

HIATUS AND ITS EFFECT IN THE ATTIC SPEECH-WRITERS

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When an accomplished orator like Demosthenes has hiatus in the middle of a sentence, it does not follow that he is writing less carefully than usual. Examination of his practice has convinced me that he generally has a good reason for what he is doing. He may be speaking more slowly and deliberately, in contrast to the faster tempo of a narrative passage that avoids hiatus, and he may be drawing attention to some words and phrases marked off by hiatus, which he can emphasize by making a pause or break immediately before or after them.¹

Dionysius of Halicarnassus² distinguishes the austere harmony, which admits hiatus freely, from the smooth harmony which bans it altogether. He does not consider the one style necessarily superior to the other, and he has great respect for an orator who can use the austere style effectively. He knows that it makes special demands of a speaker, but in his brief discussion he mentions only the problem presented by the "roughness" of consonantal clusters, whether within the word or between one word and another, *ὅταν ἐκ τῶν τραχυνόντων τὴν φωνὴν γραμμάτων αἱ καλούμεναι συλλαβαὶ συντεθῶσιν*. He expects a speaker to deal with hiatus by inserting a semivowel between the vowels, just as a modern speaker of English does in expressions like "We (y)ought to go (w)out."³ He

¹Cf. L. Pearson, "Hiatus and its purposes in Attic oratory," *AJP* 96 (1975) 138-59, "The virtuoso passages in Demosthenes' speeches," *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 214-30. It has been recognized that hiatus may have a similar effect in spoken Latin, but it is useless to search for instances in prose authors, since Latin permits elision of long vowels and diphthongs. It is only in Plautus that convincing examples of "hiatus for effect" can be identified. For recent discussion (with reference to earlier work) see C. E. Paterson, "Heresies in Plautine hiatus—an impression," *Acta Classica* 13 (1970) 1-5, and G. Maurach, "Ein System der Plautushiate," *ibid.* 14 (1971) 37-66.

²*Dem.* 38.

³Cf. W. S. Allen, *Vox Graeca* (Cambridge 1968) 90. Insertion of a semivowel is not possible with all vowel combinations. One can say "In Tokyo (w) every day," "In Germany (y) often," but no such easy solution is possible with "In America invariably," "In Russia always." This is where a speaker has to be careful not to interpose an *r*. Fortunately for the Greeks they could elide a short alpha at the end of a word.

says there is a distinct break, an ἀξιόλογος σιωπή, when the semivowel is inserted, but this is not strictly correct. The “noticeable silence” occurs only when we refrain from inserting a semivowel, when we are speaking more slowly and carefully and separate the one vowel from the other by an inaudible laryngeal stop, “I-absolutely deny-any-error.” This “silence” gives the speaker a sense of semi-strangulation, and he must take care not to stumble or spoil his delivery with an ungraceful “er.”

The semivowel glide must have been the normal practice of Greek speakers after common words like καί and ὅτι and forms of the definite article, so that they would say, for example, οἱ (ι) Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ (ι) αὐτοῦ, καὶ (ι) αὐτός. One must assume that pseudo-hiatus of this kind, as distinct from true hiatus, presented no particular difficulty to any speaker, and many writers make no apparent effort to avoid it. But one cannot explain away every instance of hiatus in the orators on this system. Hiatus occurs so frequently in places where a break or pause between the words seems to be demanded, where an emphatic underlining of a word seems appropriate, that we must assume real hiatus to be intended. This kind of true hiatus seems to be indicated in many passages of the later speeches of Demosthenes, when he is at the height of his powers, in critical passages which are certainly written with care (notably in the ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν passage in *On the Crown*),⁴ but instances of it are much less common in speeches which he wrote for clients who were perhaps neither confident nor experienced speakers. This apparent inconsistency in his practice is easily explained if he thought true hiatus might, in certain circumstances, cause difficulty to speakers who lacked experience.

A good speech-writer tried to adapt the style of his speech to his client's character and oratorical ability. If the conclusions which have been based mainly on the speeches of Demosthenes are correct, they should be confirmed by evidence from other speech-writers who wrote for clients with limited talents. The speeches of Lysias and Isaeus tell us much about the character (or assumed character) and career of the man who is speaking, but only if he is a politician or a persistent litigant can we assume that he is probably an experienced and capable speaker. Ancient writers praise Lysias in particular for his skill in adapting a speech to each individual client, with the manner and style appropriate to his age, his parentage and upbringing, his occupation and manner of life.⁵ But they say nothing of taking account of his gifts or experience in public speaking. Vocabulary, grammatical usage, and the rhetorical refinements to which critics always draw attention can be adapted to the speaker's level of

⁴18.169 ff. Cf. *AJP* 96 (1975) 144–46.

