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Ethopoila in Lysias

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NOTE ON PLATO, *REPUBLIC* X. 607 C.

THE words καὶ ὁ τῶν δία σοφῶν ὄχλος κρατῶν—such is the reading of Parisinus A—have been discussed in the *Classical Review*, vol. viii. p. 394, by Mr. Herbert Richards, who suggests λίαν for δία. The same suggestion had already been made by Herwerden (in *Mnemosyne* xii. p. 333), and is probably right, though the traditional view, 'the crowd of philosophers overmastering Jove' (as Jowett and Campbell render the phrase), has something to be said for itself, and finds an apt parallel (so far as it goes) in the Shakespearian quotation (also in Jowett and Campbell) 'A politician...one that would circumvent God.' Mr. Richards' suggestion however leaves κρατῶν even more obscure than before. It is admitted that the whole phrase is a quotation from some poet who either in his own person or by the mouth of one of his characters sneered at philosophers. I do not think that Plato is likely to have selected a quotation containing a word which is either otiose or obscure; and κρατῶν is one of the two. Mr. Richards remarks: 'it would probably be unwise to alter κρατῶν, but κριτῶν is an obvious conjecture.' Why κριτῶν? I venture to suggest κράτων 'heads.' 'The rabble of the unco-clever heads' is a fair gibe for a poet to throw at a philosopher. We may compare with the general sentiment the words of Burns ('Address to the Unco Guid'):

My son, these maxims make a rule
And lump them aye thegither;
The rigid righteous is a fool,
The rigid wise anither.

Both because Euripides seems to be the only one of the three great tragedians who uses the plural of *κράς, and also because (forgetful of the proverb about glass houses) he is fond of sneering at οἱ ἄγαν σοφοί (as the passages cited by Mr. Richards prove: cf. also *Hipp.* 518, to which Herwerden refers), I think it likely that we have

here a fragment of Euripides, than whom Plato castigated no poet more unmercifully:

τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὄχλος

κράτων.

The contempt expressed by the rare, and possibly somewhat vulgar, form κράτων (*Scotticè* 'pows,' perhaps) at the beginning of the line seems to me admirable. It is perhaps no mere accident that in the only two passages where the form occurs in Homer it is the heads of the unhappy suitors that are punished:

τῶν δὲ στόνος ὄρνυτ' ἀεικῆς
κράτων τυπτομένων, δάπεδον δ' ἅπαν αἵματι θύεν.
(χ 308-9 and ω 184-5).

Here too (as it seems to me) the derision is obvious, and is accentuated by the position of the word at the beginning of the line.

The accentuation κράτων (rather than κρατῶν) is in conformity with the precepts of the grammarians Choeroboscus and others (see Chandler's *Greek Accentuation*, pp. 159 and 279). Although κρατός, κρατί, and κρασί were allowed, κρατῶν was rejected, in case (so we are told) it should be confounded with the genitive plural of κράτος or the present participle of κρατῶ. One might have thought that the quantitative difference would have been sufficient to differentiate them, at all events in an age when accents had not yet begun to regulate the quantity of syllables. The grammarians may or may not be right; in any case it is interesting to note (if my suggestion is accepted) that the difference in accent did not prevent the confusion which they feared. I strongly suspect however that the accentuation of the word was regular in Plato's time; and if so, no change, not even that of an accent, need be made in the κρατῶν of the manuscripts.

J. ADAM.

ETHOPOIIA IN LYSIAS.

In his recent edition of Lysias Professor Morgan has paid considerable attention to the author's ethopoiia, drawing largely, with due credit, from Dr. Devries' dissertation on the subject. In his appendix, therefore,

on *Oration* xxiv. 13 one might have looked for a defence of πάντας as read in the codex Palatinus (X) against the emendations of Frohberger and Rauchenstein.

For surely, if Professor Morgan has no

misgivings that he is riding *ethopoiia* too hard, when he packs upon it the use of *ἐλεημονέστατοι*, *δειλαιότατος*, and the rest mentioned on page 119, he need not hesitate to add to the burden the quite remarkable postponement in its clause, in this speech alone, of the word *πᾶς*—a mere trick perhaps of the cripple's tongue, which Lysias might well have noted and introduced. So at least I had explained the matter in my class-room, before learning from Professor Bristol that he too had taken it so, though not committing himself to this explanation in his edition of Lysias.

