

GREEK PROSE STYLE

By the late

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NOTE

WHEN Dr. Denniston died in May 1949, six chapters of the book which he had been making out of the material collected for his Oxford lectures on Greek prose were found together in the same folder. These form Chapters II–VII of the book as it now appears. A sketch of the projected contents of the book, dated 1934, mentions all these chapters and also two others, one on 'Diction' and another on 'The History of Greek Prose'. No draft of a chapter on 'Diction' has been found: but it seems likely that the lecture on 'The Development of Greek Prose' which Dr. Denniston delivered at Oxford in November 1937 would have been adapted to form an introductory chapter to the book. This lecture accordingly appears as Chapter I.

If the author had lived to see the book through the press, he would certainly have made many changes in the draft. Chapter I, in particular, would doubtless have appeared in a very different form. But the task of final revision was one which only the author himself could properly have performed. I have confined myself to altering a few expressions in Chapter I and in Chapter VII (which was read as a paper to the Cambridge Philological Society in May 1934) which seemed appropriate only in a spoken discourse, checking the references, and expanding some of the bibliographical notes.

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I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK PROSE

THE student of Greek prose expression can certainly not complain of lack of materials. No branch of ancient literature is represented in so rich a diversity. We possess either complete works, or substantial fragments, of all those authors whom the ancient critics thought really important either in achievement or in influence: and further (a valuable aid to the student of a style) a considerable harvest of the second-raters, the men who, through their very lack of personality, illustrate, perhaps even better than the great figures, the tendencies of their age. I do not, of course, mean that our material is everywhere equally adequate. Broadly speaking, the year 427, when Gorgias came to Athens on his famous mission, marks the boundary between the dark ages and the dawn of history. And it will be convenient, for many reasons, to treat the earlier and the later periods separately.

Up to the beginning of the last quarter of the fifth century, Greek prose means, broadly speaking, Greek philosophy and Greek history. Stylistic oratory has barely been born: and the medical writings contained in the great Hippocratic corpus (stylistically important, because the Greeks tended to stylize everything) have hardly begun to appear. Further, Greek prose means Ionic prose. Historians and philosophers alike mostly come from Ionia: and even when they do not, they use Ionic as the accepted medium of prose expression. Of the style of the earliest Ionic philosophers, Anaximander, who was born about 610 and was, according to ancient tradition, the first man who had the courage to write a book on physics, and Anaximenes, we know next to nothing. But it is interesting to note that they wrote in prose and not in verse, which was first used for philosophical exposition by Xenophanes and Parmenides. The later Ionians are less shadowy figures. We possess important

fragments of Heraclitus, Democritus, and Anaxagoras. The remains of Democritus are very considerable: and we can trace in them the outlines of a highly developed, even artificial, style. These writers made little attempt at organized structure. And the cause of this lies in the quality of their thought. They expound truth in oracles rather than proceed to it by the ordered march of logic. Hence their writing gives the effect of stiffly piled-up masses: it is static, not dynamic. And it is safe to say, though no continuous passage of any great length has survived, that its unit was the sentence rather than the paragraph. Within these limits, dignity, and even, on occasion, grandeur, was attained. The language is throughout poetical, consciously exalted to the level of an exalted theme, and it abounds in curious compounds and other new formations.

This quality of the diction is reinforced by assonantal devices: first and foremost, by alliteration. This dangerous literary artifice plays on the whole but a small part in Greek literature.¹ The tragedians occasionally indulged in it (e.g. Soph. *OT* 371 τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὦτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὄμματ' εἶ): and there are other indubitable, though less striking, instances of similar conscious effects. But assonance never, as in Latin poetry, became part of the texture of the Greek language. I will give a few examples of the way in which the early philosophers experimented with it. Heracl. Fr. 25 μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζοντας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι: 53 πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεὺς: Democr. Fr. 258 (an elaborate pattern in π, κ, and μ) κτείνειν χρή τὰ πημαίνοντα παρὰ δίκην πάντα περὶ παντός· καὶ ταῦτα ὁ ποιῶν εὐθυμίας καὶ δίκης καὶ θάρσεος καὶ κτήσεως ἐν παντὶ κόσμῳ μέζω μοῖραν μεθέξει. In later Greek prose we rarely meet with alliteration. There are traces of it in Thucydides, and in the mock Epitaphios in Plato's *Menexenus*. But the Gorgianic school of ear-ticklers preferred to get their jingles at the ends of words, while the great writers rejected assonance altogether, except in so far as it inevitably accompanies the repetition of words. Secondly, there is a free use of what we, rather misleadingly, call 'plays on words'. It is difficult, at this time of day, to think ourselves

¹ Cf. Ch. VII, pp. 126 ff.

back to the standpoint of people who regarded words, as Norden¹ puts it, as the 'visible pictures of invisible realities': pictures so faithful to their originals that one could, in all earnestness, use what are to us fortuitous resemblances of sound as a basis for reasoning. But we must think ourselves back into this mentality, if we are not to misjudge the Orphics² who said that the σῶμα was a σῆμα, the body a tomb: or Heraclitus, when he wrote (*Fr.* 114) ξὺν νόῳ λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρή τῷ ξυνῷ πάντων: 'if we would speak with intelligence (ξὺν νόῳ), we must rely upon this element which is common to all things' (ξυνῷ = κοινῷ). The puerilities of Gorgianic assonance, of which more later, are in a different category. He and his followers, in a more sophisticated age, used assonance not as mystics but as euphuists. In addition to alliteration and word-play, effects are obtained, in this early prose, by the repetition of words. But whereas in later writers the repeated word normally comes at the beginning of a clause, in the earlier it is most commonly placed at the end; e.g. in Heracl. *Fr.* 30 ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα. Moreover, chiasmus, which is, generally speaking, much rarer in Greek than some people imagine, is here much favoured. Thus Heraclitus writes (*Fr.* 88) τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστι, καὶ ἐκεῖνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα: where a later writer would have said μεταπεσόντα μὲν γὰρ τάδε ἐκεῖνά ἐστι, μεταπεσόντα δὲ πάλιν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνα. The alliterations, too, are sometimes arranged chiasmically.

To illustrate in combination as well as in isolation these features of early Greek prose technique, I will quote one of the most extensive and characteristic passages which have come down to us, the twelfth fragment of Anaxagoras.

τὰ μὲν ἅλλα παντὸς μοῖραν μετέχει, νοῦς δὲ ἐστὶν ἄπειρον καὶ αὐτοκρατὲς καὶ μέμεικται οὐδενὶ χρήματι, ἀλλὰ μόνος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐστίν. εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τεφ' ἐμέμεικτο ἄλλῳ, μετείχεν ἂν ἀπάντων χρημάτων, εἰ ἐμέμεικτό τεφ' ἐν παντὶ γὰρ παντὸς μοῖρα ἔνεστιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν μοι λέλεκται· καὶ ἂν ἐκώλυνεν αὐτὸν τὰ συμμεμειγμένα ὥστε μηδενὸς χρήματος κρατεῖν ὁμοίως ὥς καὶ μόνον ἔοντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. ἔστι γὰρ λεπτότατόν τε πάντων χρημάτων καὶ καθαρώτατον, καὶ γνῶμην

¹ *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, i, p. 24.

² *Pl. Crat.* 400c.

γε περί παντός πάσαν ἰσχει καὶ ἰσχύει μέγιστον. καὶ ὅσα γε ψυχὴν ἔχει καὶ [τὰ] μείζω καὶ [τὰ] ἐλάσσω, πάντων νοῦς κρατεῖ. καὶ τῆς περιχωρήσιος τῆς συμπάσης νοῦς ἐκράτησεν, ὥστε περιχωρῆσαι τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ σμικροῦ ἤρξατο περιχωρεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ πλέον περιχωρεῖ, καὶ περιχωρήσει ἐπὶ πλέον. καὶ τὰ συμμεισγόμενά τε καὶ ἀποκρινόμενα καὶ διακρινόμενα πάντα ἔγνω νοῦς· καὶ ὅποια ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ὅποια ἦν, ἄσσα νῦν μὴ ἔστι, καὶ ὅσα νῦν ἔστι καὶ ὅποια ἔσται, πάντα διεκόσμησε νοῦς, καὶ τὴν περιχώρησιν ταύτην, ἣν νῦν περιχωρεῖ τά τε ἄστρο καὶ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ὁ ἀήρ καὶ ὁ αἰθήρ οἱ ἀποκρινόμενοι. ἡ δὲ περιχώρησις αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν ἀποκρίνεσθαι. καὶ ἀποκρίνεται ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἀραιοῦ τὸ πυκνὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζοφεροῦ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ διεροῦ τὸ ξηρόν. μοῖραι δὲ πολλαὶ πολλῶν εἰσι. παντάπασιν δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνεται οὐδὲ διακρίνεται ἕτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου πλὴν νοῦ. νοῦς δὲ πᾶς ὁμοίός ἐστι καὶ ὁ μείζων καὶ ὁ ἐλάττων. ἕτερον δὲ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὁμοιον οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ὅτων πλεῖστα ἐν, ταῦτα ἐνδηλότατα ἐν ἑκαστὸν ἐστι καὶ ἦν.

One notices how certain key-words, νοῦς, περιχωρεῖν, ἀποκρίνεσθαι, and their cognates, run through the passage with a recurrent emphasis. Their repetitions flood and permeate, rather than strike, the ear. You note the word-play in ἰσχει, ἰσχύει, the effectiveness of the recurrent νοῦς at the end of clauses and sentences: and, further, the device (greatly favoured by Herodotus) by which the same word ends one sentence and begins the next, thus forming a sort of pivot on which the structure hinges: . . . ἐποίησεν ἀποκρίνεσθαι. καὶ ἀποκρίνεται: . . . πλὴν νοῦ. νοῦς δὲ πᾶς ὁμοίός ἐστι.

Palpably different as this method of writing is from the characteristic style, or styles, of fourth-century Greek, it was not without influence on Plato. The exposition of the immortality of the soul in *Phdr.* 245C-E is, to my mind, remarkably similar in feeling. It has a statuesque grandeur, which stands in marked contrast to the freer, suppler movement of the passages which precede and follow it.

ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος. τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον· τὸ δ' ἄλλο κινουὺν καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου κινούμενον, παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς. μόνον δὴ τὸ αὐτὸ κινουὺν, ἅτε οὐκ ἀπολείπον ἐαυτό, οὔποτε λήγει κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα κινεῖται τοῦτο πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως. ἀρχὴ δὲ ἀγέννητον. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἀνάγκη πᾶν τὸ γιγνόμενον γίγνεσθαι,

αὐτὴν δὲ μὴδ' ἐξ ἑνός· εἰ γὰρ ἔκ του ἀρχὴ γίγναιτο, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἀρχὴ γίγναιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀγέννητόν ἐστιν, καὶ ἀδιάφθορον αὐτὸ ἀνάγκη εἶναι. ἀρχῆς γὰρ δὴ ἀπολομένης οὔτε αὐτὴ ποτε ἔκ του οὔτε ἄλλο ἐξ ἐκείνης γενήσεται, εἴπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεῖ τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι. οὕτω δὴ κινήσεως μὲν ἀρχὴ τὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι οὔτε γίνεσθαι δυνατόν, ἢ πάντα τε οὐρανὸν πᾶσάν τε γῆν εἰς ἓν συμπεσοῦσαν στήναι καὶ μήποτε αὖθις ἔχειν ὅθεν κινήθέντα γενήσεται.

Plato was, in fact, strongly influenced by Ionic philosophical prose, not only in his technical terminology but in the texture of his style. He is very far from writing pure Attic, in the sense that the Attic of Lysias is pure.

I have dealt at some length with the early philosophers, because we find in them a technique at once so elaborate and so different from the technique of the following age. The early chroniclers, Pherecydes, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, and the rest, need not detain us so long. Very scanty fragments of their works survive; and these are enough to show that they had less importance for the development of prose style than the philosophers. Dionysius of Halicarnassus rightly observes that their style had a certain charm and freshness, but revealed no *σκευωρία τεχνική* (*Th.* 5; cf. also 23). Perhaps their most important function is to make us realize how much concealed art underlies the seeming artlessness of their great successor Herodotus.

Herodotus is an unaccountable phenomenon in the history of literature. He is in the direct line of succession to the logographers: but while they, apparently, had no technique at all, he had a technique at once effortless and adequate to any demands he chose to make upon it. Nor were these demands so small. It is easy to regard Herodotus as an entertaining old fellow gifted with unlimited incredulity and a knack for telling amusing, sometimes improper, stories in an Ionic brogue. But he was more than this. There is, at certain moments, a hushed intensity in his style which recalls Homer, Malory, or the English Bible: the story of Croesus and Solon, for example, or the story of Harpagus, who unwittingly ate the flesh of his murdered son at Astyages' table.

ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἅλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἴρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῇ θοίνῃ. φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἀρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὄρᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα· ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἄν βασιλεὺς ἔρδη. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα. (i 119. 5 ff.)

It is difficult to analyse the beauty of this Greek. The only obvious point of style that strikes one is the repetitive device that maintains the flow: εἴρετο εἰ ἡσθείη . . . φαμένου δὲ καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι ἐκέλευον ἀποκαλύπτειν . . . πειθόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων . . . ὄρᾳ . . . ἰδὼν δὲ . . . And what a marvellous stroke of art is the parenthesis ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, which transforms the omniscient historian into the spectator, horrified and ignorant of the issue: 'he meant, I suppose, to collect it all and bury it'. One is too apt to take for granted the reserve and restraint of the classics. And when we remember the orgies of nauseating detail with which the Thyestes theme is embroidered in ancient literature, down to its climax in Seneca, and the horrible ravings of the blinded Oedipus (in Sophocles, of all people), we shall better appreciate the high art with which Herodotus stresses the tragedy, not the physical horror, of this episode, which lends itself so readily to Grand Guignol method.

I turn now to a more rhetorical passage, which illustrates the peculiar suppleness with which Herodotus can make use of a device which later became a cliché. It is from the comparison, in i 32. 6, between the rich man and the happy man of moderate means. αἴτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπληρος δὲ ἐστι, ἄνουςος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδής. Here we have a familiar trick, asyndeton combined with initial assonance. First of all comes a group of three (a favourite number in later asyndeta). But the stiffness is taken out by putting the verb, ἐστι, in the middle, instead of

writing *ἔστι δ' ἄπῃρος, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθής*: and, further, by the addition of *κακῶν*, which is not necessary to sense or grammar, since elsewhere Herodotus uses *ἀπαθής* absolutely. Finally, he varies a figure by a second asyndetic series, here only a pair, *εὖπαις εὐειδής*, to which the spondaic rhythm adds solemnity. By the side of such workmanship, Demosthenes' effects, fine as many of them are, have something of a mechanical air: nor has Demosthenes quite that economy which reserves such devices for the rarest use, at the height of an emotional crisis.

We are commonly told to regard Herodotus as a writer of *λέξις εἰρομένη*, 'speech strung together', as opposed to *λέξις κατεστραμμένη*, 'bound' or 'knit' speech. But he could use either mode in equal perfection. Take, for example, the first words of his history, surely one of the noblest openings in literature.

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Here, as often happens in the so-called historical period, the main clause comes at the beginning: the rest of the sentence is a subordinate final clause in two halves, of which the first is longer than the main clause, and the second, itself organized into sub-clauses, yet longer. The effect is that of a long musical phrase, rising to a crescendo, and sinking again gradually to a quiet close. The power of the sentence is heightened by the relative word-lengths, the four sweeping polysyllables with which it opens being followed by a series of short words (a rhythmic effect which we can observe also in the openings of the *De Rerum Natura* and Sappho's ode to Aphrodite). Put the first five words in any other order, and the thing is ruined: say *ἀπόδεξις ἦδε ἱστορίας Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος*. The order as it stands looks, indeed, inevitable. But so does the opening of the *Republic*, which Plato is said to have tried in so many ways before he decided on *κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαῦκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος*.¹ The whole question of word-order is of great

¹ See pp. 41 f.

importance in Greek prose style: and one of the reasons why writing Greek prose is such a fascinating occupation is that it offers a release from the comparatively strict bondage of English structure. Except in its cruder forms, Greek word-order cannot be analysed. But unless it is felt, much of the beauty of Herodotus and Plato will be missed.

Nor, again, was Herodotus incapable of constructing the typical 'oratorical' period, in which the interest is maintained to the end by suspension of the main idea. A fine example is the description of Adrastus' suicide in i 45. 3.

Ἀδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὲ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπεῖτε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ᾗδε βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυτόν.

The effect here is heightened by the great, dragging polysyllables, *συγγινωσκόμενος*, *βαρυσυμφωρότατος*, *ἐπικατασφάζει*, and by their subtle disposition in the sentence. Another fine example occurs at i 86. 6, where a probably intentional alliteration adds to the impression.

καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννόσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔων ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενος ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρὸς τε τούτοις δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὥς οὐδὲν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλῶς ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καίόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσου.

Herodotus, then, was capable of elaborate periodic structure; but he employed it with economy, for emotional effect, in contrast with the normal easy flow of his *λέξις εἰρομένη*. I have lingered over Herodotus because he is often, as a stylist, damned with faint praise. His achievement, measured by what we know of his predecessors, marks, I believe, a greater advance than any other Greek prose writer achieved.

We now come to the last quarter of the fifth century, the period in which the main characteristics of fourth-century prose were being developed with a speed which is the mark of intense

and widely spread activity. Our sources of information now become much more numerous and varied. Besides Antiphon, Andocides, and Thucydides, we have the pseudo-Xenophon-tine *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, written in about 425, considerable fragments of one or two sophists and Platonic parodies of others, valuable references in Aristophanes, and a number of medical or quasi-medical works from the Hippocratean corpus (though the value of these to the historian of style is diminished by the difficulty of determining the dates of composition). This age is notable for the new predominance of the Attic dialect, the rise of oratory, and the appearance of stylistic theory.

It may, indeed, be questioned whether Athenian oratory had not already attained to some degree of artistic finish. That Themistocles is described by Thucydides as *δεινὸς λέγειν* does not, it is true, go for much. Nor can we safely believe Diodorus¹ when he says that the custom of delivering a funeral speech over soldiers fallen in war dates back to Plataea. But Pericles certainly delivered an Epitaphios in 439, and he is reputed to have been the first to write out a speech for use in a law court. Plato calls him *πάντων τελεώτατος εἰς ῥητορικὴν*,² and Eupolis says that 'persuasion sat on his lips' and that 'he alone, like a bee, left his sting behind in his hearers' hearts'.³ A few bold metaphors are all that survive of him, the loss of Athenian youth in battle compared to the spring perishing out of the year,⁴ 'Aegina, the eyesore of the Piraeus',⁵ and so on. The loss of his speeches, whether written out or merely delivered, is perhaps the most serious gap in our tradition: and a passage or two, no longer than the remarkable fragments of the younger Gracchus, might have given us a vivid picture of the stage reached by public speaking in the hands of a cultured and gifted Athenian before the later, and more literary, fifth-century sophistic had shown its influence.

That Athenian oratory was highly developed before the

¹ xi 33, 3. Cf. F. Jacoby in *JHS* lxiv (1944), p. 57, n. 92.

² *Phaedrus* 269E.

³ *Fr.* 94.

⁴ Arist. *Rhet.* 1365^a 32, 1411^a 3.

⁵ Plu. *Per.* 8; Arist. *Rhet.* 1411^a 15.

arrival of Gorgias is implied by Cleon's speech on the Mytilenaeon question in Thuc. iii 37 ff. Speaking in 427, the very year of Gorgias' arrival, Cleon reproaches the Athenians with regarding a debate in the assembly as a kind of show. 'You are lovers of new-fangled expressions,' he says, 'the slaves of each new paradox: you cannot resist the delights of the ear, and sit there like an audience at a sophistic exhibition, not like men deliberating on matters of state.' This is important evidence, if Thucydides is not guilty of anachronism here. That he is *not* guilty of anachronism is strongly suggested by some of the formal speeches in quite early plays of Euripides; for instance, by Jason's speech in the *Medea*, 522 ff.

But, while the importance of Gorgias has often been exaggerated, it cannot be doubted that he and Thrasyarchus, and perhaps other sophists in a less degree, did exercise considerable influence on Greek prose. In the case of Gorgias the influence was, I believe, wholly bad. What he did was, in fact, to take certain qualities inherent in Greek expression, balance and antithesis, and exaggerate them to the point of absurdity. To his doctrinaire mind, balance meant mathematical equality. And this was more readily obtained, and more blatantly obvious to the ear, if the clauses were short. Hence his writing is throughout chopped up into the smallest possible units. Further, symmetrical antithesis naturally carries with it assonance at the end of clauses. There is evidence that the tragedians at times coquetted with the possibilities of rhyme at the end of lines. Thus Sophocles writes (*Aj.* 807-8):

ἐγνώκα γὰρ δὴ φωτὸς ἡπατημένη,
καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς χάριτος ἐκβεβλημένη.

And there are a number of similar passages which bear the mark of conscious intention. Gorgias, the ancient authorities tell us, was the first writer of Greek prose to exploit consciously the use of rhyming clauses. Whereas in earlier prose rhymes naturally arose out of symmetrical structure, in Gorgias and Isocrates, and other writers under the Gorgianic influence, they are deliberately sought out. Double rhymes, too, are not

infrequently found. Compare Gorgias, *Hel.* (*Fr.* 11) 3 τοῦ μὲν γενομένου θεοῦ, λεγομένου δὲ θνητοῦ. In Isocrates, *Paneg.* 178, τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν balances δεσπότην κατέστησαν: compare τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἢ τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ πονήσει καὶ φιλοσοφήσει; (*ibid.* 186). Certain rhymes are part of the common stock-in-trade of these purveyors of puerility: φήμη μνήμη, ῥώμη γνώμη, ὥρα χώρα, and so forth. Further, with a view to obtaining both rhyme and symmetry, clauses are padded with superfluous synonyms. The opening of the *πρὸς Δημόνικον*, which is ascribed, perhaps wrongly, to Isocrates, is an excellent example of the method.

ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν, ὦ Δημόνικε, πολὺ διεστῶσας εὐρήσομεν τὰς τε τῶν σπουδαίων γνώμας καὶ τὰς τῶν φαύλων διανοίας, πολὺ δὲ μεγίστην διαφορὰν εὐλήφασιν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνηθείαις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους παρόντας μόνον τιμῶσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μακρὰν ἀπόντας ἀγαπῶσι, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν φαύλων συνηθείας ὀλίγος χρόνος διέλυσε, τὰς δὲ τῶν σπουδαίων φιλίας οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἐξαλείψειεν.

The synonyms here provide at once balance and rhyme. πολὺ διεστῶσας . . . πολὺ μεγίστην διαφορὰν εὐλήφασιν . . . : γνώμας . . . διανοίας : τιμῶσιν . . . ἀγαπῶσι : συνηθείας . . . φιλίας : διέλυσε . . . ἐξαλείψειεν. To an author like Demosthenes such methods are suspect. Though his antitheses often sound to our ear rather stiffly symmetrical, he will go out of his way to avoid a rhyme or a too finical balance. Thus xviii 3 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφήν: instead of καὶ τούτῳ τὴν γραφήν μὴ ἐλεῖν: and xviii 4 τούτων τοίνυν ὁ μὲν ἔστι πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί—instead of ἐμοὶ λείπεται. That is why a character in contemporary comedy calls Demosthenes 'a fire-eater, a hater of literature, a fellow who never uttered an antithesis in his life':¹ although, from a different standpoint of comparison, Aeschines found fault with his 'plaguy antitheses'.²

To the use of short, symmetrical rhyming clauses, we must add the use of similarly derived words in close juxtaposition: μόνος μόνῳ σύνεστιν, and the like. This is a characteristic device of Greek poetry, and of those prose writers whose style is

¹ Timocles *Fr.* 12.

² κακοῖσι τούτοις ἀντιθέτοις (Aeschin. ii. 4).

coloured by poetry—the early philosophers, Thucydides, Plato, and Xenophon. The orators rarely employed it, I think because they thought it too poetical.

Such are the simple ingredients of the manner of Gorgias. Starting with the initial advantage of having nothing in particular to say, he was able to concentrate all his energies upon saying it. And, to an author so fortunately placed, technique offers no especial difficulty. I will here quote a continuous passage from his work (*Fr.* 6, from the *Epitaphios*): and indeed one will serve the purpose of half a dozen.

τί γὰρ ἀπὴν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ὦν δεῖ ἀνδράσι προσεῖναι ; τί δὲ καὶ προσῆν ὦν οὐ δεῖ προσεῖναι ; εἰπεῖν δυναίμην ἃ βούλομαι, βουλοίμην δ' ἃ δεῖ, λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θεῖαν νέμεσιν, φυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο ἔνθεον μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τὸ θνητόν, πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ πρᾶον ἐπεικὲς τοῦ αὐθάδους δικαίου προκρίνοντες, πολλὰ δὲ νόμου ἀκριβείας λόγων ὀρθότητα, τοῦτον νομίζοντες θεϊότατον καὶ κοινότατον νόμον, τὸ δέον ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ λέγειν καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν (καὶ ἑᾶν), καὶ δισσὰ ἀσκήσαντες μάλιστα ὦν δεῖ, γνῶμην (καὶ ῥώμην), τὴν μὲν βουλευόντες τὴν δ' ἀποτελοῦντες, θεράποντες μὲν τῶν ἀδίκως δυστυχούντων, κολασταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκως εὐτυχούντων, αὐθάδεις πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, εὐόργητοι πρὸς τὸ πρέπον, τῷ φρονίμῳ τῆς γνώμης παύοντες τὸ ἄφρον (τῆς ῥώμης), ὕβρισται εἰς τοὺς ὕβριστάς, κόσμιοι εἰς τοὺς κοσμίους, ἄφοβοι εἰς τοὺς ἀφόβους, δεινοὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων τρόπαια ἐστήσαντο τῶν πολέμιων, Διὸς μὲν ἀγάλματα, ἑαυτῶν δὲ ἀναθήματα, οὐκ ἄπειροι οὔτε ἐμφύτου ἄρεος οὔτε νομίμων ἐρώτων οὔτε ἐνοπλίου ἔριδος οὔτε φιλοκάλου εἰρήνης, σεμνοὶ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ δικαίῳ, ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας τῇ θεραπείᾳ, δίκαιοι (μὲν) πρὸς τοὺς ἀστοὺς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀθανάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων.

After this we are left wondering how it was that Gorgias, performing in the *πρυτανεῖον* τῆς σοφίας, before an audience whose taste had been educated by a century of great literature, was able to 'get away with it'.

The manner in which Thucydides reacted to the artificialities of the prevalent antithetical style is peculiar. Marcellinus, in his life, says that he imitated, to a slight extent, the balanced clauses and antitheses of Gorgias. But if one looks for the

characteristic Gorgianic balances and jingles in Thucydides, one finds in fact remarkably few. The famous φιλοκαλούμέν τε γάρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφούμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας (ii 40. 1) is one of them, but it is so packed with meaning that the verbal echoes do not obtrude themselves. The following is quite different (iv 61. 7) οἳ τ' ἐπὶ κλητοὶ εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἐλθόντες εὐλόγως ἄπρακτοι ἀπίασιν. That is an unabashed bowing of the knee to Baal; but such surrenders are exceedingly rare. One has only to look at a page of Antiphon to see the difference. Far more often, the restlessness of Thucydides' thought saves him from the temptation to succumb: or if temptation does appear, he puts it resolutely behind him. Thus in ii 39. 4, where φαίνεσθαι and θαυμάζεσθαι want to come at the end of two balanced clauses, he alters the order to avoid the jingle.

The danger that beset Thucydides was of a different kind. The common craze for verbal antithesis is in him transformed into a craze for logical antithesis. In particular he drags in the λόγος ἔργον (γνώμη ἔργον) contrast in season and out of season. It spoils one of his noblest utterances in the Funeral Oration: ii 43. 3 ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιδαιτᾶται: 'the dead are honoured for their brave hearts, which were manifested in their brave actions'. A contrast between the deed and the character which produced the deed is not only otiose but confusing. And the frigidity is made all the worse by the fact that an almost equally unnecessary antithesis between λόγος and ἔργον occurs in the preceding sentence. Other examples of this forced use of antithesis are iii 40. 1 οὐκ οὖν δεῖ προθεῖναι ἐλπίδα οὔτε λόγῳ πιστὴν οὔτε χρήμασιν ὀνητήν: vi 92. 3 φυγὰς τε γάρ εἰμι τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων πονηρίας, καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἣν πείθησθέ μοι, ὠφελίας. In such passages the form controls the content, not the content the form.

Perhaps a more powerful, certainly a more healthy, influence on Greek prose style was that of Gorgias' contemporary, Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, whom Socrates holds up to ridicule in the *Republic*. Thrasymachus is said to have invented prose

rhythm, favouring in particular the paeon, one long syllable and three shorts: the first paeon, — ∪ ∪ ∪, for the opening of a sentence, and the fourth paeon, ∪ ∪ ∪ —, for the end. His one surviving fragment does not illustrate his precept: and indeed the whole question of Greek prose rhythm is obscure. Isocrates tells us that he taught it: but in fact we can find in him nothing which suggests any uniform rhythmic practice. Nor do we discover anything comparable, for instance, with the Ciceronic clausula, until we come to the Asiatic style of the third century. Apart from this, however, Thrasy-machus exerted an influence in two directions. He is said to have originated what was afterwards called the 'middle' style, intermediate between the diction of poetry and that of common speech: and, according to Suidas, he was the first to show how to write in periods and to introduce τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον. These statements are confirmed by the single page of Thrasy-machus' writings which has come down to us: and the two aspects of his style are to some extent connected. Both represent an attempt to evolve a distinctive style for prose, and to make it something different from metreless poetry. For, besides its logical value as a means to the clearer exposition of ordered thought, the period has an aesthetic value. It gives artistic shape to the combination of words, and thus to some extent takes the place of metre. The dangers besetting periodic writing are, first, that it becomes monotonous, more monotonous than the λέξις εἰρομένη at its worst can ever be, unless variety is obtained by interspersing it with shorter and less highly organized sentences: and secondly, that it becomes artificial if the form is the master, not the servant, of the meaning. In this case, as so often happens with Isocrates, one gets the impression that the form creates the content, instead of being created by it, and that the periods are simply moulds into which the meaning is poured. The first half of the Thrasy-machus fragment (*Fr.* 1) will give you an idea of his manner.

ἐβουλόμην μὲν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετασχεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ
[καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων], ἥνίκα σιωπᾶν ἀπέχρη τοῖς νεωτέροις, τῶν τε
πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαζόντων ἀγορεύειν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὀρθῶς
τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπευόντων. ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἀνέθετο χρόνον

ὁ δαίμων, ὥστε (ἐτέρων μὲν ἀρχόντων) τῆς πόλεως ἀκούειν, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς (πάσχειν) αὐτοὺς, καὶ τούτων τὰ μέγιστα μὴ θεῶν ἔργα εἶναι μηδὲ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμεληθέντων, ἀνάγκη δὴ λέγειν· ἡ γὰρ ἀναίσθητος ἢ καρτερώτατός ἐστιν, ὅστις ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἑαυτὸν ἐτι παρέξει τοῖς βουλομένοις, καὶ τῆς ἐτέρων ἐπιβουλῆς τε καὶ κακίας αὐτὸς ὑποσχίσει τὰς αἰτίας. ἄλλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν εἰρήνης ἐν πολέμῳ γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ κινδύνων (ἐλθεῖν) εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον, τὴν μὲν παρελθούσαν ἡμέραν ἀγαπῶσι, τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν δεδιόσι, ἀντὶ δ' ὁμονοίας εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ ταραχὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφικέσθαι.

This is certainly good, if not very distinguished, writing. It is clear, dignified, and shapely, and gives the impression of a writer whose technique is well under control. The whole effect is surprisingly modern, and it might have been composed in the middle of the fourth century. One understands why Suidas says that Thucydides introduced τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον. I would call attention to another of its characteristics. While the periods are of a fair length, the clauses of which they are composed are short. This is a basic principle of normal fourth-century prose, which is built of bricks, not of massive lumps of stone. Demetrius (204) and Cicero (*Orator* xxv 85) both observed that in the 'plain' style the clauses must be short. Thucydides' method in his most elaborate passages is quite different. Both in actual length, and, what is more important, in content, far more material is embraced in a single clause. Take, for example, ii 43. 5: ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος. But Thucydides' history was meant to be read, and the average Athenian of his day, though he could follow a long-spoken period, provided that the speaker gave him plenty of rests by the way, probably tended to get lost in a long clause.

We may turn now to the question of diction. Broadly speaking, as long as prose continued to be written in Ionic, it continued to have a poetical tinge. It is, of course, difficult to be certain in every case, because a word may have poetical colour in one dialect, and lack it in another. Thus 'thou' and 'ken' are poetical in the English written and spoken in southern England, but non-poetical in Lancashire and Scotland. Then,

again, in Attic Aristophanes and orators like Lysias provide us with a standard of everyday expression which we lack in Ionic. Consequently we are apt to read Ionic from an Attic standpoint, and the Athenians, and also the post-classical scholars, probably did the same. All Ionic is poetical, says Suidas roundly. Still, when allowance is made for this difficulty, there remain a number of expressions in Ionic prose which we can safely put down as poetical, while the influence of Homeric idiom is clearly seen in Herodotus. The pioneers of Attic prose had to make their choice between the two courses. Gorgias, as Aristotle says, and as we can see for ourselves, decided for a poetical vocabulary, and so did Antiphon. Both of them forgot at times that exalted language wedded to pedestrian thought brings forth burlesque: and both were betrayed into resulting absurdities. Gorgias writes (*Fr.* IIA, 30): τάξεις τε πολεμικὰς εὐρὼν μέγιστον εἰς πλεονεκτήματα, νόμους τε γραπτὸς φύλακας [τε] τοῦ δικαίου, γράμματά τε μνήμης ὄργανον, μέτρα τε καὶ σταθμὰ συναλλαγῶν εὐπόρους διαλλαγάς, ἀριθμὸν τε χρημάτων φύλακα, πυρσούς τε κρατίστους καὶ ταχίστους ἀγγέλους, πεσσοὺς τε σχολῆς ἄλυπον διατριβήν ('draughts, a harmless occupation of leisure'). Antiphon, when he wishes to tell you that a drunken young man is more likely to assault a sober old one than vice versa, puts it like this (*Tetr.* iv γ 2): τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἢ τε μεγαλοφροσύνη τοῦ γένους ἢ τε ἀκμή τῆς ῥώμης ἢ τε ἀπειρία τῆς μέθης ἐπαίρει τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἢ τε ἐμπειρία τῶν παροινουμένων ἢ τε ἀσθένεια τοῦ γήρως ἢ τε δύναμις τῶν νέων φοβοῦσα σωφρονίζει. It soon became obvious that, in a political or forensic speech, this sort of thing would not do. The jury might, and indeed did, like it as a performance: but the obviousness of such a method was certain to put them on their guard. The pleader's cliché, that he is no orator but a plain man, makes its appearance early. The speaker in Antiphon's *Herodes*, endeavouring to have the best of both worlds, apologizes for his literary incapacity in the most elaborate Isocratean period. But, after Antiphon, the principle that the language of the Pnyx and the law court must, in general, eschew poetical colour, rules unchallenged: and Thrasymachus and Critias the Tyrant probably contributed

largely to establishing it. This is not to say that Aristotle tells the whole truth of the matter when he observes, with characteristic common sense, that prose is prose and poetry poetry, and that it is silly for prose-writers to go on using poetical language when even the poets are giving it up. The truth is rather more complicated than that. Lysias, as Cicero says (*Orator* ix 29), is Attic, but not the only Attic. And no one but a purist would deny the right of prose language to rise at times with its subject. (One remembers how Mr. Desmond McCarthy in a memorable review asserted this right against the brothers Fowler.)

The severity of Lysias' style is perhaps partly to be explained as a conscious reaction against the excesses of Gorgianism. Later in the fourth century oratorical prose plucked up courage again. We find in Demosthenes an increased boldness in the use of metaphor, and definitely poetical words are admitted in an appropriate context: while, on the other hand, an occasional colloquialism, of which only pedants are afraid, was no more repugnant to him than to the tragedians. Thus in the solemn close of the *De Corona* the use of *νοῦς καὶ φρένες* (for *γνώμη* or *διάνοια*) contributes to the grandeur of the language. This is quite distinct from the practice of an Andocides, who employs an occasional poeticism quite out of harmony with the plainness of its environment, like the 'save', 'anent', and 'thereby' of a modern journalist. Thucydides and Plato, of course, admitted a far greater admixture of the poetical element. Thucydides definitely adopts a uniform archaic colour for large portions of his work: while Plato writes not in one style, but in several, but with such subtle play on the changes that the break is nowhere apparent. The poetical element in Plato was often censured in antiquity: but in almost every case posterity has sided with him against his critics. Incidentally, Plato was a master of parody. And certain of the passages to which the old critics took most exception are palpably not to be taken seriously.

But, though poetical expression, as a vehicle for speeches in assembly and law court, soon came to be regarded as being, in the main, inappropriate, it was otherwise with the class of

compositions which the ancients grouped under the head of epideictic: funeral orations, speeches delivered at festivals, as Isocrates' *Panathenaicus* is supposed to be delivered, and essays like the Lysianic discourse on Love in the *Phaedrus*. This type of writing, Isocrates tells us, was more like a poem set to music than prose, and no less enjoyable to the hearer. The same author would, in fact, employ entirely different styles in the two types of composition. The *Epitaphios* of Hypereides bears no discernible resemblance to the rest of his work: and Lysias in the *Phaedrus* (for the work is either genuine Lysias or a clever imitation) is not the Lysias of the *Eratosthenes*. That difference of theme and milieu should carry with it some difference of style is not, of course, remarkable. St. Paul's pulpit and the Old Bailey evoke different strains. But the Greeks drew their line of demarcation rather more sharply, I think, than we usually do.

In two respects, then, the last quarter of the fifth century determined the paths on which expression was to proceed during the fourth century. Prose was to be, in the main, periodic: and it was to eschew any large admixture of poeticisms, except in epideictic oratory, which was to be a distinct branch of composition, with its own highly artificial technique. In certain other respects these twenty-five years were years of a rather fevered experimentalism, in which much was tried that failed to gain a lasting acceptance. In the first place, the vocabulary was being at once overhauled and extended. Prodicus, with his lectures on the correct use of words, had a considerable vogue. He was a favourite figure of fun in comedy: *πρόσαιρε τὸ κανοῦν, εἰ δὲ βούλει πρόσφερε*, 'pass the basket, or hand it, if you'd rather', writes Pherecrates,¹ and Plato hits him off cleverly in the *Protagoras*. How far his efforts contributed practically to disseminating an exacter sense of word-values we have not the evidence to determine, though we may well doubt it. In any case his influence was unhealthy in so far as it tempted authors to indulge in philological refinements, as Thucydides and Euripides occasionally did. The discussion of *αἰτία* and *κατηγορία* in

¹ *Fr.* 137.

Th. i 69. 6 and of *φρόνημα* and *καταφρόνησις* in ii 62. 3 are cases in point. After all, the green-room is not the stage. More important for our purposes is the vogue for word-coining. Every language, of course, feels a continuous need for creating new words. But certain periods are more creative than others. And there are many indications that in 425-400 this activity was much in the air. Antiphon the Sophist actually gave lessons on the principles of word-formation. In a fragment of dialogue from Aristophanes' *Banqueters* (*Fr.* 198) one of the characters lards his speech with the latest inventions, and the other traces each to its source: 'That 's an Alcibiades word': 'You got that from Thrasymachus'; and so on. Adjectives in *-ικός* were fashionable. Demos in the *Knights* (1375-80) gives an example of how the young exquisites talk in the perfume-shops:

σοφός γ' ὁ Φαλαξ δεξιῶς τ' οὐκ ἀπέθανεν.
 συνερτικός γὰρ ἔστι καὶ περαντικός,
 καὶ γνωμοτυπικός καὶ σαφής καὶ κρουστικός,
 καταληπτικός τ' ἄριστα τοῦ θορυβητικοῦ.

To which the Sausage-seller retorts:

οὐκ οὖν καταδακτυλικὸς σὺ τοῦ λαλητικοῦ;

And in Eupolis an individual is referred to as *ἀριστητικός*, 'a breakfast sort of fellow'.¹

New compounds, again, were being formed with great freedom. Thucydides, in the Funeral Oration (ii 44. 1), comforts the bereaved parents with the thought that *ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη*: 'their lives were the right length for being happy in and dying in'. In Phaedrus' speech in the *Symposium ὑπεραποθανεῖν, ἐπαποθανεῖν* (180A), and *προαποθανεῖν* (208D) strike one: and Thucydides exploited very fully the effect which could be got by pairs of compounds, in which one part, either the first or the second, is common to both words, while the other is sharply contrasted. (vi 76. 2 *κατοικίσαι . . . ἐξοικίσαι*, 76. 4 *ἀξυνετωτέρου . . . κακοξυνετωτέρου*: iii 12. 3 *ἀντεπιβουλευσαι . . . ἀντιμελλῆσαι*.) In some cases, of course, existing compounds could be used for this purpose: in

¹ Cf. Eupolis, *Fr.* 130; Ar. *Nu.* 728, 747, *Vesp.* 1209.

others, new ones had to be invented. The weapon was a dangerous one. Thucydides could make it, at times, effective: but even he used it to excess, and in less competent hands it must have led to absurdities. It certainly provided the comic poets with material.¹ The new mania for forming compounds was, in fact, laughed out of court by common sense and sober taste: and it is hardly to be met with in fourth-century prose.

In one field the existing vocabulary was found particularly inadequate: the expression of abstract ideas. A large number of verbal abstracts in *-σις* appears in Thucydides and Euripides² for the first time. The language was thereby enriched and its range of expression greatly increased. But here again there was the danger of experiment for its own sake. Thucydides and Antiphon too often play with abstracts as though they were nothing but a new toy; and stiffness, ugliness, and occasionally obscurity result. ii 41. 3 *μόνη γὰρ* (sc. *ἡ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως*) *τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσω* *ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται, καὶ μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἷων κακοπαθεῖ οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατὰμμεψιν ὥς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀξίων ἄρχεται*: '... neither carries with it resentment in the enemy's heart at the character of his oppressor, nor discontent in the subject's at the unworthiness of his ruler'.³ A further development of this tendency is Thucydides' fondness for negatived abstracts: *τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν* ... *τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν* (i 137. 4): a trick which is as irritating in Greek as it is in English: 'non-destruction'.⁴ Often, again, Antiphon and Thucydides employ, instead of an abstract substantive, a neuter adjective (or more rarely participle) with the article: *τὸ λυπηρόν* for *ἡ λύπη*, *τὸ θυμούμενον* for *ὁ θυμός*, and so on. This use of the adjective is poetical (e.g. *τό τ' ὀξύθυμον καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν λίαν* in Eur. *Bacch.* 671): in fourth-century prose it is rarely found, except in the case of very familiar adjectives *τὸ καλόν*, *τὸ δίκαιον*. The corresponding use of the participle seems to be a further extension, hardly found in poetry (though

¹ See pp. 129-30.