⁵Cf. Dion. Hal. *Lysias* 9, Quintilian 3.8.51.

education and intelligence, but it is not always the more intelligent and better educated man who is the more fluent speaker. Whether their clients actually spoke well or badly, speech-writers often thought it advisable to represent them as without any experience in litigation or public speaking, in contrast to their adversaries who are notoriously expert, so the jury are told, and well able to use every trick that may deceive the court.⁶ They will not provide a client with an ill-written or clumsy speech, just to establish that he is a poor speaker. But it may be expected that they will not ask him to face technical difficulties of speech that are beyond him, that they will not give a halting speaker involved sentences, interrupted by parenthetical passages that will tax his powers of breath control, or present him with instances of hiatus that may make him stumble or stutter. We can only guess how well clients actually performed when their turn came to speak. But the text of the speeches must indicate what the speech-writer wanted them to say, what he thought they would be able to deliver in such a way as to please and also convince the jury.⁷

Instead of merely counting instances of hiatus and noting that they are more frequent in some speeches than others, one should observe the context and the situation in which each instance occurs. It is sometimes supposed that hiatus is hardly significant if it occurs at the end of a period or at a colon, and less significant when it occurs at a comma than in the middle of a phrase. But it is more important to remember what true hiatus means to a speaker. If it occurs in the middle of a sentence, it forces him to interrupt his flow of speech, without taking breath. He may find this difficult towards the end of a long sentence, when he is running short of breath, and if he is speaking fast this kind of interruption will need special care on his part.⁸ But anyone who has mastered the elements of public speaking should be able to manage it if he has breath to spare and is not in a hurry. In the middle of a phrase the effect will be to draw attention to the word before or after the hiatus. At a comma the hiatus may actually act as a guide to the speaker, showing where a short break is desirable, acting as a substitute for a punctuation mark. It should not surprise us, therefore, that hiatus is so common at a comma in the best oratory, common also in speeches written for clients, who may need this kind of help if they are to phrase their sentences right.

⁶Cf., e.g., Dem. 43.1–2, Isaeus 1.1–2, 8.4–5. Numerous other examples could be cited.

⁷We can only guess how closely the text, as we have it, corresponds to the text given to the client, if indeed he was given a complete text. Cf. K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968) 150–51.

⁸For passages that require the technique of an accomplished orator see *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 227–30.

The speeches of Lysias provide good examples of this use of hiatus for the ordinary speaker, none better than the opening sentences of *Oration 1, On the murder of Eratosthenes*:

Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ τοιοῦτους ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ δικαστὰς περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι, οἷοίπερ ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἴητε τοιαῦτα πεποιθότες· εὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχετε, ἥνπερ περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὅστις οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγεννημένοις ἀγανακτοίη, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν περὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδυνόντων τὰς ζημίας μικρὰς ἡγοῖσθε. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν εἴη μόνον παρ' ὑμῖν οὕτως ἐγνωσμένα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι· περὶ τούτου γὰρ τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡ αὐτὴ τιμωρία τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις πρὸς τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα δυναμένους ἀποδέδοται, ὥστε τὸν χεῖριστον τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν τῷ βελτίστῳ.

There are eight examples of hiatus in this passage, without counting instances of pseudo-hiatus like τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἡ αὐτή, or places where elision would be acceptable. The speaker is evidently being shown how not to speak too fast, making his first break after *περὶ πολλοῦ*, and not hurrying on after *γενέσθαι* and *ἀγανακτοίη*. And the break after *περὶ πολλοῦ* and *οὐκ ἂν εἴη* might help to sustain the solemn and serious tone which he needs in his opening plea as a man on trial for murder. Five of these eight examples correspond with the punctuation marks, comma or colon, inserted by modern editors. The remaining three come at places where a speaker might well make a short break.⁹ None of them should cause a speaker any difficulty. And even though there is often a diphthong before these breaks, it cannot be argued that he could insert a semivowel glide there. The phrasing demands a break at these points, and the silent interval is effective.

The sentences that follow contain similar examples of hiatus at a comma, and in section 4, when he says *καὶ οὔτε ἔχθρα ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐδεμία ἦν*, the triple hiatus (not counting *καὶ ἐκείνῳ*) tells him to speak slowly, so that every word will have full weight: “No quarrel-of any kind-between him and me-had ever occurred.” Hiatus occurs at about equal frequency as the speech goes on, with an occasional cluster of three or four examples in a short space, when he should speak slowly and emphatically, as in the narrative when he warns the slave girl, “Not a word of this to anyone, and mind you do exactly as I say:”

“ὅπως τοίνυν ταῦτα μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πεύσεται· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲν σοι κύριον ἔσται τῶν πρὸς ἐμ' ὡμολογημένων. ἀξιώ δέ σε ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ταῦτά μοι ἐπιδείξαι· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν δέσμαι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον φανερὸν γενέσθαι, εἴπερ οὕτως ἔχει.” (21)

⁹Compare *Orations 3* and *19* for similar hiatus at the start of a speech.

There are six clear examples of hiatus here. Can one say that they are all accidental, or that the writing is careless?

Slight changes in word order and phrasing would eliminate hiatus in most passages of this kind. For example, one might ask why Lysias did not write the opening sentence of the speech like this:

Περὶ πολλοῦ ποιησαίμην ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ δικαστὰς ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι
τοιούτους ὑμᾶς περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, οἰοίπερ κτλ.

This is a smoother sentence which can be spoken faster. In fact Lysias often begins a speech with this kind of smooth sentence, for example in Oration 24, *For the Cripple*:

Οὐ πολλοῦ δέω χάριν ἔχειν, ὦ βουλὴ, τῷ κατηγόρῳ, ὅτι μοι παρεσκεύασε
τὸν ἀγῶνα τουτονί. πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν ἐφ' ἧς τοῦ βίου λόγον
δοίην, νυνὶ διὰ τούτου εἴληφα. καὶ πειράσσομαι τῷ λόγῳ τούτον μὲν ἐπιδείξαι
ψευδόμενον, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ βεβιωκότα μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαίνου μᾶλλον
ἄξιον ἢ φθόνου· διὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο μοι δοκεῖ παρασκευάσαι τόνδε μοι τὸν
κίνδυνον οὗτος ἢ διὰ φθόνου.

