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EPIDEICTIC LITERATURE

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EPIDEICTIC LITERATURE.

By THEODORE C. BURGESS.

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

¹See Sidgwick, Journal of Philology, IV (1873), 298, and V (1874), 66; he continues Grote's defense and cites other writers. Cf. also statements and references in the histories of Greek literature, notably Christ (3d ed.), Croiset, Bernhardt; Gompers, Griechische Denker; Dümmler, Prolegomena zu Platon's Staat.
first and second century A.D., and is called the New Sophistic, are very numerous.¹

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

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

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

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

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

**Introduction.**

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

Like many other rhetorical terms among the Greeks, the word ἐπίστημικός¹ held at different times or at the same time quite

¹ I use the word "epideictic" in referring to this branch of literature, although the terms "panegyric" and "encomiastic" were also used by the Greek rhetors; cf. Philodemus, I, cols. 30, 32, pp. 212, 213, Sudhaus; Hermogenes, Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.*, II, 405, et passim; Diog. Laert., VII, 42; Aristides, Sp. II, 502, 17; Alexander, son of Numenius, Sp. III, 1, 10; Menander, Sp. III, 331, 8; Theon, Sp. II, 61, 22; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 449, 13, l. 20. Cf. also the Latin *genus laudativum*, *genus demonstrativum*. 
different meanings; to generalize, it had its stricter and its loose and more inclusive application. Aristotle is the earliest and most important authority for the former. His triple division of oratory¹ (Rhet., I, 3, 1 and 3) is based upon the attitude of the hearer. He is necessarily either a θεωρὸς or a κριτής. The κριτής has some real interest at stake and is expected to make a decision, as in the case of one who listens to a legal argument or a speech in the assembly. The θεωρὸς is so named from the analogy of the theater, where the audience are mere spectators and entertainment is the chief purpose. He looks upon an oration chiefly as a display of intellectual ability, and this attitude of mind on the part of the auditor distinguishes the epi- deictic branch of oratory from the others. Aristotle’s definition was adopted by other writers and was long employed.²

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

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

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φ ψυχή

λογικόν σωματίκα επιθυμητικόν

φ μητορική

συμβουλευτικόν δικαίων παραγωγήν
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See Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 73, 80, 121, 139.

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

³ The use of the word ἐπιθυμητικόν in Isocrates and his ideal of oratory are discussed in some detail on pp. 97 ff.

⁴ Compare Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 494, 2 ff. ⁵ See Orat., 37 and 207.
Hermogenes includes all literature except distinctively legal and deliberative oratory. After claiming Plato as the perfect example of an epideictic writer in prose, he adds that Homer, though a poet, is equally to be classed as epideictic, and that poetry, as a whole, should be placed under this division (Sp. II, 405, 7 and 21; 408, 15 ff.). Menander in his treatise περὶ ἐπιδιεκτικῶν recognizes this larger definition of the word, since he illustrates the word ἔμων from poetry or prose indifferently. He closes his discussion of this epideictic form with the statement that his rules are such as the ποιητῆς, the συγγραφείς, and the ἱπτωρ employ in composing hymns to the gods (Sp. III, 344, 6). Among the hymns some forms are more appropriate for prose and some for poetry (343, 29).

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

1 A like application of the term “epideictic” to poetic compositions is found in the Anthologia Palatina, where the term is used in its most vague and general meaning. The epigrams classed under this title comprise Book IX (cf. also App., chap. 3, ed. Didot, which, though of much more recent date, bears the same title). They are very miscellaneous and inclusive. The majority are real or imaginary incidents put in poetic form. A few are purely epideictic in motive, e.g., IX, 524, a hymn to Dionysus; 525, to Apollo; 393, on Spring, containing the same τὸνος as Choricius; App., 158, οἰκτροῦ ἔκανον; cf. also IX, 412, and others. Some are descriptive, and many are imaginary speeches of celebrated persons; many personify animals or inanimate objects.

It seems impossible to trace the title historically. The scholiast to Anth. Pal., IV, 1, indicates that Meleager’s Anthology was alphabetical. Topical arrangement first appears in Agathias’ collection. The title ἐπιδεικτικῆς is not among his seven headings, but apparently there was material of this nature placed under different titles, as: I, Dedications; II, On Statues; IV, Hortatory. Cephalius (Anth. Pal., IV, 1) seems to have begun the work of classification entirely anew, furnishing the basis for that of Maximus Planudes. The scholiast (at the beginning of Anth. Pal., IX) seems to interpret the title “epideictic” in a strict sense and to connect with it narrative epigrams. He says: ὁδὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἡμέρας τὸ ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος, ἂν τινὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν εἴρηται καὶ ἐρμηνεύαται ἐπιδεικτικά καὶ πραγμάτων γεγονότων ὑπὸ καὶ γεγονότων ἀφώγητον. This would agree with the natural supposition that the term ἐπιδεικτικῆς was suggested by the many epigrams which would come strictly under that head, and that it then became a convenient title under which to place all those not readily classed elsewhere, and this the more easily because of the great liberty in the use of this word in its application to prose.
was display, thus agreeing with the derivation of the word "epideictic." The hearer is to gain pleasure, at least, if not information. The style is the most distinctive feature. This general characteristic marks out the limits of the territory naturally occupied by this division of oratory in its narrower conception. Its tendency is to exclude topics of a practical nature where the thought of the auditor centers chiefly on the subject discussed or in the argument, or where his interests are to any extent affected by the conclusions reached or implied. Since the appeal is to the emotions more than to the intellect, form is of greater importance than subject-matter. A tendency to ornament of every kind is fostered, and there is too little regard as to whether it be legitimate or not. Even truth may be disregarded in the interests of eloquence. "A pomp and prodigality of words," well-balanced periods, a style half poetic, half oratorical, are the qualities most desired. The orations which emphasize the qualities which come under this conception of the word "epideictic" are happily but a fragment of the large body of epideictic literature; yet this lower usage has stood, in the minds

1 Cf. Anaximenes, chap. 35, init., ὁκ ἀγώνος ἀλλ' ἐτισθεῖσω ἔκκοκχα.
2 Quintil., II, 10, 10.
3 Cic., Orat., 61, 207; Quintil., III, 8, 7, and 63.
4 Compare Philodemus, I, p. 32 (Sudhaus) = Suppl., p. 18, where he approves the criticism of Epicurus that those who listen to displays and panegyrics, and the like, are not under any oath or in any hazard, and do not consider their truth or falsehood, but are charmed by the ἐτις and beauty of style; such things would not be endured in court or assembly.
5 Isocrates, Busiris, 4, presents, as a general principle, the fact that one composing a eulogy may invent good qualities, and vice versa with one who makes a speech of detraction. Aristides (Sp. II, 505) says the encomiastic division among other things makes use of παράλειψις and εὐφημία. By the former only the praiseworthy is brought forward. Εὐφημία is a euphemistic way of stating facts which are in reality unfavorable to the one praised. So in the ψέγος, unfavorable facts are presented in a light worse than the truth (δυσφημία). Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 481) tells the orator to call ἔθλαταν εὐθαδεῖαν καὶ προμήθειαν, τὸ δὲ ὅρασιν ἀνθρειαν καὶ εὐφυχίαν, καὶ δῶς ἄι τάνη ἐκ τὸ καλλον ἱραγξήμονι; cf. Aristotle, Rhet., I, 9, 29; Quintil., III, 7, 25; Anaximenes, Sp. I, 186, 10-13; 188, 1-10; Plato, Phaedr., 267 B, 273 D, E; Isoc., Pan., 8. Compare the Sophistic view of rhetoric as an "art of perversion." According to Anaximenes, this perversion of the truth belongs to all rhetoric; cf. chaps. 29 and 30.
of many, as representative. This fact has tended, both in ancient and modern times, to bring the epideictic branch as a whole under adverse criticism.

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

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

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2 Cf. also Sp. III, 484, 14; Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 410 (Doxopater); Auctor ad Heren., III, 8, 15. This passage is as follows: "At in iudicialibus et in deliberativis causis saepe magnae partes versantur laudis aut vituperationis."
The rhetors who treat the various forms of school exercises (προγυμνάσματα, see p. 108, n. 1) show a like freedom in citing examples.¹

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

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

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

² See Arist., Rhet., I, 9, 35; Quintil., III, 7, 28.
³ Cf. also Sears, The Occasional Address, p. 110, et passim.
epideictic literature lying between these extremes, presenting mixed motives and treatment—speeches such as the circumstances of common life call for in any age of high cultivation, in many cases of no permanent value, yet serving a worthy purpose at the time. The situation arises constantly where an oration is appropriate.\(^1\) The epideictic orator is ever ready to meet this opportunity. Speechmaking of this character—the "occasional address"—was much cultivated by the Greeks and has formed a large body of honorable literature from that day to this. It includes the widest possible range of treatment—the poetic style of Himerius, the philosophical tendency of Themistius and Dion Chrysostomus, the more purely rhetorical form of Choricius, or the sober treatment of political themes in Isocrates. Here may be found speeches which serve chiefly to dazzle an audience, to flatter a prince, and those which gain these ends to some extent, but combine with this purely ephemeral interest a more permanent value, and thus approach orations of the first class mentioned above and the ideal of Isocrates.\(^2\)

**The Use of ἔνδεικνυμι in Isocrates and His Conception of Oratory.**

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


\(^2\) Isocrates presents specimens of each of these classes of epideictic speech. The *Busiris* (cf. Sp. III, 482) was written to show what might be done with a paradoxical theme. His *Helen* and *Euagoros*, and many passages in other orations, are excellent examples of the epideictic speech in its more restricted sense, but the great mass of his writings belong to a class which makes an elevated theme, and one of practical and lasting importance, a prime necessity. The whole weight of his influence lies in this direction. The *Panegyricus* is the best example. Isocrates was the "completer of Thrasymachus of Chalcedon and Gorgias in elevating the style of prose." The errors of his predecessors were corrected, and the possibilities for eloquence which prose contained within itself, but which had been sought outside, were developed to a high degree of perfection. Croiset justly styles him "an artist in speech, addressing himself to lovers of beautiful language." Though but a
Incidental mention is made of each in terms which, if not already technical, amply prepare the way for Aristotle’s terminology. In *Contra Sophistas*, 9, we find the term πολιτικός λόγος. Section 20 repeats these words and includes δικαιούς λόγους, elsewhere termed πρὸς άγώνας (*Antid.*, 1; *Panath.*, 271) and οἵ περὶ τῶν ἱδίων συμβολαλων (*Pan.*, 11). The expression συμβουλεύοντα λόγον (*Phil.*, 18) suggests the later technical phrase συμβουλεύοντις λόγος. Both are referred to with some disdain as compared with the higher type which forms Isocrates’ ideal. He maintains that these call for an inferior order of talent and less preparation, and possess less permanent value.

Isocrates uses the word ἐπιδεικνυμι 39 times; of these six examples—*Ad Nic.*, 7; *Pan.*, 4; *Phil.*, 27; *Panath.*, 272; *Helen*, 15; small proportion of his speeches are epideictic in title or technically such in theme, all are of this class in reality. For a favorable view of his style from an enemy of rhetoric compare Philodemus, I, 127, 153, and elsewhere; see Sudhaus, index. For appreciative references to epideictic oratory in Cicero see *Orator*, chaps. 11, 12, and 13.

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

To state the conclusions more concisely, the πολιτικός λόγος included at different times in different authors the deliberative speech, or the deliberative and judicial, or all three kinds of oratory, or these with philosophical and historical treatises added, and sometimes even poetry. The question is also discussed by Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, II, 107 ff., 208, 475; Volkmann, *Rhet. der Griechen u. Römer* (1885), and Iw. Müller’s *Handbücher*, II, 455 ff.; Baumgart, *Ael. Aristides als Repr. d. soph. Rhet. des II. Jahrh. d. Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1874). Cf. also Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, III, 360–80, and elsewhere.

2 See *Panath.*, 11; *Pan.*, 11, 12; *Antid.*, 3, 48, 49, 216, 227, 228.
Busiris, 9—refer to the public delivery of an oration.\(^1\) The noun ἐπιδείκτης is used 12 times; in seven cases in the combination ἐπιδείκτης ποιεῖσθαι, showing a well-established phrase. The passages are as follows: Pan., 17; Phil., 17, 93; Helen, 9; Antid., 55, 147; Ep., VI, 4. In four cases it is with the article—Panath., 271; Antid., 1; Helen, 9; Ep., I, 5. The noun occurs also in Phil., 25, and Ep., I, 6. The adverb ἐπιδείκτικῶς occurs but once—Pan., 11—where it means “in ostentatious style.” The simple verb δείκνυμι is used twice with virtually the meaning of ἐπιδείκνυμι—Phil., 22, 23.\(^2\)

\(^1\) One of the earliest instances of the use of ἐπιδείκνυμι to indicate rhetorical display may be found in Arist., Eq., 349:

\[\text{εἰ τὸν δικτάον εἶναι ἐπὶ κατὰ ἔκταν μετοίκου,}\]

\[\text{ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε πάνω, κάθισμα χωρὶς φίλου \ τῷ ἀνών,}\]

\[\text{φῶν δυνάτον εἶναι λέγειν.}\]

Cf. Ran., 771.

\(^2\) The use of this word in Plato may be introduced at this point for convenience of comparison. Plato uses the verb ἐπιδείκνυμι 50 times, the noun ἐπιδείκνυς 13 times, and the adverb ἐπιδείκτικῶς once; a total of 104 instances. In 41 cases the word has its original and common force—“to show, point out, prove,” etc. In 17 cases there is the idea of public display more or less prominent, but with no special reference to literature. In 46 instances it involves the display of some literary product, sometimes in the strictly technical sense, in other cases with various degrees of approach to this.

Plato uses the word (verb, 26 times; noun, 11; adjective, 1) in a technical sense in the following passages: Gorgias, 447 A, B (twice); C (twice); 458 B; Hip. Min., 363 A, C, D; 364 B (twice); Hip. Maj., 282 B, C (twice); 285 C; 286 B (twice); 287 B; Soph., 217 E; 224 B; Symposium, 194 B; Phaedr., 235 A; Axiouclus, 386 C; Sisyphus, 387 A; Protag., 323 D; 347 B; Ion., 530 D; 542 A (twice). He uses the word also in a less formal way of sophists setting forth their views in discussion with others: Lysis, 204 E (twice); Euthyd., 274 A (three times); 275 A (twice); 278 C; 282 D; Eryx., 398 E. Prodicus’ lecture course is called an ἐπιδείκνυμι in Crat., 334 B. ἐπιδείκνυμι is employed in referring to the presentation of plays by poets: Laches, 183 B (twice); Rep., 398 A; Laws, 658 B; 817 D; 938 A; Symposium, 195 D. Ion interprets Homer, Ion, 542 A (twice); cf. also 530 D. In the Theaet., 143 A, and Phaedr., 236 E, it seems to mean “repeat.” The passages cited indicate that the use of ἐπιδείκτης in the sense of an oration for display was fairly established in the time of Plato. Exactly half of the passages cited come from the two dialogues—Hip. Maj. and Hip. Min. It is noticeable in this connection that the genuineness of the Hip. Maj. and the Hip. Min. has been much called in question. The results of discussion have been much more favorable
We may gather still further from Isocrates’ use of the word ἐπιδεικνύμενον that he recognizes the pure epideictic speech as legitimate and worthy, though inferior to the style of speech which he employs (e.g., Panath., 271 f.). The word in several instances is introduced for the express purpose of disclaiming any intention of making a display in the speech in question. By an epideictic speech he seems to mean primarily one prepared for a πανήγυρις (cf. Antid., 147, and Ep., 1, 5, 6). But he also includes here any speech whose purpose is display or whose style is polished with especial care. Oratory is of two kinds as regards its style, simple and for display — τούς μὲν ἀφελέως· τούς δὲ ἐπιδεικτικῶς (Pan., 11; cf. also Ep., 6, 5); the former is appropriate for the court-room. Orations of these two varieties maintain just limits, and he who can speak epideictically—which, he explains, means with nice finish (ἀκριβῶς)—can also speak simply (ἀπλῶς), with the implication that the epideictic style is higher and more inclusive. The master of this style is able to employ any other at will, but the same cannot be said for the orator who cultivates any other style. His defense of his own elaborate style, at the beginning of the Panegyricus, carries with it a rebuke to those who despise orations which are carefully worked out. His to the authenticity of the Hip. Min., though many regard both as the work of Plato. The conclusion which we draw is not affected by the decision on this question, as the instances outside these dialogues amply establish the usage. The lines of discussion may be seen in the Prolegomena of Stallbaun and other editors; Zeller’s Plato and the Older Acad., p. 86; Platonische Studien, pp. 150 f.; Grote, Plato (Murray, London, 1888), I, 308, II, 33; Christ (3d ed.), pp. 435, 450; Blass, Attische Bered., see index; Hornfeffer, De Hippia Maiore, qui fertur Platonis (Diss., Göt., 1895); Rollick, Wiener Studien, XXII. Jahrgang, 1. Heft (1900), pp. 18–24.

That its technical use is not more frequent in Plato, although so many of his dialogues make the sophists a chief theme, may be accounted for, if in no other way, by the fact that Plato deals with the teachings of the sophists, their influence as professors of omniscient pretensions, rather than with their oratory. The fact that the word is used ten times to indicate the informal dialogue-presentation of the sophists’ views on some question under discussion, and eight times for the public recitation of poetry, original or another’s, indicates a wider usage than the word usually had at a later time; the authority of Aristotle restricted it. Gorgias turns at the entrance of Socrates from an ἕρους of the technical kind to one of this less formal order.
approval of the epideictic style may be learned from this passage, and also from such statements as Phil., 27, where, after referring to the fact that his speech will not have the charm and persuasiveness which come from good delivery, he adds: “It has not the rhythm and variety of style which I used in my youth and taught to others, through which they made speech more agreeable and also more persuasive.”

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

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

1 Compare also Phil., 28; Sophist., 16; Ep., 6, 6; Antid., 45 ff.; Nic., 1 ff.; Phil., 17, 18, 109, 110. Compare also his praise of λόγος, Nic., 1–10; Sophist., 17–19; Pan., 48–50; Antid., 177, 181, 183, 190, 278, 279, 291–5, 306.
2 Ad Nic., 41; Phil., 84; Antid., 1.
3 Cf. Phil., 93; Panath., 84, 85; Antid., 82, 83.
4 Note also Panath., 271; Peace, 1–5; Nic., 10, 17; Phil., 9, 15; Antid., 3, 45–50, 67, 70, 84, 276, 277, 278; Pan., 188, 189; Ad Nic., 1, 2, 53, 54.
especially directed against παράδοξα ἐγκώμια. In Phil., 17, 18, speaking of the alarm felt by his friends over his purpose to send an oration of advice to Philip, instead of an encomiastic display, he shows incidentally the frequency and honorable position of such speeches.

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

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

General Sketch of Epideictic Literature.

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

1Epideictic literature as a distinctive division of oratory may for all practical purposes be said to begin with Gorgias. The ornaments of language known as the Gorgian figures belong to the epideictic branch far more fully than any other. The rhetorical devices attributed to him are as follows: (1) μακρολογία, amplification (cf. Quintil., VIII, 3, 53); (2) σωφροσύνη, brevity; (3) an answering of jest with earnest and earnest with jest (cf. Horace, Sat., I, 10, 14; Cic., De Orat., II, 58, 238); (4) teaching by example rather than by precept; (5) a style characterized by flowing expression, and rhythmic arrangement, startling figures of language, bold metaphor, poetic epithets. His name is especially identified with six figures of language: (1) antithesis (ἀντιθέσις); (2) paronomasia (παρονομασία); (3) repetition of sound, alliteration (παράξενος); (4) repetition of words (ἀνάδικλωσις); (5) likeness of sound in final
panegyric, encomium, and other leading types of epideictic speech are found in this early period. Thus the epideictic division of oratory reached great prominence very early in the development of prose literature. It continued, assuming always an important, often a commanding, place, until the Greeks ceased to produce literature. Taking the most comprehensive possible view of the course of epideictic oratory—covering as it does some eighteen centuries, if one includes the oratory of the church on to the end of the eastern empire—there are three periods which stand out with remarkable prominence when compared with other centuries. These are: the first century of its development, the fourth B.C., to which the last years of the fifth should be added, including such names as Gorgias, Hippias, Isocrates, Alcidamas, Polycrates; the fourth century A.D., with a thoroughly epideictic spirit and a large production; such orators as Libanius, Themistius, Himerius, Choricius, are representative of the period; the second century A.D., with a large literature, and such orators as Aristides, Dion Chrysostomus, Polemon. There is ample evidence of abundant activity in this branch of oratory during other centuries, though comparatively little has been preserved. It is difficult to judge how completely the orators, with the titles and character of their orations, have been reported to us, and any attempt to generalize about epideictic literature must, of course, take this into consideration as a modifying feature. Epideictic oratory, from the ephemeral nature of many of its themes and its general light and occasional character, would seem least likely to be preserved.  

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

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

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

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2 However, the great rhetorical activity of this period is clearly shown from literary sources practically contemporaneous, notably Plato, *Phaedr.*, 266 E ff., where special mention is made of Theodorus of Byzantium, Evenus of Paros, Thrasymachus, Polus, Prodicus, Hippias, Protagoras, Lycimnas, with the implication that others might be named. Compare *Sp. Artt. Script.*; Dionys. of Hal., *De Isai a Iud.*, chaps. xix ff.; Arist., *Rhet.*, III, 13, 5; Quintil., III, 1, 7 ff.; Plato, *Sympos.*, 171 A; Cope on Arist., *Rhet.*, III, 1, 7; Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque* (1900); Cic., *Orat.*, chap. 12; Suidas.


*Compare a similar division in Diog. Laert., III, 95.
became stereotyped, and the presence of the same in Menander and in extant epideictic literature indicates their persistence.

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

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

2 Arist., Rhet., I, 3, 4; Alexander, Sp. III, 1, 9.
4 Cf. 1, 7, 34 (Pericles' ἐπιτάφιος); III, 10, 7 (same); III, 17, 10 and 11 (Gorgias, Isocrates); III, 14, 1, 2 (the same); III, 14, 11 (the Menexenus); I, 9, 30 (the same); III, 14, 11 (Gorgias). In II, 22, 6, he recognizes the familiar topics of the epitaphius (and other panegyrical forms). "How eulogize the Athenians unless we are informed of the sea-fight at Salamis, the battle of Marathon, or the exploits achieved by them in behalf of the Heraclidæ and other like matters? For it is on the real or apparently honorable traits attaching to each object that all orators found their panegyrical." Note also
Aristotle (*Rhet.*, I, 5, 4 and 5) shows his general familiarity with the chief τόποι of epideictic discourse—εὐγένεια, πολυφιλία, χρηστοφιλία, εὐτεκνία, πλούτος, πολυτεκνία, εὐεργεία, ἴμη, κάλλος, ἵος, μέγεθος, δύναμις ἀγωνιστική, δύνα, τιμή, εὐτυχία, ἀρετή, etc. In III, 12, 5 and 6, Aristotle states that the epideictic style is the best adapted for writing, for its purpose is to be read, and adds (III, 1, 7): “Written speeches (γένος ἐπιδεικτικῶν) owe their power more to the style than to the thought.”

During the comparatively barren period from the close of the fourth century B. C. to the beginning of the second A. D. there is abundant epideictic product and many rhetorical treatises were written. There is no extant treatise of importance from the time of Aristotle (350 B. C.) to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, late in the first century B. C. 4 There is a wide gap, not only Isocrates (*Phil.*, 146-8), where he says that no one praises the city (Athens) for anything so much as for Marathon and Salamis and Sparta for Thermopylae.

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

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

1 *Cf.* Quintil., III, 8, 63, though he perhaps puts a different meaning into Aristotle.

2 Susseml, *Griech. Litt. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, treats of this period.

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

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

Script. Rhet. Questiones Crit. (Argentor, 1878); Croiset, Lit. græcque, V, 333 ff.; Usener, Dionysii Hal. quæ fertur Ars Rhet. (1885). Usener thinks there are two parts. The first seven chapters are abridgments from works of the time of Aristides. Of the second part the fourth chapter is a work of the first century; chaps. 1 and 2 are from different schools, and the last two are the work of Dionysius. Cf. also Christ, Gk. Lit. (3d ed., 1888), p. 642; Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., 115 (1877), 809; Acta Soc. Gk. Phil. Leips., V (1875), 269.

1 Among the lost works of Philodemus there is a πεπληρωμένον; see Sudhaus, I 219, col. 38.

1 The two treatises πεπληρωμένον under the name of Menander may be found in Walz, Rhetores Graeci, Vol. IX, 127-330, or in Spengel, Rhetores Graeci, III, 331-446. Certain difficulties presented by the title, arrangement, and contents have been noted by scholars and discussed to some extent. The text of the title is as follows: Μενάνδρος βήτορος Γενεθλιών διαφέρει τῶν πεπληρωμένων. The word Γενεθλιών is unmanageable. Walz and Spengel approve Valesius' suggestion of πεπληρωμένου, taking the words as a dedication; Walz sees a lacuna between the two treatises. More extended discussion of the questions involved may be found in Nitsche's Der Rhetor Menandros und die Scholien zu Demosthenes (Berlin, 1883). He quotes the views of Bursian that the first part is by Menander, the second by an unknown author; but himself holds that Menander is the author of the second half, written perhaps in 273 A.D., and that the first part is by his contemporary Genethlius. This view is based largely upon similarities between the second part of the treatise and the Demosthenes scholia by Menander. The two treatises became joined in a corpus on epideictic oratory, and through error the name of Menander was placed before the first. There is an error, too, in the order of the second part. Nitsche would rearrange: (1) βασιλικὸς λόγος, (2) στεφανικός, (3) προσβεβλικός, (4) Σωματικός, (5) κλητικός, (6) προφθαρμακίδος, (7) ἐπιβαθρίως, (8) εὐκατακτικός, (9) λαλικός, (10) προτεστική λαλικά, (11) ἐπιθαλάμιον, (12) κατευναστικός, (13) γενεθλιακός, (14) μαχαίρι, (15) παραμυθητικός, (16) ἐπιτάφιον.

In this order 1-4 inclusive treat of the half-deified rulers of the state and of Apollo; 5-8 inclusive might be addressed to Roman governors; 9, the
with differentiation of forms and special directions to students. Menander in his περί ἑπιδεικτικῶν gives rules in minute detail for the composition of twenty-three varieties which the praise of men and of things might assume, and even then leaves a considerable part of the field untouched. Dionysius treats only six. Three of these (the παντηγματικός, γαμματικός, and προτρεπτικός ἀθλητικός) are not found in Menander; the other three are treated by him with practically the same directions. Menander’s failure to include the παντηγματικός may perhaps be accounted for by the changed status of the πανήγυρις and the degeneration of the speech attending it to a mere personal encomium.

Other extant rhetors add little or nothing to the treatment of the epideictic branch of oratory. Several confine themselves to the practice exercises of the rhetorical schools (προγυμνάσματα).\(^1\) Alexander, son of Numenius (second century A. D.), uses λαλά, is a form which may apply stylistically to all; 10–16 are speeches appropriate to private life. Cf. also Volkmann, Rhet. Griech. u. Römer, p. 118, n., and Phil. Rundschau (1884), 643 ff.

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

Each of the extant works on the προγυμνάσματα discusses to some extent the usefulness of the various divisions of the προγυμνάσματα for each of the three branches of oratory. Each had its value for oratory in general, but some forms were recognized as more helpful to the judicial, others to the deliberative, and still others to the epideictic; others contributed almost equally to each of the three. Cf. Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 449, where he says, in effect, their purpose is oratory; their material everything; their training must prepare for each division of oratory. Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 568, 4: “προγυμνάσματα are good for each part of the rhetorical art.” Walz, II, 5 (Anon. Scholia to Aphthon.): “useful for all, but not all equally for all parts.” The judgment of the different writers agrees quite closely. The fullest discussion from this point of view is found in Nicolaus Sophista.

The usual topics of the προγυμνάσματα (see Walz, Rhet. Gr., I, 127; II, 567) were the μύθος, or myth; the διήγημα, or narrative; the χρεία, a maxim made the basis of a disquisition. It is defined by Hermogenes, Sp. II, 5; Aphthonius, Sp. II, 23, and Theon, Sp. II, 96. The γνώμη (sententia) is a general proposition treated in like manner. Aristotle (Rhet. II, 21, 2 and 15) defines
both terms, ἐγκωμιαστικὸν and ἐπιδεικτικὸν (Sp. III, 1 ff.). He
goes back to Aristotle’s division of the audience as deliberators,
judges, or mere listeners—hence the term “epideictic.” He also
gives a brief treatment to hymns. Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III,
449) uses the term πανηγυρικὸν γένος exclusively. He recognizes
that other material besides praise and blame may be properly
introduced into this class of oratory, which was always more
inclusive in practice than in theory. Speaking of ἐγκώμια (p. 477,
20), he says the encomium is no longer a simple thing, but much
subdivided. He perhaps means to have it understood that this
extreme minuteness of subdivision is of comparatively recent date.
The origin of the word ἐγκώμιον is discussed by several rhetors.
Hermogenes gives as an explanation (Sp. II, 11 ff.): “They say
it is called ἐγκώμιον because the poets sang the hymns of the gods
anciently in villages (ἐν κόμαις).” The more probable derivation
is given by Theon (Sp. II, 109, 27): ἐγκώμιον δὲ λέγεται τῷ τοὺς
παλαιοὺς ἐν κόμαι τω ἐπὶ παλιάς τις εἰς θεο ἐνόγια κοίνων.

The extent and variety of epideictic literature are readily
learned from the monuments and the reference to such oratory
in Greek literature. But our conceptions gain in scope and
clearness, especially for the period preceding and following the
beginning of the third century A. D., from the notable treatise
by Menander, περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, to which reference has already
been made. Menander (Sp. III, 331 ff.) begins with an extremely
brief statement about epideictic oratory in general—two pages
it: the ἀνακεφὴ and κατακεφὴ, confirmation and the opposite; the κουΐς τότες,
locus communis; the ἐγκώμιον, a laudation; the ψῆφος, the opposite of ἐγκώμιον;
the σῦγκρισις, a comparison; the ὑποκλίων, an impersonation or delineation of
character; the ἐπικρατι, a description; the θέσις, an argument for or against
an assumed question; the πόμον εἰσφορά, discussion of a law. The rhetors
cite as of special value to the epideictic orator the ἐγκώμιον, ψῆφος, κουΐς τότες,
σῦγκρισις, ὑποκλίων, γνώμῃ, θέσις. Helpful in training for the assembly: μῦθοι,
χρώια, προτραχή, ἀνταραχή, ἀπακεφή, παρακεφή; for the court orator: θέσις, κουΐς
τότες, ἀνακεφή, παρακεφή, ὑποκλίων, σῦγκρισις, πόμον εἰσφορά. Quintil., II, 4, makes
a similar distinction in the helpfulness of the προγράμματα. The preparation
of model exercises of this character formed a part of the work of several
epideictic speakers, who were teachers as well as orators, notably Libanius
and Choricius.

in a total of 116. He adopts Aristotle's triple division of oratory: ἐν δικαστηρίον, ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἢ βουλαῖς, and εἰς τρίτοις τοῖς ἐπι- δεικτικοῖς. Epideictic speech deals with praise and blame (331, 15). In 1.18 he dismisses the latter, τὸ μὲν τοῦ ψόγου μέρος ἀτμητοῦ. His treatise involves praise only. He then makes the general division of praise (331, 19) into that directed toward the gods and that which concerns men only. He states in a few words the general characteristics of hymns and indicates the many subdivisions which might be made in the praise of mortals. παράδοξα ἔγκωμα are recognized (332, 26), but left for others to discuss. Following this is his treatment of the forms of prose hymns to the gods. He then gives detailed rules for the composition of the twenty-three different kinds of epideictic speech, including the Συμνιθεικός λόγος, an elaborate oration in honor of Apollo, which, though classed as a λόγος, would seem more properly a ὑμνὸς and should certainly be connected with the ἐπιτελέσμαν, κατευναστικός, and γαμικός as one of the substitutions of prose for poetry.

His λόγοι are as follows: (1) Praise of a country, its situation, its advantages of climate, products, etc.; its race, founders, government, history; its advancement in science, literature, etc.; its festivals, fine buildings, and any other special attractions. (2) Praise of a city. with τόποι almost identical with those employed in the praise of a country. (3) Praise of a harbor — very brief. (4) Praise of a bay — very brief. (5) Praise of an acropolis — very brief. (6) Praise of a city from its γένος, and (7) from its characteristics or pursuits (ἐπιτελεσμαν). The τόποι here are naturally like those in the general praise of a city, except for the emphasis at special points. (8) The βασιλικός λόγος, a speech of praise addressed to the ruler (see pp. 113 ff. for detailed presentation). (9) ἐπιβατήριος λόγος, a speech on disembarking. It may be addressed to one's state on returning from a journey, or it may be a greeting to a town or to its newly arrived ruler. After an expression of joy over the arrival, the speech follows the lines of the βασιλικός λόγος, passing at its close into a praise of the city or country involved. These main themes vary in
prominence according to the circumstances of delivery. When addressed to one’s native land the speech may be termed a πατριος λόγος. (10) λαλιά. This was the name given to a style rather than to a topic. It is noticeable for the absence of fixed rules. Several topics of the epideictic circle might be treated in the style of the λαλιά, which was more free and easy, sometimes conversational, yet abounding in sweetness, spirited narrative, pictures, skilful turns, proverbs, quotations. There are two εἰδη; one is a συμβουλετικὸν εἴδος, the other more purely epideictic. It may be used to praise kings or states, or to advise and exhort, or to announce some fact pleasant or grievous; it may be sportive in character, praising or censuring something. Brief speeches serving as introductions were termed προλαλιά. Menander says (389, 27) that the history of Herodotus is full of materials and suggestions for sweet speeches of this sort and that λαλιά should be characterized by the simplicity and smoothness of Xenophon. (11) προσεπτικὸς λόγος, a speech to one departing; it is of three kinds: if between equals, it is of a lover-like character; if to a superior, laudatory; a superior may address an inferior, then advice is prominent; when addressed to a ruler it resembles the βασιλικὸς λόγος. (12) The ἐπιθαλάμιον, a marriage hymn. (13) κατευναστικὸς, allied to the preceding. (14) γενεθλιακὸς, on a birthday. (15) παραμυθητικὸς λόγος, a consolation. It begins with a lament. It speaks of the γῆς, φύσις, ἀνατομή, παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεων, etc., of the deceased. He is in Elysium: no reason to mourn. It is similar in many ways to the μουριδία, and has its close relations also with the ἐπιτάφιος. (16) προσφοτητικὸς, an address of welcome to a ruler, closely allied to the βασιλικὸς. (17) ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, a funeral oration. (18) στεφανωτικὸς (στεφανικὸς) λόγος,

1 The large literature falling under this general head is treated by Buresch in Leipziger Studien, IX (1871), 1-164, under the title, “Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica.” He discusses the feeling of antiquity in regard to pain and sorrow, and enumerates with more or less fulness of detail all the compositions of this character among Greek and Roman writers. A supplement is added on Philodemus’ τελ. θανάτου. Cf. also for Latin literature, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Suppl., N. F. (1892), XVIII. 445, and XIX, 319 (cf. also p. 70).
a gratiarum actio, at the presentation of a crown or in recognition of some honor bestowed. It is a pure encomium. (19) πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος, an ambassador’s speech, closely allied to the preceding and, like it, often becoming a βασιλικὸς. In addition to the praise of the ruler, it states the special cause for the embassy and pictures the conditions which occasioned it. The speech admits of great variety. (20) κλητικὸς λόγος, a speech of invitation addressed to a ruler. It contains praise of the prince and of the city, of the event to which he is invited. It is therefore largely a βασιλικὸς λόγος. (21) συντακτικὸς λόγος, a farewell speech. It laments the necessary parting, praises the people left and that to which one is going. Homer (Od., XIII, 38 ff.) presents a model and a text. (22) μονφίλα, a plaint. Its τόποι are in part those of the ἐπιτάφιος and the παραμυθητικός. Its style more closely resembles that of poetry. It is brief, and may be occasioned by other circumstances besides the death of a relative or friend. An example may be found in Aristides’ oration (Or. XX) on the destruction of Smyrna by an earthquake; or Libanius (Or. LXI) on the burning of Apollo’s temple. (23) Συμβιαστικὸς λόγος, in honor of Apollo. It is a hymn. Menander was himself the author of one (Sp. III, 335, 24).

To these may be added from the Rhetoric of Dionysius of Halicarnassus: (24) γαμικὸς λόγος, similar to the ἐπιταλάμιον (25) πανηγυρικὸς λόγος, delivered at a πανηγυρίου.1 Its composition is such as might easily lead to its disintegration into several speeches. The name, however, was retained for its most distinctive feature—praise of a person, at first a king, later any laudatory speech, delivered at a πανηγυρίου; or, still more frequently, no such general gathering was required. The παναθηναικὸς λόγος, which has no rhetorical treatment, is a special type of the πανηγυρικὸς. (26) προτρεπτικὸς λόγος, a union of the συμβουλευτικὸν, and the ἐπιδεικτικὸν, εἴδος. Dionysius of Halicarnassus treats one form of it in his Ars Rhetorica—προτρεπτικὸς.

1 Von Leutsch, Philol., 17, 357, presents the arguments which indicate that there were prose panegyrics at Syracuse and in Ἀγίνα before Curax. Cf. Spengel, Artium Script., 63. Cf. also Jahrb. f. Phil., XIII (1884), 417 ff.
EPIDEICTIC LITERATURE

ἀθληταῖς. The προτετιπικὸς λόγος was much used by philosophers as well as orators, and the element of display varies. It has close relations also with the περὶ βασιλείας. It is sometimes called παραμετικὸς λόγος.¹ Menander has a bare reference to (27) παράβολα ἐγκώμια.

Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

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

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

¹ For a comparison of these two titles see chapter on philosophy.
² Compare Navaire, Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque avant Aristote (Paris, 1900), p. 84, where he ends his discussion of a definition for the epideictic branch: "Au total on définira donc fort exactement les diverses variétés de l'éloquence épideictique en les appelant des encômia en prose."


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

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

¹ In theoretical treatment the κεφάλαια and rules for presentation are always (Menander excepted) for a person. At the close of the discussion a direct statement is usually added to cover all other encomiastic themes, stating that these are to be treated with the same heads and after the analogy of the encomium of a person. Doxopater, Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 424 ff., tells in detail how to apply the topics of the encomium of a person when one is addressing a city or praising a thing. Cf. Scholia ad Aphthonium, Walz, II, 45, 9 ff.; Anaximenes, Sp. I, 188, 2 ff.; Menander, Sp. III, 332, 20–30; Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 484, 30 ff.; Theon, Sp. II, 112, 15; Hermogenes, Sp., II, 13, 6; Quintil., III, 7, 26.
distinguished from closely related forms, especially the ἐπιτάξιον. Smyth (*Melic Poets, LXXVI*) gives the most recent and complete discussion of the poetic encomium: “In its limited and specific application the encomium denotes a panegyric of living personages illustrious for their station or deeds—kings, princes, warriors, victors at the national games, magistrates, and, in the latest times, the emperors of Rome.”

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

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

² Cf. *Euag., 8; Panath., 1 and 2.*
had found a place in encomia in Pindar, but only in single sentences as a general characterization. There is no analysis of character. To introduce the deeds as an evidence of virtues, to bring out the character of the one praised, was a new point of view. Isocrates does this for the first time in the Euagoras. This exaltation of character and the choice of the traditional four virtues, appearing just at this period for the first time, are in keeping with the more elevated view which Isocrates took of the epideictic class of literature, and must also be due in large measure to the influence of the Socratic teachings. The encomium in the form which Isocrates gave it, and which it maintained ever after, could hardly have come into being apart from this influence.

The encomium, although closely related to it, should be carefully distinguished from history, both in aim and method. History has for its purpose the narration of events, the presentation of facts, usually in chronological order, and an impartial interpretation of their relation to one another. It is not concerned with praise or blame, and is far from having a theory to maintain for which facts must be chosen, some emphasized and some ignored, or even the truth sacrificed. It lacks all personal bias. The encomium does not necessarily narrate, but in most cases assumes a knowledge of the facts. It presents them only so far as its chief aim—the glorification of the individual—may be best served. To this end facts may be selected at will, grouped in any order, exaggerated, idealized, understated, if detrimental points must be touched upon. Although both rhetors and orators make frequent protestation of adherence to truth, facts may be invented in some cases. The special aim and the personal element are strong and open. The difference both in treatment and style was recognized by ancient rhetors. Cf. Arist., Rhet., III, 16, init.: διήγησις δ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς ἑστὶν οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλα κατὰ μέρος . . . διὰ δὲ τούτο ἐνοτε οὐκ ἐφεξῆς δεῖ διηγεῖσθαι, οἷον εἰ θελεῖς Ἀχιλλέα ἐπαινεῖν Ισαι, γὰρ πάντες τὰς πράξεις, ἄλλα χρήσθαι αὐταῖς δεῖ. έλαν δὲ Κριτίαν, δεῖ· οὐ γὰρ πολλοὶ Ἰσαία. Theon, Sp. II, 112, 2: πράξεις . . . οὐκ ἐφεξῆς διηγούμενοι.
Doxopater, Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 413, 13: ἵστορία τὰ προσόντα τοῖς ἀναθῆκεν, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον μετὰ αὐξήσεως καὶ κατασκευῆς προάγεσθαι δει, and 412, 25: τὸ μὲν γὰρ διήγημα λόγος ἐστὶν ἐκθετικός πραγμάτων ἀπλῶς, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον καλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ μὲν διήγματος, ἀλλὰ ὁ σκοπὸς τὸ διδάξει δηλαδὴ τὸν ἀκροατὴ τῷ πραγματεῖα, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον τὸ θαυμασθήναι ἐπὶ τοῖς λέγομένοι τὸ ἐγκωμιαζόμενον· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ διηγήματι κἀν τὰ προσόντα τινὶ διερχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν πράξαντα θαυμάζομεν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνως· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐγκώμιῳ οὐ μόνον τὰ προσόντα τινὶ καλὰ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκείνους θαυμάζομεν. The ἐπιτάφιος, which is the oldest form of prose encomium extant, shows these characteristic differences from history. They may be seen also in Isocrates’ Euagoras, and are directly stated a few years later in the Philippus (sec. 109), where he refers to the usual rehearsal of Heracles’ exploits in encomia as historical; they merely enumerate his deeds. He sees the opportunity to treat the subject anew in the form of a true encomium which makes virtues—character, the determining feature.