² See Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Euripideischen Lyrik*, Stuttgart, 1934, p. 29.

³ Cf. vii 70. 6 *τὸν κτύπον* ... *ἐκπληξίν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς* ... *παρέχειν*.

⁴ See p. 28.

Sophocles experimented with it a few times), and in prose almost confined to Antiphon and Thucydides. It may have been designed to express a shade intermediate between abstract and concrete. Thus τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ οὐκ ἐξηρέθησαν (Th. vi 24. 2) means strictly something slightly different from τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ἐξηρέθησαν—'they did not lose that part of their being which desired the voyage'. But this excessive subtlety of expression was a hot-house plant which could not survive out-of-door life. It disappeared from fourth-century prose, and Plato, in a sudden flash of parody, shows us what he thought of it: *R.* 452D καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς δὴ γελοῖον ἐξερρήνῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μνηνθέντος ἀρίστου.¹

There remain two other characteristics of Thucydides' style which cannot be passed over without notice: his compression and the boldness of his word-order. The former point has been emphasized by all critics, and expressed most happily by Quintilian (x. i 73) in his 'densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides'. Epigrammatic pregnancy of utterance is more characteristically Roman than Greek. We might have more of it if the Spartans had been less disinclined to put pen to paper. An oracular brevity, leading often to obscurity, is to be found in the Ionian philosophers. But on the whole, Greek expression tended aesthetically to a noble fullness, and logically to a precision which tolerated no ambiguities. σαφήνεια was always regarded as the chief of ἀναγκαῖαι ἀρεταί, the qualities which style cannot do without. Thucydides is perhaps the only Greek writer of the great period of prose who aimed at all constantly at brevity. And even he did not aim at it as consistently as Tacitus, for example, did. The compression of style in the account of the factions in Greece (iii 82–83) is hardly typical of his normal manner. More characteristic of him, perhaps, is the way he telescopes his thought. A new idea enters before the first is well under way. A good example is ii 37. 1 καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδοκίμῳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ

¹ See pp. 36–37.

μέρους τὸ πλεόν ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται. Here three antitheses are run together into a few lines. The constitution is nominally equalitarian, but admits inequalities. These inequalities allow equal rights to all, but superior honour to some. This superiority is based not on class but on merit. In word-order Thucydides often wrenches a word out of its grammatical construction and places it in the forefront. i 93. 4 τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστίν: i 19 κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολυτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες. Demosthenes, in his earlier public speeches, comes second to, though a long way behind, Thucydides in the boldness of his transpositions. But in this matter, again, the general feeling was that where force conflicts with clearness, force must be sacrificed.

My object in this brief sketch has been to concentrate attention upon the closing years of the fifth century, during which the paths along which fourth-century expression was to travel were opened up with such remarkable celerity. The equally rapid degeneration of Greek prose style after Chaeronea, a degeneration of which the beginnings are already to be found in the rather over-ripe *Epitaphios* of Hyperides, and which led so soon, in Hegesias, to a recrudescence of the jerky bombast of Gorgias; and finally the artificial and futile reaction of the Atticists in the first century before Christ—all this is an interesting, if melancholy, story, but one that lies outside my present province.

II

ABSTRACT EXPRESSION

Relative frequency of abstract substantives in Greek and English

WHEN a schoolboy begins to write continuous Greek prose, one of the first things he learns is to avoid, as far as possible, the use of abstract substantives. As a rule of thumb for a tyro, this is a salutary injunction. Taking at random two passages of equal length from Demosthenes and Chatham, I find twenty-six abstract substantives in the former, forty-seven in the latter. The difference between ancient Greek and modern English idiom may be illustrated by paraphrasing two passages from Demosthenes.

(i) ix 47 ἐγὼ δ' ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολλὴν εἰληφόντων ἐπίδοσιν καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλεόν ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινήσθαι κάπιδεδωκέναι. 'In practically every department of life great progress has been made. The world of today bears no resemblance to the world of yesterday. But in no sphere has the advance been more marked, the transformation more complete, than in military science.'

(ii) xix 149 ὑμῖν δὲ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὗτ' ἦν μήτε γένοιτο τοῦ λοιποῦ, τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ δεινότατον τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον πολέμου, οὐκ ἐδύνασθε κακῶς ἡλίκ' ἐβούλεσθε ποιεῖν ἐκείνον· τοῦ δὲ μὴ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν ἤγετε. 'No such disaster befell you, and I pray it never may. The most unfavourable feature of your situation during the war against Philip was your inability to inflict upon him all the damage you desired. From suffering damage yourselves you enjoyed complete immunity.' In both cases the preponderance of abstracts in the English paraphrase is strongly marked.

If, however, we turn to Thucydides and Antiphon, we find ourselves in a different world.

Th. vi 18. 6 μὴ ὑμᾶς ἡ Νικίου τῶν λόγων ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ διάστασις τοῖς νέοις ἐς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀποτρέψῃ: vii 67. 1 πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἡ μεγίστη ἐλπίς μεγίστην καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν

παρέχεται: Ant. vi. 6 ὀρθῶς μὲν γὰρ γνωσθέντα τιμωρία ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος, φονέα δὲ τὸν μὴ αἴτιον ψηφισθῆναι ἁμαρτία καὶ ἀσέβεια εἷς τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς νόμους.¹

Th. i 20. 3 οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας: iii II. 2 τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν: 82. I πολεμουμένων καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἐκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει ῥαδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορίζοντο: v 69. 2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καθ' ἐκάστους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἠπίσταντο τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰδότες ἔργων ἐκ πολλοῦ μελέτην πλείω σφύζουσιν ἢ λόγων δι' ὀλίγου καλῶς ῥηθεῖσαν παραίνεσιν.

Pl. R. 407B ἡ νοσοτροφία τεκτονικῇ μὲν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις ἐμπόδιον τῇ προσέξει τοῦ νοῦ, τὸ δὲ Φωκυλίδου παρακείμενον οὐδὲν ἐμποδίζει.

These quotations indicate a marked difference, which will later be more fully illustrated, between various Greek authors in the freedom with which they use abstracts. But we must further distinguish between a type of abstracts more commonly used, and a type less commonly used, by Greek prose writers in general: and also between the different ways in which they are used.

Adjectival and verbal abstracts

Without any attempt at logical exactitude, abstracts may be roughly divided into *adjectival*, those which express a quality, and *verbal*, those which express an action or event. Broadly speaking, the former type is not rarer in Greek than in English. ἀνδρείαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι is as normal a form of expression as φαίνεσθαι ἀνδρείως ὦν. Verbal abstracts, on the other hand, are very much rarer in Greek. Formal English prose goes out of its way to seek them: 'to suffer loss', 'to feel indignation', 'to bear a grudge', 'to be in such a state', for ζημιοῦσθαι, χαλεπαίνειν, μνησικακεῖν, οὕτως ἔχειν. Such periphrases are far rarer in Greek, and far less varied. The periphrasis with ποιεῖσθαι is much the commonest, and it is far more freely used by the earlier writers

¹ Cf. iv γ 2, quoted on p. 16.

than by the later. Thus Herodotus writes: ποιεῖσθαι πλόον (vi 95. 2), κομιδὴν (ibid.), θαῦμα (i 68. 2), ὀργήν (iii 25. 1), λήθην (i 127. 2), etc.: Antiphon καταφυγὴν ποιεῖσθαι (i 4): and Thucydides μάθησιν (i 68. 2): ἐπιχείρησιν (i 70. 7, vi 10. 2): ὀλόφυρσιν (i 143. 5): διδασκαλίαν (ii 42. 1): ἀναβολήν (ii 42. 4): τέκνωσιν (ii 44. 3): ἀνάπαυσιν (iv 20. 2): ὑπόμνησιν (iii 54. 1): διαμέλλησιν (v 99): παρακινδύνευσιν (v 100): ἀποχώρησιν (vii 67. 4). Thucydides also uses periphrasis *with other verbs* fairly freely: οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσις ἐστίν (iii 9. 2): κατήφεια τέ τις ἅμα καὶ καταμέμψις σφῶν αὐτῶν πολλή ἦν (vii 75. 5): ἀμέλεια δέ τις ἐνῆν καὶ διατριβὴ τῶν πάντων (v 38. 4): πολλή ἦν ἡ προθυμία (viii 15. 2): οὐκ οὔσης τῆς προσόψεως (iv 29. 4): παραινέσεις ἐγίγνοντο (v 69, 1): κάκωσις ἐγένετο (vii 4. 6): φειδῶ ἐγίγνετο (vii 81. 5):¹ διδασκαλίαν παρέξει (ii 87. 8): αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ ἐπορίζοντο (iii 82. 1). There are some examples in later writers: Plato: ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶναι (*Th.* 143E)²: ἐν παθήμασιν ἀδελφοῖς ὦν (*Leg.* 687E): οἷ τε θυμοὶ γίνονται καὶ αἱ κολάσεις καὶ αἱ νοουθησεις (*Prt.* 323E): μεταμέλεια . . . γίγνηται (*Leg.* 866E): *Hyp.* iii (v) 7 ἦν δὲ . . . ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ τὸ πλάσμα τὸ μέγα (though indeed this is something more than mere periphrasis)³: *D.* xix 226 οὕτως ἀκριβῆ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς ἑκάτερ' αἰσθησιν ὑπάρχειν. But on the whole the later writers limit themselves in this field to the commoner abstracts governed by ποιεῖσθαι and to certain stock phrases such as τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης εἶναι.

Internal accusative

But not only do the Greek prose-writers of the middle and end of the fourth century not go out of their way, as their predecessors often did, and as we often do, to replace verbs by nouns: they go out of their way to replace nouns by verbs. To attain this end, they make a free use of the *neuter plural of the relative pronoun*, construed as an internal accusative after the

¹ Other periphrases with γίγνεσθαι. *Th.* iv 68. 5: vii 4. 6: 49. 4 (ἐνεγένετο): vii 70. 3: 70. 7. Cf. *Hdt.* vii 158. 2: *Ant.* i 18: *D.* xlvi 16.

² Periphrases with εἶναι: *D.* vii 12: xlv 2: xlix 50.

³ Cf. *Pl. Leg.* 927B οἱ τῶν ὀρφανῶν τῆς ἐρημίας αἰσθήσεις ἔχουσιν: *Prot.* 327B πᾶσαν προθυμίαν καὶ ἀφθονίαν εἶχομεν: *Hyp.* iii (v) 22 τὰς ζημίας ὥς ἂν ἐργάζωνται οἱ οἰκέται: *Th.* iv 63. 1 κωλύμας . . . εἰρχθῆναι.

verb, and *often attracted* into the genitive or dative. To take a few out of many instances:

Pl. R. 497D φόβῳ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι δεδηλώκατε μακρὰν καὶ χαλεπὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν: *Criti.* 110A πρὸς οἷς ἠπόρουν: [Lys.] vi. 11 καταπεφρόνηκε τῶν θεῶν καὶ ὧν ἐκείνοις δεῖ τιμωρεῖν: XX 9 οὐκουν δίκαιοί εἰσιν, ὧν ὑμῖν εὖνοι ἦσαν, τούτων δίκην διδόναι.

D. viii 62 ὅσα . . . ἐξηπάτησε: 'the deceit he practised on . . . '.

viii 63 ὧν . . . ἀπεστερείσθε: 'the losses you have sustained'.

xviii 18 οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρητο: 'they had made immoderate use of their success at Leuctra'.

xviii 19 ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο: 'he based his preparations on the blunders and disloyalty of others'.

xviii 198 δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ.

xix 205 ἃ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀντεῖπον, ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ προσέκρουον: 'the protests I made in your assembly, the hostility I encountered on my journey'.

Isoc. *Paneg.* 56 ὑπὲρ ὧν . . . εὐεργέτησεν.

Phil. 23 ἡσχύνοντο ἐφ' οἷς ἐθρασύναντο: 'they were ashamed of their arrogance': *Panath.* 189 ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς διώκουν τὴν πόλιν.

Archid. 104 ἐξ ὧν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ προδυστυχήσασαι πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνέλαβον: 'from their recovery after the initial disasters of the war'. (Even Thucydides, with all his fondness for abstracts, at times prefers to use verbs in the above way; e.g., iii. 37. 2 ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε . . . ἐξ ὧν ἂν περιγένησθε: 67. 6 ὧν πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα.)

Prepositions

In other cases, English abstract substantives are replaced by *prepositions* in Greek. Many Greek prepositions govern as many as three cases, and the resources of prepositional expression are correspondingly large. E.g. ἐπὶ τούτοις: 'on these terms': D.

xviii 95 πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων: 'in conformity with':
 xix 205 ἐφ' ὑμῖν: 'at your expense': 265 καθ' ὧν ταῦτα ἐγένετο:
 'to whose detriment'.

Omission of abstract in Greek

In many other cases, again, the sense conveyed by the abstract substantive in English is *left in Greek to be supplied by the imagination*.

For example:

Th. iii 38. 7 ζητοῦντες ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν: 'a world different from the one in which we live'.

D. ii 5 πάντα διεξελέλυθεν οἷς . . . : 'he has exhausted all the devices which . . . '.

iii 20 λείποντάς τι τῶν τοῦ πολέμου:¹ 'abandoning any military operation'.

xviii 114 ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο: 'on the strength of the sacrifices he made out of his private resources'.

xviii 199 οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν: 'abandon this course'.

xviii 235 ὁ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων: 'the greatest asset in war'.

xix 202 πάντων ὧν κατηγορῶ: 'all the proceedings which I accuse'.

xix 228 ἕτερα: 'other motives': 301 ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα: 'both these expedients'.

iv 8 ἅπανθ' ὅσαπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐν: 'the feelings which exist in other men': iv 40 εἰς δέον τι: 'for any necessary purpose': iv 42 ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνῃ . . . ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν: 'content with a course which would have brought dishonour': I 49 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς: 'the same penalty': 35 ταῦτά: 'the same privileges': Ivii 24 ἐν ἅπασιν: 'in all the communities'.

Ant. v 38 αὐτοῖς ἂν τούτοις ἰσχυροτάτοις εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἐχρῶντο ('this argument').

Isoc. *Archid.* 105 τὴν πόλιν εἰς ταῦτ' ἀποκαταστήσαι: 'place Athens

¹ λείποντάς S: ἐλλείποντάς cett. omn.

in the same position': 8 εἰ δὲ τοῦμόν ἴδιον εἰπεῖν: 'my own state of mind'.

Turning back to Thucydides, we find everywhere the exact opposite to this tendency, an evident preference for abstract expression wherever its employment is at all possible. E.g.: ii 21. 2 τῇ νεότητι (for τοῖς νέοις): iv 27. 3 περὶ τῆς κωλύμης τῆς ξυμβάσεως: v 65. 2 δηλῶν τῆς ἐξ Ἀργους ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἄκαιρον προθυμίαν ἀνάληψιν βουλόμενον εἶναι: vi 16. 5 προσποιήσιν ξυγγενείας τισὶ καὶ μὴ οὔσαν καταλιπόντας: i 7. 2 αἱ πόλεις ῥαδίας ἔχουσι τῶν πολιτῶν τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ ἐπιδοχάς: 24. 3 τῆς ἀπούσης πόθῳ ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας: vii 61. 2 τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου ὁμοίαν ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἔχουσιν: 70. 6 τὸν κτύπον μέγαν ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ξυμπιπτουσῶν ἔκπληξιν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς ὧν οἱ κελευσταὶ φθέγγονται παρέχειν. Particularly curious is Thucydides' fondness for negatived abstracts: v 35. 2 οὐκ ἀπόδοσιν: 50. 4 οὐκ ἐξουσίαν: vii 34. 6 οὐκέτι ἐπαναγωγὴν: i 137. 4 οὐ διάλυσιν. (Cf. Pl. *Leg.* 832B τὰς οὐ πολιτείας.)¹

So far we have been considering the question, to what extent are abstract substantives used in Greek prose? The next question is, *how are they used?* Certain salient facts emerge:

Abstract subjects

In most Greek prose-writers abstract substantives are seldom made the subject of verbs: the normal agents are human beings. Nevertheless there are numerous exceptions which have formed the theme of an interesting dissertation, 'Personification and the use of abstract subjects in the Attic orators and Thucydides', by R. S. Radford.² It is sometimes difficult to say how far the use of an abstract subject carries with it the idea of personification—in different cases. Perhaps an ancient Greek would have been at a loss for an answer. Nor is it easy to determine how much personification, where it is undoubtedly present, originates in religious or dramatic associations. The

¹ In an unpublished paper on 'Greek Parody' read at Westfield College Dr. Denniston suggested that the words δεινὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἢ μὴ 'μπερία (Ar. *Eccl.* 115) might be intended as a parody of this usage.

² Diss. Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, 1896.

abstract subject always, or nearly always, carries with it in Greek some tinge, at least, of personification, which has vanished in English from over-familiarity. We have only to compare Xenophon's phrase (*Mem.* iv. ii 39) ἀναγκάζει με καὶ ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖν ἢ ἐμὴ φαυλότης with the English 'candour compels me to admit', to see how completely in our own language the abstract subject has lost its personifying force. Hence arises a serious difficulty in translating such passages into English, which might be partially met by reviving the eighteenth-century use of initial capitals.

If we analyse the relative frequency of abstract subjects in various Greek prose authors, we shall find them very abundant in the earliest authors, rare in the orators of the middle period, but increasingly common in the later and more impassioned works of Demosthenes, and in the already decadent Lysias. Radford (p. 4) gives an interesting table of the average number of abstract subjects on a Teubner page of various authors (after making certain deductions):

	<i>Non- personal subject</i>	<i>Teubner pages</i>	<i>Proportion</i>
Sophocles (<i>OT, Ant.</i>)	137	96	1.43 ¹
Antiphon (Or. I, <i>Tetralogies</i>)	38	32	1.19
Thucydides (speeches)	113	123	0.92
Herodotus (Book VII)	75	105	0.71
Antiphon (all)	49	70	0.70
Isocrates (non-forensic works).	255	437	0.58
Thucydides (all)	310	601	0.52
Lysias	23	45	0.51
Aeschines	86	189	0.46
Demosthenes (all, according to Blass)	19	45	0.42
Isocrates (forensic speeches)	293	743	0.39
Andocides	14	65	0.22
Isaeus	7	50	0.14
Lysias	17	145	0.12
	21	187	0.11

¹ Radford points out that the proportion would be greater if a Teubner page of poetry contained as many words as a Teubner page of prose.

We may now consider the usage of various individual authors in the matter of abstract subjects:

Philosophical prose (often with a strong sense of personification).

Democr. *Fr.* 71 ἡδοναὶ ἄκαιροι τίκτουσιν ἀηδίας: *Fr.* 184 φαύλων ὁμιλίη συνεχὴς ἔξι νκακίας συναύξει: *Fr.* 43 μεταμέλεια ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς ἔργμασι βίου σωτηρίη.

Pl. *Leg.* 775C νύξ as subject: 872E οὐδ' ἔκπλυτον ἐθέλιν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μανθέν: 873A εἰ δέ τινας οὕτως ἀθλία συμφορὰ καταλάβοι: 690B ἀξίωμα . . . κελεύον ἄρχειν: *Criti.* 109A ἡ τοῦ λόγου διέξοδος . . . δηλώσει: *Prt.* 310C ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα με ἐκ τοῦ κόπου ὁ ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν: *Leg.* 901E δειλίας γὰρ ἔκγονος ἔν γε ἡμῖν ἀργία, ῥαθυμία δὲ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς.

Arist. *Pol.* 1272^b20 νεωστὶ τε πόλεμος ξενικὸς διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον.

Hdt. ii 62. 2 ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἡ νύξ αὕτη: i 46. 1 ἡ Ἀστυάγεος . . . ἡγεμονίη καταιρεθεῖσα . . . καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπανσε: 116. 1 τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήιε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ: 165. 3 ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος: 207. 7 καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων: iii 1. 5 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβυσέα . . . ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

Herodotus often talks of inanimate objects as though they were animate.

i 193. 3 τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν: ii 11. 4 τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ: iv 198. 2 (γῆ) οὔτε αὐχμοῦ φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν οὔτε ὄμβρον πλέω πιούσα.¹

Thucydides.

First of all, there are the cases of strikingly vivid, almost allegorical, *personification*.

i 122. 1 ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥήτοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνᾶται πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον· ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δ' ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει.

ii 62. 5 καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἡ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ

¹ Cf. the use of *φοιτᾶν* at iii 90. 3, iii 115. 1, v 17. 2, 23. 4, vii 126. And the Delta of the Nile is called a δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ (ii 5. 1).

ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἥσσον πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχὺς, γνώμη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιότερα ἡ πρόνοια.

iii 45. 4 ἡ μὲν πενία ἀνάγκη τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα, ἡ δ' ἐξουσία ὕβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥς ἐκάστη τις κατέχεται ὑπ' ἀνηκέστου τινὸς κρείσσονος ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους.

iv 62. 4 τιμωρία οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως.

v 103 ἐλπίς δὲ κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὔσα τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ, καὶ βλάβῃ, οὐ καθεῖλεν· τοῖς δ' ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι (δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἅμα τε γιγνώσκεται σφαλέντων καὶ ἐν ὧν ἔτι φυλάζεται τις αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν οὐκ ἐλλείπει.

vi 41. 4 οἷς ὁ πόλεμος ἀγάλλεται: Th. i 73. 2 ὧν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες ἢ ὄψις τῶν ἀκουσομένων: 142. 1 τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί. Cf. Aeschin. i 127 (quoted in l. 19 of page 34).

Sometimes the idea of personification is conveyed without the use of an abstract subject. Th. ii 41. 4 ἔσβατον τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ: 42. 4 ἐλπίδι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσιν ἐπιτρέψαντες.

In other cases the personification is less vivid:

ii 38. 1 ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει: 35. 2 ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται: v 110 τῶν κρατούντων ἀπορώτερος ἡ λῆψις ἢ τῶν λαθεῖν βουλομένων ἢ σωτηρία: iv 31. 2 εἰ καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιότερα: 81. 2 ἀρετὴ καὶ ξύνεσις . . . ἐπιθυμία ἐνεποίει: vi 61. 4 περιειστῆκει ὑποψία: iv 65. 4 ἡ εὐπραγία ὑποτιθεῖσα ἰσχύν. Cf. i 41. 2: 42. 3: 122. 1: 141. 1: ii 41. 4: 49. 6: 87. 4: iii 12. 1: iv 31. 2.¹

Antiphon's use of abstract subjects is very similar to Thucydides'.

ii a 7 ἡ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τῆς τιμωρίας ἀμνήμονα τῶν κινδύνων καθίστη αὐτόν, ὃ τε φόβος τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κακῶν ἐκπλήσσων θερμότερον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπῆρε: iii β 8 τῆς δὲ ἀμαρτίας εἰς τοῦτον ἡκούσης, τὸ τ' ἔργον οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξαμαρτόντος ἐστί, τό τε πάθος εἰς τὸν δράσαντα ἐλθὼν ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπολύει τῆς αἰτίας, τὸν

¹ [The word 'Cornford' written in the margin suggests that Denniston meant to refer the reader to the treatment of Thucydides' personifications in F. M. Cornford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. Chapter xiii is especially relevant.]

δὲ δράσαντα δικάϊως ἅμα τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ τετιμώρηται: v 14 ὁ γὰρ χρόνος καὶ ἡ ἐμπειρία τὰ μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντα ἐκδιδάσκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: v 71 εὖ βουλευσασθε, καὶ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ διαβολῆς, ὡς τούτων οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἕτεροι πονηρότεροι σύμβουλοι. Cf. ii γ 3: ii δ 9: iii β 1: v 93.

Other orators prior to Demosthenes.

By these writers the abstract subject is only occasionally used, usually at an emotional climax, and with a view to particular effect.

Lys. xix 39 ὁ Κόνωνος θάνατος καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι σαφῶς ἐδήλωσαν: xxxii 11 τὸ μέγεθος αὐτὴν ἀναγκάσει τῶν συμφορῶν δηλῶσαι πάντα: xxvii 8 τούτων τὰ μὲν πράγματα κατηγορεῖ, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταμαρτυροῦμεν: ii 57 τοσαύτην σωφροσύνην καὶ δέος ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρέιχεν: xxxiv 9 ὁ κίνδυνος οὗτος μόνος ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας.

Isoc. v 137 ἦν ὑπολάβῃς μὴ μόνον τὸν λόγον τοῦτόν σε παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνανδρίαν . . . : viii 105 καίτοι πῶς χρὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν τὴν τὰς τελευτὰς οὕτω πονηρὰς ἔχουσαν; ἢ πῶς οὐ μισεῖν καὶ φεύγειν τὴν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς πόλεις ἐπάρασαν καὶ παθεῖν ἀναγκάσασαν; Cf. Isoc. iv 119: xiv 49.

Isae. vi 18 συμφορὰ οὐ μικρά, ἣ ἐκείνου πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλυμήνατο καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ διώλεσε.

When we enter upon the culminating period of Greek oratory, we find abstract subjects used with far greater freedom and boldness. Certain words are particularly selected as subjects:

καιρός. D. iv 12 οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἂν: xviii 172 ὁ καιρός ἐκάλει: i 2 καιρός μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφίεις: 9 καιρός ἦκει αὐτόματος: iii 6 καιρός ἦκει: 3 καιρός φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται: Aeschin. i 192 οὐχ ὁ λόγος ἀλλ' ὁ καιρός ὑμᾶς ἐξοργεῖ.

πόλεμος. D. xviii 89 ὁ γὰρ τότε ἑνστάς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις διήγεν ὑμᾶς: iv 44 εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος: Isoc. viii 19 ὁ πόλεμος ἀπάντων ἡμᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπεστέρηκεν: Aeschin. iii 148 οὐ γὰρ ρήτωρ . . . ἀλλ' ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετὴς γεγωνὺς αἰμύνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσε.

εἰρήνη. D. xix 275 τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην τὰ μὲν τῶν συμμάχων τεῖχη καθηρηκυῖαν, τὰς δὲ τῶν πρέσβων οἰκίας οἰκοδομοῦσαν: xix 146 τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην τῇ μὲν ἐκπεμψάσῃ πόλει τῶν μὲν συμμάχων ὄλεθρον, τῶν δὲ κτημάτων ἀπόστασιν, ἀντὶ δὲ δόξης αἰσχύνῃν γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δὲ πρέσβων τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξασι προσόδους . . . εἰργάσθαι: Andoc. iii 7 αὕτη γὰρ ἡ εἰρήνη τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑψηλὸν ἤρε.

πατρίς. D. xviii 170 καλούσης τῆς πατρίδος.

πρᾶγμα, πράγματα. D. iv 38 εἰ, ὅς' ἂν τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑπερβήσεται: xiv 23 αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἑαυτῷ εὐρήσει: xviii 4 ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτ' ἀναγκάξῃ: xix 131 τὰ πρόσθεν πεπραγμένα ἀποκτείνειεν ἂν αὐτὸν δικαίως: ii 5 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἵκει τὴν τελευτὴν τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῷ Cf. xix 260, etc.

χρόνος. D. xvi 29 ἔργῳ πείραν ἡμῖν δεδωκότος τοῦ χρόνου: xviii 310 ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις: Isoc. xiv 41 ὁ τελευταῖος χρόνος σαφῶς ἐπέδειξεν: cf. Hyp. i (ii) 14.

νόμος (a very common personification). Lys. i 34 ἐμοῦ οἱ νόμοι ἀπεγνωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν: D. xxiii 62 ἠκούσατε τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος ἄντικρυς: xx 48 ἀκούετε τοῦ νόμου τῆς φιλάνθρωπίας. Cf. xviii 12, etc.¹

ψήφισμα. Lys. xiii 50 τὰ ψηφίσματα αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖ: D. xviii 188 τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος: iii 14 εἰ . . . αὐτάρκη τὰ ψηφίσματ' ἦν, ἣ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν . . .

προαίρεσις, πολιτεία. D. xviii 93 οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι . . . ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο: 222 εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία: 229 ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία . . . μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους (sc. τοὺς Θηβαίους) ἐκείνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν: 317 ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις . . . βουλομένη φανήσεται.

κίνδυνος. D. xviii 99 κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη: Aeschin. ii 159 μετακαλεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ὁ κίνδυνος.

ἀλήθεια. D. xviii 250 οὐχ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν (sc. ἑώρα) παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν;

τύχη (a very common personification). D. xviii 306 τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν: Lys. xiii 63 οὗς ἡ τύχη

¹ Cf. Socrates' personification of the Laws at Pl. *Crito* 50A ff.

καὶ ὁ δαίμων περιεποίησε: *Isoc.* vii 23 ἐν τῇ κληρώσει τὴν τύχην βραβέυσειν.

Misc. D. ii 1 τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνον διαλλαγὰς . . . τῆς ἐαυτῶν πατρίδος νομίζειν ἀνάστασιν: xix 91 εἰς τοῦτον ἔλθειν τὴν ὀργήν: 126 τοιαύτη ταραχὴ καὶ τοιοῦτος θόρυβος περιειστῆκε τὴν πόλιν: 288 τὴν πόλιν ἢ πονηρία καταστήσας' ἔχει: 313 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ φθόνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι τηνικαυτ' ἐναντιοῦται: 339 πονηρία δυνάμει δόξαν εὐρομένη παρ' ὑμῶν: 340 αἱ ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπικεικῶς εἰσιν αὐτάρκεις: iv 13 παρασκευῆς, ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν ὑμᾶς οἶομαι: vi 21 οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν ὁμιλίας: 24 ἐν τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτῃται φυλακτήριον: xvi 26 τὴν ἐκείνων κατοικίσις αὐτοῖς ὄλεθρον φέρειν: *Aeschin.* ii 132 αὐτοὺς καθεῖλεν ἢ τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις στρατοπέδοις συνήθως παρακολουθοῦσα στάσις: *Aeschin.* i 127 περὶ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀψευδὴς τις ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου πλανᾶται φήμη κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ διαγγέλλει τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μαντεύεται περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι (an exceedingly bold personification, which Aeschines proceeds to justify by alluding to temples of Φήμη): D. vii 36 ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν ὁ κρίνων: xix 81 ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν' αὐτὰ βοᾷ: *Aeschin.* iii 239 ὁ δὲ κομίζων ἦν τὸ χρύσιον καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμμάχων. Cf. D. ix 36: xlv 67: *Aeschin.* iii 37: *Hyp.* iii (v) 2 οὕτως . . . ἐξίστησιν ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν ἔρωσ, προσλαβὼν γυναικὸς ποικιλίαν.

Xenophon uses abstract subjects with moderate freedom.

Oec. 5. 1 ἔοικε ἡ ἐπιμέλεια αὐτῆς εἶναι ἅμα τε ἡδυπάθειά τις καὶ οἴκου αὔξησης καὶ σωμάτων ἄσκησις: *An.* I. x 18 εἴ ποτε σφόδρα τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔνδεια: III. i 38 ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν: iv 32 ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνάγκη: VII. vii 36 οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρίζων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ λαμβάνοντος: *Cyn.* I. ii 7 ἔπεσθαι δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἢ ἀναισχυντίᾳ: IV. v 21 ἡ ὀργή . . . σὺν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι ἅπεισι: *An.* VI. i 21: *Ages.* 2. 12, 25: *Hierarch.* 1. 14: 7. 7 ὁ γὰρ φόβος δεινὸς δοκεῖ συμφύλαξ εἶναι: *Hierarch.* 3. 5: 6. 13: *Cyn.* 5. 28: 12. 4.

Adjectival qualification of abstracts

The Greek orators, in spite of the free use which some of them, notably Demosthenes, make of abstract substantives, very seldom qualify them with adjectives.¹ Thus, for 'infatuated mentality' Demosthenes says γνώμης καὶ κακοδαιμονίας (ii 20), for 'disastrous situation' τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος (xix 198), for 'unbridled character' τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἀσελγείαν (xxi 137), for 'insane extravagance' μανίαν καὶ πολυτελείαν (li 35). Cf. xx 166 ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων κραυγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀναισχυντίας: xviii 218 ἢ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ τάλαιπωρίαί: lix 3 συμβάντος τῇ πόλει καιροῦ τοιούτου καὶ πολέμου: 'when the city was engaged in such a critical struggle'.

On the other hand, writers who aim at a poetical and exalted style employ such qualified abstracts freely. For example: Democ. Fr. 119 εὐζύνετος ὀξύτερκείη: Gorg. Fr. 6 οὔτε ἐνοπλίον ἔριδος οὔτε φιλοκάλου εἰρήνης: Fr. 11. 9 καὶ φρίκη περίφοβος καὶ ἔλεος πολὺδακρος καὶ πόθος φιλοπενθήης: Fr. 11. 4 αἰτία ἀνεπίδεικτος ἔκπληξιν ἐμφανῇ ἐμποιεῖ: Fr. 11^a 30 σχολῆς ἄλυπον διατριβήν: Hdt. vii 190 ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορῇ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος: viii 3. 1 στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτω κάκιόν ἐστι ὅσω πόλεμος εἰρήνης: Th. i 70. 8 ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα . . . ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον: 74. 1 προθυμίαν ἀκονοτάτην: 84. 2 σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων: ii 45. 1 ἀνανταγωνίστω εὐνοία: iii 43. 4 ὑπεύθυνον τὴν παραίνεσιν ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀκρόασιν: 59. 1 οἰκτῶ σώφρονι: 82. 4 τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθῆς δειλία εὐπρεπής: iv 18. 5 ἀκίνδυνον δόκησιν ἰσχύος: vi 83. 1 προθυμίαν ἀπροφάσιστον: 92. 2 τὴν φυγαδικὴν προθυμίαν: iv 108. 4 βουλήσει ἀσαφεῖ . . . προνοία ἀσφαλεῖ . . . ἐλπίδι ἀπερισκέπτῳ . . . λογισμῷ αὐτοκράτορι: vi 28. 2 οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν: 59. 1 ἀλόγιστος τόλμα: Pl. Soph. 267D παλαία τις ἀργία τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἀσύννοους παρῆν: Phdr. 240E παρρησία κατακορεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη χρωμένον: Leg. 692A αὐθάδει ῥώμη: 709A πενίας χαλεπῆς ἀπορία: 824A τὴν ἄγριον τῶν θηρίων ῥώμην: Prt. 311A ὑπ' ἰταμότητος ὀξείας καὶ πρακτικῆς. But even writers

¹ Isoc. i 15 γέλωτα προπετῇ: 38 δικαίαν πενίαν . . . πλοῦτον ἄδικον: D. xviii 201 ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον (viii 46 ἀνήκεστον ῥαθυμίαν, and xix 259 αὐθαίρετον δουλείαν are easier).

who freely qualify abstract substantives frequently use co-ordination. Th. vi 28. 1 μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ οἶνον, 'in a drunken frolic': 87. 3 τῆς ἡμετέρας πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ τρόπου (cf. Pl. *Symp.* 219D φύσιν τε καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν): Pl. *Symp.* 213D μανίαν τε καὶ φιλερασίαν: X. *HG* vii 2. 8 οἱ δ' ὠθούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἑλαττον συνειλοῦντο.

A similar restriction in the use of qualified abstracts is noted by Radford (p. 7):

Phrases in which the abstract subject is made more complex by having a second abstract dependent upon it as genitive or prepositional phrase are extremely rare in Demosthenes; such a subject as τὸ τῆς φύσεως βάρβαρον (xxi 150) is very exceptional. On the other hand, these complex phrases are frequent in Thucydides, Antiphon, Isocrates and Aeschines, as Isocr. *Ep.* viii 5 αἱ περὶ τὴν ρώμην καὶ τὸ τάχος δυνάμεις: Aeschin. ii 64 ἡ τῆς αἰτίας ἀπιθανότης: iii 60, 155, 208.

We may conjecture that the tendency to refrain from the use of qualified abstracts is due partly to a desire for simplicity, partly to an unwillingness to complete the personification by attributing characteristics (often human characteristics) to the personified idea.

So far we have taken into consideration abstract substantives. But two other Greek modes of expressing abstract ideas must now be noticed.

Neuter adjective or participle

(1) Thucydides very frequently uses the neuter article and adjective instead of an abstract substantive: e.g. i 36. 1 τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ . . . τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν . . . : 37. 4 τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον προβέβληνται: ii 38. 1 ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει: 42. 4 ἐλπίδι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες: 61. 2 τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης μὴ ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἰσθησιν ἐκάστω: iii 10. 1 ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων καθίστανται: v 9. 6 ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης: 68. 2 διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν . . . διὰ τὸ ἀνθρωπεῖον κομπῶδες: vi 72. 4 μετὰ τοῦ πιστοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης (cf. vii 68. 1): i 142. 8 ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώτεροι ἔσονται.

So, too, Ant. ii γ 3 τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς γνώμης (cf. vi 3 μάλιστα

μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς): often in Plato τὸ καλόν, τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ ἀληθές, etc., are similarly used.

In other prose-writers the idiom is extremely rare. τὸ τῆς φύσεως βάρβαρον in the passage of Demosthenes mentioned by Radford in the passage quoted on p. 36 is very exceptional. See Kühner-Gerth, II, i, pp. 267-8: cf. Andocides II 9 τῷ ἐμῷ αἰσχυρῷ, and, for verse instances, Philiscus 7 (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*³ i, p. 114) τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς φιλέταιρον and *Anacreontea* 24. 5 τὸ νηκτόν. See CR xlv (1931), p. 7.

Here are some other examples: Hip. *De aere locis aquis* 12. 56 (p. 68, I. 8 Heiberg): τὸ ἀνδρεῖον: *ibid.* 19. 72 (p. 72, I. 31) τοῦ τάλαιπῶρον: *Loc. Hom.* 13 (Littré vi, p. 302) τὸ ὁὐδὲ ὁρῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποσβέννυται: Arist. *Pol.* 1265^a 10 τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττόν ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψόν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ τὸ ζητητικόν: Pl. *R.* 474D τὸ γρυπὸν: 486D τὸ αὐτοφυές: *Leg.* 680D τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγριότητα διὰ μυθολογίας ἐπανενεγκῶν ('their primitive ways', England): 693E τὸ μοναρχικόν . . . τὸ ἐλεύθερον: 695B τῷ ἴσῳ ἀγανακτῶν: 697C τὸ ἐλεύθερον . . . τὸ δεσποτικόν: 702C μηδὲν ὑπολογιζόμενους τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῶν: [Lys.] vi 25 τὸ αὐτόματον: xxi 25 ἐν τῷ θαρραλέῳ ὄντας (xii 94).¹

Articular infinitive

(2) The articular infinitive, which is less abstract than an abstract substantive, is often used in substitution for it by Demosthenes, less frequently by other orators (Radford (p. 7) counts nineteen examples in Demosthenes, eight in Isocrates, one or two each in the remaining orators). How nearly the articular infinitive approximates to a substantive may be seen by its use as a subject: D. xix 289 οὐ δέδοικ' εἰ Φίλιππος ζῇ, ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς πόλεως τέθνηκε τὸ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι: 210 ἐπελαμβάνετο αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς διανοίας) τὸ συνειδέναί. So also Xenophon, *Oec.* 12. 11 τὸ μεθύειν λήθην ἐμποιεῖ: *Hierarch.* 4. 11 τὸ εἰδέναι . . . τοῦτο θαρσεῖν κωλύει (cf. iv 13: v 4): *Cyr.* I. iv 21 ὁ Κῦρος ἐφέρετο, μόνον ὁρῶν τὸ παῖειν τὸν ἀλίσκόμενον. (Cf. Kühner-Gerth II. ii 37-43.)

The articular infinitive is subject of a transitive or intransitive

¹ See also p. 20.

verb at Pl. R. 502D: D. i 23: ii 1: xix 45, 266, 267: ix 55. An infinitive, without article, is subject at Th. iii 38. 1 (ἀμύνεσθαι: see Steup).

Abstract for concrete

This is a common Greek idiom. The most frequent type is the use of the abstract substantive as a collective: *πρεσβεία*, *συμμαχία*, *ἐταιρία*, *ὑπηρεσία*, *φυλακή*, *ἡλικία*, *νεότης* (Th. ii 8. 1), *φυγή* (Th. viii 64. 4) *φυγή αὐτῶν ἔξω τῆν . . . καὶ αὕτη . . . κατὰ κράτος ἔπρασσε*: Isoc. viii 123 *τὰς φυγὰς . . . οὐ κατελθούσας*. But these abstracts are also used in other ways: D. xviii 127 *ὁλεθρος γραμματεὺς*: Th. ii 41. 1 *τὴν πόλιν παιδευσὶν εἶναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος*: Pl. *Phdr.* 252A *κοιμᾶσθαι ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ πόθου*: 228D *ὦ φιλότης*: X. *Cyr.* v. ii 7 *τὴν θυγατέρα, δεινὸν τι κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος* (Kühner-Gerth II. i 11).

Plural abstracts

Very frequently abstracts are particularized by being put into the plural. So in English we speak of 'uncertainties', 'indiscretions', 'brilliances': but Greek uses the idiom with much greater freedom. E.g. Th. i 141. 5 *αἱ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσιν*: D. vi 21 *αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ὁμιλίας*: Pl. *Soph.* 216B *ὑβρεῖς τε καὶ εὐνομίας*: 251A *κακίας καὶ ἀρετάς*: Pl. 309A *θανάτοις . . . φυγαῖς . . . ἀτιμίαις*: *Prt.* 323E *θυμοὶ . . . κολάσεις . . . νοουθετήσεις*: *Leg.* 967C *ἀθεότητος καὶ δυσχερείας*: *Hyp.* vi 23 *χειμῶνων ὑπερβολὰς . . . ἐνδείας*: X. *An.* II. v 6 *ἀγνωμοσύνας*: *Cyr.* I. ii 3 *ἀπειροκαλίας*: Pl. R. 618A-D *πενίας . . . φυγὰς . . . πτωχείας*, etc.: Th. iv 62. 2 *τιμὰς καὶ λαμπρότητας*: Pl. *Phd.* 66C *ἐρώτων καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ φόβων*: D. xviii 108 *δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις*: 205 *τὰς ὑβρεῖς καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας*: 246 *τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας, ὄκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας*: viii 25 *εὐνοίας διδόναι*: X. *Hier.* vii 3 *σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις*: *Mem.* I. iv 13 *ψύχη ἢ θάληπ*: *Ant.* i 28 *τοὺς θανάτους*. Isocrates has a special liking for the idiom: *αἰσχύναι*, *ἀλήθειαι*, *ἀργαίαι*, *αὐθάδεια*, *δυναστεῖαι*, *ἐνδεῖαι*, *ἐπιμέλεια*, *εὐπορίαι*, *ἰσηγορίαι*, *ἰσότητες*, *καινότητες*, *καρτερίαι*, *μετριότητες*, *πενίαι*, *πραότητες*, *σεμνότητες*, *τόλμαι*, *τύχαι*, *φιλάνθρωπια*, *χαλεπότητες* (Kühner-Gerth II. i 17).

