THRASYMACHUS OF CALCHEDON AND CICERONIAN STYLE

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RHETORIC was perhaps the fundamental subject of classical antiquity. In Athens of the fifth century and in Rome during the Republic it had a practical application as the discipline that enabled men of ambition to manipulate the minds of audiences and gain power. When the functional value diminished, rhetorical performance—declamation—became a merely decorative art form, so much so that one of its motifs was a declamatory denunciation of declamation.[1] All the while, no doubt partly because of its potential for courtiers and lawyers, partly because it represented an approach to language, literature, philosophy, and other subjects, rhetoric was the cornerstone of ancient education. Its importance in antiquity resulted in a wealth of material left by critics and scholars, as well as practitioners of the art, that has survived the ages. The presence of such ancient authority, plus the additional incrustations of often stultifying attention paid the subject in the modern era, leaves us with a *communis opinio* that is almost irresistible, though demonstrably inadequate and inaccurate.

The canon of development of the art and practice of rhetoric goes back to antiquity: rhetoric was developed in Sicily in the fifth century (to fill a practical need in politics and law as tyrants fell) and imported into Athens in 427 by Gorgias of Leontini, who taught the radical democracy how to speak in balanced, symmetrical phrases, exhibiting devices that insure echoing sounds.[2] While Lysias toned down the striking poeticisms of Gorgianic style to create a diction representing conversational speech and thus appropriate to the law courts, Isocrates gracefully filled out the short, staccato units of discrete Gorgianic phrases to develop the full, sonorous, balanced periodic style. Demosthenes mastered what had gone before him and added to the flow of rhetoric a special dynamism and the ability to control and manipulate the minds and emotions of his political audiences. After Demosthenes, oratory became increasingly ceremonial and decorative, with a loss of power proportional to its loss of practical relevance with the demise of democracy. At Rome, the oratorical tradition—like the poetic tradition—is purported to have begun with the eloquence of native talent, however rough-hewn, and subsequently to have been dominated by Greek influence (the only question being the kind of Greek influence—classical or

1. E.g., Juvenal *Sat.* 1. 1–18 and passim. Petr. *Satyr.* 1. 1–3.

2. Gorgias receives his best press from his fellow Sicilian Diodorus, 12. 53. 1–6, esp. 3–5 (see n. 5, below), but the general account goes back to Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 1. 1404, whence Cic. *Orat.* 39 and 175, whence others.

0009-837X/80/7504-0002$01.16

Hellenistic?). Cicero, at first perhaps unduly impressed by the frills of Hellenistic Greek masters, later developed a more traditionally Attic style of oratory with Isocrates as his major exemplar.

This account, with some allowance for variety, represents the *communis opinio*, perpetuated to no small extent by Cicero himself and accepted by the excellent and influential E. Norden in *Die antike Kunstprosa*. It is far from accurate. E. Schwartz,[3] taking his lead from Wilamowitz,[4] knew that Gorgias of Leontini could not have been the innovator of the Attic rhetorical style of balances, parallels, and antitheses as late as 427. J. H. Finley, Jr.,[5] half a century later, had still to hammer nails into the coffin of this Gorgias-tradition. He might have made some use of the fact that by 427 Thrasymachus of Calchedon was sufficiently established as a rhetorical stylist to be burlesqued in a play of Aristophanes which now survives only in fragments.[6]

Similarly, it was not until 1961 that E. Laughton demonstrated the inaccuracy of the commonly held notion that Cicero derives his oratorical style (as if he had only one) essentially from Isocrates. He showed that the structure of Cicero's composition reflects more nearly the progressive periods of Demosthenes than the antiphonal framework of Isocrates.[7] Laughton might have considered the possibility of influence on Cicero by an orator (or rhetorician) contemporary with Gorgias and the young Isocrates, the same Thrasymachus of Calchedon. Thrasymachus flourished in the last thirty years of the fifth century. Isocrates' earliest extant works date to the 390s.

Thrasymachus has not been ignored by either ancient or modern writers on prose style. He was sufficiently famous, or notorious, as a stylist to receive the critical attention of Aristophanes. Plato, besides attributing to him in the first book of the *Republic* the notion that justice is the advantage of the powerful, grants him the dubious distinction of being able to manipulate the emotions of audiences[8] and mentions him, with Lysias, as living proof that no art of rhetoric exists.[9] Aristotle fixes Thrasymachus in the tradition of rhetoricians between Tisias and Theodorus of Byzantium[10] and credits him with being the inventor of polished prose rhythm by his use of the paeon.[11]

By denying its validity, Dionysius of Halicarnassus attests to the existence of a tradition that attributes to Thrasymachus the invention of a "middle style" of artistic prose, ranging between Gorgias and Thucydides on the one hand and Lysias on the other.[12] That in a different essay Dionysius likens Thrasymachus to Lysias in the use of practical and factual

3. "De Thrasymacho Chalcedonio," *Index sch. in Acad. Rostach.* (1892), pp. 3–16 (=*Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1956], pp. 112–35).
4. *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1884), p. 312, n. 20.
5. "The Origins of Thucydides' Style," *HSCP* 51 (1940): 35–84, esp. 38–42.
6. Aristophanes *Daitales* frag. 198K.
7. "Cicero and the Greek Orators," *AJP* 82 (1961): 27–49.
8. *Phdr.* 267C.
9. *Phdr.* 269D.
10. *Soph. El.* 34. 183b29.
11. *Rhet.* 3. 8. 1409a.
12. Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 6.

rhetoric in contradistinction to Isocrates creates a potential contradiction in the critic that requires consideration.[13]

The most extravagant claim for Thrasymachus as a stylist comes from the *Suda*: Θρασύμαχος Χαλχηδόνιος σοφιστὴς τῆς ἐν Βιθυνίαι Χαλχηδόνος, ὃς πρῶτος περίοδον καὶ κῶλον κατέδειξε καὶ τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο, μαθητὴς Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἔγραψε συμβουλευτικούς, τέχνην ῥητορικήν, παίγνια, ἀφορμὰς ῥητορικάς.[14] Chronology forbids that Thrasymachus' relation to Plato and Isocrates be as stated in the citation; but the accuracy of the identification of Thrasymachus with periodic style of a practical rhetoric is not necessarily to be doubted for that reason.