There is only one example of hiatus here, after τῷ κατηγόρῳ, the proper place for the first break. And in Oration 9, *For the Soldier*, apart from one hiatus at the end of a period and two at comma or colon, there is only one instance in the first fifteen lines, ἡ τόδε μὲν ἐπίστανται, ἡγούμενοι δὲ λήσειν (1). Since hiatus could have been avoided by writing λήσειν δ' ἡγούμενοι, it seems that Lysias wants the speaker to make a break at ἐπίστανται, as though to say, "they know perfectly well." Likewise in Oration 22, *Against the Grain dealers*, except for ὅτι ἐγώ and ὅτι ὑμεῖς, which are clear instances of pseudo-hiatus, since no break is wanted after ὅτι,¹⁰ there is no hiatus until the speaker is near the end of the fourth sentence, νομίζων, εἰ μὲν εἰσιν ἄξια θανάτου εἰργασμένοι, ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἡμῶν γινώσκειν τὰ δίκαια (2). The result is to underline both εἰργασμένοι and ὑμᾶς, so that the contrast between "you" and "us" will be emphasized.

How should we explain the preference for a smoother style in some speeches than in others?¹¹ It can hardly be that the use of hiatus will protect

¹⁰When apparent hiatus occurs without any indication of a break or any special need for emphasis, it may well be pseudo-hiatus. Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit* 1.421, noting that there are only two instances of hiatus in Lysias *Olympikos*, says quite rightly that there is "kaum Pause" at either one, ἤκω οὐ μικρολογησόμενος, πολλοῦ ἄξιον (33.3). πολλοῦ ἄξιος is so common in the orators that it must count as a single word, and this is certainly pseudo-hiatus. Sometimes, however, there seems to be a break, with real hiatus, after ὅτι.

¹¹Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit* 1.421 and 2.141–42, following Benseler, *De Hiatu* (Freiburg 1841) 175–86, recognizes that Lysias is inconsistent, varying from one speech to another, but he offers no explanation. Nor have scholars in more recent years found an explanation. Cf. Dover (above, note 7) 68–69, 89.

anyone from being thought a clever scoundrel and a rhetorical expert. The speaker of Oration 1, who uses hiatus, appears to be a simple countryman, while the Cripple (Oration 24), who avoids it, is probably a much craftier customer, but both these men are clearly anxious to present themselves as "ordinary working people."¹² Lysias evidently did not think it out of character for a simple man to avoid hiatus, and we cannot pretend to know better than he did. The more convincing answer is supplied by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He regards hiatus as one of the features of the austere style, which has *σεμνότης*. Certainly a higher degree of *σεμνότης* would be appropriate in a speaker who is charged with murder (Oration 1) than in one who is accused of petty fraud (Oration 24).

Dionysius does not tell us why hiatus should add dignity or solemnity, but he must know that it slows the pace of a speech, and he will expect his readers to remember that the older style of oratory used a slower delivery, with shorter phrases and frequent breaks, as exemplified in the Thucydidean speeches. And if we look at the speeches of Antiphon and Andocides, it is easy to see the same distinction as in Lysias between passages with little hiatus, except at comma and colon, which can be spoken at a faster pace, because they express general or even quite commonplace sentiments, and others which demand a slower and more emphatic delivery, because they are more directly connected with the speaker himself and his case; and it is in these passages that hiatus within the clause is more frequent. In *On the Murder of Herodes* the speaker

¹²Cf. Otto Buechler, *Die Unterscheidung der redenden Personen bei Lysias* (Heidelberg 1936) 56–64, 67, who finds the style of Oration 1 admirably suited to a simple countryman. The appearance of simplicity, in narrative and argument as well as in language, may have deceived a listening jury, but critical readers are not so easily convinced that the speaker was a simple man. Cf. H. Erbse, "Lysias-Interpretationen" in *Festschrift Ernst Kapp* (Hamburg 1958) 51–66, and A. Dihle, *Studien zur griechischen Biographie* (Göttingen 1970²) 153–55.

S. Usher, "Individual characterization in Lysias," *Eranos* 63 (1965) 99–119, thinks that the Cripple (Oration 24) "speaks in a manner which does not accord with his humble state," and that he may in fact be an educated man of good family who has fallen on evil days (112). The speech certainly lacks *σεμνότης* and its ironic tone makes one wonder if the speaker is taking his day in court very seriously. For recent discussion see L. Roussel, *L'invalide de Pseudo-Lysias* (Paris 1966). U. Albini, "L'orazione lisiana per l'invalido," *RhM* 95 (1952) 328–38, contrasts its rhetorical refinement with its elements of simplicity; he counts the occasional instances of hiatus as typical of everyday colloquial language, but fails to point out how rarely in fact hiatus occurs.