Abstract qualified by genitive for concrete denoting person

An abstract substantive, qualified by a possessive genitive or a possessive pronominal adjective, is often used in Greek to express a person. This idiom, which no doubt is derived from the Homeric *Κάστορος βία, μένος Ἀλκινόοιο*, is a common one in Greek prose, and is found even in simple authors. Lys. xxxii 23 ἡγούμενος δεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πονηρίαν κληρονόμον εἶναι τῶν τοῦ τεθνεώτος χρημάτων: xxix 6 ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν τιμωρεῖσθαι βουλομένην: xii 14 πρόθυμον παράσχου τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν: Andoc. i 107 νομίσαντες τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἱκανὴν εἶναι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ἐκείνων ἀντιτάσσασθαι: Isae. ii 12 ὅτι δέοιτο ἢ τε ἡλικία καὶ ἡ . . . ἐρημία ἐκείνου τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος αὐτόν: Th. iii 14. 2 γίνεσθε ἄνδρες οἷουσπερ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος βούλεται: Hyp. v (i), col. 7 ἡ σὴ ἀπόνοια ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀδικούντων προκινδυνεύει: D. ii 6 τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν προσαγαγόμενον: 7 τὴν ἐκάστων ἄνοιαν . . . ἐξαπατῶν: xviii 249 οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους, οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία, οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτοις: xix 186 χρόνον δεῖ δοθῆναι τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀδυναμίᾳ: iv 37 ἡμετέραν βραδύτητα καὶ εἰρωνείαν: Isoc. xiv 16 ὅπως μὴ τοὺς πρότερον μισοῦντας ἢ τούτων ὕβρις διαλλάξει: D. xxi 96 καὶ ταῦτα πέπονθεν ὑπὸ Μειδίου καὶ τοῦ Μειδίου πλούτου καὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας: Ant. iii γ 3 εἰς τὸν ὑμέτερον ἔλεον καταπεφευγώς: D. xviii 298 ἔμ' οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὐτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὐτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προσηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων οὐδὲν προδοῦναι.

Conclusion

The broad difference between the use of abstracts in Greek and English prose may be summed up as follows.

In English, as in Greek, abstract expression, and, in particular, the employment of abstract subjects, is a mark of a style which aims at some degree of elevation. We do not write in an informal letter such a sentence as 'the abandonment of this claim will entail the defeat of your plan'. The journalist or official who substitutes 'the inclemency of the weather' for 'the

bad weather' is partly influenced in his choice by a preference for abstract words. But the degree of elevation produced in English by a free use of abstracts is far less than the degree produced by a similar use in Greek. I have already compared Xenophon's ἀναγκάζει με καὶ ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖν ἢ ἐμὴ φαυλότης with the English 'candour compels me to admit'. I will reinforce this by an example from Demosthenes: xviii 35 οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη (sc. ὁ Αἰσχίνης) βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτὰ συμφέρειν. There can be little doubt that the supposed σεμνότης of the expression is attributable to the abstract subject: for there is nothing remarkable in the words themselves. In English, on the other hand, 'Not words, but common interests, secure friendships', could hardly, occurring in a formal speech, be described as 'high-falutin' '.

At the same time it should be remembered that some Greek writers, notably Thucydides, had a marked preference for abstract expression: that Greek idiom in general sometimes even went beyond English in this direction: and that even the orators, with all their mistrust of extravagant and over-elaborate turns of speech, used abstracts with more freedom than we are disposed to recognize.

III

THE ORDER OF WORDS

Typological and rhythmical considerations

IT is said that Plato meditated long before he arrived at the order in which the first eight words of the *Republic* stand in our texts: κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραῖα μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος. The considerations which ultimately led him to the choice of this wholly satisfactory arrangement have not been recorded, but may be guessed. The disposition of the colon into two commata of approximately equal length, with a barely perceptible pause between them, makes for ease and grace. That means that μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος must come at the end, and it only remains to settle the order of the first four words. The placing of the two monosyllables in the middle, flanked by the two trisyllables, gives a pleasing variety of long and short words. Unstudied as this opening appears, the art that goes to the making of it is yet susceptible to analysis. Similar considerations of what writers on prose rhythm style 'typology' underlie much that is beautiful in prose and verse. Herodotus opens his history as follows: Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε . . . The first clause ends with a disyllable, after an impressive series of long words: the second starts with three short words and broadens out at its middle and close. Rhythm adds to the effect of typology here. The pattering short syllables of μήτε τὰ γενόμενα scurry forward impetuously, to be brought weightily to rest at ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, and then movement is resumed, but in a more majestic rhythm, in ἐξίτηλα γένηται. Here the words are of the simplest, their arrangement perfectly natural. The effect may seem due to accident. But such accidents do not befall inferior writers. The openings of two famous poems illustrate the effect which may be produced by the insertion of one or two short words in a passage mainly composed of long ones.

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος, δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε . . .

(Sappho, *ā* 1 App. Lobel)

Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas,
alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
te mare navigerum, te terrae frugiferentes
concelebrant. (Lucretius, i 1-4)

Is it possible to arrive at general principles?

But such speculations, while fascinating and perhaps not unprofitable, can hardly lead to the formulation of any definite, universal principle determining the order of words in Greek prose. Is it possible to arrive at any such principles, which, without being in any way rigidly binding, may be held to be generally applicable? The attempt has often been made: and though much laborious collection of statistics, and much careful weighing of the results, must be performed before any thorough-going theory of Greek word-order can be formulated, the investigations of modern scholarship point in the direction of certain conclusions.

The problem can be approached in two ways: by way of grammar, or by way of logic and rhetoric. The ancient critics, in such casual observations as they have left us, confined themselves to the latter course. But during the last hundred years, scholars have devoted much energy to the task of determining the grammatical precedence between different parts of speech. In particular, they have endeavoured to discover what is the *natural* order of subject, object, and predicate; or rather, since it is admitted on all hands that the subject generally takes first precedence,¹ what is the natural order of object and predicate.

Order of subject, object, and predicate

The difficulties of the investigation are very great. To begin with, it is not easy to determine what type of sentence should be selected for investigation. Fischer² chose, among other types,

¹ But the predicate is not infrequently placed before the subject to enliven the style: hence the order PS is commoner in Xenophon's *Anabasis* than in his *Hellenica*, and commoner in Demosthenes than in Lysias (Frisk, pp. 22-23).

² Zur Stellung des Verbums im Griechischen (*Glotta*, 13, pp. 1-11, 189-205).

proverbs. These have the great advantage of being isolated structures, in which the order of the words is not affected by adjoining sentences and clauses. On the other hand, as Frisk¹ points out, proverbs often have 'eine prägnant zugespitzte Form, die der gewöhnlichen Alltagssprache fremd ist'. There is often a strong contrast between subject and object, which naturally draws the two into rhetorical juxtaposition: *ἀετός θρίπας ὄρα*. This consideration may have led to the stereotyping of the SOP order, which strongly predominates in proverbs. Frisk himself, while giving statistics for all types of clause, concentrates mainly on subordinate clauses, as being for the most part less complicated than main clauses. That may be so: but order in subordinate clauses is particularly subject to influence from the context.

In spite, however, of the different types of clause chosen by various scholars for analysis, there is fairly general agreement that, in classical Greek as a whole, object normally precedes predicate. Kieckers,² it is true, followed by Brugmann-Thumb³ and Meillet-Vendryes,⁴ holds that in main clauses SOP preponderates. But Kieckers, as Fischer has pointed out, obscures matters by confining the term 'Endstellung' of the predicate to cases where the predicate not merely follows subject and object, but occurs at the absolute end of the clause. If we consider solely the precedence between the S, O, and P, in all types of clause, the researches of Fischer, Ebeling,⁵ and Frisk establish, as far as they go, the general supremacy of SOP. This broad principle is subject to certain reservations and amplifications. In classical Greek, PO is commoner in the historians than in oratory, philosophy, and political essay writing. (With regard to this last, even so seemingly artless a work as the pseudo-Xenophontine *Constitution of Athens* shows a preponderance of

¹ *Studien zur Wortstellung im Griechischen*, Göteborg, 1932.

² 'Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen' (*Untersuchungen zur. indogerm. Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft*, ii), Strassburg, 1911.

³ *Griechische Grammatik*⁴, Munich, 1913, p. 640 f. (Cf. now Ed. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, ii, Munich, 1950, pp. 693 f.)

⁴ *Traité de Grammaire comparée des Langues Classiques*², Paris, 1948, pp. 578 f.

⁵ 'Some Statistics on the Order of Words in Greek' (in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902).

OP.) In Hellenistic Greek (the Gospels, for example, and the private letters of the Ptolemaic era), PO has become normal. A change, as Frisk says, has taken place in the living speech, though archaizing writers such as Plutarch and Philostratus remain faithful to OP. In subordinate clauses there is, in historians, as well as in other authors, a greater tendency to OP than in main clauses.

It is not, however, possible to proceed far in this investigation on such purely grammatical lines. The grammatical order of precedence is modified at every turn by the claims of logical coherence and of rhetorical emphasis: and these factors, again, at every turn conflict with one another, some writers attaching greater weight to the first, others to the second.

Position of emphasis

Before we consider the hyperbata produced by the clash between logic and rhetoric, it is necessary to inquire what is the position, or positions, of emphasis in a Greek clause or sentence. Is it the beginning, or the end, or both? Clearly it is not the middle, since, as Demetrius (*Eloc.* 39) observes, it is the middle which least of all catches the attention.

Emphasis at beginning

As regards beginning and end, it is generally admitted, and is indeed beyond dispute, that the weight of a Greek sentence or clause is usually at its opening, and the emphasis tends to decline as the sentence proceeds. Pl. *R.* 618E ἀδαμαντίνως δὴ δεῖ ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἔχοντα εἰς Ἰδίου ἰέναι: D. xxxii 19 ἐν τε τῷ πλῶ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἔθετο: xxxiii 25 ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπορίαν ἐξειστήκει τῶν ἑαυτοῦ: liv 27 εἰ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν βάσανον ἔνεκα προυκαλοῦντο. Reference to the context of these Demosthenic passages will show that the important words are in each case placed at the beginning. In Plato's *Protagoras* (310B) Hippocrates, standing at Socrates' bedside, announces the tremendous news of the great man's arrival: Πρωταγόρας, ἔφη, ἦκει: 'Protagoras has arrived!' In 310C the emphasis is rather on the verb: τότε μοι

ἀδελφὸς λέγει ὅτι ἤκει Πρωταγόρας. So, too, in 310D: μὴν τί σε ἀδικεῖ Πρωταγόρας; 'has Protagoras done you any *wrong*?'¹

Unemphatic proper names, particularly when they have been mentioned just before, tend to follow their verbs (Frisk, pp. 37, 64 ff.). So does ἄνθρωποι, when used without emphasis (p. 83). ἔχειν when emphatic tends to precede its object, when unemphatic to follow it (pp. 157, 177).

Emphasis at end

It is a far more difficult matter to determine whether the end of the sentence or clause is to be regarded as being a secondary position of emphasis.

It seems clear, in spite of the general principle by which emphatic words tend to an early position in Greek, that in certain cases an emphatic word is placed at the end of a sentence or clause, and gains added emphasis from that position. Deprive the emphatic word of its end-position, either by transposition or by tacking on more words at the end, and the rhetorical effect is gone.

Hdt. ii 22 ἀνδρί γε λογιζέσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷω τε ἔοντι, ὥς οὐδὲ οἶκος ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί. θερμοί is given stress by its separation from πνέοντες, further stress by its end-position. Put παρέχονται at the end, and half the emphasis has vanished. v 10 'the country north of the Danube is not rendered uninhabitable by bees: bees hate the cold'. ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκέει εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχρα. Pl. *Grg.* 522 A ταῦτα πάντα ἐγὼ ἐποιοῦν, ὦ παῖδες, ὑγιεινῶς. Emphatic adverbs are often thus placed at the end of a sentence, and often, as here, hyperbaton reinforces the emphasis. Cf. D. xviii 205 . . . τοῦ θανάτου. D. ii 8 . . . ἡ ὥς οἱ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν

¹ Cf. Pl. *Smph.* 215C ὁ μὲν γε δι' ὀργάνων ἐκῆλει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος δυνάμει. Robinson translated this, 'for by his instruments he would charm men with the power that came from his mouth'. But the weight of emphasis falls on δι' ὀργάνων, as a glance at the corresponding δέ-sentence (which begins σὺ δ' ἐκείνου τοσοῦτον μόνον διαφέρεις, ὅτι ἄνευ ὀργάνων . . .) will show. Through keeping to the order of the Greek when he should have altered it, the translator has failed to convey the point of the original.

δεδουλωμένοι Θετταλοι νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένοιτ' ἄσμενοι. Here there is not (as in Pl. *R.* 614D) any hyperbaton: the stress on ἄσμενοι is attributable solely to its end-position: νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἄσμενοι γένοιτ' ἐλεύθεροι would be tame in comparison. In the above cases the emphatic expression ends a sentence: in D. xix 64 (διὰ τούτους) it ends a clause.

Often an emphatic word placed at the end of a work, or of an important section of a work, strikes the keynote of the whole thought.¹ The magnificent end of the *Republic* occurs to the mind: . . . καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν τῇ χιλιέτει πορείᾳ, ἣν διεληλύθαμεν, εὖ πράττωμεν. εὐδαιμονία, that state of man which makes it possible to say 'it is well with him', is the goal to which the ten books have led. Almost equally impressive is the close of the *Crown*: . . . ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρητημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ. In Lys. xxxii 17 a woman has been telling her miserly uncle exactly what she thinks of him: this is how she finishes the period which concludes her speech: . . . ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς περὶ ἐλάττονος ποιεῖ χρημάτων ('all you care about is—money'). Her hearers are moved: too moved to speak: ὥστε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μηδένα τῶν παρόντων δύνασθαι φθέγξασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύνοντας μὴ ἦττον τῶν πεπονθότων ἀπιόντας οἴχεσθαι σιωπῇ.² In Pl. *R.* 608A–B Socrates is insisting that poetry must subserve the ends of virtue. His argument ends with one of the two key-words, καὶ νομιστέα ἅπερ εἰρήκαμεν περὶ ποιήσεως. Glaucon agrees: but Socrates has not yet said his last word. 'Yes', he adds, 'glory, money, power, everything, including poetry, matter less than virtue.' And he ends this reaffirmation, which closes this part of the discussion, with the second key-word: . . . ὥστε οὔτε τιμῇ ἐπαρθέντα . . . οὐδέ γε ποιητικῇ ἄξιον ἀμελῆσαι δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς. Put ἄξιον ἀμελῆσαι at the end, and see what happens! *Leg.* 906C is another fine example of an emphatic end-word, the effect being heightened by delay: φαμέν δ' εἶναί που τὸ νῦν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀμάρτημα, τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἐν μὲν σαρκίνοις σώμασι νόσημα καλού-

¹ Perhaps this is what the Greeks meant by κεφαλαῖον ῥῆμα (*Ar. Ra.* 854: see *CQ* xxi (1927), p. 115).

² Cf. the position of the words ἐπιδεικνύμενον οὐχ ἐκόντα (with ἐπιδεικνύμενον repeated from earlier in the sentence) at Pl. *Laches* 183D.

μενον, ἐν δὲ ὥραις ἐτῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῖς λοιμόν, ἐν δὲ πόλεσι καὶ πολιτείαις τοῦτο αὐτό, ῥήματι μετεσχηματισμένον, ἀδικίαν. R. 614D (predicative καθαράς at end). D. iv 7 (emphatic νῦν at end). D. xviii 205 τοῦ θανάτου. D. iv 43 πάντ' ἔχειν οἷεσθε καλῶς: xviii 72 ἔστω δ' ἀδικήματα πάνθ' ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἀμαρτήματ' ἐμά. (In these last two examples hyperbaton aids the effect.) Lys. ii 45 (βασιλέως).

The broad conclusion seems to be that, while the beginning is the primary position of emphasis, the end of the larger units, sentence and paragraph, is also not infrequently stressed, even where there is no hyperbaton to aid the effect.

Hyperbaton

We must now consider the extent to which the logical order of words can be distributed by special considerations.

Emphatic word placed early in violation of natural order

In general, stressed words tend to press to the fore, and to seize the position of emphasis, which, as we have seen, is normally the opening. Thus emphatic genitives often precede the word which governs them. Pl. *Grg.* 462C χάριτός τινος καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀπεργασίας: R. 477C δυνάμειος γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε τινὰ χροὰν ὁρῶ οὔτε σχῆμα: *ibid.* δυνάμειος δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνο μόνον βλέπω (δύναμις is the key-word of the passage). *Leg.* 905B εἴτε καὶ τούτων εἰς ἀγριώτερον ἔτι διακομισθεὶς τόπον. Ant. iv δ 3: v 71: And. i 56: Lys. xii 28: xiii 93: Is. iv 21: Aeschin. iii 228: D. ii 8: ix 34: Pl. *Leg.* 801C (with strong hyperbaton). The following passage contains a more violent dislocation: R. 405E τεκμαίρομαι δέ, ὅτι αὐτοῦ οἱ ὑεῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ Εὐρυπύλῳ τετρωμένῳ ἐπ' οἶνον Πράμνειον ἄλφιτα πολλὰ ἐπιπασθέντα . . . οὐκ ἐμέμφαντο τῇ δούσῃ πιεῖν. The juxtaposition of wounded hero and incongruous drink is rhetorically effective: at the same time, the order of words follows the order of events, which adds to the vividness of the description. *Leg.* 648E πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην πόσιν ἀπαλλάττοιο πρὶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι: Ant. i 23 ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅπως διδῶσι δίκην οἱ ἀδικούντες, τούτου γε ἔνεκα καὶ δικασταὶ ἐγένεσθε: v 17 ἐθέλοντος γάρ μου ἐγγυητὰς τρεῖς καθιστάναί κατὰ τὸν νόμον, οὕτως οὗτοι διεπράξαντο τοῦτο ὥστε μὴ ἐγγενέσθαι μοι ποιῆσαι: D. xiv 25 ταῦτα δ' οἱ κεκτημένοι τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι νοῦν

ὥστε . . . : ταῦτα (sc. τὰ χρήματα) is the important word. (For the early position of the demonstrative cf. viii 28: lvii 65: Th. vi 64. 35.) D. vi 12 οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδία τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας.

Emphatic words placed late by dislocation of natural order

I must mention here in particular the postponement, by granting precedence to stressed words, of interrogatives, relatives, and conjunctions. This type of postponement entails a rather violent dislocation of the order, since the words postponed are words that affect the mode of the thought, or the architecture of the sentence. If they are held back for any considerable time, as they sometimes are in Thucydides, obscurity results. Mild postponements of this type are, however, not uncommon.

Postponement of interrogatives

Interrogatives, direct and indirect. Here the postponement is often considerable, a sentence only revealing itself as a question towards its close. Pl. *Prt.* 313C τρέφεται δέ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ψυχὴ τίνι; 318D . . . Ἰπποκράτης ὅδε Πρωταγόρα συγγενόμενος, ἥ ἂν αὐτῷ ἡμέρα συγγένηται, βελτίων ἅπεισι γενόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν ἐκάστης οὕτως ἐπιδώσει εἰς τί, ὦ Πρωταγόρα, καὶ περὶ τοῦ; *Prm.* 160B τί χρή συμβαίνειν ἄρ' οὐ σκεπτέον; *Leg.* 810A μανθάνειν δέ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις δὴ τί ποτε δεῖ τοὺς νέους καὶ διδάσκειν αὐ τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοῦτο αὐτὸ πρῶτον μάνθανε (here the stress is on the interrogative, 'what they are to learn': the chiasmic arrangement of μανθάνειν . . . μάνθανε stresses the point that educators must be educated). At *Prt.* 311B the postponed interrogation is itself emphatic: . . . ὥς παρὰ τίνα ἀφιζόμενος καὶ τίς γενησόμενος; Pl. *Phd.* 84C, 96E: *Prt.* 359D: *Grg.* 508D. In such a case as the following we can hardly regard τί as postponed: μαθεῖν governs νόμον, and the interrogative clause is epexegetic: D. xxiii 37 τουτονὶ δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν νόμον τί ποτ' ἠβούλεθ' ὁ θεός.

Postponement of Relatives

Relatives. Pl. *Leg.* 653D . . . ὁρᾶν ἃ χρή; 873C τὸν δέ δὴ . . . φίλτατον

ὅς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ, τί χρὴ πάσχειν ; 877C ἅπαις δὲ ὅστις ἂν τοιαύταις
 συμφοραῖς περιπέσῃ . . . : 919D Μαγνήτων . . . γεωμόροι ὅσοι τῶν
 τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἐστίων εἰσιν . . . : 925C, 931A,
 944E.

Postponement of conjunctions

The postponement of conjunctions is frequent in the orators and in the *Laws*. In some cases the order may be due to a desire to avoid hiatus: in others it is chosen for the sake of emphasis. Sometimes both motives seem to operate in conjunction. Thus, Theopomp. *Fr.* 49 Jacoby (= 54 Mueller, 51 *O.C.T.*) μᾶλλον σπουδάζουσιν ὅπως ὅψων παντοδαπῶν τὰς τραπέζας παραθήσονται πλήρεις, ἢ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον ὅπως παρασχέσονται κεκοσμημένον.

I subjoin some examples of postponed conjunctions.

εἰ, ἔάν. D. iv 29 ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ . . . : iv 43 καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς . . . ἂν ἀποστείλῃτε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς ; v 16 εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν εἴ τις ἐμβάλοι : Isoc. vi 42 τοὺς μὲν οὖν παλαιοὺς κινδύνους εἰ διεξιόην (hiatus not in question) : Hyp. iv (iii) 27 ἀλλὰ τῶν ῥητόρων ἔάν τις ἀδικῇ, τοῦτον κρίνειν, στρατηγὸς ἔάν τις μὴ τὰ δίκαια πράττῃ, τοῦτον εἰσαγγέλλειν : Ant. ii a 9 : And. iii 36 : Isoc. iii 63 : v 9 : vi 47, 75 : D. iv 43 : xx 22, 25, 34 : xxi 109 : li 19 : Aeschin. iii 241 : Lycurg. 99 : Pl. *Leg.* 663B, 688A, 941D ξένον μὲν δὴ τῶν δημοσίων ἢ δοῦλον ἂν τις . . . ἔλῃ : 898E Ἥλιον εἴπερ ἄγει ψυχὴ . . . : 775E : *ibid. saep.* : Arist. *Pol.* 1260^a37.

ὅταν, ἐπειδὴ. Pl. *Leg.* 800C δημοσίᾳ γὰρ τινα θυσίαν ὅταν ἀρχὴ τις θύσῃ : 812C μεμιμημένην, ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὅταν ψυχὴ γίγνηται : And. i 112 καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπειδὴ ἦν πλήρης, ἀναστὰς Καλλίας . . . λέγει ὅτι : Ant. ii β 10 ἐγὼ τε γὰρ φανερόν ὅτι . . . ἡμυνόμην : Arist. *Pol.* 1261^b6 φανερόν τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων ὥς . . . , καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὥς μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι τὰς πόλεις ἀναιρεῖ : Th. i 144. 2.

ὥς, 'that', with finite verb. Pl. *Leg.* 821D ταῦτ' οὖν ὥς ἔχοντά ἐσθ' οὕτω : 907B τὰ μὲν δὴ προτεθέντα, θεοὶ τε ὥς εἰσίν, . . . : Arist. *Pol.* 1268^b22 περὶ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς εὐρίσκουσὶ τι τῇ πόλει σύμφερον ὥς δεῖ γίνεσθαί τινα τιμὴν . . .

ὥς, 'as' with participle. Pl. *Leg.* 762C ὀνειδῇ τε ἐχέτω τὴν

πολιτείαν ὡς προδιδούς: 935C ἡ μηδέποτε ἄριστείων πέρι φιλονικίῃ, νόμων ὡς οὐ κηδόμενος.

μή. And. iii 1 . . . ἔστι δεινότατον . . . , ἡ νῦν οὐσα πολιτεία μὴ καταλυθῇ: Arist. Pol. 1260^b33.

ὅπως. Pl. Leg. 962E πρὸς ἄμφω βλέποντες, ἐλεύθεροί τε ὅπως ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἔσσονται δεσπόται.

ἵνα. And. iii 15 φέρε, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνησον . . . καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν;

In the following passage there is postponement of ὡς and of relative: Pl. R. 390B ἡ Δία, καθευδόντων τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς, μόνος ἐργηγοῦς ἃ ἐβουλεύσατο, τούτων πάντων ῥαδίως ἐπιλανθανόμενον. In the following, of εἰ and of ὡς: Pl. Leg. 905C ταῦτα εἰ μὲν σε πείθει Κλεινίας . . . , περὶ θεῶν ὡς οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λέγεις.

Thucydides sometimes carries the postponement of conjunctions to great lengths: i 19 κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες: 93. 4 τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἐστίν.

In the orators, postponement of conjunctions is almost confined to εἰ, ἔάν: while in Herodotus and the earlier Platonic dialogues conjunctions are hardly postponed at all. Hdt. ii 62. 1 ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι: Pl. Prt. 360A ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἐὰν ὁμολογῶμεν . . . : Grg. 458E οὐκοῦν περὶ πάντων ὥστ' ἐν ὄχλῳ πιθανὸν εἶναι . . . ; Smph. 218A νέου ψυχῆς καὶ μὴ ἀφύους ὅταν λάβωνται: Hph. Ma. 282A ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Δαίδαλόν φασιν οἱ ἀνδριαντοποιοί, νῦν εἰ γενόμενος τοιαῦτ' ἐργάζοιτο . . . καταγέλαστον ἂν εἶναι.

Deliberate separation of logically cohering words

In the passages we have been considering, hyperbaton is caused by the pressing to the fore of an emphatic word, which refuses to wait and take its turn in the logical development of the thought. Hyperbaton here is not sought as an end in itself: it results from a conflict between logical and rhetorical precedence. But in other cases the separation of words which cohere closely in thought is deliberately chosen for its own sake. The considerations which lead to this choice are various. In the first place, separation gives full weight to each of the two terms.

Striking colours, placed side by side, kill each other: divided by intervening neutral tints, each produces each full effect. Looking at the clause or sentence as a whole, we may say that the alternation of emphatic and unemphatic words produces 'a sort of rhythm and melody'.¹ Often, again, the separation of logically cohering terms has the effect of binding together into a unity all that comes between. Sometimes desire for euphony affects the order: with the Isocratean school, the avoidance of hiatus, with Demosthenes, the avoidance of a series of short syllables. But the Greek prose-writers were such good technicians that they managed to attain the requirements of euphony without making their word order obviously artificial. It has often been suggested that the assonance produced by the juxtaposition of two words ending in the same sound was avoided.

A few examples will illustrate the beauty and power of hyperbaton in the hands of a master. Hd. i 45. 3 Ἀδρηστος δὲ . . . , συγγιγνωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ᾗδε βαρυσυμφωτάτος ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωντόν. Here the effect is heightened by the spacing of the long words and by the alternating series of long and short syllables. The whole passage is a superb instance of typology and rhythm. Pl. *Smph.* 216D ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἀνοιχθεῖς πόσης οἴεσθε γέμει, ὦ ἄνδρες συμπόται, σωφροσύνης;: Lys. xiii 66 γυναικάς τοίνυν τῶν πολιτῶν τοιοῦτος ὢν μοιχεύει καὶ διαφθείρει ἐλευθέρως ἐπεχείρησε. The delayed ἐλευθέρως is most effective. (Contrast the naïve simplicity of Hyp. i (ii) 6 οὐκ ἤσχυρόμην τοιούτους λόγους λέγων περὶ γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρως πάντων ἀκουόντων.) D. iii 5 δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατ' ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαρίδημον ('ten ships, and empty ships at that!').

Milder and more violent forms of hyperbaton

The milder forms of hyperbaton, where only one or two words intervene, are common in all authors: particularly the interposition of a verb between substantive and adjective in agreement, or between a substantive and a partitive genitive

¹ Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, ii 139. Similarly Frisk remarks (p. 98) that this alternation is 'in accordance with an easily understood rhythmical desire for change'. Blass observes that the ancient theorists say nothing of this principle.

dependent on it. Hdt. iii 65. 3 ἐπιλεξάμενος μή κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαιρημένον ἄλλος ἐπανασταίη ἀνθρώπων (emphasis is thrown on ἄλλος: cf. D. xlviii 10): D. xviii 158 ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἢ Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπων: Lys. ii 75 μόνην δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν ταύτην τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι χάριν (where there are three terms in the hyperbaton): Pl. *Criti.* 116C μαρμαρυγὰς ἔχοντι πυρώδεις: *Ti.* 53A εἰς ἑτέραν ἵζει φερόμενα ἔδραν: *Criti.* 120C ἂν πού τις αὐτῶν ἐν τινι πόλει τὸ βασιλικὸν καταλύειν ἐπιχειρή γένος: *Phdr.* 240D ἐπ' ἔσχατον ἐλθεῖν ἀηδίας: *Leg.* 812C εἰς ἀρετῆς ἔπεσθαι κτήσιν: *ISOC.* v 1 τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχήν: vi 55 μὴδὲ μικρὰν οἶσθαι δεῖν ὑπενεγκεῖν κακοπάθειαν: v 6 παραδοὺς τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ταύτην: 121 βίον αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν πορίσαντες: xii 27 εἰ καὶ μὴδὲν ἄλλο δύναται τὰ μαθήματα ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἀγαθόν: Lys. xxxii 11 τὸ μέγεθος αὐτὴν ἀναγκάσει τῶν συμφορῶν . . . : xxxiv 2 πᾶσχειν ἐτοιμότατοι κακῶς.

But the separation sometimes goes to greater lengths. Pl. *Leg.* 653A τούτου γάρ, ὥς γε ἐγὼ τοπάζω τὰ νῦν, ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τούτῳ καλῶς κατορθουμένῳ σωτηρία: 802C πᾶσα δὲ ἄτακτός γε τάξιν λαβοῦσα περὶ μοῦσαν διατριβή: *Criti.* 109C ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν κατ' ἄλλους τόπους κληρουχῆσαντες θεῶν (where the object is to put ἄλλοι and ἄλλους near together): Lys. xxxi 34 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοις τισὶν ὑμᾶς δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀξίων ὄντων βουλεύειν τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.

Separation of article from substantive

In particular, the wide separation of the article from its substantive or participle, while producing a certain cumbrousness,¹ has the effect of welding a phrase into a close-knit unity. Pl. *Phd.* 88A ἐν τῷ πρὶν καὶ γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ: *R.* 405B τὸ ἐπακτῷ παρ' ἄλλων, ὡς δεσποτῶν τε καὶ κριτῶν, τῷ δικαίῳ ἀναγκάζεσθαι χρῆσθαι (here notice, too, the strong relief into which ἐπακτῷ is thrown): *Leg.* 730B τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ γονέας τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, περὶ πόλιν τε καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγένειαν, ξενικά τε καὶ

¹ It sometimes has this effect in German also; compare this English sentence, purporting to be written by a German: 'The every year all England with excitement filling Oxford and Cambridge boat race.'

Stein on Hdt. iii 44. 1 (τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμών) observes that such separation is not common in Herodotus.

ἐπιχώρια, διεληλύθαμεν σχεδὸν ὁμολήματα (here the dislocation is increased by the insertion of the main verb, with its adverb). Demosthenes favours such hyperbata: ii 15 τὴν τοῦ διαπράξασθαι ταῦθ' ἃ μηδεὶς πώποτ' ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἡρημένος: xxiii 85, 190, 201: v 5: vii 5: vi 29 τοὺς ὅτ' ἐγὼ . . . προύλεγον . . . λέγοντας (a very wide separation: shorter relative clauses interposed at xix 1, 17, 186): xviii 146 κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιοῦσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς: 254.

Splitting of unified phrases

Closely cohering words, which form a unified phrase and might be replaced by a single word, are not infrequently separated. Pl. *Phdr.* 250A λήθην ὧν τότε εἶδον ἱερῶν ἔχειν (λήθην ἔχειν = ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι): *R.* 348E εἰ ἐν ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας τιθεῖς μέρει τὴν ἀδικίαν: Ant. v 67 σχόντες ἐτέρων πραγμάτων αἰτίας (σχόντες αἰτίας = αἰτιαθέντες): And. ii 21 αἱ μὲν μέλλουσαι νῆες ἤδη σιταγωγοὶ καταπλεῖν: Isoc. xviii 35 ὥς μὲν οὖν οὐ χρή καὶ συμφέρεи καὶ δίκαιον ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν οὕτω . . . γινώσκειν: Is. iii 6 πότερον ἐξ ἐγγνητῆς ἢ ἐξ ἐταίρας ἢ ἀμφισβητοῦσα τοῦ κλήρου τῷ θεῷ γυναικὸς εἴη ('das ganze Kolon zur Einheit gebunden', remarks Blass: but the reason for the transposition is not very clear): Aeschin. i 192 εἰ μὲν δώσει τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων Τίμαρχος δίκην (here emphasis is thrown on the interposed Τίμαρχος: and so below, πρὶν μὲν γὰρ εἰς κρίσιν Τίμαρχον καταστήναι).

Again, an interrogative pronoun is sometimes separated from its substantive. Pl. *Leg.* 809B καὶ τίνα μεταχειρίζεσθαι χρή σοι τρόπον (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1269b9). Especially in Isocrates, an article is sometimes separated from a part of οὗτος which follows in agreement with it. D. ii 29 τὰς ἀνάγκας ἀκούσητε ταύτας: Isoc. ii 41: v 6: vii 84 bis: xi 25: Lycurg. 58: Pl. *Leg.* 844D διττὰς ἡμῖν δωρεὰς ἢ θεὸς ἔχει χάριτος αὐτῇ.

Two co-ordinated phrases or clauses are not infrequently separated by an element common to both. Ant. iv β 2 οἶμαι μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὔτε δίκαια τούτους οὐθ' ὅσα δρᾶν ἐγκαλοῦντας: Th. i 69. 1 αἰεὶ ἀποστεροῦντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἤδη ξυμμάχους (here the separation

of ἀποστεροῦντες from ἐλευθερίας is rather violent): D. xxi 112 καὶ τὰδικήμαθ' ἔωλα τὰ τούτων ὡς ὑμᾶς καὶ ψυχρὰ ἀφικνέεται: Th. i 69. 3: Isoc. iii 42: D. xlix 38: Hyp. i (ii) 14. 16: Aeschin. iii 8.

One hyperbaton contained within another

In some passages one hyperbaton is contained within another. Pl. *Leg.* 763A οὐδὲ . . . τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια χρῆσονται ὑπηρετήματα διακόνοις, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅσα εἰς τὰ δημόσια: Is. iii 51 ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ δέκατον μέρος ἐπιδούς ἐκδοῦναι τῇ γνησίᾳ θυγατρὶ τῶν πατρῶων (here the juxtaposition of τῇ γνησίᾳ θυγατρὶ and τῶν πατρῶων is highly effective): D. vi 2 τοσοῦτω τὸ τί χρῆ ποιεῖν συμβουλευσαι χαλεπώτερον.

Interlacing

The separation of two cohering words by hyperbaton often affects these two words alone, the order of the other words remaining unaffected. E.g. Pl. *Leg.* 692A οἷον ψάλιον ἐνέβαλεν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ ἀρχῇ) τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἐγγὺς τῆς κληρωτῆς ἀγαγὼν δυνάμεως. Here the separation of ἐγγὺς and ἀγαγὼν excites no attention, and ἐγγὺς τῆς κληρωτῆς δυνάμεως ἀγαγὼν would be free from hyperbaton. D. xviii 144 καὶ γὰρ εἶ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὅψεσθε: Pl. *Leg.* 829C μιμούμεναι τὰς πολεμικὰς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐναργῶς μάχας. But often one hyperbaton gives rise to another: two logically connected but spatially separated words in turn divide the word or expression, which divides them, from its natural fellows. This produces an effect of interlacing, slightly discernible in such passages as the following. Pl. *Leg.* 678D ἅλλα δὲ (sc. ὄργανα) οὐκ ἔμελλεν γενήσεσθαι, πρὶν πάλιν ἢ τῶν μετὰλλων ἀφίκοιτο εἰς ἀνθρώπους τέχνη (here the separation of πάλιν from ἀφίκοιτο εἰς ἀνθρώπους is appreciable, but in no way striking): 693E λέγων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε τούτων πόλις ἄμοιρος γενομένη πολитеυθῆναι δύναιτ' ἂν καλῶς: *Smph.* 174C ἐπὶ σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἵεναι θοῖνῃν ἄκλητος. Often, however, and particularly in the *Laws*, the effect of interlacing is strongly marked, and it is difficult to resist the impression that the formation of word-arabesques had a certain fascination for Plato at the close of his life.

Pl. R. 497B μηδεμίαν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν νῦν κατὰστασιν πόλεως φιλοσόφου φύσεως: *Plt.* 309A ὑπὸ κακῆς βίᾳ φύσεως ἀπωθουμένους: *Phdr.* 277C ποικίλῃ μὲν ποικίλους ψυχῇ καὶ παναρμονίους διδοὺς λόγους (here emphasis is given by approaching ποικίλους to ποικίλῃ): *Leg.* 657B τοῦ καινῇ ζητεῖν αἰὲ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι: 664B τὸν αὐτὸν ἡδιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ὑπὸ θεῶν βίον λέγεσθαι φάσκοντες: 713B σφόδρ' ἂν, ὡς ἔοικ', εἴη περὶ αὐτῆς δέον ἀκούειν: 720A δέοντο ἂν παῖδες τὸν πραότατον αὐτὸν θεραπεύειν τρόπον ἑαυτοῦς: 753E ἀρχὴ γὰρ λέγεται μὲν ἡμῖν παντὸς ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις ἔργου: 762E μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης δεῖ τῆς ταπεινῆς καὶ ἀπόρου γεγευμένον εἶναι . . . τὸν τῶν ἀγρονόμων γεγονότα: 774C δειλὸς τε ἄμα καὶ κακὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πολίτης εἶναι λεγέσθω: 788C οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς τὴν γε ὀρθὴν πάντως δεῖ τροφὴν φαίνεσθαι δυναμένην ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἐξεργάζεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς εἴρηται που (a very involved sentence): 798D τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐλάττω μεταβαλλόμενα κακὰ διεξεργάζοιτ' ἂν (the ambiguity of case in the neuter plurals makes this confusing at a first glance): 854B ἴθι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν λεγομένων ἀνδρῶν ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν συνουσίας: 936C εὐχαῖς βίον ἀνηνύτοις συλλεγόμενος: *Phd.* 84E τῶν κύκνων δοκῶ φανώτερος ὑμῖν εἶναι τὴν μαντικὴν: *Leg.* 758A ταῦτα . . . ἀναγκαῖον τὴν μέλλουσαν σῶζεσθαι δρᾶν πόλιν.

In authors other than Plato, such interlacing is not common. *Hdt.* i 213 Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενεχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον: *Ant.* ii β 3 καὶ ἐμὲ ὡς δεινὸν μὲν παγχάλεπόν φασιν ἐλέγχεσθαι εἶναι, ὡς δ' ἡλίθιον . . . : *Lys.* xxiv 27 ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὑμῖν τυχὼν ἔξω τὴν χάριν: *D.* ii 5 τὸ . . . καλεῖν . . . λοιδορίαν εἶναι τις ἂν φήσειε κενὴν δικαίως: ix 17 ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντ' ἐκείνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην (δέω ὁμολογεῖν would have produced hiatus, ἐκείνον ὁμολογεῖν ἄγειν *tres breves*): *Arist. Pol.* 1261^b39 γίνονται δ' ἐκάστῳ χίλιοι τῶν πολιτῶν υἱοί.

Penultimate position of word which logically closes articular or other phrase

A particular type of interlacing is often found in Plato's later works, and occasionally elsewhere, by which, in an elaborate articular phrase, the substantive is placed, not last, but in the penultimate position. *Pl. R.* 401B τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἰκόνα ἦθους:

486E τῇ μελλούσῃ τοῦ ὄντος ἱκανῶς τε καὶ τελέως ψυχῇ μεταλήψεσθαι: *Ti.* 24D τὸν προσφερεστάτους αὐτῇ μέλλοντα οἷσιν τόπον ἄνδρας: 39E τὴν τῆς διαιωνίας μίμησιν φύσεως: *Leg.* 659D ἀγωγή πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ὀρθὸν εἰρημένον: 665E οἱ περὶ νίκης χοροὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι: 700A τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου λῖαν ἐπίδοσιν βίου:¹ 824A μόνη δὴ πᾶσιν λοιπῇ καὶ ἀρίστη ἢ τῶν τετραπόδων ἵπποις καὶ κυσὶν καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν θήρα σώμασιν: 848D τούτοις ἀποδιδόντας τὰς τῶν πάλαι τιμὰς ἀνθρώπων: 889A τὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ πρώτων γένεσιν ἔργων: *Din.* i 11 τὴν περὶ τῶν νῦν ἀποπεφασμένων ζήτησιν χρημάτων: 67 τὸ δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχον συνέδριον τῆς πόλεως . . . ἀδόκιμον καταστήσαντες.

Intrusion of external elements into the articular structure

In the following, matters are further complicated by the intrusion into the articular structure of elements from without. *Pl. Ti.* 42B πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συννόμου πορευθεὶς οἴκησιν ἄστρου: 42D εἰς τὸ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀρίστης ἀφίκοιτο εἶδος ἕξεως: *Leg.* 893C καθάπερ ἢ τῶν ἐστάναι λεγομένων κύκλων στρέφεται περιφορά. *Phd.* 108C ᾧκησεν τὸν αὐτῇ ἐκάστη τόπον προσήκοντα.