G. M. A. Grube did take exception to the assertion that it was Thrasymachus who had established the periodic style.[15] He argued that the statements in Dionysius of Halicarnassus relating to Thrasymachus are inconsistent if applied to periodic prose composition and that the references to Thrasymachus in Cicero's rhetorical works specifically deny him a developed periodic style. Grube's arguments have merit. In Dionysius' essay on Lysias we learn that Theophrastus credited Thrasymachus with being the founder of a style Dionysius himself assigns to Lysias: ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξις, οἰκεία πάνυ καὶ ἀναγκαία τοῖς δικανικοῖς λόγοις καὶ παντὶ ἀληθεῖ ἀγῶνι (*Lys.* 6). Grube maintained that this refers to expression, not composition; that the identification with Lysias precludes reference to periodic composition. Again, at *Isaeus* 20, Dionysius likens Thrasymachus to Lysias in his use of factual and practical rhetoric as opposed to the ornateness of Isocrates. Dionysius treats Lysias as the prime model of this style, but Thrasymachus he calls: καθαρὸς μὲν καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ δεινὸς εὑρεῖν τε καὶ εἰπεῖν στρογγύλως καὶ περιττῶς ὃ βούλεται, πᾶς δ' ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς τεχνογραφικοῖς καὶ ἐπιδεικτικοῖς. δικανικοὺς δὲ ἢ συμβουλευτικοὺς οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπε λόγους.[16]

Nothing here aids the critic in defining Thrasymachus' style of composition; clarity, subtlety, along with clever invention and a diction at once concise and impressive, all refer to vocabulary and the expression of content. The meaning of "concisely" for στρογγύλως must be essentially correct.[17]

In Dionysius' *Demosthenes* 3 we find the discussion of the middle (or

13. Dion. Hal. *Isaeus* 20. See n. 15.

14. On the problems with the *Suda* entry, see L. Radermacher, "Griechischer Sprachbrauch," *Philologus* 65 (1906): 149–51, and the notes in the various editions of the fragments of Thrasymachus (see n. 21 below). On the convention πρῶτος . . . κατέδειξε . . . for the inventor of an *ars*, see R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes*, Hypomnemata 45 (Göttingen, 1975), s.v. καταδείκνυμι, to which he now adds Isoc. 11. 22, 12. 202 (cf. 206); Andron *FGrH* 10. 13; Athen. 8. 360D. I owe all the references in this note to Prof. Renehan.

15. "Thrasymachus, Theophrastus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus," *AJP* 73 (1952): 251–67.

16. Schwartz' deletion of συμβουλευτικοὺς may not be necessary. Dionysius makes the point that Lysias concerned himself more than did Thrasymachus with οἱ ἀληθινοὶ ἀγῶνες. Even the passage we have through Dionysius of an address to the Athenian assembly may not have been composed for actual delivery. As a foreigner, Thrasymachus cannot have delivered this speech; nor is it likely that he composed it for delivery by an Athenian politician, politicians being themselves the ῥήτορες. See V. Pisani, "Storia della lingua greca," in *Enciclopedia Classica*, sez. 2, vol. 5, tom. 1 (Turin, 1960), p. 109.

17. Συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα probably has the meaning merely of presenting thoughts in tight construction, as Grube ("Thrasymachus, Theophrastus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus," p. 256) argues. It is tempting, however, to think of involution (as in λέξις κατεστραμμένη) in view of Socrates' description of Thrasymachus at *Resp.* 1. 336B: συστρέψας ἑαυτὸν ὥσπερ θηρίον.

"mixed") style of which Thrasymachus may have been the inventor but which, according to Dionysius, was brought to perfection by Isocrates in oratory, in philosophy by Plato. After setting in opposition the style of Gorgias and Thucydides on the one hand (ἐξηλλαγμένη καὶ περιττὴ καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις κόσμοις ἅπασι συμπεπληρωμένη λέξις, *Dem.* 1) to that of Lysias on the other (ἡ λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελὴς καὶ δοκοῦσα κατασκευήν τε καὶ ἰσχὺν τὴν πρὸς ἰδιώτην ἔχειν λόγον καὶ ὁμοιότητα, *Dem.* 2), Dionysius introduces the third division of λέξις, which is mixed and composed of elements of the other two.

Once again, as Grube notes, there is nothing in the reference that points specifically to composition as opposed to diction. No ancient source, that is to say, explicitly supports the statement in the *Suda* that Thrasymachus was the inventor of periodic prose composition. Indeed, the evidence of Cicero appears to confute such a claim. Twice Cicero mentions Thrasymachus together with Gorgias as a primarily epideictic orator, the composer of pieces for declamation rather than actual forensic or deliberative speeches.

> *Orat.* 39 haec tractasse Thrasymachum Calchedonium primum et Leontinum ferunt Gorgiam, Theodorum inde Byzantium multosque alios, quos λογοδαιδάλους appellat in Phaedro Socrates; quorum satis arguta multa, sed ut modo primumque nascentia minuta et versiculorum similia quaedam nimiumque depicta.