πᾶς, as every one knows, more frequently precedes than follows the noun, pronoun, or verb. When post-position occurs, it is almost invariably immediate, or, if a word intervene,—and there is rarely more than one,—it is some necessary conjunction claiming its right to the second place, as *δέ* or *γάρ*. Yet even this slight postponement of the word gives it almost the emphasis of an appositive. How much more emphatic, then, does it become when carried back *past the verb* and lodged at or near the end of its clause. The question how often in the later emphatic oratory of Demosthenes the word claims this significant position, I cannot answer. Rehdantz's *Index* cites but one instance of *ἅπαντα*—viii. 20 *εἰτ' ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλων ἅπαντα*; But certainly among the characters of the earlier Lysias, the cripple only is permitted to use this, perhaps at that time, over-emphatic and plebeian mode of expression.

With the aid of the new *Index Lysiacus* by Dr. D. H. Holmes, Lysias' adjectival use of the word *πᾶς* may be presented briefly as follows:—

(1) In thirty-six cases where the noun has no article, *πᾶς* in every instance immediately precedes, as: *ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, πάντα κακά*. (The words *πάντες ὤμνον* 'Αθηναῖοι, Sauppe *Frg.* 157, can be attributed to Lysias only with great doubt, and the collocation is unlike any other instance where the substantive lacks the article.)

(2) In four cases where the noun has the article, *πᾶς* stands after the article and again precedes the noun, as: *ὁ πᾶς χρόνος*, no instance appearing such as *(ὁ) χρόνος ὁ πᾶς*.

(3) In fifty-seven cases where the noun has the article, *πᾶς* precedes either immediately, as: *πάντα τὸν χρόνον* (forty-two times), or with *γάρ* intervening (once), or

with a verb, as: *πάντα γράφειν τὰ ὀνόματα* (nine times), and only five times follows its noun, as: *ἐκ τοῦ βίου παντός, τὰλλα τὰ γεγόμενα πάντα*. But in these five instances be it observed that *πᾶς* follows immediately except once, where an adverb intervenes (xiii. 2). But in no case does the verb come between.

(4) In thirty cases where *πάντες* is used in agreement with the subject implied in the verb-ending, but expressed by no word, it precedes the verb twenty-eight times. Only in viii. 8 do we have *περιήλθετε πάντες*, and in xix. 37 *βούλονται γὰρ πάντες*.

(5) In thirty-two cases of *πᾶς* used with a pronoun, as: *πάντες ὑμεῖς, πάντα ταῦτα*, we find that *πᾶς* precedes seventeen times, and—disregarding *Orat.* xxiv.—in ten instances follows its pronoun, in six of these immediately, in one after an intervening *δέ*, in one after *μέν*, one after a substantive, one after *ἐστὶ* (which, however, does not belong to the immediate syntax—xiii. 92).

But in no case have we yet found the order: noun (or pronoun) + verb + *πᾶς*. Such a disposition, we can see by comparison with the normal orders already given, would be doubly emphatic—first, because *πᾶς* follows its noun; secondly, because separated from it, and that too by their verb. Turning now to *Orat.* xxiv. we find that in Lysias' long gallery of characters it is alone our 'character' the cripple who five times over points his clauses with a *πάντες*, as follows: § 13 *τί κωλύει... ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ὀβολὸν ὡς ὑγαίνοντος, τούτῳ δὲ ψηφίσασθαι πάντας ὡς ἀναπήρω*; § 14 *πειράται πείθειν ὑμᾶς ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ τοιούτος οἶον ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε πάντες*; § 19 *ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐνθυμήθητε πάντες ὅτι κ.τ.λ.*—§ 21 *ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῶν, ὦ βουλή, δέομαι πάντων κ.τ.λ.*—§ 27 *καὶ οὕτως ὑμεῖς μὲν τὰ δίκαια γνώσεσθε πάντες κ.τ.λ.*

What is this if not *ethopoiia*? One may recall Lessing's *Klosterbruder* in *Nathan the Wise* with his recurrent 'Sagt der Patriarch,' to realize how slight a touch is needed to individualize a character. I may add that among the thirty-eight like instances of *πᾶς* following its substantive in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, as detailed by Joost in his most instructive book *Der Sprachgebrauch Xenophon's*, p. 78 f., I find only one where the order is: subject, verb, *πᾶς*; viz. vi. 3, 21 *παρηγγέλη τὰ πυρὰ κατασβεννύναι πάντα*.

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