The same principle of interlacing is also to be seen in adjectival and participial phrases without the article: *Pl. Criti.* 118B ποταμοὺς δὲ καὶ λίμνας καὶ λειμῶνας τροφὴν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἡμέροις καὶ ἀγρίοις ἱκανὴν θρέμμασιν: *Leg.* 677B ἐν κορυφαῖς που σμικρὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασεσφωμένα γένους.

Here again external elements are sometimes intruded into the phrase: *Pl. R.* 486D ἔμμετρον ἄρα καὶ εὐχαριν ζητῶμεν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις διάνοιαν φύσει (φύσει is emphatic: cf. τὸ αὐτοφυές below).

The order at *Leg.* 870A is extremely involved: τῆς δὲ ἀπαιδευσίας ἢ τοῦ κακῶς ἐπαινεῖσθαι πλοῦτον αἰτία φήμη πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Here there is interlacing in the articular phrase, which would naturally run ἢ τοῦ κακῶς ἐπαινεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φήμη: and matters are further complicated by the insertion of αἰτία in the articular phrase, and its consequent separation from its dependent genitive, ἀπαιδευσίας. The word-

¹ Cf. *Democr. Fr.* 297 ψευδέα περὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν μυθοπλαστέοντες χρόνου.

order is a striking example of the apparent love of complication, for its own sake, from which Plato sometimes suffered in his old age.

What is the object of this Platonic interlacing? It can seldom be explained on grounds of emphasis or euphony: and it represents a deliberate sacrifice of the unifying effect which can be obtained by placing both of the two cohering words at beginning and at end, so that they hold the whole phrase together in their clasp. The intention is, I think, to avoid the appearance of mechanical formality.

The causes of hyperbaton

We must now attempt to determine the causes which lead to the employment of hyperbaton in Greek prose. Some writers,¹ while admitting that hyperbaton is *frequently* employed as an artistic device, deny that it is *invariably* so employed. They point to its occurrence in 'natural speech'. But what Greek literature represents 'natural speech'? The Greeks stylized everything; and it is the most difficult thing in the world to point to any Greek which may be regarded as 'natural'.² It is unsafe to say that inscriptions possess no 'Kunstcharacter' (Brugmann, l.c.), and most misleading to minimize the artistic elaboration of Herodotus and some of the Hippocratic writings (ibid.). Probably parts of Aristophanes are the best examples of spoken Greek. Certainly the metre must have had some influence on the word-order: but, as far as one can see, not much. It is a pity that no writer on this subject appears to have investigated the practice of Aristophanes.

But, whatever we may learn of 'natural' word-order in Greek from a study of such 'natural' Greek writing as we can find, it is *a priori* inconceivable that hyperbaton should ever reveal itself as 'natural'. The very terms themselves, hyperbaton, 'Sperrung', 'Spaltung', cry out against such a view. Confusion has been caused by the partitive genitive: τῶν λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε

¹ Havers, *IF* xxxi, p. 237; Brugmann, *G.G.*⁴, p. 664.

² See Des Places, 'Style parlé et style oral' in *Mélanges Bidez (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales, ii, 1933-4)*, Brussels, 1934.

τὴν δεκάτην. Here it is probable that the partitive genitive depends on the verb ('he dedicated some of the spoils, a tenth'), τὴν δεκάτην being a supplementary addition. But that is not enough to make us believe that, in any language whatsoever, substantive and attribute 'naturally' go together, and that when they are separated art, not nature, is at work. Brugmann explains the frequent separation of adjective from substantive by the natural preference of the verb for a middle position. If this were true, one natural law would vanquish another natural law. But Brugmann's explanation rests, in fact, on a far-fetched deduction from highly doubtful premisses. The 'middle position' of the verb between subject and object, is, as I have remarked, not really attested by the evidence. And even if it were attested, middle position between subject and object is quite a different thing from middle position between substantive and adjective.

Motives for the use of hyperbaton as an artistic device

If, then, hyperbaton is always an artistic device, what ends does it serve? Lindhamer¹ suggests five motives: (1) striving for 'phonetic dissimilation', especially in the case of adjectives of first and second declension: (2) striving for 'rhythmic dissimilation', e.g. avoidance of juxtaposed oxytone words: (3) avoidance of hiatus: (4) seeking for clausula: (5) emphasis. Of these considerations, we may probably attach some weight to (3) and (4): though in the case of (4) uncertainty as to the rhythmic laws of the Greek clausula complicates the issue. (1) may probably be ruled out altogether. Lindhamer's statistics do not show that separation of substantive from adjective is appreciably commoner in cases where the terminations are the same than in cases where the terminations are different. Further, the surprising toleration which the Greeks showed for the juxtaposition of a string of words ending in the same sound² makes it most improbable that they would have regularly avoided the juxtaposition of only two such words. The fifth motive seems

¹ Luise Lindhamer, *Zur Wortstellung im Griechischen*, Diss. Leipzig, 1908.

² See Ch. VII.

to be far more important than the rest. Logically connected words stand out in higher relief when spatially separated: and, looking at the clause or sentence as a whole, alternating rise and fall of emphasis produce a pleasing effect. To this motive we must add two others: a desire to bind the clause into a compact unity, and, in the case of Plato, a love of pattern-weaving for its own sake.

IV

SENTENCE-STRUCTURE AND ANTITHESIS

Λέξις εἰρομένη and λέξις κατεστραμμένη

THE Greek critics recognized two types of prose-writing: the *λέξις εἰρομένη*, in which the component parts are 'strung together' in co-ordination, and the *λέξις κατεστραμμένη*, the 'knit' or periodic style, in which long and highly organized sentences are built up by subordination of clauses. Most Greek writing uses both types. Without such variety monotony inevitably results. Hecataeus, to judge from the surviving fragments, seems to have employed *λέξις εἰρομένη* continuously. At the other extreme, Isocrates piles period upon period with a wearisome sameness, of which the opening of the *Panegyricus* is a good enough example. Periodic writing appears early in Greek literature. It is already to be found in poetry; and Herodotus, though on the whole he prefers fairly short sentences,¹ can employ it with the greatest beauty; e.g. i 45. 3 Ἀδρηστος . . . ἐωντόν.² Of the earliest Attic prose-writers, the author of the pseudo-Xenophontine *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, who represents an earlier style untouched by sophistic influences, makes little use of periods. The same is true of Gorgias, who gets his effects by elaborate antitheses of small compass. Suidas says of Thrasy-machus: πρῶτος περίοδον καὶ κῶλον κατέδειξε καὶ τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο. This judgement, though somewhat exaggerated, is borne out by the one considerable fragment of Thrasy-machus that survives.³

Variety: short clauses in Plato

While, however, developed Greek prose is in the main periodic, some variety is, as I have said, necessary. Plato not infrequently

¹ Sometimes very short ones. E.g. i 179. 4 ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις . . . "Ἰς οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἐνθα ἔστι ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας" Ἰς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα.

² Quoted at p. 8.

³ Quoted at pp. 14-15.

follows up a fairly long sentence with an isolated clause containing not more than two or three words: e.g. *Leg.* 727B οὐδέ γε . . . τοῦτο· βλέπει γάρ (the fierce concentration of this is remarkably effective): 730C πιστὸς γάρ· ὁ δὲ ἄπιστος ᾧ φίλον ψεύδος ἐκούσιον, ὅτω δὲ ἀκούσιον, ἄνους. ὦν οὐδέτερον ζηλωτόν: *Leg.* 803B, 944 D, *Smφ.* 187E. Often again, particularly in narrative, Plato will write a series of quite short sentences, often introduced by γάρ: *R.* 328B–C καὶ μάλα πρεσβύτης μοι ἔδοξεν εἶναι· διὰ χρόνου γὰρ καὶ ἑωράκη αὐτόν. καθῆστο δὲ ἐστεφανωμένος ἐπὶ τινος προσκεφαλαίου τε καὶ δίφρου· τεθυκῶς γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. ἐκαθεζόμεθα οὖν παρ' αὐτόν· ἔκειντο γὰρ δίφροι τινὲς αὐτόθι κύκλῳ: *Grg.* 523C εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς· ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, παύσω τοῦτο γιγνόμενον. νῦν μὲν γὰρ κακῶς αἱ δίκαι δικάζονται. ἀμπεχόμενοι γάρ, ἔφη, οἱ κρινόμενοι κρίνονται· ζῶντες γὰρ κρίνονται: *Prt.* 328D: *R.* 338B: *Smφ.* 180B: *Phd.* 61B, 116B. At *D.* xix 221 a series of short questions and answers gives variety and liveliness: ἦδὺ πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔχειν; οὐδέ γ' ἀσφαλές. ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχέ μοι πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπέχθειά τις; οὐδεμία.

Units normally small

We must now consider the principles governing the architecture of the Greek sentence. To begin with, the units are normally small. The edifice, lofty though it may be, is built of bricks, not of huge blocks of Cyclopean masonry. To adopt another metaphor, a Greek period, though capable of sustaining itself, if need be, for twenty lines or so, demands frequent halts—like men who can walk all day if they are allowed to rest every now and then. The point may be illustrated by paraphrasing a few passages. *Pl. Grg.* 451C εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστρων φορὰν καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλα τάχους ἔχει: 'I should say that it concerns the relative speed of the heavenly bodies'. (Cf. *Grg.* 501B ἐσκεμμέναι . . . τὴν ἡδονὴν μόνον τῆς ψυχῆς, τίνα ἂν αὐτῇ τρόπον γίγνοιτο.) *Leg.* 937D πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ καλῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ, τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν οἷον κῆρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν, αἱ καταμαίνουσιν τε καὶ καταρρυπαίνουσιν αὐτά: 'Most of the numerous blessings of human life are by nature subject to the defiling and polluting influence of certain spirits of evil': *D.*

κνviii 245 καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἔν' ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις;: 'you have the effrontery to expect a man whose cowardice you mock to prove superior to Philip's power by the unaided resources of his eloquence': xix 301 τὸν δὲ πεπρακόθ' ἑαυτὸν κολάσητε καὶ τοῦθ' ἅπαντες ἴδωσιν: 'when all men see the punishment you mete out to venality'.

Splitting of clauses into phrases and single words

The Greek tendency to split up a thought into its component parts applies to the smaller units of style as well as the larger. Not only are sentences split up into short clauses: clauses, too, are split into phrases and single words. This tendency is manifested in various ways.

Hendiadys: two substantives

In the first place, where English would have an abstract substantive qualified by an attribute, Greek usually prefers a pair of co-ordinated substantives. I have illustrated this in discussing the Greek use of abstracts, and suggested one reason for this tendency. Another reason is what I may call the hendiadystic bias of Greek, which is one manifestation of the general preference for small units. The following types of hendiadys may be noted.

Substantives of which, in English, one would normally be dependent on the other, are co-ordinated in Greek. D. xviii 297 ταύτης τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας: 'conspiracy of cowardice, or rather of treachery'; xix 77 εἰς χρόνους καὶ πόλεμον καὶ τριβὴν ἐμπέση: 'might become involved in the delays of a protracted campaign': xix 314 καὶ κλύδωνα καὶ μανίαν τὰ καθεστηκότα πράγμαθ' ἡγουμένων: 'a wave of madness': xix 220 μὴ . . . ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀρὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπιорκίαν οἴκαδ' εἰσενέγκησθε: 'the curse of perjury'.

Two verbs

An adverbial qualification is often replaced in Greek by a

second verb. Pl. *Prt.* 333E τετραχύνθαι τε καὶ ἀγωνίαν: 'was bristling for a fight': D. viii 64 ἔχει καὶ ὁμολογεῖ: 'avowedly possesses': xviii 13 ἐτραγώδει καὶ διεξήκει: 'described in high-flown language' (cf. xviii 14, 21, 22: xix 156: Aeschin. iii 146): xix 59 πάντα τὰ κεῖ πράγματα ἀπολώλει καὶ τέλος εἶχεν: 'were finally ruined': ix 62 ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι: 'rule despotically': Isoc. v 79 τῶν βλασφημούντων καὶ φλυαρούντων: 'people who talk libellous nonsense': xii 74 τοῖς ἀλαζονευομένοις καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἂν τύχωσιν: 'irresponsible charlatans': D. xv 9 τῶν γεγενημένων τι καὶ συννηνοχότων: 'an incident which has turned out to your advantage'. Contrast with the above examples Th. vi 54. 3 ἐρωτικῶς περιαλήσας: vii 71. 3 περιδεῶς ξυναπονεύοντες. But, on the whole, the adverb is not a characteristically Greek mode of expression. I add a few further examples of this Greek preference for hendiadystic expression: Aeschin. i 193 δεῦρο ἀναβῆ καὶ ἀναισχυντῇ: 'has the effrontery to come forward' (the context shows that the ἀναισχυντία consists in the mere act of coming forward at all): ii 40 παραδόξως καὶ φιланθρώπως: 'in a surprisingly friendly way' (cf. D. lix 107 οὕτως αἰσχροῦς καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐάσετε: 'with such disgraceful unconcern'): Aeschin. ii 41 πολὺς ἦν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἐπαχθής: 'fulsomely lavish in his compliments': D. ix 61 ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο: 'was cowed into silence': xix 248 συνέκρυψε καὶ συνέπραξε: 'joined in the conspiracy of silence'.

We may notice here the Greek habit of linking πολὺς to a qualitative epithet by καί.

Coupling of attribute by καί.

When in Greek a substantive to which an attributive adjective is attached itself possesses an adjectival, descriptive force, the two words are normally linked by καί; sometimes, to mark the effect of climax, by καὶ ταῦτα. Hdt. iii 73. 1 ἀρχόμεθα . . . ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς μάγου, καὶ ταῦτα ὦτα οὐκ ἔχοντος: D. xv 23 ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα, φοβήσεσθε;: lii 25 ὁ δὲ Κηφισιάδης (sc. ἦν) μέτοικος καὶ οὐδὲν δυνάμενος: 'whereas Cephisiades was a helpless metic': Hyp. iii (v) 3 ἄνθρωπον λογογράφον τε καὶ ἀγοραῖον, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον Αἰγύπτιον: 'a

low-down Egyptian attorney': D. xix 95 ὦν οἶμαι πανούργος οὗτος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ γραμματεὺς: 'this villain, this godforsaken clerk': xix 283 τὴν μητέρα τὴν Τιμάρχου, γραῦν γυναῖκα ('Timarchus' old mother') (apposition): xxi 164 τόθ' ὁ δειλὸς καὶ κατάρματος οὗτοσί: 'this accused coward': lii 9: Aeschin. iii 20. In such cases the gradual, methodical unfolding of the description seems to a modern ear somewhat flat and lacking in concentration. Sometimes this deliberateness is employed even where there is no emphasis to be conveyed: Pl. R. 393B μὴ Ὁμηρον δοκεῖν εἶναι λέγοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἱερέα, πρεσβύτερον ὄντα.

Exceptions are rare: Aeschin. iii 16 ὅτι οὐ προσδέχεσθε κακοῦργον σοφιστὴν οἰόμενον ῥήμασι τοὺς νόμους ἀναιρῆσειν.

Adjective or adverb represented by parenthesis or tacked-on clause

In English an adjective or adverb, or adjectival or adverbial phrase, often takes the place of a clause. 'He very kindly asked me what I was doing' implies that the putting of the question was, in itself, a kind act; while 'he asked me very kindly' tells the reader that the question was put in a kind manner. Here, again, the speed of English, which expresses a judgement by a single word thrown in casually by the way, contrasts with the deliberateness of Greek, which needs a clause, interpolated parenthetically¹ or tacked on at the end, to convey the idea. Pl. *Euthd.* 273A φῆς . . . ἀληθῆ λέγων: 'you say truly': R. 327A τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν ἅτε νῦν πρῶτον ἄγοντες: 'wishing to see how they would conduct the first performance of the festival': 449C ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο, ὥσπερ τὰλλα, λόγου δεῖται τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς κοινωνίας: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο: 'which of the many possible types': 497A τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὦν ἔνεκα διαβολὴν εἴληφεν καὶ ὅτι οὐ δικαίως, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ μετρίως εἰρῆσθαι: 'why philosophy has incurred such unmerited unpopularity': *Leg.* 659B πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν κριτῶν ἡδονὴν ποιοῦσιν οὖσαν φαύλην: 'in accordance with the depraved tastes of the judges': Isoc. v 7 σωφρονούντες: 'very wisely':

¹ English often uses relative clauses, not merely to define, but to add something. In the latter case Greek regularly employs parenthesis: Pl. R. 449B ὁ δὲ Πολέμαρχος—σμικρὸν γὰρ ἀπαιτῶν τοῦ Ἀδειμάντου καθῆστο: 'Polemarchus, who was sitting . . .'.

D. iv 38 ὥς οὐκ ἔδει: 'unfortunately': viii 60 οὐτ' ἂν ἐθελήσῃτ' ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γὰρ εἰώθατε): 'nor will a nation accustomed to empire know how to do so': ix 59 ἔπραττε . . . καὶ ταῦτ' ἤδεσαν ἅπαντες: 'was notoriously acting': xv 21 εἴ ποθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τοιούτο τι συμβαίη: 'in such a regrettable contingency': xvi 16 οὐχ ἵν' ἐκάστους ἡμῶν ἴδωσιν ἔχοντας τὰ αὐτῶν . . . ὁπρὲς γὰρ ἂν φιλόανθρωποι γένοιτο: 'not because, in a fit of belated altruism, they are anxious to see . . .': xviii 245 ἥς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ: 'for which you foolishly hold me responsible': 293 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς): 'I would never advance a claim so unjust to yourselves': 299 ἄξια κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; 'I naturally consider worthy': xix 18 περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων (ταῦτα δ' ἦν Φωκεῖς καὶ Πύλαι): 'with regard to the remaining questions of Phocis and Thermopylae': 95 οὐχ ἵνα πλειόνων ἢ κατηγορεῖ τις αὐτοῦ δῶ λόγον· μανία γὰρ τοῦτό γε: 'not from an insane desire to increase the number of charges against himself': 301 ἂν ἐπιδείξῃτ' ἀκύρους ὄντας ὑμῶν (νῦν γὰρ φασιν εἶναι κύριοι): 'prove the unreality of their boasted power over you'.

Clauses, etc., normally short: some exceptions to this rule

The units of which Greek prose is composed, clauses and phrases, are normally, then, relatively short. We have already, however, had occasion to notice certain deviations from this principle. And it is now time to consider further to what reservations the principle is subject.

Demetrius, (*De Eloc.* 204-5) remarks that in the plain style long cola are to be avoided: μεγαλοπρεπὲς γὰρ πᾶν μῆκος. That is why, he adds, the dactylic hexameter is called ἡρωικόν, ὑπὸ μεγέθους καὶ πρέπον ἥρωσιν, in contrast with the iambic trimeter. This analogy leads him to suggest the iambic trimeter as a good average standard of length for a clause, and he illustrates this from Plato and Aeschines Socraticus: κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαῦκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος: ἐκαθήμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν θάκων ἐν Λυκείῳ, οὗ οἱ ἀθλοθέται τὸν ἀγῶνα διατιθέασιν (*Fr.* 15 Krauss). When Cicero in the *Orator* (xxv 85) says, of the 'subtilis orator', 'continuationem verborum modo relaxet et dividat', the

context seems to show that he is mainly thinking of the length of sentences: but I suspect that he is also thinking of the length of clauses. It is certainly true that Thucydides tends to use longer clauses than the orators: and so, at times, does Plato: Th. ii 43. 2 ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ (sc. τάφῳ) ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται: 43. 3 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιατᾶται: 43. 6 . . . ἡ δὲ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνώμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος: iii 37. 2 οἱ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἰσχύι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἐκείνων εὐνοίᾳ περιγένησθε: v 85 ὅπως δὴ μὴ ξυνεχεὶ ῥῆσει οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα ἐσάπαξ ἀκούσαντες ἡμῶν ἀπατηθῶσιν: III. 3 πολλοῖς γὰρ προορωμένοις ἔτι ἐς οἶα φέρονται τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλούμενον ὀνόματος ἐπαγωγῶν δυνάμει ἐπεσπάσατο ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος ἔργῳ ξυμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ἐκόντας περιπεσεῖν καὶ αἰσχύνῃν αἰσχύῳ μετὰ ἀνοίας ἢ τύχῃ προσλαβεῖν: Pl. Leg. 773D ἐπάδοντα δὲ πείθειν πειραῶσθαι τὴν τῶν παιδῶν ὁμαλότητα αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν γάμων ἰσότητος ἀπλήστου χρημάτων οὔσης περὶ πλείονος ἕκαστον ποιεῖσθαι.

Period Structure

Demetrius (19-21) recognizes three types of period, the historical period (ἱστορικὴ), the oratorical period (ῥητορικὴ), seen at its highest in Demosthenes, and the period of dialogue (διαλογικὴ), which we may call the Platonic. Of these the rhetorical, Demetrius says, is the most rounded: the Platonic is lax, and 'scarcely reveals its periodic nature': the historical comes midway between the other two. It is certainly true that the Demosthenic period is more closely knit and compact than the other two types: on the other hand, Plato is a greater master of the period than Thucydides.

Tight and loose periodic structure

It is of the essence of a good period that the interest and impetus should be maintained throughout the sentence, and that the structure, however long, should not be felt to have burst

its bounds. Interest is most easily maintained if the structure is not grammatically completed till near the end. The listener or reader is thus compelled to keep his attention fixed, while he awaits the expected completion. If the structure is completed earlier, the later part of the sentence has to rely on the intrinsic interest of the thoughts expressed. In D. xviii 89 the sense is completed at *τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης*, and might stop either there, or at *χρηστοί*, or at *ἐλπίσιν*, or at *διαμάρτοιν*, or at *αἰτεῖτε*. In Isoc. iv 47, a period twenty-seven lines long, the structure is completed in the sixth line, and prolonged by a number of loosely connected clauses. Such writing suffers from what the ancient critics called *ὑπιτιότης*, a tendency to flop and sprawl. A similar looseness of structure is noticeable in Th. i 69. 5: 76. 2: iii 38. 4-7. In the last passage the main idea is expressed at the opening, *αἷτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες*: the rest of the period consists of a series of loosely strung together adjectival and participial clauses. Such periods are much commoner in Thucydides, Plato, and Isocrates than in Demosthenes, who usually takes care to maintain force by holding up essential elements in the structure, and so reserving his emphasis. Thus a relative clause is often placed before its main clause, which produces a stronger effect when the content of the relative clause has been made known. D. xiv 36 *εἰθ' ὃν ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον φίλον μὲν ἀλυσιτελῇ, συμφέροντα δ' ἐχθρόν ἐμφανίζει, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς φοβώμεθα*; xviii 4 *τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί*: xviii 1. Cf. Pl. R. 604C *ὃ τε δεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅτι τάχιστα παραγίνεσθαι ἡμῖν, τούτῳ ἐμποδῶν γιγνόμενον τὸ λυπεῖσθαι*. When, on the other hand, the relative clause is the more important, it is postponed. D. iv 6 *καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή*. So too with other dependent clauses. E.g. in D. xviii 7 the protasis bears the weight. Verbs of saying, knowing, etc., are placed early when unemphatic, postponed when emphatic. D. iv 5 *ἀλλ' εἶδεν . . . τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκεῖνος ὅτι . . .*: but xviii 114 *ὅτι . . . ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω*. Similes are normally placed early (e.g. D. ii 10), but sometimes late for rhetorical emphasis, *crescente*

vi descriptionis, as Dissen¹ puts it: D. xviii 122 λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντ' ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν . . . βοᾷς ῥήτὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης. Sometimes, however, in apparent opposition to the general tendency to postpone emphatic matter, an unemphatic clause is tacked on to the end of a period: D. viii 72 οὕτω γὰρ ἴσως ἀνεπίφθονον εἰπεῖν: xviii 16 ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε. But in such cases the period may be regarded as already virtually completed.

Proportion between parts

Proportion between the parts is an important element in period-building. Demosthenes sometimes obtains a striking effect by lengthening successive clauses: at viii 21-22 the period consists of six οὕτε clauses. The first four are short, the last two much longer, and divided (the last very elaborately) into sub-clauses: cf. xviii 67 ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προιέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν: xviii 93.

Sometimes, however, the proportion between the parts is deliberately sacrificed for the sake of a pregnant and striking brevity at the end. Thus in Pl. *Phdr.* 238C, the period ends with an apodosis of two words, ἔρως ἐκλήθη. D. xxi 216 τηνικαῦτ' ἀποψηφιεῖσθ' ὑμεῖς: xviii 42 ἐπειδὴ . . . τί ἐγένετο; In Pl. *Prt.* 335C εἴμι is said with something like a shrug of the shoulders.

Simple and elaborate period structure

The structure of the Platonic period is, on the whole, much less elaborate than that of the Demosthenic. The component parts of a Demosthenic period are often themselves periodized. Either they are constructed hypotactically, or, where parataxis is employed, they are knit more closely by antithesis, μὲν . . . δέ, οὐκ . . . ἀλλά, or by other corresponsive particles, οὕτε . . . οὕτε, τε . . . καί, ἢ . . . ἢ. In the Platonic period, on the other

¹ 'De Structura Periodorum Oratoria', in his edition of Demosthenes, *de Corona*, Göttingen, 1837 (pp. i-lxxvi).

hand, a string of somewhat loosely connected clauses, particularly participial clauses, often constitutes the structure.¹

Thus at *R.* 372B we have a string of participial clauses, mostly short, with a main verb (εὐωχῆσονται) producing anacoluthon. At 398A-B the apodosis, which occupies the greater part of the period, consists of four paratactic main clauses, the last of which is subdivided. At 488A-E there is a long and straggling period of twenty-seven lines, opening with the main idea νόησον γὰρ τοιουτονὶ γενόμενον: then, in apposition to τοιουτονί, ναύκληρον . . . τοὺς δὲ ναύτας Then follows a long accumulation of participles agreeing with ναύτας. As he goes on, Plato forgets that the construction is appositional, and modulates into accusative and infinitive (ἀρχειν, πλεῖν), and then, with surprising inconsistency, into nominatives (ἐπαίοντες, οἰόμενοι, if the text is right). At 496C-E there is a string of plural participles, changing into the singular under the influence of the simile ὥσπερ εἰς θηρία ἄνθρωπος ἐμπεσών: ταῦτα πάντα λογισμῷ λαβὼν picks up τῶν πολλῶν . . . ἰδόντες τὴν μανίαν. Cf. 540A-C (participles: some degree of anacoluthon, since ἀναγκαστέον . . . εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπionτας οἰκεῖν is hardly a natural phrase). At *Grg.* 480B-D the latter part of the period consists of accumulated participles: cf. *Phdr.* 238B-C. *Criti.* 120B-C is a fine example of the effect Plato can achieve by an extended homogeneous structure. The preparations for the act of jurisdiction (ἐδικάζοντό τε καὶ ἐδίκαζον) are expressed in a long series of participles, broken by a single finite clause (ἐπειδὴ γίγνεται σκότος . . .), which marks the arrival of the crucial hour of darkness, and the single emphatic word νύκτωρ which stands for a whole clause. *Leg.* 865D-E, one of Plato's most impressive periods, is mainly formed of participial clauses. The sentence opens with three short clauses, and the fourth (καὶ φόβου καὶ δείματος) opens as though it might be the concluding clause of the period. Instead of this it broadens out into a long participial clause; an even longer one follows, with accumulated speed: then the tremendous molossus δειμαίνει pulls us up

¹ Ant. vi 23, 37-38 provide examples of loosely knit periods constructed mainly by simple parataxis.

suddenly to a dead halt : we spring again suddenly forward with *καὶ παραττόμενος . . . τὸν δράσαντα* : and finally the two short clauses, *μνήμην σύμμαχον ἔχων, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ* brings the sentence to its final resting-place with a solemn spondaic rhythm.

Structures built on such simple co-ordination are rare in Demosthenes, though they are sometimes found in him : e.g. xliii 14 (accumulated participles). Contrariwise, elaborate periodic structures are not absent from Plato : e.g. *R.* 411A-B, 493A-C, 621C. But, broadly speaking, the distinction which I have drawn between the Platonic and Demosthenic periods is valid, and fundamental.

The loose texture of some Platonic periods

The looseness of texture of the Platonic period often produces a rambling effect. Anacolutha are frequent, and the thread of the thought is picked up, when it begins to wander, by the repetition of words or ideas. At *Prt.* 313A-C the period ends with a series of relative clauses, each depending on the preceding one : the main idea, *ἐπιτρέπειν*, is kept before the mind by constant repetition. At *R.* 337A-B *εὖ ᾗδησθα* is picked up by *δῆλον ᾗν*, *εἰ ἔροιο* by *οὕτως πυνθανομένῳ* : at 443D *συναρμόσαντα* is picked up by *συνδῆσαντα* : at 572A *εἰς τὸν ὕπνον ἵη* is picked up by *καθεύδῃ* and *οὕτως ἀναπαύηται*. At *Ti.* 71A-D there is anacoluthon : *εἰδότες . . . θεός*. At *Leg.* 830D-831A the period should, strictly speaking, end at *καὶ τὸν μή*, since what follows does not represent the intention of *χρωμένους ὑποκινδύνοις βέλεσιν*. Plato is at the mercy of his structure, and does not know how to stop. *Smph.* 182D-183C is almost too straggling to be called a period. After a long and rambling parenthesis (anacoluthon at *ὄρκους ὀμνύντες*) 183C *ταύτη μὲν οὖν οἰηθείη ἂν τις* picks up the opening words *ἐνθυμηθέντι γὰρ ὅτι . . .*

ANTITHESIS

It is characteristic of Greek thought to view an idea in the light of its opposite. Antithetical expression is one of the fundamental constituents of Greek style. The contrasted ideas are

sometimes hypotactically related: but, in the main, Greek prefers parataxis, by *μὲν . . . δέ* (etc.), *οὐκ . . . ἀλλά*.

Symmetry

Greek antithesis is, for the most part, precise and clean cut. When the contrasted ideas are complex, they are often split up into their component parts, and the antithesis is divided into two shorter, and so sharper, antitheses. Isoc. vii 51 *παρεῖχον γὰρ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλήσι πιστοὺς, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις φοβερούς· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ σεσωκότες ἦσαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν . . .* 'they made themselves trusted by the Greeks, whom they had saved, and feared by the barbarians, from whom . . .': 60 *φανήσομαι ταῖς μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐπιτιμῶν, τὰς δ' ἰσότητας καὶ τὰς δημοκρατίας ἐπαινῶν, οὐ πάσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς καλῶς καθεστηκυίας, οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχον, ἀλλὰ δικαίως καὶ λόγον ἔχοντως*: 'to disapprove of the inequalities of oligarchy: to approve, in a judicious and reasonable spirit, of equality and democracy in their best form'. D. xviii 255 *ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης*: 'he maintains that my trifling and unimportant destiny has more influence on the course of events than the great and glorious destiny of our country'.

The order of words in antithetically balanced clauses is often strikingly symmetrical. D. i 10 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλλ' ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικαίως, τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι πεφηνέναι τέ τιν' ἡμῖν συμμαχίαν τούτων ἀντίρροπον, ἂν βουλώμεθα χρῆσθαι, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἀν' ἑγωγε θεῖν*. In English we should probably vary the order: 'while our considerable losses during the war may reasonably be attributed to our own negligence, we can only thank a benevolent providence for the fact that . . .': 16 *τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἴσως φήσαι τις ἂν ῥάδιον καὶ παντὸς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ὃ τι δεῖ πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι συμβούλου*: xviii 68 *ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ . . . τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι ὥστε . . . ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις . . . τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξει, ὥστε . . .*: 231 *τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν . . ., ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλάνθρωπίας,*

ἦν . . . , ὑμεῖς . . . τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε: ii 3: xx 26 παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν δαπάνας ἡμέρας μέρος μικρὸν ἢ χάρις τοῖς θεωμένοις ἡμῶν, παρὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀφθονίας πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ σωτηρία πάσῃ τῇ πόλει: Lys. xxxi 12 οὔτε γὰρ τῷ σώματι ἀδύνατος ἦν ταλαιπωρεῖν, ὥς καὶ ὑμεῖς ὀράτε, οὔτε τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἄπορος λητουργεῖν, ὥς ἐγὼ ἀποδείξω: Hyp. vi 3 τῆς τε γὰρ προαιρέσεως εἰσηγητῆς τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἡγεμῶν τοῖς πολίταις κατέστη: Pl. *Phdr.* 233 B-C (Lysianic discourse on Love). Such symmetrical antitheses are already to be found in early prose: cf. Archyt. *Fr.* 3: Democr. *Fr.* 159, 164. In Gorgias they abound. They often naturally carry with them homoeoteleuton, and what is said here must be read in conjunction with the discussion of assonance in Chapter VII. The attainment of precise symmetry sometimes entails the insertion of a synonym in the second clause, for purposes of balance, when the idea might easily have been understood from the first clause. Lys. xxi 19 μὴ μόνον τῶν δημοσίων λητουργιῶν μεμνήσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐνθυμεῖσθαι: xxxi 17 οὐχ ὅπως ὠφελήσῃ τὴν πόλιν . . . διενόηθη, ἀλλ' ὅπως τι κερδαίνει . . . παρεσκευάσατο: Isoc. iv 49 οὐ γινγνωσκομένους . . . καταφανεῖς γιγνομένους: 85 φιλοτίμως εἶχον . . . ἐφιλονίκησαν: cf. Hyp. vi 3 above.

Symmetrical antithesis as a stylistic device

Precision of symmetry can be made to serve the noblest ends. Pl. *Leg.* 906A φθείρει δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀδικία καὶ ὕbris μετὰ ἀφροσύνης, σώζει δὲ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη μετὰ φρονήσεως. Here there is exact parallelism in thought as well as in language, and there is nothing forced or unnatural in the expression. Sometimes, however, the orators employ antithesis as an end in itself, and language becomes the master, instead of the servant, of thought. Ant. v 74 ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολλῷ πρεσβύτερός ἐστι τῶν ἐμῶν πραγμάτων, ἐγὼ δὲ πολλῷ νεώτερος τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων. Here, to say nothing of the purely stylistic variation πραγμάτων, πεπραγμένων, the whole μὲν clause is really devoid of meaning. Lys. xxi 17 διὰ ταύτην <τὴν οὐσίαν> μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀδίκως συκοφαντεῖσθαι, δι' ἐκεῖνα <τὰ ἀνηλωμένα> δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν δικαίως σώζεσθαι: the

antithesis ἀδίκως-δικαίως is dragged in by the heels. Isoc. xii 176 ἔσται δ' ὁ λόγος παράδοξος μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὁμοίως δ' ἀληθὴς τοῖς ἄλλοις (λόγοις): τοῖς ἄλλοις formally balances τοῖς πολλοῖς, but without any logical parallelism. Demetrius has some sensible observations on the dangers of excessive antithesis: § 53 χρῆ δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνδέσμους μὴ μάλα ἀνταποδίδοσθαι ἀκριβῶς, οἷον τῷ ' μὲν ' συνδέσμῳ τὸν ' δέ '· μικροπρεπὲς γὰρ ἡ ἀκρίβεια. He quotes (§ 24) Epicharmus' parody of a false antithesis: τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνους ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνους ἐγὼν (*Fr.* 147 Kaibel, 176 Olivieri).

Avoidance of symmetrical antithesis

In practice exact symmetry is often avoided, seemingly with intent, by a change of order or variation of structure. And. ii 6 καὶ εἰσὶν εὐτυχέστατοι μὲν οἱ ἐλάχιστα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, σωφρονέστατοι δὲ οἱ ἂν τάχιστα μεταγινώσκωσι: Lys. xxv 17 ὥστε ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ μὲν μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δὲ τὰ ὄντα προθύμως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀναλίσκειν: Lys. xiv 12: xxv 4, 26: D. xviii 107 (ἀπώλετο and ἀπελείφθη could easily have been brought to the ends of their clauses): xviii 10 εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος ἦτιᾶτο . . . εἰ δὲ . . . μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων . . . χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γινώσκετε.¹

Thucydides' attitude towards antithesis is highly individual. At times a love of forced antitheses leads him to use strained and unnatural language: ii 43. 3 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ (γῇ) ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιατᾶται: here the choice of ἔργου for 'material record' is dictated by a desire for a pointed contrast: iii 40. 1 ἐλπίδα οὔτε λόγῳ πιστὴν οὔτε χρήμασιν ὠνητήν: vi 92. 3 φυγὰς τε γάρ εἰμι τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων πονηρίας, καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας . . . ὠφελίας.² But, while Thucydides often uses a far-fetched antithesis to point an epigram, he has no love of elaborate antithesis for the sake

¹ Isocrates might have written εἰ μὲν τοιοῦτόν με οἷον οὗτος ἦτιᾶτο γινώσκετε, . . . εἰ δὲ . . . μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων . . . χείρονα ὑπειλήφατε, τούτῳ κτλ.

² At i 70. 6 the antithesis is not, I think, forced. The Athenians (like the Spartans) regard their lives (σώματα) as ἀλλοτρίωτατα: as belonging, that is, to the state, not to the individual: but, unlike the Spartans, they regard their *minds* (γνώμαι) as something inalienable, which they must control themselves, but control in the interests of the state.

of merely formal regularity. On the contrary, he frequently varies the construction so as to avoid exact symmetry: *i* 84. 2 τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυνόντων . . . οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἦν τις παροξύνη . . . ἀνεπίεσθημεν: 86. 5 μήτε . . . ἐᾶτε . . . μήτε καταπροδιδῶμεν: *iv* 59. 2 ξυμβαίνει δὲ τοῖς μὲν . . . φαίνεσθαι . . . , οἱ δὲ . . . ἐθέλουσιν: *v* 109 οὐ τὸ εὖνουν . . . ἀλλ' ἦν . . .

Order of clauses

Usually, in accordance with the principle enunciated above, the δέ clause bears the weight. *D.* *ii* 9, 24: *iii* 20: *xix* 267: *xviii* 13.

Far less often, the μὲν clause is the more emphatic. *Th.* *vi.* 92. 5 κἄν φίλος ὢν ἱκανῶς ὠφελοῖην, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα ἤκαζον: *D.* *xviii* 125: *ix* 1: *Lys.* *vi* 18.

Chiasmus

We have observed that the order of words in antithetically balanced clauses is normally symmetrical, though excessive symmetry is avoided, as pedantic and artificial, by certain writers. Occasionally, however, a special effect is obtained by placing one pair of corresponding terms in the middle, side by side, another at the flanks, the so-called figure of chiasmus. There is no example more effective than *Pl. Phd.* 114C καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀθλον καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη.

Chiasmus is often employed where a word (or words) in the earlier clause is repeated in the later. Chiastic repetitions are a favourite device of the Ionian philosophers. *Heracl.* *Fr.* 62 ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοί ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεῶτες: *Fr.* 88 τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκείνᾳ ἐστὶ, κάκεινα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα: *Fr.* 90 πυρός τε ἀνταμοιβὴ τὰ πάντα καὶ πῦρ πάντων, ὅκωσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός (but here we can hardly speak of chiasmus, since the order is, logically speaking, symmetrical: cf. *Pl. R.* 562E μέτοικον δὲ ἀστῶ καὶ ἀστὸν μετοίκῳ ἐξισοῦσθαι: *D.* *ii* 26 ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα . . . ἐκ φαύλων χρηστά): *Democr.* *Fr.* 108 διζημένοισι τὰγαθὰ μόλις παραγίνεται, τὰ δὲ κακὰ καὶ μὴ διζημένοισι: *Fr.* 177 οὔτε λόγος ἐσθλὸς φαύλην πρῆξιν ἀμαυρίσκει οὔτε πρῆξις ἀγαθὴ λόγου βλασφημίῃ λυμαίνεται: *Fr.* 187 Ψυχῆς μὲν γὰρ τελεότης

σκήνεος μοχθηρίην ὀρθοῖ, σκήνεος δὲ ἰσχύς ἄνευ λογισμοῦ ψυχὴν οὐδέν τι ἀμείνω τίθησιν: *Fr.* 201 ἀνοήμονες δηναϊότητος ὀρέγονται οὐ τερπόμενοι δηναϊότητι. Cf. *Democr. Fr.* 191 μετριότητι τέρψις καὶ βίου συμμετρίῃ.

Such chiasmic repetitions, while characteristic of the Ionian philosophers, are not infrequent in later Greek. *Pl. Smph.* 178A πάντων μὲν οὖν . . . οὔτε . . . ἐμέμνητο οὐτ' αὖ ἐγὼ ἃ ἐκείνος ἔλεγε πάντα: 179A ἢ λιπὼν τάξιν ἢ ὅπλα ἀποβαλὼν: 193B ἐναντία πραττέτω· πράττει δ' ἐναντία . . . : *Phd.* 66C διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτῆσιν πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γίνονται, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀναγκαζόμεθα κτᾶσθαι διὰ τὸ σῶμα: *Prt.* 345A τίς οὖν εἰς γράμματα ἀγαθὴ πρᾶξις ἐστίν, καὶ τίς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ εἰς γράμματα; *Leg.* 700E μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ' ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς ὀρθότητα μὲν οὐκ ἔχοι οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν μουσική:¹ *Phd.* 84E οἱ . . . ἄδοντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, τότε δὴ πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἄδουσι: *R.* 334A ὅτου τις ἄρα δεινὸς φύλαξ, τούτου καὶ φῶρ δεινός: 500C θείῳ δὴ καὶ κοσμίῳ ὃ γε φιλόσοφος ὁμιλῶν κόσμιός τε καὶ θεῖος . . . γίνεταί: 552C σμήνους νόσημα . . . νόσημα πόλεως: 596C καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν Αἰδοῦ ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα: 612C καὶ αὐτὴ δικαιοσύνη πρὸς ἀδικίαν αὐτὴν κριθείη: *Leg.* 869D ὃ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως εἴρηται φόνου πατρί, ταῦτόν τοῦτο ἔστω περὶ ἀπάσης τῶν τοιούτων ἀφέσεως: 937E καλοῦ δὲ ὄντος τούτου, πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ συνδικεῖν ἡμῖν γίνοιτ' ἂν καλόν;: *Phdr.* 249D νουθετεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὡς παρακινῶν, ἐνθουσιάζων δὲ λέληθεν τοὺς πολλούς: *Leg.* 672C πᾶν μαίνεται τε καὶ βοᾷ ἀτάκτως, καὶ ὅταν ἀκταινώσῃ ἑαυτὸ τάχιστα, ἀτάκτως αὖ πηδᾷ: *Phdr.* 239C πόνων μὲν ἀνδρείων καὶ ἰδρώτων ξηρῶν ἄπειρον, ἔμπειρον δὲ ἀπαλῆς καὶ ἀνάνδρου διαίτης: *Leg.* 782D δι' ὧν ἀρετὴ τε αὐτοῖς ἀγομένοις ὀρθῶς, καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀποβαίνει κακῶς ἀχθεῖσιν: 788D πολλὴ αὔξη ὅταν ἐπιρρέῃ πόνων χωρὶς πολλῶν: *X. Cyn.* vi 16 φιλονίκως παραθέουσαι, συντρέχουσαι φιλοπόνως: *Ant.* ii β 11 οἱ δὲ διώκοντες μὲν ἐμὲ τὸν ἀναίτιον, τὸν δ' αἴτιον ἀφιέντες: v 7 πολλῶ χειρὸν ἑαυτῶν λέγοντας, ὅταν ἔν τινι κινδύνῳ ὦσιν· ὅταν δ' ἄνευ κινδύνων τι διαπράσσωνται, μᾶλλον ὀρθουμένους: *D.* ii 29 πρότερον μὲν γὰρ . . . κατὰ συμμορίας εἰσεφέρετε, νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας: viii 46 ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ἔτοιμον ἔχει δύναμιν τὴν

¹ For the repeated preposition, cf. *D.* xviii 87 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη τοῖς ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ . . . ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.