The connection between the encomium and biography is still more intimate. Biography is an essential part of history, but when made a separate composition it partakes of the nature of both history and the encomium. A portrayal of character is the main aim in each, so events may be treated in summary fashion; but the encomium gives more room for choice, idealization, omission. The encomium may be more or less fully biographical as the subject is well known or not. Achilles does not require that the facts of his life be presented, but in praising Critias, whose deeds are not familiar, the orator must narrate. Polybius (X, 21 (24), 8) contrasts the method appropriate for his life of Philopoemen with that to be employed in history: διασεχόμεν ἐκεῖνος οὖ τότος, ὑπάρχων ἐγκωμιαστικός, ἀπήται τῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ μετ’ αὐξήσεως τῶν πράξεων ἀπολογισμῶν· οὕτως ὁ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, κοινὸς ὁ ἐπίταφος καὶ ψύχῃ, ζητεῖ τῶν ἅλθη καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἀποδείξεως καὶ τῶν ἐκάστων παρεπομένων συλλογισμῶν. Compare also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. de Platone, 751, 8 (Reiske). The point in discussion is the difference between an encomium and a
complete investigation: ὅταν μὲν ἔπαινον προεληφθαι γράφειν τις πράγματος, εἶτε σῶματος ὑποισουγέτως, τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἀτυχήματα, εἰ τι πρόσεπτι τῷ πράγματι, ἢ τῷ σῶματι, δεῖν προφέρειν: ὅταν δὲ βουληθῇ διαγράφει, τί τὸ κράτιστον ἐν ὑποδήμποτε βιώ, καὶ τί τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν ὑπὸ ταύτῳ γένος ἔργων, τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐξέτασιν προφέρειν, καὶ μηδὲν παραλείπειν τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῦ, εἴτε κακῶν, εἴτε ἄγαθῶν.

The encomium is not to be made an apology. Isocrates is our authority for this. It is no true encomium which assumes an apologetic tone. He says (Helen, 14): ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ προσῆκεν περὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν ἔχωντο, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ τινὶ διαφέροντας. This is quoted by Theon, Sp. II, 112, 11, in support of his opinion that faults should be concealed as much as possible, μὴ λάθωμεν ἀπολογιὰν ἀντὶ ἐγκαμπίου ποιῆσαι τοὺς. Compare also Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 481, 28, where he says that the question often arises whether the encomium admits of ἀντίθεσις (opposition, criticism, disputable material). The answer is: No; but if the case absolutely requires it, explain away artfully. Quintilian (III, 7, 6) provides for occasional apology and defense.

Rhetorical treatment of the encomium in the abstract, i. c., apart from some person or thing, is not separated from that of encomiastic literature as a whole. Rhetorical discussion of the encomium in its more restricted sense is abundant.

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

1 Cf. Busiris, 5.
2 Cf. Anaximenes, chaps. 3 and 35; Aristotle, Rhet., I, 9.
3 One would consult here Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ars Rhet.; Menander, περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν; the writers on progymnasmata — Hermogenes, Apthionius, Theon, Nicolaus Sophista, Aristides, together with the scholia to Aphthonius, and Doxopater, Ad Aphthonium.
4 The ἐγκωμίον and ὕψος are treated with much minuteness of detail by writers on the προγυμνάσματα. Sp. III, 477; II, 11-14, 35, 36, 109-12. As in Dionys. of Hal. and Menander, the ἐγκωμίον is the theme of real importance. Its τόποι are those found in the encomiastic λόγοι of Menander. The προγυμνάσματα as a whole are essentially stylistic. Even when their primary purpose is to prepare for other divisions of oratory they are characterized by epideictic
is employed for the epideictic class as a whole, e. g., Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 477, 20, where he includes πάντες ἀπλῶς οἱ εὐφημίαιν ἔχοντες λόγοι under the title ἔγκωμον and calls it an εἶδος. Doxopater, Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 415, 13: ἰστενον δὲ, ὡτι τὸ ἔγκωμον γενεκύ δινομα· δαιρείται γάρ εἰς τε ἐπιβατηρίους . . . . καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰς πάντας τοὺς εὐφημίαν περεχοντας λόγους. Cf. Scholia ad Aphthon., Walz, II, 618, 10, and Theon, Sp. II, 61, 20. (2) It is used in the ordinary sense of a speech in praise of a person or thing. Their rules for its composition illustrate this meaning, and Aphthonius gives examples in his ἔγκωμον Θουκυδίδου and the σοφίας ἔγκωμων. (3) The encomium is an element which may be introduced as a subordinate feature in other forms. This use is discussed by Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 478 (see p. 95).

From the specific statements given by these rhetors and Menander, together with the more general treatment of the subject given by Anaximenes and Aristotle, we can readily discover the method and the topics which by theory should enter into the encomium. The ideal for the encomium of a person, both in theory and practice, was remarkably uniform. It agrees in general conception, qualities. The most prominent among them is the use of encomiastic τόσο in other and apparently unrelated προγυμασία, e. g., those classified below as especially helpful for symbouleutic and forensic oratory.

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

1 For instance, Theon (cf. also Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 21) reproduces (Sp. II, 110) much of the detail of Anaximenes (Sp. I, 186, 187). Much the same may be found also in Aristotle, Rhet., I, 9, 16, 18, 19, 31, 38, and Quintil., III, 7, 12, 16.
and even largely in details, from almost the earliest to the latest period of Greek literature.

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

1. προσόμον

2. γένος
   - 1. ἰδνος
   - 2. πατρίς
   - 3. πρόγονος
   - 4. πατήρες

3. ἀνατροφή
   - 1. ἑπιτηθεύματα
   - 2. τήχη
   - 3. νόμοι

4. πράξεις
   (τὸ μέγιστον)
   - 1. κατὰ ψυχήν ἀνδρεία
   - 2. κατὰ σώμα τάχος
   - 3. κατὰ τυχήν δυναστεία
   - 4. κατὰ κόσμον πλούτος
   - 5. κατὰ φύσιν φίλοι

5. σύγκρισις

6. ἐπίλογος

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

\(^1\) ἐπιτάφιος, τότω are used, though the latter more frequently. μέρη occurs sometimes. Doxopater, Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 412, discusses the use of these terms. He regards τότω as more appropriate for the encomium, but in II, 434, 30, and elsewhere, he uses ἐπιτάφιος for the main heads and μέρη for subordinate.

\(^2\) This seems to represent what Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 479, 26) of a century later calls the prevailing view in distinction from that of the ancients, especially Plato, and represented apparently by Theon.
employs them: γένος, γένεσις, φύσις, ἀνατροφή, παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις (1. 25), τίχη (1. 28), σύγκρισις (1. 31). Cf. 413, 11 and the βασιλικὸς λόγος. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says (VI, 2) that the τόποι of the ἐπιτάφιος are the same as those of the ἐγκώμων: πατρίς (πρόγονοι), φύσις, ἁγωγή (παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα), πράξεις. With these compare Anaximenes, Sp. I, 226, 6: (1) προοίμιον, (2) γενεαλογία, (3) ἀνατροφή (ἔργα, τρόφος, ἐπιτηδεύματα), (4) σύγκρισις. All discussion is from the point of view of ἄρετα. The ἐνθύμημα and γνώμη of the person praised are to be brought out prominently.

The continuity in the ideal for the encomium is best seen in Theon. There are three sources of praise (ΠΙ, 109, 29), since ἀγαθά are of three classes: τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς τε καὶ ἴδιος, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ ἕξωθεν. This division, Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 479, 20) says, is that of the ancients, especially Plato. Theon presents them in chastic order:

τὰ ἕξωθεν αἱ ἐνγένεια, τόλμη, θυσία, πολίτεια, γονεὶς, παιδεία, φιλία, δόξα, ἄρχη, πλούτος, εὐτεκνία, εὐθανασία.

τὰ περὶ σῶμα αἱ ἐγεῖα ἴσχυς, κάλλος, εὐαισθησία.

τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς αἱ τὰ σπουδαία ἴθικα καὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθοῦσαι πράξεις; say that one is φρόνιμος, σώφρον, ἀνδρεῖος, δίκαιος, ὅσιος, ἐλευθέριος, μεγαλόφρον, and the like.

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

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

1 Cf. 227, 2 and 22; 228, 1.
2 In discussion of τόποι he sometimes almost translates Anaximenes and Aristotle (see p. 119, n. 1).
frequently meets such statements as that of Menander (Sp. III, 370, 9): ἐὰν δὲ μὴτε ἡ πατρίς μὴτε τὸ ἔθνος τυγχάνῃ περιβλεπτον, ἀφήσεις μὲν τούτο, etc. Cf. Quintil., II, 13.

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

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

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

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

4. ἀνατροφή — the circumstances of his youth.³ A stock reference here is to Achilles, who fed on lions’ marrow and was trained by Chiron. Under this head one may refer also to early indications of character (φύσις τῆς ψυχῆς), love of learning, natural ability, special aptitudes.⁴ Doxopater (Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 429, 27) defines ἀνατροφή: ἢ δὲ ἀνατροφή τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ παιδῶν εἰς ἄνδρας δηλοὶ πρόδον. He says one must not call it τροφή (1. 25), but Hermogenes does so (Sp. II, 12, 10).

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

20, ἐπιβατήριος). His reference to it in the βασιλικὸς λόγος agrees with this (372, 4): ἐπιτηδεύματα δὲ ἐστὶν ἄνευ ἄγνωστον πράξεως ἡδικαί. (this is Walz’ reading, IX, 220, 10) καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπι-
τηδεύματα ἴδου πρέβασε χείρισθε, οἷον ὅτι δίκαιος ἐγένετο ὁ σώφρων ἐν τῇ νεότητι. This interpretation of the term requires that in practice the πράξεως should be more or less intermingled with the ἐπιτηδεύματα. The ἐπιτηδεύματα determine the πράξεως and also are seen in them. Doxopater, in explaining why ἐπιτηδεύματα have no place in the praise of a city, adds as the reason (Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 431, 32): ἐπιτηδεύματα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ κρίσις ψυχῆς μετὰ λόγου καὶ αἴρεσις. A careful distinction is then made-
between ἐπιτηδεύματα and τέχνη. With this compare Anon. ad Aphthon., Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 43, 23: ἐπιτήδευμα μὲν ἢ τοῦ βίου αἴρεσις, οἷον ὅτι ἐλεύθερον στρατεύεσθαι. τέχνη δὲ τὸ εἰσ ἑξιν ἐλθεὶν τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος. ΄ἐρει δὲ φασὶ τέχνη μὲν τὸ διὰ μαθήσεως μόρης προσυγκόμενον, ἐπιτήδευμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἥκει τοῖς ἐπαγείρον 
καὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ἐπετήδευσε δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, πάντως τὸ μιατομν εἰς αὐτὴν τρέψας.

This leads to the other important meaning. One learns many things, but some with greater zeal and by choice. This element of personal choice usually decides the vocation. So in the treatises on the προγυμνάσματα especially ἐπιτήδευμα comes to mean one’s profession. ἐπὶ τοῦτοι ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οἷον ποῖον ἐπετή-
δευσε βίον, φιλοσοφοῦν ἢ ῥητορικὸν ἢ στρατιωτικὸν; τὸ δὲ κυριοτάτου αἱ πράξεως. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αἱ πράξεως, οἷον στρατιω-
τικὸν βίον ἔλεγμεν τῷ ἐν τούτῳ κατεπράξε; Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 16 ff.

6. πράξεως. It is universally agreed that this is the chief topic: τὸ δὲ κυριοτάτον αἱ πράξεως, Hermogenes, Sp. II, 12, 18; τὸ μέγατον τῶν ἐγκυμίων κεφάλαιον, Doxopater, Walz, Rhet. Gr., 
II, 432, 14. The πράξεως are treated in two great divisions

2 Cf. also II, 430, 14; 429, 32.
—those of war and those of peace. They are not presented in full or in chronological order. Selection is made, and they are grouped to illustrate the Socratic virtues: ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σοφροσύνη, φρόνησις. φιλανθρωπία is often added as a separate or a more comprehensive virtue.

Theon, Sp. II, 112, 2: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν πράξεως καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα παραληψάμεθα οὐκ ἐφεξῆς διηγούμενοι λέγοντες γὰρ ἄλλα προστίθεμεν κατὰ μίαν έκάστην ἀρετὴν, ἔπειτα τὰ ἔργα διεξεύομε, οἷον ὅτι ἦν σοφρονιστικόν προλέγειν καὶ ἐπιφέρειν εὐθὺς, τί αὐτῷ σοφρονιστικῶν ἔργων πεπρακαίε, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν.


Aristotle (Rhet., III, 16, 2), speaking of the form of narration appropriate for epideictic oratory, adds: διὰ δὲ τούτων ἐνϊστε οὐκ ἐφεξῆς δει διηγεῖσθαι πάντα, . . . ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνδρείας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θεοῦ σοφίας ή δικαιοσύνης.

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

Since the object of an encomium is to portray the character of the person praised, one must inquire into the principles actuating the πράξεις and show an underlying moral purpose (προαίρεσις). Aristotle, Rhet., I, 9, 32: ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεως ἐὰν ἐπαινεῖ, ἔτοι δὲ τοῦ δορθήματος κατὰ προαίρεσιν, πειρατέων διευκονεῖ πράττοντα κατὰ προαίρεσιν . . . τὰ δὲ ἔργα σημεῖα τῆς έξεως ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ ἐπαινοίμεν ἄν καὶ μὴ πεπραγότα, εἰ πιστεύοιμεν εἶμαι τοιοῦτον.


Doxopater, Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 433, 10 ff., in answering the question how one can call τὰς ἀρετὰς 'πράξεις' when the latter are more properly έξεις, says: πράξεις τῆς προαίρεσισι εἰσὶν, while καλλος and other physical qualities are ἀπροαίρητα . . . οὐ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ τοῦ σώματος ἐνταῦθα ἀρετῶς λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἁρετῶν τούτων πράξεις καὶ γὰρ τῶν πράξεων αἱ μὲν κατὰ


Even when speaking of external and physical matters, qualities of character are to be made prominent. Theon, Sp. II, 111, 12 ff., when discussing other goods, ἐκτὸς καὶ περὶ σῶμα, like οὐγένεια, one should speak of them ὡς ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἔντυχε τὸν λόγον διατιθέμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐκάστου δεικνύτες, ὃτι μὴ ἄνοιγτος, ἀλλ' φρονίμως καὶ ὃς ἐδει αὐτοῦ ἐχρήσατο (ἡματα γὰρ ἐπαινοῦται μὴ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀλλ' ἐκ τύχης ἢ ἐξουσία ἀγαθά) οἶον ὁτι εἰναρχῶν ἂν μέτριος καὶ ψυχανθρωπος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ δίκαιος, καὶ τοῦ τὸν σῶματος πλεονεκτήσας σωφρόνος προσφέρει. Compare also 112, 1: μᾶλιστα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι ἐκλάμπει ἡ ἀρετή.

7. σύγκρισις. This is regarded as a most important division, but in application it is left to circumstances and the judgment of the writer. Hermogenes states both facts in a single sentence (Sp. II, 13, 3): μεγάλη δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὑγειονίως ἀφόρμῆ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν συγκρίσεων ἂν τὰξις ὥς ἄν ὁ κακὸς υφηγηται. σύγκρισις is a notable reliance in all epideictic writing. It is enjoined in Aristotle.

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

All the rhetors make σύγκρισις a separate προγόμνασμα as well as a topic in the encomium. The σύγκρισις is a feature

3 In addition to Menander one may note Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 481, 18 and 25; Aphantionus, Sp. II, 42, 20; Anon. Scholia ad Aphth., Walz., Rhet. Gr., II, 45, 3; Doxopater, Walz, II, 446, 21; 479; 480; Scholia ad Aphth., Walz, II, 637, 14; Quintil., VII, 2, 22. Compare also Quintil., II, 4, 21.
of other kinds of composition.\textsuperscript{1} The διήγημα may take this form.\textsuperscript{2}

8. ἐπίλογος. Like the προοίμιον its form depends upon what the subject or the circumstances suggest. It is often a brief summing up of the results of the life under discussion and an appeal to others to imitate his virtues. It ends most appropriately with a prayer.\textsuperscript{3,4}

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

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


\textsuperscript{3} Ixion, Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 434, 13; Aphthiamus, Sp. II, 36, 18;

Menander, Sp. III, 377, 28 (δεικτικά λόγοι); 422, 3 (ἐπιλόγια θρήνοι).

\textsuperscript{4} It is interesting to note how distinctly these τοι ἐν μοι may be seen in the Euhemerus Philematus the earliest instance of an encomium in its permanent form: e.g., (1) προοίμιον (sec. 1-11); (2) γένος (ὰργυροῦσα (12), πέμπτον (19)) (12-18); (3) γένια (19); (4) ἀναρρητή ἐνσωμάτως (22), φύσις (23, 29). These are not given in detail or confined to the sections named. (5) πράξεως in war and peace. These are introduced with the preceding, but are found especially from sec. 34 on. The virtues — ἀρετή (23, 65), σοφία (23), δικαιοσύνη (23), φρονήσει (41, 65), σωφρόνει (22), φλαντέρας (43), πράγμα (49), μετριότης (49), ἀδιαφόρος (51) — are made the occasion for introducing the πράξεις. Note especially sec. 34, where he says that it is impossible to present the πράξεις in detail. If we select the most distinguished, we shall get at his character (ἐπιλογία) as effectively and more briefly. At sec. 46, after enumerating various qualities, he adds: “The evidence for these may be seen in his deeds;” and 65, “How could one display his ἀρετήν, φρονήσει ἐν σύμμαχον τὴν ἀρετήν better than διὰ τοιούτων ἐργῶν καὶ ἔργων?” An oration is better than a statue for a portrayal of character, inciting to imitation; 73, cf. 75. Other references to the portrayal of ἀρετή as the main purpose of an oration of this character may be found in 4, 5, 8, 23, 33, 41, 65. (6) τάχη (25, 59); (7) ἐπιμέλεια. An extended comparison, 37, 38; minor ones, 23, 27, 35, 60, 65, 65. (8) ἐπιλογία (73-80).

In 19 we meet the phrase so familiar in all forms of epideictic speech: ἔφεσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμελεργημένων λόγων περὶ αὐτοῦ. The word ἐπιμέλεια occurs twice, 2, 77. In the former case it is nearly equivalent to πράξεις; in 77 ἁρπαξ might be a fair substitute.

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

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

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

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

1 Cf. Isocrates, Evag., 40: "οί δ' ἐπανεῖς ἐν ἴμαλογήσεις τυραννίδα καὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέγιστον καὶ σεμνότατον καὶ περιμακχητότατον εἶμι. "What orator could do justice to the praises of a king?"

2 It would appear that the title which Menander employed, appropriate though it was, did not obtain currency. Even epideictic orators near Menander's time did not use it. Libanius (Or. 60) has the title εἰς τῶν αὐτοκράτωρα Κωνστάντιου καὶ Κωνσταντίου, βασιλικὸς λόγος. The four orations on royalty addressed to Trajan by Dion Chrysostomus, which possess many features of the βασιλικὸς λόγος as outlined by Menander, are entitled περὶ βασιλείας ἡ λόγος βασιλείας. But in the majority of cases the encomium to a king is merely εἰς βασιλεία, e. g., Aristides, Or. 9; Libanius, Or. 5; Themistius, Or. 4 (εἰς αὐτοκράτορα); or with the word ἐργαίμα, e. g., Julian (Or. I), Nicostratus, Orion. Menander himself does not employ the title in the reference which he makes to the difference between the προσφώνημα and the βασιλικὸς λόγος (III, 415, init., especially ll. 6, 9). Strangely enough the reference which he makes to the μέγας βασιλείας of Callinicus (III, 370, 14) cannot be verified. Suidas speaks in particular only of a προσφώνημα Γαλιτηνοῦ.
this chapter and elsewhere for the encomium of one in high authority, without special regard to the period when it was written.

The βασιλικὸς λόγος is a form of oration which is less likely to be found under freedom and democratic forms of government. More than any other type of epideictic speech it belongs most naturally to a subject people. It exactly befits the Greece of the period of Macedonian, or still better of Roman, supremacy, and there it is most frequent. In the form in which Menander outlines it, it is hardly conceivable for the Greece of the time of the Persian wars.

The existing and reported βασιλικοὶ λόγοι are numerous and extend from the time of Isocrates to the end of the fourth century A. D., or to the fall of Constantinople, if we include orations by the Christian writers. The latter usually take the simple title "encomium," imitating the composition of the βασιλικὸς λόγος somewhat, but choosing the deity or some saint to take the place of the βασιλεὺς. There are numerous examples also in mediaeval and modern times. It would appear that many such orations were composed in honor of Philip and Alexander, notably that by Theopompos;¹ that there was less activity in this as in practically all forms of literary composition from that period until the second century A. D., when there was a marked renewal continuing for some centuries. Its history is in a very general way that of

¹ Polybius (VIII, 10) speaks of historians who through fear or hate laud Philip, and "as a result their compositions have the appearance of a panegyric rather than of a history." Writers of the βασιλικὸς make constant reference to Alexander as the model king. Cf. Julian, Themistius, and Libanius. Isocrates (Phil., 17), implies the frequency and naturalness of a speech praising the wars of Philip; cf. secs. 18, 19, 20. The whole speech has many of the elements of the βασιλικὸς λόγος. Occasional references in the extant histories and biographical notices of Alexander clearly indicate the eulogistic attitude of those who surrounded him, e. g., Plut., V. Alex., 53, init.; Cic., De Orat., II, 84, 341; De Fin., II, 35, 116 (Alexander is the example of a much-lauded king). Anaxarchus, who made a laudatory address to cheer him after the death of Clitus, was one of many sophists and flatterers who followed in his train. Arrian and Plutarch make little direct reference to this feature of Alexander's life, but we frequently meet such sentences as: "On his return to Babylon delegations from many Greek states awaited him with testimonials and addresses of felicitation" (Arrian). "His
epideictic speech as a whole. There is no extant rhetorical treat-
ment before Menander, although Dionysius of Halicarnassus in
his treatise on the *panegyricus* enjoins, as a last topic, praise of
the king, “the crown of the whole.”

The germ of the βασιλικός λόγος may be found in poetic
praises of Ζεύς βασιλεύς and other deities seen in Homer, the
Homerid hymns, Pindar, and the dramatists, and continued by
such poets as Callimachus. With allowance for the poetic form
and the unfettered strain of the lyric master’s genius, many of
the odes of Pindar are βασιλικοί λόγοι. The very composition,

march through Pamphilia has afforded matter to many historians for pompous
description, as if it were by some divine fortune that the sea yielded to Alex-
ander, though always before rough ” (Plutarch, *V. Alex.*, XVII, 3).

Aristotle’s περὶ βασιλείας is supposed to have been addressed to Alexander.
Plutarch’s περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τούχης is an extravagant eulogy with many
features of the βασιλικές λόγους. The multitude of histories, presumably
eulogistic, which had Alexander, less often Philip or Macedonia, as their
topic, is remarkable and significant. Cf. Susemihl, *Griech. Litt. in der
Alexandrinerzeit, passim*; see index under Alexander, especially i, 537 ff., ii
378, 390 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Stud. der alt. Gesch.*, 567; cf. also
the collection of fragments (thirty-three historians) in the Didot edition of
Arrian or in the *Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum* (Müller). The *Roman
d’Alexandre*, which had so important an influence on early French litera-
ture, has its origin in this period. The presence of a model φίλος Φιλίππων
in Aphantion (Sp. II, p. 40, 19) shows that this theme had taken a place in
the *παρηγορέματα.*

1 It may be noted in passing that the *panegyricus* as sketched by
Dionysius contains the suggestions for the chief types of epideictic orations:
the βασιλικές λόγους (which stands for a large section of epideictic literature)
in paragraph 7; the praise of cities in 3; the prose hymn in honor of a god
in 2; the στεφανικές λόγους in 6; such trills as Choricius’ praise of Spring
might easily come from the suggestions of sec. 4, which calls for praise
of the season at which the *παρηγορέματα* is held. Compare a like τότου in the
rules for the γενεαλογεῖς λόγοι (see p. 143). Although at least two of these
forms exist parallel with the *panegyricus* itself, this fact would not preclude
their being specializations of τότου appearing originally in the *panegyricus*
and developed contemporaneously. Others seem to have become separate
speeches at a much later date. It agrees with this thought in regard to the
βασιλικές λόγους that so many of the extant speeches bear internal evidence of
having been delivered at a *παρηγορέματα.*

2 Croiset, *Littérature grecque*, II, 405–10, formulates the main elements of
a Pindaric ode: (1) the occasion; (2) the purpose of the writing; (3) the
myth; (4) praise of ancestors and land; (5) personal praise of the hero; (6)
exhortation.
as well as the purpose of a Pindaric ode, involves some of the most essential features of a βασιλικὸς λόγος. As a rule, the introduction names and praises the hero, frequently including his native city. The myth is apt to owe its presence to its direct or implied praise of the hero's ancestry. The conclusion comes back to the hero, often with an enumeration of his qualities and deeds, ending with a prayer. The odes addressed to Hiero are notable from this point of view. The second Pythian is a fair example. It begins with an address to ἡ πατήρ, Syracuse. Then follows a proclamation of Hiero's glory and a comparison of his worth and praises with those of other heroes. His wealth, kindliness, honor; his great deeds in war and his wisdom in council; he merits all praise; admonition; prayer. The myth in this case has no special connection with Hiero's ancestry. Compare also O. I, VI, VII, XIII. The second Olympian, like most of the odes, begins and ends with the praise of the hero. He is the flower of noble forefathers. This suggests the myth. This ode, like many others, contains the distinctly epideictic plea of inadequacy.¹

Ode XVII of Theocritus is distinctly a βασιλικὸς λόγος in poetry. Like Aristides and Callimachus, he begins and ends with Zeus, but among mortals Ptolemy holds the highest position. Then follow the customary commonplaces: the abundance of material, inadequacy; ἐνένεια, his parents are both divine; the circumstances attending his birth, its omens; he is the recipient of Zeus' favor; the extent and magnificence of his kingdom; his rule gives peace and quietness; his noble deeds; his piety; praise of the queen; he is a god.

Traces of the βασιλικὸς λόγος are found in Isocrates. Where an ἐπιτάφιος is spoken over the body of a king, it differs from a βασιλικὸς λόγος only by the addition of the θρῆνος and παραμυθία, and these are in many cases quite subordinate or much modified. Thus the Euagoras of Isocrates is practically a βασιλικὸς λόγος. The relations of the Helen to this type of oration are referred to elsewhere (p. 133, n. 1). In addition to these we may note that Epistle IX (addressed to Archidamus), secs. 1–7, contains a

¹ cf. O. III; XI; N. X.


\textit{baxiukoc \lambda\gamma\omicron\sigma} in outline. He begins with the familiar topics: the abundance of material, the orator's inadequacy. Yet it is easy to praise your virtues and those of your family; your deeds furnish the theme. Then follow \textit{εὐγένεια, ἄνδρεα, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, πράξεις.}

Like so many other epideictic types, it is well defined in Plato. The speech of Agathon in the \textit{Symposium} (194-8) is a pure epideictic speech. Since the subject is a deity, it might technically be classed as a hymn. Plato, however, calls it an encomium, and its τόπου are those of this form. The importance and power of the one praised connect the encomium most fittingly with the \textit{baxiukoc \lambda\gamma\omicron\sigma}. The main features of this type of oration, according to Menander, are those of the encomium (see pp. 122ff.): (1) \textit{προοίμιον}, the magnitude of the topic; the inadequacy of the orator. (2) \textit{πατρίς, θύος, γένος.} (3) \textit{γένεσις}, and any fact connected with it which might be interpreted as an augury, \textit{e.g.}, in the case of Romulus and Cyrus; invent if necessary. Next in order comes the (4) \textit{ἀνατροφή}: speak of his \textit{φύσις, παιδεία, his natural ability, love of learning, his particular excellence in oratory, philosophy, use of arms}. (5) \textit{ἐπιτηδεύματα}. (6) \textit{πράξεις} divided \textit{εἰς ἀρετάς—ἄνδρεα, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις.} Speak of his (7) \textit{τύχη}; of the queen. (8) \textit{σύγκρισις}: compare him and his government with others. (9) \textit{ἐπίλογος}: state the advantages resulting from his reign; pray for his long life. There is marked similarity in Plato. He criticises the lack of the true spirit of encomium in those who have preceded. They have missed the real point. Every \textit{ἐπαινος} must state the nature of the person praised, his character, then his deeds, which in this case are his gifts and benefits. The following words indicate the lines along which he praises the person: \textit{κάλλιστος, νεώτατος, ἄπαλλος, σύμμετρος καὶ ὑγρὰ ἰδέα, εὐσκημορία, χρώμα κάλλος}. He speaks of his parentage, his \textit{ἀρετή}; all are willing subjects, \textit{δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, ἄνδρεα, σοφία;} his effect on poets and others in all walks of life. He is the source of inventions. The Muses, Apollo, Hephaestus, Athene, even Zeus—all are indebted to him. All must hymn him and join in the ode. The similarity between
the τόποι of this speech and those of extant βασιλικοί λόγοι, and
the directions of Menander representing the ideal for a speech of
this character at the close of the third century A. D., indicate the
indebtedness of this type of oration to Plato.

A βασιλικός λόγος also usually attempted to show that the
ruler addressed was like Plato’s ideal king.¹ Frequent reference
is also made to Homer’s picture of a king.²

Among the most notable extant speeches of this class are
Oration IX of Aristides and the masterpiece of Julian (Or. I)
delivered in 356–55 A. D. in honor of Constantius. These may
be taken as models. They follow Menander’s outline very closely.
Both make inadequacy to do justice to so magnificent a theme a
main feature of the προοίμιον. Menander recommends reference
to the need of a Homer, an Orpheus, or the Muses for so vast a
subject. Both follow this suggestion, though in different ways.
Julian refers to the advantages the poet has in the inspiration of
the Muses. Aristides deals with the matter in a manner which
strongly reminds one of Isocrates’ introduction to the Panegyricus.
He says that he sets aside the matters usually spoken of in the
προοίμιον: the greatness of the undertaking, the brief time for
preparation. He will not even call upon the Muses for aid, as the
poets do. This is, of course, to add to the impression of speaking
impromptu and thus gain greater credit for cleverness. He then
falls into the usual formula: “though no person nor any length of
time could prepare a speech worthy of the king, yet one must not
shrink from speaking according to his power.” Julian includes
in his introduction an outline of his speech. Aristides names
each point as he brings it up, often with a prefatory sentence, as
Menander directs. Both are simple and clear in their divisions
and follow as a rule the natural τόποι and largely the order of
the βασιλικός λόγος, if we may accept Menander as a standard.
Their similarity to one another is rather in general outline and
impression than in turn of sentence or treatment of any particular

¹ Julian, 10 c, and many instances in Themistius, e. g., p. 126, ed. Dind.
² Dion Chrysostomus, Or. I, II, III, IV, XXXVI, especially I and II.
Cf. also Philodemus of Gadara, περὶ καθ' Ὀμηρον ἀγαθo βασιλέως.
τόπος outside of the προοίμιον. Julian employs the standard topics: native land, ancestors, early training, deeds in war and peace (the main theme), with application of the four virtues. Comparisons are made throughout. He begins with the desire to hymn the ἀρετή and πράξεις of the king, and returns to this thought at the end. It is interesting to note the similarity of treatment in Julian’s praise of Eusebia. He begins with an extended defense of the praise of a woman. He compares Homer’s praise of Penelope. He then falls into the regular course of the βασιλικὸς λόγος: her ancestors are pure Greek, she is daughter of a consul, wife of a noble king. He speaks of her παιδεία, σύνεσις, κάλλος; the brilliant ceremonies attending her marriage. The profession of inadequacy usually found in the προοίμιον is reserved as an introduction to her deeds: “Were I exceedingly ready to speak or compose long books, her deeds surpass my power to describe” (p. 142). They bear evidence to her φρόνησις, πραΰτης, σοφροσύνη, φιλανθρωπία, ἐπιείκεια, ἐλευθερία, and other virtues more brilliant than words could match. He makes frequent comparisons with the women of Homer, with Evadne, Laomedia, and with the Persian queens. Cf. Claudian, Laus Serenae.

Aristides makes the description of his hero’s entrance into power do service in place of the τόποι, πατρίς and εἰσόδεα. He then speaks of his education and his deeds in war, but those of peace form the main theme. His purpose is to present a picture of a king thoroughly imbued with the four virtues and the crown and summation of all, φιλανθρωπία. It is from the point of view of his virtues that his deeds in war are treated. As a result of his noble rule all harbors are clear, mountains are safe like cities, tolls are removed, all fear is banished, the πανίσμος is free and

\footnote{The Helen of Isocrates conforms to this type. After a long introduction, loosely connected with the main subject, he begins at sec. 16 with her γένος. She is a daughter of Zeus, possessor of divine beauty; its conquest over Theseus. A praise of Theseus is introduced here in much the same way that a praise of the queen might be in the ordinary speech. He then returns to Helen. The triumphs of her charms over gods and men form the πράξεις.}
joyous. *Cf.* Horace, IV, 5, 14 and 15. He ends with an apostrophe and a prayer.

In Themistius and Libanius we find a somewhat different type of *basiileus logos*. They are as purely epideictic, but follow the directions of the rhetoricians far less closely. The general outline of Menander’s speech is there, but the divisions and transitions are not sharply defined. More liberty is taken; topics are omitted or new ones introduced, and the order and prominence changed with great freedom. The flattery, too, is as a rule less direct, and they are not so scrupulous to render the speech purely laudatory. Themistius is the *basiileus* orator *par excellence*. The Dindorf edition of his works contains thirty-four orations, and a large proportion of these are addressed to the emperor or contain praise of an emperor as a principal feature, such as his *presebeutikoi, charistihmoi*, and speeches celebrating an anniversary. Or. V, *upatike eis tov autokratopov 'Ioianou*, is a fair sample. The usual topics of the *prooimion* are omitted; *eugeneia* is introduced to show the added responsibility resting on the successor of such a virtuous man. This leads to a presentation of the noble qualities displayed by Jovian, followed by a discussion of his reign in peace and war, chiefly the former. This is treated in general terms rather than by reference to specific instances, as illustrations. Comparisons are made with Alexander, Nestor, Diomedes, Epaminondas. He closes with a reference to the *panegyris*; all nature joins in the joy; spring appears before its time. Like Aristides he gives prominence to *philaurophosia* as the chief of the virtues, implying all the others. *Philaurophosia* is lauded as applied in various relations of life. It is the highest virtue of the supreme god. The oration is largely impersonal, but implies that the king addressed is the impersonation of these qualities. Note especially the last paragraph. Or. 19, *epi tē philaurophosia tov autokratopov Theodosiou*, unites praise of *philaurophosia* with the ordinary

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1 *Cf.* Themistius, Or. I, *peri philaurophosias Kostantinas*, ed. Dind., p. 4, l. 18–p. 5, l. 5, ending with the words: *proi tēn othi to omoiropi eviho rima diakebrosi mou apai ò twn aretôn evnoi upothegetai*. *Cf.* p. 8, l. 13: *eti teiow oti malloan basileuwtera philaurophosia tov loitow xorou twn aretôn*. 
topics of a βασιλικός λόγος. Or. 7 is a similar combination. Compare also Or. 6, φιλάδελφοι ἡ περὶ φιλανθρωπίας, which unites praise of the king, of his clemency, and of the city; and also Or. 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, which, though not βασιλικός λόγος, show praise of a king as a chief feature and are of the same general character.

Libanius in Or. 12 and 60 adheres more closely to the type of Menander, in minor points as well as in the general outline. Oration 60 (Vol. III, 272, Reiske) presents the peculiar feature of praising two kings in the same speech. The oration unites the two, except when speaking of their deeds. In the προοίμιον he reminds one of Aristides, as cited above (p. 132); cf. III, 274, 12: ἐστι μὲν οὖν ἔθες τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐγκωμίασιν τὴν μὲν αὑτῶν καταμέμφεσθαι δύναμιν, όκ πολὺ λευσμοῦν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποθαναμάζειν ὑπερβολὴν, όκ πολὺ νεκροὺς τοῖς λόγοις. Ἡγεῖ δὲ εἰ καὶ μηθεὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν τοῦτο ὑπήρχειν εἰρημένου πάντως ἀν τὴν παροῦσαν χρεῖαν εἰρεῖν ἡγούμαι τὸν λόγον, etc. He treats of εὐγένεια; in III, 281, 7, discussing γένεσις, he says: The birth of our king needs no myth or dreams to glorify it—δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλέων τάκοι, οὐ μόνῳ οὐδὲ ἐνπνεύων πρὸς κόσμον ἔδειην. Cf. Julian, p. 11, 23 ff. (Hertlein), where he speaks with some disdain of such sources of praise. Their early training is compared with that of Achilles, as Menander directs, Sp. III, 371, 23. Their προφή did not come through beasts, as that of Romulus did; cf. Menander, Sp. III, 371, 5 ff. Then follow παιδεία, ἐπιτηδεύματα, πράξεις, according to the four virtues, with πρασίνας and φιλανθρωπία. Through them mainland and sea are safe, harbors and city gates are open, islands protected, commerce moves, the πανήγυρις is held. Or. 12 gives a definite outline in the προοίμιον as does Julian. It is more like Themistius in being somewhat general and impersonal. It discusses the power and responsibility of a king and his need of philosophy. This feature is made prominent, though the deeds in war are not omitted. He closes with a prayer, in imitation of

1 This occurs in several of the orations of the XII Panegyrici Latini. Cf. Bashrens ed., Nos. III, VI; cf. also Choricius, λόγος εἰς Ἀρέστους δούκα καὶ Ἀχέρων Δέκτα, and Boissonade's note.

2 Cf. like claims for his hero by Aristides, Or. IX, p. 112, Dind. (see p. 133).
Sappho, that the king may live longer than Solon. The oration is addressed to Julian, who was devoted to philosophy, and this fact, taken with Menander’s injunction, Sp. III. 371, 29, καὶ μὲν ἐν λόγων ἢ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ λόγων γνώσει, τούτο ἐπεινέσεις, accounts for the differences between this and Or. 60.

A part of this oration and several of those by Themistius are so general and so largely impersonal in character that they approach the form of a general treatise on the duties and responsibilities of a king. A large class of Greek orations under the title περὶ βασιλείας¹ has this as the avowed purpose—to picture the ideal prince, to lay down the principles upon which he must base his rule, to present a code of morals and offer precepts appropriate for his guidance under any circumstances likely to arise under his administration of the sovereignty. As is noted later (in the chapter on philosophy), it has its connections with the προτρεπτικός. Though cast in the form of orations and given that title, they differ little from the style of the modern essay. They largely lack the personal element. But this is almost wholly omitted from some orations which would receive the title βασιλικός, so that the lines of distinction become practically obliterated; cf. the four orations περὶ βασιλείας by Dion Chrysostomus, addressed to Trajan. This form in substance, if not in title, seems to have come from an epideictic source. The Ad Nicocleum of Isocrates is an excellent example of this λόγος.² Four orations under the title περὶ βασιλείας are found in Diog. Laertius’ list of the writings of Antisthenes, a philosopher notably epideictic, contemporary with Isocrates, though younger. From this time on no single theme in the history of moralizing philosophy is more popular or persistent than this. It is also a favorite with purely epideictic orators.³ In many cases the prince

¹ Cf. Plato, Theaetetus, 175 C, βασιλείας πέρι.
² Cf. Ad Demon. and Nic. Among his lost works there is a περὶ ἀδελφομαχιῶν; see Blass, Att. Bered., II, p. 103.
³ Treatises of this character are very numerous. Diog. Laert. refers to many. Others may be noted in the list of epideictic orators in the closing chapter. The impression of frequency is heightened by the many fragments in Stobaeus and by such references as Plutarch’s Regum et Imper. Apoth.,
to whom the \( \text{peri} \, \text{basileias} \) is addressed is named in the title; in others it may be learned from internal or external evidence, and we may infer that nearly all were directly connected with some individual, and thus from this point of view presented a temptation to epideictic display similar to that offered by the \( \text{basileikos} \, \text{logos} \) itself.

Or. III by Dion Chrysostomus is a good example of the introduction of personal references in a speech of this character. It closely resembles the \( \text{basileikos} \, \text{logos} \). Indeed, the full title is \( \text{peri} \, \text{basileias} \, \text{h} \, \text{logos} \, \text{basileikos} \). It speaks of the king addressed as rejoicing in truth and sincerity, despising unlawful pleasures, fond of toil, patron of arts, good in war, savior and protector of all men, surpassing all ancients, next to the gods. He is eulogized under the four virtues in detail, and for the effects of his rule. The orator then passes to more general and impersonal topics. Compare also the strong personal element in the parenetic epistles of Isocrates, Or. I, II, III. As is common in writers of the \( \text{basileikos} \), he sets forth Alexander (cf. p. 128) as the model king and therefore claiming an important place in a \( \text{peri} \, \text{basileias} \).

Pliny, III, 18, makes a direct connection between the \( \text{peri} \, \text{basileias} \) and the \( \text{basileikos} \, \text{logos} \). His famous panegyric on Trajan, in which he represents him as the model prince, is made to serve as the basis of a \( \text{peri} \, \text{basileias} \). The \textit{Panegyricus} was delivered as part of his consular duties. He then enlarged the general heads with the object of “setting forth the emperor’s virtues in their proper light by praising them as they deserved and of directing future princes, not as if by a teacher, but by his example, to the paths to be pursued to gain the same glory. To instruct princes how they ought to conduct themselves is a noble

II. 43 (Teubner, 180 D), where Demetrius of Phalerum is quoted: \( \text{parymi t}a \, \text{peri} \, \text{basileias} \, \text{kai} \, \text{hegemonia biblia eptasei kai} \, \text{anagynastein} \, \text{e} \, \text{gar} \, \text{o} \, \text{philo tois} \, \text{basileis} \, \text{o} \, \text{phrosis} \, \text{parmaion}, \text{tastein} \, \text{tois} \, \text{biblious gypratiai}. \) The speech of \textit{Mucceus} (D. Cass., Book 52, 2 ff.) is a good example of this type. Cicero, \textit{Ad Att.}, XII, 40, 2, indicates a \( \text{peri} \, \text{basileias} \) to Alexander by Theopompos as well as by Aristotle, and that Cicero himself started to write one addressed to Caesar. Cf. also \textit{Ad Att.}, XIII, 28, 1.
task, but difficult and almost presumptuous; but to praise the
character of an accomplished emperor and to hold him before
posterity as a light to guide succeeding monarchs is a method
equally useful and much more modest." He styles this enlarged
oration a panegyric.