> *Orat.* 175 nam neminem in eo genere [i.e., rhythmical prose] scientius versatum Isocrate confitendum est, sed princeps inveniendi fuit Thrasymachus, cuius omnia nimis etiam exstant scripta numerose.[18] Nam, ut paulo ante dixi, paria paribus adiuncta et similiter definita itemque contrariis relata contraria, quae sua sponte, etiam si id non agas, cadunt plerumque numerose, Gorgias primum invenit, sed eis est usus intemperatius. Id autem est genus, ut ante dictum est, ex tribus partibus conlocationis alterum.

Cicero thus insistently makes Thrasymachus one of the innovators of that epideictic style which Cicero, in curiously restrictive ways, relates to the middle style of oratory.[19] But he specifically denies Thrasymachus a fully developed periodic style of composition. At *Orator* 40, he says: "nam, cum concisus ei [i.e., Isocrates] Thrasymachus minutis numeris videretur et Gorgias, qui tamen primi traduntur arte quadam verba iunxisse, Theodorus autem perfractior nec satis, ut ita dicam, rotundus, primus instituit dilatare verbis et mollioribus numeris explicare sententias." Cicero tars Thrasymachus with the Gorgian brush, attributing to him a style of composition distinguished by short (*concisum*) units displaying antithesis, isocola, and jingling homoeoteleuta—the techniques associated with the Gorgianic figures. It remained, according to Cicero, for Isocrates to develop

18. It would be of interest to know what induced Cicero, writing on this subject, to produce a clause of this intricacy. The placement of ***numerose*** assures a favored cadence, but the double hyperbaton is remarkable.

19. See H. C. Gotoff, *Cicero's Elegant Style* (Urbana, 1979), pp. 47–49.

the style of composition that was for Cicero and later centuries truly periodic. So Cicero, so Grube, so Pisani.[20]

Other scholars before Grube, instead of deducing the style of Thrasymachus from comments and criticisms in the ancient sources, dwelt, more sensibly, on the passage preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus at *Demosthenes* 3—about 165 words of continuous prose from the beginning of a speech addressed to the Athenian assembly and cited by Dionysius as typical of the author's style.[21]

Blass claims to find evidence for a sophisticated pattern of complex periods.[22] I do not reproduce his schema because it does not, to my mind, work out. What he might have offered, and did not, is a judgment comparing the periods of Thrasymachus with those of Isocrates.

Drerup attempts to analyze the enormous development beyond Gorgias' short, antiphonal cola by noting that the passage of Thrasymachus preserved by Dionysius reveals a substantial number of individual clauses contained in two large, complex structures which twine around simple predicates and are integrated into a coherent whole. The progression of the sentence is developed organically, without recourse to obvious and obtrusive ornamentation, and, while antithesis is not absent, antithesis is always only an artistic means of expression and is not used as the basis for the whole exposition.[23]

What Drerup fails to acknowledge in his excellent piece of criticism is that in the areas of composition to which he alludes Thrasymachus' practice represents a stage more highly developed than what is to be found not only in the remains of Gorgias, but in the works of Isocrates as well. Drerup was, however, sufficiently impressed to conjecture that Thrasymachus was at the head of a school of composition rival to that of Gorgias.

Denniston, though he does not support his judgment with a detailed analysis, has no difficulty in crediting Thrasymachus with a style comparable to developed fourth-century periodic prose.[24] Here again a modern critic fails to consider the implications for the history of Greek prose style of a stylist who is, in his composition, more sophisticated than Isocrates, though anterior to him.

It is time to examine more closely than has previously been done the style of Thrasymachus as exhibited in the passage cited by Dionysius. The text is faulty in some places; so much so, in fact, that the suggestion has been made that Dionysius may have had at his disposal a corrupt text.[25]

20. Pisani, "Storia," p. 109, n. 16.

21. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 294–98, and B. A. van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque*, Verh. der kon. Ned. Akad. van Wet. Afd. Lett. 65, part 2 (1958), p. 246, n. 1, both acknowledge this as the beginning of a speech. Appropriately, it begins with a *topos*, though considering the dates of Thrasymachus we may be referring to the invention of a *topos*.

22. F. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 244–58.

23. E. Drerup, *Untersuchungen zur älteren griechischen Prosalitteratur* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 232.

24. J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 14–15.

25. I owe this observation to Prof. Renehan with a reference to his *Greek Textual Criticism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 64–65. If Dionysius had access only to an inferior and/or defective

Since in most cases emendation has presupposed an understanding of the emphases of Thrasymachus' style, the text is presented here sentence by sentence with a minimum of correction.

ἐβουλόμην μέν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετασχεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡνίκα σιωπᾶν ἀπέχρη τοῖς νεωτέροις τῶν τε πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαζόντων ἀγορεύειν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπευόντων.[26]

Nothing could less conform to Cicero's description of the style of Thrasymachus than the long, lush period with which the speech opens. Whatever the modern punctuation (Radermacher puts a full stop after ἐπιτροπευόντων), the expectation aroused by μέν carries the listener on to ἐπειδὴ δέ.

ἐβουλόμην μέν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι
μετασχεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ἡνίκα σιωπᾶν ἀπέχρη τοῖς νεωτέροις
τῶν τε πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαζόντων ἀγορεύειν
καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπευόντων
ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . .

