

ALCIDAMAS
THE WORKS & FRAGMENTS

Edited with Introduction,
Translation and Commentary by
J.V. MUIR



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ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΠΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΩΝ

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ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

(1) ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν καλουμένων σοφιστῶν ἱστορίας μὲν καὶ παιδείας ἡμελήκασι καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἀπείρως ἔχουσι, γράφειν δὲ μεμελετηκότεσ λόγους καὶ διὰ βιβλίων δεικνύντες τὴν αὐτῶν σοφίαν σεμνύονται καὶ μέγα φρονοῦσι, καὶ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῆς ῥητορικῆς κεκτημένοι δυνάμεωσ ὅλης τῆς τέχνης ἀμφισβητοῦσι, διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιχειρήσω κατηγορίαν ποιήσασθαι τῶν γραπτῶν λόγων, (2) οὐχ ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἠγούμενοσ, ἀλλ' ὡσ ἐφ' ἑτέροισ μειζον φρονῶν καὶ τὸ γράφειν ἐν παρέργῳ τοῦ < λέγειν > μελετᾶν οἰόμενοσ χρήναι, καὶ τοὺσ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸν βίον καταναλίσκοντασ ἀπολελεῖφθαι πολὺ καὶ ῥητορικῆσ καὶ φιλοσοφίασ ὑπειληφῶσ, καὶ πολὺ δικαιότερον ἂν ποιητᾶσ ἢ σοφιστᾶσ προσαγορευέσθαι νομίζων. (3) πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἂν τισ καταφρονήσειε τοῦ γράφειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶν εὐεπίθετον καὶ ῥάδιον καὶ τῇ τυχούσῃ φύσει πρόχειρον. εἰπεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα περὶ τοῦ παρατυχόντοσ ἐπιεικῶσ, καὶ ταχεῖα χρῆσασθαι τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐπορία, καὶ τῷ καιρῷ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ταῖσ ἐπιθυμίαισ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐστόχωσ ἀκολουθῆσαι καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα λόγον εἰπεῖν, οὔτε φύσεωσ ἀπάσῃσ οὔτε παιδείασ τῆσ τυχούσῃσ ἐστίν· (4) ἐν πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ γράψαι καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἐπ' ἀνορθῶσαι, καὶ παραθέμενον τὰ τῶν προγεγονότων σοφιστῶν συγγράμματα πολλαχόθεν εἰσ ταῦτόν ἐνθυμήματα

On those who write written speeches

or

On sophists

(1) Since some of those who are called sophists have neglected an enquiring approach and training and have no more experience of being able to make speeches than ordinary people, but, having practised the writing of speeches and demonstrating their cleverness through texts, give themselves airs and think much of themselves, and, having acquired a very small part of an orator's ability, lay claim to the art as a whole, this is the reason for my setting out to make a case against written speeches, (2) not because I believe that the ability these people have is foreign to me, but because I pride myself more on other grounds, and think that writing ought to be a by-product of the practice of making speeches, and suppose that those who spend their lives on this particular skill have serious shortcomings in both oratorical skill and in philosophy, and consider that they would much more justly be described as script-writers than as sophists.

(3) First, then, one would look down on writing from this point of view, that it is easy to acquire and simple and readily available to the natural disposition of anyone who happens to want it. For speaking on the spot in a fitting way about whatever presents itself, and employing a swift richness of argument and vocabulary, and following with a sure track the critical moment in affairs and people's inclinations, and using appropriate language is not a universal natural gift nor does it come from just any sort of training. (4) To take a long time over writing, to correct at leisure, to marshal the collected writings of past sophists and bring together ideas from many sources into the same work,

συναγεῖραι καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὰς τῶν εὖ λεγομένων ἐπιτυχίας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν συμβουλίας ἐπανορθώσασθαι, τὰ δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλάκις ἐπισκεψάμενον ἀνακαθῆραι καὶ μεταγράψαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις ῥάδιον πέφυκεν.

