted that Longinus seemed to leave no remark even on Aeschines’ speeches.

¹⁰⁹ A search in the *TLG* yields eight results in the *Bibliotheca* that mention Philostratus. In Codex 167, he is canonised in a list of statesmen and historians, and the rest are preserved in Codices 44, 150 and 241, discussing his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*.

¹¹⁰ Philostr. *VS*. 1.509. This may come from the account in Letter 9 that ‘having crossed to Physcus, I stayed that very day to rest myself...’ (πραιωθεὶς ἐπὶ Φύσκον, ἡσυχάσας ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν...); equally interesting in this respect is the debate that whether an exile should be ‘quiet’ or politically active, and see *Ep*. 9.1 n. 1.

¹¹¹ Apart from the variant readings, **H** shows (perhaps rightly) a tendency to permit hiatus in private letters, e.g. *Epp*. 1.2 (ἐκ τούτου οὐν), 5 (ἐπιμείναντός μου αὐτόθι), 6.1 (ὑποδέξῃ αὐτὸν), yet to avoid it in public letters, e.g. *Ep*. 7.3 (reading εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν πατέρα σου for τὸν πατέρα σου εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, and Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Ἀριστείδην for Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ Ἀριστείδην); see Drerup 1904: 35, 37–8.

¹¹² Drerup 1904: 34, 52. See also Hernández Muñoz 2009: 248.

¹¹³ Hernández Muñoz 2009: 247–56, 2011: 357–8. Diller (1979: 46–7) mentioned **Z** and **a** and associated them with **p** (Helmstadiensis 806) in the manuscript tradition of the speeches.

degree witnessed the popularity of the letters in antiquity, especially in comparison with some other epistolographic collections: the pseudonymous letters of Themistocles, for instance, only survive in a single manuscript of the mid-ninth century CE (Heidelberg, *Palatinus Graecus* 398).¹¹⁴

Physically, the letters are preserved in two branches of the manuscript tradition. On the one hand, they are transmitted with other (pseudo-)epistolographic collections, including, *inter alia*, **H** (Apollonius of Tyana, Diogenes, Plato, etc.), **M** (Aristotle, Alciphron, Chion of Heraclea, Socrates, etc.), **r** (Isocrates, the Socratics, Chion of Heraclea, etc.) and **W** (Julianus, Brutus, Alciphron, etc.).¹¹⁵ The *editio princeps* of the letters in 1499, entitled *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum, oratorum, rhetorum*, is based on this branch.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, and more importantly, the twelve letters were circulating through the *Corpus Aeschineum*. **C** (= **f**) is the oldest medieval manuscript, and **A** (= **a**), **L**, **P** (= **m**) and **V** belong to Group **β** (**amgVxL**), the standard medieval tradition of the *Corpus*.¹¹⁷ It can be seen that the letters have conventionally been associated with the *Corpus Aeschineum*. Group **β** also preserves seven spurious documents inserted in the speeches (Aeschin. 1.12, 16, 21, 35, 50, 66, 68), whose illogical contents, post-Classical linguistic forms and absence from other manuscripts (esp. the oldest **f**) betray a later date of composition.¹¹⁸ It is worth emphasising that both the documents and the letters can be ascribed to a similar intellectual milieu, that of later declamations of the Hellenistic/Imperial periods, and thus whether or not they were forged by different persons at different places, their common origin is a continuous culture of rhetoric.¹¹⁹ Yet the letters' presence in the

¹¹⁴ Cf. Hercher 1873: xi–lxxxvi.

¹¹⁵ Drerup 1904: 2, 6, 21; Hernández Muñoz 2009: 248 n. 2.

¹¹⁶ See Section 2.

¹¹⁷ As for the *recentiores* manuscripts, **a** contains Aeschin. 3.225–260 that were copied from **m** (= **P**), and other sections of the speech are from a different hand; **Z** is an apograph of **a**. Drerup's *Aeschinis quae feruntur epistulae* is still the standard work for the ms. tradition of the letters, and it also throws some light on that of the speeches, which has, of course, attracted much more attention in modern scholarship; see Drerup 1904: 2–51; Diller 1979, esp. pp. 34–5, 46–7; Dilts 1997: viii–ix, 1998; Monaco 2000; Hernández Muñoz 2009: 247–56.

¹¹⁸ See Drerup 1898: 305–8; Diller 1979: 36; Fisher 2001: 68, 138–40, 145, 164, 183, 204–6; Canevaro 2013: 332.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Canevaro 2013: 329–42. See also Section 4.1.

oldest Manuscript **f** (which does not contain the documents), together with their *testimonia*, indicates that they may have an independent tradition from the extant documents.¹²⁰ When viewed in this light, the letters are very good – and very early – examples of the *Nachleben* of Aeschines.

2. History of scholarship

The pseudonymous letters of Aeschines were printed first in Venice, in 1499 by Aldo Manuzio. This edition is an epistolary collection of Greek philosophers, orators and rhetoricians, and is earlier than the *editio princeps* of the speeches of Aeschines in 1513. The publisher Aldus Manutius and the editor Marcus Musurus did not discuss their authenticity.¹²¹ Other editions were published in 1536 (Louvain), 1552 (Paris), 1568 (Düsseldorf), etc. In 1537, Petrus Nannius first translated them into Latin.¹²² All their discussions (where there was some) were uncritical and made no attempt to validate the authenticity. The *argumentum* by Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580 CE) is a good example of their tendencies:

Ὅτι Αἰσχίνης, μὴ ἐλὼν Κτησιφῶντα, μᾶλλον δὲ Δημοσθένην, οὗ κατηγόρει, μηδὲ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων μεταλαβὼν, τὴν ἀτιμίαν οὐ φέρων, τὰς μὲν Αθήνας ἀπέλιπεν, εἰς δὲ Ρόδον μετόκησεν, παντὶ που γνώριμον. ἐκεῖ τοίνυν ταυτασί τὰς ἐπιστολάς σχεδὸν ἀπάσας γράψας, πῆ μὲν τοῖς φίλοις τὰς τε ἀποδημίας, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν, ἐδήλωσε· πῆ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιχαιρεκακίαν ἠμύνατο· πῆ δὲ τοῖς Αθηναίοις ὑπερ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντος, ἀπολογούμενος, καὶ συμβουλευόν

¹²⁰ So Fisher 2001: 68: ‘All the documents included are universally and rightly condemned as spurious. The general reasons are that these documents are only found in the set of later manuscripts grouped under the collective label **β**, not in the oldest manuscript, **f**.’

¹²¹ Their prefaces were recently reprinted with an English translation: see Wilson 2016: 72–3, 280–3, 340 n. 182. See Sicherl 1998 for an overview of this edition; see also <<http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/record/E-022>>.

¹²² Reiske 1771: 650; Drerup 1904: 49–50; García Ruiz 2000: 23.

γνωσιμαχεῖν, καθόδου τυχεῖν ἐφίεται.

Aeschines, seeing that he neither convicted Ctesiphon and particularly Demosthenes, whom he accused, nor received one-fifth of the votes, because he could not stand the [partial] *atimia*, left Athens and removed to Rhodes, the widely known place. There he wrote almost all these letters. By some he showed to his friends both his absence from home and other issues in relation to himself; in some he defended himself against the malice of his enemies; in others he wrote to the Athenians defending himself, arguing that he had done nothing wrong, and urging the Athenians to change their minds.¹²³

Thus, at that time the authenticity of Greek epistolography was not the object of scholarly attention, and Aeschines was supposed to be active in writing during his final years, and that some products of his work were extant. Later research has eventually focused on their authenticity, division, imitativeness and narrative.

2.1. Authenticity

In the context of the *Querelle des anciens et modernes*, a literary debate that spread from France to England, Bentley irrefutably exposed the letters of Phalaris as ‘forgeries’. Following his detection, all Greek epistolary texts have been fraught with controversy.¹²⁴ The pseudonymous letters of Aeschines were regarded with scepticism for the first time by John Taylor, an English scholar in the years after Bentley’s work. In his posthumous introduction to Johann Reiske’s *Oratores Graeci* in 1771, taking ‘the sons of Lycurgus’ as an example, Taylor highlighted their imitative nature: *Simulatus igitur Aeschines, licet ingenio, sermonis elegantia, et*

¹²³ Wolf 1553: 204 (in Latin), 1572: 121. This *argumentum* was reprinted in Reiske’s *Oratores Graeci*: see Reiske 1771: 649.

¹²⁴ Bentley 1697. Noticeably, Politian, Erasmus and Leibniz already knew these letters as ‘forgeries’, and, in Pfeiffer’s view, Bentley’s innovation is to have written the work in English instead of Latin: see Pfeiffer 1976: 143–58; Hinz 2001: 217–23, 247–54, 324–5.

*nitore orationis longe superet infelicem illum Simium, que Demosthenem imitari voluit.*¹²⁵ He also noted other suspicious features, such as the inconsistency of Glaucotea's age in Letter 12 and in Aeschines' own speech and the Pindaric exegesis of Letter 5 in Letter 4.¹²⁶ Furthermore, Taylor criticised the pedantic style of the exegesis, and came to the rather modern conclusion that Letter 4 is the product of a 'sophist' – probably from what we now call 'the Second Sophistic'.¹²⁷ These observations denied the authenticity of the letters and were of help to many later scholars in their studies. However, the quality of Taylor's work was marred by his conviction that the letters of Demosthenes are fictitious.¹²⁸ As an unfortunate consequence, the allusive relationship between the two epistolographic *corpora*, to which modern critics would prefer the notion of 'intertextuality', does not figure prominently in scholarship for almost another two centuries.¹²⁹

Henceforward, there were several individual discussions about the nature of the letters, but scholars were not deterred from declaring them to be authentic. Athanase Auger excluded Letters 7, 11 and 12 from the 'Nine Muses' by reason of their imitativeness, but considered the rest as genuine.¹³⁰ In his English translation of the *Crown* speeches in 1814, Andrew Portal believed them to be direct evidence of Aeschines' exile from Athens. He noted the different rhetorical strategy of these letters from those of Demosthenes for 'the freedom of mind', 'sprightliness of

¹²⁵ Reiske 1771: 652–3.

¹²⁶ Reiske 1771: 653–5, 671 n. 55. See also Sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2.

¹²⁷ Reiske 1771: 654–5: *Non potuit putidius aliquid, aut σοφιστικώτερον excogitari...Ecce vero Ingenii Morumque Sophisticorum perillustre Monumentum.* See also Sections 3.3.2, 4.4.

¹²⁸ Reiske 1771: 652: *Nemo hodie in Re Literaria reliquus est qui Demosthenis Epistolas confictas atque isti nomini temere assutas esse non crediderit: Adeo nunquam de ea re vel minima exstiterit dubitatio.* See also Goldstein 1968: 3.

¹²⁹ The term is coined by the semiotician Julia Kritieva in an attempt to define literary texts as an open system as encompassing such figures as adaptation, imitation, parody, plagiarism, quotation and translation, and so it is applicable to the literary studies within and between genres and languages. In the case of Ps.-Aeschines, his intertextual engagement with the 'Demosthenic' letters is underpinned by a good portion of imitative counterparts. A derivational concept is 'intratextuality', which concerns the internal articulations of the texts being bound to a single author or subject, say, the cross-references throughout the pseudonymous letters. See e.g. *BNP* 6: s.v. 'Intertextuality'; Ch. 5 of Paulsen 1999; Sharrock 2000: 4 n. 8, 5–7; Ch. 5 of Schmitz 2007; Morgan and Harrison 2008: 218–9; Marincola 2010: 260–6; Maciver 2012: 10–3; Hutchinson 2013: 168–70, 179–81 and *passim*.

¹³⁰ Auger 1804: II/2, pp. 399, 410, 417.

humour and firmness of courage’, thereby assessing that ‘Aeschines converses in his letters, [and] Demosthenes harangues in his.’¹³¹ Anton Westermann, on the other hand, accepted Taylor’s opinion concerning the spuriousness in his comments on the epistolographers.¹³²

Thanks to the *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* and the *magna opera* by Arnold Schäfer and Friedrich Blass, which reconfirmed the spuriousness, the pseudonymous letters have been universally accepted as ‘forgeries’.¹³³ Blass believed they originated in Rhodes, considered Letters 7, 11 and 12 as obvious imitations of the letters of Demosthenes, and assigned their date of composition to the period when the so-called Atticism was gaining strength.¹³⁴ Given the descriptions of Rhodes and the Rhodian *Peraea* and the Atticism in these letters, Wilamowitz further suggested that these letters were rhetorical exercises written in a Rhodian school.¹³⁵

Schwegler upheld the arguments by Taylor and added some of his own. He argued that the most crucial evidence was the subject-matter. Unlike Demosthenes, who could return to Athens after making the repayment, the problem of Aeschines is not just the massive fine, but the fact that after such a defeat (with less than 1/5 of the dicasts’ votes), he probably lost the right to bring *graphai*, and so his political career was ‘over’. The actual circumstances of Aeschines’ life make the contents of the letters, particularly the nostalgia for Athens, very unlikely.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Portal 1814: 290–4.

¹³² Westermann 1851–8: II/2, p. 4. A. Kirschnek’s *Über die Aeschines’ Namen tragenden Briefe* (1892), a gymnasium student work, is rarely mentioned: see Drerup 1914: 1280; Holzberg 1994: 172 n. 61.

¹³³ Thalheim 1894: 1061; Schäfer 1885–7: III, p. 292 n. 2; Blass 1887–98: III/2, pp. 185–6.

¹³⁴ Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 186. Radermacher (1904: 1432–3) and Schwegler (1913: 9) also noted their same title, Αισχίνης Ἀθηναίων τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

¹³⁵ Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1905: 147.

¹³⁶ Schwegler 1913: 5–6; see also Section 3.1. Cf. Westwood 2016 for discussion of the nostalgia in Demosthenes’ letters.

2.2. Division

With his work of 1904, Drerup made significant progress with the text of Ps.-Aeschines and therefore opened the way for systematic enquiries.¹³⁷ After his contribution, the division of the letters has become the most debated area. Amongst the letters, Letter 10 is widely recognised as an epistolary novella that was interpolated into the *corpus* at a later date.¹³⁸ For its content – an anonymous author’s erotic adventure with a Cimon – has nothing to do with Aeschines’ exile. Some scholars, moreover, deemed its lasciviousness to be independent from the ‘ethical’ assessment of Philostratus.¹³⁹ Apart from this, no general agreement has been reached.¹⁴⁰ Blass attached the letters to a single source because of the allusive relationships among them, and Serena Salomone illustrated some recurrent themes such as Aeschines’ conflict with Demosthenes and his sojourn in exile.¹⁴¹ Ludwig Radermacher, on the other hand, insisted that Letters 11–12 belong to a different author from that of Letters 1–9.¹⁴² In 1913, by studying the philological problems extensively, Schwegler upheld Radermacher’s opinion and divided these letters into three groups on the basis of their different styles.¹⁴³ Besides Letter 10, Letters 11 and 12 have a more ‘Classical’ and coherent style, while Letters 1–9 have *un atticisme mitigé* with a ‘lower’ and more eclectic style.¹⁴⁴ But this division, which rested

¹³⁷ Drerup 1904: 1–51.

¹³⁸ E.g. Hodkinson 2013; Giaquinta 2014b. I follow Rosenmeyer (2006: 49) in using the term ‘novella’, instead of ‘novel’, to avoid cultural or literary ambiguity; see also Section 4.2.

¹³⁹ Radermacher 1904: 1432; Schwegler 1913: 8–9, 76. Drerup (1914: 1282) indicated that Philostratus might have read this letter because he would not underestimate the whole *corpus* on account of one letter. Some argued that Letter 10 is part of the early collection, but there is less likelihood. Stöcker (1980: 309–11) argued that Letter 10 is addressed to the eponymous Aeschines Socraticus by Ps.-Stesimbrotos of Thasos, and Holzberg (1994: 20–21) and Hodkinson (2013: 333 n. 25) proposed that it is written on the basis of an early edition of the epistolographic *corpus* by a good imitator. The latter two theses may well indicate that Letter 10 is a late addition to the series of epistolary fictions. See also Sections 1.3.1, 2.4, 4.2.

¹⁴⁰ Houthuys 1947: 21–36; Goldstein 1968: 7 n. 5; García Ruiz 2000: 378–9.

¹⁴¹ Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 185; Salomone 1985: 235 n. 13. But my discussion in Section 1.2.3 has indicated that these themes may be based on the biographical tradition.

¹⁴² Radermacher 1904: 1432–3.

¹⁴³ See also Craik 1980: 99–100.

¹⁴⁴ Schwegler 1913: 8–20; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 122.

largely on linguistic analysis, is not reliable, since the result remains that the language and the level of avoidance of hiatus are inconsistent within each group. In Group III, Letter 11 has a much heavier use of articular infinitive ($\times 11$) than Letter 12 does ($\times 3$).¹⁴⁵ In Group I, Letters 3 and 7 are addressed to the public, and while Letter 7 exhibits a tendency to avoid hiatus, Letter 3 does not.¹⁴⁶ Given these complexities, Schwegler's arguments can be treated in two ways: negatively (following Drerup), the stylistic coherence among these letters is unexplainable;¹⁴⁷ positively, the inauthenticity is reinforced by such stylistic variety.

Still, Schwegler's argument – an 'earlier collection' is represented by Letters 1–9 and that Philostratus and Photius missed Letters 10, 11 and 12 – is misleading.¹⁴⁸ As I have mentioned in Section 1.3.2, one can assume that Philostratus and Photius referred to a *corpusculum* that includes Letters 11 and 12, and the extant order is a product of the (de)formation of the epistolographic *corpus*, rather than its cause. Because of such complexity, Frans Houthuys pointed out that the safest way was to approach the collection of the letters as a whole.¹⁴⁹ These shortcomings, however, do not diminish the importance of Schwegler's work, and there is much in it which is still valuable. His tripartition has established a framework, provoked discussion, and forced us to take into full account, as the very first step, the styles of the letters and their wide coverage.

2.3. Imitativeness

Drerup made the first attempt to assess the value of these letters: Ps.-Aeschines surprisingly did not abuse his sworn enemy, and thus the pseudonymous letters, as products of the Second Sophistic, confirm that Demosthenes enjoys a good

¹⁴⁵ See Section 3.4.2 (iii).

¹⁴⁶ See Section 3.4.2 (iv).

¹⁴⁷ Drerup 1914: 1282; see also Holzberg 1994: 20 n. 54; Glaser 2009a: 64–5.

¹⁴⁸ Schwegler 1913: 76–7.

¹⁴⁹ Houthuys 1947: 36: 'Daarom zullen wij ze, afgezien van Ep. 10, in ons verder betoog niet uiteenrukken, maar steeds *in globo* behandelen'.

reputation during this period.¹⁵⁰ Drerup's view is not tenable today. Firstly, he failed to notice the intertextuality between the letters of Demosthenes and Ps.-Aeschines. In fact, Letters 11 and 3 are pitched against Letters 1 and 3 of Demosthenes.¹⁵¹ Secondly, popularity does not equate to high reputation. Drerup's idealisation of Demosthenes under Roman domination is now problematic, and scholars have now discovered in the Imperial period a minority view that was politically, as well as rhetorically, against Demosthenes.¹⁵² Since no consensus about the authenticity of Demosthenes' letters had been reached at that time, the imitativeness of the letters had left scholars in the dark about their composition. Houthuys held a pessimistic view and discarded them as forgeries upon forgeries, of minimal historical and literary significance.¹⁵³ As an illustration of this attitude, historians may suggest that, although there is much noteworthy in these letters and the descriptions of deme-organisation and agricultural development in the Rhodian *Peraea* are confirmed by the epigraphic sources, they must be used with caution.¹⁵⁴

A turning point came with Jonathan Goldstein's classic work, which argued strongly for the authenticity of the four principal letters of Demosthenes. Scholars have since been able to take advantage of a more reliable toolkit when studying Ps.-Aeschines. By describing the parallel passages in the pseudonymous letters, Goldstein took their imitativeness as evidence of the authenticity of their models. First, in his letters Ps.-Aeschines unmistakably refers to Letters 1–4 of Demosthenes – so unmistakably these must be their guide. Second, the pseudonymous letters can restore the chronological sequence of Letters 2 and 3 of Demosthenes, that is, Letter 3 precedes Letter 2. Ps.-Aeschines seems to have known the true order, because

¹⁵⁰ Drerup 1923: 161.

¹⁵¹ See Section 3.5.

¹⁵² E.g. Plut. *Dem.* 3. 1–2, 13. 6, *Mor.* 803e, 804a; Luc. *Rhet.* 10 with Pernot 2006: 68–94. Cf. Drerup 1923: 144–66.

¹⁵³ Houthuys 1947: 87.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *Epp.* 5.2, 9.1–2, 12.11; *SEG* 14.683–686 (= *I.Peraia* 352–354, 357; Bresson 1991, nos. 49–52), 52.1029–1030; *I.Lindos* 51 with Fraser and Bean 1954: 19, 57, 97; Bresson 1991: 14, 2016: 156–7; McNicoll with Milner 1997: 224; Wiemer 2002a: 29, 69 n. 35, 2002b: 585 n. 78; Badoud 2011: 545–7; Blakely 2015 (= *BNJ* 273 F 23).

Letter 3 of Aeschines, the counterpart of Letter 3 of Demosthenes, represents an earlier state of affairs than Letter 12, the counterpart of Letter 2 of Demosthenes.¹⁵⁵ Third, in his rhetorical analysis, Goldstein argued that the letters of Demosthenes represent the genre of self-apologetic *demegoriae*, which were used as themes by such rhetoricians as Ps.-Aeschines.¹⁵⁶ The spuriousness of Ps.-Aeschines can moreover be supported through an examination of the irrelevance of his rhetorical strategy, for it expresses less interest in apologetic elements and exoneration.¹⁵⁷ Irene Giaquinta recently came to the conclusion that the letter-collection of Demosthenes is a point of departure for new studies on the epistolary laboratory of Attic orators.¹⁵⁸ To summarise, the letters of Demosthenes have become the touchstone for the letters of Ps.-Aeschines. They enable us to situate these ‘forgeries’ in a context characterised by cultural nostalgia; building on an analysis of the imitative counterparts, we can more efficiently illuminate the literary, intellectual and historical concerns behind the pseudonymous letters.

2.4. Narrative

The pseudonymous letters are often underappreciated in ancient Greek literature on the grounds that the majority of them are later inventions by unidentifiable authors. Recent years, however, have witnessed a considerable interest in Greek epistolography, in particular epistolary fictions and their narratives. The pseudonymous letters, with some containing a carefully defined narrative, do play a part in the development of Greek narrative. Since Johannes Sykutris first termed them *Briefromane*, or ‘epistolary novels’, the attempt among German scholars to provide a general account of Greek fictional epistolography has culminated in Niklas

¹⁵⁵ Goldstein 1968: 7, 49 n. 70, 265–6.

¹⁵⁶ See Section 4.1.

¹⁵⁷ See Section 3.1.

¹⁵⁸ Giaquinta 2014a.

Holzberg's *Der griechische Briefroman*.¹⁵⁹ Through an exhaustive examination of seven pseudonymous letter-collections including that of Ps.-Aeschines, Holzberg established a set of generic criteria – *Stoffbehandlung*, *Erzählstruktur* and *Motive* – for the *Briefroman*.¹⁶⁰ His theory has stimulated a number of studies and has substantially changed the way we read Ps.-Aeschines: scholars can now analyse the literary features of these letters without scrutinising their authenticity. The novel-like Letter 10 has drawn special attention in this respect. Timo Glaser, for example, examined the reception of its narrative elements in early Christian letters.¹⁶¹ Owen Hodkinson, by placing particular stress on narrative, read the letter as self-contained storytelling. He investigated its epistolarity through ample analyses of its agenda, theme and the intertextuality with other literary letters, and concluded that Ps.-Aeschines is writing within the narrative tradition of Greek literature.¹⁶² All in all, the collection is – to a certain extent – the renewal and imaginary narrative of Aeschines cast in epistolary form. The first-person narration, for example, places a reader in a very close relationship with the protagonist at the centre of the story, which a 'normal' novel cannot produce.¹⁶³ When viewed in this way, the insight gained from modern literary theory has shed new light on, and broadened the field of, traditional philology.

But Holzberg's requirement for certain generic features, which was claimed to be *Versuch einer Gattungstypologie*, seems to have led to an assumption: the author tends to serialise his letters like novels; in other words, the epistolographic *corpus* is written in succession as a united and single text. This theory is not contradicted by

¹⁵⁹ Sykutris 1931: 213–4 and *passim*; Lesky 1966: 857–70, esp. pp. 868–9; Speyer 1971: 22; Holzberg 1994, esp. pp. 47–52, 1995: 1–27, esp. pp. 19–21; 2003a; 2003b: 645–53; Luchner 2009; for a summary of the history of research, see Glaser 2014: 245–8. It should be noted that Schwegler (1913: 14–6) has in his dissertation argued that Letters 1, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9 were all sent to Philocrates, and hence they are interrelated: see also Drerup 1914: 1281; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 128 n. 1.

¹⁶⁰ The texts that were studied by Holzberg are the pseudonymous letters of Plato, Euripides, Aeschines, Hippocrates, Chion of Heraclea, Themistocles and Socrates and the Socratics. Dührsen (1994) argued in the same volume that the letters attributed to the Seven Sages in Diogenes Laertius may have come from a lost epistolary novel.

¹⁶¹ Glaser 2009a: 63–84, esp. pp. 73–8, 2009b: 283–5, 2010: 205–6. Cf. also Reiske 1771: 656 n. 1.

¹⁶² Hodkinson 2013.

¹⁶³ Holzberg 1994: 2–3, 1995: 20.

Letters 1, 5, 6, 8 and 9, which are arranged in chronological order (*ordo naturalis*).¹⁶⁴ However, this preconceived notion has its limit inasmuch as it jettisons the stylistic distinctions among the letters and the presence of diverse genres of other literary traditions. As a matter of fact, the chronological sequence is interrupted by Letters 2, 3, 4 and 7. As my discussion will show, although the foreword of Letter 4 corresponds to Letter 5, the Pindaric exegesis it contains nevertheless indicates that it aims to be a sophistic treatise, not a novel; while μακρᾶς ἀκοῦσαι διηγήσεως (*Ep.* 4.1) and δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἀνάγκη εἶναι διηγήσασθαι σοι τὸ δῆγημα τοῦτο (*Ep.* 4.5) may point to a lengthy narration, such devices are not necessarily characteristic of a novel given that they are attested already in Attic prose, e.g. Antiph. 1.13; Thuc. 6.54.1; Isoc. 19.4; Aeschin. 1.43.¹⁶⁵ Some letters, moreover, are imitative counterparts of those of Demosthenes, and the historical information suggests many overlaps and intertexts with other narrative literature, in particular the biographical tradition.¹⁶⁶ A convincing case is the ‘Sandy Ground’ in Letters 9 and 12, but such an internal reference may likewise display an intention to deceive by later ‘forgers’ (*dolus malus*).¹⁶⁷ Equally illuminating is the fact that in a ‘serialised’ letter-collection there

¹⁶⁴ Holzberg 1994: 17–22, 47–52. See also 1.2.3; Puigalli 1988: 37 n. 1; Salomone 1985: 233; Mignogna 1996: 316–7; for a summary of their arguments, see Hodkinson 2013: 333 nn. 23, 25. The closing remark of Letter 1 that Aeschines would stay in touch with the recipient, for example, testifies to such a tendency and can be taken in some sense as prelude to the *Briefroman*: cf. [Them.] *Epp.* 3.1, ll. 2–3 Hercher, 4.28, ll. 105–7 Hercher, 7.10, ll. 38–40 Hercher, 8.32, ll. 142–4 Hercher, 17.1, ll. 1–2 Hercher; [Chion] *Epp.* 11–12, 13.3, 14.5, 15.1, 16, 17.1, 3.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Section 3.3.2, *pace* Holzberg 1994: 20.

¹⁶⁶ See Sections 1.1, 1.2, 3.5, and cf. Holzberg 1994: 22, 50–1 (noting that they remains interwoven by motifs such as the Ctesiphon-theme). The plausibility of Holzberg’s theory is also challenged by the chronological arrangements in other epistolographic collections, e.g. that of Themistocles, whose chronological sequence is not so clear-cut unless we divide it into two parallel units ([Them.] *Epp.* 1–12 and *Epp.* 13–21: see Section 5), and that of Anacharsis, whose concluding letter purports to introduce its protagonist: see Penwill 1978: 101–3 and *passim*; Holzberg 1994: 50; Rosenmeyer 2001: 196–233, esp. pp. 214–7, 2006: 50–1; Hanink 2009: 419. Other ‘disordered’ examples are Ps.-Chion of Heraclea and Ps.-Plato: see Düring 1951: 7, 18, 23; Costa 2001: xix; Morrison 2013a: 129, 2014: 313. The second letter of Ps.-Euripides, addressed to Sophocles, is considered as a later addition because of its inconsistency with the theme of the rest (Euripides’ request for financial support and his relation to the Macedonian king): see Gösswein 1975: 20–2; Holzberg 1994: 16; Knöbl 2008: 234; Poltera 2013: 162–3. Alternatively, these letters might have been ‘structured in blocks dealing with single topic’ on the basis of thematic links, namely, in dramatic order (*ordo artificialis*): see Holzberg 1994: 47–52, 1995: 19; Glaser 2014: 246–7. Notice, too, that ancient letter-collections, especially the non-fictional ones, were arranged predominantly by addressee or theme, not along chronological lines: see Gibson 2012, 2013: 390–2.

¹⁶⁷ *Epp.* 9.1, 12.11; see the prefatory note on *Ep.* 12.

could be some letters entitled ‘To the Same Person(s)’ (Τῷ αὐτῷ/Τοῖς αὐτοῖς) echoing the preceding ones, whereas in Ps.-Aeschines there is no attestation; even if Letters 1 and 6 are addressed to Philocrates, and Letters 11 and 12 to the Athenian people, they are given full titles separately.¹⁶⁸ As a result, we cannot ascertain that the letters are written as a self-contained unity, and such intra- or inter-textual features as Aeschines’ relation to Ctesiphon (*Verhältnis zu Ktesiphon*), may instead derive from earlier oratorical and/or biographical traditions.¹⁶⁹ Thus, not all these pseudonymous letters can be termed ‘epistolary novels’, and Holzberg told us only half the story.¹⁷⁰

Last but not least, the analysis of the inherent narration applies equally to a wider range of Greek narrative literature, say, New Comedy plots, among which the erotic narrative is one of the primary paradigms for the ‘comic’ letters. Indeed, Letter 10 characterises Cimon’s seduction of a girl as an act ἐν κωμωδίαις.¹⁷¹ My discussion will also show that in Letter 1 Ps.-Aeschines is clearly playing with the story of Odysseus.¹⁷² Linked to these considerations, another challenge is the length: how long must the letter be to qualify as a coherent narrative? The intra-textual possibilities among these letters, together with their relation to other narrative literature, are yet to be proven and expanded.

¹⁶⁸ Admittedly, the latter can be a device for the ‘official’ correspondences, but cf. [Chion] *Epp.* 2–8, 11–15; [Ap.Ty.] *Epp.* 2–8, 66–67; Philostr. *Epp.* 32–33, 37, 62 with Düring 1951: 45 n. 1; Penella 1979: 20; Kasprzyk 2013: 269. Notice, moreover, that the titles can be added at later times, and cf. *Ep.* 7.Tit. n.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Holzberg 1994: 18, 21–2. See also 1.2.3, 4.2 and *Ep.* 1.4 n. 5.

¹⁷⁰ But he (*ibid.*, p. 22) admitted that the letter-collection of Aeschines shows much more variations of the given scheme (*sie zeigt doch auch immer mehr Variationen des vorgegebenen Schemas*).

¹⁷¹ *Ep.* 10.9 with Weinreich 1931: 38; Trenkner 1958: 134; Mignogna 1996; Hodkinson 2013: 341–2; Höschele 2014: 747 n.19. For the ‘comic’ letters of Aelian, Alciphron and Philostratus, see Costa 2001: xiv–xvi.

¹⁷² See the prefatory note on it and Section 4.2.

3. Spuriousness and imitativeness

Spurious texts can be tested on chronological, historiographical, ideological and artistic grounds. There is, however, no consistent methodology for the detection, and one must scrutinise each letter individually in its own context. Attention should also be paid to the confusion caused by Photius when he stated that ‘when teaching in Rhodes, Aeschines is said to have been the first to compose fictive discourses and the so-called *meletai*’ (λέγεται δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος ἐκεῖσε σχολάζων τὰ πλάσματα καὶ τὰς λεγομένας μελέτας συνθεῖναι);¹⁷³ that is to say, Aeschines might have composed fictitious works, and therefore the fictitious Aeschinean letters would actually be authentic.¹⁷⁴ To be on the safe side, I will give multifold criteria for rejecting the authenticity of the letters, including the subject-matter and rhetorical strategy, the temporal hiatus between the alleged date of the letters and their *testimonia*, anachronisms, language and style, and the counterparts in imitation of Demosthenes’ letters.

3.1. Subject-matter and rhetorical strategy

Voluntary exile is common in the Greek cities, and Ps.-Aeschines declares it ‘something that customarily happened in Athens’ (τι τῶν εἰωθότων Ἀθήνησιν ἔπαθεν: *Ep.* 3.2). The term denotes a precautionary choice to leave by a person who loses the

¹⁷³ Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, and cf. Philostr. *VS.* 1.481: δευτέραν [*sc.* the Second Sophistic] δὲ μᾶλλον προσρητέον... τὰς ἐς ὄνομα ὑποθέσεις [*sc.* themes for *meletai*]; *Vita Aeschin* 3.5 Dilts: λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὰς λεγομένας μελέτας καὶ τὰ πλάσματα τῶν ζητημάτων αὐτος πρῶτος ἐκεῖσε εὗρεν ἐν τῷ σχολάζειν. Photius used the participle σχολάζων to replace σχολῆν καταστησάμενος (Phot. *Bibl.* 264.490b). It could be argued that the former could also mean ‘to be at leisure’/‘to give lectures’, instead of ‘to teach’/‘to run a school’, and hence is closer to the truth. Yet there is less likelihood that Photius was referring to this meaning: cf. Wilson 1994: 44 n. 4; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 280 n. 11. Aeschines’ relation to declamation (and the Second Sophistic) is partly caused by his public presentations in Rhodes: see Sections 1.2.2; Wright 1921: xxxi; Kindstrand 1982: 58–9, 84–90; Swain 1996: 98–9. For the *meletai*, or historical declamations, see Section 4.1.

¹⁷⁴ All extant sources have left no discussion of the authenticity in this respect. MS. f, which contains both the letters and *Vita* 3, left no remarks either. This also suggests that there is no connection between the fictitious works and the letters.

protection of the law in his community, mostly because of *atimia* incurred in court, and is actually an alternative to judicially inflicted exile.¹⁷⁵ Examples that illustrate this point are the Attic orators Andocides, Aeschines, Demosthenes and Hyperides.¹⁷⁶ In the case of Demosthenes, he was condemned to pay 50 talents for misappropriating public money in the Harpalus affair. Unable to pay the massive fine, he would become a state-debtor and suffer disenfranchisement, and so he had to withdraw into exile to avoid confinement and other dangers.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the exile is not lifelong provided that the fine is paid in due course, and Demosthenes could make a formal request for exoneration.¹⁷⁸ A possible way, as he claimed, is δι' ἐπιστολῆς.¹⁷⁹ On the motion of his nephew Demon of Paeonia, he was officially recalled to Athens soon afterwards.¹⁸⁰

Let us consider the case of Aeschines. In 330 BCE, Aeschines lost the lawsuit against Ctesiphon. Unwilling to pay the fine, he chose voluntary exile and became a state-debtor, and so was deprived of citizenship. There were opportunities for his return. One instance: in 324 BCE Alexander, by proclaiming the Exiles Decree, ordered the Greek cities to receive back their former exiles and provide for financial restoration or compensation.¹⁸¹ Yet Ps.-Aeschines lacks a realistic appreciation of

¹⁷⁵ A judicial quote in Lysias (10.17) goes that 'if in dread of justice, let him abscond' (δεδιότα δὲ δίκης ἔνεκα δρασκάζειν), and cf. [Them.] *Ep.* 8.17, ll. 78–79 Hercher: 'Should we choose exile if nobody expels us?' (φεύγωμεν ἄρα μηδενὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλαύνοντος;). See also Hansen 1976: 56; MacDowell 1978: 73; Todd 1993: 142; Flavel 1994: 7–12, 312–7 and *passim*; Forsdyke 2005: 9–11; Garland 2014: 135–8, 228–9, 264–70; Gray 2015: 115.

¹⁷⁶ For that of Andocides see Andoc. 1, 2; [Lys.] 6; [Plut.] *Mor.* 834f–835a; that of Hyperides see Plut. *Dem.* 28.2–4; [Plut.] *Mor.* 849a–849c.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Dem. *Ep.* 2.20, 24; see also Worthington 2006: 12–5; MacDowell 2009: 409–15.

¹⁷⁸ See Todd 1993: 143 on the legal status of state-debtor.

¹⁷⁹ Dem. *Ep.* 4.2. The case of Andocides indicates that an exile, with the consent of the Prytaneis, could even deliver before the Assembly a speech for exoneration: see Andoc. 2.3, 19, 21 with Rhodes 1985: 40–1; cf. also *Ep.* 11.1 n. 5.

¹⁸⁰ There are two possibilities: one is the immunity (*adeia*) for disenfranchised persons and public debtors, that is, the supplicant should first obtain at least 6,000 votes in the Assembly and then submit his demand for deliberation. The other is a 'general' amnesty (*amnestia*) through legal enactments before the Lamian War; see also *Ep.* 7.4 n. 5. Literary sources show that his own requests were unsuccessful: cf. Plut. *Dem.* 27.6–8; [Plut.] *Mor.* 846d; Justin 13.5.9–11; Arr. *Succ.* fr. 23 (= *Suda*: Δ 455); Phot. *Bibl.* 265.494b.

¹⁸¹ Cf. SIG 306 (= RO no. 101). The decree, originally in epistolary form, was never implemented due to the king's sudden death: see Hyp. 5.18; Din. 1.81–82; D.S. 17.109.1, 18.8.2–7; [Plut.] *Mor.* 221a; Justin 13.5.2–5; see also Dmitriev 2004; Worthington 2015.

the situation and never treats this subject comprehensively. The point is that, unlike Demosthenes, Aeschines probably had lost much of his impetus to return.¹⁸² To be sure, both orators could recover their civic rights by paying the debt, but a more severe blow on Aeschines is his gaining fewer than one-fifth of the dicasts' votes. The overwhelming defeat has resulted in both indignity and a punishment for frivolous prosecution. The latter includes a fine of 1,000 drachmas and probably a permanent prohibition on any future prosecution by *graphe*.¹⁸³ Since litigation occupied a cardinal position in democratic Athens, this had effectively barred Aeschines from public life and marked the end of his political career.¹⁸⁴

It is important to bear in mind the two orators' specific circumstances, and in keeping with this we can attend to their activities in exile as described in the 'open letters' (i.e. *Epp.* 3, 7, 11, 12; *Dem. Epp.* 1–4). Demosthenes fled to Troezen, because, as Ps.-Aeschines polemically remarks, he wanted to settle so close to Athens as to bide his time; Aeschines by contrast chose Asia Minor and appeared to have rejected any attempt to return.¹⁸⁵ The tendency is well presented in Letter 3, given that Aeschines is shown to have wilfully accepted his *atimia*.¹⁸⁶ Paradoxically, however, in Letters 7, 11 and 12 there is consistent consciousness of civic identity, and a displaced citizen is encouraged to cling to his home *polis* and to commit to leading a civic life. This is, in the first place, evident through the yearning for returning to Athens in Letter 7.¹⁸⁷ The second is the quasi-citizen behaviour such as the anti-war propaganda after Alexander's death in Letter 11 and the emphases on public services

¹⁸² Cf. *Ep.* 7 *passim*; see also Schwegler 1913: 5–6; Marin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 122; Craik 1980: 99. The author of Letter 12 is cleverer as he makes a mere request for Aeschines' children: see *Ep.* 12.14–17.

¹⁸³ Cf. *Dem.* 18.82, 103, 21.103; *Plut. Dem.* 24.2; [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 840c; *Phot. Bibl.* 264.490b. The penalty for frivolous prosecution has been discussed many times, e.g. Hansen 1976: 74; MacDowell 1978: 64, 165, 1990a: 327–8; Todd 1993: 142–4; Harris 1995: 148; Yunis 2001: 156–7; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 184. Harris (2006: 405–22) argued that the penalty is the prohibition on any type of public suits.

¹⁸⁴ See Christ 1998 for an investigation into this subject.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *Dem. Ep.* 2.19–20; *Plut. Dem.* 26.5; *Ep.* 12.10.

¹⁸⁶ *Ep.* 3.2–3.

¹⁸⁷ *Ep.* 7.1, 4; see also *Ep.* 2.2.

and civic identity in Letter 12.¹⁸⁸ As will emerge in Section 3.5, the community-oriented notion appears to have imitated that in Demosthenes' letters, yet is pointless for the 'historical' Aeschines.¹⁸⁹

Would Aeschines make a request to be able at least to return safely? The actual circumstances make it very unlikely, because an orator would in general aspire to a place where his eloquence, as well as his political talent, can be displayed. Even if that is the case, the extant letters cannot be deemed authentic on the grounds of their cursory rhetorical strategy. Letters 3 and 11 have a scarcity of *apologia* and express little interest in restoration, a central issue of Demosthenes' letters that is characteristic of more repetition of words and unifying explanations about relevant topics.¹⁹⁰ Most notably, throughout the four letters Ps.-Aeschines makes no mention of a repayment, for which Demosthenes was willing to mortgage his own house.¹⁹¹ In Letter 12 we find a dramatic case in point: about his two-talent property in Rhodes, the protagonist remarks in a sardonic and exasperated tone that it is the equivalent to what a man hired by Philip and Alexander could pay.¹⁹² Such a rhetorical strategy, as one can predict, would have had the opposite effect to securing his pardon and return.

3.2. Very late *testimonia*

The spurious letters, as Bentley has illustrated in his *Dissertation*, often are first attested centuries after their alleged date of composition. For example, although they

¹⁸⁸ *Epp.* 11.2, 5–6, 12, 12.1–4, 16–17; see also Clavaud 1987: 65 n. 2. One may also compare the cases of Andocides, the main point of which is to obtain repatriation via performing beneficial service to Athens, e.g. *Andoc.* 2.10–13, 16–18; see also Goldstein 1968: 52, 166–9; Ch. 11 of Garland 2014, esp. pp. 183–4. For an investigation into the exiles' quasi-civic behaviour see Ch. 6 of Gray 2015, esp. pp. 308–29, and cf. Section 5.

¹⁸⁹ In theory, however, Aeschines could go into politics outside of Athens, given that, in the early stages of the Lamian War, Demosthenes joined the Athenian embassy to Arcadia and supported their plea for a 'Hellenic' union *qua* state-debtor: cf. *D.S.* 18.10.5; *Plut. Dem.* 27.1–8; [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 846c–846e; *Justin* 13.5.9–12; *Arr. Succ.* fr. 23 (= *Suda*: Δ 455); *Phot. Bibl.* 265.494b. This is also the ostensible background of Letter 11.

¹⁹⁰ *Dem. Epp.* 2.1–3, 8, 12, 16, 21, 23, 26, 3.35–45; see also Goldstein 1968: 78, 176.

¹⁹¹ *Dem. Ep.* 3.41.

¹⁹² *Ep.* 12.11, and cf. *Ep.* 9.2; [*Eur.*] *Ep.* 5.3.

purport to have been written in the sixth century BCE, the letters of Phalaris are first mentioned in Stobaeus' *Anthology* in the fifth century CE.¹⁹³ As for those of Themistocles, although Thucydides has referred to some of his letter to Artaxerxes *in extenso*, the only ancient witness of the extant collection is the tenth-century CE *Suda*. One should, then, question such a temporal hiatus for which the letters were 'unknown and invisible from Themistocles's time to *Suidas*'.¹⁹⁴ In the case of those attributed to Aeschines, they are mentioned for the first time in the third century CE – about six hundred years after the time of Aeschines.¹⁹⁵

On the contrary, the authentic letters of Demosthenes and Isocrates have a longer history of attestation. A papyrus of the late second or early first century BCE preserves Sections 1–38 of Letter 3 of Demosthenes, and it is probably the oldest extant manuscript of the *Corpus Demosthenicum*.¹⁹⁶ Cicero's quotations from Letter 5 are more or less contemporary.¹⁹⁷ When relating Demosthenes' exile, Plutarch cited 'Demosthenes' own version' that he ran away because of disgrace and physical weakness, and this was probably based on Letter 2.¹⁹⁸ In addition, authentic letters can be sought elsewhere in the writers' own works. Demosthenes once said he had sent a now lost 'previous letter' (τὴν προτέραν ἐπιστολήν) to the Athenian people.¹⁹⁹ Likewise, Letter 1 of Isocrates, the *To Dionysius*, is also validated by the author's own reference. In his speech *To Philip*, which was written in 346 BCE, Isocrates said: 'I also said this in my letters to Dionysius after he had made himself the tyrant [of Syracuse]' (ἃ περ ἐπέστειλα καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιοντὴν τυραννίδα κτησάμενον: Isoc. 5.81), and μήτε στρατηγὸς ὢν μήτε ῥήτωρ μήτ' ἄλλως δυνάστης in the same section

¹⁹³ Stob. 2.15.42, 3.7.70, 4.8.16, 4.8.26, 4.29a.17. See also Bentley 1697: 21; Hinz 2001: 127 n. 447.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Thuc. 1.137.4; *Suda*: Θ 124. See also Bentley 1697: 79–80; Lenardon 1978: 155.

¹⁹⁵ See Section 1.3.1.

¹⁹⁶ P.Lit.Lond. 130 (= MP³ 0337), which survives with a Hyperidean fragment (Hyp. 2 in the traditional numbering = P.Lit.Lond.134; MP³ 1234): see Kenyon 1891: 42–62; Goldstein 1968: 6–7; Clavaud 1987: 71–2; Maehler 2014: 54; see also Sections 4.1, 4.4.

¹⁹⁷ Cic. *Brut.* 31.121; Cic. *Orat.* 4.15–16, and cf. Quint. 10.1.107–108.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Plut. *Dem.* 26.2: αἰσχύνῃ τῆς αἰτίας φησὶ καὶ δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος οὐ δυναμένου φέρειν τὸν εἰργμὸν ἀποδρᾶναι τοὺς μὲν λαθόντα, τῶν δὲ λαθεῖν ἐξουσίαν δόντων and Dem. *Ep.* 2.17: ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦνεῖδος τῆς εἰρκτῆς χαλεπῶς τῷ λογισμῷ φέρων, εἶτα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἂν οἶός τ' ὢν τῷ σώματι τὴν κακοπαθίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν. See also Goldstein 1968: 6 n. 3; Worthington 2006: 99.

¹⁹⁹ Dem. *Ep.* 3.1; see Goldstein 1968: 48–9, 52.

is the counterpart of μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτ' ἄλλως δυνάσης ὧν at Isoc. *Ep.* 1.9.²⁰⁰

3.3. Anachronism

Some of the so-called Atticists from the Imperial period had a tendency to archaize their works.²⁰¹ Historical accuracy, on the other hand, is not their main concern. Lucian wrote in eloquent Classical Attic, but his works often contained untrustworthy historical information.²⁰² Thus, in most cases it is easier to find the events misplaced in time and some cultural achievements that accomplished after the protagonist(s). But we should notice that Classical authors did not care much about historicity either. In the *Rhetoric* Aristotle advised that the ‘things past’ (τῶν γενομένων) could offer the listeners counsel on subsequent events;²⁰³ whereas the listeners of the Attic orators were primarily those ‘present’ at the Assembly or the lawcourt – they were not so educated as to check the reliability of each statement. As a result, in the orators allusions to the past were customarily used for present purposes, hence the lack of historical accuracy.²⁰⁴ To take just one instance: in the *Against Timarchus* Aeschines mentioned the trial of Socrates – ‘So then, men of Athens, you put Socrates the sophist to death’ (ἔπειθ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Σωκράτην μὲν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀπεκτείνετε). Because this trial (399 BCE) took place more than fifty years before the time of the prosecution (346/5 BCE) and the

²⁰⁰ See Garnjobst 2006: 3–4, 146.

²⁰¹ Swain 1996: 43–64; Whitmarsh 2005a: 41–2; Horrocks 2010: 67–78, 133–41. See also Section 3.4.

²⁰² E.g. in *Timon* 49 he mistakenly put Collytus, which belongs to the tribe of Ajax, into Erechtheus. Some cases, however, may be his deliberate dramatic allusions; see Hopkinson 2008: 6–7, 192–4.

²⁰³ Arist. *Rh.* 3.16.11 1417b12–15: ‘If there is narrative, it will be of things past, in order that, being reminded of them, the listeners may take better counsel about what is to come, either criticising or praising’ (ἐάν περ διήγησις ἦ, τῶν γενομένων ἔσται, ἵν' ἀναμνησθέντες ἐκείνων βέλτιον βουλευσῶνται περὶ τῶν ὕστερον, ἢ διαβάλλοντες, ἢ ἐπαινοῦντες).

²⁰⁴ For investigations into the historical allusions in the Attic orators see e.g. Pearson 1941; Nouhaid 1982, esp. pp. 54–104; Ober and Strauss 1990: 250–8; Worthington 1991; for those used by Demosthenes and Aeschines e.g. Milns 1995; Hobden 2007; Steinbock 2013. Isocrates is more attentive in this respect, and cf. Marincola 2014.

minimum age for a dicast is thirty, certain men whom Aeschines addressed must be at least eighty; thereby the scholiast considered it as ‘erroneous’ (ψευδός). And yet Andrew Wolpert showed convincingly that such an address should not be read literally; instead, it is a litigant’s common rhetorical strategy when instructing the dicasts.²⁰⁵ Thus it can be seen that not all anachronisms are quite as conclusive against the authenticity.²⁰⁶

3.3.1. Aeschines’ family and associates

An indefensible anachronism – for most scholars – is the age of Aeschines’ mother.²⁰⁷ According to Aeschines’ own claim, Glaucotea ‘went into exile with her husband in Corinth and shared the city’s sufferings’ (ἔφυγε μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον καὶ μετέσχε τῶν πολιτικῶν κακῶν) at the time when Atrometus ‘went into exile under the Thirty’ (ἔφυγε...ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα) in 404/3 BCE.²⁰⁸ But Ps.-Aeschines said: ‘My mother who, at the age of seventy-three, sailed with me to share the misfortune you inflicted on me’ (τῆς μητρός, ἥ τρίτον ἔχουσα καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος ἔπλευσε σὺν ἐμοὶ μεθέξουσα τῆς δι’ ὑμᾶς μοι συμφορᾶς γενομένης: *Ep.* 12.12). Since the *terminus post quem* for Aeschines’ exile is 330 BCE, the minimum age of Glaucotea should be around ninety, not seventy-three. Alternatively, that ‘she appears here before my eyes’ (ἡ νῦν ἐμοὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν προφαίνεται) at Aeschin. 2.148 may suggest that Glaucotea had passed away before the ‘embassy trial’ of 343 BCE.²⁰⁹ It must be conceded, to be on the safe side, that there may be some nuances between ἔτη and ἔτος in Letter 12: while ἔτη means the ‘true’ age from date of birth (*Epp.* 5.6, 12.1), ἔτος would refer to the ‘additional’ age

²⁰⁵ See Aeschin. 1.173 and the scholion *ad loc.* (= Dilts 346), with Wolpert 2003: 538. For the exact date of the trial of Timarchus, see Harris 1985.

²⁰⁶ See Section 3.3.3. Cf. Düring 1951: 14; Easterling 1985; Pelling 2000: 164–5; Gibson 2004: 105; Kremmydas 2007a: 28; Canevaro 2013: 340.

²⁰⁷ Reiske 1771: 653; Schwegler 1913: 7; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 142 n. 1.

²⁰⁸ Aeschin. 2.48, 78. See also *APF*: 544.

²⁰⁹ So Carey 2000: 144 n. 187, and cf. Paulsen 1999: 393.

from certification as an adult ('year-class'); τρίτον ἔχουσα καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος, therefore, would imply 'Year 73 plus 18'.²¹⁰

Ps.-Aeschines indicates that the orator's three children were still 'in childhood' (ἔτι νήπιοι: *Ep.* 12.13) during his exile and 'they have not yet, up to the present time, been aware of their misfortunes' (οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑαυτῶν συμφορᾶς ἐπαισθομένων: *Ep.* 12.12). If this were true, the children were too young to be brought into court in 343 BCE, as Aeschines did in the trial for which he pronounced the speech *On the Embassy* (Aeschin. 2.152). Moreover, it is implausible that more than ten years later these children still 'do not yet recognise their danger' (τοὺς κινδύνους οὐπω συνιέντα: Aeschin. 2.179); an ephebe-list (?) of Oineis phyle suggests that one of his sons, named Atrometus, was at least eighteen in the period of 330–325 BCE.²¹¹

It is reported that Aeschines is accompanied by his mother, wife and children (*Ep.* 12.11–12), but in Letter 5 we are told that he has two friends in Rhodes and needs no other host city or companions (*Ep.* 5.5). The protagonist also expresses on many occasions a yearning for his family, which implies that they never left Athens (*Epp.* 2.2, 5.6, 6.1). This remark is quite the giveaway.²¹²

Finally, it is worth checking Philocrates, the addressee of Letters 1 and 6. Because this figure was impeached for treason by Hyperides in 343 BCE and fled into exile, one could (following Schwegler) argue that a ten-year time span between the trial and the letters is suspicious.²¹³ Besides, Aeschines began to disassociate himself from Philocrates after the latter's fall. In the *Against Ctesiphon*, for instance, his rhetorical strategy was to link Demosthenes to Philocrates, and to the negotiation for his peace;²¹⁴ thus, addressing such a figure could be an embarrassment. It should be conceded that, despite the long interval, Philocrates' death-date and activities in exile

²¹⁰ Cf. Davidson 2006: 42–3.

²¹¹ See *IG II²* 2408, l. 7 with *APF*: 547.

²¹² See also Reiske 1771: 653–4; Schwegler 1913: 9; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 142 n. 1.

²¹³ Schwegler 1913: 6.

²¹⁴ Aeschin. 3.58, 62–4, 72–4, 80.

are unknown to us, and that Aeschines, with the changing of the state of mind, may write to a former ally who shared the same misfortune. Yet there is an obvious slip in Letter 6: although in it Philocrates is supposed to be staying in Athens, our surest information is that he was condemned to death *in absentia* with his assets being confiscated.²¹⁵

3.3.2. Pindaric exegesis

A very probable anachronism is the Pindaric exegesis of Letter 5 in Letter 4. The protagonist recounts in Letter 5 that Cleocrates gives him financial help.²¹⁶ Accordingly, in Letter 4 he expresses gratitude by arguing for Cleocrates' innate quality and noble breeding. The descriptions of Cleocrates' forefathers, i.e. Diagoras I and his descendants 'the Diagoreans', suggest that this letter is inspired by Pindar's *Olympian 7*, which commemorated these figures as Olympic victors in 464 BCE and beyond.²¹⁷ The same may be said of the closing remark on reciprocal obligations in terms of *charis*, for it is difficult not to suppose the poet-patron relation in the epinician world.²¹⁸ The protagonist also mimics Pindar's praise of Athens to highlight the poet's influence in antiquity:

²¹⁵ Cf. *Ep.* 6.1; *Hyp.* 4.29–30; *Dem.* 19.8, 114–119; *Aeschin.* 2.6, 3.79–82; *The Athenian Agora*, XIX: 105–17, no. P26, ll. 399–403, 451–459 (= *Hesperia* 5: 393–413, no. 10, ll. 45–50, 106–115) with Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 130 n. 2; Hansen 1975: 102–3; Clavaud 1987: 65 n. 2; Harris 1995: 10; MacDowell 2000a: 207; Whitehead 2000: 235.

²¹⁶ *Epp.* 5.1–5.

²¹⁷ Cf. *Epp.* 4.1, 4–6, 5.1–5; *Pind. Ol.* 7.13–20; *IvO* 151–153, 159; *SIG* 82; *SEG* 12.360; *Thuc.* 3.8.1, 8.35.1, 8.84.2; *Xen. Hell.* 1.1.2–4, 1.5.19; *Arist. Rh.* 1.2.13 1357a19–21, fr. 8.44.569 Rose; *Hell. Oxy.* 18.2 (= *BNJ* 66 F 9); *Anthologia Graeca* 13.11 (= [Simon.] fr. 50 Campbell); *D.S.* 13.45.1; *Schol. Pind. Ol.* 7 (ed. A.B. Drachmann, I, 195–9, 205–6); *Plut. Pel.* 34.4; *D.Chrys. Or.* 31.126; *Paus.* 4.24.2–3, 6.6.2, 6.7.1–7, 10.9.9; *Philostr. Gym.* 17; *Ael. VH.* 10.1; *Cic. Tusc.* 1.46.111; *Plin. Nat.* 7.41.133; *Val.Max.* 8.15.12; see also *CAH*: V, pp. 235–6; Reiske 1771: 668 n. 42; Böckh 1811–21: II/2, pp. 18–9, 164–7; Frazer 1898: III, p. 482, IV, pp. 20, 25–8; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1922: 360–2; Harris 1966: 123–4; Ch. 8 of Bresson 1979; Race 1986: 113–4; Willcock 1995: 110; de Dios 2002: 612 n. 15; Pomeroy 1997: 88–9; Hornblower 2004: 131–45; Miller 2004a: 235–7; Cairns 2005; Christesen 2007: 171–2; Smith 2007: 99, 137–8; Giannini 2014: 49–51. Cleocrates (*LGPN* I no. 2) is otherwise unknown: see *Ep.* 5.1 n. 6.

²¹⁸ See *Ep.* 4.6 n. 7.

ᾠ ται λιπαραι και ἀοίδιμοι Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμι Ἀθᾶναι.

O you, shining and famed in song, bulwark of Greece, Athens. (*Ep.* 4.2)

Although Aeschines, like other Attic orators, argued his legal cases with the help of poetic references and recital, the Pindaric exegesis in this form was to become common long after his death.²¹⁹

Yet it would, for all that, be superficial to mistrust *a priori* such Pindaric themes. Aristophanes (*Ach.* 633–640, *Eq.* 1329) first used this verse, and Isocrates compared himself to Pindar by juxtaposing the verse and the poet in the *Antidosis* (15.166).²²⁰ Another who was fond of using poetic exemplars in this phase is Plato, and he more than anyone else alluded to Pindar, e.g. *Grg.* 484b, *Leg.* 690b, *Men.* 81b–c, *Resp.* 331a.²²¹ Euripides (*PMG* 755 = *Plut. Alc.* 11.3) is reported to have written an epinicion praising Alcibiades for his Olympic chariot victory in 416 BCE.²²² Recent scholarship, too, re-evaluates the alleged demise of the lyric tradition in the Classical period. Simon Hornblower argued convincingly for a connection between Thucydidean narrative and Pindar’s poetry; Chris Carey showed that the Athenian tragicomic poets were aware of Pindar and practised intertextuality with his poems; Pauline LeVen, through close reading of the lyric *corpora* from 430 through 323 BCE, observed stylistic continuity in the late Classical period; and so on.²²³

But there are other stylistical cues that point in the direction of inauthenticity. The introductory statement that ‘you will not leave before hearing a long story since your curiosity would be endless without an award,’ (παύση γὰρ οὐ προῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν,

²¹⁹ Cf. *Ep.* 4.2 n. 7.

²²⁰ Cf. *Pind. fr.* 76 Maehler with *Ep.* 4.2 n. 8.

²²¹ See also Ch. 2 of Irigoin 1952; Ch. 14 of Des Places 1959.

²²² Cf. *Thuc.* 6.16.2; *Isoc.* 16.34; *Plut. Dem.* 1.1; *Ath.* 1.5 with Bowra 1960, esp. pp. 68–71 (= *id.* 1970: 134–7); Hornblower 1991–2008: III, pp. 344–5; Barbantani 2012: 37.

²²³ Hornblower 2004: 269–372 and *passim*, 2012; Carey 2012; LeVen 2014: 3–4, 87–90, 97–107, 143, 188. For general overviews of the reception of Pindar in antiquity, see e.g. *BNP suppl.* 1.5: s.v. ‘Pindar (Pindarus)’; Chs. 4–9 of Irigoin 1952; Race 1986: 121–4; Gkourogianis 1999: 27–32; Agócs, Carey and Rawles 2012: 1–10; Hornblower 2012; Rutherford 2012; Ucciardello 2012, esp. pp. 108–40 on evidence from papyri.

οὐδ' ἄπει πρὶν μακρᾶς ἀκοῦσαι διηγήσεως) suggests in all probability a post-Classical period of composition, because the positive connotation, 'curious inquirer' (πολυπράγμων/*curiosus*), instead of 'meddler' (*Erp.* 1.4, 11.1), is securely attested only from the Hellenistic period onwards.²²⁴ Other questionable expressions are τίνος ὑπέρφρων εἶναι (*Erp.* 4.4) and χάριν ἀποτίνειν (*Erp.* 4.6), substituting for τίμος/τίνα ὑπερφρονεῖν and χάριν ἀποδιδόναι in Attic prose. The whole opening section, too, signals the intention to compose an exegetical treatise:

Ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ σοι πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ Κλεοκράτους, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης ἄκουε.

Since you would like to obtain information about Cleocrates (*sc.* in Letter 5), hear who exactly this person is (*Erp.* 4.1).

As a matter of fact, Pindar was to receive a more congenial reception with the rekindling of interest in his works in the Hellenistic/Imperial periods.²²⁵ Alexandrian grammarians worked extensively on Pindar. Aristophanes of Byzantium first arranged the poems into seventeen 'books', and Aristarchus and Didymus added explanatory commentaries to the texts.²²⁶ Pindar has since held a pride place in the literary education as second to none after Homer and Hesiod among Greek poets.²²⁷ Three

²²⁴ *Erp.* 4.1 (= ζητεῖν: *Erp.* 4.2). Cf. analogously Polyb. 9.1.4, 12.27.4; D.S. 1.37.4; Plut. *Mor.* 515b–523b. The LSJ (*s.v.* πολυπραγμονέω 3) suggests an attestation in the *Menandri Monosticha* (653 Jaekel), πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀλλότρια μὴ βούλου κακά ('do not be curious of foreign things due to their badness'), but this may convey the community-oriented notion of ἀπραγμοσύνη and, more importantly, the authenticity is fraught with controversy: so also Democr. fr. 80 Diels–Kranz. Cf. *BDAG: s.v.* πολυπραγμονέω 1; Ehrenberg 1947: 60–2; Hunter 2008a: 884–96 (= *id.* 2009b); Chs. 1–2, 4 of Leigh 2013.

²²⁵ Polybius (4.31.5) gave an account that in his time the poet was *persona non grata* for symphasising with Theban Medism, but scholars such as Walbank (1957–79: I, pp. 478–9) tended to regard this as sheer misunderstanding of Pindar's attempt to advocate civic reconciliation: cf. *BNP suppl.* 1.5: *s.v.* 'Pindar (Pindarus)' B.2; Hamilton 2003: 23.

²²⁶ They came to us basically in the edition and scholia as transmitted through the Byzantine manuscript tradition. See Chs. 4–9 of Irigoin 1952; Pfeiffer 1968: 183–4, 221, 276–7; McNelis 2002: 77–83; Negri 2004, esp. pp. 16–8, 152–61, 187–200, 215–7; Dickey 2007: 38–40; Lowe 2007; Braswell 2013, esp. Chs. 2–4; Montana 2015: 119–22.

²²⁷ The evidence comes mostly from authors of the Roman Empire, e.g. Petron. *Sat.* 2; Quint. 10.1.61; Sext. *Empir. Adv. Math.* 1.58; Lib. *Decl.* 1.62, and from Egyptian papyri. See also Morgan 1998: 71–3, 90–119; Ch. 7 of Criobiore 2001, esp. pp. 160–2, 194–204; McNamee 2007: 95–9; Miguélez Caverro

major Hellenistic poets – Callimachus, Theocritus, and Apollonius Rhodius – highlighted his central importance as a poetic model, and thereby became heirs to the lyric tradition represented by him.²²⁸ The same can be said of the contemporary epigrammatists.²²⁹ The Alexandrians and the Hellenistic (and Roman) poets have, as it were, offered fertile ground for a culture of reading and studying Pindar, thus establishing the setting for the production of the Pindaric exegeses. As a result, by the Imperial period, Philostratus praised a woman ‘via Pindaric style’ (κατὰ Πίνδαρον) in his erotic letter;²³⁰ Ps.-Lucian (c. 4th cent. CE) analogically pointed out that the eloquence of Demosthenes deserves as much encomium as Pindaric athletes, and he is quite different from Euripides and Xenophanes, who ridiculed the athletes celebrated by the poet.²³¹ In sum, such cultural nostalgia for the lyric tradition could belong to a later scholastic-rhetorical milieu, and would have been at variance with a fourth century BCE letter written by an Athenian politician.

It is now possible to explore further evidence for the inauthenticity. First and foremost, despite his great reputation, the influence of Pindar (c. 518–438 BCE) in the Classical period is relatively indirect, even obscure, due to his ‘nobler’ quality of an aristocratic age as opposed to that of the Athenian democrats, and to the (comparable) decline of choral lyric after him and Bacchylides. Interestingly, however, Letter 4 shows a keen interest in the inborn nature of Cleocrates, especially the glory that goes with his *genos* (*Ep.* 4.1, 4, 6).²³² Although such high birth is a plausible theme in Athens, in terms e.g. of autochthonous *eugeneia*, these passages constantly remind us of an archaic, indeed Pindaric, conceit that Aeschines might otherwise have

2008: 210–36; Barbantani 2009: 311–3; Ucciardello 2012: 107 n. 11, 115–8; Netz 2013: 218, 228.

²²⁸ See e.g. Morrison 2007a, esp. pp. 312–21.

²²⁹ Cf. van Bremen 2007; Köhnken 2007; Barbantani 2012.

²³⁰ Philostr. *Ep.* 53. Further on Pindar in Philostratus see Bowie 2009b; Cannatà Fera 2011.

²³¹ [Luc.] *Dem.* 18–19; cf. Eur. *El.* 387–388; Xenophanes fr. 2.20–22 Diehl, and see Hamilton 2003: 18–22. For cases of other contemporary authors, such as Plutarch and Aelius Aristides, see Cannatà Fera 1992, 2004; Gkourogianis 1999; Downie 2009.

²³² Cf. e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 2.46–47, 9.100, 10.20–21, 13.13, *Pyth.* 10.11–12, *Nem.* 1.25–28, 3.40, 7.54 with Jaeger 1939–44: I, pp. 204–21; Rose 1974: 152–3; Longo 1984; Pomeroy 1997: 85–95; Donlan 1999: 95–105; Kurke 2013 *passim*. I owe the bibliography much to Pavlou (2012), who also noted that in Bacchylides the focus on lineage is weaker.

cast doubt on.²³³ The ‘forger’ forestalls a potential objection by adding:

Ἔστι μᾶλλον πάντων ἢ αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι.

It is possible to obtain more information from everyone than from Cleocrates. (*Ep.* 4.6)

To put it another way, Cleocrates never utters a single word about his ‘inborn nobility’. Particularly intriguing is the understanding of elite-mass relationships in democratic Athens, whereby the protagonist shields his patron’s inherited excellence against the percept of political equality, but it is at any rate a cover-up if one accepts the post-Classical authorship.²³⁴

The exegetical component in Letter 4 also well matches the scholarly achievements of later times. For instance, the genealogical accounts of the Diagoreans (*Ep.* 4.4–6), e.g. the ‘old lady’ and her ‘three brothers as Olympic victors’, are so allusive as to be intended for readers having a good knowledge *ad hoc*, but in the extant Classical texts we find no attestations of these figures. By a remarkable coincidence, we can fill the genealogical gaps left by Ps.-Aeschines with the help of post-Classical texts, especially of the Pindaric scholiasts and Pausanias.²³⁵ Another noteworthy evidence is the recital of Pindar’s encomium of Athens inasmuch as exegetical applications to this verse are more frequent in the scholiastic tradition beginning in the Hellenistic period. The scholiasts, in their effort to interpret the Classics, often employed, or alluded to, the poem, and the extant cases in point are preserved in the scholia to Aristophanes, Aristides and Callimachus.²³⁶ A Pindaric exegesis also occurs in the

²³³ Cf. Dover 1974: 93–5; Ober 1989: 11, 251–66; Loraux 2006: 210–7; Duplouy 2006: 37–52, 2015; Lape 2010: 26–9, 100–8; Lambert 2015; van Wees and Fisher 2015. For the notion of autochthony, see *Ep.* 11.8 n. 4.

²³⁴ Alternatively, it may recall the notion of human *phthonos* in the epinician odes: see *Ep.* 4.6 nn. 2, 3.

²³⁵ Excluding Arist. fr. 8.44.569 Rose (= Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7, inscr. a, ed. A.B. Drachmann, I, 196–7), and cf. D.L. 5.26. See also *Ep.* 4.1 n. 9 (with fig. 1), 4 n. 6, 5 n. 2.

²³⁶ Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 637, *Nub.* 299 (edd. W.J.W. Koster *et al.*, I 1², 84, I 3¹, 74); Schol. Aristid. *Or.* 1.401 196 Jebb (ed. K.W. Dindorf, III, 341.21–29); Schol. Callim. fr. 7 Pfeiffer [= fr. 9 Asper] (ed. R. Pfeiffer, I, 19.20–22). See also Maehler 1987–9: II, p. 85; van der Weiden 1991: 206–7. For dates of

scholia to Aeschines. The commentator, perhaps also building on Pindar’s dithyramb, commented about the ‘long-race runner’ (δολιχοδρομήσαντα) at Aeschin. 3.91: ‘It is a kind of long race, as it is learned from the Pindaric poems’ (εἰδός ἐστι δρόμου ὁ δόλιχος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Πινδαρικῶν ἔστι μαθεῖν).²³⁷ In this context, the Pindaric exegeses indicate some points of contact between pseudonymous letters and scholiastic treatises, and set Letter 4 in the intellectual milieu of the post-Classical era. Because of these problems, Letter 4 cannot be deemed authentic and is in fact the product of later literary/scholarly trends that were profoundly influenced by Pindar. Considering Photius’ ‘Nine Muses’, moreover, the composition of Letter 4 may reflect the (de)formation of the *corpus*: we can assume that some ‘forger’ or compiler had an ‘original’ edition containing fewer than nine letters, and Letter 4 is an intentional interpolation to imitate the editorial model.²³⁸ At the very least, the exegetical nature of the text indicates that Letter 4 follows Letter 5 within a narrative sequence, and was surely created at a later time.²³⁹

3.3.3. Allusions to Persia and Thebes

By pointing out two more anachronisms, Schwegler concluded that *hic igitur Pseudo-Aeschines, cum sic temporum ordinem neglegeret, rerum Graecarum memoriae imperitissimum atque plane ignarum se praebuit*. First, stating that

the scholia, see Dickey 2007: 29–31, 66.

²³⁷ Cf. Schol. Aeschin. 3.91 (= Dilts 203); Pind. fr. 70d.18 Maehler: δολιχὰ δ’ ὀδ[ὸ]ς ἀθανάτω[v]; see also Dilts 1992: 126. In discussing the destruction of Thebes at Aeschin. 3.156, the scholiast cited the renowned story that Alexander preserved Pindar’s house for his verses in praise of the Macedonian ancestors. Because there is no allusion to Pindar’s poems, it cannot be deemed a typical Pindaric exegesis: cf. Schol. Aeschin. 3.156 (= Dilts 353b); Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.10. Notice, moreover, that Pindaric references are not found in the scholia to Demosthenes and Isocrates.

²³⁸ Cf. Section 1.3.2. Yet we cannot state it confidently because chronological disorder is rather common in antiquity, e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 8, 10; Andoc. 1–2; Dem. 18–19. MS. **L**, for example, reverses Letters 7 and 8. The extant order of Demosthenes’ letters is also chaotic, and the chronological sequence is most likely 5 (350s BCE), and 3, 2, 4, 1 (mid-323 BCE), and 6 (322 BCE): see Goldstein 1968: 44–59; Clavaud 1987: 59–63; MacDowell 2009: 420.

²³⁹ This is observed already in the early history of scholarship: the marginal comment in MS. **Z** (mid-15th cent. CE) reported that ‘Letter 5 was written first’ (αὕτη πρῶτον ἐγράφη). See also Reiske 1771: 671 n. 55; Radermacher 1904: 1433; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 128 n. 1; Holzberg 1994: 22.

Aeschines would seek refuge with the king of the Persians and the Medes (πρὸς τὸν ἐν Πέρσαις ἄπειμι καὶ Μήδοις βασιλέα: *Ep.* 11.3), the ‘forger’ is supposed to refer mistakenly to Darius III the last king of the Achaemenids, who was murdered before the case against Ctesiphon. Second, Ps.-Aeschines only mentions the habitual enmity between Athens and Thebes during the Peloponnesian War and the Third Sacred War. For example, Thebes is called the people who ‘abuse my country’ (λοιδορεῖν τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἐμήν: *Ep.* 12.9). It was asserted as a digression, because, to say the least, a contemporary should sympathise with the revolt of Thebes and its ensuing destruction by Alexander in 335 BCE.²⁴⁰

If we isolate what the narrator is focusing on, the allusion to Persia is in itself rhetorical and lays emphasis on the protagonist’s deep depression in exile. It is apparent that τὸν ἐν Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις βασιλέα puts the stress on the anti-Macedonian foreign regime, rather than on the king or on Medism. This finds an echo in Aeschines’ own lament that Persia, the archenemy of Athens, was becoming a fellow sufferer under Macedonian hegemony.²⁴¹ However, because the Persian Empire was no more at that time, the account is unreliable on historical grounds. This conforms to some Hellenistic *meletai* and spurious documents inserted in the Attic orators. Ps.-Leptines, for example, in a fabricated counter-speech mentioned Demosthenes’ trierarchic reform to prove his shifting positions as accuser of the law at the trial of Leptines in 355/4 BCE, but this reform was not enacted until 340 BCE;²⁴² another ‘forger’, in his attempt to restore the decrees crowning Demosthenes, entrusted repeatedly the announcement to the *agonothetes*, whereas the first attestations of this official was dated to 307/6 BCE.²⁴³ All these figures illustrate satisfactorily how the ‘forgers’ are so attentive to the rhetorical – or legal –

²⁴⁰ Schwegler 1913: 6–7. See also Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 186 n. 1; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 137 n. 1, p. 141 n. 3; Goldstein 1968: 180; García Ruiz 2000: 399 n. 40.

²⁴¹ Aeschin. 3.132. This also parallels the treatment by Demosthenes: cf. Dem. 18.253, 270, *Ep.* 4.7 with Goldstein 1968: 250.

²⁴² Cf. P.Berl. 9781 (= MP³ 2511), coll. iii–iv ll. 109–146; Dem. 18.102–106 with Kremmydas 2007a: 42–3; Canevaro 2013: 338–40.

²⁴³ Cf. Dem. 18.84, 118; *IG* II² 3073 + 3077 with Canevaro 2013 *ad loc.*

effect as to lose sight of historical truthfulness.

Nevertheless, I have two objections to Schwegler's argument about the Thebes-theme. First of all, since rewriting history – and the use of social memory – were common rhetorical strategies, they should not be viewed as factual errors. Discord between the two cities, especially the Medism of Thebes, remained 'the dominant feature in Athenian discourse about Thebes';²⁴⁴ the enmity is echoed in Letter 4: when Pindar was fined by Thebes for praising Athens, the Athenians compensated double the amount and erected (posthumously) a statue for him.²⁴⁵ Aeschines was used to stressing the hostility towards Thebes. Demosthenes' proxeny with the Thebans, for example, invited his heavy criticism;²⁴⁶ in expressing sadness about the Thebans, he remarked that such a misfortune was not unworthy of their mistaken policy;²⁴⁷ while Demosthenes esteemed the Athenian alliance with Thebes of 339/8 BCE his greatest political achievement, Aeschines called it the 'most ill-fated alliance' (τὸ τῆς δυστυχεστάτης συμμαχίας).²⁴⁸ Schwegler also missed the point that, due to his early employment as an actor, Aeschines must be familiar with Thebes' anti-Athenian role on the tragic stage.²⁴⁹ At any rate, it would evince no surprise to put into his mouth the unsympathetic claim. Second, Demosthenes' policy towards Thebes is also riddled with inconsistency. We find various anti-Theban stereotypes in his speeches such as ἀναισθησία (5.15, 18.43), βαρύτης (18.35) and σκαιότης τρόπων (6.19), given that he adapted himself to suit changing political circumstances.²⁵⁰ Understood in this way, it is possible to dismiss some 'self-contradictions', or 'anachronisms', in the letters.

²⁴⁴ Steinbock 2012: 344, and cf. Guth 2014.

²⁴⁵ *Ep.* 4.2–3. On the poet's relation with Athens see e.g. Hubbard 2001; Steinbock 2012: 166–9.

²⁴⁶ Aeschin. 2.141–143. Cf. Mack 2015: 114–8.

²⁴⁷ Aeschin. 3.133, 156–157; cf. *Ep.* 11.13 n. 5.

²⁴⁸ Dem. 18.169–187; Aeschin. 3.137–151, 239; D.S. 16.84.1–16.85.4; Plut. *Dem.* 17.5–6; [Plut.] *Mor.* 845a, 851b; see also Buckler 1980: 275–7; Steinbock 2012: 277.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Zeitlin 1990; Steinbock 2012: 61–5. For his career as a tragic actor see *Ep.* 12.1 n. 4.

²⁵⁰ See Trevett 1999; Kremmydas 2012: 377–8, 2016c: 68–9. So Theopompus of Chios (*FGrH* 115 F 326 = Plut. *Dem.* 13.1) claimed that 'he was fickle in his character and incapable of remaining true for any length of time either to the same policies or to the same men' (αὐτὸν ἀβέβαιον τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονέναι καὶ μήτε πράγμασι μήτ' ἀνθρώποις πολὺν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν δυνάμενον); see also Canevaro 2018a: 75.

3.4. Language and style

Spurious works lack linguistic uniformity insofar as they are composed at later times by multiple authors. The admixture can be either chronological or spatial, with the best-known example being Ps.-Phalaris, who employed post-Classical Attic, instead of Doric, the dialect in Greek Sicily.²⁵¹ In the case of Ps.-Aeschines, it is worth noting the emergence and impact of the *koine*, namely the post-Classical Greek, and a later literary tendency known as Atticism, the influence of which existed right up to the Byzantine era.

The *koine*, ‘the common dialect’ (ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος), is a literary and colloquial standard that arises from a mixture of related dialects (Attic, Ionic, Doric, etc.), with a predominance of Attic. For Classicists it denotes mainly the dialect employed during the Hellenistic/Imperial periods by prose writers such as Polybius and Plutarch. Its differences lie in part in the choice of vocabulary and a predilection for the articular infinitive. Atticism, on the other hand, emerged from an attitude in the first half of the first century BCE that *koine* is inferior to Classical Attic. Although the elites e.g. of the Second Sophistic put it into practice by emulating Attic prose in their own works, the language employed by them is, in a sense, rather scholastic and artificial.²⁵²

3.4.1. Wording and phraseology

Some typical Attic forms indicate that the ‘forger’ attempts to archaise his work. This reminds us of the account of Philostratus of Lemnos that Atticism is a desirable

²⁵¹ Bentley 1697: 310: ‘For his language is Attic, the beloved dialect of the Sophists, in which all their Μελέται, or Exercises were composed.’ He used ‘New Attic’ to describe the language of the post-Classical authors: *op. cit.*, pp. 392–427. For the vocabularies in Aeschines and Ps.-Aeschines, see Preuss 1896; Schwegler 1913: 20–73.

²⁵² See Section 4.4 for further discussion.

quality of letter-writing.²⁵³ Notice for instance the phonological ‘-ττ-’ e.g. παραλλάττειν (*Ep.* 1.2), θαλάττη (*Errp.* 1.3, 4, 5.8, 10.1), τέτταρες/τετταράκοντα (*Errp.* 1.4, 5.6, 10.6), ἔλαττον (*Ep.* 1.5), ἦττων/ἦττον/ ἦττᾶσθαι (*Errp.* 2.3, 5.3, 7, 9.2, 10.8), περιττῶς (*Ep.* 5.1), φυλάττειν (*Ep.* 5.4), λυττᾶν (*Ep.* 5.5), πράττειν (*Ep.* 11.2, 8 [× 2], 9, 13), ἐπιπλήττειν (*Ep.* 11.4), κρείττων (*Ep.* 12.4) and Θετταλία (*Ep.* 12.9);²⁵⁴ the orthographical conservatism, e.g. γίγνεσθαι (*Errp.* 1.2 [× 2], 10.2, 5, 6 [× 2], 12.12) instead of γίνεσθαι. Yet the Attic is artificial as it is used with an admixture of Hellenistic/Imperial forms.²⁵⁵ And, therefore, the authenticity of some letters can safely be ruled out.

- i) *Koine* forms: notice for instance the nouns οἱ ὄχλοι (*Ep.* 10.4, instead of ἄνθρωποι) and ὑπέρωρος (*Ep.* 10.9); the verbs διανοχλεῖν (*Ep.* 2.2), ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι (*Ep.* 2.2), ἀσμενίζειν (*Ep.* 5.1, 5), ὑπερασπάζεσθαι (*Ep.* 5.3), μεταρρεῖν (*Ep.* 5.6), σιωπήσω (*Ep.* 10.1, instead of σιωπήσομαι) and καταπιμπράναι (*Ep.* 10.10); the adverbs ἀκμήν (*Ep.* 2.4, instead of ἔτι), αὐτάρκως (*Ep.* 5.1, instead of ἰκανῶς) and ἀπανταχόθι (*Ep.* 10.7). Despite its stricter Atticism, in Letter 12 we find two words, κατειρωνεύεσθαι (*Ep.* 12.10) and δημοποίητος (*Ep.* 12.13), which were rarely employed in the Classical period.²⁵⁶
- ii) Latinised expressions: more precisely, they can be regarded as Latin morphological and syntactic interferences in Greek. Omission of the article seems to fall into this category, such as ἐκ μέσου (*Ep.* 12.6) and νοῦν προσέχειν (*Ep.* 12.15).²⁵⁷ Semantically, προΐστασθαι (*Ep.* 7.3) may be a loanword from *pro stare* (*Sen. Contr.* 1.2; *Ov. Pont.* 2.3.20), as distinguished from the recurrent

²⁵³ *Dial.* 1, and cf. [Lib.] *de Forma Epistolari* 46–48; see also Trapp 2003: 325; Clackson 2015: 58.

²⁵⁴ There are variations in the manuscript tradition, but all may be subject to scribal whims except for γλώσσα (*Ep.* 10.1). See also Drerup 1904: 39 n. 2.

²⁵⁵ In this section I have largely followed Schwegler’s account. He also rightly argued that the Ionian dialect, e.g. ἐξώστης (*Ep.* 1.3), is not a criterion for rejecting linguistic purism. Language-mixing, the ‘-σσ-’ in γλώσσα (*Ep.* 10.1) for example, occurs frequently in the works of Thucydides and Aristophanes; cf. Schwegler 1913: 21–22, 36–45; Colvin 1999: 62–7, 265–70.

²⁵⁶ See also Schwegler 1913: 23–32.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Adams 2003: 515–7.

topos, πορνεύεσθαι, at Aeschin. 1.29, 52, 70, 94, 119, 136–7, etc. The repetitious expressions, such as τοιαῦτα διελέχθης, ὥστε...μηδὲν ὄν διελέχθης πεπλάσθαι σε (*Ep.* 2.1), Πινδάρου τοῦ Θηβαίου τὸ ἔπος τοῦτό ἐστι καὶ...ἐζημίωσαν αὐτὸν Θηβαῖοι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα τὸ ἔπος (*Ep.* 4.3), πυρῶν μεδίμνους, ὅσοις...μεδίμνοις... (*Ep.* 5.3), ἐπαύλιόν τι μηχανῶμαι τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν μηχανώμην ἐγώ... (*Ep.* 9.2) and πομπή...Ἀφροδίτης, ἐπόμενον δὲ αἰνεωστὶ γεγαμημένοι καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν πομπὴν ἐθεώμεθα (*Ep.* 10.6), are reminiscent e.g. of *ILLRP* 517.1–5; *Nep.* 7.1.3. Most noticeable are the phrases compounded like Latin, e.g. φωνὴν ἐκπέμπειν/*vocem emittere* (*Ep.* 2.4; *Liv.* 1.54.7, 1.58.2, 5.51.7; *Ov. Met.* 4.413; *Vell.Pat.* 1.10.5; *Quint.* 5.7.36), instead of the established πᾶσαν φωνὴν ἰένα/ἀφιέναι at *Dem.* 18.195, 218; *Pl. Leg.* 890d; πείρα διδάσκεσθαι/*experimento credere/didicisse* (*Ep.* 5.4; *Quint.* 11.2.17; *Plin. Pan.* 31.3; *Front. Strat.* 1.10.1), for which cf. πείραν ἔχειν at *Xen. Cyr.* 4.1.5, διὰ πείρας ἰέναι at [*Pl.*] *Ax.* 369a and ὑπὸ/ἐκ τῆς πείρας διδάσκεσθαι at *D.S.* 1.8.7, 1.74.2; ὅσον ἐπὶ δεῖν/*quantum in aliqui* (*Epp.* 5.5, 11.4; *Ov. Ars Am.* 3.35), instead of ἐπί plus accusative; ὑπὸ προσχήματι/*sub praetextu* (*Ep.* 11.4; *Liv.* 36.6.5; *Petr. Sat.* 97), for which cf. the participial expression τοῦτο πρόσχημα ποιούμενος at *Thuc.* 5.30.2; [*Lys.*] 6.37; and ἔπλευσε σὺν ἐμοί/*proficisci mecum* (*Ep.* 12.12; *Cic. Planc.* 11.27; *Liv.* 44.2.4), for which cf. συμπλεῖν τι at *Isoc.* 17.19; *Aeschin.* 1.56; [*Dem.*] 34.26, 50.36.²⁵⁸

- iii) Substantival suffix ‘-μα’: derivation, which was productive in Classical Attic, continued to extend the vocabulary of *koine* by means of suffixes. In Ps.-Aeschines it is worth mentioning the substantival suffix ‘-μα’, which commonly expresses abstract ideas or the result of actions.²⁵⁹ Three of this sort are remarkable – namely διήγημα (*Ep.* 4.5) < διηγῆσθαι, instead of διήγησις at

²⁵⁸ See also Schwegler 1913: 48–9. Further on the interaction between the two languages, especially the ‘Latinism’, see, most recently, Adams 2003: 469–72, 497–509, 515–7; Horrocks 2010: 126–32; Dickey 2012, 2015; Ch. 6 of Hutchinson 2013, esp. pp. 135–7; Clackson 2015: 87–94; Chs. 1–3 of Feeney 2016.

²⁵⁹ *GG*: 241 § 861; Palmer 1945: 94–8; *EAGLL*: s.v. ‘Koine, Features of’.

Pl. *Resp.* 392d, *Phdr.* 246a; φιλοφρόνημα (*Ep.* 5.3) < φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, instead of φιλοφροσύνη at Hdt. 5.92γ.2; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.3; Pl. *Leg.* 628c; and ἀπόλαυσμα (*Ep.* 5.4) < ἀπολαύειν, instead of ἀπόλαυσις at Thuc. 2.38.2; Isoc. 1.27. Φιλοφρόνημα is an ancient *hapax legomenon* and seems to be a coinage by Ps.-Aeschines. A search in the *TLG* yields eleven results, and all cases occur in Byzantine Greek (two in the late scholia to Homer and Lucian).²⁶⁰

iv) Semantic distinctions: I will give two examples in this section.²⁶¹

- a) Ps.-Aeschines (*Ep.* 7.3) is steeped in the *Against Timarchus* since he realises the subtle distinction between πορνεύεσθαι (‘to act as a prostitute/an ordinary sex worker’) and ἔταιρεῖν (‘to act as a courtesan/a deluxe prostitute’) in the actual passages.²⁶² When referring to the latter he employs ἔταιρεῖν, which was used by Aeschines himself. As for low-grade prostitute, he uses προῖστασθαι (‘to expose publicly’/‘prostitute’), instead of πορνεύεσθαι at Aeschin. 1.29, 52. Although its literal meaning, ‘to stand in front of’, is recurrent in the Attic orators, the extended meaning is seen for the first time in the works of Dio Chrysostom, who exploited it to describe comfort women of war.²⁶³ Ps.-Aeschines replaces the vocabulary deliberately to avoid repetition, but the post-Classical usage betrays him.
- b) Schwegler rightly argued that ἱκανῶς (*Ep.* 10.10) is employed in a post-Classical way, like σφόδρα, meaning ‘exceedingly’, instead of

²⁶⁰ Schwegler 1913: 25–28.

²⁶¹ Other noteworthy figures are καθίζειν (*Ep.* 1.1), σκαιός... ἄνεμος (*Ep.* 1.1), ποιητῶν ὑπέρφρονα ὄντα σε (*Ep.* 4.4), ἀποτίνειν ταύτην τὴν χάριν (*Ep.* 4.6), ἀσμενίζεῖν (*Ep.* 5.1), χρεία (*Ep.* 6.1), γράφειν (*Ep.* 10.1, 10, instead of ἐπιστέλλειν at *Epp.* 1.5, 2.1, 5.1, 8.1, 11.1, 7, 12.14), ὕλη (*Ep.* 10.1, meaning ‘matter for a poem or treatise’ instead of ‘timber’), στρατήγημα (*Ep.* 10.4, meaning ‘trick of speech’ instead of ‘shrewdness in war’), χαρίσασθαι... τὸ ὄφλημα (*Ep.* 12.14) and χαρίζεσθαι τὰς δεήσεις (*Ep.* 12.15); see Schwegler 1913: 32–6 and my commentaries on them.

²⁶² Cf. Aeschin. 1.19, 29, 51–52, 154, 160–165. See also Dover 1989: 19–22; MacDowell 2000b: 14–5 (= *id.* 2018: 134–5); Fisher 2001: 160.

²⁶³ D.Chr. *Or.* 7.133; see *Ep.* 7.3 n. 2.

the Classical use of ‘sufficiently’.²⁶⁴ The spuriousness can be augmented by this *hapax* as compared to the recurrent σφόδρα in other fictional letters (*Epp.* 1.1, 4.4, 5.5, 9.2).

- v) Phraseology: Schwegler mentioned a post-Classical phrase, ἐν ἀπόπτῳ (*Ep.* 1.4), which can be found in the works e.g. of Arrian (2.10.3).²⁶⁵ We can add the term for the civic virtues of Athens, ‘kindness and humanity’ at *Ep.* 12.16 (τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, ἣν ἐπὶ χρηστότητι μείζω καὶ φιλανθρωπία διὰ παντὸς ἔσχευ), for it finds echoes e.g. in Plutarch (*Arist.* 27). It is probably modelled on ἐν οὕτῳ χρηστῆ τε καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ πόλει at *Ep.* 2.3. Notice, however, that while the sentence purports to evoke a collective action, in the orators χρηστότης always denotes personal qualities such as soft-heartedness and honesty.²⁶⁶ It is also interesting to compare τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας (*Ep.* 5.1) with διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας in Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. ii ll. 35–37), a *melete* dated to the third century BCE on palaeographical grounds.²⁶⁷

3.4.2. Stylistic variety

The letters of Aeschines, if authentic, should be written in one period, by one author, and we should expect a comparably unitary style.²⁶⁸ The extant letters, however, are too flexible in this respect to be genuine. Devices of style are exhibited through the recurrences in close proximity, the rhetorical parallels, and the avoidance

²⁶⁴ Schwegler 1913: 31.

²⁶⁵ Schwegler 1913: 29.

²⁶⁶ Is. 2.7, 5.30; Lys. fr 106 Carey.

²⁶⁷ See Kremmydas 2013a: 158; Canevaro 2018a: 85. Φιλανθρωπία, on the other hand, is recurrent in Demosthenes, e.g. Dem. 18. 5, 209, 231, 298, 316, 19. 102, 140; Dem. *Epp.* 1. 10, 3. 22, 34, 41 with Christ 2013; it also appears at *Epp.* 2.3, 7.1, 12.16 (× 2). For its application in the post-Classical era, see *Ep.* 7.1 n. 2.

²⁶⁸ At most two types of styles for, respectively, open letters and private letters. Perhaps stylistic analysis is of less reliable for the detection, because an author’s style can be capricious and varied. With regard to a comprehensive treatment, I choose to take the position of Goldstein (1968: 27): ‘The peculiarities of an author’s style are often better revealed by his almost unconscious preferences in the use of grammatical constructions and particles than by his mere vocabulary’.

of hiatus. Yet there are features indicating that some are not aiming at literary perfection.

- i) *Figura etymologica*/polyptoton: etymological devices are to be found in considerable numbers, e.g. Δήλιοι δὲ ἐνόσουν λοιμώδη τινὰ νόσον (*Ep.* 1.2), ἀντιπνεῖ πνεῦμα (*Ep.* 1.4), ὅπου νοσησαί με συνέβη τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄσθμα νόσον (*Ep.* 1.4), εἰπὼν ἔπη Πινδάρου (*Ep.* 4.4), δοκεῖ...μοι ἀνάγκη εἶναι διηγῆσασθαι...τὸ διήγημα (*Ep.* 4.5), σοφίας ἢ σοφωτέρα...ἐστίν (*Ep.* 5.4), τρισευδαίμων...τῆς φυγῆς ἣν φεύγω (*Ep.* 5.5), λοιδορίαί αἷς ἐλοιδορούμην (*Ep.* 5.6), πρὸς τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων βουλευῆσθαι (*Ep.* 11.10), πολιτεύσονται πολίτευμα (*Ep.* 11.13), λόγων οἴους λέγειν (*Ep.* 12.1) and δίκην δικασάμενος (*Ep.* 12.2). Such figures are less favoured by Aeschines, although πολιτεύεσθαι πολίτευμα was used *verbatim* in his own speech.²⁶⁹
- ii) Rhetorical parallelism: anaphora, epiphora, polysyndeton and symmetrical components are overworked in the last two letters, e.g. ῥόμην...ῥόμην... (*Ep.* 11.2), ἔτοιμος ἤδη...ἔτοιμος ἤδη... (*Ep.* 11.2–3), μετὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν...μετὰ τοῦ μένειν...μετὰ τοῦ ταῦτα συμφέρειν... (*Ep.* 11.5), ἀλλ’ εἰς μὲν τὸ βούλεσθαι...εἰς δὲ τὸ δύνασθαι... (*Ep.* 11.6), Ἀθηναίοις μὲν...Ἀθηναίοις δέ...(*Ep.* 11.7), δότωσαν μὲν...δότωσαν δὲ...δότωσαν δέ...(*Ep.* 11.7), μηδὲ ῥαψφδείτωσαν...ὄτι...ἐπεὶ πύθεσθε...ὄτι...(*Ep.* 11.8), εἰ ὁμονοητέον ὑμῖν πολεμοῦσιν...ὁμονοητέον γὰρ καὶ πολεμοῦσι...ἀλλ’ εἰ βουλομένοις πολεμεῖν καὶ ὁμονοεῖν...(*Ep.* 11.12), πολλὰ μὲν...πολλὰ δέ...(*Ep.* 12.3), οὐδὲ πρὸς Θηβαίους οὐδ’ εἰς Θετταλίαν ῥόμην παρ’ ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλους τινάς (*Ep.* 12.9), ὁποῖαν μὲν...ὁποῖαν δέ...(*Ep.* 12.12) and οὐ γὰρ ἄν...οὐδ’ ἄν...(*Ep.* 12.16). Aeschines used such features rather sparingly: in the closing section of the *Against Timarchus*, for example, he used epiphora to warn the jury about

²⁶⁹ Aeschin. 1.86 with Greaney 2001. The *figura etymologica* is a special case of polyptoton, and grammatically it goes by the name ‘cognate object construction’: see *GG*: 355–7 §§ 1563–1577. For polyptoton cf. Aeschin. 1.63 (χρόνους ἐκ χρόνων), 2.177 (πόλεμον ἐκ πολέμου πολιτεύομενοι) with Gygli-Wyss 1966: 70 n. 2, 73 n. 3 and *passim*.

three groups of supporters of the defendant.²⁷⁰ Such heavy use is to be found e.g. in the epistolographic *corpus* of Ps.-Chion of Heraclea, dated to the late first century CE.²⁷¹

- iii) Articular infinitive: there is heavy use of this figure in all four cases, and nearly half (11/25) are in Letter 11.²⁷² This highlights the stylistic difference of Letter 11. More importantly, whereas the substantivised infinitive goes back to Classical Greek, its extended usages nevertheless play an important role in the Hellenistic syntactic development; that is to say, articular infinitive was an alternative to the Classical participial construction as the use of the latter became increasingly infrequent.²⁷³ Notice in particular those governed by a preposition, e.g. *Ep.* 4.3: οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διπλῆν αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέδοσαν μετὰ τοῦ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῆ τιμῆσαι (‘our ancestors offered Pindar a twofold compensation with the honour of a bronze statue’); herein the articular infinitive is used to create a subordinate clause.²⁷⁴ Aeschines tended to employ the participial construction that agrees with the object of the sentence, e.g. *Aeschin.* 3.103: πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Γνωσίδημον...δεησόμενον τὸ μὲν τάλαντον ἀφεῖναι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαγγελοόμενον δ’ αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σταθήσεσθαι ἐν Ὀρεῷ (‘they sent to him [*sc.* Demosthenes] Gnosidemus...with a request to release the talent due from the city, and with an offer to erect for him a statue of bronze in Oreus’).²⁷⁵ It should be noted further that Demosthenes had a preference for this pattern. ‘Μετά + articular infinitive’, for

²⁷⁰ *Aeschin.* 1.195; see also *Aeschin.* 3.198, 202. Anaphora is common in Lysias and Demosthenes, e.g. *Lys.* 12.21, 18.1, 19.62; *Dem.* 18.72, 19.10, 84, but is absent from Isocrates. In the *Against Ctesiphon* it occurs more frequently, e.g. *Aeschin.* 3.71, 198; see also Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 238; Denniston 1952: 84–9; MacDowell 2009: 402.

²⁷¹ See Düring 1951: 90, 94, 115; Konstan and Mitsis 1970: 258. A conservative date of the fourth century CE was given in recent scholarship, e.g. Malosse 2004: 100–4.

²⁷² *Ep.* 2 (× 2), *Ep.* 3 (× 2), *Ep.* 4 (× 1), *Ep.* 5 (× 4), *Ep.* 7 (× 1), *Ep.* 8 (× 1), *Ep.* 11 (× 11), *Ep.* 12 (× 3). See also Schwegler 1913: 66–7; *GG*: 450–3 §§ 2025–2037; Rijksbaron 2006: 112–5; Wackernagel 2009: 338–42.

²⁷³ Colvin 2007: 191; Horrocks 2010: 94–6.

²⁷⁴ Cf. *Ep.* 11.3, 4, 5, 9.

²⁷⁵ Cf. *Dem.* 20.70: διόπερ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν οἱ τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα (‘therefore his contemporaries not only gave him [*sc.* Conon the general] an exemption, but also set up his statue in bronze’).

example, is attested no elsewhere in the other orators.²⁷⁶

- iv) Hiatus: in ‘open letters’ there should be a tendency to avoid hiatus for the sake of euphony.²⁷⁷ This is well attested in Letters 7, 11 and 12, but not in Letter 3, particularly in its last two sentences (× 11).²⁷⁸ Amongst them, Letter 7 exhibits a more careful measure. However, it shows good examples that conform to the Demosthenic mannerism. Aeschines avoided hiatus less frequently than Demosthenes did.²⁷⁹
- v) Epistolary formulae: in the open letters of Demosthenes (Dem. *Epp.* 1–4) there are *proemia* that are akin to forensic speeches and formal closing greetings, whereas Letters 3, 7, 11 and 12 as transmitted begin almost with neither. Yet we find ἔρρωσο in the private letters (*Epp.* 1.5, 9.1), where an omission is legitimate.²⁸⁰ Such negligence indicates that accuracy and perfection are not Ps.-Aeschines’ main concerns and his/their aim is ‘writing a mere piece of literature’.²⁸¹ Phraseological recurrences show the same tendency. The invocations to the gods (*Epp.* 5.1, 9.2, 11.6, 12.1, 9, 16), for example, are monotonous on the grounds that almost all are uttered with the particle μᾶ as a negative statement marker.²⁸² Instead, Demosthenes used in his letters two forms, i.e. νῆ Δία (Dem. *Ep.* 4.8) and πρὸς Διός (Dem. *Ep.* 5.1), and Aeschines employed in his speeches all four basic forms.²⁸³ An exception is πρὸς Διός (*Ep.*

²⁷⁶ Cf. *Epp.* 4.3, 11.3, 5 (× 3), 9; Dem. 5.5, 13.2, 14.13, 24.76, 110, 38.26, 51.15. This is probably influenced by Thucydides’ abstract expression: cf. Thuc. 1.6.5; D.H. *Thuc.* 54; see also Blass 1887–98: III/1, pp. 87–8; Denniston 1952: 37–40; Milns 2000: 221 n. 27; Wooten 2008: 51, 67. Most recently, in James A. Inman’s M.A. thesis *The Articular Infinitive in Demosthenes’ Public Orations* (2015), its function was described as ‘a topical marker’.

²⁷⁷ That is, the ‘clash’ of two vowels/diphthong at the end of a word and at the start of the adjacent word; see McCabe 1981: 21–9; Devine and Stephens 1994: 253–5.

²⁷⁸ See Drerup 1904: 37–8, 1914: 1282; Schwegler 1913: 74–6; Goldstein 1968: 131–2.

²⁷⁹ See Dobson 1918: 182–3; Dilts 1994. Cf. Blass 1887–98: III/1, pp. 448, 451, 453 n. 3; Goldstein 1968: 28–9; McCabe 1981: 160–1, 169–75.

²⁸⁰ Rosenmeyer (2006: 52–3) well observed that the fictional letters attributed to Themistocles and Chion of Heraclea are finished with ἔρρωσο in a shorter letter. This can also be applied to the case of Ps.-Aeschines, and see the prefatory note on Letter 9.

²⁸¹ Goldstein 1968: 169. For epistolary formulae, see e.g. Trapp 2003: 34–6.

²⁸² The innovations of gods in Letter 12 are slightly different, including μᾶ Δία (§ 1), ὧ θεοί (§ 3), μᾶ τὸν Δία (§ 9) and μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς (§ 16).

²⁸³ I.e. ὧ + vocative case, μᾶ/νῆ + accusative case, and πρὸς + genitive case; see also Edwards 2008: 108–10; Sommerstein 2014b: 315, 335–6.

2.5), which agrees with its imitative counterpart (Dem. *Ep.* 5.1) to stress a request in Demosthenic – or Attic – style.²⁸⁴ These careless repetitions, at any rate, are not dissimilar from the last line of the testimonies in the *Against Timarchus*, ‘and so forth’ (καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς), which was authored by a later compiler and suggests a perfunctory restoration of the text.²⁸⁵

3.5. Imitativeness

Like the *Embassy* speeches and the *Crown* speeches, the letters of Ps.-Aeschines and Demosthenes shared in part the same context. They represented the same genre of ‘self-apologetic *demegoria*’, which is used as a recurrent theme by later rhetorical literature.²⁸⁶ The inauthenticity can be strengthened by their imitative nature of those of Demosthenes; after all, the first step of an imitator is to find actual thematic and rhetorical models.

3.5.1. Thematic counterparts

In general, Letters 11, 12, 3, 7, 2 are demonstrable counterparts of Demosthenes’ Letters 1, 2 (and part of 3), 3, 4, 5 respectively.²⁸⁷ The evidence for Letter 6 is weaker due to its short length and novelistic narrative.²⁸⁸ Here is a summary of the thematic counterparts:

Dem. *Ep.* 1 & *Ep.* 11

- i) Lamian War (*passim*);
- ii) Political harmony (Dem. *Ep.* 1.2, 5, 8 and *Ep.* 11.1–2);

²⁸⁴ Cf. MacDowell 2009: 403; Sommerstein 2014a: 4; see also Section 3.5.2 (i).

²⁸⁵ Aeschin. 1.66 with Fisher 2001 *ad loc.*

²⁸⁶ See Sections 3.1, 4.1

²⁸⁷ Goldstein 1968: 265–6; Clavaud 1987: 64–5.

²⁸⁸ Both Ps.-Aeschines and Demosthenes give information about the bearer of the letter: cf. *Ep.* 6.1; Dem. *Ep.* 6.1. See also Goldstein 1968: 266.

- iii) The letter as a medium of communication (Dem. *Ep.* 1.2 and *Ep.* 11.2);
- iv) Shortage of politicians in Athens (Dem. *Ep.* 1.4 and *Ep.* 11.2);
- v) Liberty of Greece (Dem. *Ep.* 1.6 and *Ep.* 11.6, 9);
- vi) Death of Alexander (Dem. *Ep.* 1.13 and *Ep.* 11.6).

Dem. *Epp.* 2, 3 & *Ep.* 12

- i) Review of the sender's political career (Dem. *Ep.* 2.1 and *Ep.* 12.1);
- ii) Malicious accusation (Dem. *Ep.* 2.9 and *Ep.* 12.2);
- iii) Fickleness of the Athenians (Dem. *Ep.* 2.13 and *Ep.* 12.14);
- iv) Goodness and reputation of the *polis* (Dem. *Epp.* 2.3, 3.34 and *Ep.* 12.14, 16);
- v) Choice of exile places (Dem. *Ep.* 2.17–19 and *Ep.* 12.9–11);
- vi) Expression of nostalgia (Dem. 2.20 and *Ep.* 12.10)
- vii) Sons of Lycurgus (Dem. *Ep.* 3 and *Ep.* 12.14);
- viii) Service for, and reward from, the *polis* (Dem. *Ep.* 3.3–5 and *Ep.* 12.5–7);
- ix) Doing the right thing (Dem. *Ep.* 3.24 and *Ep.* 12.14).

Dem. *Ep.* 3 & *Ep.* 3

- i) (In)justice of the Athenian people (Dem. *Ep.* 3.1, 2, 5, 8, 12–14, 16–22, 24–25, 29–32, 37–45 and *Ep.* 3.1)
- ii) Complaint about the Athenian people (Dem. *Ep.* 3.40 and *Ep.* 3.1).

Dem. *Epp.* 2, 4 & *Ep.* 7

- i) Slander from rivals (Dem. *Ep.* 4.1 and *Ep.* 7.1);
- ii) Humanity of the Athenian people (Dem. *Ep.* 4.1 and *Ep.* 7.1);
- iii) Descendants of prostitutes (Dem. *Ep.* 4.1 and *Ep.* 7.3);
- iv) Catamite (Dem. *Ep.* 4.11 and *Ep.* 7.3);
- v) Reply to abuses in person (Dem. *Ep.* 4.2 and *Ep.* 7.4);
- vi) Request for exoneration (Dem. *Ep.* 2.21–23 and *Ep.* 7.4–5).

Dem. Ep. 5 & Ep. 2

- i) Hearing news from otherwise unknown person (Dem. *Ep.* 5.1 and *Ep.* 2.1);
- ii) Invocation of Zeus (Dem. *Ep.* 5.1 and *Ep.* 2.4);
- iii) Sympathy for relatives and friends (Dem. *Ep.* 5.2 and *Ep.* 2.2).

Amongst these letters, Letters 11 and 3 are explicitly intended as direct replies to those of Demosthenes. We can find claims and counterclaims akin to those in the forensic speeches. While Demosthenes claimed that political harmony was based principally on the tolerance of the dissents of generals, orators and any other individuals, provided that they were making suggestions for the common good (Dem. *Ep.* 1.5, 8), Ps.-Aeschines replies:

Συμβουλεύειν δὲ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐ μικρᾶς ἔμοιγε ἀκρασίας ἐφαίνετο ἔργον εἶναι, δεδοκῶτι τηλικαύτην δίκην τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι, πλὴν εἴ τι δέοι καλούντων ὑμῶν· ἄλλως δὲ μηδὲ ράδιά τισι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οὐχ ὅτι πόλει, συμβουλεύειν προσήκειν ὥομην.

Yet it seemed to me to be no small indiscretion to offer advice and to dabble in politics – I have suffered so severe a prohibition on engaging in politics – unless it is on your invitation. Besides, I also believed it not to be easy to offer advice even to a close friend, not just to the city. (*Ep.* 11.1–2)

Demosthenes mentioned that the Athenians rejected his request for immunity (Dem. *Ep.* 3.39–40). Ps.-Aeschines, on the other hand, criticises him by alluding to his complaints about the people:

Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀδίκως, ἢ δέονται τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως

ἐπανεέλθωσιν, ἢ διαμαρτόντες τούτου λοιδοροῦσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας, ὡς φαύλως αὐτοῖς προσφερομένας.

All those people that suffer an exile unjustly, either ask their citizens for a way in which they could return, or, if they fail to obtain this, abuse their own countries, saying that they treat them badly. (*Ep.* 3.1)

There are many overlaps apart from the counterclaims. For example, both of them express the scarcity of political talent left in Athens. Demosthenes thought that Athens was full of philistines (*Dem. Epp.* 1.4, 3.31), and Ps.-Aeschines adds that ‘some are dead, many fell into disgrace like me, and the city has been trapped into a shortage of statesmen’ (οἱ μὲν τεθνᾶσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἠτυχήκασιν ὥσπερ ἐγώ, περιέστηκε δὲ ἡ πόλις εἰς ἐρημίαν τῶν πολιτευομένων: *Ep.* 11.2).²⁸⁹ As will be discussed in Section 4.1, the majority of the pseudonymous letters resemble the *meletai*, or historical declamations. The difference is that the ‘forger’ chooses to imitate Demosthenes’ letters, not his speeches.