Usher also notes (108–10) that the speaker of Oration 16, who has hardly any hiatus, is "a noble knight." But it cannot be argued that avoidance of hiatus is a mark of the educated speaker, since Demosthenes uses it freely in *On the Crown*, a speech in which he wishes to show that he is educated and that Aeschines' pretensions to *paideia* are ridiculous. And Lysias uses it freely himself in Oration 12, as will be seen (cf. below p. 144).

begins by regretting his lack of experience in speaking and points out that this is an inevitable disadvantage in court; there is only one striking example of hiatus, when he applies the principle to his own situation, ἐν τούτῳ με βλάπτει ἢ τοῦ λέγειν ἀδυνασία (2). He continues to explain what happens to other people, but when he comes back to his own troubles in 5, the hiatus becomes frequent:

τάδε δέομαι ὑμῶν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐάν τι τῇ γλώσση ἀμάρτω, συγγνώμην ἔχειν μοι, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἀπειρίᾳ αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀδικίᾳ ἡμαρτηῖσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐάν τι ὀρθῶς εἴπω, ἀληθείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δεινότητι εἰρησθαι. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον οὐτ' ἐργῶ ἀμαρτύντα διὰ ῥήματα σωθῆναι, οὐτ' ἐργῶ ὀρθῶς πράξαντα διὰ ῥήματα ἀπολέσθαι.

This is where he wants the jury to pay very careful attention, and each point, each significant word is hammered home with hiatus. If he makes an error of *speech*, they must *recognize* it as a sign of *inexperience*, not of *criminality*, and if he happens to speak well or correctly, of his *truthfulness*, not his *cunning*; words should not save a man who is *really* at fault or ruin a man who is *really* in the right. It is a remarkable sentence, with no fewer than eight examples of hiatus. He proceeds to explain himself in a series of γάρ clauses, evidently speaking faster, but with occasional hiatus to emphasize a significant word, ἀνάγκη, κινδύνῳ, δικάϊω.¹³ Then in 21-22 he uses hiatus with good effect, when he maintains that the “facts” of the voyage (which no one denies) clear him of any suspicion of murderous intent:

ἡ μὲν πρόφασις ἐκατέρῳ τοῦ πλοῦ αὐτῇ ἐτύχομεν δὲ χειμῶνι τινι χρησάμενοι, ὑφ' οὗ ἡναγκάσθημεν κατασχεῖν εἰς τῆς Μηθυμναίας τι χωρίον. . . οὔτε γὰρ πείσας τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδαμοῦ ἀπελέγχομαι σύμπλουν μοι γενέσθαι. . . οὐτ' αὖ ἐγὼ ἄνευ προφάσεως. . . οὐτ' αὖ ἐπειδὴ ὠρμισάμεθα ἢ μετέκβασις ἐγένετο εἰς τὸ ἕτερον πλοῖον οὐδενὶ μηχανήματι οὐδ' ἀπάτῃ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦτο ἐγένετο. ἐν ᾧ μὲν γὰρ ἐπλέομεν, ἀστέγαστον ἦν τὸ πλοῖον, εἰς δὲ μετέβημεν, ἐστέγασμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἕτεροῦ ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἦν.

He insists emphatically that they shifted to another ship in harbour only because it would give them better protection from the rain, that there was no question of any pre-arranged plan. He uses hiatus in similar fashion when he protests against the absurdity of the charges that are being made against him: λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐν μὲν τῇ γῇ ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, κἀγὼ λίθον αὐτῷ ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν (ὅς οὐκ ἐξέβην τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τοῦ

¹³ἀνάγκη, in the nominative case, will be an emphatic word whenever it occurs, and it should be noticed how frequently it is found with hiatus before or after it, in Lysias 12.1, 13.92, 19.1, 26.6, in Isaeus 1.29, 2.1, 3.6, 8.1, in Demosthenes 8.51, 10.27, 18.34, 27.1, and in pseudo-Demosthenic speeches 43.1, 44.51, 46.19, 47.25, 48.21, 52.28.

πλοίου) (26). The parenthetic clause can be spoken quickly, since it has no hiatus; Antiphon evidently decided against writing ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου οὐκ ἐξέβην, but he has three dramatic breaks in the next sentence, when he states dogmatically ὅπως δ' ἡφανίσθη ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ εἰκότι δύνανται ἀποφαίνειν. After this he returns to a smoother style without hiatus.

One may be inclined, when reading Antiphon, to think that he is indifferent to hiatus, because it seems to occur so frequently.¹⁴ But closer examination of this and his other speeches will show that it occurs most commonly at the end of a phrase, where a speaker would naturally stop for a moment to break the flow of his speech (these are not always places where modern editors insert a comma). One can expect such breaks to occur at more frequent intervals in Antiphon than in later orators, who will prefer to speak (or make their clients speak) at a faster pace. But when hiatus occurs in the middle of a phrase and cannot be dismissed as pseudo-hiatus, it certainly looks like a means of creating emphasis, as for example in Oration 1, ἐὰν ἐπιδείξω ἐξ ἐπιβούλης καὶ προβούλης τὴν τούτων μητέρα φονέα οὖσαν (3), τὰ γὰρ γενόμενα ἐν τούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι ᾤθησαν (8), ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀποκτενιάσης δεῖσεται ἀθέμιτα (22). The speaker is accusing his stepmother of murder, and it is not surprising that he should speak in a vehement emphatic style. Oration 6 opens in a quieter manner, with only moderate use of hiatus, and an almost completely smooth passage begins in in 7–8, interrupted by a short outburst in 10, καίτοι αὐται αἱ κατηγορίαι οὔτε χάριτος ἄξια οὔτε πίστεως. Then in 11–13 his narrative is remarkably free from hiatus, until he challenges his accusers to question his accuracy: εἴ τι ψεύδομαι προφάσεως ἔνεκα, ἔξεστι τῷ κατηγορῶν ἐξελέγξαι ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω λόγῳ, ὅ τι ἂν βούληται εἰπεῖν (14). This time it is not left to our judgment to detect that he is speaking with vehemence, he tells us himself: καὶ οὐ τούτου ἔνεκα ταῦτα σφόδρα λέγω ὥς ἐμαυτὸν ἔξω αἰτίας καταστήσω (15).