(5) ἔστι δ' ἅπαντα τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ σπάνια καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ διὰ πόνων εἰσθότα γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ φαῦλα ῥαδίαν ἔχει < τὴν > κτῆσιν· ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ γράφειν τοῦ λέγειν ἐτοιμότερον ἡμῖν ἐστίν, εἰκότως ἂν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ἐλάττονος ἀξίας νομίζοιμεν. (6) ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν λέγειν δεινοῖς οὐδεὶς ἂν φρονῶν ἀπιστήσειεν, ὡς οὐ μικρὸν τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξιν μεταρρυθμίσαντες ἐπιεικῶς λογογραφήσουσι, τοῖς δὲ γράφειν ἡσκημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν πιστεύσειεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως καὶ λέγειν οἰοί τ' ἔσονται. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ χαλεπὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτελοῦντας εἰκός, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὰ ῥάω τὴν γνώμην μεταστήσωσιν, εὐπόρως μεταχειρίσασθαι τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπεργασίαν· τοῖς δὲ τὰ ῥάδια γεγυμνασμένοις ἀντίτυπος καὶ προσάντης ἢ τῶν χαλεπωτέρων ἐπιμέλεια καθίσταται. γνοιή δ' ἂν τις ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν παραδειγμάτων· (7) ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄραι μέγα φορτίον δυνάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ κουφότερα μετελθὼν ῥαδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι ἂν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κουφὰ τῇ δυνάμει δικνούμενος οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν βαρυτέρων οἶος τ' εἶη φέρειν. καὶ πάλιν ὁ μὲν ποδώκης δρομεὺς ῥαδίως παρέπεσθαι τοῖς βραδυτέροις δύναται ἂν· ὁ δὲ βραδὺς οὐκ ἂν οἶός τ' εἶη τοῖς θάττοσιν ὁμοδραμεῖν. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ μὲν τὰ πόρρω δυνάμενος ἐπισκόπως ἀκοντίζειν ἢ τοξεύειν καὶ τῶν ἐγγὺς τεύξεται ῥαδίως· ὁ δὲ τὰ πλησίον βάλλειν ἐπιστάμενος οὐπω δῆλον εἰ καὶ τῶν πόρρω δυνήσεται τυγχάνειν. (8) τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτικά καλῶς αὐτοῖς χρώμενος οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι μετὰ χρόνου καὶ σχολῆς ἐν τῷ γράφειν διαφέρων ἔσται λογοποιός· ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ γράφειν τὰς διατριβὰς

to copy happy expressions in what is well said, to correct some things on the advice of ordinary people and to revise and rewrite others having looked over them by oneself many times, this is naturally easy even for those without training.

(5) Everything good and fine is hard to come by and difficult, and is usually produced by hard work, but what is ordinary and trivial is easy of acquisition. So, since writing is more readily available to us than speaking, it is reasonable that we should consider its acquisition to be of less value too. (6) Then no-one who thinks sensibly would fail to believe that, with a small alteration to their mental framework, those who are good at speaking will write scripts for speeches appropriately, but no-one would believe that those practised in writing will also be able to make a speech as a result of this same ability. It is likely that, whenever people who accomplish difficult tasks turn their minds to easier ones, they will be amply competent to take in hand the completion of them. But, for those who are practised in easier matters, the attention they must devote to more difficult tasks is the reverse of this and is an uphill struggle. One might appreciate this from the following examples: a man able to lift a heavy weight, if he turned to lighter objects, would take them up easily, but someone whose strength went only so far as light objects would not be able to carry any of the heavier ones. And again, the swift runner would easily be able to keep up with slower ones, but the slow runner would not be able to keep pace with the quicker. In addition to this, the man who can hit the target, hurling the javelin or shooting an arrow at things far away, will easily hit those close to as well; but it is by no means clear that the man who knows how to shoot at things close by will also be able to hit those far away. (8) In the same way with regard to speeches too, it is not hard to demonstrate that the man who gives a good account on the spur of the moment will, given time and leisure, be a notable composer of speeches when

ποιούμενος οὐκ ἀφανὲς ὅτι μεταβὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιαστικούς λόγους ἀπορίας καὶ πλάνου καὶ ταραχῆς ἔξει πλήρη τὴν γνώμην.

(9) ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὲν λέγειν αἰετὲ καὶ διὰ παντὸς χρήσιμον εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ γράφειν ὀλιγάκις εὐκαιρον τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ καθίστασθαι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι λέγειν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα καὶ δημηγοροῦσι καὶ δικαζομένοις καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ὁμιλίας ποιοῦσιν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀπροσδοκῆτως καιροὶ πραγμάτων παραπίπτουσιν, ἐν οἷς οἱ μὲν σιωπῶντες εὐκαταφρόνητοι δόξουσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ὡς ἰσόθεον τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τιμωμένους ὀρώμεν. (10) ὅταν γὰρ νουθετηῆσαι δέῃ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἢ παραμυθήσασθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἢ πρᾶναι τοὺς θυμουμένους ἢ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ἐπενεχθείσας αἰτίας ἀπολύσασθαι, τηνικαῦθ' ἢ τοῦ λέγειν δύναμις τῇ χρεῖα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπικουρεῖν οἷά τ' ἐστίν· ἢ δὲ γραφῆ σχολῆς δεῖται καὶ μακροτέρους ποιεῖται τοὺς χρόνους τῶν καιρῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ἢ δὲ κατὰ σχολὴν καὶ βραδέως ἐπιτελεῖ τοὺς λόγους. ὥστε τίς ἂν φρονῶν ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ζηλώσειεν, ἢ τῶν καιρῶν τοσοῦτον ἀπολείπεται;

(11) πῶς δ' οὐ καταγέλαστον, εἰ τοῦ κήρυκος παρακαλοῦντος "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν πολιτῶν;" ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἤδη ρέοντος, ἐπὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον ὁ ῥήτωρ πορεύοιτο συνθήσων καὶ μαθησόμενος λόγον; ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἡμεν τύραννοι τῶν πόλεων, ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἂν ἦν καὶ δικαστήρια συλλέγειν καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευέσθαι πραγμάτων, ὥσθ', ὁπότε γράψαιμεν τοὺς λόγους, τηνικαῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν παρακαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἕτεροι τούτων κύριοί εἰσιν, ἄρ' οὐκ

it comes to writing; but it is not hard to see that, if one who spends his time writing changes over to extempore speeches, he will have a mind full of helplessness, wandering and confusion.