3.5.2. Imitative counterparts

Letters 2, 7, 11 and 12 also find imitative counterparts in the letters of Demosthenes, and striking examples indicate that, in most cases, each of them runs parallel to the declamatory themes drawn from the letters of Demosthenes. Yet Cases (ii), (v), (vi) and (ix) show that Ps.-Aeschines sometimes employs the rhetorical features independently from the original themes, and thus his composition is built on an overall understanding of the letters of Demosthenes.

- i) Ps.-Aeschines tends to use μᾶ with an accusative for the invocations of the

²⁸⁹ See also Clavaud 1987: 64 n. 2.

gods (*Epp.* 5.1, 9.2, 11.6, 12.1, 9, 16). The imitative counterpart below is an exception, for it matches Demosthenes' device for emphasis on a request or a question.²⁹⁰

Dem. Ep. 5.1

Δέομαι δὴ σου πρὸς Διὸς ξενίου καὶ πάντων τῶν θεῶν, μὴ με καταστήσης ἀγδεῖ καὶ δεινῷ μηδενὶ περιπετῇ.

I do entreat you, in the name of Zeus, the god of friendship, and by all the gods, not to put me in a disagreeable and sordid situation.

Ep. 2.4–5

Ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, μὴ σύ γε, ὦ Κτησιφῶν, μηδὲ...μίσμα τοῦτο προσθῆς σαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν...οὐδὲ Αἰσχίνης εἰς τοῦτό ποτε ἀφίξεσθαι ἤλπισεν...

But no, in the name of Zeus! I beg you, Ctesiphon...not to inflict such a stain upon yourself and your children... Aeschines did never hope to come into this condition...

ii) A general description of the *atimos*.

Dem. Ep. 2.2

Οἶμαι δεῖν...μὴ...τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων συνηθείας ἀποστερηθῆναι.

I think I should...not...be deprived of my country, my property, and the company of my closest relatives.

Ep. 2.2

Καὶ ἐκπετωκόσι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀπεστερημένοις ἐπιτιμίας καὶ πόλεως καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ φίλων.

We suffered exile from our country, being destitute of civil rights, the city, fellow citizens and friends.

Ep. 5.6

...ὅταν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπέλθῃ με...μνήμη τῶν αὐτόθι, οὐχ ἐταίρων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενῶν

²⁹⁰ Cf. MacDowell 2009: 403; Sommerstein 2014a: 4; see also Section 3.4.2 (v).

καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ Κολλυτοῦ...καὶ τοῦ Ἀλῆσι
χωρίου...

...but when...the memory of the things in
Athens steals over me again and again,
embracing not only my companions, but also
my kinsmen, the meetings of the assembly,
Collytus...my land in Halae...

iii) A complete imitative counterpart of Demosthenes. Πυνθάνεσθαι is an alternative to ἀκούειν, and τὰ ῥηθέντα is a *variatio* of εἰρηκέναι. While the phrase ‘τὰ ῥηθέντα πρὸς + accusative’ is mostly seen in the post-Classical period, e.g. Polyb. 38.11.7, here it is perhaps adapted by the imitator in correspond to περὶ ἐμοῦ. Ps.-Aeschines employs φιλανθρωπίαν, instead of εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, to praise Athenians’ incredulity of the slander by Melanopus of Aexone, a counterpart of Theramenes.

Dem. Ep. 4.1

Ἀκούω περὶ ἐμοῦ Θηραμένην ἄλλους τε λόγους
βλασφήμους εἰρηκέναι καὶ δυστυχίαν
προφέρειν...οὐδέν ἐστ’ ὄφελος παρ’ εὖ φρονοῦσιν
ἀνθρώποις.

*I hear that Theramenes has...spoken various
slanderous words concerning me...which carries
no weight with fair-minded people.*

Ep. 7.1

Ἐπιθύμη τὰ ῥηθέντα Μελανόπω πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑμετέραν ἀπεδεξάμην
φιλανθρωπίαν.

*I have learned the words spoken by Melanopus
to you, and I have acknowledged your
humanity.*

iv) Ἐργαστήριον more normally means ‘workshop’, but in his letter Demosthenes used it to ridicule that Theramenes’ mother was a prostitute.²⁹¹ Building on his knowledge of the *Against Timarchus*, Ps.-Aeschines develops the standard insult by isolating two types of prostitution, that is, ‘to act as a prostitute’ (πορνεύεσθαι, i.e. an ordinary sex worker) and ‘to act as a courtesan’ (ἑταιρεῖν, i.e. a deluxe prostitute).²⁹² Τὴν ἀκμὴν appears to replace ἐν ἐργαστηρίῳ to refer to the pubescent period.²⁹³

Dem. Ep. 4.1

Τὸν γὰρ θρασὺν μὲν τῷ βίῳ, μὴ πολίτην δὲ τὴν φύσιν, ἐν ἐργαστηρίῳ δὲ τεθραμμένον ἐκ παιδός.

For if one who in his way of life is insolent, by birth is not a citizen, and was reared from childhood in a brothel.

Ep. 7.3

Σοὶ δὲ τὸ μέχρι μὲν χθὲς καὶ πρόην θεσμοθετοῦντος ἤδη σοῦ προεστάναι τὴν μητέρα...σὲ δὲ πραθέντα τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν

τὴν ἀκμὴν ἠταιρηκέναι.

While with you – your mother acted as a prostitute until recent days when you were already a *Thesmothetes*...and you sell yourself as an escort in the bloom of youth for three thousand drachmas.

v) Demosthenes noted two ways of offering counsel on the common good. One is to give speeches as ὁ βουλόμενος in the Assembly, and the other is to hold public office as ὁ τὰ κοινὰ πράττων.²⁹⁴ It is likely that Ps.-Aeschines pays no particular attention to the Demosthenic distinction and replaces συμβουλεύειν by λέγειν to frame the *ergon-logos* antithesis. As for how an exiled person can

²⁹¹ Cf. Goldstein 1968: 247–8; Worthington 2006: 128 n. 93; MacDowell 2009: 420 n. 49.

²⁹² Cf. Aeschin. 1.19, 29, 51–52, 154, 160–5. See also Section 3.4.1 (iv).

²⁹³ Cf. Isoc. 7.37; Aeschin. 1.42, 126 with Dover 1989: 79.

²⁹⁴ This distinction is characteristic of Demosthenes: cf. Dem. 18.212, 245–246, *Ep.* 1.11–12 with Goldstein 1968: 223; Clavaud 1987: 112 n. 3; see also *Ep.* 11.2 n. 4.

counsel his fellow citizens, he gives the same answer – δι’ ἐπιστολῆς.²⁹⁵

Dem. Ep. 1.5

Δεῖ δ’ ὑμᾶς...πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμόνοιαν εἶς τὸ
κοινῇ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖσθαι...
You (sc. the Athenians) must bring about harmony
among yourselves for the common good...

Ep. 11.2

...καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δυναμένους τὰ
κοινά...ἔτοιμος ἤδη τὰ δοκούντα τῇ πόλει
συμφέρειν, ὡς μόνον ἔξεστί μοι, δι’ ἐπιστολῶν
λέγειν.

Dem. Ep. 3.27

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν τὸν συμβουλευόντα καὶ
τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντ’ ἀδύνατον [ἔστιν].
Someone who offers advices and otherwise works
for the public authorities is not able to please
everyone.

...who are capable of speaking and working for
the common good...I am ready to contribute
what is appropriate to the city and to speak in
the only way I can, by letter.

Dem. Ep. 4.2

Ἦμῖν δὲ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα βούλομαι δι’
ἐπιστολῆς, οὕς περὶ τούτων ἔχω λόγους, δηλῶσαι.
To you, however; for the sake of the common good,
I wish to make known by letter what statements I
have to make about these matters.

vi) The theme ‘loss of politicians’ at Dem. Ep. 1.4 seems to be a direct source material. But the μὲν-δέ parataxis is modelled on Dem. Ep. 3.31, explaining in two respects how this might have happened.

²⁹⁵ See also Sections 1.1, 3.1.

Dem. Ep. 1.4

...ἀπορούντων δ' ὑμῶν ῥητόρων...

...in need of orators...

Dem. Ep. 3.31

...φοβοῦμαι μήποτ' ἔρημοι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν

ἐρούντων γένησθε, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν τῶν

δημοτικῶν τοὺς μὲν ἢ καθήκουσα μοῖρα καὶ ἡ τύχη

καὶ ὁ χρόνος παραιρῆται, οἷον...Λυκοῦργον, τοὺς δ'

ὑμεῖς προῆσθε, ὥσπερ...καὶ ἐμέ...

I am afraid that you will become destitute of men

speaking on your behalf, especially when

mankind's natural fate, or fortune, or lapse of time

has taken away some of the democrats, such

as...Lycurgus, and you yourselves have cast away

others, such as...myself...

Ep. 11.2

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τεθνήσκει, πολλοὶ δὲ ἠτυχήκασιν

ὥσπερ ἐγώ, περίστηκε δὲ ἡ πόλις εἰς ἐρημίαν

τῶν πολιτευομένων...

But since some are dead, many fell into

misfortune like me, and the city has been

trapped into a shortage of statesmen...

vii) Although the theme 'good fortune' is also seen at Dem. Ep. 4.3 and 'the liberty of Greece' resembles ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας at Dem. Ep. 2.5, there is less likelihood that Ps.-Aeschines consulted these texts in composing Letter 11. These minor resemblances are not so much cross-references as the intertextual features of Dem. Ep. 1, since the expression is a customary war slogan in literary sources.

Dem. Ep. 1.16

...μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης ἐλευθεροῦτε τοὺς
Ἕλληνας...

...with good fortune liberate Greece...

Ep. 11.6

...τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν...
...to liberate the Greeks...

Ep. 11.9

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἀναλαβόντες <τὰ> ὄπλα εὐθέως
ἐλευθερώμεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Let us take up our weapons immediately and
liberate Greece with good fortune.

viii) Demosthenes asserted that he brought prosecutions in cases of public interest, and accordingly Ps.-Aeschines transforms συκοφαντεῖν and ἀδίκου πλεονεξίας into γυμνάζειν εἰς συκοφαντίαν and ἀργύριον, and uses the trial of Timarchus to represent a general legal case. It is worth noting that Demosthenes seemed to relate the connection between ‘public actions’ (δίκαι δημόσια) and ‘vexatious prosecution’ (συκοφαντία), but the imitator fails to recognise it.

Dem. Ep. 2.9

Οὐδεμιᾶς ὀργῆς οὐδὲ δυσμενείας οὐδ’ ἀδίκου
πλεονεξίας οὔτε κοινῆς οὔτ’ ἰδίας προϊστάμενος,
οὐδὲ συκοφαντήσας οὐδένα πάποτ’ οὔτε πολίτην
οὔτε ξένον, οὐδὲ καθ’ ἑμῶν ἰδία δεινὸς ὢν, ἀλλ’
ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν, εἴ τι δεήσειεν, ἐξεταζόμενος δημοσίᾳ.

*I showed myself to be a public servant who never
gave way to anger or ill will or unjust gain, either
public or private, never brought malicious
accusations against a citizen or an alien, and
never cleverly worked against you in private, but
when the need arose I worked on your behalf and
won public approval.*

Ep. 12.2

Καὶ τούτους οὐκ εἰς συκοφαντίαν γυμνάσας,
οὐδέ τι τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην δικασάμενος
εὐρεθήσομαι λαβὼν ἀργύριον, οὐδὲ ὕβρεις
ἀποδόμενος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ὕβρισθεις ὅλως οὐδὲ
ἀφορμὴν προπηλακισμοῦ παρασχών, οὐδὲ εἰς
δίκην τινὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καταστήσας, ἕξω
Τιμάρχου μόνου.

I find that I never practised eloquence to slander
someone, or brought any citizen to trial for
money, or tampered with outrages. I have not
been the subject of any single outrage, and I
never provided a pretext for insulting or brought

any citizen to trial, with the sole exception of Timarchus.

ix) Both passages can be divided into two parts. The suggestion part is characterised by a sequence of correlative conjunctions, and the answer/rejection part is introduced by *ἀλλά*. In Demosthenes' case the oath by Zeus appeared in the objection, and the definite article was omitted: the speaker, by using a weak form, would draw the audience's attention on the one hand, and on the other minimise the credibility of the objection as to refute it with ease. Ps.-Aeschines, by contrast, chooses a heavier and more evocative form, and sensibly applies it to the retort.

Dem. Ep. 4.7–8

Οὐδέεις γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀγνώμων, ὅστις ἂν ἢ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβεβηκότα, οἷς οὐκ ἐγὼ συνεβούλευον, ἢ τὰ Πέρσας, πρὸς οὓς οὐδ' ἀφικόμην πρόποτε, αἰρετώτερα φήσειεν εἶναι τῶν ὑμῖν παρόντων...ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία τούτων μὲν ἄμεινον ὑμᾶς πράττειν ἅπαντες ὁμολογήσουσι, Θεσσαλῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων χεῖρον, ἢ τινῶν ἄλλων...

No one is so foolish as to assert that what happened to the Spartans, whom I never advised, or to the Persians, whom I never visited, is preferable to your present circumstances...Well, by Zeus, all will agree that you are doing better than these, but worse than the...Thessalians, Argives and Arcadians, or some others...

Ep. 12.9

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Θηβαίους οὐδ' εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ὠγόμεν παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλους τινάς, παρ' οἷς ἢ λοιδορεῖν ἔδει με τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἐμήν, ἢ λοιδορουμένης αὐτῆς ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμην, οὔτε μὰ τὸν Δία δυσμενῶν ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἄλλως φιλαπεχθημόνων ἀνθρώπων πόλιν.

What is more, I did not leave you for the Thebans or Thessaly, or for some other peoples among whom I was forced either to abuse my own country or to hear their abusive. Well, I went to Rhodes, a city whose inhabitants are – by Zeus! – not hostile to you or otherwise fond of making enemies.

- x) Goldstein argued that Demosthenes used ἔθος elsewhere to refer to the ‘established usage of the *polis*’, and thus herein he was probably complaining that the punishment is unusually severe.²⁹⁶ In like manner Ps.-Aeschines relates the Athenian legal system.

Dem. Ep. 2.13

*Πότερον τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐν ἣ φυγῆς ἐπικινδύνου
πειρᾶσθαι παρ’ ἔθος καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν
ἀναγκάζομαι.*

*Will it be my old age, in which, for the first time
and against the established usage [of the
Athenians], that I am forced to experience the
dangers of exile?*

Ep. 12.14

Καὶ γὰρ ὀργίζεσθαι ῥαδίως ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶν καὶ
χαρίζεσθαι πάλιν.

For you [Athenians] are used to getting angry as
easily as to show compassion in the opposite
way.

- xi) Καλῶς ποιῶν is a common idiom in praise of someone for his action.²⁹⁷ Here both expressions aim to approve particular sympathy for Lycurgus’ sons.

Dem. Ep. 3.Tit.

*Περὶ τῶν Λυκούργου παιδῶν
Concerning the children of Lycurgus*

Dem. Ep. 3.24

*...ἀφεῖσθαι δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντι...
...they did rightly to let [a man like Lycurgus’
sons] off...*

Ep. 12.14

... περὶ μὲν τῶν Λυκούργου παιδῶν...
... concerning the children of Lycurgus...

... καλῶς ποιῶν...
...[Demosthenes] did rightly...

- xii) While Demosthenes praised the Athenians to aid his own restoration,

²⁹⁶ Goldstein 1968: 242; cf. Clavaud 1987: 157 n. 3.

²⁹⁷ Goldstein 1968: 221.

Ps.-Aeschines imitates him to ask immunity for Aeschines' children. Δόξα is the close equivalent to εὐδοξία. Παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις was used to stress a sense of comparison, for which Ps.-Aeschines substitutes the conjunction ἤ.

Dem. Ep. 2.3

...τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἕνεκ' εὐδοξίας...

...for the sake of your good reputation among other people...

Ep. 12.16

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν δὴ <τῶν> τρόπων ἀποσταίητε καὶ καταλύσαιτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, ἣν ἐπὶ χρηστότητι μείζω καὶ φιλανθρωπία διὰ παντὸς

ἔσχεν ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς πάσαις ἢ πόλις.

You would not defect from your character or destroy your city's reputation, which, from beginning to end, the city has enjoyed for her uprightness and humanity to a greater extent than any other virtues.

It is now time to turn to Photius' tricky statement that Aeschines may have composed fictive discourses and *meletai* in exile. In general, as a well-matched rival, Aeschines would not have written the letters in such a mechanical way, and therefore these letters are closer to the rhetorical exercises by less sophisticated authors.

4. The milieu and date of composition

It has been noted earlier that the pseudonymous letters of Aeschines embrace a variety of literary forms and may for convenience be divided into three categories: imitative counterparts of the 'Demosthenic' letters (*Epp.* 2, 3, 7, 11, 12); epistolary fictions (*Epp.* 1, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10); and a showpiece assuming the form of a Pindaric exegesis of Letter 5 (*Ep.* 4). Behind these letters, in my opinion, stand three types of

‘forgers’ that can be identified with, respectively, imitators, storytellers and a ‘bookish’ scholar.

The authorship of a pseudepigraph is never a simple matter, and in the case of Ps.-Aeschines it remains a pending issue. We know for certain that the letters are of multiple authorship, which can be demonstrated conclusively through an analysis of style. In this respect, it will suffice to mention three examples in the ‘Demosthenic’ counterparts: while Letters 11 and 12 exhibit a sophisticated style, the monotonous, if not clumsy, expressions in Letter 2 seem to suggest a mere beginner;²⁹⁸ while Letter 3 has striking cases of hiatus, there is a tendency to avoid it in Letters 7, 11 and 12 in accordance with the precepts of the demegoric genre;²⁹⁹ and Letter 11 is unique in the heavy use of the articular infinitive.³⁰⁰ Equally illuminating is the habit in choices of wording, though it is common for stylists such as Pindar and Lucian to practise *variatio*.³⁰¹ Λαμπρός is used to describe the favourable wind in Letter 1, but elsewhere it is a sign of one’s achievements (*Epp.* 2.5, 3.3, 4.6, 5.7, 7.2, 11.6);³⁰² λοιδορεῖν refers either to verbal affront by opponents (*Epp.* 2.3–4, 5.6, 7.4–5) or to the reproach of one’s own *polis* (*Epp.* 3.1, 12.9);³⁰³ in Letter 5 εἴ τινων χρήζομεν substitutes for εἴ του δέοιντο (*Ep.* 2.2) to express the act of making petitions;³⁰⁴ ἐπιτήδειος refers in Letter 5 to the necessities of life as distinguished from the meaning of close friend in Letter 11;³⁰⁵ in Letter 6 ὑπολαμβάνειν is *variatio* of ὑποδέχασθαι (‘to receive someone’), but elsewhere in the letter-collection it means ‘to realise’ (*Epp.* 1.2, 2.1, 4.4, 7.3, 9.2, 11.1, 7);³⁰⁶ λόγος in Letter 6 is a probable correction of λογισμός, an erratic word in Letter 5 in reference to the nostalgic notion;³⁰⁷ Letter 8 shows a tendency to use the verbs of coming/going with ‘πρός +

²⁹⁸ See the prefatory note on Letter 2.

²⁹⁹ See Section 3.4.2 (iv).

³⁰⁰ See Section 3.4.2 (iii)

³⁰¹ For the stylistic variety in Lucian and Pindar (so also in Letter 4) see *Ep.* 4.6 n. 8.

³⁰² See *Epp.* 1.1 n. 3, 3.3 n. 1.

³⁰³ See *Ep.* 2.3 n. 4.

³⁰⁴ See *Ep.* 5.1 n. 5.

³⁰⁵ See *Epp.* 5.2 n. 3, 11.2 n. 2.

³⁰⁶ See *Epp.* 1.2 n. 5, 6.1 n. 9.

³⁰⁷ See *Epp.* 5.6 n. 1, 6.1 n. 10.

accusative’ as an alternative to ‘παρά + accusative’ found in Letter 5;³⁰⁸ and αἰτιᾶσθαι is a term for prosecution in general (*Epp.* 11.4, 12.6), but in Letter 8 it refers to the act of making excuses.³⁰⁹ It may be thought natural to conceive ‘Ps.-Aeschines’ as representing a kind of ‘writing group’, say, a sophist and his pupils. In the following sections, I will seek to present them in the proper cultural and historical contexts.

4.1. Imitators

Demosthenes has always been a favourite character in rhetorical education. His speeches were avidly read and studied in antiquity and at the same time attracted centuries of imitators for their literary excellence. A significant example is the *Against Leptines*. The philosopher Panaetius (2nd cent. BCE) found in it resonances of the Stoic doctrine about virtue; Dionysius of Halicarnassus called it ‘the most graceful and precisely-written’ (χαριέστατος...καὶ γραφικώτατος); Cicero mentioned its plain style as representing the *orationes subtiles*; and so on.³¹⁰ An anonymous Hellenistic forerunner, generally referred to as Ps.-Leptines, paid it the compliment of a counter-speech in imitation of the Demosthenic expressions, argumentations and even mannerism of using medical metaphors.³¹¹ The rhetorician Lollianus (2nd cent. CE), Dio Chrysostom and Ps.-Aelius Aristides made ample use of the same speech.³¹²

The fortune of the six letters under Demosthenes’ name is part of this wider

³⁰⁸ See *Ep.* 5.8 n. 4.

³⁰⁹ See *Ep.* 8. 1 n. 1.

³¹⁰ Panaetius of Rhodes fr. 94 van Straaten (= Plut. *Dem.* 13.5); D.H. *Amm.* 1.4; Cic. *Orat.* 31.111; [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 10–11, 20, 245–246; Hermog. *Id.* 1.10 245–246 Rabe; Aelius Theon *Progym.* 1 p. 3 Patillon–Bolognesi (= II 61.15–18 Spengel); D.L. 7.201 with Sandys 1890: xxxiv–xxxvii; Harris 2008: 21; Kremmydas 2012: 63–4; Lintott 2013: 58–9.

³¹¹ Cf. e.g. P.Berl. 9781 (= MP³ 2511), coll. v–vi ll. 195–213; Dem. 18.243; Aeschin. 3.225. See also Wooten 1972: 97–100, 1979; Kremmydas 2007a, esp. pp. 37, 47, 2012: 63; Canevaro 2013: 338–40, 2018a: 83.

³¹² See Philostr. *VS.* 1.527; D.Chrys. *Or.* 31; [Ael.Ar.] *Orr.* 53, 54 (attributable to Thomas Magister) with Sandys 1890: xxxvi–xxxvii; Keil 1936; Lenz 1942; Martin 2006b; Kremmydas 2012: 63, 2016b.

phenomenon, and in antiquity they received remarkable reader-/scholarship. Hermogenes (fl. late 2nd cent. CE) quoted both the speeches and letters as illustrations of Demosthenes' styles of 'grandeur' (μέγεθος) and 'sincerity' (ἀλήθεια).³¹³ The reference to Dem. *Ep.* 5 goes as far back as the time of Cicero, and a contemporary papyrus that preserves parts of Dem. *Ep.* 3 holds a pride of place as the oldest extant manuscript of the *Corpus Demosthenicum*.³¹⁴ A private copy at the disposal of a rhetorician of c. second century CE is more interesting for our purposes because it testifies to the practice of re-writing Demosthenes' letters. To give only one example: in this copy Demosthenes' request for the 'immunity votes', ψηφίσασθε καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄξια καὶ ἐμοῦ ('pass a vote worthy both of yourselves and of me'), is preserved as τῆς πᾶσιν ὑπαρχούσης παρ' ὑμῶν φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἐμοὶ μετάδοτε ('let me share in the humanity that you have given to everyone'), and presumably this is a deliberate adaptation to recall Athens' civic ideal of *philanthropia*.³¹⁵

Beside these figures there is Ps.-Aeschines, and his patient pursuit of emulating Demosthenes has given the pseudonymous letters an important place in the *Nachleben* of the orator, as we read in Section 3.5.2. Like Ps.-Leptines, Ps.-Aeschines tends to make ample use of the Demosthenic legacy, and hence the intertextual engagement, esp. that in Letters 7 and 12, is not confined to the letters.³¹⁶ The allegation of the humble origin of Melanopus of Aexone at *Ep.* 7.3, ...θεσμοθετοῦντος ἤδη σοῦ προεστάναι τὴν μητέρα, τρις δὲ ἐμπεισεῖν εἰς τὸ

³¹³ Hermog. *Id.* 1.7, 2.8 256–258, 364 Rabe, citing Dem. *Epp.* 2.8, 3.37, 42 under the subtypes of 'asperity' (τραχύτης) and 'indignation' (βαρύτης). See also Goldstein 1968: 7–8, 152–3; Wooten 1987: xi–xviii.

³¹⁴ P.Lit.Lond. 130 (= MP³ 0337); Cic. *Brut.* 31.121; Cic. *Orat.* 4.15–16. See also Sections 3.2, 4.4.

³¹⁵ Cf. Dem. *Ep.* 2.23; P.Oslo 1471 (= MP³ 0336), col. ii ll. 61–63 with *Ep.* 7.1 n. 2. See also Eitrem and Amundsen 1956, esp. pp. 105–8.

³¹⁶ In Ps.-Leptines, apart from the aforementioned use of medical metaphors, there is an (anachronistic) allusion to Demosthenes' trierarchic reform in 340 BCE: cf. P.Berl. 9781 (= MP³ 2511), coll. iii–iv ll. 109–146; Dem. 18.102–106 with Kremmydas 2007a: 42–3; Canevaro 2013: 339, 2018a: 82–3; see also Section 3.3.3. Kremmydas (*ibid.*, p. 45) mentioned another potential example: when Ps.-Leptines stressed that the law of Leptines does not have a retroactive effect on those already exempted from liturgies, he seemed to refer to the arguments in the *Against Timocrates* to some extent: cf. P.Berl. 9781 (= MP³ 2511), coll. v ll. 187–195; Dem. 20.160, 24.74–76, 116.

δεσμοτήριον τὸν πατέρα σου, σὲ δὲ πραθέντα τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν τὴν ἀκμὴν ἠταιρηκένας ('...notwithstanding that you were a *thesmothetes*, your mother has been acting as a prostitute, your father went to jail over and over again, and you have in the bloom of youth acted as an escort for the price of three thousand drachmas'), seems to imitate the Gorgianic antithesis at Dem. 22.61 that ἔφη...προσήκειν αὐτῷ τὸ...εἰσφέρειν...τῷ δὲ παῖδας ἐκ πόρνῆς εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ τὸν πατέρ' ἠταιρηκένας, τοῦ δὲ τὴν μητέρα πεπορνεῦσθαι ('Androtion persisted in saying that...one should pay the...tax...because the mother of his children was a whore; that his father was a prostitute; that his mother acted as a whore...') whilst, in terms of the social effects of imprisonment, containing an admixture that recalls πολλὰς πεντετηρίδας ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ διατρίψαντα τὸν πατέρ' αὐτοῦ ('Androtion's father often went to jail for five years at a stretch') at Dem. 24.126. One justification alongside the stylistic/thematic affinities is that Melanopus figures prominently in the *Against Timocrates* for being involved in Androtion's alleged misappropriation of public money.³¹⁷ In the opening sections of Letter 12, there are extensive borrowings from Demosthenes' well-known attack on Aeschines' upbringing and early career (Dem. 18.257–265).³¹⁸ Apart from the considerable rhetorical parallels, it is also not difficult to see editorial parallels with the *Corpus Demosthenicum* – the letters of Demosthenes are so tightly connected to the *Corpus* that they circulate with the speeches in two of the primary medieval manuscripts (SAFY).³¹⁹ It is likely that the Demosthenic *Corpus*, with this integration of oratorical and epistolary writings, was the prototype of the *Corpus Aeschineum*: the pseudonymous letters were inserted to establish a 'complete' *Corpus* of 'the other orator', with the last years of Aeschines

³¹⁷ See MacDowell 2009: 167–71, 181–5 for the historical backgrounds of Dem. 22 and 24. See also the prefatory note on Letter 7; *Ep.* 7.2 n. 5, 7.3 nn. 1, 3.

³¹⁸ See also the prefatory note on Letter 12; *Ep.* 12.1 nn. 1, 4.

³¹⁹ I.e. the oldest manuscript S (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2934) and F (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 416). Their absence from A (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 485) and Y (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gr. 2935) may be discounted because the corpus is incompletely transmitted in the two manuscripts: see Goldstein 1968: 6–25, esp. pp. 8–9; Clavaud 1987: 69–90, esp. pp. 76–77.

also documented, to correspond to the *Corpus* of ‘the orator’.³²⁰ Equally illuminating is that the extant editions of the two epistolographic *corpora* have the same chronological disorder: while the historical setting of Letter 12 antedates Alexander’s death in accordance with the imitative models (Dem. *Epp.* 2–4), Letter 11, following closely Dem. *Ep.* 1, purports to be written after the king’s death at the outbreak of the Lamian War.³²¹ These observations provide good grounds for suggesting that the letter-collection of Demosthenes is taken as an editorial model, both as an attachment to ‘completing’ the work of a Classic, and as a ‘self-contained’ letter-collection.

The pseudonymous letters also cast light on the hodge-podge nature of ancient rhetorical practice. Letter 11, for example, owes its character to a flourishing rhetorical tradition of the Lamian War. Treading in the footsteps of the pro-Macedonian politicians represented by (Ps.-)Phocion (*FGrH* 100 F 33; Plut. *Phoc.* 23.1–5), Ps.-Aeschines gives a comprehensive criticism of the ‘demagogic’ propaganda by Demosthenes (*Ep.* 1), (Ps.-)Hyperides (*Hyp.* 6; *FGrH* 100 F 32) and Ps.-Leosthenes (*FGrH* 105 F 6), and the intertexts range all the way from the late Classical period to the tenth century CE, both in written texts and in inscriptions.³²² Furthermore, Ps.-Aeschines shows a good knowledge of historical writings, notably

³²⁰ Admittedly, their presence in the *Corpus Demosthenicum* is no guarantee of their presence at the very early stage of transmission. Scholars tend to envisage different lines of development, or archetypes, of the *Corpus*. It is also argued that the surviving ‘Demosthenic’ papyri appear to represent a branch of tradition distinguished from those of the medieval manuscripts. What we know about Demosthenes’ writings is that they were widely circulating already in the Hellenistic period. For example, by the 260s BCE at the latest collections by early compilers such as Demochares had entered the inventory of the library of Alexandria, and see Callim. *fr.* 443–446 Pfeiffer (= D.H. *Dem.* 13, *Din.* 11; *Harpoer. s.v.* ἐνεπίσκημμα καὶ ἐνεπισκήψασθαι; Phot. *Bibl.* 265.419b). If the ‘prototype’ is reasonably secured, an archetype of the *Corpus* must have existed with the epistolary attachment in the time of Ps.-Aeschines. Cf. also Pasquali 1962: 269–94; Canfora 1974–2000: I, pp. 63–93; Blum 1991: 156–9; Sealey 1993: 223–9; Criboire 2001: 231–8; Canevaro 2013: 7–8, 320–9, 336, 2018a: 73–80; Hernández Muñoz 2014b: 146; Tempesta 2014: 166.

³²¹ See also the prefatory note on Letter 11; *Epp.* 11. 5 n. 3, 12.7 n. 2.

³²² The Leosthenic fragment is a third century BCE *melete* attributed to the Athenian general, and Ps.-Phocion and Ps.-Hyperides survive in the Byzantine excerpts on proverbs: see the prefatory note on Letter 11 for a synopsis. As for epigraphical materials, *IG* II³ 378 of 318 BCE is the posthumous grant of citizenship to Euphron for leading the pro-Athenian party in Sicyon during the war, a re-inscription of *IG* II³ 377 of 323/2 BCE. *IG* II² 467 of 306/5 BCE is an honorific decree crowning Timosthenes as the only Euboean politician to side with Athens. See also Osborne 1981–3: II, pp. 103–8; Harding 1985: 152–4, no. 123.

Thucydides. In the closing remark of Letter 3 we have a Thucydidean approach to evaluating a person through reason and history as an alternative to the reputation gained during his lifetime. It assumes the form of what theorists would call the ‘dismissal of prejudicial attack’ (λύσις διαβολῆς), and striking echoes are found in Alcibiades’ reply to the impugnation by Nicias (Thuc. 6.16.1–5).³²³ We can legitimately maintain that Letter 3 was written in a rhetorical school, wherein Demosthenes, Thucydides and Aeschines were studied, and imitated, as reference school texts, given the fact that speeches are themselves indispensable elements of historiography.³²⁴ In addition, the somber thought on Aeschines’ sojourn in exile is arguably Euripidean: the intense expression that associates a gloomy face with the action of weeping at *Ep.* 2.1 is reminiscent of Eur. *Or.* 957–959 and of a scholiastic paraphrase, and the reference in Letter 7 to exile as a great evil and privation of *parrhesia* are traceable to Eur. *Med.* 653, *Phoen.* 388–392.³²⁵ It is through such literary *topoi* that Ps.-Aeschines displays a tragedy offstage.

In any case, it can hardly be doubted that the pseudonymous letters are products of the culture of rhetoric. Particularly intriguing are their affinities with the *meletai*, at once in style and in content. The *meletai*, also known as historical declamations from the Latin technical term *declamationes*, are the rhetorical practice of composing fictitious speeches in the style of the Attic orators.³²⁶ Letter 3, 7, 11 and 12, on the other hand, purport to be written as ‘open’ letters in correspondence to the

³²³ See the prefatory note on Letter 3; *Ep.* 3.3 n. 1.

³²⁴ Cf. Morgan 1998: 97–9; Cribiore 2001: 127–59, esp. p. 144. The tenth century CE Patmos manuscript, which transcribes three scholia (λέξεις) to Demosthenes (× 194 entries), Thucydides (× 124) and Aeschines (× 10), can be seen as evidence for this tradition: cf. Dover 1955; Kleinlogel and Alpers 2018 *ad hoc*. For general treatments of the speeches in historical writings see e.g. Walbank 1965 (= *id.* 1985: 242–61); Ch. 6 of Pelling 2000; Marincola 2007, 2010; Wiater 2010; Zali 2014: 3–10 and *passim*; Occhipinti 2016: 255–60.

³²⁵ See *Epp.* 2.1 n. 1, 7.1 n. 6, 7.4 n. 4.

³²⁶ In nature they resemble the preliminary school exercises called *progymnasmata*, but are of an advanced level. On the Greek *progymnasmata* and *meletai* see e.g. Russell 1983: 1–20 and *passim*; Marrou 1956: 172–5, 197–204, 286; Kennedy 1994: 81–4, 202–7, 248–50, 2004: ix–xiv and *passim*; Morgan 1998: 191–2; Cribiore 2001: 56, 202, 221–38; Webb 2001, 2009: 17–9, 41–9; Stroh 2003; Gibson 2004; Whitmarsh 2005a: 20–1; Canevaro 2013: 333–7; Bowie 2015: 248–9. Some scholars favour the opinion of Quintilian (2.4.41) that *meletai* first appeared at the time of Demetrius of Phalerum (c. 350–c. 280 BCE) in the rhetorical schools in Athens: so Marrou (*op.cit.*, p. 202) and Wilson (1994: 44 n. 4).

Demosthenic models, and such letters as these are recognised as surrogate for actual speeches, as *logoi epistolikoi* characteristic of the demegoric genre.³²⁷ Richard Kohl's collection is enough to show their shared historical settings: in 350 rhetorical exercises that deal with Greek history, 125 concern the age of Demosthenes.³²⁸ Although no evidence shows exactly that letter-writing was a curricular standard in rhetorical schools, the special mention of it in Ps.-Demetrius' rhetorical treatise of c. early first century BCE seems to suggest that pseudo-historical letters had become a variation, or by-products, of the *meletai*; this is particularly true when one considers the increasing role of the letter in public communication in this period.³²⁹ Yet extant sources of such rhetorical exercises, particularly those dealing with Demosthenes and Aeschines, come mainly from the late Imperial period, say, in Libanius (314–c. 393 CE), and Hellenistic examples are extremely rare aside from the Ps.-Leptines and Ps.-Leosthenes papyri and the Demosthenic echoes in the reported speeches in Polybius.³³⁰ Luckily for us, recent studies on the convention of inserting documents (laws, decrees, witness statements, etc.) in the *Corpus Demosthenicum* have increased our knowledge of the rhetorical practice in this period. Mirko Canevaro has

³²⁷ See D.H. *Lys.* 1, 3. As for the letters under discussion, scholars tend to use the term 'apologetic demegoriae' or 'demegoriae in self-defence': see Ch. 7 of Goldstein 1968, in particular the comparison with Ps.-Aeschines on pp. 100, 128, 131–2, and pp. 284–6 for apologetic *demegoriae* in ancient rhetorical exercises. Admittedly, we find no ancient account of a genre of this type, while it is commonly thought that *demegoriae* contain apologetic elements: cf. Arist. *Rh.* 3.13.3 1414b2–4; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 1.1 1421b8–12 with *op.cit.*, pp. 101–2. A comparable case is the apologetic forensic oratory, such as Andocides' *On the Mysteries* and *On His Return*, Plato's *Apologia Socratis*, and Isocrates' *Antidosis*: *op.cit.*, pp. 113–4; see also Salomone 1985; Reed 1997: 187.

³²⁸ Kohl 1915, according to Gibson 2002: 48 n. 46. Other popular settings are the Greco-Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War: see Russell 1983: 106–28; Gibson 2004: 126–8; Canevaro 2013: 335, 2018a: 81 n. 33; Tomassi 2015.

³²⁹ Cf. [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 223–227; Aelius Theon *Progym.* 8 p. 70 Patillon–Bolognesi (= II 115.20–22 Spengel); Nicolaus of Myra *Progym.* 10 p. 67.2–5 Felten with Kennedy 1994: 89–90, 207–8, 2003: 47 n. 149; Cribiore 2001: 215–9. The date of Ps.-Demetrius may range from 270 BCE to the second century CE, and recent scholarship favours the earlier dating(s): see Kennedy 1994: 88–9; Trapp 2003: 43. Cf. also Speyer 1971: 22, 32–3, 137–8; Russell 1983: 113; Reed 1997; Rosenmeyer 2001: 208–9, 2006: 97–8; Kremmydas 2016a: 71–9.

³³⁰ E.g. Lib. *Decl.* 17.1, *Progym.* 8.5, 9.4, 10.3, and see Kohl 1915: 66–82; Drerup 1923: 148–51; Kindstrand 1982: 90 n. 76; Pernot 2006: 88; Gibson 2008: 237 n. 188, 335 n. 55; Quiroga Puertas 2015. Wooten (1972: 4–49) identified forty-six Hellenistic orators, and in a recent overview Kremmydas (2013a: 162–3) collected twenty-three oratorical papyri between third century BCE and first century CE. A Demadean eulogy of the Ptolemaic monarchy as preserved on a papyrus c. 125–75 BCE (P.Berol. 13045 = MP³ 2102) may constitute a welcome addition to what we have of Hellenistic oratory: see Amendola 2017. For Demosthenes' influence on Polybius see Wooten 1974: 248–51 and *passim*; Thornton 2013: 52.

argued that many inserted documents are Hellenistic creations of varying quality and identified probable candidates for their authors with rhetoricians and antiquarians such as Didymus and his predecessors.³³¹ In light of Aeschines' role as 'the other orator' beside Demosthenes, the time and circumstances for these documents can be confidently extended to the pseudonymous letters. For they both occur as a result of rhetorical exercises and seem to make their way into the *Corpora* in an attempt to fill the gaps left by the mainstream texts: while the spurious documents are legal reconstructions from Demosthenes' public speeches, the pseudonymous letters are imitative counterparts of his open letters.³³²

4.2. Storytellers

Letters 1, 5, 6, 8 and 9, in contrast with the 'Demosthenic' counterparts, come to us with features evocative of what German scholars would call *Briefromane*, or 'epistolary novels', such as the letters attributed to Themistocles and Chion of Heraclea. We consider here briefly where these letters might fit Holzberg's generic criteria. On the one hand, their narratives have a shared pattern, or 'plot-construction' (*Stoffbehandlung*), of source material (*Quellenbehandlung*) and spatio-temporal background (*Zeitbezug*): the first-person narration of a historical figure's

³³¹ See Canevaro 2013, esp. pp. 10–36, 319–42 and forthcoming. For Didymus, of whose works we have examples e.g. in Harpocration and in P.Berol. 9780 (= MP³ 0339, early 2nd cent. CE) that commented extensively on Demosthenes, see *op.cit.*, pp. 337–40; Lossau 1964: 86–95; Gibson 2002: 51–156; Harding 2006: 1–41 and *passim*; Braswell 2013: 66–86. Canevaro improved Drerup's analysis (1898) on linguistic and historical grounds. He also assessed the authenticity of the documents by referring to the stichometric calculation of an ancient 'Urexemplar' edition prepared probably by Demochares, which, with some occurrences in the medieval manuscript tradition, marks either the whole speech by the total number of 'lines' (*stichoi*) or sections of a hundred 'lines' (alpha = 100, beta = 200, etc.). In theory, when a document throws off the consistency of these markings, it is 'non-stichometric' and can be counted as a later construct for rhetorical or (pseudo-)scholarly purposes, e.g. those in Dem. 18, 21. 59 and a good portion in Dem. 24. See also Canevaro and Harris 2012, 2016; Sommerstein 2014c; Hansen 2015 for the documents in Andocides.

³³² It is worth noting here that we have fake documents also in the *Against Timarchus* in the *Corpus Aeschineum*. This confirms that later work to integrate the Aeschinean *Corpus* did occur, and (perhaps) both the documents and the letters were produced in parallel with those in the *Corpus Demosthenicum*: see Aeschin. 1.12, 16, 21, 35, 50, 66, 68 with Drerup 1898: 305–8; Diller 1979: 36; Fisher 2001: 68, 138–40, 145, 164, 183, 204–6; Canevaro 2013: 332; see also Section 1.4.

psychological development sets the parametres, just as the ‘canonical’ novels by Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, Longus and Heliodorus.³³³ On the other hand, the letters are interrelated chronologically and thematically. In one sense, the events all occur within a ‘narrative-structure’ (*Erzählstruktur*): Aeschines’ sojourn in exile begins in Letter 1 with a sea adventure; his settling in Rhodes is described within a narrative sequence in Letters 5 and 9, with amusing accounts of its delicacies and landscapes; Letters 6 and 8 assume the form of short practical composition, thereby creating the impression of a regular exchange of letters; and ἔρρωσο in Letter 9, picking up the final greeting of Letter 1, serves as a marker that completes the circle. At the same time, the narrative as a whole is underpinned by a series of ‘motifs/recurring themes’ (*Motive*), such as the superstitious fear of seafaring (*Epp.* 1.1–5, 5.8), asthma attacks (*Epp.* 1.4–5, 9.1), land purchasing (*Epp.* 5.2, 9.2; cf. *Ep.* 12.11), a friend called Philinus (*Epp.* 5.6, 8.1) and, throughout the *corpus*, nostalgic expressions and reflections on Athenian politics (*Verhältnis zum πολιτεύεσθαι*).³³⁴ Furthermore, in them we find a helter-skelter pursuit of imitating previous literary sources, a practice rather common in the ‘canonical’ novelists.³³⁵ Cases in point are the Homeric elements in Letters 1 and 5 (see below), and the means of expressing feelings (ridicule, sadness, anger, etc.) that is characteristic of tragicomedies.³³⁶

Yet all these features/observations allow no confident judgement about generic consciousness in Ps.-Aeschines. The ancient ‘novel’ (less frequently ‘romance’) reaches its maturity in the first couple of centuries CE and is defined as

³³³ Also known as the ‘big five’: see *CAGN*: 9; Ch. 4 of Rohde 1960; Ch. 2 of Hägg 1983; Stephens and Winkler 1995: 4–5; Whitmarsh 2008: 4; Tilg 2010: 2.

³³⁴ Cf. Section 2.4; Holzberg 1994: 18–20, 51–2. Holzberg (*ibid.*, p. 20) also argued that Letter 10 is identical with the whole letter-collection on account of its deliberate assimilation to the other letters. Notice, however, that Holzberg (and Hodkinson) highlighted their novelistic unity and neatly sidestepped the debate over a unitary authorship. For this reason, one might find the discussions about the similar use of phrase, stock themes and narrative structure in Letter 10 basically satisfactory.

³³⁵ Cf. *BNP* 9: s.v. ‘Novel’ IIA; *CAGN*: xi–xii, 6; Ch. 4 of Hägg 1983; Bowie 1999: 44–5; Fakas forthcoming.

³³⁶ See *Epp.* 1.2 n. 1, 5.5 n. 5, 5.6 n. 5, 5.7 n. 1, 6.1 n. 6, 8, and cf. *Epp.* 2.1 n. 7, 4.2 n. 8, 7.1 n. 6, 7.4 n. 4.

encompassing fictional narrative in extended prose in a manner similar to the modern novels such as Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* and Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*.³³⁷ Glaser may well be correct when he asserts that the generic device should be used conditionally as a hermeneutical tool for interpreting epistolary fictions in the ancient narrative tradition;³³⁸ in other words, it is a working definition. It is not just that the letters in question are too short to satisfy an integrated narrative, and that the ‘novelistic’ descriptions of Aeschines’ psychological development e.g. at *Epp.* 1.4, 3.3, 5.5 turns our attention rather to the (pre-)Classical rhetorical devices such as ‘characterisation’ (*ethopoeia*).³³⁹ Nor is it simply that the aforementioned stylistic variety among these letters may rule out the possibility that they are written in succession as a united and single text. Rather, Ps.-Aeschines does not show much appropriation of the elements resembling the novel as a self-contained genre, and we may tend to assign these letters to a submerged category that contextualises a range of preexisting literary forms.³⁴⁰ The case of Letter 1 is telling. It is unique in having been composed as an ‘Odyssean’ equivalent laden with the Homeric motifs such as the accounts of seafaring and the allusion to ‘wrathful’ Apollo.³⁴¹ In particular, the centrepiece (*Ep.* 1.2–3) consists of Aeschines’ adventure

³³⁷ E.g. *CAGN*: 1–2; Reardon 1969: 308–9; Holzberg 1995: 26; Stephens and Winkler 1995: 3; Bowie 1999: 44; Swain 1999: 3; Schmeling 2003: 1; Goldhill 2008: 198–9; Whitmarsh 2008: 2–3; Futre Pinheiro 2014: 202–3. The word ‘novel’ derives from the Italian word denoting ‘short story’ (*novella*), and in sixteenth-century English it came to refer to the extended fictional work; for its ancient equivalents one may look into σύνταγμα, ἐρωτικά and δρᾶμα (Lat. *fabula*): see *BNP* 9: s.v. ‘Novel’ I, *suppl.* II.8: s.v. ‘Novel’; Stephens and Winkler 1995: 3 n. 1; Goldhill 2008: 190–1.

³³⁸ Glaser 2014: 246. Cf. Holzberg 1994: 26; Schmitz 2007: 40–2; Carey 2009: 21–2; Ercolani 2014: 10–1.

³³⁹ The seminal treatment is Trenkner 1958, esp. pp. 154–62; cf. also *Ep.* 4.5 n. 1. For *ethopoeia* see Section 5.

³⁴⁰ The inquiry into ‘submerged Greek literature’ stemmed from Luigi Enrico Rossi’s discussion of the fringe of, or alternatives to, the canonical literary traditions (*letteratura ‘sommersa’*), esp. those which benefitted from neither protection nor serious treatment of any authority with literary credentials, such as sympotic poetry and lullabies: see Colesanti 2014; Ercolani 2014; Barbantani 2017. But we should exercise caution in using the term ‘fringe novels’, because it may give the impression that such letters appear only as foils for the ‘canonical’ novels, and so their authors are contemporaries of the ‘big five’: cf. *CAGN*: 3–4; Holzberg 1995: 11–26, 2003a. In this respect, I would tentatively follow Rohde’s (1960) hypothesis of an evolutionary development of the Greek novel, and cf. Holzberg 1995: 22; Morgan and Harrison 2008: 235.

³⁴¹ Holzberg noted at sporadic points the intertextual engagement with Homer: *op.cit.*, p. 19, p. 21 n. 57. Chariton, in his novel, cast Callirhoe as Helen. See Morgan and Harrison 2008, esp. pp. 218–27.

at Delos and has a comparable structure to the Homeric account of the lotus-eaters. This episode is preceded by a nine-day storm at sea, and particularly noteworthy is that it not only imitates the Homeric epic (*Od.* 9.67–84), but also finds a Hellenistic echo in Apollonius’ *Argonautica* (4.1231–1250).³⁴² It seems possible that the beginning of Letter 10, a later attachment to the letter-collection, as lampooning a dreary imitative commitment as such.³⁴³

Κατὰ θεάν εἰς Ἴλιον ἀφικόμην τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης. Καὶ ἄ μὲν αὐτόθι, γράφειν ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ ὕλην ἄφθονον ἔχειν, σιωπήσω· δέδοικα γάρ, μὴ ποιητικῆς λαβόμενος φλυαρίας ἀπειροκαλεύεσθαι δόξω.

I had come to Troy, eager to see the land and the sea. As for what I saw there, since the topic is supposed to attract plenty of descriptions, I will keep silence: I am afraid that I may appear to be tasteless for adhering to the nonsense poetry stuff. (*Ep.* 10.1)

The author of Letter 10 is generally evaluated as mixing adventure with the passion of love in a manner of the ‘mature’, Imperial (and beyond) narrative of secular stories.³⁴⁴ For such a latecomer, the intertextual engagement of Letter 1 (and if the *Argonautica*, in some respects), especially the numeric allusion, could be deemed unsophisticated and worthy of a parody. It may be for the same reason that another rising star, Lucian, was to introduce his ‘odyssey’ by warning the readers of its parodic nature, and to innovate a lunar voyage to avoid ‘clumsiness’. The duration of the storm, for example, was exaggerated for as long as seventy-nine days.³⁴⁵ The

³⁴² See also the prefatory note on Letter 1.

³⁴³ Ἀπειροκαλεύεσθαι is a *hapax legomenon*. It seems come from, and denotes, the lack of aesthetic judgement, as D.H. *Dem.* 23: see also Reiske 1771: 930 n. 4. Holzberg (1994: 20 n. 55) argued that this passage may echo τὸ... γὰρ τὰ μικρὰ πάνυ ὑπερασπάζεσθαι μικρολογίας τινὸς εἶναι φημι καὶ ἀπειροκαλίας at *Ep.* 5.3. Equally possible is that Ps.-Aeschines criticises the strategic poetic reference in a broad sense, and cf. *Ep.* 4.2 n. 7.

³⁴⁴ Notice, however, that the now lost *Milesian Tales* by Aristides of Miletus c. first century BCE is a collection of short novels dealing with the same themes, and cf. Rohde 1960: 596 n. 1; Bowie 2008: 21, 2013: 252 and *passim*; Morgan and Harrison 2008: 233–4.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Luc. *VH.* 1.2, 5–6 with *CAGN*: 619–20; Georgiadou and Larmour 1998: 1–3, 5–13, 23–8, 59–

content of Letter 1, therefore, seems to be limited to the Homeric epics and to evolve from none of the ‘ideal’ Greek novelistic texts. It is no more than an allegorical interpretation developed in the course of imitative practice and needs to be approached in a different manner, e.g. as a travelogue in the tradition of periegetic literature.³⁴⁶ One is much tempted to characterise the author as a pre-/non-sophisticated forerunner of an Imperial genre.

We may also entertain the possibility that the letters under discussion are contingent by-products of the ‘Demosthenic’ counterparts. The tendency to reconcile the two *personae* of the protagonist indicates that the whole letter-collection (excluding Letter 10) was composed almost at the same time.³⁴⁷ The case of Letter 5 is significant, for in it we find not just Homeric vocabulary (σῶς, the substantive use of ὄ, etc.) recalling Letter 1, but also allusions to the ‘Demosthenic’ figures such as Leptines.³⁴⁸ In sum, we can refer these letters to a submerged genre that antedates the ‘canonical’ Greek novels, and for practical purposes they may be categorised as a group of fictions cast in epistolary form. Their author may well be understood as a storyteller at a crossroads in the history of Greek literature, not a novelist in the strict sense.

4.3. A man of letters

Holzberg is right to stress that Letter 4 may have co-occurred with the epistolary fictions in a narratological sequence on the grounds that expressions such as μακρᾶς ἀκοῦσαι διηγήσεως (*Ep.* 4.1) and διηγῆσασθαί σοι τὸ δῆγμα τοῦτο (*Ep.* 4.5) could

60. On Lucian’s use of the Homeric epics see e.g. Householder 1941: 18–30; Bouquiaux-Simon 1968; Ch. 5 of Kim 2010a.

³⁴⁶ Despite the significant overlaps, Goldhill (2008: 194) pointed out that ‘the “ideal novels” are distinguished from a variety of other Greek prose writing of the same period – travelogues, fantastical or philosophical; collections of tales; biographies and the like’. Further on this literary genre see Pfister 1951: 48–64; Bowie 1974: 189–93; Chs. 4–5 of Casson 1994; Habicht 1998: 2–4; Cherry 2001; Mossman 2006; Morgan 2007; Romm 2008; Ch. 2 of Dueck 2012.

³⁴⁷ See Section 5.

³⁴⁸ See also the prefatory note on Letter 5, *Ep.* 5.7 n. 2.

denote the act of storytelling.³⁴⁹ And, to a certain extent, its very nature as a ‘prose epinicion’ (see below) testifies to Erwin Rohde’s idea that the Greek novels originated from paraphrasing Hellenistic poetry.³⁵⁰ Yet the examination conducted in Section 3.3.2 indicates that the letter is closer to a literary showpiece that encapsulates features characteristic of the Second Sophistic or its precursors: by a number of literary allusions, the ‘forger’ works very much in the manner of a versatile scholar and seeks not to influence opinion about present policy, but to show his erudition.³⁵¹ A pleasant surprise is the account of the ‘despiser of poets’. It reads almost like a gibe at Plato’s banishment of the poets from his ideal state (*Resp.* 606e–607e).

Καὶ εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἦδεν ποιητῶν ὑπέρφρονα ὄντα σε, καὶ τὰ ἀγοραῖα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀπολέσαντα ἡμᾶς ἐπιτηδεύματα μᾶλλον περιέποντα, κἂν ἀποχρῆν ὑπελάμβανόν σε ὑπομνῆσαι μόνον τὰ περὶ τοὺς Διαγορείους εἰπῶν ἔπη Πινδάρου· νυνὶ δὲ οἶδα ὅτι μάτην σοι αὐτὰ λέξομεν.

Indeed, had I not been acutely aware that you are a despiser of the poets, and that you treat in a more respectful way those vulgar things and the customs that ruined me, I would be assuming it sufficient to remind you of the Diagoreans and their families by reciting only a few verses from Pindar. But now I know that my words will make no sense to you. (*Ep.* 4.4)

³⁴⁹ Holzberg 1994: 20 n. 55, and cf. *Epp.* 5.3, 10.1. Notice, however, that such expressions as these were widespread already in (pre-)Classical literature: see *Ep.* 4.5 n. 1.

³⁵⁰ Rohde (1960, Ch. 1) argued that the Greek novels were profoundly influenced by the Hellenistic love elegies in view of their shared themes of adventurous travellers and chaste lovers: see also *CAGN*: 6–7; Giangrande 1962; Stephens and Winkler 1995: 110 n. 17; Whitmarsh 2005b: 603, 2008: 11 n. 45. So he noted in passing (*op.cit.*, p. 596 n. 1) that Letter 10 is a good case in point for dealing with the same theme: cf. Puiggali 1988: 47; Gallé Cejudo 1996: 41; Stöcker 1980: 307; Stirewalt 1993: 25 n. 74; Bowie 2008: 21; Hodkinson 2013: 340 n. 45. However, as argued by Hutchinson (2014), there were structural and stylistic connections between poetry and prose already in the Hellenistic period, say, prose rhythm and the means of expressing emotions.

³⁵¹ Lucian for example alluded to, or quoted, at least over a hundred authors; see Householder 1941: 1–41.

The counterclaim is sketched, intertwined with a complaint that recurs in forensic speeches, but the favourable view of poetry finds sympathetic ears among critics such as Aristotle and Plutarch.³⁵² The anti-Platonic approach becomes more visible at a later point (*Ep.* 4.6) when Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, one of Socrates' interlocutors, is recommended for not practising flattery of his host (either Socrates or Cephalus father of Lysias). Here Ps.-Aeschines appears to contest the Platonic presentation of an unabashed, mercenary and 'foreign' sophist (like Lysias), and something similar is found in the anti-Platonic speakers and later authors, who were rather enthusiastic about Thrasymachus' wisdom and innovative contributions to oratorical practice.³⁵³ We can legitimately assume that Letter 4, brief though it is, stands within the mainstream of the anti-/post-Platonic tradition, which is traceable backward to the Hellenistic criticism, e.g. the Peripatetics, and forward to the Imperial period and beyond.³⁵⁴

It is further possible that Letter 4 is written as a prose paraphrase of the epinician to be read loudly in front of an audience. One justification is that Ps.-Aeschines not only fills the letter with views and language of the epinician ode, but also shows great ingenuity in imitating its structure. The letter is framed in ring composition (ὄστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης × 2), resembling, overall, the formal arrangement of an epinician. It begins with a proclamation that recalls the striking opening of the

³⁵² See especially Books 2–3, 10 of the *Republic*, which, in terms of truth-telling, established the setting for subsequent debates over poetry, and cf. e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 810e–811f; Arist. *Poet.* 9 1451b5–11, fr. 1.12.81 Rose (= Procl. *In Pl.Remp.* I 49.13–19 Kroll); *Epistulae Socraticorum* 15.3; Plut. *Mor.* 15a–16c; Ath. 5.12. Among recent interpreters, Whitmarsh (2001b, Ch. 1), Halliwell (2002 *passim* and 2011, Ch. 4), Hunter (2009, Ch. 6) and Destrée and Herrmann (2011 *passim*) stand out. Murray 1996: 1–32, Hunter and Russell 2011: 3–17 and Ford 2015: 5–7 provided helpful compilations and summaries of scholarship.

³⁵³ Cf. e.g. Pl. *Resp.* 336b–e, 337d, 498d, 562e–563a, *Phdr.* 266c, 267c–d, 269d; Arist. *Rh.* 2.23.29 1400b18–20 with [Pl.] *Clit.* 406a, 410c (c. 360s BCE); D.H. *Is.* 20; Ath. 10.81, 11.112; Cic. *Orat.* 13.40. Compare, too, Arist. *Rh.* 3.8.4 1409a1–3: οὐκ εἶχον δὲ λέγειν τίς ἦν, which underlined Thrasymachus' failure to 'define' his practices on e.g. the delivery, prose rhythm, and emotional ploys; see also *CAH*: V, p. 348; Kennedy 1963: 68–80; Harrison 1967; White 1995; Beversluis 2000: 221–44; Nails 2002: 288–90. Aristophanes' (fr. 205.8 *PCG* = Gal. *gloss.Hippoc.* XIX 66 Kühn) portrayal of a certain Thrasymachus, idol of a 'buggered' boy, is also negative, but recent scholarship entertains the possibility of a homonymous character in the play: cf. Storey 1988; Hubbard 2007: 693–4; Nails 2002: 289–90.

³⁵⁴ The most recent comprehensive account of the ancient reception of Plato is Tarrant *et al.* 2017. A useful profile is *BNP suppl.* I.5: s.v. 'Plato'.

Pythian 6. The debt to Pindar is most apparent in the central portion (*Ep.* 4.1–4) in the descriptions of the poet’s great renown and in the circumstantial information about the *laudandus*, esp. the glory that goes with his *genos*. The remainder of the letter, comprising the story of Diagoras I’s legendary daughter (*Ep.* 4.4–6), can be broadly understood as corresponding to the mythical narrative of the epinicion and, almost with the Pindaric mannerism, ends succinctly in a reflection on reciprocal obligations.³⁵⁵ As has been noted in Section 3.3.2, the scholarly activities carried out in the Hellenistic/Imperial periods made Pindar more accessible to the would-be orators to study his poems as school texts, as well as to the *poetae docti*, or ‘learned poets’, to imitate his style in their own melic compositions.³⁵⁶ This may authorise us to think that Ps.-Aeschines did the same job as the poet-philologists had done, but not in verse.³⁵⁷ Worth mentioning here is the socio-cultural circumstances of the victory ode. Like Greek lyric in general, it was written for choral/monodic (re-)performance in public celebrations, but as ‘song at a *komos*’ (ἐγκώμιον) the poem is by itself feasible in the repertoire of non-ritual occasions, most notably the symposium (i.e. elite gathering) and the rhetorical school.³⁵⁸ As a conventional commemoration of human achievement, the epinicion appears in a variety of forms whenever praise is expressed, and indeed it is not difficult to find echoes in the panegyric prose e.g. by Herodotus, Plato and, above all, Thucydides and Isocrates.³⁵⁹ All this leads us to suggest that Ps.-Aeschines paraphrases the epinicion in prosaic language: the letter appears not only to be read, but also to be recited in a close circle as ‘para-performance’; the alleged origin, or specific occasion, can be a rhetorical

³⁵⁵ See *Ep.* 4.1 n. 1, 4.6 nn. 3, 4, and cf. e.g. Illig 1932: 19 n. 1, 56–9 and *passim*; Ch. 8 of Bowra 1964; Hamilton 1974: 56–67; Greengard 1980: 15–31 and *passim*; Willcock 1995: 12–4 for the structure of the epinician.

³⁵⁶ See also Barbantani 2009: 303–15.

³⁵⁷ Callimachus is reported to have extensive prose output, in particular his scholarly works: see Blum 1991. An up-to-date discussion is Krevans 2011.

³⁵⁸ See Ch. 3 of Gentili 1988; Carey 1989, 2001, 2007b, 2009: 22, 30–4; Currie 2004; Hubbard 2004; Barbantani 2009: 310–1; Morrison 2007b, esp. pp. 5–23, 2012; Agócs 2012; Agócs, Carey and Rawles 2012: 3; Budelmann 2012.

³⁵⁹ E.g. Hdt. 7.139.1; Pl. *Resp.* 621c–d with Agócs, Carey and Rawles 2012: 6–7. For Thucydides and Isocrates see Race 1987; Dover 1997: 96; Hornblower 2004: 277, 354–72. For rhetorical devices in Pindar, see Race 2007: 509–18.

school, whose faculty and students had a lively interest in both Pindar and artistic prose; and thereafter the letter was re-performed like an epinicion before wider audiences e.g. at a symposium of cultivated readers. Among those antedating Ps.-Aeschines it is tempting to mention Gorgias and Lysias, since they were reported to have shown off their skills in the Olympic oratorical competitions and hence were very likely to paraphrase Pindar.³⁶⁰ As for Ps.-Aeschines' contemporaries or successors, the candidates might perhaps be the *enkomiographoi*, writers of 'prose encomium' (ἐγκώμιον λογικόν), who appeared side-by-side with the poets in the victory lists of competitions commemorating local festivals, esp. of Thespieae in Boeotia, in the post-Classical era.³⁶¹

Pindar is a man of letters, says Martin West in light of his warm admiration for panhellenic culture, reflective references to past literary achievements, and conscious preservation of oral poetics through written texts.³⁶² The same may be held true of his successor, Ps.-Aeschines. We know, moreover, that some of Pindar's odes are often put forward as 'semi-letters' for containing elements similar to written messages. In the *Pythian 2*, for example, he employed the formal epistolary greeting χαῖρε and referred to the poem as 'song being sent over the gray sea like Phoenician merchandise' (τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἔμπολὸν μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἁλὸς πέμπεται).³⁶³ In this regard, I want to end this section by referring to a different possible meaning of 'man of letters'; in other words, both Pindar and his successor are exponents of a culture of letter-writing and have contributed to what we may call

³⁶⁰ Cf. Gorg. fr. 8 Diels-Kranz (= Arist. *Rh.* 3.14.2 1414b29–33); Lys. 33 (= D.H. *Lys.* 29–30).

³⁶¹ Cf. *SEG* 31.514 (14–29 CE); *SEG* 29.452, ll. 8–12 (c. 1st cent. CE); *SEG* 38.1462, ll. 39–40 (124–125/126 CE, Oenoanda in Lydia); *IG* VII 1773, ll. 9–11 (c. 2nd cent. CE) with Robert 1938: 21–2; Roesch 1982: 178–82; Manieri 2009: 52, 407–8, 412–4, 427–30; Barbantani 2012: 38. At the Amphiaraea in Oropus, too, there were competitions involving prose eulogies to the god (ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν θεὸν καταλογάδην), and see e.g. *I.Oropos* 521, ll. 8, 10 (= *SEG* 34.362 c. 85 BCE), 523, ll. 7, 9 (c. 80–50 BCE), 526, ll. 11, 13 (c. 80–50 BCE) with Rotstein 2012: 112.

³⁶² West 2011 (= *Id.* 2011–3: II, pp. 129–50).

³⁶³ Pind. *Pyth.* 2.67–8, and cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.4–5, *Nem.* 3.76–7, *Isthm.* 1.32, fr. 124a.1–2 with Pfeijffer 1999: 395–8; Gentili *et al.* 2006: 390–1. For the very notion that such odes as *Pythian 2* and 3 and *Isthmian 2* are 'poetic epistles', not epinicians in the strict sense, see Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1922: 280–93, 310; Burton 1962: 78–80; Bowra 1964: 124, 135; Young 1983: 31–4; Gentili 1988: 172; for the conservative view, esp. in terms of generic taxonomy, see Woodbury 1968: 540 n. 20; Carey 1981: 23–4. A good summary is Gibson and Morrison 2007: 4–9.

an epistolary legacy.

4.4. Date: a hypothesis

There has been a long history of epistolary ‘forgeries’. Demosthenes is said to frame Aeschines via ‘forged letters’ (ἐπιτολάς ψευδεῖς), and it is quite possible that Thucydides reworked the famous letter sent by Nicias to the Athenians.³⁶⁴ Yet letter-writing is still a young art in the Classical period, and a fairly large number of *koine* forms and Latinised expressions make it groundless to identify Ps.-Aeschines with a contemporary ‘forger’. Our earliest examples of the pseudo-historical letters are those attributed to Anacharsis, a Scythian prince and philosopher of the early sixth century BCE. A prevailing view, with which I agree, is to locate them in the third century BCE on linguistic grounds, especially for the educated *koine* and immunity to Atticism;³⁶⁵ this may help to rule out the possibility that Ps.-Aeschines belongs to early Hellenistic times. The *terminus post quem* for the pseudonymous letters, then, would be some time after the second century BCE, when Atticism arose as a reaction to Asianism, but further precision is difficult.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ Cf. Aeschines. 3.225; Thuc. 7.10–7.15.2 with Ceccarelli 2013b: 142–6, 285. See also Costa 2001: xiv; Bearzot 2003: 302–3; Hornblower 1991–2008: III, pp. 557–72.

³⁶⁵ Excluding Letter 10, which may be a bit earlier than the principal nine pieces: see Reuters 1963: 3–5 and *passim*. See also Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1889: 28–9; Malherbe 1977: 6–9; Kindstrand 1981: 8–9, 28; Costa: 2001: xvi–xvii; Rosenmeyer 2001: 209–17, 2006: 101; Trapp 2003: 27; Richter 2011: 164–8.

³⁶⁶ So also Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 186. As its name implies, Asianism has its roots in the Hellenisation of Asia Minor and is partly characterised by a return to the florid expressions known as ‘the Gorgianic’, particularly the rhythmical cadence and the juxtaposition of clauses, as opposed to the straightforward Attic oratory. In fact, such a style is not invented by Gorgias but goes back to the literary or religious uses of Indo-European language: see Denniston 1952: 84; Dover 1997: 137. It is commonly thought that Atticism had a Roman origin but soon became a Greek phenomenon: cf. Cic. *de Or.* 3.11.43, *Orat.* 7.24, 8.27, 26.89, 52.175; D.H. *Orat.Vett.* 1–3, *Thuc.* 24; Strab. 14.1.41; *Suda*: Γ 338. In Ps.-Aeschines I find two Gorgianic elements – one is in an antithesis and the other a polyptoton – but there is no *a priori* reason to count them as products of the Asianic rhetoric: see *Epp.* 7.2 n. 5, 11.10 n. 1. The investigations into these literary tendencies are many, and recent works that deal with linguistic and socio-cultural issues (down to and including the Second Sophistic) are *EAGLL*: s.vv. ‘Asianism’, ‘Atticism’, ‘Attitudes to Language’, ‘Koine, Origins of’; Wisse 1995; Ch. 1 of Swain 1996; Innes 2002: 274–7; Whitmarsh 2005a: 6–7, 41–56; Colvin 2007: 63–71; Vanderspoel 2007: 132–3; Strobel 2009; Horrocks 2010: 79–159, esp. pp. 96–100, 133–137, 155; Kim 2010b and forthcoming; Hutchinson 2013: 93–5, 237; of older works see especially *GG*: Intro. C–F; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1990.

It is worth observing that since Rohde's magisterial work, which was originally published in 1876, scholars have tended to date such fictitious compositions as the pseudonymous letters towards what we now call 'the Second Sophistic', a golden age of letter-/novel-writing and the heyday of cultural nostalgia in the context of being Greek under Rome.³⁶⁷ It then seems common sense to say that Ps.-Aeschines is product of the same socio-cultural milieu, with the isolated exception of Piero Treves.³⁶⁸ As we have seen, however, there was ample encouragement already in the Hellenistic period for a sophist and his pupils to write such works. Not only this, but the successive finds of new papyri in the last two centuries have challenged Rohde's assumption. More often than not papyri bear very early testimonies to the ancient texts, and thus may help illuminate the context in which scribes, scholars, and even 'forgers' like Ps.-Aeschines, worked. As a matter of fact, they have satisfactorily helped to pre-date the emergence of the Greek novel. Cases in point are the anonymous *Ninus* romance in P.Berol. 6926 (= MP³ 2616) some time around the first century BCE, and Chariton's eight-book *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, whose date, though assigned by Rohde to the fifth century CE, has been located in the mid-second century CE by papyrus evidence such as P.Michael. 1 (= MP³ 0242) and P.Oxy. 41.2948 (= MP³ 0241) and could on stylistic grounds be moved back to the late first century BCE.³⁶⁹ Of particular importance is an anthology of fictional letters in

³⁶⁷ Chs. 3–4 of Rohde 1960, esp. pp. 368–70. See Section 5 for a general account of the Second Sophistic; for its connection with epistolary writing, see Costa 2001: xiii–xv; Rosenmeyer 1994: 147–50; 2001: 256–9, 2006: 29–34, 97–103; Hodkinson 2007 and forthcoming. For general treatments of its cultural orientation see esp. Bowie 1974; Hägg 1983: 104–8; Chs. 1–4 of Swain 1996; Whitmarsh 2001a.

³⁶⁸ Treves (1940: 140 n. 3) advocated a Hellenistic date but provided no explanation: see also Fraser and Bean 1954: 19 n. 2. For those proposing a second century BCE or later date, see *BNP* 4: s.v. 'Epistolary novel'; Reiske 1771: 654–5; Schwegler 1913: 77–9; Drerup 1904: 51, 1923: 159–60; Marin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 122; Bogaert 1968: 85; Goldstein 1968: 7; Salomone 1985: 231; Stirewalt 1993: 25; Holzberg 1994: 17; Gallé Cejudo 1996: 35–6; Bowie 2008: 29; Badoud 2011: 545. It should be noted that while Blass referred to these letters as a product of Atticism, he (1887–98: III/2, p. 186) did not give a precise date, as Hodkinson (2013: 323 n. 1) seemed to imply.

³⁶⁹ See *BNP* 9: s.v. 'Novel' II.A; *CAGN*: 5, 13, 17–21, 803–4; Wilcken 1893; Rohde 1960: 520–22, 610; Lesky 1966: 857, 861–3; Papanikolaou 1973; Hägg 1983: 5–19, 82–104, 1999; Stephens and Winkler 1995: 23–31; Swain 1996: 423–5; Bowie 1999: 39–41, 2002; Whitmarsh 2008: 9–10; Tilg 2010: 36–79, 109–126; Henrichs 2011; Stephens 2014. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (c. 360 BCE) is often mentioned as forerunner of the Greek 'historical' novel in recent scholarship, e.g. *CAGN*: 3; Trenkner 1958: 26–27; Tatum 1989, esp. Ch. 2, 1994; Zimmermann 2009.

P.Hamb. 2.129 (= MP³ 2115) dated to 199–150 BCE. According to the subscription, the actual papyrus rolls consisted of 170 letters, and the nine extant pieces are recognised as holding part of the prototype of the *Alexander* romance.³⁷⁰ The papyri also carry weight in the case of oratorical practice. Coupled with the aforementioned Ps.-Leptines and Ps.-Leosthenes papyri is P.Oxy. 11.1377 (= MP³ 0284), dating from the first century BCE. It is a copy of the *On the Crown* and, thankfully, preserves a direct attestation of a pseudepigraphic document at Dem. 18.167. It goes without saying that the papyrus is a key asset to help us pre-date the convention of inserting documents in the Attic orators.³⁷¹

Contrary to the *communis opinio*, therefore, a different way of dating Ps.-Aeschines may be reached by a consideration of papyrological discoveries, though a date as late as Philostratus’ *testimonium* remains a possibility. A good case in point is the account of the pro-Macedonian politicians and their places of habitation in Letter 12. It appears to have three sources (direct sources, or part of the same tradition), i.e. Dem. 18.284–285, *Ep.* 3.29–31 and a papyrus fragment of Hyp. 2 (P.Lit.Lond. 134 = MP³ 1234). One may compare:

***Ep.* 12.8–9**

καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὅπως οὐχ ἐώρων τὰ μὲν ἐν Βοιωτία πανδοκεῖα Δημάδην ἔχοντα καὶ χωρία
 ζευγῶν εἴκοσιν ἀροῦντα καὶ χρυσᾶς ἔχοντα φιάλας, Ἡγήμονα δὲ καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα,

³⁷⁰ Merkelbach 1977: 1-2, 195, 199-201, 216; Holzberg 1994: 6–7. For the *Alexander* romance, best known from the version by Ps.-Callisthenes of the third century CE, see e.g. *CAGN*: 650–4; Hägg 1983: 125–40; Ch. 7 of Rosenmeyer 2001; Arthur-Montagne 2014; Nawotka 2017: 23, 175–6, 192 and *passim*.

³⁷¹ See Pasquali 1962: 282; Canevaro 2013: 15, 330, 333, 335–6. Admittedly, the papyrological discoveries can in a similar vein undermine the assumption of an early date of composition. For example, Hutchinson (2007:31) pointed out that the sentences with ‘often’ in P.Oxy. 48.3396 (ll. 4–7, c. 330–385 CE) and P.Oxy. 48.3397 (ll. 3–4, c. 330–385 CE) may be compared with ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις μου πρέσβεις ἀποστεύλαντος...οὐδεμίαν ἐποιεῖσθ’ ἐπιστροφὴν (‘since I have often sent you ambassadors...and you have paid no attention’) in the opening section of [Dem.] 12, a highly disputed letter attributed to Philip, since both passages are meant to complain about the addressees’ lukewarm receptions. In my discussion, however, I tend not to include such ‘problematic’ works as [Dem.] 12, and also Andoc. 3, 4; Dem. 25, 26, given the fact that their dates of composition have been subject to scholarly disagreements (Classical, Hellenistic or of the Second Sophistic) due to the lack of direct attestations from papyri: see, for convenience, the relevant volumes of the University of Texas Press series *Oratory of Classical Greece*; a useful summary is Canevaro 2018a: 89–90.

τὸν μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ, τὸν δὲ ἐν Βεροίᾳ, καὶ δωρεὰς ἅμα εἰληφότας καὶ γυναῖκας εὐπρεπεστάτας γεγαμηκότας...οὐδὲ πρὸς Θηβαίους οὐδ' εἰς Θετταλίαν φλόμην...

Anyway, I could never turn a blind eye to the fact that Demades owned inns in Boeotia, ploughed his land with twenty yokes and had vessels of gold; that Hegemon and Callimedon, one in Pella and the other in Beroea, married good-looking women once they had got the gifts...I did not leave you for the Thebans or Thessaly...

Dem. Ep. 3.29–31

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸν Πυθέαν παραλείψω...δύ' ἔχειν ἑταίρας, αἱ μέχρι φθόγης [φυλῆς Pap.] καλῶς ποιοῦσαι προπεπόμασιν αὐτόν...παραδείγματα ἀφ' ὧν ἂ λυσιτελεῖ προελέσθαι [τὰ τοῦ δήμου om. Pap.] πᾶς τις ἂν κρίναι, φοβοῦμαι μήποτ' ἔρημοι...τῶν δημοτικῶν...οἶον Ναυσικλέα καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μενεσθέα καὶ Εὐδοξον...

Furthermore, I will not leave out Pytheas...he had two courtesans who have performed the good service of escorting him on the way to death by consumption (*or*; in his tribe)...from the examples of whom one can judge that it does not pay to champion the cause of the people...I am afraid that someday you may become destitute of the democrats...such as Nausicles, Chares, Diotimus, Menestheus, and Eudoxus...

Dem. 18.284–285

...φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης...Δημάδην...Ἡγήμονα...ἄλλον ὑμῶν...καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους...

...you (*sc.* Aeschines), a plainly-exposed traitor...Demades...Hegemon...any other of your group...and then you came forward, and Pythocles with you...

Hyp. 2. fr. 15a Colin

...προδίδ[δ[ω]σιν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ μ[ἐ]ν ἐν Θή[β]αις, ὁ δ' ἐν Τα[ν]άγραι, ὁ [δ'] ἐν τῇ Ἐλευθε[ρί]δι, πάν]τα τὰ τῶν [Μακεδόνων πράττ]ων...

...each of them betrays, one in Thebes, another in Tanagra, another in Eleutheris, doing all the Macedonians' business...

These passages are essentially a set of lists of pro-/anti-Macedonian politicians. It is close to certain that the account in Letter 12 is modelled on Dem. *Ep.* 3, e.g. the emphatic double negative (καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐχ ἑώρων/καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ... παραλείψω) and the mockery of sexual abuse (γυναῖκας εὐπρεπεστάτας γεγαμηκότας/δύ' ἔχειν ἑταίρας αἰ...καλῶς ποιῶσαι), with a thematic foray into the *On the Crown* (Δημάδην...Ἡγήμονα...καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα/Δημάδην...Ἡγήμονα...καὶ Πυθοκλέους). The Hyperidean papyrus, mutilated and brief though it is, deserves our close attention. Its ὁ μὲν ἐν Θήβαις, ὁ δ' ἐν Τανάγρα, ὁ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἐλευθερίδι is the very image of τὸν μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ, τὸν δὲ ἐν Βεροίᾳ in Letter 12. Particularly intriguing is that the papyrus holds also part of Dem. *Ep.* 3.1–38 (P.Lit.Lond. 130 = MP³ 0337, written, however, by a different scribe), and the variant reading for φθόη ('consumption') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.30, φυλή ('tribe'), shows the same interest in 'geographical' matters as that of Hyperides and Ps.-Aeschines. Viewed in this light, the papyrus was in all likelihood transmitted as a sketch for what scholars may call 'the traitors' blacklists', as famously presented at Dem. 18.48, 285, 295; Polyb. 18.14.³⁷² Such thematic and stylistic affinities indicate that Ps.-Aeschines is well aware of this literary *topos* and makes good use of it by alluding to a wide range of intertexts. A looming possibility, one may argue, is that he may have had access to a textual tradition related to the papyrus fragment, since this may also help to explain why the civic address to the Athenian people at *Ep.* 12.15, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι in imitation of ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι at Dem. *Ep.* 3.33, reflects a tendency to avoid hiatus

³⁷² Cf. Colin 1946: 95; Walbank 1957–79: II, p. 566; Whitehead 2000: 43–4; Canevaro 2018a: 79 n. 24. See also *Ep.* 12.8 nn. 1–4.

in favour of what the papyrus reads for the actual passage.³⁷³ These observations allow us to move the date of Letter 12 back to the late second or early first century BCE, when the papyrus came into existence and the letters of Demosthenes reached a wide audience.³⁷⁴ This may give the *terminus post quem* in general, because many recurring themes in Letter 12 indicate that it is written as a finale to the whole letter-collection (excluding Letter 10).³⁷⁵ A pleasant addition to the ‘traitors’ blacklist’ is the term for the Rhodian family of Diagoreans, οἱ Διαγόρειοι (*Ep.* 4.4). It is peculiar to Ps.-Aeschines and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (18.2 = *BNJ* 66 F 9), as distinguished from the form with patronymic suffix in Pausanias (i.e. οἱ Διαγορίδαι).³⁷⁶ Since the Oxyrhynchus historian is supposed to allude to historical sources dating from the late fourth century BCE (Cratippus of Athens, Theopompus of Chios, etc.), the term may *per se* provide another chronological yardstick.³⁷⁷

On what grounds did Caecilius, the first known scholar to have authenticated the works ascribed to Aeschines, make no mention of these letters? We can easily imagine that they were forged almost at the same time and were circulated in a close circle.³⁷⁸ Nor should we place excessive emphasis on the Latinised expressions, thereby suggesting a later date or even Roman authorship, because bilingualism has been attested already in the time of Polybius.³⁷⁹ A Rhodian origin for the letters is reasonably secured, since it is sensible to attribute Ps.-Aeschines’ knowledge of Rhodes and its coastal territory to a local rhetorical school.³⁸⁰ Not only this, but the

³⁷³ See also *Ep.* 12.15 n. 7.

³⁷⁴ On the date of the papyrus: Kenyon 1891: 43, 56; Goldstein 1968: 6–7; Clavaud 1987: 71–2; Maehler 2014: 54. See also Sections 3.2, 4.1.

³⁷⁵ See the prefatory note on Letter 12.

³⁷⁶ Cf. P.Oxy. 5.842 col. xi l. 26 (= P.Lit.Lond. 110; MP³ 2189, c. 2nd cent. CE); Paus. 4.24.3, 6.6.2, 6.7.1.

³⁷⁷ We know in the light of recent scholarship that the historiographical practice of Diodorus Siculus (fl. 1st cent. BCE) is influenced by the Oxyrhynchus historian, and cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1922: 361–2; Bruce 1967: 18–27; Lérica Lafarga 2007: 114–267; Occhipinti 2016: 2–4, 57–86.

³⁷⁸ See also the introductory paragraph to Section 1.

³⁷⁹ E.g. the ‘Latinate’ dative in place of the expression with ἐν, such as ὀλίγω χρόνω (Polyb. 32.29.12) and βραχεῖ χρόνω (Polyb. 38.3.1). An important study is Dubuisson 1985: 238–9 and *passim*; see also Schwegler 1913: 49; Adams 2003: 507–8; Hutchinson 2013: 136–46. Admittedly, the reading in MSS. **AP**^{p.c.} for εἰς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμεν (*sc.* Aeschines) at *Ep.* 12.9, εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμεν, may hint at a Roman readership.

³⁸⁰ So Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1905: 147; see also Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 186; Craik 1980: 99.

tradition of crediting Aeschines with introducing Athenian rhetoric to Rhodes may offer fertile ground for writing a tale of two cities.³⁸¹ It is well known that Rhodes was an intellectual centre that resembled Athens throughout the second and first centuries BCE, and its widespread reputation attracted visitors from all over the Greco-Roman world. Cicero and Caesar, for example, sailed there to study under Apollonius Molon, the most distinguished teacher of rhetoric of the time.³⁸² Other contemporary intellectuals include Hieronymus son of Simylinus, who may be identified with a *grammatikos*, and the rhetorician-philologists Artamenes, Aristocles and Philagrios, who were reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Din.* 8) to be imitators of Hyperides.³⁸³ All these observations have opened a fascinating vista on the potential identity of the ‘forgers’ and allow us to make two important points: Ps.-Aeschines may belong to a time as early as the late second century BCE, when the letters of Demosthenes gained a remarkable readership and were the subject of intensive scholarship, and like Cicero and other would-be orators at his time, he is well-versed into the Attic orators and benefits greatly from the Rhodian rhetorical education.

5. Concluding evaluation

Recent years seem to have witnessed a resurgence of interest in ancient ‘forgeries’, the materials of which range all the way from artistic objects to written texts.³⁸⁴ The

³⁸¹ I.e. the ‘Rhodian oratory’, to which Aeschines is said to have made a key contribution: see Section 1.2.2 (ii). For the rhetorical education in Rhodes, cf. D.H. *Din.* 8; Cic. *Brut.* 13.51, *Orat.* 8.25; Quint. 12.10.16–19; see also Wooten 1975: 98–104; Kindstrand 1982: 80–3; Enos 2004: 190–2 and *passim*; Vanderspoel 2007: 132–3. It is also tempting to cite here the clever definition of the ‘fantastic’ city in declamatory writings by Russell (1983: 22): ‘Let us call the imaginary city “Sophistopolis”. It is of course a Greek city and worships Greek gods. Most important, it is (like classical Athens) a democracy, where the rhetor – both politician and expert in oratory – is something of a hero.’ See also Canevaro 2013: 334–5.

³⁸² Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 89.307, 90.312, 314–316; Quint. 12.6.7; Plut. *Cic.* 4.5–7, *Caes.* 3.1–4; Suet. *Iul.* 4.1; see also Kennedy 1963: 326–7, 1972: 155, 285; Hutchinson 2013: 104.

³⁸³ A very useful list is Mygind 1999, esp. pp. 253–66, and the figures in question are No. 24 (= *LGPN* V.B no. 11), Nos. 8+40 (= *LGPN* I no. 32), No. 23 (= *LGPN* I no. 1), No. 36 (= *LGPN* I no. 32), and No. 21 (= *LGPN* I no. 32).

³⁸⁴ See, in particular, Canevaro 2013 and Higbie 2017.

pseudonymous letters of Aeschines are representations in epistolary form and, like literary forgeries in general, they are problematic and fascinating at the same time. Various motives lay behind these letters: an ideal context would be the rhetorical school, where teachers and their students used this form of writing to impart, or to practise, their skills; scholars, following the ancient tradition that Aeschines committed himself to ‘sophistic declamations’, had a potential interest in offering a reconstruction to show what (hypothetical) original texts may have looked like;³⁸⁵ and certainly the profits secured from selling the ‘complete’ edition of a Classic led booksellers to sponsor false attributions. On the whole, however, these letters are either rhetorical exercises or literary inventions, and at the outset their implied readers might have known their nature as intellectual reconstructions or entertainment.³⁸⁶ A significant example is Alciphron, who left us four groups of letters written in the voices of fishermen, farmers, parasites and courtesans. Be that as it may, the purpose of his letters was not to deceive readers, since ‘characterisation’ (*ethopoeia*), i.e. to present the *ethos* of a historical or fictitious personage, is a rather common device in rhetorical practice.³⁸⁷ Another comparable case is the use of pseudepigraphic documents in writing novels. Lucian, for instance, warned his readers in the preface of *Verae Historiae* that he told ‘all kinds of lies’ (ψεῦσματα ποικίλα) in his travel tale, but embedded two imaginary inscriptions, as well as epistolary segments, to offer a sense of truthfulness.³⁸⁸ Both cases indicate that literary pseudepigraphy was intended to display the writer’s sophistication, or to test

³⁸⁵ Cf. Philostr. *VS.* 1.481; *Vita Aeschin* 3.5 Dilts; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a.

³⁸⁶ Cf. Costa 2001: xii–xvi; Rosenmeyer 2001: 197–8; 260–3; Trapp 2003: 31–46.

³⁸⁷ But the term is probably a Hellenistic coinage, e.g. D.H. *Lys.* 8, *Isoc.* 11. For a general survey, see Süß 1910; for its influence on epistolary writing, see Malosse 2005; for illustrations in the Attic orators and their successors, see e.g. Trenkner 1958: 154–62; Russell 1983: 87–105, 1990; De Temmerman 2014: 1–45 and *passim*; Kremmydas 2016c; Worman forthcoming. For the letters of Alciphron and their relation to *ethopoeia*, see Rosenmeyer 1992: 210–8, 2001: 255–307, esp. pp. 259–63; Schmitz 2004; König 2007; Granholm 2012: 13–20. See also Costa 2001: xii; Trapp 2003: 32; Rosenmeyer 2006: 97; Hodkinson forthcoming.

³⁸⁸ Cf. Luc. *VH.* 1.2, 1.7, 2.28–29, 35–36. See also Georgiadou and Larmour 1998: 1–3, 70–1, 212–3; Hansen 2003: 313–4; Ní Mheallaigh 2008: 419–27; Kim 2010a: 144–6; Maciver 2016: 220–37. For a survey of the use of inscriptions in the ancient novel, see Slater 2009; for the letter as an authentication device, cf. Bär 2013.

the readers' *paideia*. Deliberate deceit (*dolus malus*), on the other hand, may originate from insertion in the course of the transmission of the original texts of the authors. Therefore, pseudonymous letters could more accurately be described as 'editorial forgeries'.³⁸⁹

In his laudable edition, Drerup referred to the letters as 'writings by a rather poor sophist' (*scripta miserrimi cuiusdam sophistae*), but argued that they may cast light on the manuscript tradition of the *Corpus Aeschineum*.³⁹⁰ Indeed, the letters are distinctive in many ways, especially in contributing to our understanding of the multifaceted *Nachleben* of Aeschines, who occupies a conspicuous position both among Athenian politicians and in the canons of the Attic orators.³⁹¹ Being a political figure, Aeschines is widely recognised as a self-made man who secured a prominent political career for himself from a modest background.³⁹² As a Classic, on the other hand, his fame is to a large extent due to the accounts of others, both of his contemporaries and of rhetoricians and critics at later times. His great renown is established primarily by Demosthenes' counter-speeches. And, although the Peripatetics specifically mentioned him as a naturally gifted orator, we see Demosthenes' influence on every level; in particular, he was characterised as a well-matched adversary of Demosthenes, the 'practised' orator, as a result of the changing stylistic predilections in Hellenistic rhetorical circles.³⁹³ This is true also of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' assessment that he is second to none after

³⁸⁹ Trapp 2003: 27–8; Canevaro forthcoming, and cf. Morrison 2013b.

³⁹⁰ Drerup 1904: 51. See also Reiske 1771: 652–3; Diller 1979: 34 n. 1.

³⁹¹ The *Suda* excluded Aeschines (and Antiphon and Isocrates) from its canon: see Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 6–10, 324 n. 11.

³⁹² E.g. Dobson 1919: 172; Jones 1957: 55; Lane Fox 1994: 135. Still, Harris (1995: 35–40) argued that Aeschines embarked on his political career with the help of Nausicles, Phocion and Eubulus.

³⁹³ So also Demades (*Ep.* 12.8 n. 1) and Phocion, and cf. Thphr. fr. 144 Wimmer (= Plut. *Dem.* 10.2); Phld. *Rh.* II 97–98 Sudhaus (repeating the view of Critolaus of Phaselis); Plut. *Phoc.* 5.2–3 (where, said Tritle [1988: 23–4], Plutarch might have employed the language of Theophrastus to evaluate Phocion's style); Demetr. fr. 165, 167 Wehrli (= D.H. *Dem.* 53, Plut. *Dem.* 11.1). The unfavourable attitude to Demosthenes was also caused by the political controversy revolving around Macedonia between the Peripatetics and Demochares of Leuconoe, the nephew and political heir of Demosthenes, e.g. Polyb. 12.13.8–12. See also Ch. 2–3 of Drerup 1923; Lossau 1964: 36–65; Kindstrand 1982: 23–5, 30–9, 64–5; Cooper 2000, esp. pp. 225–7, 233–4, 2009; Canevaro 2018a: 73–9. For the talent of Aeschines, see Jebb 1883–93: II, pp. 393–7.

Demosthenes.³⁹⁴ Ironically the role as ‘the other orator’ made Aeschines a most popular author in ancient rhetorical classrooms. The latest statistics yield fifty papyri that preserve fragments of his works and place him third of the Attic orators (after Demosthenes and Isocrates) and twelfth among all Greek authors.³⁹⁵ We see, then, an interest in Aeschines that grew independently from Demosthenes in later biographical and scholastic-rhetorical traditions.³⁹⁶ It experienced a peak of development in the time of Philostratus, when Aeschines won acclaim as the inventor of a form of display oratory and originator of the Second Sophistic.³⁹⁷ These observations may authorise us to single out two aspects of Aeschines’ reception in antiquity – as ‘the other orator’ beside Demosthenes, and as inspiration for later rhetorical education. It is obvious that they are not mutually exclusive, and this is particularly apparent when we look at the epistolographic *corpus*: while the ‘Demosthenic’ counterparts testify to the fact that Aeschines’ early popularity

³⁹⁴ D.H. *Dem.* 35: ὅς οὐ πολὺ ἂν ἀπέχειν δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων καὶ μετὰ Δημοσθένην μηδενὸς δευτέρου ἀριθμεῖσθαι, and cf. *Ep.* 2.3 n. 5. Ps.-Lucian labelled Demosthenes as ‘the orator’ just like Homer as ‘the poet’, and Hermogenes often mentioned him simply as ‘the Orator’: see [Luc.] *Dem.* 4; Hermog. *Id.* 1.1, 1.4, 1.10 216, 239, 276 Rabe with Drerup 1923: 146–53; Adams 1927: 122–3; Gibson 2002: 2. Incidentally it should be noted that Pernot (2006: 88–9) observed the parodical elements in Ps.-Lucian and entertained the possibility of authenticity.

³⁹⁵ Netz 2013: 218, 228–9, and cf. Morgan 1998: 97–9; Criboire 2001: 127–59, esp. p. 144; McNamee 2007: 125.

³⁹⁶ See Section 1.2 for the biographical tradition of Aeschines. The scholastic-rhetorical tradition is well attested in the scholia in the ms. tradition and in several ‘exegetical’ papyri dating from the mid-second century CE, e.g. P.Oxy. 60.4055 (= MP³ 0014). Both show that Aeschines was never neglected by ancient scholarship: see Heath 2004: 120–1; Dickey 2007: 53; Bastianini *et al.* 2004: 3–11; Schironi 2005; Montanari 2011: 7–11; Ch. 3 of Smith 2013.

³⁹⁷ Philostr. *VS.* 1.481. In this thesis ‘the Second Sophistic’ (ἡ δευτέρα σοφιστική) can best be applied to two approaches. Stylistically, this term was coined by Philostratus to denote the display oratory (or epideictic oratory) introduced, allegedly, by Aeschines; as opposed to the Gorgiastic ‘philosophical’ first sophistic, it is used to distinguish ‘fictional declamation’ from ‘philosophical rhetoric’. Periodically, on the other hand, its application to, or idealisation of, special periods of Imperial Greek literature is found in modern scholarship, e.g. the rise of Asianic rhetoric in Rohde’s *Die griechische Sophistik der Kaiserzeit* (Ch. 3 of Rohde 1960, esp. pp. 311–3), the escapism under the Roman domain in Ewen Bowie’s *Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic*. In general, this term is used for the literary-historical phenomenon founded in the Greek-speaking parts of the Roman Empire between 25 CE (when Nicetes of Smyrna, the restorer of epideictic oratory, was prominent) and 250 CE (when Philostratus was writing *Lives of the Sophists*), and was predominantly marked by rhetorical prose: see *BNP* 13: s.v. ‘Second Sophistic’; Bowie 1974: 168–74 (originally published in 1970); Kennedy 1972: 556–65, 1994: 230; Anderson 1993: 16–7; Swain 1996: 98–9; Schmitz 1997: 14–7; Heath 2004: xv; Whitmarsh 2005a: 3–10, 42–3, 2013: 1–4; Côté 2006; Webb 2006; Maciver 2012: 17–8. Also noteworthy is that display oratory experienced its peak of development in this period: see Carey 2007a: 249; Pernot 2015: 10. Thus, and legitimately, in the case of the *Nachleben* of Aeschines, the two approaches have significant overlaps. Cf. also Kindstrand 1982: 90–5; Côté 2005.

developed in parallel with, and was partially conditioned by, Demosthenes, in the fictional letters (including the Pindaric exegesis) he is portrayed as psychologically, ethically and rhetorically superior to his previous self as Demosthenes' political and rhetorical rival. It is very likely that the two overlapping aspects in the letters highlight Aeschines' pivotal role in linking past with future, thereby figuring in his road to becoming a pioneering figure. Taken as a whole, the pseudonymous letters hold a unique position as very good, and probably very early, examples of how different literary trends were interwoven to make, and to remould, a Classic.

Moving on to the literary value and historical significance. The best way to evaluate Ps.-Aeschines' style is to recall Philostratus' assessment of 'imitation' (μίμησις) and 'imagination' (φαντασία) in the process of artistic creation. When discussing the way sculptors fashioned the statues of gods, he had Apollonius of Tyana say: 'Imagination created these objects, a more skillful craftsman than Imitation. While Imitation will create what it knows, Imagination will also create what it does not know, conceiving it with reference to the real.'³⁹⁸ Accordingly he privileged the sculptors with creative talent over those who committed themselves to dreary imitation. This may be held true of Ps.-Aeschines. In the critic's own words, some letters 'are represented as knowledgeable and in godlike form' (σοφῶς καὶ θεοειδῶς ἴδρυται), and the others just 'mock the god rather than worship him' (καταγελαῖν τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ νομίζειν αὐτὸ) to whomsoever between Aeschines and Demosthenes.

Ps.-Aeschines offers us two radically opposed interpretations of one's civic orientation in exile. In Letter 7 we have a conventional concern with exilic life, marked by the contention that a displaced citizen should cling to his home *polis* and commit to leading a civic life and securing his own return. Similar views are expressed throughout Letters 11 and 12, and the civic virtues such as *homonoia* and

³⁹⁸ Philostr. *VA*. 6.19: "φαντασία" ἔφη "ταῦτα εἰργάσατο σοφώτερα μίμησης δημιουργός· μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσῃ, ὃ εἶδεν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος..." Cf. Laird 2006: 17–8 for its reception in ancient literary criticism.

philanthropia are recalled to bring about a reconciliation with the Athenian people. In Letter 3, however, exile is approached with a fresh mind. Aeschines is treated as a fellow sufferer with Themistocles and Miltiades, and in this sense *atimia* and *adoxia* have become a desirable state of exile. The eulogistic rhetoric makes a contrast with the traditional civic ideals and is reminiscent of the Cynic/Stoic reflections in the post-Classical era.³⁹⁹ It is not incidental, then, that Aeschines appears as a cosmopolitan in the fictional letters. He is supposed to console himself with humorous remarks on his own sufferings and to compare in a Plutarchean manner the interest in politics with the lust for sex.⁴⁰⁰ Greater consideration is given to his reciprocal obligations to a foreign land, rather than to civic voluntarism, most notably the ‘flattering’ praise of Cleocrates’ ancestors in an attempt ‘to reward his act of being impressively hospitable’ (ἀποτίνειν ταύτην τὴν χάριν τοῦ λαμπρῶς ἐστιᾶσθαι).⁴⁰¹ The distinct *personae* bear witness to a multiple authorship on the one hand, and on the other provide valuable information about the stability and clash between different political cultures of the (post-)Classical era.⁴⁰² Here it is tempting to employ Benjamin Gray’s two models that were used to conceptualise the divergent traditions of how Greek exiles envisaged and practised politics in the later Classical and Hellenistic *poleis*: while some letters show the image of a citizen-in-exile and convey the community-oriented notions such as civic solidarity and the common good, others are characteristic of a self-interested exile who places emphasis on the ‘tit-for-tat’ reciprocity between giving and receiving; in practice, of course, the two

³⁹⁹ Cf. e.g. Plut. *de Exilio* (*Mor.* 605e); D.L. 6.93; [Diogen.Sinop.] *Epp.* 1.1, 31.4; [Heraclit.Ephes.] *Ep.* 7.2–4, and see Malherbe 1977: 1–4; Schofield 1999, esp. pp. 57–92, 141–5; Whitmarsh 2001a: 279–80, 2001b: 145–6, 175–6; Opsomer 2002; Ch. 8 of Montiglio 2005; Chs. 3–4 of Richter 2011; Gray 2015: 361–74. Yet this is not necessarily a sign of a later date of composition. The letters attributed to Anacharsis, for example, undermine the assumption that Cynicism was to revive only in the early Imperial period, and see Malherbe 1977: 7.

⁴⁰⁰ See *Epp.* 1.4 n. 5, 5.5 n. 5

⁴⁰¹ See *Ep.* 4.6 n. 7.

⁴⁰² It is now widely accepted that the Greek *polis* did not come to an end either at Chaeronea or in any specific phase of the Hellenistic/Imperial periods; so the change in society and political structures, which scholars would call ‘peer polity interaction’, must be a wider phenomenon. See, among others, Ma 2003; van Nijf and Alston 2011.

models are often mixed in concrete political contexts.⁴⁰³ The other pseudonymous letter-collection on which I would like to focus is that attributed to Themistocles.⁴⁰⁴ There is a scholarly consensus that the twenty-one letters are datable between the first and second centuries CE and consist of a ‘diptych’ dealing with Themistocles’ ostracism from Athens in around 472 BCE.⁴⁰⁵ In Letters 1–12 the complaints about the fickle character of the Athenian people are rather frequent, and in a similar vein Aeschines complains that ‘it is your custom to raise anger easily and then to confer favours’ (καὶ γὰρ ὀργίζεσθαι ῥαδίως ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πάλιν: *Ep.* 12.14).⁴⁰⁶ Themistocles is described in this unit as a self-interested, if not unscrupulous, politician. In a manner similar to what Aeschines says in Letter 3, he claims that ‘I am satisfied with the status of seeming not to be important’ and warns Pausanias, the Spartan fellow sufferer, ‘not to ignore the fact that success breeds bad fortune for all men’.⁴⁰⁷ Whilst expressing great loathing for Athens’ political ingratitude and calling it a ‘city belonging to someone else’ instead of ‘our city’, Themistocles mentions his plan to go ‘immediately’ (αὐτίκα) to the Persian king as a gesture of reciprocal goodwill.⁴⁰⁸ In Letters 13–21, on the other hand, Themistocles

⁴⁰³ That is, in Gray’s own characterisations based on two inscriptions concerning reconciliations with exiles, the unitarian, communitarian ‘Nakonian model’ (*SEG* 30.1119, late 4th to early 3rd cent. BCE), and the libertarian, contractarian ‘Dikaiopolitan model’ (*SEG* 57.576 c. 364/3 BCE); see *id.* 2015: 37–78 and *passim*.

⁴⁰⁴ A comprehensive investigation into exilic literature is beyond the reach of the thesis, but see Gaertner 2007a for an overview of sources from the Homeric *Odyssey* down to Ovid.

⁴⁰⁵ Penwill 1978: 101–3 and *passim*, but Rosenmeyer (2001: 232 n. 83) rightly noted that his arguments for ‘a novel of psychological development’ may have distorted the ancient mind: thus I tend to read the letters as two ideologically-parallelled units, or, political pamphlets. See also Niessing 1929; Podlecki 1975: 129–33; Ch. 10 of Lenardon 1978; Holzberg 1994: 33–8, 50; Rosenmeyer 2006: 49–51; Hanink 2009: 420; Sánchez 2006a: 9–14, 19–31, 429–3; for commentaries see Doenges 1981; Cortassa and Gastaldi 1990.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. e.g. [Them.] *Epp.* 1.3–4, ll. 5–9 Hercher, 2.7–9, ll. 29–39 Hercher, 4.1–2, ll. 1–5 Hercher, 8.3, ll. 12–16 Hercher, 9.2, ll. 6–9 Hercher.

⁴⁰⁷ [Them.] *Epp.* 1.8, ll. 24–25 Hercher: ἡμῖν δὲ ἀρέσκει μηδὲ μεγάλους εἶναι δοκεῖν; 2.6–7, ll. 28–29: μὴ ἀγνόει ὅτι ἀτεχνῶς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἀτυχήματα τρέφουσιν αἱ εὐπραγία.

⁴⁰⁸ [Them.] *Epp.* 4.1, ll. 1–2: οὐ τὸ παθεῖν Ἀθήνησιν ἀδίκως καὶ ἀναξίως, ὃ Ἀβρόνιχε, καινὸν εἶναι μοι φαίνεται; 4.2, ll. 5–7: ...ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρα πόλει (ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὡς περὶ ἄλλοτρίας ἤδη οἱ λόγοι); 8.4, ll. 18–20 Hercher: ὡσπερ μεγάλου καὶ πίονος θρέμματος καὶ ἀγρευμάτων πεσόντος ἄδην ἔσχετε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τῆς ἐμῆς θοίνης (cf. 9.9, ll. 34–37 Hercher); 8.26–27, ll. 120–123 Hercher: διέγνωκα γὰρ ἀπαίρειν ἐκ τῆς Ἐφέσου αὐτίκα παρὰ βασιλέα τὸν ὡς σὺ μὲν οἶσθα πολέμιον, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι φασὶ φίλον. προπέμπεται τέ μοι παρ’ αὐτὸν ἤδη, καὶ ἦπια τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπέστειλεν..., and cf. [Them.] *Ep.* 12 *passim*. Interestingly, Aeschines says that ‘if they so wished, I retire to the king of the Persians and the Medes’ (ἐὰν βούλωνται, καὶ πρὸς

appears as a noble patriot who values his civic identity. The reproach of his fellow citizens is no more, and in terms of Pausanias' alleged Medism he asserts that 'a Spartan should remain a Spartan'.⁴⁰⁹ As for the Persians, he makes the statement that if they attack Athens again he will fight even as an exile.⁴¹⁰ And although the story follows the ancient tradition and ends with Themistocles' escape to Persia, the overall focus is on his hopeless situation, that is to say, he is portrayed as a tragic hero as distinguished from his previous self.⁴¹¹ It is clear from these passages that the pseudonymous letters of Themistocles are divided into two clear-cut units but resemble those of Aeschines in the deep insight into the citizens' fluctuating relationships with the *polis*. Both cases suggest that vital parts of history are mirrored by not only the 'authentic' texts, but also the fictitious writings, as well as some 'forgeries' (*dolus malus*).

While there are constant laments about the scarcity of evidence for Hellenistic oratory, scholars argue that the art of public speaking permeated the interstate communication and the running of the *polis*. The numerous inscriptions providing glimpses of civic debate and unity and the speeches by the Hellenistic ambassadors that recurred in Polybius confirm this impression: rhetorical education and oratorical performance must have flourished throughout this period.⁴¹² It is hoped that this thesis may have done something to reappraise the pseudonymous letters of Aeschines, and hence to quarry them for useful sources that may help further our understanding of this wider phenomenon.

τὸν ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἄπειμι καὶ Μήδοις βασιλέα: *Ep.* 11.3).

⁴⁰⁹ [Them.] *Ep.* 19.3, ll. 14–16 Hercher: καὶ φεύγομεν οὐδένα οὐδαμοῦ αἰτιασόμενοι, καὶ εἰ τὰ οἰκτιστα πεισόμεθα; 14.1–2, ll. δι' ὧν γὰρ οὕτως ἡτύχηκας δικαίως ἀφήρησαι καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἔτι τῆς τύχης. σὺ γὰρ ἐπιχειρῶν Μήδος γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιος ὦν...; 14.7, l. 28 Hercher: Λακεδαιμόνιον ὄντα καὶ μένειν τοῦτο βουλόμενον.

⁴¹⁰ [Them.] *Ep.* 13.10, ll. 42–46 Hercher: εἰ Μῆδοι πάλιν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπιχειροῖεν...φυγὰς γε μαχοῦμαι.

⁴¹¹ [Them.] *Ep.* 20.28–43, ll. 138–216 Hercher, esp. 20.40 ll. 201–203: ἀλλ' οὔτε τῆς ἐξουσίας οὔτε τῶν χρημάτων μετὰ τινος τέρψεως αἰσθανόμεθα; 20.43 ll. 212–216: καὶ ἡμᾶς ἄρα τοῦ στρατοῦ προβαλεῖται ἡγεμόνας καὶ Μήδους ὑποτάξει Θεμιστοκλεῖ, καὶ στρατεύσομαι ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐγὼ καὶ τῶ Ἀθηναίων ναυαρχήσοντι μαχοῦμαι; πολλὰ ἄλλα ἔσται, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδέποτε.

⁴¹² Pernot 2005: 57 n. 1, 73–82; Erskine 2007; Vanderspoel 2007: 124–5. On the Hellenistic embassy speeches (*logoi presbeutikoi*) see also Wooten 1973, 1974: 237–45; Canevaro 2013: 337, 341; Rubinstein 2013b, and see Rubinstein 2016 for their Athenian predecessors. On the epigraphical evidence in particular see Chaniotis 2013, 2016.

6. Text and translation

The twelve pseudonymous letters are preserved – either intact or selectively – in more than 50 medieval manuscripts, the oldest (**C**) of which may be dated to the tenth century CE. They are divided by Drerup into two families, **H** and **α** (a lost ms. best represented by **ABCVP**). Hernández Muñoz recently collated three *recentiores* manuscripts of the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries (**ZMa**), which are related to both families. No papyri of these letters are extant. The sigla of the primary mss. are:

A	Rome, <i>Angelicus</i> 44	13 th –14 th centuries CE
a	Milan, <i>Ambrosianus</i> 247, D 71 sup.	16 th century CE
B	Vatican, <i>Barberinus</i> I 159 (no. 139)	14 th century CE
C	Paris, <i>Coislinianus</i> 249	10 th century CE
H	London, <i>Harleianus</i> 5610	13 th –14 th centuries CE
L	Florence, <i>Laurentianus</i> 57, 45	15 th century CE
M	Madrid, <i>Matritensis</i> BN 4809	15 th century CE
P	Paris, <i>Parisinus</i> 3003	15 th century CE
r	Paris, <i>Parisinus</i> 3054	15 th century CE
W	Paris, <i>Parisinus</i> 2832	14 th –16 th centuries CE
V	Vatican, <i>Vaticanus</i> 64	c. 1269/70
Z	Madrid, <i>Matritensis</i> BN 4693	c. 1462
α	A lost ms. represented by ABCVP	
Ald.	<i>Editio princeps</i> , Venice: Aldine Press	1499

There has been so far no full English translation of these letters. Andrew Portal has

translated Letters 2 and 3, and Patricia Rosenmeyer Letter 10.⁴¹³ The French translation by Victor Martin and Guy de Budé is the most accessible one.⁴¹⁴ Hieronymus Wolf's translation, five centuries old and in Latin, conveys the arguments of Ps.-Aeschines accurately.⁴¹⁵ The present translation is based on the Budé text (= *TLG*), and variations of any significance between this text and others will be signalled. I have employed the standard section numbering, which was first used in the 1839/43 Zürich edition by Johann Baiter and Hermann Sauppe.⁴¹⁶ In the critical apparatus I have largely followed the reports by Drerup and by José Miguel García Ruiz and Felipe G. Hernández Muñoz. The differences from the Budé edition are:

Letter 1

- § 1 Κορησσόν **HBMZ**^{a.c.} **a**, sqq. Hercher Drerup García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: Κορεσσόν **CAP**: Νηρησσόν **Z**^{p.c.} Ald.: Κόρασον **V**: Κορησσόν conj. Blass, sq. Martin–de Budé
- § 2 ἐκ τούτου οὖν **HZ**^{s.l.} Ald., sqq. Drerup García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: οὖν om. **aMZ**^{a.c.} (hiat.), sqq. Hercher Blass Martin–de Budé
- § 3 χρῶμα ποικίλον ἀνθρώπων **HZ**^{gr.} Ald., sq. Wolf: ποικίλους ἀνθρώπους **aMZ**^{a.c.}: om. **a**: χρῆμα ποικίλον ἀνθρώπων conj. Reiske ('generum'), sqq. rell. editiones

⁴¹³ Portal 1814: 290–4; Rosenmeyer 2006: 103–5 (= Hodkinson 2013: 325–6). Craik (1980: 8) translated parts of Letter 1.