These few observations about Antiphon are offered with some diffidence. Much more detailed statistical argument will probably be necessary to convince those who believe that he was indifferent to hiatus. But the speeches of Isaeus provide clearer examples of the same kind of contrast that can be found in Lysias. In some speeches hiatus is common, in others it is rare or almost completely absent.¹⁵ No satisfactory explanation of this inconsistency has been offered. Wyse¹⁶ is even driven to suggest that

¹⁴Cf. Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit* 1.132.

¹⁵The practice of Andocides may not be relevant to the present discussion, but he seems to aim at the same kind of contrast. There are, for example, good instances of hiatus in 1.6–7 and 20, but none in the passages which precede and follow. Cf. also the emphatic statement ὥς οὐτ' ἐμοὶ ἡσέβηται οὐδὲν οὔτε μεμήνυται οὐθ' ὠμολόγηται (10).

¹⁶*The Speeches of Isaeus* 178–79.

a higher fee may have been charged for a speech without hiatus, since he assumes that it is a mark of better style to have a smoother speech.

In Oration 1 Isaeus uses hiatus in the middle of a clause in only three passages, and they deserve particular attention. His clients are two young men, brothers, who maintain that their uncle and guardian, Cleonymus, really intended to leave them his property, though he never altered a will made some years earlier, in which he left them nothing. Since the will appears to be legal, they plead their case by showing that there was a close bond of affection between them and their uncle, that they were always dutiful nephews and that they are “very nice young fellows” of good character. The speaker says he has never been in court before, that he and his brother had a strict upbringing, and οὐδὲ ἀκροασόμενοι οὐδέποτε ἤλθομεν ἐπὶ δικαστήριον (1). The hiatus would help him give the special emphasis where he needs it, “not even as an auditor.” It is the same when he insists that Cleonymus had no quarrel with them or with their father, ἐρωτῶντος τοῦ Δεινίου παραχρῆμα εἴ τι ἡμῖν ἢ τῷ πατρὶ ἐγκαλεῖ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, ἀπεκρίνατο πάντων ἐναντίον ὅτι οὐδὲν πονηρὸν ἐγκαλεῖ (11).¹⁷ Here the hiatus not only underlines “us” and “father,” but enforces a break before ἀπεκρίνατο and (unless a semivowel glide is used) before οὐδέν. There is a similar hiatus break before ἡμῖν in 29, as well as after ἀνάγκη,¹⁸ but elsewhere the speech is free from hiatus except at comma and colon, and even there it is not common.¹⁹

The speech is certainly intended to be delivered quietly, in the style appropriate to a modest, well-mannered young man. It must be asked, therefore, if the absence of hiatus contributes to this effect. One can hardly hope to find conclusive proof, but it is worth noticing that the mild-mannered young man for whom Demosthenes wrote *Against Conon* (54) is just as sparing in the use of hiatus as Isaeus’ client. He has it more frequently at comma and colon, but in the middle of a clause, apart from some instances after τουτονί or τουτουί (3, 34, 39), where a break for emphasis is appropriate,²⁰ there are only two examples. He describes the attack made on him in the Agora without hiatus until the very end, when he explains the sorry condition in which he was left, περιωδύνῳ ὄντι καὶ

¹⁷Cf. Lysias 1.4 οὔτε ἔχθρα ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐδεμία ἦν (see p. 134 above) and Isaeus 2.21 οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ οὐδεὶς τούτων, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν αὐτῷ ἄλλον τινὰ ποιήσασθαι. The dative singular, of course, always ends in a vowel, but I have not found phrases of this kind with hiatus except where the statement is dogmatic and insistent. Otherwise there is no hiatus. Cf. Isaeus 7.17 and 45 (with hiatus), 7.29, 33, 38, 41 (without).

¹⁸μηδὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν δοῦναι . . . οἷς οὐτ’ ἀνάγκη ἐστίν.

¹⁹I.e., in 2, 4, 6, 10, 19, 30.

²⁰Hiatus after forms of οὔτοσί occurs a number of times in Demosthenes 36 (2, 18, 22, 28, 31), but hiatus is otherwise uncommon in this speech.

ἀπορουμένῳ ἤδη (12). The other example occurs when he is trying to discredit evidence given by his adversaries, “They lied—as you might expect,” συμπίπτει δ’ ὄντες τούτου καὶ πολλῶν τοιούτων ἔργων κοινωνοὶ εἰκότως τὰ ψευδῇ μεμαρτυρήκασιν (33).