(9) I think that in the life of men also making speeches is both constantly and in every circumstance useful, but writing ability is seldom apt for the critical moment. For who does not know that making speeches on the spot is necessary both for those who address the people and for those who go to court and for those who take part in private gatherings, and opportunities often occur unexpectedly in circumstances where those who stay silent will seem justly reviled while we see those who can speak honoured by others as if they had a god-like intellect. (10) For, whenever it is necessary to admonish those who are going astray or to counsel the unfortunate or to calm those moved by passion or to rebut accusations brought out of the blue, then the ability to make a speech can be a help in people's hour of need. But writing needs leisure and requires more time than opportunities allow. For people ask for speedy help in their law-suits whilst writing produces speeches at leisure and slowly. So, what sensible person would envy this ability which falls so far short of the opportunities? (11) Would it not be ridiculous if, when the herald was proclaiming 'Which of the citizens wishes to speak?', or when the water-clock in the courts was already running, the speaker were to proceed to his writing tablet in order to assemble and con his speech? For, if we were tyrants in charge of cities, it would truly be in our power both to summon the courts and to take counsel for public affairs so that, whenever we wrote speeches, we could then call the other citizens to listen to them. But since it is others who are in control of these things, is it not silly of us to

εὐηθες ἡμᾶς ἄλλην τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι μελέτην λόγων † ἐναντίως ἔχουσιν ἀκριβῶς † < > (12) εἰ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐξεργασμένοι καὶ μᾶλλον ποιήμασιν ἢ λόγοις εἰσκότες καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτόματον καὶ πλεον ἄληθείαις ὅμοιον ἀποβεβληκότες, μετὰ παρασκευῆς δὲ πεπλάσθαι καὶ συγκεῖσθαι δοκοῦντες, ἀπιστίας καὶ φθόνου τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων γνώμας ἐμπιπλάσι < > (13) τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον· οἱ γὰρ εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια τοὺς λόγους γράφοντες φεύγουσι τὰς ἀκριβείας καὶ μιμῶνται τὰς τῶν αὐτοσχεδιαζόντων ἐρμηνείας, καὶ τότε κάλλιστα γράφειν δοκοῦσιν, ὅταν ἥκιστα γεγραμμένοις ὁμοίους πορίσωνται λόγους. ὅποτε δὲ καὶ τοῖς λογογράφοις τοῦτο πέρασ τῆς ἐπεικείας ἐστίν, ὅταν τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιαζόντας μιμήσωνται, πῶς οὐ χρῆ καὶ τῆς παιδείας ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα τιμᾶν, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν λόγων εὐπόρως ἔξομεν;

(14) οἶμαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἄξιον εἶναι τοὺς γραπτοὺς λόγους ἀποδοκιμάζειν, ὅτι τὸν βίον τῶν μεταχειριζομένων ἀνώμαλον καθιστᾶσι. περὶ πάντων μὲν γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων γεγραμμένους ἐπίστασθαι λόγους ἐν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων πέφυκεν· ἀνάγκη δ' ἐστίν, ὅταν τις τὰ μὲν αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ, τὰ δὲ τυποῖ, τὸν λόγον ἀνόμοιον ὄντα ψόγον τῷ λέγοντι παρασκευάζειν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑποκρίσει καὶ ῥαψωδίᾳ παραπλήσια δοκεῖν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ φαύλα φαίνεσθαι παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀκρίβειαν. (15) δεινὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸν ἀντιποιοῦμενον φιλοσοφίας {ἀντιλέγειν} καὶ παιδεύσειν ἑτέρους ὑπισχνούμενον, ἂν μὲν ἔχῃ γραμματεῖον ἢ βιβλίον, δεικνύναι δύνασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν, ἂν δὲ τούτων ἄμοιρος γένηται, μηδὲν τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν βελτίω καθεστάναι, καὶ χρόνου μὲν δοθέντος δύνασθαι λόγον ἐξενεγκεῖν, εὐθέως δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτεθέντος ἀφωνότερον εἶναι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ λόγων μὲν τέχνας ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ γινῆναι μὴδὲ μικρὰν δύναμιν ἔχοντ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ φαίνεσθαι.

adopt another practice with regard to speeches † for those clearly in the contrary position † < >. (12) For if speeches which have their text carefully worked out and are more like scripts than speeches and have abandoned both the spontaneous and that which more closely resembles the truth and seem to be moulded by and consist in pre-fabrication fill the minds of their hearers with distrust and resentment < > (13) And the following is a most powerful proof: those who write speeches for the courts avoid precision and mimic the style of extempore speakers, and they seem to be doing their best writing when they produce speeches which least resemble scripts. And since this is the touchstone of plausibility even for speech-writers, is it not right to respect most that type of training by which we shall be amply equipped for making speeches of this kind ?