⁴¹⁴ Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, pp. 123–43.

⁴¹⁵ Wolf 1553: 204–219. This translation was reprinted in Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci*: see Hercher 1873: ix, 33–43. There are two Spanish translations with short notes: see García Ruiz 2000: 23–4, 375–406; de Dios 2002: 69–70, 605–34. An ongoing project is F.G. Hernández Muñoz and J.M. García Ruiz's bilingual edition (Greek and Spanish) of the epistolographic *corpora* of Demosthenes and Ps.-Aeschines.

⁴¹⁶ I find several divergences in the Budé and the García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz Editions: *Ep.* 2.4 begins with τὸ δὲ γέροντα, *Ep.* 2.5 μίασμα (the section number was omitted in the later edition), *Ep.* 4.2 τουτὶ, *Ep.* 11.9 Ποσειδῶνα (in the latter edition only), *Ep.* 12.12 κάθημαι, and *Ep.* 12.17 ἢ παρακαλῶν. Incidentally it should be noted that the numbering of the speeches was first used in the 1822/3 Oxford edition by Immanuel Bekker.

Letter 2

- § 1 τὸ <σὸν πρόσωπον> σκυθρωπὸν: τὸ σκυθρωπὸν codd. et Ald., τὸ σκυθρωπὸν <σου> in mg. **q** (codex nunc deperditus) exstat, sq. Hercher: <προσώπου σου> Wolf, sq. Drerup: τὸ <τοῦ προσώπου σου> σκυθρωπὸν Wendland, ut videtur in editioni Blassii, sqq. Martín–de Budé García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz
- § 2 ἔχρημάτιζον codd. et Ald., sq. Hercher: ἔχρηζον Markland (ex *Ep.* 5.1), sqq. rell. editiones
- § 3 νομισθεῖς **CA^{gr}PVBMZ**, †verba dubia† Drerup: νομισθείην Wolf: ὅς Taylor sq. Martín–de Budé: φανεῖς **A^{a.c.}**, sqq. Hercher García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz (φανείην conj. Blass)

Letter 4

- § 2 ἔρεισμα Drerup García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: ἔρεισμ’ **VB**, sqq. Hercher Blass Martín–de Budé: ἔρεις μαθᾶναι **M**

Letter 6

- § 1 κομίσας **HZ^{s.l.}**, sqq. Drerup García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: κομίζων **αM**, sqq. Hercher Blass Martín–de Budé
- § 1 ὑποδέξι αὐτὸν **H**, sq. Drerup: αὐτὸν ὑποδέξι **αMZ** (hiat.), sqq. rell. editiones
- § 1 ἔστιν ἔτι **APZ**, sqq. Hercher García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: ἔστι **HVBM** Ald. (ἔστιν **C**), sqq. Blass Drerup Martín–de Budé

Letter 7

- § 3 Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Ἀριστείδην **HZ** Ald., sqq. Drerup García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ Ἀριστείδην **αM** (hiat.), sqq. Hercher Blass Martín–de Budé

Letter 11

- § 2 μηδὲ ράδιά τισι Wolf, sq. Hercher: μὴ ράδιά τισι(ν) **PBMZ** Ald.: μὴ δὲ ράδια τισὶν **CA**^{p.c.}: μὴδὲν ἄ διά τισιν **A**^{a.c.}: μὴδ' ἰδίᾳ τισὶ Blass, sqq. Drerup García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz Martin–de Budé
- § 4 ἢ πολὺ κακουργότερα προαίρεσις codd. : ἢ **M**: καὶ Markland: ἦ vel ἦ conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: om. Ald., sqq. Hercher Blass Martin–de Budé
- § 7 οὐ χείρους **Z**^{p.c.} Ald., sq. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: οὐκ ἐλάπτους conj. Martin–de Budé: om. **VB**: καὶ τὰς νήσας (vel νῆσας) **CA**^{p.c.}, sqq. Blass Drerup: καὶ τὰς νοήσεις **A**^{a.c.}, sq. Hercher: καὶ τὰς νόσους **Pa**
- § 7 νεῶν codd. et Ald.: del. Markland, fort. scholium, sqq. Hercher Blass García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz Martin–de Budé: defendit Reiske, sq. Drerup
- § 10 ἔστι: ἔστιν **C**, sqq. Blass Martin–de Budé
- § 12 συστρατείας **C**^{p.c.}**Z**^{p.c.} Ald., sq. Hercher: συστρατιᾶς **C**^{a.c.}**A**^{a.c.}**MZ**^{a.c.}**a**, sq. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: στρατιᾶς **A**^{p.c.}, sqq. Blass Drerup Martin–de Budé

Letter 12

- § 4 ἔφην **aMZ**^{a.c.}**a**: ἐφάνη **P**^{mg.}**Z**^{p.c.} Ald., sqq. Hercher Blass Martin–de Budé
- § 5 οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως καὶ φεύγοντες codd.: οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὕτως φεύγοντες García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ φεύγοντες omnes editiones ante García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz
- § 6 αὐτοὺς om. **A**^{a.c.}**PVZ**: αὐτοὺς, sq. Martin–de Budé
- § 6 φυγόντες **APVZ** Ald., sq. Blass¹: φεύγοντες **CBM**, sqq. rell. editiones
- § 11 δυοῖν codd. et Ald.: del. Wolf, sqq. omnes editiones
- § 12 ὁποῖαν <μὲν> Blass: ὁποῖαν codd. et Ald., sqq. Hercher Martin–de Budé
- § 15 νοῦν **P**, sq. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: νῦν cett., sqq. Hercher Drerup: νῦν <οὐ> Reiske, sqq. Blass Martin–de Budé

Commentary on the ‘Demosthenic’ counterparts

Letter 2

Prefatory note

Letter 2 purports to have been written to Ctesiphon, the defendant in the ‘crown trial’. It is concerned with his ‘vengeful’ attacks following Aeschines’ defeat in court and exile (§ 1), and the arguments are remarkable for using emotions such as pity (§ 1), envy (§ 3), hatred (§ 3), hope (§ 4), and shame (§ 4). A lurking intertextual connection, e.g. the request marked by πρὸς τοῦ Διός (§ 5), can be established with Dem. Ep. 5, which is also suspected to be a later forgery. See also Goldstein 1968: 261–2, 266; Clavaud 1987: 64–8; MacDowell 2009: 408–9; Intro. 3.5.1, 3.5.2 (i), (ii).

The literary value of the letter is limited because of the clumsy repetitions such as ἐπηρεάζειν (§§ 1–2 × 2), διαλέγεσθαι (§ 1 × 2), ἀπειναι/βλασφημεῖν/νομίζεσθαι/λοιδορεῖσθαι (§§ 3–4 × 2), and δύνασθαι (§ 4 × 3). To convey the impression that Ctesiphon has made harsh attacks, moreover, Ps.-Aeschines mistakenly employs the *koine* forms διανοχλεῖν (§ 2) and ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι (§ 2); he also uses the rare, probably post-Classical, adverb ἀκμήν (§ 4) in an attempt to practise *variatio* of ἔτι (§§ 4–5 × 4); and φωνὴν ἐκπέμπειν (§ 4) appears to be a translation of the Latin expression *vocem emittere*. All these features point to the hypothesis of a careless ‘forger’.

The letter deserves further scholarly attention, however. An otherwise unknown Nicostratus (§ 1), for example, is reported to be Aeschines’ maternal uncle, and the stylistic evaluation that Aeschines is second to none (§ 3) finds an echo in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dem. 35). In particular, the theme ‘*hybris* against an old man’ (§ 4) may assign Ctesiphon to a younger generation, and extant sources seem to entertain

this possibility. First, the ‘crown trial’ seems to indicate that Ctesiphon was the answerable proposer of the *probouleuma*, and hence an over thirty years old councillor in 336 BCE: cf. Aeschin. 3.8, 12, 34, 36, 50, 53, 101, 105, 176, 193, 213; Dem. 18.9, 53, 118, 169; Aeschin. 3 hypoth. 3 Dilts with Schäfer 1885–7: II, p. 557 n. 5; Hansen 1974: 36–9 (nos. 26, 30), 1999: 145–6. Admittedly, any citizen could address the council via the Prytaneis or persuade a councillor to act in his interest, but the most likely explanation is that Ctesiphon was then an inexperienced councillor in cooperation with Demosthenes: cf. Aeschin. 3.125; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 29.1 with Rhodes 1985: 57, 63, 74; Rhodes with Lewis 1997: 12–3, 27–9. Second, we are told that he played a role in Athens’ embassy to queen Cleopatra of Epirus in 331/0 BCE (Aeschin. 3.242), and, according to Plato, a man is well qualified for diplomatic work once he turns forty years old (Pl. *Leg.* 950d with Mosley 1973: 48 n. 100). At best, we may obtain some useful information for a little-known politician that the ‘forger’ found in a source lost to us, and one can draw a parallel to Dem. 18.118, where a ‘forger’ inserted Ctesiphon’s full name Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Αναφλύστιος. Both, however, should be used with caution; cf. Canevaro 2013: 283–90.

Commentary

Title

Κτησιφῶντι: Ctesiphon (*LGPN* II no. 5; *PA* 8894; *PAA* 587570; Develin 1989, no. 1731) son of Leosthenes from Anaphlystus (?) is a minor ally of Demosthenes. In 336 BCE he proposed, or advocated, an honorific decree crowning the latter for his public services, and this incurred Aeschines’ prosecution by *graphe paranomon* in 331/0 BCE. The ‘crown trial’, in which Demosthenes was the supporting speaker (*synegoros*), ended with Aeschines’ overwhelming defeat and exile, and hence the

alleged triumphalism of his opponents (ἐπηρεάζοις...εἰς αὐτὸν οὐ μετρίως: § 1). Further on the trial see Intro. 3.1; *Ep.* 7.2 n. 3.

Section 1

[1] **ἐπέστειλεν ἡμῖν**: *pluralis modestiae*; common in epistolary writings (§§ 2, 4, 5; *Epp.* 4.4, 7.4, 5, 11.7, 12.17). The first person plural substitutes for the first person singular, and by this the speaker creates an immersive experience for the audience. It becomes the *pluralis maiestatis* in the royal correspondence: cf. e.g. Thuc. 1.129.3; *SEG* 4.428, ll. 12–14 with Katsouris 1977: 232–3; *BNP* 4: s.v. ‘Epistle’ (c); Wackernagel 2009: 134–7. Ἐπιστέλλειν (and its noun form) is a technical term for epistolary writing, and see *Ep.* 1.5 n. 5.

[2] **Νικόστρατος ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος**: ‘Nicostratus’ is a common name, e.g. Is. 4.3; [Dem.] 53.4. In Aeschines (1.86) we find a namesake (*LGPN* II no. 11; *PA* 11008; *PAA* 717860) who reportedly made several accusations of bribery, but nothing can be taken to prove a connection. Although it is possible that Ps.-Aeschines may have found some useful information in a source lost to us, as he may have done for Ctesiphon’s age (§ 4), this Nicostratus is perhaps fabricated as the only name we know of Aeschines’ maternal uncle(s) is Cleobulus (*LGPN* II no. 3; *PA* 8558; *PAA* 576545; Develin 1989, no. 1645; *APF*: 544): see Aeschin. 2.78 with Harris 1995: 23–7; Fowler 2008: 95–8; Intro. 1.1.

[3] **ὡς ἐπηρεάζοις μὲν...δὲ ὄνειδίζοις...**: after the historical tenses ὡς is followed by the optative, while the indicative, as transmitted in MSS. **APVBMZa**, is attested at times: cf. Hdt. 7.168.1 with LSJ: s.v. ὡς B.IV.I. It could be argued that Ps.-Aeschines is using a variation of the *ergon-logos* antithesis as ἐπηρεάζειν (here and § 2) refers particularly to the deeds (i.e. things done): cf. Dem. 21.14 with MacDowell 1990a: 237.

[4] **οὐ μετρίως** refers to the behaviour of an indecent citizen; cf. *Ep.* 12.1 n. 5.

[5] τί παθὼν ἐξιούσι μὲν ἡμῖν οἴκοθεν τοιαῦτα διελέχθης, ὥστε πεισθῆναί με μηδὲν ὧν διελέχθης πεπλάσθαι σε μηδ' ἄλλως φρονεῖν: cf. πεπεικῶς ἑμαυτὸν ἀληθῆ λέγειν, οὐκ ἐκ...πεῖραν ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι... ('I was convinced that I spoke the truth, not because of my experience in...but because I observe that...') at Dem. *Ep.* 5.2–3. The repetition of διαλέγεσθαι finds a stylistic echo at *Ep.* 10.6: πομπὴ μὲν ἦν Ἀφροδίτης, ἐπόμπευον δὲ αἱ νεωστὶ γεγαμημένοι καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν πομπὴν ἐθεώμεθα ('there was a procession in honour of Aphrodite; the recently married girls participated, and we were spectators'). Taylor drew a Latin parallel to Nep. 7.1.3: *ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quae publice ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est. Ex quo factum est ut postea athletae ceterique artifices suis statibus in statutis ponendis uterentur* ('when a statue was publicly erected to Chabrias in the agora in Athens, he chose to be represented in that position. The result was that after that time athletes, and artists as well, adopted appropriate attitudes for the statues which were set up in their honour'), and see Reiske 1771: 661 n. 20. Cf. also *Epp.* 4.3, 5.3, 9.2 with Intro. 3.4.1 (ii).

Ἐξιέναι...οἴκοθεν seems to be a euphemism for φεύγειν. Yet in the Classical period it signifies the departure from one's house, not exile, e.g. Pl. *Ap.* 40b; Phaenias fr. 16 (= Parth. 7.3). The meaning implied here is attested only in later sources, such as Lib. *Or.* 1.142.

[6] ἦν οὐκ ἀπεικὸς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐλεεῖν ὑπελάμβανον: pity is designated for the victims or those who suffer unjustly; so ἐγὼ...νομισθείην...ἀτυχέστερος μέντοι καὶ ἐλεεινότερος ἴσως (§ 3), and see *Ep.* 12.14 n. 5 for further discussion. For the opponent, a common approach is to generate negative emotional appeals such as to anger, and the expression intensifies the notion of irrationality (ἀπεικός): cf. *Ep.* 3.1; [Eur.] *Ep.* 2.1.

[7] τὸ <σὸν πρόσωπον> σκυθρωπὸν καὶ ὅμοιον δεδακρυμένῳ: Ps.-Aeschines appears to have intended to repeat the same ending in words ('homoeoteleuton'), and τὸ σκυθρωπὸν in the ms. tradition is essentially a case of haplography. The

restoration is paralleled in the *Septuagint* (c. 3rd cent. BCE–2nd cent. CE) and in sources of the Imperial period, e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 481d, 1104e; App. *B.Civ.* 2.20.144; Hdn. 4.4.8. The means of portraying emotion is arguably Euripidean. On the one hand, the fullness of expression resembles σκυθρωπὸν ὄμμα καὶ πρόσωπον at Eur. *Phoen.* 1333, and cf. Mastronarde 1994: 522. The device of juxtaposing a gloomy face with the action of weeping, on the other hand, is very much like an intrusive choral comment at Eur. *Or.* 957–959: ὡς ξυνηρεφές πρόσωπον εἰς γῆν σὸν βαλοῦσ'...εἰς στεναγμοὺς καὶ γόους δραμουμένη ('how downcast to earth is your clouded countenance...as if about to break forth into lamentation and wailing'), and its exegetical paraphrase that βαλοῦσα τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον σκυθρωπὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὡς μέλλουσα δραμεῖσθαι εἰς στεναγμοὺς καὶ γόους ('your gloomy countenance is cast down to the earth as if you are about to break forth into lamentation and wailing': Schol. Eur. *Or.* 957, ed. K.W. Dindorf, II, 237); cf. also Shisler 1945: 381. For the use of tears as a rhetorical strategy, see *Ep.* 5.7 n. 1.

Section 2

[1] **ἐπέσκησα ἐνίοις τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν, εἴ του δέοιντο, προσιέναι σοι:** kinsmen and friends are very common addressees, and themes, in epistolary writings, e.g. Eur. *IT.* 735–736; Plut. *de Exilio* (*Mor.* 600a); Favorin. *de Exilio* 15–18 pp. 390–395 Barigazzi; [Chion] *Ep.* 1.1. That an exile would entrust his relatives to the care of an adversary is hardly plausible, but in theme it is echoed e.g. by σὺ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπαγγέλλοιο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ὑπουργεῖν τὰ μέτρια ('may you promise to assist my family and to offer sufficient aid') at [Them.] *Ep.* 11.7, ll. 43–45 Hercher (cf. [Them.] *Ep.* 4.22–26, ll. 79–99 Hercher). Noteworthy, too, is the commanding tone as presented by ἐπισκήπτειν/ἐπαγγέλλειν.

[2] **περὶ ὧν ἐχρηματίζον:** most scholars agree on Markland's correction – ἐχρηζον ('I wanted') – in line with λέγειν εἴ τινων χρῆζομεν at *Ep.* 5.1, but χρηματίζεσθαι is

likely to be the right verb with reference to help with private business. There is a looming possibility that the ‘forger’ alludes to Aeschines’ (alleged) request for restoration (*Epp.* 7.1, 4, 12.14–15), or, for addressing the Assembly *qua* ἄτιμος (*Ep.* 11.2), since χρηματίζεσθαι can denote the performance of administrative business in Athenian official language and suggests a public dimension: so ‘concerning the deliberations that would have done for me in Athens’, and cf. Aeschin. 1.23; Dem. 18.75, 24.45; Arist. *Pol.* 4.12.9 1298b29, *Rh.* 1.4.4 1359b3; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 43.3 with Canevaro 2013: 129 (noting ‘often...said of officials’).

[3] **διενογλοῦσι:** *koine* form; cf. Phil. *Legat.* 301; Joseph. *AJ.* 14.230; Luc. *Symp.* 14; Lib. *Decl.* 34.2.9 with Intro. 3.4.1 (i). The term may be forensic because its root-word, ἐνογλεῖν, can denote the litigants who approach the dicasts before trial: cf. Aeschin. 3.246; Dem. 19.1, 21.4 with MacDowell 2000a: 204. The διά-compound conveys the notion of intensity or fulfillment: see *GG*: 375 § 1685 (3).

[4] **οὔτε εἰς τὴν τύχην...οὔτε εἰς ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων:** ἀνθρώπινος refers generally to the affairs of mankind as distinguished from things divine, e.g. Antiph. 4.1.2; Andoc. 1.139; Isoc. 4.60; Arist. *EE.* 1.7.2–3 1217a21–26; balancing οὔτε...σοὶ οὔτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ Ἀθηναίων above, however, it may be used (perhaps in the Demosthenic manner) to make an additional remark on the fickleness of fortune (τυγχάνειν > τύχη), namely ‘human vulnerability to the inevitable fate’: cf. Dem. 18.252–253, 300, 20.161–162 with Dover 1974: 269–71; Martin 2009: 96–7, 247–8; Eidinow 2011: 144–50. This attitude is also paralleled by ἀνθρωπίνως δεῖ τὰς τύχας φέρειν at Men. fr. 650 (= Stob. 4.56.6a). Cf. also *Ep.* 11.9 n. 5.

[5] **ἐπαγωνίζομαι:** *koine* form (ἐπί + ἀγωνίζεσθαι); in composition ἐπί creates a sense of an ongoing or repeated action: see LSJ: s.v. ἐπαγωνίζομαι; *GG*: 379 § 1689 (4).

[6] **ἐκπεπτωκόσι τῆς πατρίδος:** a minor variation on τῆς πατρίδος ἐστερηῆσθαι at *Epp.* 7.1, 9.2; both expressions, as argued by Martin and de Budé (1927–8: II, p. 131 n. 1) and García Ruiz (2000: 382 n. 8), are used loosely if not mistakenly, because

ἐκπίπτειν pertains commonly to forceful expulsion as distinguished from voluntary exile: cf. Plut. *Dem.* 24.3 (ἐκεῖνος [*sc.* Aeschines] μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὄχρετ' ἀπιὼν); [Plut.] *Mor.* 840c (using φεύγειν); [Them.] *Ep.* 8.17, ll. 78–79 Hercher (φεύγωμεν ἄρα μηδενὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλαύνοντος;). The reader is advised, though, that such a distinction is not always clear and different terms can be interchangeable for the same event. Demosthenes, for instance, used τῆς πατρίδος ἀποστερηθῆναι to describe his exile after the Harpalus affair, which was also a voluntary one (*Dem. Ep.* 2.2 with Goldstein 1968: 49 n. 68): cf. also § 1 (ἐξιέναι...οἴκοθεν); *Epp.* 3.1–2, 5.5, 12.4–5; Eur. *Heracl.* 185–92; Thuc. 5.26.5; Andoc. 1.18, 2.26; Isoc. 16.40; Dem. 19.327, 37.59; Aeschin. 3.195; Muson. *de Exilio* p. 72.6–8 Lutz with Forsdyke 2005: 11; Intro. 3.1. Besides, Aeschines' failure in securing the essential one-fifth share of the dicasts' votes would incur a punishment for frivolous prosecution including a fine of 1,000 drachmas and probably the prohibition on future prosecution by *graphe*, and the penalty imposed on him *qua* state-debtor and *atimos* is analogous, at least *de facto*, to that of formal exile: cf. *Ep.* 12.4; Dem. 18.82, 103, 21.103; Plut. *Dem.* 24.2; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840c; Phot. *Bibl.* 264.490b. For further discussions see e.g. MacDowell 1978: 64, 165, 1990a: 327–8; Hansen 1991: 192; Todd 1993: 142–4; Harris 2006: 405–22; Gray 2015: 115–6.

[7] καὶ ἀπεστερημένοις ἐπιτιμίας καὶ πόλεως καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ φίλων: general description of the *atimos*; with καὶ ἐκπεπωκόσι τῆς πατρίδος above it can be compared with οἶμαι δεῖν...μὴ...τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων συνηθείας ἀποστερηθῆναι at *Dem. Ep.* 2.2, and cf. *Ep.* 5.6 nn. 2, 3; Intro. 3.5.2 (ii). It also amplifies in some ways the community-oriented aspect of *philia*, namely the bond among citizens ('civic friendship'): cf. Arist. *EN.* 9.6.1–4 1167a22–b16; [Chion] *Ep.* 15.1; *SEG* 30.1119, ll. 14–21 with Millett 1991: 152; Powell 1995; Konstan 1997: 67–78, 91–2, 2000, 2006: 169–76, 2010b; Schofield 1998; Gray 2015: 39–41, 69–71. The absence of friends is a popular subject in exilic writings. Philosophers expounded it as a principal adversary, and in Euripides and

Ovid an exile is portrayed as one that is forsaken: cf. *Il.* 14.256; *Od.* 1.49, 9.530–535; Thgn. 209–210; Eur. *Phoen.* 403, *El.* 236, *Med.* 253–256, 510–513; Isoc. 19.10–11; Ov. *Tr.* 1.3.64–67, 1.5.64–65, 3.5, 3.6, 4.6.45–46, *Pont.* 1.4.33–34, 2.7.61–63; Favorin. *de Exilio* 15–18 pp. 390–5 Barigazzi with Bowie 2007: 44–5; Nesselrath 2007: 105; cf. also *Ep.* 6.1; [Them.] *Ep.* 13.7, 13, ll. 25–28, 59–60 Hercher.

Section 3

[1] **καὶ φθόνον καὶ μῖσος**: malicious emotions; cf. Dem. 18.13, 20.165; Arist. *EN.* 2.5.2 1105b21–23; [Anach.] *Ep.* 4; [Diogen.Sinop.] *Ep.* 36.6; [Them.] *Ep.* 4.7, ll. 25–27 Hercher. In rhetorical theory they are, together with pity (§§ 1, 3, *Ep.* 12.14) and anger (*Ep.* 3.1), the principal emotional reactions that a speaker can elicit in his audience: cf. Dem. 19.228, 21.196; Arist. *Rh.* 2.4.30–32 1382a1–19, 2.9.3 1386b16–24, 2.20.1–11 1388a1–29, 3.19.3 1419b24–26; Cic. *de Or.* 2.51.206. Φθόνος is caused by envy at one’s wealth or power (*sc.* Ctesiphon’s triumph) and for this negative overtone was rarely aroused in the Attic oratory, while it is justified if one acquires unwarrantable substances and/or harms the public interests, as here: cf. e.g. Dem. 20.24; Is. 6.61; see also Ch. 6 of Walcot 1978; Ober 1989: 205–6; Fisher 2003; Cairns 2003a, esp. pp. 246–7; Spatharas 2011; Chs. 3–5 of Sanders 2014; Canevaro 2016a: 90, 231. Μῖσος signifies a crude level of hostility and can be applied both to fellow-citizens, chief among which are the so-called ‘sykophants’ and ‘sophists’, and to foreigners such as the Thebans (Aeschin. 3.141; Dem. 18.188). Aeschines used it only in the verb form (× 7), and cf. *Ep.* 5.8; Aeschin. 1.188, 2.66, 3.7. See also Konstan 2006: 111–28, 185–200, 274 n. 27; Fortenbaugh 2002: 15, 104–6; Sanders 2012b: 361–2, 369–74, 374–82, 2016a: 57–60.

[2] **ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τινα τῶν τεθνεώτων...βλασφημεῖν**: the phrase ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ (or ὥσπερανεῖ) recurs in Demosthenes (× 16), but is not attested in Aeschines; see also *Ep.* 11.10. Clavaud (1987: 64 n. 2) treated βλασφημεῖν as a counterpart of

τὴν... ἄδικον βλασφημίαν at Dem. 4.10, whereas no definite conclusion is possible.

Stating that exile is tantamount to – or worse than – death is characteristic of exilic literature, e.g. *Od.* 1.57–59; Thgn. 819–820; Andoc. 2.10; Dem. *Ep.* 2.21; [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 225 (= Arist. fr. 665 Rose [E 7 Plezia]); [Them.] *Ep.* 2.9, ll. 36–37 Hercher; Cic. *Q.fr.* 1.3.1, *Fam.* 7.3.3–5; Ov. *Pont.* 1.7.9–10 with Gaertner 2007a: 9, 2007b: 159–60. The established attitude towards the dead, too, can be the framework for the statement. The Athenians considered slandering the dead a heinous crime, and because exile is analogous to death, Ctesiphon’s (alleged) behaviour would surely fall into the same category: cf. e.g. *Od.* 22.412; Eur. *Phoen.* 1663; [Dem.] 40.49; Plut. *Sol.* 21.1–2 with MacDowell 1978: 126–9; Leão and Rhodes 2015: 50–3.

[3] **χρηστῇ τε καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ πόλει:** cf. τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν ἦν ἐπὶ χρηστότητι μείζω καὶ φιλανθρωπία διὰ παντὸς ἔσχεν at *Ep.* 12.16. Normally, however, the two adjectives are used to describe particular citizens, rather than the community to which they belong, e.g. ἀνθρώπων χρηστῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων at Dem. 19.99, and cf. D.H. *Ant.Rom.* 4.46.4; Plut. *Sol.* 15.2; D.Chry. *Or.* 12.77; Luc. *Sat.* 33; Lib. *Decl.* 21.1.10. Χρηστός is synonymous with ἀγαθός (*contra* κακός/πονηρός, e.g. [Xen.] *Ath.Pol.* 1.1–4; Aeschin. 1.30; Dem. 20.165). It surprisingly occurs here, in contrast with the common application to individuals (also, at least in Athens, to slaves) which encompasses one’s responsibilities to the *polis* and/or his way of life, and cf. Dover 1974: 52–3, 296–7; Cagnetta *et al.* 1978; Rosenbloom 2004: 63–5; Todd 2007: 316–7; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2016: 69–70. So rare a collocation is acceptable only if we equate *polis* with πολιτεία or δῆμος, say, Isoc. 6.48, 12.135; Dem. 20.39. Φιλάνθρωπος (and its cognates) may entail either broadly the goodwill towards human beings, which, unlike ‘pity’ (§§ 1, 3), is independent of one’s merit and deserts (Arist. *Poet.* 13 1453a3–5 with Konstan 2001: 46–7, 2006: 215–8), or the sense of civic character (*Ep.* 7.1 n. 2). But the expression ‘humane *polis*’ was to become common only in the post-Classical period, e.g. Schol. Dem. 19.197 (= Dilts 412); D.S. 15.63.2; Poll. 9.25; Men.Rh. 372.10–12 Russell–Wilson.

[4] **λοιδορούμενος**: in the letter-collection it refers to the verbal affront by opponents (*Epp.* 2.3–4, 5.6, 7.4–5), or to the reproach of one’s own *polis* (*Epp.* 3.1, 12.9). Both are negative in meaning, and cf. *Dem.* 21.132 with LSJ: *s.v.* λοιδορέω II; MacDowell 1990a: 350.

[5] **οὐδενὸς ἥττων**: general evaluation of Aeschines’ style (‘litotes’). In later critics he was ‘reckoned, after Demosthenes, to be second to none’ (μετὰ Δημοσθένην μηδενὸς δεύτερος ἀριθμεῖσθαι): see D.H. *Dem.* 35 with Kindstrand 1982: 31. Thematically it may come from τὸ...εὖ βουλευέσθαι πάρεστιν (‘I have mastered deliberative oratory already’) at *Dem. Ep.* 5.4. Noteworthy, too, is its application to Euripides by Aeschines himself (1.151); cf. also *Hdt.* 1.23 (to Arion the poet); *Thuc.* 8.68.1 (to Antiphon the rhetor); *Dem.* 20.150 (to an orator called Cephisodotus).

Section 4

[1] **οὐδεμίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκπέμπειν**: a scholiast (London, *Harleianus* 5635) referred to the rhetorical figure ‘omission-on-purpose’ (*παράλειψις/praeteritio*), by which a speaker could shift the audience’s focus and progresses from there to a more important point, and cf. *Ep.* 5.3 n. 4. It is more likely, though, to illustrate nothing but the difficulty of self-defence *in absentia*: cf. *Ep.* 7.4–5; [Chion] *Ep.* 16.1. *Les absents ont toujours tort.*

Φωνὴν ἐκπέμπειν seems to be a literal translation of the Latin expression *vocem emittere*, which indicates sometimes oracular performances: cf. *Liv.* 1.54.7, 1.58.2, 5.51.7; *Ov. Met.* 4.413; *Vell.Pat.* 1.10.5; *Quint.* 5.7.36 with *OLD*: *s.v.* *emitto* 6. The regular phrase is πᾶσαν φωνὴν ἰέναι/ἀφιέναι (‘to exert all powers of persuasion’), e.g. *Dem.* 18.195, 218; *Pl. Leg.* 890d. See also *Intro.* 3.4.1 (ii).

[2] **τὸ...γέροντα ἐπιεικῆ ὑβρίζεσθαι**: the passage arches back to Ctesiphon’s behaviour towards Nicostratus in the opening section (‘ring composition’: cf. *Ep.* 4.6

n. 4). Ps.-Aeschines reproduces a very common topic in the Attic orators (*Ep.* 12.14 n. 5) and in exilic writings (e.g. Dem. *Epp.* 2.13, 17, 3.38; [Them.] *Ep.* 8.19, ll. 91–93 Hercher; Ov. *Pont.* 1.4, *Tr.* 4.8.1–4), one that would arouse *eleos* (§ 1). Ἐπεικεῖς γέροντες also rightly epitomises the positive aspect of ancient reflections on old men that, despite physical decline, they are characteristic of spiritual superiority: cf. Pl. *Resp.* 328d–330a; Arist. *Pol.* 2.6.17 1270b35–38; Cic. *de Sen.* 3.6–9; D.C. 46.20.3; *Epistulae Socraticorum* 6.10. Further on this subject see e.g. Dover 1974: 104–6; Finley 1981; Powell 1988: 24–30; Brandt 2002.

Notice, moreover, that although *hybris* (*Ep.* 12.2 n. 4) can exist in old men, it is primarily associated with youthfulness: cf. Antiph. 4.1.6–7, 4.3.2, 4.4.2 with MacDowell 1976: 15, 1990a: 19; Fisher 1992: 97–9; Cairns 1996: 25 n. 119. Stating that Ctesiphon behaves hybristically, therefore, the passage may assign him to a younger generation than that of Nicostratus and (perhaps) of Aeschines, who was born no later than in 389 BCE and so was now in his sixties: see Aeschin. 1.49, 109, 2.168; *Vita Aeschin.* 2.12 Dilts with *APF*: 547–7; Harris 1988. It was taken for granted in the Greco-Roman world that old age begins at approximately sixty. Demosthenes, for example, portrayed himself as an old person at sixty, and Cicero wrote his treatise on old age at sixty-two: see Dem. *Ep.* 2.13; Cic. *Att.* 14.21.3 with DeWitt and DeWitt 1949: 216 n. 2.

[3] μηδεμίαν ἔτι ἐλπίδα ἔχοντα τοῦ δυνήσεσθαι ποτε ἀμύνασθαι, ὅς γε τὴν σύμπασαν ἐλπίδα ἐφ’ ἡμῖν...ἔχει: here *elpis* can reasonably be understood as a display of emotion inasmuch as it embraces simultaneously an appraisal of, and yearning for, future prospects; see Cairns 2016.

[4] ἀκμήν: accusative of ἀκμή (*Ep.* 7.3), the word is normally used as an adverb (= ἔτι). Ancient lexicographers pointed out that it occurs on very rare occasions in Attic prose: cf. Xen. *Anab.* 4.3.26; Hyp. fr. 116 Jensen (= *Ἀντιαπτικιστής*: s.v. ἀκμήν [ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 77 = A 21 Valente]); Phryn. 93; Moer. A 149. In his attempt to practise *variatio* of ἔτι (§§ 4–5 × 4), therefore, Ps.-Aeschines has

employed a word that is uncommon in the orators, and cf. e.g. Polyb. 1.13.12; Theoc. 4.60. See also Reiske 1774: 664 n. 29; LSJ: *s.v.* ἀκμήν; Intro. 3.4.1 (i).

[5] **αἰσχρόν**: an antonym of καλός; in this passage it expresses not only a sense of shame but also public disapprobation, i.e. ‘dishonour’. Thus Ctesiphon’s behaviour, especially his slanderous statement, is identical with *hybris* and would even smear his descendants’ reputation (μίασμα τοῦτο προσθῆς σαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν: § 5). Cf. also *Ep.* 12.13; *Il.* 23.473; Soph. *Phil.* 906–909; Dem. 18.64, *Epp.* 3.11, 4.11; Aeschin. 1.54; *Epistulae Socraticorum* 28.13 with Dover 1974: 69–73; Cairns 1993: 58–60; Ch. 4 of Konstan 2006.

Section 5

[1] **πρὸς τοῦ Διός**: πρὸς with a genitive stresses a request (or a question), e.g. Dem. 18.199, 19.19, 20.74; Aeschin. 3.156 with MacDowell 2009: 403; Sommerstein 2014a: 4. With οὐδὲ Αἰσχίνης εἰς τοῦτο ποτε ἀφίξεσθαι ἥλιπυσεν below it appears to be an imitative counterpart of δέομαι δὴ σου πρὸς Διὸς...μή με καταστήσης ἀηδεῖ καὶ δεινῷ μηδενὶ περιπετῇ (‘I do entreat you, in the name of Zeus...not to put me in any disagreeable and embarrassing situation’) at Dem. *Ep.* 5.1. See also Intro. 3.4.2 (v), 3.5.2 (i).

[2] **οὓς τρέφεις βοηθοὺς ἔσεσθαι δηλονότι τῷ γήρα σου προσδοκῶν**: Athenian citizens were obliged to provide for their elder parents and to carry out proper posthumous rites (*Ep.* 12.15 n. 15): cf. Dem. 24.103–107, 25.54, *Ep.* 4.11; Aeschin. 1.13–14; Andoc. 1.131; Din. 2.8; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 56.6; Alciphr. *Ep.* 2.13.3 with Harrison 1968–71: I, pp. 77–8. The parenthesis (*sc.* δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι) highlights that the obligation works naturally as mutual support: cf. Ar. *Av.* 1353–1357; Ael. *NA.* 9.1 with Leão and Rhodes 2015: 92–7.

[3] **Αἰσχίνης** introduces an internal narrator: see *Ep.* 3.2 n. 3.

Letter 3

Prefatory note

Dem. *Ep.* 3, the imitative model of Letter 3, is the first letter in chronological order in the extant public letters of Demosthenes. While the main issue relates to the sons of Lycurgus, Demosthenes skillfully interspersed the letter with references to his own return. He mentioned that his appeal to immunity (*adeia*) in a now lost, earlier letter was rebuffed, whereas the Athenian people pardoned many other men convicted in the Harpalus trials, and they even acquitted Aristogeiton, who had a long criminal history. For this reason, the Athenians were to be blamed, and cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.1, 5, 28, 35–45 with Goldstein 1968: 48–53; Clavaud 1987: 19–30; Wortington 2006: 114–5; MacDowell 2009: 414–8.

Letter 3 is intended as a reply to Demosthenes' 'violent' complaints: see Intro. 3.5.1. The aims of Ps.-Aeschines seem to be: first, to demonstrate his grasp of the rhetorical devices in his model. In Demosthenes' account, the exile was unjust, and thus his request for restoration served to call for justice in Athens; to achieve this, he organised his narrative under various headings (*κεφάλαια*) about 'the just' (*τὸ δίκαιον*) and relates the (in)justice of the Athenian people wherever possible: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.1, 2, 5, 8, 12–14, 16–22, 24–25, 29–32, 37–45. This structure in *κεφάλαια* conforms to the usual practice in *demegoriae* and is also known as 'headings of purpose' (*τελικὰ κεφάλαια/capitula finalia*): cf. Isoc. 6.34–37; Dem. *Pr.* 22.1; Arist. *Rh.* 3.17.1–4 1417b21–37; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 32.4–9 1439a8–1439b3; Apsines 9.16–18 Dilts–Kennedy (= I 383.3–22 Spengel) with Goldstein 1968: 106, 135–6, 140–2, 146–7; MacDowell 2009: 417–8. Ps.-Aeschines seems to be reproducing this scheme and to recognise that Demosthenes' argument is built on the theme of (in)justice; the mention at the outset of Letter 3 of those that have been exiled unjustly and of what they ask seems to refer to this kind of argument. Ps.-Aeschines also alludes to the

misfortunes of Themistocles and Miltiades (§ 2) as historical examples (παραδείγματα/*exempla*) as an alternative to the ‘proof’ (βεβαίωσις/*confirmatio*) sections at Dem. *Ep.* 3.11–34.

His second aim is to provide a consolatory counterclaim: since distress is unavoidable and often engenders anger, one should console himself through history and reason (§ 3: λαμπρὸν εικότως μοι νομίσαμ...παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις...). This leads to a historiographical-philosophical interpretation of exile. The *topoi* such as λαμπρός and οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι invite us to think about certain historical writings and their accompanying oratorical practices, most notably Alcibiades’ speech at Thuc. 6.16.1–5. This practice, marked by an unapologetic tone, assumes the form of what theorists would call the ‘dismissal of prejudicial attack’ (λύσις διαβολῆς), and cf. Arist. *Rh.* 3.14.7 1415a25–1415b4; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 29.28 1437b39–1438a3 with Macleod 1975: 41–4 (= *id.* 1983: 70–1). Given that Thucydides’ style influenced the Attic orators in many respects, e.g. the use of articular infinitive (Intro. 3.4.2 [iii]), later rhetoricians were likely to take his *Histories* as an exemplary model: cf. Plut. *Dem.* 9.2–3; D.H. *Thuc.* 53–55; Luc. *Indoct.* 4; see also Hornblower 2010: 294–6. See Intro. 5 for the eulogistic rhetoric of exile that contrasts with traditional civic ideals.

Letter 3 is a comparatively brief *melete* written in haste; this is evident as we look at its careless word order. As noted by Hertlein (1875: 361), παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις, for example, should come next to μοι (§ 3). Another case is the hiatuses, especially those in the last two sentences (× 11). Such minor quibbles aside, the letter does not follow the imitative model *verbatim* and offers valuable insights into ancient attitudes to the (ir)rational emotion and consolatory interpretations of exile. Viewed in this light, the letter presents a self-contained unity and may have been written by a sophisticated ‘forger’.

In the manuscript tradition a poetical exegesis is attached to the final statement. Its Nonnian character – namely, the metre and the *topoi* – suggest that Letter 3 was

widely read already in Late Antiquity.

Commentary

Title

Αἰσχίνης τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ τῷ Δῆμῳ: characteristic of the demegoric genre; cf. *Ep.* 7.Tit. n. The title is preserved in MSS. **H** and **Z**, but it does not seem appropriate to the text that follows. We shall see that the letter fails to match the style of a *demegoria*, because e.g. of its careless avoidance of hiatus, consolatory themes, and inopportune arguments. Rather, it looks like a private letter addressed to a friend of Aeschines, commenting (implicitly) on Dem. *Ep.* 3.

Section 1

[1] **οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι...ἀδίκως:** ὅσος is often preceded by πᾶς as antecedent to intensify the number, and cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.9; Aeschin 1.44, 3.14; see also LSJ: *s.v.* ὅσος I.1; *BDAG*: *s.v.* ὅσος A.b. The construction with ἄλλος is typical of various literary genres, as well as of the *melete*, e.g. *Il.* 5.877, 21.371; *Od.* 1.11, 21.232; Dem. 23.185; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.10; Pl. *Resp.* 329b; Ap.Rhod. *Arg.* 3.365; Lib. *Decl.* 34.2.3; Aphthonius *Progym.* 7, p. 18.1, 14, p. 48.4 Rabe.

Demosthenes argued in his letter that the sons of Lycurgus should not be imprisoned for their father's debt, because the descendants of other convicted men such as Aristides and Thrasybulus were exonerated from the same penalty: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.19, 24, 19.280–281, 24.133–136 with Goldstein 1968: 219–20. By the same token, since the disreputable Aristogeiton was acquitted in the Harpalus affair, the Athenians should pardon Demosthenes' misconduct: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.37, 42–43; Lyc. fr. 2 Conomis; Dem. 25; Din. 2; [Dem.] 26. Furthermore, while Pytheas, one of the

prosecutors in the Harpalus trials, was rich enough to keep two mistresses, Demosthenes was so embarrassed that he had to mortgage his own house for the repayment: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.29–30, 39–41; see also *Ep.* 7.4 n. 5. Ps.-Aeschines refers to all these arguments before introducing us to a counterclaim with an economical μέν-clause, in which the core of Demosthenes' argument is cleverly summarised by ἀδίκως.

[2] **λοιδοροῦσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας, ὡς φαύλως αὐτοῖς προσφερομένας:** this can be interpreted, within a letter that clearly imitates the Demosthenic model, as criticism of Demosthenes' tactless language, e.g. Dem. *Ep.* 3.18: βδελυρία καὶ ἀναίδεια καὶ προαίρεσις πονηρίας ἐν τῇ πόλει ἰσχύει ('disgusting behaviour, shamelessness and deliberate wrongdoing are strong in the city'); Dem. *Ep.* 3.37: ὧ λίαν ὀλίγοι ('o you all too thoughtless men').

[3] **ἐγὼ δὲ...ἀναξίως ὧν ἐπολιτευσάμην:** service to public and its relation to (dis)honour, and cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 7.2; Dem. *Ep.* 3.6–7, 11–12, 15, 40; *Ἀντιαπτικιστής*: s.v. ἀξία (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 77 = alpha 14 Valente) with Dewitt and DeWitt 1949: 235 n. 3; Goldstein 1968: 234. The narrative sticks to the concept of (in)justice, and the δέ-clause introduces Ps.-Aeschines' own attitude echoing the μέν-clause, that is, those who serve the *polis* (πολιτεύεσθαι) rarely get the treatment they deserve (τὰ ἀξία/ἀξίωμα). The expression is meant to emphasise the risk run by statesmen (πολιτεύεσθαι) and also to invoke the audience's pity: cf. Lys. 9.20, 21.25; Dem. 20.79–82; Arist. *Rh.* 2.8.2 1385b13–19 with Konstan 2001: 38–9; Kapellos 2014: 164–5. Worth mentioning here is the overwhelming power of the *demos* over, and their habitual distrust of, politicians (*rhetores*): cf. Thuc. 6.39.1; [Xen.] *Ath.Pol.* 1.2; Isoc. 13.8; Aeschin. 1.170, 3.16; Dem. 23.185, 24.211; Din. 1.33; Arist. *Pol.* 3.6.3–4 1281a27–1281b10 with Dover 1974: 25–8, 290–2; Chs. 3–4 of Ober 1989, esp. pp. 104–8, 163–5; Forsdyke 2005: 149–65. Consistent with this is the political ingratitude, as noted at Dem. *Ep.* 3.12, that 'the people (ὁ δῆμος) will remember their gratitude (τὰς χάριτας) only so long as they can use a man in the flesh (τοῦ παρόντι

χρησθαι), and after that will not care at all’, and cf. Thuc. 3.47.3; Dem. 20.109; Xen. *Mem.* 2.2.1; [Them.] *Epp.* 2.6–9, ll. 27–37, 4.1, ll. 1–3 (ἀδίκως καὶ ἀναξίως), 13.3–8, ll. 14–37 Hercher; see also Hewitt 1917, 1924. The following references to the case against Ctesiphon, ‘I got myself convicted for accusing others’, and to the misfortunes of Themistocles and Miltiades (§ 2) can be seen as complementary to this view.

[4] ἄχθομαι μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀγανακτῶ δὲ οὐδέν: although Demosthenes argued that he ‘could not feel that way towards the Athenians’, his unconventional expressions of anger run through the whole letter: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.18, 37, 44. Ps.-Aeschines’ argument has the rage of Demosthenes as a reference point, and cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.7: ἐγώ... ἄ [sc. the evil reputation of the Athenians] γὰρ ἄχθομαι; Dem. *Ep.* 3.44: καὶ μή μ’ ὑπολαμβάνειτ’ ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν πάθοιμι τοῦτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς [sc. the Athenians]. According to Aristotle’s definition, anger (ὀργή), broadly understood, is ‘a desire (ὄρεξις) accompanied by distress (λύπη), for a perceived revenge (τιμωρία) on account of a perceived slight (ὀλιγωρία), affecting oneself or those near to one (εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ τι τῶν αὐτοῦ), when such a slight is undeserved (μὴ προσήκοντος)’: see Arist. *Rh.* 2.2.1 1378a30–32 with Renehan 1963; Fortenbaugh 2002: 10–2; Konstan 2003, 2006: 41–8. If we look at the terminology used by Ps.-Aeschines in this passage, it is clear that he used a nuanced modulation of emotional tones. ἄχθεσθαι is a milder and ‘reasonable’ (εἰκός) emotion to feel for unfair treatment, whereas ἀγανακτεῖν (and ὀργίζεσθαι) may involve insanity and violence that goes beyond the normal boundaries of one’s character (social class, wisdom, gender, etc.) and reactions, and is thus deemed ‘foolish’ (ἡλίθιος: § 2): cf. *Ep.* 12.14; Eur. *Bacch.* 1348; Thuc. 3.36.2–4; Andoc. 2.27; Lys. 3.3–4; Dem. 21.41; Arist. *EN.* 2.5.2 1105b25–28; Phld. *de Ir.* fr. 17 Indelli; Plut. *Mor.* 140a–140b; Philostr. *Epp.* 24–25; [Them.] *Ep.* 1.3, ll. 5–7, and see Harris 2001: 53–68, 2003: 122–4, 137; Armstrong 2007: 100–5, 110–5; Tsouna 2007: 221–30; Sanders 2012a: 160; Tamiolaki 2013: 21 n. 39. Yet violent irritation has a positive role to play in

Attic oratory, esp. as a regular response to injustice, and litigants often raised anger through pity to manipulate the courtroom audience provided that the emotion is acted with restraint (*sophrosyne*): cf. Lys. 15.9, 12.20; Pl. *Phdr.* 267c; Aeschin. 1.166, 176, 2.3; Dem. 8.57, 18.138, 19.302, 21.123, 24.90, 118; Arist. *Rh.* 2.2.1–27 1378a30–1380a5, 3.19.3 1419b24–26 with Allen 1999, 2000: 148–51; 2003; Fortenbaugh 2002: 103–5, 2008: 39–40; Rubinstein 2004 and 2013a; Konstan 2006: 66–8, 247–52, 257–8; Sanders 2012b: 364–9, 2016a: 57–60; Harris 2017.

Section 2

[1] **Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθερώσας ἐξηλάθη:** Themistocles is ranked among Athens’ greatest leaders for his role in defeating the Persians, particularly at the battle of Salamis: cf. Hdt. 8.123–125; Thuc. 1.74.1; Aeschin. 1.25, 3.181, 257–259; Dem. 18.204, 19.303; Lys. 30.28; Isoc. 15.232–234; [Them.] *Epp.* 11.1, ll. 1–7, 13.3–8, ll. 14–37 Hercher with Podlecki 1975: 67–75, 81–7; Ch. 4 of Lenardon 1978. ‘The liberator of Greece’ may have its root in the conceptualisation of ‘political freedom’ (*eleutheria*) during the Greco-Persian Wars, and as an epithet it is often associated with those contributing to Athens’ historical achievements: cf. e.g. Xen. *Sym.* 8.39; Plut. *Mor.* 345c; see also Raaflaub 2004: 58–89. Some clues of its juxtaposition with Themistocles are found in the literary, or oral, tradition. Aeschylus, for example, recorded the loud shout of the Greeks at Salamis: ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε, ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ’, ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ παῖδας, γυναῖκας... (‘o sons of the Greeks, forward, liberate your fatherland, and liberate your children, your wives...’); this may be a war-song led by Themistocles, and the anaphora marks an emphasis on ‘freedom’: see Aesch. *Pers.* 402–405 with Podlecki 1975: 155; Garvie 2009 *ad loc.*, and cf. Hdt. 8.83 with Zali 2014: 250–2. Such recognition notwithstanding, the Athenians suspected Themistocles. As we read at D.S. 11.42.4, they were afraid that he might embark upon certain plans with the idea of ‘preparing some sort of tyranny

for himself' (τυραννίδα τινὰ κατασκευασόμενος ἑαυτῷ). Themistocles was eventually ostracised in 471/0 BCE and sentenced to death *in absentia*: cf. Thuc. 1.135.2–3; Kraterus *FGrH* 342 F 11; Pl. *Grg.* 516d; D.S. 11.55–56; Plut. *Them.* 22–4; Nep. 2.8.1–3; [Them.] *Epp.* 1.3, ll. 5–7, 2.1, 3, 9, ll. 1, 13–14, 36–37, 3.5, ll. 19–21, 4.3, 4, ll. 8–10, 14–15 Hercher; see also Podlecki 1975: 185–94; Ch. 7 of Lenardon 1978; Frosdyke 2005: 144–204, esp. pp. 155–60, 176–7.

From the Peripatetics onwards, the saga of Themistocles had become a stock theme of 'characterisation' (*ethopoeia*), and the epistolographic *corpus* attributed to him, for instance, presents in particular his 'character' (ἔθος) as a citizen-in-exile. It is reasonable to see Ps.-Aeschines' account as a product of the same context, and as evidence of wider reflection on the status of exiles and of the popularity of the theme: cf. *Epp.* 7.2, 11.6–7; Teles, p. 22.14 Hense; Plut. *de Exilio* (*Mor.* 601f–602a, 605e); D.C. 38.26.3 with Podlecki 1975: 103–34, esp. p. 130; Chs. 8–10 of Lenardon 1978; Holzberg 1994: 33–8; Gaertner 2005: 261. See also Intro. 5.

[2] Μιλτιάδης, ὅτι μικρὸν ὄφειλε τῷ δημοσίῳ, γέρον ὦν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἀπέθανε: also known as Miltiades the younger (*LGN* II no. 13; *PA* 10212; *PAA* 653820; Develin 1989, no. 2003). He was the victor at the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE, but in the following year led an expedition to Paros on his own initiative. Without success he was accused of deceit (Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτη) and died in prison. There may be two reasons for this allusion. First of all, Miltiades is the major figure in the early stage of the Greco-Persian Wars and is comparable to Themistocles for their leadership at the decisive battles: cf. Aeschin. 3.181; Dem. 13.21–22, 19.303; Isoc. 8.75; Hyp. 6.37; Plut. *Mor.* 349c; see also Efstathiou 2013: 184–198. Second, he shared the same misfortune with Lycurgus (and his sons). Already on the point of dying, he was put on trial and sent to prison, and his son, Cimon, dutifully took on the debt: see also Hdt. 6.136; Nep. 1.7.5–6. 'A small debt to the public' denotes the fine of fifty talents. Ps.-Aeschines may intend to compare Miltiades' preeminence with the fine, and Cimon, with the help of the Philaid and Cimonid properties, could

in theory make the repayment. Still, it reveals historical inaccuracy: reduction of capital sentence notwithstanding, it is a huge sum perhaps twice the cost of the expedition to Paros: cf. Hdt. 6.136.3 with Scott 2005 *ad loc.*

[3] **Αἰσχίνην τὸν Ἀτρομήτου:** Aeschines is the son of Atrometus, from the Cothocidae deme, and cf. Aeschin. 2.78, 147; Dem. 18.130, 19.281; Philostr. *VS.* 1.481, 507; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840a. The Greeks had no surnames, and they attached their father's names (and their demes) in the genitive for further identification. Such an official reference to one's full name is rarely attested except in public documents, e.g. the dedication by ephebes of Oineis phyle (?) at *IG II² 2408*, l. 7: [Α]τρόμητος Αἰσχίνου Κοθωκίδης. Cf. *IG II² 231*, l. 6: [Δημοσθένης] Δη[μ]ο[σθ]έ[ν]ου Παια[ν]ιεύς εἶπεν; Plut. *Dem.* 20.3: Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς τάδ' εἶπεν with Lambert 2012a: 249–72.

The expression is partly an explicable product of narratological, or rhetorical, device. On the one hand, Aeschines appears to be an internal narrator, being the character in the story he tells: cf. *Epp.* 2.5, 6.1, 12.16, and de Jong 2014: 19–20. This agrees with the impersonal narrative at Thuc. 1.1.1: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον..., which purported to produce a 'truth-effect', and cf. Thuc. 4.104.4; Hdt. 1.1 with Hornblower 1991–2008: I, pp. 4–5; Rood 2004: 115–6. On the other hand, the official name, clearly echoing the allusions to Themistocles and Miltiades, is used rather strictly when we look at the 'factual' aspect of a *παράδειγμα*, which, as a historical *exemplum*, is, in the Aristotelian tradition, distinguished from the fictitious *exempla* (παραβολή and λόγοι): cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1.2.8 1356a35–1356b11, 1.9.40 1368a26–32, 2.20.1–9 1393a23–1394a18, 3.17.4 1417b34–1418a1; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 8.1 1429a22–28 with Russell 1983: 101 n. 48; Demeon 1997: 138. Viewed in this way, the use of the third person for self-reference is rhetorically effective, thereby accentuating the difference in importance between Themistocles and Miltiades, and little obscure Aeschines. If we are right in saying that Ps.-Aeschines has a good knowledge of rhetorical theory, his use of historical *exempla* could be

seen as a counterpart of the ‘proof’ (βεβαίωσις/*confirmatio*) sections in Dem. *Ep.* 3, in which dozens of names were illustrated to achieve a sense of reliability: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.11–34, esp. §§ 19, 31 with Goldstein 1968: 140–50, 155–7; Holzberg 1994: 17 n. 40.

[4] **τι τῶν εἰωθότων Ἀθήνησιν ἔπαθεν:** τι τῶν εἰωθότων denotes a common recurrence, especially what tends to occur naturally to men (i.e., φύσις), and cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1; Polyb. 29.22.2; Philostr. *VA.* 8.7; [Xen.] *Ep.* 7 p. 790.9–10 Hercher (= Stob. 2.31.128). To judge from the historical allusions, it refers to ‘formal exile’ (φυγή) with two connotations. The first is the procedural expulsion through ostracism. It enables the Athenians to vote to banish any citizen who potentially threatens the *demos*, and was first applied to Hipparchus son of Charmus, a relative of the tyrant Peisistratus in 488/7 BCE: see [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 22.3–4. Archaeological evidence from Athens, for instance, has shown approximately 200 ‘candidates’ on more than 11,000 shards, including Themistocles, Aristides and Cimon: see Lang 1990: 7; Brenne 2002: 46–71. The institution was discontinued after 416/5 BCE, according to Plut. *Nic.* 11, and see Rosenbloom 2004. An alternative to ostracism is voluntary exile, namely a precautionary choice to leave by those who lose the protection of the community (mostly for ἀτιμία): see Intro. 3.1.

Section 3

[1] **ἀλλ’ ἔγωγε καὶ λαμπρὸν εἰκότως μοι νομίσαιμ’...παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις...:** ἀλλά is a progressive particle reinforced by καί to further the preceding argument in the first person (ἔγωγε...ἔγωγε...), and cf. Dem. 19.257–258; Hippoc. *Mul.* 188.3; Luc. *Indoct.* 25 with *GP*: 21–2. Εἰκότως corresponds to εἰκός (§ 1). The ‘historiographical’ approach is noticeable in the use of λαμπρός, a recurrent word in the letter-collection (*Epp.* 1.1, 2.5, 4.6, 5.7, 7.2, 11.6): cf. Aeschin. 1.181, 3.231; Dem. 19.269 (the Athenians); Soph. *OC.* 1144 (Theseus); Hdt. 6.125.1 (the

Alcmeonids); Thuc. 1.138.6 (Themistocles and Pausanias) with LSJ: *s.v.* λαμπρός II.1; *BDAG*: *s.v.* λαμπρός 2, and in the use of οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι: cf. Thuc. 6.16.5 (Alcibiades); Arr. *Anab.* 6.11.8 (Ptolemy I Soter); D.C. 56.29.5 (Augustus). The latter expression is also attested in a pseudo-historical letter of Euripides (first to second centuries CE), in which Archelaus, king of Macedonia, was ‘chronicled’ as an ideal ruler for patronising artists: see [Eur.] *Ep.* 4.4 with Gösswein 1975: 18–9; Holzberg 1994: 15–6; Knöbl 2008: 224–7; Poltera 2013: 155. The claim that Aeschines would be remembered by people of later days is comparable to Alcibiades’ speech at Thuc. 6.16.1–5. A ‘dismissal of prejudicial attack’ (λύσις διαβολῆς), it is intended to reply to Nicias’ impugnation; compare the *topoi*:

...ἄξιος ἅμα νομίζω εἶναι. ὧν γὰρ πέρι ἐπιβόητός εἰμι, τοῖς μὲν προγόνοις μου καὶ ἐμοὶ δόξαν φέρει ταῦτα...τοῖς μὲν ἀστοῖς φθονεῖται φύσει...οὐδέ γε ἄδικον ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ μέγα φρονοῦντα μὴ ἴσον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κακῶς πράσων πρὸς οὐδένα τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἰσομοιρεῖ...οἶδα δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τινος λαμπρότητι προέσχον, ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ’ αὐτοὺς βίῳ λυπηροὺς ὄντας, τοῖς ὁμοίοις μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυνόντας, τῶν δὲ ἔπειτα ἀνθρώπων προσποιήσιν τε ξυγγενείας τισὶ καὶ μὴ οὔσαν καταλιπόντας...

(*To the Athenians*.)...**I consider that I am worthy.** For **those things** for which I am railed at **bring honour to my ancestors and to myself**...my fellow-citizens are **naturally** envious of me...**there is no injustice that one who has a high opinion of himself** should refuse to be on an equality with others, since he who fares ill finds no one to be an equal participator **in his evil plight**...I know that men of this stamp, and all others who have stood out **in any brilliant achievement** are indeed in their own lifetime an offence, most of all to their equals, then also to others, while still among them, but **to the future generations they lay the claiming of kinship** even where there is none...

We find, apart from the unapologetic tone and verbal echoes, that both Ps.-Aeschines and Thucydides present a self-justification through reason and/or history. This strategy is typical of the *luseis diaboles* e.g. at Aeschin. 1.1–6, because, says Aristotle, their audiences ‘are more attentive to reasonable persons and to great things’ (τὸ ἐπιεικῆ φαίνεσθαι· προσέχουσι γὰρ μᾶλλον τούτοις· προσεκτικοὶ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις): cf. Arist. *Rh.* 3.14.7 1415a25–1415b4; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 29.28 1437b39–1438a3; Schol.Thuc. 6.16.5 (= Kleinlogel–Alpers 00) with Macleod 1975, esp. pp. 41–4 (= *id.* 1983: 70–1); Gribble 1999: 31–3, 142–3 (discussing Dem. 21.143–150), 175–93; Hornblower 1991–2008: III, pp. 341–53; Smith 2009: 371, 388 n. 52. The practice seems also to appear at Dem. *Ep.* 3.39, in which the orator adopted a similar tone and stated that ‘it was my wish...that for myself I might secure a dismissal of the false charges unjustly lodged against me’ (βουλομένου δέ μου...ἐμαυτῶ δὲ λύσιν τῆς γεγνουῖας οὐ δικαίως βλασφημίας πορίσασθαι). See also Intro. 4.1.

[2] τὸ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ...γεγονέναι is an accusative of respect explaining in what respect the description is true (*GG*: 360 § 1601 [c]), and cf. τὸ...καὶ γέλωτος εἶναι δοκεῖν ἅμα καὶ μίσους ἄξιος at *Ep.* 5.8.

Adoxia means the loss of repute and was often associated with exile in other texts, e.g. Dem. *Ep.* 3.40; Plut. *de Exilio* (*Mor.* 599d, 605e); Epict. *Diss.Arr.* 1.30.2; D.Chrys. *Orr.* 8.16, 9.13; [Diogen.Sinop.] *Ep.* 31.4. Here it is wilfully accepted, and the loss of citizenship is equated paradoxically with the gain of fame. We find the same style of eulogy in later philosophers. Crates, for example, described exile as ‘the country of obscurity and poverty’ (πατρίδα ἀδοξίαν καὶ πενίαν) and cast himself in the role of ‘a fellow citizen of Diogenes of Sinope’ (Διογένους πολίτης): cf. D.L. 6.93 with Dawson 1992: 149–50; Branham 2007; Gray 2015: 365 n. 391. A philosophical anecdote may cover some of the same ground. The story goes that a Roman Stoic took the eulogy as a remedy for all hardships and would write a piece on whatever difficulty he had, including *adoxia* and exile: see Epict. fr. 21 Schenkl (= Stob. 3.7.16).

Epigram

In MSS. **APZa** we find two hexametrical verses at the end of Letter 3:

Ὅμμασιν πυρσοτόκοισιν ἰ ἀλάστορες εἴκετε πάντες·
οὐ θέμις ἀντιθέους ἰ ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύειν.

- - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - x ||

- - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - x ||

In my fire-generating eyes you are all like evil demons;
it is not right for impious men to tend this sacred house.

Since ὄμμασιν πυρσοτόκοισιν contrasts with the consolatory theme and mars the unity of the letter, we might be led to conclude that the poetry was not present at the early stage of transmission. Two interpretations of the contents are possible. In the first, the epigram was perhaps transcribed, or composed, by an admirer from a Rhodian rhetorical school. It would therefore be a later interpolation, which reminds us of Aeschines' interest in short pieces: cf. Intro. 1.1. As noted by Perale (2012: 207), 'Aeschines in person would angrily (ὄμμασιν πυρσοτόκοισιν) summon his impious (ἀντιθέους) enemies (ἀλάστορες, i.e. Demosthenes and his supporters) to stay away from Athens, the "holy city" (ἱερὸν δόμον)'. This can be reinforced by Dem. 18.296, 19.305, which used the same word, ἀλάστωρ, to address Aeschines and Philip. In the second, it appears to be a poetical (and religious) exegesis. Ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύειν is recognisable from *Hy.Hom.* 24.2: ἢ τε ἄνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέη ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύεις ('you [*sc.* Hestia] tend the far-shooting lord Apollo's sacred house at holy Pytho'), and cf. *Orph.Hy.* 57.5. Ἀντίθεος is

Homeric, but its juxtaposition with ἀλάστορ is more likely to hint at a Christian context; the themes of penetrating eyes and sacred house find echoes in early Christian hexametrical poetries, e.g. P.Bodm. 29, ll. 53–58, 126–127, 137–139, 166–167 (c. 400 CE). See also Hernández Muñoz 2009: 258, 2011: 357–9; Perale 2012: 207–9.

The stylistic character of the verses, however, may suggest a readership of the letters in Late Antiquity. The fact that the final section imitates a *lisis diabolos* in an aggressive tone (§ 3), and the biblical connotation of λαμπρός (e.g. *NT. Revelation* 22.16), may inspire a Christian author. The letter-performing culture in the Byzantine *theatron* makes such an interpolation more plausible: a reciter would add a poem to increase the force of the speech, and cf. Gaul forthcoming. As Perale (2012: 207–8) made evident, the verses were influenced by Nonnus of Panopolis on metrical grounds: i) oxytones are avoided before a ‘feminine’ caesura (–:~) in the first line; ii) paroxytone appears before a ‘masculine’ caesura (–:~) in the second line; iii) proparoxytones, and oxytones of more than two syllables in which the last vowel is short, are avoided at line-ends; cf. also West 1982: 179–80; Magnelli 2016: 361–4. Besides, πυρσοτόκος (‘fire-generating’, from πυρσός and τίκτειν) is a Nonnian coinage, e.g. Nonn. *Dion.* 23.256, 37.59, 65, and cf. θαλασσοτόκος (‘sea-generating’) at Nonn. *Dion.* 26.278, 39.341. Whether there was a ‘School’ of Nonnus is disputed, but recent scholarship has recognised his popularity as a model author in Late Antiquity, and some followers, Musaeus Grammaticus for example, were almost his contemporaries: cf. Miguélez Caveró: 2008 93–6, 371–82. The *terminus post quem* for the interpolation would therefore be the mid-fifth century CE, and may provide us a *testimonium* earlier than Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, 264.490b: cf. Intro. 1.3.2. For the identification and lifetime of Nonnus see e.g. Cameron 2015: 85–90.

Letter 7

Prefatory note

Letter 7 is the imitative counterpart of Dem. *Ep.* 4, including primarily a reply to the slanderer (§§ 1–4) and a statement to the Athenians (§ 4–5). Ps.-Aeschines places most emphasis on the minor points of Demosthenes' rhetorical strategy, namely to dignify the protagonist (Demosthenes/Aeschines) by mocking the antagonist (Theramenes/Melanopus). However, in order to reject the slander of his being 'a jinx' (δυστυχία: Dem. *Ep.* 4.1), Demosthenes stressed (and this is his wider strategy) his contribution to the common good (τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος: Dem. *Ep.* 4.2), arguing that the Athenian people are the most fortunate thanks to his policies and therefore they should exonerate him: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 4.3–9, esp. §§ 4, 9 with Goldstein 1968: 173–6; Clavaud 1987: 37–42; Worthington 2006: 127; MacDowell 2009: 420. Ps.-Aeschines on the other hand ignores this main theme, and concentrates in his imitation on the less important sections that insult the antagonist (Dem. *Ep.* 4.1, 10–12). For this reason, as Goldstein put it, Letter 7 'is superficially similar', and Ps.-Aeschines fails to generate a work of quality comparable to the imitative model.

This letter is, overall, inspired by the accounts of the two prostitutes (a certain Theramenes and Pausanias) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.1, 11, and talks extensively about Melanopus and Timarchus, who had also, allegedly, been prostitutes (§ 3). Ps.-Aeschines has an ulterior motive for displaying his knowledge of Aeschines' first speech, the strategy of which was to arouse the indignation of the dicasts by contrasting Timarchus' dishonorable career with his public office: cf. Fisher 2001: 53–66. Letter 7 reads like a forensic speech in a manner similar to its imitative model: cf. Goldstein 1968: 173. It begins with a review of former events (§ 1); in the core part, which is marked by an apostrophe, Ps.-Aeschines compares the way of life of Aeschines, Themistocles and Aristides with that of Melanopus and Timarchus (§§ 2–

3); he then moves into an account of the benevolence of the Athenians (§ 4); and the epilogue highlights the importance of equality before the law to secure Aeschines' repatriation (§§ 4–5).

Two points require special notice. First, the themes of the humanity (*philanthropia*) of the Athenians (§ 1), Melanopus (§ 2) and Timarchus (§ 3) recur in Letter 12, and the allusion to Themistocles (§ 2) find an echo in Letter 3; this provides good evidence for entertaining the intratextual possibilities between these letters. Second, Ps.-Aeschines avoids an imitative commitment to a single letter only. For example, εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε δεύτερον ἂν δεηθείην, ἀνέχεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν λοιδορούντων ἡμᾶς, ἢ χαρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας, ὅτι τῶν βλασφημιῶν οὐκ ἀκροῶσθε (§ 5) seems to contain an admixture of ἂν οὕτω τύχη, δι' ὑμᾶς περιόψεσθ' ἀπολόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δεηθείην ἄλλων ἢ ὑμῶν at Dem. *Ep.* 3.41 and εἰ δ' ἐπιηράζειν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ μοι βοηθεῖν ἅπαντας, καὶ μὴ κυριωτέραν τὴν τούτων ἔχθραν τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χάριτός μοι γενέσθαι at Dem. *Ep.* 2.26; ψηφισαμένους ἃ πολλὰκις πολλοῖς ἤδη ἐψηφίσασθε τὰ μέγιστα ἁμαρτοῦσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς (§ 4) may have its origin in ψηφίσασθέ μοι ταῦθ' ἃ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἤδη at Dem. *Ep.* 2.21, the model of Letter 12, and hence a strong request for restoration is made (§§ 4–5) – be it that Demosthenes touches upon this topic only in passing (Dem. *Ep.* 4.2). Similarly, τρεῖς δὲ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν πατέρα σου (§ 3) is identical with πολλὰς πεντετηρίδας ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ διατρίψαντα τὸν πατέρ' αὐτοῦ at Dem. 24.125, and the antithesis in the same section is reminiscent of Dem. 22.61. Such features as these illustrate the popularity of Demosthenes in antiquity and points to the fact that Letter 7 was written in a rhetorical school.

Commentary

Title

Αἰσχίνης τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ is characteristic of the demegoric genre; see also the titles of *Epp.* 3, 11, 12 with Goldstein 1968: 101. There is wide agreement that the ancients were mostly not concerned with exact titles, and that a majority of them were added by later compilers. For instance, Demosthenes referred to a now lost letter as ‘the previous letter’ (τὴν προτέραν ἐπιστολὴν: *Dem. Ep.* 3.1), and to *Dem. Ep.* 2, now entitled *Περὶ τῆς ἰδίας καθόδου*, as the ‘long letter’ (ἐπιστολῆς μακρᾶς: *Dem. Ep.* 3.37). A third century CE lexicographer identified *Dem. Ep.* 3 by its incipit instead of title: see *Ἀντιαττικιστής*: *s.v.* ἀξία, ἐργολάβος (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 77, 94 = A 14, E 45 Valente) with Goldstein 1968: 211. And while later commentators identified it with *Περὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Λυκούργου παίδων* and *Περὶ ἀφέσεως*, a second to third century BCE papyrus (P.Lit.Lond. 130 = MP³ 0337) omits the title: cf. Harpocr. *s.v.* ἐρανίζοντες, φθόη; Hermog. *Id.* 2.8 364 Rabe; Planudes V 495 Walz with Goldstein 1968: 211; Clavaud 1987: 105. This phenomenon seems to survive well into the fourth century CE. Libanius once discussed ‘a letter most precious’ (τὴν πλείστου ἀξίαν ἐπιστολήν) by Datianus, and Synesius ‘a letter with your [*sc.* Pylaemenes’] name inscribed on it’ (ἐπιστολὴν τὸ σὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένην ὄνομα), but the titles of both were not given: see *Lib. Ep.* 1259; *Syn. Ep.* 101, ll. 2–3 Garzya. Letter 7 may possibly be dated around the time when *Dem. Ep.* 4 was referred to as *Περὶ τῆς Θηραμένους βλασφημίας* inasmuch as this title may have focused Ps.-Aeschines’ attention on the figure of the slanderer. Further on titlature see e.g. Fredouille *et al.* 1997; Whitmarsh 2005b.

In general, epistolary writings were given titles either after their addressees (e.g. *Epp.* 1–3, 6–7, 11–12; *Dem. Ep.* 5; *Isoc. Epp.* 1–9), or after their contents (e.g. *Dem. Epp.* 1–4, 6), and both may serve as particular bases upon which the letter-collections

were arranged in Greco-Roman times: cf. Gibson 2012, 2013: 390–2; Hodkinson 2018. The titulature of Letter 7 is recalcitrant: it belongs, on the surface at least, to the first group, resembling the formal epistolary greeting ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν, e.g. Dem. *Ep.* 1.2; Duris *FGrH* 76 F 51 (= Plut. *Phoc.* 17.10); *Anthologia Graeca* 5.9.1–2; [Pl.] *Epp.* 3 315a, 13 360a, 363b; [Lib.] *de Forma Epistolari* 51; see also *BNP* 4: s.v. ‘Epistle’ (c); Exler 1923: 50–68; Trapp 2003: 34–5; Eidinow and Taylor 2010: 33; Ceccarelli 2013b: 35–6. But the formula also betrays the topic of the letter. If we investigate the institutional, political, and intellectual contexts it purports to reproduce (those of 4th-cent. BCE Athens), we can safely assume that open letters to the city had such a title/salutation, especially when they were addressed to the decision-making bodies. In Classical Athens, officials abroad – generals on duty for example – may send their reports in epistolary form. The Council, which is the executive and preparatory body, was tasked with preliminary deliberation on all matters (including the requests by exiles, e.g. *Ep.* 11.1; Andoc. 2.3, 19), and with passing a *probouleuma* before setting a matter on the agenda of the Assembly. When the preliminary decree of the Council was approved by the Assembly without changes, we find in inscriptions formulas such as ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ: cf. *IG* II³ 1 299, ll. 1–2; Thuc. 7.8.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.4; Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 609a (edd. W.J.W. Koster *et al.*, I 3¹, 135) with Henry 1977: 35–7; Rhodes 1985: 42–3; Rhodes with Lewis 1997: 4–7, 18–23, 488–91; Sickinger 1999: 135–8; Canevaro 2013: 331 n. 44; Ceccarelli 2013b: 89–98. By the late Classical period, the letter had become an established means of interstate communication. In literary sources, for example, there were mentions of Philip’s letters to the Greek *poleis*, e.g. Dem. 7.1, 8.16, 9.16, 11.1, 18.156, 19.36; Aeschin. 2.45, 124; Didym. *Dem.* col. ix ll. 45–7 (= P.Berol. 9780; MP³ 0339). Some letters by his successors have survived on inscriptions with the specifications of sending/receiving bodies: cf. *SIG* 283, ll. 1–2; *SIG* 344, l. 109 (= *SEG* 15.717; Welles 1934, no. 4); *OGIS* 214, ll. 10–11 (= *SEG* 27.730; Welles 1934, no. 5; *Milet* I 3.139A, l. 1 (= *SEG* 4.428; Welles 1934, no. 14); see also Welles 1934:

xxxvii–xli; Rhodes with Lewis 1997: 7; Muir 2009: 90–7; Chs. 6–7 of Ceccarelli 2013b; Sickinger 2013; Bencivenni 2014. Unsurprisingly, therefore, later ‘forgers’ would apply the formulaic expression to their artifacts for the sake of verisimilitude: cf. [Ap.Ty.] *Ep.* 47 with Penella 1979: 23–9; [Philip II] *Epp.* 1–6 (= [Dem.] 12.1; Dem. 18.39, 77, 166, 167, 157) with Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 714–6; MacDowell 2009: 364–6. In the cases of Demosthenes and (Ps.-)Aeschines, their letters conveyed instructions to the *polis*, and, most importantly, the Assembly must deliberate on their requests for exoneration; such letters would be read both to the Council and to the Assembly, and should begin with the expression ὁ δεῖνα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δημῷ χαίρειν, a formula typical of standardised documents; cf. also Rhodes 1985: 64–78.

Section 1

[1] ἐπυθόμην τὰ ῥηθέντα Μελανώπω πρὸς ὑμᾶς: imitative counterpart of ἀκούω περὶ ἐμοῦ Θηραμένην ἄλλους τε λόγους βλασφήμους εἰρηκέναι καὶ δυστυχίαν προφέρειν (‘I hear that Theramenes has said various slanderous words about me, and particularly that he has accused me of being a jinx’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.1. Πυνθάνεσθαι is an alternative to ἀκούειν. It recurs at *Epp.* 1.3, 4.1 (× 2), 4.6, 8.1, 10.5, 11.5, 8, 11 and as a synonym was frequently discussed by ancient lexicographers, e.g. *Suda*: Π 3173: ‘Πυνθάνεσθαι in the orators and in Homer is in reference to ἀκούειν and μανθάνειν’ (τὸ πυνθάνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι καὶ παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν καὶ μανθάνειν); see also *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*: s.vv. πυνθάνομαι, πυνθανόμην (edd. K. Latte, P.A. Hansen and I.C. Cunningham, III, 214); *Λέξεις ῥητορικάι*: s.v. πυνθάνεσθαι (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 297). ῥηθέντα is the verbal noun of εἰρηκέναι and is found in the Attic orators, e.g. Aeschin. 2.118; Dem. 3.15, 29. 12, *Pr.* 9.2; Isoc. 3.12, 4.31.

Πρὸς ὑμᾶς is possibly adapted to imitate περὶ ἐμοῦ. Otherwise, the attributive

phrase is supposed to come between the article and the noun. Demosthenes (19.75) used τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τούτου τότε ῥηθέντα to refer to Aeschines' promise, and in another instance, Aeschines (2.42) used τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθέντα to refer to Demosthenes and Ctesiphon's flatteries of Philip. Among their predecessors, this unconventional post-nominal modifier, to my knowledge, was paralleled only at Hdt. 7.149.2 as τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, which is perhaps determined by pragmatic factors: cf. Bakker 2009: 113–20. The word order may thus betray the post-Classical composition of the letter, and cf. e.g. Arist. *Top.* 1.6 103a4–5; Polyb. 4.26.8, 22.1.4, 23.18.1, 38.11.7; Joseph. *BJ.* 4.233; Eus. *Praep.* 10.3.25.

[2] **τὴν...φιλανθρωπίαν:** probably the counterpart of 'fair-minded people' (εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.1, praising (allegedly) that the Athenians reacted with incredulity to Melanopus' slander (§ 4). Φιλανθρωπία is recurrent in the Attic orators, particularly in the *Corpus Demosthenicum*: cf. Aeschin. 1.171, 2.13, 15, 30, 39; Dem. 18.5, 209, 298, 316, 19.40, 102, 140, *Epp.* 1.10, 3.22, 34, 41, *Prr.* 16.1, 23.1. Literally, it denotes 'goodwill towards human beings', and both Aeschines and Demosthenes used it to describe Philip's courtesy: see Aeschin. 2.13, 39–40; Dem. 18.231 with Fisher 2001: 282; Paulsen 1999: 325; Greaney 2005: 28 n. 78. In political discourses it implies – thanks above all to Demosthenes' characterisation – civic virtue as opposed to the 'cruelty' (ὠμότης; Dem. 20.109) of other *poleis*: see Dover 1974: 201–5; de Romilly 1979: 37–52, 97–112; Kremmydas 2012: 377–8; Christ 2013; Canevaro 2016a: 370–2; Holton 2018. Demosthenes labelled Theramenes 'a non-citizen by nature' (μὴ πολίτην δὲ τὴν φύσιν; Dem. *Ep.* 4.1) to underscore his praise of the Athenians as 'fair-minded people'; in the same way, Ps.-Aeschines has rightly contrasted this political ideal to Melanopus, the (alleged) prostitute who should be disenfranchised according to the law: cf. Aeschin. 1.134; Dem. 19.257, 283–4 with MacDowell 2000b (= *id.* 2018: 134–43).

Φιλανθρωπία also appears at *Epp.* 5.1, 12.16 (× 2), and in the latter Ps.-Aeschines considers Melanopus as a hindrance to 'the Athenians' kindness and humanity' (τὴν

ἐαυτῶν χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν) towards Aeschines and his children. Notably, he mentions φιλανθρωπία in regard both to the individual's welfare and to the common interest of the *polis*. This not only indicates that there are cross-references in these letters, but also may assign the date of composition to the post-Classical era; in other words, φιλανθρωπία contains a semantic admixture belonging to the Hellenistic period. Although this term could be applied within the *polis*, especially as an attribute of the Athenian people at large, e.g. Arist. *EN*. 8.1.3 1155a19–21; Isoc. 15.276; Dem. 18.5, *Epp.* 1.10, 3.22, 34, 41; Hyp. 5 fr. 6.25 Jensen, it was often used in interstate relations in the Classical period, i.e. in their dealings with other *poleis*. The 'domestic' connotation seems to experience a major development thereafter; through an examination of the honorific epigraphy and historiography of the time, scholars have now shown that by the mid- and late Hellenistic period, especially after c. 150 BCE, the trait of φιλανθρωπία had acquired wider application to social relationships, particularly to the interactions among fellow citizens: see Gray 2013a: 355–6, 2013b, 2015: 373. This may be the sense in which Ps.-Aeschines uses the term, because he is arousing the Athenians' philanthropic concern with their exiled citizens – those from the same *polis*. A comparable case is a second century CE papyrus, which translates ψηφίσασθε καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄξια καὶ ἐμοῦ ('pass a vote worthy both of yourselves and of me') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.23 into τῆς πᾶσιν ὑπαρχούσης παρ' ὑμῶν φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἐμοὶ μετάδοτε ('let me share in the humanity that you have given to everyone'). Scholars are inclined to treat it as an interpolation in the post-Classical era, because various readings have in general shown a lower stylistic level influenced by the practice in rhetorical schools: see P.Oslo 1471 (= MP³ 0336), col. ii ll. 61–63 with Eitrem and Amundsen 1956: 105–8, and cf. Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. ii ll. 1–10). We may think that Letter 7 shares the same intellectual context. It must be noted however that the use of φιλανθρωπία in Ps.-Aeschines (as well as in Demosthenes) is not entirely inappropriate for a Classical context, as the term was still applied to the Athenians in their entirety.

[3] **Μελανόπω:** cf. analogously τούτω ('as for this man [Theramenes]') at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2. 'Melanopus' is a common name in Attica, and it must be stressed at the outset that the particular figure cannot be identified with certainty. Yet Ps.-Aeschines may refer to a renowned figure, such as Melanopus of Aexone (*LGPN* II no. 7; *PA* 9788; *PAA* 638765; Develin 1989, no. 1933), since he is recurrent in the letter-collection: cf. *Epp.* 4.2, 12.16–17. First of all, this Melanopus was politically prominent in Classical Athens. He seems to be the son of Laches the general: cf. Dem. 24.127 with *BNP* 7: s.v. 'Melanopus'; Hansen 1989b: 55; MacDowell 2009: 182; while some scholars identified him with the grandson: see *PA*: 6–7; Hornblower 1982: 217–8; Sealey 1993: 72–3, 118–9. As an ambassador, he was sent to Sparta in 372/1 BCE (Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.2), then to Mausolus in 355 BCE (Dem. 24.11–13, 126–7; *IG* II² 150, l. 5). He also proposed some decrees of the Council (§ 3 n. 1). Second, he seemed to have become a notorious figure for his misconduct. In particular, his shifting politics made him the victim of many mockeries: as the opponent of Callistratus of Aphidnae, he was yet bribed to support his motions (Plut. *Dem.* 13.3), and a comic poet (fl. 376–349 BCE) taunted that he anointed perfume on the latter's feet (Ath. 4.7 = Anaxandrides fr. 41 *PCG*). He was also said to have a long criminal history, such as false accounting (Arist. *Rh.* 1.14.1 1374b24–27) and treason (Dem. 24.12, 125–8; Schol. Dem. 20.1 = Dilts 5c; Schol. Dem. 24.5 = Dilts 18a; Schol. Dem. 24.125 = Dilts 249a). Because of the reputation he acquired, Melanopus of Aexone might be the best person to choose for an imaginary antagonist. But his hostility to Aeschines seems groundless. Despite his changeful character, Demosthenes' accusations against him in the *Against Timocrates* suggest that he was no friend of his, and this is attestable through the fact that his family was backed by Macedonia, and especially that the Athenians released his son from prison as a favour to Alexander: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.24–26; *Hesperia* 16: 152, no. 44 with Goldstein 1968: 221; Worthington 2006: 121 n. 68. More crucially, since Laches died in 418 BCE at the battle of Mantinea according to Thuc. 5.74.3, Melanopus cannot have

been less than ninety around 330s BCE when Aeschines left Athens, and thus was too old to be active in politics: cf. MacDowell 2009: 182.

In a Demosthenic speech we find another Melanopus, the son of Diophantus of Sphettus (*LGPN* II no. 19; *PA* 9794; *PAA* 638830). He was regarded as a close friend of Androcles of Sphettus, the plaintiff of the speech: see Dem. 35.6–8. It is conjectured that he was the nephew of Melanopus of Aexone, because the latter was ‘a connection by marriage’ (κηδεστής) of Diophantus: cf. Harpocr. *s.v.* Μελάνωπος; Phot. *s.v.* Μελάνωπος; *Suda*: M 462; see also Wyse 1904: 304; Sealey 1993: 118–9. As Ps.-Aeschines can find nothing more to say about him, there is less likelihood of this Melanopus being the imaginary antagonist.

[4] ἐπανελθὼν...νομίζω...: cf. ἐὰν ἀφίκομαι ποτε καὶ σωθῶ...καὶ νομίζω... at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2; ἐπανερχεσθαι refers to restoration from exile.

[5] τοῖς βεβιωμένοις αὐτῷ πρέπουσαν ἀποδώσειν χάριν: antiphrasis for ironic effect; that is, Melanopus is merely worth being treated as a prostitute and (therefore) as a non-citizen. Cf. πειράσομαι διαλεχθῆναι...καίπερ οὐδὲν μετέχοντα τοῦ αἰσχύνεσθαι, μετριώτερον αὐτὸν ποιήσειν (‘I shall undertake to have a talk with Theramenes...even though he has no shame, I will make him more self-restrained’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2. The ancient Greeks left numerous accounts of reciprocal obligations, either religious or secular, with respect to χάρις: cf. *Ep.* 4.6 (with n. 7); *CEG* 205; *SEG* 52.958; *Il.* 9.315–317; Pind. *Pyth.* 2.17; Eur. *Hec.* 251–257; Dem. 21.160, *Epp.* 2.11, 19, 26, 3.2, 5, 4.9, 5.6; Aeschin. 3.177; [Dem.] 59.8; [Chion.] *Ep.* 2.1 with Löw 1908; Hewitt 1924, 1927; MacLachlan 1993, esp. Chs. 1, 5 and 7; Millett 1991: 58, 124–5, 1998; Ch. 7 of Konstan 2006; Fisher 2010: 73–7. The expression under discussion, in the context of the Greek *poleis*, may come from the public honorific language in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, expressing ‘gratitude’ (χάρις) in recognition of the aforementioned ‘humanity’ (φιλανθρωπία), and cf. Dem. *Ep.* 1.10; *IPark* 18, ll. 22–24 (c. 189 BCE); *IG IX 2* 89, ll. 25–27 (c. 140 BCE); *SEG* 39.1243, col. iii ll. 38–47 (c. 130–110 BCE); *IG II³* 1 1145, ll. 10–19 (c. 25 BCE);

see also Gray 2015: 278, 300–4.

[6] **ἀτυχῶν...καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστερημένος:** ἀτυχεῖν is the euphemistic expression of ‘dishonour’ (ἀτιμοῦσθαι), and cf. *Epp.* 3.1, 11.1–4, 12.5; Dem. 21.59–60; Cic. *Dom.* 72 with Reiske 1771: 666 n. 36; LSJ: *s.v.* ἀτυγέω; see Caroli 2017 for a comprehensive survey of this linguistic phenomenon. Τῆς πατρίδος/πόλεως ἐστερηῆσθαι refers to the privation of citizenship and debarment from one’s fatherland: cf. *Epp.* 2.2, 6.1, 9.2; Antiph. 5.13; Andoc. 1.5; Dem. 27.67, *Ep.* 2.2; Aeschin. 2.182; Polyb. 2.61.10; Phot. *Bibl.* 265.493b. The expression occurs a few times in tragedy, and Euripides, for example, expounded the predicament of exile as ‘the greatest evil’ (κακὸν μέγιστον). This attitude appears to be a commonplace and features in later Greek philosophers such as Diogenes of Sinope, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius: cf. Eur. *Med.* 653, *Phoen.* 388–389 (= Plut. *Mor.* 599e); Diogen.Sinop. fr. 4 *TGF* (= D.L. 6.38); see also Rawson 1970: 111–5; Mastronarde 1994: 258–9; Montiglio 2005: 34; Garland 2014: 25–8. It is also typical of the Attic orators, e.g. Andoc. 2.9–10; Isoc. 14.46–50, 19.23–27; Dem. 57.70; Hyp. 1.20; see also Gaertner 2007a: 9 n. 44.

[7] **ἀρκέσαι πειράσομαι:** cf. πειράσομαι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ ὧν εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν εἰς ὑμᾶς παροινεῖ (‘[if I ever return and am pardoned] I shall undertake to talk with him about the drunken abuse he directs at me and at you’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2. In this context ἀρκεῖν is not a neutral word. I suggest that it echoes βοηθῶν...τοῖς νόμοις (§ 2), because in ancient lexicons this term is identifiable with βοηθεῖν: cf. Schol. *Il.* 6.16 (ed. H. Erbse, II, 132–3); *Suda*: A 3951, H 530. It therefore implies that even in exile Aeschines has to lead a civic life availing himself and the *polis*, and the meaning is probably something along the lines of ‘I shall attempt to defend myself and hopefully this will be sufficient’, thereby recalling the notion of rhetorical effectiveness: cf. *Epp.* 4.4, 5.1, 10.1, 11.2, 12.17; D.H. *Comp.* 22. Overall, the account offers a conventional Greek idea of exile, and is to be distinguished from the consolatory approach in Letter 3; see also Intro. 3.1, 5.

Section 2

[1] **ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Μελάνωπε:** an open letter, Letter 7 has features akin to forensic and/or deliberative speeches. This exclamatory figure, for example, marks an apostrophe that brings out a graphic effect: cf. Aeschin. 1.75, 2.86 with Usher 2010. ‘Ἐγὼ γάρ + vocative (esp. ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι/δικασταί/βουλή)’ appears frequently in the Attic orators when they address the Athenians, e.g. Aeschin. 2.81, 183; Dem. 2.6, 5.5, 24.6, 25.30, 29.6, 11, 25, 30, 30.6, 19, 26, 34.6; [Dem.] 33.4, 45.3, 58. 57; Isoc. 17.35; Lys. 1.6, 24.10; Is. 11.8, 38, and as formulaic language it is also used by Plato in the voice of Socrates and by later authors, e.g. Pl. *Ap.* 21b, 32a; D.H. *Ant.Rom.* 10.51.2, *Is.* 8, 9 (= Lys. fr. 174 Carey); Luc. *Bis acc.* 27; Ael.Ar. *Orat.* 42 p. 523. 19 Jebb; see also Dickey 1996: 178–81. The ‘asseverative’ γάρ (cf. *Epp.* 8.1, 9.1, 11.4, 6, 13, 12.17) introduces a response to Melanopus’ statements (τὰ ῥηθέντα) and hence a mimic dialogue in the letter: cf. Pl. *Phaed.* 63b, 96a, *Alc.* 104e, *Pr.* 391a, *Resp.* 344e; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.20; Eus. *HE.* 1.8.17; see also *GP:* 57, 68–9, 73–81. A tendency to avoid hiatus, moreover, is well attested in this instance, and see Intro. 3.4.2 (iv).

[2] **μὲν...μέντοι...:** a juxtaposition common in prose writings, e.g. § 4; Hdt. 1.139; Thuc. 1.142.4; Dem. 3.2. Μέντοι is forecast by μὲν in the preceding clause, standing in some sense for δέ, and the emphasis is that Aeschines keeps a clear conscience; see also *GP:* 404; LSJ: *s.v.* μὲν B.II.4.a.

[3] **ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στεφανοῦσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦς ἀγωνιζόμενος:** historical allusion to the ‘crown trial’. Legal terms such as ἀγωνίζεσθαι and παρὰ τοὺς νόμους are found in the relevant passages, e.g. Aeschin. 3.11, 26, 32, 210; Dem. 18.2–3: see also Intro. 1.2.3. In 336 BCE, Ctesiphon proposed, or advocated, an honorific decree crowning Demosthenes as a reward for his service to Athens. Aeschines soon lodged a *graphe paranomon* and claimed to have found the honorary decree ‘illegal’ in three aspects: i) the law forbade the award of a crown to a public official before the audit

(εὐθύναι), and at that time Demosthenes held an office among the board of wall-builders (τειχοποιοί) for which he had not yet undergone his *euthynai*; ii) Ctesiphon should have the decree announced in the decision-making bodies, not in the theatre of Dionysus; iii) the decree contained false statements because the contributions of Demosthenes were exaggerated. The first two grounds against the honorary decrees were based on procedural irregularities, but Aeschines may have deliberately misinterpreted the laws. On the one hand, a magistrate could receive a crown when it was not awarded for his current services; the honorary decree, of which we do not possess the full text, was probably proposed for Demosthenes' earlier performance, since it made no mention of his conduct as *teichopoios*. On the other hand, the announcement of the decree is permitted in the theatre provided that the Assembly votes to allow it. The third argument is relevant, but was disproved by the dicasts' vote: cf. Aeschin. 3.1–8, 9–31, 32–48, 49–50, 58–81, 84–105, 106–167, 236–237; Dem. 18.113–117, 118, 120–122 with Hansen 1974: 36–9 (nos. 26, 30); Harris 1995: 138–48, 2013a: 225–33 and forthcoming; MacDowell 2009: 382–97; Canevaro 2013: 283–90.

Later commentators, however, employed Aeschines' accounts as historical documents, and therefore his threefold charge was almost uncritically accepted as founded: cf. D.H. *Amm.* 1.12; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840c, 846a; Aeschin. 3 *hypoth.* 2–5 Dilts; Lib. *Hypoth.Dem.* 18.6–8. Ps.-Aeschines' approach is much the same, but it fails to suit the actual circumstance: the 'historical' Aeschines would not mention the untenable *graphe paranomon*, especially in a letter to the Athenian people who were responsible for his defeat in court. An addition to this point is the use of ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στεφανοῦσθαι. Although 'ὑπὲρ + genitive articular infinitive' is a common form to express purpose, e.g. Aeschin. 1.170, 2.43, 3.1, 91; Dem. 8.45, 18.204, when denoting a hindrance, Aeschines used this structure with τὸ μὴ in preference to a simple negative pronoun: cf. Aeschin. 1.170, 2.91; Isoc. 9.91, 16.9; Xen. *Hier.* 4.3; Plut. *Comp.Ag.Gracch.* 3.1, *Mor.* 255f with *GG*: 451 § 2032; see also Intro. 3.4.2

(iii).

[4] **Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν λαμπροτάτων** may come from the allusion to Themistocles and Miltiades at *Ep.* 3.2–3, but ‘Miltiades’ is replaced to avoid excessive repetition.

The juxtaposition of the figures of Themistocles and Aristides often appears with an emphasis on the competition between aristocrats and democrats: cf. Hdt. 8.78–79; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 23.3, 28.2; Nep. 3.1–2; Plut. *Them.* 3.1–3, *Arist.* 2–3; [Them.] *Epp.* 3.5, ll. 17–19, 9.1, ll. 1–6, 11.3, ll. 14–24 Hercher and *Epp.* 12, 18, 19 *passim*. There was common ground between them despite the political rivalry. Both took their places among the great Athenians for their role in the Greco-Persian Wars. Aeschines, for example, alluded to the two figures when facing Demosthenes’ charge, and took them as politicians distinguished from – and better than – Demosthenes and Timarchus: cf. Aeschin. 1.25, 2.9, 3.181, 257–259. Ironically, both were ostracised and banished for Medism: cf. Din. 1.37; Lang 1990, nos. 64–66, 973 with Podlecki 1975: 86, 189–91; Forsdyke 2005: 148–76; see also *Ep.* 3.2 nn. 1–2. For accounts of their misfortunes in later exilic writings see Ov. *Pont.* 1.3.69–70; Muson. *de Exilio* p. 72.3–6 Lutz; Favorin. *de Exilio* 22.4 p. 401.2–13 Barigazzi; D.C. 38.26.3; Philostr. *Ep.* 39; see also Gaertner 2007b: 157 n. 12.

[5] **ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεδυστυχηκέναι τὸ...σοὶ δὲ τὸ...προεστάναι...τὴν μητέρα...δὲ ἐμπεσεῖν...τὸν πατέρα...σὲ δὲ...ἡταιρηκέναι:** use of antithesis in antithesis. It contains two units that imitate, respectively, *τούτῳ μὲν οὖν...ὑμῖν δὲ...* (‘to Theramenes, therefore, ...to you, however...’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2, and the elaborately balanced antitheses *ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἐστὶ τοῖς γονεῦσι, φίλος δὲ Πausανία τῷ πόρνῳ· καὶ θρασύνεται μὲν ὡς ἀνὴρ, πάσχει δ’ ὡς γυνή· καὶ τοῦ μὲν πατρός ἐστὶ κρείττων, τῶν δ’ αἰσχρῶν ἤττων· οἷς δ’ ὑπὸ πάντων δυσχεραίνεται, τούτοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἀγάλλεται...ὁ δ’...οὐ πάυεται* (‘he is an enemy to his parents but a friend to Pausanias “the whore”; he bullies like a man but is treated like a woman; he is superior to his father but is inferior to degeneracy. His mind takes pride in the things

that all are unable to endure...yet he never stops talking’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.11. In particular, the rare Gorgianic element may excite the imitator’s interest: cf. Dem. 4.1, 14.8, esp. 22.61 with § 3 n. 1; see also Blass 1887–98: III/1, p. 451; DeWitt and DeWitt 1949: 262; Rowe 1967: 184–6; Wooten 2008: 39–40.

The first δέ is adversative and echoes the μὲν-clause. It contains three continuative subunits describing Melanopus and his parents: τὸ...προεστάναι...τὴν μητέρα...δὲ ἐμπροσθεῖν...τὸν πατέρα...σὲ δὲ...ἡταιρηκέναι; the latter two may be influenced by the symmetrical antithesis of οἷς δὲ...ὁ δέ... at Dem. *Ep.* 4.11, and cf. *GP*: 162–5. Grammatically, the article τό introduces three appositional phrases, which are intended to modify ταῦτα (§ 3): cf. νομίσαιμ’ ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, τὸ...γεγονέναι at *Ep.* 3.3; see also Bakker 2009: 221–4.

Section 3

[1] **θεσμοθετοῦντος**: literally, ‘to serve as a statute-setter/legislator’. Melanopus could be called a statute-setter for proposing some decrees of the Council. In 364/3 BCE, for example, he appointed a certain Philocles the herald of the Council and Assembly: see *IG II²* 145, ll. 11–25 with Lambert 2012b: 270 (= *id.* 2017: 148).

But the verb can only relate to the six junior archons in Athens as its literal meaning had been obscured by the office of *thesmothes* from the Classical period onwards: cf. Is. 7.34; [Dem.] 59.65. Since there is no evidence to show that Melanopus once held this position, the account is open to suspicion. I suggest that it is modelled on the legal procedure as we read in the *Against Androton*, namely, ‘with the *thesmothetai*’ (πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας) one could condemn a man for participating in politics after having been a prostitute: cf. Dem. 22.21–29 with MacDowell 2009: 173–4. The *thesmothetai* were in Athens judicial officials supervising the courts, and therefore responsible for the charge of prostitution (*graphe hetaireseos*): cf. [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 59.1–6 with Rhodes 1993: 657–67. And a

commentary on the speech reported that ‘the *thesmothetai* introduced charges of prostitution’ (οἱ θεσμοθέται εἰσήγον τὰς περὶ ἐταιρήσεως δίκας): see P.Strasb. 84 (= MP³ 0310, late 1st cent. CE) with Gibson 2002: 188–9, and cf. Schol.Dem. 22.21 (= Dilts 62d). More noticeably, the forced use of antithesis in this section seems to originate from προσήκειν αὐτῷ τὸ...εἰσφέρειν...τῷ δὲ παῖδας ἐκ πόρνῆς εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ τὸν πατέρ’ ἡταιρηκέναι, τοῦ δὲ τὴν μητέρα πεπορνεῦσθαι... (‘one should pay the...tax...because the mother of his children was a whore; his father was a prostitute; his mother was a whore...’) at Dem. 22.61. Stating that Melanopus was a *thesmothetes* creates the paradoxical situation, in which an ex-prostitute and the son of a prostitute is supposed to instruct the charge of prostitution – a clear sign of spite for the laws.

Μέχρι μὲν χθὲς καὶ πρόην (lit. ‘until yesterday and the day before’; cf. Dem. 19.260) denotes a recent event and is intended to reinforce how inappropriate it is for a prostitute to serve as *thesmothetes*. As one of the archons, a *thesmothetes* has to undergo double examination (*dokimasia*): so Melanopus should have been excluded because he was not qualified, and cf. [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 55.2–5 with Rhodes 1993: 614–21; Dem. 20.90 with Kremmydas 2012: 346–7; cf. also γνοίη δ’ ἂν τις, εἰ προέλοιτ’ ἐξετάσαι τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματ’ ἐν οἷς ζῆ (‘anyone would know this, if he proposes to examine the practices in which Theramenes spends his life’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.10.

[2] σοῦ προεστάναι τὴν μητέρα: cf. ἐν ἐργαστηρίῳ δὲ τεθραμμένον ἐκ παιδός (‘[Theramenes] was brought up in a brothel from childhood’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.1 with Goldstein 1968: 247–8; Worthington 2006: 128 n. 93; MacDowell 2009: 420 n. 49 (translating ἐργαστήριον literally as ‘work-house’, but cf. [Dem.] 59.67 with Kapparis 2011: 226; Cohen 2015: 27; Trümper 2016: 119). Here προῖστασθαι (‘to expose publicly’/‘prostitute’) is used to refer to the low-grade prostitute as an alternative to πορνεύεσθαι, which was used by Aeschines (1.29, 52). However, although its literal meaning, ‘to stand in front of’, is attested in the Attic orators, the

extended meaning recurs for the first time in Dio Chrysostom (c. 40–c. 115 CE), who exploited it to describe comfort women of war; cf. D.Chr. *Or.* 7.133: περί γε πορνοβοσκῶν καὶ περὶ πορνοβοσκίας...αἰχμάλωτα σώματα γυναικῶν ἢ παίδων ἢ ἄλλως ἀργυρώνητα ἐπ’ αἰσχύνῃ προϊστάντας ἐπ’ οἰκημάτων ῥυπαρῶν (‘in dealing with brothel-keepers and their trade...[They must not] take hapless women or children, captured in war or else purchased with money, and expose them for shameful ends in dirty booths’). For other examples see *Histories of Colophon* by Nicander (fl. c. 2nd cent. BCE), αὐτὸν καὶ Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν πρῶτον ἰδρύσασθαι ἀφ’ ὧν ἠργυρίσαντο αἱ προστάσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων (‘[Solon] established the first temple of Aphrodite Pandemos by using the money brought in by the women who worked in the brothels’: *FGrH* 271 F 9 = Ath. 13.25; see Leão and Rhodes 2015: 185–6) and the *Story of Anthia and Habrocomes* c. 2nd to 3rd cent. CE, ὁ δὲ πορνοβοσκὸς ὁ τὴν Ἀνθίαν ὠνησάμενος χρόνου διελθόντος ἠνάγκασεν αὐτὴν οἰκήματος προστάσαι (‘in due course the pimp who had bought Anthia made her display herself in front of the whorehouse’: Xen.Ephes. 5.7.1). Nicander lived almost three hundred years earlier than Dio Chrysostom, but the sentence above is an indirect quotation by Athenaeus. Ps.-Aeschines replaces the vocabulary deliberately to avoid repetition, but the post-Classical usage betrays him. One may also compare the Latin equivalent with *OLD*: s.v. *prosto* 2; Reiske 1771: 676 n. 72; Schwegler 1913: 33; García Ruiz 2000: 391 n. 23. See also LSJ: s.v. προϊστημι I.3; *BDAG*: s.v. προϊστημι 2; Dover 1989: 19–22; MacDowell 2000b: 14–5 (= *id.* 2018: 134–5); Fisher 2001: 160.

[3] **τρὶς δὲ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον τὸν πατέρα σου:** we can assume that, as far as Ps.-Aeschines is concerned, the ‘father’ is Laches the general (*LGPN* II no. 25; *PA* 9019; *PAA* 602280; Develin 1989, no. 1761). Since no hint of imprisonment is found in Dem. *Ep.* 4, the account was probably based on other sources. The *Against Timocrates*, which gives detailed descriptions of the juridical and social effects of imprisonment and relates to the non-payment of Menlanopus (and Glaucetes and,

chiefly, Androtion) to the public treasury, would be an ideal reference: cf. Allen 1997; Hunter 1997; MacDowell 2009: 181–5. Indeed, we find a counterpart in this speech: when the prosecutor encouraged the Athenians to imprison Melanopus *et al.*, he mentioned analogously that ‘Androtion’s father often went to jail for five years at a stretch’ (πολλὰς πεντετηρίδας ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ διατρίψαντα τὸν πατέρ’ αὐτοῦ: Dem. 24.125); see also Intro. 4.1.

Notice, however, that Laches was deemed ‘virtuous and patriotic’ (χρηστὸς καὶ φιλόπολις) by Demosthenes, and the prison-theme was intended to mock the father of Androtion: cf. Dem. 24. 125–128. Here Ps.-Aeschines makes a slight change. As a matter of fact, Laches was prosecuted for embezzlement (unsuccessfully) by Cleon and faced imprisonment, and in Aristophanes’ *Wasps*, he was likened to a dog under trial named ‘Grabber’ (Λάβης, a pun on Λάχης and λαβεῖν): cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 240–244, 836–838, 894–997 with MacDowell 1971: 163–5, 243, 249–54; Kanavou 2011: 90; Biles and Olson 2015: 165–6, 338. A counterpart of πεντετηρίς, τρίς is used to intensify the notion: cf. also *Ep.* 5.5; *Od.* 5.306; Ar. *Pax* 242; Ath. 15.42 (= Eubulus fr. 100 *PCG*).

[4] **πραθέντα τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν τὴν ἀκμὴν ἡταιρηκέναι** suggests the subtle distinction between πορνεύεσθαι (‘to act as a prostitute/an ordinary sex worker’, or προϊστασθαι, as we read above) and ἔταιρεῖν (‘to act as a courtesan/a deluxe prostitute’), and cf. Aeschin. 1.19, 29, 51–52, 154, 160–5; Dem. 22.61. Scholars have shown that the cost of prostitution in antiquity remained relatively stable, and the fee generally charged by an ordinary sex worker was one to two drachmas. For example, the law prescribed that the flute-girl (αὐλητρίς) can charge a maximum of two drachmas per night ([Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 50.2). Like μέχρι χθὲς καὶ πρώην and τρίς above, three thousand drachmas may not be a precise amount. What is clear is that ἔταιρεῖν denotes a high class prostitute in an Aeschinean – or Athenian – sense, because the sum given is equal to the average price for obtaining a luxurious courtesan: cf. Aeschin. 1.19, 29, 51–52, 160–161, 163–165; [Dem.] 59.29–30; Isoc.

15.288. In the second century CE, moreover, a courtesan can earn three thousand drachmas in four months through exclusive service, and cf. Luc. *DMer.* 8: ‘In the end he gave me a talent [= 6,000 drachmas] and kept me for himself alone for eight whole months’ (τέλος τάλαντον δοῦς μόνος εἶχεν ὀκτῶ ὅλους μῆνας); see also Halperin 1990: 107–12; Kapparis 1999: 227; Ch. 7 of Cohen 2015. Ἀκμή refers to puberty, substituting for ὠραῖος, and cf. Aeschin. 1.42, 126; Isoc. 7.37 with Dover 1989: 79.

[5] τοῖς περὶ Τίμαρχον νέοις: Timarchus (*LGPN* II no. 36; *PA* 13636; *PAA* 884310; Develin 1989, no. 3067) was a political ally of Demosthenes and had held several public offices. In 346/5 BCE, by the procedure *dokimasia rhetoron* (‘vetting of orators’), Aeschines prosecuted him for participating in politics despite having been a prostitute, and this resulted in the end of his political career. A scholiast informed us that Timarchus was active in the Council and proposed over a hundred decrees: cf. Aeschin. 1.19–20, 26–32, 42–76, 78–84, 95–114, 120; Dem. 19.2, 199, 233, 257, 284–287; [Plut.] *Mor.* 841a; Aeschin. 1 *hypoth.* 1.2 Dilts; see also Schäfer 1885–7: II, pp. 334–43; Hansen 1989b: 122–3; Harris 1985; Dover 1989: 19–39; Carey 2000: 19–21; MacDowell 2000a: 14, 20–1, 2005: 82–5 (= *id.* 2018: 119–21); Fisher 2001: 20–3, 40–53; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 188. As we can see, the *Against Timarchus* was a key source for the composition of the letter. Ps.-Aeschines reproduces not only the distinctions between πορνεύεσθαι/προΐστασθαι and ἔταιρεῖν, but also the rhetorical strategy of the speech, namely to characterise Timarchus by terming collectively all prostitutes the ‘Big Timarchean Whores’ (πόρνους μεγάλους Τιμαρχώδεις): cf. Aeschin. 1.42–76, 78–84, 107, 110–111, 165, esp. 157 with Dover 1989: 39; Fisher 2001: 53–67, 300–1.