Wyse²¹ notes that Isaeus avoids hiatus as consistently in Orations 7, 8 and 11 as in 1. Oration 7, like 1, is clearly intended for delivery in a moderate, rather formal manner. There is one example of repeated hiatus, when the attention of the jury is needed to note the exact relationship of persons, ἔδωκε τῇ ἐκείνου μὲν θυγατρὶ, ἐμῇ δὲ μητρὶ, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀδελφῇ,²² and one place where hiatus seems to reinforce a word, ὅτι πολὺ αὐτὸν Ἀρχέδαμος εἶλεν (13). Otherwise, except for a few doubtful examples after oxytone words²³ and places where a semivowel glide could be used, hiatus is avoided; it occurs only once or twice even at comma and colon.²⁴

If absence of hiatus indicates a moderate restrained speech, it also makes it possible for a speaker to increase the speed of his delivery if he wishes. It does not follow that all passages that are free from hiatus were delivered fast, but one should ask whether the subject matter or the style of a passage demands speed or a slow pace. Demosthenes, in *On the Embassy* and *On the Crown*, abstains from hiatus in narrative passages, where the material is familiar, and in abusive, scurrilous passages, where speed is essential in order to prevent the listeners from having time to think.²⁵ If illustration from another orator is needed, none better can be found than Dinarchus’ tirade *Against Demosthenes*; it is consistently free from hiatus, and must have been delivered at a furious speed in order to cover up its numerous inaccuracies and unsupported accusations.

One may expect any speaker to increase his speed if what he is saying will not bear investigation, or on the other hand if it is familiar, a summary of detail that no one will question or remarks of a general or gnomic nature that would irritate the jury if presented with ponderous deliberation. Isaeus’ Orations 8 and 11 are just as free of hiatus as 1 and 7, but their style is quite different, with numerous remarks of a general nature; they are more urbane in manner, suggesting a smooth delivery, and they could be spoken faster. By contrast Orations 2 and 3, in which hiatus is much more frequent,

²¹Above, note 16.

²²ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντων ἐμέ τε οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντων (17) is probably not true hiatus. If a stronger contrast had been wanted between “him” and “me,” he might have written οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντων ἐκείνῳ ἐμέ τε ...

²³ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀγαγών (1), οὐ μικρὰ ἀπολαῦσαι (6), μεγάλ’ ἀγαθὰ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν (35). Demosthenes in *On the Embassy* has hiatus after ἀγαθὰ when sneering at the “blessings” promised by Aeschines. Cf. *AJP* 96 (1975) 148–49.

²⁴I have noted only 9, 14, 45.

²⁵Cf. *AJP* 96 (1975) 147–51.

confine themselves to “the facts of the case.” Oration 2 opens without any preamble, “I always supposed that my adoption was legally valid,” ἡγούμην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, - εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐποιήθη - ὑπὸ τίνος κατὰ τοὺς νόμους - καὶ ἐγὼ ποιηθῆναι - καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰπεῖν οὐδένα τολμῆσαι - ὥς ἐποίησά το με Μενεκλῆς παρανοῶν - ἢ γυναικὶ πιθόμενος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ θεῖος - οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευόμενος - ὥς ἐγὼ φημι - πειρᾶται ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου - τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ τεθνεῶτα - ἄπαιδα καταστήσαι - οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς πατρώους - οὔθ’ ὑμῶν αἰσχυρόμενος οὐδένα - ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη - ἐστὶ πολλή - βοηθεῖν τῷ τε πατρὶ - τῷ ποιησαμένῳ με - καὶ ἐμαυτῷ.

This opening statement is admirably adapted for slow delivery, broken up into short commata, with breaks or pauses as I have marked them, and there is hiatus at no less than five of these breaks, if the speaker wishes to observe it and not use a semivowel glide which will eliminate the pause. The opening statement of Oration 3 can be treated in exactly the same way.

This manner of speech would suit a nervous speaker who lacks confidence and dares not take a deep breath and attempt a long flowing sentence. It is the style that Demosthenes himself used in his first speeches before the Assembly,²⁶ when he was still unsure of himself and had not yet trained himself to adopt the fluent manner of the *Philippics*. But Isaeus’ client in Oration 8 seems to have been ready for the fluent style:

Ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ χαλεπῶς φέρειν, ὅταν τινὲς μὴ μόνον τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀμφισβητεῖν τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων δίκαια τοῖς σφετέρων αὐτῶν λόγοις ἀφανιεῖν ἐλπίζωσιν· ὅπερ καὶ νῦν οὗτοι ποιεῖν ἐγχειροῦσιν. τοῦ γὰρ ἡμετέρου πάππου Κίρωνος οὐκ ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γυναικίαν παῖδας αὐτῷ καταλελοιπότες, οὗτοι τοῦ τε κλήρου λαγχάνουσιν ὥς ἐγγυτάτω γένους ὄντες, ἡμᾶς τε ὑβρίζουσιν ὥς οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς ὄντας, οὐδὲ γενομένης αὐτῷ πώποτε τὸ παράπαν.