Not only is the superstructure of the period established and sign-posted by the correlative particles μέν . . . δέ . . . , but the members that comprise the period are also carefully anticipated to guide the listener. Μετασχεῖν, an infinitive, is expected after the lead verb; it, in turn, demands the genitive. The demonstrative ἐκείνου anticipates the ἡνίκα-clause defining the time and circumstances the speaker wishes still obtained. Editors have objected to καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων on the grounds that it destroys the balance between χρόνου and ἡνίκα. . . . It is precisely in such areas that the style and intention of Thrasymachus' composition must be examined. Does he employ exclusively the bipartite balances and simple symmetries we associate with Isocrates, or does he use more sophisticated sentence structure in which balances are suggested but to some degree violated? (While it is unlikely that a ἡνίκα-clause could follow τῶν πραγμάτων alone, it does not seem so objectionable after the full phrase ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.)

Two causal genitives absolute, set in strict parallelism by τε . . . καὶ . . . explain σιωπᾶν ἀπέχρη. Though both are plural, the symmetry ends there. The first participle expects a complementary infinitive, which follows and closes the member periodically; the second participle brackets its member, being preceded both by a dependent adverb and by its direct object.

I have discussed elsewhere at length the basic expectations of periodic

manuscript, it may be that Thrasymachus was not well represented in Rome in Cicero's time. This possibility, applied in turn to Cicero, would affect the comments on Cicero's mention of Thrasymachus at the end of this paper. The evidence of *Orat.* 174–75, however, strongly suggests that Cicero had studied speeches of Thrasymachus.

26. The text which I use and from which I never deviate in silence is that of Radermacher-Usener, *Dionysius Halicarnaseus. Quae Extant*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart, 1899; repr. Stuttgart, 1965). It is essentially reproduced by L. Radermacher in *Artium Scriptores*, SAWW 227, Abh. 3 (1951), pp. 73–74. Other texts appear in J. Reiske, *Dionysii Halicarnasii Opera Omnia*, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1777); H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[5], vol. 2 (Bonn, 1934), pp. 322–24; M. Untersteiner, *Sophisti*, vol. 3 (Florence, 1954).

prose composition and how it developed.[27] The requisite for Aristotle is that the period anticipate its ending syntactically, so that thought and construction are simultaneously resolved in the apodosis of a complex sentence or at the end of a simple sentence. Sufficient for Aristotle, then, was any kind of protasis-apodosis arrangement in a bipartite structure of dependent clause preceding its main clause.[28] Examples of such structure abound in Isocrates to the reader's eventual and inescapable boredom. The notion of bracketing or rounding off the period or its members, by suspending until the final position of the period and the clauses that comprise the period an essential, previously anticipated element, is not a feature of Isocrates; nor is it demanded by Aristotle. The feature most certainly informs the periodic style of Cicero; it is not absent in the fragment of Thrasymachus under discussion.

In the unit diagrammed above—rounded in itself, but not fulfilling the syntactic requirements of a complete period—there are verbal repetitions and antitheses which are so articulated as to avoid balance and symmetry. *Πραγμάτων*, as the subject of the first genitive absolute, picks up *τῶν πραγμάτων* following *ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ*, the whole genitive phrase setting the temporal and circumstantial context for *ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπευόντων*. As the subject of the genitive absolute it does not make for a symmetrical antithesis with the subject of the second genitive absolute. A symmetrical writer—an Isocratean—would have taken advantage of the obvious antithesis of "youth versus elders" and employed as his framework: *τῶν τε νεωτέρων/καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*. Instead, youth is mentioned in the temporal clause and only implied as the object of the first genitive participle. This intentional lack of parallelism would not go unnoticed by an audience whose ears were ringing with Gorgianic antitheses. Nor can it be said that the symmetrical balances about to be lavished on them by Isocrates represent a wholly satisfactory development.

ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοιοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἀνέθετο χρόνον ὁ δαίμων, ὥστε . . . τῆς πόλεως ἀκούειν, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς . . . αὐτοὺς καὶ τούτων τὰ μέγιστα μὴ θεῶν ἔργα εἶναι μηδὲ τῆς τύχης ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμεληθέντων, ἀνάγκη [δὲ] λέγειν.

Επειδὴ δ' picks up *ἐβουλόμην μὲν* and continues, with the theme of the times, the complex period whose terms will not be satisfied syntactically until the final words of the unit, the independent clause *ἀνάγκη [δὲ] λέγειν*. (Whether *δὲ* should be deleted, kept apodotically, or strengthened to *δή*, as did Sylburg, we do not have enough of Thrasymachus to say with assurance.) What should be noticed is that the author has conflated the rhetorical material for two antithetical periods into one period which lacks antiphonal responsion and balance. That is to say, he could have worked with "In the old days the city was well governed, but now it is not" and "It behooves young men to remain silent, but I must speak out." What he

27. *Cicero's Elegant Style*, pp. 49–50.

28. See H. C. Gotoff, "The Concept of Periodicity in the *Ad Herennium*," *HSCP* 77 (1973): 217–23.

chose as an alternative to either or both is less obvious, therefore more sophisticated. (Because of the priority of Thrasymachus to the main corpus of Greek oratory we possess, there is a real question of whether we are entitled to label such arguments as commonplaces.[29])

The correlative adjective in the *εἰς τοιοῦτον . . . χρόνον* clause with its elegant hyperbaton anticipates the result clause periodically. Hyperbaton, the separating of two words expected to be found in collocation, I have discussed elesewhere.[30] The effect of the figure can be contextually emphatic, structurally effective, or merely graceful. Here, it might be argued that by its placement *χρόνον* insists on the echo of the same word in the previous period and stresses the depth to which the government has plunged.