ἀδικήσουσαν . . . οὕτω τὴν σώσουσαν ὑμεῖς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν ἅπασιν ἔτοιμον ἔχητε: ix 9 αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι: viii 70 οὗτός ἐστ' ἀνδρείος, καὶ χρήσιμός γε πολίτης ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν: xviii 48 καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθ' ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γ' εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰὲ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι: 158 ὁρᾷθ' ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. (In D. ii 13 ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως is followed by δύναμις καὶ ἀρχή in § 14. The object is here variety, not rhetorical point or emphasis.)

Chiasmus is also used to sharpen the contrast between diametrically opposite ideas. Th. ii 83. 5 τὰς πρῶρας μὲν ἔξω, ἔσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας: iii 11. 1 ὑποχειρίους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμλοῦντες: 62. 3 ὅπερ δὲ ἐστὶ νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου: Pl. R. 410D ἀγριότητός τε καὶ σκληρότητος, καὶ αὖ μαλακίας τε καὶ ἡμερότητος: 501E οὐδὲ ἡ πολιτεία ἣν μυθολογοῦμεν λόγῳ ἔργῳ τέλος λήψεται: 564A ἐξ οἷμαι τῆς ἀκροτάτης ἐλευθερίας δουλεία πλείστη τε καὶ ἀγριωτάτη: 619E οὐκ ἂν χθονίαν καὶ τραχείαν πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ λείαν τε καὶ οὐρανίαν: Phdr. 240A παιδικοῖς φθονεῖν μὲν οὐσίαν κεκτημένοις, ἀπολλυμένης δὲ χαίρειν: Leg. 829A γενομένη μὲν ἀγαθῇ βίος εἰρηνικός, πολεμικός δὲ ἔξωθέν τε καὶ ἔνδοθεν, ἂν ᾗ κακῇ: 668A ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀληθεῖ πάντων μάλιστα, ἥκιστα δὲ ὁτφοῦν ἄλλῳ: 733A τῷ χαίρειν πλείω, ἐλάττω δὲ λυπεῖσθαι: 944C ζῶην αἰσχροῖαν ἀρνύμενος μετὰ κάκης μᾶλλον ἢ μετ' ἀνδρείας καλὸν καὶ εὐδαίμονα θάνατον: Lys. xii 6 τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι: Isoc. iv 95 καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῶς.

Most examples of chiasmus fall, I think, under one or other of the above heads. But it is also sometimes found in places where there is neither repetition of words nor contradiction between diametrical opposites. Sometimes, indeed, the two contrasted ideas are merely complementary of each other. Pl. Leg. 672D (ὁ λόγος) φησὶν αἰδοῦς μὲν ψυχῆς κτήσεως ἕνεκα δεδῶσθαι (τὸν οἶνον), σώματος δὲ ὑγείας τε καὶ ἰσχύος: 853D καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπέρματα πυρί, νόμοις οὗτοι . . . ἄτηκτοι γίνονται: Smph. 185E ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον καλῶς οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἀπετέλεσε: Arist. Pol. 1288^b4 τίνα πέφυκε γίνεσθαι τρόπον καὶ καθίστασθαι πῶς: Lys. ii 23 οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῶν

ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσαν: 37 πολλάκις μὲν ἐδεξιώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εἰκότως δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὠλοφύραντο: 39 ἑλεός τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν πόθος οἰκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μητέρων: [vi] 8 ἢ τοὺς νόμους ἐξαλειπτέον ἐστὶν ἢ ἀπαλλακτέον τοῦ ἀνδρός: D. vii 22 δι' οὗ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη ἔσται, παύσεται δ' ἀπιστούμενος ὁ Φίλιππος: xviii 163 ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεριναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν: X. Cyn. i 6 ἀνιστάται μὲν τεθνεώτας, νοσοῦντας δὲ ἰᾶσθαι.

Inversion

In successive pairs of μὲν . . . δέ clauses the order of reference is sometimes inverted. D. ix 61 ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη: xxiii 103. For further examples, see Rehdantz,¹ p. 30 (*Kreuzstellung*), and Gebauer² there cited.

Inversion of direct constructions: Pl. *Smp.* 196B οὗτ' ἀδικεῖ οὗτ' ἀδικεῖται οὐθ' ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὐτε θεόν.

¹ The reference is to the index of rhetorical terms in C. Rehdantz, *Demosthenes Neun Philippische Reden* (fourth edition, revised by F. Blass), i 2.2 (Leipzig, 1886).

² G. Gebauer, *De hypotacticis et paratacticis argumenti ex contrario formis quae reperiuntur apud oratores Atticos*, Zwickau, 1877.

V

REPETITION

Repetition and avoidance of repetition

It is perhaps true to say that, on the whole, Greek repeats words rather less than English does, by substituting a pronoun or pronominal adjective for a noun or adjective, or τοῦτο ποιεῖν for a verb. E.g. Pl. *Leg.* 712A πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ νόμων τῶν τοιούτων: D. xviii 96 τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικαῆσαι . . . ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποιοῦν τοῦτ', οὐδ' ἐγγύς: 128 ἢ καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις: 205 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίου, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν: XIX. 5 ἂν μὲν οὖν ὦσιν ἀληθεῖς, τὰ δέοντ' ἔγνωτε, ἂν δὲ μὴ τοιαῦται, τάναντία: Isoc. vii 48 ὥστ' εἰ καὶ ποτε διελθεῖν (τὴν ἀγοράν) ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο τοῦτο ποιοῦντες. In general, I think, the orators avoid such antitheses as καλός . . . οὐ καλός, preferring either καλός . . . αἰσχρός or καλός . . . οὐ τοιοῦτος. But there are examples of the first type in non-oratorical writers, and also some in Lysias. Democr. *Fr.* 35 πολλὰ μὲν ἔρξει πράγματ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄξια, πολλὰ δὲ φλαῦρα οὐχ ἔρξει: *Fr.* 231 εὐγνώμων ὁ μὴ λυπεόμενος ἐφ' οἷσιν οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ χαίρων ἐφ' οἷσιν ἔχει (end of clause in both cases): Pl. *Leg.* 733B λύπην δ' ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος ἡδονῆς βουλόμεθα, ἡδονὴν δ' ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος λύπης οὐ βουλόμεθα (exact repetition all through): 804E ἀνδράσι μὲν πρέπον ἂν εἶη, γυναιξὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πρέπον: *Er.* 334D ὦν ὁ μὲν μὴ πειθόμενος ζῇ τὰ νῦν οὐ καλῶς, ὁ δὲ πειθόμενος τέθνηκεν καλῶς: X. *Cyr.* IV. i 11 οὓς ἡμεῖς τρέπεσθαι μὲν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱκανοί, διώκοντες δὲ αἰρεῖν οὐχ ἱκανοί: Lys. xiii 96 ὦν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὑμεῖς ἀποψηφίσασθε· ὦν δ' ἐκεῖνοι θάνατον οὐ κατέγνωσαν, ὑμεῖς καταψηφίσασθε: xxxi 28 οὐ γὰρ ἂν δήπου, εἰ μὲν τις λίποι τὴν τάξιν μὴ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνῳ οὔσης . . . , ἐτέθη νόμος ὥς μεγάλα ἀδικοῦντος, εἰ δὲ τις αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνῳ οὔσης λίποι τὴν πόλιν αὐτήν, οὐκ ἂν ἄρα ἐτέθη (exact repetition all through): [vi] 7 τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς μηδὲν ποιεῖν κακόν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους

ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται κακόν (but here the affirmative idea is intensified by ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται): D. viii 55 εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ διαρπασθήσεται . . . , τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν οὕτως Φίλιππος ἐφέξεῃς ἀρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ: ix 5 τῆς ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας . . . κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν:¹ xix 183 τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν χρόνους εἰ μὲν μὴ προανείλε τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, εἰ δ' ἀνείλεν, ἡδίκηκε.

Effectiveness of repetition

Before entering into details, let us consider a few passages which illustrate, in general, the effectiveness of repetition of words. Pl. *Leg.* 659D τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πεπεισμένοις: 802A ἀνδράσιν τε καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς διαφανῶς γενομένοις (the repetition of the adjective perhaps reminds us that male and female virtue are different things): 906A σύμμαχοι δὲ ἡμῖν θεοὶ τε ἅμα καὶ δαίμονες, ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ κτῆμα θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων: 921E εἰ δὲ προαμειψάμενος ἔργον τι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον καλῶν ἔργων (for the partitive genitive cf. *Criti.* 106B φάρμακον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν τελεώτατον καὶ ἄριστον φαρμάκων ἐπιστήμην εὐχόμεθα διδόναι: *Leg.* 730A ξενικῶν . . . ἀμαρτημάτων τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας γίγνεται ἀμάρτημα μέγιστον: 716D τὸν τοιόνδε λόγον, ἀπάντων κάλλιστον καὶ ἀληθέστατον οἶμαι λόγων, ὥς . . .): *Phd.* 111D πολὺ δὲ πῦρ καὶ πυρὸς μεγάλους ποταμούς: *Prt.* 307E ἄγοντε τὸν Πρόδικον . . . καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Προδίκου (for the repetition of the proper name cf. [Lys.] vi 21 σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀνδοκίδου τὸν βίον . . . Ἀνδοκίδης γὰρ . . .): Pl. *R.* 471C τὸ ὥς δυνατὴ αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία γενέσθαι καὶ τίνα τρόπον ποτὲ δυνατὴ: 610A ὑπ' ἄλλοτρίου κακοῦ μὴ ἐμποιήσαντος τὸ ἔμφυτον κακόν: X. *Cyr.* vii. v 4 οἱ τε μένοντες εὐθὺς θαρραλεώτεροι ἐγίνοντο ἐπὶ διπλάσιον τὸ βάθος γιγνόμενοι, οἱ τ' ἀπιόντες ὡσαύτως θαρραλεώτεροι: D. ix 13 ἐξαπατᾶν . . . ἐξαπατᾶσθε: Hdt. i 207. 6 (ἀφειδέως): X. *HG* vii. ii 22 τέλος δ' οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς κατὰ κράτος ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ πέζοι κατὰ κράτος ἔθειον: *Cyr.* iii. ii 9 ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν: *Ant.* v 16 εἰ ὑμῖν μὲν ἅπαξ . . . ἐμοὶ δ' ἅπαξ . . . : D. viii 67 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν: Lys. xii 68 αὐτὸς ἐπαγγελάμενος . . . αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε.

¹ This gives a stronger emphasis than would τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ.

Frequent repetitions at short intervals

In some passages a great effect of force is obtained by the frequent employment of the same word, or cognate words, at short intervals, not, as in the case of anaphora, solely at the opening of clauses, but in different positions.¹ The word in question is naturally a key-word,² which forms the text of the passage. This device, known to the Romans as *traductio*,³ is already found in Homer; e.g. τ 204-8:

τῆς δ' ἄρ' ἀκουούσῃς ῥέε δάκρυα, τήκετο δὲ χρώς.
ὥς δὲ χιῶν κατατήκετ' ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν,
ἦν τ' Εὐρος κατέτηξεν, ἐπὴν Ζέφυρος καταχεύῃ·
τηκομένης δ' ἄρα τῆς ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες·
ὥς τῆς τήκετο καλὰ παρήϊα δάκρυ χεούσης.⁴

D. xix 97 εἰρήνη μὲν οὖν δι' ἐκείνους, ἐπικίνδυνος δὲ καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἄπιστος διὰ τούτους γέγονεν δωροδοκήσαντας. εἴργετ' οὖν, εἴργετ' αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγων, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμβιβάζετε. οὐ γὰρ Αἰσχίνης διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κρίνεται, οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἡ εἰρήνη δι' Αἰσχίνην διαβέβληται. σημεῖον δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη γεγόνει . . . τίν' ἀνθρώπων ἐλύπησεν ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη . . . ; Anax. Fr. 12 (νοῦς): Pl. R. 611C (θεᾶσθαι): Leg. 670D (ᾄδειν): 674A-B (γεύεσθαι): 799B (ἐξείργειν): 932E (διερρήθη, διάρρησιν, διαρρήδην): Phd. 84E-85A (ᾄδειν): Prt. 344D (ἀμήχανος): Cri. 46A (βουλεύεσθαι): Smph. 212B (πείθειν): Men. 95B (σκοπεῖν): Ant. ii δ 10 (εἰκότα): D. i 24 (καιρός): 27 (ζημιῶν): ii 23 (θαυμάζω): iii 34-35 (τάξις): iv 38-39 (τὰ πράγματα): 47 (θανάτου): v 21-3 (ἐβούλετο, ἐβούλοντο with negatives): vi 1 (λόγοι): viii 39-40 (πόλις): 72 (πολίτης): xix 13-15 (εἰρήνη): 48 (ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι): xxi 189 (ῥήτωρ). In Pl. Rep. 537E-538A a complex effect is obtained by the repetition of a number of words. In other passages the repetition has less rhetorical force, and sometimes gives the impression of *naïveté* or carelessness: Pl. Prt. 320E ἔνεμεν . . . ἔνεμεν: R.

¹ Cf. p. 46, n. 1.

² For further examples, see Rehdantz's index *s.v.* *traductio*. Some of my examples are taken from him. In some that he gives the repetition seems to me fortuitous: e.g. S. OT 399-402.

³ Rhet. ad Her. iv (v) 20, cf. Cic. de Or. iii 206.

⁴ Cf. Hes. Op. 578-81 (ἡῶς repeated).

616A ἀναβαίνοι . . . ἀναβῆναι: 621B γενέσθαι . . . γενέσθαι: X.
An. III. v i μεσση πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν . . . πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Word repeated in main and subordinate clause

Certain types of repetition in which a repeated word occurs both in main and subordinate clause may be noticed.

Conditionals

(1) In protasis and apodosis of conditional sentence.

(i) The protasis, normally placed first, expresses a hypothetical necessity, desire, or obligation. The apodosis contains nothing but the repeated word. Pl. R. 484D τίθεσθαι τε, ἐὰν δέη τίθεσθαι: 517A εἴ πῶς . . . δύναιντο . . . ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτεινύναι ἂν;: *Leg.* 695A εἰ στρατεύεσθαι δέοι, στρατεύεσθαι: 924A ἐὰν ἐθέλῃ τῷ δωρεῖσθαι, δωρεῖσθω: *Grg.* 463B εἰ οὖν βούλεται Πῶλος πυνθάνεσθαι, πυνθανέσθω.

(ii) The apodosis defines the conditions under which the hypothesis is, or may be, realized. Pl. R. 534C εἴ πη εἰδῶλου τινὸς ἐφάπτεται, δόξῃ, οὐκ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐφάπτεσθαι: *Leg.* 807B εἰ γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, γίγνοιτο ἂν καὶ μάλα μετρίως: X. *Cyn.* 10. 22 εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πάσχοι, οὐκ ἂν διὰ γε τὸ μὴ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖν πάσχοι: *Ant.* vi i εἴ τις καὶ συμφορὰ γίγνοιτο, ἄνευ κακότητος καὶ αἰσχύνῃς γίγνεσθαι.

(iii) The protasis expresses doubt as to the applicability of a word contained in the apodosis. *Ant.* ii δ 2 καινότερα γὰρ δή, εἰ χρὴ καινότερα μᾶλλον ἢ κακουργότερα εἰπεῖν: D. viii 36 ὑγαινότων (εἰ δὴ τὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας ὑγαινέειν φήσαιμεν).

(iv) The apodosis expresses a new idea. Pl. R. 485A καὶ οἶμαι, ἐὰν ἐκείνην ἱκανῶς ὁμολογήσωμεν, ὁμολογήσειν καὶ ὅτι . . . : *Lys.* vi 33 μὴ οἴεσθε, εἰ ὑμεῖς βούλεσθε . . . ἐπιλαθέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιλήσεσθαι: xxxiv 8 κἂν πολλάκις εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐμβάλωσι, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσονται: D. xix 30 οὐ γὰρ εἰ φαύλοις χρῆσθ' ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ πολλάκις ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ φαῦλα ὧν ἡ πόλις ἀξιοῦται: 342 τοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐκείνῳ ποιήσαντας ἀνηρηκότες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔσεσθε, ἂν τούτους ἀνέλῃτε.

Sometimes repetition between sub-clauses is employed in two co-ordinated main clauses. *Hdt.* iii 65. 6 ἀλλ' εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι

αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπ' ὑμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένει τεῶν κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἀνασώσασθαι : D. xviii 13 εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττονθ' ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα . . . , εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον.

Relatives

(2) In relative and in main clause.

(i) The relative clause contains nothing (or virtually nothing) except the relative and a repeated verb. Often there is a disparaging or deprecatory tone in the relative clause. Pl. *Leg.* 859C περὶ ὧν εἴρηκα ὡς εἴρηκα ('to the best of my ability') : *Prt.* 323C ἐξ ἐπιμελείας παραγίγνεσθαι ᾧ ἂν παραγίγνηται : *Smph.* 187E ὃν δεῖ εὐλαβούμενον προσφέρειν οἷς ἂν προσφέρῃ : *Ant.* iv δ 6 ἃ τε ἔπασχεν ἀκουσίως ἔπασχεν : *Lys.* xiii 11 εἰ διαθείῃ ὑμᾶς [ἀπόρως] ὥσπερ διέθηκεν : 53 νῦν δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑφ' ὧν τότε ἐπείσθης : D. x 65 οἱ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν, ἃ δὲ πεπόνθασιν (euphemistic) : X. *Mem.* i. ii 39 ὠμιλησάτην ὃν χρόνον ὠμιλείτην αὐτῷ. (Contrast *Ant.* iii γ 11, where there is a fresh subject in the relative clause : εἵρξαντες ὧν ὁ νόμος εἵργει.) While in the above cases the relative clause adds definition, in the following it expresses the objective validity of the hypothesis expressed in the main clause. Pl. *Phdr.* 242E εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔστιν ('as in fact he is') : D. xix 153 εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς ἦσαν τότε. Here objective validity is *denied* : *Ant.* iv γ 5 εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱατροῦ ἀπέθανεν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν.

(ii) The relative clause contains the idea of obligation or fitness. Pl. *Leg.* 653C μισεῖν μὲν ἃ χρὴ μισεῖν . . . στέργειν δὲ ἃ χρὴ στέργειν : 867C καθάπερ . . . προσήκέν τῳ πάσχειν, πασχέτω : *La.* 189B καὶ ἔδωκας σαυτοῦ πείραν ἀρετῆς ἣν χρὴ δίδοναι τὸν μέλλοντα δικαίως δώσειν : *Ant.* i 22 ἀποθνησκόντων, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑφ' ὧν ἥκιστα αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν ἀποθνήσκειν.

(iii) Each clause contains a distinct idea. *Ant.* i 25 ἀξιώ, ὥσπερ κακεῖνον . . . αὕτη ἀπώλεσεν, οὕτω καὶ αὕτην ταύτην ἀπολέσθαι : *Lys.* xxxi 5 μετέχειν τὸ μέρος τῶν δεινῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετέχουσι : D. iv 38 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, ὅσ' ἂν τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑπερβήσεται : *Isoc.* iii 51 ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν ὑμῶν περὶ πλείστα τῶν ἐμῶν χρησίμους αὐτοὺς παράσχωσιν, οὗτοι πλείστα τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ὠφελήσουσιν.

Causal and temporal clauses

(3) Causal and temporal clauses. Pl. *Prt.* 328E ὁ δὴλον ὅτι Πρωταγόρας ῥαδίως ἐπεκδιδάξει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα ἐξεδίδαξεν: *Grg.* 526D ἐπειδὴν ἀποθνήσκω ἀποθνήσκειν.

Participial clauses

(4) Participial clauses.

(i) With accusative absolute participles expressing the idea of possibility or obligation. Pl. *Leg.* 809A καὶ μὴ κολάζοντα δέον κολάζειν: 918D καὶ ἐξὸν κερδαίνειν τὰ μέτρια, ἀπλήστως αἰρεῖται κερδαίνειν: Ant. vi 44 ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀρξάμενοις . . . ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἀπεγράφοντο οὐδεμιᾷ: Lys. xiii 84 εἰ δὲ πάλαι δέον τιμωρεῖσθαι ὕστερον ἡμεῖς τιμωρούμεθα.

(ii) In an epexegetic participial clause. Pl. *Leg.* 925E τούτων δὴ μηδὲν φροντίζειν τάχ' ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης δόξειεν τισιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκοῦν (a curious use of the absolute construction): Arist. *Pol.* 1257^b17 διὸ ζητοῦσιν . . . οὐκ ὀρθῶς ζητοῦντες: 1271^a38 ἐπιτετιμῆ-
κασιν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶντες.

(iii) Other examples do not come under either of these headings. X. *Mem.* i 6. 6 οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι ψύχους καὶ θάλπους ἔνεκα μεταβάλλονται: *Hier.* vii 7 πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίμεν ἢ τοὺς βία ἐξανισταμένους θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐξανιστάσθαι;: Ant. iii β 7 ἀλλὰ πάντα ὀρθῶς ὡς ἐπενόει δρῶν ἔδρασε μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκούσιον, ἔπαθε δὲ . . . (a very forced repetition): Lys. iv 20 ὑπὲρ ὧν φησιν ἡδίκησθαι, οὐκ ἡδικημένος: xii 5 τοιαῦτα λέγοντες οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων: D. ix 55 καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν (cf. xxi 72): xix 67 πολλὰ τοίνυν ἂν τις . . . Φίλιππον εὐδαιμονίσας τῆς τύχης εἰκότως, τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσειεν ἀπάντων: Isoc. x 48 εἰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰδὼς περὶ κάλλους φιλονικούντας αὐτὸς κάλλους κατεφρόνησε.

Miscellaneous

Pl. *Grg.* 452E καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ συλλόγῳ παντί, ὅστις ἂν πολιτικὸς σύλλογος γίγνηται: Lys. iii 42 ὅσοι ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀποκτεῖναι τινας ἔτρωσαν, ἀποκτεῖναι δ' οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν: xxxi 20 οὐ . . . διαφερόντως δεῖ γινώσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ οἱ οἰκεῖοι γινώσκουσιν: D. ix 56 ἢ

πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας προὔδοσαν, ὧν προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπώλετο ;: xix 68 τὸ ποῖον; τὸ ἐπειδὴ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὰ πράγματα' αὐτῷ ἐδέησεν, πονηρότερους εὐρεῖν ἢ ἐβούλετο: xliii 84 ἔτι μᾶλλον καταφρονουμένους ἢ νῦν καταπεφρόνηνται: ISOC. v 108 μόνος γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . . ἄρχειν ἀξιώσας μόνος καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἡδυνήθη τοὺς κινδύνους.

ANAPHORA

Anaphora in general

Blass (i 144) defines anaphora as 'the repetition of the same word, in the same or in different forms, at the beginning of several successive clauses or sentences'. This definition is, however, too external to be quite satisfactory. It leads Blass to reckon as anaphoric the repetition of numerals, as in Th. viii 5. 2 καὶ δέκα μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ναῦς ὑπέσχοντο, δέκα δὲ Ἄγεις. There is no 'figure' here, no device of style. The sentence is a plain statement of facts, and the repetition is compulsory, not sought. The essence of anaphora is that a concept applying to two (or more) other concepts, is distributed over both. (Anaphora with πολλοί, etc., is a borderline case.)

Anaphora takes various forms: with μὲν and δέ, with asyndeton, and (rarely) with simple δέ, καί, and τε. As Blass (loc. cit.) points out, anaphora is not a 'Gorgianic' figure, but one of those natural devices of style which are already freely employed in poetry. Anaphora is, in fact, almost absent from Gorgias (πολλὰ μὲν . . . πολλὰ δέ in the *Epitaphios*). It is commonest in those writers who aim at vividness, force, and pathos: rarest in those who rigidly suppress the emotions. Thus it is rare in Thucydides (e.g. i 85. 2: 126. 12: vi 88. 6), almost absent from Isocrates: but common in Lysias, Demosthenes, Plato, and Xenophon. In Aeschines it occurs far more frequently in iii than in i and ii (Blass iii 238).

μὲν and δέ

A few examples of the normal type of anaphora with μὲν and δέ will suffice. Hdt. i 45. 3 οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος: iii 14. 11 δακρύειν

μὲν Κροῖσον . . . δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας: 36. 1 σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολιήτας ἐπ' οὐδεμῇ αἰτίῃ ἄξιοχρέω ἐλῶν, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας: i 210. 2 ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι . . . : iii 126. 2 ὁ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτεια . . . κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεια τὸν παῖδα (repetition of preposition severed from its verb by tmesis): iv 133. 3 ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων: Pl. R. 537D μόνιμοι μὲν ἐν μαθήμασι, μόνιμοι δ' ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις: Leg. 734A ἡρεμαίαις μὲν λύπας, ἡρεμαίαις δὲ ἡδονάς . . . σφοδράς μὲν λύπας, σφοδράς δὲ ἡδονάς: Ant. v 62 ἐν ᾧ γνωσθεῖς ἂν ἀπεστέρει μὲν ἐμὲ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀπεστέρει δὲ αὐτὸν ἱερῶν καὶ ὀσίων: Lys. xix 9 ἐστερημένοι μὲν κηδεστῶν, ἐστερημένοι δὲ τῆς προικός: D. xviii 72 περιείργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖς' ἐμοί: xix 84 καὶ ματαία μὲν ἡ πρότερον βοήθεια . . . μάταιαι δ' αἱ κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐλπίδες: ix 23: xxi 30, 114. Exceptionally at the opening of a speech: Lys. xiii 1.

Sometimes the repeated word occurs thrice: Pl. R. 596D—Ε ταχὺ μὲν ἥλιον ποιήσεις καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ταχὺ δὲ γῆν, ταχὺ δὲ σαυτὸν τε . . . : Hdt. i 37. 3: X. Oec. 7. 5: Lys. vi 28. Or even four times: Hdt. iv 12. 1: Lys. xii 21: X. Hier. 6. 4 τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ὄχλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἀφυλαξίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυλάττοντας, . . .

Sometimes more words than one are repeated. X. An. iii 4. 45 πολλή μὲν κραυγὴ . . . πολλή δὲ κραυγὴ . . . : And. i 144 εἰδότα μὲν οἶόν ἐστι πόλεως τοιαύτης πολίτην εἶναι, εἰδότα δὲ οἶόν ἐστι ξένον εἶναι: Pl. Leg. 739C. The interval between the repeated words varies considerably. Here it is very short: Lys. xxiii 11 ἐθέλοντος μὲν τοῦ Νικομήδους, ἐθελούσης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀφίεναι. Here it is much longer: Hdt. i 44. 2 ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἶη, ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίσιτόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήμιον: Th. iii 38. 1 (parenthesis intervenes): Hdt. iii 14. 11: Lys. xii 77, 78: D. xix 84: Aeschin. iii 71.

There is sometimes a lack of exact correspondence, formal or logical, between the clauses. Pl. Leg. 711E μακαρίως μὲν αὐτὸς ζῇ, μακάριοι δὲ οἱ συνήκοοι: Lys. xix 62 καὶ νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τριηραρχῷ μὲν ἐγώ, τριηραρχῶν δὲ ὁ πατήρ ἀπέθανεν: Hdt. viii

76. I ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας . . . ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον . . . τεταγμένοι (here the change of subject is introduced by the way).

In the following, the repetition is of words preceding two δέ's following a μὲν: Is. v 9 ἐξήλασε μὲν . . . ἀφείλετο δὲ . . . ἀφείλετο δέ.

The following cannot be classed as anaphora, since there is a strong contrast between the clauses, and the repetition of πράττοντος is compulsory: D. xv 11 ἐγὼ νομίζω, πράττοντος μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάνθ', ὡς ὤρμηκε, βασιλέως . . . , πράττοντος δ' ὡς λέγεται, καὶ διημαρτηκότος οἷς ἐπεχείρησεν . . .

Common as anaphora is in Greek, the opportunity for its use is sometimes neglected, even where the precise parallelism of the thought suggests it: Pl. *Prt.* 321A δέρμασιν, ἱκανοῖς μὲν ἀμῦναι χειμῶνα, δυνατοῖς δὲ καὶ καύματα.

For anaphora combined with asyndeton see under Asyndeton.

Anaphora with simple δέ, καί, etc.

Anaphora with δέ (without preceding μὲν), καί, and ἤ.

δέ. Hdt. v 26 Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους, εἶλε δὲ Ἄντανδρον . . . : vii 224 τῶν . . . ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων: ix 7a τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει . . . ποιήσασθαι . . . , ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν . . . διδόναι: And. i 18 καὶ μοι κάλει Καλλίαν καὶ Στέφανον, κάλει δὲ καὶ Φίλιππον.

καί. Pl. *Prt.* 343C εἰς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τούτῳ ἐπιβουλεύων . . . : Th. ii 41. 3 μόνη γὰρ τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσω ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται, καὶ μόνη . . . : Lys. xxiv 10 πάντας οἶμαι . . . τοῦτο ζητεῖν καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν: Isoc. iv 27 τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦμεν καὶ μεθ' ἧς πολιτευόμεθα καὶ δι' ἣν ζῆν δυνάμεθα: xx 10 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς δις ἤδη τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐπέιδομεν καταλυθεῖσαν καὶ δις τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπεστερήθημεν: xv 10 τοσοῦτον οὖν μῆκος λόγου συνιδεῖν καὶ τοσαύτας ἰδέας καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων ἀφεστῶσας συναρμόσαι: Aeschin. ii 19 εἴδωσιν οἱ δικασταί, τίς ἦν Φιλοκράτους ἐταῖρος καὶ τίς ὁ τὰς δωρεὰς Ἀριστοδήμῳ φάσκων πείσειν δοῦναι τὸν δῆμον: D. xix. 43, 52. At Ant. vi 17, καὶ εἴ φασι cannot be counted as anaphora.

ἤ. Th. i 33. 2 καὶ σκέψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἢ τίς τοῖς

πολεμίοις λυπηροτέρα: Aeschin. i 65 τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν . . . ; ἢ τίς . . . ;
(cf. i 185): D. ix 56 πότεροι . . . ; ἢ πότεροι . . . ;

τε . . . καί. Hdt. v 91. 3 ἵνα κοινῶ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῶ στόλῳ . . .

καὶ . . . καί. X. HG iv 2. 3 ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ οἶων τιμῶν καὶ
οἶων ἐλπίδων ἀπεστερεῖτο.

Connexion varied with asyndeton

Sometimes connexion is varied with asyndeton. D. xix 63 τούτῳ δὴ πάντ' ἐπίστευον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον πάντ' ἐσκόπουν, πρὸς τοῦτον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην: 69 οἷς ἀπαντῶντας ἐμβλέπειν, οἷς συζῆν ἀνάγκη τὸν λοιπὸν βίον καὶ ἐν οἷς εὐθύνας ἔμελλον δώσειν τῶν πεπραγμένων: 334 ποῖος γὰρ στρατηγὸς Ἄλον, τίς δὲ Φωκέας ἀπολώλεκε; τίς δὲ Δόρισκον; τίς δὲ . . . ; τίς δὲ . . . ; τίς δὲ . . . ; τίς δὲ . . . ; τίς δὲ Κορωνεῖαν, τίς δ' Ὀρχόμενον, τίς Εὐβοῖαν ἄλλοτριαν; τίς Μέγαρα πρῶην ὀλίγου; τίς Θηβαίους (πεποίηκεν) ἰσχυροῦς;

Pseudo-anaphora

It is a peculiarity of Herodotus that he not infrequently, in giving details of an action, repeats the verb with δέ or καί. This type of anaphora is purely formal, since it lacks the notion of distribution, which, as I have observed, is essential to anaphora proper.

δέ. vi 89 οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι . . . Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι: ii 32. 7 παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν ποταμὸν μέγαν, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα: ii 158. 2: iii 4. 2: iv 95. 2: v 100: vi 43. 4. Cf. iii 34. 1 λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ . . . , εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε: i 124. 3 ποίεε ταῦτα καὶ ποίεε κατὰ τάχος: iv 189. 3 κάρτα γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται αἱ Λίβυσσαι καὶ χρέωνται καλῶς.

Antistrophe

The term 'antistrophe' is used to denote cases in which the repeated words come at the end, not at the beginning, of the clauses or phrases.

In short co-ordinated phrases or clauses, adding force to a

series of ideas. Heracl. *Fr.* 30 ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα: Anaxag. *Fr.* 4 ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν at end of two consecutive clauses: Pl. *Leg.* 942B ἐν τε πολέμῳ παντὶ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάσῃ: Arist. *Pol.* 1252^a33 ἄρχον φύσει καὶ δεσπόζον φύσει: X. *Cyr.* II. i 30 πεμπάδα ὄλην καὶ δεκάδα ὄλην καὶ λόχον ὄλον καὶ τάξιν ὄλην: IV. vi 6 πολλά γὰρ φιλικὰ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καὶ ὑπηρέτησα ἐκείνῳ: D. iv 27 οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν . . . ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἵππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι . . .; xxii 135 σὺ δ' ἀπειλεῖς πᾶσιν, ἐλαύνεις πάντας: 198 ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουτεῖ μόνος καὶ λέγειν δυνάται μόνος: Aeschin. iii 198 ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, ὅρκον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ, ὧν οὔτε αἰτῆσαι οὐδὲν ὅσιον οὐδενὶ οὔτ' αἰτηθέντα ἑτέρῳ δοῦναι: 202 μηδ' ἐν ἀρετῇ τοῦθ' ὑμῶν μηδεὶς καταλογιζέσθω, ὅς ἂν ἐπανερομένου Κτησιφώντος, εἰ καλέσῃ Δημοσθένην, πρῶτος ἀναβοήσῃ 'κάλει, κάλει'. ἐπὶ σαντὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς: Pl. *Leg.* 963C ἀνδρείαν γὰρ φαμεν ἀρετὴν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν ἀρετὴν, καὶ τὰ δύο τᾶλλα . . . ἀρετὴν: Aeschin. iii 202 . . . ὅνπερ κἀγὼ κατηγόρηκα. ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς κατηγόρηκα; Lys. xxvi 15 ἀποδοκιμάσαι. With longer clauses. Pl. *R.* 596C ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ ζῶα πάντα ἐργάζεται . . ., καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γῆν . . . καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν Αἰδοῦ ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα ἐργάζεται.

With a strong logical contrast, the sphere within which the contrast operates being expressed by the repeated word. Democr. *Fr.* 191 διόπερ τὰ μὲν μὴ δίξεσθαι χρεῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς εὐθυμέεσθαι χρεῶν: X. *Cyr.* I. vi 38 ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα καὶ ἀνθηρὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλλον τὰ καινὰ μηχανήματα εὐδοκιμεῖ: Arist. *Pol.* 1255^b31 ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης οὐκ ἐν τῷ κτᾶσθαι τοὺς δούλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι δούλοις: D. iv 39 οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πρᾶγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων: xix 338 ὥσπερ ἐγὼ Φίλιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμασα, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἐθαύμασα: 343 ὁρῶντα τοῖς μὲν ἅπαντα πεπρακόσι . . . ἀφορμὴν τὴν Φιλίππου ξενίαν περιούσαν, τοῖς δὲ δικαίους τε παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς . . . φθόνον περιόντα παρ' ἐνίων: i 4 . . . πολὺ προέχει . . . ἐναντίως ἔχει: iv 43 τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν . . . περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσασθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν . . . ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. But in the following the repeated word comes

just before the end: X. *HG* VII. i 11 πῶς οὐ . . . δεινὸν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄριστα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ;

With variation of order (antistrophe alternating with anaphora). Pl. *Leg.* 733E λέγωμεν δὴ σώφρονα βίον ἓνα εἶναι, καὶ φρόνιμον ἓνα, καὶ ἓνα τὸν ἀνδρεῖον, καὶ τὸν ὑγιεινὸν βίον ἓνα ταξώμεθα: R. 538A ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν χρήμασι πολλῶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλῳ γένει καὶ κόλαξι πολλοῖς: D. XIX 177-8 ἐπέδειξα . . . ἐπέδειξα . . . οὐκ οὖν ταῦθ' ὑπεσχόμην ἐν ἀρχῇ, ταῦτ' ἐπέδειξα.

In alternate clauses. Pl. *Grg.* 504E ὅπως ἂν . . . δικαιοσύνη μὲν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίγνηται, ἀδικία δ' ἀπαλλάττηται, καὶ σωφροσύνη μὲν ἐγγίγνηται, ἀκολασία δὲ ἀπαλλάττηται, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἀρετὴ ἐγγίγνηται, κακία δ' ἀπή: *Smph.* 212A τίκτειν οὐκ εἰδῶλα ἀρετῆς, ἅτε οὐκ εἰδῶλου ἐφαπτομένῳ, ἀλλ' ἀληθῇ, ἅτε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐφαπτομένῳ: R. 615B ἵνα . . . εἰ . . . πάντων τούτων δεκαπλασίας ἀληθδόνas ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου κομίσαιντο, καὶ αὖ εἰ . . . εἶεν, κατὰ ταῦτὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κομίζουσιν: D. i 11 ἂν μὲν γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν τις λάβῃ καὶ σῶσῃ, μεγάλην ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν, ἂν δ' ἀναλώσας λάθῃ, συνανήλωσε τὴν χάριν.

Repeated word at end of subordinate and of main clause. Pl. *Leg.* 669B ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑμνεῖται περὶ αὐτὴν διαφερόντως ἢ τὰς ἄλλας εἰκόνας, εὐλαβείας δὴ δεῖται πλείστης πασῶν εἰκόνων: 891E εἰ δὲ ἔστι μηδαμῇ ἐτέρως συμφωνῆσαι . . . ἢ ταύτῃ, λεκτέον, ὦ θαυμάσιε, καὶ ταύτῃ: *Smph.* 190A ὥσπερ οἱ κυβιστῶντες . . . κυβιστῶσι κύκλῳ, ὁκτῶ τότε οὔσι τοῖς μέλεσιν . . . ἐφέροντο κύκλῳ: And. i 90 ὅπου . . . τοῖς τριάκοντα ὥμνυτε μὴ μνησικακήσειν . . . ἢ που σχολῇ τῶν γε ἄλλων πολιτῶν τινι ἡξιούτε μνησικακεῖν (*a fortiori*, negative: cf. *a fortiori*, positive, Lys. XIII 57 καίτοι εἰ ἐκεῖνος ἀπέθανεν, ἢ που Ἀγόρατός γε δικαίως ἀποθανεῖται: And. i 86 ὅπου οὖν ἀγράφῳ νόμῳ οὐκ ἔξεστι χρήσασθαι, ἢ που ἀγράφῳ γε ψηφίσματι παντάπασιν οὐδεὶς χρήσασθαι): [Lys.] vi 33 μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ ὑμεῖς βούλεσθε τὰ τούτῳ πεποιημένα ἐπιλαθέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιλήσεσθαι: XIV 8 τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, εἴαν τις ἀδοκίμαστος ἱππεύῃ, αἰτιμον εἶναι, ἐτόλμησεν ἀδοκίμαστος ἱππεύειν: XXV 20 τὴν αὐτὴν κατελθόντες περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην ἔχετε, ἦν περ φεύγοντες περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν εἶχετε: D. XIX 211 ὥσπερ ἐπρέσβευσα δῖς, οὕτω καὶ λόγον ὑμῖν δοῦναι δῖς: iii 19 ἂν τὰ παρόντ' ἀναλώσῃ πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορήσαι πρὸς ἃ δεῖ.

Symploke (anaphora plus antistrophe)

Occasionally repetition occurs both at beginning and at end of clause, anaphora being combined with antistrophe. This is the figure known as symploke. D. xlv 37 εἶτα λέγει περιών, ὥς ἐμαρτύρησε μὲν Νικοκλῆς ἐπιτροπεῦσαι κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἐμαρτύρησε δὲ Πασικλῆς ἐπιτροπευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην. . . . ὁ γὰρ ἐπιτροπεῦσαι κατὰ διαθήκας μαρτυρῶν δῆλον ὅτι καθ' ὁποίας ἂν εἰδείη, καὶ ὁ ἐπιτροπευθῆναι κατὰ διαθήκας μαρτυρῶν δῆλον ὅτι καθ' ὁποίας ἂν εἰδείη.¹

κύκλος

The ancient rhetoricians give the name κύκλος to the figure by which a sentence returns to its opening word or words at the close. D. iv 48 ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιόντες . . . φασὶ . . . , οἱ δὲ . . . , οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα: xix 289 οὐδὲ φοβεῖ με Φίλιππος . . . ἀλλ' εἰ . . . , ταῦτα φοβεῖ με: xxi 81 ὁ δ' . . . οὐ μόνον εἰς ἐμέ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὤετο δεῖν ὑβρίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς φυλέτας δι' ἐμέ: Lys. xii 95 πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὅπλων ἀναμνήσθητε, ὅτι . . . ὑπὸ τούτων εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀφηρέθητε τὰ ὅπλα. In D. xviii 258–60 τύχην, ending the long period, scornfully echoes τύχη near its opening. In other supposed examples of κύκλος (e.g. D. xx 73 λέγεται . . . λέγεται, cited by Hermogenes) the repetition is not striking, and may be regarded as accidental.