(14) And I think that for this too it is right to make written speeches fail the test for they make life uneven for those who undertake them. For having written speeches in the mind about everything is naturally one of life's impossibilities. And it is inevitable that, whenever someone speaks extempore on some matters and on others hammers out a text, his speech with differences of style will produce criticism for the speaker, the text seeming more suited to the stage or a recital, with the extempore speech seeming common and trivial beside the precise style of the text. (15) And it is a terrible thing if the man who lays claim to philosophy, promising to educate others, can demonstrate his wisdom if he has his writing tablet or his book, but, if he is separated from them, is in no better state than the uneducated, and can produce a speech when given time, but on the spur of the moment is more lost for words about something set before him than the man-in-the-street, and professes technical skill in oratory but clearly has in him not even a small

καὶ γὰρ ἡ μελέτη τοῦ γράφειν ἀπορίαν τοῦ λέγειν πλείστην παραδίδωσιν.

(16) ὅταν γὰρ τις ἐθισθῆ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεργάζεσθαι τοὺς λόγους καὶ μετ' ἀκριβείας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ τὰ ῥήματα συντιθέναι, καὶ βραδεία τῇ τῆς διανοίας κινήσει χρώμενος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τοῦτον, ὅταν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιαστοὺς ἔλθῃ λόγους, ἐναντία πράττοντα ταῖς συνηθείαις ἀπορίας καὶ θορύβου πλήρη τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα μὲν δυσχεραίνειν, μηδὲν δὲ διαφέρειν τῶν ἰσχυροφώνων, οὐδέποτε δ' εὐλύτῳ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγχινοίᾳ χρώμενον ὑγρῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς λόγους. (17) ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ διὰ μακρῶν χρόνων ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθέντες οὐ δύνανται τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίαν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ σχήματα καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἀποφέρονται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ δεδεμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πορεύεσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἢ γραφῇ βραδείας τὰς διαβάσεις τῇ γνώμῃ παρασκευάζουσα καὶ τοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔθει ποιουμένη τὴν ἄσκησιν ἄπορον καὶ δεσμῶτιν τὴν ψυχὴν καθίστησι καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοσχεδιαστοῖς εὐροίας ἀπάσης ἐπίπροσθεν γίνεται.

(18) νομίζω δὲ καὶ τὴν μάθησιν τῶν γραπτῶν λόγων χαλεπὴν καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐπίπονον καὶ τὴν λήθην αἰσχροὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι γίνεσθαι. πάντες γὰρ ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν τὰ μικρὰ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ὀλίγων χαλεπώτερον εἶναι μαθεῖν καὶ μνημονεύσαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιασμοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων δεῖ μόνον τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασιν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα δηλοῦν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς γραπτοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ < τῶν > συλλαβῶν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὴν μάθησιν ἀκριβῆ. (19) ἐνθυμήματα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγα καὶ μεγάλα

capacity for making a speech. For practising writing results in very great helplessness when it comes to speaking.

(16) For whenever someone has been accustomed to work out speeches in detail and to construct sentences paying attention to both precise wording and rhythm and puts over his interpretation making use of a slow mental process, it is inevitable that, whenever this man comes to extempore speeches, doing the opposite of what he is used to, he should have a mind full of helplessness and panic and should be ill-at-ease with everything, in no way different from those with speech impediments, never using a free readiness of wit to execute his speeches with flexibility and in a way that people like. (17) But, just as those who have been released from their chains after a long period cannot adopt a mode of walking like other people but keep being drawn back to those actions and patterns of movement with which they had to walk when they were tied up, so, in the same way, writing, rendering processes in the mind slow and exercising the practice of speaking in an opposite set of habits, puts the soul too in a state of perplexity and bondage and gets in the way of all that easy flow to be found in extempore speeches.