The three manuscripts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus that transmit this passage all indicate a lacuna of some fifteen to twenty letters between *ὥστε* and *τῆς πόλεως*. Two manuscripts indicate a second lacuna after *συμφορὰς*, variously accented as accusative plural or genitive singular. The scribe of the third MS perhaps acknowledges the presence in his model of both possible endings by copying only *συμφο* and then leaving a lacuna. Most editors, following Blass, extrapolate from *τὰς δὲ* a *μὲν . . . δὲ . . .* antithesis:

> ⟨*τὰς μὲν εὐπραξίας*⟩ *τῆς πόλεως ἀκούειν*
> *τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς* ⟨*ὁρᾶν*⟩ *αὐτούς*

Others supply the first lacuna with *τὰς μὲν εὐτυχίας* or with *ἑτέρων μὲν ἀρχόντων* for a somewhat less obvious antithesis with *αὐτούς*. The editor's choice of suppletion, however, will be determined by his sense of Thrasymachus' style. While he is capable of Gorgianic isocolon,[31] Thrasymachus by no means limits himself to such exactly corresponding symmetries. For an editor to posit even one such balance in a text of this length might have the effect of making Thrasymachus seem more Gorgianic than in fact he is. The Radermacher-Usener Teubner text wisely acknowledges the lacunae in the MSS and does not presume to conjecture what a highly individual stylist did with this passage.[32]

However neat the *μὲν . . . δὲ . . .* balance, if one there was, may have been, the listener would have been surprised to realize that it does not comprise the entire *ὥστε* clause, but that another element follows, unanticipated, in the result clause:

> *τούτων τὰ μέγιστα μὴ θεῶν ἔργα εἶναι*
> *μηδὲ τῆς τύχης*
> *ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμεληθέντων*

This unit, added by a simple, yet emphatic *καὶ* to the first part of the result clause, is progressive in that it takes up the notion of the misfortunes with which Athens is faced and ventures to assign blame. The clause itself

29. See Radermacher, *Artium Scriptores*, p. 74.
30. *Cicero's Elegant Style*, p. 231.
31. See p. 306.
32. In *Artium Scriptores*, p. 73, Radermacher accepts *ὁρᾶν*, still acknowledging part of the lacuna.

is in the form of a rhetorical balance, μὴ . . . ἀλλὰ . . . , but it is further elaborated, at the expense of simple rhetorical balance, by the second negative element. With the insertion of the second negative, the balance of the antithetical agents, the gods versus the politicians, brackets the clause in a more elegant and sophisticated manner.

In a brief, emphatic main clause, artfully postponed until the final position, the point of this complex period is forcefully expressed: "It is necessary to speak."

ἢ γὰρ ἀναίσθητος ἢ καρτερώτατός ἐστιν, ὅστις ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἑαυτὸν ἔτι παρέξει τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ τῆς ἑτέρων ἐπιβουλῆς τε καὶ κακίας αὐτὸς ὑποσχήσει τὰς αἰτίας.[33]

"For the man is either insensitive or excessively bold who will continue to furnish himself to do wrong for those who so urge him and will undertake the blame for the plots and wrongdoing of others." A balance for the sentence is suggested by the nominative antithesis established by ἢ . . . ἢ . . . , where it should be noted that the opportunity for pairing superlative adjectives with attendant homoeoteleuton is eschewed. The general relative clause contains a pair of future active transitive indicatives, but there is no attempt at further parallelism: ἑαυτὸν versus αὐτὸς. Ἐξαμαρτάνειν, an infinitive in the first part, is made to correspond semantically to τὰς αἰτίας in the second, and the corrupting external agents are represented by a dative, τοῖς βουλομένοις, in the first part, by the genitive, ἑτέρων, in the second. As a possibility for symmetrical balance, an author, so disposed, might have set up the terms: ἑτέρων μέν βουλομένων . . . ἑτέρων δ' ἐπιβουλευομένων. The expansion τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τε καὶ κακίας (an example of hendiadys) is similar to the structure τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων to the extent that in both cases a second element is added that is destructive of strict structural balance. Even without emphasizing the particulars, the critic need only refer to the wilful lack of correspondence in the two halves of the result clause to argue for the author's deliberate aim of avoiding obvious balance.

There appears to be a chiastic arrangement of the two roles the audience is accused of accepting—passive complicity or willing passivity—in relation to the two adjectives used in the main clause. (I reject the interpretation of Reiske that (ἐν) ἐξαμαρτάνειν is epexegetic and that the meaning is "in se praebere locum aliis peccandi.")

ἄλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν εἰρήνης ἐν πολέμωι γενέσθαι καὶ κινδύνωι, εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον τὴν μὲν παρελθοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀγαπῶσι, τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν δεδιόσιν, ἀντὶ δ' ὁμονοίας εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ ταραχὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφικέσθαι.[34]

33. Radermacher's καρτερικώτερος (καρτερικώτατος Usener) is unnecessary, though the fashion for adjectives in ικος at this time is noted by Neil at Ar. *Eq.* 1378, Dover on Ar. *Nub.* 318, and Denniston, *Greek Prose Style*, p. 19. I owe this note to Prof. Renehan, who also has pointed out to me the deliberate inconcinnity in the two future forms of ἔχω.