Τοῖς νέοις, too, indicates that Ps.-Aeschines has a remarkable command of the speeches of Aeschines. First, Themistocles and Aristides are called ‘the public speakers of old’ (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐκεῖνοι ῥήτορες) at Aeschin. 1.25, and Ps.-Aeschines may lay out a contrast between the young generation and the democratic past: see

also Fisher 2001: 149–50. Second, according to Aeschin. 1.109, Timarchus was a member of the Council in 361/0 BCE and therefore should be a man over sixty in 330 BCE, the *terminus post quem* for Aeschines' exile.

[6] **Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Ἀριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον:** the reading in the MSS. **αΜ**, Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ Ἀριστείδην, ignores the tendency to avoid hiatus.

Aristides took the lead in establishing the Delian League and his assessments of tribute were deemed equitable by the allies: cf. Thuc. 5.18.5; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 23.4–5 with Meiggs 1972: 42–3, 58–65. It is perhaps for this reason that the epithet was usually attached to him, and cf. Hdt. 8.79.1; Pl. *Men.* 94a; Andoc. 4.12; Nep. 3.1.1; Plut. *Arist.* 7.6. Aeschines, too, referred to his righteous character: cf. Aeschin. 1.25, 2.23, 3.181, 358 with Carey 2000: 32 n. 30; Fisher 2001: 150. The use of the epithet bears a resemblance to Πausανία τῷ πόρνῳ ('Pausanias the Whore') at Dem. *Ep.* 4.11.

[7] **ὑπολαμβάνω** is used for affirmative statement (= πιστεύειν); cf. Dem. 19.3 with the scholium *ad loc.* (= Dilts 21a).

Section 4

[1] **ἀλλὰ Μελανώπῳ μὲν αὖθις...διαλέξομαι παρών:** a transitional sentence that contextualises the *charis*-theme (§ 1) and the appeal to the Athenian people that follows. Cf. also τούτῳ μὲν οὖν, ἐὰν ἀφίκομαι ποτε καὶ σωθῶ, πειράσομαι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ ὧν εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν εἰς ὑμᾶς παροινεῖ ('as for this man, if I ever return and am pardoned, I shall undertake to talk with him about the drunken abuse he directs at me and at you') at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2.

[2] **θορυβοῦντες ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ θέλοντες ἀκροῦσθαι:** a prevalent manner of expressing opinions, shouting is viewed as a form of speaker-audience interaction in the Athenian assemblies and courts. Although there seems to have been rules against it in judicial oaths, *thorubos* may have had a rather positive – and collective – effect

in the public sphere: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.87; Ar. *Vesp.* 622; Thuc. 4.28.1–3; Pl. *Leg.* 876b, 949b; Lys. 12.17; Isoc. 15.272; Dem. 18.52, 19.46, 24.151, 57.1, *Ep.* 1.3, *Pr.* 26.1; Aeschin. 1.69, 2.51, 3.2; Plut. *Dem.* 6.3; [Plut.] *Mor.* 845b. On this imaginary occasion, the audience is supposed to have raised disturbance or shouted out blame against Melanopus' slander, and μὴ θέλοντες ἀκροᾶσθαι could be rendered as 'a hostile hearing': cf. e.g. Dem. 19.339 (ἀποκλείειν καὶ πικρῶς καὶ ἐναντίως ἀκούειν). See also Harrison 1968–71: II, pp. 162–3; Bers 1985; Tacon 2001; Roisman 2004: 264–8; Wallace 2004: 225–7.

[3] τῶν λοιδορούντων ἡμᾶς: *pluralis modestiae*; see *Ep.* 2.1 n. 1.

[4] ἦν ἐμαυτὸν ἐᾶσαι πρὸς τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας λέγειν: i.e., Aeschines should be recalled and restore the power to defend himself openly. Worth mentioning in this context is the concept of 'freedom of speech' (παρρησία, e.g. *Ep.* 11.4), a substantial concern in exilic writings, and cf. ὁ δέ...εἰκότως ἐπέρχεται μοι παρρησιάζεσθαι ('it would justify me in speaking frankly') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.7. A prominent example is Euripides. He regarded exile as the privation of *parrhesia*, and later philosophers maintained this attitude: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 391–392 (= Muson. *de Exilio* p. 72.27–29 Lutz); Teles p. 23.4–5 Hense; see also Goldhill 2000: 15; Gaertner 2007a: 9 n. 43. Ps.-Aeschines may also hint at the idea of 'equality of speech' (ἰσηγορία), which is often compared with *parrhesia*, notably in a law court: cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 434–441; Dem. 20.16, 60.28; Aeschin. 1.172–173; see also Hansen 1989a: 8–11; Raaflaub 2004: 221–5; McInerney 2004; Saxonhouse 2006: 85–99, esp. 94–7; Kremmydas 2012: 213–4. For the philosophically cosmopolitan *parrhesia* that freedom of speech can exist for the sake of self-sufficiency cf. Plut. *de Exilio* (*Mor.* 606c–606d), and see Whitmarsh 2001a: 277–82, 2001b: 142–4, 148–9; Flinterman 2004; Branham 2007: 74–7; Van Hoof 2010: 118–25.

[5] ψηφισαμένους ἃ πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἤδη ἐψηφίσασθε τὰ μέγιστα ἁμαρτοῦσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς: cf. ψηφίσασθέ μοι ταῦθ' ἃ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἤδη...τῷ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐψηφίσθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ, σῴσατέ μ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ψηφίσασθε καὶ

ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄξια καὶ ἐμοῦ (‘vote to give me what you have already given to certain others...since nothing unalterable has been passed in the verdict concerning my case, save me, gentlemen of Athens, and pass a vote worthy both of yourselves and of me’) at Dem. *Ep.* 2.21–23; cf. also Dem. *Ep.* 1.5–7. To judge from its imitative counterpart, πολλοῖς...τὰ μέγιστα ἀμαρτοῦσιν refers in particular to Demosthenes’ shadowy role in the Harpalus scandal, and the whole sentence is intended to protest that Aeschines should be treated equally. In terms of the implication of *parrhesialisegoria* above, Ps.-Aeschines seems to appeal to ‘equality before laws’ (*isonomia*), which means ‘treating like cases alike’, and cf. οἴμαι δεῖν, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμῖν βουλομένοις ἦ, τῆς ὁμοίας τυχεῖν σωτηρίας τοῖς τῶν ὁμοίων αἰτιῶν τετυχηκόσιν (‘I think it is my right, if you are willing, to obtain the same acquittal as those who have faced the same charges’) at Dem. *Ep.* 2.2; cf. also Aeschin. 1.5; Dem. 18.6–7, 23.86, 24.149–151, *Ep.* 3.16–18; Solon fr. 36; Eur. *Supp.* 429–434; Andoc. 2.1, 23; Arist. *Rh.* 1.13.13 1374a26–32; *EN.* 5.1.8 1129a34–1129b1 with Goldstein 1968: 143; Hansen 1999: 84; Lanni 2006: 116. In 323 BCE, Demosthenes was prosecuted for accepting a bribe from Harpalus and was condemned to pay a fine of 50 talents. Despite choosing voluntary exile, he made certain requests – δι’ ἐπιστολῆς – for exoneration (when many other convicted men were pardoned: see Dem. *Ep.* 3.37–43), and, eventually, on the motion of his nephew Demon of Paeonia, he was recalled to Athens: see Hyp. 5.10, 12–14, 17, 25; Din. 1.18–28, 41–47, 70, 108; D.S. 17.108.8; Plut. *Dem.* 25.3–6, 26.2, 27.6–8; [Plut.] *Mor.* 846d; Justin 13.5.9–11; Paus. 2.33.3; Arr. *Succ.* fr. 23 (= *Suda:* Δ 455); Phot. *Bibl.* 265.494b. Ps.-Aeschines may not exaggerate through the superlative case, since the penalties for bribery include death and a fine ten times the amount of the bribe; indeed, Demosthenes claimed in his letters that he would prefer death penalty at the outset if the Athenians take no action over his restoration: cf. Dem. *Epp.* 2.21–22, 3.40; Hyp. 5.2; Din. 1.8, 60–61, 82; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 54.2. See also Schäfer 1885–7: III, p. 351–71; Goldstein 1968: 37–44, 71 and 1971; Worthington 1992: 41–77, 2006: 12–6; MacDowell 2009: 409–14,

esp. p. 413.

An attributive participle, ψηφισαμένους agrees with ὑμᾶς, which is also the understood subject of ἔδσαι. It makes explicit how the Athenians should allow Aeschines (and Demosthenes) to return and could refer to two types of legal requests. One is immunity (*adeia*) for disenfranchised persons and public debtors; that is, before being submitted for deliberation, the supplicant's demand must be deemed 'legitimate' by the Assembly with a quorum of 6,000 'immunity votes': cf. Dem. *Epp.* 2.21–23, 3.35–45 with Goldstein 1968: 48–9; Clavaud 1987: 15; Andoc. 1.77, 2.23; Dem. 24.45–46 with Canevaro 2013: 127–32. The other is the 'general' amnesty (*amnestia*) through legal enactment, which was intended to achieve civic reconciliation (before the Lamian War): cf. Dem. *Ep.* 1.6–10 with Goldstein 1968: 64; Clavaud 1987: 47; Andoc. 1.90; Aeschin. 1.39; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 39.6; Plut. *Sol.* 19.4, *Mor.* 814b with Ch. 3 of Loening 1987; Shear 2011: 190–9; Carawan 2013: 2–3, 23–35, 280 (arguing that in Athens it was 'a broad immunity for accomplices' rather than a general amnesty); Scheibelreiter 2013; Gray 2015: 80–106; Edwards 2017; Joyce 2018; see also Intro. 3.1. Further on the remission of sentence see McElwee 1975; Pecorella Longo 2004: 95–103 and *passim*.

Section 5

[1] εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε δεύτερον ἂν δεηθείην...: cf. ἂν οὕτω τύχη, δι' ὑμᾶς περιόψεσθ' ἀπολόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δεηθείην ἄλλων ἢ ὑμῶν ('if it so happen, as I perished through your inaction, for I could appeal to no others but you') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.41 with Goldstein 1968: 71. It seems to imitate the rhetorical strategy of Demosthenes, thus suggesting that inaction and indifference also aid evil-doing: cf. also Dem. *Ep.* 2.21; [Diogen.Sinop.] *Ep.* 1.2.

[2] ἀνέχεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν λοιδορούντων ἡμᾶς, ἢ χαρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας, ὅτι τῶν βλασφημιῶν οὐκ ἀκροᾶσθε: this may come with an ironical tone from ἐὰν

δ' ἐπηρεάζειν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ μοι βοηθεῖν ἅπαντας, καὶ μὴ κυριωτέραν τὴν τούτων ἔχθραν τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χάριτός μοι γενέσθαι ('but if they attempt to continue malicious, I ask you all to help me, and not to let their enmity to prevail over your gratitude to me') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.26. For ἡμᾶς χαρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας cf. ἐμαυτοῦ χάριν πείθειν δοκῶν ('as if I am lobbying for my own sake') at *Ep.* 12.17.

[3] μείζω τὴν ὑποψίαν...ποιεῖν: cf. ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν ὁμονοίας ὑποψίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πεποιήκασιν at Lys. 25.30; ἐν πλείστη ὑποψία ποιούμενος at Aeschin. 1.10; see also LSJ: *s.v.* ὑποψία I.1.

Letter 11

Prefatory note

Assuming the form of anti-war propaganda, Letter 11 offers us a readable treatment of the background to the Lamian (or ‘Hellenic’) War: cf. Blass 1887–98: III/3, p. 186; Goldstein 1968: 90–2, 176–81; Clavaud 1987: 43–50; Worthington 2006: 101–2; MacDowell 2009: 420–1. With forays into Dem. *Epp.* 3.27, 31–32, 4.2, the letter is essentially a counterargument to Dem. *Ep.* 1, and see Intro. 3.5.1, 3.5.2 (vi), 4.1. Its ostensible date follows the death of Alexander (in June 323 BCE) at the outbreak of the war and the feverish scene is evident in the recurring $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ (§§ 3, 4). According to ἕως δ’ ἂν μήτε συστρατείας...δεικνύωσιν...ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνον (*sc.* Demosthenes) μὲν, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιός παραπλήξ τὴν διάνοιαν ὄν, κατελύσατε εἰκότως (§§ 12–13), the letter precedes the time of Athens’ embassy to Arcadia (*c.* in winter 323/2 BCE) as on this occasion Demosthenes secured his repatriation by supporting the plea for a ‘Hellenic’ union: cf. D.S. 18.10.5; Plut. *Dem.* 27.1–8; [Plut.] *Mor.* 846c–846e; Justin 13.5.9–12; Arr. *Succ.* fr. 23 (= *Suda*: Δ 455); Phot. *Bibl.* 265.494b.

To understand the letter, it is important to bear in mind the tension inherent between the ‘demagogues’ and the ‘propertied’ pro-Macedonian politicians (τῶν μὲν κτηματικῶν...τῶν δὲ δημοκόπων..., as we read in Diodorus Siculus), and hence the two factions (ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων, as we read in Demosthenes) represented, respectively, by Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Leosthenes, and by Phocion: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 1.8–9, 14; D.S. 18.10.1; Plut. *Phoc.* 23.1–24.5 with Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: III, p. 108; Tritle 1988: 124–7; Schmitt 1992: 53–66; Landucci Gattinoni 2008: 68–70. First of all, Ps.-Aeschines must, on any hypothesis, have reflected upon the wide-ranging themes propagandised by his imaginary arch-enemy, such as Athens’ military forces (αἱ δυνάμεις), the opportune time (ὁ καιρός), resolution (πράττειν/πονεῖν/τολμᾶν), political harmony (ὁμόνοια), and good fortune (ἡ ἀγαθὴ

τύχη). These were clearly to influence his arguments on the resources for war (ἀφορμή/δύναμις/συστρατεία/χρήματα: §§ 4, 7, 10, 12), eagerness (ἐθέλειν: § 4), prudence (γνώμη/φρονεῖν/φροντιστέον: §§ 6, 7, 10, 13), divine protection (ἀγαθὴ τύχη/Ἀθήνη: §§ 6, 9, 12), competence (ἰκανός: §§ 8–9), audacity (τόλμα: §10) and unity (ὁμονοεῖν/ὁμονοητέον: §§ 11–12) as well as his conclusion that Demosthenes was inciting Athens to action regardless of expediency (συμφέρειν: §§ 2–3, 5, 9) through demagogic speeches (κολακεύειν/ῥαψωδεῖν/παράδοξος λόγος: §§ 4, 8, 9, 11–13): cf. Dem. *Ep.* 1.1–3, 5–6, 8, 11–13, 16. Beyond its broad similarities to Dem. *Ep.* 1, the letter shows intertextual signs with some other sources, or their predecessors, concerning the two parties opposing each other at this time in Athens, i.e. Hyp. 6; Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 32, F 33 (excerpts from Hyperides’ propaganda of war and an anonymous counterargument, which was attributed to Phocion by Felix Jacoby: see Millar 1969: 22; Martin 2005: 302, 305; McInerney 2007); Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496: see Wooten 1972: 100–2; Kremmydas 2013a: 156–9; Dmitriev 2015; Canevaro 2018: 84–7); Polyb. 9.29.1–4; D.S. 17.111.1–4, 18.8.1–18.18.5 (based mostly on Hieronymus of Cardia, a contemporary historian of Alexander: see Hornblower 1981: 18–75, 171–5; Sordi 2002: 433–43, 463–75; Landucci Gattinoni 2008: xii–xxiv; Walsh 2009a: 9–42, 115–66, 188–9, 2009b; Roisman 2010); Plut. *Dem.* 27–30, *Phoc.* 22.5–29.6; Justin 13.5.1–17; Arr. *Succ.* fr. 1, 22; Paus. 1.25.3–5; *IG* II² 467 (= Harding 1985, no. 123B). The *topoi* embrace ‘real advantage of going to war’ (§§ 2, 5; Dem. *Ep.* 1.5, 9; *FGrH* 100 F 33a; *FGrH* 105 F 6; D.S. 18.10.4; *IG* II² 467), ‘demagogues’ (§ 4; Dem. *Ep.* 1.14; D.S. 18.10.1; Arr. *Succ.* fr. 22), ‘leader of Greece’ (§ 4; Dem. *Ep.* 1.9; *FGrH* 105 F 6; D.S. 18.9.1), ‘eagerness’ (§ 4; *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32h, 33a, 33f, 33g; *FGrH* 105 F 6), ‘opportunity’ (§ 4; Dem. *Ep.* 1.2; *FGrH* 100 F 32b, 33f, F 33g; *FGrH* 105 F 6), Alexander’s death (§ 5; Dem. *Ep.* 1.13; D.S. 18.9.1; *FGrH* 100 F 33d), *res novae* (§ 5; D.S. 17.111.1; Arr. *Succ.* fr. 1.9, 22), ‘liberty of Greece’ (§§ 6, 9; Dem. *Ep.* 1.2; *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32i, F 33a, F 33f; D.S. 18.10.2; *IG* II² 467), ‘prudence’ (§§ 6, 7,

10, 13; *FGrH* 100 F 32e, F 33a; D.S. 18.10.4), ‘good fortune’ (§§ 6, 9; Dem. *Ep.* 1.13, 16; Hyp. 6.16, 19, 24, 40; D.S. 18.10.2; *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32i, F 33a, F 33f; *IG* II² 467), ‘threat from Alexander’s successors’ (§ 9; *FGrH* 100 F 33d; Polyb. 9.29.1), ‘courage and audacity’ (§ 10; Hyp. 6.17, 40; *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32c, F 32e, F 32g, F 32h, F 33k, F 33f; D.S. 18.10.4), ‘political *homonoia*’ (§§ 11–12; Dem. *Ep.* 1.Tit., 2, 5–6, 10; *FGrH* 105 F 6), ‘Athena’s protection’ (§ 12; *FGrH* 105 F 6), ‘the lesson from Thebes’ mistaken policy’ (§ 13; D.S. 18.10.4; Hyp. 6.17–18), and, above all, propaganda (§§ 4, 7–8, 9, 11–13; *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32h, F 33a, F 33a; D.S. 18.10.5; Plut. *Phoc.* 23.1–3; Paus. 1.25.3) *vis-à-vis* real military strength in the form e.g. of ‘financial resources’ (§ 12; D.S. 18.9.1, 4; Plut. *Phoc.* 23.5), ‘warships’ (§ 7; D.S. 18.10.2, 15.8; Plut. *Phoc.* 23.5; Justin 13.5.7–8), ‘alliances’ (§ 12; *FGrH* 100 F 32g, F 33h; *FGrH* 105 F 6; D.S. 18.10.5; Plut. *Dem.* 27.2–4; Justin 13.5.10–11; Paus. 1.25.3), and ‘the dearth of young soldiers’ (§ 7; *FGrH* 105 F 6; Plut. *Phoc.* 23.3). Such figures of speech, overall, present a literary tradition of the matters relating to the Lamian War.

Historically, however, the letter suffers from some significant drawbacks. It is likely that to avoid knowledge *post eventum* the ‘forger’ eschews direct mentions of any subsequent event after Alexander’s death (§ 4) and uses instead the battles of Salamis and Chaeronea as paradigmatic examples (§§ 7–9), whereas the statement that Aeschines will flee to the Persian Empire (§ 3) is anachronistic inasmuch as its last king, Darius III, was murdered in 330 BCE. The evaluation of Athens’ military preparedness (§§ 7, 12), too, may not be true inasmuch as Athens was *de facto* in a full state of military readiness; one point to make is that, thanks to Lycurgus’ policies, Athens in the years before the Lamian War had as many triremes as it had ever had. Also, it seized plenty of money from Harpalus’ treasure. Ps.-Aeschines is either unfair or misinformed, and his account is rhetorically effective but historically unreliable. Cf. also Intro. 3.3.3.

Letter 11 may owe its character to a wider rhetorical tradition of war. Its attempt to

analyse the factors of waging war, for example, can be summarised along the lines of ‘those going to war gain the upper hand by luck, greater numbers, strength, a good financial supply, geographical advantages, the valour of allies, or the general’s prudence’ (περιγίνονται πολεμοῦντες ἢ διὰ τύχην ἢ διὰ σωμάτων πλῆθος ἢ ῥώμην ἢ διὰ χρημάτων εὐπορίαν ἢ διὰ τόπων εὐφυΐαν ἢ δι’ ἀρετὴν συμμαχῶν ἢ διὰ στρατηγοῦ γνώμην) at [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 38.22 1447a1–6: cf. also Thuc. 1.74.1; Arist. *Rh.* 1.4.9–10 1359b33–1360a11, 2.22.5 1396a7–12. Because the theme ‘war and peace’ occupies a cardinal position in the *demegoriae*, it is possible that the letter was forged in a rhetorical school, and cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.4–13; Arist. *Rh.* 1.4.7 1359b19–23; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 2.2 1423a22–24 with Pepe 2013: 193–4. This, to an extent, is also recognisable from the (potential) generic distinction between deliberative oratory and epideictic oratory (ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ χαρίζεσθαι: §§ 3–4).

We should entertain the possibility that the letter’s date of composition precedes that of Letter 12. Noticeable are the adaptations from ‘ambassadorial misconduct’ (§ 3; *Ep.* 12.7), ‘escape from Greece’ (§ 3; *Ep.* 12.7) and ‘the city of the Athenians’ (§§ 7–8; *Ep.* 12.12), although, chronologically, Letter 12 purports to be written before Alexander’s death: cf. Intro. 4.1, 4.4. Moving on to the style: Letter 11 is impressive in the ‘staccato’ style, which owes a great deal to the heavy use of articular infinitives (× 11) and of choppy sentences, and in the rhetorical figures such as epiphora (§§ 1–2), anaphora (§ 2–3), polysyndeton (§ 3), antithesis (§ 4), parechesis (§ 13), polyptoton (× 2), μὲν-δέ parataxis (× 4) and litotes (× 5). And the bold coinage of ὁμόνοητέον (§ 12) suggests a good command of Greek. In sum, Letter 11 illustrates satisfactorily a major theme in the development of the Greek world and might well be described as ‘the most successful of the fabricator’s efforts’ (Goldstein 1968: 180).

Commentary

Title

Τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων: characteristic of the demegoric genre; Drerup restored it as Αἰσχίνης τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ following the title of Letters 3 and 7, and see *Ep.* 7.Tit. n.

Section 1

[1] τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δεῖν ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλειν, περὶ ὧν ἐβουλόμην, καὶ πρότερον ὥόμην: cf. ὠήθηεν χρῆναι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην ὡς ἔχω περὶ τούτων εἰς μέσον θεῖναι ('I thought that I had to put before the public the opinion which I myself hold about this matter') at Dem. *Ep.* 1.2. Τὰ...ἄλλα echoes various themes in the preceding letters, but chronologically it seems to pick up the request for the restoration of Aeschines' children in Letter 12. The expression shows a tendency to 'serialise' the letter-collection, or more precisely, an intention to deceive (*dolus malus*). It also purports to introduce the essence of the letter, and one may draw a parallel to ἔστι δὲ ὑπόλοιπόν μοι μέρος τῆς κατηγορίας ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα σπουδάζω ('the remaining part of my prosecution is what I am particularly concerned about') at Aeschin. 3.49: cf. the scholium *ad loc.* (= Dilts 105). The particle καί, then, introduces the verbal phrase, whose main verb is in the emphatic position at the very end of the sentence: see *GP*: 320–1. For ἐπιστέλλειν see *Ep.* 1.5 n. 5.

Περὶ ὧν ἐβουλόμην is in some ways reminiscent of περὶ ὧν λέγει/ἀπαγγέλλει/ἐπιστέλλει (or ἔδοξεν ἔννομα ἰκετεύειν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ/τῷ δήμῳ) ὁ δεῖνα, the formulaic phrase for introducing a debate over public affairs (esp. for the rider to a decree), e.g. *IG* II³ 1 298, ll. 8–11 (= RO no. 64), 299, ll. 6–9, 302, ll. 7–9; Dem. *Ep.* 3.1 with Goldstein 1968: 212; Rhodes 1985: 68–73; Rhodes with Lewis

1997: 21–2, 28–9; see also *Ep.* 12.14 n. 1. It also invites us to think about the democratic innovation of the ‘volunteer’ (ὁ βουλόμενος), which enabled any qualified citizen to initiate a procedure: see *Andoc.* 1.23; *Dem.* 9.1, 13.11; *Aeschin.* 1.23, 2.65 with Hansen 1981: 360–5, 1999: 266–8.

[2] οὐ γὰρ ἀφηρῆσθαι γε τοῦτο τῶν ἀτυχησάντων παρ’ ὑμῖν ὑπελάμβανον: τοῦτο refers to the right of democratic participation (= δίκην τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι below), and the whole expression marks an anticipatory objection to the opponents’ arguments (προκατάληψις/*praesumptio*); cf. *Dem.* 20.146, *Ep.* 3.8 with Kremmydas 2012: 425. Ἀτυχεῖν is the euphemism for ‘dishonour’ (ἀτιμοῦσθαι), and ἀφηρῆσθαι (lit. ‘to take away’) seems to be used in like manner as the term *per se* has no legal implications: see also *Ep.* 7.1 n. 6.

[3] συμβουλεύειν δὲ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν: deprecatory implication of the bad democratic participator; see also *Ep.* 1.4. This is deeply embedded in the Greek notion of the πολυπράγμων that a meddling citizen such as the ‘sykophant’ (συκοφάντης; *Ep.* 12.2) should disrupt the state affairs (§§ 2, 13): cf. *Ar. Plut.* 911–915; *Lys.* 24.24; *Pl. Resp.* 433a–b, 620c; *Isoc.* 8.30, 15.237; *Hell. Oxy.* 10.2 (= *BNJ* 66 F 6); *SEG* 39.1244, col. ii ll. 4–5 with Ehrenberg 1947; Carter 1986: 83–7; Christ 1998: 66; Ch. 1 of Leigh 2013, esp. pp. 35–45, 48–50; Gray 2015: 227–8; Occhipinti: 2016: 89–101 (notice, however, that a positive sense is applied to Athens’ intervention in interstate affairs). Yet πολυπραγμονεῖν was less favoured either by Demosthenes or by Aeschines, and the word and its related forms appear nowhere in Demosthenes and only once in Aeschines (2.106) as an ostensible quotation from Demosthenes. The post-Classical, positive meaning, ‘to inquire with curiosity’, is attested in Letter 4, and see Intro. 3.3.2.

As presented in the letter (§§ 2, 5, 7), συμβουλεύειν, meaning ‘to recommend policies’, occurs on many occasions with βούλεσθαι or βουλεύεσθαι, e.g. *Isoc.* 12.170; *Xen. Hell.* 2.2.15; *Aeschin.* 2.49, 65, *Dem. Prr.* 27.1, 36.1. In contrast to the action by a public official (ὁ τὰ κοινὰ πράττων), the word may refer in the

Demosthenic manner to the action of an orator or an ordinary citizen: cf. Dem. 18.138, 212, 245–246, *Epp.* 1.9–12, 3.27 with Goldstein 1968: 223; Clavaud 1987: 112 n. 3; see also Intro. 3.5.2 (vi).

[4] οὐ μικρᾶς...ἀκρασίας...ἔργον: ‘litotes’ or ‘denial of the contrary’ (ἀντεναντίωσις); see also §§ 2 (× 2), 6, 7; *Epp.* 4.1, 12.4. Like the articular infinitive, it is characteristic of Thucydides as a stylistic device: cf. Pontier 2013. Ἀκρασία (lit. ‘lack of discipline’) was employed by the orators to portray immoderate behaviour, e.g. Isoc. 15.221; Dem. 2.18; Aeschin. 1.95; [Dem.] 26.25. Ἔργον, on the other hand, is rarely coupled with ἀκρασία in Attic prose: cf. Xen. *Mem.* 4.5.7. We find a similar expression τὰ...ἔργα καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν at *Ep.* 10.1, but there seems to be no real possibility of intratextuality. The emphasis on ‘action’ may instead come from the *ergon-logos* antithesis at Dem. *Ep.* 1.1; see also § 10.

[5] δεδωκότι τηλικαύτην δίκην τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι, πλὴν εἴ τι δέοι καλούντων ὕμῶν: with the consent of the Prytaneis, an exile could address the Assembly even though he was deprived of civic rights. Andocides, for example, was supposed to receive authorisation through secret proposals to the Council: see Andoc. 2.3, 19, 21, and cf. Reiske 1771: 685 n. 19; Rhodes 1985: 40–1; Intro. 3.1.

Section 2

[1] ἄλλως δὲ μηδὲ ράδιά τισι...οὐχ ὅτι πόλει, συμβουλευεῖν προσήκειν ῥόμην: ἄλλως δὲ...ῥόμην introduces the other aspect of the topic echoing the μὲν-clause (μὲν...ῥόμην: § 1); see LSJ: s.v. ἄλλως 2.

Μηδὲ ράδιά...προσήκειν (‘litotes’) prepares the ground for the statement that Aeschines is ready (ἔτοιμος ἤδη below): cf. Polyb. 5.111.7; see also Reiske 1771: 685 n. 21. For ράδια Blass and many other scholars read ἰδίᾳ, but a good parallel is ...οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν Ἕλλησιν...οὐ ράδιον αὐθις τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν, ῥήθην χρῆναι τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμην ὡς ἔχω περὶ τούτων εἰς μέσον

θεῖναι. ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς ἐμμεῖναι συμβουλή ('...not only for you but also for all other Greeks...it would not be easy to secure the same opportunity again; hence I thought I ought to put my opinion about this matter before you. It is, to be sure, hard work to give effective advice by letter') at Dem. *Ep.* 1.2–3: in formulation μηδὲ...τισι...οὐχ ὅτι πόλει may come from οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν Ἑλλησιν, and in theme Ps.-Aeschines reiterates the necessity of, and difficulty in, giving counsel by letter: cf. also Isoc. *Ep.* 1.1–3; Plut. *Them.* 23.4. It may be noticed, further, that ἰδίᾳ is redundant as ἐπιτήδειος below signifies very close relationship.

[2] **τῶν ἐπιτηδείων:** ἐπιτήδειος occurs usually in the orators' discussions about the (in)appropriateness of the law, e.g. Aeschin. 1.34; Dem. 20.83, 24.33, *Epp.* 2.24, 3.43 with Kremmydas 2012: 48–9, 333–4; Canevaro 2016a: 71–6, 2016b. Thus, in Aeschines, when denoting a person, the word refers not to a friend (Konstan 1997: 19, 63–4), as we read at Lys. 1.22; Isoc. 18.5; [Dem.] 45.60, 49.10, 13, 31, 40, 47, 50.27, 52.13, 59.23, 45, but only to a person 'fitting' for some purpose or activity: see Aeschin. 1.17, 41, 3.230. In Demosthenes there are examples in reference to the friend (× 9), but their authenticity is controversial: see Dem. 29.23, 35.6, 36, 36.1, 57, 43.7, 48.2, 38, 40. At *Ep.* 5.2 the word refers to the necessities of life.

[3] **ἑώρων** is identical in sense with ἀκούω below and denotes a continued present action ('epistolary tenses'). The imperfect does not occur as frequently as the aorist (e.g. *Ep.* 6.1) but is common in the Roman letter. Besides, different tenses are compatible in the same context in a single letter, e.g. συνδιαφυλάσσειν/συνδιαφυλάξαι at *IMT* 388, ll. 53–55, 62–64 (= Welles 1934, no. 1), and *ad eum postridie mane vadebam, cum haec scripsi* ('I am just going over to him early the following day as I write this') at Cic. *Att.* 4.10.2. See also *GG*: 433 § 1942; Welles 1934: lxx–lxxi; Evans 1999: 195–7; Trapp 2003: 36–7.

[4] **καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δυναμένους τὰ κοινά:** Drerup suggested καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δυναμένους <διοικοῦντες> τὰ κοινά, and cf. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν

τὸν συμβουλευόντα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντ' ἀδύνατον [*sc.* ἐστίν] ('someone who offers advice and otherwise works for the public authorities is not able to please everyone') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.27; see also Intro. 3.5.2 (iv). The addition is unnecessary, because, with the replacement λέγειν, Ps.-Aeschines seems to use the *ergon/logos* commonplace (cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 12.14; Thuc. 2.41.1–2, 42.2–4; Dem. *Epp.* 1.1, 5.4; [Dem.] 59.1; [Lys.] 2.19 with Parry 1981: 150–75; Loraux 2006: 43–5, 293–303) and pays no attention to the 'Demosthenic' distinction between the action by a public officer (= διοικεῖν τὰ κοινά; cf. Dem. 1.22) and that by an ordinary citizen (συμβουλεύειν: § 1). See Drerup 1904: 45; Gillischewski 1904: 895; García Ruiz 2000: 397 n. 39.

[5] **κατέλιπον γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους:** cf. βουλοίμην δ' ἄν... ὑμεῖς... ὡς πλείστους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι ('I wish... you [*sc.* the Athenian people... to have as many of them [*sc.* trustworthy politicians] as possible') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.32. Demosthenes' account was ironic, but Ps.-Aeschines places it within the context of the Lamian War, and reproduces it in the tone of the anti-war faction, especially of the leading figures such as Phocion: see the prefatory note.

[6] **ἐπεὶ δὲ... δὲ... δὲ...:** ἐπεὶ introduces a casual clause in an elliptical expression (ἔτοιμος... συμφέρειν [εἰμί]): see LSJ: *s.v.* ἐπεὶ B.4. Δέ is adversative and is duplicated to explain in three respects why Aeschines has to write the letter: i) the leading figures such as Lycurgus and Aeschines are fading away; ii) there is a scarcity of politicians in Athens; iii) the meddlers may have imperilled the city. For the use of polysyndeton one may compare Dem. *Ep.* 3.31 (see below); Arist. *Pol.* 4.4.2 1291b38–39.

[7] **οἱ μὲν τεθνᾶσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἠτυχήκασιν ὥσπερ ἐγώ, περιέστηκε... ἡ πόλις εἰς ἔρημίαν τῶν πολιτευομένων:** περιεστάναι... εἰς... signifies a negative consequence or a bad state, and cf. οὐδὲ Αἰσχίνης εἰς τοῦτό ποτε ἀφίξεσθαι ἤλιπεν at *Ep.* 2.5. But the preposition is usually followed by objects on which such influences might have exerted, and περιέστηκε ἔρημίαν τῶν πολιτευομένων ἡ πόλις εἰς ταύτην/τούς

Ἀθηναίους should be expected: cf. Isoc. 6.47; Aeschin. 3.82; Arist. *Pol.* 5.3.34 1304a33; Polyb. 3.8.2 with LSJ: *s.v.* περίσθημι A.2.

Thematically the passage may come from ἀπορούντων δ' ὑμῶν ῥητόρων ('in need of orators') at Dem. *Ep.* 1.4, but one is tempted to compare it to Dem. *Ep.* 3.31:

Φοβοῦμαι μήποτ' ἔρημοι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐρούντων γένησθε, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν τῶν δημοτικῶν τοὺς μὲν ἢ καθήκουσα μοῖρα καὶ ἡ τύχη καὶ ὁ χρόνος παραιρῆται, οἷον...καὶ Λυκοῦργον, τοὺς δ' ὑμεῖς προῆσθε, ὥσπερ...καὶ ἐμέ.

(*To the Athenians.*) I am afraid that you will become destitute of men speaking on your behalf, especially when mankind's natural fate, or fortune, or lapse of time has taken away some of the democrats, such as...Lycurgus, and you yourselves have cast away others, such as...myself.

Οἱ...τεθνῶσι, then, alludes particularly to the ageing Aeschines (§ 4), and to Lycurgus, whose death is the major issue of Demosthenes' letters and Letter 12: see *Ep.* 12.5 n. 3, 14 n. 1. See also Intro. 3.5.2 (vii).

[8] ἀκούω: ἀκούειν is comparable to πυνθάνεσθαι (§ 5; *Epp.* 4.1, 7.1) and could mean 'to read' (ἀναγιγνώσκειν) in prose writings. It is therefore justified to render the expression as 'I learn this by reading a letter' (ἀκούω τοῦ δεῖνα λέγοντος/ἐπιστέλλοντος): cf. Dem. *Ep.* 4.1–2; see also Schenkeveld 1992.

[9] κινεῖν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων: euphemistic expression of being a meddler (§ 1); cf. τὴν...τόλμαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα οἷς ἐπιχειρεῖ τις (§ 10).

[10] τοὺς...δι' ἐπιστολῶν: allusion to Demosthenes. Cf. ὑμῖν δὲ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα βούλομαι δι' ἐπιστολῆς, οὐς περὶ τούτων ἔχω λόγους, δηλῶσαι ('to you, however, for the sake of the common interest, I wish to make known by letter what statements I have to make about these matters') at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2; see also Dem. *Ep.* 1.3–4 with Intro. 3.5.2 (vi). Further on the letter as a vital medium of

communication see Intro. 1.1.

[11] **ἔτοιμος ἤδη τὰ δοκοῦντα τῇ πόλει συμφέρειν:** the copulative verb εἰμί is omitted ('ellipsis'), and cf. *GG*: 261–2 §§ 944–945; see also §§ 11, 12, *Epp.* 4.5, 5.2, 12.17. In theme this passage may imitate δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς...πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμόνοιαν εἰς τὸ κοινῆ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει παρασχέσθαι ('you [*sc.* the Athenians] must bring about harmony among yourselves for the common interest') at Dem. *Ep.* 1.5: cf. also Dem. *Ep.* 1.9; Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 33a; Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. ii l. 41, col. iii l. 71, col. v ll. 100–122); *IG* II² 467, ll. 10–12, 20–22; see, too, Intro. 3.5.2 (vi).

Section 3

[1] **εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ Μακεδόνων φρονεῖν ἐροῦσί με, καὶ παραπρεσβείας πάλιν γράφονται τινες ἀπόντα με δίκην ἢ προδοσίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἔτοιμος ἤδη καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἑλληνίδος πρόσω φεύγειν:** 'εἰ + future indicative' and the subjunctive in the apodosis indicate a future most vivid condition ('emotional future condition'); see *GG*: 524 § 2326 (c), 525 § 2328.

The protasis patently recalls the themes in Letter 12, that Aeschines was accused of betraying Greece as an ambassador, and that his opponents remained keen to insult him as he could make no refutation *in absentia*. The plural form of παραπρεσβεία refers specifically to his (mis)conduct in the 'Peace of Philocrates' of 346 BCE and in the 'Peace of Demades' of 338 BCE: see *Ep.* 12.7 n. 1, 11 n. 4. For γράφονται τινες ἀπόντα με δίκην one may compare αἰτιᾶται γὰρ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕκαστος οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν δυναμένους at *Ep.* 12.6. Although δίκη can refer to a public lawsuit, e.g. Pl. *Euthphr.* 5b (*graphe asebeias*); Aeschin. 1.44 (*dokimasia rhetoron*), δίκην γράφεσθαι seems to apply always to a private suit, e.g. Ar. *Nub.* 758; Isoc. 18.12 (but cf. Pl. *Leg.* 929d–929e with Harrison 1968–71: I, p. 80 n. 3). Since ambassadorial misconduct falls into the former category as *graphe*

parapresbeias/euthyna, the regular expression should be γραφήν γράφεσθαι: cf. *Ep.* 12.2; Aeschin. 1.1; Is. 8.41; see also Drerup 1904: 66; MacDowell 2000a: 18 n. 47.

The apodosis contextualises the narrative of Aeschines' sojourn in exile in the ancient tradition, particularly the account at *Ep.* 12.9–12; see also Intro. 1.2.2.

[2] **ἐὰν βούλωνται, πρὸς τὸν ἐν Πέρσiais ἄπειμι καὶ Μήδοις βασιλέα:** the protasis begins commonly with ἐὰν (εἰ + ἄν) when the verb is in the subjunctive mood, and the present indicative in the apodosis indicates a customary action, i.e. a general condition; see *GG*: 512 § 2283, 528 § 2337.

Here Ps.-Aeschines is referring to the Achaemenids, the dynasty that ruled the Persians and the Medes (an Iranian people) until its fall in 330 BCE: see *CAH*: IV, pp. 1–111, VI, pp. 45–96 for overviews. The sentence is thematically close to the hypothetical question in Letter 12, and the king, Darius III, is probably assimilated to Alexander: cf. τάχιστα φεύγων παρ' ὑμῶν ὠχόμην, πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπηλλάγην at *Ep.* 12.7. Alternatively, Ps.-Aeschines may allude for mere rhetorical purpose to the example of Themistocles, e.g. διέγνωκα γὰρ ἀπαίρειν ἐκ τῆς Ἐφέσου αὐτίκα παρὰ βασιλέα τὸν ὧς σὺ μὲν οἶσθα πολέμιον, ὧς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοί φασι φίλον at [Them.] *Ep.* 8.26–27, ll. 120–123 Hercher, and cf. Intro. 5. Meanwhile Ps.-Aeschines may hint at Demosthenes' suspected collaboration with the Persians and the Medes: cf. Aeschin. 3.156, 258–259; Dem. *Ep.* 4.7; Plut. *Dem.* 14.2, 20.4–5 with Worthington 2000: 98–100. For the anachronism in this account see Intro. 3.3.3.

[3] **οὐδεὶς...καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα Δημοσθένης:** ἥκιστα is colloquial (= οὐδαμῶς). In the orators an exaggeration of this type is attested only in Demosthenes: see Dem. 5.14–15, 10.52, 18.81, and cf. Ar. *Pl.* 440; Arist. *Rh.* 3.17.10 1418a29. Ancient lexicographers also cited Demosthenes in an attempt to interpret the lemma, e.g. *Περὶ συντάξεως*: s.v. ἥκιστα (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 147). Both indicate that the expression is typical of the Demosthenic style.

[4] **οὐ χαριζόμενος ὑμῖν μετὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν <ἐπιπλήττειν>...ἐλευθέρως νοουθετῶν:** Blass made the addition following τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μᾶλλον ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ

χαρίζεσθαι θέλοντες ὑμῖν δοκεῖν (§ 4). The word may be a euphemistic expression of λοιδορεῖν: cf. *Epp.* 3.1, 12.9; Dem. 19.251; see also García Ruiz and Hernández Muñoz 2012: 85. Similarly, χαρίζεσθαι (§§ 3–4), meaning ‘to curry favour’, is a euphemism for κολακεύειν (§§ 4, 9). Notice also that δοκεῖν, meaning ‘to give the impression’, is favoured by Ps.-Aeschines: see §§ 4, 5, 9; *Epp.* 5.8, 7.5, 12.17. It exposes here Demosthenes’ attempt to confuse the public: in a deliberative speech (ἐπιπλήττειν) he employed the strategy of an epideictic one (χαρίζεσθαι), and hence ‘chose the path of practising flattery under the pretext of freedom of speech’ (§ 4). It is also an acute observation that the orators – Demosthenes in particular – pandered to the people by giving the impression of telling them off. Demosthenes, for instance, ‘accused’ the Athenians of their excessive kindness to the culprits while at the same time praised them for *philanthropia* (Dem. 24.51–52). Here Ps.-Aeschines shows a remarkable knowledge of the Attic orators, even in terms of analytical awareness of particular strategies, and a scholiast (London, *Harleianus* 5635) cleverly left the remark τὸν Δημοσθένην αἰνίττεται; see also Reiske 1771: 936; Drerup 1904: 3.

Ἐλευθέρως νοουθετῶν signifies the action of a free person, and cf. *Ep.* 12.1. The phrase affords the Athenian view of democratic participation, ‘to speak freely’ (ἐλευθεροστομεῖν/ἐλευθέρως λέγει), and echoes περὶ ὧν ἐβουλόμην (§ 1) and παρρησία (§ 4): see also Raaflaub 2004: 221–5, 230–3. Ps.-Aeschines’ point is that Demosthenes coaxed the Athenians into war by both sarcasm and flattery, and that, paralleling the treatment at Dem. 9.2, Athens’ predicament was ‘due to those who choose to curry favour rather than to give the best advice’ (διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους): cf. also Dem. 3.3, 9.2, *Pr.* 1.3; Aeschin. 3.127 with § 4 n. 2.

Section 4

[1] εἴ γὰρ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι: in the orators this expression is only seen in

Demosthenes, as εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι χρὴ τοῦθ' ὅτι (Dem. 19.135); see also *Περὶ συντάξεως*: s.v. καταφρονῶ (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 151).

[2] τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μᾶλλον ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ χαρίζεσθαι θέλοντες ὑμῖν δοκεῖν, οὗτοι καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγουσι: the sentence seems structurally close to ἀνέχεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν λοιδορούντων ἡμᾶς, ἢ χαρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας ('[I would ask the Athenian people] to maintain much more their reviling of me, rather than give the impression of treating me favourably') at *Ep.* 7.5.

Πρὸς ἡδονὴν expresses purpose (LSJ: s.v. πρὸς C.III.3; cf. *Ep.* 8.1). It seems to be directed against the proemium of Demosthenes' letter, which is at face value an epistolary variation of a *captatio benevolentiae* for securing the audience's goodwill: see Dem. *Ep.* 1.2–4 with Goldstein 1968: 178–9; Worthington 2006: 102 n. 6; MacDowell 2009: 421; cf. also οὐ χρὴ ταῖς ἡδίσταις ἀκροάσεσιν ἀγομένους ('the Athenians need no fancy recitations') at Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 33a. Yet an antagonist, as presented in the letter, would twist this into a mere pursuit of flattery (i.e., πρὸς χάριν/ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν), and state that good advice (usually by himself) is harsh to the ear: cf. § 9; Dem. 3.3, 4.38, 51, 9.2, 18.3–4, *Pr.* 1.3; Aeschin. 3.127 with Ober 1989: 43–4; Sanders 2016b. Related ideas are found in Thucydides' distinction of Pericles and Cleon from the demagogic flatterers, e.g. Thuc. 2.65.8, 3.38.7, 3.40.3, 3.40.2 with Andrews 2000: 45–7. Given that Ps.-Aeschines is a rhetorician, moreover, he may bring together a number of aspects, and accordingly πρὸς ἡδονὴν could refer in part to the literary performance (Lat. *risus gratia*: Quint. 6.3.65, and cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.90–91); in other words, the account is based on some set of stylistic classifications, especially the choice of language for a deliberative speech versus that for an epideictic one. The implication may be that Demosthenes has provided a rhetorical showpiece on a serious and pressing matter: cf. §§ 8, 11, 13. This parallels the treatments by Isocrates and (perhaps) by Thucydides and Polybius: cf. Isoc. *Epp.* 1.4–7, 2.1, 9.6–7 with Papillon 2004: 249 n. 3; Garnjobst 2006: 30, 207; Thuc. 1.22.4 with Hornblower 1991–2008: I, pp. 60–1, 2004: 93–4; Polyb. 2.56.10–

13, 12.25a.5 with Kremmydas 2013a: 139–41.

[3] **τὴν...ὁδὸν...ἦν βαδίζοντες τινες Ἀθήνησι:** ὁδός was generally considered to be the open road or the public street, e.g. Dem. 18.260, 19.334, 23.53; Aeschin. 1.59, 124, and, as far back as in Pindar it was linked with the common human way of life (= πολιτεία): cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.90–92; Hdt. 1.11.2; Dem. 18.15, 322; *Suda*: B 294, O 49; see also Becker 1937: 15–22; Yunis 2001: 116; Purves 2010: 122 n. 11. The account, then, refers metaphorically to those adept at blandishment in their political career.

[4] **ὕπὸ προσήματι:** Lat. *sub praetextu/praetexto*; cf. Liv. 36.6.5; Petr. *Sat.* 97 with *OLD*: *s.v. praetextus*² 2. The regular option may be τοῦτο πρόσχημα ποιούμενος (= προσποιούμενος), e.g. Thuc. 5.30.2; [Lys.] 6.37, or ἀφορμὴν παρέχειν, e.g. *Ep.* 12.2; Dem. 18.156; see also Gillischewski 1904: 894; Intro. 3.4.1 (ii).

[5] **παρρησίας:** an important term in Athenian democratic ideology; see also *Ep.* 7.4 n. 5. As it allows for flexible expositions, an orator would reaffirm this right as a disclaimer for his frankness, and yet tend to mock its abuse – dissimulation or flattery – by the opponent. The criterion is whether or not it is based on truth telling (*aletheia*): cf. Dem. 3.3, 9.3, 10.76, 60.26, *Epp.* 2.7–8, 4.11; Aeschin. 2.70; see also Sluiter and Rosen 2004: 4–9; Saxonhouse 2006: 92–3.

[6] **κολακεύειν:** the theme of the flattery (κολακεία) of the *demos* is traceable to Aristophanes' comedies. It is often associated with the misapplication of one's *parrhesia* and the notion of demagoguery, as here, and cf. Isoc. 8.3–5; Dem. 20.16; Aeschin. 2.177, 3.234; Hyp. 6.25; Arist. *Pol.* 4.4.5–6 1292a15–25; D.Chrys. *Or.* 3.12–13. See also Konstan 1996; Ch. 6 of Tsouna 2007; Edwards 2010.

[7] **αὕτη τίς ἐστίν...ἢ πολὺ κακουργότερα προαίρεσις:** προαίρεσις refers to a politician's principle of action; cf. the pleonastic expression ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἢ πολιτεία at Dem. 18.93 with Yunis 2001: 160; LSJ: *s.v. προαίρεσις* A.3. The account, on the whole, may derive from Aeschin. 3.200, where Demosthenes was called 'a villainous man and a verbal artificer' (κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων): see also Reiske 1771: 687 n. 30; Kremmydas 2012: 396.

[8] **ἡγεμόσι:** probably a euphemism for the so-called demagogues (lit. ‘people’s leaders’); cf. ‘as for your leaders...place at the head of your forces men whose loyalty is the greatest available’ (τούς θ’ ἡγεμόνας...ὡς εὐνουστάτους ἐπὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐφίστατε) at Dem. *Ep.* 1.14. This echoes also the account by Diodorus Siculus (18.10.1), that before the war broke out ‘the demagogues were rousing the people and urging them to prosecute the war vigorously...’ (τῶν δὲ δημοκόπων ἀνασειόντων τὰ πλήθη καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐρρωμένως ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου): cf. Landucci Gattinoni 2008: 68–70; Luraghi 2018: 25 n. 15. The theme recurred in Arrian as οἱ δημαγωγοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπανάστασιν τοῦς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάραντες: see Arr. *Succ.* fr. 22 (= *Suda*: A 2703).

[9] **οὕτω γὰρ με χρὴ λέγειν:** γὰρ is asseverative; see *GG*: 57, 73–81. The phrase sits impressively between the two points (καί...καί...) and expresses assent to the author’s own statement: cf. *Ep.* 7.2 n. 1.

[10] **ὅσον ἐφ’ ὑμῖν:** Lat. *quantum in/ab vobis*; see *Ep.* 5.5 n. 1.

[11] **αἰτιῶνται μὲν ὑμῶν τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προτρέπονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡς δυναμένους:** with participles in oblique cases, ὡς marks the ground of belief (‘in the opinion that’, ‘as if’), and see *GG*: 464 § 2086 (b); *LSJ*: s.v. ὡς C.I.2; cf. also *Ep.* 12.3, 6. Ps.-Aeschines thereby summarises the core of Demosthenes’ argument through a balanced antithesis. To put that concretely, ὀλιγωρία is used to describe the sluggishness of the Athenians, that ‘if you act in ignorance or are led astray, it would not be easy to secure the same opportunity again’ (ἀγνοησάντων δ’ ἢ παρακρουσθέντων οὐ ράδιον αὐθις τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν) at Dem. *Ep.* 1.2; cf. also Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= *MP*³ 2496, col. ii ll. 38–51, col. iii ll. 73–76, col. v ll. 100–122); Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32h, F 33a, F 33b, F 33f, F. 33g. This word appears to echo ἀγνοεῖσθαι as well as ἀργοὶ γεγονέναι (§ 5), though the meaning is more intensive. Interestingly, in a pseudepigraphic document we find a similar contrast between ὀλιγωρία and ἄγνοια, that ‘negligence’ is less forgivable than ‘ignorance’: see Dem. 18.74; cf. Canevaro

2013: 249–53. From this one can imagine that the substitution may have been a customary tactic of the ‘forgers’. The second point parallels *μεγαλοψύχως τοίνυν καὶ πολιτικῶς τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα πράττετε...παρακαλῶ δ’ εἰς ταῦτα* (‘carry out therefore the common interest with magnanimity and statesmanship...I exhort you to this line of conduct’) at *Dem. Ep.* 1.9–10; cf. D.S. 18.9.1. Obviously, *προτρέπεσθαι* refers to the formal exhortation (= *παρακαλεῖν*; see *Ep.* 12.16 n. 5), in which Demosthenes amplified Athens’ ability of making war, such as military forces (*αἱ δυνάμεις*), the opportune time (*ὁ καιρός*), resolution (*πράττειν/πονεῖν/τολμᾶν*), and, above all, ‘political harmony’ (*ὁμόνοια*) and good fortune (*ἡ ἀγαθὴ τύχη*): see *Dem. Ep.* 1.1–3, 5–6, 8, 11–13, 16, and cf. D.S. 18.8.7.

Section 5

[1] *μετὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀργοὶ γεγονέναι...μετὰ τοῦ μένειν ὑμῶν τὰς προθυμίας...μετὰ τοῦ ταῦτα συμφέρειν*: rhetorical parallelisms; see also Intro. 3.4.2 (ii). ‘*Μετά* + articular infinitive’ is a very concise – and perhaps Thucydidean – expression, and in the orators is attested only in Demosthenes (× 7); see also §§ 3, 9; *Ep.* 4.3 with Intro. 4.2.3 (iii).

[2] *τὰς προθυμίας*: military preparation and determination (= *ἐθελόντων ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*; § 4); cf. *Il.* 2.588; *Thuc.* 1.74.1–2; *Dem.* 18.216; *Dexippus FGrH* 100 F 32g. See also §§ 7, 10, 12.

[3] *τελευτήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου*: cf. *εὐτυχῆ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον...πράττων καὶ πονῶν καὶ τολμῶν, οὐχὶ καθήμενος ἠτύχει. νῦν τοίνυν τεθνεῶτος ἐκείνου ζητεῖ τινος ἢ τύχη μεθ’ ᾧν ἔσται. τούτους δ’ ὑμᾶς δεῖ γενέσθαι* (‘Alexander was fortunate...his good fortune came not from sitting still but from acting and toiling and daring. So now since the man is dead, Fortune is seeking some people with whom to ally, and you should be these people’) at *Dem. Ep.* 1.13. Demosthenes’ point is that the sudden death of Alexander marked the end of Macedonia’s good

fortune, and, in turn, the Athenians ought to take their own; cf. also §§ 6, 9; Dem. *Ep.* 1.1–3, 8, 16; D.S. 18.8.7–18.9.1; Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. iii ll. 73–76); Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 33d with Reiske 1771: 687 n. 33; Goldstein 1968: 256.

[4] **καινοτέρων...πραγμάτων**: Ps.-Aeschines has to seek an alternative because the regular expressions for revolution, νεώτερα πράγματα/νεωτεροποιία and νεωτερίζειν, often have negative connotations, e.g. Hdt. 5.19.2; Thuc. 1.102.3; Lys. 13.6; Isoc. 7.59; Aeschin. 3.225; D.S. 18.8.2. But a more frequent word may be συνιστάναι or ἀφιστάναι τινός; cf. Aeschin. 3.167; Plut. *Dem.* 27. 2.

The phrase's literal meaning, 'novel situations' or 'new things', is dominant in the Classical and Hellenistic periods: see Ar. *Nub.* 1399, fr. 543 *PCG*; Dem. 4.1 (= *Pr.* 1.1), 19.332; Men. *Sikyonios* 127–128; Polyb. 4.2.10. The expanded meaning, to my knowledge, is attested only in Xenophon (*Hell.* 1.4.16). We find instead parallels in later authors, which may increase the likelihood of a Latin derivation, i.e. *res novae*: cf. D.S. 18.50.1; Plut. *Cic.* 14.1, 6 with LSJ: *s.v.* καινός III. In particular, the phraseology occurs in Diodorus Siculus' description of the Lamian War, as πραγμάτων καινῶν κινήσεις ἐξ ὧν ὁ Λαμιακὸς πόλεμος κληθεὶς ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν ('revolutionary movements from which the so-called Lamian War arose'): see D.S. 17.111.1 (στάσις and ἐπανάστασις at Arr. *Succ.* fr. 1.9, 22 [= Phot. *Bibl.* 92.69b, *Suda*: A 2703]); see Bearzot 2016 for the historian's habit of employing relatively late terminology.

[5] **μετὰ τοῦ ταῦτα συμφέρειν**: the real advantage of waging war, and cf. τί ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχῃ τὴν πόλιν ὤνησε τὴν Ἀθηναίων (§ 8). This finds an echo at D.S. 18.10.4: οἱ μὲν συνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔφασαν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ μὲν πρὸς εὐδοξίαν εὖ βεβουλευσθαι, τοῦ δὲ συμφέροντος διημαρτηκέναι ('those of the Greeks who were superior in understanding said that the Athenian people have deliberated well for glory but had missed what was of benefit').

Section 6

[1] οὐ γὰρ ἠγγόουν μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ὄτι: οὐ following the understatement results in an affirmation ('litotes'; *GG*: 610 § 2694, 680 § 3032); see also §§ 1, 2 (× 2), 7; *Epp.* 4.1, 12.4; Aeschin. 3.148; Dem. 2.1, 22.42. The tone is reinforced by the 'asseverative' γάρ and the informal oath.

The μὰ-oath usually underlines a negative point: see Intro. 3.4.2 (v); *Ep.* 12.1 n.1, 16 n. 6. In the orators such a form and its variations occur only in Demosthenes, e.g. Dem. 8.49, 9.54, 10.7, 25, 18.129, 23.188, 25.13, 36.53 with Hajdú 2002: 130, 233–4, and cf. D.H. *Comp.* 18, *Ant.Rom.* 6.35.2; D.Chrys. *Or.* 31.32; Ael.Ar. *Or.* 12.14 431 Jebb; Lib. *Or.* 45.11; Schol. *Od.* 20.66 (ed. K.W. Dindorf, II, 688). Meanwhile the invocation of multiple divinities seems to echo εὐχομαι δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις and τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς at Dem. *Ep.* 1.1, 16, which marked, respectively, the opening and closing sections of the letter.

[2] λαμπρόν ἐστὶν τὸ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις πολεμεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν...τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν προελομένους: a counterpart of τὸν δὲ παρόντα καιρὸν...ἅμα δόξαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν δυνάμενον κτήσασθαι οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν Ἕλλησιν ('the present opportunity...can win glory and safety and freedom together, not only for you but also for all other Greeks') at Dem. *Ep.* 1.2; see also § 9.

Scholars may cast doubt on the 'Hellene-barbarian' polarity considering Aeschines' pro-Macedonian policy, e.g. Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 137 n. 2. However, the non-Greek (or more precisely, 'uncivilised') status of Macedonians, especially of their royal house, seems to be a stereotype in the ancient tradition: cf. Hdt. 1.1.0, 5.22.2; Thuc. 4.124.1; Isoc. 5.154; Dem. 3.16, 24, 9.31, 19.327; Hyp. 6.20; [Eur.] *Ep.* 5.3; see also Gösswein 1975: 123; Badian 1982; Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 45–7; Hornblower 1991–2008: II, pp. 391–3; Hall 2001; Mitchell

2007: 204–6. And indeed Aeschines was reported to have treated Philip as a mere barbarian with racial bias: see Dem. 19.305 with Paulsen 1999: 281; MacDowell 2000a: 339. Given the following account of Themistocles (§ 7), on the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that Ps.-Aeschines singles out the social memory of the Greco-Persian Wars, and the ancestors' exploits signify primarily Themistocles' leadership and the ideal of *eleutheria*: cf. *Ep.* 3.2; *Lyc.* 1.70; *Aeschin.* 3.181, 259; *Din.* 1.37; *Hyp.* 6.37–38; *SEG* 22.274, ll. 12–18 (= *Hesperia* 29: 198–223); [Them.] *Ep.* 13.3, ll. 13–16 Hercher. The 'historiographical' approach is recognisable also from the use of λαμπρός (*Ep.* 3.3 n. 1).

[3] **ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τὸ βούλεσθαι...εἰς δὲ τὸ δύνασθαι**: εἰς expresses purpose; see LSJ: *s.v.* εἰς A.V.2. Here it is reduplicated for anaphora, and cf. Xen. *Cav.* 3.14; Thphr. *CP.* 6.2.4; D.H. *Dem.* 4. Closer to the style of the present passage is an Isocratean aphorism, εἰς μὲν τὸ εὐπλοῆσαι κυβερνήτου καὶ πνεύματος, εἰς δὲ τὸ εὐδαιμονῆσαι λογισμοῦ δεῖ καὶ τύχης vel τέχνης ('to have a good voyage, there must be steersman and wind; to lead a happy life, there must be reason and fortune/skill'): see Isoc. fr. 25 Mathieu–Brémond (= *Sententiae Pythagoreorum* no. 131).

[4] **τὸ βούλεσθαι τὰ κράτιστα**: that is, to decide whether or not to go to war; cf. τοῦτο μὲν πάση πόλει, καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν βουλομένη, κράτιστόν ἐστιν (§ 11); with τύχης ἀγαθῆς below, the account recalls τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα...τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι ('I count it as part of the city's good fortune...that she has chosen the noblest policies') at Dem. 18.254.

[5] **τὴν γνώμην...ἰκανήν**: probably a character-sketch of Themistocles. There are echoes at Thuc. 1.74.1 (ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον...Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα), 1.138.3 (ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς...κράτιστος γνώμων...καὶ...οἷός τε...κρῖναι ἰκανῶς) and [Lys.] 2.42 (στρατηγὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα, ἰκανώτατον εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πρᾶξαι): see also Podlecki 1975: 73–4; Ch. 13 of Lenardon 1978; Todd 2007: 245. In the war propaganda attributed to Hyperides, prudence (εὐβουλία) was an excuse for hesitation (ὄκνος): see Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 32e, and cf. D.S. 18.10.4; Dexippus

FGrH 100 F 33a.

[6] **τύχης ἀγαθῆς**: a *topos* in the letter and in *Dem. Ep.* 1; see § 9 n. 5.

Section 7

[1] **προσήκειν οὖν μεμνήσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπελάμβανον ὅτι Ἀθηναίους μὲν ἐπιστέλλομεν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ οὐκ ἐν οἷς...ἀλλ' οἷ...εἰσί...μέντοι...ἔχουσιν**: the narrator here presupposes two narratees; one is the Council/Assembly ('primary narratee'), and the other the Athenians in their entirety ('internal secondary narratee'), and cf. de Jong 2014: 28–33. The anaphora echoes *ὅποιαν μὲν...πατρίδα τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ὅποιαν δ'...πάλιν* at *Ep.* 12.12. A figure common in Demosthenes, it was less favoured by Aeschines: see *Intro.* 3.4.2 (ii).

[2] **ἐπιστέλλομεν**: *pluralis modestiae*; see *Ep.* 2.1 n. 1.

[3] **Ἀθηναίους...ἐν οἷς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπολιτεύσατο**: with the prepositional phrase *Ps.-Aeschines* may practise *variatio* of *ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους/Ἀθήνησι* ('to be archon of the Athenians'), and cf. *D.S.* 16.56.1; *D.H. Ant.Rom.* 6.34.1; *Paus.* 1.1.2 with *GG*: 352 § 1537; see also the note below on *οἷ...γράφοντες*. But *πολιτεύεσθαι* denotes not only the access to public offices (*Ep.* 12.1), but also being a politician in general, especially speaking in the Assembly. Further on Themistocles see *Ep.* 3.2 n. 1.

[4] **οἷ τὰς μὲν γνώμας οὐ χείρους ἐκείνων εἰσί, τὰς μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἀφορμὰς οὐχ ὁμοίας ἔχουσιν**: *οὐ χείρους* is designed to convey a *litotes*; see also §§ 1, 2 (× 2), 6; *Epp.* 4.1, 12.4. The accusative *τὰς γνώμας* explains in what respect the description is true, and see *GG*: 360–1 §§ 1600–1601, 1604–1605; *LSJ*: *s.v.* *χείρων* A.I.3. A thematic parallel is *τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων...πρὸς ἀνικητούς καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπιβάλλεσθαι διακινδυνεύειν μηδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης κατεπειγούσης καὶ φρονήσει δοκοῦντα διαφέρειν...* ('the Athenian people...were venturing to meet forces that were undefeated and great, and, although they had a reputation for excelling in judgement...') at *D.S.* 18.10.4.

[5] δότωσαν μὲν ὑμῖν τριακοσίας τριήρεις οἱ τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄξια γράφοντες ὑμῖν, δότωσαν δὲ...δότωσαν δὲ: anaphora; it seems most likely that οἱ γράφοντες (= οἱ παραινοῦντες ἐν τῷ γράφειν [Reiske 1771: 937]) picks up Ἀθηναίους...ἐν οἷς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπολιτεύσατο above and refers to people making proposals now. The point is that, if they want to make such proposals as Themistocles did in the past, they also need to procure the ships etc. Themistocles moved various significant decrees for the war (*sc.* τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄξια), and among them we know a naval bill that eventually contributed to the expansion of warships, and a mobilisation decree before the battle of Salamis: cf. Hdt. 7.140–144, 8.40–41; Thuc. 1.14.3; Dem. 18.204, 19.303; Lys. 30.28; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 22.7; Plut. *Them.* 4.1–3, 7.1–2, 10.4–5; Nep. 2.2; [Them.] *Ep.* 8.13, 24, ll. 59–64, 114–116 Hercher; *SEG* 22.274 (= *Hesperia* 29: 198–223); see also *CAH*: IV, pp. 524–6, 558–63; Labarbe 1957; Podlecki 1975: 82, 147–67, 201–4; Lenardon 1978: 51–6; Johansson 2001; Higbie 2017: 12–3. The ‘three hundred triremes’, then, is a reference to the total size of the Greek fleet at Salamis as it is identical with the number usually mentioned: cf. Aesch. *Per.* 338–340; Hdt. 8.48.1; Thuc. 1.74.1; Dem. 14.29, 18.238; Hyp. *Dion.* 13 145v12–17 Horváth; Nep. 2.3.2; D.S. 15.78.4; *SEG* 22.274, ll. 14–15, 18–19, 34–35 (= *Hesperia* 29: 198–223); a recent discussion is Horváth 2014: 46–50.

The battle of Salamis is a *topos* in the war propaganda. For example, it recurs as a paradigm of Athenian virtue in the speech attributed to Leosthenes, which is ostensibly written before the Lamian War: see Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. v ll. 107–109) with Kremmydas 2013a: 159. There is reason to believe that, to Ps.-Aeschines, it contrasts sharply with Athens’ naval defeat in the Lamian War, which put an end to the maritime empire, and cf. *CAH*: VII/1, p. 32; Wrightson 2014: 534.

[6] τρισμύρια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου ἀπέφθου δισχίλια: for τρισχίλια MS. **Z** and the *editio princeps* suggested δισχίλια for an effect of symmetry, and Reiske (1771: 688 n. 36, 937) argued further that the ratio of gold to silver then was

1:10. The distinction, however, is not essential on historical grounds, and the only certainty is that the war must have had a massive cost. Reportedly each refugee in Troezen had a daily allowance of two obols (1/18,000 talent) at public expense, and the ships' crews were paid with eight drachmas (1/750 talent) per person, which was eight times as much as that in the Peloponnesian War: cf. Thuc. 6.31.3; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 23.1; Plut. *Them.* 10.5–6. In addition, it takes *c.* one talent to build a trireme for two hundred marines: see Hdt. 7.185.1, 8.17.1; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 22.7 with Rhodes 1993: 278; Morrison, Coates, and Rankov 2000: 107–26.

Incidentally it should be noted that, since the gold/silver ratio at that date ranged from 1:10 to 1:15, the 3,000 talents can plausibly be combined with the 200 or 300 talents of gold to yield the amount of approximately 5,000 to 8,000 talents, and cf. Figueira 1998: 511–7 for further discussion. This concurs somehow with the regular balance in the public treasury or the total taxable wealth (*eisphora*) of Attica: cf. Thuc. 2.13.3; Isoc. 8.126; Dem. 14.19; Polyb. 2.62.7; D.S. 12.38.2; Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 1193 (edd. W.J.W. Koster *et al.*, III 4^a, 190); P.Strasb. inv. 84, ll. 4–9 (= MP³ 0310; see also *Hesperia* 26: 163–97). Alongside the ‘three hundred triremes’, therefore, the number is not a reckless invention, and Ps.-Aeschines has conceivably assessed the wartime spending.

[7] ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἡβῆ νεῶν τοσοῦτο πλῆθος, ἤδη γεγυμνασμένων ἐν ὄπλοις: νεῶν is usually reckoned to be an intrusive marginal comment on ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἡβῆ, but its meaning, ‘inexperienced men’, is perhaps designed to instil a sense of ‘independence from political affiliations’: cf. Reiske 1771: 688 n. 37, 937; cf. also the note on *Ep.* 12.11 (ἐν Πόδῳ). This is justified on the grounds that: i) ἐν ἡβῆ denotes the vigour of youth, not an age-level, because both ἄνδρες and νέοι apply to adulthood and as a legal term ἡβῆ refers to the age under sixteen (LSJ: *s.v.* ἡβῆ C); ii) from ἤδη γεγυμνασμένων ἐν ὄπλοις we can infer that these men have finished the ephebic training – in other words, they were over twenty; iii) νέοι usually denotes adults-under-thirty *vis-à-vis* the seniors drowning in public business (i.e. πρεσβύται),

as we read in Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.8.4 1329a15, *Rh.* 2.12.1–2.14.4 1388b31–1390b13); and cf. Dover 1974: 102–6; Hansen 1999: 88–90; Davidson 2006: 45–9; Kennell 2013: 220–6. Given the above, the present expression refers specifically to men of twenty to thirty years old, and Drerup (1904: 68) may well be right in suggesting the reading of ‘a considerable proportion of young men, so many in number and so pure in character’ (ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἡβῇ ὅσον χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν τοσοῦτο πλῆθος).

Thematically, it may bear relation to the narrative tradition of the battle of Salamis. There are echoes in the so-called ‘Themistocles Decree’, which is probably a fourth-century BCE restoration, as Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας...ἡβῶντας εἰσβαίνειν εἰς τὰς ἐτοιμασθείσας διακοσίας ναῦς...(sc. marines) ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότων μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, and in Plutarch, as ψήφισμα γράφει (sc. Themistocles)...τοὺς δ’ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις: see *SEG* 22.274, ll. 12–14, 24–25; Plut. *Them.* 10.4. In Demosthenes it took the form of the ephebic oath, and in Aeschylus the lamentation for the Persian youth: see Dem. 19.303; Aesch. *Per.* 511–512, 730–733, 922–924. Τοσοῦτο πλῆθος, then, may be designed to contrast Athens’ military decline in the 330s BCE (sc. τὰς μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἀφορμὰς οὐχ ὁμοίας ἔχουσιν), especially a dearth of young soldiers. Phocion offered a good example by declaring that the proper time for the war was ‘whenever...I see the young men ready to hold their places in the ranks...since the city has no other monies, or ships, or men-at-arms’ (ὅταν...τοὺς μὲν νέους ἴδω τὴν τάξιν βουλομένους φυλάττειν...μήτε χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἕτερα μήτε ναῦς μήθ’ ὀπίστας ἐχούσης: Plut. *Phoc.* 23.3–5). Presumably this is also what Demosthenes endeavoured to suppress in his letter, since he set out his chief concerns with *homonoia* and fortune rather than military forces, and, oddly, concentrated exclusively on the young generation, e.g. Dem. *Ep.* 1.1–3, 6, 8, 11–13, 16, cf. §§ 9–10, 12; cf. also Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. iv ll. 78–82) for a fabricated mobilisation of the young people. Nevertheless, one must wonder whether Ps.-Aeschines is deliberately underrating Lycurgus’ policies such as the enlargement

of the fleet to four hundred triremes and the reorganisation of *ephebeia*, or is ignoring it because he is not really aware of the background: cf. [Plut.] 852c; *IG II²* 1627, ll. 266–269, and Faraguna 1992: 274–80. Also, Justin (13.5.7–8) told us, Athens had thirty thousand soldiers and two hundred triremes: cf. D.S. 18.10.2–4, 11.3, 12.2, 15.8; [Plut.] *Mor.* 841c with Reiske 1771: 688 n. 38; Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: III, pp. 108–16; Morrison 1987: 89–91; Schmitt 1992: 66–73; Bosworth 2003: 15; Landucci Gattinoni 2008: 71; Yardley, Wheatley and Heckel 2011: 126–8; Wrightson 2014: 522. As a matter of fact, Athens was not doing so badly and almost won before Leosthenes’ sudden death.

[8] **καὶ μηκέτι συμβουλευέτωσαν:** that is, Themistocles is characterised by his privileging military forces over propaganda; see § 8. One may draw a parallel to ...οὐδὲ χρὴ ταῖς ἡδίσταις ἀκροάσεσιν ἀγομένους...ἀλλ’ ἕως περίεστί τις ἄδεια βουλῆι ἀγαθῆι χρωμένους τὸ βέλτιστον αἰρεῖσθαι...ἢ τε τῶν λόγων ἰσχύς...ἔς μὲν τὴν παραυτίκα πειθῶ εὖ συγκεῖσθαι ἔδοξεν (‘...the Athenians need no fancy recitations...instead, when they have overcome their fear [*sc.* military inferiority] they can choose good advice to decide upon the best course of action...a powerful speech...might be designed as a mere inducement in the short term’) at Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 33a.

Section 8

[1] **τὰ δόξαντα πράττειν:** lit. ‘to carry out what has been determined’; cf. Dem. 3.14.

[2] **μηδὲ ῥαψοδεῖωσαν...ὅτι ἐγένοντο...ἐπεὶ πύθεσθε...ὅτι Ἄρης...:** ὅτι is used as a causal particle after the verb of saying (LSJ: *s.v.* ὅτι B.2). It is a *variatio* of ὡς (§ 4) as well as a stylistic marker: see also Intro. 3.4.2 (ii).

[3] **ῥαψοδεῖωσαν μάτην ἐπαινοῦντες ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους τε καὶ τὴν χώραν:** a gibe at the demagogues (§ 4), most notably Demosthenes, Hyperides and

Leosthenes; cf. Aeschin. 3.100; Demad. fr. 1 Falco (= Arist. *Rh.* 2.24.8 1401b32–33); Plut. *Dem.* 13.5–6, *Phoc.* 23.1–3, *Mor.* 188d; Paus. 1.25.3; Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32h, F 33a. The imperative of ῥαψοδεῖν denotes particularly the act of reciting poems and is attested only at Philostr. *VA.* 7.26, and see Intro. 1.3.1.

With τῆ περι Χαϊρώνειαν μάχη below this passage invites us to think about Demosthenes' famous representation, which, for its success in pairing the battle with Athens' past glories, was widely discussed in antiquity: see Dem. 18.206–208; Quint. 9.2.62, 12.10.24; Hermog. *Id.* 1.9, 2.3 266–267, 327 Rabe; [Luc.] *Dem.* 36; [Longin.] *Subl.* 16.2–3. Historically, however, Ps.-Aeschines may well be right in holding that Demosthenes produced artistic twaddle (ῥαψοδεῖν μάτην), since, being a giant of speechcraft, he was not so good as a soldier: cf. §§ 4, 11, 13; Aeschin. 3.152 with the scholium *ad loc.* (= Dilts 339); Dem. *Ep.* 5.5; Din. 1.12, 35; Plut. *Dem.* 20.1–2, 30.5; D.H. *Dem.* 44; D.S. 18.10.4 (but some information about Demosthenes' military deficiencies is much later and probably stemmed from anti-Demosthenic and Peripatetic environments). In Plutarch there are tantalising echoes such as 'while Demosthenes was most capable of praising the fine achievements of his ancestors, he was not equally capable of imitating them' (ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ἱκανώτατος ἦν τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλά, μιμήσασθαι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως: *Dem.* 14.2), and, 'Leosthenes had plunged the city into the Hellenic/Lamian War...making bold and boastful claims in the Assembly' (ἐνέσεισεν ὁ Λεωσθένης τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν [vel Λαμιακὸν] πόλεμον...θρασυνομένου καὶ κομπάζοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ: *Phoc.* 23.1–2). Ancient tradition reports that after Athens' defeat Hyperides got his tongue cut out (probably) for glibness: cf. Plut. *Dem.* 28.4; [Plut.] *Mor.* 849b–849c; Phot. *Bibl.* 266.496a; *Suda*: Y 294.

The device of praising the ancestral achievements recurs frequently in the orators: see *Ep.* 12.17 n. 4. In the *Against Leptines*, Demosthenes even implied that he would prefer denying an ancestral mistake to affirming it: see Dem. 20.119 with Hesk 2000: 172–3. It is also very central to the rhetoric of the *Embassy* speeches. When

Demosthenes accused Aeschines of challenging the value of ancestral achievements such as the battle of Salamis, Aeschines, by alluding to Athens' expedition to Sicily, replied that he had only urged the Athenians to learn from their past failings: see Dem. 19.15–16; Aeschin. 2.74–77.* It is likely that Ps.-Aeschines relies on such passages as these when he conceived the letter.

[4] ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ θεοί: ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἰσεγένοντο ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ θεοί in MSS. **αΜΖα**. This may be dittographic, or, from a favourable view, a repetition designed for a spontaneous style of speaking. While various readings have been proposed, all are unanimous in regard to the theme 'good fortune' (§§ 6, 9). Ἐκρίνοντο/ἐδικάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ θεοί, or ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτῇ δίκαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, αἷς ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ θεοί, may provide an alternative solution in light of Ἄρης πρὸς Ποσειδῶνα ὑπὲρ Ἀλιρροθίου ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐκρίθη below.

On ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς one may argue for a link with the notion of autochthony (lit. 'grown from the earth'), which is fairly common in the encomiastic treatise (*sc.* ῥαψωδεῖν and ἐπαινεῖν above): cf. Thuc. 2.36.1; Pl. *Menex.* 237b; Isoc. 4.24–25; Dem. 60.4; Hyp. 6.7; [Lys.] 2.17 with Rosivach 1987; Ober 1989: 261–6; Loraux 2006: 209–12; Lape 2010: 17–9. Among the deities, therefore, we can assume the patron goddess Athena (§ 12) and the indigenous king Erichthonius. The latter, according to the mythical narrative, was earthborn from Athens and become consequently a symbol for 'purity' in the sense of Athenians: cf. *Il.* 2.546–551 (as Ἐρεχθεύς; cf. Hdt. 8.55.1); Eur. *Ion* 20–21, 267–269; Isoc. 12.123–126; Pl. *Criti.* 110a; Dem. 60.27; Luc. *Salt.* 39; [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.14.6; Harpocr. *s.v.* αὐτόχθονες; see also Drerup 1904: 46; Loraux 2000: 1–3, 28–31, 2006: 348–50, 370–1, 418–9.

[5] τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχῃ: a decisive battle between Macedonia and the alliance of Greek states, fought in Boeotia in 338 BCE. Philip was the victor and imposed in turn his hegemony over mainland Greece: see D.S. 16.85.1–16.86.6; Plut.

* I would like to thank Dr. Matteo Barbato for sharing his scholarship on these passages.

Dem. 19.1–21.4 with Cawkwell 1978: 138–49; Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 596–603; Ma 2008. Demosthenes advocated the war and was elected to deliver a funeral speech for the dead (Number 60 in the *Corpus Demosthenicum*): see *Dem.* 18.206–208, 285–288; *Plut. Dem.* 21.2; [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 845f; *Phot. Bibl.* 265.492a, 494a with Worthington 2006: 21–37; MacDowell 2009: 372–7. Aeschines participated in the post-war diplomatic negotiation: see *Ep.* 12.7 n. 1.

It is likely that the expression *περὶ Χαϊρώνειαν* was not commonly used until the Hellenistic period, because in the Classical texts it occurs only in Theophrastus (*HP.* 4.11.3): cf. [*Dem.*] 26.11; Polyb. 18.14.14, 22.16.2; D.S. 16.38.7; *Plut. Dem.* 21.4; [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 840c; *Ael.Ar. Or.* 1.331 182 Jebb; Paus. 1.20.6; [*Luc.*] *Macr.* 23; Apsines 10.9 Dilts–Kennedy (= I 389.8 Spengel; *Hyp. fr.* 76 Jensen). Aeschines (3.55, 187) used instead *ἐν Χαϊρωνείᾳ*; see also *Lyc.* 1.16; *Din.* 1.78, 80, 96.

[6] Ἄρης πρὸς Ποσειδῶνα ὑπὲρ Ἀλιρροθίου ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐκρίθη: a mythical fabrication of the first trial on the Areopagus, ‘the Hill of Ares’; see Wallace 1989: 9–10, 213–4. Halirrhothius is Poseidon’s son. His raping Alcippe, a daughter of Ares, resulted in the god’s revengeful murder and a subsequent prosecution by Poseidon: see *Eur. El.* 1258–1263; *Dem.* 23.66; *Din.* 1.87; *Ael.Ar. Or.* 1.46 107 Jebb; *Luc. Salt.* 39; Paus. 1.21.4, 1.28.5; [*Apollod.*] *Bibl.* 3.14.2; *Lib. Decll.* 7.1.1–24, 8.1.1–32; *FGrH* 323a F 1, 328 F 3. The story illustrates that even the god of war would be accused of using violence, and indeed Demosthenes faced several accusations for his activism some time after the battle of Chaeronea: see *Dem.* 18.248–250; *Hyp. Dion.* 12–14 145v7–176r11 Horváth; [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 845f–846a, 848f; Apsines 1.26 Dilts–Kennedy (= I 334.32–335.4 Spengel); *Lib. Hypoth.Dem.* 18.1. To an extent, however, the allusion is unwise because both Ares and Demosthenes were acquitted; it may provide good grounds for a ‘lawful’ homicide as well as for a ‘glorious’ war: cf. Harris 2006: 286.

Section 9

[1] **Ἀντίπατρον**: Macedonian general and statesman (*LGPN* IV no. 13). Alexander's regent in Europe, Antipater monitored Greece and fought against their alliance after the king's death. Initially blockaded by Leosthenes at Lamia, he won the decisive battle at Crannon and brutally suppressed the democratic leaders such as Hyperides and Demosthenes: see *Hyp.* 6.10–13; *Polyb.* 9.29.2–4; *Plut. Dem.* 27.1, 28.4, 29.1–4; [*Plut.*] *Mor.* 849a–849c; *D.S.* 18.8.1–18.18.5; *Paus.* 1.25.3–5; *Justin* 13.5; *IG* II² 467, ll. 3–15; *Arr. Succ. fr.* 1.13, 22 (= *Phot. Bibl.* 92.69b, *Suda*: A 2703). See also Heckel 2016: 33–43.

[2] **ὅστις ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς...σκοπεῖν**: anacoluthon (*nominativus pendens*); cf. *Soph. OT.* 159–163; *Xen. Anab.* 2.5.41 with *GG*: 672 § 3008 (e). It is clear from the passage that Ps.-Aeschines avoids prophecies *post eventum*: Alexander designated no successors and Macedonia would split into three Hellenistic monarchies, and see Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: III, pp. 123–50; *CAH*: VII/1, pp. 23–61. A thematic parallel is σκεψάσθω τὸ πάθος τῶν διαδεξαμένων τὴν τοῦδε ἀρχὴν ('call people's attention to the suffering from those succeeding to Alexander's empire') at Dexippos *FGrH* 100 F 33d; see also *Polyb.* 9.29.1.

[3] **ἀγωνίσασθαι**: lit. 'to engage in competition'; cf. *Aeschin.* 2.72. A *variatio* of πολεμεῖν (§§ 6, 11, 12), it relates closely to the Greek culture of athletic festivals (§ 10): see Ch. 5 of Pritchard 2013.

[4] **κἄν...ῶμεν...ἐλευθερῶμεν...εἰ δὲ...μὲν ὀλιγορήσομεν...δὲ ἡσθησόμεθα...ἀτυχήσομεν**: 'κἄν (= καὶ ἐάν) + subjunctive + hortatory subjunctive' indicates a more vivid condition, and 'εἰ + future indicative(s) + future indicative' a most vivid condition; the latter presents the unfavourable alternative ('emotional future condition'). See *GG*: 525 § 2328 (a).

[5] **ἀγαθὴ τύχη...ἐλευθερῶμεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας**: a war slogan in Demosthenes' letter and in other literary traditions, e.g. μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης ἐλευθεροῦτε τοὺς

Ἑλληνας at Dem. *Ep.* 1.16, and cf. § 6; Dem. *Epp.* 1.13, 2.5, 4.3; Hyp. 6.16, 19, 24, 40; D.S. 18.10.2; Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32i, F 33a, F 33f; *IG* II² 467, ll. 6–8, 24–25; see also Intro. 3.5.2 (viii); Wallace 2011: 157–64; Chs. 2–3 of Dmitriev 2011. Ps.-Aeschines is alluding to the widely held belief that Athens’ fate was associated with divine protection (τύχη and δαίμων). On the one hand, the Athenians ascribed setbacks – the defeat at Chaeronea for example – to adverse τύχη: cf. Dem. 18.192–194, 253–254, 60.19–20; Aeschin. 2.118, 131; Din. 1.65; Hyp. *Dion.* 3–4 137v2–8 Horváth; Demetrius of Phalerum *FGrH* 228 F 39 (= Polyb. 29.21.1–7); Plut. *Dem.* 19.1, 21.3. On the other hand, Alexander’s sudden death (§ 5) was regarded as the inverse of fortune: cf. D.S. 18.8.7; Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. iii ll. 73–76). Its deified abstract value was even made the object of a cult, e.g. *IG* II² 1195, l. 9 (= *SEG* 44.42; *Hesperia* 63: 241–44); *IG* II³ 1 445, ll. 38–39; Men. *Aspis* 147–148; Paus. 2.20.3; Ael. *VH.* 9.39; see also Goldstein 1968: 63, 239, 248–9, 256; Dover 1974: 138–41; Gasparro 1997; Worthington 2006: 105 n. 12; Martin 2009: 86–101, 114–5, 231–2; Eidinow 2011: 48–50, 144–50; *Ep.* 2.2 n. 4. In the closing section it takes the form of Athena’s blessing (§ 12), and cf. Dem. *Epp.* 1.1, 13, 16, 6.2.

[6] ὁ μόνον οὐδὲ παραμυθίαν ἔχει τοῖς κακῶς πράττουσιν: κακῶς πράττειν means ‘to be unfortunate’ (= κακῶς ἔχειν: § 13); see *BDAG*: s.v. κακός. The whole clause is something along the lines of ‘it makes no difference to the matter’.

Section 10

[1] ἔστι δὲ...ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων βουλευσασθαι: Gorgianic polyptoton; cf. Gorg. *Hel.* 17: ἤδη δὲ τινες ἰδόντες φοβερὰ καὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρόνῳ φρονήματος ἐξέστησαν (‘and some people before now, on seeing frightful things, have also lost their presence of mind at the present moment’, trans. D.M. MacDowell). Cf. also Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 33f

(τὸ... ἐν τῷ παρόντι).

[2] **τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα:** Aeschines (2.19) used οὕτω δ' ἦν πρόθυμος εἰς τὰ πράγματα ὥστε... to criticise Demosthenes' enthusiasm for the 'Peace of Philocrates'. In political discourses τόλμα represents the Athenian civic virtue, e.g. Thuc. 1.144.4, 2.40.2; Dem. 3.30, 60.21; Hyp. 6.17, 40 with Balot 2014: 39–40, 110–2, but here, as presented in Aeschines' speeches (1.24, 120, 2.11, 106, 3.121, 132, 152; cf. Dem. 18.220, 19.72), it expresses an ironic idea, and cf. εὐτυχῆ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον...πράττων καὶ πονῶν καὶ τολμῶν, οὐχὶ καθήμενος ἠτύχει ('Alexander was fortunate...his good fortune came not from sitting still but from acting and toiling and daring') at Dem. *Ep.* 1.13. 'Resolution' (τόλμα/ἀνδρεία/ἀνανδρία/ἀρετή) is a *topos* in the war propaganda attributed to Hyperides and was privileged over δύναμις: see Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 32b, F 32c, F 32e, F 32g, F 32h, F 33k, and cf. Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 33f; D.S. 18.10.4.

[3] **τις Ὀλυμπίασι νικήσας:** a gibe at those evocating past glories and ancestral achievements (§ 8). The Olympic athlete is a *topos* also in the *Crown* speeches, but the point is whether or not the contemporary athlete/statesman was inferior to 'that of ancient days' (τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον/τινων...πρότερον γεγενημένων): cf. Aeschin. 3.179, 189; Dem. 18.319; Arist. *Rh.* 3.11.13 1413a10–15. Meanwhile the Olympics were held just a year before the Lamian War, and it was then that Alexander proclaimed the Exiles Decree, which enraged Athens and the Aetolian League, major organisers of the war: see *SIG* 306 (= RO no. 101); *IG* II³ 1 381; Hyp. 5.18; Din. 1.81–82; D.S. 17.109.1, 18.8.3–7; Justin 13.5.6.

[4] **ἀπογράφοιτο:** only Greeks were eligible for the Olympics. Athletes were required to register (with the *agonothetes*) their origins and competitive events and to be scrutinised by the *Hellandicae* (*Ep.* 4.5 n. 3): cf. Hdt. 2.160, 5.22; *IvO* 56, ll. 11–28; Paus. 5.9.5; Luc. *Pro im.* 11. A professional athlete was referred to as ἀπογραφάμενος by Lucillius (*Anthologia Graeca* 11.75.1–3). See also Reiske 1771: 690 n. 45, 938; Miller 2004b: 69–70, 158–9; Crowther 2004: 23–33, 2014.

Section 11

[1] **καινὰ καὶ θαυμαστὸν**: ironically. Demosthenes was described by Aeschines (3.152) as ‘man of all mankind most useless for important and serious deeds but most wonderful for boldness of words’ (ὤ πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε); see also § 8 n. 3. The phrase echoes καινότερων...πραγμάτων (§ 5) and παραδόξους λόγους (§ 13).

[2] **ὁμονοεῖν**: a main argument in Demosthenes’ letter; cf. Dem. *Ep.* 1.Tit., 5–6; Ael.Ar. *Or.* 23.71 536 Jebb (mistaking, however, the letter for Dem. *Ep.* 3). Since *homonoia* recurs in the narrative of warfare, most notably the Greco-Persian Wars (e.g. *SEG* 22.274, ll. 44–45 [= *Hesperia* 29: 198–223]), it is here represented as no more than an ideological slogan (τοῦτο...κράτιστόν ἐστιν). Isocrates (10.67) traced this concept to the Trojan War, but scholars argue that the term *per se* is securely attested down to the late fifth century BCE as a result of the political reconciliation between opposing factions in Athens (vs. ἡσυχία: cf. *Ep.* 9.1): see de Romilly 1972; Gagarin 2002: 93; Cobetto Ghiggia 2011; Gray 2017. In the Hellenistic period it was juxtaposed with the propaganda of *eleutheria* (§§ 6, 9), and cf. *IG* II³ 1 912, ll. 7–18, 31–35 with West 1977, esp. pp. 309–11; Wallace 2011: 157–63.

Ps.-Aeschines may fail to recognise Demosthenes’ ulterior motive, that an exile could be recalled through a ‘general’ amnesty under the pretext of civic unity: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 1.2, 10; Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. ii ll. 1–10) with Goldstein 1968: 62; Worthington 2006: 101–2; MacDowell 2009: 421; see also Andoc. 1.108–109; Lys. 25. 21–23; [Dem.] 26.11; Hyp. fr. 27–28 Jensen; *Ep.* 7.4 n. 5. On *homonoia* and its relation to the question of exiles see e.g. *SEG* 30.1119; Arist. *EN.* 9.6 1167a22–b16 with Gray 2015: 37–41, 69–70, 254–8.

Section 12

[1] **εἵνεκα**: ἔνεκα in the *editio princeps*. Both forms occur in both papyrus and manuscript traditions of the orators and are probably subject to scribal whim. One example: a papyrus written by two scribes of the late second or early first century BCE (P.Lit.Lond. 130 + 134 = MP³ 0337 + 1234)) preserves simultaneously εἵνεκα (Dem. *Ep.* 3.25: ἔνεκα MSS.) and ἔνεκα (Hyp. 2. fr. 15b 6, 12 Jensen). In the speeches of Aeschines we find ἔνεκα (× 28) and ἔνεκεν (× 2), but the variant in question is not attested. Alternatively, the diphthong may represent a phonetic stress balancing συστρατείας below: cf. μέν...ἦν ἄξιος **παραπλήξ**...τούτοις δὲ...**παραδόξους** λόγους μελετῶσι... (§ 13); see also Dem. 1.28, 20.1. For the case of metrical lengthening in epic, see Wyatt 1969: 88–9.

[2] **σκοπεῖν εἰ ὁμονοητέον ὑμῖν πολεμοῦσιν...ὁμονοητέον γὰρ καὶ πολεμοῦσι...ἄλλ' εἰ βουλομένοις...ἔστιν ἡ δύναμις**: πολεμοῦσιν and βουλομένοις are added to the dative of person interested (lit. ‘it is for you when making war/wishing’). It is designed to convey a spontaneous style of speaking, and cf. § 13; Antiph. 6.8; Thuc. 4.85.4; Pl. *Phd.* 78b; Dem. 18.11 with *GG*: 343 § 1487.

Ὅμονοητέον (lit. ‘concord-in-demand’, from ὁμονοεῖν and αἰτεῖν) is an ancient *hapax legomenon*, probably invented by Ps.-Aeschines in imitation of πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων...ὁμόνοιαν...παρασχέσθαι at Dem. *Ep.* 1.5. A search in the *TLG* yields only one occurrence in a letter attributed to the fifteenth century scholar George Amiroutzes, but the intertextual link could be excluded on account of a mere rhetorical purpose for homeoteleuton (...προκριτέον...κτητέον...ὁμονοητέον). It should be noted, though, that *hapaxes* are more frequent in authentic works, and see Hernández Muñoz 2014a.

[3] **αὐτάρκης...ἡ δύναμις**: cf. ταῦτα...ἃ καθ’ αὐτὰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτάρκη κατασχεῖν πράγματα, προστεθέντα δὲ ταῖς δυνάμεσι πολλῶ πάντ’ εὐκατεργαστότερ’ ὑμῖν ποιήσει (‘one thing [*sc. homonoia*]...by itself it is not sufficient to give you

mastery of events, but when added to your military forces, will make everything much easier to accomplish for you’) at Dem. *Ep.* 1.6. Αὐτάρκης refers to self-sufficiency in ability or quality, but is attested nowhere else in the orators except for Isocrates (× 1) and Demosthenes (× 6). Aeschines might have a preference for ἱκανός (§§ 6, 9), e.g. Aeschin. 2.146, 3.70. On its application to the technique of rhetoric, see *Ep.* 12.17 n. 1, and cf. *Ep.* 5.3 n. 4 for the Athenian ideal for an autarkic city or citizen.

[4] **μήτε συστρατείας...μήτε χρημάτων πόρους δεικνύωσιν:** μήτε συστρατείας, along with ἐκεῖνον...κατελύσατε (§ 13), indicates that the ostensible date of the letter precedes the time when Demosthenes attached himself to the Athenian embassy to Arcadia (c. in winter 323/2 BCE), which secured a ‘Hellenic’ union, and see the prefatory note. The theme ‘recruiting military alliances’ is also attested at Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 32g, F 33h; Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. ii l. 1); D.S. 18.10.5; Plut. *Dem.* 27.2–4; Justin 13.5.10–11; Paus. 1.25.3.

As for the financial provisions, even if Lycurgus did truly leave a deficit (*Ep.* 12.14 n. 1), Ps.-Aeschines (and Plutarch) might have missed the point that Athens did seize a complement from Harpalus’ treasure: see D.S. 17.108.6, 18.9.1, 4; Plut. *Dem.* 25.2, *Phoc.* 23.5 with *CAH*: VII/1, pp. 30–1; Ashton 1983; Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: III, p. 108; Gottesman 2015: 177–8.

[5] **τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔγγυον...τοῦ πολέμου:** cf. τὸ δὲ ἀφανὲς πιστότερον τοῦ ἤδη ὄντος...καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ὑποτίθεντες σφίσι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀρωγὴν (‘they preferred to trust in the unknown than in the reality before them...relying on help from a higher power’, trans. J. McInerney) at Dexippus *FGrH* 100 F 33f. Athena recurs in Greek literature *qua* protectress of Athens and virginal patron of war: cf. *Il.* 2.249–550, 5.333, 430; Isoc. 10.41; Dem. 19.272; *SEG* 22.274, ll. 4–6 (= *Hesperia* 29: 198–223); Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. vi ll. 130–135); [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.14.1, 6.

Section 13

[1] **ἐκεῖνον...κατελύσατε:** literary sources indicate that Demosthenes' initial attempt for exoneration was unsuccessful. Due to his success in persuading the Arcadians to secede from the Macedonian alliance (c. in winter 323/2 BCE), he was recalled (perhaps) shortly before Leosthenes' unexpected death: cf. §12; D.S. 18.10.5; Plut. *Dem.* 27.1–8; [Plut.] *Mor.* 846c–846e; Justin 13.5.9–12; Arr. *Succ.* fr. 23 (= *Suda*: Δ 455); Phot. *Bibl.* 265.494b; see also *CAH*: VII/1, p. 31; MacDowell 2009: 422.

[2] **παραπλήξ τὴν διάνοιαν ὄν:** here *παραπλήξ* (lit. 'struck sideways') is used to portray a maniac, self-destructive politician, and cf. Hdt. 5.92ζ.3 with Padel 1995: 121. It is a rare word and the only attestation in the orators is Dem. 19.267. Ἀπόνοια is commoner, e.g. Dem. 18.249; Hyp. 5.7; Din. 1.82, and cf. Thumiger 2013. The accusative τὴν διάνοιαν expresses in what respect such craziness is true: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 230; Bacchyl. *Epin.* 11.45–46.

[3] **τούτοις...παραδόξους λόγους μελετῶσι:** παράδοξος balances παραπλήξ above ('parechesis'). Ps.-Aeschines may gibe at those that provided showpieces on a serious matter such as Leosthenes and Hyperides, since, Aristotle (*Rh.* 3.14.4 1415a1–3) claims, the 'paradoxical' subject is a source of epideictic proemia: cf. §§ 4, 8; Dem. 14.24.

[4] **καὶ μηδὲ λείψανον ἔωσιν ἡμῖν τι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων φθονοῦσι:** i.e. κινεῖν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων (§ 2).

[5] **τὸ Θηβαίων πολιτεύσονται πολίτευμα, μηλόβοτον...γενέσθαι τὴν χώραν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὴν πόλιν:** the *figura etymologica* (also 'cognate object construction') is attested at Aeschin. 1.86, and cf. Aeschin. 1.5; Dem. 8.71, *Ep.* 1.14; Ael.Ar. *Or.* 26.26 205 Jebb; Lib. *Decl.* 22.1.19 with Intro. 3.4.2 (i). The criticism on Thebes' mistaken policy and the strategy that links Demosthenes to the Thebans, too, find echoes in Aeschines, e.g. Aeschin. 2.106, 3.133, 137–151, 239 with Intro. 3.3.3;

Ep. 12.8 n. 2.

Thebes' revolt in 335 BCE is a parallel *par excellence* with the Lamian War, since, significantly, it followed a king's sudden death and ended with a tragic defeat: cf. τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων...μηδὲ ταῖς περιβοήτοις τῶν Θηβαίων συμφοραῖς νενουθετῆσθαι ('the Athenian people...had learned nothing even from the well-known misfortunes of the Thebans') at D.S. 18.10.4; see also Hyp. 6.17–18; Aeschin. 3.133, 156–157; Din. 1.18–26; [Demad.] 26, 28 with Steinbock 2012: 322. Μηλόβοτος (lit. 'sheep-gazing') presents the imagery similar to ἀροῦται καὶ σπείρεται τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ ('the city of Thebes is being ploughed and sown') at Din. 1.24 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 250.447a), and cf. Blass 1887–98: III/2, pp. 319–20; Worthington 1992: 170; customarily, however, it is employed to describe Athens' surrender to Sparta in 404 BCE: cf. Isoc. 14.31; Lyc. 1.145, fr. 3.2 (= *Suda*: M 931); D.S. 15.63.2; Plut. *Lys.* 15.3; Ael.Ar. *Or.* 10.31 500 Jebb; Philostr. *VS.* 1.501; Schol. Dem. 19.65 (= Dilts 165b); Phot. *Bibl.* 250.446b.

[6] οὐ γάρ, εἰ κακῶς ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, διὰ τοῦτο μηδέν, ὅπως μὴ χεῖρον ἔξει, φροντιστέον: anacoluthon. The syntactical absence is ἐστι(v) or ἡμῖν: cf. Eur. *IT.* 468; Pl. *Cri.* 48a; Polyb. 3.31.11; Plut. *Mor.* 13b; D.Chrys. *Or.* 3.59. It appears to be a stylistic parallel with the closing remark of Letter 12. Suggesting that all parties should act before it is too late, moreover, is characteristic of the *demegoriae*, e.g. *Ep.* 12.15; Polyb. 5.104.7–11, and cf. Wooten 1974: 238–9.

Letter 12

Prefatory note

Letter 12 is written as a finale to the epistolographic *corpus*. Recurrent themes such as ‘abuses of fatherland’ (*Epp.* 3.1, 11.3), ‘violent anger’ (*Ep.* 3.1), ‘two acquaintances’ (*Epp.* 5.2, 8.1), the invocation $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ τοὺς θεοὺς (*Epp.* 5.1, 9.2), ‘misfortune’ (*Ep.* 7.2), ‘Melanopus’ (*Epp.* 4.2, 7.1–4), ‘Timarchus’ (*Ep.* 7.3), *philanthropia* (*Epp.* 2.3, 5.1, 7.1), ‘Sandy Ground’ (*Ep.* 9.1), ‘two talents’ (*Ep.* 9.2), ‘ambassadorial misconduct’ (*Ep.* 11.3), ‘escape from Greece’ (*Ep.* 11.3) and ‘the city of the Athenians’ (*Ep.* 11.7–8) suggest an intention to deceive (*dolus malus*) as well as a relatively later date of composition; cf. also Schwegler 1913: 16; Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 140 n. 1; Holzberg 1994: 17–8, 51. Some of these features are reproduced so precisely as to be regarded as intrusive marginal comments (§§ 11–12). There are also chronological slips such as the comment on the start of Aeschines’ political career (§ 1), the date of Callimedon’s exile (§ 8), and Glaucothea’s age (§ 12). Taken as a whole, however, the ‘forger’ is sophisticated on both stylistic and historical grounds. First of all, there are extensive borrowings from Demosthenes and Aeschines, such as Dem. 18.51–52, 257–260, 282, 284–285, *Epp.* 2–4; Aeschin. 1.1, 2.152, 179, yet adapted in a skillful manner. Second, Ps.-Aeschines takes pains to distinguish the nuances of the words, and thus conveys his arguments in a subtle fashion, e.g. $\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\varsigma/\eta\tilde{\theta}\omicron\varsigma/\epsilon\tilde{\theta}\omicron\varsigma$ (§§ 5–6, 12, 14, 17), $\epsilon\chi\theta\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma/\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\varsigma/\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ (§§ 6, 9), $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu/\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ (§§ 2–3), $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota/\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\phi\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (§§ 5–6). Third, the letter deals carefully with a broad spectrum of topics. For example, when referring to the restoration of Aeschines’ children, it eschews any direct mention of the possible restoration of Aeschines himself; the likelihood is that Ps.-Aeschines realises (at least in this letter) Aeschines’ unwillingness to return due to the restriction of his rights to litigation in Athens, and cf. *Ep.* 7.4–5; Intro. 3.1.

The letter is intended to be a *demegoria*. This is recognisable from the attention to prose rhythm – a standard element of delivery (ὕποκρσις/*actio/pronuntatio*). There is exuberant use of symmetrical components, which cannot all be retained in the English translation, such as antithesis (× 1), polyptoton (× 2), pleonasm (× 5), polysyndeton (× 3), anaphora (× 4), double negative (× 2), correlative conjunctions (μὲν...δέ..., καί...καί..., ἤ...ἤ..., οὐδέ...οὐδέ... and οὔτε...οὔτε...), derivational morphology (ἀναφαίνεσθαι/καταφαίνεσθαι, δείκνυσθαι/διαδείκνυσθαι and τελέως/παντελῶς; cf. [Dem.] 59.62), and ubiquitous introductory particles: cf. Dover 1997: 70–5, 149–56. Monotonic repetition is largely avoided, e.g. οὐδὲ πρὸς Θεβαίους οὐδ’ εἰς Θετταλίαν ὠχόμην (§ 9), but the frequent reappearance of the word ‘favour’ is meant for emphasis (§§ 14–15). Besides, word order is changed in case of hiatus, e.g. τὰ μὲν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ πανδοκεῖα Δημάδην ἔχοντα καὶ χωρία ζευγῶν εἴκοσιν ἀροῦντα καὶ χρυσᾶς ἔχοντα φιάλας, Ἡγήμονα δὲ... (§ 8), and the exclamatory/hortatory expressions (§§ 1, 3, 9, 15), rhetorical questions (§§ 5, 15), anacolouthon (§ 17), and the devices of using litotes (§ 4) and hypophora/internal narrators (§§ 6, 7, 11, 16) enliven the style of speaking. Arguably, Letter 12 goes further than Demosthenes’ letters on stylistic grounds, since the latter, as noted by MacDowell (2009: 417–8), do not contain these features much, and cf. Pl. *Grg.* 502c–502e; Isoc. 4.11; Arist. *Rh.* 3.1.4 1403b26–35, 3.8.1–5 1408b21–1409a11, 3.12.5 1414a7–19 with Chs. 7–8 of Goldstein 1968, esp. pp. 100–17; Ch. 4 of Timmerman and Schiappa 2010; Pepe 2013: 44, 148 n. 62, 219–22.

The plan of the letter may be summarised as follows: the opening sections (§§ 1–6) centre on proving that an exile can be innocent, and revolve around words such as ἀναφαίνεσθαι/καταφαίνεσθαι, δείκνυσθαι/διαδείκνυσθαι, and ἐξετάζειν; with a turning point (§§ 7–9) marked by a hypophora in the Demosthenic manner (ἄρα...ἀλλά...μὰ τὸν Δία...), Ps.-Aeschines narrates Aeschines’ sojourn in exile with his family (§§ 10–12); and in the proposition/proof sections (§§ 13–15) he seeks to obtain the restoration of Aeschines’ children by reproducing the theme of ‘Lycurgus’

sons' at Dem. *Ep.* 3.11–34, and progresses from there to end the letter by appealing to Athenian civic virtue and bringing a direct attack against Melanopus (§§ 16–17). Compared with its style (*λέξις/elocutio*), one may find the letter's arrangement (*τάξις/dispositio*) inept for a *demegoria*. For example, the attack on Melanopus, which could be understood as anticipation of an adversary's arguments (*προκατάληψις/praesumptio*), should normally precede the epilogue (*ἐπίλογος/peroratio*) and clashes to a degree with the tone of a *demegoria*: cf. Dem. *Epp.* 2.26, 3.16–18, 34–41; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 33.1–3 1439b4–14 with Kennedy 1963: 122–3 (yet reminding us that 'early rhetoricians...regard the structure as fluid'); Goldstein 1968: 143–6, 150–3, 166, 172; Yunis 1996: 247–57; de Brauw 2007: 191–3. Scholars have also argued that the opening sections read like a forensic defence (probably in reply to Dem. 18.257–260) inasmuch as a demegoric proemium is necessarily introduced by a debate over public affairs: cf. *Ep.* 11.13; Dem. *Epp.* 1.1, 3.1–5; Andoc. 2.1–5; Arist. *Rh.* 3.17.5–10 1418a1–33 with Goldstein 1968: 104, 133–7, 169–70, 176–8; Pepe 2013: 184, 231–2. But the attempt to detect a neat arrangement may be over-dogmatic, considering that Demosthenes' second and fourth letters begin with private affairs; an imitator would have been sure to take certain rhetorical precepts as minor points, and cf. Dem. *Epp.* 2.1, 4.1 with Goldstein 1968: 157, 173–4.