The contrast with Orations 2 and 3 is striking, and it is not confined to the opening sentences. In Oration 2 the speaker begins his narrative without delay, continuing as he started with short phrases and frequent breaks or pauses, with moderately frequent hiatus, especially when there is a point to be emphasized. He describes how he and his brother sought a husband for their sister, καὶ τῷ Μενεκλείῃ ἡ γυνὴ τελευτᾷ ἣν εἶχε πρότερον (4), and they accepted his proposal to marry their sister, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ οὐδενὶ ἂν ἔδωκεν ἥδιον ἢ ἐκείνῳ (5). Then they went off to the wars, to serve under Iphicrates in Thrace, ὄντες αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύεσθαι ἐτραπόμεθα (6), and when they returned and found their sister still childless, Menecles took the blame and prevailed on them to find

²⁶Cf. L. Pearson, *The Art of Demosthenes* (Meisenheim 1976) 112–19.

a younger husband for her, ἐκδοῦναι ἄλλω αὐτήν (8). And he decided to adopt a son, ὅπως μὴ ἔσοιτο ἄπαις, ἀλλ' ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ ὅς τις ζῶντά τε γηροτροφήσοι καὶ τελευτήσαντα θάψοι αὐτόν (10). And so on, with similar use of hiatus for emphasis and to indicate pauses.²⁷

Orations 4 and 5 are in similar style, with short cola that suggest slow careful delivery, and frequent hiatus at points where it might seem desirable to insist on a name or a precise relationship, for example, ἐαυτοὺς ἐκείνῳ ἀνειψίους ἀποφαίνουσιν (4.2), τῷ ἐαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ Ἀρμοδίῳ (5.11).²⁸ One such example, ἐπὶ τὰ Νικοστράτου ἄξαντες (4.10), is noteworthy, because the context demands heavy emphasis on the word ἄξαντες, "rushing to get at his money," and it is a word heavy with consonantal clusters; the hiatus would warn a speaker to stop for a moment and not plunge heedlessly into a word that might make him stumble. There are also several examples in both speeches of hiatus before a polysyllabic verb form at the end of a sentence or clause, οὐδαμοῦ ἡμφεσβήτησεν (4.10), παρακρούσασθαι ἐγχειρήσειεν (4.14), τοιοῦτοι γινόμενοι περὶ Λεωχάρη καὶ Δικαιογένῃ ἐξηπατήθημεν (5.19).²⁹ There are two notable examples of this kind of hiatus, before "heavy" verbs, in Demosthenes *Against Onetor* I, one of his earliest speeches in which the influence of Isaeus is generally detected,³⁰ ὑβριστικῶς ὕπ' αὐτοῦ πάννυ ἐξεβλήθη (30.2), ἡ δὲ γεωργία ἐξεσκευάσθη (30.30).

Orations 9 and 11 resemble 4 and 5 in their short cola, while 6, 10 and 12 seem intended for more fluent speakers, but hiatus is reasonably common in all these speeches. They cannot be examined in detail here, nor will space permit extending the present investigation to the various speech-writers represented in the Demosthenic corpus. A few remarks about Oration 50 (*Against Polycles*) must suffice, as an indication that less distinguished writers followed the pattern set by the masters.

This speech was delivered by Apollodorus and perhaps also written by him; he was a politician and certainly an experienced speaker, though the speeches which he delivered show no distinction of style or composition.³¹ Hiatus is quite frequent, but it is not unmotivated or careless. In his

²⁷Cf., e.g., the instances in 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 27, often with αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ, ἐαυτοῦ, ἐαυτῷ.

²⁸Cf. 4.3, 6, 9, 25, 29 and 5.5, 6, 14, 26. There are other good examples in Oration 5 of hiatus before and after single words, e.g., in 39 and 43.

²⁹Cf. 5.34, also 2.35, 41 and 3.2, 9, 11, 67.

³⁰Since the *topos* on the value of *basanos* (30.37) appears in almost identical form in Isaeus 8.12, it is commonly supposed that Demosthenes borrowed it from his teacher. Cf. Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit* 3.1.240.

³¹Cf. Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit* 3.1.514–43, L. Gernet, *Démosthène* (Budé ed.), *Plaidoyers civils* 3.11–13, L. Pearson, "Apollodorus, the eleventh Attic orator," in *The Classical Tradition, Studies in honor of Harry Caplan* (Ithaca 1966) 347–59.

opening remarks he uses it to insist on the difference between himself and Polycles, εἰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς συμβολαίου ἐγὼ διαφερόμενος πρὸς Πολυκλέα εἰσῆειν εἰς ὑμᾶς (1), and when he promises a complete explanation, ἀναγκαῖον δὴ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἅπαντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγήσασθαι (2). When he apologizes for taking so long to describe how useful to the city his services have been, he has hiatus before a final polysyllabic verb, τῇ πόλει ἐδιακονήθησαν (2).³² He challenges anyone to contradict him, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι ἐξελεγχάτω (2),³³ and he often has it with forms of αὐτός like Isaeus.³⁴ He often uses it to underline individual words,³⁵ and in a more dramatic way when describing a pathetic situation, ἡ δὲ γυνή, ἣν ἐγὼ περὶ πλείστου ποιούμεναι, ἀσθενῶς διεκείτο πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀποδημίᾳ, τὰ δὲ παιδία μικρά, ἡ δὲ οὐσία ὑπόχρεως (61). And while he uses hiatus when describing his own difficulties, he refrains from it in recounting criticisms made of him. The language of 29–30 offers an interesting contrast with that of 34–35.

Hiatus to mark a contrast, to insist on a precise relationship, to underline a word, to show agitation or distress in description, in contrast with the smoother flow of normal narrative, examples of these uses can be found, it seems, in every orator, even when he is writing for speakers who may have little oratorical talent. Speech-writers will not generally expect their clients to achieve technical virtuosity in speaking, and, unless my observation and interpretation are seriously at fault, none of the examples that have been quoted offer any real difficulty to a speaker, not even the climactic hiatus at dramatic moments in narrative, such as occurs in *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*. No demands are made of clients comparable to the technical difficulties that Demosthenes and Aeschines set for themselves.