The προσφωνητικὸς λόγος, as defined by Menander, is a kindly
address to a ruler (ὁ προσφωνητικὸς λόγος ἐστὶν εὐφήμος εἰς
ἀρχοντας, Sp. III, 414, 31), and becomes almost a variant of
the βασιλικὸς λόγος. It is closely allied in theory, and in
practice becomes nearly identical. The fact that it receives
full theoretical treatment in Dionysius of Halicarnassus on lines
of so great similarity to those of the βασιλικὸς λόγος may unite
with the prominence he gives to this element in the πανηγυρικὸς
to account for his failure to give the βασιλικὸς λόγος separate
recognition. The τόποι found in Menander and Dionysius are
too similar to those of the βασιλικὸς to admit of repetition.
The thought of welcome is made more prominent in Dionysius,
and he also lays more stress on the praise of the city. The most
prominent προσφωνητικὸς λόγοι are: Aristides, Or. 22 (I, p. 439,
Dind.); Libanius, Or. 13 (I, p. 405, Reiske); and several by
Dion Chrysostomus and Himerius. The speech by Libanius
approaches most nearly to the model. It was spoken outside the
walls of Antioch on the arrival of Julian. After a few sentences
of welcome, in which he employs some lines of Alcaeus, he follows
the regular topics of the βασιλικὸς λόγος: εἰσνέβεστε, "noble
ancestry produced a nobler son and met a sweet defeat" (cf.
Plato, Menex., 247 Α); his birth, education, youthful pursuits;
his eloquence and philosophical studies; his noble entrance upon
sovereignty; his benefits to the state; his deeds in war and peace,
in letters; the resultant peace and happiness.1 God grant the old
age of Nestor. The oration of Aristides is a good example of
the extent to which circumstances were allowed to affect the
character of an epideictic speech. It departs widely from the
rhetorical outline. It was delivered before Commodus upon his
visit to Smyrna after its destruction by earthquake, and is

1 Cf. Liban., Or. I, p. 9, and Aristides, Or. IX, p. 112.
influenced by that fact. It is, as he says, a speech suitable to the occasion, but it has little in common with the ordinary προσφωνητικός. After a brief reference to the situation he recalls the great names connected with the founding and early history of the city, its beauties of nature and art; these are all destroyed; vicissitude and change belong to all that is mortal; the part of the king in its rebuilding. Like Athens after the Persian wars, the city will rise more beautiful. The king’s visit is a good omen. May good fortune prevail.

Himerius has several προσφωνητικοί λόγοι. Or. 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14 are so classified. Or. 3 and 14 contain many features of this form of epideictic speech. Or. 10 is a welcome extended, not to a prince, but to certain Ionian guests. Or. 11 continues this topic. All are characterized by his poetic style. Compare also Dion Chrysostomus and orations of like character among the Christian fathers.

At several different periods in later history there have been notable revivals of epideictic activity — conspicuous among them the early Renaissance in Italy, and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England. Symonds’ Italian Renaissance, especially the volume entitled “The Revival of Learning,” gives a clear and complete picture of the general impulse of the time to reproduce Latin and Greek models. The address to a king, whether in the form of a βασιλικὸς λόγος or a προσφωνητικός or a περὶ βασιλείας, forms one of the most notable characteristics of both periods; cf. Vol. II, p. 372: “Our ears are deafened with eulogies of petty patrons transformed into Maecenases, of carpet knights compared with Leonidas, of tyrants made equal with Augustus, of generals who never looked on bloodshed tricked out as Hannibals or Scipios.”

Numerous instances are cited by Symonds, e. g., “Revival of Learning,” pp. 189 ff., Manetti’s extemporaneous speech on the coronation of Frederick III. at Florence, which won unbounded admiration. It consisted of “commonplaces interspersed with quotations and historical examples.” Vol. I, p. 407, speaks of a panegyric of Pope Alexander VI. by Michael Fernus and Jason
Maines quite in the style of the ancient forms; *cf.* also Vol. I, p. 422, *et passim.*

*Romola* (George Eliot, chap. 21) describes the reception of a new ruler at Florence, November, 1494. There were excited preparations, a platform was erected near the gate. Luca Corsine, doctor of laws, was to deliver a formal oration in Latin in honor of Charles VIII. of France. As the rain interfered with their plans, Tito improvised a few graceful sentences with an "air of profound deference."

Nichols' *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (3 vols., 1823) describes the preparations for entertaining the queen (preface, p. 24): Dramas, masques, and speeches in prose and verse were presented. The entertainment at Kenilworth introduced the deities of the waters—"an artful panegyric on the naval glory of her reign." It was quite common in Elizabeth's progresses to present a child to speak an oration prepared for him, or a short poem. *Cf.* Nichols, *passim,* and Arber's *English Garner,* Vol. IV, and *passim.* Nichols, Vol. I, p. 26: "Speeches of academic students were a jumble of profane history blended into compliment of their patroness." Vol. I, p. 161: At the queen's reception at Cambridge, 1564, William Master, of King's College, orator, spoke for half an hour. He first "praised and commended the many and singular virtues set and planted in her majesty;" he showed what "joy the university had in her presence," etc. Vol. I, p. 549: Mr. Bell, at Worcester, spoke of "her majesty's noble ancestors" and their benefits to the city. It owes its origin to them. There has been distress, but now prosperity through her. He ends with a prayer for her long life and happiness. Another says there was "joy in heaven at the prospect of your coming, in hell at your departure. You think this is rain; it is the tears of the gods at your hasty departure." Vol. II, p. 157: Stephen Lambert, at Norwich, 1578, speaks an oration in full epideictic style with many classical allusions: "Egypt is watered by the Nile, Lydia by the Pactolus, your goodness is the source of our fertility and happiness." Her noble deeds are then detailed. Elizabeth called it the best speech she
had ever heard. The two volumes contain a multitude of such records. Mullinger’s *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 76: “When Wolsey visited Cambridge in 1520, the language with which they approached him might compare for adulation and self-abasement with that customary in addressing an oriental despot.” Publications like those of the Spenser Society, Peck’s *Desiderata Curiosa*, Arber’s *English Garner*, Sears’ *The Occasional Address*, pp. 210 ff., etc., abound in examples. Cf. *English Garner*, Vol. VIII, p. 501, speaking of a progress of James I. (1603): “When he came near Dunham the magistrates of the city met him, and behaving themselves like others before them . . . there was an excellent oration made to him, containing in effect the universal joy conceived by his subjects at his approach.” P. 496, the recorder of Berwick made a brief speech to his majesty, acknowledging him as sovereign; cf. also p. 524. *Spenser Soc. Pub.*, I, 28, tells of the speeches made to Charles II.; cf. Vol. XXI, Tract 74. These laudations often took poetic form; cf. *Spenser Soc. Pub.* (John Taylor, 1647): “The King’s Most Excellent Majesty’s Welcome to his own House,” a poetic προσφωνητικός. It contains many of the familiar τόποι; the author’s inadequacy, the king’s qualities, his coming is like sun or shower—it makes all glad. Cf. Vol. II, Samuel Daniel’s congratulatory poem delivered at Burleigh Harrington. It has the τόποι of the βασιλικός. Compare also, in Vol. I of his works, his “Panegyrique Congratulatory delivered to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty” at Burleigh Harrington. See Arber’s *English Garner*, Vol. V, p. 633, for a salutatory poem by James Savage addressed to King James I.; cf. also p. 651. Erasmus in the *Encomium Moriae* follows somewhat the order of the βασιλικός λόγος. In the preface he shows the frequency of epideictic compositions: “One in a long-winded oration descants in commendation of rhetoric or philosophy. Another in a fulsome harangue sets forth the praise of his nation.”

The περὶ βασιλείας was also a favorite topic, and presents a large literature. Among others we may note Bacon’s *Of a King*; Machiavelli, *Principe: The Prince*. *Praise of a Monarch and*
"O ΓΈΝΕΘΛΙΑΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

"O γενεθλιακὸς λόγος is an encomiastic speech addressed to a person upon his birthday. The fact that such a speech receives theoretical treatment, from Dionysius as well as Menander, might in itself indicate its prominence, wide diffusion, and persistence. This presumption is enforced by the importance attached to this anniversary at all periods of Greek history and the frequent reference to features more or less literary connected with it. That the birthday was honored during life and after death, from the early days of Greek history, is a familiar fact. Pindar speaks of θεοὶ γενέθλιοι.1 One is assigned to every man. τὰ γενέθλια became the regular word for a birthday feast for one living, as τὰ γενέσια to distinguish the day kept in memory of the dead.2 Celebration of the day was not confined to members of the family. Birthdays of noted men were kept by their followers or admirers. Reference is made to such honors paid to Homer (c. g., Lucian, Enc. Demosth., init.).3 Plutarch, Quaestiones Convivales. VIII,4 I, 1 ff., says that on the sixth of Thargelion they celebrated Socrates' birthday, and Plato's on the day following. Then follows a report of a conversation, suggested by the occasion, in regard to the days on which celebrated men were born and other noteworthy events connected with the same days. For example, Euripides was born on the very day of the victory at Salamis. Attalus and Pompey died upon the anniversary of their birth. Florus was unwilling to disregard Carneades that he might honor

1 O. 8, 16; 13, 105; P. 4, 107; Aesch., Septem, 639 (626).
2 Compare Hdt., 4, 28; Stalb., Note to Plato, Alc., I, 121 C.
3 Compare Pliny, III, Ep. 7, for Vergil; Juvenal, Sat., V, 38, for Brutus and Cassius; Sen., Ep. 64, 8; Mart., XII, 67, 3; VIII, 38, 9; Ovid, Tristia, III, 13, 17; IV, 10, 11; Stat., II, 7; Diog. Laert., X, 18; Cic., De Fin., II, 101; Suet., Dom., 10. Much was made also of the birthday of Epicurus.
Plato; both were born on the same day. This discussion gains peculiar interest in connection with the importance attached by Menander to the day itself, and any thought, even such as we might term fanciful, connected with it. This chapter in Plutarch shows still another feature made prominent in Menander's rules for the γενεθλιακός—the mention of any omen connected with the birth. Plutarch says that prophets and priests made Apollo's birthday the same as Plato's, and so the belief had grown up that Plato was Apollo's son.

Aside from the common birthday speech of the orator, frequently some literary composition was connected with the birthday celebration, especially of such as were themselves literary men or patrons of learning. A poet regards the birthday of Homer as a natural occasion for a poem, and expects especial inspiration upon that day. 1 Literary work of various kinds might be offered as a birthday gift. Such was the περὶ συνθέσεως ὄνοματον of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Lucian dedicated his μακρόβιοι as a birthday gift to Quintillus. 2

In writing a γενεθλιακός λόγος both Dionysius and Menander agree that it is of prime importance to praise the day and the season of the year in which it occurs; note any happy omen, festival, or event of importance connected with the day or season; praise the family, the city, the person's physical and mental qualities, his virtues, his special pursuits; pray for his future and for long life.

There are but two extant speeches of this character: Aristides, Or. X, and Himerius, Or. VIII. Himerius follows very closely the τόσιοι given above. He begins, however, with a comparison of the present situation to that of Odysseus about to leave the court of Alcinous. Though longing to depart, Odysseus remained to take part in the public contests: so I remain to sing τὸν γενεθλιακὸν. He then enters upon an elaborate praise of the season in which the birthday falls as the most beautiful and honored of the

1 Cf. Lucian, Enc. Demosth., init.
2 Cf. collections dedicated to Gildersleeve, Mommsen, Weil, and others in our day.
year: the time when Ceres and Liber fill granaries and wine jars. His birth associates his name with these great deities. He then passes to personal characteristics. He is distinguished for virtues and intellect, rather than marked by some mere physical peculiarity, as the crobylus of the Cecropidae or the ivory shoulder of Pelops. There is praise of Egypt, the land of his nativity:1 Circumstances honor you and your birthday; add our humble muse, which delights to honor you pre-eminently. Impute my feeble praise to lack of time; these are few of the many words in our heart; may we speak some day more fully. He calls his oration a μέλος.

The oration by Aristides honoring the birthday of Apollo (Or. X, Vol. I, p. 118, Dind.), though meeting in the main the requirements of the theory, is of far more complex a character. He connects with the γενεθλιακός proper extended reference to the games celebrated in honor of Aesculapius, and to the god himself. This material is introduced as honoring the hero who presides and adding to the glory of the day. In the line of ancestry several have the name Apelles; the most youthful, fourteen years of age, is the pupil of Aristides. His line goes back to Codratus. Elaborate praise is given to this ancestry. His other topics are the personality of his hero, his virtues, moral and mental, his training, the city's relations to him, and his benefits to it. He is the care of the gods. There is only the briefest possible reference to the day itself and the time of the year in which it falls. He ends with a prayer for the continuance of his life and honors.

The fact that Latin poets, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius, have poems composed somewhat in the style of the γενεθλιακός λόγος, together with the fact that Dionysius treats it as a well-established prose form as early as the first century B. C., may well imply a Greek poetic model preceding, though none is reported.2

1 The meaning of the author is here a little uncertain. It may be that the celebration of the birthday is in Egypt. In that case it would be evidence that Himerius visited Egypt in his travels.

2 The Anth. Pal. (VI, 237, 261, 345, and elsewhere) contains many birthday poems. The oldest is by Crinagoras, 31 B. C.–9 A. D.
EPIDEICTIC LITERATURE

Marx (Neue Jahrbücher, January, 1898) presents an interesting and seemingly conclusive argument to prove that the famous fourth eclogue of Vergil is composed quite strictly along the lines of the γενεθλιακὸς λόγος. Tibullus, I, 7, is a γενεθλιακὸς addressed to Messala. He speaks of the glory of the day. His hero was destined at birth to be a great warrior. He enumerates his exploits, calls on his genius to come and receive the honors due; may he have offspring, wealth, glory; may this day be celebrated many years, more and more joyous. Much is made of the day and predictions attending the birth in his other birthday poems—II, 2, and IV, 5. So in Propertius, IV, 10, and Statius, Carmen, II, 7 (Vol. I, p. 60, Bährers).1

Several poems in English follow lines similar to those chosen by the Latin poets in honoring a birthday. One may note James Hammond’s “On Delia’s Birthday” (Vol. IV of Brit. Poets, cabinet ed.) and compare it with Tibullus, IV, 5. It celebrates especially the day and the season.2

The oration of Claudius Mamertius (XII Pan. Latini, ed. Teubner, p. 101, Or. III), delivered to Maximianus Augustus, bears the title Panegyricus Genethliacus and, as the name indicates, is a union of the βασιλικὸς λόγος and the γενεθλιακὸς. The former is the real purpose of the speech, but it is shaped and influenced throughout by the γενεθλιακὸς. The latter appears in the title and the body of the speech because it was delivered on a birthday anniversary. While the oration is as a whole a panegyric, the regular τόπος of the γενεθλιακὸς are not neglected. Chapter II is devoted to the day itself. Chapter III connects Diocletian with Jove and Maximianus with Hercules. This gives the opportunity to rehearse the great deeds of the god and the hero. He honors the deeds of the emperor by the use of praeteritio and passes to what is most appropriate to the γενεθλιακὸς, an elaborate presentation of “pietas vestra et felicitas.” Other virtues are enumerated: fortitudo, continentia,

1 Cf. also Horace, Odes, IV, 11; Martial, 4, 1; 12, 60.
2 Cf. also Ruskin, “May, A Birthday Address to His Father;” Dryden, “Britannia Rediviva.”
justitia, sapientia. The four virtues of the Greeks may be seen in his character, but these are acquired; pietas and felicitas come with birth. “Good and friendly stars looked upon you at your nativity.”

Such orations as Themistius VIII and XI, delivered at the quinquennial and decennial respectively of Valens' rule, represent a large class of speeches which may easily have gained their suggestion from the earlier γενεθλιακὸς λόγος.

One may note also in more recent times such orations as may be found in Nichols' Progresses and Processions of Queen Elizabeth, e. g., II, 480, an oration delivered in the presence of Queen Elizabeth on her birthday (1586) by Edward Hahe, mayor of New Windsor.

"Ο ἘΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

"Ο ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, or, more frequently, "ὁ ἐπιτάφιος," indicated at Athens the public oration delivered as a state ceremony over those fallen in battle. It expressed in the most formal manner, and with scrupulous attention to literary features, the public (and to some extent the individual) appreciation of the services of those who had died, and lamented their loss. The θρῆνος of Homer (e. g., II., XXIV, 725 ff., et passim) and the later poets (e. g., Pindar, pp. 409 f., Christ; Eurip., Suppl., 780, 900, 857 ff.) represented the same qualities of human nature, but expressed in a far more natural and spontaneous manner. No one can doubt

1 The ἐπιτάφιοι form the subject of an extensive literature. The following are among the more important treatises: Blass, Att. Bered., passim; Volkmann, Gr. u. röm. Rhet., 314 ff., and other handbooks (cf. also footnote on Lysias' ἐπιτάφιος, p. 147); Villemain, Essai sur l'oration funèbre; Calliaux, De l'oration funèbre dans la Grèce païenne; Girard, Études sur l'éloquence attique; Westermann, Quest. Demotch., Part II; Sauppe, Ausgewählte Schriften, pp. 309, 372, 752; Sauppe, Die Epitaphia in der späteren Zeit Athen; Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen (1898); Martin, "Notes sur l'héortologie," in Rev. de Phil., X (1886), pp. 17–37; Nüsslin, Epitaphische Lobreden von Pericles, Lysias, Plato, übersetzt unterklärt. Hauvette, "Les Eleusiniens d'Eschyle," in Mélanges Henri Weil (1898); Vollmer, "Laudationum Funebrium, Romanorum Historia et Reliquiarum, Editio," Jahrb. f. class. Phil., 18, 445; 19, 319, gives a full discussion of the funeral oration among the Romans; Bursech, "Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica," Leipziger Studien, IX (1887), 1–194; cf. p. 111, n. 1.
the direct connection between the poetic and the later prose lament as it appears in the public and private ἐπιτάφιοι. But the transition lies in the misty period preceding the sixth century, and cannot be observed. Snell (ed. Lysias' Epitaphios, p. 9) says: "The cause of the transformation of the threnos into the epitaphios must be sought in the altered state of society at Athens toward the close of the sixth century." He mentions the growth of oratory and the general state of enthusiasm so prominent after the Persian wars as main factors. The ἐπιτάφιοι as an annual solemnity seems to have arisen not long after the victory over Persia.¹

This custom was peculiar to Athens; cf. Demosth., Lept., 449, 21; Aristides, Panath., p. 310 (Dind.); Diod. Sic., XI, 33, 3; Dion. of Hal., A. R., V, 17; Polyb., VI, 53, 54; Cic., Leg., II, 25, 26; Brut., 16, 61. The state chooses the orator: Plato Menex., 234 B; Demosth., De Corona, p. 320, etc. The custom was annual: Arist., Panath., 310 (Dind.); Plato, Menex., 249 B; Menander, Sp. III, 418; Arist., Panath., 310.

The following are the extant ἐπιτάφιοι, together with some others prominently mentioned in antiquity:

1. The Samian oration of Pericles, delivered in the Ceramicus at the close of the Samian war, 440 B. C.; cf. Plut., Life of Per., p. 156, 18; Arist., Rhet., I, 7, 34.

2. A speech by Pericles found in Thuc., II, 35, 46, delivered in 431 B. C. over those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian war.


4. The oration by Lysias (probably spurious) in praise of those who fell in the expedition to aid the Corinthians, 394–387.²

¹ Hauvette, "Les Eleusiniens d'Eschyle et l'institution du discours funèbre à Athènes," in Mélanges Henri Weil (1898), pp. 139 ff., argues in favor of Cimon as the originator of the law requiring this celebration and the removal of Theseus' bones as the occasion of its establishment.

² The genuineness of the ἐπιτάφιοι of Lysias has been the occasion of much discussion. The subject may be investigated by reference to the following: L. Lo Beau, Lysias' Epitaphios als echt erwiesen (Stuttgart, 1883); cf. also
5. Reference is made (Plato, *Mened.*, 234 B–236 A) to orations by Archinus and Dion; cf. Photius (Bekk.), p. 484. Date 380 or a little earlier.

6. The *Menezenus* of Plato.¹

7. The oration, falsely attributed to Demosthenes, in honor of those who died in the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B. C.

8. Hyperides' oration over those who died in the Lamian war, 333–2 B. C.

9. Menander (Sp. III, 418) speaks of three orations by Aristides, second century A. D.

The extant *ἐπιτάφιοι* conform to the same general model. The material falls chiefly under three heads: (1) *ἐπαυνοί*, about four-fifths of each oration; ὑβρίσ.; *παραμυθία*. Plato, *Menex.*, 236 E, shows this triple division. Under these there may be many minor subdivisions; compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *A. R.*, chap. 6, and Menander, *περὶ ἐπίθευσιν*, Sp. III, 418, whose formal treatment of the *ἐπιτάφιοι* is the chief source of our theoretical knowledge. The treatise of Menander applies more especially to a private funeral. Both agree that the τόποι are those of the


Éγκωμου—πατρὶς, γένος, φύσις, παιδεία, πράξις. For the topics compare Plato, *Menex.*, 234 C, 235 A-B. The topics vary in prominence according to the situation and purpose. Dionysius says that ἐπιτάφιος means primarily praise of country. One should refer to its size, age, glory, any happy event in its history, etc. Compare the directions for composing a πανηγυρικός, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars Rhet.*, V, p. 225 (Steph.). Comparisons may be made between the panegyric and the funeral oration. Praise of Athens forms the main theme in each. The panegyric lacks only the θρήνος and the παραμυθητικός, both subordinate topics, to make it an ἐπιτάφιος if delivered under appropriate circumstances. Notable similarity exists between Isocrates' *Pangeyricus* and the *Epitaphios* which passes under the name of Lysias. The impression grows, as one reads the two in comparison, that the oration which is assigned to Lysias was written by someone thoroughly familiar with the *Pangeyricus*, or perhaps in conscious imitation of it (cf. p. 147, n. 2).

Neither Dionysius nor Menander makes theoretical provision for a formal introduction, but each of the extant ἐπιτάφιος has something which answers to this. It is technically included in the ἐπιταυνός. A commonplace of the introduction is the general inadequacy of any human tongue to do justice to the immortal deeds of those whose death is thus publicly honored, and in this particular case the lack of time for preparation, which is a commonplace of all epideictic orators. Cf. Demosth., 1389, 1-4, 7-10; Lysias, 1, 2; Hyperides, 6-10 (ed. Cobet); Pericles, Thuc., II, 35, 1; Gorgias, *Frag. Phil. Gr.*, II; cf. also Isoc., *Pan.*, 13, in ridicule of this practice; cf. also Isoc., II, 7; III, 27, 35; V, 10; XII, 36, 187; XV, 11; Jebb, *Alt. Or.*, II, 64. This profession of inadequacy is often again referred to later on, e.g., Demosth., 1390, 20 ff.; Hyperides, l. 132 (Cobet); Lysias, 54; Plato, *Menex.*, 235 C-D. Similar is the reference to the abundance of material and the inspiration which the theme supplies: Demosth., 1392, 14-19; 1393, 18; Plato, *Menex.*, 246 A-B; Lysias, 2; Isoc., *Pan.*, 186.
In the same line of thought is the reference to what others have said: Lys., 2; Demosth., 1389, 8. Another commonplace of the introduction is a reference to the law establishing this public celebration in honor of those dying in battle; cf. Pericles, Thuc., II, 35; Demosth., 1389, 10; Plato, Menex., 236 D. In Demosth., 1389, 23, and Plato, Menex., 237 A, an outline to be followed in the speech is given.

The ἐπαυΰσιος has two chief themes, εὐγένεια and πράξεως. Εὐγένεια is interpreted by all orators in accordance with the definition in Aristotle's Rhet., 1390b, 19: ἡ γὰρ εὐγένεια ἐνυμότης προγόνων ἔστιν. With this understanding of the term it is easy to see how an idealized record of the remote and recent achievements of Athens came to be the most important part of the epitaphios. The Amazons; the rescue of the bodies of the dead at Thebes; the Heraclidæ and Eumolpus; the Persian wars and later military triumphs, formed the staple topics; cf. Arist., Rhet., 1390a, 12; 1360b, 31; cf. ridicule of these themes, Lucian, Rhet. Praec., end. Lysias gives most space to the legendary topics, see 4–17. Others dismiss them lightly and pass to historic glories. There is marked similarity in the treatment. In the case of legendary history the following may be noted:


II. There is brief reference to Eumolpus in Plato: 239 B; Demosth., 1391, 4; Isoc., Pan., 68; Panath., 193; Lyco-phon. Leoc., 98, 99; Aristides, Panath., p. 191.

III. The recovery of the bodies of those who died at Thebes: Demosth., 1391, 13; Lys., 7 and 9; Isoc., Pan., 55; Panath., 169; Aristides, Panath., 188; Himer., Or. II, 11, 12; Eur., Suppl., 670 ff.

IV. The Heraclidæ: Demosth., 1391, 9 and 11; Lys., 11; Isoc., Pan., 56; Aristides, 195.
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V. The Persian wars treated most fully by Lysias and Plato. Both employ the historical order. Plato regards this as the order of importance also:

A. The rapidity of victory: Lys., 25, 26; Isoc., Pan., 85–8; Panath., 175, 189, et passim; Aristides, Panath., 205.

B. Their training the source of noble deeds: Lys., 20; Plato, Menex., 239 A; Hyp., 1. 127 (Cobet).

C. Few against many: Lys., 20; Plato, Menex., 241 B; Isoc., Pan., 86; Hyp., 1. 103; Isoc., Phil., 111; Demosth., 1391, 24.

D. Athenians strive to die honorably: Lys., 23; Isoc., Pan., 77, 84, 186; ad Nic., 36; Areop., 93, 94.


F. The high expectations of the enemy: Lys., 21; Isoc., Pan., 68 (Amazons).


H. Their lives not their own: Lys., 24; Isoc., Pan., 86, 84; Plato, Menex., 244; Pericles, Thuc., I, 70.

VI. The battle of Salamis.

A. The number of the enemy: Lys., 57; Isoc., Pan., 88.

B. The manner of Xerxes’ march: Lys., 29; Isoc., Pan., 89; Himer., Ecl., 5, 3, 4; Ecl., 1, 7; Ecl., 2, 7; Or. II, 85; Dion Chrys., 44, 10 (Dind.); Cic., De Fin.,

1 This term was used in referring to the proverbial folly of the Athenians in concerning themselves over others’ wrongs, and always taking the side of the weaker.

C. Those who die in the ranks are not conquered: Demoeth., 1394, 25; Lys., 81; Lyc., Leocr., 48; Isoc., Pan., 92.


E. The horrors of war: Lys., 87–8; Isoc., Pan., 96, 97.

F. Athens most prominent: Isoc., Pan., 21, 98; Lys., 87, 42, 48; Hyp., l. 1252 (Cobet).

G. Athens the schoolmaster of Greece: Pericles, Thuc., II, 41, 1; Plato, Menex., 241 B, C; Isoc., Panath., 44; Isoc., Pan., 50; Plut., De gloria, 2. In general compare Isoc., Phil., 1, 47; Panath., 195; De pace, 37; Aesch., c. Ctesiphon, 259; Pseudo-Demosthenes, πετι σωράδεως, 22; Aristides, Panath., 197 ff., Himer., 14 ff.

VII. Wars after Salamis.

A. Jealousy of the Athenians: Lys., 48; Plato, Menex., 242 A.

B. Athens' treatment of others: Lys., 55, 56; Hyp., l. 26 ff. (Cobet); Gorgias (Greek Phil.); Isoc., Pan., 100, 104–6.

C. Results of the Persian wars: Lys., 56; Plato, Menex., 241 E.


E. All Greece mourns: Demosth., 1399, 25; 1396, 10–20; Lys., 60; Aristotle, Rhet., III, 10; Plato, Menex., 245 E—246 A.

Demosthenes gives but eighteen lines to the Persian wars. Pericles passes these as topics too familiar to rehearse, and substitutes for history, both legendary and more recent, a discussion of Athenian government—its advantages and glory. Hyperides omits all historical element. He mentions Miltiades and Themistocles, but only incidentally.
VIII. Substitutes for the τῆς, legendary and Persian wars. The most conspicuous is that employed by Pericles. The main body of his oration is praise of the city, its form of government, its public spirit, its internal affairs—Athens the grandest city of Greece. Cf. Lys., 18, 19; Plato, Menex., 238 B—239 A; Demosth., 1396, 20—1397, 9.

A. The superior form of government at Athens: Lys., 18; Demosth., 1396, 29; Isoc., Pan., 104; Pericles, Thuc., II, 37, 1; Plato, Menex., 238 D; Isoc., Pan. and Panath., passim.

B. Athens does not favor enslaving many to few: Lys., 56; Pericles, Thuc., II, 40, 4.

C. Athens engages in war on the side of right: Lys., 14, 22, 24, 61; Plato, Menex., 246 D; Demosth., 1390, 27; Plato, Menex., 246 D; Hyp., l. 148 (Cobet); Isoc., Pan., 72, 53; Sal., Cat., 29; Tac., An., 3, 22; Germ., 19.

D. Athenians die for principle: Lys., 14; Hyp., ll. 84, 138 (Cobet); Isoc., Pan., 52.

E. Worthy the leadership: Lys., 47; Isoc., Pan., 100, et passim.

F. Athens acts in the interests of all Greece: Lys., 42, 58; Hyp., ll. 108, 206 (Cobet); Isoc., Pan., 98, 26; Demosth., 1395, 1; 1396, 6; Plato, Menex., 242 A; Aristides, Panath., 153; Philost., Apoll. T., VII, 37, 1.

One of the most conspicuous minor motives in the epitaphios is the autochthonic origin of the Athenians. It is found in each of the ἐπιτάφιοι, though Pericles does not use the word αὐτόχθονες. Cf. Lysias, 17; Demosth., 1390, 14; Hyp., l. 39 (Cobet); Pericles, Thuc., II, 36, 1; Plato, Menex., 237 B; Isoc., Pan., 45, 24; Panath., 125.

This topic is a commonplace among orators and poets; cf. Dion Chrys., Vol. II (Dind.), p. 209, l. 23; Demosth., False Leg., 296; Himer., II, 2; I, 9, 13; VIII, 4; Plato, Timaeus, 23, D and E; Strabo, p. 286, 22 (Didot); Pseudo-Heraclitus, Epist.,
VIII, 4; Thuc., I, 6; Pausan., II, 14, 4; Hdt., 1, 171; Eur., Frag., 360 (Erechtheus); Eur., Ion., 29, 559, 737; Aristoph., Wasps, 1076; Soph., Ajax, 201; Homer, II., II, 546 ff.; Quintil., III, 7, 26; Aelian, Variae Hist., XXII. Ridiculed by Antisthenes; cf. Diog. Laert., VI, 1, 1; Dion Chrys., Or. 64, 209, 23, Dind. Cf. also Swinburne, Erechtheus, 1160–80. Plato and Demosthenes add as evidence of her motherhood that Attica was the first country to produce the necessities of life: Plato, Menex., 237 E; Demosth., 1390, 11; Isoc., Pan., 25. Athens gives physical blessings and also those of a higher character: Isoc., Pan., 28, 38; Menander, Sp. III, 384, 16; 440, 10–15; Diod. Sic., XI, 2, 4; Dion Chrys., II, p. 209, l. 29; Himer., Ecl., 2, 7; Or. II, 4, 5, 6; Themistius, 336 D: Callim., Hymn to Demeter, 21; Cicero, Pro Flacco, 62; Lucr., VI, 1 ff. General praise of Athens: Isoc., Areop., 74; Himer., Or. X; Isoc., Phil., 147; Plut., V. Aristides, XXVII, 9: ἦς [Athens] φιλανθρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις ἐκφέρουσα δεύματα ταπανάκετα καὶ δηλοῦται δικαίως.

Praise of Athens is a favorite theme of poets; cf. Eur., Herac., 197, 329, 314 ff.; Medea, 824; Rhesus, 941; Aesch., Eum., 916 ff.; Suppl., 378; Soph., O. C., 107, 260, 668, 1003; Pindar, Frag., 77 (196); Nem., 2, 8: 4, 18; Frag., 76 (46); and the parody, Arist., Kn., 1327; Arist., Clouds, 300–313; Acharn., 181; Clouds, 986. Anon comic poet. Kock, p. 407, 44, and p. 471, 340, and others; Soph., O. C., 668–720; Libanius, 13, 410 (Reiske); Horace, Odes, I, 7, 5–7: cf. also Milton, Paradise Regained, Book IV, 236–80.

The Atlantis story in Plato, Timaeus, 24 D ff., is merely a praise of Athens. It has the τόποι—Athens, leader of the Greeks, stood against the enemy alone, vanquished them, preserved the rest of Greece, etc. Compare also Lucian, Nigr., 12–14, and Plut., Life of Aristides, near the end.

The sacred olive forms a favorite theme for praise, though it is not introduced in any extant ἐπιτάφιος, Hdt., 8, 55, 82; Soph., O. C., 701 ff.; Apollodorus, 3, 14; Arist., Clouds, 1005; Athen., IX, p. 372 B: Dion Chrys., p. 311, 29 (Dind.): Himer., X, 3.
The adjectives used by the poets in connection with the word "Athens" correspond with the general tendency to praise. The favorite words are:

1. ἠπαραῖον—cf. Arist., Acharn., 639; Pindar, N., 4, 18; Frag., 46; O., 2, 20; Eur., I. T., 1130; Alc., 452; Troubles, 803; Arist., Kn., 329; Cl., 300; Birds, 826; Frag., 162; Frag., VII, p. 469 (Didot).

2. κλεῖναι—cf. Soph., Frag., 300; Eur., Frag., 224; Aesch., Pers., 474; Eur., Ion., 30; Hippol., 423; Herac., 38; Soph., Frag., 634; Ajax, 861; Arist., Kn., 1319.


4. ἰερόν—Pindar, Frag., 75; Soph., Ajax, 1221; Arist., Kn., 1319.

5. θείδυμον—Soph., El., 707; Eur., Hippol., 974.


7. θεσσαλόποθες—Soph., O. C., 260.


12. ἱστικόν—Ist., Frag., 76; Arist., Kn., 1320, 1323.


14. θαυμασται—Arist., Kn., 1328.

15. πολινώματα—Arist., Kn., 1328.

Cf. Libanius, Or. 13, p. 410, Reiske: ἀρχαιοτήτων καὶ σοφοτάτην καὶ θεοφιλεστάτην καὶ κοινῆν ἔρωμένην ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θεῶν—τὰς Ἀθηνας.

The second main division of ἐπαύων is praise of the men over whose graves the oration is spoken. Pericles, Thuc., II, 42; Demosth., 1392, 27—1399, 10, his main theme; Lys., 67, 68; Hyp., almost the entire fragment, and it contains the unusual feature of reference to the dead by name.

The second head in the model ἐπιτάφιος is the θρήνος or lamentation. Menander, Sp. III, 418, says that Pericles guarded against causing those whom he was trying to inspire to war to
weep overmuch. He therefore dwells rather upon the παραμύθια. The quotation from Pericles' Samian oration, Arist., Rhel., 1365α, 32, is evidently from the θρηνος.

Lysias gives the copy-book form of the θρηνος—sorrow is appropriate: Lys., 71; Demosth., 1399, 10. They died as became good men: Lys., 70, 1; Per., Thuc., II, 431. The greatness of the loss: Lys., 72, 73; Demosth., 1400, 16. The state cares for the families: Lys., 75; Plato, 248 D; Demosth., 1399, 16; Per., Thuc., II, 46, 1; Hyp., l. 148 (Cobet), and the ἐπίλογος.

The third topic of the epitaphios is the παραμύθια, consolation. Lysias, 77-end. gives the commonplaces of this topic: (1) Death is common to all. (2) It is fortunate to die honorably. (3) Such gain the glory of a public funeral and the honor of games. (4) They are to be envied. (5) Their bodies are mortal, but immortal their fame. (6) Not an occasion for mourning; cf. Pericles, Thuc., II, 44, 45; Demosth., 1399, 13-1400, 26; Plato, Menex., 247 C—248 D; Lys., 77-end; Hyp., end. (7) Reference to a future life may be found in Hyp., ll. 155 ff., 182 ff., and end (Cobet); Plato, Menex., 247 C, 246 D; Demosth., 1399, 28 ff. On life after death in the Attic orators, see Meuss, "Die Vorstellungen vom Dasein nach dem Tode bei den attischen Rednern," Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., CXXXIX (1889), pp. 801 ff. He refers also to Nagelsbach, Nachhomersische Theologie, pp. 392-423; Teuffel in Pauly’s Realencyclopädie, IV, 154-67; Lehrs, Populäre Aufsätze, 302-62; E. Curtius, Alterthum und Gegenwart, I, 219-36; Leopold Schmidt, Ethik der alten Griechen, I, 97-118. The injunction to imitate one’s ancestors is an important topic. Plato makes notable use of this, Menex., 246 C, 247 C; cf. Lysias, 69-77; Demosth., 1399, 10; Pericles, Thuc., II, 43.

Hyperides makes an elaborate series of comparisons between his hero and other worthies of Greek history—Miltiades, Themistocles, Harmodius, and Aristogiton. Menander makes comparisons, both general and particular, an important feature of all epideictic discourses.
The closing words in Plato, Menex., 249 C; Demosth., 1400, 27; and Pericles, Thuc., II. 46, end, seem to indicate a well-settled formula; cf. also Himer., II, sec. 23; Soph., O. C., end.

Aside from the copious use of the Gorgian figures in general, one may note certain popular word-antitheses; e.g., that between κοινός (or δημόσιος) and τίδος, which may be found at least forty-six times in the extant ἐπιτάφιοι. Only second in frequency is λόγος—ἐργον, twenty-five times; cf. also ἀδίκως—δίκαιος; θυήτος—ἀθάνατος; ἀλογι—πολλοὶ; ἀρετή—κακία; ξώντες—θυρσίκουντες.

There are also favorite words, e.g., ἄξιον ἐστι, in Hyp., II. 11, 109, 181, 191; Plato, 237 C, 241 B; Isoc., Pan., 115, 122, 132, 156, 167, 170, 175, 181; Lys., 60, 61, 66, 71, 78; cf. also ἔλευθερια, used forty times; ὄλκεως, ἔντολω are much used.

ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΑ ἘΥΚΩΜΙΑ.

Aristotle (Rhet., I, 9, 2 = 1366a, 29) makes a general division in compositions of an epideictic character into those with a serious purpose (μετὰ σπουδῆς) and those which lack this element (χαρίς σπουδῆς). Menander (Sp. III, 346, 9–25) divides ἐγκώμια into ἐδόξα, which deal with gods and evident blessings; ἄνθροπα, which treat of demons and manifest evils; ἀμφίδοξα, which mingle praise and blame.

As examples of the latter he names the Panathenaeicus of Isocrates and that of Aristides. His last division is παράδοξα ἐγκώμια, which treat of paradoxical themes. Alcidas' Praise of Death and an Encomium on Poverty, presumably by the same author, are among those cited as typical examples. Menander, as we have seen, discusses in detail only the first of these forms; παράδοξα ἐγκώμια are passed over as unworthy of extended discussion. Indeed, in general, this form of encomium is least likely to be preserved or even to be discussed in serious literature.

The παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον is a mere display of ingenuity, a jeu de langage. The Athenians had a native keenness in detecting the ridiculous and a great fondness for representing it. It is in large part the element of comedy entering into prose which inspires this form of composition. The other chief motive is the desire
to startle, to win admiration and applause by a mere exhibition of smartness. It is a mild way of displaying the sophist's ability to make the worse appear the better reason.

The tendency to employ the paradoxical, which appears in an extravagant form in the παράδοξα ἐγκώμα, is a permanent one. Aristotle (Rhet., III, 11, 6) speaks in approval of the paradoxical and unexpected as an element of style. The use of paradox by the Sophists, both in the titles of their compositions and in argumentation, is familiar; still more notable is its adoption by the schools of philosophy. In comedy it was a chief reliance in securing humorous effects. In the general rhetorical treatment of the encomium there is prominent mention of some features which lie along the line of the παράδοξα ἐγκώμα. For instance, Doxopater (Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 432, 14) speaks of the fact that one often praises in an unexpected way, for the very opposite of those qualities which ordinarily receive praise, for obscurity of birth, for poverty, and even for lack of strength. Aristides (Sp. II, 505) says that the encomiastic division among other things makes use of εὐφημία—a euphemistic way of stating facts which are in reality unfavorable.¹ The παράδοξον ἐγκώμον is based upon the same principle.

One might expect to find such compositions only, or at least chiefly, among later orators when more serious topics had been long worked over and in a sense exhausted; or in an age of degeneracy when the lack of strong impulses, either state or private, leaves the mind idle to dwell on mere trifles or extravaganzas. As a matter of fact, however, Alcidas and Polycrates, the two greatest exponents of this style reported to us, belong to the fifth century. They are thus among the very earliest Greek orators, and also belonged to an age of great national and individual activity.

Παράδοξα ἐγκώμα are by no means numerous, so far as extant or reported, when compared with the whole body of epideictic literature, yet such topics seem to have been common and more or less popular at different periods. Even writers of eminent

¹ Cf. Nicolaus Sophista (Sp. III, 481).
ability, like Dion Chrysostomus and Synesius, turned their talents to these insignificant topics. In the case of Synesius, at least, we know that he took special pride in the paradoxical composition (*Encomium on Baldness*), which he elaborated with all the skill and eloquence for which he was noted.

The chief references to παράδοξα ἐγκόμια, in addition to the bare mention by Aristotle and Menander in making a general division of epideictic literature, are to be found in Isocrates, Plato, Polybius, Philodemus, and Quintilian.

Isocrates makes frequent reference to this class of literature, both direct and indirect, and in each case assumes an attitude of strong hostility. He speaks with more vehemence upon this than upon any other topic. The most notable passage is *Helen*, 1–13. Here Isocrates does not sharply distinguish between the paradox in general (as a literary device) and the more special usage, applicable to the works of Alcidas and Polycrates, who were his older contemporaries and, to some extent at least, his rivals. It is the former meaning, chiefly, which he has in mind when he says (secs. 2, 3) that this branch of literature began with Gorgias and had been presented in its best form by Protagoras and his contemporaries, and continued by Zeno and Melissus. Farther on he makes direct reference to παράδοξα ἐγκόμια. Tried by Isocrates' standard, writers of such compositions are found wanting. Their topics are not such as concern the state, and they do not profit life. They must let their juggling go—this hollow pretense of words refuted by the facts. Cling to the truth. It is better to have a moderate knowledge of useful things than an accurate knowledge of useless things; to differ a little in matters of importance rather than enter into nice distinctions upon topics which do not advantage life.¹ One might pardon such a course in youths, for excess is their characteristic; but in those who pretend to train others it is as reprehensible to cheat in words as in a bargain. Good talents should not be wasted on such themes.

¹ Compare the like sentiment in Lucian, *Charidemus*, 14: many pass over subjects of real importance and profit, and take up those from which they think they will gain reputation, though of no value to the hearers.
The love of applause and gain is the real secret. They make these false speeches so profitable that some, seeing the gain from such speeches, venture even to maintain in writing that the life of beggars and exiles is enviable above that of other men. When they display such ability on mean topics, it merely proves how well they could speak on the good and honorable. How ridiculous to base a claim to influence and leadership on such productions! It is weakness of intellect. It is as though an athlete were to enter a combat in which it was disgraceful for anyone, even untrained, to take a part. They would not lack words in praising bees, salt, and the like, but in attempting to speak about acknowledged goods they would fall far below existing speeches. It is easy to exalt trifles, but difficult to rise to great topics.