34. Nowhere is the urge greater to restore or create a more readable text than in this sentence. It is difficult to make a connection between the first six words and the parallel infinitive units that follow. Διὰ κινδύνων (*MB:* διὰ κίνδυνον *P*) cannot stand without the suppletion of an infinitive that can govern both διὰ κινδύνων and εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον. So Diels: διὰ κινδύνων ⟨ἐλθεῖν⟩ εἰς . . . But other suppletions, otherwise placed, would do as well or as poorly. Reiske attempted the text

More than in anything that has preceded, this sentence contains features typically associated with Gorgias—echoing balances and antitheses. An analysis will demonstrate, however, that Thrasymachus has largely and subtly played against the expectations of Gorgianic structure to produce a period at once more intricate and sophisticated.

ἄλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος
καὶ
ἀντὶ μὲν εἰρήνης ἐν πολέμωι γενέσθαι καὶ κινδύνωι
εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον
{τὴν μὲν παρελθοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀγαπῶσι,
τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν δεδιόσιν}
ἀντὶ δ' ὁμονοίας εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ ταραχάς
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀφικέσθαι.

If the infinitive phrases can be taken as epexegetic after ἄλις with a bold inconcinnity after ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος, the superstructure of the sentence is a simple nominal statement, no less forceful for its simplicity: "Enough of the time gone by and of being in war rather than peace. . . ." The two predicative propositions are not in parallel, but the second, with the trigger-word μέν, anticipates a third proposition rhetorically, at least, antithetical to the second. The tight, and textually blameless, pair of antithetical dative participial phrases, reinforced by isocolon and homoeoteleuton, call special attention to the anaphoric parallelism of ἀντὶ μὲν . . . ἀντὶ δὲ . . . It should be noted, however, that beyond the obvious parallelism, those two elements do not really correspond. Whether another infinitive has been lost (as per Diels' conjecture above) or whether, as the text stands, the two infinitives appear in different positions and vary in construction, an imbalance exists. Radermacher's emendation to the dative produces a pair of parallel prepositions with γενέσθαι in a way corresponding to the compound object of εἰς governed by ἀφικέσθαι. On the other hand, the order of compound prepositional phrase + infinitive in the two elements would involve an inconcinnity. The evidence that Thrasymachus is an author who eschews symmetry even to the extent of permitting inconcinnity remains strong.

However the phrase εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον would work into a sound text, it undoubtedly sets askew the balance of ἀντὶ μὲν . . . ἀντὶ δὲ . . . , preventing a symmetrical chiastic construction.

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑβρίζειν τε ποιεῖ καὶ στασιάζειν, ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσωφρονοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐμάνημεν, ἃ τοὺς ἄλλους σωφρονίζειν εἴωθεν.

The period is framed in a μὲν . . . δὲ . . . antithesis, but one that is neither symmetrical nor simple. To begin with, a possible balance of subject versus subject, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι :: ἡμεῖς δὲ, is rejected. Furthermore, the second mem-

as received, rendering it "qui et in hoc usque tempus per pericula praeteritos dies. . . ." Radermacher, "Miscellen," *RhM* 51 [1895]: 477 conjectured κινδύνωι, predominantly on the grounds of palaeographical possibility, without making clear how εἰς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον is to be taken.

ber of the antithesis breaks down into a two-part antithesis contrasting the Athenian response both to good and bad fortune:

> τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑβρίζειν τε ποιεῖ καὶ στασιάζειν
> ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσωφρονοῦμεν
> ἐν δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐμάνημεν

The change in preposition with attendant change in case avoids complete isocolon, though homoeoteleuton is felt in spite of the change in tense and voice. As in the last sentence, Thrasymachus seems most comfortable composing Gorgianic antitheses when he can house them in structures that are neither symmetrical nor balanced. In this sentence, not only has the period moved progressively, expanding to a new concept in its second member, but it does not end with the ἐν δὲ . . . unit, so carefully balanced against μετὰ μὲν . . . I have argued elsewhere that Cicero uses Gorgianic balances only restrictedly and for special effect.[35] It may be that had we more of Thrasymachus we should find in his work something of the same limited indulgence of such obvious and simple balances. Without doubt, there is nothing obvious about the movement of this sentence. Having established the expectation of two-part antithesis and disappointed that expectation by subdividing the second member, Thrasymachus goes on to add another member, without syntactic or rhetorical warning, that characterizes the response of other people to misfortune. Merely to point to ABBA chiastic composition does not do justice to the texture of the sentence. Ἃ τοὺς ἄλλους σωφρονίζειν εἴωθεν is as pointed as it is unexpected.

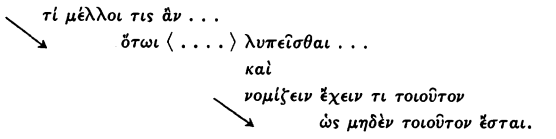
The repetition of key words, sometimes in quite unpredictable ways, is a feature of this sentence—and, indeed, of the whole passage. Τῶν ἀγαθῶν is repeated but not τοῖς κακοῖς, though the latter is picked up implicity by ἅ. With a change of formation, the stem σωφρον- is repeated. On the other hand, ἐμάνημεν is opposed to ὑβρίζειν τε ποιεῖ καὶ στασιάζειν, a doublet for a single verb, with change of construction and change in voice. The word order of ὑβρίζειν τε ποιεῖ καὶ στασιάζειν is noteworthy and somewhat corresponds to ἐν πολέμωι γενέσθαι καὶ κινδύνωι, if that can stand (τε makes some difference).

> τί δῆτα μέλλοι τις ἂν γιγνώσκειν εἰπεῖν, ὅτωι γε λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ νομίζειν ἔχειν τι τοιοῦτον, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἔσται.[36]

The first feature of the period to be noticed is that it is progressive. Rather than being constructed in an antiphonal, bipartite balance, it moves forward:

35. *Cicero's Elegant Style*, p. 230.

