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Hypophora in Isaeus

T. D. Seymour

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ἐάν τε—ἐάν τε, κεί—κεῖ, εἴτε—εἴτε means 'whether—or' as κἂν θέλω κἂν μὴ θέλω *I.A.* 1273, *Cycl.* 330; κἂν εὔ κἂν καλῶς δόξω λέγειν *Tro.* 907: in *O.C.* 874 ἄξω βίᾳ κεί μουσός εἰμι τόνδε καὶ χρόνῳ βραδύς, you could not write κεί χρόνῳ βραδύς, nor here, I think, κἂν μηδὲν ἔρω.

fr. 773. 49 ἐπὶ χάρμασιν (for χάρματ') as ἐπὶ πένθεσιν *A.P.* x. 47.

fr. 1048. 3 τὰμφνῇ for τὰμφανῇ will require I suppose the usual correction τὰμφνᾶ.

fr. 1063 It is wiser not to keep a wife shut up, but to let her satisfy her curiosity

harmlessly abroad; for the female sex is ever as greedy for what is secret as the male:

<τὸ θῆλυ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἐξ ἴσου γένος>
τό τ' ἄρσεν ἀεὶ το κεκρυμμένον λίχρον.

Such a line (or πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ θῆλυ τ' or τὸ θῆλυ γὰρ πᾶν ἐξ ἴσου πέφυκε πως) it seems clear to me has been omitted. τό τ' ἄρσεν then means 'one just as much as the other,' but unless it is preceded by τὸ θῆλυ the τε in τό τ' ἄρσεν has no meaning, and the statement, if made about the male sex only, quite irrelevant in this connexion.

W. HEADLAM.

HYPOPHORA IN ISAEUS.

The Rehdantz-Blass Rhetorical Index to Demosthenes has an excellent article on *hypophora*, but does not refer to the five extant instances of the use by Isaeus of what became in Demosthenes the stereotyped form with νῇ Δία or μὰ Δία. The passages follow.

Isaeus, iii. 24 ἴσως γὰρ ἦν νῇ Δία πάρεργον καὶ φαῦλον, περὶ οὗ τὴν ἐκμαρτυρίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πυρετίδου φασὶ ποιήσασθαι οὗτοι, ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὀλιγωρηθῆναι ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ πῶς;

Is. iii. 73 ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία ἄλλον τινὰ ποιησάμενος τῶν συγγενῶν ἔδωκεν ἂν ἔχειν τὸν κλῆρον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ; καὶ τί αὐτὸν ἔδει... ἀπέχεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

Is. iv. 20 ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία, ἐπειδὴ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Νικοστράτου διεχείρισεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μεμαρτύρηται ὅμιν.

Is. iv. 24 μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Ἄγων οὐδ' ὁ Ἀγνόθεος τοῦ Νικοστράτου συγγενής, ὡς οἱ ἀντίδοκοί φασιν, ἀλλ' ἕτεροι. ἔπειτα τῷ... λαχόντι μαρτυροῦσιν;

Is. vii. 33 τί βέλτιον ἂν ἔπραξεν...; εἰ νῇ Δία παιδίον ἐποίησατο λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν φίλων ὄντων, καὶ τοῦτ' τὴν οὐσίαν ἔδωκεν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἦν ἀδελγόν κ.τ.λ.

These five passages fall in three orations, of which one is held to be the latest extant work of the orator, another is one of his later works, while for the third no criterion of date has been found.

The careful reader will observe that the interrogative punctuation of the early editions which has been retained in the second, third, and fifth passages, is wrong. Recognized as instances of *hypophora*, these

were put into the ordinary interrogative class; but these are not questions. The interrogative interpretation is barred out by the use of the hortatory subjunctive in the similar passage, Dem. xx. 75: ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία τὸν παῖδα τὸν Χαβρίου περὶδωμεν ἀφαιρέντα τὴν ἀτέλειαν κ.τ.λ., if not by νῇ Δία itself, which is an expletive here indicating impatience, and very nearly equivalent (except in its associations) to the improper "D—it!" This impatience is shown very clearly in Dem. xxi. 148: τίος γὰρ εἵνεκα; τῶν στρατηγιῶν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτης κ.τ.λ. 'ἀλλὰ τῶν λόγων.' ἐν οἷς κοινῇ μὲν οὐδὲν πόποι' εἶπ' ἀγαθὸν κ.τ.λ. 'γένους εἵνεκα, νῇ Δία.'

Quotation marks will make the true interpretation more distinct, and will show just what is to be considered as a quoted objection.

Is. iii. 24 ἴσως γὰρ ἦν νῇ Δία πάρεργον καὶ φαῦλον, περὶ οὗ τὴν ἐκμαρτυρίαν φασὶ ποιήσασθαι οὗτοι, ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὀλιγωρηθῆναι ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα. καὶ πῶς;

Is. iii. 73. 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία ἄλλον τινὰ ποιησάμενος τῶν συγγενῶν ἔδωκεν ἂν ἔχειν τὸν κλῆρον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.' καὶ τί αὐτὸν ἔδει κ.τ.λ.

Is. iv. 20. 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία,' ἐπειδὴ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, 'τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Νικοστράτου διεχείρισεν.' ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.

Is. iv. 24. 'μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Ἄγων οὐδ' ὁ Ἀγνόθεος τοῦ Νικοστράτου συγγενής,' ὡς οἱ ἀντίδοκοί φασιν, 'ἀλλ' ἕτεροι.' ἔπειτα... μαρτυροῦσιν;

Is. vii. 33. τί βέλτιον ἂν ἔπραξεν...; 'εἰ νῇ Δία παιδίον ἐποίησατο λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν

φίλων ὄντων, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔδωκεν.' ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἦν ἀδελφον κ.τ.λ.