(18) And I think that both learning written speeches is hard, and holding them in the memory troublesome, and forgetting them in court-cases embarrassing. For everyone would agree that it is harder to learn and remember small matters rather than great and many things rather than few. With regard to extempore speeches then, one only has to pay attention to the arguments and to express them in words as the moment demands. But in written speeches it is necessary to commit to memory and learn precisely both the arguments and the words and the syllables. (19) Further, the arguments in speeches are few

τοῖς λόγοις ἔνεστιν, ὀνόματα δὲ καὶ ῥήματα πολλὰ καὶ ταπεινὰ καὶ μικρὸν ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐνθυμημάτων ἅπαξ ἕκαστον δηλοῦται, τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασι πολλάκις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι· διὸ τῶν μὲν εὖπορος ἢ μνήμη, τοῖς δὲ δυσανάληπτος ἢ μνήμη καὶ δυσφύλακτος ἢ μάθησις καθέστηκεν. (20) ἔτι τοίνυν αἰ λῆθαι περὶ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιασμοὺς ἄδηλον τὴν αἰσχύνην ἔχουσιν. εὐλύτου γὰρ τῆς ἐρμηνείας οὕσης καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἀκριβῶς συνεξεσμένων, ἂν ἄρα καὶ διαφύγη τι τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων, οὐ χαλεπὸν ὑπερβῆναι τῷ ῥήτορι καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐνθυμημάτων ἀψάμενον μηδεμιᾶ τὸν λόγον αἰσχύνῃ περιβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων, ἂν ὕστερον ἀναμνησθῆ, ῥᾶδιον ποιήσασθαι τὴν δῆλωσιν. (21) τοῖς δὲ γεγραμμένα λέγουσιν, ἂν καὶ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐκλίπωσιν τι καὶ παραλλάξωσιν, ἀπορίαν ἀνάγκη καὶ πλάνον καὶ ζήτησιν ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ μακροὺς μὲν χρόνους ἐπίσχειν, πολλάκις δὲ τῇ σιωπῇ διαλαμβάνειν τὸν λόγον, ἀσχήμονα δὲ καὶ καταγέλαστον καὶ δυσεπικούρητον καθεστάναι τὴν ἀπορίαν.

(22) ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἄμεινον χρῆσθαι τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιάζοντας τῶν τὰ γεγραμμένα λεγόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων τὰ συγγράμματα διαπονήσαντες ἐνίοτε τῶν καιρῶν ἀμαρτάνουσιν· ἢ γὰρ μακρότερα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας λέγοντες ἀπεχθάνονται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἢ βουλομένων ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκροᾶσθαι προαπολείπουσιν λόγους. (23) χαλεπὸν γὰρ, ἴσως δ' ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπίνην πρόνοιαν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὥστε προῖδειν ἀκριβῶς, τίνα τρόπον αἰ γινώμηναι τῶν ἀκουόντων πρὸς τὰ μήκη τῶν λεγομένων ἔξουσιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοσχεδιασμοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ λέγοντι γίνεσθαι ταμιεύεσθαι τοὺς λόγους πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν γνωμῶν ἀποβλέποντι, καὶ τὰ

and important, but there are many common words and expressions differing little from each other, and each of the arguments is produced once whilst we are compelled to use the same words on many occasions. Because of this, memory has a good capacity for the former, but, for the latter, memory is hard to acquire and comprehension hard to preserve. (20) So then, lapses of memory in extempore speeches keep their embarrassment hidden. For, since the style is flexible and the words are not polished with great care, if any of the arguments escape the mind, it is not hard for the speaker to pass over them and, taking the arguments which come after, not to incur any embarrassment over his speech, and it is also the case that, if he remembers them afterwards, it is easy to deploy those which escaped him. (21) But, if those speaking to a written text omit or alter even a small thing through stress, they necessarily find themselves in the midst of helplessness, wandering and searching for words; they pause for long periods, they often break off their speech in silence, and their helplessness appears unseemly, ridiculous and hard to remedy.

(22) And I think that extempore speakers make better use of the inclinations of their audience than those speaking to a written text. For those who take much trouble over their scripts in advance of law-suits sometimes miss the critical opportunities; for they either speak at greater length than people wish and are disliked by their audience, or, when people want to go on listening, they leave off speaking too soon. (23) For it is hard, perhaps impossible, for the human mind to forecast the future in such a way as to foresee precisely what the attitudes of listeners will be with regard to the length of what is being said. But in extempore speeches it is in the power of the speaker to husband arguments, paying attention to the effects of words, both shortening

μήκη συντέμνειν καὶ τὰ συντόμως ἐσκεμμένα διὰ μακροτέρων δηλοῦν.