Similar sentiments are to be found elsewhere in Isocrates' orations, e. g., Panathenaicus, 36: “It is easy to amplify a trifling subject, but difficult to equal the greatness and beauty of an important one like this.” In Panathenaicus, 272, he chides speeches which aim at cheating the thought of the hearers. In speeches it is not necessary to seek novelty, nothing paradoxical (Aid Nic., 41). One who wishes to write speeches worthy of praise and honor cannot treat topics which are unjust or mean (Antidosis, 276). It is not fit for men of great professions to be busied with petty themes (Panegyricus, 187). His Busiris was written to show what could be done with a paradoxical topic, but falls into the lines of the ordinary encomium.

The abundance and well-established position of παράδοξα ἐγκώμια in the time of Plato is clear from his reference to such compositions in the Symposium, 177 B, where he says: “Many Sophists, for example Prodicus, have discanted in prose on the virtues of Heracles and other heroes; and, what is still more extraordinary, I have met with a philosophical work in which the utility of salt has been made the theme of an eloquent discourse; and many other like things have had like honor bestowed upon them. There has been eager interest about them, but no
hymn for Eros." This passage is notable for lack of the tone of censure which characterizes Isocrates.

The tendency toward such displays was still an evil in Polybius' time, as we learn from his incidental reference to such compositions in Book XII, 26, b. As one would expect, they meet his severe censure. He cites encomiums of Thersites and such paradoxes as that Penelope was a bad wife, as examples of a theme and a style far too frequently employed by the school of declaimers. In XII, 26, c, he refers to the paradoxical element in argumentation and the training of youth in general, and the common tendency of the times to dissipate one's energies on worthless themes. The paradoxical disputatious spirit has brought certain schools of philosophy into disrepute. It inspires the youth with a dislike for serious things like ethics and politics, so that they spend their time in the pursuit of empty reputation and useless paradoxical verbiage.

Philodemus (Col. 35, Vol. I, p. 218, Sudhaus; cf. also p. 30 of Introduction) disapproves of sophistic orators who praise such men as Busiris and Polyphemus, making common to all the rewards of the good and inciting many to be base. By such comparisons as that of Clytemnestra and Penelope, Paris and Hector, they obliterate the virtues of the good, as far as in them lies, and this not from any desire to honor the good and rebuke the base, but from mere love of gain or to display their genius. He denounces those who choose topics of no inherent value. They weaken our minds by amplifying that which is mediocre.

Quintilian closes his chapter on the encomium by a rapid enumeration indicating its variety: "There are eulogies of places, of honorable sayings and actions. There is, indeed, praise for things of every kind; for eulogies have been written on sleep and death, and by physicians on certain kinds of food." The παράδοξα ἐγκώμια thus incur no censure from him.

Like so many other divisions of epideictic literature, the παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον has had its renewed life in medieval and modern times. A single notable example may be mentioned.
Erasmus in the preface to his *Encomium Moriae* justifies his yielding to this diversion by citing those who have taken up paradoxical themes in antiquity: "Homer wrote on the war between frogs and mice; Vergil, of a gnat and pudding-cake; Ovid, of a nut; Polycrates commended the cruelty of Busiris; Isocrates who corrected him did as much for the injustice of Glauce. Favorinus extolled Thersites and wrote in praise of a quartan ague. Synesius pleaded in behalf of baldness; and Lucian defended a sipping fly. Seneca drollingly related the deifying of Claudius; Plutarch, the dialogue betwixt Gryllus and Ulysses; Lucian and Apuleius, the story of an ass. Someone else records the last will of a hog, of which St. Hierom makes mention. . . . Trifles may be a whet to more serious thoughts."

Reference has already been made to the general relationship between comedy and the παράδοξα ἐγκόμα. A more intimate connection may be shown. The typical plan of a comedy of Aristophanes has been thus outlined: "The protagonist undertakes in all apparent seriousness to give a local habitation and a body to some ingenious, airy speculation or bold metaphor." Thus the comedy is a paradox in its very foundation, not to speak of the ingenious play of paradoxical fancy which enlivens it throughout. Frequently in Aristophanes and the fragments there are actual examples of παράδοξα ἐγκόμα. One of the characters in the play starts in to "praise something as hard as ever he can," and the fun lies in the burlesque. Examples of this playful deliberate praise or blame may be found in any play of Aristophanes.

The *Wasps*, for example, is a satire upon the litigious spirit so prevalent at Athens. Philocteon is the dicast-praiser; Bdelycleon opposes. Lines 85–135 state the trouble with the lover of dicasts. After various brief references of like character, e. g., 508–11, a burlesque encomium of the dicast and the dicast’s life begins at 548, ending with 630. This is answered (654). There is a clever parody of the familiar laudation of Athens and Athenians at 1070 ff. The mocking tone of praise is discernible elsewhere, e. g., 1292 ff.; 1450 ff. Excellent examples of
brief παράδοξα ἐγκώμια may also be found in the Plutus. The self-praise of Poverty (507–610) is a notable instance.¹

Quotations from two representative παράδοξα ἐγκώμια will indicate the probable character of all writings of this class.

Lucian's Μυλας Ἐγκώμιον begins with a description of the appearance and habits of the fly, intended to be humorous by reason of its very elaborateness. He then continues:

I may say that the fly possesses no slight intellectual ability, since he escapes from his insidious enemy, the spider. For he is on guard and detects his plots and avoids being caught in his net or falling into the toils of the monster. Of his spirit and boldness I need say nothing. Homer, the most grandiloquent of poets, shall speak of these qualities. For, wishing to glorify the most distinguished of his heroes, he does not liken his prowess to that of the lion or the leopard or the wild boar, but to the boldness of the fly and to the fearlessness and brilliance of his attacks. Nay, indeed, the fly possesses not mere reckless daring, but træ manly courage. Drive him away, says Homer, even then he does not retire from the combat, but returns to bite again. [Lucian cites several other instances to prove the importance attached to the fly in this greatest of poems.]

The fly is so strong that it wounds with its sting not merely the skin of men, but of cattle and horses. Nay, indeed, it afflicts the elephant with pain when it creeps beneath its wrinkles and inflicts a wound with its proboscis proportionate to its size. . . .

This one point Plato seems to have overlooked in his treatise on the immortality of the soul: that a dead fly, covered with ashes, rises again, as if newborn, and begins life anew, which is ample proof that the soul of the fly is immortal, since it comes back to its abandoned body and recognizes it, revives it and makes it a fly again. . . .

Though in constant idleness and free from all labor, the fly reaps the fruits of others' toils, and everywhere finds a table luxuriously spread for him. For him the goats are milked; the bee toils no less for him than for mankind; for him the cook prepares the daintiest viands. As the guest of kings he tastes first of every dish; he marches about the table and enjoys a part of each delicacy. . . .

The table tells us there was once a beautiful maiden by the name of Muia, an irrepressible chatterer and fond of singing. She was a rival of

¹ One may note also the playful laudation of women in the Thesmophoriazasa (785 ff.; cf. Eccl., 214 ff.); the mock eulogy of the knights (Kn., 585 ff.; 1283 ff.).
Luna for the love of Endymion, but she kept rousing him from his sleep by her singing and her wanton pranks until he became angered, and Luna, angered also, changed her into the animal which still bears her name, and for this reason the fly is the enemy of all sleepers, especially the young and tender, since she ever thinks about Endymion. So her bite and her thirst for blood are not an evidence of ferocity, but rather of love and fellow-feeling for humanity. [The position of the fly in comedy and tragedy is then referred to, and he closes by saying:]

I have a great deal more to say on such a subject, but I shall cease, that I may not seem, as the proverb says, to make an elephant out of a fly.

The following selections from Synesius’ *Encomium on Baldness* are taken from Smith’s *Dictionary of Religious Biography*:

Dion has written such an eloquent encomium on long hair that a man is quite ashamed of being bald. When my hair began to fall, I was quite smitten with grief. To whom of the gods, to whom of the demons, did I not pray for help? When that did no good, I began to distrust the existence of a providence. But now I think the treatise was so eloquent simply because he was such a clever man. He could easily have written a much better encomium on baldness. For if we look at the matter fairly, there is an antagonism between hair and wisdom; when the one flourishes, the other does not. The most hairy of all animals is the sheep, and everybody allows that of all animals the sheep is the most stupid. The least hairy of animals is man, and by common consent man is of all animals the wisest.

Then consider the different classes of men. If you go into a museum and look at the statues of the philosophers, you will see that they are all bald. It is true Apollonius of Tyana has long hair, but then I fear that shows that he was only a conjurer and a dealer in magic arts. . . .

Besides, our hair grows most freely when we are children, that is to say, when we are least wise. As we grow older and wiser our hair gradually falls off. It is true some people fail to become bald even in old age, but some people also fail to become wise. . . .

Then Dion says that Achilles had long hair. ‘The goddess seized him by his flaxen locks.’ Well, suppose Achilles had long hair. He was then young and passionate. When a man is young it is natural that, as his heart swarms with passions, so his head should swarm with hairs. Had Achilles lived longer, he would have become wise and bald. But the truth is, Dion has left out the most important part of Homer’s lines: ‘She stood behind him and seized him by his flaxen locks.’
Stood behind him! of course, because there was no hair in front to take hold of. Why, even with me anybody might take hold of the hair at the back of my head. So I conjecture Achilles was already partly bald.

The following are the most noted names in this branch of epideictic composition:


Antisthenes: See Muenscher, *Rh. Mus.*, 54 (1899), 248, in support of the theory that Antisthenes was the author of παράδοξα ἐγκώμια, and that many such compositions come from a cynic source.

Dion Chrysostomus. First century A. D. Wrote in praise of the gnat, the parrot, and of hair.

Favorinus. Second century A. D. *Praise of Thersites, of Quartan Fever*.

Fronto. Second century A. D. Attempted to introduce this kind of literature at Rome. *Laudes Punis et Pulveris, Laus Negligentiae*.

Heraclides of Lycia. Second century A. D. 'Εγκώμιον πόνου.

Libanius. Fourth century A. D. Ψέγος πλούσιου.

Lucian. Second century A. D. *Encomium on the Fly, De Parasito*.


Plato. The oration assigned to Lysias in Plato's *Phaedrus* (231–34 B) may be classed as a παράδοξον ἐγκώμιον. Its purpose is of this order: to prove by ingenuity and in rhetorical fashion that the non-lover should be sought rather than the lover. The comments which follow it recognize its epideictic character,
e. g., 234 C, D, E; 235 A; 243 A. This is followed by Socrates' first speech, whose aim is to surpass the rhetorician in his own line.

Polycrates. Close of the fifth century B.C. Encomia on mice, pots, counters, salt, bumblebees. All or part of these have been assigned to him by different authorities. His exact writings are much in dispute. Spengel thinks that he was the author of an encomium on Helen, sometimes assigned to Gorgias. Among the other themes assigned to him are: an encomium of Clytemnestra, a defense of Polyphemus, one of Busiris (suggesting the Busiris of Isocrates), accusation of Socrates, encomium of Thrasybulus, of Paris, of Agamemnon, and an accusation of the Lacedemonians. Compare Arist., Rhet., II, 24, 6, and Cope's note; Spengel, Artium Scriptores, p. 75; Westermann, Geschichte der Beredsamkeit, sec. 50, 22; Blass, Attische Bered., II, 341, 342; Sauppe, Frat. Orat. Gk. (Polycrates) and Orat. Att., III, 220; Cambr. Jour. Class. and Sacr. Philol., No. 9, Vol. III, p. 281; No. 5, Vol. II, p. 158.


Zoilus. Fourth century B.C. A pupil of Polycrates: A speech in censure of Homer, a praise of Polyphemus, an encomium of Tenedos.

**Epideictic Literature and Poetry.**

That early Greek prose had close relations with poetry, already highly developed, was well recognized by the Greeks themselves. Strabo, for instance, says of Cadmus (I, 2, 6), Pherecydes, and Hecataeus: λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τάλλα δὲ φυλά-ξαντες τὰ ποιητικὰ—intending this as a rough characterization of early prose as a whole.¹ Oratory, with its rapid development in the early years of the fifth century, assumed prominence at a period a little later, when, as Strabo puts it, prose had withdrawn little by little from poetic form and influence. But in the department of epideictic oratory especially there was a

¹ Cf. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, I, 36. This chapter was in its present form before the publication of Norden's work, and I leave it unchanged.
strong tendency toward the preservation of poetic qualities or their renewed imitation. The most prominent name connected with this movement is that of Gorgias, who must have begun his oratorical career not later than 450 B.C., thus placing him among the earliest workers in prose. He is characterized as the first to employ artistic prose.¹ He made definite selection of those features of poetry best adapted for employment in prose, and formulated these into a simple and practical system (cf. p. 102, n. 1). Gorgias was the teacher of Isocrates, and Isocrates was the epideictic orator par excellence—the founder of a school both in style and theme. Thus epideictic oratory was, in its earliest stages, more intimately connected with poetry than were the other two branches—the judicial and the deliberative.² Poetry, too, is by its very nature and scope more closely connected with epideictic oratory than with that of the court or the assembly, whose chief function it is to marshal facts and work out definite conclusions by argument and close logical reasoning. Poetry has a wide domain. It teaches and inspires; it is profound, sublime, pathetic; it exerts a most powerful influence upon the noblest qualities of man’s heart and mind. But to give pleasure is also its legitimate function and in many forms certainly its chief aim. Aristotle,³ Eratosthenes (as quoted by Strabo, I, 2, 3), and others regarded it as the chief mission of poetry to give gratification, though there existed earlier than this and persisting along with it the theory that the poet is primarily a teacher.⁴ Poetry stirs the depths of human emotions, but it also has its lighter forms which move only the surface. Under its delicate transforming touch trite or commonplace

¹ His debt to Empedocles and Heraclitus is referred to on p. 214, n. 2.
² For the general dependence of oratory on poetry, cf. Cic., Orat., 20, 66 f.; De Or., I, 16, 70; III, 7, 27; Hor., Sat., I, 4, 45 ff.; Tac., Dial., 20; Quintil., X, 2, 21; Ovid, Ex Ponto, II, 5, 65 ff.; Dion. of Hal., De Comp. Verb., 25 f.
³ Poetics, XXVI, 7; XIV, 2; Met., I, 1, 918b, 17 ff.; Pol., V, 5, 1339b, 32.
⁴ Cf. Butcher, Aristotle’s Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, chaps. 4 and 5; Horace, Ars Poetica, 338-44, esp. 343–4:

Omne tuit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
   Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.
thoughts may assume attractiveness and aesthetic value through the charm of poetic clothing and imaginative treatment. Epideictic oratory seems far removed from poetry. The two are, indeed, not comparable in power or value to humanity, and yet these latter characteristics of poetry belong also to a certain extent to some branches of epideictic literature. An examination of this department of oratory indicates that poetry, especially in its lighter forms, has by its very nature and aim far more in common with it than with any other branch of prose, if indeed one be permitted to compare the well-founded and enduring with that which was to a large extent hollow and artificial, possessing only occasional elements of permanent value. A consciousness of a special connection between epideictic oratory and poetry in theme and diction runs throughout the course of this branch of literature, but is particularly noticeable at its beginning and near its close—the end of the fifth century B.C. and the fourth A.D. The epideictic orator seems constantly to have the poet in mind as he speaks. Isocrates in the early stages of this style of oratory employs what becomes a commonplace. Near the beginning of the Euagoras he laments that orators have not the license of poets to employ myths, meter, rhythm, figurative language, ornamentation of every form. However, he will attempt “to praise a good man in prose not less effectively than poets have done in song.” In Antidosis, 45 ff., he speaks of the prose styles as not less in variety than those of poetry. The expression τῶν μετὰ μέτρου ποιημάτων is used here and elsewhere as though the addition of μετὰ μέτρου were necessary to mark the distinction between this and a prose which might claim the term ποίημα with almost equal justice. He compares his own speech to poetry—“all would call them more like those made μετὰ μουσικῆς καὶ ῥυθμοῦ than those spoken in the dicastery, for they present


2 Cf. Dion Chrysostomus, XII (I, 214, Dind.), εὐγενέστατος ἧμερας ἥμεραν καὶ ἡμέρας λόγων; Libanius, Or. V (I, 225, 10 R), ποιητὴς λόγων ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ἄρτοις ἰδιον ἐν μέτρῳ; Isoc., Ad. Nic., 7; Strabo, I, 2, 6; Plato, Phaedrus, 234 E, 236 D—both refer to the author of the first oration of the Phaedrus as ποιητὴς; Pindar, Pyth., I, 94, καὶ λόγος καὶ δοῦλος; Nem., VI, 33.
deeds in a more poetic and varied style, more elevated and fresh, and adorned with more and brighter figures. The hearers are not less pleased than with those made in meter . . . .” (Antid., 46, 47; Cic., Orat., 52, 175). Isocrates, when he saw that poets had the advantage over orators, used poetic qualities for variety and pleasure. Compare with this Himerius of the fourth century A.D.: Or. III, 1: “Gladly would I adapt these words to the lyre and make them poetry, that I might sportively praise thee as Simonides and Pindar do ‘Dionysus and Apollo.’” Or. 14, 10: “I shall not address you in Lesbian strains, for I am not a poet, but shall speak without meter.” Or. 14, 5: “The art of oratory to my injury does not grant me the lyre and barbiton, but a prose muse.” Ecl., 13, 32: “Would that I could invoke the winds as a poet, but alas I have not poetic strains to utter.” Ecl., 12, 7: “Had I the poet’s power, I would show, etc.”¹ This affectation of the orator’s inferiority is a special characteristic of Himerius; cf. Choricius, p. 48, l. 7 (Bois.): “A poet would have honored thy grave with poetic offerings, but I without meter, for I am not a poet.”² Procopius, Epistolographi, p. 568, 37, exclaims: “Would that I were a poet; of a truth I would call on Apollo and the muses too, saying, give me power to speak (eiphein).” The epistolographers abound in similar passages.

The epideictic orators, especially those living after the beginning of the Christian era, are more inclined to employ quotations from the poets. They are frequently quoted in the ordinary sense of that term; more often the quotation is worked in without indication of its author or of the fact that it is a quotation.³ Frequently a passage from a poet or an entire poem forms the theme of an epideictic discourse. Dionysius of Halicarnassus enjoins upon those who compose ἐπιθαλάμια in prose the use of Od., VI, 183, as a text. It is, perhaps, not fanciful to compare

¹ Cf. also like expressions in Ecl., 13, 25; 21, 3; Or. 1, 20; IV, 3; IV, 9; XIV, 2, 3.
² Cf. Aristides’ hymn to Serapis.
the vagrant and promiscuous delivery of speeches, as in the cases of Dion Chrysostomus and Himerius, with the wandering life of the early bards. Epideictic oratory is also directly and intimately connected with poetry in its theme. Menander in his treatise περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν recognizes nearly thirty varieties of epideictic speech, differing enough in theme and treatment to merit separate mention. A large proportion of these—all the leading divisions—are more or less direct continuations of forms long before firmly established in poetry. The subordinate themes are largely subdivisions or are easily derivable from these, thus making epideictic literature in a broad sense dependent upon poetry. The ὕμνοι, the ἐπιθαλάμιος, and some other themes especially allied to the poetic, are treated in some detail elsewhere (see pp. 174 ff. and 179 f.). The ἐπιτάφιος λόγος is probably the earliest form of epideictic oratory and one of the earliest uses of prose. This certainly has its analogue, if not its direct antecedent, in such poetic compositions as the Linus song, the lament of Hecuba, of Andromache or Helen over Hector, or of Briseis over Patroclus, and the θρήνοι of the intermediate period. The μονοφια is of the same nature as the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος. It corresponds much more closely to poetic models. Menander (Sp. III, 434, 11) calls the laments in Homer μονοφια, and says they may teach us, who are not experienced, how to form such speeches.

The ἐγκώμιον in general is but a continuation of the same thing in poetry; Hermogenes (Sp. II, 11, 23, περὶ ἐγκώμιον) explains the origin and application of the term from the fact that the poets sang (ἀδεν) their hymns in honor of the gods anciently in villages, ἐν κώμαις.

1 Cf. Himer., VI, 4. The troubadours have often been compared to the early bards.

2 Cf. Sappho (Hiller, 63, 105); Simonides' epitaph over those who died at Thermopylae; Eur., Suppl., 837 ff.; Alc., 435 ff.; Phen., 1485 ff.; Bion, Lament for Adonis; Moschus, Lament for Bion; Hor., Odes, I, 24; II, 9; Propert., IV, 7, 18; V, 11; and in later times "Astrophil on the Death of Sidney," Arber, Eng. Reprints, V, 1; Spenser Soc. Pub., Daniel's "Funeral Poem on the Death of the Earl of Devonshire;" Tenn., In Memoriam, etc., ad infinitum.

EPIDEICTIC LITERATURE

The praise of a city or country is one of the most frequent topics, but Sophocles had prepared the way for such compositions by his celebrated praise of Attica, O. C., 668–720; compare also Eur., Hec., 905 ff. (Troy); Medea, 824 ff. (Athens); Odes of Pindar; Anon. Comic Poet, Kock, III, Adesphota, 340; Horace, Odes, I, 7 (Tibur); II, 6; Ausonius, ed. Peiper, pp. 144–54; Catul., 17; Poet. Lat. Minores, Baehrens, passim.

Praise of a person enters into many forms of epideictic speech besides its special development in the βασιλικός λόγος. Such poetry as the odes of Pindar, besides supplying the prototype for the occasional address in general, and perhaps for the πανηγυρικός,¹ may easily have suggested the idea (or encouraged it, if already formed) of making an individual, his ancestry, deeds, virtues, and the myths suggested by the theme, the subject of a brief discourse. For its connection with the βασιλικός λόγος, see pp. 129 f. Isocrates’ expression in the Eunagoras (see p. 168) implies that he had in mind some such poetic compositions; compare also the κλεά ἀνδρῶν of Achilles. Euripides (Troades, 800 ff.) has a praise of Telamon. There are also set speeches of this character found in the Seven Against Thebes, and in Eur., Suppl. Idyl 17 of Theocritus is a praise of Ptolemy, an excellent example of a βασιλικός λόγος.²

The κλητικός λόγος³ must be referred to the same origin as the κλητικός ὁμοιος, q. v., pp. 174 f. The herald’s speech in the

¹ Peacock in his Essay on the Four Ages of Poetry (in Shelley’s Defense of Poetry, ed. Cook, Ginn & Co., 1891, p. 47) speaks of the panegyrical origin of poetry: “The first or iron age of poetry is that in which rude bards celebrate in rough numbers the exploits of ruder chiefs. Poetry is thus in its origin panegyrical.”

² Cf. also Idyl 16; Pindar, see pp. 123 f.; Claudian, Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti, and several others; Laus Pisonis; Poet. Lat. Min. (Baehrens), I, 225 et passim; Tibullus, IV, 1; Propertius, IV, 11; V, 6; Hor., II, 1; IV, 2, 4, 6, 14, 15; cf. also Southey, “Βασιλικός to the Prince Regent;” and innumerable other mediaeval and modern instances.

³ Cf. Hor., I, 17, 20; III, 29; IV, 5; Catullus, 33; Propert., IV, 22; Juvenal, XI, 182 ff.; Ausonius (Peiper), ad Paulum, p. 228; and in modern times such poems as Tennyson. “Invitation to the Isle of Wight,” addressed to R. v. F. D. Maurice.
Agamemnon of Aeschylus, 503 ff., furnishes a good model for the address of welcome—ἐπιβατῆρος λόγος; compare also the chorus in the Agamemnon, 783 ff.; Agamemnon’s speech, 810; Clytemnestra’s words, 855 ff.; Eur., Herac., 297 ff.; Hor., Odes, I, 36; II, 7; III, 14; and such modern poems as Dryden on the “Restoration of Charles the Second;” Maxwell on “Cromwell’s Return from Ireland,” etc.

The words of Odysseus on taking leave of the Phaeacians are cited by Menander as an instance of a συντακτικός λόγος; compare also Euripides, Herac., 558 ff.; Hec., 444 ff.; Catul., 46; Propert., IV, 21.

For the προσεπμπτικός λόγος compare Callimachus, Frag., 114; Theoc., VII, 52; Ennius, pp. xci and 165 (ed. Vahlen); Tib., I, 3; III, 3; Propert., I, 17; Statius, Silvae, III, 2; Ausonius, 4th idyl; Hor., Odes, I, 3; III, 27; Epode 1; Epode X is an ἀντιπροσεπμπτικός; Poet. Lat. Min. (Bachrens), VI, p. 323, Propempticon Pollioniis; Ovid, Am., 2, 11; compare also Falconer, “Ode on the Departure of the Duke of York;” Dryden, “To Her Royal Highness the Duchess on a Victory and a Journey;” Richardson, “To a Friend Embarking on a Voyage,” etc.

For the γενεθλιακός λόγος see pp. 142 ff.

The πανηγυρικός λόγος and the παναθηναϊκός, though they differ much in theme from the grand poems, like those of Pindar and Bacchylides, which these or similar occasions called forth, so far as we can judge, cannot be separated in thought. There are even many similarities in contents. The directions given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus approach more nearly poetic treatment (e.g., Pindar’s Odes) than existing prose specimens. Hermogenes (Sp. II, 405, 7) lauds Plato as the model for panegyric writing in prose, as Homer is the poet panegyrist. He introduces panegyric in poetry with the remark: πανηγυρικόν γάρ πράγμα δηποιθέν ἐστι ποίησις ἀπασα καὶ πάντων τε λόγων πανηγυρικότατον. Rohde (Griechische Roman, 335) has good foundation for his belief that the εἰκόνες of Philostratus, Choricius, and others are prose continuations of such poetic compositions as
Homer’s description of Achilles’ shield and the Heracles’ Shield of Hesiod.\footnote{\textit{Cf.} also Anacreonta, 52 (35); 55 (50); \textit{Anth. Pal.}, Book II; Ausonius (Peiper), 331 ff.}

Euripides has examples of the προσβεντικός λόγος, \textit{c. g.}, Heracleidae, 134 ff. The προτρεπτικός λόγος is a continuation of the parenetic and moralizing element in Homer, Pindar, and especially the gnomic poets; compare Cic., Hortensius or De Philosophia; Ausonius (Peiper), 259, προτρεπτικός ad Nepotem.

With Menander’s rules for praise of a country compare Callimachus’ \textit{Hymn to Delos}.

Besides this general relation to the themes of poetry, there is also in some cases a much closer relationship. Several special forms of epideictic oratory do not merely find their germ in poetry, as in the cases just mentioned, but come by direct transference. The early centuries of the Christian era witnessed a most remarkable development of epideictic literature, reaching its culmination in the fourth century A.D. One of its most notable features was its attitude toward poetry. We find here the antithesis to the earliest days of Greek prose. Then all expression tended to employ poetic forms. Prose had to win its way against opposition. The fourth century A.D. presents a situation in many respects the reverse.\footnote{For comments upon a similar relative decline of poetry, as compared with prose, in the first half of the fourth century B. C., \textit{cf.} Holm, \textit{History of Greece}, III, 153. \textit{Cf.} also Norden, \textit{Ant. Kunstprosa}, I, 78.} Poetry was now in a position of insignificance, almost extinction, and prose was held in high esteem. Not content with poetic features which had always characterized epideictic speech, orators not only employed these with much greater freedom and frequency in highly colored forms, using “poetic properties not as spice but as food,” but also made conscious imitation and transference of themes popularly regarded as poetic only.\footnote{We may compare here similar compositions in modern times. Notable examples may be found in Tourguéneff’s \textit{Poèmes in Prose}, translated and published by Cupples, Upham & Co., 1883, and \textit{Pastels in Prose}, from the French, translated by Merrill, with an introduction by W. D. Howells (Harper’s), 1890. Howells makes the error of claiming the prose poem as peculiarly a modern} Prose poems of three classes were composed and declaimed
by epideictic orators—epithalamia (which existed in prose as early as the first century B.C.), hymns to the gods, poems on trifling or occasional topics, e.g., spring, the rose, the nightingale, and the like. Menander (cf. pp. 110 ff.) in his περί ἐπιδεικτικῶν (Sp. III, 333)1 makes a general division of this branch of oratory into two classes according to theme: orations which deal with gods, and those which deal with men. The former are called ὄμνοι. He defines nine varieties: κλητικός, where the presence of a deity is invoked; ἀποπεμπτικός, addressed to a departing god; this is purely poetic; for explanation of this fact see Spengel, Rhetores Graeci, II, 336; φυσικός, a statement of the physical qualities of a god; μυθικός (for title cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 265c), relating some myth; γενεαλογικός, referring to the ancestry and descendants; πεπλασμένος, fictions based on myths; εὐκτικός and ἀπευκτικός, precative and deprecatory hymns; μετάκτικος, a combination of two or more of the preceding.2 In another part of his treatise (Sp. III, 437) he gives most elaborate directions for the composition of a συγκεκριμένος λόγος, which is addressed to Apollo and is in reality a prose hymn of elaborate character.3 Menander composed one (Sp. III, 335, 24).

invention. Cf. also Prose Fancies, Richard Le Gallienne (1894); Prose Idyls, John Albee (1892); Prose Idyls, C. Kingsley (1873); Prose Pastorals, H. Sylvester (1887); Prose by a Poet, J. Montgomery (1824).

1 Cf. also Sp. II, 13, 22; 109, 24; 565, 5; III, 4, 14; Quintil., III, 7, 7; Philodemus, I, 219 (Sudhaus).

2 It is interesting to note the even more minute subdivisions shown in the Greek descriptive titles prefixed to the odes of Horace in various manuscripts. They are discussed by Zarncke, De Vocabulis Graecanicos quae traduntur in Inscriptionibus Carminum Horatianorum, Diss. Phil. Argent., III, 215 ff. The following is a summary: apotelestice, III, 30; dicanice, II, 2; dianololice, III, 19; encomiastice, II, 2; IV, 2, 4, 8, 14; entusiasmatic, II, 19; erotice, I, 8, 13, 19; IV, 1, 10, 11; eucharistice, I, 36; II, 19; euctice, I, 30, 41; II, 5; IV, 1; hymnus, I, 10, 12, 21; III, 22, 25; hypothetice, I, 6, 15; II, 16, 18; III, 16, 27; lerke, I, 23; mentice, III, 15; paean, IV, 5; palinodia, I, 16; paraenetic, I, 4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 18, 33; II, 3, 9, 17, 18, 20; III, 12, 14, 17, 21, 28, 29; IV, 7, 12, 13; pragmatice, I, 1, 11; II, 1, 7; III, 1; prosagoreutice, II, 8; pros-euctice, I, 2, 35; III, 13, 13, 23; IV, 3, 5, 6; carmen saeculare; prophonetics, I, 3, 5, 12, 20, 32, 37, 38; II, 4, 6, 7, 12, 14; III, 11, 23, 27, 29; IV, 4; protreptic, I, 27; II, 4; syllogistic, III, 23; symboletic, II, 3, 17; threnus, I, 24.

3 Callimachus’ Hymn to Apollo has much in common with the outline given in Menander. After a brief prelude he refers to the need of praise on
Menander mentions models for many of the types, and in some cases quotes. Here, as in his detailed treatment of the more distinctively prose forms, he claims for the epideictic branch everything which he regards as of an epideictic character, however fragmentary or brief it may be—even a single sentence—and regardless of the general literary character of the production in which it is imbedded (see p. 93), e. g., Plato (many hymns), Sappho, Empedocles, Anacreon, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Sophocles, etc. Hymns to the gods form one of the earliest poetic themes, and they are also the most continuous. Menander cites Sappho, Anacreon, and Alcman as authors of κλητικόν ὤμοιον.\(^1\)

He refers to Bacchylides as author of ἀποσειμιπτικόν ὤμοιον. They were also called προσεμπτικόι. Φυσικός ὤμοιοι are rather poetic than prose, though Julian's hymns may be classed as φυσικοί. According to Menander, Plato contains several, e. g., in the Symposium, where he refers to Πόρος and Πεύλα. He says (Sp. III, 337, 22) that in the Critias (passage lost) Plato calls the Timaeus a hymn of the All (τὸ πᾶν);\(^2\) compare also Empedocles, Parmenides, Orpheus. For the μυθικός ὤμοιος the models were Acusilaus, Hesiod. Γενελογικόι ὤμοιοι were written by Hesiod, Alcaeus, Orpheus, Plato. The examples of πεπλασμένοι ὤμοιοι cited are Plato, Phaedrus, 242; Sym., 186, 189, 203; Hesiod and Simonides. The εὐκτικός ὤμοιοι is found even in orators, when calling on the gods to witness. Menander (Sp. III, 342) quotes Demosth., De Corona, 225, 274; Plato, Phaedrus, 279 B; II., II, 412; X, 278; compare also, for other hymns, Soph., O. T., 151; Electra, 1376; Orphic hymns: to Helius, p. 61 (Abel); to Zeus, p. 66; to Poseidon, p. 67; to Adonis, p. 88; Pindar, O. 1, 75, Aratus—the beginning of his φαινόμενα—is a hymn to Zeus; Catullus, instrument and in song. He is god of the bow, of healing, of oracles; his benefits to mankind, his titles.

\(^1\) Other examples in poetry are as follows: Homer. I., I, 37 (cited by Menander, Sp. III, 335, 13); Sappho, 5, 6, 61, 66, 67, 83, ed. Hiller; Orphic Hymns (Abel), p. 82; [Eurip.]. Rhes., 224; Pindar, fg. 122 (p. 219 Fennell, 87 Christ). Nemean, IX; Alcman, 21; Tibul., II, 1; Hor., I, 30; Ausonius, p. 331. Menander cites also Plato, Phaedrus, 237.

\(^2\) Grote (Plato, Vol. IV, p. 217; London, Murray, 1888) falls into the error of attributing this to Menander.
34 (to Diana); Hor., I, 30, 31; III, 11, 26 (end); Tibullus, IV, 6. The great majority of hymns are naturally μυκτοί, having as their elements two or more of the preceding forms, e. g., Aesch., Agamem., 160 (to Zeus); Soph., Antig., 781 (to Eros); Eur., Hip., 525; I. T., 1234; Hel., 1300 (to Ceres and Cybele); Ion, 1048 (to Hecate); Sappho, 1, 7; Orphic hymns: Proclus, to the Sun; Callimachus, to Zeus, Apollo, Artemis; Homer, to Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, Demeter, etc.; Julian, see pp. 177 ff.; Tibullus, IV, 6; Hor. I, 10 (Mercury), 12 (to several gods), 18 (to Bacchus); II, 19 (to Bacchus); III, 4 (to Calliope), 18 (to Venus), 22 (to Diana), 25 (to Bacchus), 26 (to Venus), etc. Pindar makes a hymn of some form a part of almost every ode. He also wrote ὑμνοι, paean, dithyrambs; compare also [Terpander], Hymn to Zeus, Alcman, Arion, Alcæus, Poët. Lat. Min., IV, 434, Baehrens.

How general was the writing of prose hymns can be judged only from the fact that Menander gives them so important and detailed a place in his treatment, and that this form of epideictic composition had reached such minute subdivision. We possess hymns as separate compositions from but few orators. Aristides is mentioned by Menander (Sp. III, 344) as an excellent model for μυκτο ὑμνοί. His hymn to Zeus begins with an εὐερτικὸς ὑμνὸς; denies the usual story of his birth and states his own belief; he presents in detail his qualities, his work for man as creator of the earth and source of all blessings. “I begin and end with this [cf. Homer, II., 9, 97, of Agamemnon; Theognis, 1–5, of Apollo; Thuc., XVII, 1; Pindar, N. II, 1; D. Chrys., περί βασιλείας; Theoc., XVII, 1; Aratus, Phaen., 1; Hor., Odes, I, 12, 13; Vergil, Ecl., III, 60], calling him leader and aid in every word and work, being himself alone primal author and completer of all.” This hymn might easily take its initiative from such poetic antecedents as Callimachus’ hymn to Zeus. They have some points of noticeable similarity. Both start with the question: How shall we best honor him? Both refer to the tradition of his birth in Crete, to deny it and substitute what they believe to be the truth. Both employ the τότος of inadequacy; Zeus is
eternal (Aristides, p. 3, Dind.; Callim., 9), giver of all good (main theme of Arist.; Cal., at end); the gods are his servants through recognition of his superior power (Arist., pp. 9 and 10; Cal., 60–75); accomplishes his will with instantaneous swiftness (Arist., p. 5; Cal., 87 ff.); Aristides begins, Callimachus ends, with a prayer. His hymn to Athene opens with a prayer, stating that his hymn shall be a mingled ἐυχή and ὀμνος. He dwells mainly upon her characteristics and benefactions; ends with a prayer. The hymn to Poseidon was composed for a πανήγυρις at the Isthmus. As in many of the hymns, there is an introduction of a purely personal character relating the circumstances of composition or delivery. The hymn follows largely the lines of a panegyric. He praises the place as well as the god. The hymns to Dionysus, Heracles, Asclepius (cf. Himerius, 22), the Asclepiadai, and Serapis repeat about the same τόπων. Aristides includes in the title of some of his hymns the word μανιτευτόι, as though implying their inspiration. Aristides has other writings which closely approach the hymn in style and structure, e.g., Or. 21, παλινῳδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνη καὶ τῷ ταύτῃ ἀνισιμῷ; and 20, μονῳδία ἐπὶ Σμύρνη. These present more conscious elements of poetry than his other writings except the hymns. It (Or. 20) begins like a poem with a call of perplexity to Zeus—ποιάν ἄρμονίαν ἄρμοσάμενος; p. 427, ἐμελλεῖ ἄρα τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἀδεσθαὶ δευτέρων σχετικώτερων. The whole oration is in a style which lacks only meter to make it a poem. In Or. 21, p. 430, when he learned of the calamity, μονῳδίας τινὰς ἔδω, . . . νῦν δὲ ἄρα μοι τῶν Στησίχορον μεμνήσασθαι τῷ παλινῳδίᾳ καὶ μὴ τότε ἄβουλητα ἄδωντα τὰκ τῶν ἐυχῶν νυνὶ σιωπήσαι. Compare also p. 322: τὴν δὲ πολιν ἄδωναι μὲν πάντες καὶ ἄσονται.

The two hymns of Julian—to the sun and to the mother of the gods—are far less worthy of the title "hymns," if the definition is to be derived from existing specimens in poetry and prose. The two are usually classed as φυσικοὶ, though the term applies far more strictly to the hymn to the mother of the gods than to that addressed to the sun. It is, at least, an open question whether the latter should not be called μικτὸς. He follows
largely the same lines of thought as Aristides, except that the philosophical element is prominent. He begins with an introduction stating his interest in the subject, his qualifications, his inadequacy (cf. Aristides). Then follow elements of the εύκτικός, γενεαλογικός, πεπλασμένος, μυθικός. A very close parallel might be made between this hymn and a βασιλικός λόγος. The hymn consistently addresses the sun as βασιλεία, and employs the familiar τόποι—inadequacy, boundless influence, ancestry, deeds, comparisons, the queen (the moon), benefits to subjects, separate praise of each (sun and moon), prayer. Libanius (I, 225, 10 ff., R.) calls Or. 5 a hymn to Artemis. It is offered in gratitude for recovery from illness (cf. Aristides' hymn to Asclepius). He speaks of her birth, qualities, etc., following the τόποι of the βασιλικός λόγος; compare Callimachus' hymn to Artemis. The Ὄλυμπιακός (Or. 12) of Dion Chrysostomus is a hymn and is so recognized by him, though not in the title. He says (I, 219 Dind.): ἐὰν ποιη σινομέθ–την τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τήν δύναμιν ὑμήσαι λόγος βραχεί· καὶ ἀποδέοντι τῆς ἀξίας, αὐτά που ταύτα λέγοντες. The oration deals with the sources of our knowledge of God, his attributes, the blessings received from Zeus. Himerius, Or. 7, 2, is a hymn to the sun; compare also 13, 7; 10, 3. Apuleius. Metamorphoses, XI, has a hymn to Iris. He calls upon her by all her titles, enumerates her powers, and ends with a prayer. Plato has many passages which might be termed hymns.

Epiphanius is said to have written a hymn to Dionysus, see Suidas and Smith's Class. Dict., s. v. Menander (Sp. III, 355) indicates that he was himself the author of a hymn to Apollo and perhaps of a πεπλασμένος ὄμνος (Sp. III, 341). Philostratus, Vit. Apol. of Tyran., I, 14, speaks of a hymn to Memory.

The hymns of the early church were largely imitations of pagan originals. Gregorius Nazianzenus composed many based on the odes of Anacreon and his imitators. It is an interesting fact that among these there are two hymns in prose. Four others of about the same period are printed in Chatfield's Songs and
Hymns of the Greek Christian Church (1876). In the Eastern church from the eight century on the vast mass of hymn literature was in measured prose. These probably imitated the poetry of the Old Testament and the hymns and spiritual songs of the apostles. Neale cites Eph. 5:14 and Rev. 4:8 as parts of prose hymns. But especially in the case of Gregorius the tendency of the time to employ prose for poetic purposes may well have been an important factor.

The epithalamium and its companion, the γαμικός λόγος (Dionysius of Halicarnassus) or γαμήλιος (Menander), were originally as distinctively poetic as the ὠμος and were, to judge from the monuments, adopted into prose even earlier, though the only extant prose epithalamia are that of Himerius, in the fourth century A. D., and parts of one by Choricius, addressed to Zacharias. Such compositions must have been frequent early, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives detailed directions for the composition of a γαμικός to precede and an ἐπιθαλάμιος to follow marriage. He recognizes both as being poetic in nature, by using the words ὠμεῖν and ἀδεῖν. He terms the γαμικός λόγος a "hymnale song." Menander says (Sp. III, 405, 19) poets have poetic κατευναστικοί, "and we shall not stand aloof, but will start out in rivalry." He uses the words ὠμεῖν and ἀδεῖν (Sp. III, 390 et passim), and, speaking of the guests contributing to the joy of the occasion (p. 400), he adds ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω καὶ ἄδω τοὺς γάμους. Here and elsewhere the dual nature of the hymn and of the epithalamium is recognized. The words ὠμεῖν and ἀδεῖν are not used in the directions for the other λόγοι except in the sense of "sound the praises of," though a more indiscriminate use of those words came in with the next century. It would appear (p. 400) that Menander wishes to establish a precedent in antiquity for the use of prose in place of poetry at a wedding celebration. He says that at the marriage of Megacles and Agariste the best of

1 Cf. Anatolius and Ephraim Syrus; cf. Philologus, 44, 228 (Hanssen), and Christ and Paraniakas, Anthol. Graecia Carminum Christianorum; Julian, Dict. of Hymnology; Neale, Hymns of the Eastern Church.