It may be worth while to finish by returning to Lysias, to see how he uses hiatus when writing for himself in Oration 12 (*Against Eratosthenes*) and for the speaker of Oration 13 (*Against Agoratus*), who is certainly a capable speaker. Both of them have highly dramatic stories to tell.

Oration 12 begins οὐκ ἄρξασθαι μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, with the word “difficult” underlined by the hiatus, and throughout the prooimion (1–3) Lysias has frequent hiatus at comma and colon, marking the punctuation, as he does for his clients. As the narrative begins he perhaps increases his speed, as hiatus becomes less frequent; he uses it only once to underline a word (τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι, 6) until he comes to his conversation with Peison, when he must go more slowly. Peison was asked if he would take

³²Cf. ὅτι Τῆνος ὕπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐξηνδραποδίσθη (5), παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐξανηλωμένα (15), λόγῳ ἐξηπατημένοι (15).

³³Demosthenes uses a similar phrase, with hiatus, in 18.139, 19.57.

³⁴5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 24, 29. For examples in Isaeus see note 27 above.

³⁵Cf. 23, 24, 27.

money to let him get away, and he said he would *εἰ πολλὰ εἶη* (9). One may suspect that the oxytone word is probably not meant to be elided. Lysias goes on in some agitation, *ἡπιστάμην μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους νομίζει, ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν*, but after this the narrative calms down again until *ἐδέομην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδια μοι δοῦναι* (11), where the hiatus has the effect of a γε, and *ἐξιούσι δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχάνει Μηλόβιος* (12). Then they move on to Damnippus' house, and Lysias decides to make an attempt at escape, saying to himself, "If I get away, I shall be safe, and if I'm caught—well, I thought, if Theognis accepts the money from Damnippus, I shall be let go just the same." He uses hiatus to mark the anacolouthon, *ἐὰν δὲ ληφθῶ, ἡγούμην* (15). He makes a dash for it, knowing there are three doors he must pass through, and *ἅπασαι ἀνεωγμέναι ἔτυχον* (16). The hiatus is most effective in indicating the tension, "All—thank God—were open." If he had said *ἔτυχον ἀνεωγμέναι πᾶσαι* it is doubtful if the dramatic impact would be nearly so strong. This is the climax of his narrative. He goes ahead at a much faster pace, with very little hiatus.

There are some good instances of hiatus used for dramatic or pathetic effect in the rest of the speech, but it is the speech *Against Agoratus* that provides the most spectacular example. Dionysodorus and his companions are in prison under sentence of death, and they send for members of their families to give them their last messages. Dionysodorus sends for "my sister, his wife," *πυθομένη δ' ἐκείνη ἀφικνεῖται, μέλαν τὸ ἱμάτιον ἡμφιεσμένη, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς τοιαύτη συμφορᾷ κεχρημένῳ. ἐναντίον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς Διονυσόδωρος τὰ τε οἰκεία τὰ αὐτοῦ διέθετο ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ περὶ Ἀγοράτου τουτουὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αἵτιος ἦν τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐπέσκηπτεν ἐμοὶ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τουτῷ, τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πᾶσι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀγόρατον· καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπέσκηπτε, νομίζων αὐτὴν κνεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν γένηται αὐτῇ παιδίον, φράζειν τῷ γενομένῳ ὅτι τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀγόρατος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ κελεύειν τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς φονέα ὄντα* (40-42). The constantly repeated hiatus speaks for itself. It tells the speaker that he must speak slowly and in a halting manner, with frequent breaks between words, giving the impression, if he can, that he is choking with emotion and can scarcely get the words out. The intention must be to bring tears to the eyes of the jury, and if skilful use of hiatus can help to produce this effect of emotional tension, this is one of the most remarkable passages in which this rhetorical device is exploited.

I shall be told, no doubt, that my interpretation is fanciful and that I am letting my imagination run away with me. But repetition of hiatus in a highly emotional passage, which has certainly been put together with care,

cannot be regarded as accidental. What alternative explanation would anyone like to produce?

One has to ask, of course, why ancient critics have nothing to say about this exploitation of hiatus by the orators, except for what Dionysius has to say about *σεμνότης*. Is their silence a serious objection to the account that I have given? The answer must be that they are silent about many things, and we should ask if they knew any better than we do how many or how few practical, technical details the later rhetorical schools remembered from the age of Demosthenes. Fashions changed in the Hellenistic age, fashions of speech as well as of writing. The so-called Asianic school presumably abolished hiatus, so far as it could, and there is no evidence that the Atticist revival made any serious attempt to re-introduce the taste for it. As so often, lack of evidence blocks further inquiry. No oratory from the Hellenistic age survives, and the critics offer us too few quotations. If we had, for example, the text of some speeches from Timaeus' history, we should have something to compare with the work of the Attic orators. In fact the verbatim quotations from Timaeus that we have suggest that he avoided hiatus fairly scrupulously,³⁶ though they do not prove it, and only one quotation is from a speech.³⁷ Since, therefore, the critics do not tell us how or when the fashion changed, or why the Attic orators used hiatus so freely, we have to seek an explanation for ourselves in the text of their speeches. And that is what I have tried to do.

³⁶F. *Gr. Hist.* IIIB 566 F. 6, 11, 13, 16, 18, 26, 27, 31, 57, 93, 102, 132, 139, 158.

³⁷F. 31.