(24) χωρὶς τοίνυν τούτων οὐδὲ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγώνων ἐνθυμήμασι διδομένοις ὁμοίως ὀρώμεν ἑκατέρους χρῆσθαι δυναμένους. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄγραφα λέγουσιν, ἂν τι παρὰ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἐνθύμημα λάβωσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν συντονίαν τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν διανοηθῶσιν, εὐπορόν ἐστιν ἐν τάξει θεῖναι· τοῖς γὰρ ὀνόμασιν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα περὶ ἀπάντων δηλοῦντες, οὐδ' ὅταν πλείω τῶν ἐσκεμμένων λέγωσιν, οὐδαμῆ τὸν λόγον ἀνώμαλον καὶ παραχῶδη καθιστᾶσι. (25) τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τῶν γραπτῶν λόγων ἀγωνιζομένοις, ἂν ἄρα τι χωρὶς τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐνθύμημα δοθῆ, χαλεπὸν ἐναρμόσαι καὶ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τρόπον· αἱ γὰρ ἀκρίβειαι τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξεργασίας οὐ παραδέχονται τοὺς αὐτοματισμούς, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἢ μηδὲν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐνθυμήμασι δοθεῖσιν, ἢ χρώμενον διαλύειν καὶ συννεύειν τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων οἰκονομίαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀκριβῶς τὰ δ' εἰκῆ λέγοντα παραχῶδη καὶ διάφωνον καθιστάναι τὴν ἐρμηνείαν. (26) καίτοι τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἀποδέξαιτο τὴν τοιαύτην μελέτην, ἥ τις καὶ τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπίπροσθεν τῆ χρήσει καθέστηκε καὶ χεῖρω τῆς τύχης ἐνίοτε τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις τὴν ἐπικουρίαν παραδίδωσι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἄγειν τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον εἰθισμένων αὕτη καὶ τοῖς αὐτομάτοις εὐπορήμασιν ἐμποδῶν ἐστιν;

(27) ἡγοῦμαι δ' οὐδὲ λόγους δίκαιον εἶναι καλεῖσθαι τοὺς γεγραμμένους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἶδωλα καὶ σχήματα καὶ μιμήματα λόγων, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κατ' αὐτῶν εἰκότως ἂν δόξαν ἔχοιμεν, ἥπερ καὶ κατὰ τῶν χαλκῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ λιθίνων ἀγαλμάτων καὶ γεγραμμένων ζώων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ταῦτα

what is lengthy and setting out what is concisely conceived on a broader scale. (24) Further and apart from this, we can see that these two sets of people cannot make the same kind of use even of arguments which are presented to them in actual law-suits. For those speaking without a text are easily capable of fitting in to their structure any argument they may take from their opponents or any idea they conceive of their own accord since their intellect is at full stretch. For, because they are setting everything out on the spur of the moment, they produce a speech which is by no means uneven and confused, even when they say more than they planned. (25) But for those fighting law-suits with written speeches, if some argument is presented beyond what has been prepared, it is hard to fit it in and use it in the proper way; for the precision of working out the words in the text does not admit of improvisation, but it is necessary either to make no use of arguments presented by chance or, if one does use them, to undo and unbalance the disposition of the text, so that saying some things with precision and others at random renders the style confused and discordant. (26) Now, who in his right mind would adopt such a practice which sets itself against the use of even those advantages which come of their own accord, and which sometimes give parties to a suit less help than chance would offer, and, while other arts customarily lead human life towards improvement, this one gets in the way of even gratuitous resource?

(27) And I do not think it is right that speeches written down should even be called speeches, but should be thought of as images and patterns and imitations of speeches, and we could reasonably have the same opinion about them as we have about bronze statues and stone monuments and depictions of

μιμήματα τῶν ἀληθινῶν σωμάτων ἐστί, καὶ τέρψιν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἔχει, χρήσιν δ' οὐδεμίαν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ παραδίδωσι, (28) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ γεγραμμένος λόγος, ἐνὶ σχήματι καὶ τάξει κεκρημένος, ἐκ βιβλίου < μὲν > θεωρουμένος ἔχει τινὰς ἐκπλήξεις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν καιρῶν ἀκίνητος ὢν οὐδεμίαν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς κεκτημένοις παραδίδωσιν. ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἀνδριάντων καλῶν ἀληθινὰ σώματα πολὺ χείρους τὰς εὐμορφίας ἔχοντα πολλαπλασίους ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰς ὠφελείας παραδίδωσιν, οὕτω καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα λεγόμενος ἐμψυχός ἐστι καὶ ζῆ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔπεται καὶ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἀφωμοίωται σώμασιν, ὁ δὲ γεγραμμένος εἰκόνι λόγου τὴν φύσιν ὁμοίαν ἔχων ἀπάσης ἐνεργείας ἄμοιρος καθέστηκεν.

(29) ἴσως ἂν εἴποι τις ὡς ἄλογόν ἐστι κατηγορεῖν μὲν τῆς γραφικῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτὸν δὲ διὰ ταύτης φαίνεσθαι τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιούμενον, καὶ προδιαβάλλειν τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην δι' ἧς εὐδοκιμεῖν παρασκευάζεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβοντα τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιαστικοὺς λόγους ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ προυργιαιότερον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν τύχην τῆς προνοίας καὶ φρονιμωτέρους τοὺς εἰκῆ λέγοντας τῶν μετὰ παρασκευῆς γραφόντων. (30) ἐγὼ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ παντελῶς ἀποδοκιμάζων τὴν γραφικὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ χείρω τῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν οἰόμενος χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι, τούτους εἶρηκα τοὺς λόγους· ἔπειτα προσχρῶμαι τῷ γράφειν οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγιστον φρονῶν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐπιδείξω τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει σεμνυνομένοις, ὅτι μικρὰ πονήσαντες ἡμεῖς ἀποκρύψαι καὶ καταλῦσαι τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν οἰοί τ' ἐσόμεθα.