Epanadiplosis

While anaphora and antistrophe have a distributive force, epanadiplosis consists, as the word suggests, in the simple doubling of a word for the sake of emphasis. This figure is often employed in poetry, particularly in Euripides, the words being either juxtaposed, or separated by one or two intervening words. E. *Alc.* 328 ἔσται τὰδ' ἔσται: 1093 αἰνῶ μὲν αἰνῶ: *Med.* 467 ἦλθες πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἦλθες: 711 οἴκτιρον οἴκτιρον: 1244 λαβὲ ξίφος λαβέ: *Andr.* 245 σοφὴ σοφὴ σύ: *Soph. Phil.* 816 μέθες, μέθες με: 1241 ἔστω τις, ἔστιν.

¹ Rehdantz (op. cit.) cites D. i 4, 11 as examples of symploke. But the element of anaphora is hardly present in these passages, since the repetitions of πρὸς and ἂν cannot be regarded as anaphoric.

In prose, there are a few Platonic examples. With an apostrophe only intervening between the word and its repetition: *Phdr.* 242D δεινόν, ὦ Φαῖδρε, δεινὸν λόγον αὐτός τε ἐκόμισας . . . : *Euthd.* 284E σὺ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Διονυσόδωρος, λαιδορῇ, ὦ Κτήσιππε, λαιδορῇ: *Leg.* 624A θεός, ὦ ξένε, θεός. With other words, besides the apostrophe, intervening: *R.* 608B μέγας γάρ, ἔφην, ὁ ἀγών, ὦ φίλε Γλαύκων, μέγας. With juxtaposed repetition: *Ti.* 22B ὦ Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἕλληνες αἰὲ παῖδες ἔστε, γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστι (here the chiasmic repetition which follows heightens the effect). With the repeated words separated by a particle: *Phdr.* 228B ἀπαντήσας δὲ τῷ νοσοῦντι περὶ λόγων ἀκοήν, ἰδὼν μὲν, ἰδὼν ἦσθη.

Of other prose-writers, only Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Dinarchus use epanadiplosis: Aeschines very occasionally, Demosthenes frequently, Dinarchus (the κρίθινος Δημοσθένης)¹ proportionately more frequently still.

The repeated words are very seldom juxtaposed. *D.* xviii 208 οὐκ ἔστ' οὐκ ἔστιν: *D.* xix 224 καὶ δέδοικα, δέδοικα (εἰρήσεται γὰρ . . .) μὴ . . . : xxi 174 ἀλλ' ἵππον, ἵππον οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὁ λαμπρὸς καὶ πλούσιος οὗτος πρίασθαι (with withering sarcasm). I exclude οὐ γὰρ ἔστ', οὐκ ἔστι (*D.* ii 10: iv 46: viii 61: xix 296: xxi 46: xxiii 127: cf. *D.* xix 123 οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν, οὐκ ἐνῆν). Often only ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, or a particle, intervenes between the repeated words, though the interval is sometimes rather wider: *D.* xviii 242 πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρόν ὁ συκοφάντης (with other adjectives, precisely similar: *D.* viii 28: xlv 80: Aeschin. iii 75: Din. i 46): *D.* xxi 112 οὐ μέτεστι . . . οὐ μέτεστιν, οὐ (for the resumed οὐ, cf. *D.* xix 97, 186: Aeschin. iii 194: Din. i 85 (μή)): *D.* xviii 24 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτ', οὐκ ἔστιν (for other repetitions of εἰμί, cf. *D.* ix 36: xvi 24: xviii 308: xix 222: xxv 73, 79: xxvii 57: with a wider interval, *D.* i 19 ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν, ἔστιν ὅσ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων): *D.* iii 33 ἴσως ἂν ἴσως (viii 77): iv 10 πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄ. Ἀ., πόθ' ἂ χρὴ πράξετε;: xviii 141 ἔγνω γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω: xix 96 ἦν δέδοικα μὲν, ὦ ἄ. Ἀ., δέδοικα μὴ . . . : 97 εἵργετ' οὖν εἵργετ' αὐτόν: 267 ὑμᾶς οὖν, ὑμᾶς εὖ φρονεῖν δεῖ τοὺς πολλούς: xxi 119 τοῦτο γάρ, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔχον ἔστιν ὑπερβολήν

¹ Hermogenes περὶ ἰδεῶν 2. 11.

ἀκαθαρσίας, ὦ ἄ. Ἀ.: xxii 31 ἦδει γάρ, ἦδει: xxv 100 τί ἐρεῖτ', ὦ ἄ. Ἀ., τί ἐρεῖτε;: xxviii 20 βοηθήσατ' οὖν ἡμῖν, βοηθήσατε: Aeschin. iii 133 Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων: Din. i 10 δίκαια μὲν οὖν, δίκαια . . .: 27 μόνως γὰρ οὕτως, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνως: 28 μισθωτὸς οὗτος, ὦ Ἀ., μισθωτὸς ἐστὶ παλαιός: 29, 40, 76: ii 24: iii 22.

In D. xviii 143 a substantive is repeated with the addition of an epithet: πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, ὦ Αἰσχύνῃ, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν.

In D. xix 46 I think that the second μὴ νῦν resumes after the formula of quotation, and is not a part of the reported speech: 'μὴ νῦν', ὑπολαβὼν Αἰσχύνῃς οὕτως, 'μὴ νῦν ἀφίστασο', ἔφη.

In X. HG II. iii 28 and Lys. xiii 93 νῦν and νυνί resume the preceding νῦν and νυνί, though at the same time the repetition adds force. We can hardly reckon these as cases of epanaplois.

In Din. i 24 the repetition occurs in a new sentence, and is underlined by φημί: ἀροῦνται καὶ σπείρεται τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ . . . ἀροῦνται φημι καὶ σπείρεται. i 67 is perhaps to be classed as resumptive: τίνας δ', ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι—σκοπεῖτε γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς—τίνας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔξομεν . . .; So also is i 68, if the conjecture τί δ' ἐάν is correct. i 72 ἐγένετο πόλις, ἐγένετο μεγίστη: the text has been questioned: but Dinarchus, who rode anaphora to death, may have overreached himself here.

Repetition for the sake of clearness

Hitherto we have considered the repetition of words from the point of view of emphasis. But repetition is also employed for the sake of clearness, and the repeated word often forms a hinge on which the unfolding of the thought pivots. Certain clearly marked idioms must be noted here.

Repetition at end and beginning of clause

(1) In Herodotus and Plato (and occasionally elsewhere), a clause or sentence often opens with a repeated word, usually the last word of the preceding clause or sentence.¹ Hp. *Morb.*

¹ Cf. S. Ph. 1035 κακῶς ὁλοισθ'· ὀλεῖσθε δ'.

Γ ii 10 (Littre vii, p. 18) . . . μελαίνεται. μελαίνεται δὲ . . . : II . . .
 ἔλκει. ἔλκει δὲ . . . : . . . διαθερμανθῇ. διαθερμαίνεται δὲ . . . : *Genit.*
 51 (Littre vii, p. 586) . . . κενούται. κενούται δὲ . . . : . . . τροφή.
 τροφή δὲ . . . : Hdt. ii 35. 2 οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι.
 ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ
 κάτω: iv 68. 4 δέδοκται τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι
 ἀπόλλυσθαι. ἀπολλύσι δὲ αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε: 105. 1 ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν
 χώραν πᾶσαν ὑπ' ὀφίων. ὀφίας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς . . . : v 57. 2
 ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφεας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο:
 Pl. R. 546A ἀλλὰ λυθήσεται. λύσις δὲ ἦδε: 611A τοῦτο . . . οὕτως
 ἐχέτω· εἰ δ' ἔχει, ἐννοεῖς ὅτι . . . : *Leg.* 684A ὥστε οὐ περὶ κενόν τι
 ζητήσομεν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ γεγονός τε καὶ ἔχον ἀλήθειαν.
 γέγονεν δὴ τάδε: 823B καὶ κλωπεῖαι . . . θῆραι. θήρας δὲ πέρι
 τιθέντι τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοὺς νόμους . . . : 870A καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν τὴν
 κακὴν. τῆς δὲ ἀπαιδευσίας . . . : 937B εἰς ἐπισκηφθῇ τὰ ψευδῆ
 μαρτυρῆσαι. ἐπισκῆπτεσθαι δὲ . . . : *Phd.* 64B καὶ ἀληθῆ γ' ἂν
 λέγοιεν πλὴν γε τοῦ σφᾶς μὴ λεληθέναι. λέληθεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς . . . :
 109A ἱκανὴν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἴσχειν τὴν . . . ἰσορροπίαν· ἰσορροπον γὰρ
 πρᾶγμα . . . : 116A ἐκέλευε περιμένειν. περιεμένομεν οὖν . . . : *Prt.*
 314A ἣ ἐν τῇ τῶν σιτίων (ὠνῇ)· σιτία μὲν γὰρ . . . : B ταῦτα οὖν
 σκοπώμεθα καὶ μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔτι νέοι
 ὥστε τοσοῦτον πρᾶγμα διελέσθαι: *Smph.* 181B οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν οἱ
 φαῦλοι . . . ἐρώσω. ἐρώσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι πρῶτον μὲν . . . : *Grg.* 484C
 ἐάσας ἥδη φιλοσοφίαν. φιλοσοφία γάρ τοι . . . : 448C ἐκ τῶν
 ἐμπειριῶν ἐμπείρως ἠρρημέναι· ἐμπειρία γὰρ . . . : *Arist. Pol.* 1267^b3
 . . . εἰς ἄπειρον ἔλθωσιν· ἄπειρος γάρ . . . : X. *Mem.* IV. iii 17 ἣ εἰ
 τούτοις ἀρέσκοι· ἀρέσκοι δὲ πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον . . . : *An.* V. ii 26 ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἱκανὰ ἥδη ἦν (τὰ ξόλα), ἐνήψαν· ἐνήπτον δὲ καὶ τὰς . . . οἰκίας:
 vi 9 ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύνασθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ
 παρέχων;: *Lac. Pol.* 10. 7 . . . μεγίστας ζημίας ἐπιθεῖναι. ἐπέθηκε
 δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον, ἀνάγκην: In an answer in dialogue:
 Pl. R. 487D ἀλλὰ τὸ σοὶ δοκοῦν ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούοιμι. Ἀκούοις ἂν
 ὅτι ἔμοιγε φαίνονται τάληθῇ λέγειν: D. viii 24-25 πάντες . . . χρήματα
 λαμβάνουσιν. λαμβάνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν . . .

Sometimes more words than one are repeated. Hdt. iii 82. 4
 ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγινομένης
 . . . : vii 56. 1 ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα.

διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτα ἡμέρησι: Pl. *Prt.* 327A εἰ γὰρ δὴ ὁ λέγω οὕτως ἔχει—ἔχει δὲ μάλιστα πάντων οὕτως—: *Grg.* 456C τῇ ῥητορικῇ χρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ ἀγωνίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀγωνίᾳ . . .

In the following passages the second clause contains an explanation of a phrase used in the first. Hdt. i 174. 1 . . . οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν οἰκεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι . . . : iii 157. 1 ἐπιτραπέσθαι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων· ἐδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς ('and what he asked for was an army'): vii 104. 5 τὰ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγει· ἀνώγει δὲ τῶντὸ αἰεὶ: Pl. *Prt.* 357C περὶ ὧν ἤρεσθ' ἡμᾶς. ἤρεσθε δὲ . . . : *R.* 474A ἀμυνῶ οἷς δύναμαι. δύναμαι δὲ εὐνοίᾳ τε καὶ . . . : 526D εἴ τι πρὸς ἐκεῖνὸν τείνει πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν κατιδεῖν τείνει δέ, φαμέν, πάντα αὐτόσε ὅσα . . . : *Leg.* 661A τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμεν' ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄριστον μὲν τὸ ὑγιαίνειν . . . : 742E οὐς γε δὴ πλουσίους οἱ πολλοὶ καταλέγουσιν· λέγουσιν δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους . . . : 807A οὐδ' οἷόν τε . . . ἀτυχῆσαι τοῦ προσήκοντος, προσήκει δὲ . . . (cf. *Grg.* 525A): *X. Mem.* III. ii 1 ἄρα . . . , καὶ (ὅπως) οὐ ἔνεκα στρατεύονται, τοῦτο ἔσται; στρατεύονται δέ, ἵνα . . . : *Cyr.* VI. i 42 οὕτω τε ἐξάγγελε ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα ἐμποδῶν μάλιστ' ἂν εἴη ὧν βούλονται πράττειν. εἴη δ' ἂν ἐμποδῶν εἰ ἡμᾶς φαίης . . . : *D.* xviii 35 . . . ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτ' ἀνὰ συμφέρον· συμφέρον δὲ . . . : vii 42 εἴ τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφέρεσθε. διαφέρονται δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . .

In the following, the second clause provides a justification for the use of an expression. Pl. *Smph.* 219C ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί· δικασταὶ γὰρ ἔστε τῆς Σωκράτους ὑπερηφανίας: *D.* iv 49 ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες: *XXI* 16 τὴν γὰρ ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν (ἱερὰν γὰρ ἔγωγε νομίζω πᾶσαν ὅσην . . .): 69 εἴτε τις . . . βούλεται νομίσαι μανίαν (μανία γὰρ ἴσως ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ δυνάμιν τι ποιεῖν) εἴτε καὶ φιλοτιμία.

Sometimes there is a strong contrast between the clauses. *X. Cyr.* 10. 14 ἐρεθίζειν ὡς ἀφήσοντα· ἀφιέναι δὲ οὐ χρή: *D.* vii 34 δῆλον ὡς προκεχειρισμένων καὶ ἐτοίμων ὄντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ ἐμέλλομεν πείσεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης. γενομένης δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐμέλλομεν ἀγαθὰ πείσεσθαι, ἐκποδῶν ἐστί: *xix* 89 . . . προσόδων, αἱ γεγόνασιν ἐκείνῳ μεγάλαι. γεγόνασιν δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν

τινές: D. xlii 9 ἔπειτ' ἀπείπον τὴν ὕλην μὴ ἐξάγειν· ἐξῆγεν οὗτος ἀπάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, πλὴν ἐκείνης ἐν ᾗ ἐγὼ ἀπείπον: Pl. *Leg.* 815C οὐθ' ὅτι ποτὲ βούλεται ῥάδιον ἀφορίσασθαι· διορίσασθαι μὴν μοι ταύτῃ δοκεῖ . . .

The repetition of the same word at the close and opening of successive clauses appears in a different form in D. xviii 13 (cited by Hermogenes iii 286 as an example of anastrophe): οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ' . . . αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράφατο: with subordination of clauses, Lys. xx 25 καὶ ἐπειδὴ Καταναῖοι ἠνάγκαζον ἱππεύειν, ἱππευον.

Participle repeating preceding word

(2) In particular, a participle often picks up a preceding verb in Herodotus and Plato. There are no examples of this idiom in Thucydides or Xenophon, and hardly any in the orators.¹ The participle is normally aorist, marking a temporal progression: but sometimes present, marking the continuation of the state of affairs described. The repeated words are either juxtaposed, or separated by a narrow interval (wider than usual in Pl. *R.* 493B). Democr. *Fr.* 33 μεταρυσμοῖ . . . μεταρυσμοῦσα δὲ . . .: Hdt. ii 14. 2 ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς . . . ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπη ὁπίσω: 39. 1 σφάζουσι, σφάζαντες δὲ . . .: iii 128. 1 ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ . . .: iv 95. 2 χρήματα κτήσασθαι συχνά, κτησάμενον δὲ . . .: vi 52. 4 ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ . . .: vii 27. 2 Πύθιος . . . χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο . . . ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου (several words repeated): ix 2. 3 πέμπε χρήματα . . ., πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις (with change of mood between the main clauses): id. *saep.* Pl. *Prt.* 320D καὶ οὕτω πείσας νέμει. νέμων δὲ . . .: 321C ἡπόρει ὅτι χρήσαιτο. ἀποροῦντι δὲ . . .: *Phdr.* 234D εἰπόμην, καὶ ἐπόμενος . . .: 248C . . . βαρυνθῇ, βαρυνθείσα δὲ . . .: *Grg.* 525A τὴν ψυχὴν εἶδεν· ἰδὼν δὲ . . .: *R.* 519D ἀναβῆναι ἐκείνην τὴν ἀνάβασιν, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀναβάντες ἰκανῶς ἴδωσι (in subordinate clause): 592B παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὁρῶντι ἑαυτὸν κατοικίζειν: *Leg.* 728B ἔστιν δ' ἡ μεγίστη <δίκη> τὸ ὁμοιοῦσθαι

¹ I give those that I can find, from Lysias and Demosthenes, below. In Lys. xiii 59 the text is doubtful.

οἷς οὖσιν κακοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁμοιούμενον δέ . . . : 790B . . . χρώτο, καὶ χρώμενος . . . : 798C (twice in quick succession: cf. *Phd.* 114A): 955D τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι καὶ γνόντα καρτερεῖν . . . : id. *saep.*: D. xlii 5 . . . ἐν ταύταις ἐκάλεσα . . . καλέσας δέ . . .

The connective following the participle is most commonly simple δέ, unprepared for by a preceding particle: so always in Herodotus, except for the following passages: ii 66. 2 τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται: vii. 27. 2 (τε . . . δέ: see above): ix 58. 3 τὸ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε . . . In Plato, simple καί is pretty common. We also find, in Plato, Andocides, Lysias, and Demosthenes:

μὲν . . . δέ. Pl. *R.* 547C μεταβήσεται μὲν δὴ οὕτω· μεταβᾶσα δὲ πῶς οἰκήσει;: *Phd.* 114A ἐμπεισὲν μὲν . . . ἐμπεισόντας δέ . . . : *Leg.* 904C μεταβάλλει μὲν τοῖνυν πάνθ' ὅσα . . . , μεταβάλλοντα δέ . . . : D. liii 2 διὰ μὲν ταῦτα ἀπέγραψα. ἀπογράφας δέ . . . With a stronger sense of contrast: Lys. xxxiv 11 δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη . . . εἰ, ὅτε μὲν ἐφεύγομεν, ἐμαχόμεθα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἵνα κατέλθωμεν, κατελθόντες δὲ φευξόμεθα ἵνα μὴ μαχόμεθα: And. i 89 ὅπῳτ' οὖν ἔδοξεν ὑμῖν δοκιμάσαι μὲν τοὺς νόμους, δοκιμάσαντας δὲ ἀναγράψαι . . .

τε καί. Pl. *Leg.* 700C γινῶναί τε καὶ ἅμα γνόντα δικάσαι: 712B: 875A (τε . . . καί).

οὖν. Pl. *Phd.* 59E ἐκέλευεν ἡμᾶς εἰσιέναι. εἰσιόντες οὖν . . .

τε . . . δέ. Pl. *Leg.* 754C ὅπως αἶ τε ἀρχαὶ καταστῶσιν κατὰ νόμους, καταστᾶσαι δὲ δοκιμασθῶσι.

ἢ . . . ἢ. Hdt. vi 11 καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ . . . ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμείξειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ συμμίσγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσώσεσθαι.

Resumptive repetition

When a sentence is beginning to straggle, and the structure of the thought is thereby becoming obscured, the picking up of a cardinal word by repetition often restores clarity. There is a certain *naïveté* about this way out of a difficulty, and it is not surprising that repetition of this kind is commoner in Herodotus than in other writers. We can distinguish the following types.

Prepositional phrases

(1) When a prepositional phrase, preceding the verb governing

the preposition, is prolonged to a considerable length, the preposition is often repeated with some part of *οὗτος*. Hdt. iv 17. 1 ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεΐτέων ἐμπορίου (. . .), ἀπὸ τούτου . . . : 154. 1 ὅς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα (the interval here is short: cf. ii 124. 2 καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν): iii 5 *bis* and And. i 27 περὶ τῶν μηνύτρων, ἦσαν γὰρ . . ., περὶ δὲ τούτων ἡμφισβήτουν. Similarly a substantive (etc.) not governed by a preposition is so picked up. Hdt. iii 153. 1 Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου τούτου ὅς . . ., τούτου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ . . . : iv 44. 1 ὅς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ὅς . . ., τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἶδέναι τῇ . . . : Cf. D. xliii 24 τῆς Φυλομάχης δὲ . . . καὶ Φιλάγρου . . . (. . .), τοῦ δὲ Φιλάγρου . . . : ix 35 καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἓν ἡμῶν ἐκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσιν;

Subordinate clauses

(2) The verb of a prepositive subordinate clause, participial or finite, is picked up. Hdt. i 77. 1 Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐωντοῦ στρατεύμα (. . .), τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς . . . (participle picked up by participle: cf. iv 145. 2 ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν . . ., ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξελασθέντες . . .): vi 76. 1 ἐπεῖτε δὲ . . . ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασῖνον, ὅς λέγεται . . . (. . .), ἀπικόμενος ὣν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον . . . (finite clause picked up by participle; several words repeated): vii 43. 1 ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὅς . . ., ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκητο Ξέρξης . . . (participle picked up by finite clause): D. xviii 261 ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ ὅπωςδῆποτε (ἐῷ γὰρ τοῦτό γε), ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφησ . . .

Resumption of relative protasis. Hdt. ii 26. 2 εἰ δὲ . . ., εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως εἶχε . . . (the resumed clause briefly sums up what precedes: cf. D. iv 50 ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκείν' εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι . . . ἂν ταῦτ' εἰδῶμεν . . .): Lys. xii 47 καίτοι εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν κατεμαρτύρουν ἂν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους . . . σφόδρ' ἂν ἐκόλαζον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν . . . ἐνόμιζον (but here the repetition is for emphasis rather than for clearness): D. xliii 17 ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπιδείξω . . ., ταῦτ' ἐὰν ἐπιδείξω, δέομαι ὑμῶν . . .

Resumption of postpositive conditional protasis. Lys. iii 38

τί ἂν ποτε ἔπαθον, εἰ τάναντία τῶν νῦν γεγενημένων ἦν, εἰ πολλοὺς ἔχων . . . ; (restatement in particular terms) : iii 43 καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη, εἰ ὅσοι . . . ἔλκος ἔλαβον, εἰ ὑπὲρ τούτων . . . οὕτως ὑμεῖς μεγάλας . . . τὰς τιμωρίας ποιήσεσθε.

Main clauses

(3) Resumption of main clause. Pl. *Grg.* 456D καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀγωνία οὐ τούτου ἔνεκα δεῖ πρὸς ἅπαντας χρῆσθαι ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι . . . οὐ τούτου ἔνεκα τοὺς φίλους δεῖ τύπτειν . . . (restatement in more particular terms: made easier by the intervening ὅτι clause): *Thg.* 128A εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἰόντες πείθουσι τῶν νέων τοὺς . . . , τούτους πείθουσι . . . : X. *Cyr.* III. iii 26 οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀσσύριοι . . . τάφρον περιεβάλλοντο, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι βασιλεῖς, ὅπου ἂν στρατοπεδεύωνται, τάφρον περιβάλλονται εὐπετῶς διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν: D. xliii 79 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μνήματι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουσέλου κεῖνται καὶ ὁ . . . καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες τοσοῦτοι ὄντες συγγενεῖς, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουσέλου, ἅπαντες οὗτοι κοινωνοῦσιν τοῦ μνήματος τούτου (a welter of repetitions): xviii 221 ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναίσθητον, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην (cf. *Hdt.* iii 80. 1 καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν).¹

¹ For resumptive repetition with ὅπερ εἶπον, see E. des Places, *Une formule platonicienne de recurrence* (Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, 1929).

VI

ASYNDETON¹

General use of asyndeton. Relative frequency

GREEK poets and prose-writers, from the earliest times to the latest, normally linked both sentences and clauses with connecting particles. Modern English prose, in dispensing for the most part with connexion, has not only lost something in clearness, but has sacrificed a valuable reserve means of emotional expression. From the very outset the Greeks were aware of the striking effects which can be obtained by asyndeton. 'Longinus' (xix) quotes from Homer (*Od.* x 251-2)

ἤλθομεν, ὥς ἐκέλευε, ἀνὰ δρυμά, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεύ·
εἶδομεν ἐν βήσσησι τετυγμένα δώματα καλά.

In prose, Gorgias employs asyndeton freely in the *Defence of Palamedes*: so does Antiphon the Sophist in *Fr.* 49 Diels (131 Blass, 17 Gernet). For some time, however, the possibilities of the device remained unexploited. Thucydides affords hardly a single instance: the earlier orators, Antiphon, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, not very many. Plato has rather more, even proportionally, but still comparatively few. (The practice of Andocides and Xenophon in this respect is somewhat peculiar, and I reserve it for subsequent discussion.) The great master of asyndeton is Demosthenes, who derives more of his characteristic force and intensity from this device than from any other. Aeschines is an easy, though a bad, second to Demosthenes. The three last-named writers between them illustrate the use and abuse of asyndeton in Greek with a fullness that needs no supplementing.

At the outset, we must draw a sharp distinction between *asyndeton at the comma*, between words and clauses, and the much rarer asyndeton at the colon or full stop, *between sentences*. For the sake of brevity, I will style the former 'half asyndeton', the latter 'full asyndeton'.

¹ [See also *Greek Particles*, pp. xliii ff.]

I. HALF ASYNDETON

Asyndeton at the comma: strings of nouns and adjectives

In a long string of co-ordinated words (the longest are usually strings of nouns or adjectives), copulatives are more frequently omitted than inserted. E.g. Th. ii 9. 2 Μεγαρήs, Βοιωτοί, Λοκροί, Φωκῆs, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀνακτόριοι: Pl. *Phdr.* 253E σκολιός, πολὺς, εἰκῇ συμπεφορημένος, κρατεραύχην, βραχυτράχηλος, σιμοπρόσωπος, μελάγχρωs, γλαυκόμματος, ὕφαιμος, ὕβρεωs καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἑταῖρος, περὶ ὧτα λάσιος, κωφός, μάστιγι μετὰ κέντρων μόγις ὑπέικων. Such strings of adjectives are to be found, owing to the nature of the subject, in particular profusion in the *Cynegeticus* (ii 5, vi 15, x 1). (Contrast Th. iii 101., 2 Ἰπνέας καὶ Μεσσαπίους καὶ Τριταιέας καὶ Χαλαίους καὶ Τολοφωνίους καὶ Ἑσίοιους καὶ Οἰανθέας.) Asyndeton in such cases is purely formal: it has no stylistic importance. The same may sometimes be said of a shorter series: e.g. X. *Oec.* 9. 9 ὅσοις τῶν σκευῶν καθ' ἡμέραν χρῶνται οἱ οἰκέται, οἶον σιτοποιικοῖs, ὀψοποιικοῖs, ταλασιουργικοῖs, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον: An. II. iv 28 οἱ βάρβαροι διῆγον ἐπὶ σχεδίαis διφθερίναιs ἄρτους, τυρούs, οἶνον. Democr. *Fr.* II καὶ σκοτίης μὲν (γνώμης) τάδε σύμπαντα, ὄψις, ἀκοή, ὁδμή, γεῦσιs, ψαῦσιs: Pl. *R.* 490C μέμνησαι γάρ που ὅτι συνέβη προσῆκον τούτοιs ἀνδρεία, μεγαλοπρέπεια, εὐμάθεια, μνήμη (contrast 494B ὡμολόγηται γάρ δὴ ἡμῖν εὐμάθεια καὶ μνήμη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια ταύτης εἶναι τῆs φύσεωs): Arist. *Pol.* 1262^b30 οἶον αἰκίας ἔρωταs φόνουs: 1267^b38 τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὕβριν βλάβην θάνατον.

With stylistic effect

But in the great majority of cases, the stylistic significance of asyndeton is unmistakable. E.g.:

(1) *Substantives (or phrases)*. Gorgias *Fr.* II^a3 ὅs γε σώζει πατρίδα, τοκέας, τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα: 13 οἷs ὑπάρχει ἅπαντα μέγιστα, προγόνων ἀρεταί, χρημάτων πλήθος, ἀριστεταί, ἀλκὴ φρονημάτων, βασιλεία πόλεων: 17 τῷ νόμῳ, τῇ δίκῃ, τοῖs θεοῖs, τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀνθρώπων: 19 προυδίδουν ἑμαυτόν, τοκέας, φίλουs, ἀξίωμα προγόνων, ἱερὰ πατρῶα, τάφουs, πατρίδα τὴν μεγίστην τῆs Ἑλλάδοs.

Ant. vi 4 νόμῳ εἶργεσθαι πόλεωs ἱερῶν ἀγώνων θυσίων.

Pl. *Leg.* 649D θυμός, ἔρως, ὕβρις, ἀμαθία, φιλοκέρδεια, δειλία, καὶ ἔτι τοιάδε, πλοῦτος, κάλλος, ἰσχύς.

X. *Oec.* 8. 6 ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, πελταστάς, τοξότας, σφενδονήτας: *Ap.* 25 ἱεροσυλία, τοιχωρυχία, ἀνδραποδίσει, πόλεως προδοσία: *An.* IV. iv 9 ἱερεία, σίτον, οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά.

D. xviii 159 τῶν μετὰ ταύτ' ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων.

Isoc. 8. 96 ἀδικίας, ῥαθυμίας, ἀνομίας φιλαργυρίας.

Lycurg. 142 ἱερῶν, θυσιῶν, ἀγορᾶς, νόμων, πολιτείας.

With repeated article. Pl. *Grg.* 503E εἰ βούλει ἰδεῖν τοὺς ζωγράφους, τοὺς οἰκοδόμους, τοὺς ναυπηγούς, τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας δημιουργούς: *And.* i 131 ὃς ἀνατέτροφεν ἐκείνου τὸν πλοῦτον, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἅπαντα: Pl. *Smph.* 207E οἱ τρόποι, τὰ ἦθη, δόξαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, ἡδοναί, λύπαι, φόβοι, τούτων ἕκαστα . . . (article at first repeated, then dropped). Adjectives with repeated article: Pl. *Smph.* 187D καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καλός, ὁ οὐράνιος, ὁ τῆς Οὐρανίας μούσης Ἔρως. Repeated article with participles: X. *HG* VII. v 12.

(2) *Adjectives.* *Gorg.* *Fr.* II^a25 ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀδυνάτοις, ἀσυμφόροις, αἰσχροῖς: 36 δεινὸν ἄθεον ἄδικον ἄνομον ἔργον: Pl. *Phdr.* 240A ἄγαμον, ἄπαιδα, ἄοικον: 241C ἀπίστῳ, δυσκόλῳ, φθονερῷ, ἀηδεῖ: *Smph.* 211E αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ἰδεῖν εἰλικρινές, καθαρὸν, ἄμεικτον: *Hdt.* i 32. 6 ἄπηρος δέ ἐστι, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδής: X. *An.* IV. v 31 κρέα ἄρνεια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια.

Substantives with adjectives. X. *Cyr.* VII. i 2 χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς, θώραξι χαλκοῖς, κράνεσι χαλκοῖς, λόφοις λευκοῖς, μαχαίραις, παλτῷ κρανείνῳ: cf. *Ages.* ii 14 (substantives and participles).

Substantives with dependent conditional clauses. D. ix 39 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι· γέλως, ἂν ὁμολογῇ· συγγνώμη ταῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· μίσος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ· τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρτηται.

(3) *Verbs.* *Gorg.* *Fr.* II^a11 συνήλθομεν, εἵπομεν, ἠκούσαμεν, χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, ἔλαθον λαβῶν, ἔκρυψα: *Fr.* II^a22 αὐτὸς ἐλθέτω, φανήτω, μαρτυρησάτω: Pl. *Phdr.* 255E ὁρᾶν, ἄπτεσθαι, φίλειν, συγκατακεῖσθαι: X. *HG* II. iv 33 ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον,

ἐσφενδόνων (cf. *An.* III. iv 26): IV. iii 19: *Cyr.* VII. i 13 διώκειν, παίειν, κατακαίνειν, ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν, καλὰ ἀκούειν, ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, ἄρχειν: Pl. *R.* 575B Οἷα κλέπτουσι, τοιχωρυχοῦσι, βαλλαντιοτομοῦσι, λωποδυτοῦσιν, ἱεροσυλοῦσιν, ἀνδραποδίζονται: D. ix 73 συγκαλεῖν, συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν: xviii 195 στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι: xix 103 ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτηκεν, ἀδοξεῖ, δικαίως ἀπόλωλεν, κρίνεται: 109 ἐπίστευσ', ἐξηπατήθη, ἡμαρτον: 118: ii 30: Isoc. *Panath.* 264 ἐπήνουν, ἐζήλουν, ἐμακάριζον.

(4) *Participles*. Present participles, expressing simultaneous actions: Pl. *Phdr.* 240D ὁρῶντι, ἀκούοντι, ἀπτομένῳ: 254D ἀναμνησκων, βιαζόμενος, χρεμετίζων: D. viii 76 τοὺς διδάζοντας, νουθετήσοντας, πράζοντας: xix 138 λέγοντας, εὐδακιμοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν, ἑτέρους κρίνοντας: Isoc. xv 147, 321: xvi 41: D. ii 13, 25: Aeschin. iii 94 ὁρῶντων φρονούντων βλεπόντων ἔλαθον ὑμῶν ὑφελόμενοι: X. *HG* IV. iv 12: *An.* III. i 129: *Cyn.* vi 16. Successive details of a description with no emotional force: Pl. *R.* 616D—.

Aorist participles, expressing successive actions: Pl. *Crito* 51C γεννήσαντες, ἐκθρέψαντες, παιδεύσαντες, μεταδόντες: *Grg.* 471B καταμεθύσας . . ., ἐμβάλων εἰς ἄμαξαν, νύκτωρ ἐξαγαγών: *Smph.* 181D: *Prt.* 320A δεδιὼς περὶ αὐτοῦ μὴ διαφθαρῇ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ τούτου, καταθέμενος ἐν Ἀρίφρονος ἐπαίδευε: Isoc. xviii 29.

(5) *Clauses*. *Gorg. Fr.* 11^a20 παραμελήσαντα πάντων τῶν μεγίστων, ἐστερημένον τῆς καλλίστης τιμῆς, ἐν αἰσχίστῃ δυσκλείᾳ διάγοντα, τοὺς ἐν τῷ παροιχομένῳ βίῳ πόνους ἐπ' ἀρετῇ πεπονημένους ἀπορρήψαντα: *Hdt.* iv 71. 2 τοῦ ὥτος ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικείμενται, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται . . ., καταμύσσονται . . ., διαβυνέονται (details of a process, with no emotional effect): D. xviii 67 τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προιέμενον: 139 ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖ' ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτ', ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύετο ἄνθρωπος: xix 76 πέντε γὰρ γεγόνασιν ἡμέραι μόναι, ἐν αἷς οὗτος ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ψευδῆ, ὑμεῖς ἐπιστεύσατε, οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπύθοντο, ἐνέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς, ἀπώλοντο: Aeschin. iii 8 λύετε . . ., βεβαιούτε . . ., κολάζετε . . .: *Lycurg.* 33 ἀπλοῦν τὸ δίκαιον, ῥάδιον τὸ ἀληθές, βραχὺς ὁ ἔλεγχος.

(6) *Verbs and clauses*. Pl. R. 361E ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδθήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ φθαλμῷ, τελευτῶν παντὰ κακὰ παθὼν ἀνασχινδουλευθήσεται καὶ γινώσεται . . . : X. Cyr. VIII. ii 6.

(7) *Mixed substantives and participles*. Aeschin. iii 157 νομίσαθ' ὁρᾶν ἀλισκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβυτίδας γυναῖκας, ὅψε μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κλαίοντας, ἰκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ὀργιζομένους οὐ τοῖς τιμωρουμένοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις, ἐπισκῆπτοντας . . . : Hyp. vi 27.

Pairs

Certain peculiarities in the use of half asyndeton call for special remark.

(1) There is sometimes an antithetical grouping of units within the series. E.g. Th. vii 71. 4 ἦν . . . πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμὸς βοή, νικῶντες κρατούμενοι, ἄλλα ὅσα . . . : Heraclit. Fr. 10 συνάψεις ὅλα καὶ οὐχ ὅλα, συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον, συνᾶδον, διᾶδον, καὶ . . . : Fr. 67 ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρην εὐφρόνην, χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνην, κόρος λιμός : Arist. *Metaph.* 986^b33 λευκὸν μέλαν, γλυκὺ πικρὸν, ἀγαθὸν κακόν, μέγα μικρόν : Pl. *Prot.* 319D χαλκεὺς σκυτοτόμος, ἔμπορος ναύκληρος, πλούσιος πένης : R. 399C ταύτας δύο ἁρμονίας, βίαιον ἐκούσιον, δυστυχούντων εὐτυχούντων, σωφρόνων ἀνδρείων : *Leg.* 897A χαίρουσαν λυπούμενην, θαρροῦσαν φοβουμένην, μισοῦσαν στέργουσαν . . . τούτοις ἐπομένας θερμότητος ψύξεις, βαρύτητας κουφότητος, σκληρὸν καὶ μαλακόν, λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν, αὐστηρὸν καὶ γλυκὺ, καὶ πᾶσιν . . . : X. Cyr. VII. i 40 κατεῖδε μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον ἵππων ἀνθρώπων ἁρμάτων, φευγόντων διωκόντων, κρατούντων κρατουμένων : D. xviii 246 βραδυτήτας ὄκνου, ἀγνοίας φιλονικίας. We have the same idiom in English: 'for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health'. With subordination : Pl. *Smp.* 186D ἔστι δὲ ἔχθιστα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ψυχρὸν θερμῷ, πικρὸν γλυκεῖ, ξηρὸν ὑγρῷ, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα : *Phdr.* 239A ἦττων δὲ ἀμαθὴς σοφοῦ, δειλὸς ἀνδρείου, ἀδύνατος εἰπεῖν ῥητορικοῦ, βραδὺς ἀγχείνου : Gorg. Fr. 11^a32 τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσιν οὐ φθονερός, τῶν δυστυχούντων οἰκτίρμων, differs from the above instances in being strongly antithetical, the particles omitted

being μέν—δέ, not τε—καί. Such an asyndeton is hard to parallel. Plato indeed, in *Smp.* 197D, puts into Agathon's mouth φιλόδωρος εὐμενείας, ἄδωρος δυσμενείας . . . ζηλωτὸς ἀμοίροις, κτητὸς εὐμοίροις . . . ἐπιμελὴς ἀγαθῶν, ἀμελὴς κακῶν. But he would hardly have written so if he had not been consciously parodying Gorgias' style (*vide* 198C). A somewhat similar device is employed in Isoc. *Evag.* 44–46, where we have a long series of clauses in pairs, with asyndeton between the pairs, but connexion (μέν . . . δέ or οὐκ . . . ἀλλά) within each pair. The germ of this method is to be found in Gorg. *Fr.* 6 σεμνοὶ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ δικαίῳ, ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας τῇ θεραπείᾳ, δίκαιοι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀστοὺς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει. Cf. Arist. *Metaφρ.* 986^a23–26 πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον, περιττὸν καὶ ἄρτιον . . .

(2) *Asyndeton is sometimes varied by linking the last two units of the series.* In some of these cases the last unit stands on a different footing from the rest, either as being an 'et cetera' (Pl. *Phdr.* 246E καλόν, σοφόν, ἀγαθόν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι τοιοῦτον: 240D ὀρῶντι, ἀκούοντι, ἀπτομένῳ, καὶ πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν αἰσθανομένῳ τοῦ ἐρωμένου: Isae. xi 41 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔδωκεν ἄγρὸν Ἐλευσίνι δυοῖν ταλάντων, πρόβατα ἑξήκοντα, αἶγας ἑκατόν, ἔπιπλα, ἵππον λαμπρὸν ἐφ' οὗ ἐφυλάρχησε, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἅπασαν) or for some other reason (X. *Lac. Pol.* 13. 4 πάρεσι δὲ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν πολέμαρχοι, λοχαγοί, πεντηκοντῆρες, ξένων στρατίαρχοι, στρατοῦ σκευοφορικοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δὲ στρατηγῶν ὁ βουλόμενος). In *An.* v. iv 22 ὀρθίους . . . ταξάμενοι is really a single clause co-ordinated with θύσαντες and ἀριστήσαντες: at *ibid.* vi. vi 1, where the first units alone are coupled, πυρὸς καὶ κριθάς is a single phrase. In other cases these reasons for the irregularity are absent: X. *HG* vii. ii 2 ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Κορίνθιοι, Ἐπιδαύριοι, Τροιζήνιοι, Ἑρμιονεῖς, Ἀλιεῖς, Σικυνῶνιοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς (*Ages.* ii 6 is similar): *Cyn.* iv 4 ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἀπὸ τῆς μεταλλάξεως τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναβλεμμάτων καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων: *Lycurg.* 150 ἰκετεύειν ὑμῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ δένδρα, δεῖσθαι τοὺς λιμένας τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως, ἀξιοῦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς: Pl. *Smp.* 203D is singular in that the link

is inserted in the middle of the series, asyndeton being resumed after it: . . . ἱτης καὶ σύντονος, θηρευτῆς δεινός, αἰεί τινας πλέκων μηχανάς, καὶ φρονήσεως ἐπιθυμητῆς καὶ πόριμος, φιλοσοφῶν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, δεινὸς γόης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστῆς. There are serious grounds for questioning καί before φρονήσεως. In X. An. vii. iii 48 asyndeton occurs between the second and third units only, the first and second being linked: ἀνδράποδα μὲν ὡς χίλια, βόες δὲ δισχίλιοι, πρόβατα ἄλλα μύρια: in Cyr. viii. ii 6 the asyndeton lapses in the middle: ἐνὶ ἔψειν κρέα, ἄλλω ὀπτᾶν, ἄλλω δὲ ἰχθὺν ἔψειν, ἄλλω ὀπτᾶν, ἄλλω ἄρτους ποιεῖν. In these last two passages, however, the text is uncertain.

(3) *The number of co-ordinated words or clauses is seldom less than three.* Asyndeton gives pace to a sentence, and if it is over too quickly the result is mere jerkiness. Demosthenes perhaps affords three examples of two-limbed asyndeton: iii 31 περιηρημένοι χρήματα, συμμάχους: xviii 94 ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, εὖνοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτάσθε: xxi 81 τῇ δίκῃ, τοῖς νόμοις: but only in the last is the text above suspicion. Isaeus has one (vii 41) ἐστράτευμαι τὰς στρατείας τῇ πόλει, τὰ προσταττόμενα ποιῶ: Aeschines far more: iii 174 δεινὸς λέγειν, κακὸς βιώναι: 237 αἴψαι τῶν ἔργων, ἐπιδείξον ἡμῖν ὃ τι λέγεις: 23 (between sentences) ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαι σοι . . . μὴ ἄρπαζε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν . . .: 48 ἀποδεδεικταί σοι τόπος, ὅπου δεῖ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀπείρηταί σοι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ κηρύττεσθαι: 112 ἀκούσατε τῆς ἀρᾶς, ἀναμνήσθητε τῶν ὀρκῶν: Xenophon offers a few instances: HG I. iii 13 Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος: Smf. viii 40 εὐπατρίδης εἰ, ἱερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἑρεχθέως: the author of the *Cynegeticus* has relatively many more: ii 3 τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἐλαφρόν, ἰσχυρόν: iv 8 τρίχας ὀρθάς, βαθείας: vi 1 τὰ μὲν δέραια μαλακά, πλατέα: vi 8 στοιχιζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά. Another instance occurs in a sixth-century inscription Αἰσχίνης, Χαρίας ἀνέθηκαν τὰθηναιά ἀπαρχήν (Kühner-Gerth, ii 341, n. 1).