The main argument is skillfully built upon Athenian self-identity and civic virtue. By the words denoting 'manner' and 'character' (*τρόπος/ἔθος/συνήθης/ἦθος*), Ps.-Aeschines shows not only the moral personality of Aeschines, but, to demonstrate a real possibility for the restoration, the political culture of Athens (§§ 5–6, 14, 16–17). The letter begins with a review of Aeschines' early career (§ 1), political record (§§ 2–3) and behaviour in exile (§§ 5–6, 8–10), all of which suggest that he, like Lycurgus (§§ 5, 14), had the character of an outstanding Athenian citizen. Then, we find an attempt to locate the Athenian people's character among the behaviours of rightness and humanity (*χρηστότητι...καὶ φιλανθρωπία*: § 16): since

these are mirrored by their attitude towards fellow citizens, the Athenians are encouraged to apply equally favourable treatment to Aeschines and his children. The rhetoric of citizenship qualifications is explicitly or implicitly used to intensify the tie between – and the credentials of – Aeschines and his *polis*, and such a strategy is well attested in the orators, especially in the *Crown* speeches: cf. Saïd 2001: 276–86; Cook 2009, 2012; Gray 2015: 123, 189. There is, first of all, a distinction based on what is obtained by nature, and we find accounts of ethnic purity such as *παρὰ τῆς φύσεως* and *δημοποίητος* (§ 13), Athenocentric expressions like ‘Athenians and all Greeks’ (§ 5), and *hetero-* and *altero-*references to other Greek states (§§ 9, 13, 14): cf. Thuc. 2.40.2–5; Isoc. 15.299; Aeschin. 1.17, 2.23, 78, 148, 3.169, 171–172; Dem. 18.130, 185–186, 257–258, 21.150 with Hall 2002: 56–90, 172–228; Lape 2010: 44–52. The second concerns those acquired by one’s way of life, such as liberal education (*ἐλευθερίως...παιδείας*: § 1), decency (*τὰ μέτρια*: §§ 1, 15) and justice (*δικαιοσύνην...γραφὴν*: § 3), thereby laying emphasis on manners that befit a virtuous community: cf. Pl. *Resp.* 402c, 427e–428b; Aeschin. 3.170, 260; Dem. 18.127–128, 259–261, 291–2 with Allen 2010: 100–2. Last but by no means least, the rhetoric of civic ideals is enhanced by praise of ‘the Athenians’ action’ (§ 14) and the devices of lamenting orphans of the dead (§ 15) and of recalling traditional moral goodness (§§ 16–17), the ideological background of which resembles the propaganda in funeral speeches, e.g. Thuc. 2.40.4, 41.1–2, 42.2–4, 46.1; Pl. *Menex.* 248d–249a; Dem. 60.32; Hyp. 6.2, 27, 42; [Lys.] 2.3, 19, 71, and cf. Loraux 2006: 43–5, 56–7, 236–9, 293–303.

Overall, the letter is a pastiche that imitates the style and character of the Attic orators, and a patient search for the intertextual parallels repays the effort. The long-undetected imitative counterparts at Dem. 18.257–260, *Ep.* 2.11, for example, may help to restore the textual corruption in the manuscript tradition such as *καὶ τραφεῖς* (§ 1) and *ἔφην* (§ 4). Most significantly, the ‘traitors’ blacklist’ it contains (§§ 8–9) seems to allow us to move the date of composition forward to the

Hellenistic period: see Intro. 4.4.

Commentary

Title

Αἰσχίνης Αθηναίων τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ: characteristic of the demegoric genre; Drerup restored it as Αἰσχίνης τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ following the title of Letters 3 and 7, and see *Ep.* 7.Tit. n.

Section 1

[1] ἐγὼ προσῆλθον τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι γεγρονῶς...ἀλλὰ καὶ τραφεῖς...καὶ...καὶ...: confidence in the political record; cf. ἀφ' ὧν ἐπολιτευόμην ('in view of my political career') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.1 with Goldstein 1968: 169–70, 235. It is a common tactic in the orators, e.g. Dem. 18.130, *Ep.* 3.40; Aeschin. 3.168; Din. 2.15; Hyp. 1.14. Here Ps.-Aeschines reviews Aeschines' long service to the *polis*, thus asking for sympathy from the Athenians, esp. from the younger generations: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 2.9–11. For καὶ τραφεῖς the mss. read καὶ γράφειν or καλλιγραφεῖν, which Taylor interpreted as 'to be a writer': see Reiske 1771: 694 n. 67. This is probably untenable, because the phraseology is modelled on Dem. 18.257–260, where Demosthenes contrasted his own fortune with Aeschines'. Compare:

...μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτ' ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύμαθ' ἐλέσθαι ὥστε...μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐνδείας παῖς μὲν ὦν...ἐτράφης...ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος...καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...

...I (*sc.* Demosthenes) renounced no distinction in private and public life, but made myself useful both to the city and to my friends. When I decided to enter the public arena, the policies I chose were such that...in your childhood you (*sc.* Aeschines) were raised in that great poverty...on arriving at manhood you used to...and...and...and...

Ps.-Aeschines may also be reproducing Demosthenes' use of polysyndeton (καὶ...καὶ...καὶ...), and cf. Dem. 18.265, *Ep.* 2.9; [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 250; [Hermog.] *Meth.* 15 431 Rabe with Usher 1993: 262; Yunis 2001: 252–4, 258–9; MacDowell 2009: 294–5; see also Intro. 3.4.2 (ii). In addition to that, 'good birth' (εὐγένεια) is a core topic in the *demegoria*, and see Arist. *Rh.* 1.5.5 1360b31–39. Drerup's correction, καὶ ἐγγραφεῖς, seems to provide an alternative solution in the light of Demosthenes' doubts about Aeschines' citizenship: cf. ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ ὅπωςδὴποτε... ('when you were enrolled among your demesmen, however that happened...': Dem. 18.261) with Yunis 2001 *ad loc.*; see also Drerup 1904: 46–7.

[2] προσῆλθον τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι γεγωνὸς ἔτη τρία καὶ τριάκοντα: lit. 'I entered political life at the age of thirty-three'; cf. Dem. *Ep.* 2.9; Din. 1.111; Plut. *Dem.* 15.3, *Cat.Mi.*12; [Plut.] *Mor.* 844f, 848d. Since Athenian male citizens could attend the Assembly after twenty, πολιτεύεσθαι seems to denote not only normal duties, but also active participation in politics (e.g. *Epp.* 1.5, 5.4–5, 11.1). The term is used generically to indicate access to public offices, which had a minimum age of thirty. This qualification applied to all magistracies as well as to dicasts in court and members of the Council: cf. *Ep.* 11.7; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 4.3, 30.2, 31.1, 63.3 with Rhodes 1993 *ad loc.*; see also Develin 1985: 149–51. In Classical Athens, however, it was normal for a novice politician not to hold any public office, and one could launch his career as a 'volunteer' (ὁ βουλόμενος) by addressing the decision-making bodies, moving proposals, and bringing public indictments (e.g. Dem. 20.1). According to Aeschin. 1.1 and § 2, Aeschines had never been involved in a *graphe*

before the case against Timarchus. The emphasis, then, is on the idea of a *rhetor/ho politeuomenos*, assuming that Aeschines exercised a real influence in his thirties. This can be confirmed by its imitative model, Dem. 18.257, in which Demosthenes mentioned the rewards with crown, a symbolic honour for a *rhetor*; on the definition of *rhetor* see Hansen 1989b: 1–24.

This notation of Aeschines' age poses a problem, however. As argued by Harris (1995: 33–40), Aeschines had a late start in politics. He made his political debut in 348 BCE by reporting in the Assembly the Athenian victory at the battle of Tamynae; almost at the same time Phocion became his political patron; and in 346 BCE he was nominated by Nausicles in the election of the ten envoys: cf. Aeschin. 2.18, 168–170, 184. Since the *terminus ante quem* for his birth is 389 BCE, Aeschines must have been at least forty when he established his reputation in politics: cf. Aeschin. 1.49, 109, 2.168; *Vita Aeschin.* 2.12 Dilts with *APF*: 545–7; Lewis 1958; Harris 1988. The account in question might have rested on Demosthenes' career; in particular, he was believed to have addressed the Assembly (successfully) for the first time in his thirties: cf. Dem. 14.10–11, 15.6; Plut. *Dem.* 6.1–3, 12.1–3; D.H. *Amm.* 1.4 with Badian 2000; MacDowell 2009: 142–3; Ch. 4 of Worthington 2012.

[3] **μὰ Δία**: a phrase consisting of an affirmative particle, which can be read as an informal oath. Notice, moreover, that in such oaths the definite article is usually omitted if the god invoked is Zeus: see Dover 1997: 62–3; Sommerstein 2014b, esp. pp. 315, 335–6; Nordgren 2015: 22, 67. The Greeks took oaths seriously, and the invocation of gods, which resembles some ritual acts, can add emotional – and perhaps probative – force: cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1.15.27–32 1377a8–1377b5; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 7.2 1428a17–23, 17.1–2 1432a34–1432b4; [Longin.] *Subl.* 16.2–3; see also Dover 1974: 133–8; Edwards 2008: 107–10; Ch. 8 of Martin 2009. The expression in question seems to follow the style of Demosthenes and Aeschines as a first-person oath in the authorial voice is quite rare in other prose texts. In their speeches, the interjection 'μὰ + accusative' came to be used to underline a point, especially a

negative statement, e.g. οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδέν τῶν προὔπηργμένων τῶ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ ('in the next stage of your life, by Zeus, you [*sc.* Aeschines] cast no shame on your previous career') at Dem. 18.261; see also §§ 9, 16; *Epp.* 5.1, 9.2, 11.6; Dem. 18.112, 307, 19.141, 212, 20.21; Aeschin. 1.55, 2.130, 3.156; [Them.] *Epp.* 4.4, ll. 10–11, 8.18, ll. 85–86 Hercher with MacDowell 2009: 403; Torrance 2014: 348–9. We should therefore read the opening section as an instance of self-defence against Dem. 18.257–260 (see above). Further on the cultural phenomenon of swearing oaths see e.g. Sommerstein *et al.* 2007, 2013, 2014; on the oath formula of epistolography e.g. Exler 1923: 127–32. Cf. also §§ 9, 16 with Intro. 3.4.2 (v).

[4] τριταγωνιστεῖν...ὡς Δημοσθένης ἔλεγεν: a reference to Demosthenes' gibes at Aeschines' early employment as a tragic actor. The imperfect tense of λέγειν marks a continuous type of action, to indicate that Demosthenes accused Aeschines of τριταγωνιστεῖν on a regular basis (× 8): cf. Dem. 18.129, 209, 19.200, 246–247 with Harris 1995: 30–1; Easterling 1999; Yunis 2001: 186; Worman 2008: 252–3.

Τριταγωνιστεῖν occurs nowhere before Dem. 19, but it is unlikely that it was first used by Demosthenes. Sophocles is said to have been the first to employ three actors and to introduce the so-called 'tritagonist', and originally the word is a technical term synonymous with τὰ τρίτα λέγων at Dem. 19.246: cf. Arist. *Poet.* 4 1449a15–18 (in *Vita Aeschyli* [= *TGF* III T 1.15] the innovation was ascribed to Aeschylus: Gucker 2000); Ath. 14.50 (= Antiphanes fr. 207 *PCG*); Plut. *Mor.* 816f; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon: s.v.* τριταγωνιστής (edd. P.A. Hansen and I.C. Cunningham, IV, 76); *Suda: Σ* 815. This could be proved by the affirmative statement at Dem. 19.247, that ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ' ὅτι ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς...τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς... ('you know of course that in all tragic dramas...for the *tritagonistai*...'): see also Todd 1938; Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 132–5. The extended meaning of 'bit-part actor', on the other hand, might be a coinage of Demosthenes. It is by definition humble and unsuitable for a politician, and taunts Aeschines' mediocre achievements on stage in connection with ὑπογραμματεῦειν ('to serve as an under-secretary'): see

Dem. 18.265, 19.200, and cf. Antiph. 6.49; Lys. 30.29 with Rhodes 1985: 139; Paulsen 1999: 211; MacDowell 2000a: 307. Of course Aeschines could be a *tritagonistes* in both senses, but Demosthenes' exposition has always been the focus of Ps.-Aeschines and other critics: cf. Cic. *Rep.* 4.11.13; Quint. 2.17.12; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840a; Harpokr. s.v. Ἰσχανδρος; *Vitae Aeschin.* 1.3, 7, 2.3 Dilts; [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 250; Lib. *Decl.* 17.1.80; Hermog. *Id.* 1.10, 2.3 272, 325 Rabe; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, 264.490b; *Λέξεις ῥητορικαί*: s.v. τριταγωνιστής (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 309); see also Intro. 1.2.1.

[5] ἔλευθερίως...παιδείας φροντίσας τὰ μέτρια is a counterargument to Dem. 18.257–258. Compare:

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνῃ, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρή τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα...παῖς μὲν ὄν...τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων...οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων...

It was my lot, Aeschines, as a boy, to attend **the right schools** to have everything that would assure a life free of **shameful behaviour**...in your childhood you...served at the school alongside your father...**holding the position of a household slave, not that of a freeborn youth**...

The counterpart of ‘right schools’, the genitive of παιδεία (lit. ‘child-rearing’) serves as the immediate complement of φροντίζειν, explaining in what way Aeschines’ was dedicated to respectable matters (on the understanding that the verb expresses the emotion of being ‘thoughtful’ or ‘anxious’, and cf. *GG*: 320 § 1339, 330–1 § 1405). Τὸ μέτριον is often associated with self-restraint (σώφρων/σωφροσύνη). In the context it denotes the activities of a decent citizen, as distinguished from a ‘sykophant’ (συκοφάντης) or whoever accustomed to shameful behaviour (§ 2): cf. § 15; *Ep.* 2.1; *Aeschin.* 1.1–3, 3.216–218; *Isoc.* 7.4; *Is.* 1.1 with Adams 1919: 5 n. 2;

North 1966: 138, 143, 205; Rademaker 2005: 237–60.

Ἐλευθερίως signifies the character of a free man, and with *paideia* it expresses the idea of ‘liberal/free education’ (e.g. Pl. *Ep.* 7 334b; cf. Raaflaub 2004: 354 n. 200) in contrast to the unrespectable lifestyle of an actor. But unlike the English ‘education’, the Greek *paideia* entails more potential meanings, such as physical training, literary education, childhood, punishment and cultural identity, and cf. LSJ: *s.v.* παιδεία; Jaeger 1939–44: III, p. 314 n. 51; Marrou 1956: 95–101; Whitmarsh 2001b: 5–9; Too 2001: 11–3. The wide semantic range of this term relates therefore to the upbringing and socialisation of an ideal citizen (τραφείς ἐλευθερίως...φροντίσας τὰ μέτρια): cf. § 13; Dem. *Ep.* 3.11; Aeschin. 1.9–11, 3.154, 246, 260; Dem. 18.127; Isoc. 4.49, 15.50, 19.13; Pl. *Resp.* 405a–b; Arist. *Rh.* 1.8.4 1365b31–37. It should be noted, further, that with λόγων οἴους λέγειν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔπρεπε Ps.-Aeschines may refer to school education, particularly one involving rhetorical *techne*, which Isocrates (*Ep.* 5.4) would call ‘an education about discourses’ (τὴν παιδείαν τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους): see also Reiske 1771: 940. Although the performative aspect of *paideia* was frowned upon in the fourth century BCE, e.g. as verbal deception (§§ 4, 17), Aeschines himself would not take pains to hide it: so ‘a democrat ought to...have the ability to speak; for it is a fine thing that...his training in rhetoric and his skill at speaking persuade his hearers’ (...δεῖν...τῷ δημοτικῷ...δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ...τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορας καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας; Aeschin. 3.169–170). In view of Ps.-Aeschines’ association with the so-called Second Sophistic or its predecessors, all this may intertwine with a cultural context of performing *paideia*: cf. e.g. Goldhill 2001: 17–8; Lauwers 2012: 231–3 and *passim*; Maciver 2017: 69–72.

[6] λόγων οἴους λέγειν: polyptoton; see Intro. 3.4.2 (i). Λόγων (normally with the article) is likely to be a partitive genitive, and cf. Ar. *Pax* 225, *Plut.* 1051; Hdt. 7.104.1, 7.233.1; Men. *Epit.* 888 with *GG*: 315 § 1307; Gomme and Sandbach 1973: 361.

Section 2

[1] **καὶ...ἀλλὰ...:** special uses of particles. Καί, here and below (§§ 3, 4), connects an adversative clause (= καίτοι; cf. *Epp.* 2.3, 4.6; Eur. *HF.* 509; Lys. 6.31, 24.9), and ἀλλὰ, being reinforced by οὐδέ, implies a progressive sense (= the weaker δέ; cf. Hippoc. *Vict.* 90). See also *GP:* 21–2, 292–3.

[2] **οὐκ εἰς συκοφαντίαν...οὐδέ...οὐδέ...οὐδέ...οὐδέ...:** Ps.-Aeschines creates a synthesis of the imitative models. First, this passage seems to reply to πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ ('a vicious thing is a sykophant always') at Dem. 18.242. Secondly, both in theme and in style it imitates οὐδὲ συκοφαντήσας οὐδένα πόποτ' οὔτε πολίτην οὔτε ξένον, οὐδὲ καθ' ὑμῶν ἰδίᾳ δεινὸς ὄν ('never did I bring vexatious accusations against anyone, whether a citizen or an alien, nor did I cleverly work against you for private interest') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.9; see also Blass 1887–98: III/1, p. 451; Goldstein 1968: 240–1 for the intertextual possibilities between Dem. 18 and Dem. *Ep.* 2. Thirdly, the emphasis on Aeschines' inexperience of bringing prosecutions, which picks up the above mentioned τὰ μέτρια (§ 1), is a *topos* in parallel with the opening section of the *Against Timarchus*: see Aeschin. 1.1 with Fisher 2001 *ad loc.*, and cf. Isoc. 15.164.

The true status of συκοφάνται is so uncertain that the term is often transliterated as 'sykophants'. In a broad sense, the role of the so-called sykophants simulates 'volunteer prosecutors' (οἱ βουλόμενοι), a role that emerged after Solon had introduced the system of prosecution by 'volunteer', which enabled any individual citizen to prosecute in a public case: cf. [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 9.1; And. 1.99; Aeschin. 1.19–20. A prospect of reward for the successful prosecutor, according to the legal procedures of ἀπογραφὴ and φάσις, could be a share of the confiscated property: see Harrison 1968–71: II, pp. 211–21 (whereas in most cases public charges did not contemplate any financial reward for the prosecutor, and cf. Dem. 21.45; [Dem.]

59.16 with Canevaro 2013: 185–6). More frequently, the Greek word was used to characterise the ‘bad prosecutors’ that abused the legal system for profit (*sc.* λαβῶν ἀργύριον): cf. πολλά πάνυ λαβεῖν ἐξόν μοι χρήματα μὴ λαβῶν (§ 3); see also Lofberg 1917; MacDowell 1978: 62–6; Harvey 1990; Osborne 1990, 2010: 226–8 (an attempt to rehabilitate the sykophants’ role in encouraging democratic participation); Christ 1998: 48–71; Rubinstein 2000: 198–212. By the end of the fifth century BCE, the sykophants were regarded as dangerous and vicious citizens. The acts of a sykophant, συκοφαντία, were liable to the penalty of false prosecution (perhaps by *graphe sykophantias*), and were a typical mark of democratic *hybris* (see below): cf. Isoc. 15.315; Dem. 18.132; Aeschin. 2.145; [Dem.] 59.41–43; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 35.3, 43.5; see also Kapparis 1999: 254–7; Fisher 2008; Gray 2015: 248–50. For Timarchus see *Ep.* 7.3 n. 5.

[3] δίκην δικασάμενος: *figura etymologica*, also known as ‘cognate object construction’ (*GG*: 357 § 1576); cf. οὔτε γραφήν γραψάμενος at Aeschin. 1.1 with the scholium *ad loc.* (= Dilts 1), and see Intro. 3.4.2 (i). Δίκη (and its corresponding verb) often implies a non-public lawsuit as distinguished e.g. from γραφή, ἀπαγωγή, and εὐθύναι: cf. Dem. 21.26 with MacDowell 1990a: 248; see also Harrison 1968–71: II, pp. 74–8; LSJ: *s.v.* δικάζω II. But, as here, in the forensic speeches the distinction is not clearly maintained, and δίκη can refer to any type of lawsuit (= ἀγῶν), e.g. *Ep.* 8.1; Lys. 12.4, 21.18, fr. 1.1 Carey (= Ath. 13.94); Dem. 18.210; [Dem.] 55.31 (whereas γραφή was used only for public speeches). The same may be held true of Aeschines. For example, he generically exploited δίκη in reference to the case of Timarchus, the procedure of which is *dokimasia rhetoron* (Aeschin. 1.44). Unlike Ps.-Aeschines, however, he might have exercised caution in using δικάζεσθαι, because the word appears only twice in the extant speeches and refers particularly to the private lawsuit: cf. Aeschin. 1.62 (*dike aikeias/blabes*), 164 (*dike blabes*) with Fisher 2001: 199–200; Cohen 2015: 102–6.

[4] ὕβρεις ἀποδόμενος...ὕβρισθεις...ἀφορμὴν προπηλακισμοῦ παρασχών:

there are several attestations of these *topoi* in the cross-defamations between Demosthenes and Aeschines. Like *συκοφαντία*, *ὑβρις* is a complex concept. It seems to denote humiliating violence and also self-indulgence, and hence an anti-social virtue: see *Ep.* 2.4; *Dem.* 21.47; *Aeschin.* 1.15–16 with MacDowell 1976 (= *id.* 2018: 246–60), 1990a: 18–23, 263–8; Fisher 1992, 2001: 138–41; Cohen 1995: 143–62; Cairns 1996; Canevaro 2013: 224–31. An indication of verbal abuse, it amplifies the charge of *συκοφαντία*: cf. *Dem.* 19.246; but it could also allude to physical violence, especially sexual assault, for which one may think of the rhetorical point in the *Against Timarchus* that a prostitute is likely to ‘sell out’ (*ἀποδιδόναι*) his country because he ‘sold the abuse of his own body’ (*τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑβρίν πεπρακώς*): cf. *Aeschin.* 1.15–17, 29, 108, 188 with Fisher 2005.

In Attic oratory *προπηλακισμός* (lit. ‘mud-slinging’) refers solely to verbal abuse. Demosthenes, for example, used it in parallel with *ὑβρις* at *Dem.* 18.12 and claimed that Aeschines levied an excess of accusations against him: cf. also *Aeschin.* 2.44 with *Schol. Aeschin.* 2.44 (= Dilts 96); *Suda*: Π 2562; Paulsen 1999: 327; Greaney 2005: 29 n. 85. *Ἀφορμή* seems to embrace the meanings of ‘resource’ and also of ‘excuse’; one could compare *Dem.* 18.156, where Aeschines was alleged to ghost-write a letter for Philip and thus ‘provided the means and the excuses’ (*τὰς ἀφορμάς...καὶ τὰς προφάσεις...παρασχών*) for renewing the Sacred War in 339 BCE.

[5] **ἔξω Τιμάρχου μόνου**: Lat. *extra unum/solum aliquem*; cf. *Plaut. Mil.* 1232; *Ter. Ph.* 98 with *OLD*: *s.v. extra* 9. The regular expression is *ἔξω δεινοῦ*, e.g. *Ep.* 5.6; *Hdt.* 7.29.1. It is tempting to compare *καὶ ἔξω μόνου σοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γενέσθω ἄγνωστον* at [*Them.*] *Ep.* 8.22, l. 109 Hercher (c. late 1st cent. CE). See also *Intro.* 3.4.1 (ii).

Section 3

[1] οὐκ ἀλαζονεύομαι...ὡς...ὡς...: in indirect speech ‘ὡς + participle’ may follow verbs of saying or thinking to mark the mental attitude of the subject; see *GG*: 473 §§ 2120–2121; *LSJ*: *s.v.* ὡς C.I.1.

Ἀλαζονεύεσθαι/ἀλαζονεία denote grandiose claims and are often applied to dishonest politicians: cf. *Ar. Nub.* 102, *Ach.* 109; *Aeschin.* 1.178, 3.99; *Arist. EN.* 4.7.1–13 1127a13–1127b24 with MacDowell 1990b; Hesk 2000: 232–3. Here the word seems to echo the relevant passages in the *Against Ctesiphon*, in which Demosthenes and Ctesiphon were portrayed as ἀλαζόνες (‘braggarts’) and were accused of tricking the Athenians into enacting the honorary decree: cf. *Aeschin.* 3.99–101, 218, 236–238, 256. And an ancient scholar commented: ‘The epilogue is structured in ten *topoi*...the ninth *topos* (*sc.* ἀλαζονεία) destroys the political credibility of Demosthenes’ (οἱ ἐπίλογοι εἰργασμένοι ἐν δέκα τόποις...ἔνατος τόπος ἀναίρεσιν ἔχων τῶν δοκούντων εὔπεπολιτεῦσθαι Δημοσθένει): see *Schol. Aeschin.* 3.230 (= *Dilts* 500a), 3.256 (= *Dilts* 549). Scholars noted that the literal meaning of ἀλαζόν could imply the status of a wanderer (vs. ἀλήτης), and see *D.Chry. Or.* 57.2 with Whitmarsh 2001b: 186–7. If so, οὐκ ἀλαζονεύομαι may express something along the lines of ‘I do not brag like a wanderer even though I am in exile’.

[2] πολλὰ πάνυ λαβεῖν ἐξόν μοι χρήματα: cf. πολλὰ μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρήματα, ἐξόν μοι λαβεῖν ὅστε μὴ κατηγορεῖν (‘a great deal of money, men of Athens, was available to me for dropping the prosecution’) at *Dem.* 21.3; see also *P.Lit.Lond.* 134 ll. 37–39 (= *MP*³ 0307); *Schol. Dem.* 21.3 (= *Dilts* 20) with Gibson 2002: 208–9. Χρήματα looks like a variation of ἀργύριον (§ 2), yet there is semantic nuance in contrast to the very nature of a ‘sykophant’, a role that coveted a portion of the fines or an out-of-court deal with the defendant (§ 2 n. 2). First of all, while ἀργύριον may be literally rendered as a piece of money or ‘small change’ (e.g. *Ep.* 6.1), χρήματα signifies the possession of a large amount of property. The point seems to be: a sykophant is hired by anyone who can pay, but Aeschines is unswayed by the financial consideration. Second, χρήματα refers generically to wealth beyond

coinage. Alcaeus and Aristotle, for example, associated it with civic virtues such as ἐσθλότης, τιμιότης and ἐλευθεριότης, and Aristophanes, in his episode criticising Athens' monetary debasement during the final years of the Peloponnesian War, analogised the emergency coins to 'bad citizens' (πόνηροι): cf. Alc. fr. 360 Campbell; Pind. *Isthm.* 2.11; Ar. *Ran.* 718–733; Arist. *EN.* 4.1.1 1119b22–28; Poll. 9.89; *Menandri Monosticha* 238 Jaekel; see also Seaford 2004: 16, 157–65; von Reden 2010: 6–7; Kretschmann 2016. It therefore sets forth the belief that Aeschines is a public-spirited prosecutor and a good citizen: cf. also Lys. 22.1, 25.3; Dem. 18.189; [Dem.] 53.1, 59.43 with Kapparis 1999: 254–6; Harris 2013a: 62–3 (esp. for the distinction between the *rhetor* and the *sykophant*).

[3] ἦν προσῆκον: the verb's participle is often used as an adjective (LSJ: *s.v.* προσήκω A.III). Drerup (1904: 47) suggested the reading ἦν προσῆκεν ('which is due'), and one can render the subordinate clause in light of the frequent use of symmetry: cf. οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργὴν (*sc.* εἰς ὀργὴν ἦν προσῆκεν) at Dem. 18.138. However, ἦν προσῆκον would balance ἐξόν in the previous clause and surely is in itself a *lectio difficilior*.

[4] Κτησιφῶντα...παρὰ νόμων ἐγραψάμην: for Ctesiphon and the legal procedure of the 'crown trial', see *Ep.* 7.2 n. 3.

[5] πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόν, πολλὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους: πολὺς μὲν...πολὺς δε... is a typical anaphora, and cf. *Od.* 4.230; Pind. *Ol.* 13.14–16; Hdt. 5.89. The rhetorical figure occurs frequently in Demosthenes and Aeschines, especially in the *Crown* speeches: cf. Dem. 18.48, 72, 158, 250, 311; Aeschin. 3.12, 71, 121, 124, 202 (cited at [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 268; D.H. *Comp.* 9; Hermog. *Id.* 2.1 316 Rabe) with Blass 1887–98: III/1, p. 238; Denniston 1952: 84–7; see also Intro. 3.4.2 (i). The reiteration creates the impression of a tolerant character: Aeschines was not a *sykophant*, and only by necessity did he take revenge upon those who wronged him. Here private enmity seems to offer a sufficient motive for the prosecution, but Ps.-Aeschines gives no further description as it would be untactful to overstate this

point in a *graphe*: cf. Aeschin. 1.2; [Dem.] 53.1; Lys. 31.2; Lyc. 1.6; Dem. 18.12–16, *Ep.* 1.10 with Dover 1974: 187–90; Christ 1998: 160–192; Todd 1998; Kurihara 2003; Harris 2013a: 65–71; Cairns 2015: 650–1; Alwine 2015, esp. Ch. 2.

[6] **δικαιοτάτην, ᾧ θεοὶ, γραφήν**: the casual oath, together with the superlative case, calls the gods to witness that the prosecution was desirable in many respects, such as public interest (δίκην...λαβών) and personal grievance (πολλὰ...παθών). We find ‘ᾧ + vocative’ as a sign of exclamation in Antiphon (6.41), Aeschines (1.49, 3.137, 260), Dinarchus (1.7, 1.36), and especially Demosthenes (18.139, 19.16, 20.96, 32.23; cf. Aeschin. 3.99), but the form under discussion is attested nowhere in the orators: cf. Edwards 2008: 108; MacDowell 2009: 403. In dramatic texts there are numerous examples, which usually marks a slight pause before a strong emotional appeal, e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1169 with Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*, and cf. Soph. *Phil.* 737, 779; Eur. *Alc.* 1123, *El.* 771; Ar. *Ach.* 1058, *Eq.* 1309; Antiphanes fr. 161 *PCG* (= Ath. 10.64, 11.87); Men. *Epit.* 489, *Per.* 807. Of course this expression reminds us of the *tritagonistes*-theme (§ 1), and one is also tempted to compare its extensive usage from the Imperial period onwards, especially in the works attributed to Lucian (× 29), Philostratus (× 13), and Libanius (× 40).

Section 4

[1] **τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἢ Δημοσθένους δεινότης κρείττων ἐγένετο**: cf. τοὺς ὁμομοκότας δικαστὰς...τῆς πολιτείας παραχωρεῖν ἦν (‘for the dicasts under oath...it was a surrender of the constitution’) at Dem. *Ep.* 2.1–2 with Goldstein 1968: 237–8. This is meant to provoke the audience into obeying the laws, not the authority of an individual, and cf. Thuc. 2.37.3, 3.37.2–5; Lys. fr. 195.2 Carey (= Ath. 12.76); Dem. 21.45, 23.206, 35.54, 41.10, 43.72; [Dem.] 56.10, 59.77. It also suggests that the Athenians are capricious voters (§§ 12, 14). The account that Aeschines set an example in the ‘embassy trial’ (οὐ μικρὸν...δειγμα

τοῦτο τοῦ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι) amplifies Aeschines' innocence, thus casting doubt on the outcome of the 'crown trial' as well as the certainty of the law of Athens.

Δεινότης simply refers to rhetorical skill in contrast to what is natural, but here a negative connotation is more likely. The vague meaning makes this term a two-edged sword. A prosecutor, for example, may assert his caution in using it on the one hand, and on the other tends to exaggerate its abuse by the opponents, e.g. Dem. 18.144, 277, 280 with Usher 1993: 265; Yunis 2001: 264; so did Thucydides use it to criticise the Mytilenaeen envoys and yet to praise Antiphon the rhetor (noting however this arouses suspicion by the multitude): cf. Thuc. 3.37.5, 8.68.1 with Gagarin 2002: 39–40. In this respect the expression is interchangeable with τὸ εἶναι αὐτάρκη ('self-sufficiency of speaking': § 17), and cf. Hesk 1999, 2000: 211–5. But the positive sense, meaning 'forcefulness' (Lat. *vis dicendi*), seemed to be dominant in later stylistic evaluation of the Attic prose, and cf. D.H. *Is.* 3, *Thuc.* 53; Quint. 10.1.76; Plut. *Comp.Dem.Cic.* 1.2, *Phoc.* 5.6; D.Chry. *Or.* 18.11; Philostr. *VS.* 1.510; [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 245; Hermog. *Id.* 2.11 399 Rabe with Kindstrand 1982: 33–4, 54–6; Tritle 1988: 23–4; Cooper 2000: 224–38, 2004: 155–6, 2009: 324; Porter 2016: 246–52, 303–7. Additionally, it should be noted that although Aeschines was critical of Demosthenes' heavy use of figures, δεινότης appears nowhere in his speeches. He used negatively marked expressions such as τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς ('tricks and devices'), ψεῦδος ('lie'), ληστήν ἐπ' ὀνομάτων πλέοντα ('a pirate on a ship of words'), and κακοῦργον ἄνθρωπον καὶ τεχνίτην λόγων ('a villainous man and a verbal artificer'): cf. Aeschin. 2.1, 153, 3.16, 168, 200, 253; see also Greaney 2005: 11 n. 8. And when using the phrase δεινὸς εἰπεῖν/λέγειν, he was supposed to describe Philip's 'eloquence', not 'craftiness': cf. Aeschin. 2.43, 51; Dem. 20.150 with Guth 2016: 336.

[2] ἔφην...ἐφ' οἷς κατηγορήθην πρότερον ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους...οὐ μικρὸν ὑμᾶς δεῖγμα τοῦτο τοῦ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι νομίζειν is adapted from ἐπολιτευόμεν...ἀφ' ὧν δόξαν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν ἐνόμιζον. ἐφ' οἷς

ἅπανσι...ἄγασθαι προσήκει ('I shaped my policies...doing what I thought would bring you glory and pride. On these grounds all should give their admiration...') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.11. In ἔφην/ἔφάνη I have accepted MSS. **αMZA**, given that ἔφην is the counterpart of ἐνόμιζον ('I thought'; cf. *Ep.* 5.3). Notice, too, that the orators often used 'ἐπί + dative' to express the reason for praise or blame: cf. Lyc. 1.139; Isoc. 4.21; Dem. 18.4 with the scholium *ad loc.* (= Dilts 16), 20.7, 21.19, *Epp.* 2.5, 3.14; see also LSJ: *s.v.* ἐπί B.III.1, 2; Lutz 1887: 108; Goldstein 1968: 242.

By οὐ μικρόν Ps.-Aeschines uses a negative statement to emphasise a positive meaning ('litotes'); see also *Epp.* 4.1, 11.1, 2 (× 2), 6, 7.

[3] οὐδὲ Δημοσθένους κατηγοροῦντος ἑάλων: allusion to the 'embassy trial'; cf. also οὐδ' ἐπ' αἰτίας αἰσχροῦς ἑαλωκότος (§ 13). This, however, seems to speak against the authenticity of the letter. In 346 BCE, Aeschines and Demosthenes were sent to Macedonia on successive embassies, which led to a disputed peace treaty (Dem. 19.47–56) with Philip. The trial in 343 BCE, which centred on Aeschines' (mis)conduct in the Second Embassy, took place in the aftermath of the treaty. How the events developed has been discussed in detail e.g. by Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 329–47; Harris 1995: 63–94; Efstathiou 2004; MacDowell 2009: 314–42, and I will rather pay attention to the upshot. The defendant, despite a lack of hard evidence against him, was acquitted by a narrow margin of thirty votes: see Idomeneus *FGrH* 338 F 10 (= Plut. *Dem.* 15.5); [Plut.] *Mor.* 840c; Aeschin. 2 *hypoth.* 4 Dilts. Since a judicial panel in a public case had at least five hundred dicasts, the outcome put Aeschines in a weak position, and this may explain his subsequent silence about the 'victory': see Paulsen 1999: 50; Lintott 2013: 62. Ironically, however, Ps.-Aeschines celebrates the awkward fact that Aeschines endeavoured to suppress. This strengthens our suspicion that the letter is forged by a later admirer; by his reckoning, Aeschines is so great as to be acquitted even in the face of the bitter accusations and forceful oratory of Demosthenes (the *On the False Embassy* is the longest text in the *Corpus Demosthenicum*); see also § 13; Reiske

Section 5

[1] **μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν:** with the demonstrative pronoun, δὲ is a repetition of the preceding δέ (§ 4); cf. Andoc. 1.149; Pl. *Phd.* 78c with *GP*: 183–5. Συμφορὰ is the euphemistic expression of ἀτιμία (‘dishonour’), e.g. Andoc. 1.86; Isoc. 5.58 with LSJ: *s.v.* συμφορὰ A.II.2. In theme it points to φεύγοντες ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων below and also echoes ἀτυχῶν ἔτι καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστερημένος...ταύτη κεχρησθαι τῇ συμφορᾷ at *Ep.* 7.1–2.

[2] **πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐχ ὅπως μόνοις ὑμῖν:** Aeschines’ misfortune has attracted a panhellenic audience. ‘All Greece is witness’ is a rhetorical *topos*: cf. Aeschin. 1.156, 2.104, 3.41; Dem. 19.343, 21.217, *Ep.* 3.6; Lyc. 1.14; Din. 1.103; [Andoc.] 4.30. Ἑλληνες refers originally to a Thessalian tribe of which Hellen is the progenitor (*Il.* 2.683–684). At a later time the term was extended to cover the whole of Greece (*Il.* 2.530; *Od.* 1.344, 4.726, 816, 15.80; Hes. fr. 9–10 Merkelbach–West; Hdt. 1.56; Thuc. 1.3), and, during the Greco-Persian Wars, it was crystallised on ethnical and cultural grounds (Hdt. 8.144). Its centralisation in the Classical period developed with the notion that Athens is the example of Greece and other *poleis* appear only as her foils (Thuc. 2.41.1; Pl. *Prt.* 337d; Dem. 19.64; Isoc. 4.50); in the Attic orators we find frequently such expressions as ‘Athenians and all other Greeks’, e.g. Dem. 18.54, 194, 19.343, *Epp.* 1.2, 2.3; Aeschin. 1.156, 2.9; Lyc. 1.51; Isoc. 7.84; Din. 1.29. Ps.-Aeschines reproduces the Athenocentric context to an extent. See also Hall 2002: 56–90, 172–228.

[3] **τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ἀποθανόντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως...:** οὕτως is usually deleted in accordance with the tendency to avoid hiatus, and see Intro. 3.4.2 (iv). Scholars, however, went too far in this respect. For this criterion cannot be decisive even in Demosthenes’ style, e.g. ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἤδη διάκεισθε at Dem.

8.30; μηδαμῶς δυνηθεὶς ταπεινὸς γενέσθαι οὕτως ἀσελγῆς καὶ βίαιος ἦν at Dem. 21.186. Conversely, a deliberate pause may draw attention to actual words in a sentence, and cf. Pearson 1975, 1978; Dover 1997: 177–80.

Οὕτως is at first sight confusing, but it can be justified provided that Ps.-Aeschines is alluding to Demosthenes' account of Lycurgus (§§ 6, 14, 15): cf. ἔδει...τούτους δὲ μηδ' οὕτως...πᾶσι γὰρ πάντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ὄρος ἐστὶ τελευτή ('Lycurgus' sons should not be treated like their father...for every man's responsibility for his offences ends with his death') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.14. The rhetorical question that expresses factual implications (τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι...), too, resembles the tone of the protasis at Dem. *Ep.* 3.15: cf. Goldstein 1968: 188 n. 2. See also *Ep.* 11.2 n. 7 (on οἱ...τεθνᾶσι).

[4] τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα: pleonasm; cf. Aeschin. 3.2; Dem. 18.62, 19.3. Δὴ could be joined with temporal adverbs (τότε, νῦν, εἶτα, etc.), or with superlative cases, but the expression in question is attested only in the Imperial period, e.g. App. *B.Civ.* 3.4.28; Luc. *Tim.* 55; D.C. 76.2.5; Gal. *Inaeq.Int.* VIII 741 Kühn. The normal phrase-pattern seems to be τότε δὴ τότε (epanadiplosis), and cf. Eur. *El.* 726, *Or.* 1483; Dem. 18.47; Luc. *Vit.auct.* 27; [Luc.] *Dem.* 48; D.C. 69.13.2; Hermog. *Inv.* 4.4 185 Rabe; see also *GP*: 206–7.

[5] τοὺς τρόπους: a rhetorical point concerning 'character'. Τρόπος (lit. 'turning', 'inclination') refers to a second nature as distinguished from the innate φύσις, meaning 'way' or 'manner' in a general sense: cf. § 12; Aeschin. 1.189, 2.152, 3.78, 249; Dem. 18.263, 19.224, *Epp.* 1.9, 2.8; Isoc. 15.299, *Ep.* 9.8; [Heraclit.Ephes.] *Ep.* 9.6. The plural of this abstract noun, however, invites us to think about a collective notion of 'manners', which one may call 'the Athenian ways of acting', and cf. *GG*: 270 § 1000. The same usage is attested in Thucydides, for in his *Histories* τρόπο(ι) was juxtaposed with a community's political culture, and the cities that adopted similar politics were described as ὁμοιότροποι: cf. Thuc. 2.36.4, 2.41.2, 6.9.3, 7.55.2, 7.63.3, 8.96.5 with Luginbill 1999: 82, 97 nn. 1, 3; Price 2001: 148–9; Hall 2002:

205; Zumbrennen 2010: 71–94. Thus, the word alludes not just to something characteristic of a man, but also to civic virtue as reflected in the man’s behaviour; see also §§ 6, 12, 16–17.

Τρόπος is also to be carefully compared with ἔθος (‘custom’, ‘habit’) and ἦθος (‘spirit’, ‘virtue’). Their meanings are varied in different contexts, but all could denote the acquired character of an individual or his community: cf. Pl. *Leg.* 792e; Arist. *EN.* 2.1.1–2 1103a14–24, *EE.* 2.2.1 1220a39–1220b6; Plut. *Mor.* 3a, 443c, 551e–551f; Apsines 9.11 Dilts–Kennedy (= I 382.9–19 Spengel); [Ammon.] *Diff. s.v.* no. 217 Nickau; *Suda:* E 328, T 1055; see also Thimme 1935; Dover 1974: 88–90. Ἔθος means ‘habit’, probably that formed at an early age. In Demosthenes it often refers to an established usage of the *polis*, and Ps.-Aeschines employs the same sense to characterise the Athenian legal system of punishment and reward (§ 14). Τρόπος and ἦθος suggest a state of mind and are much overlapped in the letter (§§ 16–17). For ethical theorists such as Aristotle and Plutarch, they are determined by ἔθος, and thereby are changeable and teachable in contrast to ‘habit’.

Section 6

[1] **καὶ γὰρ...γάρ:** an explanatory phrase. Καί means ‘in fact’, and γάρ is connective: cf. *Ep.* 5.4; Ar. *Eq.* 249–250; Thuc. 2.42.3; Dem. 20.165 with *GP:* 108–9; cf. also *Epp.* 7.2, 11.4.

[2] **ἐκ μέσου:** Lat. *e/in medio*; cf. Cic. *Mur.* 30, *de Or.* 3.45.177 with *OLD:* *s.v. medium* 4. The extended meaning relates to withdrawal from ‘the midst of all’, ‘the public’, or ‘the community’, and cf. *παρ’ ὑμῶν ὠχόμην* (§ 7) and *περίοντος ἐμοῦ παρ’ ὑμῶν* (*Ep.* 11.4). The regular pattern seems to be ἐκ τοῦ μέσου (with the definite article), e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.14; Men. *Sic.* 265; Theoph. *Char.* 22.3, or ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, e.g. Aeschin. 3.133; Din. 1.24; Macho fr. 14 Gow (= Ath. 13.41). See also Intro. 3.4.1 (ii).

[3] **ἀναφαίνεται καθαρῶς:** Ps.-Aeschines avoids the repetition of καταφανής/καταφαίνεσθαι (§§ 5–6). The prefix ἀνά-, and the adverb connoting ‘purity’ with respect to the Athenians (cf. Thuc. 5.8.2; Dem. 57.55; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 13.5; Luc. *Rhet.* 24), are perhaps designed for amplification: cf. Plut. *Phil.* 15.7; Ael.Ar. *Or.* 21.7 271 Jebb; [Hippoc.] *Prorrh.* 2.7. Nevertheless the phrase picks up the rhetorical question (τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι...) and implies a distinction between Aeschines and the ‘Demosthenic’ exiles (οἱ δὲ δὴ φυγόντες ἐπὶ τοιαύταις αἰτίαις...). Ἄ συνέκρυπτον αὐτοὶ πρότερον and ἐκ μέσου γενομένων ἐκείνων, then, seem to be the words of the antagonists: cf. §§ 7 (‘internal secondary narrators’/‘hypophora’), 11 (internal secondary narrators); see also Reiske 1771: 695 n. 72.

[4] **τῶν ἐχθρῶν:** Ps.-Aeschines recognises the differences between ἐχθρός (‘malicious fellow citizen’), πολέμιος (‘enemy at war’: see below and *Ep.* 2.1), and δυσμενής (‘hostile foreigner’: § 9), and cf. [Ammon.] *Diff.* s.v. no. 208 Nickau; [Heraclit.Ephes.] *Ep.* 7.9; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon:* s.v. δυσμενής (ed. K. Latte, I, 486); see also LSJ: s.v. ἐχθρός A.III; Alwine 2015: 26–8, 165–6.

[5] **οἱ δὲ δὴ φυγόντες ἐπὶ τοιαύταις αἰτίαις, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀεὶ προαιρούμενοι, καὶ παντελῶς δεικνύουσι καὶ τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι γενομένας αὐτοῖς γνώμας καταφανεῖς:** δὲ δὴ is used to distinguish Aeschines from the ‘Demosthenic’ exiles; see also *GP:* 259. The accounts are based on Demosthenes’ denial of guilt in the Harpalus affair, and cf. Dem. *Ep.* 2.13–14:

...φυγῆς ἐπικινδύνου πειρᾶσθαι...ἀναγκάζομαι...οὐτ’ ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπολιτεύθην πρότερον δίκην ὀφείλων δοῦναι...οὔτε τῶν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐκρινόμην ἐξελεγχθέντων· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε τῶν Ἀρπάλου φίλων φανήσομαι γεγονώς...ἐξ ὧν πάντων δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι καιρῷ τινὶ ληφθεὶς...

...I am forced to undergo a perilous exile...my political activity in the past gives no just grounds for punishment, nor have the charges at my trial been proved. Indeed, I

myself **shall never be shown to have been one of Harpalus’...from all of this it is evident that** I was a victim of circumstances...

For προαιρούμενοι one may compare παραδείγματα ἀφ’ ὧν ἅ λυσιτελεῖ προελέσθαι τὰ τοῦ δήμου [om. Pap.] πᾶς τις ἂν κρίναι (‘the examples [*sc.* the pro-Macedonian politicians] from which everyone can judge that it does not pay to champion the cause [of the people]’) at Dem. *Ep.* 3.31; see also § 8 n. 1.

[6] ἐξετάζονται: (dis)proof of whether an exile can be innocent; cf. Dem. *Epp.* 2.1, 13–14, 3.42 with Goldstein 1968: 236. Ἐξετάζειν means ‘to examine thoroughly’, e.g. Dem. 18.20; Aeschin. 3.78, and here it summarises the aforementioned ἀναφαίνεσθαι/καταφαίνεσθαι and δείκνυσθαι/διαδείκνυσθαι. The term may be used metaphorically in reference to an official/military review, since in Demosthenes it connotes the εὐθῦναι, audits of accounting officials (Dem. *Ep.* 3.8, 18.245–246; Arist. *Pol.* 6.5.10 1322b6–17), as well as the ἐξέτασις, troop-inspection (Dem. *Ep.* 2.5, 9, 12, 18.173, 320): see also Goldstein 1968: 215, 238–9; Yunis 2001: 207. A negative sense is attested at Dem. 2.20, and a scholiast rendered it as ἐλέγχεται (‘to put to shame’): see Schol. Dem. 2.20 (= Dilts 141).

As might be expected, the idea that adversity (including exile in particular) reveals a man’s character is also rooted deeply in Greek thinking, e.g. Polyb. 6.2.6 with Gray 2013a: 324.

Section 7

[1] ἄρ’ οὖν καὶ Φιλίππῳ προδοὺς τὴν ἔμαντοῦ πατρίδα, καὶ παραπρεσβεύσας τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀεὶ θεραπεύσας Μακεδόνας...: cf. the portrayal of the ‘Philippising bribees’ at Dem. *Ep.* 2.7–8 (Φιλίππου...διαφθεῖραι χρήμασι τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων γνωρίμους) with Goldstein 1968: 239; see also § 11. Ἄρα introduces a series of hypothetical questions to be answered in a hypophora (§§

7–9). In καὶ ἀεὶ Hercher (1873: xiv) accepted ὡς δὴ (‘as being one who, indeed’), alleging that the phrase glosses the whole expression (*sc.* ‘the Macedonian servant’), and cf. § 12; Dem. 18.52, 281, 294–296, 307, 19.226, 341; Aeschin. 3.116. In Euripides (*Bacch.* 223–224), however, we find ἀρσένων ὑπηρετεῖν πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς δὴ μαινάδας θυοσκόους (‘[women] tryst with men with the pretext of being maenads sacrificing’). I have adopted Blass’ correction that καὶ marks a parallelism and ἀεὶ expresses the notion of frequency; one may compare Dem. 18.282:

Ἄρ’ οὖν οὐδὲ σύ...ὄς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὄς ἦν τῶν...συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν...

(*To Aeschines.*) So have you done the same...You, who went as ambassador to Philip immediately after the battle of Chaeronea, who was responsible for the misfortunes...that befell his country. On every previous occasion you denied any association with Philip, as everyone knows. So who is the deceiver of his country...

The ambassadorial misconduct, then, does not concern the embassies in 346/5 BCE (§ 4; cf. Dem. 19.191; Aeschin. 2.94). It alludes to the diplomatic negotiation after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE (*Ep.* 11.8), the ambassadors of which were Aeschines, Phocion, and, chiefly, Demades (§ 8): see Aeschin. 3.227; Dem. 18.282–288; [Demad.] 9; Nep. 19.1.3. The ‘Peace of Demades’ dissolved the Second Athenian League and hence acquiesced with Macedonian hegemony over mainland Greece. This, however, was not intolerable given that – unlike the other Greeks – the Athenians and their democracy (and part of their oversea possessions) survived without a scratch; a case in point is that the relieved people granted citizenship to Philip and Alexander, and cf. *Ep.* 11.8; *IG II³* 1 318 (= RO no. 76); Aeschin. 3.57; Hyp. 2 fr. 8 Jensen, *Dion.* 11 Horváth; Polyb. 5.10.5; D.S. 16.84–88, 18.56.6–7,

32.4.1–2; Plut. *Dem.* 22.4, *Alex.* 28.1; Paus. 1.9.4, 1.25.3; Justin 9.4.1–5; see also *CAH*: VI, pp. 777–87; Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 604–15, esp. p. 610 n. 1; Ryder 1994: 241–3; Harris 1995: 133–4; Worthington 2009, 2012: 255–8.

[2] **πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπηλλάγην**: biographical tradition reports that Aeschines tried to seek refuge with Alexander, but they seem never to have met before the king's death: see [Plut.] *Mor.* 840d; Philostr. *VS.* 1.509; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, and also Intro. 1.2.2 (i). The account also hints at the historical background before Alexander's death in 323 BCE, since, as transmitted at Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a, it is almost impossible for Aeschines – as well as for a 'forger' – to leave out 'the total confusion under Alexander's successors' (μεστοὺς θορύβων τοὺς ἐκείνου διαδόχους): cf. also Dem. *Epp.* 1.13, 3.24, 26; Plut. *Phoc.* 22.5. The chronological setting of Letter 12 therefore antedates Alexander's death and is the same as that of its imitative models: cf. Goldstein 1968: 44–59; Clavaud 1987: 59–63; see also Intro. 4.1.

[3] **χάριν τε ὧν παρεσχόμεν αὐτῷ κομιούμενος...καὶ προμηθείας δηλονότι τευξόμενος**: the future participles are used to denote intention after the verbs of going and coming (*GG*: 458–9 § 2065); see also §§ 12, 13 (μεθέξουσα/μεθέξοντα) and *Ep.* 6.1 (εἰσπράξων). After the victory at Chaeronea, Philip sent Alexander to placate Athens, and Aeschines *et al.* were selected to serve on a return embassy: see D.S. 16.87.3; Plut. *Alex.* 28.2; Justin 9.4. This would trigger suspicion about personal ties between the kings and the three ambassadors, e.g. admiration (D.S. 16.87.2; Plut. *Phoc.* 17.6–10, 18.8), corruption (Dem. 18.52, 281, 285, 296, *Ep.* 2.7–8; Plut. *Dem.* 23.5), and even a love affair (Aeschin. 1.168–169). The historical background may therefore assign the χάρις- and προμηθείας-themes to, respectively, the grant of citizenship to Alexander, and Macedonia's 'benevolence' to Athens in the post-Chaeronea settlements (see above). One is tempted to compare the account at Aeschin. 3.57, that Athens owed her survival to the kings' treatment 'with humanity and moderation' (φιλανθρώπως καὶ μετρίως; cf. [Demad.] 1.10). Demosthenes

reacted strongly against this attitude: see Dem. 18.231, 60.20, *Ep.* 3.12 with Goldstein 1968: 216.

Section 8

[1] καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐχ ἐώρων...**Δημάδην**: an emphatic double negative; see also §§ 14, 15. This form is recurrent in dramatic texts, and cf. Soph. *El.* 1479–1480, *OR.* 1058–1059; Eur. *IT.* 684, fr. 360 *TGF* (= Lyc. 1.100); Ar. *Aves.* 52, *Vesp.* 261; Ararus fr. 16 *PCG* (= Ath. 6.31).

Ps.-Aeschines, by replacing the pro- or anti-Macedonian figures in his imitative model, shows a remarkable knowledge of the historical figures: cf. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸν Πυθέαν παραλείψω...παραδείγματα ἀφ' ὧν ἂ λυσιτελεῖ προελέσθαι [τὰ τοῦ δήμου om. Pap.] πᾶς τις ἂν κρίναι...τῶν δημοτικῶν...οἷον Ναυσικλέα καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μενεσθέα καὶ Εὐδοξον... ('furthermore, I will not leave out Pytheas...from the examples of whom one can judge that it does not pay to champion the cause [of the people]...the democrats...such as Nausicles, Chares, Diotimus, Menestheus, and Eudoxus...') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.29–31. Cf. also Hyp. 2. fr. 15a Colin with the notes below.

Demades (*LGPN* II no. 4; *PA* 3263; *PAA* 306085; Develin 1989, no. 717; *APF*: 99–102) was taken prisoner at the battle of Chaeronea, but then became a major pro-Macedonian politician. Ancient tradition took him as a typical character who rose from poverty through diplomatic manoeuvring and relegated politicians of his kind to 'the Demadian group' (οἱ περὶ Δημάδην): see Schol. Dem. 3.29 (= Dilts 140, 141). Ps.-Aeschines, therefore, hints not only at the 'Peace of Demades' (§ 7 n. 1), but also at his friendship with the kings, given that the latter might continue to produce benefits: cf. D.S. 16.87.1–2, 17.15.3–5; Plut. *Dem.* 23.3–6, *Phoc.* 26.2–3; Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.3–6; Ael. *VH.* 5.12; Ath. 6.58. This passage may also be connected to Demades' acquittal in the Harpalus trials, and to the fact that he managed to return to

Athens despite being convicted of bribery: cf. Din. 1.7, 11, 45, 89, 101, 104, 2.14–15; Hyp. 5 fr. 6.25 Jensen; Dem. *Epp.* 2.2, 3.38; *BNJ* 227 F 58 (P.Berol. 13045 = MP³ 2102) with Goldstein 1968: 44 n. 42, 49 n. 67, 231–2; Dmitriev 2015 *ad loc.*

As an orator, Demades was known for his talent at improvisation and plain expression. His extemporaneous style was termed Δημάδεια as distinguished from that of Demosthenes, and has largely resulted in the disappearance of his works: see Cic. *Brut.* 9.36; Quint. 2.17.13, 12.10.49; [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 282; Plut. *Dem.* 8.3–7, 10.1–2, 11.5; *Suda*: Δ 414, 415 with Cooper 2000: 225–9; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 37–40. Demades became a popular subject in later fictitious sources, but was usually portrayed as a traitor or a person dedicated to the acquisition of wealth, e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 525b–525c (= *BNJ* 227 F 43), 1011b (= *BNJ* 227 F 96); Aul.Gell. *NA.* 11.10.6 (= *BNJ* 227 F 97); Sopater *Division of Questions* 14.24–26 VIII 14 Waltz (= *BNJ* 227 T 111) with Dmitriev 2015 *ad loc.* But his honorary statue in the Agora, which was erected in 335 BCE, questions this literary tradition: see Din. 1.101.

[2] τὰ μὲν ἐν Βοιωτία πανδοκεῖα...ἔχοντα καὶ χωρία ζευγῶν εἴκοσιν ἀροῦντα καὶ χρυσᾶς ἔχοντα φιάλας: rhetorical exaggeration (= *BNJ* 227 T 141). Boeotia was the region where the battle of Chaeronea took place, and one may compare *Suda*: Δ 415 (= *BNJ* 227 F 53): ‘Demades accepted possessions in Boeotia from Philip as a gift’ (κτῆματα ἐν Βοιωτία παρὰ Φιλίππου δωρεὰν ἔλαβεν); see also Dmitriev 2015 *ad loc.* Thebes (§ 9) was its largest city, and Aeschines (2.106, 3.139) called the pro-Theban politicians βοιωτιάζοντες (‘Boeotian sympathisers’). Notice, moreover, that Aeschines was also accused of possessing a farm in Boeotia: see Dem. 18.41 with *APF*: 547.

Archaeological surveys suggest that 20 yokes (= 40 oxen) are enough to cultivate 1,100 *plethra* of land (= 100 hectares). A property of this size can be valued at about ten talents: cf. Lys. 19.29, 42 (5 talents/300 *plethra*); Is. 11.44; Dem. 43.69 (2 talents/200 *plethra*), and is twenty times as much as what is necessary to qualify for

hoplite status, whereas the largest landholdings in Attica were around 300 *plethra*: cf. Hes. *Op.* 405–406; Pl. *Alc. I* 123c, *Leg.* 744e; Arist. *Pol.* 2.4.2 1266b5–8; Plut. *Sol.* 18.1–2; see also Hodkinson 1988: 39–40; Burford 1993: 67–9; Leão and Rhodes 2015: 127–9. Even so, the account is not a reckless invention, since Demades was said to have taken 6,000 gold staters – probably the equivalent of twenty talents – in the Harpalus affair: cf. Din. 1.89 with Worthington 1992: 259–60. For examples of using number cf. *Epp.* 9.2, 11.7; [Them.] *Epp.* 6.5, ll. 22–27, 7.6–7, ll. 19–27 Hercher (alleging that Themistocles had a balance of 40 talents).

The gold vessels are ‘gifts’ (δωρεάς; see below) from the kings. Libanius gave a similar account that Demades (and Aeschines and Philocrates) ‘accepted drinking-cups’ (λαμβάνειν...ἐκπώματα) in return for their pro-Macedonian activities: see Lib. *Decl.* 20.1.14 (= *BNJ* 227 T 105) with Dmetriev 2015 *ad loc.* Athens yielded no gold of her own, while Macedonia, as attested by literary and archaeological evidence, enjoyed rich local resources and metallurgical skills: see Chares of Mytilene *FGrH* 125 F 4 (= Ath. 12.54); [Dem.] 12.21; D.S. 16.8.6–7; Paus. 5.20.9–10; see also Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: III, pp. 186–7; Miller-Collett 1998. In this regard, the vessels of gold are *prima facie* Macedonian products, and cf. Dem. 19.114, 139.

[3] Ἡγήμονα δὲ καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα, τὸν μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ, τὸν δὲ ἐν Βεροίᾳ:
cf. ...προδίδωσιν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν ἐν Θήβαις, ὁ δ’ ἐν Τανάγρα, ὁ δ’ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευθερίδι... (‘...each of them betrays, one in Thebes, another in Tanagra, another in Eleutheris...’) at Hyp. 2. fr. 15a Colin (= P.Lit.Lond. 134, col. a ll. 1–4; MP³ 1234); see also Dem. *Ep.* 3.29–30 with Intro. 4.4. Pella (*IACP* no. 543) and Beroea (*IACP* no. 533) were important cities in Macedonia, and Pella replaced Aegae as the kingdom’s capital by the end of the fifth century BCE: see Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: I, pp. 152–3, 158–61, II, pp. 137–41. Hegemon (*LGPN* II no. 4; *PA* 6290; *PAA* 480795; Develin 1989, no. 1345) and Callimedon (*LGPN* II no. 7; *PA* 8032; *PAA* 558185; *APF*: 279) were often included among the pro-Macedonian

agents, e.g. Dem. 25.47; Plut. *Dem.* 27.2, *Phoc.* 35.5; [Luc.] *Dem.* 46; Ath. 14.3.

Since the letter is written with reference to the *On the Crown*, it may well be right that Callimedon is a counterpart of Pythocles, who was mentioned in parallel with Demades and Hegemon at Dem. 18.285. Callimedon was notorious for his anti-democratic activities, especially his support of Antipater (*Ep.* 11.9) during the Lamian War: see Plut. *Dem.* 27.1–3, *Phoc.* 27.9. The marriage, or concubinage, theme below suggests that Ps.-Aeschines is referring to Callimedon's sojourn in exile: see also *APF*: 279. However, if the ostensible date of the letter is before Alexander's death (§ 7 n. 2), the account may contain an anachronism. Beroea, as far as we know, was where Callimedon stayed in his second exile, because the previous one was spent in Megara around 324 BCE: see Din. 1.58, 94. The second exile, according to Plut. *Phoc.* 33.4, 35.2–5, took place in 318 BCE during the democratic revolution under Polyperchon, and Callimedon withdrew from the city anticipating that he would be tried for supporting Cassander son of Antipater.

Our sources on Hegemon concentrate on financial issues, but few details are given. He was condemned to death in 318 BCE, but, unlike Callimedon, was executed by drinking hemlock: see Plut. *Phoc.* 35.5, 36.3. He was described as both a briber and a bribe-taker in literary sources: see Dem. 25.47; Harpocr. *s.v.* Ἡγήμων; Lib. *Decl.* 18.1.10, *Hypoth.Dem.* 24.4 with MacDowell 2009: 299. There were many overlaps between his policies and Demades', but the only certain testimony concerns his attempt to prevent the Athenians from using the Theoric Fund for military purposes: cf. Dem. 3.10–11, 18.285; Aeschin. 3.25; Schol. Aeschin. 3.25 (= Dilts 69a); Plut. *Mor.* 1011b; Lib. *Decl.* 18.1.10; see also Buchanan 1962: 72–3; Harris 2006: 121–39.

[4] δωρεὰς ἄμα εἰληφότας καὶ γυναῖκας εὐπρεπεστάτας γεγαμηκότας: cf. δὺ' ἔχειν ἑταίρας, αἱ μέχρι φθόης [φυλῆς Pap.: φυλῆς καὶ vel ἡ φθόης conj. Blass] καλῶς ποιοῦσαι προπεπόμασιν αὐτόν ('[Pytheas] had two courtesans who have performed the good service of escorting him on the way to death by consumption/in his tribe') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.30 with Worthington 2006: 122 n. 74. A noteworthy feature is the

variant in the papyrus. Most scholars have accepted φθόη (= φθίσις) in light of Harpocration's quotation of the passage, whereas φυλή may well match the geographical description above (*sc.* τὸν μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ, τὸν δὲ ἐν Βερούα): cf. Harpocr. *s.v.* φθόην with Blass 1887–98: III/2, p. 285 n. 4; Goldstein 1968: 226–7. If this were the case, the text as found in Ps.-Aeschines may show an affinity with the papyrus, which, like other ancient papyri of Demosthenes, represented a different branch of tradition from those of the medieval manuscripts: cf. Kenyon 1891: 57; Pasquali 1962: 288–9 (envisaging different lines of ms. tradition of the *Corpus Demosthenicum* including one to which Harpocration may have no access; cf. Canevaro 2013: 7–8, 320–9, 336; Tempesta 2014: 166); Goldstein 1968: 8–9; Clavaud 1987: 82–3.

Alternatively, one may compare the story in the *On the False Embassy*, which reported that an Olynthian actor asked Philip to grant him two well-born prisoners-of-war as his concubines (αὐτὰι τοίνυν...ἡλικίαν ἔχουσαι γάμου βούλομαι...μοι δώσεις δωρεάν...ἂν λάβω...προῖκα δὲ προσθεῖς ἐκδώσω: Dem. 19.192–195). It should be noted that δωρεά is not inevitably connected with bribery inasmuch as δῶρον is most commonly used to indicate a bribe: cf. e.g. Ar. *Av.* 936–939, *Vesp.* 675–677 with MacDowell 1983 (= *id.* 2018: 221–35); Harvey 1985. The Greeks, of a society in which gift-giving constituted a distinct form of exchange, associated δωρεά with φιλία and also προξενία, and hence took it as a means of dealing with domestic/interstate issues. The *demos*, for example, would reward an outgoing Council for its service (Aeschin. 1.111 with Rhodes 1985: 14–6), and the Macedonian kings relied for their diplomacy largely upon gift-giving (cf. Dem. *Ep.* 2.7–8; Hyp. 4.29–30; D.S. 16.3.3; Plut. *Alex.* 39.1–13; [Eur.] *Ep.* 5.1, 4); see also Adkins 1963; Millet 1991: 120–2; Konstan 1997: 78–87; Chs. 8–9 of Mitchell 1997; Domingo Gygax 2013, esp. p. 46, 2016: 43–5. In the orators, therefore, δωρεά was a generic term for the privileges and prizes given as part of civic honours: cf. *Ep.* 5.3; Dem. 18.312; Aeschin. 3.177–178; Isoc. 15.166. As presented in this letter and at

Dem. 19.192–195, it can also be an innuendo for ‘unreasonable’ interstate grants, echoing Demosthenes’ description of ‘benefits coming from the opposite side’ (δωρεὰς καὶ προσόδους...ἀπὸ...τῶν ἐναντίων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτ’ ἐγίγνετο: Dem. *Ep.* 3.3).

Section 9

[1] καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Θηβαίους οὐδ’ εἰς Θετταλίαν ὄχόμην παρ’ ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλους τινάς...ἀλλ’...μὰ τὸν Δία...: in Attic prose καὶ μὴν usually introduces a new argument corroborating the previous one, e.g. Thuc. 6.17.5; Dem. 18.68, 232, 20.139, 21.56, *Ep.* 3.29; Is. 7.35 with *GP*: 351–2. Here Ps.-Aeschines may imitate καὶ μὴν τό γ’ ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὀργὴν πρὸς με ποιήσειεν (‘what is more, my flight should afford no ground for your anger at me’) at Dem. *Ep.* 2.17, καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ χρημάτων ποιεῖν ἔνεκα ταῦτα δοκεῖν τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἐστίν (‘what is more, to do these things for the sake of money is not the behaviour of gentlemen’) at Dem. *Ep.* 3.10, or both at once.

This line, along with the hypothetical questions (§ 7), creates a dialogue by a single speaker (hypophora). Cf. Dem. *Ep.* 4.6–8:

Τί οὖν ἐστὶν θεοῖς ἐξάιρετον, ἀνθρώποις δ’ οὐ δυνατόν; ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας κυρίουσ εἶναι...σκοπεῖτε τὰ ὑμέτερ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων...οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀγνώμων, ὅστις ἂν ἢ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβεβηκότα, οἷς οὐκ ἐγὼ **συνεβούλευον**, ἢ τὰ Πέρσαις, **πρὸς οὓς οὐδ’ ἀφικόμην πώποτε**, αἰρετώτερα φήσειεν εἶναι τῶν ὑμῖν παρόντων...ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία τούτων μὲν ἄμεινον ὑμᾶς πράττειν ἅπαντες ὁμολογήσουσι, **Θετταλῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀρκάδων** χειρῶν, ἢ **τινῶν ἄλλων**, οἷς ἐν συμμαχίᾳ...Φιλίππῳ.

What is the special privilege of gods but impossible for mankind? To have control of all

the blessings...[So] you ought to consider your own circumstances in comparison with those of the rest of mankind...**No one** is so foolish as to assert that what happened to the Spartans, **whom I never advised**, or to the Persians, **whom I never visited**, is preferable to your present circumstances...**Well, by Zeus**, all will agree that you are doing better than these, **but** worse than **the Thessalians, Argives and Arcadians, or some others**...in alliance with Philip.

As in its model, the suggestion section is characterised by a sequence of correlative conjunctions, and the answer/rejection section is introduced by ἀλλά: see *GP*: 10–1. Notice, however, that the oath under investigation is of a somewhat different type from μὰ Δία (§ 1). In the case of Demosthenes an oath by Zeus appears often in the objection, and the definite article is always omitted, since the speaker, by using a weak form such as νῆ Δία, would draw the audience's attention on the one hand, and on the other minimise the credibility of the objection so that he may refute it with ease: cf. also Dem. 18.24, 19.221–222, 21.98 with MacDowell 2009: 404–5; Sommerstein 2014b: 336. Ps.-Aeschines, by contrast, chooses a heavier and more evocative form, and sensibly applies it to the retort.

The orators were generally hostile to Thebes for the escalation of discord between the two cities from the sixth century BCE: see Intro. 3.3.3. 'Thebans' is the counterpart of 'Argives and Arcadians', and on historical grounds the replacement may come from the three cities' alliance of 370 BCE and also their long collaboration with Philip: see *CAH*: VI, pp. 187–208; Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 604–15; Buckler 1980: 70–90, 275–7. Schwegler (1913: 6) may be right in saying that Ps.-Aeschines has been trapped into very old issues, and, as noted by Martin and de Budé (1927–8: II, p. 141 n. 3), his account is open to some doubt in view of Thebes' destruction in 335 BCE (*Ep.* 11.13). The sentence here, however, is virtually negative, and puts the stress on the protagonist's loyalty to Athens. One may at best regard it as a clumsy use of the Athenian social memory of

Thebes, and cf. Aeschin. 2.140, 3.133.

Thessaly, together with Thebes and Macedonia, were Athens' opponents during the Third Sacred War, and in 352 BCE Philip was elected as its chief magistrate for life: see *CAH*: VI, pp. 742–7; Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 267–81, 285–95; Ch. 4 of Buckler 1989.

For the Athenocentric usage of ἄλλους τινάς cf. ἕτεροι... τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας, τοὺς ἢ ἐν Βοιωτία γενηθέντας ἢ ἐν Αἰτωλία, πρὸς ὑμᾶς πέμπουσι (§ 13).

[2] ἢ λαιδορεῖν ἔδει με τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἐμήν: cf. ἢ διαμαρτόντες τούτου λαιδοροῦσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας at *Ep.* 3.1; see also *Ep.* 11.3.

[3] εἰς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμην, οὔτε...δυσμενῶν ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἄλλως φιλαπεχθημόνων ἀνθρώπων πόλιν: choice of exile place; cf. εἷς τε γὰρ πόλιν ἦλθον, οὐκ ἐν ἧ...ἀλλ' εἰς ἦν...ἔστι δ' ἡ Τροζηνίων αὕτη...καὶ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς εἰς ἔμ' εὐεργεσίας... ('I did not go to a city in which...but to one...That city is Troezen...both because of its goodwill to you and because of its kindness to me') at *Dem. Ep.* 2.18–19. It is likely that here 'Rhodus' refers to the homonymous city (*IACP* no. 1000) on the tip of the island, and is called a *polis* both in the urban sense and in the political sense; cf. *Epp.* 1.5, 5.1, 6.1, 11.3.

Ἄνθρωπος is rightly reproduced because in the Attic orators it is often modified by an adjective of bad connotation (vs. ἀνήρ; cf. *Hdt.* 9.48.1; *Aeschin.* 1.54; [*Dem.*] 59.50, 59), e.g. *Dem.* 18.119, 24.6 with Lefort 2016: 163–70, and cf. *Epp.* 1.3, 3.3, 4.1, 5, 5.5, 8, 11.7, 10.

Section 10

[1] τὸ μὲν γὰρ <ὡς> ἄγχιστα...ἑστάναι...μᾶλλον ἢ...τὸν δὲ...στεργοντα...ὡς πορρωτάτω μᾶλλον...: most editors accepted Blass' insertion on stylistic grounds, and the parataxis (μὲν...δέ) also indicates that Ps.-Aeschines seeks to produce a balanced antithesis; cf. *Denniston* 1952: 70–3. Μᾶλλον ἢ, meaning 'rather than', is

to be taken with the circumstantial participles (κατειρωνευομένων/στεργόντων), and the second μάλλον is used to strengthen the comparison: cf. *GG*: 280 §1072, 282 §1084, 459–60 § 2070; cf. also § 12, *Epp.* 4.6, 7.5, 11.4.

[2] **κατειρωνευομένων...αὐτῆς ἐχρῆν ἀπιέναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὑπόμνημα ἔχειν, ὃ τὴν γνώμην ἀμύξει**: sarcasm against Demosthenes; cf. τὴν πατρίδ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀφορῶ, εἰς ἣν τοσαύτην εὖνοιαν ἐμαυτῶ σύνοιδα... ('from here [*sc.* Calauria] every day I see my country, toward which I feel in myself much goodwill...') at *Dem. Ep.* 2.20 with Westwood 2016: 79 (arguing that the expression parallels *Od.* 5.151–159). Athens and Calauria are neighbours across the Aegean Sea. This points to the fact that Demosthenes was bidding his time at a favourable location.

Κατειρωνεύεσθαι is a *koine* form, and see Intro. 3.4.1 (i). It refers to the display of irony or humour and could be associated with stage-performance: cf. *Suda*: K 1037. Plutarch, in an attempt to judge Cicero's character (ἦθος) from his way of speaking, linked his inappropriate use of banter (i.e. κατειρωνεύεσθαι) with lack of seriousness: see *Plut. Comp. Dem. Cic.* 1.4–6 with Lintott 2013: 4–5. The account, therefore, is not morally neutral and implies that Demosthenes is more of a propagandist than a patriot.

Section 11

[1] **ἐνταῦθα μείνας, ἐν Ῥόδῳ**: eighteenth-century scholars regarded 'in Rhodus' as an intrusive marginal comment on εἰς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμην (§ 9), and see Reiske 1771: 697 n. 79, 698 n. 80. Such an interpolation is attestable in the manuscript tradition, e.g. *Ep.* 4.4; *Aeschin.* 1.25, 2.23, 3.181, and cf. Carey 2000: 32 n. 30; Fisher 2001: 150. But the expression could be tentatively accepted as reusing a literary theme: cf. *Epp.* 1.4–5, 5.1 (εἰς Ῥόδον × 2), 6.1, 11.3. It is also precisely symmetrical to Ἄμμον below.

The discussion applies equally to the ‘two talents’ in *πριάμενος χωρία τοσούτων ταλάντων δυοῖν*, which recalls *τὰ μέντοι χωρία δυοῖν ταλάντων ἐπριάμην* at *Ep.* 9.2. Cf. also *Ep.* 11.7 n. 7 (on ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἤβῃ νεῶν).

[2] **γὰρ...ἀλλὰ τῆς περαιίας ἐλόμενός τι φρούριον μικρόν, Ἄμμον:** moving to a new place; cf. *μετελθὼν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἐν Καλαυρείᾳ...* (‘I went to the sanctuary of Poseidon in Calauria...’) at *Dem. Ep.* 2.20. One might note, moreover, that *γὰρ* introduces an embedded narrative and acquires the meaning of ‘now you should know’: cf. also *Epp.* 1.5, 4.1, 2, 5, 10.1 with *GP*: 60–1; de Jong 1997.

Peraea (lit. ‘portion of the opposite’) refers primarily to the mainland territory of insular cities: cf. *Ep.* 5.4, and *SEG* 61.676; Fraser and Bean 1954 *passim*; Ch. 13 of Bean 1980; Rice 1999; Gabrielsen 2000b; Carusi 2003: 219–24; Constantakopoulou 2007: 231–49; Wiemer 2010; Badoud 2011. The so-called ‘Sandy Ground’ was a Carian city, but in most cases it was referred to as ‘Amos’ (*IACP* no. 872): see *Ep.* 9.1 n. 2 for further discussion. On *peraeae* as sites of exile see Constantakopoulou 2007: 249–53; Gray 2015: 309–10. Here Ps.-Aeschines retells the story of Letter 9 and may in turn exert an influence on Philostratus: see *Intro.* 1.3.1, 1.3.2.

[3] **εἰκὸς ἦν:** the story is recounted by the antagonists in direct speech (‘internal secondary narrators’); see de Jong 2014: 19–20, and cf. §§ 6, 7. With obvious irony it subverts Aeschines’ role as a Philippising bribee (§ 7): see also Reiske 1771: 698 n. 83. One may compare a pseudonymous letter of Euripides, in which the tragedian conceded in like manner that he fled to Macedonia ‘entirely for riches’ (*δηλονότι πλούτου ἔνεκα*): see [Eur.] *Ep.* 5.3 with Gösswein 1975: 122; Costa 2001: 173.

[4] **τὸν Φιλίππου...μισθωτὸν...γενόμενον, καὶ Φωκεῖς προδόντα καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν Μακεδόσι, κάθημαι μεθ’ ἑπτὰ θεραπόντων ἐνταῦθα καὶ δυοῖν μόνων γνωρίμων καὶ τῆς μητρός:** we find counterparts in the *On the Crown*. Cf. *Dem.* 18. 51–52, 284:

Ούτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἶποιμ' ἂν ἐγὼ σε ...ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ...

I would say that you (*sc.* Aeschines) are neither **Philip's guest** nor **Alexander's friend**...But I do call you **a hireling of Philip then, and now of Alexander**...

Ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη...ὠμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φίλιαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναι σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας...γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος...φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης...

As soon as news of the battle (*sc.* the battle of Chaeronea) arrived...you immediately admitted that **you were the friend and guest of Philip**, a euphemism for **his hired-servant**. I cannot see on what reasonable or honest pretext was **Philip...the acquaintance of Aeschines son of Glaucothea**...you have been clearly exposed as a **traitor**...

Demosthenes' account was also discussed in ancient scholia, which, from the perspective of oratorical performance, reported that he pronounced the incorrect μίσθωτος deliberately as a device of arousing repercussions from the audience: cf. Schol. Dem. 18.52 (= Dilts 104a, 104b, 104c); Aeschin. 3.66 with Usher 1993: 190; Yunis 2001: 140; Heath 2004: 151; Probert 2006: 350. All this can be seen as evidence of wider reflection on the hireling-theme.

On the specific issues: the quasi-diplomatic language evoked by προδοῦναι echoes the aforementioned ambassadorial (mis)conduct. The betrayal of Phocis refers to the embassy of 346 BCE and the so-called 'Peace of Philocrates' (§ 4). Phocis played a significant role during the Third Sacred War in supporting Athens against Macedonia. Yet it was excluded from the peace treaty, of which Aeschines was a principal

negotiator, and was abandoned to the threat of Macedonia. This led to the ruin of Phocis and became a central issue of the ‘embassy trial’: cf. Dem. 19.47, 59–65, 80, 111–113, 128, 159; Aeschin. 2.9, 138–43, 162; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840b with Cawkwell 1960, 1962; Harris 1995: 89–101; MacDowell 2009: 319–27. The reference ‘the freedom of Greece’ is to the embassy of 338 BCE (§ 7), and may also echo τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα... ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις... εὐνοίας... οὐδ’ ἀντηλλαξάμην ἀντὶ ταύτης οὐδέν... καίτοι πάντα ταῦθ’ ἐώρων ὑπάρχοντα τοῖς καθ’ ὁμῶν (‘the struggle [*sc.* the battle of Chaeronea] for the freedom of Greece... in the aftermath of this... I did not... exchange my loyalty for anything else... yet I saw that all these prizes were coming to the persons... against your interests’) at Dem. *Ep.* 2.5–6.

The seven ‘servants’ are probably slaves in the field: cf. *I.Peraia* 357, ll. 3–10 (= *SEG* 14.686; Bresson 1991, no. 52) with Wiemer 2002a: 29, 2002b: 585 n. 78; Bresson 2016: 156; see also LSJ: *s.v.* θεράπων II. It is generally stated that the two acquaintances are Teuthras and Pleistias (*Ep.* 5.2), but an allusion to Nicias and Andronidas (*Ep.* 8.1) is equally possible. Γνώριμος (etym. γνωρίζειν/γινώσκειν) denotes generically a person one knows and is employed in an obscure way. The ‘forger’, probably on the grounds that Letter 5 gives little description of the two figures, deliberately evades a specific term such as φίλοι (*Ep.* 2.2), ἐταῖρος (*Epp.* 5.6, 6.1), and ἐπιτήδειος (*Ep.* 11.2): cf. *Od.* 16.8–9; Pl. *Ep.* 7 323d (Tit.), 324d–324e; Dem. 18.284 with LSJ: *s.v.* γνώριμος A.3; Konstan 1997: 19, 63–4. Aeschines’ mother is Glaucos (LGPN II no. 1; *PA* 2989; *PAA* 275915; *APF*: 544–5). She was insulted by Demosthenes and appears recurrently in the ancient tradition: cf. Dem. 18.129–130, 259–260, 284, 19.199, 249, 281; Aeschin. 2.78, 148; Idomeneus *FGrH* 338 F 2; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840a; *Vita Aeschin.* 2.2 Dilts; Lib. *Progym.* 10.3.2; Phot. *Bibl.* 61.20a with Harris 1995: 21–9; Cooper 2014; Intro. 1.2.1. Here Ps.-Aeschines exercises caution in showing his knowledge, given that a respectable woman was rarely called by her proper name: so also *Ep.* 4.4–6, and see Schaps 1977.

As Letter 5 states that Aeschines is accompanied only by the two friends, the account of his family tells against the hypothesis of one author for all the letters: cf. *Ep.* 5.5–6 with Intro. 3.3.1.

Section 12

[1] ἢ τρίτον ἔχουσα καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος: theme of dotage; cf. τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐν ἧ φυγῆς ἐπικινδύνου πειρᾶσθαι...ἀναγκάζομαι ('the age [c. sixty] at which...I was forced to undergo a perilous exile') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.13 and διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἂν οἶός τ' ὦν τῷ σώματι τὴν κακοπαθίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν ('on account of my age I would not be able to endure the bodily hardships') at Dem. *Ep.* 2.17 with Dewitt and DeWitt 1949: 216 n. 2, and cf. Andoc. 2.10. An obvious slip is Glaucothea's age, because she, even if still alive, would have been around ninety. A remote possibility is that ἔτος, meaning 'year-class' as distinguished from ἔτη (§ 1; *Ep.* 5.6), refers to the years passed from certification as Eighteen, and hence the expression would mean 'Year 73 plus 18': cf. Aeschin. 1.49; [Lys.] 6.46 with Davidson 2006: 42–3; see also Intro. 3.3.1.

[2] ἔπλευσε σὺν ἐμοί: Lat. *proficisci mecum*; cf. Cic. *Planc.* 11.27; Liv. 44.2.4. The regular option seems to be συμπλεῖν τινι, e.g. Hdt. 4.149.1, 5.46.1; Eur. *IA.* 102; Isoc. 17.19; Aeschin. 1.56; [Dem.] 34.26, 50.36; see also Intro. 3.4.1 (ii).

[3] καὶ μετὰ γυναικός, ἢ συνεξέπεσέ μοι κωλύοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μένειν ἴσως ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν νόμων, τὸν τρόπον τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νόμους ἐπισταμένη, καὶ μετὰ τριῶν παιδῶν οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑαυτῶν συμφορᾶς ἐπαισθημένων: cf. ἐμοὶ...ἐκ τῆς Φιλοδήμου θυγατρὸς...τρεῖς παῖδες εἰσι, μία μὲν θυγάτηρ, δύο δὲ υἱεῖς· οὗς ἐγὼ δεῦρο ἦκω ('I...have three children, by the daughter of Philodemus...a daughter and two sons, and I have brought them here [*sc.* the court]') at Aeschin. 2.152 and ταυτὶ τὰ μικρὰ μὲν παιδία καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὐπω συνιέντα, ἔλεεινὰ δ' εἴ τι συμβήσεται παθεῖν ἡμῖν ('these little children do not

yet realise their danger, but will be pitiable if anything befalls me’) at Aeschin. 2.179. If the accounts were reliable, the children should be born before the ‘embassy trial’ of 343 BCE. It is implausible that they remained unaware of their misfortunes till Aeschines’ exile in the 320s BCE; see also Intro. 3.3.1.

Exile, whether inflicted or voluntary, has always been thought of as being tantamount to *atimia*: cf. Lys. 9.21, 10.17; Isoc. 16.47; see also Intro. 3.1. Although Aeschines could remain married to an Athenian, his ability to protect and be guardian of his wife and children was restricted as the penalty barred him from all legal activities. In theory, the woman’s natal *kyrios*, Philodemus (*LGPN* II no. 41; *PA* 14494; *PAA* 934045; *APF*: 543–4), could also dissolve the marriage by ἀφαίρεσις: see Hansen 1976: 61–3; MacDowell 1978: 73–4, 88; Todd 1993: 214–5; de Dios 2002: 632 n. 62. A well-known inscription of the Tegean exiles of 324/3 BCE seems to indicate that many marriages could not be retained: see *IPArk* 5, ll. 48–57 (= RO no. 101). On the children’s civic status see § 13 n. 7.

Τὸν τρόπον τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νόμους ἐπισταμένη echoes τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων... ἢ Δημοσθένους δεινότης κρείττων ἐγένετο (§ 4) and ὀργίζεσθαι ῥαδίως ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι (§ 14). For descriptions of a wife’s virtues in the exile literature such as loyalty and wisdom, as here, cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1.6.1.36, 5.5.44–64, 5.14.1–46, where the poet alluded to ‘historical’ examples such as Penelope.

Οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν (= οὐδέ πω καὶ νῦν) is used pleonastically, like *Ep.* 8.1; *Thuc.* 6.16.6; *Dem.* 56.3, 40, 45.

[4] ὅποιαν <μὲν>...πατρίδα τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν...ὅποιαν δ’...πάλιν: anaphora; a similar wording is Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ἐπιστέλλομεν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἐν οἷς...ἀλλ’ οἷ...εἰσί...μέντοι...ἔχουσιν at *Ep.* 11.7.

Wolf and Markland took τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν as a later interpolation: see *Reiske* 1771: 699 n. 89. Such an expression, however, is not untypical of lament and could be classified as pleonasm or parataxis: cf. κατεδάκρυσα καὶ βλέφαρον ὑγραίνω δάκρυσιν at *Eur. Hel.* 673–674 with *Kannicht* 1969: II, p. 196; *Allan* 2008: 224; see

also § 11 n. 1.

Section 13

[1] **καὶ ἕτεροι μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε...ἢ ἐν Βοιωτία γενηθέντας ἢ ἐν Αἰτωλία:** the adverbial *καί* lays emphasis on *ἕτεροι*, and *ὡς ἔοικε*, meaning ‘evidently’, is designed to increase the sense of resentment; cf. Dem. 18.212; Aeschin. 1.188; see also *GP*: 325–7. Ἐτεροι, as used by Demosthenes, might refer in particular to the out-groups including non-Athenian Greeks and barbarians: cf. ὑμᾶς λύσασθαι παρ’ ἐτέρων ἔδει δόντας ἐκ τῶν προσιόντων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα (‘you [*sc.* the Athenians] were supposed to ransom [Lycurgus’ children] from the hands of other people by giving the same sum out of the revenues’) at Dem. *Ep.* 3.10; see also Dem. 18.320, 323; *Epp.* 1.10, 2.13, 17, 20, 21 with Goldstein 1968: 147–8; Wankel 1976: 1340–1. It is perhaps for this reason that Ps.-Aeschines excludes the central-Greece region in Boeotia and Aetolia: see de Dios 2002: 632 n. 63; cf. also ὠχόμεν...πρὸς ἄλλους τινάς (§ 9).

[2] **ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ὑπήρξεν:** lit. ‘to possess what is already in existence by nature’. As *ὑπάρχειν* often refers to possessing something at the beginning, *παρὰ τῆς φύσεως* may be used pleonastically to differentiate the naturalised citizenship, and cf. Thuc. 2.45.2; Xen. *Oec.* 21.11; Dem. 10.40.

[3] **οὐ δημοποιήτου:** δημοποίητος (lit. ‘man made by *demos*/Assembly’), meaning citizen by adoption, might be a *koine* form; cf. Ael.Ar. *Or.* 13.26 103 Jebb; Favorin. *de Exilio* 6.1 p. 381.9 Barigazzi; Plut. *Sol.* 24.4; Poll. 3.56; *SEG* 21.509, l. 24. The regular pattern is ποιητός or πολίτης ποιούμενος/κατὰ ψήφισμα, e.g. Dem. 23.65; [Dem.] 45.78, 53.18; Arist. *Pol.* 3.1.3 1275a6, *Rh.* 2.23.17 1399b2; Ath. 10.47; Lib. *Hypoth.Dem.* 21.1. This term appeared as the title of a Hyperidean speech, but was probably added at a later time, since in the commentators of the Attic orators it was often employed to denote naturalised citizens: cf. Hyp. fr. 94. Tit Jensen (=

Harproc. *s.v.* ἔρκειος Ζεύς); Harproc. *s.vv.* δημοποίητος, συμμορία (= Hyp. fr. 146 Jensen); Schol. Aeschin. 3.77 (= Dilts 167); *Suda*: Δ 451, Σ 1386. Cf. also Osborne 1981–3: III/IV, pp. 139–70; Niku 2007: 104–14; Deene 2011: 160–9.

On this theme one may compare μὴ πολίτην δὲ τὴν φύσιν (‘a non-citizen by nature’) at Dem. *Ep.* 4.2, by which Demosthenes sneered at a political opponent called Theramenes; see also *Ep.* 7.1 n. 5.

[4] οὐδ’ ἐπ’ αἰτίαις αἰσχροῖς ἐάλωκότος: cf. οὐδὲ Δημοσθένους κατηγοροῦντος ἐάλων (§ 4) and εἰ ὑμεῖς αὐτῷ ἐπιστεύσατε...ἐπ’ αἰσχροῖς αἰτίαις ἀπωλόμην ἄν ἀδίκως (‘if you had believed Demosthenes...I would have been unjustly destroyed on shameful charges’) at Aeschin. 2.158; see also Dem. 19.188, 336. This refers generically to the fact that Aeschines went into exile not because he was convicted, but because he failed to obtain a conviction. Besides, it may purport to humiliate Demosthenes for his conviction in the Harpalus affair, and cf. Dem. *Epp.* 2.2, 14, 3.37.

[5] ἔτι νήπιοι: νήπιος is used more often than not to identify an infant, e.g. Eur. *Heracl.* 956; Arist. *Pol.* 8.6.1 1340b30; Hippoc. *Aph.* 4.1, *Epid.* 6.1.4 with LSJ: *s.v.* νήπιος. If the account were true, the children must be too young to be brought into court, as Aeschines did in the ‘embassy trial’ of 343 BCE: see Aeschin. 2.152 with Intro. 3.3.1. The term appears almost nowhere in the orators, but in Antiphon it could refer to the teenager: see Antiph. 3.2.11 with Golden 2015: 12, 161 n. 88.

[6] πένητες ἐν ἐρημίᾳ: a typical depiction of the have-nots; cf. Dem. 21.96; Pl. *Resp.* 495e; Plut. *Mor.* 409b. ‘Poverty’ (πενία) is a recurrent theme in the orators. As presented here and in the *Against Meidias*, it would lead to social isolation, and hence was deemed to be a sign of vulnerability as well as a cause of misfortune: see Dem. 21.80, 96; Aeschin. 1.88 with Dover 1974: 109–12; Desmond 2006: 52–4; Ceccht 2015: 198–208.

[7] φυγῆ πατρώα: the discussion of the children’s civic status parallels the treatment of Lycurgus’ sons in Dem *Ep.* 3. *Atimia* was made hereditary on very rare

occasions; that said, total disenfranchisement was imposed on the children *qua* state-debtors as long as the fine was unpaid (generally this incurred when the original debtor was dead): cf. § 14; Lys. 20.34; Is. 10.17; Dem. 22.34; *Suda*: A 3913 with Hansen 1976: 71–2; MacDowell 1978: 74; Todd 1993: 143. Alternatively, the phrase could be rendered as ‘in exile from their ancestral land’, and cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1048, *Hel.* 90; Soph. fr. 799 *TGF* (= [Hdn.] *de Fig.* 44).

Section 14

[1] **περὶ μὲν τῶν Λυκούργου παίδων Δημοσθένης ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλει**: the language is consistent with *περὶ ὧν λέγει/ἀπαγγέλλει/ἐπιστέλλει ὁ δεῖνα*, the formula for introducing a debate over, especially a rider to, the preceding proposal: cf. *IG* II³ 1 298, ll. 8–11 (= RO no. 64), 299, ll. 6–9, 302, ll. 7–9; Dem. *Epp.* 1.2, 3.1, 5 with Goldstein 1968: 212; Rhodes 1985: 68–73; Rhodes with Lewis 1997: 21–2, 28–9; cf. also Schwegler 1913: 71. After Lycurgus’ death in 324 BCE, his three sons were imprisoned *qua* state-debtors (we assume) on the grounds that Lycurgus left a deficit in the public finances. But the Athenians acquitted them before long through the efforts of Demosthenes and Hyperides (or a Theophrastean orator named Democles): see Dem. *Ep.* 3.Tit., 7, 10, 12–17, 22, 24, 28; Hyp. fr. 118 Jensen (= Apsines 10.7 Dilts–Kennedy [I 387.27–32 Spengel]); D.H. *Din.* 11; [Plut.] *Mor.* 842d–843a; Harpocr. *s.vv.* ἐρανίζοντες, φθόη; Hermog. *Id.* 2.8 364 Rabe; Phot. *Bibl.* 268.497b; *Suda*: Λ 825 with *APF*: 351; Goldstein 1968: 53–6, 211–2; Chs. 2–4 of Faraguna 1992; Lewis 1997: 221–9; MacDowell 2009: 415–7; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 201–2. Like Demosthenes, Ps.-Aeschines endeavours to encourage the Athenians to pardon not only Lycurgus’ sons, but all ‘who are wronged’, and cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.44–45; in terms of the notion of *isonomia* (*Ep.* 7.4 n. 5), Aeschines’ sons should be treated alike.

[2] **καλῶς ποιῶν**: a common idiom for praising in *demegoriae*, as well as a

phraseme in the letters of Demosthenes (× 7); cf. Dem. 18.231, 314, *Epp.* 1.8, 2.2, 16, 23, 26, 3.24 with Goldstein 1968: 221.

[3] **χαρίσασθαι τὸ πατρῶον αὐτοῖς ὄφλημα:** the punishment for frivolous prosecution includes a fine of 1,000 drachmas; see Intro. 3.1. The debt would be doubled if unpaid by the due date, and cf. [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 48.1; Dem. *Ep.* 3.40 with Worthington 2006: 126 n. 89. Notice, too, that *χαρίζεσθαι* is a ‘Demosthenic’ counterpart (see below), and the regular option is *ἀφιέναι*, as we read at Dem. *Ep.* 3.24: see also Schwegler 1913: 35.

[4] **οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἔργον:** the double negative is used to intensify the Athenocentric view, and cf. §§ 5, 9, 13; Dem. 18.24, 101, 178, 208, *Ep.* 3.9; Ael.Ar. *Or.* 34.3 427 Jebb; Plut. *Arist.* 14.5. *Ergon* refers to the thing that was actually done, and following Δημοσθένης ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλει it seems to advocate, as famously displayed in the Periclean *epitaphios*, that Athens is characterised by her practice of privileging action over *logos* (opp. Pind. *Nem.* 4.6): cf. Thuc. 2.41.1–2, 42.2–4; Pl. *Menex.* 244a; Dem. *Ep.* 1.1; Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.10; [Lys.] 2.19; [Chion] *Ep.* 5 with Parry 1981: 150–75; Loraux 2006: 43–5, 293–303.

[5] **ἐλεήσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ χαρισάμενοι:** cf. εἰς ἔλεον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, μηδ’...παρέχειν (‘you didn’t show [Lycurgus] pity and kindness’) at Dem. *Ep.* 3.22. For other appeals for pity/gratitude see Dem. *Ep.* 3.2, 5, 7, 9, 15, 26, 28, 39 with Goldstein 1968: 146, 223–4; Worthington 2006: 115.

Ἔλεος (and its cognates) is regularly used in the orators. It could denote a compassionate feeling as well as an action in favour of the pitiable: see also *Ep.* 2.1, 3. The accounts in the letter (§§ 12–15) conform to the forensic practice: a defendant, in his effort to win the dicasts’ sympathy, would intersperse such words in the presentations of his children or aged parents, and cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 568–574; Aeschin. 2.148, 152, 179; Dem. 19.281, 310, 20.82, 21.99, 186–188; [Dem.] 53.29; Arist. *Rh.* 2.8.1–15 1385b11–1386b7, 3.19.3 1419b24–26; Apsines 10.15–47 Dilts–Kennedy (= I 391.4–404.30 Spengel) with Dover 1974: 195–6; Dilts and Kennedy 1997: 207 n.

277; Fortenbaugh 2002: 82–3, 103–6; Konstan 2001: 53–4, 2006: 201–4; Sternberg 2005: 17–24; Tzanetou 2005; Apostolakis 2017: 138–49. Ps.-Aeschines is also right to use this emotion with a recurrent stress on innocence (§§ 12–13, 15), because Greek pity, as the sentiment to feel for victims or for someone who suffers undeservedly, is scarcely invoked for the guilty (vs. ‘anger’): cf. Dem. 21.196; [Lys.] 15.9; Arist. *Poet.* 1453a3–5, *Rh.* 2.8.12 1386a20–24 with Konstan 2006: 66–7.

There is a close relationship between pity and forgiveness (e.g. Dem. 22.57), and *χαρίζεσθαι* overlaps significantly the conception of forgiveness (Lat. *condonare*). This, however, may hint at a Christian context, in which related activities pertain always to divine pity, not to mankind’s, e.g. *NT. Luke 7.42, 2 Ep. Cor. 2.7, 12.13, Col. 2.13* with *BDAG*: s.v. *χαρίζω* I.C; Konstan 2010a: 115–8. Tentatively, then, I render *χαρίζεσθαι* as ‘to favour with the remission’ or ‘to grant the request of remission’. Since in Athenian public discourse both *ἐλεεῖν* and *χαρίζεσθαι* could mean the favourable treatment of citizens, e.g. Dem. 24.170–171; Arist. *Rh.* 2.7.1–4 1385a16–33; *Ep.* 7.1, there seems no clear hypotactic connection between them; for instance, *charis* is evoked by *eleos*. Accordingly, *καί* is used to connect two related ideas appositionally (*GP*: 291), and *ἐλεεῖν*, along with *χαρίζεσθαι*, denotes the pity in action rather than a mere feeling. Further on the socio-cultural intricacies between ancient *pathos* and modern emotion see e.g. Cairns 2008: 51–3 and *passim*.

Let us turn to the rhetorical effect. The letter does not rely on reciprocal obligations of the city towards Aeschines, detailed accounts of hardship-in-exile notwithstanding. It fails to amplify Aeschines’ service to, and particularly his ungrateful treatment by, the *polis*, as Demosthenes did throughout his letter: see also Goldstein 1968: 171–2. And although the 2,000-drachma debt could be remitted under Athenian law, Ps.-Aeschines is making a fuss about very little: Demosthenes’ debt is said to be 50 talents (= 300,000 drachmas), and the (alleged) deficit left by Lycurgus *qua* treasurer, though unspecified, must be a huge sum: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.10, 24; Plut. *Dem.* 26.2.

[6] ὀργίζεσθαι ῥαδίως ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι: because anger and gratitude are incompatible feelings, the account reproaches the fickle ‘character’ of the *polis* that its moodiness could lead to tragic effects; cf. Lys. 12.80; Isoc. 4.157; Xen. *Mem.* 2.7.9; Phld. *de Ir.* fr. 17, col. xlvi ll. 18–41 Indelli; Plut. *Dem.* 13.1 (= Theopompus of Chios *FGrH* 115 F 326); [Them.] *Epp.* 1.3–4, ll. 5–9, 4.2, ll. 3–5, 13.5, ll. 19–22 Hercher with Konstan 2006: 165–6; Tsouna 2007: 230–3; and see also Dem. *Ep.* 3.1, 7, 44. One may draw a close parallel to the Plutarchian expressions, such as τὸ δὲ ἦθος ὁξὺς λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ πρὸς χάριν (‘as to his disposition, Titus Flaminus is said to have been quick to show anger as well as to confer favours’) at Plut. *Flam.* 1.2; cf. also Plut. *Alc.* 38.1; *Crass.* 7.7–8 with Fulkerson 2013: 210–2. On Greek thinking about anger see *Ep.* 3.1 n. 4.

Demosthenes used ἔθος on many occasions to refer to ‘the established usage of the *polis*’ (= συνήθης at § 15); in like manner Ps.-Aeschines uses it for the Athenian legal procedures of condemnation and exoneration. ‘The habitual (ab)use of *nomos*’ is justified by its context: cf. Dem. 20.124, 22.57, *Ep.* 2.13; Aeschin. 1.178, 3.193; see also Goldstein 1968: 242; Clavaud 1987: 157 n. 3.

Section 15

[1] οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς πείσαιμι δεόμενος ὡς...: the aorist optative with ἂν states a possibility (*GG*: 407 § 1824). Δεῖσθαι is a normal word for appeal, e.g. § 17; *Ep.* 3.2; Dem. 4.13, 18.178, 19.1, 21.108, 29.4, *Pr.* 50.1, *Ep.* 3.26, 41.

[2] μή μοι...τραφῶσιν...πεπονθότες: μή marks a request for prohibition and also a rhetorical question (*GG*: 614 §§ 2706–2708, 596–7 § 2640). It may well be right to interpret μοι as ‘as far as I am concerned when I am alive’ in parallel with εἴτα τελευτήσαντος, and both indicate that Aeschines ought to seize every opportunity before it is too late. For clarity Drerup (1904: 47) attached ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν αὐτοὶ δεόμενοι πείσαιεν ὑμᾶς (‘they should have persuaded you in the request for their

own sake’) to πεπονθότες.

[3] <μῆ> μόνον ἐν ὀρφανία τραφῶσιν, ἀλλ’ ὀρφανοί...ὄντες: ἀλλά does not introduce a simple opposition, albeit after μῆ μόνον. It balances a succession of questions and is rhetorically effective in substituting the preceding statement (‘no, but...’): cf. Antiph. 5.58; Xen. *Anab.* 5.8.4 with *GP*: 10–1; LSJ: s.v. ἀλλά II.1.

An ‘orphan’ in Greek is usually a fatherless child, e.g. Isoc. 16.28; Aeschin. 1.170, 3.154; Dem. 57.70; *IG II²* 11907 (= *CEG* 2.576, a ‘motherless’ case), and see Hübner and Ratzan 2009: 20; Cudjoe 2010: 6–7, 17–26. It is an overlooked fact that children of exiles might also be ‘orphans’, e.g. Isoc. 16.45; [Them.] *Ep.* 8.17–20, ll. 78–97 Hercher; Ov. *Tr.* 5.5.48. According to Athenian law, Aeschines’ sons, if pardoned, are under the jurisdiction of the eponymous Archon: cf. Aeschin. 1.158; Dem. 35.48; [Dem.] 43.75; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 56.6–7 with Harrison 1968–71: I, pp. 99–104; Cudjoe 2010: 38–54, 213–8; Leão and Rhodes 2015: 86–92.

A problem arises if the orphan status is deemed unacceptable, as suggested by the negative sentence: the children’s identity remains unchanged so long as their father is in exile, whereas the ‘historical’ Aeschines would have no impetus to return (Intro. 3.1). In any case the ‘forger’ has got himself into a tangle. But it may be useful for rhetorical purposes to mention this theme, a key item in a typical list of great misfortunes including poverty, dotage, and exile: cf. *Od.* 2.45–49; [Dem.] 53.29; [Phalar.] *Ep.* 49.1; see also Wöhrle 2009. Presumably, with τελευτήσαντος ἄν ἀναμνησθεῖτέ μου καὶ χαρίσαισθε τὰς δεήσεις, Ps.-Aeschines assimilates these children to the war-orphans in *epitaphioi*, thereby evoking more sympathy: cf. *SEG* 28.46 (= *Hesperia* 40: 280–2, no. 7); Thuc. 2.46.1; Pl. *Menex.* 248d–249a; Dem. 60.32; Aeschin. 3.154; Hyp. 6.27, 42; [Lys.] 2.3, 71 with Loraux 2006: 56–7; Shear 2011: 291–4.

[4] φυγάδες: a formal term for exiles (φεύγειν > φυγ- > φυγάς); cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 214 (= Plut. *de Exilio* [Mor. 607c]); Hdt. 1.150.1; Lys. 13.64; Dem. 18.17, 19.80; Aeschin. 2.27; Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.7; [Plut.] *Mor.* 834f–835a; [Them.] *Epp.* 2.2, ll. 5–11,

13.7, ll. 25–30 Hercher. An ancient treatment is a homonymous work by Aristippus of Cyrene, Socrates' elder student, and his dialogue *Πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας* was in circulation in the time of Diogenes Laertius: see D.L. 2.84–85 with Gray 2015: 306.

[5] εἶτα τελευτήσαντος <ἄν> ἀναμνησθεῖτέ μου, καὶ χαρίσαισθε τὰς δεήσεις: cf. τὸ τῶν τετελευτηκότων...πλείω ποιεῖσθαι λόγον δίκαιον εἶναι...ὅσοις μέντοι πατρικὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀπεμνημονεύσατε...ἠδέως ἂν ἴδοιμ' ὑμᾶς ἀναμνησθέντας ('it is right to have more regard for the dead...I [*sc.* Demosthenes] would be glad to see you bear in mind all the descendants...whose ancestral deeds you remembered') at Dem. *Ep.* 3.19; cf. also Dem. *Ep.* 2.3. Obviously, the rhetorical question concerns the (dis)honour to the dead, and cf. Alexiou 2002: 14–23. The case in point is Lycurgus, who was honoured posthumously for his contributions to the state finances and theatrical institutions: see Dem. *Ep.* 3.9, 14–12, 19–22; Hyp. fr. 118 Jensen (= Apsines 10.7 Dilts–Kennedy [I 387.27–32 Spengel]); *IG* II² 457 + 3207; [Plut.] *Mor.* 841c–841d, 842e–842f, 851f–852e; Phot. *Bibl.* 268.497b; see also Gillischewski 1904: 896; Goldstein 1968: 146, 219–20; Faraguna 1992; Chs. 2–3 of Hanink 2014; Roisman, Worthington and Waterfield 2015: 275–7.

The meaning of χαρίσαισθε τὰς δεήσεις is not so clear-cut. On the one hand, the two words (and their cognates) often refer to the request-offer antithesis, e.g. Andoc. 1.1; Lyc. 1.20; Dem. 21.3; Arist. *Rh.* 2.7.3 1385a19–28; D.H. *Ant.Rom.* 2.46.6, 6.39.1; Luc. *Bis acc.* 14. On the other hand, 'to please with proper prayer' is justified by the quasi-ceremonial tone: so *ferez-vous droit à mes prières* in the Budé edition. Alternatively, as δέησις is synonymous with ἔνδεια, the phrase could mean 'to grant favours to what the children need': cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1.3.12 1257a23–24; Harpocr. *s.v.* Δεήσεις (= Antiph. fr. 11 Diels–Kranz).

It also makes sense if one reads τελευτήσαντες for τελευτήσαντος following Blass and Drerup: given the fact that children in Athens were legally bound to give their parents a proper burial (*Ep.* 2.5 n. 2), the present passage can be understood as an apostrophe addressed to Aeschines' children, and its implication is something along

the lines of ‘my children would neglect the posthumous honours of me and also of the Athenians, because both have failed to help them’; cf. also [Them.] *Ep.* 16.2–3, ll. 7–14 Hercher.

[6] **νοῦν προσέχοντες**: νόος was deemed redundant by Markland as προσέχειν signifies the act of being attentive in its own right; cf. οἷς ἀναγκαιότερον δῆπουθεν ἢ Μελανώπῳ καθ’ ἡμῶν δεομένῳ προσέχειν (§ 17), and see Reiske 1771: 700 n. 98. Yet he seemed to miss the point that προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν is common in Attic prose (perhaps as a pleonasm), e.g. Thuc. 6.93.2; Pl. *Resp.* 432b; Xen. *Anab.* 2.4.2; Isoc. 8.3; Dem. 18.173, 178, *Epp.* 2.7, 4.2; Aeschin. 1.61, 2.22, 3.64. A noteworthy feature is the omission of the article, which may suggest a Latin interference, and cf. § 6 n. 2 (on ἐκ μέσου).

[7] **ἀλλὰ καὶ πράξατε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πείσθητε, τὰ συνήθη τε αὐτοῖς καὶ μέτρια ποιοῦντες**: imitative counterpart of ἃ χρῆ λογιζομένους, ὧ̃ [om. Pap.] ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μήτε τῶν εὖνων [εὐνοούντων Pap.] ὀλιγορεῖν μήτε τοῖς προάγουσιν ἐς πικρίαν καὶ ὀμότητα τὴν πόλιν πείθεσθαι (‘you must consider these facts, men of Athens; you must neither disregard well-minded men nor be persuaded by those who are leading the city into bitterness and cruelty’) at Dem. *Ep.* 3.33. The progressive ἀλλά (*GP*: 21–2) introduces an appeal for favourable treatment, and cf. Dem. *Ep.* 3.14, 35, 45.

ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι is a regular address in public speeches (‘civic address’), and the interjection ὦ̃ is not inevitably dropped for euphony. Notably, however, such a practice is attested in the papyrus fragment of the Demosthenic letter; although it is now taken to be due to editorial bias towards the permissible pause, e.g. τὸ ἐπίστασθαι αἰσχύνεσθαι, ὧ̃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι... at Dem. *Ep.* 3.40, ἀποθανόντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως καὶ φεύγοντες (§ 5), and ἐμοὶ δέ, ὧ̃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκ τῆς Φιλοδήμου θυγατρὸς...παῖδές εἰσι at Aeschin. 3.152, the tendency to avoid hiatus may reveal certain intertextual possibilities between Letter 12 and the papyrus fragment, as distinguished from the medieval tradition: see also § 8 n. 3. Scholars

also attempted to associate the absence of ᾠ with the lack of politeness, but this seems to be at variance with other similar cases: cf. Dem. *Epp.* 1.5, 2.3, 11, 12, 16, 21, 23, 25, 3.5 (ᾠ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, MSS. and Pap.), 28 (ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, MSS. and Pap.). See also *GG*: 312 § 1284; *EAGLL*: s.v. ‘Vocative’; Dickey 1996: 177–82, 203–6, 293–6; Dover 1997: 177–8; Martin 2006a; Serafim 2017b.