animals. For, just as these are imitations of real bodies and give delight to the view but offer no use in human life, (28) in the same way the written speech, having a single form and arrangement, produces certain striking effects when it is conned from the book, but, being fixedly unable to respond to critical moments, is of no use to those who have got hold of it. Just as real bodies present an appearance far inferior to that of fine statues but yet are many times more useful for getting things done, so too the speech spoken straight from the heart on the spur of the moment has a soul in it and is alive and follows upon events and is like those real bodies, while the written speech whose nature corresponds to a representation of the real thing lacks any kind of living power.

(29) Perhaps someone would say that it is illogical to bring accusations against the ability to write whilst oneself being seen to produce public demonstrations in this medium, and to criticise the activity by means of which one tries to get a reputation among the Greeks, and, while spending one's time on methodical study, to praise extempore speeches, and to consider chance more serviceable for the task than forethought and those who improvise more prudent than those who write after preparation. (30) But I have said these words, first of all, not because I wish to dismiss entirely the ability to write but because I consider it inferior to the ability of performing extempore, and believe that one ought to devote the greatest care to the ability to make speeches; second, I am making use of writing with no claims to being outstanding on this account but so that I may demonstrate to those who are boastful because they have this ability that we, with only a little effort, will be able to blot out and destroy their arguments. (31) In addition, I

(31) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἐπιδείξεων εἵνεκα τῶν εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους ἐκφερομένων ἄπτομαι τοῦ γράφειν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἡμῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ τρόπου παρακελευόμεθα πείραν ἡμῶν λαμβάνειν, ὅταν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ προτεθέντος εὐκαίρως καὶ μουσικῶς εἰπεῖν οἰοί τ' ὤμεν· τοῖς δὲ διὰ χρόνου μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκροάσεις ἀφιγμένοις, μηδεπώποτε δὲ πρότερον ἡμῖν ἐντετυχηκόσιν, ἐπιχειροῦμέν τι δεικνύειν τῶν γεγραμμένων· εἰθισμένοι γὰρ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν ἄλλων <τοὺς γραπτ>οὺς λόγους, ἴσως ἂν ἡμῶν αὐτοσχεδιαζόντων ἀκούοντες ἐλάττονα τῆς ἀξίας δόξαν καθ' ἡμῶν λάβοιεν. (32) χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἐπιδόσεως, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ γίνεσθαι, παρὰ τῶν γραπτῶν λόγων ἐναργέστατα κατιδεῖν ἔστιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ βέλτιον αὐτοσχεδιάζομεν νῦν ἢ πρότερον, οὐ ῥάδιον ἐπικρίνειν ἐστί, χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ μνήμαι τῶν προειρημένων λόγων καθεστήκασιν· εἰς δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα κατιδόντας ὥσπερ ἐν κατοπτρῷ θεωρῆσαι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιδόσεις ῥάδιον ἐστί. ἔτι δὲ καὶ μνημεῖα καταλιπεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν σπουδάζοντες καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ χαριζόμενοι λόγους γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν.

(33) ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς εἰκῆ λέγειν παρακελευόμεθα, τὴν αὐτοσχεδιαστικὴν δύναμιν τῆς γραφικῆς προτιμῶντες, ἄξιόν ἐστι πιστεύειν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ τῇ τάξει μετὰ προνοίας ἡγούμεθα δεῖν χρησθαι τοὺς ῥήτορας, περὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων δηλώσιν αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. οὐ γὰρ τοσαύτην ὠφέλειαν αἱ τῶν γραπτῶν λόγων ἀκρίβειαι παραδιδόασιν, ὅσην εὐκαιρίαν αἱ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα λεγομένων δηλώσεις ἔχουσιν. (34) ὅστις οὖν ἐπιθυμεῖ ῥήτωρ γενέσθαι δεινὸς ἀλλὰ μὴ ποιητὴς λόγων ἰκανός, καὶ βούλεται μᾶλλον τοῖς καιροῖς χρησθαι καλῶς ἢ τοῖς ὀνόμασι λέγειν ἀκριβῶς, καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἐπικούρον ἔχειν σπουδάζει

employ writing for the popular dissemination of my display-performances too. For, whenever we are able to speak on any subject put before us with happy appropriateness for the occasion and with elegance, it is in this mode that we recommend those who meet us often to sample our ability ; but for those who come to hear us after some time and for those who have never before met us, we try to show something of what we have done in writing. For those who have been accustomed to listen to the written speeches of others would perhaps, if they hear us speaking extempore, form a lower opinion of us than we deserve. (32) And, apart from this, signs of progress which are likely to be produced in the mind are very clear to see in the context of written speeches. It is, though, not easy to judge if our extempore speaking is better than it was before, for the recollection of what has been said is difficult. But it is easy by examining written texts to contemplate, as it were in a mirror, the progress of the soul. Also, we undertake the writing of speeches both because we are eager to leave behind memorials of ourselves and to gratify our ambition.