2 Passages may be cited as follows: Luke 1:68-79; 2:14, 29-32; Eph. 5:19, 20; Col. 3:16, 17; 1 Tim. 6:15, 16; Titus 3:4-7; James 1:17; 2 Tim. 2:11-13.
the Greeks were present. There was no poet there, but prose writers did not fail. The orator spoke and the writer of prose read books, and all joined in hymning (ἀνύμνων) the marriage. Dionysius and Menander agree closely in the τόποι for this λόγος: the origin of marriage, its god, its necessity, its universality, its advantages, noted marriages, encomium of the bride and groom, comparisons, advice, prayer. Himerius follows the τόποι more closely than most extant speeches do their respective directions. In his preface he says that the best rule is to follow the diction of the poets, and at sec. 4 he refers to Sappho¹ as the singer of epithalamia par excellence, and his own model, though Apollo was the first to sing the marriage hymn. Menander cites Hesiod.²

Prose Poems on Occasional Topics.

Such compositions must have been numerous in the fourth century A. D. Though unlike the ἕμνοι and the ἐπιθαλάμια, they are not recognized in the rhetorical treatises, and comparatively few have come down to us. The following are known: Himerius, Spring (Or. III, 1–7; also IX and XXI); Choricius, Spring (p. 173, Boissonade); the Rose (pp. 129, 139, 143, 156, 176, 202, 282, 308; R. Foerster, Philologus. 54 (1895), 114; Procopius, Spring (cited in Bekk., Anec., 143, 24); the Rose (Bekk., Anec., 146, 26); compare also Achilles Tatius, the Rose in Leucippe and Clitophon, and the reference to Spring in Themistius (Or. 26), to the Nightingale (Or. 25) and to Spring in Libanius (Or. 4). All are brief; most are separate speeches; others, as all of those by

¹ Cf. Hermes, 27 (1892), 249, Käibel, noting the dependence of Theocritus, and incidentally also of Himerius, upon Sappho.

² For poetic epithalamia cf. Iliad, XVIII, 493, τολὴ δ’ ἕμνανοι ῥήματα; Hesiod. Shield, 272 ff.; Sappho, 48, 49, 82, 89–103 (Hiller); Stesichorus; Theoc. XVIII; Anacreonta, 60; Catul., 61, 62, 64; Eurip., Trood., 308; Arist., Pax, end; Aves, end; Poet. Lat. Min., III, 387; Sen., Medea, 56 ff.; Statius, Silvae, I, 2, Epithalamium in Stellam et Viulentillam; Claudianus, p. 93 of Teubner text, on the marriage of Honorius and Augusta; Duodecim Pan. Vet., VI; Paulinus of Nola; Sidonius, Apollinaris; Dracontius; Ennodius; Luxorius; Venantius; Fortunatus; Ausonio; Licinius Calvus (p. 84, ed. Luc. Müller); Lemaire, Lat. Poet., III, 337, 404, 406, 407, 307. Cf. also English Epithalamia, R. H. Case, editor (London, 1895).
Himerius and some of those by Choricius, are preludes, interludes, or epilogues in other speeches. These receive mention elsewhere; see pp. 187 f. Several of these prose poets reveal no slight native poetic power. Christ (3d ed., p. 808) justly estimates Himerius when he says that in him a good poet was changed from his natural direction to oratory. The same might be said, in a less degree, of Aristides. His hymn to Zeus, which he terms ἴμνος Διὸς ἄνευ μέτρου, and that to Athene are as truly poetic in composition and expression as many of those which take poetic form. The prose poems of Choricius of Gaza also contain traces of poetic power.

In addition to the three forms of direct transfer there are several ways in which the epideictic orator revealed his tendency to assume the poet's task: (1) in applying to his work terms appropriate only to poetry, and (2) in the use of poetic τόπων.

I. THE USE OF TERMS APPROPRIATE ONLY TO POETRY.

There is abundant evidence in the writings themselves that these writers felt that their work was poetic in its character. Aristides and Julian employ the word "hymn" to designate the orations addressed to the gods. This is true of Himerius in still more marked degree. Although he occasionally refers to poetry and oratory as two distinct forms of composition, he practically breaks down all division between them except the purely formal one of meter. He is fully as free to employ expressions implying that he is, in his own judgment, engaged in a poetic task when he is addressing a speech to a ruler, or is on an embassy, or lauding a city, or even delivering a λαλιά to his students, as when he composes an epithalamium or an ode to spring. He consciously identifies oratory and poetry. He is the servant of the muses; they inspire his oratory; his appeal is to Apollo and the muses; sometimes Hermes is added. Or. III, 9: μουσικὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς κελεύεις ἐργάζεσθαι, αὐτοῦ ἐνδιοῦς τὸ σύνθημα, ὡσπερ ὁ θεός ταῖς Διὸς παρθένοις ταῖς Μούσαις. Or. 13, 1, speaks of his ἐρρυμένην καὶ ἀτιμον μοῦσαν. Or. 13, 3: ὅτι ἄρα Μούσαις χορεύειν βούλομαι. Or. 14, 2: μελη δὲ τὰ Μουσῶν λαβόντας κελεύεις τοξεύειν Ἐλλησιν.
Or. 14. 5: ἐδίδαξε με τούτο πράγμα δεδομένον ἢ ποίησις· ὦστε δὴ καὶ παλαιάδιαν ἄσαι βούλωμαι καὶ ύπερ τοῦ Μουσηγήτου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπολογηθεῖσαι, τῶν μὲν ἔκεισιν ἀυτῶν λαβεῖν. Or. 14. 34: Ἄλλα, ὦ πᾶσι μὲν ὦμοις ἄξει καὶ ἐπεισι ἄδεσθαι, μάλιστά δὲ πάντων ἐμικαὶ λόγοις, οὐδὲ ἐν σπαργάζω οὕτως πληθύνοντες ἡγαπησοῦν . . . Ἀγε δὴ μοι πτερόνθε τὸ λοιπὸν, ὦ λόγοι, καὶ τὸ κάτω μεθέντες πρὸς αἰθέρα τὸ ἐνείδεθεν φέρεσθε. πτερόν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὁ Μουσηγήτης. Or. 14 closes with an εὐκτικὸς ὄμοιος to the muses. Or. 22. 6: ταῖς Μούσαις ὦφ’ ακ’ οἱ λόγοι ποιμαίνονται. Or. 18. 3: his school is addressed as the home of the muses. Julian, p. 170. 19 (Hertlein): ἅλλον ἐμοίγε τούτου παρασταίτη λογοῦ δ το λόγος ἑρμῆς οὐ τοῖς Μούσαις οι το Μουσηγήτης Ἀπόλλων, ἐπεί καὶ αὐτοὶ προσήκες τῶν λόγων, καὶ διόυκα δ ἐπεὶ ἀπόσα τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα λέγεσθαι τε καὶ πιστεύσαθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Cf. p. 206, where he begins the hymn to the sun with: φάναι . . . γράφομεν . . . ἐκπαλάθομεν, and p. 232. 11, where he uses the word ὄμοιος. Compare also Dion Chrysostomus. Or. 32 (423. Dind.): πάντες δὴ ἄδοναι καὶ ῥήτορες καὶ σοφισταί, καὶ πάντα περαίνεται δι’ ὀφθήν, ὡς, εἰ τις παρόιδι δικαστήριον, οὐκ ἀν γνοίη μανᾶς πάτερον ἐνδον πίνουσιν ἢ δικαίωμα· καὶ σοφιστοῦ δὲ οἰκημα πλησίον ὃ ὀΰν ἔσται γίνονται τὴν διατριβήν. Philostratus, Lives of the Sophists, I. 8. 7: ἔθελη δ’ αὐτοῖς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, δ’ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὃδην ἐκάλουν, ἐγώ δὲ φιλοτιμόμην, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀποδειγματίων ἑρμομένω. Themistius. Or. 25 (315c): ἄδεω καὶ προσφάεω. Compare also Or. 25 (341c): Or. 24 (301b): Libanius, Or. 13, p. 405. Such references in Himerius, Themistius, Aristides, and other orators might be multiplied indefinitely. Himerius compares himself with Sappho. Homer. Simonides; see Ecl., XVII, 1; Or. I. 16; I. 4; V. 2: cf. Dion Chrysostomus. Or. I. p. 3. 5: Apollo. Persuasion, and the Muses must assist the speaker. Strabo (I. 12. 6), arguing that prose arose as an imitation of poetry, refers to the fact that in ancient times ἄειδειν was used for φράζειν. Himerius and other Sophists also use ἄδεω and its compounds in reference to their orations. If this word alone were used, it might be regarded as a mere affectation, but taken in connection with other evidence it appears that there was some effort to present their art as incorpo-
rating or supplanting poetry. It might be noted here that Dionysius and Menander observe a fairly consistent usage regarding ἦμεν and ἂδεων and the like. These words are used together with λέγειν in the directions for hymns and epithalamia, but in the other λόγοι, λέγειν alone, except in a few easily explicable cases. Himerius at least uses not only ἂδεων, but the general terminology of poetry—μέλος, ὤμος, φθήν. Cf. the references noted above, pp. 181 f., and such as Ecl., XXXVI, 14: συγγενώμοι δὲ ἂπαξ ἔχειν καὶ γέρων καὶ νέος. εἰ ἐπὶ φθόγγομαι: οἶδε γὰρ ὅδε ἔρωτι καὶ λόγοι τοιούτους; and Or. I, 6: γάμον ἄσομεν . . . . λόγοι ἂν αὐτοῖς γίνονται; Or. I, 4: ἄπαξ ομοιότερος εὐρείων; Or. IV, 10: ὅ δὲ δὴ ὤμος ἐστο τῷ χορῷ, τόνδε ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πλείους Ἑλλήνων; Or. XI, 1: νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν τὸν ἄριθμον νόμον προσάρμοσαμεν; Or. XV, 2: λόγος ἡγεῖσθα πρὸς Μουσάων λειμώνας καὶ νάματα, ἀντί δὲ πληγής ἀπηγούσα τὰ ἁμαρτα; Or. XVII, 1: λόγοι δὲ ἄρα θυσία Μουσάων. Cf. also Ecl., 13, 36; Or. III, 1; Or. VII, 5; VIII, 2. In Or. V, 3ff., he compares poets and orators. Note also Choricius, p. 173, 5: not to speak would be dishonorable to the muse; 178, end, ἐὰρ ἂδεων, and p. 200, "come, λόγοι, let us seek some other theme for song." One may note here Epistolographi (Julian), p. 342, xv: "we offer our speeches to you as to Hermes, god of eloquence . . . . If you dislike them, cast them aside as foreign to the muses." Compare also pp. 330, 21; 342, 38; 355, 19; 363, 2 and 40; 372, 51; 381, 40; 699, 33; 739, 15. Procopius (555, 63) speaks of a book being brought from Alexandria by the help of Hermes and the muses; Julian (337, 2) urges Libanius to send the λόγοι in the name of Hermes and the muses; Procopius (508, 93): "Were I a poet, perhaps I would call on Apollo and the muses, saying, Give me power to speak (ἐπιτείν)." Compare also Themistius, XIX, p. 277; Libanius, XIII, p. 405; Menander (Sp. III, 437, 13; 438, 5).

1 Cf. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, I, 428.
2 Cf. also Himerius, Or. I, 3; V, 9; IV, 8; VII, 2; IV, 1; IV, 3; X, 10; VI, 5; VII, 3; VII, 11; VII, 6; IX, 2; XI, 1; XIII, 2; VIII, 3 (twice); X(l)I, 7; XIII, 8; XIII, 12; XIV, 31; XIV, 36; XV, 1; XV, 2 (twice); XIV, 37; XVI, 1 and 2; XVI, 6 and 8; XVII, 2; XIX, 3; XX, 2; XXI, 8; XXII, 1; XXII, 6; XXIII, 19; XXIX, 1; Ecl., XXXVI; Ecl., XXXVII; Ecl., XIII, 8; Ecl., XII, 6; Ecl., XII, 33; Ecl., XIX, 1; Ecl., XXXII.
As already noted, epideictic oratory had always employed many features which were primarily poetic. The early centuries of the Christian era saw this tendency much increased. Frequent use was now made of the τόποι and allusions heretofore regarded as the special and almost exclusive property of the poet. Those most common in the higher branches of poetry, especially the lyric and bucolic, were transferred to oratory and next to the direct imitation of poetic themes, like hymns and epithalamia, form the most noteworthy and easily recognizable evidence of the substitution of prose for poetry. Moschus' lament for Bion furnishes incidentally a good catalogue of such poetic "properties" employed by all poets from Sappho on. In his μνημεία he makes reference to the rose, hyacinth, nightingale, swan, muses, swallow, flute, rivers, groves, flowers in general, Aphrodite, and Adonis. To this list of commonplaces might be added the narcissus, the cicada, spring, the laurel, the Nile, the sun and stars, birds in general, painting, nature, and the like. Most of these topics deal with nature. The genuine love of nature so conspicuous in Theocritus, and occasionally found in earlier poets, evidently attracted the attention of epideictic orators, engaged as they were in the close study and conscious imitation of poets—especially the lyric poets, Sappho, Simonides, Anacreon, and Pindar. Their theory of the function of the epideictic orator led to the transfer of these from the domain of poetry to prose. While in most cases the imitation is in a high degree perfunctory and artificial—merely the machinery without the art—it would be hard to deny that Himerius presents at least some traces of a real love of nature. How thoroughly this practice of employing the devices of poetry permeated the writings of epideictic orators of that day, as well as their purely perfunctory use in most cases, may be inferred from Procopius (Epist. Gr., p. 558, lxix): "Perhaps you will wonder why I, though I am a sophist and see the spring at hand, when speech should be poured forth in full volume, keep silent, and perhaps you seek in my letters flowers and swallows and the shifting of the sea, and Aphrodite and Adonis, and the rose."
Several of these τόποι admit of more detail. The rose is treated in poetry and in the prose-poetry of the orators: (1) as the special flower of the muses; cf. Theoc., Epig., I, τὰ ῥόδα τὰ δρυσόντα, καὶ ᾧ κατάπυκνον ἔκεινα | ἐρυσκύλλος κεῖται ταῖς Ἑλικωνίδει; (2) as connected with Aphrodite and the loves, especially in connection with the judgment of Paris, or the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis; (3) as the loveliest flower of spring.

Sappho is identified with the praise of the rose, though her poems on this topic are not extant; cf. Philostratus, Epist. Gr., 481, li.

Were there no other poetic references, Homer had immortalized the rose by his oft-recurring phrase ῥοδόδακτυλος Ἡώς. He refers to it elsewhere only in Ι., 23, 186, where the body of Hector is annointed ῥοδόεντε... ἐλαῖῳ καὶ ἄρβροσίᾳ. The Anacreontica pick up Homer’s stock phrase and add others from Sappho and elsewhere; e.g., 53 (53), εἰς τὸ ῥόδον.

Στεφανηφόρον μετ’ ἠρος
μέλομαι ῥόδου τέρεινον
...
ῥοδόδακτυλος μὲν Ἡώς,
ῥοδοπήχεις δὲ Νύμφαι,
ῥοδόχρους δὲ καθροδίτα
παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν καλεῖται.

ῥόδου, ὁ φέρωτον ἄνθος [42 (5)],
ῥόδου ἔλαρος μέλημα
[ῥόδα καὶ θεοίς τερπνά].

Cf. also 47 (37), 1; 33 (40), 2; 7 (15), 7; 4 (18), 4; 5 (59), 2.

Frequent reference to the rose is found in Theocritus and the lyric poets. Meleager (Headlam), IV, “the rose fairest of flowers;” XXIX, “love’s favorer;” XXXVIII, “spring and the rose;” Simonides, Bergk (Hiller), pp. 231, 6; 258, 146; 316, 21. Compare also Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon, which
contains a rose song in prose; Bion, Adonis, II. 15, 65; Moschus, II, 40, 63; III, 5; Callimachus, Bath of Pallas, 28; Himerius, passim; Johannes Secundus, I; Pervigilium Veneris; Ausonius, pp. 113, 419, de rosis nascentibus, Idyl 14; Horace, II, 11; Poet. Lat. Min., IV, 278; innumerable passages in modern poets. Choricius celebrates the rose in a prose poem περὶ βόδον, p. 129 (Bois.). This contains the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis. The rose is supposed to gain its color from the blood of Aphrodite, wounded in her hasty search for her slain love. Aphrodite is often connected with the rose in poetry; compare Anacreontea, 58 (53). For the myth compare Bion, Lament for Adonis, 20, “as she goes, the brambles tear her and pluck her sacred blood”; 34, “flowers redden from grief;” 65, “Adonis pours forth tears and blood . . . . the blood begets the rose, the tears the anemone” (cf. Pseudo-Theoc., 30); Pervigilium Veneris, “her blood tinges the rose;” compare Shakespeare, Venus and Adonis. This myth is a favorite one with Choricius. It is found in the Bois. ed., pp. 129, 143, 176, 139, 156, 308, and R. Foerster, Philologus, 54 (1895) 114; compare also p. 202, διαλέξει περὶ βόδου, where the rose is represented as winning the prize of beauty for Aphrodite from Paris. The myth is frequently met in the Poet. Lat. Min. It was also a stock topic in the schools; compare a δήγγμα, given as an example, Aphthonius (Sp. II, 22, 14, and Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 241).

The epideictic activity of the period took in part the form of epistles. The specimens preserved present not only much of a general epideictic character, but also many instances of the introduction of poetic features comparable to that of the orators of the same period. Some of these epistolographers were also epideictic orators. Though their orations are not preserved, the character of their oratory may be fairly inferred from the letters. The general tendency of epistolography to assume artificial, epideictic form may be seen from the statement made by Proclus, περὶ ἐπιστολομαίου χαρακτήρος. He says (Didot ed., p. 6): τῷ γράφειν βουλομένῳ προσήκει μὴ ἀπλῶς μὴδε ὡς ἐνυκεῖν ἐπιστέλλειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ πολλῇ καὶ τέχνῃ; and again (p. 7): τὴν ἐπιστολήν
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κατακομμεῖν . . . μὴ μέντοι γε πέρα τοῦ προσώπους κομπολογίας χρήσασθαι (p. 7). Apollonius of Tyana (p. 113, end) says there are five kinds of speeches; one of these is epistolary. Proclus defines forty-one classes into which letters may be divided according to contents or occasion (p. 7). Demetrius Phalereus (?), writing on the same subject, mentions twenty-one, giving a model for each. The following selections from the titles indicate the epideictic character: συντατικός, commendatory, a letter of introduction containing praise of the person introduced; μεριπτικός, reprehensive, and ἀνεκαριστικός, objugatory, reproaching one who makes no return for benefits received; παραμυθητικός, consolatory; ἐπιτιμητικός, blaming for a fault; ἐπαινετικός, laudatory; συγγραφικός, congratulatory; ἀνεκαριστικός, conveying thanks, a gratiarum actio; μετόχος, mixed. With the above compare the list of topics given in Quintilian, III, 4, 3, as suitable for epideictic oratory. The poetic commonplaces above referred to are found also among the epistolographers, e.g., the rose is one of the stock references; compare p. 468, 1, Philostratus: “roses with leaves as though wings have hastened to come to thee. Receive them as memorials of Adonis or of Aphrodite’s loss of blood [cf. Choricius, etc.; see p. 186] or as the eyes of the earth.”

Spring is the rival of the rose and often connected with it. The epideictic prose poems on this theme may easily be a continuation of such lyric trifles as Bion, III (VI); cf. also Anacreonea, 44 (37), 62. References to spring and its joys are frequent in poets from Homer down. Prose poems on spring are extant in the works of Himerius, and there is evidence that Procopius wrote one (Bekk., Anec., 143, 24); compare also Themistius, Or. 26, and Libanius, Or. 4.

Himerius says (Or. III, 1–7) that he would praise spring as Simonides and Pindar do Dionysus and Apollo. He prays for the power of Anacreon; quotes from him: “Spring has appeared as Homer’s breeze to weary sailors, as evening to those awaiting Aphrodite’s dance.” He details the blessings of spring (secs. 3–7).

1 Cf. also the other letters of p. 468; cf. 474 top (Philostratus); also 473, xvii; 474, i; 480, xxi; 470, xx; 482, lv; 482, x; 485, lxiii; 508, xlxi; 535, lxxvi; 535, clxi; 468, xxxiv; 468, livii, sec. 5; Libanius, Ep., 1587.
The whole forms a prelude to an address to Basileius delivered at the Panathenaic festival at the beginning of spring. Oration 9 begins with a hymn to spring. Oration 21 contains a praise of spring. More notable is the prose poem περὶ ἐαρὸς by Choricius (p. 173, Bois.). He begins with the commonplace about the passing of gloomy winter and silence; song comes with the spring. For the thought compare Theocritus, XII, 3, “spring is sweeter than winter;” XVII, 52, “the evils of winter;” Horace, I, 4; IV, 7; compare Epistolographi, p. 738, Synesius: “In winter, silence; when spring comes we write;” p. 550, end, Procopius: “Winter is over, sing the sweetness of spring;” 535: “We break silence with the winter” (cf. p. 534); cf. Homer, Od., IV, 566, Elysium has short winter; and VI, 44, on Olympus snow does not fall; compare also Lucretius, III, 20 ff. Choricius, pp. 173 ff., speaks of the joy of birds, music, flowers, and calm seas, the farmer’s joy, and is led into the myth of Hyacinthus and that of Aphrodite and Adonis. He ends with a prayer. There is a likeness between his oration and Anacreontea, 44 (37). On the same topic and of like nature is his ἤδοναί τομένος, p. 134: such a speech as a shepherd would make as the spring shines forth after a hard winter. Its τόπου are similar—the calm sea, dance of the muses, flowers, birds, peace everywhere, the ills of winter, narcissus, hyacinthus, may I behold the spring again; compare also his ἤδοναί ἐμπάρνου, a speech which a merchant would make at the appearance of spring. It runs over the same τόπου, ending with Aphrodite and the rose. See also frag. β', p. 281 (Bois.), and ἠ', p. 304, which seem to come from orations on spring. Menander calls for a praise of spring in his rules for the γενεθλιακός λόγος, and also in speaking of the climate of a city.1

The nightingale is the companion of the rose and spring. There is reference in Themistius to orations on the nightingale. In Greek verse its praises were sung by Sappho, 37 (36), ἦρως

1 Cf. Apthitheus, Sp. II, 36, 3; cf. Sappho, 124; Melesager, 38, celebrates spring and the rose; Thooc., 9, 34; 8, 45; 13, 45; Anacreontea, 4 (18), 53 (53); Themistius, 336c; 330; Hor., Od., I, 4; II, 6, end; IV, 7, 1-4, 12; Pervigilius Veneris, init.; Ausonius, de Veri Primo, p. 164; Poet. Lat. Min., IV, 132; cf. also Epistol., 738, 763, 1; 783, 71; 546, 36; 372, 44; 780, 61.
ändelos ἱμερόφωνος ἄνθως. Simonides, 56 (120), εἰπ' ἄνθως πολυκάτιλοι χλωραύγχες, εἰαρναί. Hermogenes (Sp. II, 3, 4), discussing the μύθος as a part of the προγυμνάσματα, says that the ancients used myths: Ἡσίοδος μὲν τῶν τῆς ἄνθως (μύθου) εἰπόν. Hesiod, Works and Days, 203; Soph., Electra, 149, calls the nightingale Zeus’ messenger, because, adds the scholiast, it is the sign of spring.1

Associated with the three preceding is the τόπος the swallow. Hesiod, Works and Days, 568: “After winter the swallow comes with its plaint at dawn to the sight of men, when spring is fresh.” Simonides, 57 (21):

ἀγγέλε κλυτὰ δαρος ἄνθωμον, κυανάια χειλιδίοι. [Cf. Sappho, 86 (52).]

“The Spring Song,” Hiller, p. 318:

ἡλπ', ἠλπις χειλιδων, καλὰς ἡρας ἁγουσα και καλοῖς ἐναιτοίς, etc.2

1 Cf. Theoc., I, 136; V, 136; VIII, 38; XII, 7; XV, 121; Epig., IV, 11; Moschus, III, 9, 38; Callim., Bath of Pallas; Arist., Birds, 676; Theognis, 934 (939); Meleager, 38, “poets are nightingales.” The same thought is in Anth. Pal., VII, 414; Asch. Ag., 1144, 1146;Themistius, 336c, 330; Aristaides, XX (428, Dind.); Philoct., V. 4; Soph., O. C., 672, makes the nightingale one of the charms of Colonus; Eur., Ion, 1482; Hel., 1110; Hec., 337; Poet. Lat. Min., V, 363, 368; Choricius, p. 137, speaks of spring and the nightingale; cf. p. 280, myth of Froene and Philomele; Aristides, I, 428; Themistius, 64, 5 (54a), 406, 24 (336b); Himerius, Or. III, 3 (twice); I, 5; V, 14; XIV, 11; XVIII, 4; XXII, 6; Ecl., 12, 5; 13, 8, 35; 23, 1; Ecl., 12, 5, the poet is compared with the nightingale and the cicada; cf. Plato, Phaedo, 85a; Epistol., p. 96, sec. 9; 136, top; 580, 120; Libanius, Ep., 532: “enough for me to sing (ἀπειτε) like the nightingale.” Dion Chrysostomus was called ἄνθως σφιστῶν; Euripides called Socrates τάντοφοι ἄνθων μονεν.2

2 Cf. also Themistius, 336c, 330; Anacreontea, 9 (12), 25 (33); Moschus, III, 38; Anth. Pal., X, 1: “Happy sailors, for the swallow now flies and storms are o'er;” Aelian, de Natura An., X, 34; Choricius, 172, 3; 136, 4, 14; 281, 10; Himerius, Or. III, 3; VI, 3; IX, 1; XIV, 8; XIV, 35; XXXIV, 7; Ecl., XXXIII, 1; Plato, Phaedo, 85b: Epistolographi, 535, 24; 534, 39; 372, 44: “the swallow announces the spring” 546, 36; 550, end; 557, 35: “one swallow does not make the spring” (cf. Arist., Eth. N., I, 7, 15); Liban., Ep., p. 777a; Hor., IV, 12; Epist., I, 7, 12-43; Vergil, Georg., IV, 305; Liban. speaks of letters as
Synesius (Epist. Gk., 7031) makes an elaborate comparison between orators and the cicada. He says it begins its song on the first appearance of spring; it is more tuneful at midday, as though drunk with the sun’s rays; makes the tree its bema and the field its theater, and offers music to passers-by. We gird ourselves to sing your virtues. Poets are compared to cicadas (486 mid., 556, 40; 4, 36; 135, end; 339, 2); Libanius, Ep., 1219, compares eloquence to the cicada, and in 304 compares poets and Sophists; Plato, Phaedrus, 259α-e; Libanius (Wolf ed. of Ep.), p. 34; Sophists are called cicadas, Liban. (Wolf), p. 290; Arist., Birds, 1095, “divine cicada maddened by sunlight;” 783, 69; 377, 16; 780, 61; 534, 61.1

The swan is the bird of Apollo, prophetic, the type of the poet. Plato, Phaedo, 85b; Oppian, Cyneget., II, 548, κύκνω μαντιτόδα; Lycothophon, 426—the souls of poets become swans; Plato, Rep., 620a; Horace, II, 20; Anth. Pal., VII, 19; Theophr. Charis. 405, 24 (336b); Pratinus, Hiller, p. 268, 5; Dios. Laer., III, 7, refers to Plato’s being like a swan. Socrates dreamed of a swan and next day heard of the birth of Plato. Menander (Sp. III, 436, 27, μορφεία) refers to the grief of the swan on the death of its mate. Callimachus, hymn to Apollo, 5; to Delos, 249—minstrels of the gods . . . birds of the muses . . . most tuneful of winged creatures.2


1 Other references to the cicada may be noted: Homer, Il., III, 151; Hesiod, W. and D., 585; Shield of H., 396; Simonides, 164 (231); 166 (224); Pratinus, 2; Theoc., I, 148; IV, 16; V, 29, 110; VII, 139; IX, 31; Anacreontea, 32 (43); Anth. Pal., IX, 372, 373, et passim; Alcæus, 43 (28); Choriclus, p. 140 et passim; to p. 141, end; Theophr. Charis., 298, 15 (246a), 405, 24 (336b); Himerius, Ecl., 10, 5; 12, 5; 13, 30, 35; 23, 1; Or. VI, 3; IX, 1; X, 1; XIV, 11; XVII, 3; XIX, 2; XXII, 6; VII, 4; XI, 1.

2 Cf. also Arist., Birds, 870; Eur., I. T., 1104; EL., 151; Aesch., Ag., 1444; Theoc., V, 137; XXV, 130; Moschus, 3, 14; Anacreontea, 58 (fg. 1); Johannes Secundus, 1; Julian, 236a (306, Hertlein), refers to the swan as a commonplace. Aristides, Or. XX (428, Dind.); Choriclus, 173, 6; Himerius, Or. III, 4; VI, 1; VI, 2; XII, 7; XIII, 12; XIV, 7, 20, 36; XVII, 3; XVIII, 4;
The germs or fully developed antecedents of the most important λόγα ἑπιδεικτικοὺ may be clearly discerned, as we have seen, in Greek poetry preceding or contemporaneous with the birth of epideictic oratory. When with the development of poetic features the effort was made to supplant poetry by prose, upon a priori grounds one would expect that in whatever struggle arose the most stubborn resistance would be made over the hymns to the deity. The hymn would be defended as involving a religious propriety as well as through literary feeling. The strife between prose and poetry as to the proper confines of each, if there was one, passed almost in silence for us. The monuments show but little trace of it, but there are indications of discussion, especially upon the propriety of using prose for the hymns to the gods. Strabo, of the first century A. D., discusses the relations of prose and poetry for a different purpose—defending the poet against the dictum of Eratosthenes, that the aim of the poet is gratification, not teaching. He adds: "Men of our day even say that the poet only is wise" (I, 2, 4). This was quite in harmony with the prevailing Greek view of the poet as a teacher. The most important utterance is that by Aristides (second century A. D.). He is the earliest writer of prose hymns as a separate composition, and his extended defensive discussion of the subject seems conclusive evidence that the propriety of employing prose for the heretofore exclusively poetic theme was one of the burning questions of the day. As to how much wider the discussion was, or how general, it is unsafe to attempt an inference. But it is indicative of its importance that Aristides should give up nearly one-half of his hymn to Serapis to a comparison of the relative merits of prose and poetry, and the defense of the former for any purpose, even a hymn to a deity. The following is his line of thought. He begins in a somewhat ironical tone. Happy the race of poets (see p. 168). They can take any topic they choose—credible, untrue, non-existent—and deal with it as they please.

XXIV, 5; Ecl., 13, 3; 13, 35; 14, 5; 21, 1; 23, 1; Libanius, Ep., 441, 40; Epist. Gr., 250, 2; Hor., II, 20; IV, 2, 25; 3, 19; Aelian, De Nat. An., Book II, 32; XIV, 12.
Take away the accessories and their work is nothing. They live at ease, like Homer's gods, and make hymns and pæans. They assume supremacy, and we hold them sacred and give up hymns to them as though they were actually prophets of the gods. We use prose for every other purpose—in business, in courts, panegyrics, myths; we have a λόγος for everything. It is absurd not to deem it fit for use in hymning the gods who gave it to us. We use prose in sacrifice; why not in hymns? Do poets have need of the gods which other men do not share? Even poets say that all men need the gods. Then all should honor them, as they have power. Are poets their only lovers? Why not, then, their only priests? Oracles, the voice of god, use prose. Prose is more natural, as to walk is more natural than to ride. Poets did not create language. Prose was first, and poetry arose for pleasure. If we honor nature and the ordering of the gods, we shall honor prose, the older, the original gift. Be not ashamed to address the gods as we address one another, without meter. I mean no dishonor to poets, but merely that prose is as worthy. If to follow nature pleases the gods, they will honor us. Meter gives poets their reputation. We have something better—inflection, delivery. Poetic meter is no great advantage. We have meter, too. A good physician is more accurate without weights and measures than an inexperienced man with them. It is true the poet's ode has advantages over prose—greater license in form, phraseology, treatment. But we, abiding in rank, like a well-trained soldier, will attempt an address to Serapis.

So elaborate an apology for the prose hymn seems to imply either a defense against attacks or, if the Serapis be his first hymn, a preparation for the reception of an innovation.

The two chief sources of our knowledge of the theory of epideictic oratory are, of course, Dionysius and Menander. Both provide for the use of prose in distinctively poetic themes—Dionysius in the epithalamium and its subordinate, the γαμευκός; Menander in these, and also in the far wider and more technically poetic field, the hymn. A difference of attitude is discernible
between the work of the rhetor at the close of the third century A. D. and the earlier worker in the same field. The ἐπιθαλάμιος and the γαμμικός admit of direct comparison, as they are treated by both. The τόποι and their order agree closely. Dionysius gives more prominence to the γαμμικός, while Menander makes this a mere variant of the ἐπιθαλάμιος, not requiring separate treatment, and enters much more into detail with the ἐπιθαλάμιος. As might be expected, the poetic character of the epithalamium, and direct relationship between it and its poetic predecessors and contemporaries, is more clearly discernible in Dionysius. Menander in his much more detailed treatise employs the word ὑμνεῖν but three times, and two of these are in a mere conventional way. Dionysius uses ὑμνεῖν, ἄνυμνεών, ἔθειν, and ἐπάδειν, and apparently in a more strict sense. He makes a direct reference to Sappho as a model for the form of composition: ἢν μὲν οὖν καὶ παρὰ Σαπφοῦ τῆς ἰδίας ταύτης παραδείγματα ἐπιθαλαμίως οὕτως ἐπιγραφομέναι ταῖς φθαίσ (sec. 1). He recommends that the orator use Homer, Od., VI, 183, as a text. He also assumes a distinctly apologetic tone on the question of the propriety of using prose for this form of composition. He says it might be well for the orator to state at the very outset ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὸν 'Τμέναιον ἄκουσιν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'Τμεναίου τῶν λόγων, οὐχ ὑπ' αὐλοίς ἡ πηκτικὴ, ἢ νὴ Δία καλλιφωνίᾳ των τοιαύτη ἂλλ' ἐπάδειν καὶ ὑμνοῖς τῶν νεανικότων (sec. 1, end). In the lines just preceding he uses the perfect, διευήνυσε, perhaps showing that he is not speaking of an innovation, but of a practice not so fully established as not to suggest apology and justification of somewhat the same character as Aristides makes for his hymns nearly two centuries later. The treatise of Menander, however, belongs to a period when the use of prose in epithalania is thoroughly familiar and meets with no opposition. He not only treats the marriage speeches without reference to their poetic origin or a possible present rivalry between the orator and the poet, but his treatise on hymns shows a similar advance over the feeling of the second century as revealed by Aristides. Dionysius makes no mention of hymns, but thinks even the epithalamium
worthy of explanation and excuse. Aristides, probably of a later
date, makes an elaborate defense of the prose hymn; Menander,
coming still later, feels no such defense necessary. He is quite
the opposite of apologetic. He writes evidently at a period when
the rights of prose are too firmly established to require discussion.
Examples of its use in antiquity are cited; see p. 179. There
remains only a question of taste as to whether in the matter of
hymns the function of the prose writer and the poet is coextensive
or not. The nature of the hymns will dictate sometimes prose
and sometimes poetry as the more appropriate. This, he says, is a
question worth investigation, and thinks this general principle may
perhaps prevail that such hymns as relate primarily to the divine
side of the deity may well be given poetic treatment; for that
which relates chiefly to the human side one may use prose. But
in the next sentence he adds: χρηστέων γε μὴν καὶ τῷ συγγραφεί
καὶ τῷ λογογράφῳ καὶ τούτων ἐκάστῳ εἶδε καὶ ὑμοὶ πᾶσιν δπη καὶ
Πλάτωνα περί τὴν γραφὴν ἄκρον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι πεπιστεύκαμεν
(Sp. III, 334, 5). When he comes to the detailed treatment of
the nine classes of hymns, he excludes the prose writer from but
one, and this, as Heeren explains, had gone out of use even in
poetry. The φωνικός, he says, is more suited to poetry than to
prose. This agrees with the principle cited above. Models for
the others are quoted freely from poets and prose writers. He
closes with the remark: "We have given the rules by which
poets and prose writers and orators may hymn the gods in a
fitting manner." The hymn to the gods as a function of prose
plainly arose later than the same use of the epithalamium, and
very likely was assisted by it not only in a general way, as a
precedent, but also in that the marriage speech, when constructed
by rule, contained within itself a prose hymn which might serve
as a model. Menander (Sp. III, 400, 31) says: τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὰ
προοίμα ἔστω περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ γάμου λόγος; and Sp. III, 402,
21: μετὰ τὸν περὶ γάμου λόγον, ἐν ὑ τὸν θεόν ὡμοιος. Menander's
epideictic orator is at the same time orator and poet; he deals
with a great variety of themes; he may pass quickly from prose
to poetry in the same oration—he is an Himerius.
The Epideictic Element in History.

The earliest form of prose was historical. It had much in common with poetry, with which epideictic literature more or less consciously claimed a relationship throughout its course. Later evidence of the direct influence of the epideictic style upon history appears in the careful attention to rhetorical beauties which characterizes many writers, and its more restricted and technical side is seen in the speeches which form so distinctive a feature of Greek historians.

The epideictic tendency in history is conspicuous from the time of Isocrates. It is apparent in the general ornateness of historians, and their frequent use of devices purely epideictic in narrative passages as well as in their more natural domain—the speech. There is negative evidence also in the violence of Polybius' attacks upon the historians who make fine writing an aim. He represents himself as almost the solitary exception amid the multitude who devote themselves to false practices. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, I, 81 ff., and Croiset, *Litt. grece*., V, 283 ff., present the prevailing conception of history and the style appropriate for it, which Polybius so severely condemns.1 History is represented as becoming a panegyric on

1 The Greeks created the two chief types of history—the pure narrative, in Herodotus, and philosophical history, brought to its highest development in Thucydides. Their conception of what history should be is seen rather through its exemplification in the works of these and other historians than through any discussion of its ideals. A historical sense arose among the Greeks along with the development of prose itself. The content and style of history, however, are left with mere incidental reference until the time of Polybius, who gives his views at length in positive form and in negative, through his criticism of others; cf. especially I, 1, 14, 35; II, 35, 56; III, 31, 57, 58; V, 75; X, 21; XII, 7, 12, 25. He is particularly severe upon Timaeus, see XII, 3-15, 23 8. The chief other presentations of theory are by Lucian, *De Hist. Consers.*, and Dionys. of Hal., chiefly in *De Princ.*. *Hist.* and in *De Thuc. Jud.*. Cic., *De Orat.*, II, 15, 62-4, notes the fact that the writing of history had never received rhetorical treatment as had poetry and oratory. For traces of a γίγνεται ἀνθρώπω νος cf. Syrianus' scholia to Hermogenes' *Rhet.*; Walz, *Rhet. Gr.*, IV, 60; Aristotle, *Rhet.*, I, 4, 8 (but cf. Cope's note); Nicolaus Sophista, Sp. III, 463, 19; Rufus, Sp. I, 463; Sp., *Artium Scriptores*, p. 185.

The modern conception of history may be gathered from discussions such as that by Macaulay in his essay on *History*, or by Thiers in the preface to
a grand scale or the opposite, according to the bias of the writer. The aim is to praise or to blame, not to state facts in a natural and unprejudiced manner; compare Polyb., XII, 25, 3, et passim, e. g.,

The History of the Consulate and Empire of France. Rhodes (Atlantic, February, 1900) gives the most recent summary of the qualities required for the ideal historian — natural ability, diligence, accuracy, love of truth, impartiality, digestion of material, compression of narrative, power of expression. He finds all these qualities in Thucydides and Tacitus, and most of them in Herodotus. The similarity between this latest statement of essential qualities and the early ideal of the Greeks is noticeable; e. g., taking Rhodes' order: natural ability is implied in Lucian, De Hist. Conscr., 4, 5, 34; diligence in 4; accuracy in 47; love of truth in 39; Dionys. of Hal., De Thuc. Iud., 8; cf. Hecataeus, init.; Cic., De Leg., I, 1, 5; impartiality in Luc., 39, 41, 49; digestion of material in Luc., 47; compression of narrative in Luc., 56; power of expression in Luc., 6, 9, 34, 44, 45, 49, 51, 59; Quintil., X, 1, 31; Dionys. of Hal., pp. 941, 942, 772, 774, 776 R. To these we add utility, found in Luc., 9; no over-laudation, in Luc., 11, 12, 13, 19, 57; discernment as to what is important and what may be passed over, Luc., 25, 27; Dionys. of Hal., p. 771 R; incorruptibility and freedom from fear, Luc., 37, 39, 41; perspicuity, Luc., 56; political sagacity, Luc., 34; must write for the future, Luc., 39, 61; variety, Dionys. of Hal., 772 R. Compare Cicero's canon for the writing of history, De Orat., II, 15, 62 f.: The first law is that history must not dare to tell falsehoods; second, the historian must be bold enough to tell the whole truth; third, there must be no suspicion of partiality or personal animosity; the facts must be orderly and show cause and effect; there must be careful attention to style. With this high ideal compare his request that Lucceius write a panegyric history of his deeds, ad Fam., V, 12, 3. The references to history in Greek and Roman writers most often allude to its likeness or unlikeness to poetry or oratory. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, I, 81, cites for its relation to poetry Quintil., X, 1, 31: "History may nourish the orator with a certain rich and pleasing food, but it must be read with the conviction that the orator must avoid most of its very excellences. History borders closely upon poetry. It is a poem unfettered by the restraint of meter." Cf. Polyb., II, 56, 11, where he argues that the end of history and tragedy are not the same. Lucian, De Hist. Consrer., 8: "history and poetry are not alike." Aristides, 49 (II, 513, Dind.), speaks of the historian as being between the poet and the orator. Demetrius, De Eloc., 215, says that Ctesias might rightly be called a poet. Marcellinus, Vit. Thuc., 41: "some say history is not rhetorical, but poetic;" cf. Himerius, Or. XIV, 27. Agathias in the preface to his history (p. 135, Dind.): "history and poetry are sister arts." To these we may add Aristotle, Poetics, IX: Verse is not the difference between the historian and the poet. The one speaks of events, the other of what might have happened. He concludes that poetry is more deserving of attention than history. Quintil., X, 2, 21: This must be avoided—an imitation of poets or historians in oratory, or in history of orators or
X, 21: "My present work is a history, and therefore absolutely uncommitted to praise or blame. It requires only a true statement, a clear and truthful putting of facts in proper sequence."

declaimers. There is its own law and propriety established for each. Lucian, *De Hist. Consocr.*, 45: History may well have some poetic qualities, especially in choice of noble and eloquent words . . . . there is need of a certain *ποιητικός λόγος* to deal with war, to fill the sails and bear ship over the waves; yet the diction walks upon the ground, is moderate and well restrained. There is danger of getting into a poetic passion, and therefore the need of reins. Shelley, *Defense of Poetry*, ed. Cook, p. 11: "All the great historians, Herodotus, Plutarch, Livy, were poets, and though the plan of these writers, especially Livy, restrained them from developing this faculty in the highest degree, they made copious and ample amends for their subjugation by filling all the interstices of their subjects with living images." Compare Rhodes (Atlantic, February, 1900): "History requires fine constructive imagination. Therefore the canon requires the qualities of a great poet." Dionys. of Hal. approves of the poetic style in history to a certain extent: ἐν τῷ ὁκτὼν αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ διατεταγμένῳ καὶ ιδιωτικῷ τὸν ἱστορικόν οὐκ ἐργαστείλας ἀξίωσαι· δὲ, ἄλλῳ ἱστορικῷ καὶ ποιητικῷ· ὅστε παντάσιος ποιητικός, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔνδει γεννηθεῖν τὴν ἱστορίαν (De Thuc. Iud., 51). Compare also chap. 24. Nicolaus (Walz. Rhet. Gr., I, 287) doubts whether to class Herodotus among writers of history or poetry. He concludes that he does not differ essentially from a poet. Strabo, I, 2, 9: the end of the poet and the historian is the same, to relate nothing but facts. Cic., *De Leg.*, I, 1, 4: alias in historia leges observandas . . . . alias in poemate. *De Or.*, I, 16, 70: the poet is nearly allied to the orator. Cicero (*De Opt. Gen. Or.*, chaps. 5 and 6) disparages the oratorical style for history; *cf. Orat.*, 8, 30 ff.: nothing can be borrowed from Thucydides for the forensic orator. *De Leg.*, I, 2, 5: Cicero is urged to take up history, as he has always held that it most of all demands oratorical qualities.