36. This sentence has a couple of textual difficulties, at the least. The absence of a governing verb in the relative clause has been noticed and variously supplied. I omit conjectures and even the placement of suppletion to avoid prejudicing the text. Of editors only Untersteiner countenances the manuscript reading γιγνώσκειν εἰπεῖν : ἃ γιγνώσκει εἰπεῖν Diels, γιγνώσκων εἰπεῖν Blass, [εἰπεῖν] Radermacher.



Each member leads to the next, though the pair of infinitives in the relative clause creates its own construction in the midst of the progression and slows it down.

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς διαφερομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποδείξω γε παρὰ λόγον πεπονθότας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὅπερ ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἄνευ γνώμης φιλονικοῦντας πάσχειν.
παρὰ λόγον Usener προλέγων MSS ἐν τῶι λόγωι Diels

Once again, we are presented with a period that moves forward, rather than oscillates in balanced, bipartite construction. The structure is: *τοὺς διαφερομένους . . . ἀποδείξω . . . πεπονθότας . . . ὅπερ ἀνάγκη . . . πάσχειν*. The pair of genitives that delimit the first participle are set in explicit balance by *καὶ . . . καὶ . . .* The repetition of *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*—and our author has no hesitation about verbal repetition—is here effective. In its second appearance, in emphatic position, it serves to round off its unit rhetorically, though not syntactically. The verbal echo *πεπονθότας . . . πάσχειν* is merely an instance of ornamental paronomasia; in its own way, the second instance of the form also contributes to the resolution of the period.

οἰόμενοι γὰρ ἐναντία λέγειν ἀλλήλοις οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τὰ αὐτὰ πράττοντες οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν ἑτέρων λόγον ἐν τῶι σφετέρωι λόγωι ἐνόντα.
σφετέρωι Cobet ἑτέρωι MSS τῶν ἑτέρων [λόγωι] Blass

The sentence begins with a circumstantial participial phrase and is rounded off by a pair of participial phrases complementary to the main verb and structured on *οὐκ . . . οὐδὲ . . .* There is no reason to believe that the postponement of the last participle to the final position is other than deliberate bracketing. Again, the repetition of **λόγος** is much in the author's manner. The period is handsomely articulated without being self-consciously ornamental. There is nothing forced or oppressive about the potentially Gorgianic antithesis between "thinking to say the opposite" and "actually saying the same."

σκέψασθε γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἃ ζητοῦσιν ἑκάτεροι. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία ταραχὴν αὐτοῖς ῥάστη παρέχει γνωσθῆναι καὶ κοινοτάτη τοῖς πολίταις οὖσα πᾶσιν.

This passage seems to mark something of a transition from the general to the particular, though in terms of intricacy of sentence structure the rhetoric has already been winding down.[37] The speaker addresses his audience to invite them to reason together, in a sentence which, though periodic and progressively so, is brief. The next sentence starts with the anticipatory

37. The speech has been variously outlined by Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, pp. 244–58, Van Groningen, *La composition littéraire*, p. 246, n. 1, and E. Havelock, *The Liberal Temper of Greek Politics* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 230–39.

particle μέν to which nothing that follows corresponds. Πρῶτον, too, raises a logical expectation that the remainder of the fragment does not satisfy. But the structurally most remarkable feature of the sentence is that it is the first one that is completely unperiodic. Two superlative adjectives, modifying the subject with the participle οὖσα, are merely added on after the main predicate. Nor is there any attempt to round off the participial phrase; the final word, an adjective, is separated from its noun in hyperbaton. (Were the order "adjective-noun," rounding could have been achieved; but the adjective is here emphatic and, thus, emphatically placed.)

If we can generalize at all from so small a sample, Thrasymachus seems to be suiting his stylistic techniques to the context. In this he is like Cicero who, in contradistinction to Isocrates, is aware that not every section of a speech is a proper setting for the structural arabesques of which he was so capable and with which he has, erroneously, been almost exclusively identified.

ὁπόσα μὲν οὖν ἐπέκεινα τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης, †ἀκούειν ἀνάγκη λέγειν τῶν παλαιοτέρων, ὁπόσα δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖδον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων πυνθάνεσθαι.
ἐπέκεινα Reiske ἐκείνων MSS

From the corrupt text that follows it is easy enough to extract the meaning and produce, *e coniectura*, a readable text: ἀκούειν ἀνάγκη λεγόντων τῶν παλαιοτέρων Reiske; ἀκοῆι μὲν *seu* ἀκοὴν ἀνάγκη λέγειν τῶν παλαιοτέρων Radermacher; ἀκούειν ἀνάγκη λόγων τῶν παλαιοτέρων Diels. Reiske's emendation may be dismissed; the antithesis is between information outside the direct experience of the entire present population, which must be supplied by the word of tradition, and information in the direct experience of the older generation. This entails ἡμεῖς, deduced from ἡμετέρας, including the living, as opposed to οἱ παλαιότεροι, while the subject of πυνθάνεσθαι, presumably ἡμᾶς, refers to οἱ νεώτεροι as opposed to οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. I favor Diels' solution, because I do not believe Thrasymachus is thinking at this point about speaking, but understanding ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία, though the genitive of the thing after ἀκούειν is less usual. In analyzing the style of this piece, however, it is prudent to put as little emphasis as possible on the details of an antithesis recovered by conjecture.