Συνήθης denotes ‘something customary’ (= ἔθος at § 14), e.g. Thuc. 1.6.1; Pl. *Leg.* 739a; Aeschin. 2.78, 132. It is likely that, echoing οἱ εὖνοι/εὐνοοῦντες and πικρία καὶ ὠμότης, τὰ συνήθη τε καὶ μέτρια is employed to invoke the normal course of justice in the *polis*: cf. ὁρᾶτε, ᾠ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι...αἷς κέχρηταιί τινες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ μέτρια καὶ συνήθη μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει (‘you see, men of Athens...that certain people have endeavoured to prevent the fair and orderly course of justice in the city’) at Aeschin. 3.1; see also Schol. Aeschin. 3.1 (= Dilts 4a, 4b); D.H. *Ant.Rom.* 5.43.1. For μέτριος see § 1 n. 5.

Section 16

[1] οὐ γὰρ ἂν δῆ...: γάρ introduces an anticipatory objection to the adversaries (προκατάληψις/*praesumptio*), and δῆ is used to intensify the negative statement (*GP*: 69–71). With the potential optative καταλύσαιτε the speaker states a future possibility (*GG*: 407 § 1824).

[2] καταλύσαιτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, ἣν ἐπὶ χρηστότητι μείζω καὶ φιλανθρωπία...ἔσχεν ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς πάσαις ἢ πόλις: cf. τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἔνεκ’ εὐδοξίας (‘for the sake of your good reputation beyond other people’) at Dem. *Ep.* 2.3 with Intro. 3.5.2 (xii). For καταλύσαιτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν one may also compare ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ γεγενημένων φαύλην δόξαν ἢ πόλις λαμβάνει (‘the city is getting an evil reputation from your treatment of Lycinus’ sons’) at Dem. *Ep.* 3.5.

Φιλανθρωπία (and its cognates) is often paired with the terms that indicate the

notion of ‘goodness’ or ‘compassion’, e.g. Dem. 6.1 (καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους), 18.5 (εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας), 19.99 (πρᾶγμα...ἀνθρώπων χρηστῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων), 21.185 (μέτριος καὶ φιλάνθρωπος...καὶ πολλοὺς ἐλεῶν) with Dover 1974: 201–2; Kremmydas 2012: 378. Its juxtaposition with χρηστότης appears to be an adaptation of ἐν οὕτω χρηστῆ τε καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ πόλει at *Ep.* 2.3. I know of no parallel for such a usage except in post-Classical texts, e.g. Plut. *Arist.* 27; Luc. *Scyth.* 10; [Phalar.] *Ep.* 8.1. In fact, χρηστότης is quite rare in the orators, and, typically, it was applied to personal qualities such as soft-heartedness and honesty: cf. Is. 2.7, 5.30; Lys. fr. 106 Carey with LSJ: *s.v.* χρηστότης; see also Intro. 3.4.1 (v). The regular adjective for the civic character (of individuals) is χρηστός, as used in Letter 2. Further on φιλανθρωπία see *Ep.* 7.1 n. 2.

Ἄρετή (lit. ‘quality related to Ares’, ‘valor’) has its origin in the military context, but the more wide-spread ancient meaning is ‘moral goodness’, e.g. Pl. *Men.* 71e. The plural form denotes the manifestations of virtue, e.g. Hyp. 6.3, and see *GG*: 270 § 1000; Herrman 2009: 63. Encompassing many aspects of the civic character, *arete* dominates literary discussions in Attic prose and came to be used as the highest term for virtuous acts: cf. Pl. *Prt.* 323a; Dem. 18.297, 19.312, 60.17; Aeschin. 1.117, 3.154, 260; Arist. *Rh.* 1.9.5 1366a2–8, 2.2.5 1378a6–8, *EN.* 2.5–6 1105b19–1107a27 with Adkins 1960: 201–9, 224–5, 332–40; Chs. 2–4 of Classen 2010; Gray 2015: 244–5. Isocrates, for example, specified the parts of ἄρετή as piety (εὐσέβεια), moderation (σωφροσύνη), and justice (δικαιοσύνη), and Antiphon used it to portray men of generosity: cf. Isoc. 8.32, 63; *IG* I³ 1234 (= *SEG* 22.73); Andoc. 1.118–119 with MacDowell 1963 (= *id.* 2018: 309–14); Dover 1974: 67–9, 164–6. Callisthenes’ comment that *arete* is deemed ‘extremely unusual and completely contrary to the character of barbarians’ (παραδοξοτάτη καὶ πολὺ παρὰ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων τρόπον) might well have stood witness to the ideological implication: see Callisthenes of Olynthus *FGrH* 124 F 2 (= Didym. *Dem.* col. vi l. 10) with Gibson 2002: 86–7, 109–12; Harding 2006 *ad loc.*; compare also the account in the Periclean *epitaphios* at

Thuc. 2.40.4: καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀρετὴν ἐνηντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς ('in doing *arete*, we stand in contrast to many others'), and cf. Yoshitake 2010.

[3] **Μελάνωπος**: a key figure in Letter 7; see *Ep.* 7.1 n. 3. Assuming the form of anticipation, the attack on Melanopus is inconsistent with the arrangement of a *demegoria*: cf. *Ep.* 11.1, 13; *Dem. Epp.* 2.26, 3.16–18, 34–41 with Goldstein 1968: 143–6, 150–3, 166, 172. Probably the stock theme shows a tendency to 'serialise' the letter-collection, or more precisely, is evidence of an intention to deceive.

[4] **μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν**: μιμεῖσθαι, in a broad sense, means the conscious use of the 'Athenian manner' set up by ancestors, namely ὁ τῆς πόλεως τρόπος καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑμῶν ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἦθος (§ 17). This is well attested in the orators and in the pseudepigraphs attributed to them, as here: cf. *Isoc.* 1.11, 36, 11.17, 20, *Ep.* 8.10; *Andoc.* 1.141; *Lys.* 4.25; *Lyc.* 1.110, 123; *Dem.* 3.21, 15.35, 19.252, 269, 273; *Aeschin.* 1.180, 2.138, 171; [*Andoc.*] 4.6; [*Lys.*] 2.51, 62; *Ps.-Leosthenes FGrH* 105 F 6 (= *MP*³ 2496, col. ii ll. 35–7, col. iii ll. 53–6).

Of particular note is the word's connection with artistic creation, which, in parallel with, and prior to, the theoretical approach initiated by Plato ('imitation of nature'), the would-be orator, as well as the poet and the historian, might call 'imitative practice on model authors' (μίμησις/*imitatio*), e.g. *Isoc.* 10.11, 13.18; *D.H. Thuc.* 1, *De imit.* fr. 2, *Epit.* 5.4–5 Aujac; *Quint.* 10.2; [*Longin.*] *Subl.* 13.2–14.3; *Cic. de Or.* 1.34.158, *Tusc.* 1.11.26 with Russell 1979; Rosenmeyer 1992: 62–73, 208–24; Chs. 7–8 of Cribiore 2001; Whitmarsh 2001b: 26–9, 46–89; Ch. 4 of Hunter 2009a; Marincola 2010: 260–4. The letter is a mimetic work in reality as it has deep roots in the canonical authors' style and 'manner'. It is interesting, though necessarily tentative, to attempt to figure out *Ps.-Aeschines'* thought that lies behind the word; cf. *Intro.* 4.1.

[5] **ἢ παρακαλῶν**: a subordinate clause in MSS. **CA** (ἢν παρακαλῶν). In this branch of the manuscript tradition we find an anacoluthon down to οἷς (om. **CA**)

ἀναγκαιότερον δῆπουθεν ἢ Μελανώπῳ καθ' ἡμῶν δεομένῳ προσέχειν (προσέχετε **CA**), i.e. τὴν...χρηστότητα καὶ φιλάνθρωπίαν, ἣν παρακαλῶν...[sc. αὐτῇ ex ἡν] ἀναγκαιότερον...προσέχετε ('the kindness and humanity upon which Melanopus lays an injunction...I should pay more attention'); see also Drerup 1904: 38; García Ruiz 2000: 406 n. 51.

In the actual context παρακαλεῖν might denote a formal exhortation or request (= προτρέπεσθαι, 'to lay an injunction': cf. *Ep.* 11.4, 5), giving an impression that Melanopus would submit his objection for deliberation: cf. *Thuc.* 1.68.2 with the scholium *ad loc.* (= Kleinlogel–Alpers 00; *Suda*: Π 348); *IG* II³ 1 912, l. 20; *Milet* I 3.139A, l. 12 (= *SEG* 4.428; Welles 1934, no. 14); *Didym. Dem.* col. ix ll. 70–73 (= P.Berol. 9780; MP³ 0339). The practice, purporting to offer a sense of truthfulness, is attested in other pseudepigraphic documents e.g. *Dem.* 18.164–5, 166–167 (= [Philip II] *Epp.* 4.1, 5.1), 185; [Dem.] 12.6 (= Philip II *Ep.* 2.6); cf. Canevaro 2013: 304–18.

[6] οὐκ Αἰσχίνης...μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς: the self-reference introduces an internal narrator: see *Ep.* 3.2 n. 3. Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς is a *variatio* of μὰ Δία (§ 1) and μὰ τὸν Δία (§ 9), invoking multiple divinities to emphasise the negative statement, and cf. e.g. *Lys.* 8.18; *Dem.* 18.111, 19.67; *Is.* 11.36 with Edwards 2008: 108–9; MacDowell 2009: 402–4; Torrance 2014: 348–9. Notice also that the interjection is very common in the *Corpus Demosthenicum* (× 22), but appears only once in Aeschines as μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους (*Aeschin.* 3.182; cf. *Is.* 8.29). The other likelihood is that Ps.-Aeschines reproduces deliberately the same expression at *Epp.* 5.1, 9.2 (*dolus malus*).

Section 17

[1] οὐ...αὐτάρκης οὐδ' εὐτυχῆς...ἔγωγε...: the copulative verb εἰμί is omitted (ellipsis); cf. *GG*: 261–2 §§ 944–945; and see also *Epp.* 4.5, 5.2, 11.2, 11, 12. The whole sentence constitutes a concession to rhetorical effectiveness

(συγχώρησις/*concessio*), and cf. Quint. 9.2.51. The negative statement about αὐτάρκης (lit. ‘self-sufficient’; cf. *Epp.* 7.1, 10.1, 11.12) indicates that a speaker’s power depends largely on his audience, and therefore the matter is not decided by the eloquence of Melanopus or Aeschines, but by the Athenian people: cf. Dem. 18.277; 19.340 with Usher 1993: 265; MacDowell 2000a: 353. But one might wish to argue that οὐδ’ εὐτυχής is overdone for the concession. Ps.-Aeschines may aim to contextualise the notion of ‘misfortune’ (συμφορά/τὸ ἀτυχεῖν) at *Epp.* 2.1, 3, 5.5, 7.1–2, 11.1–2, 9, 12.5–6, 10, 12, but in the time of Aeschines the expression would have implied inability to succeed (= τὸ μὴ κατορθοῦν): cf. Schol. Aeschin. 3.234 (= Dilts 513); Isoc. 7.11–12; Dem. 2.22–23, 18.252–255, 290, 19.270, *Epp.* 1.13, 16, 3.12. It is unlikely that an orator would call himself οὐδ’ εὐτυχής on a public occasion: in the similar context Andocides (2.5–9) employed instead the terms δυσπραξία, συμφορά, δυστυχής and δυσδαίμων. As a matter of fact, there was a strong belief in the Greco-Roman world in Fortune (Τύχη), and the invocation of ‘good fortune’ is used auspiciously in decrees (τύχηι ἀγαθῇ/τύχα ἀγαθά) and in formal correspondences (εὐτύχει/εὐτυχεῖτε), e.g. *IG II²* 1195, l. 9 (= *SEG* 44.42; *Hesperia* 63: 241–44); *Epp.* 1.5, 5.7; Dem. *Epp.* 1.16, 2.26, 3.35, 4.12 with Exler 1923: 74–7; Henry 1977: 82; Trapp 2003: 35. In rhetorical theory, a deliberative orator could benefit greatly from raising the topic of εὐτυχία (Arist. *Rh.* 1.5.17 1361b39–1362a12). Demosthenes, for example, refuted in his letters any charge of being ‘ill-fated’ (δυστυχία/ἀτυχία) and argued that Athens was the luckiest city due to his policies: cf. Dem. *Ep.* 4.1–5 with Goldstein 1968: 247–8. At any rate, the phrase would give the impression that Aeschines is a pitiful creature, and cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 234–325; Eur. fr. 196 *TGF* (= Stob. 4.41.11). Further on Fortune in Greece in this period see e.g. Dover 1974: 138–41; Martin 2009: 86–101, 114–5, 231–2; Ch. 8 of Eidinow 2011: 144–50 and *passim*; *Ep.* 11.9 n. 5.

Alternatively, picking up ἐμαυτοῦ χάριν πείθειν below, εὐτυχής means not just ‘successful’, but denotes negatively elite status: cf. Dem. 45.77; Andoc. 2.6; [Andoc.]

4.30. This, accompanied by αὐτάρκης, takes the form of what scholars term ‘rhetoric of anti-rhetoric’. The strategy lies in the unsettling mass-elite relationships in Athenian democratic culture: a politician (*rhetor*), who possessed *paideia* (§ 1) and *deinotes* (§ 4), was supposed to have the ability to manipulate the ‘ordinary’ citizens for his own advantage; against the ‘vulgar’ types of argumentation, his opponent could levy charges of being an artful liar, e.g. Aeschin. 1. 173–175, 3.98–99 with Dover 1974: 25–8; Chs. 3–4 of Ober 1989; Hesk 1999, 2000: 211–39; Preus 2012; Kremmydas 2013b. Thus, it may be feasible to view οὐ...αὐτάρκης οὐδ’ εὐτυχής... as an ironic comment on the deceptive – and perhaps elitist – speakers who may have alienated the audience. But it is argued recently that although the speakers should strive to appear inexperienced in rhetorical art and to paint their opponents as sophists and deceivers, there is no sign in their speeches of such caution in presenting themselves as non-elitists: so Canevaro 2018b.

[2] καὶ μάλιστα νῦν: the superlative intensifies the degree of concession, whereas καὶ νῦν is in itself adequate, as we read at *Ep.* 11.4. One is much tempted to compare the Latin expressions such as *nunc primum*, *tempus maximum* or *praesertim* plus *cum*-clause. A more clever practice is καὶ ταῦτα νῦν, e.g. Luc. *Bis acc.* 29; cf. also Ter. *Ph.* 55 (*praesertim ut nunc...*) with L&S: *s.v. praesertim*.

[3] ἐμαντοῦ χάριν πείθειν δοκῶν is perhaps adapted from ἡμᾶς...χαρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας... (‘as if you [*sc.* the Athenian people] treat me favourably...’) at *Ep.* 7.5.

[4] ὁ τῆς πόλεως τρόπος καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑμῶν ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἦθος: concluding remark in terms of traditional values. For the device of recalling examples of the past, esp. with regard to the ancestors of the entire community, cf. *Epp.* 4.3, 11.6–8; *Andoc.* 1.108–109; *Thuc.* 2.35.3, 2.36.1, 2.64.3; *SEG* 21.527, ll. 23–66 (= RO no. 37); *Dem.* 13.21, 18.185, 206–211, 19.15–16, 270, *Ep.* 1.9; *Aeschin.* 1.182, 2.74–77; *Hyp.* 6.3; *Arist. Rh.* 1.9.31 1367b12–14; [Luc.] *Dem.* 36 with Dover 1974: 106–8; Loraux 2006: 41, 173–5; Grethlein 2010, esp. Chs. 5–6, 2014; Steinbock 2012, 2013; Harris 2016. To some extent, the words ‘character’ and

‘manner’ echo the precept that a *demegoria* could benefit from describing the nature of a city’s *politeia* (i.e. ὁ τῆς πόλεως τρόπος): cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1.8.1–7 1365b21–1366a22 with Pepe 2013: 196.

ἤθος is the lengthening form of ἔθος (§ 14), and in ancient ethical theory it was regarded as a disposition resulting from repeated habits: cf. Pl. *Leg.* 792e; Arist. *EE.* 2.2.1 1220a39–1220b1; Plut. *Dem.* 1.1, *Mor.* 551e–551f; see also LSJ: s.v. ἤθος II.2. Notice, moreover, that the usage might have imitated Demosthenes, who directly, and perhaps for the first time, applied this word extensively to the Athenian public discourse about civic virtue: cf. *Dem.* 3.25–26, 18.109, 20.13–14, 64; *Isoc.* 2.31; *Ps.-Leosthenes FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. ii ll. 29–30) with Hesk 2000: 42–3; Kremmydas 2012: 207, 2013a: 158; Canevaro 2016a: 209.

[5] **Μελανόπω καθ’ ἡμῶν δεομένω:** *pluralis modestiae*; cf. τῶν λοιδορούντων ἡμᾶς at *Ep.* 7.4–5 (× 2). Although δεῖσθαι denotes the action of appealing (§ 15 n. 1), κατά with the genitive expresses a hostile sense (‘against’), instead of the meaning of ‘swear/vow by’ (κατὰ τῶν τινῶν ὀμνῆσθαι/εὐχεσθαι) e.g. at *Dem.* 29.26, *Ep.* 1.16.

[6] **προσέχειν:** anacoluthon; cf. *Ep.* 11.13. The syntactical absence is δέον ἐστίν/δεῖ, whose understood subject is ἡμᾶς (from ἡμῶν) or ὑμᾶς (from ὑμῶν), and cf. e.g. οὐ γὰρ ἐσμεν ἀφαιρεθῆναι δίκαιοι περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐξαπατηθῶμεν, ἀλλὰ διδαχθῆναι (*sc.* δέον ἐστίν/δεῖ) πῶς τοῦτο μὴ πεισόμεθα at *Dem.* 20.4 with Kremmydas 2012: 188–9. It is designed to convey a spontaneous style of speaking (*GG*: 671–3 §§ 3004–3008).

Commentary on the epistolary fictions

Letter 1

Prefatory note

Letter 1 is an epistolary fiction that shows the very outset of Aeschines' sojourn in exile. The protagonist is reported to start his odyssey from the Athenian harbour of Munichia (§ 1): the ship made its way through Ceos and Delos, with a stop at each island (§§ 2–3), and after being blown off course to Crete (§§ 3–4), it finally reached Rhodes on the eighteenth day after departure (§ 5). Ps.-Aeschines presents us with a self-contained narrative unity, the genre of which resembles periegetic ('travel') literature. The closing remark that Aeschines would stay in touch with the recipient (§ 5), on the other hand, testifies to an attempt to serialise the letters and can plausibly be taken as prelude to the *Briefroman*. See also Intro. 2.4, 4.2.

The letter consists mainly of a voyage report and is far from being a masterpiece; yet it is distinctive in other ways. First of all, one can find in it useful information about ancient seafaring. The time a voyage as this one normally took is four to five days (e.g. Lyc. 1.70), but Ps.-Aeschines' account, albeit a literary construct, seems to take the physical environment into consideration and parallels Cicero's report that it took over two weeks to reach Ephesus from Piraeus: cf. Cic. *Att.* 5.12.1, 5.13.1 with Craik 1980: 7–8; Casson 1994: 151–2; Gabrielsen 1997: 71–2.

Second, the letter contains a series of recurring themes and typical scenes, many of which are traceable to the narrative tradition of seafaring, such as the conscientious recording of time by 'dawn', 'midday' and 'twilight' (§ 1), for which one may compare *Od.* 7.287–289, 13.93–95; *Hy.Hom.* 4.17–19; *Ap.Rhod. Arg.* 1.519–523, 1273–1275, 2.669–673, 1097–1121, 3.1278–1407, 4.979–981, 1622–1635; *Luc. VH.* 1.9–10, and the sustained focus on wind (§§ 1–4), which is reminiscent e.g. of *Il.*

14.253–256; *Od.* 3.286–300, 5.291–387, 7.251–284, 9.67–78, 10.47–55, 12.312–317, 403–425, 13.63–95, 271–286, 14.301–315, 23.310–343; Alc. fr. 73 Campbell; Ap.Rhod. *Arg.* 1.1015–1018, 2.1097–1121, 4.1224–1236, 1627–1635; Callim. fr. 404 Pfeiffer (= fr. 478 Asper); [Chion] *Epp.* 2–4; Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.1–40, 1.4.1–8, 1.11.13–16, *Pont.* 2.7.57–60; [Them.] *Ep.* 3.1–3, ll. 1–11, 20.3–4, 16, ll. 7–17, 82–86 Hercher; Luc. *VH.* 1.5–6, 9–10; Val.Fl. *Arg.* 1.574–640: cf. e.g. Knight 1995: 73–81; Georgiadou and Larmour 1998: 5–13, 23–8, 59–60; de Jong 2001: 594–5; Nünlist 2007: 56; Cuypers 2007: 77; Gaertner 2007b: 158 for synopses. Ps.-Aeschines might have aimed to create an ‘Odyssean’ equivalent. The encounter with the cursed Delians (§§ 2–3), for example, gives a comparable structure to the Homeric account of the lotus-eaters (*Od.* 9.67–84) and the Lybian episode in Apollonius’ *Argonautica* (4.1232–1250); all these scenes form the centrepiece of the narrative and show a ‘fabulous’ world as distinguished from the ‘common’ one, and most noticeably, all are preceded by a nine-day storm at sea: cf. Holzberg 1994: 19, 21 n. 57; Knight 1995: 125–7; Hunter 2008a: 353 (= *id.* 2008b: 125).

Third, the letter may have in turn influenced early Christian literature, notably the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Pauline Epistles*. For example, ζάλη δὲ καὶ ἄνεμος ἐξώσθη ἐμπεσὼν ἀπήνεγκεν ἡμᾶς εἰς Κρήτην, πλησίον Ψαμαθοῦντος (§ 3), which recalls Hera’s dispatch of Heracles at *Il.* 14.253–256, may be taken as a potential model of μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμώνην ([on the trip to Rome] the wind not allowing us further, we [*sc.* Paul *et al.*] sailed under the lee of Crete, opposite Salmone) at *NT. Act.Ap.* 27.7: see Reiske 1771: 656 n. 1, and cf. Glaser 2009a: 63–84, 2009b, 2010; Kremmydas 2016a. This, if true, shows vividly how a literary *topos* can take a very different shape in the course of imitative practice. As Drerup (1904: 53) well observed, moreover, Synesius in his epistolary writings imitated Letter 1 and blended echoes of its descriptions of wind, absolute usage of λύειν (§ 1), and elaborate time-markers: cf. Syn. *Epp.* 5, ll. 1–2, 54, 185–186, 195–198, 53, l. 1 Garzya. In light of these observations, Letter 1 does

deserve some space in our accounts of Greek literature.

Commentary

Title

Αἰσχίνης Φιλοκράτει χαίρειν: the title derives from the formal opening greeting ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν, e.g. Dem. *Ep.* 1.2; Duris *FGrH* 76 F 51 (= Plut. *Phoc.* 17.10); *Anthologia Graeca* 5.9.1–2; [Pl.] *Epp.* 3 315a, 13 360a, 363b; [Lib.] *de Forma Epistolari* 51. See also *Ep.* 7.Tit. n.

Philocrates (*LGPN* II no. 76; *PA* 14576 + 14599; *PAA* 937530; Develin 1989, no. 2434) is also the imaginary addressee of Letter 6. A pro-Macedonian politician, he led successive embassies to Philip and proposed the so-called ‘Peace of Philocrates’, which caused in 343 BCE his exile and the ‘embassy trial’: see also *Ep.* 12.11 n. 4. Although Aeschines had initially been opposed to the peace treaty and endeavoured to disassociate himself from Philocrates in his speeches, it is not impossible that in his exile he could write to a fellow sufferer: see Intro. 3.3.1. Although Schwegler (1913: 14–6) and Martin and de Budé (1927–8: II, p. 128 n. 1, p. 127 n. 2) argued that Philocrates is also the recipient of the untitled Letters 4, 5, 8 and 9, there are two possible objections. First of all, a title can be added by later compilers: cf. *Ep.* 7.Tit. n. Second, in a typical epistolary ‘series’ one would expect some letters with the title ‘To the Same Person(s)’ (Τῷ αὐτῷ/Τοῖς αὐτοῖς) echoing the preceding ones, e.g. [Chion] *Epp.* 2–8, 11–15; [Ap.Ty.] *Epp.* 2–8, 66–67; Philostr. *Epp.* 32–33, 37, 62 (but cf. [Them.] *Epp.* 6–7, 4 and 10, 3, 13 and 20, 2 and 14, 12 and 18). Besides, multiple recipients do not clash with the artistic unity of the letters as a whole; cf. also Intro. 2.4.

Section 1

[1] **λύσαντες...έσπέρας...έσπέρας πάλιν λύσαντες**: λύειν refers specifically to the tackle of the ship; cf. *Od.* 2.418, 15.496; Eur. *Hec.* 1020; *Anthologia Graeca* 10.4.1 (= *PG* 1451) with LSJ: *s.v.* λύω A.I. The absolute usage (without a direct object such as πρυμνήσια and ιστία) seems to have exerted an influence on the letters of Synesius, e.g. *Syn. Ep.* 5, l. 1 Garzya (λύσαντες ἐν Βενδιδείου πρὸ δειλῆς ἑώας). Since sailing at night – with fierce winds – is usually regarded as foolhardy, Ps.-Aeschines may be aiming either to create a sense of urgency resembling νυκτὸς ἔτι φεύγοντες ὠχόμεθα (§ 3), and/or, more likely, to recall a typical scene in Greek literature: cf. *Od.* 2.388–434, 4.785–786, 12.284–293, 13.28–65, 15.471–475 with Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 154, and equally *Ep.* 10.10; Isoc. 19.18; *Ap.Rhod. Arg.* 1.1015–1018, 2.1100–1105, 4.1627–1635.

[2] **Μουνιχίας**: an Athenian port at the foot of Munichia Hill in the north-east of Piraeus; see *IACP*: 636.

[3] **λαμπρῷ...Σκίρωνι**: λαμπρός modifies the wind in a positive sense *vis-à-vis* σκαίος below, e.g. *Hdt.* 2.96.3; *Polyb.* 1.44.3, 1.60.6; *Plut. Sull.* 38.3; *Syn. Ep.* 5, l. 54 Garzya, while elsewhere in the letter-collection it is used to describe one's achievements; cf. *Ep.* 3.3 n. 1. Σκίρων is the Attic name for the north-west wind (lit. 'from the Scironian rocks [in the Isthmus of Corinth]'). In ancient sources it is sometimes called Ἀργέστης, a derivative of ἀργής (= τὸ λαμπρόν): cf. *Arist. Mete.* 2.6 363b23–26; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*: *s.vv.* ἀργῆτα, σκείρων (edd. K. Latte, P.A. Hansen and I.C. Cunningham, I, 238; III, 304). See also Reiske 1771: 656 n. 2; *RE* 3.A: 544–5.

[4] **περὶ μέσῃν ἡμέραν κατήθημεν**: like προσέχειν (§ 4), κατάγεσθαι refers to the landing of seamen as well as ships, e.g. *Od.* 3.178, 10.140; *Hdt.* 6.107.2; *Xen. Hell.* 6.2.36; *Syn. Ep.* 53, l. 10 Garzya with LSJ: *s.v.* κατάγω A.4. Balancing ἅμα τῇ ἑῷ below, περὶ μέσῃν ἡμέραν marks off significant times and narratives: cf. *Od.* 7.288; [*Them.*] *Ep.* 3.2, ll. 6–8 Hercher; *Syn. Ep.* 5, ll. 1–2 Garzya.

[5] **Κορησσόν:** a port city in the north-east of Ceos. Κορησσός occurs only in this letter; more often it was ‘Coresia’ (*IACP* no. 493).

[6] **καθίσαντες...ἡμέρας ἑννέα, σκαιὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἄνεμος:** a nine-day voyage marks a transition. In a similar vein Odysseus was cast into a world of folk-tale after nine days of abnormal wind (*Od.* 9.67–84), and the number is essentially an epic exaggeration (perhaps) as the triplicity of the symbolic ‘three’ (τρισευδαίμων [*Ep.* 5.5], τρις...ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον [*Ep.* 7.3], etc.): cf. *Od.* 7.245–255, 9.82–83, 10.28–29; Polyb. 34.4.5–8 (= Strab. 1.2.17); Ap.Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1231–1234; Luc. *VH.* 1.6 with Lease 1919: 64; Germain 1954: 491; Romm 1992: 189–90; Knight 1995: 125; Hawke 2008: 44. In the orators σκαιός (lit. ‘left-handed’, ‘western’) is used to describe a stupid man: see Lys. 8.5; 10.15; Dem. 18.120, 246, 19.312, 22.75, 24.183, 39.6; [Dem.] 26.17. Such a portrayal of wind seems to recur only in Aeneas of Gaza (*Thphr.* p. 2.5, 18 Colonna) when he practised *variatio* of the Platonic lines πνεύματα...παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα...τῶν εἰωθότων γενόμενα (*Polit.* 295d), and at *Ep.* 10.10 we find the expression ἀξένω καὶ ὄστη ἀνέμω (‘vicious wind’). The regular modifier is ἐναντίος (MSS. **αMZ**^{a.c.}), e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.3; Polyb. 1.60.6; D.S. 1.32.10; Paus. 5.21.13, and cf. ἀντιπνεῖ πνεῦμα (§ 4); see also Reiske 1771: 658 n. 4; Schwegler 1913: 33–4. Ps.-Aeschines must have used the word metaphorically because a west wind is conducive to navigation from Ceos (37° 37′ N 24° 20′ E) to Delos (37° 23′ N 25° 16′ E).

Schwegler (1913: 33) argued that while in Attic prose καθίζειν may denote the action of pitching camp, e.g. Thuc. 3.107.1, 4.67.1, in this passage it has the connotation of a forced delay echoing later sources such as Polyb. 1.39.3, 20.5.7 and Strab. 2.3.4. However, in the latter the particular references are to the stranding caused by ebb tides, and Ps.-Aeschines might have used it in the literal sense (‘to set’, ‘to place’): so this is not necessarily an indication of post-Classical usage, and cf. LSJ: s.v. καθίζω A.I.2, II.6.

[7] **λύσαντες ἅμα τῇ ἔφ...ἤλθομεν:** the imagined timing is reminiscent of *Od.*

13.93–95, a description of Odysseus’ arrival in Ithaca at dawn. Wolf translated the whole expression into *profecti sub auroram, Delum pervenimus*, for which one may draw a parallel to *Od.* 3.365–367, 9.76–78; *Syn. Ep.* 5, ll. 1, 185–186, 53, l. 1 Garzya; *Ov. Tr.* 1.3.5–6, 1.3.71–80, but here the sunrise, like that in the *Odyssey*, the *Argonautica* (1.519–523, 1273–1275, 2.669–673, 4.979–981, 1622–1626) and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (11.7–8), serves to launch a new event: cf. Reiske 1771: 658 n. 5; Bowie 2013: 111–2.

[8] **Δῆλον:** Delos (*IACP* no. 478) was famous for the sanctuary of Apollo (§ 2). A point worth mentioning in this context: Aeschines was once elected as the state-advocate (σύνδικος) to defend the Athenian administration on this island, but was replaced by Hyperides (fr. 67–75 Jensen) because of suspicions of treason: see *Dem.* 18.134–136 with Harris 1995: 121–2.

Section 2

[1] **ἐνόσουν...νόσον:** *figura etymologica* (also ‘cognate object construction’); see also § 4 (×2); *Epp.* 4.4, 5, 11.13, 12.2 with *Intro.* 3.4.2 (i). The expression is tragic, and cf. *Aesch. PV.* 384; *Soph. Phil.* 173; *Eur. fr.* 661 *TGF*; *Hdt.* 3.33.6; *Antiph.* 1.30; *Plut. Demetr.* 38.2.

[2] **τὰ μὲν πρόσωπα ἐπίμπλαντο λεύκης καὶ τὰς τρίχας λευκοὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ὁ δὲ τράχηλος καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνώδει, πυρετοὶ δ’ οὐκ ἐγίγνοντο οὐδὲ ἀλγηδόνες μεγάλαι οὐδὲ τὰ κάτω μέρη παρήλλαττεν οὐδέν τι:** the historical reliability of this episode is dubious. Schwegler (1913: 37) suggested that the white sickness is a form of vitiligo, which is also known as leucoderma. Villard and Weiler (1987, esp. pp. 80–1) diagnosed it as a congenital dermatosis called piebaldism, whereas *πυρθανόμενοι ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸν πόρον εἰ τὸ χρῶμα ἔχει ἕκαστος οἷον ἐκόμιζεν οἴκοθεν καὶ τὰς τρίχας* (§ 3) indicates that, by the protagonist’s reckoning at least, there is a risk of infection. The description seems not to correspond to the modern

nosological entity: Ps.-Aeschines may aim only to offer a sense of truthfulness through (pseudo-)ethnographic descriptions in imitation e.g. of Herodotus and Ctesias, in a manner similar to Lucian's 'lunar' ethnography, and cf. Luc. *VH*. 1.21–26 with Georgiadou and Larmour 1998: 122–45. What is clear is that the emphasis is laid on religious (im)purity, echoing e.g. Hdt. 1.138.1–2; Pl. *Tim.* 85a–85b; [Hippoc.] *Prorrh.* 2.43; cf. Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007: 170–1.

[3] **μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος**: apart from the fame of Delos as a sacred site of Apollo, the 'wrathful' god, too, is a literary *topos*. It is obvious that Ps.-Aeschines is referring to the 'epic anger' as distinguished from the main terms such as ὀργή and θυμός, since not just the 'wrath' of Achilles, resulting from his quarrel with Agamemnon, figures in Homer from the very opening, but also the anger of affronted deities will persist throughout the entire epic (and its successors) whilst inflicting agonies on mankind, say, a plague or famine: cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.1–9, 43–75, 5.178; *Od.* 2.66, 5.146–147; *Hy.Hom.* 2.254, 305–12; Ap.Rhod. *Arg.* 1.802–803; D.H. *Ant.Rom.* 1.38.2; Luc. *VH.* 2.20; [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.5.9; Lib. *Or.* 32.23; see also Adkins 1969; Muellner 1996, esp. pp. 15, 99–102; Ch. 7 of Harris 2001.

Μῆνις is not attested in the Attic orators. A common claim, as can be deduced from this passage, is that the word is specifically associated with the divine anger (e.g. LSJ: *s.v.* μῆνις A; Konstan 2006: 48), but cf. Cairns 2003b, esp. pp. 31–2 for a discussion about its manifestation among mortals.

[4] **ταφέντος...οὐ πρότερον εἰωθός**: lit. 'as was previously not customary'; cf. Hdt. 3.31.4; Thuc. 1.139.3; Isoc. 5.18; Plut. *Nic.* 26.1; Lib. *Or.* 18.44. Noticeably, Aeschines uses the expression θάπτειν...καὶ τᾶλλα ποιεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα to refer to customary burial, e.g. Aeschin. 1.13–14. Ancient sources show that on the island births or burials (including those of the war dead) were banned several times after Athens' purifications to appease the god, and hence ταῦτα...ἐπέιθοντο κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκέναι: see Hdt. 1.64.2; Thuc. 1.8.1, 3.104.1–2, 5.1; Callim. *Hy.* 4.276–277; D.S. 12.58.6–7; Strab. 10.5.5; Plut. *Mor.* 230c–230d, and

also Reiske 1771: 659 n. 8; Parker 1983: 33 n. 6; Hornblower 1991–2008: I, pp. 517–25.

[5] **ὕπελάμβανον** expresses an ill-grounded opinion; cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 4.4, 7.3, 9.2, 11.1, 7; Hdt. 2.55.2; Antiph. 3.3.2 with LSJ: *s.v.* ὑπολαμβάνω A.III.

Section 3

[1] **ὥσπερ εἰς τι ἔθνος ἀλλόφυλον ἢ νῆσον ἐν τῇ ἔξω θαλάττῃ ἀφιγμένοι, καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξαίφνης χρῶμα ποικίλον ἀνθρώπων:** in the ‘classical’ perception of the world, ἡ ἔξω θάλαττα denotes the adjoining seas of the Mediterranean as distinguished from ἡ εἴσω/ἐντὸς θάλαττα (‘the interior sea’); cf. Xen. *Anab.* 4.7.24; Arist. *Mete.* 1.13 350b13, 2.1 354a11; Thphr. *HP.* 4.6.4, 4.7.8; Polyb. 3.37.10, 3.39.2; Strab. 1.1.10, 1.2.22, 1.2.31. For recent investigations into this subject, see Romm 1992: 32, 188–9; Nesselrath 2005; Beaulieu 2016: 3–16 and *passim*; of older works see especially Lesky 1947.

Ποικίλος (and its cognates) is usually associated with the appreciation of an object or artistic work, and in the context it also seems to imply the Greek ideas about racial identity. But it is worth emphasising that χρῶμα ποικίλον is not necessarily a description of the human skin colour; rather, it may denote a form of body modification through tattooing, as we read in Xenophon (*Anab.* 5.4.32) and Diodorus Siculus (14.30.7), and the focus is on dress codes (= ἐστιγμένος), not on the physiological feature: so *pace* Reiske *et al.*, who suggested χρῆμα ποικίλον ἀνθρώπων (‘a coloured race of men’) following the ‘modern’ conceptualisation of race, and see Lape 2010: 39–40. See also *Epp.* 4.6 n. 8, 9.1 n. 2; Micaella 2009; Negri 2009; Rinaudo 2009, esp. p. 35; Grand-Clément 2015, esp. p. 417 n. 4.

[2] **φεύγοντες ὀχόμεθα:** οἴχεσθαι denotes the act of departure and usually goes with a participle that expresses the idea of flight, as here; cf. e.g. *Epp.* 10.10, 12.7; *Il.* 2.71; *Od.* 8.356; Pl. *Parm.* 130d; Aeschin. 1.43. See also LSJ: *s.v.* οἴχομαι A.I.

[3] **ἄνεμος ἐξώστης**: ἐξώστης is perhaps an Ionism; cf. Hdt. 2.113.1; Hippoc. *VM*. 9; [Eur.] *Rh.* 322 (c. mid-fourth century BCE); Lib. *Or.* 59.7; Syn. *Ep.* 129, l. 34 Garzy. Here it seems to have no particular reference (= βίαιος; Phot. *s.v.* ἐξώστης), while in Herodotus (2.20.2) the plural form was used to describe the periodic winds blowing from the north during the summer (= οἱ ἐτησῖαι); see Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2007: 323.

[4] **εἰς Κρήτην, πλησίον Ψαμαθοῦντος**: Psamathous (*IACP* S32) is a non-*polis* settlement in southern Peloponnese, possibly modern Porto Kagio. Πλησίον may apply to a place that neighbours Crete in the Aegean Sea, but there is certain degree of imprecision inasmuch as Psamathous is located to the west of the Laconian Gulf, somewhat outside the traditional route to Crete. Weidner conjectured that ‘Crete’ is a misspelling of ‘Cythera’ (*IACP* no. 32), an island lying opposite the south-eastern tip of the Peloponnese. For ‘Psamathous’ Drerup read ‘Amathous’ (*IACP* no. 32), a town of Cyprus, or certain ‘sandy ground’ (ψάμμος/ἄμμος) like Amos at *Epp.* 9.1, 12.11; see also Drerup 1904: 37; de Dios 2002: 608 n. 6. Yet both failed to recognise the very possibility of an imitative commitment to the *Iliad*. Ps.-Aeschines seems to overlook topographical details in his effort to recall the dispatch of Heracles after the sack of Troy; cf. *Il.* 14.253–256:

Σὺ...ὄρσασ’ ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἐπὶ πόντον ἀήτας, καὶ μιν ἔπειτα Κόωνδ’ εὖ ναιομένην ἀπένεικας, νόσφι φίλων πάντων.

You (*sc.* Hera)...had roused the blasts of cruel winds over the sea, and then carried him away to well-populated Cos, far from all his comrades.

Section 4

[1] **ἐν ἀπόπτῳ ἦμεν**: i.e. ‘we were in sight of land’ or ‘we were in view of a lofty

spot'; cf. *Anthologia Graeca* 9.412.5 (= *PG* 3284); Arr. 2.10.3; Joseph. *AJ.* 13.14.2; Plut. *Comp.Cim.Luc.* 1.5 with Intro. 3.4.1 (v). In a similar vein the Argonauts were knocked off course when 'the land of Pelops (*sc.* the Peloponnese) was just coming into view' (Πέλοπος δὲ νέον κατεφαίνετο γαῖα): see Ap.Rhod. *Arg.* 4.1231.

[2] **ἀντιπνεῖ πνεῦμα Λιβυκόν:** ἀντιπνεῖν is common in *koine* Greek, but there are few (potential) attestations in the Classical texts, e.g. Hippoc. *Hum.* 18; Arist. *Mete.* 3.1 370b22, *pace* Schwegler 1913: 28. The noun phrase recurs only in an unidentifiable quotation in the *Suda* (Π 2269: πνεύματος...ἔξαναστάντος Λιβυκοῦ). Here it refers to south-west wind, possibly the λίψ, but etymologically the latter comes from λείβειν ('to bring wet'): cf. Hdt. 2.25.1–2; Paus. 2.34.2; with πνεύσαντος ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἄρκτων πάλιν it creates the impression that the ship was tossed back and forth in the sea.

[3] **ἀπ' ἄρκτων:** lit. 'from the Bear', namely the constellation Ursa Major. It is frequently employed to denote the northern direction. The singular form (MSS. **A^{a.c.}BMZ^{a.c.}**) also occurs in literary sources, e.g. Hdt. 2.8.1, and the winds blowing from the north were called Βορέαι οἱ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου according to Arist. *Mete.* 2.4 361a21–22 (cf. Ap.Rhod. *Arg.* 2.1098–1099). So did Aeschines (3.165) use ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου to refer to the far north; a scholiast (= Dilts 378) translated it as 'among those living beyond the North Wind' (ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις), i.e. habitation of the legendary Hyperboreans. For its association with stormy weather in exilic writings compare Ov. *Tr.* 1.4.1–2, *Pont.* 1.5.71–74.

[4] **Ἀθρώνη:** the mss. present the variants such as 'Torone' (*IACP* no. 110, Macedonian *polis* in Chalcidice), 'Korone' (*IACP* no. 316, Messenian *polis*), and 'Cyrene' (*IACP* no. 1028, Greek *polis* in Libya), but as Drerup (1904: 37) well observed, these are conjectures by later scribes, and surely 'Athrone' is in itself a *lectio difficilior*. Craik (1980: 8) read 'Thera' (*IACP* no. 527, Greek *polis* lying north of Crete). Mercati (1927) read 'Leros' (*IACP* no. 504, island of Miletus) on palaeographical grounds (Λέρω νή<σφ>), and this stands out in the recent

scholarship, e.g. Roberts 1965: 141–2 (comparing D.H. *Din.* 11; Plin. *Nat.* 4.70); Brun 1995: 39 n. 125; de Dios 2002: 608 n. 9. Since the account relies significantly on fabrication, one may interpret it by assuming that Ps.-Aeschines makes a pun on *θρόνος* with the privative alpha (‘dethrone’) and so sets the tone of ἵνα μάθωμεν μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἢ μὴ στεφανοῦται. For puns in the orators see e.g. *Andoc.* 1.130; *Lys.* 13.19; *Aeschin.* 1.158, 3.78; *Dem.* 19.252–253; cf. also *Ep.* 6.1 n. 1.

[5] ἵνα μάθωμεν μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν εἴ τις...κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἢ μὴ στεφανοῦται: allusion to the ‘crown trial’ as a covert reference to Demosthenes. At *Ep.* 12.3 we find ἦν προσῆκον δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους λαβόν...Κτησιφῶντα...παρανόμων ἐγραψάμην, but an intra-textual possibility can be excluded if one considers the rather earlier oratorical and biographical traditions, e.g. *Aeschin.* 3.6, 31, 180, 197–198, 232; *Dem.* 18.13; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840c; *Vita Aeschin.* 3.2 Dilts, *pace* Holzberg 1994: 21. Πολυπραγμονεῖν introduces an ironical comment on all that has been said in light of its deprecatory implication (‘to meddle’), and cf. μὴ πολιτεύου μηδὲ πρόσκρουε μήτε τοῖς πλέον σοῦ μήτε τοῖς ἔλαττον δυναμένοις (§ 5); see *Ep.* 11.1 n. 3 for further discussion about *polypragmosyne* in Athenian ideology.

The self-deprecating, if not edifying, humour may cause a chuckle among readers on the subject of politics; but this is none the less a ‘comic’ portrayal for being inappropriate to the circumstances, particularly in the context of ἀτιμία, and Ps.-Aeschines would be expected to adopt the persona of a historical character: cf. Bonner 1922, esp. p. 102 (noting that in the orators there is more humour in Lysias ‘just because he above all others sought to portray the character of his client’); MacDowell 1971: 12–4; Spatharas 2006: 382; Halliwell 2008: 6–7; see also *Ep.* 10.10 with Holzberg 1994: 22. It on the other hand suggests an image of exile in line with post-Classical views – exile as consolation, freedom from the shackles of political competition, as in Letters 3 and 5.

[6] ἐπίνειόν τι τῆς Ῥοδίας: possibly a harbour with dockyards, but no obvious identification; cf. D.S. 14.79.7, 20.85.4. Archaeologists have testified to a total of five harbours outside the circuit, and see *IACP*: 1207. The information that Aeschines' initial residence was on Rhodes is at variance with the later biographical tradition. According to [Plut.] *Mor.* 840d and Philostr. *VS.* 1.509, he headed for Ephesus at the outset to seek refuge with Alexander, who was campaigning in Asia. My own inclination is to set Letter 1 in an earlier, and more reliable, tradition because: i) Ps.-Plutarch and Philostratus reported that Aeschines failed to meet Alexander and sailed to Rhodes after the king's death, but the hiatus between 330 and 323 BCE is chronologically unacceptable; ii) the expression οἱ...λέγουσιν ('some say') indicates that Ps.-Plutarch too felt puzzled when he retold the story; and cf. Intro. 1.2.2 (i).

[7] τὸ ἄσθμα: the 'forger' makes a big display of Aeschines' old age, since asthma was infrequent in antiquity; cf. Touwaide 2012. Synesius (*Ep.* 104, ll. 17–24 Garzy), for example, once treated this disease as a mere pretext for military shirking (cf. *Ep.* 8.1). No evidence confirms that Aeschines suffered from asthma besides *Ep.* 9.1, but, coincidentally, he is believed to have fled Athens in the late summer, a high-incidence season of asthma according to Hippocrates (*Aph.* 3.22): cf. Intro. 1.2.2 (i). We know that Aeschines claimed, or feigned, illness after being appointed to the Third Embassy, but further diagnosis was not given: see Dem. 19.121–130; Aeschin. 2.94–95 with Harris 1995: 96–8, 167–8. The only piece of evidence about his medical history is preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca* (6.330 = *CEG* 2.776), where, ostensibly at least, he mentioned his recovering from a chronic ulcer on the scalp: see Forbes 1967; Irigoien 1976; de Dios 2002: 69, 128; Hernández Muñoz 2009: 256–7; Perale 2012: 206; Bajnok 2014: 15–21.

Section 5

[1] ἐνεδίδου ἢ νόσος: a rare expression; see also *Ep.* 9.1. It recurs mostly in the Byzantine period, but the earliest is found in Aretaeus the physician (*CA.* 2.1.5, c. first century AD). In the old scholia to Sophocles ἐνδίδωσιν ἢ νόσος glossed ἐξανείη...ἄτα ('the plague...abated'); this is perhaps based on the commentaries by Didymus and/or the Roman scholars (cf. Dickey 2007: 34): see Schol. Soph. *Phil.* 705–706 (ed. P.N. Papageorgius, 372).

[2] διέπλευσα εἰς Ῥόδον, καὶ ἐδέξατο ἡμᾶς εὐμενῶς ὁ τόπος: Wolf translated τόπος as *urbs* ('city') to avoid ambiguity, but the whole expression works in Greek, e.g. Pl. *Tht.* 177a; Polyb. 30.9.6; D.S. 3.61.3, especially in reference to a burial-place; see also Reiske 1771: 661 n. 16. For the reception of Aeschines in Rhodes cf. *Epp.* 5.1–5, 6.1, 9.2.

In this passage Ῥόδος seems to refer to the island/federal state (*Epp.* 6.1, 11.3), not to the homonymous city (*Epp.* 5.1, 12.9). The biographical tradition reported that Aeschines made frequent visits to Rhodes in his exile, and associated him with the rise of Rhodian rhetoric: see also Intro. 1.2.2, 4.4. It was a late developer by the synoecism of Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus of 408/7 BCE: see *IACP*: 1196–7; Gabrielsen 2000a. Its diplomacy was as uncertain as that of most Greek *poleis*. It featured in the foundation of the Second Athenian League, but ultimately led a revolt with Byzantium, Chios and Cos in the so-called 'Social War' and became independent in 355 BCE. When the oligarchs achieved power after the war, the exiled democrats turned to Athens for help, but this fell on deaf ears despite Demosthenes' motion: see *IG II²* 43 (= RO no. 22); Dem. 5.25, 13.8, 15.3–4, 14–16, 18.234, *Pr.* 24.3; Aeschin. 3.42; D.H. *Amm.* 1.4; see also MacDowell 2009: 218–23. Its policy towards Macedonia was equally balanced: while Philocrates hinted at its peace negotiation with Philip, Rhodes opposed the latter's siege of Byzantium in 340 BCE: see Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 164 (= P.Berol. 9780 [MP³ 0339], col. xv ll. 2–10). All in all, Ps.-Aeschines' account testifies to the fact that Rhodes, as an off-shore island in Asia Minor, was able to keep out of the political manoeuvrings in mainland

Greece, and that, by at least the late Classical period, it seemed to have become a regular place of refuge: cf. *Ep.* 5.2; *Lyc.* 1.70; *Aeschin.* 3.252; *Cic. Fam.* 7.3.3–5. Philostratus (*VS.* 1.509) looked at its role as an intellectual centre and suggested that ‘Aeschines chose Rhodes for the island employs itself actively in literary pursuits’ (Ῥόδου εἶχετο, ἢ δὲ νῆσος ἀγαθὴ ἐνσπουδάσαι). See also Hammond, Griffith and Walbank 1972–88: II, pp. 579–80; Hauben 1977; Kindstrand 1982: 78; Berthold 1980, 1984: 21–2, 30–7; Mygind 1999; Ch. 3 of Wiemer 2002a; Enos 2004: 190–2; Constantakopoulou 2007: 119–25, 249–53; Huchinson 2013: 101–8; Maillot 2015.

[3] **γάρ** introduces an embedded narrative and acquires the meaning of ‘now you should know’; cf. also *Epp.* 4.1, 2, 5, 10.1, 12.11 with *GP*: 60–1; de Jong 1997.

[4] **διέβην**: *variatio* of διαπλεῖν above; cf. *Schol. Od.* 4.635d (ed. F. Pontani, II, 353).

[5] **ἐπιστέλλειν**: the verb (and its noun form) is a specific term for the epistolary writing; see also *Epp.* 2.1, 2, 5.1, 6.1, 8.1, 12.14, 11.2, 7. It denotes ‘oral command’ and ‘written message’, but the latter is well attested down to the Classical period: cf. *Eur. IT.* 588–590, 770, *Hipp.* 858–859; *Hdt.* 3.40.1; *Thuc.* 7.14.4; *Pl. Ep.* 7 337e; *Xen. Hell.* 1.7.4; *Dem. Epp.* 1.1, 3.2; [*Pl.*] *Ep.* 13 363b; [*Them.*] *Ep.* 8.27, ll. 123–125 Hercher; *Suda*: E 2632 with *LSJ*: s.v. ἐπιστέλλω; Barrett 1964: 327; Ceccarelli 2013b: 17–8.

[6] **τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ὡς ἂν ἕκαστα συμβαίη δηλώσομεν**: ὡς (= ἕως) indicates simultaneous action and introduces a prospective temporal clause (resembling future more vivid condition, e.g. *Ep.* 11.9). One may note that ὡς scarcely takes ἂν when it is used with a present subjunctive to express duration in time (‘so long as’/‘while’), as here. In a few manuscripts of Sophocles, for example, it is glossed by ἕως; cf. *Soph. Aj.* 1117, *Phil.* 1330 with *GG*: 543 §§ 2399, 2401.

[7] **εὐτύχει...ἔρρωσο**: only MS. **H** preserves both final greetings; cf. [*Hippoc.*] *Ep.* 7 p. 54.6 Smith. Ἐρρωσο/ἔρρωσθε is the standard, basic form, e.g. *Ep.* 9.2; *Isoc. Ep.* 7.13; *Xen. Cyr.* 4.5.33; *Plut. Alex.* 7.8; *IMT* 388, l. 72 (= Welles 1934, no. 1);

[Them.] *Ep.* 21.2, l. 10 Hercher, while εὐτύχει/διευτύχει and their plural forms were employed mainly in formal correspondences, e.g. Dem. *Epp.* 1.16, 2.26, 3.45, 4.12, 5.6, 6.2; [Philip II] *Epp.* 3.1, 6.1 (= Dem. 18.78, 18.157). A more clever practice is ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι, which is quite common in the epistolary papyri (cf. *Anthologia Graeca* 5.9.8; P.CtYBR. 200, l. 9), or, σὺ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον εὐτυχοίης. ἔρρωσο, as we read in Ps.-Phalaris (*Ep.* 147.4). See also *BNP* 4: s.v. 'Epistle' (c); Exler 1923: 69–77; Kremmydas 2003: 185; Trapp 2003: 34–5; Sánchez 2006a: 418–9; Eidinow and Taylor 2010: 33 n. 18; Ceccarelli 2013b: 35–6, 300; Sarri 2018: 184–90.

Letter 5

Prefatory note

Letter 5 occupies a unique place in the epistolographic *corpus*. It brings, at least *de facto*, the epistolary fiction (*Ep.* 1), the ‘Demosthenic’ counterpart (*Ep.* 3) and the Pindaric exegesis (*Ep.* 4) into close encounter, thus playing a ‘pivotal’ role in the formation of the *corpus*.

It is first and foremost a chapter that follows the story of Aeschines’ arrival in Rhodes in Letter 1, and describes within a narrative sequence his settling on the island, including the treatment he has received from the local people, household affairs, and the provisions for everyday life (§§ 1–4). Particularly intriguing in this respect are the Homeric *topoi* σῶς (§ 4), ἐταῖρος (§ 6), and the substantive use of ὁ (§ 8), all of which, on most if not all levels, resemble the intention of Letter 1 to provide an ‘Odyssean’ equivalent.

Second, Letter 5 shows an attempt to narrow down the ideological, and generic, differences in the *corpus*. In one sense, we find in it not only the community-oriented debates over democratic participation (§§ 5–8), as we read in Letters 7, 11 and 12, but also the portrayal of a ‘cynical’ Aeschines who, as we read in Letter 3, is alleged to be disillusioned with politics and to accept his exile willingly (§ 5). At the same time, the author reproduces the λαμπρός-ἄδοξος parallel (§ 7) and the accusative of respect (§ 8) in the closing remark of Letter 3. By doing so he combines the epistolary fictions and the ‘Demosthenic’ counterparts into an artistic unity, and cf. Intro. 4.2.

Third, the account of Cleocrates (§§ 1–5) provides a source of inspiration for the investigation into his ancestry in Letter 4, and can be understood broadly as a ‘prequel’. This is observed already in the early history of scholarship, as suggested by MS. Z^{mg}: ‘Letter 5 was written first’ (αὕτη πρῶτον ἐγράφη). See also Intro. 3.3.2.

The historical reliability of Letter 5 is hardly secure. The descriptions of Aeschines' settling in Rhodes, for example, seem to rely on sheer imagination. The literary value, as for Letter 2, is limited because of a number of repetitions such as ἀσμενίζειν (§§ 1, 5), τὰ παρόντα (§§ 2, 5), 'not only...but also...' (§§ 2, 3, 6, 7), μέδιμνος/μικρός/πάνυ/μικρολογία (§ 3 × 2), σοφία (§ 4 × 2), ἀπαλλαγή/ἀπαλλαξείειν (§ 5), αὐτόθι (§§ 5, 6), διατρίβειν/διατριβή (§§ 6, 7) and γελᾶν/γέλως (§§ 6, 7, 8); equally noticeable are *koine* and Latinised expressions such as φιλοφρόνημα (§ 3), ἀπόλαυσμα (§ 4), πυρῶν μεδίμνους ὅσοις...μεδίμνοις (§ 3) and πείρα διδάσκεσθαι (§ 4), an excessive reliance on the articular infinitive (× 4), polyptoton (× 3), and accusative of respect and the similar usage 'infinitive after substantives' (× 5). Nonetheless, there is much to learn from the letter. One is led to the conclusions that the geographical illustrations embrace tactfully Rhodes' three founding cities (§§ 1–2) and its coastal territory (§ 4); the comparison of Rhodian delicacies with Athens' (§ 2) bears a resemblance to the early Hellenistic banquet treatises; and the 'comic' allusions to Sophocles (§ 5) and Leptines (§§ 7–8) deserve some attention in the *Nachleben* of the Classics. It is fair to regard Letter 5 as the most amusing piece – if we exclude Letter 10 – in the *corpus*.

Commentary

Section 1

[1] Ἰουλιᾶδης in the ms. tradition. On the basis of onomastical evidence Wilamowitz (1902: 314) suggested 'Uliades' (*LGPN* I no. 11), a name that derives from Apollo's Ionic epithet 'Ulius' (Οὔλιος/'Healer', e.g. *I.Lindos* 228, l. 9, 282, l. 20; *SEG* 18.328; Strab. 14.1.6) and the patronymic suffix -(i)δας/-(i)δης; cf. Pind. *Nem.* 10.24; Plut. *Arist.* 23.5; *SEG* 38.1996bis and *GG*: 233–4 § 845; Schwegler 1913: 77–8; Masson 1988, esp. pp. 177–80; Keurentjes 1997. The *LGPN* I/V collects

more than a hundred attestations of this name to only six of ‘Juliades’, but the latter is still possible on the basis of epigraphical evidence, e.g. [Απ]ολλωνίδης Ἰου[λι]άδου at *IG XII 5 667*, ll. 6–7.

[2] **ἀφίγμεθα εἰς Ῥόδον** refers to the arrival in the homonymous city (*IACP* no. 1000) on the northern tip of the island and is echoed by εἰς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμην...πόλιν at *Ep.* 12.9, as distinguished from διέπλευσα εἰς Ῥόδον...ὁ τόπος (*Ep.* 1.5); cf. also *Epp.* 6.1, 11.3. It was built on Ialysian territory as the new capital following the synoecism of Ialysus (*IACP* no. 995), Lindus (below) and Camirus (§ 2) in 408/7 BCE: cf. *Il.* 2.653–670; Pind. *Ol.* 7.18, 69–76; D.S. 13.75.1 with Reiske 1771: 671 n. 56; *IACP*: 1196–7; Berthold 1980: 34, 1982: 56–7; Gabrielsen 2000a: 187–90.

[3] **Λίνδον**: city at the centre of the eastern coast of Rhodes (*IACP* no. 997); on it was a famous sanctuary of Athena (Pind. *Ol.* 7.48–49). According to Gorgon of Rhodes *FGrH* 515 F 18, Pindar’s *Olympian* 7, the source material for Letter 4, was deposited in the sanctuary in gold letters in the fifth century BCE; see also Intro. 3.3.2.

[4] **ἡσμένισεν**, meaning ‘to treat somebody in a satisfactory manner’, is probably a *koine* form: cf. § 5; Polyb. 3.97.5, 31.2.20; Plut. *Mor.* 101d. It is attested e.g. in Ephorus of Cyme *FGrH* 70 F 149 (= Strab. 10.4.21), but a Hellenistic admixture can be expected. The regular option is (ὑπο)δέχεσθαι, e.g. *Epp.* 1.5, 6.1, 9.2.

[5] **ἔξω δὴ τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα προστάξαι, λέγειν εἴ τινων χρῆζομεν**: λέγειν is held by προστάξαι, with τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα as its antecedent – ‘telling us the usual things: to say if we need anything’. For εἴ τινων χρῆζομεν, cf. εἴ του δέοιντο at *Ep.* 2.2.

Here τὰ κοινὰ refers particularly to commonplaces (LSJ: *s.v.* κοινός III.1), whereas in Attic prose it often denotes public affairs: so *Ep.* 11.2. Προστάττειν, denoting usually forceful indication, may indicate that Juliades was talking in an uncourteous tone.

[6] **Κλεοκράτης**: *LGPN* I no. 2. According to *Ep.* 4.1, 4, he is a consequence of

close-kin marriage because both his maternal and paternal sides are related to Diagoras I, progenitor of the Rhodian athlete family (*Ep.* 4.4 n. 6). We know of several epigraphical attestations of the tragedian Cleonicus (*LGPN* I no. 14), who is reported to be the son of a certain Cleocrates of Rhodes (*LGPN* I no. 1) and a victor at the Lenaea in *c.* 265 BCE: see *IG* II² 2325, l. 302; *IG* VII 275, ll. 5–6 with O’Connor 1908: 112; Millis and Olson 2012: 221; perhaps there is some historical overlap, and cf. *Ep.* 4.1 n. 9 (with fig. 1).

[7] οὐδὲ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς...δυναίμην ἄν: ἄν with optative expresses in itself a potential sense, as distinguished from one following the protasis understood (οἶον παρόντων οὐδὲν ἄν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν δεηθείμεν: § 2), or one that expresses a continued action (ἄν ἐδυναίμην: § 3); cf. LSJ: *s.v.* ἄν A.I.1.a, A.III.c, A.III.d. For the interjection see *Ep.* 12.16 n. 6.

[8] αὐτάρκως: perhaps a *koine* form. In Attic prose the adjective is more widely attested, e.g. *Epp.* 11.12, 12.17; Dem. 19.340, *Ep.* 1.6, and the adverbial form always denotes a person’s status of economic independence (‘self-sufficiency’), e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.14; Theopompus of Chios *FGrH* 115 F 25 (= Phot. *Bibli.* 176.120b); Arist. *Rh.* 1.6.2 1362a27, not rhetorical effectiveness, as here. A regular option is *ικανῶς*, e.g. *Ep.* 10.10; Aeschin. 1.116; Dem. 18.110, *Ep.* 6.1.

[9] τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὅση κέχρηται: for the reception of Aeschines in Rhodes, cf. *Epp.* 1.5, 6.1, 9.2. For the style, one is tempted to draw a parallel to διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας in Ps.-Leosthenes *FGrH* 105 F 6 (= MP³ 2496, col. ii ll. 35–7), a *melete* dated to the third century BCE on palaeographical grounds: cf. Kremmydas 2013a: 158; Canevaro 2018a: 85. Although this points to a likely period of composition, no definite connection can be established between the two texts. First, similar expressions are attested in Polybius (28.17.12, 30.27.2). Second, in Letter 5, as well as in Polybius, φιλανθρωπία is supposed to apply to men from different communities/states, resembling the common usage in the Classical period, while in Ps.-Leosthenes it applies to citizens from the

same *polis*: cf. *Ep.* 7.1 n. 2.

Section 2

[1] οἰκίαν παρεσκεύασέ μοι δημοσίᾳ δοθῆναι καὶ χωρίον: by the late Classical period, the insular cities such as Rhodes seemed to have become regular places of refuge due to their isolated locations, e.g. *Lyc.* 1.70; *Aeschin.* 3.252; *Cic. Fam.* 7.3.4–5 with Constantakopoulou 2007: 119–25. If the account can be believed, Aeschines' legal status is simply that of a *metoikos*, or the 'isotelic' foreigner in possession of privileged residence rights (*epidemiai/epidamiai*); both needed the permission of the host *polis* to purchase real estate through grants of *enktesis* (*Epp.* 9.2, 12.11): cf. Harrison 1968–71: I, pp. 237–8; Whitehead 1977: 6–14; Fraser 1995; Berthold 1982: 54–6; Osborne 1981–3: III/IV, pp. 186–204; Gabrielsen 1992; Niku 2007: 83–144; Maillot 2015: 152–62; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2016: 69–73. Since the privilege is often linked to proxeny and bestowed in decrees with the formula δεδόσθαι/εἶναι αὐτῶι καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας/χωρίου ἔγκτησιν, e.g. *IG II³* 1 337, ll. 33–42 (= RO no. 91); *IG II³* 1 367, ll. 14–20 (= RO no. 91); *IG II³* 1 383, ll. 7–12; *IG XI* 4 596, ll. 9–16 with Pečírka 1968: 58–61, 70–2, 137–59; Henry 1983: 204–40, it is tempting to suppose that Ps.-Aeschines paraphrases a decree making a grant to the orator *qua* pre-existing *proxenos* of Rhodes or pro-Rhodian *proxenos*-in-exile (thereby ceasing to be a *proxenos*): cf. *Aeschin.* 2.89, 3.42 with Mack 2015: 106–5, 123–7; thus in Letter 9 he is reported to purchase plots of land. Δημοσίᾳ means 'at public expenses', for which one may compare *IG XII* 8 4, ll. 1–3 (= Harding 1985, no. 81), a mid-fourth century BCE Myrinaean inscription regarding a donation of land from the Athenian cleruchs to the Chalcidian refugees, and *IC II* X 1 (c. late third century BCE), a Cydonian decree granting land to its *proxenoi* (perhaps) in exile, with Roberts 1959: 237–8; Gray 2015: 322, 355–6; more likely, however, it is a careless adaptation of formulas such as ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ/δάμῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ

δήμου/δάμου, or κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

The cities of the Rhodian state retained autonomy in civic matters, but foreign matters were the responsibility of their ‘federal’ assembly, which was referred to as ὁ πᾶς/σύμπας δᾶμος: cf. *I.Lindos* 16. App. (= *SIG* 110 no. 4); Thuc. 8.44.2; Polyb. 15.23.2 with Berthold 1982: 38–41; Gabrielsen 2000a: 190–1. There were also the so-called ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν ξένων, whose (potential) function was to award public hospitality to foreigners, e.g. *IG XII 1* 49, ll. 50–58 (= *SIG* 619) with *SEG* 32.813. There seems, however, little reason to assign any public office to Cleocrates inasmuch as the Rhodian epigraphical formulas ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ and ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν show that the assembly could pass a decree without a *probouleuma* and the right of making proposals applies to any citizen, e.g. *SIG* 644, ll. 3, 20; *SGDI* 3751, ll. 3, 8 with Gabrielsen 1997: 27; Wiemer 2002a: 22; 2002b: 581–2; *SEG* 53.816. Cf. also Rhodes with Lewis 1997: 12–3, 24–9, 265–75.

[2] **Καμίρω**: the smallest of the three founding cities of Rhodes, occupying the west coast of the island (*IACP* no. 996).

[3] **τὰ ἐπιτήδεια** refers to the necessities of life, and cf. Aeschin. 1.27, 103. In Letter 11 it refers to the close friend; see *Ep.* 11.2 n. 2.

[4] **Τεύθραντι καὶ Πλειστίᾳ**: ‘Teuthras’ is not an Attic name, and the *PAA* collects only one attestation that is irrelevant to the subject (no. 880980); ‘Pleistias’ is more common. The particular figures cannot be pinpointed, but in Letter 12 they are perhaps referred to as Aeschines’ acquaintances (δύο γνώριμοι): see *Ep.* 12.11 n. 4. Ps.-Aeschines may aim only to offer a sense of truthfulness given that companionship is a common theme in exilic, and periegetic, writings, e.g. § 5; *Il.* 1.262–270, 14.256; *Od.* 10.208–243; *Ap.Rhod. Arg.* 1.20–233; [Chion] *Ep.* 16.3; [Them.] *Ep.* 20.19–23, ll. 94–124 Hercher; *Ov. Pont.* 1.4.33–34, 2.7.61–63; cf. also *Ep.* 2.2 n. 7.

[5] **εἰ φαυλότερα τῶν Ἀθήνησιν, ὥσπερ ἔλαιον καὶ μέλι, ἀλλ’ οἶνόν γε μὴν καὶ πολὺ ἀμείνω τοῦ παρ’ ὑμῖν**: apart from olive-oil (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 24.1; D.Chrys. *Or.*

25.3), Athens is also reported to produce fine honey, notably that of Mount Hymettus, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.15; Strab. 9.1.2; Plut. *Dio.* 58.2. For food in nostalgic recollection cf. e.g. [Chion] *Ep.* 6.

Rhodian wine enjoys widespread renown. Aristotle is said to ask for it on his deathbed (Gell. *NA.* 13.5), and a great number of Rhodian amphora remains lend some support to the view that wine exports played an important part in Rhodes' commercial activities: see Grace 1956: 138–44; Berthold 1982: 52; Salviat 1993; Dalby 1996: 129, 2003: 281; Rauh 1999; Lund 1999, 2011; Gabrielsen 1997: 65–71; Wiemer 2002a: 27–31, 2002b: 584–5; at *Ep.* 9.1 there is a vivid description of a vineyard in the Rhodian *Peraea*. Worth mentioning in this context is the comparison of Rhodian delicacies with Athens'. For it finds echoes in an early Hellenistic banquet letter attributed to Lynceus of Samos, who, addressing a certain Diagoras, discussed extensively the delicacies of the two cities such as grapes, drinks and cakes: cf. Ath. 3.74, 7.24, 44, 139, 11.37, 100, 14.56, 68 with Dalby 1996: 158–60, 2000: 375, 385–8.

Notice, too, that although ἔλαιον denotes the foodstuff, as we read at Ar. *Ach.* 550; Thuc. 3.49.3; Dem. 55.24, in most cases it refers to the anointing-oil used before gymnastic exercises or after bathing, especially in the Homeric epics, e.g. *Il.* 10.577; *Od.* 2.339; *IG XII 1 3*, ll. 2–3 (= *SIG* 974) with LSJ: *s.v.* ἔλαιον A; Wiemer 2002a: 32 n. 85.

[6] ἐκ στροβίλου ἄμα καὶ ἀλεύρων καὶ ἀρωμάτων πεποιημένα ἐν τύποις **τραγήματα**: τραγήμα (lit. 'a thing to chew') denotes the dessert food that accompanies wine at the symposium. Here Ps.-Aeschines alludes to a sweetmeat made chiefly of pine nuts with flour and spices, and cf. Ath. 2.49, 3.100 with Reiske 1771: 672 n. 57; Dalby 1996: 23, 81–2, 2003: 330.

Section 3

[1] **πυρῶν μεδίμνους, ὅσοις...μεδίμνοις**: Reiske (1771: 926 n. 8) argued that the expression shows a Latinised style inasmuch as the two clauses are connected without connectives by the repetition of μέδιμνος; one is tempted to compare it e.g. to ...*Romam coram venire iouserunt. Romae coram...dixerunt...* ([Quintus Minucius and Marcus Minucius] ordered [the Genuans and the Veturians] to come to Rome in person...In person at Rome [the Minucii] made a report...': *ILLRP* 517.1–5) with Penney 2005: 37; cf. also *Epp.* 2.1, 4.3, 9.2, 10.6 with Intro. 3.4.1 (ii).

Medimnos is an Attic dry measure, and one unit equals 48 *choenices*, the daily ration, or distribution, of 48 male adults (c. 52.512 litres = 32.96 kg of wheat/27.47 kg of barley) according to Hdt. 7.187.2; Thuc. 4.16.1; D.L. 8.18. Since Athens is based on 139 demes and its male citizen population during the fourth century BCE ranged from 25,000 to 60,000, the statement 'to sustain the whole Cothocidae' is almost a hyperbole, and πάντας Κοθωκίδας below may convey the notion of πάντας δημότας ('all the deme members'): cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 1115; Dem. 57.16, 61. See also Foxhall and Forbes 1982, esp. pp. 51–62, 73; Hansen 1985: 9–13, 64–9, 1999: 47–48, 90–4, 2008: 266–7; Moreno 2007: 28–32, 325.

[2] **διαρκεῖν**, meaning 'to suffice', is synonymous with ἀρκεῖν, and cf. *Ep.* 7.1; Aeschin. 3.218. The διά-compound conveys the notion of intensity or fulfilment: see *GG*: 375 § 1685 (3). In the orators it occurs nowhere else except for Isoc. 2.19. Ἐμαυτόν...διαρκεῖν is an early attestation of the verb's transitive usage (LSJ: *s.v.* διαρκέω A.II; *BDAG*: *s.v.* διαρκέω 1.A), expressing the idea that one has such elements as wealth and house to live on, and cf. Strab. 10.5.6.

[3] **Κοθωκίδας**: deme of Aeschines, of the Oeneis phyle, about six kilometres north-east of Eleusis; cf. *IG* II² 2408, l. 7; Dem. 18.29, 137, 180; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840a; Philostr. *VS.* 1.507; *Vita Aeschin.* 2.1 Dilts; Phot. *Bibl.* 264.490b.

[4] ἃ γράφειν αἰσχύνομαι, ἵνα μή τινα δηλοῦν ἐμὴν μικρολογίαν

δόξω...ἀπειροκαλία: αἰσχύνεσθαι concerns an action in the present, and cf. *Ep.* 10.7 with LSJ: *s.v.* αἰσχύνω B.II.2.c; Cairns 1993: 264. It exhibits some redundancy of wording and recalls the ideology of *autarkeia* ('self-sufficiency') that an ideal *polis*, or individual, should support itself/himself even in conditions of dire disadvantage: Aeschines is supposed to count on himself and to feel ashamed of obtaining from a foreigner such elements as house, wealth, and other provisions; cf. *Epp.* 7.1, 11.12; Aesch. *Ag.* 1314; Soph. *El.* 185–186; Thuc. 2.36.1–3; Xen. *Por.* 2.4; Aeschin. 3.218; Arist. *EN* 1.7.7 1097b14–15; [Hippoc.] *Ep.* 5 p. 52.2–5 Smith; *Suda*: A 3956. But Ps.-Aeschines astutely uses the term φιλοφροσύνη (below), because, as we read e.g. in Ps.-Chion of Heraclea (*Ep.* 10.1), the gift sent for friendship's sake would not disgrace the receiver because of its 'reciprocal' nature (εἰς δὲ φιλανθρωπίαν... τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας δωρεὰς δέχεσθαι δεῖ· αὐταὶ γὰρ τιμὰς αὐξουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἀτιμάζουσι): cf. Adkins 1963, esp. pp. 44–5; Millett 1991: 121; Cairns 1993: 89–100, 174–5; Konstan 1997: 78–87; Chs. 2–3 of Mitchell 1997; *Ep.* 12.8 n. 4 (on δωρεά). For discussions about self-sufficiency in relation to political/intellectual independence see Raaflaub 2004: 184–7; Ch. 3 of Canevaro 2014.

Μικρολογία, then, denotes trivial pursuits, especially meanness with properties: cf. [Dem.] 59.36; Thphr. *Char.* 10.1–14 with Diggle 2004: 301. And since it has the connotation of trifle-talking, one is tempted to allude to the common complaints about the triviality of legal disputes in the orators, e.g. Lys. 33.3; Isoc. 12.11. An example of παράλειψις/*praeteritio* is also likely. For by this rhetorical figure Ps.-Aeschines can downplay Cleocrates' help and move on to the following points so as to avoid disgracing the protagonist: cf. *Epp.* 4.6, 10.1; Pind. *Ol.* 13.91; Dem. 9.26, 18.130, 20.99; Aeschin. 1.39; [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 263; [Arist.] *Rh.Al.* 21.2 1434a25–33; Hermog. *Id.* 2.6 351–352 Rabe with LSJ: *s.v.* παράλειψις A.3; Wooten 2008: 152–5; Montiglio 2000: 123–32; Canevaro 2016a: 29–30. Ἀπειροκαλία (lit. 'ignorance of the beautiful'), which is analogous to ἀπαιδευσία, may turn our attention rather to vulgar things, than to literary preference as at *Ep.* 10.1, to fit the

feeling of shame in terms of the civic values; cf. e.g. Pl. *Resp.* 405a–b; Arist. *EN.* 2.7.6 1107b16–20, 4.2.4 1122a29–33; [Anach.] *Ep.* 1, l. 35 Hercher; Plut. *Mor.* 124f; Luc. *Nigr.* 21; *Priene* 32, l. 13 (= *I.Priene*² 68, c. 1st cent. BCE): see also Intro. 4.2. In sum, it is possible to translate this passage into ‘I have scruples about my writing for fear that I may tell in minutiae and make a fool of myself’.

[5] **ὑπερασπάζεσθαι** is a rare word, and the ὑπέρ-compound conveys the notion of superiority (*GG*: 327 § 1384, 330 § 1403). The usage here is anthropomorphic as the verb usually denotes a very close personal relationship, e.g. Xen. *Symp.* 4.38; Plut. *Mor.* 1094d; D.C. 61.13; Philostr. *VS.* 1.537.

[6] **φιλοφρονημάτων...μικρῶν**: counterpart of τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας (§ 1). Φιλοφρόνημα seems to be an invention by Ps.-Aeschines, as distinguished from φιλοφροσύνη, and cf. Hdt. 5.92γ.2; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.3; Pl. *Leg.* 628c with Intro. 3.4.1 (iii). To some extent, however, this is a more cautious practice inasmuch as *philanthropia* (or *philia*), which connotes ‘civic friendship’, may cause ambiguity regarding the benevolence of a foreigner; cf. *Ep.* 2.2 n. 7; *Ep.* 7.1 n. 2.

Section 4

[1] **καλλίω, συῶν τε ἀγρίων καὶ δορκάδων τῶν πέραθεν**: καλός describes the quality of the foodstuffs (LSJ: *s.v.* καλός B) and hints at a high status in society because the consumption of meat is often associated with prestige. In particular, wild meat symbolised an elite way of life such as banqueting and hunting: cf. Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.9; Plut. *Ant.* 28.4–5, *Mor.* 658a; Petr. *Sat.* 40–41; Ath. 1.31, 9.65; see also Dalby 1996: 61–2; Chandezon 2015, esp. pp. 138–9.

Σῶς, meaning literally ‘pig’, is a Homeric form (LSJ: *s.v.* ὄς), and with ἄγριος it is identifiable with κάπρος (‘wild boar’); δορκάς refers to the roe deer, but it is the name used for the gazelle by authors writing of Asia and Africa; and cf. *Il.* 9.539; Hdt. 4.192.1–2; Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.2; Paus. 7.18.12; Ath. 9.55; *IG* XII 1 905 with Dalby

2003: 57, 114, 332. Noteworthy in this context is that meat feasting figures in the narrative of heroic world in the *Odyssey*: see e.g. *Od.* 8.474–483, 14.432–438 with Bakker 2013: 39–40 and *passim*.

Πέραθεν (lit. ‘from the opposite’) refers to Rhodes’ coastal territory, namely the Rhodian *Peraea*; see *Ep.* 12.11 n. 2.

[2] **ἀπολαύσματα**: *koine* form, e.g. *Phil. Det.* 120, *Plant.* 38; *Plut. Aem.* 28.9; [Eur.] *Ep.* 4.3 (first to second centuries CE). The substantival suffix ‘-μα’ expresses an abstract idea, whereas the regular option is ἀπόλαυσις, e.g. *Thuc.* 2.38.2; *Isoc.* 1.27; *Ath.* 2.12. See also *Intro.* 3.4.1 (iii)

[3] **σοφίας, ἢ σοφωτέρα...ἔστιν**: polyptoton; a more common practice, however, is the accusative of respect (*sc.* ἦν), and cf. *Pl. Ap.* 22e; [Pl.] *Thg.* 123c; *D.Chrys. Orr.* 12.36, 71.9.

[4] **...ἐδιδάχθην...σοφία...πεῖρα διδασκόμενος**: rhetorical parallelism; cf. *D.H. Ant.Rom.* 11.19.5; *Gal. MM.* 5.1 X 305 Kühn. In the ancient theorists, a wise man was supposed to rely significantly on his experience, especially as regards political judgement, e.g. *Thuc.* 1.71.3; *Isoc.* 13.14; *Arist. EN.* 6.7.5–7 1141b2–1141b23, 6.8.5 1142a11–16, *Metaph.* 1.1.17 981b26–982a3. Still, *πεῖρα* causes little ambiguity in the contrast because the term *per se* denotes an actual experience of individual facts (‘acquaintance’) as distinguished from the more ‘universal’ ἐμπειρία; such a distinction is attested in Galen, whose accounts reflect in some ways the theory of the Hellenistic empirical medical school, and in the Neoplatonist, e.g. *Gal. SI.* 5.1 I 69 Kühn; *Olymp. In Pl.Grg.* 3.2 with Jackson, Lycos and Tarrant 1998: 78–9; Hankinson 2008.

Πεῖρα διδάσκεισθαι seems to derive from the Latin phrase *experimento credere/didicisse*, e.g. *Quint.* 11.2.17; *Plin. Pan.* 31.3; *Front. Strat.* 1.10.1 with *OLD*: *s.v. experimentum* 2. Although we find echoes in Thucydides (4.81.2) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant.Rom.* 5.74.1, *Dem.* 44), the regular expressions are *πεῖραν ἔχων*, *διὰ πείρας ἰών* and *ὑπὸ/ἐκ τῆς πείρας διδασκόμενος*; cf. *Xen. Cyr.* 4.1.5; [Pl.] *Ax.*

369a; D.S. 1.8.7, 1.74.2 with Intro. 3.4.1 (ii).

Section 5

[1] **ὅσον γ' ἐπὶ Κλεοκράτει**: although ‘ἐπί + dative’ could mean ‘depending on’ (e.g. *Ep.* 2.4 with LSJ: *s.v.* ἐπί B.I.g), Ps.-Aeschines might have adapted the elliptical Latin expression *quantum in aliqui (sc. est)*, e.g. *Ov. Ars Am.* 3.35 with *OLD*: *s.v.* *quantum*¹ A.7.b, c. In Greek the accusative would be expected, such as ὅσον γε τοῦ πὶ δεινά (Eur. *Or.* 1345) and, as suggested by Platnauer (1944: 71), ὡς γ' ἐπὶ δεινά. See also *Ep.* 11.4.

[2] **ἐπιθυμῶ** can refer to political attachments, e.g. [*Lys.*] 20.3; [*Andoc.*] 4.28 with LSJ: *s.v.* ἐπιθυμέω A. In theme it has the connotation of erotic pursuit, as we read below, and cf. Konstan 2006: 160.

[3] **ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἀσμενίζω** echoes οὐτ'...περιττῶς ἡσμένισεν ἡμᾶς (§ 1), to serve as a foil for Juliades' unfriendliness.

[4] **ὑπεραγαπῶ** is a rare word but occurs in Classical texts, e.g. *Dem.* 23.196; *Arist. EN.* 9.7.3 1168a1. The ὑπέρ-compound conveys the notion of superiority (*GG*: 327 § 1384, 330 § 1403).

[5] **ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς αὐτόθι πολιτείας...ὄπερ φασὶ Σοφοκλέα ἤδη γέροντα ὑπὲρ ἄλλης ἡδονῆς εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ κυνὸς λυττώσης ἀπηλλάχθαι ποτὲ τῆς τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι ἡδονῆς δοκῶ...ὁ νοῦς ἐπικρατῆ**: *TGF* IV T 80l. Allusions to this anecdote are frequent and concern the relationship between bodily pleasure and old age, with the earliest being *Pl. Resp.* 329c–329d (= *TGF* IV T 80a):

“ὦ Σοφόκλεις, ἔχεις πρὸς τὰ φροδίδια; ἔτι οἷός τε εἶ γυναικὶ συγγίγνεσθαι”; καὶ ὅς, “Εὐφήμει,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἄνθρωπε· ἀσμενέστατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον, ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινά καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποδράς.” εὗ οὖν μοι καὶ τότε ἔδοξεν ἐκεῖνος εἰπεῖν...παντάπασι γὰρ τῶν γε τοιούτων ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ πολλὴ εἰρήνη γίγνεται καὶ

ἐλευθερία· ἐπειδὴν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι παύσονται κατατείνουσαι καὶ χαλάσωσιν, παντάπασι
τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίνεται, δεσποτῶν πάνυ πολλῶν ἔστι καὶ μαινομένων
ἀπηλλάχθαι.

(Someone asked Sophocles.) ‘**How do you get on with sexual pleasure**, Sophocles? Can you still **make love to a woman**?’ And he replied: ‘Mind what you say, sir. Let me tell you **I have escaped from it so gladly, as if I had run away from a raging and savage master**.’ I (*sc.* Socrates) **thought his answer was good then**...for undoubtedly **there is considerable peace and freedom in old age** from such things as these. Whenever **our passions** stop swelling and abate, **Sophocles’ remark** is undoubtedly approved: **it is the riddance of a great many insane masters**.

The point is that an old man should escape sexual pleasure as anyone would escape slavery as a result of his spiritual superiority: cf. also Plut. *Mor.* 525a, 788e, 1094e; Philostr. *VA.* 1.13; Ath. 12.2; Stob. 3.6.42; Cic. *de Sen.* 3.7, 14.47; Val.Max. 4.3.14b, ext. 2; Amm.Marc. 25.4.2 and Powell 1988: 198–9. An ideal context would be the rhetorical schools: Aelius Theon (*Progym.* 2 p. 9 Patillon–Bolognesi = II 65.29–66.9 Spengel), for instance, recommended this anecdote as an exemplar model that the teacher should collect and young students should learn by heart. We see that Ps.-Aeschines slightly alters the implication and likens political activities to erotic pursuits; this finds an echo in Plutarch (*Mor.* 788e) that ‘Sophocles indeed said that he was glad to have escaped from sexual pleasure, being an old man, as from a savage and raging master; but in public life one must escape, not from one master, the love of boys or women, but from many loves which are more insane than that: love of contention, love of fame, the passion for superiority and authority...’ (ὁ γὰρ Σοφοκλῆς ἄσμενος ἔφη τὰ ἀφροδίσια γεγηρακῶς ἀποπεφευγῆναι καθάπερ ἄγριον καὶ λυσσῶντα δεσπότην· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πολιτείαις οὐχ ἓνα δεῖ δεσπότην, ἔρωτα παίδων ἢ γυναικῶν, ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μανικωτέρους τούτου, φιλονεικίαν, φιλοδοξίαν,

τὴν τοῦ πρῶτον εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμίαν...), but a more ‘comic’ tone (not generally true for the modern society) is meant because of the dysphemism for female shamelessness (‘bitch’): cf. *Il.* 6.344, *Od.* 4.145; Ar. *Vesp.* 1032, 1402 with LSJ: *s.v.* κύων A.II; Faust 1970; Heubeck, West and Hainsworth 1988: 203–4; Kanavou 2011: 59–60; Franco 2014: 1–16, 2017; Biles and Olson 2015: 486.

Σοφοκλέα...γέροντα is an accusative of respect on the understanding that φασι is used parenthetically (‘it is said’): cf. *GG*: 360 § 1601(c). Alternatively, ὅπερ φασι Σοφοκλέα ἤδη γέροντα ὑπὲρ ἄλλης ἡδονῆς εἰπεῖν...δοκῶ constitutes a natural anacoluthon (*sc.* φήσαντα): see *GG*: 672 § 3007.

[6] **τρισευδαίμων** appears several times in Philo Judaeus (× 4) and Lucian (× 4), and once in Philostratus (*Ep.* 37), but the earliest attestation is found in Bacchylides (*Epin.* 3.10). ‘-δαίμων’ signifies the divine protection; ‘τρις-’ is used to intensify the notion (‘utterly’), and cf. *Ep.* 7.3; *Od.* 5.306; Ar. *Pax* 242; Ath. 15.42 (= Eubulus fr. 100 *PCG*).

[7] **τῆς φυγῆς ἦν φεύγω**: polyptoton; cf. Eur. *Andr.* 976, *Hel.* 1042; Pl. *Ap.* 21a; Lys. 13.74, and see also Intro. 3.4.2 (i). In this section Ps.-Aeschines relates to the broader Greek literary *topos* of the fortunate exile, e.g. the Cynic argument that exile is liberation from politics and from narrow focus on one’s own state, as in Letter 3.

Section 6

[1] **αὐτὸ πάλιν ὑπέλθη με λογισμὸς τε καὶ μνήμη τῶν αὐτόθι**: cf. ἔστιν ἔτι τις Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνου μνήμη καὶ λόγος at *Ep.* 6.1. Ὑπέρχεσθαι expresses involuntary feelings such as fear, pity and shudder (LSJ: *s.v.* ὑπέρχομα A.II). The nostalgic recollection is common in exilic writings: cf. *Ep.* 12.10; *Od.* 1.57–59; Eur. *Phoen.* 365–370; Dem. *Ep.* 2.20; Ov. *Tr.* 3.12.5–50. But λογισμὸς, meaning ‘calculation’, ‘plan’ and ‘reflection’, is erratic in this context *vis-à-vis* λόγος; at bottom it shows an epistemological approach that assigns λογισμὸς and μνήμη to the sphere of mental

action, as we read in the Platonic reflections and the medical treatises, e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 896d; [Pl.] *Epin.* 981c; Hippoc. *Praec.* 1; Gal. *Hipp.Elem.* I 487 Kühn; Plot. 4.4.11, 4.4.12.

[2] οὐχ ἑταίρων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ Κολλυτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ᾤκησα: an all-embracing illustration of the social entities from which an *atimos* might have been banished (friends, kinsmen, fellow citizens, demesmen, etc.); with τοῦ Ἀλῆσι χωρίου below it is comparable to οἶμαι δεῖν...μὴ...τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων συνηθείας ἀποστερηθῆναι at Dem. *Ep.* 2.2, and cf. *Ep.* 2.2 n. 7; Intro. 3.5.2 (ii). A variation of φίλος (*Epp.* 2.2, 6.1), ἑταῖρος is distinguished from kin and may retain the Homeric sense of companionship/comradeship, notably ‘age-mate’: see Konstan 1997: 19–20, 30–3, 44–6, 60–1.

Collytus is the deme of the Aegeis phyle and figures in the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes: during its Rural Dionysia Timarchus, as recounted by Aeschines (1.157), became a laughing-stock for being a prostitute, and Aeschines flopped while playing a mythical king according to the pro-Demosthenic tradition, e.g. Dem. 18.180, 242; Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἴσχανδρος; *Vitae Aeschin.* 1.7, 2.3 Dilts; see also Usher 1993: 235; Fisher 2001: 14–5, 299–301. Πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ᾤκησα is not otherwise verifiable, but the Athenians did change their place of residence sometimes: see *APF*: 547; MacDowell 1978: 68–9; Aeschines’ account that in 346/5 BCE he was forty-five can be a source of inspiration, since this information is bound to receive much attention as a key asset to tackle his date of birth: see Aeschin. 1.49 with Lewis 1958; Harris 1988; Davidson 2006: 42–3.

[3] τοῦ Ἀλῆσι χωρίου: ‘Halae’ is either the deme of the Cecropis phyle that borders in the north on Aexone (Ἀλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες), or the homonymous one of the Aegeis phyle to the south of Araphen (Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφενίδες). Here the ‘forger’ may refer to the latter in view of the same administrative dependency: see also *APF*: 547; de Dios 2002: 616 n. 27.

If the account has any validity, Aeschines was evidently *enkektemenos*, a citizen holding property in a deme other than his own: cf. [Dem.] 50.8 with Harrison 1968–71: I, p. 238. In theme the episode may come from οἴμαι...τῶν ὄντων...ἀποστερηθῆναι at Dem. *Ep.* 2.2, but an alternative intertext cannot be excluded on the grounds that household affairs do figure in the Greek ideology of *autarkeia* (§ 3 n. 4) and hence in the description of a homeless exile: cf. e.g. *Ep.* 6.1 (with n. 8); *Od.* 1.57–59, 9.530–535; Eur. *Med.* 253–256; Diogen.Sinop. fr. 4 *TGF* (= D.L. 6.38); Arist. *Pol.* 2.1.7 1261b11–12; [Them.] *Ep.* 13.7, ll. 25–28 Hercher with Branham 2007: 75–6; see, too, Intro. 3.5.2 (ii).

[4] **Φιλίνου**: a common name in Attica; in Letter 8 he is said to leave for Rhodes. We find two contemporaries of Aeschines from ‘Halae’: one (*LGPN* II no. 55; *PAA* 927950) is a creditor holding property at Laurium (*SEG* 33.175), and the other (*LGPN* II no. 56; *PAA* 927955) the father of Philocrates teacher of dramatic performances (*SEG* 47.489, ll. 1–2). It would be equally possible to mention a prominent figure, such as the orator (*LGPN* II no. 14; *PA* 14304; *PAA* 927580) who reportedly spoke against Lycurgus’ motion to honour tragedians of the past (Harpocr. s.v. θεωρικά with Blass 1887–98: III/2, pp. 288–90; Faraguna 1992: 187–9; Hanink 2014: 78), on the understanding that μοι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ Φιλίνου διατριβῶν proves nothing about Philinus’ deme; this is a fairly common practice in the pseudepigraphs, and cf. the allusions to Leptines (§ 7), Mantias (*Ep.* 4.2) and Melanopus of Aexone (*Ep.* 7.1).

[5] **μεταρρεῖ ἅπαν τὸ αἷμα ἄλλοσέ ποι τῶν σπλάγγνων πάλιν**: emotional instability. Ancient theorists tended to associate strong emotions with physiological changes, especially the circulation of blood and its impact on the heat around one’s heart, e.g. Arist. *de An.* 1.1 403a16–b2 with Renehan 1963; Fortenbaugh 2002: 15, 21–22, 2008: 37–9; Konstan 2004: 105, 2006: 36, 43–4; Tsouna 2007: 198. The expression, then, may carry the implication of ‘hot-blood’ anger, and Ps.-Aeschines may have been thinking of the Aeschylean line ...πρὸς ὀργὴν σπλάγγνα θερμίνης

κότω (‘...through anger heat up your inward parts with rancour’: Aesch. fr. 468 *TGF* = *Suda*: Θ 250); cf. Ar. *Ran.* 844 with Dover 1993: 298.

Μεταρρεῖν is common in *koine* Greek, but in the Classical texts it has two attestations (Pl. *Tht.* 193d; Arist. *EN.* 9.6.3 1167b7). Ἄλλοσέ...πάλιν is used pleonastically seeing that the μετά-compound conveys intrinsically the notion of alteration or change (*GG*: 381 § 1691.4),.

[6] **λοιδορίαί αις ἐλοιδορούμην**: polyptoton; but the accusative (MS. **P^{p.c.}**) would be expected, as we read at Dem. 21.132, and cf. Aeschin. 2.8. For the verb’s applications to different contexts in the letter-collection see *Ep.* 2.3 n. 4.

[7] **σκώματα**: in rhetorical treatises (Arist. *Rh.* 3.11.6 1412a29–1412b2) the word refers to the pun, but here a wider sense is meant (‘gibes’/‘jests’). The specific allusion may be Demosthenes’ insults to Aeschines’ parents and early career as these passages were always the focus of later critics, e.g. Dem. 18.129–130, 180, 209, 258–261, 265, 284, 19.129, 199–200, 237, 246–249, 281; see also Intro. 1.2.1; *Ep.* 12.1 n. 4.

Section 7

[1] **ἄλις...δακρύων, σὺ δ’ εὐτυχοίης...**: δακρύων is a participle. The passage expresses encouragement but is in itself tragic, and cf. ἀνίστασ’, ὃ δύστηνε· δακρύων ἄλις (‘get up, unhappy Heracles: enough of weeping!’) at Eur. *Heracl.* 1394; see also Soph. *OT.* 1515; Eur. *Hel.* 589; *Epistulae Socraticorum* 21.1. Σὺ δ’ εὐτυχοίης is reminiscent of ἀλλ’ εὐτυχοίης, a typical blessing in dramatic texts, e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 1063; Soph. *OT.* 1478; Eur. *Med.* 688 with Garvie 1986: 349, and is thus to be distinguished from the final greeting of epistolary writings: cf. *Ep.* 1.5 n. 7; *Ep.* 12.17 n. 1. For homesick weeping in exilic writings, cf. e.g. *Ep.* 2.1; *Od.* 5.151–159; Eur. *Phoen.* 366–370; Dem. *Ep.* 2.25; Ov. *Tr.* 3.2.18–20; see also Westwood 2016: 79.

Ἄλις may concern the rhetorical use of tears in two aspects: while weeping is an emotional display in Greek oratory, especially as a device eliciting pity in court, unskilful or artificial expressions will achieve the opposite and expose the orator to ridicule. Thus, Aeschines (3.207–210) taunted Demosthenes that ‘he weeps more easily than other men laugh’ (οὗτος κλάει μὲν ῥᾶον ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι γελῶσιν), and Demosthenes, although he persuaded the Athenians to sympathise with weeping children (19.281), issued a particular warning against those of Aeschines (19.310): cf. also Dem. 21.186–188, 194; Arist. *Rh.* 2.8.14 1386a29–35; Cic. *de Or.* 2.45.189–1.47.196; Quint. 6.1.44–45. For investigations into tears see e.g. Baumgarten 2009: 98–102; Fögen 2009: 198–205; Lateiner 2009: 118–9; Hagen 2016: 200–3.

[2] καὶ μὴ μόνον πολιτείαν ἄπασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λεπτίνην φεῦγε substitutes the Sophoclean anecdote (§ 5), thereby hinting that Leptines deserved to be no better esteemed than a ‘bitch’: τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ γέλωτος εἶναι δοκεῖν ἅμα καὶ μίσους ἄξιος (§ 8).

Leptines (*LGPN* II no. 7; *PA* 9046; *PAA* 603480 + 603485; *APF*: 340–1; Develin 1989, no. 1810) is an Athenian politician, well-known for proposing a law that abolished all exemptions from liturgies (*ateleia*). A charge against its legality took place in 355/4 BCE (D.H. *Amm.* 1.4), and Demosthenes, being a co-speaker, argued that the law was ‘inexpedient’ (*graphe nomon me epitedeion einai*) and undermined the community’s basic order. The prosecution was successful, according to Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 31.128), and the speech is *per se* significant for at least three reasons. First, it is probably Demosthenes’ first public speech, and thus figures in his road to prominence. Second, in it Demosthenes addressed not only the issues of reciprocity and the process of legislation, but also a range of democratic values such as *homonoia* (Dem. 20.12, 110; cf. *Ep.* 11.11), ‘national character’ (Dem. 20.13–14, 64; cf. *Ep.* 12.17) and *philanthropia* (Dem. 20.55, 109, 165; cf. *Epp.* 5.1, 7.1, 12.16). Third, the speech was highly regarded in the ancient rhetorical education as well as in the *Nachleben* of Demosthenes; a case in point is the third century BCE *melete*

attributed to Leptines, which, in some sense, illustrates a cultural background resembling that of Ps.-Aeschines (Intro. 4.1). See also Sandys 1890: xxxiv–xxxvii; Wooten 1972: 97–100; Hesk 2000: 40–51; Kremmydas 2007a, 2007b, 2012: 2–66; Harris 2008: 15–21; Macdowell 2009: 156–67; Canevaro 2013: 338–40, 2016a: 3–100, 2016b, 2018a: 82–4.

[3] **πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχει φιλαπεχθημόνως**: φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχειν is a common phrase, e.g. Pl. *Resp.* 500b; Phil. *Mos.* 1.248; Luc. *Hist.conscr.* 59. But the collocation with πρὸς τινα scarcely occurs, e.g. Phil. *Virt.* 34; a possible explanation is the lexicographical practice, and indeed Ps.-Zonaras (c. 13th cent. CE) defined φιλαπεχθήμων as ὁ ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς φίλους μισητῶς.

[4] **τᾶλλα**: accusative of respect (‘as to the rest’, ‘in other respects’); cf. *Ep.* 6.1; Aesch. *Ag.* 918; Soph. *Aj.* 1396. See also *GG*: 360 § 1601 (c).

[5] **τοιούτος ἐστὶν ὅτου περιεῖναι μὲν μηδενὸς λαμπρότερον, ἠττᾶσθαι δὲ ἄδοξότατον**: less literally, following the Budé translation, ‘he is the kind that brings no glory to those who defeat him, but more dishonour to those who are defeated’ (*d’une espèce telle qu’il est moins glorieux que tout de le vaincre, mais plus déshonorant que tout de succomber sous ses attaques*). The infinitives serve to define the meaning of ὅστις...μηδεῖς, like the accusative of respect (‘infinitive after substantives’: *GG*: 445–6 § 2005). The λαμπρός-ἄδοξος parallel echoes the closing remark of Letter 3: see *Ep.* 3.3 nn. 1, 2. And the rhetorical parallelism is reminiscent of μὴ πολιτεύου μηδὲ πρόσκρουε μήτε τοῖς πλέον σοῦ μήτε τοῖς ἔλαττον δυναμένοις at *Ep.* 1.5.

[6] **εἰ...συνέλθοις...καὶ...λέγοι τι, πειρῶ σιωπᾶν, ἂν ἰσχύης, καὶ γελᾶν**: εἰ with optative expresses a future condition less vivid than ‘ἐάν + subjunctive’ (e.g. *Ep.* 11.9), but regularly ‘optative + ἂν’ would stand in the apodosis (‘if you should...you would...[but it is not likely]’): see *GG*: 526 § 2329.

Καὶ in the apodosis expresses contrast (*GP*: 291–2), thus making a scene when silence is shattered by a sudden burst of laughter: cf. [Hippoc.] *Ep.* 17.4 p. 78.15–16

Smith. Σιωπᾶν (also *Ep.* 10.1) should be understood as a physical behaviour, as distinguished from the notion of ‘being quiet’/ἡσυχάζειν (*Ep.* 9.1); it creates the impression of solemnity so as to retain the dramatic tension between seriousness and playfulness: cf. Xen. *Symp.* 1.11 with Halliwell 2008: 139–54. By the same token, γελᾶν (also *Ep.* 10.10) refers to the non-verbal response, i.e. the body language (vs. μειδᾶν/‘smile’), and the point is that Leptines has been an object of ridicule at whom the crowd always roared with laughter; for general treatment of this subject see Halliwell 1991, 2008, esp. pp. 215–63, 520–3, 2017; Spatharas 2006. On the use of silence in the orators as device to signify the character of a moderate speaker, see Montiglio 2000: 127–32.

Section 8

[1] ὁ serves as the personal pronoun, referring in the Homeric manner to an entity already mentioned, e.g. *Il.* 1.12, 29; *Od.* 4.655 (“anaphoric” use). In Attic prose the article is always joined with some other word, and one would expect ὁ δέ (‘but he’: *Ep.* 10.7, 10), picking up αὐτοῦ (§ 7), or ὃς/ὅ in the nominative. See also *GG*: 284 § 1100, 286 §§ 1112, 1114; Schironi 2002: 153–4; Colvin 2007: 224; Peters 2014: 14–6, 48–9.

[2] τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ γέλωτος εἶναι δοκεῖν ἅμα καὶ μίσους ἄξιος: accusative of respect; it is obvious that the author knows and imitates τὸ...παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις...ἄξιος τοῦ ὁμοιοπαθεῖν ἐκείνοις γεγονέναι at *Ep.* 3.3. Ps.-Aeschines may also make a display of ἄξιος, the anticipation in Dem. 20 of Leptines’ argument against certain men’s worthiness to be reward the *ateleia*. And the implication is that benefactors of Athens deserve to receive honours (say, τὸ ἀξίωμα) and wrongdoers such as Leptines (*sc.* ἀνάξιοί τινες) only ridicule: cf. Dem. 20.1–2, 46, 56–57, 97–98, 113, 122–123, 131–133, 142, 164–165; see also Harris 2008: 22 n. 22; Kremmydas 2007b: 27–34, 2012: 180–1, 418–9; Canevaro 2016a:

77–97; Domingo Gygax 2016: 40–3, 169. Further on μῖσος, see *Ep.* 2.3 n. 1.

[3] **πάνυ φοβῆ τὴν θάλατταν** reminds us of Aeschines' storm-tossed sails in Letter 1. Here fear is superstitious (of shipwrecks, pirates, and so forth) and follows the narrative tradition of seafaring, e.g. *Ep.* 10.10; *Od.* 5.408–423; *Ap.Rhod. Arg.* 2.408–418; *Plut. Mor.* 165d; *D.Chrys. Or.* 64.11; *Ov. Pont.* 2.7.5–14; *Val.Fl. Arg.* 1.487–497; see also Romm 1992: 16–7, 20–6. It should be noted that although emotional arguments can be used to provoke a reaction (*sc.* ἀφίκοιο παρ' ἡμᾶς ποτε), *phobos* is not necessarily an indication of cowardice and works often as a deliberative judgment about danger and evil: cf. *Xen. Mem.* 4.6.10; *Arist. Rh.* 2.5.1 1382a21–26, 2.5.14 1383a7; *EN* 3.7.5–7 1115b17–28 with Konstan 2006: 129–55, 2007: 417; Fortenbaugh 2002: 15; Patera 2013, esp. pp. 117–9.

[4] **ἀφίκοιο παρ' ἡμᾶς ποτε, καὶ παρασχὼν σαυτὸν ἰδεῖν ἡμῖν ἐπανίους πάλιν:** the theme of sending an invitation recurs in Letter 8 and is likewise characterised by a note of complaint. It is worth mentioning that in Letter 8 there is a tendency to use the verbs of coming/going with πρὸς ἡμᾶς (× 4) as an alternative to 'παρά + accusative' ('to the side of'): cf. § 2; *Thuc.* 4.122.1; *Pl. Prt.* 318d; *Strab.* 2.5.33; *Luc. Syr.* 26 (parodying *Hdt.* 3.118.1); see also LSJ: *s.v.* παρά C.I.1.

Letter 6

Prefatory note

Letter 6 is a recommendation for Ariston, Aeschines' Rhodian friend en route to Athens. Like the ancient letter of reference (συστατική ἐπιστολή/*litterae commendaticiae*) in general, it introduces the person recommended, the background and the request in succession, and fills the recommendatory content with epideictic conventions: see Kim 1972; Trapp 2003: 38–42, 86–94, 236–45; Rees 2007; Muir 2009: 57–61; Reinard 2016: 88–96; Sarri 2018: 176–9 for examples and further discussion; cf. also Intro. 1.1.

Many general themes developed in the letter are echoed by [Chion.] *Ep.* 2, a similar short *Briefroman* dated to the late first century CE, and cf. Düring 1951: 90, 94, 115; Konstan and Mitsis 1970: 258; Malosse 2004: 100–4; Rosenmeyer 2006: 54; Christy 2016: 259 n. 1. In both letters the men being recommended are said to be travelling on business, and the writers, claiming that in the host cities they were entertained by these traders, regard them as worthy of equally good receptions in their own countries. These similarities are interesting notwithstanding, and may, but need not, point to an intertextual possibility. Ideologically, Ps.-Chion of Heracles (*Ep.* 2.1) laid emphasis on the reciprocal obligations by using relevant terms such as χρηστός (cf. *Ep.* 2.3 n. 3) and χάρις (cf. *Ep.* 7.1 n. 5), whereas in Ps.-Aeschines there is none. Thematically, Ariston serves also as the bearer of the letter, and mentioning such a figure (as courier, messenger, etc.) Ps.-Aeschines creates the impression of a regular exchange of letters, thus displaying a rather common intention for a 'continuous' narrative within the letter-collection, and cf. e.g. [Them.] *Epp.* 3.2–3, ll. 5–11, 8.27, ll. 123–128, 20.2, ll. 3–5, 21.2, l. 8 Hercher; [Chion] *Ep.* 9.1; Luc. *VH.* 2.35–36 with Intro. 4.2; equally illustrative in this respect is the closing remark ἔστιν ἔτι τις Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνου μνήμη καὶ λόγος, which is adapted from αὖ πάλιν ὑπέλθη

με λογισμός τε καὶ μνήμη τῶν αὐτόθι at *Ep.* 5.6: both are characteristic of the *Briefromane* and encourage us to establish an intra-textual connection.

The imaginary addressee is extremely dubious. Since Philocrates was condemned to death *in absentia* already in 343 BCE, he could by no means have stayed in Athens to receive Ariston. A possible explanation, if we assume that Ps.-Aeschines is attentive to historicity, is that the title as found in MSS. **HZ** was added by a later, careless compiler. See also Intro. 3.3.1.

Commentary

Title

Αἰσχίνης Φιλοκράτει: a shortened form of the opening greeting ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν; see *Ep.* 1.Tit. n.

Section 1

[1] **Ἀρίστων:** a common name of which the *LGPN* I/II collects nearly five hundred attestations. The figure in question (*LGPN* I no. 190) is obscure, but one might be tempted to regard him as a clerk dealing with the collection of monies for a Rhodian association (*koinon*) to which both he himself and his in-law belong: cf. Bogaert 1968: 214–6; Gabrielsen 1997: 83–4, 184 n. 95. Equally possible is that Ps.-Aeschines makes a pun on ἄριστος to balance ὁ πρῶτος ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς ὑποδεξάμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ, and cf. Thuc. 7.39.2 (with Hornblower 1991–2008: III, p. 616); Pl. *Resp.* 580c; Plut. *Nic.* 20.8; Stob. 4.1.120; Lib. *Ep.* 1200.3.

[2] **κομίσας...πέπλευκε:** both tenses denote the instantaneous present action, and the protagonist is supposed to put himself in the position of the recipient who views the action as past ('epistolary tenses': *GG*: 433 § 1942; Holzberg 2003c: 161). See

also *Ep.* 11.2 n. 3.

[3] **χρεία**: Schwegler (1913: 34) argued that *χρεία* may denote generally a job (Lat. *negotium*) in the post-Classical manner, but Ps.-Aeschines might have used it literally and suggests that Ariston's in-law has to make such a request because of his old age (*sc.* κηδεστοῦ γέροντος): cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 481; Thuc. 1.37.1. Admittedly, *κατὰ χρεῖαν* is *per se* attested only in later sources, e.g. Joseph. *AJ.* 5.282, 16.45; Luc. *Bis acc.* 1, *Philops.* 6; Xen.*Ephes.* 3.11.2.