(33) All the same one must not even so believe that, in recommending improvisation, we are giving the ability to speak extempore pride of place over the ability to write. For we consider that speakers must take thought in advance in the use of arguments and structure, but concerning the expression in words they must improvise. For the benefits of the precise style of written speeches are outweighed by the appropriateness to the occasion of expressing things spoken on the spur of the moment. (34) Therefore the man who wishes to be not just an adequate script-writer but a skilled orator, who wants to make good use of the critical moments rather than be meticulous about the words, who is eager to have the goodwill of the audience on his side rather than have their resentment fighting against him, who wants also to have a

μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν φθόνον ἀνταγωνιστήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν γνώμην εὐλυτον καὶ τὴν μνήμην εὐπορον καὶ τὴν λήθην ἄδηλον καθεστάναι βούλεται, καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ βίου σύμμετρον τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων κεκτηῖσθαι πρόθυμός ἐστιν, οὐκ εἰκότως ἂν τοῦ μὲν αὐτοσχεδιάζειν αἰεὶ τε καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐνεργὼν τὴν μελέτην ποιοῖτο, τοῦ δὲ γράφειν ἐν παιδιᾷ καὶ παρέργῳ ἐπιμελόμενος εὖ φρονεῖν κριθεῖη παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν;

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΔΟΣΙΑΣ

(1) πολλάκις ἤδη ἐνεθυμήθην καὶ ἐθαύμασα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τὰς γνώμας τῶν λεγόντων, τί ποτε ἄρα βουλόμενοι ῥαδίως δεῦρο παριόντες συμβουλεύουσιν ὑμῖν, ἅφ' ὧν ὠφέλεια μὲν οὐδεμία ἐστὶ τῷ κοινῷ, λοιδορίαὶ δὲ πλείσται γίνονται ἐν ἀλλήλοις, εἰκῆ τε λόγους ἀναλίσκουσιν ἀκαίρους, περὶ ὧν ἂν τύχῃσι. (2) λέγουσι δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν ἕκαστος βουλόμενοί τι λαβεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μισθὸν πρᾶττόμενοι συναγορεύουσι, παρ' ὁποτέρων ἂν νομίζωσι πλείω λήψεσθαι. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλημμελεῖ ἢ βλάπτει τὸ κοινὸν χρήματα ἑαυτῷ ποριζόμενος, τούτων <ὀρώ>μεν μηδένα τὸν φροντίζοντα εἶναι, εἰ δέ τις ἡμῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων τι γέρας εἴληφε πλεονέτερος ἑτέρου, τούτων ἕνεκα μεγάλας διαφορὰς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔχομεν διὰ τὰς τούτων σπουδὰς. (3) ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον μήτε ἐχθρὰς ἰδίας φροντίζειν μήτε φιλειταιρίαν, φιλοτιμίᾳ χαρισάμενον ἕνεκα ἀνδρὸς ἐνός, <ἢ> χρήματα περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ὅ τι ἂν μέλλῃ τῷ πλήθει συνοισεῖν. < > οὐ μὲν δὴ < > ἀλλὰ παραλιπὼν τοὺς ἀρχαίους πόνους τε καὶ λόγους πειράσομαι

flexible mind and a well-stocked and ready memory with no trace of forgetfulness, and who is keen to acquire an ability to make speeches which correspond to the needs of life, would he not, if he were to devote hard practice to extempore speaking all the time and in every circumstance, paying attention to writing for amusement and as a side-line, be properly reckoned by those who have good judgement to have good judgement too ?

Odysseus

Against the treachery of Palamedes

(1) Often in the past, men of Greece, I have pondered and been astonished at the intentions of those who address us, wondering what on earth their purpose is in readily coming forward here and giving advice to you when they offer no help to the common cause, and very many mutual insults are produced, and they waste untimely words at random on whatever subject they happen to choose. (2) They speak, each of them wanting to get some advantage in selfish glory, and some even charge a fee for consulting with those from whom they think they can get a greater return. And, if anyone in the camp sows discord or harms the common good by arranging things for himself, we see that none of these people cares. But if one of us in taking a prisoner from the enemy has obtained a prize which is bigger than that of someone else, this becomes the reason for us having great arguments amongst ourselves, thanks to their efforts. (3) But I think that the good, just man does not concern himself with personal enmity, nor does he set more store by favouritism, gratifying ambition for the sake of one man, nor by money, rather than by what is going to be to the advantage of the majority < >. But, leaving aside old troubles and arguments I will try to put this