To three of these passages, Dareste in his translation of 1898, has given the idiomatic interrogative form, neglecting the expletive. In iv. 20, he seems to have been misled as to the meaning of *διεχειρίσειν*, and translates: 'Eh bien, par Zeus! Chariadès n'a rien fait de tout cela et n'en a pas moins mis la main sur la fortune de Nicistrate.'

Demosthenes makes a more dramatic use of this figure than Isaeus, e.g. Dem. viii. 17. τί ποιήσομεν ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἤ; 'κρινοῦμεν Διοπείθῃ, νῇ Δία.' καὶ τί τὰ πράγματα ἔσται βελτίω; 'ἀλλ' ἐνθένδ' ἂν βοηθήσαιμεν αὐτοί.' ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων μὴ δυνώμεθα; 'ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἤξει.' And viii. 50. πότ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐβελήσομεν; 'ὅταν νῇ Δί' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ.' ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ.

In Demosthenes, we may observe, too, this figure becomes so fixed that the νῇ Δία is used with a verb in the first person referring to the speaker, as xviii. 117. νῇ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἤρξα. εἶτα παρὼν ὅτε μ' εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγορεῖς; Most editors put a mark of interrogation after ἤρξα, but this can hardly be separated from the passages which have just been considered.

My attention has been called to the fact that Gebauer in the Appendix to his edition of Frohberger's Lysias, expresses his dissatisfaction with the interrogative form of Isaeus iii. 73 and of Demosthenes xxiv. 99 and 126; but Gebauer does not mention the other instances in Isaeus, and the question-mark in Dem. xxiv. 126 was abandoned by Dindorf half a century ago, while in Dem. xviii. 117, quoted in the preceding paragraph, the tradition has a question-mark after ἤρξα. At times, as in Dem. xxiii. 166, Bekker introduced the use of quotation-marks for *hypophora*, but these have not been used consistently by any editor of Demosthenes. Gebauer's calling the sentence of Lysias on which he is commenting, *eine spöttische Behauptung*, would remove that passage clearly from Isaeus iv. 20, where we have not a mocking allusion to the adversary's statement, but a quotation of the adversary's impatient explanation of the reason for the will in question. Ott, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des griechischen Eides*, apparently would consider Is. iv. 20 an instance of *hypophora*, but sets Is. iii. 24 among the *erklärende Sätze*, and iii. 73, iv. 20, and vii. 33, in the category of Question (*Frage*), accepting the current punctuation. The assumption of an interrogative force for νῇ Δία is only slightly more unreasonable

than the 'ironical force' which has often been assigned to it.

I have not noticed *hypophora* with νῇ Δία before Isaeus, except in Andocides iii. 15, 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία ἕως ἂν Λακεδαιμονίους καταπολεμήσωμεν...μέχρι τούτου δεῖ πολεμεῖν' (where Blass seems to have been the first to restore the force of asseveration, by removing the mark of a question), and Xenophon, *Mem.* i. 2. 9 'ἀλλὰ νῇ Δία,' ὁ κατήγορος ἔφη, 'ὑπερὸν ἐποίει τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας' (cf. *ib.* ii. 7. 3 and 6).

One of the earliest instances of *hypophora* in prose, is in Herodotus vi. 124, where the historian rejects the report that at the battle of Marathon the Alcmaeonids were in communication with the Persians: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενος Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδουσαν τῇ πατρίδι, which is properly to be printed as a statement of the enemies of the Alcmaeonids. I have not noticed *hypophora* with νῇ Δία in Plato. The most striking example of the figure in that author is *Republic* 365 c-366 a: 'ἀλλὰ γάρ' φησί τις, 'οὐ ῥάδιον αἰεὶ λανθάνει κακὸν ὄντα.' οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εὐπετές, φήσομεν, τῶν μεγάλων... 'ἀλλὰ δὴ θεοὺς οὔτε λανθάνει οὔτε βιάσασθαι δυνατόν.'... 'ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν Ἄιδου δίκην δώσομεν ὧν ἂν ἐνθάδε ἀδικήσωμεν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἢ παῖδες παίδων.' ἀλλ' ὥφελήσουσιν κ.τ.λ.

Aristotle uses *hypophora* with the simple ἴσως, as *Nicomachean Ethics* 1114a 3, 'ἀλλ' ἴσως τοιούτος ἐστὶν ὥστε μὴ ἐπιμεληθῆναι,' where again quotation marks are convenient.

When the usage of different authors is compared, the employment of *hypophora* with νῇ Δία seems a distinct link between Demosthenes and Isaeus, whose relations have been known to be intimate.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

ISAEUS AS AN IMITATOR OF LYSIAS.

Attention does not seem to have been called in print to the fact that Isaeus v. 10, καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οἰκειότητος ἐλέου παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον, ἀλλ' ὀρφανοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι καὶ πένητες γεγόμενοι καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτρυφείων ἦσαν ἐνδεεῖς, is formed exactly upon Lysias xii. 20, καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου παρ' αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐξημάρτανον κ.τ.λ.

This is curious, since the passage in Isaeus is hardly intelligible without comparison with the other, and interesting since it is the most distinct detail of the influence of Lysias upon his follower (χαρακτῆρα δὲ τὸν Λυσίου πάνν ἀκριβῶς ἐξήλωσεν).

T. D. S.