[4] **τοῦ τραπεζίτου Χαρμόλα**: 'Charmolas' is a rare name, attested remarkably for a Tyrian sculptor (*LGPN* I no. 1) who received citizenship in Hellenistic Rhodes, e.g. *SEG* 39.750, 58.817; *I.Lindos* 285, 305 with Badoud 2010; *SEG* 68.885. The particular figure cannot be pinpointed, but here he is supposed to be a merchant-moneylender. Bogaert (1968: 85–6) entertained the possibility of a historical figure on the grounds that Alciphron (*Epp.* 1.13.4, 2.36.Tit.) addressed in a similar vein the famous banker Pasion in the 'comic' letters; see also Costa 2001: 136; de Dios 2002: 617 n. 30.

The 'banker' theme conforms to the fact that epistolary writings played some part in banking activities already in pre-Hellenistic Greece. Particularly instructive is the comparison with a lead letter that might have been sent by Pasion: in it the banker likewise mentioned men who appeared to be in default of payment (μετελθὲν...ὡς παρ' ἐμὲ ἀδικῶσι καὶ ἐπιβόλεύουσι...καὶ μὴ πρότερον [πρ]οστελεσθῆναι: *SEG* 53.256), and cf. *SEG* 42.1750; Millet 1991: 259 n. 27, 267 n. 9; Jordan 2003; Sosin 2008; Muir 2009: 14–5; Eidinow and Taylor 2010: 35–42; Ceccarelli 2013b: 46, 353–4. Notice, too, that banking business figures in the life of itinerant people such as exiles and traders: Themistocles is alleged to have written two letters to his banker about a transfer of funds to Ephesus ([Them.] *Epp.* 6–7). See also Millet 1991: 208–12.

[5] **σκόπει οὖν ὅπως**: lit. 'so, cast about in your mind how...'; cf. Pl. *Euthd.* 304b; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1.47; [Them.] *Ep.* 2.10, l. 39 Hercher; Lib. *Epp.* 214.4, 325.3, 1142.2.

[6] **πρέπων ἡμῖν** is reminiscent of Heracles' speech to Admetus at Eur. *Alc.* 1121–1122: βλέψον πρὸς αὐτήν, εἴ τι σῆ δοκεῖ πρέπειν γυναικί ('look in her face, whether she at all resembles your wife'). See also Reiske 1771: 675 n. 68.

[7] **καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπράξεις** comes seemingly from τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ ζύμπρασσε at Soph. *Aj.* 1396, and καὶ is likewise used to stress a second idea, not to connect it with the former one ('do', 'might': *GP*: 321–3). Τὰ ἄλλα, then, is an accusative of respect: cf. τὴν δίαίταν below and *Ep.* 5.7 n. 4.

[8] **ἔρημον φίλων**: a literary *topos*, e.g. Eur. *Med.* 253–256, 510–513, *Heracl.* 551; Pl. *Phd.* 58c; Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.24, *Cyr.* 4.5.27; Plut. *Ant.* 16.3; [Pl.] *Ep.* 1 310a. In the orators we find only one attestation, which is used to contrast with πολύφιλος (Lys. 8.7), but Demosthenes' claim that 'I was quite alone in the world and a mere lad' (κάγῳ τότε παντάπασιν ἔρημος ὢν καὶ νέος κομιδῆ) was glossed as βοηθείας δηλονότι καὶ φίλων (*sc.* ἔρημος ὢν: Schol. Dem. 21.80 = Dilts 261). Here the connotation may be an empty – or confiscated – house, and cf. analogously *Ep.* 9.2; Soph. *El.* 1405; Eur. *Andr.* 78, *Heracl.* 430; [Them.] *Ep.* 13.7, ll. 25–28 Hercher. In theme it also echoes the 'civic friendship' in Letters 2 and 5: see *Ep.* 2.2 n. 7.

[9] **ὑπέλαβεν** is a *variatio* of ὑποδέχεσθαι above (× 2), and cf. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*: *s.v.* ὑπέλαβεν (edd. K. Latte, P.A. Hansen and I.C. Cunningham, IV, 107). In Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.1.7) it is used to refer to the protection of exiles: see LSJ: *s.v.* ὑπολαμβάνω A.II.

[10] **ἔστιν ἔτι τις Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνου μνήμη καὶ λόγος** is adapted from αὐτὸς πάλιν ὑπέλθη με λογισμός τε καὶ μνήμη τῶν αὐτόθι at *Ep.* 5.6. The 'forger' seems to recognise the obscurity caused by λογισμός ('calculation'), and so substitutes it with a more generic term ('talk', 'reputation', etc.); this is also a sign of multiple authorship. For self-reference as a mark of internal narrator, cf. *Epp.* 2.5, 3.2, 12.16.

Letter 8

Prefatory note

Letter 8 continues the story of Letter 5. It describes within a narrative sequence Philinus' departure for Rhodes (*Ep.* 5.6), expands upon Aeschines' note to an invitee to visit Rhodes (*Ep.* 5.8), and serves justifiably as a sequel to the previous epistolary fictions. The letter of invitation is rather common in the Greco-Roman world, and a by-product of it is what scholars would call the 'invitation poem', such as *Anthologia Graeca* 11.44 (= Phld. *Epigr.* 27 Sider; *PG* 3302–3309) and Hor. *Ep.* 1.5 (= Trapp 2003, no. 23): see Edmunds 1982; Trapp 2003: 38–42, 82–7, 228–36; Muir 2009: 40–3; Sarri 2018: 37–40 for examples and further discussion; cf. also Intro. 1.1.

The letter consists mainly of two μὲν-δέ parataxes, with an ample repetition of ἀφικνεῖσθαι/ἔλθειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (× 4), while the complaint about, and jibe at, the invitee's shirking is gracefully expressed in so brief a chapter. This accords in some way to the epistolary theory that a good letter should be written in a plain and elegant style as a practical composition, e.g. [Demetr.] *de Eloc.* 235: ἡ ἐπιστολὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἐκ δυοῖν χαρακτήρων τούτων, τοῦ τε χαρίεντος καὶ τοῦ ἰσχυοῦ, and cf. Malherbe 1988: 2; Kennedy 1994: 89–90; Trapp: 2003: 43–4, 316–7.

Commentary

Section 1

[1] ἀφίξει πρὸς ἡμᾶς shows a tendency to substitute the verbs of coming/going with πρὸς ἡμᾶς (× 4) for those with παρ' ἡμᾶς (*Ep.* 5.8), and πρὸς may express purpose (LSJ: *s.v.* πρὸς C.III.3; cf. *Ep.* 11.4) or simply motion towards an object, e.g. Xen. *Cry.* 5.3.42; [Dem.] 45.72; [Pl.] *Ep.* 9 357d. This is perhaps a sign of multiple

authorship, but it should be noted that Lucian, for instance, used in his works both expressions: cf. Luc. *D.Iud.* 4, *Syr.* 26, *Laps.* 1.

[2] **αἰτιᾶ**: elsewhere in the letter-collection αἰτιᾶσθαι is used as a legal term for the action of accusing and charging (= κατηγορεῖν); cf. *Epp.* 11.4, 12.6; Schol. Aeschin. 1.86 (= Dilts 190a, 190b). Here it implies that the addressee has just made an excuse for his shirking: cf. Pl. *Resp.* 329b, *Prot.* 333d; Dem. 18.263; Aeschin. 3.228; *Suda*: AI 372 with LSJ: *s.v.* αἰτιάομαι A.II.1; *BDAG*: *s.v.* αἰτιάομαι 1.A. For the complaint about the addressee's lukewarm reception as a literary *topos*, cf. e.g. [Dem.] 12.1; P.Oxy. 48.3396, ll. 4–7 (c. 330–385 CE); P.Oxy. 48.3397, ll. 3–4 (c. 330–385 CE) with Hutchinson 2007:31.

[3] **δίκας** may refer to any type of lawsuit (= ἄγων); see *Ep.* 12.2 n. 3.

[4] **Νικίας...καὶ Ἀνδρωνίδας**: nothing more is known of the two figures, but in Letter 12 they are perhaps referred to as Aeschines' acquaintances (δύο γνώριμοι); see *Ep.* 12.11 n. 4. 'Nicias' is a rather common name. 'Andronidas' (Att. Ἀνδρωνίδης) is rare, attested remarkably as a pro-Roman Achaean in Polybius (*LGPN* III.A no. 1; *RE* 1: 2161); a search in the Rhodian inscriptions yields two entries, one of which (*LGPN* I no. 2) had been a priest of Poseidon Hippios at Lindus in 289 BCE and was interestingly identified as the son of a Philinus (*LGPN* I no. 90): see *Lindiaka* VI 18, l. 42, and cf. Dignas 2003: 265. Noticeable in this context is that Demosthenes referred to Aeschines' in-law, Philo (*LGPN* II nos. 158 + 16 [*s.v.* Νικίας]; *PA* 10776 + 14862; *PAA* 711700 + 955865; *APF*: 547), as 'the degenerate "Nicias"' (Νικίου τε τοῦ βδελυροῦ) to contrast his military career with that of the great Athenian general: cf. Dem. 18.312, 19.287; Aeschin. 2.150 with Schäfer 1885–7: I, pp. 231–2 (an attempt to propose a real homonymous figure); Wankel 1976: 1320; Harris 1986; Paulsen 1999: 269–70; MacDowell 2000a: 329. We should entertain the possibility that Ps.-Aeschines is using commendatory nicknames in like manner: so 'descendant of the courageous' for Ἀνδρωνίδας.

[5] **Φιλίνο**: this figure is supposed to be a mutual friend of Aeschines and the

addressee; see *Ep.* 5.6 n. 4 for further discussion.

[6] **λυθείη ὁ πόλεμος:** a recurrent expression in the narrative tradition of war, e.g. Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F 13 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 72.39a); Thuc. 5.31.2; Din. 1.28; Polyb. 24.5.8; D.S. 12.63.4. Here it refers metaphorically to the personal conflict, particularly an outburst from Aeschines, and cf. Soph. *El.* 217–220.

[7] **ἀνιάσομαι:** since a stronger sense is meant to balance πόλεμος above, ἀνιᾶν is preferable to read for ἀνιάζειν ('to feel distressed/grieved'); cf. also *GG*: 222 § 815.

Letter 9

Prefatory note

Letter 9 describes within a narrative sequence Aeschines' visit to the Rhodian *Peraea*. It is almost certain that the letter is written as a finale to the previous *Briefroman* (*Epp.* 1, 5, 6, 8). Particularly remarkable in this respect is the recurrence of epistolary convention in the concluding section: ἔρρωσο. It invites comparison with the final greeting of Letter 1 (εὐτύχει...ἔρρωσο), and thereby can be viewed as a narrative motif that completes a circle. Such a 'stylistic' principle is applied in like manner to the *Briefroman* attributed to Themistocles and Chion of Heraclea and, interestingly, we find in the latter a comment that 'I am sure I am speaking to you (*sc.* Plato) now for the last time' (προσαγορεύω δέ σε ὕστατα, ὡς πείθομαι): see [Them.] *Ep.* 21.2, l. 10 Hercher; [Chion] *Ep.* 17.3 with Rosenmeyer 2006: 52–3. Themes such as the asthma attack (*Ep.* 1.4–5) and land purchasing (*Ep.* 5.2), too, are reproduced to structure a coherent story.

Ps.-Aeschines shows in the letter a remarkable knowledge of the Rhodian *Peraea*. He offers us vivid descriptions of its landscape, especially the town 'Sandy Ground'. There are also interesting accounts in the epigraphic evidence which can be compared with the evidence of the letter on the town's political attachment to the federal state (§ 1) and management of land (§ 2) in the (pre-)Hellenistic period. On the whole, Letter 9 is a key asset to tackle the development of Rhodes' coastal territory, and has thus attracted plenty of attention in recent scholarship: see Fraser and Bean 1954: 19, 57, 97; Bresson 1991: 14, 2016: 156–7; Wiemer 2002a: 69 n. 35; Badoud 2011: 544–7; Blakely 2015 (= *BNJ* 273 F 23).

Commentary

Section 1

[1] **περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ Φύσκον, ἡσυχάσας ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν:** Physcus is a city of Caria in Rhodes' coastal territory, near the modern town of Marmaris. The account corresponds to the epigraphic evidence that Physcus and (perhaps) Amos were under the titular leadership of Lindus already in the late Classical period: *I.Lindos* 51, col. ii ll. 17–64; see also *IACP*: 1110; Fraser and Bean 1954: 57, 66–7, 79, 97; Bean 1980: 132; Berthod 1984: 41–2; Bresson 1991: 55–64; Rice 1999: 46; Wiemer 2002a: 69 n. 35, 2010: 419; Badoud 2011: 544–7. Περαιοῦσθαι, with emphasis on the notion of *peraea*, is to be distinguished from διαπλεῖν (*Ep.* 1.5).

The account *per se* is to be understood literally, but we may establish an intertextual connection with Philostratus' notice that 'taking up his abode in Caria and Rhodes...Aeschines led a certain course of life and sacrificed to peace and the Muses' (Καρία δὲ ἐνομιλήσας καὶ Ῥόδῳ...αὐτοῦ διητᾶτο θύων ἡσυχία τε καὶ Μούσαις: *VS.* 1.481–509) inasmuch as Caria recurs nowhere else as Aeschines' refuge. Ἠσυχάζειν, too, may exert an influence on Philostratus' characterisation. The word may have the connotation of tranquil life (βίος θεωρητικός/*vita contemplativa*) and could be associated with the debate over the question whether an exile should be 'quiet' or politically active; ideologically it may echo the discussions about meddlesomeness (τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν) and decency (τὰ μέτρια) at *Epp.* 1.4, 11.1, 12.1–2, thereby conveying the notion of political peace (ἡσυχία) and the position of 'quietist' (ἀπράγμων) as opposed to the democratic abuses such as *hybris* and *sykophantia*: cf. Pind. *Ol.* 4.16, *Pyth.* 8.1–3, fr. 109 Maehler; Thuc. 1.70.8–9, 2.40.2; Isoc. 15.151; Dem. 10.72–73, 18.308, 19.80; Aeschin. 1.1–3, 3.216–218; D.S. 18.10.1; [Chion] *Epp.* 3.5, 13.3, 16.4–7 with Adams 1919: 5 n. 2; Ehrenberg 1947; Düring 1951: 87, 104–5; Dickie 1984; Carter 1986: 26–51 and *passim*; Landucci

Gattinoni 2008: 69; Leigh 2013: 48–50; Gray 2015: 227–8, 299. See also Intro. 1.3.1, 1.3.2; *Ep.* 12.11 n. 2.

[2] ἀλλὰ μηκυνεῖν ἔδοξεν ἢ περὶ τὸ ἄσθμα νόσος, ὡς τὴν νύκτα ἐνέδωκε καὶ ῥάων ἐγενόμην, βαδίσας εἰς τὴν Ἄμμον ἐπεῖδον τὰ χωρία...μοι ἔδοξε καλὰ...καὶ ποικίλα...καὶ ἄμπελοι συχναί: cf. analogously ὅπου (*sc.* a Rhodian sea-port) νοσησαί με συνέβη τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄσθμα νόσον. ὡς δὲ ἐπιμείναντός μου αὐτόθι οὐκ ἐνεδίδου ἢ νόσος, διέπλευσα εἰς Ῥόδον at *Ep.* 1.4–5. The so-called ‘Sandy Ground’ (*IACP* no. 872) was a Carian city, on Asarcik hill. The toponym came apparently from the Greek word ‘sandy’ (ἄμμος), but more often it was Ἄμος: see also Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1905: 147; de Dios 2002: 631 n. 58. The city lies southwest of Phycus and was likewise attached to Lindus. Despite being a hill-site, it held a strategic position at the mouth of the bay of Marmaris, and the defence works were built already in the early fourth century BCE. The grape cultivation was in all likelihood directed by the federal state for export trade. Notice, moreover, that although ποικίλος may denote the productivity of Amos (not generally true these days), in theme it is seemingly reminiscent of *Ep.* 1.3, which relates Aeschines’ adventure in a foreign tribe of ‘tattooed people’. See also *SEG* 43.693; Fraser and Bean 1954: 6–24, 57, 80, 94–7, 125–6; Bean 1980: 132–3; Berthod 1984: 41–2; Bresson 1991: 76–83; Salviat 1993; McNicoll with Milner 1997: 224–7; Rice 1999: 46–50; Blakely 2015 (= *BNJ* 273 F 23).

The description of the rural landscape has drawn much scholarly attention, despite providing only a very basic account. For instance, it may contradict epigraphic evidence that at Amos there existed only sacred land owned by a sanctuary (ἱερὰ γῆ), and therefore indicates that private lessors did figure in the management of land. This would be more significant if, hesitantly, we assumed that χωρία refers to the estate belonging to a private individual, as we read at Thuc. 1.106.1; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.1; Lys. 7.4; Is. 10.24 (cf. § 2; *Epp.* 5.2, 12.11): cf. *SEG* 14.683–685 (= *I.Peraia* 352–354; Bresson 1991, nos. 49–51), 52.1029–1030; see also Fraser and Bean 1954: 13–20,

esp. p. 19; Rice 1999: 46; Chaniotis and Mylonopoulos 2005: 435; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2016: 52, 64. On the other hand, it is difficult to ascertain how reliable the information of the letter may be for the pre-/early-Hellenistic period.

[3] **σπόριμα**: perhaps of grain and legumes; see Salviat 1993: 161; Bresson 2016: 156. Epigraphic evidence reported that the lessee at Amos also planted fig-trees, e.g. *SEG* 14.684, ll. 10–15 (= *I.Peraia* 353; Bresson 1991, no. 40).

[4] **ἐπαύλιον δὲ οὐδὲ μέτριον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐρείπια**: this passage may tell against the authenticity of the letter. Stylistically: ἐπαύλιον (etym. ἐπαυλίζομαι) would be comparable to the ἔπαυλις or ἔπαυλος, meaning ‘sleeping-place’ or ‘farm-building’, but the word occurs down to the early Hellenistic period, e.g. *SIG* 344, l. 98 (= Welles 1934, no. 3); Callim. fr. 263 Pfeiffer (= fr. 257 Asper; *Hecale* fr. 80 Hollis); Plut. *Mor.* 508d; *Suda*: E 1990, and cf. LSJ: *s.vv.* ‘ἐπαυλ-’; Campbell 1969: 293–4; ἐρείπιον was employed by the major tragedians and Herodotus, whereas we have only one attestation in Attic prose at Arist. *Rh.* 3.11.12 1413a6–7. Thematically, stating that Amos was in ruins contradicts the description of its agricultural development; according to an Amian inscription *c.* 200 BCE, a lessee was required to build farmhouses (οικήματα) at the minimum of 25 *podes* in length and 20 in width ($8 \times 6.4 \text{ m}^2 = 0.005$ hectares): see *SEG* 14.683, ll. 25–27 (= *I.Peraia* 352; Bresson 1991, no. 49) with *SEG* 52.1029 (suggesting eight *podes* in width); Fraser and Bean 1954: 12–20. It is also generally accepted that in Rhodes’ continental territories rural settlement was becoming dense already in the fourth century BCE, e.g. Bresson 2016: 156–7. Ps.-Aeschines is either misinformed or likely to allude to the wreckage of an unrecorded earthquake or siege *c.* 320s BCE.

Section 2

[1] **ἐδέξατο...ἡμᾶς ὁ Μυρωνίδης φιλανθρώπως σφόδρα**: for the reception of Aeschines in Rhodes, cf. *Epp.* 1.5, 5.1, 6.1. Myronides is not otherwise identified,

but the name itself might be ‘Myonides’ (*LGPN* I no. 8), peculiar to the Rhodians, e.g. *IG XII* 1 72b; *SEG* 51.1542: so Wilamowitz.

[2] **μέντοι** is used parenthetically in positive assent (‘yes’, ‘you know’); see *GP*: 399–402; *LSJ*: *s.v.* μέν B.II.4.b.

[3] **τὰ...χωρία δυοῖν τάλάντων ἐπριάμην** finds an echo at *Ep.* 12.11, and the ‘forger’, parodying the theme of Aeschines’ ambassadorial (mis)conducts, adds that the money is equivalent to what a man hired by the Macedonians could pay. In both passages Aeschines is supposed to be granted the privilege of *enktesis*: see *Ep.* 5.2 n. 1.

An account as such is dubious, since two talents are enough to purchase 200 *plethra* of land (= 20 hectares), a property four times as much as what is necessary to qualify for hoplite status; a man in that position is distinctly rich in Athens, and κεκτημένος βραχέα below would give a mere impression of poor-mouthing: cf. *Ep.* 12.8 n. 2. Alternatively, the ‘forger’ might perhaps allude to the total amount. We know from an Amian inscription *c.* 200 BCE that a fifty-year lease of temple-land can be valued at two talents (240 drachmas per annum), though the description of its size is irrecoverable: see *SEG* 14.683, ll. 5–6 (= *I.Peraia* 352; Bresson 1991, no. 49) with Fraser and Bean 1954: 12–20; Salviat 1993: 151–2; Lund 2011: 286.

[4] **ἐπαύλιόν τι μηχανῶμαι τοιοῦτον οἶον...μηχανώμην**: probably a Latinised repetition; cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 4.3, 5.3, 10.6 with Intro. 3.4.1 (ii).

[5] **μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ...**: i.e. ‘not...at all’; see *Ep.* 12.16 n. 6.

[6] **ἔρρωσο**: closing remark of the entire *Briefromane*; see the prefatory note.

Commentary on the Pindaric exegesis

Letter 4

Prefatory note

Letter 4 is an exegesis of Letter 5. It mixes Pindaric praise with scholarly investigation, and concerns primarily the lineage of Cleocrates, Aeschines' benefactor in Rhodes. Ps.-Aeschines has Pindar very much in mind, but it should be noted that his literary engagement is not mechanically confined to the poet. The transitional section (§ 4), for example, is marked by an anti-Platonic monologue about the poetical way of persuasion. One is tempted to imagine a bookish 'forger' that worked enthusiastically on both Pindar and Plato; see Intro. 3.3.2, 4.3 for further discussion.

Commentary

Section 1

[1] ἄκουε: the imperative may bring readers to the act of listening to a Pindaric epinicion, vaguely reminiscent of the opening proclamation of the *Pythian 6*, which assumes the form of a herald cry (ἀκούσατε/'oyez'); cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.13, 6.1; *PMG* 755, l. 6 (= Plut. *Alc.* 11.3) with Gildersleeve 1890: 316; Burton 1962: 15; Greengard 1980: 64; Gentili *et al.* 2006: 541; Morrison 2007b: 81–2, 2012: 129–30. It may also pick up δοκεῖ σοι πυνθάνεσθαι, meaning 'I will let you know as you please', used for the sake of variation (μεταβολή/*variatio*): see D.H. *Pomp.* 3 (citing Pind. *Nem.* 7.52); Quint. 4.2.118, 9.3.38 (= Caecilius fr. 69 Ofenloch), and cf. *Ep.* 7.1 n. 1.

[2] Κλεοκράτης (*LGPN* I no. 2) is known exclusively from Letters 4 and 5. For

further discussion see n. 9 below (with fig. 1) and *Ep.* 5.1 n. 6.

[3] **παύση γὰρ οὐ προῖκα:** i.e. ‘in the end [your curiosity] will be rewarded’. The explanatory γὰρ is perhaps used in the Pindaric manner after an expression ‘conveying a summons to attention’ (*GP*: 59), namely ἄκουε, and cf. *Ol.* 14.5, *Pyth.* 4.14, 6.1 with *Lex.Pind.* s.v. γὰρ 1.d; Braswell 1988: 79, 161–62. Προῖκα is an accusative of respect, and cf. *Epp.* 3.3, 5.5, 7, 8, 6.1, 11.7, 13.

[4] **πολυπραγμονῶν** refers to the act of being a curious inquirer (= ζητῶν: § 2), in the post-Classical manner. Elsewhere in the letter-collection it refers to the act of being a ‘meddler’ (*Epp.* 1.4, 11.1): see Intro. 3.3.2. The notion of curiosity also applies in the post-Classical era to novel-writing, i.e. the plots of curious figures, and to novel-reading, i.e. men who desire to know, as here; see Hunter 2008a: 884–96 (= *id.* 2009b).

[5] **μὲν γάρ:** here and below (§§ 2, 5), γάρ introduces an embedded narrative as well as a particular reason for saying what has just been said; cf. *Epp.* 1.5, 10.1, 12.11 with *GP*: 60–1; de Jong 1997; for Pindaric examples see *Ol.* 4.10, *Pyth.* 2.25, 4.14, *Nem.* 9.13, *Isthm.* 1.17 with *Lex.Pind.* s.v. γάρ 1.c. Μέν, under the scope of γάρ, is answered by ἀλλά (§ 2), and cf. Pind. *Ol.* 9.1–5, 50–51, *Pyth.* 1.22–23 with *GP*: 5–6; LSJ: s.v. μὲν A.II.6, B.I.2, while in Pindar the whole expression is always followed by a δέ-clause: cf. *Ol.* 2.48–49, 7.23–24, *Pyth.* 4.272–275, 8.25–28 with Pfeijffer 1999: 506.

[6] **τὸ...γένος** refers to the inborn nature, and the Pindaric equivalences are φύα, σύγγονος, and συγγενής: cf. Rose 1974: 152–3; Longo 1984; Donlan 1999: 95–105; see also §§ 4, 6 with Intro. 3.3.2. Grammatically it is preferable to expound τὸ γένος as an accusative that explains in what respect Cleocrates is outstanding: cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 460 with *GG*: 360 § 1601(b); for attestation in Pindar see *Pyth.* 9.14a with Clapp 1901: 29–31.

[7] **ἅπαντων ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων** is employed to envisage a panhellenic audience, like the Pindaric panegyric, e.g. *Ol.* 1.115b–116, *Pyth.* 7.7–8, *Nem.* 6.26, *Isthm.*

4.36b, fr. 52d.22–23, 52f.62, 70b.25, 76.2 (= § 2): Ch. 2 of Nagy 1990 remains seminal in recent scholarship; see also *CAH*: V, pp. 223–44. In other words, Cleocrates' family enjoyed a panhellenic reputation.

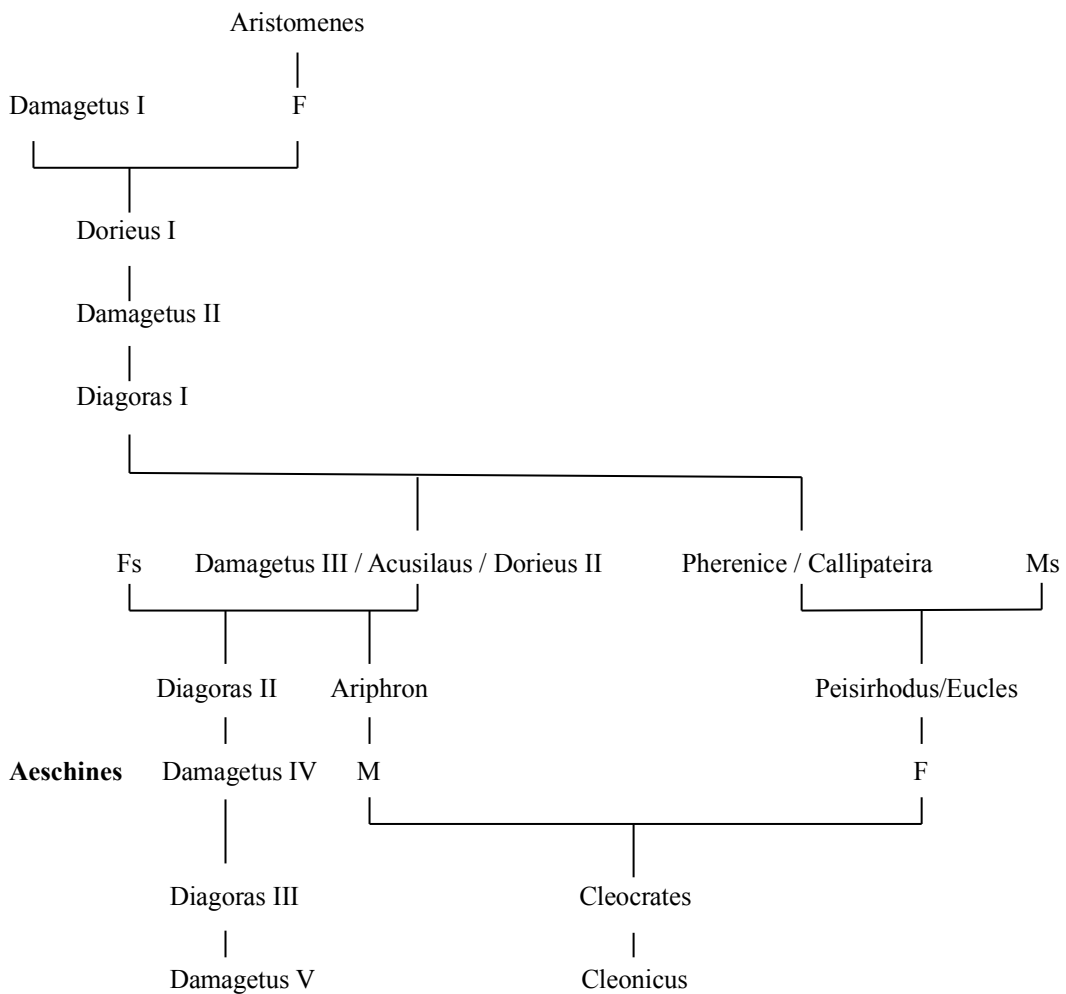
In this context ἀνήρ may have the connotation of a hero, and cf. *Ol.* 7.72, *Nem.* 7.64 with Woodbury 1979: 123–4; Carey 1981: 162 (noting that in Pindar this occurs only in mythical narrative); cf. also *Ep.* 12.9 n. 3.

[8] οὐκ...ἀφανεστάτοις is designed for an elegant understatement ('litotes'; *GG*: 610 § 2694, 680 § 3032); see also *Epp.* 11.1, 2 (× 2), 6, 7, 12.4. This, too, is characteristic of the Pindaric panegyric, e.g. *Ol.* 7.93, 8.19, 11.17–18, *Pyth.* 8.36, 10.19, *Nem.* 3.15, *Isthm.* 3.14 with Köhnken 1976; Ch. 3 of Race 1990.

[9] Ἀρίφρονα τὸν ἐκ Δαμαγήτου...ὄν που καὶ ὁ μέγας αἴρει Πίνδαρος: cf. Pind. *Ol.* 7.13–20. Damagetus II (*LGPN* I no. 13) is the father of Diagoras I, progenitor of the athletic family in Rhodes (§ 4). The omitted genealogical information can be found in Pausanias (4.24.2–3, 6.7.3): c. 600 BCE Aristomenes gave his youngest daughter in marriage to Damagetus I, king of Ialysus, from whom Dorieus I, Damagetus II and Diagoras I descended in succession. Ariphron (*LGPN* I no.1) is otherwise unknown, but ἐκ may denote the descendent from a father paraphrasing Ἀρίφρονα τὸν Δαμαγήτου: so the *LGPN*, and cf. *Ep.* 3.2 n. 3. There are Pindaric attestations such as *Ol.* 10.86, *Isthm.* 6.45, whereas general references to noble forebears are of a good portion, e.g. *Ol.* 7.23, 91, *Pyth.* 9.14–15, 10.2, *Nem.* 6.1; see also *Lex.Pind.* s.v. ἐκ 1.c.α. If it is reliable on historical grounds that Diagoras I's daughter, the 'old woman' (§§ 4–6), is associated with Cleocrates' maternal side, Cleocrates might perhaps be a consequence of close-kin marriage: cf. Harrison 1968–71: I, pp. 21–4. Since epigraphical evidence suggests that Diagoras I's descendants from Damagetus III, namely Diagoras II and Damagetus V, were eponyms/priests of Helios in BCE 398 and 320 (*SEG* 12.360, col. i l. 11, col. ii l. 13 with Badoud 2015: 157–63, 196, 250–2, 308–11), and that Cleocrates may be the father of Cleonicus, victor of tragedy at the Lenaea c. 260s BCE (*IG* II² 2325, l. 302;

IG VII 275, ll. 5–6 with *Ep.* 5.1 n. 6), I shall, despite the semi-mythical nature of evidence, venture to identify Ariphton as the old woman’s nephew and the grandfather of Cleocrates. Cf. also *IvO* 151–153, 159; *SIG* 82; Thuc. 3.8.1; Arist. fr. 8.44.569 Rose; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7 (ed. A.B. Drachmann, I, 195–9, 205–6); Paus. 6.6.2, 6.7.1–4, 10.9.9; Philostr. *Gym.* 17 with Reiske 1771: 670 n. 50; Böckh 1811–21: II/2, pp. 164–7; Frazer 1898: III, p. 482, IV, pp. 20–1, 25–8; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1922: 360–2; Ch. 8 of Bresson 1979; Pomeroy 1997: 88–9; de Dios 2002: 612 n. 15; Hornblower 2004: 131–45; Cairns 2005; Christesen 2007: 171–2; Smith 2007: 99, 137–8; Giannini 2014: 49–51.

Figure 1. The family of Diagoras



[10] **αἶραι**: Attic equivalent for ἀείρειν ('to raise by words').

Section 2

[1] **ἀλλ'**: 'aye, but', answering μέν (§ 1); see *GP*: 5–6.

[2] **γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνης**: ὀφλισκάνειν, meaning 'to incur', often takes an undesirable object that one brings upon himself, as here (LSJ: *s.v.* ὀφλισκάνω), and cf. analogously ὁ (*sc.* Leptines) μέν δίδωσιν ἀποχρῶσαν δίκην τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις... γέλωτος εἶναι δοκεῖν... ἄξιος at *Ep.* 5.8. Yet the expression is not attested in the orators, and the verb *per se* is normally used as a technical term for defeat in court, e.g. Aeschin. 3.10; Dem. 19.180, 20.9, 21.44. Aeschines might have a preference for ἀπαντᾶν μετὰ γέλωτος ('to meet with laughter'), as we read in the *Against Timarchus* (1.83).

[3] **ζητῶν ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Πίνδαρος** echoes ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης... πολυπραγμονῶν (§ 1).

[4] **μέν** (= μήν/μάν) is used absolutely to emphasise the pronoun, with remarkable poetical attestations, esp. in Homer and Pindar. In the latter the expression usually refers back to the subject in a preceding sentence, e.g. *Ol.* 7.32, *Pyth.* 4.174, *Isthm.* 4.61, but cf. *Isthm.* 6.47. See also *GP*: 359–61; *Lex.Pind.* *s.v.* μέν 1.a.

[5] **Μαντία τῷ γραμματιστῇ** is otherwise unknown, although a curse tablet indicates that a homonymous figure (*LGPN* II no. 13; *PAA* 632515) might perhaps take part in teaching activities in Classical Athens; see *IG* III App. 33 (with *MDAI(A)* 67: 166, no. 345): [τ]ῶν / Μαντία / τοὺς παρὰ Σι[μάλη] <δι>δασ<κ>άλους / πάντας / πάντας παῖδας. One should also mention Mantias of Thoricus (*LGPN* II no. 11; *PA* 9667; *PAA* 632545; *APF*: 364–8), *rhetor* holding property worth over 100 minas (= 10,000 drachmas) according to Dem. 39.3, 7; [Dem.] 40.20; Arist. *Rh.* 2.23.11 1398b2–3, given that the 'forger' may tend to allude to a well-known figure, e.g. *Epp.*

5.6, 7, 7.1–5. Γραμματιστής (lit. ‘one who teaches letters’) refers to the elementary – and usually humble – schoolteacher so as to deride the addressee as being illiterate, and cf. Marrou 1956: 145–7; 1981: 187–92; Cribiore 2001: 50–6. Demosthenes, too, defamed Aeschines’ father for having been a *grammatistes*: cf. Dem. 18.129, 258, 265, 19.249, 281; [Plut.] *Mor.* 840b; *Vitae Aeschin.* 1.2, 6, 2.1 Dilts; Phot. *Bibl.* 264.490b with Ober 1989: 272–3; Harris 1995: 21–9.

[6] ἔμαθες τὸ γράμμα could mean ‘learn to read’, but more commonly we find τὰ γράμματα, e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 325e; Dem. 18.265, 19.249; Arist. *Pol.* 8.2.3 1337b23–24; *Vitae Aeschin.* 1.6, 2.1 Dilts. The reading as transmitted is feasible in reference to a ‘work’ (= σύγγραμμα/βιβλίον), esp. in the epigrammatic expressions: cf. Pl. *Prm.* 127c, 128a; Callim. *Epigr.* 23, 398 Pfeiffer (= 53, 473 Asper); *Anthologia Graeca* 7.471.4, 9.25.1, 9.63.4, 9.184.3, 9.522.1–2; *Epistulae Socraticorum* 22.1 with LSJ: s.v. γράμμα III.3; *HE*: 139, 205.

[7] εἰ μηδενὸς...μνημονεύεις, ἐν γοῦν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις Μελανώπου ἐκάστοτε ἀκούεις λέγοντος seems to be a thematic counterpart of αὖ πάλιν ὑπέλθη με...μνήμη...ἐκκλησίας...μεταρρεῖ ἅπαν τὸ αἶμα ἄλλοσέ ποι τῶν σπλάγχων πάλιν at *Ep.* 5.6.

Here Ps.-Aeschines is referring to Melanopus of Aexone, an imaginary antagonist in the letter-collection (*dolus malus*): see *Ep.* 7.1 n. 3. Rhetorical theory indicates that a speaker could use poetic references to support his own statements whilst holding the risk of being disdainful and fallacious: cf. § 4; *Ep.* 10.1; Aeschin. 1.141; Arist. *Rh.* 1.15.13–17 1375b26–1376a17; Hermog. 2.4, 11 336–338, 402–403 Rabe; [Hermog.] *Meth.* 30 447–448 Rabe; Quint. 1.8.11–12, 6.3.96–97. This may well explain why verbatim quotations are found only in Aeschines (1.128–129, 144, 147–152, 2.144), Lycurgus (1.92–110, 131–133) and Demosthenes (18.267, 289, 19.243, 245, 247, 255) despite the orators’ engagement with poetry in their early education. Such practice is also at the core of the wrangling of the ‘embassy trial’: when Aeschines quoted poems as a surrogate for legal documents, Demosthenes, by mocking these

lines, noted that he had made a pretentious display that would come back to haunt himself; see Dem. 19.243–250; Aeschin. 2.144–145. The whole passage, then, assumes a parodic tone and makes mockery of Melanopus’ strategic performance of a literary *topos*. Cf. also North 1952; Perlman 1964; Ober and Strauss 1990: 250–8; Wilson 1996; Ford 1999; Hesk 1999: 226–9, 2000: 227–31; Fisher 2001: 298; Koning 2010: 76–7, 149–150; Petrovic 2013; Hanink 2014: 29–31, 133–43; Efstathiou 2016.

[8] ὦ τὰι λιπαραὶ καὶ ἀοίδιμοι Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα Ἀθᾶναι: ancient allusions to this poem (Pind. fr. 76–77 Maehler), esp. to its proemial part, as here, are many. Ps.-Aeschines adapts it to add to his playful tone, which is in striking contrast to the later, commendatory use by Plutarch (*Mor.* 350a), Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 1.401 196 Jebb), Philostratus (*Imag.* 2.12.4), Athenaeus (5.12), Ps.-Lucian (*Dem.* 10–11), Libanius (*Decl.* 17.1.26) and the Byzantine lexicographers (Phot. *Bibl.* 242.341b; *Suda*: Σ 799; Eust. *ad Il.* I 437 van der Valk); compare:

ὦ τὰι λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀοίδιμοι,
 Ἑλλάδος ἔρει-
 σμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθᾶναι, δαιμόνιον πτολίεθρον.

-- ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ||
 - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ |

O you, shining and violet-crowned and famed in song,
 bulwark of Greece,
 famous Athens, divine citadel. (Pind. fr. 76 Maehler)

Scholars tend to date these lines to the period after 480 BCE, when the Greeks had won an overwhelming victory in the battle of Salamis and Pindar (c. 518–438 BCE)

was in his forties. No poet before him addressed Athens with such greatness that, if Plutarch's (*Mor.* 232e) statement has any validity, it incurred resentment among the Spartans: see Böckh 1811–21: II/2, pp. 579–80; Cook 1990: 1–2; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1922: 272–3 (proposing a timescale from BCE 475 to 460); Donnay 1964; Hamilton 1990; van der Weiden 1991: 209–10; Ieranò 1997: 107–8, 305–8, 2013: 377–8; Gkourogianis 1999: 138–48; Lavecchia 2000: 279; Zimmermann 2008: 53–4. Isocrates (15.166) cited the 'bulwark of Greece' to compare himself with Pindar as an encomiast of Athens. Although this case attests to the poem's frequent occurrences in the Assembly, it should not be pressed and be deemed evidence for trusting *a priori* such a Pindaric element in the letter attributed to Aeschines, since the *Antidosis* is a fiction of forensic setting, and its author is rather a philosopher and educator: while the other orators confined themselves to the recitation of poetry, Isocrates showed a keen interest in its inspiration for speech-writing; cf. North 1952: 4–6; Perlman 1964: 159–61; Race 1987; Too 2008: 175.

It is more tempting to argue for an Aristophanic tradition. In a similar vein the comedian's adaptations relied heavily on sarcasm, say, in his *Knights* in 424 BCE for Cleon's defeat by a sausage-seller, and a scholiast, probably influenced by Alexandrian scholarship (Dickey 2007: 29), pinpointed its innate character as a parody (ἀπὸ Πινδάρου παρώδηται): see Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1329b (edd. W.J.W. Koster *et al.*, I 2, 268), and cf. Ar. *Nub.* 299, fr. 112.2 PCG with Ieranò 1997: 293, 308–18. Stating that Pindar was honoured 'for only a single phrase' (ὕπερ ἐνὸς μόνου ῥήματος), therefore, Isocrates may have an ulterior motive for criticising the excessive honours the Athenians reserved for an encomiast or flatterer, following the common practice in the fourth century BCE Athens in terms e.g. of τὰ (ἀν)ἄξια, especially if the honorand is a Theban: see also Intro. 3.3.3; *Ep.* 5.8 n. 2. The most illustrative case is still Aristophanes. In the *Acharnians*, which was produced just a year before the *Knights*, he said:

...ὁ ποιητής, παύσας ὑμᾶς ξενικοῖσι λόγοις μὴ λίαν ἐξαπατᾶσθαι, μήθ' ἥδεσθαι θωπευομένους, μήτ' εἶναι χαννοπολίτας. πρότερον δ' ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐξαπατῶντες πρῶτον μὲν ἰοστεφάνους ἐκάλουν· κάπειδὴ τοῦτό τις εἶποι, εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκάθησθε. εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας “λιπαρὰς” καλέσειεν Ἀθήνας, ἤρετο πᾶν ἄν διὰ τὰς λιπαράς...

Our poet (*sc.* the protagonist called ‘Dicaeopolis’)...has stopped you (*sc.* the Athenian people) from being so much **deceived by foreigners’ speeches**, from **being seduced by flattery**, from **being gullible citizens**. Before he did that, the ambassadors from the allied cities who wanted to deceive you would start by calling you ‘**violet-crowned**’; and at the word ‘crowns’ you would promptly sit on the tips of your buttocks (*sc.* in excitement). And if anyone **fawned** on you by calling ‘**shining Athens**’, that ‘shining’ would get him everything... (*Ach.* 633–640)

Although the comedian made no mention of Pindar, his account shows explicitly that the poem had soon become a trick to curry favour. We might be able to conclude that in this passage Ps.-Aeschines has highlighted Pindar’s special merits towards Athens whilst mimicking a demagogic flatterer.

Moving on to the Pindaric topoi. Radt (1958: 103) observed that Pindar first associated ὦ with places, and, as suggested by Meyer (1933: 57–8), with the elaborate appositions it marks an opening invocation in the hymnal style, e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 8.1–3, *Pyth.* 2.1–2, *Pae.* 9.1–2 with Kambylis 1964: 114–5; Carey 1981: 24. Ταί is an epic form, used as article (= αἶ) or demonstrative, e.g. *Il.* 3.5; *Od.* 6.90, 100; Pind. *Ol.* 9.86–87, *Pyth.* 1.18, *Isthm.* 8.52; Aesch. *Per.* 18–19; Soph. *Aj.* 1404; Eur. *Andr.* 284; Ap.Rhod. *Arg.* 1.292, and cf. *Lex.Pind.* s.v. ὦ, ὄ, ὄς C.1.a. Already in the Homeric epic λιπαρός (lit. ‘shiny in grease, with fat’; cf. Aeschin. 2.143 with the scholium *ad loc.* [= Dilts 306]) was used to describe a city such as Troy (*Od.* 13.388),

Sparta (Hes. fr. 196.4 Merkelbach–West), Chios (*Hy.Hom.* 3.38 c. 523 BCE), Thebes (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.3, fr. 196) and even Egypt (Pind. fr. 82), but it looks very much as if Pindar made it a cliché for Athens, perhaps in particular reference to its rich produce of olive-oil: cf. Pind. *Nem.* 4.18–19, *Isthm.* 2.20; Eur. *Alc.* 452, *IT.* 1130–1131, *Tro.* 803; Hdt. 8.77.1; Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 299a, c (edd. W.J.W. Koster *et al.*, I 3¹, 74) with Clapp 1910; Kienzle 1936: 31–2. Αοίδιμος has a passive meaning ‘to be the subject-matter of song’, and cf. *Il.* 6.358; *Hy.Hom.* 3.299; Pind. *Ol.* 14.3–4, *Pyth.* 8.59; Hdt. 2.79.1 with Radt 1958: 105–8; Pfeijffer 1999: 548. Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα appears to highlight Athens’ panhellenic significance (§ 1 n. 7), and it is close to certain that no poet before Pindar applied this building metaphor to places. I suggest that the specific reference – if there is any – may be the Athenian fleet at Salamis, which in the Herodotean/Themistoclean oracle is called the ‘wooden wall’ (τεῖχος ξύλινον), and cf. analogously Hdt. 7.141.3–144.3; [Them.] *Ep.* 8.24, l. 115 Hercher with *CAH*: IV, pp. 541–2; Podlecki 1975: 13–4; Lenardon 1978: 63–7; Evans 1982; Robertson 1987. The Spartans, too, were said to have used (in a sardonic tone) the expression ‘...the Greeks “ride at anchor” on a bulwark like Athens’ (...τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀχουμένην ἐρείσματι τοιούτῳ): see Plut. *Mor.* 232e with LSJ: s.v. ὀχέω II.3; Daude *et al.* 2013: 84. For detailed studies of the poem see van der Weiden 1991: 206–15; Lavecchia 2000: 66–9, 279–82.

The scholia to Aristophanes reported that the ‘original’ poem is dithyrambic: see Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 637 (edd. W.J.W. Koster *et al.*, I 1², 84). The dithyramb is choral hymn in honour of Dionysus (Archil. fr. 120 West = Ath. 14.24; Pind. fr. 128c; Hdt. 1.23), with a variety of metrical structures (and free-standing narrative). Fr. 76 has three epic correptions (καί × 2; κλειναί) and can be described as dactyl-epitritic (– D d² d² – || – –e – d¹ – D – |) but also ‘Aeolic’/non-dactylo-epitritic (Λgl^{3d} || ia Λph 3da |). While it embraces two primary structures, Ps.-Aeschines’ adaptation remains so erratic that allows no satisfactory analysis: cf. van der Weiden 1991: 20–6, 209–10; Lavecchia 2000: 13–8, 79; see also West 1982: xi–xii. Further on this poetic genre

see *BNP* 2: s.v. ‘Dithyramb’; Pickard-Cambridge 1962: 1–59; Sutton 1989: 119–22; D’Angour 1997; Ieranò 1997, esp. pp. 168–70, 187–94; Zimmermann 2008, esp. pp. 22–3, 26–9; Carey 2009: 21–9; D’Alessio 2013; Phillips 2017.

Section 3

[1] τὸ ἔπος τοῦτό...τοῦτο...τὸ ἔπος: probably a Latinised repetition; cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 5.3, 9.2, 10.6 with Intro. 3.4.1 (ii). Ἔπος may have the connotation of ‘proverbial saying’ in view of Pindar’s perpetuating fame, and cf. *Ar. Av.* 939; see also Koller 1972.

[2] ἐζημίωσαν αὐτὸν Θηβαῖοι...οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διπλῆν αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέδοσαν: device of recalling examples of the past, common in the orators; cf. *Epp.* 11.6–8, 12.17. Byzantine scholars such as Eustathius of Thessalonica (*Prooem.Pind.* 28.1 Kambylis = ed. A.B. Drachmann, III, 300 [cf. *op. cit.*, I, 1.16]) mentioned a fine of 1,000 drachmas, and Isocrates (15.166) related that the Athenians gave Pindar a gift of 10,000 drachmas in association with the grant of *proxenia*. Of the latter one may argue for a rhetorical exaggeration, e.g. Race 1987: 131 n. 1, but that Pindar received an extra compensation, virtually like the statue, may reconcile these statements. Noticeably, a scholiast reported that Pytheas of Aegina’s relatives had paid 3,000 drachmas, the equivalent to having a statue made, for Pindar’s epinicion: see *Schol. Pind. Nem.* 5.1a (ed. A.B. Drachmann, III, 89). Libanius’ account (fr. 49.3) that the Thebans stoned Pindar and declared war on Athens is a *prima facie* theme for *meletai*: see also van der Weiden 1991: 209; Ieranò 1997: 306; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 69–73, 356–7. On the subject of reciprocal obligation see § 6 n. 7.

[3] μετὰ τοῦ καὶ εἰκόνη χαλκῆ τιμῆσαι: in the orators ‘μετά + articular infinitive’ is attested only in Demosthenes (× 7), and Aeschines seemed to favour the participial construction. For example, he used πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν

Γνωσίδημον...ἐπαγγελοῦμενον δ' αὐτῷ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα σταθήσεσθαι (3.103) in the allegation that Oreus sent a messenger to bribe Demosthenes with an offer to erect a statue of him; cf. also *Ep.* 11.3, 5, 9; Aeschin. 3.243; Dem. 20.70 with Intro. 3.4.2 (iii). Καί is rightly interposed between article and infinitive to mark an addition to the preceding content (more frequently, e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 748; [Pl.] *Am.* 132c, of descending climax): see *GP*: 293–4, 326.

Of the statue, which is not extant, Ps.-Aeschines gives a fuller description than Pausanias' (1.8.4). Frazer (1898: II, p. 92) cast doubt on its reliability because Isocrates (15.166), noting that Pindar was given the title *proxenos*, made no mention of the statue 'as he would have done if it had been in existence in his time': so also Böckh (1811–21: II/2, pp. 18–9) and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (1922: 273), and cf. R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, 215, no. 708. In theory, one can infer from Isocrates that it was set up in association with the grant of *proxenia*, because such practices were attested several times in the other Greek cities: cf. *Priene* 63, l. 9 (= *I.Priene*² 16 c. 334 BCE); *SEG* 19.595, l. 3 (mid-4th cent. BCE Thasos) with Mack 2015: 15–6, 134–8; Domingo Gyax 2016: 109–12. In reality, however, the erection of honorific statues was so rare in Athens that, as Demosthenes (20.70) stressed, only Conon the general (and Euagoras ruler of Cypriot Salamis, who was made an Athenian citizen c. 407 BCE) was given statues beside the cult figures such as the Tyrannicides before 394/3 BCE. So it is very unlikely that the Athenians honoured Pindar with a statue during his lifetime: see also Isoc. 9.54–57; Lyc. 1.51; Paus. 1.3.2; *SEG* 29.86 (= RO no. 11) with Osborne 1981–3: II, pp. 21–4; Shear 2007: 96, 107–8, 2011: 274–80; Kremmydas 2012: 313–4; Ma 2013: 5–6, 104; Canevaro 2016a: 307–9; Keesling 2017: 20–8. Chances are, if one existed, that it was set up posthumously in the Hellenistic period, when Pindar became part of the canon of lyric poets and Athens was trying to appropriate him somehow as a theme of propaganda, as they did for Tyrtaeus: cf. Pl. *Leg.* 629a; Lyc. 1.106. For the possibility that the statue had since become the object of a cult, that is, to put it very broadly, the poet received

heroic or divine honours in Athens as he did in Thebes and Delphi, see Clay 2004: 4, 76–8, 147–9; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 233–41, 359–64; Higbie 2017: 137–43; Keesling 2017: 69–74.

[4] ἦν...εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι may be used pleonastically inasmuch as εἰς ἡμᾶς *per se* can denote a certain limit of time (LSJ: *s.v.* εἰς/ἐς A.II.1), and cf. Hdt. 1.92.1; [Plut.] *Mor.* 842e.

[5] πρὸ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς: the *stoa* (Lat. *porticus*) has its name from the ‘king’ Archon (Pl. *Euthphr.* 2a; Paus. 1.3.1). In recent scholarship it is dated *c.* 500, about the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, or after the Persian sack of 480/79 BCE, e.g. *CAH*: pls. V/VI, no. 120; Coulton 1976: 219; Camp 2010: 79. Robertson (1999) argued that it was later named as the Stoa of Herms after the extensive adornment with herms, e.g. Aeschin. 3.183. The stoa stood at the northwest corner of the Agora, noted for being a venue for the city’s legal matters, such as the displaying of law ‘codes’ (*IG I³* 104, ll. 5–8 [= OR no. 183A]; Andoc. 1.82, 85; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 7.1), the meeting of the Council of the Areopagus (Dem. 25.23) and the indictment against Socrates (Pl. *Euthphr.* 2a, *Tht.* 210d): see also Frazer 1898: II, pp. 57–8; Wallace 1989: 218; Rhodes 1993: 134–5; Sickinger 1999: 16–7, 29–30, 103–4; Shear 2011: 85–96, 240–6. But Pausanias did not mention the statue of Pindar amongst those near the stoa (1.3.2) and located it in the vicinity of the Temple of Ares (1.8.4–5), which lies about 100 metres southeast of the stoa, so we may assume either that ‘Melanopus’ is speaking in general terms, or, more likely, that he is misinformed; still, both references may point to the *Orchestra*, a probable, so far unidentified, place where the ‘flattering’ dithyramb was performed: see Frazer 1898: II, p. 92; Sutton 1989: 123–4; Camp 2010: 105.

[6] καθήμενος ἐνδύματι καὶ λύρα ὁ Πίνδαρος: scholars tend to propose textual corruptions in this passage for the irregular syntax; a possible description is something along the lines of ‘the poet seated, clad in a long robe... a lyre beside him’, as suggested by Frazer (1898: II, p. 92). It is likely that the ‘forger’ makes no

mention of the outerwear, because *enduma* (lit. ‘under-garment’) refers generically to the garment that is worn next to body such as the *chiton* (‘tunic’): cf. Lee 2015: 97–113. In literary sources the term *per se* is securely attested down to the early Hellenistic period in Menander (*Pk.* 519, c. 314/3 BCE), but cf. *IG XII 5 593A*, ll. 3–4 (c. 5th cent. BCE) with Gomme and Sandbach 1973: 482–3, 508.

[7] **διάδημα** may refer to a range of head-binders (= *στεφάνη*), whereas in Attic prose it is attested only in Xenophon (*Cyr.* 8.3.13) and symbolises kingship. In this context it may serve as a sign of poetical victory, in a manner similar to Paus. 9.22.3, which describes a wall-painting of Corinna, the lyric poetess of Tanagra, binding her head with a ribbon (*ταινία*) after vanquishing Pindar. Cf. also Blech 1982: 35, 121 n. 53; Smith 1991: 163–4; Dillon 2006: 123–5; Lee 2015: 142–5.

[8] **βιβλίον**: papyrus-roll; cf. Thphr. *HP.* 4.8.4. Phillips (2016: 15) argued that the ensemble of the statues, if true, ‘fuses the image of Pindar the musician, probably directing a chorus, with the paraphernalia of reading’, thereby highlighting Pindar’s role as a *kykliodidaskalos*, dithyrambic poet who also instructs the cyclical chorus (e.g. for the competitions of City Dionysia between Attic tribes): cf. Ieranò 2013: 368–80. Alternatively, it may well be a later creation, and a point of comparison is a Hellenistic sculpture (*POG*: 143, no. 3, fig. 783) that shows Pindar seated, robed, and holding a cithara: both are (re)produced in highly individualised, post-Classical, fashion. It can therefore be conjectured that Ps.-Aeschines, unlike Pausanias, had never been to the Agora and witnessed the ‘authentic’ statue. Further on the iconography see Picard 1952, esp. p. 16; Richter 1984: 176–80; Bergemann 1991, esp. pp. 183–4; Clay 2004: 76–8, 148–9; Bergmann 2007: 249–52; von den Hoff 2007: 51–2; Daude *et al.* 2013: 83; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 235–7, 359–61; Keesling 2017: 74.

Section 4

[1] οὗτος δῆ: ‘this man and no others’; the expression is often contemptuous in tone (‘isn’t it just what/who...?’), and cf. *Od.* 7.48; Thuc. 6.92.5; Pl. *Tht.* 166 with LSJ: *s.v.* δῆ II.2, οὗτος C.VIII.1; *GP*: 208–9 (noting that in Herodotus it is neutrally emphatic, e.g. Hdt. 1.43.2).

[2] ᾄδει is the Attic equivalent for ἀεΐδειν (‘to celebrate by singing’), to give variety to αἶρεν (§ 1).

[3] ἐκεῖνον denotes well-known persons (Lat. *ille*); cf. § 6; *Il.* 24.90; Ar. *Ach.* 708, *Nub.* 534; Aeschin. 3.194; Dem. 18.219, 21.62 with LSJ: *s.v.* ἐκεῖνος I.2; MacDowell 1990a: 282.

[4] εἰς...ἀνατείνει is used metaphorically inasmuch as it often describes the extension of height or breadth: cf. Pind. *Nem.* 5.51 with Pfeijffer 1999: 184–7. In a similar vein it means ‘to refer to’ in ancient commentators, e.g. Schol. *Il.* 10.249 a1 (ed. H. Erbse, III, 48); Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 789 (edd. W.J.W. Koster *et al.*, III 3, 903); see also *BDAG*: *s.v.* ἀνατείνω 1.B, C.

[5] δέ is connective in a context that appears to demand δῆ (‘well, that is what/who...?’); see *GP*: 170–1.

[6] τοὺς Διαγορείους: ‘familiar of Diagoras’; see *BDAG*: *s.v.* Διαγόρειοι. Diagoras I (*LGPN* I no. 24; Moretti 1957, no. 252) is the progenitor of the Rhodian athlete family, of the Eratidae clan at Ialysus: see § 1 n. 9 (with fig. 1); § 5 n. 2. He triumphed at all the panhellenic boxing-matches (so a *periodonikes*), the most famous of which is the 79th Olympics in 464 BCE (Arg. Pind. *Ol.* 7, ed. A.B. Drachmann, I, 195.11–12). Pindar celebrated the victory in the *Olympian* 7, and a copy of the poem, said Gorgon of Rhodes *FGrH* 515 F 18 (= Arg. Pind. *Ol.* 7, ed. A.B. Drachmann, I, 195.13–15), ‘was dedicated in Athena’s temple at Lindus in gold letters’ (ἀνακεῖσθαι...ἐν τῷ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηναίας ἱερῷ χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν): see also Reiske 1771: 668 n. 42; Kowalzig 2007: 224–6; LeVen 2014: 285; Phillips 2016: 3–4. A prevalent view in antiquity is that Diagoras I was the greatest boxer, and his achievements – both as an Olympic victor and as the (grand)father of five Olympic

victors – illustrated the culmination of mankind: cf. Plut. *Pel.* 34.4; Paus. 6.7.1–4; Cic. *Tusc.* 1.46.111; see also *CAH*: V, pp. 235–6; Harris 1966: 123–4; Race 1986: 113–4; Miller 2004a: 235–7.

The Diagoreans assumed considerable importance once and for all in 395 BCE. According to the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (18.2 = *BNJ* 66 F 9; P.Oxy. 5.842, col. xi ll. 25–26 = P.Lit.Lond. 110 = MP³ 2189), they were murdered in the democratic coup for being connected with the Rhodian oligarchy: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ (*sc.* the plotters)...εἰσπηδήσαντες μετ’ ἐγχειριδίων εἰς τὰ συν[έ]δρια τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀποκτείνουσι τοὺς τε Διαγο[ρε]ίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἑνδεκα, and see Bruce 1961; Berthold 1980: 35–7, 1984: 23–4; Willcock 1995: 110; Wiemer 2002a: 54–5; Behrwald 2005: 118–9; Lériada Lafarga 2007: 491–509; Occhipinti 2016: 190–6. The term οἱ Διαγόρειοι is peculiar to Ps.-Aeschines and the Oxyrhynchus historian and may come from sources of the late Classical period: see Intro. 4.4.

[7] καὶ εἰ μὴ...ἦδειν...κἂν...ὕπελάμβανόν: καὶ εἰ represents the condition as an extreme hypothesis and conveys an effect of climax, as distinguished from εἰ καί (§ 5): see *GP*: 299–305; *LSJ*: *s.v.* καί B.8. Εἰ with ἦδειν which is used as imperfect describes a contrafactual condition, but regularly ἄν would stand in the apodosis: see *GG*: 217–8 §§ 794–798, 518–9 §§ 2302–2309; *LSJ*: *s.v.* εἶδω B.

[8] ποιητῶν ὑπέρφρονα ὄντα σε: Schwegler (1913: 34) acutely noticed that the connotation of being a despiser is post-Classical, e.g. Philostr. *Her.* 27.10: ὑπέρφρων τοῦ ὀμίλου (‘despiser of the crowd/conversation’); see also *BDAG*: *s.v.* ὑπέρφρων. The regular option is ‘ὑπέρφρονεῖν + genitive/accusative’, e.g. Ar. *Nub.* 1400; Pl. *Phdr.* 258b; Aeschin. 1.141: so Blass conjecturally supplied ποιητῶν ὑπέρφρονοῦντα σε. The account itself might remind us of Plato’s antagonistic attitude towards the poets and his (partial) objection to poetical expressions in terms of ‘truth-telling’: see Intro. 4.3. It is difficult to distil from the present passage a coherent set of theories, but that a speaker would adapt himself to the changing circumstances is easily perceived: poetic ploys can work deleterious effects, as mentioned above (§ 2 n. 7),

while this is tactically applicable only to the others.

[9] τὰ ἀγοραῖα ταῦτα denotes generically things concerning the agora, such as business and forensic matters. Οὕτως strengthens the sense of contempt (opp. ἐκεῖνος above), and see LSJ: *s.v.* οὕτως C.I.3.

[10] τὰ ἀπολέσαντα ἡμᾶς ἐπιτηδεύματα: ‘unreasonable customs/policies’, suggesting the fickle nature of the *polis*; cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 3.1, 7.2, 12.4, 12, 14; Antiph. 3.2.10; Thuc. 1.32.3, 1.71.2; Isoc. 11.19. The substitution of ἡμᾶς for the first person singular creates an immersive experience for the audience (*pluralis modestiae*): so also λέξομεν below, and see *Ep.* 2.1 n. 1; alternatively, the expression is directed at a fellow sufferer on the understanding that Philocrates is the recipient: see Martin and de Budé 1927–8: II, p. 127 n. 2.

[11] ἀποχρῆν is more common in Attic prose (vs. ἀποχρᾶν), e.g. Dem. 4.22, 42; [Dem.] 47.80; Lys. fr. 288 Carey. Here it has the connotation of rhetorical effectiveness, and cf. *Epp.* 7.1, 10.1, 11.2, 12.17.

[12] εἰπὼν ἔπη: *figura etymologica* (‘cognate object construction’); cf. *Il.* 1.108; Pind. *Isthm.* 1.46; Dem. 19.243; see also Intro. 3.4.2 (i).

Section 5

[1] διηγῆσασθαι...τὸ διήγημα: *figura etymologica* echoing εἰπεῖν ἔπη (§ 4). Notice, however, that διήγημα, instead of διήγησις (Pl. *Resp.* 392d, *Phdr.* 246a), is securely attested down to the Hellenistic period: cf. Dem. fr. 13.1 Baiter–Sauppe (= *Suda*: Y 327); Schol. *Od.* 2.19a (ed. F. Pontani, I, 224); *OT. Ezek.* 17.2; Xen. *Ephes.* 5.10.4; Lib. *Or.* 32.2; see, too, Intro. 3.4.1 (i), (iii). For similar expressions in Attic prose to introduce a narrative or plot (διήγησις/*narratio*), e.g. statement of a case, characterisation of a figure, etc., cf. Antiph. 1.13; Thuc. 6.54.1; Lys. 1.5; Isoc. 18.4, 19.4; Aeschin. 1.43; [Dem.] 52.2; Arist. *Rh.* 3.16.4 1416b29, 3.16.8 1417a16–22; see also Trenkner 1958: 154–62; Holzberg 1994: 20 n. 55; de Brauw 2007: 188–90, 193–

[2] γυνή...πρεσβῦτις Ὀλυμπίασι παρελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἐστάναι τε ἅμα τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους...ὅτι καὶ πατέρα καὶ τρεῖς ἀδελφοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας ἔχοι καὶ υἷὸν ἐπ' Ὀλύμπια ἄγοι: women of marriageable age are forbidden to attend the Olympics; cf. Paus. 3.8.1, 5.6.7–8, 5.16.2–3, 6.20.8–9; *InO* 160 with Dillon 2000; Miller 2004a: 150–9, 2004b: 105–10; Kyle 2007; Scanlon 2014. Testimonies to the story in question come mostly from the post-Classical sources, all of which identified the ‘old woman’ as Diagoras I’s daughter and the only married woman attending the Games. Accounts of the particular person, however, are hopelessly confused: she is either Pherenice (*LGPN* I no. 2: Paus. 5.6.7, 6.7.2; Philostr. *Gym.* 17; Ael. *VH.* 10.1; ‘Berenice’: Plin. *Nat.* 7.41.133; Val.Max. 8.15.12, ext. 4), or Callipateira (*LGPN* I no. 1: Arist. fr. 8.44.569 Rose = Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7, inscr. a, ed. A.B. Drachmann, I, 197; Paus. 5.6.7–8). According to the tradition represented by Pausanias (5.6.7–8, 6.7.2), the ‘old woman’, probably a widow, dressed herself as a gymnastic trainer in attempting to take her young son to the Olympics (ἤγαγεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν υἷὸν μαχοῦμενον/ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων αὐτὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤγαγεν), but the people spared her out of respect for her family: see also Philostr. *Gym.* 17; Ael. *VH.* 10.1; Val.Max. 8.15.12, ext. 4. Ps.-Aeschines seems to be reproducing this scene, and it is perhaps right to understand καὶ...καὶ...καὶ as ‘both...and...and now’. The Aristotelian tradition referred merely to Callipateira’s (successful) request to enter the Olympics, and we should entertain the possibility that it tells only half the story: cf. Arist. fr. 8.44.569 Rose (= Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7, inscr. a, ed. A.B. Drachmann, I, 197); D.L. 5.26. Cf. also Ch. 4 of König 2005; Scanlon 2008: 189–91; Kyle 2014: 266–7, 2015: 214–5.

‘The old woman/lady’ is a courtesy expression, because females of good repute were rarely addressed by name: hence ἡ πρεσβῦτις ἐκείνη (§ 6); see also *Ep.* 12.11 with Schaps 1977. The three brothers, all Olympic victors in the heavy contests, are Damagetus III (*LGPN* I no. 14; Moretti 1957, nos. 287 + 300), victorious pancratiast

of 448 BCE and father of Diagoras II, Acusilaus (*LGPN* I no. 3; Moretti 1957, no. 299) the victorious boxer of 448 BCE, and Dorieus II (*LGPN* I no. 14; Moretti 1957, nos. 322 + 326 + 330), pancratiast famous for winning three successive prizes from 432 BCE in exile at Thurii and for fighting against Athens during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 3.8.1, 8.35.1, 8.84.2; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.2–4, 1.5.19; Arist. *Rh.* 1.2.13 1357a19–21; *Anthologia Graeca* 13.11 [= Ps.-Simon. fr. 50 Campbell]; D.S. 13.45.1; D.Chrys. *Or.* 31.126; Paus. 6.7.4–7). The ‘son’ should be Peisirhodus (*LGPN* I no. 2; Moretti 1957, no. 356; ‘Peisidorus’: Philostr. *Gym.* 17), who lived in exile with Dorieus II (Paus. 6.7.4) and was Olympic victor of the boys’ boxing-match in 404 BCE; but Valerius Maximus (8.15.12, ext. 4) reported him to be Eucles (*LGPN* I no. 62; Moretti 1957, no. 354), victor of the men’s boxing-match at the same Olympiad. See also § 1 n. 9 (with fig. 1).

[3] **τῶν ἑλληνοδικῶν**: ‘judges of the Greeks’ (also ἑλληνοδίκαι), denoting primarily supervisory officials of the Olympics from c. 480 BCE. The *Hellanodicae* were chosen by lot from the citizens of Elis, who were renowned for their impartiality, e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 3.12; their title testifies to the fact that only Greeks were eligible for the Games: see *IACP*: 496–7; Romano 2007; Mann 2014: 277–8; Nielsen 2014: 137–42; *Ep.* 11.10 n. 4.

[4] **δέδωκε καυχῆσασθαι οὗτος ὁ θεός**: i.e. Zeus; the Olympics were held in honour of Zeus, in his sacred precinct, the Altis (*IACP*: 496–7): see also Miller 2004a: 87–95; Instone 2007; Nielsen 2014; Sinn 2014; Chs. 5–6 of Kyle 2015. The deictic pronoun may be a sign of gestural ploy, requiring the speaker to point the sanctuary to the god: cf. Dem. 19.96 with Serafim 2017a: 54–5; see also Vatri 2017: 184–7.

Καυχῆσασθαι, meaning ‘to talk big’, might perhaps be a Pindaric *topos*. It recurs only in Sappho (fr. 15 Campbell) among early lyric poets: see Pind. *Ol.* 9.38 with Gerber 2002: 40–1. Later lexicographers suggested that the orators tended to use αὐχεῖν, instead of καυχᾶσθαι, with the sole exception of Lycurgus (fr. 81 Conomis = *Suda*: K 1145); this is only half the truth, because αὐχεῖν has just one attestation in

Attic prose (Thuc. 2.39.3; vs. ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, λέγειν etc.): cf. also *Λέξεις ῥητορικαί*: s.v. καυχᾶ (ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 275).

A further noteworthy aspect is the subject matter. It is very close to *Ol.* 7. 87–93, where the poet invoked Zeus to grant blessing to both the ode and the victor: cf. Young 1968: 93–7.

[5] γάρ introduces a rhetorical question; see *GP*: 76–7.

[6] ὀλυμπιονίκας is a Pindaric *topos*, with no attestation in the orators other than Ps.-Andocides. At *Ep.* 11.10 the ‘forger’ uses τις Ὀλυμπίασι νικήσας, and Aeschines employed Ὀλυμπίασι στεφανωθῆναι on the grounds that the panhellenic games always conferred a crown (also for the sake of simile): cf. Aeschin. 3.179, 189; Dem. 18.319, 21.145; Isoc. 16.49; [Dem.] 58.66; [Andoc.] 4.25, 33; Arist. *Rh.* 1.2.13 1357a19–21; see also § 6.

Section 6

[1] ἀπορρῶξ refers to a detached section, such as the branch of a river and a unit of musical metre: *Il.* 2.755; Aesch. fr. 273a *TGF*; *Anthologia Graeca* 7.571.3. Here it is used metaphorically, like Ar. *Lys.* 811.

[2] ἔστι μᾶλλον πάντων ἢ αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι: lit. ‘it is possible to obtain more information from everyone than from Cleocrates’, i.e. Cleocrates carefully avoids mentioning such ‘inborn nobility’ (*eugeneia*). This shows an attempt to reconcile aristocratic claims to *genos* (§§ 1, 4, 6) with the commitment to political equality in democratic Athens, and could be broadly understood as an anticipatory objection (προκατάληψις/*praesumptio*, e.g. *Epp.* 11.1, 12.16): see Intro. 3.3.2. In terms of epinician rhetoric it may aim to minimise human *phthonos*: cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.95–98, *Isthm.* 5.23–27 with Bulman 1992: 17–31; Most 2003; Konstan 2006: 119–20; see also n. 3 below.

[3] καὶ πλείω μὲν οὐ βούλομαι λέγειν, μὴ οὐ...βούλεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ

καὶ...δοκῶ: the first καὶ connects an adversative clause, like Latin *atque/ac*; so also at *Epp.* 2.3, 12.2–4. Δοκῶ with μή embraces the phrase ‘not only...but also’: cf. Reiske 1771: 926; Drerup 1904: 44.

The whole passage provides an example of the tactic called *παράλειψις/praeteritio*, underscoring a point by seeming to disregard it, and cf. *Ep.* 5.3 n. 4. In terms of the epinician mannerism, it may serve as a variation of the *Abbruchsformel* or *recusatio*, i.e. a sudden ‘breaking-off’ of narration (often at the end of the myth). This could give a sense of spontaneity and help to reach a fitting conclusion to avoid ‘human envy’ (φθόνος ἀνδρῶν as seen through ἔστι μᾶλλον πάντων ἢ αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι above) and also excess in praise (κόρος, as we read in the account of the reciprocal obligation below): cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.95–98, *Pyth.* 1.82, *Nem.* 4.33–43 with Illig 1932: 19 n. 1; Ch. 2 of Race 1990; Willcock 1995: 17–8; Ch. 1 of Mackie 2003, esp. p. 9 n. 2; Kurke 2013: 190–1; Lomiento 2015.

[4] ὄπερ ἠξίωσας, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης echoes ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης ἄκουε in the opening section (‘ring composition’: cf. *Ep.* 2.4). This is a fairly common, though not unique, trope in lyric poetry, esp. in mythical narratives and/or the ode as a whole, e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 7.22, 77; see also Illig 1932, esp. pp. 56–9; Young 1968: 103–4; Hamilton 1974: 56–67; Greengard 1980: 15–31; Slater 1983; Hornblower 2004: 282–3, 346–9; Wells 2009: 193–238.

[5] ἐγκωμιακῆναι...συντετάχθαι: ἐγκωμιάζειν is simply a *variatio* of αἰρεῖν (§ 1) and ἀδεῖν (§ 4), but συντάττειν has attracted scholarly attention. Reiske had earlier proposed replacing it with συντείνειν (= σπουδάζειν), but the connotation of military preparedness seems very probable: so Wolf (προαίρειν: Lat. *instituire/constituere*) and a scholiast (ἔμπροσθεν τιθέναι: Harleianus 5635 c. 15th cent. CE); see Reiske 1771: 671 n. 53, 926.

[6] ὥσπερ καὶ Θρασύμαχος τὸν ξένον: it is natural to infer that this Thrasymachus is the sophist, and diplomat, from Chalcedon in Bithynia (*LGPV* V.A no. 2), and see de Dios 2002: 614 n. 20. Ancient tradition reported that he migrated

to Athens and was once a guest of Cephalus II of Syracuse, a wealthy metic and father of Lysias (*LGPN* III.A no. 22; *PAA* 566667; *APF*: 586–90); in Cephalus’ house he engaged with Socrates in the dialogue on old age, wealth and justice: cf. *Lys.* 12.4; *Pl. Resp.* 328b–c, 330b; [Plut.] *Mor.* 835c. Ξένοϛ, then, denotes the host (LSJ: ξένος s.v. I.2), and the laconic expression could mean something along the lines of ‘just like that Thrasymachus never (*sc.* μή) praised his host, for he, a sophist notwithstanding, devoted himself to philosophical discussions’: cf. Epstein 2016: 39–46, 247–8 for Socrates’ role as the host in a dialogue with ‘foreigners’. Further on these figures see Beversluis 2000: 185–202, 221–44; Nails 2002: 84–5, 263–9, 288–90.

Again, the account is almost at variance with the Platonic tradition, which notoriously described Thrasymachus as a reckless interlocutor and, as is generally true for a ‘sophist’, being mercenary: see Intro. 4.3.

[7] ἀποτίειν ταύτην τὴν χάριν: the expression is post-Classical, and cf. Callim. *Iov.* 37; *Epistulae Socraticorum* 9.2; Plut. *Mor.* 1087a; Ael. *VH.* 4.5; Syn. *Ep.* 26, l. 2 Garzya. The regular option is ἀποδιδόναι χάριν, e.g. *Ep.* 7.1; Aeschin. 1.47, 2.143, 3.86; Dem. 18.119–120, 20.71, *Ep.* 2.19. See also Schwegler 1913: 32.

Reciprocal activities, *inter alia* the community-oriented *charis*, existed ubiquitously in Greek society, as already noted at *Ep.* 7.1 n. 5. In Letter 4 it is intertwined with the notion of patronage, literally a reciprocal relationship in which a poet should grant favours in return for patronage. Clearly Pindar, like other lyric poets, had been commissioned to compose odes in praise of his patrons, from the acknowledgment of χάρις (also expressed e.g. as ξενία, φιλία, or τὸν χρέος in its narrowest sense [‘my debt’]), and cf. *Ol.* 1.37–39, 3.1–3, 7.93–94, 10.11–12, 11.17, *Pyth.* 1.59, 75–77, 90–91, 2.14, 8.33, 11.41, *Nem.* 1.19–20, 3.1–3, 7.63–65, *Isthm.* 6.3–7, 8.1–2; Ar. *Av.* 936–939; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5.1a (ed. A.B. Drachmann, III, 89). Yet he, for all that, expressed at *Isthm.* 2.1–11 concerns about the extent to which a poet, say, Simonides, should practise his profession for gain. Given that Aeschines

owes Cleocrates *charis* for showing up to help (in Letter 5), the worry about becoming unduly ‘mercenary’ may preclude his ‘gracious offerings’ *qua* prose writer. Investigations into this subject are many, e.g. *CAH*: V, pp. 237–9; Löw 1908: 53–60; Woodbury 1968; Bell 1978; Carey 1981: 28; Scott 1983; Pfeijffer 1999: 513–5; Hamilton 2003: 19–22; Ch. 1 of Mackie 2003; Hornblower 2004: 208–35; Ch. 6 of Day 2010; Bowie 2012 (arguing for a genre of non-commissioned art-song); Pontani 2013; Blank 2014, and Chs. 8–9 of Gentili 1988, Kurke 2013 (originally published in 1991), and MacLachlan 1993 remain fundamental.

Equally (or simultaneously) possible is the comparison to a writer resembling, or as distinguished from, Thrasymachus. We know from the political battles between Aeschines and Demosthenes that being a ‘professional’ writer such as a sophist or *logographos* is often deemed demeaning in Athens, e.g. Aeschin. 1.94, 117, 125, 173–175, 2.180, 3.16, 173, 202; Dem. 19.246 with Hesk 1999: 211–4; 2000: 209–15; MacDowell 2000a: 304; Fisher 2001 *ad loc.* It is likely that the ‘forger’ is trying to forestall a potential objection insofar as Aeschines’ activities in exile, such as giving lectures for a fee, fall into the same category: cf. Intro. 1.2.2.

[8] πολὺ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς πέντε ὀλυμπιονίκαις ἐσεμνύετο may give variety to the poetic device called priamel (*praeambulum*). This, almost with the Pindaric mannerism, builds up Cleocrates’ brilliance by listing ‘concrete’ examples as its foils (‘summary priamel’): cf. e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 1.1–7, 3.42–45, 9.67–70, 11.1–6, *Pyth.* 1.75–80, *Nem.* 3.6–8, *Isthm.* 1.47–51, fr. 128c with Bundy 1962: 4–10; Race 1982, esp. pp. 10–13, 73–81, 1990: 9–16.

Ἐνσεμνύεσθαι is a *variatio* of καυχᾶσθαι (§ 5) to avoid monotony, and cf. αἶρεν (§ 1), ἄδειν (§ 4) and ἐγκωμιάζειν (§ 6). For the variety of discourse in Pindar, which is termed by himself ‘song adorned in various ways’ (*poikilos hymnos*: *Ol.* 6.87), see, among others, Bundy 1962: 47; Race 1990: 75–77, 187–95; Pfeijffer 1999: 22–3; Hamilton 2001; Giannini 2009; LeVen 2014: 101–5.

Appendix. Text, critical apparatus and translation

[ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ] ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

α'.

Αίσχίνης Φιλοκράτει χαίρειν

1 Λύσαντες ἐκ Μουνιχίας ἐσπέρας λαμπρῶ σφόδρα Σκίρωνι περὶ μέσην ἡμέραν κατήχθημεν εἰς Κορησσὸν τὴν Κείων. Καθίσαντες δὲ ἡμέρας ἐννέα, σκαιὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἄνεμος, εἶτα ἐσπέρας πάλιν λύσαντες ἅμα τῇ ἕφ εἰς Δῆλον ἤλθομεν. 2 Δήλιοι δὲ ἐνόσουν λοιμώδη τινὰ νόσον· τὰ μὲν πρόσωπα ἐπίμπλαντο λεύκης καὶ τὰς τρίχας λευκοὶ ἐγίνοντο, ὁ δὲ τράχηλος καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνώδει, πυρετοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐγίνοντο οὐδὲ ἀλγηδόνες μεγάλαι οὐδὲ τὰ κάτω μέρη παρήλλαττεν οὐδέν τι. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπέιθοντο κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκέναι, ταφέντος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τινὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, οὐ πρότερον εἰωθός· ἐκ τούτου οὖν προσβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν τὴν νόσον ταύτην ὑπελάμβανον. 3 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς τι ἔθνος ἀλλόφυλον ἢ νῆσον ἐν τῇ ἕξω θαλάττῃ ἀφιγμένοι, καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξαίφνης χρῶμα ποικίλον ἀνθρώπων, νυκτὸς ἔτι φεύγοντες ὠχόμεθα, πυνθανόμενοι ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸν πόρον εἰ τὸ χρῶμα ἔχει ἕκαστος οἶον ἐκόμιζεν οἴκοθεν καὶ τὰς τρίχας. Ζάλη δὲ καὶ ἄνεμος ἐξώστης ἐμπεσὼν ἀπήνεγκεν ἡμᾶς εἰς Κρήτην, πλησίον Ψαμαθοῦντος. 4 Ὡς δὲ ἐν ἀπόπτῳ ἦμεν ἤδη, ἀντιπνεῖ πνεῦμα Λιβυκόν. Εἶτα πνεύσαντος ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἄρκτων πάλιν, πέντε νύκτας ἐν θαλάττῃ γενόμενοι προσέχομεν Ἀθρώνῃ, ἵνα μάθωμεν μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἢ μὴ στεφανοῦται. Κάκειθεν τέτταρσιν ἡμέραις ἀφικόμεθα εἰς ἐπίνειόν τι τῆς Ῥοδίας, ὅπου νοσησαί με συνέβη τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄσθμα νόσον. 5 Ὡς δὲ ἐπιμείναντός μου αὐτόθι οὐκ ἐνεδίδου ἡ νόσος, διέπλευσα εἰς Ῥόδον, καὶ ἐδέξατο ἡμᾶς εὐμενῶς ὁ τόπος· εὐθύς γὰρ ὡς διέβην, πολὺ ῥάων ἐγενόμην. Καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ἔχομέν σοι τέως ἐπιστέλλειν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὡς ἂν ἕκαστα

συμβαίνει δηλώσομεν. Εὐτύχει, καὶ μὴ πολιτεύου μηδὲ πρόσκρουε μήτε τοῖς πλέον σοῦ μήτε τοῖς ἔλαττον δυναμένοις. Ἔρρωσο.

Tit. Αἰσχίνου ἐπιστολαί **C**: ἐπιστολαί **A**: Αἰσχίνου ἐπιστολή **P**: Αἰσχίνου ῥήτορος ἐπιστολαί **VB**.

I. Titulum om. **A**: Φιλοκράτει inscr. **CPVBMZ**: χαίρειν om. Ald. || § 1. 1 ἐσπέρας: ἐπέρας **V^{a.c.}** || 1 λαμπρῶ: λαμπρῶς **CP** || 1 Σκίρωνι **APVBMZ**: Σκίρρωνι **C**: Σκέρωνι **H** (Σκείρωνι Drerup): τῶ ἐργά . στη (eras. ε) ἀνέμῳ add. **C**: τῶ ἐργάστῃ ἀνέμῳ add. **PZa**: τῶ ἀργέστῃ ἀνέμῳ **A**, cf. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*: s.v. ἀργεσταί (Drerup): τῶ καὶ ἰάπυγι add. sub voce **V** || 2 Κορησσόν **HBMZ^{a.c.}a** et Wolf: Κορεσσόν **CAP**: Νηρησσόν **Z^{p.c.}** Ald.: Κόρασον **V**: Κορησσόν conj. Blass, sq. Martin–de Budé || 2 Κείων Wolf: Κέω **BM** (τῆς Κέω conj. Taylor): κίων **HCAP** Ald.: κίων **V** || 2 καθίσαντες: καθίσαν **C^{a.c.}** || 2–3 σκαιὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἄνεμος **HZ^{gr.}** Ald.: καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄνεμος ἐναντίος **aMZ^{a.c.}** || 3 ἐσπέρας: ἐπέρας **V^{a.c.}**: om. Ald. || 3 πάλιν **HZ^{mg.}**: om. **aM** || § 2. 2 ἐπίμπλαντο: ἐνεπίμπλαντο **C**: ἐπίπλαντο **VB** || 2 λεύκης: λευκῆς **CPVB** || 3 ἐγίγνοντο: ἐγίνοντο **V**: ἐγένοντο **B** || 3 τράχηλος **aMa**: τράχηλος αὐτῶν **HZ^{s.l.}** Ald. || 3 ἀνώδει: ἀνώδη **C^{p.c.}** || 3 πυρετοὶ: πυρετὸν **B** || 3 δ’ **APVBMZ** || 3 ἐγίγνοντο: ἐγίνοντο **PVB** || 4 οὐδὲ: οὔτε **H** || 4 παρήλλαττεν: παρήλαττεν **HP** || 4 τι: om. **H** Ald. || 4 δὲ: δ’ **A**: om. **C** || 5 ἐπείθοντο defendit Markland ex ὑπελάμβανον: ἐπύθοντο **CAPBZ**: ἐτίθεντο **V**, sq. Reiske (‘interpretabantur’) || 5 αὐτοῖς: αὐτοὶ **APa**: αὐτοῖς Ald. || 6 ἐκ τούτου οὖν **HZ^{s.l.}** Ald. : οὖν om. **aMZ^{a.c.}**(hiat.), sed in epistolis quae privatis annumerandae sunt, hiatus saepe ferendum esse putat Drerup, cf. § 5; *Ep.* 6.1 || 6 προσβαλεῖν: προσβαλλεῖν **aMZa** || 6 αὐτοῖς: αὐτῶ **C**: αὐτοὶ **AP** || 6–7 τὴν νόσον: νῆσον **C**: ἡ νόσον **P^{a.c.}Z^{mg.}** || 7 ταύτην: om. **A** || 7 ὑπελάμβανον: ὑπελλάμβανον **B** || § 3. 1 ἡμεῖς: ὑμεῖς **A** || 1 ὥσπερ εἰς τι **A^{p.c.}**(σ s.v. add.), sq. Bekker: ὥσπερ εἶ τι **CPA^{a.c.}Z^{a.c.}a**: ὥσπερ εἶητε **H**: ὥσπερ τι **VZ^{p.c.}** Ald.: ὡς περί τι **BM**:

ὥσπερ ὡς τι conj. Wolf, sq. Reiske || 1 ἀλλόφυλον: ἀλλόφυλλον **H** || 2 θαλάττη **C** solus, cf. § 4, *Epp.* 5.8, 10.1 || 2 καί: del. Weidner || 2 χρῶμα ποικίλον ἀνθρώπων **HZ^{gr.}** Ald., sqq. Wolf et Gillischewski, cf. infra πυνθανόμενοι κ.τ.λ. εἰ τὸ χρῶμα ἔχει ἕκαστος: ποικίλους ἀνθρώπους **aMZ^{a.c.}**: om. **a**: χρῆμα ποικίλον ἀνθρώπων conj. Reiske (‘generum’), sqq. reliqui || 3 ἔτι φεύγοντες **H**: τε ἐπιφεύγοντες **CAPa**: ἀποφεύγοντες **VBM** Ald.: τε ἀποφεύγοντες **Z^{p.c.}**: ἔτι ἀποφεύγοντες **q** (codex nunc deperditus), sqq. Reiske Bekker Baiter–Sauppe || 3 ὠχόμεθα: ὀρχόμεθα **B** || 3 κατὰ τὸν πόρον: om. **H** || 4 ἔχει: ἔχει **APVBM**: ἔχιοιεν **HZ^{s.l.}**: om. **Za** || 5 εἰς **aMZ^{a.c.}**: ὑπερ (‘supra’) **HZ^{s.l.}** Ald., def. Taylor coll. *NT. Act.Ap.* 27.7 (ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμώνην), sed cf. *Il.* 14.253–256 || 5 Κρήτην: Κυθήραν conj. Weidner || 5 Ψαμαθοῦντος: Ψαμμαθοῦντος **AVB**: Ἰαμαθοῦντος (orpidum Cyprii) vel ψαμαθοῦντος (veluti ψάμμος et ἄμμος) conj. Drerup || § 4. 1 δὲ: δ’ **H** || 1 ἀπόπτω **HZ^{s.l.}**, def. Taylor et Blass coll. *Anthologia Graeca* 9.412.5 (= *PG* 3284); Arr. 2.10.3: συνόπτω vel συνόπτρω **aMZ^{a.c.}**, σύνοπτρον interpretatur σύνοψις ἄστρον *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* || 2 ἦμεν ἦδη: ἦδη ἦμεν **V^{a.c.}** || 2 Λιβυκόν: Λυβικόν **BM** || 2 ἀπ’ ἄρκτων **CA^{p.c.}**, coll. Strab. 14.6.4; Joseph. *BJ.* 5.133: ἀπ’ ἄρκτου **A^{a.c.}BMZ^{a.c.}**, coll. Hdt. 2.8.1; Aeschin. 3.165: ἀπ’ ἄρκτον **P**: ἀπαρκτίον **V**: ἀπαρκτίου **Z^{a.c.}** Ald. || 3 γενόμενοι **HA^{p.c.}Z^{a.c.}**: γένοις **CA^{a.c.}**: γ’ ἐν οἷς **Pa**: ἐν οἷς **VZ^{mg.}**: ἐφερόμεθα ἐν οἷς (vel αἷς) **BM** Ald.: ἐφερόμεθα ἕως conj. Weidner: γενόμενοι, ἐφερόμεθα μέχρι, conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 3 προσέχομεν: προσέσχομεν **HMZ** Ald. || 3 Ἀθρώνη Ald. et cod. Parisinus suppl. 205: Ἀερώνη **HZ^{gr.}**: Ἀτορων ἢ **C**: Ἀτορώνη **Z^{a.c.}a**: ἐν Ἀτορώνη **AP**, ἐν dittographia ex προσέσχομεν (Drerup): Πορώνη **V**: Τορώνη **BM**: Κορώνη Weidner (**Wr^{a.c.}**): Κυρήνη **r^{p.c.}**: †verba dubia† Drerup: Λέρω νήσω Mercati: Θηραίων νήσω Craik || 4 πατρίδι: πόλει πατρίδι **A^{a.c.}P^{a.c.}Z** || 4 τοῦς: om. **H** || 4 ἦ: om. **C** || 4 τέτταρσιν: τέσσαρσιν **HC** || 5 ἀφικόμεθα: ἀφικόμενοι **H** || 5 ἐπίνειόν: ἐπίνηόν **BP^{a.c.}** || 5 με **H**: μοι **CAPVMZ**: om. **B** || § 5. 1 μου **HZ** Ald. (hiat.): om. **aM** || 1 διέπλευσα: ὡς διέπλευσα **H^{a.c.}**, sed ὡς ut videtur inductum || 2 ὡς: εἰς **P^{p.c.}** || 2 διέβην **H** Ald.: ἀφικόμην **aMZ**, fort. scholium ex ἀφικόμεθα εἰς ἐπίνειόν τι τῆς

Ῥοδίας § 4 || 3 ταῦτα **H** || 3 ἔχομέν: εἶχομεν Reiske || 3 δ': δὲ **C** || 4 συμβαίνη: <σοι> συμβαίνη **Z**: συμβαίνοι Ald. || 4 πολιτεύου μηδὲ: om. Ald. || 4 μηδὲ Bekker (cod. Vaticanus 199 alii): μήτε **αΜΖ**: καὶ μὴ **H** || 4–5 μήτε τοῖς πλέον σοῦ: om. **H** || 5 ἔρρωσο **H** solus || ad fin. ἐπιστολὴ πρώτη: ἐρρῶσθαι Κτησιφῶντι **A** (Κτησιφῶντι post correctionem), ἐρρῶσθαι Κτησιφῶντι velut inscriptionem epistolae II habent **VP**^{p.c.}.

Letter 1

Aeschines sends greetings to Philocrates

(1) We set sail from the harbour of Munichia at nightfall with a rather brisk north-west wind and around midday disembarked at Coresus on the island of Ceos. But we stayed there for nine days, because the wind was contrary; then we set out again at nightfall and arrived at Delos with the onset of dawn. (2) The Delians were suffering from a pestilential disease. Their faces were covered with white spots, their hair turned white, and the neck and the breasts swelled, whereas there were no fevers or severe pains, and their lower parts did not undergo any change. They were convinced that this had happened to them in consequence of the wrath of Apollo, because a prominent person had been buried on the island against the former custom. It was for this reason, they realised, that the god inflicted such a disease on them. (3) And we, as though having come to a foreign tribe or an island in the Outer Sea, and having noticed suddenly that the men's skin was adorned with many colours, managed to leave and escaped when it was still dark, inquiring of each other during the navigation if each had his skin and hair the same colour as he left home. A tempest and a violent wind fell and carried us off to Crete, near Psamathous. (4) When we were already in a conspicuous place, the wind blew in the opposite direction from Libya. It then blew us backwards from the North Star, and after a five-night sojourn at sea we managed to land at Athrone – a good lesson not to

interfere too much in the question whether someone, in his fatherland, is crowned according to the law or not. From there we reached a Rhodian sea-port in four days, where I happened to suffer from an asthma attack. (5) But since the disease did not relent during my stay there, I sailed across to Rhodes; the place received us kindly. Indeed, as soon as I made the crossing, I got much better.

These are the news we have sent you for the time being. As for other news, we shall make each item known as it happens. Farewell. Do not engage in politics, and do not quarrel with those who are more powerful than you, or with those who are weaker. Goodbye.

β'.

Κτησιφῶντι

1 Ἐπέστειλεν ἡμῖν Νικόστρατος ὁ πρὸς μητρὸς θεῖος ὡς ἐπηρεάζεις μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν οὐ μετρίως, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὄνειδίσεις τὴν διὰ σέ μοι συμβᾶσαν συμφορὰν. Ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάζω τί παθῶν ἐξιοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν οἴκοθεν τοιαῦτα διελέχθης, ὥστε πεισθῆναι με μηδὲν ὧν διελέχθης πεπλάσθαι σε μηδ' ἄλλως φρονεῖν, βλέποντα πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν συμφορὰν, ἣν οὐκ ἀπεικὸς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐλεεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς τὸ <σὸν πρόσωπον> σκυθρωπὸν καὶ ὅμοιον δεδακρυμένῳ. 2 ὥστ' ἔγωγε καὶ ἐπέσκησα ἐνίοις τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν, εἴ του δέοιντο, προσιέναι σοι, καὶ μηδενὸς ὑστερήσειν ὑπεσχόμεν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέστειλα περὶ ὧν ἐχρηματίζον Ἀθήνησί μοι γενέσθαι πολλάκις· νῦν δ' οὐδ' ἐμποδὼν ἔτι οὔσιν ἡμῖν, οὔτε διανοχλοῦσι σοὶ οὔτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπηρεάζεις, καὶ οὔτε εἰς τὴν τύχην ἀποβλέπεις οὔτε εἰς ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλ' ἐπαγωνίζῃ ἔτι καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἀπεστερημένοις ἐπιτιμίας καὶ πόλεως καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ φίλων. 3 Καὶ ὅσα μὲν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπόντα ἐβλασφήμεις, σοὶ μὲν ἴσως φέροι ἂν τινα εἰκότως καὶ φθόνον καὶ μῖσος, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τινα τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐπιβάλλοιο βλασφημεῖν, ἐν οὕτω χρηστῇ τε καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ πόλει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἂν διὰ ταῦτα φαυλότερος νομισθεῖην, ὑπὸ σοῦ λοιδορούμενος ἀπὼν, ἀτυχέστερος μέντοι καὶ ἐλεεινότερος ἴσως, νομισθεὶς ποτε μὲν οὐδενὸς ἦττων, 4 νυνὶ δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούειν λοιδορούμενος δύναμαι. Τὸ δὲ γέροντα ἐπιεικῆ ὑβρίζεσθαι, μηδεμίαν ἔτι ἐλπίδα ἔχοντα τοῦ δυνήσεσθαι ποτε ἀμύνασθαι, ὅς γε τὴν σύμπασαν ἐλπίδα ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τοῖς μηδ' αὐτοὺς σφάζειν ἔτι δυναμένοις, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν; 5 ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, μὴ σύ γε, ὦ Κτησιφῶν, μηδὲ εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἀνιᾶν ἔτι βούλει, καὶ εἰ μὴ πεπλήρωκέ σε μηδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν, μίσημα τοῦτο προσθῆς σαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν, οὓς τρέφεις βοηθοὺς ἔσεσθαι δηλονότι τῷ γήρα σου προσδοκῶν. Καὶ μέμνησο ὅτι οὐδὲ Αἰσχίνης εἰς τοῦτό ποτε ἀφίξεσθαι ἤλπισεν, οὐδ' ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀκμάσαντες ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει καὶ πολὺ

λαμπρότεροι ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ γενόμενοι.

XI. Titulum habent **CBZ** Ald., sed ἐρρῶσθαι Κτησιφῶντι videtur ad finem epistolae I **AP^{p.c.}V** || § 1. 1 ἐπηρεάζοις: ἐπηρεάζεις **A^{p.c.}Z** || 2 ὄνειδίζοις: ὄνειδίξεις **APVBMZa** || 2 ἐγὼ δὲ: δὲ om. **A^{a.c.}** || 3 ἡμῖν οἴκοθεν: οἴκοθεν ἡμῖν **APVBMZ** || 3 τοιαῦτα, cf. sup. ἐπηρεάζοις κ.τ.λ. αὐτὸν: τοσαῦτα Ald. || 3 διελέχθης: διειλέχθης **C^{p.c.}** Ald.: διελέγχθης **A^{a.c.}** || 4 βλέποντα: βλέπων Wolf. Sed recte πεισθῆναί με κ.τ.λ. βλέποντα defendit Taylor, cf. § 2 || 5 συμφορὰν: ξυμφορὰν Ald. || 6 δὲ εἰς: δὲ καὶ εἰς Ald. || 6 τὸ <σὸν πρόσωπον> σκυθρωπὸν conieci, fort. per homoeoteleuton, cf. Schol. Eur. *Or.* 957: τὸ σκυθρωπὸν codd. et Ald. (haplographia), defendit Gillischewski, nisi quod τὸ σκυθρωπὸν <σου> in mg. **q** (codex nunc deperditus) exstat: <προσώπου σου> Wolf: <προσώπον> Taylor, rectum conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: τὸ <τοῦ προσώπου σου> σκυθρωπὸν Wendland, ut videtur in editioni Blassii || § 2. 3 μηδενὸς ὑστερήσειν: μηδενὸς <σε> ὑστερήσειν Weidner || 3 ἔχρημάτιζον codd. et Ald.: ἔχρηζον Markland (ex *Ep.* 5.1) || 4 μοι: μὴ **C** || 4 δ’ οὐδ’ **CAVBM**: δ’ οὐκ **PZ** Ald.: δ’ οὐτ’ Baiter–Sauppe: δ’ οὐδὲν Hercher || 4 οὔτε: οὐδὲ Bekker || 5 διανοχλοῦσι: διοχλοῦσι **APVBMZa** || 5 οὔτε: οὐδ’ Bekker || 5 καὶ: om. Ald. || 6 ἀποβλέπεις: ἀποβλέπων Wolf. Sed recte ἐπηρεάζεις κ.τ.λ. ἀποβλέπεις defendit Taylor, cf. § 1 || 6 ἀλλ’: ἀλλὰ **C** || 7 ἐπιθυμίας: ἐπιθυμίας **Z^{a.c.}** Ald. || 7 καὶ πόλεως: καὶ om. **P^{a.c.}** || § 3. 1 ὅσα μὲν: μὲν om. **A^{a.c.}** || 2 ἄν: om. **A** || 3 διὰ ταῦτα: διὰ τοῦτο Reiske || 4 ὑπὸ σοῦ λοιδορούμενος ἀπὼν **C^{p.c.}APZ**: ἀπὼν ὑπὸ σοῦ λοιδορούμενος **VBM** Ald.: ὑπολοιδορούμενος ἀπὼν **C^{a.c.}** || 4 νομισθεὶς **CA^{gr.}PVBMZ**, cf. διελέχθης κ.τ.λ. διελέχθης § 1: νομισθεῖν vel καὶ ποτε κ.τ.λ. ἐγενόμην Wolf, ad hoc ἴσως νομισθεὶς, τότε κ.τ.λ. ἐνυττόμην (‘tunc quidem ne pungebar quidem’) conj. Reiske: ὅς Taylor: φανεὶς **A^{a.c.}** (dittographiam et φανείην conj. Blass): †verba dubia† Drerup || 5 μὲν Ald.: δὲ codd. || 5 οὐδενὸς Taylor: οὐδὲν codd. et Ald. || ἦττων: ἦττον **A^{p.c.}V** Ald., cf. *Ep.* 9.2: ὅς κ.τ.λ. ἦττων ἦν Navarre, ut videtur in bibliotheca Budaei || § 4. 1 νυνὶ: νῦν **APVBMZ** || 1 αὐτοῦ: αὐτῶν **Z^{a.c.}**: αὐτοῦ Ald.: ἐμαυτοῦ Wolf, defendit Gillischewski:

αὐτῶν conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 1 ἐκπέμπειν: om. **C^{a.c.}AP^{a.c.}Z** (add. **C^{mg.}P^{s.v.}Z^{s.l.}**), ἀφιέναι conj. Schindel || 1–2 μίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ et ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀκούειν del. Weidner || 2 ἐπεικῆ: ἐπειεικῆ **B** || 3 ἔτι ἐλπίδα ἔχοντα: ἐλπίδα ἔχοντα ἔτι **A**: ἐλπίδα ἔτι ἔχοντα **PVBMZ**: ἔτι del. Weidner || 3 δυνήσεσθαι: δυνήσασθαι **A** || 3 ἀμύνασθαι: ἀμύνεσθαι **B** || 3 ὅς: ὡς **V** || 3 σύμπασαν ἐλπίδα: in ras. **P**: σύμπασαν ἐλπίδα <ἔτι ἔχοντα> **Z^{a.c.}** Ald. (dittographia vel homoeoteleuton) || 4 ἡμῖν: ὑμῖν Wolf, defendit Gillischewski || 4 αὐτοῖς: del. Wolf, ut ex τοῖς natum (Blass) || 4 ἔχει τοῖς: ἔχει τῶν τοῖς **C**: ἔχει· τοῖσδε **B** || 4 μηδ’ **AB**: δὲ **P^{a.c.}**(μή sub voce add.)**Z^{a.c.}** || 4 αὐτοῦς: ἑαυτοῦς **B**, defendunt Wolf et Taylor: αὐτοῦς Ald. || 4 ἔτι: om. Ald. || § 5. 1 τοῦ: om. **A** || 3 προσθῆς: προσθεῖς **CV**: <μή> προσθῆς, ut videtur in editioni Reiskii || 3 σαυτῶ Ald., defendit Gillischewski: αὐτῶ **C**: αὐτῶ **APVB** || 3 ἔσεσθαι: ἔσεσθαι <σοι> Ald. || 3 δηλονότι: del. Taylor, fort. scholium || 3–4 τῶ γήρα σου **C**, def. Blass coll. Dem. 24.107: γῆρας οὐ **A^{a.c.}**: τὸ γῆρας οὐ **P**: τοῦ γήραος σου **VBMZ^{p.c.}** Ald., defendunt Taylor (σοι coniecit) et García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 4 Αἰσχίνης εἰς: Αἰσχίνης τὰ μὲν εἰς **V^{a.c.}** || 5 πολλοὶ: πολλοὶ οἱ conj. Markland || 5 καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον: om. **B** || 5 πόλει: πατρίδι Ald. || 5 καὶ πολὺ: καὶ πολλοὶ **A^{p.c.}PZ** Ald.: πολὺ καὶ **M**: πολλῶ Wolf || 6 γενόμενοι: om. **V**.

Letter 2

To Ctesiphon

(1) Nicostratus, my maternal uncle, wrote a letter to me, saying that you not only act abusively towards him without measure, but also reproach me for the disgrace which you yourself brought upon me. Now I wonder with what feelings towards me – when I was leaving my home – you pronounced such words that I was convinced that you neither fabricated anything of what you said nor thought otherwise than you spoke, looking first at my own misfortune, which is unfair and arouses the pity even of my opponents, and, then, at your gloomy countenance, which looked as if you had

shed tears. **(2)** As a result, I myself instructed some of my family to apply to you in case they were in need of anything, and promised that they would not be denied anything. As for myself, I have repeatedly sent letters concerning business in Athens that I needed taken care of. Yet now, although I no longer am of any hindrance, and disturb neither you nor any other Athenian, you act abusively without the least regard to my fortune and to any other thing of mankind; instead, you renew the fight even though I have suffered exile from my country, being dispossessed of my citizenship rights, of my city, of my fellow citizens and of my friends.

(3) Such slanderous statements you have made against me in my absence are likely to bring upon you, as a matter of fact, both resentment and hatred – because it is as though you attempted to slander the dead – in so good and humane a city. I for my part am unlikely to be considered baser in spite of your evil-speaking in my absence: indeed, I am more unfortunate and equally more pitiable, for I, who was once considered to be inferior to none, **(4)** am now unable to utter a single word in my defence and even to hear their evil-speaking. How is it not terrible, then, to commit outrages upon a reputable old man, for he, who no longer has even hope of being one day able to avenge himself, has up to this point rested his hopes completely upon me, who am not even able to save myself? **(5)** But no, in the name of Zeus! I beg you, Ctesiphon, if you take ever so great delight in oppressing me, and if no sufferings of mine have satiated you, not to inflict such a stain upon yourself and your children, whom you bring up in expectation that they will, as a matter of course, be a support of your old age. And remember that Aeschines never did hope to fall into this condition, nor did many others who were men of even greater authority in their own city and were much more distinguished than either I or you.

Αἰσχίνης τῆ Βουλῆ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ

1 Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀδίκως, ἢ δέονται τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἐπανεέλθωσιν, ἢ διαμαρτόντες τούτου λαιδοροῦσι τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας, ὡς φαύλως αὐτοῖς προσφερομένας· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ ἀναξίως ὦν ἐπολιτευσάμην ἠτύχησα, καὶ κατηγορῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς ἐάλων, ἄχθομαι μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀγανακτῶ δὲ οὐδέν. **2** Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔγωγε ἠλίθιος εἰμι ὥστε, ἐξ ἧς πόλεως Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθέρωσας ἐξηλάθη, καὶ ὅπου Μιλτιάδης, ὅτι μικρὸν ὄφειλε τῷ δημοσίῳ, γέρον ὦν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ἀπέθανε, ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει Αἰσχίνην τὸν Ἄτρομήτου φεύγοντα ἀγανακτεῖν οἶεσθαι δεῖν, εἴ τι τῶν εἰωθότων Ἀθήνησιν ἔπαθεν. **3** Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ λαμπρὸν εἰκότως μοι νομίσαιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, τὸ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἄξιός τοῦ ὁμοιοπαθεῖν ἐκείνοις γεγονέναι.

III. Titulum habent **HZ**: om. Αἰσχίνης, add. ἐπιστολὴ τρίτη **Z** || **§ 1.** 1 οἱ μὲν: εἰ μὲν **H** || 1 πάντες: om. **H** || 2 ἑαυτῶν: om. **H** || 3 ἐπεὶ ἀπαξ: om. ἀπαξ **ABCMPZ^{a.c.}**, ἀπαξ add. **Z^{ms.}**: ἐπίπαν **V**: καίπερ conj. Taylor || 3 ὦν: ὦν ἐγὼ **M** || 4 καὶ κ.τ.λ. ἐάλων: om. **H** || 4 μὲν: δὲ **PZ^{a.c.}** || 4 ἀγανακτῶ: sub voce ὀργίζομαι inseruit **A** || 4 μὲν κ.τ.λ. δὲ: om. **C** || **§ 2.** 1 Θεμιστοκλῆς: ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς **ABMPVa** || 2 ὄφειλε: ὄφλε(v) **aMZ^{s.1.}** || 3 ὦν: om. **ABMPVZ^{a.c.}a** Ald. (per dittographiam), add. **Z^{s.1.}** || 3 δεσμοτηρίῳ: δεσμοτηρίῳ **V** || 3 ἀπέθανε: ἀπέθανεν **H^{a.c.}** || 3 Αἰσχίνην: Αἰσχίνη **C** || 3 Ἄτρομήτου: Ἄτρομίτου **V** || 4 ἔπαθεν **HP^{p.c.}M**: ἔπαθον **CAV^{a.c.}B^{a.c.}Z** || **§ 3.** 1 ἀλλ': ἀλλὰ **CPVB**: ἀλλὰ καὶ **A** || 2 καὶ: ἢ **B** || 2 εἰκότως: εἰδότης **A^{a.c.}P**, cf. Aeschin. 1.111 || 2 μοι: ἂν ἐμοὶ **H**: om. **B** Ald. || 2 νομίσαιμ' ἂν: ἂν νομίσαιμ' **HZP^{p.c.}** || 2 αὐτὸ: αὐτὸν **H**: αὐτῷ Reiske, aut αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ κ.τ.λ. coniecit || 2 γενέσθαι: γενήσεσθαι conj. Baiter–Sauppe, del. Weidner || 3 παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις: post μοι transposuit Hertlein, Hermae IX. p. 361, defendit Gillischewski || 3 ἀνθρώποις: ἀνθρώποις <κεῖσθαι> Sakorraphus, Mnemosynes XXII. p. 407 || ad fin. τέλος τῶν Αἰσχίνου τοῦ ῥήτορος

ἐπιστολῶν subscr. **H**, ἐπίγραμμα add. **APZa** ὄμμασιν πυρσοτόκοισιν ἀλάστορες εἴκετε πάντες· οὐ θέμις ἀντιθέους ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφοιπολεύειν.