The early ideals of historical writing were always maintained as the standard, but by the time of Polybius the excessive use of rhetorical ornament and the tendency to turn history into a mere laudation, especially where it dealt with the state or persons in power, had become offensively prominent.

On this general topic the conception of history, in addition to references cited by Norden, we may add Varro, *ad Ant. Imp.*, II, 6; Demetrius, *τρομηματα* (Sp. III, 265, 3 ff., sec. 19), on the character of the historical period; Lucian, *De Hist. Consocr.*, 45; Cicero, *De Orat.*, II, 12, 51–64; Sen., *N. Q.*, VII, 16, 1 and 2. In this passage Seneca impeaches the authority of Ephorus, and then charges historians in general with being inaccurate and careless. Some are cedulous, some negligent. With some, falsehoods creep in unawares, to others the false is pleasing; the former do not avoid them, the latter seek them.

1Norden quotes Cic., *Brutus*, 42, and *Orat.*, 66; *De Leg.*, I, 5; Quintil., X 2, 21; Pliny, *Ep.*, V, 8, 9; Lucian, *De Hist. Consocr.*, 7; L. Verus, *ad
Of extant historians only Herodotus' precedes the school of Isocrates. He may be considered as occupying a place by himself among historians. He represents the natural, unaffected, unhampered style of the pure story-teller. His history is comparatively free from set speeches, and such as occur are usually simple in style, e.g., the speech of the Spartans, V, 91 ff.; of Xerxes, Mardonius, and Artabazus, VII, 8 ff. The battles of Marathon and Salamis, so fruitful a theme for all subsequent epideictic treatment, call forth no rhetorical speeches from Herodotus. The speech of the Tegeans and the Athenian reply before the battle of Platea, where each claims the right to a choice of position in battle by tracing glorious deeds of their ancestors, show that Herodotus is familiar with the usual epideictic topics, which had become stereotyped before his day; compare also IX, 27, where epideictic topics are enumerated (see p. 105, n. 4).

The political changes of the early fifth century and the pre-eminence of Athens as a literary center, the transfer of historical

Frontonem, II, 3, p. 131; Fronto, ad Ant. Pium, II, 6, p. 107; Philostorgius, H. Eccl., 1; Photius, Bibl. Cod., 77; Hermogenes, De Ideis, p. 417, 28, etc. The substance of the passages cited is that history and oratory naturally differ in style, but that history has become a panegyric.

1 Thucydides, of course, composed history before the time of Isocrates' rhetorical school, but he was to some extent under the same stylistic influences which Isocrates later represented.

2 Compare Jebb, in Hellenica, pp. 260 ff., where he refers to V, 49 and 92, as evidence that even the "longer speeches in Herodotus have usually the conversational tone rather than the rhetorical." However, some evidence of elaboration of style of a purely rhetorical character may be detected even in Herodotus. Jebb sees traces of rhetorical dialectic in the conversation between Solon and Croesus, I, 32; cf. also III, 80-82; III, 38. Cf. Diels, Hermes, XXII (1887), 424.

On Herodotus' style see Blass, Attische Bered., II, 408, 417, 476, and Rh. Mus., XXIV (1869), 524; Hauvette, Hérodote (1894), 65-158; Creuzer, Herodot u. Thucydides (Leipsig, 1863) and his diss., Hist. Kunst der Griechen; Hofer, Ueber die Verwandtschaft des Herodotischen Stiles mit dem Homericen (Merau, 1878); Rudiger, De Orationibus, quae in Rerum Scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis reperiantur, imprimit Herodoti et Sallustii Ratione habita (Schleiz, 1875); Schwidop, Zur Moduslehre im Sprachgebrauche des Hdt. (Könighshof, 1876); Tonder, Hdt. u. die älteste Poesie der Griechen (1875); Bergk, "Thuc. u. Hdt.," Jahrb. f. Phil., CXVII (1878), 177-80; and the handbooks, especially Croiset, II, 616 ff.
authorship from Asia to Attica, produced a radical change in conditions, and hence in style. Here rhetoric became an element in historical writing, and the great majority of historians from this time on are under its influence. Many, like Tacitus among the Romans, were at the same time orators and historians. Corax, Tissias, and Gorgias were founders of the Sicilian school of history as well as of oratory. Isocrates trained men for both professions. Theopompus conspicuously united in himself the two pursuits. From an epideictic point of view it is noticeable that among the rhetoricians it was Isocrates who founded a school of history,¹ and many who regarded Herodotus or Thucydides as the model historian, in matters of style openly professed their imitation of Isocrates. The fact that so many historians were rhetors before or at the same time with their historical activity would make it reasonable to expect epideictic qualities in all their writings.

Far more notable than the general ornate tendency of the Greek historians is the employment of special epideictic τάδεσιν and devices. The most specific instances of a direct relation between epideictic writing and history may be found in the frequent introduction of set speeches and in the formal descriptions so often introduced into history. We may consider these two features briefly, taking them in reverse order. The προειρετικὰ κόσματα (see p. 108, n. 1, for definition and references) as a whole had an important bearing upon history, and the fact is frequently referred to by rhetors. There is a notable tendency in many of its divisions to choose some historical character or

¹ On the indebtedness of Ephorus and Theopompus to Isocrates see Scala, Vortrag gehalten zu München am 23. Mai 1891 in der vierten allgemeinen Sitzung der 41. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner (1892), where he holds that Isocrates had a strong influence upon the style of history; Wachsmuth, Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte, p. 505. He says, in substance: As a pupil of Isocrates he (Ephorus) made stylistic beauty his aim. History presented opportunities to display this—panegyrics, battle descriptions, general's speeches, etc. The fragments also prove that he could write political speeches like another Isocrates. Cf. also Volquardson, Untersuchungen über die Quellen der griechischen und sizilischen Geschichten bei Diodor (Kiel, 1888); Ed. Meyer, Forsch. z. alt. Gesch., II, p. 16; Blase, Attische Bered., II, 369 ff.
situation as the theme to be developed rhetorically. This would be in harmony with the epideictic coloring of most history at that time, and would also assist in making the rhetorical features of history prominent. The forms most frequently mentioned by rhetors as valuable for the writer of history are the δύναμις (δύναμα), μήδος, κοινὸς τόπος, and ἡθοποιία. But the most important division of the προγυμνάσματα for our present purpose, the one most likely to be characterized by epideictic qualities, was the ἔκφρασις (descriptio). It is given more or less detailed discussion by Hermogenes (Sp. II, 16 ff.); Aphthonius (Sp. II, 46 ff.); Theon (Sp. II, 118 ff.); Georgius Choeroboscus (Sp. III, 251 ff.); Nicolaus (Sp. III, 491 ff.); Ernesti Lex.; one may compare also Lucian (De Hist. Conscr., 20), who ridicules its abuse—most historians run wild in descriptions of landscapes and great events; they are like slaves newly rich. Horace, Ars Poetica, 15 ff., is interesting in this connection, although he does not refer directly to history. He notes the tendency to employ descriptio for the purpose of pompous show. The ἔκφρασις is a description of persons, things, places, seasons, events, strange living objects, etc. It is conceded by all that ἔκφρασις is involved to some extent in all of the other forms of προγυμνάσματα, especially in the σύνθεσις and ἔγκλημα, yet its claim to a separate place is maintained; compare Hermogenes, Georgius, Nicolaus. That the ἔκφρασις is useful in all forms of oratory, but is especially adapted to history (Theon, II, 60, 20) and poetry, is distinctly stated by the rhetoricians. Their citations of examples are largely from these two divisions of literature, e. g., Homer's description of Thersites, of the shield of Achilles; Thucydides' πεπεμφάνα, or his description of the harbor of the Thesprotians. The description of the acropolis of Alexandria is made a model theme by Aphthonius (Sp. II, 47); Herodotus' description of the animals in Egypt, of Babylon, etc., are mentioned with praise.

Its special qualities of style are clearness (Sp. II, 16) and vividness (Sp. II, 16; III, 251; Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 56). The

1Sp. II, 4; 22, 5; 60; 80–81; III, 455, 30; 456, 3; 485, 27.
natural connection of the ἐκφρασις with the epideictic features of history is also recognized (Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 55). It is stated here that ἐκφρασις is appropriate for the elaborate style of narrative; compare also II, 509.

Its epideictic character is still further emphasized by the prominent use of the ἐκφρασις in purely epideictic oratory. According to Menander, it is involved in almost all of the various forms. The βασιλικὸς λόγος has description of the person of the king and the places where his wars were waged; compare Sp. III, 373, 17, 20, 26; 374, 1, 3, 6. The ἐπιβατήριος describes the country and especially the city; compare also the epithalamium, προςφωνητικός, προσβειτικός, κλητικός, συντακτικός, μουρδία, συμφωνικός. A great part of the speeches in praise of countries, cities, harbors, etc., is pure ἐκφρασις. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his rules for the panegyric and the epithalamium, makes much of a description of the gathering, the places and persons involved.

"Ἐκφρασις, as a special form, was much developed by epideictic orators; compare Choricius, ἐκφρασις ὅροις, ἐκφρασις εἰκόνας; the εἰκόνας of the Philostrati and ἐκφρασις by Callistatus and Libanius, IV, 1046-90, R. It is found also in the Anthologia Palatina and other poetry. It became a feature of Christian literature also. Examples of the legitimate and effective use of ἐκφρασις in Greek historians are numerous. The charm and variety of description found in Herodotus form one of the chief features of his style, e. g., IV, 71, 2; I, 24; VI, 125; VII, 210-12, 223-5. So in Thucydides, VII, 43, 44; I, 70; II, 47; the Sicilian expedition. Polybius assumes his best style in battle scenes, e. g., the revolt of the Corinthian mercenaries, in Book I, or the capture and death of the Achaeans, in VIII, or the battle of Cannae, III, 107-17; compare also Livy, XXII, 40-50; Appian, Hannibal, 17-25; Plutarch, Fab. Max., chap. 16; W. Tell, Philologus, XI (1856), 101. Cicero (De Orat., II, 15, 63) calls regionum descriptionem an important feature of history (cf. De Fin., II, 107; Orat., 20, 66). A notable instance of ἐκφρασις actuated almost wholly by epideictic
motives may be found in the descriptions of the vale of Tempe.\footnote{Cf. Aelian, V. H., III, chap. 1; Polyb., XVIII, 10, 16, 19, 31; XXIII, 4; Necander, Alexipharmica (the laurel first found there; cf. Pausanias, X, 5, 9); Catullus, LXIV, 285; Ovid, Met., I, 568; Vergil, Georgics, II, 409; Pliny, Nat. Hist., IV, 8, 15; Ovid, Fast., IV, 477; Am., I, 1, 15; Cic., ad Att., IV, 15; Epist. Gr., 352, 1 (Julian, XXVI, 3), 390, 18 (Julian, Fg. IV).}

The presence of speeches in the works of the Greek historians is not due especially to epideictic influence, though the general tendency of rhetorical writing would be to adopt this form as frequently as possible.\footnote{Cf. Hellenica, pp. 296 ff., esp. 277, 278.} The speech often sums up a situation, or it presents the arguments on both sides of a question where now there would be reference to documents or other direct forms of evidence. It has a political, an ethical, or a mere dramatic purpose, according to the character of the writer. The speech in Greek history is natural, and even required by the exceeding prominence given to speech-making in Athenian life. It was an almost inevitable part of any record of events. The fact that in its early period history, like other forms of prose, reached the public through oral delivery rather than by reading is in harmony with the prominence of the speech in historians. But in many cases the suspicion is difficult to remove that the speech is introduced primarily as the most effective means of displaying the epideictic expertness of the author. The historian of epideictic tendency is hampered by the fact that his speeches must arise naturally from the narrative and deal with some question of abiding interest. This limitation partially excludes epideictic themes, while it does not place any check upon epideictic treatment in such speeches as can be introduced.

Cicero, gaining his conception of history from Greek models, and contrasting them with the dry and purely annalistic style of Roman writers, exclaims (De Orat., II, 12, 57): "What sort of an orator, how great a master of language, do you think it requires to write history? To write as the Greeks, a man of the greatest power; as the Romans, no orator." He then refers to the oratorical element in representative Greek historians. He is urged (De Leg., I, 2, 5) to undertake history himself, as "no one is
more likely to give satisfaction, since you claim that this kind of composition most of all demands oratorical powers."

The Greek historians differ very greatly in the employment of speeches both as regards the frequency and the character of the speech. Polybius, although his history contains a number of speeches, proclaims it as his conscientious purpose to abstain from them, as an element of weakness, if not of danger. Quite the opposite is Thucydides, who makes the speech his most powerful instrument. He demonstrates the wonderful effectiveness of speeches whose material is truthful and of vital importance. Dionysius of Halicarnassus represents still another class, which employs speeches with great frequency, as does Thucydides, but chiefly for rhetorical (i.e., epideictic) ends. He shows the danger in the use of the same instrument in the hands of a writer of inferior vigor and judgment.

The speeches of Thucydides—their frequency, their vivid truthfulness in facts, their rhetorical formalism of style—need but bare mention. All contain special purely epideictic devices, but they are not to any great extent epideictic in τότας. As exceptions to this statement compare the funeral oration of Pericles, and III, 53 ff.; IV, 95; see also VI, 82 ff., where Euphemus gives a general laudation of Athens.

The position of Herodotus from this point of view is stated on p. 198.

Xenophon makes use of speeches to some extent in the Cyropaedia, but they are mostly of a non-epideictic character. The

1 Much has been written on the style of Thucydides. The most notable treatise, from our point of view, is that on the speeches of Thuc., by Jebb, in Hellenica, 310 ff. Compare also in addition to the literatures Blass, Attische Bered.; Wilkins, Introduction to the Speeches of Thuc. (1873); Sellar, Characteristics of Thuc. (1857); Forbes, Greek Prose Literature Previous to or Contemporary with Thuc., in his ed. of Thuc., Book I (1894); Jebb, Att. Or., I, 31; Classen-Steup, Einleitung (1897); Gast, De Thuc. Orationes (1870); Junghahn, "Die Reden bei Thuc.," Jahrb. f. Phil., CXVIII (1878), 691; Sörgel, "Die Reden bei Thuc.," Jahrb. f. Phil. (1878); Bekker, De Sophisticarum Artium Vestigia apud Thuc. (Berlin, 1864); Holm, History of Greece, II, 435 ff. For further references see the ed. of Poppe et Stahl, Vol. I (1886), 43 ff.

2 Cf. Dakyn's "Xenophon," in Hellenica, 324–86.
speech of Cyrus to his army, VI, 4, 12, follows the fixed usage. Procles' speech (Hellen., VI, 5, 38 ff.) in praise of Athens shows familiarity with the legendary τώνω — the bodies at Thebes, Euristheus, Heracles' children, Athens a refuge for all oppressed.¹

The speeches of the Anabasis form an important and attractive feature. Many are formal, in ornate style, but free from cheap epideictic devices. The celebrated speech of Xenophon to the Greek army (III, chap. 2) is further referred to on p. 211 and n. 1.

Although but few fragments of the actual writings of Ephorus remain, and still less in the case of Theopompos, the style and contents of their works are quite well known from frequent references in the writers of antiquity, chiefly Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, and Quintilian. We have referred to the fact (p. 199) that they were the pupils of Isocrates and apparently carried his stylistic ideas into history. The fragments seem to bear this out. Compare Müller, Frag. Hist. Graecorum, 64 (Ephorus), a general description and laudation of the Cretans; compare also 279 (Theopompos). Croiset (IV, 658) calls him the creator of a new kind of history. Among the many references to their qualities as historians compare, for Ephorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De Comp. Verb., 23, where he speaks of Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon, and Simonides as excelling in γάλαξικα καί ἀνθρώπα σώμασιν, and adds that the historians most conspicuous for this style are Ephorus and Theopompos, and among orators Isocrates.²

¹ Cf. also Mem., III, 5, 7, ff., and Procles' speech, Hellen., VII, chap. 1.

Note for Theopompos, Dionys. of Hal., Ad. Cn. Pomp., chap. vi, and elsewhere. He highly approves his style, which he calls most like that of
In spite of his general attitude of hostility, Polybius recognizes oratory as having a possible place in history, especially at some critical moment when an argument is to be put vividly. An example of his happy use of the speech is seen in his skilful balancing of the orations of Aemelius and Hannibal, III, 108–11; I, 27, 1, shows how Polybius often deals with the temptation to introduce an epideictic speech. He says: The Carthaginian generals addressed their men saying that victory would determine the future character of the war; defeat meant that they must fight for the very preservation of the state. Therewith with mutual words of exhortation they engaged in battle. For like avoidance of a speech, cf. III, 44, 63, 64, 108, 111; XV, 11; XVIII, 11.

Diodorus Siculus has comparatively few speeches, but several are thoroughly epideictic in treatment, notably the oration of Nicolaus (XIII, 20–26) to the Syracusans on their attitude toward the Athenians. It is in general expansive and exuberant in style, full of antithesis, rhetorical question, asyndeton, extravagant statement. In parts it has the moralizing tone which many historians assume (see p. 206, n. 2). The latter half is a

Isocrates, ὠφθαλμὸς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ πολυκανὸς χρώμα πολύ... ἡδέων καὶ μαλακὸς ρόους. Cf. also Quintil., X, 1, 74; Polyb., VIII, 10–13; XII, 25; XVII, 12; Cic., De Leg., I, 1; Brut., 66; De Orat., II, 57; Hortensius, fg. 12; Aelian, V. H., III, 18; Wachsmuth, l. c., 537–43, esp. 538, 539; Blase, Attische Bered., II, 400 ff.; Riese, "Der Historiker Theop.," Jahrb. f. Phil., CL (1870), 673; Hachtmann, De Theop. Vita et Script. (Detmold, 1872); Deill, Zur Kritik des Geschichtschreibers Theopompos (Diss., Jena, 1880); Hirzel, "Zur Charakteristik Theopompos," Rh. Mus., XLVII, 357; Rohde, ibid., XLVIII, 110; Holm, Hist. Greece, III, 425, 426.

1 On the style of Polybius, in addition to the histories of lit., note Holm, Hist. Greece, IV, 514 ff.; Droysen, Die Polybianische Lagerbeschreibung, in "Commentationes Phil. in hon. Theod. Mommseni" (1877), 35–40; cf. also same author, Rh. Mus., XXX (1875), 752; La Roche, Charakteristik des Polybius (Leipzig, 1887); Lindemann, Ueber Polybius den pragmatischen Geschichtschreiber (Onitz, 1850); Lütge, Polybii Orationes (Nordhausen, 1863); Teul, Die Schlacht bei Cannae; Stich, De Polybii Dicendi Genere, Acta Sem. Phil. Erlangensis, II (1881), 141–212; Scala (see p. 199, n. 1) attempts to prove that Isocrates had some influence even upon the political views and language of Polybius; cf. also p. 203, and references to Norden and Croiset, and Polybius' ideal of history (p. 186, text and note).
praise of Athens as first in φιλανθρωπία; the first to give means of living and laws to the Greeks; mother of eloquence; source of the mysteries, of learning; the schoolmaster of Greece. The reply of Gylippus is epideictic in style, though not in τόποι. It ridicules the claims of Athens, XIV, 65 ff. Theodorus of Syracuse (XIV, 65 ff.) makes epideictic reference to deeds of the ancestors of the people of Syracuse.

The speeches in Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹ are more numerous than in any other extant historian. Some are almost devoid of epideictic features; some have only an epideictic reason for existence; the average of his speeches as well as his narrative is characterized by the coarser epideictic features and shows little appreciation of what is appropriate. The oration which he puts into the mouth of Romulus is a weak imitation of that part of Pericles’ funeral oration in which he discusses the forms of government. Throughout he makes Romulus speak with all the rhetorical devices of the sophistic age: periodic sentences, well-balanced clauses, antithesis, isocola, homeoteleuton, perecheis, etc. There is an element of the preacher in this as in many of his speeches; compare Tullius’ (IV, 9 ff.) oration after the death of Tarquin, where he toys with the terms “justice,” “gratitude,” “right,” “common freedom,” etc.² The speech is a laudation of Tarquin along the lines of the epitaphius. There is often a total disregard of harmony and proportion, like the speech of C.

¹ The dominant quality in Dionysius of Hal. is oratory. It is his instinctive form of expression. The similarity of his speeches to those of Livy both in thought and occasion has been much discussed. Upon Livy as primarily an orator see Taine, Tite Live.

² This philosophical or moralizing tendency is common in the speeches of historians, e.g., Dionys. of Hal., Rom. Antiq., IV, 11; Dion Cas., I, fg. 33 (p. 91); I, fg. 40, secs. 30–34; Book XXXVIII, chaps. 20 ff., a τραπεζώμενος; Book LII, chap. 2; and especially chaps. 14 ff., where the speech of Maecenas urging Augustus to assume the monarchy is a pure treatise τοῦ βασιλέας; cf. Isoc., ad Nicoclem. In LIII, chaps. 3 ff., Caesar outlines his policy; cf. Isoc., Nicocles; cf. also Dionys. of Hal., II, 3 ff.; IV, 9 ff., 31, 32; VI, 19 ff.; Diod. Sic., XIII, 20, 21; Theophylactus, I, 1, 14–21, a τοῦ βασιλέας to Mauritius; Thuc., II, 35 ff. (Pericles). See Dionys. of Hal., Ad Ca. Pomp., chap. vi, where he says that Theopompus introduced many beautiful speeches about justice, piety, and other virtues.
Claudius (XI, 7 ff.) on the status of the plebs. It is purely argumentative in topic, but absurdly rhetorical in style. His general's speeches are referred to elsewhere. Other speeches marked by epideictic qualities are VI, 72–80; VII, 40–46, 48–53; VIII, 29–35; IX, 9; X, 36; XI, 7, 26.

Dio Cassius has many long speeches, all in general epideictic style; e.g., the speech of Pompey (XXXVI, 25, 26) recounting his glorious deeds in behalf of Rome, in boastful, antithetic sentences, with frequent paronomasia and homoeoteleuton. Gabinius' reply is an encomium of Pompey (XXXVI, 27–9). The speech of Philistus (XXXVIII, 20 ff.) is an encomium of Cicero. His character is discussed from the point of view of the four virtues. He is προμιστάτος, δικαίωτατος, ἀνθρωπίνη, notable for σκυφροτήτη. The orator starts in a moralizing tone, which is continued in the next oration where he consoles Cicero upon the eve of exile. This oration soon becomes purely parenthetic. It is a moralizing discourse on one's proper bearing in adversity. Other speeches in ornate style are: Catulus, XXXVI, 31–7; Caesar, XLI, 27 ff.; the speeches of Antony and Augustus to their armies before the battle of Actium, 1, 16 ff. Caesar's speech before the battle with Ariovistus (XXXVIII, 36 ff.), though containing much that is not usually found in such orations, is an excellent example of the general's speech, full of epideictic devices (see p. 212). The funeral oration pronounced by Antony (XLIV, 36–49) over the body of Julius Caesar follows the τόπος of this type of oration. The powerlessness of the orator to do justice to the topic is referred to three times; words cannot equal his deeds (twice); εἰσφέρεια, τροφί, παιδέια; Caesar's character, private and public, and his deeds as a soldier and statesman, his φιλανθρωπία, ἀνδρεία, χρηστότης. The whole speech is in the highest degree epideictic. The same may be said of Tiberius' oration on the death of Augustus Caesar (LVI, 35 ff.). The speeches of Maecenas and Augustus on state policy, especially the former (Dio Cas., Book 52, 2 ff.), are examples of the περὶ βασιλείας in history; see p. 206, n. 2.

The set orations of Arrian are not very numerous, though a number of speeches are introduced in substance. They are
characterized by the same easy and unaffected but vigorous style which belongs to his narrative as a whole. Few formal devices are introduced. The address of Alexander (II, 7, 3 ff.) to the army before Issus, given in indirect discourse, agrees with the average general's speech. His speech at the Hyphasis, as well as Coenus' reply, are slightly epideictic. The farewell words of Alexander (VII, 8 ff.), addressed to soldiers who were about to return to Macedonia, is a eulogy of his father and himself. It recounts their deeds of devotion and sacrifice to the fatherland, their success in war, and the rewards it has brought to the state, closing with the ἐπιτάφιος, the formula of the ἐπιτάφιος, with which it has throughout many points in common. It is notable for isocola and antithesis, and is distinctly ornate.

Appian's narrative is too rapid to admit much speech-making. The De Rebus Punicis contains a few, but all are very brief. The nearest approach to an epideictic speech is found in the De Bellis Civilibus, Book II, where speeches are assigned to Pompey, Caesar, and Antony, characterized by slight epideictic touches. Pseudo-Callisthenes has many short speeches devoid of epideictic character.

Later historians, such as Herodianus, Theophylactus, and Zosimus, present nothing worthy of comment in this connection further than is noted under the topic “generals' speeches.”

The special epideictic devices used so freely in the funeral orations and other more technically epideictic forms run throughout the speeches as found in the historians. As in the ἐπιτάφιος, the antithesis κοινὸς-δειος is the most frequent. This is especially true of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In order of frequency follow: λόγος-δρας, πολίς-δίκαιος, δίκαιος-ἀδίκαιος, θάνατος-ἀθάνατος (this antithesis is also expressed in many other ways); ἔλεος-ερήμια is a common word and theme. Such stereotyped antitheses are most numerous in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but are common in Thucydides and others.

The speeches found in the works of Greek historians naturally deal with a great variety of themes. They grow from the situation arising in the narrative and throw light upon this situation,
or argue some question connected with the state or the individuals involved. The conditions of historical writing preclude, as a rule, the repeated intrusion of the same topic, or the presence of the same speech in many different authors. The speeches connected with the appeal to Coriolanus,¹ and that spoken by Nicias in the Syracuse campaign, and orations before battle by Scipio and Hannibal, are among the few instances of speeches represented as given by the same person under the same circumstances by different historians. Warfare, however, furnishes a theme for speeches common to almost all writers of history. The most distinctive, fully developed, and persistent single type of speech among historians is the general's oration before battle, urging his army to deeds of valor. Over forty such speeches are extant in Greek literature alone. The theme and the situation present the greatest temptation to epideictic treatment, and such a style is universally employed even by writers who elsewhere present little or no tendency to epideictic forms. While it is true that the general's speech is not one of the recognized divisions of epideictic oratory in Menander or Dionysius of Halicarnassus, its importance and frequency are greater, and it preserves its identity even more thoroughly, than many of those which have unquestioned recognition and detailed rhetorical presentation. We may note, however, in addition to the fact that in secs. 2 and 3 it has a direct reference to the general's speech, that the προτερητικὸς ἀθληταις of Dionysius of Halicarnassus² comes nearer than anything else in rhetoric to containing a theoretical outline of this well-defined form. The conditions under which this speech is supposed to be delivered are those of an army at the moment of conflict, and the speech of exhortation follows a similar outline. The προτερητικὸς ἀθληταις is a speech at a πανήγυρις, but it praises the contestants who are present to compete for prizes rather than

¹ Dio Cass., I, fg. 17, 7, 8, 9, p. 52; Dionys. of Hal., VIII, 39–42; Plut., V. Coriol.; Livy, II, 40; cf. for Nicias, Thuc., VII, 61; D. Sic., XIII, 15; for Scipio and Hannibal, Appian, De Rebus Punicis; Polybius, III, 63, 64; Livy, XXI, 40–44.

² The fact is noted on p. 232 that the προτερητικὸς of Lesbouax is a general's speech; see Didot ed. of Att. Or., Vol. II.
the πανήγυρος. It is sometimes made by the agonothete himself. It considers the character of the contest. An oration is needed, as in war (sec. 2): λόγος γὰρ εἰς πάντα ἐπιτῆδειος, καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιρρώνων· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ πολέμου καὶ ἐπὶ παρατάξεως δέονται στρατιώται τοῦ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγου καὶ τῆς προτροπῆς, καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐρρομενέστεροι ἐγένοντο. Again, in sec. 3: Oratory is of value to spur on athletes to noble deeds, and it is compared to that addressed to soldiers by their generals: ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ οἱ γηγεώταις, παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγους ἀκούσαντες, μάλιστα φιλοτιμοῦται περὶ τὴν νίκην, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνήφην προτρπτικοῖς λόγοις οικείως ἀναδεξάμενοι· μάλιστα γὰρ ὅργιον τοῦ παραγενέσθαι. This section sets forth the glory of the contest and of the victory. Sections 4 and 5 contain topics appropriate to the πανήγυρικὸς λόγος, as is directly stated, sec. 5, init. Section 6 refers, as in the case of the general’s speech, to their past achievements as an encouragement to victory. Section 7 makes reference to their ancestors who have conquered in like circumstances. Note in connection with this the staple τόποι of the general’s speech; see pp. 212 ff.

There is also occasionally in the introduction of extant orations a reference to the appropriateness or universality of such a speech. In discussing the necessary qualifications for a general, Socrates says that the general will, of course, know what words he should speak στρατιώτατος παραινοῦντι better than the rhapsoist (Plato, Ion, 540 D.). Plutarch (Præc. Ger. Reip., VI, 7, 808 B), after approving a moderate epideictic element in political speech, since it admits of sententious style, historical references, fables, and metaphors, more than the juridical, recognizes the purely artificial character of the general’s speech by adding: “but as for the rhetorical orations and periods of Ephorus, Theopompus, and Anaximenes, which they made after they had armed and arranged their armies, one may say: ‘None talk so foolishly so near the sword’” (Eurip., Autolycus, fg. 284, 22). Compare also Polybius, XII, 25, who criticises Timeaus’ disregard of truth in “public

1 For παραινως as the technical term for the general’s speech see p. 229, footnote 1.
speeches, military harangues, ambassadors’ orations, and all compositions of that class.” Theon (Sp. II, 115) refers to the general’s speech under the προγνωσμάτα. Speaking of the proper uses of the προσωποσκοψία he says: στρατηγὸς τοῖς στρατιῶ· τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς κυβόνους. Compare also Theophractus, III, 14, 1: συνιστάτενο γάρ τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς στρατηγοῦ παρακεκέσεαυν. Cicero (Orat., 21, 66) refers to exhortations (hortationes) as a characteristic feature of history. Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, I, 87, refers to the fact that generals ἱκανοὶ λέγουν were in demand; compare S. Dehner, Hadriani Reliquiae (Bonn, 1883), 10. Speeches after battle were of frequent occurrence. Hermogenes, Sp. II, 15, 27, gives as a sample topic for the ἒθοποιοῦ words which a general might speak after a victory.

All speeches of this character follow with varying exactness a well-defined series of τοῦτου and are artificial in the extreme. This type appears very early and continues almost unmodified to the time of the Byzantine historians. Like almost all other types, it may be said to have its beginning in Homer in the words of encouragement uttered by leaders before battle. We see evidence of it in other poetry, e.g., Aesch., Persae, 400 ff.; Eurip., Suppl., 700 ff.; Heraclidae, 820 ff.

Herodotus shows the general’s speech in rudimentary form. In the famous speech by Xenophon (Anab., III, 2) it becomes well developed.1 The same τοῦτου are found in Herodianus and Theophractus, showing its persistence.2 The general’s speech is

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1 His speech is a model of its kind, if a few neighboring sections are included with the main oration, e.g., Anab., III, 2, 8–32, and III, 1, 20–24, 42, 43, 44.

2 The formal and epideictic character of this type is equally noticeable in Latin literature. The numerous and prominent examples in Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Quinctius Curtius are familiar. In imitation of the ancients a Lasso causes his leaders to deliver harangues quite in the style of the general’s speech as outlined here; cf. XX, 14 ff.; IX, 17 ff.; IV, 9 ff.; cf. also the brief addresses on either side in Milton’s P. L., Book VI. In the time of the crusades and later medieval history similar speeches may be found, but it does not agree with modern taste to ascribe long speeches to generals in impossible conditions. With the passing of the speech as a feature of history this, the most purely rhetorical of them all, has also gone. The most notable instance in a comparatively recent period is that of Napoleon I., who addressed his armies in a style comparable to that ascribed to generals by
a compound of commonplaces calculated to belittle the enemy's power and the danger of battle, and to make the most of any real or fancied superiority on the side of the army addressed. The characteristic τὸν ςυνεργός may be established by comparison of the typical speeches of this class. I have chosen the following, representing a considerable range both in the character and the period of the historians: Phormio, Thuc., II, 89; Cyrus, Xenophon, Cyrop., I, 4; Hannibal and Scipio, Polyb., III, 63; Postumius on the eve of a battle with the Latins, Dionys. of Hal., VI, 6; Nicias at Syracuse, Diod. Sic., 18, 15; Alexander to the army before the battle of Issus, Arrian, De Ex. Alex., II, 83; Caesar before the battle with Ariovistus, Dio Cas., 38, chaps. 36-46; Antony before Actium, Dio Cas., 50, 16-24; Augustus Caesar before Actium, Dio Cas., 50, 24-30; Severus to his army, Herodianus, III, 6. The following are the usual τὸν ςυνεργός:

1. The ancestry—their glorious deeds, how they dared zealously for the state, regarding the public interests as personal and personal interests as public. They were few against many, but conquered. They toiled joyously, kept the old possessions, and acquired new. Especial reference is made to their achievements against the very enemy with whom battle is now impending. This τὸν ςυνεργός is used by Postumius, Augustus, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Nicias, Cyrus, Xenophon (Anab., III, 2), Scipio.

2. With such ancestry do not disgrace your heritage; Julius Caesar, Nicias, Xenophon.


4. In war valor, not numbers, prevails; Julius Caesar, Antony, Postumius, Severus, Phormio, Xenophon, Alexander, Fabius.

5. The most magnificent prizes await the victors; Julius Caesar, Antony, Postumius, Xenophon, Alexander, Augustus, Hannibal.

the ancient Greek historians; cf. his proclamation before Austerlitz and that on the first anniversary of that battle, or that on the morning of the battle of Moscow, etc.
6. The auspices are favorable, the gods are our allies; Postumius, Severus, Xenophon, Alexander, Cyrus.

7. Death is glorious to the brave; Postumius, Hannibal.

8. The disgrace of defeat; Julius Caesar, Augustus, Postumius, Nicias, Hannibal.

9. We have conquered this enemy before; Severus, Xenophon, Alexander, Fabius, Postumius, Severus, Phormio, Scipio.

10. The wrongs suffered from this enemy; the war is just; Julius Caesar, Antony, Severus, Xenophon, Augustus.

11. An appeal to patriotism; Postumius, Alexander, Augustus.

12. Our commander is superior to that of the enemy; Alexander, Antony, Augustus, Scipio.

Other speeches of this character are found as follows:

Dio Cassius, Book XLI. chap. 27, Caesar to discontented army; L, 16, Antony to his army; LXII, 9, 10, 11, three brief general's speeches.

Appian, Book II, chap. 73 (De Bel. Civ.), Caesar to his army; IV, 90 (ibid.), Cassius to his army; IV, 117 (ibid.), Brutus to his army; IV, 119 (ibid.), Antony to his army; VIII, 19 (De Bel. Pun.), Scipio to his army; VIII, 116 (ibid.), Scipio to his army.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book IX, chap. 9, Fabius to his army.

Diodorus Siculus, Book XIII, chap. 15, Nicias to army; XIII, 98, Callicratides to his army.

Herodianus, Book VIII, chap. 3; II, 10.

Theophylactus, Book II, chap. 13; cf. also 14, and III, 13, for short speeches.

Xenophon, Cyrop., VI, 4, 12, Cyrus to his army.

Thucydides, Book II, chap. 87, a general to his army; II, 89, Phormio to the sailors; IV, 10, Demosthenes to his army; IV, 95, Hippocrates to his army; IV, 126, Brasidas to his army; VI, 68, Meias to his army; VII, 61, Nicias to the navy; VII, 66, Gylippus to the navy.

Polybius, Book I, chap. 27, a general to the army; III, 44, Hannibal to the army; III, 63, Hannibal to his army; III, 64, Scipio to his army; III, 108, Aemelius to his army; III, 111,
Hannibal to his army; XI, 28, Scipio to his army; XI, 31, Scipio to his army; XX, 10, Hannibal to his army; XV, 10, Scipio to his army; XV, 11, Hannibal to his army.

Arrian, Book II, chap. 7, Alexander before the battle of Issus; V, 25, Alexander at the Hyphasis; VII, 9, Alexander to soldiers proposing to return.


The Epideictic Element in Philosophy.

The investigations of the pre-Socratics were almost wholly devoted to an inquiry into the origin and constitution of the universe. Studies of this character have seldom found expression in epideictic style. Some left no written works; some employed poetry as the vehicle of communication; those who made use of prose present little which can rightly be considered epideictic in theme or style. The Sophists form an exception. With them the case is quite reversed. The rhetorical side becomes as strong as the philosophical is weak. The interest in artistic speech which followed the Persian wars was nowhere greater than among the Sophists. Their self-imposed task as general educators in matters public and private tended to increase the importance which they assigned to charm and impressiveness in presentation. The

A notable instance of the employment of stylistic charm even in cosmological studies may be seen in Plato; cf. Shorey, "The Interpretation of the Timaeus," Amer. Jour of Phil., IX, pp. 401 ff.; 408 ff. On the general topic of the rhetorical influence upon philosophy see the handbooks, especially Norden, Antike Kunstprosa (1898), 104 ff., 154, n. 1, and elsewhere; Rohde, Griechische Roman (1900), pp. 344 ff.

It is true that some of the most permanent features of fine writing appear already in Heraclitus and Empedocles. The former, the first great prose writer, is justly styled the "source of a current in literature." His prose was rhythmical. Heraclitus and, perhaps in imitation of him, Empedocles made frequent use of the great antinomies of thought which gave rise later to mere rhetorical antithesis. It is thought that Gorgias was a pupil of Empedocles (cf. Quintil., III, 2), and gained from him some features later made so prominent in his style. Diels ("Gorgias u. Empedocles," in Sitzungsber d. Berl. Ak., 1884, 343) presents evidence in regard to Empedocles' influence on Gorgias, both in philosophy and rhetoric; cf. Dümmler, Academica, 36, 1; cf. Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, I, 101.
newly formed rhetoric of Sicily was turned to their uses. The intermingling of rhetoric and philosophy was a necessary result of the new themes which philosophy discussed and the fact that discussion became so general. The great Sophists. Protagoras, Gorgias, Hippias, Prodicus, though classed as philosophers as well, stand for nothing so much as brilliance of oratorical display. So, too, with those of lesser renown—notably Alcidamas, Polus, Protagoras, and Thra tymachus of Chalcedon. Among the early philosophers we may note here Democritus (fifth century B.C.), who is characterized as a writer remarkable for eloquence, impetuosity, and brilliance, with use of poetic illustrations.1

Among the followers of Socrates, not to speak of Xenophon (see pp. 203 f.), Aeschines was well versed in the rhetorical art, and as an orator wrote in special imitation of Gorgias.2

The Megarians are said to have devoted themselves to idle and trivial disputations.

Taking the term “epideictic” in its widest application—a style of prose in which ornateness is introduced in a conscious effort to please, Plato is a most conspicuous example of its use. Aristotle, though no stylist in his extant works, is praised by Cicero and others for eloquence and beauty of style (see also p. 218, n. 1). The attitude of the immediate followers of Plato toward rhetoric and the niceties of style was determined largely by his supposed hostility. His attacks upon the Sophists, his denunciation of that prostitution of the rhetorical art which would employ it for empty display or to secure an unworthy end, were interpreted as directed against oratory in itself. Little attention was paid to rhetoric or style until the time of Carneades (second century B.C.); yet this period, marked by indifference or open hostility on the part of the schools as a whole, presents several names associated with fine diction. For a favorable view of the Academy see Cicero, Or. 3, 12: “I confess that I have been made an orator such as I am, not by the workshop of the rhetoricians, but

1 Cf. Cic., De Orat. 1, 10, 42 and 49; Or. 20, 67; De Div., II, 64, 133; Diog. Laert. IX, 40; Plut., Qu. Conv., V, 7, 6, 2; Dion. of Hal., De Comp. Verba., c. 24.
2 Diog. Laert., II, 63; cf. also Walz, Rhet. Gr., IX, 550 (Longinus).
by the walks of the Academy. For that is the school of manifold and various discourse in which first of all are imprinted the foot-
steps of Plato, . . . . for all that copiousness and abounding
source of eloquence is derived from these men." Compare
Brut., 31, 121; 97, 333; De Oration., I, 13, 55 and 56; Reid's ed.,
Acad., Introd., p. 13: "Cicero calls eloquence the child of the
Academy." He cites Parad., sec. 2; De Fat., 3; Tusc., I, 7;
De Off., I, 3; De Fin., IV, 5. We may note also Tac., Dial., 31.