Further instances of two-limbed asyndeton:

Adjectives. Hdt. vii 69. 1 τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά: Pl. Leg. 873C μήτε περιωδύνῃ ἀφύκτῳ προσπεσούσῃ τύχῃ ἀναγκασθεῖς (but here the units are not *eiusdem generis*: 'a painful fate which cannot be avoided').

Participial clauses. Pl. R. 567E (ἐθελήσειεν ἄν) τοὺς δούλους ἀφελόμενος τοὺς πολίτας, ἐλευθερώσας, τῶν περὶ ἑαυτὸν δορυφόρων ποιήσασθαι: 619C εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡκόντων, ἐν τεταγμένη πολιτείᾳ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ βίῳ βεβιωκότα, ἔθει ἄνευ φιλοσοφίας ἀρετῆς μετειληφότα: 620A (οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν gives the cause of αἰρουμένην): [Lys.] vi 32 οὐκ οὐκ χρῆ . . . οὔτε πρεσβύτερον ὄντα οὔτε νεώτερον, ὀρώντας Ἀνδοκίδην ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων σφζόμενον, συνειδότας αὐτῷ ἔργα ἀνόσια εἰργασμένῳ, ἀθεωτέρους γίνεσθαι.

At Pl. R. 362B is a two-limbed asyndeton of verbs in one limb of an asyndeton of clauses: πρῶτον μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει . . . , ἔπειτα γαμεῖν ὁπόθεν ἂν βούληται, ἐκδιδόναι· εἰς οὓς ἂν βούληται, συμβάλλειν, κοινωνεῖν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα πάντα . . .

(4) *Asyndeton is very commonly combined with repetition.* The device occurs very early in the history of Greek prose:¹ Democr. Fr. 125 νόμῳ χροίῃ, νόμῳ γλυκύ, νόμῳ πικρόν: Ant. Soph. Fr. 49 Diels (131 Blass, 17 Gernet) αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, αὕτη ἡ νύξ καινοῦ δαίμονος ἄρχει, καινοῦ πότμου . . . ἴσα φρονούντας, ἴσα πνέοντας: Ant. vi 39 συνῆσάν μοι καὶ διελέγοντο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτέρωθι πανταχοῦ: Lys. iii 46 οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ βία εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκίαν εἰσιόντες, οὗτοι οἱ διώκοντες, οὗτοι οἱ βία ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ συναρπάζοντες ἡμᾶς: xxxii 16 ἐκβάλλειν τούτους ἡξίωσας θυγατριδοὺς ὄντας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τριβωνίοις, ἀνυποδήτους, οὐ μετὰ ἀκολουθου, οὐ μετὰ στρωμάτων, οὐ μετὰ ἱματίων, οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπίπλων ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῖς κατέλιπεν, οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν παρακαταθηκῶν ἃς ἐκεῖνος παρὰ σοὶ κατέθετο: Pl. Leg. 797D πολὺ σφαλερώτατον εὐρήσομεν ἐν ὥραις πάσαις, ἐν πνεύμασιν, ἐν διαίταις σωμάτων, ἐν τρόποις ψυχῶν, ἐν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐ τοῖς μὲν, τοῖς δ' οὐ: X. HG VII. i 25 ὅπου δὲ βουλευθεῖεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐ νύξ, οὐ χειμῶν, οὐ μήκος ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὄρη δύσβατα ἀπεκώλυεν αὐτούς (cf. Hdt. viii 98. 1, quoted in the note): An. III. ii 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς (Xenophon may have had in his mind the magnificent lines of Aeschylus quoted by Plato in R. 383B): III. iv 46 ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα

¹ It is, however, very rare in Herodotus: v 1. 3 νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμός ἐπιτελόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον: viii 98. 1 οὐκ ὁμῆρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ: i 71. 3 (οὐ): 132. 1 (οὐ).

νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα:¹ VII. i 21 (ἔχεις four times): *Cyr.* VII. v 52 (ἀμφί three times): *Ages.* vii 1 ὅπου ᾤετο τὴν πατρίδα τι ὠφελήσειν, οὐ πόνων ὑφίετο, οὐ κινδύνων ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρημάτων ἐφείδετο, οὐ σῶμα, οὐ γῆρας προυφασίζετο (where the quickening of the tempo at the end is admirably effective): [*Lys.*] vi 53 ποῖον φίλον, ποῖον συγγενῇ, ποῖον δημότην . . .; *Aeschin.* iii 121: *D.* xxi 35, 61: vi 24 ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σφύζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε: *Aeschin.* i 105 (οὐ six times): i 191 (ταῦτα four times, a fine passage): iii 137 οὐ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐ διὰ τὸν φόβον τὸν περιστάντα αὐτοὺς, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν δόξαν: 244 ὅτι δωροδόκος, ὅτι δειλός, ὅτι τὴν τάξιν ἔλιπε: *Lycurg.* 79 ὁ ἀρχων, ὁ δικαστής, ὁ ἰδιώτης: *D.* ix 65 καλήν γε . . . καλήν γε . . . καλῶς . . .

Two-limbed asyndeton with repetition

Two-limbed asyndeton with repetition occurs at *Ant. Soph. Fr.* 49 (quoted above): *Hdt.* v 1. 3 νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμός ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον: *Ant.* iv β 9 ταυτ' οὖν εἰδότες, τουτοισὶ τὸ ἀσέβημα τοῦτο ἀναθέντες: v 94 νῦν μὲν οὖν . . . νῦν μὲν . . .: *X. Mem.* III. xiii 5 περιπατήσας ἀριστήσεις, περιπατήσας δειπνήσεις: *An.* III. i 37 ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἔστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί: III. iv 35: *Cyr.* I. ii 4: *Aeschin.* i 32 τούτους οὖν ἐξείργει ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, τούτους ἀπαγορεύει μὴ δημηγορεῖν: ii 111 ὥς ἐξένισε τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς Φιλίππου, ὥς ἐμισθώσατ' αὐτοῖς . . . ζεύγη: iii 12 πρὶν λόγον, πρὶν εὐθύνας δοῦναι: *D.* xix 334 ταῦτα κατηγορῶ, ταῦτα μέμνησθε .'. .: xix. 74: *Aeschin.* iii 157 πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβύτιδας γυναῖκας: 167 ὁμολογῶ . . . ὁμολογῶ: *D.* xxi 135 ἀπειλεῖς πᾶσιν, ἐλαύνεις πάντας. In two passages Demosthenes obtains a particularly striking effect by successive asyndetic repetitions: xviii 322 οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδédωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς, τὰς δυναστείας,

¹ Half asyndeton is here combined with full asyndeton and repetition (νῦν . . ., νῦν . . .).

τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. Even more powerful is the effect of *xxi* 72, a passage which 'Longinus' singled out as an illustration: πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ποιήσειεν ὁ τύπτων, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν ὁ παθὼν ἐνὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἀπαγγεῖλαι δύναιθ' ἐτέρω, τῷ σχήματι τῷ βλέμματι τῇ φωνῇ, ὅταν ὡς ὑβρίζων, ὅταν ὡς ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων, ὅταν κονδύλοις, ὅταν ἐπὶ κόρρης. ταῦτα κινεῖ, ταῦτ' ἐξίστησ' ἀνθρώπους . . . , ἀήθεις ὄντας τοῦ προπηλακίζεσθαι.

With article: *Gorg. Fr.* 11^a22 φράσον τούτοις τὸν <τρόπον>, τὸν τόπον, πότε, ποῦ, πῶς εἶδες: *X. Cyn.* III. iii 4 ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθόν: *IV.* vi 5 ἔθαιψα τηλικούτος ὧν ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα τὸν ἄριστον παῖδα τὸν ἀγαπητόν: *And.* i 95 'Ἐπιχάρης δ' οὗτος, ὁ πάντων πονηρότατος καὶ βουλόμενος εἶναι τοιοῦτος, ὁ μνησικακῶν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ: *Pl. Aφ.* 34A πάντας ἐμοὶ βοηθεῖν ἐτοίμους τῷ διαφθείροντι, τῷ κακὰ ἐργαζομένῳ: *Aeschin.* ii 157 ὁ τῆς μεγίστης πόλεως σύμβουλος, ὁ τοὺς μυρίους Ἀρκάδων νουθετῶν.

Other examples: *Pl. R.* 617B Σειρήνα . . . φωνὴν μίαν ἰεῖσαν, ἓνα τόνον: *X. An.* I. viii 9 ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεις, ἄλλοι τοξόται (instead of ἄλλοι μὲν . . . , ἄλλοι δὲ . . .): *III.* iv 35 ἐάν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισιάξαι τὸν ἵππον . . . , δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον: *Pl. Grg.* 510C οὗτος . . . τοῦτον: *Epin.* 992A (οὗτος): *Erist.* 347C (ταῦτα): *X. Vect.* v 3 οὐχ οἱ πολῦσιτοι, οὐχ οἱ πολῦοινοι; *D.* xix 235 λέγων ὡς 'αὐτὸς ἐπήγεσεν ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς εἰστία τοὺς πρέσβεις': 300 τῷ . . . ὠνεῖσθαι, τῷ . . . διαφθεῖρειν καὶ ἐπαίρειν, τούτοις: *lin* 28 ἡνίκα . . . , τότε ἂν εὐθέως ἦκεν . . . , τότε ἂν τοὺς οἰκέτας παρεδίδου: *lviii* 22 πάντα λόγον μᾶλλον ἐρεῖν . . . ὡς καταστασιάζεται . . . ὡς . . . : *Arist. Pol.* 1331^b4 εἰς ἱερεῖς, εἰς ἄρχοντας: *X. Cyn.* v 20 παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν.

Three-limbed asyndeton with repetition

Pl. R. 567B ὀξέως ἄρα δεῖ ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν τίς ἀνδρεῖος, τίς μεγαλόφρων, τίς φρόνιμος, τίς πλούσιος: *Phd.* 78D αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον, αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, αὐτὸ ἕκαστον ὃ ἔστι: *Plt.* 268A ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τῆς ἀγέλης τροφὸς ὁ βουφορβός, αὐτὸς ἰατρός, αὐτὸς οἶον νυμφευτῆς καὶ . . . : *X. Mem.* I. i 16 σκοπῶν τί εὐσεβές, τί ἀσεβές, τί καλόν: *Cyn.* 5. 8 ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς, παρ' αὐτά: [*Lys.*] vi 30 καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οὐ δῆμος, οὐκ

ὀλιγαρχία, οὐ τύραννος, οὐ πόλις ἐθέλει δέξασθαι διὰ τέλους: D. xviii 98 ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.

In D. xviii 322 there are three limbs, but there is repetition in the last two only: τὰς τιμὰς, . . ., θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι.

In Pl. *Mx.* 247E the last of the three limbs is joined by καί: ὅτῳ γὰρ . . ., τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκευάσται ζῆν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σῶφρων καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀνδρείος καὶ φρόνιμος· οὗτος . . .

Successive two-limbed asyndeta. X. *Oec.* 9. 6 στρώματα ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι, στρώματα ἐν ἀνδρωνίτιδι, ὑποδήματα γυναικεῖα, ὑποδήματα ἀνδρεῖα.

Repeated word at end of clause

In all the instances given so far the repeated word comes at the beginning of the clause. Very occasionally it comes at the end. Aesch. iii 198 ὅστις δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν ψῆφον αἰτεῖ, ὅρκον αἰτεῖ, νόμον αἰτεῖ, δημοκρατίαν αἰτεῖ: 202 ἐπὶ σαντὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς. In the following passage the position of the repeated word is varied: X. *Oec.* 6. 13 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς τέκτονας, χαλκέας ἀγαθοὺς.

II. FULL ASYNDETON

Full asyndeton

This type of asyndeton is, as I have observed, considerably rarer than half asyndeton.

We must first consider the cases where some kind of link is supplied by the content of the sentence preceding, or the sentence succeeding, the asyndeton.

Connexion supplied by pronouns

(1) Very frequently, where (a) the earlier sentence contains a pronoun looking forward, or (b) the later sentence contains a pronoun looking back, the writer dispenses with a connecting particle. E.g.: (a) Hdt. i 38. 1 ἀμείβετο Κροῖσος τοισίδε: Th. iii 20. 3 . . . τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κλίμακας ἐποίησαντο: iv 80. 3 . . . τότε ἔπραξαν . . . προείπον . . .: Pl. *Leg.* 733A χρῆ . . . ὥδε σκοπεῖν.

ἡδονὴν βουλόμεθα . . . : 875D ταῦτα δὴ τῶνδε εἵνεκα εἴρηται· νῦν ἡμεῖς τάξομεν . . . : *Ti.* 60B (τοιῶδε): *Leg.* 670A ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει ταύτῃ λόγον (summing up: cf. *Prt.* 318A τοσοῦτος ὃ γε ἡμέτερος λόγος): (b) *Hdt.* i 32. 2 ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα . . . : *Pl. Thg.* 130A τοῦτό ποτε ἔπαθεν Ἀριστείδης (introducing instance): *Hdt.* i 50. 3, 53. 3, 59. 3: *X. An.* i. ii where fifteen sentences begin with ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν, ταύτην, etc., without any connecting particle. In this latter case the pronoun is normally placed first in the sentence, so that connexion of thought may be established without delay: occasionally, however, it comes later: *Hdt.* i 30. 3 ὁ μὲν . . . ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα: *Th.* iii 28. 2 ἡ μὲν ξύμβασις αὕτῃ ἐγένετο: *X. An.* i. iii 20 ἔδοξε ταῦτα: viii 9 Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν: iii 3 βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε: *Ant.* vi 14 καθειστήκει μὲν ἡ χορηγία οὕτω: *D.* xviii 235 τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα: xx 55 ἃ μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε . . . ταῦτ' ἐστίν: *Andoc.* i 13¹ πρῶτος μὲν οὗτος ταῦτα ἐμήνυσε.

Nature of statement forecast by τεκμήριον δέ, etc.

(ii) In general, when a writer forecasts the nature of a statement which he is about to make, the statement often opens with asyndeton (though γάρ may be used as a connective). *Th.* ii 50. 2 τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν . . . : vi 90. 2 . . . μάθετε ἤδη· ἐπλεύσαμεν . . . : *Pl. Leg.* 700A πειρῶ σημῆναι . . . "Ἔσται ταῦτα· οὐκ ἦν . . . : 702B 'Εγὼ τινα (ἐλεγχον) . . . μοι δοκῶ κατανοεῖν. ἔοικεν . . . : *Ant.* i 13 πειράσομαι ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι . . . ὑπερῶν τι ἦν . . . : v 49 ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος δύο λόγῳ ἔλεγε· τότε μὲν ἔφη . . . : 79 πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ συμβαλλόμενα . . . γέρων μὲν ἐκείνος . . . : *D.* vi 17: ix 3. 56: xv 9, 11: xviii 150, 178: xix 294. In such cases asyndeton has no stylistic effect. Most of the asyndeta in the comparatively unemotional speeches of Demosthenes, the Symmories, Rhodians, and Megalopolitans, are of this kind. *Pl. Leg.* 635D ταῦτὸν πείσονται τοῖς ἡττωμένοις τῶν φόβων· δουλεύσουσι τρόπον ἕτερον . . . : 762D καὶ πλείονι τῶν νέων ζημιούσθω· περὶ τὰς τῶν νέων ἀρχὰς ἡτιμάσθω πάσας: *Grg.* 519B σχετλιαζόντων ὡς δεινὰ πάσχουσι·

¹ There are many instances in Andocides.

πολλά καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποιηκότες ἄρα ἀδίκως ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀπόλλυνται. In Hdt. ii 7 the second sentence restates the content of the first: ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς . . . παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ . . . σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὖροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων.

Midway between such asyndeton and the stylistic asyndeton of passionate utterance is the *asyndeton softened by certain particles* which, though not strictly connective, seem to have been regarded by the Greeks as to some extent mitigating the lack of connexion.

Quasi-asyndeton: γε, μέν, μέν γε, τοι

γε. In Th. iii 63. 2 ἱκανή γε ἦν ἡμᾶς . . . ἀποτρέπειν, Fox is perhaps right, as against Steup, in holding that the asyndeton here is softened by γε. The passage is, however, exceptional. Quite different is the common use of the indignant exclamatory γε: ὁμοίον γε, οὐ γάρ.

μέν X. An. vii. vi 32 'you have won great glory in your campaign. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς φημι δικαίως ἂν . . . : τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι': Cyr. ii. ii 10 'what friends we have!': ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ποίους τινὰς χρὴ μᾶλλον εὖξασθαι: Andoc. i 127 ἀντείπε μὲν Καλλίδης: Aeschin. iii 120 . . . ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἤδη βουλευέσθε. ἐνῆρκται μὲν τὰ κανᾶ, 'and you must consider what sort of prayer you can make, if you have not first punished the guilty . . .': Lycurg. 34 . . . βραχὺς ὁ ἔλεγχος. εἰ μὲν ὁμολογεῖ . . . (See also last four examples under (i) above.)

μέν γε. This combination of particles often appears to be invested with a quasi-connective force, resembling that of γάρ or γοῦν. Th. vi 86. 3 'do not distrust us rather than the Syracusans. ἡμεῖς μὲν γε are less to be feared than they': Pl. Smph. 180D πῶς δ' οὐ δύο τῷ θεᾷ; ἡ μὲν γέ που πρεσβυτέρα: X. Mem. iii. xiv 5: Smph. i 9 'all present were struck by Autolycus' beauty': οἱ μὲν γε σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίνοντο: vi 7: Cyr. ii. ii 2: i 16: iv. iii 18: 'if I learn to ride, everything will be in my power. προνοεῖν μὲν γε ἔξω: v 29: Hiero i. ii: viii 9: D. xiv 29 φόβος οὐκ ὀλίγος γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ διὰ τούτων. οἶδε μὲν γε διακοσίαις τριήρεσιν . . . τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ χιλίας ἀπολέσαντας ναῦς . . . ὁ μὲν γε

χρυσίον, ὥς φασιν, ἄγει: xviii 93: 199 sq. οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν . . . νῦν μὲν γ' ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων: xxiii 110: 136: Isocr. iii 45 ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς φανήσομαι πείραν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φύσεως δεδωκώς. ἐνδεῆς μὲν γε χρημάτων καταλειφθεὶς οὕτω δίκαιον ἐμαυτὸν παρέσχον ὥστε μηδένα λυπήσαι τῶν πολιτῶν: cf. iv 126: viii 86: ix 49.

τοι. Pl. R. 499E . . . μὴ πάνυ οὕτω τῶν πολλῶν κατηγορεῖ. ἄλλοίαν τοι δόξαν ἔξουσιν, εἰς αὐτοῖς . . . ἐνδεικνύη οὗς λέγεις τοὺς φιλοσόφους: X. Cyr. viii. vii 15 (*bis*): Mem. iii. xii 5: Ant. v 72, 94, 96: Aeschin. iii 130 'have not the gods warned us?' οὐδεμίαν τοι ἔγωγε μᾶλλον πόλιν ἐώρακα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν σωζομένην . . . : Pl. Smp. 218E, 219A.

There is, it is true, room for difference of opinion as to whether these various particles have any connective force. With regard to γε, Kühner asserts that the particle never possesses such a force, though it sometimes appears to. It appeared so, I think, to the Greeks as well. I much doubt whether Thucydides in vi 86. 3, or Plato in Smp. 180D, would have indulged in an uncompromising asyndeton, without something to soften it.

At Pl. Leg. 951E ἔτι takes the place of a connective. At Pl. Leg. 953D μὲν νῦν perhaps mitigates the asyndeton (cf. μὲν νυν).

Unmitigated asyndeton. In general

We have now to consider passages in which *asyndeton*, *undisguised and unmitigated*, produces its full stylistic effect.

(1) *General rhetorical use.* In Demosthenes, particularly, fine examples are to be found in great profusion. There is only space to quote a few of the finest. iv 29 'the war will be in the main self-supporting.' ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, εἰ μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχη: xviii 298-300 . . . πάνθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαινου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πόρρω μέντοι πού τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλην δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους· ταῦτα

προυβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς: xix 225 ἴστε δήπου Πυθοκλέα τουτονὶ τὸν Πυθοδώρου. τούτῳ πάννυ φιλανθρώπως ἐκεκρήμην ἐγὼ, καὶ ἀηδὲς ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτῳ γέγονεν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην οὐδέν. οὗτος ἐκτρέπεται με νῦν ἀπαντῶν . . . : Hyp. Fr. 118 . . . ὠκοδόμησε δὲ τὸ θέατρον, τὸ ὠδεῖον, τὰ νεώρια, τριήρεις ἐποίησατο, λιμένας· τοῦτον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἠτίμωσε: D. xviii 158 μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε . . . ὥς ὑφ' ἐνὸς ταῦτα πέπονθεν ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ' ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν: vi 17: ix 73: xviii 322: xix 103, 136, 299: xx 100: xxi 187: Lys. xxxii 11: Aeschin. i 108: iii 83, 253. 23 εἰδὼσιν ἀμφισβητῆσαι . . . μὴ ἄρπαξε . . .

Further examples of isolated asyndeton.

(i) In the orators. Lys. ix 2 (οὖν omitted): 13 (οὖν omitted, summing up: ὦ μὲν τρόπῳ παρεδόθην καὶ ἐξημώθην, ἐπίστασθε): xxxi 34 ἱκανά μοι νομίζω εἰρῆσθαι (at end of speech): xxxii 11 'they came to me, and with tears besought me to help them.' πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅσον πένθος ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ οἰκίᾳ ἦν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ: D. xlv 85 μὴ ὑπερίδητέ με . . . τοῖς ἐμῶν δούλοις . . . ἐπίχαρτον γενόμενον. οὐμός ὑμῖν πατήρ χιλίας ἔδωκεν ἀσπίδας: Aeschin. iii 82 ὁ δὲ παριὼν ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πολέμου καὶ παραχῆς. οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον τεῖχος καὶ Δόρισκον καὶ . . . χωρία, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἤδειμεν πρότερον (the accusing finger is dramatically pointed). With a rhetorical question. Isoc. xvii 23 ἀνοίγειν τ' ἐκέλευε τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐναντίον μαρτύρων. τί ἂν ὑμῖν τὰ πολλὰ λέγοιμι, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί; εὐρέθη γὰρ . . . : cf. xviii 10 τί ἂν ὑμῖν καθ' ἕκαστον διηγοίμην;: D. xix 112 ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν Θηβαίους . . . , τοὺς δὲ Φωκέας . . . πῶς ἂν ἐναντιώτερα πράγμαθ' ἑαυτοῖς τούτων γένοιτο; (καίτοι omitted): 199 ὁ ἀκάθαρτος οὗτος . . . ἐρεῖ . . . ἐφ' οἷς ἔγωγ' ἀποπνίγομαι. οὐκ ἴσασιν οὗτοι . . . ;

(ii) In non-oratorical authors. Hdt. iv 118. 2 οὐκ ὦν ποιήσετε ταῦτα (sc. help us); ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείβομεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρῆσόμεθα (the omission of ὦν or ἄρα makes the threat strikingly abrupt and dramatic): 127. 2: v 92 η 5 οὐκ ὦν παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατὰγοντες Ἰππῆην; ἴστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας (ἀλλά omitted): vii 10 ε 'think twice before you decide on the expedition.' ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὥς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ εἴ φαντάζεσθαι . . . οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε:

viii 140 a 4: Th. iii 37. 2 οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους· οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε . . . ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν (Steup defends the asyndeton here: but it is too abrupt for the context, and δ's <οἱ> οὐκ is no doubt right): vii 77. 1 καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων . . . ἐλπίδα χρή ἔχειν (ἤδη τινες καὶ ἐκ δεινότερων ἢ τοιῶνδε ἐσώθησαν) μηδὲ καταμέμφεσθαι . . . (in parenthesis: cf. Pl. *Smφ.* 219E οὐ μόνον ἐμοῦ περιῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων—ὅπότ' ἀπαγκασθεῖμεν . . . ἀσιτεῖν, οὐδὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ καρτερεῖν—): Pl. *R.* 571C ὅταν . . . οἴσθ' ὅτι πάντα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τολμᾷ ποιεῖν: *Thg.* 121C οὕτω δὲ ἔχειν ἔοικε καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμᾶυτοῦ ἐγὼ πραγμάτων τεκμαίρομαι καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα: *Smφ.* 213A . . . ἐπὶ ῥήτοισι εἰσὶν ἢ μή; συμπέσθε ἢ οὐ; (asyndeton gives peremptoriness): 216D εὐδοθεὶν δὲ ἀνοιχθεὶς πόσης οἴεσθε γέμει . . . σωφροσύνης; ἴστε ὅτι οὔτε εἴ τις καλὸς ἐστὶ μέλει αὐτῷ οὐδὲν (γάρ οἱ γοῦν omitted): *Leg.* 896E μίαν ἢ πλείους; πλείους· ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἀποκρινοῦμαι: *Grg.* 487B . . . ἐμοὶ εἰ εὖνους. τίμη τεκμηρίω χρῶμαι;: *Prt.* 325C οἴεσθαί γε χρή <διδάσκεσθαι>, ὦ Σώκρατες. ἐκ παίδων σμικρῶν ἀρξάμενοι, μέχρι οὐπερ ἂν ζῶσι, καὶ διδάσκουσι καὶ νοουθετοῦσιν. ἐπειδὰν θάπτον συνῆ τις τὰ λεγόμενα . . .

(iii) Accumulated asyndeta.

Hdt. iii 53. 3–4 ὦ παῖ, βούλει τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς σφεα ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωντὸν ζημιῶν. ἢ φιλοτιμίῃ κτῆμα σκαιόν· μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι. πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρῶια διζήμενοι τὰ πατρῶια ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς χρήμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηγηκώς· μὴ δῶς τὰ σεωντοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι (an accumulation of short exhortations and gnomes): Pl. *Grg.* 520A τί δ' ἂν περὶ ἐκείνων λέγοις . . .; οἷε τι διαφέρειν τούτους ἐκείνων; ταῦτόν, ὦ μακάρι', ἐστὶν σοφιστῆς καὶ ῥήτωρ . . .: *R.* 617D–E Ἀνάγκης θυγατρὸς κόρης Λαχέσεως λόγος· Ψυχαὶ ἐφήμεροι, ἀρχὴ ἄλλης περιόδου θνητοῦ γένους θανατηφόρου. οὐχ ὑμᾶς δαίμων λήξεται, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς δαίμονα αἰρήσεσθε. πρῶτος δ' ὁ λαχὼν πρῶτος αἰρείσθω βίον ᾧ συνέσται ἐξ ἀνάγκης. ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀδέσποτον, ἣν τιμῶν καὶ ἀτιμάζων πλέον καὶ ἔλαττον αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἔξει. αἰτία ἐλομένου· θεὸς ἀναίτιος: *Ant.* vi 39 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο

συνῆσάν μοι καὶ διελέγοντο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτέρωθι πανταχοῦ. τὸ τελευταῖον, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, Φιλοκράτης αὐτὸς οὕτως ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς, ἐστὼς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἀπτόμενος ἐμοῦ διελέγετο, ὀνόματι οὗτος ἐμὲ προσαγορεύων, καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦτον . . . : D. xviii 43 οἱ μὲν κατὰπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκείνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν: xix 53-54: xlii 8-9 παρεσημνήμαην τὰ οἰκήματα, τοῦ νόμου μοι δεδωκότος· οὗτος ἀνέωξεν. . . . ἔπειτ' ἀπείπον τὴν ὕλην μὴ ἐξάγειν· ἐξῆγεν οὗτος ἀπάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, πλὴν ἐκείνης ἐν ἣ ἐγὼ ἀπείπον. χρέως οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὠφέλειτ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχατιᾷ· νῦν οὗτος ἀποφαίνει πολλά. ἀπλῶς ποιεῖ ὃ τι ἂν βούληται, οὐχ ὃ τι οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν. λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας . . . : Aeschin. iii 209 ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ 'ποῖ φύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιεγράψατέ με ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅποι ἀναπτήσομαι', ἀνθυποβάλλετε αὐτῷ 'ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ποῖ καταφύγη, Δημόσθενες; πρὸς ποίαν συμμαχῶν παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι;'

Combined with repetition

(2) Combined with repetition. This is, of course, closely related to the use of half-asyndeton combined with repetition which we discussed on p. 106. But the hammer strokes fall more slowly, and with a more ponderous weight. And. i 149 ὑμεῖς . . . εἰς ὑμᾶς . . . ὑμεῖς . . . : D. ix 65-66 καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν εἰλήφασιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτούς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν· καλὴν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπῆλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν· δουλεύουσιν γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ σφαττόμενοι. καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφέισατο . . . : xviii 48 μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδικὸς καὶ Σῖμος . . . : xix 177-8 ἐπέδειξα . . . ἐπέδειξα . . . : 335 μὴ λέγε . . . μὴ λέγε . . . : Aeschin. iii 162 οὗτος . . . οὗτος . . . διὰ τούτου: Isocr. xv 255 οὗτος γὰρ . . . τούτῳ . . . διὰ τούτου (cf. Isocr. xviii 28, 34). Several words repeated: D. viii 65 οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ . . . οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ . . . οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλὲς: Aeschin. iii 167 σὺ γὰρ ἂν κώμην

ἀποστήσais; σὺ γὰρ ἂν προέλθοis . . .; Isocr. iii 7: Aeschin. iii 119.

Repetition of interrogative word in a string of rhetorical questions

A variety of the above is the *repetition of interrogatives in a string of rhetorical questions*. Ant. vi 46 διὰ τί οὖν οὐκ ἀπεγράφοντο; διὰ τί συνῆσαν καὶ διελέγοντο; D. xix 119 καίτοι τίς ἡ κοινωνία, τίς ἡ πολλή πρόνοια ὑπὲρ Φιλοκράτους αὐτῆς; iv 44 οὐ . . .; οὐ . . .; οὐ . . .; Aeschin. iii 130 οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν . . . οὐ περὶ τούτων . . .; οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον; 209 πρὸς ποίαν συμμάχων παρασκευήν; πρὸς ποῖα χρήματα; τί προβαλλόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευσαι; 235 οὐχ ὕψ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξετε τοὺς πολιτευομένους; οὐ ταπεινώσαντες ἀποπέμψετε τοὺς νῦν ἐπηρμένους; οὐ μέμνησθε . . .; X. Oec. II. II πῶς ὑγιείας ἐπιμελῇ; πῶς τῆς τοῦ σώματος ῥώμης; πῶς θέμις . . .; Isocr. viii 107-8: xii 121-2: Hyp. Erit. 30.

Introducing each of a series of lively questions in dialogue: Pl. La. 181C περὶ δὲ ὧν ἠρξάμεθα τί φατε; τί δοκεῖ; τὸ μάθημα τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ἢ οὐ; Leg. 886E τί οὖν δῆ; τί λέγομεν; τί χρή δρᾶν ἡμᾶς; πότερον . . .;

(It will be noticed from the examples given under (1) and (2) that two-limbed asyndeton is rare: cf. p. 105 above.)

(3) Introducing an exclamation. With ἦ που: Lys. ii 37, 39. Cf. Pl. R. 450A οἶον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰργάσασθε . . . ὅσον λόγον πάλιν . . . κινεῖτε.

In narrative. At beginning or climax

(4) *Asyndeton in narrative*. Many writers use asyndeton very cleverly to key the hearer up at the beginning of a story, or at its climax: e.g. (beginning) Aeschin. iii 171 'I will describe Demosthenes' ancestry': Γύλων ἦν ἐκ Κεραμέων. οὗτος προδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις . . . : 183 . . . ὧν ἄξιόν ἐστι μνησθῆναι. ἦσαν τινες . . . οὗτοι δεῦρ' ἀφικόμενοι . . . : (climax) 71 νύξ ἐν μέσῳ (the critical night before the second assembly, which transformed the situation): i 62 ἐν παντὶ δὲ κακοῦ γενόμενος ὁ Πιττάλακος προσπίπτει ἀνδρὶ καὶ μάλα χρηστῷ. ἔστι τις Γλαύκων Χολαργεύς· οὗτος αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται εἰς ἐλευθερίαν: D. xviii 215 (the Thebans decide to side with Athens) μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ

μετεπέμποντο. ἐξήγτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τῶν μέσῳ παραλείπω . . . : Lys. i 22 πρῶτον δὲ διηγῆσασθαι βούλομαι τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ. Σώστρατος ἦν μοι ἐπιτηδεῖος καὶ φίλος. τούτῳ ἡλίου δευκότος ἰόντι ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπήντησα. The whole narration in this speech, §§ 6-28, is an admirable example of the effective but economical use of asyndeton. It first occurs at § 14 ἐσιώπων ἐγώ (the first dawning of suspicion in Euphiletus' mind): then at § 17 ταῦτα εἰποῦσα and ταῦτά μου πάντα (the suspicion becomes almost a certainty): then at 21 ὡμολόγει ταῦτα ποιήσειν and 22 (*vide supra*), leading up to the denouement.

Accumulated asyndeta in narrative

In other narrative passages asyndeta are piled up in masses. Andoc. i 126-7 (a series of asyndeta broken by τοίνυν in the middle): Aeschin. iii 62 ἔγραψε Φιλοκράτης ἐξεῖναι Φιλίππῳ δεῦρο κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν περὶ εἰρήνης· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη παρανόμων. ἦκον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι· κατηγορεῖ μὲν Λυκῖνος ὁ γραψάμενος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Φιλοκράτης, συναπελογεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης· ἀπέφυγε Φιλοκράτης. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆει χρόνος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄρχων· ἐνταῦθ' εἰσέρχεται . . . : D. i 12-13 ἄρα λογίζεται τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν μέγας γέγονεν ἀσθενῆς ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος; τὸ πρῶτον Ἀμφίπολιν λαβὼν, μετὰ ταῦτα Πύδναν, πάλιν Ποτεΐδαιαν, Μεθώνην αὖθις, εἴτα Θετταλίας ἐπέβη· μετὰ ταῦτα Φεράς, Παγασάς, Μαγνησίαν, πάνθ' ὃν ἐβούλετ' εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον ὥχεται εἰς Θράκην· εἴτ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς δὲ καταστήσας τῶν βασιλέων ἡσθένησε· πάλιν ῥάσας οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ῥάθυμειν ἀπέκλινεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐπεχείρησεν: xix 139. The longest series of asyndeta I can find is D. xxiv 11-14, where, to say nothing of clauses, nine consecutive sentences, covering twenty-seven lines, open without a connecting particle.

Further instances of asyndeton in narrative:

Hdt. i 45. 3 Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε, ὡς οἶκος ἦν, τὸν ἑώντοῦ παῖδα (asyndeton perhaps mitigated by μὲν νυν): iii 68. 4 ἔπειπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων . . . : 140. 2 ὁμως δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω . . . παρήγε ὁ πυλουργὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα . . . : iv 97. 6: Pl. *Prt.* 314C δόξαν ἡμῖν ταῦτα ἐπορευόμεθα: 315E τὴν δ' οὖν ἰδέαν πάνν

καλός. ἔδοξα ἀκοῦσαι ὄνομα αὐτῷ εἶναι Ἀγάθωνα: 317D Βούλεσθε . . . συνέδριον κατασκευάσωμεν . . . ; Ἐδόκει χρῆναι: 338E ἔδόκει πᾶσιν οὕτω ποιητέον εἶναι: Thg. 129C: D. xix 93 μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰρήνην τινὲς ἡμᾶς ἔπειθον ποιήσασθαι· ἐπέισθημεν· πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν· ἤγαγον οἱ τοὶ δεῦρο τοὺς ποιησομένους τὴν εἰρήνην. πάλιν ἐνταῦθα περὶ τούτου μέμφεται τις Αἰσχίνην; φησί τις εἰσηγήσασθαι τοῦτον εἰρήνην . . . ; οὐδὲ εἰς: xxi 58 Σαννίων ἐστὶ δήπου τις ὁ τοὺς τραγικοὺς χοροὺς διδάσκων· οὗτος ἀστρατείας ἐάλω καὶ κέχρηται συμφορᾷ. τοῦτον μετὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ταύτην ἐμισθώσατό τις . . . (Hyp. iv (iii) 16–17 αἱ φυλαὶ κτλ. can hardly be counted as an example of stylistic asyndeton. It seems more analogous to the passages from historians quoted above.)

Pairs of sentences, first giving circumstances, second giving result

We sometimes find in the Greek orators successive pairs of sentences, the first of the pair expressing something that happens, or is supposed to happen, the second expressing something that happens, or should happen as a result. In such cases the first sentence of each pair opens with asyndeton, the second also normally opens with asyndeton, but occasionally is linked.

E.g. D. iii 34 ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν· οἴκοι μένων βελτίων, τοῦ δι' ἔνδειαν ἀνάγκη τι ποιεῖν αἰσχροὺς ἀπηλλαγμένους. συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον οἶον καὶ τὰ νῦν· στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λημμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἔστι τις ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν· ὅς' οὗτος ἀτάκτως νῦν λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ . . . : iii 18 καὶ νῦν, οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα· ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τοῦτον αἰτιάσθω. ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω· ταῦτα ποιεῖτ' ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ: xvi 198 πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν· ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγον' οἶον οὐκ ἔδει· πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης: xxi 101: xxi 26 ἔρρωσαι καὶ σαυτῷ πιστεύεις· ἅπαρ', ἐν χιλιάσι δ' ὁ κίνδυνος. ἀσθενέστερος εἶ· τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐφηγοῦ· τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν ἐκεῖνοι. οὐδέτερον βούλει τούτων· γράφου. καταμέμφῃ σεαυτὸν καὶ πένῃς ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις χιλίας ἐκτεῖσαι· δικάζου κλοπῆς πρὸς διαιτητὴν καὶ οὐ κινδυνεύσεις. τούτων οὐδέν ἐστι ταυτό. τῆς ἀσεβείας κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἀπάγειν . . . περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον

σχεδόν: Hyp. iv (iii) 5-6 νόμους ἔθεσθε χωρὶς περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν. ἀσεβεῖ τις περὶ τὰ ἱερά· γράφεται ἀσεβείας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.— φαῦλός ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς· ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ τούτου κáθηται.—παράνομά τις ἐν τῇ πόλει γράφει· θεσμοθετῶν συνέδριον ἔστι.—ἀπαγωγῆς ἄξια ποιεῖ· ἀρχὴ τῶν ἔνδεκα καθέστηκε.

Aeschin. ii 161 οὐκ ἤρεσκε τίσι τῶν ῥητόρων ἢ εἰρήνη· ἔπειτα οὐ τότε ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοὺς ἔχρην, ἀλλὰ μὴ νῦν ἐμὲ κρίνειν; ἐπλούτουν τινὲς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων, νῦν δὲ πέπαινανται· εἰρήνη γὰρ ἀργίαν οὐ τρέφει· ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀδικοῦμενοι ἀλλ' ἀδικούντες τὴν πόλιν τιμωρήσονται τὸν προστάντα τῆς εἰρήνης . . . ; iii 246: D. xxi 161 ἐγένοντ' εἰς Εὐβοίαν ἐπιδόσεις παρ' ὑμῖν πρῶται· τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μειδίας . . . ἕτεραι δεύτεραι μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰς Ὀλυνθον· οὐδὲ τούτων ἦν Μειδίας. καίτοι . . . τρίται νῦν αὐταὶ γεγόνασιν ἐπιδόσεις. ἐνταῦθ' ἐπέδωκα. πῶς; ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γιγνομένων ἐπιδόσεων . . . : Aeschin. ii 165-6 ἔγραψας λόγον τῷ Φορμίωνι τῷ τραπεζίτῃ χρήματα λαβών· τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκας Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνοντι Φορμίωννα. εἰσῆλθες εἰς εὐδαιμονοῦσαν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστάρχου τοῦ Μόσχου· ταύτην ἀπώλεσας. προύλαβες τρία τάλαντα παρ' Ἀριστάρχου φεύγοντος· τοῦτον τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐφόδια ἀπεστερήσας . . . : Dem. xviii 117 ἐπέδωκα· ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον· καὶ δέδωκά γ' εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα: ix 64: Aeschin. ii 51 ἐδόκει μνημονικὸς καὶ δεινὸς εἶναι λέγειν Αἰσχίνῃ Φίλιππος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμοί, ἀλλ' εἴ τις αὐτοῦ τὴν τύχην περιελὼν ἐτέρῳ περιθείη, οὐκ ἂν πολὺ τι καταδεῆς εἴη. ἐδόκει Κτησιφῶντι τὴν ὄψιν λαμπρὸς εἶναι, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ χείρων Ἀριστόδημος ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὃς παρῆν ἡμῖν καὶ συνεπρέσβευε. μνημονικόν τις αὐτὸν φησιν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι. συμπιεῖν δεινὸς ἦν· Φιλοκράτης ὁ μεθ' ἡμῶν δεινότερος. λόγον τίς φησιν ἐμοὶ καταλιπεῖν ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως· ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ὑμῖν ὁ ῥήτωρ οὗτος οὐτ' ἂν ἐμοὶ λόγου μεταδοίη.