Letter 3

Aeschines to the Council and the Assembly

(1) All those people that suffer an exile unjustly, either ask their citizens for a way in which they could return, or, if they fail to obtain this, reproach their own countries, saying that they treat them badly. Personally, however, seeing that once I suffered a disgrace unworthy of my political career, and that because of accusing others I got myself convicted, I feel aggrieved, as must naturally be the case, but not angered. (2) For indeed I am not so foolish as to think that Aeschines, the son of Atrometus, should be angered for being exiled from the same city, from which Themistocles, the liberator of Greece, was driven out, and where Miltiades, because he had a small debt to the public, died in his old age in prison, if he suffers something that is customary in Athens. (3) Besides, I should reasonably deem it my brilliant achievement to have shared with these persons the disreputable situation – in the eyes of future generations – and to have become worthy of experiencing the same as they did.

1 Ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ σοι πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ Κλεοκράτους, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης ἄκουε· παύση γὰρ οὐ προῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν, οὐδ' ἄπει πρὶν μακρᾶς ἀκοῦσαι διηγήσεως. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ γένος ἐστὶν ἀπάντων ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐν ἀφανεστάτοις, Ἀρίφρονα τὸν ἐκ Δαμαγήτου εἶ που πυνθάνοιο, ὃν που καὶ ὁ μέγας αἶρει Πίνδαρος.

2 Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνης ζητῶν ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Πίνδαρος. Τουτὶ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Μαντία τῷ γραμματιστῇ ἅμα ἐμοί ποτε ἔμαθες τὸ γράμμα· καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν παρὰ Μαντία μνημονεύεις, ἐν γοῦν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις Μελανώπου ἐκάστοτε ἀκούεις λέγοντος «ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἀοίδιμοὶ Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα Ἀθῆναι»,

3 καὶ ὅτι Πινδάρου τοῦ Θηβαίου τὸ ἔπος τοῦτό ἐστι [λέγοντος] καὶ ὅτι ἐζημίωσαν αὐτὸν Θηβαῖοι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα τὸ ἔπος, οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διπλῆν αὐτῷ τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέδωκαν μετὰ τοῦ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τιμῆσαι· καὶ ἦν αὕτη καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, πρὸ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς καθήμενος ἔνδύματι καὶ λύρα† ὁ Πίνδαρος, διάδημα ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀνειλγμένον βιβλίον.

4 Οὗτος δὴ ὁ Πίνδαρος Δαμάγητον ἄδει ἐκεῖνον, εἰς ὃν ἀνατείνει τὸ Κλεοκράτους γένος. Λέγει δὲ που ὁ αὐτὸς Πίνδαρος καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Διαγορείους καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πρεσβῦτιν, ἧς τὸ μητρῶν γένος αὐτοῦ ἄπτεται. Καὶ εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἦδεν ποιητῶν ὑπέρφρονα ὄντα σε, καὶ τὰ ἀγοραῖα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀπολέσαντα ἡμᾶς ἐπιτηδεύματα μᾶλλον περιέποντα, κἂν ἀποχρῆν ὑπελάμβανόν σε ὑπομνῆσαι μόνον τὰ περὶ τοὺς Διαγορείους εἰπὼν ἔπη Πινδάρου· νυνὶ δὲ οἶδα ὅτι μάτην σοι αὐτὰ [τὴν λύραν] λέξομεν.

5 Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἀνάγκη εἶναι διηγήσασθαι σοι τὸ διήγημα τοῦτο· ἄξιον γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ προσήκοι Κλεοκράτει. Λέγεται γὰρ γυνὴ ποτε πρεσβῦτις Ὀλυμπίασι παρελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἐστάναι τε ἅμα τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους, ἐπιστάντων δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν ἑλλανοδικῶν ὅτι ἐτόλμησε παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ στάδιον, ἀποκρίνασθαι «τίνι γὰρ ἄλλη τοῦτο γυναικὶ δέδωκε καυχῆσασθαι οὗτος ὁ θεός, ὅτι καὶ πατέρα καὶ τρεῖς ἀδελφοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας ἔχοι καὶ υἱὸν ἐπ' Ὀλύμπια ἄγοι;»

6 Ταύτης οὖν τῆς πρεσβύτιδος καὶ τούτου τοῦ γένους ἀπορρώξ ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης,

ὡς ἔστι μᾶλλον πάντων ἢ αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι. Καὶ πλείω μὲν οὐ βούλομαι λέγειν, μὴ οὐ μηνῦσαί σοι, ὅπερ ἠξίωσας, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης, βούλεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγκεκομιακέναι αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ Θρασύμαχος τὸν ξένον, συντετάχθαι καὶ ἀποτίνειν ταύτην τὴν χάριν τοῦ λαμπρῶς ἐστιᾶσθαι δοκῶ. Τοσοῦτον μέντοι εἵποιμ' ἂν ὅτι ἡ πρεσβῦτις ἐκεῖνη, εἰ τοῦτον ἐγνώκει τὸν Κλεοκράτη, πολὺ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς πέντε ὀλυμπιονίκαις ἐσεμνύετο.

IV. § 1. 1 ἐπεὶ: ἐπειδὴ Ald. || 1 δοκεῖ σοι: σοι δοκεῖ **VBM** Ald.: δοκῆ σοι coll. Blass², ut videtur in marg. cod. Guelferbytanus Gud. gr. 23 (vita Pind. Thomae Magistri, ed. A. Westermann, *Biographoi. Vitarum scriptores Graeci minores*, p. 99) || 1 ὁ Κλεοκράτης: del. Weidner || 2 παύση γὰρ οὐ προῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν defendit Reiske: οὐ del. Wolf, ‘desines enim gratis inquirere’: παύση γὰρ οὐ προῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν conj. Markland, ‘non enim gratis desines inquirere’ || 3 ἀνδρῶν **APVBMZ**: ἀνδρὸς **C** || 4 τὸν ἐκ Δαμαγήτου **A^{p.c.}V**(Δαματήτου)**BMZ^{p.c.}**: τε ἐκ Δαμάτητον **C**: τὸν ἐκ Δαμάτητον **A^{a.c.}PZ^{a.c.}**: τε καὶ Δαμάγητον restituit Drerup ex **C** || 4 πυνθάνοιο: πυνθάνη **C** || 4 ὄν που: που add. **C** (et cod. Harleianus 5635) || § 2. 1 τουτί: τουτουὶ coll. Taylor (et Drerup), ut videtur in L.C. Valckenaer ed. *Ammonius. De adfinium vocabulorum differentia*, III, p. 56 (ad Ammonium, *In Aristotelis de interpretatione commentarius* p. 23.17–22 Reimer) || 1 μὲν: om. **P^{a.c.}** || 2 τὸ γράμμα: esse τὸ σύγγραμμα vel βιβλίον recte interpretantur Valckenaer (coll. *Anthologia Graeca* 9.25.1, 9.184.3) et Reiske: del. Markland, qui putat esse explicatio vocis τουτί, defendit Taylor || 3 Μαντία: Μανδία **B** || 3 Μελανώπου: Μελανίπ(π)ου **VBMZ^{p.c.}a**, cf. *Epp.* 7.1–4, 12.16–17 || 4 ὦ ταῖ **C**: ὦ (vel ἄ) τε **APVBMZ^{p.c.}a** Ald., cf. Pind. fr. 76 Maehler || 4 λιπαραί: λιπαρὰ **P** || 4 ἀοίδιμοι **VBMZ^{p.c.}** Ald.: δίδυμοι **CA^{p.c.}**: δίδυμα vel διδύμα **A^{a.c.}PZ^{a.c.}a** || 4 ἔρεισμα: ἔρεισμ’ **VB**: ἔρεις μαθᾶναι **M**: ὦ ταλαίπωροι Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεγαλόπολιες Ἀθῆναι **Z^{mg.}**, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 7.1 et vita Pind. Thomae Magistri, ed. A. Westermann, *Biographoi. Vitarum scriptores Graeci minores*, p. 99.28 (= [Pind.] fr. 197 Maehler) || 4 Ἀθᾶναι: Ἀθῆναι **A^{a.c.}**: Ἀθῆνα **P** || § 3. 1 τὸ ἔπος

τοῦτο: τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος **A**: τοῦτο del. Weidner || 1 λέγοντος: del. Weidner, fort. scholium vel per dittographiam || 2 Θηβαῖοι: Θηβαῖοι <, χιλίας δραχμαῖς> Blass² coll. Eust. *Prooem.Pind.* 28.1 Kambylis || 2 τὸ ἔπος: del. Weidner, fort. per dittographiam, sed substantivi repetitionem latinismum esse puto, cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 5.3, 9.2, 10.6 || 2 ἡμέτεροι: ὑμέτεροι **C** || 2 αὐτῶ τήν: αὐτὸν ζῆν **P^{a.c.}** || 3 τοῦ και: και om. **VB^{a.c.}** Ald., sed defendit Reiske || 3 αὔτη: αὐτὴ **α**, corr. Bekker || 4 βασιλείου: βασιλείας **V** || 4 ἐνδύματι και λύρα, locum ut videtur corrupte: <ἐν> ἐνδύματι και λύρα Hemsterhuis, in *Aristophanis comoedia Plutus*, p. 479b: ἐνδυτὸς στέμματι και λύρα Weidner: ἐν ἐνδύματι ποδήρει Blass¹: σὺν ἐνδύματι και λύρα conj. Gillischewski || 5 ἀνειλιγμένον: ἀνελιμμένον **A^{a.c.}**: ἀνειλεγμένον **B** || § 4. 1 οὔτος δὴ: οὔτος δὲ Wolf || 2 Δαμάγητον: Δαμάτητον **CVP**, om. **A^{a.c.}**, sub voce add. || 2 ἄδει: ἄγει Ald. || 2 Κλεοκράτους: Λεοκράτους **A^{a.c.}Z^{a.c.}** || 2 γένος: γένους **P^{a.c.}** || 3 τὰ περι: τὸ περι **B** || 3 Διαγορείους: Διαγορίου **CM** || 4 γένος αὐτοῦ ἄπτεται: αὐτοῦ γένος ἄπτεται **APVBMZ** (per hiat.) || 4 ἦδειν: ἦδην **B** || 4 ὑπέρφρονα ὄντα: ὑπέρφρονοῦντα conj. Blass || 6 ὑπομνήσαι: ὑπομνήσαιμι **Z^{p.c.}** || 6 μόνον τὰ: μὲν ὄντα **C**: μᾶλλον τὰ **P^{a.c.}** || 6–7 Διαγορείους εἰπὼν ἔπη Πινδάρου: Διαγορίου εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Πινδάρῳ **C** || 7 νυνί: νῦν **Z^{s.1.}** Ald. || 7 ὅτι μάτην σοι αὐτὰ τὴν λύραν **C**: τὴν λύραν del. Drerup, fort. scholium: ὅτι μάτην σοι αὐτὰ τὰ λυρικὰ conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz (ex supra ἔπη): ὅτι σοι μάτην αὐτὰ τὴν λύραν **A^{a.c.}PBM** (et cod. Harleianus 5635, παροιμία ut videtur in marg.): ὅτι σοι μάτην αὐτὰ τὴν λύραν **Z** (per hiat.): ὅτι μάτην σοι ταύτην τὴν λύραν **A^{p.c.}V** Ald. || 7 λέξομεν: λελέξομεν **B^{a.c.}** || § 5. 2 ἀνάγκη: ἀνάγκην **C** (et cod. Harleianus 5635) Ald. || 3 προσήκοι **C**: προσήκον **APVBMZ** (et cod. Harleianus 5635) Ald.: προσήκε Wolf: προσήκεν Blass || 3 γυνὴ ποτε: ποτε γυνή **V** (et cod. Harleianus 5635) Ald. || 3 Ὀλυμπίασι **CAPB** Ald., coll. *Ep.* 11.10: Ὀλυμπιάσι **V** || 4 στάδιον ἐστάναι: στάδιον ἀποκρίνασθαι τίνι γὰρ ἄλλη γυναικὶ τοῦτο ἐστάναι **A^{a.c.}**, dittographia ex infra lineam || 4 θεάσασθαι: θεᾶσθαι **APZ** || 6 τοῦτο γυναικὶ: γυναικὶ τοῦτο **APZ**: γυναικὶ del. Weidner || 6 οὔτος **C**: οὔτως **APBMZ**: οὔτω **V**: del. Blass¹ || 7 Ὀλυμπιονίκας: Ὀλυμπιονίκης **B** || 7 ἔχοι: ἔχει **VB^{a.c.}**,

defendit Reiske: ἔχω Wolf || 7 ἄγοι: ἄγει conj. Reiske: ἄγω Wolf || § 6. 2 ἀπορρώξ: ἀπόρωξ A^{a.c.}P || 3 ὡς ἔστι: ὡς ἔστιν C || 3 μᾶλλον πάντων: παντὸς μᾶλλον Hercher || 3 μὲν οὐ: μὲν οὖν οὐ A^{a.c.}PV || 3 μὴ: μὴ οὖν V, defendit Reiske, qui putat μὴ cohaerere cum μόνον et coniecit constructionem esse δοκῶ οὖν μοι μὴ μόνον βεβουληῖσθαι μηνύσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συντετᾶσθαι ('a verbo συντείνεσθαι, idem quod σπουδάσαι') ἐγκεκωμιακέναι αὐτόν: <ἴνα> μὴ Wolf, igitur 'ne non solum indicare tibi κ.τ.λ. sed et laudationem eius instituisse' || 4 ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Κλεοκράτης: del. Weidner (ex § 1) || 5 ἐγκεκωμιακέναι: ἐγκωμιακέναι A^{a.c.}PVZ^{a.c.} || 5 Θρασύμαχος τὸν ξένον, συντετάχθαι καὶ ἀποτίνειν VBMZ^{s.l.}, hunc hospitem esse Cephalum patrem Lysiacum vel Socratem conieci: Θρασύμαχος τῶν ξένων, συντετάχθαι καὶ ἀποτίνειν CAPZ^{a.c.}: Θρασύμαχος τὸν ξένον, συντετάχθαι <δὲ> καὶ ἀποτίνειν Blass¹: Θρασύμαχος <ἐπὶ> τῶν ξένων συντέτακται, καὶ ἀποτίνειν Drerup (ὑπὲρ add. Gillischewski coll. Ep. 10.2: ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ ἔπη ἐστὶ γιγνόμενα) || 6 ἀποτίνειν: ἀποτείνειν CAPZ || 6 τοῦ: τῷ Wolf || 6 ἐστιᾶσθαι: αἰστιᾶσθαι C: εἰστιᾶσθαι conj. Reiske || 6 τοσοῦτον: τοσοῦτο Ald. || 6–7 εἵπομι' ἄν: εἵπομι ἄν C || 7 τοῦτον: om. PZ^{a.c.} || 7 τὸν Κλεοκράτη VBZ^{s.l.} Ald.: τὸν om. C(Κλεοκράτει ante corr.)AP: τὸν Κλεοκράτην Reiske.

Letter 4

(1) Since you would like to obtain information about Cleocrates, hear who exactly this person is! For your curiosity would be endless without an award, and you will not leave before hearing a long story. I put it like that because by lineage he is not among the most obscure of all the Greek people, if ever you have heard of Ariphron, descendant from Damagetus whom even the great Pindar extols somewhere. (2) But may you not become an object of ridicule while seeking to find out who exactly Pindar is. I say this because, as I see it, you have once read the actual textbook with me at the house of Mantias the schoolmaster. And if you no longer remember

anything at Mantias' school, at least in the meetings of the Assembly you do hear Melanopus saying each time: 'O you, shining and famed in song, bulwark of Greece, Athens', **(3)** and his additional remark that this verse is from Pindar of Thebes, and that although the Thebans fined him for writing such a verse, our ancestors offered him a twofold compensation, even with the honour of a bronze statue; it is still visible in our day, in front of the Royal Stoa, where Pindar is seated with a garment and a lyre, wearing a diadem and unrolling a book on his knees.

(4) This Pindar is precisely the one who celebrated that famous Damagetus, to whom the lineage of Cleocrates goes back. Well, the same Pindar also mentions somewhere the families of the Diagoreans, and those of the old woman to whom Cleocrates' maternal lineage is bonded. Indeed, had I not been acutely aware that you are a despiser of the poets, and that you treat in a more respectful way those vulgar things and the customs that ruined me, I would be assuming it sufficient to remind you of the Diagoreans and their families by reciting only a few verses from Pindar. But now I know that my words will make no sense to you. **(5)** So I think it is necessary to tell you a tale as follows; it is worth hearing, even if it bears no relation to Cleocrates. You know, it is said that once upon a time at Olympia an old lady stepped into the stadium, standing in the midst of men as a spectator of those who were contending for a prize. As the Hellene-judges stopped her for having dared to step into the stadium, she replied: 'Why, to what other lady has this god granted to speak loudly of the fact that she has a father and three brothers who are Olympic victors, and now is taking her son to Olympia?'

(6) You see, it is this old woman and her lineage of which Cleocrates is an offshoot, according to the information that can be well obtained from everyone but himself. And now I don't want to say more; I have scruples not only about the idea of showing you who exactly Cleocrates is, as you have expected, but also about my readiness to praise him, as in the case of Thrasymachus and his host, to reward his act of being impressively hospitable. Nevertheless, I would add only a few words

that the respectable old woman, if she had known our Cleocrates, would take more pride in him than in the five Olympic victors.

1 Ὁ μὲν Ἰουλιάδης, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐπεποίθεις, οὔτε ὅτε ἀφίγμεθα εἰς Ῥόδον παρῶν ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ Λίνδον ἦν, οὔτ' ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Ῥόδον περιττῶς ἠσμένισεν ἡμᾶς, ἔξω δὴ τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ ταῦτα προστάξαι, λέγειν εἴ τινων χρῆζομεν. Ὁ δὲ Κλεοκράτης, οὐδὲ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιστεῖλαί σοι δυναίμην ἂν αὐτάρκως τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὅση κέχρηται περὶ ἐμέ. **2** Καὶ γὰρ οἰκίαν παρεσκευάσέ μοι δημοσίᾳ δοθῆναι καὶ χωρίον ἐν Καμίρῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπεμψεν ἡμῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἄφθονα, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Τεύθραντι καὶ Πλειστίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ εἰ φαυλότερα τῶν Ἀθήνησιν, ὥσπερ ἔλαιον καὶ μέλι, ἀλλ' οἷον παρόντων οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν δεηθείημεν, οἶνόν γε μὴν καὶ πολὺ ἀμείνω τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκ στροβίλου ἄμα καὶ ἀλεύρων καὶ ἀρωμάτων πεποιημένα ἐν τύποις τραγήματα, ὧν καὶ πέπομφά σοι. **3** Ταῦτα δὴ ἡμῖν ἔπεμψε, καὶ πυρῶν μεδίμνους, ὅσοις ἐγὼ μεδίμνοις οὐχ ὅπως ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας Κοθωκίδας διαρκεῖν ἂν ἐδυνάμην· καὶ πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις, ἃ γράφειν αἰσχύνομαι, ἵνα μὴ τινα δηλοῦν ἐμὴν μικρολογίαν δόξω. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὰ μικρὰ πάνυ ὑπερασπάζεσθαι μικρολογίας τινὸς εἶναί φημι καὶ ἀπειροκαλίας, φιλοφρονημάτων δὲ καὶ μικρῶν πάνυ ἔγωγε ἠττάσθαι ὁμολογῶ. **4** Παρέχει δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλα καλλίω, συῶν τε ἀγρίων καὶ δορκάδων τῶν πέραθεν ἀπολαύσματα. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν σύνεστιν ὀσημέραι, καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας, ἢ σοφωτέρα ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐστίν. Ἄ γὰρ ἐγὼ παθῶν ἐδιδάχθην, ταῦτα πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάττεται, σοφία καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄφρονες πείρα διδασκόμενος· οὐ γὰρ πολιτεύεται. **5** Καὶ ὅσον γ' ἐπὶ Κλεοκράτει, οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως ἄλλης οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἀσμενίζω τῇ συμφορᾷ, καὶ ἀρχὴ δοκεῖ μοι τοῦ βίου ἢ ἀπαλλαγὴ τῆς αὐτόθι πολιτείας. Καὶ ὅτε μὲν ὑπεραγαπῶ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ὅπερ φασὶ Σοφοκλέα ἤδη γέροντα ὑπὲρ ἄλλης ἡδονῆς εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ κυνὸς λυττώσης ἀπηλλάχθαι ποτὲ τῆς τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι ἡδονῆς δοκῶ, καὶ ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἐπικρατῇ, τρισευδαίμων ἔγωγε ἐμαυτῷ τῆς φυγῆς ἦν φεύγω φαίνομαι. **6** ὅταν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπέλθῃ με λογισμὸς τε καὶ μνήμη τῶν αὐτόθι, οὐχ ἑταίρων μόνον,

ἀλλὰ καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ Κολλυτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ὄκησα, καὶ τοῦ Ἀλῆσι χωρίου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ μοι μετὰ σοῦ καὶ Φιλίνου διατριβῶν γενομένων, μεταρρεῖ ἅπαν τὸ αἷμα ἄλλοσέ ποι τῶν σπλάγγων πάλιν, καὶ μοι δῆποτε καὶ λοιδορίαί αἷς ἐλοιδορούμην ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους ἥδιστα δοκοῦσι, καὶ σκώμματα, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς ἔξω Κτησιφῶντος ἐγάλασε πώποτε. **7** Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄλις μὲν ἤδη δακρύων, σὺ δ' εὐτυχοίης, καὶ μὴ μόνον πολιτείαν ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λεπτίνην φεῦγε, ὅτι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχει φιλαπεχθημόνως, καὶ ὅτι τᾶλλα τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὅτου περιεῖναι μὲν μηδενὸς λαμπρότερον, ἠτᾶσθαι δὲ ἀδοξότατον. Καὶ μάλιστα μὲν παραινῶ, φεῦγε τὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ διατριβάς· εἰ δ' αὖ συνέλθοις ἐκ τύχης καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν λέγοι τι, πειρῶ σιωπᾶν, ἂν ἰσχύης, καὶ γελᾶν. **8** Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν δίδωσιν ἀποχρῶσαν δίκην τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ γέλωτος εἶναι δοκεῖν ἅμα καὶ μίσους ἄξιος· σὺ δέ, εἰ μὴ πάνυ φοβῆ τὴν θάλατταν, ἀφίκοιο παρ' ἡμᾶς ποτε, καὶ παρασχὼν σαυτὸν ἰδεῖν ἡμῖν ἐπανίους πάλιν.

I. Tit. ἐπιστολῆ inscr. **A^{a.c.}** : αὕτη πρῶτον ἐγράφη **Z^{mg.}** || **§ 1.** 1 μὲν: μὲν οὖν **P** || 1 Ἰουλιάδης (vel -ίδης) codd. : Οὐλιάδης conj. Wilamowitz, Hermae XXXVII. p. 314, sq. Schwegler || 1 εἰς: ἐς Ald. || 3 χρήζομεν: χρείζομεν **B** || 4 οὐδὲ: οὐ Hercher || **§ 2.** 1–2 παρεσκεύασέ (παρεσκευάσαι **M**) μοι δημοσίᾳ δοθῆναι: δημοσίᾳ δοθῆναί μοι παρεσκευάσεν **A** || 2 Καμίρω **PZ^{p.c.}**: Καμήρω **A^{a.c.}**: Καμείρω **CVB** Ald. || 3 ἄφθονα: ἄφθονον **APV** || 3 Πλειστιά Reiske: Ὀπλιστία (sq. García Ruiz) vel Ἀπλιστία codd., sed nulla haec nomina graeca sunt. || 3 τὰ μὲν: <καὶ> τὰ μὲν Reiske || 4 καὶ εἰ **AVMZ^{a.c.}**: εἰ del. Weidner (om. **B**, qui tamen ἐφασυλότερα): καὶ εἰς **PC^{a.c.}**: εἰ καὶ Ald. || 4 ἀλλ' οἶων: ἀλλ' <οὖν> οἶων Reiske || 5 ἐκεῖθεν **CA^{p.c.}** ('Atticus' Wolf): ἐκεῖ **A^{p.c.}PVBMZ** || 5 οἶνόν: οἶον **M** || 5 ὑμῖν **V^{a.c.}Z^{s.l.}** Ald. : ἡμῖν cett. || 6 ἀλεύρων: ἀλεύρου **P** || **§ 3.** 1 ταῦτα: τᾶλλα Weidner || 1 δὴ Hercher: δ' codd. et Ald.: θ' Bekker || 1 καὶ πυρῶν: καὶ <τοσοῦτους> πυρῶν || 1–2 ὅσοις ἐγὼ μεδίμνοις: μεδίμνους del. Wolf, defendit Taylor, fort. per dittographiam, sed substantivi repetitionem latinismum esse putat Reiske, cf. *ILLRP* 517.1–5; *Epp.* 2.1, 4.3, 9.2, 10.6 || 2

Κοθωκίδας, ad δημόται referre conieci: Κοθωκίδας **C**: Κοθωκίδας <έστιάσας> Drerup, sed hoc supplementum dissentire ab εμαντόν putat Gillischewski || 2 διαρκεῖν: διάγειν vel διατρέφειν Wolf || 2 ἐδυνάμην: ἠδυνάμην **B** Ald. || 3 ᾶ: **P^{mg}-Z** Ald. : om. **aM** || 4 δόξω: om. **B** || 4 γὰρ τὰ: γὰρ <αὐτὰ> τὰ Blass || 4 ὑπερασπάζεσθαι: ὑπερασπίζεσθαι **CABZ^{a.c.}** || 4 μικρολογίας τινός Drerup, delevit dittographias ex verbis antecedentibus μικρολογίαν δόξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ: μικρολογίας ἔδοξεν· το μὲν τινος **C**: μικρολογίας τὸ μὲν τινος **APZ**: μικρολογίας μὲν τινος **VBM** Ald.: μικρολογίας τέ τινος Blass¹ || § 4. 2 ἀπολαύσματα: ἀπολαύματα Ald. || 3–4 ἢ σοφωτέρα ἢ καθ’ ἡμᾶς: ἢ σοφωτέρα τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς, nisi fort. ἢ σοφώτερος ἢ καθ’ ἡμᾶς Markland || 4 ἐδιδάχθην: <φυλάττεσθαι> ἐδιδάχθην conj. Blass¹ || 4 πρὶν: om. **B** || 5 φυλάττεται: φυλάττεσθαι **V** || 5 σοφία: σοφίαν **V^{a.c.}** || 5 πείρα: πείρα **V** || § 5. 2 ἀνθρώπων: ἂν ὦν **Z^{a.c.}**, per compendium (García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz) || 3 ὅτε μὲν Blass: οὕτως μὲν **APVBMZ**: οὕτω μὲν Ald. : οὕτος μὲν **C**, οὕτος referre ad Aeschinem putat Drerup, οὕτος με conj. Gillischewski || 4 ὑπεραγαπῶ **APVBMZ**: ὑπεραγαπᾷ **C** (ὑπεραγαπᾶν conj. Drerup) || 4 τὰ: τε **C** || 4 καὶ ὅπερ: ὥσθ’, ὅπερ Wolf || 5 ἀπηλλάχθαι: ἀπηλάχθαι **V** || 5 ποτὲ κ.τ.λ. δοκῶ Reiske, cf. Pl. *Resp.* 329c (= *TGF* IV T 80a): ποιεῖ κ.τ.λ. ῥ̄ codd. et Ald., ῥ̄ del. Drerup, latinismum esse putat Gillischewski coll. § 3: δοκεῖν κ.τ.λ. ῥ̄ Wolf: δοκῶ κ.τ.λ. ῥ̄ Weidner || 6 φεύγω: φεύγων **AP^{a.c.}** || § 6. 1 ὑπέλθην με Hercher: ὑπέλθην μοι **CAPBZ**: ὑπέρθοιμι **V** || 1 μνήμη Baiter–Sauppe, coll. *Ep.* 6.1: γνώμη codd. et Ald. || 2 μόνον: μόνων **C** || 2 ἀλλὰ καὶ: καὶ om. **V** || 3 Κολλυτοῦ: Κολλύτου **C**: Κολυττοῦ **VB** Ald. || 3 τετταράκοντα: τεσσαράκοντα **A**, corr. Ald. || 3 Ἄλησι conj. Meursius (in libro *de Populis et Pagis Atticae*) et Taylor, coll. Men. fr. 77, l. 3 *PCG* (Blass): Ἄλησι **CA^{a.c.}** (Ἄλησι Ald.): Ἄλωπεκῆσι **AP^{c.}**: Ἄλήσει **P**: Ἄλσει **V**: Ἄλσει **B** || 3 χωρίου: πεδίου **A^{a.c.}** || 4 Φιλίνου **CP^{p.c.}BMZ^{p.c.}**: Φιλίου **P^{a.c.}AP^{c.}Z^{a.c.}**: Φιλίων **A^{a.c.}** || 4 ἅπαν: eras. **Z** || 4 ἄλλοσέ ποι: ἄλλος ἐπὶ **V** || 5 δήποτε: δήπου **Z^{s.1.}** || 5 λαιδορίαί αις: λαιδορίαίς **P^{a.c.}**: λαιδορίαί ἄς **P^{p.c.}**, coll. Dem. 21.132: λαιδορίας αις **Z**: <αι> λαιδορίαί αις Drerup (cod. Laurentianus LX 28) || 6 δοκοῦσι: δοκοῦσιν **A** || § 7. 1 ἤδη **C**: ἡμῖν **APVBMZ** ||

2 Λεπτίνην: Λεπτίνης **Z**^{mg.} || 3 μηδενὸς λαμπρότερον conj. Reiske, μηδενὸς cohaerere cum ὄτου ('splendidus non est quam ullum aliud'): μηδένα λαμπρότερον codd. et Ald. (μηδὲν **P**^{p.c.} et Baiter–Sauppe: μηδενὶ Taylor): μηδένα λαμπρότερον <ποιεῖ> Wolf ('Leptinus vicisse nihil splendoris habeat') || 4 συνέλθοις Bekker: συνέλθης codd. et Ald. || 5 λέγοι τι: λέγοιτο **C** || § 8. 2 τὸ: τῷ Reiske, sed cf. *Ep.* 3.3 || 2 καὶ γέλωτος: καὶ om. **B** || 3 μίσους: μῖσος **V**^{a.c.} || 3 θάλατταν: θάλασσαν **P** || 4 σαυτὸν **CA**^{p.c.}: αὐτὸν **A**^{a.c.}: σεαυτὸν **PVB** || 4 ἰδεῖν ἡμῖν: ἡμῖν ἰδεῖν Ald. (et Reiske) || 4 ἐπανίους: ἐπανίης **B**: ἐπανήκοις **Z**^{p.c.} Ald. (et Reiske).

Letter 5

(1) Juliades, in whom you had a great deal of confidence, happened not to be there when we arrived in Rhodus, but was around Lindus; nor did he, after returning to Rhodus, receive us very satisfactorily, except for telling us, as is normal decency, to let him know if we need anything. As for Cleocrates, on the other hand, I will not – by the gods! – be able to tell you well enough by letter the extremes of kindness that he has shown to me. (2) For he arranged at public expense for a house and a plot of land to be granted to me in Camirus, and he himself sent us abundant provisions for a year – not only to me, but also to Teuthras and Pleistias. And although all the other products are inferior to those in Athens, olive-oil and honey for instance, with such things available we do not need anything from your side. The wine, at any rate, is much better than yours, and so are the sweetmeats made in moulds with a mixture of pinecones, wheat-meals and herbs; these are by the way what I have sent to you. (3) He has sent us all this, as well as measures of wheat, the large quantity of which enables me to sustain not simply myself but also the whole of Cothocidae. As for many other foods in addition to this, I am ashamed to mention in my writing for fear that I will show a certain pettiness on my part. For to cling too tightly to insignificant matters is, in my opinion, a sign of a certain pettiness and lack of taste; personally,

however, I admit that I have weakness for gestures of benevolence, even if they are quite insignificant. **(4)** He also provides for us other foods of higher quality – enjoyments of wild boar and of roe deer from the coastal territory. He even accompanies us in person everyday and shares his wisdom, which is wiser than ours. The reason is that, while I was taught by what has befallen me, he exercises caution before anything befalls him, being taught by wisdom, not by experience, as fools are; meanwhile, he does not engage in politics.

(5) In so far as it depends on Cleocrates, I do not wish for any other city or persons; instead, I am extremely satisfied with my misfortune, and it seems to me that the riddance to public life in Athens is the beginning of my life. There are times when I have an exaggerated affection for things as they are, and I think I should mention the saying attributable to Sophocles, when he was already an old man, concerning another kind of ‘pleasure’: having escaped the ‘pleasure’ of politics, I feel as if I have escaped a rabid she-dog. And when reason prevails, I find myself thrice-fortunate because of the exile that I am suffering. **(6)** But when the thought and the memory of the things in Athens come upon me time and again, embracing not only my companions, but also my kinsmen, the meetings of the Assembly, Collytus, where I lived for forty-five years, my land in Halae, and the days I spent with you and Philinus in that place, all the blood flows to and fro in my inward parts; some times I even think that the evil-speaking by Demosthenes the evil speaker is very pleasant – so are his gibes at which no one but Ctesiphon would ever laugh.

(7) But since you have shed so many tears already, may you be happy, and not only get away from public life at all costs, but also from Leptines, because he is ill-disposed towards us, and because in general a man like him is not more distinguished than anyone else, and is more disreputable in his inferiority. Above all, I advise you to avoid spending time with him; if you should by chance meet him again and he should be saying something against us, try to keep silent, as it would be possible for you, and then to laugh. **(8)** It is punishment enough for him to appear to

all men to deserve both laughter and hatred. As for you, if the sea does not scare you too much, may you one day come to our side, and go back once we have seen you.

Αἰσχίνης Φιλοκράτει

1 Ἀρίστων οὗτος, ὁ κομίσας σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ὁ πρῶτός ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ὑποδεξάμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ. Πέπλευκε δὲ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ χρεῖαν κηδεστοῦ γέροντος, ἀργύριον εἰσπράξων παρὰ τοῦ τραπεζίτου Χαρμόλα. Σκόπει οὖν ὅπως ὑποδέξῃ αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως· ἔστι δὲ κομιδῆ εὐτελής τὴν δίαιταν καὶ πρέπων ἡμῖν· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπράξεις, ὡς μάθη ὅτι οὐ παντελῶς ἔρημον φίλων ὑπέλαβεν ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἔτι τις Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνου μνήμη καὶ λόγος.

VI. Titulum habet **H**: Αἰσχίνης om. **Z** Ald.: om. **aM** || § **1.** 1 κομίσας **HZ**^{s.l.}, epistolarum usui conveniens (Drerup): κομίζων **aM** || 2 ὑποδεξάμενος: ὑπερδεξάμενος **V**^{a.c.} || 3 Χαρμόλα **aMZ**^{a.c.}: Χαρίμον **HZ**^{gr.} (Χαρίνου Drerup coll. cod. Parisinus 2755 alii) || 3 οὖν: δὲ Ald. || 3–4 ὑποδέξῃ αὐτὸν **H**: αὐτὸν ὑποδέξῃ **aMZ** (hiat.), sed in epistolis quae privatis annumerandae sunt, hiatus saepe ferendum esse putat Drerup, cf. *Ep.* 1.2, 5: αὐτὸν δέξῃ Ald. || 4 ἔστι: ἔστιν **C** || 4 δέ: δὴ **APVZ** || 4 πρέπων, cum ἡμῖν hoc esse poeticum putat Markland coll. Eur. *Alc.* 1121–1122: πρεπόντως Reiske, sqq. Blass¹ et Drerup || 4–5 ἡμῖν· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπράξεις **H**, coll. Soph. *Aj.* 1396: ἡμῖν, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπράξεις **C** (ἡμῖν: ὑμῖν conj. Wilamowitz, *Hermae* XL. p. 149, 'conveniens vobis'): ἡμῖν· ὧ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπράξεις **APVBMZ**: ἡμῖν· ὧ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπράξεις Ald. : ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμπράξεις Navarre, ut videtur in bibliotheca Budaei || 5 ὅτι: ὡς Ald. || 5 ἔρημον φίλων ὑπέλαβεν **aMZ**^{a.c.}: ἔρημοι φίλων ἐσμέν **HZ**^{gr.} (ἐσμέν del. Blass¹): ἔρημον φίλων ὑπεδέξατο **q** (codex nunc deperditus) Ald. || 5 ἔστιν ἔτι **APZ** coll. *Ep.* 5.6: ἔστι **HVBM** Ald. (ἔστιν **C**) fort. per dittographiam || 6 μνήμη καὶ λόγος, coll. *Ep.* 5.6: λόγος καὶ μνήμη **APVBMZ**.

Letter 6

Aeschines to Philocrates

(1) Ariston, the man delivering my letter to you, is the first one that welcomed us in Rhodes. He is sailing to Athens at the request of an old in-law to exact payment from the banker Charmolas. So make sure that you will welcome him in friendship – he is quite easy-going in his way of life and one like us – and in all other tasks do indeed give assistance, so that he might realise that he has by no means protected a man thoroughly bereft of friends, and that Athens instead still retains some memory and notion of Aeschines.

Αἰσχίνης τῆ Βουλῆ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ

1 Ἐπιθύμην τὰ ῥηθέντα Μελανώπῳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑμετέραν ἀπεδεξάμην φιλανθρωπίαν, Μελανώπῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐπανελθὼν μόνον πρὸς ὑμᾶς νομίζω τοῖς βεβιωμένοις αὐτῷ πρέπουσαν ἀποδώσειν χάριν, ἀλλ' ἀτυχῶν ἔτι καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστερημένος ὁμῶς ἀρκέσαι πειράσομαι. **2** Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Μελάνωπε, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους ὁμολογῶ ταύτη κεχρηῆσθαι τῆ συμφορᾷ, φημί μέντοι βοηθῶν ταῦτα τοῖς νόμοις πεπονθέναι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στεφανοῦσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦς ἀγωνιζόμενος. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν τὸ δεδυστυχηκέναί πολιτευομένῳ κοινόν ἐστι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν λαμπροτάτων ποτὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει γενομένων. **3** σοὶ δὲ τὸ μέχρι μὲν χθὲς καὶ πρώην θεσμοθετοῦντος ἤδη σοῦ προεστάναι τὴν μητέρα, τρὶς δὲ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ δεσποτήριον τὸν πατέρα σου, σὲ δὲ πραθέντα τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν τὴν ἀκμὴν ἡταιρηκέναί, τοῖς περὶ Τίμαρχον νέοις κοινὰ ταῦτ' εἶναι, οὐ τοῖς περὶ Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Ἀριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον ὑπολαμβάνω. **4** Ἀλλὰ Μελανώπῳ μὲν αἴθις, ἐὰν ὑμῖν πότε δόξη, διαλέξομαι παρών· νυνὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν εὐνοίας, ἣν ἀπόντι μοι παρέχεσθε, θορυβοῦντες ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ θέλοντες ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν λοιδορούντων ἡμᾶς, πολλὴν χάριν ἔχω, δικαιότερον μέντοι καὶ ἄμεινον ἦν ἑμαυτὸν εἶσαι πρὸς τοὺς λοιδοροῦντας λέγειν, ψηφισαμένους ἂν πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἤδη ἐψηφίσασθε τὰ μέγιστα ἀμαρτοῦσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς. **5** Εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε δεύτερον ἂν δεηθείην, ἀνέχεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν λοιδορούντων ἡμᾶς, ἢ χαρίζεσθαι δοκοῦντας, ὅτι τῶν βλασφημιῶν οὐκ ἀκροᾶσθε, μείζω τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν δυναμένων λέγεσθαι ποιεῖν.

VII. Titulum habent **HZ**: Αἰσχίνης om. Ald. || § **1.** 1 Μελανώπῳ: τῷ Μελανώπῳ **A^{a.c}PV** || 2 Μελανώπῳ: Μελάνωπον **HP^{p.c}** || 2 οὐκ: οὐδ' **A^{p.c}** || 2 πρὸς ὑμᾶς: om. **VBM**: πρὸς ἡμᾶς **a** || 2 νομίζω: νομίζων **V** || 3 χάριν: <τὴν> χάριν **Z** || 3 ἀλλ' ἀτυχῶν **HA^{p.c}**: ἀλλὰ τυχὸν **aMZ** || 3 τῆς: om. **aMZ** || § **2.** 1 ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Μελάνωπε: τῷ γάρ

Μελανώπω **H** || 2 μέντοι: τοίνυν *suprascr.* **C** || 2 ταῦτα: ταύτη **A^{a.c.}**: post τοῖς νόμοις *scriptum* **H** || 3 καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στεφανοῦσθαι: om. **H** || 4 ἀγωνιζόμενος **aMZ^{a.c.}**: ἀγωνιζόμενος τοὺς νόμους **HZ^{mg.}**, τοὺς νόμους ἀγωνιζόμενος *conj.* García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 4 ἐστι: ἐστὶν **C** || 5 Θεμιστοκλέα: Θεμιστοκλῆν **A** || 5 ἄλλους πολλοὺς: πολλοὺς ἄλλους **H** || 5 ποτὲ: om. Ald. || 6 γενομένων: ἡγουμένων **C**: γινομένων **P** Ald. || § 3. 1 μέχρι μὲν: μὲν μέχρι **A**: μὲν μέχρι μὲν **P^{p.c.}** || 2 τρις: τρεῖς **V** Ald. || 2 εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον τὸν πατέρα σου **H**: τὸν πατέρα σου εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον **aMZ** (*hiat.*) || 3 πραθέντα: πραχθέντα **AP** || 3 τρισχιλίων **aMZ^{p.c.}**: δισχιλίων **HZ^{s.l.}** Ald. || 3 τὴν ἀκμὴν ἡταιρηκέναι: τὴν ἀκμὴν συνηταιρηκέναι **Z^{p.c.}** Ald.: τὴν ἀκμὴν om. **H**: τὴν ἀκμὴν om. Reiske: τὴν ἀκμὴν καθηταιρηκέναι Baier–Sauppe || 3 τοῖς περὶ Τίμαρχον νέοις: πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Τίμαρχον νέους *conj.* Blass || 4 κοινὰ ταῦτ’ εἶναι, οὐ τοῖς (τοὺς *conj.* Blass) περὶ Θεμιστοκλέα: οὐ κοινὰ ταῦτ’ εἶναι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα **HZ^{p.c.}** Ald. || 3 καὶ **HZ** Ald.: ἢ **aM** (*hiat.*) || 4 δίκαιον: δοκαῖον **A^{a.c.}** || § 4. 1 Μελανώπω: Μεναλώπω **V** || 1 αὐθις, ἐὰν: ἂν **H** || 1 ὑμῖν πότε **H** Ald.: πότε om. **aMZ** || 1 δόξη: δόκη **aMZ** || 2 νυνὶ: ὑμῖν **HP^{p.c.}Z^{s.l.}**: νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῖν *conj.* García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 2 τῆς: τοῖς **V** || 2 μὲν: om. **aMZ^{s.l.}** || 2 παρέχεσθε **HZ^{p.c.}**: παρέσχεσθε **aM** Ald. || 2 ἀεὶ **HZ^{s.l.}**: δὴ **aMZ^{a.c.}**: om. Ald. || 3 ἀκροᾶσθαι **H**: ἀκροάσασθαι **aMZ** Ald. || 4 ἦν **H** et **q** (*codex nunc deperditus*): om. **aMZa** || 4 ἐμαυτὸν **HAPVZ** Ald.: ἐμὲ αὐτὸν **CBM** || 4–5 ψηφισαμένους ἃ πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἤδη: om. **H** || 5 ἐψηφίσασθε: ψηφίσασθε **HV** || 5 τὰ: om. **MZa** || § 5. 2 λοιδορούντων **HZ^{s.l.}** Ald.: λοιδορουμένων **aMZ^{a.c.}** || 3 ὅτι τῶν: τῶν om. **P^{a.c.}** || 3 βλασφημιῶν: βλασφημιούντων **HZ^{gr.}** Ald. || 3 ἀκροᾶσθε: ἀκροᾶσθαι **A^{a.c.}** || 3 μείζω: μείζων **V** || 3 τῶν: om. editio Weidneri.

Letter 7

Aeschines to the Council and the Assembly

(1) I have learned of the things that Melanopus said to you. On the one hand, I

have acknowledged your humanity. On the other, as for Melanopus, I expect that I shall show 'gratitude' befitting his course of life not only once I have returned among you, but even now, still in disgrace and being banned from my country, I shall nevertheless attempt to defend myself. **(2)** Yes, Melanopus, personally I admit that I have been subject to this misfortune according to the laws. I affirm, however, that I suffered these conditions for maintaining the laws, contesting that nobody could be crowned against them. As far as I am concerned, the misery that I have experienced in my political career is surely in common with Themistocles, Aristides and many others who once were the most respectable in the city; **(3)** but as for you, although you were a *thesmothetes* until very recently, your mother has been acting as a prostitute, your father went to jail over and over again, and you have in the bloom of youth acted as an escort for the price of three thousand drachmas – I believe these behaviours to be in common with the young men surrounding Timarchus, not with those surrounding Themistocles and Aristides 'the Just'. **(4)** (*To the Athenians.*) However, if you deem it appropriate, I will argue with Melanopus again when I am present. For the time being, I thank you profusely, for the kindness you showed me in my absence, for the clamours you always made, and for refusing to listen to those that spoke ill of me. It would however be fairer and better to let me respond in person to the evil speakers, by enacting a decree like many you have often enacted for those who have committed the most serious offences against you. **(5)** And if not, I would at least ask for a second favour: maintain much more their reviling of me, rather than give the impression of treating me favourably by refusing to listen to their evil-speaking; create the suspicion even greater than what they could say.

η'.

1 Σὺ μὲν οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν ἀφίξαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσους καὶ δίκας καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἰτιᾶ· Νικίας δὲ ἀφίκεται πάλαι καὶ Ἀνδρωνίδας. Εἰ μὲν οὖν νῦν γε σὺν Φιλίνῳ — πυνθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξιέναι — διέγνωκας ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τάχ' ἂν εἴη σοι ἔτι ἀπολογία καὶ λυθείη ὁ πόλεμος· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲ σὺν ἐκείνῳ διέγνωκας ἐξιέναι, σὺ μὲν ἐπιστελεῖς διὰ παντὸς ἡμῖν ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐγὼ δὲ ἅπαξ ἀνιάσομαι.

VIII. § 1. 1 ἀφίξαι: ἀφέξαι V || 2 μῆ: del. Markland || 3 νῦν: om. Z (haplographia) || 4 τάχ' ἂν: τάχα ἂν APVB || 4–5 ὁ πόλεμος: quod interpretari ἢ μέμνις putat Markland || 5 διέγνωκας: ἔγνωκας A || 5 ἐπιστελεῖς: ἐπιστέλλεις CAP ('scribis') || 6 πρὸς ἡμᾶς: om. APVBMZ, fort. secl. (sub fin. 1, 2, 4) || 6 ἀνιάσομαι: ἀνιαθήσομαι Wolf.

Letter 8

(1) You have never to this day come to see us, but have blamed it on ailments, lawsuits and every kind of cause apart from your reluctance to visit us. Nicias and Andronidas on the other hand have come long ago. At any rate, if you have now decided to come to see us with Philinus – for I have learned that he is leaving – perhaps it is still possible for you to be pardoned, and for our ‘war’ to be brought to an end. But if you have not decided to leave with that man, even though you continually write to us about your willingness to come to see us, I will feel vexed once and for all.

1 Περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ Φύσκον, ἡσυχάσας ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀργίας, ἀλλὰ μηκυνεῖν ἔδοξεν ἢ περὶ τὸ ἄσθμα νόσος, ὡς τὴν νύκτα ἐνέδωκε καὶ ῥάων ἐγενόμην, βαδίσας εἰς τὴν Ἄμμον ἐπεῖδον τὰ χωρία. Καί μοι ἔδοξε καλὰ μὲν ἄλλως καὶ ποικίλα εἶναι τὰ χωρία — καὶ γὰρ ἐλαιῶν φυτὰ ἦν πολλὰ καὶ ἄμπελοι συχναὶ καὶ σπόριμα πλείονα καὶ νομαὶ καλαί, — ἐπαύλιον δὲ οὐδὲ μέτριον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐρείπια. 2 Ἐδέξατο <δ'> ἡμᾶς ὁ Μυρωνίδης φιλανθρώπως σφόδρα. Τὰ μέντοι χωρία δυοῖν ταλάντων ἐπριάμην, καὶ νῦν ἐπαυλίον τι μηχανῶμαι τοιοῦτον οἶον <ἄν> μηχανώμην ἐγὼ κεκτημένος βραχέα καὶ μέλλων ὅμως οἰκεῖν ἐνθάδε, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἠδέως στερόμενος τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πόλεως, καὶ μάλιστα τοιαύτης, ἐν ἣ δύναιτο ἂν τις ἤττον ἀλγεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν οἰκῶν. Ἔρρωσο.

IX. § 1. 1 ἡσυχάσας: ἡσύχασα **AP** || 1 ἀλλὰ: ἀλλ' ὅτι Wolf || 2 μηκυνεῖν, corr. Reiske: μηκύνειν **αMZ** Ald. : ἐμήκυνεν, conj. Hercher, putat ἔδοξεν esse dittographia ex ἔδοξε || 2 τὸ: τοῦ **M** || 2 τὴν νύκτα: <ὑπὸ> τὴν νύκτα Reiske ('in nocte', cf. Hdt. 9.51.4) || 2 ἐνέδωκε: ἐνέδωκεν **P** || 3 Ἄμμον codd. (Ἄμμον **C**) et Ald. : Ἄμμον Wilamowitz, Hermae XL. p. 147, sed cf. *Ep.* 12.11 || 3 τὰ χωρία: fort. secl. sub fin. 4 (Blass) || 4 φυτὰ ἦν πολλὰ: ἦν (καὶ) πολλὰ φυτὰ **APVBMZ** Ald. || 4 σπόριμα: σπόρισμα **V** || 5 πλείονα: πίονα Reiske, sq. Drerup: πλεῖστα Hercher || § 2. 1 <δ'> Wolf || 1 Μυρωνίδης: Μυωνίδης conj. Wilamowitz, Hermae XL. p. 147 || 2 ταλάντων **CAPZ**, coll. *Ep.* 12.11: ταλάντων cett. et Ald. || 2–3 <ἄν> μηχανώμην ἐγὼ Wolf: <ἄν> ἐμηχανώμην ἐγὼ **Z** (et Reiske): ἐμηχανώμην ἐγὼ cett. et Ald. : del. Weidner, fort. per dittographiam, sed repetitionem latinismum esse putavi, cf. *Epp.* 2.1, 4.3, 5.3, 10.6 || 3 ὅμως: ὄλως Reiske || 3 ἠδέως: ἠδόμενος Reiske || 4 στερόμενος: στερούμενος **V**: ἐπὶ τῇ στερήσει Ald., sq. Reiske || 4 ἤττον Drerup, per Atticam consonatium: ἤσσον codd. et Ald. || 5 ὑπολαμβάνειν οἰκῶν, Wilamowitz, Hermae XL. pp. 147–8: ὑπολαμβάνων οἰκεῖν codd. et Ald. (οἰκεῖν erasum in **C**: οἰ **AP**, fort. litterae

expunctae), defendit Gillischewski: ὑπολαμβάνων οικιεῖν Markland ('habitatum existimaret'): ὑπολαμβάνων <ἀσφαλῶς> οικιεῖν Reiske: lacunam hic hiare suspicatur Drerup, coniecit utrum ὑπολαμβάνων, οἰ<κτείρεσθαι> an ὑπολαμβάνων, <λοιδορούμενος> οἰ<κεῖν>, 'in qua quis se minus pati ratus poterit (vel mori vel aegrotare vel maledici vel simile quid)' || 5 ἔρρωσο: om. Ald.

Letter 9

(1) Having crossed to Phycus, I stayed that very day to rest myself, not as a result of idleness, but because the asthma attack seemed to occur periodically; as it relented during the night and I found myself better, I set out for the 'Sandy Ground' to visit its landed properties. It seemed to me that these plots of land were beautiful, and above all was the colourful soil. Indeed, the olive-trees were numerous, the vineyards plentiful, the sown fields in a rather large quantity, and the pasturages beautiful, whereas there was no fair-sized farmhouse and everything was in ruins; (2) nevertheless, Myronides received us with great kindness. I purchased plots of land with two talents, you know, and now I plan to build a farmhouse, in such a size that I would build it with my poor possessions, so that I may basically settle there in the future: to live without pleasures – by the gods! – since I am banned from my own city, indeed from a city of such a kind that one would justifiably imagine, if still living in it, that he would suffer less. Goodbye.

Τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων

1 Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δεῖν ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλειν, περὶ ὧν ἐβουλόμην, καὶ πρότερον ῥόμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀφηρῆσθαι γε τοῦτο τῶν ἀτυχησάντων παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπελάμβανον· συμβουλευεῖν δὲ καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐ μικρᾶς ἔμοιγε ἀκρασίας ἐφαίνετο ἔργον εἶναι, δεδοκότες τηλικαύτην δίκην τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι, πλὴν εἴ τι δέοι καλούντων ὑμῶν· **2** ἄλλως δὲ μηδὲ ῥαδίᾳ τισι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οὐχ ὅτι πόλει, συμβουλευεῖν προσήκειν ῥόμην. Ὑμῖν δὲ ἐώρων ἄλλους καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δυναμένους τὰ κοινά· κατέλιπον γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τεθνᾶσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἠτυχήκασι ὥσπερ ἐγώ, περιέστηκε δὲ ἡ πόλις εἰς ἐρημίαν τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἀκούω δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ παρόντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν κινεῖν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων, ἔτοιμος ἤδη τὰ δοκοῦντα τῆ πόλει συμφέρειν, ὡς μόνον ἔξεστίν μοι, δι' ἐπιστολῶν λέγειν. **3** Εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ Μακεδόνων φρονεῖν ἐροῦσί με, καὶ παραπρεσβείας πάλιν γράψονται τινες ἀπόντα με δίκην ἢ προδοσίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἔτοιμος ἤδη καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἑλληνίδος πρόσω φεύγειν, ἐὰν βούλωνται, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Πέρσαις ἄπειμι καὶ Μήδοις βασιλέα. Καίτοι τὰ Περσῶν με καὶ Μήδων οὐδεὶς ἔφη ποτὲ φρονεῖν, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα Δημοσθένης. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖ παύσομαι γράφων ἂν τῆ πόλει δόξω συμφέρειν, οὐ χαρίζομενος ὑμῖν μετὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν <ἐπιπλήττειν>, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως νουθετῶν. **4** Εὖ γὰρ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μᾶλλον ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ χαρίζεσθαι θέλοντες ὑμῖν δοκεῖν, οὗτοι καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ἠδονὴν λέγουσι, τὴν ὑπὸ προσχήματι παρρησίας ὁδὸν τοῦ κολακεύειν ἐλόμενοι—καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τίς ἐστίν τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι πολίταις καὶ ἡγεμόσι ἢ πολὺ κακουργότερα προαίρεσις· —ἦν βαδίζοντές τινες Ἀθήνησι καὶ περιόντος ἐμοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν—οὕτω γάρ με χρὴ λέγειν, —καὶ νῦν, ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμῖν, τεθνεῶτος, αἰτιῶνται μὲν ὑμῶν τὴν ὀλιγορίαν ὡς οὐκ ἐθελόντων ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, προτρέπονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡς δυναμένους. **5** Ἐμοὶ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἀργοὶ γεγονέναι δύνασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν νομίζεσθαι θέλετε μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τοῦ μένειν ὑμῶν

τάς προθυμίας ἐνδειῖσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου προτρέπειν τινὰς ὑμᾶς καινοτέρων ἄπτεσθαι πραγμάτων· ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν ταῦτά συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν μετὰ τοῦ ταῦτα συμφέρειν. **6** Οὐ γὰρ ἠγγόουν μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ὅτι λαμπρὸν ἐστὶν τὸ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις πολεμεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν, καὶ ταῦτά γε καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν προελομένους· ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τὸ βούλεσθαι τὰ κράτιστα τὴν γνώμην οὖσαν ἰκανήν, εἰς δὲ τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ τύχης ἀγαθῆς ὑμᾶς δεομένους. **7** Προσῆκειν οὖν μεμνήσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπελάμβανον ὅτι Ἀθηναίοις μὲν ἐπιστέλλομεν, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἐν οἷς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπολιτεύσατο, ἀλλ' οἱ τὰς μὲν γνώμας οὐ χεῖρους ἐκείνων εἰσί, τὰς μέντοι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἀφορμὰς οὐχ ὁμοίας ἔχουσιν. Ἐπει δότωσαν μὲν ὑμῖν τριακοσίας τριῆρεις οἱ τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄξια γράφοντες ὑμῖν, δότωσαν δὲ τρισμύρια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου ἀπέφθου δισχίλια, δότωσαν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἡβῇ νεῶν τοσοῦτο πλῆθος, ἥδη γεγυμνασμένων ἐν ὅπλοις· καὶ μηκέτι συμβουλευέτωσαν. **8** αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰδήσομεν ἃ χρῆ πράττειν, δυνάμενοι τὰ δόξαντα πράττειν. Μηδὲ ῥαψφδεῖτωσαν μάτην ἐπαινοῦντες ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους τε καὶ τὴν χώραν, ὅτι ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἠγωνίζοντο οἱ θεοί· ἐπεὶ πύθεσθε αὐτῶν τί ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχῃ τὴν πόλιν ὤνησε τὴν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι Ἄρης πρὸς Ποσειδῶνα ὑπὲρ Ἀλιρροθίου ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ ἐκρίθη. **9** Ἄλλ' εἰ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ἢ ὅστις ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ἰκανοὶ ἐσμεν ἀγωνίσασθαι, τοῦτο χρῆ σκοπεῖν· κἂν ἰκανοὶ ᾖμεν, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἀναλαβόντες <τὰ> ὅπλα εὐθέως ἐλευθερωῦμεν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Εἰ δὲ τούτου μὲν ὀλιγωρήσομεν, κολακευόμενοι δὲ ἠσθησόμεθα, πῶς οὐ μετὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν ἑαυτοῖς αἴτιοι γεγονέναι τῶν συμφορῶν, ὃ μόνον οὐδὲ παραμυθίαν ἔχει τοῖς κακῶς πράττουσιν, ἀτυχήσομεν; **10** ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀνδρὸς εὖ φρονοῦντος ἔργον, αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰς παρούσας ἀφορμὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων βουλευσασθαι· τὸ δὲ τὴν μὲν τόλμαν εἰς τὰ πράγματα, οἷς ἐπιχειρεῖ τις, ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ἰσχύος ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν πάλαι ποτ' ἐσχηκέναι μεγάλην, ὁμοιά γε φαίνεται, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις Ὀλυμπίασι νικήσας πολλάκις ὕστερον γέρον ὦν ἀπογράφοιτο ἔτι καὶ προκαλοῖτο τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἀναμιμνησκόμενος ἧς ἔσχηκεν, οὐχὶ τῆς παρουσίας,

δυνάμεως. **11** Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ ἃ λέγειν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνομαι λογίσασθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὡς καινὰ καὶ θαυμαστὸν ὅσον εἰς ἃ βούλονται πρᾶξιαι συλλαβεῖν δυνάμενα, φάσκοντες δ' εἶν ὑμᾶς ὁμονοεῖν, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν πάση πόλει, καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν βουλομένη, κράτιστόν ἐστιν. **12** Δεῖ δὲ οὐ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν εἰ ὁμονοητέον ὑμῖν πολεμοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁμονοητέον γὰρ καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ μὴ παντὸς εἵνεκα· ἀλλ' εἰ βουλομένοις πολεμεῖν καὶ ὁμονοεῖν, ὡς ἴσμεν ἅπαντες, αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις. Ἔως δ' ἂν μήτε συστρατείας, <ᾶς> πολεμοῦντες ἔξομεν, μήτε χρημάτων πόρους δεικνύωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔγγυον διδῶσι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδὲν <Δημοσθένους> διαφέρειν αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα νομίζετε. **13** Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιος παραπλήξ τὴν διάνοιαν ὦν, κατελύσατε εἰκότως· τούτοις δὲ ἀποχρησάτω μηδὲν παθεῖν κακὸν παραδόξους λόγους μελετῶσι, καὶ μηδὲ λείψανον ἐῶσιν ἡμῖν τι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων φθονοῦσι, πράττειν δ' αἰεὶ βουλομένοις, ἕως ἂν τὸ Θηβαίων πολιτεύσωνται πολίτευμα, μηλόβοτον ἡμῶν γενέσθαι τὴν χώραν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἀναγκάσαντες· οὐ γάρ, εἰ κακῶς ἔχει τὰ πράγματα, διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν, ὅπως μὴ χεῖρον ἔξει, φροντιστέον.

XI. In titulum τῶ Ἀθηναίων Blass: τῶν Ἀθηναίων (vel. om.) codd. et Ald. || § 1. 2 τῶν ἀτυχησάντων Blass: ἀτυχησάντων τῶν CAPZ^{a.c.}: ἀτυχήσαντα τῶν VBMZ^{s.l.} Ald.: ἀτυχήσαντα conj. Sauppe: τῶν del. Drerup (dittographia) || 3 ἀκρασίας: ἀκρισίας Markland || § 2. 1 ἄλλως δὲ: ἄλλως τε ('praeterea', 'quin etiam') Markland || 1 μηδὲ ῥάδιά τισι Wolf: μὴ ῥάδιά τισι(v) PBMZ Ald.: μὴ δὲ ῥάδια τισὶν CA^{p.c.}: μηδὲν ἃ διὰ τισιν A^{a.c.}: μὴ ῥάδιον μηδέ τισι conj. Wolf: μηδ' ἰδίᾳ τισὶ Blass || 1 τῶν: om. APZ^{a.c.} || 1 πόλει: om. M || 2 προσήκειν: om. Ald.: ἃ προσήκει Reiske: τὰ προσήκοντα Hercher: hiatus vitandum conj. Drerup || 2 δὲ: τε V Ald. || 2 ἄλλους: ἄλλους <εἶναι> Wolf || 3 δυναμένους: δυναμένους <διοικοῦντες> Drerup, cf. Dem. Ep. 3.27 || 4 ἐγώ: ἄγων P || 4 τῶν πολιτευομένων: τῶν πολιτῶν πολιτευομένων B || 5 ἀκούω δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ (αὐτοὺς Ald.) παρόντας: ἀκούω δὲ τοὺς μὲν, αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.

distingue Markland || 5 κινεῖν: κρινεῖν **M** || 6 ἤδη: εἰμὶ Wolf || 6 μόνον: μόνως Wolf || § 3. 2 πάλιν: om. **VBM** Ald. || 2 γράφονται Hercher: γράφονται **CVBMZ**^{p.c.}: γράφουσι **APZ**^{a.c.} || 2 δίκην: om. Ald., del. Reiske, quia falsae legationis accusatio est γραφή (Dreger). || 2 προδοσίας Baiter–Sauppe: προδοσίαν codd. et Ald. || 4 με: τε **A** Ald. : γε Reiske || 5 ποτὲ: <με> ποτὲ Ald. || 5 ἐκεῖ (vel ἐκεῖσε) cett. : ἐκεῖ σε **Ma**: ἐκεῖθεν **q** (codex nunc deperditus), sqq. Reiske García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: ἐκεῖ γε conj. Blass || 6 παύσομαι γράφων: transponendum post συμφέρειν **M**: post γράφων repetunt ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐκεῖσε **CVB** (dittographia) || 6 δόξω: δόξει **Z**: δόξη Ald. || 6 χαριζόμενος ὑμῖν: χαρίζεσθαι μέλλων ὑμῖν **VBMZ**^{s.l.}, defendit Gillischewski || 6 μετὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν: om. **VBM** Ald.: με τοῦ δοκεῖν **CAP**^{p.t.}: μετὰ om. **Z** || 7 <ἐπιπλήττειν> Blass (ex § 4): om. codd. et Ald. || 7 νουθετῶν: νουθετεῖν **CVBM** Ald. || § 4. 3 προσήματι **L**^{p.c.} (corr. Markland): πρόσχημα **aMZ** || 3 παρρησίας: τῆς παρρησίας codd., τῆς del. ex προσήματι Reiske || 4 ἢ codd.: ἢ **M**: om. Ald. : καὶ Markland: ἢ vel ἦ conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 5 κακουργότερα: ῥαδιουργότερα Taylor, cf. *Ἄττικὰ ὀνόματα* s.v. ῥαδιουργός et *Suda* s.v. ῥαδιουργός || 6 με: om. **A** || 6 τεθνεῶτος: τὰ τεθνεῶτος παθόντος **APZ** || § 5. 1 ἐμοὶ: ὑμεῖς **Z**^{p.c.} Ald. || δὲ: μὲν **V** || 2 ἄρχειν: ἀρχῆν **Z**^{a.c.} || 4 ἄπτεσθαι: ἄπαξ **V** || 5 ἐβουλόμην Blass (ex ἠγνόουν § 6), cf. *Lys.* 12.22; *Ep.* 12.15: βουλοίμην codd. et Ald. || 5 ταῦτα corr. Reiske: ταῦτα **aZM** || 5 μετὰ τοῦ ταῦτα συμφέρειν: ταῦτα del. Hercher (dittographia): ἂ μετὰ ταῦτα συμφέρειν Ald., ‘quae in posterum prodessent’ || § 6. 2 μὰ: μετὰ **A** || 3 πολεμεῖν: <ἀεὶ> πολεμεῖν Ald. || 3 γε καὶ τοὺς: καὶ om. **B**^{a.c.} || 3 ἡμῶν: ὑμῶν **C**, cf. ἡμῶν § 8 || 4 μὲν τὸ: μὲν τοῦ **C**: τὸ μὲν τὸ **P** || 4 βούλεσθαι: βουλευέσθαι **A**^{p.c.}**Z** || 4 οὔσαν ικανήν: ικανήν οὔσαν Ald. || 5 δύνασθαι: δύνασθαι <καὶ πολλῆς δυνάμεως> Weidner || § 7. 1 προσήκειν οὖν: προσήκειν οὖν καὶ **C**^{a.c.}**PZ**: προσήκει Ald. || 2 ὑπελάμβανον: ἐπελάμβανον **P**^{a.c.} || 3 οὐ χείρους **Z**^{p.c.} Ald. (sed post ἐκείνων): om. **VB**: καὶ τὰς νήσας (vel νῆσας) **CA**^{p.c.}: καὶ τὰς νοήσεις **A**^{a.c.}, defendit Gillischewski, qui etiam ῥήσεις coniecit: καὶ τὰς νόσους **Pa**: καὶ τὰς διανοίας vel οὐχ ἦττους conj. Blass: καὶ τὰς τόλμας ἴσας conj. Dreger (ex § 10): οὐκ ἐλάττους Martin–de Budé: κοῦκ ἄνισοι ταῖς

conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 3 εισί: ἴσας εισί Baiter–Sauppe || 4 μέντοι CPZ: μέντοι γε A: δὲ VBM Ald. || 4 πρὸς: om. PZ || 4 τοὺς πολέμους: τοῦ πολέμου Z || 4 ἐπεὶ δότωσαν: ἐπιδότωσαν CAPZ || 4 μὲν: δὲ PZ || 4 ὑμῖν VBMZ^{p.c.}: ὑμῶν CAPZ^{a.c.}: ἡμῖν Ald.: del. Hercher || 5 ὑμῖν CVBM: ἡμῖν Ald.: om. A^{a.c.}PZ || 6 ἀπέφθου: ἐφθοῦ PZ^{a.c.} || 6 δισχίλια: τρισχίλια Z^{p.c.} Ald. || 6 δὲ: om. P || 6 ἐν ἤβῃ νεῶν codd. et Ald.: νεῶν del. Markland, fort. scholium, sed defendit Reiske: ἐφήβων conj. Gillischewski || 7 τοσοῦτο: τοσοῦτον V Ald. || § 8. 1 τὰ δόξαντα πράττειν: del. Markland, ‘si possimus’ pro ‘modo possimus’ coniecit || 2 ἡμῶν: ὑμῶν A || 3 ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ codd. et Ald.: δίκαι pro καὶ conj. Baiter–Sauppe, ἐκρίνοντο pro ἐγένοντο conj. Sauppe, sq. Blass (ἐδικάζοντο Hercher), cf. infra Ἄρης κ.τ.λ. ἐκρίθη || 3 ἡγωνίζοντο Wendland, ut videtur in editioni Blassii: εἰσεγένοντο ἐν αὐτῇ αMZa (αὐτῇ: ἐαυτῇ V), secluserunt Sauppe et Drerup (dittographia): om. cett.: εἰσεγένοιτο ἐν αὐτῇ Taylor: εἴ τι (sc. κακὸν vel δεινὸν) γένοιτο ἐν αὐτῇ, ‘si quid in ea contingat sinisterius’ conj. Reiske, cf. infra ἐπεὶ πύθεσθε αὐτῶν τί ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχῃ τὴν πόλιν ὤνησε τὴν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.: αἷς ἡγωνίζοντο Baiter: διέφεροντο ἐν αὐτοῖς Weidner: del. Drerup et Gillischewski, sed ἐμάχοντο ante ὑπὲρ addit Drerup || 3 πύθεσθε: πύθεσθαι A: πείθεσθαι M: πείθεσθε B || 4 τὴν Ἀθηναίων Blass, cf. Ep. 12.12: τῶν Ἀθηναίων codd. et Ald. || 5 Ἀλιροθίου: Ἀλιροθίου A: Ἀλλιροθίου P: Ἀλιροθίου VB || § 9. 2 ἄλλος: ἄλλων AP || 2 κἂν: κἂν <μὲν> q (codex nunc deperditus), sq. Reiske || 3 <τὰ> Wolf: om. codd. || 3 ἐλευθερῶμεν: ἐλευθεροῦμεν VBM Ald. || 4 ἡσθησόμεθα, cf. πρὸς ἠδονὴν λέγουσι § 4: ἡττηθησόμεθα Wolf || § 10. 1 ἔστι: ἔστιν C || 1 καὶ: ἔτι a || 2 ἀεὶ CZ^{s.l.}, conj. Reiske: δεῖν VBM Ald.: δὲ PZ^{a.c.}a: om. A || 2 ἀφορμὰς: συμφορὰς Z^{a.c.} || 3 ἐπιχειρεῖ τις Blass: ἐπιχορηγεῖ VBM Ald., cf. σὺ (sc. Demosthenes) δὲ πλουτεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἠδοναῖς ταῖς σαυτοῦ χορηγεῖς Aeschin. 3.240 (García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz): ἐπιχορηγεῖ τοῖς CAPZ: ἐπιχειρεῖτε Reiske: ἐπιχειρεῖτε Bekker || 5 νικήσας πολλάκις: πολλάκις νικήσας APVBMZ || 6 ἀντιπάλους B: ἀντιγράφους CAPVMZa, adversarii qui nomina ita in libris agonothetarum scripserunt (Reiske) || 6 ἀναμνησκόμενος: ἀναμνησκομένους

APZ^{a.c.} || 6 ἔσχηκεν: ἔτυχεν **Z**^{a.c.} || 6 οὐχι: οὐ **CAPVMZa** || § 11. 2 λέγειν αὐτοὺς: λέγειν αὐτοῖς **V**: ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὡς **APZ** || 2 καινὰ: καλὰ conj. Wolf, sed cf. καινοτέρων πραγμάτων § 5 || 2 θαυμαστὸν Reiske (hiat. cum ὄσον): θαυμαστὰ codd. et Ald. || 2 ὄσον εἰς ᾶ: ὡς εἰς ᾶς Wolf: ὡς ἂν εἰς ᾶ Tour || 2 πρᾶξει Blass: τῇ πράξει codd. et Ald: πράξιν Tour || 3 φάσκ<οντας δ>εἶν ὑμᾶς ὁμονοεῖν Markland: φάσκειν ὑμᾶς ὁμονοεῖν **aMZ** Ald.: φάσκουσι γὰρ δεῖν ὑμᾶς (vel ἡμᾶς) ὁμονοεῖν **q** (codex nunc deperditus, Reiske): ἀκούω γάρ τινος δεῖν φάσκειν κ.τ.λ. Blass: φάσκοντας ὑμᾶς ὁμονοεῖν δεῖν Drerup (homoeoteleuton) || 3 μὲν: om. **Z** || 4 εἰρήνην ἄγειν: ἄγειν om. **A**^{a.c.}**PV**: εἰρηνεύειν Ald. || 4 ἐστίν: ἐστίν ὑμῖν **CAPVZa** || § 12. 1–2 δεῖ δὲ οὐ τοῦτο, cf. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. Dem. Ep. 1.5: ἡμῖν δὲ τοῦτο δεῖ Ald.: ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐ τοῦτο δεῖ Wolf || 2–3 ὑμῖν et ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων: om. Ald. || 3 εἵνεκα, dictum poeticum: ἔνεκα Ald. || 4 ὡς ἴσμεν: ὡς <δεῖν> ἴσμεν Reiske || 5 δ': om. **A**^{a.c.}, sub voce add. || 5 συστρατείας **C**^{p.c.}**Z**^{p.c.} Ald., 'τίνας συμμαχίας' (Wolf), diphthongum conj. Reiske (fort. ex εἵνεκα): συστρατιάς **C**^{a.c.}**A**^{a.c.}**MZ**^{a.c.}**a**: στρατιάς **A**^{p.c.} || 5 <ᾶς> ἔξομεν: ἔξομεν codd. et Ald., ᾶς add. Blass: ἔχωμεν **C**^{a.c.}, ἔξωμεν conj. Markland ex ἂν || 5 πόρους δεικνύωσιν: σωροὺς δεικνύουσιν **APZ** || 6 διδῶσι: διδῶσι **A**^{a.c.}**Z** || 6 <Δημοσθένους> Blass (ex ἐκεῖνον § 13): post αὐτοὺς transponendum Drerup || 7 αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα: αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα <τῶν ἐμπλήκτων> Wolf, genitivus nominis proprii aut in αὐτίκα latet aut exidit (Baiter–Sauppe): αὐτοῦ αὐτίκα conj. Reiske, αὐτοῦ redit ad ἐκεῖνον (Antipatrum), cf. § 9 || 7 νομίζετε **C**: νομίζομεν **APVBM**: νομίζομεν **Z**: νομίσομεν Ald.: νομίσωμεν Reiske || § 13. 1 ἐκεῖνον: ἐκεῖνω **CAP**, genitivum modificatum κατελύσατε <τὴν πίστιν> conj. Drerup || 2 κατελύσατε: καταλύσετε **Z**: καταλύσατε (Antipatrum) conj. Reisk, cf. Ep. 12.16 || 2 τούτοις: τούτῳ **CAPZ** || 2 ἀποχρησάτω Bekker: ἀπεχρήσατω **CAPZa**: ἀπέχρη τὸ **V**: ἀπόχρη (vel ἀπόχρητο) τὸ **BM** || 2 μηδὲν: τὸ μηδὲν **Z** Ald. || 3 παραδόξους: παραδόξαις **Z**^{a.c.} || 3 μελετῶσι: μελετῶσαν **C** || 3 μηδὲ: μηδὲν **B** || 3 ἡμῖν: ὑμῖν Ald. || 3 τι τῶν: τοῖς **C** || 4 καὶ τούτων: κἂν τούτῳ Reiske || 4 δ' ἀεὶ Blass: δεῖ **CZ**^{a.c.}: δὴ **AP**: ἂ δεῖ **VBM** Ald., ἀλλὰ φθονοῦσιν (ὑμῖν) βουλομένοις πράττειν ἂ δεῖ καὶ τούτων (sc. τῶν λειψάνων), conj. Wolf || 5

πολιτεύσονται: πολιτεύσονται **M** || 5 ἡμῶν: ὑμῶν Ald. || 6 ἀναγκάσαντες:
ἀναγκάσοντες **Z** || 7 τοῦτο: τοῦ **C** || 7 μηδέν codd. et Ald.: οὐδέν Blass.

Letter 11

To the Council and the Assembly of Athens

(1) Actually, I believed earlier that I should write you a letter concerning other matters about which I have been deliberating; for, at any rate, it was my understanding that among you this right is not taken away from those that have fallen into disgrace. Yet it seemed to me to be no small indiscretion to offer advice and to dabble in politics – I have suffered so severe a prohibition on engaging in politics – unless it is on your invitation. (2) Besides, I also believed it not to be easy to offer advice even to a close friend, not just to the city. Among you I see other people who are capable of speaking and working for the common good, because I have left not a few of them. But since some are dead, many have fallen into disgrace like me, and the city has been trapped into a shortage of statesmen; since I learn that some in person in the city, and some by letter are disrupting the affairs of the state, I am now ready to contribute what is appropriate to the city and to speak in the only way I can, by letter. (3) However, if at this point they say that I support the Macedonians, and if some people lodge the suit again in my absence for ambassadorial misconduct or for betraying Greece, I am now ready to flee from Rhodes and all the Greek territories; if they so wished, I retire to the king of the Persians and the Medes. In fact, nobody ever declared that I was a supporter of the Persians and the Medes, and Demosthenes least of all! But from there I will not cease to write what I deem may contribute to the city, not by pleasing you in a specious critical tone like some others do, but by giving counsels freely.

(4) For it must be clearly understood that, among the politicians, those who want to give you the impression of rebuking rather than pleasing you, they are also the

most likely to speak to amuse, choosing the path of practising flattery under the pretext of freedom of speech – indeed, to please the people and their leaders is in itself the much more criminal course of action. Some in Athens already walked this path when I was still among you – yes, for I have to say so – and now that, so far as it concerns you, I am dead. They charge you with negligence, as though you guide Greece without enthusiasm; they induce you to take the lead, as though you have the strength. **(5)** To my mind, you prefer to appear to have become indolent and at the same time be deemed capable of leading the Greeks, rather than to have maintained the ambition but lack the strength. I do learn that at the death of Alexander some people induced you to stage a revolt. For my part, however, I would have wished to offer you the same advice in such a way that is actually useful.

(6) I am certainly not unaware that – by Zeus and the other gods! – it is glorious to fight against the barbarians and to liberate Greece, and this is exactly what our forefathers had pursued. Nevertheless, to adopt the best decision, there should be sufficient prudence; to make it achievable, you also need good fortune. **(7)** So you must also remember, as I understand it, that although I am writing to the Athenians, they are not the Athenians among whom Themistocles held public office; instead, despite the fact that in prudence they are not inferior to those Athenians, they do not have the same resources for waging war. Those that make to you proposals worthy of Greece, let them offer you three hundred triremes, and let them offer thirty thousand talents of silver, two thousand talents of refined gold, and such great a number of fresh men in their youth, who have already been trained in arms! But they no longer offered advice to this effect. **(8)** For we ourselves will know what must be done, as soon as we are capable of putting our resolutions into practice. Don't let them wax lyrical in their vain praise of our ancestors and land, on the pretext that the gods were born in this land and have been fighting for this land. For ask them what benefits the city of Athens has reaped at the Battle of Chaeronea from the fact that Ares, in his confrontation with Poseidon over the Halirrhothius affair, was brought to trial on the

Areopagus. **(9)** Instead, it is necessary to consider if we are competent to contend with Antipater, or, any other king of Macedonia. If we are competent, let us take up our weapons immediately and liberate Greece with good fortune. But if we are going to neglect this and enjoy their flatteries, how shall we avoid falling into disgrace, giving the impression that we ourselves are responsible for our misfortunes – the only thing that provides no consolation for those who are in trouble? **(10)** The task for a city and a well-minded man, however, is to deliberate constantly on the present issues taking into account the presence of resources. But to base the audacity for what one is about to do on former strength, which one possessed in great abundance in the past, seems to me to be the same as if a man who won many victories at Olympia, but later got old, were still to enroll and to challenge the competitors by virtue of the memory of the strength he had, not of his present strength.

(11) Meanwhile it is worth reflecting with you upon which I hear – as if their statements were unconventional and marvellous and capable of helping them to reach their target; they claim that you must establish concord, as if you had no idea that, in any city, whether it plans to go to war or to keep the peace, this is the most ideological point of view. **(12)** It is not necessary to consider if there should be concord when you make war in defence of Greece, because there must be concord whenever you are at war or not, and this is for all sorts of reasons. Consider instead, when you wish to make war and establish concord, as we all know, if the military forces are self-sufficient. So long as they show neither our military alliances nor financial provisions and offer instead Athena as our protection in war, straightaway do not consider them any different from Demosthenes. **(13)** Still, you dismissed that man reasonably, inasmuch as he deserved it given his mental disorder; as for the others, they should be happy that they suffer no pain for delivering absurd speeches. They not only refuse to leave to us even the smallest remains of our affairs, but also bear a grudge against them. And they continuously wish to run things to the point of practising the politics of the Thebans, reducing our land to sheep-pasturage and our

city to ruins. No, if things go wrong, one can by no means resist from considering how to avoid a worse condition.

1 Ἐγὼ προσῆλθον τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι γεγονῶς ἔτη τρία καὶ τριάκοντα, μὰ Δί' οὐ
 τριταγωνιστεῖν μαθῶν, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τραφεὶς ἐλευθερίως, καὶ
 παιδείας φροντίσας τὰ μέτρια, καὶ λόγων οἴους λέγειν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔπρεπε. **2** Καὶ
 τούτους οὐκ εἰς συκοφαντίαν γυμνάσας, οὐδέ τι τῶν πολιτῶν δίκην δικασάμενος
 εὔρεθήσομαι λαβὼν ἀργύριον, οὐδέ ὕβρεις ἀποδόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐδέ ὕβρισθεις ὅλως
 οὐδέ ἀφορμὴν προπηλακισμοῦ παρασχών, οὐδέ εἰς δίκην τινὰ τῶν πολιτῶν
 καταστήσας, ἔξω Τιμάρχου μόνου. **3** Καὶ οὐκ ἀλαζονεύομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς πολλὰ
 πάνυ λαβεῖν ἐξόν μοι χρήματα μὴ λαβών· ἀλλ' ὡς ἦν προσῆκον δίκην κατὰ τοὺς
 νόμους λαβών. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν Κτησιφῶντα, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθῶν,
 πολλὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, παρανόμων ἐγραψάμην, δικαιοτάτην, ᾧ
 θεοὶ, γραφήν. **4** Καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων καὶ τῶν
 ἐμῶν λόγων ἢ Δημοσθένους δεινότης κρείττων ἐγένετο. Ἐφην δὲ ἴσως ἐφ' οἷς
 κατηγορήθην πρότερον ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, πολὺ μείζοσι δηλονότι τούτων οὔσι δι' ἃ
 νῦν ἐξέπεσον, οὐ μικρὸν ὑμᾶς δεῖγμα τοῦτο τοῦ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι νομίζειν, ὅτι
 οὐδὲ Δημοσθένους κατηγοροῦντος ἐάλων. **5** Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ
 τελέως καταφανῆ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐχ ὅπως μόνοις ὑμῖν, ἐμαυτὸν οἶομαι
 γεγονέναι. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ἀποθανόντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως καὶ φεύγοντες ἐκ
 τῶν πατρίδων, τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁποῖοί τινες ἐγένοντο τοὺς τρόπους
 διαδείκνυνται; **6** Καὶ γὰρ ἃ συνέκρυπτον αὐτοὶ πρότερον, ἐκ μέσου γενομένων
 ἐκείνων ἀναφαίνεται καθαρῶς· αἰτιᾶται γὰρ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 ἕκαστος οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν δυναμένους. Οἱ δὲ δὴ φυγόντες ἐπὶ τοιαύταις αἰτίαις, ὡς τὰ
 τῶν πολεμίων ἀεὶ προαιρούμενοι, καὶ παντελῶς δεικνύουσι καὶ τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὰς
 ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι γενομένας αὐτοῖς γνώμας καταφανεῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὅπως φέρουσι
 τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ ὡς διάκεινται πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας, ἐξετάζονται
 σαφῶς. **7** Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ Φιλίππῳ προδοὺς τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρίδα, καὶ

παραπρεσβεύσας τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀεὶ θεραπεύσας Μακεδόνας, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα φεύγων παρ' ὑμῶν ὤχομην, πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπηλλάγην, χάριν τε ὧν παρεσχόμην αὐτῷ κομιούμενος καὶ προμηθείας δηλονότι τευξόμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ; **8** Καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐχ ἐώρων τὰ μὲν ἐν Βοιωτία πανδοκεῖα Δημάδην ἔχοντα καὶ χωρία ζευγῶν εἴκοσιν ἀροῦντα καὶ χρυσᾶς ἔχοντα φιάλας, Ἡγήμονα δὲ καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα, τὸν μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ, τὸν δὲ ἐν Βεροῖα, καὶ δωρεὰς ἅμα εἰληφότας καὶ γυναῖκας εὐπρεπεστάτας γεγαμηκότας. **9** Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Θηβαίους οὐδ' εἰς Θετταλίαν ὤχομην παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλους τινάς, παρ' οἷς ἢ λοιδορεῖν ἔδει με τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν, ἢ λοιδορουμένης αὐτῆς ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμην, οὔτε μὰ τὸν Δία δυσμενῶν ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἄλλως φιλαπεχθημόνων ἀνθρώπων πόλιν. **10** Τὸ μὲν γὰρ <ὡς> ἄγχιστα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος ἐστάναι κατειρωνευομένων ἔμοιγε τῆς συμφορᾶς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ στεργόντων ἐδόκει τὴν πόλιν· τὸν δὲ ὄντως στέργοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ὡς πορρωτάτω μᾶλλον αὐτῆς ἐχρῆν ἀπιέναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὑπόμνημα ἔχειν, ὃ τὴν γνώμην ἀμύξει. **11** Καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα μείνας, ἐν Ῥόδῳ, φανείην ἄν, ἀλλὰ τῆς περαιῆς ἐλόμενός τι φρούριον μικρόν, Ἄμμον· κἀνταῦθα πριάμενος χωρία τοσοῦτων ταλάντων δυοῖν, ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν Φιλίππου μὲν πρότερον, εἴτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μισθωτὸν ὕστερον γενόμενον, καὶ Φωκεῖς προδόντα καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν Μακεδόσι, κάθημαι μεθ' ἑπτὰ θεραπόντων ἐνταῦθα καὶ δυοῖν μόνων γνωρίμων καὶ τῆς μητρός, **12** ἢ τρίτον ἔχουσα καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος ἔπλευσε σὺν ἐμοὶ μεθέξουσα τῆς δι' ὑμᾶς μοι συμφορᾶς γενομένης, καὶ μετὰ γυναικός, ἢ συνεξέπεσέ μοι κωλύοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μένειν ἴσως ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν νόμων, τὸν τρόπον τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νόμους ἐπισταμένη, καὶ μετὰ τριῶν παίδων οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν τῆς ἑαυτῶν συμφορᾶς ἐπαισθομένων, οὐδὲ ὁποῖαν <μὲν> αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς δέδωκε γιγνομένοις πατρίδα τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, ὁποῖαν δ' εὐθέως γενομένων ἀφήρηται πάλιν. **13** Καὶ ἕτεροι μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας, τοὺς ἢ ἐν Βοιωτία γενηθέντας ἢ ἐν Αἰτωλία, πρὸς ὑμᾶς πέμπουσι τῆς αὐτόθι παιδείας μεθέξοντας· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ὑπῆρξεν, οὐ δημοποιήτου πατρὸς οὓσιν

οὐδ' ἐπ' αἰτίαις αἰσχροῖς ἐαλωκότος, φεύγουσιν ἔτι νήπιοι, καὶ τρέφονται πένητες ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τε καὶ φυγῇ πατρῶα. **14** Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Λυκούργου παίδων Δημοσθένης ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλει, καὶ δεῖται καλῶς ποιῶν χαρίσασθαι τὸ πατρῶον αὐτοῖς ὄφλημα, καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἔργον, ἐλεήσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ χαρισάμενοι, ἐποιήσατε· καὶ γὰρ ὀργίζεσθαι ῥαδίως ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πάλιν· **15** ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ παίδων οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς πείσαιμι δεόμενος ὡς μὴ μοι <μῆ> μόνον ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ τραφῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὀρφανοὶ <θ'> ἅμα καὶ φυγάδες ὄντες, οὔτε ἀδικήσαντες παῖδες ὄντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἐαλωκότες, τὰ μέντοι τῶν ἐαλωκότων πάντα πεπονθότες; εἶτα τελευτήσαντος <ἂν> ἀναμνησθεῖτέ μου, καὶ χαρίσαισθε τὰς δεήσεις, νοῦν προσέχοντες ἡμῖν; ἀλλὰ καὶ πράξατε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πείσθητε, τὰ συνήθη τε αὐτοῖς καὶ μέτρια ποιοῦντες. **16** Οὐ γὰρ ἂν δὴ <τῶν> τρόπων ἀποσταίητε καὶ καταλύσαιτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, ἣν ἐπὶ χρηστότητι μείζω καὶ φιλανθρωπία διὰ παντὸς ἔσχεν ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς πάσαις ἢ πόλις. Οὐδ' ἂν Μελάνωπος ἰσχύσειε πλεον κωλύων ὑμᾶς μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἐαυτῶν χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἢ παρακαλῶν – οὐκ Αἰσχίνης, οὐδαμῶς μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς· **17** οὐ γὰρ αὐτάρκης οὐδ' εὐτυχῆς πείθειν ἔγωγε τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἐμήν, καὶ μάλιστα νῦν, ἐμαυτοῦ χάριν πείθειν δοκῶν· ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς πόλεως τρόπος καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑμῶν ὄνομα καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἦθος, οἷς ἀναγκαιότερον δήπουθεν ἢ Μελανώπω καθ' ἡμῶν δεομένῳ προσέχειν.

XII. Tit. **P^{mg.}**: om. **aMa**: τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν (τῷ Blass) Ἀθηναίων Ald. : Αἰσχίνης τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ restituit Drerup coll. titulis epistolarum III et VII || § 1. 2 τριταγωνιστεῖν: τριταγωνιστήν **B** || 2 καὶ τραφεῖς Bekker, coll. Dem. 18.258: καὶ γράφειν **APVBMZ**: καλλιγραφεῖν **C** (κᾶλλα ἔγραφε conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz), sed nullum hoc verbum atticum est (Gillischewski): καὶ ἐγγραφεῖς Drerup coll. Dem. 18.261 || 3 καὶ λόγων Wolf: καὶ λόγους codd. et Ald., cohaeret cum γυμνάσας § 2 (Reiske): καὶ λόγους <διδασκόμενος vel μαθὼν> Drerup, defendit Gillischewski (καὶ delevit) || 3 λέγειν: λέγεις **P^{a.c.}** || § 2. 2 δίκην: om. **B** || 5

καταστήσας: κατεστήσας **P^{a.c.}** || § 3. 2 ἦν προσῆκον codd. : ἦν προσῆκεν Drerup || 4 ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους: ὑπὲρ Δημοσθένους **V** || § 4. 2 κρείττων **P**: κρείσσων **CAVB** || 2 ἔφην **aMZ^{a.c.}a**, coll. Dem. *Ep.* 2.11: ἐφάνη **P^{mg.}Z^{p.c.}** Ald.: ἐφάνη κ.τ.λ. ἐάλων om. **V**, add. post οἴομαι γεγονέναι § 5 || 3 ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους: ὑπὲρ Δημοσθένους **V** || 3 τούτων: οὕτως **A^{a.c.}**: om. **PZ** || 4 μικρὸν ὑμᾶς δεῖγμα: μικρὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς δεῖγμα **P^{p.c.}** Ald. (εἰς ὑμᾶς del. Reiske) || 4 τοῦτο τοῦ: τοῦτο τὸ **V**: τούτου **M**: post τοῦ add. καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς Reiske (καὶ ὑμᾶς Blass) || 4 πολιτεύεσθαι: <ἐμέ> πολιτεύεσθαι Ald. : πεπολιτεύεσθαι Reiske || 4 νομίζειν: νομίζεσθαι **CAPZ** (ex πολιτεύεσθαι): om. Ald. || 5 ἐάλων: ἐάλω **V** || § 5. 2 τελέως Bekker: τέλεον ὡς **CAP^{p.c.}**: τελευταῖον ὡς **P^{a.c.}**: τελεῖον ὡς **Z**: τέλεον **VBM** Ald. || 3 ἀποθανόντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως καὶ φεύγοντες codd. : οὕτως del. Baiter–Sauppe (hiat.): οὕτως transponendum post καὶ García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 4 ὅποιοί τινες Bekker: τινες ὅποιοί codd. et Ald. : τίνες καὶ ὅποιοι Wolf, sq. Reiske || 4 ἐγένοντο τοὺς τρόπους: τοὺς τρόπους ἐγένοντο Ald. || § 6. 2 ἐκείνων codd., in mg. cod. Harleianus 5635 legitur hoc scholium ἡγουν τῆς τύχης (Reiske): om. Ald. : αὐτῶν conj. Markland || 2 αὐτοὺς: om. **A^{a.c.}PVZ**: αὐτοὺς Martin–de Budé || 3 φυγόντες **APVZ** Ald., sq. Blass¹: φεύγοντες **CBM** || 4 καὶ παντελῶς: καὶ om. Ald. || 5 τῶ: τοῖς **C** || 5 γὰρ καὶ: καὶ om. **V** Ald. || § 7. 1 οὖν: οὖν ὡς **VM** Ald. || 1 ἑαυτοῦ: ἑαυτοῦ **M** || 2 παραπρεσβεύσας: παρασκευάσας **M** || 2 καὶ ἀεὶ Blass, coll. *Ep.* 11.13 García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: ἀεὶ **C**: καὶ δὴ **AZ**: ὡς δὴ **PVB** Ald. (sq. Hercher qui put. ὡς δὴ θεραπεύσας Μακεδόνας referre speciem glossae, sed cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 223–224): ὡς δὴθεν Reiske coll. cod. Harleianus 5635 || 4 παρεσχόμεν: παρεχόμεν **V** || 4 προμηθείας: προμηθείας **V** || 5 αὐτοῦ Reiske: αὐτῶ codd. et Ald. || § 8. 1 ἐν Βοιωτία: συνβωτία **B** || 1 πανδοκεῖα: πανδοχεῖα **C** || 2 εἴκοσιν: εἴκοσι **PB** || 2–3 δὲ καὶ: μὲν καὶ **APZ** || 3 Βεροῖα: Βερροῖα (vel –α) **APVBMZ** || 4 εὐπρεπεστάτας: fort. εὐγενεστάτας Drerup, nobiles mulieres Macedones refert || § 9. 3 λοιδορουμένης αὐτῆς: λοιδορουμένην αὐτὴν Ald. || 3 Ῥόδον: Ῥώμην **AP^{p.c.}** || 3 ἀφικόμην: ἀφικόμενος Ald. || 4 δυσμενῶν: δυσμεναίων **AP** || § 10. 1 <ὡς> Blass: om. codd. et Ald. || 1 ἑαυτῶν: ἑαυτοῦ **CAPVZ** || 1 κατειρωνεομένων:

κατειρονευομένων **V** || 2 ἐδόκει: δοκεῖ vel ἐδόκει ἄν Markland || 2 τὸν δὲ ὄντως (οὕτως **Z**) στέργοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν: om. Ald. || 3 πορρωτάτω: πορρωτάτων **V** || 3 μᾶλλον: <γὰρ> μᾶλλον Ald. || 4 ὄμμασιν: ὀφθαλμοῖς **VBM** Ald. || § 11. 1 καὶ γὰρ: τοίγαρ Markland || 2 ἐν Ῥόδῳ codd. et Ald. : del. Wolf et Markland, fort. scholium || 2 φανείην: φανείη **C^{a.c.}** || 2 περαιάς Markland coll. Strab. 14.2.29: στερεᾶς codd. et Ald. || 2 φρούριον μικρόν: μικρὸν φρούριον **APVBMZ** || 3 Ἄμμον codd. (Ἄμμον **C**) et Ald. : del. Weidner: Ἄμμον Wilamowitz, *Hermae* XL. p. 147, sed cf. *Ep.* 9.1 || 3 τοσοῦτων: τοτοσοῦτων **B** || 3 δυοῖν codd. et Ald. : del. Wolf, fort. scholium ex *Ep.* 9.2, sqq. edd. || 3 ὅσων: ὅσον **CA^{a.c.}** || 3 ἦν τὸν: ἦν μὲν τὸν **V^{a.c.}** || 4 ὕστερον: del. Weidner || 4 Φωκεῖς: Φωκέων **Z^{a.c.}** || 5 Μακεδόσι: πεπρακότα Weidner || 6 μόνων: <καὶ> μόνων **P**: μόνοιν Ald.: μόνον conj. Blass, coll. cod. Helmstadiensis 806 || § 12. 2 ἐβδομηκοστὸν: ἐβδομικοστὸν **V** || 2 ἔπλευσε σὺν **VBA^{a.c.}P^{p.c.}M**: ἔπλευσε(ν) ἐν **CA^{p.c.}P^{a.c.}Z**: σὺν vel ἐν (dittographia) del. Dierup, ἐμοί coniungentem cum μεθέξουσα coniecit || 3 γενομένης: om. **A** || 4 ἀναγκαζόντων: ἀναγκάζοντος **CP^{a.c.}** || 5 ἐπισταμένη: ἐπισταμένην **B** || 6 ἐπαισθομένων: ἐπαισθανομένων **B** || 6 <μὲν> Blass, coll. *Ep.* 11.7 || 6 δέδωκε: ἔδωκε Ald. || 7 τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν codd. et Ald. : del. Wolf et Markland, fort. scholium, cf. *Ep.* 11.7–8 || 7 γενομένων: γενόμενοι Wolf || 8 ἀφήρηται Blass: ἀνήρηται codd. (ἀνήρηται **C**): ἀφήρηται Wolf: αὖ ἀφήρηται Reiske (hiat.) || 8 πάλιν Taylor et Reiske: πόλιν codd. et Ald., fort. per homoeoteleuton García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz (πόλιν κ.τ.λ. πόλιν om. **M**): del. Wolf || § 13. 1 ἔουκε Ald.: ἔουκε ἢ **αMa^{a.c.}** || 1 τοὺς ἢ Wolf: ἢ τοὺς codd. et Ald. : om. **Z** || 2 Βιωτία: Βιωτία **B** || 2 γενηθέντας **B**: γεννηθέντας **CAPVMZa** || 2 ἢ ἐν: δὲ ἐν **AP^{a.c.}Z^{a.c.}a** (τοὺς μὲν κ.τ.λ. τοὺς δὲ conj. Blass) || 2 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς **CAPZ^{a.c.}a** || 3 δημοποιήτου: δήμῳ ποιητοῦ **A^{a.c.}**: δήμοι ποιητοῦ **P^{a.c.}** || 4 ἐπ': ὄντος **Z^{mg.}** || 4 αἰτίας αἰσχροῖς: αἰτίας αἰσχροῦς **CAP** || § 14. 1 παίδων: λόγων **A^{a.c.}** || 2 χαρίσασθαι: χαρίζεσθαι Ald. || 3 ὑμεῖς: ἡμεῖς **A^{p.c.}** || 3 αὐτοὺς: del. Blass¹, coll. cod. Helmstadiensis 806 || 4 ὀργίζεσθαι: ὀργίζεσθε **V** || 4 ἐστὶν **CV** || 5 χαρίζεσθαι: χαρίσασθαι **CVBM** Ald. || § 15. 1 πείσαιμι **C**: πείσαιμην **APVBMZa** Ald. : πείσαιμ'

ἄν Reiske || 2 μή μοι <μή> Reiske: μή μοι codd. et Ald. || 3 <θ'> Blass (hiat.): om.
 codd. || 3 ὄντες: ὄσιν Ald. : del. Markland || 3 οὔτε (οὐδὲ Gillischewski) ἀδικήσαντες
 παῖδες ὄντες: om. **B** || 4 πεπονθότες: erotema indic. Martin–de Budé: post
 πεπονθότες dist. Markland: post πεπονθότες lacunam, supplendam <ὑπερ ἑαυτῶν
 αὐτοὶ δεόμενοι πείσαιεν ὑμᾶς> indic. Drerup || 4 τελευτήσαντος **A** solus, sq. ex μού
 Reiske: τελευτήσαντες cett. || 4 <ἄν> Blass, cf. *Ep.* 11.5: om. codd. || 4 ἀναμνησθεῖτέ
 Blass: ἀναμνήσθητέ codd. (ἀνεμνήσθητέ **Z**^{a.c.}): ἀναμνησθητέ Reiske || 5 χαρίσασθε
 Reiske: χαρίσασθε **CA**^{p.c.}**MZ**^{p.c.} Ald. : χαρίσασθαι **A**^{a.c.}**PVBZ**^{a.c.} || 5 νοῦν **P**: νῦν cett. :
 νῦν <οὐ> Reiske: νοῦν νῦν conj. García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz || 5 προσέχοντες:
 προσσχόντες **L**^{p.c.}, sq. Blass¹ || 5 post ἡμῖν erotema indic. Martin–de Budé || 5 καὶ
 πράξατε: καὶ πράξετε **CVB**: γὰρ εἶξατε Reiske || 6 τε αὐτοῖς: τε αὐτοῖς **CPVB**: αὐτοῖς
 om. **A**: ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς Ald. : τε om. Baiter–Sauppe et Weidner || § 16. 2 δὴ: διὰ **A**^{a.c.}**P**^{a.c.}
 || 2 <τῶν> Taylor (et Ald.) : om. codd. || 2 τρόπων: τρόπον **B** || 2 καταλύσατε:
 κωλύσατε **P**^{a.c.}**Z**^{a.c.}: καταλύσατε **CAZ**^{p.c.}: κωλύσατε **P**^{p.c.} || 3 μείζω: om. **A**^{a.c.}: μείζονι
Z^{a.c.} || 3 ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς: ἀρεταῖς add. **L**^{mg.} (post πάσαις inser. Baiter–Sauppe): ἀρεταῖς
 solus Weidner || 3–4 ἡ πόλις: ἦν πόλεσιν **P**^{p.c.} Ald. || 4 ἰσχύσειε: ἴσχυε Ald. : ἰσχύοι
 Wolf || 4 πλέον: πλεῖον **APVBZ** || 4 ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς **C**^{p.c.}**PZ**^{p.c.} || 5 ἦ: ἦν **C**^{p.c.}**A**^{p.c.} || 5
 παρακαλῶν: παρακαλῶ **V**: παρακαλῶν <ἄν> Reiske || 5 οὐκ Αἰσχίνης: ἀλλ' οὐκ
 Αἰσχίνης **P**^{p.c.}**Z**^{p.c.} Ald. : Αἰσχίνης **C**^{p.c.}**A**^{p.c.} || 5 οὐδαμῶς: οὐδαμοῦ **C**^{p.c.}**A**^{p.c.} || § 17. 1
 εὐτυχῆς: εὐπειθῆς Ald. : εὖ πεφυκῶς vel ἐπιτήδειος Wolf || 2 δοκῶν: δοκῶ **V** || 3
 παλαιὸν Drerup (hiat.): πάλαι codd. || 3 ὑμῶν: ἡμῶν **C**^{p.c.}**Z** Ald. || 3 τὸ: om. **V** || 3 οἷς
 Blass, sqq. Martin–de Budé García Ruiz–Hernández Muñoz: ᾧ **P**^{p.c.}**VBMZ**^{s.l.}: om.
C^{p.c.}**AP**^{a.c.}**Z**^{a.c.}**a**, constrictionem anacoluthi (sc. αὐτῇ ex ἦν) indic. Drerup || 3 ἦ: ὡς
C^{p.c.}**AP**^{a.c.}**a**, ἦ raro apud posteriores post comparationem (Drerup) || 4 προσέχειν
P^{p.c.}**BM**: προσέχοιτε **C**^{p.c.}**AP**^{a.c.}**Z**^{a.c.}**a**: προσέχοιμι **V** || ad fin. τέλος τῶν Αἰσχίνου
 ἐπιστολῶν subscr. **PZa**: Αἰσχίνου ἐπιστολαί **C**^{p.c.}: τῶν Αἰσχίνου τοῦ ῥήτορος
 ἐπιστολῶν τέλος Ald. : om. **AVBM**.

Letter 12

Aeschines to Athenian Council and Assembly

(1) I commenced political activity on arriving at the age of thirty-three – by Zeus – not after having learnt to act as a bit-part actor, as Demosthenes used to say, but after I was raised freeborn, and in my education I became concerned with orderly behaviour, and I could speak such gentle words as befit Athens. (2) I did not practise my speechcraft in vexatious accusation: I find that neither did I prosecute any citizen in litigation for money, nor exchange acts of outrages. Well, I committed no acts of outrages at all: neither did I provide a pretext for vilification, nor bring any citizen to trial, with the sole exception of Timarchus. (3) Yet I am not bragging in front of you that I did not obtain much wealth even though it was available to me; my intention, by contrast, was to obtain a judgement in accordance with the laws, as was fitting. After that, though, I indicted Ctesiphon for making an illegal proposal. Since I have suffered very much at his hands and also at Demosthenes', gods, the indictment was the fairest! (4) It is no wonder that Demosthenes' cleverness has got the better both of your laws and of my words. In my opinion, however, you might think it a not unremarkable sign, in connection with the previous occasions in which I was accused by Demosthenes, which are obviously much more serious than those that led to my exile now, that my political conduct was good: I was not convicted even with Demosthenes as the accuser.

(5) After that misfortune, I think that I have become entirely well-known to all of Greece, not only to you in particular. For who does not know that men, when they died like Lycurgus and suffered exile from their countries, do show more plainly than ever what their character is? (6) Indeed, what these men 'tried to cover up in the past' becomes perfectly clear when they came among 'those away from the people', and each of their opponents brings up far more charges when they can voice no opposition. And those who have been exiled on charges on the grounds that they

always champion the cause of the enemy, their character is thoroughly exposed and all their political views are unveiled. In fact, they are under a thorough examination not only of the way they cope with their misfortunes, but also of how they are disposed towards their countries. **(7)** So have I, who ‘betrayed my country to Philip’, who ‘was so false an ambassador against Athens’, and who ‘continuously served the Macedonians’, left you as soon as I was put into exile? Have I been prompt to flee to Alexander with the intention to receive his reward in exchange for what I offered him, and to benefit from his solicitude as a matter of course? **(8)** Anyway, I could never turn a blind eye to the fact that Demades owned inns in Boeotia, ploughed his land with twenty yokes and had vessels of gold; that Hegemon and Callimedon, one in Pella and the other in Beroea, married good-looking women once they had got the gifts. **(9)** What is more, I did not leave you for the Thebans or Thessaly, or for some other peoples among whom I would be forced either to abuse my own country or to hear their abuse. Well, I went to Rhodus, a city whose inhabitants are – by Zeus! – not hostile to you or otherwise fond of making enemies.

(10) For as far as I am concerned, certain men have settled as close to their country as possible, and this is true for those who make a big display of their misfortunes, rather than those who love the city; one who has a genuine love for his city should stay as far away from her as possible, and keep before his eyes no reminder: this will tear his heart. **(11)** Indeed, you will find that I did not even stay there, that is, in Rhodus, but chose a small fortification on its coastal territory, that is, the ‘Sandy Ground’; at that place I purchased plots of land with these very two talents, likely to be as ‘could be made by a man who has been a hireling formerly of Philip and later of Alexander, and who has betrayed the Phocians and the freedom of the Greeks to Macedonia’. There I settled down with seven servants, only two acquaintances, and my mother. **(12)** She is seventy-three years old, and has sailed with me to share the misfortune you inflicted on me. So has my wife. She fled with me even though her father tried to stop her and the laws might force her to stay, for

she knows more about the city's way of acting than its laws. My three children are with me too. They have not yet, up to the present time, been aware of their misfortunes, that the city of Athens was the country which the god gave them at birth, and it was also the city which has been in turn taken away soon after their birth.

(13) So, it seems, other people send their children who were born in Boeotia or in Aetolia to you to partake of the education there in Athens; as for those who have possessed such proper rights by birth, although their father is neither a citizen by naturalisation nor convicted of shameful charges, they go into exile even in childhood, growing up as the poor in desolation and in hereditary exile. **(14)** Demosthenes has sent you a letter concerning the matters of Lycurgus' sons, and he did the right thing in asking you to grant the remission of their hereditary debt; you performed no task but what was expected of Athenians, pitied them and granted the favour. For it is your custom to raise anger easily and then to confer favours. **(15)** And, as for my children, may I not persuade you in the request that, as far as I am concerned, they may not grow up in orphan state, or rather, as orphans and exiles? Even though they are innocent as children, and are not in any way convicted, they have suffered all the things that the convicted suffer. After my death, then, would you remember me and grant my supplication, turning your thoughts to us? Take action, therefore, men of Athens, and convince yourselves to do what you are used to doing and is reasonable for them.

(16) For in doing so you would by no means defect from your character or destroy your city's reputation, which, from beginning to end, the city has enjoyed for her kindness and humanity to a greater extent than any other virtuous accomplishments. Melanopus should no longer prevail by preventing you from imitating your virtues of kindness and humanity; nor should he give exhortation. By the gods! Aeschines never did so! **(17)** I certainly do not have the mastery and the good fortune to persuade my country, especially in the present case, giving the impression that I do this for my own sake. Instead, it is the character of the city, your long-standing fame

and the spirit of your ancestors, I suppose, to which we ought to pay more attention, rather than Melanopus' appeals against me.

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