In the fourth century Xenocrates was of sufficient eminence
as an orator to be employed on an embassy. Crantor was a
writer of choice diction and pleasing fulness. Diog. Laert., IV,
27; Cic., Acad. Q., II, 44, 135; for a fragment see Sext. Emp.,
XI, 51–8; Zeller (Plato and the Academy, 553). Polemo
thought philosophy should concern itself with matters of practi-
cal import only; Diog. Laert., IV, 18. He wrote on literary topics,
but was in general averse to popular display: Diog. Laert., l. c.
Arcesilaus (Arkesilas) belongs to the third century. Cicero, De
Oration., III, 18, 67, says: "Arcesilaus employed an eminently
graceful manner of speaking, . . . . He was the first to adopt the
practice of not declaring what he himself thought, but disputing
what any other person said that he [Arcesilaus] thought."
Diogenes Laertius says (IV, 28, speaking of the Academy) that
he began the custom of disputing both sides of a question. Else-
where (IX, 51) he represents this idea as originating with Pro-
tagoras. Cicero (Tusc., II, 3, 9) likes this custom as giving
scope for eloquence, and says that Aristotle first made use of
it, and later all the Aristotelians as well as the Academy.¹ Quin-
tilian (XII, 2, 25) makes the practice peculiar to the Academy
and adds that it is likely to prove serviceable to eloquence.² The
custom, wherever practiced, has naturally a strong epideictic tend-
ency. Carneades is a notable example. Arkesilas is compared
with him, Cic., De Oration., III, 21, 80. Crates (third century
B. C.) left orations delivered to assemblies and speeches as
ambassador; Diog. Laert., IV, 23.

¹ Cf. De Oration., I, 8, 84; III, 27, 107, 108.
² Cf. XII, 1, 75; Diog. Laert., VII, 181.
The second century B.C. is rendered notable by Carneades, whose epideictic displays at Rome and elsewhere occasioned so much discussion. He marks the entrance of a new spirit into the Academy, a reversal of its traditional attitude. His striking eloquence is often referred to.\textsuperscript{1} Diodorus of Adramyttium (second century B.C.) united philosophy and rhetoric (Strabo, XIII, 1, 66). As in the first period when the school avoided rhetorical display, so after Carneades there were some who stood out in opposition to the general trend, adhering to hereditary teachings. Clitomachus of Carthage (second century B.C.) was a pupil of Carneades, but a professed enemy of rhetoric, though his \textit{consolatio} on the fall of Carthage would seem to have been of an epideictic character (Cicero., \textit{Tusc.}, III, 22, 54). Cicero (\textit{Tusc.}, II, 3, 9) shows that Philo of Larissa (first century B.C.) was enthusiastically devoted to rhetoric as well as philosophy. He is classed (\textit{Tusc.}, II, 11, 26) among those not only very eloquent, but also fond of introducing appropriate lines from the poets. Charmides (Charmadas in Cicero), also of the first century, was as remarkable for eloquence as was Clitomachus for genius (Cic., \textit{Acad. P.}, II, 6, 16). He held that philosophy was the only source of eloquence (Cic., \textit{De Orat.}, I, 18, 84 ff.), denying that rhetoric was of any value in gaining it. He is classed among those who would relegate oratory to the court and petty-assembly \textit{tamquam in aliquod pistrinum} (Cic., \textit{De Orat.}, I, 11, 46); compare also Or. 16, 51, where Carneades compares the diction of Charmides and that of Clitomachus. Charmides seems a fair representative of a class of philosophers who, though employing the arts of eloquence themselves, affect to despise rhetoric and deny its influence upon oratory.\textsuperscript{2}

The Peripatetics had always an appreciation of the beauties of language, and seemed to pride themselves upon their devotion both to the theory and the practice. The Academy justified its hostility by a one-sided interpretation of Plato, and the Peripatetics in their opposite position made appeal also to the founder

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Cic., \textit{De Orat.}, I, 45, 49; II, 38, 161; III, 18, 68; \textit{Acad.}, I, 12, 46; II, 18, 60; \textit{De Rep.}, III, 8; \textit{De Fin.}, III, 12, 41; and elsewhere.
\item Cf. Sext. Empiricus, p. 678 (Bekk.).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
of their school and his immediate successors. Cicero (De Orat., I, 10, 43) says: The Peripatetics hold that the very aids and ornaments of speech which you consider the peculiar property of orators must be sought from them. (They say) that Aristotle and Theophrastus wrote more copiously and better than all the masters of the art of speech.1

Cicero probably refers to the general course of Peripatetic philosophy, but in the case of the Academy chiefly to his own or the immediately preceding period, when he speaks of the "delicate and flowing style of the Peripatetics and the Academy," and adds that their language is "too diffuse and luxuriant for a spirited contest in the forum or a pleading at the bar" (Brut., 31, 121).2

In harmony with the general favor in which the Peripatetics held graceful writing is the fact that more than the other schools they seem to have taken up literary and historical studies.

1 Cf. also Orat., I, 5, and Tusc., I, 4, 7: "joined eloquence with philosophy" (cf. Heine's note), and Brut., 31, 119 and 120, where he indicates that he regards the Peripatetic philosophy as the most proper to form the ideal orator's style upon; cf. De Orat., III, 35, 141; Orat. 19, 62; Quintil., III, 1, 15; XII, 2, 25; Tac., Dial., 31. For general appreciative reference to Aristotle's style see note, Wilkins' De Orat., I, 11, 49. To the references there Grote adds (Aristotle, I, 43), Ad Att., II, 1; Dion of Hal., De Comp. Verb., chap. xxiv; Demetrius (Spengel, III, 290, 27). We may add still further Cic., Tusc., I, 4, 7; De Orat., III, 18, 67; III, 35, 140 44.

2 Cicero is not careful to distinguish between the Platonists and Aristotelians in his references to the rhetorical qualities of philosophical schools; cf. Teuffel and Schwabe, Lat. Lit., sec. 183; Cic., Brut., chap. 31 et passim. The Academy and the Peripatetics are referred to separately as contributing much to oratory, but in several of the more notable passages the two schools are joined; e.g., De Fin., IV, 3, 6, where he grows enthusiastic over their "instances of good speaking in orations," their "polish and fitness," and their "brilliancy of language." "With what splendid language have they adorned that part of the subject which requires ornate and impressive eloquence, discussing justice . . . . not like men picking out thorns—the Stoics . . . . but like men who knew how to handle great subjects elegantly. What therefore are their consolations? what their exhortations?" Cf. also De Orat., III, 27, 107, 108, 109: "omnia civilem orationem in horum alterutro genere versari." Cicero's ideal orator is a combination of the orator and the philosopher: cf. De Orat., I, 15, 68; Tusc., I, 26, 64, 65; V, 2, 5, 8; De Orat., I, 3, 9; I, 10, 43; II, 16, 60, 61; III, 143; Orat. 3, 12, 13. His own power as an orator is due to philosophy: Tusc., I, 3, 6; Orat., 3, 12, 13; De Or., I, 20, 91; P. Arch., VI, 12, 13.
Zeller (Aristotle, II, 451) says that no philosopher after Strato merits the name of an independent thinker. The school cultivated history, literature, and grammar, and devoted itself zealously to rhetoric and ethics. This last statement must apply, though in a lesser degree, to the period preceding Strato.

The successor of Aristotle was given the name Theophrastus in recognition of the "divine character of his eloquence." Strabo (XIII, 2, 4) says "Aristotle made all his disciples eloquent, but Theophrastus most eloquent of all." Heraclides of Pontus (fourth century B.C.) was a versatile writer in general literature and rhetoric and philosophy. He wrote histories, some in the style of comedy and some in that of tragedy. His writings are κάλλιορτά τε καὶ ἀριστά, Diog. Laert., V, 86–90.

Of Callisthenes of Olynthus (fourth century B.C.) Cicero says (De Ora, II, 14, 58) that his style was appropriate for rhetorical declamation rather than history; cf. Ad Quint., XI (XIII), 4; Plutarch (Alex., 53 and 54) shows his dexterity in arguing both sides of a question epideictically.

Clearchus of Soli (fourth century B.C.) is styled by Zeller (Aristotle, II, 443) a man of literature rather than a philosopher. Lyceus and Praxiphanes (fourth century B.C.) are cited by the same authority as among those who turned from philosophy "to history, history of literature, politics, ethics, and rhetoric." Demetrius of Phalerum, at the very close of this century, presents the style of the philosopher combined with the orator's strength and impressiveness; Diog. Laert., V, 82. A versatile writer: "the most polished of all these orators:" Cicero, De Ora, II, 23, 95; Orat. 27, 92, 94; Brut., IX, 37; De Off., I, 1, 3, speaks of his pre-eminence as a philosopher and orator. Strato, of the third century, was chiefly noted as a natural scientist. Ritter, Hist.

1 Diog. Laert., V, 38; Strabo, XIII, 2, 4; Cic., Orat. 19, 62; Quintil., X, 1, 83; Cic., Tusc., V, 9, 24; De Ora, I, 11, 19; III, 48, 184; and Brut., 9, 38; 31, 121.
3 Gross' statement (Philodemus, LV) seems to be based upon a misinterpretation of Diog. Laert., V, 38.
of Phil., III, 370, says that after him came the period of affected ornament. Lyco of Troas (third century B. C.) is classed by Ritter, l. c., with Aristo of Ceos and Critolaus as one of those who helped clothe philosophy in the mantle of oratory (Strabo, X, 5, 6). Cicero (De Fin., V, 5, 13) speaks of him as a man rich in eloquence. Diog. Laer. (V, 66) terms him a surpassingly sweet speaker, and as evidence of his reputation in this regard adds a current play upon his name.

Aristo of Ceos is fixed for us as a philosopher of strong epideictic tendency by Strabo's (X, 5, 6) characterization: "The oldest imitator of Bion." Cicero (De Fin., V, 5, 13) says he was a "neat and elegant writer" of "polished style," but lacking in dignity.

In the second century B. C. Critolaus was one of the embassy to Rome (155 B. C.), where he gained great favor as an orator. His style was scita et teretia (Gell., VI, 14, 10). Cicero (De Fin., V, 5, 14) refers to his eloquence. Quintilian (II, 17, 15) shows that he wrote also on rhetoric. Sextus Empiricus (p. 677, 10, Bekk.) says that Critolaus and his followers, noticing the ease with which rhetoric was prostituted, spoke ill of it and called it kakotexula.

Agatharchides (second century B. C.) wrote on grammar, history, and geography. Photius says his style was dignified, clear, full of sententious passages. In his speeches he imitated Thucydides. Apellicon of Teos (first century B. C.) was employed as an ambassador in the war against Mithridates. Athenaeus of Seleucia (first century B. C.) was among those who styled rhetoric the art of deceiving.

The Stoics, like the Peripatetics, regarded rhetoric as of great importance. But their interest was in its formal side rather than in rhetoric as a means of securing the more pleasing qualities of style. Diogenes Laert. says (VII, 42) that the Stoics adopted the common definition of rhetoric as the art of speaking well περὶ τῶν ἐν διεξοδω λόγων; but with them speaking well was speaking the exact truth (Walz, Rhet. Gr., VII, 8, 20).

1 Cf. De Orat., II, 38, 160.
In spite of individuals of marked epideictic characteristics, it is a just representation of the school as a whole which Quintilian gives (X, 1, 84): "The old Stoics paid but little attention to elocution. They had great power of reasoning and in enforcing what they taught. They were rather acute in discussing their subjects than lofty in style—an excellence at which they certainly do not aim." So also Cicero, *Brut.*, 31, 119 ff.: "They [the Stoics] devote their whole time to the study of logic and never trouble to acquire the free, fluent, varied style. Your uncle [Cato] gained what the Stoics could give—the art of reasoning, but for the art of speaking went to the masters of rhetoric." The Stoics use "language which is not clear, smooth, and flowing; but meager and dry, broken and disjointed; and if anyone shall approve such a style, he will do so with this limitation, that it is not suited for the orator" (*De Oratione*, II, 38, 159).

Aristo of Chios is styled by Diog. Laert. (VII, 161) a man of persuasive eloquence and of great popularity with the masses. He was popularly called the "siren." Zeller (*Epicureans and Stoics*, 60) says he was fluent and wordy, and adds that he condemned logic.

Diogenes the Stoic was one of the embassy to Rome (155 B.C.), and there made epideictic speeches. His style was *modestia et sobria* (Gell., VI, 14, 10).

Mnesarchus (second century B.C.) is classed (Cic., *De Oratione*, I, 11, 45, 46) among those who would relegate oratory to the court and petty-assembly *tamquam in aliquod pistrinum*. In *De Oratione*, I, 18, 83, he is represented as saying: "Those whom we call orators are nothing but a set of mechanics, with glib and well-practiced tongues. No one can be an orator but the man of true wisdom—the philosopher." Panaetius of Rhodes (second century B.C.) is said to have aimed at a more brilliant rhetorical style. Cicero (*De Fin\.*, IV, 28, 79) shows that he was fond of quoting Plato, Xenophon, and Theophrastus. His belief that a lawyer is justified in supporting the probable, even

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1 *Cf. also Brut.*, 31, 118.

2 *Cf. also Brut.*, 31, 118, end; *De Oratione*, III, 18, 65 and 66.
though it be not altogether true (De Off., II, 14, 51), may throw some light on the character of his style. Strabo (III, 2, 9) speaks of an exaggerated rhetorical style as characteristic of Posidonius (first century B.C.). He was a versatile writer, an ambassador to Rome in 86 B.C. He discoursed with dignity and fluency on the value of pain, while being tortured by the gout (Cic., Tusc., II, 25, 61). His style was far removed from the ungraceful stiffness which frequently characterized the Stoics. Athenodorus of Tarsus (first century B.C.) won great influence through his capacity for discoursing at great length without preparation on any given subject. Among the Romans Seneca (first century B.C.) presents the epideictic qualities in great prominence. Quintilian (X, 1, 125) does not approve his style; cf. Anl. Gell., XII, 12. The views of the Stoics of the second century A.D. may be gathered from the writings of Epictetus, who, while professing approval of skill in argument, urges those who would follow real philosophy to make eloquence purely subordinate.1 In III, 23, he chides those who are fond of ostentation. Philosophy must attract by its teachings, not through display. Hearers should leave the school with pain rather than with pleasure. It is a school of surgery. He quotes Rufus as saying that, if one had leisure to praise him, he was speaking to no purpose. His Enchiridion, 33, 11, advises against attending private display-recitations; cf. also 1, 26. He does not entirely reject care about speaking, but men must not be captivated by it as by a siren (1, 23, end). Plato’s eloquence was no aid to his philosophy (1, 8).2

The attitude of the Epicureans upon the question of fine writing is quite similar to that of the Stoics, and their theories were fully observed in practice. Epicurus cared nothing for logic or literature. He thought rhetoric of value only to give clearness (Diog. Laert., X, 13). His writings, however, are not characterized by this quality, and are not free from ostentation. Diogenes Laertius, X, 2, says he was led to the study of philosophy

1 Cf. I, 8; I, 7; I, 17; II, 23.
2 Cf. Simplicius on Epictetus, chaps. 40, 33, 11; 44 and 45.
by a contempt for the grammarians who could not explain
certain points in Hesiod. His advice is: "Avoid all kinds of
education." Aristophanes the grammarian (Diog. Laert., X, 13)
censures his choice of words; Cicero (Tusc., II, 3, 8) speaks, as
though voicing the general sentiment, in derision of Epicurus
and the whole school as taking no pains to express themselves
well and therefore unfit to be read. This agrees with other
evidence that the hostility of Epicurus had become hereditary in
the school.

Hermarchus of Mitylene (270 B. C.) was his successor.
Diogenes Laertius (X, 24) says that he was devoted to rhetoric,
and that his writings were "καλλιστα." Cicero classes Metro-
dorus (fourth century B. C.) with Epicurus in his censure
(Tusc., II, 3, 4). Lucretius seems checked in his natural tend-
ency to eloquent style by his adherence to Epicureanism. A
bitter opponent of rhetoric appears in the first century B. C.
in the person of Philodemus. He follows and enlarges upon
the teachings of Epicurus. His views are set forth in his
rhetoric. He is especially opposed to the claim that rhetoric
can fit youth for public life. He compares rhetoric and
philosophy, to the disadvantage of the former. Rhetoric con-
tributes nothing to human welfare. Rhetors are sycophants;
they get money falsely; they destroy the people. Philosophy is
the benefactor of the race; it is the only source of right living,
the true basis for oratory. His position on the question, Is

1 Diog. L., X, 6; cf. also Quintil., XII, 2, 24; II, 17, 15; Cic., De Fin., I, 7.
2 Lucretius, speaking of the inspiration of his theme (I, 921 ff.) and the
pleasures of poetry, assumes a distinctly apologetie tone. He makes haste to
give his didactic and scientific purpose the chief prominence. He excuses for
the use of verse and for poetic beauty, and shows the estimate he would
place upon it by comparing it to the honey with which physicians smear
the cup that contains a bitter potion. The same comparison is made. Book IV,
1-25, and for the same purpose. In I, 143 ff. and elsewhere, the subordination
of literary beauty is made clear; cf. I, 415. He puts forth lucidity as his
great aim, I, 143, 114, 415, 933. He speaks in scorn (I, 643, 644) of those who
veraque constituint, quae belle tangere possunt
auris et lepide quo sunt fucata sonore.
The exceeding difficulty of his task is referred to I, 136-9, 920-50; III,
258-61.
rhetoric an art? is somewhat inconsistent. At one time he makes full denial (see p. 225, end); at another he seems to hold, against other Epicureans, that Sophistic rhetoric is an art. There is no art of forensic or judicial oratory. Every man’s general knowledge will answer for that. The question is discussed, e.g., Vol. I, pp. 68, 69 (Suppl., p. 34, Sudhaus); Suppl., 38, 45, 47, 61, 22, Vol. II, p. 235.¹

¹The conflict between rhetoric and philosophy was long and memorable. Their rivalry had a basis in differing views in regard to the theory and method of intellectual and moral training. There was added to this in many cases bitter personal animosity. The periods of most heated strife were the fifth and second centuries B.C. and the second and fourth A.D. Between these the conflict lulled. Sometimes one side or the other seemed almost conquered, only to revive and renew the struggle on slightly different grounds. With such fluctuations it continued for more than eight centuries. The Greeks traced both their rhetoric and their philosophy back to Homer. But previous to the close of the fifth century neither had received formal study; they were not reduced to a system, and no rivalry existed. The philosophical studies of the pre-Socratics were not of such a nature as to come into special conflict with oratory. The two did not occupy common territory. Then came the conscious effort to formulate the laws of language and argumentation, and to teach men to speak well. Oratory also claimed to give ethical and political culture. At almost the same time Socrates created a new meaning for philosophy—the study of men rather than of the physical universe. His successors followed him in this, though with less rigid adherence to his limitations. From this time on philosophy in its highest sense meant the pursuit of truth. While this conception of philosophy was in process of formation the Sophists precipitated conflict by the extent and character of their pretensions. They claimed to be the exponents of culture, to unite in themselves philosophy and rhetoric. The task of educating the youth should fall to them. In a sense their claims were well founded, but neither their rhetoric nor their philosophy was of the higher type. Truth was not the only or the chief aim in their investigations. The beautiful in form and the specious in argument were in many cases the limit of their search. Their educational aim was to produce the subtle man, the successful politician, rather than breadth of view and nobility of character. A quibble was as important a topic for discussion as a serious moral question. Rhetorical training sufficed for all the needs of life.

The strong grounds taken by Plato in opposition to these defects in sophistic ideals is familiar. The lines on which the conflict was to be waged are already visible. It was carried on with vigor by the philosophers and the rhetors, who in a sense were the successors of the Sophists. It does not seem probable that this strife affected the mass of the people to any extent. Arnim supposes that, in spite of the radical differences between them, philosophy and rhetoric were looked upon only as two means of education
The Cynics were followers of Antisthenes (fourth century B.C.), so noted as an epideictic orator. He was a pupil of Gorgias, and retained, in some of his writings at least, the style peculiar to that school after he had turned to philosophical studies; Diog. Laert., VI, 2; cf. also, for his epideictic qualities, Diog. Laert., VI, 14. He was fond of playing on words. Antisthenes is the earliest writer in whose works a διατριβή is cited. The Cynics and the Stoics were especially inclined to the adoption of this form, and some of its peculiar qualities are seen already in Antisthenes. Diogenes Laertius, VI, 9, may differing chiefly in method. Socrates and Protagoras were to them men of the same calling. With modifications, it was the present-day question of the “practical” education versus general mental training. At the close of the fourth century B.C. rhetoric had taken a subordinate place. It was one of the culture topics, the ἑτερολεια μαθήματα. The introduction of Greek civilization to Rome was simultaneous with the renewal of the slumbering rivalry. Should rhetoric or philosophy gain the greater influence? Philodemus, Sextus Empiricus, Quintilian, Cicero, and Lucian are the chief sources of information, and the points of attack were plainly much the same as in earlier centuries. The differences were still based on opposing conceptions of culture. Specific charges were brought against rhetoric:

1. It is not an art. It fails when tried by the Stoic definition of a τεχνή; cf., e.g., Sext. Emp., 10, 78, 26; Quintil., II, 17, 18, 27; II, 16, 1; II, 16, 11; Philod., I, 22; II, 107. A true art is the same regardless of time and place; rhetoric is not, so is not an art. A true art deals with the truth; rhetoric makes use of falsehoods, therefore is not an art; cf. Philod., I, 22. All true arts have a definite end (τέλος) which they attain; rhetoric has not, therefore is not an art; Sext. Emp., 13; Quintil., II, 17, 22; Philod., II, 105, 125. The three kinds of oratory (συμμεσολογίον, δισολογίον, ἑπισεικτικόν) each have a separate purpose and each fails.

2. Rhetoric lacks practical utility. Cities have expelled rhetoricians, notably Sparta, Athens, Crete, and Rome. There were orators before rhetoric existed and there are now, outside of the schools of rhetoric.

3. Rhetoric lacks a διά ιδια — a materia propria.

4. There were also attacks on the hollowness and pretension of rhetoric. It was a mere trick of persuasion. Facility in speaking must be viewed with suspicion. Sudhaus holds (ed. Philod.) that all these arguments were formulated by one person, Critolaus. In general on this question consult Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, I, p. 250, n. 2; p. 8, n. 2; Sudhaus, Philodemus, Suppl.; Arnim, Dio von Prusa, pp. 4-114 (1888).

1 The διατριβή was a short discourse on some philosophical theme, with a slight dialogue between the speaker and an imagined opponent. For further discussion see pp. 294 ff.
Perhaps imply his employment of inanimate objects as speakers. The passage represents a statue as speaking. Anaximenes of Lampsacus, 330 B.C., was a noted rhetorician. His history is blamed (Plut., Praec. Pol., VI, 7) because of its many rhetorical speeches. Menippus of Gadara was a pure satirist. Monimus (fourth century B.C.) mingled jest with serious themes; Diog. Laert., VI, 83. Diogenes Laertius (IX, 110) says of Timon the Skeptic (third century B.C.) that he occupied himself with works quite inconsistent with philosophy—comedy, tragedy, lyric and epic poetry. He was witty and a satirist. Sextus Empiricus (beginning of third century A.D.) was strongly opposed to all forms of rhetoric.

The vast increase in the circle of interests embraced under the term "philosophy" not only favored the retention and rapid increase of epideictic features, but would have rendered their exclusion difficult. After Aristotle (the pre-Socratics and Sophists are referred to on p. 214; cf. p. 224) there were few who devoted themselves exclusively to philosophy in the stricter meaning. Isocrates had used the term in a very comprehensive sense. It became more and more inclusive. Aristotle's wider definition of philosophy, as including all scientific knowledge and research, became still further extended until Chrysippus styles it "the science of things divine and human." (This is repeated by Max. Tyr., 32, 1; see p. 239.) Cicero, De Orat., I, 3, 6–12, calls philosophy "the originator and parent of all the arts which merit praise;" III, 35, 142, 143 "a union of wisdom and eloquence;" cf. also Tusc., I, 26, 64, 65; V, 2, 5, 6. Plut., Script. M. de Ed. Puerorum, 10, says: The chief advantages gained from philosophy are "to honor parents, worship the gods, obey the laws, treat others well, restrain passion," etc., through a long list of moral and civic virtues, at whose basis, he claims, lies the study of philosophy. Philosophy thus becomes almost coextensive with all useful knowledge. The relations between this expanded and popularized philosophy and rhetoric were, from the very nature of the case, intimate. There was an instinctive feeling of kinship. They worked reciprocally. Philosophy had need of rhetoric to present
its principles and teachings in clear and, what was equally important, in pleasing and impressive manner, while the orator, who had already received a great part of his training in the schools of philosophy—the chief educational institutions of the time—naturally turned to it as furnishing popular material for the exercise of his oratorical powers. It agrees with this that so many were at the same time, or at different periods of their lives, philosophers and rhetors, or joined with philosophy studies in poetry, history, and general literature. Quintilian, III, 1, 15, says: "Philosophers have paid even more attention to rhetoric than the rhetors since Theophrastus." Cicero (Orat. 3, 12, 13) says that he owed less to the schools of rhetoric than to the Academy. In the latter passage the oratorical power of Pericles and of Demosthenes is ascribed to their philosophical studies. Plato (Phaedrus, 270 A) says that Pericles owes his great oratorical power to the philosophical training he received from intercourse with Anaxagoras; cf. Plut., V. Pericles. This is in proof of the general proposition that philosophical training is necessary for the highest excellence as a speaker. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ad Ammæum de Demosth. et Aristot., chaps. 1–3, protests against the idea that Demosthenes gained his perfection of style from Aristotle. Isocrates, Cicero, and Themistius (each living in an age of sharp discussion between rhetoric and philosophy) are conspicuous among those who regarded themselves as embodying and reconciling rhetoric and philosophy.

With this natural affinity between philosophy and rhetoric we must connect as an auxiliary, also epideictic in its very nature, the relations between philosophy and religion. Philosophy had helped to destroy the old beliefs, and now assumed to supply their place. The entire field of morals was taken under its care. There were those who devoted themselves chiefly to theory, but others must pass about among the masses of the people and publish in popular form the teachings of philosophers, applying them to practical questions of everyday life. Some of these philosophers were men of independent power, but the great

1 Cf. Quintil., X, 1, 81, and XII, 2, 22.
majority must have contented themselves with elaborating and presenting the thoughts of others. Wilamowitz characterizes the situation in the third century B. C.: The people wanted the teachings of the great leaders. They could not go to them. They must depend upon the "wandering preachers." Therefore their compositions were reproductions, expositions, sermons from a text furnished by some renowned philosopher, moralizing παραπόσεις, all popularized by verses from Homer and other familiar poets, witticisms, quotations from historians, and the like (condensed from Antigonos v. Karystos, 312).

There was temptation, to which many yielded, to reduce philosophy to idle trifling, to exalt the manner above the thought. Epideictic display is inherent in these conditions. The hollowness and pretense of much popular philosophy are implied in Appian, Bell. Mith., XII, 5, 28.

Thus the enlarged scope of philosophy, its new relations with the masses of the people, its assumption of control over general education, and especially of religious instruction, the application of ethics to practical living, and in particular the relations between philosophy and rhetoric, lead to a prominence of the epideictic spirit in philosophy, governed in degree by the conditions of different periods and by individual character.

From the very earliest times we may discern a certain practical commingling of the epideictic and the philosophical. This is first noticeable in a union of the parenetic and the epideictic elements; cf. p. 96. The fact is noted on p. 136 that the βασιλικός λόγος exists contemporaneously and in close connection with a similar composition termed the περὶ βασιλείας, and that the latter in many cases differed chiefly in the more general, impersonal, and essay-like character of its treatment and in the prominence given to the συμβουλευτικός element. The περὶ βασιλείας has a special interest here from this latter point of view. Joined with the προτετευκός, which, in many cases at least, must have differed from it chiefly in being less restricted in its application, it is one of the oldest examples of a combination of the epideictic style and popular philosophy. These two forms have a long history.
The avowed purpose of the περὶ βασιλείας—to present the principles upon which a prince should base his rule and to portray the ideal sovereign (see p. 136)—is one which falls in easily with the natural tendency of the philosopher to turn preacher. It presents an honorable and attractive theme, and one, too, in which the display element could hardly be excluded. The origin of this form is epideictic (see p. 136). It is seen in Isocrates (e.g., Ad Nicias) and in the works of Antisthenes, his contemporary (Diog. Laert., VI, 16). From this time on it has a prominent place in the history of moralizing philosophy. We find one or more treatises under this title credited by Diogenes Laertius to the following philosophers: Aristotle, Antisthenes, Cleanthes, Epicurus, Ocellus, Lucanus, Persaeus, Sphaerus, Strato, Theophrastus (cf. p. 234).¹

Previous to this Gorgias and Lysias in their display orations at Olympia had made the feature of advice an important part (cf. Isocrates, pp. 95, 96), and thus the introduction of the parenetic element in an ἐπίθεσις had received legitimization, if that were needed. The προτερπτικός, exhortatio, or παραμετικός, as it is sometimes called,² has a long and interesting history (cf. Hartlich, Leipziger Studien, XI, 1889). In a broad way the προτερπτικός is a union of philosophy and rhetoric. The Sophists

¹ For more purely epideictic orators who chose this theme see the list in the closing chapter.

² Hartlich, Leipziger Studien, XI, 222, et passim, discusses the meaning of the terms παραίνεισ and προτερπτικός λόγος. He refers to the familiar synonymous use of προτερπτικός λόγος, παράλληλης, and προτροφή. Here he might have added ὁμωδος and its derivatives, especially παράμετρους; cf. Iamblichus, Protrep., ed. Pistelli, p. 21, 18 (παράμετρος ἐνι προτέτοις), and elsewhere. But the unqualified assertion, “παραίνεισ non est exhortatio, sed ut Senecae verbo utar (Ep. 95, 65), praeceptio,” while stating a true distinction, gives an impression of uniformity in the use of these words which is not warranted by the usage of Greek authors. The lack of separate rhetorical treatment in extant works renders the exact idea contained in these two terms more difficult to determine. The προτερπτικός δῆληταί, for which rules are given in Dionys. of Hal. (Ars Rhet., chap. vii), is of little assistance. It is purely epideictic, and its connections are with the panegyric and the general’s speech (cf. p. 222, and for further discussion of its relations to the general’s speech, see pp. 290 ff.). It is quite a different thing from the προτερπτικός λόγος as a characteristic speech of philosophy and rhetoric. The casual references to protreptic and parenetic
claimed that such a union existed in themselves, and with them doubtless this form originated, as Hirzel argues, *Hermes*, X, 61 ff. Isocrates (*Ad Demon.*, 3) implies a well-settled title. It has no extant rhetorical treatment as a distinctive form of epideictic oratory. Menander recognizes it only as a concomitant speech in Menander are also of little assistance to a clear idea of the use of these terms. In general we may say: (1) that such technical distinction as Hartlich states can be easily established and instances of its use presented; but (2) it is also true that in many cases the words seem to be used even by technical writers as fully interchangeable; and (3) in the vast majority of instances they are used in a loose, indefinite way, either with almost the same meaning, or more frequently with a more or less noticeable predominance of the precept character in the word παραίνει and its derivatives. We may add, at this point, that the lexicons (exc. Hesychius, cf. also Stephanus) fail to give any distinctive use of the words, and the meanings given there require no special notice. In trying to determine more fully their usage, we have consulted especially the following authors: Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Dion Chrysostomus, Iamblichus, Sextus Empiricus, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Andocide, Dinarchus, Lysias, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Herodotus, the rhetors as found in Spengel and Walz.

The narrow technical use of the words παραίνει and προτερτικὸς λόγος, and the general scope of each, may be seen in such passages as Isoc., *Ad Demon.*, *init.* (cf. also Dionys., of Hal., προπαρανομέας, 1); Stobaeus, *Ecl.*, II, p. 14; Aeschines, *Contra Ctes.*, 154; Or. I, 191; Plato, *Euthyd.*, 274 E; and, in the case of the προτερτικὸς λόγος, many others; cf. also Seneca, Ep. 95, 65. It should be observed, however, that Seneca in Epistles 94 and 95 is referring to philosophy only, and that the παραίνει and προτερτικὸς λόγος as technical λόγος had other uses as well. Technically the προτερτικὸς λόγος is an exhortation to some general course—philosophy, rhetoric, virtue. It gives a comprehensive view, setting forth the advantages and removing the objections (Stobaeus, *Ecl.*, II, 14 ff.). The παραίνει is practically without formal definition. The essentials of its technical use may readily be discovered from Isoc., *Ad Demon.*, *init.*; Plato, *Def.*, 413 C; Seneca, Ep. 95, 65; and other incidental references. Cf. also Stephanus, *Lex.*, s. v. παραίνει and προτερτικὸς λόγος. In distinction from the προτερτικὸς λόγος the παραίνει presents a series of precepts which will serve as a guide of conduct under fixed conditions; cf. Seneca, Ep. 95, 7, where illustration is taken from the pilot. The παραίνει as a part of philosophy may have a restricted and personal application, e.g., how to manage servants; or it may be more general, e.g., how to live well. Aristo the Stoic and Cleanthes (Seneca, Ep. 94, 1 ff.; 95, 1) favor the more general view. Isocrates, *De Permut.*, 67, 68, recognizes that a special style is appropriate for the παραίνει. It does not require that continuity of diction which he adopts elsewhere, but each thought is, as it were, a separate head: ἄκολουθος γὰρ
of some other form of oration, e. g., an important element in the λαλάθ (Sp. III, 388) and the προπεμπτικὸς λόγος (Sp. III, 395). In either of these exhortation may, under appropriate conditions, become the controlling motive of the oration; cf. also the παραμυθητικὸς and the ἐπιτάφιος. Dionysius of Halicarnassus ἀνατύπον προτέτοι καὶ χώρις διάφορα τὰ καλάμον καθάλαμα τοιαύτα. We may add here the fact that the technical use of προπεμπτικὸς is far more frequent and well defined than is the case with the contrasted word; e. g., Hesychius contains a discussion of προτέτοι, but none of παρασκεφής; so with Ernesti, Lex.; Stephanus alone refers to both. This prominence of the parenthesis element in the word παρασκεφή and its derivatives agrees with the connection which is sometimes made between gnomic poetry and the παρασκεφή; cf. Dion. Chrys., Or. II, p. 20, 10 (Dind.); Sext. Emp., 274, 25 (660, 20 ff., Bekk.); 276, 29 (682, 30, Bekk.); Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, I, 78; Photius has a παρασκεφή διὰ γνωμολογίας; cf. also Cod. Gr. Stangerum., fol., 163 A: γρήγορα κατὰ στοιχεῖον παρασκεφὴν. Yet in Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 592, 2, the γρήγορα is styled a speech, ἐπὶ τοὺς προτέτοις, e. g., that one ought to entertain strangers; cf. also II, 592, 22. In II, 291 and 297, 14 ff., the γρήγορα is made a chief source of προτέτοι.

Quite in line with this is an almost technical use of παρασκεφή among the rhetors, where it seems to mean the moral or application, Sp. II, 21, 11; Walz, Rhet., 576, 13. A παρασκεφή may be derived from a myth; yet in II, 538, 9, it is said that the myth belongs to the συμβουλευτικὸν γένος, for by it we προτέτοικα ἐπὶ τοὺς. The χρὴσις (II, 538, 19) is useful for παρασκεφή. In II, 574, 15, Ἀρσενὸς Fables give a βιοσελή τῆς παρασκεφής, οὐ χρῆ τοῖς μέχρις που ἤτοι; cf. II, 577, 22. Hartlich concludes (L. c.) that the παρασκεφή belongs to the γένος συμβουλευτικοῦ, and his language seems open to the implication that the προπεμπτικὸς λόγος does not. He quotes Ammonius, 132, to the effect that the παρασκεφή is a part of the συμβουλή. But this is inconclusive as a distinction, as unlimited evidence might be produced, including the προτέτοι, under this head; e. g., Syrianus, Walz, Rhet. Gr., IV, 763; II, 592, 22; II, 563, 9; Plato, Def., 413 C; Legg., XI, 933 B; Alc., I, 107 B; Dion. Chrys., Or. II, p. 20, 10 (Dind.), and 29, 19; Demosth., Proem., LVI, et passim ad lib. Instances of the interchangeable use of these words may be noted as follows: Demosthenes, Or. LXI, 51, has προτέτοις σε πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, and in the same section uses παρασκεφή as a substitute, ἄπαντες παρασκεφῆς. Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 297, 14 ff., under the chapter-heading τῆς δὲ γρήγορὰς τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ προπεμπτικοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀποτρέποντος, παρασκεφῆς καὶ παρασκεφήμονοι as well as προπεμπτικοῦ are used in the discussion; II, 538, 19, speaks of the usefulness of the χρὴσις for παρασκεφή, and in the next line προπεμπτικοῦ is used to refer to the same thing — τοῦ δὲ ἐπιτάφιον διὰ τῆς παρασκεφής, ἐν αἷς ἤγγικα ταῦτα προπεμπτικοῦ; II, 568, 28, uses παρασκεφήν in contrast with ἀποτρέποντος, where one would require προπεμπτικοῦ; cf. also II, 592, 3 and 22; 571, 23, 24; 573, 20; and Menander (Sp. III, 405, 20-23; 410, 10, 17; 453, 13; II, 23, 20).

Menander πρὸς ἐπιτάφιον (Sp. III, 421, 28 ff.), speaking of the hortatory character which the ἐπιτάφιον may assume, says: συμβουλὴν καὶ ὑποθήκην πρὸς
in sec. 3 of his Μέθοδος ἐπιθαλάμιων says, "with praise mingle advice." He also presents details for a speech entitled προτρητικὸς ἀθληταις; cf. p. 209. This is of pure epideictic character. Its appropriate time is the πανήγυρις. Exhortation is made the first τόπος, but forms only a small part of the speech as a whole. He has no treatment of the προτρητικὸς except in this specialized τῆς γυναῖκας καὶ τοῦ τοὺς παιδάς, οἱ ἄγαν μην τυχάνωσιν δοτε, τὴν μὲν γυλούν τὰς ἀρχαίας καὶ ἄριστα τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ἥρωις, τοὺς δὲ παιδάς γυλούν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἄρετας, which is parenetic. But Dionys. of Hal. (μέθοδος ἐπιταφίων, 4) uses προτρήτω in the same situation; cf. also Plato, Μενεκεύς, 283 E, where παραίνει and παρακελεύομαι are used in the same part of the ἐπιτάφιος. In his rules for the epitithalaminium (sec. 3) he uses προτρήτω for the precept: live in harmony, and like instances could be multiplied indefinitely; cf. Thuc., II, 45; Sopatr., Διαφ., p. 338; Plato, Κλιτ., 410 D; Euthyd., 282 D; 283 A, B, where παρακελευθὸς λόγος τῶν ἀρετών takes the place of the usual phrase προτρητικὸς λόγος τῶν ἀρετῶν; but παρακελεύω is a recognized substitute for παραίνω. Hdt. uses προτρῆτω but once (I, 31, 1), and there it means "admonish by example," for which παραινέω might be used. The cohorratio to the Greeks assigned to Justin Martyr, though a pure προτρητικὸς, has the title λόγος παρακελεύομαι τῷ Ἐλληνι; cf. Isidore. The προτρητικὸς λόγος of Iamblichus shows not only the lack of clear distinction between the terms, but also that the παραινεύω had a legitimate place within the προτρητικῶν. On p. 111, 6 (ed. Pistelli) he has δόνατι παραινεύομαι τὰ αὑτά, etc., though three lines before προτετάκτω is used in like conditions. Chap. 21, init., he treats of the σῆμα αὐτοῦ as a source of the τὸ προτρητικὸς ἐδοκεῖ (105, 7) and the προτρητικὴ ἐς φιλοσοφικήν (105, 10), yet in the further discussion he uses παραινεύ (116, 4) as well as προτρῆτω (I, c. 18); cf. 123, 6, ἐκ δὲ τούτῳ φιλοσοφοῦ προτάγει. Chap. 6, init., says one must mingle with these παρακελεύομεν, the προτρῆτω toward political and practical life. Chap. 20, init.: It is proper to use τὴν διὰ τῶν ὑποθέσεων προτρῆτης related to the topics, how one ought to live, how one should associate with men, how gain glory, etc. Continuing the same topic on p. 97, 15, he adds ἄδει γὰρ παραινεύει ἐν τῷ αὑτῷ τῆς φύσει — that it is needful to use one’s powers for good ends. He goes on to state other precepts for whose practice philosophy is needed.

There is a use of παραινεύομαι in the historians, especially Thucydides, which becomes practically technical. Παραινεύομαι, or some form of παραινεύω, is thus used in direct reference to the general’s speech before battle exhorting the soldiers to valor. Προτρητικὸς λόγος would have seemed the more natural title and is implied in Dionys. of Hal., προτρητικὸς ἀθληταις, 2, where he says: in war a προτρήτω is needed; cf. p. 209 for outline of general’s speech in Dionys. of Hal., προτρητικὸς ἀθληταις; cf. Lesbonax, προτρητικὸς λόγος εἰς ἀρετήν (valor). In sec. 1 he uses παραινεύω, and in chap. 3 the phrase προτρητικὸς λόγος. This oration conforms fully to the type of the general’s speech (p. 212). Thucydides uses παραινεύομαι as a title for the general’s speech as follows: II, 18, 3, and 80, 4; 88, 1; IV, 93, 1; 95, 1; 120, 3; 127, 1; V, 9, 10; 69, 1 and 2; VI, 69; VII, 66, 3; 68, 3; VIII, 76, 3; Polyb., V, 103, 9; 105, 1; Dion Cas., L., 24; Plut., Fracc.
form. Anaximenes, Rhet. ad Alex., I, p. 174 (Spengel), includes the προτρέπτικον γένος as one of the seven, but it is used in a very general sense and can be regarded as connected only in a remote way with the distinctive type, the προτρέπτικος λόγος. Among Stoic philosophers there was a τόπος, περὶ προτροπῶν τε καὶ ἀποτροπῶν (D. L., VII, 84). Syrianus (Walz, Rhet. Gr., 763) says προτροπὴ differs from συμβουλή as a part from a whole. However, the mere fact of its existence, the prominence of the protreptic element in other forms, and the fact that through the history of epideictic oratory and of philosophy the title προτρέπτικος is so frequently met, seems to point to its probable rhetorical treatment in τέχναι not now extant. Indeed, the phraseology of Iamblichus’ προτρέπτικος seems to imply an established protreptic method. It is suggestive of its original epideictic character that this form is first reported to us in the writings of Antisthenes, with the statement that in these especially he used a rhetorical style (D. L., VI, 1). Menander, in his treatment of the ἐπιταφίος (Sp. III, 418 ff.), turns that part of the ἐπιταφίος called the παραμυθητικός into parenetic form in case there should be children to address. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (sec. 4) makes exhortation an important theme. Still more noticeable for our purpose is the remark (Sp. III, 414) that in the παραμυθητικός it is not out of taste to philosophize on the nature of life. He adds some directions for moralizing upon this subject. The extant ἐπιταφίοι and Consolations prove the prominence of this moralizing tendency, and here may begin the long series of treatises — περὶ πένθους, on disregard of death, etc. In Pericles’ funeral oration (Thuc., II, Ger. Reip., VI, 7; Plato, Ion, 540 D, στρατωταῖς παραμυθητι. Theophylactus, III, 14, 1, uses παραμυθητικόν and adds συνειδηθέντο γάρ ταῖς φυκάς ταῖς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραμυθήσει. In II, 13, 16, he uses προτρεπόμενον to introduce a similar speech, which shows that here as elsewhere we sometimes have an interchange of words; cf. also Diod. Sic., XIII, 15, 2, and 98, 3; Polyb., I, 27, 1; 76, 2; III, 44, 11; 64, 1; 108, 1; 109, 13; 111, 1; XV, 10, 1; 11, 4; 11, 6. Still other words are used in Arrian, II, 7, 3, and II, 10, 2; Dionys. of Hal., Rom. Antiq., VI, 10; IX, 10, 1.