At close of speech

Asyndeton is often used at the close of a speech to give incisiveness to the customary summing-up of points and appeal for a favourable verdict: Gorg. Fr. II, 21 ἀφείλον τῷ λόγῳ δύσκειαν γυναικός, ἐνέμεινα τῷ νόμῳ ὃν ἐθέμην ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου, ἐπειράθην καταλῦσαι μῶμον ἀδικίαν καὶ δόξης ἀμαθίαν, ἐβουλήθην γράψαι τὸν

λόγον Ἑλένης μὲν ἐγκώμιον ἑμὸν δὲ παίγνιον: [Lys.] vi 55 φανερώς ἔχετε αὐτὸν ἀσεβοῦντα· εἶδετε, ἠκούσατε τὰ τούτου ἁμαρτήματα. ἀντιβολήσῃ καὶ ἰκετεύσει ὑμᾶς· μὴ ἐλεεῖτε. οὐ γὰρ οἱ δικαίως ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀλλ' οἱ ἀδίκως ἄξιοί εἰσιν ἐλεεῖσθαι: Isae. ix 37 ἀντιβολῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἰκετεύω ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ψηφίσασθαι μοι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα Ἀστυφίλῳ τε χαρίσαισθε καὶ μὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀδικήσατε: Lys. xii 100 παύσομαι κατηγορῶν. ἀκηκόατε, ἐοράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε· δικάζετε: Aeschin. i 196 τὰ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκαια πάντα ἀπειλήφατε· ἐδίδαξα τοὺς νόμους, ἐξήτασα τὸν βίον τοῦ κρινομένου. νῦν μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς ἐστε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κριταί, αὐτίκα δ' ὑμέτερος ἐγὼ θεατής· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις ἢ πράξεις καταλείπεται. The words quoted in all the above cases form the actual close of the speech. In D. viii 76 the asyndetic summing-up comes in the penultimate paragraph; so does the appeal εἰς ὑμᾶς καταφεύγω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ καὶ ἰκετεύω. ὑμεῖς με . . . σώσατε in And. i 149. Compare D. lvi 45 (summing up the course of events, towards the close of the speech). In D. ii 31 asyndeton between clauses is employed in summarizing the practical proposals made: λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας εἰσφέρειν . . . πάντας ἐξιέναι . . . πᾶσι τοῖς παριοῦσι λόγον διδόναι . . . (In Isae. iv 22 asyndeton is used in summing up instances in the middle of a speech.) Other speeches end with an appeal to the speaker's supporters to come forward. Here, too, asyndeton is used. Andoc. i 150 δεῦρο ἄνυτε, Κέφαλε, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ φυλέται οἱ ἡρημένοι μοι συνδικεῖν, Θράσυλλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι: Hyp. i (ii) 20 ἀνάβηθί μοι, Θεόφιλε, καὶ σύνειπε ὃ τι ἔχεις· κελεύουσιν οἱ δικασταί.

Apart from the almost stereotyped use of this technical device, there is a general tendency to use asyndeton towards the close of a speech. Isae. vi 62 γέγραπται ὡς οὐκ ἔδωκεν . . . : ix 35 ἀπέδειξα ὑμῖν ὡς . . . : Lycurg. 150 ἐὰν μὲν Λεωκράτην ἀπολύσῃτε . . . : D. xxi 226 ὑμῶν οἱ θεώμενοι τοῖς Διονυσίοις εἰσιόντ' εἰς τὸ θέατρον τοῦτον ἐσυρίττετε . . . (in both of the last two cases the asyndeton introduces, with solemn emphasis, the last point which the speaker wishes to make). Aeschin. ii 182 ἀλλ' ὅμως τετόλμηται· δέδοται τὸ σῶμα τῷ κινδύνῳ. παρ' ὑμῖν ἐτράφην, ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις διατριβαῖς βεβίωκα. οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἡδονὰς κάκιον οἰκεῖ . . .

Xenophon and Andocides

Xenophon's and Andocides' uses of full asyndeton diverge in certain respects from those of other authors. The following points may be noticed:

(1) *General rhetorical use.* Xenophon has a particular fondness for the use of asyndeton in exhortation. *HG* VII. i 30 (a short speech to the soldiers) ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἀναβλέψωμεν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν· ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τὴν πατρίδα οἷαν περ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβομεν· πανσώμεθα αἰσχυρόμενοι καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας . . . : *An.* VI. v 21 (at the end of a long speech) ἄνδρες, τά τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ οἷ τε οἰωνοὶ αἴσιοι τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα· ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντως εἶδον, ἥδέως δειπνήσαι οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν θέλωσι σκηνηῆσαι. Similar in character is the abrupt appeal introduced by ὠγαθέ at the end of a speech or argument: *Mem.* I. iv 17: III. vii 9 ὠγαθέ, μὴ ἀγνόει σεαυτὸν, μηδὲ ἀμάρτανε ἃ οἱ πλείστοι ἀμαρτάνουσιν: *Cyr.* III. i 30 ὠγαθέ, ἔφη, Κῦρε, φύλαξαι μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀποβαλὼν σαντὸν ζημώσης.

I add a few further examples of rhetorical asyndeton in *X.* *An.* v. vii 10 (to mark a *beau geste*): τί γάρ, ἄρχοντας αἰρουμένων ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ τινι ἐμποδῶν εἰμι; παρήμι, ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαίνέσθω (cf. *Andoc.* i 32): *An.* III. i 30 'a previous attempt at negotiation ended in disaster: yet you bid us negotiate again;' ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε προσίεσθαι . . . : *Cyr.* II. i 18 (at the end of a speech) ἀκηκόατε πάντα· ὁρᾶτε τὰ ὄπλα· ὁ μὲν χρήζων λαμβανέτω . . . This is very like the use of asyndeton by the orators at the end of a speech (e.g. *Lys.* xii 100).

Narrative

(2) *In narrative.* We have already considered the use of full asyndeton in narrative, mitigated by pronouns pointing backward or forward, by Thucydides and Xenophon. In such cases as the following there is no mitigation: *An.* III. ii 33 ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν πάντες: v. vi 25 ἀναστὰς αὐθις Θῶρᾶξ: VI. iv 18 ἀναστὰς τις εἶπεν: *Cyr.* II. i 18 τέλος εἶπεν: III. iii 40: *An.* IV. v 33 . . . διακονοῦντας παῖδας . . . τοῖς παῖσιν ἐδείκνυσαν: *An.* IV. viii 6-7

λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ . . . ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι . . . There are many instances in Andocides: i 40, 42, 74, 82, 120, 123. (Lys. ii 52 is very doubtful.) Andocides and Xenophon seem to stand alone in their free use of asyndeton without adequate stylistic grounds.

It is to be noted that neither Xenophon nor the other historians favour accumulated full asyndeta in narrative, a device which, as we have seen, is common in the orators.

Introducing ground, or example, of proposition

(3) Introducing the ground, or an example, of a proposition. We have already considered this type of asyndeton, when softened by particles. Xenophon seems to stand alone in using it without alleviation. *Mem.* II. iv 7 οὐδενὸς λείπεται· πολλάκις . . . : *Oec.* 20. 8 φυλακὰς ἅπαντες ἴσασι· 20 ὅταν σκαπτόντων. If the text is sound, *Th.* iii 37. 2 is a similar case: ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους· οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν.¹ Again, in *Pl. Leg.* 920D Ἑφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν is exceptional. (Dr. England calls it an 'asyndeton of the usual explanatory kind'. But he quotes no Platonic parallels, and I can find none.)

In character sketches

(4) Asyndeton in character sketches. It is naturally difficult to provide connexion throughout a character sketch. Various qualities have to be enumerated which are often independent of one another and cannot be logically related. In a long sketch, a succession of δέ's and καί's becomes monotonous. Hence Xenophon, in his character of Agesilaus, occasionally uses asyndeton for variety: *Ages.* II. 3, 13. Cf. *Isoc.* ix 44-46 (Evagoras): a string of participial clauses. (The problem hardly arises in Thucydides, the longest of whose character sketches (that of Themistocles at i. 138. 3 and that of Antiphon at viii 68. 1-2) are quite short. But the account of Greek στάσις in iii 82 is technically akin to a character sketch: and the artless repetition of δέ, καί, and τε in §§ 4-7 shows that in such cases Thucydides did not feel any need for variety.) Compare its use in a description

¹ See p. 114.

of a locality: Hdt. ii 35: v 6 (here some manuscripts add connectives, *δέ* and *καί*).

In the *Laws* the introduction of a new topic is not invariably marked by a connecting particle: there is asyndeton, e.g. at 928D, 932E, 933E.

In series of precepts

Very similar is the use of asyndeton in Isoc. ii 17 ff., iii 48 ff., where a series of precepts is enunciated without connecting links.

VII

ASSONANCE

Difficulty of definition

I MEAN by assonance the recurrence of a sound in such a manner as to catch the ear. My definition is, of necessity, a subjective one. We do not know with any accuracy what ancient Greek sounded like; but even after allowing for this uncertainty, it is clear, I think, that the Greek ear differed from our own. And, even with us, individuals differ widely in the manner in which they react to echoes. One person detects assonance in a sentence, while another finds nothing of the kind.

In a strongly inflected language, it naturally often happens that several consecutive words end with the same sound. ποιῶ τούτω τὸ καλὸν κάδῳ τῷ σοφῷ Κρατίνῳ: 'I am making these two fine casks for the poet Cratinus'. Further, in a language which largely employs symmetrical antithesis, identical sounds tend to occur at the close of the clauses. With regard to the latter point, homoeoteleuton, I shall have something to say later on.

Series of words with same termination tolerated

But let us first consider the former point. To what extent, if any, did the Greeks dislike the juxtaposition of several words with identical terminations? The answer is, I believe, that they did not dislike it at all.¹ In Latin the case seems to be rather different. 'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam' was considered harsh: and there are perhaps some signs of a tendency to avoid an assonance in *-orum* by using gerund instead of gerundive. Greek, on the other hand, shows a surprising toleration of cacophony. ἡκούσαμεν μὲν,² ἦμεν ἦμενοι,³ ἔχων ἐχώρει,⁴ ἕως ἐῷσιν,⁵ ναὶ παῖ,⁶ γέροντες ὄντες,⁷ ἐλούσατο, ἐκ δ' ἐλούσα,⁸ ἔπειτα

¹ But see Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, ii 115, 144-5.

² A. Cho. 848.

³ Eur. IT 1339.

⁴ Eur. Phoen. 1174.

⁵ Eur. Or. 238.

⁶ Soph. Phil. 372, 471, 488.

⁷ Eur. Ba. 189; cf. Pl. Euthyd. 272B.

⁸ Eur. Alc. 160.

ἐπειδή,¹ οὐδὲν οἶδεν,² all strike me as unpleasant. My pupils, in writing Greek proses, are sometimes reluctant to juxtapose two infinitives in -ειν. No such scruples troubled the Greeks. Such things as προσήκειν εἰπεῖν, ἀναγκάζειν δουλεύειν, are to be found on almost every page. Even three consecutive infinitives in -ειν are allowed: συνερεῖν ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν (cf. παραλαμβάνειν ἐπιχειρεῖν διδάσκειν And. iv 39). Out of many passages drenched in a particular termination, I will take three: D. xviii 238 τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν: Pl. *Leg.* 949C περὶ δὲ χορείας τινῶν φοιτήσεων ἢ πομπεύσεων ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων κοινῶν κοσμήσεων ἢ λητουργιῶν: Th. ii 43. 6 ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος. In the last passage the extreme beauty of thought and expression contrasts oddly with the ugliness of the sound.

Sigmatism

There are, it is true, some slight indications that the Greeks disliked sigmatism. In one comedy a character thanks his friend for saving him from the 'sigma' of Euripides: Pl. Com. *Fr.* 30 εὖ γέ σοι γένοιθ' ὅτι / ἔσωσας ἐκ τῶν σίγμα τῶν Εὐριπίδου: in another, Euripides himself complains that people go about collecting his sigmas, 'thinking themselves clever': Eubulus, *Fr.* 27 καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐγγελῶσι πήμασιν, / τὰ σίγμα συλλέξαντες, ὡς αὐτοὶ σοφοί. An American scholar, Professor Scott,³ has investigated the question of sigmatism in Homer and in Greek tragedy. He finds that all characters hiss on occasion: Odysseus hisses at Nausicaa, Andromache at Hector, Oedipus at his daughters. We must not, Scott argues, take a joke too seriously. All the same, a joke, to be successful, must have a certain foundation.⁴ And it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, while Greek writers as a whole occasionally omitted the precaution which Tennyson described as 'kicking the geese out of the boat', Euripides was criticized in some circles for being too careless

¹ Th. viii 67. 2.

² Pl. *R.* 457B.

³ *AJPh.* xxix, pp. 69, 77; cf. *ibid.* xxx, pp. 72-77.

⁴ [Lasus of Hermione composed an entire poem without a single sigma (Ath. x. 455 C).]

in this matter. Tucker suggests, rather ingeniously, that *μικρόν*, given by the manuscripts at A. *Th.* 465, is correct, a non-tragic form admitted to avoid an extra sigma in a strongly sigmatic passage. *ἐσχημάτισται δ' ἄσπις οὐ σμικρόν τρόπον / ἀνὴρ δ' ὀπλιτῆς κλιμακὸς προσαμβάσεις / στείχει κ.τ.λ.* But there are many passages in Greek tragedy more sigmatic than this, and not in Euripides alone. Apart, however, from this particular question of sigmatism, there can, I think, be little doubt that the Greeks, whose ear was so sensitive to rhythm and hiatus, regarded assonance with indifference, except where its conscious employment could be made to conduce to aesthetic effect.

We have now to consider how far assonance was thus employed as a deliberate artifice. In most of the types to be reviewed, sound is necessarily bound up with sense. But in one type, alliteration, there is no such connexion, and the phonetic factor stands isolated.

Alliteration

The artistic importance of alliteration in Latin and English poetry is not disputed. But with regard to its use in Greek poetry and prose, diametrically opposed views have been maintained. Diels, in an unpublished paper read to the Berlin Academy twenty years ago,¹ roundly denied that alliteration was ever used consciously² in Greek verse or prose. On the other hand, Jebb and Tucker have seen evidences of its employment in tragedy, and Tucker says that Pindar affected parechesis in *π*. Certainly the instances from tragedy which scholars cite, and others which I have collected from time to time, are not, on reflection, very impressive. A. *Ch.* 566 is a fair example: *δέξαιτ', ἐπειδὴ δαιμονῶ δόμος κακοῖς*. Far the most striking case is the famous line in the *OT* (371) *τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὦτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὄμματ' εἶ*. This is so effective that it is difficult to regard it as mere chance. But one swallow does not make a summer: and I suspect that theories of alliteration in Greek tragedy have been largely built up on this single well-known

¹ See *Phil. Woch.*, 1914, p. 767.

² As 'beabsichtigte Klangfigur'.

passage. Sophocles *must*, people feel, have *meant* the τ's. But unless we can find convincing parallels (and to the best of my knowledge we cannot), I fear that we must refrain from seeing design in this assonance.

When, however, we turn to the prose of the pre-Socratics, we find a very different state of things. It seems to me clear that the early writers of Greek prose, casting about for some ἥδυσμα to compensate for the absence of metre, hit upon alliteration and other forms of assonance to fill the gap. I will take a few out of many examples. Heracl. *Fr.* 25 μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζοντας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι: *Fr.* 95 ἀμαθίην γὰρ ἄμεινον κρύπτειν: Democr. *Fr.* 164 ὅπου μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ κοσκίνου δίνον διακριτικῶς φακοὶ μετὰ φακῶν τάσσονται καὶ κριθαὶ μετὰ κριθῶν καὶ πυροὶ μετὰ πυρῶν, ὅπου δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κύματος κίνησιν . . .: *Fr.* 193 φρονήσιος ἔργον μέλλουσαν ἀδικίην φυλάξασθαι, ἀναλγησίης δὲ τὸ γενομένην μὴ ἀμύνασθαι: *Fr.* 215 δίκης κῦδος γνώμης θάρσος καὶ ἀθαμβία, ἀδικίης δὲ δεῖμα ξυμφορῆς τέρμα: *Fr.* 258 κτείνειν χρὴ τὰ πημαίνοντα παρὰ δίκην πάντα περὶ παντός· καὶ ταῦτα ὁ ποιῶν εὐθυμίας καὶ δίκης καὶ θάρσεος καὶ κτήσεως ἐν παντὶ κοσμῷ μείζω μοῖραν μεθέξει: Gorg. *Fr.* 11. 4 πλείστας δὲ πλείστοις ἐπιθυμίας ἔρωτος ἐνειργάσατο, ἐνὶ δὲ σώματι πολλὰ σώματα συνήγαγεν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μέγα φρονούντων: *Fr.* 11. 8 δεῖ δὲ καὶ δόξη δεῖξαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι. Many of these examples of alliteration are composite. Thus in Gorg. *Fr.* 11. 4 first π predominates, then ε, then σ, then μ. In Democr. *Fr.* 193 the alliteration is between the first and last words of the two clauses. This is in accordance with the marked chiasitic bias of early prose. Heracl. *Fr.* 88 τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντ' ἐκεῖνά ἐστι, καὶ κεῖνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα: *Fr.* 62 ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεῶτες: and so forth. Normally, of course, the repeated letter occurs at the opening of words, and such echoes alone strictly merit the title of alliteration—though one may legitimately include cases where the letter is the first of the second half of a compound. But we also find cases of clearly intentional medial assonance. Agathon in his peroration (*Smph.* 197D) says ἐν πόκῳ, ἐν φόβῳ, ἐν πόθῳ, ἐν λόγῳ κυβερνήτης κτλ. λόγῳ makes no sense, and many editors emend

it: but Agathon is drunk with his own words, as well as with his own wine.

It is impossible, I think, to deny the importance of alliteration in this early prose: it is much more difficult to decide whether the use of alliteration survived in later prose. In Herodotus, Xenophon, and the orators I find hardly a trace of alliteration, apart from its presence in certain particular types of assonance to which I shall turn presently. In Thucydides and Plato, on the other hand, there are a fair number of passages where I feel, though with no great certainty, that alliteration is designed. I select the following examples as typical: they are not in themselves very striking, but their importance is increased by the fact that they *are* typical of a number of other passages which I have not space to quote here.

Th. i 69. ι οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι, περιωρῶν δέ, ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾶ: 81. 5-6 κὰν τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς. μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνη γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα, ὥς ταχὺ πανοσθῆσεται ὁ πόλεμος, ἣν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν τέμνωμεν: vi 9. ι καὶ μὴ οὕτω βραχείᾳ βουλῇ περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ἀνδράσιν ἀλλοφύλοις πειθομένους πόλεμον οὐ προσήκοντα ἄρασθαι: vii 68. ι πρὸς οὖν ἀταξίαν τε τοιαύτην καὶ τύχην ἀνδρῶν ἑαυτὴν παραδεδωκυῖαν πολεμιωτάτων ὀργῇ προσμείζωμεν, καὶ νομίσωμεν ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι . . . : Pl. *Ap.* 39A θᾶπτον γὰρ θανάτου θεῖ: R. 609A οὐκοῦν, ὅταν τῷ τι τούτων προσγένηται, πονηρόν τε ποιεῖ ᾧ προσεγένετο, καὶ τελευτῶν ὅλον διέλυσε καὶ ἀπώλεσεν (here the assonance in lambda, one of the rarer letters in the Greek alphabet, seems to convey the effect of all things slipping and sliding into dissolution: this is one of the passages which make Dionysius' fantastic theories about the significance of sounds look a shade less fantastic): *Leg.* 634E ὥς πάντα καλῶς κεῖται θέντων θεῶν: 666E παρὰ τῶν συννόμων σπάσας σφόδρα ἀγριαίνοντα καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντα: 688E φαμέν δὴ νυν, καθ' ὁδὸν ἰόντες τὴν λοιπὴν τοῦ λόγου, τὴν μεγίστην ἀμαθίαν τότε ἐκείνην τὴν δύναμιν ἀπολέσαι, καὶ νῦν ταυτὸν τοῦτο πεφυκέναι ποιεῖν, ὥστε τόν γε νομοθέτην, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, πειρατέον ταῖς πόλεσιν . . . : 730C ἥς ὁ γενήσεσθαι μέλλων μακάριός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μέτοχος εἴη: 923A ᾧ

φίλοι, φήσομεν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἐφήμεροι. Alliteration in π is frequent in Plato. But π is a common letter at all times, particularly in works which discuss the πόλις and παιδεία.

I think we may sum the matter up somehow thus. Alliteration was one of the means regularly employed by the pre-Socratics to lend distinction to their prose. It was subsequently almost entirely dropped, as too crude and primitive a device, and its place taken by more intellectual forms of assonance. Its occasional appearance in Plato I should regard as part of his legacy from the Ionian philosophers. Let us turn now to those more intellectual forms of assonance of which I have just spoken: those, that is, which involve the repetition of the roots of words, and those which involve the repetition of terminations and thus underline the structure of a sentence.

Compounds

First of all we may consider the types of assonance based on the employment of compound words. Early Greek prose, employing a markedly poetical vocabulary, is rich in compounds. In the fourth century the use of compounds is far more restricted, except in the case of writers whose style is influenced by poetry. The formation of compounds was much in the air during the last quarter of the fifth century. Antiphon the Sophist actually gave lessons in the art. Many passages in Aristophanes throw light on the prevailing fashion. The priest of Dionysus in the *Frogs*, terrified by the appearance of Empusa, 'goes yellow in sympathy with' the god (Ar. *Ran.* 308 ὑπερ-επυρρίασέ σου). Athens, according to Euelpides, is 'open to all to pay taxes in' (Ar. *Av.* 38 ἐναποτεῖναι χρήματα). Such compounds produce assonance when the first or, less frequently, the second element is repeated. Pericles said that the life of the Athenian dead had been of the right length ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε καὶ ἐν-τελευτῆσαι (Th. ii 44. 1). Assonance of this kind is parodied in a fragment of the comedian Polyzelus (*Fr.* 4) λεκανίῳ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ἐναπονύβεις, ἐνεκπλυνεῖς, ἐναποπατήσεις, Κλεινίᾳ, and in Ar. *Pl.* 845-6. Here the talk is of a certain τριβώνιον. Carion asks Μῶν ἐνεμνήθης δῆτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα; And the answer is,

Οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐνεργήγωσ' ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα. I am sure that R's ἐνεμνήθης is right here, and that the main point of the joke is parody of these novel, sophistic formations.

Let us consider these types of assonance in greater detail. Repetition of the first part of a compound is common in all prose writers, particularly in the case of words which start with a preposition, a privative, φιλο-, or πολυ-. Certain distinctions in usage can, however, be drawn between different writers. In the orators the two compounds are normally closely allied in meaning, and placed in close proximity. συνερεῖ καὶ συναγωνεῖται (D. xix 316): ἐξεβάλλετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσுρίττετε (ibid. 337): οὐ προεῖπεν οὐδὲ προεξήγγειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον συνέκρινε καὶ συνέπραξε (ibid. 248). In other writers there is often a strong contrast in meaning, and the two words are often spatially separated. Democr. Fr. 65 πολυνοῖην, οὐ πολυμαθίην ἀσκέειν χρή: Pl. R. 480A μὴ οὖν τι πλημμελήσομεν φιλοδόξους καλοῦντες αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους;: Th. i 39. 2 οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν: iii 82. 8 ὥστε εὐσεβεία μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπεία δὲ λόγου . . . ἄμεινον ἤκουον: Pl. R. 462B οἱ μὲν περιαλγεῖς, οἱ δὲ περιχαρεῖς. In that convenient compendium of all the possible tricks of assonance, the peroration of Agathon's speech in the *Symposium* (197D), Ἔρως is styled in quick succession φλόδωρος εὐμενείας, ἄδωρος δυσμενείας, ζηλωτὸς ἀμοίροις, κτητὸς εὐμοίροις.

In some cases there is no logical force in the repetition of the first part of a compound word, and it is often difficult to say whether the repetition is intentional or fortuitous. When Demosthenes writes (xix 8) τάναντία τῶν συμφερόντων συμβεβουλευκότα, one can only attribute the doubling of συν- to accident: it passes unnoticed, and hardly arrests attention. On the other hand, in Democr. Fr. 107, φίλοι οὐ πάντες οἱ ξυγγενέες, ἀλλ' οἱ ξυμφωνέοντες περὶ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος the triple ξυν- refuses to be ignored, and the whole cast of this particular author's style suggests that the assonance is deliberate. It is equally deliberate in this frigid antithesis from Hyperides' *Epitaphios* (vi 24): ἀρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν εὐτυχεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἀπόλειψιν ἀτυχεῖς νομιστέον; In the following, from X. Cyr. III. ii 23, a repeated ἐπι- gives a false parallelism to the

fourth expression, though the expressions are in themselves normal, and could not have been altered without a complete recasting of the sentence: ἐπιγαμίας δ' εἶναι καὶ ἐπεργασίας καὶ ἐπινομίας, καὶ ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ κοινήν, εἴ τις ἀδικοίη ὁποτέρους. Here I fancy that Xenophon not only accepted the inevitable illogicality, but welcomed it. In other cases one hesitates whether to ascribe the repetition to design or to chance: Pl. *Prt.* 346B τοὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἀναγκάζεσθαι: 353D ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα παρέχει: *Leg.* 777A ταῦτα δὴ διαλαβόντες ἕκαστοι τοῖς διανοήμασιν. The repetitions are not in themselves remarkable, and in Demosthenes we might be unconscious of their presence. But Plato had a leaning towards assonance, and I suspect that these echoes pleased his ear.

Various factors lend added prominence to this type of assonance in certain cases. Sometimes the repeated first part of a compound is repeated more than once: X. *Vect.* 5. 3 οὐχ οἱ πολύσιτοι, οὐχ οἱ πολύοινοι; τί δὲ οἱ πολυέλαιοι, τί δὲ οἱ πολυπρόβατοι; Sometimes the trick is played with two different words in combination: Th. iv 61. 7 εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἐλθόντες εὐλόγως ἄπρακτοι ἀπίασιν. Sometimes new compounds appear to be invented for the occasion, to secure the assonance. Thus ἀποσυσσιτήσας, 'absenting himself from the mess', balances ἀποκοιμηθεῖς (Pl. *Leg.* 762c), and ἀξιάκουστος ἀξιοθέατος (X. *Vect.* 5. 4). Ganymede, Xenophon says (*Smp.* 8. 30), owed his exalted position not to being ἡδυσώματος but to being ἡδυγνώμων. Neither word is found elsewhere in Greek. Cf. X. *Cyr.* II. ii 28 ὑπέρδασύν τε καὶ ὑπέραισχρον.

Repetition of the second part

Repetition of the second part of a compound is much less common than repetition of the first. Some of the examples have no stylistic importance. ναυμαχεῖν and πεζομαχεῖν, εἰσάγειν and ἐξάγειν (import and export) are κύρια ὀνόματα, and their juxtapositions do not call for remark. But the rhetorical employment of this type of repetition can sharpen an epigram most effectively by throwing the emphasis on to the contrasted first parts of two compound words. Th. vi 76. 2 καί μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ Λεοντίνους

βούλεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἐξοικίσαι: 76. 4 ἐπὶ δεσπό-
 τῳ μεταβολῇ οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου, κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ: D. i 19 εἰ
 . . ., οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν προσδεῖ πόρου, εἰ δέ μή, προσδεῖ, μᾶλλον δ'
 ἅπαντος ἐνδεῖ τοῦ πόρου: xviii 11 κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο
 παντελῶς εὔηθες ὤήθης. The devices, however, like others, can
 be abused. It is merely an irritating trick when the repeated
 word needs no stress, as in the following. Lys. ii 44 τοιοῦτους
 αὐτοὺς παρασχόντες καὶ πολὺ πλείστον τῶν κινδύνων μετασχόντες:
 Th. iv 62. 2 ἃ χρὴ σκεψαμένους μὴ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ὑπεριδεῖν,
 τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ τινὰ σωτηρίαν μᾶλλον ἂπ' αὐτῶν προῖδεῖν. Here, again,
 Xenophon sometimes resorts to out-of-the-way compounds
 for the sake of the assonance. *Smph.* 8. 40 ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ
 ἱεροπρεπέστατος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ σῶμα
 ἀξιοπρεπέστατον . . . ἔχεις. ἀξιοπρεπής is not found elsewhere
 in classical Greek.

Frequency of this kind of assonance in the later works of Plato

The taste for this type of assonance grew upon Plato in the
 closing years of his life, and it is far commoner in the *Laws* than
 in his earlier works. A particular variant of it is almost confined
 to the *Laws*: assonance, not between two compound words, but
 between a simple word and a compounded one. I have noticed
 an example or two of this in Gorgias and Isocrates, and there
 is a particularly childish one in Agathon's speech in the *Sym-
 posium* (195B): μετὰ δὲ νέων αἰεὶ σύνεστί τε καὶ ἔστιν ('*Ἔρως*). ἔστιν
 is the merest padding, adding nothing to σύνεστι. The same may
 be said of most of the examples from the *Laws*, a work in which
 a certain *πρεσβυτικὴ παιδιά* not infrequently appears. 666B is
 a glaring case: καλεῖν τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεούς, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσον
 παρακαλεῖν.

We have seen that assonance may be produced by repeating
 either the first or the second part of a compound. Occasionally
 both forms of repetition are used in a single sentence. Thus Pl.
Leg. 819A οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ δεινὸν . . . ἀπειρία . . . ἀλλ' ἡ πολυπειρία καὶ
 πολυμαθία: Isocr. i 42 οὗτ' εὐτυχῶν ἔσει περιχαρὴς οὔτε δυστυχῶν
 περίλυπος.¹

¹ Cf. Hyp. vi 24 quoted on p. 130 above.

Assonance resulting from the juxtaposition of related words

I now turn from the forms of assonance based on compounds to the forms resulting from the juxtaposition, in close proximity, of different inflections of a substantive or verb, or of two different words whose root is the same. Assonance of this kind is common in all Greek writers—*κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει*, and so forth. But it is employed far more sparingly by the orators than by Plato, Xenophon, and the sophists. While such expressions as *μόνος μόνῳ διελέγετο, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ᾤχετο, περίεστι καὶ περιέσται* are natural and in fact almost inevitable, a conscious striving after these echo-effects, and an inordinate accentuation of them is discernible in many places. Gorg. *Fr.* 6 *τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀθανάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων.* *Fr.* 11 *ὅσοι δὲ ὅσους περὶ ὅσων καὶ ἔπεισαν καὶ πείθουσι δέ.* *Fr.* 11^a *ἐν οἷς πάντες πάντα ὁρῶσι καὶ πάντες ὑπὸ πάντων ὁρῶνται. πάντως ἄρα καὶ πάντῃ πάντα πράττειν ἀδύνατον ἦν μοι.* Plato, in the *Gorgias* (448c), makes Polus talk like this: *ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, πολλὰ τέχνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμπειριῶν ἐμπείρως ἡρῆσθαι· ἐμπειρία μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸν αἰῶνα ἡμῶν πορεύεσθαι κατὰ τέχνην, ἀπειρία δὲ κατὰ τύχην. ἐκάστων δὲ τούτων μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἄλλως, τῶν δὲ ἀρίστων οἱ ἀριστοί.*

In such passages a perfectly legitimate means of expression degenerates through excessive repetition into a monotonous sing-song. The echoes are, taken singly, for the most part logical enough: the trouble is that there are too many of them. Plato, in the *Laws*, often abuses this device in a different way by indulging in echoes which are empty sounds, and serve to convey no logical emphasis. Thus at 657D he has *ἐπειδὴ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς ἐλαφρόν ἐκλείπει νῦν*: but, after all, a man cannot lose someone else's nimbleness. Compare 659C *ὥστε αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ θεαταὶ παιδεύουσιν*, 'so that the spectators themselves educate them': an emphatic *αὐτοί* is placed, with obvious design, next to an unemphatic *αὐτοὺς*: Plato plays the same trick with *αὐτός* twice in the next two pages.¹ At 943D *πᾶσαν ἐπιφέροντα δίκην*

¹ Cf. *Menex.* 249A *ἐν πατρὸς σχήματι καταστάσα αὐτοῖς αὐτή.*

ἀνδρὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα, stress is on *πάσαν* and *πάντα* and the insertion of *ἀνδρί* suggests a logical point where none exists. At 849A, in the sentence *τῶν δὲ ἐν ἄστει κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελείσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀρχήν*, England renders *ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελείσθαι* 'take in hand and keep in hand'. Perhaps there is some such distinction in meaning, but I doubt if Plato was thinking of much except the sound.

Oxymoron

In connexion with this type of assonance I must refer briefly to the figure of oxymoron, which, though mainly poetical, is sometimes found in Plato (*πόλις ἀπολις*,¹ *δέος ἀδέξ*²), and to what the Germans call the *figura etymologiae*, which consists in the combination of a verb with the corresponding abstract substantive in the accusative. In the case of some words this manner of expression is normal: *πολλὰς ἀρχὰς ἄρχειν*, 'to hold many offices': *πολλὰς λειτουργίας λειτουργεῖν*: it is hardly possible, I imagine, to express the desired meaning otherwise. But in many other cases the *figura etymologiae* is a genuine 'figure', a self-conscious device of style. *ἀπόδειξιν ἀποδείξαι*, *ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπιμελείσθαι*, for example, are elaborate substitutes for the simple *ἀπόδειξιν ποιεῖσθαι*, *ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι*. The rarity of this figure in the earlier writers of Greek prose is remarkable: I cannot find any examples in the pre-Socratic philosophers, and there are very few in Gorgias, though Herodotus uses the device fairly frequently. Plato revelled in the *figura etymologiae*, particularly in the *Laws*, and his use of it is often rather affected: *Leg.* 868C *καθάρσεις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαιρέσθω³ καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς ἀπενιαντεῖν*: *Smp.* 183A *ἐμποδίζοιτο ἂν μὴ πράττειν οὕτω τὴν πρᾶξιν*. So, too, is Xenophon's *ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἱππασάμην ἱππασίαν ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι ὁμοιοτάτην . . .* (*Oec.* II. 17). The use of the figure seems particularly artificial where a compound verb contains an object within itself: *εἶδωλα εἶδωλοποιοῦντα* (*R.* 605C): *φιλοσοφεῖν φιλοσοφίαν* (*Mem.* IV. ii 23).

¹ *Leg.* 766D.

² *Smp.* 198A.

³ Eusebius quotes the text with the reading *καθαίρεσθαι*.

Homoeoteleuta

Having given some account of those types of assonance which depend upon the repetition, in one form or another, of the root of a word, I now turn to those types which depend upon the repetition of a termination. At the beginning of this chapter I noted the obvious fact that a highly inflected language which makes large use of symmetrical antithesis lends itself readily to assonance at the end of clauses. Homoeoteleuta, then, crop up unbidden, and their natural growth may be either checked or encouraged, according to the taste of the writer. It is often difficult to say whether the presence, or absence, of homoeoteleuton is due to deliberate design. In Demosthenes, terminal assonance seldom occurs at the end of long clauses, the characteristic Isocratean form of homoeoteleuton. It usually occurs in a string of single words, or quite short clauses, and the effect is that of a series of hammer strokes: an effect of concentrated force, not of leisurely *concininitas*. xix 17 is a typical case: καὶ τούτων ἕτερ' αἰθῆς αὖ πεπραχότων καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμα πεπρεσβευκότων. Take, again, xviii 67 ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο προιέμενον. The clauses are longer here, but again the effect is that of accumulation, not of balance.

Contrast with this xviii 210, one of the few Demosthenic instances of Isocratean homoeoteleuton: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. Except in cases where homoeoteleuton adds to the power of his rhetoric, Demosthenes seems to have deliberately avoided it, or at least to have passed it by when it lay ready to his hand. xviii 3 τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι: here Isocrates would have written τῶν μὲν λοιδορούντων ἡδέως ἀκροᾶσθαι, τοῖς . . . ἄχθεσθαι. Cf. *ibid.* 11 ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεφείδου καὶ διέβαλλες ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγεννημένης ὕστερον, ἃν βουλομένοις ἢ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι: here ἐξετάσιν

ποιήσομαι, for ἐξετάσω, would have given the rhyme, and Isocrates would probably have achieved an ἰσόκωλον by leaving out καὶ διέβαλλες and ἂν . . . μνησθήσομαι. At xix 29 ὄντιν' ἂν ὑμεῖς εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν κατεστήσατε καὶ τῶν συμβάντων καιρῶν ἐποιήσατε κύριον. καὶ κύριον . . . ἐποιήσατε would have given the rhyme, but the language is matter-of-fact and unrhetorical, and rhyme here would have been an affectation.

The rhyming effects of Isocrates and the rest of the Gorgianic school are too familiar to need detailed discussion. I will merely note one or two points. Assonance may occur at the beginnings of the clauses instead of at their ends. Take, for instance, *Panegyricus* 89, where the first two clauses rhyme at the beginning, the next two at the end: ὥστε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλεῦσαι μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πεξεῦσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, τὸν δ' Ἄθω διορύξας. Sometimes assonance occurs both at beginning and at end: And. iv 40 ἐμὲ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξελάσαντες τοὺς βελτίστους περιδεεῖς καταστήσετε, τοῦτον δὲ κολάσαντες τοὺς ἀσελγεστάτους νομμωτέρους ποιήσετε. So, too, in the parody of Hippias in the *Hippias Maior*: 282A εὐλαβούμενος μὲν φθόνον τῶν ζώντων, φοβούμενος δὲ μῆνιν τῶν τετελευτηκότων. Double rhyme at the end of clauses is very common: Lys. ii 4 ταῖς ψυχαῖς διαφέρειν ἢ ταῖς ιδέαις ἐλλείπειν. Even Demosthenes occasionally ventures on a double assonance: xviii 221 μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι: 287 μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν.

Punning assonance

I will conclude with a brief survey of what, for lack of a better name, I will style 'punning' assonance, where close similarity of sound co-exists with wide difference of meaning. 'Punning' is, it is true, an unfortunate description, because it connotes for us a humorous intention, while by the Greeks it was frequently regarded as a means of attaining truth, or as aesthetically valuable in itself. The stress laid by Heraclitus and Democritus on the significance of similarly sounding words is apparent from the most cursory reading of the fragments. Heraclit. *Fr.* 25

μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζοντας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι: *Fr.* 114 ξὺν νόῳ λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ ξυνῷ πάντων: *Democr. Fr.* 57 κτηνῶν μὲν εὐγένεια ἢ τοῦ σκῆνεος εὐθένεια. I need not quote the well-known passage in the *Gorgias* (493A) where Plato, on the authority of τις μυθολογῶν κομψὸς ἀνὴρ, ἴσως Σικελός τις ἢ Ἱταλικός, compares the seat of the desires to a πίθος, because it is πιθανός, and the σῶμα to a σῆμα, because the life of the body is the death of the soul. It is not easy to say how seriously Plato took this kind of thing. When he insists that the world must be an ordered whole, because it is called κόσμος, or that ἥθος is formed by ἔθος, he is, of course, not punning, but drawing a legitimate conclusion from the names that men give to things. When he says, as he says often in the *Laws*, that παιδιά is a part of παιδεία, he means that as children must play and must be educated, it is worth while considering whether they can be educated *through* their play. Even the comparison of the τρόποι of a human being to the τροπιδεία of a ship has some kind of etymological justification. But the employment of this, as of other kinds, of assonance became a mannerism with Plato in his later years. ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἐρῶν, καὶ τῆς ὥρας καθάπερ ὁπώρας πεινῶν (*Leg.* 837B) is a pretty frigid paronomasia, even though the second half of ὁπώρα ('juice-season') is derived from ὥρα: and before we have recovered from it, another follows close on its heels, ὁρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐρῶν. I select one or two out of a number of puerilities: the κληρώσεις δὲ δικαστηρίων καὶ πληρώσεις (*Leg.* 956E): πορείαν καὶ χορείαν (*Ephr.* 982E): ἔστω δ' οὖν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν μὴ φαῶλον, εἴ σοι φίλον (*Leg.* 804B): Κρής οὐκ ἄχρηστος (*Leg.* 834D): τὴν τοῦ φύσει συγγενοῦς ἕκ τινος διαφθορᾶς διαφορᾶν (*Soph.* 228A): σώματα πᾶσι μὲν σιτίοις, πᾶσι δ' αὖ ποτοῖς καὶ πόνοις συνήθη γιγνόμενα (*Leg.* 797E): ὁ Βίας εἰ ἀναβιοίη (*Hipp. Ma.* 281D). Similar crudities, 'litterae immutatione quasi quaesitae venustates', as Cicero (*Orator* 25. 84) called them, sometimes occur in the earlier dialogues, but always, I think, in parody. *Gorg.* 492B νόμον τε καὶ λόγον καὶ ψόγον is put in Callicles' mouth: *Prt.* 345B ἢ ὑπὸ χρόνου ἢ ὑπὸ πόνου is spoken by Socrates, but he is probably paying the old man a back-handed compliment. In *Prt.* 333E εὐλαβούμενος ἡρέμα ἡρόμην, which is perhaps a

conscious assonance, comes in Socrates' narration: but here, again, it suits the general character of the debate.

This use of punning assonance for the sole purpose of ear-tickling, without any underlying sense of the mystical significance of words, pretty certainly originated with Gorgias: κάλλος, ὃ λαβοῦσα καὶ οὐ λαβοῦσα ἔσχε: ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος λόγου προβήσομαι, καὶ προθήσομαι τὰς αἰτίας: συνέστε γάρ μοι, διὸ σύνιστε ταῦτα. Certain forms of it, for example φήμη-μνήμη, ῥώμη-γνώμη, became standardized, and are the hallmark of a particular type of rhetorical composition. Blass has noticed the frequency of these devices in the 31st speech of Lysias, and thinks Lysias employed them out of contempt for his opponent—βουλεύειν δουλεύειν, and so forth. 'I feel that assonance similarly heightens the contempt in Demosthenes' words to Aeschines (xviii 11) κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ψήθης. There are some very curious examples of punning assonance in Xenophon: *An.* II. ii 1 Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε: V 18 τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὀράτε: vi 20 ὥετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι: III. i 6 τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων: *Cyr.* v. iii 47 οὕτως ἡλίθιος ἔσοιτο ὥστε οὐκ εἴσοιτο. It is difficult to believe that these are unintentional, and I think I have provided evidence earlier in this chapter that Xenophon had a certain leaning towards artificial assonance. These tricks remind me of the occasional poeticisms in Andocides. They are the means by which the plain man seeks refuge from his plainness.

Conclusions

The very tentative conclusions to be drawn from this survey may be stated somewhat as follows. The prose of the early philosophers sets out to devise an elaborate word-music comparable to poetry in aesthetic value. It freely employs alliteration and compound words which are not only impressive in their own nature but lend themselves to the production of assonance. Greater effect is given to these devices by the order of words, which is diversified and frequently chiasmic. As prose technique develops, alliteration is felt to be crude, and passes out of fashion: while the separation of the language of poetry

from that of prose limits a prose-writer's, or at any rate an orator's, freedom to use elaborate compounds as a basis of assonance. Simultaneously, the evolution of the highly polished Isocratean period, with symmetrically balanced clauses, encourages the growth of homoeoteleuton, which to a large extent ousts rival forms of assonance from the field, and replaces them by a system of rhymes so mechanical and monotonous as to make portions of Greek prose literature almost unreadable. In Plato, however, much of the old feeling for the mystical significance of words survives, and is to be detected particularly in the works of his old age; where it exists side by side with a delight, rather naïve from a modern point of view, in sound-echoes for their own sake.