The structural outline of the sentence is not in question:

ὁπόσα μὲν ἐπέκεινα τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης
. . . ἀνάγκη . . . τῶν παλαιοτέρων
ὁπόσα δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖδον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι
ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων πυνθάνεσθαι.

Ὁπόσα μὲν . . . ὁπόσα δ' . . . stand out like a beacon and structure the sentence. The author, however, did not sense the need to provide a formal and explicit balance for ταῦτα δὲ . . . The two superlative substantized adjectives do not appear in parallel members or in the same case. And, unless the text wants more correction than what has so far been proposed, the infinitive in the second member was not put in a position corresponding to the

placement of the infinitive in the antithetical fourth clause. The latter infinitive, governed by ἀνάγκη, not only brackets its own clause, but rounds off the entire period. There is the suggestion of antithesis between τῆς ἡμετέρας γνωμῆς, the firsthand knowledge of the speaker's contemporaries, and τῶν εἰδότων, the speaker's elders, from whose knowledge he can profit. On the other hand, the paronomasia in ἐπεῖδον . . . εἰδότων . . . ties together the third and fourth members. Once more, parallelism avoided where strongly signalled, suggested where not expected.

To sum up this period, it exhibits bipartite complex antithesis with the corresponding main clauses not quite in balance. Against this framework, at once obvious and subtly asymmetrical, the author plays a tripartite distinction of citizens—forefathers, elders, and younger men (recalling, but not repeating the polarities presented in the opening sentence)—off two bipartite distinctions—forefathers versus contemporaries and old versus younger contemporaries.

Such is the passage of Thrasymachus of Calchedon preserved in Dionysius. The great *caveat* in generalizing from it is that it is a brief (and corrupt) fragment of a single work. (The one other apparently verbatim citation of the author, Ἀρχελάωι δουλεύσομεν Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρωι, is intriguing. The hyperbation of the dative phrase bracketing the entire sentence is reminiscent of the kind of articulation exploited by Alexandrian poets and their Roman followers. There are examples of such disposition of words in Cicero as well.[38]) Against the *caveat* is the assurance that Dionysius chose the passage because he felt it was representative of Thrasymachus' style.

The passage reveals a stylist who was by no means limited to the choppy little phrases that abound, with their perfectly symmetrical correspondences, in the remains of Gorgias. Thrasymachus could mold clauses and complex phrases into sophisticated, supple periods. In doing so, he represents a more advanced stage of composition than is found later in Isocrates. For while the latter depends largely on bipartite antithesis for his structural framework and pays relatively little attention to the articulation of the subordinate units that comprise the period (beyond his penchant for isocolon), Thrasymachus can develop the thought or logic of the period with a progressive structure in which syntax is permitted to develop because each new element somehow resolves an expectation that preceded it. The Gorgianic figures are used restrictively as one of the means of resolution, but even some deliberate inconcinnity can be expected to mar the symmetry of such balances.

If this is a fair and accurate analysis of the passage, and if we are justified in generalizing from it to a statement about the style of Thrasymachus, the *communis opinio* about the development of Greek prose style will have to be altered—and altered in an inconvenient way. For the dominance of

38. *Cicero's Elegant Style*, p. 242. Prof. Renehan points out that certain other articulations of Thrasymachus' sentence would have resulted in hiatus. Other choices of word order, however, were possible short of hiatus. Nor is hiatus absolutely avoided by Thrasymachus—or by Gorgias, Plato, or Alcidamas (see R. Renehan, "The Michigan Alcidamas–Papyrus: A Problem in Methodology," *HSCP* 75 [1971]: 101–2). The practice of the same author may vary in different works.

Isocrates represents neither progress nor development, but the conservation of rather simple, mechanical, obvious techniques in the face of a more subtle and sophisticated kind of composition. If we are justified in distinguishing in Thrasymachus a style composed for oral delivery as opposed to Isocrates' literary style,[39] we are left with the conclusion that the ear of a listener could manage—or perhaps demanded—more complex and less antiphonal sentence structure than did the eye of a reader.

Be that as it may, the discovery of a Greek oratorical style such as that described above may have important ramifications for our understanding of Cicero's prose style. The fact is that, in contradistinction to the *communis opinio*, Cicero's periodic prose style is not molded on that of Isocrates. His composition is progressive rather than antiphonal; when he uses the Gorgianic figures, he does so to disappoint the expectations of symmetry and concinnity; and he is concerned with rounding off or bracketing the members of the period as well as the period itself.

The question remains why, if this is so, Cicero took such pains to misrepresent the congenial style of Thrasymachus and to place himself falsely in the tradition of Isocrates. The possibility cannot be dismissed that he knew little or nothing directly of the works of Thrasymachus and that he was just parroting the *communis opinio* in his own day. It is more probable that his assessment of his Greek predecessors as well as of his own style was determined by the polemical exigencies of the controversy in which he found himself at the end of his life and which occasioned the writing of the *Brutus* and the *Orator*.[40]

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39. The assumption cannot be made simply; see n. 16. The question of the occasion and purpose of the speech, the sophistication of the style, and the comparative avoidance of hiatus might even raise doubts about the authenticity of the speech. On the issue of hiatus, the dogmatism of G. E. Benseler, *De hiatu in oratoribus Atticis* (Freiburg, 1841), is no longer fashionable. The fragment may simply represent a rhetorician's exercise; but we may still expect it to bear some relation to what an audience could be expected to hear. To suspect the authenticity on the basis of its stylistic sophistication is to claim a surer sense of rhetoric and oratory of the period than any Hellenist possesses.

40. See Cic. *Orat.* 177 and my discussion, *Cicero's Elegant Style*, pp. 18–32.