1 Cf. also Arist., Rhet., I, 3, 14, where συμβουλή is divided into προτροπὴ and ἀποτροπὴ.
43) the θρήνος is made an exhortation; cf. also 45.¹ The earliest title preserved to us is in the list of Antisthenes’ works. At almost the same time Isocrates wrote his oratorical epistles, the Ad Nicoclem, Nicocles, and Ad Demonicum. There is the outline of a oratorical ἐπιθέματι in the Hippias Major of Plato. A προτετεκτικός² is assigned to Aristotle, and from this time on it becomes the property of the philosophical schools. The following authors of προτετεκτικοί λόγοι are reported by Diogenes Laertius: Antisthenes, Aristotle, Xenocrates (a παραίνεσις), Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum, Monimus, Persaeus, Aristo of Chios, Cleanthes, Aristippus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Posidonius. From other sources we may add Themistius, Chamelion (Ath., IV, 184 D), Isocrates, Himerius (Ecl., 14. Or. 34), Galen, Iamblichus, Lesbonax, Aristo of Cus (?); Serapion has a βουλευτικός Ἀλεξανδρείας. The spurious Clitophon of Plato is called a προτετεκτικός in the title; the Euthydemos implies the frequency of protreptic speeches; Protagoras (Diog. Laert., IX, 55) has a προσακτικός (cf. p. 241 for Christ. Fathers). It is noticeable that many in this list are authors also of περὶ βασιλείας λόγοι.

One of the commonest forms which the habit of moralizing assumed was the διατριβή.² The διατριβή represents the last in the various degrees of approach between the dialogue and the

¹ Cf. also Menexenus, 246 A f., 248 D, and the moralizing of 247 D ff., and Lysias, ἐπιθέματι, 77 ff.


² For the character and history of the διατριβή cf. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, I, 128 ff.; Hirzel, Der Dialog, I, 309, and note 2; Susemihl, Greek Lit., I, 36, and note 105; Wilamowitz, Antigonus v. Karystos, Excursus 3; Ernesti, Lex.; Suidas; Walz, Rhet. Gr., III, 406; Bion and Teles in Stobaeus; and various handbooks. For its connection with Asinianism cf. also Rohde, Rh. Mus., XLI (1886), 179; Zeller, Epicureans and Stoics, p. 36; Hirzel, Der Dialog, II, 54, 120, et passim.
essay. Norden defines it as a dialogue changed into the form of a declaration—moral philosophy in the mantle of rhetoric. The declaimer takes the place of both persons, usually introducing his supposed opponent with ὑσι. Compare Quintil., IX, 2, 36 and 37, Est et iactus sine persona sermo, and the familiar use of “at” in Latin, e.g., Cic., De Leg. Man., 60, et passim. Susenich disregards the dialogue element, appealing to Hermogenes' definition (Sp. II, 429, 3 ff.): διατριβή ἐστι βραχέος διανοΗματος ἡμικόν ἐκτασις, ἴνα ἐμείη τὸ ἠθος τοῦ λέγοντος. He regards it as a brief, more or less unconstrained, essay on an ethical theme. Hirzel speaks of it as a treatise on a philosophical subject more literary in its character than the ordinary compositions of philosophers, and marking the decline of the dialogue spirit. Yet it is contemporaneous with the best types of the dialogue. The διατριβή frequently represents the abstract as personified and taking part in an argument. Bion the Borystenite is generally named as the originator, and Teles as the type, of this class of writings, though Norden recognizes an example of it in Demetrius of Phalerum (Stobaeus, I, p. 184, Meineke), and sees the free personification of abstracts already in Plato, Protag., 352 E ff., 361 A; Crito, 50 A ff., etc., and in Antisthenes as represented in Diog. Laert., VI, 9. Prodicus' famous "Choice of Heracles" (Xen., Mem., II, 1, 21 ff.), where Virtue and Vice present their claims in human form, goes still farther back; so, too, the personification of the just and unjust causes in the Clouds of Aristophanes.

In the allegorical introduction to Parmenides' poem, where Ἀλην opens the gates for him and the goddess Wisdom indicates the directions in which the diverging paths of truth and error lead, he presents the basis in which but a single detail need be changed to give us the "Heracles' Choice" or the argument in the Clouds; and so, I think, furnishes the real starting-point for Prodicus, Aristophanes, Antisthenes, Bion, and the long list of imitators. For the personification and vocalizing of inanimate objects compare Aesop's Fables.¹

¹The extensive fable literature of Greece, extending over so many centuries and so thoroughly identified with their life, could hardly be without
Bion the Borysthenite, 270 B.C., may have been the first to see in such compositions as the "Allegory" of Prodicus new possibilities for popular philosophy. Our knowledge of him comes not so much through the direct evidence of his writings as from Teles, Diogenes Laertius, Strabo, and stray items elsewhere. He was one of Teles' ideals, and we infer that he imitated as well as quoted him. The fragments (Stobaeus, I, p. 123, Meineke) show that Bion employed in his dialogues the device of personifying abstracts, e.g., πράγματα and πενία. The information from Strabo reaches an earlier date. In I, 2, 2, he quotes Eratosthenes as saying that Bion was the first to adorn philosophy with flowers (of rhetoric). Compare for the same Diog. Laert., IV, 52. He justifies this by saying that he used every style of speech. Diogenes Laertius (IV, 47) calls him a man πολύτροπος καὶ σοφίτης ποικίλος. He gave great opportunity for those who wished to trample down philosophy (IV, 52). He was ostentatious, given to employing the ridiculous, using invidious names for things; was fond of parody. Seneca (De Ben., VII, 7, 1) proves Bion's sophistc diffuseness. Diogenes Laertius, II, 77, is the only evidence for the title διατρηθή for his writings. Sussemlhl thinks that ἱπομνήματα (Diog. Laert., IV, 47) is synonymous with διατρῆβαι. But the term seems to be used in the colorless sense of "writings;" cf. Diog. Laert., VIII, 78, and elsewhere. In VII, 163, he seems to differentiate διατρῆβαι and ἱπομνήματα. Strabo, X, 5, 6, says that the oldest imitator of Bion was Aristo of Ceos, of whose oratorical tendency we have further evidence in Cic., De Fin., V, 5.

Its influence upon other forms of literature. Its most natural connection is with the διατρῆβαι and the προτερετικόν, and one may easily believe that the fable was one of the direct influences in the development of these two branches of literature. We have here animal life, and inanimate objects also, endowed with human speech, and always for the purpose of carrying some moral lesson. It is this moral element which must have influenced Socrates to choose the fables of Aesop when he turned prose into poetry during his last days in prison. Fables were much used in προτερετικά (p. 103, n. 1).

On Bion the chief sources are Teletis Reliquiae, O. Hense (1889, Prolegom.), and R. Heinze, De Hor. Bionis imitatore. Diss., Bonn (1889).
At about the same period lived Teles (cf. p. 236, n. 1), whose reputation, as well as the extant fragments, prove him of the same class, and, since Stobaeus has preserved several long fragments, he stands for us as the representative writer of the διατριβή for the third century B.C. With Teles a favorite method is to begin by quoting his opponent as a text; then to reply, using the second person singular, as though the opponent were present; compare Stobaeus, III, 200, init. In the average case the opponent appears at the beginning, and once farther on, e.g., in this case at 1.2, p. 202. Occasionally a regular dialogue of rapid question and answer is introduced, e.g., IV, p. 53; II, 66. The objector appears more frequently in II, 66 ff., e.g., p. 66, 16 and 29; 67, 26; 68, 3 and 27. In each case he is introduced by ἀλλά; compare “at” in Latin.

Munonius Rufus, a Stoic philosopher of the first century A.D., stands in the same relation to Epictetus as Bion, Strato, and Diogenes to Teles. Stobaeus, III, 3 ff., Meineke, is an excellent example of the Bion-Teles διατριβή, with the objector furnishing the text and introduced in support of his views several times later. He gradually grows more definite until at the end he is addressed as νεανική. In II, 70–75, he parallels Teles, in topic as well as in style. He addresses a man who grieves over exile. The opponent reappears at 70, 22, and again at 73, 19. Here and elsewhere we meet a characteristic feature of the διατριβή—the introduction of the objection in the form of a question asked rhetorically, e.g., IV, 70, 8; 219; II, 14, 8; III, 148, 27, etc. The argument and the line of thought are similar to those of Teles. The topic and treatment have become stereotyped, as in the case of more purely epideictic forms—IV, 162–164, presents nearly the features of an ordinary dialogue; so II, 336–340, where the opponent is formally introduced 338, 21—φαίη τις ἄν τσώ. Compare for the διατριβή also I, 154 ff., and I, 303 ff.

We meet the διατριβή again in Dion Chrysostomus, Epictetus, and Maximus Tyrius. Dion turned from rhetoric to philosophy, but retained much of the former in spite of his declaration (Or.

1 Cf. also Stobaeus, III, 211, init., and 213, 1, 4; III, pp. 177 and 187.
VIII. pp. 144, 145, Dind.) that he is a physician for the morally sick. Diogenes and Socrates are his ideals in philosophy, Alexander among men of the world, and Homer among poets. A large proportion of his writings assume the dialogue form. Here he has all varieties, from the formal dialogue to the διατριβη. Hirzel (l. c., II, p. 117) makes the distinctive feature of his διατριβαι lie in their origin. Other διατριβαι are historical, in the sense that they go back to actual speeches or conversations; Dion's have only a literary origin and purpose. He also notes their variety — narrative, dramatic, instructive, hortatory. We may observe also that in Dion Chrysostomus the διατριβη takes the final step in its departure from the formal dialogue. Oration 27 bears the title διατριβη, but presents no suggestion of a dialogue. The same is true of Or. 12, the 'Θυμησιακος, which he refers to (I, 221, 5, Dind.) as a φιλόσοφος διατριβη. This is a genuine oration, or, perhaps more properly, a διμοσια (see p. 167). In the more formal dialogues like Or. 21, 25, 30, etc., there is no identification of the opponent. Occasionally, as Or. 15, he begins by saying that he met some men discussing, etc. In 28 it is question and answer with a bystander. As a sample διατριβη, both in topic and treatment, one may take Or. 14. The opponent enters with the words φαευν αυ (I, 253, 9), and his presence is assumed by the use of the verb in the second person singular 254, 11 and 13; 254, 23 has φησοντα. At 255, 6 the objector is introduced by ἀλλα; so 255, 12; 257, 29. At 255, 19 there is no introductory word; so at 256, 1; 256, 8; 257, 12. The last half of page 256 is a quick interchange of brief question and monosyllabic answer on the part of the opponent. The speaker's replies are introduced by τι δε (254, 31), τι δε (255, 14; 256, 3; 259, 8; 257, 15). Of similar style are Or. 16, 66, 71. Oration 74 begins with a brief formal dialogue and then becomes a διατριβη. At 257, 26 an imagined opponent enters (ἐρει τι); cf. also 257, 28; 258, 31; 259, 32; 264, 27. There are weak traces of the διατριβη in Or. 18 and 62. The διατριβαι of Epictetus are equally free from any characterization of the opponent. But they contain far more dialogue than any extant διατριβαι which
precede him. The opponent is apt to put his thought in the form of a question, and in general seems introduced merely as a guide in the line of argument. In some cases he starts, like Teles, with a remark of the opponent as a text, and he reappears later in its defense. I, chaps. 1 and 2, are fair samples of his διατριβὴ; I, 25 has much dialogue; I, 23 has almost none; so II, 23. In III, 7 the objector is defined as an Epicurean governor. Many of his διατριβαι begin: "When a person asked him . . . ." The διατριβὴ was also employed among the Romans in poetic form. Compare the Satires of Horace and those of Perseus (e. g., Sat. 1).

The dissertations of Maximus Tyrius stand under the title διαλέκτους, but they present many features of the διατριβῆ. In some, e. g., 37, the speakers are named or characterized. In other cases one dissertation presents an argument on one side of a question, and the succeeding one on the other side, e. g., 21, 22, where the active and the contemplative life plead their causes, Prodicus-like, before a judge. A similar strife-element is found in 36, where he supposes the men to engage in an argument with the discourse acting as arbiter, and ends with a series of questions and answers which form a sort of dialogue. As we shall see, the practice of philosophers to take the words of a master as a text (cf. Christian Sermons, p. 241), and discourse upon it, has in it the suggestion of the διατριβῆ. Maximus Tyrius, in 33, seems to take part of a student's essay as his theme. Like Dion, Maximus Tyrius went from rhetoric to philosophy, but he is a far more open supporter of the ornate style. In his poetic qualities, his fondness for quotations from Homer and the lyric and dramatic poets, his pure enthusiasm for λόγος, he reminds one of Himerius. Compare Diss., VI, 1; XXVIII, 2, 3; XXXII, init. Elegant discourse is like the melody of music at a feast (XXVIII, init.). Mere delight is not the sole aim of eloquence; knowledge is its basis; it is formed by philosophical discourse; yet its absence mars, as the omission of a part in a musical harmony (XXXI, 7). Philosophy he defines as the accurate science of divine and human concerns (cf. Chrysippus, p. 226), that which supplies
virtue, beautiful reasonings, the harmony of life, beautiful pursuits. Homer, the leader of philosophers, used verse, a style acceptable to all; Plato, prose in a form equally pleasing (XXXII, 1 f.). He identifies poetry and philosophy (X, 1). Like Dion, he makes its aim guidance to right living (VII, 8). He is a combination of the epideictic orator, the poet, and the philosopher.

A connection may be readily seen between Christian sermons and the προτρητικά, διατριβή, and other epideictic forms

In the years immediately following the crucifixion of Christ his teachings were spread abroad for the most part by uneducated men. But whether untrained, or, like the apostle Paul, fully equipped with the erudition of the Greeks, the preacher’s work in these early years lay outside the bounds of Greek rhetoric. Their task was little more than to tell the story of Christ’s life. As Christianity spread among all classes it reached many who had been educated in the Greek schools of philosophy and rhetoric. Almost without exception, beginning with the second century, men of any prominence in the church had their training in these schools. The following are among the more noted of those who had special rhetorical training in early life: Augustine, John Chrysostomus, Eusebius, Theodoretus, Jerome, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, Ambrose, Sulpitius, Severus, Gregory Nazianzenus, Apion, Cyprian, Ennodius, Paulinus, Joannes Damascenus, George Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Sidonius, Pardus of Corinth, Tatian, Justin Martyr, Athenagorus, Arnobius, Anabolius, Clement.

In the meantime great changes were taking place in the form of preaching. Permanent churches were organized. Something more than the simple narration and exposition of the earlier years was needed. More extended teaching and exhortation were added. Preaching became self-conscious. Such developments are seldom independent of the past. Inevitably the Christian sermonizers acquainted, as all the more prominent among them were, with Greek rhetoric, and many of them actively engaged in it before their conversion, would shape their discourse
in form and method by the analogy of pre-existing models, and these were Greek. "The sermon could not have passed so quickly from simplicity to artificiality without Hellenic learning" (Harnack).

Doubtless most, if not all, of the highly differentiated rhetorical forms had their influence upon Christian compositions, but some far more than others. The sermon assumed, almost at the very beginning, the epideictic character which is still so marked a feature of it. Compare Hatch, Hibbert Lectures (1888), p. 114. The Christian sermon was a special manifestation of the moralizing tendency which was not confined to Christian times or any nationality. It characterized, to some extent, every period of Greek literature. It is seen in Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar, and at the same time in the extensive body of fable literature (cf. p. 235, n.). After Socrates turned the direction of philosophy from an investigation of the physical universe to that of man and morals, philosophy became the natural form for this tendency to take. It was developed along the line of popular sermonizing until, as Wilamowitz aptly says, we have in Teles and his class the direct forerunners of the Christian preacher. Another direct antecedent of the sermon is the allegorical treatment of myths (cf. p. 235, n. 1) and authors. This began with allegorical interpretation of Homer. It became a literary habit. After philosophy ceased to be originally productive, the energy of the philosopher was expended in interpretation of the words of his master. The Christian preacher adopted this method.

Many epideictic forms were adopted and made to serve the purposes of the church. One of the earliest and most conspicuous of the forms transferred from Greek to Christian uses was the προτερπτικάς exhortatio. For discussion of this important type see pp. 229 ff.

The hortatory address was an essential of the Christian service, and was naturally affected by the similar address among

1 Compare Leipziger Studien, X, pp. 200 ff., for a like claim for Diogenes of Sinope.
the Greeks. The earliest of the Christian preachers to carry
the methods of the school into the church, so far as known, was
Origen (born 185 A.D.). Gregory Thaumaturgus in his fare-
well address to Origen, chap. 13, says that all the pagan poets
and philosophers were read in Origen’s school, and that he ed-
cated his pupils in the Platonic virtues—justice, prudence, tem-
perance, fortitude. Hortatory addresses were delivered by many
of those most prominent in church history, e.g., Ambrose,
Anianus, Chrysostomus, Clement, Cyprian, Ennodius, Eucherius,
Hippolytus, Isidore, Justin Martyr, Origen, Tatian, Tertullian,
etc., and, for more modern times, Melanchthon, Adhortatio ad
Christianae Doctrinae per Paulum proditae Studium.

Other epideictic forms besides the προτρητικοὶ reappear in
Christian guise. The panegyric address is the most frequent,
coming in the form of a βασιλικὸς λόγος, or simple encomium.
Compare Socrates Ecclesiasticus, Ch. Hist., VII, 22, a βασιλικὸς
λόγος on Theodosius; Synclaus, Encomium Sanctorum Dei Arch-
angelorum et Angelorum Omniumque Coelestium Potestatum;
Ennodius, Panegyric to Theodoric; Sozomenus’ introd. to Eccl.
Hist. is a βασιλικὸς λόγος on Theodosius. Lives of the saints
may be classed here, e.g., Eusebius’ Life of Constantine. This
began in true epideictic style with a profession of inadequacy
(chap. i, 2, 10); praise of his ancestors (chap. ix, 13, 18); praise
of children (l. c., 18); his deeds in war and peace (l. c., 19;
chap. iv, 19, 64); his death, his honors, the universal sorrow
(chap. iv, 64–71); he surpassed all others (chap. xv, 74); he is
compared with Cyrus, Alexander, Moses—the standard epideictic
comparisons plus the biblical. Other lives along similar lines
are too numerous to mention. The character of the authors and
their number may be judged from the following names: Eusebius,
Athenasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Sulpitius, Severus. Eulo-
gies were written by almost every church father. Several have
a περὶ βασιλεῖας, e.g., Justin Martyr, or Anon. περὶ μοναρχίας, or,
as the title more properly should read, περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας;
Synesius; Joannes Argyropoulus has a homily, De Imperio ad
Constantinum Palaeologum.
EPIDEICTIC LITERATURE

The προσφανετικός is practically a variant of the βασιλικός λόγος (see pp. 138 ff.); cf. such orations by Gregory Thaumaturgus, Theodorus Prodromus (in verse), Theophilus.

Panegyric addresses delivered at a πανήγυρις were common, e.g., Eusebius on the dedication of a church or the inaugural speech of Gregory of Nyssa. Compare, earlier, the oration of Polemon on the dedication of the temple at Athens, 135 B. C., and, in the sixth century, Procopius’ panegyrical addresses on the dedication of buildings.

Perhaps the most complete transference is seen in the funeral oration. The επιτάφιοι of Gregory Nazianzenus are the most brilliant examples. They closely reproduce the τόποι of the ancient Greek; cf. Menander’s rules, p. 148. In the funeral oration over Caesarius he professes no display; frequently proclaims his inadequacy to do justice to the subject; refers to the law of the Old Testament in obedience to which the memory of the dead is eulogized; praise of the parents; comparison of father to Moses; praise of mother; pretended omission of physical charms; story of his life.

The παραμυθητικός (chap. xviii) has the usual τόποι: admonition not to mourn, but to emulate; pictures him in heaven. In the oration at the funeral of his sister Gorgonia he says (sec. 8): Praise of her country and family I leave to another more scrupulous than I in adhering to the rules of eulogy, nor will he lack many fair topics. For my part I will only conform to such rules so far as to allude to our common parents. Compare a like reference to the laws of panegyric in the funeral oration over his father, sec. 5. There are some seventeen other speeches of like character reported. Cf. also Joannes Argyropolis (1453 A. D.), a Consolatio ad Imperatorem Constantium in morte fratris Joannis Palaeologi; also a monodia, and one by Joannes Bessarion.

Other forms occur as follows: συντακτικός by Gregory Thaumaturgus on leaving Origen’s school, by Gregory Nazianzenus on leaving Constantinople, by Chrysostomus; παράδοξα ἐγκώμια, Synesius’ encomium calviti; compare also speeches in praise
of martyrdom, Gregory of Cyprus, encomium maris; ἑνεκληκός λόγος, Nicetas Paphlago, Oratio in Nativitatem S. Mariae, and birth-day poems by Paulinus. Sidonius has a Propempticon ad Libellum. Ambassador’s speeches were delivered by Chrysolorus, Ennodius, Georgius Acropolita, Chummus, and many others. Κλητικός λόγος: Eusebius’ inaugural address to Constantine ends with one. In the scholia to Aphthonius (Walz, Rhet. Gr., II, 606) there is an illustration of the παρασκευή under the title παρασκευή χριστιανική, ταῖς ἀλληγορίαις ἐκτασὶ ἀκολουθοῦσ. The homily often took the form of a λαλιά, and like it was susceptible of great variety. Even the tendency to treat prose under poetic names is seen among Christian writers, e. g., Eusebius’ inaugural address is called a “thanksgiving hymn,” and his Vicennalia an εἰκοσαετηρικὸς ὄμοιος (pref. to V. Const.). Gregory of Nyssa calls his funeral oration over Meletus a funeral dirge. Joannes Damascenus and others have prose ὄμοιοι (cf. p. 174). Augustine’s City of God is sometimes styled a “prose epic.” Compare also the hymns of the Eastern church in rhythmical prose, from the time of Anatotolius. Norden (Antike Kunstprosa, II, 556) points out the διατριβή in the writings of St. Paul and in Barnabas’ letter. Chrysostomus and other church fathers employ it. The stylistic letter is a form used very extensively by almost all of the church fathers. They fall into much the same oratorical lines as among the Greeks. Even the treatises like Augustine’s De Patiendia, De Amicitia, and Apollinaris’ De Fide, Tertullian’s De Fuga, Basil’s homilies on “Envy,” “Anger,” etc., have their Greek forerunners in similar topics from Aristotle on (see p. 248), e. g., Clinias, περὶ ὀρθήτητος καὶ εὐσεβίας; Hierax, περὶ δικαιοσύνης; Metopus, περὶ ἀρετῆς, etc.

A great variety of themes lay within the province of epideictic oratory, even in the earliest times. Theory seemed to limit its sphere to mere praise and blame, but in practice Gorgias already in its infancy had gone beyond the ordinary confines of these words. Isocrates still further broadened its scope and made its limitation to oratory in a strict sense a mere fiction. The Sophists helped in other ways to the same result. Thus themes
of general import, such as have formed the occasion for literary activity during the succeeding centuries to the present day, early became a part of epideictic literature. Many forms and themes were then included under the term "oratory" (this comprehensive use existed still in the time of Menander, see p. 93), which we with our more minute differentiation regard as fully co-ordinate. It is in keeping with this that originally all forms of literature, whether oratory, poetry, history, or philosophy, had oral delivery in view as the means of reaching the public. While the characteristics of other divisions are clearly discernible in the epideictic branch, the correlative of this is more conspicuously true. The epideictic division had a very marked and far-reaching influence both in theme and style upon the general character of other forms of oratory, and upon literature as a whole. It is no great exaggeration to say of it in general, what in strict accuracy may be claimed for it stylistically, that it is the parent of modern prose literature, aside from distinctively court or assembly oratory. Isocrates is a proof along both lines. His influence in favor of variety of theme has already been referred to (see p. 100). Stylistically it was even greater. He trained, not only orators, but other literary men and statesmen. "He founded a style of Greek literary prose which from about 350 B. C. became the standard one for general use" (Jebb). Cicero, whose influence over modern prose has been most direct, adopted him as a model, and so Isocrates, the epideictic orator, comes to have a prevailing influence even over prose style in the present day. While not consciously dependent upon Isocrates or inspired by the epideictic spirit of the Greeks, a surprisingly large proportion of mediaeval and modern literature may be classed with that department. It represents to a marked degree both the theme and the style. A good idea of the extent and variety of this literature in modern times may be gained from Sears' *The Occasional Address*. On p. 44 and elsewhere he refers to its natural themes. For example, the commemoration of great events; addresses on the installation of great enterprises, the building of new institutions, on inaugural,
memorial, and holiday occasions; expository addresses interpreting the topics of the hour; lectures on literary or social questions; commencement and after-dinner speeches; eulogies upon those in public or private life, or over the dead; and topics like these.

Equally noticeable with the importance and frequency of these themes are the number and the character of the orators who have chosen them. In our own country many of the greatest men have devoted themselves in whole or in part to this branch of public speaking. Among the number no name is more conspicuous than that of Edward Everett, by many regarded as the most perfect orator of the century just ended. This most Hellenic of modern public speakers, throughout his long and noteworthy career as an orator, devoted himself almost wholly to themes which must be classed as epideictic. His oration on Washington presents one of the most perfect compositions in the history of this most conspicuous form—the eulogy. Many others, whose chief activities were in court speeches or in the discussion of state questions, have won even greater distinction in orations clearly belonging to the epideictic branch. Robert Winthrop, Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, are notable names.

Plato was the earliest prose example of a literary man in the modern meaning of the term. His themes came from philosophy, but his style is epideictic in the best and highest sense. It is in connection with topics belonging more or less fully to the domain of philosophy, but treated epideictically, that a line of indebtedness between modern prose and the ancient epideictic forms is most easily traced (see p. 228). In addition to the περὶ βασιλείας, the προτρεπτικός, the παραμυθητικός, and other forms in which the protreptic element early entered in direct combination with the epideictic, there were other treatises upon abstract themes—glory, freedom, sorrow, exile, happiness, truth, the soul, riches, justice, holiness, the honorable, on how to live well, on the fitting, etc., etc.—beginning with Antisthenes and Aristotle, and lasting through the history of
Greek philosophy. These were more or less epideictic according to the character of the philosopher. The astonishing number and variety of these discourses may be seen from Diogenes Laertius or from Susenmühl's *Greek Literature*. We may take as examples a few of the themes most frequently chosen, followed by the names of some of the notable philosophers who employed them: Virtue, περὶ ἀρετῆς, is a favorite theme. Among others it was formally treated by Aeschines, Aristippus, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Demetrius of Byzantium, Diogenes of Sinope, Dion Chrysostomus, Plato (the *Meno*), Plutarch, Posidonius, Protagoras, Simon, Theophrastus, Xenocrates. Justice, περὶ δικαιοσύνης, was treated by Antisthenes, Aristotle, Chrysippus. Demetrius Phalereus, Epicurus, Heraclides, Plato (the *Republic*), Simon, Speusippus, Sphaerus, Strato, Xenocrates; pleasure, περὶ ἡδονῆς, by Antisthenes, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Dionysius the Deserter, Heraclides, Sphaerus, Speusippus, Strato, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; friendship, περὶ φιλίας, by Aristotle, Chrysippus, Cleanthes, Plato (the *Lysis*), Plutarch, Simias, Sphaerus, Speusippus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; the soul, περὶ ψυχῆς, by Aristotle, Heraclides, Numenius, Plato (the *Phaedo*), Posidonius, Pythagoras, Simias, Speusippus, Tertullian, Xenocrates; riches, περὶ πλούτου, by Aeschines, Aristotle, Dionysius the Deserter, Diogenes of Sinope, Dion Chrysostomus, Libanius, Sphaerus, Speusippus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; piety, περὶ ὀμορφίων, Antisthenes (ἀσέβεια), Apollinaris of Hierapolis (ἐνεσεβεία), Epicurus, Eusebius, Heraclides, Persaeus (ἀσέβεια), Peter of Alexandria, Philodemus (ἐνεσεβεία), Pythagoras, Theophrastus, Xenocrates; love, περὶ ἀγάπης, by Aristo of Chios, Cleanthes. Demetrius Phalereus, Diogenes of Sinope, Epicurus, Persaeus, Simias, Simon, Sphaerus, Theophrastus.

The topics as well as the thoughts of the Greek writers were reproduced in Cicero, "the great translator of Greek culture," and through him chiefly to modern times. At the Revival of Learning his influence was the most immediate and powerful in determining the topics and forms of literature. To the study of
Cicero, as the continuer of Greek culture, we are most directly indebted for these and kindred themes, where pure love of literature enters as a chief motive. These, together with those epideictic in its stricter sense, form the antecedents of modern prose literature. This comprehensive indebtedness of later centuries to the epideictic branch of Greek literature helps to establish for it a most honorable history.
EPIDEICTIC WRITERS.1

Aedriaea. 150 A.D. Rhetorician. Eastern Rhetorician. The Loves of Leucippe and Clitophon.
Aristides of Miletus. First century(?). B.C. Author of a romance—Milesiaca.
Aristippus. 400 B.C. Philosopher. Πρωτερρητικὸς λόγος.
Aristotle. 350 B.C. Philosopher. Πρωτερρητικὸς λόγος; Ἁριστείας; encomia.
Aeliphanes. 170 (?). A.D. Epistles. His letters are character sketches in rhetorical style.
Ambrosius. 380 A.D. Ecclesiast. Funeral Oration over Valentine, and one over Theodosius.
Anaximenes. 330 B.C. Rhetorical historian and orator. Famous for extemporaneous speeches. Βασιλεῖας καταλεγόν.
Anaximenes. 370 B.C. Philosopher. Wrote rhetorical declamations; Περὶ βασιλεῖας.
Apollonius. 30 A.D. Grammarian. Encomium on Alexander the Great; orations for display.

1 This list of epideictic writers does not claim to be exhaustive. The names are selected from those met here and there in my reading in connection with this theme, and the result is intended to be suggestive rather than comprehensive. Some writers are included here on account of some single epideictic composition, although their writings as a whole are far removed from this class; and, on the other hand, in the case of those who devoted themselves exclusively to this branch of literature, only one or two of their works have been named. Many additional names might be obtained from such sources as Susemihl, Griechische Litt., and Krummacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur. There is also a large class of epideictic performers mentioned in the inscriptions (e.g., in the records of the βασιλεῖας μνημονίου) which I omit in toto. See Inscr. Graec. Sept. (Dittenberger), 418, 419, and elsewhere. Cf. also Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. агони.
Carneades. 150 B.C. *Philosopher* and *orator*. Speeches marked by epideictic qualities.


Cephalus. 400 B.C. *Orator*. Encomium on Laís.


Chariton. Fourth century A.D. Author of a romance—Chaereas and Callirrhoe.

Choricius of Gaza. 520 A.D. *Rhetorician* and *sophist*. Funeral orations; panegyrics; and other forms of epideictic composition.


Chrysolorus of Thessalonica. 1300 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium in S. Demetrium Martyrom.

Chrysostomus, John. 400 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Laudation of Theodosius and other panegyrical orations; occasional addresses.


Cleantes. 270 B.C. *Philosopher*. Περὶ βασιλείας; Προτεστνικός λόγος; Διατριβαί.


Damascius. Fifth century A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Funeral Oration over Aesdesia.

Demetrius Phalerius. 300 B.C. *Orator, philosopher*. Προτεστνικός λόγοι; speeches as ambassador and on other public occasions.

Demosthenes. 350 B.C. *Orator*. 'Επιστάφιος; 'Ερωτικά (?).


Dion Chrysostomus. End of first century A.D. *Orator*. Περὶ βασιλείας; and other epideictic speeches in great variety.

Diophantus. 300 A.D. *Sophist*. Funeral Oration over Proaesius.


Epicurus. 300 B.C. *Philosopher*. Περὶ βασιλείας; Προτεστνικός λόγοι.

Epiphanius of Petra. 365 A.D. *Sophist* and *rhetorician*. Λόγοι ἐπιδεικτικοί; Μελέται.

Eunapius. 400 A.D. *Sophist* and *historian*. Lives of the Sophists.


Eusebius. 300 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Παραγραφίς addressed to Paulinus of Tyre; one to Constantine.


Evodianus. Second century A.D. *Sophist*. Especially distinguished as a panegyrical orator.

Favorinus. 130 A.D. *Philosopher*. A Roman who wrote in Greek, rival of Polemon, style epideictic. Encomium of Theristis; Praise of Quartan Fever; Περὶ γήρως.


Genethlius. 270 A.D. *Rhetorician*. Declamations and panegyrics.

Georgius (Gregorius) of Cyprus. Thirteenth century A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Ἐγκώμως εἰς τὴν ἰδιωτικήν; Encomium on St. George of Cappadocia, and other panegyrics.

Georgius Pisida. 600 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Encomium in Sanctum Anastasium Martyrum (prose); also several poetic encomia.

Gorgias. 427 B.C. *Sophist*. Thoroughly epideictic. *Eutardchos*; Olympiacaus; Encomium on Helen (?).

Gorgias of Athens. 50 B.C. *Rhetorician*. Declaimations.

Gregorius Nazianzenus. 370 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric on Cæsarius; several funeral orations; occasional addresses.

Gregorius Nyssenus. 370 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Funeral orations over Meletius and others; panegyric orations.

Gregorius Thaumaturgus. 250 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyric on Origen.

Gryllus. 360 B.C. *Soldier*. Encomium on Isocrates. Was himself the subject of many panegyrics.


Heliodorus. 380 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. A romance—*Aethiopica*.


Herodes Atticus. 140 A.D. *Philosopher* and orator. Funeral oration over Secundus of Athens; *Δειλίθα*; extemporaneous speeches.

Himerius. 350 A.D. *Orator*. Thoroughly epideictic. Epithalamium ad Severum (prose); *Δειλίθα*; *Μονελίθα*; *Προσετεμπορι*; etc.

Hippias of Elis. 400 B.C. *Sophist*. Wrote show speeches, especially on antiquarian and mythological themes; Olympiaca (Philost., *V. Soph.*, I, 11; Lucian, *Herod.*, chap. 3).

Hippolytus. Third century A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Πρὸς Σεβαστομαν.*


Iamblichus of Chalcis. 300 A.D. *Philosopher*. Πρὸς Σεβαστομαν.*


Ion. 450 B.C. *Poet* and *prose writer*. *Πρὸς Σεβαστομαν.* (authorship questioned). His *Σωτηρία* contained praise of great men, e. g., Cimon (*Plut., Life of Cimon*, V, 9, 16).

Isocrates. 400 B.C. *Orator* and *rhetorician*. Thoroughly epideictic. Encomium on Helen; on Busiris; *Panatheniacus*; *Eurigoras*; *Panegyricus*.

Isocrates of Apollonia. 330 B.C. *Orator*. Funeral oration in honor of Maussullus.

Joannes Argyropulus. 1450 A.D. *Teacher*. Consolatio ad Imperatorum Constantinius in morte fratis Joannis Palaeologi; *Monodia* in obitum Imperatoris Joannis Palaeologi; *Homilia de Imperio* (*πρὸς Βασιλευσ*).


Joannes Damascenus. 700 A.D. *Ecclesiastic*. Panegyrical orations; *prose hymnasa*.


Julian. 300 A.D. *Emperor* and *author*. *Πρὸς Βασιλευσ*; *Βασιλευσ*.
Studies in Classical Philology

Lgou; Encomium ad Eusebiam; prose hymns.
Justin Martyr. 140 A.D. Ecclesiastic and philosopher. Lγου παρατητικός (authorship disputed); Peri mounarchias (authorship disputed).
Lachares. Fifth century A.D. Rhetorician. Δαμής.
Lesbonax. First century A.D. Philosopher and sophist. Peri semeiōs Lγou; Melitas ρητορικά; Ὁρομελικὴ ιματισμοῦ.
Libanius. 350 A.D. Sophist and rhetorician. Thoroughly epideictic. Ἐγκώμια; Μελέται; Μανθίδη; Προφητευμάτων παραδίγματα.
Lydia. 415 B.C. Orator. Ὅλοντες ἐγκώμια; Ἐγκώμια ἐν τῷ Προθαλασσίῳ; Peri semeiōs Lγου in Plato's Phaedrus: 230 E-234 C, as genuine.
Manuel II. Palaeologus. 1400 A.D. Emperor. Αὐτοκράτορι Πατριάρχα Νεοτέλειας τοις γιοι.
Matuia of Thebes. Date? Rhetorician. Encomium on Heracles (Athen., X, 412, b).
Menander. 275 A.D. Rhetorician. Prose hymn to Apollo.
Michael Apostolius. 1430 A.D. Teacher. Panegyric on Frederic III.; Funeral Oration over Bes-
Oribasius. 360 A.D. Medical writer.

Orig. 230 A.D. Ecclesiastic. Ἐν μαρτύριον προτετευχὲς λόγος.

Orion of Alexandria. 120 A.D. Grammarian. Panegyric on Hadrian.


Palladius of Methone. 320 A.D. Sophist. Διάλεξις; Δόγμα διάφοραὶ — δηλωματικῆς, παραφροσύνης, διακριτῆς.

Parthenius. 30 B.C. (?) Poet. Περὶ ἀρμονικῶν παθημάτων (prose); Ἀρχής έγκώμων (perhaps poetic); Προτέτευχος (perhaps poetical).

Paulus of Tyre. 120 A.D. Sophist. Μελέται; Προγομιστικά.


Pericles. 440 B.C. Statesman. Ἐννιάφοροι.

Perseus Cittius. 260 B.C. Philosopher. Περὶ βασιλείας; Προτετευχὲς; Διαγραφὴ; Χρήσι.

Philiscus of Miletus. 390 B.C. Orator. Encomiastic Life of Lycurgus, the orator.


Philostratus. 240 A.D. Sophist. Εἰλόνες; Ἱστορία; biography.

Philostratus the Lemnian. Third century A.D. Rhetorician. Εἰλόνες; Παναθηναϊκὸς λόγος; Τρωακὸς λόγος; Μελέται.

Plato. 380 B.C. Philosopher. Mene¬nus, a funeral oration; many epideictic passages elsewhere.

Plutarch. First century A.D. Biogra¬pher. Biography; essays; his περὶ τῆς Αλεξάνδρου τέχνης is a eulogy.


Pollux. 185 A.D. Sophist and grammarian. Διάλεξεὶ ήτοι λαλιῶ; Μελέται; Ἐνεκϊομος λόγος; a panegyric on Rome.


Polycrates. 400 B.C. Sophist and rhetorician. Παράδοξα έγκώμια; Ενεκϊομοι Θεσσαλόβοι; and other encomia.

Poseidonius. First century B.C. Philosopher. Προτετευχὲς.

Potamon of Mytilene. First century B.C. A. D. Rhetorician. Βροδων έγκώμιοι.

Proserpinius. 310 A.D. Teacher of rhetoric. Eulogy on Rome.

Procopius. 540 A.D. Historian. Κρήναμα—a eulogy on buildings erected during the reign of Justinian.

Prodicus. Fifth century B.C. Sophist. Orations for display (Lucian, Herod, chap. 3); The¬mistius (XXX, 349) implies a panegyric on agriculture; Ώραι (Xen., Mem., II, 1, 21).

Protagoras. Fifth century B.C. Sophist. Speeches for display. Diogenes Laertius (IX, 8, 3) refers to epideictic characteristics.

Psellus (Michael Constantinus). Eleventh century A.D. Teacher. Προσβελτίκις λόγος; Μορφια; En¬comium in Metaphrastem Do¬minum Symeonem.

Secundus of Athens. 120 A.D. Sophist. Μελέται βιογραφία.

Seraphon of Alexandria. 120 A.D. Sophist. Παραφροσύνη την Αρμανίς τής βασιλεί; Βουλαντικὰς Ἀλεξανδρείων.

Severus Rhetor. 470 A.D. Rheto¬rician. Ἡθολογία; Διάφαμα (Walz, Rhet. Gr., I, 537, 539).
Sphærus. 250 B. C. Philosopher. Περὶ βασιλέας; Διαμορφαί.
Strato. 290 B. C. Philosopher. Περὶ βασιλέας.
Synesius (Michael). 820 A. D. Ecclesiastic. Encomia Dionysii Areopagitiæ, and other encomia; Περὶ βασιλέας.
Synesius. 410 A. D. Ecclesiastic. Περὶ βασιλέας; panegyrical orations; Encomium on Baldness.
Themistius. 340 A. D. Orator. Many panegyrical orations; Προσβεντικόν; etc.
Theodectes. 350 B. C. Rhetorician. Funeral Oration over Maussollius.
Theodectes, son of the preceding. 320 B. C. Rhetorician. Encomium on Alexander the Epriot.
Theodorus Hyrtacenus. 1320 A. D. Teacher. Panegyrics; funeral orations; prose hymns.
Theodorus Studita. 790 A. D. Ecclesiastic. Ἐνιαύθα; Ἡγείωμα.
Theon (Aelius). Date uncertain. Rhetorician. Προγυμνάσματα.
Theophilus of Alexandria. 400 A. D. Ecclesiastic. Ἑκκλησία.
Theophrastus. 330 B. C. Philosopher. Προσφυγμονά; Περὶ βασιλέας.
Theophylactus. 1050 A. D. Archbishop of Bulgaria. Περὶ βασιλέας to Constantinus Porphyrogennetus; Panegyric on Comnenus.
Theopompos. 350 B. C. Historian and orator. Encomium on Philip and Alexander; panegyrical orations; Funeral Oration over Maussollius.
Thomas Magister. 1300 A. D. Rhetorician. Encomiastic and occasional addresses; Περὶ βασιλέας; Προσβεντικὸς λόγος.
Thrasymachus. 400 B. C. Sophist. Παλύνα; 'Αφορμαί ἡττομάκι; Ποιητικός; Ὀλυμπιάνας; Ἐνιαύθα.
Xenocrates of Chalcedon. 350 B. C. Philosopher. Ἐνιαύθα over Ariinoς; Ἐπαινείμενος.
Xenophon. 380 B. C. Historian. Agesilaus—a panegyrical work.
Zoilus. Date uncertain. Grammarians. Τεσσάρων ἔγκυμον; Encomium on Polyphemus.
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ERRATA.

P. 148, l. 13, add (2) before ‘‘θρήνος’’ and (3) before ‘‘παραμυθία.’’
P. 234, l. 12, for ‘‘Chamelion’’ read Chamaeleon.
P. 239, l. 11, for ‘‘Perseus’’ read Persius.
P. 240, l. 25, for ‘‘George’’ read Gregorius.